

EXCAVATIONS AT LOW FARM, FULMER, BUCKS: II, THE MEDIEVAL MANOR

MICHAEL FARLEY

This second report on the 1972 excavations at Low Farm, Fulmer, describes the medieval hall which was exposed and discusses the early history of the manor. Edward II built a house at Fulmer in 1323/4 but it is suggested that the excavated building was not Edward's but an earlier hall occupied by the de Pinkney family and later by Hugh le Despenser. J.T. Smith contributes a note on the structure and Gillian Jones on the animal bone.

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgement was made in Part I of the help received from a number of people. Thanks are in addition due to Trevor Pearson, Ralph Jackson and Mélanie Steiner who provided drawings for the present report, to Gill Jones for reporting on the animal bone, and to Maureen Mellor for commenting on some of the pottery. John Smith kindly gave much assistance in reviewing the meagre data available on the hall's structure and form. Several historians assisted in the search for documentation relevant to the site, in particular the late Rev. G.C. Edmonds, who also frequently helped on site, also G.R. and E.M. Elvey, John Chenevix Trench and Michael Reed, to all of whom the writer is much indebted. Martin Andrew kindly examined Fulmer Place at my request. Finally thanks to Janet Fuller for patiently converting numerous drafts into clear type.

The excavation was carried out for Buckinghamshire County Museum in conjunction with the Department of the Environment. The finds from the 1972 excavations are deposited at Bucks County Museum, Acc. No. 62.78, and from the 1963 work 54.63, the documentation at CAS 0143.

Introduction

The Mesolithic material from the 1972 excavations at Low Farm, Fulmer, has been

published in *Recs. Bucks* 20 (1978), 601-616. The second part of the report covers the medieval occupation. The only hint of utilisation of the site in the intervening millennia was the occurrence of a few pieces of Romano-British tile lacking any kind of structural context. The 1972 excavation was instigated as it was believed that gravel extraction threatened the site of the medieval chapel preceding the existing parish church of Fulmer, established in its present position in 1610. Work previously carried out on the site is noted further on.

Low Farm (SU 993862) lies on an alluvial gravel island on the floor of the Alderbourne valley and adjacent to the 'mere' which gave the settlement its name. Fig. 1 based on the Tithe map shows the site's setting; the area excavated is shown in Part I of the report. Although the 1972 excavation did not reveal the medieval chapel, it brought to light a substantial medieval hall. Edward II is known to have built a house at Fulmer during 1323/4 and it would be satisfactory to provide an unequivocal answer as to whether the excavated hall was the one which he ordered to be constructed. The structure itself provided few chronological clues, dating depending largely on the ceramic evidence recovered, but on balance it seems probable that the excavated hall was not the Edwardian one but its predecessor. As was noted in the earlier report, it was unfortunate that the excavation proved to have insufficient

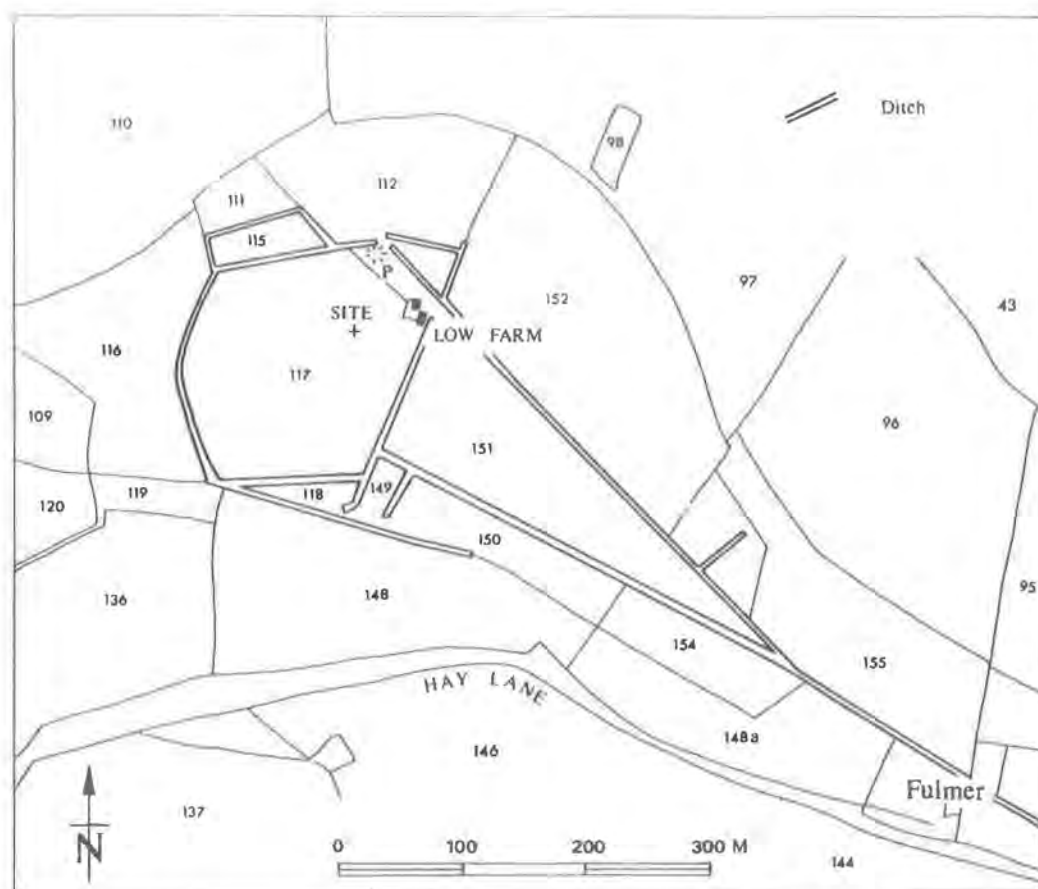


Fig. 1. Site of excavation, based on 1843 Tithe map, with additions. Former gravel pit at P.

resources and time to do justice to a site of great potential.

EXCAVATION AND SEQUENCE

Topsoil was machine stripped over an area of 1,100 square metres to reveal an ill-sorted flint gravel in black soil intermixed with quantities of peg-hole roof tile, which covered the whole site. The area around the modern farm had in the past been subject to intensive agricultural activity, being used at various times for pigs, horses, chicken runs, and had also probably been ploughed with the resultant mixing of all superficial deposits. The area exposed could not be completely examined in the time available and some days spent attempting to resolve areas of tile scatter could have been better spent. Nevertheless, a large hall was

eventually located and three phases of medieval activity on the site determined.

Phase 1. Pre-Hall Features

A few features pre-dating the construction of the excavated hall are described below. The pottery evidence (Fig. 7) suggests that they are largely later twelfth to earlier thirteenth century in date:

233 gravel underlying first hearth of hall;
241 brown soil pre-dating wall 200; 281 subsoil cut by wall 201; 292 gravelly soil beneath floor level of hall; 280 subsoil pre-dating wall 222; 304 shallow gully parallel to 307 and probably pre-dating cobbling 300; 305 part of 304; 306 black gravelly soil pre-dating cobbling 301; 307 gully pre-dating cobbling 300.

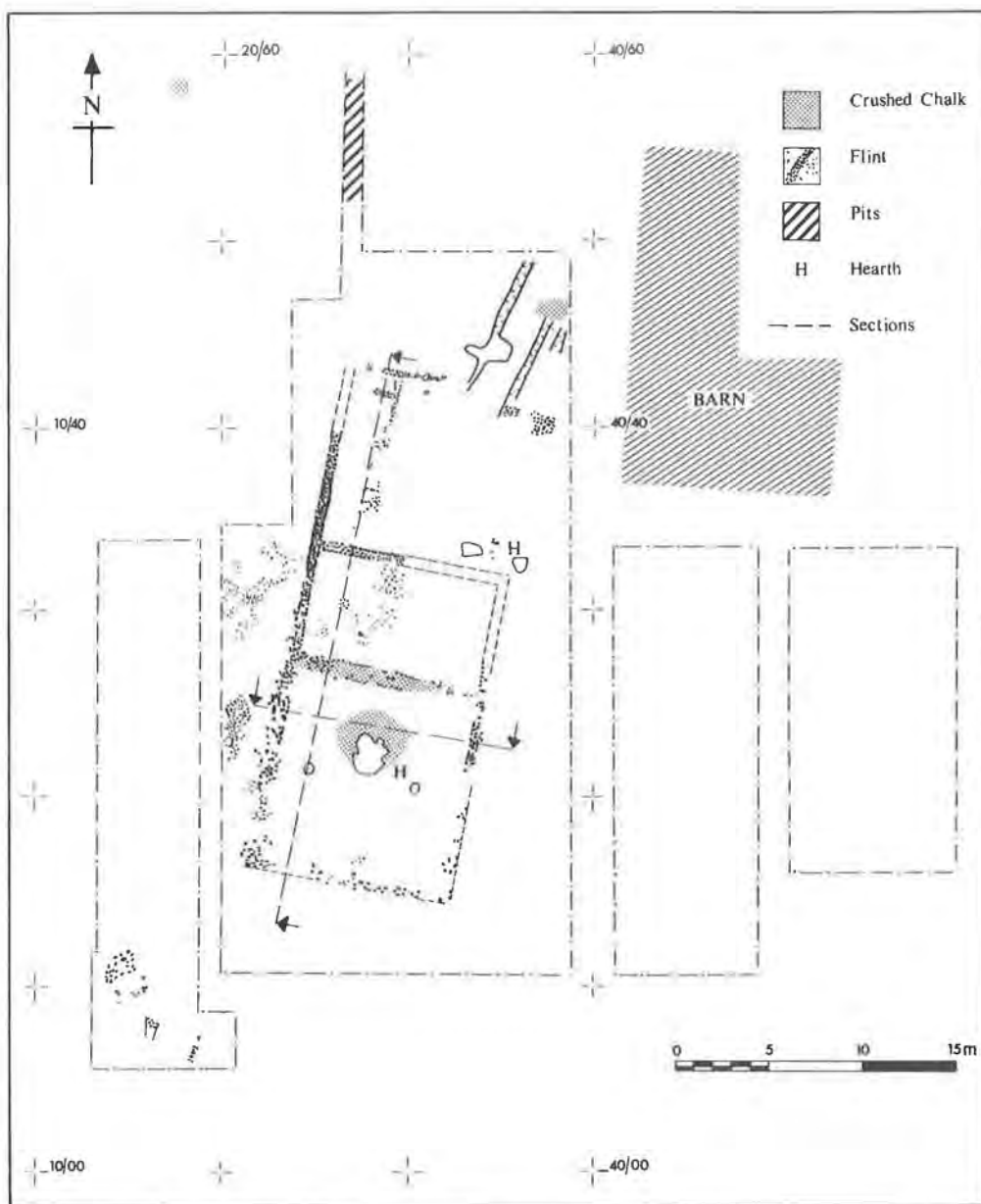


Fig. 2. Overall plan of hall with sections indicated.

When the time limit set for the excavation expired, removal of topsoil and subsoil over the whole area immediately took place prior to gravel extraction. During a subsequent visit Mr. C. Stanley photographed but was not otherwise able to record a line of substantial pits which lay beneath the excavated hall, although apparently on a slightly different alignment. It is possible that these represented an earlier structure and may provide a context for the few pre-hall features recorded here which appear to be largely of the later twelfth century.

Phase 2. Construction of Hall

The pottery evidence (Fig. 8) suggests that the hall was probably constructed in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Infilling of pre-hall features

Beneath the hall to the north lay a natural hollow, of a kind seen elsewhere on the site when the whole area was later stripped prior to gravel extraction. Its longitudinal section is shown on Fig. 5. This had been backfilled to enable the hall to be constructed partially over it. The basal layer of the hollow was of clay (284), suggesting that it may have been slightly waterlogged. Although finds from this clay theoretically pre-date the infilling of the hollow there is a fair chance that some may have sunk into this layer during the levelling up process - a complete ridge tile for example was found in the basal clay; or alternatively that the moistness of the hollow was deliberately utilised during construction (see below). The pottery from this deposit is therefore included with that from the construction phase. The subsequent layers infilling the hollow, from bottom to top, were as follows:

283 a fairly clean clay; 291 clay matrix with much tile. It is possible that this and 283 are a puddling area for clay, utilising the already moist hollow. Vast quantities of clay would have been needed for the hall. Clay is available locally from alluvial deposits of the Alderbourne and is also present at a depth of c. 2-3 m. beneath the gravel capping on which the site rests; 286 sandy clay with a trampled surface, includes ridge-tile in its make-up, possibly a mortar preparation

area, perhaps associated with roofing of the hall; 290 tile and some large flint and a small piece of burnt timber; 282 yellow mortary clay with tile. This with 290 may represent the end of major construction activity on the site.

The northern part of the principal north-south section (Fig. 5) is complicated by the fact that it may include a longitudinal section through the footings trench of the internal north-south wall 238. The internal wall 293 would appear to have been constructed free-standing after the outer shell of the building had been put up, the open trench backfilled (236 and 230), and the final levelling off represented by 220/235/289 had taken place. Since the wall 293 is only half the thickness of the principal western wall, it seems unlikely to have been an outer wall. Footing 239 represents a later addition. Contained within the final levelling debris were a harness buckle (Fig. 11, 10) and a bronze belt buckle (Fig. 11, 1).

It will be noted from the section that the footings trench of 222 apparently cuts the infilling levels of the hollow. As it is scarcely likely that all the activity which is represented by the infill layers of the hollow would take place before wall 222 had been constructed, the writer suggests that what appears to be a footings trench cut for 222 is in fact the edge of a bank of heaped material deliberately held back from the wall whilst it was being constructed. The size and weight of the large sarsen incorporated in the wall at this point ($1.90 \times 0.48 \times 0.38$ m.) not only required room for manoeuvre but also some subsequent levelling up with tiles to compensate for sinkage occasioned by its weight. The insertion of the sarsen at this point shows clearly that the builders were aware of the existence of the hollow and attempted relatively unsuccessfully to forestall future subsidence.

Hall and Outbuildings

The footings of the main walls of the hall were 0.60 m. thick and consisted of undressed flint nodules generally little more than two flints deep. Occasionally traces of mortar or

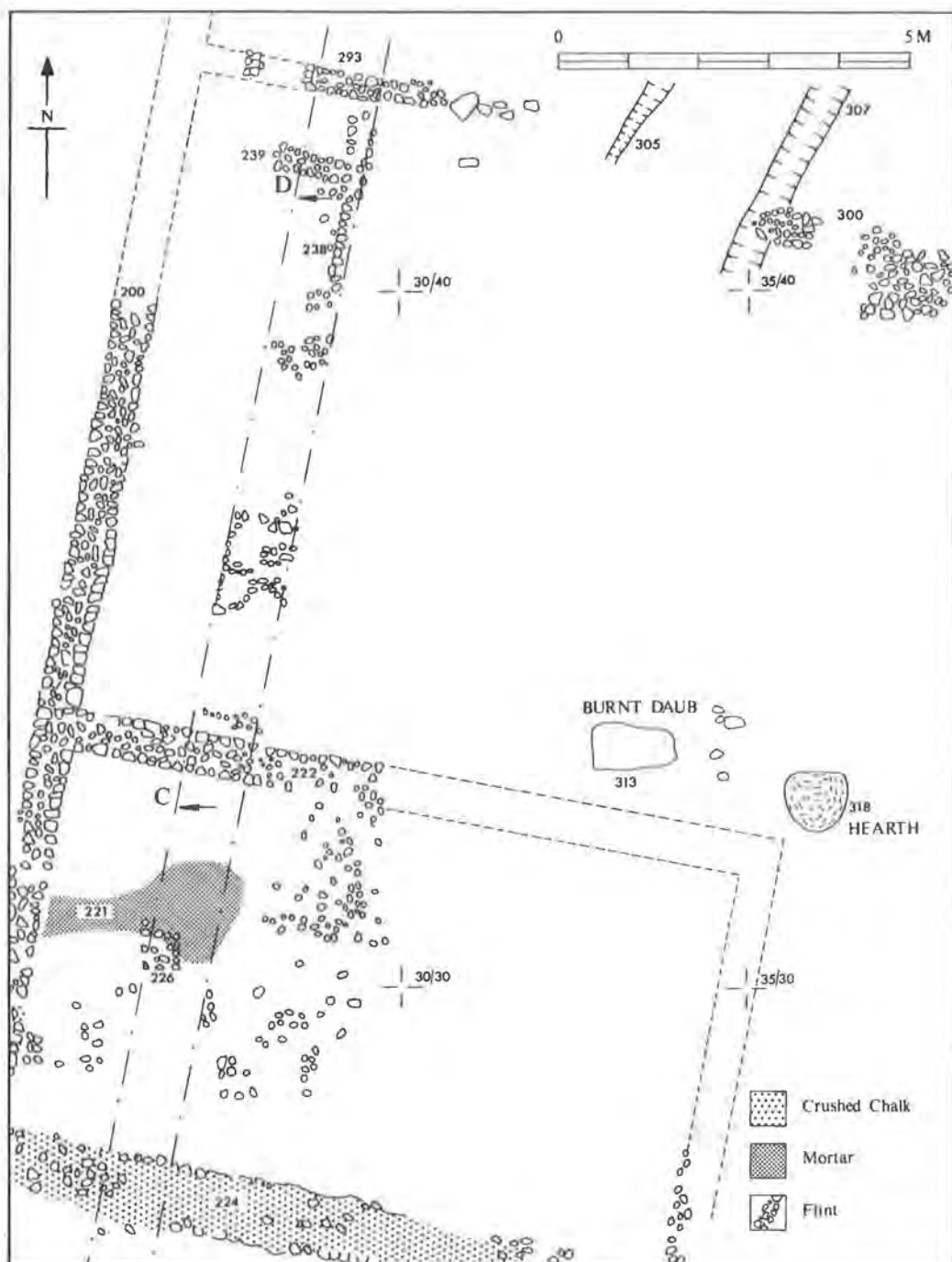


Fig. 3. Plan of north end of hall and service area, with sections indicated.

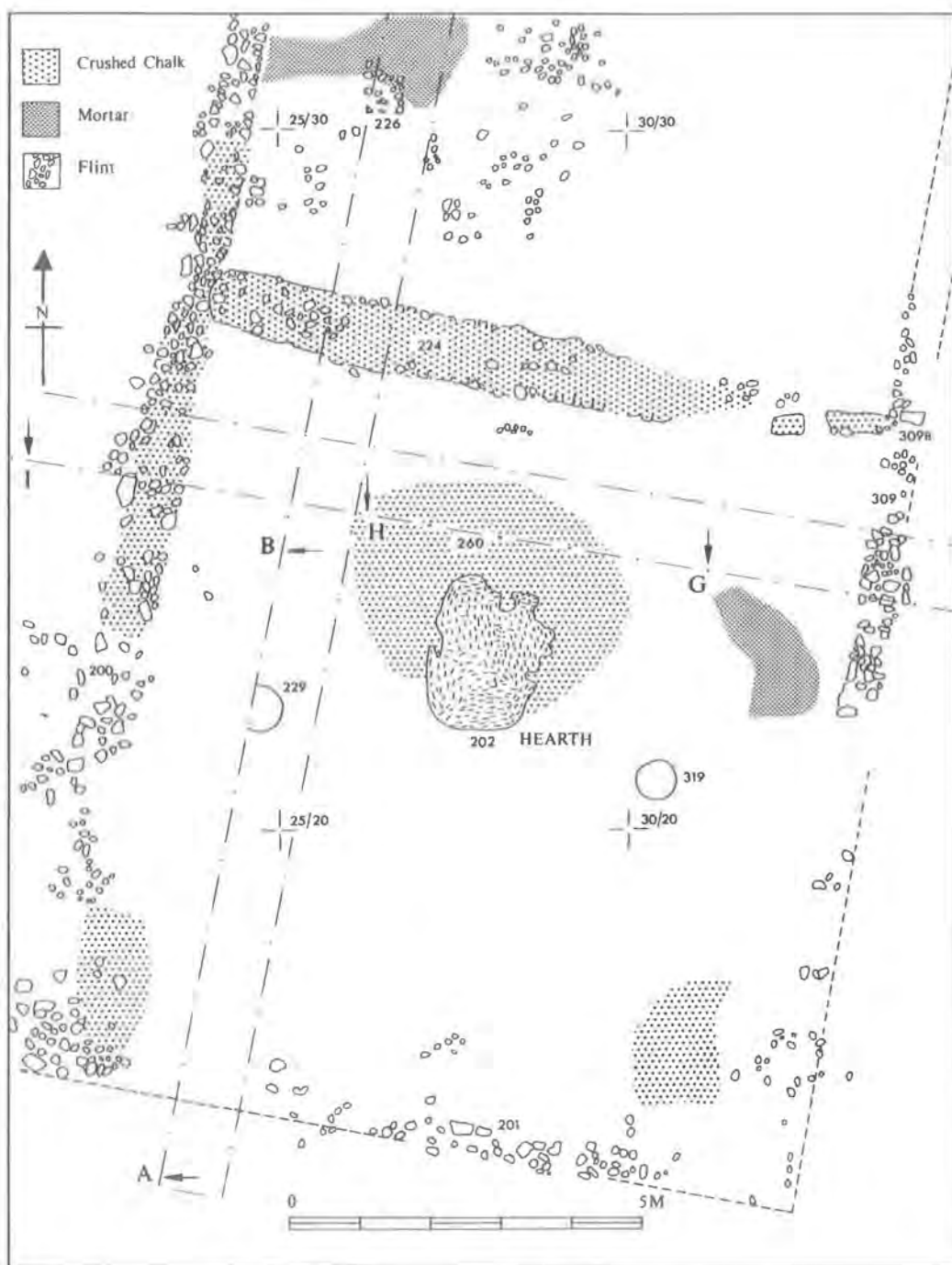


Fig. 4. Plan of south end of hall, with sections indicated.

chalk were observed amongst the flints but insufficient to suggest they were ever mortared as a coherent whole. The footings survived best on the west side of the building, the south and east walls (201 and 309) being only traceable at intervals. Scanty as these traces were, the positioning of the hearth clearly confirms their location.

The width of the hall's footings would be sufficient to support a flint wall above, but the absence of any quantity of flint nodule debris or of any evidence for quoins suggests other possibilities and in particular the likelihood of a mass wall. The only area where this does not seem satisfactory is where a group of tiles is laid on the large sarsen incorporated in wall 222 as if intended to provide a level base. At this point a sill beam may be suspected and part of a panel of daub infill containing animal hair recovered nearby (Fig. 3, 313) lends some support to this interpretation. At one point in the eastern wall a single block of previously utilised Lias rock (309B) was incorporated in the footings, perhaps from a door or window frame (Fig. 12, 1). The considerable quantities of peg-hole roof tile from the site as a whole, along with the tile recovered from construction levels, show that this was the roofing material.

In the centre of the hall lay an open hearth consisting initially of a large circular chalk surround with central hearth of tiles laid flat, which was later replaced by one of pitched roof-tiles laid on edge in envelope pattern. The floor of the hall was apparently of gravel, although because of the nature of the subsoil it was often hard to be certain where natural gravel ceased and laid gravel commenced.

The northern bay or bays which had been constructed over the infilled hollow probably incorporated the service areas. This area was not fully examined and it is not certain that the northern exterior wall was recovered, since wall 293, which could have served this function, is of far narrower gauge than the western wall of the hall. A small doorway, 0.60 m. wide, with tile jambs, was let into this wall. Any explanations of the plan of this end of the building has to take account of (a) two interior walls

238 and 239, (b) a small pitched-tile hearth on the north-east corner of the main hall - perhaps built against that wall - and (c) an area of laid flint cobbling (300) which was exposed in the 1963 excavations (see on). The 'best fit' for this service end of the hall would probably be two bays with some kind of an extension on the east incorporating the hearth 318 as a wall fireplace.

Only one major modification to the hall's plan can be detected, namely the construction of wall 224 which divided the hall into two parts. This wall, which was built of mortared chalk blocks, probably made the central hearth redundant. The substantial nature of this wall suggests that it was load-bearing, and probably signified the insertion of an upper floor at the northern end of the hall and a reduction in the hall's area. A substantial rectangular flint and chalk block construction of similar substance to the chalk wall (section Fig. 5, 226), and probably contemporary with it, is interpreted as a pier base. The only mortar floor recorded on the whole site lay within the newly partitioned area and this was laid around the pier base; this is probably of the same phase as this reordering.

Finally, two postholes, 229 and 319 (Fig. 4) which were recorded within the building, should be noted. The former, which included a single sherd of medieval pottery, appears on the main section (Fig. 5) and had a post pipe of 0.24 m. diameter, dipping slightly to the north. At its base a small piece of timber was preserved. For the second, a post pit diameter of 0.59 m. and depth of 0.40 m. only is available.

These post pits suggest that the hall was aisled, a second pair of postholes perhaps being destroyed by the transverse chalk wall. If this is correct the hall would be of three bays with overall dimensions of 18 x 11 m. (59 x 36 ft.) and bay interval of 6 m. (19 ft. 8 ins.), two extra bays perhaps accomodating the service end. The very incomplete data is assessed by J.T. Smith below.

Lying to the north of the service end of the

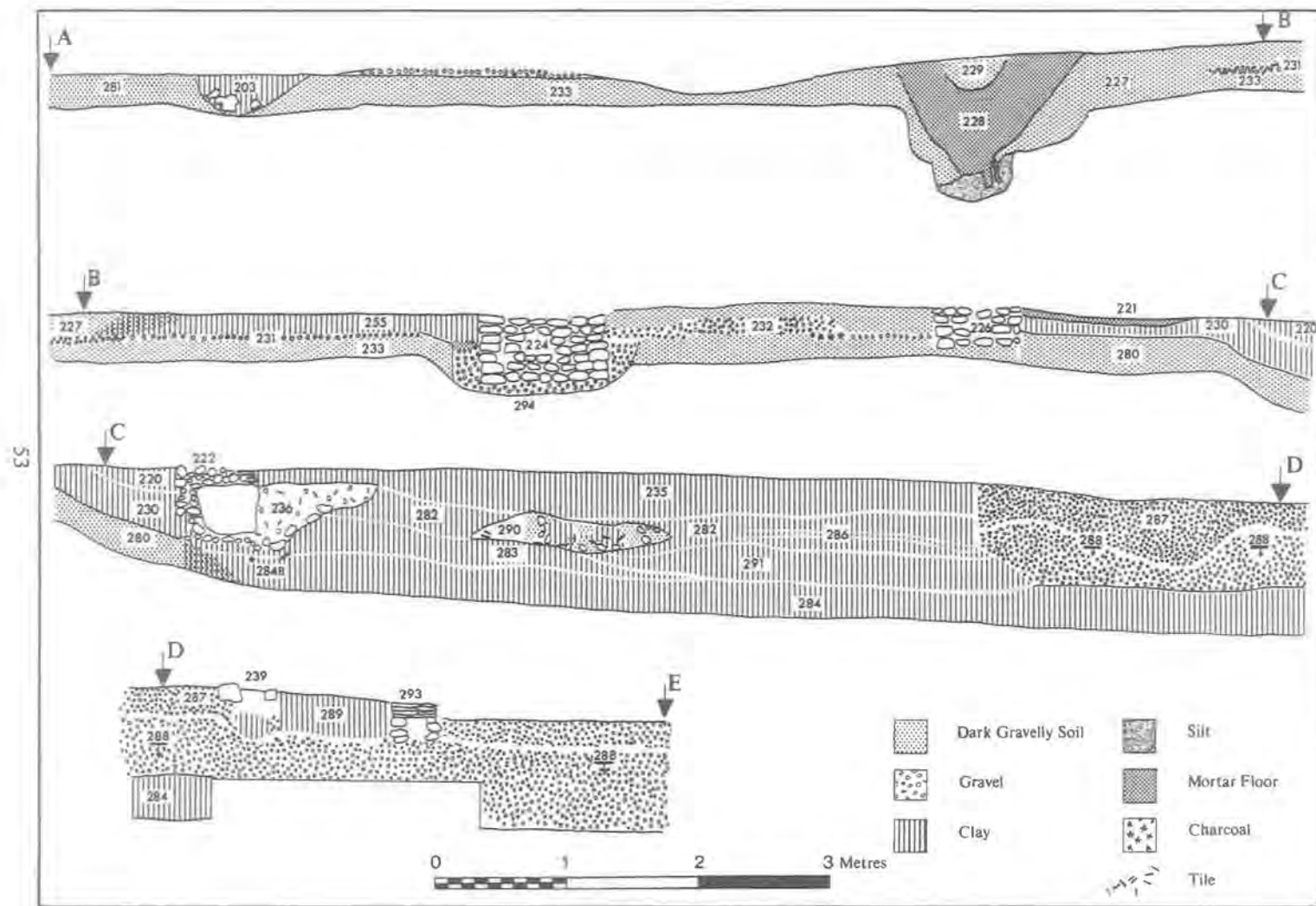


Fig. 5. Principal north-south section.

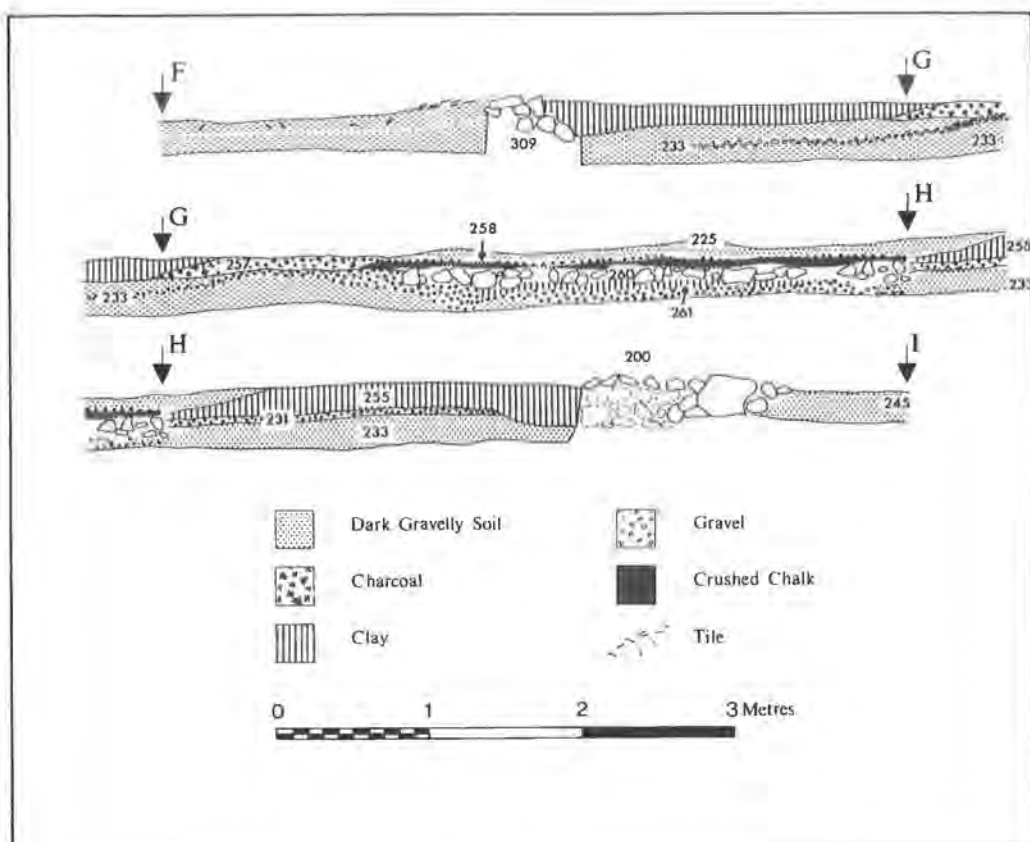


Fig. 6. Principal east-west section.

hall a JCB trench exposed an extensive area of pits containing much pottery and animal bone (250), also twelve pieces of thick reduced tile unlike that used for the roofing, but similar to that used in the first phase hearth in the centre of the hall, and probably for use in open hearths or ovens. West of this, a floor of puddled chalk associated with burning and charcoal, was partially exposed during scraping, prior to gravel extraction (Fig. 2). It seems likely that the whole indicates the location of a kitchen detached from the service wing. Pottery from the pit has been included with the material from phase 3, the occupation of the hall.

Part of an outbuilding was also revealed to the south-west of the hall (Fig. 2). A mass of large pieces of rooftile (100) drew attention to its presence after initial stripping, adjacent to which a short length of flint wall (101) was exposed. From amongst the tile came a barrel

padlock key (Fig. 11, 8) and seven fiddle-key horseshoe nails. Beneath the tile lay a further horseshoe nail and a fragment of horseshoe with fiddle-key nail in position. Fourteen of the twenty-six fiddle-key nails from the site came from the area south or south-west of the hall, suggesting that the outbuilding might have been part of a stable block.

Phase 3. Occupation of the Hall (Pottery Fig. 9)

Despite the considerable amount of pottery from the site, it is difficult to isolate deposits which are certainly contemporary with the hall's use. The most likely group is probably that already referred to, the pits lying within the presumed kitchen area north-west of the hall (250, pottery Fig. 9).

Material from the construction trench of the chalk wall 224 (namely 255/259/294) may incorporate some material contemporary with



Plate III Low Farm, Fulmer; looking across hall to south-east, junction of exterior wall 200 and wall 222 in foreground.

the occupation of the hall and is included in the illustration of phase 3 pottery, as is also pottery from amongst the tile collapse of the presumed stable area.

Deposits resting on or lying in flooring material are problematic in so far as it is difficult to imagine the occupants shuffling their way through broken sherds; nevertheless it is hard to find another explanation for the quantity of pottery resting on and among the cobbled floor 301 in the service area of the hall and this is also included with the contemporary deposits. Deposits from within the body of the hall have not however been included since the intermittent gravel floors on natural gravel make the status of the material too uncertain. In discussion of the pottery evidence further on, a terminal date in the first half of the fourteenth century is suggested for the use of the hall.

An Assessment of the Main Building

by J.T. Smith, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).

The remains of the medieval hall at Fulmer are too fragmentary to permit a reconstruction of the whole building. All that can be done is to offer some observations on some of its features.

The two internal postholes (229, 319) are about 5.7 m. apart, centre to centre, which is an appropriate width for the main roof span of an aisled hall. If they are arcade posts the aisles are unusually narrow, that on the W side being some 1.75 m. from the post centre to the approximate wall face, and that on the E about 2.1 m. A nave:aisle proportion of about 2:1 is not uncommon in large halls and it is impossible to suggest why this should be so different.

The different widths of the aisles shows that the passing-brace, a common mode of providing lateral strength in early aisled buildings (Smith 1974), cannot have been used. From the post centres to the approximate centre-line of the intruded N wall (224) and to where, at a guess, the centre-line of the S wall (201) may have been, is also some 5.7 m., suggesting two

square bays in this part of the hall. Given that the N wall is a later insertion, the hall had three bays as built, and if they were of equal length the next wall to N (222) would terminate the hall at the appropriate point.

There are two difficulties with these suggestions in addition to the narrowness of the aisles. Firstly, in the circumstances of the excavation it was not possible to look for postholes underlying the inserted wall; and, secondly, the construction of the supposed original N wall shows no structural concession to the existence of an arcade post or any kind of alternative support at that point. Nevertheless, an aisled hall of three bays is the most plausible reconstruction that can be made on the slender evidence. It is also the case that the S wall shows no special provision for such supports but its remains are so fragmentary that little significance attaches to this. Other features are even more difficult to interpret. The most puzzling is the extension of the W wall to N for about 10 m., i.e. far larger than a hall bay and bearing no obvious proportional relation to it, but corresponding fairly closely to the overall internal width of the hall. Now since no further bay existed at the S end of the hall it follows that the service functions were at the N end, for although instances are known where the hall appears to have stood alone, wherever a second room adjoins a hall and is structurally one with it, it appears to have been a service room rather than a parlour. Some slight confirmation of this appears in the relation of the hearth to the immediately adjacent truss, which is one commonly found in standing open halls; the hearth does not stand directly under the truss but a little towards the lower or service end. If this were so the building would fall into Faulkner's category of *end hall* (*Arch. J.* 115 (1958), 150-183; at 164-170), with the bench or seat of honour against the S wall.

But the service end is unusually long, too much so to have accommodated only the conventional buttery and pantry. In the light of late-medieval halls the possibility has to be considered that this end of the building was a wing; yet a wing cannot have been as wide as the relevant part of the W wall north of 222

would suggest, and for the hearth (318) to be accommodated within it argues a plan of complicated and unfamiliar shape. A simple explanation would be that a kitchen adjoined the house, although this is unlikely at so early a date, despite a recent claim for one at Ware (Gibson *et al.* 1980/2). If, as is possible, the building was of a single storey throughout, hearths might be made and used as required. The manor house of the More, Rickmansworth, was like this (Biddle *et al.* 1959) and it may well be that the preceding discussion relies too much on conventional views which are based mainly on 14th and 15th century houses.

John Chenevix Trench adds the following note:

Three standing aisled halls are known in the historic area of South Bucks. One, Denham Court, has only just come to light; it has not been published, but details have kindly been supplied by Mr. Robert Weston of the G.L.C. Historic Buildings Division. The other two are the Savoy, at Denham, and Upton Court near Slough, and now in Berkshire. None had any mass-walling, being timber-framed throughout.

At Denham Court only the arcade plates, the upper parts of three arcade posts and one aisle-tie survive, but this is enough to delineate a two-bay hall, 9.61m (32 ft. 4 ins.) long, with a main span of 4.67m (15½ ft.) and aisles 0.96m (3 ft. 2 ins.) wide. The ratio of main span to aisles is 4.86:1. The structure extended beyond both ends of the identifiable bays. It was built perhaps *c.* 1360.

The Savoy, "built doubtless as early as the fourteenth century" (R.C.H.M. 1912, 116), has a hall 10.8m (36 ft.) long, and 4.65m between arcade posts; the aisles were 1.35m (4½ ft.) wide, giving a ratio of 3.44:1. Two hall bays have been identified; there may have been a third to the north.

At Upton Court (Chenevix Trench 1983) the hall is 11.92m (39¼ ft.) long and 4.8m (16 ft.) between arcade posts, with aisles of 1.72m (5¼ ft.), giving a ratio of 2.79:1. It had two bays and a screens passage, beyond which was an in-line service bay at the south end. It has

been dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.

Denham Court was a manor house of the Abbots of Westminster, and was used by them at intervals. The Savoy was the manor house of a sub-manor of Denham, Denham Durdent; the Durdents, a minor knightly family, were resident there, and the house was certainly built for them. Upton was a manor of Merton Priory, and the Court would have been what its name implies — a venue for the manorial courts. It may also have housed one of the monks: it was apparently Merton's practice to have one of the community living at Upton.

In this context the proportions of the main span to the aisles at Fulmer (3.82:1 and 2.71:1) appear somewhat less anomalous.

The Pottery

Introduction

Some 3,590 sherds of medieval pottery were recovered from the site, of which 43 were glazed, that is 1.19%, all from jugs. The majority of the unglazed wares were from cooking pots although a significant number were from bowls. It has been suggested that large bowls may be equated with those utilised for cooling milk in detached dairies (Le Patourel 1980). Apart from these three forms, virtually no other types were represented and this may be of some significance chronologically. The majority of sherds were in grey reduced fabrics, there being little oxidised material present. A great deal of pottery came from topsoil or indeterminate deposits and a selection is shown in Fig. 10. The remainder is illustrated under the three phases outlined: pre-hall (Fig. 7), construction (Fig. 8) and use (Fig. 9).

The fabric of all the illustrated pieces was examined under a $\times 20$ binocular microscope and the majority were found to consist of a single sandy fabric designated Fabric 1 or of the closely related Fabric 2. Fabric 3 was far less common. Other fabrics are present in such limited quantity that they are described individually in the catalogue.

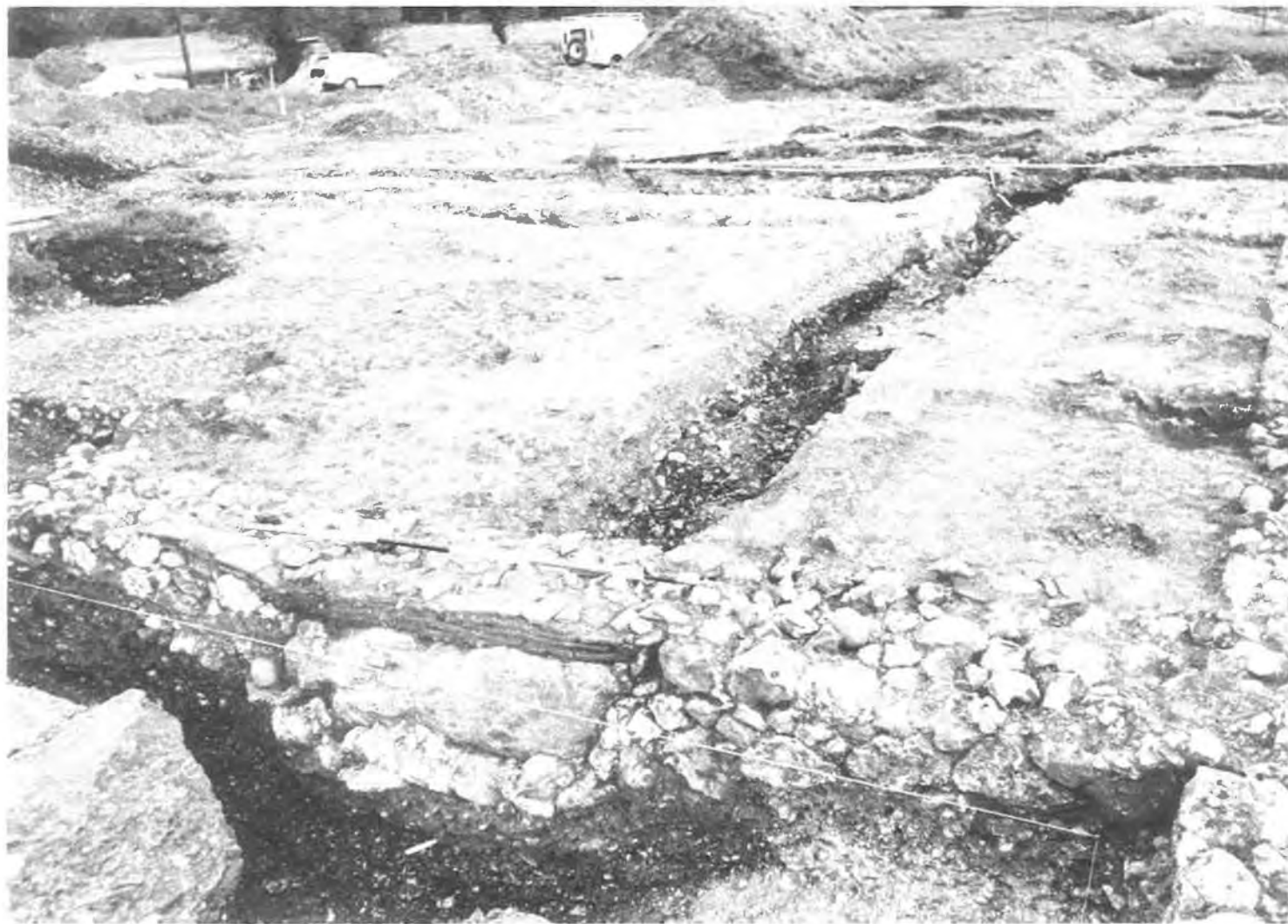


Plate IV

Low Farm, Fulmer; looking south, wall 222 with sarsen block and tile levelling course set in infilled hollow.

Fabric 1: sub-rounded 'quartz' 0.25-0.5 mm., clear, milky or occasionally pink. Fairly well sorted, spacing c. 0.6 mm. In addition occasional angular flints up to 1 mm. irregularly and sparsely distributed roughly every 10 mm. It is possible that the quartz is also heavily weathered flint. The whole is set in a fine-grained matrix which apparently consists largely of quartz grains. Uniformly hard, harsh to the feel with no loose sand.

Fabric 2: as 1 above but without flint. The irregular spacing of flint in Fabric 1 means that its absence in 2 could be fortuitous.

Fabric 3: numerous irregular cavities of varying size spaced c. 2-4 mm. apart, probably originally containing calcareous matter. Rounded quartz grain c. 0.25 mm. in diameter in varying quantities giving a textural feel varying from smooth to quite sandy.

The most distinctive decorative technique present apart from thumbing on rims was scoring on the walls of cooking pots and occasionally also on bowls. Some 10.9% of the medieval sherds from the site showed this characteristic. A considerable number came from topsoil but the technique occurred on deposits from all three phases and so has little internal chronological significance. Most scored pots were in Fabric 1 containing some flint, but a few were in Fabric 2. Scored vessels occur on many medieval Chiltern sites and have been lightly christened 'M40 ware' by Hinton (1973 with distribution map). Hinton considered that the scoring was carried out with a comb but the irregularity of the lines on some of the Fulmer pots suggests a bunch of twigs was used to produce a similar effect. Although much of this ware is probably wheel-thrown, a proportion is not (e.g. Fig. 7, 5) and in this respect it is interesting that scoring also occurs on local Late Saxon wares (Fig. 10, 1 and 2).

The assemblage as a whole bears a close family resemblance to a group from Tetsworth in Oxfordshire (Robinson 1973) dated by the excavator to the twelfth-thirteenth century, in particular in the occurrence of combed ware

and of rim thumbing, although there are differences in fabric. The assemblage differs markedly from that from two other Buckinghamshire sites of the same period or a little later, namely the Black Prince's palace (Pavry 1958) and Bradenham (Cookson 1979) where the dominant fabrics were oxidised.

Chronology of the Ceramic

The chronology of the ceramic is of considerable significance in determining the occupant of the hall. The pre-flint-founded hall ceramic has been assembled on Fig. 7 and there is nothing here which need be much earlier than the mid-twelfth century nor later than the early thirteenth, and it could be that the lines of postholes noted by Mr. Stanley at the commencement of gravel extraction belong to this phase. However, there are a very few sherds in residual contexts, e.g. Fig. 9, 11 and Fig. 10, 1-3, which hint at Late Saxon occupation in the vicinity.

The phase 2 pottery (Fig. 8), contemporary with construction of the hall, includes sherds from glazed jugs, one at least with a thumbled base, also a characteristic Brill rim form (no. 8) which is unlikely to be earlier than the mid-thirteenth century. Phase 3 (Fig. 9) appears little different to phase 2 but has a slashed jug handle similar in fabric and style to the Brill-Boarstall industry, probably fourteenth century, and a small cooking pot (no. 14) normally ascribed to the late thirteenth-early fourteenth century in the Oxford region (information kindly supplied by Maureen Mellor). The unstratified material (Fig. 10) contains nothing which need be later than anything in phase 3.

Given a broad thirteenth to (perhaps) early fourteenth century bracket for the construction and occupation material, one can only note the absence of certain pottery types which might have been expected to occur had the site been of a prestigious building newly constructed in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Glazed jugs, for example, would be expected in some quantity, also bottles, a wider range of culinary and table vessels, and very probably Surrey-type white ware since Fulmer lies so close to the Thames, which are only represent-

ed by one piece from topsoil (Fig. 10, 13). There is a notable absence of decorated floor tiles amongst the considerable quantity of tile excavated, which in view of the site's proximity to the well-known Penn tile industry would be surprising should they have been available. Decorated tiles from the Penn industry were present in some quantity at another Chilterns royal manor, the Black Prince's Manor at Risborough, in existence as a stud farm during the reign of Edward II but apparently of particular importance to the Black Prince during the period 1346-1365 (Pavry and Knocker 1958).

At Penn there were tilers who were 'already prosperous' by 1332, including one Symon the Pavver (Eames 1980, 221). Eight years earlier, in 1324, Edward II had ordered the completion of his new house at Fulmer and whilst there is no proof that the products of Symon the Pavver would have certainly been available to Edward's builders, it would seem a reasonable guess. Alternatively, it would be surprising, had the building still been standing later in the fourteenth century, if one at least of its subsequent owners had not provided it with Penn floor tiles. Certainly, considerable quantities of roof tile were available to the hall's builders as a quantity was incorporated in the infilling of the hollow, including an almost complete ridge tile (Fig. 13, 5). The absence of *decorated* tile lends support to the suggestion that the hall ceased to be used some time before the decorated tile industry of Penn came into existence. Other tiles may indeed have been supplied from Penn, as is discussed further on.

The absence of these items, whilst by no means conclusive, does suggest that the site was not occupied by the King's House constructed in 1324 and on balance the hall seems more likely to have been that of his predecessors, constructed during the thirteenth century, adapted and then demolished perhaps a generation or so later. The hints of at least one other building on the same site are not discordant with the construction of a completely new 'King's House' elsewhere, a point which will be returned to further on.

Catalogue

In the catalogue below all the wares are wheel-thrown unless stated. Only detail not obvious in the drawing is referred to.

Fig. 7:

1. Reddy grey, fab. 1. (307A).
2. Grey, fab. 2. (307B).
3. Reddy grey, fab. 1, flint very sparse. (307B).
4. Grey, fab. 1, stabbed strap-handle, unglazed. Stab marks from inside neck through into handle, handle possibly pegged into body at lower end. Not thrown. (From 1963 excavation, 64.63).
5. Orangey, as fab. 1 but also cavities and chalk, not thrown. (307B).
6. Grey, fab. 1, also odd flint pebble. (306).
7. Grey, fab. 1. (233).
8. Brown-black, fab. 3. (292).
9. Grey, fab. 2. (241).
10. Grey, fab. 2. (233).
11. Grey, as fab. 1, but plentiful angular flint. (281).
12. Grey, fab. 1. (241).
13. Grey, fab. 1. (305).
14. Grey-brown, fab. 1, applied perforated lug on rim; scoring on rim. (305).

Fig. 8:

1. Pale orange, splashes of olive green glaze. Fabric very fine, smooth surface, grains of ?quartz c. 0.1 mm. diam., sparse very small angular flint and large pieces of iron rich sandstone. Pulled handle. Some similarities to Brill/Boarstall products but not certainly. (284).

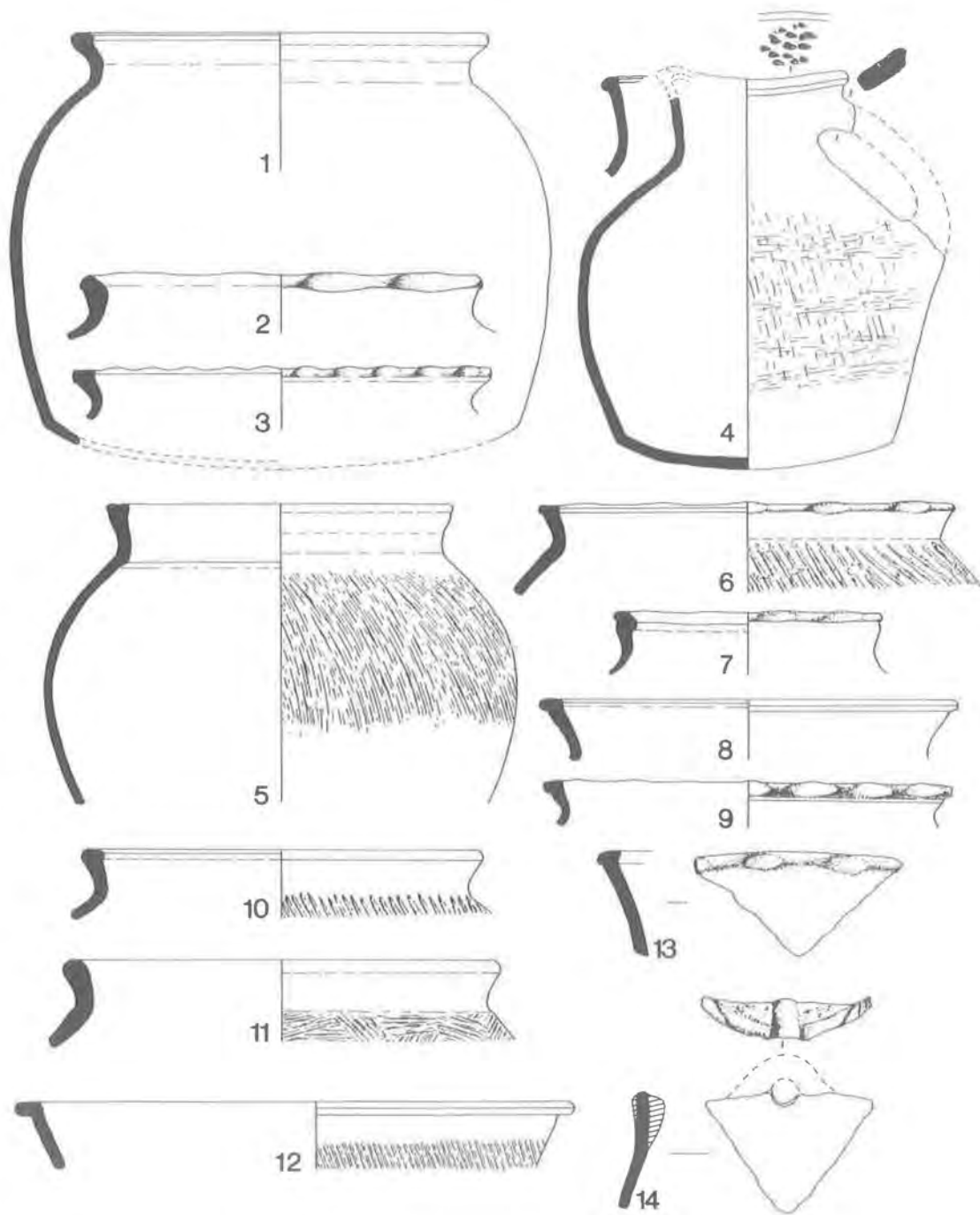


Fig. 7. Pottery. Phase 1: pre-hall. (1/4 scale.)

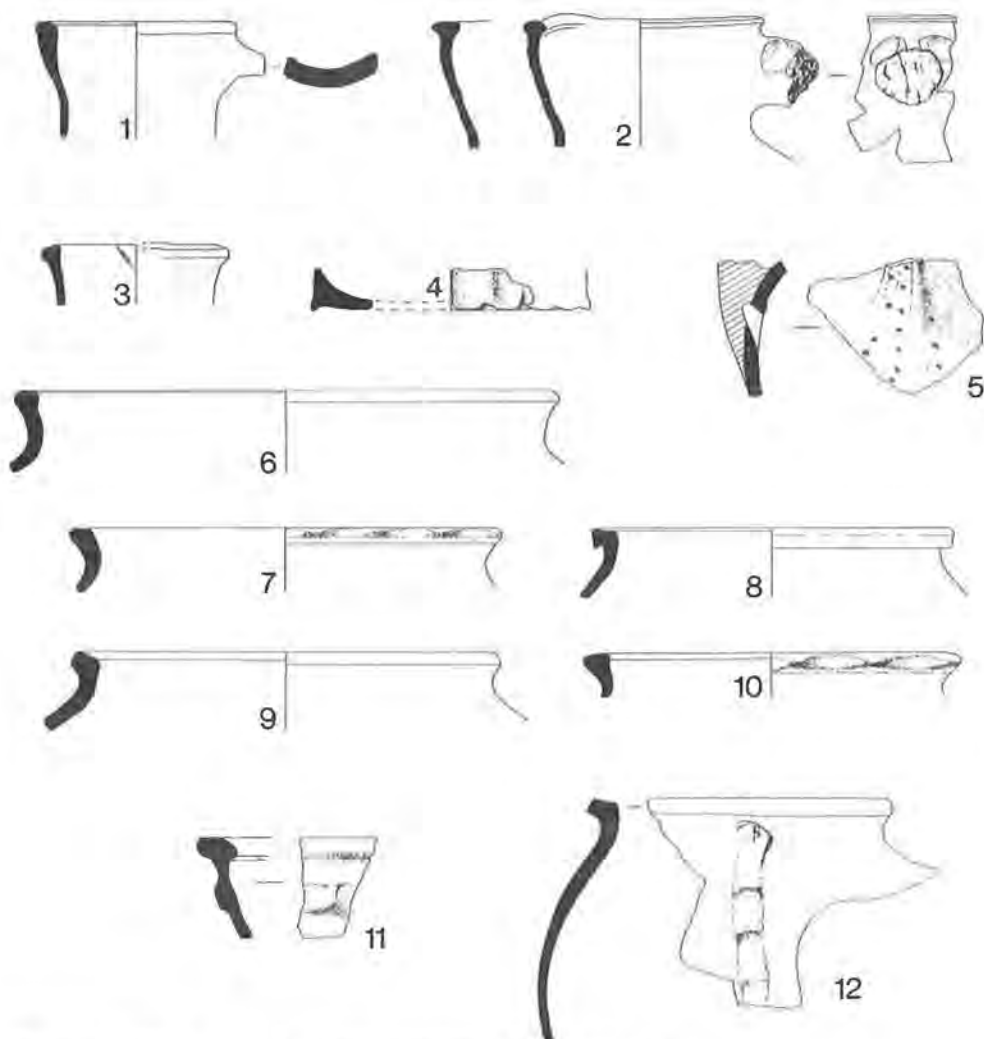


Fig. 8. Pottery. Phase 2; hall construction period. (1/4 scale.)

2. Grey-pink ext. giving the appearance of a wash. Grey core. Splashes of pitted olive-green glaze ext. Fabric small sub-angular quartz grains, mostly clear or white. Rod handle thumbed at top of neck. Surface texture quite harsh. (284).
3. Pinky-white. Good green glaze in patches. Small rounded quartz grits, mostly pink. Smooth texture. (291).
4. Light brown-grey, grey core. Small rounded quartz grains, mostly clear or milky. Sandy texture. (242).
5. Grey-brown, fab. 1 but angular flint more common. Sandy texture. Rod handle, stabbed. Finger hole punched through hole into handle. (283).
6. Light grey. (235).
7. Dark grey, fab. 1. (287).
8. Grey, fab. 2, quartz mostly clear or milky, sparse ironstone flecks. Probably Brill/

Boarstall. (291).

9. Grey fab. 1. (284).

10. Grey brown, fab. 1. (235).

11. Grey brown, fab. 1, diam. c. 44 cms. (284).

12. Dark grey, fab. 1 but little flint. This sherd is badly distorted, almost a waster. The drawing is a compromise. (288). [These words were written before the discovery in 1982-3 of medieval pottery kilns about 1.5 miles down the valley, of which this piece is certainly a product. M.E.F.]

Fig. 9:

1. Dark grey, fab. 1. (250).

2. Dark grey-brown, fab. 1/3, diam. 48 cms. (294).

3. Grey, fab. 1. (250).

4. Grey-brown, fab. 1, quartz predominantly clear. (250).

5. Grey, fab. 1. Hint of a vertical applied strip. (250).

6. Grey, fab. 1. (250).

7. Grey-brown, fab. 1, but sparse fragments of ironstone. (250).

8. Grey-brown, fab. 1. (255 ii).

9. Grey, fab. 1. (255 ii).

10. Dark grey, fab. 1. (100).

11. Reddy-grey. Very fine quartz grain, mainly clear or milky, very rare chalk fragments. Fairly smooth surface. Hand-made. (301).

12. Brown, fab. 1. (301).

13. Light grey, fab. 2. (This could be Romano-British).

14. Grey, fab. 2. (301).

15. Dark grey, fab. 1, diam. c. 40 cms. (100 and 102).

16. Grey, fab. 2. Unglazed. Slashed strap handle pegged into body. (301 and 301A).

Fig. 10:

1. Grey, angular quartz and flint grits not well sorted and few ironstone fragments of up to 2 mm. Hand-made. Horizontal wiping. Saxo-Norman. (+ 10/55).

2. Black, as above, angular up to 1.5 mm. ?Hand-made. (+ 30/25).

3. Reddy-grey ext., dark core, quartz and flint filler but material larger and more angular than fab. 1; also some chalk. ?Middle Saxon. (+ 50/25).

4. Brownish-grey, similar to fab. 2 but feldspar. Unglazed. Slashed rod handle, thumb on to body. (60/10 (+) A).

5. Off-white, olive-green glaze in patches. Very fine fabric giving smooth surface, inclusions less than 0.25 mm., largely quartz but also ironstone fragments. Brill/Boarstall product. Rod-handle, stabbed. (+ 10/25).

6. Light brown int., grey core, traces of green glaze, fab. 2. (+ 60/10).

7. Light grey, fab. 2. (+ 30/40).

8. White-light grey, fab. 2. (204).

9. Dark grey, fab. 2. (+ 30/10).

10. Dark grey, fab. 1. ?Loop handled bowl as 3 above. ?d. 40. (+ 30/40).

11. Dark grey, fab. 1. ?Spout of bowl as 3 above or Fig. 10, 15. ?d. 40. (10/10 +).

12. Dark grey-black, fab. 2. Bowl as Fig. 10, 15, but with upstanding applied loop. (30/10 +).

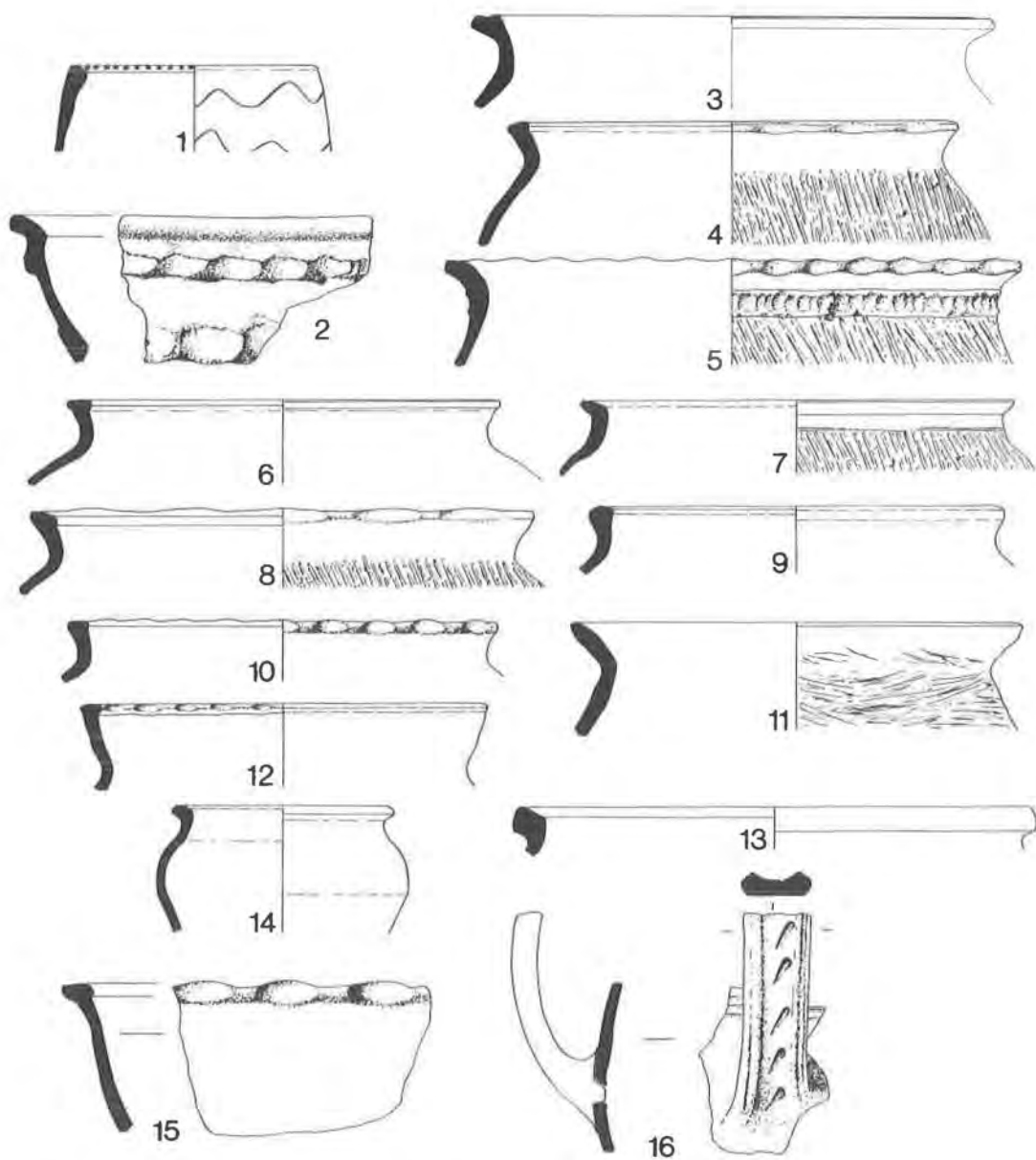


Fig. 9. Pottery. Phase 3: period of hall's use. (1/4 scale.)

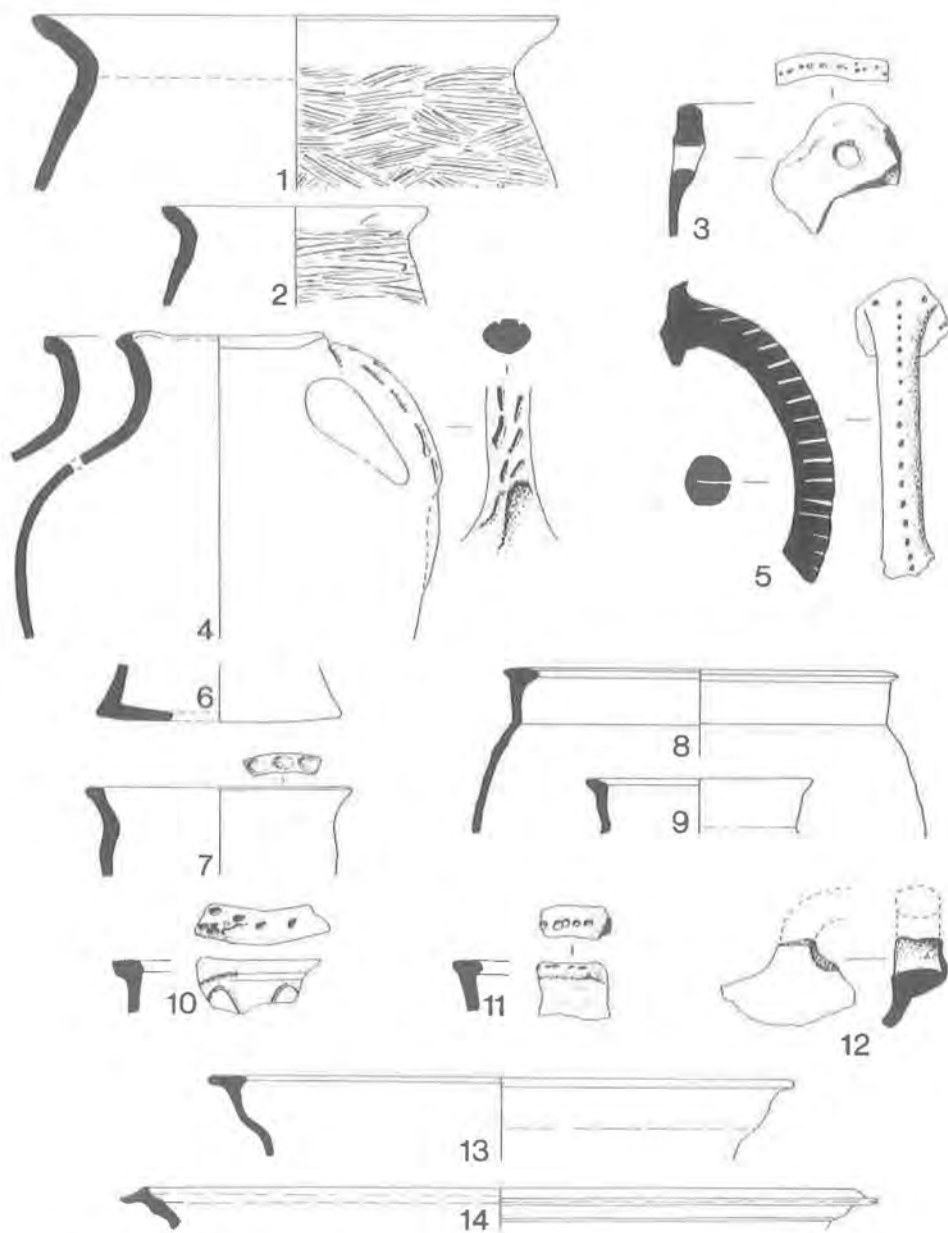


Fig. 10. Pottery. Unstratified. (1/4 scale.)

13. Creamy-white, fine sandy fabric, splash of bright green glaze on rim top. Surrey-type ware. (10/00, 100).
14. Brown, fab. 2. (30/40 +).

Small Finds

Fig. 11

The majority of the ironwork below can be readily paralleled at sites with a good range of medieval material, for example Writtle, Essex (Rahtz 1969), Pleshey, Essex (Williams 1977), or Southampton (Platt 1975), although the types are generally long-lived. Parallels have not normally been cited. Of the three bronze buckles, the ogival protruberance on buckles 1 and 2 suggests they are late thirteenth-fourteenth century (London Museum 1954, Fig. 63, 7); the third buckle may be somewhat earlier.

Bronze

1. Buckle. Cast bronze loop filed on the underside, two perforations in attachment plate. L. 39 mm. Phase 1. (235A).
2. Buckle. Bronze, gilt on upper side and slightly curved, bow and plate cast in one. Traces of a 'fir tree' pattern on upper side. L. 30 mm. Unstratified. (10/00 + A).
3. Buckle. Cut from a flat bronze sheet, with carelessly drilled ring and dot ornament and one other perforation. L. 35 mm. Phase 3. (250A).
4. Key. L. 34 mm. Unstratified. (30/25 + B).

Iron

5. Knife. Part of a handle plate held by a rivet was visible in the corrosion prior to conservation. L. 165 mm. End of Phase 3? (271A).
6. Knife, shouldered, pointed. L. 162 mm. Unstratified. (105A).
7. Knife. L. 132 mm. Phase 3? (244B).
8. Barrel padlock key. L. 130 mm. Phase 3. (100A).

9. Key. L. 105 mm. Phase 3. (250B).

10. Harness buckle. That these are harness buckles can best be seen in a Swedish context, burials of horses and men following the Battle of Visby in 1361 (Thordeman 1939). L. 100 mm. Phase 2. (235B).

11. Suspension chain with swivel. Part of six other links of figure-of-eight form and square section not illustrated. The whole could be from a cauldron chain. Phase 2? (281).

12. Claw hammer. A thirteenth century English treatise on the care of the horse shows a blacksmith using such a hammer in shoeing. The source of the illustration may, however, be French (Bodleian 1965, pl. 6a). L. 141 mm. Phase 2? (311A).

13. Hasp from a door or chest. Several unstratified examples, one complete with padlock, come from the medieval village of Grenstein, Norfolk (Wade-Martins 1980, Fig. 80). L. 175 mm. Phase 2. (282A).

Not illustrated are some twenty-six fiddle key horseshoe nails, part of a waney-edge shoe, and other unphased ironwork.

Stone and Tile

Stone

Fig. 12:

1. Stone from door or window surround, re-used in hall footings (see Fig. 4). Two facets dressed to smooth finish, upper section broken, remainder roughly tooled. 412 × 235 × 168 mm. Dr. M. Oates has kindly identified the stone as from the Middle Lias 'Marlstone Rock Bed', probably from the Watford Gap area of Northamptonshire/Leicestershire. (309B).

A second piece of the same stone, but undressed, came from the pits lying to the north of the hall (250).

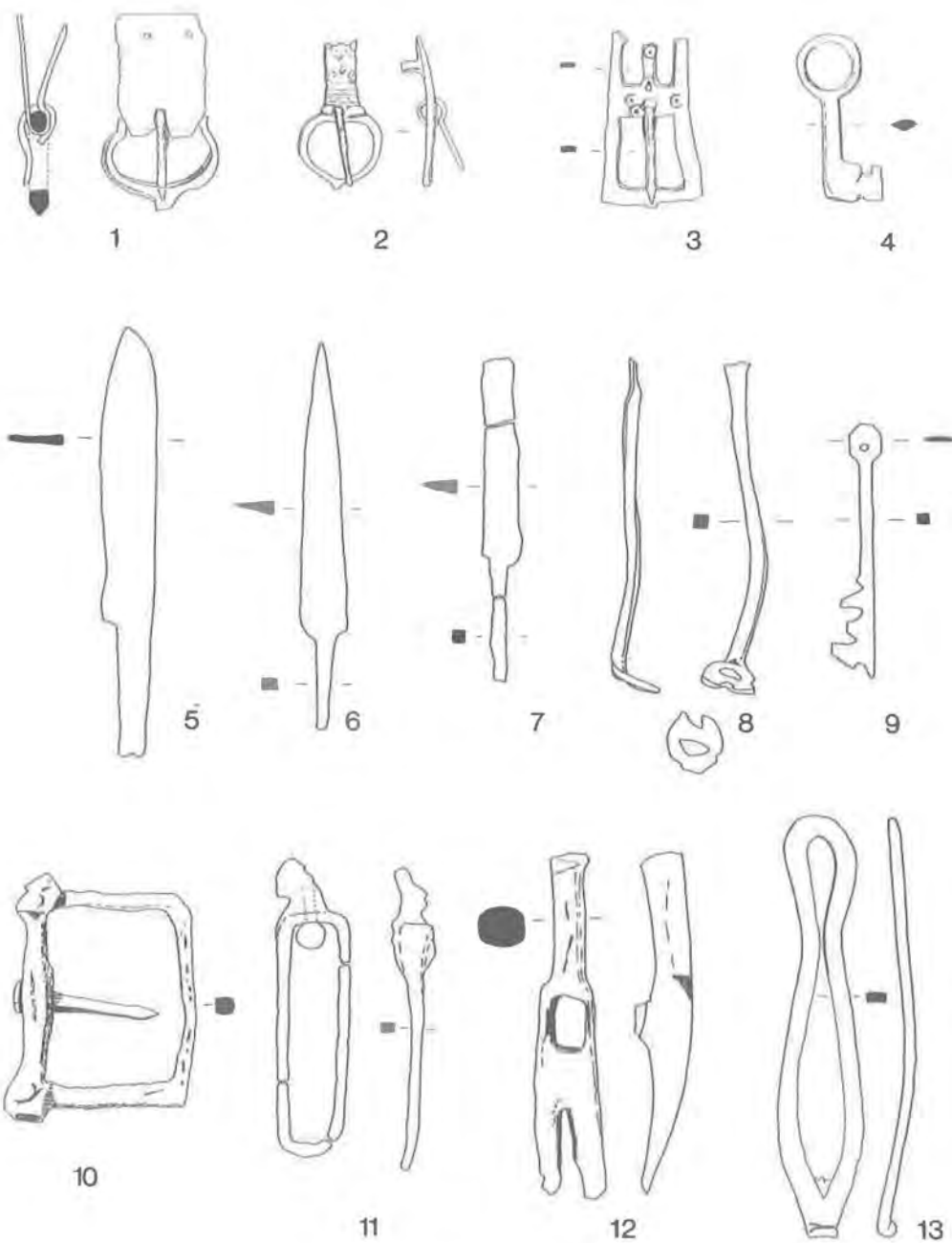


Fig. 11. Small finds, Ae 1-4 (2/3 scale), Fe 5-13 (1/3 scale).

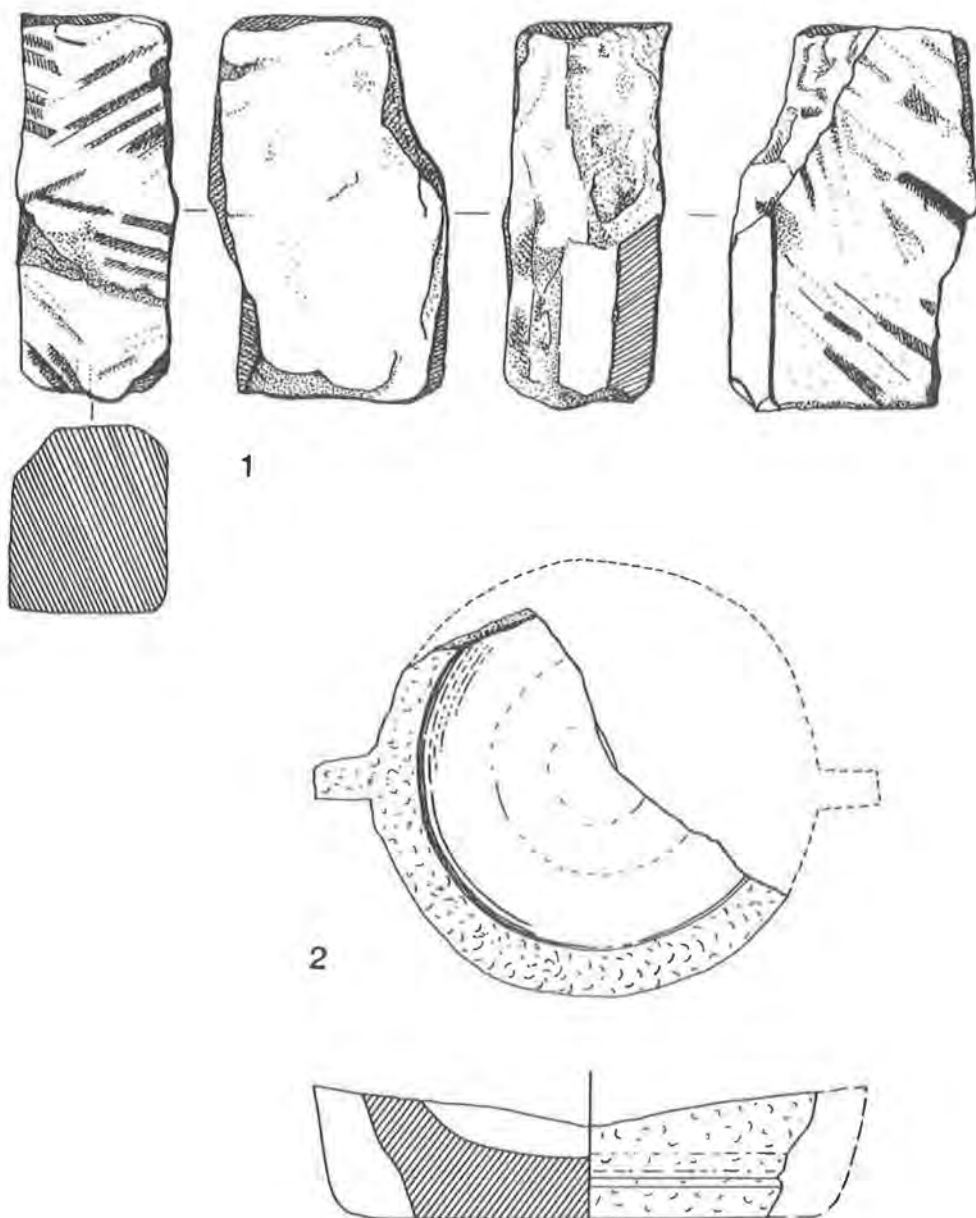


Fig. 12. Dressed stone (1/8 scale), limestone mortar (1/6 scale).

2. Mortar, incomplete with single lug remaining. Probably a two-lug type. Coarse, hard, broken-shell limestone, white; smooth interior, dressed externally. For a recent discussion of mortars see Dunning 1977. (20/10 +).

Not illustrated are parts of three hones in a micaceous laminated stone from contexts 244, 60/25 + and 227, the latter being perforated at one end.

Tile

Roof tile, both flat and ridge, was present in quantity and only a small sample retained. The absence of decorated tile from the site has already been commented on in support of the view that the hall pre-dated Edward II's new work.

The majority of the flat roof-tile had a well-oxidised red surface with a normal thickness of 14-16 mm. and width, where measurable, of 165-174 mm. There was no consistency in the spacing of the two peg holes. Six pieces of roof tile partially brown-glazed were recovered, four from topsoil and two (282, 30/25) from Phase 2, the hall construction phase. Under $\times 20$ magnification tile fabric compares closely with fabric 2 of the pottery series, suggesting a similar area of origin, but utilising a slightly coarser and denser quartz filler.

One other group of tile was identified, which was thicker than the roof tile and always reduced not oxidised. This group can be reasonably identified as hearth tiles. Thirteen pieces were found, all but one from context 250, the area of pits north of the hall likely to be adjacent to the kitchen. The average thickness of these tiles was 22 mm. but no two were the same, nor were any intact enough for any other dimension to be gauged.

The Penn tile industry, best known for its output of decorated tiles, is one likely source of roof and hearth tiles. Mr. Broadbent estimates (in conversation) that 90% of Penn products, judging by field finds, were undecorated tile products. But although this was the only Buckinghamshire Chiltern industry known to

have been producing decorated tiles, there were probably other local sources for plain tiles. Edmonds (1968, 14) for example, notes that William Atte Noke of Chalfont St. Peter paid a rent in 1315 which included 3,000 common tiles and 30 ridge tiles, and Chilterns geology is such that many more production areas are to be expected.

Fig. 13:

1. Flat tile. (222A 20/25).
2. Flat tile. (222A 20/25).
3. Flat tile with ?dog/fox paw impression. (999 20/25).
4. Ridge tile/?Nail hole for fixing. (282 20/25).
5. Ridge tile. (284 20/25).

Three pieces of Romano-British roof tile (not illustrated) were recovered.

Animal Bone

by Gillian Jones

A few animal bones were found, as below.

Phase 1 (pre-hall): 9 cattle, 11 sheep/goat, 20 pig, 1 red deer, 1 fowl, 2 duck.

Phase 2 (construction of hall): 1 cattle, 2 sheep/goat.

Phase 3 (occupation of hall): 6 cattle, 5 sheep/goat, 13 pig, 1 fallow and 1 roe deer, 1 dog, 1 fowl.

Phases 2 and 3

In the 13th century sample, from occupation layers of the hall, pig bones were the commonest bone find. Wild boar may have been hunted, but evidence of this from the bones is lacking. One lower third molar, from a male, was of domestic pig size (M3 length 24 mm., breadth 13.6 mm.).

It is of note that, in so small a sample, both fallow and roe deer were present. There was a medieval deer park at Fulmer, which was dis-

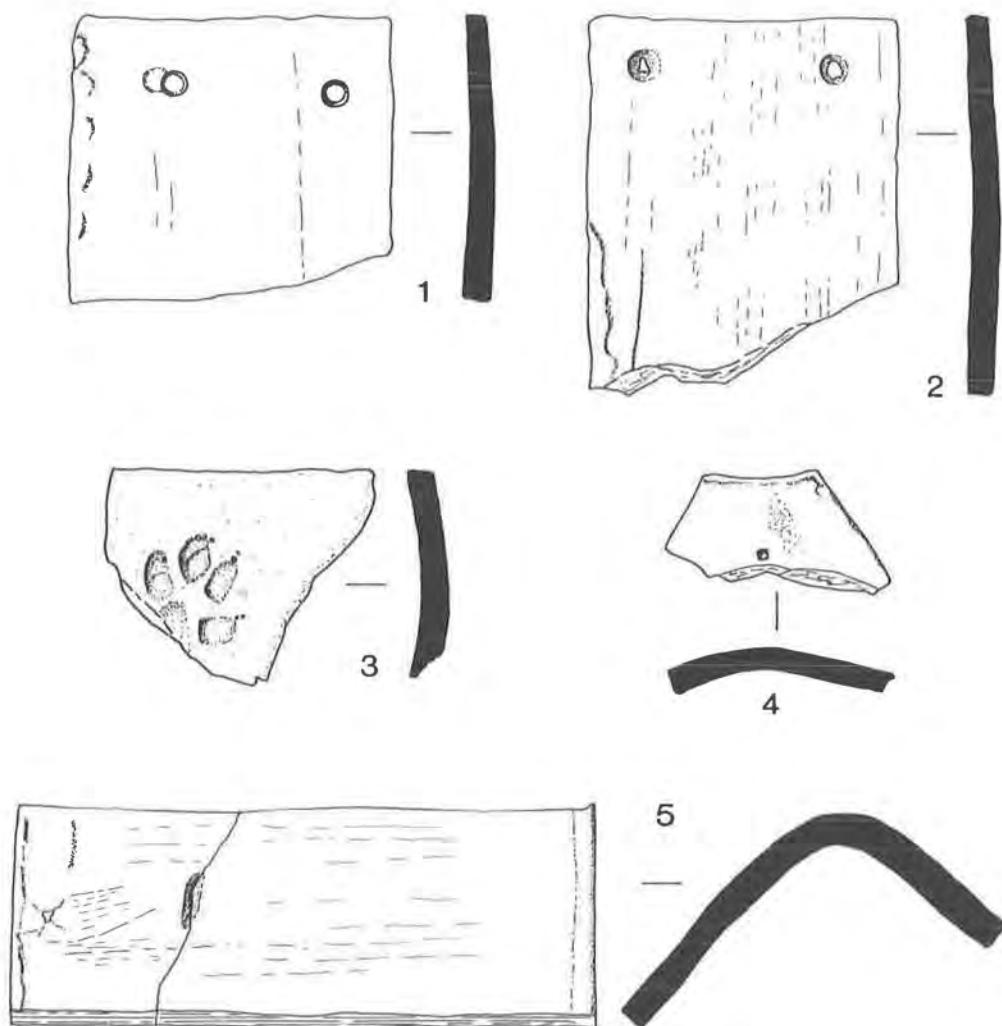


Fig. 13. Roof tile (1/4 scale).

emparked and divided into open fields before 1706 (see further below).

Fallow deer were widespread by the 13th century, being both protected and encouraged by hunting laws. For example, in 1297, permission was granted by Edward I to Oliver Punchardon, to cut 50 acres of Facombe Wood (Netherton, Hants) for his tenants' use, so long as he "enclosed it with a small dyke and a low hedge so that the deer can get in and out", and hence feed on the arable land (Fairbrother, forthcoming). The roe specimen was a piece of immature skull with one complete antler attached. It was from a young buck, carrying probably its first head, and must have been taken between April, when antler growth is complete, and December, by which time the antler would have been shed.

A single dog bone was from a fairly large dog, with an estimated shoulder height of 51 cms. (20 ins.) (method of Harcourt 1974, humerus greatest length 156 mm., mid shaft diameter 11.6 mm.).

The cattle were small beasts, as is typical of the medieval period (metacarpals, greatest lengths: Phase 2, 184 mm., Phase 3, 180, 184 mm.). No bones from certainly immature cattle or sheep were present. Mandibles from two pigs were found, both about two years old at death (M3 erupted but no dentine exposed).

The date of the Phase 1 bone is uncertain, but probably 11th-12th century. The remains included a pig third metacarpal which was worked and a sheep mandible with periodontal disease. The first molar had been lost *ante mortem* and the jaw was very swollen. Evidently the sheep had been able to feed itself for some time while the jaw had been affected. The duck bones may have been from domestic birds or from the wild mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*). The name 'Fulmer' comes from the adjacent mere.

Bones from a number of other contexts, probably relating to the hall, were looked at. The species present were cattle, sheep/goat, pig, dog, hare (hares were included in the

hunting laws), fowl and goose (*Anser anser*, cf. domestic).

Recent History of the Site and Earlier Excavations

The approximate location of the former site of Fulmer Church is well documented. John Stow writes:

'Fulmer, a town so called in Buckinghamshire, having their parish Church about a mile distant from thence, in the open-field, being now grown very old and ruined: in regard whereof, and for the general ease and good posterity, it pleased Sir Marmaduke Dorrell, knight, master of the King's Household, to take down the ruins of that decayed church at his own charge, to build a new large fair Parish Church . . . and from this time the Parishioners were freed from the offence of Summers heat, foul ways and Winters weather which until now were held great impediments in their duteous repair unto the house of God.' (Stow 1615, 908-10).

An eighteenth century parish register entry notes that the old church stood 'in a moorish ground' (Rouse 1929, 202) which accords well with the present topography of Low Farm, to which locational evidence may be added the presence of Chapel Meadow and Chapel Field on Fulmer's 1843 Tithe Map (BRO T1/81/1, fields 116 + 117). In 1929 Mr. Rouse dug a few exploratory trenches adjacent to the farm to the north-east of the 1972 excavation and located quantities of struck flint and tile, patches of clay-like material and chalk and one or two pieces of faced clunch, which overall, he suggested, confirmed the siting of the church. He noted that previous gravel digging on the northern edge of the plateau had exposed considerable quantities of human bone, which information locally from Mr. R. Charlton in 1972 confirmed. The location of this pit, shown on the 1926 Ordnance Survey 6-in. County Series map, is shown at p on Fig. 1. Mr. Charlton reported also that one or two graves were disturbed during construction of the barn about 1936.

In 1963 Mr. Rouse, in conjunction with Mr. John Bennell, directed a short excavation with

the Gerrards Cross and Chalfont St. Peter Local History Society, west of the large barn (Fig. 2); an area subsequently re-excavated in 1972 (Rouse 1963 and notes at BCM). The 1963 excavation failed to find the church but located an area of cobbling (300, Fig. 3) and plentiful medieval pottery. Mr. Rouse presciently observed that this suggested that the church was not isolated but may have been accompanied by the original settlement of Fulmer 'or at least of the first manor house'.

Historical Evidence

The available documentation can be loosely divided into three themes: the chapel, later church; the manor; and the park.

The Chapel

The chapel of Fulmer first appears in the records when it was jointly assessed with the church of Datchet for £13.6.8 in 1291 (*Taxatio Ecclesiastica* P. Nicholai: Public Records Commission 1802, 33). In 1552 an inventory of the church noted that it had 'ij belles in the stipele and leade that the tope of the stypell is covered wythe' (Eccles 1908, 61). In 1553 the chapel was made a parochial church and endowed with the great Tithes by the Dean and Canons of Windsor (Pote 1749, 115).

At the consecration of the new church in 1610, which was dedicated, like the old one, to St. James, the Bishop made an interdiction that the old churchyard 'shou'd not be lay'd open to any prophane use' (Anon. 1858).

The Manor

Fulmer is not named in Domesday, being included with Datchet, and was held by the de Pinkney family until a little before A.D. 1300. Shortly before that date Henry de Pinkney granted Datchet irregularly to Hugh le Despenser but Edmund de Pinkney made an authorised release in 1303. On the banishment of Hugh in 1321 it returned to Edmund, was obtained again by Hugh on his pardon and in the final division of his land passed again to Edmund, being contested by Thomas, Earl of Norfolk. The King in 1331 took matters into his own hands and Fulmer was granted to William Montague, Datchet being retained by

Edmund de Pinkney. By 1335 Fulmer was in the hands of John de Moleyns and the descent of the manor was for a period the same as that of Stoke Poges. In 1594 the manor was sold to Sir Marmaduke Darrell and apparently remained intact until 1655 when a piece of land including 'a messuage and land called the Warren with 150 acres of woodland, the Park (40 acres), and Brewhouse Meadow' was alienated from the manor. The remainder having passed through several hands was divided into two parts, one of which descended with Bulstrode, the other with Fulmer Place, which is said to have been built on the site of the manor house of the Darrells.

The summary above is based on the account of Datchet and Fulmer in *VCH* 3, 251-252 and 276-277. One interesting phase in the history of the manor received less attention in this work than it deserved, namely the period 1320-1324. In these years Edward II signed thirty-two letters Close and the same number of letters Patent whilst staying at Fulmer in the course of at least six separate periods which centred on and around: May and August 1320; March 1321; May 1322; April 1323 and April 1324 (*Cal. Close* and *Cal. Pat.* Rolls, 1318-23, 1323-27, 1317-21 and 1321-24 respectively). The manor was not however visited by Edward I, as indices to these volumes suggest, but Fulmer in Cambridgeshire, as his itinerary clearly shows.

Perhaps in 1320 the King was present as a guest of Hugh le Despenser shortly before his banishment, but as R. Allen Brown pointed out (Allen Brown 1963, 942) the King was by 1323 certainly treating the manor as his own. The relevance of this to the present excavation report can best be seen if Allen Brown's words are quoted in full:

'... in 1324 and 1325 Edward commissioned certain works at Fulmer to meet his own domestic requirements. A writ of privy seal dated 7 November 1323 ordered the houses of the manor to be repaired against the King's coming, and another dated 29 March 1324 ordered the completion of a new house "begun there by the king himself". Both were addressed to John of Towcester, the

keeper of the neighbouring royal Chamber manor of Langley Marish, who was subsequently allowed £24 6s. 3½d. at the Exchequer for these works. Edward was at Fulmer from 24 April to 1 May 1324 and his Chamber also financed work at Fulmer that year. Between April and August a series of payments, totalling over £30, was made to men digging a new ditch about the manor, to a small gang of royal carpenters, and to plasterers under Master William the Plasterer of London. The park at Fulmer was also enlarged at this time.'

The final royal connection with the manor occurred between 1340-5 when it was taken from John de Moleyns, but Mr. Brown found no evidence of any work being undertaken at that time.

If, as has been previously argued from the ceramic and other evidence, the excavated hall was not that of Edward II but that of the Pinkney/Dispenser manor, an alternative location in the village is needed for the new house. The most obvious candidate, presuming subsequent continuity, would be the site of the Darrell's manor house which was called Fulmer Place, as can be seen from a nineteenth century abstract of his Will of 1629 (St. George's Chapel, Windsor, XV.58.B.56). The present Fulmer Place was built about 1742 (Lipscomb IV, 500) and is shown on Jeffreys' County Map of 1788 along with a string of fishponds which still in part survive. Lysons (1813, 563) asserts that this house was built on the site of the Darrell mansion but gives no source. The structure standing today has been much modified since 1742, but the cellars retain two-inch brick walling in English bond, which hint at a pre-1742 structure, but beyond this one cannot certainly go.

A second possible location for the manor might be the adjacent farm which is a little closer to the church. Adjacent to both properties lies 'Pigeon House meadow' (Tithe map), a name commonly associated with manorial properties. Finally, one may note the

occurrence of 'Upper and Lower King's Mead' a little distance to the north - without comment!

The Park

Henry de Pynkeney had a park at 'Hyrefenn', Fulmer in 1276 (*Rot. Hund.* 1, 43) and according to Brown (1963, 942) Edward II enlarged the park in 1324 at the same time as other work was being carried out there. A park is next mentioned in 1655 when Sir Marmaduke Darrell disposes of a property in Fulmer including 'a messuage and land called the Warren with 150 acres of wood, the Park (40 acres) and Brewhouse Meadow' (*VCH* op. cit.). If the hall lay within the park as would be common, then the curving boundary running to the north of Low Farm (Fig. 1) looks a likely candidate to form a pale on one side.

Conclusion

Although pottery from the excavation hints at a Late Saxon presence in the vicinity it is not until the twelfth century that Fulmer begins to emerge in available records as an entity distinct from Datchet. At about that time a substantial tiled hall was built, perhaps in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and a detached chapel constructed with its own cemetery and a park added. The site's sheltered location in the Alderbourne valley by the mere and near the source of the Alderbourne would have been attractive both for settlement and hunting, and it may be the latter which drew Edward II to Fulmer. The location of his house however has not certainly been established. Although only the manor was examined, spreads of roofing tile observed some distance away to the west suggest that a small community grew up in its neighbourhood. Perhaps it was the re-siting of Edward's manor which eventually caused the community to move down the valley to the present village, leaving the chapel in inconvenient isolation until 1610 when it was replaced. The move may owe something also to the attraction of the north-south road which crossed the valley at a more convenient and probably drier point.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen Brown, R., Colvin, H.M., Taylor, A.J., 1963. 'The History of the King's Works', in *The Middle Ages*, II, general ed. H.M. Colvin.
- Anon. 1858. 'Consecration of Fulmer Church, 1610', *Recs. Bucks* 2, 27-32.
- Bodleian Library 1965. *English Rural Life in the Middle Ages*, Bodleian Picture Book No. 14.
- Biddle, M., Barfield, L., Millard, A., 1959. 'The Excavation of the Manor of the More, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire', *Archaeol. Journal* 116, 136-199.
- Cantor, L.M. and Hatherly, J., 1979. 'The Medieval Parks of Buckinghamshire', *Recs. Bucks* 20, 430-450.
- Chenevix Trench, J., 1983. 'An aisled hall at Upton, Slough', *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 70, 81-85.
- Cookson, A., 1979. 'A Medieval Homestead at Park Wood, Bradenham', *Recs. Bucks* 20, 98-115.
- Dunning, G.C., 1977. 'Mortars', in *Excavations in King's Lynn 1963-70*, Clarke, H. and Carter, A., Soc. for Med. Arch., Monog. 7.
- Eames, Elizabeth S., 1980. *Catalogue of Medieval Lead Glazed Earthenware Tiles* . . . (British Museum Publications).
- Ecles, F.C., ed., 1908. *The Edwardian Inventories for Buckinghamshire*, Alcuin Club Coll. 9.
- Edmonds, G.C., 1968. *A History of Chalfont St. Giles and Gerrards Cross* (2nd edn.).
- Fairbrother, J., forthcoming.
- Gibson, A., Partridge, C., Day, I., 1980/2. 'Investigation of a 13th Century building at No. 2 Ware Street, Ware', *Herts Archaeol.* 8, 126-143.
- Harcourt, R.A., 1974. 'The Dog in Prehistoric & Early Historic Britain', *J. Arch. Science* 1, 151-175.
- Hinton, D.A., 1973. 'M40 Ware', *Oxon.* 38, 181-183.
- Le Patourel, J., 1980. 'Within the moats of beyond', *Moated Sites Research Group Report* 7, 40-42.
- London Museum, 1954. *Medieval Catalogue*.
- Lipscomb, G., 1847. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*.
- Lysons, D. and S., 1813. *Magna Britannia* I, part 3.
- Pavry, F.H. and Knocker, G.M., 1958. 'The Mount, Princes Risborough', *Recs. Bucks* 16, 131-178.
- Platt, C. and Coleman-Smith, R., 1975. *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*. II: The Finds.
- Pote, J., 1749. *The History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle*.
- Rahtz, P., 1969. *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex 1955-7*, Soc. for Med. Arch. Monog. 3.
- Robinson, M., 1973. 'Excavations at Copt Hay, Tetsworth, Oxon.', *Oxon.* 38, 41-115.
- Rouse, E.C., 1929. 'Fulmer', *Recs. Bucks* 18, 208-209.
- R.C.H.M. 1912. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Buckinghamshire (South)*.
- Sandall, K., 1975. 'Aisled Halls in England and Wales', *Vernacular Architecture* 6, 19-27.
- Thordeman, B., 1939. 'Armour from the battle of Visby 1361', *Kungl. Vit. Hist. Antik. Akad.*, Monog. 27.
- Smith, J.T., 1974. 'The early development of timber buildings: the passing-brace and reversed assembly', *Archaeol. Journal* 131, 238-263.
- Stow, John, 1615. *The Annales or General Chronicle of England* . . . begun by John Stow, continued by Edmund Howes.
- Wade-Martins, P., 1980. *Fieldwork and Excavation on Village Sites in Launditch Hundred, Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 10.
- Williams, F., 1977. *Excavations at Pleshey Castle*. Brit. Arch. Reports 42.

The Society is grateful to the Department of the Environment for a grant towards the cost of publishing this paper.