



**The rise and decline of a medieval river port: excavations at land  
off Court Lodge Road, Appledore, Kent**

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**Final Publication Report**

**NGR: 595616 129263**

**(TQ 95616 29263)**

**Planning Reference: 16/00677/AS**

**(Superseding AS/09/01160 and Appeal Ref:**

**APP/E2205/A/11/2152755)**

**ASE Project No: 160340**

**Site Code: ALCL16**

**OASIS ID: archaeol6-279375**

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# **1. INTRODUCTION**

## **1.1 CIRCUMSTANCES AND SITE LOCATION**

An archaeological excavation was undertaken on land off Court Lodge Road, Appledore, Kent (NGR 595616 129263; Fig 1) in response to planning conditions placed by Ashford Borough Council on residential development on the site. Archaeological evaluation was undertaken prior to the excavation, which demonstrated the presence of archaeological deposits on site. The subsequent excavation covered some 850m<sup>2</sup> and was conducted by Archaeology South-East (UCL Institute of Archaeology) in June and July 2016.

The site is located at the southern end of Appledore and set back by around 60m from The Street, the main thoroughfare in the village. It lies off Court Lodge Road, and is bounded on the south by this and to the east, north and west by private properties. The plot was formerly occupied by a bungalow surrounded by mature trees. The underlying geology is Tunbridge Wells Sand Formation that is characterised by interbedded siltstone and sandstone (BGS 2018).

Appledore itself is sited on the edge of Romney Marsh on a slight plateau above the floodplain along the former course of the River Rother, at about 11m AOD. This position would have once afforded Appledore with strong links to continental trade routes, but as the river silted up waterborne access to the town would have declined.

**Fig 1: Location map**

## **1.2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

The formation of Romney Marsh has a long and complex natural history, which has been the subject of much literature (Eddison and Green 1988; Eddison 1995; Eddison *et al* 1998; Long *et al* 2002). It has, along with the tributaries that flow into The English Channel, altered considerably during the Holocene, which has led to fluctuations in the habitat and its use over this period, but for long periods has been associated with salt-marsh and often latterly associated with industry and trade.

Appledore had previously been the subject of only two archaeological watching briefs, both of which were beyond the historical centre of the village, and consequently little archaeological information pertains to the village itself. Prehistoric evidence within and around Appledore is limited to just a few findspots of flintwork, suggestive of low-level use of the coastal margins during this time. Similarly sparse is Roman activity, for which only a single coin of AD 136 is known.

Further afield, Romney Marsh was home to several salt-working sites during the early Roman period (Eddison 2000, fig 14; Cunliffe 1988) and most likely occupied an important strategic location in the movement of resources such as salt, but also timber and

iron, either in a raw state or processed (Cunliffe 1980, 284). During this time several forts were placed along the coast, often at the mouths of rivers or estuaries, as at Dover, Lympne and Pevensey. Appledore is thought to have been located someway up the River Rother on the first area of higher ground suitable for habitation (Rippon 2002, fig 6.7). Activities like salt production appear to decline in the later Roman period, likely in response to inundation of the land by the sea (Eddison 2000, 47).

The first reference to Appledore comes from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which records that in AD 893 the Danes sailed with 250 ships into the mouth of the River Limen or Lympne (now River Rother). The following year ‘the great host which had been encamped at Appledore at the mouth of the Lympne’ is mentioned. However, the precise location of this event is unknown and there are no visible remains of an earthwork in or around the town. By the 11th century there was a church at Appledore (Winnifirth 1983, 11), which is likely to have been associated with a manor, belonging to St Martin’s Priory, Dover. The Domesday Book indicates that there was also a fairly large secular settlement at Appledore by 1086, which probably had origins in the Saxon period.

Contact with the coast remained via the original course of the Rother, until the 13<sup>th</sup> century when the Rhee Wall, a medieval canal, was constructed from Appledore towards Old Romney Bridge, providing access both there and beyond to Winchelsea (Rippon 2002, 91). During this period Appledore’s market became more established and its importance as a trading centre increased, possibly assisted by the demise of (Old) Winchelsea (Eddison 2004, 4) due to storm damage and inundation by the sea. Indeed in 1359, Edward III granted the right for a weekly market and Appledore became a town. Appledore does not appear to have concerted activities on shipbuilding during this time, as at Smallhythe (ASE 2005), New Romney (Draper and Meddens 2009), Rye and Winchelsea (Martin & Martin *et al* 2009, 6), although at least two ships are known to have been refitted or repaired there (HCGKCC 2003, 5), and rather served instead as a trading hub.

During its time of growth, in 1380 Appledore suffered an invasion from the French, when the church of St Peter and St Paul was burned down. The effect of the raid on the remainder of the town is unclear, but much of the church was rebuilt afterwards as a consequence. Despite these maladies Appledore continues on much the same course as before, with little long-term effects notable until the silting and shallowing of its waterborne access in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, mirrored by its coastal counterpart, Rye (Martin & Martin *et al* 2009). By 1561, Appledore had ‘decayed by reason that the water is gone from it’ (unreferenced quote in HCGKCC 2003, 5).

After a relative fallow period in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, a resurgence of building in Appledore appears in the late 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries with modifications of earlier buildings and construction of new buildings, some of which survive today (HCGKCC 2003, fig 7). At this time the Military Canal was constructed in response to the threat of invasion by Napoleon, which cut through the landscape to the south of Appledore. This was later reinforced with pill boxes during the Second World War and anecdotal evidence suggests that the Home Guard were active in the area during the conflict.

## **2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESULTS**

### **2.1 PREHISTORIC ACTIVITY**

#### **OPEN AREA (OA1)**

Prehistoric activity is represented by just a handful of worked flints recovered across the site as residual finds within later features. Most of these were not closely datable except for a single blade of probable Mesolithic or Early Neolithic origin. Previous finds in the wider area tell a similar story, with a single Neolithic axe head found approximately 2km to the northwest and small numbers of Mesolithic to Bronze Age flints discovered around Kenardington to the northeast.

### **2.2 ROMAN ACTIVITY**

#### **EARLY ROMAN - 1ST CENTURY (PERIOD 1, PHASE 1)**

##### **FIELD SYSTEM 1 (FS1)**

The first distinct evidence of land division is apparent in the Early Roman period, comprising the excavation of two curving ditches that together appear to create a funnel towards the east (Fig 2). Both ditches were relatively deep, but predominantly filled with redeposited natural geology making definition difficult and which might explain their absence from the evaluation trenches. Little datable material was recovered from these ditches, which generally consisted of a few largely undiagnostic pottery sherds, except for a single small group which included a 1<sup>st</sup> century AD bead rim jar sherd. Associated charcoal was radiocarbon dated to 1970±30 BP (Beta-455030, cal BC 40–80 cal AD). Little else was noted within these ditches except for some charred remains found where the ditches were adjacent to pits [146] and [237].

Pits [146] and [237] were both rectilinear, steep-sided and flat-based in form. Much of the natural geology forming their sides and some of that forming their bases had been heat affected, showing clear signs of rubefaction (Fig 3), but not of any direct contact with fire. This would appear indicative of high temperature materials being placed within the features and indeed the basal fill of each contained large quantities of charred material and large fragments of ferruginous concretions, suggesting their use as either ore roasting pits or cooking pits. The charcoal recovered largely comprised fragments of oak, much of which would have derived from large branch or stem wood, along with small quantities of wheat cereal grains.

Material culture from these pits was otherwise entirely lacking and in its absence charcoal samples were sent for radiocarbon dating. These produced two incompatible dates indicative of the movement of material (Beta-490013, 2210±30 BP, 371–199 cal BC; Beta-455031, 920±30 BP, cal AD 1025–1190). Given the sandy nature of the site, the ease with which bioturbation may occur and its later use as an orchard, these results are not unsurprising, but does compound the difficulty of dating these pits. Their phasing is based on

proximity to the ditches and similarity of the charcoal and charred remains in the pits and ditches; no other features contained similar quantities of charcoal.

#### **Fig 2: Period 1.1 and 1.2 features**

**Fig 3: Photo of ore roasting pit [237] (ALCL16-0428), note heat affected natural on sides of pit**

### **EARLY ROMAN - 1ST CENTURY (PERIOD 1, PHASE 2)**

The ditches of period 1 are re-dug and re-modelled with an extra ditch length added heading west, that had deeper and steeper profiles than their predecessors. The additional ditch length both narrows the funnel shape and extends the ditch system further westwards. There are no associated features and it would appear that the function broadly continues as before, except for the absence of any ongoing iron working related activity, perpetuating the use of the land in an agrarian fashion.

### **PERIOD 1, PHASE 3: LATER ROMAN**

#### **OPEN AREA 2 (OA2)**

The Early Roman features appear to have fallen out of use and largely silted up by the later Roman period, although it is possible they were still visible in the landscape. There is little activity attributable to this period and the use of the site at this time is unclear.

Only two features are assigned to this phase (Fig 4). One of these, feature [427] a large shallow pit (G5), located in the northeast corner of the excavation area, produced an assemblage of very different character to the fragmentary pottery found in most of the Roman features. It contained two vessels which are both broken but more than half-complete. The first is a grog-tempered necked jar (Fig 5, P1) which is not closely datable, similar vessels having been encountered throughout the Roman period at Westhawk Farm, for example (e.g. Lyne 2008, fig 6.1, no 11, from a group dated AD43-70 and fig 6.12, no 221 from a group dated AD250-350). The second vessel, a fairly tall, necked, indented beaker in a fine grey ware fabric (Fig 5, P2) clearly post-dates the later 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Although not associated with a typical North Kent/Thameside fine grey ware fabric, it has similarities to vessels produced by that industry, the general profile being similar to Monaghan (1987) type 2C5, dated to c. AD210-270. Although a slightly later date also seems possible, the vessel lacks the very tall profile and well-defined neck of typical 4<sup>th</sup> century beaker forms.

In some ways, it is difficult to interpret this deposit because the feature appears isolated, though there may well have been further Roman activity to the north east of the excavated area. The completeness of the vessels is of note however, especially as this pit was truncated by several post-Roman features and it is possible that they were originally deposited intact. There is a long-lived tradition of structured deposition involving pottery vessels in the wider south Kent region. At Brisley Farm, Ashford for example, partially-complete or complete vessels first began to be deposited in the transition from Middle to Late Iron Age, a practice continuing over several centuries, with a particular emphasis on deposition around the entrances of enclosures (Stevenson 2013, 117). Although some of the deposits on this site may have involved very specific funerary and commemorative activities

related to the burial of two high-status individuals, the tradition was still evident in the later 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (*ibid*, 201). As the focus of settlement moved southeast to Westhawk Farm, it was noted that there was a repeated pattern of partially-complete beakers and in one case, a deliberately pierced jar, found in the top fills of several waterholes which went out of use in the mid Roman period. Here it was suggested that the vessels may have been associated with ritual meals taken as these important features went out of use (Lyne 2008, 251). Beyond the immediate region, it has been noted that the deposition of pottery vessels seems more likely to represent an everyday domestic form of votive practice, which was perhaps quite distinct from styles of deposition favoured in more formal religious settings (Biddulph 2015). As in pit [427], deposits of this type often seem to mirror the typical household repertoire of vessels, unlike in burials where fine and table ware forms were often preferentially chosen.

#### **Fig 4: Period 1.3 features**

#### **Fig 5: Period 1.3 pottery**

#### Catalogue

P1 Simple necked jar in grog-tempered fabric [427]

P2 Squat, necked indented beaker in unsourced fine grey ware fabric [427]

### **2.3 MEDIEVAL ACTIVITY**

#### **PERIOD 2: EARLY MEDIEVAL – 12<sup>TH</sup> TO EARLY/MID 13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

##### OPEN AREA 3 (OA3)

A single pit is the only possible feature relating to this period (Fig 6). This relatively shallow pit [198] is tentatively dated by a single scrap of pottery. Otherwise this period is represented by a handful of residual sherds in later features.

#### **Fig 6: Period 2 features**

#### **PERIOD 3: MEDIEVAL – UP TO AD1550**

From the early to mid 13<sup>th</sup> century AD a more distinctive and formalised use of the site becomes established with tenement plots relating to properties fronting what is now The Street becoming apparent. No estate maps of Appledore survive from this period so its layout, the number of plots fronting onto the road during this time, and the suggestion of paths between houses is conjectural. These divisions are informed by the seemingly differential use of each area in terms of pitting and quarrying, and it might be that further division of the two wider plots is possible into two or maybe three parts. The widths of these plots do not comfortably sit with the usual measurements of burgage plots (c. 5.50m), but can be seen to be relative to each other, with two being nearly three times the width of the narrower plots. There are two distinct phases of ceramics pertaining to this period, but the

often-mixed assemblages within features and intercutting nature of many of the pits has precluded any possible separation and led to the conflation of this data into a single period.

### TENEMENT PLOT 1 (TP1)

Tenement plot 1 (TP1) is defined by a distinctive linear cluster of pitting at the southern end of the site, forming one of two narrow plots of land approximately 7.20m wide (Fig 7). This pit group (G9) appears to be predominantly for the deposition of refuse, with small assemblages of mid 13<sup>th</sup> to mid 14<sup>th</sup> century pottery, but a marked increase in artefacts from the mid 14<sup>th</sup> until the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century. The ceramic assemblage has a mixture of fabrics, with the majority deriving from local sources, although some are imported. Animal bone groups of two articulated pigs and the majority of an articulated horse dominate the faunal remains recovered (Fig 8), discussed in more detail below. Besides these groups, fish, pig, ovicaprid and cattle remains were recorded, predominantly comprising waste material from butchery rather than meat bearing bones. A relatively large number of 14<sup>th</sup> century brick and tile fragments was also recovered.

After this phase of pit digging, two larger quarry pits were excavated (G10). These were filled with similar artefactual assemblages of domestic refuse.

Two postholes were also attributed to this phase. No function could be determined for these features, but the continual pit digging of the area most likely disturbed and masked a number of similar features.

#### **Fig 7: Period 3 features**

#### **Fig 8: Photograph of TP1 under excavation showing pig burial [310] and initial uncovering of horse in pit [360] (ALCL16-0158)**

### TENEMENT PLOT 2 (TP2)

The second defined tenement plot was approximately 19.0m wide, almost three times that of TP1. It is characterised by less intensive pit digging than TP1 (G8), with the inclusion of three quarry pits (G29) and a handful of postholes. As with TP1, the postholes in TP2, (G30) do not appear to form any obvious structural patterns, but again other features might have masked further postholes and single postholes might well have formed a utilitarian purpose on their own.

Despite the low intensity of refuse features within the TP2, a greater quantity of pottery relating to the latter half of this period was recovered from within the quarry pits. This ceramic material, from c. 1450 to 1550 AD, had a high proportion of imported wares, some of which originated in Spain, suggesting a degree of wealth of its occupants during the latter half of period 3. The faunal assemblage from both the refuse pit group and quarry pit group was negligible, with a small number of mammalian examples present, although piscine examples were abundant in comparison.

In addition to the pottery and animal remains from the quarry pits, a large assemblage of 14<sup>th</sup> century CBM was recorded. Although not pertaining to the likely date of these features its presence is noteworthy in as much as it demonstrates the presence of 14<sup>th</sup> century structures in the vicinity, structures which would have had some degree of investment behind them to afford their building materials.

### TENEMENT PLOT 3 (TP3)

The third example of a possible tenement plot is defined by the absence of features, except that of G32, which might be a part of TP4 to the north. The area is around 7.50m wide, similar to TP1. The only material recovered comprised a single sherd of local late medieval pottery. This paucity of both features and artefacts precludes any observations about the use of this area as a tenement plot, but might instead intimate its use as a routeway to lands behind the properties, rather than land directly pertaining to properties fronting The Street.

### TENEMENT PLOT 4 (TP4)

The northernmost of the defined plots, TP4 is also somewhere between two and three times the width of narrower TP1 and TP3 at c 18.5m. TP4 bears similarities to TP2, with diffuse pits dug within its boundaries (Fig 9). The pits (G7) are shallow, akin to most others on site, and generally contained a mixed assemblage of pottery, with a small proportion deriving from the earlier half of this period and the majority from the latter. The number of imported wares is also relatively high from TP4, with a number from Spain and the Low Countries, suggesting a similar level of wealth to the occupants of TP2. However, the faunal remains from TP4 are more analogous to those from TP1, with animal bone groups of articulated pig, dogs and a polecat recovered from some of the pits and representing the larger proportion of the assemblage. As with TP1, only a small number of other animal remains were found, but with an underrepresented assemblage of fish. Comparable to the rest of the site, a collection of 14<sup>th</sup> century AD tile and bricks were recovered along with an example of a mass dial tile, described in more detail below. The CBM was fragmentary and distributed across most of the features.

Also encountered within TP4 were a small number of postholes, G13. Two structures might be proposed from the patterning; a two- and three-post structure, each located towards the eastern side of the excavated area. The function of these structures is unclear, but might have been for the tethering of animals, or perhaps a domestic process.

**Fig 9: Photograph showing TP3 and 4 under excavation. Note tower of St Peter and St Paul's Church on horizon, only 120m away to east**

## 2.4 POST-MEDIEVAL ACTIVITY

### PERIOD 4: POST-MEDIEVAL TO AD1850

#### TENEMENT PLOTS 3 & 4 (TP3 & TP4)

These two plots are the only two to continue through into later periods and both are characterised by a low incidence of pit digging (Fig 10), which yielded little in the way of archaeological material. During this time the plot boundaries become better defined, with a discontinuous ditch excavated between the two and another between TP3 and activity to the south, D2. Tenement Plot 3 still contains minimal activity, and could still be considered as a routeway through to lands behind The Street.

## **Fig 10: Period 4 features**

### **ROUTEWAY 1 (R1)**

At the same time as the better definition of boundaries between properties, a formalisation of the rear of properties also takes place. The western side of the site is cut by several iterations of the same boundary formed by what is likely the edge of a routeway. Dating is again sparse, but the inclusion of a 17<sup>th</sup> century farthing may indicate when the routeway was in use. The routeway leads north from Court Lodge Road, the original road to Oxney to the east, and probably heads towards two ponds noted on the 1841 Tithe map.

### **OPEN AREA 4 (OA4)**

Defined by the boundaries of TP3, R1 and Court Lodge Road, OA4 becomes separated from properties fronting The Street by D1 at around the time of formal boundary definition. Dating suggests that this might have occurred a generation or two after the establishment of R1. There is little evidence of function within this space, and it might be that at this time the land is turned over to orchard, as suggested on later maps.

### **TENEMENT PLOT 5 (TP5)**

Formed by the excavation of D1 and bounded by that, D2 and Court Lodge Road, it is unclear whether TP5 is related to one or two properties. No dividing boundaries were apparent, but only a small portion where one might have existed was exposed, and much of this contained modern disturbance. A small amount of pit digging is evident for small-scale refuse deposition and little was recovered from it. By the creation of the 1841 Tithe Map, however, this area appears to have been subsumed into the orchard and the boundaries are out of use.

## **PERIOD 5: 20TH CENTURY**

### **OPEN AREA 5 (OA5)**

Just a few pits define the final phase of activity on site (Fig 11). Cartographic evidence suggests that previous boundaries had all gone out of use, except that formed by R1 and that the area was used as an orchard. The pits are generally unremarkable, apart from three that are closely dated to the Second World War, from which an interesting group of finds came, including a preserved 'hard –tack' biscuit and blank munitions, possibly used in practice during purported Home Guard activity in the area.

## **Fig 11: Period 5 features**

### **3. ARTEFACTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL MATERIAL**

#### **3.1 POST-ROMAN POTTERY**

Luke Barber

##### ***Introduction***

The archaeological work recovered 983 sherds of post-Roman pottery, weighing 14,743g, from 152 individually numbered contexts, 36 of these contexts being from the evaluation. The totals include 79 sherds, weighing 281g, from one of 12 environmental residues. The overall assemblage is of variable condition with a great range of sherd sizes. Although the general trend is toward small sherds (ie up to 30mm across) larger sherds are also present (ie to over c. 150mm) in a few deposits. The average sherd sizes by period are shown in Table 1. Most of the pottery is in reasonably good condition and despite many sherds being small they often exhibit only minor/moderate abrasion. The most abraded material consists of the earliest, though the hard-fired nature of the Late Medieval wares does make them more resistant to abrasion.

The overall site assemblage is characterised in Table 1 in order to show the chronological profile of the material. The exact division between periods is approximate as some fabric groups cross the actual dates allocated. This is most notable with the increasingly higher fired Rye-type wares that span the 14<sup>th</sup> to mid 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The assemblage has been fully quantified (number of sherds/weight/estimated number of vessels: ENV) by fabric on pro forma for archive. This utilised the fabric series established at Lydd Quarry (Barber 2008). The Lydd series, which needs slight rationalisation in places due to more recent discoveries, has on the whole proved suitable for the current site. However, there are a few fabrics in the current assemblage that do not have Lydd codes, most being the result of more recent subdivisions of some of the Lydd groupings brought about by recent assemblages from Rye. Having said that some fabrics/wares from the current site are truly new types to the Lydd series. Each context group was spot dated during archive listing and all resultant information was used to create an Excel database of the assemblage.

<b>Period</b>	<b>No./weight</b>	<b>Average sherd size</b>	<b>No. of different fabric groups</b>
<b>Early Medieval</b> C12th-mid C13th	27/286g (ENV 17)	10.6g	Local – 3
<b>High Medieval</b> Mid C13th – mid C14th	110/742g (ENV 100)	6.7g	Local – 11 Regional – 1 Imported - 1
<b>Late Medieval</b> Mid C14th – mid 16th	634/10,111 g (ENV 412)	15.9g	Local – 13 Regional – 1 Imported - 7
<b>Early post-medieval</b> Mid C16th – mid 18 <sup>th</sup>	9/95g (ENV 9)	10.6g	Local - 4 Regional - 2 Imported - 1
<b>Late post-medieval</b> Mid/late C18th – mid C20th	203/3509g (ENV 121)	17.3g	Local - 3 Regional - 12

**Table 1:** Characterisation of pottery assemblage. NB. Totals for pottery include all residual/intrusive and unstratified material. Local equates to Kent/Sussex wares; Regional to other English wares.

### **Periods and Fabrics**

Overall the date range of the pottery from the site spans the 12<sup>th</sup> to mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries though the peak of activity appears to be between 1475 and 1550.

#### *Early Medieval: C12th – early/mid 13th*

This period produced a small assemblage of generally quite abraded pottery. The earliest appears to relate to a few scraps of moderate flint-tempered ware (Lydd Fabric 1b) cooking pots (4/16g) that are almost certainly of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. All were residual, with the possible exception of that from pit [198], fill [199] (G6, OA3), which contained a single 2g scrap but no other pottery. The other main fabric attributable to this period is the sandy-shelly ware (Lydd F2b) that is thought to dominate on Romney Marsh between the mid/later 12<sup>th</sup> to mid 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (22/269g). Most of the latter consist of cooking pots but a single jug with a stabbed square club rim was residual in quarry pit [227] (G29, TP2). Whatever the case, the majority of these earliest sherds are small, notably abraded and usually residual in later deposits.

#### *High Medieval: early/mid C13th – mid 14th*

The 110 sherds allocated to this period suggest an increase in activity from the mid/late 13<sup>th</sup> on. By this date sand tempering is dominating the wares, with shell persisting in some

fabrics into the very early 14<sup>th</sup> century though in ever decreasing proportions (Lydd Fabric 2d: 22/186g). Sandy wares have a typical range of cooking pots, bowls and jugs represented, the latter usually being quite plain in their glazing and decoration. Although some of the sandy wares are of mid 13<sup>th</sup>- to early 14<sup>th</sup>- century types (eg Lydd Fabrics 3a and 3b) there are a number which show signs of better firing suggesting a 14<sup>th</sup>- century date (eg Lydd Fabric 3f). One of the most dominant is the Rye-type ware (Lydd Fabric 3h: 18/91g) mainly present as simply clear or green glazed jugs. The decorative repertoire is notably plain suggesting the material came from a household of the lower classes. A scatter of the sherds in this group is well fired and they begin to merge with the types of the Later Medieval period. This includes the only probable import for the period – two sherds of a well-fired North French/Flanders greyware residual in period 4 ditch [574] (G20, D2). A scattering of features does appear to be contemporary with High Medieval activity but all produced negligible quantities of contemporary pottery and residual material in later deposits accounts for many sherds.

#### *Late Medieval: Mid 14<sup>th</sup> to mid 16<sup>th</sup> centuries*

As noted in the previous period there appears to be a trickle of sherds that are of the early/mid 14<sup>th</sup> century or shortly after. Some of the coarser well fired types grouped under the Late Medieval period may show a continuance of activity through the later 14<sup>th</sup> to mid 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, this period is notoriously difficult to isolate out on the Marsh, probably due to a dramatic reduction of the population in the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century following the Black Death. This period is much easier to distinguish where occupation undoubtedly continued. For example in Canterbury and Rye the local pottery industry continued to produce notably sandy wares, but fired significantly harder. There is nothing in the current assemblage that has date to between c. 1350 and 1425/50, but the absence of feature sherds and the isolated nature of much of the pottery does not help with secure dating.

Activity can be seen to rapidly increase between c. 1425/50 and 1550, perhaps with an emphasis on the second half of this range. This chronological span accounts for the majority of the overall site assemblage (Table 1). Local wares typically dominate in one of several related well-fired fabrics that range from relatively sandy to virtually untempered. They are well potted, notably harder fired than the High Medieval types and of utilitarian type. Decoration is rare, but includes some patchy glazing and occasionally simple white slip abstract patterns (eg a 4m pitcher from quarry pit [221], G29, TP2). The fabrics of this period are both summarised and quantified in Table 2.

Fabric	No/weight	Estimated number of vessels by form	Catalogue Nos
<b><i>Local Wares</i></b>			
4d Rare/sparse fine quartz	4/40g	Undiagnostic of form x4	-
4e Transitional sandy	15/203g	Cooking pot x1; bowls x3; jug x1; pitcher x1; undiagnostic of form x9	-
4g Sparse quartz, rare iron oxides and flint	1/18g	Undiagnostic of form x1	-
4h Transitional sandy with moderate iron oxides	166/1628g	Jars x8; jugs x4 pitchers x8; undiagnostic of form x111	1, 2
4j Transitional sandy with common iron oxides	51/1220g	Jars x2; jugs x1; pitchers x5; candlestick x1; undiagnostic of form x19	3, 12

4k Well-fired abundant fine quartz	68/1633g	Bowl x1; pipkins x2; jug x1; pitchers x3; undiagnostic of form x12	8
4l Transitional fine sandy	7/74g	Jug x1; pitcher x3; ?figurine x1; undiagnostic of form x1	14
4m Hard-fired earthenware with occasional large calcareous inclusions	18/396g	Jug x1; pitchers x2; undiagnostic of form x11	-
4n Hard-fired reduced Transitional sandy ware	8/130g	Pitchers x2; Undiagnostic of form x4	9a/b
4o Calcareous flecked hard-fired earthenware	118/1934g	Pitchers x3; undiagnostic of form x36	10, 11
4p Very hard-fired fine Transitional ware	2/32g	Undiagnostic of form x1	-
Late Rye hard-fired moderate sandy ware	67/1271g	Jars x3; dishes x2; jugs x4; pitchers x3; undiagnostic of form x43	4, 5, 6
Hard-fired earthenware HFE (no visible tempering)	43/533g	Pitchers x4; lobed dish x1; undiagnostic of form x34	7, 13
<b>English regional wares</b>			
Tudor Green	2/1g	?Cup x1	-
<b>Imported wares</b>			
Martincamp Type I	1/4g	?Flask x1	-
Dutch redware	42/774g	Dishes x3; pipkins x10; ?pitcher x1; undiagnostic of form x17	15, 16, 17
Siegburg stoneware	1/2g	Mug/jug x1	18
Langerwehe stoneware	4/56g	?Pitcher x1; undiagnostic of form x2	-
Raeren stoneware	13/124g	Mugs x11; undiagnostic of form x2	19
Cologne stoneware	1/2g	Undiagnostic of form x1	-
Late Valencian lusterware	2/36g	Dish x1; Undiagnostic of form x1	20

**Table 2:** The Late Medieval assemblage from all areas by fabric (local wares without a prefixed Lydd code were not recognised at that site)

These well-fired earthenwares are common around Winchelsea (Orton 2004), Rye and Camber (Whittingham 2001). Although it is suspected most represent late Rye products, no kilns of this period have yet been discovered there. Certainly other sources are possible as these general wares were being produced at High Lankhurst, north of Hastings, Boreham Street (Streeten 1985) and Hareplain, Biddenden, Kent (Kelly 1972). Certainly fabric 4n is very similar to Hareplain products. Although the majority of sherds are not diagnostic of form, a situation not helped by the virtual absence of decoration on most vessel types, there are enough feature sherds to show that the typical jars, bowls and jugs/pitchers dominate the group. Although feature sherds are frustratingly scarce, when the whole assemblage is considered together there is a representative spread of types, most of which are included in the illustrated catalogue.

Non-local wares are also represented. Although there is only one Surrey-Hampshire Tudor Green cup present (2/1g from pit [2/004], G29, TP2) (0.3% of the overall Late Medieval assemblage by sherd count), there are rather more imported pieces (64/998g: 10.1% of the Late Medieval assemblage by sherd count). The source of these imports is fairly typical for

the period. During the High Medieval period France was the main source of imports, with a shift to the Low Countries/Rhineland in the Late Medieval period. This is not an unusual shift and it is seen repeated in numerous south coast ports such as Shoreham (Barber 2011), Southampton (Brown 2002) and Winchelsea (Orton 2004). Wares from these sources typically dominate the Late Medieval imports from the current site.

Dutch redwares make up the majority (42/774g: 65.6% of Late Medieval imports). Most of these vessels appear to be basic cooking types that were probably imported as a sideline during a period of close contact (including immigration) with the Low Countries. These wares are common in the Rye area at this time: at both Camber and Winchelsea accounting for between 20-25% of imports (Whittingham 2001; Orton 2004). Interestingly they are not well represented in the two largest groups of Late Medieval material from New Romney. Here, similar sized assemblages to the current one (ie between 600-700 sherds apiece), contained no, or negligible quantities of Dutch redwares (Barber 2011 and Jarrett 2009). Such wares were also absent from the Late Medieval assemblage at Lydd Quarry (Barber 2008). It would appear this pattern may be the result of the rapid decline of the port of New Romney and the rise to dominance of the port of Rye at this time. Although Appledore is some distance from Rye its proximity to the Rother meant easy access by waterborne transport.

Rhenish stonewares are also well represented, making up 29.7% of the Late Medieval imported wares. All three main production centres of the period are represented here, though typically Raeren products dominate (Table 2). A similar pattern to that noted for the Dutch redwares is apparent in that investigations in New Romney have produced much smaller quantities of Rhenish stoneware from similar-sized Late Medieval assemblages when compared with those closer to the Rother. At the 1<sup>st</sup> time sewerage scheme (Barber 2011) Rhenish stoneware accounted for just 3.6% of the Late Medieval imported sherds and even less was present from Southlands School and Lydd (Jarrett 2009; Barber 2008). This is in contrast to not only the current site, but Winchelsea, where Rhenish stoneware made up 20% of the Late Medieval assemblage and Camber Castle, where it accounted for a notable 59% of Late Medieval imports (Orton 2004; Whittingham 2001). Such wares were in use at all levels of society and as such the discrepancies in proportions probably reflects the accessibility of commodities in comparison to waterborne transport rather than differences in status alone.

Other sources of supply are rare. The single sherd from a Martincamp Type 1 flask from France (quarry pit [219], G29, TP2) is a practical vessel, not necessarily of high status. With the notable exception of Camber Castle, French imports at this time are not common in the area though larger groups may alter this view. Most notable are the two sherds of Spanish lustreware. The most distinctive of these comes from an elaborately decorated dish (Cat. No. 20), with the other piece consisting of a plain delicate rod handle from a jug or vase (pit [1/010], fill [1/011], G7, TP4). Although Iberian wares have been noted both in New Romney and even Lydd they have been from coarseware vessels. Only Camber Castle has produced notable quantities of finewares. Certainly this type of import would suggest that the associated household was both well off and well connected.

#### The tenement assemblages

The pottery from the four postulated medieval tenements (land uses TP1-4) was compared in order to ascertain the presence of any significant differences between the assemblages. Although TP3 and TP4 continued throughout periods 3 and 4 only the pottery from the former period was used for comparative purposes (although the quantities for period 4 in both instances were negligible). Despite this the different tenement assemblages for period 3 show a notable degree of residuality and intrusiveness (Table 3).

Tenement/ Ceramic period	TP1	TP2	TP3	TP4
<b>Early Medieval</b>	9/98g	10/154g	-	1/1g
<b>High Medieval</b>	30/174g	26/156g	-	11/54g
<b>Late Medieval</b>	83/1514g	153/2264g	1/4g	285/4924g
<b>Early Post-medieval</b>	-	-	-	2/29g
<b>Late Post-medieval</b>	-	2/20g	-	2/24g

**Table 3:** Chronological spread of post-Roman pottery from period 3 deposits in tenement plots 1-4

The Early Medieval assemblages are too small to comment on, particularly considering nearly all of these sherds are residual. A background scatter of local coarsewares in sandy-shelly ware F2b is represented, with rare occurrences of flinty ware (F1b). Unsurprisingly cooking pots dominate. The High Medieval assemblage is larger (though again absent from TP3) but still too small to be considered a reliable indicator of market contacts and status. Once again much appears to be residual. However, assuming the material is residual within the same tenement plot that produced it, the assemblages are of fairly typical domestic type, with cooking pots and jugs being present in all tenements. The latter tend to be well made but decoratively quite plain. Local wares totally dominate (Lydd Quarry fabrics 2d, 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3f, 3g, 3h, 4a, 4b and Winchelsea Black-type) and there are no imports. There is nothing to suggest any particular tenement was of elevated status.

The Late Medieval assemblages, particularly the material dating c. 1450-1550, form the bulk of the tenement groups and, with the exception of TP3 (Table 3), produced moderate-sized combined assemblages for comparative purposes. In each the local wares dominate and consist of a generally repeating array of well-formed utilitarian types typical of the period (Table 4). These are the local wares that served at all levels of society. From the scatter of feature sherds present a fairly typical range of domestic forms is evident though some more unusual forms are present in tenements 2 and 4. These include the candlestick and figurine (TP2) and the lobed dish (TP4), types that one may expect in a more affluent household. Perhaps more diagnostic of differences between tenement assemblages are the non-local wares. Due to the virtual complete absence of non-local English types (with the exception of the Tudor Green vessel in TP2) comparisons have to use just the imported material (Table 4).

Tenement/ source	TP1	TP2	TP3	TP4
Local	78/1404g (Fabrics: 4e, 4h, 4j, 4k, 4l, 4m, 4n, 4o, HFE, Late Rye) (Forms: dish x1; jugs/pitchers x16; undiagnostic of form x51)	127/1951g (Fabrics: 4e, 4g, 4h, 4j, 4k, 4l, 4m, 4o, 4p, HFE, Late Rye) (Forms: cooking pot x1; pipkin x1; jars x4; jugs/pitchers x14; candlestick x1; figurine x1; undiagnostic of form x95)	1/4g (Fabrics: Late Rye) (Forms: undiagnostic of form x1)	265/4588g (Fabrics: 4d, 4e, 4h, 4j, 4k, 4m, 4n, 4o, HFE, Late Rye) (Forms: pipkin x1; jars x4; bowl x1; jugs/pitchers x7; lobed dish x1; undiagnostic of form x77)
Regional	-	2/1g	-	-

		(Fabric: Tudor Green) (Form: ?cup x1)		
Imported	5/110g (Fabrics: Dutch redware, Langerwehe, Cologne) (Forms: pipkins x2; pitcher x1; undiagnostic of form x1)	24/312g (Fabrics: Dutch redware, Martincamp; Siegburg; Raeren, Spanish lustreware) (Forms: pipkins x5; pitcher x1; dishes x2; undiagnostic of form x11)	-	20/336g (Fabrics: Dutch redware, Langerwehe; Raeren, Spanish lustreware) (Forms: pipkin x1; dish x1; mug x6; undiagnostic of form x8)
<b>Totals</b>	<b>83/1514g</b>	<b>153/2264g</b>	<b>1/4g</b>	<b>285/4924g</b>

**Table 4:** Characterisation of the Late Medieval assemblages from tenement plots 1-4 during period 3

Putting to one side TP3, which inexplicably produced virtually no pottery of the period, the other tenements all produced imported material. Of the Late Medieval assemblages in each imported wares accounted for 6.0% (TP1), 15.7% (TP2) and 7% (TP4). All three were clearly quite well connected though the quantities from TP2 stand out. Most of these imported wares were not particularly of any great status. The exceptions to this are the Spanish lusterware sherds that were recovered only from tenements 2 and 4. It is these plots that also produced the scatter of more unusual local forms (see above) and stand out as being twice the width of tenements 1 and 3. Although a larger assemblage of pottery would be needed to be certain, the current data suggests that the households associated with TP 2 and 4 were doing better in business than their neighbours.

**Fig 12 Period 3 pottery nos P3–P21**

**Fig 13 Period 3 pottery nos P15–P17, P22**

*Catalogue (Figures 12 & 13)*

3. Jar with triangular club rim. Dull orange throughout. Fabric 4h. Pit [429], fill [433] (G7, TP4).
4. Jar with everted rim. Dull orange with dull orange/grey streaked surfaces. Patches of clear glaze externally. Fabric 4h. Pit [429], fill [433] (G7, TP4).
5. Jar with pronounced lid-seating and external collar. Dull orange with slightly darker exterior surface. Fabric 4j. Pit [564], fill [565] (G7, TP4).
6. Jar with very pronounced lid-seating shelf. Dull orange throughout with spots of clear glaze. Late Rye hard-fired moderate sandy ware. Pit [221], fill [222] (G29, TP2).
7. Dish with slightly concave simple out-turned rim. Dull orange throughout. Late Rye hard-fired moderate sandy ware. Pit [327], fill [328] (G10, TP1).
8. Pitcher with thickened rim. Dull orange throughout. Late Rye hard-fired moderate sandy ware. Pit [370], fill [356] (G9, TP1).
9. Jug/pitcher with collared rim and scar from a lozenge-sectioned handle. Dull orange throughout. Hard-fired earthenware. Pit [357], fill [359] (G9, TP1).
10. Jug/pitcher with internally stepped rim and unstabbed rod handle. Spots of clear glaze on internal base. Dull orange throughout. Fabric 4k. Pit [429], fills [433] and [434] (G7, TP4).
11. Pitcher with internally thickened rim and strap handle scar. Orange red core with brown grey surfaces. Decorated around shoulder with curving thickening lines of white slip. Fabric 4n. Although the sherds do not conjoin they are almost certainly from the same vessel. Pit [362], fill [363] (G9, TP1).
12. Pitcher with internally squared rim and unstabbed strap handle with light thumbing down edges. Blue grey core and interior face, with external brown orange margin and brown-grey exterior surfaces. Fabric 4o. Pit [219], fill [217] (G29, TP2).

13. Pitcher with internally stepped rim and knife-blade stabbed strap handle. Blue grey core, brick red margins and mid grey surfaces. Fabric 4o. The presence of a number of air pockets within the wall of the vessel suggest it to be a second. Pit [429], fill [434] (G7, TP4).
14. The base from a candlestick with internal prick holder. Dull orange throughout with clear glazed interior (the glaze has heavily pooled in one half of the base). Fabric 4j. Pit [221], fill [222] (G29, TP2).
15. Fragment from an angular lobed or divided dish with vertical sides. Pale orange throughout with light olive green glaze over all except external base. Hard-fired earthenware. Pit [564], fill [565] (G7, TP4).
16. Fragment from a probable figurine with folded cloth depiction on exterior surface. Sheared in half showing a small hollow core). Cream/pale grey with orange pink exterior face. Fabric 4l. Pit [221], fill [222] (G29, TP2).
17. Foot from a tripod pipkin. Red orange throughout with good clear glaze internally. Externally sooted. Dutch redware. Pit [221], fill [222] (G29, TP2).
18. Dish with heavy thickened rim decorated with oblique on-edge thumb impressions. Good clear glaze internally. Red orange throughout. Some external sooting by rim. Dutch redware. Pit [1/012], fill [1/013] (G7, TP4).
19. Dish/skillet with rounded club rim. Good clear glaze internally. Red orange throughout. Externally sooted. Dutch redware. Pit [219], fill [217] (G29, TP2).
20. Probable tankard with simple convex rim. Light grey throughout. Siegburg stoneware. Pit [271], fill [222] (G29, TP2).
21. Probable tankard with simple upright. Light/mid grey throughout with all over salt glaze. Raeren stoneware. Pit [429], fill [433] (G7, TP4).
22. Dish with internal circumferential ridge. Internal lustre decoration in pattern of alternate bands of spur chain and fine trellis. External lustre decoration of simple foliate sprigs in circles. Late Valencian lusterware. A bowl with very similar decorative design found in the Netherlands has been dated c. 1475-1525 (Hurst et al. 1986, Fig.22, No. 56). Pit [2/004], fill [2/005] (G29, TP2).

#### *Early Post-medieval: Mid 16<sup>th</sup> to mid 18<sup>th</sup> centuries*

At a mere nine sherds the early post-medieval assemblage is notably small. It is dominated by local red/buff glazed earthenwares that are well fired and probably of the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> or first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. All can be matched by fabrics at Lydd Quarry (eg PM1a, PM2b etc). On the whole these sherds are quite fresh despite all being residual. Pottery of definite 17<sup>th</sup>- century date is represented by a single Frechen stoneware sherd and two fragments of English tin-glazed earthenware. The latest sherd within this period group consists of part of a hollow ware vessel in Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware decorated with moulded barley-seed pattern that probably belonging to a c. 1725-50 date range (topsoil [12/101]). As such there appears to be low-level refuse disposal covering the whole c. 1550 to 1750 period but never at a significant level. The assemblage is too small to reliably comment on the associated household's standing.

#### *Late Post-medieval: Mid 18<sup>th</sup>- to mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries*

This period produced the second largest group of post-Roman pottery from the site (Table 1). On the whole the material can be divided into two groups. The earlier is of the later 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century. This contains a mixture of local glazed red earthenwares (often large kitchen wares such as bread bins), yellow ware, London stoneware and a range of table and tea wares in refined red earthenware, creamware, pearlware and, at the end of the range, transfer-printed whitewares. Most of this material is widely spread in small groups, often residual or intrusive within the deposit. Feature sherds are few. By far the largest group was recovered from ditch [479] (fill [481], G18, D2), which contained a notable quantity of local glazed earthenwares (36/1172g) including a bread bin, a cream bowl, jars, a colander and a

mug. These coarsewares were accompanied by later creamware (including a chamber pot) and pearlware (including a teabowl with hand-painted floral decoration in earth colours).

The latest material appears to relate to military activity during World War 2. Pits [392] and [487] (G27, OA5) produced small but fresh groups of large sherds (Table 5). Some of the material is of civilian types, including an English porcelain saucer with blue transfer-printed floral design, but there are a number of forms that are of typical military issue. These include robust cylindrical mugs and dinner plates in plain refined whiteware. These have partial surviving maker's marks in grey on their bases: the plate from fill [393] marked: 'G. VI R. // 1942 // POUNTNEY & CO Ltd // BRISTOL' and a mug from fill [491] marked "...s & SONS / ENGLAND' over G.R. 1942'.

Fabric/Context	Pit [392], fills [390]. [391] & [393]	Pit [487], fill [491]
Residual Medieval	6/88g	1/14g
Residual C19th	2/8g	-
Refined whiteware	26/906g (Dish x1; plate x1; mug x1; saucer x1)	6/158g (Plate x1; mugs x2)
Bone china	3/130g (Saucer x1)	-

Table 5: Pottery from the two World War 2 pits (G27, OA5)

The dish is also marked with a green transfer printed maker of the 'Johnson Bros // England' under a crown. Although not marked as a War Office piece this firm is known to have supplied the military in the Great War and as such it is likely they did the same in the second.

#### Fig 14 Period 5 pottery no P23

#### Fig 15 Period 5 pottery no P24

#### Catalogue (Figures 14 & 15)

23. Plate in refined whiteware made for the military. Grey/black transfer-print on base 'G. VI R. //1942 // POUNTNEY & Co Ltd // BRISTOL'. The company worked at the Bristol Victoria Pottery, Temple Banks and also supplied the military in the Great War. Some signs of having been burnt post-breakage. Pit [392], fill [393] (G27, OA5).
24. Cylindrical mug made for the military. Partial black transfer-print on base '....& Sons // ...England // [G. VI] R. //1942'. Pit [487], fill [491], (G27, OA5).

### **3.2 CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL**

Isa Benedetti-Whitton

#### Introduction

A large assemblage totalling 3251 pieces of ceramic building material (CBM) weighing 119,043g was collected during the evaluation and following excavation. The quantities and weights of CBM resulting from each phase of work are shown below in Table 6. The material is predominantly of medieval and early post-medieval date. The quantity and range of medieval CBM within this assemblage make it of both local and regional significance, particularly in regard to the more unusual examples of CBM present, including a green glazed brick and a ceramic mass dial.

All the material was quantified by form, weight and fabric, and this information entered into a digital MS Excel spreadsheet. Fabric descriptions were developed with the aid of a x20 binocular microscope and use the following conventions: frequency of inclusions as sparse, moderate, common or abundant; the size of inclusions as fine (up to 0.25mm), medium (0.25-0.5mm), coarse (0.5-1.0mm) and very coarse (larger than 1.0mm).

Where possible the same fabrics defined during the evaluation stage were also used for the excavated material, although particularly in regard to roof and floor tile the greater quantities and diversity of tile found during the excavation necessitated the development of new fabric types and an augmented typology. Fabrics parallel to those in the established Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) type series were catalogued using MOLA fabric codes. A full list of CBM quantified by fabric type is provided in Appendix 1; fabric descriptions and suggested dating are discussed below ('The Fabric Sequence').

The excavation produced a greater quantity of CBM, often in better condition than the material resulting from the evaluation and from better defined features. The following report will therefore concentrate primarily on the excavated material, with the exception of the more unusual examples of CBM recovered during the evaluation. The most interesting of these is a partial medieval mass dial. Although mass dials themselves are not uncommon, they tend to be carved from stone rather than being ceramic, and as far as current research could ascertain, the ceramic Appleford mass dial is unique.

CBM from excavation				
Form	Quantity	% of total	Weight (g)	% of total
Peg tile	2402	73.9	77167	64.8
Brick	210	6.5	25376	21.3
Floor tile	41	1.3	2693	2.3
Nib tile	21	0.6	487	0.4
Ridge tile	16	0.5	981	0.8
Concrete	5	0.2	996	0.8
?tegula	4	0.1	320	0.3
?pantile	3	0.1	224	0.2
Cement	3	0.1	59	0.0
Lime mortar	2	0.1	2	0.0

Spall	301	9.3	1792	1.5
Subtotal	3008	92.5	110,097	92.5
<i>CBM from evaluation</i>				
Form	Quantity	% of total	Weight (g)	% of total
Peg tile	138	4.2	5688	4.8
Brick	7	0.2	1596	1.3
Floor tile	5	0.2	1122	0.9
Nib tile	2	0.1	142	0.1
Spall	91	2.8	398	0.3
Subtotal	243	7.5	8946	7.5
<i>Total</i>	<i>3251</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>119,043g</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 6: Comparative quantities and weights of CBM collected from 1 Court Lodge, Appledore (ALCL16)

### The Fabric Sequence

One of the most important elements of the CBM assemblage was the range of fabrics present. A full list of fabrics and their respective quantities within the assemblage is provided in Appendix 1. The original intention was to compare the Court Lodge fabrics with the medieval and post-medieval CBM gathered from the nearby Lydd Quarry during the 1991-2000 excavations (Barber and Priestly-Bell 2008, 191-95), and develop a fabric series applicable more broadly across the south-east of England. Unfortunately, it proved unfeasible to acquire the physical archive and conduct this work, although similarities between the fabric descriptions complied for each assemblage suggests that many of the same fabric types were represented across both sites.

The often well-preserved bricks present in the CBM assemblage provided the best evidence for dating fabrics. Only a small number of roof tile fabrics could be dated, even speculatively, and generally applying precise dates to roof tile is difficult as many clay sources appear to have been used throughout the medieval period and well into the post-medieval period. Furthermore the form of roof tile remains fairly consistent between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. With the exception of clearly glazed or nibbed roof tile and s-shaped pantile, peg tile fragments remain flat and homogenous. However, in those instances where there was an apparent trend between a tile fabric and an additional, more dateable characteristic, this has allowed some roof tile fabrics to be better dated.

The bulk of the current assemblage comprised roof tile made from fabrics T1 and T1A (~60%). These are both variations of a fine, pink and calcareous clay recorded in very large quantities across Kent and the south-east, and used from c.1425-1800, although earlier usage is not unfeasible. Most of the floor tile is of probable Flemish origin, and can be dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries when floor tile was imported in large quantities from the Low Countries. Some examples of an earlier, medieval floor tile type most similar to 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century 'Westminster' and Penn tiles were also found, and can be associated with the local Parish Church of St Peter & St Paul.

#### i. Medieval brick and roof tile fabrics

The medieval brick fabrics were all fine and low-fired, and are described below in Table 7. The state of preservation in several instances suggests that once discarded the bricks were subject to little further disturbance, as this would have resulted in additional surface erosion

and damage. Bricks of the same fabric type were often quite different in size, as can be seen by the discrepancy in breadths between the complete and partial B2 bricks shown in Fig 16. Across the assemblage B1 bricks had a size range of ?? x 90-110 x 38-53mm; broken pieces of B2 bricks had dimensions between ?? x 80-110 x 30-47mm, whilst the complete B2 brick found during the evaluation measured 170 x 75 x 35mm.

B1 and B2 bricks had other similar qualities. They were both small in size with ‘sunken margins’ from the moulding process evident on one surface (Fig 17). It is very likely that both represent Low Countries imports as the soft, calcareous, most probably estuarine clay is characteristic of Flemish brick (Drury 2000, 59). Examples of B1 were pale orange-pink whilst B2 was more yellow-beige, but it is possible B1 and B2 are variants of the same imported fabric. Such variation in colour is not uncommon even across bricks of the same fabric type, as colour can fluctuate depending on the level of firing and iron content of the clay.

B1A was originally associated with B1 due to their common pink tone, but the well-defined calcareous speckle apparent when viewing B1A under a microscope suggests it is in fact more likely to be derived from the same source as T1 and T1A. Few pieces of B1A survived intact enough for dimensions to be measured, but B1A bricks appear larger for the most part than their B1/B2 counterparts. One partial B1A brick had an intact layer of green surface glaze over white slip (Fig 18), suggesting that when in situ it was exposed and decorative in function.

Only two references to medieval glazed bricks have subsequently been found. ‘Flemish-type Cream bricks’ were found during excavations at Rochford Hall and church in Essex, and are explicitly described as having a green glaze (Ryan 1996, 35). Other than being medieval in date and potentially originating from the church chapel there is little supplementary information regarding the green-glazed brick. However, that glazed bricks were popular during the later medieval period in England is further evidenced by mention of the ‘usual glazed bricks’ being present in the 14<sup>th</sup> century tower of Purleigh Church, also in Essex but further north (RCHM 1923, p.xxxix).

No complete or even nearly complete B7 or B8 bricks were present. Like the B1/B2 bricks, these varied in size, but the pieces that survived were narrow and thin, within the parameters of ?? x 90-100 x 42-60mm. Fragments in both fabrics were often much abraded. Superficially B7 and B8 look very similar, being both creamy-yellow beige fabrics, but under the microscope B7 is more similar to B2, although more quartz-rich, and may represent a further import. Fabric B8 was a clean, almost sterile fabric, although on some examples the surfaces had oxidised to red, which was striking against the pale colour of the rest of the brick.

Bricks similar to the B8 examples were recorded following an excavation in Sandwich, Kent (ASE 2017). Sandwich fabrics B5 and B5A were similarly sterile and occasionally had red-toned surfaces. That bricks of this type have been found at two separate Kent locations could indicate them to be locally manufactured brick, linked with a particularly iron-free clay source. Equally, both Sandwich and Appledore are conveniently located to receive exports from mainland Europe. Flemish medieval bricks of the B1/B2 variety were also recovered from Sandwich.

**Fig 16 Photograph of complete B2 brick from [7/010] and partial B2 brick from [518]**

**Fig 17 Photograph of 2x partial B1 bricks with evident sunken margins from [474]**

**Fig 18 Photograph of green glazed brick piece from [155]**

Medieval fabrics, 12 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> century	
<i>Brick</i>	
B1	Pinkish fabric with common-abundant fine, 'blurred' calcareous speckle.
B1A	Pink-reddish fabric with abundant white calcareous speckle and deposits.
B2	Harder and more granular version of B1; calcareous inclusions and deposits appear yellow.
B7	Cream/pale yellow fabric with common chalk and calcareous material. Similar granular quality to B2; common sugary clear quartz.
B8	Very clean looking cream clay with sparse quartz and occasional red and orange deposits. Exterior of some bricks sometimes coloured red.
<i>Roof tile</i>	
T1	Fine and dense orange fabric. Sparse (occasionally moderate) medium-very coarse calcareous material. Variant has marbling/laminations of pale calcareous, silty clay. Sparse iron-rich deposits. Very fine, nearly indiscernible moulding sand. (MOLA 3201)
T1A	Similar to T1 - fine and dense pinkish-orange fabric with moderate-abundant calcareous speckle and calcareous deposits, often very coarse. Fine, nearly indiscernible moulding sand.
T1C	Variant of T1 and T1A with rough moulding sand composed of well-sorted coarse quartz.
T2	Medium orange fabric with common fine and medium quartz. Sparse cream and darker orange deposits up to 5mm; sparse cream marbling. ?medieval/nib tile fabric.
T3	Dense orange fabric with moderate-common unsorted medium and coarse quartz, iron-rich pellets up to 3mm; sparse calcareous material and plate-y angular white inclusions. ?medieval fabric.
T5A	Very fine and evenly fired pinkish-red fabric. Common pale silty streaking. Sparse paler and red deposits / iron-rich material.
T7	Similar to T1, many fragments with a 'laminated' quality, but without the same quantities of calcareous material. Sparse iron-rich inclusions; slightly paler streaking. Variant includes moderate-common fine and medium mica.
TA	Common, well sorted medium-coarse quartz. Sparse white (?chalk) inclusions up to 2mm. (Glazed e.g. indicates medieval date)
<i>Floor tile</i>	
FT2	Medium orange fabric with common medium and coarse (?sorted) angular quartz. Sparse cream/silty deposits and darker iron-rich patches. (nail holes on bases)

Table 7: Fabric descriptions for medieval brick, floor and roof tile

75% of all the roof tile in fabrics T1 and T1A were found in medieval (Period 3) deposits, demonstrating that although there is nothing inherently 'medieval' about these fabrics, they were clearly used and popular during the medieval period. Likewise, similarly difficult to date fabrics T5A and T7 only occurred in Period 3 contexts, providing fairly solid evidence that these too are medieval fabric types.

Roof tile fabrics T2, T3 and TA were also determined to be medieval in date. This is in part due to the quartz-rich nature of the fabrics; coarse sandy fabrics being more common during the medieval period than they were during later decades. Equally though, the prevalence of very fine fabric types T1 and T1A demonstrate the range of clays in use during this time. Further evidence for the medieval use of sandier fabrics stems from the fact that T2 was used to make nib tiles. Nib tiles were most commonly used during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries before being nearly completely supplanted by peg tile from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Only flat tile fragments were found in fabric T3, but it is very similar to Museum of London (MOLA) fabric 2273, a 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century roof tile fabric. The remnants of glaze present on fragments made of both T3 and TA further support a medieval date for these fabric types as glazed roof tile went out of fashion c.1400 (Drury 2000, 58).

It is likely that some of the other roof tile fabrics with no additional characteristics that made them obviously ‘medieval’ were also used during this time. Whilst these other fabrics cannot even be speculatively dated, they clearly are still important to demonstrate the range of fabrics present within the assemblage. Descriptions for the undated roof tile fabrics are listed below in Table 8.

<i>Undated roof tile fabrics</i>	
T4	Fine and dense hard-fired orange fabric. Sparse iron-rich inclusions and calcareous material; sparse burnt out voids.
T5B	Coarser and often very hard fired version of T5A. Sparse-moderate pale streaks and marbling; spars every coarse iron-rich clay pellets up to 6mm.
T6	Very hard and dense orange fabric with moderate opaque white quartz, mostly medium; sparse coarse quartz.
TB*	Dense orange fabric with moderate medium and coarse ?rose quartz and iron rich pellets.
TC*	Very hard fabric; 'hackly' breaks. Sterile apart from bands of medium quartz.
*indicates two or less examples of these fabric types.	

Table 8: Fabric descriptions for undated roof tile

## ii. Medieval and early post-medieval floor tile fabrics

Medieval decorated and plain-glazed floor tiles were present in significantly smaller quantities than roof tile and brick. During the medieval period floor tile was often produced at a local level (e.g. Groups A and B in Horton 1988), but there were also larger industries with much wider distribution networks. Perhaps two of the best known of these industries are the Westminster tile kiln in central London (Betts 2002, 10-11; ASE 2018), and the Penn tile industry of Buckinghamshire (Hohler 1942). Decorated (polychrome) and undecorated (monochrome) tiles of the type produced at the Westminster and Penn kilns were used most frequently – although not exclusively – in ecclesiastical buildings, including for one group the eponymous Westminster Abbey.

A small group of tile fragments – some of which had plain glaze surviving and one of which had two-tone clear glaze over cream slip – were recovered from Lodge Court, all formed from the same fabric, FT2 (see above, Table 8). During previous excavations of the North Chapel in Appledore church (St Peter & St Paul), four groups of decorated or glazed tiles were distinguished (Horton 1988). Of these, Group A are believed to have originated in north

Kent, whilst Group B have been provenanced unequivocally to Tyler Hill, north of Canterbury (Horton 1988, 99). Group C has no provenance.

The written description provided for Group C is very similar to that for FT2, to the extent that it could be asserted that they are the same fabric. FT2 is also similar to the description of Westminster fabric MOLA 2892 (Betts 2002, 11), but without a sample for physical comparison this similarity could not be verified. The Group C tiles excavated from the North Chapel appear to have survived better than the floor tile present in the Lodge Court assemblage, and illustrations are included alongside their discussion (Lebon 1988, 97-98). Despite the similarity with Westminster fabrics, the designs are more similar to those illustrated for the Penn tile catalogue, particularly Penn designs P111-116 (Hohler 1942), which are more elaborate than their Westminster counterparts.

Ultimately, establishing the exact provenance of the FT2 tiles is not important. The common nature of fabrics and the designs present on at least one of the fragments is enough to indicate a 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century date, when tiles of this type were most popular. The FT2 tile fragments were dispersed across the site, with fragments retrieved from features in Groups 8, 9 and 29, and in all cases were found alongside CBM originating from domestic structures. However, that there was CBM within the assemblage that was once ensconced or used in a religious setting was further underscored by the discovery of a partial mass dial, found during the evaluation in G7 pit [01/006]. Such devices were a standard feature on medieval churches, and – like the glazed floor tile fragments – are most likely to have originated from nearby parish church, St Peter & St Paul (see below).

The other floor tile fabrics, FT1, FT3, FT4 and FT5, are of later date. Descriptions are provided below in Table 9. As fabrics they were different enough for separate fabric descriptions to be distinguished, but common elements such as calcareous inclusions within the matrix suggests that they are of Flemish origin (Smith 2002). During the 15<sup>th</sup> and into the 16<sup>th</sup> century, most floor tiles used in London and southern England were imported from the Low Countries. Floor tiles during this period are generally thicker than their predecessors, a trend apparent across the non-FT2 floor tiles from Appledore. Some examples had surviving glaze, but this was monochrome green or yellow over an initial layer of white slip, or they were left completely unglazed.

<i>Late medieval-early post-medieval floor tile, 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century</i>	
FT1	Slightly micaceous orange-brown fabric with moderate amounts of unsorted medium-coarse quartz, sparse calcareous material and dark iron-rich deposits up to 10mm. Medium-coarse moulding sand.
FT3	Pink-orange fabric with moderate medium-coarse quartz and white calcareous speckle. Includes e.g.s of MOLA 2497 and MOLA 1648 (both Flemish). Monochrome colours.
FT4	Similar to medieval brick fabrics. Fine, pinkish orange fabric with fine, 'blurred' calcareous speckle and laminations; sparse unsorted quartz , ferrous deposits and pellets. Fine version of MOLA 2504 (used for Tudor glazed tiles).
FT5	Fine and slightly micaceous brown-orange fabric. No apparent inclusions with exception of cream silty deposits.
FT6	Very distinctive although frequently reduced fabric. Abundant white calcareous speckle and marbling. Reduced/vitrified version of MOLA 2497. (Monochrome tiles).

Table 9: Fabric descriptions for later medieval and post-medieval floor tiles

### iii. The post-medieval brick

The post-medieval brick fabrics – listed below in Table 10 - are less distinctive than the medieval brick fabrics, but as a group post-medieval bricks share certain characteristics that allow them to be better date. Most useful amongst these are various legal statutes relating to brick size that were implemented from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The Elizabethan Charter of 1571 represents the first effort to standardise brick size (Lloyd 1925, 12), and was echoed 154 years later by the 1725 Brick Act (12 Geo. 1), which also sought to regulate brick sizes. Brick taxes were introduced in 1784 to raise funds for war, and subject to sporadic increases over the next two decades (Lucas 1997). The unintended consequences of these taxes was that brick manufacturers started to make bricks larger, to circumvent the minimum price per brick by making each individual brick larger so that less were required.

Unfortunately, within the current assemblage, too few dimensions survived for size to be used as a dateable characteristic. The thicknesses for some B3, B4, B5A, B5B and B6 fragments could be measured, but the recorded thicknesses of 60-65mm range (barring some abraded examples which had been worn thinner) could date anywhere during the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. One example of B5B was unusually thick at 70mm, which could place it during the period when brick taxes were affecting the size of bricks, but this association is slightly tenuous. The size restrictions applied to bricks prior to firing and some degree of expansion or shrinkage can be expected.

With the exception of some lower fired B4 fragments, the post-medieval brick was all hard and evenly fired. Brick fabrics B5A and B6 in particular were both very hard and their respective fragments displayed very sharp arrises. The B4 brick fragments might have been dated earlier had some pieces not been evidently frogged, which was not a common feature until the mid- 17<sup>th</sup> century and later.

Post-medieval fabric B3/3B was part of the MOLA fabric group 3033, which include all fine red-orange clays with varying quantities of quartz present. These were most common in the early-mid post-medieval periods, but bricks in sandy red-orange clays continue to be used until the modern period. Examples of B3/3B from Lodge Court were not numerous, but the small quantity that were retrieved were sharply formed and are most probably of late 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century date. A partial ?equilateral cross-shaped maker's mark was apparent on the surface of one B3B brick piece.

A small number of MOLA 3038 brick pieces were also present, and are likely to represent the most recent CBM discard. Machine compressed fabric 3038 was used by many large and successful brick works from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (c.1890s) until the 1970s. These bricks are often stamped with the makers' mark of their manufacturer and the presence of a partial 'PHORPRES' stamp on the 3038 bricks from Lodge Court indicate they were made by the London Brick Company, and so must date 1910 or later.

Mid-later post-medieval brick fabrics, c.17 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> century	
B3/3B	Late post-medieval fabric, c.19th century. Fine, dense and nearly sterile orange-red fabric.
B4	Early post-medieval fabric? Underfired and finely calcareous orange-brown matrix with sparse quartz.
B5A	Fine pinkish-red fabric, often very hard fired, with sparse-moderate pale and cream marbling and ferrous pellets up to 2mm.
B5B	Sandy version of B5A, with moderate-common medium quartz.
B6	Orange fabric with moderate-common cream marbling and irregular deposit giving 'blotchy' appearance. Moderate dark orange iron-rich deposits.

B6A	Variant of B6. Less well-fired and pinkish in colour with common dark red iron-rich inclusions up to 2mm.
MOLA 3065	Very sandy fabric with frequent quartz (up to 0.8mm), occasional dark red iron oxide (up to 3.0mm) and white flint/shell(?) inclusions
MOLA 3038	Very hard and distinctive granular fabric with numerous small white inclusions.

Table 10: Fabric descriptions for mid-later post-medieval bricks

#### Distribution of ceramic building material

The greatest quantities of CBM came from Period 3 and 4 features. Any material found in pre-medieval features is most probably later CBM intruding into earlier contexts, whilst Period 5 features produced material of every date. Period 3 encompasses all material until c.1550; Period 4 spans the rest of the post-medieval period until 1850. In terms of ceramic building material, the distinction between medieval and post-medieval dates a little earlier, as changes in building practice and particularly the use of bricks as a primary building material occurred during the Tudor period from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century.

As an assemblage, the CBM from Lodge Court was well preserved, with a decent number of bricks with intact dimensions, and material originating from both domestic and ecclesiastic structures. Although the prevalence of certain fabric types and forms helped to broadly date the largest deposits, there have evidently been later disturbances that caused later-dating material to become mixed in with material of far earlier date

According to 16<sup>th</sup> century chronicler Raphael Holinshed, Appledore was destroyed during French raids in 1380, which necessitated the reconstruction of the town and church (Winnifirth 1983, 15). Nearly two centuries later, in the aftermath of the reformation, Appledore was not unaffected by the implemented changes to religious doctrine. In 1550, the stone alter was removed from the church, as were the old service books and ‘images, lights and any ornaments’ deemed ‘unacceptable to the doctrine of the reformed’ (*ibid*, 34).

The distinction between Periods 3 and 4 can therefore also be considered as pre- and post-reformation. Unfortunately, this is not the most helpful distinction when trying to associate the church-related CBM with one of these two destruction events, although the nature of some of the CBM – for example the fragment of ceramic mass dial – further discussed below, allows for some educated speculation.

#### Period 3

The three largest Period 3 deposits of CBM are distributed across the site area rather than being confined to any single plot of land. These comprise CBM of mixed type, but there are clear trends in terms of the fabrics represented. As groups of material these are unlikely to relate directly to the previous structures that stood on these plots, but rather represent debris resulting from the demolitions of several structures, including material from the local church, St Peter & St Paul.

The greatest amount of material (707 fragments weighing 28,696g) was recovered from G29 quarry pits located in TP2. A similar quantity was collected from the more dispersed G7 features in TP4, and a smaller but still significant group of 504 fragments weighing 10,953g were recovered from G9 features in the most southern area of the site, TP1. No other group

produced a particularly large amount of material, but these smaller deposits are probably related to the same deposition events that produced the larger CBM groups as the same forms and fabrics are present.

Figures 19 and 20, show the comparative quantities of brick and tile fabrics represented across period 3 in comparison to period 4 material. For the most part, the CBM from Period 3 features directly correlate to those fabrics identified as being medieval in date, although lesser quantities of later, post-medieval brick were also present. These are the result of later disturbances to earlier deposits.

As discussed above, brick fabrics B1, B2 and B1A are most likely to have been used during the 14<sup>th</sup> century; similar bricks and specifically a parallel to the unusual green glazed brick found at Court Lodge are known from 14<sup>th</sup> century buildings in both London and Essex (Ryan 1996, 34). During the medieval period bricks were not utilised for purely structural purposes, but rather as embellishment, alternating with stone or pebble courses or in walls otherwise largely composed of wattle and daub. As an often imported and generally decorative item, medieval brick can be viewed as an indicator of moderate wealth and status, suggesting that the medieval community of Appledore was an affluent one.

Most of the features comprising G29 were of clear early date. However, the inclusion of B3B, B5A and 3038 fragments – in these instances not ambiguous examples but clearly later-dating post-medieval brick pieces – demonstrate more recent, most probably early 20<sup>th</sup> century disturbance. However, this later intrusion appears to have been limited to quarry pit [221], the only period 3 feature that produced later-dating CBM in any quantity.

The amount of roof tile that can be associated with the medieval and early post-medieval periods at Appledore is particularly striking, and serves to demonstrate the use of T1/T1A as a roof tile fabrics at this time, even if the tile fragments themselves do not lend themselves to precise dating. The significantly greater quantities of roof tile compared to brick unearthed is also typical of medieval assemblages. At this point, the use of brick in particular is not widespread, and most domestic structures would have been wattle and daub with thatched or shingled roofs. Roof tile was embraced as an alternative to these options as it presented a fireproof option, but also a more expensive option.

Although it can never be known for certain, it is possible that these large deposits of T1 and T1A tile relate to the late 14<sup>th</sup> century raids on Appledore. The level of destruction suggested by Holinshed would certainly be the type of destructive event that would be capable of producing so much building material debris, and much of the brick found alongside the roof tile in period 3 features is of c.14<sup>th</sup> century date. However, there is also material of later date, specifically the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century Flemish floor tile, although in significantly lesser quantities. Only 34 floor tile pieces were recovered from period 3 features, of all fabric types. But this is still considerably more than the five floor tile pieces collected from period 4 features.

**Fig 19 Graph showing brick fabrics represented across periods 3 and 4**

**Fig 20 Graph showing roof tile fabrics represented across periods 3 and 4**

#### *Period 4*

Considerably less CBM was recovered from period 4 features, only 384 items weighing 21,490g. This was mainly distributed across site in small quantities, with no concentration in any one area. The exception to this was a fairly large group of material (209 pieces weighing 13,530g) collected from the wide 18<sup>th</sup> century ditch that cuts between TP3 and TP4 (G18). The CBM recovered from this ditch comprised post-medieval brick fragments and medieval

and clearly post-medieval floor and roof tile. There were no medieval bricks types present, although a small group of well-preserved medieval brick in B1 and B2 were retrieved from the G19 ditch located to the east of G18.

As there is so much less CBM from period 4 features, it is difficult to draw any conclusions or comparisons with the earlier material, but some trends are apparent. The first of these is the comparative dearth of roof tile, in any fabric. Only 260 pieces of roof tile weighing 7183g were collected from period 4 features, in contrast with 1799 fragments weighing a total of 60,201g from period 2. This would support a hypothesis that the period 3 CBM derives in part at least from a large destructive event, whereas the period 4 material is the type of building material debris that passively accumulates as the result of continued habitation and rebuilding.

There is a clear shift in the brick fabrics represented across the site as a whole during the post-medieval period. Although medieval bricks in B1 and B2 continue to be found and medieval bricks were probably subject to some re-use, there is only a very small number present in later features, and no examples of B1A, B7 or B8 at all. This suggests that bricks in these fabrics belonged to industries that had ceased to exist by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, if not some time prior to this.

#### The pre-reformation mass dial from Appledore

The most significant find amongst the ceramic building material collected from Appledore, and indeed from the site as a whole, was a fragment of a ceramic mass dial tile (Fig 21). It was found during the evaluation phase of work, and whilst mass dials are not an uncommon feature of medieval churches, this one is unusual in that it was ceramic whereas they are far more typically carved into stone. Mass dials were installed on the south wall of a church, next to the entrance, where they would provide an indication of the canonical hours at which people were expected to attend prayer.

Many mass dials still remain in situ in many churches, or are found having been reincorporated into another part of the church structure at a later time. Reinstating historical features on medieval churches was particularly popular during the Victorian period (Rumley 2013). Although some examples include a full circular dial, akin to a sundial, a semi-circular form is more common. The example found at Appledore is approximately a quarter of the full or half mass dial, the original scheme of the mass dial not being clear from the remaining fragment.

During research carried out for the current article, no other definitive example of a ceramic mass tile was found. There were some examples of ceramic sundials, including one on display at St Augustine's Priory, Canterbury, which is of 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century date and most probably made in the Low Countries. A glazed tile in The Herbert Museum, Coventry, shows the remains of a circular dial, inscribed with Roman numerals. These could either be IX or XI depending on the orientation of the tile, which is not immediately obvious from the surviving fragment. The presence of numerals could suggest a time keeping function, and if the number represented was IX rather than XI then this tile could also be liturgical in nature as there was a ninth hour for prayer but not an eleventh.

Mass dials appear to have enjoyed a long tradition. They are commonly found on churches dating to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, and examples include the Church of St Bartholomew in Ubley, Somerset; St Mary's, Sixpenny Handley, Dorset; and the Church of St Mary, Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire to name but a few. The earliest known mass dial from Britain is

believed to be installed on the south wall of the Saxon church (c.700) at Escombe, County Durham (Rumley 2013).

The mass dial was found in evaluation trench (TR1), approximately 0.6 kilometres from the parish church in Appledore, St Peter & St Paul, which is where the tile is believed to have originally been installed. Mass dials are part of the Catholic tradition, although many of the churches in which they have since been installed are now Church of England. Whilst there is little doubt that this mass tile was initially installed in the structure of St Peter & St Paul, what is less clear is whether it was discarded as a result of the French invasion in 1380 as described by English chronicler Raphael Holinshed (Winnifirth 1983, 15), or as a consequence of the reformation during the 1550s.

The feature producing the mass tile pit [1/006] – is dated to the medieval period up to c.1550. Much of the clearly medieval building debris from site is believed to be associated with the French invasion, and in some cases this is probable based on the date of the building materials. The Flemish brick, for example, is most likely to be of 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century date (Ryan 1996, 31) and therefore very unlikely to have been used after 1380. However, although extensive damage by the French is known to have destroyed much of the church structure - the north wall in particular is known to have required rebuilding – there is cumulative evidence that indicates the broken mass tile can be associated with the later destruction relating to the reformation.

The main basis for this assertion is the style of the tile, which is far more similar in dimensions and fabric to the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> floor tiles imported from the Low Countries than their smaller predecessors. The sandy, slightly calcareous quality apparent in the fabric matrix is most common amongst Low Country imports, and considering its location Appledore would have been in a prime position to receive goods straight from the continent. There is no indication that the mass dial was originally glazed, which again places it during the Tudor period or later when tiles were less commonly glazed.

Only a single fragment of pottery was found in the pit fill alongside the mass dial, and this was a sherd of post-medieval metallic glazed earthenware (Lydd fabric PM1a). Similar pottery was found during the excavations at Lydd Quarry where it was dated as being in use from the mid-16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century (Barber and Priestly-Bell 2008, 127). This dating compliments a time-frame of the mid-later 16<sup>th</sup> century for the deposit of both the pottery sherd and the mass dial, during the Reformation.

### **Fig 21 Photograph of mass dial tile from [1/006](1/007)**

### **3.3 ANIMAL BONE**

Emily Johnson and Hayley Forsyth-Magee

#### **Introduction**

An assemblage of 2815 animal bones weighing approximately 21965g in total was recovered from excavations at Appledore. The vast majority (96.3%) of the assemblage derived from three tenement plots dated to the medieval period (Table 11). In addition to a relatively small amount of disarticulated animal remains likely representing standard food waste, a number of contexts contained associated bone groups (ABGs, Morris 2008, 2011), including near complete or partial skeletons of dogs, pigs, a horse and a polecat. The contents of the assemblage are discussed below by period, with particular attention paid to

the tenement plots in the well-represented medieval period, and the implications for wealth and status indicated by the animal bones.

<b>Period</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Land use</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Total</b>
1.3	Later Roman	Open area 2	7	7
3	Medieval up to c1550	Tenement plot 1	1657	2712
		Tenement plot 2	312	
		Tenement plot 4	743	
4	Post-medieval up to c1850	Ditch 1	9	64
		Ditch 2	22	
		Ditch 3	5	
		Open area 4	17	
		Routeway 1	7	
		Tenement plot 3	1	
		Tenement plot 4	3	
5	Post-med C20th ?WWII	Open area 5	11	11
0	Undated	0	21	21

Table 11: Zooarchaeological assemblage by period and land use showing total fragment count (N).

### Methodology

Where possible, bones were identified to species and element, and the element zones present recorded (Serjeantson 1996). Specimens not confidently identified to taxa, such as long-bone and vertebral fragments, have been categorised according to their size as large, medium or small mammal. A number of sources were used to distinguish between sheep and goat bones (Boessneck 1969; Halstead *et al.* 2002; Hillson 1992; Kratochvil 1969; Payne 1969, 1985; Prummel and Frisch 1986; and Schmid 1972), and a combined ovicaprid class used where separation was not possible. Identification of rabbit and hare specimens was undertaken with reference to Callou (1997), and bird bones using Cohen and Serjeantson (1996) and Tomek and Bocheński (2009).

Mammalian age-at-death data was collected where observable. The state of epiphyseal bone was recorded as fused, unfused and fusing, and any determinations of age made using Silver (1969). Tooth eruption and wear has been recorded from mandibular dentitions with two or more teeth in-situ, according to Grant (1982) for cattle, sheep/goat and pig, and Levine (1982) for horse. Mammalian metrical data has been taken in accordance with Von den Driesch (1976). Specimens have been studied for signs of butchery, burning, gnawing, non-metric traits and pathology. The location and direction of butchery marks on the bones has been recorded. Burnt bone has been recorded as charred or calcified.

### Period 1.3 Later Roman

The early Roman assemblage was negligible, containing just two bones retrieved from whole earth sample <61> pit [427]; one large and one medium mammal long bone fragment, the latter of which was burnt at high temperatures (calcined).

### Period 3 Medieval up to c1550

The medieval period had by far the best represented animal bone assemblage. Domestic mammal bones dominated the assemblage, including cattle, ovicaprid, pig, horse and dog. Domestic fowl were also represented, and other domestic and wild species of bird may be

represented in the partially identifiable avian remains. Wild species were represented by rabbit, polecat and microfaunal remains. Pig, horse, dog and polecat bones were overrepresented by the presence of several ABGs, which are discussed separately below. Quantities of fish are shown in table 12, however fish bones are discussed separately to this report.

In general, material is divided into and discussed as three contextual groupings based on tenement plots (TP) 1, 2 and 4 (table 12). However, ageing of the disarticulated domestic animal bones from these three groups is first discussed as a whole due to small sample sizes.

Taxa	NISP	NISP			NISP no ABGs			MNI		
		TP1	TP2	TP4	TP1	TP2	TP4	TP1	TP2	TP4
Cattle	38	4	16	18	4	16	18	1	3	1
Ovicaprid	35	3	7	25	3	7	25	1	2	4
Sheep	7	2	0	5	2	0	5			
Pig	394	365	1	28	27	1	14	3	1	2
Horse	566	564	0	2	1	0	2	2	0	1
Dog	91	3	0	88	3	0	3	1	0	3
Rabbit	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Polecat	9	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bird	4	1	3	0	1	3	0			
Fish	100	41	40	2	41	40	2			
Anuran	6	6	0	0	6	0	0			
Small mammal	5	1	2	2	1	2	2			
Medium mammal	154	49	26	79	49	26	79			
Large mammal	274	141	29	104	141	29	104			
<b>Total</b>	<b>1684</b>	<b>1180</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>12</b>

Table 12: Taxa representation from the Medieval period assemblage for each of the tenement plots (TP). Three methods of quantification have been used – the Number of Identifiable Specimens (NISP), the NISP when specimens from Associated Bone Groups (ABGs) have been removed, and the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), including specimens from ABGs.

#### Ageing

A total of 20 cattle epiphyseal fusion sites were used to build a slaughter profile based on postcranial fusion. All bones that fuse before 18 months were fused (n=7), 42.9% (n=7) of bones fusing at 24-36 months were fused, and 16.7% (n=6) of bones fusing at 37-48 months were fused (Silver 1969). This suggests that cattle slaughter could have targeted meat-weight animals between 1.5-3 years old. Surviving animals could be dairy females, breeding animals or those used for traction. Ovicaprid age-at-death analysis was based on 15 fusion surfaces from the medieval period, of which just one proximal calcaneum was unfused, which fuses at 30-42 months (Silver 1969). Two mandibles gave an age-at-death estimation of 6-12 months and 6-8 years (Payne 1973). This brief aging analysis suggests a range of slaughter ages for ovicaprids, although some certainly survived to fusion maturity, and could be wool, dairy or breeding animals. Only 7 disarticulated pig specimens were subject to fusion analysis, showing slaughter of animals under 1 year (only 1 of 5 elements fusing by 1 year was fused), and very limited survival into fusion maturity, as is typical for pigs. Four disassociated pig mandibles from three contexts ([274], [429] two specimens likely from one animal, and [535]) gave ages-at-death of 14-21 months (Hambleton 1998). Two slightly older

pigs nearing fusion maturity were found in ABGs [304] and [310] in TP1, and are discussed below.

#### *Tenement plot 1*

The overall number of identifiable specimens in Tenement Plot 1 (TP1) was dominated by horse and pig bones deriving from three ABGs in contexts [360], [304] and [310]. Aside from the ABGs, the disassociated assemblage was dominated by fish bones (n=41), followed by pigs (n=27), ovicaprids (n=7; including sheep) and cattle (n=4). One bone of domestic fowl was also identified.

Cranial and vertebral material was particularly well represented in the disassociated material from this tenement, whereas ribs, meat-bearing bones of the fore- and hind-limb and extremities were rare, although partially identifiable long bone fragments were more common. An abundance of cranial and vertebral material could be an indicator of primary butchery waste, with the meat-bearing bones transported for consumption elsewhere, although with long bone fragments also well represented it is possible that carcass processing, depositional practices and taphonomic disturbance increased fragmentation and reduced the identification potential of these bones.

#### Pig [304] and Pig [310]

The near-complete pig in context [304] was identified as male from the presence of large canines and a generally large post-cranium. Context recutting had removed part of the torso of the animal, meaning vertebrae (particularly lower thoracic and upper lumbar) and ribs were underrepresented (Fig 22). Five measured bones gave an average height at withers of 86.9cm, with a range of 81.5-90.1cm (von den Driesch 1976; Tiechert *et al.* 1997). The tibia was fused distally but not proximally, giving a fusion age of 24-42 months (Silver 1969), along with a mandibular wear stage of 21-27 months (Grant 1982; Hambleton 1998). This animal also showed some evidence of pathology in the form of lumbar vertebral fusion (ankylosis).

A second near-complete pig skeleton was deposited in context [310] (Fig 23), in close proximity to the male in [304]. It was identified as female from dental morphology, and gave a fusion age just shy of fusion maturity at 42 months based on fully fused femora and humeri but unfused proximal tibia and distal radii (Silver 1969). This animal's dentition gave a mandibular wear stage of 27-36 months. The fact that the mandibular ages for both pigs tend to age the animals at the lower age estimates given by fusion could suggest that the pigs' diet was not very abrasive to encourage tooth wear. Seven measurements of the greatest length of long bones gave an average height at withers of 84.9cm, with a range of 80.2-88.6cm (von den Driesch 1976; Tiechert *et al.* 1997).

As none of the bones belonging to these associated bone groups show evidence of butchery, burning, human-induced fresh fracture or taphonomic gnawing, it is highly unlikely that they represent butchery waste. These animals may represent accidental deaths which were, whether sentimentally or practically, buried whole rather than consumed. Quick deposition and lack of consumption may indicate death by disease (Ell 1979; 1984).

#### **Fig 22 Pig associated bone group within pit [304] (ALCL16-0497)**

#### **Fig 23 Pig associated bone group within pit [310] (ALCL16-0526)**

#### Horse [360]

A partial skeleton of an old adult male horse was uncovered in context [360] (Fig 24), including part of the cranium, the axial skeleton, and the left and right forelimbs. The hindlimbs were represented by just one proximal femur. No evidence of carcass processing was identified, suggesting the animal was deposited entire without human consumption, which is in line with the papal prohibition on the consumption of horse flesh issued in AD 732 (Grant 1988: 174). It is likely that context disturbance contributed to the loss of the hindlimbs and may have also introduced one pig ulna and some medium mammal ribs to the context.

Age was determined by complete postcranial epiphyseal fusion and extreme wear of cheek teeth, and sexed by the presence of canines. Based on three long bone measurements this horse was around 128.9cm at withers (range 125.1-132.1cm; May 1985), small/smaller than average according to Vitt (1952) and below ‘typical’ height for medieval horses (~137cm or 13 ½ hands, Clark 2004).

The horse presented with multiple mild pathological conditions, which were likely in part caused or exacerbated by its advanced age. The extreme tooth wear on the cheek teeth was abnormal and undulating, possibly caused by malocclusion. Mild periodontal disease including new bone formation and alveolar resorption was identified on both mandibular and maxillary tooth rows (Baker and Brothwell 1980; Fig 25). Other pathologies included mild joint disease, including lipping of articulation surfaces of the 7<sup>th</sup> cervical vertebrae and the distal radius, associated with mild exostosis in these regions (*ibid.*).

Multiple lines of evidence suggest that this horse was used as a traction or transport animal through its life. Sloping wear on the anterior surface of both mandibular second premolars suggests use of a bit (Fig 25; Brown and Anthony 1998). Grooves on the dorsal aspect of the premaxilla indicate remodelling of this bone caused by hypertrophy of the *lateralis nasi* muscle, and suggest that the animal was commonly under heavy exertion, possibly whilst wearing a bridle with a rigid cheek piece (Perez and Martin 2001; Taylor et al. 2015, 2016; Fig 26). On the vertebral column, facets on the cranial and caudal aspects of some thoracic spinous processes could indicate impingement, or “kissing spine” (Turner 2011). This condition is fairly common in modern day horses and can be exacerbated by poor saddle fit or poor riding, or overloading the animal when juvenile (*ibid.*; Kissing spine website). It causes varying intensities of back pain, from none to being unable to work and be ridden (*ibid.*). The animal may have only been used for ‘light’ haulage based on a lack of evidence for pathological conditions typically found on animals used for heavy ploughing and haulage, particularly osteoarthritis in the pelvis and extremities (which were sadly absent from the hindlimbs due to context disturbance).

The use of horses as traction animals varied dramatically in the medieval period, both over time and depending on the social status of the owner. Oxen were more popular for ploughing and hauling in the early medieval period, especially for the demesnes, but horses became more common for demesnes and peasants alike by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Langdon 1984). Their meat-yield made oxen expensive, so horses were preferred by peasants as they were cheaper and more versatile, advantageous if draught requirements had to be met by one or two animals (Langdon 1984: 62). Horses could be useful in hauling, harrowing, riding and pack-carrying, in addition to non-intensive and awkwardly-shaped ploughing, but a high-status lord could of course also keep a horse for sport and pleasure (Grant 1988: 178; Langdon 1984: 62, Langdon 1982: 40). The speed of horses when used for light, small-scale hauling halved transport times, and doubled the distance able to be travelled, both contributing to faster distribution and better prices for the farmer (Langdon 1984: 63). It is perhaps most likely that this horse represents a well-cared-for, versatile draught animal, probably most often used for light hauling of goods.

**Fig 24 Horse within pit [360]**

**Fig 25 Dorsal view of left and right horse mandible from context 361.** Alveolar resorption caused by periodontal disease can be seen between the fourth premolar and first molar (top right). Evidence of bit-wear on the anterior second premolars can be seen on both sides of the mandible (bottom left and bottom right). A canine is also present at the bottom of the image, indicating the individual was male.

**Fig 26 Dorsal view of the right and left premaxilla of the horse in context [361].** Most strongly pronounced in the left-most image are the two grooves associated with medial (A) and lateral (B) remodelling.

*Tenement plot 2*

The faunal material from tenement plot 2 was the least well-represented of the three context groups. Of the mammal bones, cattle were the best represented taxa ( $n=16$ ), followed by ovicaprids ( $n=7$ ). Pigs were underrepresented in this group ( $n=1$ ) compared to tenement 1. Other taxa represented were rabbit ( $n=1$ ) and indeterminate avian species. No associated bone groups were identified from this context group. Fish bones were particularly abundant in comparison with the mammal assemblage.

*Tenement plot 4*

In tenement plot 4, ovicaprid bones were the best represented of mammalian taxa ( $n=30$ ), followed by cattle ( $n=18$ ) and pigs ( $n=14$ ). Two ovicaprid bones from this tenement plot were measurable (von den Driesch 1976); an astragalus (GL: 29.52mm), giving a withers height of 61.84 and a metacarpal (GL: 140.12mm), giving a withers height of 68.52cm (Tiechert 1975), slightly taller than the medieval period average of 0.5-0.6m at withers (Grant 1988). This may indicate well-fed animals of a larger breed (Ryder 1964). Fish bones were underrepresented in this plot compared to the other two ( $n=2$ ). Three associated bone groups were present in TP4, representing one pig in context [395], a dog and a polecat in context [501] and a further dog in [1/006].

Pig [395]

Little can be said about the partial pig skeleton in context [395] save that it was a neonate, and unbutchered. The presence of this animal could suggest that pigs were being kept and bred nearby, and that possibly still-born infants or those that died soon after birth of natural causes were disposed of by burial and not consumed. Bones of other species in this context, such as fish, large mammal skull and long bone fragments, and medium mammal ribs and long bone fragments, suggest the neonate pig was disposed of with food waste.

Dog [1/006]

The near-complete dog skeleton from context [1/006] was missing thoracic and lumbar vertebrae, the pelves, and, like many other ABGs, the metapodia and phalanges. The skeleton was that of a large adult, with all bones fused and height at withers calculated at an average of 66.7cm from the humerus (GL: 201mm) and femur (GL: 218mm; Harcourt 1976). Taller than the average height of medieval dogs (around 50cm), this dog could have been used for herding, as a guard dog, or for hunting (Salisbury 1994; Grant 1988). The first molar on the right mandible had been broken. The dog was found along with some cattle and pig

bones that likely represent food waste, perhaps as a result of the context disturbance that removed parts of the skeleton.

#### Dog and Polecat [501]

A partially complete dog skeleton was also excavated from context [501]. The majority of the skeleton was represented, including partial cranium and mandible, vertebral elements, ribs, forelimbs and hindlimbs, with occasional bones missing (such as the left tibia and right radius). No metrical analysis was possible as the bones were fragmented. Extremities were poorly represented, with only two metacarpals and one phalanx. Fusion analysis suggests that the individual was around one year old at death based on the fusion of the radius, which fuses at 11-12 months, and in this animal was complete proximally but unfused distally (Silver 1969). A lack of carcass processing evidence suggests that this animal was deposited whole, with lack of some elements possibly indicating secondary burial or taphonomic disturbance.

Also in this context was the partial skeleton of an adult polecat, including skull, pelvis and some long bone fragments. Again, some secondary deposition or disturbance of the context is suggested by the absence of some elements. Identification of polecat from its domesticated species, the ferret, is particularly difficult osteologically, and depending on which of the two animals this skeleton represents the interpretation of this ABG varies considerably. Polecats are natural predators that were notorious for attacking rabbit warrens, and warreners waged “perpetual war” against this species (Bailey 1988: 8). Its death and inclusion may thus represent efforts to reduce rabbit losses caused by polecat attacks. Alternatively (or additionally), it may have been a wild animal caught for its fur (*ibid.* 22-23). Although it should be noted that no marks indicative of skinning were identified, it is possible that some elements, particularly the extremities, were removed with the fur if it was skinned to act as handles when processing. If the animal is in fact a domestic ferret, it could have been raised for pest control, or indeed for rabbiting (*ibid.* 22-23). Medieval rabbit warrens, owned by the wealthy, were disturbed by ferrets as part of rabbiting, causing the animals to bolt out of holes into nets (Grant 1988: 166; Blackhouse 2000: 31-32). The single rabbit bone present in TP2 is hardly confirmation of this high-status activity, and it is possible that escaped wild rabbit populations were established by this period, or that rabbits were illegally poached (Grant 1988: 166).

#### *Surface modifications*

As the animal bone groups showed no evidence of carcass processing, the analysis of surface modifications focusses solely on the disassociated medieval material. Butchery was observed on 1.7% of disassociated specimens (n=1703). The prevalence of chop marks suggests that cleavers were often used for butchering carcasses in the medieval period at this site. Chopping was present on vertebral fragments suggesting carcass portioning at the spinal column, both in the form of splitting vertebral bodies and in removing the transverse processes. This could indicate the presence of different butchers with different processes of dismembering the carcass, with some splitting through the vertebral bodies and some targeting the transverse processes and rib heads. Chopping was also prevalent on the shafts of long bones (n=9) and on rib fragments (n=4). These marks likely correspond to both carcass portioning, particularly where chops were close to articulations, and pot-sizing for boiling in stews. This final point is corroborated by the paucity of evidence for direct heat exposure related to cooking, suggesting that meat was cooked off the bone and the bone further unprocessed, or that bone (fleshed or defleshed) was boiled in stews. Cut marks likely associated with knife filleting were present on an ovicaprid scapula. Sawing was not

detected on bones dating to this period. However, with a small sample size conclusions are speculative at best.

A total of 51 disassociated bones from the medieval period showed evidence of burning (3.0%, n=1703), of which 50 reflected high-temperature burning (calcined). This level of heat exposure is usually indicative of incineration rather than cooking (Shipman *et al.* 1984; Pearce and Luff 1994), and could represent casual disposal of bones in hearths that were later cleared. One bone fragment was charred, possibly indicating cooking meat on the bone.

Three ovicaprid bones were affected by canid gnawing, one from TP2 and two from TP4, indicating that dogs were allowed or could gain access to these animal bones. Based on the scarcity of evidence for canid gnawing, however, it is unlikely that they were allowed unrestricted access to animal bone refuse, and certainly that the associated bone groups in this period were covered quickly before scavengers could disturb the remains.

Despite evidence that ABG contexts were covered quickly, disturbance of these and other contexts on the site was likely common. Many animal bone groups contained the disarticulated bones of other animals, particularly those likely deriving from domestic food waste. One interpretation of this is that pits the animals were 'buried' in were considered suitable for the casual disposal of waste that happened to be present on the site at the time. An alternative interpretation, however, is that later context disturbance resulted in the redeposition of some material into pits that were originally intended for specific animal occupants, which would also explain why many skeletons are missing elements, despite having no evidence of butchery.

#### **Post-Medieval-c.1850 (Period 4)**

The post-medieval-c.1850 assemblage contained a small quantity of 42 identifiable faunal remains recovered from tenement plots 3 and 4, ditch contexts defining these plots (D2, D3), and those separating open area 4 from tenement plot 5 (D1), open areas (OA4), and a routeway behind properties fronting the street (R1). Identified taxa include pig (n=9), ovicaprid (n=6; including sheep), cattle (n=1), horse (n=1) and fish (n=1). Two bones had evidence of butchery for carcass portioning. Three specimens showed evidence of burning at high temperatures. Based on the size of this period assemblage, it cannot be meaningfully compared with earlier periods.

#### **Post-Medieval-c.20<sup>th</sup> Century (Period 5)**

The post-medieval-c.20<sup>th</sup> Century assemblage was represented by 11 faunal specimens recovered from open area 5. Identifiable taxa include dog (n=2), rabbit (n=1), duck (n=1) and probable goose (n=2), and medium and large mammals, the bones of which were meat-bearing in the majority. Evidence of butchery was observed in a single medium mammal tibia fragment from pit [392] that exhibited saw marks suggestive of carcass portioning. No gnawing, burning, non-metric traits or pathology was observed. Again, the limited assemblage cannot be compared with other contexts.

#### **Discussion**

The faunal assemblage from the medieval period may give an insight into the wealth and status of nearby occupants of the site. The depositions in the tenement plots likely represent both food waste and disposal of whole animals that died accidentally. The implications of the representation of different species in the animal bone assemblage is discussed below.

However, based on the size of the disassociated assemblage, comparisons between the tenement plots is not possible.

The presence of ruminants in the assemblage reflects cattle and sheep as the staple farm animals of the medieval period, and their faunal remains likely represent food waste. The age-at-death analysis for cattle could indicate slaughter at prime meat age, around 1.5-3 years. These animals must have been surplus to the requirements of the agrarian economy, as most medieval cattle had dual purposes as traction/ dairy animals as well as meat-producers, and would have typically survived into fusion maturity (Grant 1988: 156). Older animals may have remained in the countryside, whereas young surplus meat could have been brought to towns. The consumption of prime meat-age cattle may indicate a certain amount of wealth and status, as this meat was surely more expensive than beef from old traction or dairy cattle. Ovicaprid remains most likely represent sheep in the vast majority, as goats were a minority species in the medieval period and were not positively identified in the assemblage (Grant 1988). The rarity of juvenile slaughter suggested by the ovicaprid fusion, and the presence of a mandible aged 6-8 years, could reflect the importance of sheep as wool animals. However, the presence of at least one young individual (6-12 months) may suggest that surplus young animals were also being sold for meat. The sheep represented at the site may have been large breeds, and/or well fed compared to typical medieval sheep (*ibid.*).

Pigs may be considered fairly high-status animals in the medieval period, although their usefulness as waste to meat converters was likely realised by all social classes (Grant 1988). Pig bones are typically more common in rural locations rather than urban in the medieval period, and were particularly important at castles and monastic sites. However, pig keeping may have been more for home consumption than income, whether referring to high-status sites of intensive pig husbandry or to the peasant's single pig fattened on scraps and waste (Grant 1988: 158). Pig bones were relatively rare on the site overall, save for the three individuals in associated bone groups [304], [310] and [395]. The partial skeleton of a neonate pig in context [395] may be evidence for pig rearing at the site. The idea that these animals were locally reared can also be suggested by the older boar and sow in contexts [304] and [310]. Both animals had reached a fairly advanced age for pigs, both over two years, and discrepancies in the dentition and postcranial ageing suggest their diet may have been soft as to prevent the wearing of their teeth. The deposition of these animals as near-complete (but perhaps later disturbed) skeletons, without butchery, may most likely represent disposal of disease victims and/or accidental deaths. A similar interpretation has been suggested for six 4-10 week old pigs deposited in a cess pit at medieval manorial complex Facombe Netherton (Sadler 1990: 481; Morris 2011: 111). The Appledore pigs are a very rare example of complete or near complete burials of pigs in medieval contexts in Britain (Morris 2011).

The partial horse skeleton in context [360] probably represents an animal that may have been used for many purposes, but perhaps most importantly for light-haulage. Pathological changes to the skull and post-cranium suggest it was certainly often controlled with a bit, was commonly under heavy exertion, and may have suffered from "kissing spine", possibly caused by being overburdened as a young animal. However, it lived to an old age, and there were no postcranial pathologies typically associated with use for heavy traction, particularly degenerative joint disease of the pelvis acetabulum or extremities (although the missing hind limb may have been affected). A lack of butchery marks on the bones and the general completeness of the skeleton suggests the animal was deposited fleshed and in articulation, and not consumed by humans as was taboo in this period. A certain degree of wealth may

be expected for people to be able to own and keep a horse, although as a small and old animal it may also suggest a slightly restricted income.

The two partially complete domestic dog skeletons from [1/006] and [501] could represent dogs used for herding, guarding, or for hunting (Salisbury 1994; Grant 1988). Both dogs likely reflect accidental deaths of animals and were not butchered before being deposited. The adult (>1.5 years, Silver 1969) dog in context [1/006] was particularly large at withers height compared to the majority of medieval dogs (Grant 1988: 160). The 1-year-old dog in [501] was not fully grown. The dogs probably represent working animals rather than pets with little practical function.

The presence of a polecat (or ferret) partial skeleton, along with occasional rabbit bones, may indicate rabbiting, pest control and the use of warrens, a typically high-status activity although poaching is also possible. Alternative explanations may include rabbiting on established wild warrens, or that the polecat was an animal caught for its fur (Bailey 1988).

## Conclusion

In conclusion this site at Appledore likely represents the activities of residents with some degree of wealth. They could afford to buy prime-age beef and some lamb, which was likely supplies from the surrounding countryside, indicating rural and urban trade in this period. The occupants of TP1 may have been keeping and breeding pigs, and owned a horse that was likely used for light-hauling. There is a possibility that the occupants of TP4 were involved in rabbiting, perhaps supporting the upper classes with upkeep and pest control of rabbit warrens, although the evidence is minimal.

## 3.4 FISH BONE

Hayley Forsyth-Magee

Archaeological excavations produced a moderate fish bone assemblage consisting of 728 identifiable fragments retrieved through hand-collection and bulk sampling (Table 13). The bones are in a moderate state of preservation, with some signs of fragmentation present. The majority of the assemblage derives from period 3 (Medieval -c.1550) with remains recovered predominantly from pit fills (Table 14) retrieved from tenement plot land. A single fish bone was recovered from a post-medieval ditch fill from period 4 (Post-Medieval - c.1850).

Taxa	NISP	
	period 3	period 4
Cod	28	
Gadid (Large)	3	
Gadid (Medium)	28	1
Gadid (Small)	30	
Haddock	19	
Whiting	25	
Eel	22	
Flatfish	10	
Plaice	12	
Herring	15	
Mackerel	2	
Ray	1	
Fish	532	

Total	727	1
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Table 13: Fish Bone NISP (Number of Identifiable Specimen) counts by Period

## Methods

The assemblage has been recorded onto an Excel spreadsheet. Wherever possible the fragments have been identified to family group or species and the skeletal element represented utilising reference collection resources with reference to Cannon (1987), Wheeler (1978) and Wheeler and Jones (1989). Elements that could not be confidently identified to species, such as cranial and post-cranial fragments, have been recorded in general as 'fish'. No measurable fragments were recorded. No evidence of butchery, burning, gnawing, signs of consumption or pathologies were observed.

## Assemblage

A range of marine, migratory and estuarine fish taxa have been identified. The families of fish most commonly represented consist of Gadidae species (18%), and include cod (4%), haddock (3%), whiting (3%) and gadids (9%) (Table 13). Smaller quantities of eel (3%), herring (2%), plaice (2%), flatfish (1%), mackerel (1%) and ray (1%) were also present. The majority of all taxa present are represented by cranial elements, the recovery of a number of vertebrae and post-cranial bones suggests that whole fish were brought to site and processed in the area. The majority of fish bone remains derive from pit fills ([363], [396], [474], [1/011], [1/017]) and quarry pit fills ([223], [2/005]) recovered from period 3 (Table 14). A single medium gadid vertebra was recovered through bulk sampling from ditch fill [4/011] <3>.

Taxa	Feature		
	Ditch*	Pit+	Quarry Pit+
Cod		19	9
Gadid (Large)		1	2
Gadid (Medium)	1	9	19
Gadid (Small)		12	18
Haddock		4	15
Whiting		18	7
Eel		7	15
Flatfish		6	4
Plaice		1	11
Herring		10	5
Mackerel			2
Ray		1	
Fish		303	229
Total	1	391	336

Table 14: Fish Bone NISP (Number of Identifiable Specimen) counts by Feature (\*period 4, + period 3)

## Period 3

The majority of the fish bone assemblage was recovered from period 3 (Table 15), predominantly retrieved from bulk samples (<3>, <4>, <5>, <6>, <37>, <46>). Only three specimens were hand-collected from pit fills ([363], [396], [474]).

Taxa	Land Use			
	R1*	TP1+	TP2+	TP4+

Cod		4	9	15
Gadid (Large)			2	1
Gadid (Medium)	1	9	19	
Gadid (Small)		7	18	5
Haddock		4	15	
Whiting		8	7	10
Eel		3	15	4
Flatfish		4	4	2
Plaice			11	1
Herring		3	5	7
Mackerel			2	
Ray				1
Fish		146	229	157
Total	1	188	336	203

Table 15: Fish Bone NISP (Number of Identifiable Specimen) counts by Land Use (\*period 4, +period 3)

#### Tenement Property 1

Tenement Property 1 contained a small quantity of fish bone consisting of 188 identifiable specimens (Table 15) retrieved from pit fill [363]. The majority of the fish bones were recovered from bulk sample <46>, with a single gadid vertebrae recovered by hand. Gadids (9%) dominate this assemblage, followed by other gadidae species including whiting (4%), haddock (2%) and cod (2%). Flatfish (2%), eel (2%) and herring (2%) are also present in smaller quantities.

#### Tenement Property 2

Tenement Property 2 produced the most abundant fish bone assemblage with 336 identifiable specimens (Table 3) retrieved from quarry pit fills [2/005] <4> and [223] <37>. The taxa present are comparable to that of Tenement Property 1, with the addition of plaice (3%) and mackerel (1%). Gadidae (21%) species dominate, including gadids (12%), haddock (4%), cod (3%) and whiting (2%). Large quantities of eel (4%) and plaice, as well as smaller quantities of flatfish (1%) herring (1%) and mackerel were also present.

#### Tenement Property 4

Tenement Property 4 produced a moderate assemblage of fish bone consisting of 203 identifiable specimens (Table 15), dominated by cod (7%) and whiting (5%) recovered from pit fills [1/011] <5>, [1/017] <6>, [396] and [474]. The taxa present in this assemblage is comparable to Tenement Properties 1 and 2, although in this instance fewer gadidae (15%) species are present, with gadids contributing to 3%. Eel (2%), flatfish (1%) and herring (3%) are also consistent in quantities similar to that of Tenement Properties 1 and 2. Single specimens of plaice (1%) and ray (1%) have also been identified.

#### Discussion

In the medieval period Appledore was a coastal town, with the river Rother providing access inland to the towns port until the river silted up and was diverted in the later medieval period, with the nearest coastal town then being Rye. The fish assemblage comprises of marine taxa, including migratory and some estuarine species. Fish from the Gadidae family dominate the assemblage, with the remainder in order of decreasing abundance consisting of eel, herring, plaice, flatfish, mackerel and ray. The presence of a number of cranial bones, as well as post-cranial elements including vertebrae suggests that whole fish were brought

to the site and processed, with the domestic waste disposed of in the area, with little evidence for the preservation of fish (Locker, 2016). There is no evidence for large scale commercial processing of fish and there were also no exclusively fresh-water fish present within the assemblage. The absence of freshwater fish is not unusual in a site from this period; these resources were often linked to status, with their capture and consumption controlled by wealthy landowners and high-ranking ecclesiastics (Dyer 1988).

According to the Domesday entry for the town, Appledore had six fisheries and a market charter granted in 1358 by King Edward III. It is likely that the majority of these fish were caught and sold locally; eels fished from the river estuary using nets or traps, small to medium gadidae species, young plaice, herring, ray and mackerel fished from inshore waters and the coast with small quantities of larger gadidae species caught in deeper offshore waters using hooks and lines.

The majority of the gadidae species (cod, haddock, whiting, gadids) are moderate in size suggesting a preference for inshore fishing in shallow waters, (Wheeler, 1978). However, the small number of large cod cranial elements recovered from Tenement Property 1, suggests that local offshore, deeper waters were being exploited, which would have required substantial and seaworthy boats (Serjeantson and Woolgar, 2006).

The presence of migratory species such as herring and mackerel also indicates that seasonal fishing was taking place, likely using drift nets; herring migrate annually to spawn and are often found in the channel during winter months (Kowaleski 2010), with the smaller gadidae species being caught inshore during the winter months.

Herring and eel are generally found in large quantities on medieval sites (Serjeantson and Woolgar, 2006; Barrett and Orton, 2016) such as the medieval town assemblage from Lewes (Jacques, *forthcoming*) and Townwall Street, Dover (Nicholson, 2006), although here they are outnumbered (Table 13) by gadidae species (gadids, cod, whiting, haddock), similar to the species present at Ropetackle, Shoreham (Jacques, 2008). Plaice/flatfish were present in similar quantities to that of herring and eel. The presence of cod appears in assemblages from the later eleventh century, whilst haddock becomes one of the popular species from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth century (Serjeantson and Woolgar, 2006).

These gadidae species were often consumed as fresh fish or preserved; the bone elements present at Appledore suggest that these fish were eaten fresh. The presence of herring vertebra found in Tenement Property 1, 2 and 4 could suggest that these fish were preserved rather than fresh (Serjeantson and Woolgar, 2006) and possibly originate from the herring fishery at Sandwich (Brandon and Short, 1990). However, the absence of cranial fragments, which might have been expected from a whole, fresh fish, could be a result of poor preservation; it is entirely possible that these fish were caught locally and consumed fresh as cranial elements from these smaller specimens are fragile, which affects survivability.

Plaice/flatfish were also popular fish at this time, present in small quantities from Tenement Property 1, 2 and 4 deposits. These fish had an enhanced cash value and can be viewed as an indicator of wealth (Serjeantson and Woolgar 2006). These fish are not present in any great quantity, perhaps implying that the inhabitants could only occasionally afford better quality fish.

## Conclusions

This fish assemblage provides an insight into the medieval diet, social and economic status of the town of Appledore, Kent. The fish remains recovered represent domestic food waste

(kitchen and table waste) including refuse from the preparation and consumption of fish that were caught locally as fresh and some possible preserved species. Large fish were not in abundance within the assemblage, suggesting that exploitation of local coastal and inshore areas produced the bulk of the fish remains. The taxa present indicates that the Tenement Property inhabitants consumed a limited variety of fish, as expected there is a lack of high-status fish such as sturgeon, or freshwater species. The large quantity of Gadidae species indicates a preference for white-fish.

## 4. DISCUSSION

### PREHISTORIC

The paucity of material from these excavations and the surrounding vicinity highlight the likelihood that the landscape was difficult to negotiate throughout this time, despite fluctuations in sea level that would have intermittently created a more desirable locale. It would likely have represented a landscape on the margins of the coast, where seasonal exploitation of resources was undertaken, much of which would have left little trace in the archaeological record. Further investigations on and around the Romney Marsh might elucidate where and to what extent any exploitation of the landscape was undertaken.

### EARLY ROMAN

Although dating evidence was sparse and little survived of the fields or enclosure formed by FS1, this is the earliest evidence for possible settled agricultural exploitation of the land. Clear evidence of specific agricultural practice is lacking, but the formation of FS1 into a funnel-like shape might hint at the movement of livestock through the area, similar to that noted at Brisley Farm, Ashford (Stevenson 2013, 187) and the small assemblage of cereal grains typical of arable fields tentatively imply a mixed farming regime.

This was most likely the primary utilisation for the landscape, but ancillary functions were also apparent. The addition of two probable ore roasting pits indicates at the very least small-scale local iron production. There is, however, a dearth of evidence for secondary processes associated with iron working from across the site. Neither slag fragments nor any hammerscale was associative with this period which suggests that if processing of ore was undertaken on site, secondary processes might have occurred elsewhere, or perhaps the processed ore was transported to an alternative location.

The presence of probable iron production is unusual for much of the area occupying Romney Marsh as most archaeologically recorded production efforts appeared to have gone into the manufacturing of salt (Eddison 2000, 46). Evidence for iron production currently has its focus in the Weald, with sites like Beauport Park (Boddribb and Cleere 1988), Bardown, Wadhurst (Hodgkinson & McLaughlin 2011) and Upper Wilting Farm (Cornwell & Cornwell 2017). However, the location of Appledore on the fringes and towards the western side of the marsh might provide an answer. The River Rother would also have provided access inland past Appledore at least to Bodiam, which is often considered to have been an important station for the Roman British Fleet (*Classis Britannica*) because of its situation on a Roman road and the discovery of CL BR stamped tiles (Lemmon & Hill 1966). The easier transportation of goods along the Rother and its proximity to the Weald with its timber

required for the roasting and smelting of iron ore might have provided an opportunity for inhabitants to take advantage of their situation. This said, the evidence for iron production at Appledore is both small and poorly dated, meaning that this ore roasting episode was most likely for small-scale, local consumption.

This, in part, leads to the question of where any settlement might have existed during this phase. The arrangement of FS1 indicates a funnelling of any livestock to the east, and if this was to facilitate the processing of animals, it could lead to the interpretation of settlement existing further east, permitting an ease of access and conveyance of products nearer to living quarters.

Projected maps of Appledore into this period (Rippon 2002, fig 6.7) situate the site on the western side of a spur of land with a 'Proto-Rother' to the west. The spur would have been surrounded by salt marshland and it would not seem beyond reason that the more habitable land would have been away from these fringes on the low promontory that Appledore now occupies, to the east of the excavated site.

## LATER ROMAN

The later Roman activity is more difficult to interpret because the small number of pits revealed were isolated, though there may well have been further Roman activity to the north and east of the excavated area. The completeness of the vessels recovered from these features is of note however, especially as this pit was truncated by several post-Roman features and it is possible that they were originally deposited intact. There is a long-lived tradition of structured deposition involving pottery vessels in the wider south Kent region. At Brisley Farm for example, partially-complete or complete vessels first began to be deposited in the transition from Middle to Late Iron Age, a practice continuing over several centuries, with a particular emphasis on deposition around the entrances of enclosures (Stevenson 2013, 117). Although some of the deposits on this site may have involved very specific funerary and commemorative activities related to the burial of two high-status individuals, the tradition was still evident in the later 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (*ibid*, 201). As the focus of settlement moved southeast to Westhawk Farm, it was noted that there was a repeated pattern of partially-complete beakers and in one case, a deliberately pierced jar, found in the top fills of several waterholes which went out use in the mid Roman period. Here it was suggested that the vessels may have been associated with ritual meals taken as these important features went out of use (Lyne 2008, 251). Beyond the immediate region, it has been noted that the deposition of pottery vessels seems more likely to represent an everyday domestic form of votive practice, which was perhaps quite distinct from styles of deposition favoured in more formal religious settings (Biddulph 2015). As in pit [427], deposits of this type often seem to mirror the typical household repertoire of vessels, unlike in burials where fine and table ware forms were often preferentially chosen. How the deposits at Appledore fit into their broader context is unclear, but it could be assumed that similar deposits form a part of the wider site, similar to Brisley Farm, and likely exist elsewhere in Appledore.

## HIATUS UNTIL THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

The origins of Appledore are unclear, and first reference to it comes from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles in AD 893, by which time it is suspected to have been relatively well established as a settlement. It is not considered that occupation of Appledore was continuous from the Roman period through until the early medieval, fluctuations in sea levels and the viability of

the settlement on the low promontory probably precluded this. The area's use for intermittent seasonal pasture is the most likely interpretation of the landscape surrounding Appledore during this period.

Despite the hiatus in continuous activity, it is possible that Roman settlement in Appledore will have laid the foundations for any later occupation of the area, despite the time spanning the end of the Roman period until the 12<sup>th</sup> century lacking in archaeological evidence. This broadly coincides with the contraction of the Roman empire during the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD and the paucity of later Roman material elsewhere in Romney Marsh. However, it should be noted that elsewhere on Romney Marsh abandonment appears to have occurred during the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (Rippon 2002, 91), mirrored in findings at Lydd Quarry (Barber and Priestly-Bell 2008, 31) and Scotney Court (Barber 1998, 352). The Roman fort at Lympne, however, is thought to have had some occupation into the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Cunliffe 1980, 287). This new evidence from Appledore indicates that at least in some other locations occupation carried on beyond this period of marine inundation during the later part of the Roman period and into the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Reoccupation of the Romney Marsh was seemingly well underway by the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Eddison 2000, chapter 4) and likely used for seasonal grazing. Appledore itself is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle in AD893 when a Danish Army are encamped there. It is briefly cited in AD968 and thereafter several more times in various charters (HCGKCC 2003, 2). In the Domesday Book Appledore is recorded as having 37 villagers, 41 small holders, a church, fisheries and meadow and woodland (Williams & Martin 2003, 13)

The paucity of archaeological features relating to the earliest phases of Appledore's development might not be all too unexpected within the boundary of this site. Most occupational evidence would concentrate directly beside any dwelling. These dwellings were likely dispersed along the north-south axis of what is now The Street, perhaps with a concentration nearer to the church. However, the lack of residual artefactual evidence within later features does pose some questions on exactly where occupation noted in the Saxon Chronicle and Domesday Book was. No doubt any future investigations will elucidate these matters.

The function of the site during this time was most likely an open area perhaps used for grazing or other agricultural practices. However, its probable location directly on the edge of any focus of settlement for the Appledore mentioned in records might lead to the proposal of other functions for this space, for example the processing of crops or livestock, that did not leave a trace on the archaeological record.

## **EARLY MEDIEVAL**

Appledore is known to have been a well defined settlement by the 12<sup>th</sup> century to early mid 13<sup>th</sup> century. With only a single feature and handful of ceramic sherds, the limit and extent of early medieval activity is unclear, but it likely occupied an area on the edge of the settlement, being in such proximity to the church. Evidence suggests that the function of OA3 was likely similar to that during the above mentioned hiatus and used for pasture or arable, with the exception that it might have witnessed an increase in manuring practices resulting in the distribution of ceramics across the site.

At this juncture the possible addition of ore roasting pits described in Period 1, Phase 1 should be mentioned. Their inclusion, by way of one of the carbon-14 results, could suggest a small-scale, localised industry at this time, one perhaps utilised in the construction

of structures relating to settlement. However, the slightly ambiguous nature of the phasing for these features and the lack of evidence relating to secondary processes leads to their most likely inclusion in the earlier period of the site.

## MEDIEVAL

From the early to mid 13<sup>th</sup> century AD activity increases and becomes more formalised across the site, with its use transitioning from an open area to one relating to properties fronting the main thoroughfare. The land is divided into tenement plots and refuse pitting takes place to varying extents within each one. Cartographic evidence relating to Period 3 does not survive and so descriptions of the tenement plots is based on archaeological evidence. Further excavation within Appledore might refine these interpretations, and its dovetailing with the documentary evidence. The layout of pitting suggests that this site covers what were the backland plots of at least four properties during the medieval period, one positioned on the junction of what is now The Street and Court Lodge Road (now lost) and a second in the approximate location of where The Long House/ The Corn Stores is now situated (Fig 27). The site lies some 40m away from the back of the current properties fronting The Street, and it is not implausible that any previous structures covered a similar footprint. This suggests that the excavation area occupies an area that could be considered as the 'far backlands'. Despite this, a reasonable assemblage of features and finds were encountered, suggesting some intensive use of the area, and the removal of refuse to the furthest part of the property boundary. This said, no formal evidence for boundaries was encountered for this period which is more likely a product of their shallow nature and/or truncation rather than their absence.

**Fig 27 Period 3 conjectured property boundaries in relation to properties on The Street**

By the mid thirteenth century the Rhee Wall was complete (Eddison 2000, 83) and continued access from Appledore to the coast was achieved. This provided the opportunity for Appledore to increase in prosperity and by 1279AD it is recorded as having four shops and four stalls by the church (HCGKCC 2003, 3) and increases to 7 shops and 5 stalls by 1297 (*ibid*, 3). Despite the general social and economic collapse brought on by the Black Death and other environmental factors in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, Appledore receives some seemingly preferential treatment, when the River Rother is diverted around the northern side of the Isle of Oxney during the 1330's, maintaining its riverine links with the coast (*ibid*, 5). In 1359 Appledore is granted market status by Edward III demonstrating its trading status in the area. AD1380 witnesses a raid by the French on Appledore, during which the church is burned and the town destroyed (Winnifirth 1983, 34).

The archaeological evidence encountered on the site pertaining to this 100 year or so span of history is limited, but not of limited interest. Ceramic evidence restricted to around one hundred sherds of predominantly domestic style pottery, with little that stands out, suggesting that the material might have come from the lower classes. This could appear to refute the common notion that Appledore was a thriving trade centre at this time, but is more likely down to the site's distance from The Street, and the general poorer quality of material of this date leading to its poor survival.

The ceramic building material, however, provides a slightly different narrative. The assemblage of 14<sup>th</sup> century CBM distributed across the site hints at the relative wealth of the town as it was a more expensive building material than wattle, daub and thatching. In addition to the general expense of CBM, some of it was of Flemish origin, adding even greater value to the product, although Appledore's ease of access to the imported products must be taken into consideration with this observation.

However, the precise origin of much of the CBM is unclear. Its incorporation into the archaeological record as a relatively large quantity of material in similar proportions across the entire site indicate one episode of deposition and the scale of the assemblage is more indicative of an episode of destruction, rather than the piecemeal accumulation through renovation and repair of existing buildings. These factors combined lead to the conclusion that the recovered 14<sup>th</sup> century brick and tile are a consequence of the French raid of AD1380 that razed Appledore and its church. If the destruction of Appledore was extensive, material from both domestic structures and the church would have been distributed across the town, as evidenced by the recovery of a fragment of mass dial tile – although this might have equally derived from later Reformation activity.

These results generally corroborate the documentary evidence from Appledore. Appledore was home to a population, at least near its centre, who were most likely merchants and who attained a comparative degree of wealth, at least enough to undertake renovations on their houses and in some cases swap thatch for tile and daub for brick. This in part might also have stemmed from the or peri- or proto-urban nature of Appledore and the more standard practice of its use, mirrored in the general use of quotidian ceramics from the period. The addition of several small quarry pits on site suggests that other small household repairs were also undertaken during the entirety of Period 3, with the clay from these pits being exploited to this effect.

Differentiating the relative wealth or function of each of the tenement plots described during this earlier portion of Period 3 is not possible because of both the scarcity of material from this period, but also the probability of its translocation during the raid of 1380. In contrast to this, extricating variances between properties in during the second part of this period is marginally more attainable.

Tenement Plots 2 and 4 were both considerably larger than their neighbours, between two and three times the width, immediately indicating the ability to purchase or rent larger tracts of land. Both of these plots also contained increased amounts of imported pottery, or local wares of more unusual forms, all of which suggests they were faring better than their neighbours. All tenement plots, except for TP3 produced small quantities of animal bone, some of which indicated the consumption of some expensive cuts of meat such as prime age beef, but TP1 also included the remains of a horse which was, among other tasks, likely used for the light hauling of goods, giving some indication of the trading activities undertaken by the occupants of this property. To what extent any of these properties were associated with or subservient to the nearby manor is unclear, although it is recorded that Court Lodge collected taxes from merchants using the river for trade (HCGKCC 2003, 5).

Appledore's location along the River Rother in its various natural and canalised guises would have provided the settlement with access to trade routes from the Roman period onwards. It is unclear to what extent this might have taken place during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, but further upstream at Bodiam, the utilisation of the Rother is well purported (Cunliffe 1988, 84) and it is not unreasonable to suggest the settlement in Appledore also took advantage of it. Given the proximity of the site to the coast, salt is likely to have passed

through the area, but no evidence was encountered during excavations. The small quantity of iron ore roasting revealed might have been used in trade, but is most likely to have just been used locally. Archaeological evidence is then lacking from this point until the early medieval period, and inferences in trade and settlement would still be unwise. The scant documentary evidence is also unhelpful in forming a more detailed picture of Appledore during this time.

The whole assemblage of 12th to mid-13th century pottery that was recovered from the site demonstrated links only to local sources of pottery. This could appear to refute the common notion that Appledore was a thriving trade centre at this time, but is more likely down to the site's distance from The Street, and the general poorer quality of material of this date leading to its poor survival.

During the mid-13th to mid-14th centuries evidence for both local and international trade routes start to emerge, despite the recovery of a relatively small ceramic assemblage. Two sherds of a north French or Flanders type vessel were recovered indicating some trade with the continent. This evidence comes despite the silting of The Rhee Channel towards Romney in the latter half of the 13th century, restricting the size of ships making their way up the Rother. The noted increase of trade at Appledore is contrary to that observed at its coastal counterpart of New Romney (Draper & Meddins 2009, 113), suggesting that smaller vessels continued to utilise Appledore. This could be because it did not suffer as much during the increased storminess of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and was thus better organised to continue receiving smaller ships, or because its use as a point of exporting from the area remained significant; although Appledore is unlikely to have replaced ports such as New Romney.

Regional trade links are exemplified by the two fragments of 'Westminster' style floor tile which are generally considered to derive from the London area, although their precise manufacturing location is unclear

The mid-14th and 15th centuries saw a marked rise in the importation of both ceramic goods, but also the import of building material. Much of this derives from the Low Countries, most likely by way of Rye, and points to an established link between Appledore and the continent by this point. Ceramics from Germany, France and Spain were also recovered. The increase in archaeological activity for this period, along with the rise in imported goods coincides with the period that the river Rother was diverted to the north of the Isle of Oxney and before leading out to Rye, and the time it was granted right to a weekly market, providing it the title of town. In addition to the international trade, local and regional trade is identified with the inclusion of certain ceramics within the assemblage, timber being taken to build Camber Castle (Steane 1984, 51) and marine fish supplementing the diet of domesticates. Most trade throughout the medieval period is likely to have predominantly taken the form of exporting timber for fuel and construction along with salted meats and by-products from much of the Weald and the import of cereals and other goods (Martin & Martin *et al* 2009, 5). Much of which would have travelled through the coastal ports of New Romney and latterly Winchelsea and Rye (Rippon 2002), and further inland to centres such as Tenterden.

During the 16th century, the River Rother is noted to have gradually lost much of its ability to bear trade ships. This process almost certainly caused a slow decline in the fortunes of the town, as at Smallhythe, until, by around the mid 16th century it is observed that 'Appledore, which had been a goodly town, is now decayed by reason that the water is gone from it' (unknown source in HCGKCC 2003, 5). This reversal of fortunes is also

observed in most of the evidence from the site, suggesting the difficulties in waterborne trade had detrimental effects on the contemporary population.

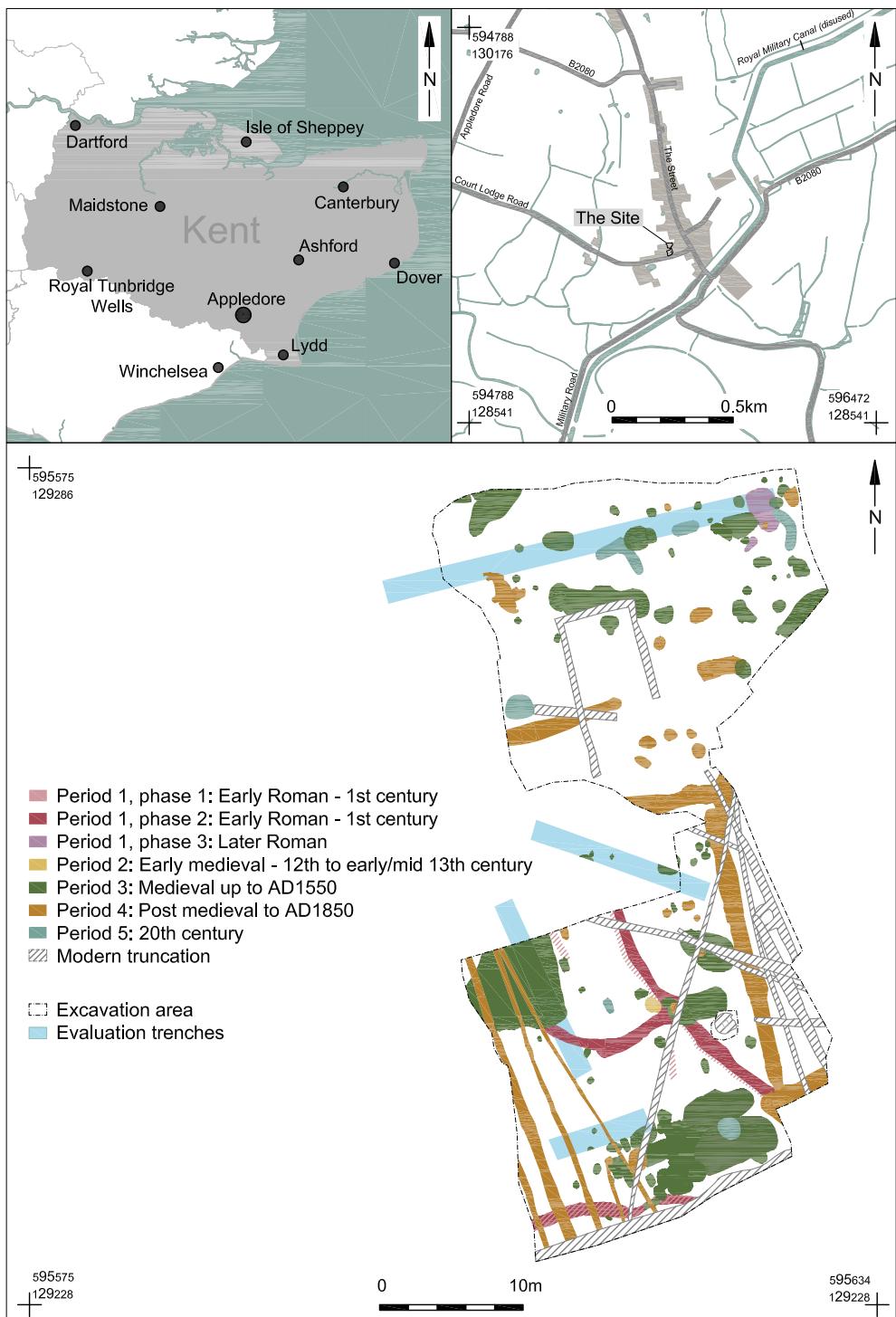
## **POST-MEDIEVAL**

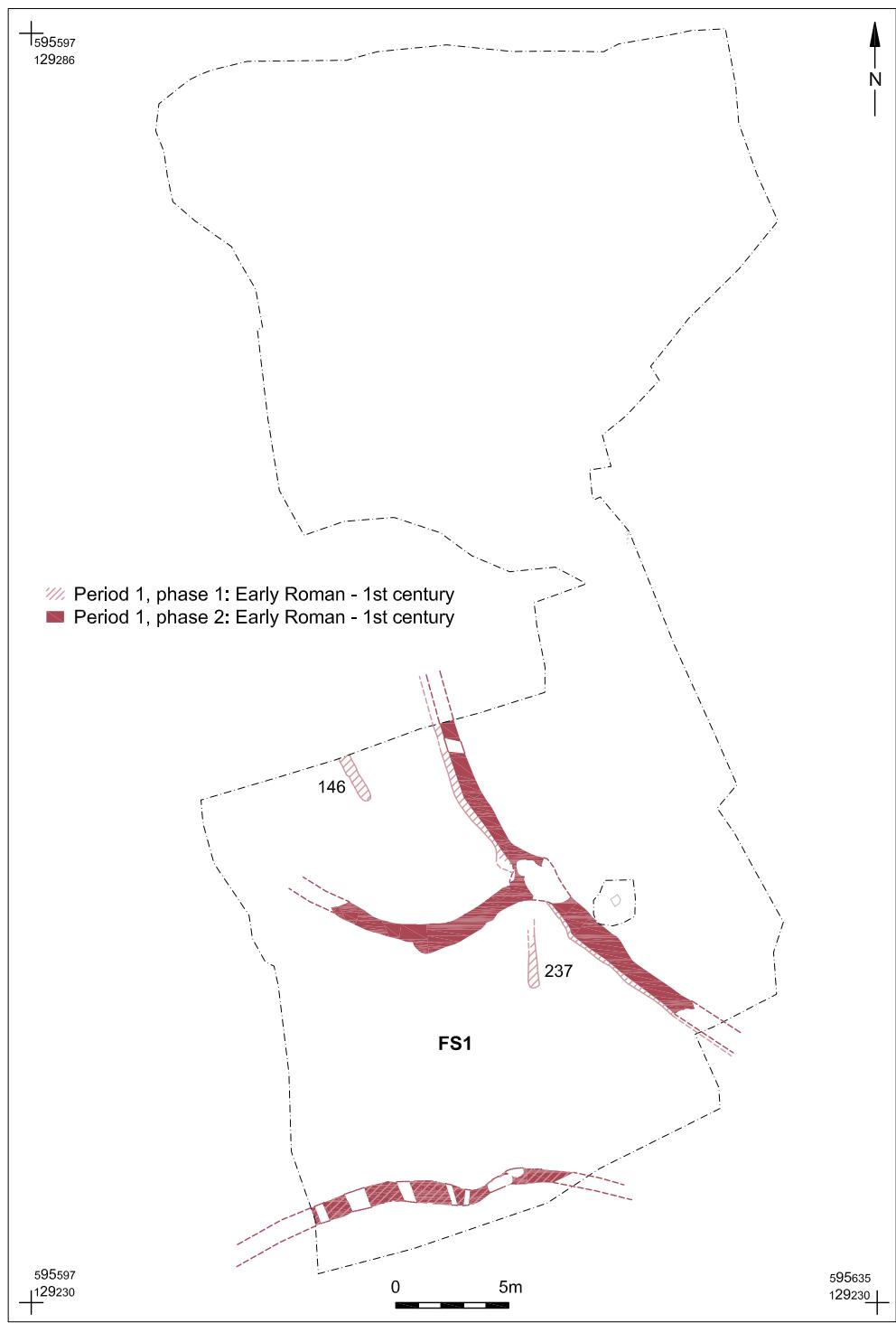
On the whole, Period 4 saw a marked decrease in use from the previous period. Less intensive pitting was taking place and as a consequence a striking paucity of material culture and faunal remains from the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards was recovered. A small quantity of brick and tile was recovered from across the site probably deriving from the occasional remodelling and repair of structures. This decline in evidence is likely a direct consequence of the decline of Appledore as a trading town. Silting of the Rother had been underway for some time and despite efforts to clear it it was described as dry in 1561. The archaeological record suggests the decline was rapid, but with such a small window into this period it would be unwise to construct too many inferences.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

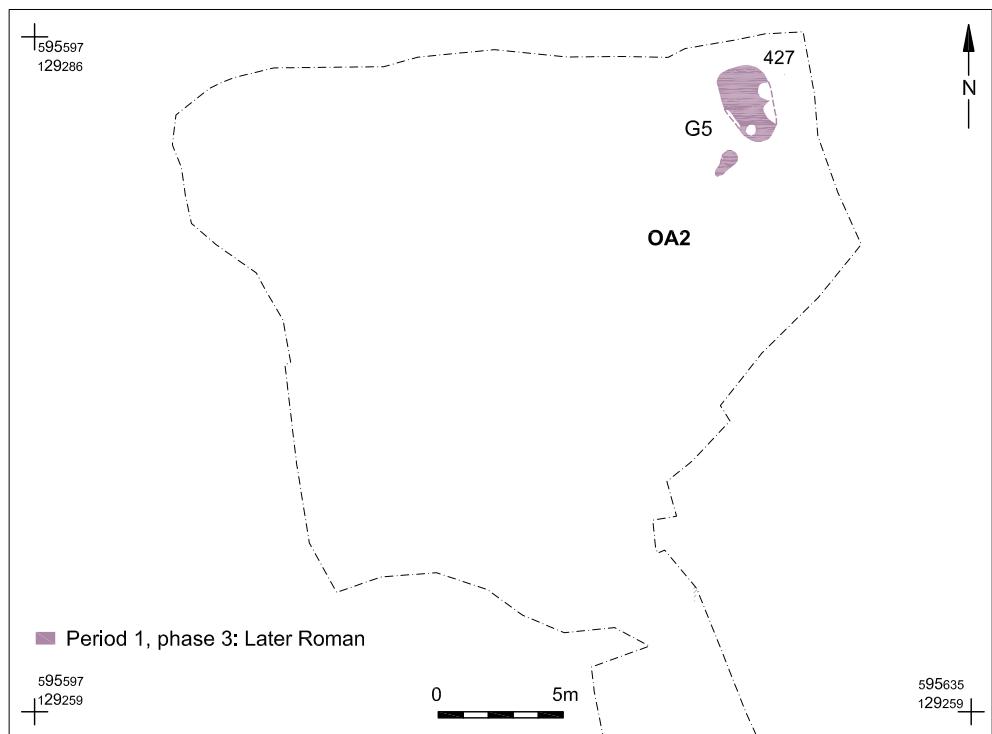
ASE would like to thank M80 Developments for commissioning the archaeological work and Wendy Rogers (Senior Archaeological Officer, Heritage Conservation, Kent County Council) for monitoring the fieldwork and providing support throughout.

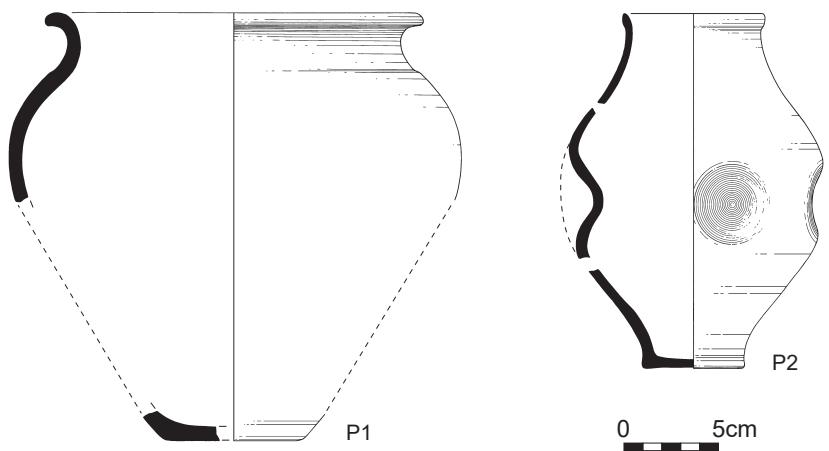
Thanks are due to the specialists that worked on all stages of this project: Stacey Adams, Luke Barber, Isa Benedetti-Whitton, Susan Chandler, Trista Clifford, Anna Doherty, Hayley Forsyth-Magee, Emily Johnson and Karine Le Hégarat and to the members of the evaluation and excavation teams for their hard work in the field: Kristina Kraviec, Hayley Nicholls, Sophie Austin, John Hirst, Charlotte Loy, Lucy May, Sophie Nicholson, Pippa Postgate, Tom Simms, Richard Turnbull, Cat Udell, Gary Webster, Suzie Westall and Jake Wilson. All fieldwork was commissioned by M80 Developments. The project was managed for ASE by Neil Griffin and in post-excavation by Jim Stevenson. Photographs were taken by Antonio Reis and illustrations produced by Lauren Gibson.

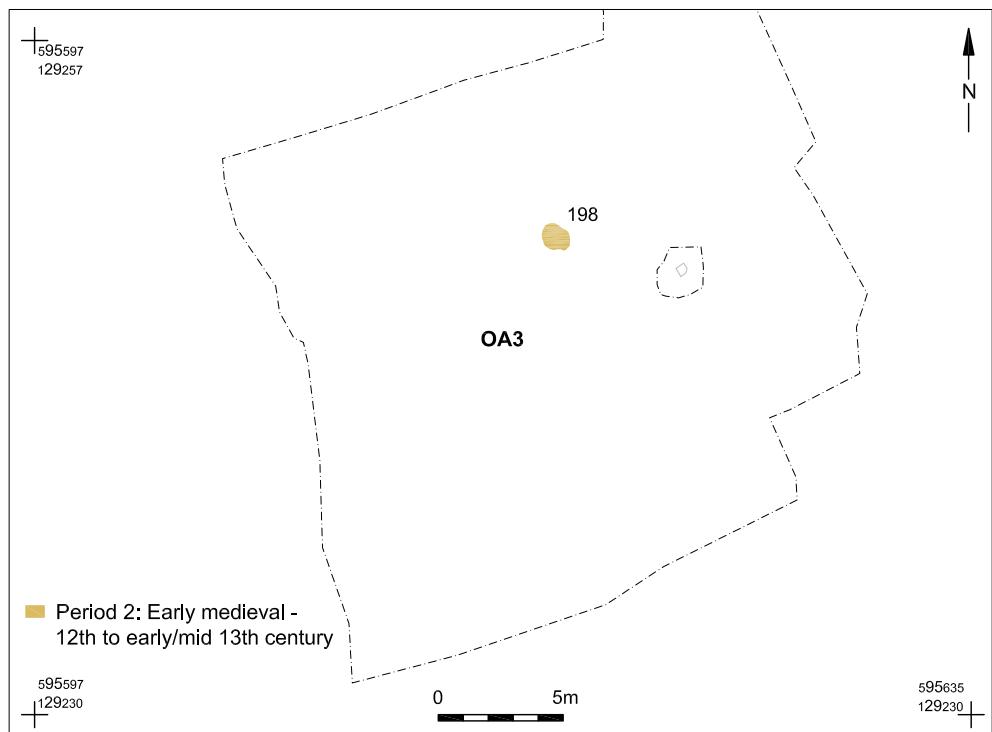


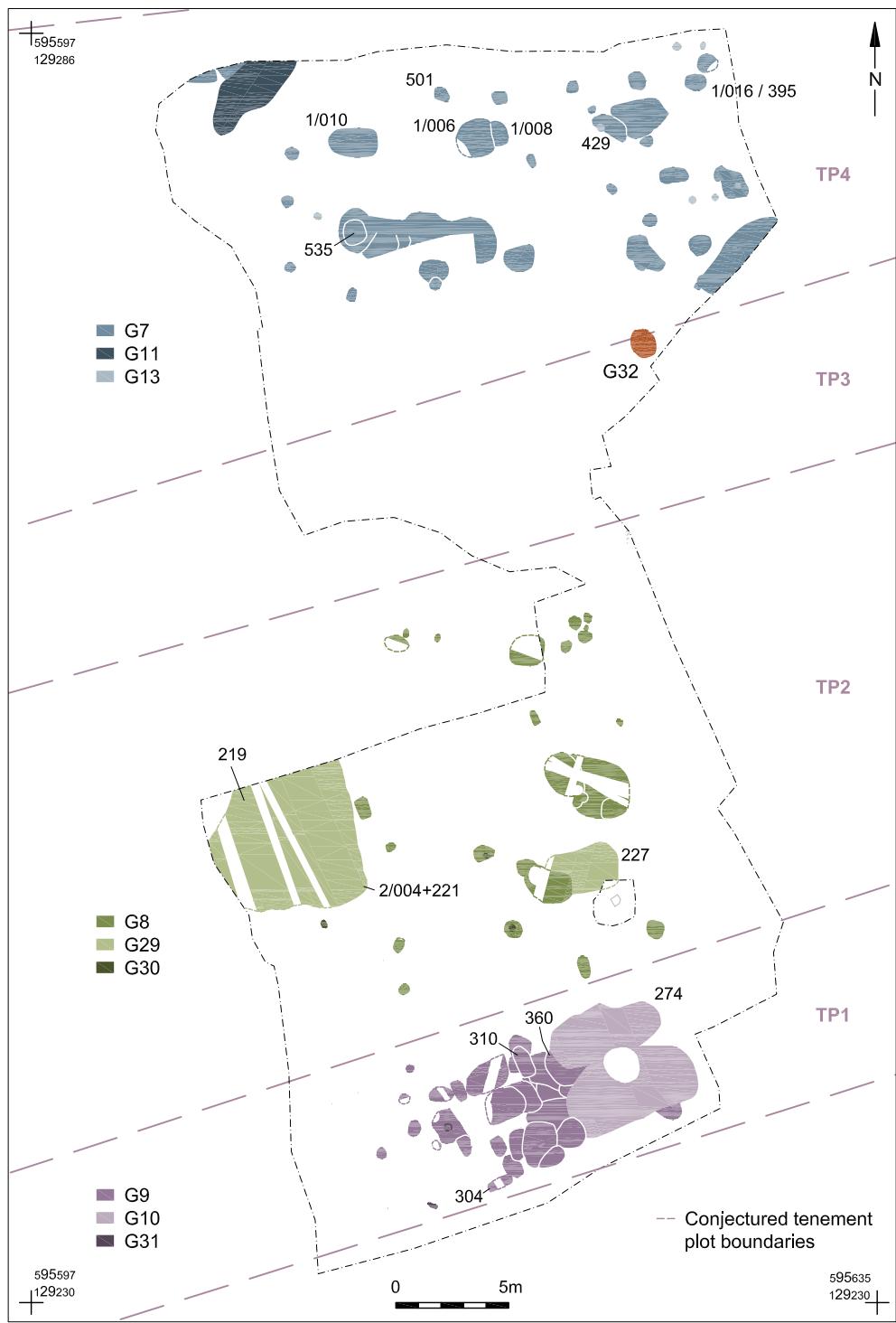






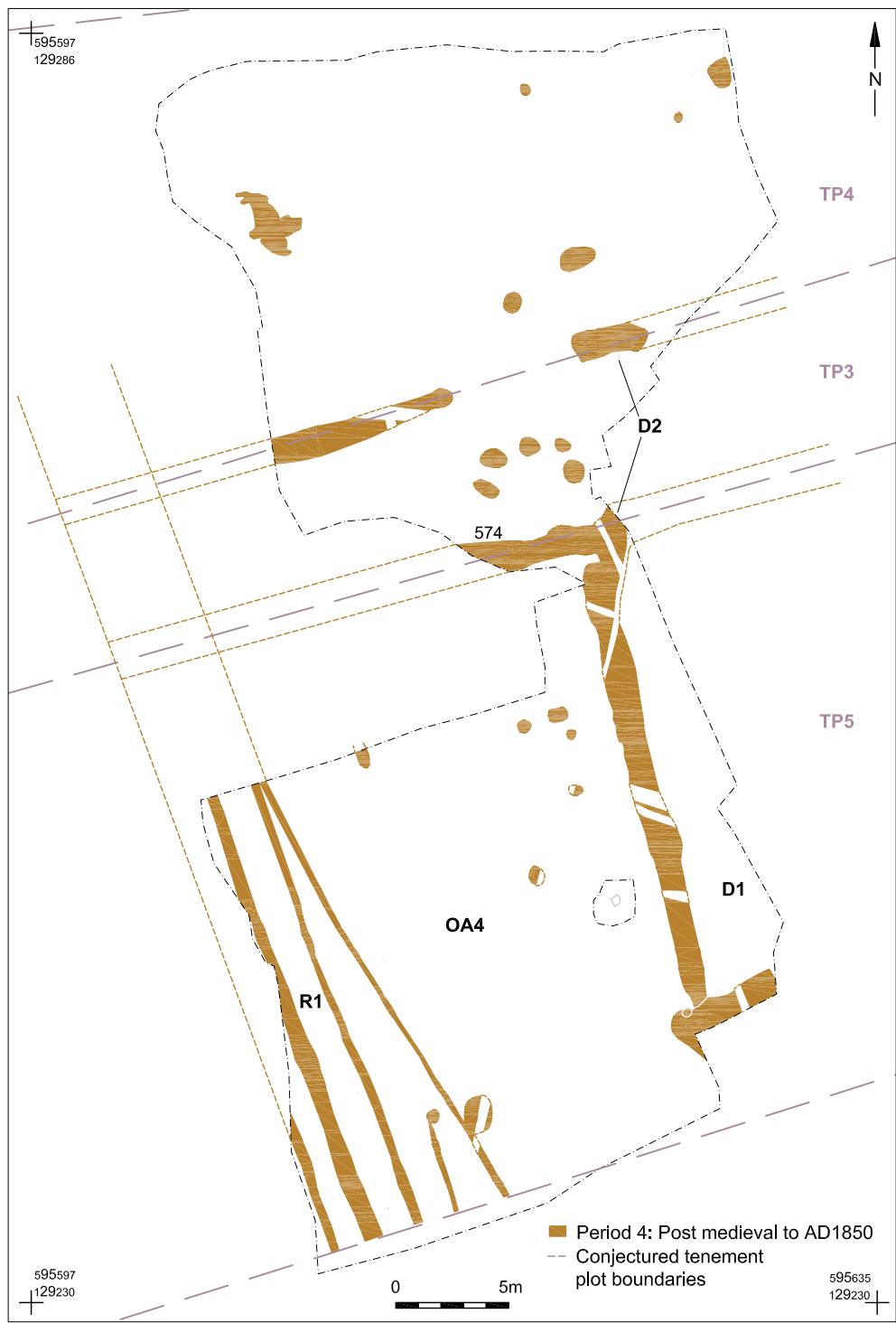




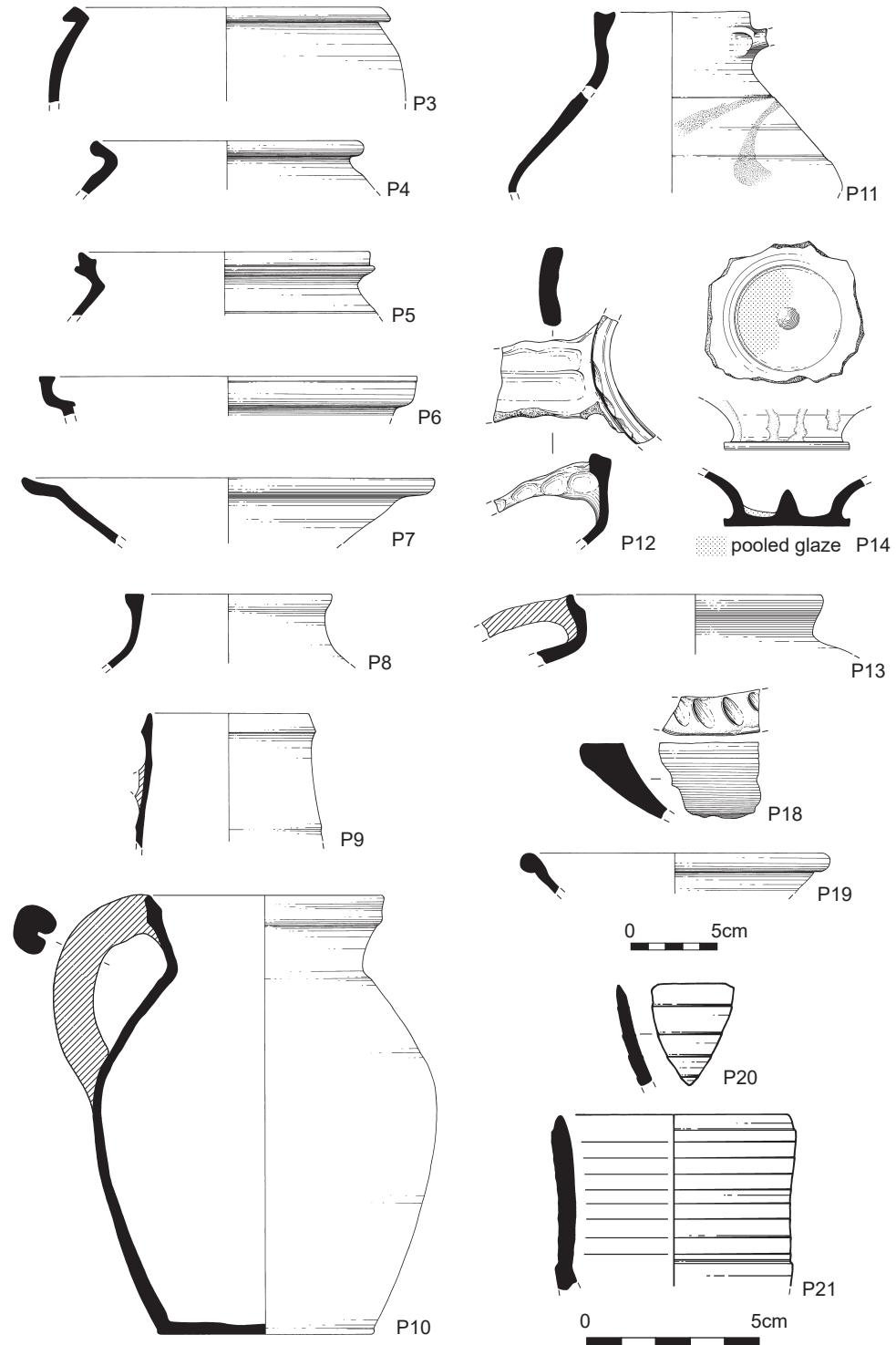


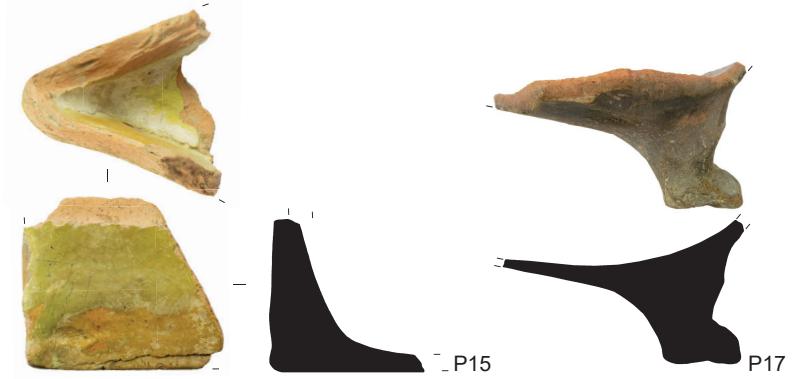






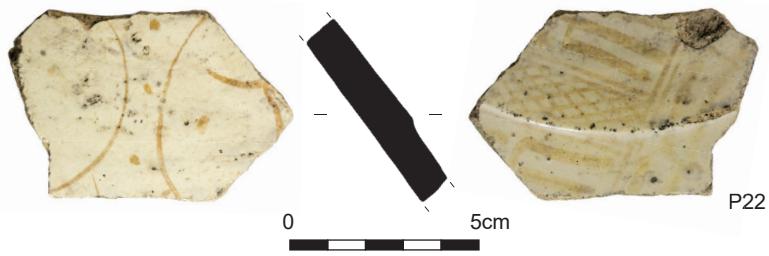






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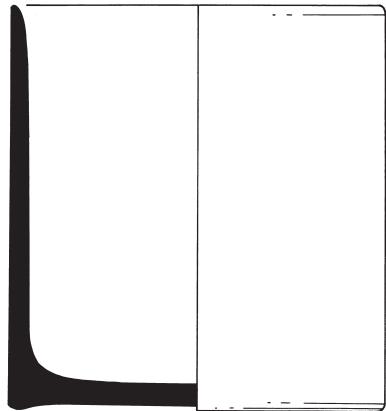
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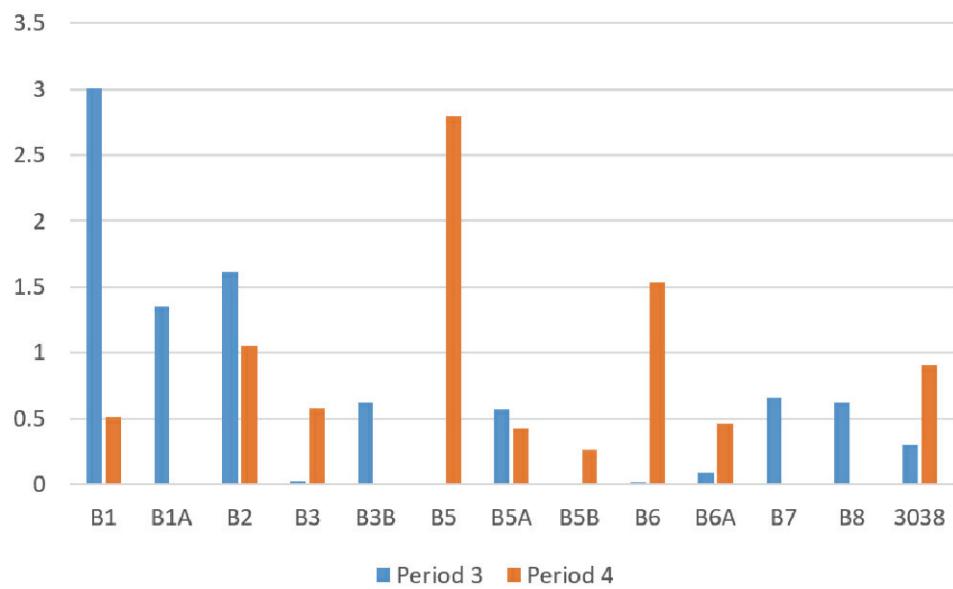
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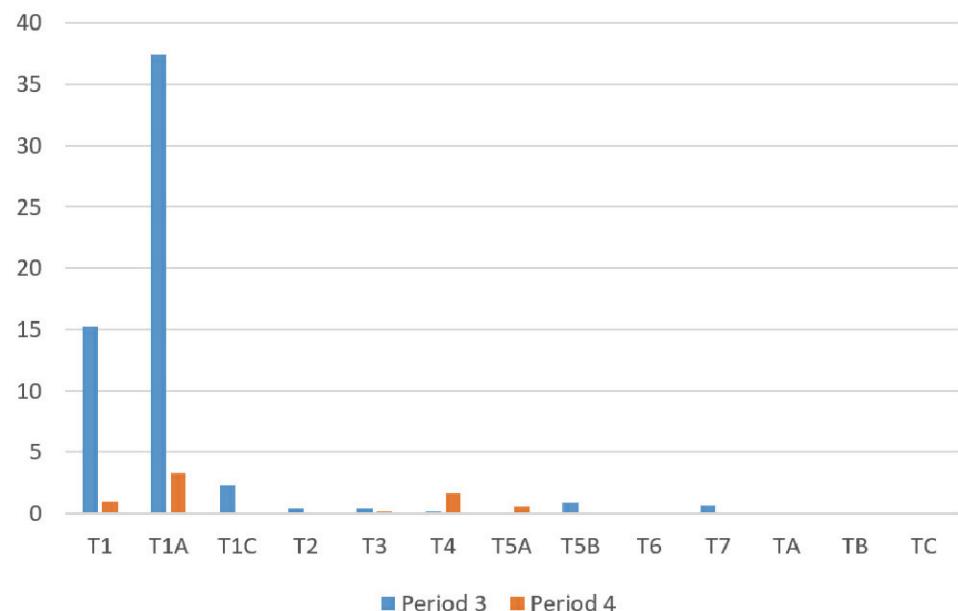


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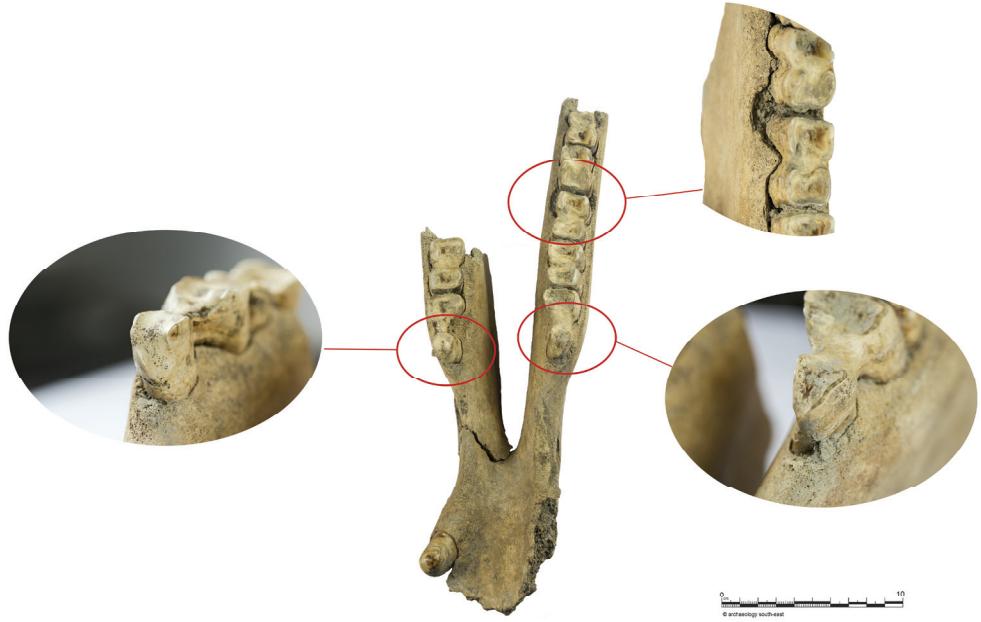


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