

THE ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
JOURNAL

VOLUME CXIX
FOR THE YEAR 1962

LONDON:
PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF THE INSTITUTE
c/o LONDON MUSEUM, KENSINGTON PALACE, W.8

March, 1964

EXCAVATIONS NEAR WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, 1961

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This paper presents a preliminary report on the excavation carried out in 1961 in the Cathedral Car Park — then occupying a strip about 90 yards by 30 yards at the N.E. corner of Winchester Cathedral Green (Fig. 6). The excavation was carried out, in advance of the redevelopment of the site by Messrs. Trust Houses Ltd. for their new Wessex Hotel, with the primary object of uncovering material relating to the New Minster. This was an important monastery, founded in c. 899 by King Alfred and recorded as lying to the north of the Old Minster (the name applied to the older Saxon Cathedral from the foundation of the New Minster until the Norman conquest); the New Minster was moved to Hyde, outside the city, in 1110.

Research by R. N. Quirk into the documentary sources for the two Minsters had been in hand for several years.² The excavation was undertaken, at his suggestion, with the co-operation of Messrs. Trust Houses Ltd., the Winchester City Council, the Society of Antiquaries and the Ministry of Works and with the assistance of generous grants from the Ministry of Works, the Royal Archaeological Institute and individual benefactors. A special tribute is owed to Winchester City Council; to the then Mayor, Mrs. Eric Neate, J.P.; the Town Clerk, Mr. R. H. McCall; the Museums Curator, Mr. F. Cottrill; and the City Engineer, Mr. L. M. Perkis. Without their help in kind, in the hire of digging machines and indirectly in cash — and their active support in all sorts of ways, which still continues — the result could never have been achieved.

The Car Park excavation could never have taken place without the initial co-operation of Trust Houses Ltd., and archaeologists must be particularly indebted to them for the start of an important train of events. For the 1961 excavation in the Car Park led to the establishment, in 1962, of the Winchester Excavations Committee. The Committee hopes to conduct a long-term programme of excavation in Winchester. This will include both rescue excavation, in advance of important development schemes in the city, and also research excavation aimed at important archaeological objectives not thus threatened. In the latter category, trial excavations have taken place in 1962 and 1963 in the Cathedral Green, south of the Car Park — in continuation of the general objective, initiated in the Car Park excavation, of searching for the sites of the great Anglo-Saxon monasteries.

Grateful thanks are due to Miss Louise Millard, Mr. Robert Soper and Mr. John Collis who acted as site supervisors, to Miss Lynda Beigel and Miss Philippa Fox-Robinson for assistance with the pottery and to Miss Brenda Capstick, then Assistant in the Winchester City Museums, who was responsible for most of the rescue work carried out, often in very adverse conditions, during the contractor's excavation.

The Car Park excavation lasted from July to December, 1961, and further finds were made during the contractor's work that followed; this involved lowering the water-table some 7 feet and mechanical excavation of the eastern three-quarters of the site to a depth of about 13 feet. Evidence was obtained of the occupation of the site from the Roman period until medieval times and this is described below in chronological order.

¹ This paper is a work of collaboration by the two authors. Martin Biddle directed the excavation and is therefore largely responsible for its description. R. N. Quirk's concern was mainly with the background documentation, and he is largely responsible for Appendix I.

² *Old Minster*: R. N. Quirk, 'Winchester Cathedral in the tenth century', *Arch. J.*, CXIV (1957), 28-68, referred to as RNQ:OM.

New Minster: R. N. Quirk, 'Winchester New Minster and its tenth-century tower', *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd. ser. XXIV (1961), 16-54, referred to as RNQ:NM.

Fig. 6 indicates the general position of the Car Park site. Fig. 2 shows the Roman buildings etc., uncovered in 1961 over the whole of the site (and also records Roman buildings etc., found during previous excavations in 1959 and 1960, north of the Car Park, on the other side of Market Lane). Fig. 4 shows, on a larger scale than Fig. 2, the 11th-12th century buildings found in 1961 on the western half of the Car Park site. The E.-W. section, A-B, in Fig. 5 relates to the western half of the site: *i.e.*, it crosses the whole of the area shown in Fig. 4, but only the western half of the area shown in Fig. 2.

THE ROMAN PERIOD

The North-South Street (Figs. 1, 2 and 5)

Towards the west end of the site, a Roman street was found which crossed the Car Park from N. to S. A section was cut through the gravel make-up which was about 7 ft. thick and consisted of five main periods of metalling. The earliest road had been laid on peaty brown earth, perhaps the original turf, overlying undisturbed soil. There was a ditch on the west side, but the complete width of this road was not explored. No dating evidence was found in or under this first road, but the silt of the ditch contained some samian of Flavian date, and the silt over the ditch (Fig. 5, level 55) some late 1st-century samian.¹ The second road had a cambered surface 18 ft. wide, with a ditch on the east side and a slightly raised gravel area, perhaps a walk, on the west where there was no ditch. The samian from Road II suggests a date in or after the early 2nd century for its construction, and that from the ditch silt and on the surface of the road does not seem to be later than Hadrianic. The third road was much narrower and, together with the fourth road, cannot be securely dated, but the fifth road, somewhat under 18 ft. wide, with a side-walk on the west and ditches on both sides, contained a radiate minim, perhaps of 3rd-century date, in one of its upper construction levels.²

This north-south street had thus a long history of maintenance throughout the Roman occupation; further evidence is still required, but it seems to be a reasonable assumption that this street was in existence at any rate by the end of the 1st century, although whether it was part of the original street grid or was a later addition cannot at present be determined.

This street had previously been recorded in 1959³ and 1960⁴ immediately north of the Car Park site (Fig. 2) and in 1953 at the corner of Middle Brook Street and St. George's Street.⁵ In 1959 its junction with the main Roman east-west street was examined under St. Maurice's Church (Fig. 2), and in 1962 further east-west streets to north and south were located. The present extent

¹ Mr. Geoffrey Dannell has provided preliminary reports on the samian, and has kindly agreed to undertake the full report.

² Mr. Richard Reece has kindly examined the coins and provided preliminary identifications in advance of his full report.

³ We are much indebted to Mr. J. C. McCulloch for permitting us to use the (unpublished) results

of his excavation of St. Maurice's Church in 1959, both in the text and on Fig. 2.

⁴ Mr. John Collis has kindly permitted us to incorporate the results of his (unpublished) 1960 rescue work on the site of Messrs. Sherriff and Ward's extension in the text and in Fig. 2.

⁵ *Proc. Hants. F.C.*, XVIII (pt. 3, 1954), 318-21.

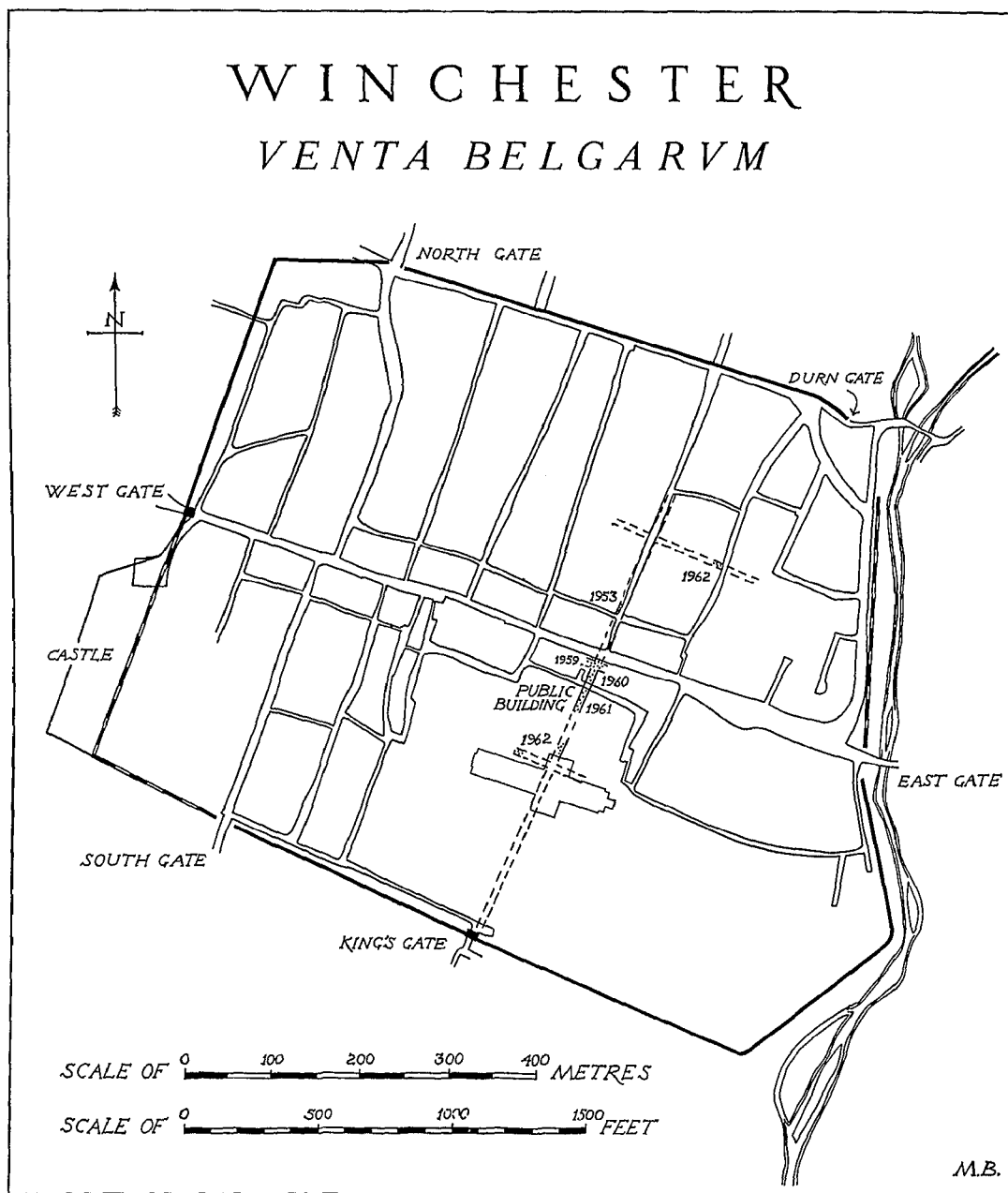


Fig. 1. Roman Winchester: the walls and streets (stippled) as known at the end of 1962

of our knowledge of the Roman street plan of *Venta Belgarum* is shown on Fig. 1, where it will be seen that the north-south street appears to be making for the medieval King's Gate, where there may perhaps be a Roman forerunner.¹

The Roman building west of the street (Figs. 2 and 5)

West of the street, part of a large building, 1 (S.W.),² with flint and mortar walls, usually 3 ft. but up to 5 ft. in width, was uncovered. During the contractor's excavation, the street frontage was traced for 79 ft. north-south, with only one return to the west. Rooms 1 and 2 were part of a range 15 ft. wide internally, backed by at least one room (perhaps part of a series) 18 ft. by 15 ft. The west wall of Rooms 4 and 5 was constructionally later than the other walls and may represent a rebuilding; it is overlain by a fragment of a third period. West of this wall a small rectangular structure had been added and later removed and its foundations sealed by a mortar floor. The south wall of Room 4 had been demolished and Rooms 4 and 5 thrown into one in the late 3rd or 4th century.

Almost the entire interior stratification of Room 4 had been removed by Building B³ of 11th—12th-century date, but excavation below Room 1 and in the small available area of Room 5 showed that this Roman building overlay an earlier occupation level with which several pits and ditches were associated. Well 1, which was found during the contractor's excavation after the removal of all the sealing levels, appeared both on the site and when plotted to have been sealed by the eastern wall of this building. It contained a group of decorated samian of late 1st-century date (c. A.D. 75–90) and, if its association with the building is correct, it implies a *terminus post quem* for the construction in the late 1st century. This seems, on preliminary examination, to be in agreement with the other pottery from below Rooms 1 and 5. A fragment of samian of possible Hadrianic date from level 86 (Fig. 5) is, on the other hand, more probably associated with the rebuilding of the west wall of Rooms 4 and 5. Pit 29 (Fig. 5, level 73), which dates from the earliest period of the use of this building, contained some Flavian samian, perhaps of the Domitianic-Trajanic period, which would agree with a late 1st to early 2nd-century date for the building.

The scale of this structure suggests that it was a public building, and its position in relation to the street plan of *Venta Belgarum* (Fig. 1) would support its possible identification as part of the Forum. The plan of the building itself is in agreement with this interpretation, Rooms 1 and 2 being part of the outer portico — the cross-wall perhaps indicating an entrance⁴ — and Rooms 3, 4 and 5 being part of a shop and office range around a central court.

¹ Mr. Barry Cunliffe kindly permitted information from his plan of the Roman town wall to be used in Fig. 1, in advance of the publication of his paper on the city walls in *Proc. Hants. F.C.*, XXII (pt. 2, 1962), 51–81.

² The buildings on Fig. 2 have been numbered in their *insulae* which are described as N.W., N.E., S.E., or S.W. of the street junction to facilitate later incorporation into a numbered system for the *insulae*, when this becomes possible.

³ Cf. Fig. 4.

⁴ Or perhaps the eastern termination of an east-west basilica, on analogy with the plan of the Silchester Forum (*Arch.*, LIII (1893), 540 ff.). The possibility of a market distinct from the Forum should not be ignored (cf. Cirencester, *Ant. J.*, XLII (1962), 8–9). We are grateful to Mr. John Wachter for discussing this interpretation.

Fourth-century occupation seems to have been slight in this part of the site, 4th-century coins being rare, but 3rd-century coins comparatively common. Two coins of Arcadius (383-395) and one of Magnus Maximus (383-388) occurred in the robber trenches, but robbing continued until at least the late 9th century (see p. 159).

The Roman buildings east of the street (Figs. 2 and 5)

Immediately east of the street, and fronting onto it, was a house (Building 1 (S.E.)) with an open courtyard facing west. The main outlines of this building were excavated under archaeological control, but much was added to the plan as a result of the contractor's subsequent deeper and more extensive excavation. The time required to deal with the overlying levels, and the height of the water-table which covered even the latest floors from Room 2 eastwards, prevented any examination of the early levels and the construction of the house is not therefore dated. Its plan (Fig. 2) is, however, a useful addition to our knowledge of the houses of the town, and of the later history of the house something can be said.

The house was built on ground which was sloping from west to east, and which had dropped sharply on the line of the east wall of the public building across the street (Fig. 5). The courtyard of the house (level 36) sloped down from the street to the corridor, and the floor of the corridor was itself approximately 1 ft. 6 in. above the floor of Room 2. This fall in level is important in considering the subsequent history of this area (see p. 157).

In the centre of the rear wall of the courtyard, there was a change in the method of construction and immediately east of this was a rectangular mosaic panel set in the red tessellated floor of the corridor. The mosaic was almost entirely destroyed, but was presumably meant to decorate the entrance into the house at this point. The remainder of the plan, which is shown on Fig. 2, need not be further discussed at this stage.

The courtyard area was almost completely cleared and two distinct levels were noted. The lower courtyard (Fig. 5, level 36) was contemporary with the eastern ditch of the fifth road and with the house; it was covered with a large amount of rubble debris and many stone roof slabs. This rubble filled Well 2 — the slots for the wooden superstructure of which survived — and was sealed by a later mortar courtyard, level 32. There was a coin of Victorinus (268-270) in the make-up for the lower courtyard, but on its surface and in the rubble sealed by the later courtyard were forty coins of the second half of the 3rd century ending with five of Carausius (287-293). The latest coin from Well 2 was also one of Carausius. The rubble on the lower courtyard and in the well can only have come from the destruction of the house, which, on the evidence of the coins, seems to have taken place before c. 300 — the absence of Constantian copper is striking. The later courtyard (level 32) encroached on the east side of the street, sealing its road ditch, and terminating in a beam slot (level 33) running north-south along the street probably with an entrance towards the south-west corner of the original courtyard. It is not clear whether the house was re-occupied at this time, but the complete absence of 4th-century

coins from the occupation levels and the occurrence of only three 4th-century coins in the demolition levels strongly suggests that it was not, and that this area remained open after c. 300, fenced off from the street by a wooden barrier.

East of Building 1 (S.E.) extensive remains of a further building, 2 (S.E.), probably another house, were recorded during the contractor's excavation. Three distinct periods of construction were observed, most of the walls being built on piles, a fact which suggests that this area was water-logged even in Roman times. Very little dating evidence was obtained, but part of a monumental stone entablature, which had been re-used for the corner of Room 7, was recovered.

Other Roman Buildings (Fig. 2)

To the north, Building 3 (S.E.) was recorded in 1960 by Mr. John Collis. It seems to be distinct from Building 1 (S.E.) and has been numbered accordingly.

North of the main Roman east-west street were the remains of two buildings, 1 (N.W.) and 1 (N.E.), flanking the northward continuation of the north-south street. These were recorded by Mr. F. Cottrill during the contractor's work in 1960-61.¹

FIFTH TO NINTH CENTURIES

The western part of the site (Pl. VIIIA; Figs. 4 & 5)

Over the latest gravel surface of the Roman north-south street already described, was a layer of stony black loam which filled the western road-ditch to a depth of 1 ft. 6 in. (Fig. 5, level 30). On top of this black level and over the greater part of the width of the street, extending along it for some length, was a layer of very rough cobbling consisting of flints, other stones and even large animal bones (Fig. 5, level 27; Fig. 4). Pit 4 cut this cobbling and was in turn cut by a later grave (Grave 6). Other burials had cut into the cobbling in several places, and their outlines can be seen in Pl. VIIIA.

The pottery associated with the cobbles seems to be entirely late Roman, but the character of the cobbling, which is absolutely distinct from the clean uppermost gravel of the Roman street, indicates that the regular upkeep of the street had ceased, and thus suggests that the cobbles are of very late or, more probably, post-Roman date. They must, however, be earlier than the graves, which are part of a cemetery of possibly 10th-century date (see p. 159).

When first discovered in 1961, the cobbles were interpreted as a rough track following and preserving the line of the Roman street and this suggestion seemed supported by the observation that the line of this particular Roman north-south street was preserved in the medieval and modern Middle Brook Street to the north. Pit 4 was not closely enough associated with the cobbles to suggest a different interpretation. In 1962, however, a similar cobbled level was found overlying a Roman east-west street just north of the nave of the Cathedral; in this case it was clearly associated with a line of post-holes. The

¹ Mr. Cottrill has kindly allowed these buildings to be included in Fig. 2.



A. The latest N.-S. Roman street and W. ditch, overlain by post-Roman cobbling; both cut by Pit 4 and Saxon graves. From north-west (*cf.* Fig. 5)



B. The late Saxon Oval Building looking west



A. West range of 11th-12th-century Building A: rooms containing Pits 15 and 16 from west. Part of Saxon cemetery in foreground



B. South range of Building A overlying the late Saxon Oval Building

pottery was again mostly late Roman, but this time included one clearly post-Roman hand-made rim sherd. Timber buildings with cobbled floors were thus built over Roman streets — which offered a firm, well drained, foundation — at a date which must be after the breakdown of civic organization in the Roman town; the rough rim sherd, together with otherwise Roman pottery, may suggest that this took place in the 5th or perhaps 6th century, rather than at any much later period, but this can only be confirmed by further excavation.

The eastern part of the site (Fig. 5)

The eastwards fall in the original level of the ground has already been commented on in describing the Roman structures. After the collapse or demolition of the latest of these, the lower part of the Car Park site eastwards from the Roman street became covered with thick layers of black earth, which increased in thickness towards the east. The main section shows that these levels were repeatedly cut into by channels or ditches (Fig. 5, levels 16 and 17 cutting into level 18, which cuts into still earlier levels). The evidence of this section was confirmed by the sections visible in the sides of the contractor's excavation (sections G-H and J-K, the positions of which are shown in Fig. 2), which extended observation almost to the eastern limit of the site. Here the uppermost Roman levels were about 8 ft. below the surface and were covered with a minimum of 3 ft. of black silt.

The evidence of repeated recutting of ditches or channels was very clear and on the north side of the site between Roman buildings 1 (S.E.) and 2 (S.E.) this recutting reached a depth of over 9 ft. from the surface, completely removing the upper Roman levels; an exactly similar situation was also observed on the south side of the site east of building 1 (S.E.). These features seem to be associated with a rise in the water-table. Well 2 in the courtyard of Roman Building 1 (S.E.) (Fig. 2) reached bottom at 100.75 ft. O.D., while the well in the courtyard of Building A, of suggested 11th-12th-century date (Fig. 4), was dug only to 108 ft. O.D.; this suggests that a considerable rise in water level, perhaps as much as 7 ft., took place between the 3rd and 11th centuries.

The eastern, and lowest, part of Winchester seems to have been rather waterlogged throughout the Middle Ages; the present-day water-meadows and channels north and south of the town show that conditions of this kind still persist. Levels of black earth, similar to those on the Car Park site, are of general occurrence over Roman layers in the eastern part of the city and often preserve wood and leather of Saxon and later date. The causes of this rise in water level are probably complex and will require detailed expert investigation; the change could have been caused by deliberate damming of the River Itchen, downstream from Winchester, perhaps for mills or fisheries, or might have resulted from the breakdown and subsequent blockage of any Roman drainage system that may have existed in or near the town. Such a system of drainage must always have been needed, since a great part of Central Hampshire drains southwards down the River Itchen through the gap in the chalk in which Winchester is situated.

The repeated down-cutting and silting up of channels noticed in the Car Park site was presumably caused by the gradual shifting — whether natural or man-made is not clear — of the course of a stream crossing the site from north to south. This north-south line of drainage is preserved today in the Lockburn, a medieval water-course traditionally constructed by Bishop Ethelwold (963–84),¹ which now runs on its old course, but in a modern sewer, just east of the Car Park site (Fig. 6). Its line presumably represents the final canalization of the stream represented by the various channels noted on the Car Park site.

The dating of this process is difficult, partly because most of the evidence was only recovered in sections during the contractor's excavation, but also partly because such a process is long drawn out and may have been complete on part of the site, while still in progress elsewhere. However, the build-up of levels in the western part of the area east of the Roman street must have been complete by the time occupation began in this area in the 9th, or perhaps more probably, the 10th century (see below). But the apparent stabilization of conditions in the western part of this area at this time does not mean that conditions farther east had improved. Building A, of possible 11th–12th-century date, seems to avoid the eastern part of the area (Fig. 4) and just to the east of its courtyard wall the ground fell away and was used for pits and midden deposits (Fig. 5: levels 8 to 11, Pits 12 and 13). At the beginning of the 12th century there is eloquent testimony to the very unpleasant conditions prevailing in what seems to be this area (pp. 170, 179, 182).

LATE SAXON PERIOD

DESCRIPTION

The 9th–10th century occupation east of the Roman street

In the western part of the area east of the Roman street traces of occupation were found immediately overlying the silted levels described above. A possible hearth, some small post-holes, a pit (Pit 3) and a pebbled area were cut by the walls, or sealed below the earliest floor, of the Oval Building (Fig. 4; see p. 161). Other pits probably also belong to this occupation, but were not sealed by later buildings (*e.g.* Pits 1 and 2). This may be domestic² occupation for which an initial date in the 9th or first half of the 10th century seems indicated by an amphora of Badorf ware (date range 800–950; see p. 183 and Fig. 7) which was found in Pit 2, together with an iron vessel (Fig. 8), and by a bun-shaped loom-weight from a level cut by the Oval Building. A further sherd of Badorf amphora, perhaps, but not certainly, from another vessel, was found in a level immediately west of, and apparently earlier than, the Oval Building. This occupation seems, however, to have continued during the 10th century as is

¹ RNQ: OM, 43 & 44.

² The exact nature of this occupation is not clear: part of a crucible and fragments of slag found below

the Oval Building may indicate that some industrial process was carried on here.

suggested by the occurrence of two sherds of Winchester Ware (see p. 187), one below the floor of the Oval Building, and the other in association with the second Badorf sherd¹ just mentioned; there were also sherds of coarseware cooking pots with sagging bases. The terminal date of this occupation is therefore likely to be between the mid-10th century and a date which must allow for the construction and original use of the Oval Building, before its secular use in association with the first phase of Building A, here tentatively ascribed to c. 1066-67 (see p. 170). This terminal date cannot be further defined until more pottery of this period from Winchester is available for study. If this occupation lies within the original New Minster site (see p. 177; cf. Fig. 6), then, since it seems to be subsequent to the foundation of the Minster in c. 903, it was presumably for some domestic or industrial purpose of the monastery.

The cemetery (Fig. 4)

Mention has already been made of the graves cut into the cobbled area over the Roman north-south street. These burials were sealed by the chalk footings of the later Building A and proved to be part of a cemetery of fifty-five graves, all in the western part of the Car Park site. There were originally more graves, but the existence of a post-medieval graveyard over the whole of the Car Park made it necessary to regard as early only those graves which were sealed by later structures or which were clearly distinct stratigraphically from the later graveyard. There was a clear concentration of burials on the street itself and at the western end of the site near Building B, but east of the street only three graves were found; the general impression was that the graves were densest to the west and that the focus of the cemetery lay in that direction, beyond the limits of the Car Park and probably under the Morley College Almshouses.

A final date for this cemetery is provided by the erection over it of the later Buildings A, B and C, the construction of which is here (p. 170) tentatively attributed to c. 1066-7. A *terminus post quem* is given by the strap-end (Fig. 9) which was found in the robber trench of one of the walls of Roman Building 1 (S.W.), which was in turn sealed by Grave 3. Miss Evison suggests that this strap-end may be later than the series of coin-dated strap-ends of 9th-century date (p. 187). It seems reasonable to suppose that the robbing of the Roman building, which on this evidence must have survived in part above ground until at least the late 9th century, will have taken place before burial began in this area; thus, although only Grave 3 need be later than the late 9th century, this seems a reasonable *terminus post quem* for the whole cemetery.

The cemetery occupied an area distinct from, but adjacent to, the area of probably domestic occupation just described (Fig. 4). The dating suggested shows that cemetery and occupation were, in part at least, contemporary. The

¹ Recent work in the Rhineland suggests that amphorae of Badorf Ware, although certainly in use as early as 800, continued to be current after 950 and possibly well into the 11th century (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, 162 (1962), 188ff.). If this proves to be the case, the date of the occupation under discussion

could fall in the 10th or even early 11th century, rather than in any part of the 9th. This would fit well with the occurrence of the sherds of Winchester Ware and with a date for the construction of the Oval Building in the later 10th or first half of the 11th century (see p. 161).

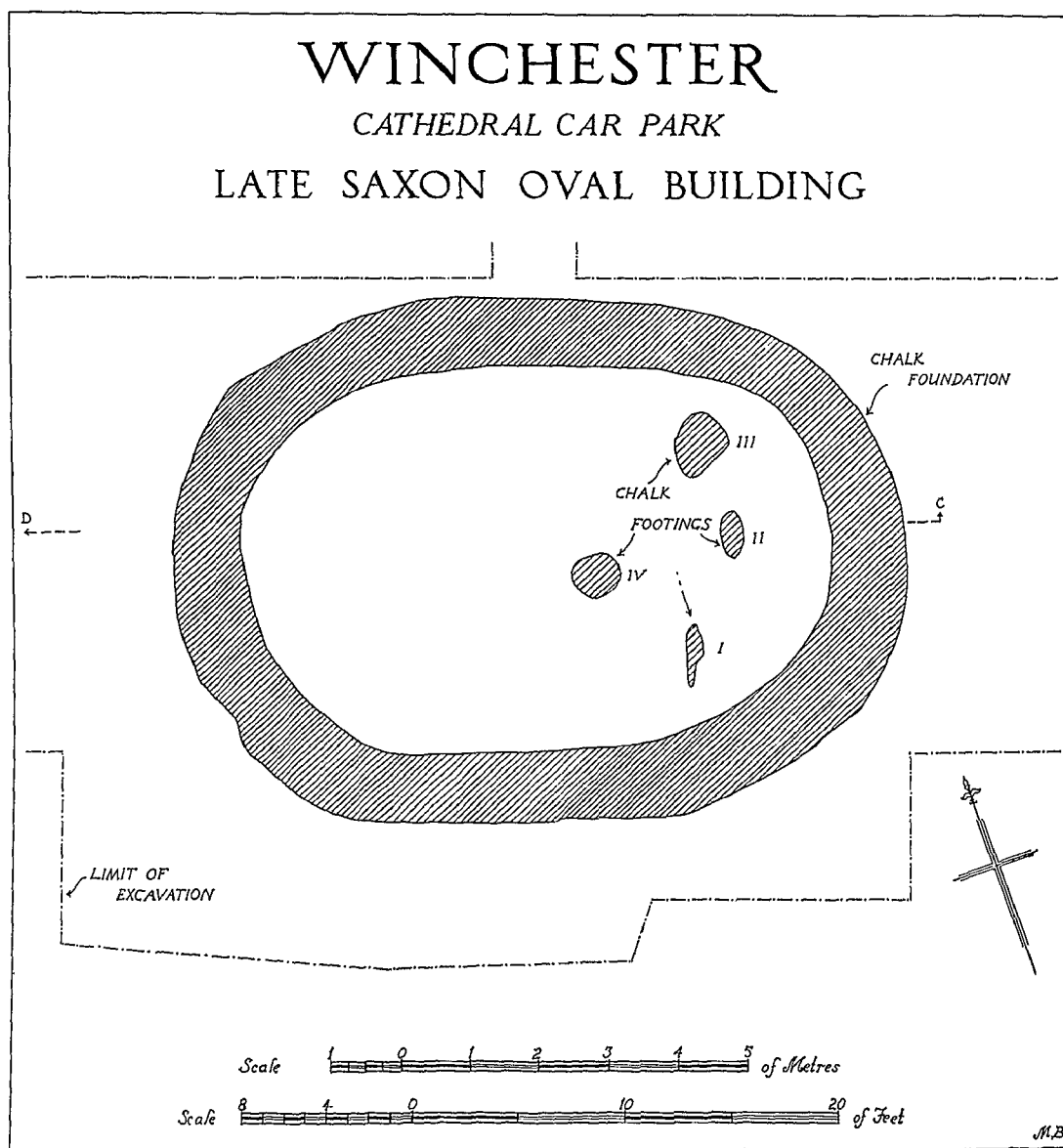


Fig. 3

(Cf. Pl. VIIIb; for the position of the Oval Building below Building A of the 11th-12th century see Fig. 4)

subsequent erection of the Oval Building in the area previously used for domestic purposes (see below), probably represents an extension of the area required for a purely religious function. Although burials did not take place around the Oval Building, they presumably continued alongside it in the cemetery area.

The Oval Building (Pl. VIII_B, Fig. 3)

East of the Roman street and in the area of the domestic occupation of the 9th–10th centuries already described was an irregular, almost oval, foundation of puddled and rammed chalk, set in a trench cut through this domestic occupation and into the build-up of black earth over the Roman house, Building 1 (S.E.). Although the outline of this footing was irregular, it may be described as an eastern and a western apse joined by two short, but clearly straight, sides. The footing varied in width from 3 ft. to 3 ft. 9 ins., and where not cut into by the footings of the south range of the later Building A (Pl. IX_B, Fig. 4) had a level surface giving a depth for the footing of about 2 ft. 3 ins.

No traces of any superstructure were noted where the level surface of the footing was preserved; traces of mortar and loose flints were absent and no post-holes were observed. A flat surface of this kind would, however, provide an excellent foundation for the ground-sill of a timber building which could have been of quite massive construction. If this were the case, it is clearly impossible to decide from the irregular outline of the curved ends whether the building was truly apsidal above ground, or polygonal. Internally, there is a chalk floor, at a higher level than the full height of the footing, and this floor seals the traces of earlier occupation (see p. 158) as well as four irregular chalk and flint footings towards the eastern end of the interior. The four footings are cut into the underlying levels and, although sealed by the chalk floor, they are clearly associated with it, since the floor is interrupted over part of footing II, which could thus be utilized as a support for some structure above floor-level. Their method of construction, and their siting within the oval, are additional indications of their association with the first phase of this building.

As noted above, this oval foundation and its associated floor seal occupation debris of the 9th–10th centuries. A clear *terminus ante quem* for the building is provided by the erection over it of the south range of Building A (Pl. IX_B, Fig. 4). Prior to the construction of this south range, which belongs to the second phase of Building A, the Oval Building appears to have continued in use (see below, 'Interpretation', p. 162, and p. 167) alongside the west range of Building A. This west range, the first phase of Building A, is tentatively attributed to c. 1066–7 (see below, p. 170). The erection of the Oval Building is thus approximately dated between the mid-10th and the mid-11th centuries. In the present state of our knowledge, the two sherds of Winchester Ware (see pp. 187–190), from levels earlier than this building, cannot indicate with certainty a date for its construction in the 11th rather than the later 10th century.¹

¹ But see p. 159, n. 1.

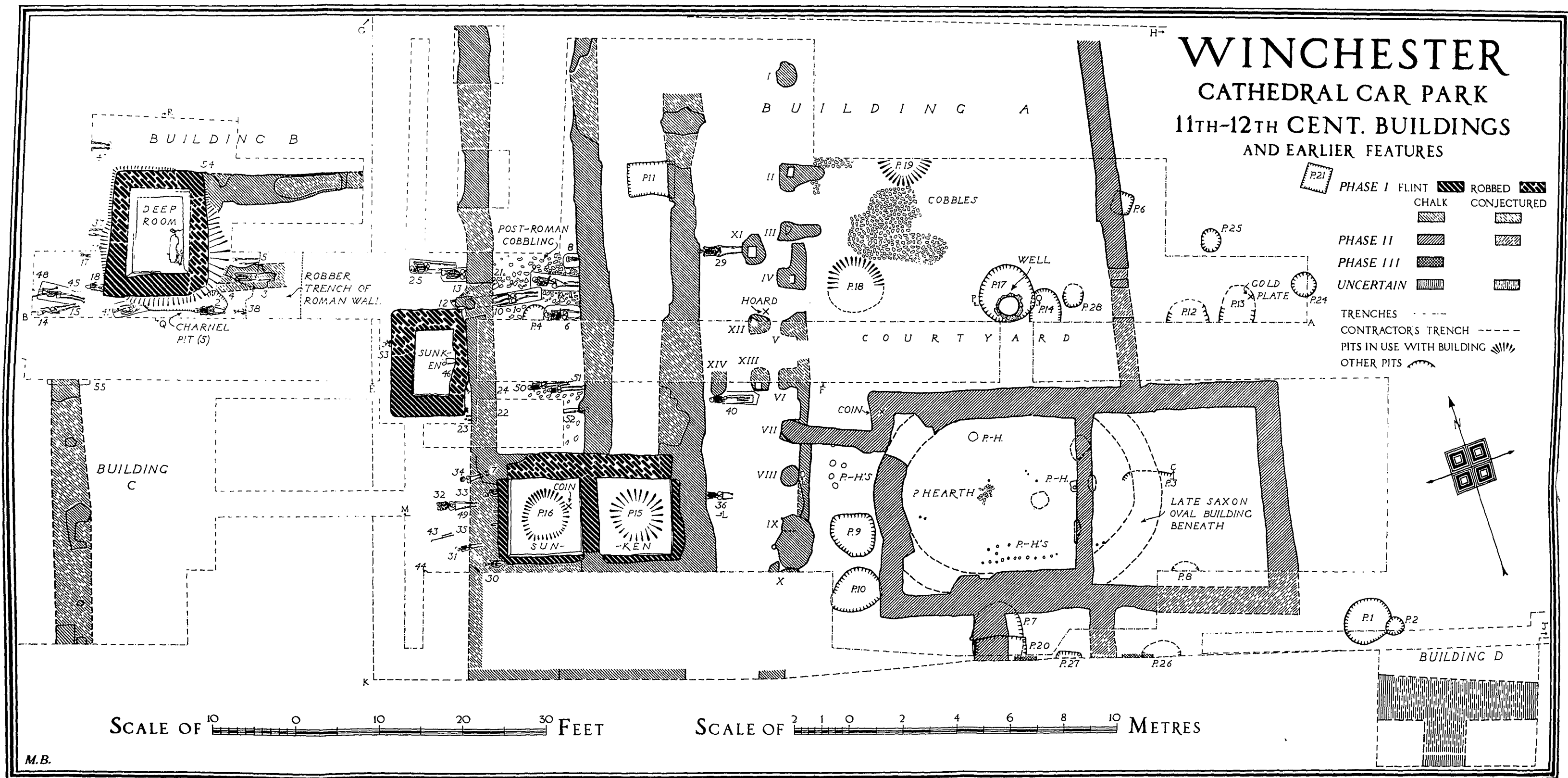
INTERPRETATION: *The cemetery and Oval Building*

It is difficult in this part of Winchester, where there have been so many churches or chapels, to ascribe the cemetery found on the Car Park site to any particular church. One suggestion may, however, be made. If the area of the 1961 excavation was really within the New Minster precinct — and, from Appendix I, this seems likely — then the beginning of the cemetery, at the end of the 9th century or later, could well correspond with the foundation of the New Minster, c. 903.

The Oval Building was ultimately incorporated in the south range of the 11th–12th century Building A. The sequence of events between the original construction of the Oval Building and its subsequent incorporation in Building A must now be discussed. The burnt levels and floors overlying the original chalk floor of the Oval Building (see p. 167) certainly indicate a period of domestic occupation within the area of the building, but they were separated from the original floor by a thick level of black earth, and in one place by a chalk and flint level. This last immediately overlay the original floor, with no intervening layer, and itself continued across the east end of the oval footing. Elsewhere, another level of black earth lay between the footing of the Oval Building and the footing of the south range of Building A, which was here superimposed upon it. The stratification thus shows that these burnt levels and floors, which only survived within the Oval Building, were later than, and quite distinct from, its initial use. In addition, since they are themselves cut by the footings of the south range of Building A, they must belong to a phase in the occupation of the area between the original period of use of the Oval Building and the construction of the south range of Building A.

The extent to which the Oval Building was still standing during this intervening phase is not clear. The chalk and flint level already mentioned sealed part of the east end of the oval footing which must therefore have been altered, perhaps for an entrance, if not demolished, before the accumulation of the later floors which themselves sealed the chalk and flint level. The latter also seals the interruption in the original chalk floor over footing 11, thus showing that footings 1–14 went out of use at the same time as the change in the east end. These two facts strongly suggest a change in the function of the Oval Building at this time. The important points for the present discussion are: (i) that there was no occupation level on the original chalk floor where it was sealed by the chalk and flint level; and (ii) that the domestic occupation clearly belonged to a secondary phase in the use of the Oval Building, quite distinct from its original function. It is impossible at this stage to determine definitely what was the original purpose of the Oval Building, but the following points seem relevant:—

1. There was domestic occupation on the site of the Oval Building before its erection, and also within the building at the time when, having been altered from its original function, it was being used (as will be suggested below), in association with, and subsequently incorporated within, the 11th–12th-century Building A. Nevertheless — while there can be no certainty — it seems



reasonable to regard the original purpose of the building, when first erected in isolation just east of the cemetery, as religious. A religious purpose is suggested by the two apses, a feature common in the early Church, and known to have been present in some English pre-Conquest churches (*e.g.* Canterbury Cathedral). The four separate footings towards the east end of the building might possibly suggest some structure associated with an altar (or even a font).

2. An isolated building with a degree of 'central planning' could suggest a baptistry. There are a number of examples of baptistries, in early times and in the high middle ages, placed to the west of churches; the Oval Building might conceivably have been a baptistry associated with a church to the east of it. No major building was, however, found axially east of the Oval Building, despite both archaeological trenching and subsequent complete excavation of the area by the contractor. Building D (p. 169) to the south-east should, however, be noted.

3. The possibility should also be considered of the Oval Building having been axially planned east of a great church. There are examples, from the Anglo-Saxon period, of complexes of separate churches and chapels strung out along an east-west axis, *e.g.* Glastonbury¹ and St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The latest plan of this,² incorporating the results of excavations carried out by Mr. Andrew Saunders for the Ministry of Works, shows the newly-discovered chapel, with a western apse, beyond the west end of the narthexes added by St. Dunstan to St. Augustine's church. Of relevance here is the church of St. Mary, a building just east of the main church of St. Augustine, but originally detached from it (until Wulfic's octagon was erected). Further east of the main complex was the church of St. Pancras.

Another interesting case is the reference in Eadmer's account of the Saxon Canterbury Cathedral to 'a church on the east part of the greater church, almost touching the same', used for baptisms, judicial enquiries and burial of archbishops. In his Canterbury study, Willis³ conjectured this as a polygonal, non-axial, baptistry just east of the Saxon cathedral. St. John Hope, reviewing the question in 1918, postulated a large round structure placed axially just east of the main east apse.⁴ Hope had in mind a parallel to Wulfic's octagon, then recently discovered.⁵

A further example was at Bury St. Edmunds, where the rotunda erected by Cnut for the body of St. Edmund appears to have been built immediately east of the already existing church of St. Mary.⁶

Another possible parallel for a double-apsed building, just east of a great church, is the well-known plan of an ideal monastery in the library at St. Gall.

¹ Plan reproduced, RNQ:OM, 47.

² *Med. Arch.*, II (1958), 187.

³ Prof. R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (1845), 27.

⁴ *Proc. S.A.*, XXX, 136, Pl. opp. 152, also 155-6.

⁵ Hubert, in *Les églises à rotonde orientale* (Actes du III^e Congrès internationale pour l'Études du Haut Moyen Âge, éditions Urs Graf, 1954), 309,

gives some examples of Carolingian to 11th-century churches embodying a large circular or polygonal eastern rotunda — St. Benigne, Dijon, and Wulfic's octagon at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, being the climax of this development. Hubert states that such rotundas were often, in effect, tower-like *martyria*.

⁶ *Arch. J.*, CVIII (1951), 169-70, 173.

This seems to have been itself a double church, serving both novices and infirmary. Willis analyzed it in detail.¹

It would thus be reasonable to imagine the Oval Building as an isolated church or chapel, placed axially eastwards of a main church. Excavations in the south-west corner of the Car Park in 1961 did not, however, disclose the foundations of any such church, but the burials in the western part of the Car Park, which are in part contemporary with the Oval Building, seem to have a focus somewhere further west as has already been noted.

4. Another possibility is that the Oval Building could have been some kind of tomb-chapel, in the New Minster graveyard, of the class referred to by Grabar as a 'Martyrium'² and possibly like the example at Bury St. Edmunds already mentioned. The records imply that many of the eminent persons buried in the New Minster (starting with Alfred) were buried in the great church, but the possibility that the Oval Building was a minor tomb house, or charnel house, should not be ignored.

5. One may note an interesting reference (p. 180) concerning the return of the site of the New Minster to the Cathedral which describes it as 'the land within the city, which was the site of the Abbey before, with the chapels, and houses and mills which were within the circuit of that land'. There is a good deal of evidence for the existence of separate subsidiary chapels, in Carolingian or later monastic lay-outs, not necessarily placed axially to the main church.³ A good example is the two small chapels south of the main church in the well-known engraving of St. Riquier (Centula).⁴

6. Evidence is given on p. 159, above, of domestic occupation just below the Oval Building of a date subsequent to the foundation of the New Minster in c. 903. The Oval Building can hardly, therefore, have been one of the original buildings of the New Minster (such as the 'wind church', or wattled church, of the original *monasterium*, referred to in Edward the Elder's deed of c. 904; p. 177). It could, however, have been erected either in the period of the Ethelwoldian monastic revival and restoration, when the New Minster tower was built,⁵ or perhaps in the earlier part of the 11th century, possibly in the reign of Cnut.

¹ *Arch. J.*, V (1848), 85. It has long been recognized that the St. Gall monastery plan is partly fanciful, deriving much of its detail from plans of Roman camps, perhaps surviving in libraries of the dark ages. A recent discussion of this point is by J. Gantner, 'Beiträge zur Schweizerischen Architektur des frühen Mittelalters: I. Das Schema des St. Galler Klosterplans', *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, N.F., XXXVIII (1936), 21-8; Dr. Gantner points out similarities of the St. Gall plan with those of Housesteads fort on the Roman Wall and of Charlemagne's palace at Aachen. But Gantner comments that the plan of the great church in the St. Gall drawing is quite up-to-date for the 9th century, owing nothing to the plans of Roman forts. It also seems reasonable to regard the double-apsed building, just east of the great

church on the St. Gall plan, as a contemporary, rather than a Roman, concept.

² Grabar, *Martyrium* (1946) Vol. I and Album. See also plans showing small buildings of this type in Hubert, *L'Architecture Religieuse du Haut Moyen-Age en France* (1953).

³ See examples in G. Bandmann, 'Früh- und hochmittelalterliche Altaranordnung als Darstellung', *Das erste Jahrtausend* (Düsseldorf, 1962), I, 371. Bandmann calls such a complex of churches and chapels a *kirchenfamilie* and describes the tendency for such separate chapels gradually to become absorbed into the main church in the high middle ages.

⁴ RNQ:OM., Pl. VIIIa.

⁵ RNQ:N.M., 21.



A. The deep room of Building B (11th-12th-century) from the north-east. (*cf.* Fig. 4)



B. Gold plate with filigree ornament, probably late 10th-early 11th century,
p. 187. (4/1)

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL CAR PARK

MAIN EAST~WEST SECTION

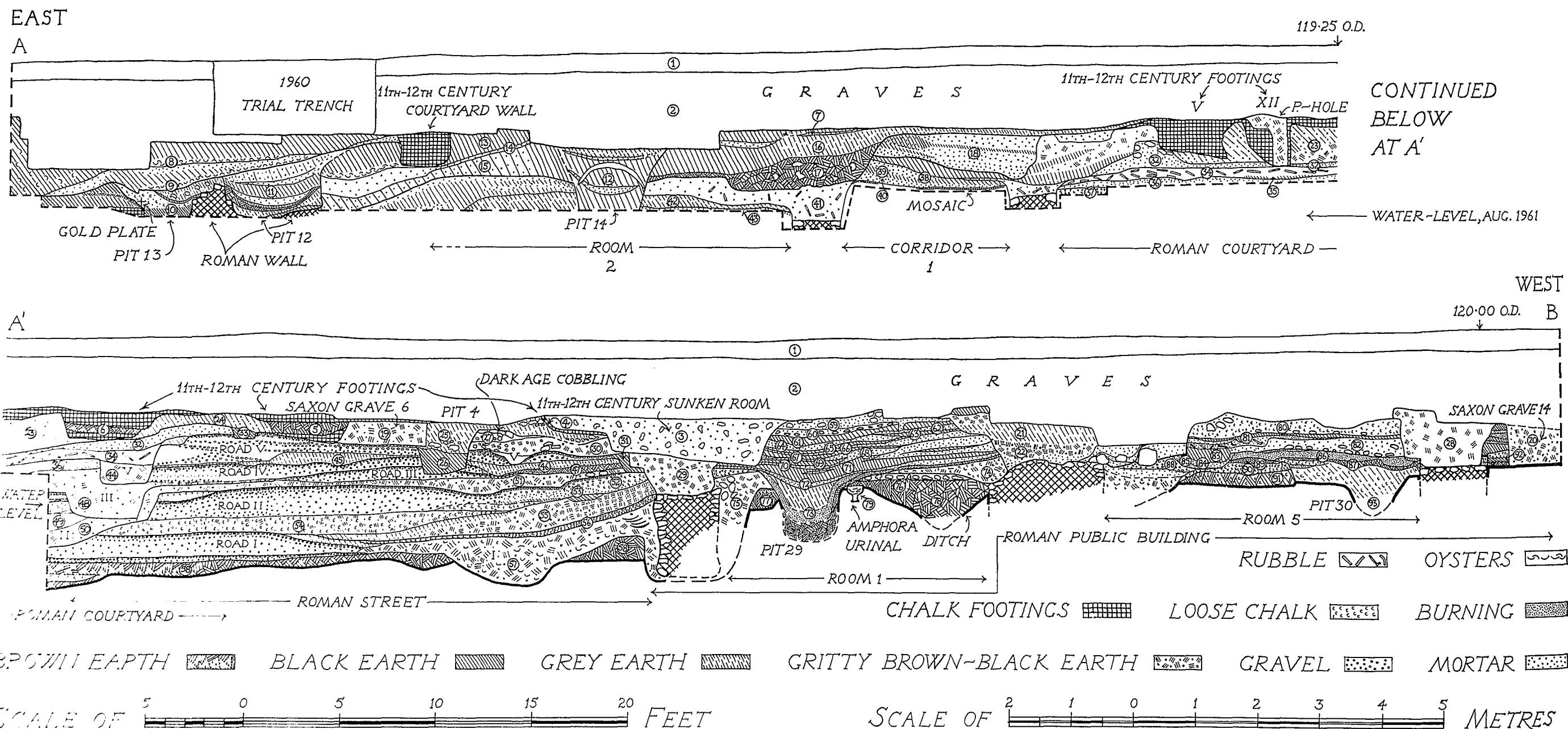


Fig. 5. Section A-B

7. The circuit of the New Minster site in Edward's grant (p. 177) mentions the church of St. Gregory (B on the plan Fig. 6). St. Gregory's seems to have lain between the Old Minster and the New Minster.¹ St. Gregory's is also mentioned by the author of the life of St. Dunstan² (c. A.D. 1000), as a place to which Dunstan and others repaired on their way home after the consecration of another church. It is unlikely (*cf.* Fig. 6) that the Oval Building was this church of St. Gregory (a church which does not seem to be mentioned in the later medieval lists of Winchester churches) but it could be some other vanished church. Presumably it was *not* St. Maurice, because, a few years ago, supposed Saxon foundations were found below that church,³ and also because such a drastic shift of site seems unlikely.⁴

ELEVENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURIES

Building A (Pl. IX, Figs. 4 & 5)

The levels and features so far described were in their turn sealed or cut into by the rammed chalk footings of Building A, a large structure ranged round at least two sides of a roughly rectangular courtyard containing a stone-lined well.

The *west range*, traced for just under 80 ft., consisted basically of three parallel north-south footings, across which towards the south limit of excavation were two rooms with their floors sunk about 2 ft. below the contemporary ground level, and each containing a deep pit (Pits 15 and 16). The walls of these rooms, and of a similar area (sunk about 3 ft.) attached to the west face of the western footing, were built of coursed flints with a large amount of orange-yellow mortar, properly faced and battered on the inner faces, but with the outer faces laid against the sides of the trenches in which the walls had been set. The footings of the rest of Building A were of rammed and puddled chalk, sometimes with bands of other material (Section A-B, Fig. 5, levels 5 and 6), set in footing trenches cut into the underlying levels (*cf.* Section Fig. 5). It is clear that flint and mortar walling was only used in the foundations where the floor level had to be below the contemporary ground surface.

Except in the sunken rooms, the floor levels in the west range had been mostly removed by the overlying post-medieval graveyard and the plan of the building was preserved only by the lower part of the chalk footings. In one place a small patch of chalk floor still survived, overlain in turn by a single occupation level and a destruction level of yellow mortar; a section here also showed a rubble-filled robber trench cutting the floor and associated levels

¹ See Winchester Sacramentary: RNQ:OM, 64, and Mrs. Carpenter Turner, *Churches of Mediaeval Winchester* (1957), 42.

² Rolls Series, LXIII, 14-15.

³ *Med. Arch.* IV (1960), 143.

⁴ The Winchester Sacramentary of c. 1000, now at Worcester (RNQ:OM., 64), describing the route of a funeral procession, refers, after St. Gregory's and before the New Minster church, to prayers being offered to the 'Virgin and all other Holy Virgins'. This was the dedication of the lowest

stage of the New Minster Tower, described in RNQ:NM., 33 (and Bandmann, *op. cit.*, 401-2, regards a dedication to the Virgin as appropriate to the lowest of a series of superimposed altars). The reference therefore suggests that the Tower may have been a detached structure between St. Gregory's and the New Minster church. It seems, however, most unlikely that the Oval Building could have been part of the very substantial Tower discussed in RNQ:NM.

and reaching down to the level top (here undisturbed) of the eastern chalk footing of the west range, just east of the square rooms (Fig. 4). Since this fragmentary evidence comes from beside the masonry walls, it cannot be taken as proof that the superstructure of Building A was entirely stone built; it may only have been so in this limited area, and the evidence of footings I to XIV indicates that that part of the building, at any rate, was certainly of timber (see below). Along the south side of the contractor's excavation, however, due south of the two flint-walled rooms, a chalk footing more massive than any found elsewhere in Building A was revealed; the level top of this carried a clean layer of yellow mortar, presumably from a masonry superstructure. It might be tempting to connect this latter footing with Building D (see below), but this must await further excavation.

The west range thus formed was about 28 ft. wide, but along the east side, at a distance of a further 10 ft., were ten separate chalk footings (I-X), three of which survived sufficiently undisturbed by later graves to retain traces of the massive rectangular timbers which had been set into them (II, III and IV). Between this line and the main block of the west range were an additional three footings, which were more in the nature of packings for large timbers, the outlines of which were in each case preserved by the chalk, although the timbers themselves had clearly been withdrawn (XI, XII and XIII). A further footing (XIV) with no trace of a post lay between footing XIII and the eastern footing of the main block. The way in which these footings are interrupted, and are not continuous as in the remainder of Building A, suggests that they might have been for a type of covered way partly open towards the east, running north-south along the east side of the west range. The narrow foundations between some of the southern footings may have carried dwarf walls between the pairs of uprights. The latter are so massive that it is quite possible that there were rooms carried out over the covered walk, and in this case footings XI to XIV were presumably intended to give extra support. The domestic character of this range was clearly shown by the quantities of food refuse — both vegetable and animal — in the sunken rooms, which seem to have served as garderobes.

This range had been roofed with wooden shingles, a number of which, together with a possible shingle peg, were found in Pit 16 (Fig. 11).

The *south range* was later than the west range, since the footing running west from its north-west corner cut into and replaced footing VII of the west range. The south range, the footings of which were entirely of rammed chalk, sometimes with bands of loose mortar, consisted of a simple rectangular building 51 ft. long and 28 ft. wide — the same width as the west range — divided internally into two almost square rooms. At least two footings ran south from the south side, but these could not be traced further in 1961. At this point some evidence was noted in the sides of the contractor's excavation which suggested a further, third, phase of construction on slightly different lines. The south range was linked to the west range by the footing already mentioned, and to the east a single wall ran north limiting the eastern side of the courtyard thus formed.

The western part of the south range followed closely, and presumably intentionally, the north, south and west limits of the underlying Oval Building; but although the lines had been followed, the perfectly serviceable footing of the Oval Building had been cut into by the rather less solid footings of the south range. At the north-west corner, however, the later dog-leg footing respected the outer face of the curving earlier footing, only to turn and cut into it further east. These facts suggest that the position of the Oval Building was to some extent allowed for in planning the later south range.

Inside the Oval Building the original chalk floor had been overlain by a series of similar floors, and heavily burnt levels (p. 162) suggesting domestic occupation and possibly use as a kitchen. These levels were in turn cut for the footings of the south range, but the whole area had been so extensively disturbed by later burials that no certain trace remained of any floor levels associated with the later phase. As has already been suggested, it seems rather unlikely that the Oval Building was originally designed as a secular structure, and it has been shown that the levels overlying the first chalk floor belong to a secondary use of the building. It is thus possible that the Oval Building was converted to domestic use alongside the western range, before the south range was constructed. If this is so, the continuity of site and alignment between the Oval Building and the south range is explained by supposing that the eventual replacement of the one by the other was intended when the west range was constructed.

The *eastern* side of the courtyard was defined by the single footing running north from the south range. There were no buildings on this side and immediately east of the courtyard wall the ground fell away into the eastern part of the silted area described above (p. 157). Outside the wall pits had been dug (Pits 12 and 13) and layers of kitchen refuse allowed to accumulate (Fig. 5, levels 8 and 9). The small gold filigree plate described below (Appendix II, Pl. XB) probably came from Pit 13 (Figs. 4 and 5) but excavation here was on the water level, and the stratigraphy being confused, no certainty is possible.

The *northern* limit of the courtyard was not located and must presumably lie under Market Lane, since no continuation of these structures was noted during rescue work on the Sherriff and Ward extension site north of Market Lane in 1960 (Fig. 2).

The *courtyard* thus formed was rectangular, 37 ft. 6 in. at the widest and of uncertain depth. Patches of cobbling still remained, but had mostly been removed by later burials. In the south-east corner of the area was a stone-lined well, set in a large oval construction-pit (Pit 17). The entrance to the courtyard from the west range was presumably between the elongated footings II and III.

A *terminus post quem* for Building A is provided by the various pits and other features sealed below it, and in particular the south range must be later than a cut halfpenny of Aethelraed II in issue from 991 to 997¹ which was found in the dog-leg footing at its north-west corner. In addition, the pottery from

¹ We are grateful to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for identifying the Saxon and other Medieval coins.

Pit 11, sealed by the eastern footing of the main block of the west range, is unlikely to be earlier than the 11th century. The large quantity of coarse pottery found in levels contemporary with Building A suggests a date of c. 1100 for the occupation of the building.¹ Especially important, however, are the glazed sherds of Winchester Ware, now for the first time recognized and discussed below (pp. 187-190) by Mr. J. G. Hurst. Several sherds of one vessel of this ware were found in one of the footings of the west range of Building A and others in the occupation levels below the Oval Building (see p. 158) as well as in the secondary domestic occupation above it (p. 162), prior to the construction of the south range of Building A. Although care must be taken to avoid a circular argument, the finds of this ware so far recorded in Winchester suggest that it was current throughout the 11th century and probably both earlier and later. The glazed tripod-pitcher (Fig. 10) from Pits 15 and 16 is also important in this context. It was found scattered down the side of Pit 15 and must have found its way there immediately before it was covered with the demolition rubble filling both the sunken rooms. The rubble itself contained near Pit 16 a penny of William II's second issue of 1089, demonetized in c. 1092. The tripod-pitcher is an important piece in its own right and is discussed below, where it is suggested that a date of c. 1100 is indicated by what is known of this type elsewhere. The gold plate, already referred to, is assigned to the 10th or early 11th century and provides a *terminus post quem* for the pit in which it seems to have been, which is probably contemporary with the second phase of Building A.

No *terminus ante quem* for this building can be provided, as the upper levels were almost entirely removed by post-medieval burials, and no remains of later buildings were found on the site. Only a little pottery of later medieval date came from the disturbed levels, although post-medieval pottery was common in the later graves. One sherd of yellow-glazed ware with an *appliqué* bird head, which should be of 13th-century date, together with one other mid 13th-century pitcher sherd, came from the robber trench of the flint and mortar wall north of Pit 16, but these were isolated pieces and the level was not sealed, being immediately overlain by later burials. The archaeological evidence thus suggests a date of c. 1100 for the occupation of the Building A, the glazed tripod pitcher and coin of William II both being associated with the demolition, and the bulk of the occupation, as defined by the Winchester Ware and the coarse wares, perhaps being before rather than after that date. It must be said, however, that the study of Saxon and Norman pottery in the Winchester area is still in a very early stage and too much precision cannot be expected. Both somewhat earlier, and rather later, dates for Building A cannot be excluded.

¹ We are grateful to Mr. J. G. Hurst for examining this material, with the suggested date of which he is in agreement. Detailed study of the pottery has not yet been undertaken. The lack of closely dated groups of early Medieval pottery from the Winchester region is a difficulty which will, it is hoped, be partly remedied by study of the long stratified series

from the 1962 excavations of a medieval town house in Lower Brook Street. *Postscript* (1963): The dating suggested here for Winchester Ware and for the coarse pottery from Building A has been amply confirmed by the discovery in 1963 of material in a pit sealed by the castle bank at the latest in c. 1110 and probably in c. 1070.

Building B (Pl. XA, Fig. 4)

West of, and detached from Building A was a further structure similar in construction and likewise cutting into and sealing the underlying cemetery. Building B consisted of two rooms at different levels. The western room was sunk at least 7 ft. below the contemporary ground level and had battered walls of flint and yellow mortar similar to those surrounding the sunken rooms of Building A, but much more massive, though now badly robbed. The floor, well below the original level of undisturbed ground, was of yellow sand and on it lay two wooden planks, possibly, though by no means certainly, part of an original floor covering. The eastern room was at contemporary ground-level and had footings of rammed and puddled chalk and pitched flints set in footing trenches. Modern burials had removed most of the south footing and all the floor levels; no eastern termination survived. The deep room was filled with levels of demolition rubble containing many human bones.

Building B was in no way sealed by later structures and can only be dated by its construction, which was identical to Building A, Phase I; by the pottery found in the fill of the deep room, which seemed to be similar to that found in Building A; and by the way in which, like Building A, it ignores the underlying cemetery. On these grounds it seems reasonable to suppose that Buildings A and B are part of the same complex.

Building C (Fig. 4)

To the south-west of Building B a single broad, but relatively shallow, footing ran north-south parallel to Building A. No continuation of this footing into the area of Building B was observed in section A-B (Fig. 5), but later disturbance was very heavy in this area. The footing was of rammed chalk with some sporadic flints and yellow sand or mortar set in a footing trench cut through earlier burials. There was no other dating evidence, but whether part of a building or only a boundary wall, it seems clearly to belong to the same group as Buildings A and B. Building C was much less massive than Building D, and it seems rather unlikely that it could be part of the east end of a major church lying under the Morley College almshouses (see above, p. 164).

Building D (Fig. 4)

To the south-east of the south range of Building A the contractor's excavation below the footpath along the north side of the Cathedral Green revealed massive footings of rammed chalk which were seen to be at least 3 ft. 6 in. deep. An east-west wall with an intermediate wall returning to the south were noted. There is no evidence for the date of the Building D, which is of more massive construction than Buildings A, B and C, and further excavation would be of the greatest interest.

INTERPRETATION

Any interpretation can, at this stage, only deal with Buildings A and B, since too little is yet known of Buildings C or D. Given the reasonable

supposition that the area of the Car Park excavation was within the precinct of the New Minster (p. 177) — the following points are relevant:¹

1. In 1066 the lay buildings of the New Minster were destroyed by fire. After the Conquest, William took the site of these buildings in forcible exchange, building there his hall and palace. The monks, their site denied them, must still have been required by their Rule to live within the precincts of the New Minster, as is indicated by King Edgar's earlier enlargement of the site 'so that all things should be kept within the monastery (*intra monasterium haberentur*) according to the precept of the most holy father Benedict'. It is known from other sources, however, that the New Minster was uncomfortably close to the Old Minster, and that this contributed ultimately to the withdrawal of the New Minster to the site at Hyde beyond the North Gate. The rebuilding of the lay buildings destroyed in the fire of 1066 would thus have been difficult to achieve in an already crowded site, but they must have been rebuilt, for the monks of the New Minster did not leave this area until 1110, and are unlikely in 1066 to have had any intention of doing so.

2. In these circumstances, it is possible for the following reasons to suggest that Buildings A and B are part of the lay buildings of the New Minster rebuilt in c. 1066-67:

- (i) The use of a site previously a cemetery — and thus open and available for building — and the conversion of the Oval Building from a religious to a secular purpose might thus be explained, and have been justified at the time, in terms of urgent necessity.
- (ii) The position of Building A, beside the area of silted and repeatedly recut water-channels described above, is relevant. It is clear from the archaeological evidence that contemporary conditions here must have been far from ideal — indeed the first trench cut through this area with a mechanical digger was still unpleasantly smelly — and the description of the malodorous *paludem horridam* near the New Minster Monastery, which was one of the reasons for the move to Hyde, would have been appropriate to this area. The existence of the lay buildings in such an area as the Dugdale document describes may itself reflect the urgent necessity which must have conditioned the rebuilding of the domestic quarters. It suggests too that the document can only relate to a new site for the post-fire lay buildings of the New Minster, since the original buildings would hardly have been put on such an unsuitable site, and indeed seem to have been mainly in the neighbourhood of The Square (pp. 177-9).
- (iii) The archaeological dating discussed above agrees with an occupation beginning in c. 1066-7 and ending with the move of the New Minster in 1110.
- (iv) The plan of Building A itself also supports this interpretation: the grouping of buildings round a courtyard and the provision of a

¹ For the documentary evidence for the history and site of the New Minster see Appendix I, 4, pp. 175-82.

covered walk along one side might be an early attempt at a claustral lay-out. At St. Augustine's, Canterbury, the pre-conquest lay buildings found below the medieval cloister seem to have had a rectangular — but not square — garth,¹ while the evidence for alleys as detailed by Sir Alfred Clapham² seems, on the basis of the published plan, somewhat doubtful and the three equidistant parallel footings composing the west range recall the three similarly-spaced footings in the west range of Building A at Winchester.

The origin and early history of the claustral lay-out in England is still very obscure and the earliest true example yet known is that built by Edward the Confessor, or shortly after his time, at Westminster, clearly under French influence.³ The St. Augustine's evidence may suggest that, prior to the development of true claustral lay-out, monastic buildings were erected round a courtyard without intervening alleys. In this context, the plan of Building A at Winchester is especially interesting — if its interpretation as part of the lay buildings of the New Minster is correct — since it would appear to represent an intermediate stage in the development of the true cloister. The covered walk along the east side of Building A would have given access to all the ranges around the courtyard, since there was no range on the east.

3. Other possible interpretations of Buildings A and B must, however, be considered. These fall into three groups:

- I. if Buildings A and B are earlier than c. 1066-67.
- II. if they are of the second half of the 11th century but not part of the later claustral lay-out of the New Minster
- III. if they are later than the move of the New Minster in 1110.

4. Suggestion I is virtually excluded on the evidence of the pottery from Pit 11 and would entail too early a date for much of the coarse pottery from levels contemporary with Building A. The south range of Building A cannot be earlier than c. 1000 on the evidence of the coin of Aethelraed II found in its footings.

5. Suggestion II is clearly a possibility, in which case the buildings might be either some other part of the lay buildings of the New Minster, e.g. an infirmary cloister, in which case the incomplete claustral plan might be more easily explained, or they might be entirely secular. The second alternative would involve placing the Car Park site outside the precinct of the New Minster. This is perhaps possible, but it would seem difficult to identify Building A in terms of 11th-century secular domestic architecture. It is, on the other hand, conceivable that these buildings are part of the palace and hall erected in c. 1066-7 by the Conqueror on part of the New Minster site, and destroyed in 1141. This would be consistent with the view that the Car Park site is within

¹ *Arch. Cant.*, XLVI (1934), 179-194 and plan in pocket at back.

² *Ibid.*, 'A note on the lay-out of the cloister at St. Austin's Abbey', 191-194, especially 192.

³ *Arch.*, LXXXIII, 235-236, Pl. LXXI.

the original area of the New Minster precinct — a suggestion which is based on much earlier evidence, but would involve placing the Norman palace much further east than is usually thought. Moreover, the plan of Building A does not conform to what is so far known of 11th-century palaces, although no town palace has yet been investigated.

6. Suggestion III is also possible in terms of the archaeological evidence, although the pottery would probably be more consistent with a date during or before rather than after the first quarter of the 12th century.¹ The New Minster site had at this time been returned to what was then the Norman Cathedral and Buildings A and B might be associated with the latter. The *versorium* and *bracium* mentioned by Rudborne were, however, in existence c. 1400, and cannot be equated with the buildings found on the present site, which seems to have been unoccupied after the 12th century. The lay buildings of the Norman cathedral were mainly on its south side and, although some of them may have been placed to the east, or north-east, rather than to the south, to take advantage of the Lockburn stream (especially perhaps the *bracium* — brewery), it does not seem very likely that they were as far north as the present site. It is, of course, possible that Building A is some purely secular early 12th-century structure, but the difficulty of interpreting its plan in this context is again apparent. In the present state of our knowledge, the pottery evidence is more consistent with a date before rather than during the episcopate of Henry de Blois (1129–71).

LATER CONDITION OF THE SITE

No later buildings occupied the site which, at any rate in post-medieval and modern times up to the 1860's, had been used as part of the town burial ground. These graves had greatly disturbed the upper parts of the underlying levels and had completely removed any significant stratification there may have been over the 11th–12th century buildings. Only a few sherds of later medieval pottery came from the disturbed levels and this, together with the lack of any later buildings, would be consistent with Rudborne's statement that the New Minster site as a whole was occupied in his time (somewhat after 1400) by the garden of the sacristan and the infirmary garden, as well as by the brewery and *versorium* (p. 181).

The only significant later find was a hoard of 20 silver pennies deposited in an unsealed level by footing XII of the west range of Building A (Fig. 4). The hoard, now in the Winchester City Museum, consisted of 17 long cross pennies of Henry III, two Scottish pence of Alexander III and a continental sterling of Count Bernard III of Lippe. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley has published the hoard,² the concealment of which he has been able to date on numismatic evidence to a year either side of 1265; he also points out that as Winchester was sacked in July 1265, the Close being singled out for devastation, the deposit of the hoard can reasonably be attributed to that event.

¹ *Postscript* (1963): this is confirmed by pottery from the 1963 excavations: cf. p. 168, n. 1.

² *Num. Chron.*,⁷¹ 1 (1961), 185–189.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE WORK

The excavation of the Car Park site has thus been of considerable importance in elucidating the problems of Roman, Saxon and medieval Winchester. A Roman street has been sectioned and partially dated, and what seems to have been one of the public buildings of *Venta Belgarum* — perhaps the Forum — has been identified and tentatively dated to the late 1st or early 2nd century. Across the street, the greater part of a Roman town-house has been uncovered and its later, though not earlier, history ascertained. The identification of post-Roman occupation on top of the Roman street is of considerable importance for the least-known period of the city's history, and the examination of the build-up of levels over the Roman buildings in the eastern part of the site marks a beginning in the investigation of the complex problems concerned with the post-Roman changes in the water-table.

An occupation level beginning in the 9th or 10th century has been identified and a cemetery and an oval building, perhaps a religious structure of later 10th or 11th-century date, uncovered. A large complex of buildings covering the western part of the site was examined and has been tentatively dated to the 11th or early 12th century and provisionally interpreted as part of the later lay buildings of the New Minster. A number of individually important finds are discussed in Appendix II.

In 1962, exploratory work was undertaken south of the Car Park site on the Cathedral Green and it is hoped that this work will be continued on a larger scale in 1963. The location of the sites of the Old and New Minster monasteries, at which this work aims, would vitally affect the various interpretations discussed in this paper.

APPENDIX I

THE THREE SAXON MINSTERS AT WINCHESTER: DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

This appendix seeks to summarize the documentary evidence relevant to the siting of the three Minsters. The evidence is fragmentary, and more of it may remain to be identified; the documents are obscure and seldom specifically directed to topographical points. Such evidence can therefore only provide pointers to possibilities — sometimes perhaps probabilities — about the sites of these long lost Minsters. Definitive evidence about their location — where it is still available — can only be obtained by excavation.

1. THREE MINSTERS IN AN ENCLOSURE

Several documents indicate that the Old Minster and the New Minster stood close together. That this was so, and that both were fairly close to the Nunnaminster, is implied in a charter of King Edgar (959–75) creating a single monastic enclosure for the three houses, separated from the bustle of the city; he removed secular dwellings which had previously existed and the enclosure was surrounded by a wall and fence.¹ Another, somewhat obscure,

¹ BM, Add. MS. 15350, fol. 8b; *Cartul. Saxon.* No. 1302; Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* DLXXXII, '964 for 974'; quoted W. de G. Birch, *Liber Vitae of New Minster* (1892), xii: — 'non solum habitaculum VETUSTI monasterii, sed etiam NOVI aequae SANCTIMONIALIUM, ut cenobitae inibi degentes, a civium tumultu remoti, tranquillius Deo servirent honorifice, magna dilatavi cautela; spaciumque omne prefatis cenobiis contiguum, dissipatis secularium domunculis, in honore domini nostri Ihesu Christi, ejusque genitricis semper virginis Mariae, sanctique Petri apostolorum principis et coapostoli ejus Pauli, iisdem sanctis locis in Wentana civitate Deifice locatis, aeterna largitus sum hereditate', etc. . . .

'In nomine almae Trinitatis et individuae Unitatis praecipio, ut nemo successorum meorum angustare temere praesumat quod ego amplificans circa monasteria dilatavi, sed spacium omne muris vel sepibus complexum, uti dedi, sanctis monasteriis perpetualiter deserviat', etc. . . .

charter of Edgar 'commanded that the monasteries in Winchester should be separated by a space . . . none of the monasteries therewithin should have strife with the others on account of that space'. The deed deals with Adjustment of Boundaries between the monasteries.¹

2. OLD MINSTER

This was the name given to the Cathedral Monastery from the foundation of the New Minster, around 900, until the conquest.

After Birinus, the apostle of Wessex, had baptised King Kynegils at Dorchester, Oxon, in 635 and had established a bishop's seat there, Kynegils's son, Kenwalh built (643-8) '*ecclesiam pulcherrimam*' at Winchester. The See, and Birinus's bones, were transferred to Winchester by Hedda, who became bishop in 673. We do not know how often, after 648, the Old Minster was rebuilt. From 852 to 861 it was St. Swithun's Cathedral; Swithun is said to have fortified the monastery against the Danes, but there are references to devastations of the cathedral by the Danes in the 860's.²

In the poem by the Cantor Wulfstan, written about A.D. 1000, on the miracles of St. Swithun, with some detail also in the parallel prose account of the monk Lantfred, there is a long description of a great rebuilding and enlargement of the cathedral, by Bishops Ethelwold and Alphege, between c. 970 and c. 995.³ This was during the great monastic revival led by King Edgar, St. Dunstan and St. Ethelwold — the time of the great flowering of the Winchester School of illumination in the scriptoria of the Old and New Minsters.

As to the site of the Old Minster, there can be no certainty that its great church was on or near the site of the present cathedral, but this seems probable. The writer has already analysed the documentary indications for the siting of the Old Minster;⁴ the most significant points seem to be the following:—

- (i) The medieval *Annales de Wintonia* say that the first Norman Bishop (Walkelin) started building his cathedral in 1079, and that there was an important dedication in 1093, when St. Swithun's relics were translated from the Old Minster to the new cathedral. The *Annales* say that Walkelin's men then proceeded to demolish the Old Minster, and completed the work in one year, except for one porticus and the Great Altar.⁵ The 1093 dedication was presumably of the Norman choir, and probably also of at least the transepts, *i.e.* the Old Minster was apparently intact at least until the Normans started to build their nave.
- (ii) Rudborne, the monastic chronicler writing after 1400, says that there could then be seen, outside the north door of the nave (*i.e.* near the west end, Fig. 6), a 'modest chapel', in the place where St. Swithun had originally been buried.⁶ This, according to Wulfstan and Lantfred, had been outside the west door of the pre-Ethelwoldian Old Minster. If, as the writer has suggested is conceivable, Ethelwold built a 'west-work'

¹ B.M., Add. MS. 15350, fol. 6b; *Cartul. Saxon*, No. 1163; quoted Birch, *An Ancient Manuscript* (Nunnaminster) (1889), 129-132, in Anglo Saxon. See also below, p. 175, under 3, Nunnaminster.

² B.M., Harl. MS. 358, fol. 16, 62, 67; Add. MS. 29,436, fol. 8v.

³ The significance of the Wulfstan and Lantfred texts is analyzed in detail in RNQ:OM. For the history of the Old Minster see RNQ:OM, 28-30.

⁴ RNQ:OM, 64-68.

⁵ '*Annales de Wintonia*', Wharton: *Anglia Sacra* (1691), I, 295: 'Anno MXCIII. In praesentia omnium fere Episcoporum atque Abbatum Angliae cum maxima exultatione & gloria de veteri Monasterio Wintoniensi ad novum venerunt Monachi vi Idus Aprilis. Ad Festum vero S. Swithuni facta processione de novo Monasterio ad vetus, tulerunt inde feretrum S. Swithuni, & in novo honorifice collocaverunt. Sequenti vero die Domini Walkelini Episcopi coeperunt homines primum vetus frangere Monasterium; & fractum est totum in illo anno, excepto portico uno & magno altari . . . Anno MXCIV. Inventae sunt Reliquiae S. Swithuni aliorumque plurimorum Sanctorum sub altari Veteris Monasterii.' *Vetus monasterium* means the Old Minster; *novum* here means Walkelin's new cathedral.

⁶ Rudborne: Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (1691), I, 203: 'Jam vero valefacturus cadaver suum extra ecclesiam praecepit tumulari ubi postea constructa est modica capella, quae adhuc cernitur ad boreale ostium navis ecclesiae.'

John of Exeter, f.4 (quoted Willis 'Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral', *Proc. R.A.I.*, *Winchester 1845*, 6, note n.; also C.C.C. MS. 110, f. 273): 'S. Swithunus . . . sepultus est extra portam borealem navis ecclesie qui locus tunc indecens erat, modo vero ibidem quam pulchra capella in ejus honore constructa est.'

for the Old Minster over that spot, possibly the 'modest chapel' remaining in the Middle Ages was part of, or a successor to, the west-work.

In combination, these points suggest the possibility — even if no more — that the Old Minster may have lain just north of the present cathedral nave. This seems on the whole more likely than a site coincident with the present cathedral choir or south of the present nave. A site axial with the present nave cannot be excluded.¹

3. NUNNAMINSTER

King Alfred, who died in 899, or his Queen Elswytha, founded a monastery, the Nunnaminster, which till the end of the Middle Ages was one of the most important nunneries in England. Architecturally, little is recorded about it other than that it had a lofty tower, dedicated by Archbishop Plegmund (d. 914).²

Long tradition has held that the Nunnaminster lay to the east of the Cathedral Green, to the south of the present Guildhall, and to the east of it, in the present Abbey Garden. Among the clutter of buildings south of the Guildhall is a curving N.-S. wall, well shown in the 1873 Ordnance Plan,³ which could be part of the medieval west wall of the Nunnaminster enclosure.

Birch⁴ attempted, from a Saxon record, to reconstruct the Nunnaminster site as covering roughly the area bounded by the High Street and by the western, southern and eastern portions of the present Colebrook Street, but his interpretation has been questioned. King Edgar's Adjustment of Boundaries, referred to in section 1 above,⁵ has the following suggestive passage, mainly relating to mills:—

'Athelwold, Bishop . . . , has assigned two plots of ground without the South gate unto New-minster, instead of that minster's mill which stood upon the space which the King ordered to be ceded to the Old-minster.

And Æthelgar, the abbot [of New-minster] . . . has assigned . . . to Nunnaminster the same mill which the Bishop gave and another which they formerly possessed within the borough, and to Eadgyfu, the abbess, the King's daughter, assigned the same, instead of the watercourse which he has diverted by the King's leave into New-minster (and it formerly belonged to the nunnery), and the channel of which had destroyed a mill of his; and he gave unto the King a hundred and twenty mancuses of red gold in acknowledgement, in presence of the lady Ælfdryth, and in presence of Bishop Athelwold, for the land on which the water runneth, from the north wall to the south wall of the monastery in length, and two meteyards broad where the water first falls in; and where the land is least broad there, it shall be eighteen feet broad.'

This passage seems to suggest that there was debatable land between the three monasteries and that boundary disputes related to a watercourse, or watercourses, providing power for mills. The last sentence might suggest that the Lockburn formed a boundary between the New Minster and Nunnaminster. Could it be that some of the secular dwellings removed by Edgar (see p. 173), to leave a 'space' between the monasteries, were on this strip of land along the Lockburn, *i.e.* between the Old and New Minsters on the west and Nunnaminster on the east?

4. NEW MINSTER

The third monastery, in what seems reminiscent of other European — sometimes loosely called Carolingian — monastic complexes, was the New Minster. This was founded at the wish of King Alfred (871–899), built by his son Edward the Elder (899–925), and dedicated *c.* 903. The Abbey was preceded by a 'monasterium',⁶ with St. Grimbald from St. Bertin, near St. Omer, as its first abbot. The writer has already analysed some of the documentary evidence about the New Minster site.⁷ The evidence is summarised here, in chronological order.

¹ RNQ:OM, 66–7.

² RNQ:NM, 18, *n.* 7.

³ O.S. 1:500 plan of Winchester (surveyed 1871), Hants (N. Div.) XLI, 13, 19.

⁴ Birch, *An Ancient Manuscript*, 32.

⁵ Birch, *ibid.*, 129–132.

⁶ For refs. see RNQ:NM, 17, *n.* 10.

⁷ RNQ:NM, App. III, 49–54.

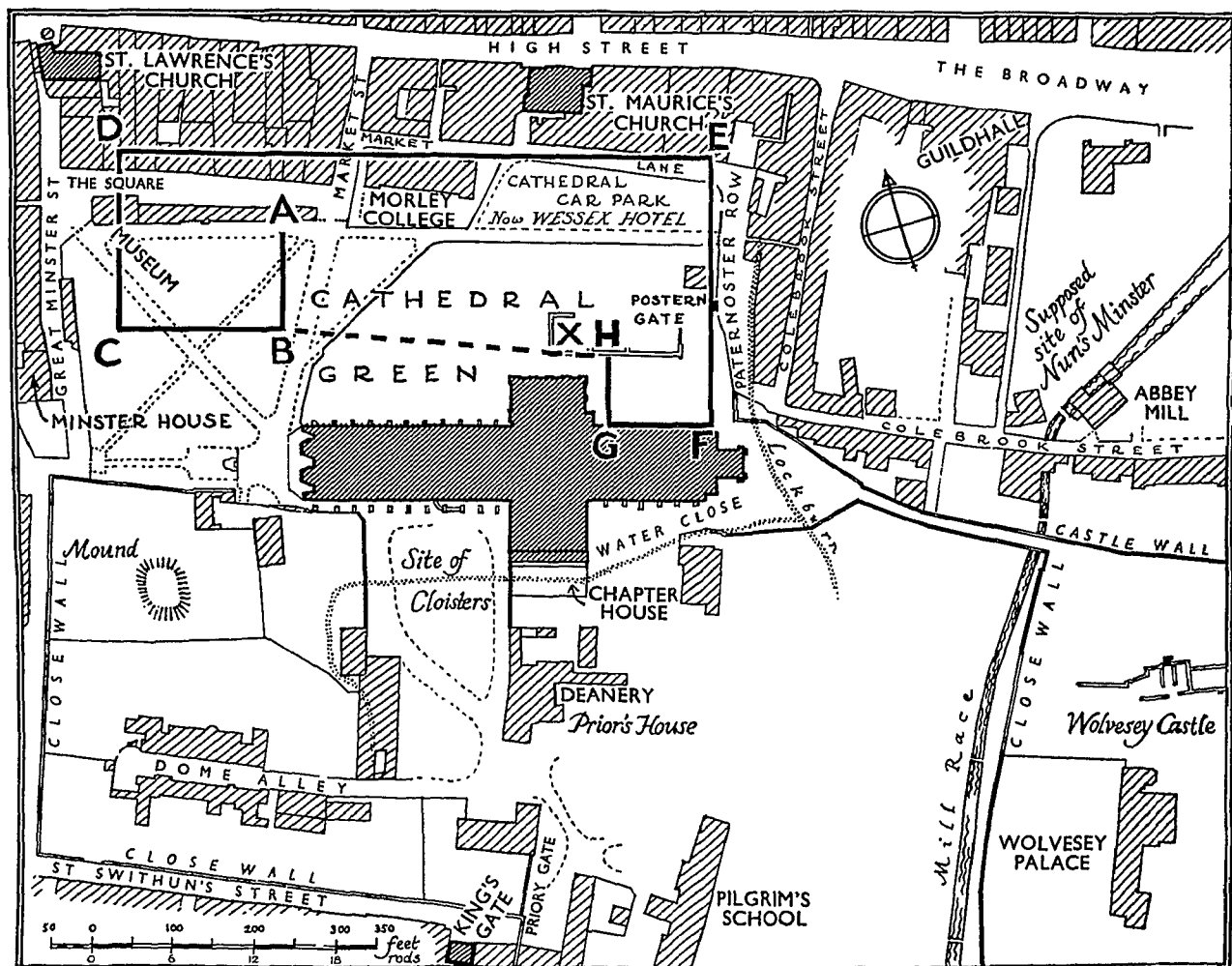


Fig. 6. The area around Winchester Cathedral

X Foundation of early building excavated by Dean Kitchin in 1886

The Circuit of the original New Minster site in Edward the Elders' Grant of *c.* 904 is marked by a heavy black line (A to H); the completion of the circuit, between B and H, is marked by a broken line. As explained opposite, the circuit was constructed geometrically from the description in the Grant, on a scale of 1 rod = $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards; it was then superimposed on the present topography. The circuit is here located somewhat further south than in fig. 6, p. 50, of RNQ : NM — as explained at the end of the first paragraph of p. 177.

(i) *Edward the Elder's Grant*

This grant, of c. 904, states that King Edward had already obtained from Bishop Denewulf, and the old Minster Convent, the 'Wind Cirican' and the stone dormitory and land south of them. The 'wind church' was presumably a thatched or wattled church and, together with the stone dormitory, may have comprised the original 'monasterium'. Edward's grant¹ is concerned with an 'augmentation' of the original area and sets out certain boundaries. The heavy black lines on the plan (Fig. 6) are an attempt by the writer to suggest what the site boundary described in the grant might have been. The relative dimensions, apparently set out in the grant, have been superimposed, in what could be a likely position, on the present topography. The exact position can obviously be only approximate, and there is some latitude to shift the site somewhat east/west, or north/south.² In Fig. 6, the northern boundary has been aligned roughly along Market Lane (north of the Car Park), rather than along the High Street (as in Fig. 6 in the writer's article on the New Minster³), for it seems likely that the boundary ran south of St. Maurice's. More particularly Edgar could hardly have extended Edward the Elder's original site northwards (see ii below), by removing houses, if it was already aligned on the High Street frontage.⁴

The circuit, as drawn in Fig. 6, would pass close to the churches of St. Maurice and (the later?) St. Lawrence (which were near the later close boundary: see iv below), would have its western area in the neighbourhood of the Square (see ii below); and would include the site of 'Dean Kitchin's building' (see vi (c) below).

(ii) *Liber Vitae of New Minster*

The text of the *Liber Vitae*, an important early 11th-century manuscript (BM. Stowe 944),⁵ describes a grandiose 'Tower'⁶ built c. 980 and presumably associated with, or forming part of, the great church of the New Minster. There is also a reference to King Edgar (959-75)

¹ The grant is printed in Birch, *Liber Vitae of New Minster*, 1892, 155-7 (English translation by Thorpe). The manuscript is B.M. Add. MS. 15350, f. 8; printed in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, MLXXXVII; and Thorpe, *Dipl.*, 156. The passage from which the circuit in Fig. 6 is drawn, with the relevant letters which are on the plan, inserted, reads as follows:

'Now this is the augmentation which the "witan" of all the West Saxons have in addition chartered to me in perpetual inheritance. First, due south from the refectory (A) to Saint Gregory's church (B): then from the south-west corner of Saint Gregory's church twelve rods due west to the street (C): then due north thirteen rods to the north street (D): then due east forty-three rods and six feet to the east street (E): then due south twenty rods and six feet to the south street (F): then due west by the south street to the cemetery seven rods and six feet (G): then due north five rods (H): Then the circuit of the whole is three furlongs and three mete-rods.'

In the paragraph here quoted dimensions are given for the boundaries of the site (starting from the refectory at an unspecified point within the site); the different points on the boundary are indicated by letters in the above quotation. These dimensions have been plotted (in Fig. 6) on a scale of 1 rod = $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards (16' 6"). The circuit as described is not complete; but, if completed by joining points H and B, the total circuit is about 3 furlongs, which corresponds with the text. The shape of the site is a rectangle, with its longer axis roughly east-west, and with a small extension at the south-east corner.

On this reading of the record, 'the street', and the 'north', 'east', and 'south' streets, in King Edward's Charter, would refer, not to streets with these names, but merely to the streets lying west, north, east, and south of the site, i.e. perhaps (Great, or Little) Minster Street, Market Lane on the north edge of the Car Park, Colebrook Street (north end; or Paternoster Row) and a prolongation of the south part of the present Colebrook Street.

² It is of course quite possible that the angles of the boundary were not right angles, and/or that the axis of the enclosure was not parallel to the W.N.W.-E.S.E. alignment of the streets (see ii. 4, below).

³ RNQ:NM, 50.

⁴ The southward displacement of the boundaries of the grant from the position suggested in RNQ:NM, Fig. 6, is also supported by the discovery in 1963 of an early wall crossing the Cathedral Green from east to west on the line of the later Paradise Wall and about 90 ft. north of the nave. This early wall would coincide with the southern boundary of the tentative plotting of Edward the Elder's grant if the northern boundary were placed, as is now suggested, on Market Lane and not, as previously suggested, on High Street. The alignment of this wall is almost due east and there are also indications from the 1963 excavations that the orientation of the Old Minster was nearer due east than that of the present Cathedral. If further work confirms these observations, the axis of the New Minster enclosure may prove, as envisaged in ii. 2, above, to be more exactly east-west than is shown in Fig. 6.

⁵ Published in full by W. de G. Birch in *Liber Vitae of New Minster and Hyde Abbey* (1892).

⁶ Considered in detail in RNQ:NM.

having apparently enlarged the site of the New Minster to the west, the north and the east, and up to the Town Square.¹ This could possibly relate to Edgar's removal of secular dwellings within the area of the three Minsters (see 1 above), e.g. eastwards in the neighbourhood of the Lockburn (see 3 above), northwards along, or behind,² the line of the High Street, and perhaps westwards somewhere in the region of the present Square. It may be significant that nothing is said about expansion of the New Minster site to the south (which would presumably have been blocked by the Old Minster site), and that the end of the passage says that Edgar would have extended the New Minster site to the eastern city walls if the Nunnaminster had not been in the way.

The *Liber Vitae* contains an important preamble, in a 14th-century hand, about conflagrations in Winchester in 1066 and 1140 [1141].³ In summary, the passage says that the lay buildings (*officine*), which, from the text, seem to have been on the west side of the New Minster, were burnt down in 1066, on St. George's Day, i.e. a few months before the Conquest. The site of these buildings was taken from the New Minster, in forcible exchange, by William the Conqueror for building his hall and palace. After the latter buildings had been burnt down in 1141, by the 'army' of Bishop Henry de Blois in the wars of Stephen and Matilda, their site was handed over, in 1150, to St. Lawrence's church.

The site of the Norman palace is not known exactly. Part of it may have been between Little and Great Minster Streets, i.e. near the Norman fragment beside the former Norman Palace Tea-rooms. But it seems likely that at least some part of the palace may have extended eastwards, between St. Laurence's church⁴ and the present Market Street. That street can probably be equated with the Thomasessgate⁵ which, in the text, seems to have been the east boundary of the fire of the New Minster *officine*. It is conceivable that Thomasessgate corresponded to a gateway from the New Minster towards High Street in the neighbourhood of the northern end of the present Market Street. From the text it could be imagined that the New Minster Church lay east of Thomasessgate, for instance in the Morley College/Car Park area, or just south of it.

Mention of the Norman Palace prompts a speculation as to the possible site of the Saxon Palace. If William the Conqueror took an area in the neighbourhood of the present Square for part of his new Palace, could he have been extending northwards a pre-existing Saxon Palace area lying west of the present cathedral, and, perhaps therefore west of the Old

¹ Birch, *Liber Vitae of New Minster* (1892), xii, 8: 'Necne capescendo sempiternae recompensationis brauio fratribus ibidem Christo deuote famulantibus, ut omnia secundum sanctissimi patris Benedicti institutum intra monasterium haberentur, a parte occidentis, septentrionis & orientis, usque ad plateam ciuitatis terminos delatauit monasterii: et iocundissimum aque discursum inibi diriuare permittens, insuper ab ortu solis usque ad moenia ciuitatis terminos prolongasset, ni sanctimonialium obfuisse fines.'

This passage would be consistent with the suggested boundaries in Fig. 6, if the 'town square' was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present Square. However, a possible interpretation of a reference to a 'popularis platea' in the Life of St. Dunstan of c. 1000 (Rolls Series, LXIII, 14-15) would locate the platea somewhat nearer the West Gate.

² This would be consistent with the original Northern boundary of the New Minster site, in King Edward's deed, having been somewhat to the south of the High Street, as suggested on p. 177, above.

³ Birch, *Liber Vitae of New Minster* (1892), 2-3: 'Officine noui monasterii Wintoniae comburuntur in festo Sancti Georgii ab australi parte cenobii usque in occidentalem Monasterii et ab occidentalem usque ad orientalem ad ianuas portae dicti noui Monasterii qui nunc uocatur Thomasessgate. Quam quidem terram Willelmus primus conqwestor Rex Anglie de Riualione Abbate et monachis dicti noui monasterii accepit in escambio pro Manerio de Aulton ...'

'Igitur nobilissimus Rex anno regni sui quarto aulam suam et palacium supra dictam terram honorifice edificare fecit ...'

'Et sabbato iiii Non. Augusti combusta est dicta ciuitas Wyntoniae ab exercitu episcopi et plures ecclesiae que in ea erant, preter paucas, et Monasterium Monialium [i.e. Hyde Abbey, outside the North Gate] et totum palacium Regis cum aula sua, nam et eodem die dicta ciuitas Wyntoniae capta est et spoliata ...'

'In primis de ecclesia Sancti Laurencii sic ordinarunt et imperpetuum statuerunt, quod tota illa terra quam dictus Rex Willelmus conqwestor in escambio accepit de Abbate et conuentu noui Monasterii, super que aulam suam et palacium edificari fecit, ut in aduentu Roberti Comititis Glocestrie combustum fuit, sit ad dictam ecclesiam sancti Laurencii imperpetuum.'

⁴ It has been suggested that the eastern boundary of St. Laurence's parish was at one time Market Street. But Godson's map of 1750 shows a boundary, slanting from north-east to south-west, in the

middle of the block of buildings between Market Street and the Square.

⁵ See RNQ:NM, 51, n. 2.

Minster?¹ If, as the writer has suggested,² the Old Minster had a west-work, this would have been conveniently placed for access on the first floor from a palace west of the Old Minster to a royal box or gallery on the first floor of the west-work — *i.e.* in the traditional Carolingian position for the seat of a king or ruler.³

(iii) *The Dugdale document*

The well-known reference to the contiguity of the New and Old Minsters occurs in a document quoted in the early 19th-century edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (vol. II, 1819, 435–6). Dugdale described it as 'ex veteri MS in Bibl. Cottoniana, fol. 30' and the editor of the *Liber de Hyda* speaks of 'the lost Cotton MS, Vitellius, E. xii, now known chiefly by the quotations made from it by Dugdale'.⁴ The writer has, however, located in the British Museum a text, in a very late hand, corresponding exactly to the Dugdale text, namely, B. M. Cotton, Vespasian, D. IX, f. 30^v. This text is reproduced at A in the Annex to this Appendix; at B in the Annex is a shorter passage from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, which seems to have been condensed from A.⁵ As *Gesta Regum* was written about 1125, passage A was presumably written before that date, though after the move of the New Minster to Hyde in 1110. Passage A can be summarized as follows:—

Alfred had hoped to found the New Minster, and his wish was carried out by Edward the Elder, who obtained land from Bishop Denewulf north of the Old Minster, at great expense, and built the monastery known as the New Minster. Grimbald was the first Abbot.

Then follows the well-known passage saying that the two churches (*ambo ecclesiae*) were so close that many difficulties ensued. It 'could be remembered', says the writer, that the two monasteries were so close together that a man could scarcely make his way between the foundations (*fundamenta*). In each choir there echoed back what the brothers were chanting in the other, so that the voices of the singers were confounded, and the clanging of bells caused the greatest confusion. One could scarcely tell when the chanting was in one choir and when in another.

The text goes straight on to say that water, flowing from the West Gate down the steep streets of the town, came together around the New Minster monastery into a horrible bog (*paludem horridam*), with mud deposited in a stagnant pond, giving off an intolerable stink, and so infecting the air that the brothers serving God in this place suffered many hardships.

Because of these and many other discomforts, the New Minster, says the text, was moved in the days of King Henry I (*i.e.* as we know in 1110) to a place called Hyde outside the city (and, of course, after that, was always known as Hyde Abbey).

Most writers have thought that the account of the mutual disturbances of the choirs and bells of the two churches related to the New and Old Minsters in pre-Norman times; this has been felt to be the obvious meaning of the text. But it seems at least possible that the latter part of the description is in fact of difficulties just before the move to Hyde, *i.e.* therefore of mutual disturbance between the New Minster and the, then newly-built, Norman Cathedral. As the Car Park excavation has shown (p. 170), the juxtaposition of the 11th–12th century secular buildings with the conditions of *paludem horridam* in the eastern part of the Car Park could well be illustrative of one of the troubles described as having led to the move to Hyde.

¹ The Survey of Winchester, *temp.* Hen. I, says of the site of the Norman palace, 'pars erat in dominio et pars de dominio abbatis; hoc totum est post occupatum in domo regis', thus implying that there was land here in royal hands in addition to that acquired from the New Minster (*Domesday Book*, Record Commission, IV (ed. Sir H. Ellis, 1816), 534).

² RNQ:OM, 48–56.

³ It should, however, be remembered that

Wulfstan's and Lantfred's description of St. Swithun's humble grave, outside the west door of the pre-Ethelwoldian Old Minster, refers to a tower, dedicated to St. Martin, which stood, apparently, by the entrance to the monastery, somewhat to the west of the grave (RNQ:OM, 38–9).

⁴ E. Edwards, *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, Rolls Series, XLV (1866), xl, n.2.

⁵ Stubbs, *Gesta Regum*, i, Rolls Series, XC (1887), xix, 134.

If the reference to the mutual disturbance of the two choirs is to the Norman Cathedral¹ and the surviving New Minster church, this could be a pointer to the latter building being that which was disinterred by Dean Kitchin, just north of the present choir and north transept (see (vi) (c) below) — rather than, as is perhaps *prima facie* more likely, to the New Minster Church having been further to the north or west (see above p. 178).

(iv) *Medieval disputes about the New Minster site and markets, etc.*

In the Patent Rolls of 1349² are important references to a dispute between the Cathedral monastery and the City, about encroachments into the Cathedral graveyard.

The Bishop's representatives give evidence of attempts by the mayor and commonalty and citizens 'to usurp to themselves great part of the land, site and graveyard, and to make markets, fairs, and other injurious occupations . . . preventing 'burial of bodies of the dead there, especially in the time of that deadly pestilence . . . They 'had made dykes in the graveyard for the purpose of building houses, and had built such houses'. The defendants have to answer a plea of 'endeavouring to hold markets and fairs . . . and that 'the said mayor and others armed with swords, bows and arrows prevented the burial of the dead and assaulted [the bishop's] men and servants'.

The passage is important because the bishop claims that the land in dispute is that which previously formed the site of the New Minster and was transferred back in Henry I's time to the Cathedral Monastery. It is spoken of as land 'which was the site of the Abbey [*i.e.* the New Minster] before, with the chapels and houses and mills which were within the circuit of that land'.³ The bishop claims to have 'held the said land within the city where the Abbey was first situated by the Cathedral church, and the spacious graveyard adjoining the monastery, severed and distinguished by walls dykes and other enclosures from the commune of the city of Winchester'. The desire of the bishop is for 'keeping the land, site and graveyard enclosed, as they were at the time of the grant of the same'.

The disputed boundary is referred to in two passages:

- (a) 'separated by walls, dykes and other enclosures from the district and commune of the city, by these bounds, to wit from a gate called "la Munstre yate" towards the High Street, as an ancient wall called "Constable's Wall" extends to "la Giehalle" by the church of St. Laurence, and thence to the church of St. Maurice and thence by the ancient dyke called "Templedych" to the stream of "La Posterne".'
- (b) 'an ancient wall between "le Munstre Yate" and "la Giehalle", and between "la Giehalle" and the church of St. Maurice . . . and 'from the corner within the gate of "Munstre Yate" as far as the house late of William le Ismongere, and from that house as far as the fabric of "la Wollefilde" and thence towards the High Street of the city as far as the gate called "Thomes Yate" and thence in a straight line as far as the dyke called "Templedych", by the church of St. Maurice, and so along the dyke to the river of "La Posterne"'.⁴

The first part of (a) and (b) probably refers to the present west boundary of the cathedral graveyard — Munstre Yate being the Great Gate of the medieval monastery (at the south end of Great Minster Street, S.E. of Minster House) and the 'Constable's Wall' corresponding to the present small island of 'Constabulary' buildings, east of Great Minster Street at its north end. The rest of the passage seems to indicate that the boundary lay near St. Laurence's and St. Maurice's churches, and incidentally seems to confirm the view that 'Thomas Yate' lay between those churches. 'Templedych', near St. Maurice, might have been north of the Car Park; the river or stream of 'La Posterne' could be the Lockburn — the 'Posterne' itself being the present Close Postern Gate (Fig. 6).

¹ As suggested in RNQ:OM, 65, para. 7.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw. III, VIII* (1348–50), 384–5, 424–6.

³ The primary deed, concerning the transfer back of the New Minster site to the Cathedral Monastery under Henry I, appears to be that (containing the

above phrase) transcribed on p. 444 of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, II (1819) — B.M. Cotton, Domit. A. XIV, fol. 22.

⁴ Corresponding passages are quoted and discussed in RNQ:NM, 51, n. 2.

There are other references a few years earlier, in 1332-3, to disputes between the Cathedral and the city about the market — 'Inasmuch as the church and cemetery are in the middle of the city of Winchester, and a public market place full of buyers and sellers is hard by, it often happens that the church and the cemetery are violated by the concourse of people.'¹

As to the proximity of cathedral and market, it should be remembered that a market continued to exist just north of Morley College until the 19th century (as indicated by the east/west 'Market Lane' just north of the Car Park, as well as the north/south 'Market Street'). In the 19th century a market was also carried on in the Square, near the present Museum.²

The relevance of these documents is that the site, recorded in the Patent Rolls as having been that of the New Minster and as having reverted to the Cathedral, apparently bounded on an area which was occupied by markets. There is reason to think that some of these markets were north and west of the Car Park, and this evidence, and particularly the description of the northern boundary line, appears to fit in with the general view that the New Minster site lay along the north side of the present Cathedral Green.

(v) *Rudborne*

The medieval monastic chronicler, Rudborne, probably writing somewhat after 1400, says that, through Edward's grant, the New Minister 'obtained the whole space from the middle of the cemetery which now is, with the land on which stands the *versorium* with the garden of the sacristan, and with the land on which is built the brewery and the infirmary garden'.³ There are some obscurities about this passage, but it would not have been unreasonable for the ex-New Minster site to have been used, in the Middle Ages, for such purposes as gardens, or buildings like a brew-house.

(vi) *Later records of buildings*

- (a) The antiquarian, Milner, writing in 1798, said that 'some years ago, in digging at the south end of [Market] Street, and the east end of the Square, the workmen met with the foundation of a tower of prodigious strength. This probably made part of the Conqueror's Palace'.⁴ This could, of course, have been part of the New Minster, even perhaps the 'Tower' described in the *Liber Vitae*.
- (b) In the book on *Winchester* by the Winchester College Archeological Society, referring to the New Minster, it was stated that 'at the building of the road between Dumper's and the Close the outline of the foundations of two western towers could be clearly traced'.⁵ The source of this statement has not been found; it could have been Milner's record at (a).
- (c) In 1886, Dean Kitchin carried out excavations which revealed the remains of a considerable building north of the present cathedral choir and north transept (X in Fig. 6). Dean Kitchin's excavations were recorded in the *Builder*, 24 April, 1886 (also *Hampshire Chronicle*, 17 April, 1886).⁶ He considered that the large rectangular building that he had found was the great church of the New Minster. A trial trench, during the excavations of 1962, confirmed the existence of the south-western angle of Dean Kitchin's building.

The above summarizes the documentary evidence about the three Winchester Minsters, at the present stage of study. Further significant references, in published or unpublished material, may still come to light. In particular, it seems likely that an intensive examination

¹ Goodman, *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral* (1927), Nos. 191, 435.

² V.C.H. *Hants.*, V, plate facing 38.

³ Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (1691), vol. I, 209: 'Et obtinebat totum spatium a medio Coemiterii, quod modo est, cum terra in qua stat Versorium, cum gardino Sacristae, et cum terra in qua aedificatum est Bracium cum Gardino Infirmorum. Totum illud spatium vocabatur olim Antiquum Coemiterium.' This passage is discussed in RNQ:NM, 53, para. 8.

⁴ Milner, *History of Winchester* (1798), Vol. II, 185.

⁵ Win. Coll. Arch. Soc., *Winchester: Its History, Buildings and People*, 1st ed. (1913), 8.

⁶ RNQ:OM, 66, para. (b), n. 4.

of the medieval records of land transactions within the city would reveal a detailed picture of the lay-out of medieval properties and buildings which could be very relevant to the present study.

ANNEX TO APPENDIX I: THE NEW MINSTER

A. THE DUGDALE DOCUMENT (see Appendix I, 4).

B. M. Cotton, Vespasian, D. IX, f. 30 v. (transcribed in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, II (1819), 436).

Edwardus, primus post mortem patris ad regalis solii studium sublimatus, paterni voti non segnīs executor, ad officinas monasterii supradicti construendas, tantum terrae, scilicet tres acras, et tres virgatas, quae lingua Anglorum threo furlonge, in aquilonari parte veteris monasterii a Denulpho ipsius civitatis episcopo et canonicis illius ecclesiae comparavit et pro unoquoque pede unam marcham auri contulit. Moxque in arduam monasterii structuram totam mentis diligentiam impendit, et insignem ecclesiam, quae Novum Monasterium appellatur aedificavit, et totam fabricam infra biennium consummavit. Praedictam autem ecclesiam in honore summae Trinitatis, genetricisque Christi Mariae, atque apostoli Petri, benedictione pontificali devotissime fecit dedicari. Ipsamque (congregatis in eadem canonicis saecularibus Deo servituris) sanctissimo patri Grimbaldō juxta votum paternum regendam commisit. Expleto autem parvo tempore, deliberavit beatus Grimbaldus canonicos saeculares, ob nephandos eorum mores, eliminare omnino, atque monachos Deum timentes imponere. Sed praevidebat diem transitus sui appropinquare, et ideo voluntatem suam in congregandis fratribus non potuit explere.

Erant autem ambo ecclesiae parietibus contiguīs innexae, quod in illa civitate plurima in utraque ecclesia devotionis et obsequii divini frequenta emergebant impedimenta. Ita siquidem unum monasterium alteri memoratur esse contiguum, quod vix unius hominis transitus inter ipsorum fundamenta haberetur. In uno enim choro clare resultabat quod fratres psallebant in alio. Ita quod una voces canentium vocibus constreperint aliorum, classico nihilominus campanarum maximam generante confusionem. Ita quod vix discerni poterat quando in uno loco, et quando in alio, psallebatur. Aqua etiam, quae per devexos civitatis vicos a porta confluens occidentali, circa situm monasterii praedicti in paludem horridam congregata, et in lutum ex flacone diutina condensata, foetorem ex se intollerabilem emittens, et sua corruptione aerem vicinum inficiens, fratribus in loco memorato Deo serventibus plurima infirmitatum gravamina frequenter inferebat.

Unde propter haec et alia multa incommoda, illud monasterium, tempore regis Henrici senioris et Willielmi Giffard, Wintoniensis episcopi, procurante illius monasterii abbate, extra urbem, in loco qui nunc Hyda vocatur, est translatus, videlicet anno Domini MCXXI [*sic* MCX]. Edwardus rex liberalissimus tantum eidem ecclesiae contulit opum, praediorum, ornamentorumque copiam, ut ditissimorum monasteriorum aequare videretur opulentiam.

B. GESTA REGUM

William of Malmesbury: *Gesta Regum*, Cap. 124: Rolls Series, XC, i (1887), 134.

Elfredus . . . sepultus est Wintoniae in monasterio suo. Ad cuius officinas instruendas sufficiens spatium terrae ab episcopo et canonicis tunc temporis nundinatus, ad unumquemque pedem mancā auri publico pondere pensavit. Stupenda profecto regis abstinētia, ut tanta se pateretur emungi pecunia, nolens scilicet de rapina pauperum offerre Deo sacrificiū. Et erant ambae ecclesiae sic vicinae parietibus contiguīs, ut voces canentium aliae obstreperent aliis. Unde tum propter hoc, tum propter cetera, plurimas infelix livor effodiebat causas quibus non modicas invicem exculperent offensas. Quapropter nuper illud coenobium, extra urbem translatus, sanius incolitur, liberius insignitur. Aiunt Elfredum prius in episcopatu sepultum, quod suum monasterium esset imperfectum; mox pro deliramento canonicorum, dicentium regis manes resumpto cadavere noctibus per domos oberrare, filium successorem genitoris tulisse exuvias, et in novo monasterio quietā sede composuisse.

NOTE:

Stubbs, on p. xix of his Preface to *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Series, XC, i, 1887) says that, in the last section of *Gesta Pontificum*, William of Malmesbury describes himself as writing in the year of the Incarnation, 1125. Stubbs says that *Gesta Pontificum* was written after *Gesta Regum*, and contains frequent references to that work, but that *Gesta Regum* was completed, and perhaps composed, within a very short time of the same date. William of Malmesbury, in the first part of *Gesta Regum*, says that he was writing 60 years after the Conquest.

APPENDIX II

FINDS

Although it is not usual to include finds in interim reports the following more outstanding objects are considered worthy of early publication:

THE BADORF AMPHORA

By G. C. DUNNING

Nine sherds of this vessel (Fig. 7) were recovered, eight from Pit 2 and the base sherd from Pit 1. Fresh fractures show that some of the vessel was broken and dispersed by workmen before the pits could be salvaged.

The ware is drab yellow with a smooth buff surface. The neck fragment has part of one broad strap-handle attached to the rim. There would be four such handles spaced equally round the rim, bridging the neck, and attached at their lower ends to the upper part of the body.

Six body sherds have the decoration characteristic of relief-band amphorae. The applied strips, $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 in. wide, are in high relief and decorated with three lines of square notches impressed by a roller stamp. Sufficient of the decoration remains to show that the strips run

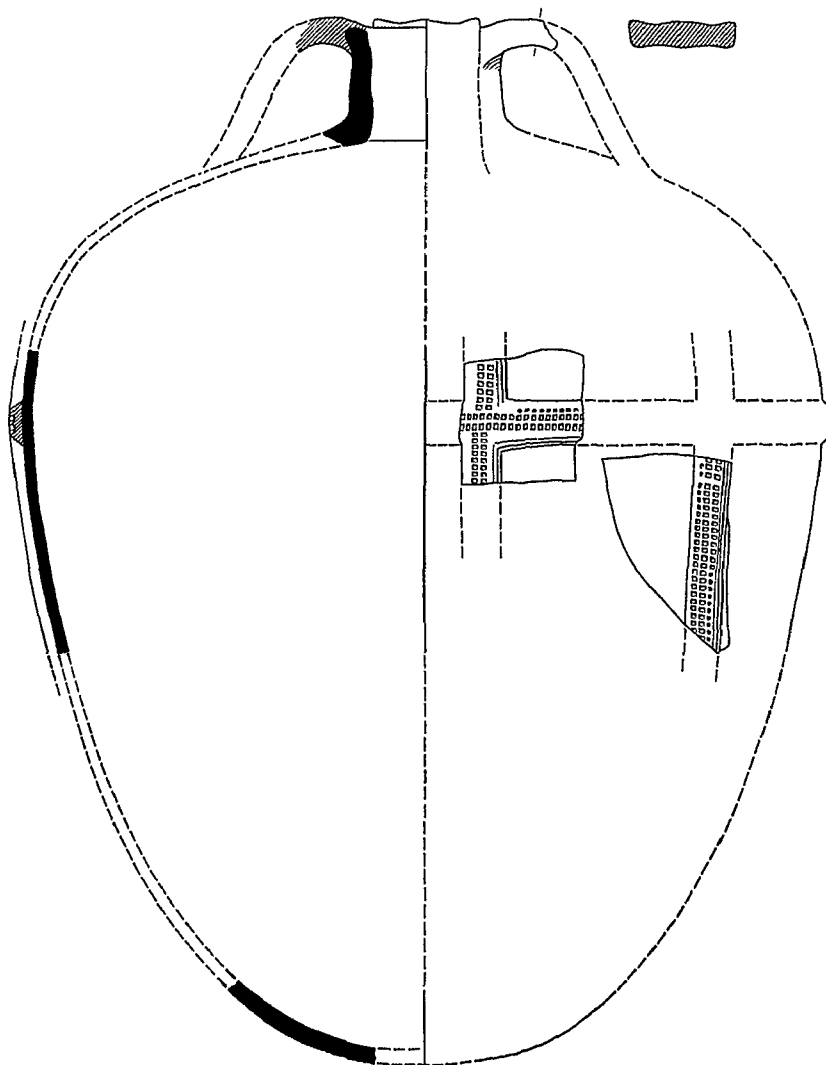


Fig. 7. Relief-band amphora of Badorf ware found in Pit 2 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

in two directions at right-angles, vertically up and down the body, and horizontally round it. On three sherds the strips are vertical, on one sherd it is horizontal, and on two sherds the strips are in both directions, crossing one another at right-angles.

The pattern of the decoration can be partly reconstructed from these indications. The strips formed a simple geometric pattern in two zones. The absence of any strips in a curve seems to show that the arcading, which frequently but not invariably forms the upper part of the decoration, was not present.¹ In Fig. 7 the larger sherds of the Winchester amphora have been arranged in their relative positions, and a tentative reconstruction has been attempted. The closest analogy is the pattern of large panels in a single zone, each filled by strips forming a star of six rays, on a complete amphora found at Neuss in the Lower Rhineland.²

The size and shape of the Winchester amphora can also be estimated closely. It has a short cylindrical neck, about 3 in. in diameter and 2 in. high, provided with four strap handles. From the curve of the three body sherds the maximum diameter is calculated at about 16 in. Comparison with complete amphorae in the Rhineland, which reach 20 in. in diameter and 24 in. high, gives a height of about 21 in. for the Winchester example. Thus while the Winchester amphora is fairly large, it is by no means among the largest vessels of this class.

Relief-band amphorae are one of the most characteristic products of the potteries situated in the Middle Rhineland between Bonn and Cologne. As wine-containers designed for transport, they are the best archaeological evidence for the flourishing trade in wine from the Rhineland over a wide area of northern Europe, extending from England to Scandinavia. The amphorae were made at the potteries at Badorf, in the period c. A.D. 800–950.³

The intensity of the trade relations between the Rhineland and England in the late Anglo-Saxon period is attested by considerable finds of pottery imported from the Middle Rhineland.⁴ The bulk of this pottery has been found at London, and other important centres are Ipswich and *Hamwih*, the Saxon predecessor of medieval Southampton. At these places, and at other ports and towns on the south and east coasts of England, the imports bear witness to the Rhenish orientation of trade from the 9th century onwards. Compared with other types of imported pottery, the finds of relief-band amphorae are comparatively few and limited to only three places: London, Ipswich, and an earlier find at Winchester itself.⁵ Although finds of amphorae are not as yet recorded at Hamwih, there can be no doubt that this was the port whence they reached Winchester.

THE IRON PAN

The iron pan (Fig. 8)⁶ was found, complete and virtually undamaged, in Pit 2, together with the sherds of Badorf amphora described above.

The bowl, which has been beaten out from a single piece of metal, is slightly oval: the long axis, on the line of the handle, is 12¼ in. and the width 11½ in. at the level of the rim. The sides slope inwards and the bottom is gently concave. The greatest depth of the bowl is 3½ in. At the base of the handle a tongue of metal was beaten out from the bowl and onto this the handle, made as a separate piece, was joined by means of a lap weld.

The handle, which with the lap weld is 11¼ in. long, was wrought from two iron rods laid side by side and beaten out into strips. At one end these were welded together. The central portion of this assembly was then twisted up into a tight screw, and the whole folded back on itself, the middle of the twisted portion being fashioned into a flat loop. The free ends of the strips were then welded to each other, to the other end of the assembly and to the tongue of the bowl, possibly all in one operation. This resulted in a flat strip of rectangular

¹ e.g. *Dark-Age Britain* (ed. D. B. Harden, 1956), 223, Pl. XXXIV.

² F. Rademacher, 'Karolingische Keramik am Niederrhein', *Altes Kunsthandwerk*, 5 (1927), 174, Taf. 133 left.

³ But recent German work suggests that they may have continued in use into the 11th century:

see above p. 159, n. 1. (M.B.)

⁴ G. C. Dunning in 'Anglo-Saxon Pottery: A Symposium', *Med. Arch.*, III (1959), 52–60.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 55, Fig. 27, 3.

⁶ Mr. G. C. Dunning kindly drew the pan and commented on it.

section, $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, increasing in width towards the lap weld. The whole process was carried out so skilfully that the two original component strips can only be seen in an X-radiograph of the loop.¹ It is interesting to note that the technique is basically identical with pattern-welding, and in some recent experiments almost exactly similar operations were carried out to produce a pattern-welded lance-head.²

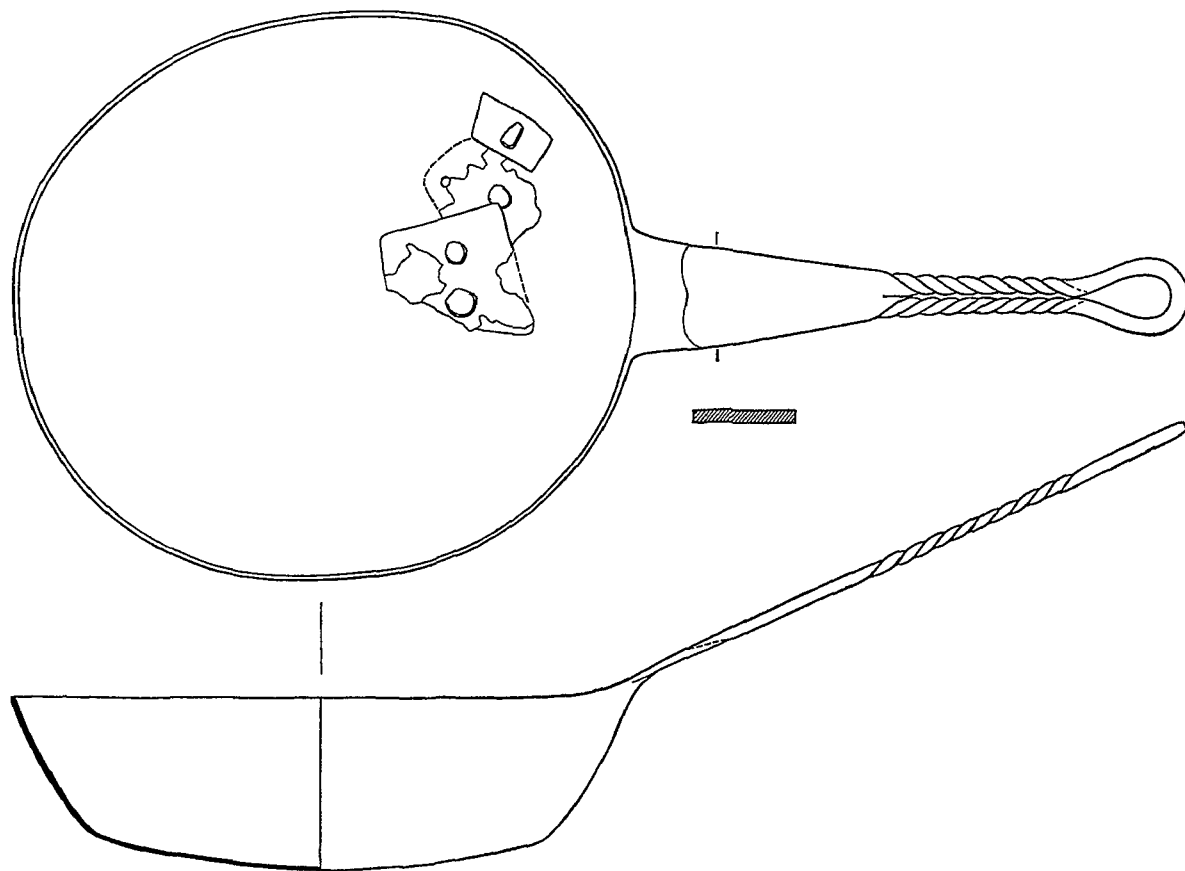


Fig. 8. Iron pan found in Pit 2 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

The bowl has been repaired in three places by riveted plates which ultimately overlapped.

The pan, which may be dated to the 9th or first half of the 10th century by the associated sherds of Badorf amphora (see above),³ is an outstanding example of late Saxon domestic ironwork and appears at present to be without parallel in the archaeology of the period. The Bayeux Tapestry, over 150 years later than the probable date of this iron pan, shows nothing like it in the scenes of cooking after the landing of the Norman army in England, although an iron or bronze cauldron and what must be an iron brazier and a kind of field kitchen are shown.⁴

¹ The repairs and method of construction were revealed in X-ray photographs taken at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory and commented on by Mr. L. Biek.

² *Med. Arch.*, V (1961), 76.

³ But see also p. 159 n. 1, for a possible extension of this date range.

⁴ *The Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. Sir Frank Stenton (1957), Pls. 48, 49.

Large handled iron pans of rather similar type (*baitiers*) were used in post-medieval Normandy for cooking buckwheat cakes (*galettes de sarrasin*).¹ This raises the possibility that the Winchester pan may have been intended for this type of cooking, rather than for frying as might seem *prima facie* more likely to the modern eye.²

THE BRONZE STRAP-END

By MISS V. I. EVISON

The form of this strap-end (Fig. 9) is closely related to the general type found in coin-dated groups at Trewhiddle, Sevington, Talnotrie and Cuerdale,³ so that there is no doubt

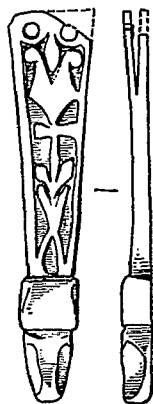


Fig. 9. Bronze strap-end from robber trench of Roman public building 1 (S.W.) (Actual size)

that at least some of this series were manufactured in the 9th century, although the type certainly began much earlier. The characteristics are an oval shape, blunter at one end than the other, the blunt end split and furnished with two rivet holes for attachment to a thin strap, the other end more pointed and fashioned as an animal head more or less in relief, and in between a flat panel which usually bears zoomorphic decoration. There are considerable variations on this theme as to size, shape and decoration, but none quite the same as the present example, for from the animal head to the butt end the edges are quite straight, although diverging slightly. This shape, with the minimum of ornament, occurs in Grave 1030 at Birka⁴ with a buckle decorated in Borre style, and some of the English examples also approach this straight-sided outline, e.g. one of the group from Meols, Cheshire.⁵

As to decoration, the relief-moulded tip is evidently a much simplified animal snout, the adjoining raised square surface representing the area usually occupied by the animal's ears. The rest of the plate bears a pattern in the reserved, flat surface, and the excavated background is keyed to retain some sort of inlay (? niello) of which none at all now remains.

The centre is occupied by a cross, the upper arm splaying out and topped by two comma-like shapes similar to the ears of some animal terminals,⁶ but facing outwards instead of inwards. This central cross motif (possibly of Christian import) is common.⁷ The usual tri-lobed palmette below the rivets⁸ gives way to a single leaf — an arrangement recurring on the strap-end from Reay, Caithness, which also has a cross centre, this time in a circle with an interrupted diagonal cross in the background.⁹ From the base of the cross on the Winchester tag spring two leaf-like shapes merging into a diagonal cross below.

A strap-end from Bledlow, Bucks, is similar as to outline, animal head terminal and central cross, but its thicker profile and constricting band above the cross are characteristics of a different type.¹⁰ It is probable that the Winchester pattern is a development of a scheme like that on a strap-end from Bradwell, Essex,¹¹ where a central cross of leaf-shaped arms is bounded above and below by lobed pelta patterns. There is no exact way of dating the Winchester

¹ Dr. Stephen-Chauvet, *La Normandie ancestrale* (2nd ed., 1951), 96. Mr. G. C. Dunning kindly provided this reference.

² Philip Harben, *Book of the Frying-pan* (1960), gives many alternative possibilities for cooking with this type of pan. Mr. W. E. Lee (A.M. Lab.) kindly provided this reference.

³ *Arch.*, XCVIII (1961), 75-122; *Arch.*, XXVII (1810), 301; *P.S.A. Scot.*, XLVII (1913), 14; *Arch. J.*, IV (1847), 190.

⁴ H. Arbman, *Birka, Die Gräber* (1943), Taf. 87, 2.

⁵ *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. & Ches.*, 112 (1960), fig. 4b.

⁶ e.g. Talnotrie; Trewhiddle mount, *Arch.*, XCVIII (1961), Pl. XXIV, a, b. Cf. also the top of the Fetter Lane pommel, *Arch.*, XCVIII (1961), Pl. XLI.

⁷ Cuerdale; Dymchurch, Kent (Sheffield Museum); Stratton, Glos., *B.M. Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities* (1923), fig. 131, 3.

⁸ Whitby, *Arch.*, LXXXIX (1943), fig. 11, 1, 4, 7, 9, 10 and 14.

⁹ *P.S.A. Scot.*, LXVII (1933), 32, Fig. 7.

¹⁰ *Ant. J.*, XXII (1942) 221, Fig. 32.

¹¹ *Report of Colchester & Essex Mus.*, 1947-8, 29, Pl. IX, 4.

strap-end by comparative methods, although the straight outline, simplified decoration and featureless animal head terminal would suggest a development later than the coin-dated series of the 9th century.

THE GOLD PLATE

By D. M. WILSON

Among the more spectacular of the small finds is a tiny, sub-rectangular, filigree ornamented plate of gold, 0.7 in. long (Pl. XB; probably from Pit 13, p. 167). The filigree is soldered to a thin plate, which is slightly damaged on one of the longer edges. The field of ornament, which is rhomboidal and slightly curved along the length, is defined by a frame of filigree wire and contains a tendril pattern. The tendril is S-formed and terminates at either end in a three-element scroll, consisting of a central element flanked by a single spiral on one side and an S-shaped scroll on the other; both the leaves and the spirals enclose granules. The two terminals of the scroll are bound by a plain band-like collar. The filigree is of serrated-tape type (*i.e.* a flat band stood on one edge with beads produced by cutting across the upper edge) but the serrations are cut at an angle — giving the appearance of twisted wire.

The piece is very similar to, but of rather finer quality than, the gold plates set in the recently published 10th-century disc brooch from the King's School, Canterbury.¹ The portions of the plate beyond the filigree border obviously served, as on the Canterbury brooch, as a flange to retain the object in position in a space allowed for it in a larger design. The filigree design of the Winchester piece is less open than that of the Canterbury brooch and does not conform to the usual open pattern of Ottonian filigree which is reflected in the latter. The filigree of the Winchester fragment is rather more closely related to that of the rather degenerate and flimsy 11th-century filigree of the Continent. The terminal features and the weight of the filigree wire can be compared almost precisely to that on the Borghorst reliquary cross,² where the only missing features are the granules and the binding strips. The binding strips can clearly be seen on the border of the book cover of the Abbess Theophanu,³ while the granules appear on the binding of the Gospel Book, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4454,⁴ both of which, like the Borghorst reliquary, belong to the first half of the 11th century.

The present report does not permit a detailed discussion of parallels; suffice it to say that, judging from the Continental parallels which are the only available ones in the absence of English filigree, this piece is probably of late 10th or early 11th-century date and that the parallel with the Borghorst reliquary could be repeated with many objects of that date, particularly from the Rhineland. There seems to be no reason to doubt the English origin of this piece: it may be unique in 11th-century English art but the Canterbury brooch, quoted above, provides an adequate 10th-century prototype, which was undoubtedly made in the south of England.

It is practically impossible to say what object the fragment originally adorned. It obviously forms part of a curved or circular design, while its lightness and small size might suggest that it comes from a brooch or other object of personal adornment. But it is equally probable that it formed part of a reliquary, or of a piece of altar furniture, or even of a secular object or bookbinding. Speculation is fruitless, all that can be said is that it reflects the artistic richness of Winchester in the late 10th and early 11th century and demonstrates once again the Rhenish contacts of the 'Winchester School'.

WINCHESTER WARE: A NEW TYPE OF SAXO-NORMAN GLAZED POTTERY

By J. G. HURST

Ware and glaze

As a result of recent excavations in Winchester, which are at last producing dated and stratified sequences of late Saxon and early Medieval pottery, it is now possible to define an

¹ D. M. Wilson, 'The King's School, Canterbury, Disc Brooch', *Med. Arch.*, IV (1960), Pl. VII.

² V. H. Elbern (ed.), *Werden des Abendland an Rhein und Rbur* (1956), Pl. 59.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. 57.

⁴ W. Messerer, *Der Bamberger Domschatz* (1952), Pls. 32 and 33.

important new group of Saxo-Norman glazed pottery. This is a pinkish-brown hard sandy ware varying in texture from smooth to rough due to different amounts of gritting. The ware is well fired and the vessels are competently wheel-thrown, often showing emphatic grooving inside, in marked contrast to the usual local coarse cooking pots which are very roughly made with much hand finishing. The earlier sherds tend to be fully oxidized with a thick yellow or yellow-brown glaze, while the later examples have a distinctive pale olive-green glaze mottled with orange. This colour change is due to variations in the firing. It is suggested that this type should be called 'Winchester ware'.

Form and decoration

The sherds are too fragmentary to show complete profiles, but they seem to come from spouted pitchers of varying sizes with sagging bases, small 0-shaped applied spouts, and small strap handles in the usual late Saxon tradition. A large number of sherds, mainly from the later levels, are decorated. This decoration takes the form of applied vertical triangular-shaped strips, zones filled with incised parallel lines, rectangular notch rouletting on flat applied strips or by the sides of triangular strips, bands of diamond or rectangular notch rouletting and rows of punched dots between incised lines. It has not yet been possible to study the material in detail and it is hoped to describe it fully, together with drawings, in a later report.

Provenance and date

Winchester ware is so far known from seven sites in Winchester. From the *Cathedral Green* (1962) came a single sherd between two floor levels of a building which may be the Old Minster, associated with glazed tiles, in a context which should place it in the tenth century. Another sherd came from the destruction level of the same building which, if it is the Old Minster, would date it to 1093-94. From the *Cathedral Car Park* (1961) came numerous sherds from deposits which seem to date from the 10th century until the destruction of the buildings c. A.D. 1110. The earliest undecorated sherds were in the thick occupation layers under the Oval Building which should be datable to the 10th century (see above, p. 158). Others, including decorated sherds, were found in the footings of building A (p. 168), in the occupation over the Oval Building (p. 168), in the well and from pits 15 and 16. From *Lower Brook Street* (1962) came sherds associated with a Byzantine lead seal of c. 1070¹ and others in various 11th-century contexts. From *Kingdon's Workshop*, pit B (1956), came sherds in a possible context of the second half of the 11th century.² From *St. Rumbold's Church* site (1954) came sherds datable to sometime before 1172. The two other finds, from the *George Hotel*, pit 7 (1956), and the *Carfax Hotel* (1931), were not from datable deposits.³

Origin

It is too early yet to determine how Winchester ware fits in with the east Midland Stamford ware tradition,⁴ or the glazed pottery of the continent.⁵ The fabric is quite different from either of them, since it was made from clays containing iron which fired to a pinkish-brown colour. Both Stamford and Andennes wares were made from iron-free clays firing to an off-white colour. Winchester ware is, in addition, much coarser, though just as well fired and made, since it was gritted with varying amounts of sand. A local source in the Winchester area seems therefore likely, though there are some off-white sherds in Winchester which may be Stamford ware imports. It is hoped that glaze and clay analysis will help to sort these out.

¹ *The Numismatic Circular*, 1963.

² G. C. Dunning, 'Early Norman pottery from recent excavations in Winchester', *Proc. Hants. F. C.*, XXI (pt. 3, 1960), 134-144, Fig. 3, 12.

³ Many sherds of Winchester Ware were found in the 1963 excavations. These show that two types of vessel are represented, spouted pitchers and flasks copying leather prototypes. The 11th-century date of the ware was confirmed by its discovery in

and below the castle bank which was in existence by c. 1110 and was probably built c. 1070 (see above p. 168, n. 1).

⁴ J. G. Hurst, 'Saxo-Norman pottery in East Anglia, Part III, Stamford ware', *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, LI (1958), 37-65.

⁵ 'Anglo-Saxon Pottery: A symposium', part IV (by G. C. Dunning), Group 13, glazed pitchers: *Med. Arch.*, III (1959), 60-62.

So far only a few sherds of Winchester ware may be dated as early as the 10th-century, most of the examples being found in 11th-century levels.¹ The highly developed building techniques shown in the construction of the building which may be the Old Minster, and the finding of richly glazed decorated tiles in an off-white fabric, very much in the tradition of Stamford ware, all tend to suggest that there were highly competent craftsmen and potters in Winchester as early as the 10th century. A lot will depend on the finds from further excavations, which may produce more complete shapes and give a clearer indication of how early Winchester ware may be placed. At the moment, however, it seems most likely that the impetus for this glazed ware came from East Anglia, where there had already been a tradition of wheel-thrown high quality pottery for a considerable time.

There were clearly contacts between the east Midland area and the south as is shown by finds of Stamford ware at Bristol, at Laverstock near Salisbury, at Silchester, Hampshire, and at Canterbury and Stonar, Kent, which shows a distribution right across southern England. Unfortunately, though, none of these finds are demonstrably pre-Conquest.

Associated coarse wares

The usual coarse pottery over large areas of southern England in late Saxon times was a globular cooking pot very roughly made by hand with simple everted rim and usually a rounded base.² These wares continued until well after the Norman conquest and Mr. G. C. Dunning suggested that the 'Kingdon's Workshop' pit represented the change over from early type cooking pots with rounded bases to more developed ones with sagging bases c. A.D. 1100.³ Rough simple everted-rimmed cooking pots with well-defined sagging bases already present, are, however, found on the Cathedral Car Park site in the occupation level underneath the Oval Building which should date to the 10th or early part of the 11th century. Sagging bases are by no means unknown on other sites in southern England and are, in fact, found from Middle Saxon times onwards at Hamwih and elsewhere.⁴ It looks, therefore, as though at Winchester cooking pots with sagging bases must be put back over a hundred years⁵ and that they form a different regional group, perhaps influenced by the sagging bases on Winchester Ware. Scratch marked sherds are only met occasionally in Winchester pottery groups, so it may be further suggested that these were not made locally, but were imported from the Salisbury area, or from other centres nearer to Winchester, which produced this pottery which would normally have rounded bases. In this case the Kingdon's Workshop pit-group might be regarded as a combination of these two regional traditions rather than the point of the changeover in time between two local groups. A date earlier in the 11th century may also be suggested since hard sandy wares are already present in this pit.

Contacts with East Anglia

Early Medieval hard sandy wares seem to appear in Winchester by about the middle of the 11th century. These are very different from the coarse wares found at this time over most of Southern England. They are, however, found in East Anglia from about A.D. 1000 onwards⁶ and they may indeed show further and continued contact with the East Anglian region. Very similar examples to those from Winchester have been found at Northolt in Middlesex. In this report it was suggested that this marked a point of contact between influences from both East Anglia and the Winchester area.⁷ In view of the new evidence it now seems more likely that Northolt was on the route of influences travelling south from East Anglia to Hampshire. There are possible Stamford ware sherds from Winchester itself, as already suggested, and a slightly later Developed Stamford ware costrel from St. Catherine's Hill.

Whichever way the traffic went in the 10th and early 11th centuries there seems to have been trade northwards in the later 11th and 12th centuries. Decorated pinkish-brown ware

¹ See p. 188 n. 3.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 188 n. 5, Group 1, 31-4.

³ Dunning, *op. cit.*, p. 188 n. 2.

⁴ 'Anglo-Saxon Pottery: A Symposium', *Med. Arch.* III (1959), 21, and 25, 26.

⁵ They occurred in and below the castle bank excavated in 1963. They are thus certainly to be

dated pre-c. 1110 and probably pre-c. 1070.

⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 4), Group 5, 44-48 and J. G. Hurst, 'Excavations at Barn Road, Norwich', *Norfolk Arch.*, forthcoming.

⁷ J. G. Hurst, 'The Kitchen area of Northolt Manor, Middlesex', *Med. Arch.*, V (1961), 259-261.

glazed sherds from the Saxon town of Thetford in Norfolk in 11th-century contexts are so close to Winchester ware as to be almost identical. In later levels were found sherds with a distinctive decoration of dark red-brown coloured stripes. This latter ware was also found in contexts of the 1140's by Dr. J. P. C. Kent at the motte and bailey castle at South Mimms, Middlesex. The fabric is slightly different from Winchester ware, but may well be a later version of it. There are also sherds from South Mimms which are very much closer to normal Winchester ware. The type of glazed pottery represented by these sherds from South Mimms is quite foreign to the London and the East Anglian areas at this time and it is possible that it is Winchester ware. It is hoped that glaze and clay analysis will help also to solve this problem. If this later ware was not made at Winchester, but at some more northerly centre, it must surely have been influenced from Winchester, since the wares and glazes are visually almost indistinguishable. In Winchester itself dark red-brown coloured slip decoration has not yet been found and there is as yet no evidence for Winchester ware after the first quarter of the 12th century. Later 12th-century levels from Lower Brook Street contain the sparse glazed coarse wares which have so far been regarded as usual in the late 11th and 12th centuries. There is a distinct gap before the glazed jugs of hard smoother ware start in the early 13th century.

THE TRIPOD-PITCHER

A large number of sherds, comprising almost the whole of the pitcher with the exception of the rim, spout and part of the neck, were found in Pit 15, both in the basal refuse level and in the upper rubble fill; a few further sherds came from Pit 16 and from the robber trench of the wall on the north side of these two pits. As described above (p. 168), the sherds lay in such a way that the broken pitcher must have been thrown into Pit 15 immediately before the destruction of Building A and the filling of the pit with rubble. The pitcher is thus of particular importance in assessing the date of Building A.

The vessel (Fig. 10) is almost perfectly globular, with three stumpy feet. The neck is high and flaring and the angle at the base of the spout is just preserved. The form of the spout is, however, not certain: it may have been D-shaped as reconstructed in the drawing,¹ or it may have been tubular. A large handle is placed opposite the spout and one lateral handle is preserved, about half the size of the large handle and originally one of a pair, placed one each side of the neck. Four strands of clay, twisted into two separate ropes, are let into the back of each handle. The back of the lateral handle and the sides and back of the large handle are decorated with lines of square notches impressed with a roller stamp. This decoration, in six horizontal bands of two or three lines each, covers the upper part of the body and was carried out before the application of the two horizontal and eight vertical strips which were themselves pinched into ridges with the fingers. Part of a single line of rouletting is also to be seen on the inner surface of the neck.

The fabric is gritty rather than sandy, with much fine (? quartz) backing, consisting of particles c. 0.25 mm. in diameter. It is well and evenly fired to medium hardness and is not friable. The ware is buff-pink on the surfaces, but, except where the walls are relatively thin, the core is grey; this grey core increases in thickness in the thickest parts of the vessel. There are occasional large white inclusions (? chalk) and small black patches where organic matter has burnt out in firing.

The glaze is a rich orange-yellow, tinging in places to a light olive-green. It covers the inside of the neck and the whole exterior, except for a few small patches, but is not present inside the body.

The inner surface is uneven and shows traces of wiping, but there are no signs of wheel turning even on the neck and the vessel must have been entirely handmade. Some pressure has been applied from inside at the base of the handles, but neither there, nor by the feet, is there any trace of real keying. A small hole in the body has been repaired with a lead plug,

¹ Mr. G. C. Dunning kindly drew the pitcher and has allowed use to be made of his notes on twisted rope handles.

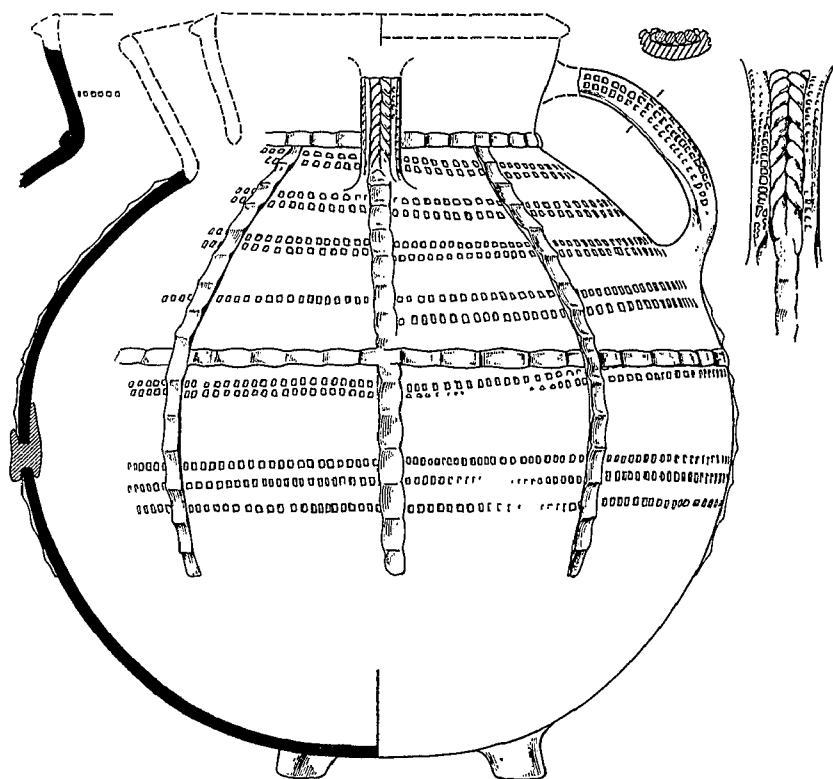


Fig. 10. Tripod-pitcher from Pits 15 and 16 (1)

poured in when molten from the exterior against a mould of some smooth material, perhaps clay, held on the inside, the plug being left rough externally.

Although the Winchester pitcher shows the main characteristics of the Oxford type of tripod-pitcher,¹ there are certain important differences. The body is truly globular, curving smoothly into the base, while the Oxford pitchers invariably have a distinct base angle and tend to be ovoid rather than globular, having their greatest diameter at, or rather below, the middle of the body.

The spout of the Winchester pitcher is almost wholly missing, but the trace of it which remains scarcely leaves room for a free-standing tubular spout and a D-shaped spout is reconstructed in the drawing. D-spouts are not found in Oxford itself, but occur to the south and west, as noted by Mr. E. M. Jope.²

The decoration of the Winchester pitcher is more elaborate than that on the Oxford examples. The twisted rope handles are exceptionally complex, and the rouletting on the Winchester pitcher does not seem to occur often on the Oxford examples where girth grooves are normal.³ Applied strips are usual in the Oxford series, but never reach the complexity shown by the pitcher under discussion.

These facts together suggest that the Winchester tripod-pitcher is representative of a style related to, but somewhat differing from, that of the Oxford series.

¹ As defined by Mr. E. M. Jope, *Ant. J.*, XXXIX (1959), 256-9.

² *Ibid.* 257-8.

³ Impressed dots, not rouletted, occur on two tripod-pitchers from Seacourt, Berks, *Oxon.*,

XXVI/XXVII (1961-2), 143-4, Fig. 19, 2, 3; the impressed dots on *ibid.*, Fig. 19, 5 may be rouletted, but the rim is late in the series; cf. another (unillustrated), *ibid.*, 133.

The Oxford tripod-pitchers are now known to range in date from c. 1120 to c. 1220,¹ but as yet stylistic changes within this period are not clearly defined. The pitchers from the well at St. John's College,² which being attributed to c. 1200 are late in the series, are rather taller in relation to their girth, and have more upright rims and rather steeper base angles than earlier examples of the mid 12th century from the Clarendon Hotel.³ In particular, the twisted rope ornament on the handles of some of the St. John's pitchers is merely modelled on the clay to give the general impression of twisted work,⁴ whereas the Clarendon Hotel pitchers have properly twisted ropes inserted into the backs of the handles.⁵

The evidence of the St. John's and the Clarendon Hotel pitchers would therefore seem to suggest a development from globular towards severer forms, from flaring towards vertical rims, and a deterioration in the construction of the twisted rope handles. When all allowance has been made for regional variations in style, this evidence suggests that the Winchester pitcher is typologically earlier than the Oxford series, displaying as it does most of the characteristics of the Oxford style of tripod-pitchers in a more elaborate and emphatic way.

The rounded base of the Winchester pitcher is paralleled by a fragment of the base of a tripod-pitcher from a pit at Old Sarum found with an unworn coin of William I.⁶ A D-spout and rouletted pitcher fragments from the same pit are also relevant in this context.⁷ The rounded base of the Winchester pitcher is indeed strongly suggestive of an early rather than a late 12th-century date, and the typological evidence suggests a date before the beginning of the Oxford tripod-pitcher series in c. 1120. A date of c. 1100 for the Winchester pitcher may therefore be suggested, independent of the evidence of the find-spot. The latter, however, itself suggests a similar date since a slightly worn coin of William II's second issue of 1089-92 was found in the destruction level which sealed and contained the fragments of this pitcher.

Fragments of tripod-pitchers from earlier levels on the Car Park site itself and from the 1962 excavation in Lower Brook Street are in agreement with the suggestion that these pitchers were already in use in Winchester by c. 1100; they may indicate an even earlier date for the introduction of this type.

If this date of c. 1100 for the Winchester pitcher is correct, it is reasonable to see in it evidence for the ultimate southern origin of the Oxford style of tripod-pitcher. The Winchester pitcher is itself related to a three-handled baggy pitcher with attached tubular spout which was found on the site of the Carfax Hotel, City Road, Winchester in 1931.⁸ The Carfax pitcher⁹ is in turn related to the well known series of middle and late Saxon spouted pitchers from southern England¹⁰ examples of which have been found both at Oxford and Winchester. The development of the tripod-pitcher series out of the Saxon pottery tradition may thus have begun in the Winchester area.

ROOF SHINGLES

In the bottom fill of Pit 16, below a layer of occupation refuse, and therefore dating probably from a repair rather than the final demolition of the 11th-12th-century Building A, were a number of pieces of wood, some of which proved on examination to be oak shingles, four of which are shown in Fig. 11. Further search through the material produced one piece which seems to be one of the pegs used in fixing the shingles (Fig. 11, 5).

¹ *Ant. J.*, XXXIX (1959), 258 and references there given.

² *Oxon.*, XV (1950), 47-8, Fig. 16.

³ *Oxon.*, XXIII (1958), 54-9, Fig. 19.

⁴ *Oxon.*, XV (1950), 48, Fig. 16, 5, 5a.

⁵ *Oxon.*, XXIII (1958), 54, Fig. 19.

⁶ *Ant. J.*, XV (1935), 190, Fig. 5, 30. The angle of the bottom of the foot relative to the side of the base shows that the latter must have been rounded, without a base angle.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 188-9, Fig. 5, 17-9, 29. There are tripod-pitchers and other rouletted pitcher sherds of the first half of the 12th century at Wareham Castle, Dorset, *Med. Arch.*, IV (1960), 65-6, Fig. 19, with discussion of related finds on p. 65.

⁸ Information from Mr. G. C. Dunning.

⁹ The fabric of the Carfax pitcher appears to be a rather coarse variety of Winchester Ware (see p. 188), the characteristic glaze of which is present. In form it is more developed than the spouted-pitchers in the normal Winchester Ware. In fabric and form it thus seems to occupy a position intermediate between the Winchester Ware spouted-pitchers and the tripod-pitcher series.

¹⁰ *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, L (1957), 29-60; LI (1958), 40-1, Fig. 1, 1-3; *Oxon.*, V (1940), 42-9, Fig. 8; *Oxon.*, XVII/XVIII (1952-3), 94-6, Fig. 34. For spouted-pitchers from Winchester cf. examples in Winchester Ware (see above, p. 188).

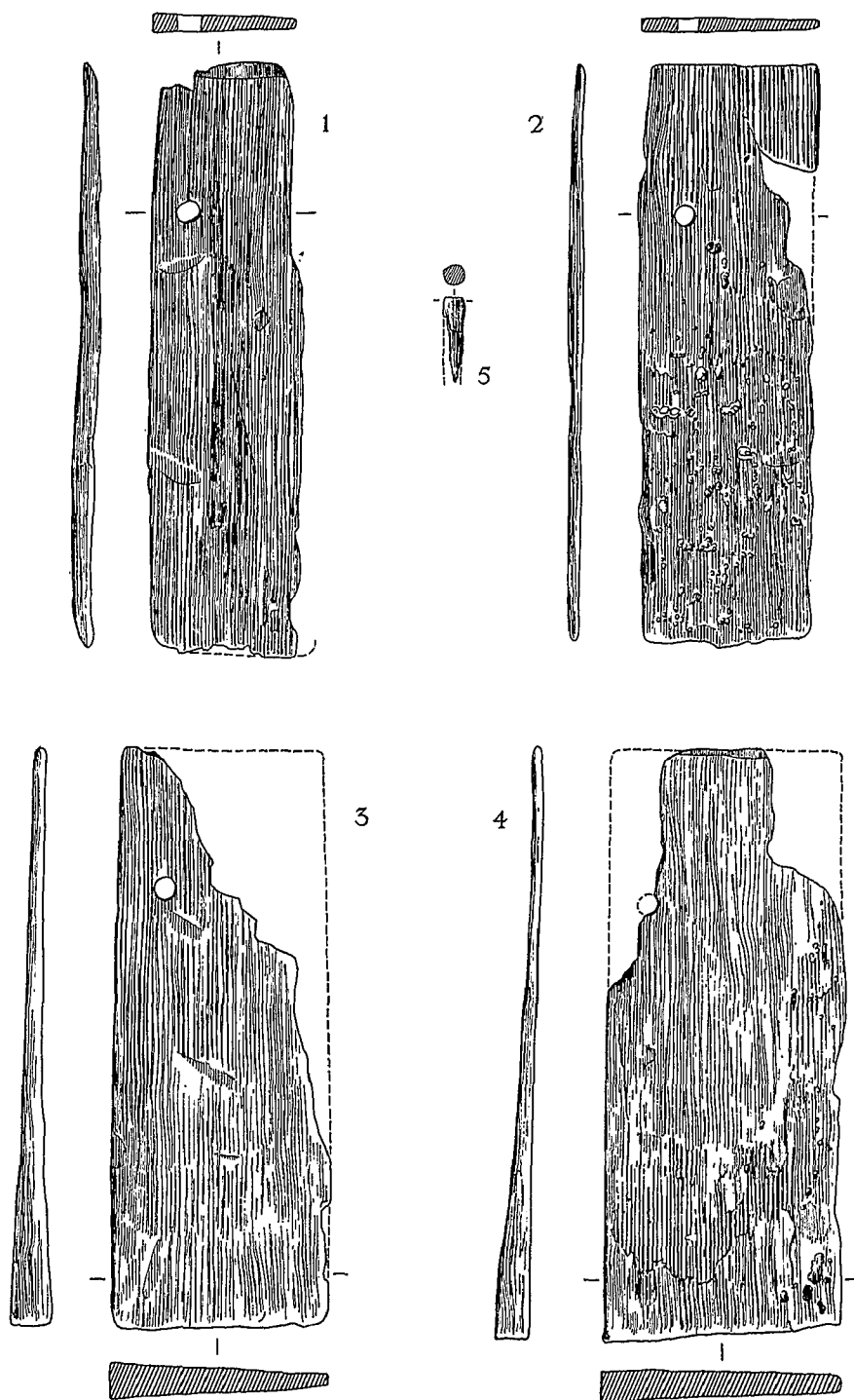


Fig. 11. Roof shingles (nos. 1-4) and peg (no. 5) from Pit 16 (1/5)

The shingles are approximately 15 in. long and range in width from $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. to 6 in. They are thicker towards one edge, varying, for example in the case of No. 3, from $\frac{5}{16}$ in. to $\frac{11}{16}$ in.; they also increase in thickness from top to bottom by about the same amount. Towards the top of each shingle, rather to one side, is a carefully formed round hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter.

As far as can be judged from the condition of the surface of the wood, the upper faces of the shingles are those shown in the drawings. In this case the holes and thicker edges of the shingles would be on the left side. There appears to be some evidence for differential weathering on what is thought to be the upper surface of the shingles (especially on Nos. 2 and 4) and detailed future examination should enable the lap and gauge of the shingles to be estimated. A paper reconstruction of a section of shingled roof may prove possible.

The small fragment of oak peg is $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. long and just over $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter at the top. Its full length is not preserved.

Roof shingles are rarely preserved¹ and no other examples of this date are known to the writer. Documentary evidence, however, shows that they were of common occurrence in the 13th century. They became expensive in the following century and their use appears to have declined in the face of competition from the much cheaper pottery tile which became increasingly popular from the 13th century onwards.² Saxon and later manuscript illuminations³ and the Bayeux Tapestry⁴ suggest, however, that shingles were in common use as an alternative to lead or thatch before the introduction of pottery tiles, perhaps sometime in the 12th century. The Winchester shingles, which should date from the later 11th century, provide a salutary warning that thatched roofs should not be too readily presumed in the interpretation of excavated structures where finds of pottery tiles are lacking.

¹ A hip-shingle of c. 1300 and a small shingle of c. 1520 were found at The More, Herts, *Arch.J.*, CXVI (1959), 182, Fig. 18, 26, 28.

² L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (1952), 228-9.

³ M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages* (1954), Pls. 20A, 26, 35, 44, 65, 71, 80, 86, 91.

⁴ *The Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. Sir Frank Stenton (1957), Pls. 3, 4, 31-5, 37, 40, 47, 50, 52. As in the case of note 3 above, the exact interpretation of these illustrations is not in every case clear.