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Old Woking Test-pitting 2009 to 2019: an update

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This review is published in memory of Phil Jones (died January 2016) and Stephen 'Steve' Nelson (died December 2020), who contributed their invaluable expertise to the identification and analysis of the pottery from the Society's Old Woking test-pitting project that ran from 2009 to 2019.

In 2008 we were encouraged by the late Dennis Turner to undertake archaeological investigations in Old Woking to supplement the documentary research being carried out by Richard Christophers and a Villages Study Team (for their completed report see Woking History Society, 2014). Old Woking was thought to be of early to mid-Saxon date, bearing the name of Woking Hundred and the probable site of the establishment of a Christian missionary church around AD 680. It was considered likely that the current parish church, St Peter's, was located on the site of this first church. Dennis thought that differing morphological elements shown on maps of the settlement from 1607 to 1840 indicated that there may have been a number of planned developments as the settlement grew (fig 1, derived from the 1840 Tithe Map). A programme of test-pitting was carried out using the CORS (Currently Occupied Rural Settlements) methodology (Lewis, 2007). An interim report of the result of the investigations from 2009 to 2015 suggested a Saxon core around the church with Saxo-Norman and High Medieval development along the High Street (Savage & Savage, 2016). During 2018 and 2019 an evaluation trench and a further fourteen test-pits were dug (seven of them by community volunteers, including children, in association with the Society's Outreach project) to examine particular points of interest arising from some of the earlier test-pits and also to look in more detail at an area to the east and south of the core of any Saxon/medieval settlement. A note on the pottery and flints found in test-pits outside the core of the settlement area will follow in a forthcoming edition of the Bulletin.

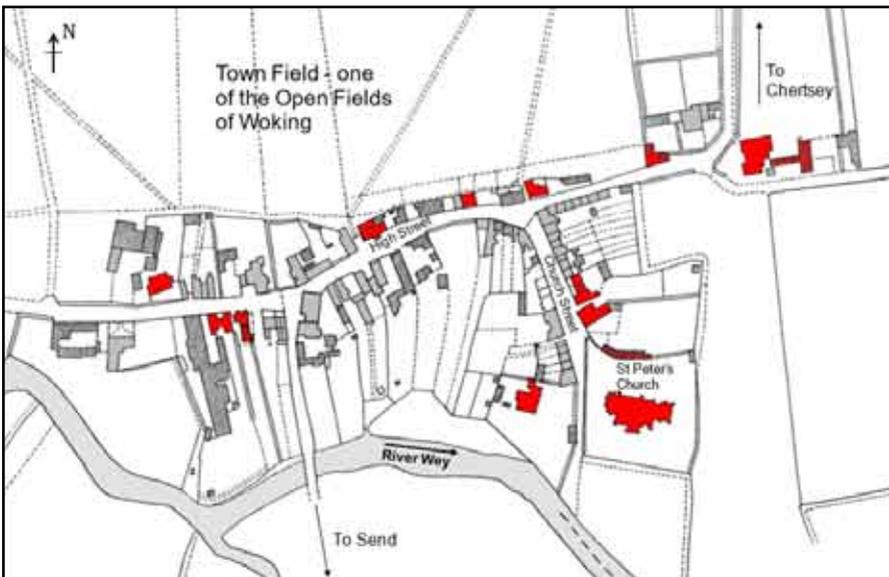


Figure 1: Old Woking in 1840 by the late Ken Bewsey, based on the Tithe Apportionment Map of 1840. Although the tithe map is a so called "first class map" (being one surveyed specifically for the purpose) it should be noted that the relative orientation of buildings and their relative dimensions are in places very inaccurate. There has been much redevelopment in Old Woking since 1840; the only buildings still standing from that time are shown in red.

1 The pottery analysis by 'groups' of test-pits

The medieval pottery has been analysed according to the dating of fabric types as set out in the second edition of the Society's "A Guide to the Saxon and Medieval Pottery Type Series of Surrey" (2017), being a development of the original proposed type series (Jones, 1998). Numbers of sherds and weights for each fabric type in each spit were recorded. Many of the sherds were very small providing no evidence of the form of the vessels concerned.

With the detailed review of the pottery substantially completed, the present note updates the preliminary conclusions of the first review across the core of the settlement area and on its eastern and southern boundaries.

For this article, most test-pits in the core of the settlement and along the eastern and southern boundaries of the churchyard have been aggregated into 'groups' of closely related pits as illustrated in Fig 2; five other test-pits dug in the core of the settlement have been excluded as having been severely disturbed over their full depth by 20th century works.

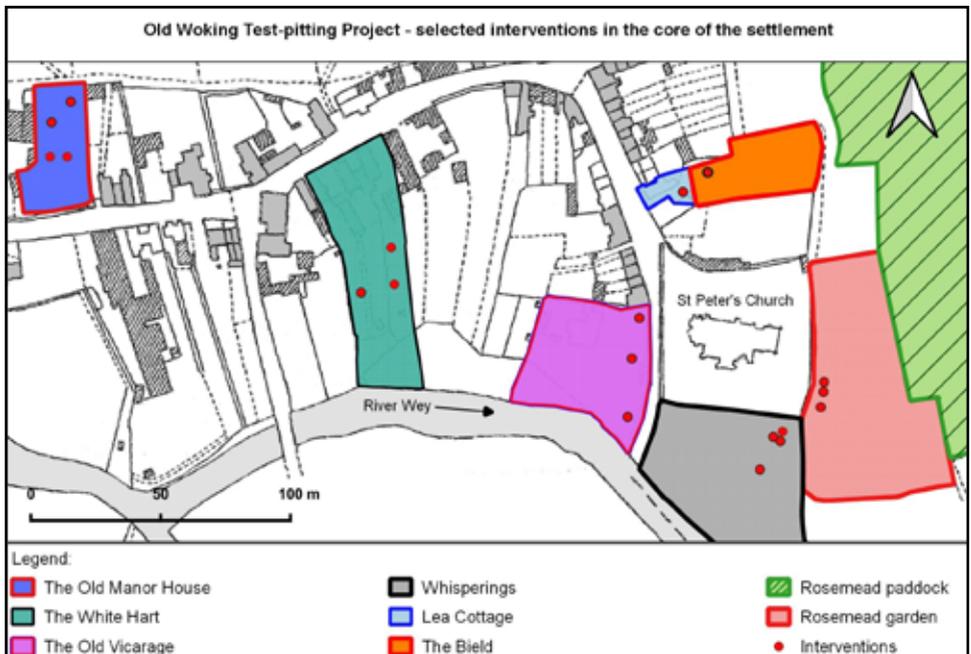


Figure 2: Selected interventions plotted on a portion of the map in Fig 1

Four groups were excavated in the rear gardens of houses facing onto the two main streets. The Old Manor House lies to the north of the High Street (formerly Town Street) backing onto one of the Open Fields, the White Hart Inn lies to the south of the High Street with grounds running downhill to the River Wey, and Lea Cottage & The Bield lie to the east of Church Street. At The Old Vicarage the test-pits were dug in the front garden on the west side of Church Street.

Three test-pits in Rosemead Garden were dug close to the eastern boundary of the churchyard, outside the core of the settlement area. Another three test-pits were dug in

Whisperings, close to the southern boundary of the churchyard together with a 3m x 1m evaluation trench 20m further south in an area that was part of the Glebe meadows bordering the River Wey from the medieval period until c.1880.

2 An evaluation of the pottery distribution by period in the core of Old Woking

2.1 Prehistoric Thirteen very small sherds from the lowest levels of two adjacent test-pits at the Old Manor House have been provisionally dated to the Middle Iron Age and another a little earlier. A few sherds from the lower spits at Lea Cottage could be later Iron Age (see 2.4 below). Otherwise, no other prehistoric pottery was found in the core of the settlement.

2.2 Roman The only sherd of Roman pottery from interventions in the core of the settlement came from a spit dated to the 19th century at the Old Manor House site and was of Portchester D fabric (PORD, 350-400AD). A report on Roman CBM found in the settlement, probably brought to the site for one of the phases of rebuilding of the Saxon church in the early 12th century, was published in Bulletin 481 (Savage and Savage, 2020).

2.3 Saxon to c.900AD Despite the finding of the late 7th century 'feasting deposit' of pig and cattle bones at Lea Cottage, close to the church, no sherds of pottery certainly attributable to the Early or Middle Saxon periods have been found in Old Woking. In short it appears that the area was aceramic until the middle of the 9th century, as seems to be the case across most of England other than in Eastern England (Thomas, 2012).

2.4 Late Saxon A few small sherds of flint- and ironstone-tempered pottery were recovered above the late 7th century radiocarbon-dated bone deposit at Lea Cottage; these were similar to those recovered from the Mint St, Godalming excavations, where pottery which was originally published as Saxo-Norman (Jones 1998) was redated (by Phil Jones) to the Late Saxon period (Poulton 2018, 3, cf Williams & Poulton 2021, 140-1). Other small grog-tempered sherds found at and close to that location could be Late Iron Age, Late Roman or Late Saxon but the stratigraphy suggests these too are likely to be Late Saxon. Apart from the feasting bone deposit (probably connected with foundation of the church in the late 7th century) we have found no evidence of domestic Saxon occupation in the core of the settlement prior to c.900AD and no evidence of any 'elite' occupation in any Saxon period.

2.5 Saxo-Norman (900 to 1100) The lower spits in test-pits at The White Hart, the Old Manor House and Lea Cottage all contained a few sherds of Saxo-Norman domestic pottery which may pre-date the Norman Conquest. Otherwise, Saxo-Norman sherds were generally found a little higher in spits mixed with High Medieval pottery dated after 1100AD (as at The Bield). The forms include cooking pots and jars (CPJs) and the assemblages may well be from the manuring of vegetable plots behind houses fronting the two roads.

2.6 The High Medieval (1100 to 1350) There is an explosion in the number of pottery sherds across most of the settlement area, with indications that this occurred mainly before 1240. Forms continue to include cooking pots and jars with occasional jugs. The three main fabric types have largely overlapping periods of introduction and use; further study of the relative proportions of the three fabric types may allow a refinement in dating. The three test-pits at The Old Vicarage site were all heavily disturbed and produced almost no pottery before c.1450. We can provide no suggestion as to the apparent absence of activity in this important location, immediately west of the church, before that date.

2.7 The Late Medieval (1350 to 1500) In 2016 Carenza Lewis published a paper on the use of CORS test-pitting to examine the decline of villages in the “calamitous 14th century” following droughts, floods and recurrent cattle and sheep murrains in the first half of the century and the Black Death in 1348/50 (Lewis, 2016, and for contemporary evidence of all these effects in near-by Esher in Surrey, Stone, 2017). In computing the decline of pottery in Woking from the High Medieval to the Late Medieval we have excluded the figures from the test-pit at Lea Cottage as most of the High Medieval and all of the Late Medieval spits there had been removed by the digging of two modern rubbish pits. Taking the other test-pits in the core of the Old Woking settlement we have computed a decline of 65% by number of sherds and 67% by weight of sherds between the High Medieval and Late Medieval periods. This compares with Carenza Lewis’ average of a 45% decline across the whole of East Anglia (from a decline of 65% in Norfolk down to only 12% in Suffolk). Here in Woking, documentary sources indicate attempts to revive economic activity in the 1450s – of which more in a later article.

2.8 The Post-medieval (1500 to 1830) Although Woking Palace was at its Royal heyday from 1500 to 1550, the pottery recovered from Old Woking itself indicates a continuing modest standard of living for most of the inhabitants, with little in the way of finewares or imported wares. A new Lord of the Manor instituted a programme of economic revitalisation of the town in the 1650s – again, more about this in a later article. One of the test-pits at the rear of the White Hart Inn was found to contain four spits dated to the 17th and 18th centuries with the remains of English stoneware beer mugs, wine glasses, tin-glazed wares, Staffordshire salt-glazed stoneware and other artefacts of the period. The occupiers of the Old Vicarage also enjoyed some of these finewares, including the only sherd of Wedgwood’s black Basalt Stoneware from anywhere in the settlement.

3 The conclusions drawn from the distribution of pottery on the eastern and southern boundaries of the Churchyard/settlement

We had become increasingly uneasy with the statement in our 2016 interim report that the two test-pits dug in 2010 had ‘confirmed the former presence and scale of the eastern and southern ditches surrounding St Peter’s churchyard’. These boundaries had been hypothesised by the late Dennis Turner as originally surrounding the Saxon Minster enclosure. We flagged up in the interim report that we had found no evidence that the ditches were earlier than the Norman Conquest. In 2018 and 2019 we dug two further test-pits adjacent to each of the test-pits dug in 2010 to gather further evidence. Extremely wet weather in October 2019 precluded the digging of an evaluation trench perpendicular to the southern border, which would have been our preference (fig 3). Space does not permit a full discussion of the evidence leading to our revised conclusions.

We now believe that the eastern boundary was developed from a natural stream flowing down to the River Wey from the plateau on which Old Woking developed; it is possible that this was deepened in



Figure 3: Volunteers excavating a test-pit to the south of the churchyard wall in wet conditions in October 2019

either Saxon or Norman times. The lowest spit in the test-pit dug closest to the churchyard boundary contained three large sherds of Roman CBM and a large piece of building stone (Savage & Savage, 2020). These artefacts may have been brought to the site in the first quarter of the 12th century for the rebuilding in masonry of the nave of an earlier wooden church (where the wooden door to the nave has been dated by dendro-chronologist Andy Moir to between 1106 and 1138, with 1115 as the most likely date).

The two new test-pits by the southern boundary (one of which adjoined the test-pit dug in 2010) suggest that the boundary was not a large ditch of flowing water but rather a low upcast bank thrown up from a shallow ditch along its northern side. The pottery in the low upcast bank implies a construction date between 1100 and 1240; the lower pottery-bearing levels contained cobbles and large pieces of flint likely to have come from knapping of flint for one of the phases of rebuilding the church in stone, possibly in the early 12th century as suggested above.

This low bank, supporting bushes and a few trees, remained the boundary between the churchyard and the Glebe pasture lands until 1885 when it was replaced by a wall north of the shallow ditch (Diary of Edward Ryde, 20 June 1885 - SHC 1262/43); the low bank is shown in an illustration by G F Prosser from the mid-19th century (held by Guildford Museum, ref G1100 and reproduced in Crosby, 2003).

The test-pit dug in Whisperings in 2010 contained a 'single event' or 'primary' deposit of sherds of High Medieval pottery from vessels of intrinsic interest (figs 4 & 5). These included sherds from a large, decorated shelly-ware storage jar (currently dated to 1150-1250) and a decorated shelly-ware 'curfew' (a fire-cover) of a similar date. Of greatest intrinsic interest were sherds from a unique vessel thought likely to be from either a ring-lamp or an extremely unusual costrel mimicking an original leather form in a fabric similar to QFL in Surrey, where it would be dated to 1080 to 1200, but possibly from elsewhere e.g. EMFL in London (dated 970-1100) or the near continent. No parallels have been identified from within the London area. Close by in 2019 (and possibly from within the



original deposit) we recovered a sherd of a second shelly-ware 'curfew', with thumbled base rim and horizontal thumbled cordon (1150-1250). The deposit was made either in a ditch along the north side of the low boundary bank or in a pit dug for the purpose. At the time of excavation of the deposit in 2010 it was considered likely to be the closing deposit in a cesspit, due to the very bad smell

Figure 4: Selected High Medieval pottery from a 'single event deposit' in a test-pit at Whisperings close to St Peter's Church: 1 Large Shelly-ware storage jar dated 1150 to 1250; 2 Shelly-ware Fire-cover dated 1150 to 1250; 3 'Ring-lamp' or Costrel dated 970 to 1200

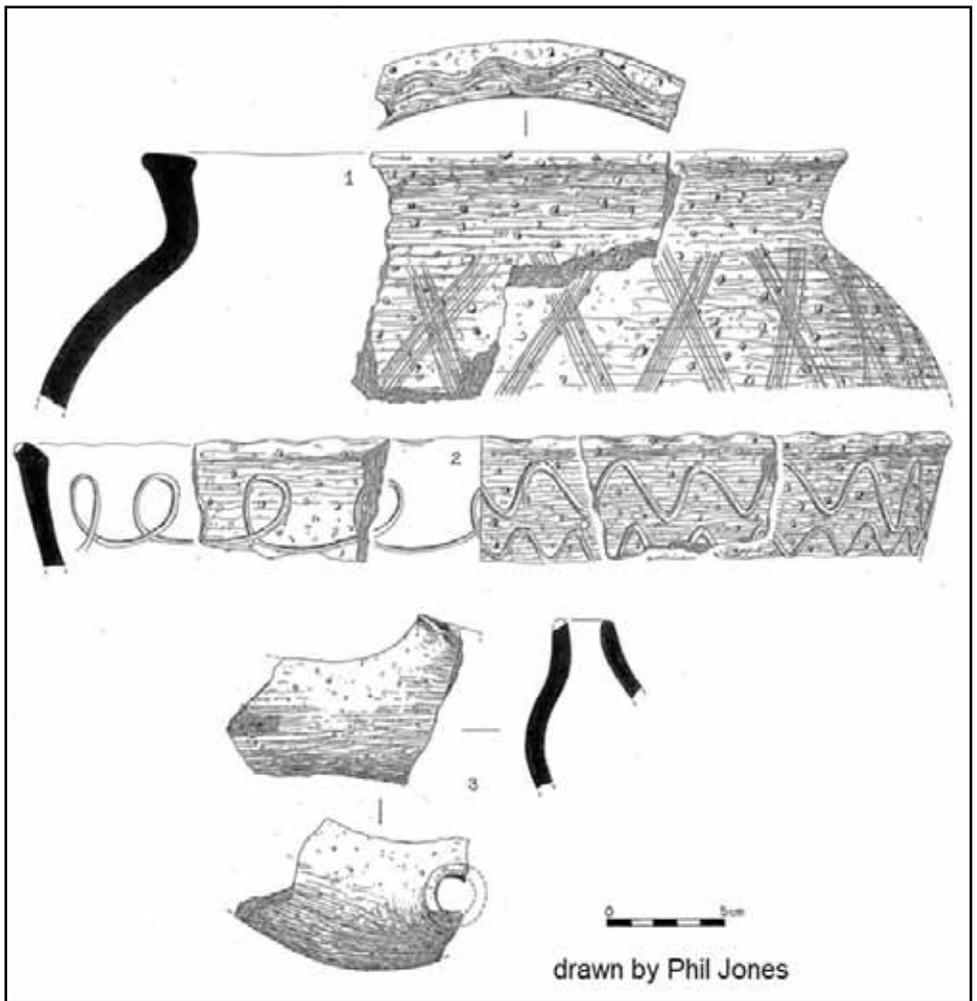


Figure 5: Drawings by Phil Jones of High Medieval Pottery from 'single event deposit' shown in fig 4

associated with the waterlogged lower spits which contained the pottery. Such a cesspit may have been dug deliberately in a shallow ditch along the north side of the low bank.

The pottery sherds from within the 'single event' deposit form an eclectic mix of higher status High Medieval vessels than found elsewhere in the Woking settlement and include an unusual vessel, possibly of special significance at the time and deliberately 'curated'.

It may be noted that we recovered more High Medieval pottery from these three test-pits on the southern boundary of the churchyard than from all of the test-pits in the core of the settlement taken together.

Ways forward

A forthcoming article in the Bulletin about the Old Woking project will consider the conclusions to be drawn from all the evidence, including from many contemporary documents and standing buildings research.

Work is proceeding towards completion of the site archive and a summary paper for submission for publication in the Collections. Selected artefacts (including all pottery to 1830) and the site archive will be deposited at The Lightbox in Woking.

Acknowledgements

Our thanks are due to Carezza Lewis for spending a day with the Society in 2011 and to Lyn Blackmore, Jacqui Pearce, Rob Poulton and Nick Marples for informal advice on identifying some of the more uncertain sherds. Also to members of the Society's Medieval Pottery Studies Group and the Old Woking post-ex team, particularly as respects this paper to John Felton for building and maintaining the Master Pottery Spreadsheets and to Joanna Mansi for creating the QGIS for this project and producing the illustrative maps from it.

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Cover image: Illustration of Woking village from the west (image copyright Surrey Archaeological Society)

Between burh and town: reconsidering the proto-urban topography of Guildford

Rob Briggs

The topography of the south-west quarter of medieval Guildford, above all the curve of Castle Street/Chapel Street (Figure 1) and the associated plot boundaries within, has long been identifiable as distinctive from the rest of the town; the contrast shows up very clearly on the well-known ‘Ichnography of Guildford’ of 1739 (reproduced by Alexander 1997, 63 and others). The curve is not readily explained as a product of the creation of the first phase of Guildford Castle in the late 11th century, and for this reason can be seen as an antecedent feature. Indeed, it has been used to delimit the hypothetical extent of a phase of settlement at Guildford pre-dating the burh most likely established in the second quarter of the 10th century during the reign of Æthelstan (924–39: depicted in O’ Connell and Poulton 1984, 45 Fig. 19 and Poulton 1987, 207 Fig. 8.10; dating of burghal foundation as per Hill 2000). This note puts forward a case for a revised chronology and a later date of inception than usually has been admitted.



Figure 1: View looking north-west from the Great Tower of Guildford Castle, 2018. The curve of Castle and Chapel Streets is marked by the red line; St Mary’s church is visible above the line of buildings along Quarry Street

Variations on the “primary settlement” hypothesis

The consensus that has built up around this quarter being the ‘primary’ locus of settlement in Guildford is not matched by unanimity as to when early medieval activity commenced within it. Alexander (1997, 62) goes earlier than most in postulating that it may be the site of the ‘pagan’ settlement associated with the nearby Guilddown cemetery (late 5th/early 6th

century and later), although elsewhere in the same chapter does the same for the part of the medieval town west of the Wey. Others have chosen to cite the earliest historical reference to Guildford (in the will of King Alfred from the end of the 9th century; Miller 2001, 3–12) as the basis for proposals that here lay a royal estate centre (e.g. O’ Connell and Poulton 1984, 44; Poulton 1987, 209; Shapland 2019, 55). It has been explicitly identified as a 9th-century settlement in one publication (Poulton 2005, 6 Fig. 5).

This line of interpretation allows analogies to be made with several excavated secular curvilinear enclosures in rural settings. Wraysbury in Buckinghamshire, close to the modern county boundary with Surrey, is the site of a partly-excavated 8th- to 10th-century settlement within a ‘ditched oval enclosure’ perceptible in historic road and property boundary lines, at the heart of which stands the parish church of St Andrew (Blair 2018, 292, 293 Fig. 110). Another potential analogue is the 8th-century D-shaped enclosed settlement at Bramford in Suffolk that continued to be occupied until the 10th or 11th century (Reynolds 1999, 141, 144; Hamerow 2012, 113).

One could choose to go in a different direction (as I have done previously; Briggs 2009, 10) by identifying what is apparent at Guildford as the vestiges of a former curvilinear minster enclosure, the monastic origin of which had been obscured by its later urban history. No such enclosure can be traced elsewhere in historic Surrey but a few, such as Lambourn in Berkshire and Bishopstone in Sussex, have been identified not all that far away (Briggs 2020, A11–A12; Blair 2005, 197–98; for Bishopstone, see Thomas 2008, 336–37). However, these enclosures (and Wraysbury likewise) were more than twice the diameter of the one at Guildford. While it is true they did not have the same constraints operative at Guildford as a consequence of its situation sandwiched between a river cliff on the west and steeply rising ground to the east, the lack of any other form of substantial supporting evidence (both Lambourn and Bishopstone are historically-attested minsters) is arguably more significant. Therefore, the notion of an origin as a minster enclosure does not seem at all credible.

A new reading of the evidence

It is clear that the enclave around St Mary’s, partly defined by a curving boundary, is at odds with the intramural topography of the rest of the 10th-century burh, but must that make it a pre-burghal creation? The idea that, immediately after their completion, English burhs of “urban” form (i.e. larger than was necessary solely for military purposes and without being limited by the physical topography of the chosen site) became the venue for intensive occupation arising from the concentration of people and activities has been comprehensively undermined by the archaeological data, which show time and again that there was a delay in the attainment of such things until the 11th century (e.g. Blair 2018, 387, citing larger urban centres than Guildford). Indeed, it appears that ‘the classic urban topography of burgage plots’, so clearly evident on 18th- and 19th-century maps of Guildford, is a phenomenon that arose after 1050 (Blair 2018, 386). There seems no good reason why Guildford should have followed a different sequence.

The putative enclosed area around St Mary’s church could post-date the establishment of the burh but pre-date the delineation of intramural burgage plots — and so have nothing to do with an estate centre of King Alfred’s day. This idea has been proposed before, with a different (or maybe rather lack of) emphasis on the relative datings, by Martin O’ Connell; ‘... the original parish church of St Mary which lies south of the High Street and seems to conflict with the plot boundaries. It is possible that the earliest settlement was in the vicinity of this church, whose tower may be late Saxon ... and that the laying out of the plots was a later development.’ (O’ Connell 1977, 32). Attention must now turn to attempting to narrow down a date for the establishment of this feature.

The archaeology of Guildford town centre for the period prior to the Norman Conquest is notoriously scanty and, in light of the above-mentioned national picture, perhaps this should not be as much of a source of disappointment as it might have seemed previously. Domesday Book, and the oft-quoted translated record that ‘King William has 75 sites, whereon dwell 175 men’, shows that by 1086 Guildford was a populous place, and there are other, independent documentary indicators for it having developed a truly urban character by the late 11th century (Morris 1975, 1,1a; Briggs 2019, including discussion of the brief but suggestive testimony provided by the so-called *Encomium Emmae Reginae* of 1041x42).

10th-century Guildford, by contrast, is extremely obscure, attested directly only through the coins that, if the number of known examples is representative, constitute the decidedly modest output of its mint in the final quarter of the century (e.g. O’ Connell and Poulton 1984, 46). This obscurity continues into the early part of the 11th century. Hill (2000, 178 and 182 Fig. 5) reconstructed the internal topography of the Guildford burh as comprising the High Street as an axial thoroughfare, ‘long burgage strips’, a perimeter lane (or lanes) inside the defence, and ‘one main church’ — St Mary’s. Now it seems very likely that the burgage plots were later insertions and thus, for several decades after the establishment of the burh, there was ample space in which to create an enclosure within the defensive enceinte without causing profound upheaval and displacement of inhabitants and activities. More disturbance may have arisen by the superimposition of Guildford Castle over a limited portion of the southern margin of the burh at some time after 1066 (e.g. O’ Connell and Poulton 1984, 44).

St Mary’s church is the one clear and dateable piece of evidence inside the putative enclosure (Figure 2). Its now-central tower has been convincingly ascribed to the mid-11th century despite no few assertions over the years of an earlier origin (see Shapland 2019, 53–55, a condensed version of the analysis given in his 2012 PhD thesis; for vestiges of an earlier, but not necessarily much earlier, timber phase beneath the tower, see Holling 1967, 166–67). The tower’s unusual form — possibly free-standing originally (Shapland 2019, 55) — can perhaps be used to infer that this perpetuated a longer pedigree of elite activity within this quarter. But it may be that this was an elaboration of a more recent project by which an intramural enclosure was established in the south-west corner of the burh. The national chronological context, from which there is as yet no evidence to indicate Guildford deviated in its urban developmental trajectory, may even allow for tower and enclosure to be contemporaneous (with the former erected on the site of an earlier edifice).



Figure 2: View of St Mary’s church, Guildford. Note the original flint pilasters on the south and east elevations of the tower, beneath later belfry openings and parapet.

In 2009, I posited that the St Mary's enclosure may have found a new lease of life as a "Kingsbury", a centre that persisted in royal control after the establishment of the new burh (Briggs 2009, 10). In retrospect this seems rather less likely given the absence of a suitable recorded name (compare the examples listed and discussed in Baker and Brookes 2013, 248–49; note also Niblett 2010, 131–32, outlining the reasons for believing the Kingsbury at St Albans was situated outside of the medieval town on the site of its Roman predecessor). Better parallels may be drawn with the elite *hagan* — the plural of the Old English noun *haga*, and in urban contexts perhaps best translated as "compounds" (cf. Blair 2018, 270) — recorded in other, often larger, centres in this period; in many cases these were of earlier origin and had been subdivided by the middle of the 11th century (Blair 2018, 342–47). Somewhat unhelpfully, the same word is used in Domesday Book to describe the basic units of property within Guildford town (Morris 1975, 1,1a–c). As if to confuse matters further, Old English *burh* was also used outside of "Kingsbury" compound-names to identify intramural enclosures (perhaps ones more stoutly defined than *hagan*?) in burghal towns, e.g. Aldermanbury in London (see Naismith 2019, 160–61).

It may be permissible to sketch a picture of a curvilinear enclosure, whether reckoned to be a *haga* or a *burh*, created in part of the largely empty space defined by the defences of the Æthelstanian burh at Guildford at some time from the mid-10th century onwards. Contrary to the majority of previous appraisals, the evidence in fact may point to it being a secondary element in the proto-urban topography of Guildford, constructed after the burghal defences. The enclosure was most probably a focus for elite interests, symbolised by the extant tower of St Mary's church, which suggests either a mid-11th-century origin or zenith of high-status activity here. There might even be overlap here with the loose group of round and oval fortified enclosures of the period *circa* 950–1050, some known from burghal/urban contexts, identified by Blair (2018, 388–97) as the forerunners to Anglo-Norman castles. Many of them were superimposed upon the site of the former — the juxtaposition of suggested enclosure and later castle at Guildford may be no coincidence.

A speculative ending

I wish to conclude this note by flying a kite, to present an idea I've been sat on for years. My focus here is on the second "subsection" of Domesday Book's account of Guildford, undoubtedly a partial and terse record, but not to the extent that it is incapable of providing insights to the geography of the late 11th-century town. It states that 'Ranulf Clerk' (*Rannulfus clericus*, whom John Morris contended was probably the infamous Ranulf Flambard; Morris 1975 note 1,1b) held three '*hagas*' in Guildford in which six men dwelt, and over which he exercised sac and soc (translated as 'full jurisdiction' in Morris 1975, 1,1b) other than during the collection of geld. It goes on to note that the men who lived in the three *hagan* had a different legal status to the other inhabitants of the town, with the king's reeve (*praepositus regis*) seemingly powerless if one of them escaped having been apprehended for a crime committed in the town. The subsection concludes by recording that Archbishop Stigand formerly held these *hagan*, by implication up until he was deposed in 1070 (see Smith 1994, 204).

Doubtless owing to the brevity with which it is relayed in Domesday Book and the lack of any monetary valuation of the three *hagan*, the morsel of information about his erstwhile tenure of them passes unmentioned in what remains the most comprehensive published study of Stigand's life and career, which were defined in no small measure by his rapacious acquisition of property — or posthumous notoriety for having put his own personal interests above those of the Church (Smith 1994). It did not, by contrast, escape the notice of Shapland (2019, 55), who posits a link between the *hagan*, the tower of St Mary's and the putative enclosure in which it stood. This occurs, however, in the context of

a wider, inconclusive discussion of possible candidates for the patron of the church tower, that also makes cases for Earl Godwine and the Guildford town reeve (presumably Tovi, named in Domesday Book as holder of the office until 1066; Morris 1975, 1,1c).

Domesday Book certainly attests to the existence of a distinctive three-*haga* enclave within Guildford town in the later 11th century. What prompts Stigand's fleeting mention to be emphasised here is one of the main original features of St Mary's church tower, the flint pilaster strips on its four elevations (Figure 3). These are not uncommon features of Conquest-era ecclesiastical buildings, but are more frequently constructed of dressed stones, not flint rubble. The main exception to this rule is East Anglia, where flint and stone rubble were used to form such decorative-cum-structural elements (for the context, see Taylor and Taylor 1965, 6–7; also pages 266–68 for St Mary's Guildford). It just so happens that Stigand was born in East Anglia and first rose to prominence there as priest/royal chaplain of the memorial minster erected on the battle site at *Assandun* (Smith 1994, 199–200). Could it be that the tower was built under Stigand's direct patronage, to a design that incorporated a construction technique characteristic of the region where he grew up? If the link is valid, it suggests a subdivision of the St Mary's enclosure into three *hagan* by 1066 (assuming Domesday's *eas* stands for Latin accusative plural *eāsdem* 'the same') but any further statements concerning the background to this circumstance would be pure conjecture.

This hypothesis may sound far-fetched and be incapable of proof. In view of the Domesday Book subsection identifying Stigand as Archbishop, that is of Canterbury, an office to which he was elevated in 1052 (Smith 1994, 202), it could be contended that the attribution of a pottery sherd found in the footings of the south wall of St Mary's tower in the 1960s to the period *circa* 1050–1150 goes some way towards substantiating the postulated connection (Holling 1967, 167–68). Unfortunately, the ceramic dating lacks precision (it would be desirable to have the sherd reexamined with reference to the Surrey medieval type series) and thus it would seem prudent not to attach much chronological importance to it, nor to Stigand being titled Archbishop rather than Bishop in the textual record. Archaeological or archival discoveries in the future may provide much-needed clarity.

I shall end by noting the following. The only other non-East Anglian church building of the Late Anglo-Saxon period with rubble pilaster strips (or at least the base of one)



Figure 3: Interior view of the lowest levels of the south face of St Mary's tower, showing original pilasters and double-splayed window, with another visible through the later, probably late 11th/early 12th-century transept arch.

of which I am aware is the pre-12th-century earliest known phase of St Andrew's church, Farnham (Graham 2003, 2). Who held Farnham as Bishop of Winchester from 1047 until the aftermath of the Norman Conquest? Stigand.

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Medieval armorial harness fittings relating to Surrey – and problems of identification

Simon Maslin

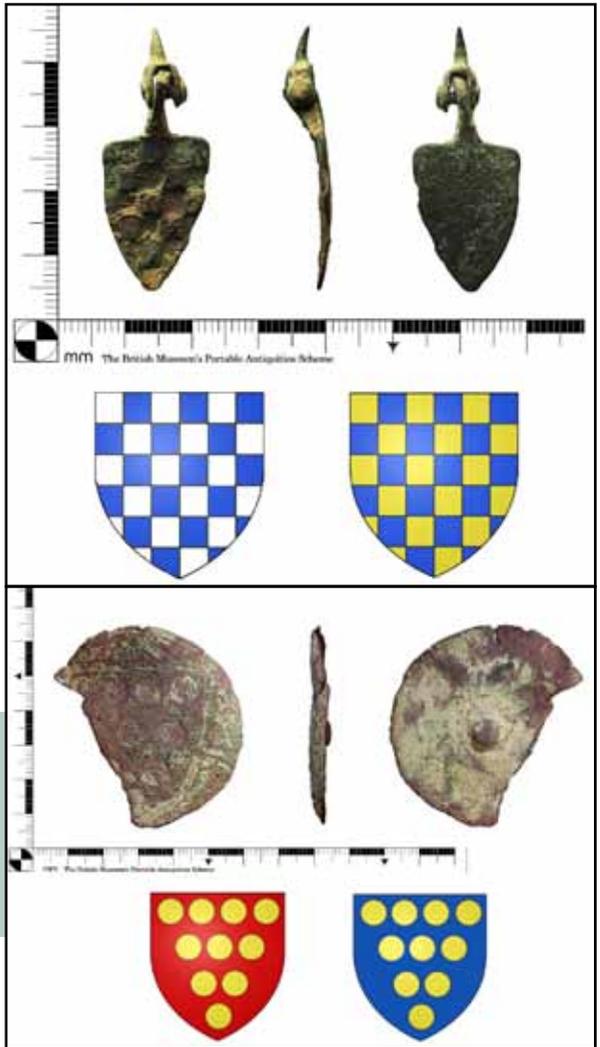
During the 13th and 14th centuries a fashion for decorative metalwork on the horse harness of the well-to-do saw widespread use of armorial decorations. These took the form of individual pendants and more elaborate sets which included miniature banners, pendants, mounts and bosses (Ward Perkins, 1940; Ashley, 2002). Elements of these are widely recorded as stray detector finds on the PAS database and there are now more than 90 recorded examples from Surrey.

The blazons on these decorative objects are highly diverse, although most often they relate to the royal arms of England (*gules, three lions passant guardant in pale or*) as well as the arms of the major noble families of the day. A large portion of the finds we record carry devices which are indeterminate as to origin and meaning, perhaps in many cases being “pseudo” heraldic and imitative, but also frequently relating to arms which are unidentifiable.

This issue of attribution is complicated by the effects of corrosion on the combination of techniques used to convey the various key elements of tincture on these copper alloy objects. The fields of the blazon were often represented with coloured enamels either laid directly on the surface or in recessed cells (*champlevé*); the charges were often represented by raised retained areas of metal which were then polished, gilded or tinned to convey either of the two heraldic metal colours (*or* and *argent*). Obviously seven centuries or more underground usually reduce these subtleties to a homogeneity of corroded metal. This presents particular problems for untangling the heraldry – as the colours represented are absolutely key in differentiating blazons which may be otherwise identical in design.

Two examples which demonstrate this conundrum have been recently recorded, both of which have particular local relevance to the history of Surrey. [HAMP-2EAD62](#), from over the border in Old Basing, Hampshire, is an example of one of the more common blazons seen in harness pendants of the period, with something like thirty examples on the database known from all over the country as well as others published elsewhere (e.g. Ashley, 2002: p13, number 92). This blazon, described as *checky a metal and azure*, is one of the simplest (and oldest) arms recorded. Key to the identification of the family is the treatment of the metal on the retained check square elements which might have been either gilded (*or*) or tinned (*argent*). If the latter, the arms may relate to the Gatton family (left shield, top, next page), with a local connection in the period being Hamo Gatton, of Gatton in Surrey, who served as sheriff of Kent in 1286. If the former, the blazon is most likely to relate to the Warenne earls of Surrey (right shield, top), who were one of the most powerful families of magnates of the 12th and 13th centuries, holding a title created during the reign of William II for the first earl, William de Warenne, a Norman who fought at Hastings.

A second example, [SUR-B77C92](#), from Betchworth carries another very simple blazon (*ten bezants 4, 3, 2, 1*) on a mount which is possibly a carriage fitting. In this case the arms are most likely of the Zouche family but the colour of the field is key. If blue (*azure*) it would relate to the junior family line (right shield, bottom) and a possible local connection in the form of William la Zouche who was appointed Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1261. If red (*gules*) however, it will relate to the senior line (left shield, bottom) and the Barons Zouche, possible Alan la Zouche, 1st Baron la Zouche of Ashby (1267-1314). In an intriguing segue from the previously discussed example, Alan la Zouche actually died in 1270 as a result of injuries sustained in a fight with John de Warenne, 6th Earl of Surrey and his retainers in Westminster Hall!



(Top) HAMP-2EAD62 and two alternative interpretations of the blazon (images courtesy of Portable Antiquities Scheme and Wikipedia contributors).

(Bottom) SUR-B77C92 and two alternative interpretations of the blazon (images courtesy of Portable Antiquities Scheme and Wikipedia contributors).

These artefacts represent finds of considerable potential local interest, both for archaeologists and Medieval historians. In many cases further research with scientific techniques to determine traces of chemical and metallic residues could potentially help resolve some of these questions of identity, however such facilities are generally beyond the reach of finders and FLOs. Through careful recording we hope to add to the growing corpus of these finds and generate opportunities for further multi-disciplinary research to unpick these types of local associations using documentary, archaeological and other sources of evidence.

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I am deeply indebted to John Pile for responding to my article in Bulletin 484 about the well near Carshalton church, currently known as Anne Boleyn's Well, but more likely to have been dedicated to Our Lady of Boulogne in the 15th century. John kindly sent me some pages from a book on Carshalton which give further information about the chapel after which the well may be named.

The well was probably named after a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Boulogne in the 1490s, mentioned in two wills. It seems that the chapel survived until 1835. The church was a possession of Merton Priory, and at the Dissolution it passed into the hands of the king. In 1619 one Thomas Myn noted in his will that he had 'disbursed 40s [to the exchequer] ... toward the buying of the Chapell adjoining the churchyard of Carshalton, I do give the same for the benefit of the church for ever to remain'. It survived in church hands until 1836 when the Vestry, the body which governed the church buildings, had it demolished to build a fire-engine house. It was known as 'Dame Duffin's Cottage' after the last occupant. Jones (p. 90) says that it was in the north-west corner of the churchyard, and other references in his book suggest that it was next to the churchyard wall. So the chapel was not attached to the church. It was close to the well, though that was outside the churchyard, or is outside today. In my previous article I referred to the well as being east of the church, when it is in fact west.

Jones mentions a Vestry account of 1700 for mending the churchyard wall and the parish house, which he interprets as a poor house (though it could also be a sort of parish hall). It was also referred to as a priest's house. He re-drew four images of the building, showing that the lower part was of stone and the upper of timber-framing. It had clearly been altered over time, and may well have been used as a parish house, or a poor house, and possibly as a vicarage for a while after the reformation. It needs more discussion than can be given here.

The fact that the chapel was separate from the church suggests that the well related to the chapel, rather than the church, though an earlier well could have been re-named. We must also consider whether it was a simple domestic well made for the chapel after it was converted into a dwelling. The chapel being separate from the parish church is unusual, and might suggest a family burial chapel, though there is no evidence for this in the wills of Joan Brent, who married a Gaynesford, nor of Nicholas Gaynesford, her father-in-law, in the 1490s. They were both buried in the church. The whole subject needs more research by someone who knows Carshalton.



The chapel, re-drawn by Arthur Jones, from 18th and early 19th c sources.

¹ *An Illustrated Directory of Old Carshalton* by Arthur Jones, n.d., but 1973, pp. 90-93.

Jones knew of Brent's will referring to the building of a chapel to Our Lady of Boulogne.

² Jones, p.91. I have not found a copy of this will.

³ Jones p. 92, from images in the Minet Library and Carshalton Library.

Steve Nelson 1945-2020*Ian West*

Steve was born in Purley in 1945 and moved to Banstead in 1952. The development on which his family lived was still under construction, and Steve collected lead letters from broken tombstones that were being used for hardcore in the road construction. Steve took part in the Nonsuch Palace excavations in 1959, and from then onwards archaeology was a consuming interest. Steve worked abroad for a time, returning to be employed by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, later to become the Department of the Environment. He had transferred to work in the department that became English Heritage, spending the last years of employment (prior to retirement) working in Northampton.

In the autumn of 1967 Steve started assisting with the excavations on the King William IV garden in Ewell that were organised by Nonsuch Antiquarian Society (NAS). Prior to this he had been helping Joan Harding at Weston Wood, and he also took part in Professor John Campbell's cave site project. For a time Steve's main interest was flints. Steve could be easily recognised at this time (and for many more years) by the red jumper he always wore on cold days and sadly lost when he left it on top of his minivan in the Cheam Road car park in Ewell and drove off. Steve did not immediately respond to a request for 'diggers' for the 'King Bill' site in the SyAS Bulletin as he assumed that locally organised digs would 'not be up to much'. However Steve went on to support local societies for the next 50 years. When work ended at this site Steve moved over to help Marion Smith/Hinton/ Canham/ Shipley, curator of Kingston Museum, on what became the Medieval kiln site in Eden Street and was present when the 'face jug' (now the Kingston-upon-Thames Archaeological Society (KuTAS) emblem) was discovered. This was the start of Steve's interest in pottery, which led to him becoming widely acclaimed for his knowledge of pottery. The following year Steve was one of the 8 diggers from the kiln site who formed KuTAS on 22 July 1969. At this time Steve assisted in the recording of Coombe Hill farmhouse on Kingston Hill, which was the first activity of the newly formed Society. Steve organised the first excavation for the Society – a trial trench in the London Road, followed at Easter 1970 by an unsuccessful 'dig' at the British Legion Club in Chessington. Later that year Steve took over the completion of the last phase of the excavations at the King William IV site, a site that produced mainly Roman artefacts but also had later features.

In 1971 Steve directed excavations at Vicarage End, Kingston. It was here that he got to know Joan Wakeford whose knowledge of Kingston's historic documents was a great help in the interpretation of this and other sites in the town. Whilst those excavations took place the President of KuTAS, Dr. Robin Kenwood, started a dig at the rear of 1 Thames Street, a late 17th century building being recorded by KuTAS. When work was completed at Vicarage Road, Steve took over the site from Robin and extended the area of excavation to expose the remains of four buildings that had been built over each other on the same footprint. The following year Steve led the excavation on the approach area to the former Kingston Bridge. This started with a long trial trench dug one weekend by Steve and three KuTAS members. This was followed by a large open excavation revealing the bridge ramparts and foundations of the bridge house. An unexpected find was a saw pit that had probably been dug by the Church Sexton. Steve's interest in pottery of the Medieval/Post-Medieval period developed at this time with his attendance at John Hurst's evening classes on these subjects. He also found the usefulness of clay pipes in providing dates for archaeological features, and went on to add their study to his special interests. In 1973 Steve and Sue were married and bought a property in Thames Ditton.

Steve also directed excavations at the Bishop's Hall site in Kingston and worked on the Eden Walk excavations. Archaeology was now changing with a move towards sites being excavated by 'professional' archaeologists. The excavations in Banstead Church Yard on behalf of NAS were directed by Steve in 1973. This was thought to be the site of King

John's hunting lodge, but mainly recorded worked stone and clay roof tiles. In the mid 70's Steve and Sue purchased a house in Epsom, and here Steve's DIY skills developed as the property required a lot of refurbishment. Steve then used these skills not only at his own home but to help friends working on theirs.

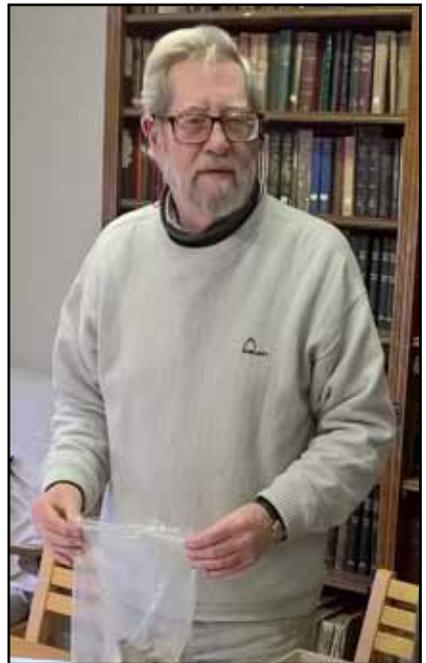
During the early 1980's Steve directed excavations on two sites in Epsom town centre, revealing structures of the 17th century. Steve's knowledge of pottery, glass and other artefacts had become valuable not only on his own sites but on those directed by others and material collected from construction sites. In 1984 Steve identified a Roman building at the rear of 2 West Street, Ewell, and the following year his observations at the cottages in Mill Lane, Ewell led to the preservation of early/mid 16th century structures that would otherwise have been destroyed. In 1986 Steve and Sean Khan, Curator of Bourne Hall Museum, directed the excavation of over 40 Saxon burials at Tadworth.

In 1988 Steve and Sue, together with their children Andrew and Jenny, moved to Ewell and commenced restoration of their 18th century home. These works (which included the return of a pair of 18th century cupboards to the dining room from the attic, where they were relocated in the early 20th century) revealed an early 17th century timber framed building encased in the late 18th century refurbishment, not previously recorded.

Steve has concentrated in recent years in writing up sites, often ones he had not worked on, and contributing articles (often on pottery) to specialist publications, such as *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, *London Archaeologist* and *Hampshire Studies: Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*. Recently Steve assisted with the recording of Downs House, Epsom, where he got interested in a large 19th century cooking range, later providing information about its manufacture.

The publication of the report on excavations at Tolworth Court Farm was possible only because of the huge amount of time Steve spent reviewing the site notes, drawings and artefacts following the death of the site director. Since completing this publication Steve had been working towards reporting on the Bourne Hall and Carpenter's Bakery excavations, along with the finds from a 'privy' pit on the Ashley Centre site in Epsom. Had Covid not prevented social contact, Steve was going to return to Spring House in Ewell in 2020 to investigate the rear garden. Steve spent a lot of time with other KuTAS members preparing the artefacts stored with Kingston Museum to go into off site storage. In recent years he was closely involved with the SyAS Medieval Pottery Study Group, taking on the joint leadership of it with David Hartley, where Steve was much appreciated as an individual, colleague and mentor who was both supportive and challenging to everyone in their studies.

With Nikki Cowlard, Steve undertook watching briefs in Epsom and Ewell, the results of which were fed into the County's Historic Environment Records. He would often 'look in' at sites being excavated to see what had come up and advise



Steve, leading a Medieval Pottery Study Group study day in Farnham in 2018

on post-Roman pottery before disappearing again. Steve was as happy shovelling spoil to expose a feature, as identifying an early clay tobacco pipe. Steve's drawings of pottery will provide a useful reference source for identification of types for future archaeologists. His site drawings and notes will be easily understood by future researchers. Whilst we must be thankful for all that Steve has contributed to archaeology we must remember his other interests, which included collecting beer bottles, stamps and owning a full set of Giles annuals. For relaxation Steve enjoyed a pint of real ale, music by The Dubliners, and working on his vegetable garden at Ballards Garden.

Vivien Ettlinger (1924-2020)

Frank Pemberton

After a long illness it is sad to report the passing of Vivien after 65 years active in the Archaeology of Surrey and widely involved in local history.

In 1959 Vivien, and her husband, moved to Dorking. In 1965 Vivien joined the Surrey Archaeology Society. Over the years she served on the excavations committee, elected to the Council and becoming Vice President and lately Honorary Vice President, and was until recently Local secretary for the Dorking area. In 1969 she obtained a diploma in Archaeology from London University, and joined the Domestic Buildings Research Group in 1971. From 1972 to 1977 Vivien became an assistant director with Hugh Thompson, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, on excavations at Anstiebury, Holmbury and Hascombe hillforts. Vivien lectured in archaeology and local history for the London WEA and Surrey University, between 1973 and 1990, travelling around many places in Surrey to deliver her lectures. She directed many excavations during this time, for instance in the crypt at St Martin's Church, 15/16 Church Street and the Malthouse, Dorking and Stane Street at North Holmwood; all reported in the Bulletins and site reports. The author worked with Vivien on the Palaeolithic site, Rookery Farm, Kingswood and Roman Ewell in 1974.

New members

Hannah Jeffery

I would like to welcome the following new members who have joined the Society. I have included principal interests, where they have been given on the application form. If you have any questions, queries or comments, please do not hesitate to get in contact with me on 01483 532454 or info@surreyarchaeology.org.uk.

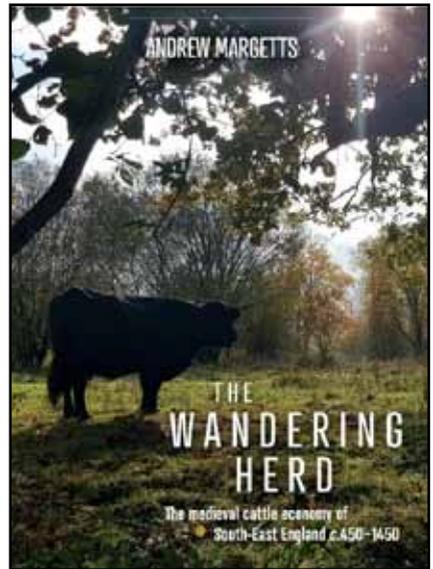
Name	Town	Principal Archaeological and Local History Interests
Jack Collins	Woking	Ancient and Modern History and Archaeology
Clement Davey	Guildford	Pre-History
Adam Foster	Godalming	Roman Era
Annette Lancaster	Guildford	Community Archaeology
Mandy Nicholson	Guildford	Guildford and surrounding area
Andy Rees	Cranleigh	
Linda Richardson	Aldershot	Medieval Studies
Francesca Salino	Haslemere	Excavations and Medieval History
Matt Sparkes	Whyteleafe	Bronze Age, Roman and early Medieval
Philip Trumble	Guildford	Local History; Roman occupation in North West Surrey; World War II Special Operations Executive

The Wandering Herd: the medieval cattle economy of South-East England c.450-1450

Andrew Margetts

The British countryside is on the brink of change. With the withdrawal of EU subsidies, threats of US-style factory farming and the promotion of 'rewilding' initiatives, never before has so much uncertainty and opportunity surrounded our landscape. How we shape our prospective environment can be informed by bygone practice, as well as through engagement with livestock and landscapes long since vanished. This study examines aspects of pastoralism that occurred in part of medieval England. It suggests how we learn from forgotten management regimes to inform, shape and develop our future countryside.

This book focuses on a region of southern England, the pastoral identity of which has long been synonymous with the economy of sheep pasture and the medieval right of swine pannage. These aspects of medieval pastoralism, made famous by iconic images of the South Downs and the evidence presented by Domesday, mask a pastoral heritage in which a significant part was played by cattle. This aspect of medieval pastoralism is traceable in the region's historic landscape, documentary evidence and excavated archaeological remains. Past scholars of the South-East have been so concerned with the importance of medieval sheep, and to a slightly lesser extent pigs, that no systematic examination of the cattle economy has ever been undertaken. This book therefore represents a deep, multi-disciplinary study of the cattle economy over the *longue durée* of the Middle Ages, especially its importance within the evolution of medieval society, settlement and landscape. Nationally, medieval cattle have been one of the most important and neglected aspects of the agriculture of the medieval period. This book shows us how, as part of both a mixed and specialised farming economy, they have helped shape the countryside we know today.



ISBN: 9781911188797, published by Windgather Press 2021, 312p, B/w and colour
Currently available for £27.99 from [Oxbow Books](#)

The medieval and later development of Reigate. Excavations in Bell St and High St, 1979-90

David Williams and Rob Poulton

Archaeological work between 1988 and 1990 examined a range of frontage and backlands locations to the south of High St and west of Bell St, the two streets that formed the core of historic Reigate, and provides an unusually comprehensive picture of the development of a small town. The town emerged on a virgin site, and the similarity of the earliest pottery deposited in all locations argues rapid development. This included kilns and other industrial features and a range of buildings with stone foundations, and clear evidence of planning from the definition of burgage plots by ditches. The foundation of the town by Earl Hamelin

de Warenne, below the Norman castle, can be shown by place-name and documentary evidence to belong to the period 1164-c1170. This firm dating makes the substantial pottery assemblages of regional importance.

The town continued to develop through the 13th and 14th centuries, with expansion along the south side of the High St, and considerable rebuilding in Bell St. The town expanded a little further to the west in the 15th century, with a new marketplace, and from the 16th century the area north of the High St began to be built up. Widespread rebuilding in the 16th and 17th centuries, accompanied by new uses of the backlands, removed or obscured much of the evidence for 15th and 16th century development.

Substantial collections of finds, environmental (notably animal bone and seeds) and artefactual (notably pottery, vessel glass and clay pipe), provide important insights into changing patterns of supply and consumption between the 12th and 17th centuries.



(Top) Foundations of a substantial stone house in Bell St dating to about 1600. It belonged to John Richardson, one of the town's leading 17th century brewers; (Bottom) Late 12th/early 13th century features, including plot boundary ditches, being excavated to the rear of the High St, looking north-east

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 Price £20 + £3.50 p&p, available through www.surreycc.gov.uk/scau

Reconstructed plan showing the area of Reigate in about 1350



Shining a light on the transition from Late Iron Age to Early Roman SE England

Surrey Archaeological Society conference by Zoom, Saturday 8th May 2021

A full day of discussion on how the Late Iron Age way of life in SE England changed under Roman influence from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD



- 9.30 Registration (Participants are urged to log on well before 10.00)
- 10.00 Welcome (David Bird, Roman Studies Group, Surrey Archaeological Society)
- 10.05 Chair, Paul Booth, Research Associate, University of Oxford, Introductory remarks
- 10.15 Thomas Matthews Boehmer, Doctoral Student, University of Cambridge, 'Between method and theory: the challenges of studying identity in Late Iron Age and early Roman Britain'
- 10.50 Discussion and refreshments
- 11.15 Tom Brindle, Cotswold Archaeology, 'First (Century) Impressions: appearance, coin-use and communication in south-east Britain beyond the Roman Conquest'
- 11.50 Discussion
- 12.00 Anna Doherty, Archaeology South-East, UCL, 'Location, location, location: exploring variability in LIA-Roman pottery assemblages through case studies from SE England'
- 12.35 Discussion and lunch (a programme of slides will run as a display across the break)
- 13.30 Tony King, Professor of Roman Archaeology, University of Winchester, 'Celtic to Romano-Celtic? The archaeology of religious sites in SE Britain, 1st century BC to 2nd century AD'
- 14.05 Discussion
- 14.15 Martyn Allen, Oxford Archaeology, '"Two shakes of a lamb's tail": a zooarchaeological perspective of the Iron Age/Romano-British transition in south-east England'
- 14.50 Discussion and refreshments
- 15.15 David Rudling, Honorary Research Fellow, University of Roehampton, '"Becoming Roman?' The Late Iron Age to Early Roman transition in Sussex'
- 15.50 Discussion
- 16.00 Mike Fulford, Professor of Archaeology, University of Reading, 'Silchester: from Iron Age oppidum to Roman City'
- 16.35 Discussion, summing up and final discussion, followed by thanks and close at 17.00

To register (tickets £5), see <https://www.surreyarchaeology.org.uk/content/shining-a-light-on-the-transition-from-late-iron-age-to-early-roman-se-england-zoom>

Surrey Industrial History Group Lectures Spring and Autumn 2021

SIHG does not plan to hold any physical meetings this year. However, they are arranging to present online ZOOM talks which will be free to attend and open to all, and have contacted speakers and are able to construct an exciting programme.

Information will be posted on their website, www.sihg.org.uk, as it becomes available. Details will be sent to members of the mailing list. At present the list only contains SIHG members who have registered their email address. If you wish to be sent an individual copy of these details, please send an email to Bob Bryson, SIHG Chairman and Programme Co-ordinator, at meetings@sihg.org.uk, stating your SyAS membership status, and you will be added to the list.

Please note that two extra ZOOM lectures have been arranged for April, namely:

Thursday 1st April 10:00-12:00 - 'The History of Heathrow' by Nick Pollard

Thursday 15th April 10:00-12:00 - 'The Historic Value of Money' by Bob Bryson

DATES FOR *BULLETIN* CONTRIBUTIONS

There will be four further issues of the *Bulletin* in 2021. To assist contributors, relevant dates are as follows:

	Copy date:	Approx. delivery:
486	26th April	30th May
487	28th June	1st August
488	13th September	17th October
489	8th November	12th December

Articles and notes on all aspects of fieldwork and research on the history and archaeology of Surrey are very welcome. Contributors are encouraged to discuss their ideas with the editor beforehand, including on the proper format of submitted material (please do supply digital copy when possible) and possible deadline extensions.

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The Trustees of Surrey Archaeological Society desire it to be known that they are not responsible for the statements or opinions expressed in the *Bulletin*.

Next issue: Copy required by 26th April for the June issue

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