

Reports of the Research Committee
of the
Society of Antiquaries of London

No. XLV

Clarendon Palace

The History and Archaeology of a Medieval Palace and
Hunting Lodge near Salisbury, Wiltshire

By

T. B. James, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., F.S.A.

and

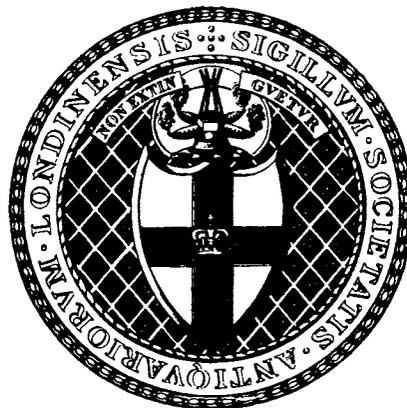
A. M. Robinson, M.A.

with a report on the Tile Kiln and Ceramic Tiles by

Elizabeth Eames, M.B.E., M.A., M.Litt., F.S.A.

and contributions from

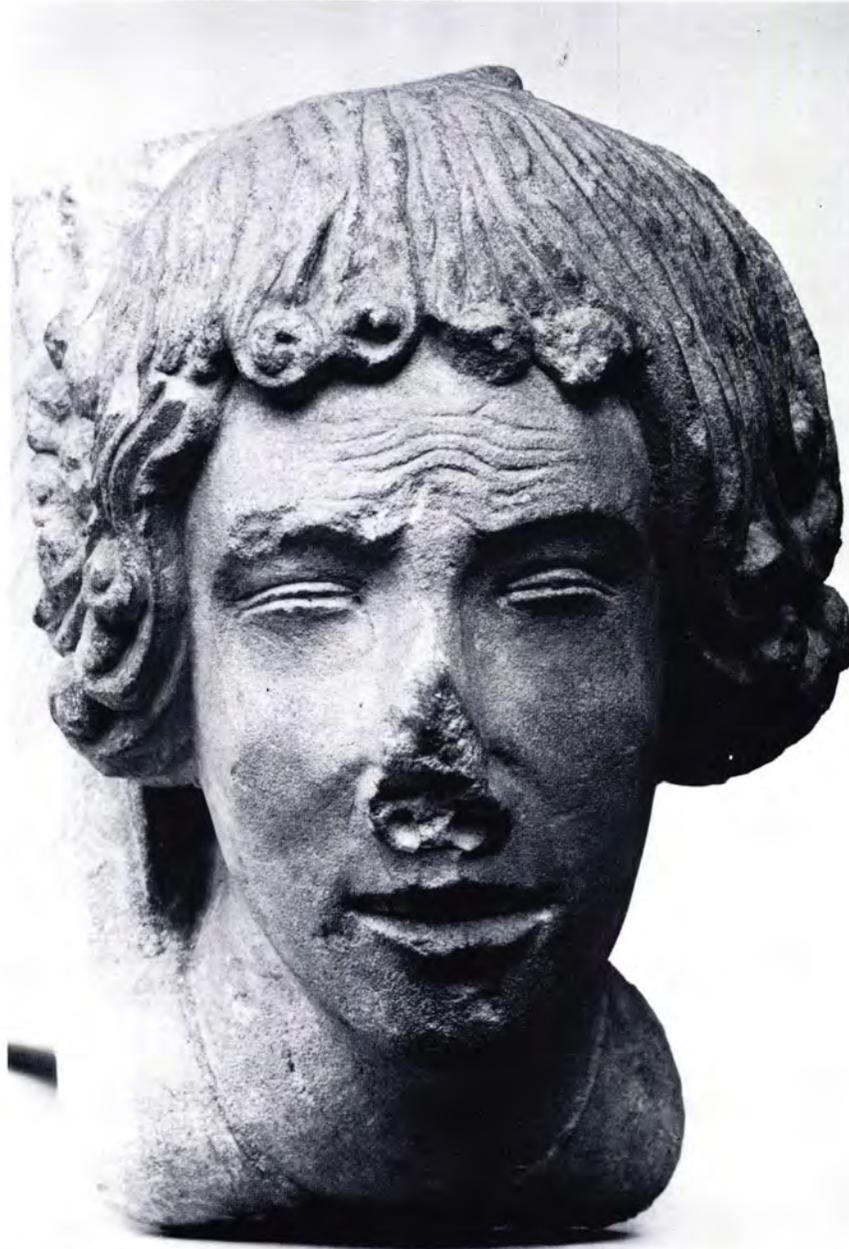
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Frontispiece. The sculptured Gothic head of a youth, dated by Dr Borenius to
c. 1230

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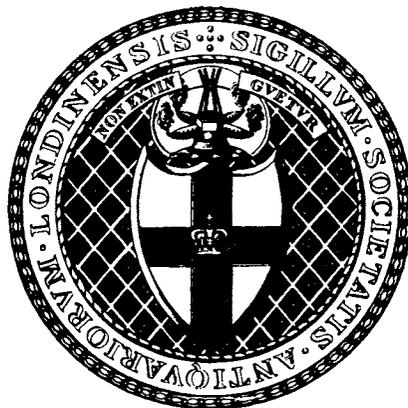
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This book is dedicated to the memory of

Tancred Borenius
(1885–1948)

and Anne-Marie Borenius
(*née* Runeberg)
(1885–1976)

and to

John Charlton

and to all who have contributed to our knowledge of
Clarendon Palace



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PREFACE

THE aim of this volume is to bring to life the medieval royal palace of Clarendon, now lying half buried beneath the earth and overgrown by trees, and show what manner of buildings once stood there, and how its royal owners used and embellished it. The book is the result of a project to reassemble the records of campaigns of excavations which have been undertaken over more than half a century, with passing reference to nineteenth-century interest in the site. For the work carried out in the 1930s we have relied on the site notebooks, correspondence, newspaper reports and other materials which have survived the years. Mrs Eames has contributed her own section on the floor tiles and the Clarendon kiln, which includes her most recent thoughts on all the work she has carried out at Clarendon in an association with the site which has continued for over a quarter of a century. The excavations led by Mr John Musty in 1961 are here reported in detail for the first time. The unpublished finds from the campaigns of excavations in the 1930s and in 1961 have been catalogued and redrawn, as have the plans and sections. The various finds are presented here with the comments of current specialists in all fields. Finally, new reconstruction drawings have been produced by Allan Adams and are reproduced here together with Alan Sorrell's representation of Clarendon.

The volume relies very heavily on the work of those who have excavated at the site. However, the account found here differs from everything which has been published in the past in that it seeks as far as possible to divide the historical evidence from the archaeology and finds. Thus, there is an initial section giving an account of the history of the site constructed from printed sources and from published accounts of the development of the buildings on the site. No renewed attempt has been made to gain information by excavation at the site. The voluminous original sources at the Public Record Office have not been re-examined since there was ample material already available to be reassessed. Clarendon Forest is not considered in detail. It is hoped that the work published here will provide the basis for the framing of a future policy for the site. The restoration of Clarendon to its proper position as the only medieval royal palace in England where there is yet potential for further study of the whole site together with the the surrounding landscape is long overdue.

Winchester, summer 1985

T.B. James
A.M. Robinson

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THE writing of this report could not have been achieved without the support of many people and various institutions. Understanding of the excavations which took place in the 1930s was made possible through the generosity of John Charlton, who supervised the excavations, and who made available his personal records of those investigations of the site. He has kindly looked through a draft of the work and has elucidated many points for us. Elizabeth Eames, who has in particular been associated with the celebrated tile pavements from the site, and who supervised the raising of the kiln, put the results of her work at our disposal. In addition she has contributed her own section on the kiln excavation and the tiles. Clarissa Lada-Grodzicka (*née* Borenius) and Mrs Eames have provided many manuscript letters, papers and photographs from the Borenius family. These have proved a mine of information. John Musty, who dug at Clarendon in 1961, not only allowed access to the records of his excavations, but kindly allowed us to include reports of his work at the appropriate points in the text. He checked those parts of the manuscript which referred to the areas of the site where he worked and made many useful contributions from his detailed knowledge of the site and the locality.

The finds from the various excavations are now divided between the British Museum and the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum. The staff of both those institutions have been unstinting in their help over several years. Neil Stratford and John Cherry at the British Museum have helped considerably, as have Peter Saunders, Jennie Price and Clare Coneybeare at the Salisbury Museum. Mr M.J. Bishop of the Buxton Museum, who was temporary keeper of the faunal remains from the 1961 excavations, rendered a great kindness in returning the bones to Wiltshire. Museum records have proved a fruitful source of research and have helped elucidate various uncertain points.

The Research Panel of King Alfred's College, Winchester, chaired by Martial Rose, has provided finance throughout the project. Without this support for travel, drawing and for specialist reports, the work would have been impossible. In addition the College facilitated access to its mainframe computer, on which the text has been drafted and stored. Many people in the College have helped in various ways and we are most grateful for their support.

The specialists who have contributed are listed elsewhere, and grateful thanks are due to them for their valuable contributions. Many other people have been consulted and have provided expert advice and practical help. Colin Platt initiated the project and has been a continual support throughout. His reading of a draft improved the end product very considerably. Likewise, Martin Biddle kindly looked through a complete draft and, as well as making many useful suggestions, saved us from errors. Any remaining errors are the responsibility of the authors.

The finds drawings are the work of Frances Rankine. Andrew King redrew all the sections and plans to the same scale. Allan Adams has produced remarkable reconstruction drawings. Nick Griffiths has kindly allowed us to use his drawings of various finds from Clarendon, including the floor tiles and the window glass, as well as some of the vessel glass and other

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objects. A.C. Garnett advised on layout. Deborah Baldwin, Margaret Cox, Mary Newnham, Elaine Savage and Alan Ward gave many hours of their time to illustration and numerous other tasks. The maps have been drawn by Alex Turner and Caroline Swain, who also prepared the series of building plans. Many of the photographs, originally taken on site by John Charlton, are reproduced here from the glass slide collection made during the 1930s. The collection was formerly at the Society of Antiquaries and is now deposited at the RCHM. John Charlton and Elizabeth Eames have in addition provided photographs and negatives from their own records. John Musty did likewise. The Royal Commission was most helpful in many different ways from the beginning of the project. In particular we are grateful for Desmond Bonney's generous advice and assistance with plans and for the RCHM's permission to reproduce its own survey of the site. Peter Jacobs has photographed many of the finds and has printed many of the plates. Our families, in Hampshire and Wiltshire, have wholeheartedly and generously supported the project from start to finish. A special debt of thanks is due to the owners of the site, Mr and Mrs Andrew Christie-Miller, who have been unceasingly helpful in allowing access to the site and have taken a keen interest in the project.

Finally, we must express our thanks to the Society of Antiquaries for accepting the work for its Research Report series and in particular to the editorial staff, Sarah Macready, Susan Wright and Hugh Thompson, for seeing it through to publication.

T.B. James
A.M. Robinson

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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

BAR	British Archaeological Reports.
BM	British Museum.
CBA	Council for British Archaeology.
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls.</i>
CFR	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls.</i>
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem.</i>
CIM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous.</i>
CLR	<i>Calendar of Liberate Rolls.</i>
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls.</i>
HBMC	Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (English Heritage).
JBAA	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association.</i>
ODEPN	<i>Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names.</i>
PRO	Public Record Office.
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).
RP	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum.</i>
RS	Rolls Series.
SM	Salisbury Museum.
SMAR	<i>Salisbury Museum Annual Report.</i>
SMMC	<i>Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue</i> , forthcoming.
ST	<i>Salisbury Times.</i>
SWJ	<i>Salisbury and Winchester Journal.</i>
VCH	Victoria County History, <i>Wiltshire.</i>
WAM	<i>Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine.</i>
WNQ	<i>Wiltshire Notes and Queries.</i>

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PART I

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1. THE NORMANS AND EARLY PLANTAGENETS

Early days and the Normans: hunting lodge to palace

IT has been postulated recently that Clarendon may perhaps have been the site of an Iron Age hillfort or *oppidum* (p. 75). Certainly the Romans were in the near vicinity, if not on the site of Clarendon. There is ample coin evidence supported by finds of Roman sherds amongst the medieval wares excavated from the site of the palace (p. 177). On 12 February 1845 Mr Hatcher of Salisbury reported to the Central Committee of the British Archaeological Association that the site of an unexplored Roman villa where numerous coins had been found existed about 3 miles from Salisbury, in Clarendon Wood. Finds of Roman coins in the field at the foot of the hill on which the remains of the palace stand were also reported at this time, and at the same date a tessellated pavement, endangered by railway works, was reported from nearby East Grimstead (Hatcher 1845, 86; Borenius 1933, 2).

The existence of the villa remains mentioned by Hatcher was subsequently disputed (Master 1872, 34). Clarendon Palace is mentioned, but not accepted as a Roman site in the inventories of Cunnington (1930, 183) and Grinsell (VCH, i, 58). Opinion now would seem to be against the villa theory. However, Mr Hatcher was a most acute observer and would have been unlikely in 1845 to confuse a Roman villa with the remains of the medieval palace, excavated in 1821, and published by Colt Hoare in 1837 (pp. 47–9). Also, the Roman pottery found at Clarendon in the 1930s and in 1961, and in particular the fragment of flue tile, would have been unlikely to have been moved great distances in redeposition. The Roman coins found in the area in the nineteenth century, which were in the hands of the then owner, Sir F.H.H. Bathurst, may also have been significant although no findspots, nor the whereabouts of the coins themselves, are now known (Master 1872, 34). Apart from the coins found in 1961, the nearest accurately recorded find is that of a coin of Allectus from a point about half a mile south-east of the palace (*WAM*, lxxii–lxxiii (1978), 76–7 and 83). The nearest known Roman site is a late settlement and inhumation cemetery on Cockey Down about half a mile north-west of the palace site (*WAM*, lxxviii (1973), 72 and 88–9; fig. 1).

Although the site has as yet revealed no Saxon artefacts, there is good reason to believe that the Saxons had an interest in Clarendon. A Saxon cemetery lies adjacent to the park pale and a rich Saxon burial from nearby Laverstock is on display at the Salisbury Museum. At Domesday (1086) the manor was described as ‘ancient demesne’, which strongly suggests that it was amongst the lands of the Saxon kings who were dispossessed at the Norman Conquest. The nearest Saxon royal centre was at Wilton.

The earliest reference to the name is in William the Conqueror’s writ of *c.* 1072, in which it is called ‘Clarendun’, which has led to speculation that the name may derive from the Old

English 'clæfren dun', 'clover hill', in spite of the absence of forms with 'f'. This view confirms Ekblom's earlier and more detailed study of Wiltshire place-names in which he cites examples such as Clarborough and Clarewood, which derive from the same source and have lost a 'v' (*ODEPN*, *sub* Clarendon; Ekblom 1917, 374). The name appears in a variety of forms in the Middle Ages, all the common versions being established as early as the twelfth century: Clarendona (1130), Clarendun (1157), and Clarindon as well as Clarendon (1165).

The site and the Conqueror

The manor is 4 miles south-east of Old Sarum and $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of the modern city of Salisbury, founded in 1220 (fig. 1). The writ of *c.* 1072 shows William the Conqueror to have been at Clarendon. If the year of the writ is indeed 1072, then the king's visit to Clarendon was probably a respite from managing the affairs of state in one of the busiest years of his reign. In 1072 he not only toured his Norman possessions but also marched to Scotland. At this period Clarendon was a hunting lodge, which was subsequently enlarged and enriched to become a magnificent palace. A feature of Clarendon was that, although in time it had a wall round it against the park, it was apparently never surrounded with fortifications. In this it was by no means unique as was formerly thought (Borenius 1933, 24). As John Charlton points out, the security of royal residences largely relied on the authority of the Crown: when this was challenged the king took to a castle. So Westminster and Sheen (Richmond) were undefended as were small hunting lodges, for example Cheddar, Somerset, and Writtle, Essex (Rahtz 1979, 378). A bank surmounted by a palisade as at Clarendon or Gillingham (Dorset) might be associated with a deer park: a moat might double as a fish pond or, as at Eltham, represent a site acquired from a subject who had taken measures to defend himself. The lodge at Clarendon was built, like the palaces which succeeded it, on a low chalk hill which rises from the river valleys below (fig. 1). The site was no doubt chosen because of its elevated position overlooking the woodlands known collectively as the Forest of Clarendon, one of a series of contiguous areas of forest, including Melchet and Buckholt, which straddled the borders of Wiltshire and Hampshire, and which spread westwards across Wiltshire to include Grovely. These forests were part of a much larger belt of royal forest which stretched from Windsor to the south coast. In common with forest retreats scattered through the country elsewhere, Clarendon appealed to the Norman kings as a base from which they could hunt.

The early history of the hunting lodge, or proto-palace, is still very obscure, but there is plenty of evidence of earlier structures underlying the twelfth-century great hall on the northern edge of the site. There is no way of knowing at present whether these early remains were central to the hunting lodge or not. This is discussed in detail below. It is clear that there were several phases to the hall structure and at least one earlier building on the site (pp. 92, 95–6, 103–6).

Henry I and Stephen

By the early twelfth century Clarendon was established as a royal residence. Henry I (1100–35) granted charters from there, including the first charter to Wilton, perhaps in 1116. The manor of Clarendon was at this period in the hands of the last of its hereditary custodians, Waleran Fitz William. This man was a descendant of William the Huntsman, a tenant in chief of the crown at Domesday. Waleran Fitz William rendered an account to the exchequer in

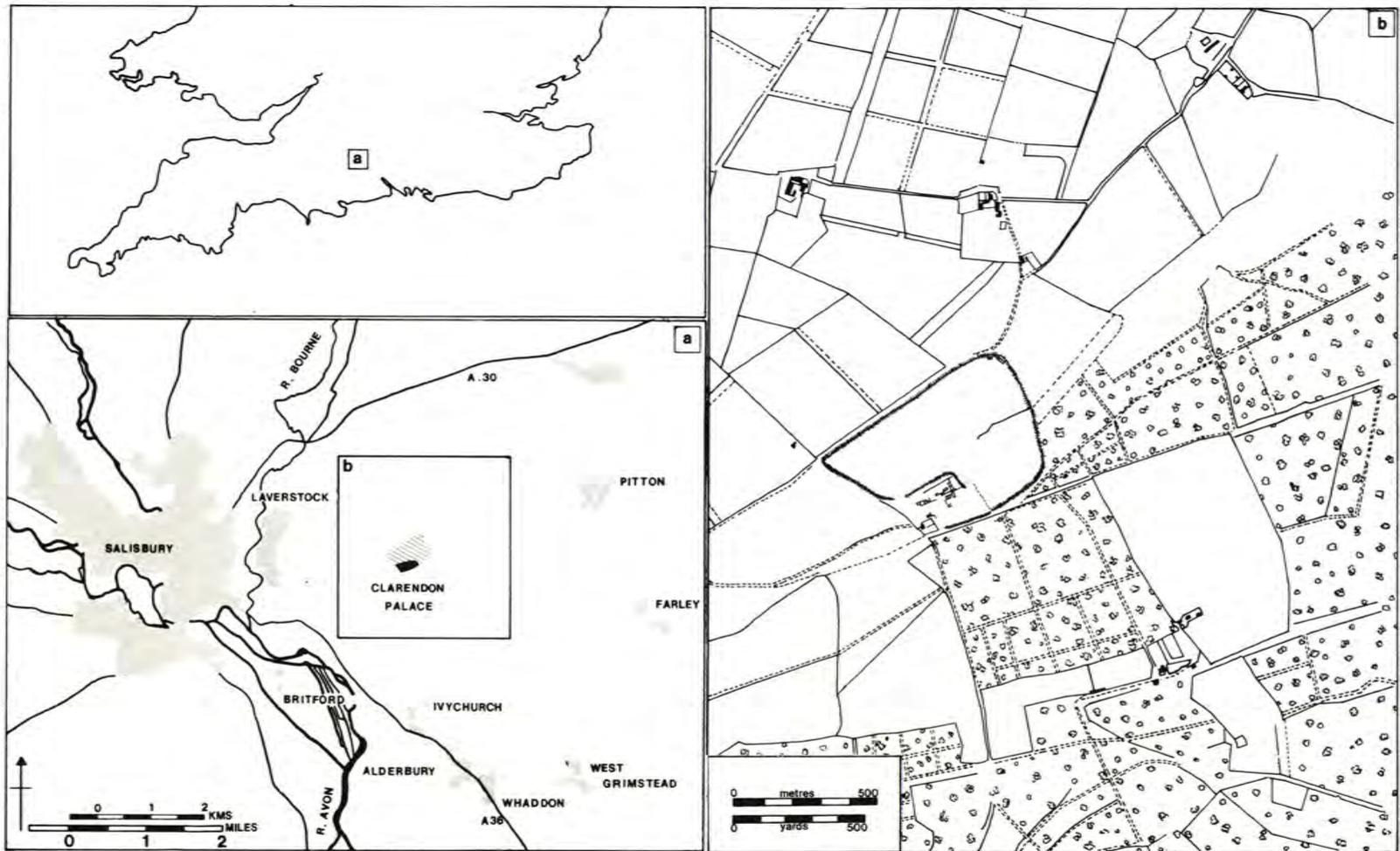


FIG. 1. *a.* General location map of Clarendon Palace, based on Ordnance Survey 1974. *b.* Detailed location map of Clarendon Palace, based on Ordnance Survey 1962, 1975, 1976

1130 for taxation of the New Forest. That this account in the pipe roll includes an allowance for carrying out royal orders in transporting the king's venison and cheeses from Clarendon to Southampton may suggest that Clarendon fell within Fitz William's New Forest jurisdiction at this period. What is certain is that the hunt was productive for the king. Henry travelled to Clarendon with the queen and the household in the wake of provisions which had been sent on in advance from Woodstock to Wiltshire (Hoare 1837, 119; Borenius 1933, 3; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 910).

The troubled reign of Stephen (1135–54) provided little opportunity for royalty to enjoy their leisure at haunts such as Clarendon. Stephen, like all medieval kings, endowed a number of religious houses. Amongst them was the Augustinian priory at Ivychurch (*Hederoso*), which was to provide in later years a ready supply of clerks to officiate in the royal chapels at Clarendon, just 2 miles away. From his interest in Ivychurch, it would seem highly likely that Stephen visited Clarendon. Much of the locality, and in particular Old Sarum Castle, was held against Stephen *c.* 1140.

The early Plantagenets

Henry II

The Constitutions and the Assize of Clarendon

The accession of Duke Henry as King Henry II in 1154 heralded not only a change in the status of Clarendon, but also a change in the documentation of activities there. In 1154, when Duke Henry came to Winchester to settle the question of the succession, he approached from the west, resting it seems at Wilton, rather than at Clarendon. However, it was this king who transformed the buildings and the character of the manor of Clarendon from being essentially a private occasional residence of the king and his immediate family and friends to a complex of buildings capable of accommodating those magnates who gave advice on matters of state, the king's 'natural counsellors'.

Between 1154 and 1164 the king took a close personal interest in the developments there. His instructions survive from almost every year of the reign. In 1163, for example, we learn of repairs to 'the king's houses' at Clarendon (Hoare 1837, 150). The Council which met there in 1164 produced the famous Constitutions of Clarendon, and was attended by no less than fourteen bishops and many lay magnates (Eyton 1878, 67–8). The new palace impressed contemporaries, as the description left to us by Herbert of Bosham, a member of Thomas Becket's household, confirms. Herbert described it as '*nobilis et praeclara regis propria mansio quae ex re nomen habuit Clarendune*' (Robertson 1878, 278; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 910). Becket initially refused to endorse the Constitutions, which limited ecclesiastical power. At a later meeting he reluctantly concurred, but was absolved from his oath by the pope (*WNQ*, i (1893–5), 206). In spite of all the new building at Clarendon, Henry clearly had no intention of changing its prime function as a hunting manor. From the beginning of his reign references appear in the pipe roll to expenditure on the mews. Although hawking was a popular royal pastime, and there is plenty of evidence of hawking from Clarendon, the mews referred to here were thought in the 1930s more likely to have been stables. The mews appear again in the roll for 1186, but they remain unidentified on the ground.

A second important Council was convened in 1166, from which emerged the Assize of

Clarendon, which was issued by Henry II 'with the consent of all his barons'. This famous assize instigated an exhaustive inquiry into crimes committed in the realm since the beginning of the reign. Amongst the provisions was the establishment in law of jury presentment, clearly formulated for the first time as a requirement in every hundred and township. In each community the jury was obliged to present to the itinerant justices robbers, murderers, thieves and any who harboured such people.

Throughout the 1160s steady progress was made on improving and decorating the palace. It was perhaps at this period that the king's principal chamber was built. This may have been just to the east of the site occupied by the great hall. If this was the case, then the king's chambers were to remain in the same position throughout the life of the palace. The king's chamber was panelled or 'ceiled' in 1168. Contemporary interest in the areas round the buildings is suggested by the turfing over of the surrounding close (Hoare 1837, 151). King Henry's reputation as a connoisseur and considerable consumer of wines is amply borne out by the record of the excavation in *c.* 1172 of 'La Roche', the great wine cellar. The ruins of what was almost certainly this ashlar-lined and vaulted cellar (12, pls. XXXVIIIa–XLIIIb), set slightly apart to the south-east of the king's chambers (7), can still be seen today (see table I below, pp. 52–5, for a list of structure names and classification numbers and fig. 5 for a site plan identifying structures by number).

The later years of Henry II

The expenditure which created the palace out of the hunting lodge in the first part of Henry II's reign was trivial compared with the funds he lavished on Clarendon after 1175 in the last fifteen years of his reign. The heightened enthusiasm for his Wiltshire retreat is demonstrated by the £343 spent there between 1175 and 1176. In the latter year, marble columns were transported to Clarendon and, as they were accounted on the Hampshire roll, it is probable that they were of Purbeck marble which had been shipped to Southampton and carted thence overland. The All Saints chapel was endowed by Henry II and, as the king's chapel appears for the first time in the records for 1178–9, the heavy expenditure, and the marble columns, are likely to have been associated with its construction, or reconstruction. The chapel was served by canons from the nearby priory of Ivychurch. Payments to chaplains at the rate of 1*d.* a day are a new feature of the records at this period. The site of this chapel has not as yet been positively identified and the lack of specific references to this work exacerbates the problem (Borenius 1933, 4; below, pp. 121–2).

Heavy expenditure continued into the 1180s. Between 1181 and 1183 Henry spent over £200 on the palace (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 910). The reconstruction of Henry's great hall would seem the most obvious object of this expenditure. The physical remains of what must certainly have been the great hall (5) were investigated and exposed in the excavations of 1933–4. The excavators concluded that the remains were late twelfth-century (pp. 93, 235; fig. 5 and table I on pp. 52–5). The hall was a flint-rubble structure dressed in stone, measuring internally 82 by 52 ft. (25 by 15.9 m.). There seems no reason to dispute the late twelfth-century date. Documentary references to 'work in the hall' in 1181–3 perhaps provide the bridge between the surviving remains and the documents, although an 'old hall' is known to have existed at this date at Clarendon. The late twelfth-century hall was probably the largest building on the site and substantial pieces of masonry survive today. The great hall may have been built by

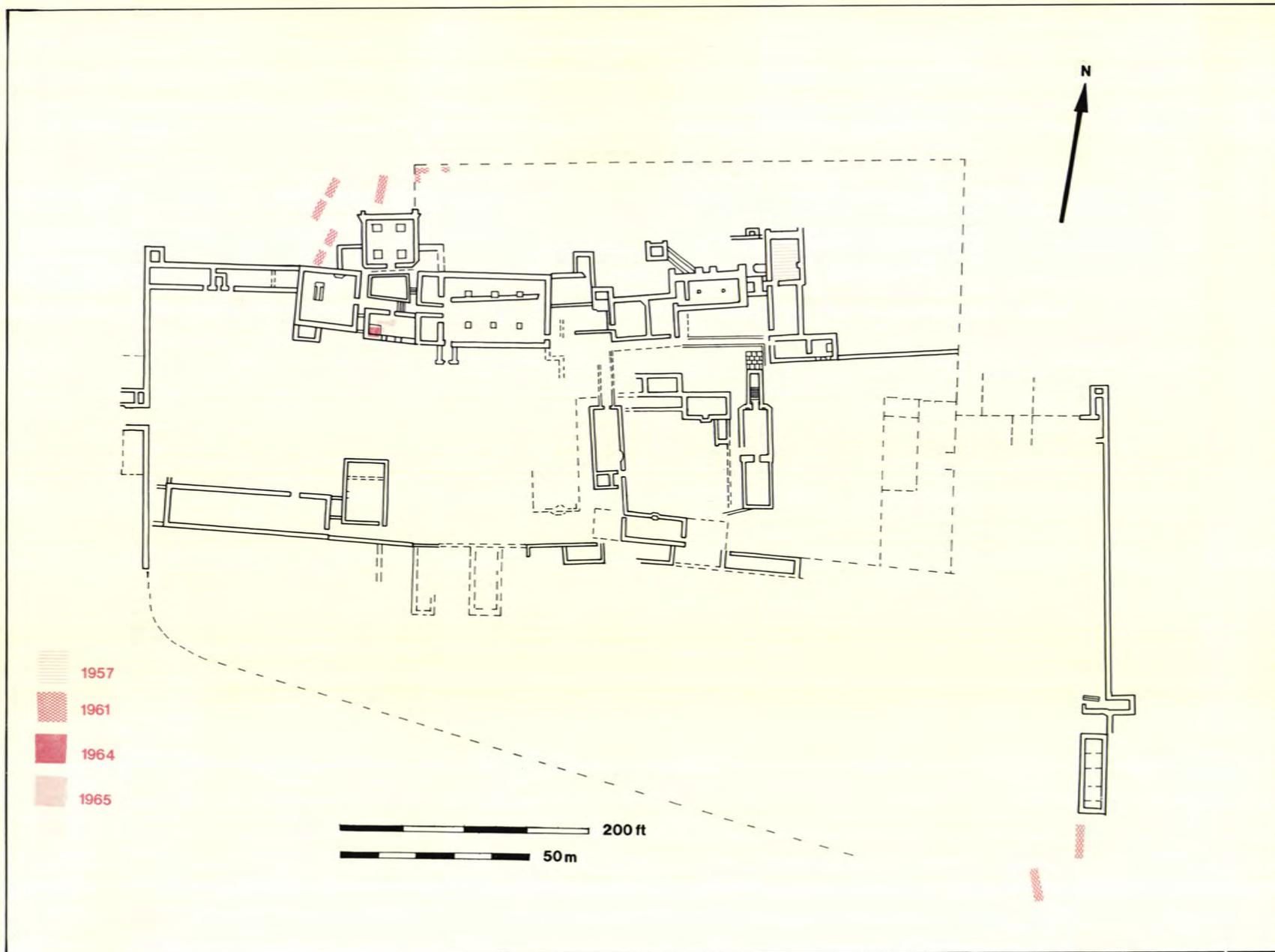


FIG. 2. Composite plan of Clarendon Palace (after Borenius 1943, with additions and amendments), showing the location of the excavations of the 1950s and 1960s

Henry II, perhaps to replace the 'old hall' somewhere else on the site, perhaps towards the south-west extremity (Eames 1965, 60). There is plenty of documentary evidence of later work in the hall, through to the fifteenth century.

The Clarendon hall was in a central and dominant position in the palace complex. It was on the north side along the edge of the hill and the windows on the south side overlooked the central area of the manor, where there was a courtyard, while to the north and west there was a view over the valley (fig. 1). This valley was later to be dominated by the spire of Salisbury Cathedral, but in the 1180s there was no urban settlement, let alone cathedral, on the land where Salisbury now stands. The nearest settlement of any size was Old Sarum, whose cathedral, like Clarendon, was perched on the edge of a steep hillside. Fragments of carved stonework in the Salisbury Museum from Old Sarum and from Clarendon are strikingly similar. Notwithstanding the growing grandeur of the buildings at Clarendon, the original attraction of the manor primarily as a hunting lodge appears to have remained unimpaired (Borenus and Charlton 1936; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 911).

Richard FitzNeal, successively Treasurer of the Realm and Bishop of London from 1189, provides a vivid account of royal use of forest retreats such as Clarendon, when in his *Dialogus de Scaccario* (Dialogue of the Exchequer) he wrote:

the forest is the sanctuary and special delight of kings, where, laying aside their cares they withdraw to refresh themselves with a little hunting: there, away from the turmoils inherent in a court they breathe the pleasure of natural freedom (Johnson 1950, 60; Poole 1954, 29, 223).

Henry II's appetite for hunting provided the model for FitzNeal's account, as the monarch took relief from the duties of state. But it should not be thought that Henry was devoted solely to governing and strenuous physical exercise. At Clarendon fashionable art and iconography adorned the royal apartments. Similar works were to be seen at that time elsewhere too, for example in the castle and in the hall which then stood at Winchester (Warner 1891). Henry II was not only a king of England, but also the ruler of extensive French territories, and his chambers would have been decorated in a style befitting such stature. Some fragments of twelfth-century artwork have been recovered by excavation, including fragments of good-quality Romanesque sculpture which appear to have formed parts of capitals decorated with representations of men and animals (Borenus and Charlton 1936, f. 2; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 911; see figs. 91–4 here). Although the palace was not to reach the peak of its artistic embellishment until fifty years later under Henry III, what evidence we have from the reign of Henry II is already impressive.

Richard I and John

After the death of Henry II in 1189, Clarendon, in common with other English royal palaces and castles, entered a period of eclipse. Richard I spent only a fraction of his reign in England, but none the less he does seem to have visited Clarendon. The palace was kept in repair against the expectation of regular visits by the king and his retinue which had been such a feature of the previous reign (Borenus 1933, 4; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 911). The patience and devotion of the royal officials, who kept the palace in repair during over a decade of virtual abandonment, were rewarded after the crusader's death when his brother John once more brought the royal

household to Clarendon. The palace has long been associated with King John. Yet in spite of Stukeley's bold caption 'Ruins of King John's Palace' below his remarkable engraving (1723) of the remains at Clarendon (pl. Ia), we must now agree with John Britton—who described this appellation in 1801 as a 'vulgar error' (*WNQ*, i (1893–5), 209). John's reign was characterized not so much by major alterations or modernization as by maintenance, when required, and minor additions to existing buildings. Thus we learn in 1205–6 of a new shingle roof, no doubt made from local wood, for the kitchen. John's itinerant lifestyle perhaps encouraged an interest in the service areas of the many palaces and lodges he frequented. At Marlborough Castle at the same period he had the kitchen fireplace enlarged to such proportions that two oxen could be roasted together. At Cheddar, on the other hand, major work in John's reign may have been carried out on the hall (Rahtz 1979, 18–19, 181 ff.).

During John's reign certain commodities from Norway are known to have found their way to Clarendon. Amongst the goods which came to England in return for exports of English grain to Norway were timber and falcons. The timber, probably of coniferous varieties, was used in quantity in building works at Woodstock, Marlborough and Ludgershall, as well as at Clarendon. Naturally local timber, culled from the adjacent forest, was also much in demand for use at Clarendon. Thus four fair oaks from Clarendon Forest were given to William Longespee, earl of Salisbury, in 1215 (Hardy 1833, 1844, 226; Hoare 1837, 122). However, no wood of this or any other date has so far been recovered from the Clarendon excavations.

The falcons brought to Clarendon were gerfalcons, which were originally used to hunt herons, but in time were put to more general use in the hunt (Poole 1954, 88). John may have been enjoying the use of these falcons while at Clarendon in 1207 when he received part of the English regalia which had been pledged before 1200 to raise money for the ransom of Richard I (Hardy 1835, 77b; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 911).

The final glimpse we have of John at Clarendon was in 1210 when he dispensed 15*s.* to two huntsmen who had killed a wolf in Clarendon Forest and two others in the forest at Gillingham in Dorset. These payments were unusually generous for John, and may indicate the rarity of wolves in the royal forest by the early years of the thirteenth century.

Henry III: expansion and embellishment

John's successor was the young prince Henry, who was to become 'that great champion of Gothic art in England' (Borenus 1943, 40). Amongst the royal estates on which Henry III (1216–72) was to lavish the contents of his treasury was the manor of Clarendon, where no expense was spared in making the palace an island of civilized living in the Wiltshire forest. Through his personal interest he elevated the buildings at Clarendon to a state only marginally less magnificent than that of the prime palace of the realm at Westminster.

In the first decade of the new reign a major task facing the Council of Regency was to ensure that all the royal buildings were consolidated and repaired. At Clarendon work was carried out especially on the hall, chambers and cellar for, as we have seen, Richard and John had shown comparatively little interest in the buildings established by Henry II. Under Henry III matters were very different. Probably from the beginning of the reign and certainly from 1226 evidence of work on every facet of the manor comes to light. Work on the main buildings—the hall and chambers of Henry II's palace—was supplemented from the late 1220s by the beginning of a long programme of work on 'La Roche', the great wine cellar (12). The

immediate area round the buildings was landscaped, while work, apparently already in progress on the park pale, was completed. Beyond the pale lay the forest, which received due attention. The game of both park and forest was regularly culled and the trees and undergrowth effectively managed (*CLR*, 1226–40, 23, 32, 83, 158).

New Sarum and Elias de Dereham

In 1227 the young king came of age and immediately, in the astonishingly detailed liberate rolls, the reader becomes aware of the personal interest which Henry took in Clarendon. Detailed instructions, issued almost daily, survive here for the rest of the reign, relating to a wide variety of royal residences scattered through the realm. There can be no doubt that Clarendon was especially favoured by the king. Apart from the beauty of its position and its attraction as a hunting centre, Clarendon now lay in close proximity to the new town of Salisbury, founded by Bishop Poore in 1220. High amongst the priorities in the city was the establishment of the new cathedral, as well as the construction of the royal castle. The new town of Salisbury, laid out in its now famous ‘chequers’, grew rapidly. Labour was needed in quantity for such a project, and experts to direct proceedings. The king took a close interest in the development of the city, and lost no opportunity to take advantage of the experts and labour to transform his own residence at Clarendon.

Salisbury Cathedral, uniquely, was built almost entirely in a concerted programme between 1220 and 1258. Across the Channel, works were in progress on cathedrals at Paris, Chartres, Amiens and Rheims. Henry was certainly aware of and very impressed by these splendid buildings. He wanted to emulate them in England. Later he was to remark of La Sainte Chapelle in Paris, the jewel of his brother-in-law Louis IX’s building projects, that he would ‘like to carry it off in a cart’. Salisbury’s ever-growing cathedral was clearly visible from the elevated site at Clarendon to anyone who cared to look out to the west. What could not be seen, for it was not begun until 1334, was the great spire which dominates the skyline of the city today. From the western approach to Clarendon the nave and transepts of the cathedral still dwarf the buildings of the city, as they must have done in Henry III’s day, even without the spire. Most notable amongst those who were involved in the building of the cathedral was Elias de Dereham, a goldsmith by training, but in practice an architect by profession. Elias worked regularly on the cathedral until his death in 1245, and has been seen by some as the most influential individual at work there in the formative stages of the construction programme. He also worked frequently at Clarendon, especially in the building of the ‘new chapel’ for the king. Amongst the royal carpenters who worked both at Clarendon and at Salisbury were Master John and, towards 1250, Master David. These men between them oversaw the conversion of Clarendon into a rural palace of particular beauty.

Henry III’s overall achievement

During Henry III’s reign between £3,000 and £4,000 was lavished on the palace at Clarendon. In particular the kitchen and service area to the west (4), the king’s hall (5), which was the centrepiece of the palace, and the royal apartments to the east (7–10), received attention. The whole impression throughout the reign is one of expansion. Fresh suites were added, connected by penthouses and covered passages. The layout was by no means formal; the palace tended to grow organically, with unaligned buildings lying beside irregular court-

yards. These courtyards, and the area round the palace, were laid out as gardens and grass plots, probably kept as lawns. It was in the royal apartments to the east of the hall and set somewhat out of true to the scarp of the hill that Henry III, his queen, Eleanor of Provence, as well as his family and household, were to enjoy so many stays at Clarendon (Borenius and Charlton 1936, 70–1; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 912). The chapels and chambers already used up to 1216 by successive kings and queens of England were extensively enlarged, rebuilt and redecorated with artwork and sculpture to the contemporary thirteenth-century royal taste.

The layout and development of the royal apartments in the reign of Henry III have been analysed by Mrs Eames. She has shown convincingly that the royal apartments were on two floors, and thus that the number of rooms referred to in documentary sources was almost double that shown on any plan (pp. 160 ff. and Eames 1965, 60).

The great hall (5)

The king and queen had separate suites of rooms. Each of them had a hall, chapel, wardrobe and various chambers. There were in addition a wide variety of rooms and buildings devoted to servicing the royal household while it was at the manor, and for the accommodation of visitors and residents. There was the usual range of manorial buildings. Predictably the king's suite was larger than the queen's, especially the hall, which was the principal focus of the palace. By the thirteenth century the hall was a substantial, aisled, stone building with six pillars supporting the roof. The bases of these pillars are still visible on the ground. The hall at Clarendon was by no means on the same scale as the great hall of the principal palace of the realm at Westminster; an apt comparison might be with the lesser hall in the Privy Palace at Westminster. It was also smaller than the great hall of Winchester Castle, which is 110 ft. by 55 ft. (40.62 by 20.31 m.), and which Henry and his household frequently visited on their way to or from Clarendon. None the less, the hall at Clarendon, which measured 82 by 52 ft. (25 by 15.9 m.), was a building of impressive proportions. It is possible to gain a clear impression of this hall and the changes which it underwent in the thirteenth century from documentary evidence as well as from the surviving remains (pp. 90–6, 234 ff.).

The north slope of the hill, on which the palace and manorial buildings stood, falls away very steeply. Thus, in order to support the roof and to strengthen the walls, external buttresses were necessary on the northern wall of the hall. In 1249 these buttresses were capped with lead (*CLR*, 1249–51, 269). Little remains of the north wall of the hall, which eventually collapsed outwards down the hill. Curiously, none of the excavations round the walls of the great hall revealed archaeological evidence of buttressing, although there is a good deal of documentation about such supporting structures, such as the survey of 1273, which refers to three external buttresses (p. 32). Sir Thomas Phillipps, working at the site in 1821, observed buttresses which he thought indicated the position of the hall (5). It seems more likely, however, that the buttresses he saw were those supporting the Antioch chamber (8) or the queen's north chamber (10a) (Phillipps 1833, 151–8; Eames 1965, 58). Apart from the northern wall the other three walls are partially preserved, about 4 ft. (1.2 m.) thick and made of roughly dressed flints bonded in sandy mortar with good-quality stone dressings for the quoins, door and probably window surrounds. Externally the walls were periodically whitewashed (*CLR*, 1245–51, 221; Stonework, p. 257).

Apart from the three-door complex leading to the western service area, the great hall had at least two entrances. Excavation revealed a door with an added porch off the south wall (5b) and another door leading from the eastern wall (p. 93). The entrances were in time protected from the elements by the addition of porches, which were ordered in 1244, 1245 (a 'fair large porch') and 1249 (*CLR*, 1240-45, 223, 291; 1245-51, 221, 239). The porch ordered in 1245 was accounted on the roll of 1247-8 and was no doubt the 'great and becoming porch' (5b) excavated at the west end of the south wall in 1933 (*CLR*, 1245-51, 67; Borenius 1933, 18; Borenius and Charlton 1936, 76 and pl. xv(2); Colvin *et al.* 1963, 912; Eames 1965, 60). The eastern entrance, located in the south aisle and giving onto a pentice or covered walkway which led to the king's apartments (7), was also found (pl. xxvib).

In the 1230s some effort was made to modernize the architecture of the hall, as the old Romanesque windows were remodelled in the Gothic style. These four 'upright' windows, for which timber was supplied in 1231, perhaps for the roofs of their gables, can be easily visualized by reference to the remains of the gabled windows of the surviving hall of Winchester Castle. The windows at Winchester date from precisely this period, and so provide exact parallels for those at Clarendon. It seems that the rebuilt windows at Clarendon each had a separate gable which projected above the wall in which they were set. Master John, the king's carpenter, supervised the alterations (*CCR*, 1231-4, 4, 14; Salzman 1952, 92-3; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 912: '*Et in duobus fenestris stantivis in aula de Clarendon. Et in x fenestris vitreis in gabulo eiusdem aule faciendis. Et in parvis fenestris ex utraque parte eiusdem aule . . . obstruendis . . . Et in quatuor fenestris stantivis faciendis in aulam de Clarendon*'). There were small glass windows set in the gables and these top lights were repaired in 1244 (*CLR*, 1240-5, 223). We have a good deal of glass from various windows which was recovered from Clarendon during excavation. This includes fragments of coloured painted glass and one leaded quarry with the glass still in place (pp. 224-33, pl. LIXa). The windows of the hall were embellished in 1267 by the depiction of the Four Evangelists. What is known of Clarendon can be compared with windows recorded in other halls of the period, notably that at Westminster.

The roof of the hall was at this period clad in shingles, as were other buildings at Clarendon. In less than fifteen years, from 1238 to 1252, no less than 130,000 of these small wooden tiles were ordered for roof works at Clarendon in five consignments from the forests of Downton, Wilts., Gillingham, Dorset, and from the New Forest. In March 1244, for example, orders were issued to the keeper of the forest of Gillingham to have 40,000 shingles prepared for roofing at Clarendon. Five days later the command came from the king to begin roofing repairs on the hall at Clarendon. Because of soil conditions not one shingle has survived in the archaeological record (*CLR*, 1226-40, 355; 1240-45, 222, 223; 1245-51, 317-8; 1251-60, 89, 93).

Lead was commonly used for roofing: for gutters, ridges, and flashings as well as for sheeting roofs. Some at least of the lead was mined in Derbyshire and dispatched by the king's 'bailiff of the Peak' via Southampton to Clarendon (*CLR*, 1245-51, 322). The lead sent thus in 1250 was partly used to make two lead balls (*pomellos*) to decorate the roof-line of the hall (*CLR*, 1245-51, 239, 324). The louvres in the roof for allowing smoke to escape and for ventilation were possibly of lead too, although they are more likely to have been of pottery (Pottery pp. 170, 182, and figs. 14-15). Two 'upright' (*stantivis*) louvres were set in the roof *c.* 1230, and it may have been one of these which was blown to the ground in a storm in 1251 and so needed replacement

(*CLR*, 1245–51, 380). No archaeological evidence of a fireplace in the hall, either in the centre or against the wall, has yet been found. The excavators exposed the line of the walls, and had a wall fireplace existed they almost certainly would have found it. The existence of the louvres in the roof may support the suggestion that there was a central hearth, at least in the mid thirteenth century, but otherwise the documents are mute on the hall fireplace. Parallels elsewhere, for example at nearby Ludgershall, would certainly suggest a central fireplace (p. 96).

The interior of the hall in the thirteenth century seems to have been of the same dimensions as the late twelfth-century hall, which measured some 82 by 52 ft. (25 by 15.9 m.). As in Henry II's reign, at the east end, towards the king's chambers, there was a dais. Here a new seat was built *c.* 1250 for the king. This was perhaps a substantial canopied construction, for the records refer to both the 'seat' and the 'chair'. Although the species is unknown to us, a particular type of wood was required for this work, for which a search through the royal forests took place (*CLR*, 1245–51, 221, 239, 246–7, 269). At the same time wainscot was inserted in the hall for the space of five bays or rafters from the new seat (*CLR*, 1245–51, 234, 239; for a discussion of the construction of, and documentary references to, bays and rafters see Salzman 1952, 210–13). Uncertainty remains about the material of the floor, and the documents do not help. There is no secure evidence that it was tiled. Thus a chalk floor appears to be the most likely interpretation (p. 95). Apart from the alterations to the style of the windows, little has come down to us about the other decoration of the hall.

The king's chambers (7)

The king's principal chamber, variously known as his 'great chamber' and his 'upper chamber' at this date, can best be described as a first-floor hall. It was almost certainly located to the east of the great hall (5), just described, with a wall joining the two buildings. A penthouse 'to place litter in' was constructed against this wall in 1238, and this penthouse was ridged with lead in 1247 (*CLR*, 1226–40, 171, 251, 271, 356; 1245–51, 63, 156). Access to the chamber itself was by means of an external circular staircase, the roof of which was ridged with lead in 1237 and repaired in 1239. This staircase was lit by three glass windows at different levels and, although its precise location is not certain at present, there are good reasons to believe that its base is structure **7d**, at the north-east corner of **7g**, the more westerly of the king's apartments (*CLR*, 1226–40, 251, 402; 1251–60, 61). Structure **7d** incorporates what appears to be a cesspit, and Mrs Eames has argued that the oriel over the staircase was actually a first-floor privy, voiding into the pit below (Eames 1965, 61). The upper chamber itself was repaired in 1237 and its north side was reroofed in 1249 (*CLR*, 1245–51, 239; Eames 1965, 61). The outer wall of the building lay towards the park and was rendered over (*requirari*) with mortar and whitewashed in 1244. Keeping out the rain was always a problem and, although this building was provided with lead gutters, they had to be lengthened in 1241 to prevent overflowing rainwater from running down the walls (*CLR*, 1240–45, 60). The king's chamber overlooked a garden (*herbarium*), at least on the south side. In addition to his chapel and the queen's chambers and chapel, the king's chamber was provided with window bars between 1238 and 1241. Window bars survive from the excavations of the 1930s, and may once have belonged to these chambers (p. 216, nos. 60–4 and fig. 77).

Schemes of interior decoration

Clearly the walls of the king's principal chamber were already decorated with pictures in 1246 when he ordered the old paintings to be renewed and new ones made. These new paintings were to be of scenes from the life of St Margaret the Virgin and the Four Evangelists, together with a series of heads of men and women (*CLR*, 1245-51, 63). All the paintings were to be executed in 'good and exquisite colours'. The general scheme of decoration of the room was based on green-painted wainscoting 'spotted' with gold stars, over a plain tiled floor supplied in 1250, when two ventilators (*foras*) were also inserted (*CLR*, 1245-51, 269). The Clarendon decorations at this period can be seen in the context of other royal works. The religious motifs found at Clarendon had previously been executed in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, and were to reappear in the queen's chamber at Havering in 1251. This shows quite clearly how religious art overflowed from chapels into rooms devoted to secular purposes, for none of these places was a chapel.

Green-painted wainscot was a feature of the various decorative schemes at this date at Clarendon and it is not surprising that fragments of both light apple green and darker green plaster are found amongst the surviving fragments of plasterwork from the palace (pp. 254-7). The green demanded by Henry III must have been very much in keeping with the hues of the surrounding forest. The green wainscot 'spotted' with gold, already referred to, can be readily visualized when it is revealed that the 'spots' are probably identical with a series of lead stars, some with traces of gilding still attached, which were excavated from the site (pp. 226-8). The pattern of green wainscoting and gold stars was a feature of the palace certainly until the 1270s. Analysis of pigments used in the plaster has been particularly valuable with respect to the blue fragments. The material from which the blue colouring was derived has been shown by scientific analysis to be in part crushed lapis lazuli and in part azurite. 'Sky blue' pieces, as they were rightly described on excavation in the 1930s, were probably the background for a starry firmament, such as that still to be seen in the Guardian Angels Chapel of the same period in Winchester Cathedral. The use of crushed lapis lazuli, perhaps from Afghanistan, reinforces the view that the works at Clarendon were carried out to the most lavish specifications (p. 253).

During his pre-Christmas stay at Clarendon in 1247, Henry III ordered the demolition of the old mantelpiece in his chamber and the construction of a new chimney-piece there. This was to be painted with a wheel of fortune and a Jesse tree. The king's personal interest in these works is amply demonstrated by his instructions that while the alterations to the overmantel were in progress, the other paintings in the chamber were to be protected with canvas screens to prevent their being damaged (*CLR*, 1245-51, 157). Parallels for the Jesse tree are found in the records of works at the Palace of Westminster in 1236-7 and again in 1259. At Winchester Castle a wheel of fortune was painted in 1235-6 on the gable wall of the hall above the king's seat. A similar design may have been carried out at Westminster. The court school of painters was responsible for executing these commissions, and there are strong grounds for believing that it was a painter of this school who was responsible for the wheel of fortune in the cathedral at Rochester, half of which still survives (*CLR*, 1245-51, 157; Borenius and Tristram 1927, pl. 38; Borenius and Charlton 1936, 60; Borenius 1943, 42, 44; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 914). A fine contemporary representation of kings on a wheel of fortune is found in the Holkham Bible in the British Library. Although the plaster excavated from Clarendon is very fragmentary, some

of the pieces are reminiscent of the hues of the Rochester painting. At Clarendon the frequent instructions to repair the paintings in the king's chamber suggest that they did not survive well. The inadequate gutter, repaired in 1241, which had allowed water to stream down the chamber wall, would undoubtedly have adversely affected these mural paintings.

The king's lower chambers

There were two chambers (**7g** and **7h**), or three including a garderobe, on the floor beneath the king's principal chamber (Eames 1965, 69). The main downstairs room was wainscoted and the wainscot painted green in 1246. Artistically the room was dominated by a frieze of heads of real and imaginary kings and queens. Although now lost, this border has been hailed as an important contribution to the history of English portrait painting (*CLR*, 1245-51, 63; Borenius and Charlton 1936, 60). In addition to this principal downstairs chamber, there was also an outer chamber. In 1251 a penthouse was made from the newly created Antioch chamber (**8**) (pp. 16-17) to the outer chamber, which may have been augmented or divided, as the orders required the builders to 'make anew a new outer chamber belonging to the first under the king's chamber' (*CLR*, 1245-51, 361). Such instructions as these, made with existing buildings in mind, are difficult to interpret with assurance. The outer chamber, unlike the more important chambers which had tiled floors, had a wooden floor and, together with that in the Alexander chamber, this floor was rejoisted and relaid in 1249 (*CLR*, 1245-51, 239). Part at least of the outer chamber appears to have projected beyond the floor above, as the roof was supplied with a lead coping in December of the same year (*CLR*, 1245-51, 269). During the excavations in the 1930s the downstairs room to the west (**7g**) was designated solar A and that to the east (**7h**) solar B by the excavators (pp. 102-6).

The problem of the king's wardrobe

The exact position of the chamber known as the king's wardrobe remains something of an enigma, but there are fair grounds for believing that it was in these rooms below the king's principal chamber. Firstly it was connected with the 'Chamber of Alexander' (**13b**) by one penthouse, and to the queen's chambers (**10**) by another (*CLR*, 1226-40, 271; 1251-60, 346). Secondly, in 1249 the building threatened to collapse, which would support a theory which aligned it with the scarp of the hill on the north-east part of the main palace site. The north walls of buildings, for example, along this scarp were buttressed for precisely this reason. Thirdly, the wardrobe had two doorways in the 1240s: one on the southern corner (1241), and a second, constructed in 1244, between the fireplace and the north corner. Two such entrances survive in the north-east and south-east corners of the east room beneath the king's principal chamber (fig. 25). Also, in common with the chambers beneath the king's chamber, the wardrobe had an outer chamber which was repaired in 1250 (*CLR*, 1245-51, 321-2).

This interpretation, which has been put forward elsewhere on other grounds, by no means disposes of all the problems. Firstly, a roof was required for the wardrobe in 1246, which suggests it was a single-storey building, or on an upper floor, unless the roof can be identified with the projecting section of the accommodation under the king's principal chamber, mentioned above. Secondly, there is a problem of function. The king's wardrobe had a private as well as a public function. In 1256, for example, the king had a column, a seat and a bench

put in his wardrobe, on which, it seems, to place the relics which he took with him on his journeys round the realm. But the wardrobe was also an office of state with public functions which were carried out from Clarendon, or wherever the court and household happened to be. In 1246 we hear of Peter Chacepork and other officials of the royal wardrobe receiving and dispensing money from the wardrobe at Clarendon while the king was in residence. These functions can only be reconciled by accepting that the wardrobe perhaps occupied at least one room. It does not rule out the possibility that the general activities of public finance effected through the wardrobe at Clarendon were, in fact, carried out elsewhere on the site in a building as yet unlocated, and not below what seems to have been the king's own bedchamber (*CLR*, 1226-40, 271; 1240-45, 60, 223; 1245-51, 62, 63, 67 etc., 239, 246-7; 1251-60, 90). This interpretation of the wardrobe arrangements is strengthened by a reference in the liberate roll for 1238-9 to the demolition of a fireplace in 'our wardrobe' and the building of a new fireplace, together with the renovation and enlargement of the privy chamber of the wardrobe and the construction of a 'new wardrobe 30 foot in length in front of the said privy chamber' (Salzman 1952, 281). Tout argues that this kind of construction was a 'great wardrobe', which he thought was a storehouse for durable goods that could be bought in bulk and stored for long periods at places which the king visited infrequently (Tout 1922-33, iv, 349). The door of the king's wardrobe was connected by a passage to another chamber, as yet unlocated, but referred to in 1241 as the 'old painted chamber' (*CLR*, 1240-45, 60).

Mrs Eames has argued for the existence of a building on the north of the site, connecting **8b** and **7h**. If such a building existed, it might have housed part of the wardrobe, which would have included both the privy (**8b**), to the north, and **7h**, the easterly lower chamber of the king's apartments, to the south. The existence of such a single-storey building would certainly come to terms with the problem of the roofing of the wardrobe, referred to above, and also, perhaps, with the reference to the wardrobe's being in danger of collapsing down the scarp (Eames 1965, 69-72). Although there is some evidence to suggest the existence of such a building, the only way to be sure would be to excavate the steep slope on which it would have stood.

The king's 'new' chapel (**9**)

The building which housed the king's chapel (**9**) is thought to have been constructed under Elias de Dereham between 1234 and 1237 (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 914; Eames 1965, 62). This room is believed to have been on the first floor of a two-storeyed building immediately to the east of the wardrobe and buttressed on the north side with Chilmark stone. This buttress work remains today and is one of the finest extant pieces of masonry at Clarendon (pl. XXXII). If correctly identified, the chapel measured some 50 by 20 ft. (15.24 by 6.1 m.), and probably occupied the whole of the upper floor (*CCR*, 1231-4, 371, 486, 497; 1234-7, 241, 279; *CLR*, 1226-40, 251; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 914; Eames 1965, 63). In 1237 the chapel was referred to as 'newly erected', with wainscoting and daubing in the process of being completed. Work was to continue on the windows over a number of years. Bars, to be fitted rapidly within three weeks against the king's arrival, were ordered for a number of buildings (p. 12) including the king's chapel. Glass was paid for in 1240-1, and further bars for the windows in 1244. A window was added in the south wall in 1246. Some of the windows certainly opened and closed, for iron pegs (*kivellos*) to secure the chains used for this purpose were ordered in 1251 (*CLR*, 1226-40,

347; 1240-45, 223; 1245-51, 63, 362). The scheme of painting in this chapel is unknown to us, but repairs to the paintings were regularly needed. We know somewhat more of the sculpture in the chapel. After 1250 there were statues of St Mary, St Edward the Confessor and the Cherubim, all favourites of Henry III. In addition gilded angels glittered above. The scale and substance of this sculpture is now lost to us, although we are fortunate in the survival of a single stone angel's wing with visible traces of gilding and paint, excavated in 1938. This small piece of carved stone may have come from here (p. 249, no. 73; fig. 94, pl. LXVb). Below the chapel, in the 1230s, was the queen's wardrobe (*CLR*, 1226-40, 251). Above the chapel there may have been some kind of loft-space, or perhaps a tower, for in 1244 we learn that a trap-door (*trapam*) down into the king's chapel was replaced with a winding staircase in the north corner (*CLR*, 1240-45, 224). This staircase was replaced, or more likely a staircase from the lower storey was added, in 1250 (*CLR*, 1245-51, 324). The stair may never actually have been constructed, as no payment for the work has been found. Mrs Eames suggests that the king's chaplains had a chamber devoted to their use beneath the chapel and that the trap-door linked the chapel (9) to the eastern chamber of 8 below it (p. 161 and Eames 1965, 64). The chaplains were later reallocated accommodation near the queen's apartments, within her suite (10) (p. 145). There seems little reason to doubt the assumption that a very remarkable circular tile pavement, the remains of which were excavated in the 1930s, originally supplemented the decoration of the king's chapel. An inscription in Gothic lettering, with individual tiles devoted to individual letters, ran round the floor. This unusual circular pavement has been compared with others, such as that which graced the abbey church of Cunault in Anjou (Borenus 1943, 46; pp. 139 ff.). 1237 saw the near completion of the main structure of the king's chapel.

The Antioch chamber (8)

The works which are described above give a vivid impression of the transition from hunting lodge to a leading royal residence. But Henry III was not content merely to have works done on his own chapel and private chambers. In July 1251 he gave orders for work to begin on what is perhaps the most celebrated room at Clarendon. This was known as the Antioch chamber and was below the king's chapel in the area which had been occupied by the queen's wardrobe in the 1230s, an arrangement which was now altered (pp. 14-15). Instructions were issued in July 1251 for wainscot to be inserted in 'the king's chamber under the chapel', for a cross-wall there to be removed and 'the story of Antioch and the duel of king Richard' to be painted there. The wainscot was to be painted green with gold spangles (*scintillis*), a doorway was to be made and a penthouse was to be constructed straight to an outer chamber 'which is now made' (*CLR*, 1245-51, 362). The scenes which Henry III wanted depicted were of Richard I, the Lionheart (1189-99). Henry's wishes were somewhat unhistorical. Antioch was not a major pivot of the Third Crusade, which featured Richard's duel (Borenus 1943, 45; Eames 1965, 63). Soon the murals depicting Antioch with Richard and Saladin locked in combat were under way (*CLR*, 1245-51, 362; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 914). Just a year later, on 15 July 1252, orders for paving the chamber were issued (Turner 1851, 240). The tiles were plain ones, arguably although by no means certainly the dark brown ones found round the bases of the columns of the chamber by the excavators (p. 146). The Antioch chamber was one of the foci of the 1930s excavations (Turner 1851, 269; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 914; pp. 106-9). The wainscot of the Antioch chamber itself was painted green in 1251 and was decorated with gold stars similar

to those used in the previous few years in the king's own chambers. The excavations in 1936 revealed three lead stars similar to two others discovered in a room below the king's principal chamber and designated solar A by the excavators. The stars, originally gilded, match those known to have been used in St Stephen's chapel, Westminster, at the same date. Two lead crescents, similarly perforated to enable them to be nailed to the wall, were also found there. Perhaps these had been used to signify the Saracens in the scenes depicting the crusades. Alternatively they may, with the stars, have been used to illustrate the heavens (Borenus 1943, 45–6; p. 226). From the scraps of evidence that have survived, a fair impression may be obtained of the proportions and decor of this unusual room. Tiles found elsewhere on the site, in one case still *in situ*, thought to depict Richard and Saladin in combat, have long caused uncertainty with regard to the identification of the Antioch chamber. However, Mrs Eames has shown that the motif on these tiles is of knights in combat, rather than Richard and Saladin (pp. 146–7). In the present state of knowledge we can be fairly certain that the room identified as the Antioch chamber in the 1930s is 8.

Some background to the scheme of decoration in the Antioch chamber can be sketched in. We know that in 1250 Roger de Sandford, Master of the Knights Templar in England, was ordered to hand over a large history of the crusades, written in French, which he possessed. This work contained the *gests* of Antioch, both of the king and of others. The scenes were to be put at the disposal of those working for the queen at Westminster, especially Edward de Westminster, one of the king's painters who was decorating the queen's garden room there. This room was also known as the Antioch chamber. Another such chamber was created at the Tower of London. It is a great artistic loss that none of these superb rooms has survived the centuries.

The queen's apartments (10)

Henry III married Eleanor of Provence in 1236. She was the daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence. The marriage was one of a quartet in which the four daughters of the count were married respectively to Henry III, king of England, Louis IX (St Louis), king of France, Richard of Cornwall, Henry's younger brother, and a younger brother of Louis IX. The arrival of Henry's bride focused attention on the suite of queen's chambers at Clarendon, and in many other royal residences, with additions and extensions featuring prominently in the accounts. Eleanor, like her husband, was interested in contemporary art and iconography. This is apparent from the decoration and works of art in her chambers. Like Henry she was a lavish spender, and the numerous residences which they possessed scattered through the kingdom enabled them to have almost continuous alterations in progress in different places. It is very possible that the queen found the accommodation offered in England less well appointed than that to which she had been accustomed in France (Eames 1957–8, 96). It seems very likely too, as Mrs Eames has suggested, that the introduction of tile pavements into England was associated with the arrival of the queen (*ibid.*). The parallels between tile pavements in England, not least at Clarendon, with similar pavements in France, may well be explained by Eleanor's enthusiasm to improve the interior appointment of royal buildings in England. In addition, the itinerant lifestyle of the royal family always allowed it to avoid the worst disruption caused by such works.

The queen's hall and chambers

The queen's apartments (**10**) at Clarendon are generally agreed to have been sited to the east of the king's apartments (**7** and **8**) and came to consist principally of a hall, a wardrobe and at least three chambers. Mrs Eames has suggested a development profile for the queen's suite (pp. 163–5 and Eames 1965, 73 ff.). The core, and earliest apartment, was building **10b**, which seems to have consisted initially of a ground-floor chamber, sometimes called a hall, with a chapel on the upper floor. A reference to the leading of the roof (*crestare de plumbo*) of the queen's chamber in 1241 may, however, suggest that her chamber was an upper-storey room, or that it was in a single-storey building (*CLR*, 1240–45, 60). Repairs to the windows, whitewashing of the walls and mending of the stairs took place in 1235–6; that is to say this building work was carried out on **10b** at the time of Eleanor's marriage to Henry III. In the following year a porch 'before' the queen's chamber was added. This would be in the region of **10g**. In 1244 instructions were issued for the wainscoting of the queen's greater and lesser chambers, which suggests she still had only two chambers at that date (Eames 1965, 75). At the same date the downstairs door of the queen's chamber was moved into a corner, steps removed and a vice (*veicium*) made in the corner from which the door had been removed, to give access to the gallery above.

Further, it is argued that the queen's suite was extended in *c.* 1245, with the construction to the north, but on the same alignment, of **10a**. Henry was most impatient to see the work completed on time. For example, in 1245/6 he anxiously urged on the sheriff of Wiltshire, overseer of the project, 'as he loves himself and all his chattels, to see that the queen's new chamber at Clarendon is finished before Whitsuntide, the money for the purpose to be obtained wherever possible'. This was no doubt the chamber which had a wall round it towards the park, perhaps **10a**, with a grass plot (*pratellum*) separating the chamber from the wall. It seems to have been in a two-storey building as a fireplace was to be made in the upper storey (*stadio*) (*CLR*, 1240–45, 291; 1245–51, 28).

From this date onwards, references to the queen's hall become more frequent. The queen's hall mentioned in the mid thirteenth century is not readily identifiable on the ground, which has led to the suggestion that it, like the king's principal chamber, was a first-floor hall (*CLR*, 1245–51, 296–7, 321–2, 261; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 915). It could have been initially in the existing building **10b**, and have remained there after the construction of **10a** to the north. Alternatively, it could have been relocated in **10a**.

Whatever the precise location of the queen's hall, it was here that a remarkable fireplace was erected in 1251, which consisted of double marble columns on each side under a mantel carved with representations of the twelve months of the year (*CLR*, 1245–51, 362; Borenius and Charlton 1936, 8). The orders for this work were enrolled on the same day as those for paving the Antioch chamber (above p. 16). Very frequently the king ensured that work on his suite was matched in some way by work on Eleanor's. The sculpture of the twelve months on the queen's mantel was paralleled in the decorations to the fireplace of the Painted Chamber at Westminster, and in the latter case Stothard, in the early nineteenth century, was still able to reconstruct the whole series from carved stones later used to block some early windows (Lethaby 1905, 263; Borenius 1943, 44; Binski 1986, 128–9, n. 54). Two small fragments of Purbeck limestone were recovered in the 1930s from **10b**, and could conceivably have been associated with this fireplace. Fragments of figure sculpture described below are less likely to

be from this fireplace, partly because of the dates which have been assigned to them, and partly because of the locations on the site from which they were recovered (Stonework, pp. 246–9). Painted representations of the twelve months from the same period are known. Henry III's fireplace at Kennington, now long lost, was decorated with paintings of the twelve months 'on every side' of the chimney. A similar series, albeit much restored in the nineteenth century, still adorns the ceiling of the choir in Salisbury Cathedral. In miniature the series of illuminations on the same theme depicted in the Canterbury Psalter about 1280 shows a man carrying out a task appropriate for each month of the year. Another theme favoured by the king was the seasons. In 1230 a new fireplace ordered for Westminster was to be decorated with 'the figure of winter, which as well by its sad countenance as by other miserable distortions of the body, may be deservedly likened to Winter itself' (Salzman 1952, 162).

The interior of the queen's chamber was painted and in 1250 a glass window was provided showing a small figure of Mary (*Mariolam*), with the Holy Child, an earthly queen at her feet with joined hands holding a label which read *Ave Maria* (*CLR*, 1245–51, 324). This portrait, which presumably depicted Eleanor herself with Prince Edward, is one of a number of instances of early portraits of members of the royal family carried out during implementation of royal works in the thirteenth century. In 1250 a spear or spur (*sporum*) was added, no doubt to prevent draughts, and the room was paved. Certainly some of the best evidence of floor tiling at Clarendon, both in the form of *in situ* tiles and matrices of removed tiles, came from **10a**, **10b**, **10c** and **10d**. Also in 1250 a new door was fitted and a new window put in in front of the partition. In 1251 the daubed wall of one of the connecting passages was demolished and replaced with stone (*CLR*, 1245–51, 296–7, 324, 362).

Various other references to the queen's chambers occur. Around 1245 the king commanded her wardrobe as shown above, which no doubt accounts for references to a new chamber for her at this date, probably **10a**. The queen's 'three chambers' were to be painted in 1247 and a new pantry was made for her use in 1252 (*CLR*, 1245–51, 109; 1251–60, 331).

The queen's wardrobes

The queen had both a wardrobe and a small wardrobe in the 1240s. The former was underneath the king's chapel (**9**) and was later incorporated into the Antioch chamber (**8**) in the works of 1251. This original wardrobe (**8**), which was very close to the queen's chambers (**10**), was connected by a penthouse in 1237 to the queen's chamber (**10b**), and a chimney was inserted (*CLR*, 1226–40, 251). It was also connected to the king's wardrobe. One of these connecting passages was ridged with lead, as was the queen's chamber (*CLR*, 1226–40, 271; above, p. 18). In addition, a door and a step or stair (*gradum*) were put into the queen's wardrobe at the same period (Hoare 1837, 152–3; Eames 1965, 63). In 1244 some extension of the queen's accommodation occurred, with the addition of wardrobe space (**8**) under the queen's chamber to add to the wardrobe space which she had already been given, beneath the king's new chapel (**9**). In 1244 the walls of the queen's small wardrobe and her privy chamber were heightened on the east and the north in order to accommodate the oriel (*oriolo*), or gallery, into a new upper chamber lit by the columned windows which were to be removed from the oriel to the newly constructed wall. Mrs Eames suggests that these works were associated with structures **10f** and **10g**, and involved the removal of the outside stair at **10g** and its replacement

with an interior stair with a garderobe on each floor (Eames 1965, 74). One of the passages and the chamber itself were roofed with lead (*crestare de plumbo*) in 1241, when a third oriel (*orealum*) was made 'before the queen's chamber' (*CLR, 1240-45, 60*). This interpretation looks very plausible, except that the documents refer to the walls on the east and north being heightened to accommodate the oriel, whereas although **10f** is undoubtedly a northerly structure, it is to the west of **10a**, as is **10g**.

An alternative interpretation of activity in this area might be to suggest that the queen's chambers were accommodated initially in a two-storey building and another single-storey building, subsequently extended gradually by the addition of oriel windows to form an upper room or gallery. In the 1244 alterations, the downstairs door was moved into a corner, the steps removed and a vice (*veicium*) made in the corner from which the door had been removed, to give access to the gallery above. This gallery could have been the 'queen's high chamber' which was paved and provided with two screens in 1251. The gallery was furnished with curved (*cambris*) timbers which were covered with lead in the same round of works. Mrs Eames makes a case for the 'high chamber' to be identified as **10a**, the floor level of which is built up some 15 ft. (4.6 m.) on the scarp, and the gable of which must indeed have appeared very high to any one looking up the hill from below. Simultaneously a privy chamber was constructed, to be 'well vaulted in both the upper and the lower storey', perhaps at **10g**. At the same time the small wardrobe benefited by the addition of a new fireplace. Perhaps the enlarged gallery room was the queen's 'new wardrobe' at Clarendon, referred to in 1245, under which four new, well-barred windows were added, each 1 ft. (0.3 m.) wide, but sufficiently high that a person standing in the courtyard (perhaps a transliteration of *super aream* for *super aera*) could not see through them (*CLR, 1240-45, 310*).

In advance of the conversion of the queen's old wardrobe (**8**) in 1251, a new wardrobe was made for her in 1249. This was to be 50 ft. (15.24 m.) long, including a privy chamber, and was to be heated with a fire for which a fireplace was ordered. Mrs Eames suggests that the new wardrobe was on the upper floor of a building constructed in 1247, assigned to the use of the chaplains, which had **10c** and **10d** on the lower floor (p. 164). Certainly the new wardrobe was to be 'continuous with' (*que continuetur*) the chaplains' chamber, which could mean the addition of a storey. Some uncertainty remains over this interpretation, as there is a mention in the liberate rolls in 1249 of a wall built from Hugh de Nevill's chamber (unidentified) to this new wardrobe, with a wicket in it and a stone doorway, and another wall between the wardrobe and the chaplains' chamber (*CLR, 1245-51, 133, 221*). Foundations of a wall running east from the south-west corner of **10c** could possibly be remains of such a wall, although little is clearly known of the structures in area **15**, which might have included de Nevill's chamber.

The queen's chapel

From the time of her marriage, the queen was provided with a chapel at Clarendon. In 1235-6 payment was made for guttering on the queen's new chapel. This was probably the conversion of an existing building for the queen's use, served by Franciscan friars (Eames 1965, 73). We do not know with any certainty where this chapel was.

The queen's chapel has long been considered to be a building which projected from the southern end of the range of buildings which has been identified as her apartments (**10c**). There are reasons to question this interpretation, and the arguments for and against are

rehearsed below. The building containing the queen's chapel was probably a two-storey structure, as a reference to paving in 1252 includes the chapel itself and the chamber underneath. This description tallies with what is known of the chapel at Wolvesey Palace in Winchester, where there was an undercroft, or crypt, beneath the chapel. There was certainly no chamber above the queen's chapel, for which a new roof was ordered in 1249. This work was highly unsatisfactory, for only two years later the chapel had to be 'unroofed and roofed well again' (*CLR*, 1245-51, 239, 380). There were various windows which were glazed and barred with iron. 1249 saw orders for a broad window to be inserted on the north side of the altar, and the following year renewed instructions were issued for windows to be made on either side of the altar, each divided in the middle so they could be opened and shut (*CLR*, 1226-40, 347; 1240-45, 224; 1245-51, 239, 296-7). The dedication of the chapel may have been to St Katherine, as scenes from her life were painted on the walls in 1235-6 (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 915). Repairs and additions to the paintings were quite common, for example the paintings (*picturas*) were renewed in 1244, and in 1246 unspecified arrangements to decorate the chapel with symbols (*modis*) and stories were carried out. The paintings were repaired in 1252 and renewed in 1260. A marble altar, no doubt highlighted by the new windows, was acquired in 1249 shortly after a cross and statues of St Mary and St John had been installed (*CLR*, 1240-45, 223; 1245-51, 67, 239, 269; 1251-60, 90, 529).

What seems clear is that building **10c** was a chapel, because of its orientation and the discovery of what appear to be the remains of an altar foundation at the east end. However, as Mrs Eames has argued, close analysis of the documentary sources makes it very unlikely that **10c** could have been the queen's chapel, because of the upper-storey position of the queen's chapel, the position of the windows, and because of her interpretation of the phasing of the construction of buildings **10c** and **10d** to after **10b** and **10a**. As the building containing **10c** and **10d** fits the description of the new building constructed in 1247-9, she argues that the queen's chapel could not have been in the upper storey of this building. Her conclusion that the queen's original chapel was in the upper storey of **10b**, which was divided into a bedchamber and a chapel at an early date, seems a likely interpretation (p. 163).

If **10c** and **10d** can be dated to the construction phase between 1247 and 1249, then the altar in **10c** could well have been the altar in the chapel for the use of the chaplains, to which the documents refer. It has been suggested that prior to this new arrangement the chaplains' accommodation had been in one of the two rooms (**8**) below the king's chapel (**9**). This is fair comment, but, as Mrs Eames herself points out, it cannot be proved. The suggestion is that rooms **10c** and **10d** were the lower floor of the new 50 ft. (15.24 m.) building constructed to house the queen's wardrobe on its upper floor, and the chaplains below (Eames 1965, 76-7). This seems, in the current state of knowledge, to be a most plausible analysis.

The queen's tower

Rising from, or beyond (*ultra*), the queen's chamber there was a tower with a leaded roof in the 1250s (*CLR*, 1251-60, 180, 529). The 1930s excavators had this structure in mind from the beginning of their work. In 1933, working in area **7**, they thought for a time, encouraged by Mortimer Wheeler, that structure **7d** was the foundation of the queen's tower, or of a staircase. As far as it related to the queen's tower, this interpretation was discounted when the nature of the spread of structures to the east of the great hall (**5**) seemed more likely to have been the

king's apartments (7). Right at the very end of the 1930s excavations, in late August 1939, when work was in progress in area **I5**, well to the south-west of the other buildings assigned to the queen, the possibility that the queen's tower had been found was again mooted. There has long been speculation that the queen's tower was a tall building from which she could watch hunting in the forest. The nature of medieval hunting, compared to the organized coursing of later years (as suggested by the seventeenth-century estate map) would seem to rule this out (Musty 1986). Mrs Eames has come to the conclusion that the queen's tower was, in fact, a garderobe tower, probably **10f**, which was built tightly against the scarp of the northern slope, and which would have had to be at least 15 ft. (4.6 m.) in height to reach the floor level of **10a**, to which it was adjacent (Eames 1965, 79).

The gardens

The king and the queen both took an interest in the gardens which lay round their residences. Cuttings and cherry trees, for example, had been purchased for the garden at Westminster in 1239 (Harvey 1948, 101). In 1249 a certain building at Woodstock was demolished and a garden (*herbarium*) created in its place. Outside the queen's chambers at Clarendon lay her own garden, which was made in 1247 and substantially improved in 1252 (*CLR*, 1245-51, 109; 1251-60, 61). The window inserted in her hall in 1250 was designed to overlook the garden. On another occasion the king gave orders for the wall round the great garden to be whitewashed and for a bench to be made round the wall. Thus the royal party could sit out and enjoy the warm summer days spent at Clarendon. There were grass plots, such as that which lay between the queen's chamber and the king's chapel (*CLR*, 1226-40, 402). There is some evidence today of an exceptional flora at Clarendon in the immediate vicinity of the palace ruins, and it deserves a special study. This residual flora may be connected with the gardens which once flourished round the palace, although it should be remembered that the palace area was open downland for a long period. The only certain way of investigating the contents of the medieval gardens at Clarendon would be through recovery and analysis of seeds and pollen from the site.

The kitchen complex (4)

To the west of the great hall (5) were the service chambers, which included the kitchens, and here too the excavators have located other rooms which, they have suggested, correspond to those mentioned in documents. These include the salsary, the butteries, the larder and a room called the *herlebecheria*, probably a scullery from its position and insignificant size (p. 23). The most westerly of these buildings was the west, sometimes called King John's, kitchen (4h). Before 1240 this kitchen extended beyond the great gate of the manor, which was moved in that year to accommodate the kitchen within the 'king's court' (*CLR*, 1226-40, 465). At the same time, two chambers (3a and 3b) were made within a penthouse constructed from the kitchen to the west angle of the perimeter wall (1b) (*CLR*, 1240-45, 60). The kitchen arrangements were radically reformed in 1244 with the addition of a new 40 ft.-square (12.2 m.-square) kitchen (4e), which was built within the perimeter wall just to the north-east of the king's kitchen (4h). The 40 ft., or north, kitchen was located by excavation to the north of the service range of buildings (p. 86). A privy (4d) was constructed between the kitchen and the north service

room (4c) of the great hall (5) in 1237 and was probably the feature abutting the north kitchen (4e) revealed by excavation.

Rooms 4b and 4c lay adjacent to the west end of the great hall (5), and there were three entrances from the hall to these rooms. The central entrance led into a passage which gave access to the kitchen court, or kitchen cloister (4a). The other two led into a southern and a northern room respectively (4b and 4c). This area and the associated doorways were known to the excavators as the 'screens' and have been referred to elsewhere as the service area (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 73; Eames 1965, 60; see below for a detailed discussion of the archaeological relationships and development of these chambers and the kitchen area as a whole, pp. 82 ff.). A buttery 'of the king's hall' certainly lay in this quarter according to documentary sources. The king's pantry also appears in the records, and was supplied with a wooden window in 1250 which was barred in 1251 (*CLR*, 1226-40, 251; 1245-51, 324, 362; Borenus and Charlton 1936; Pevsner 1937; Eames 1965, 60). This documentary evidence, taken in relation to what is known of similar halls, does therefore provide a fair basis for the excavators' various interpretations.

The salsary, larder and *herlebecheria*

In 1244 the following instruction was issued: 'Beside the king's kitchen another large square kitchen to be made . . . between it and the wall of the hall a saucery [salsary] and a scullery (a *herlebecheria*) outside by the wall of the kitchen' (*CLR*, 1240-45, 223). This suggests that the salsary may not always have been sited to the south of the kitchen complex where the excavators of the 1930s located it. We know that a salsary was already in existence on the site at least by 1235-6, when it was repaired. In 1237 William Luvel and Roger de Stopham, the king's huntsmen, were sent to Clarendon Forest, where they culled thirty bucks, the venison of which was then salted down and kept at Clarendon while further instructions were awaited (*CLR*, 1226-40, 291). This salsary may well have been demolished or put to another use to make way for the salsary mentioned in the kitchen works of 1244. The new room was soon in service, for example in 1246-7, when seven stags and ten does were salted there before they were transported to London (Hoare 1837, 154). Next to the salsary, we learn from the documents, was the larder. This was repaired in 1246 and replaced in 1247 when timber was purchased locally to make a larder at Clarendon (*CLR*, 1245-51, 67, 109).

The bakeries and ovens

No doubt in the vicinity of the kitchen were the bakeries and other ovens used at the palace. These were possibly separate structures, especially the ovens, which could well have been dedicated to the use of all on the manor, as was common in the Middle Ages. Thus the 'old oven' of the manor was pulled down in 1249. A special building was made in 1252 for the king's bread and wafers to be baked in and for storing the flour belonging to the 'lord', which suggests this was a building of general use on the manor. Perhaps it was here that 65 quarters of wheat were stored, which were delivered to Master Ralph the king's baker, and also 12 quarters of wheat, valued at 42s. which arrived in 1260 (*CLR*, 1245-51, 270; 1251-60, 90, 226, 527). A place to store bread was made in the 'granary of the king's storehouse' (*dispensa*) in 1249, and this may well have been the same building referred to as the 'spensery' of the king's hall in 1237

(*CLR, 1226-40, 251; 1245-51, 269*). Repairs costing 15*s. 1d.* to a special oven for making pies were made in 1254 (*CLR, 1251-60, 173*).

Wells

Surely near the kitchens, although again the precise location is no longer known, was the main well. Judging from the various references in the records to wells, there are also likely to have been others at Clarendon. The wells regularly required new cables, buckets and winding gear. Amongst documentary references we hear of 'the well of the king's court' and also of a chamber, with a glazed window overlooking the well, known from its outlook as 'the chamber by the well'. Piped water was still a rarity and even the king had to rely in the thirteenth century on this basic means of water supply (*CLR, 1226-40, 251, 271; 1245-51, 269, 362; 1251-60, 61, 223, 289, 311*). A well of clear water exists today in the garden of the cottage just to the south of the medieval west entrance (2) to the manor.

The western entrance (2) and stables

The main entrance to the manor was through the great gate on the west side. In order to ensure that the kitchen and stables were to be within the the king's court and so within the walled area, the gate was repositioned further west in 1240. The resiting of the gate encouraged some rethinking of the provision of stables. In 1241 an existing stable was moved and placed by the new wall so that one end adjoined the gate on the south. Arguably this could refer to another gate on the south side of the manor but, if there was one, no record of it exists elsewhere. Three years later a new stable for the king and queen was required. This extended lengthways from the south wall next to the gate as far as the old hall (*CLR, 1226-40, 465; 1240-45, 60, 223*). Within this new stable rooms were partitioned off at either end for the king and queen to keep their harness in, each new room being provided with a privy chamber. Nearby must have been the store for provender for the horses, for which a good supply of oats was delivered in 1255 (*CLR, 1240-45, 223; 1251-60, 226*). The 'old hall', of which we learn in 1244, was redeemed in that year from its function as stable and converted into a chamber believed in the 1930s to have been 6b. The door was moved to the corner 'opposite the chapel' and a 'fair' porch added. In converting the stable to living accommodation a fireplace was ordered to be installed on the south side and windows were provided. A columned (*columpnata*) window was inserted in the wall beside the fireplace, two windows in the wall opposite the fireplace and an additional window in the gable. Provision of a privy chamber was made for this new chamber, between it and the wall, probably the outer wall of the manor against the park. To round off the project a garden (*herbarium*) was designed (*CLR, 1240-45, 223*).

The area between the western entrance (2) and the west kitchen (4h)

To the north of the great west gate a wall (1a and 1b) ran round to the west kitchen (4h). The area between the kitchen and the western angle of the wall was devoted to two chambers with a shared privy and fireplace (3a and 3b). It would seem likely that 'fireplace' in this context probably means that they shared a chimney, rather than a grate. These rooms were built under the penthouse which was put up in 1241 (above, p. 22). Possibly the stable removed at this date to a new position south of the gate had been here too, and may have been a timber-framed building which could be dismantled and re-erected with comparative ease. In any case there

was a space beside the great gate in 1245 when Henry ordered a penthouse for the poor to be put against the inside of the wall to occupy the space as far as the penthouse chambers to the north. One of these buildings, described as ‘the longhouse beside the great gateway’, was demolished in 1268 and replaced by a chamber with a fireplace, and an outer chamber for the use of the king’s esquires (Salzman 1952, 387). Predictably there was a common privy outside the main gate. This privy roof was ridged with lead in 1251. Access to this privy may have been improved by the carving out of a small gate beside the great gate. The rearrangement of the buildings within the gate could well have provided the requisite space for this small gate in the wall (*CLR*, 1245–51, 362; Salzman 1952, 387).

The great courtyard (6) and the chamber of Alexander (13b)

Within the wall of the manor was a large courtyard, sometimes referred to as the main or great courtyard (6), which lay south-east of the great hall. This courtyard was surrounded by a variety of buildings which are difficult to identify on the ground. One such building is thought to have contained the ‘chamber of Alexander’ (13b) which was connected by passages both to the foot of the staircase (7d) to the king’s chamber and to the king’s wardrobe. The alley to the staircase (7d) to the king’s chamber appears to have been open in the 1230s, but was boarded over in 1256–7 (Eames 1965, 61). The precise position of this chamber of Alexander is not certain, but it has been tentatively identified as a building (13b) on a north–south axis lying to the east of the great courtyard. Whether this was a single- or two-storey building also remains uncertain. References to the passages suggest that the Alexander chamber was a ground-floor room, but other references to the penthouse running ‘under’ the Alexander chamber (1252) and to the reroofing of the chamber ‘outside’ the Alexander chamber in 1250 do not rule out the possibility that it was an upper room. The room was certainly in existence by 1237 and derived its name from the depictions of the exploits of Alexander the Great with which its walls were decorated. The same motif was later employed in 1252 at Nottingham Castle. The various Alexander paintings were probably based on illustrations on a manuscript of the *Roman d’Alexandre*, almost certainly the ‘king’s great book of Romances’ for which silver hasps and a key were supplied in 1237 (*CLR*, 1245–51, 90, 324; 1251–60, 346; Lethaby 1917, 138; Borenius 1943, 44; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 912–13). In 1249 the chamber was rejoisted and refloored and in the following year the addition of a wardrobe and privy was followed a few months later by the erection of partitions to subdivide the room (*CLR*, 1245–51, 296–7, 321–2).

The Lord Edward’s chambers and the almonry

Nearby, and perhaps adjoining the Alexander chamber (13b), were the chambers set aside for Henry’s son and heir, the Lord Edward, who was to become Edward I in 1272. The penthouse constructed ‘under’ the Alexander chamber was for the protection from the elements of those delivering food to the young prince in his chambers (*CLR*, 1251–60, 90). Edward was born in 1239 and so was some eleven years old when we begin to hear of his chambers at Clarendon in *c.* 1250. Over the ensuing years the chambers were periodically improved in small ways: by the addition of beams and brackets for lights, certain glass windows and shelves. The brackets were put up in 1254, the year Edward took leave of his father when Henry sailed for the Continent. The following year Edward himself set off for

Europe and travelled to Spain, where he received first a knighthood and then the hand of his queen, Eleanor of Castile, who was to be his firm supporter until her death in 1290. The young princess's mother-in-law, Eleanor of Provence, was to outlive her by a year, in retirement, at the nunnery at Amesbury.

A reference in the Edwardian survey of 1273 suggests that the rooms which he was allotted when he was a boy (*dum fuerat infans*) were adjacent to the almonry. The latter was periodically repaired and improved, for example by the addition of a fireplace in 1246 (*CLR, 1240-45, 60, 223; 1245-51, 67; 1251-60, 311*). The presiding almoner occasionally emerges from obscurity as in the New Year of 1237 when the king suddenly discovered that he had nothing to give the poor on the feast of the Epiphany. Buyers were speedily sent to neighbouring Wilton and to Salisbury to purchase eighteen tunics for the use of the poor. Each tunic was to contain three yards of material and eighteen pairs of shoes were to be delivered the same day to Brother John the king's almoner at Clarendon (*CLR, 1240-45, 251*). Nor did the king forget the poor at Clarendon when he was elsewhere. A writ was issued from Westminster in October 1241 to the administrators of the bishopric of Winchester to pay 3s. to 'a poor man at Clarendon' (*CLR, 1240-45, 86*). We have already seen above how the king had accommodation for the poor built inside the main gate in 1245. In addition, when Robert de Mares, a member of the household, died at Clarendon in 1256, the sheriff of Wiltshire was ordered to feed the Salisbury and Wilton friars and also one hundred poor people 'for the soul of Robert'. The dean and canons of Salisbury were asked to bury Robert's remains in their new cathedral (*CLR, 1251-60, 346*). Another room which may have been situated beside this main courtyard was occupied in 1249 by the 'king's buyers.' The door was removed to the outside towards the courtyard and an outer chamber made (*CLR, 1245-51, 269*).

All Saints chapel

In c. 1250 considerable work was undertaken on the All Saints chapel. This was seemingly the largest of the chapels known at Clarendon in the central years of the thirteenth century. This building defied the 1930s excavators' most strenuous efforts to locate it on the ground. Apart from this chapel and those of the king and queen, there are further references to chapels, which may be identical with those already mentioned and so may throw some light on the whereabouts of the All Saints chapel. In 1244 the liberate rolls carry a reference to the necessity to renew the paintings (*picturas*) and provide a porch for the 'chapel by the almonry', a room which, as we have seen, was situated beside the great courtyard (*CLR, 1240-45, 223*). In 1249 there is another reference, this time to the necessity for repair and renewal of the painting of 'the king's chapel of the court'. These two chapels may have been the same, and may perhaps be identified with All Saints. Insufficient evidence from excavation exists at present to elucidate the range of buildings round the main courtyard, although they come into focus in written records (*CLR, 1245-51, 221*). Nevertheless, however uncertain these identifications remain for the present, it does seem reasonable to identify the All Saints chapel with Henry II's chapel (above p. 5). A good deal of work had already been carried out here in the 1230s. A marble altar was provided in 1231-2 and a representation of Christ in Majesty was painted, perhaps in the nave, while in the chancel a wooden statue of St Edward was erected. As in his great hall, so in the communal chapel, the king had a special seat. The pictures round the king's seat on the chapel were illuminated and varnished, while the chapel was to be

'curtained' (*viridi colore curtinenda*) in the familiar green (Hoare 1837, 151; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 915). It would seem that this 'curtaining' was not actually in cloth, but consisted of the painting of false folds on the walls. The works in 1250 further added to the interior furnishings and decor. A crucifix with two wooden images on each side and a statue of the Virgin and Child were asked for. A baptistery, or font, was required for this chapel as well. Externally the king asked for a bell turret containing two bells to be put up (*CLR*, 1245–51, 296–7). The additions in 1250 of the belfry, and especially the font, encourage the belief that there was more of a community at Clarendon than in previous years. Undoubtedly the royal chapels were for the private devotions of the king and queen: the All Saints chapel was a larger building where the king attended service, with his visitors, household and staff in attendance. The services were at this period conducted by the Friars Minor, perhaps in succession to the Augustinian canons of Ivychurch, for Henry had given an unqualified welcome and support to the Friars' mission when they had arrived in the realm some twenty years earlier.

The wine cellars (12)

Henry III's continuing enthusiasm for his Wiltshire retreat can be recognized in a variety of ways, for example in the successive schemes of decoration and building he sponsored there. Another way in which his predilection for Clarendon can be established is, quite simply, through the cartloads of wine he sent there. Not only does this activity in the wine cellar provide a barometer of the king's interest in the palace, but also the building works in 'La Roche', the great wine cellar, mirror the general expansion of activity which took place on the manor in the half century after 1225. The wines were almost without exception imported to Southampton and brought overland to Clarendon. On New Year's day 1227, two tuns of wine were earmarked in the port for transport to Clarendon. Another two were dispatched in January 1228, with another two in April that year and five more in November. In 1236, for example, two consignments, again in November, brought a further eight tuns to the palace. The king liked to spend the period leading up to the Christmas feast at Clarendon in those years when he was celebrating Christmas at Winchester. Thus, as he approached Clarendon in December 1236, orders were issued from Marlborough on 10 December for four casks of wine to be sent to Clarendon from Southampton. As it turned out, this was not sufficient, for on the following day an additional ten tuns were sent for, to be delivered 'with speed'. Even this supply required augmentation, for after he had arrived at Clarendon on 18 December, Henry sent for four more casks (*CLR*, 1226–40, 12, 64, 78, 110, 244, 248–9). In 1237 sixteen tuns arrived, ten in April and six in late November, presumably to cater for a summer hunting party and the pre-Christmas stay respectively. The following year it was thirty, and in 1239 twenty-six, including sixteen of 'the king's new wine', no doubt the new vintage, freshly arrived at Southampton. In 1240 the numbers rose to thirty-six: twenty in February and a further sixteen in August. What we know of the flow of wine to Clarendon up to 1260 indicates that the quantities were at their highest between 1246 and 1256 and that much less wine arrived at Clarendon in the period of the barons' wars.

The wines were largely imported from Gascony and Anjou for distribution to the royal palaces and lodges. But there were local concoctions too: mulberry and raspberry wines were purchased in England, and 'La Roche' may also have housed what appears to be a local

Wiltshire iron-tonic (*ferrati*) wine, some of which was presented to Henry by the prior of Ogbourne St George, Wiltshire, in 1241 (*CLR*, 1240–45, 91; Harvey 1948, 99).

The great wine cellar began to receive attention almost immediately Henry came of age. In May 1227 he sent an urgent message that ‘La Roche’ was to be repaired ‘immediately on sight of these letters’ (*CLR*, 1226–40, 32). Not surprisingly in view of the increasingly large supplies of wine required at the Wiltshire palace, ‘La Roche’ was extended, to double its former length, in 1252 (*CLR*, 1251–60, 90). Already the cellar formed the core of a new series of buildings which were much extended in the 1250s. In 1247 the wall towards the park by ‘La Roche’ was removed and a building erected for the king’s chaplains, and this was soon joined by the adjacent replacement wardrobe for the queen (above, p. 20). There were already buildings beyond (*ultra*), or more probably over, this cellar and these were augmented by the addition of fireplaces and improved by the addition of privy chambers. A new building was erected above the cellar in 1253 and a chamber of ‘fissile stone’ (*scindi bili*) was constructed here in the following year (*CLR*, 1245–51, 133, 324, 362; 1251–60, 90, 92–3, 147, 207, 223, 311; see below for excavations in ‘La Roche’, pp. 116 ff.). There were, perhaps, other cellars, as is suggested by a reference to a chamber being constructed ‘by the cellar towards the park’ (*CLR*, 1251–60, 90).

De Nevill’s chamber and other structures near the queen’s apartments (10) and the cellar, ‘La Roche’ (12), and the queen’s chamber were towards the eastern side of the walled-in palace range. Various other buildings and chambers are mentioned in documents of Henry III’s reign, but their positions are now mostly lost to us, except that in some cases they are described in relation to the wall dividing the palace from the park. Hugh de Nevill’s chamber is one such room. It was perhaps situated to the south or south-east of the queen’s wardrobe, which was built near ‘La Roche’ in 1249 (pp. 20, 163). A wall was built in 1249 from de Nevill’s chamber to the end of the queen’s wardrobe between the two chambers and the park. The wall may have had an angle in it, for the gate built in it was specifically required to be ‘crossways’. This was a stone gateway which was provided with a wicket at the same time (*CLR*, 1245–51, 269). This gate would seem to have been a substantial affair with a chamber above it for the bailiff, who was also given a building in which to keep his stock in 1249. This was no doubt the gate known as the east gate in the fourteenth century. In 1255 some works were carried out on the bailiff’s chamber and it was roofed with tiles (*CLR*, 1245–51, 269; 1251–60, 90, 223). The chamber of Hugh de Nevill itself was furnished with a wooden floor and had a fireplace. The name clung to it long after de Nevill had ceased to have any connection with it (*CLR*, 1226–40, 251; 1245–51, 239, 246–7, 269).

Administrative buildings and staff accommodation

A variety of other rooms are referred to at this period, but their locations can only be guessed at. They fall into two categories which give some assistance in attempting to locate them. Firstly there are rooms and buildings with administrative functions, and secondly rooms and buildings where members of the royal household and the manorial staff were accommodated. Thus far we have seen a broad division of the site between administrative and service buildings grouped towards the great gate on the west, with living quarters towards the east. A chancery and a chandlery are mentioned. The latter was extended in 1247, and further lengthened by four or five bays (couples) in 1250. The chandlery, from its size, obviously had a more

general use than just that of making candles, but it is unclear which of these two offices benefited from the 200 lb. of wax bought in Winchester for transport to Clarendon in January 1237 (*CLR, 1226-40, 251; 1245-51, 133, 296-7, 362*).

There is ample evidence of the pressure on space and the expansion of buildings at Clarendon in the thirteenth century, as has already been demonstrated with regard to the royal suites, the stables and 'La Roche'. In addition the former naperly was converted into living accommodation in 1247 by the insertion of a fireplace and a privy chamber (*CLR, 1245-51, 133*). The division between the administrative buildings to the west and the living area to the east was by no means absolute, as was shown by the demolition of the longhouse by the gateway and its replacement by a chamber for the use of the king's esquires in 1268 (above, p. 25). An even clearer example of change in use of space can be demonstrated in 1247-8. In the former year the king ordered a storehouse for dry wood to be provided at Clarendon. In the very next year this log store was converted into a chamber for knights to stay in by the familiar expedient of adding a fireplace, privy and adequate windows (*CLR, 1245-51, 133, 199*). This was probably further space being set aside for the household knights, who had already been given a chamber by 1239 (*CLR, 1226-40, 402*).

We know a little of the accommodation which must have housed the increasing number of officials, artisans and servants who were needed for the daily running of the manor and palace. Only those at the top of this hierarchy had rooms of which we hear in detail. Two at least of the royal servants had buildings of their own at Clarendon in the mid thirteenth century. Master David, the king's carpenter, was working at the palace for several years around 1250. Indeed, many of the artistic works which were carried out at this period may have been overseen by him, if they were not his own creations. His wages were provided by successive sheriffs of Wiltshire. His own building was enclosed with 'a good wall'. A fireplace, a wardrobe and a privy chamber were provided in 1250, and an additional room for his tools in 1252 (*CLR, 1245-51, 239, 324; 1251-60, 61*). Robert de Stopham's house was close by. A wall was built from Master David's building to Robert's in 1250, with a gate towards the park. Like Master David's, Robert's house had its own privy chamber, built in 1256. Robert de Stopham may well have had responsibilities in the park and the forest, for at the same period a certain Roger de Stopham was amongst the very select band of royal huntsmen who were sent from forest to forest, including Clarendon Forest, to kill game for the royal table (*CLR, 1245-51, 324; 1251-60, 311*).

The stewards had a chamber which was improved by the addition of a fireplace and 'ample' windows in 1249, and by the levelling of the floor and the addition of a stair to its privy chamber in 1249 (*CLR, 1245-51, 156-7, 269*). The foresters had their own building, also improved by the addition of a privy, in 1252 (*CLR, 1251-60, 61*). In view of the general growth of accommodation for all activities at Clarendon, there is every reason to believe that the 'new chamber by the park' referred to in 1251 was an addition to the building stock of the manor at that date (*CLR, 1245-51, 362*).

The park, park pale and the privies

The palace and manorial buildings lay beside Clarendon Park. Within the walls of the manor there were gardens and lawns. Outside the walls lay the park. Medieval parks were established to provide a habitat for wild beasts which could be hunted. Parks can be

distinguished from the forest or the chase in that they were enclosed. The wall round the manorial buildings kept wild animals out.

A number of privies lay along or near the north wall of the palace. Many chambers were provided with their own privy in the thirteenth century, the evidence often pointing to locations towards the north wall and beyond it. The north wall, on the edge of the steep slope, was most suitable for these conveniences. In addition, most archaeological work has been carried out on the northern ranges which facilitates interpretation (pp. 52–4). The common privy, the main latrine, as shown above, lay outside the west gate in the park. This position close by the gate is reminiscent of the public latrines of many medieval towns. Along the northern scarp, various structures have been proposed as privies: **3e**, on the north-west corner, **4d** in the corner between the great hall (**5**) and the north kitchen (**4e**), **7c** and **7d** north of the king's chambers (**7**), **8b**, north-west of the Antioch chamber (**8**), **10f**, possibly the queen's tower, and **10g** in the space between **8**, the Antioch chamber, and **10**, the queen's apartments. **4d** might have been a building ordered in 1238 to provide a covered area for 'litter' and to include a privy, which was to project into the park. Mrs Eames has suggested the 1238 building might have been **7c**, provided for the outdoor clothing of the royal party who might not have wished to take such things either into the hall or up into the royal apartments, the interpretations of litter being rubbish on the one hand or clutter of outdoor clothing on the other (*CLR*, 1226–40, 238). The privy provided for the 'old hall' when it was converted from a stable to living accommodation, was placed between the building and the wall. All these places were undoubtedly chosen for privies because they lay towards the extremities of the site. To the north, in particular, the ground falls away sharply and would have provided good drainage.

The park itself had a ditch and bank surmounted by a paling, current work on which was completed between 1225 and 1230. Later, in 1254, further alterations were made to the enclosing pale when forty perches of paling were removed from the top of the park to the bottom, and some hedging was ordered for part of the boundary (*CLR*, 1251–60, 180).

Clarendon Forest: hunting and pasture

Beyond the park pale, with its deer leaps, lay the forest. Equidistant from Grovely to the north-west and Melchet to the south-east, Clarendon provided a convenient place for collecting together game taken by hunters in the different forests. We have noted activity in the Clarendon salsary above (p. 23). Positions as royal huntsmen seem to have been hereditary, or at least reserved to certain families in the thirteenth century. William Lovel (Le Fol, Luvel) and Philip de Candover were in time replaced by John Lovel and Henry de Candevre over the years 1240 to 1271 (*CLR*, 1226–40, 465; 1267–72, 194). Deer were not the only animals found in the forest. There were certainly still wolves in John's reign. The forest was also used for domesticated animals. In 1244 300 pigs were sent from the manors of the bishop of Winchester to be fattened in Clarendon Forest together with a further 300 which were taken to Chute Forest, also for fattening, in anticipation of the Christmas feast. The pigs were dispatched on 2 September. Ten weeks later orders were sent for all the pigs to be driven to Westminster without delay. The king spent Christmas at Westminster that year (*CLR*, 1240–45, 266, 277, 282).

Christmas feasts during Henry III's reign were significant events. Some of the orders in anticipation of Christmas 1240 amply bear this out. For this occasion the king requested

officials throughout the realm, in one series of orders alone, to supply an exceptional amount of flesh, fowl and fish. The meat consisted of 5 bulls, 80 porkers, 58 boars, 40 roe deer, 1,500 lambs, 200 kids, 1,000 hares and 500 rabbits. The poultry and birds requested were 7,000 hens, 1,100 partridges, 312 pheasants, 100 peacocks, 20 swans from Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, 10 from Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire and as many as possible from the lands of the bishop of Winchester and of the late earl of Warenne, together with 20 herons or bitterns and, if possible, in excess of 50 cranes. Finally orders were placed for fish at the rate of 300 shad, 120 salmon (to be turned into 300 pies and the remainder salted), 30 lampreys and an unspecified number of herrings (*CLR*, 1240–45, 11–12). It is noteworthy that there were so few pigs requested compared with the 600 in 1271. There was also comparatively little venison on this occasion, although Henry frequently enjoyed venison. In 1271, for example, he ordered 80 bucks from the forests of Clarendon, Chute, Melksham and from the royal park at Devizes. This was to celebrate the feast of his favourite saint, Edward the Confessor. The feast in that particular year was celebrated beside the Confessor's own church at Westminster on his day, 13 October (*CLR*, 1267–72, 179).

The animal bones and shells described and photographed at Clarendon during the 1930s (pl. XLVIc) and recovered in the course of the excavations in 1961, while small in quantity, provide some evidence to support this account. Predictably remains of ox, sheep and pig, of the domestic species, are the most numerous. Amongst other species red and fallow deer and rabbit were found. The excavators in the 1930s believed they had recovered remains of wild boar, although distinguishing between domestic and wild species of pig is now believed to be less easy than was once thought (below, pp. 260 ff.). Otherwise, remains of various birds were recovered, including domestic fowl, duck, goose, golden plover and an unknown species, resembling a heron/bittern type. The most surprising feature of the Clarendon faunal assemblage was the disproportionately large number of particularly big whelk shells recovered during the excavations in 1961. Mussel, cockle and winkle are yet to be found at Clarendon and there was a strikingly low number of oysters (pp. 264–5).

The later years of the reign

In the decade from 1256 the amount of building work and, more dramatically, a large fall in the amount of wine arriving at Clarendon reflect the restrictions imposed on the king as a result of the civil war. The projects at Clarendon were but a small part of the overall development programme pursued on royal buildings throughout the realm. The scale of royal expenditure in the period leading up to the late 1250s was amongst the grievances of the barons who opposed Henry. Before the rebels' defeat in 1265 they took from Henry the ability to continue spending on his building schemes in such an extravagant way.

In the remaining few years of his reign Henry was able once more to indulge his interest in art and architecture, but only on a much reduced scale. It was at this period that he had the Four Evangelists depicted in glass in the windows of the great hall at Clarendon – a far cry from the comprehensive decorative schemes of earlier years. In 1268 'a good strong prison' was ordered for Clarendon (Borenius 1933, 7). After 1269 we hear no more of work at Clarendon in the old king's reign. In the period leading up to Henry's death the Lord Edward had already assumed command and began to review his inheritance.

2. THE LATER PLANTAGENETS

Edward I

Two definitive documents about Clarendon survive from the early part of the reign of Edward I. First, a survey of the palace was made in 1272 or 1273 by Walter de Stircheslegh, sheriff of Wiltshire, accompanied by four knights. The survey listed dilapidations room by room. This provides by far the most comprehensive account of the palace which survives for any single point in its history. From the same period a second document survives which delineates the boundaries of Clarendon Forest. Thus we have a clear idea for the first time of the meaning of the phrase 'the manor of Clarendon with the forest and appurtenances, which belonged to the ancient demesne of the crown' (Phillipps 1833, 151–8; Hoare 1837, 116).

The Edwardian survey of the palace

The survey of the buildings at Clarendon revealed many defects, in this respect resembling a modern surveyor's report. It would appear that John Russell, who had assumed responsibility for the manor, wished to show that his predecessor had allowed the manorial buildings and lands to fall into a state of acute disrepair. Roofs and rainwater goods in particular required attention, and there had been a fire in one of the queen's chambers (10). Some useful information on materials is included in the survey and we learn of certain details about buildings for the first time. The survey starts with the great hall (5). The roof required reshingling and the buttresses on the northern side of the building were in need of repair. This shows that the danger to the hall from its northern wall's slipping away down the hill was ever present. Indeed, when maintenance did eventually cease, the north wall of the hall did collapse outwards, as the excavators showed, although they found no surviving evidence of the buttresses. Perhaps, as in the case of the east and west buttresses of the Antioch chamber (8a), the buttresses of the great hall had been robbed out. The buttery and pantry, perhaps 4b and 4c, and larder were in good condition, except that some work was needed on two windows of the buttery and three windows of the pantry. A difference of function can be detected between the two kitchens (4e and 4h). As described above, the original kitchen (4h) lay at the end of the westerly range of buildings, towards the western entrance (2), and had been included within the manorial area by the westwards removal of the great gate in 1240 (above, p. 24). The new kitchen (4e), which was to be 40 ft. (12 m.) square, was built in 1244 (above, p. 22). The survey differentiates between the kitchen of the king, which required roofing, and the kitchen of the family, which was in good condition. This may suggest that the original kitchen had continued in use for the king, and the new kitchen, which was less than thirty years old in 1273, was devoted to providing food for the household. A kitchen for the king's mouth only is a frequent feature of medieval royal documents. We learn also that in 1273 the courtyard (4a) round which the kitchen buildings were grouped was surrounded by a covered arcade, the roof and gutters of which were in a poor state of repair. The excavators found surviving evidence of what appeared to have been a covered walkway round this courtyard. A glimpse of this covered walkway can be seen in Allan Adams's reconstruction drawing (p. 70, and fig. 14).

As far as the royal suites themselves were concerned, that of the king (7) was in good condition, while the queen's (10) was in a much worse state. Both internal and external repairs to the queen's suite were required. The guttering on her chapel, together with the painting and

other interior features, perhaps damaged as a result of the defective rainwater goods, needed attention. Once more we find evidence of fire damage at the palace, for the joists in the queen's chambers had been damaged by fire during the previous royal visit and required much repair. The queen's wardrobe required a new roof, and both it and the king's wardrobe required new guttering (above, pp. 14–15, 19–20). All sorts of other repairs were needed to the manorial building stock. Covered passages connecting buildings and around cloisters, such as the servery arcade, required a good deal of attention. For example, the passage connecting the king and queen's chambers needed covering and repair of its gutters, as did the passage between the king's hall and chamber. Roofs in various places required attention. To the east of the manor the chamber 'with the chimney' beyond (?above) the great cellar (**12**) was in a ruinous condition and 'terribly' (*dire*) unroofed, as was another chamber in the same position. The ridge of de Nevill's chamber had partly rotted away (above, p. 28). The salsary, the chandlery, the wardrobe of an unidentified chamber called Mansell's chamber, the almonry and its stable, the king's children's chambers, John the Falconer's chamber, the house of the barber, and the king's and bailiff's stables all required roofing and repairs to several gutterings. A variety of less significant measures were to be taken as well, such as patching of walls and floors, and repairs to a number of windows, to the well-wheel and to the steps of the postern. Provision of racks and mangers in the king's and the bailiff's stables was a further requirement, as well as the repair of the little door of the latter.

'And thus it is seen', concluded the report on the buildings, 'that Stephen de Eddeworth left the said manor in bad condition, and John Russell received it in that state.'

It was noted above that no works were recorded at Clarendon after 1269 in the last years of Henry III. This was the year in which Stephen Edworth was appointed. Perhaps the dilapidations were the result of his inaction, together with Henry III's growing age and a concomitant slackening of the old king's interest in Clarendon. Edworth held office for four years. He was replaced by John Russell in August 1273 (*CPR, 1266–72*, 336; *CFR, 1272–1307*, 10). It must, however, be said in defence of Edworth and the other royal administrators of Clarendon in the Middle Ages that the sometimes flimsy nature of medieval buildings, particularly the roofs, led inevitably to the necessity for continuous maintenance. Only the most assiduous and prompt attention to the detail of repair and maintenance would have ensured that the buildings remained in a good state of repair. Reports were not enough; the work had then to be carried out, and whether all work was carried out immediately is often now unknown to us.

The palace, the forest and the neighbourhood

At the beginning of Edward I's reign there were reportedly many oaks lying on the ground at Clarendon, where many branches had been cut off. The underwood there was, however, well preserved. Clarendon Park, on the other hand, was badly enclosed. Within the forest there were only a few old bucks, although it was tolerably well supplied with does and fawns. The neighbouring forest of Melchet was well preserved in both vert and venison, but Grovely was not well preserved in vert, and there were many goats there, but few other beasts. The subject of Clarendon Forest in the context of Wiltshire forests generally is adequately covered elsewhere in detail (*VCH, iv*, 391 ff., 427–42).

In Edward I's reign, and undoubtedly from much earlier too, Clarendon had provided a convenient centre for the receipt of royal dues from communities and manors in the neighbourhood. Lands for which accounts were rendered at Clarendon included areas at Laverstock, from which, at this period, so much of the pottery excavated at the site came. Perhaps the dues were partly rendered in pottery, or perhaps the delivery of goods to the palace provided a convenient opportunity for the payment of manorial dues. Payments were also made for lands at 'Muleford' (Milford), for a virgate of land in Plaitford and two virgates in 'Alwardbury' (Alderbury), in this case towards the keeping of royal hunting dogs. The prior of the monastery of Ivychurch also made his settlement with the royal officials at Clarendon for land held of the crown since Stephen's reign, when the monastery was founded (above, p. 4). In 1292, while Edward was staying at Clarendon, he took the opportunity to pardon a man of the local Pytton family who was then held in the Marshalsea prison for transgressing forest law (Hoare 1837, 122). The Marshalsea prison referred to here was probably at Clarendon itself, rather than in London where the best-known prison of that name was to be found. There is certainly a reference to a prison called the Marshalsea at Clarendon in 1315 (p. 35).

Repairs to the manor and oversight of the forests continued throughout Edward's reign. The initial programme carried out after the survey of 1273 had put the manor in order, but regular repairs were still a necessity. Letters patent were dated at Clarendon on 5 and 6 May 1302, which may be an indication that Edward himself visited the manor briefly *en route* from Devizes, where he was on 1 May, to Stockbridge, to the east, where he was on 8 May (CPR, 1301-1307, 35-6, 83). This itinerary may have led to the issue of orders in November 1302 for repairs at Clarendon, Ludgershall and Old Sarum Castle, for which ten oaks were to be taken in the forest. A significant roofing project was undertaken in 1306 when sixty oaks were to be cut in the forest for shingles 'to cover the king's houses' at Clarendon alone (CPR, 1301-1307, 60; CCR, 1302-1307, 362). Activity elsewhere in the forests surrounding the manor at this period included permission granted to Robert de Clyfford in 1303 to dig a ditch 160 ft. wide (45 m.) round his wood at Winterslow. He was to sell the trees felled in the process (CPR, 1301-1307, 107).

Edward II

Like his father, Edward II took a keen interest in Clarendon. He was soon to discover that the passage of time continually took its toll of the buildings. Much of Henry III's work was already over half a century old when his grandson acquired Clarendon on his accession in 1307. In 1315 the buildings were once more in a bad state of repair. Dilapidations assessed at £1,830, excluding timber, were noted. Richard de Chiseldene and John Turpyn were appointed to survey the manor in early May and reported in mid June. Their detailed survey provides further valuable information on the disposition and nomenclature of the buildings on the manor. It is worth examining in some detail.

The survey of 1315

The £1,830 was broken down into the following sums required for repairs: the king's chapel (9) near the king's chamber, £40; the king's chamber, £20; the hall (5) with pantry and buttery (4b and 4c), £100; two kitchens (4e and 4h) with passage and pentice between the hall and the kitchens, £120, including the larder and salsary; the chamber with garderobe on the east side of

the hall, £40; the chamber called 'Antioche' (8) with garderobe, £40; the queen's chambers (10) with passage and pentice towards the hall and the queen's chapel, £60; the great cellar (12) for the king's wine with the chamber above, £400; two chambers called the 'bretheren's chambers', £140; the chamber for the chancellor and the clerks of the chancery, £20; the chamber of the chaplains and clerks of the king and queen, £20; the east gate with the chamber above, £20; two chambers for the clerks, £10; the steward's chamber with the passage and pentice to the hall, £50; the chamber for the king's children (*puerorum*) with passage and pentice and staircase to the king's chamber, £40; the buildings for the chandlery, £40; the treasurer's chamber, £40; the chapel for the king's household, £60; the king's almoner's chamber, £10; the buildings for the Marshalsea, £100; the chamber near the west gate with garderobe, £60; four chambers of office, £60; the west gate (2) with the chamber above, £40; walls, ditches, hedges and fences about the manor, £300.

The surveyors concluded that all the defects which necessitated such extensive repairs had happened when John de Vyene and William de Bello Campo (Beauchamp) had served as keepers of the manor. The root cause of the damage was neglect of roofing. In one instance, the surveyors reported, Vyene had appointed a deputy, Robert Walraund, who had received £60 from the king for roofing repairs, but had spent only £5 of it. Professor Tout considered this document in his *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*. He seems to have thought that these works were additions rather than repairs, which they clearly were not. His attention was arrested by the chambers for the chancellor and the clerks of the chancery and for the treasurer. The former may have replaced, or remodelled, the chancellery of which mention was made in the reign of Henry III (above, p. 28). Whether the treasurer's chamber was the chamber of the wardrobe treasurer or the exchequer treasurer is not revealed (*CIM*, 1307-49, ii, 50; Tout 1922-33, i, 67-8; ii, 75). In 1316 we learn of the provision of a lock and key for the 'wyket' of the great solar (Salzman 1952, 255).

A parliament was summoned to Clarendon in 1317 (Borenius and Charlton 1936, 61). It may have been the prospect of this occasion which led to the putting in hand of considerable works in that year. Nearly £300 were spent on the buildings. The great well was cleaned out by four men who drew out the stinking water and debris. The master mason was Henry le Mason, and the master carpenter Robert Hendy (*CCR*, 1313-18, 389, 393; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 917). The proposed parliament did not, in the end, meet, or the summons met with a very limited response. The king himself probably did visit the manor at this time, for writs were issued at Clarendon in February and March 1317 (*CIM*, 1307-49, 64-9, 79). He may also have visited the manor in August 1326 as writs were issued at Clarendon on the 12 and 22 August (*CIM*, 1307-49, ii, 227).

Edward III

As his predecessors had done, so Edward III continued to take an interest in Clarendon and annual programmes of repairs and renewal were carried through. In common with the practice of his father and grandfather on their accession, a survey of damage and necessary repairs was carried out at the beginning of Edward's reign (*CIM*, 1307-49, ii, 242). Although this survey is very fragmentary, we hear of the gate to the king's apartments being rebuilt at Clarendon. In addition, the 'large chapel is so decayed that services cannot be celebrated in it'.

Perhaps significantly we also learn at this time of 'the gate called Dernegate with the room (*camera*) above' and that 'the new barn built by the order of the late king Edward II . . . will cost 40s. to repair'. These references are by no means clear, but they demonstrate the existence of a gate other than the great gate to the west (2). Taking the reference to the Dernegate together with the reference to the barn, Mr Musty, after consultation with H.M. Colvin, set to work in the south-east area of the site in 1961, partly in the hope of discovering the Dernegate in view of the identification of structures 17a and 17b as barns adjacent to the south-east corner. Although the Dernegate was not discovered, much was learnt about the layout of that area of the site, and this is reported below. (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 917; correspondence, Colvin to Musty, citing PRO C 145/106 (8), 22 August 1961; below, pp. 72-9.)

In this reign there were to be some more substantial works carried out at the forest palace too. These included an important series of works on the great hall (5), perhaps amounting to its remodelling. However, as the detailed accounts such as those of the reign of Henry III are lacking for the fourteenth century, it is thus much more difficult to associate particular works with particular buildings than was possible in the earlier period.

The early years of the reign

The king gave instructions in 1331 that the manor of Clarendon should be prepared for Queen Philippa's confinement. This was done at a cost of £126 spent on the hall, chambers and other buildings. This was a modest sum compared to the £700 spent on a bed for the young queen 'of green velvet cloth embroidered in gold with sea-sirens, bearing a shield with the arms of England and Hainault' made for a later confinement in 1335. She also had a white robe for the same occasion 'worked with pearls and a robe of velvet cloth embroidered with gold of divers workmanship' (Prestwich 1980, 242). The child in honour of whom these elaborate preparations were made died almost immediately in 1336. Fortunately, the baby born at Clarendon in 1332 survived. This was Isabella, the king's second child and eldest daughter. As he had named his eldest son Edward of Woodstock (the Black Prince) after his father, so Edward III named his eldest daughter after his mother. Princess Isabella was later to marry Enguerrard de Coucy, count of Soissons.

Edward may have made some flying visits to Clarendon in the early 1330s. Writs were issued from the Wiltshire palace in his name in August, November and December 1331, in November 1333 and in August 1334 (*CIM*, 1307-49, ii, 289, 291, 297, 309, 328, 342-3). However, it was the success of the Scots in their wars of independence and the increasing tension with France which were to concern Edward for much of the 1330s. Campaigns in Scotland up to 1336, and the outbreak of hostilities with France in 1337, kept the king occupied.

At the manor of Clarendon these years of war against Scotland and against France brought little notable building activity. A lodge for the park keeper was, however, built in the park at this time. This consisted of a hall, two chambers, garderobe, cellar, pantry, kitchen, larder and stable. All this cost £350 (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 917). Meanwhile the major focus of activity in the neighbourhood was elsewhere. The demolition of the isolated cathedral at Old Sarum finally began in 1331 and, with the appointment of Richard Farleigh, work began in 1334 on the great spire at Salisbury Cathedral.

The 1340s

The royal administration, probably accompanied by the king, was at Clarendon in July and August 1343, when letters close were sealed there (*CCR, 1343-6*, 68, 74, 78, 126, 226). From the early years of Edward's reign it is notoriously difficult to be sure where the monarch was in relation to the places where documents were sealed. Indeed, the Walton Ordinances of 1338 were designed to clear up some of the anomalies of documentary sealing.

At Neville's Cross in 1346, David II of Scotland was captured and became a prisoner south of the border. The next year David went hunting with Edward III at Clarendon on the English king's return from the successful campaign which included the victory at Crecy in 1346 and the strategically important capture of Calais in 1347.

The joint triumphs over the French and the Scots were dimmed by the arrival in England of the Black Death in 1348. The king, who lost a daughter in the plague, saw the high mortality amongst town populations. He was thus much in evidence at his country retreats in the following years. He began to take an active interest in Clarendon, visiting the palace regularly for hunting parties in the summer months. In 1349 the administration was at Clarendon at least from 12 July to 12 August, with intermittent visits to places in the locality such as Marlborough (*CIM, 1348-77*, 9-13; *CCR, 1349-54*, 40-8, 95-7). Although the evidence for the effects of the plague in Wiltshire is very deficient at present, what there is provides some clear indications of the mortality and disruption in the area adjacent to Clarendon to the south. We have nothing for the manor itself. The priory of Ivychurch, only some 2½ miles from the palace, was devastated. The canons, whose activities included serving the palace, lost thirteen out of their strength of fourteen during the epidemic. Just along the road to the east of Ivychurch, and only 5 miles from the palace, lay the manor of East Grimstead and West Dean. Here, although interpretations differ slightly, there is a similar picture of sudden catastrophic mortality. At worst all the tenants in both villis were killed in the 1348 outbreak, and at best only three survived to 1350 (*Shrewsbury 1970*, 57).

The 1350s

In the summer of 1353 the court was again at Clarendon. Edward arrived with the household from Salisbury on 31 July and stayed at Clarendon certainly until 10 August, and probably for the whole month (*PRO E 101/392/12*, f. 19; *Tout 1922-33*, iv, 179). He undoubtedly spent more time at Clarendon than at any of the other thirty places he visited in that particular itinerary in which he visited manors close to London and in the south, before setting off into the eastern counties after spending Christmas at Eltham Palace.

The Black Prince had won his spurs at Crecy while still in his teens. When campaigning started up again in the 1350s, he was still a bachelor, and would have been twenty-five when he set out on his campaigns of the years 1355-7, which included the victory at Poitiers. During this period Clarendon was the birthplace of another royal child. Unlike Isabella, who had been born at the palace in 1332, Roger, born there twenty years later, was illegitimate. His father was the Black Prince, but the identity of his mother remains obscure. Roger was given the name of his birthplace. Not until 1361 was the Black Prince married to Joan of Kent. Roger of Clarendon was a good ten years older than his half-brother, Richard of Bordeaux, who reigned as Richard II from 1377. Like his father, Roger only survived to his forties, but he outlived

Richard. In 1402, three years after Richard's deposition, Roger was alleged to have been implicated in a pro-Richard plot and was executed by Henry IV.

From the 1350s the Clarendon accounts were under the supervision of Bartholomew of Bradden, a canon of Salisbury, while Master Walter of Calne supervised the carpentry and other works (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 917; *CPR*, 1354–8, 9, 94; *CCR*, 1354–60, 471). Bradden spent some £500 during this building phase at Clarendon. In 1354 a major re-roofing project was undertaken. Amongst the chambers re-roofed were the king's chapel, the 'great chamber' and the 'knyghten chamber'. A good idea of the scale of these works is derived from the royal accounts for 1354, which refer to the purchase from Alderbury, for Clarendon Palace, of 64,000 tiles for £12 16s., 1,000 hip tiles for 15s. and 50 crests for 2s. 6d. (PRO E 101/459/29). Labourers such as carpenters and stonemasons were required and the overseers of the works were given powers to find such men and put them to work. The position was no doubt complicated in that the household was twice at Clarendon in 1354, first in July and August and again in December (*CPR*, 1354–8, 94–8, 149–64). In the years 1354–6 the alterations to the common church of All Saints were completed (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 61; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 917).

Irregular visits continued in 1356 (April to May and September); 1357 (September) and 1358 (June and September) (*CPR*, 1354–8, 360, 368, 376–82, 435–8, 600; 1358–61, 53, 100). In 1356 Philip of Navarre, whose brother Charles, King of Navarre, was a prisoner of the French king, fled to England and came to visit Edward III at Clarendon. Philip did homage to Edward III, recognizing him as King of France and Duke of Normandy (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 61). There is less substance in the local legend that Edward III and his two royal prisoners, David II of Scotland and John II of France, enjoyed a hunting party together at Clarendon in 1357. King David was almost certainly not there in that year, when the three kings were supposed to have been taking refuge from the plague in London. For one thing, there was no recorded outbreak of bubonic plague in 1357, although there might have been some other disease in the capital. The story of the hunting party can be traced back only to John Britton's account published in 1801 (Britton 1801, 121; Borenus and Charlton 1936, 61–2).

In 1358–9 the great hall (5) was substantially repaired, or even rebuilt, with stone stated in the accounts to have come from Chilmark in the Nadder Valley (Hoare 1837, 35, 176; Borenus and Charlton 1936, 61). The prison which appears in the records of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was still in use at this date. In 1359 a forest offender, Thomas of Radenore, who had killed a buck in Grovely Forest, was pardoned for this misdemeanour and also for escaping from the prison at Clarendon (*CPR*, 1358–61, 258).

Roof works became increasingly common at Clarendon during the fourteenth century, as exemplified by the roof works of the 1350s. An explanation may in part be sought in the deteriorating weather conditions of the period. Perhaps the wooden shingles which had been suitable for all-weather roofing in a more temperate era were less satisfactory in these new conditions and so tiling became more desirable. Accounts of severe storms become more common.

Royal visits and works in the 1360s

Perhaps because of the possibility of checking expenditure in the lull in the war brought about by the Treaty of Bretigny, an apparent spot check was carried out on the king's

instructions in 1360. The sheriff of Wiltshire was sent to survey repairs which were then in progress on the keeper of the park's hall at Clarendon to ascertain whether the repairs would cost the 60s. which had been indented for, and to pay that sum, or less according to what he found (*CCR*, 1360-4, 90). Administrative records were occasionally sealed at Clarendon in August and September 1361 while the household visited various places near Salisbury and in the New Forest (*CPR*, 1361-4, 45, 49, 61, 74). A curious reference survives from an inquisition *post mortem* undertaken at Salisbury in the autumn of 1361. The inquiry was into the heirs of Gilbert de Berewyk, who had held the manor of Winterslow. The inquiry revealed that Gilbert had held the manor of the king in chief 'by grand serjeanty to wit, making a wine called Clar' when warned at the king's costs and serving the king therewith from a cup at his coming'. We learn elsewhere that this cup of wine also called 'clarre' was to be served to the king when he visited Clarendon, by the duly proven heir of Berewyk, John de la Roche. This would appear to have been another local Wiltshire brew like the *ferrati* presented to Henry III (above, p. 28). The location of Winterslow within the bounds of Clarendon Forest, together with the name of the wine, encourages the belief that this wine may have taken its name from the royal manor of Clarendon itself. The Clarendon connection is further strengthened by John's surname, la Roche, which is itself shared with the great wine cellar at Clarendon (*CIPM*, xi, 51; *CCR*, 1361-4, 221). Preparations for a royal visit when the king could have enjoyed his cup of wine were put in train in 1362 when works were undertaken on the manorial buildings in the wake of severe storms (*CPR*, 1361-4, 177).

Storms swept fiercely through the Wiltshire forest in 1363 causing considerable damage to the great gate of Clarendon Manor, which had to be repaired with 'great nails called waternails' (Salzman 1952, 305). There was plenty of wood available for repairs to the park pale from trees which had been blown down by this exceptional March gale. General roofing repairs were also required. This was perhaps the very storm described in the Brut chronicle, when 'so fierce a south wind started that he broke and blew down to the ground high houses and strong towers, churches and steeples and other strong things, and all other strong structures that still stood were so shaken with it that they are still, and always will be, the feebler and weaker while they stand'. The cause of these exceptional storms may have been the violent eruption of the volcano Öraefajökull in Iceland in 1362, this perhaps accounting for the bad weather and poor harvest. The maintenance of the manor was left in the hands of the Salisbury clerks, such as canon Martin de Moulissh, and John of Wilton, parson of St Thomas's church, who was controller of works during the aftermath of these storms (*CPR*, 1364-7, 177, 183; 1367-70, 148, 175, 459-60; 1370-4, 147, 281; *CCR*, 1369-74, 39).

Between late June and September 1366, while pursuing an itinerary based on the New Forest, Edward was intermittently at Clarendon as well as visiting Tytherley, Breamore, Brockenhurst, Beaulieu, Corfe, Cranborne and Downton (*CPR*, 1364-7, 260). Workmen were not as freely available as they had been before the plague. This perhaps explains why the repair orders issued for the manor, for example in 1362 and 1369, in addition to stating the works required, add the rider that the controllers of works at Clarendon should 'take contrarious and rebellious people', presumably those who refused to carry out their tasks, and commit them to prison (*CPR*, 1367-70, 224-5).

Edward continued a summer itinerary as usual in 1369. We find his *garderoba robarum*, perhaps a wardrobe in the modern sense, at Clarendon for part of the summer between 2 June

and 12 September. In the same summer Queen Philippa died on 15 August at Havering. Although he was to live another eight years after the queen's death, Edward was already a sick man when she died. In the summer of 1370 his visit to Clarendon was the furthest journey he made outside London. He was, perhaps, already suffering from the senility which was to mar his final years (*CCR*, 1369-74, 147-52, 192; *CIPM*, xii, 24-5, 31). A single documentary sealing at Clarendon on 4 August 1371 is the last found in the old king's reign, although repairs to the park paling and to the manorial buildings continued (*CPR*, 1370-4, 42, 281; 1374-7, 235).

Richard II

Richard II did not have the same affection for Clarendon as his grandfather, and made almost as little use of it as his father had done. Richard was often at Salisbury, but almost always passed on without stopping at Clarendon. He was there, however, for almost a month between 30 April and 1 June 1384, with only occasional forays to Salisbury (*CCR*, 1381-5, 448, 452, 558). The chase which is recorded from this period was apparently on a grand scale. Richard was able to send the dean and chapter of Salisbury fifteen deer from the forest. These were a tithe of the 150 taken in the chase. The clergy's right to a tithe of venison dated back at least to Henry II's day and was bound up with the forest laws which the Norman kings had imposed on their unwilling subjects. Richard was possibly planning to use the palace for parties, as his grandfather Edward III had done. In 1385 we find a record characteristic of a king famous for his court life and circle. This entry records the erection of a 'great fireplace of two hearths (*focis*) made for the dancing room (*camera tripudiant'*) and the king's wardrobe' (Salzman 1952, 99-100; PRO E 101 /473/2). Double fireplaces, whether side by side or back to back with a shared flue, are known at this period from other royal sites. This may have been a combination of both types, perhaps even with double hearths in each room. The dancing room had a contemporary parallel at Eltham (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 934).

There were a variety of reasons for Richard's lack of personal interest in Clarendon. At first his minority ensured that he was kept close to the centre of power. Clarendon was not a place with which the regents were familiar and their rule was not popular. Richard found himself face to face with resistance to government policy during the Great Revolt of 1381. In addition the funds which were collected were swallowed up in an unsuccessful war effort.

The surveys taken under Edward I and Edward II had shown how property deteriorated very quickly if it was not maintained well and regularly. The upkeep of the buildings at Clarendon had been transferred in 1378 to the clerk of the king's works (*CPR*, 1377-81, 197). It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that during Richard's minority, and at other times in his reign when he was not able to control expenditure through the exchequer, moneys were misappropriated by those with influence. Thus work on royal estates such as Clarendon may have been less well done than at times of close royal scrutiny of accounting. Perhaps also as a result of this lessening of personal royal interest by the reigning monarch, there were bitter complaints at the 'Merciless' Parliament of 1388 against the behaviour of the royal officials in the park at Clarendon (*RP*, iii, 254). Despite his emblem, the white hart, Richard was not a great hunter. After he came of age in 1388 his reign became increasingly a power struggle between the king, his favourites and other members of the nobility. In such circumstances it is not surprising to find little evidence of associations with Clarendon in the latter part of the

reign. In 1389, for example, virtually every single documentary sealing was at Westminster, apart from two at Clarendon on 14 and 15 September (*CCR, 1389-92*, 23, 69).

3. LANCASTRIANS, YORKISTS AND DECLINE

Henry IV and Henry V

Richard II was deposed in 1399 and murdered. Bolingbroke became Henry IV. At first Henry was much preoccupied with establishing himself firmly on the throne. There were plots, and alleged plots, to restore Richard. Roger of Clarendon was accused of supporting one of these enterprises. He paid for the accusation, and for his close blood relationship to the former king, with his life (above, pp. 37-8). Much of Henry's business was conducted away from the south, for example the campaigns against the Scots early in his reign. There was unrest in the north of England, which was not settled until the defeat of the Percys at Shrewsbury in 1403. But in spite of all these distractions Henry IV may have intended to use Clarendon, for the fifteenth century opened, so far as Clarendon was concerned, with the construction of a spacious new stable block 63 ft. (19.2 m.) long, near one of the gates. A substantial timber roof was ordered consisting of 'xlvj couplez raftres' among other timber (Salzman 1952, 210; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 918).

Both the Lancastrian and the Yorkist kings carried through a consistent programme of maintenance at Clarendon through a local deputy to the clerk of the king's works. The clerks of the king's works included men such as John Straunge, who served both Henry IV and Henry V as clerk of works. He had responsibility for Clarendon and other palaces and manors. A document dated at Clarendon in Henry IV's reign demonstrates that the clerk found time to supervise works personally on occasions (*CPR, Temp. HIV*, i, 59; *CPR, 1413-16*, 11). John Straunge gave way to John Arderne as clerk of works to the royal manors in 1421, and appointed Robert Okebourne as his deputy at Clarendon almost immediately (*CPR, 1416-22*, 401, 411). All aspects of maintenance were covered: work was done on the roofs, the windows of the hall, the chapel, the kitchen and elsewhere. The lodges in the neighbouring forests at Grovely, Melchet and Buckholt come into closer focus at this period, although as none have been excavated the precise details of their architecture and construction remain obscure (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 917-18; seventeenth-century estate map, Hammond 1914-16, pl. opp. 1; *VCH*, iv, 427-31, 454-5).

Henry V probably did not visit Clarendon while he was king. There is evidence that from the early fifteenth century the park at Clarendon became increasingly exploited as a commercial rabbit warren. The quantity of unbutchered rabbit bones recovered from the site in 1961 bears out the presence of rabbits in considerable numbers, but whether the bones are the remains of jugged rabbits from the table, or of rabbits which died in the warrens, is not clear (p. 263). Richard Etton was appointed launder (keeper of the launds or lawns) in 1416 with specific responsibility for deer and conies. Apart from the appearance in the records of the rabbit warrens, business in the forest continued much as usual.

Henry VI

Henry VI came to the throne in 1422 at the age of nine months. However, he was not to visit Clarendon until he was well into his teens. The administration of the manor continued to function regardless of the king's presence or absence. With the beginning of the new reign the prior of Ivychurch confirmed his rights to pasture in the park for forty oxen and cattle, and for twenty pigs and their offspring. The right of the priory to firewood was also confirmed in the renewed permission granted for a man known as a 'stikker' to collect wood in the park and take it to the priory (*CCR, 1422-9*, 75-6). Richard Etton the launder gave way in 1433 to William Langton, who took on the office and responsibilities (*CPR, 1429-36*, 263-4). The king paid his first recorded visit to the Wiltshire palace in August 1438, arriving on 5 August via Andover and Kings Somborne, Hants. He stayed until 8 August, when he left for Salisbury (*CPR, 1436-41*, 184, 192). This was the first of only three visits he made to Clarendon during his reign. During his absences the royal officials kept up the manor. In 1440 George Curteys, 'clerk harbinger', took the post of clerk of works formerly filled by John Arderne and John Straunge. He instantly laid hands on stonecutters, masons, carpenters and other artisans and set them to work with their requisite stores of stone, tiles, laths, shingles, iron, glass and lead (*CPR, 1436-41*, 404). Within the next two decades Curteys gave way to William Cleve, Cleve to Edmund Blake in 1452 and Blake to Thomas Stratton in 1456 (*CPR, 1446-52*, 514; *1452-61*, 289).

Henry was married to Margaret of Anjou in 1445 at Titchfield, Hampshire. This royal marriage, like others before it, led to building works. Repairs were carried out at Westminster and Windsor, as well as at Clarendon. These works constituted what were to be amongst the last flurries of building activity at the Wiltshire palace. The Clarendon account in 1445 refers to three great lattices, which were made to protect three glazed windows in the king's chapel. Each lattice was 6 ft. by 1 ft. 6 in. (1.8 by 0.46 m.), which gives some indication of the size of the windows. At 3*d.* a foot, the total cost was, somewhat confusingly, 6*s.* 8*d.* (Salzman 1952, 186). In July 1447, in the wake of the king's marriage, Sir William Cleve, clerk of the king's works, in the face of mounting pressures on royal finances, secured £2,000 for construction work at the royal palaces (Griffiths 1981, 318; *CPR, 1437-46*, 375, 394, 412, 437). Henry paid his second visit to Clarendon in July 1448. He travelled from Cambridge via Westminster to Clarendon, approaching through Ashe and Wallop, to spend a few days at the palace between 21 and 24 July before moving on to Shaftesbury, Dorset (Wolffe 1981, 367). By this period the accounts are in English and that for 1448 includes the following entry: 'for taking down an old gat callyd west gatte . . . and digging a new fundament for the same' (2). At the same time a new bell was provided to replace the old cracked one in the king's chapel. There is no previous reference to the king's private chapel having a steeple, apart from the enigmatic reference to a trap in 1244 (above, p. 16). Thus, it is not clear whether this particular reference is to the king's private chapel or to the All Saints chapel, which certainly had a belltower from c. 1250 (above p. 27). Over the years, no doubt with so much building and rebuilding, coupled with periods of neglect, much debris had built up in the levels round the buildings. Much of this was now removed from 'the gret Barton other wyse called an enner cort in the manor'. No less than 500 cart-loads of rubble were removed because, it was said, the refuse would in time have destroyed 'five good houses' of the king set round the 'berton'.

Henry VI came to Clarendon in 1450 to see justice done to those who had deprived him of

his friend and servant Bishop Ayscough, the bishop of Salisbury, who was murdered in 1450 at Edington in Wiltshire. Ayscough's murderers, who had dragged the bishop from the altar while he was saying mass, were quickly brought to account. The murder of Ayscough, a former royal chaplain and a friend of Suffolk who suffered a similar fate at the same date, was symptomatic of the opposition to royal government at the period.

In 1453 Henry returned to Clarendon for his third, final and fateful visit. It was here, according to one account, that he was first struck by the nervous disorder which was to make him, in the first instance, incapable of governing for more than a year (Stevenson 1864, (ii) 2, 771). Benet's chronicler gives 1 August as the date of the beginning of Henry's insanity. He was certainly at Clarendon on 5 August 1453, and on the 7th he received a kiss of homage from Sir William Stourton. In July, shortly before the royal party arrived at Clarendon, the English were defeated at Castillon. This was the end of English enterprises in Gascony, leaving them only Calais as the residue of their French empire. The news of the defeat at Castillon and the death of Talbot must have reached Henry at this very time, either in late July, or perhaps in the first week of August. The news was a profound shock to the king. Henry's government was in ruins and he and his subjects approaching a civil war. To make matters worse the infidels captured Constantinople in the same year. These were ample causes for the collapse of a stronger constitution than that of Henry VI. Some kind of schizophrenia is a possibility; certainly he retreated into a state of non-communication with those around him. On 11 August privy seal warrants ceased to be dated at Clarendon (with a single exception on 3 October) which may suggest that Henry was incapable of taking further active part in government by then. He remained at Clarendon until shortly before Christmas. His state improved little: he was unable to recognize members of his own family, or close councillors, who were received impassively. It was to be some seventeen months before he was able to take an active part in government once more, but his constitution was never the same again (Griffiths 1981, 715, 758; Wolffe 1981, 18, 270-1, 273, 370).

The close of the Middle Ages

Although little more is heard of royal visits to Clarendon after the reign of Henry VI, the manor was kept up by successive officials. Thomas Hery in 1457 and John Chafyn of Salisbury in 1460 were charged with repairing Clarendon with specified skilled labourers and a lengthy list of materials (*CPR*, 1452-61, 399, 607). Edward Gower was appointed as clerk of works of 'oure mansion and parke' of Clarendon at 12d. a day in 1461 (*CCR*, 1461-68, 166, 345). He was still in this post in 1466. Thomas Troyes, a collector of the royal customs in the port of Southampton, obtained the post in 1472 and still held the office in 1485 (Borenius and Charlton 1936, 62). Some detailed accounts survive from this period. In 1477 the 'Bolpit' prison was rebuilt as a two-storey building with a chamber over the prison. A latrine partitioned off for the use of the prisoners was provided in the chamber 'beyond the Bolpit' (Salzman 1952, 261; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 918). In 1480 wooden rods were collected for the construction of wattle walls in the chambers which were subsequently daubed. Similar work was carried out in 1484 (Salzman 1952, 190). In 1482 various jobs were done. The outer lodge was faced with weatherboarding, probably the triangular-sectioned overlapping boards of the type still seen, especially in wealden houses (Salzman 1952, 244). Supplies of iron objects were brought to the manor, including hooks and 'gosefett' (i.e. goosefeet or tripod clamps). A

flavour of the kind of work done can be gleaned from the records of four days spent cleaning out the well:

For mendyng the *hopys chaynys* and *coterels* at the well . . . For 2 *heyrnropes* for cleaning the well . . . To Thomas Warmewell for going down into the same well to clean it – at 2s. a day 8s. For great candles called *talowe perchers* for lighting the said Thomas at the bottom of the well and burning there for 4 days – 2d. Paid to 4 labourers running in the great wheel [probably a tread wheel] for the said 4 days – 6s. 8d. For a great new rope called *a grete gabull* [i.e. cable] for the well, 24 fathoms in length weighing 117 lbs. – at $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. the lb. – 12s. $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. (Salzman 1952, 278).

Administration and exploitation of the park and forest adjacent to the palace and manorial buildings continued throughout the period. The election of verderers took place regularly. In 1461, for example, John Mompesson, verderer in the forest of Clarendon, was deemed too sick and aged to exercise his office, and was replaced. Similarly in 1464 another verderer, Simon Milborne, died and a replacement was thus sought (*CCR, 1461–68*, 43, 218). Edward IV took some interest in these officials, as we learn in 1471 when Walter Borowe, verderer in Clarendon Forest, was reported to be dead and the king requested a note of who was elected to fill the post (*CCR, 1468–76*, 148, no. 573). Another office which continued to be filled regularly was that of ‘landerer’ (*landarius*) or launder of the park. One or two officials held this position at any one time, and included Thomas Combe, Thomas Perkyns and John Shorter, who were officiating at the end of Edward IV’s reign. Shorter was a yeoman of the crown and received a standard return as launderer paid by the sheriff of Wiltshire out of the issues of the county. The launder, or his ‘sufficient deputy’, was to receive wages at the rate of 3d. a day and 13s. 4d., one mark, at Christmas for his winter robe, and 10s. at Easter annually for his summer robe. The office and its rewards seem to have been long-established, for the payments from the revenues of Wiltshire and the rabbit warren at Clarendon Park were designated at the rates paid in 1377 and in 1394–5. In addition, whatever ‘profits, regards and emoluments’ which accrued to the office were to be enjoyed by the holders (*CCR, 1476–1485*, 254; 262). The prior of Ivychurch continued to claim his rights to lands within the precincts of the declining manor and palace. In the 1460s he confirmed his rights over what must have been a sizeable piece of land in Clarendon Park called ‘Felescroft’, and ‘a pasture for 40 oxen and kine, 20 hogs and their issue pasturing continually within the said park’. These lands went with free access as granted in charters of former kings.

Clarendon was still referred to as a ‘towne’ in Richard III’s reign, which gives some impression of the scale of the settlement at that date. Its role was changing from that of a palace often frequented by the royal household to a place of more local significance. The prominence of the prison is perhaps the most obvious manifestation of this. Accounts for maintenance and alteration were still made at the royal exchequer. In 1485, the very year of Bosworth Field, while the country was in turmoil, the growing body of civil servants were able to continue calmly their task of administration. At Clarendon work was undertaken on the ‘ovyn’, which was in need of repair for which both ‘herthtyle’ and ‘pavingtyle’ were purchased. Also associated with these fireplace works was the provision of ‘j packe of bayesalt’. The nature of the association between salt and fireplace building at Clarendon, as elsewhere, remains obscure (Salzman 1952, 99, 102, 162).

The Tudors

The Tudors, less easy on their thrones in view of the increasing facility with which kings had been deposed in the later Middle Ages, settled nearer London. Greenwich and Hampton Court were to be examples of places where the new dynasty was to enjoy its leisure. The damage to residences such as Clarendon may have been done by lack of expenditure under the parsimonious monarch Henry VII. The manor of Clarendon and its profits, computed at 4*d.* a day, were granted in 1491 to William Middleton, esquire of the king's hospice, to hold himself or by sufficient deputy (*CCR, 1485–1500*, 149 no. 524). Henry's favourite palace was Sheen, with its shining domes and cupolas. When this was burnt out in 1497 such money as Henry had in hand for palaces was spent on the replacement at Richmond and on rebuilding Baynard's Castle and Greenwich (Chrimes 1972, 305). The style of the Tudor monarchy was different from the itinerant ways of the medieval kings. There may be scant justification for all the places associated with King John, but on one authoritative estimate he was never in one place for more than one month through his entire seventeen-year reign. Whatever the precise details of the decline of Clarendon, it was still noted by Leland in *c.* 1540 (below, p. 47). Possibly the forest and manor had been split up by then. The forest wardenship passed to Sir William Herbert, later the first earl of Pembroke, in the reign of Edward VI. Pembroke was succeeded in the office by his son, who died in 1601. As for the buildings, the records are mute. In his *Acts and Monuments*, published in 1570, Fox located Clarendon in France (Fox 1570, 46).

The last documented royal visit to the site was in 1574. Queen Elizabeth was travelling slowly towards London after visiting Bristol, where she had been lavishly received. She was, our commentator relates, staying at Wilton for a weekend 'during all which tyme her majesty was boeth merry and pleasant'. On the Saturday she had made arrangements to hunt at Clarendon Park, where the keeper, the earl of Pembroke, had made ample preparations including the provision of a 'faire and pleasant banquette'. Unfortunately the occasion was spoilt by a torrential downpour which the temporary cover could not keep out 'altho it was fenced with arras'. So the queen dined within the lodge, and the lords dined within the 'banqueting house', the latter presumably the earl's temporary shelter. After dinner the rain stopped and many deer were 'coursed with greyhounds' and 'overturned, so as the tyme served great pleasure was showed' (Nichols 1788, *sub* 1574, 18–19). Thus the fortunes of the palace had turned full circle from the Conqueror's hunting lodge of 1072. Almost exactly 500 years later all that remained of the medieval palace was once more a lodge which could accommodate the queen, but no longer her retinue, for a spell of hunting during a royal progress.

The post-Tudor period

In 1606 the third Lord Pembroke was appointed warden of Clarendon Forest. Ownership of Clarendon remained with successive kings until in July 1643 Charles I granted the forest, park and chase at Clarendon to a group of nobles in return for a loan of £60,000. A Commonwealth survey of Clarendon Park was made in 1650 which refers to 'the old gatehouse called the king's manor'. Archaeological evidence supports the continued occupation of the western entrance area into the seventeenth century (p. 81).

Charles II gave the estate to George Monk, duke of Albemarle, who sold it to Lord Chancellor Edward Hyde, who was created Viscount Cornbury and Earl of Clarendon. A

£20,000 payment from the exchequer cancelled Hyde's link with Clarendon, which was restored to Albemarle in 1665. The Hyde family's connection with Clarendon was, therefore, of very short duration, although their Clarendon press survives. In 1688 the second duke of Albemarle bequeathed Clarendon to his cousin, John Granville, earl of Bath, and in 1713 the estate changed hands within the Bath family. Benjamin Bathurst was the purchaser, and his family held it for some two centuries, until the early years of the twentieth century (Borenus 1933, 10). The present Clarendon House was first built in 1737 for Peter Bathurst, MP for Salisbury. Although the architect is unknown, the house is considered to show a resemblance to the work of Hawksmoor and Vanbrugh. It was greatly enlarged in the nineteenth century, although most of the nineteenth-century extensions have recently been demolished so that the eighteenth-century house is once more seen to best effect. The Bathursts disposed of the estate *c.* 1900. In the early years of the century it belonged to Mr J.W. Garton and was subsequently purchased by S.R. Christie-Miller, formerly of Britwell Court, in 1919. The present estate extends to 5,000 acres (2,000 ha.).

PART II

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

EXCAVATIONS AT CLARENDON

From antiquaries to archaeologists

CLARENDON was abandoned as a palace by 1500 but the site continued to attract visitors, ranging from antiquaries and archaeologists to stone robbers. As might be expected, the earliest post-medieval comment on Clarendon was by John Leland, who refers in his *Itinerary* of c. 1540 to 'Clarington Park and Maner Place'. Perhaps more significant is his observation that 'The parke of Clarington is a very large thing and hath many kepers yn it', which supports the idea that Clarendon had become of more interest to contemporaries because of its potential for hunting, than as a residence (Toulmin Smith 1964, i, 268–9; above, pp. 22, 45). In similar vein, John Aubrey's account of Sir Philip Sidney tells how Sidney used to stay at Ivychurch, adjoining the park pale of Clarendon and overlooking 'that delicious parke (which was accounted the best of England)' (Aubrey 1949 ed.). Among later antiquaries was William Stukeley, for whom a picture of part of the ruins was produced in August 1723. This print, originally captioned 'Ruins of King John's Palace', together with the water-colour of the east end of the great hall (5) depicted by Buckler in 1805, is discussed below (pl. Ia–b and pp. 57–8).

Nineteenth-century investigators

The nineteenth century opened auspiciously for those interested in Clarendon with the refutation in 1801 by John Britton of the long-held 'vulgar error' that Clarendon was 'King John's Palace' (above, p. 8). The Buckler water-colour of Clarendon dates from 1805 and Henry Penruddock Wyndham (d. 1819) included some observations about Clarendon in his *Wiltshire Collections*. No digging at Clarendon is known of until 1821, when Sir Thomas Phillipps led work there. His work of tracing walls was extensive, and two plans resulted from his campaign. One survived among his own archives and was rediscovered by Dr Borenius in the 1930s (fig. 3). A second plan was published by Colt Hoare in his *Modern Wiltshire* in 1837 (fig. 4). Both these plans are discussed in relation to those arising from twentieth-century work at Clarendon (pp. 48–9, 58 ff.). Phillipps himself published in 1833 the documentary survey of 1273 (Phillipps 1833). This early digging did much to establish a general outline of the palace buildings, but in tracing walls the nineteenth-century excavators unfortunately rendered the task of those who have worked subsequently at Clarendon much more difficult, for example in the destruction of stratigraphic relationships between wall and floor levels. Perhaps the publication of *Modern Wiltshire* in 1837 inspired the now undocumented digging c. 1838 which produced a collection of medieval arrowheads (Arrowheads, pp. 222–3).

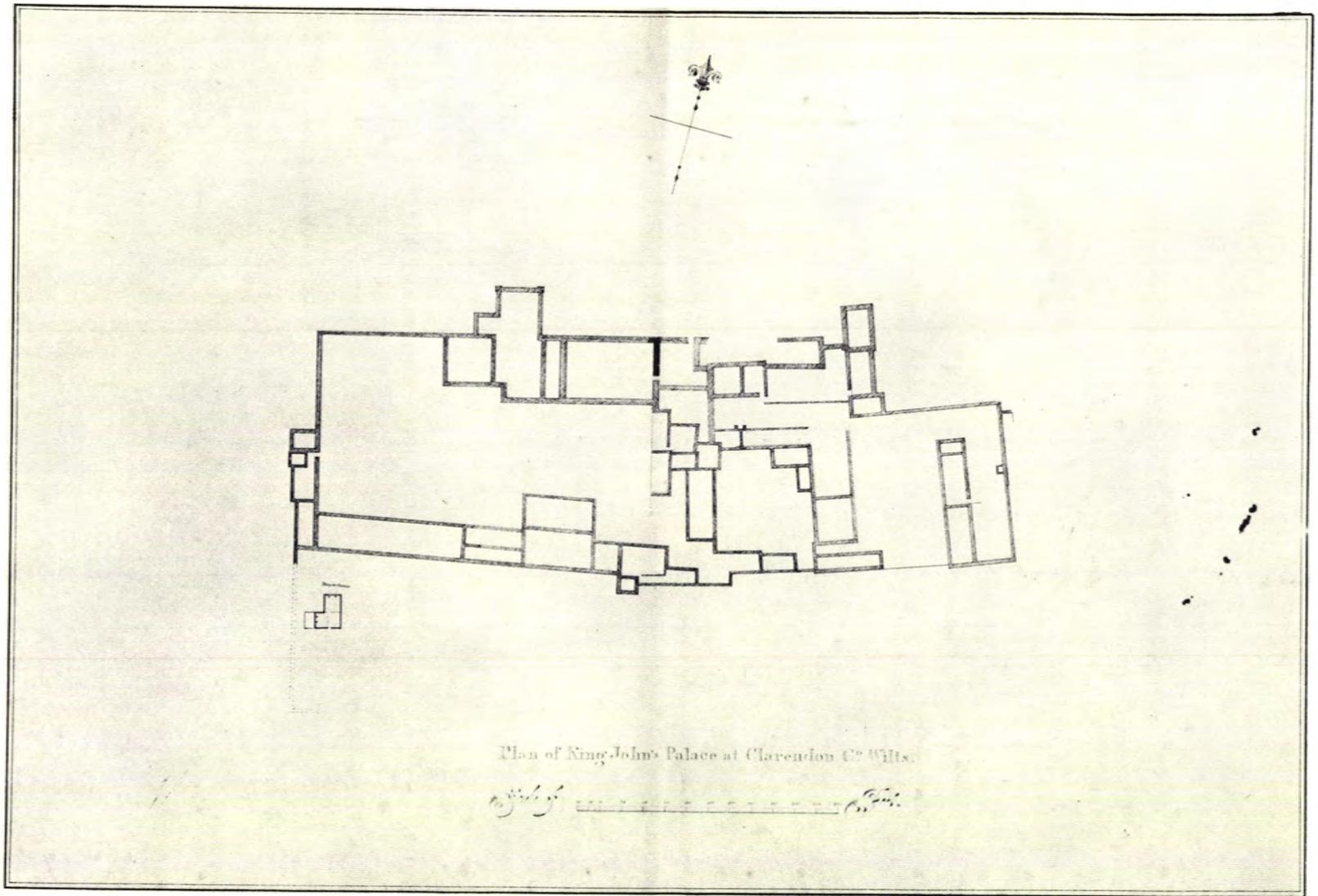
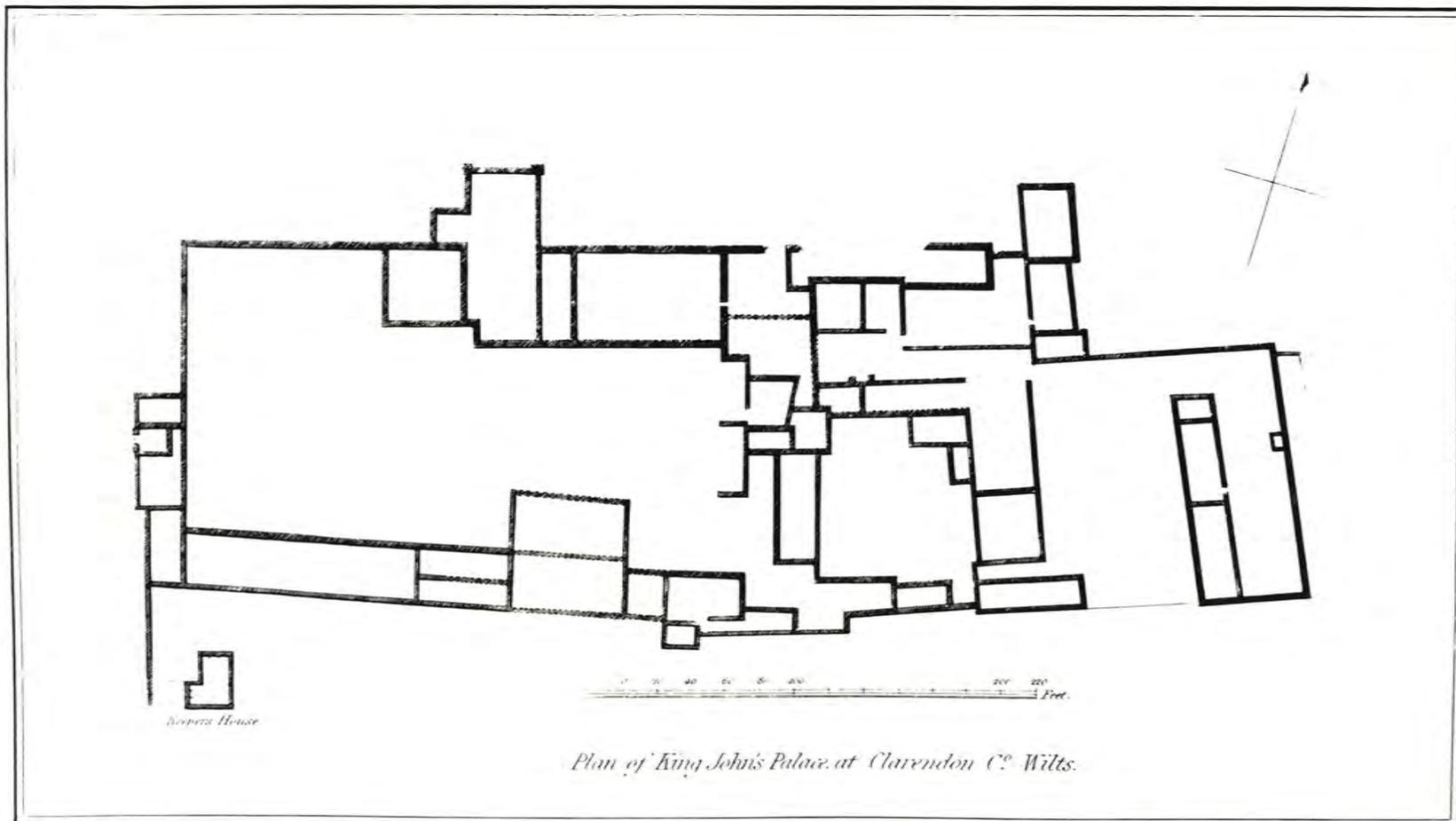
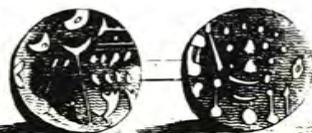


FIG. 3. Plan of Clarendon Palace from Sir Thomas Phillipps's excavations, 1821 (reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS Top. Wilts. a.I)



J. Baer 1837

British Coin found at



King's Manor Farm.

FIG. 4. Plan of Clarendon Palace published by Colt Hoare 1837

The Bathurst family had owned the Clarendon estate since the eighteenth century and in 1844 the then owner, Sir Frederick H.H. Bathurst, consolidated the east end of the great hall (5). This work, no doubt inspired by the publication of Colt Hoare's work in recent years, took the form of the erection of an inscription carved in stone by a local monumental mason. The inscription, beginning 'The buildings of which this fragment once formed a part ...', is somewhat inaccurate in certain facts it records (pl. IIa). It praises the Constitutions of Clarendon of 1164 as one of the earliest manifestations of English Protestantism. The suggestion is that the defence of the English church embodied in the Constitutions was one of the elements which led eventually to the Reformation and the break with Rome. The inscription is, perhaps, a monument to the nineteenth-century struggles within the Church of England in the era of the Oxford Movement. The inscription and its surrounding buttressed arch were therefore known to the excavators in the 1930s as the 'Protestant Fragment' and can be seen in many photographs of the work carried out in the 1930s on the great hall (pl. XXVa).

Further information on Clarendon, from documentary sources, appeared in the 1850s. In 1851 T.H. Turner's *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England from the Conquest to the End of the Thirteenth Century* was published. This contains much useful material on Clarendon extracted from contemporary documents, but takes no account of the surviving remains. Finally, in 1859 Pettigrew published his short account of the ancient royal palace of Clarendon. Pettigrew's useful article is still of value today, but brought to a close scholarly interest in Clarendon in the nineteenth century (p. 233).

Excavations from 1933 to 1939

The major series of twentieth-century excavations was undertaken in the 1930s under the late Dr Tancred Borenius of London University, with Mr John Charlton in charge on site. Excavations were initiated in the spring of 1933, supported by a fund to which the Society of Antiquaries made 'a very generous subscription' (Borenius 1933, 15). Work went on annually from 1933 until it was summarily halted by the outbreak of war in 1939. Dr Borenius died in 1948. Many of the records of these excavations were destroyed in the war. Some site notebooks and other papers kept at the time by Mr Charlton have happily survived, together with a fine series of photographs and glass slides largely taken by him during the various seasons of excavations. Through his generosity these records have been made available for this account of the excavations at Clarendon and he himself has given much valuable advice on matters of substance and detail. There could have been no report without his assistance. In addition to the papers held by Mr Charlton, a highly significant collection of correspondence from Mr Charlton to Dr Borenius has survived in the hands of the Borenius family. This material, including almost daily letters during the initial part of the excavation, describing work on site and with sketches of finds and free-hand plans and sections, has also been of exceptional value. Mrs Eames kindly drew attention to this archive, together with photographs and other surviving material from the 1930s. The 1930s excavations attracted attention not only locally, where a series of detailed and most informative accounts appeared in the local press, but also nationally, with occasional reports in *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*. There were annual lectures at the Society of Antiquaries in which Dr Borenius and Mr Charlton kept the Society informed of progress. The typescripts of most of these lectures have survived, and

provide a necessary account, for those looking back after fifty years, of the development of the excavators' thoughts and interpretations of what they observed on site.

The work at Clarendon was enthusiastically supported throughout, as the surviving visitors' book bears witness. Among the first to offer assistance and advice in establishing the very early stages of the excavation in 1933 were Mortimer and Tessa Wheeler, as the correspondence of the time shows (Correspondence 1933). There was some international interest too. Dr W. Bachstitz of the University of Bonn dug at Clarendon in the early years and Dr Borenius drew on his knowledge of European art and architecture to contrast Clarendon with remains in Germany and France. Nikolaus Pevsner published an article in Germany on Clarendon in 1937 (Pevsner 1937). Others who have made significant contributions to our modern knowledge of medieval history and archaeology in general appear in the records of the 1930s excavations. The late Gerald Dunning drew pots from the excavation (figs. 56 and 59); the late A.B. Whittingham assisted in surveying the site and H.M. Colvin had responsibility as a supervisor on site in the closing stages of the excavation in 1939.

Throughout the campaign in the 1930s the Christie-Miller family, owners of the site, maintained their enthusiasm for the work and generously supported the excavators in many different ways, from providing camp facilities at Alderbury for unemployed people who helped to clear the site of its thick growth of scrub and trees, to helping to select the small band of men who actually excavated the site. The family were unstinting in their support at all stages.

Post-war work on Clarendon

In 1957 the finds from the 1930s excavations which were then in the British Museum were divided between the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum and the British Museum. Mrs Eames was involved at the time and describes the process below (p. 135). Later in the same year the coins and jettons, and a number of other artefacts from the 1930s excavations, were also deposited at Salisbury Museum. Meanwhile a steady trickle of random finds from the site continued, and has continued since, to arrive at Salisbury Museum, handed in by various people. Most noteworthy amongst these deposits was a collection of 112 floor tiles, which had been removed from the site long before the 1930s excavations, which came to the museum in 1971 (p. 147). All the finds are reported in detail below in appropriate sections, where indications of their present locations are given (Part IV).

Excavations in 1957, 1964 and 1965 (fig. 2)

Post-war excavation at Clarendon resulted in the first place from Major Christie-Miller's concern for the preservation of the site, and in particular from his awareness that tiles from the tile pavements were being steadily robbed. He contacted the British Museum for advice and this led in time to the deposit of the finds from the site in the British Museum and at Salisbury, as described above, and then to renewed excavation at Clarendon. First, in 1957 at the request of Major Christie-Miller, the tile pavement in the most northerly of the queen's chambers (10a), which had been extensively robbed since the 1930s, was lifted by Mrs Eames and Peter van Geersdaele. It was removed to the British Museum, where it was reassembled and put on display. Meanwhile Mrs Eames pursued her study of the British Museum medieval tile collection, including all the Clarendon tiles, most notably the tiles from the circular pavement

from the king's chapel (9). Her latest thoughts on this pavement and the Clarendon tile assemblage as a whole appear below (Part III).

In 1964, Mrs Eames returned to Clarendon to re-excavate the tile kiln in collaboration with Mr John Musty and the Salisbury Museum Archaeological Research Group. She led a team from the British Museum to lift the kiln, assisted by two labourers from the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments. The kiln, which had been first discovered in 1937, and subsequently reburied in 1939, was donated to the British Museum by Major Christie-Miller. It has been reconstructed and is on display there, together with tile paving and individual tiles from Clarendon (below, pp. 127 ff.). In 1965 Mrs Eames and the Salisbury Museum Archaeological Research Group took the opportunity afforded by the removal of the kiln to excavate the levels below it. All this work, building on what Mrs Eames has already published on Clarendon, is reported here by her in full for the first time (Eames 1957-8, 1960, 1963, 1965, 1972, 1980, 1983; van Geersdaele and Davison 1972, 1975; below, pp. 135-8).

Excavations in 1961 (fig. 2)

Mr John Musty, on behalf of the Salisbury Museum Archaeological Research Group, led excavations at Clarendon in 1961 to try to establish a chronological sequence and to clarify what he already knew of local pottery production from his excavations of the kilns at neighbouring Laverstock. We now know that the pottery finds from the excavations of the 1930s were almost entirely of Laverstock ware (p. 169). He chose, in consultation with H.M. Colvin, to examine the 'ash-pit' (4g), on the slope below the kitchen area (4). Unfortunately what had promised to be substantial deposits of midden material proved to be only a thin spread of archaeological levels over the hillside north-west of the north kitchen (4e). Mr Musty therefore concentrated his work elsewhere on the site: on the terrace (1i) below the great hall (5), and on an investigation of the south-eastern boundary of the palace site (pp. 73-9). Mr Musty has kindly allowed the present writers to include the results of his excavations in this volume, together with plans, sections and photographs taken at the time. The finds from his excavation are included in the appropriate specialist sections below. The animal bones and mollusc remains are of particular interest in this respect, as they are the largest collection of such remains to be recovered from the site for analysis (pp. 261-5).

Tabulation of excavation work

The surviving records of all the archaeological work undertaken at Clarendon this century facilitate listing of the work undertaken at different times, and where on the site such work occurred. The general outline of the excavations at Clarendon is clear and is set out above.

The table which follows shows, as far as is now known, which structures were investigated at which date together with the names commonly applied to each.

TABLE I. Structure names, classification numbers and dates of excavations (fig. 5)

Precinct wall	(1) 1933, 1934, 1938, 1961
West	(1a) 1934
North	(1b) 1934
East	(1c) 1933, 1934, 1961

South	(1d) 1938, 1961
Oblique south wall	(1e) 1961
Deer park boundary	(1f)
Inner park bank (?prehistoric)	(1g) 1961
Inner park ditch (?prehistoric)	(1h) 1939, 1961
Terrace below great hall	(1i) 1961
West boundary of terrace	(1j) 1961
North boundary of terrace	(1k) 1961
East boundary of terrace	(1l) 1939
Western entrance	(2) 1934
West gatehouse	(2a) 1934
Northern wing	(2b) ?1934
Garderobe	(2c) 1934
Southern wing	(2d)
North-west range	(3) 1934
Western room	(3a) ?1934
Eastern room	(3b) 1934
Small chamber, lobby, cubby-hole etc.	(3c) 1934
Room identified by RCHM	(3d)
North-west structure, double buttress or garderobe	(3e) 1934
Kitchen complex	(4) 1933, 1934, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1961, 1964, 1965
Kitchen courtyard, cloister	(4a) 1934, 1936
Range at west end of great hall, south room	(4b) 1933, ?1934
Range at west end of great hall, north room	(4c) 1933, ?1934
Garderobe, or ?extension of 4c	(4d) 1934
North kitchen	(4e) ?1934, 1937
<i>Herlebecheria</i>	(4f) 1934, 1937
Ash-pits and middens	(4g) 1934, 1938, 1961
West or King John's kitchen	(4h) ?1934, 1937
Room south of west kitchen	(4i)
Room between west kitchen and salsary	(4j)
The salsary, south side of kitchen cloister	(4k) 1936, 1937, 1964, 1965
Kiln	(4l) 1937, 1964, 1965
Levels below kiln	(4m) 1965
Great hall	(5) 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936
Strong wall	(5a) 1933, 1935
South porch	(5b) 1933, 1934
Dais	(5c) 1933
Great courtyard	(6) 1933, 1934, 1937
Great stables	(6a) 1937
East building 12·1 by 15·2 m. (40 by 50 ft.)	(6b) 1937, ?1938
Garderobe	(6c)

Rectangular structure to south of great courtyard	(6d)
Buildings oriented north–south	(6e)
	(6f)
	(6g)
Buildings oriented east–west	(6h)
	(6i) ?1938, 1939
	(6j)
Building to west of 13b	(6k) (1943; Colvin, Sorrell)
King's chambers	(7) 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936
Basement east of great hall, corner of early building	(7a) 1935
Penthouse room	(7b) 1933
Wall between 7b and 7e	1933, 1936
Area between 5 and 7	not finished 1936
Northerly small square building	(7c) 1936
Foundation of stair	(7d) 1933, ?1936
Area/structure south of 7b	(7e) 1936
South 'pentice' wall, between 7h and 10d	(7f) 1935
King's chamber block: solar A (west)	(7g) 1933, 1935
King's chamber block: solar B (east)	(7h) 1933, 1935
Antioch chamber	(8) 1936
North wall, buttress area and angled wall outside 8	(8a) 1935
Garderobe	(8b) 1935, 1936
Courtyard south of 8	1935
King's chapel	(9) 1936
Queen's apartments	(10) 1933, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1957
North room of north–south range	(10a) 1933, 1936, 1957
South room of north–south range	(10b) 1933, 1936
Southern building: east room (?chapel)	(10c) 1937, 1938, 1939
Southern building: west room	(10d) 1936, 1937
Queen's garden, garderobe and associated structures	(10e)
North privy and wall adjoining 10a	(10f)
Vestibule between 8 , 10a and 10	(10g) 1936
Queen's garden	(10h) ?1939
Courtyard area south of king's apartments	(11)
West wall/pentice footings	(11a) 1933
South wall/pentice footings	(11b)
East wall/pentice footings	(11c)
Brick kitchen: building oriented east–west set against north face of south courtyard range	(11d) 1936
East–west structure, west of 11d	(11e)
Building oriented east–west between 11b and 12c	(11f) 1936

Cellar	(I2) 1933, 1935, 1938
Paved area	(I2a) 1936, 1938
Steps	(I2b) 1938
North room	(I2c) 1933, 1935, 1938
South room	(I2d) 1933
Southern courtyard	(I3) 1933
Range to east of courtyard and parallel to cellar block	(I3a)
Chamber of Alexander, and lobby	(I3b) 1933
Room oriented east–west with basement and tiled floor, ashlar foundations, wooden posts at east end and fireplace in north wall	(I3c) 1937
Small structure of knapped flint to south of I3c	(I3d) 1937
Long narrow east–west buildings	(I3e)
	(I3f) ?1938, ?1939
Possible structure adjacent to I3c	(I3g)
South-east area	(I4)
Queen's court	(I5) 1939
North–south range between cellar and eastern perimeter	(I5a) 1939
Eastern perimeter buildings: 'Gothic suite'	(I6) 1933, 1934
Small north flint and ashlar room	(I6a) 1933, 1935, 1939
Adjacent room oriented north–south	(I6b) 1933, 1934
Building aligned east–west adjacent to the south ?bakehouse or kitchen	(I6c) 1934
South-eastern buildings	(I7) 1934
East–west structure	(I7a) 1934, 1939
North–south 'barn' structure	(I7b) 1934, 1939

MAPS, PRINTS, PLANS AND RECONSTRUCTIONS

Maps of the area round Clarendon survive from the seventeenth century onwards. There are eighteenth- and nineteenth-century prints of the remains. Plans of the palace complex were first drawn up in the 1820s and 1830s and these were modified by the excavations in the 1930s. Subsequent excavation in the 1960s and a complete new survey in the 1970s have contributed further to our knowledge of Clarendon. Because different excavators and surveyors at Clarendon have been attracted to the site for a variety of reasons, and with different ends in view, it is not now possible to enter the results of their work on one comprehensive, composite plan. The physical problems associated with surveying a large and complex site, covered by thick scrub and woodland, have been remarked upon by all who have ever attempted the task. For these reasons a selection of maps and copies of the prints are included here, and a full range of site

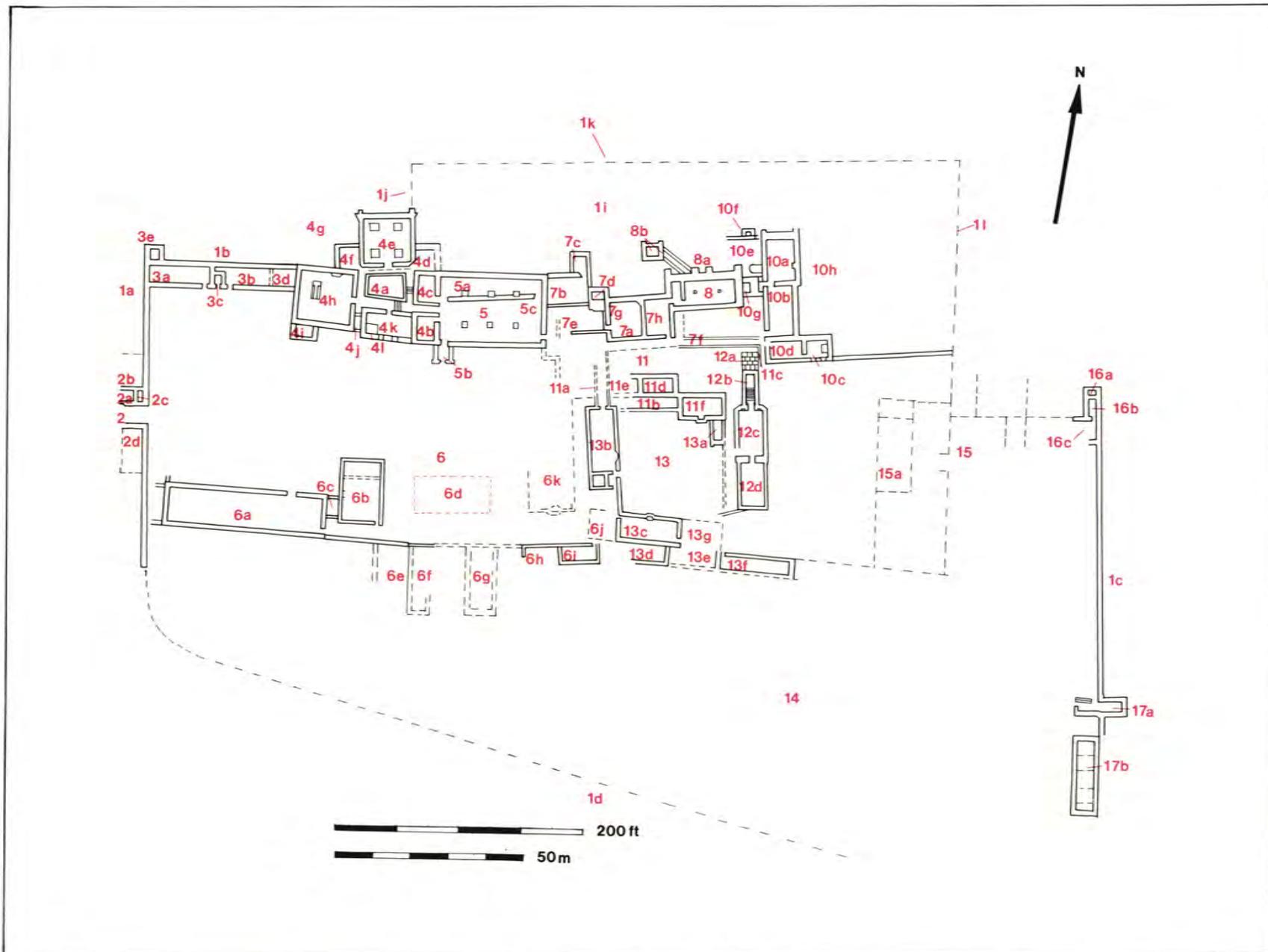


FIG. 5. Composite plan of Clarendon Palace (after Borenius 1943, with additions and amendments); with the structure classification numbers (see pp. 52-5)

plans which together give not only the best possible picture of the development of knowledge of the configuration of buildings on the site, but also an insight into the development of thinking on the interpretation of structures found by archaeology in terms of what is known of Clarendon from documentary sources. For the purposes of identification of individual structures with numbers, and as a general guide only to their relationships, a composite plan has been produced. In the present state of knowledge this plan cannot be relied on as indicating the precise position of all the structures on the site (figs. 2 and 5). Three reconstruction drawings of Clarendon have been produced. The first, by Alan Sorrell, was published *c.* 1970 and the second and third, by Allan Adams, have been specially commissioned for this volume. Adams has produced a bird's-eye view looking north-east and a view of the north range, **4**, **5**, **7**, **8**, **9** and **10** from the terrace (**11**) below (pl. IV; figs. 14–15, pp. 68–71).

Early maps (pls. IIb and III)

There are few early maps and drawings of Clarendon Palace. A seventeenth-century estate map of *c.* 1640 shows much of the park as woodland; the palace site itself is indicated as 'Old Parke' (*WNQ*, viii (1914), 1). The deer park is clearly defined, with deer leaps drawn in at irregular intervals (pl. IIb). There is an early eighteenth-century map called 'A Mapp of Clarendon Park in the County of Wilts Belonging to Peter Bathurst Esq.'. Both these maps are at Clarendon; they show the layout of the coppices, give information on landholders and the alignment of the trackways. The Andrews and Dury map of 1773 shows similar features, although the palace is in open downland, closely flanked by forest (pl. III). It also complements the view taken by Stukeley with Figsbury Ring or 'Clorus Camp' in the background, seen from the south over a wide sweep of downland. The 1773 map is also noteworthy with respect to the boundaries of the park (pp. 73–4).

Stukeley and Buckler (pl. Ia, b)

The first illustration of the palace is that by William Stukeley (*Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724), 130, and 2nd edn. (1776), 138). The engraving of August 1723 (pl. Ia) indicates that the site is perched on the edge of a hillside which is not greatly overgrown. Stukeley's text supports what the picture shows; he comments on the unfortified, hillside position of the buildings. The apparently unfortified nature of the palace was subsequently discussed in detail by Borenius (Borenius 1933, 24; see pp. 2, 72 ff). Various buildings are still standing above ground level but, with the exception of the great hall (**5**), they are difficult to correlate with later plans. The engraving depicts ashlar buildings, which may either reflect artistic convention, or the earlier presence of ashlar facings which were later reused elsewhere, perhaps in the construction of Clarendon House, which is dated to 1737. However, Stukeley describes the palace remains as consisting chiefly of flint, which conflicts with the illustration, although flint rubble construction, overplastered, and with ashlar quoins, is very familiar to anyone who has seen the site.

A water-colour drawing of 1805 by Buckler (pl. Ib) shows a more restricted view of the east wall of the great hall (**5**). The south wall of this building has collapsed, but the return angle can be seen. The face of the east wall is ashlar, although the distinctive corbel (p. 94) is not depicted, as no doubt it was covered then, as in the early 1930s, by ivy.

The nineteenth-century plans: Phillipps and Colt Hoare (figs. 3, 4)

The earliest plans resulted from the excavations undertaken in 1821 by Sir Thomas Phillipps. Two plans emerged from this work. The Phillipps plan (fig. 3), the earlier of the two, was discovered in the Phillipps Library by Dr Borenius and was first reproduced in 1936. It is now in the Bodleian (Borenius and Charlton 1936, pl. XIII; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Top. Wilts a.I). Sir Richard Colt Hoare published a second plan in 1837 (Hoare 1837; fig. 4). This was largely based on what had been established by Phillipps in 1821. The Phillipps plan seems to be more accurate in what is shown, although it records a less extensive range of structures than Colt Hoare. Neither can be relied on to provide anything more than a general outline of the site. They give a good impression of the somewhat haphazard arrangement of courtyards and buildings. The excavators in the 1930s began with the Colt Hoare plan to hand, and it provided them with a guide from which to start. Naturally, many of the features of the Phillipps and Colt Hoare plans can be related to later, more accurate, representations of the layout. There is good reason to believe that in certain parts of the site, particularly towards the south, Phillipps may have undertaken more extensive work than any subsequent excavators at Clarendon. The 1930s excavators were aware, and Mrs Eames has stressed, that many of the buildings at Clarendon, contrary to nineteenth-century thinking on this matter, were of two storeys. Thus, for example, in the royal apartment areas, **7** and **10**, there were roughly double the number of rooms shown on the plans (Eames 1965, 60).

Plans of the 1930s and more recent excavations (figs. 6–13)

The 1930s excavators published two plans. The first embodies the results of the excavations undertaken up to 1936 (fig. 6; Borenius and Charlton 1936, pl. xx). The second shows the accumulated results of work carried out between 1933 and 1939. This included the latest thoughts of Dr Borenius and Mr Charlton on Clarendon and appeared in 1943 (fig. 7; Borenius 1943, 41). Further details of the site appear on a plan published by Pevsner in 1937 (below, fig. 9; Pevsner 1937, 3). H.M. Colvin, himself a site supervisor at Clarendon in 1939, published a developed plan in 1963 in which he incorporated information from his unrivalled knowledge of the historical sources for Clarendon (below, fig. 10; Colvin *et al.* 1963, fig. 68). All these four plans apparently use the same baseline and grid, although the use of different scales has made comparison difficult. However, the possibility of enlarging all the plans to approximately the same size has eased comparisons very considerably. Mrs Eames also used the same baseline for her plan in 1957, and for her suggested development sequence of the royal apartments in 1230 and 1260, published in 1965 (Eames 1957–8, pl. xxxii; 1965, figs. 7, 8). The excavations led by Mr John Musty in 1961, and previously unpublished, used the 1943 plan as a base, but problems were encountered in so doing (fig. 8). It was observed that the range which consists of **17a** and **17b** lay further to the west than had previously been recorded, and that the southern perimeter wall (**1d**) had a different southern alignment. These relocations were confirmed by the 1973 Ordnance Survey work which provided the base for the RCHM plan (below, fig. 12). The excavations undertaken by Mr Musty in 1961 were recorded on the 1943 plan as the most recent comprehensive plan of Clarendon available to him. However, his work was recorded in relation to the newly observed locations of **17a**, **17b** and **1d**. The 1943 plan is reproduced (fig. 8) with both the new and old locations of **17a**, **17b** and **1d** indicated.

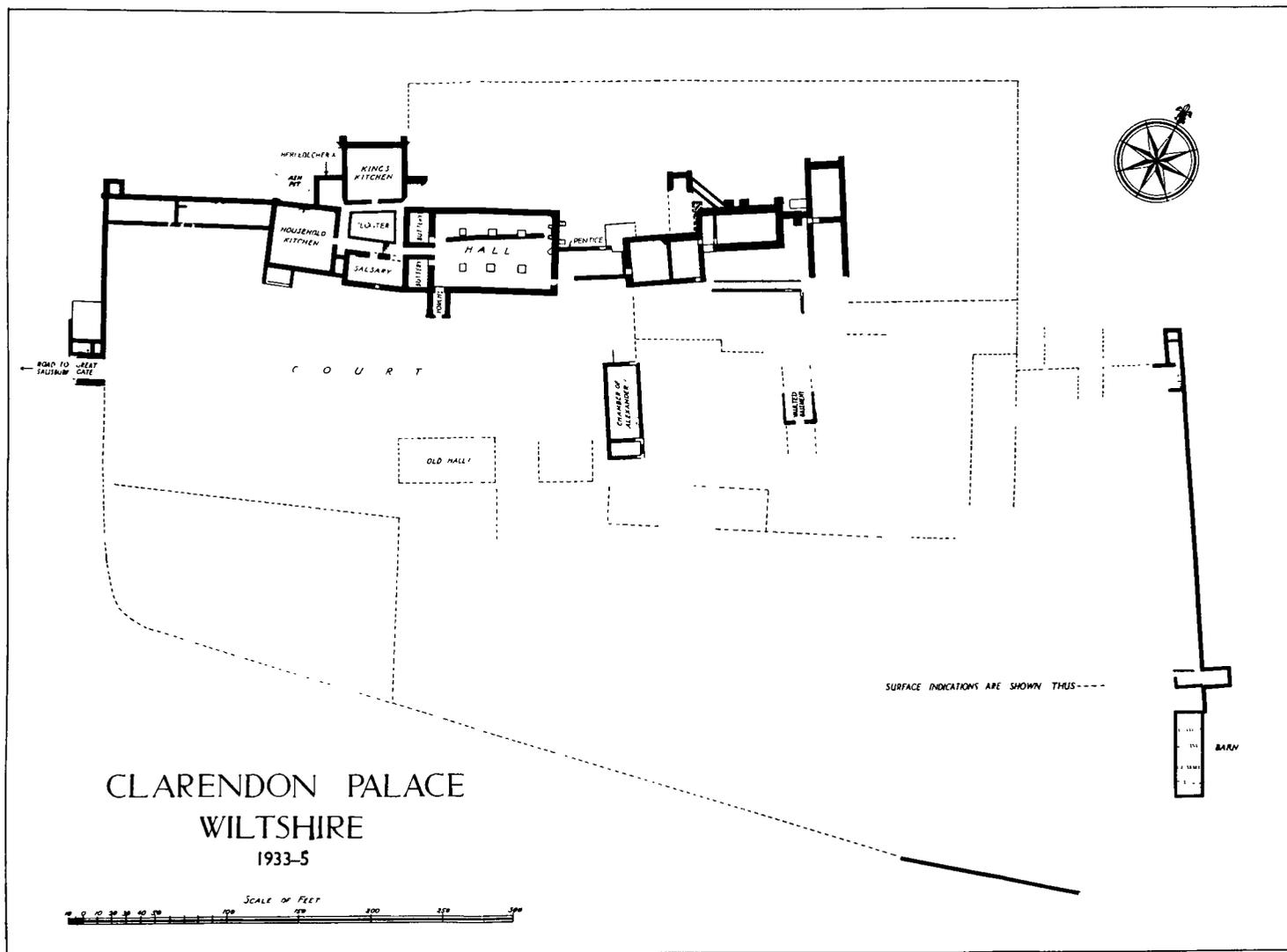


FIG. 6. Plan of Clarendon Palace from excavations in 1933-5 published by Borenius and Charlton 1936

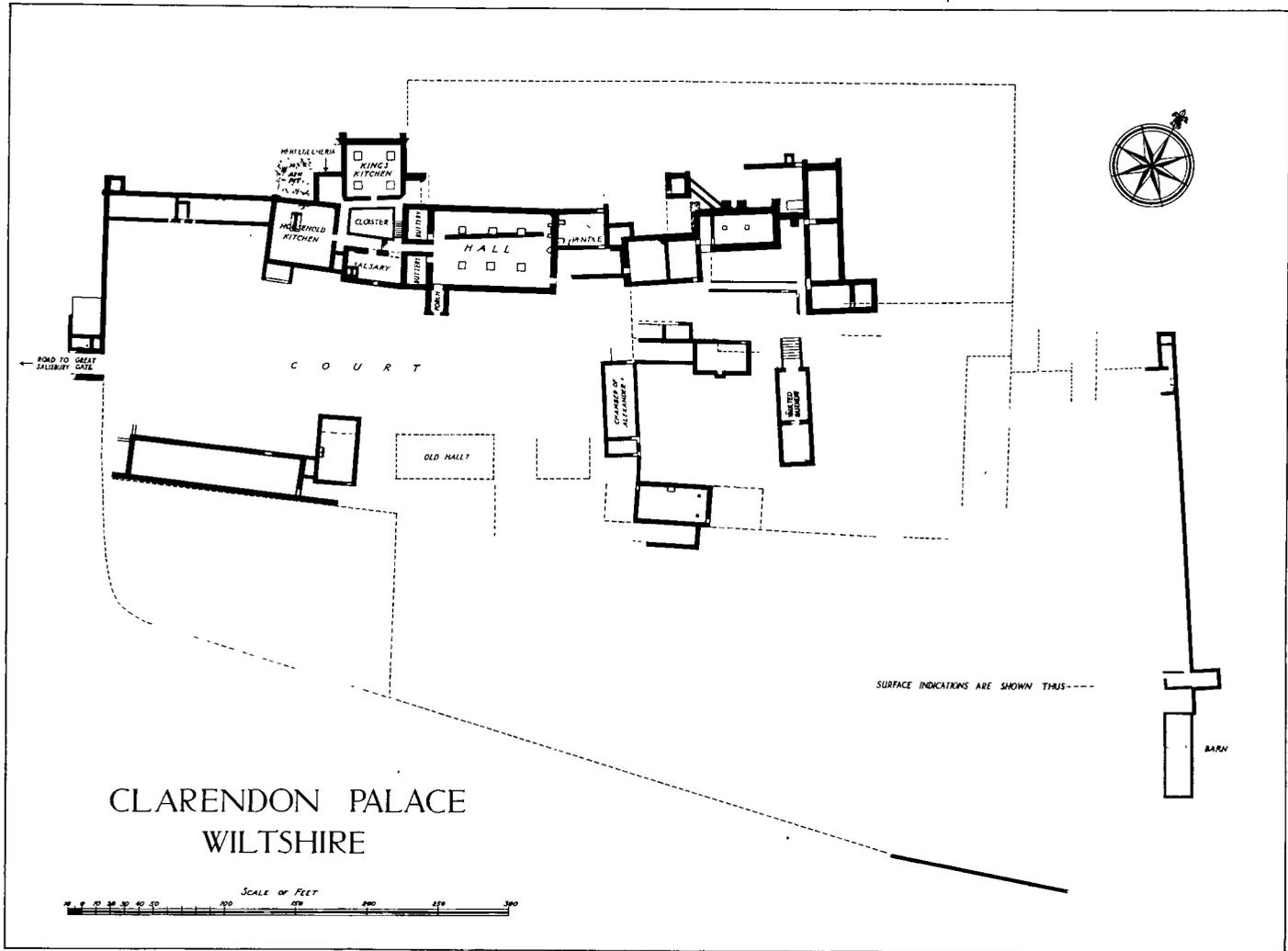


FIG. 7. Plan of Clarendon Palace published by Borenius 1943 (partially redrawn for better reproduction)

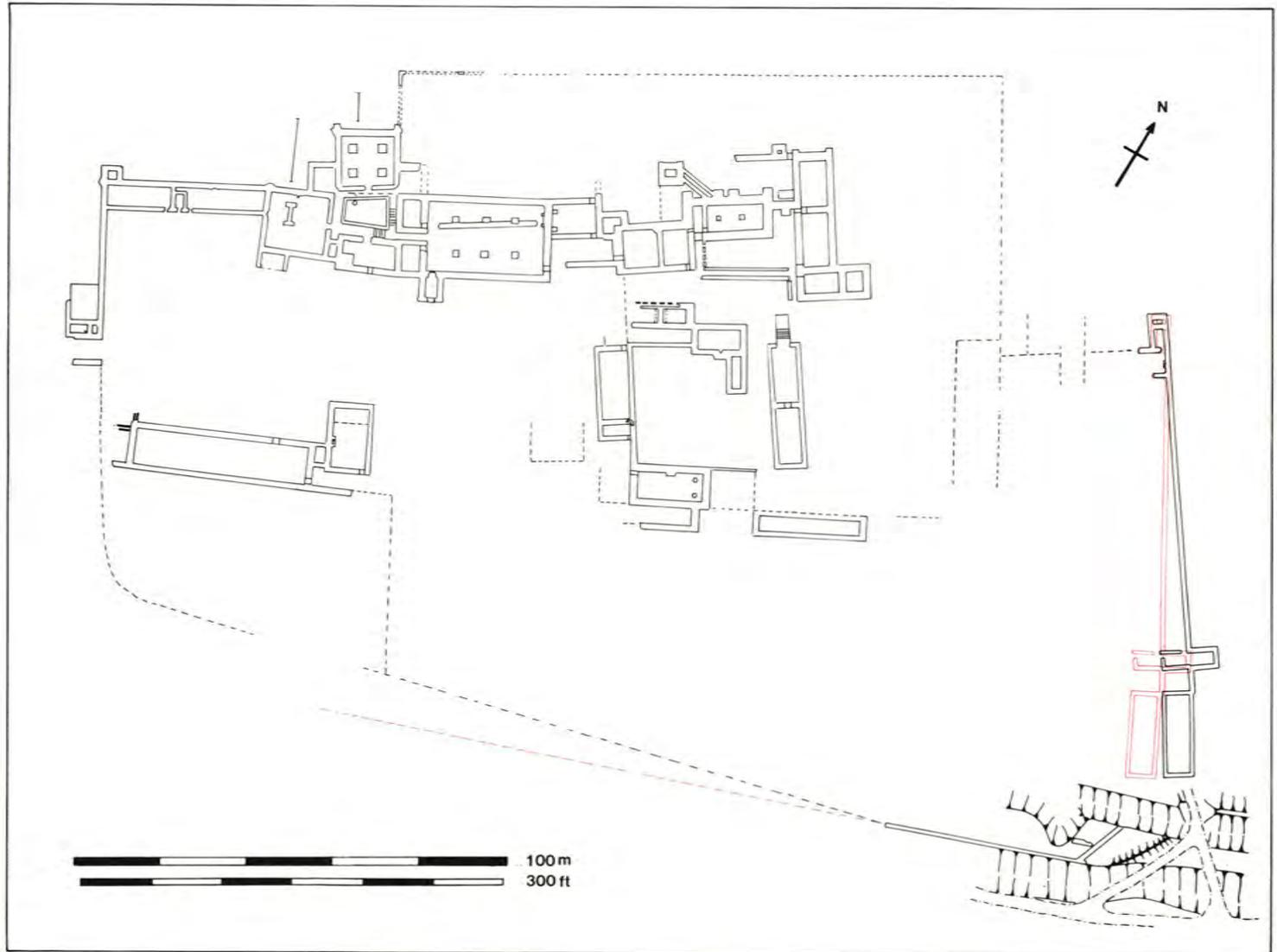


FIG. 8. Plan of Clarendon Palace showing excavation trenches and features discovered by Musty in the south-east of the site in 1961 (based on Borenius 1943). The positions of features **17a**, **17b**, and **1d** as recorded in 1961 are shown in red

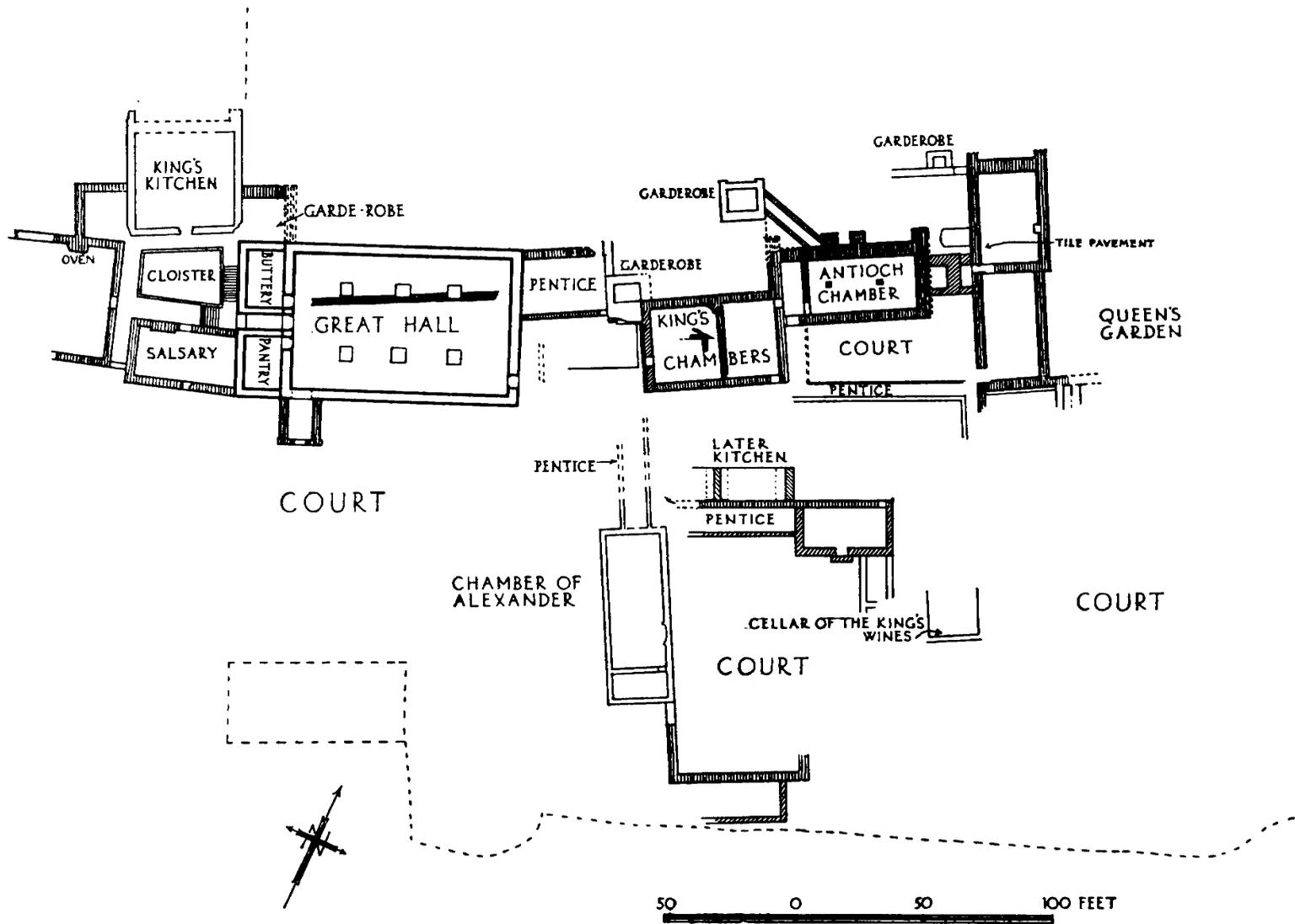
The published plans often differ in detail. That of 1936 (fig. 6) shows that the excavators cleared many areas of the site in the early years, but that details such as the fireplace in **4h** (the 'household kitchen'), the kiln (**4l**) and garderobes such as **10f** were only discovered as work went deeper and as clearance progressed. Attention focused in later years on courtyards **11** and **13** and the structures flanking them, such as the cellars (**12a**, **12b**, **12c** and **12d**), buildings **11d** and **11f** and **13c**, **13d**, **13f** and **13g**. In the great courtyard (**6**), buildings **6a**, **6b** and **6c** received attention. These later results appear on the 1943 plan (fig. 7).

The Pevsner plan of 1937 (fig. 9) amplifies the excavators' identification of many buildings and records details which differ from the 1943 plan. The position of the 'oven' in **4h**, in the west kitchen; the size and position of the garderobe or stair foundation (**7d**); the existence of **10g**; the fireplace and tile pavement in (**10a**); the difference in size and positions of the east walls of **10a** and **10b**; the appearance of building **13a** to the south of **11f** and the fireplace in **13b** are all examples of differences of detail. Finally the 1937 plan shows not only the earlier wall (**5a**) in the great hall (**5**), but also the earlier wall (**7a**) in **7**. Conversely, the 1943 plan provides information not shown in 1937, in particular buildings in the south and west of the site and further outlines of **12c** and **12d** as well as **10c** and **10d**.

The 1963 Colvin plan (fig. 10) is based on that published by Borenius in 1943, although some details are omitted and others, derived from the 1937 plan, are included. Modifications taken from the 1937 plan include details of **7d** and **13a**, whereas other details shown in 1937, such as the plan of **10g**, the outlines of **10a** and **10b**, and the 'oven' in **4h**, are not included. The fireplace in **13c** is in a different position in relation to the back wall of the room. The Colvin plan is the first to show the outline of **13f** in the south range. This is the only plan which attempts on any scale to show chronological phases, apart from Mrs Eames's work on the royal apartments. The phasing is valuable, but by no means reflects the full complexity of the development of the site. The omission of the early walls **5a** and **7a** is of note in this respect, and also the omission of the tile kiln (**4l**).

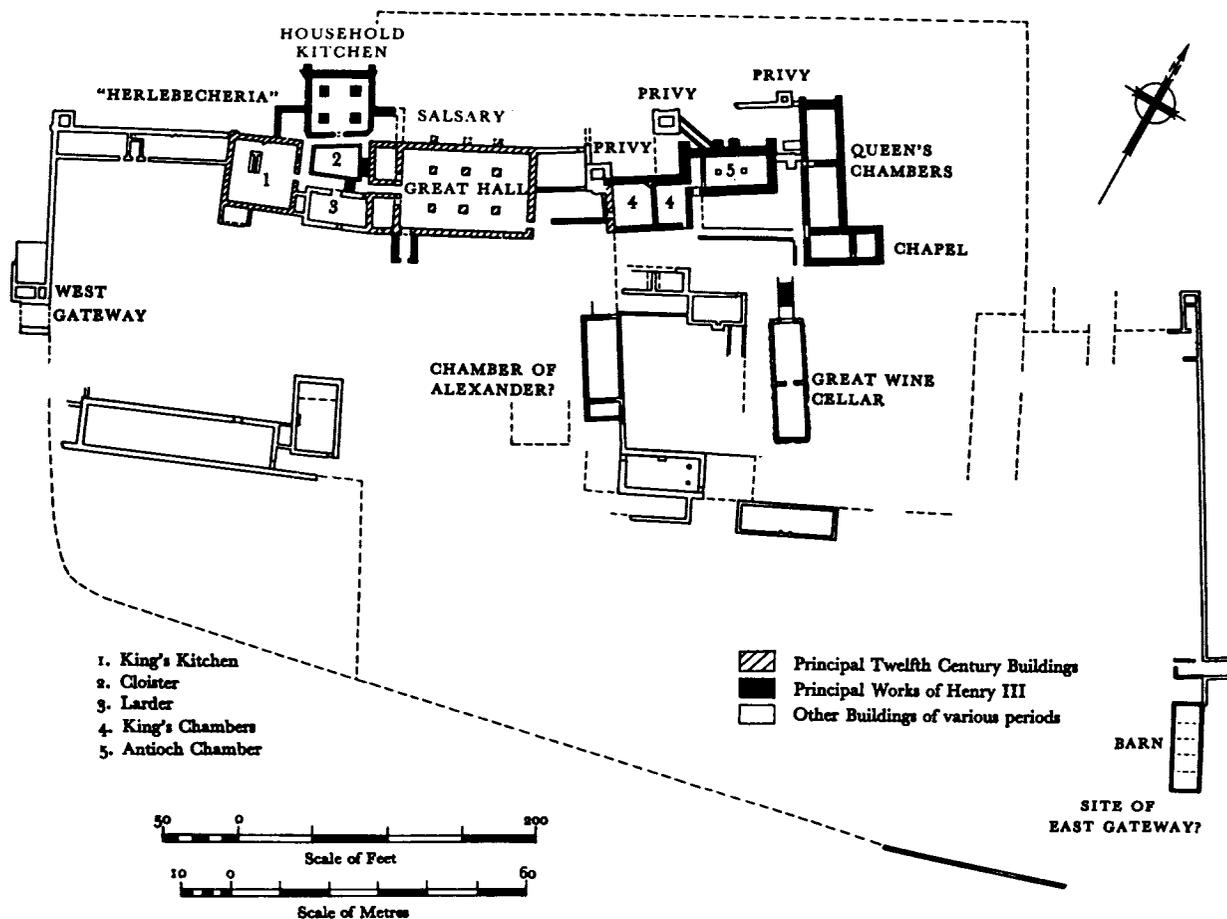
The general plan of the site published by Mrs Eames (1957–8, pl. xxxii) is based on the 1943 plan but omits some of the features relating to **10f**, **10c**, **12c** and **12d**. There are also some differences in the arrangements of **11e**, **13c** and **13d**. In addition to these plans there is other previously unpublished information. The 1930s excavators' records include various working plans, sketch plans and annotated versions of the 1936, 1937 and 1943 plans. Annotated versions of the 1937 plan and of the 1943 plan have been combined and are here published as fig. 11. This is based on the 1943 plan, but shows additional information such as **13a** and the layout of **12c** and **12d**, with the stone platform (**12a**) to the north here appearing as something more akin to cobbling than to the stone slab platform as it appears elsewhere. Structure outlines are shown in area **15**. Towards the south **6k** is strongly hinted at and **13d**, **13g** and **13f** are recorded, although these annotations vary from plan to plan with respect to the position and relationships of these buildings. Further structures, **6i**, **6h** and **6f**, are also shown in the south range, while on the north range **7c** is pencilled in. The annotated 1937 plan shows two windows in the south wall of the salsary (**4k**) and both the 1937 annotated plan and the 1943 annotated plan mark the fireplace in the west kitchen (**4h**) in a central position, which differs from other plans which place this fireplace towards the western wall of the building.

Of the other unpublished plans and sketches only three are of great consequence. One is an original field drawing confirming the arrangement of **10a** and **10b** as recorded in the 1937 plan.



Clarendon Palace, Lageplan.

FIG. 9. Plan of Clarendon Palace published by Pevsner 1937



Clarendon, Wiltshire, the royal manor-house

FIG. 10. Plan of Clarendon Palace published by Colvin 1963

The second is a plan of the salsary (4k) showing two windows in the southern wall. The discovery of these windows is discussed in contemporary correspondence and the possible existence of a third window towards the east of the building is inferred (Correspondence, 1937). These windows appear on the composite plan. The third diagram of note is found on a postcard sent to Dr Borenus by H.M. Colvin in July 1939. This diagram and the accompanying description indicate the discovery of two window sills in the south wall of 10c, and this information is here included in the composite plan (fig. 5).

Officers of the Ordnance Survey surveyed the site in 1973 and the site was re-examined by the RCHM in 1980. The results of these recent surveys have been combined at the RCHM and are published here for the first time, by their kind permission (fig. 12). Apart from the differences of size and alignment of buildings which this plan shows (p. 68 and two-colour plan, fig. 13), it also shows details of area 15, towards the east of the site, which are not shown on any other plan. This was the area under active excavation in August 1939, immediately before the excavation was halted by the outbreak of war (p. 124).

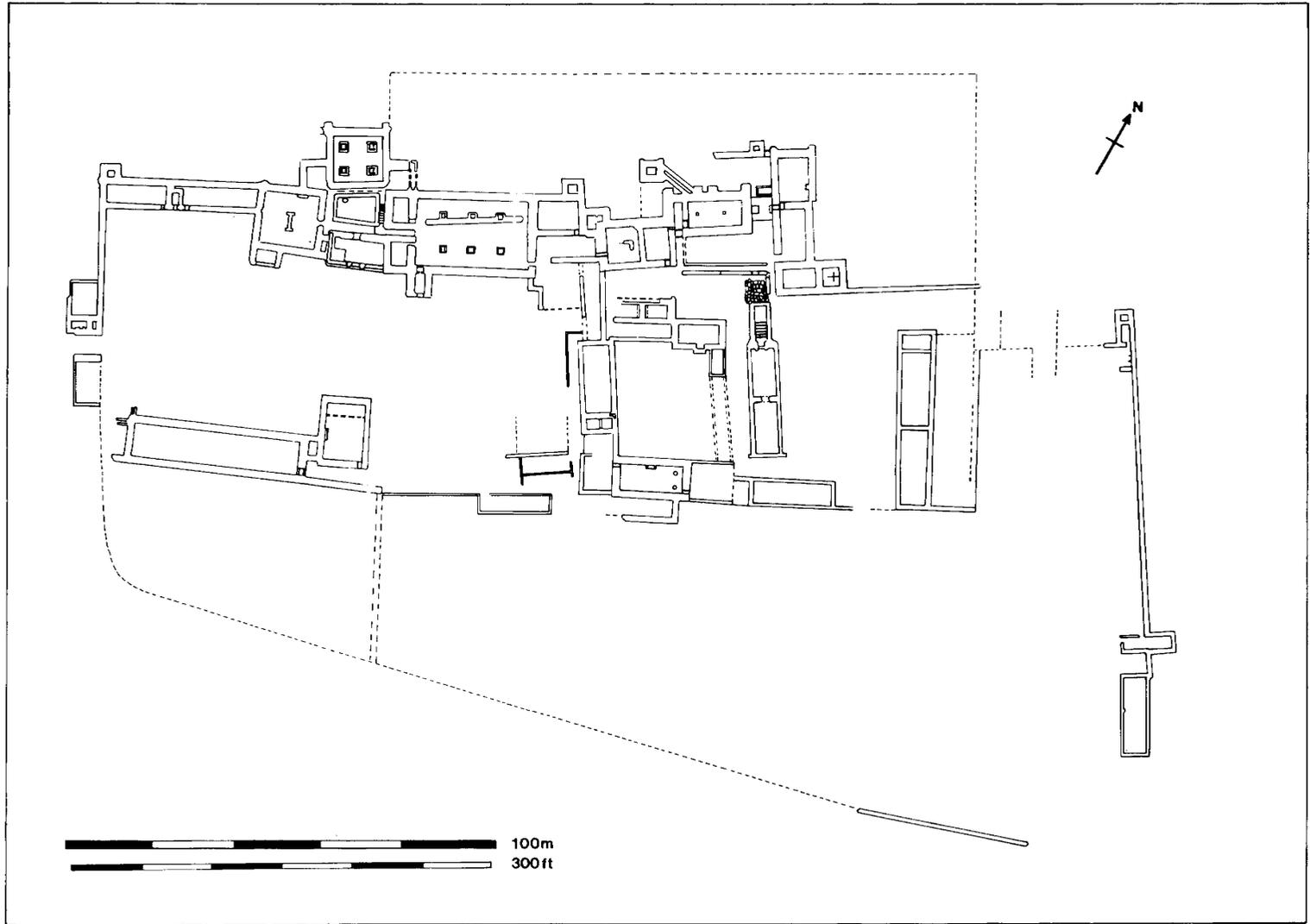


FIG. 11. Previously unpublished plan of Clarendon Palace. Based on Borenius 1943, but including details from unpublished or annotated plans of 1937 and 1943

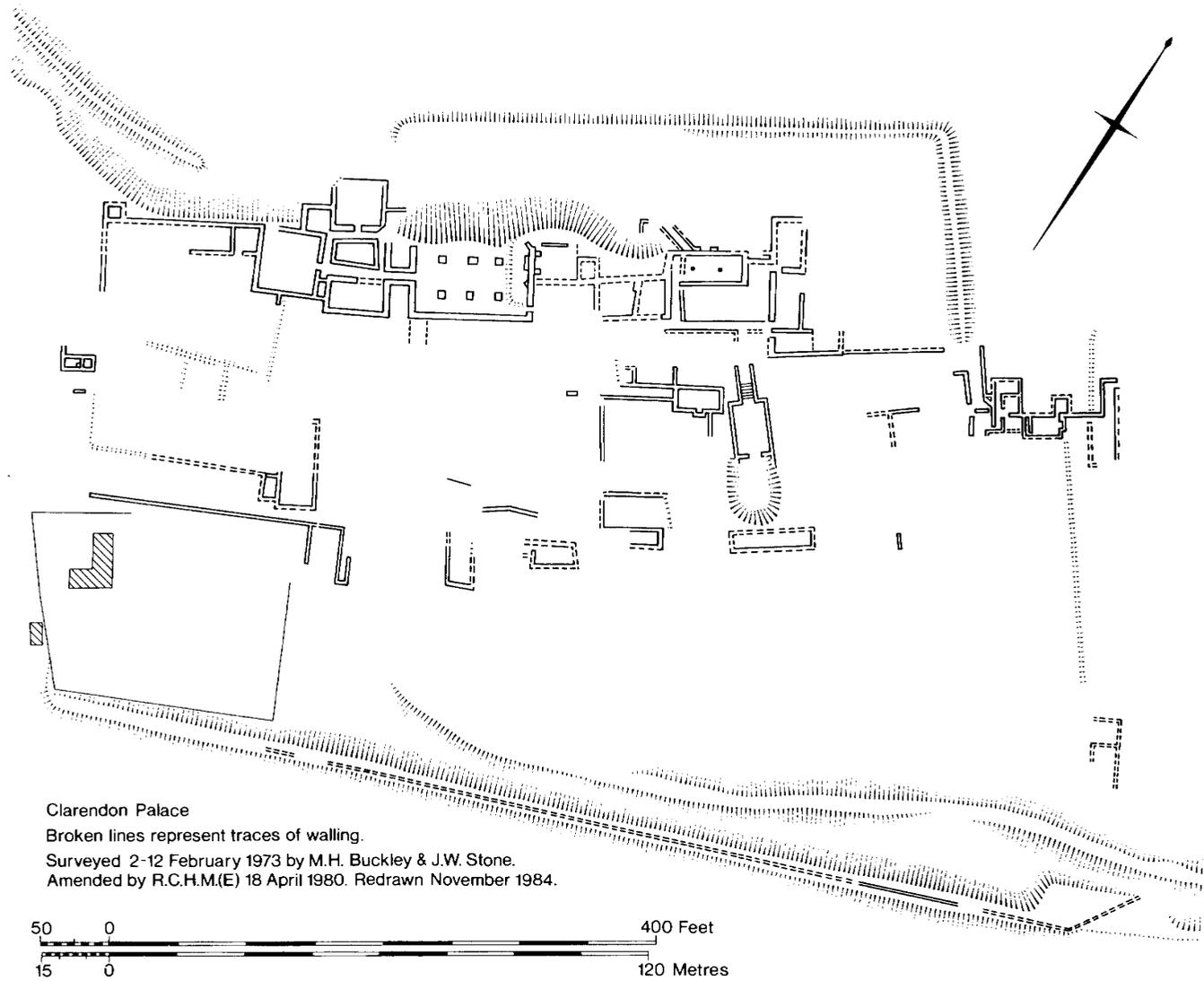


FIG. 12. Plan of Clarendon Palace, RCHM 1980 (reproduced by permission of the RCHM/HMSO). This plan shows surface features surveyed by the Ordnance Survey in 1973 and amended by the RCHM in 1980

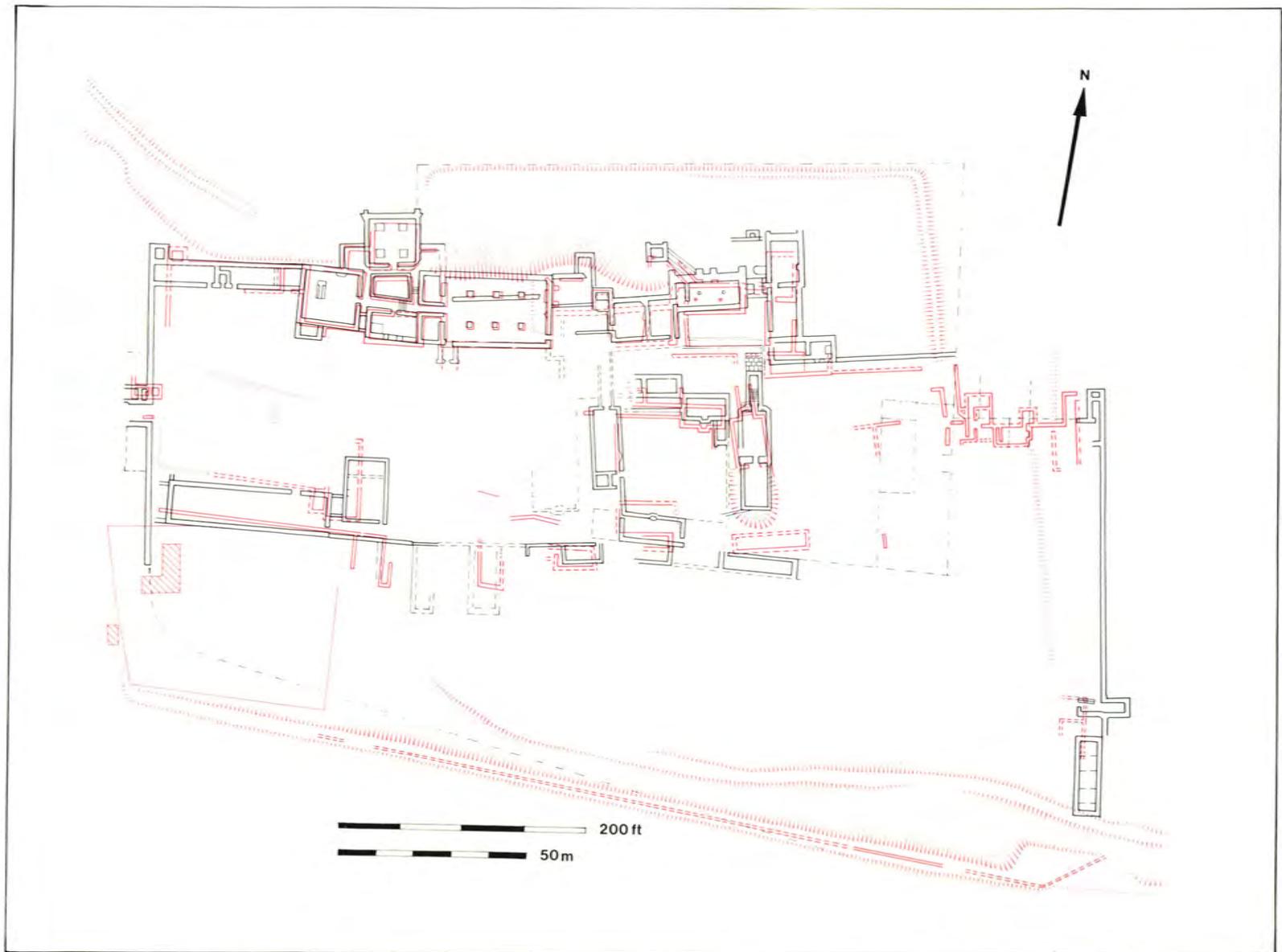


FIG. 13. Plan of Clarendon Palace 1943 and 1980. The outlines in black as recorded in 1943 and in red as recorded in 1980

Arriving at a composite plan (fig. 5)

The plans of 1821, 1837, 1936, 1937, 1943 and 1963 have all been published by Mrs Eames, although only on a small scale (Eames 1965, figs. 1–6, pp. 82–4). These plans broadly correspond, but all show different details. They reflect the different interests and objectives of the excavators and of others, such as Pevsner, who brought his interest in architecture to what he observed at Clarendon. Most of the plans, as explained above, are based on the 1936 Borenus and Charlton plan, and the difficulties of incorporating all that is known of building positions, phases and detail have also been alluded to above. Some of the difficulties are best illustrated by reference to the two-colour plan in which the 1943 plan appears in black, and the details which have been more firmly established since that date in red (fig. 13). In all cases the great hall (5) provides a fixed starting point for plans, as it has for excavators (p. 90). The RCHM plan (fig. 12), when compared with earlier plans, shows differences in alignment and size of many buildings and ranges on the site, as the two-colour plan (fig. 13) demonstrates. The further away from the hall the structures, the less certain are their positions. Thus the 1963 plan (fig. 10) shows the site to be larger than the 1936 plan (fig. 6), and the 1943 plan (fig. 7) is somewhat larger than that of 1963.

The composite plan (fig. 5) serves the purpose of providing a series of reference numbers for each structure on the site to facilitate identification. To accompany discussion of the work carried out on each part of the site this plan has also been broken down into a series of plans of blocks and ranges, for easy reference. The same series of numbers is used on the range plans as on the composite plan and in the text. In general the 1930s excavators' nomenclature has been retained, and the identifications of buildings such as **4k** as the 'salsary' and range **I2** as the cellars is discussed at the appropriate point in the text.

Reconstruction drawings (figs. 14, 15; pl. IV)

Clarendon reconstructions have been attempted on two occasions. The first reconstruction of the site, viewed from the south-east, was by Alan Sorrell and was probably produced around 1970 (pl. IV). More recently, in 1983 and 1984, Allan Adams has produced both an overall view of the site, from the south-west, and a view of the north range, looking up the slope from the terrace (**Ii**) (figs. 14 and 15). Both artists have been forced by the lack of firm evidence of the structures towards the eastern perimeter, especially in area **I5**, to truncate their views by excluding the area east and south-east of the cellars (**I2**).

The original of Alan Sorrell's drawing is now at Salisbury Museum. The view chosen by the artist looks north-west across the great courtyard (**6**). It is clearly based on the 1943 Borenus plan, or on a derivative of that plan, for example Colvin's plan of 1963, as evidenced by the inclusion of a structure, **6k**, parallel to the Alexander chamber (**I3b**). The 1943 plan suggests a southern wall for building **6k**, possibly including a fireplace (fig. 13). No excavation records of work on such a structure now exist. It may have been plotted on the basis of surface indications alone. The western entrance (**2**) is only partly seen and buildings **6a**, **6i**, **I3c**, **I3d** and **I3f**, which form the south range as known at present, are on a distinctly different alignment to the generally agreed plan, although this alignment may be at least in part a result of the artist's perspective. A small range of buildings south of **6i**, which do not appear on any plan, are drawn in. The proportions and numbers of structures along the north of the site suggest a late

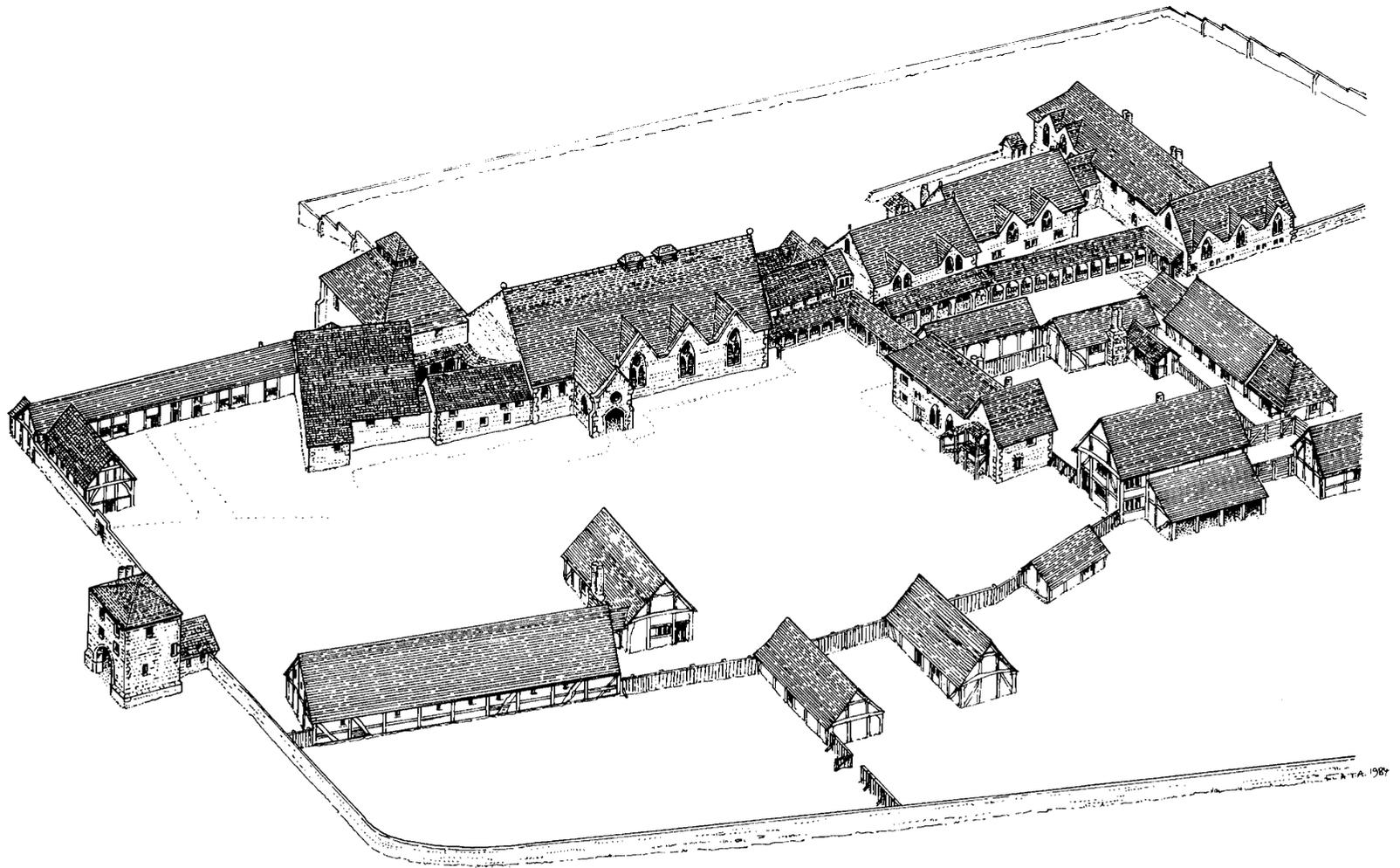


FIG. 14. Reconstruction drawing of Clarendon Palace c. 1275 looking north-east

Drawn by Allan Adams, 1984

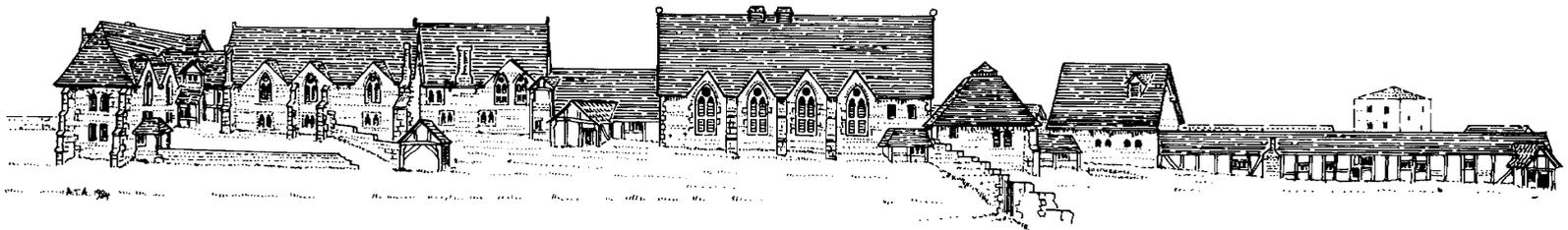


FIG. 15. Reconstruction drawing of the north range of Clarendon Palace c. 1275 looking south

Drawn by Allan Adams, 1984

thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date, as was suggested when the picture was published. However, the inclusion of the brick kitchen (**11d**), with a distinctive roof to allow smoke to escape, argues for a fifteenth-century date. The artist was not familiar with the topography of Clarendon. Thus, while the area to the north of the north range is correct in scale, the impression given by the drawing is that the ground there is level with that on which the northern structures were built. The steep scarp of the slope to the north of the great hall (**5**), the Antioch chamber (**8**), and the queen's chambers (**10**), is not indicated. The suggested layout of gardens, while supported in general terms in documentary sources, was not revealed at all in excavation work.

Allan Adams's general view (fig. 14) looks north-east across the site and is based on the most recent analysis of the structures at Clarendon. Each building shown on the drawing has been meticulously considered. Care has been taken at every point with architectural detail, and to show proper proportions of buildings in relation to one another, and each structure has been drawn taking full account of the lie of the land on site.

In most respects, in view of what is said elsewhere in this volume, the drawing is self-explanatory. However, some notes are offered here to elucidate certain matters. The western entrance (**2**) posed particular difficulties because of the discovery in the 1930s of weathering on what seems to have been the north side of the north wall of the gate opening (pl. XVI*a*). The excavators found that the north-south wall which separates **2a** from **2c**, and both those structures as a whole, were later additions. When the western entrance was reconstructed in the mid thirteenth century, there must have been a narrow passage bounded by the ashlar and rubble walls so familiar right across the site. It is suggested here that a large gatehouse stood west of such a passage. Archaeological investigation of the western entrance was especially difficult, not least because it was the gatehouse which continued in occupation long after the rest of the palace had decayed (above, p. 45). The majority of post-medieval material recovered from the site was found in this area, which was certainly redeveloped on a number of occasions.

In preparing his work Adams visited the site and was struck forcibly by the lie of the land. This shows particularly in his representation of the relationship between the west gable of the great hall (**5**), built up to the west of the servery or buttery rooms (**4b** and **4c**), and the kitchen area, with the marked drop in levels into the kitchen cloister (**4a**). He depicts the drop in levels between the northern and southern alleys of the kitchen cloister, which can clearly be seen in 1930s photographs, by a glimpse of the rising pentice roof (based on existing evidence of a rising pentice roof covering a stair up to a first-floor hall at Stokesay Castle) over the staircase in the eastern alleyway of the kitchen cloister (**4a**) (pl. XVII*b*). The north kitchen (**4e**) is thus shown at a lower level than the west kitchen (**4h**) and the northern side of the cloister (**4a**). These levels show especially well on the reconstruction of the view up the slope from the terrace (**1i**). The salsary building (**4k**) is shown to be of two floors, as suggested by the pier bases found within it, and previously unpublished plans have been used as the basis for the layout of the ground-floor windows (above, p. 62). The bays of the great hall are marked out by the windows and their gables, features strongly suggested in documentary sources (above, p. 11). No fireplace was found in the great hall. The roof louvres follow a documentary source. Their position, and so the position of the hearth, is paralleled in the hall at nearby Ludgershall, Wiltshire.

Elsewhere on the site attention to detail is most particular, for example in the inclusion of chimneys where fireplaces are shown in the plans. The indication of an extension of the cellar into area **12d** is shown by the roof line. An attempt is made to reconcile the difficulties over access to the cellar entrance (**12a**). The artist has accepted the 1930s excavators' suggestion that the flagged or cobbled area (**12a**) north of the cellars was the place where carts arrived with wine. The excavation of a pentice (**11a**) which appeared to cut off access to the cellar from the great courtyard was a problem. However, the representation of this area in the reconstruction drawing argues that the carts would not have rolled under the king's chamber windows in **7g** and **7h**, but that deliveries would have been made by an as yet undiscovered eastern entrance, or by carting across the great courtyard to the south, to gain access, eventually, past the southern buildings of the queen's range (**10c** and **10d**). Such speculation cannot be substantiated, but makes good sense. The date of Adams's reconstruction drawings is the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, when the royal apartments are at their greatest extent, but before the brick kitchen (**11d**) was erected, although a lean-to structure is suggested on the site later occupied by **11d**.

Surviving parallels for the now vanished structures at Clarendon have been sought, examined and incorporated at every point in the reconstruction process. Advice has been sought from those best qualified to resolve problems of structure and design to produce reconstruction drawings which can be examined with confidence. So far as current knowledge of medieval buildings and of the site at Clarendon permits, the drawings published here are as faithful as they can be.

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS (pls. V–IX)

A number of aerial photographs taken in the 1930s help elucidate the plans and the excavation campaigns of that decade. They date to 1933, 1935 and 1938. The earliest is that taken in October 1933 (pl. *Va*; Borenius and Charlton 1936, pl. XI, 1). The palace site is shown heavily covered with forest and undergrowth, but with the south wall and pillar bases of the great hall (**5**) exposed and also a range of rooms, **16a**, **16b** and **16c**, on the east side of the site. A somewhat later photograph shows that there had been further clearance and excavation of the area around, and to the east of, the great hall (**5**). The work to the east of the great hall would seem to be that carried out in the area known to the excavators as the king's chambers (**7**), particularly in the solars (**7g** and **7h**). It is known that an aerial photograph was taken on 1 February 1935. A photograph was used by Mr Charlton to illustrate the position at the end of the 1934 season, and would seem to be the photograph reproduced here (pl. *Vb*; Charlton 1935; Borenius and Charlton 1936, pl. XI, 2).

One of the most illuminating of the aerial photographs is that of November 1935 (pl. VI). The major work carried out in that season is clearly shown, including clearance of much of the western entrance (**2**), the north-west range (**3**) and the kitchen area (**4**). The plans of these areas together with the great hall (**5**), and the easterly ranges (**16** and **17**) can be seen quite clearly. An aerial photograph was taken on 9 February 1937 (Charlton 1937) and the remainder date to 1938. That of 1937 would seem to be the winter photograph which shows

most of the site cleared of forest and with large areas of ranges **7**, **8** and **10** as well as **11** at least partially cleared (pl. VII).

A series of aerial photographs was taken on 10 March 1938. These are the latest and most detailed aerial photographs taken during the 1930s, although naturally they do not show work undertaken in 1938 and 1939. Views to the west (pl. VIII) and to the south (pl. IX) give a clear indication of the extent and layout of the work on the site. A photograph taken at 3 p.m. from 1,000 ft. from overhead (pl. IXa) is particularly useful. From a low-level pass at 300 ft. at 3.30 p.m. (pl. IXb) the principal ranges can be seen. This photograph indicates the progress made by the end of 1937, when the great hall (**5**) had been grassed, the kitchen area (**4**) had been almost completely excavated to the extent that the pillar bases in **4e** had been revealed, and the kiln (**4l**) had been found in the corner of the salsary (**4k**). The plan and alignment of the kitchen range (**4**), and the off-centre position of the fireplace in the west kitchen (**4h**), are noteworthy features (p. 62). Many of the details of the king's chambers (**7**) and the Antioch chamber (**8**), to the east of the great hall (**5**) can be discerned, although structures on the north slope such as **7c** and **8b** do not appear fully exposed at that date in 1938. At the eastern end of the north range the four rooms identified as the queen's range (**10a**, **10b**, **10c** and **10d**) are outlined in plan and the tile pavement in **10a** has a protective covering. The angled alignment of rooms **10c** and **10d** to **10a** and **10b** is a feature, particularly the eastern wall of these buildings which appears to have a curve in it. The somewhat narrower plan of **10b** as compared with **10a** as shown in the Phillipps plan of 1821 and the Pevsner plan of 1937 (figs. 3, 9) appears to be confirmed by this photograph.

To the south in the areas **11**, **12** and **13** work is in progress. The cellar range (**12**) is hardly exposed at all, but the plans of **13a**, **11d**, **11e** and **11f** are emerging and the general layout of the courtyard **13** can be seen. The building interpreted by the excavators as the Alexander chamber (**13b**) is not clear, but it is known that this was investigated in 1933 (Charlton, Notebooks and 1936 plan). On the south side of courtyard **13**, the progress of excavation of **13c** and **13d** can be seen. Apart from the easterly ranges (**16**) and (**17**), there is little sign of other work in the south-east quarter of the site, although it has all been cleared of trees. Similarly there is little evidence of work on the south side of the great courtyard (**6**), with the exception of the structures in the south-west corner. Here the plan of **6b**, with its subdivisions and fireplace, can be seen quite clearly, although the building looks surprisingly long in the aerial photograph. The small lobby (**6c**) can also be seen, but the long building (**6a**) is not readily evident.

As a group these aerial photographs form a useful and informative record in support of the excavation plans. They are of considerable assistance in attempts to chart the progress of excavation work at Clarendon in the seasons from 1933 to 1937.

ASSOCIATED EARTHWORKS AND BOUNDARIES (**I**) (figs. 8 and 16; pls. Xa–XVb)

Clarendon is located on a chalk ridge some 350 ft. (107 m.) above sea level. The stump of a wall (**I**), now occasionally visible as a bank, surrounds the palace precinct. There are also a variety of earthworks. One of these, thought to have enclosed the palace park, is partly aligned with the south and east of the perimeter wall and encloses an area larger than the immediate

built-up precinct of the palace. A much larger area, the deer park, which can be identified by deer leaps on the map of 1640, is enclosed by a further earthwork. There are also other banks and ditches. Some of these earthworks were probably constructed when the palace was in use; however, at least one of these earthworks may pre-date the palace. Excavations carried out in the south-east corner of the site in 1961 under the direction of Mr John Musty have revealed that occupation on the hillside pre-dates the palace phase. This work also demonstrated that during the palace era the course and character of the perimeter wall was altered. A plan of the excavations and the features detected is shown on fig. 16, and a smaller-scale plan relating these to the rest of the palace can be seen in fig. 8. The development, adaptation and expansion of settlement on this hillside site is clearly complicated, and further examination of the alignment and sequence of the relevant earthworks may be expected to clarify this sequence. Mrs Eames revealed a section of early ditch in her 1965 excavations (below, pp. 135–8).

Outer earthworks (fig. 1)

The outermost earthwork associated with the site is the remains of the medieval deer-park perimeter (**If**). The area enclosed (centred at SU 187302, extending from SU 170316 to

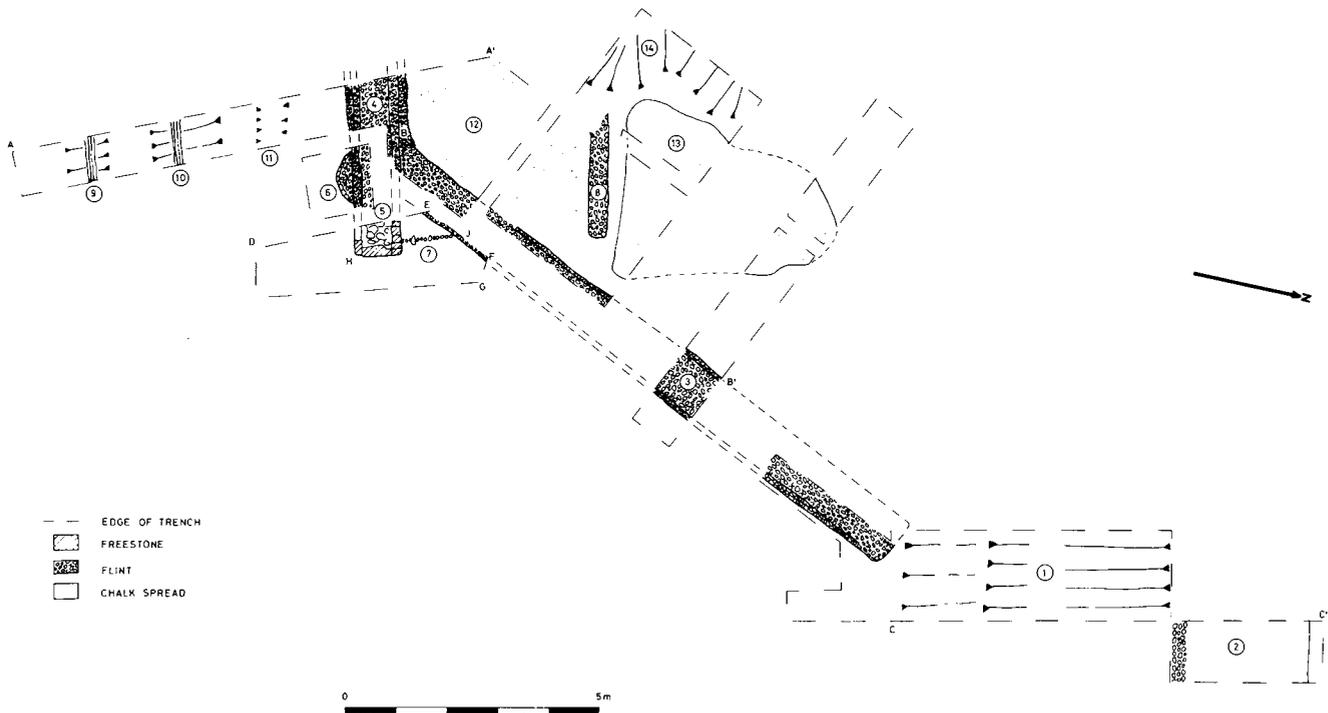


FIG. 16. Plan of area excavated in the south-east corner of the palace site, 1961

Key: A, A1, B, B1, C, C1, D, E, F, G, H, J: Section lines (see figs, 17–20); (1) V-shaped ditch (**Ih**); (2) bank, partially levelled (**Ig**); (3) oblique south palace perimeter wall (**Ie**); (4) southern perimeter wall (**Id**); (5) extension to southern perimeter wall (**Id**) with ashlar facing; (6) flint buttress on corner of original angle between **Id** and **Ie**; (7) small setting of flints running between **Id** extension and **Ie**; (8) fragment of flint wall, partially dismantled in upper courses; (9) rut filled with silt; (10) rut filled with silt; (11) small gully; (12), (13) spreads of chalk derived from (14); (14) chalk pit.
(1:150)

SU 204320 and SU 162294 to SU 210290) is of considerable size, and larger than the area shown on fig. 1 (location B). The deer-park perimeter corresponds almost exactly with the present-day civil parish of Clarendon Park, but deviates from the civil parish boundary along the south-western edge, where it follows the A36 road between SU 163291 and SU 173281, with further deviations between SU 18302776 to SU 18702791 and SU 20853020 to SU 20563137 (O.S. 1971 and Andrews and Dury 1773; pl. III). This earthwork was previously thought to have defined the medieval royal hunting forest of Clarendon, but it clearly did not, for in 1327 the western boundary of the forest was the River Bourne. The earthwork in fact defined the boundary in 1650 (VCH, iv, 455; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 912). The area was disparked in 1664. The present study does not deal with Clarendon Forest in any detail.

Inner earthworks (figs. 1, 12, 16–17; pls. Xa–XIa)

A major bank and ditch earthwork (**ig** and **ih**) encloses an inner area immediately around the palace. The line of this is shown in fig. 1 (location B). This feature was observed by Borenius and Charlton, who referred to it as the park pale or the deer leap (pl. Xa). The north-west corner is shown in a photograph from the 1930s. The area enclosed is centred at SU 182303 and extends north-west to north-east from SU 178303 to SU 184307 and south-west to south-east from SU 182301 to SU 185303, thus enclosing nearly 40 acres (16.6 ha.). The earthwork seems to be a simple bank (**ig**) and outer ditch (**ih**) which run along the top of the hill scarp and down the southern slope, bounding the palace area on the north and east sides. It is therefore positioned on the slope of the hill with the palace itself being located along the interior of its southern edge. There are indications that this earthwork is either pre-medieval or dates from the very early Middle Ages. Part of this system was investigated at its junction with the palace perimeter wall in the south-east corner of the palace site (fig. 16). It is thought to be earlier than the palace perimeter walls of **14** and **17** which here at the south-east corner of the palace area lie outside the bank and ditch. The perimeter wall in this south-east area, aligned south-east to north-west (**id**), does not cross the ditch but stops at its southern edge. The excavators argued that the wall was built up to the edge of the ditch, which was not cut by it at a later date. This valuable information emerged from the results of the 1961 excavations (Musty, Site Report; *SMAR*, 1961–2, 9; *WAM*, lviii (1962), 247). The plan drawn by the RCHM shows that part of the great court (**6**) and the western entrance of the medieval palace lie to the west of, and thus outside, the line of the bank and ditch, which have apparently been levelled at that point (fig. 12).

The ditch itself (**ih**) was sectioned (fig. 17; pls. Xb, XIa) and was shown to be approximately 8 ft. deep by 20 ft. wide (2.44 by 6.1 m.) and V-shaped, with its bottom slightly to the north of centre (Musty, Site Report). No finds were retrieved from the lower levels of the ditch fill, but in the upper levels (7) a late thirteenth-century ridge tile was found. There were also other fragments of medieval tile very high up in the fill. The top level (1) yielded an arrowhead of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It is noteworthy that such medieval finds were only found very high up in the ditch fill. On the basis of these finds and their position so high in the ditch fill, together with the observation that the palace perimeter wall (**ie**) stops at the ditch edge and that the associated bank has been levelled in the vicinity of the palace perimeter walls, it has been suggested that the bank and ditch is a very early or pre-medieval feature (Musty, Site

Report). Altogether this evidence implies that this earthwork pre-dates the major phases of the palace development.

The bank (**1g**) which runs on the north side of the ditch (**1h**) was partially excavated in 1961 when a small trench was dug on the north lip of this ditch. The position of this trench can be seen on fig. 16 and pl. XIa. The stub of the bank was approximately 20 ft. (6.1 m.) wide (Musty, Site Report). Its character is demonstrated by a section (fig. 17) which shows that it was made up of a layer of cobbling in red-brown soil (5), covered by a small feature (3) containing chalk rubble (2) on the north. Finally, all was found to be sealed with topsoil (1) (Musty, 1961 Notebook and Section). It was noted that the bank appeared better preserved, and no doubt nearer to its original height, further away from the palace area. The excavators suggested that in the vicinity of the palace and the perimeter wall the bank was demolished and carted away to be used for make-up elsewhere on the palace site (Musty, Site Report).

The overall implications are that the bank and ditch system is an early feature. Mr Musty has suggested that the position of the earthwork enclosure, partly on the edge of the hill, could identify it as an Iron Age *oppidum*. Certainly the nature of the earthworks, their position and the size of the area enclosed, would suggest that this earthwork may be pre-medieval, but to date no artefacts have been recovered which would confirm this hypothesis. Various Roman artefacts and a silver 'British' coin (fig. 4, margin) have been recorded from the site, but no prehistoric or Roman finds were found associated with the earthwork in question. Whatever its date, the system was overrun by the later development of the palace complex. At the very end of the 1930s campaign of excavations a small V-shaped ditch was uncovered by cross-trenching a large unexplored area towards the east of the site, perhaps in area **14** or **15**. This ditch, reported in August 1939, ran across the site at an angle and curved back towards the south-east. At its north end it became deep and passed at an angle under one of the thirteenth-century buildings, continuing for an unknown distance. The ditch was dug into solid chalk and was very well marked. Nothing of prehistoric date was found as far as is known, but the excavators were sure that the profile was prehistoric, although they reserved their judgement against expert opinion (*ST*, 18 August 1939). Mrs Eames also found ditches beneath the salsary (**4k**) and the kiln (**4l**) (pp. 135–8).

The perimeter wall (figs. 5, 16)

The medieval palace was enclosed by a perimeter wall, the line of which may well have been altered at least once. The line and position of the perimeter wall altered as the palace expanded and as the plan developed. Along the north side of the site it has been suggested that the line of an earlier perimeter wall between **7b** and **7e**, running east from the great hall (**5**) and south of the later palace boundary (**1k**), can still be recognized (Eames 1965, 61–2). There is also evidence to suggest that earlier buildings or perimeter walls stood on the sites of the structures later rebuilt as the great hall and the king's chamber (structures **5a**, **7a**). Details of the buildings and boundary wall on the south side of the site remain obscure. There may be an inner, and possibly earlier, wall running in an east–west direction further to the north of that described above (**1d**).

There is clear documentary evidence from the thirteenth century to indicate that a westward expansion of the enclosed area took place and that a new western entrance was constructed at that date (above, p. 24). In 1934 work was carried out on the western precincts of the site. The

boundary wall (**1b**) was traced westwards from the west kitchen (**4h**), the ashlar garderobe (**3e**) at the north-eastern corner of the site was discovered and excavated, and the western wall (**1a**) running south to the western entrance was examined. The examination of the western entrance and associated structures is dealt with below (pp. 79–81). The north–south wall (**1a**), which joined the north-western corner garderobe (**3e**) to the western entrance (**2**), was found to be constructed of small, good flints, which had been plastered over. This wall stood to a maximum height of 8 ft. (2.44 m.) in the 1930s, above footings which rested on solid chalk (Correspondence, 1934). The perimeter wall south of the western entrance was also investigated, as shown on contemporary plans. Examination was not carried southwards into the garden of the ‘gamekeeper’s cottage’, or along the south-western extremity of the site.

In the south-east corner of the site the perimeter wall and various other associated features were examined in the 1961 excavation programme (fig. 16). Two stretches of the perimeter wall (**1d**) and (**1e**) were picked up. Flat ceramic roof tiles of the type found above the medieval kitchen rubbish deposits were associated with both structures **1d** and **1e**, implying that the walls are not earlier than the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century, which is the date assigned to the rubbish deposits, and may be later. The dating evidence is not conclusive

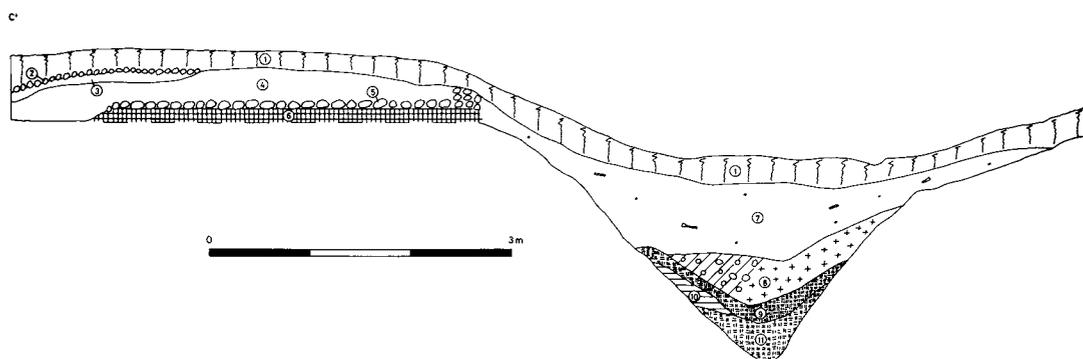


FIG. 17. Section across the bank (**1g**) and ditch (**1h**). Section looking east between C and C1 on fig. 16.

Key: (1) topsoil; (2) chalk rubble; (3) soil; (4) clean chalk rubble; (5) cobbling in red brown soil; (6) red brown soil; (7) chalk silt; (8) gravelly soil with some chalk and flint; (9), (10), (11) silt layers. (1:75)

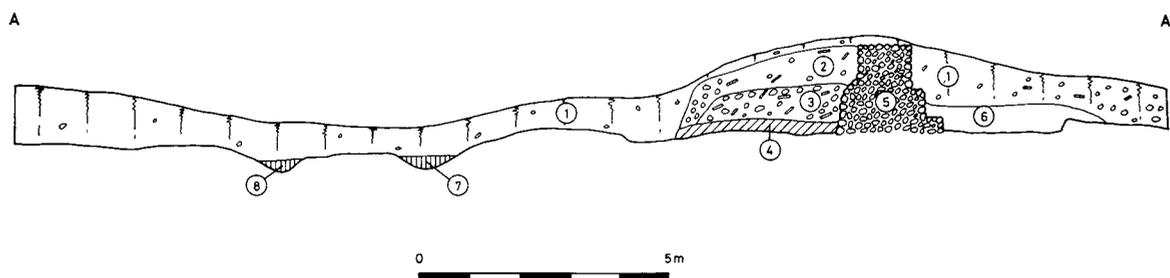


FIG. 18. Section across the south perimeter wall (**1d**). Section looking west between A and A1 on fig. 16.

Key: (1) topsoil with tile and flint; (2), (3) topsoil with a greater density of tile and flint; (4) soil; (5) south perimeter wall (**1d**), flint built; (6) disturbance with soil and chalk; (7) silt filled rut; (8) silt filled rut. (1:150)

or narrow, but it indicates that these perimeter walls belong to the main phase of the medieval palace complex.

The south perimeter wall (figs. 8, 16, 18; pls. XIb, XIIa-b)

This feature (**1d**) runs along the south side of the site and was referred to by the excavator as the south-east to south-west perimeter wall (Musty, Site Report). The remains of this wall, now covered with turf and giving the appearance of a bank, are visible today (pls. XIb,

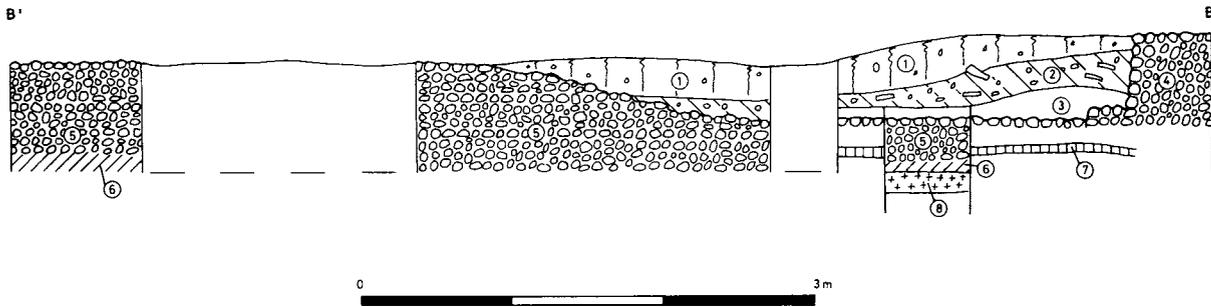


FIG. 19. Section along oblique south wall (**1e**). Section looking south-east between B and B1 on fig. 16.
Key: (1) topsoil; (2) soil with flint and tile; (3) soil; (4) south perimeter wall (**1d**); (5) oblique south wall (**1e**) partially levelled; (6), (7) soil; (8) chalk. (1:100)

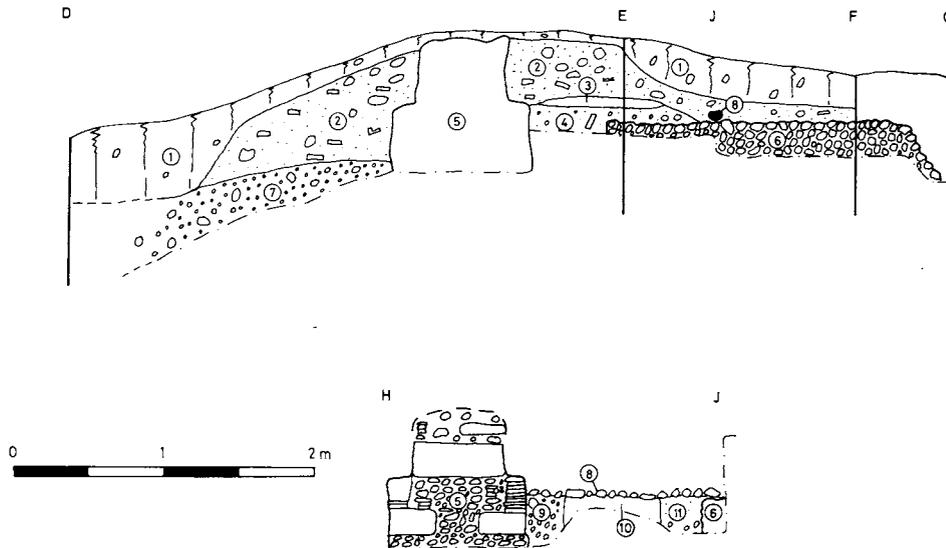


FIG. 20. Section across the extension to the south wall (**1d**). Two sections drawn looking west: (i) between D, E, J, F on fig. 16; (ii) between H and J on fig. 16.

Key: (1) topsoil, earth and rubble; (2) mortary soil with tile; (3) soil; (4) soil with tile and flint; (5) extension to the south wall (**1d**), built of flint, tile and ashlar; (6) oblique south wall (**1e**), flint built; (7) gingery soil with chalk rubble; (8) setting of flints across angle between (**1d**) and (**1e**) (see fig. 16 (7)); (9) soil with flints; (10) not excavated; (11) soil with flints. (1:50)

XIIa-b). A section was cut across this perimeter wall (fig. 18) and according to the drawing the masonry wall seems to have been backed on the south side by an earth and rubble bank, although it is difficult to determine from the drawing whether this was an integral part of the structure or material which accumulated up against it later. A gully runs along the south edge of this bank between the trackway and the bank. In 1961 the line of this wall was resurveyed and its position has been marked accordingly (fig. 8).

On the south side of the southerly perimeter wall is a depression which runs parallel to it. Originally this was thought to be a ditch, but excavation showed it to be a track with well-defined wheel ruts with a separation of 5 ft. (1.5 m.) centre to centre (fig. 16, features 9 and 10 and fig. 18, features 7 and 8). The rut nearest the wall was 12 ft. (3.66 m.) from it. This road or trackway has been assumed to be medieval, presumably because of its relationship with the south perimeter wall. The track does not follow the line of the east perimeter wall, but instead continues in a west to east direction leading away from the palace. This alignment is in no way peculiar, as the track is presumably a continuation of the Salisbury to Clarendon road, which leads on to the Pitton Gate and then on to Winchester (John Musty, pers. comm.; Musty, Site Report).

The oblique south wall (figs. 16–20; pl. XIIIa–b)

The other wall, **1e**, first discovered in 1961, ran obliquely at a 50-degree angle northwards from the south-east corner of the southerly wall (**1d**) towards the large ditch, where it stopped (figs. 16–18). A small trench was cut on the north side of the earlier ditch (**1h**) (fig. 16), which showed that the bank had been levelled in this area, but examination was not carried beyond this. Presumably a palace wall continued from the far side of the earthwork and was that described above (**1c**), which was found in the 1930s excavations joining structures **16** and **17**.

At some stage the layout of the perimeter walls was altered. The oblique south wall (**1e**) was partially dismantled and reduced to its lowest courses for a distance of 12 ft. (3.66 m.) at its junction with the south wall. This is illustrated by a section drawn along the relevant piece of walling (fig. 19). The junction of the two walls was rebuilt so that the south wall terminus was extended for approximately 5 ft. (1.5 m.) to the east and its end faced with blocks of freestone (fig. 20). The constructional features in this area are curious and complicated. They are shown in fig. 20, which illustrates sections from D to G and H to J on fig. 16. The rebuilding has the appearance of an entrance, but there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that it was ever used as a gateway. There is no sign of traffic wear on the ground surface, which would be obvious as the ground inside the wall had been made up with chalk rubble, nor are there signs of any approach ruts. Excavation in the area was encouraged by the knowledge that there was a 'Dernegate' at Clarendon in 1327 (above, p. 36). The relationship of this reconstructed perimeter wall and the east–west trackway is not fully known. The track continues past the area with no sign of any alteration to its course. This implies that if the alterations represent a gateway it was either a scheme that was abandoned immediately after reconstruction began or that it was a gateway which pre-dates the course of the east–west track. This is unlikely as the track is a continuation of the Salisbury to Clarendon road (above, this page). If the alterations do not represent a gateway, they may still imply alterations which were abandoned in mid course. In addition, the nature of the rebuilt terminal of the south wall is rather curious, especially as it is at such an acute angle to the oblique south wall (**1e**), which further militates

against interpretation as an intended, or actual, entrance. Interpretation of this area was rendered more difficult by the presence of a large silted-up chalk pit about 12 ft. (3.66 m.) to the north-west of the east end of the oblique section of the southern wall (**1e**) (Musty, Site Report). The presence of this chalk pit was unfortunate since there are other unexplained features in this area, such as the flint wall (8) and a setting of flints (7) which are shown on fig. 16.

In the course of the 1930s excavations it was noted that the buildings on the extreme eastern edge of the site (**16** and **17**) were connected by a narrow wall built of flint (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 76). The eastern area was at this time, as aerial and other 1930s photographs show, open downland, as the whole site had been in the eighteenth century when Stukeley visited (above, p. 57; pls. Ia, V–IX). The eastern perimeter wall (**1c**), running north–south between **16** and **17** was looked at in 1934, being described as ‘the precinct wall crossing the field towards the right of way’ (Correspondence, ?August, 1934). On the basis of associated pottery and documentary descriptions of a stone and lime wall of Henry III’s time (1216–72), the excavators assigned the structure a date in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. While such a rebuilding of the wall at that period is quite plausible, the dating evidence is tenuous and the remains might well belong to an earlier period, in particular the thirteenth century. The same excavation programme uncovered what appeared to a similar perimeter wall in the north-west corner of the site (**1b**).

The terrace (1i) (figs. 2, 5, 22–3; pls. XIV–XV)

Within the site there is one other noteworthy earthwork. This is an artificial terrace (**1i**) built on the scarp along the north side of the site. It runs the length of the north range of the palace and appears to be a feature built up along the edge of the hillside (pl. XIVa–b). It is thought that this may have been used as one of the gardens referred to in the liberate rolls (above, p. 22). The terrace is defined by a bank or banks here referred to as **1j**, **1k** and **1l** (fig. 5). In 1961 two small sections were excavated on the downhill edge to investigate the nature of this feature (figs. 2 and 5; Musty, Site Report). The retaining wall was found to be of flint (figs. 22–3). It was 2 ft. 3 in. (0.7 m.) thick and standing on the chalk subsoil to a height of 5 ft. (1.52 m.). It encloses a rectangular area running along the greater part of the north range of the palace from well to the east of the queen’s apartments (**10**) to a point just west of the great hall (**5**) where the retaining wall returns northwards, thus excluding the ash-pit (**4g**) and midden area outside the kitchen block (**4**). The terrace (**1i**) was made up of chalk rubble up to 3 ft. (0.91 m.) thick where it was excavated. There was little associated dating evidence, although a piece of what was thought to be twelfth-century stone moulding was incorporated in the terrace make-up (p. 241, no. 32). Presumably the terraced ‘garden’ belongs to the thirteenth-century phases of the palace.

THE WESTERN ENTRANCE (2) (fig. 21; pl. XVIa)

The western precinct wall (**1a**) is considered above (p. 76). The western entrance (2), including structures described as ‘the gatehouse’, was investigated in some detail in 1934 and the results published in the interim report (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 75; fig. 21). The most detailed account of the work in this area is in the letters written to Dr Borenus from the site in

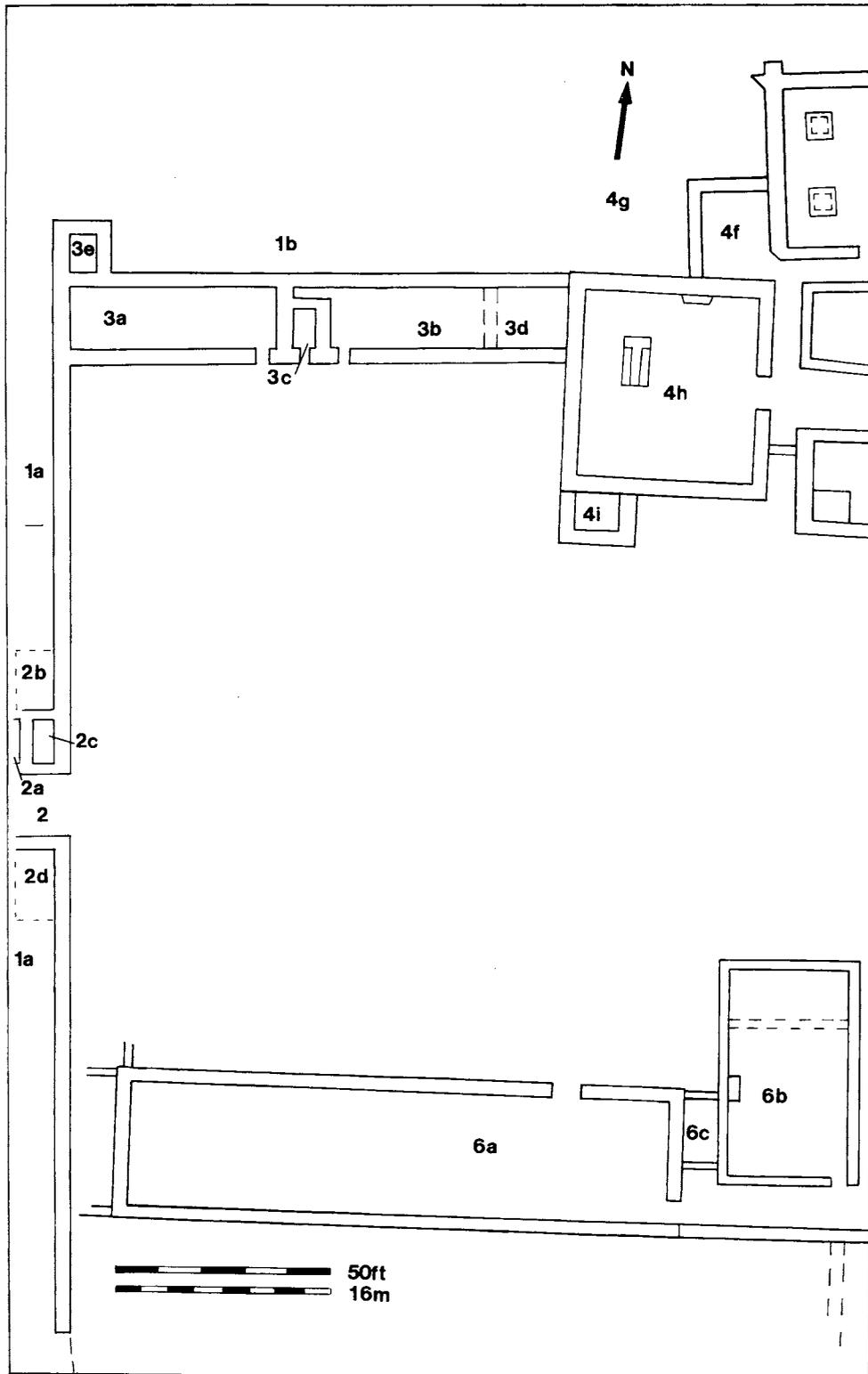


FIG. 21. Composite plan of western entrance (2), north-western range (3) and south-western range (6a, 6b and 6c) (1:500)

1934 (Correspondence, 1934) and in the site notebooks. The investigations concentrated on the northern structures of the entrance complex (**2a**, **2b** and **2c**), since disturbance of those to the south (**2d**) by stone robbers had left only the footings. The area north of the gateway opening, which included **2a**, **2b** and **2c**, showed at least two phases of development. The southern wall of **2a** and **2c** comprised a double plinth wall, so called because of the angled ashlar weathering, which was 15 ft. (4.6 m.) long. Both above and below the ashlar weathering there was flint rubble walling. The construction profile and method correspond to the weathering courses on the north wall of the Antioch chamber (**8a**). At a later date, structures **2a** and **2c** were built against the 15 ft. (4.5 m.) wall, to the north, so that the weathering, clearly originally intended as a feature of an external wall, was internal. The later cross-wall and the weathering can be clearly seen in a contemporary photograph (pl. XVIa). Charlton noted that while the ashlar work of the weathering was good, the exterior, south-east corner, of **2c** appeared to have been rebuilt in inferior ashlar work. The new structures **2a** and **2c** included a large garderobe. The garderobe contained two pits, one of which was rectangular and measured 7 by 5 ft. (2.13 by 1.52 m.). The other was roughly circular with a diameter of 1 ft. 6 in. and was 5 ft. deep (0.46 by 1.52 m.). This pit produced a quantity of finds including lead ventilators (pp. 225-6).

Details and phasing of successive gatehouses are difficult to establish. The span of the arch of the entrance (**2**) from north to south was approximately 17 ft. (5.18 m.). There were signs of several rebuildings and additions and the excavators noted that 'in this part of the site alone traces of post-medieval occupation have been found' (Charlton 1936). Commander Higgins, at work in 'the gatehouse', probably in area **2a**, found stoneware and clay pipes (Correspondence, ?August, 1934). At the same time a 'late coin' came from a seventeenth-century deposit at the gatehouse (Coins, p. 199). Documentary evidence suggests that the gateway was moved to this westerly position in 1240 and there is additional documentary evidence of a late-medieval rebuilding (above, pp. 24, 42). The gatehouse was apparently still standing and occupied in 1650, and this late occupation accounts for the recovery of at least some of the post-medieval finds from the site.

THE NORTH-WEST RANGE (**3**) (fig. 21; pl. XVIb-c)

The north-west range (**3**) was situated on the north side of the site to the west of the great hall (**5**) and the kitchen complex (**4**). This area was investigated in 1934 and was referred to in the interim report (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 75). The range runs along the edge of the northern scarp and is essentially a series of narrow buildings which extend to 112 ft. (34.14 m.) east to west and are 15 ft. (4.57 m.) wide north to south. Buildings **3a**, **3b** and **3d** back on to the north-western section of the precinct wall. There is one structure, **3e**, situated outside the precinct wall, at the north-western corner of the site. This structure was investigated in 1934, and was described as being a shallow double buttress with a plinth, presumably to support the precinct wall, although the square plan of the structure, without any apparent entrance, suggests it may have been a garderobe. It incorporated some good ashlar, comparable with that found on the east of the site, in a similar structure, **16a**, and a tile lacing-course was observed on the western wall (Correspondence, 1934). The notebooks say that the 'buttress'

was of the same build as the rest of the structure, and was made of 'mixed material' on a 'rubbish' foundation.

The walls of the main range, **3a**, **3b** and **3d**, are described as being constructed of 'smallish ill dressed flints, probably plastered'. The excavators noted at least two phases to this building. The first consisted of the long building divided into two rooms (**3a** and **3b**) by a cross-wall, the whole structure being 'either earlier than, or contemporary with, the west kitchen' (**4h**). In view of the early date of the west kitchen (**4h**), and the weight of documentary evidence relating to the later expansion of the precinct wall to the west, there are grounds for suggesting that the north-west range (**3**) might be later than the west kitchen (**4h**). At a later date a small chamber, lobby or 'cubby-hole' (**3c**) was constructed at the west end of the east room (**3b**) by the insertion of partition walls made of chalk blocks with tile bonding-courses. On the south side were three doorways, one leading into each of the west and east rooms and one into the lobby. They all opened on to the courtyard (**6**). The records imply that these doorways are of the same date as the inserted lobby. If this is so, the position of the original doorway remains obscure. These doorways had ashlar dressings and one had chamfered jambs with an 'elaborate stop'. In the centre of the north wall of the east room (**3b**) were the remains of a fireplace built of herringbone tiles and with stop-chamfered stone jambs (Correspondence, 1934). It is thought that this fireplace is that shown in pl. XVIc, an original print of which is marked as such on the reverse. The floor of the room was described as being of plaster and gravel, but it is not known to which phase this floor belongs or if there were indications of more than one floor level. The RCHM plan (fig. 12) of this area shows that the east end of this range was divided off by a north-south cross-wall to form a separate area, **3d**, and that there may have been a door in the south-east corner of the room thus formed at the east end of this range.

THE KITCHEN COMPLEX (**4**) (fig. 22; pls. XVII-XXIV, XLVII-LII)

Between the north-west range (**3**) and to the west of the great hall (**5**) was a block which housed the kitchen quarters (**4**). Access to this area from the west end of the hall was via a door and passage leading to a cloister (**4a**) around which were grouped a number of kitchen and service buildings (**4b**, **4c**, **4d**, **4e**, **4f**, **4h** and **4k**). Borenius and Charlton thought that this arrangement dated to the twelfth century and that the area was remodelled and altered in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Colvin agrees with this interpretation (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 912). Both the 1930s excavators and Mrs Eames have suggested a development sequence in this area which began with the great hall (**5**) and the west kitchen (**4h**) as early structures, with the development of the courtyard (**4a**) and its surrounding buildings, including the salsary (**4k**), which overlay the kiln (**4l**), occurring gradually from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.

The kitchen area was subjected to preliminary investigations in 1933, and in 1934, when some indications of the general layout were ascertained, but more detailed investigations were postponed owing to the great depth of soil. At this stage it was thought that there were two kitchens. One was the west kitchen (**4h**), which was generally referred to as the 'forty foot kitchen', because of its proportions and documentary references from the thirteenth century (above, p. 22). The whole of the area between **4h** and the western walls of the great hall butteries (**4b** and **4c**), including the area to the north (**4e**), was termed 'the great kitchen', and

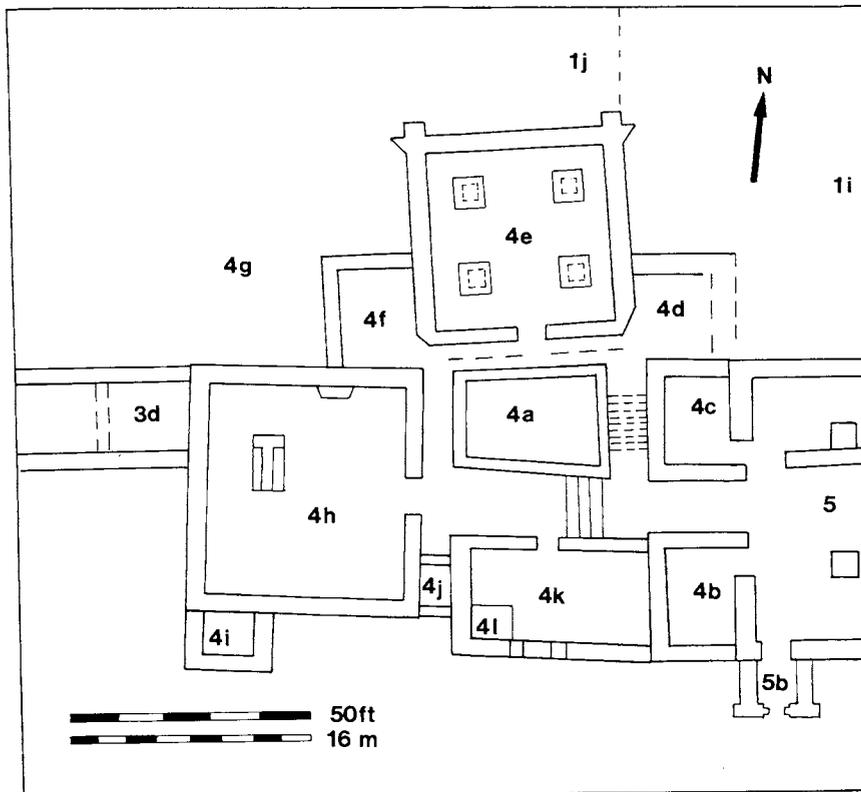


FIG. 22. Composite plan of kitchen area (4) (1:500)

was believed to be one building, of very large proportions, incorporating what later turned out to be the north kitchen (4e), the kitchen cloister (4a), and the salsary (4k). Naturally, as excavation caused this initial idea to be revised, interpretation changed. By late 1934 the great kitchen had 'forfeited its name – it is much subdivided' (Correspondence, 1934). Changing interpretation and nomenclature has unavoidably rendered understanding of the excavation records uncertain. Excavation of the kitchen area was resumed in 1936 during a period of particularly poor weather, which hampered and interrupted progress (Correspondence, 1934, 1936). Areas of the kitchens and the associated buildings continued to attract attention in 1937 and 1938, and it was in building 4k that the kiln (4l) was discovered (Correspondence; Notebooks). The kiln was eventually raised, and the underlying levels sampled in 1964 and 1965 by Mrs Eames (below, pp. 130–8).

The kitchen cloister (4a) (fig. 22; pl. XVIIa–b)

Central to the kitchen complex was an open quadrangle or cloister surrounded by alleys or walkways 6 ft. 6 in. (1.98 m.) wide. The first of these walkways to be uncovered was that to the north, which gave access to the north kitchen (4e), and through slanted entrances to the *herlebecheria* (4f) and to building 4d. This passage was known in the 1930s as 'the slype' (Correspondence, 1934). The dwarf walls of these walkways were traceable throughout their

length and were approximately 1 ft. 6 in. (0.45 m.) high. The construction was of small flints and formed a self-contained rectangle which did not abut any other structure. The western outer face retained traces of plaster. These walls were believed to have supported a timber-framed superstructure which would have provided a covered pentice to the cloister. No archaeological evidence which would have supported this theory survived to indicate the nature of the pentice. The survey of 1273 does, however, refer to a courtyard with a covered arcade with servery buildings beside it (above, p. 32). The dwarf flint walls showed signs of reconstruction which it was thought could have been contemporary with the partial reconstruction of the kitchens known from documentary sources to have been carried out by Edward II (above, p. 34). This is possible, but requires some more positive dating evidence.

It seems that the whole of the cloister courtyard (4a) was examined, but it seems unlikely that it was all cleared to natural levels. A 1930s sketch shows that two trenches 7 ft. (2.13 m.) wide were dug at right angles to one another across the area. A sketch in a letter in 1936 shows the central area, bounded by the walkways, under investigation, together with the whole of the south-easterly quarter, including the walkways in that area (Charlton, Notebooks; Correspondence, 1936). The excavators thought that the cloister court was well maintained and kept free of general debris. This continuous clearing process had lowered the courtyard floor level so that it was below the foundations of the surrounding dwarf flint walls of the alleys and their floors. The courtyard was filled with a layer of 'sooty earth' which contained a large quantity of sherds of Laverstock pottery. All the pottery within the debris in the courtyard was said to be exclusively of fourteenth-century date. Excavation of a soakaway, situated slightly to the north-west of the centre of the courtyard and shown on a sketch plan in a notebook, produced pottery the descriptions of which imply it was of Laverstock type. There are no records of the nature of the courtyard rubbish as a whole, that is whether it was predominantly sterile, domestic or industrial. Apart from the pottery, other finds mentioned included an iron spur (pp. 218 ff., no. 109 and fig. 82) and other iron objects including a large arrowhead, the point of a small iron knife-blade, and a key. A scallop-edged bridle boss (p. 204, no. 12 and fig. 70), an incised scabbard mount and some chalk beads, now lost, also came from this area (Charlton, Notebooks; Correspondence, 1936). Spreading over the dwarf flint walls and the 'sooty' fill of the courtyard was what appeared to be a relatively consistent layer of 'loose black soil' which contained some of the objects mentioned above, summed up as 'a few scraps of pottery and several bronze objects'. A copper-alloy dish rim (p. 207, no. 17, or 18 and fig. 71) was also found in this area. This soil layer contained a 'greater amount of soot and much burnt matter' which seemed to represent the debris of a fire that destroyed or damaged the kitchens and also probably destroyed the assumed timber superstructure of the cloister pentice. The excavators thought that this fire horizon marked the end of the usage of this area of the palace for kitchens and that they were replaced by a new brick kitchen (11d) located south of the king's chambers (7). This is possible, but on the other hand it may represent the end of one phase. There is no reason why the two kitchens should not have co-existed and been in use contemporaneously and fires are a common hazard in kitchens. The excavation records do not, however, provide any evidence of succeeding structures or buildings in this area.

Remains of two flights of steps were found in the kitchen cloister in 1936. The first, ranged north-south, was sited in the east alley, and the second, ranged east-west, was in the south alley. They met on a landing, or platform below the west end of the passage leading between

the butteries (**4b** and **4c**) from the west end of the great hall (**5**). The excavators suggested that a wooden stair led from this platform up to the passage, but no remains of such a stair had survived. There appear to have been more steps in the north–south flight. This is explained by a clear falling away of ground levels across the cloister from the south towards the north. The southern alley is distinctly higher than that to the north (pl. XVIIa–b). Apart from the rubble substructure, remains of two or possibly three ashlar steps were found in the east alley, one high up and another low down. Finds here included a counter or jetton (not that displaying the emperor Postumus, described below, Coins, p. 199) and a horseshoe. The date of the stairs in the southern alley was apparently later than the kitchen cloister (**4a**) as there was a layer of earth between their foundations and the original cloister floor. This may imply that the ‘screens’ rooms (**4b** and **4c**) of the hall are also later than the kitchen cloister (**4a**). There is evidence that at some stage the steps in the east alley were superseded by a ramp of sand and gravel which led from the top of the steps in the direction of the north kitchen (**4e**), **4d** and the *herlebecheria* (**4f**). The east steps were found to be in a poor state and it is thought that this disrepair may belong to the same phase (Charlton, Notebooks; Correspondence, 1936).

The range at the west end of the hall (4b and 4c) (fig. 23; pl. XVIIIa)

At the west end of the great hall (**5**) are three doorways, all of which had ashlar dressings with diagonal tooling. The central doorway led into a passage which gave access to the kitchen cloister court (**4a**). This passage was cleared in 1934, and was found to be on a lower level than had been thought up to that time (Correspondence, 1934). The relationship between these structures and the great hall (**5**) is further discussed below (p. 93). The north and south doorways each opened into a small square room presumed to have been service rooms or butteries. The northern one of these (**4c**) was described as having a basement. Some investigation of the south and west walls of the northern room took place in 1933, and particular interest was taken in a respond on the south-west corner of the room, which was thought to be of significance in relation to the layout of the pier bases for the columns (Correspondence, 1933). Investigation of structure **4d**, which was sited immediately to the north of the northern room led to speculation in 1937 or 1938 that **4d** might have been an extension of the northern room (Correspondence, 1937 or 1938). The excavators were certain that these rooms were structurally later than the hall, being butted on to it, and that they ‘perhaps replace[d] an earlier wooden erection’. Such a butt joint can readily be seen today, which puts this point beyond doubt. Thus, presumably the doors too must have been later alterations to the original west wall of the hall. The floors of the service rooms were not seen, but the door thresholds and passage all had ‘cement’ floors.

Garderobe, butlery or salsary (4d) (figs. 22 and 23)

In the angle between the north kitchen (**4e**) and the northern butlery or service room (**4c**) was a structure which mirrored the *herlebecheria* (**4f**), a ‘garderobe or rubbish pit’. This feature had access, again through a slanting entrance, from the north-east corner of the kitchen courtyard (**4a**) and was butted on to the north kitchen (**4e**). The existence of this building came to light in the summer of 1934, when it appeared to be part of a range of buildings running parallel to the north wall of the great hall (**5**). It was looked at more fully in 1936 or 1937, when its eastern extremity was discovered. In the light of its size and proportions, it seemed that it

might have been a salsary, or perhaps an extension of the northern service room (4c) of the great hall (5), and thus could have served as a butlery. It was apparently not fully investigated (Notebooks; Correspondence, 1934, ?1936; Borenus 1938, 4).

North kitchen (4e) (fig. 22; pls. XVIII**b**, XIX**a**)

This building was 36 ft. (10.97 m.) square internally, with walls constructed of roughly coursed broken flint rubble and approximately 3 ft. (0.91 m.) thick. The north wall had partially collapsed down the slope of the hill, but the remains of two clasping buttresses of 'good ashlar' were observed at the north-east and north-west angles. In particular, the north-west buttress, which was examined in 1934, was found to be of good quality, and at that stage there was a suggestion that a garderobe might be found at that corner of the building. It seemed in 1934 that the buttress was part-way along a wall, and not, as it later turned out to be, at the north-west corner of the building (Correspondence, 1934).

Fuller investigation took place in 1937. The east, south and west walls had an offset marking a floor level of the building and inside there were four pillar bases averaging 5 ft. 6 in. (1.67 m.) square on which had stood pillars reckoned to have been about 2 ft. (0.61 m.) thick although the pillars themselves were not found. It was suggested on the evidence of the pillar bases that this building might have been similar in appearance to the abbot's kitchen at Glastonbury, or the kitchen at Ely. The doorway was in the south. This was a comparatively wide opening, with stop-chamfered internal jambs. The threshold was found to have a very wide chamfer, which was compared to that found on window sills. Toothed axework 'suggestive almost of rouletting' was observed here (Charlton, Notebooks; Borenus 1938, 4).

Herlebecheria (4f) (fig. 22; pl. XIX**b**)

Set between the angle of the west and north kitchens (4h and 4e) was a room identified by the excavators as one referred to in documents as the '*herlebecheria*', which may mean a scullery, or, Mrs Eames suggests, a slaughterhouse (p. 161). Its southern extent was defined by the north wall of the west kitchen, but its west wall was butted on to that kitchen and showed some evidence of rebuilding activity and lacing with herringbone tiles. This rebuilding was dated in the 1930s to the Edwardian period (Borenus and Charlton 1936, pl. xvi, no. 16). The entrance was from the north-west angle of the cloister (4a), through a slanting entrance from 'the slype', and appeared to show two phases, of which the lower two courses identified the 'original rebate' while above these a reconstruction in coarse blocks ignored the rebate. The diagonal offset which was found inside the north-east corner of the west kitchen has already been referred to above and can be seen in pl. XXI**a**. Inside the *herlebecheria* there were two floor levels 'corresponding with the two masonry periods'. Both floor levels were barren of finds.

Ash-pits and middens (4g) (fig. 22)

The excavations of the 1930s located what were thought to be substantial rubbish deposits on the slope of the hill immediately to the north of the west kitchen (4h), to the west and north of the *herlebecheria* (4f). In 1933 these deposits were discovered, and finds, especially pottery, came from their 'fringe' (Borenus 1933; Correspondence, 1933). They had the appearance of

being very extensive. Deposits called 'the ashpits' are referred to in the excavation report and a considerable amount of the pottery recovered appears to have come from this area (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 74; see above, p. 84). A rubbish dump was found immediately north-west of the *herlebecheria* (4f) and was described as 'the ashpit' (4g). This contained quantities of household rubbish and may have been one of many dumps which accumulated on the north slope beyond the kitchen and domestic quarters.

These deposits were sectioned again in the 1961 excavations (figs. 2 and 8). A major north-south section 48 ft. (14.63 m.) long was cut through the midden or ash-pit to the north of the north kitchen (4e). The lowest levels of this section comprised approximately 3 ft. (0.91 m.) of chalk rubble make-up which it was thought had been laid as a raft to carry the outside walls of the buildings of the kitchen block. This foundation raft appears to have lain directly on top of the natural chalk bedrock. Lying on top of this rubble was a deposit of midden material approximately 2 ft. (0.61 m.) thick, comprising ash, bone, shell and pottery. On top of this was a third layer of nearly 3 ft. (0.91 m.) of building debris. The latter was all of late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century date. A similar but shorter section 20 ft. (6.1 m.) long was cut across another newly discovered ash-pit located further north outside the north kitchen (4e). It seems to have been of a similar nature but contained slightly more pottery, which was of a cognate date and type (Musty, Site Report, 1961).

West kitchen (4h) (fig. 22; pls. XXa-XXIb)

On the west side of the courtyard (4a) a doorway with ashlar dressings (pl. XXa) led into a large square building which measured 42 ft. (12.8 m.) square internally. The interior of this building was covered with trees which were never fully cleared. A large tree stump beside the free-standing hearth appears in all photographs of this building (pls. XXb and XXIa). This overgrowth of trees meant that much of the internal stratification was damaged and must also have hindered an understanding of the deposits. The original plan and subsequent alterations to this building appear to be complex. Clearing of the building began towards the north, and work proceeded in a southerly direction. In August 1934 the south-western corner was marked as 'not dug' (Correspondence, 1934). A large tip obscured the southern area of the building, and it took a considerable effort to clear it away.

The walls were interpreted as having been rebuilt. The lowest two courses were mainly constructed of large flints, but also contained some greensand blocks and in places consisted of alternate rows of flat laid tiles and smallish flints. Re-examination of similar blocks elsewhere on the site indicates that this material also almost certainly comes from the Chilmark area. All four of these walls seemed to be of one build, which was thought to be contemporary with some 'good quoins not visibly tooled'. The reports imply that these walls belonged to the first phase of the building together with a diagonal offset in the north-east corner (pl. XXIa). The walling showed evidence of plaster, some quite thick on the internal face of even the lowest courses, and so does not seem to have been a foundation. Above this was some different walling standing approximately another 1 ft. 6 in. (0.46 m.) high and consisting of roughly dressed flint, reused stone and an admixture of flint with occasional tile fragments and sparse mortar. This later wall was in places patched with herringbone tiles and was generally in a poor condition with signs of considerable weathering and robbing. In the north-east inside corner was a triangular 'levelling block' which seems to have been set off ground level. The 'rebate' of the north-west

corner had been roughly rebuilt with a crude hammered quoin. All four walls could be traced, but, as that on the west side was 'ruinous', any evidence for other doors had been obliterated. The position of the only doorway identified was on the east side which was thought to be of fourteenth-century date (pl. XXa). It was 'rebated on the east side with ashlar dressings'. The excavators noticed some 'original quoins' of weathered soft greensand with coarse diagonal tooling on the south face. The original doorway was thought to have been embellished with carved chevron ornamentation, since many fragments of decorated voussoirs were found in the make-up of the adjacent floor. A single fragment of chevron-carved string mould (p. 241, no. 33 and fig. 8g), now in the Salisbury Museum collection, may have come from here. This 'original doorway' was estimated to be of twelfth-century date and the same date was presumed for the associated first phase of this building (Borenius 1938, 3).

Internal features detected were a floor level, a central chimney block (pl. XXb) and a fireplace/oven built against the north wall. A floor level composed of a rubble make-up level containing reused stones was found near the door, but the upper surface is not described. It seems that this floor level belonged to the latest use of the building. The fireplace set against the north wall was thought to be contemporary with this floor level. It was 13 ft. (3.96 m.) wide and built of herringbone tiles. It had been altered at a later period on the western side to contain a circular oven of 6 ft. (1.83 m.) diameter (pl. XXIb). In the central area of the building were the foundations of a great chimney block, comprising two large fireplaces of herringbone tile and stone which were set back to back (Borenius 1938, 3).

It is difficult to unravel the complex sequence of construction, use and alteration of this building. The excavators believed that the building was originally free-standing and dated to the twelfth century. In particular the direct access from the centre of the great hall (5), along the southern alley of 4a to the entrance of the west kitchen (4h), gives support to this interpretation. A major phase of rebuilding was identified and dated to the fourteenth century. The dating evidence, however, seems to be mostly by inference and there may be earlier, later and intermediate phases. It does, however, seem likely from the descriptions of the excavations and the relationship of this building to adjacent ones that it was one of the earliest in this area and may be the one referred to as the 'king's kitchen' in the documents.

Room south of the west kitchen (4i) (fig. 22)

Abutting the south wall of the west kitchen, at the south-west corner, there was a small square building (4i). This building was constructed of 'good but mixed material'. The room was examined in the summer of 1934. It was not fully explored, but the interior was found to be 'robbed below floor level'. It had no door, and so may have been a cesspit (Notebooks; Correspondence, 2 August 1934).

The salsary (4k) and the kiln (4l) (figs. 22, 32-9; pls. XLVII-LII)

The west kitchen (4h) is separated from the main building of the south side of the kitchen cloister, the salsary (4k), by a narrow passageway which was at a later date blocked up and used as a garderobe (4j). This reorganization probably took place in the twelfth century or soon after. The preliminary discussion here should be read in association with the documentary evidence above, and Mrs Eames's detailed discussion below (pp. 160 ff.).

The buildings on the south side of the kitchen cloister (4a) had a long and complicated history. One of the latest buildings on this part of the site was interpreted by the 1930s excavators as being identical with the one described in the documents as the salsary, saucery or salting house (4k). The soil accumulation in this area was up to 10 or 11 ft. (3.05 or 3.35 m.) deep, which was particularly deep for the site as a whole (Borenus 1938, 4). Here, too, the famous Clarendon kiln (4l) was found. Considerable uncertainty remains over the function, dating and sequence of use of this building and it would seem to be most useful to outline the principal features and then to discuss the evidence for phases and dating.

Some preliminary work was undertaken in 1933, when the south wall was traced, and in 1934 when work was in progress in the kitchen cloister (4a), but the principal campaign in this area was in 1937 when first the east and west ends, and then the centre of the room, were cleared (Correspondence 1933, 1937; Borenus 1933; Charlton, Notebooks). These excavations revealed a rectangular room measuring internally 38 ft. east to west by 24 ft. (11.58 by 7.32 m.). Its eastern end wall abutted the west wall of the southern service bay of the hall (4b). The walls were built of flint with diagonally dressed stone facings. Signs of later repair work were indicated by patches of herringbone tile and knapped flint. The south wall was 4 ft. (1.22 m.) thick, was found to be in good condition and stood to a considerable height, so that its top courses were 'just below the present ground level'. Additionally, the south wall incorporated the plastered remains of a window or windows. The plastered splay of one window was found, and this appears on contemporary plans. However, correspondence at the time refers to the discovery of 'a second window in its south wall, in poor condition', and goes on to infer that there must have been three windows (Correspondence 1937; pl. XXII). An explanation of this would seem to be that there was a blocked, three-light window. The window was set about 5 ft. (1.52 m.) above floor level. The west wall was plastered, but otherwise no details are known. The north wall had a wide doorway with splayed jambs set midway along its length. At the west end of the room was a recess 5 ft. (1.52 m.) wide and 4 ft. (1.22 m.) deep which contained a pit on its east side, thought to have held a wooden post. Along the north wall was a beam slot apparently for a horizontal timber beam; the excavators thought this indicated timber framing, but the beam could alternatively have supported some form of panelling or screen.

Running north-south through the wall at the east end of the building were the arches of what is thought to have been a water channel or drain. These were semi-circular arches with voussoirs of dressed stone with diagonal tooling. The arches measured approximately 16 in. in diameter and were 14 in. high (41 and 36 cm.) and appear to have gone out of use as the northern arch was blocked by the stairs leading from the south cloister passage to the hall. The southern arch was blocked with clean loose flints amongst which were found quantities of animal bone (pl. XXIIIa). There seems no doubt that these arches are the remains of a drain. Such a drain might have been either a 'blood and guts' drain for the salsary, as Mrs Eames suggests, or perhaps a drain to carry away accumulations of water in the main courtyard, as buildings on the northern slope prevented natural drainage. At the east end of the room were the remains of a wide fireplace with stone jambs and a back composed of herringbone tiles. In the south-west corner of the building the tile kiln was found.

Obviously the architectural features need not belong to the same phase. The drain would presumably have gone out of use at an early stage, since it was blocked by the stairs which led from the kitchen cloister to the hall service bays. The fireplace may have been a later insertion,

especially as it was at the east end near where the drain originally ran. It is possible that the masonry and some of the architectural features pre-date the kiln phase. The 1930s excavators felt that the walls belonged to the original phase and that the drain clearly pre-dated the layer associated with the kiln. This would mean that the kiln was sited within the shell of an existing building, the walls of which were rebuilt and incorporated into the later building. Mrs Eames interprets the sequence differently (below and pp. 127 ff.).

Clearly this area has a complicated history, but it is very difficult to associate the internal occupation and floor levels with the masonry and architectural features. It cannot be denied that the original excavators were confused by the evidence. This writer (A.R.) thinks that the various phases and stratigraphic relationships were not recognized. It is clear that the architectural features and deposits belong to several different phases because of evidence of blocking, and because a tile kiln would not normally be anticipated in kitchen buildings.

Internally there is some stratigraphic evidence, some of which can be seen in contemporary photographs (pls. XXIII*b*, XXIV*a*). The excavators' account is as follows. The earliest level consisted of a puddled chalk layer which contained fragments of domestic 'scratch marked' pottery thought to be of twelfth-century date. Cutting through this layer and inserted into it were two square pillar bases surrounded by a dirty chalk filling (pl. XXIV*a* and *b*). Above this was a cement layer which contained quantities of trodden ash at the top. This layer was cut into by the kiln. A rubble layer above contained a fragment of a 'parrot-beaked' pitcher, a drawing of which appears on a contemporary slide and below (p. 187 and fig. 62). The evidence for the stratigraphic relationship of the kiln and the salsary building is discussed in detail below by Mrs Eames (pp. 127 ff.). The whole complex sequence is illustrated in diagrammatic form, although unfortunately no scale drawing of this section has survived (fig. 32B).

To conclude, there are two conflicting interpretations of the stratigraphic sequence in this area of the kitchen court. The excavators of the 1930s believed that a building preceded the kiln. It was of at least two phases with a chalk floor, later cut by two pier bases. Later cement levels were also interpreted as the floors of a building. Mrs Eames alternatively suggests that the kiln was eventually floored over in the construction of a later building (Eames 1965, 104) and that it was originally sited outside in the main courtyard (Eames 1980, 29). This implies that before the salsary was built in the 1240s this area was part of the great courtyard and was not preceded by any other buildings.

THE GREAT HALL (5) (figs. 23-4; pls. XXV-XXIX)

Before work began at Clarendon in 1933, it was agreed between Dr Borenius and John Charlton, with the advice of A.W. Clapham (who thereafter spent a week on site each year from 1934 to 1938), that the great hall should be the starting point (Correspondence, 1933). The remains of the great hall were investigated and exposed in the excavations of 1933-4. Most of the essential information was reported in 1936 (Borenius and Charlton 1936, 71-3) and is usefully summarized by Colvin (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 911-12). Some valuable additional details can be gleaned from the excavation notebooks and from contemporary correspondence. The correspondence for 1933, when this work was in progress, is particularly full and detailed. Documentary evidence for the hall is discussed above (pp. 5 ff., 10 ff.).

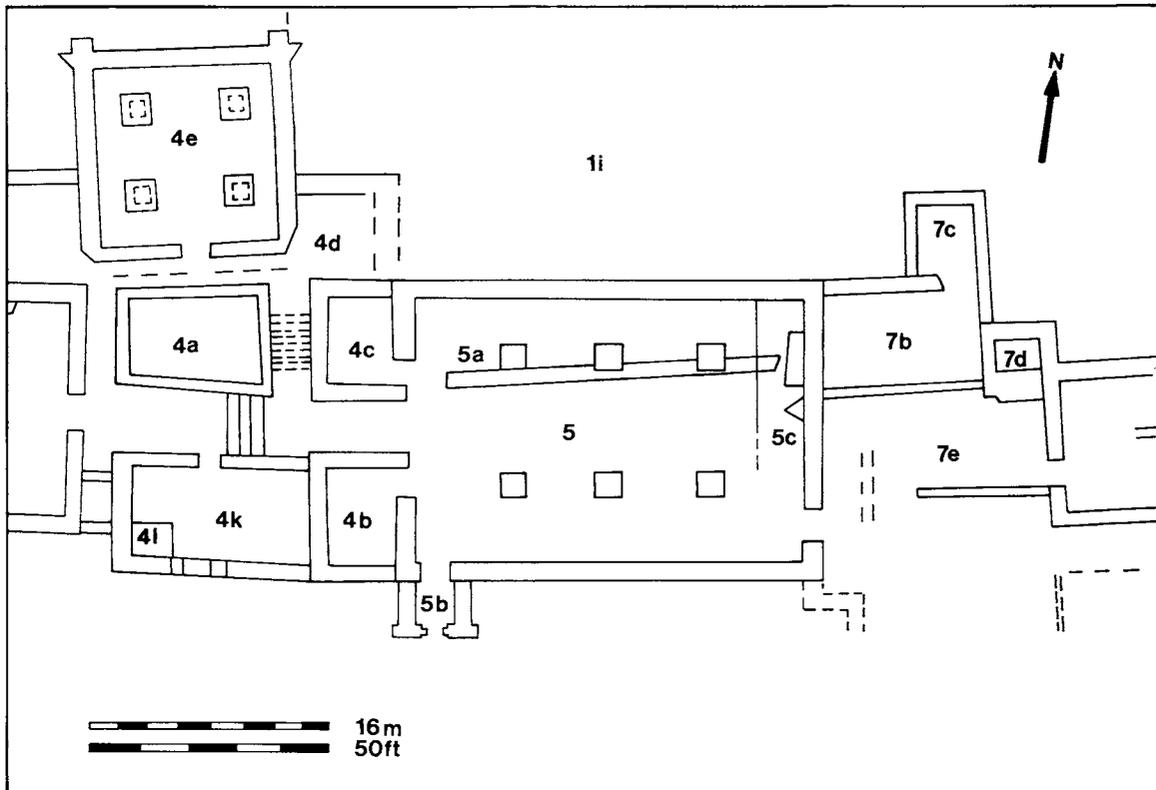


FIG. 23. Composite plan of great hall (5) (1:500)

The hall was the largest building on the site and substantial pieces of masonry have survived. In 1844 the then owner, Sir Frederick H.H. Bathurst, remodelled one or more of the surviving walls in order to consolidate the most substantial portion. The resulting monument, referred to by the 1930s excavators as the 'Protestant Fragment', consists of a corner supported by buttresses with an inscription enclosed within a porch-like surround (above, p. 50; pls. II*a*, XXV*a* and *c*). Although this is the most obvious and well-preserved piece of masonry on the site, it does not belong solely to the medieval hall structure. It partially follows the foundations of the east wall and incorporates surviving parts of that wall and more recent consolidation work (pl. XXV*b-c*). The wall stands to a height of 30 ft. (9.14 m.).

Building 5 is located on the north side of the site along the edge of the hill and is one of a series of structures which skirt the north of a large courtyard, usually known as the great courtyard (6). It is thus in a central and dominant position (fig. 5). It was a rectangular building which measured internally 82 by 52 ft. (25 by 15.9 m.). Little, apart from the foundations, remained of the north wall, which had slipped down the hill long before the 1930s (pl. XIV). The other three walls were well preserved, about 4 ft. (1.22 m.) thick and made of roughly dressed flints bonded in sandy mortar with good quality stone dressings for the quoins, door and what seem to have been window surrounds. The south wall, investigated in 1933, had an offset 3 to 4 in. (7.6 to 10.1 cm.) wide (pl. XXVI*a*), and a reused architectural fragment with dog-tooth

CLARENDON PALACE

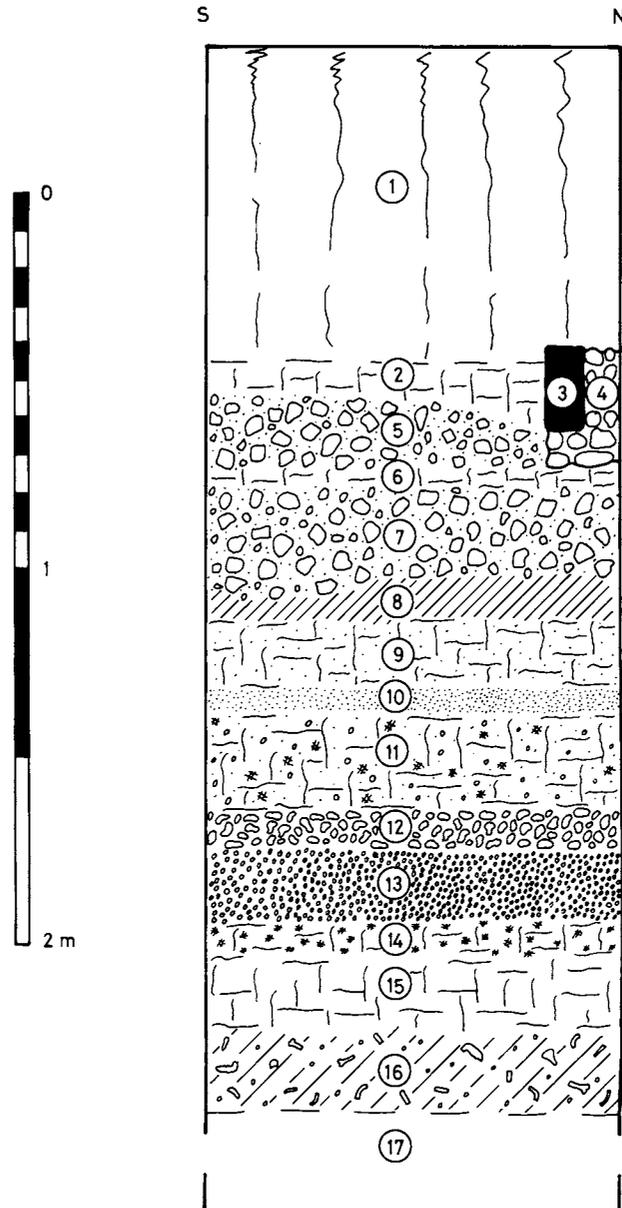


FIG. 24. Section in great hall (5) near the south-east pier base, looking west (Charlton, Notebook, 1933).

Key: (1) surface soil; (2) chalk; (3) pier base ashlar; (4) pier base foundations and core; (5) wasted stone and mortar; (6) chalk; (7) wasted stone and mortar; (8) soil; (9) chalk and mortar; (10) gravel and light brown mortar; (11) greenish filling of gravel, chalk, mortar and charcoal; (12) loose flints; (13) brown gravel; (14) charcoal and chalk; (15) chalk; (16) dirty filling including bones; (17) ferruginous soil and apparently undisturbed chalk. (1:20)

ornament was observed built into this wall. When the south wall was being cleared to show the offset it was observed that the upper part of the inner (northern) face overhung the lower courses, which also suggested rebuilding (Correspondence, August 1933). Three major entrances were identified: a three-doorway complex leading to the service area (**4b** and **4c**), an entrance in the east wall, and a door with an added porch (**5b**) leading off the south wall (pls. XVIIIa, XXVIb, XXVIIa–XXVIIIa).

The eastern entrance, located in the south aisle and opening on to a pentice or apartments, was characterized by very high quality masonry thought to have been twelfth-century (pl. XXVIb). Although much of this was robbed, about four courses remained of the south face. Outside the entrance to the east a smooth chalk floor 3 to 5 in. (7.6 to 12.7 cm.) thick was observed (Correspondence, August 1933). The eastern wall had an offset 6 to 7 in. (15.2 to 17.8 cm.) wide which was 6 in. (15.2 cm.) below the level of the offset on the southern wall. Work in the south-east corner of the great hall, beside the entrance from the east, revealed some considerable depth of deposits, perhaps 4 or 5 ft. (1.2 or 1.5 m.) of chalk, rubble, mortar, stone, bone, nails and other materials, including a quantity of burnt wood thought at the time to be ash (Correspondence, August 1933). A section (fig. 24) was drawn through these layers against the south-eastern pier base, and this is discussed below (pp. 95–6). Some floor tiles were found within these layers, the only tile finds recorded from the great hall. The western wall was examined in 1933, with some difficulty as a large amount of superimposed rubbish had to be removed from the south-west corner of the building. This was thought to be the spoil of earlier work on the site. After its removal the excavators could see the west wall much more clearly and observed a putlog hole towards its southern end (Correspondence 1933).

The principal entrance was that in the south wall and it was situated in the extreme south-west corner. This door, or one in this position, was probably an integral part of the original structure, but at a later date a porch was added. This addition is generally identified as that ordered in 1245 (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 72). This porch extended into the courtyard (**6**) for about 10 ft. (3.05 m.) and was rectangular. The side walls, excepting the flint foundations, were robbed, apart from part of the south wall, where a chamfered course of vertically tooled ashlar and the remains of the base of a quarter-round attached shaft were found (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 72 and pl. XV, 2; see pls. XXVIIa–XXVIIIa). Excavations in the floor in the vicinity of the hall door here produced many fragments of carved stone thought by the excavators to date to the thirteenth century, perhaps to the refashioning of this doorway when the porch was added (Borenus and Charlton 1936, fig. 3; see below, pp. 237–8).

At the west end of the hall there are three entrances (pl. XVIIIa). The central one of the three leads into a passage 4 ft. 6 in. (1.37 m.) wide which gave access to the kitchen court. The other two led into a northern and southern room respectively **4c** and **4b**. This area and the associated doorways have been termed the 'screens' (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 73) or the 'service end' (Eames 1965, 60). The two rooms have been referred to above (**4b** and **4c**). They are generally known as butteries, although some plans show the southern one as a pantry and the northern one as a buttery (e.g. Borenus and Charlton 1936; Pevsner 1937). Alternatively, the southern one has been designated a servery (Eames 1965, 60). These functions are certainly plausible, especially when considered in the light of documentary records, for example one of 1315, which refers to the 'hall with pantry and buttery' (above, p. 34). Each of the two rooms measured approximately 20 by 14 ft. (6.11 by 4.37 m.) and both were built up

about 8 to 10 ft. (2·44 to 3·05 m.) against the rise of the ground. According to the excavators these structures were butted on to the west wall of the great hall, and a butt joint is still visible. Therefore these rooms are structurally later than the main hall itself (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 73). There is some uncertainty over the detail of this, since the architectural remains for the three screens doorways, which all had ashlar dressings with diagonal tooling, were one of the major pieces of dating evidence for the whole hall (Stonework, pp. 236–7). It has been suggested that the masonry ‘butteries’ replaced earlier timber structures (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 73). A respond was noted in 1933 on the south-east corner of the northern buttery room. This led to speculation by Charlton and T. Romans that corbelling might appear at the east end, as had appeared at Billings. This speculation turned out to be quite correct (below, this page). The western doorways had ‘cement’ thresholds and the central passage had a ‘cement’ floor. It is unknown whether the rooms themselves belong to the twelfth or the thirteenth century. The latter seems likely, although an earlier date has been implied (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 913, fig. 68).

No buttresses have been found in excavations of the great hall, despite a record of 1273 which notes three external buttresses. Although the Antioch chamber (8) does have four external buttresses, it seems inconceivable that the great hall has been wrongly identified. There were several phases to the hall structure and at least one earlier building on this site. The excavators and others (e.g. Colvin *et al.* 1963, 911) have assumed that the excavated hall structure was one of the earliest at Clarendon. On the evidence of the associated masonry, particularly the diagonal tooling of the western entrances, they have suggested a late twelfth-century date for the main hall structure comprising the external walls, piers, dais and western, southern and eastern entrances. It seems that there were thirteenth-century alterations including the addition or replacement of the western ‘screens’ rooms, although the doorways for these already existed, the refurbishment of the south door and the addition of the south porch. If one accepts that the piers were an integral part of this phase, then the evidence of the section beneath the south-east pier base (fig. 24) and the discovery of the flint wall beneath the northern arcade imply that there were several earlier phases on this site (p. 95; pl. XXIX*b–c*).

Within, the hall was partitioned by six piers forming two arcades of four bays and a central aisle 20 ft. (6·11 m.) wide. The work on these in 1933, first on the central northern one and subsequently on the south-eastern pier base, is covered in detail in contemporary correspondence. The discovery of these features was significant as it demonstrated that substantial features existed on the site which were not noted on the Colt Hoare plan. This provided an answer to those critics who told Borenus that he would find nothing at Clarendon (Correspondence 1933; Borenus 1933). When the eastern wall was stripped of vegetation in April 1936 it was noted that high up on the wall there was a scalloped corbel, stylistically dated to the twelfth century and thought to have been the original support of the end of the north arcade (pls. XXV*b–c*, XXVIII*b*).

The pier bases were square and averaged about 5 ft. 6 in. by 5 ft. (1·67 by 1·52 m.) (pls. XXV*a*, XXIX*a*). They were built of flint with dressed stone at the corners and were spaced about 15 ft. (4·57 m.) apart. The impressions of the tails of the ashlar which had been robbed from them could be clearly discerned when the pier bases were uncovered in 1933. The pillars themselves did not survive, but square impressions in the top of the bases indicated the shape and the position of these. The pier base in the south-east corner, for example, showed clearly

'the square socket into which the shaft of the pillar was inserted' (Borenus 1933, 16). There is some doubt about the shape of the columns; they are said to have been 'two feet in diameter' (0·61 m.) (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 72), implying that they were round, but other records indicate that they were square, for example the depression in the top of the central northern pier base was 2 ft. 4 in. (0·71 m.) square. It is possible that the excavators envisaged circular columns on square bases, which are quite likely, but the plan published in 1936 does not support this suggestion (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 73, fig. 4). The 1933 site journal notes that the central southern base was polygonal, implying that the piers may have been in an arrangement of alternate square, round and polygonal columns. The pier bases were mostly built on 'chalky and mortar packing', although the northern pier bases were deeper and lay directly on top of an earlier flint wall (5a) (pl. XXIXb-c). The substructures of the bases were imperfectly aligned, but the matrices were correctly set out.

The wall (5a) beneath the northern row of pillar bases was described as a 'strong' wall, 2 ft. 10 in. (0·86 m.) thick, running in a similar but distinctly different alignment to the later building (fig. 23 and pl. XXIXb-c). This wall was found approximately 4 ft. (1·22 m.) below the top chalk floor level and was traced to 'within eight to ten feet of the end walls of the Hall' (2·44 to 3·05 m.), apparently without any signs of an opening or cross-wall. It seems to have continued in both an easterly and a westerly direction, for the ends were 'broken'. The function which was performed by the structure to which this wall belonged was not established at the time of its discovery in 1933. It may have been an earlier precinct wall or alternatively it may have belonged to an earlier building, since in 1935 the excavators thought they had found an associated floor containing a quantity of distinctly unusual pottery which they dated to the early twelfth or late eleventh century. It is possible that the partial destruction of this flint wall and layer 12, which, with layer 11, it is suggested may be a demolition layer, may belong to the same phase (fig. 24, (11), (12)).

A floor level (fig. 24, (2)) was encountered in the excavations. This was a chalk floor 3 to 5 in. (7·6 to 12·7 cm.) thick; the excavators thought that it was probably covered by tiles, which is a reasonable suggestion although it is surprising that no complete or fragmentary tiles were found here. Presumably this is one of the latest floors and so dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It seems to have been one of the first archaeological horizons encountered and to have been associated with the pier bases which it abutted. A section drawn in September 1933 beside and below the south-east pier base shows that the underlying stratigraphy of the hall is substantial and complex (Correspondence, September 1933; Notebooks; see fig. 24). There is a total of approximately 5 ft. 2 in. (1·57 m.) between what is thought to be the natural chalk and the top of this chalk floor (fig. 24, (2)). This section is worth careful consideration for it implies that there were earlier buildings preceding this hall structure and/or earlier floor levels belonging to this later hall. The dating, phasing, associations and functions of these levels are difficult and hazardous to define because there is no way in which one can ascertain horizontal relationships or monitor the levels across the site. Suggestions, however, can be made. It seems that there may be several chalk floor levels ((2), (6) and possibly (9)) with their associated bedding of rubble and mortar ((5), (7) and possibly also (10)). It is possible that (12) is a demolition layer, possibly associated with a flint wall found to the north (above, this page). Of the earlier layers it is suggested that (14) and possibly (16) are occupation levels, although (14) may reflect a period of disuse and (15) may be an earlier chalk floor. According to this section

the piers are not earlier than (6), and (5) looks as if it abuts the pier base, although the exact stratigraphical relationships are not clear.

Also at the east end of the hall, abutting the deep excavation just described, there was a dais (5c). The kerbing of this measured 11 by 33 ft. (3·35 by 10·11 m.), which means that it did not extend across the full width of the hall. The remains examined were only one course thick. Along its southern edge were the remains of one, and possibly two, steps which presumably continued along the western and northern sides. The excavators observed that the levels below the dais were made-up and not natural, disturbance in this area dating from the work on the 'Protestant Fragment' in 1844 (Charlton, Notebooks; Correspondence, August 1933). No doubt the king's seat, referred to in the documents, was located on the dais. Mrs Eames assigned a twelfth-century date to the dais (Eames 1965, 60).

The hall must have had a fireplace or central hearth, as for example was found in the hall at nearby Ludgershall, Wilts. (John Hare, pers. comm.). Investigations concentrated on tracing the walls of the building, and it is almost certain that if there had been any evidence of a wall fireplace it would have been detected. The whole of the interior was not exposed and no sign of a central hearth was found. However, such an arrangement seems likely, especially as there are documentary references to the louvres of the hall roof (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 73; above, pp. 11-12).

Excavation has demonstrated a very considerable quantity of make-up beneath the great hall (5) and the buildings immediately to the east of it, 7 and 8. These made-up levels await full investigation. A consistent quantity of make-up was not found throughout the great hall. The levels associated with the 'strong' wall underlying the northern pier bases are one aspect of this make-up; similarly, the deep stratification beneath the south-east pier base in the vicinity of the eastern entrance is another. However, the excavators observed that no such depth of stratification seemed to exist beneath the central southern pier base. The sequence of development of the great hall and structures underlying it was never fully investigated in the course of the excavations. In 1936 the great hall was grassed over, and a good idea of its proportions can be obtained from photographs taken at the time, such as those looking east and west, published by Pevsner in *Der Burgwart* in 1937 (pl. XXVa).

THE GREAT COURTYARD (6) (figs. 5, 21, 30)

Central to the plan of the palace was the 'great courtyard'. This was approached through the western entrance (2) and had the kitchen block (4) and the great hall (5) along its north side. To the east was a further series of courts with associated chamber blocks. The south side was also bounded by buildings. This part of the site is one of the most difficult to reconstruct. It is unknown how much of this range was investigated in the 1930s excavations and the surviving records of that investigation are now far from complete. Madame Borenus herself admitted that the structures to the south of the site defied interpretation (Mrs Eames, pers. comm.). It was undoubtedly very heavily overgrown, which made access, excavation and surveying particularly difficult, even by Clarendon standards. Physically this part of the site is not as well defined as the northern side and there is potentially a considerable amount of suitable building

space between the known remains of the south range and the southern perimeter wall of the site.

Although some structures lying round the great court have been investigated, overall the area has not received detailed attention. For example, while the north-west range (**3a**, **3b** and **3c**) was excavated, structures known from documentary sources to have lain against the west precinct wall (**1a**), north of the western entrance (**2**), were not sought. The RCHM plan (fig. 12) shows various surface indications in the north-west area, for example running south from **4i**, and north-west from the centre of the courtyard towards **2b**. The function and nature of these surface indications is not known. Similarly, surface indications towards the east of the courtyard suggested the existence of a building **6k** adjacent to **13b** and on the same alignment. Such a building appears on the Colvin plan, and was drawn in by Alan Sorrell in his reconstructed impression of the palace (fig. 10; pl. IV). Several structures ranged north-south and east-west appear towards the south of the great courtyard on different plans, from those of Sir Thomas Phillipps and Colt Hoare in the early nineteenth century right through to the RCHM plan in 1980. These are **6e**, **6f**, **6g**, **6h**, **6i** and **6j**. Most of them are surface indications only, and were not fully investigated in the 1930s (figs. 3-12).

Some work was undoubtedly carried out in the great courtyard in the 1930s. In 1934 a very substantial hoard of 'many fine tiles', 'far too numerous' to be counted, was recovered from a pit immediately outside the south-west corner of **4k**, the salsary, that is to say from immediately adjacent to where the kiln was later discovered in 1937 (Correspondence, 1934). The discovery of this tile hoard, which included wasters, led Borenus, quite rightly as was later proved, to prophesy that a kiln would be found nearby. There is good reason to believe that the great well, so frequently referred to in the documents, lies in the area between **4i** and **5b**, in the great courtyard. These wasters are discussed, together with the kiln, by Mrs Eames (pp. 127 ff.). Other references to work 'in the courtyard' may or may not refer to the great courtyard. Letters of 28 and 29 August 1933 refer to work in the north-east corner of the courtyard, which produced tiles, costrel tops and one or two iron objects including a door sneck (latch) (p. 218, no. 65 and fig. 78), and to work in the south-east corner of the courtyard, where two copper-alloy pieces were found, and sketches dispatched to Dr Borenus (Correspondence, 1933; see below, pp. 201, 204). However, these references may possibly be to work in the area of **7b** and **7e** or **II**.

The 'great stable' and the 'old hall' (6a and 6b)

The south-west part of the southern range, adjacent to and partly overlaid by the more recent 'gamekeeper's cottage' and its garden, was first investigated in 1937. Outside the garden of the cottage there was a densely wooded area in the 1930s. Work began in 1937 under difficult conditions on a structure known as 'the house in the wood'. This proved to be **6a**, the most substantial building excavated in this area of the site. It was a very long east-west oriented structure measuring internally 125 by 27 ft. (38.1 by 8.23 m.). An extension, or associated structure, to the west of the main building between the west wall of **6a** and the precinct wall (**1a**) south of the western entrance (**2**) was observed, but was apparently not examined in detail. The most immediately appealing interpretation is that **6a** was a stable block, perhaps that of 1244 or alternatively the block erected in the time of Henry IV, shortly after 1400. The excavators were convinced that the 'old hall' lay on this side of the great courtyard. In view of

the descriptions we have of these buildings and their alignments it would seem that **6a** is the best candidate for interpretation as the stable block and **6b** as the 'old hall' (above, pp. 5, 7). In the 1930s it appears that it was thought at first that building **6a** was the 'old hall', but later plans mark **6b** as such (Correspondence, 1937; Charlton, Notebooks; Borenus 1938). Likely though these interpretations are, they cannot of course be proved, and excavation records, and interpretation of such records, may be biased by such assumptions.

As remarked above, **6a** was an exceptionally large building. Approximately a quarter of it was excavated in 1937 (Charlton 1938). The excavations revealed 'thirteenth century features' which included a wide doorway with 'curiously tooled jambs comparable to those of the north kitchen' (**4e**). These jambs showed traces of toothed axing. Wide single-light windows with chamfered jambs and 'broach stops' considered to be of contemporary date were also found. The plan shows two doorways, one in the north wall and one in the south-east corner, and it is not known which door is referred to here. Nor is it known how many windows were identified or where they were located. The excavators felt that the door and these windows were later insertions associated with the 1244 reconstruction. In default of archaeological evidence for this interpretation, caution must be exercised in accepting it. The inner south face of the walls was plastered and there was a distinctive rounded profile at the ground-level junction between the walls and the floors. The wall plaster here was noted to be scored at intervals and it was suggested that this scoring was the remains of a series of wall posts. These could well have been part of the divisions between the stalls in the stable. The scorings in the plaster are a curious feature, but we lack knowledge of the size of the post-slots and the width of the intervals between them. Various interpretations can be hazarded, for example that the posts could have been the supports for partitions, or possibly for wainscot or more substantial panelling, or stall divisions as suggested above. A circular oven was found in the north-east corner of **6a**. In the south-west corner a doorway was suspected, and eventually found, but a large tree hampered work in this area of the building (Correspondence, 1937).

The excavators detected another building to the east of **6a**. This was **6b**, a large rectangular building approximately 40 ft. from east to west by 50 ft. from north to south (12·19 by 15·24 m.). The only entrance was in the south wall, that is away from the great courtyard, and the north end appears to have been divided off by a cross-wall. Situated in approximately the middle of the west wall was a fine stone fireplace about 6 ft. (1·83 m.) wide with a paved hearth, kerb and stop-chamfered jambs. This fine fireplace stood 1 ft. 6 in. (0·46 m.) high, and shows well in a contemporary photograph (pl. XXXa). A trench was initially dug across the room to locate the eastern wall. Building **6b**, together with its fireplace, was considered to be thirteenth-century, although it is not known on what criteria. As suggested above, there are grounds for supposing that this was the 'old hall' although chronologically a thirteenth-century date would make this impossible unless some evidence of an earlier structure on the same site was found. But, as with building **6a**, there is no information relating to its floor levels, sequence of use or rebuilding, so it remains uncertain whether this was the first or only building in this vicinity. Charlton thought this might have been the thirteenth-century treasurer's chamber (Charlton 1938; see above, p. 35).

Between buildings **6a** and **6b** a small structure, interpreted as a garderobe (**6c**), was built. This was a later construction thought by the excavators to date to the fourteenth century, although the reasons for this hypothesis remain obscure. It contained many finds, including a

large quantity of pottery. This group incorporated two jars which were drawn by Gerald Dunning and, although the original drawings are not now known, they may survive amongst the glass slide collection. The descriptions of these indicate that they were fine specimens of Laverstock-type pottery, one being 'a lavishly ornamental baluster jug' and the other having 'notable heraldic decorations'. They were reconstructed from fragments by Madame Borenus (Charlton 1938, see Pottery, pp. 185–93). The 1936 plan (Borenus and Charlton 1936) tentatively marks a rectangular structure (**6d**) in a central position on the south side of the great courtyard as the 'old hall' (fig. 6). A note in the 1937 records says that excavation of this feature found it to be non-existent. Little is known of the rest of the south side of the great courtyard, but it is difficult to believe that it would not have been occupied by buildings, particularly since the western entrance (**2**) was originally sited further to the east, making this one of the areas immediately inside the old entrance to the south. The RCHM plan (fig. 12) shows various structures on this side of the site and it is likely that some of this area was investigated in the last two seasons of excavations in the 1930s. There are indications of various buildings aligned north–south, extending to the south (**6e**, **6f** and **6g**). Further to the east there appears to have been a range of buildings oriented east–west (**6h**, **6i** and **6j**). The most easterly of these is shown on the RCHM plan. An unpublished excavation sketch indicates that two buildings were found, although the full plan of the western room is not shown and the only access marked is in the north-east corner of the eastern room. The orientation of this range conflicts with the rest of the south range, but it is unknown whether this has implications of early or late date. Opposite it, to the north, there may have been another building, **6k**. This is shown in a broken line on the plan of 1943 and on the Colvin plan; it also appears on an unpublished sketch plan, where it is clearly shown as having a fireplace in the south wall. If this is part of a structure it would appear to be part of a very large building aligned north–south, which occupied much of the east side of the great courtyard (figs. 7, 10; pl. IV).

The great courtyard has undoubtedly only been investigated on a comparatively small scale. The courtyard area covers almost a quarter of the total area of the site. Speculation as to why this large area has remained so open can only be tested by further excavation. It would seem likely that earlier structures were sited in this area, particularly when consideration is given to the extent to which the northern scarp of the site was built up to accommodate structures such as the north kitchen (**4e**). The kiln (**4l**) probably lay within the courtyard. Whether it was from this courtyard that the 500 cartloads of rubbish were removed in the fifteenth century cannot be stated with any certainty (above, p. 42). What is certain is that there is much still to be done in this area.

THE NORTH RANGE EAST OF THE GREAT HALL (**7** to **10**) (figs. 25–8)

The structures included in this range are those commonly referred to as the king's chambers (**7**), the Antioch chamber (**8**), the king's chapel (**9**) and the queen's apartments (**10**), together with pentices, courtyards, garderobes and miscellaneous buildings.

There is much on this range in the excavation notebooks and correspondence from the 1930s. Already in the nineteenth century excavators had 'chased walls' in an effort to produce a plan. This exacerbated the already difficult task which faced the excavators in the 1930s.

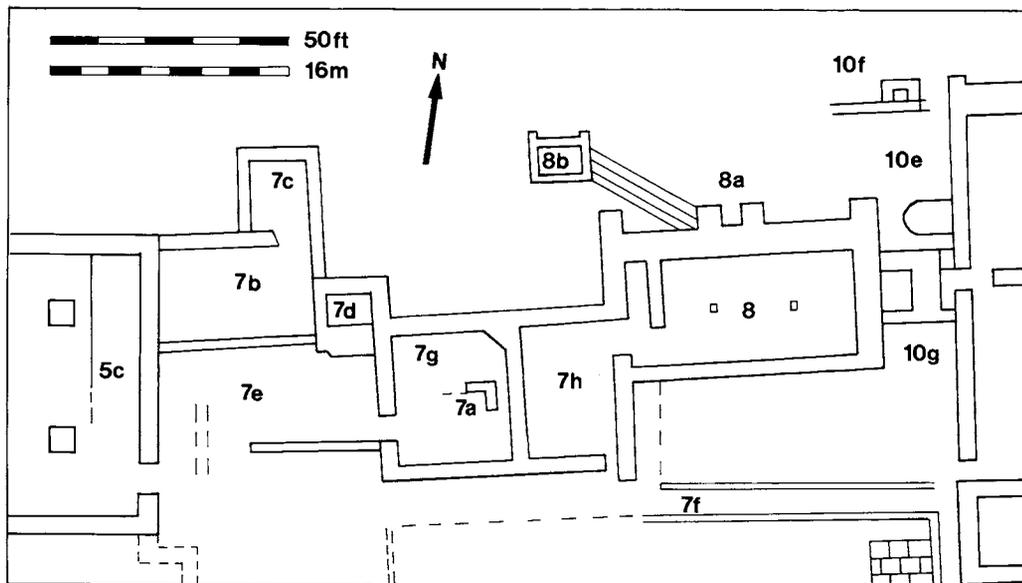


FIG. 25. Composite plan of king's apartments (7 and 8) (1:500)

Nomenclature poses an additional problem on this part of the site. In some cases identification of structures with those referred to in documentary evidence has in the past been assumed. This has been the case, for example, in the king's suite (7, 8 and 9) and in the queen's suite (10). Elsewhere in this area structures were given labels by the excavators (solar A, solar B, etc.). The complexity of the structures compounded by these problems renders very hazardous attempts to interpret their relationships to each other, their phases of development, their overall plans, internal features and floor levels. However, this is an important part of the site, and there is still ample evidence of several phases of construction and use.

The king's chambers (7) (fig. 25; pls. XXXb, XXXIVa)

Detached from the great hall (5) to the east is a rectangular block which is thought at least from the early stages of the 1930s campaign to have been the king's living accommodation (7) when he was at Clarendon (Borenus 1933, 19). It is in a central position in the eastern part of the north range and its eastern wall forms the west side of a small courtyard. This courtyard is defined on its northern side by what is commonly termed the Antioch chamber (8) and on the east by structures known as the queen's apartments (10). Excavations also revealed various other structures around block 7, and between it and the great hall (5).

The area immediately to the east of the great hall (5) was worked on in the very early stages of the 1930s excavations. It was known as 'site two', or occasionally 'building two'. It was opened up in April 1933 and work continued later in the year. The notebooks, correspondence and various site plans indicate that the excavators discovered the footings of a number of flint walls in this area. The first of these to be investigated was the east-west wall between 7b and 7e, running east from the east end of the great hall (5). This wall proved to be 3 ft. (0.91 m.) high and traces of plain white plaster, 2 ft. (0.61 m.) square, were found on its inner

(?southern) face. It was constructed of courses of stone, flint and tile and appears to have deeper foundations than the north–south wall which it meets. The relevant notebook entry reads as follows: ‘a flint wall was found running north–south at a high level opposite the point where the lower level wall from the Protestant fragment should have appeared’. The north–south wall referred to here appears on various plans. It is tempting to suggest that the southern wall, that between **7b** and **7e**, which runs in an east–west direction is earlier than the east wall of the great hall. The lower level wall which ‘should have appeared’ was presumably **5a**, the ‘strong’ wall underlying the northern pier bases of the great hall. The wall between **7b** and **7e** was found to lie not at 90 degrees to the east wall of the great hall (**5**) but only at an angle of 75 degrees (pl. XXXIV*a*). The establishment of these new alignments was to prove highly significant, since the ‘strong’ wall (**5a**) underlying the northern pier bases of the great hall (**5**) was also discovered in 1933. These alignments have led to much subsequent speculation about the phasing of the structures underlying the great hall (**5**), and lying to the east of it (**7**). This evidence would fit Mrs Eames’s hypothesis that this wall, between **7b** and **7e**, marks the line of an earlier precinct wall dividing the court from the park (Eames 1965, 61–2). Finds here included two very small fragments of glass and some ‘crude leaden fragments’ (Charlton, Notebooks; Correspondence, August 1933).

Other walls were investigated in this area, as the plan of 1933 activity shows. Plaster was found adhering to these in places, and the opportunity was taken to correct Colt Hoare’s interpretation of the alignments and positions of the walls in this area, as shown above (figs. 4, 6). Another wall, probably the south and west wall of **7d**, was found to lie 8 ft. (2.44 m.) further west than the position in which it was recorded by Colt Hoare (Correspondence, April 1933). Finds including pottery and bones came from this area immediately east of the great hall. However, the excavators were left in no doubt about the extent of earlier activity on the site, when a potted meat jar was recovered from ‘quite a low level’.

It is not possible to extract from the notebooks any further references to the wall footings east of the hall, although some of the descriptions may refer to these features. The only other archaeological information we have which relates to this area is shown on various plans (figs. 5, 6, 9). It is very difficult to establish the phases. At the north there appears to be a small square building (**7c**), which may be one of the latest built on to this group of structures (**7**), to judge by the way in which the walls are shown to abut others (figs. 5, 11). There is no written evidence to confirm this view. Adjacent to, and continuing the line of, the north wall of the hall is another wall which, together with the parallel wall to its south and the returning north–south wall both discussed above, defines a small rectangular building (**7b**), designated a ‘pentice’ on the latest Borenius plan (Borenius 1943). Mrs Eames thought this a ‘penthouse’ also (Eames 1965, 61–2). There are two doorways leading from this building, one in the north wall giving access to the small rectangular structure (**7c**) to its north. References to another entrance in the south are found in the records, but such an entrance has not been found on the plans. This opening was from **7b** into **7e**, which may have been another building, or possibly a courtyard. It has been suggested that this wall may be the line of an early-phase palace precinct wall and the alignment certainly fits with the scarp of the hill and the line of the early wall (**5a**) in the great hall (Eames 1965, 61–2).

The area east of the great hall is defined along its southern edge by a wall which does not seem to join the east wall of the hall. This southern wall, south of **7e**, may in fact join a north–

south wall, a portion of which is indicated on some plans running north–south, parallel to the east end of the hall. On the east side the southern wall joins the west wall of what is termed the king's chamber block, at the entrance to **7g**, usually known as solar A. The function of this wall is unknown. It may be the southern side of a building or courtyard, or alternatively part of a pentice (**7f**). Excavation of a trench across this area revealed 'no occupation levels', but a considerable quantity of fifteenth-century and later pottery.

There are indications of further walls running north–south along the edge of the great court (**6**), for example from the south-east angle of the great hall (**5**), and to the buildings bounding the east of the great courtyard, for example to **13b**, the Alexander chamber. Physical remains of these were found in the excavations, for example, a 'stone, flint and herringbone tile wall', running north–south, which lay 'south of the path south of site 2' (Correspondence, May 1933). This feature could correspond with either of the walls just described.

The king's chamber block (7): solar A (7g) and solar B (7h) (fig. 25; pl. XXXb)

The building frequently referred to as the king's chamber block is substantial and rectangular. On the Borenus plan of 1943 the ground floors of this structure (**7g** and **7h**) are marked 'Solar A' and 'Solar B' (fig. 7). The walls of this building were of large flints set in a matrix of medium-hard brownish mortar with traces of wall plaster adhering to the outer walls. The whole building measured approximately 50 by 36 ft. (15.24 by 10.97 m.) and was subdivided at ground level by an internal partition wall. In May 1933 work began to try to connect site one, in the queen's apartments (**10a**), with site two (**7g** and **7h**), east of the 'Protestant Fragment', the nineteenth-century monument erected at the east end of the great hall (**5**) (above, p. 50). In the course of this work it seems likely that the outline of the solars was identified, particularly in view of the finds of coloured plaster associated with the work (Correspondence, May 1933). In August 1933 a 2-in. (5-cm.) square fragment of blue pottery 'perhaps from the Near East', was recovered during some work near the solar. This was certainly one of the sherds of the Clarendon maiolica pot, although in this instance no precise findspot can be deduced from the records (Correspondence, August 1933; see below, Pottery, pp. 176, 182, no. 30 and fig. 58).

Work in the king's solars, **7g** and **7h**, began in 1933, and continued in 1934 and 1935. From 1934, with the assistance of a tipper skip, spoil could be much more easily removed. Solar A (**7g**) was the focus of much attention since it contained earlier stratified deposits (pp. 103–4). Finds of fragments of historiated capitals and pottery were made in this room (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 76). The intense activity revealed the depth of deposits, and the comparative complexity of the stratification. Letters undated, but probably dating from August 1934, refer to deposits which went down to a depth of 'fourteen or fifteen feet below the level of the top of the late wall' (Correspondence, 1934). Work continued in solar B (**7h**) and work began in a further building initially referred to as 'Solar C' in August 1935. There was clearly a thick 'cake' of demolition material topping all this area, which had to be removed first. In addition, tree roots were troublesome, especially in solar B (**7h**). The excavators were, however, rewarded with numerous finds, not only of pottery at all levels, and of varying kinds, but also with finds of painted and sculptured stonework and with very many tiles as well as with rich finds of plaster. The sculptured pieces included the fragment of knees and drapery (p. 246, no. 70 and fig. 93), believed to be part of a representation of the Virgin and Child, and ball-pattern

string mouldings (p. 245). Dr Bachstitz, from the University of Bonn, found dice (now lost) in the solar in 1934.

Solar A (**7g**), the western ground-floor room, was found to have one doorway only in its west wall. Solar B (**7h**), the eastern room, has one in its south wall and one in the east wall which the excavators found had been later blocked at an unknown date. The internal walls of all the rooms in this building were probably covered in painted plaster, since quantities of such material were found in and around them. Many of these fragments were covered in dark red scrollwork or blue paint, giving the impression that this was a rich and colourful suite (p. 251). Probably also from here came quantities of green plaster and green tiles, which led the excavators to dub one of the chambers, it is uncertain which, 'the green chamber'. The surviving floor surfaces of both rooms were of a hard cement of sand and lime. The excavators thought that neither floor was originally tiled, or that the tiles had been very thoroughly removed. In a central position in the floor of the east room (**7h**) were the remains of what is thought to have been a fireplace. A number of painted stone mouldings indicated the appearance of the doors and windows (p. 241). A considerable quantity of finds, as already mentioned, came from this area. Two lead stars were found inside the western room and presumably once decorated the walls, wainscot or ceiling of this room or the one above (p. 226, nos. 2-6 and fig. 85). From beneath the latest floor level came 'many finds' including fragments of pottery and pieces of metalwork.

It has long been argued that this building was of two storeys and that, if it did accommodate the king's chamber, this was on the first floor and thus would be a first-floor hall. Mrs Eames has argued convincingly that if this were the case it probably had an outer staircase supported in part at least by the thicker west wall (Eames 1965, 61; see above, p. 12). The small square structure located on the north-west corner of this building was amongst the earliest features examined at Clarendon, in May 1933. The northern part of the structure has been interpreted as a garderobe. The southern part consists of a substantial platform. This was examined in May 1933 by the excavators with Mortimer Wheeler, who helped establish the work on site in its early stages. Wheeler suggested that the feature was the foundation of a 'tower with a newel stair' (Correspondence, May 1933). This interpretation certainly seems to be largely correct, for the tower was almost certainly an external staircase to the upper chamber over **7g**. This conclusion was arrived at independently by Mrs Eames working from plans and documentary sources (above, p. 12 and below, p. 160). It is very probable that this upper floor did accommodate royal chambers, probably the king's hall, as it is equally likely that it was a two-storey building. There is no proof of either and no positive archaeological evidence for an outer stair on the western end. However, documentary evidence refers to an external staircase at least from 1237.

Occupation levels below 7g and 7h

It is difficult to reconstruct the sequence of work carried out to the west of the royal apartments, in the area immediately east of the great hall, and work carried out in what later became known as 'solar A' and 'solar B' (**7g** and **7h**), both of which appear from the plan of work carried out in 1933 to have been traced fully in the first season. There was evidence of at least two building phases in this area, for the excavators report that 'beneath the cement floor of a later building, is an earlier basement thought to date to Henry III at least' (Charlton 1936,

8). This 'basement' was found about 30 ft. (9.14 m.) east of the hall (**5**) (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 76). This may be the small square structure labelled **7a** on the plan (fig. 25), which has the appearance of being the corner of an early building. On the other hand this structure is rather more than 30 ft. (9.14 m.) east of the hall. The relevant photograph (pl. XXXIa) appears to show a circular pit cut by a later wall, but the apparent pit line may be merely the excavation cut to reveal the earlier basement and associated wall.

The earlier wall (**7a**) is noteworthy. It comprises the corner of a previous building and was found situated within solar A, the western room, and marked on the plan in **7g**. In the typescript lecture in 1935, Borenus refers to a shaft sunk in solar B, which located the corner of an early building. This must surely be a slip for solar A, as all other evidence shows the western room (**7g**) designated as solar A (Borenus 1936, 8). As noted previously by others, the early corner feature is on a different alignment to the later building and better matches the line of the wall, **5a**, beneath the great hall, and the wall between **7b** and **7** (Eames 1965, 60-1). According to the excavation notebooks and a sketch section drawn in 1933, the later wall is actually built on the earlier one, although neither flush nor exactly aligned with it (Charlton, Notebooks, 1933, and General). The excavators noted that the early wall was largely demolished to make way for the later structure. This would seem to conflict with the evidence shown on the plans and the drawn section (figs. 25 and 26), where the earlier wall is clearly to the west of the later partition wall. This wall was built of flints on a foundation of chalk, flint and greensand about 2 ft. 6 in. (0.86 m.) deep. The north wall was constructed of chalk blocks supported by a shallow buttress while the corner was constructed of diagonally dressed quoin stones. The upper later wall is predominantly of flint, but contained stone which was considered to be reused.

The associated 'basement' was filled with rammed chalk blocks, gravel, building rubbish and kitchen refuse (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 76; Borenus 1933, 19; Charlton 1936, 8; Notebooks, 1933 and General). A section was dug across this area, was drawn up at the time, and is published here, redrawn (fig. 26). The section shown here as it was ultimately drawn up in the 1930s does not tally exactly with the rough pencil sketches to be found in the 1930s notebooks, which clearly show the later partition wall between **7g** and **7h** sitting on the earlier wall (**7a**). About 1 ft. 6 in. to 2 ft. (0.46 to 0.61 m.) below the later floor, immediately below the later cement floor, there was a layer some 1 ft. 6 in. to 2 ft. (0.46 to 0.61 m.) thick of building rubbish and kitchen refuse. The deposit incorporated many artefacts, including fragments of historiated capitals, a large selection of domestic and Laverstock type pottery and the sherds of a Spanish maiolica pot (pp. 102, 176, 182, no. 30 and fig. 58). There is also a reference to coin evidence. It would seem that the layer has a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date. There are ambiguous references to earlier layers of rammed chalk and a collection of pottery almost certainly of a domestic nature, apparently unlike any other Clarendon material known then to the excavators. This material is described as coming from the floor of an earlier building and was thought by the excavators to be of the late eleventh or early twelfth century. No pottery of this early date has been identified in re-examination of the pottery. It is unlikely that this pottery would be of the late eleventh or the early twelfth century, although it could well have belonged to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. But it is noteworthy that the excavators thought they had identified an earlier floor. The implication is that there are at least two building phases in this area, and probably more. The latest phase included a cement floor

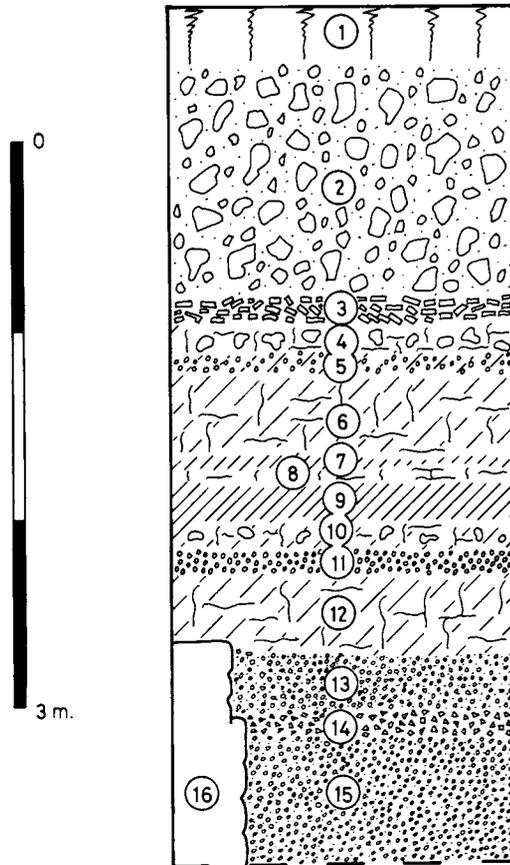


FIG. 26. Section looking east across the west room of the king's chambers (7g) excavated and drawn in the 1930s (undated).

Key: (1) humus; (2) masonry debris; (3) tiles; (4) flint and chalk rubble; (5) soil and gravel; (6) dirty chalk rubble; (7) loam; (8) chalk rubble; (9) loam; (10) flints, chalk and soil; (11) gravel; (12) dirty chalk rubble; (13) sand and gravel; (14) mason's chips; (15) sand and gravel; (16) early flint wall (7a). (1:40)

level which seals an earlier basement, itself quite probably of several phases ranging in date from perhaps the late twelfth century to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. There are also suggestions that the basement, or pit, may post-date the earlier floor thought to be possibly of late eleventh- or early twelfth-century date.

The interpretation is further complicated by other descriptions of these layers. These descriptions are mostly annotated sketches of the features incorporated in the notebooks (Charlton, Notebook, 1933). These are more specific and it should be possible to correlate these with the section drawing (fig. 26). The later wall was associated with three 'dirty layers'

the top one of which contained 'much tile material mostly roofing, bones, nails and not a great deal of pottery' (possibly (3) in fig. 26). Beneath this was a layer containing less tile, much pottery, bones and some bits of burnt wood, and the final 'dirty layer' which contained a good deal of charcoal and much pottery. These three layers were all sealed by a thick layer of rammed chalk (possibly (2) in fig. 26).

The earlier wall, **7a**, also had two associated levels interpreted by the excavators as floors. The upper of these is described as cement and that underneath as dirty soil. These two layers are not identifiable on the section published here (fig. 26), but in sketch drawings they are shown as being directly beneath those described above, while similarly the early wall is shown to be slightly offset but directly beneath the later wall. The cement floor referred to here is probably the same as that described above as the layer sealing the earlier basement. There are obviously other intermediate layers, since the section shows a considerable depth of deposits and there is a description of a layer which overrides the earlier wall and its associated cement floor, described as being 'the rubbish of an earlier occupation'. This contained charcoal, pottery and a piece of window glass in its lead setting with comes of lead for other panes attached.

Altogether the structural sequence and occupational phasing is difficult to establish, but clearly this was one of the areas which was most intensively occupied and redesigned.

The Antioch chamber and the king's chapel (8 and 9) (fig. 25; pls. XXXIb-XXXIVb, LIVb)

The room commonly referred to as the Antioch chamber (**8**) was a large rectangular structure which lies on the edge of the north scarp and forms part of the northern range between the king's and queen's apartments (**7** and **10**). It was first discovered in 1935, and was excavated in 1936. Work was completed by 1 September 1936, when Charlton reported that the Antioch chamber was completely cleared and photographed (Correspondence, September 1936). The structure which was presumed from documentary sources to have housed the Antioch chamber is believed to have been of two storeys, with the king's chapel on the upper floor (above, pp. 15-17).

The massive walls are of flint rubble with ashlar dressings of Chilmark stone. The north wall is built up against the fall of the slope and was standing to a height of 14 ft. (4.27 m.) in places in 1935. This wall was supported by four buttresses of deep projection with ashlar dressings (**8a**) (pl. XXXIIa). The outer west and east buttresses have been robbed, but the two central ones remain today, in good condition (pl. XXXIIb). Certain of these buttresses appear to have been contemporary in build with the north wall, but the east one, at least, was added later. The weathering on the buttresses and the wall between them is a notable architectural feature, and can be compared with that found at the western entrance (**2**) (above, p. 81). The area at the foot of the buttresses (**8a**), immediately outside the north wall of the chamber itself, was excavated in 1935. The debris of the collapsed walls was very deep, and had buried the buttresses to a depth of up to 15 ft. (4.6 m.) in places. Trenching of the underlying deposits produced some unexpected results. First, a diagonal wall running north-west was revealed (pl. XXXIIc). This connected area **8a** to a buttressed building (**8b**), which turned out to be a cesspit which was cleared early in 1936. This cesspit (**8b**), it has been argued by Mrs Eames, was a northern extremity of the king's early wardrobe, although the remains of the enclosing wall of such a structure to the west, which would have been sited to the west of the Antioch

chamber (8), and to the north of solar A (7g), were not located with any certainty in the excavations (above, p. 101). Secondly, this debris outside building 8 was rich in finds. Three lead stars, two of which proved to have traces of gilding, and two lead crescents would seem to have come from area 8a (p. 226 and figs. 85 and 86, nos. 2–8), while numerous fragments of painted glass were also recovered from this area, including a number of those of sufficient quality, and with clear enough designs, to be described below (pp. 229 ff. and fig. 87)).

The ground floor of structure 8 measured approximately 50 ft. from east to west by 20 ft. (15·24 by 6·11 m.) and presumably matched whatever existed above. Access to the principal ground-floor room (8), which lay to the east, was by the smaller western ante-room (pl. XXXIIIa), the door of which the excavators believed was blocked at a later date. There were two doorways from this western lobby, one in the south-east corner, just described, and a second in the south-west corner leading into the most easterly room, 7h, or solar B, of block 7, commonly referred to as the king's chambers. There may have been a third, adjacent to the second in the south wall, giving access to a court on the southern side, and a pentice appears on certain plans to run up to such an entrance. It would seem unlikely, for structural reasons, that doors two and three were in use simultaneously. However, finds thought to have come from such an entrance were found, including pieces of painted, moulded and carved masonry which may have belonged to a porch that extended into the courtyard.

Other sculptured stone was found on the floor of the western chamber along with the collapsed floor tiles. This stonework perhaps included the famous sculptured head of a youth which Borenius dated to *c.* 1230 (Borenius 1943, 45 and pl. 10d). The references to its excavation are not precise and it may have come from the king's chamber block (7). The head may originally have been a decorative feature of a first-floor doorway between 7h and 8 (John Charlton, pers. comm.) (below, p. 246, frontispiece and pl. LXII). Other floor finds included a scallop shell containing some fine blue pigment, which had been punched with two holes, presumably so that it could be suspended. There is also a reference to the bottom part of a jar containing 'red lead' which may have been found in this building (pp. 189, 258–60 and pl. LVIa). Trenching within the building produced quantities of pottery and bones.

Just inside the main chamber, beside the entrance from the ante-chamber, a stratified tile pavement was found. The border was still in place, but it was suggested that at a date later than the thirteenth century most of the tiles had been removed from the centre of the room, apart from a few broken tiles which had been thrown back on to the floor level. Thus the floor sequence has the remains of at least two tiled floor levels. Some plain brown-glazed tiles found *in situ* around the bases of the columns belonged to the later floor level. About 6 in. (15·2 cm.) below these was the other floor, consisting of tiles with typical thirteenth-century inlaid designs. The tiles were laid in panels (pl. LIVb). Parallels were drawn between the tiles in the Antioch chamber (8) and those found further to the east, presumably those uncovered in the queen's chamber (10a). Borenius dated the earlier floor to *c.* 1237 and the later to *c.* 1252. Mrs Eames has argued convincingly that the latter probably dates to the fifteenth century, while the former probably has a date in the 1250s (Eames, 1965, 65–6; below, pp. 147 ff.). The tiles found round the pillar bases in the 1930s have subsequently disappeared.

Along the central axis of the eastern room were two pillar bases which presumably supported wooden uprights or stone columns that divided the room into three bays and supported the upper storey (pls. XXXIb–XXXIII). The outside of the building was

plastered, and no doubt the interior was similarly treated since quantities of painted wall plaster were found. The only internal plaster *in situ* was found in the western lobby or antechamber, where the lower part of the western wall was plastered. This plaster was decorated with a red-painted false jointing masonry pattern dated by Borenus to the thirteenth century (pl. XXXIV*b*). Charlton thought there was some archaeological evidence of wainscoting because in two angles of the east room there were slots for 5-in. (13-cm.) posts (Charlton, Notebooks). Outside the west wall the excavators did not work through all the archaeological levels, partly because of the unexpected discovery of structure **8b**, the northern garderobe. The west wall itself had lost most of its outer face. The south and east walls were not investigated in 1935, but were held over to the following year (Charlton 1936).

It seems that there was a second storey to this building. The floor of the Antioch chamber (**8**) was covered in a thick spread of debris, much of which is thought to have been from the collapse of the floor above. Although there was no positive evidence of a staircase, the mass of collapsed floor tiles found largely in the eastern room of the Antioch chamber (**8**) appeared to have fallen from the central bay of the floor above. This circular pavement has been described by Borenus, and analysed by Mrs Eames (Borenus 1937; unpublished; 1943, 46; Eames 1963, 40–50). These tiles were excavated in 1936 and given to the British Museum by Major Christie-Miller in 1957. They include the surviving tiles from a large circular pavement which consists of ten concentric narrow bands of green-glazed tiles alternating with wider bands of decorated tiles. Mrs Eames has written up her work on this pavement below (pp. 139 ff.). The pavement is very fine indeed and has been identified as the one ordered for the king's chapel in 1244. Similar waster tiles were located in the kitchen block, together with the kiln (**41**) in which it is thought they were fired.

The history of the building as a whole, the lower floor of which is generally assumed to be the one designated in the documents as the Antioch chamber (**8**), is discussed above (pp. 16–17). A good deal is known from documentary sources of the development of this building under the supervision of Elias de Dereham in the 1230s, and of the interior decoration of both the upper and lower floors. There is also documentary evidence of staircases. Work began on the conversion of the queen's wardrobe into the Antioch chamber in 1251 and orders for paving the floor were issued in 1252. The Antioch chamber itself perhaps provided an audience chamber for the king.

The size and location of the building, together with the evidence of decoration from both storeys, would make it a likely candidate to have included the Antioch chamber. There is, however, no positive evidence that it was this building. The floor tiles described in the 1930s as the Richard and Saladin tiles did not come from this building. One such tile was found *in situ* in structure **10d**. However, this evidence is less significant than might appear, as modern reinterpretation of these tiles designates them more generally as 'mounted knight's' (pp. 146–7). There is no evidence that the walls were decorated with representations of Richard and Saladin in combat, or other horseback combats. However, that is not surprising as the plaster remains are highly fragmented and we know that there was plenty of repainting and many plaster fragments show several coats of paint. It has been stated on the one hand that the stars and crescents were badges of Henry III, and alternatively that the crescents may have been an emblematic reference to the Saracens, but this remains conjecture. We know the king ordered *scintillis* for the Antioch chamber in 1251. There are good grounds for believing these were

stars, as at St Stephen's chapel, Westminster. Some were found beside, if not inside, this chamber in 1936 (above, p. 107).

The great circular pavement from the king's chapel (**9**) compares with others from ecclesiastical contexts, but again is not incontrovertible evidence that the chamber above was the king's chapel which was tiled in 1244.

On the evidence of the archaeological excavations not more than two phases have been recognized for this building. These phases rely on the two tiled floor levels found, one of which has a mid thirteenth- and the other a fifteenth-century date. There is no evidence of a staircase or chimneys, although some evidence of a central fireplace seems to have been found in the eastern room. If this were the case, then the phasing of the building must have been very different from that suggested here. It must, for example, have been on only one storey in one phase. However, it is not absolutely certain that the fireplace evidence does refer to this building. It might equally have referred to building **7h**, solar B, in which case similar phasing should be argued for that chamber. The general layout and development of the Antioch chamber block is now well known, but certain questions remain unanswered.

The queen's apartments (10) (fig. 27; pls. XXXV–XXXVI)

The queen's apartments were confidently identified by the 1930s excavators and are agreed to have been the four most easterly structures (**10a**, **10b**, **10c** and **10d**) which have so far been excavated in the north range. The axis of **10a** and **10b** is north–south. The third building, which is divided into two rooms (**10c** and **10d**), lies south of the north–south range and is oriented east–west.

The historical and archaeological information relating to the queen's apartments has been extensively discussed by Mrs Eames and her main conclusions are set out below (Eames 1965, 63–85; pp. 163 ff.). In her paper and below it is argued that the thirteenth-century queen's rooms were housed in two-storey blocks similar to those which accommodated the king's chambers. Her analysis of the documentary evidence is discussed above (pp. 18–22). Her interpretation seems to be highly probable and matches what is known of similar buildings at contemporary sites. The same author has written a detailed report on a tile pavement from one of the rooms and has indeed considered all the tile finds from Clarendon (Eames 1957–8, 95–106).

The most northerly of these rooms (**10a**) is rectangular, measuring internally 35 ft. north–south and 20 ft. east–west (10·67 by 6·1 m.). It was in this room, in late April 1933, that excavations began at Clarendon, on what was known as 'site one'. The southern area of the room was excavated first, and produced nearly four buckets of tiles (Correspondence, April 1933). The whole area was enveloped in a blackthorn thicket, which had to be cleared before easy progress could be made. Ashlar quoins were noted, flanked by flint panels, and the eastern wall was said to stand some 4 to 5 ft. (1·2 to 1·5 m.) high. This configuration of ashlar quoins and flint panels proved to be a structural characteristic of almost all of the buildings at Clarendon. There is a doorway in the western end of the southern wall of **10a**, which gives access to the more central room of this range (**10b**) (pl. XXXVa). The doorway had stone jambs and a stone doorstep and this is recorded on a photograph and in sketch plans amongst the contemporary correspondence. The excavators thought initially that these chambers were associated with the cellar, referred to in the documents as 'La Roche'. Although they later

CLARENDON PALACE

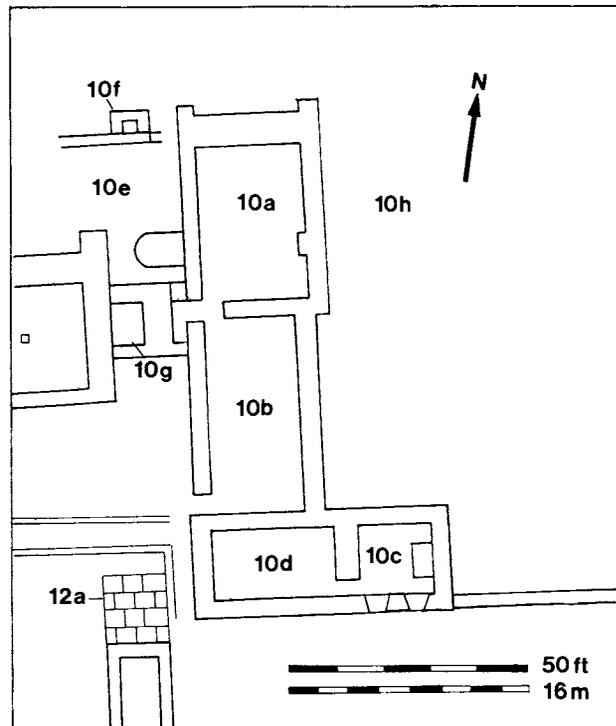


FIG. 27. Composite plan of queen's apartments (10)
(1:500)

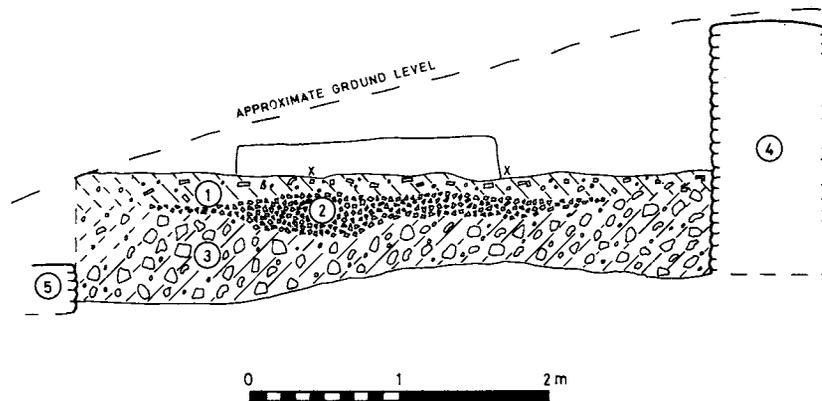


FIG. 28. Section in the south-east room of the queen's suite (10c) (dated 25 July 1939). Recorded as being 4 ft. (1.22 m.) from the east end. It is drawn looking east and shows the profile of the feature interpreted as an altar.

Key: (1) filling containing pottery and tile chips; (2) mason's chips; (3) filling of rubble, flints, greensand etc. and containing wall paintings (presumably fragments of decorated wall plaster, e.g. see pl. xxxv1b); (4) flint wall, south wall of 10c; (5) flint wall, north wall of 10c; x-x extent of tile matrices. (1:50)

revised their opinion, records of the first year's excavation, including a glass slide shown at the Society of Antiquaries in November 1933, mark **10a** as 'La Roche'. This interpretation was no doubt because of the high flint-panel northern wall of **10a** which survives, clasping the scarp of the hillside, and which must have appeared to have a basement below the floor level located in **10a** and **10b**. Thus, Borenius described the entrance between **10a** and **10b** as opening into a 'dog-leg passage'. The existence of a cellar here proved illusory. The excavators soon realized that the area briefly examined in 1933, and labelled 'remains of stone vaulting' on the 1933 plan, was in fact the broken vaulting between **12c** and **12d**, part of a cellar range (pp. 116 ff.).

Almost certainly inside the chamber **10a** plaster was found still adhering to the walls. However, as work was in progress simultaneously inside and outside the chamber, it is not possible to be certain whether this find was inside or outside **10a**. Stripes of red paint, no doubt remnants of false jointing on white plasterwork, as later found elsewhere, were a feature of this early find of plaster *in situ* (above, p. 108). Plaster certainly came from outside the building. Brownish-crimson plaster was recovered from just outside the entrance to **10a** and **10b** (Correspondence, April 1933). The archaeological remains show the ground-floor plan only, but there seems little doubt that this building was of two storeys. It is built up against the lie of the land on the northern edge and is bolstered there by two buttresses. It has been suggested that building **10a** was a northward extension built on to the chamber immediately to its south (**10b**). This seems likely because the room extends up to the edge of the northern slope, but there is no detailed evidence available which relates to the junction between these two rooms. Mrs Eames has identified building **10a** as a new chamber built for the queen between 1244 and 1246, this being a two-storey building with a chimney and a fireplace on the upper floor. This identification seems very probable, although it cannot of course be proved (below, pp. 163–5).

Even if it is accepted that the northern building (**10a**) was a two-storey structure forming part of the queen's accommodation, it is still difficult to know the exact function and nature of these rooms. It is not known whether the suite contained a first-floor hall or whether ground- and first-floor rooms were of equal importance. The only clue to the status of this building is the remains of a very fine tiled floor which were found *in situ* in the ground-floor room (**10a**) (pls. LIIIa, LIVa). The pavement lay on the west side of the room and was approximately rectangular, extending about 10 ft. 9 in. north–south and 5 ft. 6 in. to the east (3.28 by 1.67 m.). The initial discovery of this pavement and some of the work on it took place in 1933, but investigation of it was not apparently completed in that year. In 1936 work continued, with the uncovering of the part of the pavement already discovered, which had been packed away in sawdust, and the clearing of more tiling, apparently not previously exposed (Correspondence, 1 September 1936).

The tile pavement is described in detail elsewhere (Eames 1957–8, 95–106, and below, pp. 143 ff.). It has been dated to the years 1250–2 and consists of six panels running east–west across the room. Some of the panels are of plain tiles separating panels of different decorative motifs. Overall the pavement is impressive, comprising semi-geometric designs of quatrefoil pattern, foliated crosses and stylized animal designs of lions and griffins. The pavement, which was rather badly robbed between its discovery in the 1930s and the renewal of work at Clarendon in the 1950s, was lifted in 1957, since when it has been reassembled and is displayed at the British Museum (above, p. 51). It is thought to have been made locally, although the exact source is not yet known. The tiles are impressive, but Mrs Eames describes them as 'good

second class', not equal artistically or technically to inlaid tiles used at Westminster Abbey chapter house or at Chertsey Abbey. Her conclusion is that the best designers do not seem to have been available for works at Clarendon in the 1250s (Eames 1957-8, 105). The 1957 raising of the tile pavement provided an opportunity for excavation of the ground beneath the pavement. This consisted of a 3-in. (7.6-cm.) mortar bedding for the floor and below this a further 3-in. foundation layer of rubble, flint and mortar. These layers were only about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (1.9 cm.) above the natural chalk. This is noteworthy, as it suggests that this floor was the first to be laid in this area or that earlier occupational evidence, if there was any, was removed in its construction.

On the evidence of this tiled floor, which has been dated to 1250-2, the north room (**10a**) of this range of rooms is at latest mid thirteenth-century. There is no evidence to indicate the presence of earlier twelfth- or early thirteenth-century buildings in this location and it is probable that this building is the extension, built between 1244/5 and 1246, which provided a new chamber for the queen.

The southerly room (**10b**) of this north-south range is not described in so much detail in any of the published or unpublished literature (pl. XXXVb). Like **10a** it was at first shrouded in blackthorn. It is a rectangular room of similar size to the one to its north (**10a**), although it is slightly longer. According to the plan published by Pevsner (and this is also shown on an unpublished excavation plan) this room is slightly narrower than the one to its north (Pevsner 1937, 3; fig. 9). This conflicts with other published plans (figs. 6, 10). The surface plan recently undertaken by the RCHM (fig. 12) shows a very slightly narrower room to the south, and this outline is further supported by aerial photographs taken in 1938 (pl. IX). The markedly narrow shape may, therefore, be an anomaly carried through from the Phillipps plan of 1821 (fig. 3), although the recurrent appearance of **10b** as a more narrow building than **10a** in unpublished plans has warranted its appearance thus on the composite plan (fig. 5).

It seems probable that **10b** also had an upper storey and perhaps contained the hall of this range. It is thought that this building was the earliest of the range, although there is no positive evidence to confirm this interpretation. Although some work was done on this room in 1933, the main work was carried out in 1936. On 1 September 1936, Charlton reported that work on 'QC2' (**10b**) would be completed the following day. Mrs Eames suggests that this building was already in existence by 1230 and consisted of a ground-floor and first-floor chamber. She suggests that after 1236 it was modified to accommodate a chamber and a chapel on the first floor with a single chamber, possibly a hall, on the ground floor. By 1246 a new two-storey building had been built for the queen (above). Thus, she was provided with four chambers. One of these was called the hall and it is suggested that this might have been the first floor, or more probably the ground floor, of this central range. A documentary reference in 1273 to fire damage to the joists of 'the queen's chamber' suggests either that one at least of her chambers was a first-floor structure, or that the ground floor had a wooden floor on joists.

It must be stressed that little is known of this structure archaeologically. It appears to have reasonably substantial foundations, to have doorways in the south-west and north-west corners and to be interconnected with the room to its north. It certainly seems to be thirteenth-century, but whether there was a building here in the twelfth century is unknown and seems unlikely.

The most southerly of the buildings collectively termed the queen's apartments is a building

oriented east–west running at 90 degrees to the north–south range to which it is attached (**10c** and **10d**). This building was excavated between 1937 and 1939. It is 50 ft. (15.24 m.) long overall and is divided internally to make two rooms. The eastern room (**10c**) occupies approximately a third of the building. Access to room **10c** is via a doorway in its south-west corner, that is to say on the south side of the partition wall. There is a doorway in the north-west corner of room **10d**, which appears to have provided the main access to both rooms. The two rooms would seem to be contemporary, although the excavators thought the western room (**10d**) might have been built first, probably some time in the thirteenth century, and that the eastern room (**10c**) was added soon after.

The western room (**10d**) had a raised dais at its eastern end and ‘benches’ along the walls beneath the dais. The floor and ‘benches’ were faced with plaster and tiles typical of the mid thirteenth century, arranged in panels. Few of these tiles had survived, but from the impressions left in the plaster floor the excavators were able to identify the size, shape and arrangements of the tiles. It is possible that the 112 tiles from Clarendon deposited at Salisbury Museum in 1971 may have been from this room. The tiles were removed from the site around the time of the First World War, which might explain why the matrix was in comparatively good condition in the 1930s. One of the remaining tiles found *in situ* was used murally at the end of one of the ‘benches’ in this western room. This tile was a figured one, depicting two stencilled figures originally thought to be Richard I and Saladin, but now thought to be mounted knights (pp. 146–7). On the basis of this tile it seems probable that the edge of the ‘bench’ was panelled with a frieze of tiles with a similar motif. In September 1936 preliminary work in this room produced border tiles with a fleur-de-lis motif, a design not known previously at Clarendon.

The eastern room (**10c**) was also tiled in similar style, indicating contemporary usage. This room had a feature interpreted as an altar (pl. XXXVIa). Along the south wall were two window openings, the sills of which survived. These windows were not splayed and did not have stone dressings but were faced with plaster. They were each 3 ft. wide (0.91 m.). The remains of the windows were not discovered until the very end of the work at Clarendon in August 1939, when H.M. Colvin was supervising the clearing of the outside of the southern wall of **10c** (Correspondence, July 1939). The windows are not shown on surviving plans, but have been included on the composite plan (fig. 5). A stone corbel head (p. 245, no. 46 and fig. 91) was found at the same period on the floor close to the north-west of the ‘altar’ (Correspondence, July and August 1939). The discovery of what certainly appears to be the robbed remains of an altar has led to the suggestion that at some time this eastern room of this building was used as a chapel. Various attempts have been made to correlate this evidence with documentary sources and these are discussed above and below (pp. 20–1, 163). On the tile evidence this use of the building must be mid thirteenth-century or later. The excavators noted that the tile matrices visible on the floor were without doubt laid on filling containing fragments of wall plaster, and this would seem to be what is shown on contemporary photographs (pl. XXXVIb) and on a contemporary section here redrawn (fig. 28).

The earlier evidence relating to this building is also noteworthy. According to the RCHM plan (fig. 12) the southern wall is on a different alignment to the north–south range running away to the north. A section excavated along a north–south line 4 ft. (1.22 m.) from the east end of the ‘chapel’ building revealed a thick deposit of floor levels (fig. 28). Essentially this

consisted of a layer, about 2 ft. (0·61 m.) thick, of rubble, flints and greensand containing fragments of wall plaster ascribed by the excavators to the twelfth century. Above this was a spread of 'masons' chips' covered by a 6-in. (15-cm.) deep occupation layer containing pottery and tile chips. The thirteenth-century tile floor in a mortar matrix was sitting on top of this layer. Together, this evidence indicates the presence of an earlier, perhaps late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century, structure at this eastern end of the north range. Its alignment is not dissimilar to that of the earlier wall running beneath the northern arcade of the great hall (Charlton, Notebooks; see above, p. 95).

Various other rooms and domestic offices which belonged to the queen's apartments are referred to in documentary sources, but these have not been identified archaeologically (above, pp. 19 ff.). Excavations were carried out to the north and east of the main block of the queen's apartments. These seem to have revealed the perimeter of the queen's garden, located to the north-west along the northern slope (e.g. fig. 10), a privy (**10f**) contained within this wall and various buildings placed at the junction between the queen's chambers (**10**) and the Antioch chamber (**8**). As Mrs Eames explains, there are references in 1242-4 to a new oriel to be provided in the queen's chamber and wardrobe, while in 1278 a gatehouse was built between the king's chapel and the queen's chamber (above, pp. 19-20).

The queen's apartments have been examined in as much detail as any part of the site at Clarendon. Strenuous, and to a great extent successful, efforts have been made to relate what was found on the ground to what is known from documentary sources. More cannot be said until a number of points relating to stratigraphy and development sequence have again been addressed through archaeology. None the less, it should be remembered that the 1930s excavators encountered a 'not very early tobacco pipe' at a depth of 2 ft. 6 in. (0·76 m.) in 1933 (Correspondence, 1933). As with other buildings along the north range, the question remains as to why the buildings were extended over the edge of the scarp to the north, a hazardous and comparatively expensive undertaking, if there was building space available to the south. The discovery of early levels towards the south of this range as described above perhaps suggests a partial answer to this problem, namely that there were substantial structures which have yet to be located.

THE AREA SOUTH OF THE KING'S APARTMENTS (**11**) (fig. 29; pl. XXXVII)

South of the building blocks **7g**, **7h** and **8**, usually known as the king's chambers and the Antioch chamber, was an open area, apparently a small courtyard (**11**). The area was defined on the north and west sides by wall footings, which appear to be the remains of walls associated with walkways or pentices (**7f** and **11a**). There is good reason for such an interpretation, although the line of these walls is not always precisely known and along the greater part of the west side and the west end of the north side the plan of such structures is conjectural. The east side is defined by the steps to the cellar (**12**) and a paved area (**12a**) to the north of these.

The south side consists of a range of buildings, **11d** and **11f**. The backbone of this range is an east-west wall which forms the northern edge of another walkway or pentice. This walkway only extends along the western half of this range, where it adjoins a building oriented east-

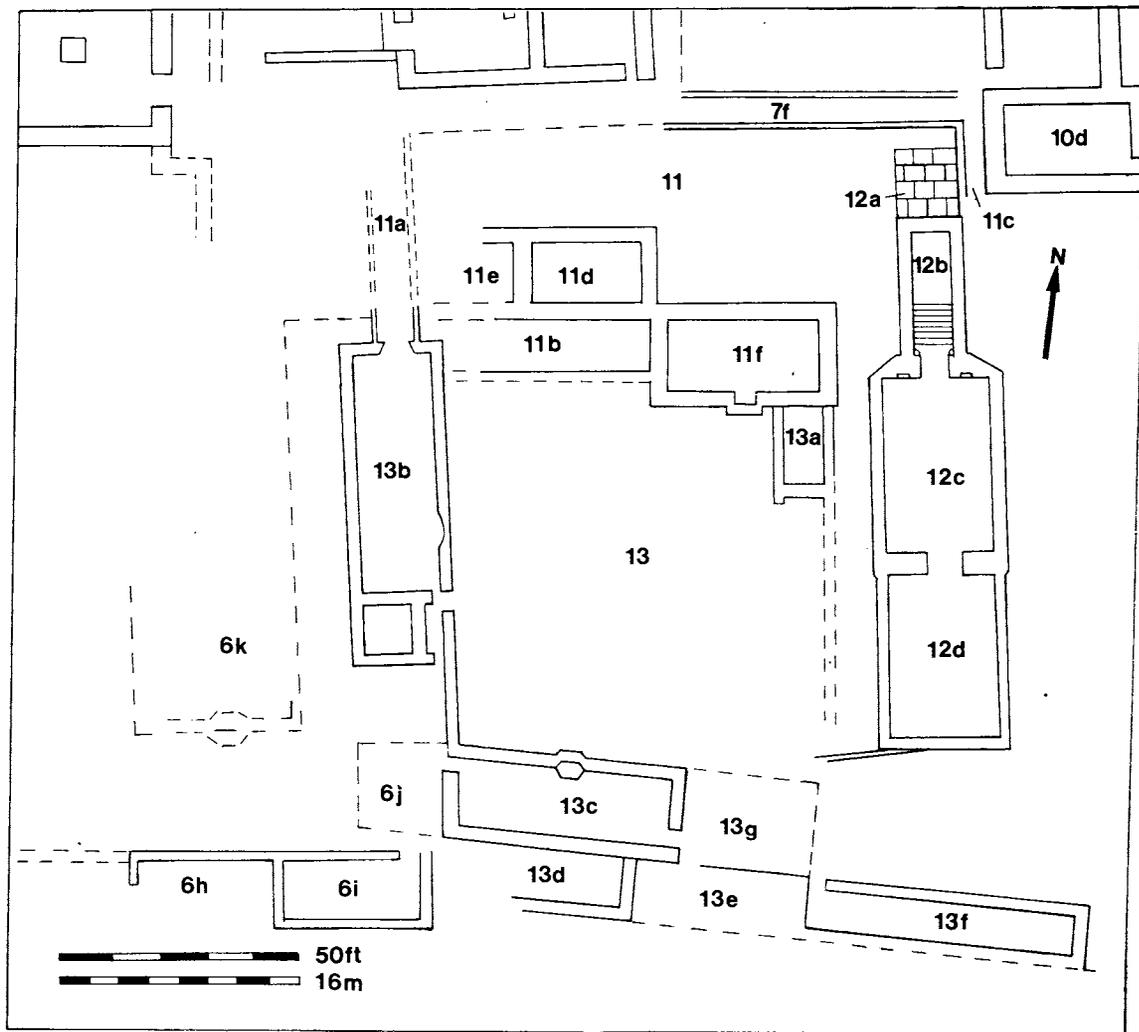


FIG. 29. Composite plan of southern courtyard (13) and adjacent suites (11, 12) (1:500)

west, **11f**. This is a rectangular building (pl. XXXVIIa) with an entrance in the north-east corner. This entrance is not shown on the plans, but is mentioned in documentation of the 1930s excavations. A fireplace, initially thought to be a doorway, was discovered in the centre of the south wall. The west and south walls, the latter incorporating the fireplace, were, the excavators thought, on a slightly different alignment to the other walls. No variation of alignment can be detected on the plan, but it does seem very likely that **11f** would have been built later than the walkway system using the system's southern wall as its northern perimeter. The function of this building is not known. Charlton thought it dated to the thirteenth century. Work was carried out on the structures to the south of courtyard **11** often in poor weather conditions in late August and September 1936 (Correspondence, 1936; Charlton, Notebooks).

The brick kitchen (11d)

Built on to the south range, but extending northwards into the courtyard area, was another building, **11d** (pl. XXXVIIb). This is a structure oriented east–west set against the north face of the southern courtyard range. The plans (e.g. fig. 7, Borenius 1943) indicate that this building consisted of two rooms, but the surviving evidence mostly came from the west room. This building was constructed of bricks set in ‘no regular bond’. Most of the bricks were stretchers which were very well baked and rather friable and which measured $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 2 in. (24.1 by 2.4 to 5.1 cm.). The walls had been very heavily plastered and painted in a brick pattern with white lines on a red background. This building was obviously of a different construction type from others found on the site, although it should be borne in mind that the tile kiln (**41**), dated to c. 1250, was also in part a brick structure. Apart from the different building material, **11d** was said to be a much slighter construction, although this is not indicated on the plans. It was thought in the 1930s that this building dated to the fifteenth century. Recent re-examination of the bricks and structure tends to support the date put forward in the 1930s (John Ashurst, pers. comm.).

Internally there were the remains of a ‘concrete’ floor which showed signs of extensive burning and which was covered with a thin layer of soot. Several wall fireplaces were found inside the building. At the east end there was a single fireplace built of brick externally, but with a fireback formed of herringbone tiles. The fireplace floor was paved with tiles set on edge, while before it were the remains of the collapsed arch of a fireplace, some of the voussoirs of which were still compacted together. This is shown on contemporary photographs (pl. XXXVIIc). The partition wall between the west and east rooms supported two fireplaces set back to back. These were also built of brick with chamfered jambs and, although badly robbed, the fallen arch of the west fireplace could still be seen (Charlton, Notebooks; Correspondence, 1936).

The excavators suggested that this building was of fifteenth-century date and that it was used as a kitchen, possibly replacing the kitchen complex to the west of the great hall. There are no details about the floor sequence, nor is it known how long this building was in use, although the eastern fireplace backing was thought to have been rebuilt at least once. The construction technique and the position of this building indicate that it was a late addition to the plan of the palace. The existence of a number of fireplaces may point to its having been used as a kitchen, but the hypothesis that this replaced the western kitchen is speculative. If this is the case, it may indicate a later contraction of the palace complex.

THE CELLARS (**12**) (fig. 29; pls. XXXVIII–XLIII)

There is ample documentary evidence of wine cellars at Clarendon from the twelfth century onwards. The principal of these was referred to as ‘La Roche’. A structure interpreted by the excavators as a cellar and as the ‘Rock’ was observed in the first season of excavations in 1933. However, the structure shown on early plans as the ‘Rock’ was later reinterpreted as the northerly room of the queen’s apartments (**10a**) (above, pp. 109–11). The preliminary work in late April 1933 was on the dividing wall between **12c** and **12d**, as appears on the plan of work completed in that year. This work was carried out in a building referred to in 1933 as ‘the

dungeons' (pl. XXXVIII*a*). The reinterpretation of the dungeons as the cellars is very plausible. Dr Borenius pointed out in 1938 that a cellar such as that under investigation at Clarendon would have been ideal for the storage of wine (pl. XXXVIII*b*). He drew attention to a record of 1251 in which the king asked for the cellar at Havering to be deepened, as too much sunlight was finding its way in (Borenius 1939, 3). If these structures are the cellars, then where was the prison? The documentary sources frequently refer to prisons at Clarendon, which have never been established on the ground (above, pp. 34, 43).

This series of structures, now known as the cellars, is located south-east of the king's chambers (7*g*, 7*h* and 8) and the courtyard (II) and is therefore within the group of structures to the east of the great courtyard (6) (fig. 29). It is situated in what might have been a natural declivity in the ground. Alternatively, the excavators suggested that this hollow might formerly have been a chalk quarry, of which there are other examples within the palace area. The cellar complex runs north-south with a northern stairway leading from a square paved area (12*a*) to the north of, and aligned with, the cellar entrance. The paving (12*a*) consists of an area of large greenstone blocks, from a green vein in the Chilmark area (John Ashurst, pers. comm.). This paved area is thought to have been where the wine tuns were loaded and unloaded, and where the carts turned. To the south of the steps (12*b*) were two cellar rooms with the possibility of a ground-floor structure above (12*c* and 12*d*). The 1938 notes remark on the absence of an 'important' building over the cellar, such absence being used as an argument for the lack of pressure on space at Clarendon in contrast to other contemporary and comparable sites (Charlton, Notebooks). The notes, however, do imply that there was some sort of ground-level structure, although all trace of it had disappeared. The documents refer occasionally to buildings '*ultra*', above or beyond, the cellar (above, p. 28; below, p. 163).

Most of the cellar excavations took place in 1938. Work was still continuing on the north cellar (12*c*) in the last week of September (pls. XXXVIII*c*, XXXIX*a*). The surviving structures were almost all deeply buried below ground level, apart from a section of the barrel vault at the south end of the north cellar (12*c*), which had attracted attention right at the beginning of the excavation. The depth of the deposits was no doubt partly responsible for the ashlar work of the cellars escaping the attention of stone robbers. The first discovery of ashlar work was 4 ft. (1.22 m.) below ground level (Correspondence, 1938). The structures consisted of a stairway (12*b*) and the northern cellar (12*c*) and another cellar (12*d*) to the south, which led off the first. A shortage of money prevented the total excavation of either of the main rooms, although 12*c*, together with the stairway (12*b*), received most attention. A policy of selective excavation was adopted. The aim was to clear an area south of the entrance to 12*c*, the northern of the two cellar rooms.

The walls of both cellars were constructed of rubble made up of a mixture of what was described as 'Hurdcote' stone and 'local white limestone resembling clunch' (Charlton, Notebooks). The surviving dressings in the cellars and the stairs were well-cut blocks of ashlar. Much evidence of robbing can be seen in the shapes of the tails of the stones in the rubble matrix behind (pl. XXXIX*a*). The excavation of the cellars, especially the trenching and clearing of the stair, and the work of clearing the north cellar (12*c*) is minutely recorded in the photographic record (pls. XXXVIII-XL). There are more general and specific shots of the cellars amongst the surviving photographs than there are of any other structure on the site. The stairway was found to have consisted originally of eighteen steps with a landing halfway

down. All the upper steps had been robbed, but those below the landing were intact, as they are today (pls. XXXIX*b*, XLI*a-b*). The steps which are still in position measure 8 ft. 4 in. (2.54 m.) wide, and seem to be in excellent condition, with a rough diagonal dressing and little sign of wear (pl. XL*b*). The side walls were lined with carefully dressed, diagonally tooled ashlar blocks, in the excavators' opinion 'the very best masonry'. No comparable masonry was found on the Clarendon site save that of the great buttresses (**8a**) of the Antioch chamber (**8**). The east side of the stair passage (**12b**), where ashlar work 'well over a person's height' remained, was better preserved than that to the west (Borenus 1939, 5-6). Chronologically, the excavators thought that the stairs belonged to the twelfth century, but that the side walls probably represented thirteenth- or even fourteenth-century repairs and reconstruction.

At the foot of the steps was a small rectangular paved area on the south of which were large post-holes thought to have supported great double doors, hung on heavy wooden posts inserted in the post-holes (pl. XLI*c*). The doorway had survived best on the east side, but at some time it had suffered intense burning which had partially destroyed the stonework. The kerb of the threshold was very worn and appeared not to have been repaired as recently as the side walls of the steps (pl. XLII*a*). Just below the bottom step of the stairs was a row of carefully cut holes each about 2½ in. (6.4 cm) in diameter. The exact purpose of these is unknown, but they are thought to have been for an iron grille, although there are no corresponding marks in the side walls.

The north cellar (**12c**) was barrel-vaulted (pls. XLII*b*, XLIII*a*). The side walls were constructed of rubble containing many greensand and hardcore blocks, although 'about four or five feet above the springline' (1.22 to 1.52 m.) the construction was of a lighter character and mostly of a 'whitish chalky limestone resembling clunch', in common with other walling in the cellars (above, p. 117). The end walls were 3 ft. (0.91 m.) thick, very solidly constructed and surviving to a greater height. The north wall contained the main doorway, which was flanked inside the cellar by two round-headed recesses which were about 18 in. high by 1 ft. wide (0.46 by 0.3 m.). These were interpreted as lamp-holders (pl. XLIII*b*). The interior of the north cellar was not particularly rich in finds. There were no traces of built stillages, although there was a slight raising of the floor against the side walls. The floor itself was made of chalk in contrast to that of the floor of the stair and the entrance, which were made of well-fitting stone paving-blocks.

Chronologically **12c**, the north cellar, is thought to be a twelfth-century structure interpreted as the one referred to in the documents. The excavators thought that **12d**, the south cellar, was added in the thirteenth century, but it is difficult to know whether this was on the basis of archaeological or architectural relationships or whether it was a theory based on documentary evidence alone (above, p. 28). Little excavation work was done in **12d**, the south cellar, but it was noted that its dimensions were similar to those of the north cellar (**12c**), that it was built in a similar manner, but that it was 'less solid' and did not include much 'Hurdcote' (above, p. 117).

THE SOUTHERN COURTYARD (**13**) (fig. 29)

The ample southern courtyard (**13**), referred to in the 1930s as 'Prince Edward's court' (fig. 29), was defined by ranges of buildings on all four sides. The buildings on the north side (**11b**,

IId and **IIf**) have been described above (pp. 114–16). The east side was bounded by a room or rooms (**I3a**) aligned on a north–south axis with the northern cellar room (**I2c**). The west side of this courtyard comprised a suite of rooms described as the Alexander chamber (**I3b**); while to the south the range consisted of a complex of buildings the exact plan, nature and sequence of which are only partly known (**I3c**, **I3d**, **I3e**, **I3f** and **I3g**).

The eastern range (**I3a**, and a possible building or pentice to its immediate south) does not seem to have been fully explored in the excavations of the 1930s. The plans indicate a narrow building or walkway along the greater part of this side, but further buildings may have existed westwards into the courtyard. At the northern end there was a small rectangular building aligned north–south (**I3a**) which adjoined **IIf**. We do not know whether this building abutted, was butted by, or was bonded in with the larger building to its north (**IIf**). The excavators assumed that these two buildings in the north-east corner of the court and adjacent to ‘La Roche’ were two buildings constructed in 1253–4 (p. 28), but there is no positive architectural or archaeological evidence to verify this theory, especially as these documentary references may be to buildings over the wine cellars (**I2c** and **I2d**).

The ?chamber of Alexander (I3b)

The west side of this courtyard was demarcated by a large and impressive rectangular building (**I3b**) often referred to as the ‘chamber of Alexander’. This area, in which the initial discovery of part of this building was made, was known as site four. Site four was first investigated in the very early stages of the excavation in April 1933 and the shape of the chamber is delineated on the plan of work carried out in 1933 (Correspondence, 1933). A brief description of the chamber is to be found in the interim report (Borenius and Charlton 1936, 76). Overall the building consisted of a large rectangular room or hall approximately 50 ft. long by 20 ft. wide (15·24 by 6·11 m.), with a small lobby extending another 10 ft. (3·05 m.) to the south. The large room was initially described as ‘of simple character’ (Borenius 1933, 18). The walls were of flint rubble with stone facings which, to judge from the fragments of wall plaster found lying amongst the remains of the walls, were painted with red false jointing on a white background, similar to that found elsewhere at Clarendon, for example in the queen’s apartments (**I0a**), and in the western ante-chamber of the Antioch chamber (**8**) (above, pp. 108, 111). At least one fragment of false jointing which had become detached from its original position was recovered from the fill of the room (below, pp. 251, 254).

In April 1933 it was realized that the larger room contained a substantial wall fireplace (Correspondence, April 1933). The fireplace was undoubtedly in the eastern wall of the chamber, but its precise position in the wall is not certain. Most likely it was slightly to the south of the centre and about 25 ft. (7·62 m.) from the extreme southern end of the whole building. The fireplace had a semi-circular curved back composed of tiles set in herringbone fashion enclosed at the sides by ashlar. This may, then, be a fireplace which appears in the photographic records, which clearly has a brick hearth. The excavators noted that the wall in which this fireplace was set showed signs of rebuilding and repair and thus it is very probable that the fireplace was a later insertion. Access to building **I3b** seems to have been from the north and from the south via the southern courtyard (**I3**); there appears to have been no access from the great courtyard (**6**) to the west (figs. 29 and 30). The position of the northern doorway is not clearly established: on some plans it is shown in the north-east corner (e.g. fig. 7,

Borenus 1943), while on others it is placed centrally in the north wall (fig. 9, Pevsner 1937 and Charlton, unpublished plans). The positions of the southern doorways are more certain. Access here was from the southern court (13), which leads into the junction of the larger and smaller rooms, while another doorway leads from the southern room towards the south. The southern lobby, which may be an ante-room or service bay, is shown on an unpublished plan as being further subdivided by a north-south cross-wall. Little is known of the construction

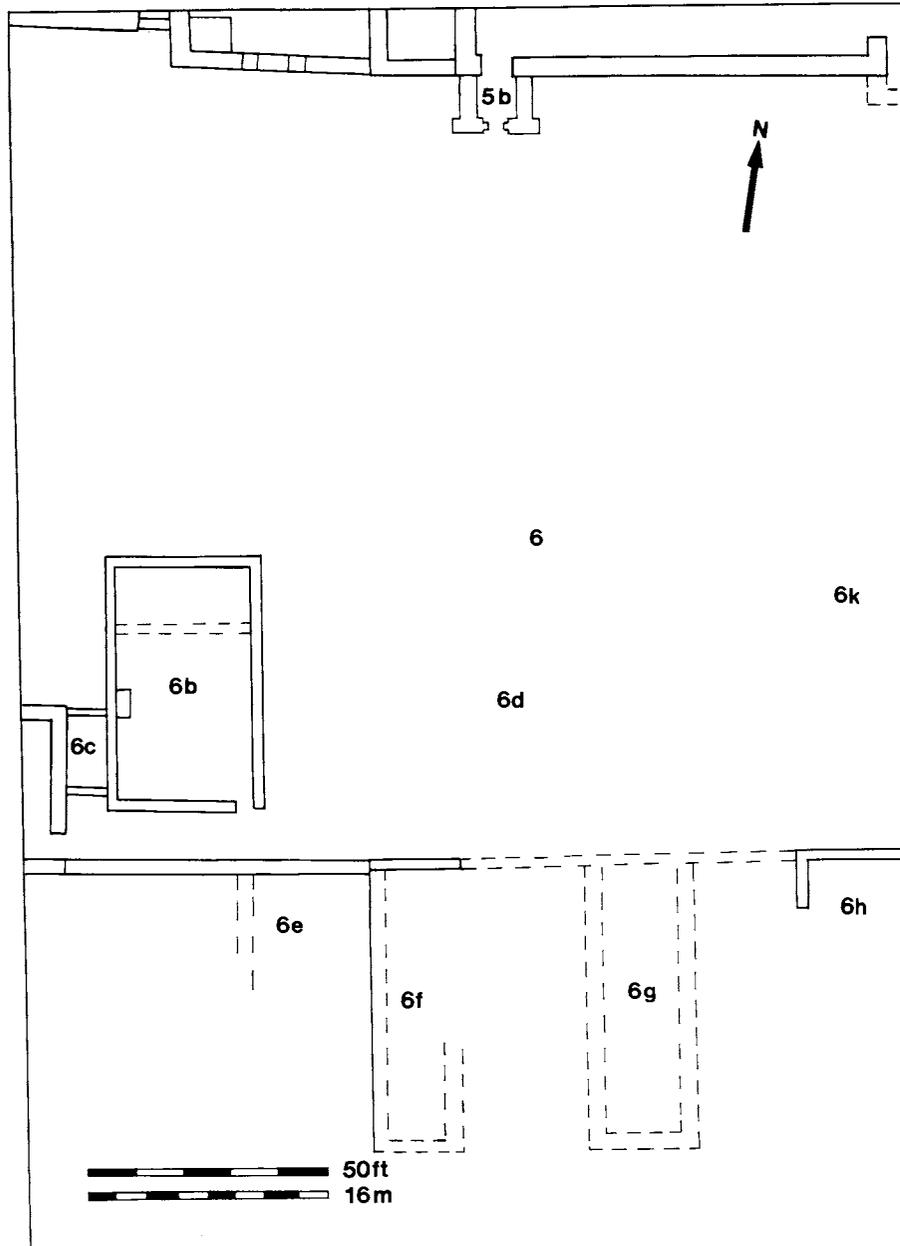


FIG. 30. Composite plan of eastern area of great courtyard (6) (1:500)

date, sequence of use, later rebuilding or function of this building, but judging by its size and plan it was clearly of some importance. On structural grounds it would seem likely that the small chamber to the south was not integral with the original building, as the south-east corner of such a building would have been very weak.

The south side of this courtyard (**13**) is part of a long range forming the south side of the great courtyard (**6**) to its west (**6h** and **6i**) and continuing to the east behind the back of the cellar range (**12d**) and then along the southern side of the presumed outer or forest court (**15**). The plans do not agree on the position and orientation of these buildings especially those along the south side of the southern courtyard (**13d**, **13e** and **13f**) which are contiguous with those to the south of the great courtyard (**6h** and **6i**). In general this range (**6h** and **6i**) is shown as being on a slightly different axis from the west and east ranges of the southern court (**13d**, **13e** and **13f**) (e.g. Borenius 1943; Colvin *et al.* 1963; figs. 7, 10), although it is shown square to the other ranges in the Pevsner plan (fig. 9). There is a marked difference between the excavators' plan (e.g. fig. 7, Borenius 1943) and that drawn up by the RCHM (fig. 12). This is a difference in both the orientation and the exact positioning of individual buildings of this range which it is not possible to reconcile. Because of the dense tree cover, surveying at Clarendon has always been very hazardous. The kind of discrepancy described here has encouraged the present authors to republish the sequence of plans published in a small scale by Mrs Eames and to include new evidence such as that found on the RCHM plan (Eames 1965; see above, p. 66).

At the western end and due south of building **13b**, now known as the chamber of Alexander, there were, according to the 1930s excavators, surface indications of at least the south and west sides of a square building (**6j**) (Borenius 1943). Structure **6j** was in the same orientation as the southern range (**13c**), but is askew to the other buildings round the court and to the cellar block (**11f**, **12c**, **12d** and **13b**). It would be very valuable to know the relationship of this building to the wall which extends southwards from building **13b**, since this might elucidate the sequence of construction and plan of the whole palace complex. Some work was carried out south of **13b** in September 1937, or September 1938. This revealed 'a few extra walls' (Correspondence, 1937/1938; see above, p. 115).

Structure **13c** would appear to be one of the principal rooms of this part of the palace. It was a long, rectangular structure oriented east-west and approximately 13 ft. by 43 ft. (3.96 by 13.1 m.). In the notebooks it is described as a well-constructed building made of flint with plastered walls, which contained 'some painted and plastered stonework'. A number of observations indicate that evidence from a variety of different periods was found. An ashlar basement with fragments of carved ornament was thought to belong to the twelfth century. At a date later than the original construction, and probably in the thirteenth century, the floor was tiled. A fireplace found in a central position in the north wall was thought to have been inserted at the same time as the floor (Charlton 1938, 7). The 1936 notebook records that 'our excavation of it was postponed by the need for completing the examination of the brickwork', presumably a reference to the abandonment of work on **13c** in order to complete work on the brick building (**11d**), which was under investigation in 1936 (Charlton, Notebooks). There were two doorways in **13c**, one in the north-west corner of the west wall and one diagonally opposite in the south-east corner of the east wall.

The 1943 plan (fig. 7) also shows two considerable post-pits or post-holes at the east end of the building. There is no written description of these, nor any other reference to them, but they

may have supported a partition wall which screened off a passage or an ante-room. This building is large and substantial, probably a hall structure, but its exact function and date are unknown. This kind of structure, furnishing and orientation could lead to the hypothesis that this might have been the All Saints chapel referred to in documentary sources. Internally the existence of post-holes towards the east end might support this theory, although the existence of a fireplace militates against such an interpretation.

Immediately to the south of this building was a small structure made of good knapped flint (**13d**). This building was later than that to its north, its walls being built up against the south wall of the latter. The side walls were not very deep. They cut into, but not through, an underlying rubbish layer. This rubbish dump had been piled up against the south walls of building **13d** and included bones and late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century pottery. The dump was not only cut by the wall of the later structure, but was also sealed by a rough floor of chalky earth. The excavators felt that the later building (**13d**) must date to the fourteenth century, which seems to be highly probable (Charlton 1938, 7).

Various previously unpublished plans, for example Borenius's plan of 1943, as well as Colvin's plan and that drawn up by the RCHM (figs. 7, 10, 12), all show a long narrow east-west building (**13f**) to the south of the southern room of the cellar complex (**12d**). There is disagreement between the plans as to how far south of the cellar complex this lies, but it would seem to belong to the southern range of the courtyard (**13**) continuing the line of building **13e**. The RCHM plan is particularly noteworthy, for it indicates a very different orientation for building **13f** from others in this southern range, although this exceptional alignment does not appear on any other plan. It does not appear to line up obviously with any buildings in the Clarendon complex, although it most nearly aligns with certain parts of the north range, for example **4k**, the salsary. There are no surviving written descriptions of building **13f**, which was presumably excavated at a late stage in the excavation programme, although there are two photographs which would seem to be of this structure (pl. XLIV*a-b*). One sketch plan shows it to have a doorway in the north-west corner. Madame Borenius despaired of ever finding a solution to the layout of this area of the site (Mrs Eames, pers. comm.).

There are hints of a number of other buildings in the south range, most of which were observed as surface indications by the excavators. There is one (**6i**) to the west of building **13d** and another apparently to the east of the same building (**13e**). Building **13e** appears to have existed adjacent to buildings **13d** and **13f**. The size and orientation of the building postulated in this position are contentious because of the uncertain position of building **13f** (above, p. 121).

THE SOUTH-EAST AREA (**14** to **17**) (fig. 31; pls. XLV, XLVI)

In the south-eastern part of the site is an area (**14** and **15**) which has never been afforded much attention. To the south it is bounded by a complex of earthworks and perimeter features (**1d** and **1e**), some of which were investigated in 1961. The area was not explored in any detail by Borenius and Charlton. Reporting on the 1937 season, Charlton noted that the south-east part of the site was least overgrown, as is borne out by contemporary aerial photographs. Indeed, it was open downland. Little seems to have been found in this area by other Clarendon explorers. The area is largely blank on the Colt Hoare and Phillipps plans, apart from structures (**15**)

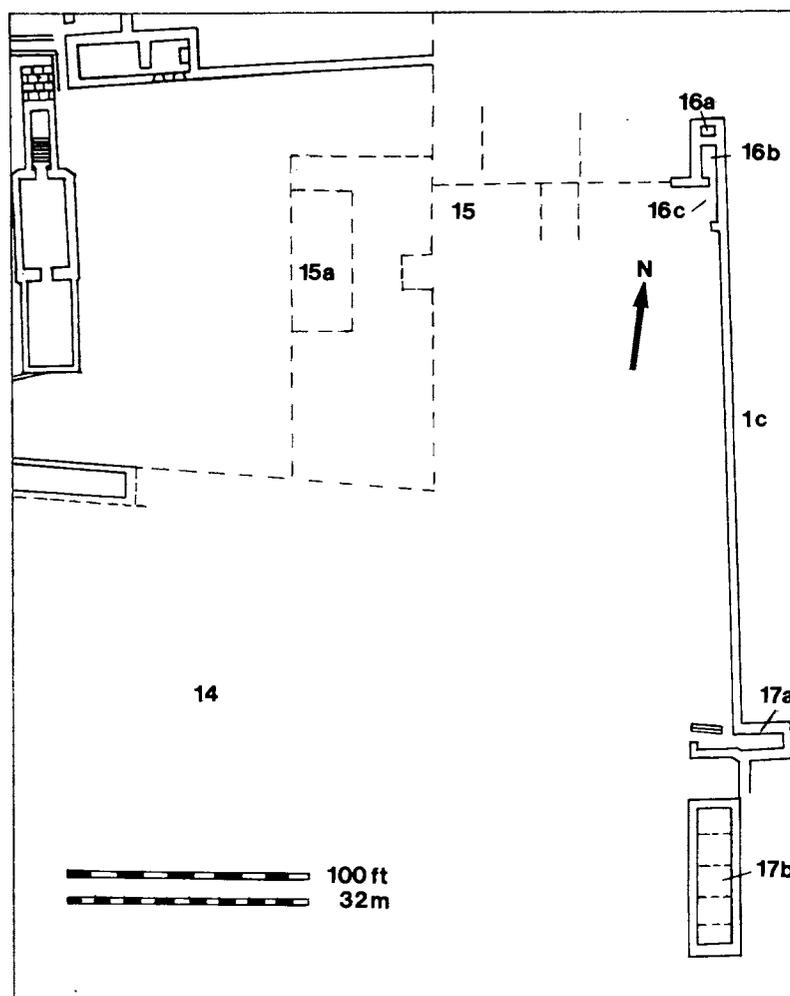


FIG. 31. Composite plan of the south-eastern area of the site (I5, I6, I7)
(1:500)

referred to below and those subsequently investigated on the eastern perimeter (I6 and I7). The whole area is somewhat ambiguously shown on a number of plans as a 'court' and is marked as such by Pevsner (1937). Some plans show the more northerly blank space as the queen's court (I5) and that to the south-east bounded by the perimeter feature I6 as the forest or outer court (I4). From various documentary references one might expect further courts and it is likely that at least part of this area did form part of a series of courts. The excavation evidence is not conclusive as the area was never fully investigated. There are strong hints in the documentary record that buildings were located in this area (above, pp. 28-9).

The north-south range between cellar and eastern perimeter (I5a)

There is some evidence to suggest that there were structures (I5a) on a north-south alignment located in a central position in this area. They are shown on the Colt Hoare and

Phillipps plans and also appear as surface indications on the plans arising from the 1930s excavations (Borenus 1943). No surviving excavation records suggest that work on any scale has ever been undertaken in this area apart from the investigation of a small area east of the cellar (**12**) and south-east of the queen's apartments (**10c** and **10d**). In 1939 a trench running south-east from the queen's apartments was dug, but no building foundations were detected in this trenching. However, surface indications suggest that work was undertaken at some period on this part of the site. The most recent survey, by the RCHM, shows quite a considerable range of walls in this area (fig. 12; pl. XLVa). What seems certain is that this area was being investigated right at the close of the excavations in 1939 when war broke out and put an end to work. Reports in the local papers in August 1939 sketch in the background to this activity. A series of small rooms intersected by small passages was found. These had in one place an enormous fireplace some 39 ft. (11.9 m.) wide, and there is a suggestion in one local paper, but not in the other, that a flight of stone steps was found. It was further suggested that substantial walling found in this area was remains associated with the queen's tower, referred to in documentary sources (*SWJ* and *ST*, 18, 25 August 1939). If Mrs Eames is right (pp. 19–20) about the queen's tower being the garderobe tower (**10f**), to the north-west of her suite, then it may perhaps be suggested that the excavators were possibly in the prison area of the site in August 1939, particularly in view of the substantial remains now to be seen, as the unavoidable hasty abandonment of the site did not permit backfilling in area **15**. The very large fireplace in this area may well be a reference to **16b** and **16c**, which lay adjacent to this area and which were already known from work in 1933. The end of the last of the whole series of newspaper reports states that the intention of the excavators was to uncover the rest of the range, presumably in the area from **15** to **16**, in the following week, before the open day scheduled for 2 September. No further reports were published because of the impending outbreak of war, and on Friday 8 September both papers reported that excavations at Clarendon were being abandoned 'this weekend' owing to the war.

The eastern perimeter buildings (16) (fig. 31; pls. XLVb, XLVI)

Along the eastern edge of the site the perimeter wall (**1c**), with ranges of associated buildings, attracted attention both in the 1930s and in the 1960s excavation programmes. Two groups of buildings, **16** and **17**, were investigated at an early stage in the excavations in 1933. The intention in undertaking work on its eastern extremity was to try to delimit the eastern extent of the site. Range **16**, for example, was not shown on Colt Hoare's plan. The Borenus family worked in this area. The results are published in the interim report (Notebooks; Correspondence, 1933; Borenus and Charlton, 1936, 76–8). The northern group (**16a**, **16b** and **16c**) consisted of two buildings of which the southern was the larger and was described as being 'L' shaped, although in reality the southern building (**16c**) is a rectangular room oriented east–west, lying south of and at right-angles to a northern building which is on a north–south axis. This northerly building was divided into two rooms (**16a** and **16b**). The southern rectangular building (**16c**) had four fireplaces, one in the north wall which was considered to have been inserted at a later date, and the other three set in the east wall. The eastern fireplaces comprised 'two circular ovens made of tiles' and a large hearth built of tiles set on edge. These fireplaces and the circular oven are well covered in the photographic record (pl. XLVIa–b). The walls were presumably built of flint, chalk and mortar, while the floor was

'of tough brown clay' which had been kept comparatively clean and produced few pottery fragments or other finds. The excavators identified this building as a bakehouse or kitchen, on the basis of the fireplace evidence. There is no conclusive dating evidence for this structure, so it is difficult to assign it to a particular phase or period. It is also unknown if the building was altered or rebuilt and in particular whether the fireplaces or ovens were in use at the same time.

The southern building (**16c**), ranged east–west, connects with one to its north (**16b**) ranged north–south. The southern door of this building was rebuilt at the same level as the building described above and the excavators were of the opinion that **16b** was also used as part of a bakehouse or kitchen. In common with other structures at Clarendon **16b** was built of rough dressed flints with occasional stone blocks.

To the north of **16b** was a small room 7 ft. by 5 ft. 6 in. (2.23 by 1.67 m.), built of similar materials. This is **16a**, which had walls surviving to between 4 and 6 ft. (1.22 and 1.83 m.) high. The floor of this building was considerably lower, giving the appearance of a range of terraced buildings. There was no apparent interconnection between **16a** and **16b**. The only means of access to **16a** was through a small pointed opening 2 ft. 6 in. high and 1 ft. 9 in. wide (0.86 by 0.54 m.), set in the north wall. The existence of this pointed feature, which was discovered very early in 1933, led the excavators to dub the range 'the Gothic Suite' (pls. XLVb, XLVIc). The aperture had well-dressed ashlar surrounds, which were later compared to the ashlar work of the buttress at the north-west corner of the north kitchen (**4e**). The range as a whole, and this building in particular, feature prominently in the photographic record. Charlton has argued that the opening was a hatch through which midden rubbish was thrown. This was certainly the case at one stage, as the contents showed, but whether this was the original purpose is unknown. It is noteworthy that this access is in the north wall, as it implies further building activity to the north. Internally there was a considerable amount of stratigraphic evidence. The lowest floor level was covered in nearly 2 ft. (0.61 m.) of kitchen refuse consisting of soot, dirt, bones and potsherds, most of which were thought to date to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (pl. XLVIc). Above this was a layer containing quantities of charcoal and broken roof tiles and fragments of 'massive' ridge tiles, identified as dating from the demolition phase of the building. The northern room at least seems to have been in use in the late fourteenth and /or the early fifteenth centuries. The earlier history of building **16a** and its functional relationship to other buildings to the south is unknown. From this eastern area came two unstratified coins, one of Edward II from inside the building, and one of Robert II of Scotland from outside the building (Charlton, Notebooks; Correspondence, 1933; see p. 198).

The south-eastern buildings (17) (fig. 31)

About 210 ft. (64 m.) further south along the perimeter wall (**1c**) Borenus and Charlton investigated another two structures (**17a** and **17b**) which formed an integral group in the extreme south-east corner. In both cases only the foundations made of reused stone masonry, tile and flint were found. This led the excavators to the conclusion that the original buildings were half-timbered. The most northerly (**17a**) of the two was a structure oriented east–west, described as a long narrow shed, which the plan shows as lying across the perimeter wall so that its eastern end extends beyond that wall (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 77). The construction relationship between the two structures is unknown. A short distance to the south

was a much larger building (**17b**) measuring approximately 60 by 21 ft. (18.29 by 6.40 m.). This structure lay north–south along and inside the perimeter wall and appeared to have internal divisions providing five bays. The excavators identified it as a barn and dated it to the period ‘of Edward III or later’. Although the basis of this dating is unclear, it is quite probable that these were farm buildings incorporating a barn.

Finds from the area of these buildings during the excavation in 1961 led by John Musty reinforce the view that these were utility buildings. In particular the recovery of stone slates, often associated with utility buildings, is helpful here (p. 249).

PART III
THE TILE KILN AND FLOOR TILES

By Elizabeth Eames

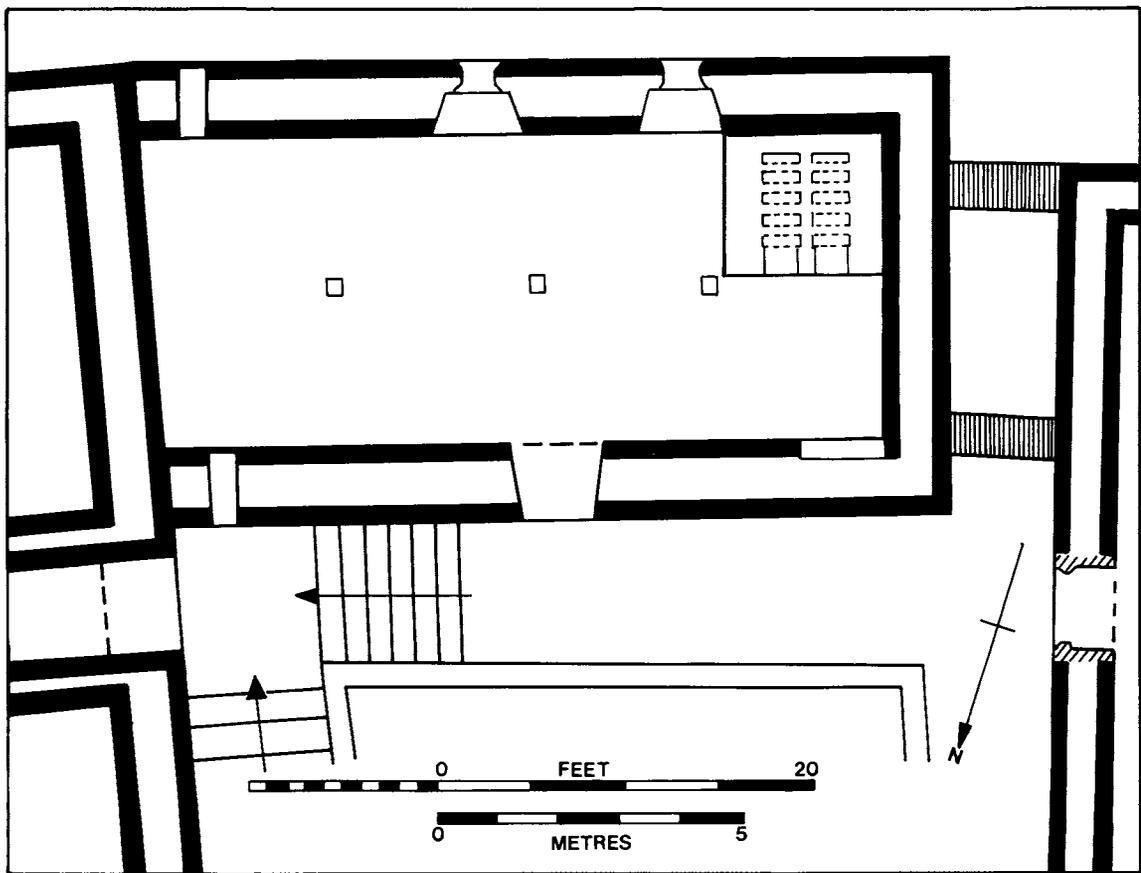
INTRODUCTION

THE avowed intention of the excavation of the site of Clarendon Palace under the supervision of Sir Thomas Phillipps in 1821 was to discover the plan of the buildings so that Sir Richard Colt Hoare could include it in his *History of Modern Wiltshire*. Almost the only discovery, other than the plan, commented on by Sir Richard Colt Hoare in his very brief account of this major disturbance of the site was the finding of tile pavements. Dr Borenius certainly hoped that, during the excavations of the 1930s, some physical remains of the rich decoration of the palace known from the documentation to have been carried out in the thirteenth century would be found. Architectural sculptured stone, painted plaster, painted glass and gilded lead were recovered, but in disappointingly small quantities, and it was the decorated tiles that contributed most physical evidence of the decoration of the buildings.

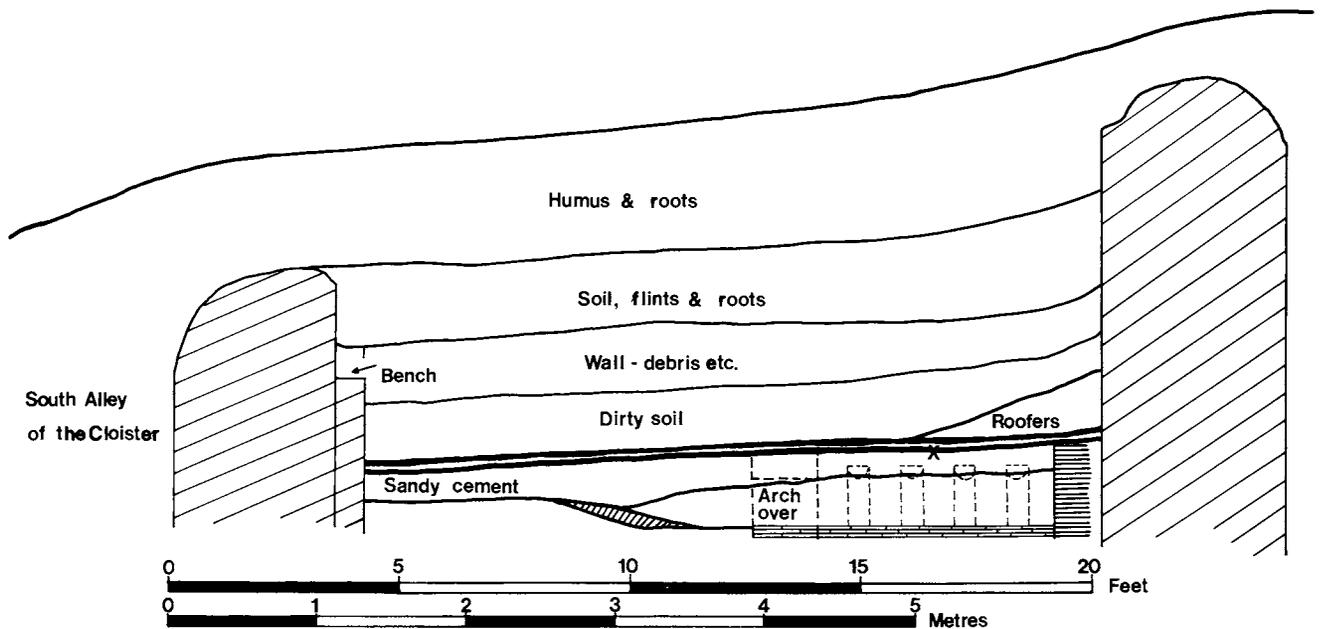
The loss of tiles that had taken place between the 1820s and the 1930s was considerable and, of the pavements mentioned by Colt Hoare, only part of one and a few tiles in two others remained *in situ*, although large numbers of loose tiles were found. On the positive side, two heaps of waste tiles and the remains of a kiln (4l) that had not been found in the 1820s were found in the 1930s and the kiln was excavated. The great importance of these tile finds at Clarendon is that many of them can be related to surviving contemporary documentation which includes both orders and payments for tile paving. Such paving was one of the many improvements carried out in royal buildings after Henry III's marriage to Eleanor of Provence in 1236. My dating of the pavements, kiln and other tiles found at Clarendon is based on the identification of the buildings that is discussed in Appendix I (pp. 160–5).

THE TILE KILN (4l) (figs. 32–9; pls. XLVII–LII)

During the excavations of 1934 a heap of waste decorated floor tiles was found in the area of the great court (6) immediately outside the south-west corner of the salsary (4k). The position of the waste tiles was marked by John Charlton on a rough draft plan, here redrawn as fig. 32A. This was south-west of the south-west corner of the salsary in the top right corner. The waste tiles led the excavators to suspect the presence of a kiln in the vicinity and it was found under the floor inside the south-west corner of the salsary in 1937. Its relationship in plan to the building above is shown on Charlton's plan (fig. 32A). Before the salsary was built over the site



A



B

FIG. 32. A. Charlton's plan of the south part of the kitchen court, 1937, showing the position of the tile kiln (4l) under the salsary (4k). The east wall and door of King John's kitchen (4h) are on the right. The heap of waste tiles found in 1934 was at the top right outside the building. The two hatched walls between the salsary and the kitchen blocking the passage between the great court and the kitchen court were much later additions. (1:125). B. Charlton's section through the salsary and tile kiln, 1937. The double black line over the kiln represents the double layers of the salsary floor. The cross marks the findspot of the pot fragment (fig. 62). The great court (6) lay to the right and the kitchen court (4a) to the left. (1:50)

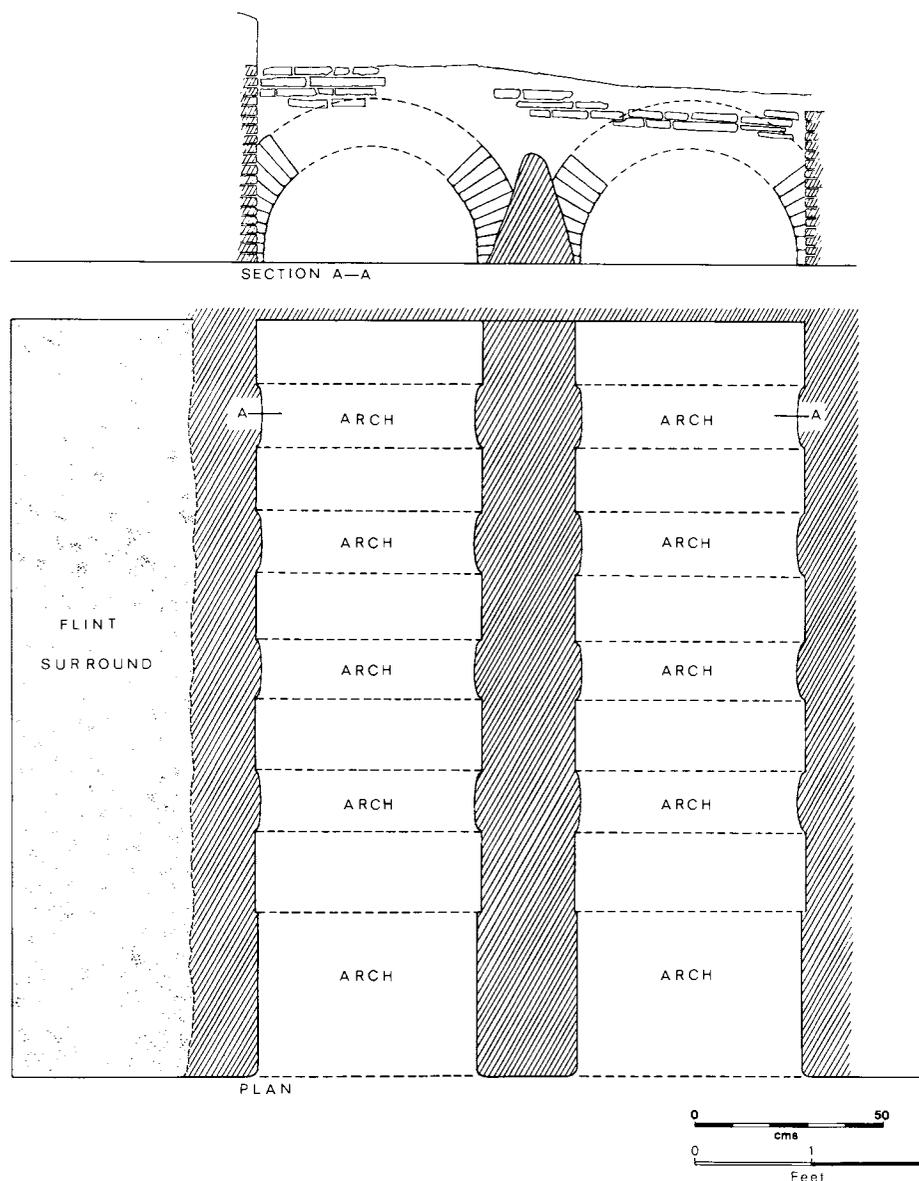


FIG. 33. Charlton's schematic plan and elevation of the tile kiln, 1937 (1:20)

of the kiln, the oven, oven floor and the arches over the fire-boxes and furnace chambers were demolished and the flues of the furnace were filled with debris (this information was supplied verbally by the late Madame A-M. Borenius). The stoke-pit was excavated first. Charlton recorded a step or bench along the rear of the stoke-pit against the north wall of the salsary, shown in his section across the building (fig. 32B). His schematic plan and elevation, drawn after the excavation of the kiln was completed, are reproduced here (fig. 33) and a model based on this plan and elevation, constructed in the British Museum, is illustrated in Eames 1968, pl. xv. Plates XLVIIa to XLVIIIb show the kiln during and after its excavation in 1937.

Charlton's description of the kiln, given in an unpublished report delivered to the Society of Antiquaries in 1938, runs as follows:

The tile kiln is situated in the s.w. corner of the basement of the Salsary. The surviving portion comprises a firing-chamber, the most important part, and a little of the super-structure.

The kiln is of brick and tile, enclosed in flint work, the total thickness of the wall being two feet. The interior of the firing-chamber measures 5 ft. 2 in. (N to S) by 4 ft. 10 in. and is divided lengthwise by a low tile party wall with sloping sides. Both of the compartments thus formed have a round-headed entrance archway 1 ft. 11 in. wide through which the fuel was thrust; the outer angle of these arches is round, the inner one square. The compartments themselves are divided into five bays by stilted semi-circular brick arches built of semi-circular brick voussoirs about one and a quarter inches thick. The adhesive material used was pug, a mixture of brick earth which would harden when the kiln was fired. The side walls were of ordinary roofing tiles, laid with very wide joints to allow for torsion during firing. The floor was also of tiles, laid three tiles thick, with staggered joints and a liberal allowance of pug between each layer . . . The ground gradually sloped down to the entrance archways as shown in the section. In the N. wall opposite this sloping area there is a small tiled shelf 5 ft. long and 1 ft. deep which is probably associated with some of the processes of the kiln . . .

Charlton's report also records that there were tile wasters as well as demolished structural material in the fill of the furnace of the kiln. As this was a sealed context, undisturbed since the salsary was built, it is unfortunate that no exact record of the material found survives. Most of the structural remains found in the furnace were kept at Clarendon and on the outbreak of war they were stored in a barn from which at some time they disappeared.

Aerial photographs of the excavations show that after the kiln had been investigated it was covered with corrugated iron. On the outbreak of war in 1939 this was removed and the kiln was very carefully filled with sawdust and covered with corrugated iron carried on concrete baulks.

During the winters in the 1930s Madame Borenius worked in the British Museum on the tile finds from the previous season's excavations and much of this material remained in store there during the war. She made an illustrated list of designs on the waste tiles found in the kiln and from this and the waste tiles present in the Museum store it has been possible to compile a fuller list of designs known to have been used on the tiles fired in the kiln (Eames 1980, i, 742).

In 1956 Major S.V. Christie-Miller gave the material from the excavations that was still in store in the British Museum to the British Museum, which retained the pottery and tiles, and to the Salisbury Museum, which took the stone and metalwork from the 1930s excavations. At the same time he offered to give the remains both of the tile kiln and the tile pavement in the queen's chamber to the British Museum because both were suffering damage. The Trustees of the British Museum accepted the gift of the pavement, but were unable to accept the gift of the kiln because of lack of accommodation.

In 1957, International Geophysical Year, a team from Oxford University working on the variations in the earth's magnetic field, took samples from the Clarendon kiln for use in their investigations, which required burnt clay that had not been moved since it was fired. The

method used was in its experimental stages and unfortunately some prefired material was included in the sample. This probably accounted for the random readings obtained, which were grouped as Class C, of doubtful reliability, when they were published in 1962 (Aitken and Weaver 1962).

In 1964 the writer obtained permission to reopen the site so that new photographs and measured drawings could be made, to provide an accurate record of the size and shape of the remains of the kiln. The damp weather experienced while this work was taking place revealed that the inner part of the voussoirs forming the springers of the arches over the furnace chambers farthest from the fires had never been hot enough to form a ceramic and, although fully oxidized, they were still plastic. As a result of this discovery and the obvious deterioration of the kiln since it was first excavated (pls. XLIX*a-b*, LII*a*), a meeting was held on the site attended by Major Christie-Miller and representatives of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Salisbury Museum and the British Museum. It was decided the kiln could not be conserved *in situ* and it was hoped that it could be lifted successfully and taken either to Salisbury Museum or to the British Museum.

Members of the staff of the British Museum Research Laboratory visited the site and devised a method for lifting the kiln, but they advised that after it had been lifted it must be kept indoors. Salisbury Museum was unable to provide indoor storage, so the gift of the kiln was accepted by the British Museum. Funds were immediately made available and the kiln remains were lifted during August of that year by Peter van Geersdaele, Nigel Williams and the writer with the help of labour from the Inspectorate's workforce at Old Sarum and local volunteers. After it was lifted it was taken to temporary storage in the British Museum.

The front of the furnace area consisted of two parallel fire-boxes constructed entirely of large, specially made ceramic slabs and voussoirs, none of them apparently pre-fired. These fire-boxes led into two parallel furnace chambers separated by a spine wall. This and the side walls of the furnace chambers were built of ordinary pre-fired roof tiles, broken to size, interrupted by the springers of the four arches that spanned each furnace chamber (pls. XLVII*a*–XLIX). The whole structure was floored with pre-fired roof tiles broken into rough squares. The accurate dimensions of the structure are shown on the plan and sections drawn in 1964, here reproduced as figs. 34–5.

During the firing the burning fuel was kept within the fire-boxes to allow for free circulation of the hot gases in the furnace chambers. The lengths of spine wall between the arches were angled in to end *c.* 6 in. (15 cm.) below the top of the arches, thus allowing equalization of pressure and temperature between the two furnace chambers (fig. 33, elevation). The spandrels of the arches spanning these chambers were built up with pieces of roof tile pugged with clay to form a flat top. A small amount of this material remained in position behind springer 2 on fig. 36. The oven floor rested on the flat top of the arches and was composed of four or five rows of roof tiles three tiles thick running parallel to the sides of the kiln. The width of the gaps between these rows is not known. Portions of this oven floor found in the 1930s were in store in the British Museum. They included a few thicker slabs among the roof tiles and demonstrated that oblong ceramic slabs were placed on one long edge across the oven floor at right-angles to the sides of the kiln, forming a base layer in the oven above which the tiles to be fired were stacked on edge in tiers (pl. L*c*). Such kilns had no gate in the oven and no permanent roof. The known evidence pointed to this when the Clarendon kiln was lifted and

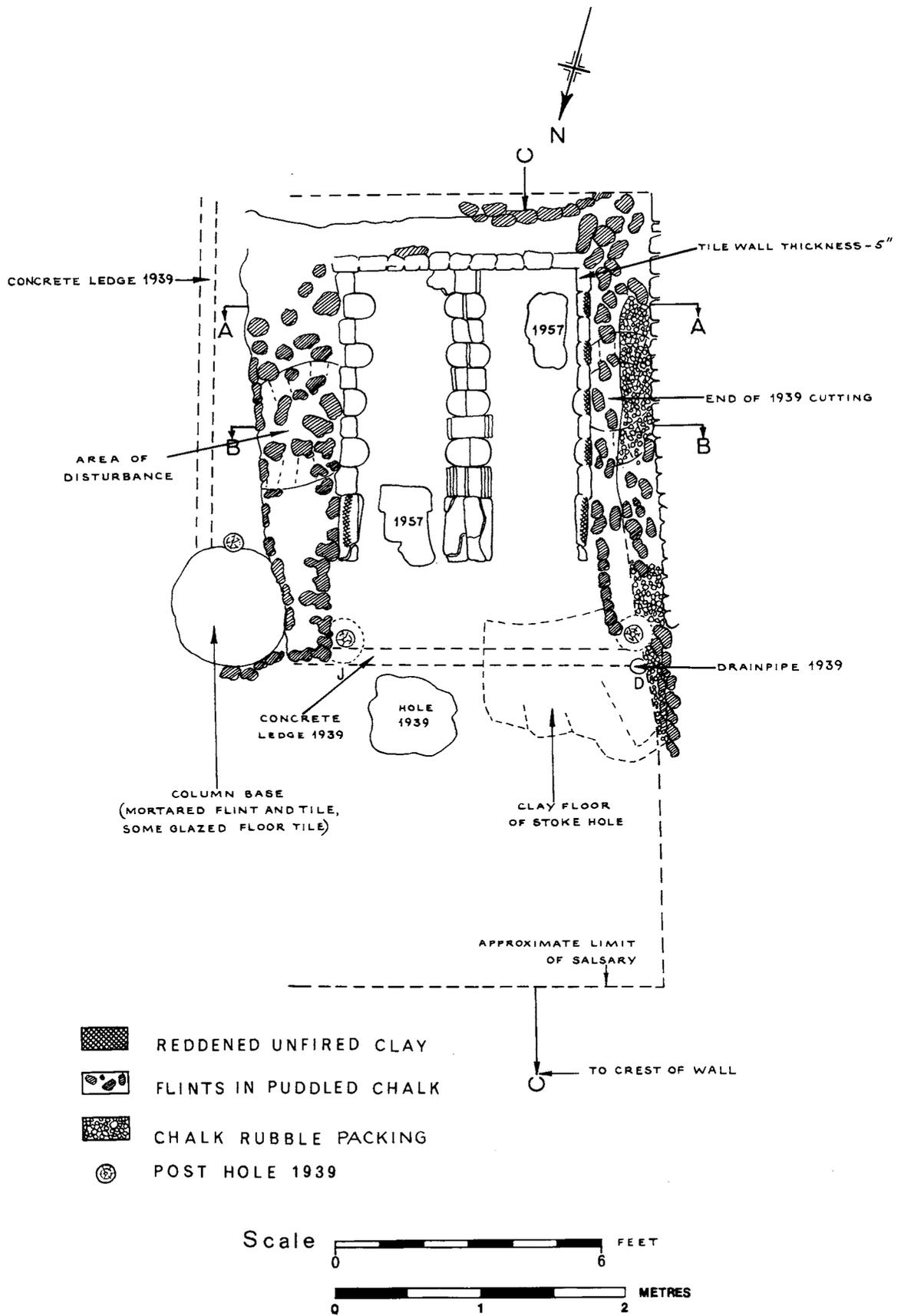


FIG. 34. Measured plan of the kiln drawn by David Algar, 1964 (1:40)
 Copyright: British Museum

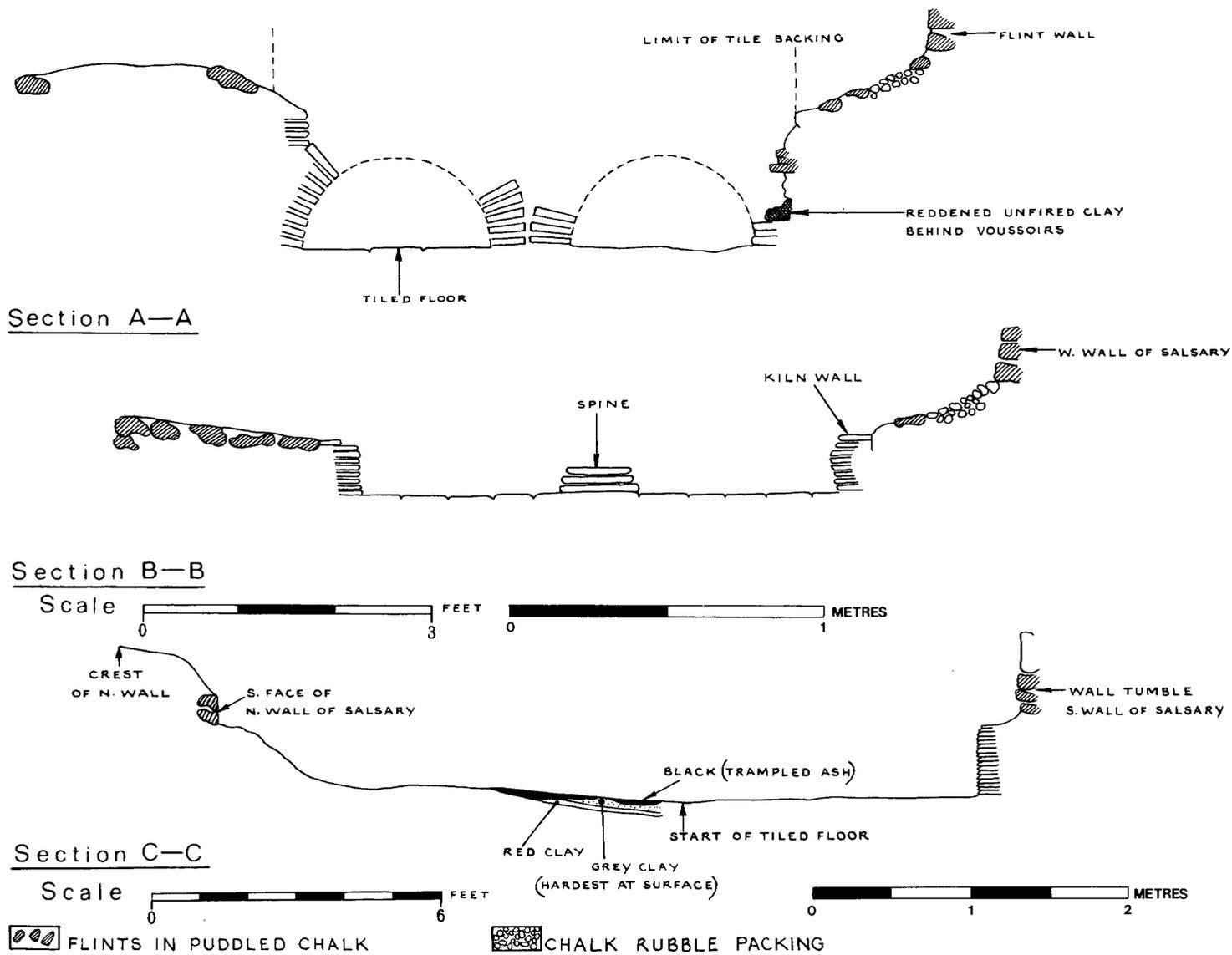


FIG. 35. Measured sections through the kiln drawn by David Algar, 1964: A—A through the fire-boxes; B—B across the furnace chambers; C—C across the width of the salsary through the west furnace chamber and fire-box

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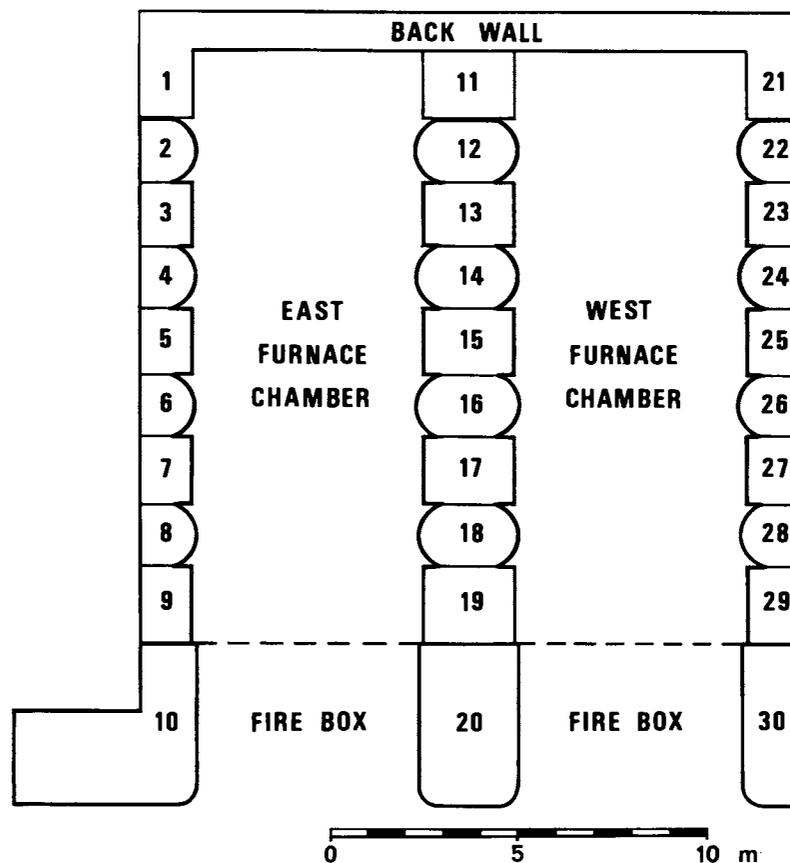


FIG. 36. Schematic plan of the tile kiln with the sections numbered in preparation for the lifting of the kiln (1:200)

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the excavation at Danbury in Essex (Drury and Pratt 1975, 92–164 and pls. XI–XII; Eames 1985, fig. 6) of a more complete kiln with oven walls standing almost a metre high furnished positive proof. The stacks of tiles were carried up to the height of the top of the oven wall and a temporary roof of pre-fired tiles was constructed over them (Eames 1980, I, 25–6). Selected examples of structural components are illustrated on pl. L.

The methods used to lift and conserve the kiln have been described in detail elsewhere (van Geersdaele and Davison 1975, 158–68). Briefly, it was lifted in sections, numbered as on the plan (fig. 36). Each section was enclosed in a sheet aluminium and plaster box on which compass bearings and the section number were scored in the plaster before it set. In order to release each section when it was to be boxed, all the decayed clay pugging between it and its neighbour was removed. First the roof tiles paving the furnace were planned, numbered and lifted, then the walls of the fire-boxes were boxed and removed, followed by the sections of the spine wall and then of the side walls.

When these had been removed it was found that the last sections of the two side walls (fig.

36, 1 and 21) were bonded into the back wall. It was decided not to separate them, but to lift them in one piece with the rear wall. The whole was wrapped in polythene sheet, encased in wooden shuttering and plastered. The freeing and removal of this heavy package presented difficulties which were resolved through the generosity of Major Christie-Miller, whose estate foreman led a work team that succeeded in levering the package out of the ruined building and on to a fork-lift attached to a tractor which hauled it up to the road (pl. LI*b*).

Only the tile-built part of the kiln structure was removed. Immediately behind this the interstices between the irregularly broken backs of the roof tiles lining the furnace were packed with clay into which large flints were rammed end-on, forming a solid bond with the tile walls. Behind the rear of the furnace the gap between this structure and the natural chalk and chalk block wall was packed with wet rammed chalk that had set very hard. On the west side the flint supporting wall was wider (fig. 34) and wet chalk had been rammed between that and a mortared flint wall that ran parallel to the kiln, forming the outermost part of the structure on the west. It formed the west wall of the stoke-pit where its flints were reddened by fire, demonstrating that it was in existence during the life of the kiln. It was probably constructed to retain the kiln firmly on that side and leave free access for passage from the great court (6) to the door of King John's kitchen (figs. 32*A* and 10). The west wall of the salsary was built over it.

The retaining structure on the east of the kiln was wider (fig. 34). The tile lining of the furnace was backed by clay with flints rammed into it; behind that, flints had been packed in wet chalk and behind that was a wall of chalk blocks, each about 1 ft. (0.3 m.) in all dimensions.

It was not possible to lift any of this retaining structure. Only the flints which formed the front of the stoke-pit immediately outside the fire-boxes and a selection of flints from the side retaining structures were lifted and the broken pieces of roof tile that were lying on the site and had clearly formed part of the tile lining of the kiln were also recovered and removed.

In 1972 the remains of the kiln were conserved and reconstructed by Peter van Geersdaele, Sandra Davison and the writer and placed on exhibition in the Medieval Tile Room in 1973. The methods of conservation and construction have been described in detail elsewhere (van Geersdaele and Davison 1975, 161-7), but may be summarized here.

Each section was removed from its packing and a mould was made from it. The section was then dismantled, all the decayed clay pug was removed and the section was reassembled in its mould with new bonding material. The reassembled tile lining of the kiln was mounted on sections of blockboard so that it could be moved in manageable pieces and if necessary be dismantled. The tiles forming the furnace floor were relaid in their original positions, and the walls flanking the stoke-pit were rebuilt with the original flints. The writer decided that a replica of the retaining walls of the kiln should be constructed. This was made of hollow wooden boxes topped with flints from the site packed in Polyfilla to represent the puddled chalk. Wood ash was used to coat the floor of the stoke-pit. It was decided to leave the east chamber and fire-box exactly as they had been found, but to recreate the arches over the west chamber and fire-box. The necessary voussoirs for the arches were cast in moulds prepared from remaining examples (*ibid.*, 165). The pieces of roof tile from the walls recovered from the site were used to build up the spandrels beside the rear arches and pieces of oven floor stored in the British Museum during the war were used to reconstruct a small area of oven floor (pls. La-c, LIIa-b).

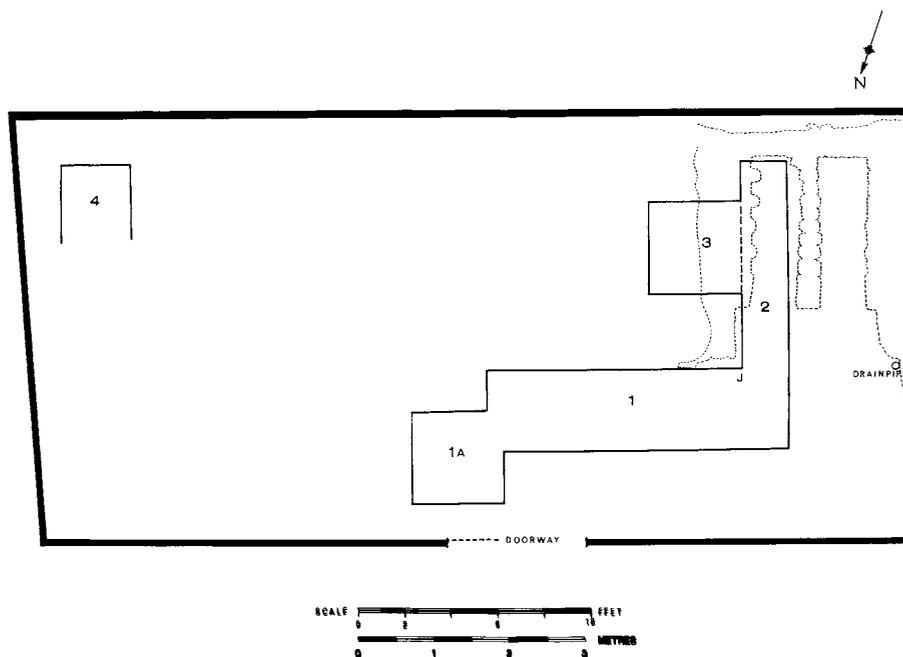


FIG. 37. Plan of the sections excavated in 1965 under the salsary (4k) after the removal of the kiln (4l) (1:100)

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After the kiln had been removed it was decided to conduct further investigations to ascertain the relationship of the kiln to the surrounding contemporary levels. This work was undertaken in 1965 by the writer and John Musty and volunteers from the Salisbury Museum research group. Four sections were excavated (4m) in the positions shown on fig. 37. Section 1 was at right-angles to the front of the furnace. It revealed that the stoke-pit lay directly upon undisturbed natural chalk and immediately east of it the section revealed a V-shaped ditch about 11 ft 10 in. wide and 5 ft. 11 in. deep (3.6 m. wide by 1.8 m. deep) with a rectangular drainage channel in the bottom. It can be seen from the section (fig. 38, section 1) that silting had taken place mainly from the east, suggesting that there had been a bank on that side. The most interesting stratum was composed of buff soil containing charcoal, meat bones (Appendix II, pp. 165–7 below) and sherds of pottery identified by John Musty as a local coarse ware of twelfth-century date (fig. 39). This stratum was sealed by a sterile layer of clay soil and above that a sterile layer of chalk rubble with mortar which might be equated with a major building in the vicinity. In the north-east corner of this section a cavity was encountered and the section was therefore extended so that this could be fully investigated (fig. 37, section 1A). It proved to be a substantial post-hole dug into undisturbed chalk. The fill was sterile dark soil which suggested that the post had rotted in position. It might have been part of a timber structure spanning the ditch between the great hall (5) and King John's kitchen (4h). This could only be determined by more extensive excavation of the area. The presence of such a structure would account for the potsherds and meat bones in the ditch.

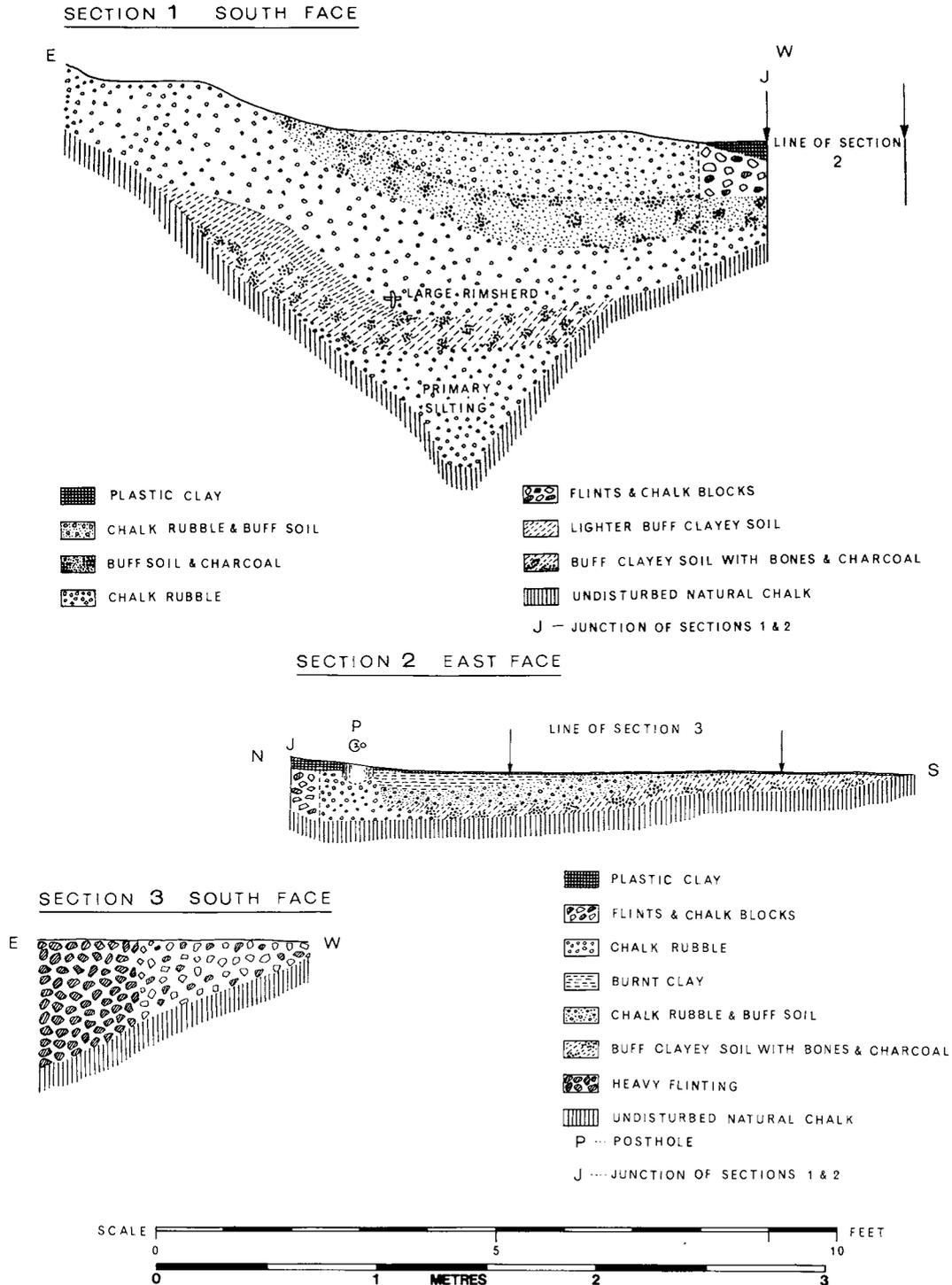


FIG. 38. Sections excavated in 1965 under the salsary (4k) (1:30)

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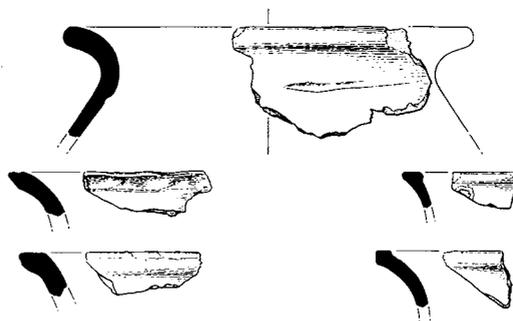


FIG. 39. Rim sherds of pottery recovered from the ditch in section 1, 1965 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

Drawn by J. Farrant (Copyright: British Museum)

Section 2 was set out at right-angles to section 1 in the area formerly occupied by the east side of the kiln (fig. 37, section 2). At its northern end undisturbed natural chalk was found under the surface and this rose gradually towards the south end of the section (fig. 38, section 2). This confirmed John Charlton's observation that the floor of the kiln rose gradually towards the south. It revealed that the ground immediately west of the ditch had been dug down to undisturbed chalk and a slightly sloping platform cut into the side of the hill.

Section 3 at right-angles to section 2, parallel to section 1, revealed that the steep east slope of the ditch had been cleared of silt and the cavity filled with densely packed chalk blocks and large flints (figs. 37, section 3, and 38, section 3).

Section 4 was set out parallel to section 2 inside the east end of the salsary (fig. 37, section 4). Excavation began at the south and almost immediately revealed what appeared to be part of another ditch running at right-angles to the ditch already found. It was not possible to complete this in the time available and the section was therefore abandoned.

Further work in this area is essential before these features can be fully interpreted, but it would seem that a ditch ran north to south between the great hall (5) and King John's kitchen (4h). This could have been a perimeter ditch before that kitchen was built. There was no indication that this part of the ditch had been deliberately filled and it seems probable that when the kitchen was built it was spanned by a timber bridge.

There is no doubt that elaborate preparations were made for the construction of the kiln. This involved cutting into the slope of the ground down to the natural chalk to create a flat platform, and clearing the west side of the ditch to provide a firm base for the solid chalk block and flint foundation of the east retaining structure of the kiln. The fact that this lay over made ground accounts for the additional width and strength of the retaining wall at that side. There is no very obvious reason why this site was chosen for the construction of the kiln. Possibly the tilers were able to make use of a fuel store and well in the vicinity. This demonstrated that neither time nor expense was spared during the construction of this sophisticated tile kiln.

Any ancillary structures are likely to have been either north or south of the kiln. If they lay to the north they were probably destroyed when the new buildings in the kitchen court were constructed. If they lay to the south in the unexcavated area of the great court (6) they may still await discovery.

THE CIRCULAR PAVEMENT FROM THE KING'S CHAPEL (8 and 9)

The tiles and wasters associated with the kiln (41) are discussed in detail later (pp. 147 ff.). Among them was a segmental tile that would form part of an arrangement of concentric circular bands. A large number of used tiles from such an arrangement were recovered in the 1930s during the excavations of the king's new chapel block, the two-storey structure built for Henry III by Elias of Dereham, adjoining the north-east corner of the king's chambers (7) (fig. 25). The segmental tiles had fallen from the chapel (9) on the upper floor when that collapsed.

This circular arrangement was composed of decorated bands of tiles alternating with narrow bands of green-glazed tiles. These green tiles are particularly interesting because they have assembly marks on the base or outer edge to ensure that the paviour laid them in the correct band and the bands in the correct sequence. The innermost and outermost bands are unmarked, but it would be impossible to confuse the components of the one with the other. The marks on the other bands are shown in fig. 40. It is significant that the numbering begins from the inside of the arrangement. It would be essential to begin in the centre and work outwards. These plain tiles vary in width and length from band to band. It seems more probable that the shapes were scored round templates on slabs of clay and then cut out, than that the tiles were made in a series of specially shaped forms, but there is no conclusive evidence of either method. Keys were scooped out of the base of the tiles in bands 3–9 (fig. 40). Before they were glazed the tiles were coated with white clay, which gave a light, bright colour to the green glaze. The filings of copper or brass that provided the green element were fairly sparsely mixed in the lead ash which formed the basis of the glaze. The green is therefore streaky, with areas that are very pale green or actually yellow. The tiles were fired standing on one long side and the green streaks therefore run across the width of the tile. The resulting colour is varied and attractive.

It is a sad reflection on human acquisitiveness that although large numbers of the green tiles were found, only a few tiles from the decorated bands were recovered, and this made the task of determining the correct sequence difficult. The decorated bands published by Dr Borenius in 1943 and by the writer in 1963 were later proved to be incorrect (Borenius 1943; Eames 1963, pl. xxvii; 1972a, 71–5). When working on the displays for the Medieval Tile Room in the British Museum I decided that to provide a comprehensible impression of the original pavement it would be necessary to reconstruct a wide segment. There were enough green tiles to do so, but not enough decorated ones; it was therefore necessary to cast replicas (van Geersdaele and Davison in Eames 1972a, 75–6). When I attempted to lay out the pavement with the decorated bands in the order formerly thought to be correct, they did not fit. The reason was immediately apparent. The supposed order had been determined by fitting the curved edges of the decorated tiles between the curves of adjacent bands of green tiles, but it proved that the accurate dimension was the angle at the side of the tiles; the curves were slightly irregular (*ibid.*, 72–3). The rearranged sequence present in the segment exhibited in the Medieval Tile Room in the British Museum is certainly correct (fig. 41; pl. LIIIb).

The decoration of the outermost band had been an inscription, composed of individual letters of which less than a quarter have been recovered. It was therefore impossible to determine the original wording, though it is most likely to have been religious and in Latin. This inscribed band was used as a label for the reconstructed segment as: *Pavimentum Henrici Regis Anglie* (Eames 1985, 49).

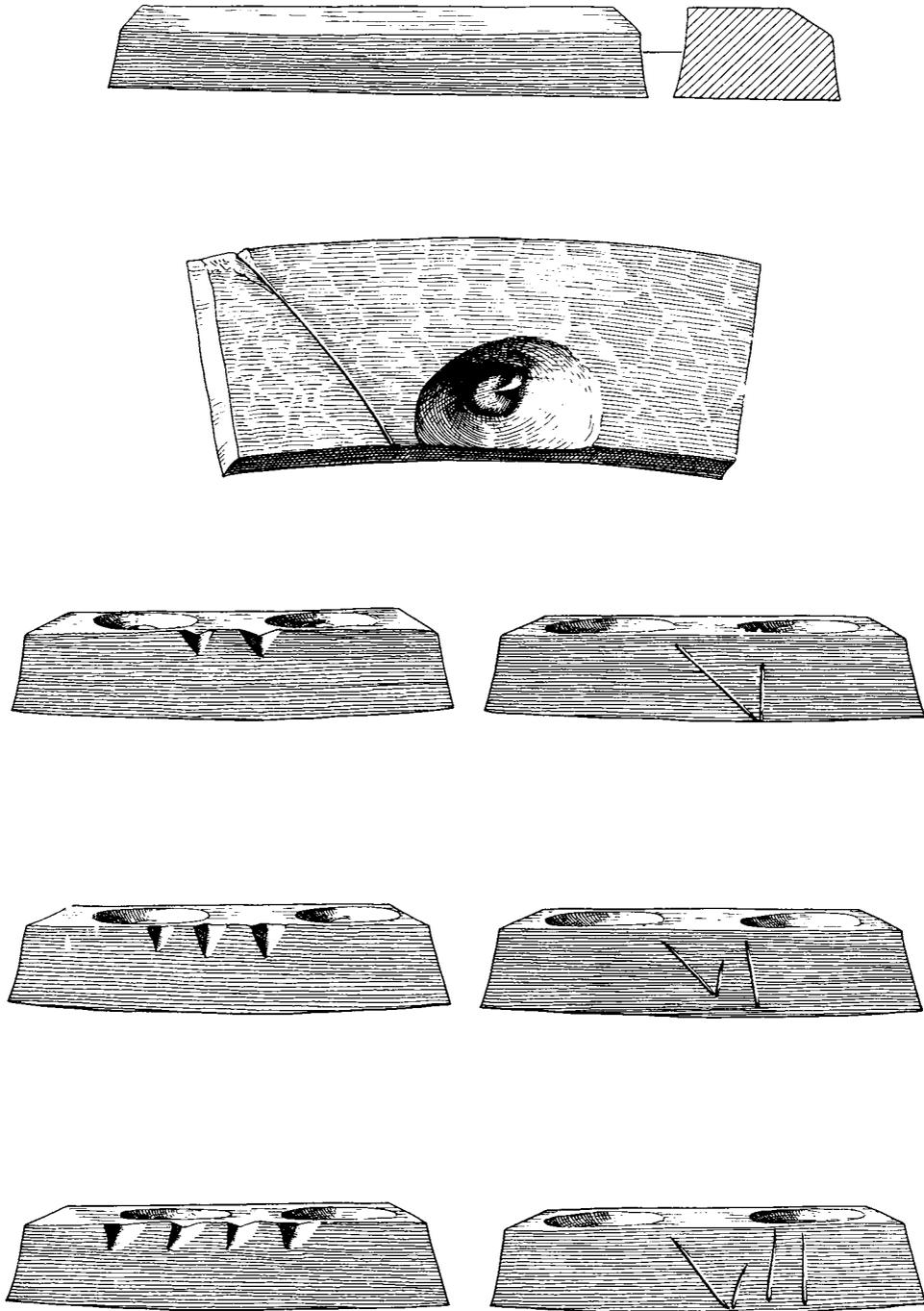


FIG. 40. Assembly marks on the plain tiles from the king's chapel pavement ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Drawn by M. O. Miller (Copyright: British Museum)

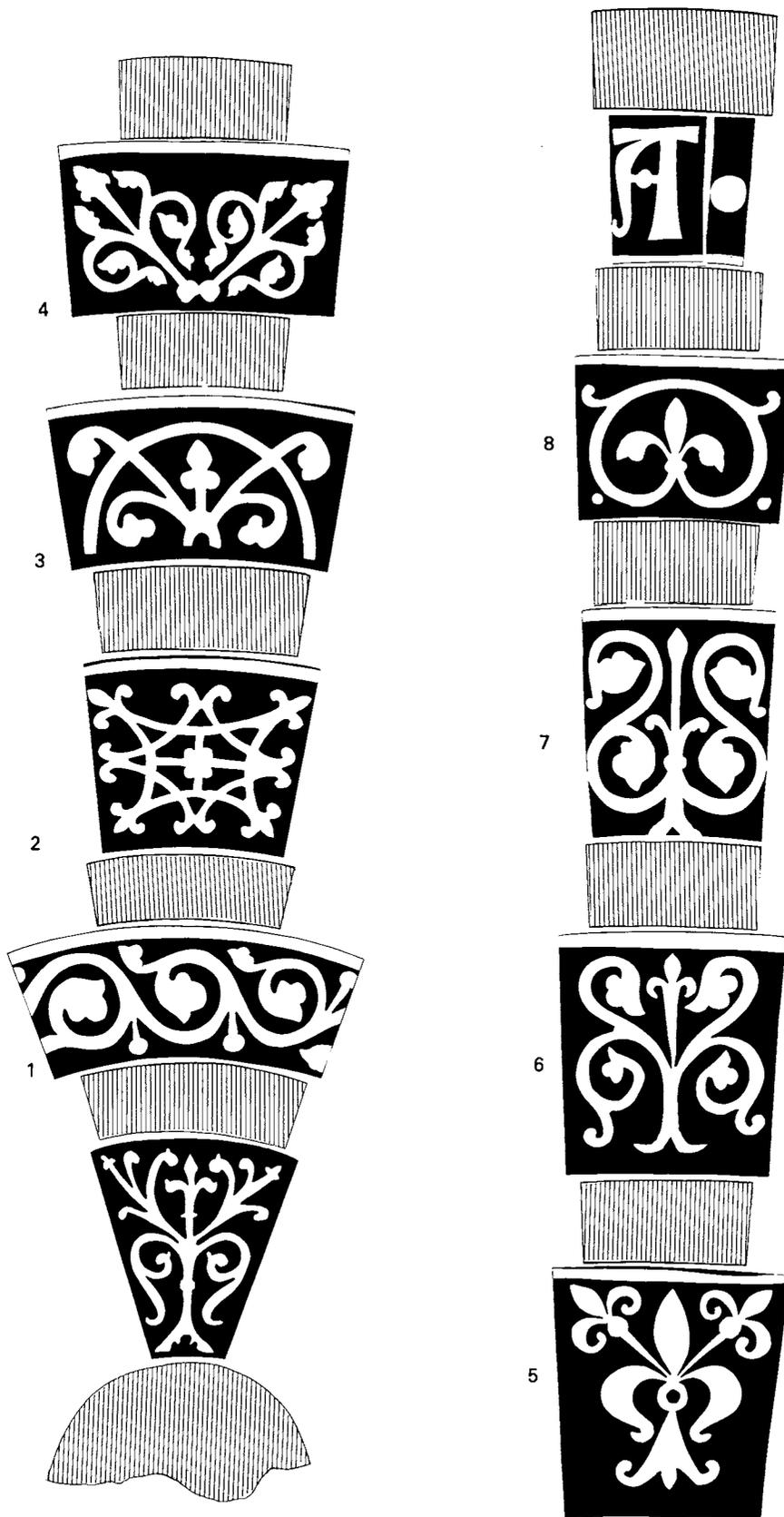


FIG. 41. Sequence of plain and decorated bands in the king's chapel pavement, including designs 1-8 ($\frac{1}{5}$)

Drawn by M. O. Miller (Copyright: British Museum)

The form of the centre of the arrangement is unknown. I no longer believe in either of the two conjectural forms that I published in 1963 incorporating two narrow decorated segmental tiles found at Clarendon in the 1930s (Eames 1963, fig. 7 and pl. xxvii). These two tiles correspond in size and shape with the plain green tiles of the innermost and second bands; I now believe that they came from another example of this circular arrangement, in which the narrow bands as well as the wider ones were decorated (fig. 42; Eames 1972a, fig. 2). The innermost decorated band in the exhibited segment is composed entirely of plaster casts which reproduce a single tile in Salisbury Museum thought to have come from Clarendon. It fits this position exactly. It lacks the plain white band included in all the other designs in this pavement at the inner edge of the letter tiles and the outer edge of the rest. This suggests that there may have been three of these circular arrangements at Clarendon: first, that from the king's chapel (9) of which we have the reconstructed segment; secondly, an example in which the plain green bands were replaced by decorated bands; and thirdly, an example in which no white lines were present in the decoration.

Some support for this hypothesis is provided by two areas of circular pavement composed of concentric bands now in the parish church at Muchelney, Somerset. These were found during

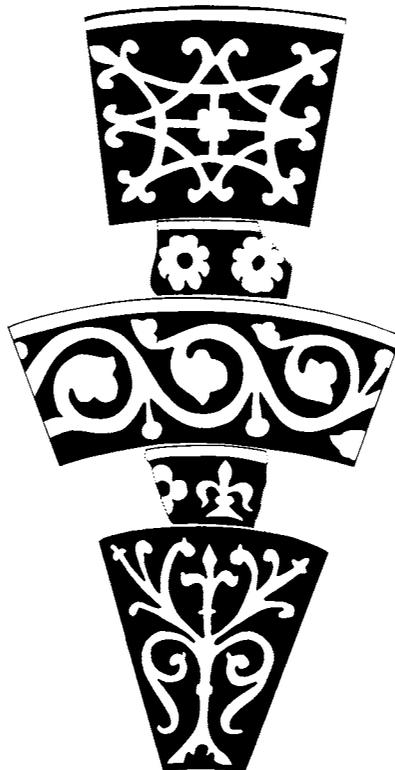


FIG. 42. Possible form of the centre of a second circular pavement at Clarendon, including designs 9 (2nd from bottom) and 10 (4th from bottom) ($\frac{1}{5}$)

Drawn by M. O. Miller (Copyright: British Museum)

excavations on the site of the abbey cloisters and re-set in the parish church in 1873. That beside the font appears to retain its original arrangement of three wider decorated bands alternating with three narrow bands decorated with cinquefoils. No white lines are included. The centre is formed by a much-repaired decorated roundel. The circular arrangement is surrounded by specially shaped decorated tiles which convert the circle into a square and indicate that all the original number of bands are present. The other example, re-set in the chancel, is the same except that the outermost decorated band is replaced by two contiguous narrow bands of plain dark glazed tiles. The same specially shaped pieces outside the circular arrangement convert the whole into a square panel. The plain bands suggest that there had also been an arrangement with undecorated narrow bands at Muchelney (Eames 1963, pl. xxx, 1 and 2; 1985, fig. 63).

During excavations on the site of Beckery Chapel at Glastonbury in 1967–8, segmental tiles were recovered, decorated with each of the three designs on the wider bands at Muchelney (Eames in Rahtz and Hirst 1974, fig. 25, 18–20, and plain tiles a, b and c). None of the known Somerset inlaid designs on the segmental tiles is the same as any at Clarendon. The Clarendon design used in the sixth decorated band in the pavement was illustrated in 1857 by A.H. and T.A. Skelton in a rare printed collection of tile designs from St Denys's Priory, Southampton. It is there shown on a rectangular tile. This design is also present on a rectangular tile from Clarendon, rebated at the top to be set vertically. In 1906 Sir Harold Brakspear published a number of tile designs from the site of Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire including one on a segmental tile (St John Hope and Brakspear 1906, pl. xv). The decoration was not the same as any found at Clarendon, but it included a white line at the outer edge and another parallel to it dividing the decoration into two bands of unequal width. This type of design is present on tiles from a great circular pavement composed of concentric bands from Cunault Abbey in France (Eames 1963, pl. xxviii, 2) and is also present on a rebated oblong tile from Clarendon associated with the kiln (fig. 47, no. 47; Eames 1980, ii, design 1291). There is clearly a link between these inlaid tiles, particularly the segmental shapes at Cunault and Beaulieu abbeys, St Denys's Priory and the products of the kiln at Clarendon. The great circular arrangement was probably present at Clarendon in at least three forms and at Muchelney in two.

A plain brown-glazed tile has been included in the centre of the reconstructed segment of the pavement from the king's chapel because it fits the space exactly, but is unlikely to belong there. One would expect a plain central tile to be green.

It can safely be assumed that the tiles forming this circular arrangement were fired in the kiln (41) under the salsary (4k). It is possible that it was made in fulfilment of an order dated 14 March 28 Henry III (1244) which runs: 'A pavement of tiles to be made in the King's own (*dominica*) chapel'. Whether or not this order refers to it, the manufacture of the circular arrangement should fall between 1237 and 1245, the outside limits for the life of the kiln, and more probably between 1240 and 1244 (Eames 1963, 40–2).

THE QUEEN'S CHAMBER PAVEMENT (10a) (pls. LIIIa, LIVa)

Another of the tiled pavements laid at Clarendon to the order of Henry III was found *in situ* in 1935, in the room identified by the excavators as the most northerly of the queen's apartments

(10a) (pl. LIVa). At the time when this pavement was laid, the southern block of the queen's apartments (10c, 10d), had just been built. The earlier buildings were on two floors and comprised three chambers and a chapel (fig. 52). There is documentary evidence for the paving of these. Unfortunately it is not possible to differentiate between the chambers named in the records, but all can be assumed to have been paved between 30 July 1250 and Michaelmas 1252. This dating is discussed in detail elsewhere (Eames 1957-8, 96-7). The queen's chamber pavement thus holds an early place among the known and dated inlaid tile pavements in this country. It immediately precedes the fine pavement still *in situ* in Westminster chapter house, which is known to have been completed between 1253 and 1259. Earlier pavements are referred to in documents, but as far as is known do not survive. The date of the surviving pavements in the retro-choir in Winchester Cathedral may be a little earlier or a little later than the queen's chamber pavement at Clarendon (*ibid.*, 98, n. 2; Eames 1980, i, 190-1).

This was the only piece of pavement found *in situ* during the 1930s. The pavement lay along the west wall of the building (fig. 52), beginning nearly 9 ft. (*c.* 2.7 m.) north of the door and continuing for about 10 ft. 9 in. (*c.* 3.3 m.) northwards; it extended about 5 ft. 6 in. (*c.* 1.7 m.) eastwards into the room. After it had been found a water-colour drawing was made in which the pavement was completed along its western edge (Eames 1957-8, pl. xxxii, 2). As can be seen from this and from the photographs on pls. LIIIa and LIVa, the remaining paving consisted of six panels running across the room from east to west.

The pavement was temporarily covered with corrugated iron and after the outbreak of war in 1939 it was given greater protection, but by 1957 Major S.V. Christie-Miller feared that it was suffering damage and approached the British Museum for advice. The pavement was therefore uncovered and it was revealed that a heavy growth of bushes and saplings had done further damage with their roots and the south-western corner had been robbed. It was decided to lift the pavement and Major Christie-Miller generously gave it to the British Museum. The pavement was planned and lifted by the writer and Peter van Geersdaele. The mortar in which the tiles were set was so decayed that they were easily removed. The only problem was posed by a very badly damaged area in panel 4 (fig. 43; pl. LIVa), where there was a deeply depressed area with shattered tiles in and around it and severe secondary burning on the surface. No attempt was made to lift the shattered tiles or to conserve them later.

After removing the pavement we dug beneath it to examine its foundations to see whether there was any underlying cause for the subsidence that had damaged part of panel 4. We found that the tiles were set in the top of a 3-in. (75-mm.) bed of mortar, which rested on a bed of rubble, flint and mortar 3 to 3½ in. (75-90 mm.) thick, together making a foundation about 6½ in. (165 mm.) thick. Surprisingly, the paviours had not removed the thin layer of surface soil to expose the natural chalk, but had laid their foundation on top of it.

No reason was then found for the damage to panel 4, although the foundation beneath the damaged area was severely compressed. The reason for the damage was found in contemporary documentation. The pipe roll for 1275-6 records payment for a new joist to replace one that fell during a fire in the queen's chamber, which is also referred to in the survey of 1273 (Colvin 1963, 916 nn. 11 and 12; Eames 1980, i, 187). It can be assumed that during this fire in the upper floor of the building a great burning joist crashed down end first, hitting the pavement of the room below with tremendous force, shattering the tiles, compressing the foundation under the point of impact and scattering fragments of burning wood over the floor.

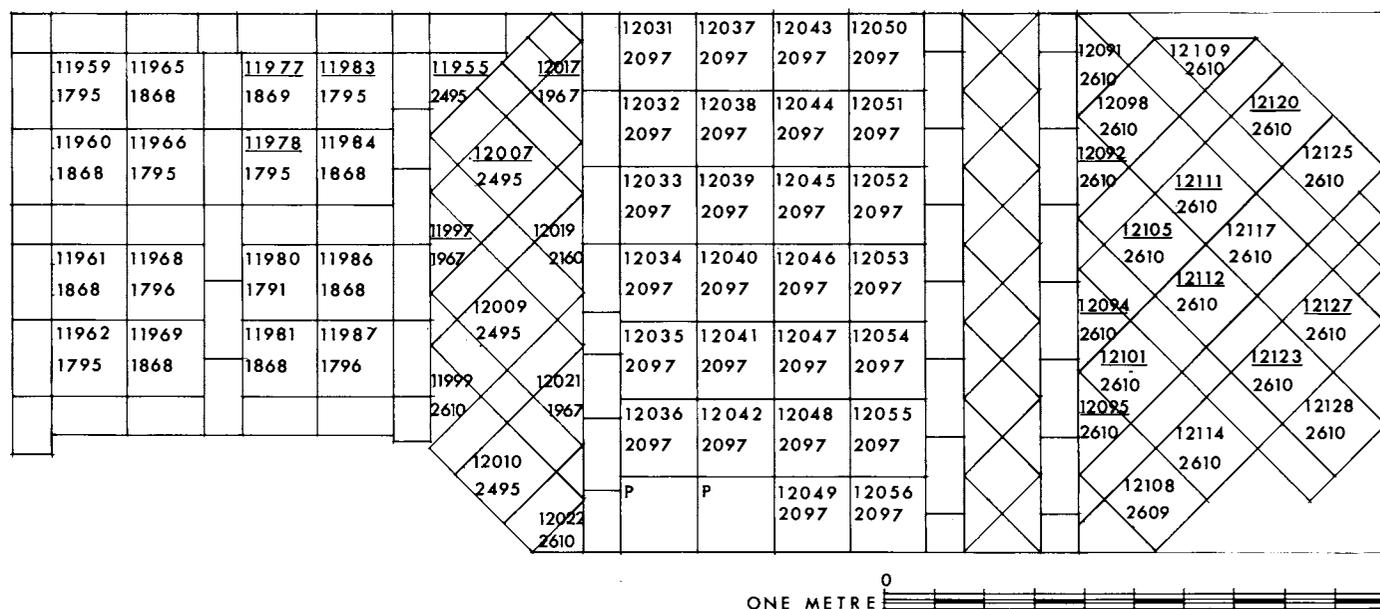


FIG. 43. Plan of the pavement from the queen's chamber (10a), as reassembled in the British Museum (for design numbers, see Eames 1980) (1:15)

Copyright: British Museum

These and the joist lay there on fire long enough to cause the secondary burning present in the surface of the tiles. When the pavement reached the British Museum the individual tiles were cleaned and repaired and placed in temporary storage. This temporary arrangement was that published by the writer in 1958. In the early 1970s further conservation and restoration were undertaken and the pavement was mounted for exhibition in the Medieval Tile Room at the British Museum (pl. LIIIa; Eames 1957–8, pl. xxxv, 1 and 2; Eames 1980, i, 187–9 and fig. 12; Eames 1985, fig. 13). In this reassembly panel 4, which was originally ten tiles wide, is only four tiles wide, the maximum width obtainable without the severely damaged tiles. I took the opportunity to use other tiles from Clarendon to complete four squares of panel 1 at the bottom of the display in order to restore the original arrangement.

Much of the visual interest of this pavement lies in its division into panels and the varied arrangements of plain and decorated tiles within each panel. Only six different designs are present on the decorated tiles (Eames 1957–8, pl. xxxiv). All belong to Clarendon Group II, discussed below (figs. 48, no. 57; 49, nos. 61, 68 and 69; 50, nos. 72 and 73).

The scanty remains of another pavement, also laid with tiles of Group II, were found in the 1930s in the ground floor of the building (8) of which the king's chapel (9) formed the upper floor (pl. LIVb; fig. 52). When this building was first completed the ground floor was divided into two rooms, one used as the queen's wardrobe and the other as the chamber of the king's chaplains. After a new building (10c and d) had been erected to provide this accommodation at the south end of the queen's apartments (p. 163 and fig. 52), the ground-floor rooms under the king's chapel were thrown together and lavishly decorated. The wall paintings illustrated the story of the Third Crusade and the room was afterwards known as the Antioch chamber (8). It was paved with tiles in 1252 (Eames 1965, 65, n. 4). A photograph taken in the 1930s (pl.

LIV*b*) shows a border along the edge, arranged in the same way as panel 5 in the queen's chamber pavement (10*a*), but having the reverse colouring of dark squares and light triangular tiles. Remains of two or possibly three panels can be seen at right-angles to the border. One includes examples of the design in panel 4 of the queen's chamber pavement and also that used as the central element in panel 3. As both rooms were paved within the same two-and-a-half-year period it is not surprising that the tiles are of the same type.

In 1943 Dr Borenus published a discussion of the material (Borenus 1943), in which he stated that some plain brown-glazed tiles were found at an upper level at the base of a pier in the Antioch chamber (8) and attributed them to the paving of 1252, suggesting that the lower decorated pavement dated from the completion of the building in 1237. No plain brown-glazed tiles are known from the mid thirteenth century in the area. It is probable that the ground floor of the king's new chapel building had a chalk or mortar floor while in use as a wardrobe and the chaplains' chamber, that the first tile pavement was that laid in 1252 at the same time as the queen's chamber pavement with identical tiles, and that the pavement of plain brown tiles belongs to a later period of rehabilitation, possibly as late as the reign of Henry VI.

In 1938 one tile was found in position in the ground floor of the building (10*c*) at the south end of the queen's range (10), identified by the writer as the queen's new wardrobe and chamber for the king's chaplains built between 1247 and 1249 (Eames 1965, 65-6; see p. 145 and Appendix I, p. 163). This tile was set vertically on the face of a 'bench'. It was removed and exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1939, but has since disappeared (pl. LV*a*). It was decorated with one of a pair of mounted knights, charging each other, present in a number of versions in the Wessex area and south Wales. Other examples were recovered at Clarendon. Some of these and some from other sites are rebated at the top of the back, indicating that they too were to be set vertically. At the time of its discovery the tile found *in situ* was identified as a

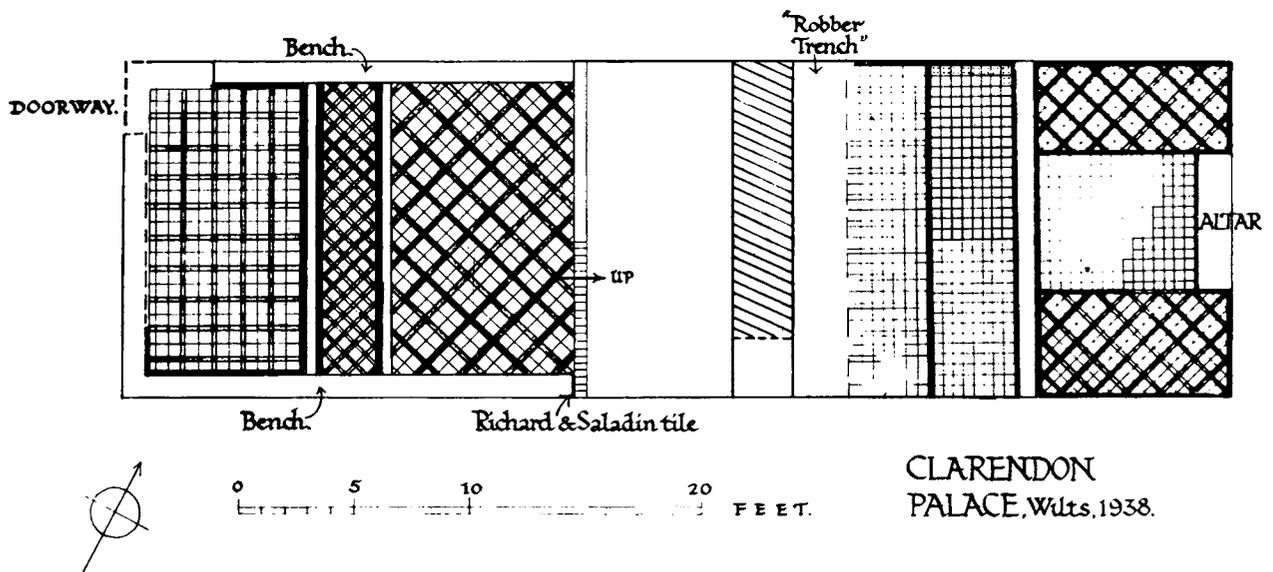


FIG. 44. Charlton's plan of the arrangement of the pavement in the south-western building (10*d*) of the queen's range derived from tile impressions remaining on the mortar bed (1:100)

portrayal of the combat between King Richard and Saladin, but this identification is no longer accepted.

No tiles remained in position on the floor of this building (**10d**) but the mortar bed on which the tiles had been laid retained the outlines of individual tiles and the position of the keys in the base over a large part of the floor. These were so clear that John Charlton was able to make a plan of the whole pavement (fig. 44; pl. LVb). From this it can be seen that it was laid out in panels running across the width of the room as they do in the queen's chamber (**10a**), and the grouping of tiles within the panels also looks very similar. As this building was completed in 1249, the paving is likely to have belonged to the same series of works and the designs on its tiles could have been the same as those in the queen's chamber (**10a**) and the Antioch chamber (**8**). The excellent condition of the mortar matrices suggests that the tiles were removed more recently than the excavation of the 1820s. (A collection of over 100 tiles, made before 1919, possibly during the First World War, was handed in to Salisbury Museum in 1971, according to information received from Mrs Hurst-Bannister (see above, pp. 51, 113).)

In 1939 another heap of tile wasters was found east of the building just discussed. Madame Borenius told me that this heap was substantial and she identified various tiles from Clarendon in the British Museum as belonging to the same group, here classified as Group III (discussed below). The presence of the waste heap suggests that there had been a tile kiln in the vicinity, but it has not been located. This hypothetical kiln has been designated Clarendon 2.

In addition to the tiles found in the kiln, and those in the waste heaps found *in situ*, large numbers of loose tiles have from time to time been recovered from the site. Most of these are housed either in Salisbury Museum or the British Museum.

DISCUSSION OF THE TILES

With the exception of the plain brown-glazed tiles found in the Antioch chamber (**8**) and perhaps a few others, all the tiles from the palace site belong to one of three groups: first, that associated with the kiln (**4l**) under the salsary (**4k**) dating from the early 1240s; secondly, that associated with the pavements of the early 1250s; and thirdly, that associated with the waste heap found in 1939 (Eames 1980, i, 725–6).

Group I. c. 1240–4 (figs. 41, 42, 45–8)

The tiles in this group are associated with the kiln found under the salsary. They include the circular arrangement from the king's chapel, the tiles found in the kiln and its waste heap, the waste tiles put in store in the British Museum in the 1930s and other tiles of the same sizes and fabric.

The quality of the tiles in this group is unmistakable; technically they are very good: the body is well prepared, the sides and top are carefully trimmed and, except for the wasters, they are well fired in an oxidizing atmosphere, giving them a good red colour that contrasts well with the white clay of the inlay so that the decoration stands out clearly. Most have keys scooped out of the back with the point of a knife. These made the drying of the tiles quicker and helped to prevent warping, but they were not essential to the successful manufacture of the tiles (*ibid.*, i, 19, 45–6).

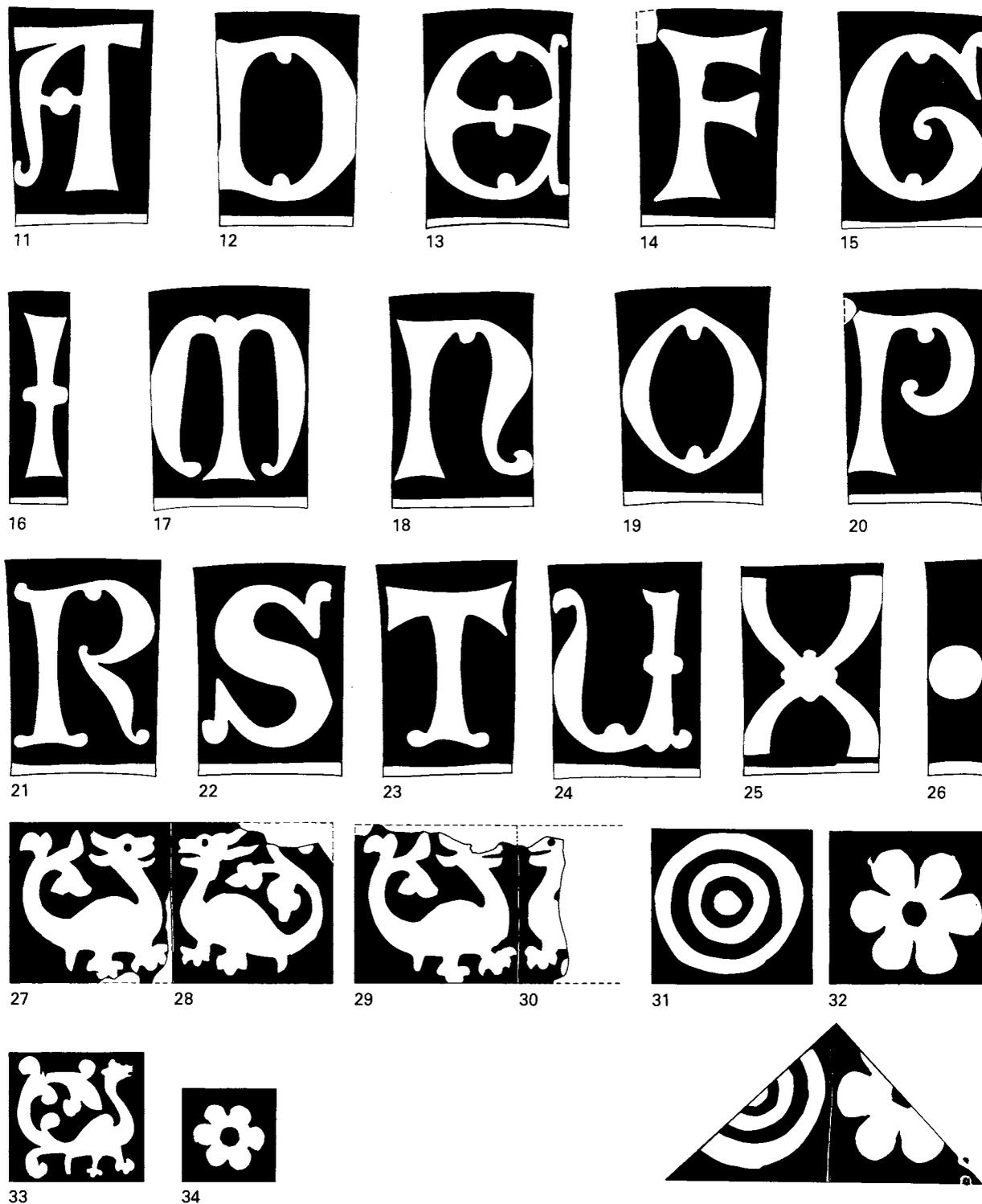
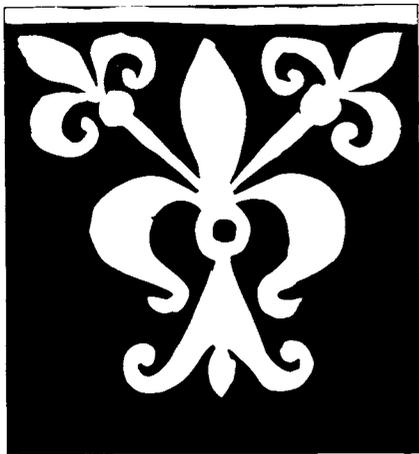


FIG. 45. Designs on tiles of group I, c. 1240-4 (11-34) ($\frac{1}{3}$)

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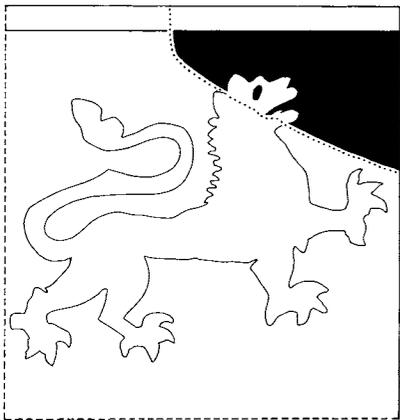
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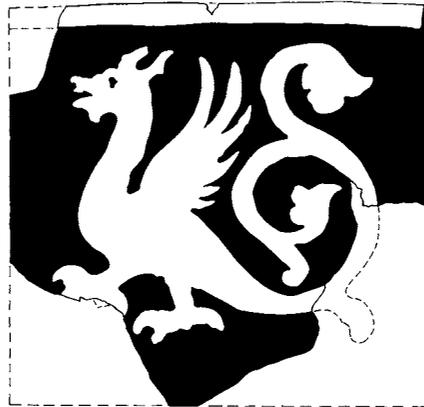
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FIG. 46. Designs on tiles of group I, c. 1240-4 (35-43) ($\frac{1}{3}$)

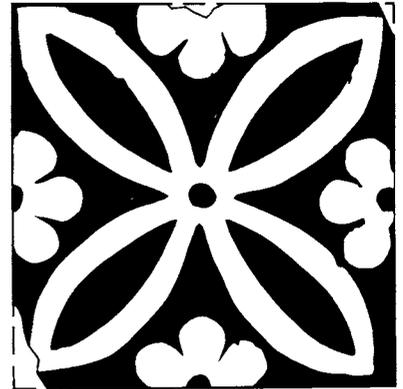
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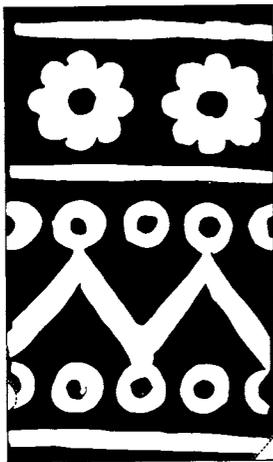
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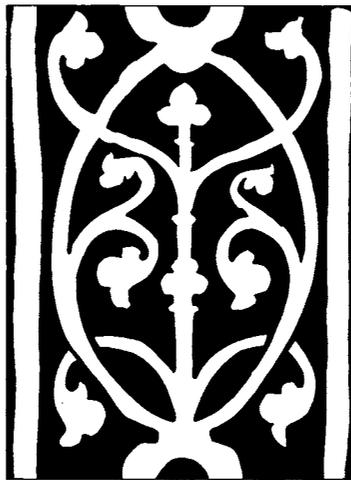
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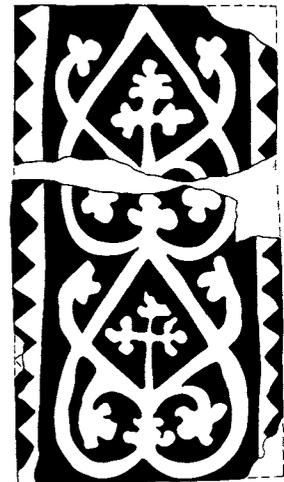
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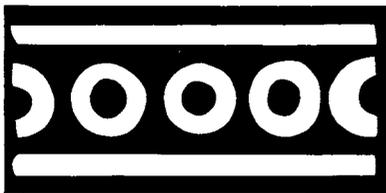
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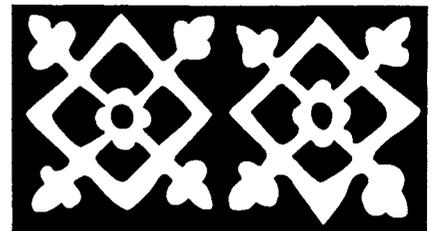
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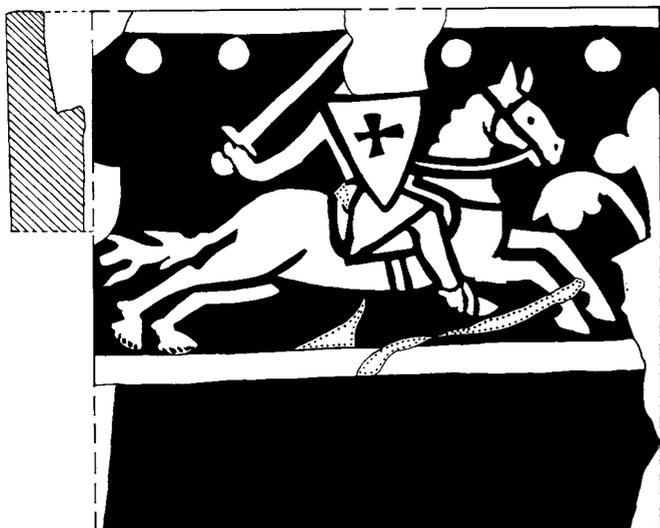
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FIG. 47. Designs on tiles of group I, c. 1240-4 (44-52) ($\frac{1}{3}$)

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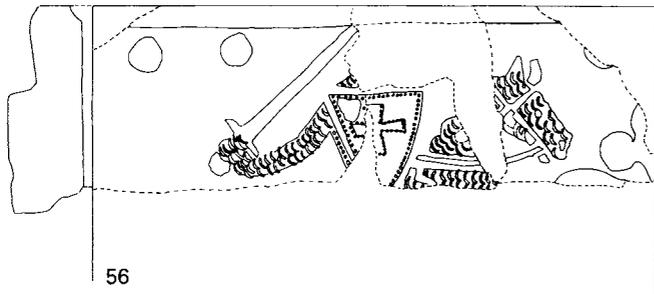
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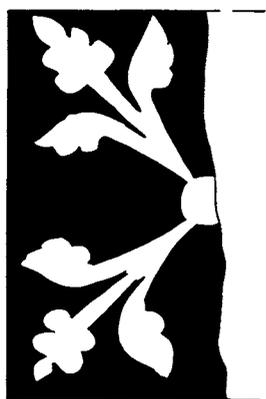
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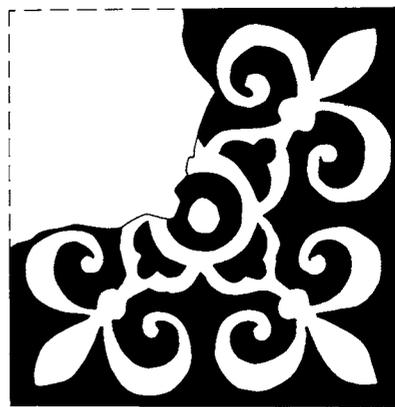
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FIG. 48. Designs on tiles of group I, c. 1240-4 (53-60) ($\frac{1}{3}$)

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The cavities stamped in the surface of the tiles to receive the white clay were 1–3 mm. deep and the white clay was pressed into them in a plastic state; they can therefore be described as inlaid tiles. When this process is used any unequal shrinkage between the red clay body and the white inlay during drying and firing manifests itself in the finished tile in small cracks between the inlay and the body. Glaze seeped into these cracks during firing and sometimes the inlay became so loose that it fell out. In order to consolidate the two clays after the white had been inlaid, the tiler placed a wooden bat on top of the tile and struck it sharply. This pressed the white clay firmly into the cavities and also broke down the surface clay into finer particles that gave a smoother surface to the finished product. The finer the surface clay the neater the outline of the inlaid decoration. To bring this up clearly the outline was pared with a knife to remove any surplus white clay. These processes were all carried out carefully by the tilers who produced the Group I tiles at Clarendon.

These tiles were made on the site at the time when they were to be used and in these circumstances the tiler and his men would be paid a daily wage. They were therefore not tempted to cut corners in the manufacturing processes in order to produce a commercially viable and profit-making commodity (*ibid.*, i, 278–82). The dimensions of these tiles are greater than those that became fairly standard for the region. They range from 150 to 165 mm. square by 24 to 30 mm. thick.

The associations of the tiles of the circular pavement from the king's chapel have already been discussed (pp. 142–3). Although it is now clear that this was not unique, as was originally thought, it was more elaborate than most tile pavements and care had been taken over its design and manufacture. It occupies an intermediate position between the general run of thirteenth-century tile pavements in Wessex and the brilliantly designed and executed pavements laid during the second half of the thirteenth century in Westminster chapter house, Chertsey Abbey and numerous associated sites (*ibid.*, i, 172–8). The designs on the decorated tiles are competent and uncluttered, but not particularly interesting, and the pavement was striking because of its shape and size and the arrangement of alternate decorated and undecorated concentric bands. It undoubtedly provided a novel and impressive floor for the king's fine new chapel.

The quality of the designs used on the rectangular tiles in this group was not uniform. The series including the large lion, griffin and dragon is impressive because of the simplicity of the figures. The shapes are bold and good and the tiles are left free from any subsidiary motifs, a restraint that few medieval tile designers achieved. They were used on square tiles and on tiles designed to be set vertically, the same width as the squares but slightly taller and rebated at the top of the back. An additional white line was inlaid along the top, a feature that provides a link with the designs of the circular pavement. Other designs, such as the knights in combat already discussed and a continuous architectural arcade, were designed to be set vertically and may only have been used in that position. They are longer than they are tall but have the same white line inlaid along the top. Most are rebated at the top of the back. The impression made by this group is of simple designs with clean lines competently drawn.

Not many designs identical to those of this group have yet been found on other sites. A most unexpected discovery was that of examples amongst the waste tiles recovered during the excavation of a tile kiln at Nash Hill, Lacock, in 1971 (Eames 1974a, 138–40 and fig. 26, 15 and 16). All were probably those used on tiles designed to be set vertically. Both the large lion and

the large dragon were present. The presence of wasters decorated with the same stamps on sites of excavated kilns at both Clarendon and Nash Hill demonstrates incontrovertibly the truth of the assumption that the same tile stamp might be used at more than one tiliary. The kilns at Nash Hill, only one of which was used for firing decorated floor tiles, are thought to date from the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. There was therefore a long gap between the time when the stamps were used at Clarendon and when they were used at Nash Hill. However, the stamps of designs to be used set vertically would receive far less use than those that decorated ordinary paving tiles, because far fewer such tiles would be required in any one building. This may be the reason why these stamps had lasted so long. It is not known where the tiles decorated with Clarendon Group I designs made at Nash Hill were used.

The only other site known to me where designs identical with those of Clarendon Group I have been found is St Denys's Priory, Southampton, but this may well be an accident of survival. Comparable pavements were used elsewhere, but different stamps were used to decorate them. On the other hand, smaller versions of the designs derived from those of Clarendon Group I were very widely distributed.

Group II. 1250s (figs. 49, nos. 61–9, and 50, nos. 70–6)

The tiles in the pavement from the queen's chamber (**10a**) and those in the Antioch chamber (**8**), already discussed, belong to this group (above, pp. 144–6). No kiln associated with them has yet been found in the vicinity and it is not possible to determine whether the examples used at Clarendon were made there or elsewhere. Unlike the tiles of Group I these have a wide distribution. It is uncertain whether there was one commercial tiliary supplying a large number of sites or whether there were several places of manufacture operated one after the other by some of the same tilers using the same and closely related stamps. This seems to me more probable.

Salisbury Cathedral was paved with tiles of this Group. It was dedicated in 1258. Paving was one of the last works to be undertaken after the internal scaffolding was removed, but with such a large area to pave the tilers were probably working throughout the 1250s. It would not be surprising to discover that the tiles for the cathedral and the palace had been made at the same place, and that a tiliary had been established locally. There is again a link with Nash Hill, where very close variants of all the designs used in the queen's chamber pavement (**10a**) were found amongst the wasters, demonstrating that some tiles of this type were made at another place even within Wiltshire itself. This renders improbable the hypothesis that all tiles of this type were made at and distributed from a single commercial tiliary, because the known Nash Hill kiln was not operating until several decades after the Group II pavements at Clarendon and Salisbury Cathedral were laid, and the designs and fabric found there were not identical with those from Clarendon and Salisbury.

Tiles of this type have been found at Winchester, Romsey and many other sites in Hampshire as well as many sites in Wiltshire and neighbouring counties. It seems most probable that tileries were set up on a fairly temporary basis at many different places to fulfil a local demand, probably initially a specific order. I have postulated elsewhere (Eames 1980, i, 279–80) that the tilers who moved about, setting up temporary kilns, often did so at an established commercial pottery or tiliary manufacturing roof tiles. Nash Hill is a case in point.



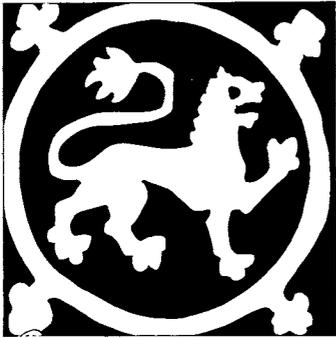
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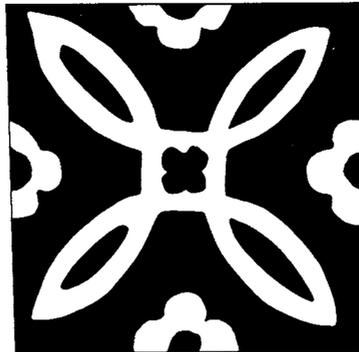
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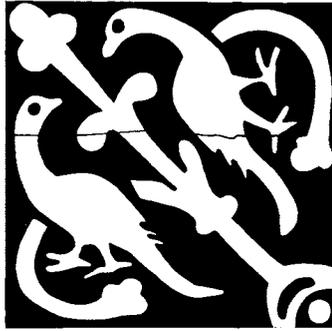
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FIG. 49. Designs on tiles of group II, c. 1250-60 (61-9) ($\frac{1}{3}$)

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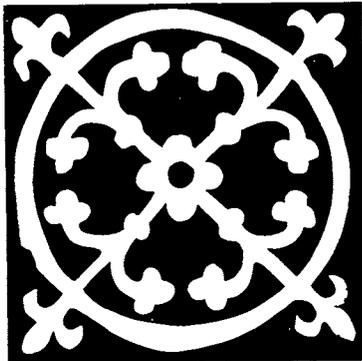
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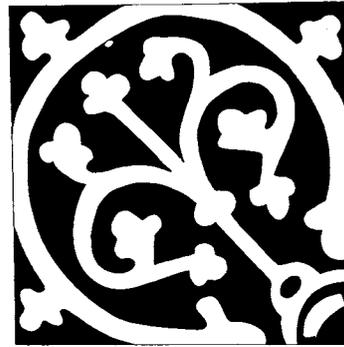
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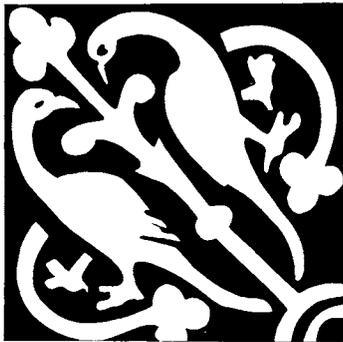
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FIG. 50. Designs on tiles of group II, c. 1250-60 (70-6), and group III, later thirteenth century (77-9) ($\frac{1}{3}$)

(Copyright: British Museum)

The excavations revealed the remains of two pot kilns and an earlier tile kiln firing roof tiles. Although the time gap between these Clarendon tiles of the 1250s and the Nash Hill examples is less great than between the Group I tiles and Nash Hill, a period of production extending over at least three decades, and possibly even five or six, is indicated. One is tempted to trace an order of use at various sites by apparent degenerative features in the designs, but this is not a very reliable guide and at Nash Hill itself three versions of one design were among the wasters and were being produced simultaneously. The only certain guide to the order in which tiles were made is the evidence for progressive cracking of the wooden stamps with which the decoration was applied. These cracks left upstanding ridges of clay on the surface of the tiles, and eventually they had to be discarded and replaced. The new stamps that were made were never identical to the old, although they represented the same basic designs.

Wherever the designs on Clarendon Groups I and II tiles may have originated, there are clear indications that the second were in part derived from the first. The lion and griffin are not present alone in Group II, but are depicted within a circular band (fig. 49, nos. 61–7 and 69). This band is a frequent feature in the design of single-tile patterns in the series and an open quatrefoil frame often forms part of the four-tile designs (fig. 50, no. 76). Of the six designs present in the queen's chamber pavement, three include a circular band, surrounding a lion, a griffin and a foliate cross (fig. 49, nos. 61 and 69; fig. 50, no. 73). All three have small fleurs-de-lis springing from the circle into the corners of the tile, a very usual feature in these designs. Variants occur throughout the Wessex area and beyond. The four-tile adorsed birds in the pavement are unframed (fig. 50, no. 70), and unframed versions are fairly common, but there are also four-tile versions within an open quatrefoil frame and single-tile versions are often enclosed in a circular band. The repeating single-tile design used in panel 4 of the pavement (fig. 49, no. 68) is very closely derived from a larger version on tiles in Group I (fig. 47, no. 46), including a waster found in the kiln. The Nash Hill wasters included two versions of the Group II form of this design, neither identical with those at Clarendon. The British Museum collections include tiles decorated with seven versions of this design, five of them certainly different from any at Clarendon or Nash Hill.

The wooden stamps with which the designs were impressed in the surface of the tiles received harsh treatment. The decoration was not applied until the tile quarries were leather hard. Only one blow could be struck on the back of the stamp to make the cavities in the surface. If it was struck more than once, the outline of the cavities was distorted. The single blow had therefore to be sharp and hard. Breakage was inevitable. This has already been mentioned in the discussion of the cracks that developed in the stamps and is also illustrated by the design of a lion in a circle in the queen's chamber pavement. Originally this included four fleurs-de-lis springing from the circle into the corners of the tiles. Some tiles in the pavement retain only the top right and bottom left fleurs-de-lis; others from the site have no fleurs-de-lis at all although the rest of the design is identical. This suggests that one fleur-de-lis broke off the stamp and that the one opposite was intentionally removed to balance the design, but that further damage occurred and all were removed. Such small projections near the edge of the stamp would be vulnerable.

The tiles in this group range from about 135 to 145 mm. square and from 19 to 26 mm. thick. This was a more economical size than that of Group I tiles: more could be made from the same load of clay, more could be loaded into the oven and fired with the same fuel and more

could be carried in the same cart or boat. Most have four keys scooped out of the back with a knife, a process dispensed with by many later tilers. The white clay is inlaid in cavities 1 to 2 mm. deep. All triangular and oblong tiles and most of the small squares were parts of the standard square tiles that had been scored on the surface through about a third of their thickness and separated after they had been fired. This was done by placing a wooden bat on the tile and striking a sharp blow. The tiles generally then separated along the scored lines, but sometimes broke in the wrong place. It was obviously thought better to sustain this wastage and have only tiles of uniform size to stack in the oven rather than to have small, irregularly shaped tiles to accommodate somehow at the top of the stack. The curved tiles in Group I had been cut to shape individually and the oblong border tiles had also been cut to shape before they were fired, but most of the decorated small squares in Group I had been fired in the large parent squares and separated after they were fired.

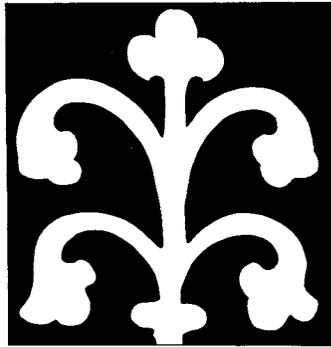
The plain glazed tiles of Group II were glazed green with a lead-copper glaze. On the Group I tiles this had been applied over a white clay which produced a brilliant colour. On the tiles of Group II the green glaze was applied direct to the body, which was indeed the usual practice. The resulting colours ranged from a dull, streaked or speckled dark green to a near black. Although uninteresting in themselves, these tiles provided a good contrast to the browns and yellows of the decorated tiles.

The tiles of Group II are good examples of what might be termed the general run of production in the area in the second half of the thirteenth century, more simply and economically produced than the tiles of Group I and clearly available to a far wider market. They made a sound, level pavement that was bright and colourful, and contemporary masons and clerks of works thought them good enough to pave such important rooms as the queen's chamber, and the Antioch chamber (8), and the new south range of the queen's apartments at Clarendon as well as the great new cathedral church at Salisbury.

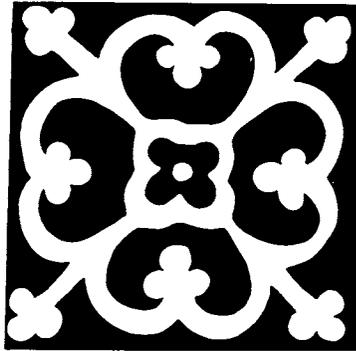
Group III. Later thirteenth century (figs. 50, nos. 77-9, and 51, nos. 80-91)

The tiles of this group are associated with those found in the waste heap east of the queen's apartments (10) in 1939 and are thought to be products of the hypothetical kiln 'Clarendon 2'. The fabric is light in colour, pinkish-buff to light red, and includes lumps of dark reddish-brown material that is probably haematite. Most of the tiles have four keys scooped out of the base with the point of a knife and have their sides trimmed to a sharp bevel. The clay was less finely prepared than that of the two earlier groups, with the result that the outlines of the designs are sometimes less sharp. The white clay was inlaid in cavities 1 to 3 mm. deep. The surface of the white clay has sometimes shrunk a little below the surface of the tiles, which suggests that it was put in when rather wet, but it exhibits the cracks that indicate that it was inlaid in a plastic state, not poured in as a slip.

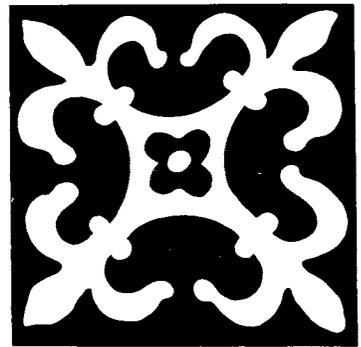
I know of no dated context in which tiles of this group have been found. The designs include a naive but charming hunting scene, a cruder derivative of the design in panel 4 of the queen's chamber pavement (10a), and a single pair of addorsed birds in a circle. The overall impression made by the designs is that they are later than those of Group II at Clarendon, but are still within the thirteenth-century Wessex series. The finding of the waste heap at Clarendon is strong evidence of the presence of a kiln in that part of the site. It is to be hoped that it will be located. It is not known where in the palace these tiles were used. Some tiles of



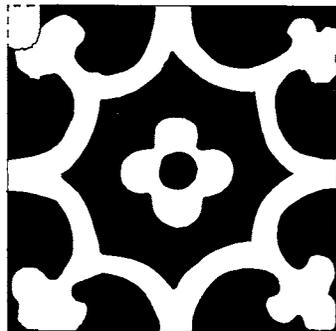
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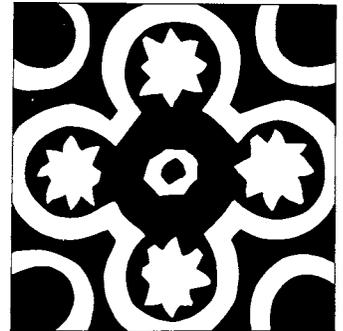
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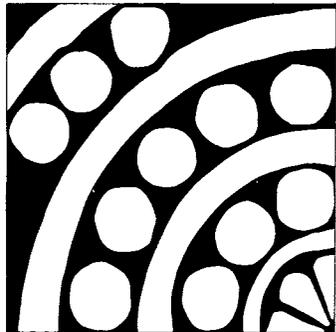
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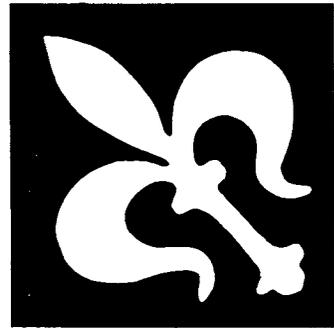
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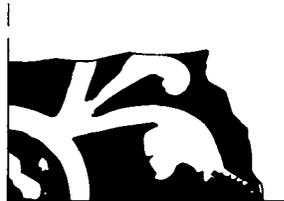
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FIG. 51. Designs on tiles of group III, later thirteenth century (80-91) ($\frac{1}{3}$)

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this group were used in Salisbury Cathedral and in various churches in the neighbourhood. An oblong tile in the British Museum from Great Bedwin in Wiltshire (Eames 1980, ii, designs 1300 and 1298; 1985, fig. 64) is decorated with a mounted knight so close in detail to that from Clarendon that I think it was probably decorated with the same stamp, and that the decoration appears different because it was less skilfully applied to a more coarsely finished surface. The fabric of this tile is apparently 'Clarendon 2'.

It is currently held that the method of decorating tiles with inlaid white clay was not developed until the 1230s, probably simultaneously in France and England (Eames 1985, 36. I am indebted to Christopher Norton for the information about the French material). The Clarendon Group I examples are thus very early specimens of their type. At first only a limited number of people were installing them and they were doubtless very expensive. It is probable that all the earliest examples were made in kilns constructed at the place where the tiles were to be used and demolished when these tiles were finished. The kiln under the salary at Clarendon would have been one of these.

A decade later a slightly simpler type of tile, Clarendon Group II, had been developed, capable of mass production and probably considerably cheaper. No segmental or rebated tiles are included in this group and most oblong, triangular and small square tiles were fired as parts of standard squares and broken apart afterwards. The work at Clarendon and Salisbury probably provided the first impetus in Wiltshire, but the number of tiles made in the Wessex area during the 1250s and the next few decades was prodigious, as is witnessed by the numbers that have survived from so many different places. It is astonishing how quickly the new fashion in floors was accepted. The most brilliantly decorated tiles are known to belong to this period, but none of these has so far been found in Wiltshire. By the time the tiles of Group III were being produced the quality had fallen off in Clarendon and Salisbury and better work was being carried out at Nash Hill and in Somerset.

The rich assemblage of material from Clarendon Palace provides us with a microcosm of the development of the inlaid tile industry from its inception through the first fifty years of expansion. Nearly all the basic designs used on the Wessex tiles are present in one form or another. There is no real change in the art style during this period, only differences in the skill with which the current motifs were incorporated in the designs and applied to this highly specialized medium. The Wessex industry, however it was staffed and financed, was a most successful business enterprise. The evidence from Clarendon suggests that there it began under royal patronage but quickly moved on to a wider market.

The kiln must impress us with the care taken to prepare the site and build so sophisticated a structure. We know nothing about the designers of the pavements or of the individual tiles. Possibly they were copying from some pattern book of Gothic decoration. One sees a slow degeneration in the art work. There is a tendency to move away from the simplest designs and to crowd in more motifs. There is also a tendency, over the wider area beyond Clarendon, to discard the plain glazed tiles that provide such a good foil to the decorated ones and to replace the narrow undecorated bands of the king's chapel pavement and the plain oblong tiles of the queen's chamber pavement with decorated elements. These, though sufficiently attractive in themselves, offer no contrast and detract from the impact of the arrangement of the panels on the floor.

Although the excavations at Clarendon Palace did not provide the examples of great art that

might have been hoped for, they provided a fine collection of thirteenth-century tiles, the earliest known datable tile kiln in England and a wealth of information about the Wessex industry.

APPENDIX I

The identification and dating of certain of the buildings in Clarendon Palace based on surviving documentation of the reign of Henry III and the excavated remains (fig. 52)

By Elizabeth Eames

In 1965 I published a paper on the royal apartments at Clarendon Palace in the reign of Henry III (Eames 1965), in which I attempted to make a detailed correlation of the documentary and material evidence. Earlier writers, Phillipps, Colt Hoare and Pettigrew (*ibid.*, 58, n. 1, 59 nn. 2 and 4), had all stated that the palace was a collection of single-storey buildings. During the 1930s Borenius and Charlton correlated many of their excavated buildings with the medieval documentation and both they and, later, Colvin stated that the king's apartments (7, 8 and 9) were in two-storey blocks (information supplied verbally by Madame A-M. Borenius; Colvin 1963, ii, 912 and 914). It was necessary for me to undertake further work in order to date the tile pavements and kiln as closely as possible, and during this work it became apparent that the queen's apartments (10) were also two-storey buildings. The following and figure 52 summarize the results of this work, published either in 1965 in the paper already mentioned or in 1980 in the introduction to my catalogue of the medieval tiles in the British Museum (Eames 1980, i, 29). Only the buildings in the kitchen court (4) and the royal apartments are relevant to the dating of the tiles and are discussed here.

The quality of the material contained in the documents is of varying degrees of usefulness. Sometimes, particularly in the liberate rolls, instructions are itemized and specific, but in the records of payment in the pipe rolls more often than not several pieces of work are grouped together in one payment and there is little specific information about the location of the buildings referred to. On the other hand, it is important to remember that specific statements are exact and must be taken literally. Such statements about the size and location of buildings are unfortunately rare and usually refer only to new ones. The record of payment for two pieces of work together does not mean that they had any physical proximity, merely that payment for them was made at the same time. Even in the survey of buildings made in 1273 after the accession of Edward I (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 916 n. 11) it cannot be assumed that buildings listed next to each other were necessarily next to each other on the ground, although this is often likely. The layout of the buildings was so complex and the number so great that it was not possible for the surveyor to go systematically from one to the next throughout the palace.

During the excavations of the 1930s, Borenius and Charlton identified the building on the south side of the kitchen court (4a) as the salsary (4k). In his section on Clarendon Palace in the *History of the King's Works*, Colvin identified this building as the larder and identified as the salsary a structure on the north-east corner of the kitchen court (*ibid.*, 913), but there is no doubt that that was a large cess and rubbish pit. This is clear both from Charlton's excavation notes and from the information supplied verbally to me by Madame Borenius. There is no doubt at all about the identification of the two great kitchens and the kitchen court (4e, 4h and 4a respectively). That on the west (4h) is the kitchen present in the reign of King John: a new roof was ordered on 19 April 7 John (1205) (Hoare 1837, 151). The great kitchen (4e) on the north, heavily buttressed on its north corners against the steep slope of the ground, has the dimensions of the new kitchen ordered by Henry III in 1244 (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 912 n. 8). The service rooms (4b, c) at the west end of the great hall (5) close the kitchen court on that side. The other buildings in this area, the larder and *herlebecheria*, are mentioned in the documents. The

meaning of '*herlebecheria*' is uncertain, but it is possible that it was a slaughterhouse. Both Borenius and Colvin suggest that the name might have been applied to the structure (4f) on the north-west corner of the kitchen court (Borenius and Charlton 1936, pl. xx; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 913). If this was so, no other structure remains to be identified as the larder, and it is possible that the building on the south side of the court (4k) fulfilled the two functions of larder and salting house. This building could not have been constructed until the tile kiln (4l) found beneath its floor in the south-west corner had gone out of use and been partially demolished, and I have no doubt that it is in fact the salsary ordered by Henry III at the same time as the great new kitchen in 1244. The dating of this building and of the kiln are interdependent and a terminal date of 1244/5, when the salsary was paid for, agrees well with other evidence for the period of the life of the kiln.

The position of the great hall (5) is not open to doubt. A large portion of its east wall is still standing and foundations of the rest have been located by excavation. This hall was built in the reign of Henry II and altered in the reign of Edward III (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 911 n. 4 and 917 n. 7), but there is no indication that there was any change in its size or location in the fourteenth century.

The private apartments of the king and queen (7-10) are located to the east of the great hall. Because the buildings were of two storeys, the number of rooms that existed and were mentioned in the documents was roughly double the number that appear on any of the ground plans derived from the excavations. These ground-floor rooms represent the lower floors and it is highly probable that the principal rooms were often on the floor above. Using the information present in the documents I endeavoured not only to identify the lower rooms present on the ground, but also those in the long-vanished upper floors, and the plans embodying my conclusions are reproduced as fig. 52. From them it can be seen that in about 1230 the king's apartments were in a single building of which the ground floor was divided into two, and the queen's apartments were in a single detached two-storey block. Between 1230 and 1260 great building works and alterations to existing buildings were undertaken and by the end of that period the private apartments probably had the form shown on fig. 52. The improvements in the area between the great hall and the king's chambers consisted of the roofing of the outside stair which led to the upper floor, the improvement of the landing at the top of that stair with access to an upper privy, the construction of the equivalent of a modern cloakroom for the household on the north side of the area between the hall and the great chamber with a ground-floor privy, and the construction of a pentice or covered way between the east door of the great hall and the bottom of the great chamber stair, to which there was a door at ground level.

It seems probable that the western room on the ground floor of the king's chamber was that designated the king's lower chamber, to which there was access at the bottom of the great chamber stair. There was no door from this room into the eastern room, which was almost certainly the king's wardrobe. Access to this room was obtained through a door in its south-east corner, at the end of a new pentice constructed from the queen's chamber to the king's wardrobe. Other improvements to this area consisted of a new or reconstructed wardrobe, 30 ft. (9.14 m.) long, extending north from the king's chambers to a large privy (Eames 1965, 60-2).

During the 1230s Elias of Dereham constructed a great new chapel building (8, 9) for Henry III. It was situated north-east of the king's chamber overlapping that end of the building sufficiently for a communicating door to be inserted (fig. 52). The chapel itself was on the upper floor (9) and when the building was first finished the ground floor was divided into two, the room on the west being the chamber of the king's chaplains and that on the east the queen's wardrobe. Communication between the king's new chapel and the chamber of his chaplains below it was by a trap door and a ladder, presumably a fixed ladder such as is still to be found in many belfries. In July 1247 Henry ordered a new chamber for his chaplains and two years later he ordered a new wardrobe for the queen, contiguous to the new chamber for his chaplains and forming with it a range of buildings 50 ft. (15.25 m.) long. The building which fulfils these conditions is the east-west range (10c, 10d) at the south end of the queen's

CLARENDON PALACE

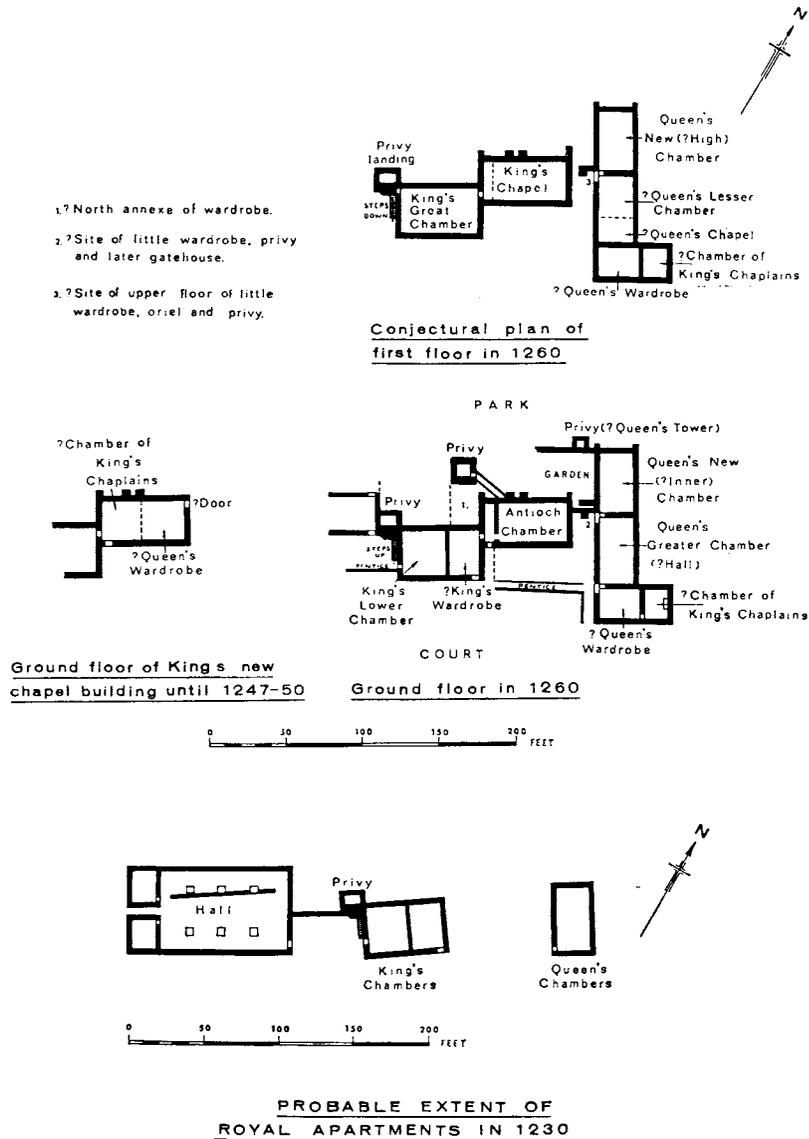


FIG. 52. The king's and queen's apartments (from Eames 1965, figs. 7 and 8)

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chambers. After this range was completed and the lower floor of the king's chapel therefore vacated, the wall between the two rooms of the ground floor was removed, and a new partition was erected screening the doors from the court and the king's wardrobe from the main body of the room. A very elaborate scheme of improvement was then undertaken. This included a new chimney and a new stair to the chapel above, green-painted wainscot with gilt stars and a series of mural paintings illustrating the siege of Antioch and the combat of Richard and Saladin. The chamber (8) was afterwards known as the Antioch chamber. All the work was paid for in the following year. A tiled pavement was ordered in 1252 and paid for in 1253 (*ibid.*, 62-5).

In his description of the room Colvin stated that the dado of the pavement contained tiles portraying the combat of Richard and Saladin (*ibid.*, 65 n. 6). Although this may have been so, no such tiles were found in the room and I have found no documentary evidence for this either. Vertically placed tiles decorated with a combat between two knights were found facing the end 'bench' in the range at the south of the queen's chambers. Although Borenius and Charlton identified this as a combat between Richard and Saladin and suggested that this was derived from the well-known representation of this combat on circular tiles at Chertsey Abbey (*ibid.*, 65 n. 7), there is no real resemblance between them. The Clarendon knights may be regarded as part of a fairly widespread series of representations of knights in combat on oblong tiles designed to be set vertically (Eames 1980, ii, designs 1298–1305; see also pl. LVa).

The building at the south end of the queen's range, which I have identified as that containing the chamber of the king's chaplains and the queen's wardrobe, does present some problems, although I myself have no doubt that the identification is correct (Eames 1965, 64 nn. 1, 2 and 3). Not only is this building 50 ft. (15.25 m.) long, the size mentioned in the documents, but before work could begin 'the wall by the Rock facing the park' had to be removed. The Rock was the great cellar of the king's wines (**12**), and there is no doubt about its location because its underground parts remain in a remarkable state of preservation. Its position in relation to the queen's apartments and the east-west building at their southern end may be seen in fig. 10. When the part of it which formed the queen's wardrobe was completed, new walls to replace the 'wall by the Rock' just demolished were ordered, as well as a stone gate. Some months later a further order was made for a 'transverse' gateway between the queen's wardrobe and the chamber of Hugh de Nevill, with a chamber for the bailiff over the gate, so this new gate was again a two-storey gatehouse, suggesting that the queen's wardrobe was on two floors also (*ibid.*, 76). Hugh de Nevill was the king's chief verderer during the reign of King John and the building in which he lived would therefore be one of the older ones in the palace. It was still known by his name in the Survey of 1273, made after the accession of Edward I, when it was said to need a new roof. It was so close to the new 50-ft. building that the gap between them could be bridged by a gatehouse. It is possible that this chamber lay east of the great wine cellar (**12**), an area not excavated in the 1930s, but no structure was recorded in that area during the 1820s. The most likely position for this chamber seems therefore to be above the cellar of the king's wines.

When the 50-ft. building at the south end of the queen's apartments was excavated in the 1930s, its eastern room (**10c**) was found to contain the remains of an altar against the east wall. There was a communicating door between that room and the room to the west (**10d**). The most logical interpretation would be that the chaplains lived in the western part, and had their chapel in the east, and this may have been the final arrangement because the eastern room had no outside door, and could only be reached through that on the west. The problem here is that the queen's new wardrobe was specifically said to be contiguous to the chamber of the king's chaplains and with it to make a 50-ft. building. The western room has a door in its north wall communicating with what I regard as the ground floor of the queen's original block (**10b**), and another leading on to the pentice going to the king's wardrobe.

It has been suggested that this ground-floor chapel (**10c**) was the queen's chapel, but the queen's chapel was undoubtedly on an upper floor, as the documents refer to a room below it and moreover it was already in existence in 1235/6 when payment was made for repairs to the gutters of what is described as the queen's new chapel (*ibid.*, 73–4). This suggests that already in the mid 1230s an older building which needed repairs to its gutters had recently been converted into a private chapel for the queen. I have not noticed any later mention of another new chapel although this is not certain evidence that another was not built. I have suggested that the queen's chapel was a fairly small oratory constructed in the south end of the upper floor of the queen's original chamber block (fig. 52).

An order of 14 March 28 Henry III refers to the greater and lesser chambers of the queen, indicating that even in 1244 the queen had still only two chambers, supposedly the ground floor and upper floor of

her original block. At some time soon after this a new chamber was built for her. No order for it survives, but on 19 February 1246 the king issued an order to the sheriff of Wiltshire 'as he loveth his life and chattels to take diligent care that the Queen's new chamber be finished before Whitsuntide whencesoever the monies for the completion of it may be procured'. A chimney was to be provided on its upper floor, so this new building was also of two storeys. It was described as being towards the park. The most northerly building (**10a**) in the queen's range, buttressed and terraced against the slope of the ground, can be identified as this new chamber with reasonable certainty (*ibid.*, 75).

Whereas it is comparatively easy to identify the major rooms in the king's apartments and to allocate them to their specific use, the apartments of the queen pose a more difficult problem. We can assume that after the construction of the northern extension her north-south range consisted of two ground-floor chambers and at least two upper chambers, with the possibility that the more southerly of these also contained an oratory or chapel. It is certain that the southern east-west range (**10c**, **10d**) contained her wardrobe, but whether on the upper or lower floor is uncertain. We have already mentioned that before either the north or south parts of her apartments were constructed a greater and lesser chamber were referred to in the documents, as was also her chapel on an upper floor. After the extensions had been built references are made not only to her chambers and chapel, but to her hall and her high chamber. In 1251/2 screens were ordered for three chambers and her high chamber, suggesting that at this stage she had four rooms, one designated her hall. It would seem most logical that the upper floor of the new northern building projecting out over the edge of the escarpment (**10a**) might have been called her high chamber, but there is no proof of this. On the other hand the term hall had not been used before the northern building was constructed and it might be supposed that that contained her hall. One possibility is that the hall was on the ground floor with the high chamber above it. However, only four years after the completion of this new northern block, the king ordered the rebuilding of the chimney in the queen's hall with marble columns on either side of it, and sculptured representations of the twelve months on the mantling. This could be an alteration in one of the new rooms, but it sounds more like the refurbishing of an old one. It is possible that, with the two new private rooms at her disposal, the queen gave up one of the older rooms to her household, and that thereafter it was known as her hall (*ibid.*, 75-6).

The survey of 1273 states that during the last visit of Henry III to Clarendon there had been a fire in the queen's apartments during which the joists of the 'inner chamber' of the queen were burnt. Evidence of this burning was present in the tiled pavement on the ground-floor room of her northernmost building (**10a**) and there can be no doubt that this fire took place in its upper floor. Unfortunately the use of a new term 'inner chamber' does not help us with the identification of the terms used earlier. Repairs for the damage caused by the fire were paid for in 1275 (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 916 nn. 11 and 12).

There remains some doubt about the exact use of the component rooms of the southern east-west block (**10c**, **10d**). One possibility is that the chamber of the king's chaplains had originally been envisaged as a two-storey building containing their chamber on one floor and their chapel on the other, and that the slightly later building of the queen's wardrobe attached to it, which was also on two floors, was originally intended to be used as her wardrobe. However, a possible change of plan is indicated by lack of external access to the eastern part which contains the altar and its door communicating with the western ground-floor room. This suggests that once the whole range was completed both rooms on the ground floor were used by the chaplains, with the probability that the whole of the upper floor was the queen's wardrobe.

The western ground-floor room (**10d**) had access not only to the room with the altar and the external pentice, but also to the ground floor of the queen's original chamber block (**10b**). It is, however, possible that that door had been in use before the southern range was constructed and that it was then blocked up, because there is also access to that ground-floor room at its north-west corner (fig. 52). It

can therefore be seen that, although it is possible to decide the order of construction of the various components of the queen's apartments with reasonable certainty, it remains difficult to assign to each its exact use.

Just as the wardrobes, garderobes and privies associated with the king's apartments were improved and added to during the reign of Henry III, so were improvements carried out in these facilities for the queen. At the time when her wardrobe was situated under the eastern end (8) of the king's new chapel (9), various alterations took place in the area between this and her original block to the east (10b). During the excavations of the 1930s very complicated remains of structures were uncovered in this area and the documents indicate that several periods of construction and reconstruction took place. Between 1242 and 1244, when the external stairs to her upper chamber were removed, her 'little wardrobe' had an upper floor constructed with a fireplace and an internal stair which may have been either in the wardrobe or in the chamber, and a new privy was constructed on each floor. Surprisingly, the new upper floor was wainscoted and paved with tiles. This is the first reference to a tiled pavement in the queen's apartments. In the lower room, four new windows were to be constructed each 1 ft. (0.3 m.) wide and barred with iron bars. They were to be placed so high in the wall that people on the ground outside could not see in. It is possible that this structure also provided access at its western end to the ground-floor wardrobe under the king's chapel, although no indication of a doorway there appears in the excavation plans. Had there been one it would certainly have been blocked when the Antioch chamber (8) was created under the chapel (Eames 1965, 74).

It would seem that after the completion of the northern part of her chambers another privy was constructed to the north of her garden wall. This was found during excavation and is shown on the plan, fig. 10. This may have been used in addition to, or instead of, that already referred to between her original chamber and the king's chapel. It is possible that this privy was 'the tower beyond the queen's chamber' which was roofed with lead paid for in 1253/4. Again in 1259/60 an order was given to joist and cover the queen's tower with lead. It is not certain whether the two different 'towers' or only one are here so designated, but it would seem more probable that there were two, as the entry in 1253/4 is payment for work completed; possibly the second order is for a new roof on the structure between her old chambers and the king's chapel. Privies were certainly present in both places and whereas the earlier one had been referred to as an oriel, this does not mean that it might not later have been referred to as a tower (*ibid.*, 79).

The improvements present in the new buildings and added to the old included better wall chimneys with new fireplaces and mantling, new screens beside the door to stop the draughts, new wainscots and wall paintings, new glazed windows, some painted, some with opening casements, and new tiled floors which, besides being decorative, were hard-wearing and flat and offered a good base for the more elaborate furniture that was gradually introduced. All these improvements added to the comfort, convenience, and splendour of these rooms. By the end of the reign of Henry III Clarendon Palace was a far larger and grander complex of buildings than it had been before his marriage.

APPENDIX II

Animal remains from the ditch beneath the salsary (4k) and the kiln (4l)

By M.A.L. Bracegirdle and Dale Serjeantson

In the excavation of the section of the ditch discovered beneath the salsary (4k) and site of the kiln (4l) (see figs. 37-8), 34 bones were recovered, of which 23 were identified. They are very well preserved and the presence of small bones and shells gives confidence that the representation of species is a good

TABLE II. Animal remains from the ditch beneath the salsary (4k) and kiln (4l)

<i>Species</i>	<i>Anatomical part</i>
MAMMALS	
Horse (<i>Equus caballus</i>)	lower molar tooth (P ₂)
Cattle (<i>Bos taurus</i>)	distal humerus
Pig (<i>Sus scrofa</i> var. <i>domesticus</i>)	mandible, ulna, femur, tibia, skull fragments
Fallow deer (<i>Dama dama</i>)	2 scapula fragments, distal radius, distal tibia, ilium fragment, metacarpal, navicular-cuboid
Cattle-size	2 fragments
Sheep/pig-size	7 fragments
BIRDS	
Domestic fowl (<i>Gallus gallus</i>)	sternum, femur
Domestic fowl/pheasant	sacrum
Mallard (<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>)	scapula
SNAILS	
<i>Helix aspera</i> , Müller 1774	shell
<i>Cepaea hortensis</i> , Müller 1774	shell
<i>Trichia striolata</i> , Pfeiffer 1828	shell
<i>Discus rotundatus</i> , Müller 1774	shell

We thank B. Meddens for her assistance with the snail identifications.

reflection of the material originally in the ditch. There are four mammalian species and two, or possibly three, bird species present. Four snails were also recovered (table II). The bones are stored at present at the Department of Extra-mural Studies, University of London.

The horse tooth was from a young animal, as can be seen from the open roots. Use of Levine's (1982) data indicates that the horse was about two years old at death. Remains of horses found on medieval sites are usually of old animals, and the presence of remains of a younger one suggests that horses may have been bred at the site. The cattle humerus was too damaged for measurements to be taken, but was a little larger than that of a modern specimen of an adult female Jersey cow with which it was compared. There were also some cow-sized long-bone fragments which could all have been pieces of the same bone.

As the palace was used as a hunting lodge, the possibility that the pig remains were of wild boar was considered, but as most of the bones were from immature pigs it was not possible to establish this. The mandible was almost certainly from a domestic pig, as the diastemas between the incisors and the canine, and between the canine and the first premolar, were small. It was a young animal: DPM₄ is still in place, M₂ is unworn and the perforation in the crypt for M₃ is still small. According to the criteria of Bull and Payne (1982) it would have been 8–10 months old at death. The other pig bones are unfused, and therefore are also from an animal less than one year old at death, so they could all have come from the same animal. There was a cut mark on the proximal articulation of the ulna.

Fallow deer were represented by several bones. A complete metacarpal had the following measurements (following von den Driesch 1976): GL 202.0, Dp 22.2, Bp 31.8, SD 20.0, Bd 31.0, Dd 20.0. The length is at the top of the range for the male fallow deer studied by Bosold (1966). Two cuts on the front of the navicular-cuboid are visible with the aid of a lens. They are typical dismembering cuts, as illustrated by Binford (1981, 122). Fallow deer were probably introduced in the Roman period, and became common from Norman times. The number of parks with fallow deer grew from 31 recorded in Domesday Book to about 700 by the early seventeenth century (Lever 1979, 160).

There were four bird bones: a sternum and femur, both of chicken a little larger than a modern bantam in size, and a sacrum fragment, probably also of chicken, but here the possibility could not be

ruled out that it was from pheasant. A duck scapula was identified as mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*), possibly domestic, as it was a large specimen.

There was no evidence of gnawing on the bones, which is an indication that the deposit was rapidly covered.

Though the horse tooth is unlikely to have come from an animal which was eaten, the rest of the bones appear to be food remains, with the relatively numerous fallow deer bones bearing witness to the consumption of hunted (or park) animals at the palace.

PART IV
FINDS: THE SPECIALIST REPORTS

POTTERY AND ROOF TILES

By A.M. Robinson

THE floor tiles from Clarendon, together with the Clarendon kiln and the potsherds recovered in her excavations, are discussed above by Mrs Eames (pp. 127 ff. and fig. 39). Apart from these, there are table and kitchen ceramics and roof tiles in the museum collections of finds from Clarendon, together with fragments of at least two large cylindrical objects which appear to link in sections, and which may have been ceramic piping either for water or for drains (p. 182, no. 29 and fig. 57).

Laverstock

Pottery

The vast majority of the pottery vessels so far found at Clarendon Palace almost certainly came from the nearby medieval kilns at Laverstock, 1 mile south-east of Salisbury, within the Royal Forest of Clarendon and alongside the road from Salisbury to the palace (above, fig. 1, p. 3). Nine kilns at Laverstock were excavated by a team under the direction of Mr John Musty. A date range of *c.* 1230–75 emerged for these kilns from palaeomagnetic dating (Musty *et al.* 1969, 93). A tenth kiln was excavated in 1978 to the west of the site of the other kilns and nearer to the river.

The development of Clarendon Palace and Laverstock seems thus to be interrelated, at least from the thirteenth century. Clarendon received its requirements of ceramic vessels from the Laverstock kilns. The vessels ranged from mundane and rough-looking kitchen wares to the most lavish and exotic fine-bodied and highly ornamented table wares, for which the Laverstock kilns are so famous (pl. LVI*b*). As Musty observed, the pottery industry at Laverstock probably developed as a result of the demands of the nearby palace at Clarendon (Musty *et al.* 1969, 85). No doubt there were other local factors at work too, for the kilns tie in neatly with the foundation and rapid growth of nearby Salisbury after 1220. More immediately, the site at Laverstock recommended itself as a centre for a pottery industry, not only because of its easy access to sources of suitable clay, but also because of the availability of ready supplies of fuel and water. The clay came from nearby deposits of the Reading Beds, probably from Cockey Down, Alderbury and the Clarendon ridge; the wood was supplied from Clarendon Forest; and the water from the river Bourne. The kilns were discovered sited on a slope just above the river.

Laverstock coarse and fine wares

The Laverstock coarse 'scratch-marked wares' were mostly made into bowls and cooking pots. The Laverstock kilns also produced other coarse ware products which included ridge

tiles, chimney pots and drain pipes (Musty *et al.* 1969, 99). These wares are similar in composition to the domestic wares, but with a coarser grading of inclusions and a higher flint content. As so much of the Clarendon assemblage consists of Laverstock fine wares, it is useful to summarize the fine wares produced at the kiln site. These are wheel-thrown and are more finely gritted and thin-walled than the coarse wares. They are either plain or decorated with combinations of incised designs and a rich variety of applied motifs which are often highlighted with red, brown and black contrast glazes. Examples of these types abound in the Clarendon collection. The fabrics are made of a local clay with the occasional addition of crushed ironstone or crushed flint. Spectrographic analysis of the glazes showed that these are of lead with a high calcium-compound content, with some tin and traces of silver, the latter thought to be an impurity. The polychrome glaze effects were shown to have been achieved by the addition of iron to give the contrasting colours (Musty *et al.* 1969, 91–2; Thomas and Musty 1961, 1143; Musty and Thomas 1962, 38).

The vessel forms of the Laverstock fine wares are mostly represented in the Clarendon collection. The fine ware group from Laverstock includes glazed pipkins, cauldrons, skillets, bowls and dishes as well as jugs. A variety of more specialized forms were also found at Laverstock including money boxes, mortars, lamps and aquamaniles.

Other local kilns

Apart from a kiln discovered in 1972/3 in Guilder Lane, Salisbury, it is not known whether other kilns were operating in the area either earlier, later, or at the same time as those at Laverstock. Products of other local kilns could be difficult to distinguish from the output of Laverstock as the clay and the tempering sources would be similar and the characteristic styles could well have been related. Indeed, a number of indicators do suggest other local sources of pottery. In particular a floor-tile kiln has been excavated from Clarendon, and there are strong indications that there was at least one other kiln on the palace site (above, pp. 157–9). Other indicators include the tangible evidence of two pottery ‘wasters’, one from West Grimstead and the other from Ashley Hill near Petersfinger. References to a centre operating near Milford bridge in 1270 probably refer to Laverstock itself, while roof tiles were supplied from Alderbury in the fourteenth century. Documents also provide insights into the links between the kilns and the surrounding forest, such as references to local potters collecting brushwood in Clarendon Park and Forest between 1318 and 1323 to fire their kilns (Musty *et al.* 1969, 83, footnote).

The Clarendon assemblage

As the catalogue below bears ample witness, and as stated above, almost all the Clarendon pottery assemblage would appear to have been produced at Laverstock, as far as current knowledge permits us to distinguish local wares. Ideally, the Clarendon material should be used to amplify our knowledge of the production and distribution of Laverstock wares. A detailed examination of the pottery should produce recognizable ceramic types, while the associated stratigraphic contexts should produce a dating framework. On the whole, such detail is missing from the Clarendon records. Excavations under Mr Musty at a number of locations on the site in 1961 were designed to establish just such a framework of chronology through examination of stratified deposits. These aims were frustrated because the promise of

the areas chosen for examination proved to be illusory. The ash-pits area (4g) to the north-west of the great hall (5), for example, rapidly proved to be not a deep midden area, but merely a layer of rubbish and building debris spread thinly over the hillside (above, p. 52).

Non-Laverstock pieces include a few residual Roman sherds indicating a Roman presence in the area (below, p. 177; and Coins, p. 197). Medieval imports to the site from elsewhere in England, apart perhaps from catalogue no. 63a, are not distinguishable, although fragments of a maiolica pot of Mediterranean origin and fragments of a number of Rhenish stoneware jugs confirm the widespread contacts of the palace.

Dates and types

Most of the material appears to belong to the mid and later thirteenth century, for there is an abundance of the fine and lavishly decorated jugs and vessels characteristic of the kilns at Laverstock. There is little fine material that is plain or simply decorated. There is little evidence of the vessel described as the tripod-pitcher type, which appears on a number of southern and western sites, for example at Winchester, Oxford and Gloucester. This tripod-pitcher type of vessel appears on these sites in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and seems to have been present at Old Sarum in twelfth-century contexts (Stone and Charlton 1935, 184–90). There is a substantial quantity of 'scratch-marked ware', but this cannot be more narrowly dated than between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (above, pp. 169–70). Musty dates the life of the Laverstock kilns to the period 1230–75 (Musty *et al.* 1969, 63), but, as he has pointed out, there are signs of earlier and later ceramic production in the area. He also notes a deterioration in quality of the later material. The site of Clarendon Palace was certainly in full use in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and no doubt ceramic vessels were in use there at that period. Although it is not possible to assign pottery with certainty to fourteenth-century pits and floor levels, it would seem beyond doubt that at least some of the material listed here is at least fourteenth-century.

A vital question to which an answer must be sought is that of non-thirteenth-century pottery supplies. The Laverstock material has mostly been dated to the period 1230–75, as stated above, but there are signs of earlier activity there. The excavators ascribed at least one cesspit, other pits and some structural features at Laverstock to a pre-kiln twelfth-century date (Musty *et al.* 1969, 93). The Laverstock ceramics have been divided into two groups, coarse domestic wares and fine table wares. The latter belong to the highest production phase in the later thirteenth century. The coarse wares, on the other hand, have been dated both typologically and stratigraphically to the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The domestic wares are subdivided into three types, termed A, B and C. Type A is described as being of twelfth-century form and fabric and not associated with thirteenth-century glazed wares. Type B is described as twelfth century in form and fabric, but from stratigraphic contexts associated with thirteenth-century glazed wares. Type C is 'of developed twelfth century form and fabric associated in kilns and pits with assured late thirteenth century glazed wares' (Musty *et al.* 1969, 99–100).

The almost complete absence of wares from Clarendon which can be ascribed with confidence to any period after 1275 is surprising in the light of the copious documentary evidence of extensive use of the site by royalty and as a forest prison in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. None of the pottery catalogued here can be dated any later than the early fourteenth

century. No obvious explanation of this phenomenon seems readily acceptable, particularly as other finds from the site can be dated to the later period. It seems implausible that the early pottery vessels listed here remained in use up to the end of the Middle Ages. It seems equally unlikely that the extensive excavations which have taken place over the last fifty years have by chance failed to locate areas in use for refuse disposal in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The documentary evidence unequivocally points to much activity at Clarendon between 1300 and 1500: major building works being carried out on occasions throughout the period. A partial explanation of the dearth of later materials may be found in the fifteenth-century record of the removal of 500 cartloads of rubbish from the site (above, p. 42). Martin Biddle draws a parallel between the carting away of rubbish from Clarendon and the regular removal of rubbish from Wolvesey Palace in Winchester. However, as he himself admits, the survival of such a mass of material from one period at Clarendon, to the virtual exclusion of earlier and later pottery, remains a puzzle (Martin Biddle, pers. comm.). An answer to this striking lack of early and late pottery from Clarendon must be sought in further examination of the site.

Contexts on the site

Wherever pottery can be assigned to site contexts, these have been noted. The difficulties of providing a chronological sequence of the wares through the establishment of stratigraphic sequences, and thus occupational phases, across the site, have proved virtually insurmountable. What is clear, however, is that the pottery now in the museum collections came from various specific locations across the site. There seems no doubt from the accompanying catalogue that the pottery described here was found in greatest quantity, as might be expected, in the kitchen area (4), in particular in the kitchen cloister (4a) and in the ash-pit or midden area (4g), also in the salsary (4k) and the north kitchen (4e). The area described as the royal apartments (7), (8) and (10) also produced a good deal of pottery. A small amount can be identified from the western entrance (2), the cellars (12) and the eastern perimeter buildings (16). In 1961 Mr Musty found pottery in all the areas he investigated on the site, from the north boundary wall (1k) of the terrace (1i) and in the ash-pits or middens (4g) in the north-west area of the site, to the southern boundary ditch and bank (1d) in the extreme south-east corner of the site. There is ample evidence from correspondence and contemporary newspaper reports from the 1930s that quantities of pottery were found elsewhere at Clarendon than in the locations mentioned here, for example in the small structure (6c) between the large east-west building (6a) and the north-south building (6b) towards the south of the site, and in the structure described as being built of 'good knapped flint' (13d) (above, p. 122). These structures, together with the southern area of the site as a whole, were excavated towards the end of the 1930s excavations, and the records of this part of the 1930s campaign are now less complete than for earlier seasons. For this reason extreme caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions from the statements about archaeological context made here, although it has been possible to reconstruct something of the archaeological contexts of the museum pottery collections as they now exist.

Roof tiles

The museum collections include a small quantity of ceramic roof tiles, although it is apparent from the various written reports that roof-tile fragments are to be found in quantity at the site.

Indeed copious remains of ridge and plain roof tiles are still scattered across the surface of the site at Clarendon. Fragments of such tile are common in the demolition and silt layers. Clearly, many of the buildings at Clarendon were roofed with tile, at least from the thirteenth century. Documentary evidence supports this conjecture (above, pp. 38, 74). Roof tile was also used in structural contexts, judging from many of the field drawings, photographs and written records of excavations at Clarendon. Many of the tiles have mortar adhering. This could be remnants of torching, or may result from original use in structural contexts, or may result from a combination of mortaring for both functions. The 1961 excavations led by Mr Musty produced fragments of stone tile (Stonework, p. 249, nos. 86–8 and fig. 95), found together with fragments of ceramic roof tile. It is likely that some of the structures may have had roofs tiled in stone. Shingles were certainly common in the earlier period (above, p. 11), although none has survived. Other organic coverings, such as thatch, may have been used as well.

The ceramic roof tiles housed at the British Museum and at the Salisbury Museum include about thirty fragments from the 1930s excavations and about fifty from the 1961 excavations. The roof tiles were found at a variety of stratigraphic horizons, which lessens their potential for dating. They do, however, appear to be medieval. They came consistently from medieval contexts and are medieval in fabric and form. It is noteworthy that the fragments found within the silted ditch, which is believed to be early medieval or prehistoric (**1h**), came from a high level of the fill of that ditch (above, p. 74).

Each season of the 1930s excavations produced roof tiles. The more exceptional and complete examples were retained and are now in the museum collections. Contexts which can now be identified include the western entrance (**2**), the kitchens (**4**), especially (**4h**), the northern ranges, **5–9**, outside the queen's apartments (**10**), and from the great courtyard (**6**). As noted above, the records of work, particularly towards the south of the site in the 1930s, are now far from complete. The most cursory examination of surface indications today shows tile right across the site. Ridge tile was observed in recent years lying on the surface in areas **15** and **16**. It should be remembered that tile was commonly found in fireplaces and in lacing courses throughout the site, as recorded in contemporary photographs and records, for example in fireplaces in **4h** and **13b**, and for lacing at **3e** and **8a** (above, p. 81 and pls. **XXIb**, **XLVIb**). Such tile was, of course, left *in situ*. The 1961 contexts for tile included cuttings one and two from the middens outside the kitchen area (**4g**); a few fragments were found during excavations on the terrace (**1i**); some in the silted-up ditch which is believed to have been early medieval or prehistoric (**1h**), and some in the excavations of sections of the southern boundary wall (**1d**) (above, p. 74).

Many of the tiles are plain, double-pegged roof tiles which are typically approximately 26 by 16–18 by 1–1.5 cm. thick. They appear to have been made to size and then left to dry on a flat surface, so that one surface is often smooth. The finished article is often slightly uneven, warped and heavily wiped on the surface. On one the imprint of a dog's foot can be distinguished, a blemish presumably dating from the drying phase. Generally the tiles are oxidized to a light red, occasionally yellowish, colour but patches of reduced grey-coloured clay indicate uneven firing conditions. The fabrics vary in the coarseness of the inclusions but otherwise are very similar. The clay body is fine, with well-mixed quartz inclusions and a few larger quartz, flint and organic inclusions which were presumably added as temper (pp. 174 ff.). Although more coarse than the pottery ascribed to the Laverstock kilns, the roof tile clay is

generally similar. The tiles are, however, unlikely to have come from the Laverstock kilns as potters did not normally make flat roof tiles, but only glazed ridge tiles (John Musty, pers. comm.). The flat roof tiles probably therefore originated elsewhere in the forest, for example at Alderbury (above, p. 38).

A number of ridge tiles survive from Clarendon which are similar in scale and character to the flat roof tiles. Some are plain, others are partially covered with patches of light olive-green, and clear orange-yellow glaze. Typically, these ridge tiles have coxcomb creasing along the ridge which is frequently damaged. The creasing provided a handle to lower the tile on to the ridge. This coxcomb creasing may formerly have been graduated on some examples, so that the creasing was wider at the extremes.

The illustrations (fig. 65, nos. 97–101) demonstrate the range of tiles found. They are presumed to be contemporary with the thirteenth-century pottery products, although some may be of later date.

Ceramics: method of study and classification

All the material housed in the British Museum and at the Salisbury Museum has been examined. These collections comprise in all over 2,050 sherds. Certain practical difficulties prevented very detailed examination of the collections from being carried out. It was not possible to fracture sherds and so most of the fabrics were identified by eye, although some were examined microscopically. A few of the vessels were complete, but a significant number, at least a dozen, have been heavily restored, which hindered interpretation. Wherever possible vessel numbers were noted, but on the whole the material was estimated by sherd quantity only. It was not practical to weigh the pottery and so no attempt has been made to estimate the minimum or maximum numbers of vessels present. Furthermore, the precise contexts are seldom known, so that stratigraphic comparisons of types would not be valid. The stores of both museums contain boxes of sherds of fine- and coarse-ware pottery which are very fragmentary and are not marked with respect to provenance. These were not catalogued in detail.

The catalogue and classification system is divided into vessel forms, that is the type and shape of the vessel, with additional classifications of the handle and base types. A separate catalogue of the decorative motifs is to be found at the end of this section. Unless otherwise indicated the classification types are of Laverstock-type wares.

The catalogue numbers correspond to the figure numbers. Wherever possible the number of sherds and/or vessel numbers of a particular type have been indicated. Vessel numbers are minimum numbers of vessels from which the sherds described could have originated.

Fabrics

The pottery at Clarendon is characterized by a small range of fabric types, virtually all of which are of local origin, probably from Laverstock. They have close parallels with the roof-tile fabric types, which will also be described in this section.

Clarendon coarse wares

‘Scratch-marked ware’

Many of the cooking pots are made of a coarse, rough fabric usually called ‘scratch-marked

ware', because the walls of the vessels are heavily marked by scratch lines, probably achieved by heavy wiping of the wares at the leather-hard stage or by using a saw-toothed tool during throwing (John Musty, pers. comm.). Wiping would drag the large sand inclusions across the surface of the vessel, thus scratching it. The effect seems deliberate, almost decorative, rather than merely a technical surface treatment. The very coarse wares are almost always scratched, but occasionally the finer sandy wares are also scratched. The typical scratch-marked ware fabric is coarse and unevenly fired, characterized by a heavy filling, up to 60 per cent, of sub-angular quartz inclusions. These grains range in size, but about half are between 0.5 and 1 mm. and the rest are between 1 and 3 mm. In addition there are occasional sub-angular flints of between 1 and 3 mm. and occasional ironstone inclusions. Mr Musty distinguishes scratch-marked ware from a later type which he describes as 'developed scratch-marked ware' (Musty *et al.* 1969, 105).

Sandy ware

Another coarse ware which appears in cooking pot and bowl forms is of a type often described as 'sandy ware'. It is less common than the scratch-marked wares, appearing in a proportion of about 1:5 to the latter. The sandy wares are also densely packed, up to 60 per cent with quartz inclusions, but the sands are sub-rounded and range in size from 0.25 mm. to 1 mm., with the occasional very large quartz crystal and occasional ironstone. The sandy wares are usually evenly fired and oxidized.

Flint-tempered ware

One other coarse-ware fabric is present in very small quantities in the Clarendon collections. It is similar, indicating a local source, but sufficiently different to suggest that it either comes from a different kiln, or is of a different, probably earlier, date. Again it is found in cooking pots. This fabric is very unevenly fired and is apparently hand-made. The predominant inclusions, up to 50 per cent, are sub-rounded quartz crystals mostly ranging from 0.5 to 1 mm. in size, but with a small quantity, up to 10 per cent, of the smaller grading of between 0.25 and 0.5 mm. There is a considerable quantity of flint temper present, probably up to 15 per cent; these are sub-angular and very coarse, typically between 1 and 4 mm. in length.

Local fine wares

The fine wares are notable for their uniformity of type. A typical fine ware is characterized by quartz and ironstone inclusions. They are mostly well mixed and evenly fired, usually in oxidizing conditions. The quartz inclusions form about 35 per cent of the mix, are sub-rounded and mostly in the fine and medium-size range, that is from 0.1 to 0.5 mm., but with occasional coarse quartz grains of up to 2 mm. in size. Additionally, fine wares have a heavy mix of ironstone, about 25 per cent, which may either be very fine and less than 0.1 mm., or in the larger range of between 0.1 and 0.25 mm., with the occasional grain of up to 2 mm.

Roof-tile fabrics (above, p. 174)

The roof-tile fabrics are of two main types. They appear to be almost identical to either the medium coarse sandy ware or the fine ware, both described above. They may vary a little in that they are likely to be slightly coarser, but the very close similarities are striking. A variation

which appears is another fine fabric, additionally tempered with grog, usually of between 2 and 5 mm. in length.

Imported wares

The Mediterranean maiolica pot, no. 30 (figs. 58 and 59)

The only notable imported piece was a maiolica pot which has in the past been thought to be of Spanish origin. Fragments of this vessel (Catalogue no. 30) were recovered during the course of the excavations in the 1930s. This vessel was first discussed, drawn and published by G.C. Dunning in the interim report on the excavations at Clarendon (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 81–3 and fig. 8). Some sherds at least came from the most westerly of the king's chambers (7g), and others from outside the same building. The piece was reassessed in 1968 (Hurst 1968, 198–204 and fig. 2, 13). The original interpretation was that the pot was a simple globular jar, but when it was re-examined in the 1960s, D.S. Neal, who drew it, thought that it was a vessel with a much wider mouth and much more constricted base.

It is difficult to assess this vessel because only eleven very small and decayed fragments survive. These fragments are only sufficient to indicate the general shape of the vessel. Of the two interpretations the later one, of a wider, less globular jar, is the preferred version and there is now little doubt about the size of the mouth and base. The shape of the body of this vessel is more difficult to reconstruct, given the fragmentary nature of the sherds. It may possibly have been more globular than the recent interpretation suggests. The neck, which may have been more elongated, is the main problem, but here evidence is lacking, since the vital sherds of the neck/body juncture are missing. However that may be, the neck would not appear to have been markedly restricted.

The jar is made of a fine, well-fired, hard red fabric. It is decorated with a tin glaze over green and brown painted patterns. Internally it is covered with a brown lead glaze and falls into Hurst's class two (Hurst 1968, 196). The decoration appears to be of oblique bands of lines and dot and circle designs. The origin of this vessel, together with others of its type, is difficult to trace, but is certainly Mediterranean. J.G. Hurst has located a similar vessel in a museum in Rome (Hurst, pers. comm.). The Rome vessel is a maiolica jar of a more traditional shape with a restricted, more elongated neck, a narrow mouth and a distinctly everted rim. The most interesting feature is the decoration, for it has the characteristic glaze over green and brown painted decoration. The decorative motifs closely parallel the Clarendon ones, being oblique bands of lines and dot and circle designs. The only difference is that the Clarendon vessel has two parallel brown lines, whereas the Rome example has a single wavy line (I am extremely grateful to Mr J.G. Hurst for his help and information about this pot). This may indicate an Italian origin for the Clarendon vessel, but the evidence is meagre and not precise. Since it is a single vessel it must represent no more than fleeting contact between Clarendon and the Mediterranean.

Stonewares

There is a small collection of stoneware fragments from the excavations at Clarendon Palace. They are all of what appear to be the earlier Rhenish types, although the sherds are so fragmentary that close identification is difficult. There is, for example, only one rim.

It has recently become evident that early stonewares and proto-stonewares were being

produced at a number of centres in Germany (Stephan 1983, 95–121). However, the Clarendon sherds appear to be of a typical Siegburg type. The fabrics are grey stonewares, externally salt-glazed and coloured with yellow-brown and reddish-brown washes. They appear to be fragments of plain, lightly rilled jugs with short strap handles and a pinched-in waved foot. In brief, the collection comprises two bases, one rim, three handles and seven body sherds. The fragments are all from different vessels.

The contexts from which they were recovered add little to the dating of these sherds. Only three have approximate contexts noted, these being the south-east corner of 'the courtyard' (perhaps **6**) and the cellar (**12**). Since they are associated with a typical range of Laverstock wares, their dating must be late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century, and such dating would not be out of keeping with current thinking on the dating and distribution of these wares (Stephan 1983, 101). They do not represent an extensive trade, but do confirm the widespread contacts of visitors to Clarendon. Like the Mediterranean maiolica vessel, these stoneware vessels may have arrived on the site with individual visitors.

It is noteworthy that there is a distinct lack of any of the later fifteenth-, sixteenth- or seventeenth-century stonewares in the materials so far recovered from Clarendon.

Roman fragments

A small group of Roman pieces appeared among the finds from the excavations of both the 1930s and 1961. These consist of a fragment of box tile; two sherds of light grey coarse ware, two rim sherds of dark grey/black coarse ware, one of which has a distinct flange; one rim sherd of dark grey sand- and flint-tempered coarse ware and one sherd of dark grey/black sandy coarse ware. These are not illustrated, but appear to represent a wide range of dates within the Roman period. For example, it might be suggested that the light grey coarse wares and the box tile could be early (first or second century A.D.), while the dark grey/black coarse ware rim sherds are probably of a late Roman date, probably from the third or fourth century. It is also noteworthy that the sherds came from opposite corners of the site. The first three sherds listed came from the midden (**4g**) at the north-west corner of the site and the last three sherds were found in the south-east boundary wall (**1d**). The miscellaneous nature of the pieces, both in terms of possible chronological spread and of the widely dispersed locations on the site where they were found, supports the idea that these are residual sherds which may represent a phase of Roman occupation in the vicinity of Clarendon (p.1).

Summary of fabrics

The uniformity and limited range of fabric and form in the Clarendon pottery and roof tile collections is very striking. One can only conclude that the local sources were almost entirely sufficient and also of high enough quality to preclude external competition. The apparent local origin of the vast majority of the ceramic materials so far recovered from Clarendon has predictably resulted in a dearth of other English ceramic types and of imported wares.

Forms

Coarse ware forms

Bottles and costrels, nos. 1 and 2 (fig. 53)

1. Sherds of five vessels. Cylindrical costrel with central straight-sided neck and squared rim. Complete examples approximately 17×7 cm. (length×diameter). (BM 1957, 10–6, 91–95).

Contexts include cloister court (**4a**), solar area (**7**) and 'GW', possibly (**2**) western entrance or gatehouse (Borenus and Charlton 1936, fig. 5, 3).

2. Sherds from four vessels. Bottle or jar with outcurved sides and expanding foot. Rim flat-topped and of triangular section. Height between 15 and 17 cm. (BM 1957, 10-6, 86, 87, 90). Contexts include the salsary (**4k**) (Borenus and Charlton 1936, fig. 5, 1). Compares with Laverstock types (Musty *et al.* 1969, nos. 179, 180, 181).

Mr Musty noted a globular costrel mouth from Clarendon in the Salisbury Museum when at work on the museum's pottery for the *SMMC*. This was numbered 47/57 and thus came from the 1930s excavations. He dated it to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It was not seen by the present writer.

Bowls, nos. 3-12 (figs. 53-4)

3. Sherds from two vessels. Straight-sided shallow bowl with plain rounded rim. Contexts include 'N' (?north) cloister court (**4a**).
4. Two sherds of a restored vessel. Rounded bowl or pie dish, approximately 26 cm. in diameter, with outcurved sides and plain squared rim. (BM 1957, 10-6, 88). From 'Refuse pit from fourteenth century kitchen on north east corner of the site'. This is no doubt from **16** (Borenus and Charlton 1936, fig. 9, 3).
5. Thirteen sherds from three vessels. Rounded bowl or pie dish with incurved sides and straight everted square rim. (BM 1957, 10-6, 103). (SM 47/57; SM CP61). Contexts include 'SAA', probably **7g**, and from the middens (**4g**), CP61 M1/C1(3).
6. Six sherds from four vessels. Rounded bowl, outcurved sides, angular rim. (SM 47/57). Contexts include 'QC2' **10b** and 'SA' **7g**.
7. Two sherds. Bowl, outcurved sides, square-topped rim. (SM 47/57). Context 'QC3', **10d**.
8. Five sherds. Bowl, thickened round crested rim. (SM 47/57).
9. One sherd. Bowl with outcurved sides, rim with squared external projection. (SM 47/57).
10. One sherd. Rounded bowl, outcurved sides, rounded everted rim. (SM 47/57).
11. One sherd. Bowl, rim with rounded external projection. (SM 47/57).
12. Thirty-three sherds from at least three vessels. Bowl or small cooking pot with outcurved sides and a rounded rim. (BM 1957, 10-6, 89; SM 47/57; SM CP61). Contexts include M2/1b, M1/C21, NBW.

Cooking pots, nos. 13-28 (figs. 54-7)

13. One sherd. Cooking pot or bowl with outcurved sides. Rim with plain elongated external projection. (SM 47/57).
- 14, 15. Four sherds from two vessels. Bowl with outcurved sides, vertical rim with two triangular-shaped projections, possibly a lid seating. (BM 1957, 10-6, 111; SM 47/57). Contexts include SAA 1936, **7g**.
- 16-18. Variations of cooking pot with outcurved sides and a straight everted rim with rounded top (Borenus and Charlton 1936, fig. 9).
16. Twenty sherds from eight vessels. (BM 1957, 10-6, 97; SM 47/57; SM CP61). Contexts: 1930s NE Cl Ct, **4a**; Tip 1, perhaps **5**, **4g** or **4h**; S-1, 7. 1961 Bank 1, M2/1a.
- 17, 18. Seventy sherds from twelve vessels. (BM 1957, 10-6, 97 and 105; SM 47/57; SM CP61). Contexts for 17 include Tip 1, ?**4h**, **4g** or **5**; cloister court, **4a**; S-1, S+, solar S-2, **7**; CP61 M2/1(b), **4g**.
- 19-28. Variations of cooking pot with outcurved sides, straight everted rim with flat or angular top (Borenus and Charlton 1936, fig. 9).

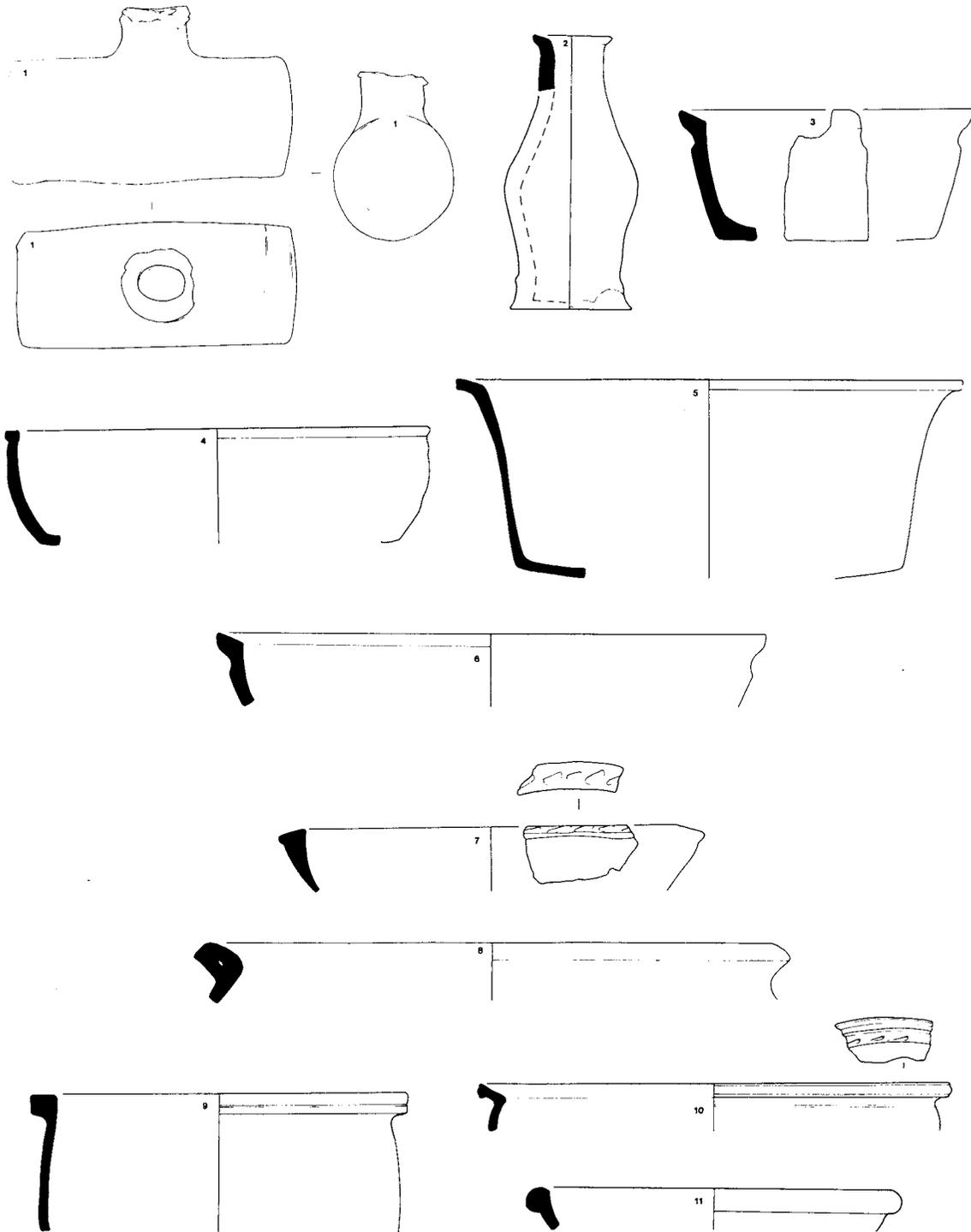


FIG. 53. Pottery (1-11) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

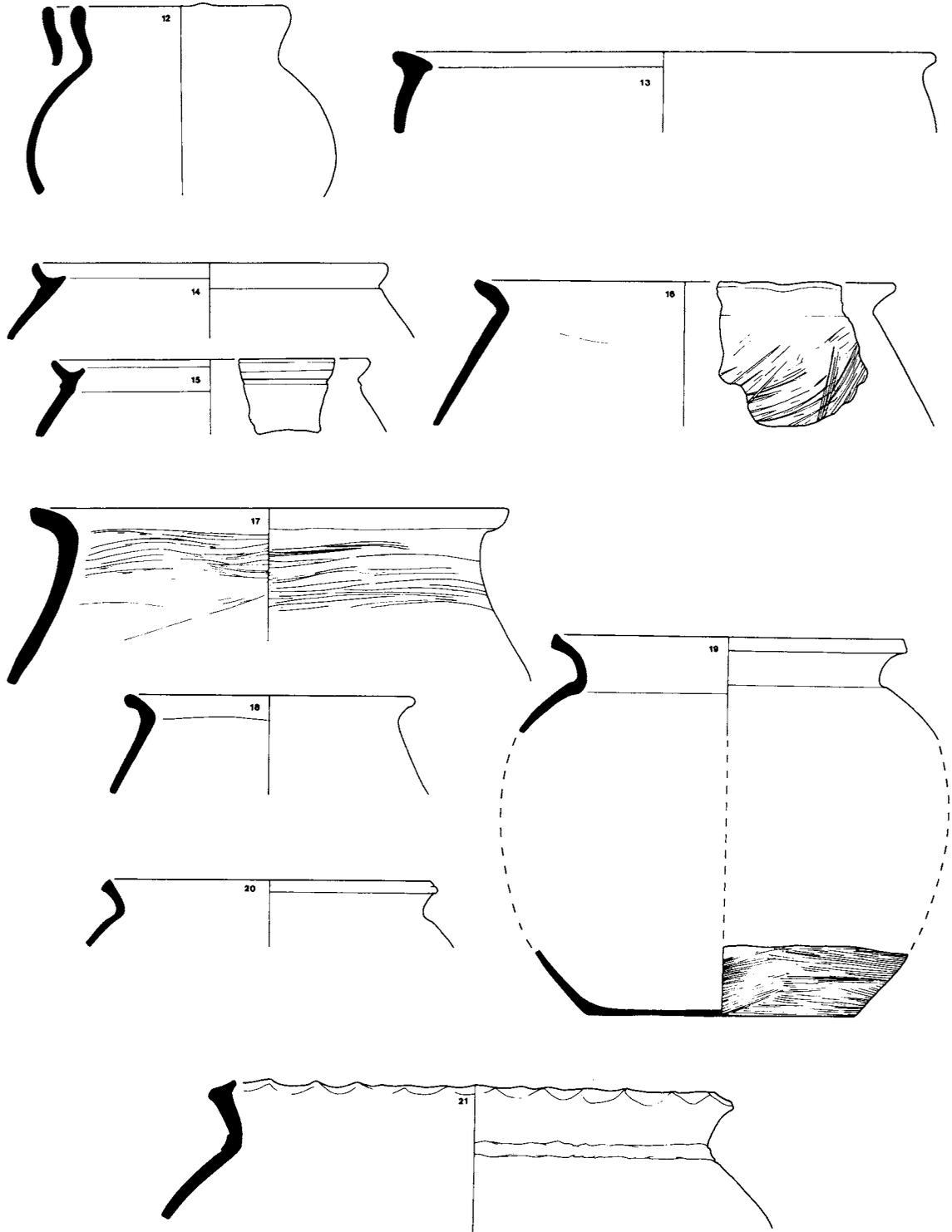


FIG. 54. Pottery (12-21) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

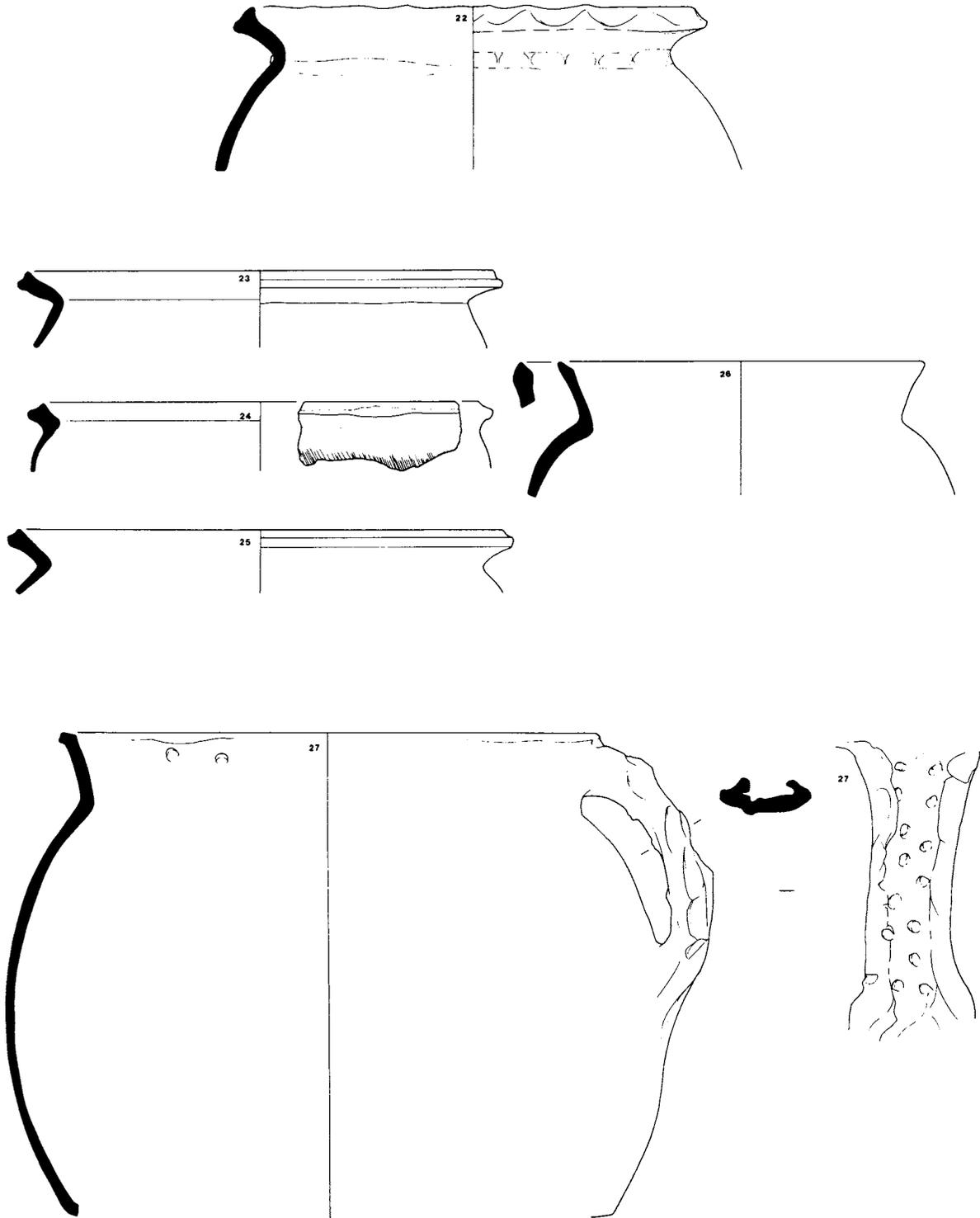


FIG. 55. Pottery (22-7) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

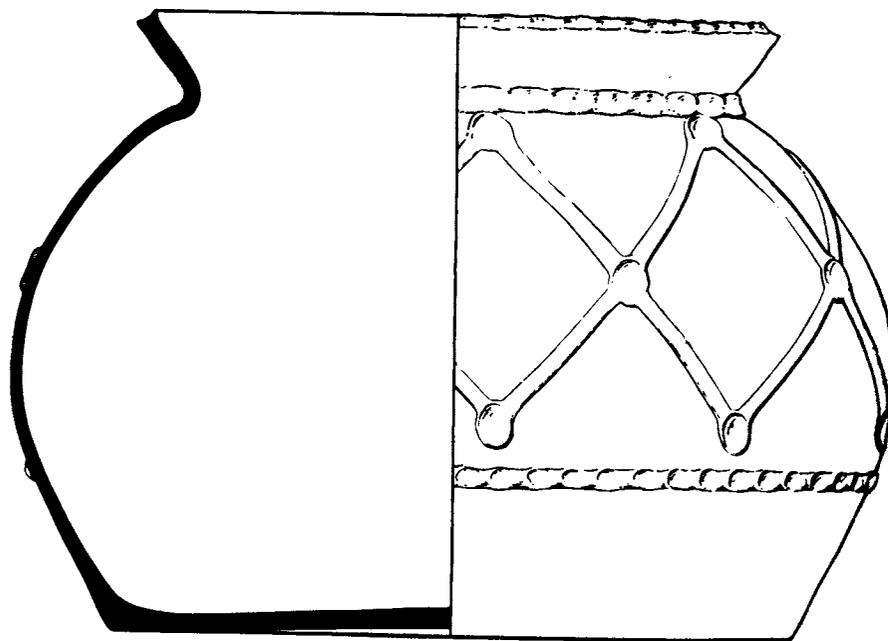


FIG. 56. Pottery: the late Gerald Dunning's drawing of no. 28; this reconstructed vessel is now on display in the British Museum ($\frac{1}{4}$)

- 19, 20, 21, 22. Fifty-six sherds from at least thirteen vessels. Cooking pots with outcurved sides and straight everted squared rims. (BM 1957, 10-6, 97; SM 47/57; SM CP61). Contexts include solar, solar A, **7g** 'Top of flint building' (?**7a**); KFB (unidentified). 1961 M1/C1(3), M1/C2(3), **4g**.
- 23, 24, 25. Twenty-four sherds. (BM 1957, 10-6, 97; SM 47/57; SM CP61). Context cloister, **4a**; S-1, SAA+, NSA, SA, **7g**; 1961 M1/C3(A) **4g**, NBW, 1.
26. Nine sherds. (BM 1957, 10-6, 118). Context S+, **7**; SAA, **g**.
27. Very large reconstructed cooking pot with outcurved sides, straight everted rim, with strap handle. Context unknown.
28. Very large reconstructed cooking pot with outcurved sides decorated with lattice applied strips with thumb pads at intersections and at the neck. Context unknown. Fig. 56 is Gerald Dunning's drawing of this pot, from a glass slide reproduction.

Miscellaneous coarse-ware item, no. 29 (fig. 57)

29. Twenty fragments from at least two large cylindrical objects. Fabric very similar to roof-tile fabric. A band of finger-tip decoration on one object. Possibly a chimney pot, but no soot present. Possibly sections of water pipe, but flanges and splays not evident. (BM 1957, 10-6, 99A and B). Context unknown.

Fine ware forms

Imported wares, nos. 30-34 (fig. 58)

30. Maiolica pot. Eleven fragments, four conjoined. Large polychrome maiolica jar. Outcurved sides, flat base, straight, rounded rim. Various reconstructions have been proposed. (BM 1957, 10-6,

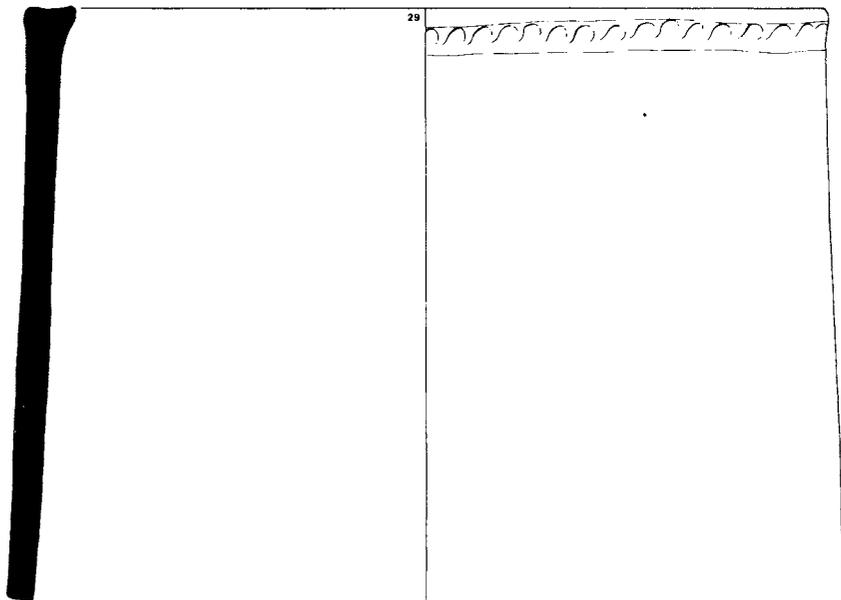
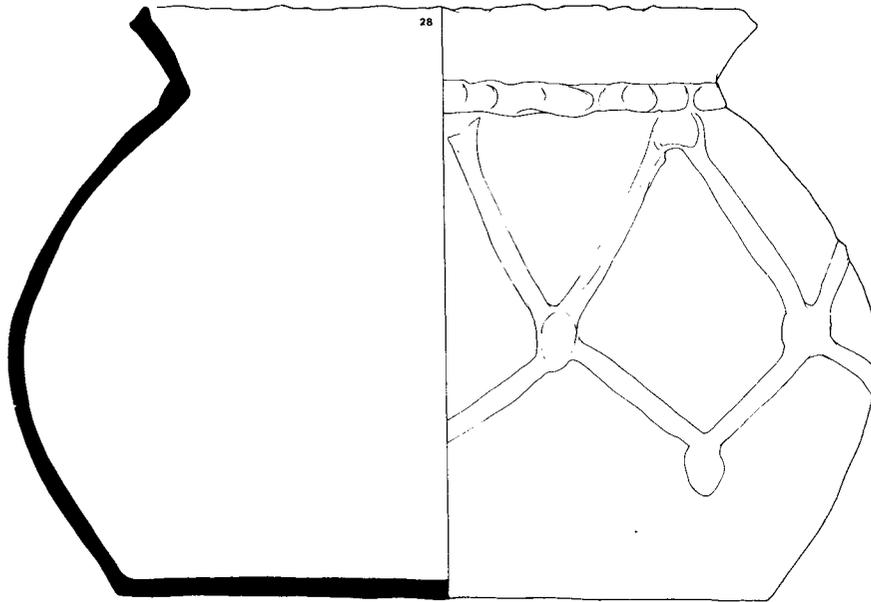


FIG. 57. Pottery (28-9) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

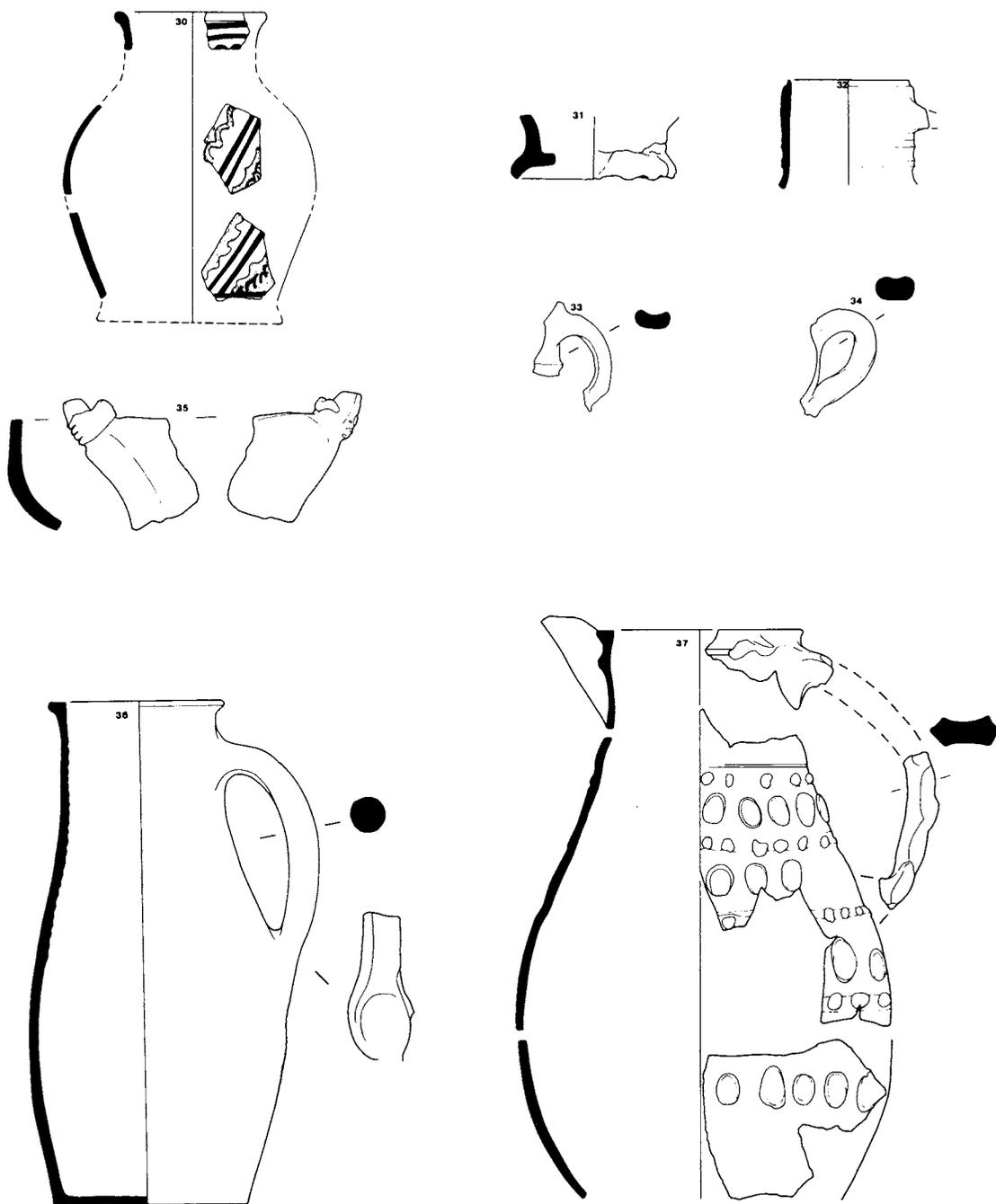


FIG. 58. Pottery (30-7) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

- 139). (Borenius and Charlton 1936, 81, fig. 8; Hurst 1968, 200, fig. 2; for discussion of reconstruction see p. 176). From king's apartments, 7.
 31, 32, 33, 34. Stoneware mugs. Base, rim and two handles, Rhenish type, (above, pp. 176–7). Context, cloister court, 4a.

Laverstock wares

Bowl, no. 35 (fig. 58)

35. Sherds of one vessel. Spout of a bowl or dish with a moulded hand resting in it. (SM 47/57). Contexts include SAA 36, probably 7g.

Jugs/pitchers 34–46a (figs. 58–62)

36. Sherds of one reconstructed vessel. Jug/pitcher, lip diameter more than half its height. Compare Laverstock form 2. Girth diameter less than half height increasing to same as height. Flat-topped rim, triangular section, no collar, no spout. Handle attached below rim. Contexts unknown.
 37. One hundred and twenty-one sherds from jugs with bridge spouts, flat-topped rim, triangular section. Raised collar below external rim tip. Handle attached below rim. (BM 1957, 10–6, 100, reconstructed version). Contexts unknown.
 38. Sherds of reconstructed bridge-spouted jug. Raised collar below external rim tip. Handle attached below rim. (BM 1957, 10–6, 85). Contexts unknown.
 39. Fifty sherds of eleven vessels. Jug/pitcher fragments. Rim flat-topped, triangular section. Raised collar below external rim lip. Handle attached below rim. (BM 1957, 10–6, 127, 107A, 113A; SM CP61). Contexts include N. annexe; cloister soakaway, 4a; OH+, N. basement (?7a); cellar (12); solar (7); 1961 M1/C2(2) (4g); Bank 1 (1g).

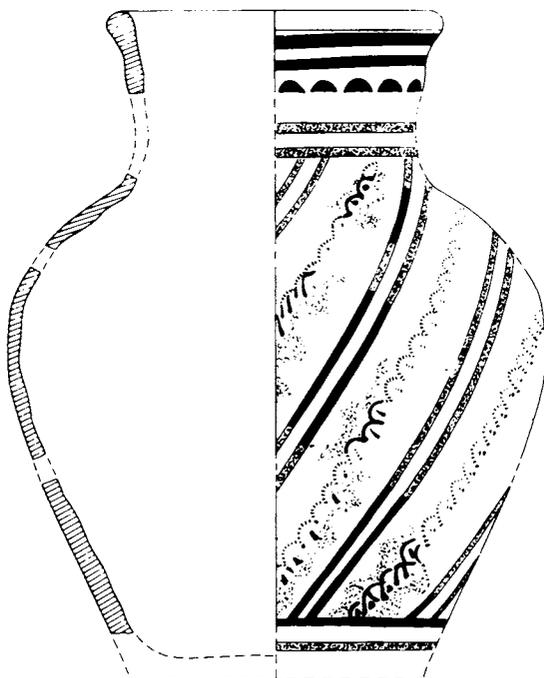


FIG. 59. Pottery: the late Gerald Dunning's drawing of no. 30, the maiolica pot ($\frac{1}{2}$)

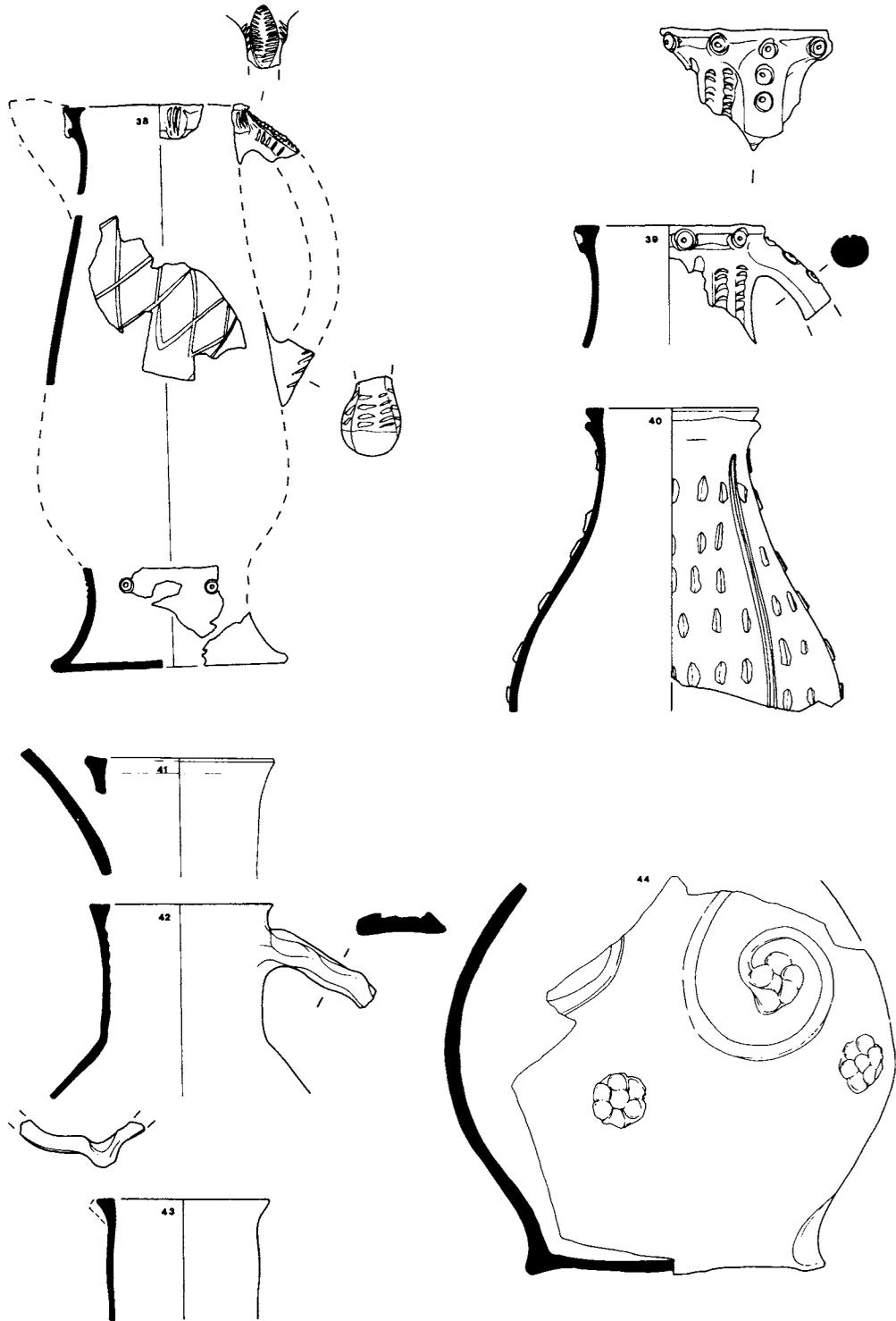


FIG. 60. Pottery (38-44) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

40. Fifty-eight sherds of nine vessels. Jug/pitcher fragments. Rim flat-topped, triangular section. External groove/collar beneath rim. (BM 1957, 10-6 127; SM 47/57; SM CP61). Contexts include SA (7g); salsary E. side (4k); 1961 M1/C2(3), M2/1(a), 4g.
41. Sixteen sherds from five vessels. Jug/pitcher fragments. Bridge spouted jug. No collar. (BM 1957, 10-6; SM 47/57). Contexts include S (7). (Borenus and Charlton 1936, fig. 7, 4).
- 42, 43. Forty-six sherds from ten vessels. Jug/pitcher fragments. Wide-topped pitcher with simple pulled spout. Rim flat-topped, triangular section. Compare Musty *et al.* 1969, fig. 14, no. 73. No collar. Handle attached below rim. (BM 1957, 10-6, 83, 131). Contexts include Cl Ct (4a); Ne Cl Ct (4a); SA, SAA (7g); Tip 1 (4g, 4h or 5) (Borenus and Charlton 1936, fig. 7, 3 and 9).
44. Twenty-one sherds from one vessel. Jug/pitcher fragments. Lower part of wide-girthed pitcher with slightly convex base. (BM 1957, 10-6, 77). Context unknown.
45. Twenty-two sherds from two vessels. Jug/pitcher fragments. Rim with handle attachment at rim. Compare Laverstock jug form 1. (BM 1957, 10-6, 78, 121). Contexts include SAA (7g) (Borenus and Charlton 1936, fig. 7, 12).
46. One hundred and seven sherds of thirteen vessels. Jug/pitcher fragments. Rim with handle. Attachment below rim. (BM 1957, 10-6, 80, 81, 101, 108, 119, 120, 122). Contexts include SAA probably (7g).
- 46a. Spout of 'parrot-beaked' pitcher found over the kiln (41) in the 1930s. Laverstock ware with applied pads. This piece was not seen by the writer, but can be assigned to this group by reference to a drawing by John Charlton here reproduced from a contemporary glass slide as fig. 62 (see also fig. 32B).

Miscellaneous form, no. 47 (fig. 61)

47. Rod with four-sectioned end support. Perhaps from a strut jug. (SM 47/57).

Handles, nos. 48-53 (fig. 61)

There are numerous fragments of rod and strap handles, some of which are illustrated here or elsewhere in the catalogue, where they are shown attached to vessels. Rod handles are either attached to the rim or collar, or below the rim and they are often, but not always, thumb-pressed at the base. Strap handles are more commonly attached below the rim, and often have frilled edges and are thumb-pressed at the base.

48. Rod handles attached to rim/collar. Context unknown.
- 49, 50. Strap handle with upturned edges. Contexts unknown (Borenus and Charlton 1936, fig. 7).
51. Handle/lug. Context unknown.
52. Very narrow (and sometimes short) strap handles. Contexts include solar area (7), and SA (7g).
53. Tubular handle (spout). Context unknown.

Bases, nos. 54-63

A variety of base types are found in the Laverstock pottery from Clarendon. To a large extent these are determined by the form of the vessel. Bowls and cooking pots have flat or slightly curved bases, usually plain, sometimes thumb-pressed. The jug bases reflect the two major forms, either wide, baggy jug/pitchers or the narrower, taller forms. Slightly sagging thumb/finger-frilled bases are common, but waisted and splayed types are also found. They are all characteristic of the Laverstock pottery types.

54. Base of bottle or jar. Knife-trimmed. (BM 1957, 10-6, 94).
55. Base of a small jar. (BM 1957 10-6, 122).
56. Base of jar. (SM 47/57).

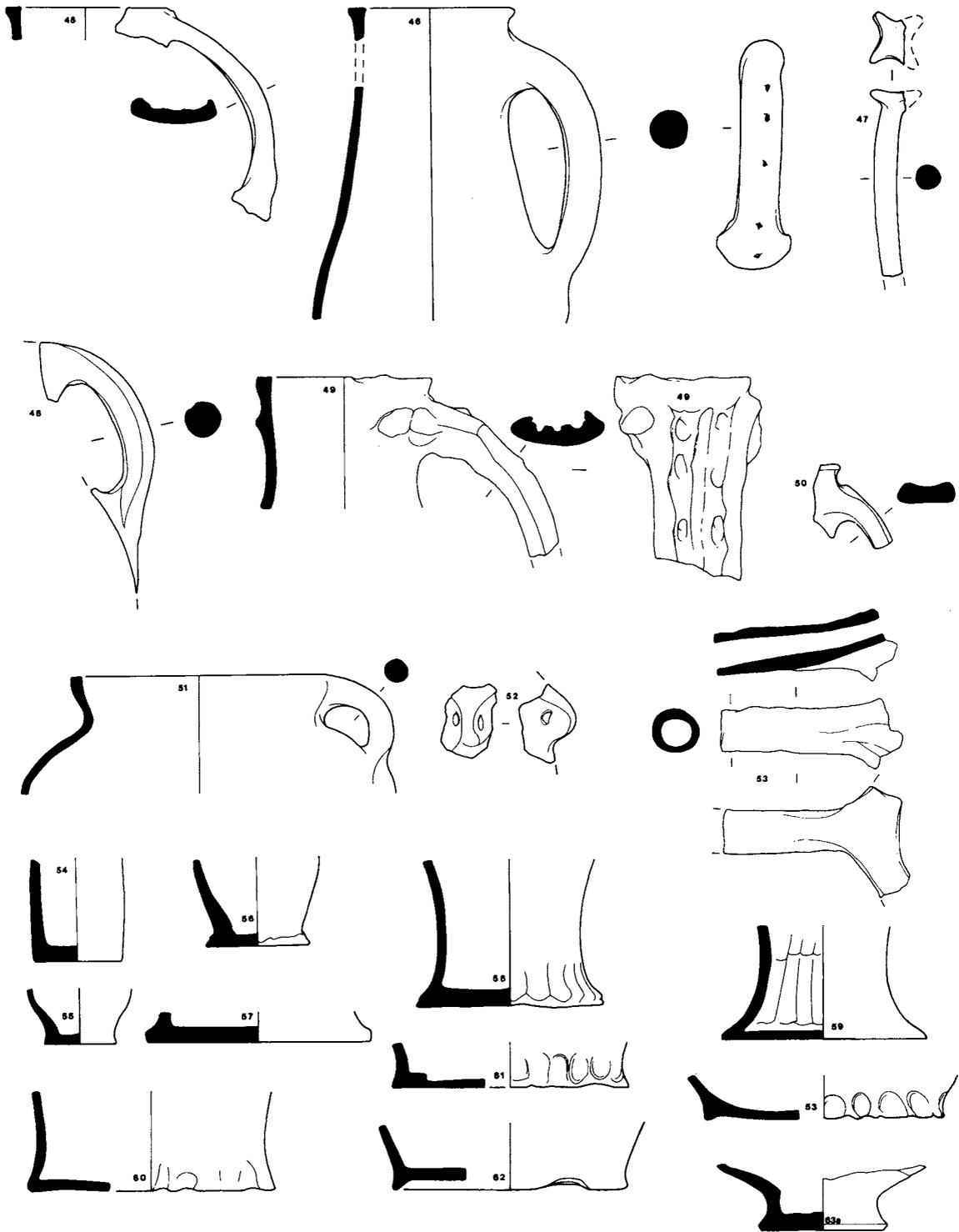


FIG. 61. Pottery (45-63a) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

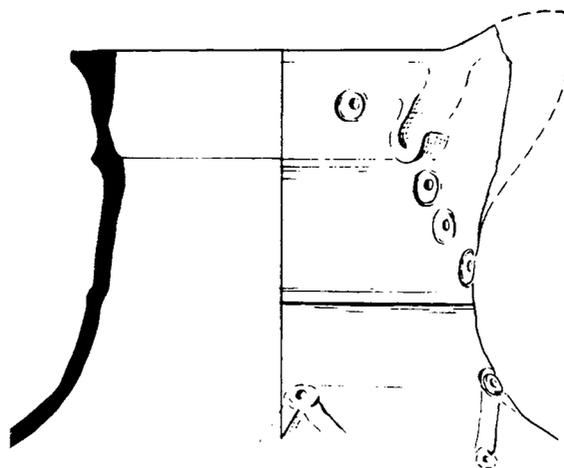


FIG. 62. Pottery: John Charlton's drawing of no. 46a, the 'parrot-beak' spout of a Laverstock pitcher recovered from the layer sealing the kiln (41) (see figs. 32B, 33) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

- 57, 58, 59. Bases of tall, narrow jug/pitchers with flat waisted bases. (BM 1957, 10-6, Box 20, 123, 84).
- 60, 61. Base of jug, waisted and frilled.
- 62, 63. Bases of wide, baggy jug/pitchers with sagging bottoms and frilled edges. (BM 1957, 10-6, Box 20; SM 47/57).
- 63a. Addendum. The clubbed base of a cup or pot in brown-faced greyware with an olive-green glaze; this piece was not available for study with the museum collections, but was seen later. Found in the Antioch chamber (8), it was celebrated in the 1930s as one of the Clarendon 'paintpots' as it contained traces of red pigment (pl. LVIa and pp. 258-60). This was probably a secondary use of the broken pot. It is certainly not Laverstock. Similar material has been found in contexts dated to the mid fourteenth century at Wolvesey Palace, Winchester (K. Barclay, pers. comm.).

Decorative motifs, nos. 64-96 (figs. 63-4)

Not all the pottery is decorated. The scratch-marked ware domestic pots are mostly plain, occasionally finger-tip decorated. The fine wares may be plain and are often decorated in a range of glaze colours which do not necessarily cover the whole vessel. Decorative motifs are concentrated around the rim and neck, the bases, and especially around the girth of the pot.

Each motif may occur singly or be combined with one or more other motifs. The motif types are listed below and cross-referred to the relevant illustrations. Their popularity is partly indicated by the number of sherds on which the motif appears.

- 64, 65. Incised horizontal lines on body.
66. Incised horizontal/diagonal lines on handle/body/rim.
67. Incised curved lines on body.
68. Thirty sherds. Incised vertical lines on handle/body/cordon.
69. Twenty sherds. Stabbed vertical lines on handle/body.
- 70, 71. Fourteen sherds. Stabbed decoration with single- two-, three- or five-pronged instrument on rim/cordon/body.
72. Twenty-six sherds. Applied and glazed vertical bands.

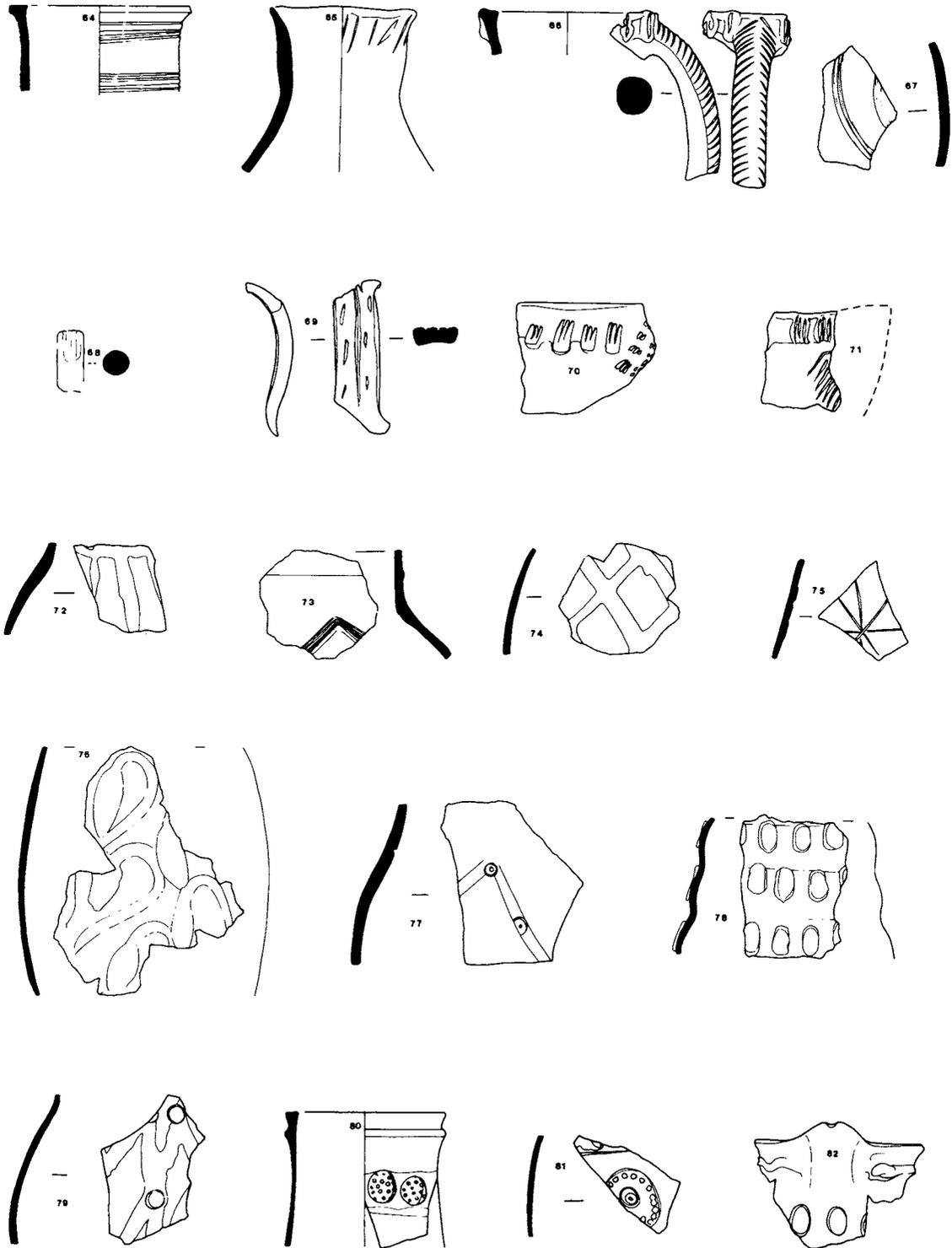


FIG. 63. Pottery (64-82) (1/4)

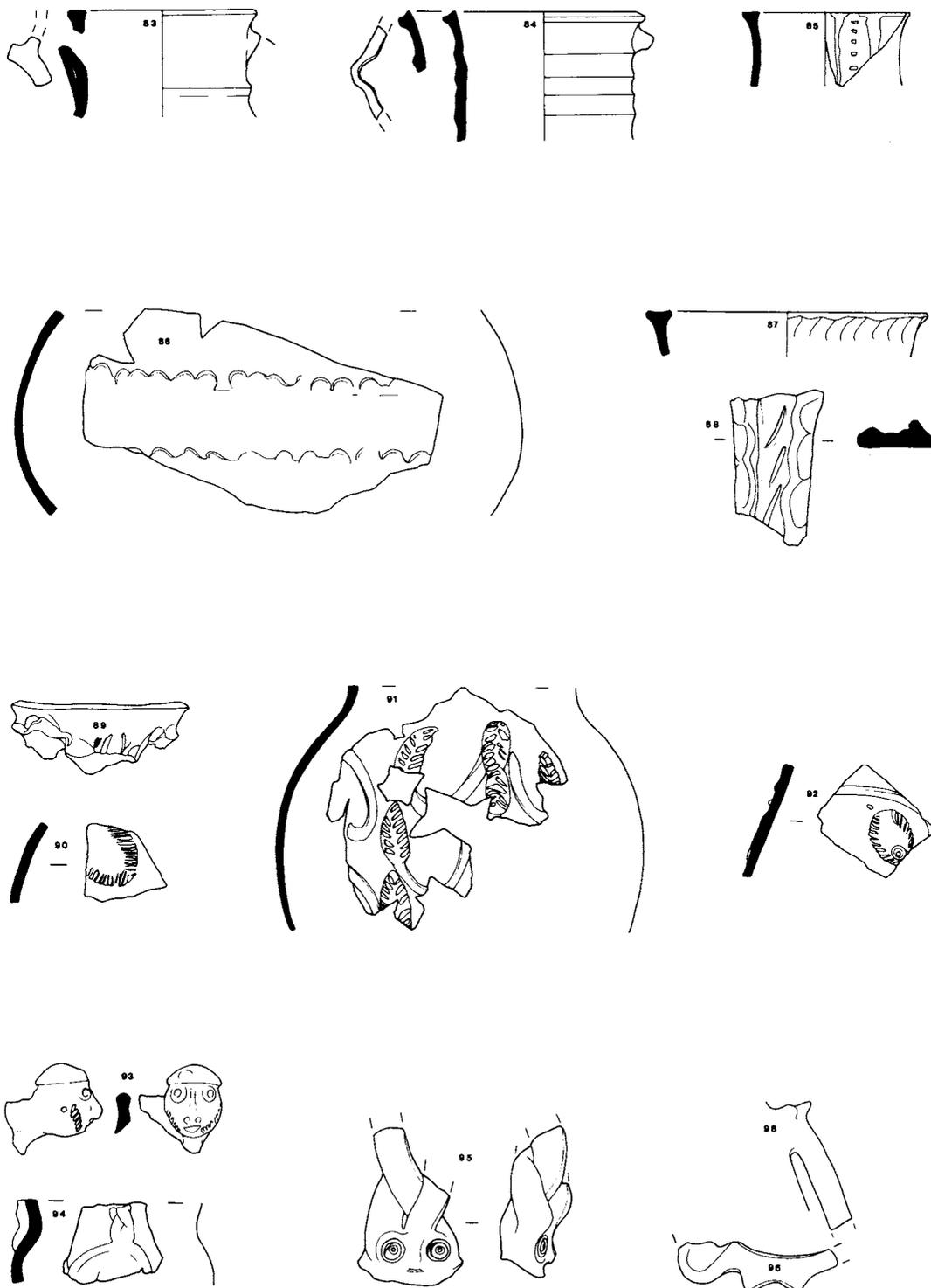


FIG. 64. Pottery (83-96) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

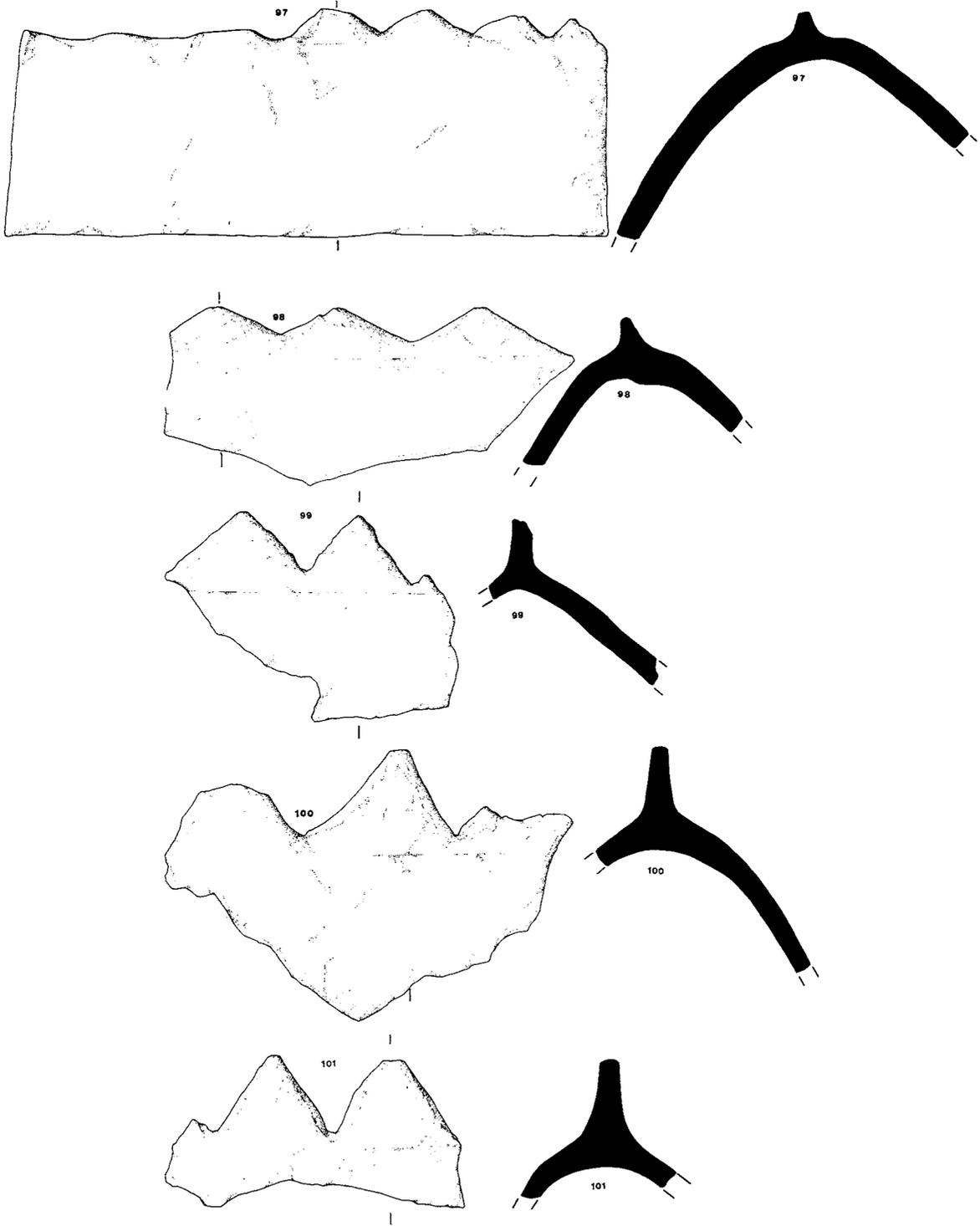


FIG. 65. Roof tiles (97-101) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

73. One sherd. Incised zig-zag horizontal lines.
 74. Eighty-four sherds. Applied zig-zag horizontal bands (lattice).
 75. Three sherds. Incised stars.
 76. (Also 44). Three sherds. Incised scroll. 185 sherds of applied scroll.
 77. (Also 38). Seventy-nine stamped dot and circle motifs. (BM 1957, 10-6, 124).
 78, 79. (Also 37, 38, 40). 303 pellets or pads, applied singly, in bands or at lattice intersections. (BM 1957, 10-6, 117A).
 80, 81. (Also 39, 44). Eighty-four sherds. Applied pads decorated with rosettes, dot and circle, relief prints, incised lines.
 82, 83. (Also 39, 40). Thirty-four sherds. Horizontal cordons round neck.
 84. Seven sherds. Wheel-rilled corrugation.
 85. (Also 39). Two sherds. Stamped ladder decoration. (BM 1957, 10-6, 125).
 86. Thirty-five sherds. Vertical or horizontal bands of finger-nail impressions.
 87, 88. Finger-frilled rims and/or handles.
 89. Two sherds. Finger-impressed cordons.
 90. Two sherds. Incised leaf designs.
 91. One hundred and nine sherds. Applied and incised leaf motifs.
 92. One sherd. Applied slashed pad with dot and circle.
 93, 94. (Also 35). One sherd. Modelled head/anthropomorphic design. (SM 47/57).
 95. Two sherds. Incised face. (BM 1957, 10-6, 134).
 96. Three sherds. Strut-decorated spout. (BM 1957, 10-6).

There is also a group of twenty-three sherds with incised conventionalized heraldic designs. These are closely paralleled by identical-looking stamps on the Laverstock pottery (Musty *et al.* 1969, fig. 16, nos. 126, 127).

Roof tiles, nos. 97-101 (fig. 65)

97-101 are examples of crested tiles chosen from the Salisbury and British Museums' collections. The fragmentary flat roof tiles in these collections are not illustrated.

97. Crested roof tile, almost complete. This tile probably had eight coxcombs some of which are missing. This is an unusual form (Musty, pers. comm.).
 98, 99, 100, 101. Fragments of crested roof tile with the normal five coxcomb crests.

VESSEL GLASS

By R.J. Charleston

Date range and contexts

The vessel glass from Clarendon, all in fragmentary form, reflects a great span of time, from medieval to modern, and since there are fragments of only eight vessels no period is in any way well represented. The excavation records which survive today are mute on contexts for these pieces. Two newspaper references may, however, be to finds of vessel glass. In October 1936 we learn of the discovery of 'several small pieces of painted glass, some very thin and fragile' which were 'apparently parts of vase ornaments'. We do not know where on the site this

discovery was made, nor is it clear to which pieces, if any, in the catalogue below, this reference might be (*SWJ*, 25 October 1936). In August 1938 an almost equally tantalizing report of the clearance of a pit which produced 'glassware' may possibly refer to work towards the south of the site, but this also is uncertain (*Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, 27 August 1938).

Medieval fragments

The earliest fragments derive from the High Medieval period, and although none can be proved to belong with the others, they do between them cover the essential features of a single glass; parts of the bowl, stem and foot of a tall goblet of fourteenth-century type (no. 1). All are of green glass, mostly covered with black or brown weathering with silvery mottling. The bowl and foot fragments in particular have very thick black encrustation of a type common on medieval green glass fragments found in England: the stem, on the other hand, is relatively slightly affected, and this seems often to be the case with glasses of this type. The bowl fragment, although small, seems to represent the sloping side of a conical or slightly bell-shaped bowl, decorated with a vertical rib, a characteristic ornamental feature of such glasses. Usually these ribs are mould-blown, but with the present glass it appears to be in the form of a thick applied thread. A second thread seems to have been affixed by adhesive since the excavation of the glass. The stem has the characteristic thickening where it joined either bowl or foot, probably the latter, and the foot itself showed the considerable width (diameter 9 cm.) typical of these medieval goblets. It is, of course, possible that we are here dealing with fragments from more than one goblet of this general type.

The characteristic flat-based conical bowls common to one type of these goblets may be seen in finds from the Low Countries (Chambon 1975, fig. 2; Isings and Wijnman 1977, fig. 1): these, however, have the mould-blown ribbing. Examples of the general type of green goblet are also known from England (Charleston 1980, 69–70). No example with applied vertical threading appears to be recorded, but our knowledge of the glasses of this period is being continually extended by fresh discoveries, revealing shapes and types of decoration not previously identified.

Post-medieval fragments

A long gap of time separates the first group from the second. This consists of the rim and foot fragments of an originally roughly cylindrical beaker (no. 2). The six rim fragments reveal the slightly inward-sloping mouth of the vessel some 6.5 cm. in diameter, the foot fragments being from a pedestal of double thickness with a fold at the lower edge, made by pushing in the base of the paraison from which the glass was made, a single piece of glass thereby sufficing for the whole vessel. Such green beakers, often decorated by mould-blown ribbing, are characteristic type-fossils of the second half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth (Charleston 1980, 87–8).

These beakers were manufactured in England (Charleston 1980, 88), and the same is almost certainly true of three groups of green fragments, each representing a container vessel of some type. First come numerous fragments of a pale bluish-green vessel, apparently of considerable size, the glass with a thick beige enamel-like weathering: the shape cannot be reconstructed and so has not been illustrated, but the nature of the glass suggests a date not earlier than the seventeenth century (no. 4). Of the same period is probably an out-turned neck-fragment of

pale blue-green translucent glass with silvery iridescent weathering (no. 3), almost certainly from an apothecary's cylindrical vial. A neck and a base fragment, both apparently of the same thick dark brown-green glass with brown-beige weathering (no. 6), probably together represent a wine or beer bottle of about 1675 (Hume 1961, fig. 3, nos. 3-4). It is always possible, however, that they come from different bottles.

Of less certain date is a folded foot-fragment of purple glass with iridescent weathering (no. 5). The folded construction of the foot, however, seems to suggest a date before the eighteenth century, when small vessels of this type would normally have had a foot backed on from a second gather of glass.

A much later stage in the development of the English thick dark bottle is represented by a massive base fragment of a cylindrical vessel with a high domed 'kick', of a type which began to come in about 1770 but lasted well into the nineteenth century (Hume 1961, nos. 20-2). With it may be grouped a sloping neck fragment which suggests a date towards the earlier part of this time scale (no. 7).

Last in the series of bottle fragments comes the thickened neck, in blue-green glass, of a probably torpedo-shaped mineral-water bottle of the 'Hamilton' type, dating probably from the second half of the nineteenth century (Beck 1973, 67 ff., and figs. on pp. 15, 66).

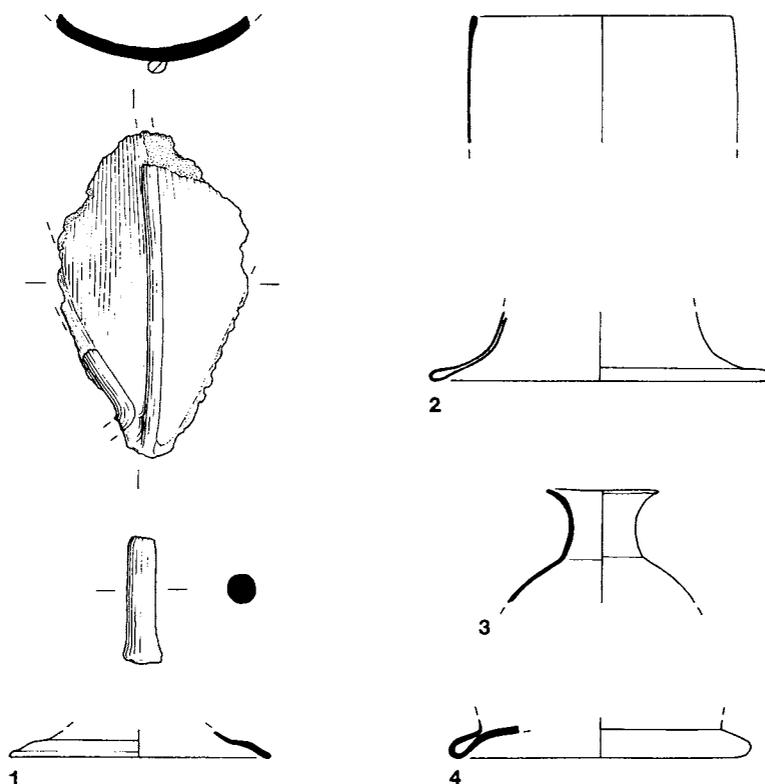
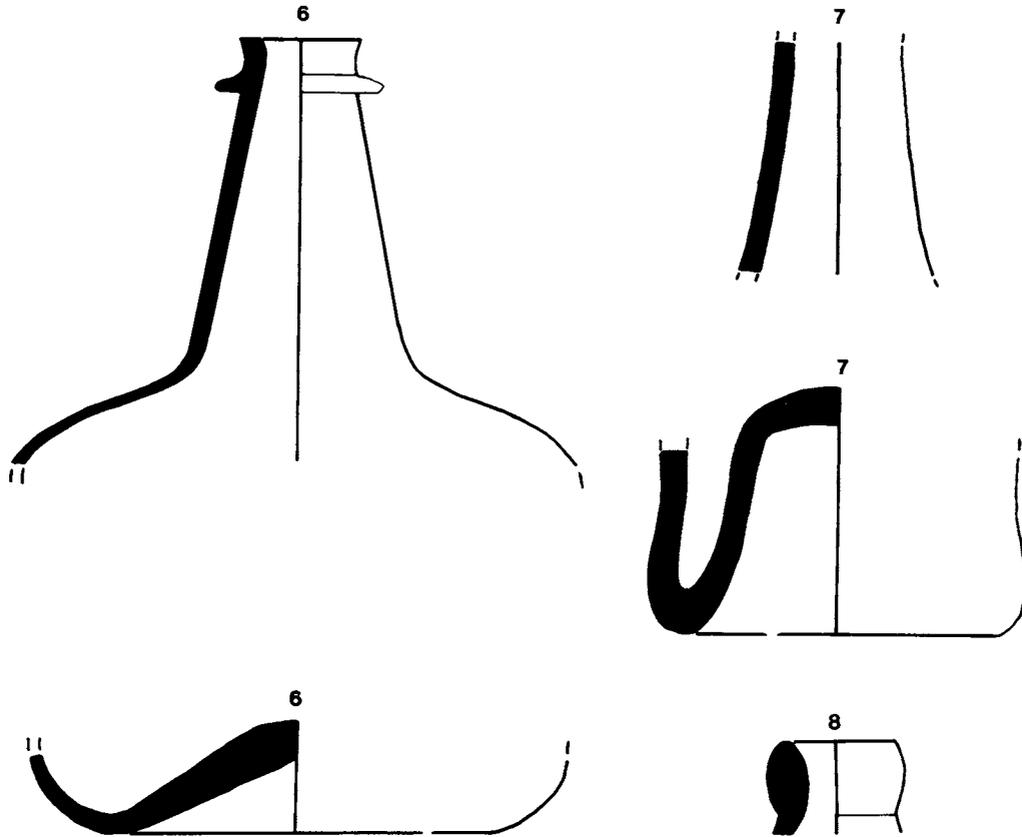


FIG. 66. Vessel glass (1-4) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

FIG. 67. Vessel glass (6-8) ($\frac{1}{2}$)*The catalogue (figs. 66-7)*

1. Bowl, stem and foot fragments, probably from the same goblet; green glass, the bowl fragment partially denatured with black weathering mottled with silver; the stem with brown-silvery weathering; and the foot with a thick black weathering layer. The bowl is decorated with an apparently applied vertical thread (the second thread apparently attached by adhesive subsequent to excavation). Probably fourteenth century.
2. Six rim fragments and two base fragments apparently from the same glass, of pale green 'metal' with patchy black/buff weathering. From a tall cylindrical beaker (beer glass) with pushed-in foot. Late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.
3. Rim and neck fragment from a small flask, pale blue-green translucent glass with silvery iridescent weathering. Probably late seventeenth or eighteenth century.
4. Foot fragment of a small ?bowl, made from a single piece of purple glass, with 'cut-out' foot. Iridescent weathering. Probably seventeenth century.
5. Numerous fragments of a large container, pale bluish-green glass with thick beige enamel-like weathering. Probably seventeenth century. Not illustrated.
6. Base and neck fragments from a bottle or bottles of thick dark green glass with thick overall brown-beige weathering. The base has a large ragged pontil-mark on its underside. Probably about 1675.

7. Bottle base of dark glass with mottled beige/buff weathering overall, together with a neck and three wall and ?kick fragments. Probably late eighteenth century.
8. Neck of a mineral-water bottle, blue-green glass. Probably second half of the nineteenth century.

COINS, JETTONS AND CORONATION MEDALLION

By T.B. James, incorporating notes on the Roman coins by Anthony King and on the medieval coins by the late C.E. Blunt

There are various references to coin finds amongst the documentation of the excavations of the 1930s. More coins were probably found than are noted here. Only the penny of Guillaume I, Count of Namur, was ever published in detail.

Coins (pl. LVIIa–b)

Contexts

The coins were found in a variety of contexts right across the site, from the west gatehouse (2a) and from the kitchen area (4) (particularly a find of ‘coins’ in the salsary (4k)), towards the western side of the site, to the buildings on the eastern perimeter (16). At least one coin was found associated with the buildings 6a and 6b to the south of the great courtyard (6). Known contexts for coins are stated at the appropriate point below.

Pre-medieval coins

A silver ‘British’ coin was recorded from the site in the nineteenth century (fig. 5, margin). Various Roman coins have been found at different times, most recently during the course of the 1961 excavations, when two Roman coins were discovered at Clarendon. Both coins are very worn and illegible. One came from the kitchen midden (4g) and is a *sestertius* of second-century date. It has a small worn hole in it 0.04 cm. in diameter, pierced through near the rim. Such holes are very rare in Roman contexts and it seems likely that this coin was a medieval chance find that was reused as an amulet, or for decoration. The other coin was found in the Field Gate ditch at the junction with Rangers Road. It is a *dupondius*, possibly of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–61), but too worn for accurate identification.

Medieval coins

No eleventh-century coin was found at Clarendon. The coins found in the course of the 1930s excavations date from the twelfth to perhaps the fifteenth century. They are mentioned as far as possible in chronological order.

Henry III, Edward I and the *denier tournois*

Excavations in the kitchens (4) in 1938 revealed what was initially reported as ‘another’ twelfth-century coin (*ST*, 26 August 1938). Although this coin was subsequently found to be a ‘thirteenth century French *denier tourain*’, the suggestion was that twelfth-century coins had previously been found at Clarendon (*SWJ*, 2 September 1938). From the thirteenth century coins were found from the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, as well as the occasional

Continental coin. A silver penny of Henry III was found in the area of the large rectangular buildings **6a** and **6b** to the south of the great courtyard (**6**) (*ST*, 3 September 1937). A silver penny, described at the time as probably dating from the reign of Henry III, may have come from area **8a** north of the Antioch chamber (**8**) in September 1935 (Correspondence, 13 September 1935). This coin may, however, be identical with the coin later identified as possibly of the reign of Henry VI. Excavations in the area of the structures **7b** and **7c**, which connected the great hall (**5**) to the king's chambers (**7**), produced a small silver coin 'bearing the inscription "Edward London"' (*SWJ*, 23 October 1936). The most likely identification for a coin with this description would seem to be a penny of Edward III (Marion Archibald, British Museum Department of Coins and Medals, pers. comm.). C.E. Blunt describes this as a 'type Xa', following H.B.E. and J.S. Fox's classification (Fox and Fox 1910-14; *SM Typescript Coin Catalogue*). The so-called *denier tourain* referred to above would seem to have been a *denier tournois*, a French coin which retained a motif of the formerly independent area of Touraine after that area was taken over by the French crown. Thus *tournois* money came to be minted at a variety of different French mints from the reign of Philip Augustus (1180-1223) until the reign of Charles V (1364-80) (Blanchet and Dieudonné 1916). Although the coin found might have been thirteenth-century it cannot be stated with certainty that it was not a later coin, or possibly earlier.

Edward II and Robert II (pl. LVIIa-b)

Some of the fourteenth-century coins have been identified with a degree of certainty. Two pennies of Edward II were amongst a collection of coins and other finds from the 1930s excavations deposited in Salisbury Museum in 1957 (10/57). One of these is described in museum accession records as a London penny, the other merely as a 'penny of Edward II'. C.E. Blunt describes the former as 'Edward I-II, reverse illegible. Possibly a contemporary forgery' (*SM Typescript Coin Catalogue*). A silver penny of Edward II, no doubt one or other of these two coins, was found unstratified in the vicinity of the eastern perimeter buildings (**16**) in 1933, when the excavators were exploring the limits of the site (Borenus 1933, 20-1). A sterling of Robert II of Scotland (1371-90) was recovered from the same area, and may have come from inside complex **16** (*ibid.*; Charlton, Notebook, 1933). A worn Edinburgh penny of Robert II, doubtless the same one, was deposited at Salisbury Museum in 1957 (*SM Typescript Coin Catalogue*). An Edward II coin and the Robert II coin represented 'almost' the whole numismatic output of the site in 1933, the first season.

Viesville silver penny (pl. LVIIa-b)

1934 saw the discovery of the only coin to be published in any detail. This was a silver penny of Guillaume I, count of Namur (1337-91) (*SM Typescript Coin Catalogue*). Minted in Viesville, it weighed 14.9 grains (0.95 grams). Robinson thought the coin was an imitation of Edward III's florin type, but with the legends *GUILELMVSCOMES* on the obverse and *MON ETA VET VILE* on the reverse. He argued that as the originals ceased to be minted in 1351, this coin was one of the earliest from the Viesville mint. This was described as being the first recorded example (Robinson 1934, 228). However, on reflection, it is now not so certain that the Viesville penny was an imitation of Edward's florin-type penny, although it may have been. In addition, as the count lived until 1391, the Viesville coin could have been minted up to

forty years after Edward's issue ceased to be struck and so might not have been a particularly early product of the Viesville mint. However, a second example, from the Kirial hoard in Denmark, has recently been published. Assuming that the Kirial hoard was buried *c.* 1365, then it can after all be argued that the Clarendon coin is an early product of the Viesville mint, although on different grounds from those suggested by Robinson (C.E. Blunt and Marion Archibald, pers. comm.; Mayhew 1983, 133-4, no. 367, p. 224). The weight of the Clarendon example, 0.95 grams, is considerably more than the 0.74 grams of the Copenhagen example.

Other fourteenth-century coins

No detailed descriptions of other fourteenth-century coins found at Clarendon have come down to us. Excavation of a cesspit associated with the western gatehouse (**2b**) produced what were described as fourteenth-century coins, 'some minted in France' (*SWJ*, 24 August 1934), but no further details are known. A penny in very poor condition from area **8a**, north of the Antioch chamber, deposited at Salisbury Museum in 1957 (92/57), may be a penny of Edward III, although both reign and mint are doubtful (*SM Typescript Coin Catalogue* (185)).

Jettons (pl. LVIIc-d)

Excavation of the west kitchen (**4h**) in 1938 produced a jetton which can be identified from a somewhat confused contemporary report (*SWJ*, 19 August 1938). The whereabouts of this find is now unknown. It appears to have been a type once thought to have been manufactured in northern France, but increasingly now associated with English production, between *c.* 1350 and 1450 which bore a bust of the emperor Postumus on the obverse (Berry 1974). It was claimed in the 1930s to be a rare type of which the British Museum did not have an example. However, a clear description and a picture are available (Barnard 1916, 104 no. 53 and pl. II no. 53).

A lead jetton was recovered from the kitchen cloister (**4a**) in 1936. This was deposited in the Salisbury Museum in 1957 (10/57). It is decorated with a circular cross formed of the arcs of circles, the spaces hatched. The reverse is similar with the cross stippled (*Correspondence*, 1 September 1936).

A circular jetton with the legend AVE MARIA GRACIA and a temple facade, with +AVE MAR, a lis in a cross fleur-de-lisée of *c.* 1350, from no known Clarendon context, was also deposited at Salisbury Museum in 1957 (10/57). A similar type, although with differing legends, has been published (Barnard 1916, 116 no. 28 and pl. v, no. 28).

Post-medieval numismatic finds from Clarendon, like other post-medieval finds from the site, were very few. A Nuremberg jetton *c.* 1550 was also amongst numismatic finds from Clarendon deposited at Salisbury Museum in 1957 (10/57). No context is known, although there is a reference in the *Correspondence* (? August 1934) to 'Waechter' who 'found a coin (? late) in the seventeenth-century deposit in the gatehouse' (**2a**). There is just a chance this could be that find.

Coronation medallion of William and Mary (pl. LVIIIa-b)

A (?) pewter medallion struck in celebration of the coronation of William and Mary (1689), found at Clarendon, was deposited in the museum at Salisbury together with other finds from

the 1930s excavations in 1957. It measures 4 cm. in diameter by 3 mm. and bears the legend MARIA D G ANGL FRA ET HIB REGINA on one side. On the other GVL D G ANG FRA ET HIB REX. The L of ANGL on the William side is missing as the medallion is pierced by a 1 mm. hole at that point. Representations of the monarchs appear on their respective side of the medallion. Museum records give this find the context M/19/C+, the whereabouts of which is not now known with certainty, although it may have been area 8a, north of the Antioch chamber (8).

SILVER-GILT OBJECTS

By D.A. Hinton

Four fragments of silver gilt survive from the 1930s excavations amongst the Clarendon material in the Salisbury Museum. The largest piece is perhaps a fragment of box decoration with a Gothic border and openwork geometric design (9.9 by 4.4 cm.) (fig. 68). The other three pieces, not illustrated, are silver-gilt strips which range in size from 1.6 by 1.1 by 0.5 cm. to 1.2 by 1.1 by 0.5 cm. The largest of the three pieces lacks a core. The silver-gilt strip of the two smaller pieces overlies a lead- or copper-alloy core. No contexts are known for these fragments.

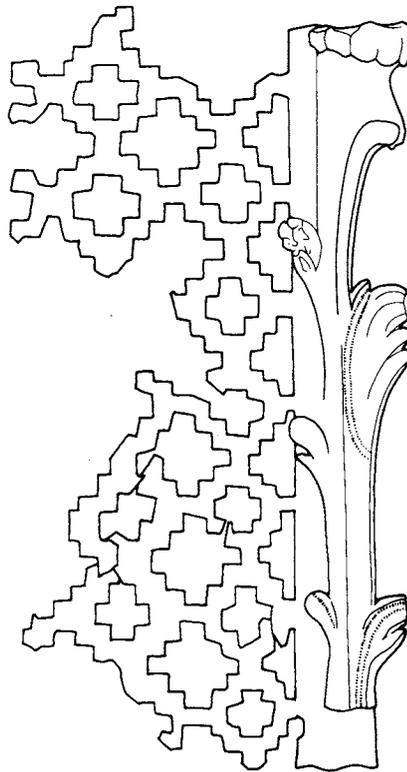


FIG. 68. Silver-gilt fragment ($\frac{1}{2}$)

and no reference has been found to their recovery from the site amongst the records of the excavations, but the leaf decoration on the sides suggests a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date.

COPPER-ALLOY OBJECTS

By Alison R. Goodall, D.A. Hinton and T.B. James

The assemblage and contexts

The copper-alloy collection from Clarendon reported here seems to represent most of the pieces referred to in the correspondence and other sources for the 1930s excavations. Exceptions include the find of a 'gilded bronze hook and eye from a garment', which came from the queen's apartments (**10d**), and 'bronze pins' recovered from area **8a**, north of the Antioch chamber (**8**), although the 'bronze ring' which was found with the pins may be item 23 catalogued below (*SWJ*, 13 September 1935; 10 September 1937). The hook and eye may possibly be a description of one of the textile fragments, which were bound with copper-alloy wire, and which are reported below (p. 258). The majority of the pieces are leather belt or harness attachments, but there is also a diverse miscellaneous group of objects. Not all the 1930s descriptions in the excavation documentation can be readily identified with the pieces catalogued here, although where there are sketches in the notebooks or correspondence, identification is more certain.

Copper-alloy finds came from two of the most prolific find-spots of the 1930s excavations, namely the kitchen cloister (**4a**) and area **8a**, north of the Antioch chamber. Other contexts are known and these are noted at the appropriate points in the catalogue.

Catalogue

Leather belt and harness attachments, nos. 1-13 (figs. 69-70)

Strap mount

1. Strap mount. Chamfered strip with one rivet at each end. Alison Goodall suggests from the size of the piece that it may, alternatively, have been a binding or casket fitting. 4.8 × 0.5 cm. Found in the south-east corner of the courtyard (?6) (Correspondence, 29 August 1933).

Strap ends

2. Strap-end plate, possibly with white metal plating. Originally with four rivets and a trefoil cut-out in the top edge. 3.2 × 2 cm.
3. Plain folded over strap end with two rivets. 2.2 × 1.5 cm.
4. Two-piece tapering strap end (single plate illustrated) with two rivet holes at the top and a double incised border along the long edges, similar to one from Hadleigh Castle, Essex (I.H. Goodall in Drewett 1975, 144, fig. 29, 363). 8.6 × 1.5 cm.

Buckles

5. Strap end or buckle plate originally with five dome-headed rivets and a stamped or rouletted border of opposed triangles on both surfaces. 2.2 × 0.75 cm. Similar decoration occurs on a buckle-plate from a well of c. 1250-1350 at Lyveden, Northants. (Steane and Bryant 1975, 109, fig. 42, 18).

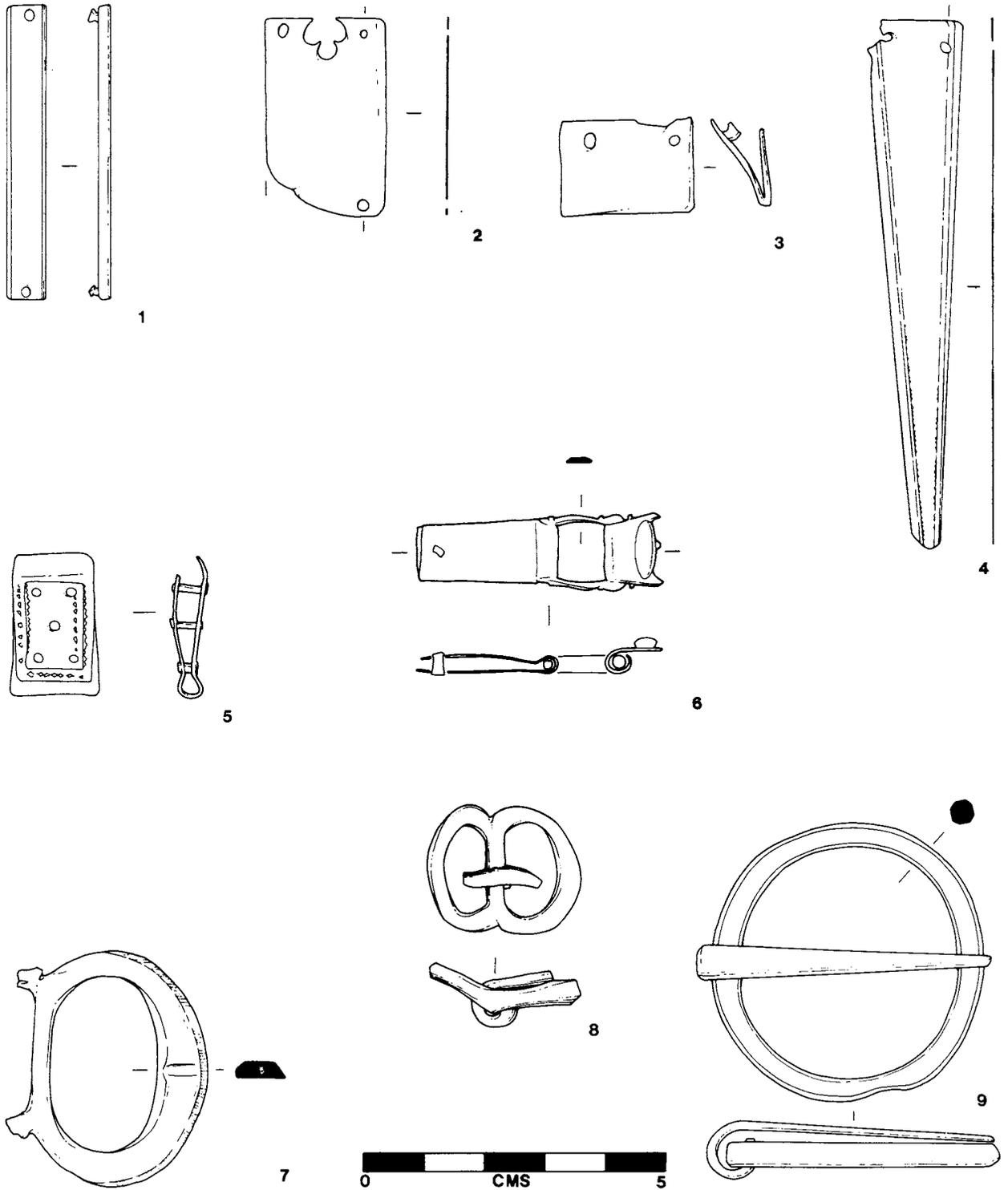
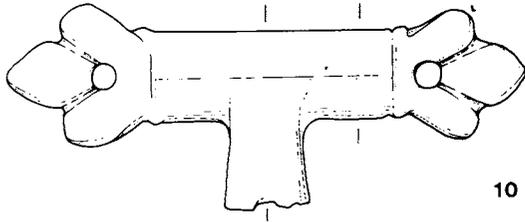
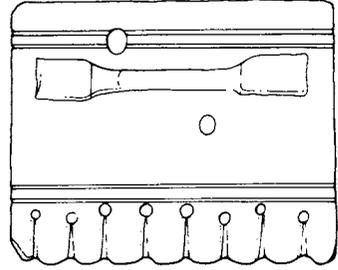
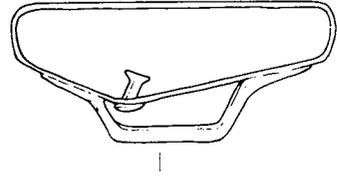


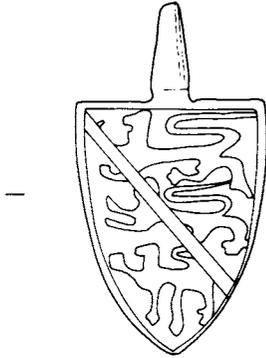
FIG. 69. Copper-alloy objects (1-9) ($\frac{1}{4}$)



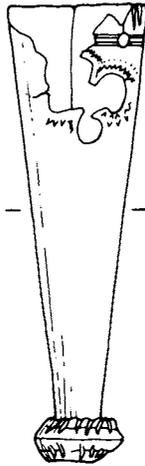
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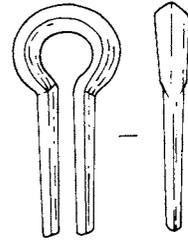
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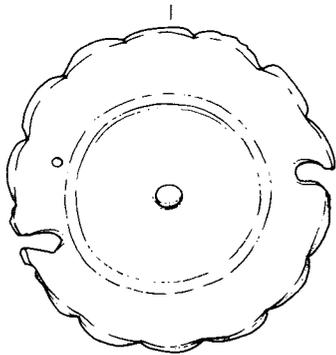
11



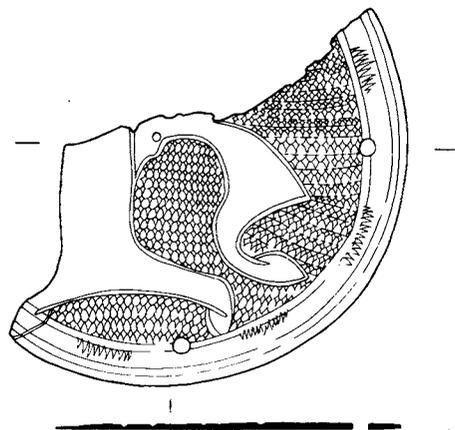
15



16



12



13



FIG. 70. Copper-alloy objects (10-16) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

The Clarendon example, however, does not allow for a buckle pin, and so may have been used with a buckle similar to no. 6.

6. Buckle with riveted plate. There is a swivelling tab on the front of the frame which is toothed so as to fasten the buckle without the need for a pin. The tab has a lozenge-shaped mount attached to it. 4×0.9 cm. (Correspondence, 24 August 1933, findspot not given). A similar buckle comes from Hambleton Moat, Lincs., and can be dated to the later fourteenth or fifteenth century (Butler 1963, 65, fig. 13c) and another from Alsted, Surrey, dated c. 1250–1405, may originally have been of the same type (I.H. Goodall in Ketteringham 1976, 61, fig. 38.5). A fragmentary example from Hull, dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, has traced decoration on the plate and an elaborate tablet-woven strap (A.R. Goodall in Armstrong and Ayers 1987, no. 154). See also Platt 1975, ii, no. 1741.
7. D-shaped buckle with pin missing but a recess on the bow for its point to rest in. 3.75×3 cm. A similar buckle was found in a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century layer at Sycharth Castle, Denbighshire (Hague and Warhurst 1966, 125, fig. 6, 16).
8. Double-looped buckle with iron pin. 2.5×2 cm.

Brooch or buckle

9. Annular brooch or buckle with hexagonal-sectioned frame and file marks on surface. Diameter 4.75 cm., pin length 4.75 cm.

Pendant mount and harness pendant

10. Mounting for a pendant, gilt bronze; hinge broken. Triangular section with perforated leaf terminals for attachment. 6.7×2.2 cm. Found in the courtyard (?6) (Correspondence, 29 August 1933). A more complete mount has been found at Doonmore, Co. Antrim, where it was dated to the period 1300–1500 (Childe 1938, 130, fig. 4).
11. Harness pendant. Enamel and perhaps also niello work. Blazoned *gules, three lions passant in pale argent, a baston azure over all*. Robert Yorke writes that while these were the arms of Sir Robert Fitzpaine of Dorset (Lord Fitzpaine), governor of Corfe Castle 1304 and of Winchester Castle in 1316–17, to whom attribution has in the past been made, the arms could also have been used by his father (d. 1281) or his son (d. 1354). 4.6×2.6 cm. This pendant probably came from area 15; the description of the context refers to the north-east end of palace in 'drainage ditch', 1939 (above, pp. 75, 123–4).

Bridle bosses

12. Bridle boss of gilt bronze with scalloped edge. There is a central dome-headed rivet and three peripheral attachment holes. Diameter 8.75 cm. Found in 4a, the kitchen cloister (Correspondence, 1 September 1936).
13. Disc or mount, perhaps a bridle boss, decorated with Lombardic letter H. Punched background. Three surviving pin holes. Perhaps fourteenth century. 6.3×3.7×0.05 cm. Found in north-east corner of queen's 'chapel' (10c).

Scabbard fittings, nos. 14–15 (fig. 70)

14. Binding from the top edge of a dagger scabbard with a rectangular loop at the back for attachment to the belt. Cut and scalloped decoration at the lower edge. A simpler scabbard binding from Sandal Castle also has a scalloped edge (A.R. Goodall in Mayes and Butler 1983, 232, fig. 1, 78). 4.5×3.5×1.5 cm.

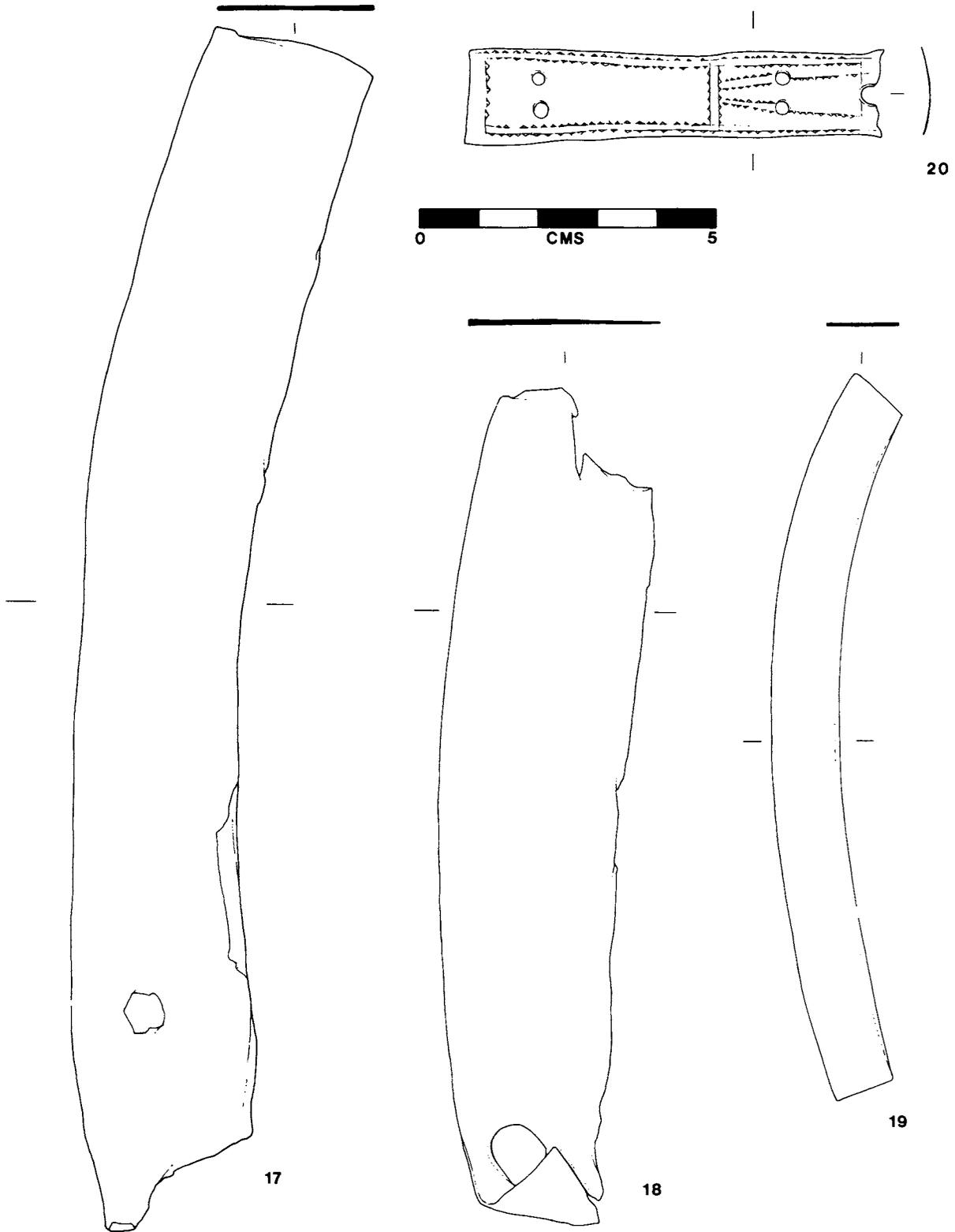


FIG. 71. Copper-alloy objects (17-20) (1/2)

15. Scabbard chape made from sheet metal overlapping at the back. The front has a zig-zag upper edge below which is a row of perforations within a border and a quatrefoil opening outlined by traced or rouletted lines. There is an incised knob at the lower end. 6×1.75 cm. A chape of similar form but with less decoration comes from Strixton, Northants. and has been dated to the late thirteenth century (Hall 1973, 113, fig. 4, 2), and there is another from a later context at Sandal Castle (A.R. Goodall in Mayes and Butler 1983, 232, fig. 1, 77).

Either 14 or 15 must be the 'gilded bronze scabbard fitting' with an engraved design found in **4a**, the kitchen cloister (*SWJ*, 4 September 1936; above, p. 84).

Miscellaneous objects, nos. 16–25 (figs. 70–2; pl. LVIIIc)

Jew's harp

16. Jew's harp. Reed missing. Diamond in section. This may or may not be medieval, although typologically it could be. 6×2.8 to 1.3 cm. Arms 0.6 to 0.4 cm. A stray find within the palace area, 1974.

Rim bindings, strip or mount and patch

17. Fragment of rim binding with attachment hole. Presumably from a wooden dish. Carefully hammered along the upper edge. Rim 20×2.5 cm., base 2.3 to 0.6 cm. From **4a**, the kitchen cloister, 1934.
18. Similar fragment, now flat. 13.75×3.2 cm.
19. Curved strip or mount. 12×1 cm.
20. Curved-section binding strip with traced decoration and rivet holes in pairs. 6.9×1.5 cm. From **4g**, Midden 1, 1961.
21. Patch with eight attachment holes. 5.7×4.7 to 3 cm.

Hook or hinge loop

22. Broken hook or hinge loop; possibly from a small wooden box. 5.5×1 cm.

Bronze ring

23. Ring. Diameter 2.5 cm. Probably the ring found in area **8a**, north of the Antioch chamber, reference given 'from B5 \times 6 III (+)'. This is the only copper-alloy piece from Clarendon in the British Museum: BM 1957, 10–6, 147.

Seal matrix

24. Seal matrix from Clarendon representing the Virgin and Child. Vesica-shaped seal of copper-alloy with a loop at the top, inscribed: * . S^r. FALCON^r. MAGRI...SCI. ANTONII . . . enclosing Our Lady and Child.

Master of St Anthony (of Vienne). Seal of the Second Grand Master Falco who died in 1254. This seal was probably presented to an English collector at this date as the Order was collecting money in England. For analogies see Clark-Maxwell 1925, 19–60. Also Graham 1927. Salisbury Museum accession number iiE402 Clarendon, presented by Mr F.J. Stevens. This find is not from the 1930s excavations.

Miniature wheel-lock

25. Post-medieval miniature wheel-lock pistol. Dated to the early seventeenth century. Not from the 1930s excavations. $11 \times 3.5 \times 2$ cm. (pl. LVIIIc).

IRON OBJECTS

By Ian H. Goodall

with a note on the rowel spur by Blanche Ellis

Dates and contexts

The iron objects are in the main contemporary with the medieval occupation of the palace, but a few are of post-medieval date. Records of the 1930s excavations show clearly that ironwork was recovered from a range of locations across the site. As stated above, the records of work in the 1930s on the northern range of buildings **4**, **5**, **7**, **8**, and **10**, on the western entrance (**2**), and on the eastern buildings (**16**) have survived better than the records of work elsewhere on the site. The records of the early years of the excavations contain some detail relating finds to different areas of the site. Dr Borenius reported finds of 'nails galore' to the Antiquaries in 1933 (Borenius 1933). He reminded his audience of a historical record of 1358–9 in which the scribe's Latin broke down in his attempts to describe all the different types of nails supplied to Clarendon (p. 38). Nails must have been found widely on the site, although contexts were noted only when nails were the first iron objects recovered from Clarendon, and featured amongst the early finds (Correspondence, 27 April 1933; 9 May 1933). The context we have for the May 1933 find is the east end of the great hall (**5**), during the excavation of the area just inside the entrance there. We do not, however, know precisely which type of nails came from this context. As all kinds of finds became more numerous, only more unusual pieces of ironwork were recorded. It is clear that a number of knives came from the kitchen area (**4**), in particular from the kitchen cloister (**4a**), from the north kitchen (**4e**) and from the salsary (**4k**). One object (no. 11), thought at the time to be a broken sword blade, but now thought to be part of a domestic knife, was recovered from the courtyard south of the Antioch chamber (**8**). Keys, like knives, were also found in scattered locations across the site, in the salsary (**4k**) and in the ash-pit (**4g**) in the kitchen area, from the king's chambers area (**7**) and from the queen's apartments (**10**). The find-spots of certain individual items can be recovered from contemporary records and where such information is available it has been noted in the text below. A collection of ironwork also reported is that recovered from the prolific area (**8a**), north of the Antioch chamber. These finds included 'iron window frames' and other iron objects too rusty to be immediately identified (*SWJ*, 26 November 1933; 24 August 1934; 9 August 1935; 13 September 1935; 4 September 1936; 20, 27 August 1937; 21 July 1939; Correspondence, 1933). A horseshoe 'in good condition' came from the kitchen cloister (**4a**) as did an arrowhead with 6 in. (15 cm.) barbs (Correspondence, 31 August and 1 September 1936).

*Catalogue**Tools, nos. 1–3 (fig. 73)*

1, found in the solar (**7**) (Borenius 1933, 23), is a carpenter's gimlet or gimlet bit used for boring pilot holes for nails and for other similar purposes (Salaman 1975, 82, 208). Few similar medieval tools have been found, although one is known from London (M. Henig in Tatton-Brown 1974, 191, fig. 38 no. 57). 2, a plummet, was used in building work and has a hooked terminal for attachment to a line. 3, a sickle of an established medieval form, has a near complete tang and broken blade.

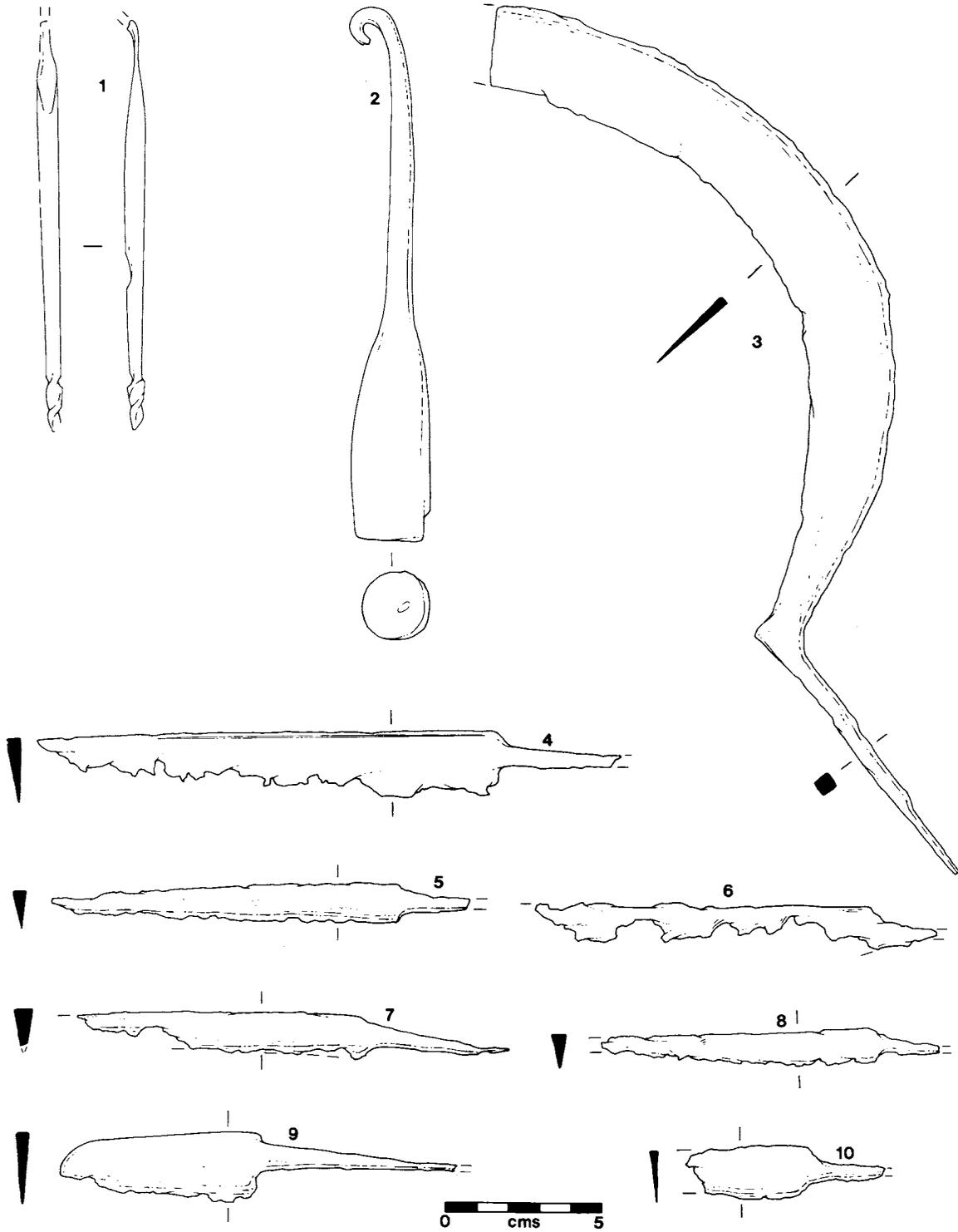


FIG. 73. Iron objects (1-10) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

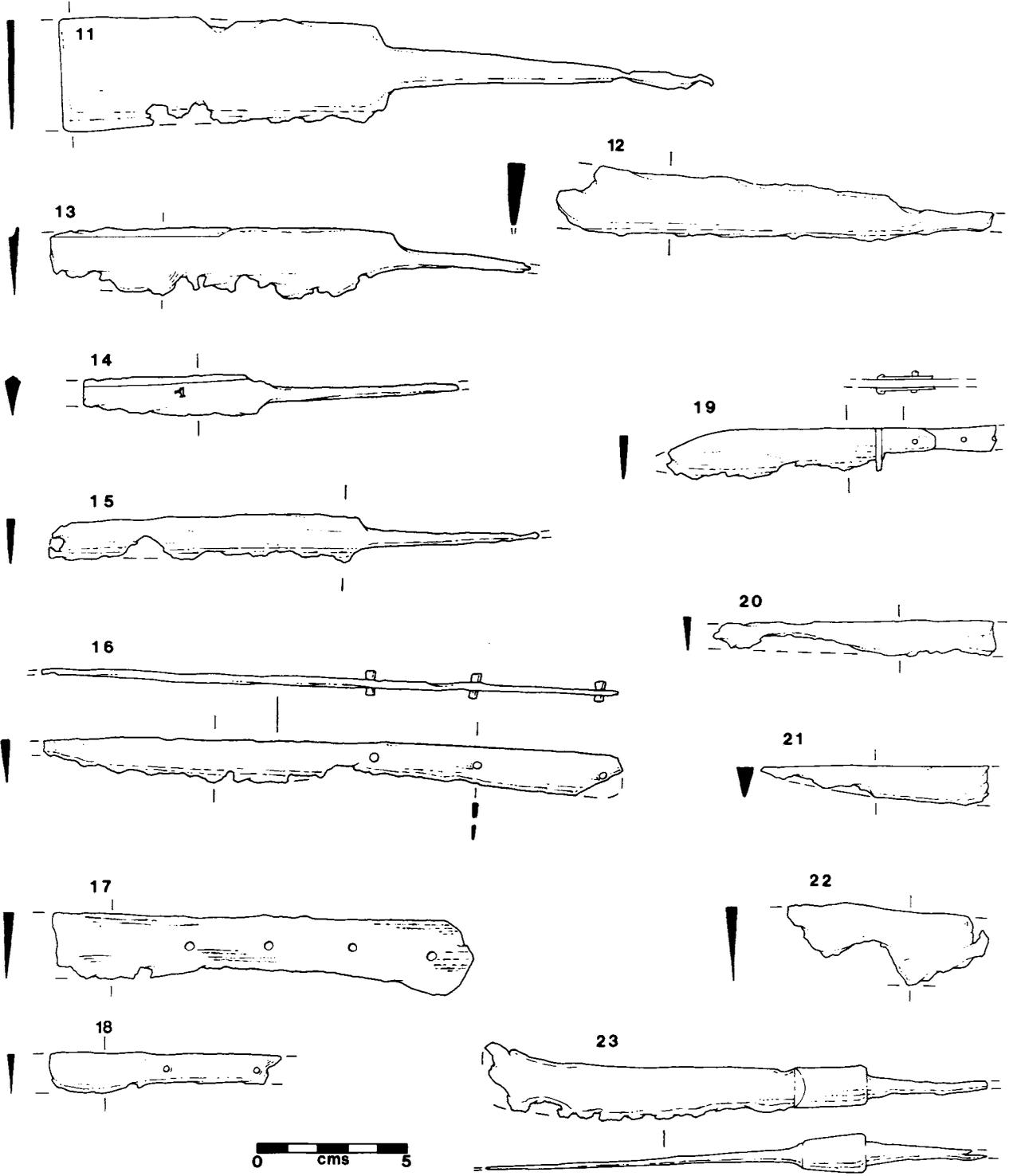


FIG. 74. Iron objects (11-23) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Knives, nos. 4–23 (figs. 73–4)

4–23 are knives, all without their handles. 4–15 and 23 have whittle tangs which were inserted into handles, 16–19 have riveted scale tangs. 20–22 are blade fragments.

Among the whittle-tang knives the blades of 4–10 have backs and cutting edges which taper towards the tip, on 11–14 the two are parallel, and 15 has a gently curved back. Most are medieval, although the rounded tips of 9 and 15 are sufficiently unusual to raise some doubts. 14 is the only knife with a visible cutler's mark, which is inlaid with non-ferrous metal in the customary medieval manner (Hayward 1957, 5). Three of the knives have decoratively finished blades: 4 has a single groove close to the back which may originally have been inlaid with non-ferrous wire, and 13 and 14 respectively have single and double swages or bevels along their backs. Such decorative features are only rarely found on medieval knives (for a groove see a knife from Goltho, Lincs. (I.H. Goodall in Beresford, 1975, 79–82, fig. 37, no. 16); for a swage see a knife from London (M. Henig in Tatton-Brown 1974, 189, no. 47)), and the presence of so many among such a small group must reflect the type of site.

Among the scale-tang knives, 16 has copper-alloy rivets, 17 iron rivets, and 19 riveted copper-alloy shoulder plates which gave a decorative finish to the inner end of the knife handle. One of these shoulder plates retains wood graining from a former scale, but otherwise no handle survives. If the quality of the whittle-tang knives is a guide, it is likely that one or more of these handles could have been shaped, inlaid with decorative pins, or even inscribed, all different methods of enhancing medieval scale-tang knives.

20–2 are knife blade fragments. 23 is a knife with a bolster between tang and curved blade, the latter of a shape known at the end of the seventeenth century (Hayward 1957, 9, pls. xiiib, xiv, xv). Known contexts for knives are largely in the kitchen area (4a, 4e, 4k; above, p. 208), but at least one (no. 11) came from elsewhere on the site, from the courtyard south of the Antioch chamber (8). Otherwise none of the knives catalogued here can be assigned to any specific context.

Dagger, no. 24 (fig. 75)

24 is a dagger with a triangular-sectioned blade and clenched-over tang tip.

Shears, nos. 25–8 (fig. 75)

Shears 25–7 have plain or cusped blades and bows which are either moulded or just shaped; 28 is a blade tip. All are comparatively slender and probably had domestic and personal rather than industrial uses.

Structural ironwork and fittings, nos. 29–65 (figs. 75–8)

Ironwork associated with the structure and fittings of the palace buildings forms a considerable proportion of the Clarendon ironwork assemblage. Some of the objects are of types which feature in the building accounts, although these also mention many others which are not represented.

Masonry cramp, wall anchor, wallhooks and staples, nos. 29–38

29 is a masonry cramp with downturned ends which, set in a groove cut between the stones, and secured with lead, bound them together. Such cramps were only used for vulnerable stones, including those which projected or might slip. Building accounts of 1482 (Salzman 1967, 291) mention a 'gosefett', a more complex trifid cramp. The wall anchor, 30, has a substantial tang which was driven into a masonry joint; its head, which may have been perforated, secured fittings on or against a wall. 31–5 are multi-purpose wallhooks whose tangs may have been driven into either masonry joints or timber. 31–2, which have hooks rising from the end of the shank, are of a type found throughout the medieval period, whereas 33–5, with hooks rising before the end of the shank, are a late medieval type known principally from thirteenth-century and later contexts. 36–8 are rectangular staples.

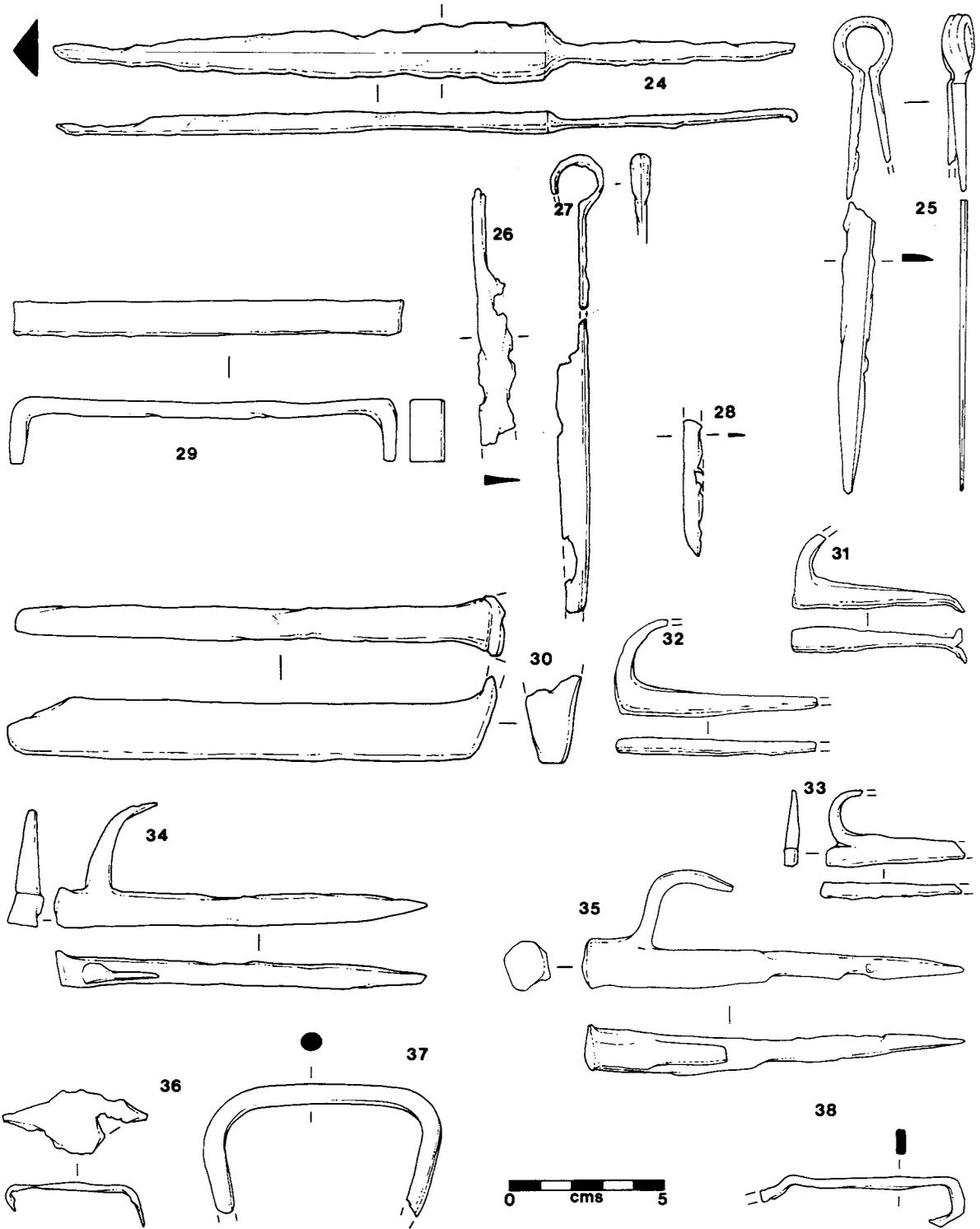


FIG. 75. Iron objects (24-38) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

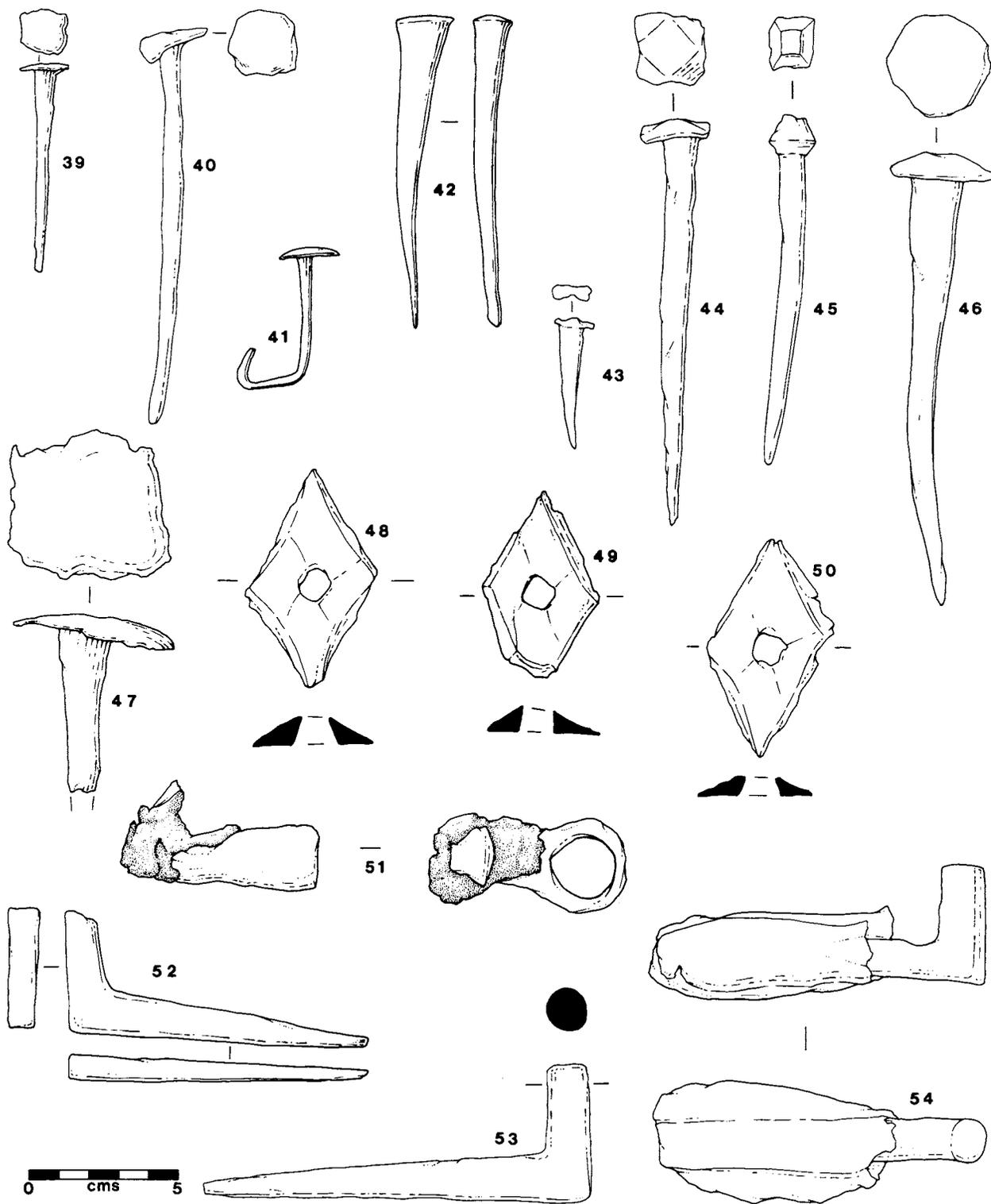


FIG. 76. Iron objects (39-54) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

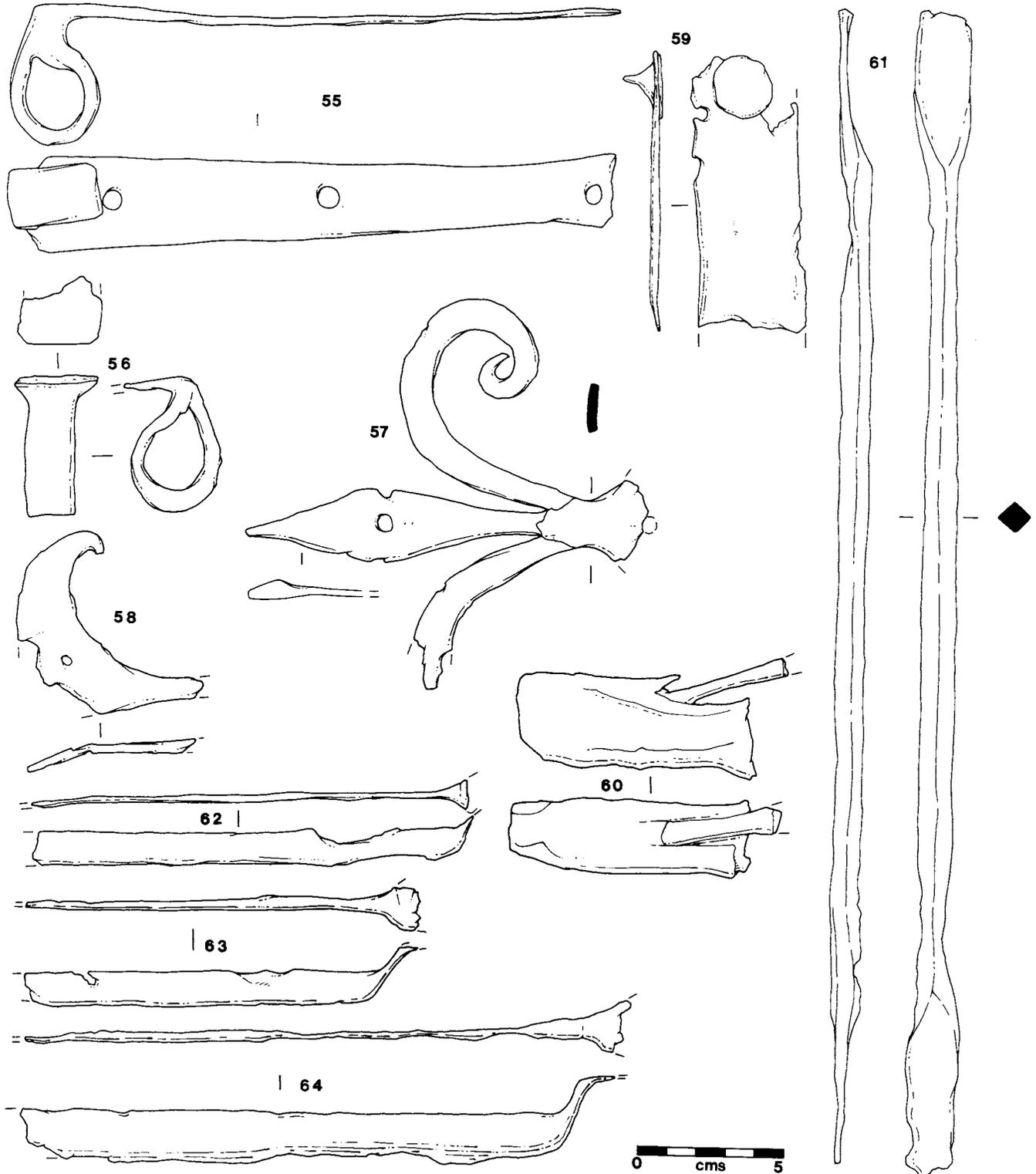


FIG. 77. Iron objects (55-64) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

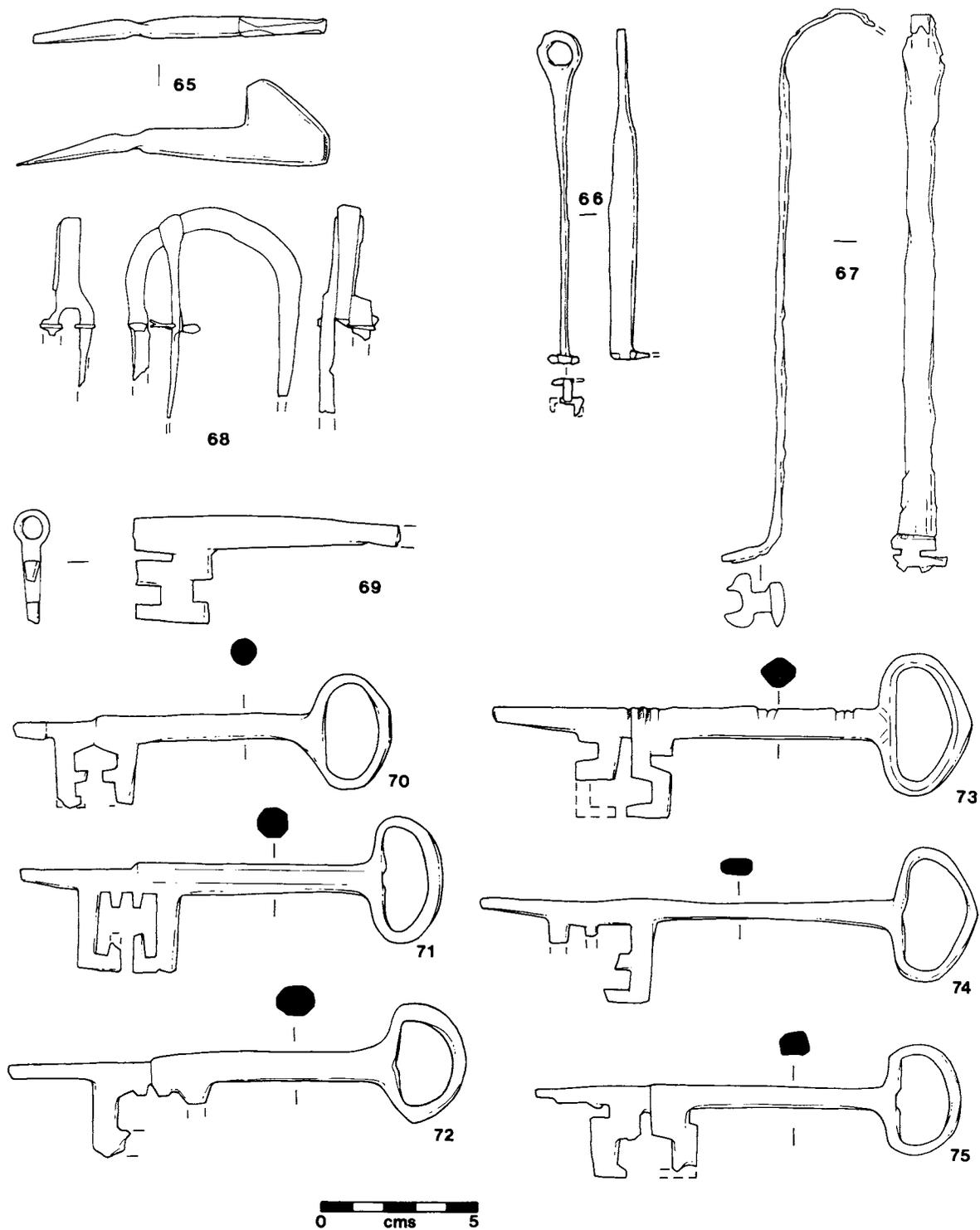


FIG. 78. Iron objects (65-75) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Timber nails and studs, nos. 39–47

Medieval building accounts frequently list large quantities of nails, called by a surprising variety of names. Those for Clarendon of 1358–9 include ‘spiknails, bordnails, stodenails, shinglenails and lathnails’ (Borenus 1933), and of 1363 ‘13 great nails called waternails, for mending the great gate of the manor broken by the violence of the wind’ (Salzman 1967, 305). The eight types of timber nail recognized from Clarendon (see above for note on contexts) must include some of these named types, although certain correlation is impossible. Nails 39–43 have plain heads but 44–6 have shaped or decorated heads which were clearly meant to be seen and to embellish whatever they were used in. 39 has a flat square head (seven examples), 40 a flat rectangular head (three), 41 a flat circular head (twenty-three), 42 a flaring rectangular head (five), 43 an 8-shaped head (twenty-one), 44 a faceted rectangular head (three), 45 a flat-topped diamond-shaped head (three) and 46 a raised, decorated circular head (one). 47 is one of two similar studs with rectangular heads and curved top surfaces.

Roves, nos. 48–50

48–50 are flat, diamond-shaped roves from clenched bolts which held the ledges and battens of doors, shutters and hatches together. Their method of use is shown on the twelfth-century church door at Stillingfleet, North Yorkshire (Addyman and Goodall 1979, 90, fig. 9) and on the slightly later well-cover from Lydford Castle, Devon (J. Geddes in Saunders 1980, 165, fig. 17), although the shape of the roves is different.

Hinges and hinge pivots, nos. 51–9

The hinges of medieval doors, shutters and the like were supported in a variety of ways. 51, a wall loop with an angled shank which retains the lead caulking which secured it in place in masonry, may be part of a harr-hung door which pivoted on a spindle. 52–4 are hinge pivots used in conjunction with strap hinges with various types of looped eye, including 55 and 56. 52 and 53 have tapering shanks suitable for being driven into timber or a masonry joint, whereas 54 has the lead caulking which secured it in masonry. 55–9 are strap hinges, 55 complete with a simply shaped terminal and offset looped eye, 56 just the eye and stub of the strap. 57 and 58 are shaped hinge terminals, the trefoil shape of 57, with its backward curving scrolls, having come from a once fine door. 57 was found in the great hall (5) (Correspondence, August 1933). 59 is a strap fragment.

Window bars, nos. 60–4

Iron was used in window construction for several purposes, one of which is indicated by an entry in the building accounts for Clarendon in 1250: ‘And in the queen’s hall let there be made a window towards the garden, well barred with iron’ (Salzman 1967, 385). The document could be referring either to a window grille, or to individual bars, and 60–4 are examples of both. 60, the stub of a bar set in lead caulking, is probably from a grille of interlocking horizontal and vertical iron bars. The stone surround of such a window is known from King’s Langley, Herts. (Neal 1973, 48, fig. ix, no. 10); it is likely to have had plain upright ‘standards’ fitted through the eyes of horizontal bars, similar to one from Ospringe, Kent (I.H. Goodall in Smith 1979, 129–32, fig. 20, no. 37). 61–4, in contrast, are from smaller windows, and they probably served the dual function of giving security and acting as support for glazing. 61, with its flattened ends, was evidently set in masonry whereas 62–4 were nailed on to timber window frames through offset, perforated terminals. It is not known whether these window bars are connected in any way with the iron ‘window frames’ recovered from 8a, the area north of the Antioch chamber (above, pp. 106–7).

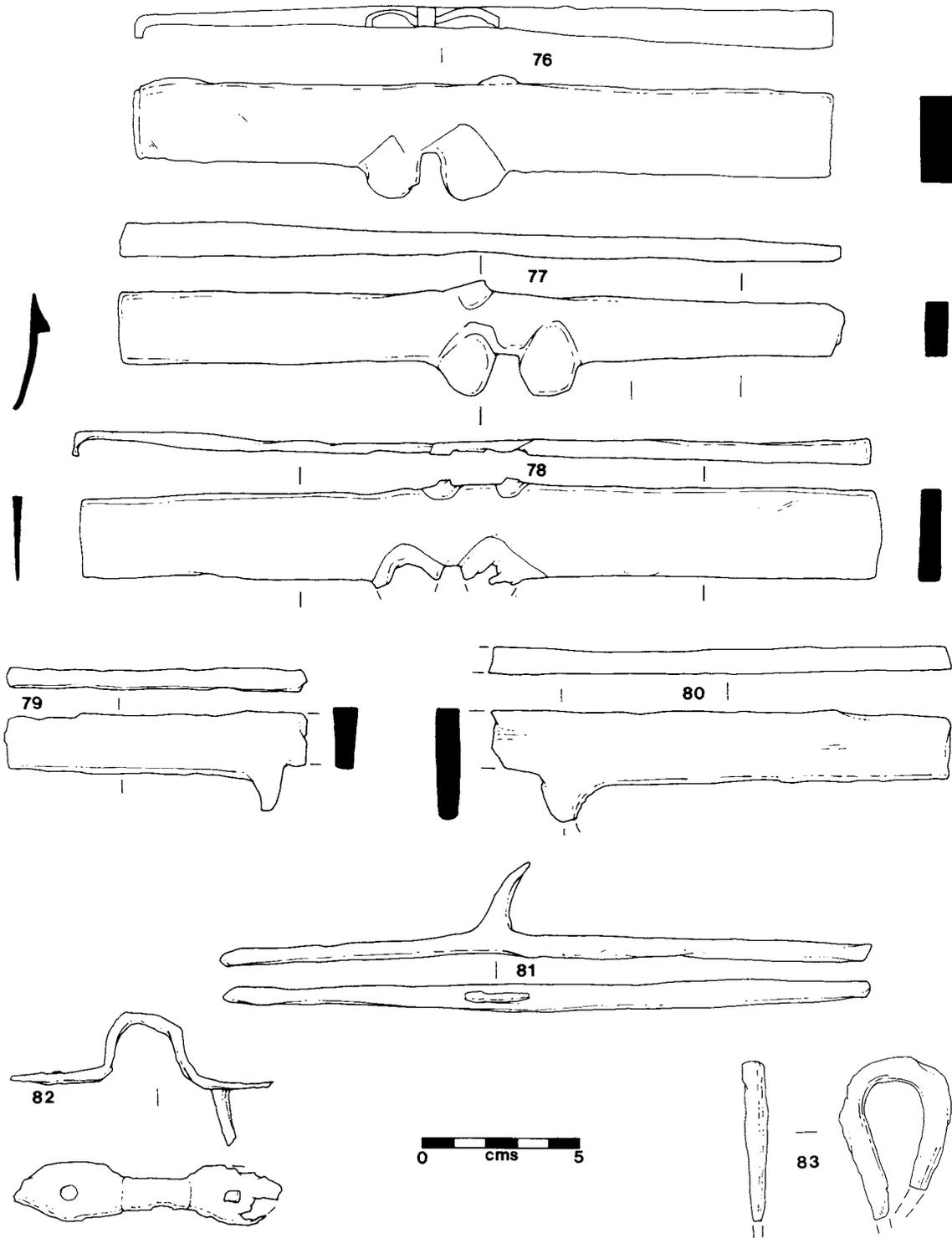


FIG. 79. Iron objects (76-83) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Latch rest, no. 65

65 is a latch rest. This is possibly the door 'sneck' found in the 'north east' of the courtyard (?6) (Correspondence, 28 August 1933).

Lock furniture, nos. 66–83 (figs. 78, 79)

Lock furniture, which could be associated with doors or items of furniture, includes a pair of padlock keys, 66–7, and a U-shaped padlock bolt, 68. The padlock bolt, which has four spines and traces of copper-alloy brazing fluid, may once have resembled an elaborate example from Weoley Castle (Oswald 1962–3, 129, fig. 51 no. 2.). 69–75 are keys (above, p. 208 for contexts): 69 has a hollow stem and separately applied bit, but 70–5 are examples of the most common type of medieval key, which has a solid stem and tip projecting beyond the bit. The bows are D-shaped or oval, shapes which occur on keys during and after the thirteenth century. The stems are of various cross-sections, one of them decorated, and the bits are all symmetrical and capable of being used from either side of a lock. 76–80 are lock bolts from fixed locks which in use would have engaged in a staple or other keeper outside the lock case. 76–8 have two lower projections whose inner sides were struck by the key in order to throw the bolt and lock or unlock it; 79–80 are similar, but incomplete. No complete medieval lock mechanism is known, but later locks which worked in a related way include those from North America (Hume 1969, fig. 77a) and Stillingfleet, North Yorkshire (Addyman and Goodall 1979, 97, pl. xxxiii). 81 is a sliding bolt held by staples and operated by hand, whereas 82 is the U-shaped mount from a much more substantial example, no doubt similar to one from Pottergate, Norwich (Carter, Roberts and Sutermeister 1974–77, pl. 1, 3). 83 is from a figure-eight hasp, often used in conjunction with a padlock to secure a door or chest.

Household fittings, nos. 84–101 (figs. 80–1)

84–92 include a number of fittings from furniture. 84–90 are lengths of binding strip, 84–5 shaped and almost certainly from caskets (Cherry 1982). 88 is a corner binding. 91–2 are rectangular drop handles, probably from chests (Eames 1977, pls. 49a, 51a, 52). Other household fittings include 93, the wax pan from a candlestick which when complete may have resembled a three-legged example from Winchester (Biddle forthcoming, BSSC 365). 94, with its nailed, flanged arm, may be a bucket hook or a fire hook, 95–7 are a chain, a link and a swivel fitting. 98–100 are rings, 101 a collar.

Buckles, nos. 102–108 (fig. 81)

102–8 are buckles. 102 is D-shaped, the most common medieval buckle shape, and the shaping of its frame suggests that it may be from clothing. 103–5, in contrast, are probably from harness, since they all have sheet iron cylinders whose function was to allow straps to pass through them with a minimum of chafing or resistance. 103–4 are trapezoidal in shape, 105 is of the less common T-shape. 106–7 are post-medieval shoe buckles, both angled in side view, and 108 is a spur buckle with an elongated looped neck.

Rowel spur, no. 109 (fig. 82)

109 is a rowel spur about which Blanche Ellis writes:

The spur is made of iron with a trace of non-ferrous plating, probably tin (Jope 1956, 35–42), on the crest. The sides, of D-section, are horizontally straight alongside the wearer's foot with their front ends curving slightly upwards towards their damaged single-ring terminals. Behind the heel the top edge of the sides extends into a large, decorative foliate crest which curls over their junction with the neck; this crest is tipped with a small knob. The long, straight neck of the spur is slender and round in

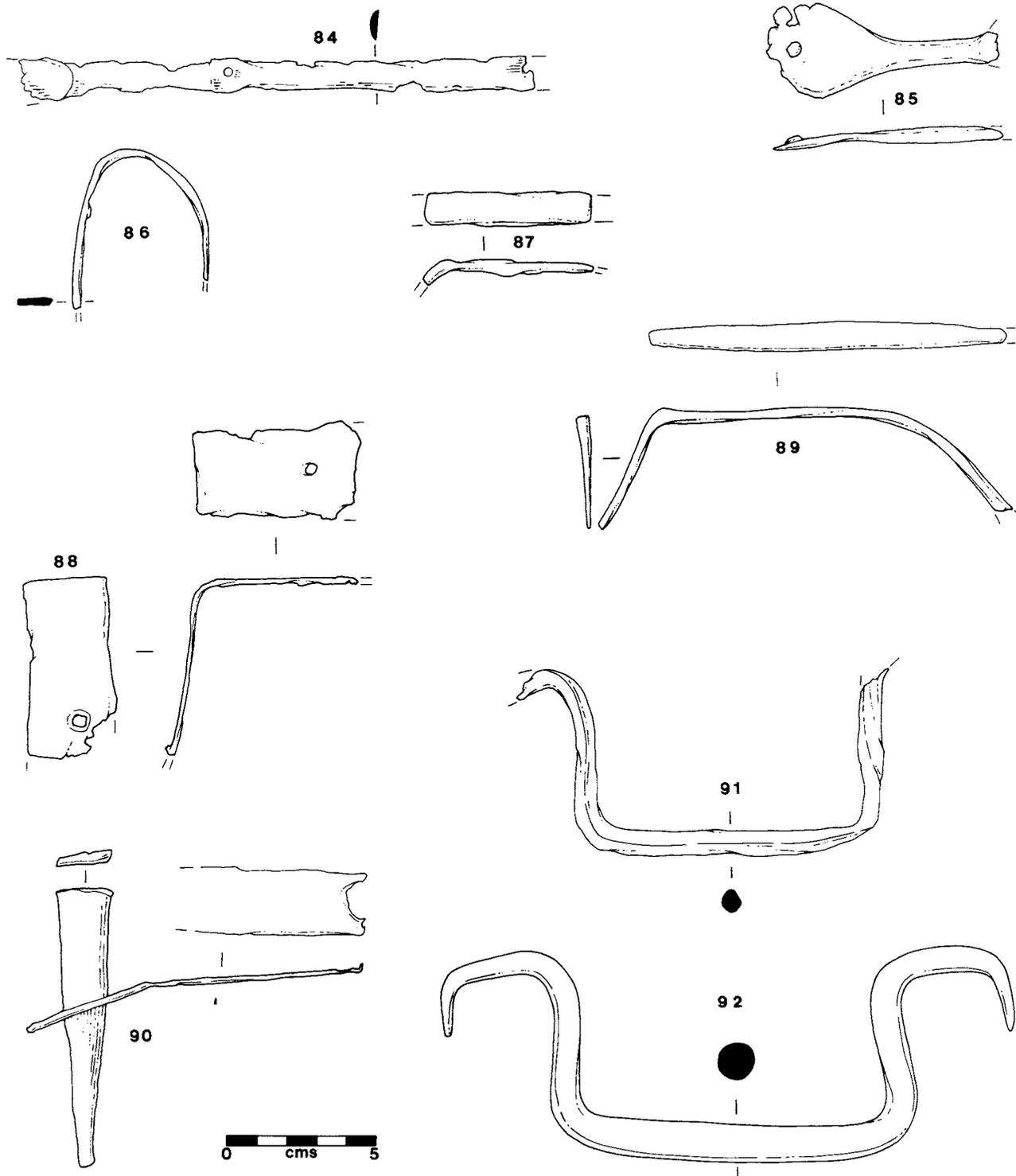
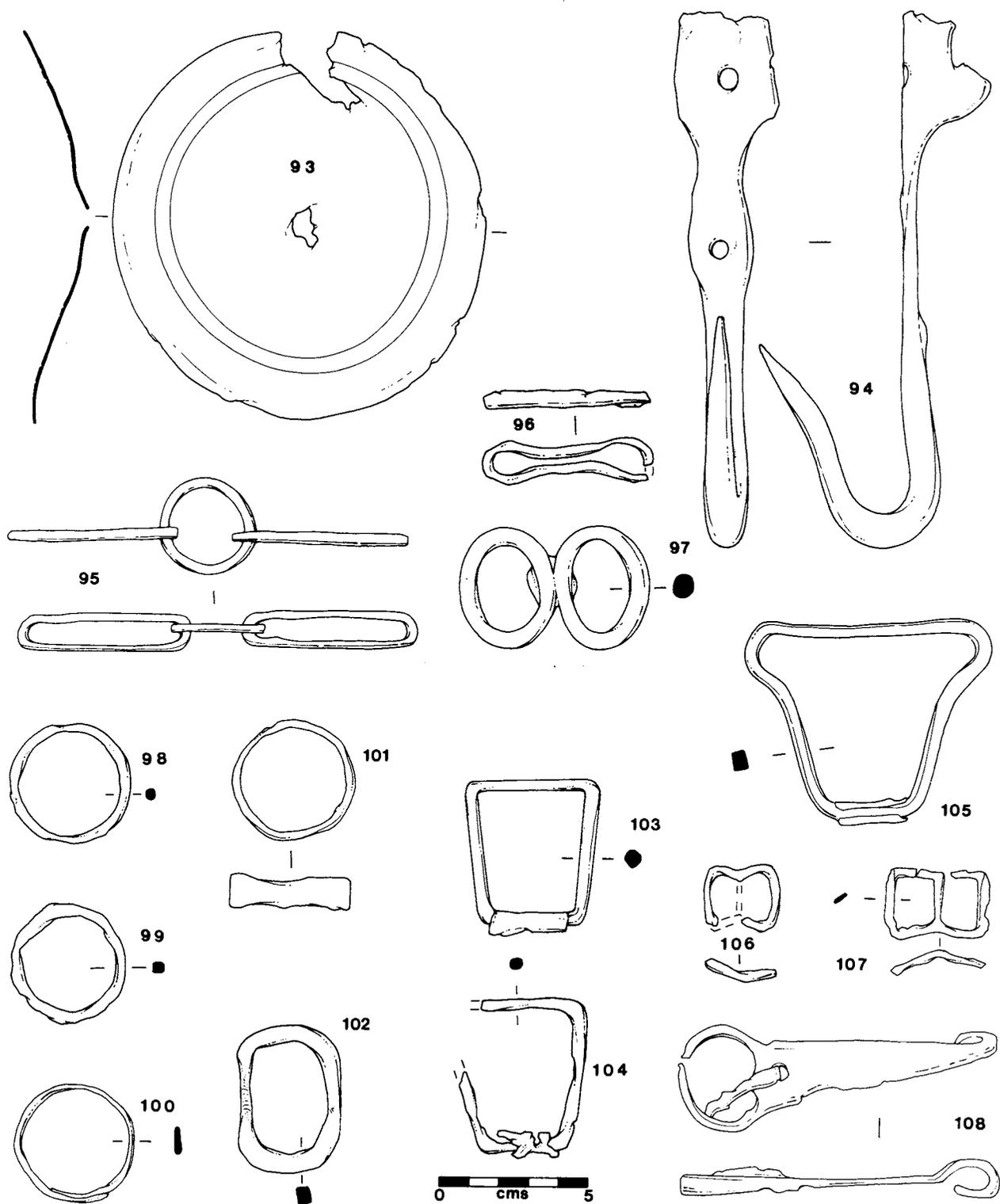


FIG. 80. Iron objects (84-92) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

FIG. 81. Iron objects (93-108) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

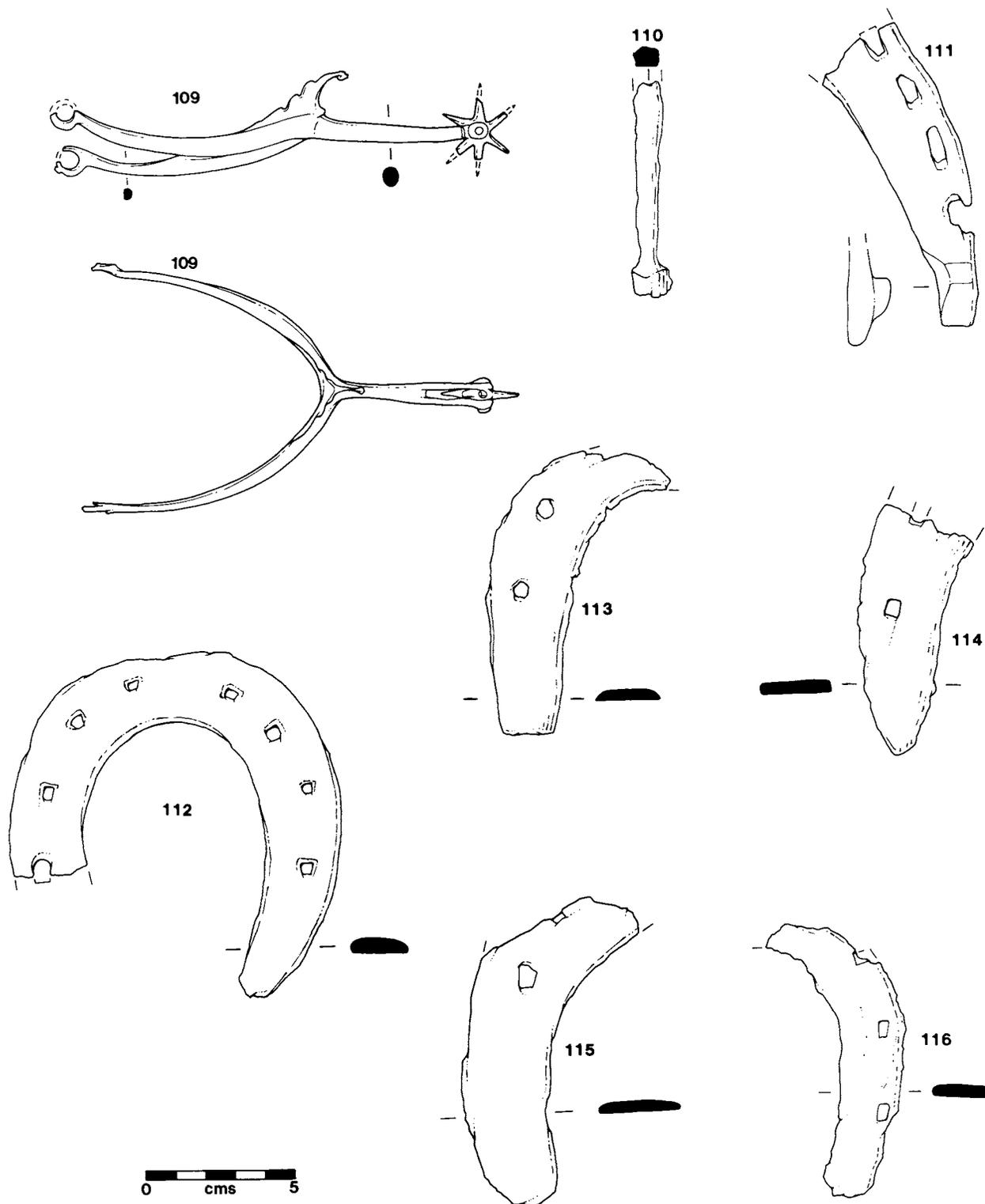


FIG. 82. Iron objects (109-16) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

section, with prominent conical rowel bosses at its end. The rowel has six rounded points, four of which now have broken tips. Length overall about 140 mm. Length of neck 53 mm. Rowel diameter originally about 30 mm. Span (between terminals) 72 mm.

Salisbury Museum accession number 47/57 (*SMAR*, 1956–7, 15 records this accession). Catalogue number 23 (*SMMC*, in preparation). From 1933–39 excavations, found in 1936 in the kitchen cloister (4a) (*SWJ*, 4 September 1936).

Spurs with long necks were worn in Britain during the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. When the fashion for long-necked spurs developed about 1400 they still had their sides deeply curved under the ankles as in the previous century, a shape which lent itself particularly well to the formation of pointed or curling crests behind the heels. As the fifteenth century progressed the sides of the spurs tended to become less curved until the latest long-necked spurs often had straight sides. Crests were then less common, but had not completely disappeared.

Several locally found spurs in the Salisbury Museum collection have decorative foliate crests and indicate that they were popular in that area, although they were not exclusive to it. The monumental brass of Sir John de Brewys, 1426, in Wiston Church, Sussex, shows him in armour wearing spurs with foliate crests, their sides more deeply curved than those of the Clarendon spur. Spurs with sides shaped more like those of the Clarendon spur are worn by Sir Thomas le Strange, who died in 1426, on his monumental brass at Wellesbourne Hastings, Warwickshire (Ward Perkins 1940, 104, fig. 32, no. 6). They are combined with plain pointed crests and figure-eight terminals. The spur under discussion is very similar to two iron spurs from the Salisbury canals, numbers ii B 13 (21) and ii B 14 (22) (*SMMC* numbers given in parentheses after accession numbers). The development of these, the Clarendon spur, and several other Salisbury spurs which have features in common with them, are discussed in the introduction to the *SMMC* (in preparation). The presence of the small group found locally suggests the probability of Salisbury as their common source of manufacture. This cannot be stated with certainty, however, because merchants and travellers, including fashionable courtiers at Clarendon, could have brought them from London or elsewhere in the country.

The spur dates from the fifteenth century, probably the second quarter, towards the end of the period of use of Clarendon Palace.

Horse furniture, nos. 110–16 (fig. 82)

110 is the knobbed terminal from the cheekpiece of a snaffle bit. It is of the most common medieval type, and when complete is likely to have resembled one from Somerby, Lincs. (Mynard 1969, 82, fig. 11, no. IW47). 111–15 are horseshoes, 111 an arm with a calkin and countersunk nail holes which indicate that it is thirteenth century or earlier in date. 112–15, none of which has a calkin or thickened tip, are of late medieval date, since they have rectangular nail holes and are of the type which succeeded 111. 116 is part of an oxshoe, but has lost its clip.

Arrowheads, nos. 117–26 (fig. 83)

117 and 118 are military arrowheads, and 117, when complete, must have resembled some from Castle Acre, Norfolk (I.H. Goodall in Coad and Streeten 1982, 235, fig. 42, nos. 152–9). The remainder were probably used for hunting. 119–24 are barbed and their cutting edges, particularly the long ones of 122–4, would have inflicted deep lacerations on game like deer and boar. 125–6 are forked heads whose form made them less likely to glance off the hides of animals and ideal for hamstringing them (Blackmore 1971, 194). 120, 123 and 126 retain traces of overall copper-alloy plating; it is unusual to find this on arrowheads and its purpose may have been to create an effect during hunting.

A further group of medieval arrowheads, described as ‘Heads of Missile Weapons from Salisbury,

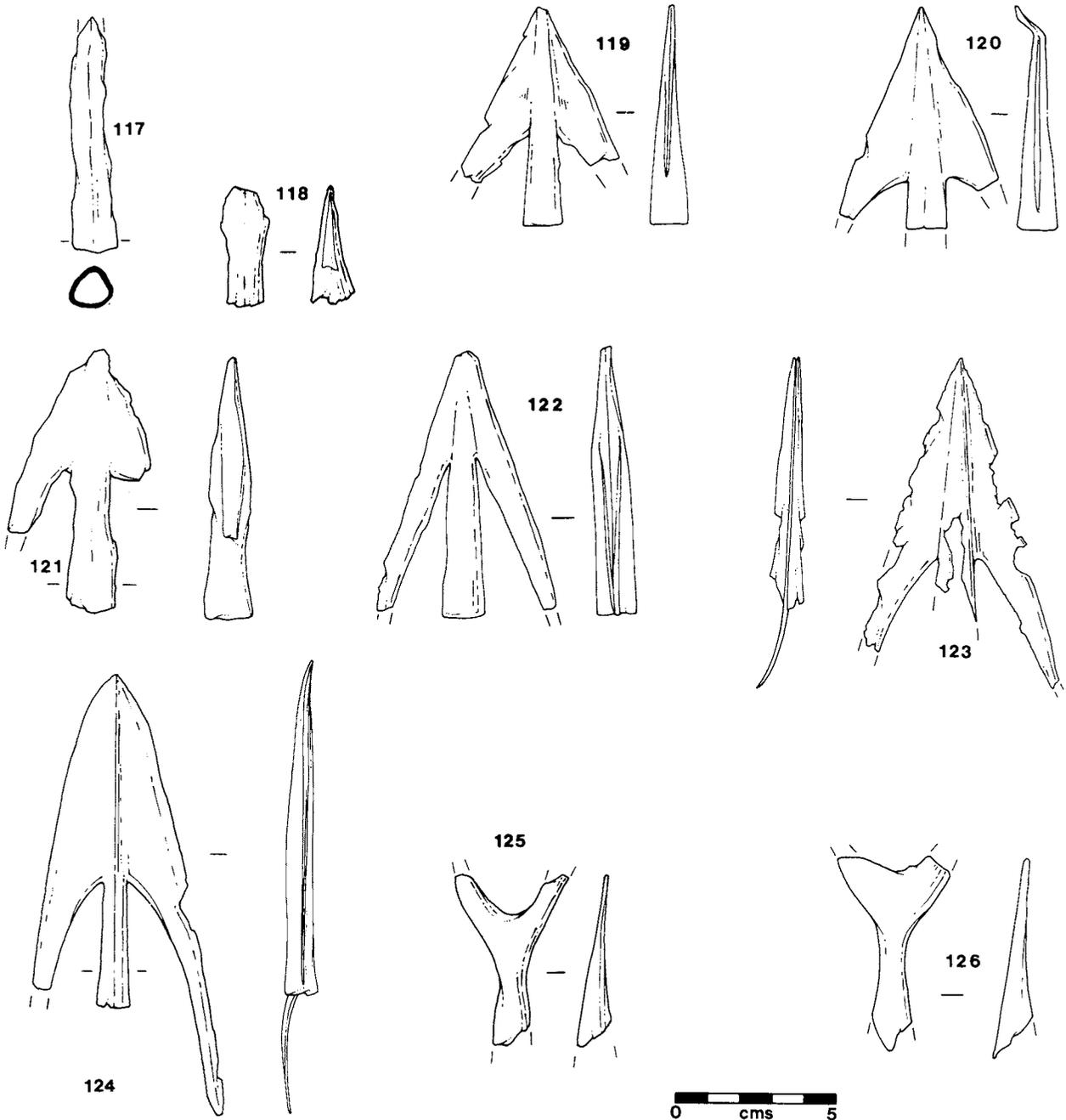


FIG. 83. Iron objects (117-26) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

said to have been found at Clarendon, Wilts., *c.* 1838', were drawn for publication in 1850. The whereabouts of these artefacts is now unknown, but the drawing now in Salisbury Museum shows four barbed arrowheads and one with a forked head, all of them paralleled among the arrowheads received from twentieth-century excavations at Clarendon Palace.

LEAD AND LEAD-ALLOY OBJECTS

By T.B. James and Barry Knight

Lead was used for building purposes and for decoration. Documentary evidence for Clarendon refers to lead roofing and roof furniture and there is a reference to lead being despatched to Clarendon by the bailiff of the Peak, from Derbyshire (above, p. 11).

A variety of uses to which lead was put at Clarendon can be deduced from the extant collection of lead artefacts. This knowledge reinforces and enhances what is known from documentary sources. Window comes form a significant proportion of the surviving collection of Clarendon lead. These include not only comes which held glass (in one case with a small pane of glass still in place), but also, less predictably, comes which held lead ventilators. Barry Knight has analysed the collection of comes, and his comments appear below. A significant collection of ventilator fragments was recovered from the site. Gilded lead was used at Clarendon for details of interior decoration schemes, as shown below, and the stars and crescents recovered from the site during the 1930s may have been features of a decorative scheme which included *scintillae*, or stars, which Henry III ordered in 1251 (above, pp. 16–17, and p. 107). The merest glimpse of other uses to which lead was put can be had from examination of the lead-alloy spoon, for the table, and the lead-alloy buckle, from harness or dress, found amongst the collection. Otherwise the Clarendon leadwork consists of a collection of lead caulking, some with ironwork still set in it, some only bearing the imprint of structural ironwork round which it was once set. It is known that various accidental fires damaged the palace at different times, for example in the period immediately before the survey of 1273 (above, p. 33). Fires such as this or at the time of demolition no doubt resulted in a number of melted and reformed fragments which are described below.

Apart from three lead stars, a crescent, and a lead-alloy buckle which are in the British Museum, all the other leadwork is at Salisbury Museum.

Archaeological contexts are known for a number of, but not all, fragments of lead; where they are known they are given below. Lead was recovered from right across the site: lead ventilators came from the western entrance (2), while lead in different forms was found in the kitchen area (4), both in the salsary (4k) and in the ash-pits (4g). An ingot came from the great hall (5), comes, lead stars and crescents from the king's chambers (7) and the Antioch chamber area (8a and 8b), a fragment of melted and re-formed lead from the queen's apartments area (10) and an ingot from the eastern range (16) (Museum context slips; Borenus 1937, 9; *SWJ*, 24 August 1934, 26 March 1937).

Comes (fig. 84)

Barry Knight writes of the lead window comes:

A small quantity of lead from this site is preserved in the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, some thirty-seven fragments in all. When one considers the size of Clarendon Palace and the number of windows it must have had, it is evident that most of the lead must have been removed and melted down, and that what remains cannot give us much idea of what originally existed.

Two types of come are represented, types A and C (Knight, 'The window lead', in Hare 1986). There are five fragments of type A and thirty-two of type C in the Clarendon collection. These two

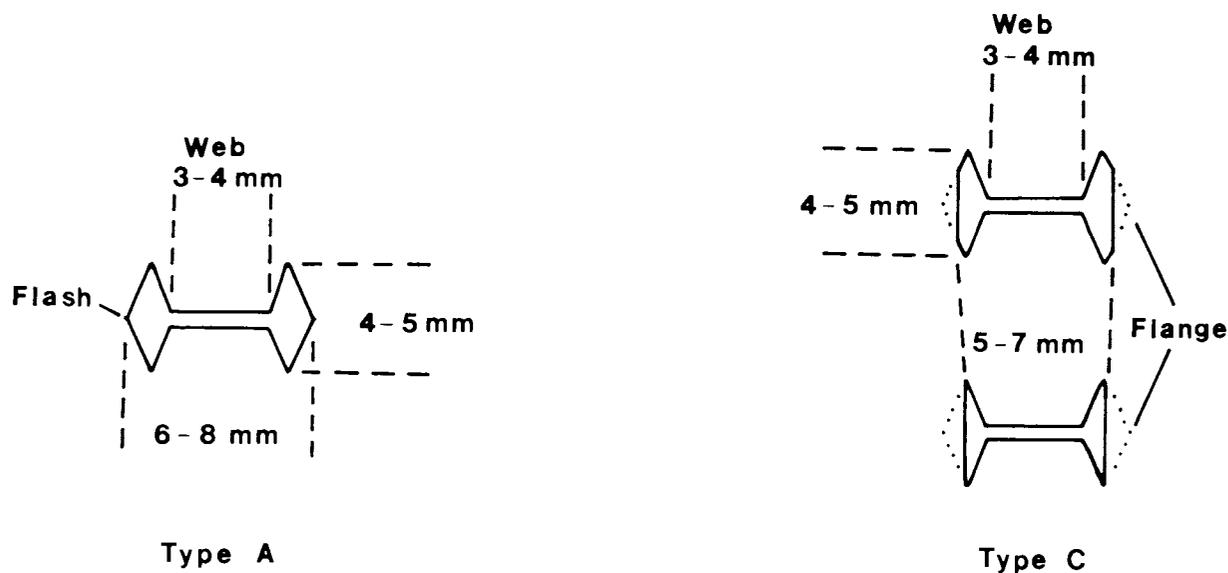


FIG. 84. Came diagram

types seem to have been common throughout the Middle Ages, only disappearing with the introduction of the lead mill in the sixteenth century. Type A is in the 'as cast' state, with a prominent flash along both flanges, while in type C the flash has been cut away (fig. 84). The process of casting comes and scraping them down is described by Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, ii, chs. 24-6 (Hawthorne and Smith (eds.) 1963, 67-70). Because each piece is made by hand the dimensions vary somewhat but typical values are shown above (fig. 84). It should be noted that the flange is sometimes called the leaf, and the web is sometimes called the core (fig. 84). The width of the web indicates approximately the thickness of the glass.

Since many of the fragments are extremely small, twisted and decayed it is difficult to measure them, and the dimensions of such pieces are probably uninformative. Two pieces are particularly noteworthy. First, a twisted piece of type A some 25 cm. in total length, with a prominent flash and a piece of glass still in place. The glass pane measures approximately 4 cm. \times 2.2 cm. This piece came from the excavators' 'Site 2' in 1933 (7b) / (7e) (Correspondence, 9 May 1933; see pl. LIXa). Second, there is a cruciform piece of type C (no. 1), which is described below (p. 226; fig. 85). Otherwise features of the group as a whole are a fragment of type C, some 26 cm. in length, and two pieces of type A, one with a prominent flash and measuring 10 cm. in length, the other 5 cm. long. The remainder of the group are small fragments of type C, many split in two along the web. A selection is illustrated (pl. LIXa-b).

The ventilators (fig. 85, no. 1; pl. LIXa-b)

There are some thirty-five surviving fragments of lead ventilators amongst the collection of Clarendon finds now at Salisbury Museum. All of the fragments once formed parts of ventilators estimated to have consisted of five or six openwork quarries with 'an architectural character of fourteenth-century date' (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 83-4). The Gothic character of the decoration is clearly seen in those illustrated below. In all cases the decoration on the face is raised in relief and the reverse is always flat. Three of these ventilator fragments are particularly instructive. The largest of them measures 9 \times 3.5 cm., and represents the whole length of one side of a ventilator. If, as was suggested in the 1930s,

the ventilators were square, then they would have measured 9 cm. square, somewhat smaller than the 12.7 cm. square suggested then. A selection of fragments has been laid out to suggest the proportions of a whole ventilator and can be seen below (pl. LIX*b*). A suggested reconstruction of a whole ventilator based on parallels from Whitby Abbey, Baudrey Abbey and Stanley Abbey was published in 1936. Examples from Finchale Priory and Rievaulx Abbey were also cited (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 84). The second of these three fragments (no. 1) is a corner piece still attached to a cruciform fragment of a came (Type C) the arms of which measure 9 cm., 5 cm., approximately 3 cm. and 1 cm. respectively, all by 0.5 cm. The third (no. 1) is a somewhat larger corner piece (6×4 cm.) which is displayed at Salisbury Museum with the came and ventilator here described and may once have been seated in the angle of the longer arm of the came (fig. 85). These two fragments demonstrate the way in which lead ventilators were set in comes. The other thirty-two fragments range from crushed came and ventilator fragments (11×6 cm.) to some six identifiable corner pieces, the largest of which is 4.4×4.1 cm. Several of these corner pieces retain the Gothic scroll corner decoration (pl. LIX*b*). The remaining twenty-six fragments consist largely of tiny incomplete fragments of Gothic tracery from the internal decoration of various ventilators, although there are a very few larger fragments.

Wall and ceiling ornaments (figs. 85–6, nos. 2–8; pl. LIX*c*)

Eight-pointed stars (fig. 85, nos. 2–6; pl. LIX*c*)

Five such stars were recovered from Clarendon in the course of the 1930s excavations. Each has a faceted face, flat reverse and a central nail hole. Two came from solar A (7*g*) and three more were subsequently found immediately outside the Antioch chamber (8) to the north in area 8*a* or 8*b*, in September 1935 (Borenus 1937, 9; *SWJ*, 26 March 1937). These stars have attracted considerable attention since they were discovered. It was observed in the 1930s that they had been gilded, and this was confirmed by analysis in the British Museum Research Laboratory in 1962. This showed that the lead was first whitewashed, then sized, and gold leaf was applied above the size. The material now covering these objects is a mixed carbonate of calcium and magnesium (Eames 1965, 65 and note pl. xxxvi). Dr Borenus drew direct parallels with similar stars from St Stephen's chapel, Westminster, and made reference to documentary sources which refer to the embellishment of the Antioch chamber with *scintillis* in the 1250s (Borenus 1943, 45 and pls. 13*a*, 13*b*; above, p. 16). The ceiling of the Guardian Angels chapel in Winchester Cathedral, originally of a similar date, although now restored, appears to have similar stars. In the course of time the points of the stars have in many cases been damaged, which accounts for the variations in measurements within the group from 6×6 cm. maximum to 5.75×4.5 cm. minimum size. When the finds from Clarendon were divided up in the 1950s (above, p. 130), two stars, probably those from solar A (7*g*), remained in Salisbury, while the other three, probably those from the Antioch chamber area 8*a*, were deposited in the British Museum.

Crescents (fig. 86, nos. 7–8; pl. LIX*c*)

Two lead crescents were recovered from the area 'outside the Antioch Chamber', probably in 8*a*. They were thought by Dr Borenus to have formed an element of wall or ceiling decoration like the lead stars. There seems no reason to argue with this interpretation. It was further argued that such crescents had either signified the Saracens at war in the decoration scheme of the Antioch chamber, or to have been a badge of Henry III in conjunction with the lead stars (Borenus 1943, 45 and pl. 13*b*). Both surviving stars have central nail holes, and flat backs, which would support the theory that they were nailed to flat surfaces. Like the stars, they were probably gilded, although they have not been analysed in a laboratory, probably because of the two that were found one is in the Salisbury and the other at the British Museum. No parallels are known. The crescents are roughly circular, with a diameter of 6.5 cm.

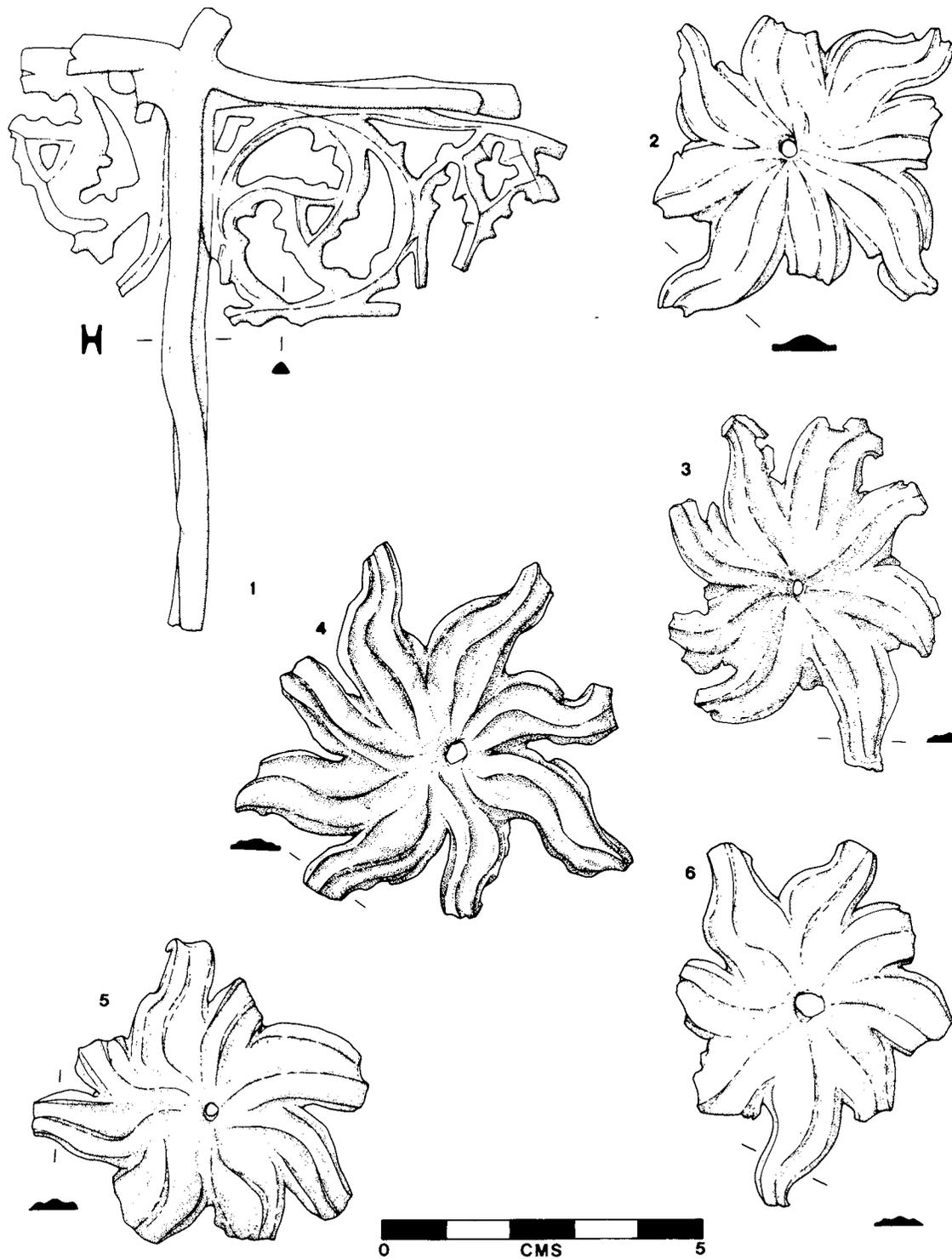


FIG. 85. Lead and lead-alloy objects (1-6) (1/2)

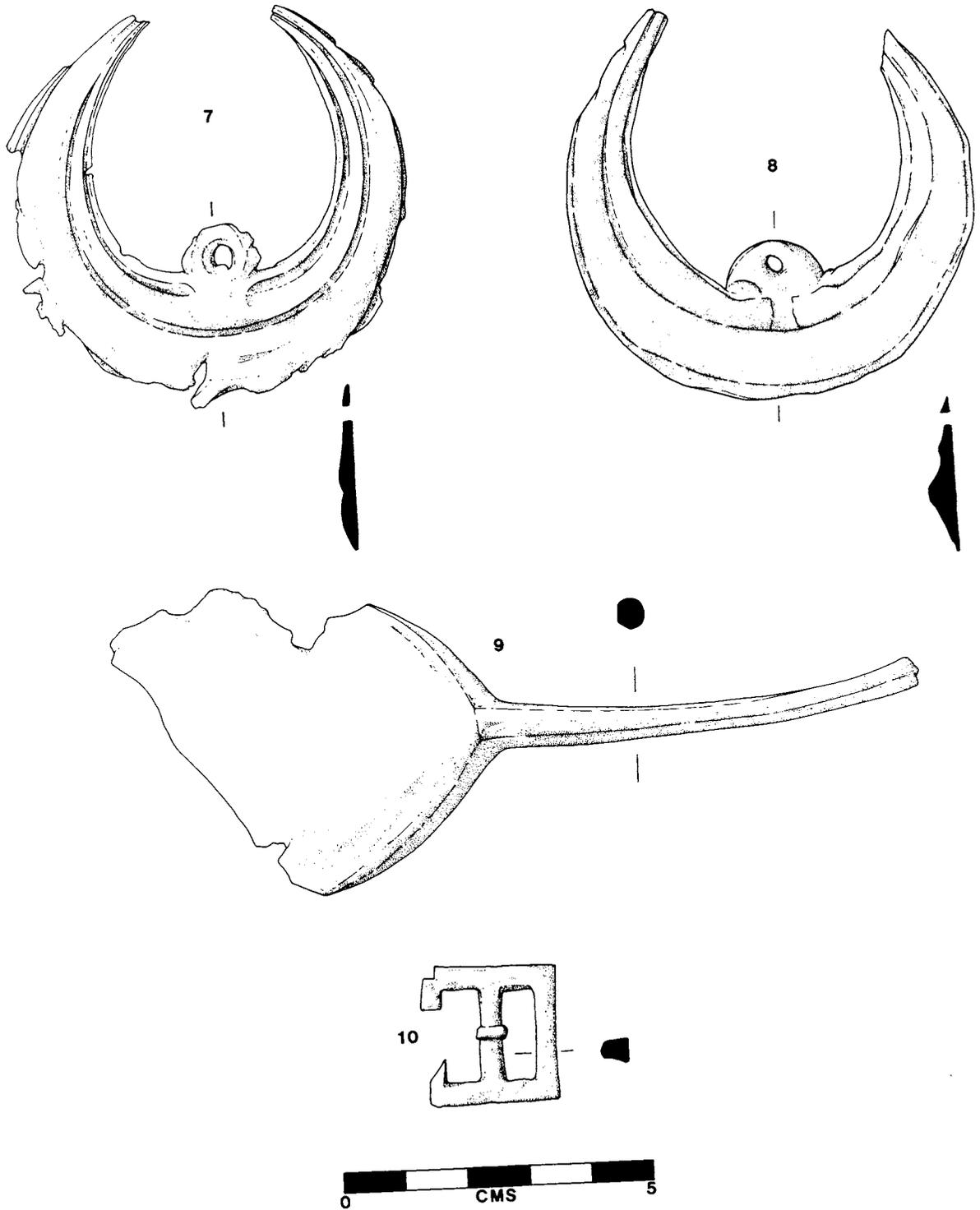


FIG. 86. Lead and lead-alloy objects (7-10) (1/4)

Pewter spoon (fig. 86, no. 9)

A pewter spoon (no. 9) with a six-faceted handle is found amongst the Clarendon collection at Salisbury Museum, where it is on display, labelled as being of fifteenth-century date. A parallel can be drawn with a similar spoon with a six-faceted handle from Northampton (Williams 1979, 265–6). No findspot is known.

Lead buckle (fig. 86, no. 10)

A lead-alloy buckle survives amongst the British Museum collection. It is 2.5 cm. square with a central bar and the remains of an iron pin. The site location is given as 'From M2/SS II (-1)'.

Caulking (pl. LIXd)

Several pieces of lead caulking for ironwork are found in the Salisbury Museum collection. Some are still attached to the ironwork which they held in place (p. 216, no. 60). The pieces commonly show traces of sand from moulds or from the stone into which the caulking was inserted. Amongst those now separated from their original iron pieces are two pieces of caulking for pintles, one for an iron bar, and two with rectangular apertures. The latter two measure 6.8 × 3.75 cm. with an aperture 5.6 × 2.4 cm., and 5 × 4.5 cm. with an aperture of 2 × 1.5 cm., respectively. The smaller of the two came from outside the southern part of the queen's suite (**10c** or **10d**) and was found in 1938. The largest of the plain pintle sockets is 8 × 1.5 × 1.5 cm. A selection of these pintle sockets is seen in pl. LIXd.

Lead ingot (pl. LIXd)

A lead bar, described as an ingot and 'about a foot in length', was recovered from the great hall (**5**) in 1933 (Correspondence, 25 August 1933). A similar piece measuring 25 × 2.4 × 1.3 cm. is in the Salisbury Museum collection, but is clearly labelled 'Gothic Suite' (**16**).

Lead sheeting

Four small fragments of lead sheeting ranging from 14.5 × 6 × 0.3 cm. to 4.5 × 4 cm. are found in Salisbury Museum. The largest of these came from the kitchen area (**4**) in 1934, perhaps from the cloister area (**4a**). It is a fragment of lead sheeting, crushed over at one end and patched. There is also a fragment of lead edging, perhaps an offcut, 9 × 0.5 cm.

Melted and re-formed fragments (pl. LIXd)

Six such fragments are now amongst the finds from the 1930s excavations. They range in size from a piece 8 × 5.5 × 4.5 cm. maximum, to a small piece 4 × 3 × 2 cm. The largest piece and a slightly smaller piece are labelled as from the salsary (**4k**), but contexts for the others are unknown, unless they were the 'crude lead fragments' referred to as being found in area **7b/7e** early in 1933 (Correspondence, 24 April 1933). Such pieces were no doubt the result either of accidental fires, or of demolition destruction at the site.

WINDOW GLASS

By Richard Marks

In the course of Sir Thomas Phillipps's excavations at Clarendon in 1821 'beautifully stained [*sic*] glass' was found at Clarendon (*SWJ*, 23 April 1821). The whereabouts of any such finds

from the nineteenth century is now unknown. However, more than 225 fragments of window glass were found during the course of the 1933–9 excavations. All of these fragments have become opaque through de-vitrification in the soil. A number of pieces are also pitted on the reverse, the result of atmospheric corrosion caused by exposure to the elements whilst still in the window openings.

The opacity of the fragments is such that only a few pieces are worth illustrating and describing (fig. 87). None is coloured: all are of white glass with painted decoration applied in black enamel and fired. Sixteen of the nineteen fragments catalogued below were recovered in 1935, one in 1936, and two have no date or context. The detail of the contexts attached to these pieces cannot now be reconstructed, but the general outline is clear. The large majority of the pieces catalogued here came from one location, **8a**, north of the Antioch chamber (**8**), in the vicinity of the buttresses which supported the north wall (**8a**), where ‘much glass was found . . . some with floral designs’ (*SWJ*, 6 September 1935). Deposits here were found to be particularly deep, which was no doubt why the fine ashlar work of the buttresses themselves had survived robbing and may possibly account at least in part for the comparatively good condition of this small group of pieces (above, p. 107). It is generally agreed that the king’s chapel (**9**) may have occupied part of the upper floor of the Antioch chamber (**8**), and the collapse of the chapel, if such it was, might have been responsible for the depth of deposits and for the location of painted glass in this area. Group A (nos. 1–5), group D (nos. 9 and 10) and group F (nos. 12–16), or 75 per cent of the provenanced part of the catalogue, came from this one area. The remainder—group B (nos. 6–7) from ‘humus north of S.D.’, C (no. 8) from S.C. and E (no. 11), context (S6-I)—almost certainly all came from the area of the king’s chambers (**7**), as S usually referred to one of the solars, although it has not been possible to be sure precisely which structure was being referred to as solar C, solar D or S6. The find from 1936 (G) and possibly the unlocated fragments (H) probably came from the Antioch chamber in 1936, when it was reported that in the process of clearing the Antioch chamber (**8**) ‘excellent finds of window glass ornamented with red scrolls and in a good state of preservation’ were found (*SWJ*, 25 September 1936). There is no doubt that most of the painted glass recovered from Clarendon came from the royal apartments area, the area of the king’s chambers (**7** and **8**) and to the west of the king’s chambers in areas **7b** and **7e** (*SWJ*, 1 May 1936). That is not to say that painted glass was not found elsewhere on the site. A small quantity of glass, in poor condition, was recovered from the western entrance (**2c**), together with the comes and ventilators described above, in 1934 (*SWJ*, 24 August 1934).

The catalogued fragments are grouped under their finds location and are numbered consecutively. As stated above, it is not now certain what the full interpretation of each location was. Where a location is known with some certainty, further explanation is offered in brackets.

Catalogue (fig. 87)

A. 1935 no. 2 (widening trench north of buttress) **8a** north of Antioch chamber (**8**).

1. Strip with pointed quatrefoil and part of a cinquefoil on a cross-hatched ground and bordered by parallel lines.
2. Curving piece symmetrically arranged with two trefoil sprays on a cross-hatched ground and set within a border.

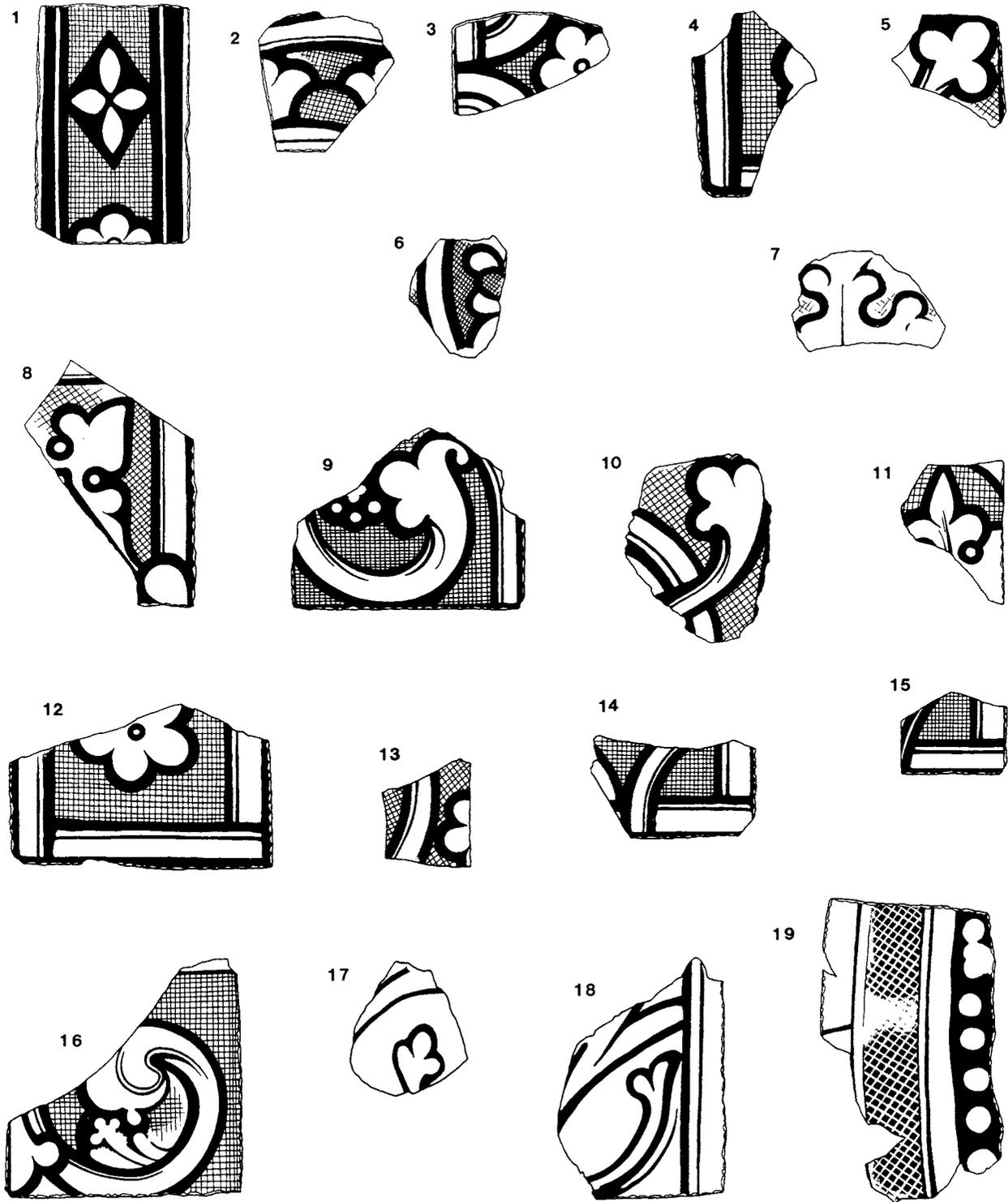


FIG. 87. Window glass ($\frac{1}{2}$)

3. Part of a cinquefoil on a cross-hatched ground and touched by two stems.
4. Part of a cinquefoil on a cross-hatched ground with a border on two sides.
5. A trefoil and stem on a cross-hatched ground.

B. 1935 no. 3 (humus north of S.D.) probably area 7.

6. Part of a stem and leaf on a cross-hatched ground.
7. Palmette leaf on a cross-hatched ground.

C. 1935 no. 7 (S.C.) probably area 7.

8. Foliate spray on a cross-hatched ground with a border on two sides.

D. 1935 no. 8 (in soil between the lowest plinth between buttresses) **8a** north of Antioch chamber (**8**).

9. Curling stem terminating in a trefoil leaf and bunch of grapes on a cross-hatched ground.
10. Trefoil leaf and intertwining stems on a cross-hatched ground.

E. 1935 no. 9 (S6-I) probably area 7.

11. Foliate spray on a cross-hatched ground with part of a stem in the upper right corner.

F. 1935 no. 10 (north buttress) **8a** north of Antioch chamber (**8**).

12. Part of a cinquefoil on a cross-hatched ground and bordered on three sides.
13. Part of a cinquefoil and curving stem on a cross-hatched ground.
14. Curving stems on a cross-hatched ground with a border on two sides.
15. Curving stem on a cross-hatched ground with a border on two sides.
16. Elaborate curling stem and leaves on a cross-hatched ground with a border along the upper edge.

G. 1936 perhaps in Antioch chamber (**8**).

17. Trefoil and curving stem on a plain ground.

H. Unlocated fragments.

18. Curving stems on a plain ground with a border on the right edge.
19. Slightly curving parallel patterns with beading and cross-hatching on a dark ground between parallel lines.

Analysis

The intrinsic merit of the Clarendon fragments is transcended by their historical importance. Traces of English medieval domestic glass prior to the fourteenth century are few and far between; that it was uncommon before then is suggested by the sparse documentary evidence which mainly concerns, as might be expected, royal residences. Henry III seems to have been the first English monarch to make widespread use of window glass, which was but one aspect of his lavish embellishment of his palaces and castles (Borenus 1943, 40-50; Colvin *et al.* 1963, *passim*). Numerous references to glazing commissions are to be found in the

Calendar of Liberate Rolls and in the Pipe Rolls for his reign (summarized in Pettigrew 1859, 246–64). As at Henry's other residences, the Clarendon windows included figural glass. In 1250 he ordered that 'images of the Holy Trinity and St Mary' were to be made for a window in the chamber of the Franciscans, who were his queen's confessors. Later in the same year the sheriff of Wiltshire was ordered 'to make a glass window in the queen's chamber with a small figure of Mary (*Mariolam*) therein with the Child, and a queen at her feet with joined hands holding an Ave Maria' (Pettigrew 1859, 234, 254; *CLR, Henry III*, iii, 297, 324). The last reference to figural glazing is in 1267, when the king instructed that the four evangelists were to be placed in the windows of his hall at Clarendon (Pettigrew 1859, 256; *CLR, Henry III*, vi, 7).

Most of the references to glazing at Clarendon do not specify the subject matter and it is probable that windows containing figures were in a minority. Most would have been of white, or *grisaille*, glass as indeed is sometimes specified in the accounts. In the Pipe Roll for 1236 there is a reference to the making of a white glass window in St Katharine's Chapel (Pettigrew 1859, 248); again, in 1253 a window of white glass was to be made in the king's wardrobe (*ibid.*, 255).

Unfortunately no traces of the historiated windows have come to light on the site, but the fragments that were discovered are sufficiently large to give an impression of the *grisaille* windows. They all appear, with two possible exceptions, to date from Henry III's reign and the designs do not differ from those found in contemporary ecclesiastical glazing in England. A number of the motifs can be paralleled in the *grisaille* windows of Salisbury Cathedral, although it should be noted that they are not exactly the same (Winston 1865, 106–121; pl. LXa).

Curving stems and trefoil leaves, both with and without bunches of grapes, on cross-hatched grounds form the basis of the Salisbury windows and are very similar to the patterns found at Clarendon (nos. 5, 9, 10, 16). The original contexts of the strip with the pointed quatrefoil and a cinquefoil (no. 1) and the curving piece with trefoil sprays can be reconstructed from their counterparts at Salisbury, where they act as enframing and encircling motifs for the trefoils and stems; the curved beaded pattern (no. 19) also occurs in the Salisbury glazing as an encircling motif.

The cinquefoil flower on a cross-hatched ground and enclosed within a border (nos. 4, 12) is another motif common to both Salisbury and Clarendon. The two pieces with stylized leaves on clear as opposed to cross-hatched grounds (nos. 17, 18) do not find a parallel in the glazing of the cathedral proper, but do in the remains of the chapter house windows, which are to be seen in the south transept and lady chapel, and also in the Pitcairn collection in the United States (Winston 1865, 106–21, and Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition catalogue 1982, no. 90, 229–31). The chapter house, begun in 1279, was probably glazed in the 1280s, so it is possible that these two fragments may post-date Henry III's reign by a few years. All the others may with confidence be assigned to the period of his occupancy of the throne.

From the accounts it is clear that all the principal apartments in the palace received glass windows in this period: the king's hall, chamber and wardrobe, the queen's hall and chamber, the chamber of their son, Prince Edward, the two royal chapels, the chamber of Alexander and the chamber of the Franciscans. It is not possible to identify the surviving fragments with any of these locations, but they at least remain as one aspect of Henry III's artistic patronage and amongst the earliest examples of English domestic glazing with painted decoration.

CLARENDON PALACE
STONEMWORK AND PLASTERWORK

By John Ashurst and T.B. James

A. The stonework

The stonework on site at Clarendon, and in the Salisbury Museum, has always been considered of crucial importance in efforts to date the development phases of the site. For the purposes of this report examination of the stonework both on site and at Salisbury Museum has been carried out. When the finds from the 1930s excavations at Clarendon were divided up in 1957, all the excavated stonework was lodged in the Salisbury Museum. Since that time the Salisbury collection has been augmented by a small number of pieces of stonework recovered from Clarendon in the course of the 1961 excavation, and by a handful of casual finds which have been taken to the museum at different times. There is no stone from Clarendon at the British Museum.

Sources of stone

The sources from which the stone came to Clarendon have been identified. The great majority of the pieces in the museum collection are from the Vale of Wardour region. The building stone known as Chilmark, Tisbury and 'Vale of Wardour' is from the Portland Beds, which comprise a very variable set of strata including shelly, oolitic and compact limestones, all of which are represented in the collection. Some of the limestone is glauconitic and sandy. Likely sources are the Chilmark ravine, which lies to the west of Clarendon in the Nadder Valley, and the area north of Tisbury, Wilts. All catalogue entries are of this type unless otherwise stated. The other stone represented in the museum collection is Purbeck 'marble', the well-known freshwater limestone from the Isle of Purbeck, Dorset, which will take a high polish and was valued for decorative purposes. In addition to these sources identified in the Museum collections, examination of stonework on site revealed two further types of stone, Caen stone and a Bath stone, both incorporated in the surviving *tas de charge* and corbel in the east wall of the great hall (5). The stone of the seal matrix, no. 89, has not been identified. Frequent reference is made in the documentation of the 1930s excavations to the observation of chalk blocks at Clarendon, for example to a 'chalk block with mason's marks' found near structures 6a and 6b in the great courtyard (6), and to the basement east of the great hall (5) in area 7, which was 'filled with chalk blocks' (Charlton, Notebooks; *ST*, 3 September 1937). Mrs Eames found chalk blocks in her excavations in the 1960s (above, p. 138). There are no chalk blocks in the museum collection, although some chalk nodules, probably those recovered from the west kitchen (4h) in 1937 are now in the museum (*ST* and *SWJ*, 10 September 1937).

Documentary evidence of stone types

Documentary evidence lends some support to this evidence of stone types. Purbeck limestone was no doubt the stone in which 'marble' columns were fashioned and which were brought to Clarendon in 1176. The entry of this delivery on the Hampshire roll suggests the columns came via Southampton (above, p. 5). Among the six fragments of Purbeck limestone amongst the Clarendon stonework there are two pieces of scroll-moulded ribs, nos.

44 and 45, probably from an arch moulding, excavated from the queen's chambers (10). These pieces may be remnants of a decorative scheme which involved Purbeck pillars such as those referred to in 1176, as well as Purbeck arches. A section of a Purbeck column is to be seen in a photograph from the 1930s excavation (pl. LXb), and appears to be twelfth-century work, but is now lost. Work on the north side of the building which is thought to have contained the queen's wardrobe, and which later became the Antioch chamber (8) on the ground floor and the king's chapel upstairs (9), was ordered in 1234-7 to be executed in Chilmark stone. The repairs to, or rebuilding of, the great hall (5) in 1358-9 were specifically stated to have been carried out in stone quarried at Chilmark.

Dating

In general the excavators believed that the northern range of buildings, 3-5 and 7-10, was of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and that certain buildings towards the south of the site, for example in areas 6 and 13, were originally twelfth-century constructions, while the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century structures 15, 16 and 17 were largely towards the eastern perimeter of the site. The architectural features of building 13c, particularly the ashlar bases of the walls, described as a basement course, were placed in the twelfth century (*SWJ*, 1 October 1937). The cellars (12), of which substantial ashlar-faced remains can still be seen, were also dated to the twelfth century, apart from a thirteenth-century extension, probably dated from documentary sources as it was not intensively excavated (above, pp. 116 ff.). The excavators identified the walls of the northern cellar stairway (12b) as twelfth-century, but placed the steps themselves in the thirteenth century or later (Charlton 1938, 3-5; *ST*, 16 September 1938; 14 October 1938).

The grounds for the dating scheme employed in the 1930s require some explanation, for the stonework was central to the architectural sequence which was established. Three methods of dating were used: typology, method of working the stone, and consideration of the construction method in association with the materials used. Where possible the dates arrived at by these methods were supported by reference to documentary material.

Typological dating

The stonework preserved in the museum cannot be discussed in isolation from what has been said in the past about the dates of the stonework still *in situ* at Clarendon. The dating of the great hall (5) to the late twelfth century was based in part on the discovery in the spring of 1936 of a scallop corbel set in the east wall (pls. XXVb-c, XXVIIIb). This was reported when excavation resumed in the late summer of that year (*SWJ*, 14 August 1936). This corbel appears to have supported the end of the northern arcade of the hall, and lines up with the extant pier bases of the building. The corbel was observed in the 1930s, and recent re-examination of the much weathered remains of the corbel and *tas de charge* tends to confirm what was thought in the 1930s, namely that the corbel is early, perhaps dating to the twelfth century. Indeed, identification of Caen stone, which was not noted previously, amongst the stones in the *tas de charge* gives weight to the early date. In 1933, following the discovery of a 'dog tooth' architectural fragment built in to the south wall of the great hall, Dr Borenius suggested that the hall had been rebuilt comparatively early, reusing stone from an earlier phase of the site (Borenius 1933, 17).

Elsewhere on the site, dating has been attempted by reference to finds of carved and sculptured stone. The terrace (**ii**) was dated to the twelfth century after examination of a fragment of a bead-bordered string course found in 1961 (Musty, Site Report). The Purbeck limestone capital (pl. LXb), now lost, discovered in 1935 was also dated to the twelfth century, partly on stylistic grounds, and partly no doubt on the documentary evidence of 'marble columns' being brought to Clarendon in 1176 (*ST*, 23 August 1935). Excavation of fragments of chevron-ornamented voussoirs in the make-up of the floor of the west kitchen (**4h**) led to the hypothesis that the building had an 'original twelfth-century' doorway so decorated (Charlton 1938). Fragments of historiated capitals found on the site were dated by Borenus to the late twelfth century, and were compared with pieces from neighbouring Ivychurch Priory, which was refounded by Stephen. The late twelfth-century date placed on these pieces was noteworthy, as previously such attention as had been devoted to English historiated capitals had suggested that little was produced after 1125 (Borenus and Charlton 1936, 67-8; Borenus 1935, 4-7).

Fragments of stone dated to the thirteenth century abound in the records of the excavations of the 1930s. The sculptured 'gothic head of a youth', no. 66, was dated by Borenus to *c.* 1230, a date subsequently supported by Stone (*SWJ*, 28 February 1936; see below). A moulded marble pillar base (presumably of Purbeck limestone), now apparently lost, but perhaps identifiable with that photographed in the 1930s (pl. LXb), and several large painted mouldings thought to have been fragments of windows and moulded string courses, excavated from the queen's chambers (**10**), were all definitely ascribed by the excavators to the thirteenth century (*Western Gazette*, 28 August 1936).

Dating by working of the stone

The western entrance to the great hall (**5**) was dated to the late twelfth century by the diagonal tooling, and this evidence was further used to support the early date for the great hall (**5**). This method of dating, used with documentary sources, can be illustrated by reference to the north kitchen (**4e**). Documentary sources refer to orders for the construction of a 40-ft. (12·2-m.) square kitchen in the mid thirteenth century. It seems likely that this structure is to be identified with a building of these dimensions excavated in 1937 (**4e**). The excavators observed that the stonework of building (**4e**) was tooled partly in the 'normal' vertical fashion, and partly in an unusual way. The unusual tooling took the form of pitting 'with a series of small square marks, made with a regularity suggestive almost of rouletting'. Observation of similar tooling elsewhere at Clarendon, for example in the 125 by 27½ ft. (38·1 by 8·4 m.) building (**6a**) on the south-west side of the great courtyard (**6**), combined with documentary evidence, led the excavators to suggest a thirteenth-century date for such tooling (Charlton 1938, 4).

The Clarendon stonework is difficult to date. Much has been made in reports on other sites of the possibilities of dating stonework by the type of axework or chiselling extant on their surfaces. The present writers feel, however, that it is not possible to date stonework closely by the method of axing. Axing and chiselling of stonework throughout the major period of occupation of Clarendon Palace, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, depended on either the face of the stone which was to show, or on the finish which was to be applied to the stone. The finishes employed included limewash, paint and plaster. More often than not throughout

the period, the axing and chiselling of a particular stone depended on which tool from a mason's standard toolkit the individual chose to use. Thus, in the case of no. 15, the piece of Chilmark stone which was exposed to intensive examination, a date range not closer than twelfth- to fifteenth-century can be applied.

Dating by materials and method of construction

In the salsary (**4k**) repair work using knapped flint and tiles inserted herringbone fashion was dated to the fourteenth century, partly on archaeological grounds and partly on the construction method, the use of knapped flint (Charlton, Notebook, 1937, 7). The dating of knapped flintwork to the fourteenth century must remain a question for debate. None the less, the introduction of tiles at Clarendon from *c.* 1250 does seem to hold good. Assuming the dating and description of the Clarendon tile kiln to *c.* 1250 to be accurate, we know that roof tiles, used extensively in the construction of the kiln, were already known at Clarendon in the mid thirteenth century (above, pp. 127 ff.).

The buildings on the eastern perimeter of the site (**16** and **17**) were thought to be fourteenth- and fifteenth-century structures, partly on construction grounds, the use of timber framing, and partly on the excavators' overall interpretation of the phasing of the site. The buildings dated to the fifteenth century were so categorized on the basis of what was thought to be reused stonework of the thirteenth century (*ST*, 25 August 1939). No doubt stonework was reused on the site and, if it did come from Clarendon itself, it is likely to have dated from the eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth centuries. The depth of levels in area **7** east of the great hall (**5**) and the evidence of earlier structures from there demonstrate the continuing redevelopment of the site during occupation.

In particular an east-west building (**11d**) located in the area south of the king's chambers (**7**) and built of brick, the so-called 'brick kitchen', was dated to the fifteenth century, partly on the basis of documentary evidence (above, p. 116) and partly because of the use of brick. However, it should be noted that in the excavation of the kiln (**41**), brick construction was noted, and a date of before 1250 for this structure has been established with some certainty (above, pp. 127 ff.).

Contexts on the site

Inevitably, with so much stone used in the buildings at Clarendon, fragments of stone were recovered throughout the 1930s excavations and in 1961 from contexts right across the site. Examples of all the major uses to which stone could be put in building work are found in the museum collection, and these are described below. As noted above the records of the work carried out on the northern range (**4**, **5**, **7**, **8** and **10**) are more complete than those of work elsewhere on the site. Finds of plain ashlar, moulding, carving, sculpture and miscellaneous pieces are recorded from various contexts in the northern range, and these pieces would appear to form the core of the present museum collection, although it is by no means possible to tie all the pieces to specific contexts. However, where a context is known for certain, or can be inferred, information is included below at the appropriate point. It is true to say that on the whole the fragments of stonework which came from the kitchen area (**4**) and the great hall (**5**) tended to be unpainted, and to show a significant proportion of early traits, such as dog tooth decoration. Emphasis was placed at the time on carved fragments recovered from the south

porch of the great hall, and the detail of the door jambs and weathering which was left *in situ* can be seen below (pls. XXXVIIa–XXVIIIa). The finds of stonework from the royal apartments (7, 8 and 10) tended to be more highly decorated and a fair proportion of the pieces still retained evidence of painted decoration. The solars (7g and 7h), the Antioch chamber (8) and the queen's chambers (10) were especially prolific in respect of sculptured and painted pieces, and these were the areas from which the majority of highly painted fragments of plaster also came.

Categories and illustration (figs. 88–95)

For the purposes of this report the stonework from the collection at Salisbury museum is analysed in the following groups: plain ashlar, plain moulding, carving, sculpture and miscellaneous pieces.

All the pieces in the museum collection are described and catalogued here. Not all pieces are worth illustrating. A selection of drawings, including all the finest pieces, is published here. Drawings of all the remaining pieces have been completed and are deposited at Salisbury Museum. Those which are drawn are distinguished by an asterisk where they first appear in the catalogue.

Plain ashlar, nos. 1–14 (fig. 88)

The most distinctive piece in the group is a wedge-shaped block, with a concave soffit, 1*, which probably came from a vault, or window arch. This obtuse-angled block (110–120 degrees), is dressed on four faces. Both paint and plaster have been used in the decorative scheme. It has a red surface on a white ground with a deep red border. This has been overplastered with a fine lime or gypsum mix finished with a red motif on an ochre ground (14 to 16 × 10 × 4 cm.).

There are nine other fragments of plain ashlar from the 1930s excavations: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. They are all of the Chilmark type and range in size from 16 × 16 × 16 cm. (no. 4) to 5 × 4 cm. (no. 5). They all exhibit plain chiselled or axed faces, painted and unpainted. The fragmentary condition of the pieces makes it impossible to tell if they were originally dressed on all faces. Naturally, axework is a feature of the group and shows up particularly well on 1 and 4. The majority of the pieces were painted. All show remnants of different schemes of design. 3 shows remnants of a linear pattern: blue, green, yellow, red and another yellow stripe. One end is broken into a whitewashed triangular face (12 × 6.5 × 7 cm.). 6 is a flake of squared painted corner stone, coloured yellow and red on a white ground with an unpainted margin on two sides (7 × 7 cm.). 7, an obtuse-angled stone worked on three surfaces with one axed face, is coloured on two surfaces. One is blue, green and yellow, another is yellow (9 × 8 cm.). Modern varnish has distorted the original colour scheme. 10 has a painted surface of a white ground overlaid by red. The painted surface is 4.5 × 4 cm. and has been varnished in modern times. 9, which measures 8 × 5 cm., also has a white ground with some red, while 10 shows traces of red and yellow bands on one surface, with a white ground on the return face (12 × 9 × 4 cm.). Mortar is visible on four pieces: 1, 2, 3 and 4. While 1, 3 and 4 still retain what appear to be areas of original mortar, 2, a heavily weathered piece, is fairly heavily mortared on several sides, suggesting reuse as core filling. 4 has two types of mortar adhering.

Four fragments of plain ashlar (11*, 12, 13, 14*) from the 1961 excavations are now to be found in the museum collection. 11 displays toothed axework on one face. 12 and 13 are heavily weathered pieces, 10.5 × 6.5 × 6 cm. and 14 degrees on bed by 11 × 14 cm., respectively. The more finely tooled of the two axed faces of 12 has traces of lime mortar or plaster adhering. 14 is marked 'corner stone from GH' (great hall). The block gives a course height of 14 cm. The block is broken to a rough wedge shape, but axing can be seen on the undamaged faces. Joggles (2.5 × 1 cm. deep) have been axed into the upper and lower surfaces to receive mortar or lead. Three dressed faces can be seen on this corner spall. Gritty mortar adheres to the bed, and one face shows clear fire-reddening ((M1/C2/(2)), CP61).

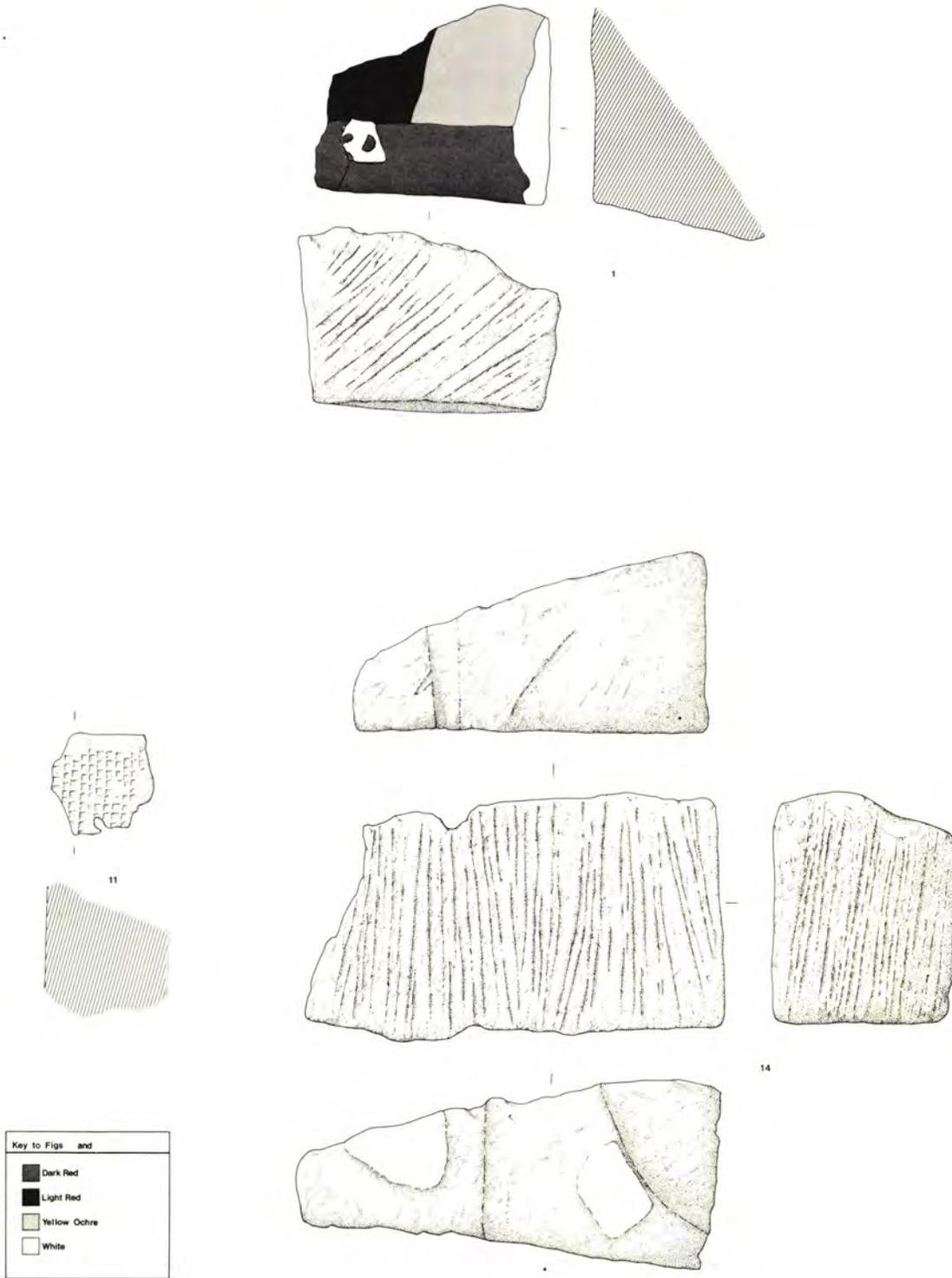


FIG. 88. Stonework (1, 11, 14) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

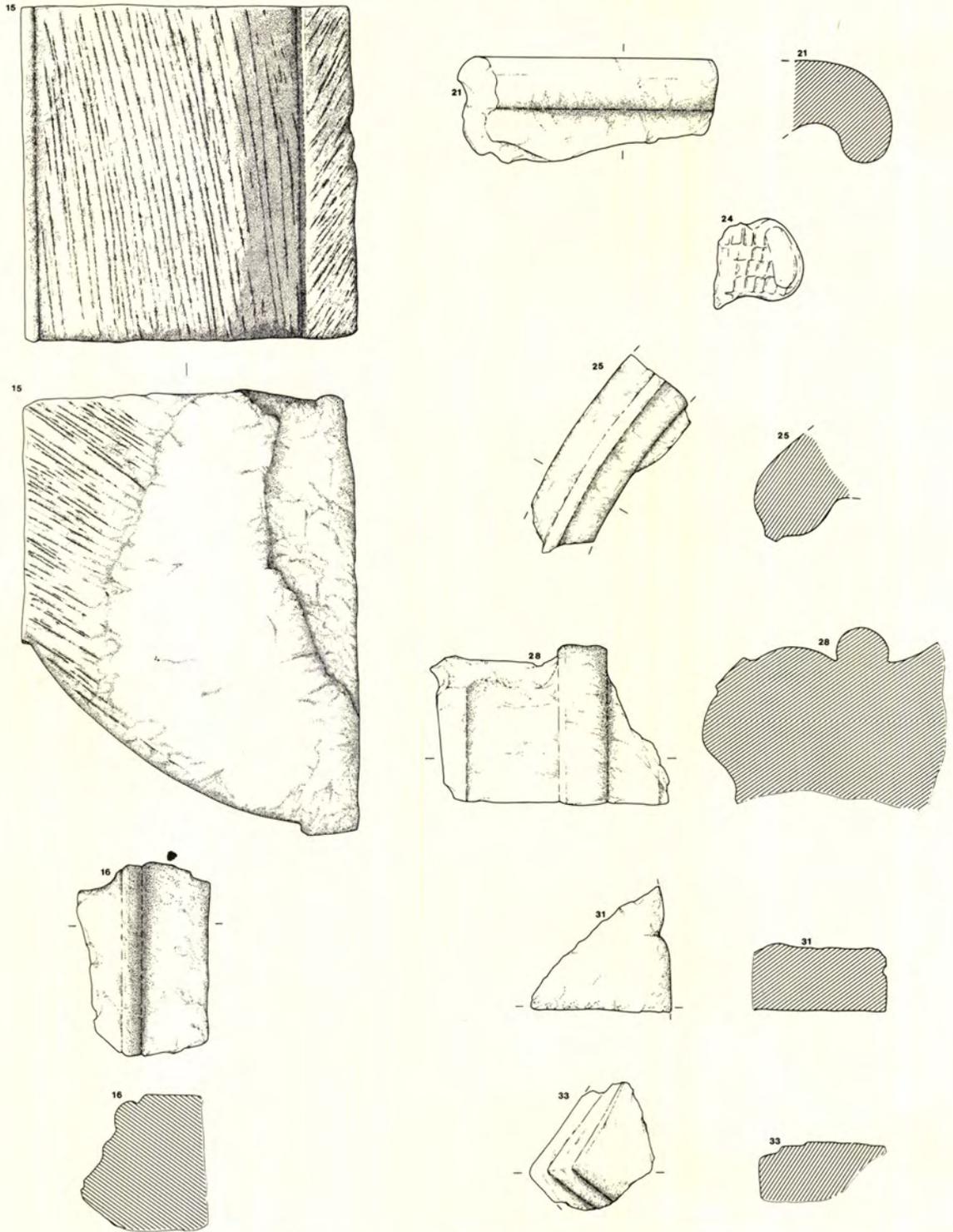


FIG. 89. Stonework (15, 16, 21, 24, 25, 28, 31, 33) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

Plain moulding, nos. 15–32 (fig. 89)

15*, a complete jamb stone of the Chilmark type was removed from area 15 of the site for laboratory analysis. This piece had formed part of the jamb lining of a large opening, probably a door. The stone has rough axed beds and tail and fine diagonal axing on the face work. The face moulding consists of a large quadrant framed by two flat bands. The circular work is dressed with vertical axe strokes. The symmetrical proportions of the stone are very striking. Bedding mortar adhering to the bottom bed of the stone was light grey in colour and consisted of lime binder and aggregates in the proportion of 2:1½. The aggregates consisted mainly of angular and sub-angular quartz grains with some crushed chalk or unburnt lime, some charcoal, presumably from the kiln and one larger piece of glauconitic limestone. The face of the stone had been covered by fine white limewash which seems to consist only of a screened lime, though this may have been gauged with milk. The good adhesion of some patches of lime suggests either that casein was involved, or that lime was applied while the stone was fresh from the quarry. There are no traces of polychrome.

On a smaller scale, 16* formed part of a door or window jamb, hollow-chamfered to a small bowtell mould of approximately circular plan. Axing is visible. 12×4.5 cm.

Eight fragments of scroll moulding are found amongst the collection in the Salisbury Museum: 17, 18, 19, 20, 21*, 22, 23 and 24*. They range in size from 21, which is 17×8×4 cm., to 19, which is 4.3×4 cm. Axework, where it can still be seen, is on the ends, and fine chiselling on the faces. One piece, 24, displays toothed axe work on the undamaged end. Seven of the eight pieces show evidence of more or less heavy limewashing. On two pieces, 17 and 18, there are remnants of red paint, in the former case overlying the white ground and in the latter case overlaid by it. The state of 18 and 21, the two pieces which are heavily limewashed, suggests that they may have been external mouldings. Three pieces, 17, 18 and 22, are possibly fragments of hood moulds and 24, a fourth, may be from an arch. The remainder appear to be fragments of straight mouldings. No contexts are known for any of these pieces.

There are three fragments, 25*, 26 and 27, of small scroll and fillet mouldings on a radius, possibly from arch moulds. There are traces of yellow overlying white on the inner face of the curve on 25 and 26. Both 26 and 27 have a rebated lap joint, probably so that they would fit together, either as the result of a repair or perhaps as the final stones in a moulding. They each measure some 7×8×6 cm. Some tooling on the base of 25 can be seen and the piece measures 13×7.5 cm.

Three fragments, 28*, 29 and 30, of hollow, roll, scroll and fillet moulding. 28 measures 16 to 13×15×10 cm. and was probably part of a vault rib. All show evidence of painting: 29 and 30 have been painted yellow and 28 has vestiges of a black linear design on a white ground, the whole later limewashed over. Axing on the bed face and fine axing on the dressed face are characteristic of these pieces.

31*, a single fragment of Purbeck limestone moulding, which once perhaps formed part of the base of an attached colonnette, falls into this group. It is roughly triangular in shape and two broken faces can be seen. It has three worked surfaces, one of which is rubbed and polished. It is axed on one face and bears the moulding channel on one side. 8.75×7.8×4.5 cm.

32 is a fragment of pink Chilmark with a groove forming the edge of a simple moulding. 8×7×2 cm. (CP 61 M1/C2/(1)) from the 1961 excavations.

Carving, nos. 33–65 (figs. 89–92)

A chevron string mould, 33*, fine-axed, 8×3×4 cm., is probably an early piece of twelfth-century date. It came from the 1934 excavations, and may be one of the pieces of chevron moulding found in the west kitchen (4h).

An asymmetrically tapered half cylinder, 34*, which was possibly part of an attached stub column provides a model for four other pieces which appear to be fragments of similar pieces. 34 is 21×8 to 11.5×

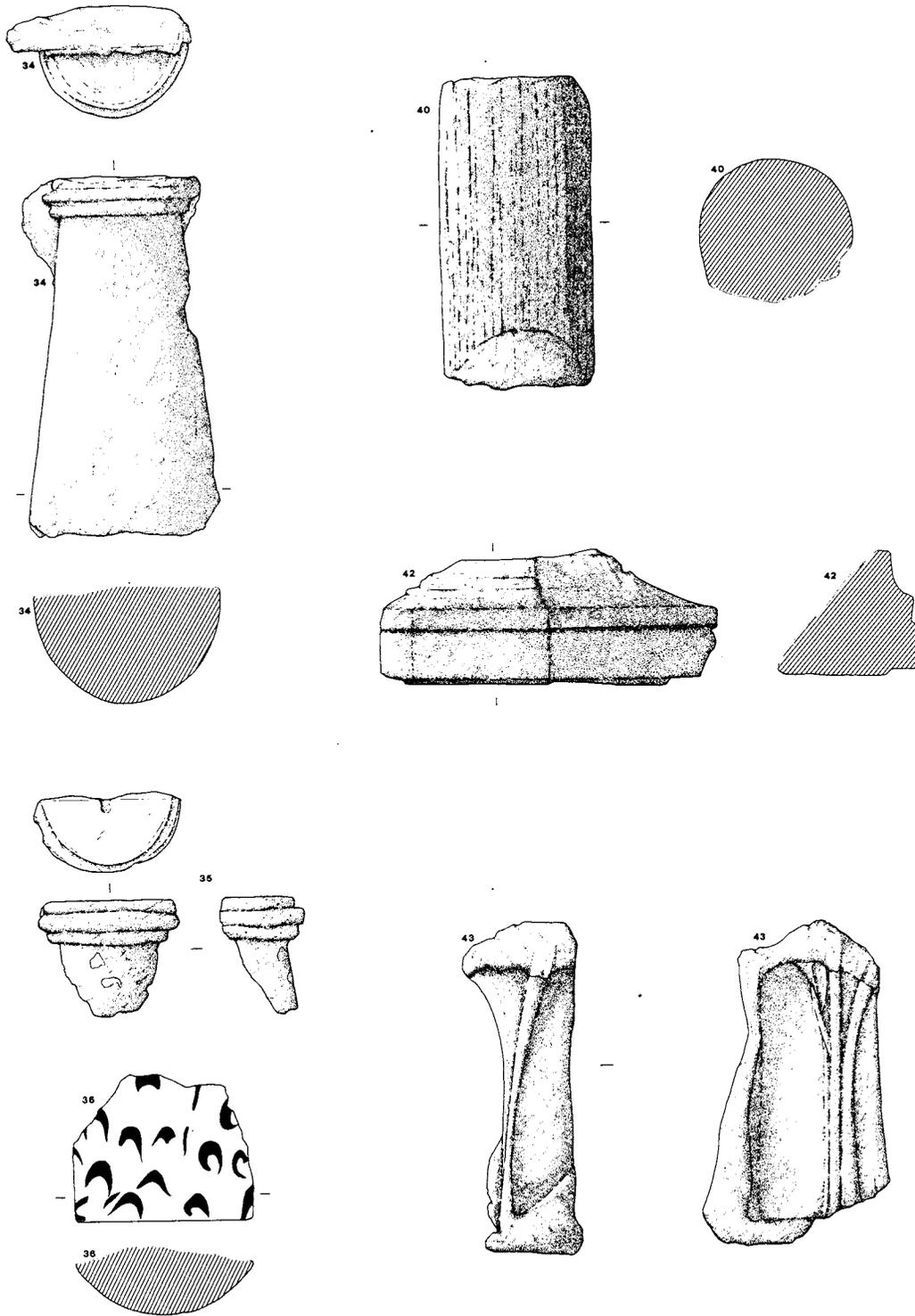


FIG. 90. Stonework (34-6, 40, 42, 43) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

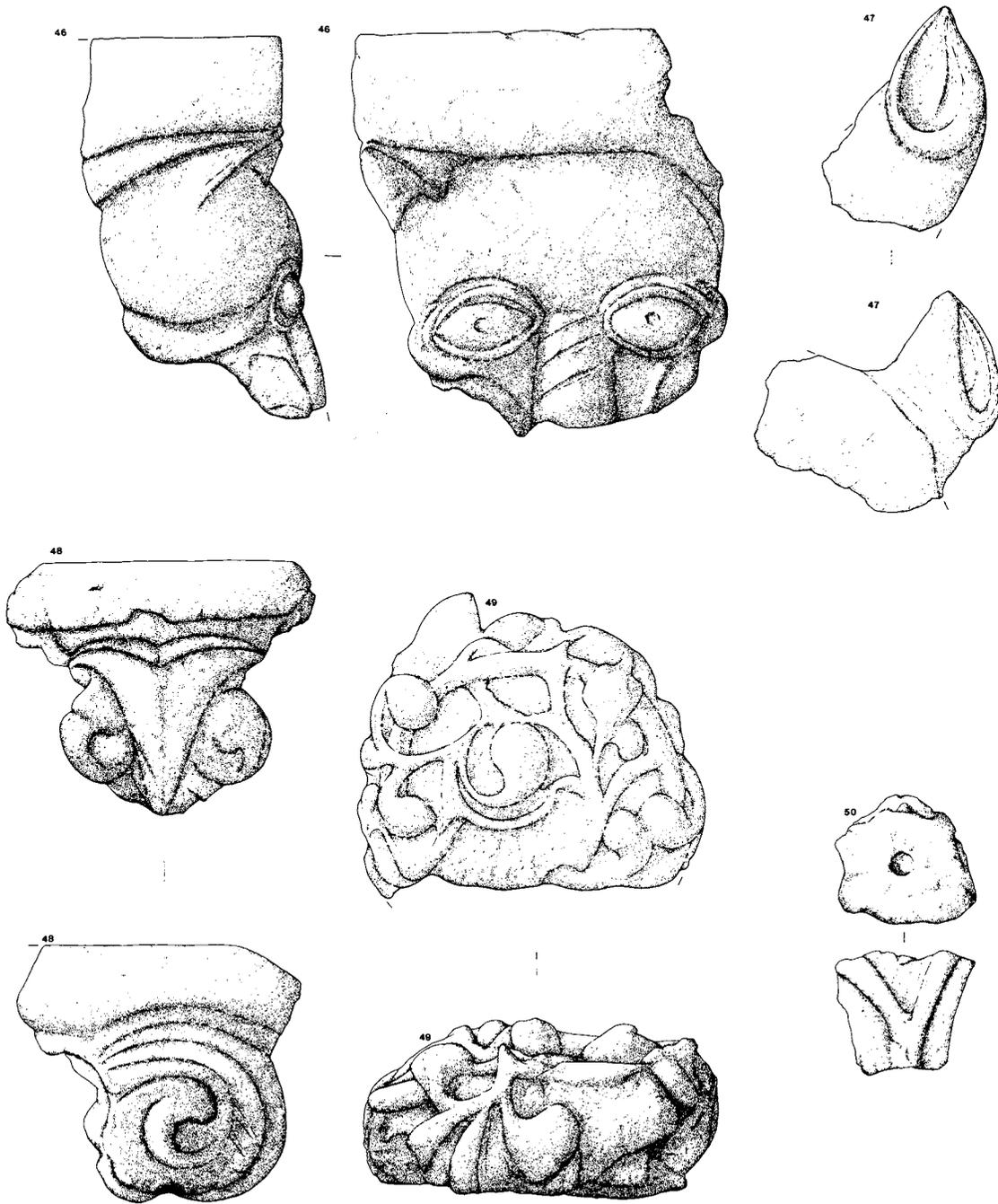


FIG. 91. Stonework (46-50) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

6.5 cm. and came from the great hall. It is dressed longitudinally and has a triple ring-moulded astragal at the neck of the cone. It may have been burnt and shows no sign of paint or limewash. 35* is a triple ring-moulded astragal similar to that of 34, and 36* corresponds to the broad end of 34. It displays a red brushwork design, not unlike that found on 1 above, on a white ground, and is fine-axed. 37 is a similar piece, bearing some evidence of limewash. Mortar adhering to the face suggests reuse as core filling. 34 came from the great hall (5) and of the other pieces 35 was found amongst a group of fragments recovered from the south-west corner of the hall, which it has been suggested formed part of the enrichment of the doorway from the great hall to the porch (5b) (Borenius and Charlton 1936, 72-3 and fig. 3). The suggested date, based on documentary sources, for this work was *c.* 1250 (above, p. 93). 37, admittedly reused, came from the solar (7), C34.

A number of fragments of attached column shafts, bases and capitals survive. 38, 39, 40* and 41 are fragments of attached columns. The radius in each case is 4 or 4.5 cm. and they range from two sections

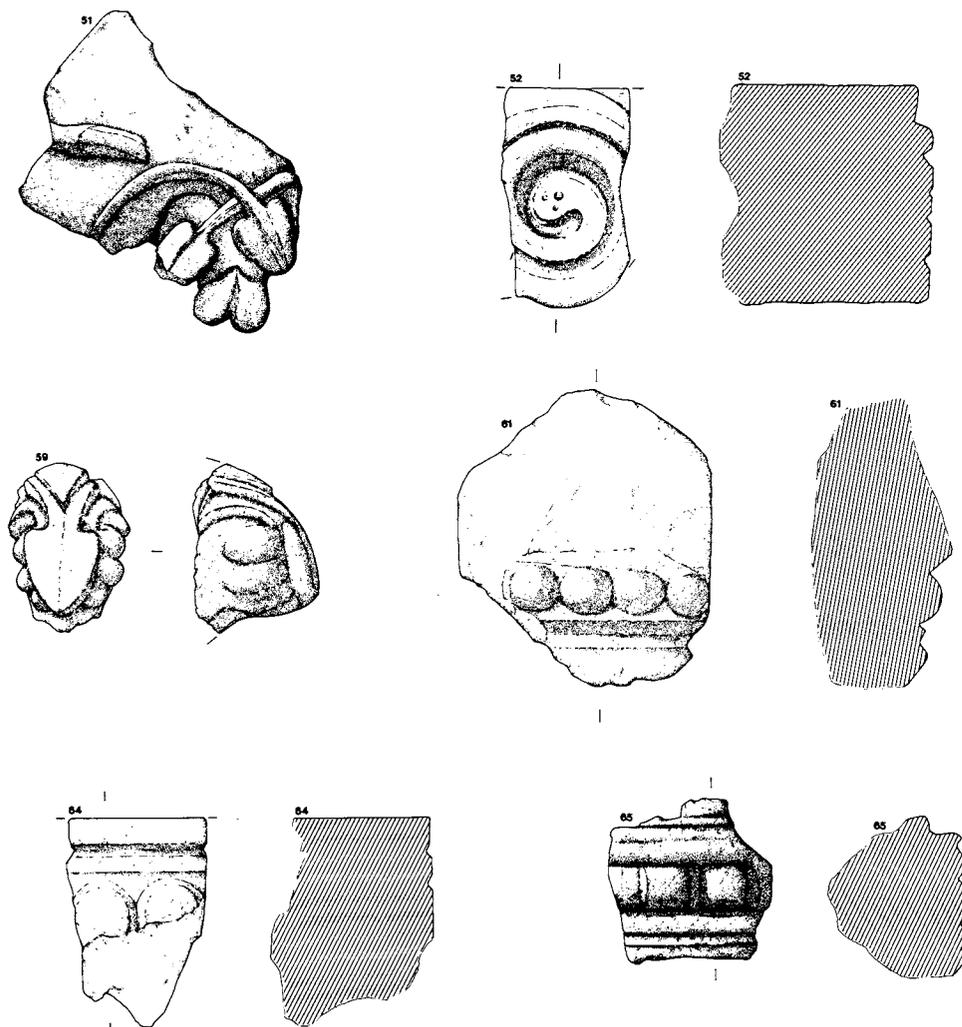


FIG. 92. Stonework (51, 52, 59, 61, 64, 65) ($\frac{1}{4}$)

of column, 40 and 41, which are 19 and 17 cm. long, to a fragment no more than 5 cm. in length (38). Evidence of axing on the beds and fine chiselling on the faces is a feature. There is some evidence of painting. 38 and 39 have white grounds with blue and red overpainting respectively. 38 has been varnished over in modern times. 40 and 41 display no evidence of painting. From their proportions they may have been components in a compound pier or cluster of shafts. 41 has encrustations of mortar suggesting reuse.

42* is a multangular stone, possibly part of an octagonal pillar base or capital, or the padstone for a timber column. It has a fine-axed double fillet and hollow mould. Mortar can be seen on the return face, and there is a 1.5 cm. margin to the mortar line. One end of the piece is broken. 9 × 11 × 7 cm. 43* is a fragment of the capital of a column. It has a white ground with red overlay. 18 × 10 × 4 cm. Some of these pieces come from known contexts. Column shafts 39 and 40 come from solar U (perhaps an unstratified location in the solar), and 41 from 'beside the inner face of the south wall of 1 (?2) B' (?solar B (7h)).

Two small fragments of Purbeck limestone, 44 and 45, measuring 3 × 7 × 2 cm. and 5 × 2.5 × 1 cm. respectively, were recovered from **10b** (queen's chamber 2). Each is a fragment of a scroll-moulded rib, probably from an arch head.

46* (pl. LXIa) is the top part of an incomplete 'cat's head' vault springer stone. Composed of siliceous limestone, this piece was built in and not projecting. Stylistically this piece dates to the twelfth century. 21 × 16 × 9 cm. The cat's head springer 46 came to light in **10c** (the 'chapel') in late August 1939 (Colvin to Borenius August, 1939). 47* is an animal's ear only. Some mortar is attached at the rear. Thirteenth or fourteenth century. Whole piece 15 × 13 × 7 cm.; ear only 9 × 5.75 cm.

48* is part of a leaf capital with a square abacus. Although heavily weathered, fine chisel work is visible on the carved face and axework on the capital. 14 × 16 × 14.5 cm. Depth of abacus 3.5 cm. 49* is part of a capital or boss in leaf and ball design, of markedly dense and glauconitic limestone. 17 × 14 × 9 cm. The assumed depth of the capital was 10 cm. 50* is part of a capital or boss with a ribbed and leaf pattern. 8 to 5 × 7 cm. It has a central mortice indentation, 1.5 cm. diameter × 0.5 cm. deep (C35 SC). 51* (pl. LXIb) is a fragment of ceiling boss with intertwined floral motif; some mortar attached. 21 × 17 × 12 cm. (great hall 1934). 52* is a volute from a capital, or corbel. It has three small indentations in the centre of the volute, probably the centres of radii. It has two chiselled faces. Some mortar adheres to bed faces. 11.5 × 12 × 7 cm. (NCP 5A).

53-55 are fragments of stiff-leaf crockets (10 × 7.5 × 7.5 cm.; 9 × 10 × 7 cm.; 7.7 × 4.5 cm.). Thirteenth century (from south-west corner of hall). 56 is a scroll or possibly leaf design. Thirteenth century. 7 × 3.5 cm. 57 is a faintly worked fragment of carving, probably part of a stiff leaf. 8.5 × 4 × 2 cm. (Sq/34). 58 is a fragment of stiff leaf foliage. Thirteenth century. 8 cm. (SAA C36). 59* is a crocket with leaf and ball design of particularly compact Chilmark-type stone. 9 × 6 cm. (Borenius and Charlton 1936, 72, fig. 3). (From south-west corner of great hall (see no. 35): enrichments of doorway, mid thirteenth century.)

60 is a fragment of pink Chilmark carving, possibly foliage, recovered from the 1961 excavations. 10 × 7.5 × 3.5 cm. (CP61/3).

61* and 62 are fragments of strings or ribs. Both display a ball or bead pattern in a hollow mould with fillets. 61 has a chamfered edge. 11 × 10 cm. 62 has somewhat crudely executed fillets, and mortar adhering to the finished face suggests reuse as core filling. 9 × 10 × 6 cm. 63 is a fragment of incised and relief ball-pattern design. 9 × 4 cm. (34 S4/5 (-1-)). 64* is part of a cornice or string course with flattened bead-pattern design and relief border. Traces of black paint on the border, also white and a reddish-orange stripe. Mortar adhering. 9.5 × 7 cm. 65* is a round billet design in a hollow mould enclosed with fillets and with an embattled edge. Possibly from a string course. Mortar adhering to two faces. 7 × 7 cm. (?Q37).

Sculpture, nos. 66–85 (figs. 93–5)

66. The carved head of a youth (frontispiece and pl. LXII)

This is the most celebrated piece from the 1930s excavations. It is thought, from the half-closed eyes, to represent 'the dead', and so may once have been balanced by another head representing 'the quick'. Stone dates it to the building phase after 1234 (Stone 1972, 118–19 and pl. 92).

It was found in 1935, according to the indications it now bears, in the solar (7g or 7h). The find seems to have been made right at the end of the 1935 season, as there is no report of it until the spring of 1936. The records of the excavation do not survive for the precise period of the find. Some contemporary references associate this find with the Antioch chamber (8) (Borenus 1936; *SWJ*, 28 February 1936); John Charlton believes (pers. comm., 1986) that it came originally from a first-floor doorway between 7h and 8.

The head was sculptured from a block of Chilmark stone which must have measured at least 25 × 20 × 14 cm. Thus the depth of the head is 12.5 cm., balancing a plain axed block of similar depth which was set into a wall. The proportions of the carved part of the block are larger than the plain end: height 19 cm. against 16 cm.; breadth 14 cm. against the tapering of the block to 6 cm. Thus the whole piece tapers from front to rear. It is thought to have been part of a drip or hood mould.

Traces of an orange or light brown colouring remain on the hair. This has been interpreted as possibly being the remains of gilding. The pupils are painted black. The head emerges from a round-necked garment. The lips, when the piece was found, were painted pink and one of the most striking features is the remarkable modelling of the teeth (Borenus 1936, 157–8; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 916 and n. 8; solar 80 / 1936; 80/56).

The fragments of historiated capitals from Clarendon have been published elsewhere. Borenus and Charlton (1936) drew parallels and discussed them in some detail. Recently they have been on display as part of the English Romanesque Art Exhibition (Hayward Gallery, spring/summer 1984). In the catalogue provided with the exhibition emphasis is placed on the recovery of these pieces from a secular site, at Clarendon. However, in view of the highly disturbed state of the site, and the known existence of not less than three chapels on the site, a secular origin for these pieces must remain in some doubt.

Four (67*, 68*, 69*, 70*) fragments of sculptured human figures survive. The scale of the pieces suggests that they may have formed decorations of historiated capitals. All four pieces lack heads. 67 (pl. LXIIIa) is the trunk and left hand of a human figure adorned with drapery with a beaded border. 15 × 8.5 × 4.5 cm. Found in the solar (7) (Correspondence, ? August, 1934). 68 (pl. LXIIIb) is a human figure with bead bordered drapery over both shoulders and a sceptre, mace or sword over the right shoulder. The left hand is forward. 12 × 11 × 4 cm. 69 (pl. LXIVa) is a seated or crouched figure, with one hand grasping a sceptre, mace or tool. Dr Borenus thought this piece represented a figure reclining in a bed festooned with drapery. 13 × 9 × 5 cm. Found in the solar (7) (Correspondence, August 1934). 70 (pl. LXIVb) is two human legs enveloped in drapery. Dr Borenus interpreted this as a fragment of a representation of the infant Christ seated on his mother's knee. He compared it to a similar fragment of a Madonna from York, and a slide was prepared which set drawings of the two pieces side by side. 10 × 6 × 4.5 cm. (Correspondence, ? August 1934). A reference from 1934 describes a find of one figure 'of a man carved in local stone' in the area of the gatehouse (2) (*SWJ*, 24 August 1934). It is not known whether this was one of the pieces described here.

71* (pl. LXVa) differs from the above pieces in that, while the torso and one arm are distinctly human, the lower torso is covered in scales or feathers. This was described by Dr Borenus as the 'figure of a siren', a motif widely employed in France. The Clarendon example was afforded high praise as an example of exceptional quality. 15.5 × 14 × 5 cm.

72* is the head of a feline creature, possibly part of a beak-head voussoir or historiated capital. 7 × 6.5

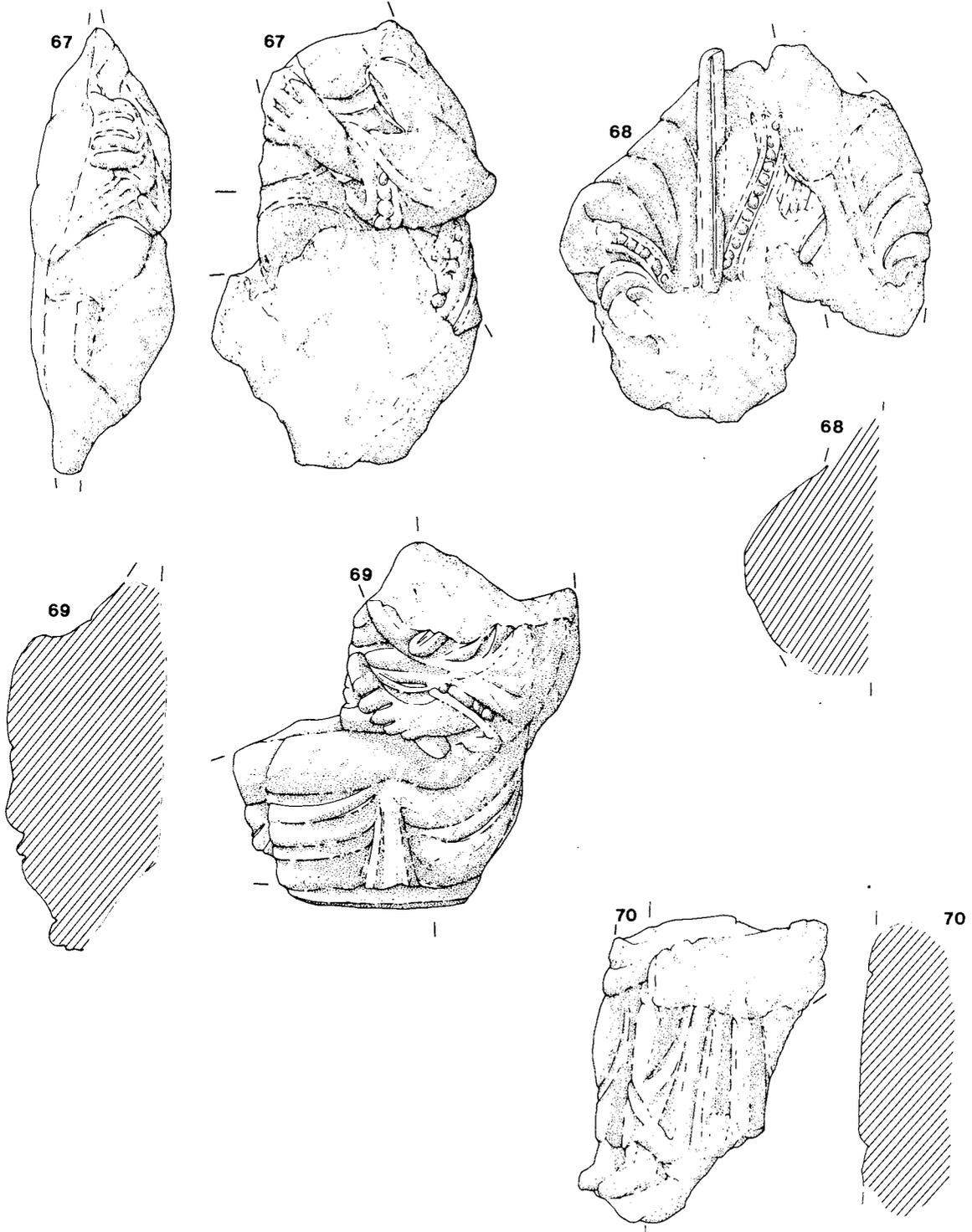


FIG. 93. Stonework (67-70) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

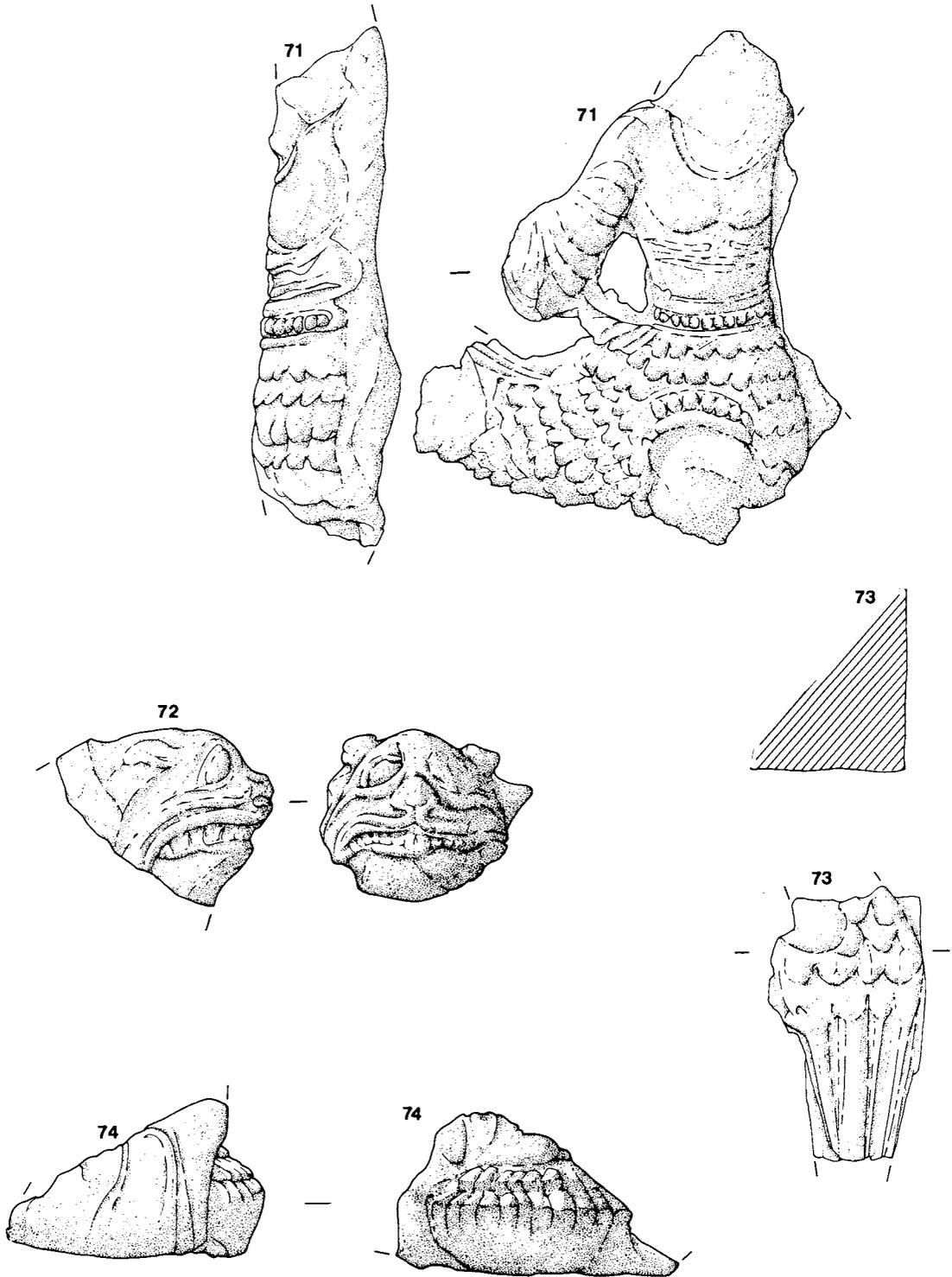


FIG. 94. Stonework (71-4) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

×4 cm. (cf. Stone 1972, pl. 38). This piece probably came from in or near solar B (7h) in 1938. 73* (pl. LXVb) may have been the wing of a sculptured angel. 7.5×4.5×5 cm. Sculptured feathers and ribs are clearly discernible. The ribs are decorated with traces of red on a white ground. Clear evidence of gilding can be seen on the feathers. Gilded angels were ordered for the king's 'new chapel' in the mid thirteenth century. This was found in the queen's chambers, and was reported at the time as being 'characteristic of the mid thirteenth century' (above, p. 16, and fig. 94; *SWJ*, 14 August 1936; Mee 1939, 16). Apart from these comparatively complete pieces, there are several small shattered fragments of sculpture apparently from similar pieces. 74* is worked on two surfaces, and may be a fragment of sculpture. 10×7×5 cm. 75 is a fragment of drapery. 10 cm. (Sal S 34). 76 displays distinguishable drapery. 8.5×3.5×3 cm. 77 may be either drapery or leaf. 6×3.5×3 cm. 78 may be either an intertwined arm and drapery, or leaf trails with a chevron pattern. 12×8×5 cm. Four pieces distinguished by the presence of ball- or bead-design borders are present. 79 is a double bead border with distinguishable drapery. 8×8×3 cm. (S8/S+34); 80 a deeply cleft rib with bead border. 7×4×3.5 cm. 81 displays part of a small ball or bead border. 5×3 cm. 82 is a fragment of bead border. 6×4 cm. 83 is an indeterminate fragment of sculpture. 10×10 cm. 84 and 85 are fragments of sculpture with small radiating ribs. One has a fluted cusp. 84 (7 cm.); 85 (3 cm.).

Miscellaneous pieces, nos. 86–99 (fig. 95)

86*, 87, 88*. Stone tiles

There are three fragments of stone tiles, which were recovered from the vicinity of the stub wall on the south-western extremity of the site (17). They came from the 1961 excavations. 86 is a complete stone tile with a peg-hole; 87 and 88 are fragmentary stone tiles. The dimensions of 86 and 88 are sufficiently different to suggest that the stone tiles were graded large to small from eaves to ridge, in a tradition which can still be seen today. Alternatively, a few graded courses of stone tiles may have been used to weather the top of a wall and the remainder of the roof may have been of straw thatch. The three pieces show evidence of mortaring. This is certainly a remnant of lime mortar torching, especially along the edge of 86. The mortar adhering to the other tiles may be remains of torching, or mortar from reuse in the stub wall, or a combination of mortar from both causes. The small number of such tiles recovered during excavation might favour this interpretation, although it is not possible to say with any certainty what proportion the three pieces discussed here represent of the original corpus of stone tile material in use on the site. Stone tiles such as these are not helpful for dating purposes, as roof coverings of this material were common in Roman times and throughout the period of occupation of Clarendon, and have remained so since, especially for utility buildings. The provenance of the thinly bedded shelly limestone is in one case at least the Purbeck Beds in Dorset, while two may be pieces of Chilmark Rag. In view of the small number of stone tiles recovered from Clarendon during all the excavations there, these might possibly be Roman pieces.

89*. Seal matrix

89 is a seal matrix of unidentified stone, which is clearly not Chilmark. It bears the legend 'IHS'. 6×5×2.8 cm. (3/20–21).

90*. Quern fragment

90 is perhaps a fragment of a quern, being a rectangular piece, dressed on three sides and worked to a flat, raised border, or lip at one edge. 12×5×4.5 cm.

91, 92. Purbeck fragments

91 and 92 are fragments of Purbeck. 91 has one dressed and polished hollow moulded face. 6×3 cm. 92 is a flake of apparently unworked Purbeck. 6×4×1.5 cm.

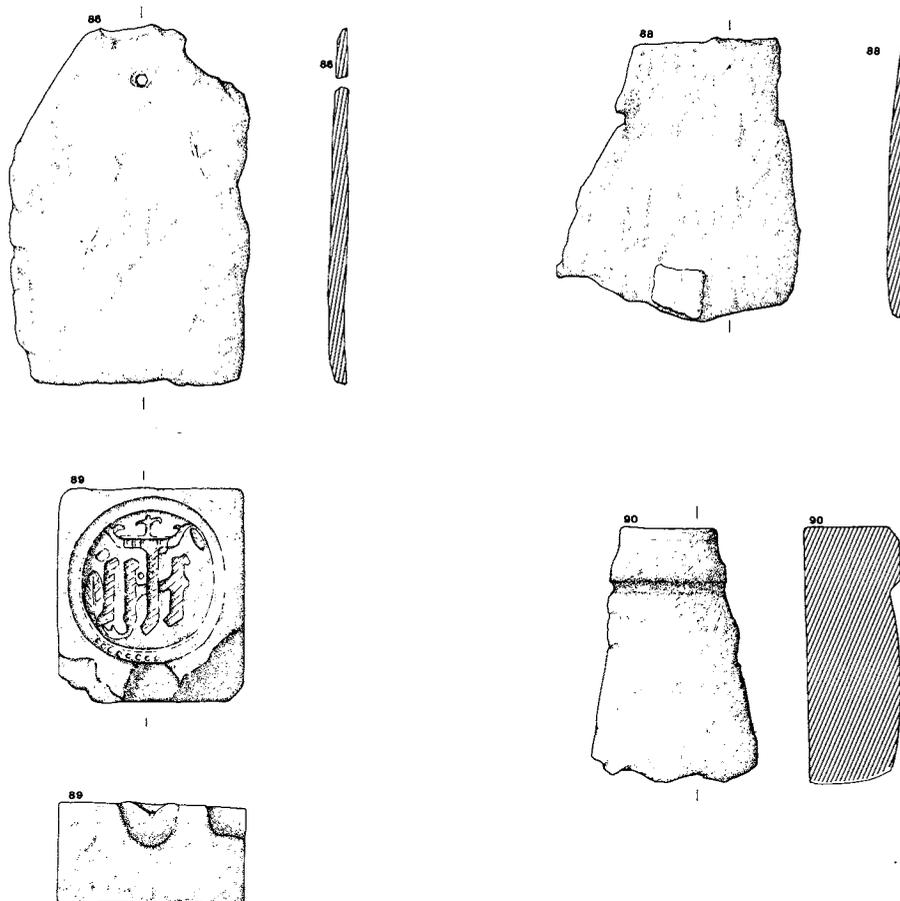


FIG. 95. Stonework (86, 88–90) ($\frac{1}{4}$, except no. 89, seal matrix, $\frac{1}{2}$)

93, 94. Chalk pebble and flint nodule

93 is an elongated chalk pebble, perhaps from the west kitchen (4h). 5 × 7 cm. This was accessioned into the Salisbury Museum in 1937. 94 is a spherical flint nodule (5 cm. in diameter).

95. Sea coal fragment.

8.5 × 6 × 5 × 1 cm.

96–9. Iron-stained conglomerate

96–9 are four fragments of heavily iron-stained conglomerate. This occurs naturally in the Clarendon area. 9 × 6 cm.; 7 × 4 cm.; 6 × 5 cm.; 4 × 4 cm.

B. Plasterwork

This discussion is based almost entirely upon plaster finds from the 1930s excavations, and what appear to be subsequent random finds of plaster from the site. The plaster recovered from Clarendon was divided in 1957 between the British Museum and Salisbury Museum. The

whole collection amounts to over 200 fragments which are divided in roughly equal proportions between Salisbury Museum and the British Museum. Some six fragments of painted plaster are now to be seen on display at Salisbury Museum, together with some fragments of stonework. These pieces of stonework have been coated with a fine gesso mix to prepare the surface for painting.

Contexts of plaster finds

Plasterwork has always been a feature of the finds from Clarendon. Sir Thomas Phillipps, digging in 1821, noticed plaster on the site (Eames 1965, 57–8). In the 1930s very considerable amounts of plaster were excavated from a wide variety of structures on the site. Indeed, it may well have been that Dr Borenius was in part attracted to the site precisely by the possibility of excavating decorated wall plaster, a subject on which he was already one of the foremost authorities (Borenius and Tristram 1927).

With such hopes for the potential of Clarendon as a site for the recovery of plasterwork, finds of plaster bulk large in all the surviving records of the excavation. The brilliant colours were eagerly reported in the local press, while the scholarly interest of Dr Borenius in medieval art ensured that finds of plaster were recorded in the notebooks and correspondence of the time. Work in areas **7b** and **7e** in April 1933 led to the immediate discovery of plaster covering upstanding stubs of walls. The opening up of Site IV (**13b**), the Alexander chamber, was marked by the recovery of a piece of plaster painted with red false jointing, Catalogue no. 1 (Correspondence, 29 April, 1 May 1933). It rapidly became apparent that a considerable proportion of all the walls which were still standing at Clarendon, and which had not been exposed to the elements already, had been plastered over.

August 1935 brought perhaps the most spectacular finds of plaster from Clarendon. Early in the month faded designs in green, red and other vivid colours were found (*SWJ*, 9 August 1935). In mid August 1935 'a great deal of broken plaster all painted but with subdued hues: mauve, green and other secondary colours and the usual vivid tints' came to light (*SWJ*, 16 August 1935). These reports were quickly followed by a report of the discovery of quantities of 'brilliantly painted plaster' (*SWJ*, 23 August 1935). These hoards probably came from the two rooms of the royal apartments to which attention was devoted in August of that year, **7g** and **7h** (*SWJ*, 9 August 1935). This plaster showed evidence of having been painted two or three times, and in some cases over-plastered. Towards the end of the 1935 season, perhaps in the last week of August, still in the area designated the king's apartments (**7**) the plaster recovered was in the main painted 'sky blue'. Again there was evidence of successive coats of both plaster and paint being added. A large area of plaster painted white and overpainted with red false jointing was uncovered still adhering to one wall on the north side of this group of buildings. The 1935 season saw the continuation of work on the range which became known as the queen's apartments (**10**). The excavation of a 'long passage three foot wide bordering on the queen's apartments' took place. It is not now clear where this was, but **7f** is a possibility. The wall plaster, consisting of large fragments most of which were very brightly painted and some of which bore as a design 'rich gothic scrolls', was the only find of note from this area (*ST*, 13 September 1935). This material corresponds with a glass case containing red scrollwork on a white ground, now stored at the British Museum. September 1936 saw the excavation of a large building 150 ft. (45.72 m.) south of the Antioch chamber (**8**). This would seem to have

been structure **IIf**, particularly as references are made to various rebuildings including the addition of 'a brick annexe', no doubt **IId**, the brick kitchen. In **IIf** substantial finds of plaster were recorded. This plaster was brightly coloured and bore vivid and elaborate designs, while in the brick kitchen (**IId**) the usual pattern of red lines on a white ground was reversed to give white lines on a red ground. This white on red design was still in place on areas of the walls of **IId** (*SWJ*, 18 and 25 September and 6 November 1936).

In 1937 more noteworthy finds of plasterwork were reported. On 3 September a report was published of the excavation of a large thirteenth-century room attached to the range of buildings round the cellar. This had produced 'some extremely good painted wall plaster in rich colours'. Perhaps this was **I3a** or **I3c**. Work was also in hand on structures to the south of the great courtyard (**6**). Much plain plaster was found in place in the large east-west room (**6a**), particularly on the south wall, where plain plaster bearing indentations from former wooden posts was found (*SWJ*, 10 September 1937; see above, p. 98). At the same period work was in progress on the area designated the queen's apartments (**10**). The south-western room of this range (**10d**) was cleared of a fallen wall which lay across the floor. As this was removed, fragments of richly painted wall plaster came to light (?10 September 1937). The 'very large quantity of wall plaster' recovered from this room was subsequently referred to in the press as 'probably the best so far recovered' (September 1937). Room **10c**, which came to be known as the 'Queen's Oratory', was excavated at the end of September 1937. The tile floor of this chamber was set on ground made level by dumping various materials including numerous fragments of wall plaster 'of fine quality' and 'painted with drapery' (Correspondence, 1 October 1937; pl. LXVIa).

Work on this oratory appears to have continued in 1938, for beneath the floor of the thirteenth-century building were found in a layer of rubbish 'large quantities of painted wall plaster, with a wide range of colours still vivid' (*ST*, 9 September 1938). The same paper on 23 September 1938 reported more fine wall plaster from this context, including one piece which appears to be 'part of a man in a toga' and which was dated to perhaps the late twelfth century. In 1938 one of the stated intentions of the excavators was to discover the main chapel at Clarendon, All Saints. To this end exploratory trenches were dug on the evidence of medieval documents which appeared to suggest, if other assumptions were correct, that the chapel lay between the queen's apartments (**10**) and the great stables (**6a**). One of the three trenches dug produced a 'rather large piece of wall plaster' which was thought to be an indication that the church was not far away. This investigation subsequently produced a 'massive wall running alongside a little hillock'. This was probably the north wall of building **I3c**, which it was soon decided was not the chapel being sought, although many fragments of moulded stone and painted wall plaster were found (*SWJ*, 8, 19 August 1938; *ST*, 26 August 1938). In the final season in 1939 plaster continued to come to light in profusion. Large finds of plaster were again recovered from the queen's suite (**10**). Once again they proved to be 'astonishingly brilliant'. Designs showing lattice work and representations of windows and drapery were 'frequently met with'. On one fragment the left hand of a human figure, with a pointing forefinger, was clearly to be seen. Some of the scraps of plaster were embellished with gold leaf (*ST*, 21 July 1939). The whereabouts of some of this plaster, including the pieces decorated with human hands, lattice work and other recognizable designs is now unknown, although we are fortunate in the survival of contemporary photographs of certain pieces (e.g. pl. LXVIa).

Techniques of plastering

Examination of the plaster fragments is revealing of building techniques and decorative schemes at the palace. Precise dating of the surviving fragments is not possible. That plaster was applied to rubble and ashlar surfaces was established by discoveries of plaster *in situ* during the excavations in the 1930s and by fragments now preserved in the museum collections. Examination of the museum collections shows that plaster was applied also to wooden surfaces, such as laths. There are clear indications that repairs or replastering on occasions involved the plastering over of areas which had been previously decorated with paint.

The plaster surface was built up in a variety of ways. Where the surface of the wall to be plastered was very uneven, a thick dubbing coat of plaster was applied initially, to level up the surface. Where the surface was less uneven, for example when overplastering of previously plastered surfaces was being undertaken, a top coat of up to 1 cm. in thickness was applied. This top coat was often, although by no means always, finished with a very fine coat of fine lime or gypsum up to 3 mm. deep. In trying to determine a sequence for plasterwork at Clarendon, it is noteworthy that gypsum is commonly believed to have been introduced to England at the instigation of Henry III, who saw it in use in Paris in 1254. Sources for gypsum in England include the Isle of Purbeck, and it was probably from there that gypsum came to Clarendon. All the fragments now preserved in the museums were finally decorated either by the use of true fresco painting techniques in which the paint is applied to damp plaster to give durability, or by painting or limewashing of the surface when dry. In the damp Wiltshire forest, limewash had the advantage of porosity, which allowed rising damp to escape without the limewashed surface blistering. Where other paints were applied, blistering did occur, as medieval records suggest (above, p. 14).

Laboratory analysis of plaster and pigmentation

One small fragment was analysed for mix and pigmentation. The plaster examined consisted of lime to sand in the proportion of approximately 1:1, although the large percentage of calcareous aggregate makes the exact proportions difficult to determine. The plaster face which shows the marks of a wood float was coloured fresco with a blue ground and traces of a linear design in black, green and red. Ian Bristow (Historic Paint Consultant) analysed the blue pigmentation from a small fragment of Clarendon plaster. The analysis demonstrated that the basis of the blue pigmentation was crushed lapis lazuli (so-called natural ultramarine), which would no doubt have come in the Middle Ages from the region now known as Afghanistan. The use of crushed lapis lazuli, together with the gilding found not only on the plasterwork as mentioned above, but also on the lead stars and the stone angel's wing, clearly demonstrates the lavish quality of the materials used at Clarendon, probably under Henry III in the thirteenth century.

Other colours amongst the Clarendon plaster collection would be derived from carbon, verdigris or verditer (copper acetate/ethanoate, or copper carbonate) and vermilion (mercuric sulphide). Ochre (hydrated ferric oxide, which usually includes clay) was also found (I am grateful to Dr Charly Ryan for supplying details of the chemical composition of the various paints). The pigments from the scallop shell and pot-base recovered from the Antioch chamber (8) are discussed separately as they do not appear to have been pigments used for panel or wall painting (below, Paint Palettes, pp. 258–60).

The general mix of this group of plaster fragments consists of a calcareous aggregate containing crushed river gravel, flint, carbon from the kiln and, less commonly, hair. Apart from the colours already mentioned, limewash was frequently used, not only on plaster, but also over the stonework (Stonework, above). Ochre is another colour apparently used as an area, as well as a detail, paint. An effort was made to conserve many of the fragments excavated in the 1930s and now preserved at Salisbury. The attempted conservation took the form of varnishing over the majority of the pieces with a thick, now yellow varnish. This has unfortunately made certain identification of the original colours difficult, although it has proved possible to guess the original colours by comparison of designs on varnished and unvarnished pieces.

Catalogue (figs. 96–7)

A representative selection of plaster fragments is illustrated and described here. Detailed descriptions and measurements of all the Clarendon plasterwork have been made and are deposited with the Clarendon archive. The collection published here is provided to indicate the main themes of decoration in the surviving collection from Clarendon in which more than one colour appears. Much of the extant plasterwork is in plain colours and this has not been included in the catalogue. The plaster mix of the pieces is as described in the previous paragraph. The aggregates and finishing coats have been examined in detail by eye, and can be assumed to be as described above, that is to say the pieces here catalogued consist of a calcareous aggregate, finished with fine lime or gypsum, overpainted with the designs described below. The pieces here catalogued are illustrated in figs. 96 and 97. Although it has not been possible to subject more than one fragment to destructive laboratory analysis, it is fair to assume that the colours were derived from the substances mentioned above.

As can be imagined after many centuries underground the plaster and its decorative schemes are very fragile and fragmentary. In many cases the original colour schemes had clearly been limewashed over in ancient times, and in some cases evidence of over-plastering can be seen.

1. Red false jointing on a white ground. This piece was found in the area of the Alexander chamber (**13b**) in 1933. 12 × 10 cm.
2. Red false jointing. Fragment of single red line on a white ground. 6.5 × 4 cm.
3. Red false jointing on a white ground with a blue edge. 5.5 × 5 cm.
4. Double red lines on a white background with a blue edge. The blue edging on both 3 and 4 appears identical with a sample identified as crushed lapis lazuli (above, p. 253). 11 × 8 cm.
5. Red false jointing on a white ground, with parallel red lines enclosing an ochre border. 7 × 7 cm. One-coat work with 0.1 cm. skim.
6. White false jointing on a red ground. Reverse has a V-shaped indentation suggesting it was plastered on to a lath. Two-coat work, 7.5 × 2.5 × 3 cm. The excavators noted a red ground with white decoration in the brick kitchen (**11d**).
7. A black line separating an area of bright red from ochre. 9.5 × 6.5 cm.
8. Light apple green over orange, black stripes. 8 × 4.5 cm.
9. Black over orange and orange. 10 × 6.5 cm.
10. Deep red, bright red and orange. 6 × 2.5 cm.
11. Black stripes and light apple green over orange. 5 × 4.5 cm.
12. Red false jointing double lines on a white ground with fragments of red scrolls. 6.5 × 6 cm.
- 13–17. Red scroll foliage. 13, 5.5 × 3 cm.; 14, 10 × 8 cm.; 15, 11 × 9 cm.; 16, 10 × 8 cm.; 17, 6.5 × 4 cm.
- 18, 19. Red scroll foliage on a white ground with small traces of black. The black appears to show through from an earlier design. 18, 7.5 × 4.5 cm.; 19, 9 × 4 cm.

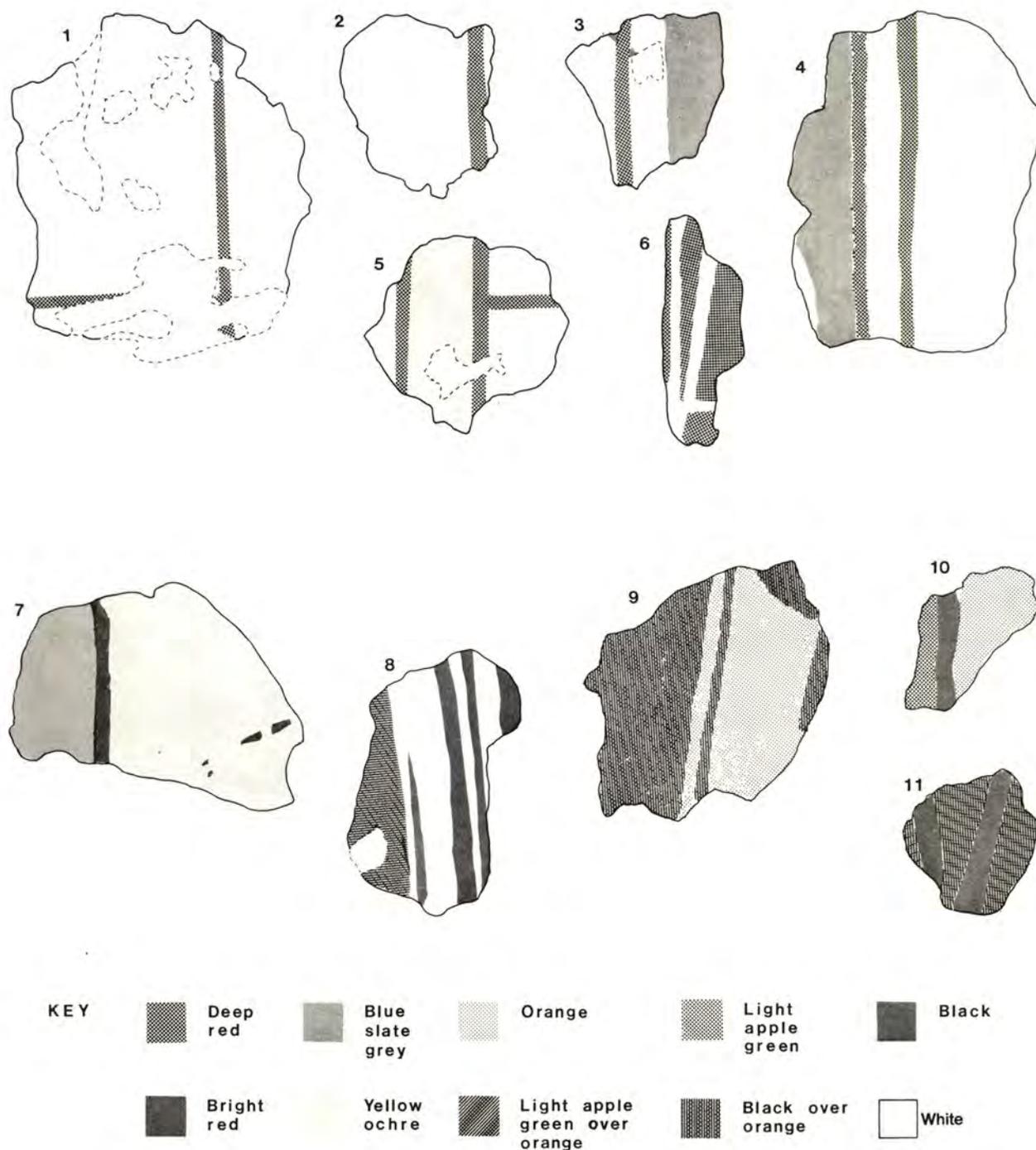


FIG. 96. Plasterwork (1-11) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

FIG. 97. Plasterwork (12-29) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

20, 21. Red scroll foliage on a white ground with added black work. 20, 7.5×6 cm.; 21, 6.5×4 cm.
 22–29. Red, white and blue fragments some with red false jointing on a white ground, some with foliage scrollwork. 22, 7×5 cm.; 23, 7.5×5 cm.; 24, 8×5 cm.; 25, 13.5×13 cm.; 26, 10×8 cm.; 27, 9×6.5 cm.; 28, 6.5×5.5 cm.; 29, 8×5 cm.

Summary of stonework and plasterwork

Shattered and fragmentary though the remains are, examination of the stonework, together with the plaster fragments, enormously enhances our knowledge of the architectural characteristics and decorative schemes employed at Clarendon. The ashlar work which remains on site, built into walls, quoins and the cellar, helps to establish the layout of the palace. Examination of the collection of stonework from the 1930s and the 1960s now housed in the Salisbury Museum does much to fill in the detail of the appointment of the palace.

Colour schemes

While there is now on site little evidence of the colouring employed on the stonework and on the over-plastering of the ashlar, flint and rubble walls, such evidence abounds in the museum collections. Undoubtedly limewash and gypsum finishing of both interior and exterior walls must have predominated, and we learn of orders to carry out whitewashing in the documentary sources for the thirteenth century. Not only was a white finish used on ashlar and rubble walls, but also on plasterwork. Limewash was frequently used as a base for over-painting, or to obliterate previous schemes of decoration. The main impression of the palace for the approaching visitor must have been of a collection of white buildings against the green forest.

A wide range of colours abound on the stones and plaster. Red is frequently found, both as a ground and in decorative schemes in conjunction with white and other colours. Yellow, green, blue and black are also found, both singly and in multi-coloured schemes on both plaster and stonework. The excavators in the 1930s observed the preponderance of red plaster recovered from the area of the queen's suite (**10**) and green plaster and tiles in a room they called the 'green chamber', in the king's apartment block (**7g** and **7h**) (*SWJ*, 16 August 1935). Linear schemes, bands and scrolls are all to be found on plaster and stone. It is not possible to reconstruct the chronological sequence of colour schemes at Clarendon between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, except to suggest from documentary sources that the most lavish schemes, such as that using crushed lapis lazuli for blue work, and gilding, probably dated to the mid thirteenth century, when Henry III sponsored sophisticated art work in his royal buildings.

Architectural detail

The exterior and interior architectural detail can be reconstructed to some extent from the museum collection of stonework. There is ample evidence of doors and windows enclosed by ashlar jambs and plain and decorated mouldings, all usually painted. Despite the loss of much of the archaeological context for many of the architectural fragments, some groups and pieces can still be linked to specific locations, for example the chevron moulding of twelfth-century date to the kitchen (**4h**), a floral boss to the great hall (**5**) and fragments of historiated capitals to the king's solars (**7**). It is now difficult to say with any certainty whether particular stones came from interior or exterior locations. As stated above, pieces of heavily limewashed plain

moulding and other pieces are weathered in ways which suggest they were located on the exterior of buildings, but weathering of a similar kind could be the result of centuries of exposure to the elements after occupation of the palace ceased.

In contrast to the apparent impossibility of dating fragmentary colour schemes, some order can be imposed on the architectural fragments. The chevron mould is clearly early, as mentioned above, as are the historiated capitals which Dr Borenus dated late in the twelfth century. Comparable profiles and patterns from other sources can be used to establish dates for moulded work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Brickwork such as that of **11d**, the 'brick kitchen', tends to be late and has in the past been associated with the fifteenth century.

Thus, examination of the remains of stone and plasterwork at Clarendon, almost more than that of any other finds, serves to help reconstruct the bright schemes of decoration which once enhanced the fine workmanship found in buildings right across the site.

TEXTILES: METAL THREAD

By Elisabeth Crowfoot and Justine Bayley

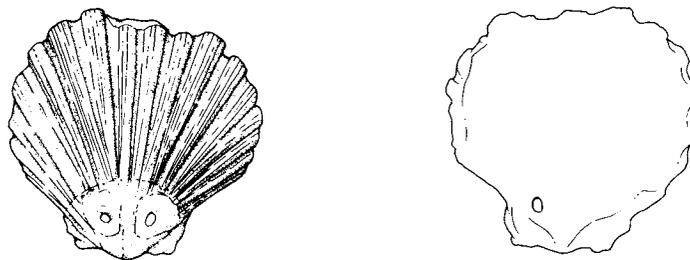
Nine fragments of metal thread found during the 1930s excavations (SM 47/57) comprise the only textile fragments recovered from Clarendon. No archaeological context is known for these pieces, although one or more may have constituted the find of a 'gilded bronze hook and eye from a garment', which came, with other objects, from the queen's apartments (**10d**) (above, p. 201 and pl. LXVI*b*).

Their present lengths are: *c.* 2.9 cm.; 2 cm.; 1.9 cm.; 1.7 cm.; 1.3 cm.; 1.3 cm.; 0.6 cm.; *c.* 6.5 cm. wound in a loop, and one finer fragment 2 cm. long, undecorated. The threads are constructed of a metal wire, wound with unspun silk, now light brown. Over this, two threads with metal strip spun round a silk core have been loosely wound as decoration, crossing each other at intervals and showing the silk between. Justine Bayley analysed the fragments by X-ray fluorescence detecting copper and zinc (weak) in the metal wire, i.e. brass; the strip of the decorative thread was of silver, and was probably responsible for weak silver corrosion transferred to the brass wire. Most of the fragments are curved, one being still in a closed loop, and it is probable they were used in decoration sewn to some type of furnishing; a tiny scrap of felt preserved with the threads suggests this was perhaps an item like a saddle.

PAINT PALETTES

By Helen Hughes and Pamela Lewis

In the course of excavations in the Antioch chamber (**8**) during the 1930s a scallop shell containing a light blue pigment and the base of a pottery vessel containing a red pigment were recovered (fig. 98; pl. LVI*a*). The scallop shell was pierced in such a way as to lead to the suggestion that it had been a pilgrim's token. It was probably *Pecten* sp., and is referred to below (Animal Bones and Shells, p. 261). The pot, in brown-faced greyware with an olive-green glaze, is noteworthy for being one of only a few ceramic items found at Clarendon which

FIG. 98. Scallop shell palette ($\frac{1}{2}$)

were not derived from the local Laverstock kilns (Pottery, no. 63a, p. 189). Parallels for this pot have been found in fourteenth-century contexts in Winchester. The two vessels can be seen in pl. LVIa and the shell in fig. 98. The pigments from the two vessels were scientifically analysed.

Helen Hughes and Pamela Lewis write:

Two fragments of medieval artists' palettes found during excavations at Clarendon Palace were dated in the 1930s to *c.* 1235. The first consisted of a light blue paint contained in a scallop shell; the shell had apparently originally been used as a pilgrim's badge. It was common to use mussel shells as containers for size or gum-bound pigments, but the reuse of a pilgrim's badge, if such it was, would appear to be unusual. The second, a fragmented base of a glazed earthenware pot-palette, contained a thick encrusted layer of pale red paint.

Small samples of each pigment were examined by optical microscopy and micro-chemical tests were carried out on the fragments:

The blue: under $\times 100$ magnification, large coarsely ground crystalline particles were clearly observed which suggested that the blue pigment was azurite (a basic copper carbonate $2\text{CuCO}_3\text{Cu}(\text{OH})_2$). Chemical analysis confirmed the presence of copper and also that the pigment was a carbonate. (The pigment dissolved in dilute hydrochloric acid with effervescence, indicating a carbonate. The addition of water, potassium ferrocyanide and dilute hydrochloric acid produced a pinkish envelope of copper ferrocyanide, indicating the presence of copper.)

Azurite, a natural mineral now mined in various parts of northern Europe and elsewhere in the world, was a widely used blue pigment in medieval and Renaissance painting. It is usually found in association with malachite. Although little is currently known about sources of azurite in the medieval period, the most likely source at this time would seem to be the copper mines of Hungary. For use as a pigment it is coarsely ground – if ground too fine it becomes pale and loses its tinting strength.

The red: under magnification $\times 100$, very fine homogeneous pigment particles were visible; chemical analysis indicated that the pigment contained a high proportion of lead. (The pigment was found to be soluble in dilute hydrochloric acid, forming a white precipitate; on drying, potassium iodide and water were added, forming a mass of bright yellow crystals and indicating a high proportion of lead.)

These results indicate that the pigment was minium (red lead) Pb_3O_4 , an artificially

produced pigment which has been used since antiquity, obtained by heating lead-white for several hours at very high temperatures. The pigment was mainly used for manuscript illumination, rather than panel or wall painting, because of its tendency to discolour.

The media: simple staining tests were carried out to establish the presence of proteins and / or oils as binding agents for these pigments. The results proved inconclusive, probably because of the extreme age of the samples; the pigments were probably bound in size or gum-based medium and it is suggested that they may have been used for manuscript illumination.

ANIMAL BONES AND SHELLS

By Anthony King, incorporating reports by the late J. Wilfrid Jackson
and Don Bramwell

1930s excavations

As the surviving records make clear, animal bones and marine shells were found in some profusion during these excavations in locations throughout the site, in the kitchen and ash-pit area on the west (4), in a blocked drain at the east end of what was thought to have been the salsary (4k), in the below-floor levels of the Antioch chamber (8), in the eastern perimeter buildings (16) and elsewhere. References to finds of bones occur throughout the records of the excavations, from the very start of the excavation when bones came from Site 2, just east of the great hall (5) (Correspondence, 27 April 1933; Charlton, Notebook 1933; *ST*, 13 September 1935; *SWJ*, 25 September 1936; 9 September 1938, etc.). Beneath the later tiled floors of the Antioch chamber (8) the excavators found 'numerous bones of pigs, sheep, deer and other animals and birds' (*SWJ*, 26 September 1936). Digging in the ash-pit area (4g) in late August and early September 1938, the excavators reported to the press that they had found 'large tusks amongst the bones of wild boars, which only became extinct in Clarendon Forest after the beginning of the decline of the palace' (*ST*, 9 September 1938). Only four specimens survive for study, probably because the rest were disposed of on site, a practice that was widespread in the days before archaeozoological and archaeobotanical research developed as recognized disciplines. The lack of material for analysis is tantalizing, as parts of the site were associated with the preparation of venison (the salsary), and potentially had unusual and interesting bone assemblages, as the surviving notes quoted here indicate. In this connection, any future project of excavation of the site should investigate dietary and ecological data as a priority, especially in view of the faunal remains found by Mrs Eames and Mr Musty (above, pp. 165-7 and below, pp. 261 ff.).

The four surviving specimens are a cut tine of a red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) antler, a molar of an elderly horse (*Equus caballus*), a left (lower) valve of a large European oyster (*Ostrea edulis*) and a scallop shell (below). Other bones are identifiable on the site photographs, especially one showing the arch of the 'Gothic Suite' (16a) on the eastern perimeter of the site. The bones would have come either from the fill of the arch or from the fill of the small chamber to which this was the only access and which the excavators showed was used at least at some periods of its existence as a rubbish dump (above, p. 125). The bones are to be seen in one photograph on

the baulk above the arch (pl. XLVIc). The presence of a range of ovens in the adjoining building (16b) perhaps encourages the belief that these bones were kitchen refuse. They consist of red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) antlers, generally from mature animals and still attached to the cranium, at least two complete red deer metatarsals, the distal end of a humerus of an ox (*Bos taurus*) and several indistinct smaller bones, probably those of sheep (*Ovis aries*) or goat (*Capra hircus*). The presence of the red deer bones, superficially at least in greater numbers from this area than those of other species, is worthy of note, particularly as the salsary mentioned above has always been identified with a building (4k) in the kitchen area (4) towards the west of the site.

The scallop shell was found in the Antioch chamber (8). It was thought to have been used as an artist's palette (above, p. 258). It has two holes pierced near the hinge (Borenus 1936, 8; see pl. LVIa; fig. 98). There are several species of scallop around British shores, but the damaged state of the shell does not permit a secure identification to be made. The specimen is more likely to be *Pecten* sp. than *Chlamys* sp. from its appearance.

1961 excavations

Animal bones and shells were found during the excavation of the middens (4g) near to the kitchen area (4), and in the ditch (1h) at the south-east corner of the site. The midden is in the same area as was known to the 1930s excavators as the ash-pits (4g). The bones were submitted to Dr J. Wilfrid Jackson, who produced a report in 1962, reproduced in full below, since it is the main record of this material. The bones themselves only survive in part, and appear to have been selected, since they consist for the most part of jaws and measurable articular ends. It was, however, possible to use this assemblage to provide additional information to that given in Jackson's report, in the form of supplementary notes. The bird bones have been reported on by Dr Don Bramwell, the report being produced here unaltered. Mr Musty (pers. comm.) reports that the total number of bones found in the course of his excavation was small, probably less than 1,000. The surviving assemblage was long thought to have been lost. However, recent investigations showed it to have been preserved in the Buxton Museum since the death of Dr Jackson. It is thanks to the kindness of the staff of that museum that the bones have now been carried south and deposited in the Salisbury Museum.

Dr Jackson also wrote a report on the mollusca from the middens. This has not been reproduced here, as the shells have always been housed in Salisbury Museum, and consequently a more detailed examination was possible.

Mammal bones from the 1961 excavations

By the late J. Wilfrid Jackson and Anthony King

The remains are mainly those of domestic animals and belong to ox, sheep, pig, horse and dog, those of the ox being the most abundant. Most of the bones are split and broken, which makes it impossible to obtain measurements, although providing useful information on the food economy of the palace (bones from Mrs Eames's excavations, pp. 165-7).

In addition to the above there are a few remains of red deer, fallow deer, roe deer, rabbit, fish and birds. Some of these, if not all, supplemented the food supply.

Note: Information in square brackets has been compiled from the surviving bones by A.K. Measurement abbreviations follow the scheme of von den Driesch (1976).

Domestic species

Ox (*Bos taurus*). Represented by very numerous broken limb bones, very many rib pieces, vertebrae, loose teeth and jaws. The remains are of adult and young animals of a small type of ox not unlike the Celtic shorthorn found on Roman and pre-Roman sites. There are no skulls or horn cores. [A tibia had been chopped in the cranio-caudal direction through the proximal articulation. A radius had cut-marks on the ventral side of the shaft near the distal articulation. A juvenile calcaneum had been chewed on the medial process by a rodent. A few of the bones were very juvenile indicating the consumption of veal. Measurements: scapula, GLP 67, LG 57, BG 53, SLC 55; radius, Bd 69, BFd 63, Bd 73, BFd 67; tibia, Bd 60; calcaneum, GL 113, GB 38/GL 130, GB 42; astragalus, GL1 62, GLm 56, Dl 34, Bd 41; metatarsus, Bp 47/Bp 48.]

Sheep (*Ovis aries*). Represented by a fair number of broken limb bones, lower jaws and teeth. They belong to adult and young animals and the bones are small and slender, more like those belonging to the St Kilda and Heather sheep of the present day, and those found on Iron Age and earlier sites. [A humerus had a thickened shaft probably due to a well-healed fracture. No recognizable goat bones were represented in the surviving assemblage, but it must be noted that the sheep/goat bones available in 1984 were very few in number. There may possibly have been goat bones in the complete assemblage. Measurements: scapula, BG 21, SLC 21; humerus, Bd 26, Btr 25/Bd 29, SD 13/Bd 30, Btr 28, SD 14/SD 15/Bd 27, BTr 24, SD 13 (this specimen with an unfused proximal epiphysis); radius, Bd 28, BFd 24; tibia, Bd 24, Sd 13/Bd 23/Bd 23/Bd 23.]

Pig (*Sus scrofa*). This animal is represented by numerous broken limb bones, loose teeth, and lower and upper jaws containing teeth. Young and adult animals are present. [There were more pig bones and teeth in the surviving assemblage than for any of the other species. However, this seems most likely to have been due to post-excavation selection. The mandibles from the midden layers were exclusively from animals aged between c. 6 to 12 months, i.e. with the first molar in wear but before the emergence of the third molar. Additionally, sexing of the jaws gave an 8:1 ratio in favour of males, which may be taken with the ageing data to indicate the possible culling of young boars before they needed to be castrated and while the meat was young and tender. Jaws from Ditch 1 were generally older, with the third molar coming into wear, or in one case with all the teeth very worn. Meat from these animals would have been older and probably of lower quality. One jaw, of uncertain context, was from a sucking pig. Two mandibles and four maxillae (out of eighteen) from Ditch 1 had tooth roots exposed on their buccal sides, generally in the region of the first molar, and evidence of periodontal disease in the form of receded alveoli. This condition is not serious and is found quite frequently in adult animals. One of the other maxillae from this context had notably advanced wear for its age, and various jaws had teeth with uneven wear and chipped enamel. A rough, foraging diet is probably indicated. A metacarpus III had suffered a trauma at the proximal articulation, possibly complicated by an infection; the articulation was widened laterally, eroded on the articular surface and the shaft just below the articulation had many small perforations. A scapula had an oblique cut-mark on the ventral side of the neck. Measurements: scapula, BG 28, SLC 26/SLC 22; radius, Bp 30, SD 19/Bp 26, SD 14 (distal epiphysis unfused); metacarpus III (above), GL 67, Bp 21, B 14, Bd 16; 3rd phalanx, DLS 37, MBS 10, Ld 36; mandible measurement, (10) 28×14/31×14.]

Horse (*Equus caballus*). This is represented by the distal half of a moderately robust femur, and a fragment of pelvis. [Not located in 1984.]

Other species

Red deer (*Cervus elaphus*). An imperfect shank-bone (metatarsus) and two loose teeth; also six ankle bones (astragali) and fragments. [None of these bones were available for study in 1984, but the distal

part of a tibia was found to be probably of red deer. It had cut-marks on the sides of the shaft near the articulation, and the distal breadth measurement, Bd, was 51 mm.]

Fallow deer (*Cervus dama*). Remains of this animal are fairly numerous and consist of the posterior part of the skull of a hind, too imperfect for measurement; some fragments of antler tines; fragmentary lower jaws with teeth; several limb bones including astragali, and front and hind shank-bones (carpals and metatarsals). A few of the latter lend themselves to measurement, as follows: three metatarsals measure: length (GL), 192, 207, 217 mm.; mid shaft, 15, 18, 18 mm.; distal condyles widths (Bd), 27, 30, 31 mm. respectively. Among the remains are a few young bones including fragments of three metatarsals. [The bones examined in 1984 were as follows: antler tine tip; mandibular molar; metacarpus, GL 194, Bp c. 30, SD 17, DD 13, Bd 29; distal part of metacarpus worn by rubbing on the distal end, especially on the dorsal surface, DD 10, Bd 26; five astragali – one chopped on the proximal dorsal side, GLl 38, GLm 37, Dl 21, Bd 25/GLl 37, GLm 36, Dl 21, Bd 25/Bd 25/Bd 26; two calcanea – one with unfused epiphysis, GL 73, GB 25; naviculo-cuboid, GB 31; metatarsus GL 195, Bp 23, SD 14, DD 12, Bd 27; distal part of metatarsus with unfused epiphysis; 1st phalanx, GLpe 38, Bp 14, SD 10, Bd 12.]

Roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*). This species was not mentioned in the 1962 report, but the following were identified amongst the material examined in 1984: proximal part of femur, Bp 41, DC 19; distal part of metatarsus, DD 10, Bd 22; distal part of metacarpus chewed down medial margin by a rodent, DD 9.

Rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*). Several limb bones. [Many of these had unfused epiphyses but were of roughly adult proportions. Measurements of adult bones: scapula, GLP 11.0, LG 8.7, BG 7.2, SLC 5.0; humerus, GL 61.1, SD 3.8, Bd 8.6; pelvis, LAR 7.9, Lfo 16.1, SH 6.0, SB 4.3/LAR 8.2, SH 7.6, SB 4.7; femur, GLC 77.5, Bp 18.2, BTr 15.0, DC 6.7, SD 6.9, Bd 13.7/GLC 76.6, Bp 18.2, BTr 13.9, DC 6.9, SD 6.8, Bd 13/GLC 76.6, DC 6.3, SD 6.3/GL 80.2, GLC 76.3, Bp 18, BTr 15.0, DC 6.5, SD 6.0, Bd 13.2, Bp 18.3, BTr 14.6, DC 6.8, SD 6.7/SD 6.3, Bd 13.4; tibia, GL 88.7, Bp 14.0, SD 5.7, Bd 11.6, Dd 6.1/GL 90.4, Bp 14.2, SD 5.8, Bd 11.7, Dd 6.1/Bd 11.5, Dd 6.6. Nearly all the bones were complete and not butchered. Only one bone, the distal part of a humerus, Bd 11.6, was large enough to be possibly brown hare (*Lepus capensis*).]

Fish. Numerous vertebrae are present and suggest a fish about the size of cod. Unfortunately, no other remains are included.

Conclusions

To judge from the material submitted for analysis it is evident that the inhabitants lived on beef, mutton and pork, and appear to have done some hunting of wild game to supplement their food. Whether the horse was used for food is uncertain. [The ageing data for the pig bones give an indication of intra-site variation, those from the middens (4g) being part of a more high-status diet than those from Ditch 1 (1h). The source of the meat was no doubt the herds of swine which fed in the royal forests, especially in view of the type of diet suggested by the wear of the teeth. Such herds appear in the documentary sources, being taken from Clarendon to London (above, p. 30).]

Bird bones from the 1961 excavations

By Don Bramwell

Goose (*Anser* sp.). A number of goose bones are similar to Grey Lag but could well belong to the domesticated form. They are: left tibia, proximal and distal parts; left and right fragments of femur; distal end of right humerus; and proximal end of right tarso-metatarsus.

Small domesticated fowl (*Gallus* sp.). Left humeri, two incomplete; left and right ulnae (incomplete);

left and right coracoid; one complete and one fragment (immature) of right femora; fragments of right and left tibiae; and three proximal ends of left tarso-metatarsi.

Golden plover (*Pluvialis apricaria*). An almost perfect tarso-metatarsus.

Unknown species. Large proximal half of tarso-metatarsus of an immature bird which resembles the Heron/Bittern type.

Shells from the 1961 excavations

By Anthony King

Both middens included small quantities of shells. Whelk (*Buccinum undatum*) was predominant, particularly in Midden 1 (table III). Their size was variable, ranging up to *c.* 12 cm. in length, much larger

TABLE III. Shells from Clarendon Palace

	Whelk	Oyster		Land-snail
		Left	Right	
Midden 1/Cutting 1/Layer 2	28	—	—	3
Midden 1/Cutting 1/Layer 3	113	10	6	16
Midden 1/Cutting 1/Layer 5	1	—	—	—
Midden 1/Cutting 2/Layer 2	—	1	—	—
Midden 1/Cutting 2/Layer 3	17	13	18	12
Midden 1/Cutting 2/Layer 4	—	—	—	12
Total	159	24	24	43
Midden 2/Cutting 1/Layer A	16	9	10	2
Midden 2/Cutting 1/Layer B	14	5	5	4
Midden 2/Cutting 1/Layer C	1	—	—	—
Total	31	14	15	6

than the size of those commonly eaten in modern times, and larger than any of the specimens from fourteenth-century contexts at the Custom House, London, which range up to 8 cm. (Rigby 1974). Oyster (*Ostrea edulis*) was the only other marine species present, in surprisingly low numbers relative to the total of whelk shells. The size of the shells indicated generally young animals, up to four to five years, probably as a result of deliberate selection. Their shapes were round to sub-triangular, with pronounced beaks in several cases, which can be taken as being the result of growth in a not overcrowded, firm sea-bed environment, sometimes subject to erosion due to current-flow (Smith, forthcoming). No traces of opening marks were present, which, combined with the almost exactly equal numbers of left (lower) and right (upper) valves, may imply that the oysters were cooked, perhaps stewed, in their shells. Land-snails, mainly *Helix aspersa* and *Arianta arbustorum*, were the other molluscs to be recovered. These may have been food debris, but the possibility of the shells being the remains of scavengers living on the middens cannot be ruled out.

The large number of whelk shells is of some interest, for Clarendon and Northolt Manor are the only medieval sites (in the literature available to the author) where this species outnumbered oysters and probably contributed more to the diet in terms of meat-weight (table IV). It is difficult to assess the significance of this, for there does not appear to be any correlation between, for instance, the status of the site and the relative contribution of whelks. In fact the most obvious aspect of the shell assemblages in table IV is the very wide variation in the representation of the two species, but tending on most sites

TABLE IV. Minimum numbers of oysters and whelks from various medieval sites in southern England

Site	Date	Oyster	Whelk	% whelk of total	Reference
Melbourne St, Southampton, Site IV	Mid Saxon	9673	39	0.4	Winder 1980
— V	Mid Saxon	476	5	0.1	<i>ibid.</i>
— VI	Mid Saxon	1537	1	<0.1	<i>ibid.</i>
Okehampton Castle, pit 109	C14	246	96	28.1	Backway 1982 Rouillard 1982
— other contexts	C13-16	244	5	0.2	<i>ibid.</i>
Clarendon Palace, midden 1	C13-15	24	159	86.9	This report
— midden 2	C13-15	15	31	67.4	<i>ibid.</i>
Northolt Manor	C11-14	3*	26	89.7	Dance <i>et al.</i> 1961
Westminster Abbey, Misericorde, phase III	C12-13	19*	7	26.9	Locker 1976
— phase IV	C13-15	6*	5	45.5	<i>ibid.</i>
Black Prince's Palace, Kennington	C14-15	343	3	0.9	Dawson 1976, 126
Guy's Hospital, Trench 1	C15-16	259	1	0.4	Dawson 1979, M147-8
— Trench 2	C15-16	86	13	13.1	<i>ibid.</i> , M184

N.B. Oyster totals with asterisks indicate estimates of minimum numbers calculated by dividing the number of valves by two.

to an absolute predominance of oysters, as has been noted by Dawson (1976). The variation in the assemblages is accentuated if other marine mollusca are also taken into account, which has not been done in this case because no other species were present at Clarendon, in itself a factor which places the assemblage apart from most others. Mussel, cockle and winkle are all species that might be expected to have been present. The variation between shell assemblages is so great, in contrast to the much narrower parameters of variation in most animal bone assemblages, that it makes general economic interpretations difficult. Probably the safest conclusion to be drawn for the Clarendon shells is that the middens they came from are formed of specialized food remains not typical of the general refuse deposits found on other sites.

PART V

SYNTHESIS

Before the Middle Ages

THE early history of Clarendon is still not clearly understood. No finds recognized as prehistoric have come from the area of the palace, although the shape of certain ditches lends itself to interpretation as prehistoric. A silver 'British' coin came from Clarendon in the nineteenth century. The handful of Roman coarse-ware sherds and two Roman coins found at Clarendon in the 1930s and in 1961 lend a little support to the mid nineteenth-century theory that there is a Roman site in Clarendon Wood (above, p. 1). However, everything which has been published on the site in the last century discounts such a theory and Mr Hatcher's report of 1845 of a Roman villa at Clarendon remains at best unproven.

The Middle Ages

Clarendon was a hunting lodge and palace frequented by the kings of England from the Conquest to the end of the Middle Ages. Study of the development and decline of Clarendon provides a vivid picture of the activities and tastes of the kings of England and their households. History and archaeology combine to recreate the works carried out on the buildings and thus the interest taken by successive kings in their manor. The Conqueror's hunting-box was on a site in the Wiltshire forest inherited from his Saxon predecessors. Under the three Henrys in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Clarendon became a significant centre of aesthetic achievement, used not only for hunting, but also for business. Henry II enjoyed his royal residences as convenient halts as he hawked and hunted from place to place. To Clarendon he summoned his magnates to the councils from which emerged the famous Constitutions (1164) and Assize (1166) which bear its name. At Clarendon Henry III and his wife Eleanor decorated the palace throughout in the contemporary fashion of painting and sculpture, placing it in the mainstream of the development of European art.

The three Edwards continued the tradition of royal visits to Clarendon. Events of importance to the royal family took place at Clarendon, for example Isabel, eldest daughter of Edward III was born at Clarendon, as was Roger, an illegitimate son of the Black Prince. In particular, Edward III undertook a considerable building programme at Clarendon and he certainly favoured Clarendon Forest for hunting. During all the successes, and later the failures, of the Hundred Years War, the palace was maintained and modernized. We hear, for example, of work in the 'dancing room' in the reign of Richard II and of work in the new stables under Henry IV. English fortunes in the war declined under Henry VI after a brief resurgence under Henry V. It was at Clarendon, when the war was finally lost in 1453, that Henry VI's insanity first manifested itself. In the second half of the fifteenth century the administration of the country ran smoothly despite the Wars of the Roses. Indeed in 1485, the very year of Bosworth Field, officials were able to ensure that the ovens were repaired and tiling was carried out at Clarendon.

Post-medieval activity

The Tudors preferred other palaces such as Henry VII's favourite palace at Sheen, and Henry VIII's palaces at Hampton Court and Greenwich. The palaces of Renaissance England were much more formal in appearance than Clarendon. The carefully planned courtyards of Nonsuch were in striking contrast to the organic, even haphazard, growth of the buildings at Clarendon. Edward IV in his later years had scarcely strayed outside the Thames Valley. The Tudors followed this precedent. They supplemented the stock of residences near London. So Clarendon, like other medieval royal sites, was redundant and, although Queen Elizabeth found shelter from a storm at Clarendon in 1574, the heyday of the palace was long past by then. Of the Clarendon finds, only the Nuremberg token of *c.* 1550 can now be dated with certainty to the sixteenth century.

The gatehouse (2) continued in occupation at least into the seventeenth century. The parliamentary survey of 1650 makes this point clear. There is a good deal in the archaeological record to support the documentary evidence. Post-medieval levels found almost exclusively in the gate house area in the 1930s produced clay pipes amongst other late materials. A clay pipe made by Higgins, probably in Salisbury *c.* 1700, was retrieved by Mr Musty in 1961. The recovery of the seventeenth-century miniature wheel-lock pistol (perhaps used for sounding the hours) from an unknown location at Clarendon is a bonus. How a Coronation medallion of William and Mary of 1689 found its way to Clarendon remains a mystery, although from the hole bored in the piece it was probably an amulet lost at the site rather than a deposit of any historical significance. Otherwise the post-medieval finds from Clarendon include shoe buckles and a series of wine, beer and lemonade bottle fragments which date intermittently from the late seventeenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century. All these finds are monuments to the continuing interest of antiquaries, archaeologists such as those who dug with Sir Thomas Phillipps in 1821, casual visitors and those with less elevated interests who robbed stonework and tiles from the site between the late seventeenth century and the present time.

Archaeology and artefacts

We now know much about the materials and decorative schemes employed at Clarendon from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. The specialist reports and the scientific analysis of the artefacts recovered from the site do much to fill out what was surmised in the 1930s. The fragments of sculptured stone are of especial richness, although whether they came from the king's chapel or, as has been suggested elsewhere, from a secular setting is unknown. The ironwork and copper-alloy collections include diverse pieces of particularly high quality, for example unusual copper-alloy plated hunting arrowheads and finely worked bridle-bosses. Tiny fragments of silver thread, silk and felt, perhaps from a saddle, provide the merest glimpse of quality furnishings associated with the medieval palace. The gilding of the lead stars, plaster and stonework from the royal suites is clearly established. More is now known of the different pigments used in the colour schemes and the striking discovery that blue pigmentation applied to plaster was derived from crushed lapis lazuli from Afghanistan sets the seal on the status and quality of the works at Clarendon. Analysis of pigments from paint receptacles recovered from the Antioch chamber strongly suggests these blue and red colours were used in manuscript illumination, and so perhaps casts further light on writing activities

associated with the king's wardrobe, to which supplies of wax for documentary sealings were sent. So far the discoveries from Clarendon have been small in number, but highly significant in type and form.

The collection of thirteenth-century floor tiles is at present the most considerable evidence of the artistic decoration of Clarendon in the Middle Ages. The discovery and eventual excavation, conservation and display of the Clarendon floor-tile kiln are reported here in detail for the first time. Mrs Eames shows that the tiles are amongst the earliest found in England, which gives them a unique place in such studies. In addition, the recovery of the substantial remains of one, and indications that there were at least two other, circular pavements at Clarendon are of great importance. The pavement from the king's chapel is now correctly reconstructed and can be seen in the British Museum Medieval Tile and Pottery Room, together with the kiln and the tile pavement from the queen's chamber and other Clarendon materials including roof tiles and pottery. However, by no means all the answers to questions about the Clarendon tile assemblage have yet been answered. Tantalizingly, right at the end of the 1930s campaign of excavations in the summer of 1939, wasters from a second kiln were recovered from the site. Not only is it therefore likely that at least one further kiln remains to be found at Clarendon, but in addition no tiles identical to the 1939 waster group have yet been found in archaeological contexts at Clarendon, other than amongst the wasters.

Evidence can now be adduced of everyday life on the manor. Domestic utensils such as knives, metal dish-rims from wooden plates, a wealth of pottery vessels and a quern fragment are reported above. Fragments of a rare fourteenth-century green wine glass are a further reminder of the quality of life at Clarendon. We have only a small sample of faunal remains from the site, excavated by Mrs Eames and Mr Musty, but even from these some tentative statements are hazarded about diet and the ages and types of animals and birds eaten. A range of meats including red and fallow deer venison, veal and sucking pig was consumed at the palace, as well as marine molluscs and fish. Preliminary remarks can be ventured about the different quality of meats consumed across the manorial complex. Nothing is yet known of seeds or pollen from the site. Tools, including a sickle blade, bring the outdoor activities of the manor to life while the collection of lock furniture and keys may derive in part at least from the manor's function as a prison for forest offenders. A mass of material – stone, ironwork, tiles and plasterwork as well as painted glass and ventilators from windows – provides information about the high quality of the building stock and the skills of the builders.

But there is undoubtedly much to be learnt yet from the documentary and archaeological records of Clarendon. The groups of finds so far recovered from the site raise quite as many questions as they answer. For example, it is a mystery at present as to why the considerable corpus of pottery excavated from Clarendon represents such a narrow chronological band, from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The suggestion certainly is that levels of the site containing earlier pottery and areas of the site from which later pottery might come remain to be investigated. The preparation of this volume has unearthed ample evidence that there are considerable early levels yet to be explored, such as the material which was found in stratigraphic layers down to almost 6 ft. 6 in. (2 m.) below one of the pier bases in the great hall (5) and in the area of the king's chambers (7). In both these areas substantial evidence of earlier structures was found. The great courtyard (6), apart from the occasional foray such as that which revealed the tile wasters from the kiln (41), has never been investigated. Undoub-

tedly the well lies in this area and it seems highly likely that early structures on the site were here. This hypothesis is supported by documentary references to the 'old hall', which seems to have been towards the south of the site. The structure (6b) which seemed to be in the right area to have once been the 'old hall' turns out to be, as far as is now known, a thirteenth-century structure. Whether an earlier hall lies below it is not at present known. The great hall (5) undoubtedly originated in the twelfth century. Further indications of the rearrangement of the buildings at Clarendon include the apparently different alignments of structures underlying later buildings on the site and the way in which the later buildings spilled over the edge of the northern scarp. These buildings, including the great hall (5) and the north kitchen (4e), eventually partially collapsed down the slope. Other buildings along the scarp had to be heavily buttressed to prevent such an occurrence, as in the case of the Antioch chamber (8) and the queen's northern chamber (10a).

The painstaking work of archaeologists and specialists in recreating what we now know of Clarendon has breathed new life into the abandoned remains. In the Middle Ages the palace was a thriving community for four centuries and more. Here the royal household came for pleasure and for business. The hunting of forest animals such as deer for the table or wolves, as well as the enjoyment of falconry, bring the function of Clarendon as a hunting centre into sharp focus. The work of the kitchens and of manorial life at Clarendon in general are now better understood from the study of the bones of animals and birds, and other domestic remains, recovered from the site. The fine collection of shells contributes to our knowledge of the diet of the wealthy in the Middle Ages. Hints of pastimes in the palace can be derived from documentary and archaeological evidence. Richard II's dancing room contrasts with the recovery of dice and a Jew's harp from the site. The names of many officials at Clarendon, in addition to the identity of members of the royal household and the lords of church and state who visited, have come down to us. The quarrel which was to lead to the untimely death of Archbishop Becket in 1170 dated back in part to events at Clarendon in the previous decade.

However, it is the buildings, now picturesque ruins, which have provided most material in the archaeological and historical record. The whitewashed walls of the palace, at different times under shingled or tiled roofs, must have made a striking contrast to the greens and browns of the forest. The lavish interior decoration of mural paintings employing shades of blue and green, red, yellow and white on walls and ceilings was enhanced by fine stone carvings, coloured glass and exceptional tiled floors in the royal suites. Materials and skills from far and near were brought to Clarendon, which for a time shared its workforce and numerous architectural details with the nearby cathedral at Salisbury. Fragments of imported pottery from northern Europe and the Mediterranean, foreign coins and high-quality materials including silk and azurite from overseas bear witness to the widespread connections of this great site.

The future

Only Westminster, Clarendon and Woodstock palaces remained in royal hands throughout the Middle Ages. Woodstock was landscaped out of existence by an unwilling Sir John Vanbrugh and by Capability Brown in works at Blenheim in the early eighteenth century. Westminster retains its hall and abbey church, but the other medieval buildings were largely destroyed in the nineteenth century. Only Clarendon still provides an opportunity to study a

prime medieval royal palace in its landscape context. Excavation at Clarendon in the nineteenth century and in the 1930s left stonework exposed. Stukeley in 1723 and Buckler in 1805 had also found much stonework still visible. During the 1930s the site was very largely cleared of vegetation and large areas were laid down to grass, as contemporary photographs show (pls. VIIIa and XXVa). Much repointing was done and consolidation was carried out to many walls, as much for safety on site as for visual effect. The overgrowth since the 1930s is very considerable, as Mrs Eames found in her work at Clarendon in the 1950s, for example in her discovery that tree roots had damaged the tile pavement in the queen's chamber. However, the trees which now cover the site could be removed and the site displayed to excellent effect. Mr Musty's photograph of the great hall (pl. XXIXa) in 1961 shows just how much clearance could be achieved by voluntary effort, during breaks from excavation. The finds from the site are now reported in full for the first time, together with all the work which has been done on the site over the last fifty years and more.

When Dr Borenius and Mr Charlton began work in 1933, Borenius reported to the Antiquaries that Clarendon is 'a site in a thousand'. In 1934 he expressed the hope that the day was then not distant when Clarendon would be 'rescued from oblivion, and a page restored to the history of England which had been so violently and needlessly torn out of it'. In 1937 the *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post* carried a spread of pictures of work at Clarendon, and expressed astonishment that so little should be known about so great a site. The report concluded: 'The men digging it will, when their work is finished, have given the country an historical monument of which future generations will not again lose sight' (27 August 1937). We owe it to the many who have been involved with Clarendon over the years, not only to the archaeologists, historians and specialists who have elucidated what we now know of the site, but also to the unemployed men who camped at Alderbury and who cleared the site in the 1930s, that what has now been achieved should be kept in the public eye in perpetuity, together with other great archaeological sites and architectural glories of national importance.

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PLATE I



a. William Stukeley's view of Clarendon, August 1723, looking north over open downland. Early maps show the palace ruins to have been still surrounded by forest to the south



Photograph: Courtauld Institute

b. John Buckler's impressionistic water-colour of 1805, 'Ruins of Clarendon Palace near Sarum, Wiltshire', which shows the east gable of the great hall (5)



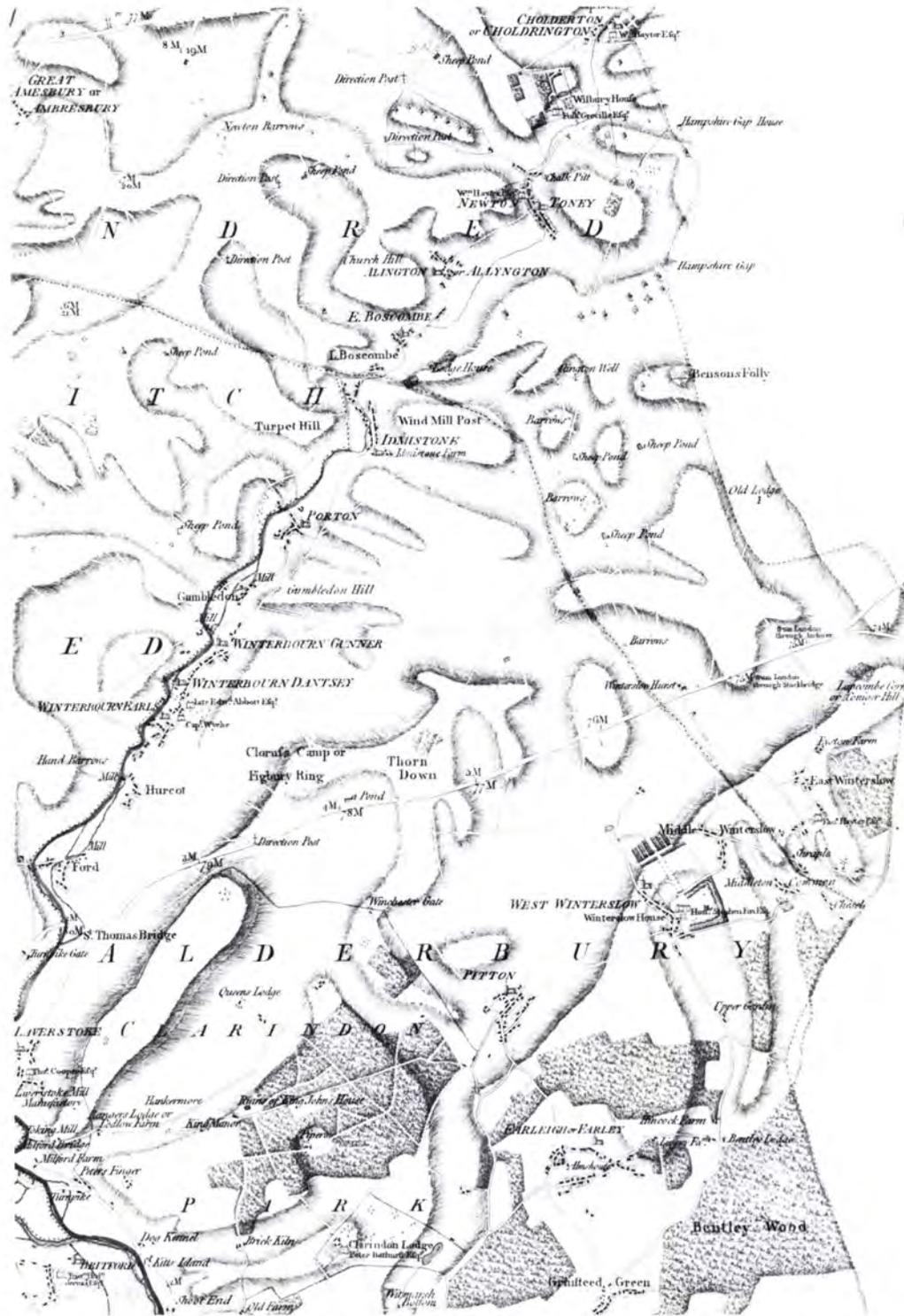
a



b

- a. The 'Protestant Fragment'. Sir F.H.H. Bathurst's inscription of 1844 which begins 'The building of which this fragment once formed a part . . .'
- b. The estate map of c. 1640. Clarendon Park, with the surrounding park pale and deer leaps, is clearly defined, and the individual copses and woods are named. The site of the palace ruins is indicated by an arrow

PLATE III



The Andrews and Dury Map (no. 6) of 1773 in Devizes Museum, showing the palace in open downland, but surrounded by forest

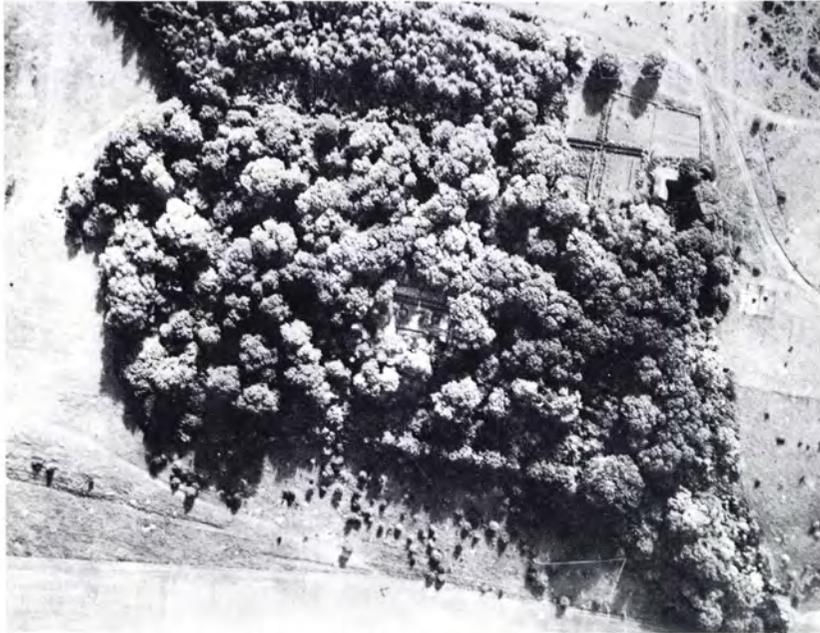
Photograph: Devizes Museum



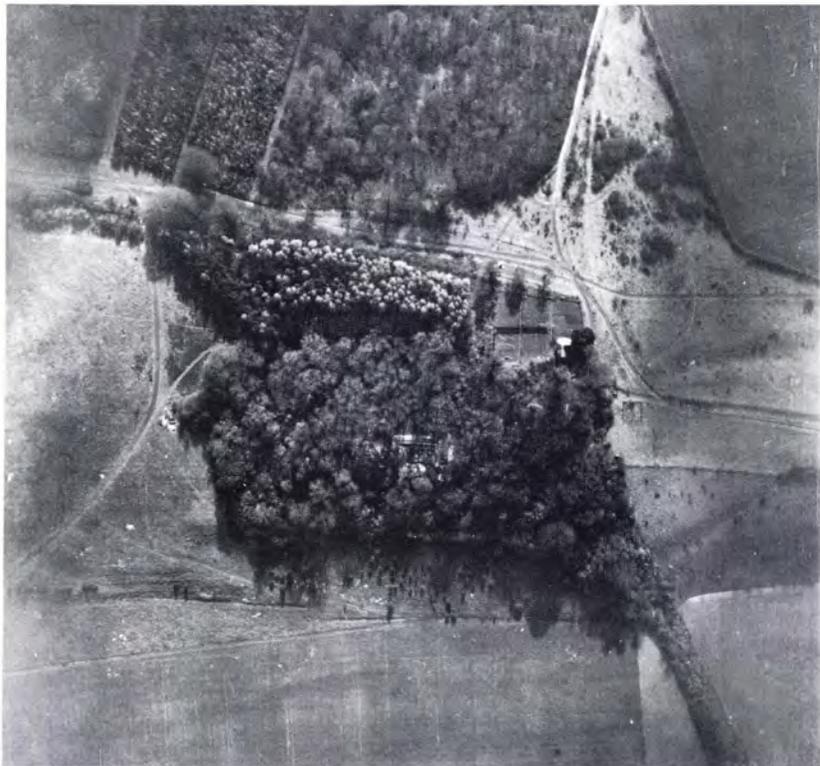
Reconstruction drawing, looking north-west, by Alan Sorrell. Compare this with Allan Adams's reconstructions, figs. 14-15

Photograph: Peter Jacobs

PLATE V



a. Aerial view from the north, October 1933. Note the pillar bases of the great hall (5) and the work on 16, part of the 'Gothic Suite' on the eastern perimeter (extreme left)



b. Aerial view from the north, perhaps 1 February 1935, to illustrate work up to the end of the 1934 season

Photographs: R.A.F.

PLATE VI



Aerial view from the north-east, 6 November 1935. Note work in progress on the western entrance (2), the north-west range (3) and the kitchen area (4) as well as on the east of the site (16 and 17)

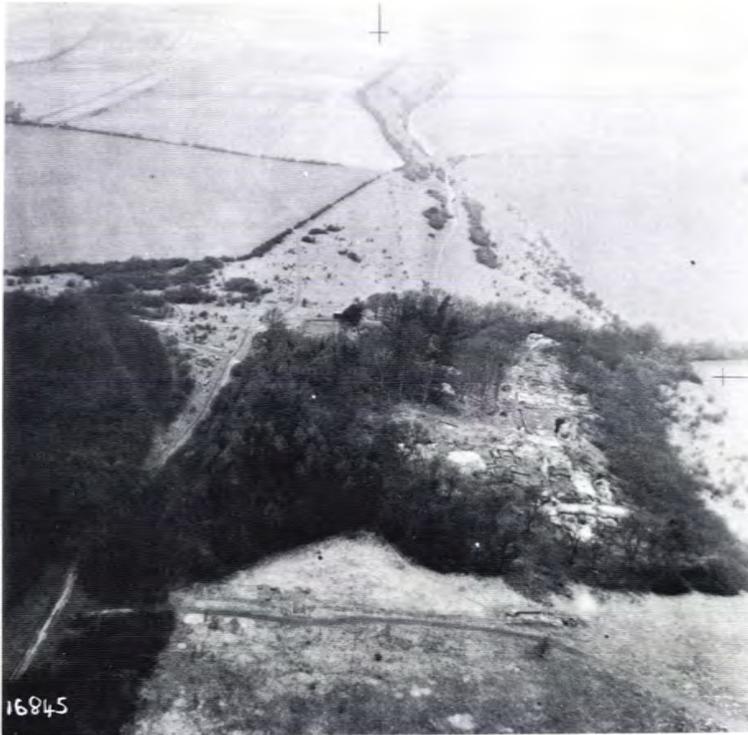
Photograph: R.A.F.

PLATE VII



Aerial view from the north-west, winter, probably 1937

Photograph: R.A.F.



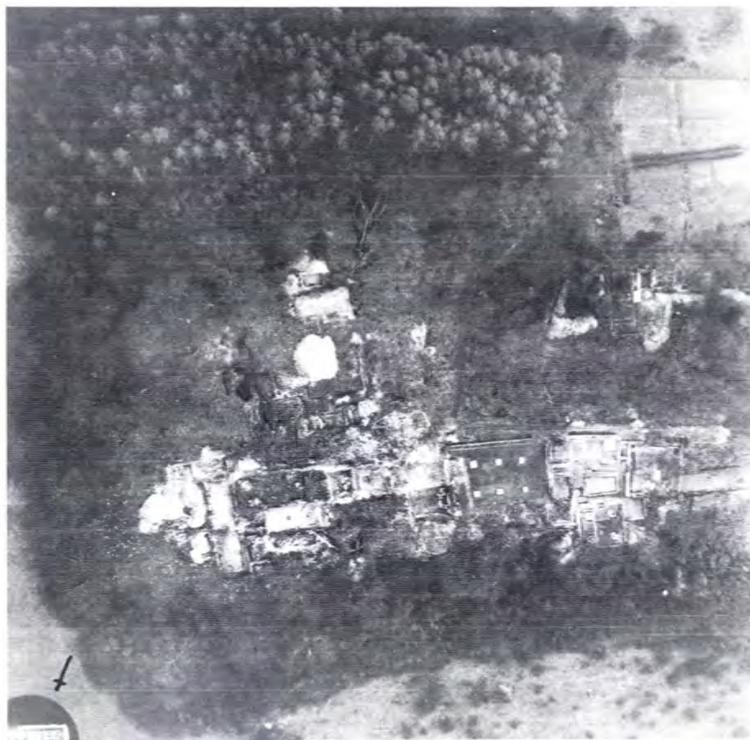
a



b

a-b. Aerial photographs taken at 10.00 a.m. on 10 March 1938 from the east show the site largely cleared of trees, with the great hall (5) and the kitchen areas (4) grassed over and displayed

Photographs: R.A.F.



a



b

a-b. Aerial photographs taken at 3 p.m. and 3.30 p.m. on 10 March 1938 from overhead show detail of progress on the main part of the site. Note in *a* the kiln (4l) covered over in the salsary (4k), and the tile pavement covered over in the queen's apartments (10a). The railway for the removal of spoil is seen to the south of the great hall (5). In *b* the overall picture including the eastern and western ranges can be seen

Photographs: R.A.F.

PLATE X



a. Dr Borenus standing on the park pale, or deer leap



Photograph: Ken Grinstead

b. The ditch at the south-east corner of the perimeter, 1961



a



b

a. The trench dug in 1961 on the north lip of the ditch at the south-east corner of the perimeter

b. Looking east along the south perimeter wall (**rd**), towards the cuttings at the south-east corner, 1961 (see fig. 16)

Photographs: Ken Grinstead

PLATE XII



a. View to the west



b. View to the north-west

Two views along the south perimeter wall (**1d**); the wall appears as an earth bank, 1984

Photographs: A.M. Robinson



a



b

a. Looking north towards the south perimeter wall (**1d**). Note the medieval rutted road in front of the wall and, to the east, the extension of the wall with its ashlar end visible, 1961

b. Looking west from the ashlar end of the extended south perimeter wall. Note the stub of the oblique wall, lowered to the bottom course of flints, to the north of the ashlar work, 1961 (see figs. 16 and 17)

Photographs: Ken Grinstead

PLATE XIV



a



b

a-b. Two views of the terrace (ii), below the great hall (5), where the north wall of the hall collapsed, looking east, 1984

Photographs: A.M. Robinson



a. Corner of the terrace (ii) on the northern perimeter, looking north-west, 1961



b. Retaining wall of the terrace (ii) on the northern perimeter, looking south, 1961

Photographs: Ken Grinstead



a



c



b

a. Western entrance (2). View to the south-east across structures 2a and 2c. Note the ashlar weathering indicating that the entrance was once flanked by a single wall

b. Water-leaf chamfer-stop stones in western range

c. Fireplace in north-west range, looking north (see figs. 6, 7)

PLATE XVII



a. The kitchen cloister courtyard (**4a**) and alleys, looking east. Note the soakaway slightly to the north of the centre of the courtyard area



b. The kitchen cloister courtyard (**4a**) from the north-west. Ashlar fragments of steps can be seen in both the southern and eastern stairways

PLATE XVIII



a. The three entrances from the great hall (5) into the servery/buttery rooms (4b and 4c)



b. The north kitchen (4e), looking north. The four pillar bases can be seen, and also the wide chamfer of the threshold

PLATE XIX



a. The north kitchen (4e), looking east. Rubble indicating the collapse of the north of the great hall (5) can clearly be seen



b. The west wall of the *herlebecheria* (4f), showing what was described in the 1930s as 'Edwardian rebuilding'. Note two-foot rule against the wall

PLATE XX



a. Ashlar entrance to the west kitchen (**4h**), looking south-west. The rebate is formed by projecting blocks of masonry. Diagonal tooling is clearly visible



b. The west kitchen (**4h**), looking west. Note the position of the free-standing fireplace. The angled entrance to the *herlebecheria* (**4f**) from the courtyard can also be seen towards the right-hand margin

PLATE XXI

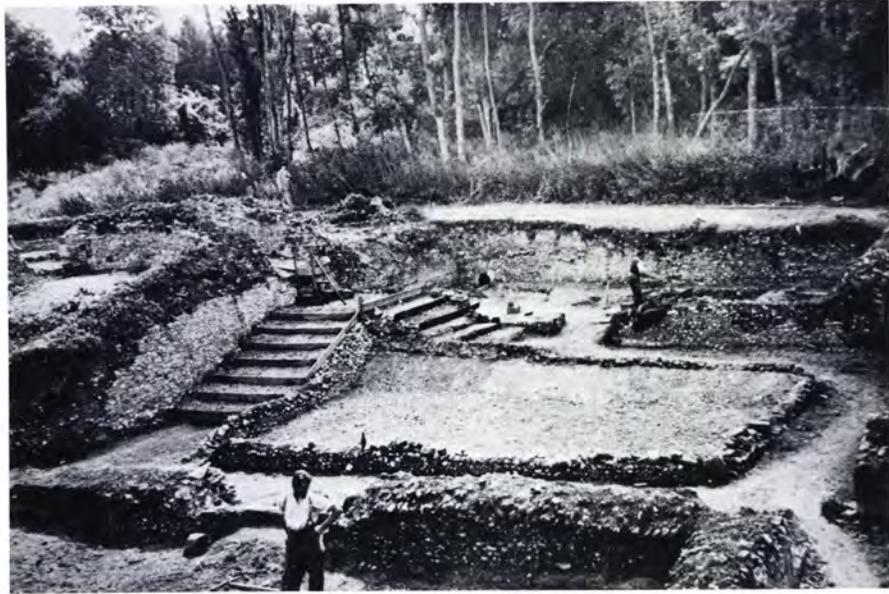


a. The west kitchen (**4h**), looking east. Note the offset at ground level in the north-east corner of the room



b. The west kitchen (**4h**): tiled fireplace in north wall

PLATE XXII



a. The salsary (**4k**), looking south-east. The difference in levels between the great courtyard (**6**) and the floor of the salsary is most striking



b. View from the kitchen court (**4a**) looking south-east into the salsary (**4k**)

PLATE XXIII



a. The arch, possibly a drain or water channel, in the south-east corner of the salsary (4k)



b. The north-west corner of the salsary (4k), showing at least two floor levels

PLATE XXIV



a. The south-west area of the salsary (**4k**), showing floor levels overlying the kiln (**4l**)



b. The salsary (**4k**): excavating the eastern padstone or pillar base. Note how the section shows how the padstone and its foundation cut through earlier packing of the floor



a



b



c

- a. The great hall (5) in 1936, looking east towards the east wall and the Protestant Fragment
- b. East end of the great hall: detail of the corbel, 1984
- c. East end of the great hall, partially cleared of ivy, with the corbel exposed, 1984

Photographs: b-c, A.M. Robinson



a. The south wall of the great hall (5), looking east during 1933. Note two-foot rule in the foreground



b. Probably the south-east entrance to the great hall (5), under excavation in 1933

PLATE XXVII



a. The south porch (**5b**) of the great hall (**5**), looking north-west. The broken face of the only stone surviving above the base course is seen in the centre of the picture (cf. below, *b*)



b. The south porch (**5b**), looking south-east from inside, showing the chamfered plinth and column base. The double skin and core filling construction is clearly seen



a

- a.* The south porch (**5b**), looking south
- b.* The early corbel for supporting the northern arcade, discovered in the east wall of the great hall (**5**) in April 1936

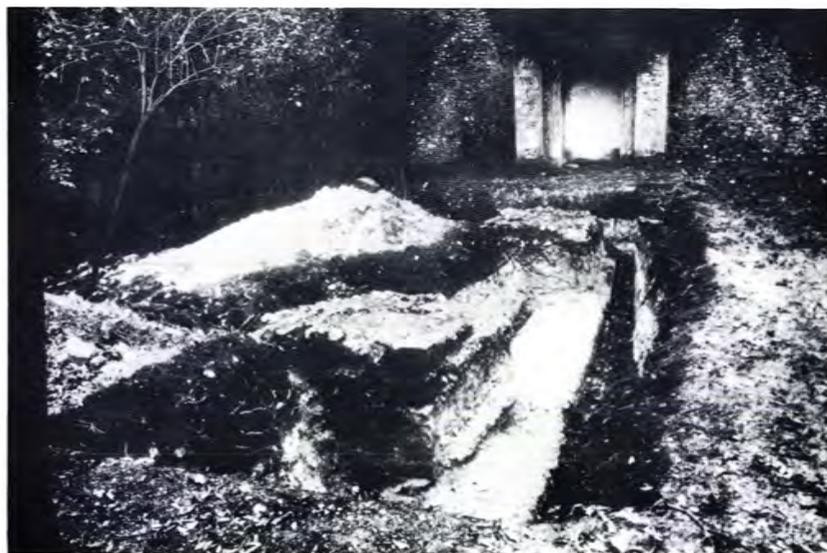


b



a

Photograph: Ken Grinstead



b

a. The southern pillar bases of the great hall (5), looking east, after clearance in 1961

b. Detail of work on the 'strong wall' (5a) in 1933. The difference between the alignment of the wall and the hall pillar bases is clearly seen

c. Work in 1933 on the 'strong wall' (5a) beneath the northern pillar bases in the great hall (5), looking east

PLATE XXX



a. The great courtyard: the fireplace in **6a** with water-leaf mouldings and chamfered hearth kerb



b. The king's chambers: probably a view of the solar (**7h** and **7g**), looking north-east



a



b

- a.* The king's chambers: the 'basement' (**7a**) east of the great hall (**5**)
- b.* The Antioch chamber (**8**), looking north-east, photographed in September 1936



a



b



c

Photograph: A.M. Robinson

a. The western of the two central buttresses (**8a**) which supported the Antioch chamber (**8**), to the south-west. The fine chamfered weathering courses and the plaster coating of the rubble wall show clearly

b. Detail of ashlar corner and tile lacing at **8b**, the angled wall between the Antioch chamber and the northern garderobe

c. Area **8a** in 1984



a



c



b

a. The Antioch chamber (8) from the south-east in the 1930s to show the remains of the western antechamber

b. Detail of eastern pillar base in the Antioch chamber, to the north

c. The same view as *a*, in 1984. Tree growth is not substantial

Photographs: b-c, A.M. Robinson

PLATE XXXIV



a. The area east of the great hall, looking west, in 1936, showing the wall and associated features between **7b** and **7e** (see fig. 23)



b. Red false jointing painted on a white plastered ground in the western antechamber to the Antioch chamber (8)

PLATE XXXV

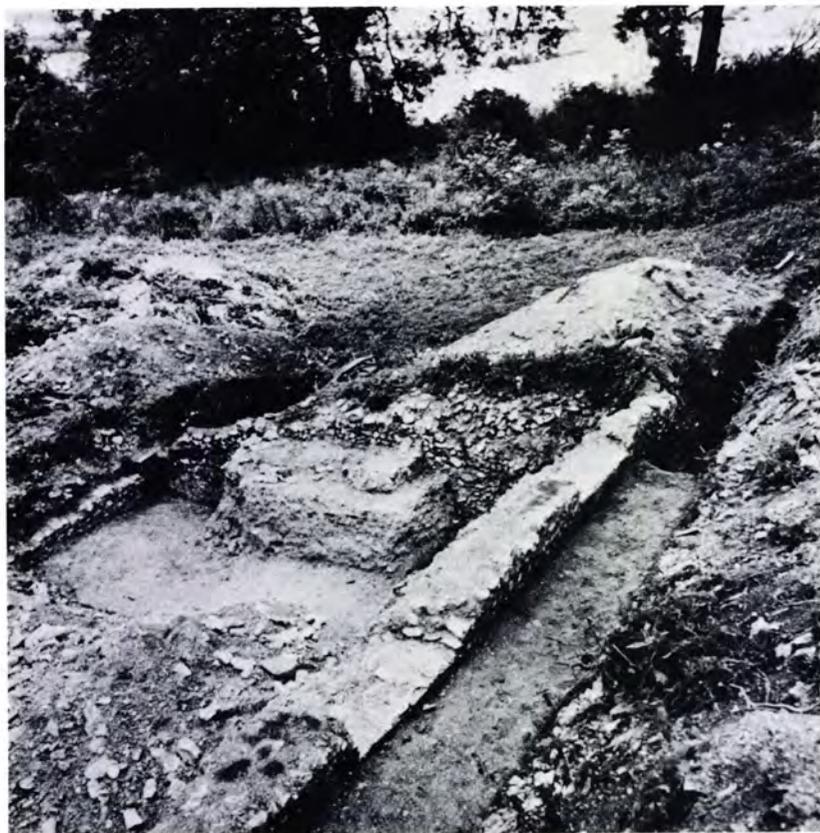


a. Entrance to the queen's chambers (**IO**), looking west, the junction of **IOa** and **IOb**. In the foreground is the north wall of **IOb** and the south wall of **IOa**



b. The queen's central chamber (**IOb**), looking north-west

PLATE XXXVI



Photograph: Madame A-M. Borenius

a. A snapshot of **IOc**, the queen's 'chapel', looking north-east, in 1939



b. The excavators recorded that a layer of tile matrices sat on top of a filling containing fragments of wall plaster in **IOc**



a

Photograph: A.M. Robinson



b



c

- a.* Building **IIf**, looking south-west, 1984
- b.* Collapsed fireplace arch in the brick kitchen (**IId**)
- c.* A view from the brick kitchen (**IId**) into the courtyard beyond

PLATE XXXVIII



a. Dr and Madame Borenus, probably in 1933, in the cellar area (**12c**) before excavation; view to the south. The vaulting between **12c** and **12d** can be seen towards the west



b. Dr and Madame Borenus at Clarendon in 1938 (*Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*)



c. Trenching the east side of the cellar stair (**12b**), 26 September 1938

PLATE XXXIX



a. Close-up of the robbed upper range of the cellar stair (**12b**), showing the width of the stair,
26 September 1938



b. The whole lower stair exposed, and the sections in **12c**

PLATE XL



a. Clearing the cellar (**12c**) to the south; making a sondage



b. The fine ashlar blocks and steps of the cellar stair (**12b**)



a



b

a-b. Two views of the cellar stair (**12b**) in the 1980s: *a*, view to the northwest; *b*, detail of cellar steps

c. The lower steps with the door-post holes and grille holes (**12b/c**) in the 1930s

Photographs: a-b, A.M. Robinson



c

PLATE XLII



a. The door-post holes and the threshold (**12b/c**)



b. Work on the barrel vault between **12c** and **12d**
The cellars



a

Photograph: David Jarrett

- a.* The barrel vault between **12c** and **12d**, in 1978 (cf. pl. XLII*b*)
 - b.* A recess for a lamp at the foot of the stairs in **12c**, 26 September 1938
- The cellars



b

PLATE XLIV



a. View to the west, with the 'Gamekeeper's Cottage' in the background



b. View to the east, towards the eastern perimeter open down area (14 and 17). The two figures to the left are Sir Bruce Richmond, founder of *The Times Literary Supplement*, and Lady Richmond. The lone figure is Mr Elliott, a Scots site worker (also to be seen in pl. XXVIa)

Two views of excavation of a building in the southern range (13f)

PLATE XLV



Photograph: A.M. Robinson

- a. View in 1984 to the south-west across area **15**. No records survive of the excavation of this area



- b. The 'Gothic Suite', probably in 1933. View to the south-east showing **16a** with the pointed arch, and **16b** to the south



a



b

a. Eastern perimeter buildings (**16b**) showing tiled ovens or fireplaces

b. Detail of bakehouse or circular oven at southern extremity of **16b** with tile-on-edge construction in foreground backed by herringbone lacing, and a flat, tiled oven beyond

c. Eastern perimeter buildings: detail of **16a** in 1933. The bones include red deer, ox and possibly sheep or goat (above, pp. 260–1).



c



a

a. The excavated salsary (**4k**) and tile kiln (**4l**), 1937

b. The rear of the tile kiln during excavation, 1937, showing the floor of the salsary partly removed and partly cut back



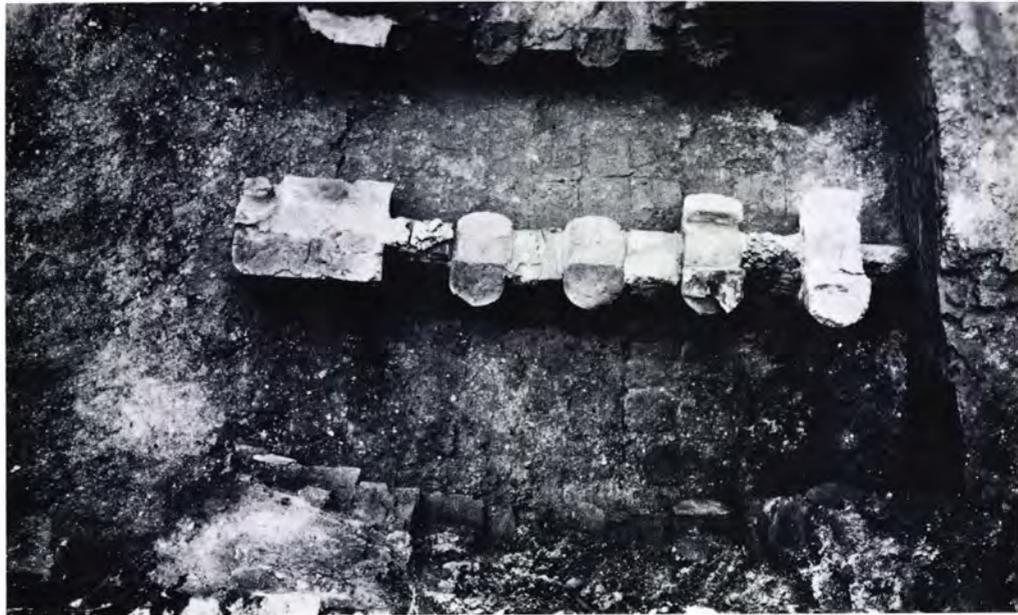
b

*Photograph: Duke of Rutland's Collection, British Museum
Copyright: British Museum*

PLATE XLVIII



a. The tile kiln after excavation in 1937, seen from the north-east



b. Detail of the interior of the tile kiln after excavation in 1937

PLATE XLIX



b. View from the south-east



a. View from the stoke-pit

The tile kiln re-excavated in 1964

Copyright: British Museum



a



b

a. One of the voussoirs used to construct the furnace arches, with areas of clay bonding adhering to the surface ($\frac{1}{2}$)

b. Pieces of roof tile and clay bonding from the walls of the kiln and one piece of flint from the backing of the wall ($\frac{2}{3}$)

c. Piece of oven floor composed of roof tiles with remains of vertically placed tile slabs used as the bottom layer of the tile stacks in the oven ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Copyright: British Museum



c

PLATE LI



a. Madame Borenius with Major S. V. Christie-Miller and Mrs Elizabeth Eames examining the decayed kiln structure in 1964



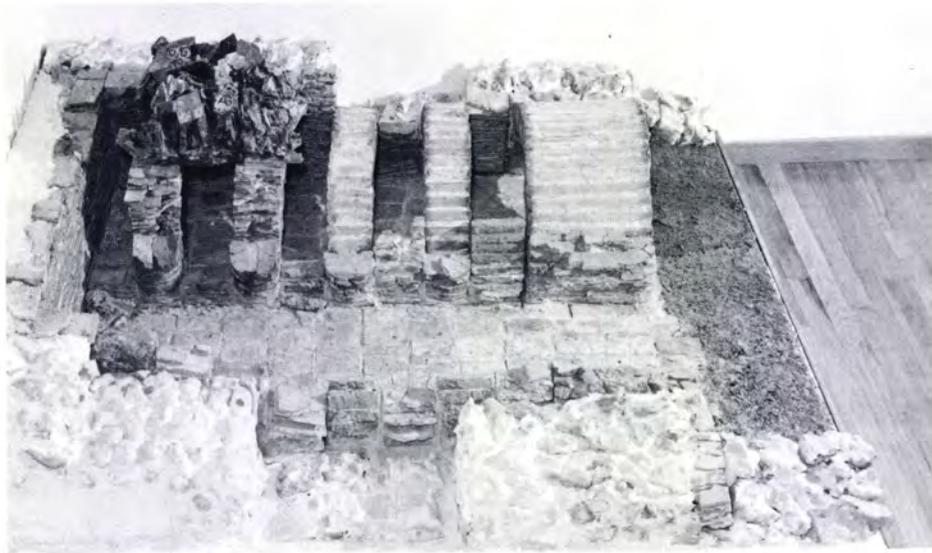
b. The cased rear wall of the tile kiln being fork-lifted out of the site, 1964

Copyright: British Museum

PLATE LII



a



b

a-b. The reconstructed tile kiln exhibited in the Medieval Tile Room, British Museum, 1973: *a*, from the front; *b*, from the side

Copyright: British Museum



a. The queen's chamber pavement restored and exhibited in the British Museum, 1973



b. The reassembled segments of the circular pavement from the king's chapel (9) displayed in the British Museum

Copyright: British Museum

PLATE LIV



a. The remains of the queen's chamber pavement *in situ*, in **10a**, 1937. The damage caused by a burning joist that presumably fell from the room above is visible near the top right-hand corner



b. The Antioch chamber showing a few tiles remaining *in situ*, ?1936

PLATE LV



a. Tile decorated with a knight remaining *in situ* vertically at the end of a 'bench' in the south building (**rod**) of the queen's apartments, 1938



b. Matrices of tiles in the mortar bed of the floor in the south building (**rod**) of the queen's apartments in 1938. The vertical tile shown in *a* is just visible at the bottom left-hand side

PLATE LVI



a. The paint palettes: a scallop shell containing azurite and the base of a broken pottery vessel containing minium



b. Group of reconstructed Laverstock vessels from Clarendon in the British Museum

Photographs: a, Peter Jacobs; b, A.M. Robinson

PLATE LVII



a



b

a-b. Five medieval coins (*a* obverse, *b* reverse): left, centre left, and centre, pennies of Edward I and ?Edward III; centre right, denier of Guillaume, count of Namur; right, penny of Robert II, king of Scots ($\frac{3}{2}$)



c



d

c-d. Jetton, counter and token (*c* obverse, *d* reverse) ($\frac{2}{1}$)

Salisbury Museum

Photographs: Peter Jacobs

PLATE LVIII



a



b

a-b. The coronation medallion of William and Mary (1689) ($\frac{3}{2}$)



c. A seventeenth-century copper-alloy miniature wheel-lock pistol (actual length 115 mm.)

Salisbury Museum

Photographs: Peter Jacobs



a. Comes: type A (on right) enclosing a pane of painted glass, and type B (fig. 85, no. 1) framing fragments of lead ventilators ($\frac{1}{2}$)

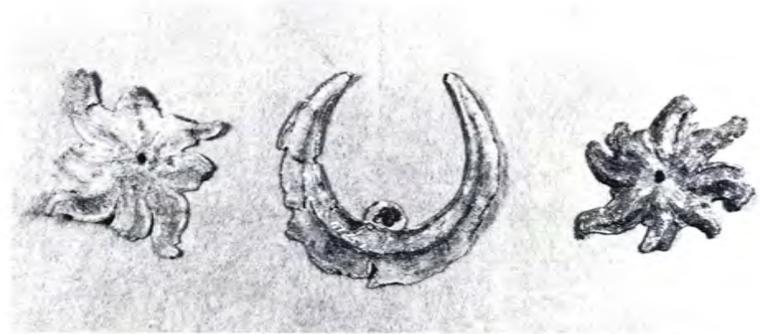
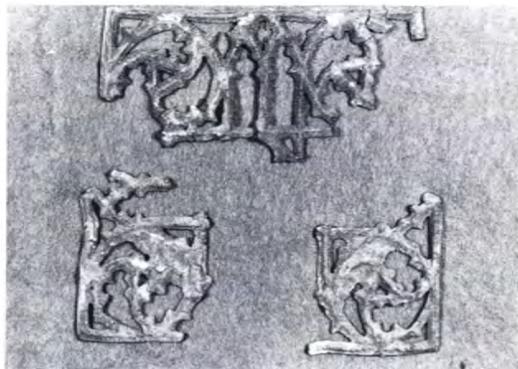


fig. 85, no. 2

fig. 86, no. 7

fig. 85, no. 3

b. Two eight-pointed stars and a lead crescent ($\frac{1}{2}$)



c

c. Miscellaneous fragments of lead ventilators arranged to indicate the scale of a complete ventilator ($\frac{1}{2}$)

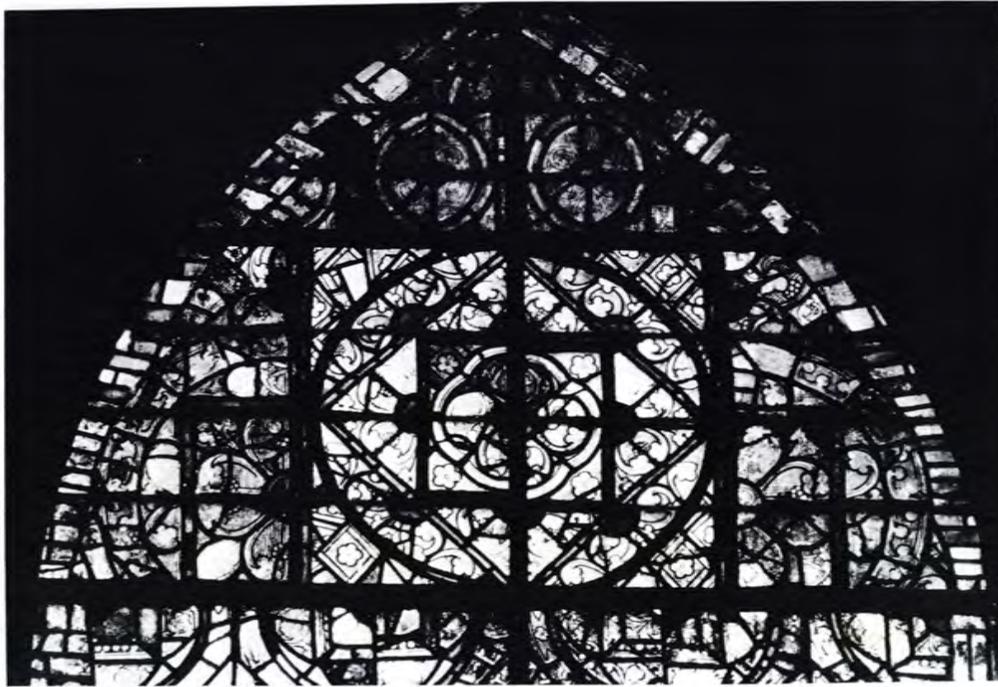


d

d. Lead ingot, caulking and melted and re-formed fragments ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Salisbury Museum

Photographs: Peter Jacobs



Photograph: Courtauld Institute

a. A *grisaille* window in Salisbury Cathedral illustrating parallels with fragments of *grisaille* window glass from Clarendon (see fig. 87)



b. Purbeck column and capital

PLATE LXI



a. Cat's head springer (Stonework no. 46)



b. Floral boss (Stonework, no. 51)

Photographs: Courtauld Institute

PLATE LXII



Photograph: Peter Jacobs

Gothic head of a youth (Stonework, no. 66), dated by Dr Borenus to *c.* 1230
(see also frontispiece)

PLATE LXIII



a. Trunk and left hand (Stonework, no. 67)



b. Figure with mace (Stonework, no. 68)

Photographs: Courtauld Institute



a. Reclining figure on festooned bed (Stonework, no. 69)



b. Legs and drapery (Stonework, no. 70)

Photographs: Courtauld Institute



a. Feathered siren (Stonework, no. 71)



b. Angel's wing (Stonework, no. 73)

Photographs: Courtauld Institute

PLATE LXVI



a. Collection of plaster fragments (now lost) on which human hands, drapery and laticework designs can be seen



Photograph: Peter Jacobs

b. Nine fragments of metal thread, probably sewn to some type of furnishing, perhaps a saddle ($\frac{6}{5}$)