The Romano-British Villa and Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Eccles, Kent

Nick Stoodley and Stephen R. Cosh

This book is dedicated to the memory of William and Edith Oldham.

The copper alloy buckle from Burial K19.

The Romano-British Villa and Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Eccles, Kent

A summary of the excavations by Alec Detsicas with a consideration of the archaeological, historical and linguistic context

Nick Stoodley and Stephen R. Cosh

with contributions by
Jillian Hawkins and Courtnay Konshuh

Cover: A reconstruction of the Eccles Roman villa by Stephen R. Cosh and a pair of shears from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Nick Stoodley

Aylesford, Eccles and the Medway Valley

The village of Eccles, Kent, is situated in the lower Medway valley on the river's east bank. It lies on the edge of the North Downs, in the fertile strip of the Holmesdale. Eccles is part of the parish of Aylesford, lying 1.5km north of the village's centre and the same distance east of the river (Figure 1.1). The village is surrounded by arable farmland, and a reservoir is located a short distance to the north west. Burham parish is to the north of Eccles, and on the opposing bank of the Medway, are the parishes of Snodland and East Malling.

The earliest known mention of the place-name Eccles is in the regulations for the repair of the bridge at Rochester, AD *c.* 975, *of æclesse*. In Domesday Book it is given as *Aiglessa*, *Eclesse* from 1166 and from 1208 Eccles (Cameron 1977: 1) (see below pp204-205). Listed as a manor in 1086, Eccles declined in importance, but the name must have continued locally, as on the Fryars estate plan of 1700 (Figure 1.2) 'Eccles Field' and several other 'Eccles' places are marked. The modern village of Eccles dates to the mid-19th century when the famous Victorian builder Thomas Cubitt erected a brick and cement works at Burham (Hann 2009: 111). The owner of Rowe Place Farm, Thomas Abbott, established a small housing development (Eccles Row) a short distance to the north of his farm for Cubitt's workers (first shown on the Ordnance Survey County Series for Kent, 1868-1876). It was subsequently enlarged during the latter part of the century (Hann 2009: 111) (Ordinance Survey County Series for Kent, 1896), and the newly created village was called Eccles. Burham brick and cement works was responsible for supplying bricks to developments in London and elsewhere in southern England (Hann 2009: 111). However, the exploitation of the area's natural resources for construction projects was nothing new. In particular, the upper Medway valley had had an important role in supplying London with building material from the earliest Roman period onwards (Detsicas 1983: 169; Elliot 2017: 108-119).

The modern settlement of Eccles is situated over a varied geology. The north half of the village overlies chalk of the West Melbury Marly Formation, the southern half is over Mudstone (Gault Formation) (Geology of Britain viewer: http://mapapps.bgs.ac.uk/geologyofbritain/home.html). The village and much of the surrounding area, especially to the east is covered with Head (clay, silt, sand and gravel) deposits, although to the south River Terrace deposits are found. Most of the soil cover is of a freely draining lime-rich loamy soil (Soilscape 5, see Soilscapes viewer: http://www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes/, and Table 4.9 for key), which is suitable for arable farming, especially the production of spring- and autumn-sown cereals and other crops, including grass. The western part of the village is closer to the river and consequently extends over a lower-lying area, one that is characterised by slightly acid, but base-rich loamy and clayey soils which are slowly permeable and seasonally wet. With impeded drainage and moderate fertility (Soilscape 18), it is more suited to supporting livestock, with grass and cereals cultivated for feed. The area, therefore, exploits a range of natural resources, and it is no surprise that before Eccles' development in the 19th century it was devoted to agriculture.

In earlier times the Medway would have run closer to Eccles, but the industrialisation of the valley resulted in changes to the landscape around the village, especially to the course of the river. In response to increased silting, embankments were created to the north of Aylesford to help prevent the flooding of riverside meadows (Hann 2009: 5). And at New Hythe, where the river straightens, the marshy inlets which can still be seen today resulted from excavations to improve the flow of the river channel (Hann 2009: 5).

Along with the Darent and Stour, the Medway is one of the major rivers of Kent, the source of which is found in the High Weald. It then flows northwards passing through Maidstone, Aylesford and Rochester before emptying into the Thames at Sheerness. Since prehistory it has afforded an important route into this part of Kent, not least because it linked the interior of Kent with the Thames coastline. The name of *Hadlow Stair* or '*hithe*', recorded for the first time in 1327, suggests that the Medway was originally navigable almost to Tonbridge (Everitt 1986: 72). The main crossing over the river is marked by the possible oppidum and later Roman town, at Rochester. As the place-name indicates, there was a ford at Aylesford; it has been suggested that the Norman castle was located here to defend the crossing (Kent HER, See TQ 75 NW 24), which was a short distance above the later bridge and paved with heavy stones (Kent HER: TQ 75 NW 26). The river could also be crossed at Snodland, Halling and Cuxton (Bright 2010).
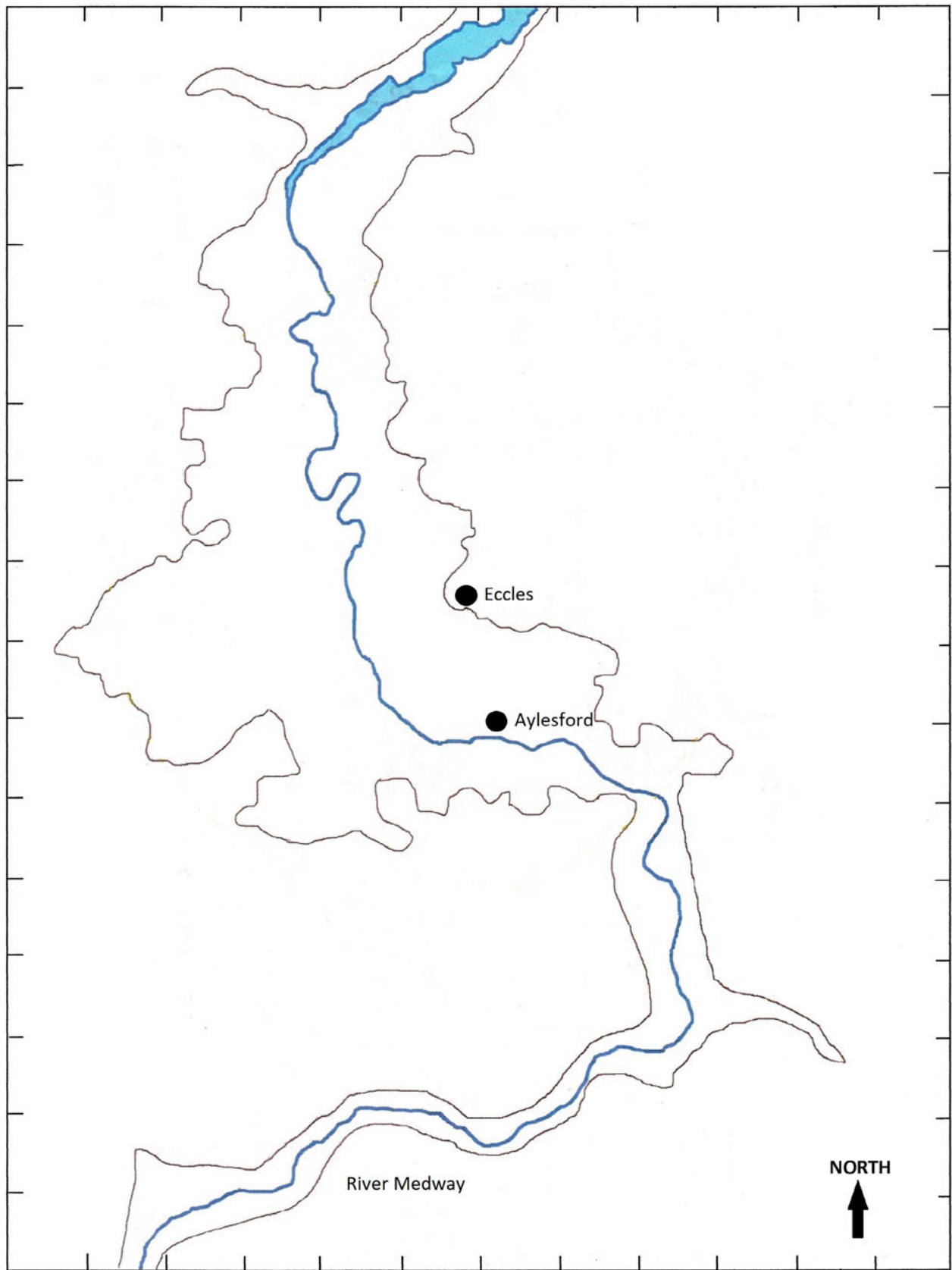
Figure 1.1. Location of Eccles in the Medway Valley (divisions are 1km).

Figure 1.2. Part of the Fryars estate plan as surveyed in 1700, showing Eccles field names: Field 17 'Eccles Wood'; 18 'Little Eccles Meadow'; 19 'Great Eccles Meadow'; 20 'Eccles Pond Meadow'; 21 'Eccles Field', the site of the Eccles Roman villa.
"An exact mapp of land belonging to the place called The Fryars in Aylesford in Kent being formerly the estate of Sir John Banks...with an account what land is now in occupation with the Fryars and what is now letten with Roe Place (alias Parkhouse) with a true designation." Reproduced by kind permission of Father Francis Kemsley, The Friars, Aylesford.

Undoubtedly the river was an important routeway permitting access along the valley and southwards to the Weald, but roads and tracks also facilitated the movement of people. Prior to the Romans, the valley could be reached by either the North Downs trackway or Pilgrim's Way, and a network of local trackways also criss-crossed the valley. Running almost parallel to the North Down trackway, but on the crest of the Downs, was an earlier ridgeway (Margary 1951); the choice of route probably dictated by the weather and conditions under foot (Bright 2010: 4-5). Two major Roman roads served the valley. Watling Street crossed the Medway at Rochester on a bridge, and about 2km to the east of the centre of Eccles is the modern A229, which follows the line of the Roman road (Margary 13) from Rochester to Hastings. Plus, there would have been minor roads and trackways linking estates and settlements with the wider transport network.

Given the fertile land and choice of communication routes, it is no surprise that the area around Eccles is rich in archaeological sites. About 1.5km east of the centre

of the village are the chambered long barrows known as Kit's Coty House and Little Kit's Coty House, which are part of a larger group of Neolithic monuments clustered within the Medway valley. In 1886 the famous La Tène Iron Age cemetery was discovered a short distance to the north west of Aylesford. By late prehistory, and certainly Roman times, the Medway valley contained numerous agricultural settlements, ranging from simple farmsteads to palatial villas. In addition to the large and important villa at Eccles, other Roman remains have been discovered at Snodland, Burham and at a location between Wouldham and Burham. They are nestled between the Roman road to the east and the Medway to the west. There is also an important group of villas in the Maidstone area. By early Anglo-Saxon times, Kent was split between the kingdoms of East and West Kent, with Eccles lying on the western extremity of the former. As a dividing line between the two territories, the Medway valley must have had political and military significance. The two kingdoms were joined, probably in the later 6th or earlier 7th century, uniting the once opposing frontier lands.

The Lower Medway Archaeological Research Group and the investigation of Eccles

The Lower Medway Archaeological Research Group was founded in 1961 to promote archaeological research and publication around the Medway valley and towns. The group was involved in a variety of projects, including area surveys, prehistoric field systems, medieval houses and other buildings, watching briefs and excavations of Romano-British sites, such as the rescue dig at Snodland and investigations at Rochester (Ocock 1965). The group commenced the excavation at Rowe Place Farm, Eccles in 1962 but responsibility was later passed to the independent Eccles Excavation Committee, ending in 1976. The work was carried out by volunteers and financed by grants and public donations. The Group was wound up in 2016.

The excavations
(Stephen R. Cosh and Nick Stoodley)

The Roman villa at Rowe Place Farm, Eccles, is located south west of the village, 0.75km east of the river Medway (TQ 722605). Roman artefacts and structures were encountered at the site at least twice during the 19th century. Yet it was not until 1961 that aerial photography by Michael Ocock (2006) revealed the cropmarks of what appeared to be a large villa. Later in that year, trial trenching by the Lower Medway Archaeological Research Group confirmed the presence of a Roman villa. Excavations took place over the next 15 years under the auspices of the Eccles Excavation committee, directed by Mr (later Dr) Alec Detsicas. The main house proved to be exceptionally large and included two detached wings, linked to the main building by corridors; between them lay a long pool, rectangular in plan. The archaeology was very complex to the north where three successive bath-houses were superimposed, each with multiple phases. The villa had a long history, having been established within a few years of the Claudian conquest; occupation continued to the late fourth century and perhaps beyond.

Right from the outset of the excavation, human burials were encountered within the villa. The remains of at least four inhumation burials, believed to post-date the main period of Roman occupation, were found to the north of the main house and in the baths. In 1970, two burials were found in the fill of a ditch to the north of Rooms 118 and 121, and several were also uncovered over the walls of these rooms. In the same year, excavation revealed further burials immediately south and east of Room 121, and it was clear that a large post-Roman cemetery had been discovered (Figure 1.3). Some interments were found at subsoil depth, but two lower layers of burials were also encountered (Detsicas 1971: 32-2, fig. 1). Over the following years the investigation of the cemetery continued, again revealing three layers of burials, in addition to recovering numerous disarticulated bones (Detsicas 1972-74). Compared to the detail provided for the Roman phases, only brief summaries of the cemetery were included in Detsicas' interims. The most thorough account was published by Rachel Shaw, in 1994, which contains cemetery plans, a burial catalogue and a relatively detailed discussion of the burials from each area of the excavation.

The site was excavated using the box-grid system of eight-foot (2.44m) square trenches separated by two-foot (0.61m) baulks, which were sometimes removed allowing trenches to be extended. This was especially the case in the complex baths area, but the trenches were more spaced out over the house itself where unexcavated walling could be inferred more easily. Unfortunately, medieval disturbance led to much destruction of the site, and because the remains lie close to the surface ploughing has removed later Roman stratification, often to below floor level. Recording was by way of day books with the drawn record consisting of plans and sections, supported by photographs.

The box-grid method was also employed in the investigation of the cemetery. The trenches occasionally resulted in the partial excavation of burials, the foot or head end remaining unexcavated. Moreover, where the concentration of burials was particularly heavy, it often proved difficult to trace the remains of an individual through a baulk. The baulks were eventually removed, and the cemetery was treated as a single open area (Shaw 1994: 166). Other problems were caused by the aforementioned disturbance to the site. The uppermost layer of burials was particularly affected, and this made it very hard to discern grave outlines in the dark soil.

Post-excavation

Over 40 years have passed since the excavations at Eccles were brought to a close, but it has yet to benefit from full publication. Post-excavation work, aided by grants awarded by the Kent Archaeological Society, began in earnest after Detsicas' retirement in 1986. Many of the specialist reports were commissioned, in addition to the drawing of the small finds. At the time of writing, less than half the reports are complete, the remainder are recorded as 'not received' or 'partially finished' (copies of the completed reports are in the archive). Shortly before his death in 1999, Detsicas arranged for the finds to be taken to Canterbury Archaeological Trust where they were catalogued and their conservation requirements assessed (Ocock 2006: 3). This was only intended to be a temporary arrangement. Detsicas also approached John Williams (the then Kent County Archaeologist) and Peter Kendell (English Heritage) regarding the publication of the site (Ocock pers. comm.); along with Paul Bennett (Canterbury Archaeological Trust) they investigated funding
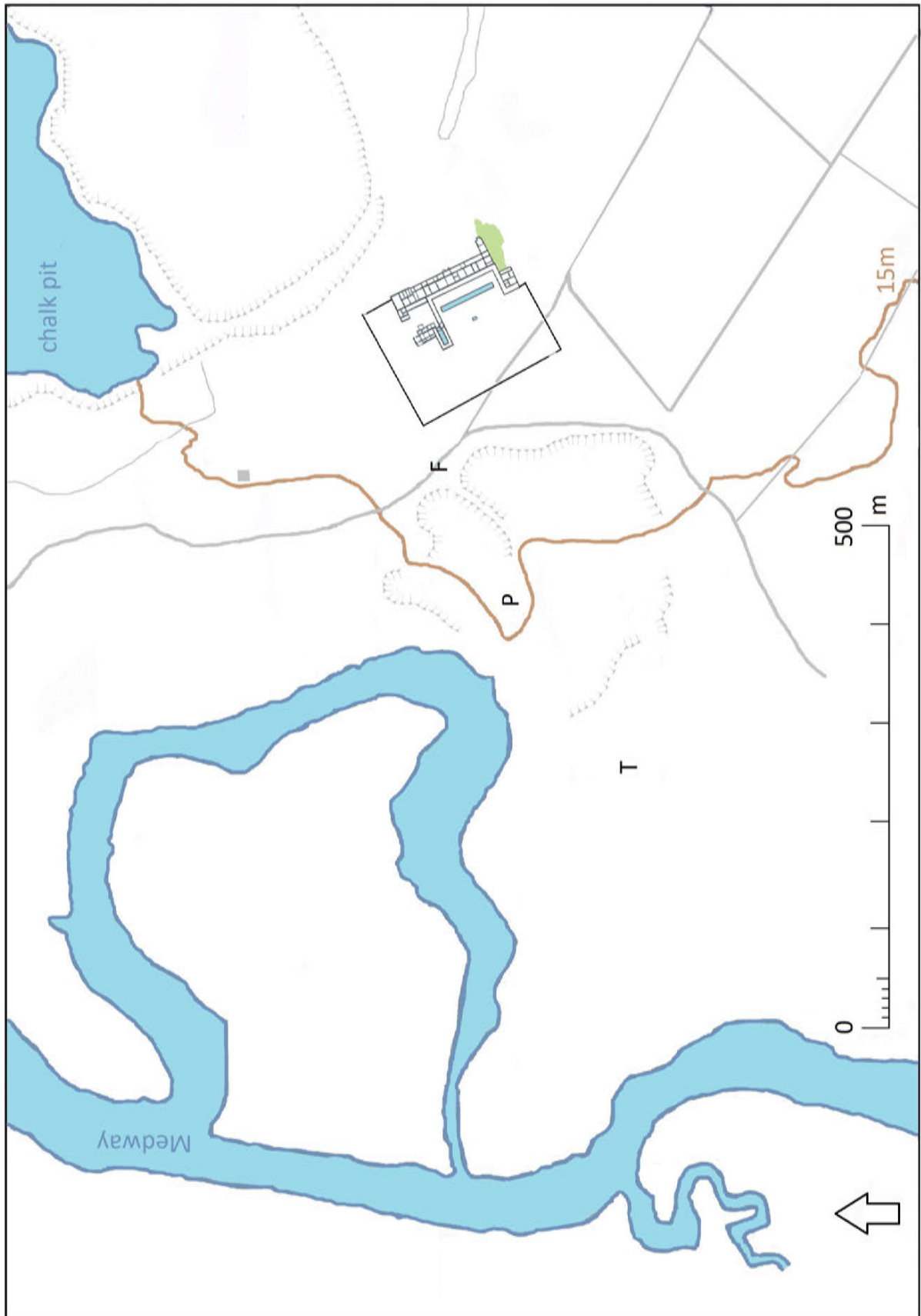
Figure 1.3. The location of the villa, pottery (P), tilery (T), possible foundations noted in 2015 (F), and the area of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery (shaded in green) at Rowe Place Farm, Eccles.

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opportunities. No grants were secured, and subsequently the large sums of money required to publish the work prevented its publication. Despite this setback, minor post-excavation tasks have been undertaken at the Trust, such as organising the photographic and paper archive, cataloguing the finds, and along with Rachel Shaw, the day books have been converted into context records. The Trust continues to curate the material archive and will do so until a permanent home can be found for it. The paper and photographic archive is held by Rachel Shaw. From an analysis of the records, she has produced a database of contexts and finds and has created a site-wide matrix (Shaw 1994: 167).

Recent fieldwork

In 1996 a geophysical survey was carried out at the site to explore its wider environs (Figure 2.3). One aim was to survey the area to the north of the villa, to try to trace the Iron Age site northwards. A series of ditch-like anomalies were detected and have been interpreted as belonging to the prehistoric site. Another aim was to discover whether any of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery remains unexcavated. This was less successful, but not altogether surprising given how difficult it is to detect graves using archaeological geophysics, coupled with the damage sustained to the uppermost burials. Fieldwork in the area north of the site by Wessex Archaeology in 2015 found a range of features: a Roman quarry pit, Roman field boundaries, wall footings of probable Roman date and other features that may relate to the wider environs of the villa (WA 2015).

The organisation of the monograph

This monograph mainly comprises an account of the excavation of the Romano-British villa (Chapter 3) and Anglo-Saxon cemetery (Chapter 4), with limited discussion of some fragmentary late Iron Age evidence (Chapter 2) and an Anglo-Saxon building and associated features (Chapter 5). The chapter on the villa is not intended to be a site report: much work remains to be done on the finds and the site archive. Rather, it aims to be an overall account of the development of the villa, based largely on Detsicas' published interim reports, with additional evidence provided by the excavation archive. The emphasis falls mainly upon the architectural details, which in places provides re-assessments of the evidence along with fresh interpretations. The excavated evidence is followed by a consideration of the site in the context of the Medway valley during the Roman period, as well as a comparison with other large and early country villas, both in Britain and on the continent. It is hoped that this account of the villa may promote the publication of the full report that the site deserves.

The chapter on the Anglo-Saxon cemetery *is* intended to serve as a site report. It is based on the catalogue and cemetery plans produced by Rachael Shaw (1994), which were compiled from site notebooks, field plans and the photographic archive. Shaw stated that her report was only a preliminary account, yet it has proved a solid foundation for this project and over the years has been a valuable resource for students of the site. For the purpose of this project, the cemetery archive was also studied; additional evidence for burial practice and the grave goods was identified, which has enabled the creation of a more detailed burial catalogue. The nature of the evidence is discussed and a chronological framework set out, supplemented by a radiocarbon date. The task was also aided by the fact that most of the specialist reports are complete. Furthermore, shortly after the material was sent to Bradford University a report on the human remains was prepared, and since then various aspects have been studied by post-graduate students. As with the villa, the cemetery is also considered in the context of the Medway valley, which affords an understanding of its type and the nature of the community that it served.

The two following chapters are devoted, respectively, to a study of the pre-English place-names of the Medway valley (Chapter 6) and the documentary evidence for the Aylesford region during the Anglo-Saxon period (Chapter 7). As a pre-English survival, the place-name Eccles is valuable to an understanding of the local area because it strongly suggests the continuation of a late Roman Christian community into the post-Roman period. The chapter also considers the survival of a group of pre-English names in the Rochester area, which may point to a sub-Roman native territory. Although Eccles is poorly served by historical sources, Aylesford is mentioned in a range of different documents, for example, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Rochester Bridgework List* and the *Domesday Book.* These sources allow the territorial and administrative importance of the place to be examined and questions about the regional importance of Aylesford to be posed. A crucial issue regarding the origins of Aylesford, and by implication Eccles, is whether it formed the centre of an earlier *regio*, which pre-dates the conquest of the region by East Kent.

The volume is rounded off by a general discussion, which draws together all the strands of evidence and evaluates the importance of Eccles and the Aylesford area within the Medway valley. The chapter is organised chronologically. For each major period, the evidence is organised around several themes that reflect current scholarly interest, and which highlight the contribution that the area makes to national research priorities, especially the continuity between different periods.

Chapter 2

The Late Iron Age

Nick Stoodley

Detsicas investigated a small number of features, which he believed belonged to an Iron Age farmstead (Detsicas Periods I-II). Several other ditches were sampled: they pre-date the construction of the earliest (pre-villa) buildings but are later than Period I-II and appear to comprise a separate phase (Detsicas Period III). The evidence discussed here mainly comes from Detsicas' interim reports. The excavation notebooks, trench plans and section drawings have also provided information.

Periods I-II: Late Iron Age ditches

A ditch (I) was found to the north of the earliest bath building (Detsicas 1966: 45-46) (Figure 2.1). It was
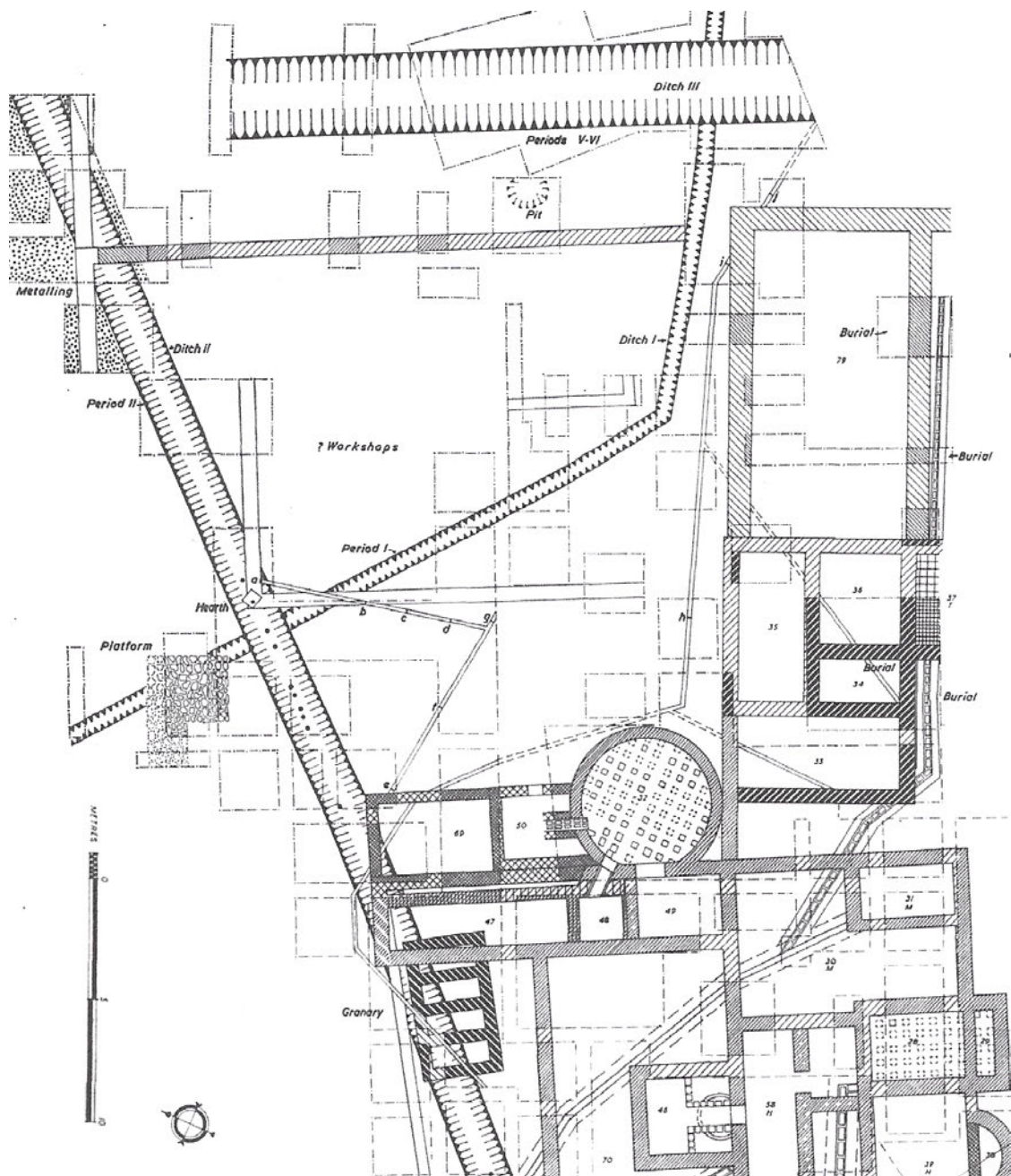
Figure 2.1. Ditches I and II (based on Detsicas 1966, fig. 1) (reproduced with kind permission of Kent Archaeology).

Figure 2.2. Post-holes in the base of Ditch II
(photograph by R. G. Foord).

aligned east to west, before it turned to head west-north-west; it was cut through by Ditch II and sealed by a stone platform before it passed beyond the area of the excavation. Although it had been disturbed by later activity, its width was estimated to have been about 0.8m.

Ditch I represents the earliest known evidence at Eccles, and it may have defined the edge of an Iron Age settlement that lay to the west of the villa (Detsicas 1965: 70). It was probably dug early in the first half of the 1st century AD, and an examination of its stratification indicated that it remained open until about the time that Ditch II was cut (Detsicas 1966: 46). No other evidence for this putative settlement was forthcoming, except perhaps for a small pit found about 10m from the ditch and situated inside the area enclosed by Ditch I. The pottery from the pit suggests that it was filled in before the ditch.

Underneath the Roman granary, a long rectilinear ditch (II) had been cut into the Gault clay subsoil and was orientated north-east to south-west (Figure 2.1). Because of later disturbance, its width had to be estimated: it could have originally been as wide as 2.40m, but in most trenches it only survived to 0.60-1.20m. It had a profile that varied from rounded to

V-shaped, and Detsicas (1966: 45) thought that its depth did not exceed 1.8m. The pottery from the primary and secondary fills included sherds with pre-Roman characteristics and some Romano-British coarse ware fragments that comprised Patch Grove, furrowed and shell-filled wares. There was imported pottery, in addition to domestic rubbish comprising oyster shells and animal bones. Two coins of Cunobelinus were also retrieved, as well as several fragments of embossed bronze, which could have been fittings for a wooden casket (Detsicas 1966: 45). Ditch II was probably dug shortly after Ditch I, but in the middle of the 1st century AD it was infilled with refuse, clay and pottery that included late Iron Age wares. Detsicas (1965: 70) stated that: 'the pottery types contained in its filling show strong Belgic influence and can hardly have lasted in use much beyond Claudian times. In consequence, the dating of the close of this period to *c.* A.D. 55 is based on secure grounds.' A small number of post-holes had been found approximately in the centre of the base of Ditch II, and it seems that following its infilling a fence had been erected over its line (Detsicas 1966: plate I) (Figure 2.2).

As mentioned, Detsicas (1965: 70) assumed that most of the Iron Age settlement lay to the west of the villa, and in 1996 a geophysical survey was carried out over this area (Barker 1996) (Figure 2.3). It identified a series of anomalies that have been viewed as ditches, gullies and pits and are interpreted as evidence for the wider Iron Age settlement. Two of the anomalies form angles and probably belonged to enclosure ditches. However, they are dissimilar and could belong to separate phases of rectilinear enclosure: the corner of the eastern example makes a sharper angle, and the ditch is also narrower than its counterpart to the west.

Period III: Late Iron Age -?earliest Roman

Several other ditches were found beneath the villa (Table 2.1). It seems unlikely that they belonged to the Iron Age settlement, because they appear to comprise linear features that cut across the site. Detsicas (1972: 102) suggested that their purpose was to drain the land before the construction of the earliest house. Alternatively, they may have been part of a short-

Table 2.1. Details of the pre-villa ditches (depths were not recorded).

Ditch	Length (m)	Width (m)	Alignment	Profile
VI				
IX	53.70	2.25	NE-SW	
X	86.25	2.10	ENE-WSW	V-shaped
XI	25.75	1.74	NW-SE	U-shaped
XIII	52.20	2.20	NW-SE	
Gully	4.65	0.65		
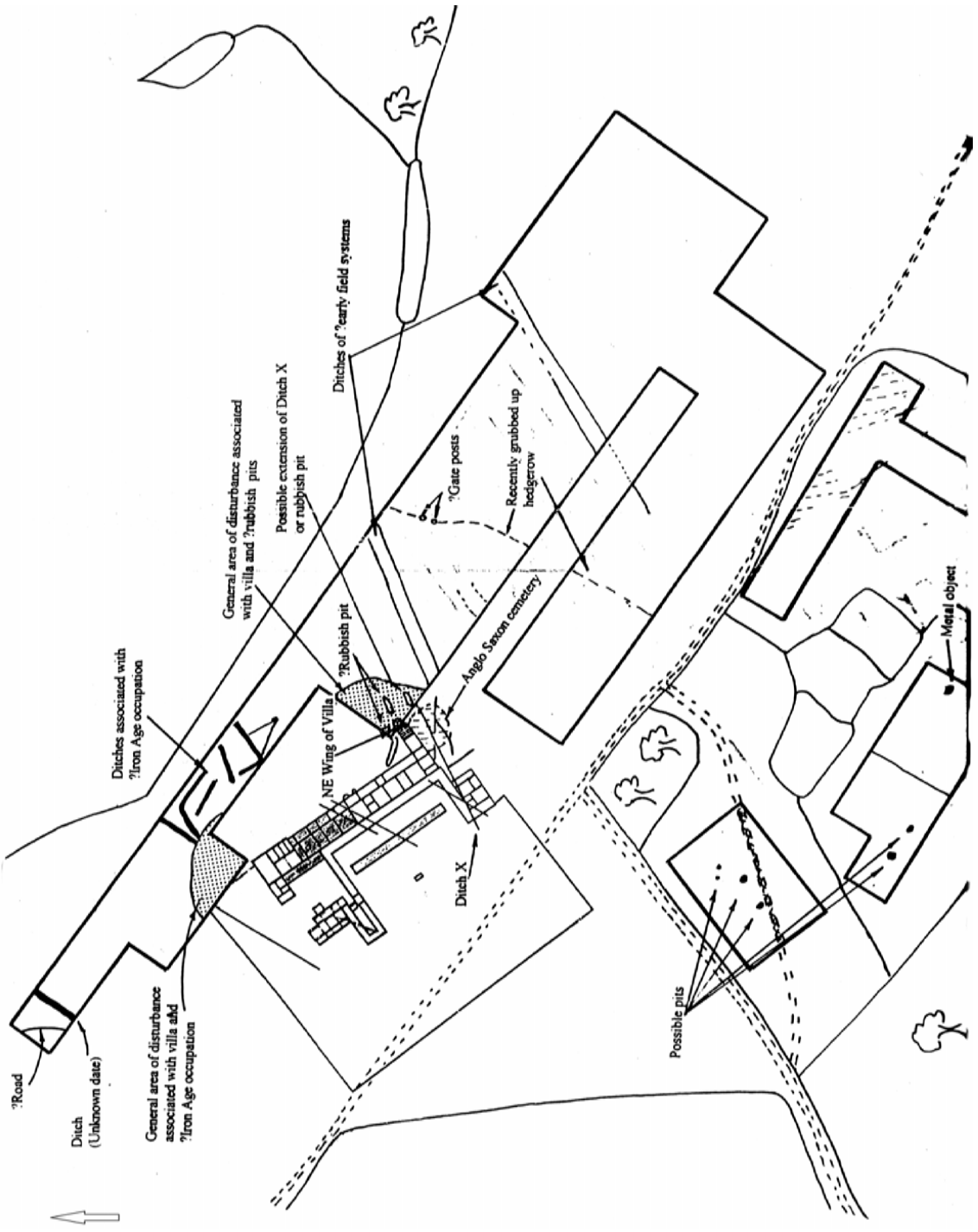
Figure 2.3. Plot of the geophysical survey carried out by Stratascan on behalf of Lawson-Price Environmental. The figure shows the area of the survey and anomalies in relation to the excavations. Not to scale.

lived phase of activity that post-dated the Iron Age occupation but pre-dated the establishment of the villa.

Ditch VI passed beneath the house and is later than Ditch X, which it intersected to the south west of the villa (Detsicas 1976: 158). The fact that there was hardly any silt in its base indicates that it was open for only a very short time before it was infilled and the construction of the earliest villa building commenced (Detsicas 1976: 158).

Ditch IX was beneath the north-east wall of Room 114. It extended across the line of the earlier Ditch X in the area of Rooms 127 and 128 (Detsicas 1972: 102, fig. 1). Only a little silt was found in the bottom of the ditch, again indicating that it had not been open for very long (Detsicas 1973: 74).

Ditch X had a V-shaped profile, and in its base was a shallow cleaning channel reminiscent of the box-gutter found in military trenches (Detsicas 1975: 42, fig. 1). The backfill contained sherds of early samian ware, plus coarse pottery. Some of the latter had been manufactured on-site at the kilns (Site D), giving a date of *c.* AD 50 for this action (Detsicas 1975: 42). The feature either joined, or intersected, with Ditch XI (Detsicas 1972: 102). The small amount of silt in its base demonstrates that the feature had not been open for very long (Detsicas 1975: 42) before it was cut by Ditches IX and VI, and it must have been infilled by the time the first house was constructed (Detsicas 1973: 74).

Ditch XI had a U-shaped profile, and it was earlier, or contemporary, with Ditch X. It had been filled with yellow clay, which had subsided towards the middle of the ditch and had been levelled by depositing a layer of debris, consisting mainly of loose tesserae (Detsicas 1973: 74). Further work on the line of this ditch revealed that its filling mainly comprised clean subsoil and that there was hardly any silt in its base (Detsicas 1975: 42, fig. 1). Although aligned north-west to south-east, a slight deviation to the west is noted at its northern end where Ditch XIV runs over it.

Ditch XIII was first encountered below the water basin in the middle of the villa's courtyard (Detsicas 1974: 120, fig. 2). It was traced for about 55mm running roughly north-west to south-east, but the area where it should have intersected Ditch VI was not excavated.

Possibly contemporary with this phase was a short length of a narrow curving gully that lay just outside the north-western edge of Ditch X and terminated in the area of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery (Detsicas 1974: 120) (see below p199).

Discussion

Iron Age Eccles had been sited close to the Medway, on a small plateau at 25m OD, over moderately fertile soils that were seasonally wet and suffered from impeded drainage. Other Iron Age sites in the Medway valley occupied a variety of topographic and environmental settings, and in contrast to Eccles most exploited more fertile soils that also benefitted from better drainage (Table 2.2). In addition, the average distance from the river was 960m, with three sites over 1km away. By comparison, the location of Eccles seems odd, but its proximity to the Medway suggests a livestock-based economy that required a readily available source of water. However, the site was adjacent to more fertile soils, where fields were probably located – a mixed agricultural regime cannot be ruled out.

Despite the lack of structures, Detsicas (1965: 70) thought that the evidence from Eccles represented a late Iron Age farmstead. As so little is known about the site, it is impossible to reconstruct its environs, although the geophysical evidence indicates that it extended to the north west and perhaps included two phases of rectilinear enclosures. This is possibly supported by the fact that Ditches I and II belong to separate phases. Sub-rectilinear and rectilinear enclosures are more common than those of an irregular type; examples of the former have been found in Kent at Thurnham and Snarkhurst Wood, among other sites (Booth 2011: 267). In common with Eccles, many late Iron Age sites have not produced evidence for buildings and related structures (Booth 2011: 267-270), and as was the case at Eccles, it seems that the investigations mainly focussed on areas outside the actual settlement.

An idea of the character of Eccles can be provided by considering evidence from better-understood examples in the Medway valley (Table 2.2) (Historic

Table 2.2. Iron Age sites of the Medway valley, summary details (for Soilscape types see Table 4.9).

Site	NGR	Soilscape	AOD	Distance from the Medway m
Tottington Farm	TQ 7320 5945	5	10m	550m
Robin Hood Lane	TQ 7485 6248	8	175	3.5km
Hermitage Lane	TQ 7295 5554	7	80m	1.7km
Cuxton	TQ 7200 6735	5	20m	350m
Boarley Farm	TQ 75260 60200	5	70m	2.1km
Margetts Pit	TQ 7198 6217	5	20m	500m
Halling	TQ 7045 6319	5	20m	400m

Environment Record for Kent, with additional references where appropriate: http://webapps.kent.gov.uk/kcc.exploringkentspast.web.sites.public/Default.aspx). Late Iron Age activity was recorded at Tottington Farm, Aylesford, a site characterised by a rectilinear enclosure, which contained in its interior a square enclosure. The excavation uncovered pits and ditches, and the building debris suggests Roman occupation in the vicinity. Iron Age and Roman features, indicative of an agricultural landscape, were uncovered near Robin Hood Lane, Aylesford on the upper slopes of the North Downs. At Hermitage Lane, on Barming Heath, Maidstone late Iron Age to Roman activity consisting of field systems and an enclosure and trackway was discovered occupying an elevated site. Part of an early and middle Iron Age site was found underlying the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Cuxton. The evidence for the Iron Age mainly comprises pits, although several undated features were also excavated, which includes a structure and an enclosure (Mackinder 2006: 9-10). Late Iron Age to early Roman evidence was found adjacent to the Pilgrim's Way, west of Boarley Farm, Boxley, Maidstone. In the late Iron Age, the focus lay to the south east of the ancient route, and although there is no definite evidence for occupation, the presence of several disparate post-hole structures, pits, cremation burials and animal burials, probably indicates a settlement in the immediate area. An excavation at Margetts Pit, Burham in 2009 by Wessex Archaeology (2015) uncovered multi-period evidence. Late Iron Age activity was focussed on a double-ditched enclosure that had been established in the north west of the site and had remained in use into the second half of the 1st century AD. A group of pits and post-holes were revealed in the southern part of the enclosure, in addition to a four-post structure. An undated field system shares the same alignment as the enclosure, suggesting that it is contemporary. An excavation in advance of the A228 roundabout at Halling uncovered features, including ditches and pits. They were associated with late Iron Age and first-century AD pottery, and the site has been interpreted as a possible settlement.

These examples demonstrate that the Medway valley was probably densely populated by the late Iron Age. Moreover, as at Eccles, most of the sites have evidence for occupation in the Roman period, which can be explained by the presence of essential resources to support an agriculturally-based economy. Detsicas (1965: 89) thought that at Eccles it was possible to envisage a direct development from an Iron Age farmstead to a 'fully Romanised style of living'. However, it is significant that the Roman buildings do not respect the lines of the earlier ditches suggesting a break in occupation. Even though it is impossible to demonstrate unbroken continuity, the Period III ditches indicate that the site was not unoccupied for very long before the erection of the earliest (pre-villa) Roman buildings.

Chapter 3

The Roman Period

Stephen R. Cosh

Introduction

The site

The Roman villa at Rowe Place Farm, Eccles, is located south west of the village, about 0.75km east of the River Medway (TQ 722605) and about 2.75km west of the Roman Road running southwards from Rochester (Figure 1.3). The land slopes gently towards the river, whose course was closer to the villa than at present and was navigable to this point and well beyond. Roman antiquities have long been known from this general area. In 1848 the Reverend Beale Poste noted first- to fourth-century coins, as well as foundations, cropmarks and building debris extending over about five hectares, which he took to be the remains of a Roman town (letter to *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 4, 1849: 81-82) and 50 years later George Payne (1898: 12-13) also mentioned building debris there or in its vicinity. In 1961 aerial photography revealed the profile of a large villa; trial trenching by the Lower Medway Archaeological Research Group confirmed this and led to excavations during the next 15 years under the auspices of the Eccles Excavation committee, directed by Mr (later Dr) Alec Detsicas.

The first season of digging in 1962 concentrated on the north west of the site and revealed successive baths (the second and third) overlying an early structure. From 1963-5 the excavations progressed northwards to uncover the first baths and what proved to be northern additions to the main house. By 1970 the examination of the exceptionally long main house had been completed, and the following year excavations were focussed on the south wing. In 1972-73 the courtyard area was investigated and parts of the second and third baths were revisited, which led to some revision of conclusions reached during 1962. The final years were concerned with the peripheral areas, including following the enclosure wall. The excavations were reported yearly in the *Archaeologia Cantiana* (Detsicas 1963-77) and Detsicas' findings were summarised in his volume of the *Peoples of Roman Britain* series, devoted to the *Cantiaci* (Detsicas 1983: 120-126).

The present work is not intended to be a definitive site report: that will have to await the results of specialists' artefact assessments and a detailed examination of site notebooks and other evidence. This is an account of the large and important early Roman villa at Eccles

throughout its long history, as can be gleaned mainly from the 15 annual interim reports by the excavator, other publications relating to the villa, and the site photographic archive; the excavation notebooks, trench plans and section drawings were also consulted for selected areas of the site. It includes a re-assessment of the architectural evidence which Detsicas presented, with fresh interpretations. He directed excavations between 1962 and 1976, and although the text here rarely mentions when the parts under discussion were excavated, this can be inferred from the references to the various yearly interim reports. Naturally some of his early conclusions and phasing were superseded as the excavations progressed. Unfortunately he did not produce a final report before his death in 1999 (for A. Detsicas see obituary in *Archaeol Cantiana* 119, 1999: 428-430); it would have been an onerous undertaking indeed considering the size, duration and complexity of the excavations. This large villa, in use throughout the Roman period, underwent many alterations both structurally and in its use, depending on the changing circumstances of its owners. There were, for instance, three bath buildings, the last two partly constructed over their demolished predecessors; and each with multiple building phases.

Until the huge amount of material from the site is analysed, little can be said of the life and economy of the villa, and, perforce, the concentration here is upon the architectural remains. The story of the villa will be divided into periods of construction, looking at each structure built or altered during that time. The room-by-room descriptions basically summarise those in the interim reports, and are followed by a discussion and review of the dating evidence. The final section looks at the site in the context of the Roman period in the Medway valley, as well as making comparisons with other large and early country villas both in Britain and on the continent. Other sites mentioned in the text should be assumed to be in Kent unless stated otherwise.

Excavation method

The site was excavated in the box-grid system of eight-foot (2.44m) square trenches separated by two-foot (0.61m) baulks, which were sometimes removed and trenches extended. Although in some trenches features were dismantled to find evidence for others beneath, this was not always the case, so that our knowledge

of the earliest structures is sketchy, not helped by ancient demolition. This method of trenching not only led to physical gaps but also gaps in our knowledge. Nevertheless there was an adequate coverage and the trenches were strategically positioned to locate walls, and sample floors and other features. Thus unexcavated lengths of walling can usually be inferred. The earlier interim reports included section drawings, which are particularly important for checking the excavator's conclusions. Unfortunately medieval and modern disturbance has led to much destruction of the site; the remains lie close to the surface so that ploughing has removed later Roman stratification, often to below floor level.

Numbers 1 to 133 were assigned to rooms as the excavation progressed relating to the order in which they were discovered. Where, for instance, a room was divided in two, the original room and the two rooms created were given three discrete numbers (for example, a later cross-wall in the central Room 108, formed two small rooms designated 109 and 110). Although this system can be baffling, resulting in consecutively numbered rooms not necessarily being close to one another or belonging to the same building phase, the excavator's numbering is retained here for easier reference to the published reports.

For convenience of reporting, it is assumed that the main building was orientated north to south, rather than the actual north-north-west to south-south-east. This is at variance with the north-west to south-east orientation adopted in the descriptions in the interim reports. However, the plans here follow the same orientation as those of the interim reports, again for ease of comparison, so north in the text equates to left on the plans. All measurements have been converted from feet and inches to metres. This should not, however, be taken as the exact measurement as the excavator generally gave dimensions to the nearest three or six inches. Conversions from the imperial measurements given in the text of the interim reports are used here (not all accompanying conversions to metres in the later reports are correct, apparently calculated as one foot being equivalent to 30cm). However, it should be noted that measurements sometimes differ from room dimensions obtained using the scale bars on published plans.

Dating (Figure 3.1 and Table 3.1)

Little information is given in the interim reports for the dating of construction periods. Where evidence is cited, it is repeated below. Often specific methods of construction and the colour of the mortar (for example, off-white is typical of Period 3) were used to identify periods. The major periods were established during the first three seasons of excavation; the later reports merely state that the dating evidence did not contradict earlier findings, without mentioning what it was. The dating given here must largely, therefore, follow that of Detsicas, who himself revised some of the dates for his various periods. The most significant revision relates to the third bath building where evidence thought 'conclusively' to date its *destruction* to *c.* AD 290 was later discovered to date its *construction* (Detsicas 1974: 127-128). This re-assessment means that the date of AD 150-180 for the demolition of Room 26, thought to have been a late addition to the second baths, implies that no baths existed from that time until *c.* AD 290 if the rest of the second baths had also been destroyed in the late 2nd century. It is suggested below that Room 26 might instead be a late addition to the first baths (Period 2), and that the second baths were therefore not constructed until AD 150-180.

Some scholars have questioned the very early dating of the first Roman periods beginning soon after the conquest, for example, D. J. Smith (1975: 271), but until a detailed analysis of the finds and their contexts can be made, nothing more can be stated as certain. Nevertheless, the later dating for the end of the Period 2 baths (AD 150-180) allows for a later dating for the beginning of that period, but it is still likely to fall within the 1st century. While the dating assigned to each period remained much the same throughout the interim reports, the numbering of the periods was inconsistent because of additions to (and later subtractions from) the pre-Roman phases. Here Detsicas' periods are broadly respected, despite adjustment to the dating, but in order to simplify matters, only those periods within the Roman era are considered, and numbered 1 to 5 accordingly.

Plans

Detsicas issued yearly multi-phase plans showing the newly excavated areas. Occasionally the more complex plans of the baths show differences, particularly those of Period 3, and at present it is impossible to verify which is correct; where possible these have been checked against the photographic record. The inaccuracy of the planning mainly occurred in the first season of excavation, which also represented complex archaeology involving four or more superimposed structures. The only published plans of the whole villa complex show the final period; the lack of overall plans for other periods, which would show the relationship of the first baths and the north wing/second baths to one another and to the main house, has made it difficult to understand the earlier building phases. Again measurements taken from the overall plans do not always correspond with each other or the more detailed versions. The plans re-created for this work are

Table 3.1. Eccles villa: Periods 1-5.

Detsicas' Periods		Revised Periods	
AD 55-65	Early house and granary	1 AD 55-65/80	Early house and granary
AD 65-120	First baths and main house	2 AD 65/80-150/180	First baths and main house
AD 120-180	Second baths	3A *c.* AD 120 3B-C AD 150/180-300	North and south wing added Second baths in north wing
AD 180-290	Third baths, south wing	4 AD 300- ?350	Third baths, alterations to house
AD 290-400	Alterations to house	5 AD ?350-400	Low status occupation
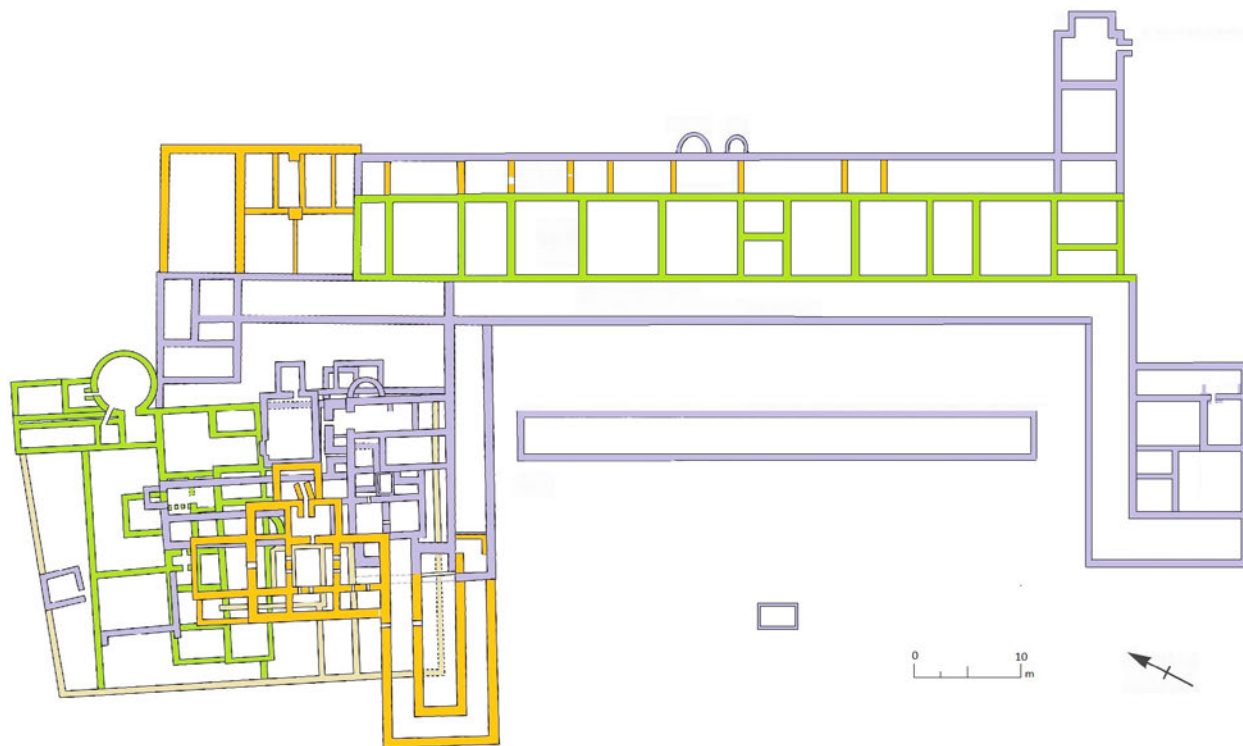
Figure 3.1. Simplified multiphase plan of the villa (omitting enclosure wall). Period 1 beige; Period 2 green; Period 3 mauve; Period 4 yellow ochre (applies to all phase plans).

based on these published plans, and their purpose is to illustrate the building phases clearly, rather than being definitive. For simplicity, the Periods 1 to 4 are shaded beige, green, mauve and yellow ochre respectively, and building phases within a period have separate plans. The complexity of the northern part of the site can be judged from the multi-phase plan (Figure 3.1). More detailed plans of selected areas, based on those in the interim reports checked against the original trench plans, have been prepared using the photographs from the site archive where available.

Summary

The villa was on the site of an Iron Age settlement, evidenced mainly by ditches, and began life as a group of residential and other buildings within a walled enclosure (Period 1). In the later 1st century elaborate baths were constructed, presumed to be contemporary with a 12-roomed strip building, about 75m in length (Period 2). During the 2nd century, detached northern and southern wings were added, all linked by a continuous 'U-shaped' fronting corridor (*porticus*), and the baths were replaced by new ones incorporated within the northern wing (Period 3). The long pool running parallel to the house perhaps belonged to that building phase. Probably in the early 4th century, the third baths were constructed, including an exceptionally large cold-water bath or indoor swimming pool, and major alterations made to the main house (Period 4). At this time the villa was at its greatest extent: it measured 105.50m by 73.20m overall within a walled enclosure of 116m by 89m, probably a garden which still featured a long fish pool and fountain. The final period saw a decline in living standards with hearths constructed in former residential rooms (Period 5). Extensive robbing of building materials took place, and inhumations cut through the floors of the Period 4 baths. The area in and beyond the south-east part of the main building was used as a cemetery in the Anglo-Saxon period; there is also evidence of medieval activity. The area was subject to ploughing which has removed a great deal of the villa's later stratigraphy, and in much of the main building the flooring has been lost.

Period 1

The south, west and north boundary walls defined the area occupied by at least two structures, one termed a 'dwelling house' and the other a 'granary'. The south boundary wall, about 0.45m thick and composed of ragstone and yellow mortar, lay beneath Rooms 3, 6 and 9 of the Period 3 baths, while the west wall (except where it was destroyed by the frigidarium of the Period 4 baths) and the north wall lay to the west and north of the baths area respectively; the east wall, if it ever existed, was not found. It is tempting to suggest that it followed the line of the eastern walls of the Period 2 baths and the north wing block parallel to the west wall; neither the northern or southern walls were encountered any further east. A timber structure to the south outside the enclosure possibly belonged to this period (not marked on Figure 3.2).

The 'dwelling house' (Detsicas 1963: 128, fig. 2; 1964: 70-71, fig. 1; 1966: 46; 1967: 164-165; 1974: 122-123, fig. 3; 1989: 86-88, fig. 3)

Only slight remains of this early structure were found below the heated rooms of the Period 4 baths, and its overall plan and function are not fully understood. Parts were encountered during the 1962-63 excavations of the baths, and, when the floors of the hypocausts were removed in 1973, construction trenches and vestigial foundations for this building were revealed. Unfortunately the orientation of the building differs on the plans of 1962, 1973 and in Detsicas' later assessment

of the building which perhaps should be regarded as definitive (Detsicas 1963: fig. 1; 1974: fig. 3; 1989: fig. 3) and is followed here with some reservations (see discussion p16). No original trench plan survives for the 1973 excavation and there is no entry in the excavator's daybook, so the published account and plan can only be checked against oblique photographs. From what is known, it comprised three rooms with what appears to be a corridor to the south. The largest, **Room 53b** measured 2.74m by 3.81m, the neighbouring **Room 53a** 1.14m by 3.81m and, running along the west side, **Room 54** 0.85m by 3.96m. The west wall of Room 54 continued at least 4m beyond the end of the building, and was utilised as the west wall of Room 39 in the first baths of Period 2. Therefore it was suspected that one room or more existed north of Room 53a, totally destroyed when the first baths were built hard against its north wall. Close to the south-west corner of Room 54 there was a gap in the foundations indicating a doorway leading into **Room 77**, which ran along the south side of the building; this 'corridor' was 13.11m long and 1.67m wide, widening to 2.21m where it ran westwards to meet the boundary wall. The north wall appears to block the doorway from Room 54 and therefore they were probably not contemporary. The areas either side, designated Rooms 76 and 78 in the interim reports, were found to be merely spaces between the building and the boundary walls. Although the building was thoroughly destroyed, the excavator initially believed that it was well-appointed because fragments of 'coarse, green and white mosaic' and parts of a column base were found within the make-up for the bases of the hypocausts above. However, this material could have equally well have come from the Period 3 north wing or elsewhere. The structure was also associated with burnt material, suggesting that it was destroyed by fire, although when similar material was encountered in the 1973 excavations it was used to support the theory for the fiery destruction of the Period 2 baths (Detsicas 1974: 123).

Detsicas found four foundation trenches for east-west 'sleeper walls', cutting through the western wall of Room 54 and within Room 77 (these can be seen on Figure 3.3). He thought this was a small granary similar to that described below,

Figure 3.2. Period 1 house and ?granary in relation to the Period 2 baths (the possible early phase of the baths highlighted green).

Figure 3.3. Photo of early house beneath Period 4 baths.

of military type with a loading platform on the south side. It is much smaller than the granaries with similar sleeper walls in Kent at Horton Kirby (*Britannia* 4, 1973: 322-3) and Lullingstone (also with a 'loading platform') (Meates 1979: 111-9, fig. 27), but is comparable in size and form to ones from Mucking, Essex (Morris 1979: 33, fig. 29) and perhaps Bancroft, Buckinghamshire (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 143, fig. 73); it is also a type of granary familiar in northern Gaul (Ferdière 2015, Type 5).

Discussion

Because of the demolition of the Period 1 buildings and the enclosure wall, and the later buildings overlying them, it is hard to understand the nature of the earliest villa complex. If the identification of the granary is correct, it was perhaps a small farming estate, succeeding the Late Iron Age occupation evidenced by ditches and pits. The dwelling house as excavated may well be incomplete and could have extended to the north and/or east. Indeed a wall to the east of the second baths could conceivably have belonged to this period. Although the later and larger house was on a different alignment, the first baths continued the orientation of the Period 1 house. The first bath-house was thought to have retained one wall from Period 1 and was built against the north side of the early house. A photograph shows the two walls at the same level side by side, both abutting the north-south wall. This suggests that the conjectural early phase of the first baths (discussed below), may have coexisted as part of a later phase of Period 1. It was believed that drains were associated with this phase (Detsicas 1962: 128-129), and at least one early wall appears to go over one. From photographs (for example, Figure 3.9), the east wall of Room 53A, to which its north wall abuts, appears itself to be built up to, and overlapping, the offset of the south wall of the baths, perhaps also suggesting a later build. The east walls of Rooms 53A and 53B, found in different trenches, do not appear to align as Detsicas shows. Not only do the Period 2 baths share the alignment with the first dwelling rather than the grand house, the walls from the baths definitely assignable to Period 2 appear to terminate at the enclosure wall, which also links to the furthest corner of a Period 2 corridor (Room 47) which was built over the granary. Curiously the southern enclosure wall is at right angles to the Period 2 house, and the southern wall of the corridor-like Room 77 meets the north wall of the Period 3 North wing block and may well be a continuation of that wall westwards and therefore perhaps belonged to Period 3. Nevertheless, excepting the granary, there are strong indications that some of the Period 1 walls were coexistent with later

and belonging to a later phase of Period 1. However, as the trenches are confined to the area of the small rectangular rooms (19 and 133) of the third baths, it seems more likely that they were somehow connected with the construction of those rooms, rather than the coincidence of later walls directly overlying the outer walls of the proposed granary.

The granary (Detsicas 1965: 70-71, fig. 1, fig. 3 section C-D, pl. IIa)

A rectangular structure, 5.80m by 3.35m, with three internal cross walls, was partly constructed over the fill of a Pre-Roman ditch (II) and was demolished before Room 47 of the Period 2 baths was built over its eastern end (Figure 3.4). Against the outside of the south wall there was an area of white mortar, 75mm thick and about 1.5m wide, probably marking a central entrance; it extended at least a metre southwards where it was cut by the outer wall of the Period 2 baths. The mortar had the imprint of wooden planking. No internal flooring survived, but the excavator suggested that the cross walls supported a raised wooden floor and that the building was a granary

Figure 3.4. Plan of granary.

structures perhaps into the 2nd century, if indeed all the walls actually belong to Period 1.

Dating

The granary was constructed over a ditch filled with pre-Roman and some Roman material 'which suggests that the ditch remained open for a few years after the conquest' (Detsicas 1965: 70). The excavator's first thought was that:

'The dating of this period to c. A.D.75-100 is based almost completely on the pottery which was found securely stratified with the remnants of this early building, and that found in or close to the subsoil. Of the two suggested dates, the earlier is very tentative and relies on pottery which is not usually met in much later contexts, though it could, of course, have been in use at the site at a rather earlier date; the date assumed to mark the closing of this period is much more secure in that it is based upon coarse pottery and samian ware, which cannot be much earlier than the closing years of the first century A.D., or later than the first decade of the second century A.D' (Detsicas 1963: 129).

With the subsequent excavation of the first baths, which were believed to have gone out of use *c.* AD 120,

the dating for Period 1 was revised to AD 55-65 to allow time for the various alterations to the first baths (Detsicas 1964: 133; 1965: 70). However, it will be argued below that the first baths survived until AD 150-180 so the revised dating of Period 1 may therefore be too early, but it is nevertheless unlikely that the first house survived beyond *c.* AD 80. The dating of AD 65 suggested by Detsicas for the end of the period was based on 'pottery stratified in the destruction layers of the granary, which is largely of Neronian date, with some earlier fabrics and forms...' (Detsicas 1965: 88); therefore the end date for the granary could scarcely be any earlier, and one a few years afterwards would be quite permissible. The granary could have been demolished before the early house.

The timber building

Traces of a timber building were found to the south of the later *frigidarium* of the Period 4 Baths (Detsicas 1974: 121-122, fig. 2). A floor of yellow mortar 25-50mm thick, directly on Roman plough soil, measured 4.50m east-west and perhaps 12.45m north-south although its northern extent was unclear because of disturbance when the baths were robbed. Two beam slots cut through the mortar at right angles formed an internal room with a gap indicating a doorway on the southern side and perhaps a passage to its west. Although not encountered, similar beam slots for the structure's outer walls were assumed.

Although no dating evidence was found below the floor, Detsicas proposed that it belonged to the early period. It is more or less in line with the westernmost first period wall, but would lie outside this presumed enclosure wall. It is unlikely to have been constructed during Period 3 as it would have been out of keeping with the grand building and garden which followed, although it could have been built in Period 2 before wings were added or during Period 5. Its function is unclear because of the lack of finds.

Period 2

In the later part of the 1st century, it was thought that the early dwelling house was demolished and replaced by a long strip building to the east, associated with a bath building constructed next to the former house. The baths, and probably the new house, were well appointed, with evidence for mosaics in the former. The baths underwent several changes, before they were demolished perhaps decades after the north and south wings had been added to the house. It is suggested here that this Period 3 major building project took place c. AD 120 while the Period 2 baths continued in use until AD 150-180.

Period two 'thumbnail' plan.
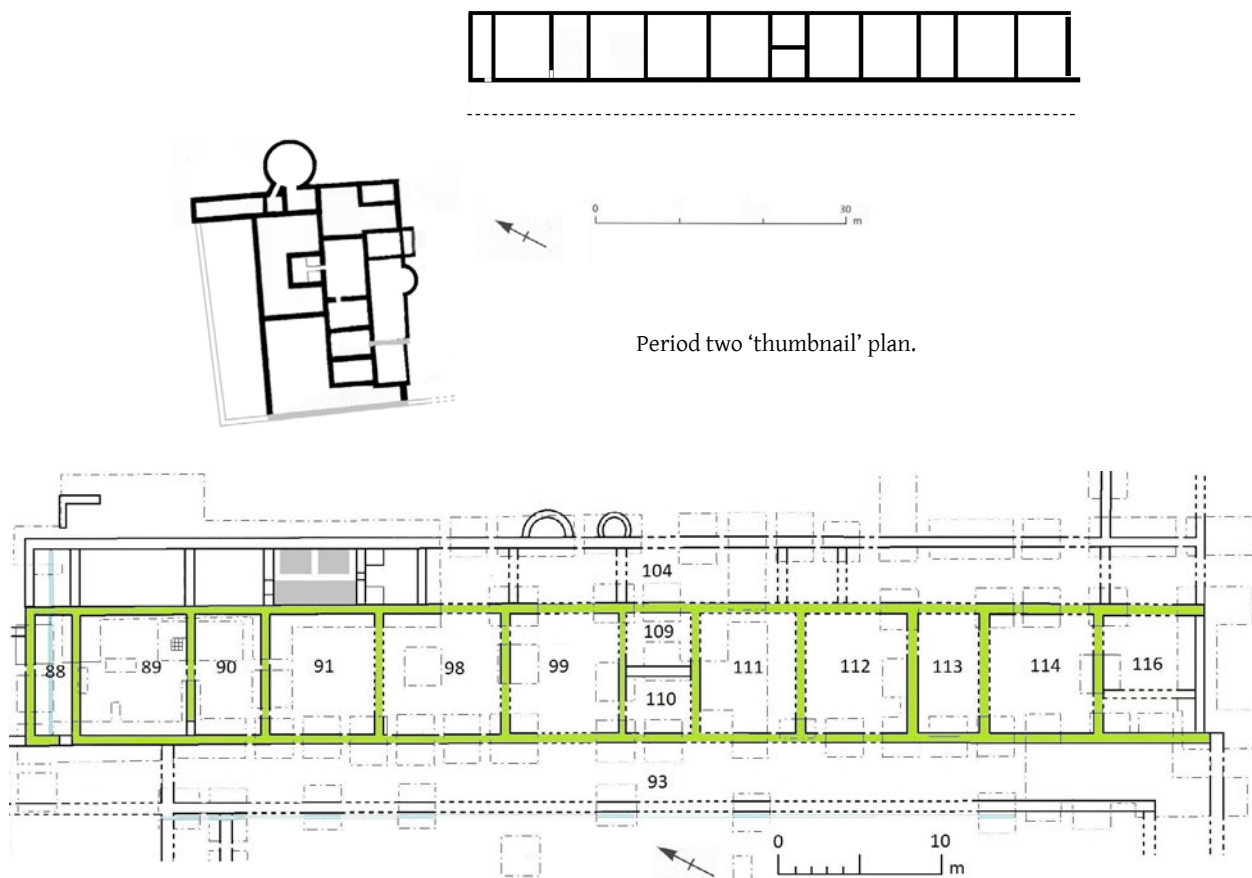
Figure 3.5. Period 2 house (for the key see the caption to Figure 3.1).

The main house

In its earliest phase, the house comprised 12 rooms in a line, 75m by 8.75m overall (excluding any possible *porticus)*. The walls were of ragstone set in yellow mortar; below floor level, the external walls were about 0.76m wide and above the floor-level off-set, 0.61m; partition walls in the northern part of the building were only 0.46m thick, whereas the wall between Rooms 108 and 111 and those southwards were wider at 0.61m (this might be because they did not survive to floor level where the offset might have been). The walls above the off-sets had been rendered with bright yellow mortar on which was painted wall-plaster (Detsicas 1968: 41), at least in the northern rooms. The southern wall (the south wall of Room 116) was constructed of flint and yellow mortar rather than ragstone, and was butted against the east and west walls; the west wall extends about 0.30m beyond its line (Detsicas 1971: 27). The southern end wall was assumed, therefore, to have been built at a later date; no trace of an earlier south wall was found (Detsicas 1972: 104). The conclusion was that the southern room (116) was open-ended on the south side.

The rooms are described from north to south. **Room 88** (7.46m by 2.44m) was probably a corridor. Its north and south walls were almost entirely robbed, and traces only of *opus signinum* remained of its original flooring

(Detsicas 1968: 42, fig. 2, Section AA, Layer 9). There was a doorway 0.91m wide at the western end close to the south-west corner. The room may have originally led from the east *porticus* towards the baths; later the doorway gave access to Room 37, the extension to the west *porticus.* **Room 89** (7.46m by 6.86m) was tessellated at some point, and red tesserae survived *in situ* close to the west wall; the rest was assumed to have been removed during the 4th century. There was a doorway 0.91m wide through to Room 90 to the south. This had later been blocked with ragstone and whitish mortar characteristic of Period 3 (Detsicas 1968: 42-43, fig. 2, Section AA). In **Room 90** (7.46m by 4.42m) were found patches of red tessellation which had escaped destruction by the plough, although its *opus signinum* base had survived comparatively well, despite some frost damage (Detsicas 1968: 43). The neighbouring **Room 91** (7.46m by 6.86m) was assumed to have had similar flooring originally; it also had a well-preserved bedding of *opus signinum*, but here no tessellation survived. The walls were 'totally robbed' (Detsicas 1969: 97). Whether the red tessellation, which would be unusual for such an early date, survived in these rooms for 300 years is questionable, and therefore perhaps the flooring was originally *opus signinum*, later used as the base for a tessellated floor. **Room 98** (7.46m by 7.69m) and **Room 99** (7.46m by 7.01m) were floored with 'yellow mortar on a make-up layer of clay', unlike the

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Figure 3.6. Plan of south end of main building.

ploughing owing to the 'slight depth of the topsoil' but the subfloors were found to be the same as in Room 108 (Detsicas 1970: 38; 1971: 27). The south wall of Room 116 was constructed in flint, butt-jointed against the other walls, and there was no evidence found that it superseded an earlier wall (Figure 3.6). The ends of the east and west walls were 'regularly finished' and no foundation trenches were found beyond them (Detsicas 1971: 27). Detsicas came to the conclusion that the room was originally open-ended and afterwards blocked off; the room itself was divided into two (**Rooms 130** and **131**) at the same time. There is no indication as to when the enclosing wall was constructed. Its flint and mortar construction does not match that of subsequent building phases, and it is therefore possible that Room 116 was not open-ended for long (Detsicas 1971: 27).

Discussion

The first phase of the house as an exceptionally long simple row of rooms is unusual; internally its length was more or less ten times its breadth. If the interpretation is correct, it represents a barrack-like construction. There are many small villas of three to seven rooms in this configuration, but one might expect that 12 rooms would normally be arranged on three sides of a 'courtyard', as the villa at Eccles would become subsequently. On the evidence presented by Detsicas, it would seem to have been the case, although the basis for dating the construction of the Period 2 house is not altogether clear other than its wall-construction matched that of the Period 2 baths. Moreover, the fact that the winged version was asymmetrical suggests that the wings were added subsequently when the baths were already in place. There was no large reception/dining room at the centre of the house. This was not always the normal arrangement in early villas, or indeed, town-houses, and often a fairly narrow room divided into two lay at the centre, as occurred at some stage, if not from the outset, in Room 108 (to create Rooms 109 and 110). The fact that a later pair of features, possible statue bases or some sort of archway, lay to the east of the building directly in line with Room 108 gives credence to this being the point of entry (see below p49).

rooms to the north. There was evidence in the former for open hearths, which were probably late features described under Period 5 (Detsicas 1969: 97).

Room 108 (divided with a north-south wall to form **Rooms 109/110**) measured 7.46m by 4.11m. The walls were mostly robbed and the floors destroyed except for 'redeposited yellow clay' just below the topsoil and scored by ploughing (Detsicas 1970: 38). The floors of **Room 111** (7.46m by 6.10m), **Room 112** (7.46m by 6.55m), **Room 113** (7.46m by 4.04m), **Room 114** (7.46m by 6.71m) and **Room 116** (7.46m by 5.79m) were lost to

Although the arrangement of rooms is not symmetrical, Rooms 89-91 and 112-114 form near identical suites of three rooms at either end; each suite consists of two large rooms flanking a narrower one, from which, perhaps, access was gained from a *porticus*. J. T. Smith (1978: 161; followed by Black 1987: 23, fig. 9) considered the building to have had three separate 'units' of accommodation – in effect three houses – comprising 88-98, 99-111 and 112-116, each with a narrow room flanked by larger ones. While it is not impossible that, at this stage, the villa was divided into three modest households sharing elaborate baths, it seems unlikely; the arrangement of square and narrow rooms is the norm in much smaller villas and town houses, and is perhaps more to do with access between rooms and privacy.

The supposed open-ended Room 116 is unusual. It should be noted that the open-ended Room 14 at Farningham 2, described as an 'entrance', was blocked by a flint-and-mortar wall in the first half of the 2nd century (Meates 1973: 9). It is unlikely that Room 116 was left unfinished at Eccles, as one would expect external walls to be constructed before the roof was added, or that it replaced a collapsed wall, because the material would probably have been re-used and the appearance of the east and west walls does not support this theory. It is difficult to understand how such a room could have been an entrance at Eccles, and no close parallel for such can be cited. J. T. Smith suggested that Room 116 was a shrine, also, in his view, by analogy with the open-ended room at Farningham 2 (Smith 1997: 130-1, fig. 37). However, there is no evidence that either room served this function.

It is unknown whether the building had an upper storey. The walls, while wide enough to support a second floor, were not especially substantial, and no room obviously lends itself to having had a staircase. The question of an upper storey must remain open, but the building would have looked all the better for it. Signs of luxury, evident in the first baths, were singularly lacking from the rooms themselves. For instance, no rooms were heated by hypocausts at this stage. On the available evidence, the rooms at the north end with tessellated floors were superior, having social implications. This is perhaps an accident of survival as the floors had been lost to ploughing in the southern rooms. Given that mosaics of high quality came from the baths, it is perhaps difficult to believe that no mosaics ever existed in the main house, but no mention is made of fine tesserae within its rooms. They might have been removed or totally lost, of course, and, although the red tessellation might have been the coarse border of a lost mosaic panel, it is perhaps significant that no mosaics are known from the initial phases of similar large villas, such as Gadebridge Park, Hertfordshire (Neal 1974: 17-26);

no surviving mosaics were found in the early phase at Box, Wiltshire although loose tesserae suggest that some may have existed but were destroyed (Corney 2012: 52-53); Darenth, for instance, only had plain red tessellation, despite its grand design. However, red tessellated borders are not typical in the later 1st century when white tessellated borders were the norm, as in the Period 2 baths at Eccles and at other early sites in south-east Britain, most notably Fishbourne, West Sussex (Neal and Cosh 2009: 532-544). It therefore has to be questioned whether the red tessellation in the house belonged to this early period or was later flooring, perhaps when the house was refurbished *c.* AD 300, and the tessellated floors reflect a late residential arrangement in part of the building as at Farningham 2 (Meates 1973: 9-12). A good deal of mosaic and wall-plaster debris was used as foundations for walls in later rooms subdividing the eastern *porticus* in Period 4; this may have been derived from demolition material as a result of refurbishment of the house (see below p53).

At first it was assumed that Room 104, the eastern *porticus*, was part of the original structure. Later Detsicas changed his opinion and, rather than the eastern *porticus*, the western one is shown on his phasing plan for his period of AD 65-120. He posited an open-ended western *porticus* (designated Room 102) built of timber, preceding, and totally destroyed by, the later masonry equivalent. This is possible, and a masonry *porticus* succeeded a timber one at several sites, including the late first-century villa at Faversham (Philp 1968: 67); but no post holes were encountered at Eccles to indicate one. His plan also included the long parallel pool for this period. This more probably belonged to the phase of construction when the *porticus* was turned to extend to the west from either end to front wings in Period 3. The walls of the western *porticus* were not integrated with the strip building as are those of its eastern equivalent. Nevertheless, one or the other was certainly required to allow movement between rooms. If the original *porticus* were on the east side, access to the villa at this stage – and possibly throughout the life of the villa – was from the Roman road to the east. With a more conventional east-facing *porticus*, the passage at the northern end (Room 88) makes more sense, as it provided a route to the then detached baths. The fact that Room 104, the eastern *porticus*, was later divided into rooms suggests that it had solid walls with windows rather than being half open to the elements with its roof supported by small pillars. While this does not preclude it from being part of the original structure, it perhaps better fits as the 'rear' *porticus* of Period 3. This could equally have succeeded a timber version, leaving no trace, as was suggested for the hypothetical early western *porticus*. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that the villa did not face the river to the west.

The first baths

Detsicas recognised three major building phases of these early baths (A-C); it is possible that a simpler bath-suite preceded them. At their height, they were exceptionally elaborate and were adorned with polychrome mosaic and painted wall-plaster including 'panels and floral medallions'. The first baths had been demolished before parts of the Period 3 and 4 baths buildings were constructed over them, although it is very likely that they coexisted with the early phase of the Period 3 winged-corridor house.

Conjectural first phase

This comprised Rooms 52, 39 and 28 and the two small extensions (water baths) 29 and 38 (Figure 3.7). It appears likely that the Period I dwelling was still
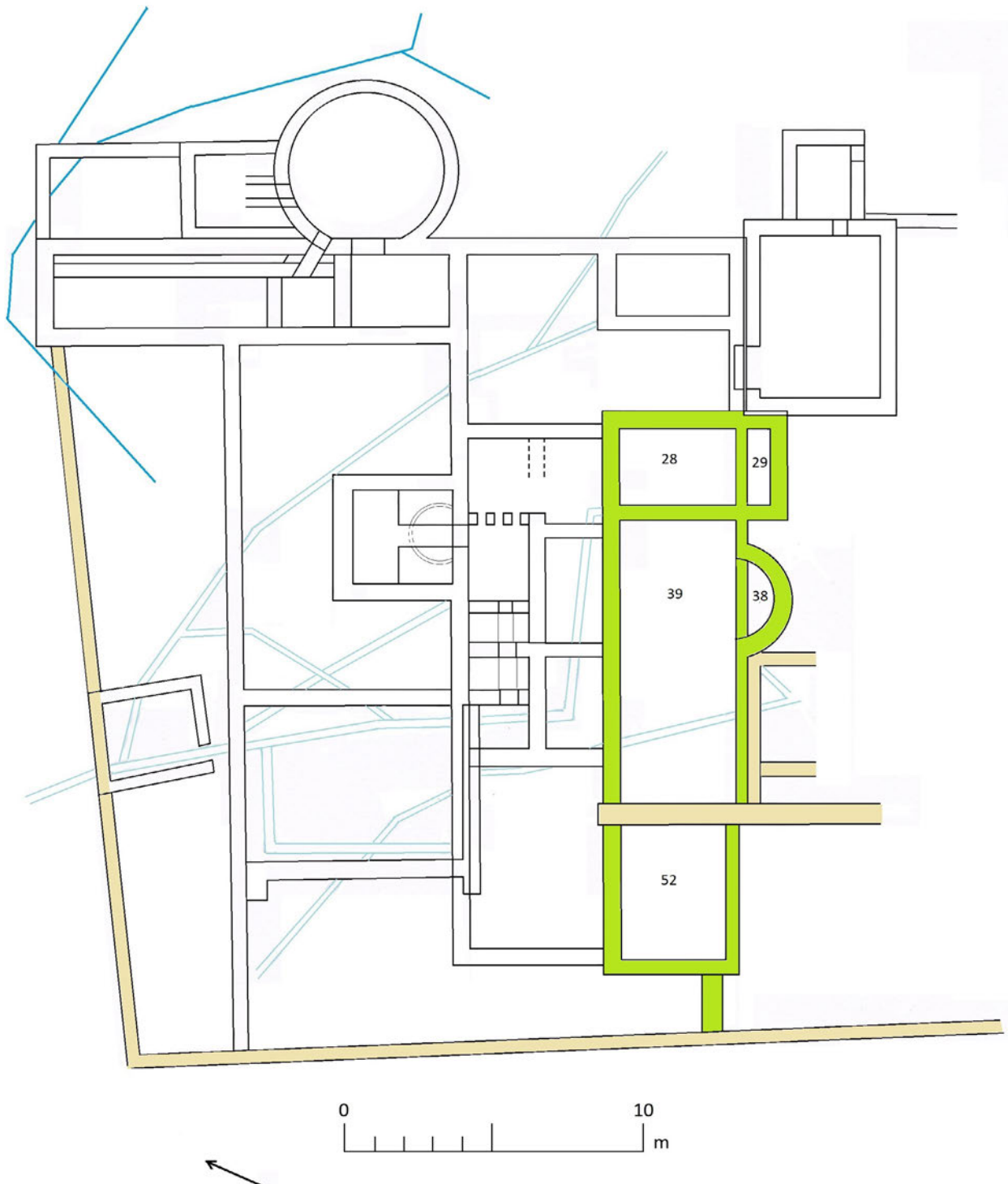
Figure 3.7. Conjectural early phase of the Period 2 baths (for the key see the caption to Figure 3.1).

in place when it was built because the south wall (at 0.45m in width narrower than the 0.60m of the presumed exterior north wall) was built against the north wall of the dwelling's Room 53 and 54, and the apsidal Room 38 respected the supposed corner of the earlier structure; the wall extending northwards from the west side of the earlier building was utilised as the west wall of the baths, dividing the heated rooms (Room 39) from the *praefurnium* (Room 52), although as can be seen on Figure 3.8 it narrows at this point. It has every appearance of a typical *reihentyp* bath-suite of the period where the *praefurnium* (furnace room), *caldarium* (hot room), *tepidarium* (warm room) and *frigidarium* (cold room) are laid out in a row. **Room 52** was the *praefurnium* (4.80m by 3.50m) (Detsicas 1965: 75-76; 1966: 48-49). Apart from its north wall, the others are 0.46m thick, robbed to the lowest course. Evidence for a furnace was found at the south end of its east wall, the main part of which might be expected to be in a central position, an area mostly unexcavated. The floor consisted of 'two layers of bonding-tiles set in clay and mostly covered by a thick deposit of soot and ashes'; this may be the remnants of such a furnace (*testudo*). In this case **Room 39** (9.75m by 3.81m overall) would have had a rectangular hot-water bath at the west end nearest the furnace, conventionally raised to allow the flow of hot air beneath and subsequently totally demolished as was so often the case. Next to this would have been a roughly square *caldarium* divided from the *tepidarium* above floor level (part of the under-floor support survives); the latter had an apsidal warm-water bath (**Room 38**) on the south side. Finally **Rooms 28** and **29**, the *frigidarium* (3.81m by 2.74m) with a small cold-water bath (2.74m by 0.76m), was also on the south side. These last two rooms, however, had traces of tile *pilae*, later removed from the *opus signinum* floor, and indicating that it was a heated room. That does not preclude the possibility that it started life as the *frigidarium* with a small cold-water bath. Detsicas refers to the drain under Rooms 58, 55 and 56 as probably coming from there. When a larger and plusher version of the *frigidarium* was added, it would have been natural to increase the heated area over the former cold room, as also occurred, for example, at Halstock in Dorset (Lucas 1993: 135). This group of rooms makes little sense in Detsicas' first phase (A), which should perhaps be seen as an enlargement of existing baths, incorporating more lavish facilities.

Phase 2A (Detsicas 1965, 72-9) (Figure 3.10)

If indeed the conjectural first baths preceded those of Phase A, that part remained unchanged apart from a pillared hypocaust being inserted into Rooms 28 and 29. Assuming that it was not of one build and, contrary to the excavator's belief, rooms were added to the north and east side. The new walls do not align with the old,
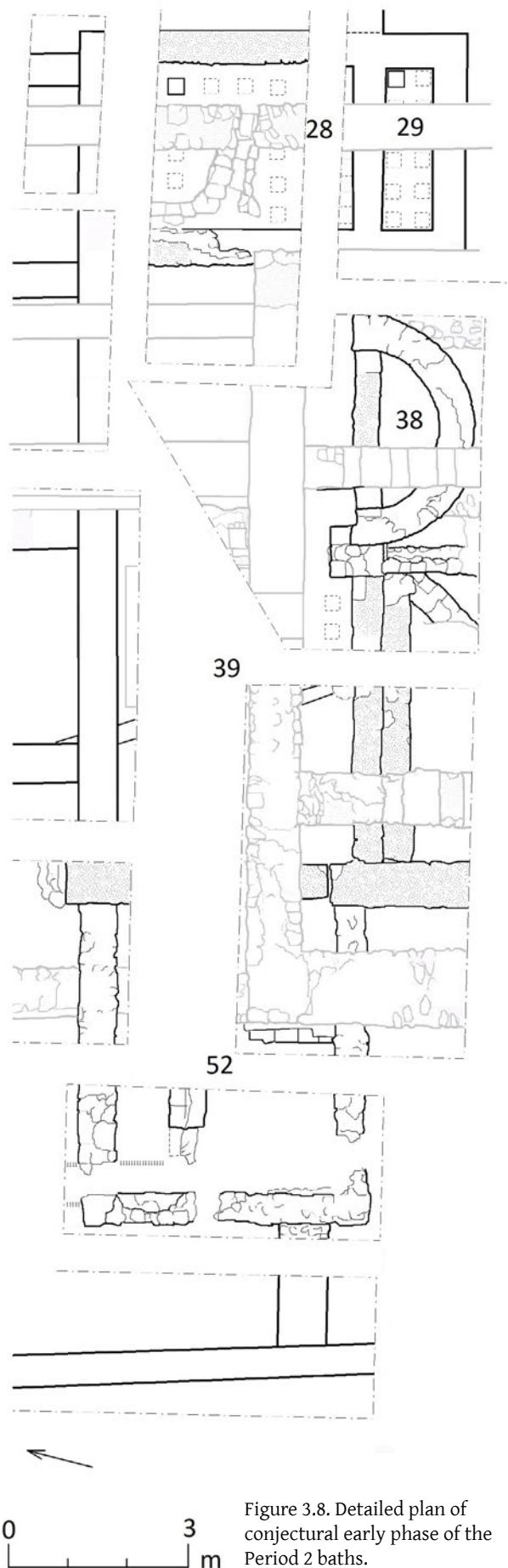
Figure 3.8. Detailed plan of conjectural early phase of the Period 2 baths.

Figure 3.9. The apse of the Period 2 baths, early walls and oblique drain beneath later structures crossing over it (mostly dismantled during excavation).

392 (Mosaic III 369.3)). A drain led from its north-west corner under the floor of Room 30.

The heated rooms lay to the north of the conjectural earlier arrangement, with a *praefurnium* constructed against their north wall: **Room 46** (3.51m by 3.20m) (Detsicas 1965: 77-79; 1966: 47). The cheeks of the furnace were rebuilt and lengthened on at least one occasion, and in the earlier version (Figure 3.11) the concave nature of the cheeks probably indicate the emplacement for a cylindrical boiler (*miliarium*), usually of lead and copper-bottomed, from which a pipe would have supplied the hot water to the bath in **Room 58**, the *caldarium* (7.16m by 4.42m). It is extremely unlikely that the whole room was a hot-water bath as Detsicas (1965: 76) surmised. It probably had a rectangular or semicircular bath supported by *pilae* or a tile structure, all removed during demolition. Given the position of the drain running obliquely through the north wall at the west end of the room, and a possible inlet pipe near to it, there was probably a hot-water bath in the north-west corner. An unpublished section drawing north-south across Rooms 46 and 58 shows successive *opus signinum* bases for Room 58's hypocaust before the room was reduced in size. This may indicate that the hypocaust was rebuilt, probably at the same time as the *testudo* was remodelled.

except the south wall beyond Room 29 which, at 0.60m, is wider than the wall it continues, and corresponds to the width of all the other Phase 2A walls.

The *frigidarium*, **Room 30** (8.99m by 5.79m) had a large cold plunge bath (Room 31) in the south-east corner (Detsicas 1964: 124-5; 1965: 74). The room had a white tessellated floor, possibly the border for a mosaic, as a small piece of tessellation was found in the north-east corner, laid on *opus signinum* with a 'bedding of compact mortar and gravel' (Detsicas 1965: 74). No flooring was found below the mortar and rubble debris covering the southern part of the room west of the bath. 'Room 31', the rectangular cold plunge bath, measured 3.96m by 2.13m internally. The walls were of ragstone and yellow mortar, the south wall being 0.61m while the west wall was 0.46m; the increased width perhaps indicates a step or seat within the bath. Its floor was of *opus signinum*, 0.30m thick and clearly had a tessellated or mosaic floor, and probably sides, as a few white tesserae were found *in situ* 'in one or two places at the junctions of floor and walls' (Detsicas 1964: 124). This would not be unusual in early baths in Kent, for example at Farningham 2 and Wingham (Neal and Cosh 2009: 374,

West of Room 58 was a pair of rooms, **Room 55** (3.20m by 1.68m) and **Room 56** (3.20m by 2.29m). The latter was heated as a flue ran through its east wall connecting it to the *caldarium* (Room 58). Its function is unclear: it would not be a typical *tepidarium* and one might have expected Rooms 55 and 56 to have originally been a single room. Perhaps Rooms 28 and 39 now fulfilled that role. **Room 55** was possibly an anteroom giving access to Rooms 57, 56 and 58. As in the rooms to the east, no floor survived in **Room 57** (4.57m by 3.20m) and its use is unknown. **Room 73** (4.80m by about 2.40m) lay to the west. Its walls were reduced to the lowest course and its floor lost, except for a little *opus signinum* by the north wall where an entrance was conjectured. Its function is unclear but as a drain began near its north-east corner, it was thought that it might have been a latrine (Detsicas 1966: 48).

The mosaics

A number of displaced pieces of mosaic came from the baths, which Detsicas assumed to have originally floored Room 30 because white tessellation survived *in*
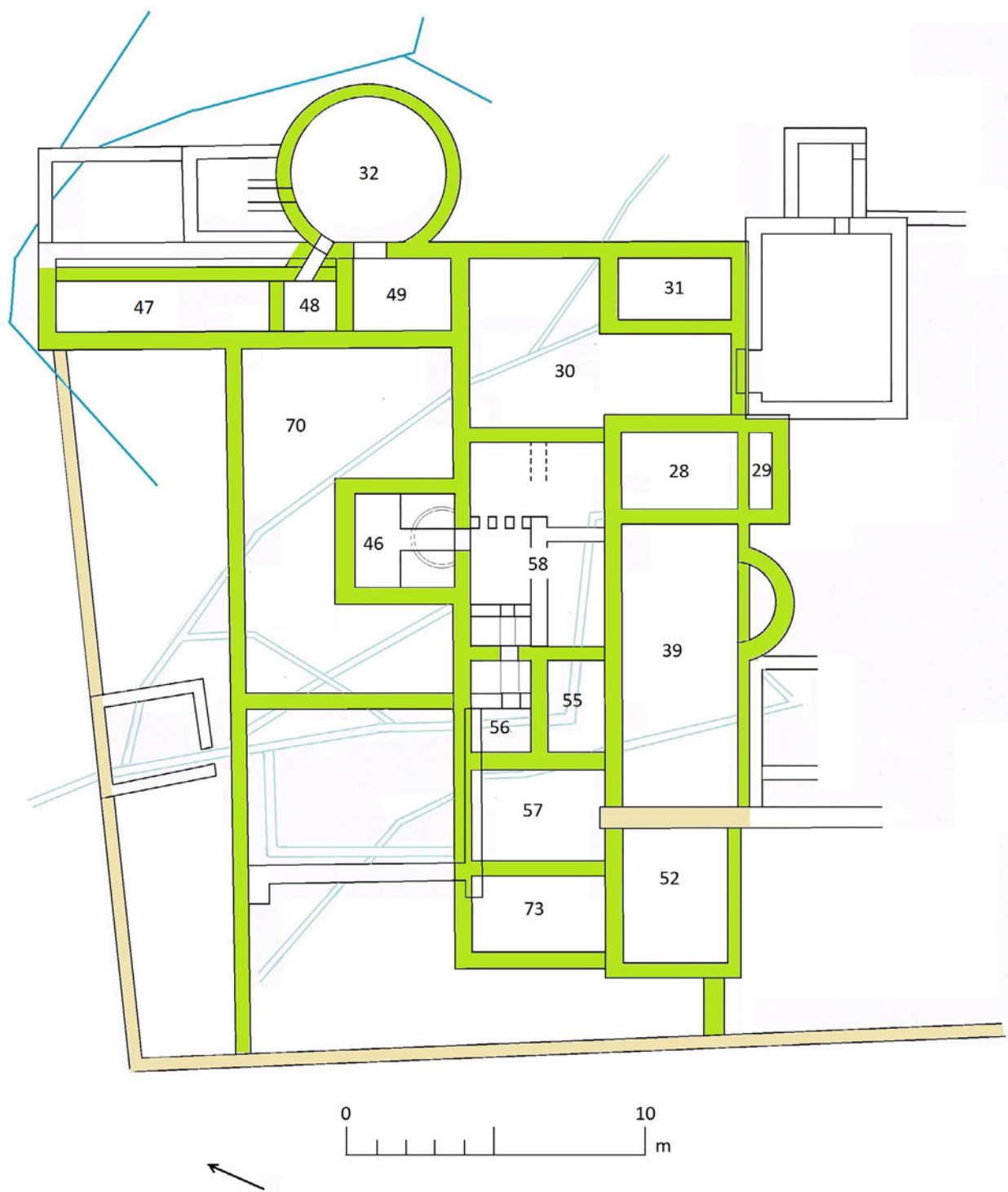
Figure 3.10. Phase 2A baths.

situ there. However, as the mosaic fragments were found in the fill of the *praefurnium* (Room 46) directly over ash and soot, it perhaps should be associated with the demolition work when Room 46 went out of use. Room 30 remained unaltered in this refurbishment, which saw the removal of the floor of the large *caldarium* and bath in Room 58. It is therefore more likely that the mosaic paved Room 58 and its bath. Nevertheless Room 30 clearly had a mosaic or at least a plain tessellated pavement, which was all but destroyed. David Neal's

skilful but highly conjectural painting (Figure 3.13) based on the fragments from the *praefurnium* (Room 46), reconstructing the floor as complete is far from being the only possible interpretation (Detsicas 1965: frontispiece). The tiny figured pieces are quite likely to have been part of a gladiatorial contest, but the surrounding geometrical elements of lozenges, stylised flowers and guilloche need not have been in a square arrangement as shown. A square panel would have been awkwardly positioned in either Room 30 or 58; Detsicas

Figure 3.11. Original Testudo showing possible circular emplacement for hot water tank (*miliarium*).

Figure 3.12. Later furnace and arch (later blocking removed).

(1965: 74) assumed that the mosaic paved the northern part of Room 30. Three or four fragments appear to be part of a shaded sinuous feature in black, white and grey at first thought to be dolphin and later as probably a marine creature (Neal 1965: 91; Neal and Cosh 2009: 372, fig. 345, 346d), perhaps adorning a water-bath for which
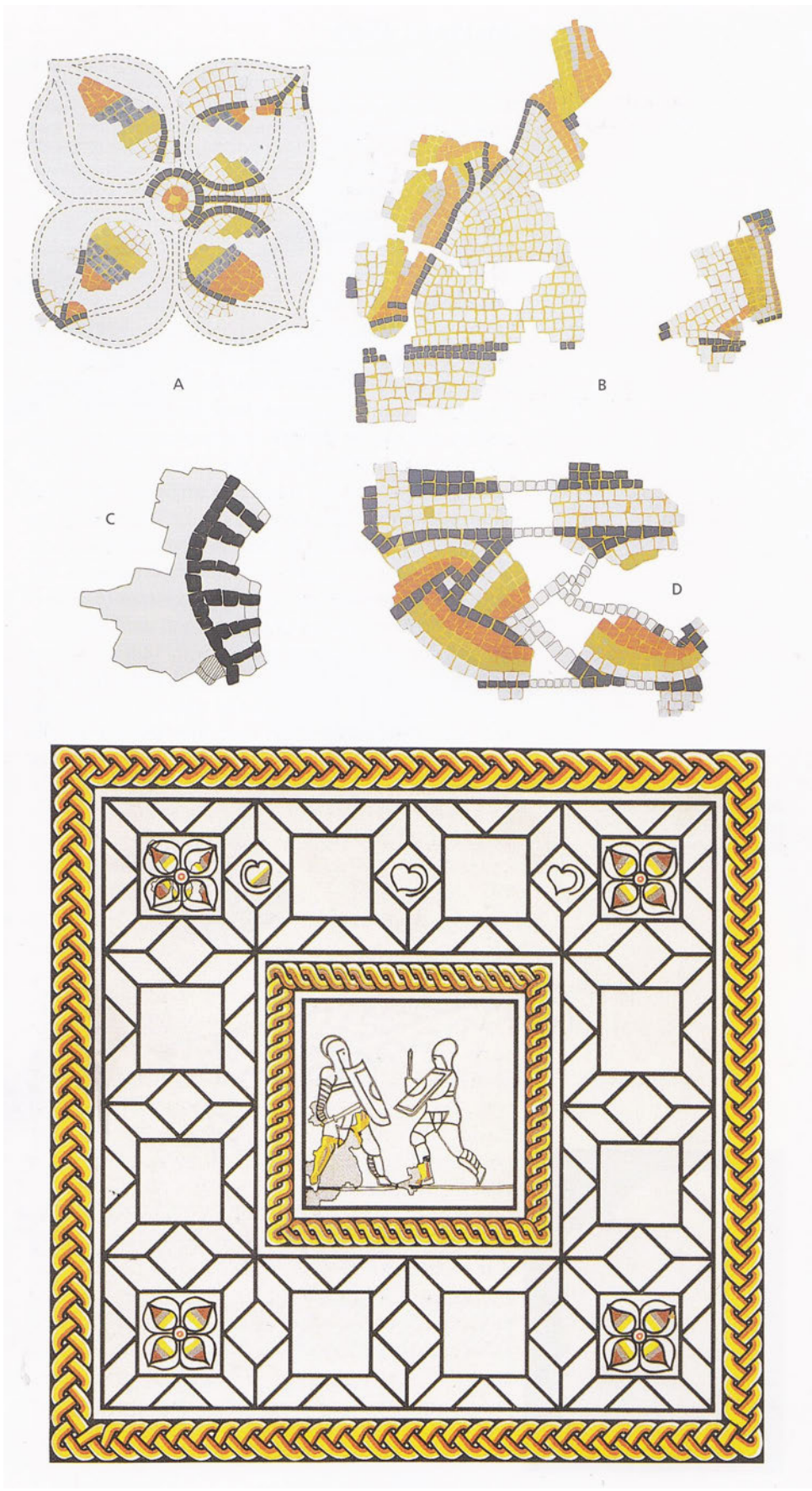
Figure 3.13. Some of the fragments from a figured mosaic, found in the fill of Room 46, with speculative reconstruction by D S Neal below.

the subject matter would be appropriate, but again this identification is far from certain and the pieces could alternatively be part of the conjectural gladiatorial scene (Witts 2016: 69). The fragments of mosaics from Eccles are considered in much greater detail by the author elsewhere (Neal and Cosh 2009: 269-273, figs 345-347, Mosaics III, 354.1-354.2). In addition to these, small fragments of fine black and white tesserae were found in debris to the north of Room 69, and probably came from this early bath-house. An analysis of the tesserae from Eccles identified their principal source as Dorset, in common with several other early sites in southern England (Allen and Fulford 2004: 24-25).

Laconicum

What makes these baths rather unusual is **Room 32** extending from the north east of the first baths (Detsicas 1964: 122). It was circular in plan, 5.49m in diameter, heated by a pillared hypocaust and was therefore identified as a *laconicum,* a bathroom for intense dry heat (Figure 3.14). The walls were 0.46m thick and built using ragstone and bright yellow mortar, rendered externally with yellow mortar and a coat of whitewash, and internally with yellow mortar above the floor level of the room, which was marked by a ledge of tile. The *pilae* were of stacks of tiles (*bessales*), of which parts of at least 36 survived, originally 0.71m high. These were constructed on a floor of 'hard yellow mortar aggregate' 50mm thick on a bed of mortared ragstone 0.30m thick laid directly on the subsoil. The rows of *pilae* were aligned with the original stoke-hole on the north-west side, 0.56m wide and constructed in tile, served by a 1.83m square *praefurnium* (**Room 48**) which lay below the *opus signinum* of the later Room 59. The *laconicum* was entered from the *frigidarium* via an anteroom (**Room 49**) with doorways in its east and presumably south
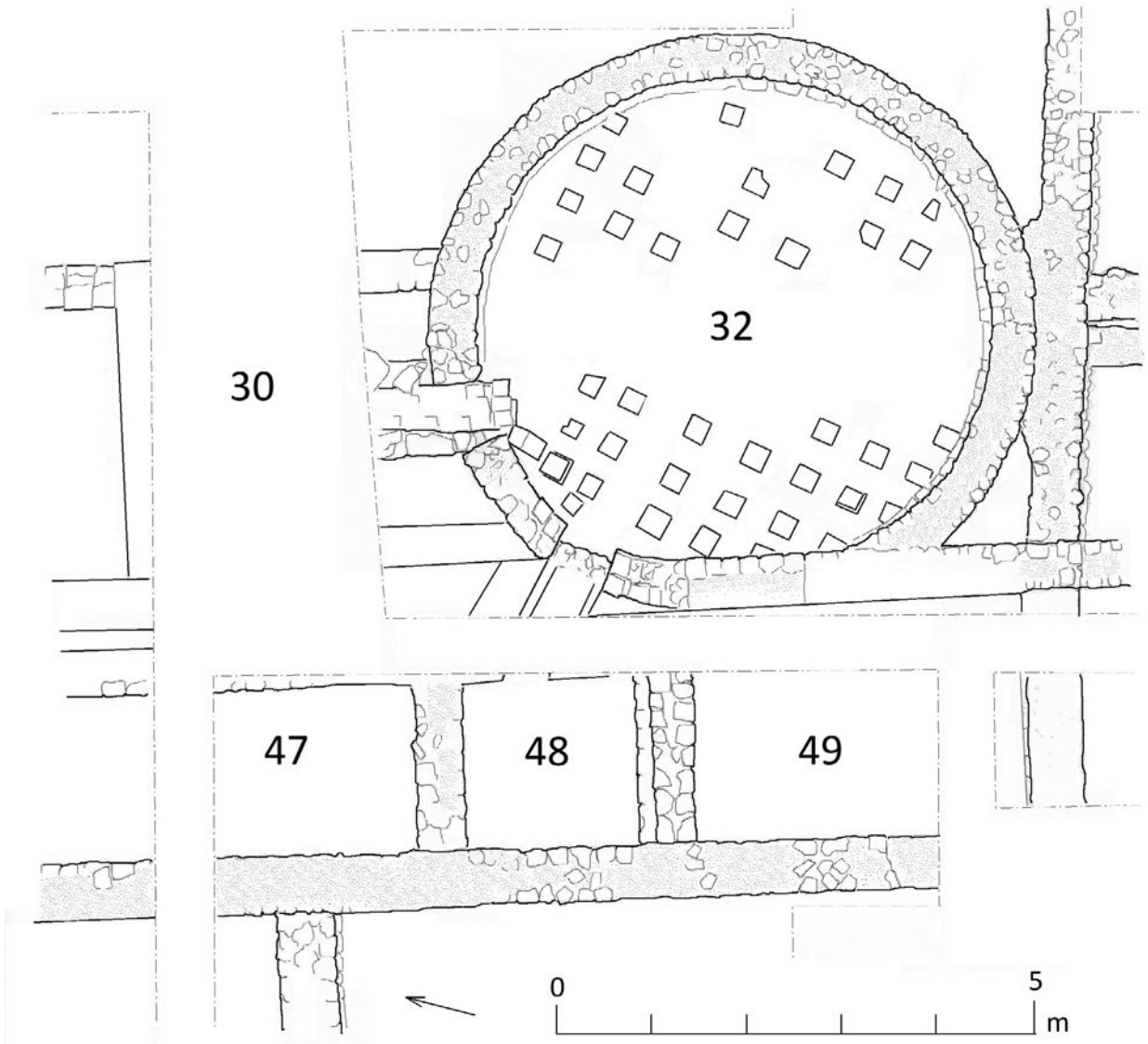
Figure 3.14. Plan of the *Laconicum* (Room 32).

Figure 3.15. Plan of the Phase 2B-C baths.

walls, and, although Room 32 was almost detached from the rest of the baths, was contemporary. To the north of the *praefurnium* (Room 48) was a narrow room or corridor (**Room 47**) 7.31m by 1.83m with a white mortar floor. Its function is obscure as it is not an obvious route to anywhere and its shape is strange for a wood-store, as rooms adjacent to *praefurnia* are often interpreted. Its east wall was afterwards demolished and was also overlain by the floor of Room 59. The awkward positioning of the

furnace, obstructing the passage, may well have been the reason for rebuilding here.

This circular *laconicum* is very unusual in a villa context; more normally it is found in civic or military baths. However, another example, with a slightly smaller internal diameter (5.18m), was excavated in a detached bath-house at Ashtead villa, Surrey and was associated with first-century pottery (Lowther 1927: 148, fig. 1; 1929: 1-3; 1930, 133).

Phase 2B-C (Detsicas 1965, 79-82, fig. 2)

Two major alterations were made to the baths, not necessarily contemporaneously. Firstly, the large *caldarium* (Room 58) of Phase A was reduced in size and its stoke-hole blocked by mortared ragstone, thus making the *praefurnium* (Room 46) redundant and, as already mentioned, it was probably then that it was filled with debris including fragments of mosaic, lying directly over the ash and soot from the furnace; it is unclear why Detsicas believed that there was a lengthy hiatus before this occurred (Detsicas 1965: 79), perhaps because of his assumption that the mosaic came from the *frigidarium* which continued to function long after the *praefurnium*'s disuse. The fill was associated with two coins of Nerva (AD 96-98) indicating that this occurred after *c.* AD 100. Instead the baths were reconstructed as (or reverted to) a more conventional form of hot/warm baths sequence. This was achieved by building an east-west wall across the former Room 58, continuing the line of the division between Rooms 55 and 56, to create, from west to east, new Rooms 65, 63 and 61. Room 56 became the new *praefurnium* (renumbered as **Room 66** in this phase) with a *testudo* (boiler supports) in the east of the room. It is unusually off-centre, doubtless because the Phase 2A flue from Room 58 into Room 56 already existed in this position. The eastern part of the excavator's **Room 65** would have been the hot-water bath about 0.90m by about 2.10m although no trace of

it remained. Detsicas believed that the northern wall of Room 56 had been removed in this phase and then reinstated in Phase D or E (see Detsicas 1965: fig. 2), but this seems unlikely and he probably misinterpreted the arrangement. **Rooms 63** (2.29m by 2.13m) and **61** (2.74m by 2.13m) were then the *caldarium* and *tepidarium* respectively. Traces of tile *pilae* were found, and the two rooms were separated below floor level by a 'slight wall' 0.30m wide built with tiles bonded with yellow mortar and rendered in *opus signinum* (Detsicas 1965: pl. IV A); three flues 0.30m wide connected the two hypocausts (Figure 3.16). Presumably Room 30 remained the *frigidarium*. Two new rooms (62 and 64) were created in the former Room 58 running parallel to the new heated baths, with floors of mortar built up to the level of the floors of the heated rooms. **Room 62** (3.05m by 1.83m) was almost certainly entered from Room 30 and gave access to the new *tepidarium* (Room 61) where a 0.90m doorway between them was found at the western end. The function of **Room 64** (3.35m by 1.83m), and indeed Room 55 and other rooms beyond, is unclear; no doorway survived between Room 62 and 64, if one ever existed.

It is unclear what occasioned this change, but the reduction in Room 58's size may indicate that the former large *caldarium* became unmanageable. Possibly its floor collapsed; it has often been noted at other sites that mosaics over hypocausts have extensive repairs.

Figure 3.16. Rooms 63 and 61 of Period 2B showing division between *caldarium* and *tepidarium* (right).

Figure 3.17. Same view with *opus signinum* removed to reveal furnace arch (unblocked), drain and wall flues of Period 2A (Room 58).

This could explain why a high-quality mosaic was discarded relatively soon after it was laid.

To the west of the new hot baths was a presumably open area designated **Room 70** (7.47m by 12.19m around (and perhaps over) the disused *praefurnium* (Room 46). This may have been a *palaestra* (exercise yard) although no flooring was discovered. West of this, walls were constructed to create the large **Room 71** (7.62m by 5.33m) presumably involving the demolition of rooms at the west end of the baths (Rooms 57 and 73). The new west wall was buttressed perhaps suggesting that the area was roofed. Part of its tiled floor was found in the south-east corner. Drains ran parallel to the walls probably identifying this room as the latrine (Detsicas 1966: 47-48).

The second major development was the alteration in the position of the furnace of the *laconicum* (Room 32) to enable the construction of a new room, 59, overlying the demolished former furnace in Room 48 and Room 49 to its north. The previous flue was blocked with mortared ragstone.

Room 59 (9.14m by 2.44m), floored in *opus signinum*, was now the same width as, and the east wall aligned with that of, Room 49. It was renumbered **60** in this phase even though it remained unaltered, except, presumably a doorway in its north wall to communicate with the new room. Room 60 may have continued as an *apodyterium* (changing room) as suggested, but its

use as an anteroom can be further justified once it had three doorways. It is possible that Room 59 now became an *apodyterium*.

The new furnace for the *laconicum* was created on its north side within **Room 50** (2.44m by about 3.00m-3.50m). It had ragstone walls 0.46m thick, its west wall built against the east wall of Room 59 and bonded with it. Although no entrance was found, it was assumed to have been through the east wall. Next to it, **Room 69** (4.65m by 2.97m) had a north and east wall 0.46m thick constructed of tiles bedded in clay, and abutting onto the north wall of Room 50, suggesting that it was built later. It was floored in 'white mortar' through which a 'tiled drain' had been cut. However, it would appear that the water-pipe was already in place when Room 69 was built as it neatly skirted around the earlier Room 47. The room was considered to be the wood-store for the furnace (Detsicas 1966: 49).

Room 26

Detsicas (1964, 127-8) placed **Room 26** as a late addition to the Period 3 baths, at least partly on the basis that the mortar used was off-white as in the north wing containing later baths; below it will be proposed that it indeed had a similar date to the Period 3A north wing but separate from it. It was a large room (6.10m by 4.57m) with walls 0.61m thick, largely robbed except for the south and parts of the east side (Figs. 3.19 and 3.20). It had a pillared hypocaust. The base of the hypocaust was

Figure 3.18. Final phase of the Period 2 baths.

of hard yellow mortar, 50mm thick, laid on a foundation of ragstone. A few base tiles of the *pilae* built on this floor survived *in situ*, each 0.30m square; several detached smaller tiles were found. Originally these *pilae* were 0.61m high, level with slight ledges in the walls. The fill of the room contained chunks of *opus signinum* from the floor, but very few *pilae* tiles, suggesting recycling. According to the excavator's day book (1963, 68) similar fragments from a mosaic were found towards the north-

west and north-east corners and these may possibly have floored this room. Originally a tiled arch through the east wall led to the *praefurnium* chamber, **Room 27** (1.83m by 2.44m). It had narrower walls (0.46m) breached by a doorway with a tiled threshold through its south wall beside the south-east corner. Upon the tiled floor, which was laid directly upon the subsoil, was a thick layer of ash and soot. Photographs (for example Figure 3.20) show a tiled cheek within the *praefurnium*,

Figure 3.19. Plan of Rooms 26 and 27.

possible entrance close to the centre of the south wall of Room 30 suggesting access from it. It would have been an odd point of entry as part of the Period 3 baths. The day book (1963: 67-68) describes an extension of the base of the hypocaust into the corresponding gap in the north wall of Room 26, which implies that the south wall of Room 30 was still in place, and that a door existed at that point. There was no evidence for the wall skirting the recess as shown on the interpretive published plan. If Room 26 were an addition to the Period 2 baths, it was probably part of the latest phase after the north wing had been built (hence the same colour of the mortar). As part of the Period 2 baths it possibly either acted as a heated *apodyterium* or a *laconicum*, perhaps replacing Room 32 which appears to have gone out of use early in the 2nd century; it might even have replaced the somewhat awkward heated Rooms 39, 28 and 29. In this scenario, Room 26 would have been demolished with the rest of the Period 2 baths, as it would seemingly have blocked the furnace for Room 2 of the Period 3B baths. Despite the position, orientation and the possible entrance, it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that Room 26 belonged to a later phase of the Period 2 baths, but if it did, it would allow more time for the various alterations; some post-dated the construction of the north wing block of Period 3 (see below p35) before its conversion into baths.

Dating

The similar construction of walls and the materials used suggested that the main house and the first baths were contemporaneous, and built after the destruction of the early house and granary before about AD 80. Some evidence was recovered to date the subsequent phases. This included 'a worn coin of Domitian which was found stratified in the loose ragstone foundations at the north corner of Room 69' (Detsicas 1966: 51) deposited 'some time after A.D. 95'; it provides a *terminus post quem* for the Phase B-C additions, while the two 'fairly worn' coins of Nerva (AD 96-98) in the fill of Room 46, which

demonstrating that the furnace was more central than indicated on the published plans.

Despite Detsicas' belief that Rooms 26 and 27 were late additions to the Period 3 baths, there are good reasons for reassigning them as an extension of the Period 2 baths. If the surveying was accurate, Room 26 shared the same orientation with the Period 2 baths, whereas the northern wing block with later baths was built at a slightly different angle to be at right angles to the main house, and there is also a gap between Room 26 and the Period 3 baths. Room 26 was built against the south wall of Room 30/31, the *frigidarium* of the Period 2 baths, rather than slightly overlapping it as the published plan shows (the day book (1963: 67) states that it was 'bonded against' it); neither did it overlap the east wall of the projecting Room 29. Although not mentioned in the interim report, the plan indicates a

Figure 3.20. The south-east corner of Room 26 showing cheeks of furnace in Room 27 (left).

150 by linking Room 26 to the later baths. The fragments of mosaic found in the fill of Room 46 also seem to be at odds with such an early dating. D. J. Smith (1975: 271), after a detailed argument, concluded that 'this mosaic reveals so many advances in the evolution of the lozenge pattern as to appear almost certainly of the second century', therefore 'nearer to 120 than to 65'. It is entirely possible that the coins of Nerva found with the fragments were lost during the laying of the mosaic rather than its destruction, but dating a mosaic by style is an inexact science. As there is no definite dating for the blocking of the furnace and the redundancy of Room 46, and the provenance of the mosaics is far from certain, there remains the possibility that the 'gladiator' mosaic, or at least the geometric elements believed to be associated with it, could have been a secondary feature dating to the first quarter of the 2nd century as Smith suspected. If the mosaic floored Room 58 as argued above, and the hypocaust was rebuilt there, as indicated by successive *opus signinum* bases, it would have adorned the later floor.

If Room 26 were indeed part of the Period 2 baths rather than a late addition to their successor, the need to push the dating back to the earliest it could possibly be in order to accommodate all the various changes then ceases to be necessary. There was 'a worn *dupondius* of Antoninus Pius of A.D. 145 deposited on the floor of Room 26 under the debris filling it, which provides a definite *terminus post quem* for the destruction' (Detsicas 1964: 134). The suggested date for this demolition was AD 150, but because the coin was 'worn' a later date is quite possible. The debris itself contained late-Antonine/second-century pottery. The fact that the same rubbish deposit containing late-Antonine pottery also directly overlay the demolished remains of the *frigidarium* (Rooms 30-31) with no intervening layer suggests that they were demolished at the same time (Detsicas 1965: fig. 3, Section K-L: Layer 21).

In a later summary of the site, Detsicas (1983: 122) stated that the first baths were destroyed by fire. The interim report merely hints at the possibility, based on 'signs of heat' on some mosaic fragments 'consistent with the fall of burning roof-timbers' (Detsicas 1965: 85); but the mosaic was destroyed at the close of Phase 2A . A fiery destruction is not borne out in the section drawing across Rooms 30 and 31, although an unpublished section drawing across Room 61 shows an appropriate

was probably also associated with Phase B alterations, give a similar dating.

Detsicas (1964: 133) noted that: 'A fairly large deposit of coarse pottery found in the ash of the secondary stokehole of Room 32 [the *laconicum*], which was sealed by later debris … is consistently late first-century in date'; and: 'The dating suggested for the close of this period depends on pottery and, in particular, on figured samian ware, of types not usually thought to have been current much later than c. A.D. 100-120.' The latter is no more than a *terminus post quem*. Together this can be taken to justify a date of AD 100-120 for the abandonment of the baths, but, even if this were definitive, the *laconicum* could have gone out of use before the rest of the baths, especially if Room 26 were constructed to replace it. Detsicas was deliberately giving the earliest possible date to end Period 2 in order to allow sufficient time for the several changes to have taken place in the Period 3 baths which he assumed were destroyed *c.* AD

Figure 3.21. Villa, Phase 3A. Period 1 beige; Period 2 green; Period 3 mauve; Period 4 yellow ochre (applies to all phase plans).

layer of soot and ash. Such an accident would provide a good reason why almost identical facilities were provided in the north wing of Period 3.

Period 3

In this period the villa arguably reached its zenith architecturally. The porticus was built *c.* AD 120 along the west side of the main house, extending to the north to terminate in a new suite of rooms (33-36). Detached wings were constructed at either end, each with its own fronting porticus linked with the western one. To begin with the Period 2 baths were retained, hence the positioning of the north wing, and a heated room added to them, but in the later 2nd century they were demolished and the northern wing then incorporated new baths (the 'second baths') undergoing at least two phases. A long pool, or fish pond, was constructed between the two wings, presumably ornamental and suggesting that gardens lay to the west of the house facing the river. This created, in effect, a fashionable winged corridor building with a pleasing symmetrical aspect from the river side, looking east. This scenario is contrary to Detsicas' phasing, but there are good reasons for suggesting this as expressed below.

The western porticus

The western *porticus*, **Room 93**, was 66.33m in length and 3.66m wide (Detsicas 1968: 44; 1969, 97; 1970: 58; 1971: 27-28). Its outer, western wall was found to have been totally robbed wherever it was sampled, and only the foundation trench remained. At one point though 'traces remained *in situ* of its external rendering in painted wall-plaster' (Detsicas 1970: 58). Its floor had been ploughed out but some 'yellow mortar on a make-up deposit of yellow sandy clay' was found; the excavator believed this was the base for a tiled floor as in the eastern *porticus* (Room 104), but no evidence for this was found. There was a slight trace of re-flooring at the south end. The wall trench stopped about 3m short of the end of the building where the outer wall of the south wing's *porticus* abutted it, proving that it was all of a single phase, even if there were possibly a pause in construction. It is uncertain whether this western *porticus* had the conventional central entrance or porch since this part was largely unexcavated.

Room 37 (20.12m by 3.66m) continued the line of the western *porticus* (Room 93) from the wall across it where it turned at right-angles into the northern *porticus* (Room 15); it extended beyond the north end of the main building where its largely robbed east wall abutted the corner and linked it with a small suite of rooms to the north (Detsicas 1963: 140-141; 1964: 129; 1968: 44, fig. 1). The walls of Room 37 were of ragstone and white mortar, 0.61m thick. Its original floor was

of white mortar 'bearing unmistakable impressions of planking across the width of the corridor' (Detsicas 1968: 44). Above this was a layer of *opus signinum* 75mm thick upon which was a coarse tessellated floor of red and buff tesserae cut from tiles. This was severely damaged by the plough, surviving best at the north end where there had been some subsidence, and where it passed over an east-west drain.

Room 37 led to a suite of four rooms (33-36), and their walls were also constructed of ragstone and white mortar (as in the Period 3 north wing block) (Detsicas 1964: 129-130). Rooms 34 to 36 had white mortar floors laid directly on the soil. In **Room 34** (3.35m by 1.83m) a channel was cut through the subsoil diagonally across the room; this was probably for a water-pipe as iron collars were found *in situ*. Apart from a later inhumation, there were no other features. Very little of **Room 35** (6.10m by 2.74m) was exposed. Its eastern wall had been robbed out, beyond which was a thick (0.60m) layer of mortared ragstone aggregate thought to have been a later work area. **Room 36** (3.66m by 3.35m) contained much building debris including painted wall-plaster. **Room 33** (6.70m by 3.05m) was the largest room and had a hard yellow mortar floor (though later described as white like the others) upon which were mosaic fragments and loose tesserae. This was considered to be make-up presumably for subsequent flooring rather than formerly adorning that room. Its north wall, which continued westwards hard against the demolished circular *laconicum*, was thought to be earlier than the others, although it is unclear why this should be so. A channel for a wooden water-pipe (again evidenced by iron collars) crossed this room roughly parallel to that in Room 34, cutting through the mortar floor.

The purpose of this suite of rooms is unclear, as too is the standard of decoration. Detsicas surmised that they were servants' quarters, although this must be doubtful considering that they were reached via a tessellated corridor, and this opinion may have influenced his assessment of the mosaic fragments and tesserae found there. The rooms could equally well have been a guest wing close to the baths. The fact that its northernmost wall is in line with the north wall of the Period 2 baths, and extends to join it, shows that those baths were still standing when Rooms 33-36 were constructed.

The northern porticus

Room 15 was 2.44m by at least 21.03m (Detsicas 1963: 132-133; 1967: 44-45; 1968: 41) and ran along the south side of the north wing block as a long corridor (northern *porticus*) connecting with the western *porticus* (Room 93) on the west side of the main house. Its northern wall continues beyond the west wall of the western *porticus*

(Room 93) to abut the Period 2 main house; this forms the northern end of Room 93 and divides it from Room 37. Despite the west wall of the western *porticus* having been completely robbed out, a butt joint was evident where Room 15's surviving south wall met it (Detsicas 1967: 45). Although the plan for 1962-63 shows the north and south walls as the same phase, the later plans show the south wall as a later phase on the basis of this butt joint. This is not necessarily the case: a butt joint also occurred at the southern end of the building where the outer wall of the southern *porticus* met the outer wall of the western *porticus*. The west end of Room 15 extends beyond the later baths and the outer wall turns northwards as if to run parallel to the west end of the north wing block. This wall was truncated during the construction of the Period 4 swimming pool, proving that it was earlier. If it did continue northwards it would have run under an unexcavated part of Room 18, as well as Rooms 22 and 21. It was not found during the excavations in these last two rooms but it was perhaps totally removed during the creation of the deep hypocausts. As mentioned above, traces of a wall assigned to Period 1 continuing the line of the north wall of the northern wing block, possibly belonged to Period 3 and forming the end wall of the arm of the *porticus*. This admittedly hypothetical extension would have closely matched that of the south wing.

The southern wall was built of ragstone and yellow mortar 0.61m wide (as in the southern *porticus*) above the offsets. On the external face of its southern wall was a coating of wall plaster with 'a plain band of yellow [ochre] liberally splashed with red, green, brown and black to give an impression of marbling, with slight traces of dark brown pigment above this yellow dado outlining the decorated panels' (Detsicas 1967: 45), preserved by later 'cobbling' against it. This painted wall-plaster had been carried on to the west wall of Room 93 showing that at least the exterior decoration was contemporary. Room 15 was floored with yellow mortar, 50-100mm in depth. Little of the room was excavated and very little was recorded in the interim reports. At about 3m in width, it is narrower than the western *porticus* (Room 93) and its southern equivalent (Room 122). At the western end of the northern *porticus* a wall of ragstone and off-white mortar across it created **Room 14** (2.44m by about 3.50m), which had a floor of yellow mortar, upon there was 'a deposit of domestic refuse'. Whether this room was an original feature or was a later insertion during alterations to the baths is uncertain. Outside of this room was an area of *opus signinum* about 100mm thick with a sleeper beam trench cut through it and apparently abutting its south wall (Detsicas 1963: fig. 3 Section I-J shows the *opus signinum* floor either side of the south wall so the wooden beams may belong to a much later period). Detsicas states that coarse red ceramic tesserae were 'found upon it', but

not definitely indicating a tessellated floor. This may be similar in nature to that found outside of Room 37, but could represent an entrance to the baths in this or a following period; as so little was excavated it cannot be interpreted with certainty (Detsicas 1963: 134, fig. 2, fig. 3 section C-D). Also running to the south of the outer wall of Room 15 was area of cobbling about ten foot wide – possibly a later pathway unless it was mistaken for the collapsed wall of the *porticus*.

The southern *porticus*

Room 122, the southern *porticus*, linked the western *porticus* to the southern wing block (described below) which it fronted (Detsicas 1972: 103-4; 1973: 75-6). From the west wall of the main building it was 23.32m long, and was 3.66m wide (the same as the western *porticus*). At its west end it turned to form a western arm in total 14.40m long and 4.11m wide. Its walls were ragstone and yellow mortar, 0.61m wide and badly robbed; they had an external 50mm coating of plaster 'mostly wine-red in colour with blue stripes outlining panels', some *in situ*. The flooring was totally destroyed except in the western arm where there was a patch of yellow mortar with some gravel adhering.

Discussion

The reason that the west, north and south *porticus* did not achieve the expected overall symmetry was probably because the Period 2 baths were retained. The continuation of the north wall of the northern extension to join the north-east corner of the Period 2 baths also suggests this and further evidence will be presented below. This was unlikely to have been a temporary measure and looks like careful planning, but, nevertheless, the demolition of the Period 2 baths and the insertion of a bath-suite into the north wing may not have followed very long afterwards, especially if there had been a destructive fire in the baths, as Detsicas believed, necessitating the change. This is an attractive theory, and could account for the fact that the initial planning took account of the Period 2 baths. However, it should be noted that the north wall of the north wing is almost in line with the north wall of the main house, and the *porticus* is therefore in the normal position for a true wing-corridor house; the construction of the south wing beyond the end of the building was perhaps to make the villa appear larger from the river.

Nevertheless, at some stage during this period, the two wings were closely matched in overall plan, both detached from the house but linked by a continuous *porticus*, as probably was the first phase of the Folkestone villa. The painted wall plaster on the exterior of all arms of the *porticus* must have added to

the grand appearance. It is perhaps noteworthy that the wall and presumed colonnade around a Romano-Celtic temple at East Farleigh further upriver had brightly painted wall plaster on its exterior, in pink and pale blue with darker blue outlining (Elliott 2013); painted wall plaster on the exterior wall of the *porticus* was also noted, for example, on a true winged-corridor building at Gadebridge, Herts (Neal 1974: 19) and also the early villa at Piddington, Northants (*Britannia* 19, 1988: 452). As the *porticus* at Eccles had no subsequent divisions and no tessellated flooring which would have suffered from frost damage, it was perhaps half open with its roof supported by small columns. These might well have been salvaged later, but a broken column of Bath stone came from a robber trench (Detsicas 1968: 45, pl. V) and two fragments of one or more others were found below the floor of the hypocaust in Room 19 (Detsicas 1963: 128, pl. I), perhaps deposited when the hypothetical western arm of the north *porticus* was removed. The tessellation in the extension of the west *porticus* (Room 37) perhaps means that this part was enclosed, and explains the dividing wall, through which there was presumably a doorway.

North wing block / second baths (Detsicas 1963)

The north wing block, Detsicas' second bath building, represents the most complex archaeology of the site, undergoing at least three major phases of construction (Figure 3.22). Detsicas was apparently 'not happy with his original interpretation of the phasing/dating of the consecutive baths suites. It was his intention to go through all the records for the baths complexes again, particularly from the less-well recorded work [of 1962], with a fresh eye. He died before he could do this' (Rachel Shaw pers. comm.) Therefore the conclusions expressed here differ markedly from what has previously been published and the three basic phases here do not correspond with his. In his description of the rooms of the north wing block, Detsicas (1963: 130), states: 'no attempt ... is here made to attribute a definite purpose to each one of the bath building's rooms, except in passing and where certain'. Interpretation of this area is indeed difficult and some of the remains were misunderstood, not helped by demolition and various alterations in antiquity, and being constructed over earlier remains and partially overlain by the Period 4 baths. Parts were not excavated. There are also errors in the published plans: in Room 7, for example, an earlier-phased wall is shown as built over a supposedly later wall. Thus some of the interpretations below must be regarded as tentative. As already noted above when considering the construction of the suite of Rooms 33-36, the Period 2 baths were almost certainly still standing and functioning. The same applies to the north wing block, perhaps built as early as AD 120, and thus in all probability did not contain baths at this

stage (Phase 3A). Around AD 150-180 the Period 2 baths were demolished and replacement baths inserted in the eastern end of the wing block (Phase 3B). A new bath-suite was subsequently built at the western end (Phase 3C).

Phase 3A (Figure 3.23)

The north wing was orientated closer to being at right angles to the house than the Period 2 baths. The north wall of the wing more-or-less aligns with the north wall of the main house. This block, excluding the *porticus*, was approximately 13.5m by 10m, a little smaller than its southern counterpart forming the opposite wing. It is significant that, while the east-west walls of the north wing are at right angles to the house, the north-south walls follow the alignment of the Period 2 baths which are set at a slight angle to the house. This is not a planning error in the first year's dig because the Period 2 baths at the same angle were yet to be exposed. The east wall of the north wing block is positioned further west than the southern block, but *does* align precisely with the east wall of the Period 2 baths. The internal configuration of the wing block is uncertain at this stage: it probably had a narrow room at the east end, similar to that of the south wing block, and was later converted into heated baths, but the arrangement of other rooms is more problematic. The block's contemporaneity with the suite of Rooms 33-36 is suggested by the similar extensive use of whitish-grey mortar to bond the ragstone of its walls. The construction of the north wing block aligned with the baths created a roughly rectangular courtyard west of Room 37, 20.12m long by about 7.50m tapering to 6.80m. Very little of this area was excavated but in two areas an *opus signinum* surface was encountered: *opus signinum* about 50mm thick on a 'foundation of brick and tile' was laid outside the west wall of Room 37 extending some 1.50m; and there was a similar area south of the later Room 16, at the centre of the southern half of the courtyard. It is not known whether the possible pathway beside Room 37 extended to Room 34 to the north which was about the same width. Either immediately or shortly afterwards a wall was probably constructed to close the gap between the north wing block and the Period 2 baths, with **Room 1** (2.44m by 2.74m) projecting into the new courtyard. It was decorated internally with painted wall-plaster which was preserved where it was protected by a later wall; it had a floor of course red and buff tile tesserae. However, this wall-plaster, either side of the north-east corner could be external decoration of the wing block itself, as noted on the *porticus* walls. Although Room 1 is oddly positioned in relation to the north wing block, to which its south wall abutted, it was clearly intended to lie exactly at the centre of the courtyard, opposite the midpoint of the facing corridor (Room 37). The north wall of Room 1 turned northwards at its western end, but
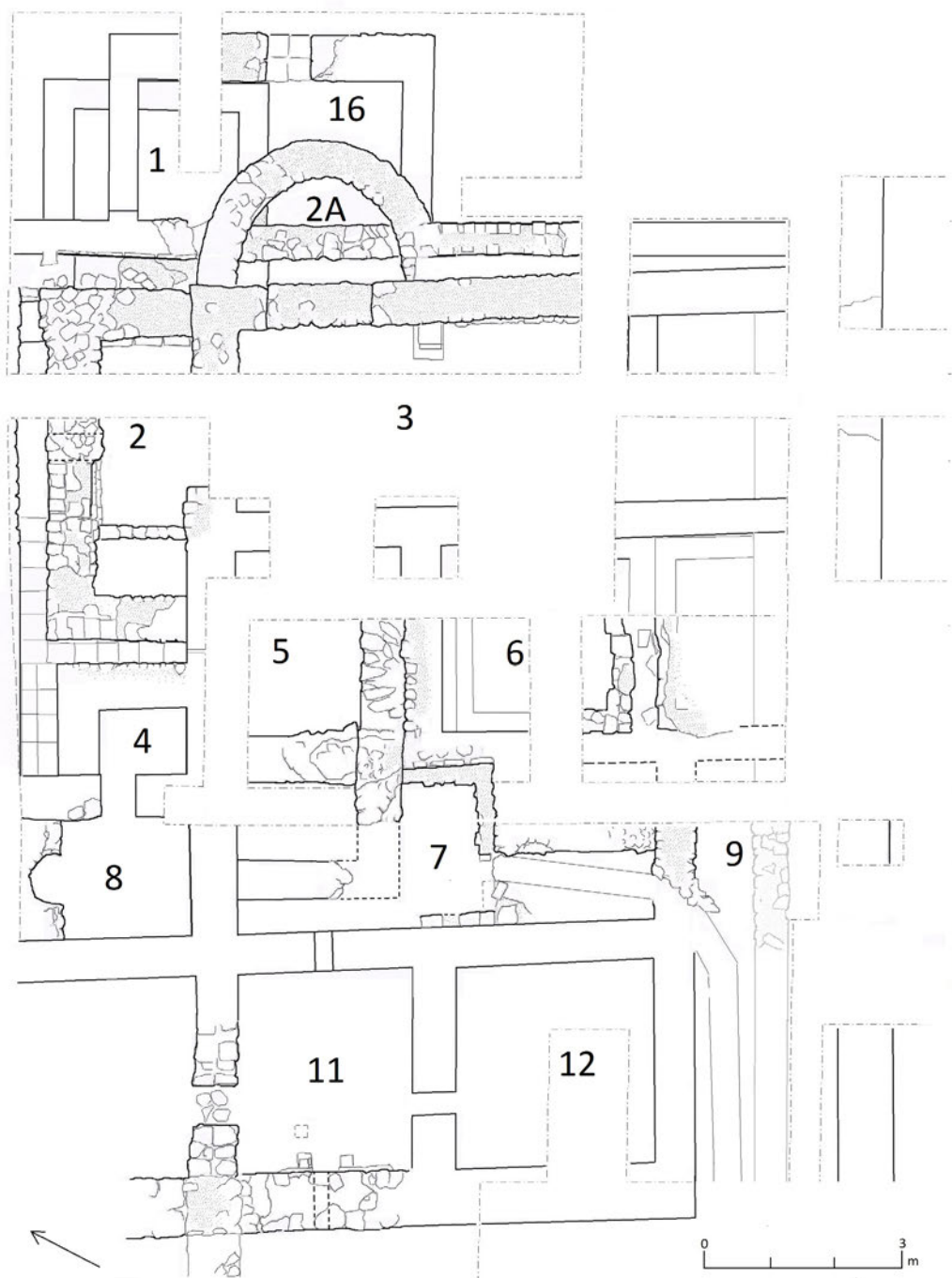
Figure 3.22. Plan of north wing block (excluding *porticus*).

its link with the corner of the baths in order to enclose the courtyard must remain conjectural although likely; it would have been mostly removed when the base for Room 26's hypocaust was created. The various plans of 1962, 1962-63 and 1962-64 (Detsicas 1963: 135-136, fig. 2 and 4; 1964: fig. 1; 1965: fig. 2) all show significant differences in this complicated area, which add to the uncertainty; the plan of the year of excavation (1962) shows the turn of the wall directly in line with the corner of the baths and is adopted here and also best fits the written description; it also conforms with what

is shown on the original trench plan and site notebook (1962: 7). Because there was a dogleg in Room 1's southern wall where it met the corner of the north wing block, there was a corresponding dog leg in the north wall so that the width of the room was maintained. Its north wall was traced westwards running parallel to the north wing but at a slight converging angle to the south wall of Room 26 which was partially built over its demolished remains. The overall length of the long version of Room 1, and indeed its function, cannot be determined with certainty.
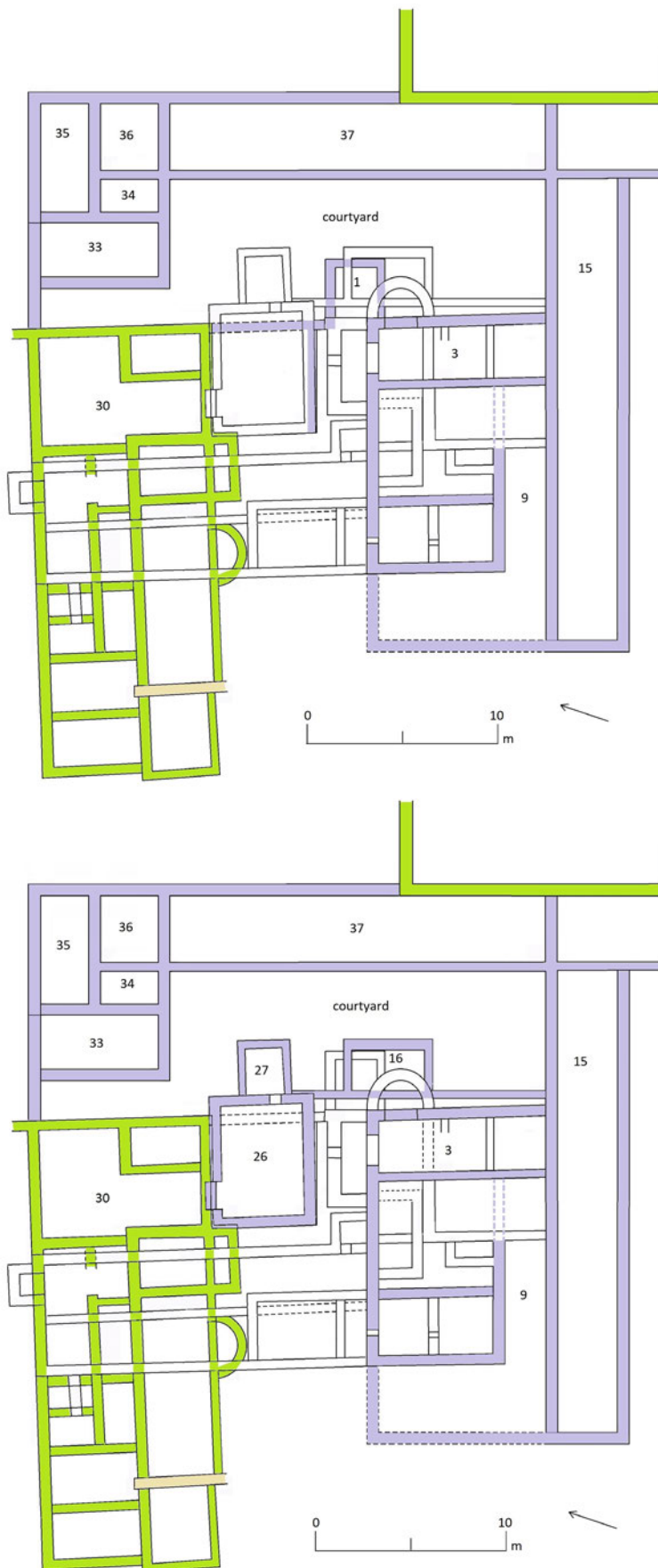
Figure 3.23. North wing block Phase 3A with baths retained from Period 2 (Bottom shows addition of Room 26 to the baths).

Perhaps not long after its construction, Room 1 was demolished when Room 26 was added to the baths which were retained from Period 2; it and its *praefurnium* (Room 27) are described above. Its construction was probably contemporaneous with a north-south wall linking the south-east corner of Room 26 with the north *porticus* (Room 15). Unlike the previous west wall of the courtyard, this was now parallel to Room 37 and not the east wall of the north wing block, from which it stood barely 0.40m apart at its north end and converged with it to the south, and was built over the demolished Room 1 (Figure 3.24). Its function was probably merely to define the new western extent of the courtyard. Along its length, and partly over Room 1, which it apparently replaced, was **Room 16** (3.66m by 2.13m), projecting into the courtyard to the same distance as Room 27. Its walls, the east one being 0.76m thick, were constructed of 'bonding-tiles set in thick yellow mortar', as was its floor. A tiled drain ran through its east wall and there were traces of a doorway in its north wall, facing that in Room 27. This room was subsequently demolished to make way for Room 2A, the apsidal extension of the Phase 3B baths, which overlay it. Room 16's function is unclear: it had a drain through one wall, but with a doorway it could not have been a decorative pool or *nymphaeum* in the courtyard, although its use as a latrine is a possibility.

Phase 3B (Figure 3.25)

The demolition of the Period 2 baths, including Room 26, as well as Room 16 and the wall linking the baths with the *porticus*, took place AD 150-180. The north wing block was then converted into a bath suite, perhaps comprising Rooms 2, 2A, 3, 5 and 6 at the east end, but an alternative interpretation is possible.

Room 2 (Detsicas 1963: 130) projected beyond the line of the northern wall, to which it abutted, and measures 3.66m by 1.22m. It is unlikely to have been either an *apodyterium* or latrine added later as Detsicas suggested, but rather contained a hot-water bath, for which the dimensions are appropriate, and a

Figure 3.24. Eastern end of northern wing block showing converging walls, the easternmost cut by later apse, and with Room 2 abutted to it (foreground).

As so often occurred, a semicircular apse, designated **Room 2A**, was added to the east of the *caldarium.* It was constructed from chalk blocks set in yellow mortar and had a 75mm-thick yellow mortar floor, sealing an infant burial. Although possibly a hot water bath, no drain was found. **Room 5** (2.44m by 2.74m) to the west of the *caldarium* was believed to be a hot-water bath; it was the same width as the apse opposite and it is possible that a division lay between them across Room 3 making a *caldarium* and *tepidarium* of equal dimensions, more-or-less square in plan, and also the same size as the southern part which was perhaps the *apodyterium* at this stage, nearest the *porticus* (Room 15); photographic evidence (for example Figure 3.24) suggests that the northernmost division in Room 3 (a short projection of tiles) was misplaced on the plan and supports the hypothesis made above. Room 5 was floored with *opus signinum* which bore impressions of tiles; a vertical flue was found in the south wall and a drain midway along the north wall. The wall flue suggested to Detsicas that the floor was over a channelled hypocaust, but this would be very unusual in this context. This would be exceptionally large for a hot plunge bath. It was thought that a supposed furnace and emplacement for a tank in the neighbouring Room 7 provided the hot water, but this again would be an odd arrangement and must remain dubious. In such an interpretation **Room 6** (5.94m by 2.74m) was probably the *frigidarium*, conveniently located beside the heated rooms (Room 3). A small 'room' (part of the excavator's Room 7) looks like a small cold-water bath (about 1.80m by 0.90m); it lies close to a drain running south west from Room 7 and through Room 9. At a later stage this possible bath

flue in its north wall connected it with the presumed furnace. No evidence for this furnace was found; perhaps it was removed later when the stoke-hole was blocked. The chalk-built part at the west end faced with ragstone perhaps marks where there was a ledge, so that the hot bath was 2.60m long, which was also the point where the tile construction of its north wall either side of the flue changed to ragstone. Nothing remained except for its mortar floor. The bath would have been symmetrical and typically in line with the heated rooms: the *caldarium* and *tepidarium*, **Room 3** (8.99m by 2.74m overall) in which the tile-built divisions were found against the east wall. A drain running outside the north wall of Room 2 is also appropriately positioned.

was filled with rubble; this was not cleared during the excavation, which exposed only a small portion in the south-east corner. Room 6 was later given a channelled hypocaust (Figure 3.26), in the make-up of which were fragments of 'coarse mosaic' and painted wall plaster 'mainly of geometric patterns and polychrome borders'; these presumably derived from the *frigidarium.* Its original *opus signinum* floor may well have been the base for a mosaic or tessellated pavement. A photograph from 1962 shows a small mosaic fragment depicting part of an ellipse outlined in red and yellow with a dark centre (conceivably the mouth of a *cantharus* – a wine vessel), which, if indeed found in this context, shows that the flooring was of high quality.
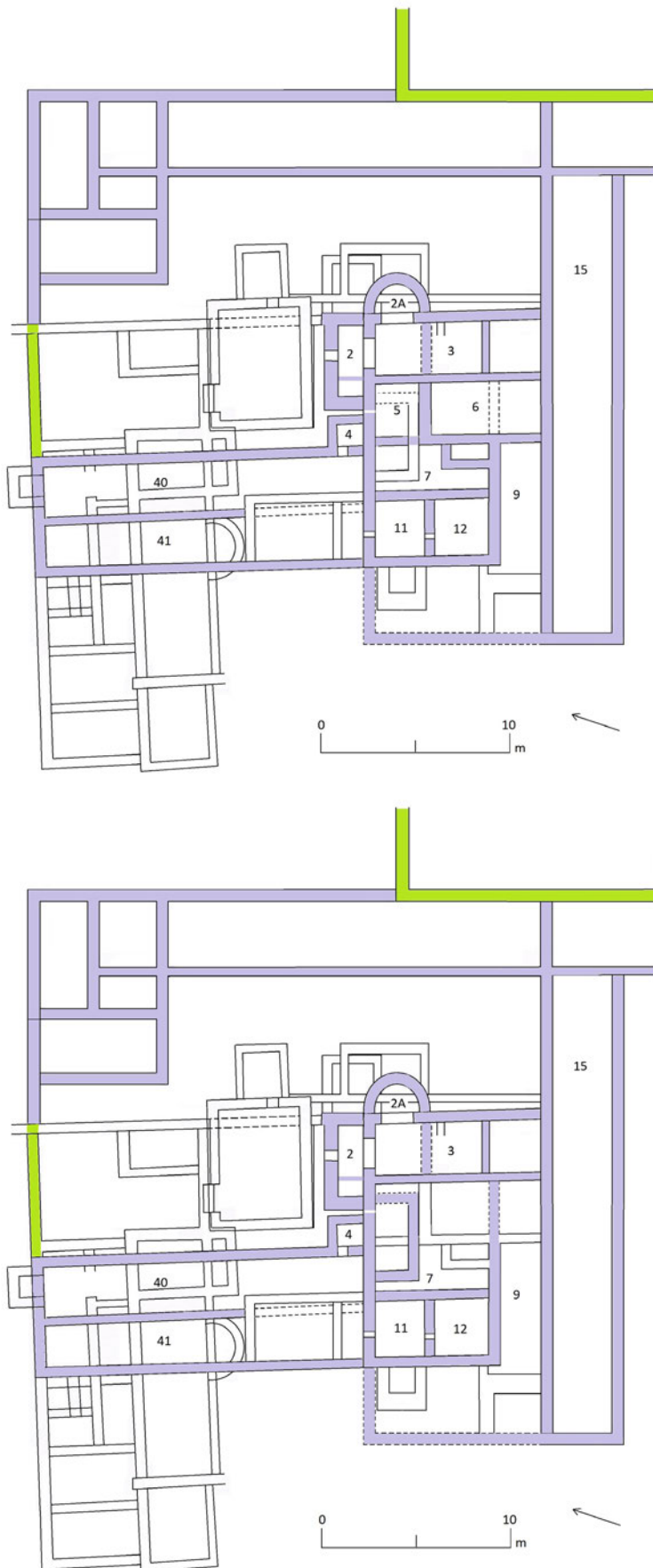
However, there is another, perhaps more likely, interpretation of the remains. An L-shaped wall, which Detsicas assigned to the same phase as the possible water baths, Room 2 and Room 2A on the basis of their construction, extends from Room 7 running through its east wall into Room 5 where it disappeared under a baulk, not to reappear on the other side. Therefore it may have turned at a right angle to link it with the north wall of the block, hidden within the baulk in the same way that a wall division in the Period 4 baths subsequently proved to be (Detsicas 1974: 127). As this wall is shown as the same phase as the other possible water-baths, it is not inconceivable that this was a cold plunge bath with internal dimensions of about 2m by 3.75m, almost the same size as its predecessor in the Period 2 baths, and for which the drain through the wall would be appropriate (though not central in this scenario but near the north-east corner). A bath with space on three sides is unusual but is matched, for example at Frocester Court villa, Gloucestershire (Price 2000: 102-104, fig. 5.9). This assumes that the walls defining Rooms 5 and 6 were constructed later, so that the cold plunge bath would be symmetrically placed at the north end of a large *frigidarium* occupying what became Rooms 6 and 7. The section drawing (Detsicas 1963: fig. 3 section A-B) shows the south wall of this postulated cold plunge bath as levelled while the south wall of Room 5 is much higher. This, and the fact that walling connected with what Detsicas described as a furnace in Room 7 is shown as built over this wall, suggest that it was an earlier suppressed feature. Photographs (for example Detsicas 1963: pl. II) appearing to show the west walls of Rooms 5 and 6 butted against the south wall of this postulated cold plunge bath also imply that it was earlier. The source of the wall plaster and mosaic fragments used as fill in Room 6 perhaps came from this room, deposited during the Phase 3C conversion. It is difficult to explain the L-shaped wall otherwise and Detsicas gave it scant mention. If this interpretation is correct, it would mean that this phase of the Period 3 baths must have matched the later phases of the Period 2 baths in its facilities.

Figure 3.25. North wing block Phase 3B: alternative interpretations of the conversion into baths.

Figure 3.26. Channelled hypocaust in Room 6.

The pair of rooms (**11 and 12**) heated by a pillared hypocaust probably also belong to this phase, perhaps as part of the baths offering dry heat (*laconicum*); each was about 3m square, although the dimensions given in the text and various plans differ. When the rooms were re-excavated in 1973 (Detsicas 1974: 123-127) major alterations to these rooms were observed (see below p46). It was concluded that Room 11 and 12 originally formed a single room and the division between them was inserted later when Room 11's northern wall was demolished and the room enlarged. However, as the off-centre flue through the dividing wall as shown on the plan was aligned with the original (demolished) stoke-hole this seems unlikely in its heated phase, and therefore, although the dividing wall abutted the east and west walls of the rooms, it was still part of its original plan in its heated form; a wall need not have existed above floor level.

An interesting feature about this room is the method for positioning the *pilae* on the *opus signinum* base.

Nearly all the tiles of the *pilae* had been removed, but 'their position could be ascertained from the masons' trowel marks' (Detsicas 1963: 134). Scrutiny of photographs shows that the floor was gridded up with lines two Roman feet apart, and the crosses at the intersections scored against a straight edge where the *pilae* were to be placed.

Phase 3C (Figure 3.27)

Two water baths (Rooms 132 and 13) were constructed within the area of the presumed arm of the northern *porticus* fronting the west end of the wing. Room 9 then became the *frigidarium* with a new cold plunge bath (Room 13) at its west end, and the heated Rooms 11 and 12 respectively became the *caldarium*, adjacent to a new hot water bath (Room 132), and *tepidarium.* Possibly at this stage there were two bath-suites in the wing, but certainly the former *frigidarium* was given a channelled hypocaust and the furnace arch in Room 2 filled in; Room 2 itself 'was used for the deposition of surplus building material, and was found filled with the powdered brick and tile material used in the composition of *opus signinum*' (Detsicas 1963: 130) – unless this was the decayed remains of the former hot-water bath. The opening of the apsidal 'bath' was apparently also blocked by chalk blocks. This all suggests that the eastern rooms of the wing changed their function, but perhaps were still part of the baths complex. Room 6, for instance, with its new channelled hypocaust, was appropriate for a heated *apodyterium*.

Room 13 was clearly a cold plunge bath (2.44m by 1.83m). It had an *opus signinum* floor with quarter-round moulding around it but the side walls were levelled during the construction of the Period 4 baths. The west wall (continuing the line of the end wall of the northern *porticus*) had been removed and partly covered by steps leading to the large plunge bath/pool of the Period 4 baths. A channel for lead piping was discovered passing through the east wall at the bath's floor level to a drain below the floor in the north-west corner of Room 9 (Detsicas 1963:132, pls. III-IV).

Room 132 (Detsicas 1974: 125, fig. 3, pl. IIa) was probably a hot-water bath (1.60m by 1.37m) added to the western side of Room 11. It was substantially built: its northern wall (and by inference, its southern
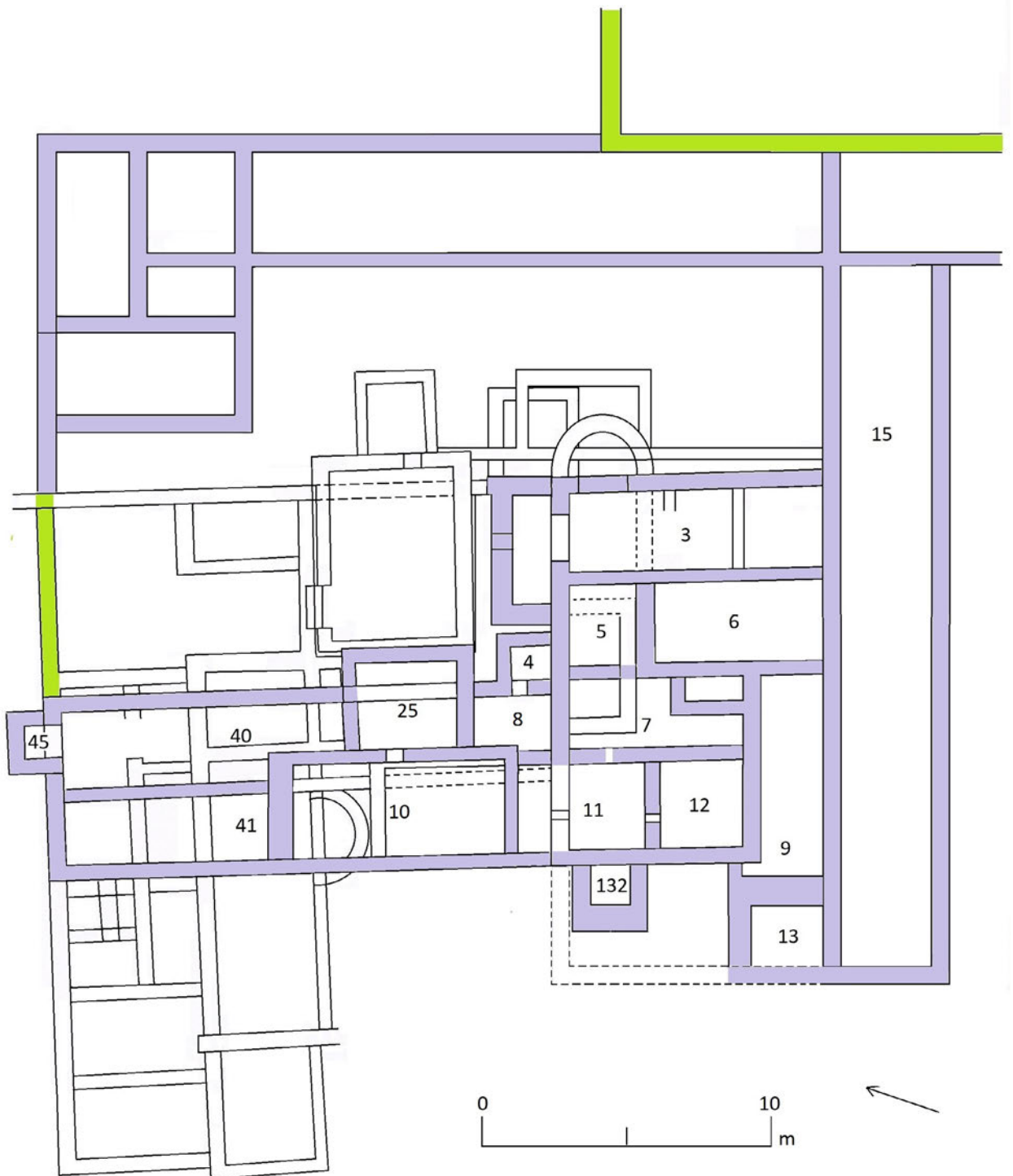
Figure 3.27. North Wing block Period 3C: new suite of baths at western end.

wall) were 0.74m thick and the western wall, 0.99m. The floor of *opus signinum* was 0.13m thick and was continued up the walls. It was 0.28m lower than the base of the hypocaust in Room 11, with which it was connected by means of an arched flue of tiles. This presumably provided hot air below the hot-water bath itself, which had been demolished. It is unclear where the water was heated: if it belonged to the same phase as the enlargement of Room 11 as Detsicas believed,

the furnace at the eastern side of Room 11 may have been the source of heat.

There are many parallels for the arrangement of these later Period 3C baths with rectangular hot- and cold-water baths added to the end of a building: for example, Twyford south of Winchester in Hampshire, and Rapsley, Ewhurst, Surrey dated to AD 200-20 (*Journal Roman Studies* 14, 1924: 238-239, fig. 33; Hanworth 1968: 9-18, fig. 8).

The extension to the north: Rooms 8, 40, 10, 41 and 45

The precise planning of this extension is difficult because the Period 4 baths were built over part of it. This is further complicated by reference to the plan made after the deeper excavations in that part of the wing in 1973, which shows significant differences to the earlier plan. It is unclear whether these rooms were added to the baths in Phase 3C or were part of the Phase 3B plan; certainly the Period 2 baths had been demolished by that time since the extension was constructed over them.

Initially the extension probably comprised of the two long and narrow rooms (40 and 41) running parallel northwards about 16m from Room 11. Although their walls, 0.60m in width, were constructed of ragstone bonded with off-white mortar as in the first phase of the north wing block, they are not necessarily evidence for one build; the need, for instance, to match unrendered stonework was perhaps a consideration. The north wall, built directly over the levelled but substantial wall of the Period 2 baths, had apparently fallen southwards some 5.33m in extent, and as well as ragstone, included tiles and tufa in its construction (Detsicas 1965: 86). This perhaps not only indicates the height of the wall but also hints that it may have had decorative bands of different materials. It should be noted that the northern wall almost aligned with the northern wall of the block of rooms at the end of the western *porticus* of the main building, just as the Period 2 baths did, and this may have had a bearing on the aspect of the building as viewed from the north. No flooring is mentioned, except that it was not of *opus signinum*.

In its final form **Room 41** was 10.36m long by about 2.13m as measured from the plan (Detsicas 1964, 128; 1965, 85). This passage-like room was conceivably a colonnade open on the west side, enhancing the facade as seen from the west. **Room 40** (14.17m by about 2.74m, measured from plan), was believed to contain the furnace serving the hypocausts in Rooms 10-12 although this is far from certain (see below p46). No division walls or robber trenches were encountered in this long narrow room, which was much disturbed by later activity. Towards its northern end, the room and the neighbouring Room 41 were crossed by a drain leading from Room 2, which 'pierced' its east wall and was laid directly on the base of the demolished hypocaust in Room 28 below Room 40. This last fact and the awkward dogleg respecting earlier walls probably indicate that the drain pre-dates the construction of Rooms 40 and 41 (Detsicas 1964: 128-129; 1965: 85-86). A section drawing (Detsicas 1964: fig. 3 K-L) appears not to show a floor (or, indeed, destruction material), but merely 'soft brown filling' directly on the base of the Period 2 hypocaust, over which was ash, thought to have been raked from a *praefurnium*, Room 25, so at least that part of Room 40 had been presumably removed or destroyed prior to the construction of the Period 4 baths.

Figure 3.28. Room 45 built over praefurnium (Room 46) of Period 2 baths.

Room 45, a small rectangular walled area (0.76m by 1.22m), was apparently added to the north side of Room 40 (Figure 3.28). It was built of tile over a foundation of ragstone, with a floor of *opus signinum* 76mm thick. Its partially uncovered eastern wall abutted the corner of Room 40, while its western wall overlay the wall of Room 40, which had been removed at this point, and the new flooring also ran over it. Its function is unclear. Although too small to be a room, it may have been a lobby/entrance, or even a shrine; the fact that it is not axial to Room 40 is odd. (Detsicas 1965: 85)

Later Room 10, heated by a pillared hypocaust, was constructed over the southern end of Room 41, probably with an associated furnace in the newly constructed Room 25 across Room 40, reducing its length (assuming it was retained) and creating the small Room 8 at its southern end.

Room 10, which became Room 42 in Period 4, is difficult to interpret (Detsicas 1963: 135; 1964: 128). The 1960s plans show its east wall as a continuation of that of Room 11, although a later plan following the 1973 re-excavation shows this east wall running to the west of and below the east wall of its successor giving a greater width for the room (about 3.40m). Detsicas believed its dimensions were 4.88m by 3.05m with its north wall 'inferred from indications under Period III [Period 4] structures' which were not specified.

Detsicas stated that the room was heated and served by two flues through its eastern wall from room 40, the northernmost blocked and the southernmost re-used in the Period 4 baths (Figure 3.29). The tiles used in the *pilae* of Rooms 10-12 were smaller than those of the Period 4 hypocausts.

However, it seems more likely that Room 10 in Phase 3C extended to the north wall of the later Room 24 to cover the area of Room 24 and 42 of the Period 4 baths, overall about 12m in length. The stoke-hole constructed of tile with a tiled arch (later blocked) would otherwise have been in the very corner of the room, which would be an unsatisfactory and illogical place for it to be, whereas it was midway along the east wall of Room 10 as proposed. What Detsicas probably took as evidence of its north wall was more likely to be a cheek built within the room, level with the north side of the stoke-hole. Photographs taken in 1973 show a short length of 'wall' constructed of tile in this position, to which the ragstone north wall of the later Room 42 was abutted. To have a furnace in a corridor would be strange, so that the *praefurnium* (Room 25) was likely built at this time, across Room 40, with its wall reduced. **Room 25** (3.35m by 2.97m) had slighter walls than Room 10 at 0.61m in width, apparently partly built over demolished walls of earlier phases, including the demolished west wall of Room 26. Again the Period 3C stoke-hole was centrally placed within Room 25. When Room 10 was reduced in

Figure 3.29. Cheeks of furnace in Room 25, the one on the right built against the blocked arch of earlier stoke-hole.

size to create Room 42 in Period 4, the stoke-hole had to be moved as far to the south as possible within Room 25 to avoid being in the corner of the room, and thus necessitating the odd angle of the *testudo* cheeks; this latter feature therefore did not belong to Period 3C.

During the re-examination of the room in 1973 it was found that Room 11's northern wall was demolished and replaced with a wall 1.22m further north with a gap of about 2.30m at its centre leading to Room 11 (Detsicas 1974: 124, fig. 3). This is wider than the narrow flue of the previous south wall, perhaps an indication that the stoke-hole of Room 11 was moved to its east wall when Room 10 to the north was added. Certainly there was a stokehole through the east wall and a furnace was mentioned in Room 7 though it is unclear what it served.

Room 8 (2.74m by 2.44m) appears to be a division at the south end of the original extent of Room 40 (below). It had an 'early yellow mortar floor' which sloped to a feature built of mortared chalk blocks in the north part of the room, with a semicircular 'niche' in its southern face. Although its purpose is unknown, it was possibly a shrine. It is also unclear how access was gained to this room. Later an *opus signinum* floor was laid over a layer of 'rubbish material and debris' to be level with a narrow doorway into **Room 4**. This very small room (1.22m by 1.07m) was believed to have been a latrine because a drain, omitted on the published plan, led through the north wall to connect to the drain beyond it. Although this function is possible, it appears to have lacked a continuous or intermittent flow of water through the room as might be expected, and failed to utilise the drain parallel but outside its east wall. The raising of the floor level in Room 8 perhaps indicates that it was added later, much in the same way that the similarly sized Room 45 was added to the north end of Room 40. No flooring is mentioned in Room 4 (Detsicas 1963: 135; 1964: 128).

It was thought that to the north of the baths was an open courtyard, possibly a *palaestra,* similar to that of the Period 2 baths although smaller; its north wall was apparently constructed on the line of the earlier north wall, involving the re-use of the lower courses as a foundation (Detsicas 1965: 86).

The detached latrine (Room 51)

Just to the north of the baths was a small detached structure designated **Room 51** measuring internally 3.12m by 2.59m with walls 0.46m wide; there was a doorway close to the south-west corner (Detsicas 1965: 85; 1966: 50). Its floor was paved with coarse red and buff tesserae (25mm) on a bedding of *opus signinum* which varied in depth from 75mm to 150mm.

In the north-west corner was 'a hole, with tiles set in *opus signinum* to form an open channel into the drain passing below the room, [and] denotes the actual siting of the latrine'. Although the latrine utilised drains from the earlier baths, and therefore might have belonged to Period 2, it was assigned to Period 3 because its walls were constructed of ragstone and off-white mortar, typical of that period; the red tile tessellation would also better suit Period 3. The pre-existing drains possibly accounts for its different orientation to the baths. It lay just beyond the baths' courtyard wall through which there was presumably access, if it was still standing.

Discussion

There are several problems to the interpretation of this part of the baths wing, as given by Detsicas, based on three separate seasons' work, and further complicated by his deeper excavations in 1973 which brought to light new walls which affected his initial thoughts. While it seems likely that the north wing block had two successive bath suites, it is uncertain how the second ones were heated. The conventional location of the stoke-hole would be at the north end of room 11, where a flue was found, and conceivably this was the case. However, no obvious traces of cheeks to support a hot water tank were found. The construction of Room 10 implies that the furnace, if there were one, was no longer in use. It is possible that the hot water for the bath in Room 132 came from Room 7 where the offsets in the walling of a rectangular space about 2m by 1m, could have supported a tank; Detsicas identified this as a furnace, and a flue in the north wall of Room 11 was close to this. However, it is a very odd arrangement, perhaps dictated by the creation of Room 10. Unfortunately the north part of Room 7 was difficult to interpret but was thought to have been 'used to support water-tanks over *pilae* (traces of which were still visible despite the wholesale demolition...)' (Detsicas 1963: 132); this could be interpreted as a *caldarium* beside the 'tank' (possibly a hot water bath) with Room 11 acting as a *tepidarium*, but this is far from certain and would perhaps be an unusual configuration. The function of the large heated Room 10 is also unclear, if indeed it was connected with Period 3. Entrance was presumably gained from Room 11, the *caldarium* at some stage, and its construction with that of its furnace limited access to Rooms 40 and 41, which are perhaps more properly assignable to Period 3B and may not have survived the alterations when room 10 was created.

The south wing block (Detsicas 1972: 103-106)

The south wing was a detached block approximately 11.80m by 14.80m bounded on the north and west sides by a *porticus,* and more properly conforms with a carefully calculated layout (see below p78). It was
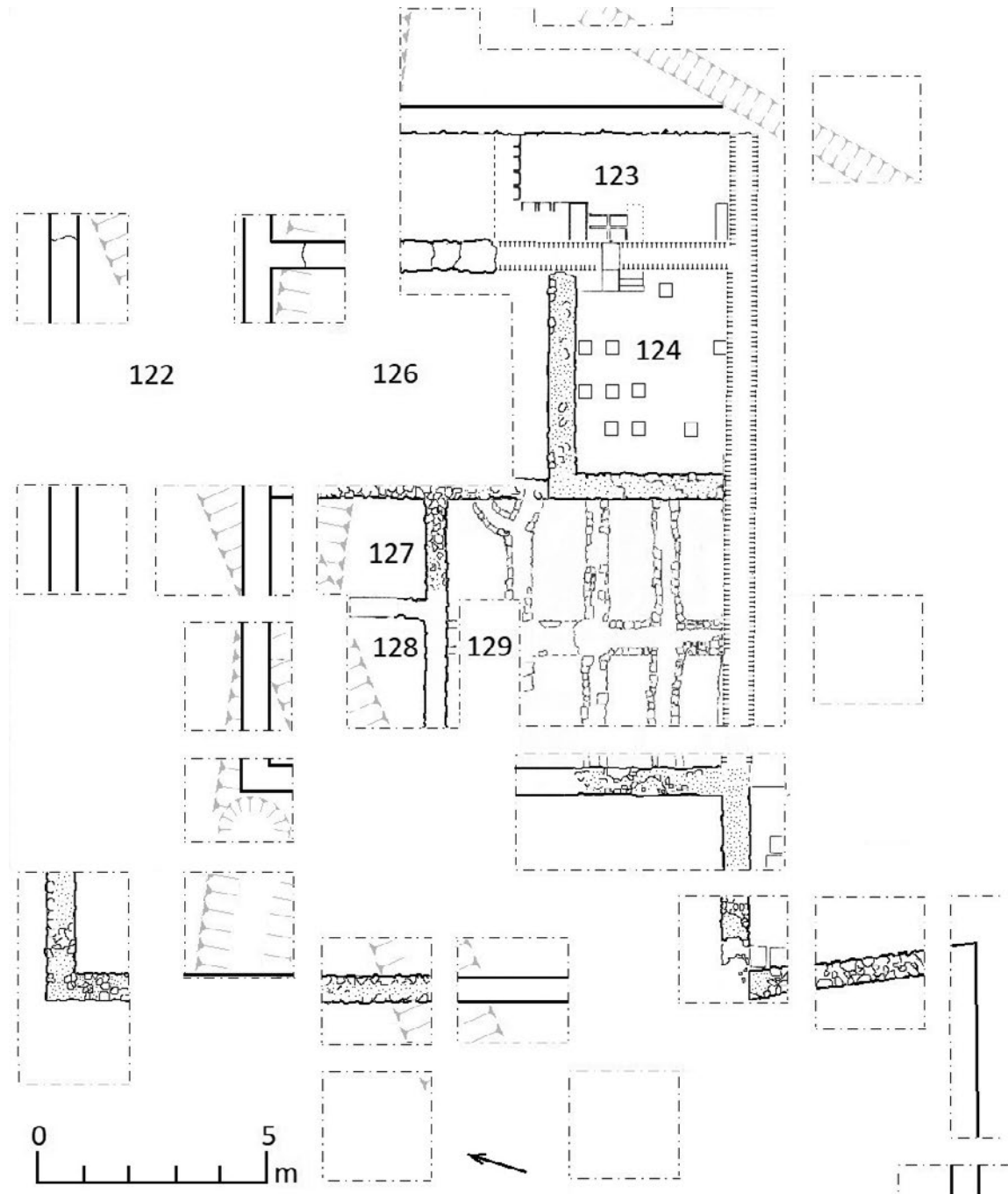
Figure 3.30. Plan of South wing block.

thought to have contained three rooms (123-125) originally. The L-shaped unfloored area (designated **Room 125**) was 10.13m by 11.20m at its widest. The south-east corner of this area was occupied by the heated **Room 124** (3.35m by 3.88m). Its hypocaust, of which a few tiles from its *pilae* survived, was constructed on a base of *opus signinum*, 50mm thick, on a 'foundation of wall plaster and ragstone chippings'. No trace of flooring was found in the rubble fill of the hypocaust, which Detsicas assumed must therefore have been solely of tile, presumably robbed. Its stoke hole was close to the north-east corner, which connected to a furnace

in the passage-like **Room 123** (10.13m by 2.44m); the northern cheek and tile base survived, but the southern cheek was absent. Although badly damaged by robbing and ploughing, neither flooring nor division was found within Room 123, although a tile 'ledge' is shown on the plan close to the furnace.

Detsicas stated that the L-shaped Room 125 suffered from a catastrophic fire because it was covered by 'a thick deposit of soot and ash', and that this area was afterwards divided into four: **Room 126** (6.17m by 4.72m); **Room 127** (3.35m by 2.21m); **Room 128** (3.35m

Figure 3.31. View looking east over channelled hypocaust in Room 129, with pillared hypocaust (Room 124) beyond.

square); and **Room 129** (6.10m by 5.94m). Rooms 126-128 had yellow mortar floors (50-80mm thick) on a foundation of yellow clay laid directly on the layer of ash and soot, which was also cut through by their partition walls of ragstone and yellow mortar (0.45m thick). Room 129 was the largest and had 'dwarf walls' of tile set in clay each with 'channels allowed in the thickness of the walls'. A channel runs the length of the middle of the room. In the published plans, rather than being axial, it is shown in line with the dividing wall between Rooms 127 and 128. However, this is erroneous and photographs (including Figure 3.31) clearly indicate that it was central. Three pairs of side channels linked it to the east and west walls. A possible hearth in the south-west corner of Room 126, was thought to be the source of heat for the channels, close to a branch in the channel. One might have expected a stoke hole in the south wall, but this cannot be confirmed because the wall had been totally robbed. Photographs also show that the filling between the channels had been removed during excavation, as also occurred in a channelled hypocaust at nearby Snodland during the 1960s (Birbeck 1995: 89).

Discussion

The 'thick deposit of ash and soot' directly on the subsoil in the L-shaped Room 125, was thought to be evidence of a catastrophic fire in this part of the villa, sealed by later floors and cut by partition walls. The lack of flooring suggested to Detsicas that Room 125 was used to store grain which had been dried over the

hypocaust in Room 124, and that the additional rooms created following a fire functioned in the same way. Without any flooring in Room 125, one must question whether the deposit of ash and soot already existed on the surface when the wing was constructed, or was used as make-up, which the wall foundations cut. The fact that the relatively narrow partition walls abutted the broader load-bearing walls does not imply that they were significantly later. Nevertheless, the ash could have been from wooden flooring consumed by fire.

Room 129, according to Detsicas 'clearly served as a granary' (Detsicas 1972: 106). The channels in the 'dwarf walls' provided 'a continuous air flow'. A 'hearth' near the south-west corner of Room 126, at a point where the existing wall was very low, suggested to Detsicas that warm air flowed under the floor which he assumed to be of timber, despite the obvious risk of fire. This arrangement resembles a channelled hypocaust. The interpretation as a granary was influenced by the supposed corn-drying function of the pillared hypocaust in Room 124. While there was no sign of luxury, in the form of tesserae or painted wall-plaster, and the floors of the unheated rooms were of mortar, this is actually consistent with what was found in most of the main house. The well-constructed pillared hypocaust would seem too sophisticated if it were intended for corn drying from the outset. The channelled hypocaust in Room 129 is likely to have been a later insertion, for which Room 127 would be appropriate as an anteroom, also giving access to the square Room 128.

The southern wing resembles 'Block C' at Darenth, similarly detached but linked with the main house and equipped with both kinds of heated rooms. There the tessellated floors suggest that it was not devoted to drying and storing wheat (although the granary at Horton Kirby was associated with rooms with tessellated floors (*Britannia* 4, 1973: 322-323; 5, 1974: 459)). On the other hand the integration of an agricultural building with the overall architectural scheme by giving it an attractive façade is not unprecedented, and occurs for instance at Halstock, Dorset. But these are normally pre-existing buildings which the structure at Eccles (Rooms 123-9) does not appear to be and agricultural buildings are likely to have been built beyond the garden wall.

Eastern *porticus*

It seems logical that the eastern or rear *porticus*, **Room 104** belonged to this phase, especially as it was later divided into rooms, suggesting that it was not half open as the western equivalent may well have been. It was 74.52m by 3.50m and its wall was abutted against the corner of the house at the northern and southern end. It was assumed that it had a yellow mortar floor or subfloor, and the patch of tiled flooring in the later Room 106, created when the *porticus* was subdivided, may or may not have survived from this period (see below pp60-64) (Detsicas 1970: 59). The red and buff banded tessellated pavements in the later Rooms 92 and 103 (where the mosaic is described) were thought to have originally been the flooring of the northern

end of the *porticus* (Detsicas 1969: 100). This would be appropriate: such floors pave corridors of town houses believed to be of second-century date (for example at Silchester, Hampshire (Neal and Cosh 2009: Mosaic III 321.74)), and are not so typical of the 4th century. However, this does not appear to have been the case here and three separate banded pavements were almost certainly laid during Period 4 (see below p64).

Room 105, a small semi-circular structure, added to the east side of the *porticus*, is exactly midway along its length in this period (Detsicas 1970, 59) and beside a hypothetical entrance. Logically it therefore pre-dates the eastwards extension at the southern end (Rooms 118 and 121). An apse was added to the centre of the rear *porticus* at Minster, although there it was heated (Parfitt *et al.* 2008: 318-9). The position of the slightly larger apse (**Room 100**) to the north is harder to understand (Detsicas 1969: 103) and it was presumably later. Its thick *opus signinum* base and quarter-round moulding suggest that it contained water; it was perhaps a shrine (*nymphaeum*) close to an entrance.

Two masonry bases 1.80m apart were found about 9m east of the eastern *porticus*, directly in line with a presumed entrance opposite Room 109 at the centre of the Period 3 house. The northernmost was 0.75m square and comprised a tile base with roof tiles set upright on four sides (flanges outermost); this was filled to a depth of 0.25m with *opus signinum* and the exterior rendered smooth with white mortar. The southern

Figure 3.32. Apsidal pool (Room 100) abutted to eastern *porticus*.

Figure 3.33. Apse (Room 105) abutted to outer wall (robbed) of the eastern *porticus.*

base was rectangular (0.45 by 0.90m) and although it was constructed using upright roof tiles, it lacked the *opus signinum* filling and mortar coating suggesting to Detsicas that it was unfinished. Roof tiles set in the soil in a line 3.30m long ran at a right angle to the house immediately to the north of the northern base, below which was found pottery suggesting that 'it could not have been constructed much before c. A.D. 150', which places it within Period 3 (Detsicas 1972: 107, fig. 2). The location of this pair of bases in line with the assumed entrance of the eastern *porticus* is important and perhaps either marks the position of statues or a monumental gateway. It also seems to demarcate the extent of a large area of mortared surface to the east.

The projecting wing at the south-east corner (Rooms 118-121) (Detsicas 1971: 28-30)

It is uncertain when the small wing projecting from the south-east corner of the main house was constructed. It was stated as being 'demonstrably of the same building period as the rear corridor [Room 104]' (Detsicas 1971: 28) without any reason for this conclusion being stated; presumably its northern wall was bonded into the eastern wall of the *porticus* as can be inferred from the plan (*ibid.* fig 1). Certainly photographs show that the wall forming the south end of the eastern *porticus* ran through to form the south wall of Room 118 (see Figure 3.6). The wing basically comprised two rooms, the easternmost with a small rectangular recess; their walls were of ragstone and yellow mortar, 0.61m wide

above the offset. **Room 118** (6.25m by 5.33m) was the larger but nothing survived other than traces of yellow mortar bedding for a floor. **Room 119** (5.33m by 4.42m) with the smaller recess, **Room 120** (1.37m by 3.05m) at the eastern end, was heated. It was believed that 'the original intention was to provide these two rooms with a floor suspended over a pillared hypocaust' (Detsicas 1971, 28-29). This was assumed on the basis of the greater depth of Room 120 and an underfloor division between the rooms which had two flues, each 0.45m wide (Figure 3.36). In this respect it resembled similar features in the Period 4 baths and indeed the excavator believed that the original intention was for a plunge bath. Whatever the intention, it apparently was not completed, and a channelled hypocaust was installed. Room 120 was levelled up with 'ragstone rubble and building debris, containing decayed painted wall-plaster', and an *opus signinum* floor, 0.05 m thick, was laid over this fill and the topsoil of Room 119 (the entire area designated **Room 121**). Upon this was built a channelled hypocaust. The channels were lined with clay-bonded tile, but the scant remains of them only survived close to the walls; their position was largely established because the *opus signinum* was 'roughened' where the tiles had been set. The stokehole was through the southern wall of Room 119 where the walls were thickened on either side; its flue had been lined with chalk, floored with heat-damaged tiles and had a small accumulation of wood ash. From this led a north-south channel connecting midway along its length with an east-west one, both 0.45m wide. A further channel ran parallel to this, and
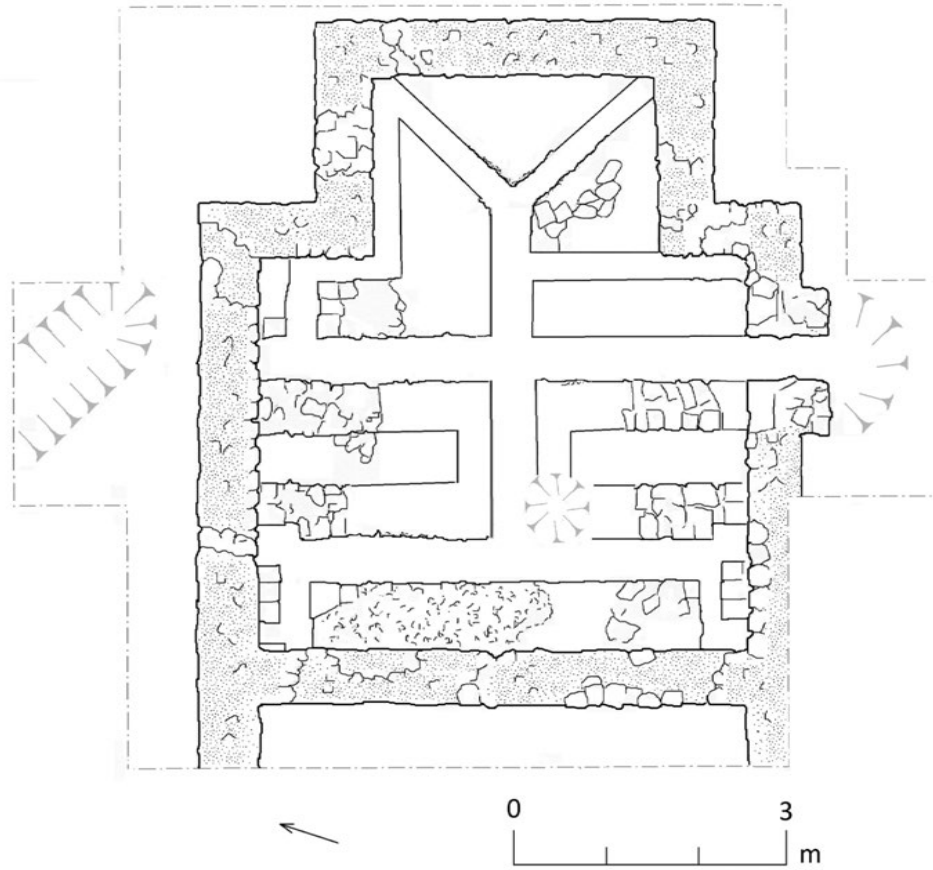
Figure 3.34. Plan of the channelled hypocaust, Room 121.

Figure 3.35. View looking north over Room 121 showing remnants of channelled hypocaust.

Figure 3.36. Recess (Room 120) looking west, showing original arrangement of underfloor flues.

there were secondary channels (0.30m wide) including a Y-shaped arrangement into Room 120 (superseding the earlier pair of flues). Detsicas judged that its use was fairly brief and was therefore a late feature of the villa. Certainly a channelled hypocaust of this type would be unusual in the second century and, because it was constructed over an *opus signinum* floor, it is more likely to be a secondary feature, perhaps part of the Period 4 refurbishment. The nature of the floor above is unknown, presumably lost through ploughing. Detsicas (1971, 29) thought that the channelled hypocaust was inserted as a corn-drier at the same time as the corridor was subdivided, but this is unlikely to be its use when it was constructed.

If the walls of the wing were indeed bonded into the east wall of the *porticus*, it must have pre-dated the later subdivisions, and that only the channelled hypocaust belongs to Period 4. As a Period 3 feature this 'wing' appears to ruin the symmetry of the rear of the building as it was approached from the east and one might have expected a similar 'wing' at the northern end. It is interesting that a very similar room was constructed at the end of the wing at nearby Snodland villa during a later phase. There it was slightly larger at 6.50m by 5.50m with the recess being 3.50m by 1.80m. The main part of the room had a channelled hypocaust of 'Union Jack' type and *pilae* in the small extension.

The channelled hypocaust was also considered to be an afterthought (Birbeck 1995: 85-90, figs 4, 5 and 7). It was dated to the mid 3rd century and the Eccles example could conceivably be broadly contemporary. The purpose is unclear in both cases. Rooms of this plan, other than in bath suites, are rare; two unheated examples were created as wing rooms at Gorhambury, Hertfordshire where they were thought to have been built AD 175-250 (Neal *et al.* 1990: 57, fig. 48). At Eccles a coin of Constantine was found 'on the hypocaust underfloor at 17 inches' in Room 121, but, although this does not help in dating the extension, it certainly suggests that the channelled hypocaust was installed in the first half of the 4th century.

Large garden pool (Detsicas 1972: 102-103)

Although the large rectangular pool (**Room 94**) was first encountered in 1967, the full size was not established until 1971 when its function was also first recognised. It was 49m by 3.45m internally, with sides of 'ragstone and tufa bonded in bright yellow mortar' and rendered internally with *opus signinum*; its floor was lost except for some decayed *opus signinum* at the extreme south end. A tile built drain 0.45m wide was found in the south-west corner. 'Room 94' was almost certainly a pool running parallel to the west side of the house. Although only a relatively small area of the pool

was excavated, it was almost certainly continuous, as the part where a break might have existed at the centre was included in the excavation and no such break was found. No long, narrow pool parallel to the house can be cited in Britain, but there are examples just beyond the English Channel in Belgic Gaul (Detsicas 1989: 84-86; see below pp70-5). Although the normal configuration in Gaul, the reason for the pool at Eccles running parallel to the house is probably because of the slope of the land towards the river, so that a long pool at right angles to the house as at, for instance Darenth, Kent and Bancroft, Buckinghamshire, was not possible.

It is likely that the pool belongs to this period as it was located more-or-less equidistant between the two wings, whereas if it belonged to Period 2 as Detsicas concluded, it would have been oddly off-centre (15.5 m from N wall of house; only 7.5m from South wall). Although omitted on his published plans of the various phases, baths would also have existed at that stage, creating more asymmetry.

The smaller rectangular pool

Built over the line of the filled Ditch XIII, the pool (3.45m by 1.65m internally), had 'a very solid foundation of roofing-tiles laid directly on the subsoil, with their flanges upside down and embedded into a layer of yellow mortar' (Detsicas 1973: 77, fig. 2, pls. IB and IIA); the walling upon this was 0.30m wide and constructed 'mainly of dressed tufa blocks' (Detsicas 1973: 77). The basin was lined with *opus signinum,* 25mm thick on the vertical faces and averaging 75mm on the floor, with the normal quarter-round moulding where they joined. The side walls had been destroyed to just above floor level, and therefore the depth of the pool is unknown. Neither drain nor water supply was noted.

No dating evidence was found for this pool, but, as Detsicas observed, it most probably followed the completion of the two wings as it is 'exactly at the centre' between them. Actually it is 2m closer to the north wing (and between 3m and 7m according to various overall plans). It is also in line with, and more or less the same width as, Room 110 in the main house which perhaps marks the entrance (the masonry bases to the east of the building also align with the Rooms 109 and 110 (Detsicas 1972: 107)). This may account for its being not quite equidistant between the two wings. Nevertheless it is in a corresponding position to similar rectangular pools located in front of and in line with the centre of the winged-corridor villas at Gadebridge Park and Dicket's Mead, both in Hertfordshire, and perhaps at the neighbouring villa at Snodland (see below p81, Figure 3.52). At Gadebridge Park this feature was dated to the late Antonine period. (Neal 1974: 26-27).

Overall discussion and dating

The winged-corridor villa of this period must have been very imposing, especially when viewed from the west, and from the river. There are hints of its luxurious appearance: discarded parts of columns in bath-stone may have been from the *porticus*, and wall-plaster surviving in places at the base of its exterior wall perhaps indicate that it was gaily painted. Painted plaster was also found on the exterior north-east corner of the north wing block, preserved where walling for the baths were butted against it. However, there is little indication of luxurious decoration within the house itself. The plain red tessellation at the northern end may well be later, and the possibility of a lost panel from one is only surmise, not backed up with finds of fine tesserae there. However, the extensive use of fragments of wall-plaster and tessellation in the foundation trenches of Period 4 walls within the building and especially the fine fragments of largely black-and-white mosaic in the make-up within Room 95, suggests demolition work which may account for the apparent lack of luxury. Although this mosaic debris may have come from the house itself, the curved profile of some pieces showing guilloche in exceptionally fine tesserae perhaps indicates that they adorned steps or a seat, perhaps more appropriate for baths (Neal and Cosh 2009: Mosaic III 354.2). Mosaic fragments and tesserae in Room 33 were also thought to be part of the make-up for a floor. An early U-shaped ditch (XI) running east-west to the south of the main block had been filled with yellow clay, but this back-fill had subsequently slumped and was levelled up with various debris including tesserae, which were grey and white, interspersed with a few cut from Samianware; this would be typical of a second-century mosaic. Moreover, some of this debris was clearly from the manufacture of tesserae as many were unfinished and there were 'several large stones from which white and grey tesserae had obviously been cut'. The preliminary assessment of the associated Samian and coarse pottery suggested an early second-century date for this deposit (Detsicas 1973: 74-75). Although this levelling material could have come from anywhere on the site, the likelihood is that the tesserae were being cut nearby, and therefore some distance from the baths. Therefore they could indicate that mosaics were being installed in the main building during the early 2nd century. This does not imply that they were laid during Period 3: they could represent subsequent improvement or even repair to Period 2 floors. Nevertheless, mosaics would probably have adorned the villa during Period 3. If this were the case, it would seem that they were stripped out *c.* AD 300, presumably because of deterioration and damage through neglect.
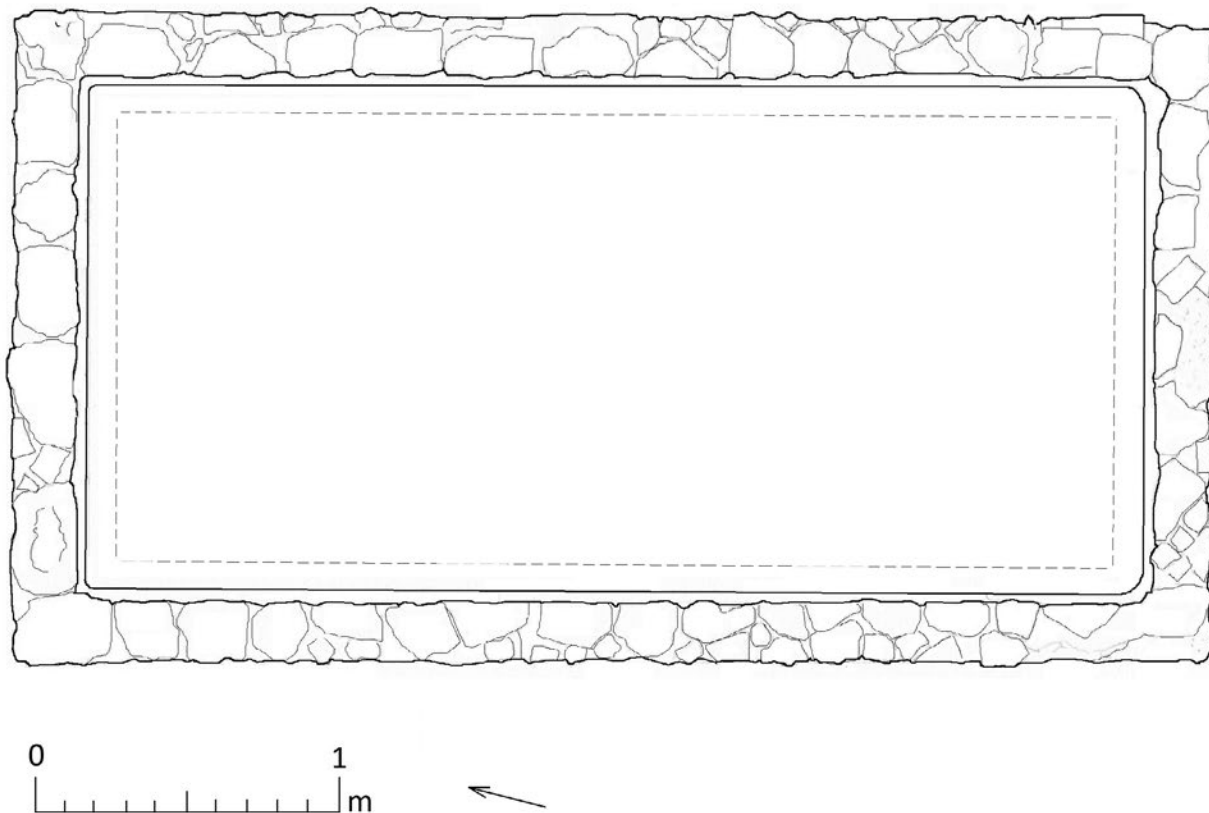
Figure 3.37. Plan of the small rectangular pool.

Figure 3.38. Small rectangular pool, partially dismantled to show base of tiles.
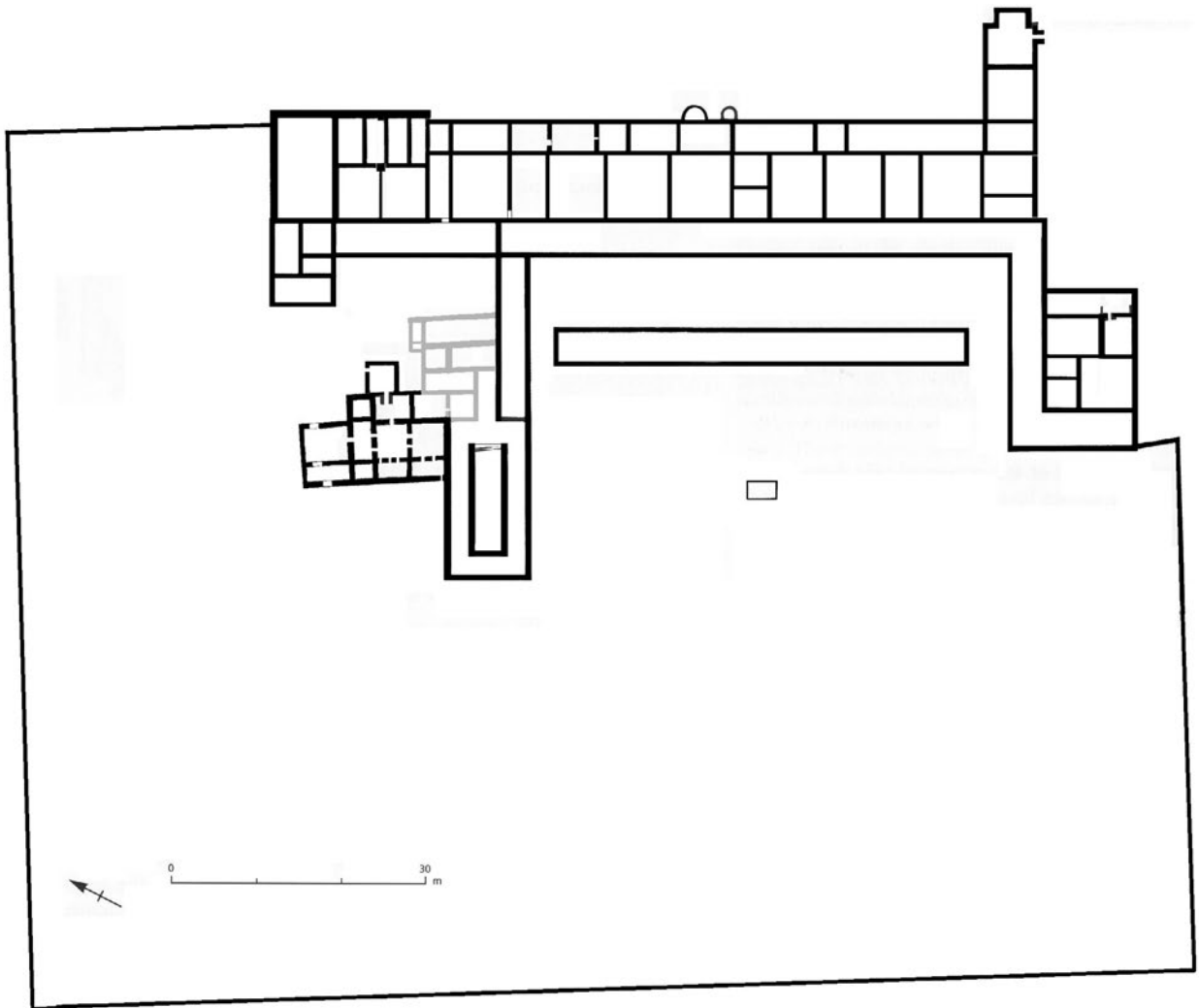
Thumbnail plan of Period 4 house.

It would seem that the major additions to the long house took place sometime in the first half of the 2nd century, perhaps 30 to 60 years before the removal of the Period 2 baths which was dated from pottery and coins in the demolition material in Rooms 26 to *c.* AD 150-180; the southern wing was given the same dating. 'Much late first-century coarse ware, including the carinated beaker deposited under the floor of Room 9 [in the north wing block] which is not later than the first years of the second century' (Detsicas 1963: 136) gives a rough *terminus post quem* for the north wing.

Period 4

At the close of the 3rd or early in the 4th century, major rebuilding took place. Parts if not all of the Period 3 baths were demolished and a new L-shaped bath-house was constructed just to the west. It was equipped with spacious heated rooms and an exceptionally large cold plunge bath, which might better be termed an indoor swimming pool (*natatio*).

Access was gained via the north *porticus* (Room 15), but although probably still having two wings, some of the symmetry of the villa was then lost. The main house also underwent changes. The east *porticus* (Room 104) was divided into rooms, those at the north end having tessellated floors, one over a channelled hypocaust. Its *praefurnium* provided good dating evidence for these alterations: a 'very worn' coin of Tetricus (AD 271-274) was embedded in the fabric of the furnace and many coins ranging from Carausius (AD 286-293) to Gratian (AD 367-383) were recovered from the ash lying in the furnace and on the floor. This suggests that the hypocaust was still in use until at least *c.* AD 375. It may also have been during Period 4 that two large rooms were added to the north end, one subdivided to form Rooms 80-85; although rooms (118 and 121) projecting east from the south end of the building perhaps belongs to Period 3, its channelled hypocaust was almost certainly installed during Period 4. At this stage there was a boundary wall enclosing an area 89m by 116m.
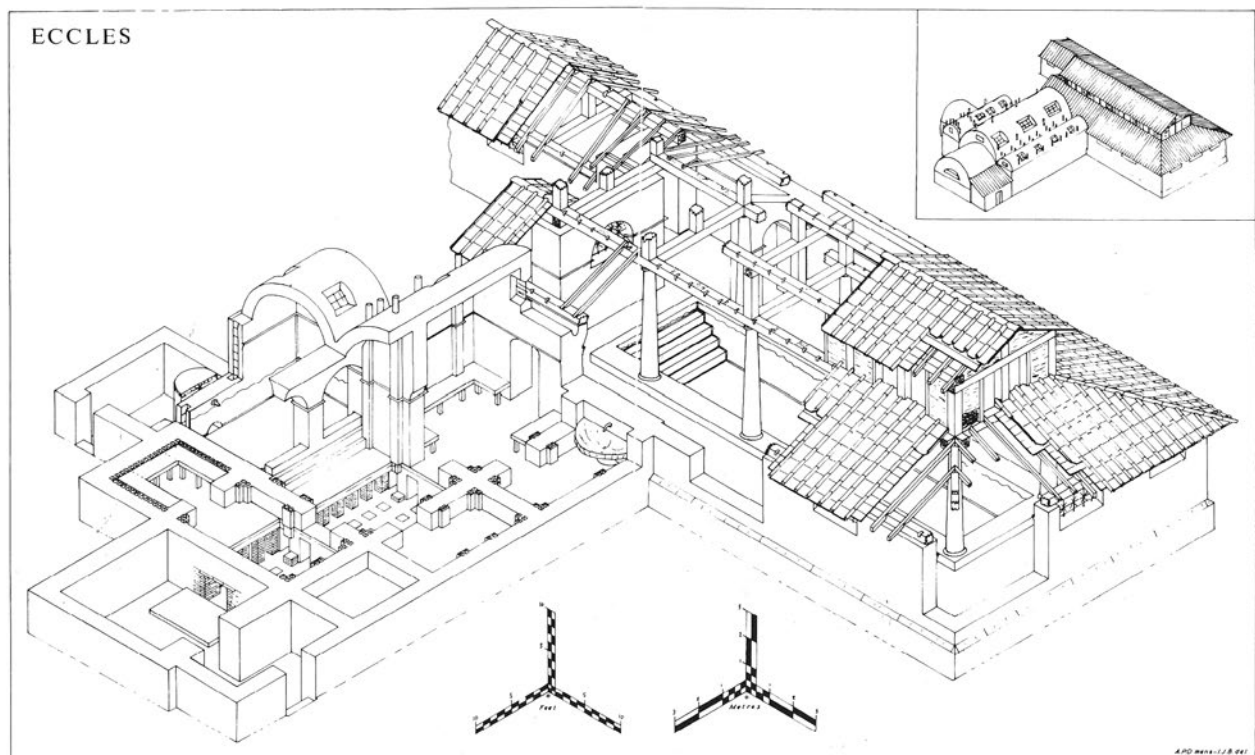
Figure 3.39. Reconstruction of the Period 4 baths by I. J. Bissett (after Detsicas 1983: fig. 28).

The third baths (Detsicas 1963: 136-140; 1964: 131-133)

Because some of the walls were built over the parts of the Period 3 baths and particularly its northern extension, it is clear that large-scale demolition had taken place beforehand. The new bath-house was L-shaped: an enclosed pool forming the east-west arm, and three heated rooms and their *praefurnium* forming the north-south arm, overall (ignoring *praefurnia*) about 26m by 24m. The long swimming pool, or large cold plunge bath, was essentially an enlargement of the Period 3 cold plunge bath. Surrounding the pool on at least three sides, **Room 18** was 2.13m wide, and created a *frigidarium* 19.20m by 9.14m overall. Its outer walls of ragstone and yellow mortar were 0.91m thick, with offsets at floor level. Its internal walls were almost certainly faced with painted wall-plaster consisting 'mainly of borders and geometrical patterns of blue, red, green and yellow on contrasting light-coloured backgrounds'; although none was found *in situ*, many fragments were recovered in the fill of the room. It originally had a floor of *opus signinum,* 50mm thick, laid directly upon the Roman topsoil, but apparently this had been 'methodically destroyed when the walls were robbed, and was nowhere recovered intact' (Detsicas 1963: 137).

The pool itself (**Room 17**) measured 13.41m by 3.35m internally with ragstone walls 0.91m thick, lined with *opus signinum*; the floor was also *opus signinum*, 0.30m thick, with quarter-round moulding at the junctions

with the walls. At its eastern end, the wall of this bath was built around the east side of the earlier plunge-bath (Room 13), the floor of which was overlaid by a masonry 'platform' of indeterminate thickness leading to two surviving steps into the pool which were curiously set at a slight angle (Figure 3.41). Presumably it was possible to walk right round the bath to access the steps, but this is unclear from its description and plan (see below pp59-60).

A large drain was discovered midway along the pool's north side, flowing north under the surrounding floor and through the wall close to the south-west corner of Room 19, beyond which its channel was later found heading north west (Detsicas 1975: fig. 3). Below the floor the drain was very solidly constructed, with sides about 0.46m thick built of tile, and a floor, and probably a cover, of roofing-tiles. The outlet from the pool was destroyed where the wall had been robbed to its foundation courses at that point. Because of the slight depth of the plough-soil and extensive robbing, the water inlet was also not found, but is likely to have utilised the supply for the cold plunge bath which it replaced (Detsicas 1963: 137-138).

The heated rooms form the north-south arm of the L-shaped baths (Detsicas 1963: 138-140; 1964: 131-133). Curiously this arm was not quite at a right-angle to the *frigidarium*, following the same alignment as the Periods 2 and 3 baths, presumably as a consequence of building its principal east wall over the west wall of

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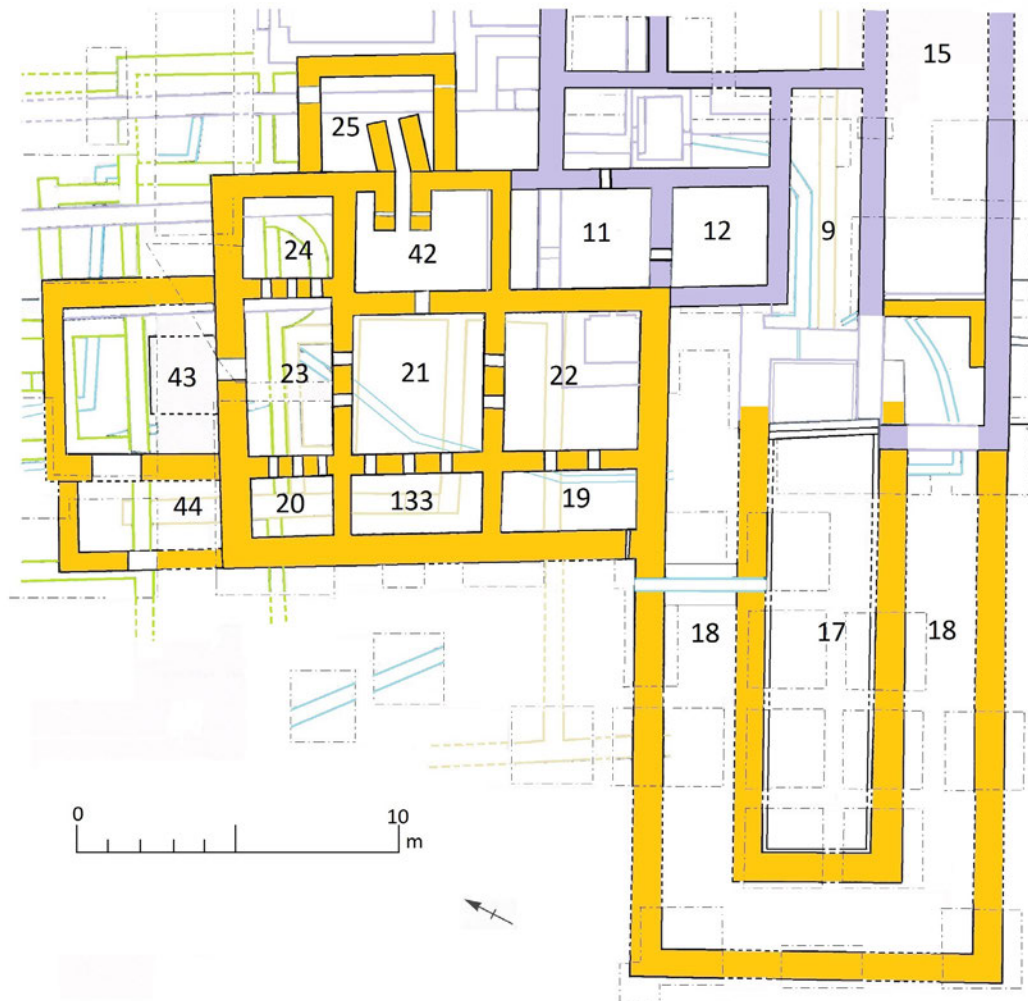
Figure 3.40. Period 4 baths (yellow ochre) with the possible Period 3 north wing block retained (mauve).

the north wing block. The outer walls are of the same width and construction as Room 18, the *frigidarium*. The rectangular **Room 23** (5.10m by 2.74m) is nearest the furnace at the north end and was probably the *caldarium*; the square **Rooms 21** (4.27m by 3.66m), and **22** (3.96m by 3.66m) were perhaps *tepidaria*. However, it should be noted that the room dimensions given in the interim report differ from those of the accompanying plan (Detsicas 1963: fig. 1) and those shown in Detsicas 1974: fig. 3. Each room had a rectangular recess on the western side, respectively **Room 20** (3.40m by 1.80m), **Room 133** (4.27m by 1.83m), and **Room 19** (3.96m by 1.83m); the last had a drain through its western wall near the south-west corner.

The hypocausts in these rooms had *opus signinum* subfloors over a layer of 'bricks, tiles, blocks of chalk and ragstone', presumably demolition material (including a broken column base). The *pilae* were conventional stacks each about 0.60m high and comprising a base tile (*pedalis*), ten smaller ones (*bessales*) and a much larger tile (*bipedalis*) which bridged the gap and supported the *opus signinum* floor, 76mm thick, of the room above.

Although this survived almost intact in part of Room 21, many of the tiles had been robbed, and where even the base tiles had been removed, their former position could be inferred from marks in the *opus signinum* hypocaust floor. Two box-flue-tiles were found in place in Room 20, and impressions in the mortar show that it was jacketed. The divisions below floor level between the rooms were of tile, 0.60m wide and were pierced by two or three flues of tufa voussoirs. Of the same build, **Room 24** (2.74m by 2.28m) lay to the east of Room 23, and was also jacketed with box-flue-tiles, some surviving *in situ* while there were impressions of others in the mortar, on at least three walls (Fig. 3.42); the fourth, a 0.60m wide of ragstone-and-yellow-mortar construction, was largely robbed out. Room 24 may have been the hot-water bath of the *caldarium*, but without evidence for a drain or a supply of hot water from one or other furnace, this is not certain.

Room 43 (4.72m by 3.96m) was a *praefurnium*. Its east and west walls of the same width and construction as the other external walls, abutted Room 23 to the south, while to the north, they abutted the wall of the Period

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Figure 3.41. View over Period 4 baths looking north with steps into large pool constructed over the demolished Period 3 cold plunge bath (centre).

Figure 3.42. Box flue tile in situ and impressions of others jacketing Room 24.

2 Room 64 which was apparently retained, or at least the lower courses of it (Detsicas 1965: 87). Up against the stoke-hole was a 'platform' of *bipedales* (2.44m by 1.98m) but most of this lay under the baulk and it is unclear if there were supports for a tank, although traces of what is probably a tile cheek are visible on a photograph. There were openings for doors through the east and west walls, the latter leading to **Room 44** (4.42m by 2.13m) thought to have been a fuel store with an exterior doorway through the west wall (Detsicas 1965: 87). The north and west walls of Room 44 were narrower than those of the neighbouring rooms, which they abutted, and the room may therefore have been a later feature.

Located to the east of Room 21, **Room 42** and its *praefurnium* (Room 25) are difficult to interpret. There appear to have been errors in surveying this part of the building, and reinterpretation of the evidence in the year after the room was first uncovered (1962) and again when the room was re-exposed and deeper excavations made in 1973 complicate matters (Detsicas 1963: 134-135; 1964: 131-132; 1974: 127, fig. 3). Thus the dimensions given in the early reports are 4.88m by 3.05m, whereas the dimensions calculated from the later revised plan are 3.90m by 3.40m, which are significantly different in both size and shape; the later plan shows it as the same width as Room 21 to the west with a flue connecting them more or less midway along the dividing wall. Room 42 was almost certainly a truncated version of Room 10 from Period 3C. The south wall was perhaps newly constructed in Period 4 on a slightly different alignment, and its new north wall perhaps incorporated a disused tile flue cheek from Period 3C. The base of the hypocaust was of *opus signinum* in the southern half and clay in the northern half. The stoke-hole was in the east wall, curiously off centre and close to the north wall, heated from a *praefurnium* (Room 25) and two cheeks of tiles were built out into the room; they were faced with clay and had box flues running north-south through them. The west wall opposite the flue showed considerable burning. The *pilae* tiles were somewhat smaller than those of Rooms 20-22: the base tiles were 0.27m square the rest up to an original height of 0.63m were 0.19m square, as employed in Period 3.

Detsicas assumed that the *praefurnium*, **Room 25** (3.35m by 2.97m) belonged to Period 4 except for its south wall, but, for reasons stated above, this room too was probably retained from Period 3C. The *praefurnium* was not well-placed in relation to Room 42 so that the flue was close to a corner, necessitating the cheeks, presumably to support and heat a water tank, to have been set at an odd angle. The cheeks were rebuilt at some stage, the later ones being a little longer of 'river boulders' over the remains of its earlier tiled version. The floor of the later flue was of tile, but sealed ash

from its predecessor. Although Detsicas assumed that the first furnace belonged to the Period 3 arrangement, repair during Period 4 is more likely (comparable to what occurred in Room 46, the Period 2 *praefurnium*). Its odd position and angle were probably due to the truncation of the former Room 10 of Period 3C and the need to create a new stoke-hole in the pre-existing *praefurnium* as far as possible from the corner of Room 42; the Period 3C stoke-hole was blocked up. There was a doorway in the north wall which was covered in a thick layer of soot and ash which extended beyond it, perhaps raked out of the furnace.

Discussion

Although the Period 4 bath-house was far better preserved than its predecessors, there are still difficulties in determining how the heated rooms functioned. The part of the northern *praefurnium* nearest the stoke-hole was not excavated, so its nature is unclear. Normally at least one of the small rooms (24 and 133) adjacent to the *caldarium* (Room 23) should have held a hot-water bath supplied from a tank in the *praefurnium*. Both Rooms 20 and 24 had the jacketing of flues appropriate for this. However, the hypocaust in Room 42 had its own *praefurnium* (Room 25) which had cheeks suitable for supporting a hot-water tank, and the pair of walls extending into the room could have supported a hot-water bath. In the reconstruction of these baths (Figure 3.39) Room 42 is shown as one large plunge bath, which, while not impossible, would be quite exceptional for a villa. Alternatively a rectangular hot bath could have occupied the north-east corner, for which the arrangement of the supports and position of the furnace suggests. The small Rooms 133, 20 and 19, lying west of the almost square heated rooms, have the appearance of containing baths, although a drain was found only in Room 19, furthest from the furnaces; it is entirely possible that others were lost or unexcavated. The cold-water bath is exceptionally large, and might properly be termed a *piscina* or *natatio,* suitable for swimming rather than just bathing. The ambulatory would act as the *frigidarium*. It was almost certainly enclosed. This arrangement is not unique in Britain – for instance, a tessellated ambulatory surrounded a large rectangular pool (7.80m by 4.5m) in the Roman baths at Whitestaunton, Somerset (Wessex Archaeology 2004: 8-9, fig 2).

The east end of the *frigidarium* (Room 18) is problematic. In his final plan of the site, Detsicas (1983: fig. 25) showed the east side of the Period 3 cold-water bath as its east wall even though this could never have been a floor-to-ceiling wall previously and would have created an awkward dogleg to the east wall. He also shows Rooms 11 and 12 from Period 3 as part of the baths with the remainder of the north wing block absent; on the other

hand, these rooms are missing from the reconstruction (Detsicas 1983: fig. 28; Figure 3.39). The wall of Room 12 makes a suitable east wall and more or less aligns with the wall blocking the northern *porticus* (Room 15), to create a rectangular room with an ambulatory on all sides of the pool and a point of entry midway along its east wall into Room 9. It should be noted that Room 9, the *frigidarium* of the Period 3C baths, although not axial to its cold-water bath at that time, was exactly axial to the Period 4 pool. This room was thus probably the anteroom or even *apodyterium* with a good view along the length of the pool and with the steps leading into it directly in front; perhaps there was a door in its south wall from the *porticus*. If Rooms 9, 11 and 12 were still in use, it rather suggests that the rest of the original north wing block was as well. It can only be assumed that by locating Room 26, known to have been demolished in the later 2nd century, as part of his second baths, Detsicas believed that the building (except, oddly, Rooms 11 and 12) was removed then. Moreover, the fact that the Period 4 baths followed the idiosyncratic alignments of the north wing block and were built directly to the west, further supports the assertion that the north wing block was still in existence in some form. Nevertheless, except for the core of the north wing block, its northern extension and the water-baths added to the west end were certainly demolished to make way for the Period 4 baths.

The baths closely resemble the first bath-suite in 'Block D' at Darenth about 20km distant (Payne 1897: 60-64). Like the Eccles baths, it was basically L-shaped in plan with a series of almost square heated rooms with smaller rectangular recesses and also had an exceptionally large rectangular pool, 12.04m by 3.02m and 1.22m in depth, with a drain similarly midway along its length. The pool was not surrounded by an ambulatory as at Eccles, but instead had a square area at one end with four steps leading down into the bath much like at the east end of the pool at Eccles. Unfortunately the Darenth baths cannot be closely dated, although a late third- to early fourth-century date has been proposed (Black 1981: 166); the large pool itself was afterwards converted into a new set of baths thought to have been at some time after AD 350 (Black 1981: 166). The baths constructed in the rear *porticus* at Folkestone are also of a similar design, albeit on a smaller scale (Winbolt 1925: 58-61).

At Eccles, the building of these baths to replace those of Period 3 was undoubtedly an improvement to the bathing facilities, at least in size. Despite their grand nature, no mention of any trace of mosaics was made.

Dating

Detsicas assumed that the Period 3 baths were demolished *c.* AD 180 and the final baths were constructed at this time. Mid second-century pottery in the debris used for

levelling below the floor of Room 23 provided a *terminus post quem* (Detsicas 1964: 134). Pottery in a rubbish pit (C), thought to have been dug through the floor of Room 18, was evidence for the baths ceasing to function *c.* AD 290 (Detsicas 1963: 133). When further excavation took place in the Period 4 baths in 1973, this was found to be incorrect, and the floor of Room 18 actually sealed material of this date, giving a much later date for its construction (Detsicas 1974: 127-128). As pieces of pottery in this context were adjudged as being 'consistently of a late third- to early fourth-century date' (Detsicas 1963: 140) a dating of *c.* AD 300-320 can be tentatively given for the beginning of this phase. As Detsicas pointed out, this solved the problem of the lack of baths in the 4th century. Being constructed over 100 years later than first proposed, it also allows for a later date to be given for the construction of the Period 3 baths.

Following on from his initial thoughts, Detsicas (1964: 134) added:

'The closing date, suggested in the 1962 report, is confirmed by the pottery and stratified coins found in the destruction layers of Room 25. Though the pottery was rather scanty, enough was recovered of late third-century fabrics and forms, and in full accordance with the pottery types recovered from the 1962 Rubbish Pit C. Furthermore, the soot and ashes raked out of the furnace (Section K-L: Layer 35) yielded a coin of Victorinus [AD 268-70], and the lowest destruction layer in Room 25 four coins of Carausius [AD 286-93].'

Bearing in mind that Room 25 was in all probability retained from Period 3C, this does not preclude the construction date proposed above, although it is odd that no later material was mentioned unless this was an omission or this part of the building was in use for a short time only. The thick ash and soot layer partly overlying the demolished east wall Room 40 (Period 3) does not necessarily suggest long usage in Period 4 as a furnace servicing the Period 3 hypocaust lay close by.

The main house

The eastern *porticus* (Room 104) was divided by partition walls to create at least 11 rooms (one merely being a furnace room). The three walls at the north end follow the alignments of the walls to the west, but beyond that the divisions are more random. All the partition walls were 0.61m wide and abutted the west and east walls and (where stated) were of ragstone and yellow mortar. The partition walls north of Room 97 were constructed on a loose foundation of building debris containing painted wall-plaster and mosaic fragments in a 'fairly shallow construction trench cut into the Romano-British ploughsoil'. The exception was that between Rooms 95 and 96 where the ragstone and
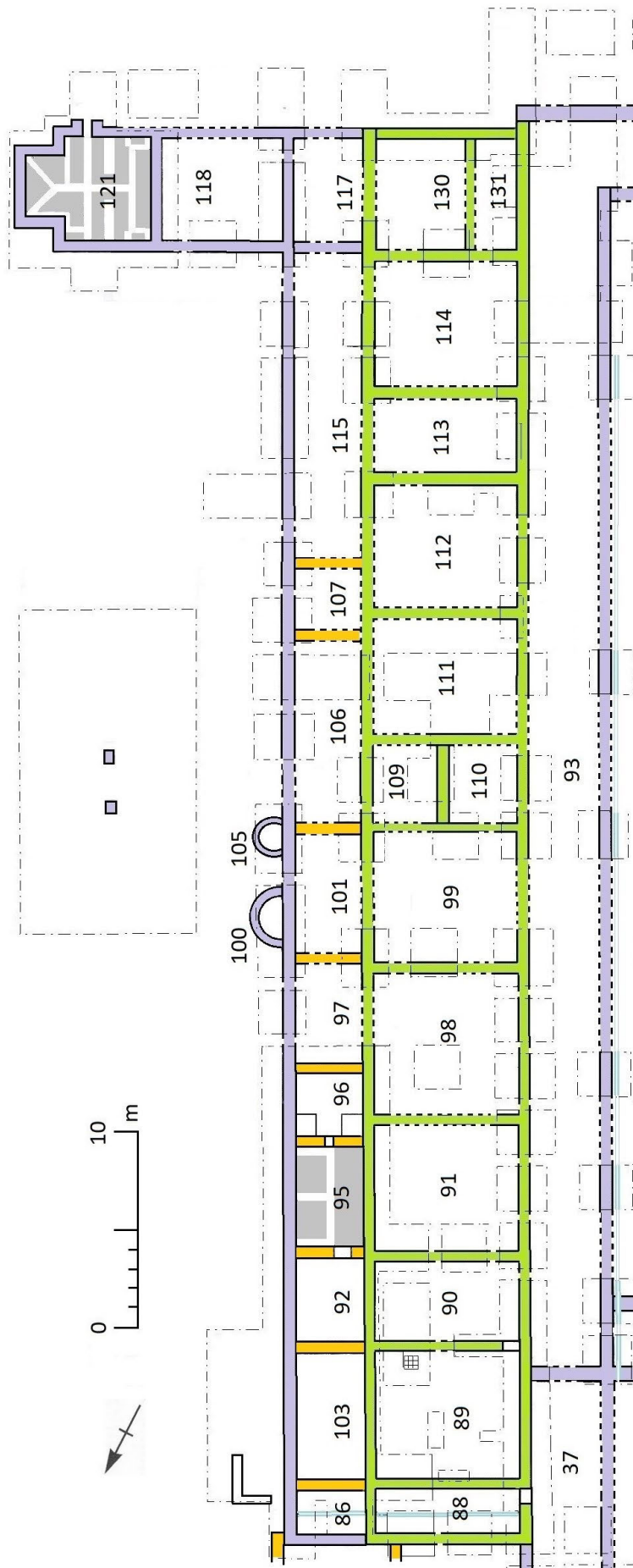
mortar wall continued to the bottom of the foundation trench. Although this was taken to indicate a different phase of construction representing an earlier single division of the *porticus*, an alternative explanation is that, because this was the wall against which the furnace for the hypocaust was located, it needed to be deeper. The walls at the centre of the former *porticus*, north and south of Room 101, had shallower foundation trenches than those further north and to the south, and were thought perhaps to be of later date. Little information is available for the foundations of the southernmost partition walls. The yellow mortar floor in rooms south of Room 96 may be the original flooring of the eastern *porticus* (Room 104) but much severe plough damage and robbing of the walls had occurred there.

Room 86 (3.50m by 2.44m) was much robbed. No flooring survived and no trace even of *opus signinum* found in other rooms at this end of the building (Detsicas 1968: 42).

Room 103 (3.50m by 6.78m) had a tessellated pavement of red and buff tesserae cut from roof and/or box-flue tiles, arranged in five bands of alternating colour (buff outermost), each about 0.70m wide and running the length of the room. Its almost complete survival is in marked contrast to other floors of this building (Neal and Cosh 2009: 373, fig 347, Mosaic III 354.3). It was laid over a bedding of *opus signinum* 0.10-0.15m thick, below which was 'a foundation of loose ragstone, with mortar debris and painted wall-plaster fragments filling the gaps between the ragstone, followed by a layer of gravel and several deposits of building debris' (Detsicas 1968: 43, pl II (where it is called Room 87); 1969: 99). As banded tessellation occurred in Room 92, it was thought that the flooring of the *porticus* was retained.

Next to this lay **Room 92** (3.50m by 4.42m). Although the north and west walls of this room had been partly robbed, the *opus signinum* bedding of

Figure 3.43. Period 4 main house.

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the floor survived to an average depth of 100mm. Upon this were patches of tessellation, sufficient to show that it was laid in alternating strips of red and buff as in Room 103. Colour photographic evidence shows red bands outermost, contrary to the arrangement stated by Detsicas. The *opus signinum,* comprised two layers, below which were 'two make-up layers of painted wall-plaster fragments with loose yellow mortar and ragstone chippings' (Detsicas 1969: 99-100).

Room 95 (3.50m by 5.33m) was heated by a channelled hypocaust, with its furnace in the neighbouring Room 96 to the south. Large patches of tessellation indicated that its design was five longitudinal bands in red and buff as in Rooms 103 and 92; photographs show buff is outermost as in Room 103 (again not as stated by Detsicas (1969: 100)). Apart from the tile debris above the hypocaust channels, the floor's make-up was identical to that in Room 92 (except perhaps the broken-up mosaic in the hard-core). However, lying between the double layer of *opus signinum* and the final thin application of the same material into which the tesserae were set, was a thin layer of dirt. This might indicate that some time had passed before the tesserae were laid. The *opus signinum* was carried through a doorway, 0.91m in width, near the north-west corner and giving access to Room 92. The channelled hypocaust was E-shaped in plan; a channel 0.46m wide from the furnace crossed the centre of the room south to north, with three side

channels, each 0.30m wide, to the east wall where flues would have risen. The channels had been cut into the Romano-British topsoil (baked brick-red by heat) to the depth of about 0.60m (Detsicas 1969: 100 pl. IA), lined 'with two courses of clay-bonded ragstone' and six layers of tiles and clay bonding, each layer slightly offset to narrow the gap in order to support the layer of 'bonding-tiles' (larger tiles and mortar were used nearer the furnace). In the main channel close to the mouth of the flue into the *praefurnium*, Room 96, there was an accumulation of soot and ashes, containing sherds, meat-bones and a coin of Carausius (AD 286-293); also: 'A second, and very worn, coin of Tetricus was found embedded in the yellow mortar bonding of the south-east partition wall in the flue cut through this wall when the channelled hypocaust was inserted; its actual find-spot was the seating of one of the bridging-tiles spanning the flue, and its discovery confirms the dating of this reconstruction' (Detsicas 1969: 102).

Room 96 (3.50m by 3.35m) was the *praefurnium* for the hypocaust in Room 95 (Detsicas 1969: 101-103). No doorway was found. There was no flooring, that of the former *porticus* presumably having been removed in order to lower it, although fragments of sandstone (less susceptible to damage by heat than local ragstone) near the flue suggested a base for the furnace. This area produced evidence for dating: 'Two very worn coins, both of Tetricus I and Tetricus II, were found embedded

Figure 3.44. Hypocaust in Room 95 (looking west) after tessellated floor had been removed.

Figure 3.45. Plan of north end of the Period 4 house.

in the subsoil within this furnace.' Perhaps to reduce heat damage to the north wall, 'cheeks' (each 1.22m by 1.07m) were constructed on either side of the furnace which then had a tiled base. The tiles and cheeks both sealed a layer of ash and soot indicating that this was not an original feature.

Sealed by demolition material, there was a fairly thick layer of ashes and charcoal on the tiled area; scattered within this deposit were 65 coins, nearly all of fourth-century date, described as: Gratian AD 367-383 (one), Constantius II AD 337-361 (three), *Urbs Roma* AD 330-346 (one), Theodora AD ?305-306 (one), Magnentius AD 350-353 (three), Constans AD 337-350 (four), an *antoninianus* of Otacilia Severa (AD 244-249), House of Constantine (one), Decentius AD 351-353 (one), 'Constantinopolis' AD 330-346 (one), Valens 364-378 (one), nine illegible coins, probably of late-Roman date, and 37 barbarous FEL TEMP REPARATIO types of the 350s.

Little is known about the rooms to the south. **Room 97** (3.50m by 5.26m) and **Room 101** (3.50m by 6.25m) were 'floored with yellow mortar about 2-4in thick, laid on a make-up layer of re-deposited subsoil' (Detsicas 1969: 103). Within **Room 106** (3.50m by 9.60m) an area of flooring was found comprising of tiles 0.23m square, 40mm thick (conceivably re-used *pilae* tiles) on a bedding of yellow mortar averaging 80mm in depth over a make-up of 'debris'. Although this was taken to be a surviving part of the original floor of the eastern *porticus* (Room 104), the tiles could alternatively have been laid after Room 106 had been created (Detsicas 1970: 59). No floors survived in **Room 107** (3.50m by 3.28m) (Detsicas, 1970: 59), **Room 115** (3.50m by 16.23m) and **Room 117** (3.50m by 5.49m) (Detsicas 1971: 30).

Discussion

As mentioned above, the conversion of the east *porticus* into a series of rooms implies that, if the *porticus* had a low wall with short columns, the gaps were filled in with a solid wall and windows, or that the east *porticus* was never open. The latter seems more likely. The presence of painted wall plaster and fragments of very fine mosaic in the foundation trenches, and building debris and painted plaster in make-up below floors, suggests that this phase of refurbishment was accompanied by demolition, or at least stripping out, of well-appointed rooms. This material was perhaps from the Period 3 baths, but conceivably came from closer at hand in the main house. If so, it shows that old and possibly damaged floors were taken up and perhaps replaced with new tessellated floors (or perhaps at least one mosaic as the surviving coarse red tessellation could represent borders (Detsicas 1971: 32, note 12)). Although the reason behind this cannot be ascertained, it strongly hints at a period of neglect,

perhaps associated with a decline in the villa's fortunes prior to the refurbishment. Detsicas (1969: 100) believed that Rooms 103 and 92 retained the banded mosaic of the erstwhile east *porticus* while the tesserae were re-used in Room 95 to create a similar mosaic over the new hypocaust. This cannot be the case. He confused Rooms 95 and 92 in his description of the mosaics as is clear from photographs, and the same-coloured bands do not run through as he assumed. All three banded pavements were laid afresh in Period 4.

Although destruction by the plough, especially at the south end, make it impossible to be sure, the better-appointed rooms at the north end may indicate that only part was used for higher status residential rooms, as noted at Farningham 2 (Meates 1973: 9-12). The quality and size of the baths, however, perhaps contradict this, although the construction of the baths and the refurbishment of the house, while fairly close in date, need not be contemporaneous. The channelled hypocaust in Room 121 also probably belongs to Period 4, as, conceivably, do those in the north and south wing blocks. Nevertheless, although only doorways are known between Rooms 89 and 90, and Rooms 92 and 95, it would appear that Rooms 89-92, 95 and 103 formed a suite of six rooms (Figure 3.45). The entrance was probably from the west *porticus* into Room 90, which led to Room 92 beyond it, which gave access to rooms on either side (one heated). These two rooms (95 and 103) had similar dimensions and identical banded pavements (contrasting slightly from the intervening one which showed far more damage or wear).

Rooms 79-85 (Detsicas 1967: 168; 1968, 46-47)

Two large rooms, one subsequently subdivided, were constructed to the north of the main house and thereby extending it as far as the north end of the suite of Rooms 33-36. The walls were largely robbed, but the surviving portions of the north wall had a facing of ragstone and yellow mortar and a core of 'building debris and lumps of tufa', the source of which was perhaps the demolished parts of the earlier baths. The walls were abutted against the east wall of Room 37 and the northern suite of rooms to which it led, and also the north-east corner of the eastern *porticus*, showing that it post-dated them. No dating evidence is mentioned.

Room 79 (6.40m by 12.50m) was a large room floored with white mortar laid on 'a make-up layer of re-deposited subsoil'. No trace of sophistication was found and it was assumed that the room was a barn or store. A small area only was excavated and it is possible that wall divisions were missed.

Rooms 80-85 was originally one large space, about 10.30m by 12.50m. At the centre of the room was a square feature of ragstone with a hollow centre filled
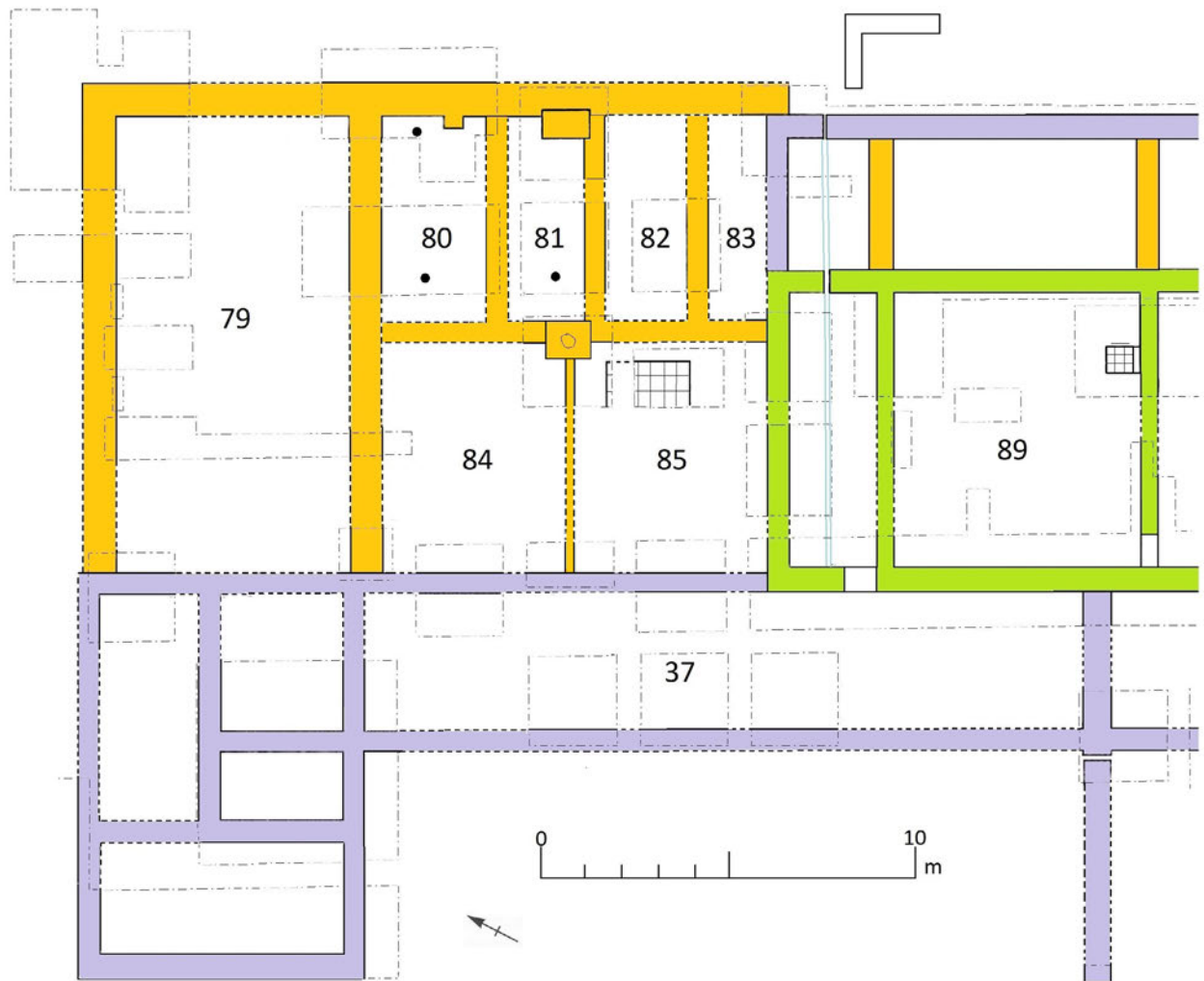
Figure 3.46. Rooms 79-85.

with 'lumps of tufa bonded with yellow mortar'. The materials match the outer walls, although Detsicas described it as a projection connected with later partition walls as 'stepping of a central timber supporting the roof structure'. It is more likely that the partition walls were built against this post pad. A second rectangular masonry feature was described as a ledge by the east wall in the corner of the later Room 81 and partly set into its south wall. As it was the same width and in line with the central square post pad, it was surely contemporary with it and served a similar function; no other post pads were found in line with them, although part of the room was unexcavated.

Three post holes were also found in the east of the area, which may well have pre-dated the partitioning. Their projected line was parallel to the north wall and the north-south axis of the room, and the post holes were equidistant. There were perhaps more originally but their positions, including any midway between the existing ones, would lie under partition walls or unexcavated areas. Their function is unclear; they might have been merely for scaffold poles.

The east end was later partitioned with light walls of ragstone and yellow mortar to form four rectangular rooms of unequal width and all floored with yellow mortar: Room 80 (5.49m by 2.89m); Room 81 (5.49m by 2.06m); Room 82 (5.49m by 2.29m); and Room 83 (5.49m by 1.60m). Detsicas suggested that they were servants' quarters. The western part was divided in line with the post pads by a wooden stud wall, as evidenced by a beam slot, to create Room 84 (6.10m by 5.03m) and Room 85 (6.10m by 5.33m). A trace of yellow mortar 'at floor level' in a section hints that the flooring was similar to the other rooms. On its eastern side was a feature constructed with tiles, possibly edged in ragstone, identified as a large hearth because of the amount of ash and charcoal around it (Detsicas 1969: 98-9, pl. 1B). Its east-west dimension is uncertain but probably little more than 1.20m, but, whether by coincidence or design, its north-south dimension of 2.29m matched the width of Room 82 to the east with which it was directly in line. The presence of the hearth led Detsicas to identify this area as a kitchen. However, its similar construction to the late hearth/fire-place in Room 89 might suggest that this likewise belongs to Period 5.

Boundary wall (Detsicas 1973: 76 fig. 1; 1976: 158-159, fig. 2; 1977: 56-58, fig. 2; 1989: 84)

A boundary wall enclosed an area of about 89m by 116m, the house forming most of the east and the south-east corner. Only the southern wall to the south-west corner and the east side to the north-east corner were excavated; the lines can be projected to form a right angle at the north-west corner. Curiously these insubstantial walls had a slightly different alignment to the house. The eastern wall, which would have abutted part way along the north wall of Room 79, was 0.61m wide of 'clay-bonded ragstone' set in a very shallow foundation trench. However, projecting its line southwards would take it to the north-east corner of the eastern *porticus* (Room 104) and conceivably this part had been removed for the construction of new rooms (79-85) in Period 4. Near its north-east corner was a gap 2.06m wide marked by a 'regular finish' to the walling and partly over the line of a filled ditch (II). This possible gateway was blocked with tile over a levelling layer where the filling of the ditch had subsided; this layer contained pottery dating 'mainly to the last quarter of the second century'. The north-east corner was noted merely as a foundation trench, later covered by a cobbled area (Detsicas 1967: 167 fig. 1).The south boundary wall began about 4.50m south of the corner of the south wing, to which it was abutted at an odd angle. The wall was 0.61m thick composed of ragstone and yellow mortar, which incorporated some flint and dressed tufa blocks at the south-east corner. Its shallow foundation trench foundation was filled with loose gravel, although towards the south-west corner the trench was deeper and contained large river boulders. The length of this south wall is given as 69.80m although it is shown a little shorter on the published plan. Just beyond the south-west corner was a gap possibly 5.49m wide, presumed to be a gateway, before the wall resumed northwards. Within this corner was building debris, thought to be from a gate-house though no other evidence for this was found. Two large pots sunk into the soil within and beside the southern wall were believed to be for garden shrubs.

It is uncertain when this boundary wall was built, and it was tentatively given a date of *c.* AD 180. It was clearly constructed after the south wing, though little time may have elapsed. The late second-century material in the levelling of the ditch sealed by the blocking of a gateway, gives a *terminus post quem* for this alteration. It could well have been constructed in Period 3. The different alignment of the boundary wall to the Period 3 house is strange if it were more or less contemporary, although it does conform to that of the Period 2 baths and the heated rooms of the Period 4 baths; it cannot be ascertained with which it shared the alignment if it is anything other than coincidence, but there are strong hints (such as the positioning of features beyond it to the west) that the configuration of the boundary was longstanding.

Period 5

The later 4th century marked a period of decline. While occupation continued in at least part of the house, it was not at a sophisticated level. The baths, while showing signs of occupation, ceased to function as baths and the large *frigidarium*/swimming pool may well have been turned into a work-hall. When the villa was totally abandoned is unclear, but activity on the site, including an Anglo-Saxon cemetery and medieval occupation, continued long after the Roman era.

The main house

Because the remains lay close to the surface and over much of the site the latest stratification had been removed, little can be said of the latest period of occupation. Based on a coin of Gratian found in the ash relating to the hypocaust furnace in Room 96, it can be assumed that the main house was inhabited until the closing years of the 4th century and that the hypocaust was still functioning; the latest two coins are of the House of Theodosius (AD 390-400) and Arcadius which came from Room 87 and east of the main house respectively. Following his excavations

Figure 3.47. Hearth in Room 89.

of the various baths and the western end of the main building, Detsicas (1967: 170) noted: 'not a single sherd of post-Roman pottery has been found so far'. The late Roman occupation was evidently of a lower standard than earlier in its history. In Room 89 a hearth was constructed close to the south wall, 0.76m square, comprising nine *pilae* tiles on a clay base, possibly surrounded by a rim of ragstone (Figure 3.47). This appears neatly made and resembles a conventional fire-place for heating the room often found elsewhere (for example Newport, Isle of Wight). However, it seals a layer of soot and ash, which spread across the room at a time when the tessellated pavement had been already largely stripped away leaving its *opus signinum* base. The layer contained animal bones and fourth-century pottery and therefore the hearth is likely to have been a very late feature. Pottery deposited in Room 103 is of similar late date (Detsicas 1968: 47; 1971: 33-4).

Burials

At least four inhumation burials, presumed to be post-Roman, were found during the excavation beyond the north end of the original house, in and around its northern extension: in Room 34 and another just outside its south wall, in the north part of Room 84 and the south-east part of Room 79. (Detsicas 1964: 130, fig. 1; 1967: fig. 1). As little of these last two rooms was excavated, there may well have been others in the vicinity. Their presence here rather than in the main house cannot be taken as evidence that the core of the building was still standing when the burials took place, while the extension had been demolished.

At the south end of the house, burials over and through the remains of the stokehole and south wall of Room 121 in the east wing (Detsicas 1971: 31) and within the robbed wall trench dividing 118 and 117, show that the east-projecting wing, beside which the main Anglo-Saxon cemetery lay, had already been demolished. Nevertheless substantial parts of the villa ruins were probably visible and were perhaps the reason for choosing the burial site (Shaw 1994).

The baths

At some time during the 4th century the baths went of use, presumably at the same time as the house ceased to be a high-status residence. The swimming pool and ambulatory was probably the largest roofed space on the site and might well have been considered suitable for a work-hall. The pool was at least partly filled in 'by laying down large river boulders set in grey-blue clay' (Detsicas 1963, 138) for this purpose. A hearth and an ash-pit were found at the centre of the area of the pool, while another pit with ash and animal bones was cut through the north-east corner of the ambulatory floor (rubbish pit C). This is suggestive of industrial activity of some kind.

The redundant smaller heated rooms may not have been so useful, except as a source of tiles from *pilae*, and the floors collapsed into the hypocaust chambers; plaster and mortar was deposited, along with *opus signinum* and tile debris, directly on the soot covering their bases. At least three burials were found in the fill of Rooms 20 and 21, the best preserved in the north-east corner of Room 20, and also some evidence for others in Rooms 23 and 24. However, according to Detsicas, there was even later activity in these rooms: 'the arched flues were then levelled down, and the debris was consolidated (this would also account for the very disturbed condition of two of the three burials)' before 'the laying down of another *opus signinum* floor' in Room 21, even 'with a quarter-round moulding of *opus signinum* to suggest the likelihood of a very late plunge-bath' (Detsicas 1963: 140). The last seems unlikely, and the traces of this renewed use were described as 'vestigial' due to plough damage. In the following year, when Rooms 23 and 24 were excavated this assessment was revised: 'Again...a deliberate effort appears to have been made to seal this deposit of rubble with a layer of large lumps of *opus signinum* from the destroyed suspended floors' (Detsicas 1964: 133). From photographs, this appears to be natural collapse and breaking up of the floor.

Eventually the great villa was forgotten, buried and not rediscovered until the 19th century, when the sheer area of scattered finds suggested a lost Roman town. The excavations of Alec Detsicas answered many of the questions about the nature of the buildings and the changes and additions made to it from the 1st to the 4th century. However, there are many questions remaining unanswered. The earliest masonry, and perhaps timber, buildings, for instance, are ill understood, and there are enigmatic traces of more than is recorded here under Period 1. This gap in our knowledge is largely because the early structures lie beneath subsequent development or were destroyed by it. Several walls do not seem to belong to the recognised building phases. One part of the site that proved very difficult to interpret was the north-east corner, which was vaguely summed up as 'a workshop area' (Detsicas 1966: 49-50; 1967: 167) and cannot be assigned to any particular period. The earliest was a foundation trench forming a right angle 'filled with burnt wattle and daub' which must have pre-dated the water pipe that cut through it, supplying water to one or other of the baths. All this was sealed by a succession of mortar floors and debris; in one part the yellow mortar bore the impression of planks, while elsewhere there was a gravel surface. One mortar surface overlay a small hearth made from tiles. Just to the north west of this was a 'stone platform' (Detsicas 1967: 166, pl. 1) sealing 'a Form 24 samian sherd of pre-Flavian date'. It was composed of 'river boulders' with a surface of yellow mortar and was aligned with the northern boundary wall. Its full extent and function were not ascertained. A thick (0.60m) layer of mortared

ragstone aggregate beyond the robbed eastern wall of Room 35 was considered 'a later work area'.

There are significant gaps in our knowledge of the villa, and several anomalies. Much has been lost to robbing and the plough, but it is also clear that much demolition and removal of material took place during the Roman era. The last period of occupation was at an unsophisticated level, and some form of industrial activity took place, which might also have removed vestiges of the villa's former splendour.

Overview

Ownership

As with the vast majority of Romano-British villas, it is difficult to say anything about the owners of the villa at Eccles, other than, at certain stages in its development, they were wealthy, but whether it was the grand residence of a Roman official, successful trader or native aristocrat is open to debate; it could even have been built for a member of a prosperous Gallic family acquiring land in Britain and building a villa in the Gallic style. The subject matter of figured mosaics can sometimes reveal aspirations or interests – in this case probably a gladiatorial contest, an urban activity. The fact that the house and baths were constructed not long after the conquest, the grand size and the barrack-like appearance of the Period 2 house, and the possible military nature of the baths in having a circular *laconicum*, perhaps point to some official Roman residence (for example, *Current Archaeology* July 1970: 286). One theory involves quarrying. During excavations of the Roman ship at Blackfriars, London, it was found to have a cargo of building stone; it was Kentish ragstone and the source was a quarry probably north of Maidstone, perhaps at Allington, close to the present tidal reach of the Medway and where a Roman building is known (see below p82). It is likely that huge quantities of stone were shipped down the Medway and from thence to London (and elsewhere) where it was used extensively for public buildings from the mid 1st century. Flint and chalk (to provide lime for mortar) were also transported from chalk outcrops further down the Medway towards Rochester (Marsden 1994: 80-84). Marsden (1994: 83) suggested that the sheer scale of the operation might mean that the area was an imperial estate run by a *procurator*, and the villa at Eccles was appropriate both geographically and in grandeur to be his official residence. Alternatively the villa was possibly the consequence of official support for a local aristocrat. It should be borne in mind that the grand house succeeded an earlier rectilinear dwelling, albeit on a much grander scale. This scenario is not unlike that at Fishbourne, West Sussex, though more modestly at Eccles. Detsicas (1983: 126) proposed that the owner could even have been 'Adminius returning to Britain in

the wake of the army.' There is no evidence and little justification for this. Detsicas (1973: 79; 1974: 133) also noted that the large-scale and early manufacture of pottery close to the villa perhaps provided the wealth to enable the owner to build such a grand house, and speculated that he had a lucrative army contract. Eccles ware is known from London, and Betts (1987: 28) noted tile there coming from Eccles AD 50-80; although the tile-kiln near the villa was later, Detsicas (1967: 174) strongly suspected that an earlier one lay undiscovered or lost. Such a source of income at Eccles is by no means implausible, though this was more likely supplementary to revenue from agriculture. A villa's wealth can very rarely be shown to have been derived principally from industrial activity. However, it is increasingly being thought that the manufacture of tiles was the basis for the economy at Ashtead villa in Surrey (Bird 2014). Perhaps significantly, the early villa at Ashtead also represents the only other known circular *laconicum* in a Romano-British villa bath-house and there is some evidence for the owner having a military background, as is also possible at Eccles. Speculation on the nature of ownership of Eccles villa is rife and various – it has even been suggested (Black 1987: 69), on the basis that the main range can be seen as three 'units', that 'the owner of the original villa combined with two neighbours' to build on a grand scale.

Unusually though, names have been found on artefacts at the villa, one at least probably of a resident. Detsicas (1965: 89) noted that the name Bellicius Januaris was inscribed on a silver spoon and a Samian ware bowl, both found during the 1964 excavations (*Journal Roman Studies* 55, 1965: 224-226 nos 18 and 33, pl. XVI, 3). He considered, assuming the inscription referred to the owner, that this man's ancestor could have had the villa built. The name hints at a military origin for the family, perhaps from an ex-soldier. Interestingly, a wooden writing tablet from London, bearing the equivalent of the date 14 March AD 118, described a legal dispute over the ownership of woodland at *Verlucionum* in the territory of the Cantiaci, purchased by Lucius Julius Bellicus. *Verlucionum* cannot be located within Kent and sadly we cannot safely place Bellicus – not an uncommon name – at Eccles villa (*Britannia* 25, 1994: 302-304; de la Bedoyére 2015: 67; RIB 2504.29). Among the rubble filling Room 121 was a rolled-up lead sheet, inscribed on both sides. This was a *defixio* (curse tablet) against a certain Butu, most probably a thief, and dates to the 4th century (Tomlin 1985; *Britannia* 17, 1986: 428 no. 2). His connection with the villa is, of course, unknown. Intriguingly the curse included the phrase *in domo dei* (in the house of God) which could have a Christian connotation. Further up the Medway valley, at East Farleigh, a lead *defixio* was found in 2009 associated with what is thought to have been a temple/shrine (*Britannia* 43, 2012: 402-403, fig. 10), and it is not inconceivable that Room 121 at Eccles had a

similar function, and, if so, the sanctity of this part of the site possibly accounts for the choice of this area as a cemetery. The presence of a hypocaust in Room 121 suggests that it was not originally intended to be a chapel or shrine.

The house

The most striking aspect of the house at Eccles is its exceptionally large size, especially in its winged stage (Period 3) when it was 86m in length overall, and about 106m if the northern extension is included. In this it very much fits the pattern of large houses in the late 1st and 2nd century in south-east Britain, where the vast majority of true winged-corridor villas like Eccles are located, but none can quite match its length. The main characteristic of this building type is the *porticus* turning at either end of the main range to front projecting wings. In Kent the most similar examples of large true winged-corridor villas are from Farningham 2, Boxted, Folkestone and Minster; most other examples are found north of the Thames estuary, particularly in Essex and Suffolk.

Farningham 2 lies close to the River Darent, about 18km west of Eccles (TQ 545667). Although its north wing was not excavated, the building would have been about 64m long and achieved this form in the 2nd century (Figure 3.48 D). It shares several features with Eccles, including a rear *porticus* divided into rooms. Similarly its front *porticus* in masonry was not an original feature, replacing a less substantial one as was suspected, but not found, at Eccles, and also involved the blocking of the open-ended room (Meates 1973). By *c.* AD 300 most of the villa at Farningham had been abandoned and the southern end only was refurbished as a fine residence. The new tessellated floors were laid over much painted wall plaster, presumably from demolished rooms, as at Eccles. By contrast, little is known of the Boxted villa, close to the Medway estuary (TQ 850660), other than its plan and the fact that coins suggest an early foundation (Figure 3.48 B). It was at least 66m long and contained many small rooms, but the excavation of 1882 was probably incomplete and the remains may represent more than one phase. No mosaics were recorded (*Victoria County History* Kent III 1932: 106-109, fig. 23). Like Eccles, it lies close to a major pottery industry, producing Upchurch ware. The villa at East Cliff, Folkestone (TR 241370) is much better known, as it was extensively investigated during 1924 by S. E. Winbolt and further excavations have been conducted in recent years (Winbolt 1925; *Britannia* 42, 2011: 394; 43, 2012, 352-353). The first masonry building of about AD 90-100 is not fully understood but comprised a series of rooms fronted by a *porticus,* and had bow-fronted wings, all facing the sea to the south east and commanding a fine view over the English Channel. The arrangement of rooms with detached wings linked by a continuous U-shaped *porticus* is reminiscent of Eccles villa in Period 3. In the later 2nd century this was demolished and overlain by a larger house on much the same lines. This was a true winged-corridor villa, 55m long, with a *porticus* on the south-east side which turned at right-angles at either end to front the wing-rooms. The building had a rear *porticus*, subsequently divided into rooms, including a bath-suite, which resembled the Period 4 baths at Eccles. Interestingly, the rear *porticus* was extended beyond the southern end of the building, as the western *porticus* was at Eccles. Occupation continued to at least AD 370, although evidently at a lower standard. The plan of the second building at Folkestone closely resembles one at Minster, on the Isle of Thanet (TR 313646), excavated 1996-1999 (Parfitt *et al.* 2008). Its form as a true winged-corridor villa was achieved in the late 2nd century. A bath-house was located close to the south-west corner and the complex lay within a walled enclosure, an arrangement not dissimilar to Eccles. It also had a rear *porticus* and an apsidal structure at its centre. The villa continued in use until at least the late 4th century.

Other large villas in south-east Britain similar to Eccles (Period 3) were constructed north of the Thames. Unfortunately because some were subject to historic excavation or identified only, or mainly, from aerial photographs, little is known about them, other than their plans. Alresford villa, Essex (TM 060199) was at least 68.50m long (Figure 3.48 C). Although only partially uncovered in 1884, it probably had 12 rooms in a line (the south corridor 49.38m long). A building with tessellated pavements to the south west was possibly the baths (*Victoria County History* Essex III, 1963: 37-8 fig. 9). Roller-stamped flue tiles of late first-century date point to an early foundation. Lidgate, Suffolk (TL 732570), about 52m with wings projecting some 10m, and Chignall St James, Essex (TL 662108), about 57m by 46m with even deeper wings (Figure 3.48 A), are known from aerial photographs, backed up by small-scale excavation (Frere and St Joseph 1983: 194, pl. 116 and pl. 117). Several other large villas in the region fall into the same category: Islip, Oxfordshire (SP 532134) about 44m (Frere and St Joseph 1983: 195, pl. 118); Linton, Cambridgeshire (formerly known as Hadstock, Essex) at least 50m (Etté and Hinds 1993) (TL 571462); Ridgewell, Essex (TL 733403) 48.75m (*Victoria County History* Essex III, 1963: 170-1, fig. 34) (TQ 733402); and Reach (Swaffham Prior), Cambridgeshire about 46m (Wilson 1974: 258) (TL 572652). Unfortunately the nature of the wings of a large villa at Latimer, Buckinghamshire (SU 998986) is unknown, but by about AD 210-220 the main house was 60m long comprising at least 12 rooms, and, apparently after a period of abandonment, was refurbished at the start of the 4th century (Branigan 1971).

Where known from excavations in the 20th century, the true winged-corridor villas were created by either
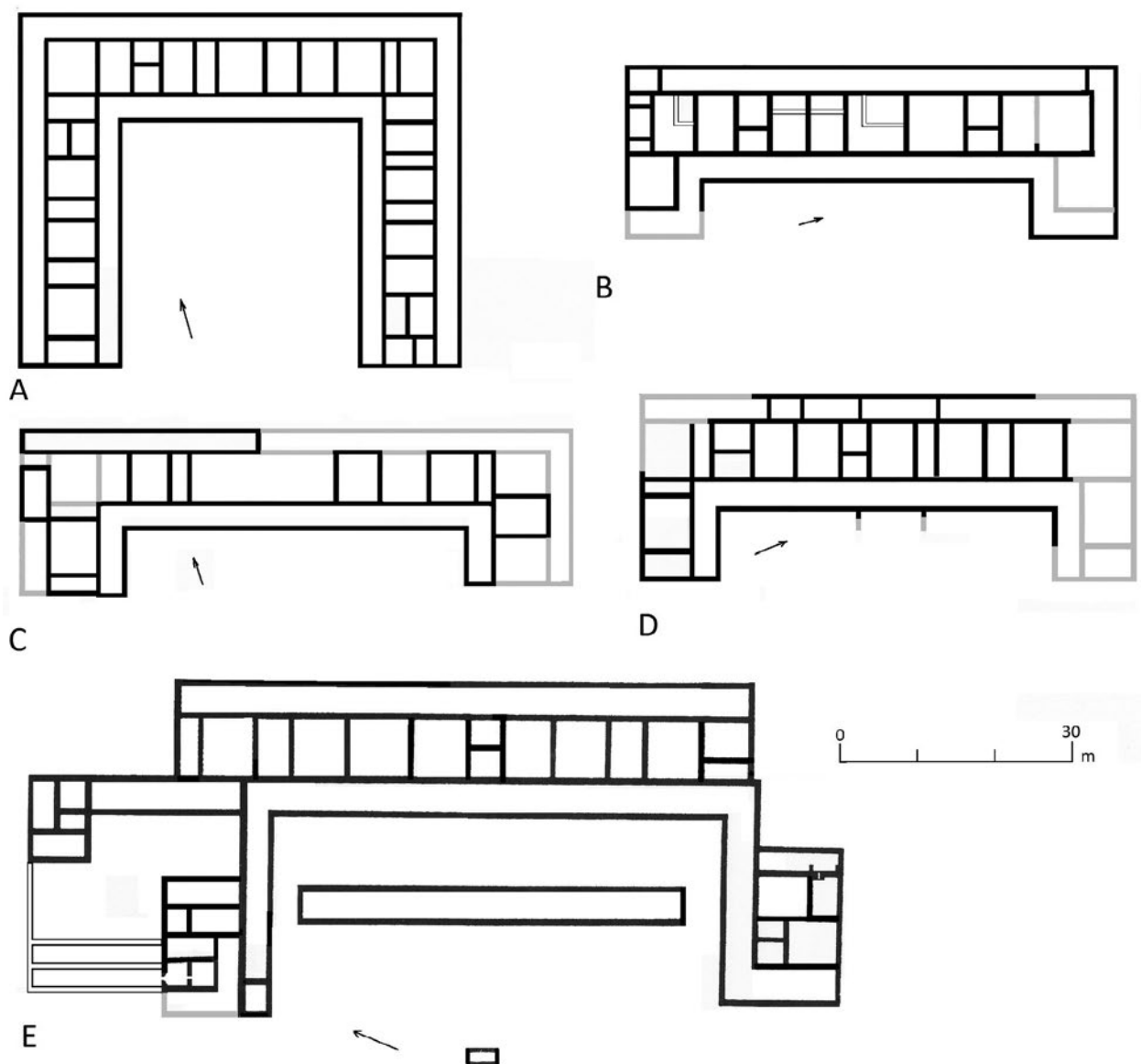
Figure 3.48. Plans of villas: A.Chignall St James; B. Boxted; C. Alresford; D. Farningham 2; E. Eccles (Period 3).

enlarging earlier structures (for example, Farningham 2 and Minster) or replacing them in the later 2nd century (Folkestone). This very much follows the pattern of development proposed here for the Eccles villa. At most of these large early villas, there were few signs of mosaics or other signs of luxury in this phase: either there was little to start with or it had been removed during demolition and refurbishment. Fine second-century mosaic fragments, for example, were found amongst building debris used as later levelling in the semicircular feature at the rear of the Minster villa, but no trace of mosaics was found *in situ*, a situation reminiscent of Eccles (Neal and Cosh 2009: 358-359, Mosaic III 350.1). The baths are often on the left as viewed from the front, either separate or integrated into the wing. It is notable that at several of the excavated examples in south-east Britain, the late third- or fourth-century refurbishment was modest compared with the earlier splendour of the building

and its adornment as at Eccles. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in south-west Britain.

Large late first- or second-century villas of the true winged-corridor form are rare indeed in the British countryside beyond the south east, Box near Bath being a notable exception, and it is necessary to look eastwards to continental Europe for other parallels for the Eccles villa. It is scarcely surprising that south-east Britain should be the first region to be Romanised, and trading across the sea may well have contributed to its wealth. A 100 years before the first masonry building at Eccles, Julius Caesar had described the people of *Cantium* as the most civilised in Britain, differing little from those in Gaul in their way of life: *neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine* (*De Bello Gallico* v: 14, 1); and they were quick to adopt Roman-style dwelling after the conquest. In *Gallia Belgica* (Belgic Gaul), the nearest Roman Province, the majority of the many

70

known villas were built in the second half of the 1st century. With so much building activity, there would have been a proliferation of architects, stone masons and other skilled craftsmen quite close at hand, and a similarity in the buildings either side of the English Channel might be expected. Smaller early villas in northern Gaul, in common with the late first-century phase at Lullingstone, typically had a fronting *porticus* terminating in square wing rooms, one containing the ubiquitous cellar with niches. The Period 2/3 house at Eccles was in a grander category, but again followed many of the trends prevalent across the English Channel. Three things make it unusual among Romano-British villas: its form and sheer length before wings were added (about 75m); the continuous U-shaped *porticus* connecting detached wings; and the long pool parallel to the main house.

Several elongated villas have been noted in the Somme basin (Agache *et al.* 1965: 571; Agache 1978; Ferdière *et al.* 2010) including one from Voyennes (Figure 3.49). It was similar in length to Eccles with a familiar arrangement of square and narrow rooms, some divided longitudinally, and had a fronting *porticus*. As with most of the other villas known in that area, it was planned from aerial photographs and building phases are often difficult to recognise, but it is possible that it originally had detached wings linked to the main house as at Eccles, and that the attached wings were later. Other similar buildings in Picardy are Écoust-Saint-Mein, Pas-de-Calais and Warfusée-Abancourt-Nord, Somme (Smith 1997: figs 42 and 43). In western Belgium a large villa was excavated at Ath, Hainaut in the early 1990s, but unfortunately the remains, especially at its south end, were vestigial (Figure 3.49). It was 110m long and the house itself 11m wide with a front and rear *porticus*, the former turning at right angles at either end to front a detached wing on the north side; the equivalent south wing, if it ever existed, lay beneath a modern road (Deramaix and Sartieux 1994). Many other early villas in *Gallia Belgica* were extraordinarily long and narrow, often further extended by constructing baths at one end. L'Hoste villa at Basse-Wavre in Belgium is a good example. A double row of rooms, 10m in width overall extended 110m and had a *porticus* on one side and probably originally on the other; baths at a slight angle at one end added to its length (Smith 1997: fig. 31).

In *Gallia Belgica* many of these long houses with their associated enclosed courtyard/garden form the main residence of the villa (*pars urbana*); this is normally preceded by a second and longer rectangular enclosure flanked by lesser dwellings and workshops (*pars rustica*) (Wightman 1985: 107-14, figs. 13-16; Ferdière *et al.* 2010). Because the ground to the west of the Eccles villa is greatly disturbed and very little has been excavated, it is difficult to say for certain whether the complex matched those on the near continent. However, the

pottery, tilery and possible foundations noted in 2015 (see below p81) are located roughly where the northern limit of such a second enclosure would be (Figure 1.3). Furthermore, the tilery and associated walls share much the same alignment as the villa enclosure (Detsicas 1967: fig. 2). Detsicas also found traces of a structure at the southernmost corner of the *pars urbana*. Such an enclosure based on the continental model might explain the location of such working structures between the land-owner's grand residence and the river, which would otherwise seem undesirable.

A villa residence recently excavated in Merbes-le-Château, Hainaut in Belgium was gradually extended from the 1st to the 2nd century to 96m overall (Figure 3.50 B) (Paridaens and Authom 2015); the final additions were square areas backed by small rooms, reminiscent of the northernmost rooms (79-85) appended at Eccles. In the case of Eccles, the purpose of the long façade was perhaps to impress those approaching the villa and, above all, to be seen from the river. Ausonius, the fourth-century writer, waxed lyrically about the villas which he saw on the banks of the Moselle, with their courts and countless columns (*Moselle* 318-336). The villa beside the Moselle at Nennig, one of the grandest known today, presented a frontage of some 110m facing the river with a *porticus* and square wing rooms. It reached its peak by the end of the 2nd century when its famous mosaic was laid; it featured a gladiatorial scene closely matched at Eccles. Although it was more palatial than Eccles, Nennig had a number of other similarities: its lengthy west-facing façade parallel to the river and, more significantly, its flanking detached wing blocks on the river side, linked to the main house by colonnades (McKay 1975: 173, fig. 57).

In *Gallia Belgica* and *Germania Inferior*, several types of buildings were given a U-shaped *porticus* to front the principal building and the flanking, often detached, wings. On a more modest scale, but showing the same kind of evolution as Eccles, was the villa at Weitersbach (Germany). Here the original hall-type house had wings added with a U-shaped *porticus*, initially with posts and afterwards in masonry with an overall length of 40m; baths occupy the equivalent wing (Smith 1997: 260, fig. 69b). For the purposes of comparison with Eccles, it is also pertinent to consider villas which had wings with a pool set between them, of which there are several in northern Gaul (Table 3.2). One is the large villa at Val-de-Reuil (Haute-Normandie, France) excavated 2011-12 (Figure 3.50 F). Although the main building was not as long as that at Eccles, it had suites of rooms at either end comprising two square rooms flanking a narrow one, as at Eccles, and was constructed at the beginning of the 2nd century. Its east *porticus*, facing towards the River Seine, ended in long east-west corridors linking the building to two detached pavilions, and in front of and parallel to it was a long and narrow rectangular pool
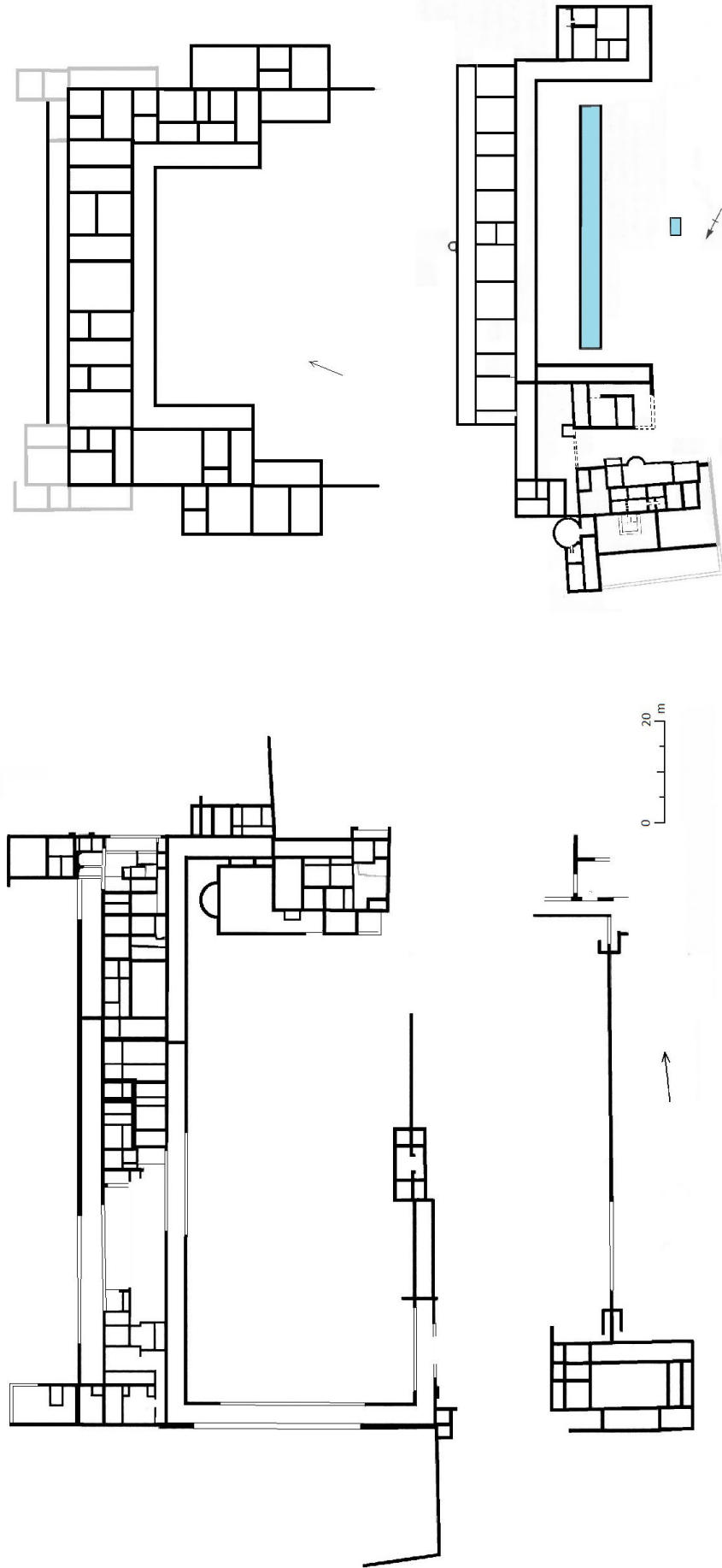
Figure 3.49. The villas at Eccles (Phase 3A) (bottom right), Ath (left) and Voyennes (top right).

(Adrian *et al.* 2014: 373, fig. 7). Most examples lie further east. The villa at Echternach (Luxembourg) was built in the third quarter of the 1st century on a luxurious scale from the outset, 120m in length overall; between its wings was a pool about 59m long and parallel to the house as at Eccles. An early phase is illustrated here (Figure 3.50 G). Also in Luxembourg, the true winged-corridor villa at Mersch, built in the 1st century, had a pool 75.60m by 6.5m parallel to the house in front of the wings. Further north-west, in Belgium, the villa at Haccourt was excavated 1967-70. It was established in the late 1st century as a long rectangular structure with baths added to the south-east end, about 75m in length (Wightman 1985: 111-114, figs. 15 and 16). But unlike at Eccles, the building was demolished and replaced in the mid-2nd century by a grand edifice with short wings on the north-east side, between which was a rectangular pool over 50m long. More closely resembling Eccles, was the villa at Reinheim in Saarland, Germany (Ferdière *et al.* 2010: no. 59). It was basically H-shaped with its north façade facing the River Blies, about 60m away. Just 3.5m in front of the north *porticus* was a long and narrow pool (40m by 3m) and set axially, level with the end of the wings, was a square area of masonry, perhaps a statue base (Figure 3.50 C). Unfortunately much of the centre of the villa had been destroyed prior to excavation. The villa near Borg, Germany, south of Trier, was also of similar design to Eccles, although its central range was just over 30m in length (Ferdière *et al.* 2010: no. 21) . Perhaps because of this, its pool (29m by 10m) was located forward of the wings (Figure 3.50 E). At Liéhon south of Metz in north-east France (Figure 3.50 D) the villa not only had the same kind of overall plan with pool, but also had a bath-house in a similar position to that of Eccles in Periods 2-3A which included a circular *laconicum* (Ferdière *et al.* 2010: no. 44). Other large pools graced smaller winged-corridor type villas such as at the Period 2 villa at Hirschberg-GrossSachsen, east of the Rhine, and Bocholtz-Vlengendaal, Netherlands (Smith 1997: 42, fig. 24).

Although the long pool parallel to the house at Eccles fits well into the pattern of generally luxurious villas on the near continent, no other certain example can be cited in Britain. At Shakenoak, Oxfordshire, a very large 'fishpond' (65.5m by 27m) was probably contemporary with the enlargement of the first residential building in the mid 2nd century; it lies close to, but not quite parallel with, the front of the house. It must have been regarded at least partially ornamental even if it were part of a fish-farm as proposed by its excavators (Brodribb *et al.* 1978: 15-20, plan at end). However, at Darenth and, on a smaller scale, at Bancroft, Buckinghamshire, long axial pools were constructed at right angles to the house (Payne 1897: 65, pl. I; Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 188-189, fig. 101, pls 57-8), reminiscent of that at the villa at Merbes-le-Château, Belgium discussed above (Figure 3.50 B). Their purpose is presumed to have been mainly decorative, perhaps fishponds as part of a formal garden, a sign of Roman luxury, and, of course, were familiar, for instance, in the villas and cities around Naples destroyed by the eruption

Table 3.2. To show pools parallel to the winged corridor house (unless otherwise stated) in Britain and northern Gaul. Dimensions are approximate.

Site	Country	Length (m)	Breadth (m)	Area (sq m)
Eccles (Kent)	UK	49	3.5	171.5
Anthée (Namur)	Belgium	7.3	7.3	53.3
Beaurieux (Aisne)	France	?55 divided	c. 10	? 550
Bocholtz-Vlengendaal	Netherlands	20.5	8	164
Borg (Saarland)	Germany	29	10	290
Echternach	Luxembourg	59	14.5	855.5
Grigy, Metz (Moselle)	France	23.7	5.9	140.3
Haccourt (Liege)	Belgium	53.5	7	374.5
Hirschberg-GrossSachsen (B.W.)	Germany	30.5	6	183
Liéhon (Moselle)	France	27	9	243
Limé /Pont D'Ancy (Aisne)	France	40	5	200
Mercin-et-Vaux (Aisne)†	France	40	4	230
Mersch	Luxembourg	75.6	6.5	491.4
Moyenvic (Moselle)	France	c. 48	c. 12	c. 576
Peltre (Moselle)	France	32	5	160
Reinheim (Saarland)	Germany	40	3	120
Val-de-Reuil (Eure)	France	37	4	148
Verneuil-en-Halatte (Oise)	France	45	5	225
Vieux Rouen (Seine-Maritime)	France	c. 40 max.	c. 13 max.	–
Bancroft, Milton Keynes (Bucks)*	UK	13	2.6	33.8
Darenth (Kent) *	UK	22.65	3.36	76.1
Famechon (Somme)*	France	60	7	420
Merbes-le-Château (Hainaut)*	Belgium	19	4	76
Welschbillig (R.L.P.)*	Germany	58	18.3	1060+
* Pool set at right-angles to house † T-shaped pool				
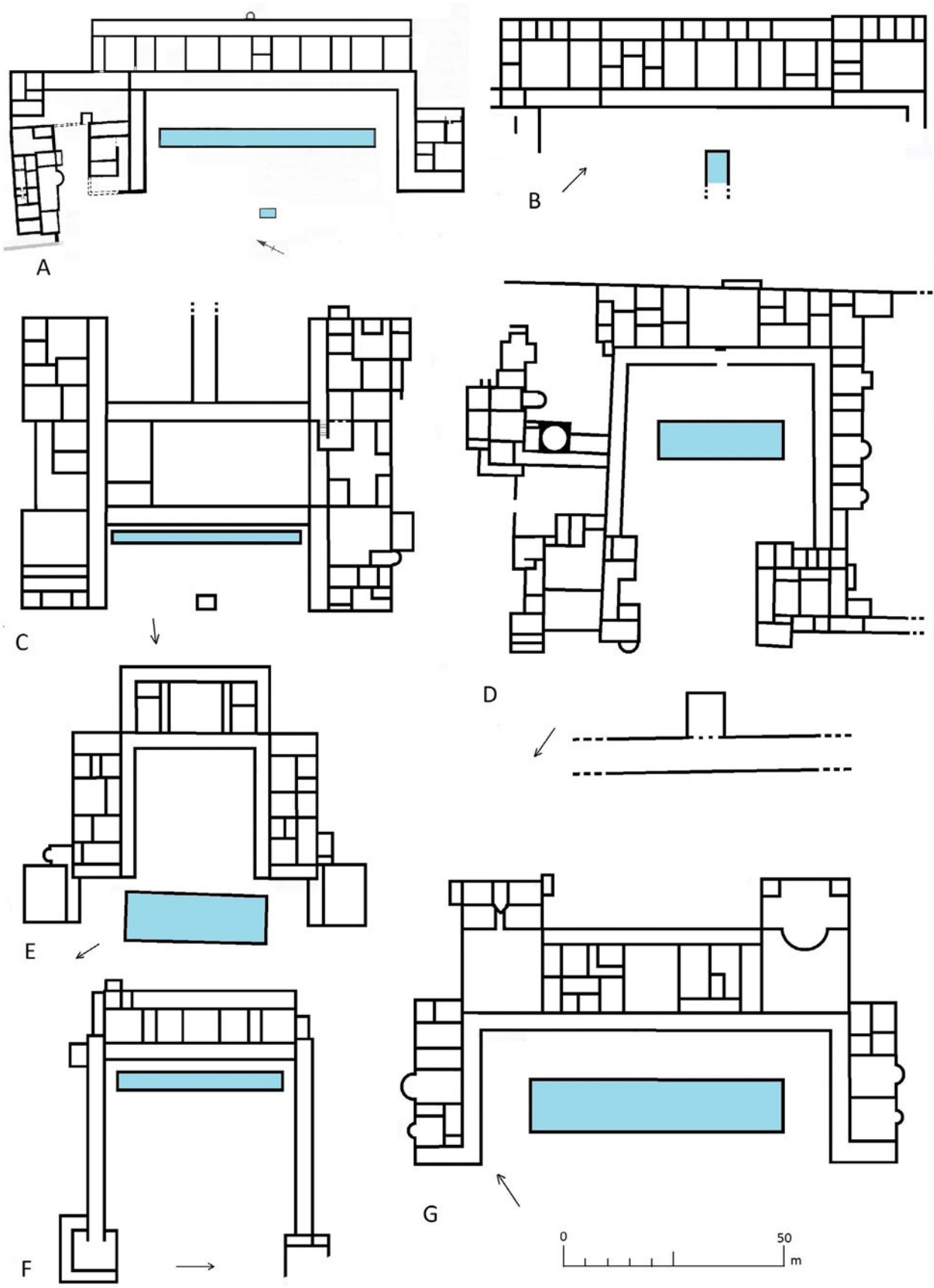
Figure 3.50. A. Eccles (Phase 3A); B. Merbes-le-Château (internal baths omitted); C. Reinheim; D. Liéhon; E. Borg
(presumed additions omitted); F. Val-de-Reuil; G. Echternach (Phase 2).

of Vesuvius in AD 79; the 'fishpond' at the Villa of the Papyri outside Herculaneum, for example, was over 60m long and 7m wide (McKay 1975: 111, fig. 42). The façade and courtyard with a large pool at Eccles would have made it abundantly clear to anyone passing on the River Medway that here was a building of high status.

Villas in the Medway Valley

The River Medway rises in the High Weald of Sussex and from there flows 113km to the Thames estuary, north-east and then north through Kent where it cuts through the North Downs (The Medway Gap). There is a fairly dense grouping of villas in the valley, often lying close to the river. Near its mouth, where it was crossed by the main Roman road to London (Watling Street), the Roman town of *Durobrivae*, modern Rochester, was built. A road also ran southwards from Rochester, on the east side of the Medway, heading towards the Weald and the region of Hastings; it passed closest to the river near Maidstone where there is the greatest concentration of known villas. The river was navigable above Maidstone and was important for the transportation of the area's products. The quarrying of Kentish ragstone from the Hythe Beds near Maidstone, and flint and chalk from outcrops of the North Downs, has already been mentioned. Iron from the works in the Weald may also have been transported by road and river. As well as mineral products, the area was also rich in agriculture. The early building identified as a granary at Eccles was modest compared to the later riverside granaries and barns at Lullingstone, Horton Kirby and Darenth in the Darent valley, but there is no reason to doubt that agricultural produce of all kinds formed part of this river trade. Just north of Eccles, the archaeological landscape survey to the east of the river ahead of the development of Peters Village between Wouldham and Burham, revealed a field system defined by ditches from the 1st century AD on the flat ground just above the floodplain and associated with a trackway to the west which was traced for a kilometre running parallel to the river (*Britannia* 46, 2015: 352-353; Clarke 2015: 5). Detsicas believed that the south wing at Eccles was devoted to the drying and storage of grain, but this is far from certain, and no 'corn driers' of the normal types were found; the villa may well have been the residence at the centre of an estate (the *pars urbana*) but kept separate from agricultural and industrial activity (the *pars rustica*) for most of its existence. Pottery and other ceramic material such as bricks and tiles were also transported in both directions, some originating from the Eccles estate. It is interesting that finds from London of *ollae perforatae* (plant pots with drainage holes) in Eccles ware hint at market gardening in Kent (Allen *et al.* 2017: 74).

A close analysis of the vast amount of material from Eccles may shed light on the villa's economy, and possibly for the other villas of the valley. As this study is mainly concerned with architectural aspects, it is more pertinent to look at the other villa buildings in the Medway valley. The well-drained, fertile soil, plentiful supply of water, good transport links and abundant sources of building material close at hand are all conducive to a villa economy. Although quite a number of masonry buildings are known, most have been only partially explored, and, in the past, often not scientifically, for example, at Florence Road (TQ 752550), where part of a bath suite was excavated (Shand 2006) and Little Buckland Farm (TQ 748566), both in Maidstone. The villa at Eccles is a notable exception. Other structures can be categorised as farm buildings, while some are grand residences comparable, if not in size, to Eccles. Five stand out as being significantly larger than the rest – at least as we know them. These are the villas at Eccles and Snodland, the latter just to the north on the opposite bank, and two at Maidstone at Barton Road (also called Loose Road) and The Mount, and one further west at Teston. They looked towards the river and, not only would have provided a pleasant vista, but would also have made quite an impression on those plying up and down the river.

Snodland

Traces of the villa were found in 1844 (*Archaeological Journal* I, 1844: 164) close to Snodland church overlooking the River Medway to the east (TQ 707620). Floors of tiles and *opus signinum* were uncovered and amongst the building debris were tesserae. Although part of the site was excavated in the 1920s, again no plan was produced (Cook, 1928; *Victoria County History Kent III* 1932: 124). Investigations of the site have been hampered by industrial works, allotments and air-raid shelters lying over it and destroying much of it. Nevertheless excavations in the 1960s uncovered parts of the main house and a bath-house, including several plain tessellated floors (Ocock and Syddell 1967). Further work in the 1980s (*Britannia* 17, 1986: 427; 20, 1989: 326 fig. 31) and 1992-94 (Birbeck 1995: 71-120) revealed a south-east-facing main building of at least two phases over 40m long with wings extending south-eastwards, and a large barn-like structure to the south west; a similar building was subsequently discovered to the west (not shown on the plan, Figure 3.52 (Dawkes 2010).

Maidstone: The Mount

This large villa (Figure 3.52) was built upon an eminence (The Mount) close to the east bank of the River Medway (TQ 756562) and indeed it was erosion of the bank that led to the site's discovery in 1843. Excavations were conducted in the following year, revealing part of a masonry building; one of the rooms contained fragments of a 'rudely ornamented pavement' composed largely
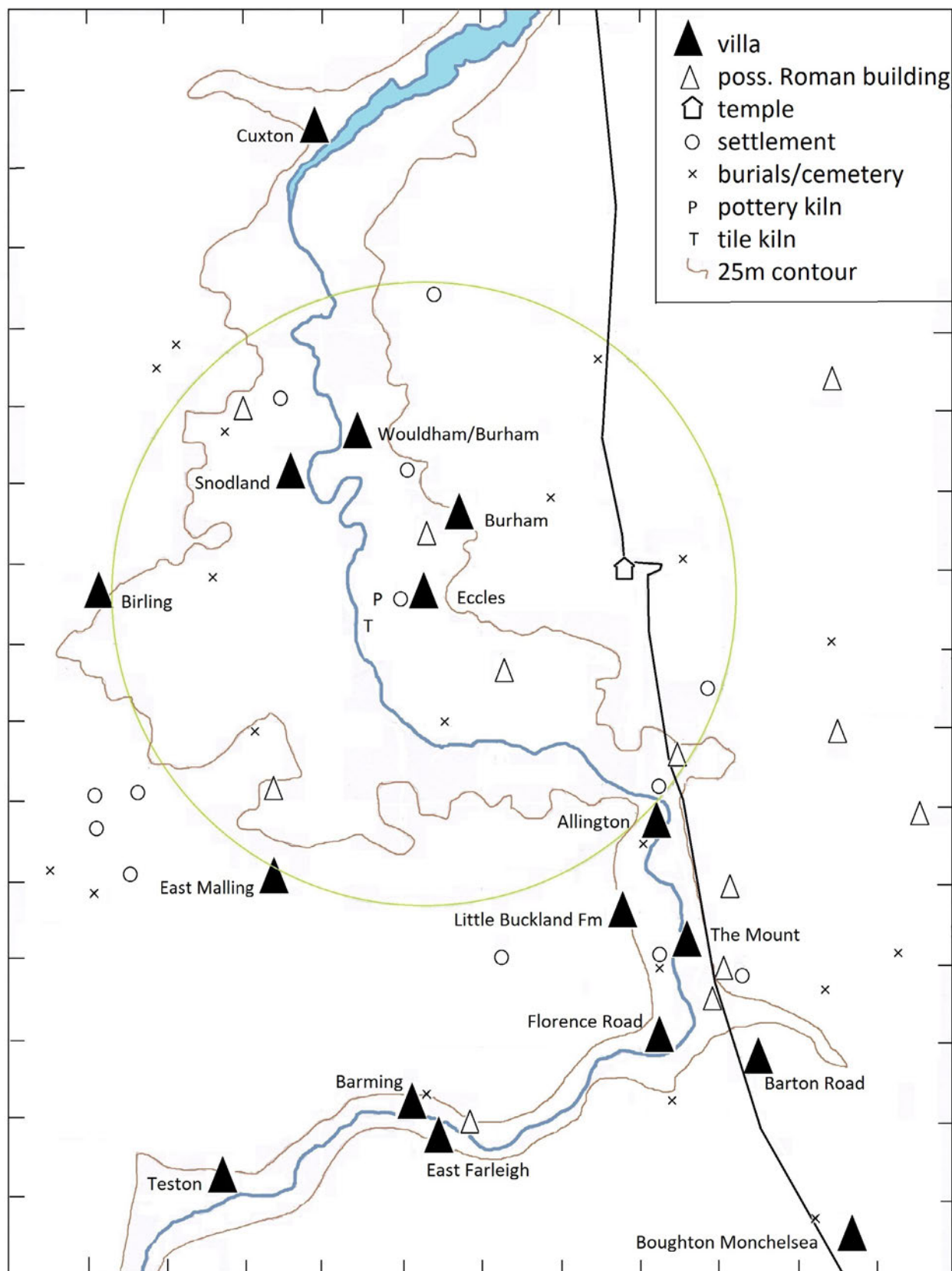
Figure 3.51. Map of area (divisions are 1km) with a circle to show sites within 4km.
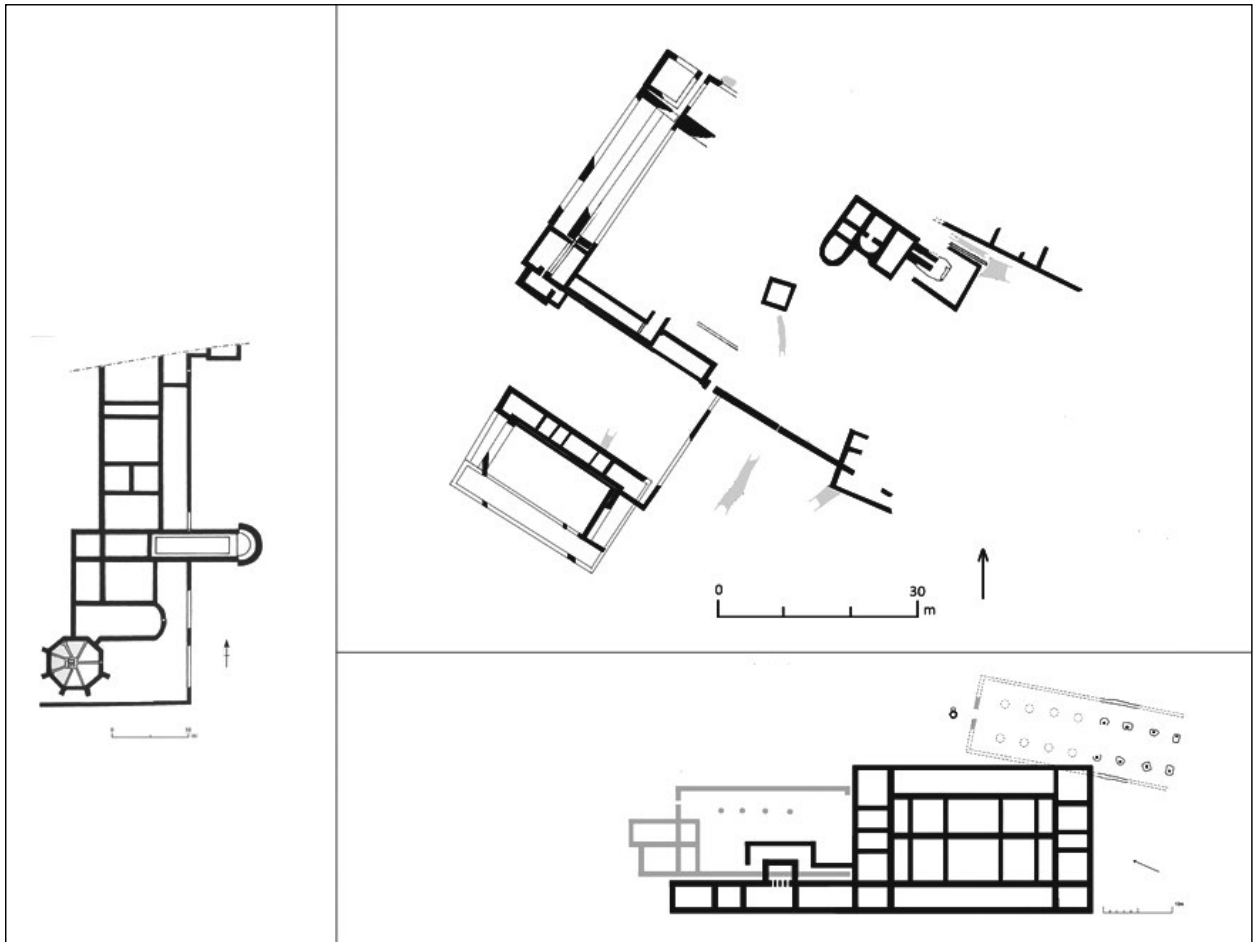
Figure 3.52. Plans of Roman villas: Barton Road, Maidstone (left), Snodland (top right) and The Mount, Maidstone (bottom right).

of red tesserae (*Journal British Archaeological Association* ii, 1847: 86). Further excavations in 1970-80 (Kelly 1992: 177-235) and 1992-94 (Houliston 1999: 71-165) have led to a fuller understanding of the site. The earliest structure known, datable to the 2nd century, was an aisled building that was replaced by another timber building. This was superseded (perhaps in the late 2nd century) by a large masonry house aligned north west-south east, parallel to the river. It was apparently of one build and consisted of two wings formed by single rows of rooms, linked by a double row of rooms with a *porticus* on either side to produce the effect of two back-to-back winged-corridor villas, one facing the river and one facing east towards, and no doubt with access to, the Roman road to Rochester (300m away). To the north and adjacent to it, was a probable aisled building similarly positioned to examples at, for instance, Chilgrove 2, West Sussex, Harpsden, Oxfordshire and perhaps Wilmington, Kent, although, like Wilmington, it was described as an enclosed courtyard inside which was a lean-to structure (Kelly 1992, 196); this was demolished and replaced by a bath-suite, an extension of the west *porticus* giving an overall length of 67m. Minor alterations and buttressing took place about AD 275-325 and pottery evidence indicates that occupation

continued until the second half of the 4th century. No further mosaics were encountered.

Maidstone: Barton Road

The other known large villa in Maidstone at Barton Road/Loose Road is only 1.5km south east of the previous entry (TQ 765548) close to the Roman Road about 0.75km east of river, and was excavated in 1870 (Figure 3.52). Although the northern part could not be exposed, the villa appears to have comprised a series of rooms aligned north-south with a *porticus* on the east side terminating in a long projecting room with an apsidal end. South of this was a suite of rooms, perhaps added later, one with a shallow apse at the east end and a pillared hypocaust; this adjoined an octagonal pavilion with a channelled hypocaust. No dating evidence is available. As found it is about 50m long, and may originally have been much longer – perhaps twice the length if it were symmetrical, having a second octagonal pavilion at the north end. This would have been impressive, particularly if the buttressing of the octagonal room is an indicator of height; sadly little was recorded during the later building of the grammar school and houses in the vicinity. Charred wheat was

discovered in the pillared hypocaust near its furnace, suggesting that it was used for drying grain or storing it, but its tessellated floor surely implies that this was not its original function, and instead represents the building's late use for agricultural activity, also noted elsewhere on the site (Smith 1876).

Teston

Even further from Eccles, Teston Roman villa lies on the north bank of the River Medway west of Maidstone (TQ 698531). The baths of a Roman villa were uncovered in 1872 (Grover 1873). The discovery of Roman material during the laying of a new sewer in 1991 led to a small scale excavation by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust, revealing part of a *porticus* of the main house and at least one tiled floor (Rady 1992). Following a geophysical survey in 2012, test pits were dug during the following year by the Kent Archaeological Field School directed by Paul Wilkinson. The south wall of the villa was found to be 39m long terminating in pavilions or towers. Rooms with hypocausts were also encountered, in the fill of which was much painted wall plaster, window glass and 'marble tesserae' from a mosaic. The building dates from the late 1st century and coins from Nerva to Honorius indicate occupation throughout the Roman period (Elliot 2013).

As with Eccles, both the large villas at Maidstone had impressive aspects overlooking the river to the west and also the side facing the road. The removal of earlier structures, perhaps of an agricultural nature, at The Mount villa, Maidstone in favour of a large residence with baths attached perhaps mirrors the situation at Eccles, and possibly Snodland. Conceivably the owners were distancing themselves from their source of income. Although tesserae and small fragments of mosaics have been discovered at several villas in and around the Medway valley, no fine mosaic has survived *in situ* and we can only speculate at the former grandeur of some of them based largely on building plans. The owners of these and other well-appointed villas in the area presumably had interactions with one another, perhaps being dinner guests, as described in ancient texts (for example, Ausonius *Opuscula* II, v). The clever literary couplet inscribed on a mosaic in the dining room at Lullingstone alluding to Virgil's *Aeneid*, and a wall-painting close by at Otford with an illustration and quotation from that book, seem to show a common sophisticated interest between neighbours less than 20km to the west in the Darent valley (Cosh 2016). The villas with impressive frontages built close to the River Medway are a contrast to the more modest houses further from the river, some in the general area being at Thurnham (TQ 797571), Cobham (TQ 683693) and various sites at Plaxtol; typically these are a row of rooms with *porticus,* and a simple bath-suite tacked on

one end (Booth and Lawrence 2006; Tester 1961; Davies 2009).

Planning in relation to water features

There have been various attempts to recognise units of measurement in Roman buildings, particularly civic and military ones. Walthew (1987) in his study of houses in Silchester and Caerwent concluded that a unit of 7.5 Roman feet (*pedes monetales*), and half units, were employed in their planning. As the villa at Eccles is reminiscent of barracks and, certainly in its second-century form, resembled town-houses of the same period, it might be expected that the same sort of planning was employed, and indeed it could be argued that this was the case. The main range of rooms (88-116) is about 29 feet wide which would equate to 30 Roman feet (4 units), and from the front wall to the outside wall of the western *porticus* is half that, 14.5 feet or 15 Roman feet (the eastern *porticus* is slightly narrower). On this basis the overall length of the building could be considered as 34 units of 7.5 Roman feet with rooms arranged from north to south of 1.5, 3, 2, 3.5, 3.5, 3.5, 2, 3, 3, 2.5, 3 and 3.5 units. It is notable that there is no central room in the original house, and the actual axis would have been the dividing wall between Room 99 and the pair of Rooms 109-110, 2 units in width. This pair of rooms probably marks the main points of entry, as it aligns with two masonry bases to the east and exactly aligns with the smaller pool to the west. Detsicas misplaced this latter feature on some of his simplified block plans but taking measurements from the larger scale excavation plan (Detsicas 1973: fig. 2) it can be shown that the pool is on the same axis as Rooms 109-110 and about the same width. It is also 16 units from the entrance of Room 110; a line striking out at 45 degrees from the southern end of the building's front wall meets the aforementioned axis at the pool, in effect forming a square, the southern side being the north wall of the southern block. This square with sides of 35.5m or 120 Roman feet (16 units) was the *actus quadratus.* As can be seen from Figure 3.53 the 'courtyard' as far as the small pool should have been formed by a pair of such squares (this land measure then known as a *jugerum*) but the north wing was built further south presumably because of the proximity of the Period 2 baths, or perhaps even in error; what may have been intended as the front wall of the northern *porticus* (Room 15) became the rear wall. In this respect it is perhaps significant that the north and south wings around the 'courtyard' at Fishbourne, West Sussex are three *actus* apart, and opposite the entrance to the west wing is a water basin of similar size to that at Eccles. The east wing apart, the layout of the Period 3 house at Eccles is not dissimilar to Fishbourne albeit on a smaller scale, and, again the planning had to accommodate pre-existing baths (Figure 3.54). It is also interesting that
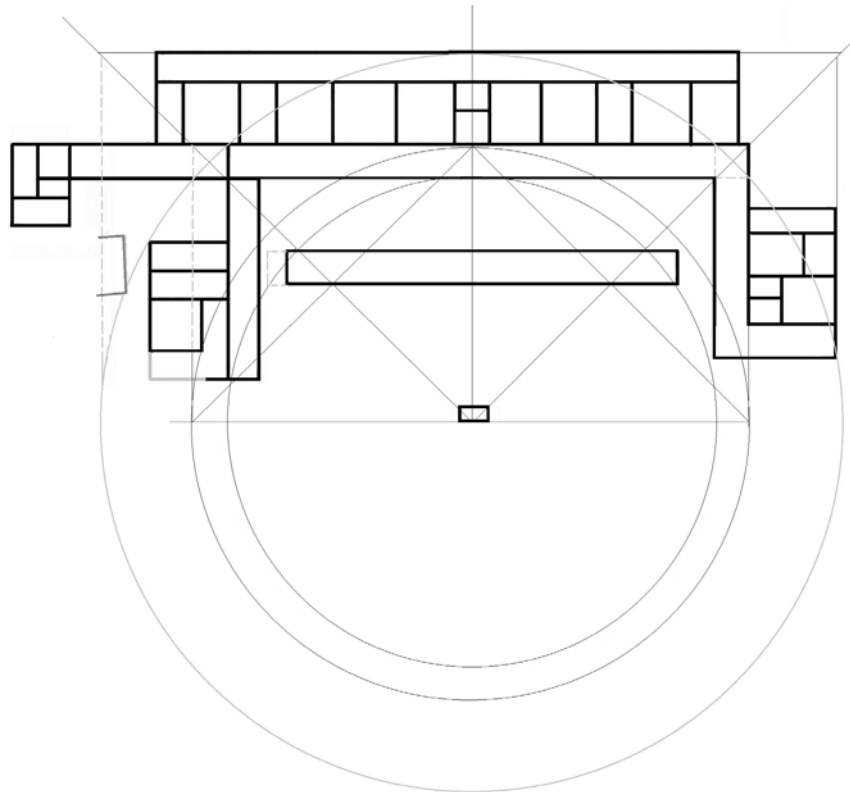
Figure 3.53. Plan of Eccles showing theoretical construction. (The dotted line shows the correct position of the north wing if a symmetrical arrangement had been possible).
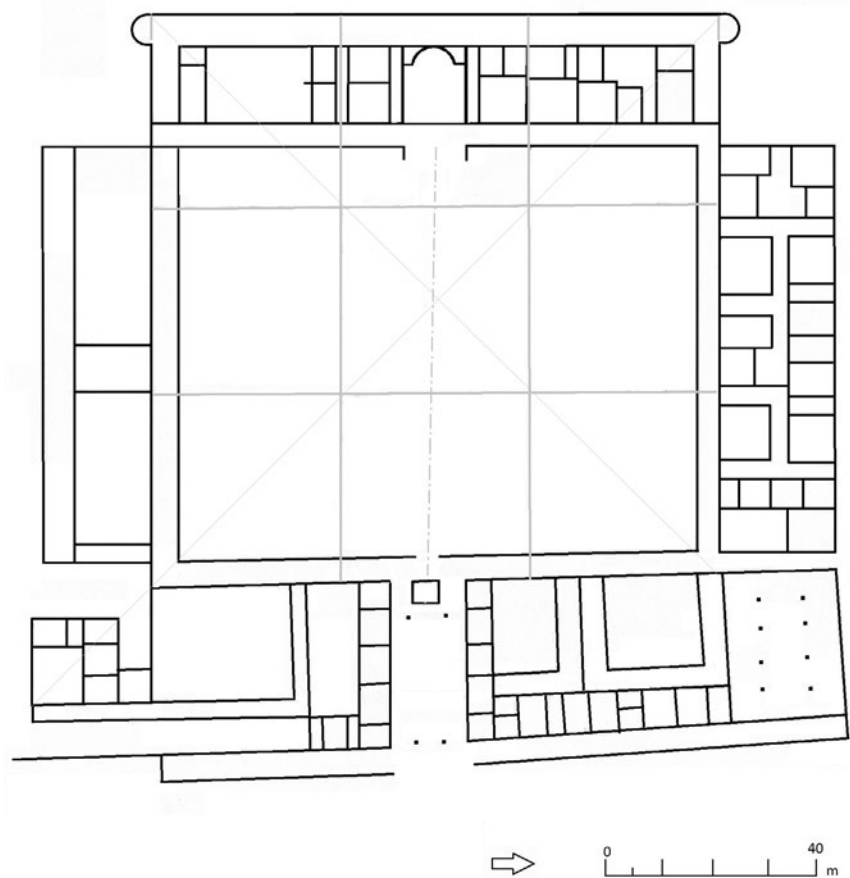
Figure 3.54. Plan of the Fishbourne Palace with a grid superimposed, each square being an *actus quadratus.*

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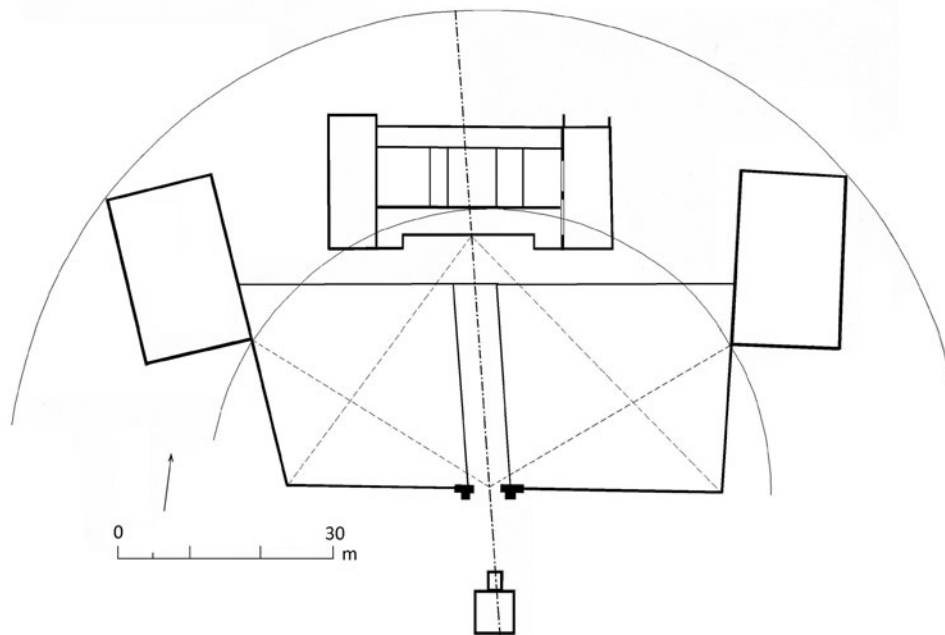
Figure 3.55. Diagram to show the planning of features at the Darenth villa.

the 'courtyards' with the long pools at Echternach and Haccourt discussed above are both two *actus* wide, while Ath is three.

The small pool was not merely a garden feature constructed almost centrally between the wings in a late period as Detsicas assumed, but rather a piece of careful planning relating to the main house. The positioning of the long pool can also be seen in this light. It is four units from the western *porticus,* and two units in width. It is six units long from its southern extent to the axis based on the centre-point of the entrance, and just short of six units northwards. The reason for the shorter distance between it and the northern *porticus*, rather than the single unit separating it from the southern *porticus*, is the result of the adjustment mentioned above, perhaps so that it would appear centrally placed from the entrance.

This careful planning and adaptation in regard to the pools can be seen even more vividly at the large villa at Darenth in response to pre-existing structures. A pair of rectangular buildings acting as wings added to the overall effect of the residential complex (Payne 1897) as at Eccles. They are set at different angles and at first appear to be haphazardly planned, perhaps indicating different phases of construction (for example, Black 1987: 73, fig. 15). However, this is probably not the case, and the positioning was carefully calculated. The problem lay in the fact that the direct line from the centre of the main villa building to the water shrine located in front of it is skewed by five degrees from the short axis of the house. The southern enclosure wall is set parallel to the house and a monumental 'entrance' was constructed on this skewed axis, one *actus* from the

entrance to the *porticus*; this became the head of a long pool either from the outset or later. The near corners of the rectangular buildings are equidistant from the centre of this 'entrance' (or southern edge of the pool), as are the far corners. The angles between the skewed axis and the line from the midpoint of the *porticus* to the south-eastern and south-western corners of the courtyard are both forty degrees, and the lengths from those corners to the aisled buildings are identical. This necessary adjustment perhaps accounts for this slight asymmetry which would not have been evident on entering the courtyard. The equivalent size and careful positioning of the rectangular buildings probably indicates that they are contemporary. Such meticulous planning would be appropriate for a villa as important as Darenth must have been, and it is surprising that apparently its decoration did not include mosaics. Similar use of the *actus* and careful planning involving skewed axes has been noted, for instance, at an early villa at Liéhon in north-east France (Laffite 2015: 8-11; for the *villa urbana* at Liéhon see Figure 3.50 D). Because the long pool at Darenth is angled to respect the line between the centre of the villa and the supposed water shrine, it must post-date both; the same order of construction of the two pools can therefore be tentatively proposed for Eccles.

The importance of the water basins at Eccles and Darenth is perhaps exemplified at one of the villas at Maidstone – The Mount – in the Medway valley. Here a large timber aisled building had a masonry end wall with a central entrance on the short side, just beyond which was an heptagonal basin. The building was demolished in the early 2nd century and an unusual double winged-corridor house constructed partly over it. The heptagonal basin now lay roughly central to

where the entrance to the eastern *porticus* might be expected (Figure 3.52) (Houliston 1999: 30-38). It is also perhaps significant that a pool of similar construction to the smaller one at Eccles was found at the Snodland villa roughly in the centre of the courtyard. Internally it was 3.28m by 2.90m, and had sadly been bulldozed to floor level. It lay fairly close to the baths, so it could possibly have been a large plunge bath, but no connection with the baths was found and it had a different alignment both to the baths and the house. It had the same orientation as an earlier building to the south east and may have been retained as an important feature during the villa's aggrandisement (Ocock and Syddell 1967: 196-7).

Similar small pools were located centrally just beyond the ends of wings at Gadebridge, Hertfordshire, where it was dated to the late Antonine period, and probably at Dickets Mead (Neal 1974: 26-27; Rook 1986: 101). While pools can be regarded as purely decorative, it is important to consider that some villas had *nymphaea* (water shrines) such as Brading, Isle of Wight and Chedworth, Gloucestershire, and indeed the subterranean shrine at Lullingstone at one stage; therefore some apotropaic or religious significance may have been attached to them. This would be particularly pertinent if a monumental *nymphaeum* existed nearby at Wouldham/Burham as has been suggested (see below p82).

Other structures in the neighbourhood

Focussing on the area close to the Eccles villa (within 4km), the neighbouring villas and other structures will be examined, and potential relationships discussed. It is impossible to be certain how large the Eccles villa estate was; it was presumably larger than the area enclosed by the boundary walls, which was probably the garden with fish-pond and fountain at the height of the villa's opulence. The River Medway perhaps marked its western limit and the Roman Road its eastern; to the south, the closest known villa of comparable status on the same side of the Medway was the Mount, Maidstone, more than 6km away (see above pp75-7). Within the area around the Eccles villa, lesser structures are likely to have had some connection with the estate, if not directly part of it. It is not known how many structures, particularly those built with timber, have been lost or lie undiscovered: a watching brief during trenching for a water main in 2015 immediately to the west of the villa (TQ 720606) noted ditches, gullies and a possible wall foundation probably relating to the villa complex (*Britannia* 47, 2016: 357). Detsicas excavated two industrial sites close to the east bank of the river. One was a tile kiln (TQ 717604), fully reported in *Archaeologia Cantiana* (Detsicas 1967: 170-8) and the other a pottery (TQ 718605) (Detsicas 1974: 128-9; Detsicas 1977b: 19-36). Being about 500m

and 330m from the villa respectively, one or both may have contributed to the economy of the villa. Indeed, as proposed above, they may have bounded a second and larger enclosure as was commonly the case in *Gallia Belgica*. No walled cemetery has been found close to the villa similar to those in the area at Lockham Wood, Boughton Monchelsea (TQ 776522) with first- to third-century finds (Detsicas 1983: 150-2, fig. 33 called 'Langley'), Bradbourne House near East Malling (below) and at Barming villa (TQ 720541). However, a cremation cemetery of the 1st century BC was unearthed at Aylesford (TQ 726590) (Evans 1890), and Roman cremation urns have been discovered in that vicinity and others were said to have been found at Rowe Place Farm in 1876 (*Victoria County History* Kent III 1932), which were perhaps in some way connected with the villa (or its predecessor).

Located about 2.6km to the east and overlooking the villa, was a possible temple on Blue Bell Hill, Aylesford (Detsicas 1983: 145; *Victoria County History* Kent III, 1932: 104). It was on a mound just east of the Roman road from Rochester (TQ 748609). 'Extensive buildings' were reported in the 19th century and part of a 'brick floor' was uncovered, as well as coins from pre-Roman times down to Arcadius, which show that it functioned in some form throughout the life of the nearby villa. Its position relative to the villa was perhaps coincidental but its location close to the crossing of the Roman road and an ancient trackway was probably not. Although not certainly a temple complex, it is interesting to note the similar relationship of a temple at Boxted to the large villa (Detsicas 1983: 145-146); some other villas in Kent are more closely associated with a temple or shrine, for example famously at Lullingstone, but also closer to Eccles at East Farleigh, and possibly Thurnham.

The nearest residential building on the same side of the Medway, excavated in 1896 at Court Road Farm, Burham, was barely 1.2km to the north (TQ 726617). Although it was very modest at about 18.30m by 10.36m, it had a room with a channelled hypocaust and painted wall plaster was recovered (Payne 1898: 10-13). Detsicas (1983: 95) mentions a building marked on the Ordnance Survey map just north of Eccles, but nothing is known of it. The archaeological investigations at the south of the Peters Village development close to Bell Lane, Burham revealed signs of settlement including post-holes packed with locally-produced roof tiles and a trackway which perhaps served this building (Clarke 2015: 5-7) barely 1km north of the Eccles villa. At Tottington Farm, Aylesford (TQ 732594) a farmstead is suspected 1.2km to the south-east of Eccles villa; gullies, linear ditches, pits and post-holes are evidence for a settlement from the late Iron Age, while finds of Roman building material, including lumps of *opus signinum*, suggest that a building lay in the vicinity (Hutchings and Willson 2001: 43). It is perhaps significant that no

finds beyond the late 1st century were encountered, at a time when the Eccles villa was considerably enlarged.

Just to the north and close to the east bank of the Medway at Wouldham/Burham (TQ 714625), a large subterranean vaulted chamber was found in 1893 (*Victoria County History* Kent III, 1932: 108-110) sadly destroyed by the subsequent construction of cement works. The chamber measured about 12m by 5.95m internally, and had three niches in the east wall opposite the entrance; access was gained from an external zigzag passage with steps. It was probably dismantled in the 4th century and useful materials removed, possibly including marble veneers on the end walls as perhaps indicated by nail marks. There has been much speculation about its purpose; originally it was thought to be a *mithraeum* (*Victoria County History* Kent III 1932: 109-110). Although it has the appearance of a podium for a mausoleum or temple, it could well have been a monumental *nymphaeum*. The three niches recall those at the 'shrine' adjacent to the baths at Great Witcombe, Gloucestershire, and reminiscent of the three water nymphs depicted in a niche in the subterranean room at Lullingstone. Although a spring existed beneath the floor at Wouldham/Burham, it is unclear whether it was utilised, but its riverside location close to a trackway may be significant (Mark Samuels' lecture to the Society of Antiquaries 2016). Several cellars or underground shrines have been found at villas in the south east and particularly in Kent, but rare elsewhere in Britain; cellars are commonplace in northern Gaul. This may be another example (Perring 1989); Detsicas (1983: 95) thought of it merely as the cellar of a farm for storage of corn and other produce transported by river. Fragments of tile, painted wall-plaster and masonry found in the vicinity perhaps came from an associated building. Nevertheless, if there were a fairly high-status villa 2km north at Wouldham/Burham, the Eccles estate boundary should lie somewhere between the two sites, perhaps the ancient trackway which ran east to west close to the Wouldham/Burham site.

On the opposite bank of the Medway, the Snodland villa lay about 2km north west of Eccles (see above p75). A large Roman barrow and other features at Holborough just over a kilometre to the north west of Snodland villa contained funerary remains including a fine lead coffin, suggestive of high-status burials. Such large barrows are rare beyond Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire, and as in *Gallia Belgica*, perhaps were the final resting places of villa owners, and might have been regarded as shrines (Jessup 1954). About 4km due west of Eccles and some way from the river, a villa is suspected at Birling (TQ 680606). Foundations were found at the end of the 18th century (Hasted 1798a: 474) and Roman building material was re-used in the church. Aerial photography suggests a large structure but it has not been investigated. The only other sizeable villa in the

area was found close to the church at East Malling, about 4km south west of Eccles (TQ 703570). It was set some distance south of the river on gently sloping land above the flood plain. Small-scale excavations in and around it were conducted in 1955 and 1965 (*Archaeol Cantiana* 69: 1955, 208; 71, 1957: 228-229; 80, 1965: 257-258). Evidence for occupation was found from the 1st to the 4th century, with a masonry structure succeeding pre-Roman enclosure ditches as at Eccles. The main range of the villa was orientated east to west perhaps with another wing running southwards. The north wall, its *porticus*, and a doorway were excavated and dated to the second half of the 1st century. The entrance was modified during the 2nd century to create a wooden porch, and following burning this was enlarged to resemble 'an outhouse' which was rebuilt on at least two occasions. Although ploughing, levelling and root damage had removed later stratification, datable finds show that it continued into the 4th century. Painted wall-plaster and many tesserae indicate a high-status dwelling. Interestingly a piece of mosaic with band of *peltae* has a curved profile perhaps suggesting that it lined a vertical surface; the only comparable decorative piece in Britain with such a curve, was found at Eccles, where it is thought to have formed part of a plunge bath (Neal and Cosh 2009: Mosaic III 353.1 and Mosaic III 354.2, fig. 346). A kilometre to the north, near Bradbourne House, East Malling (TQ 704581), parts of a settlement were excavated in 1997 ahead of housing development. Although no obvious residence was found, brick and tile suggest that one existed in the vicinity. A fairly conventional 'corn-drier', a small four-post structure and large sunken vessels imply the processing and storage of grain, and pits containing hammer-scale indicate smithing. The settlement was associated with an enclosed cemetery, the part examined containing 13 Late Iron Age inhumations and 21 late first- and early second-century cremations. The excavators believed that the site was abandoned in the later 2nd century, and found no evidence for subsequent occupation other than a small amount of pottery dating to the 3rd to 4th century from a pit (Willson and Ward 2002: 19-22). About 4km south east of Eccles, but still on the opposite bank of the Medway, a villa is suspected close to Allington (TQ 751578) immediately west of the castle and overlooking the river; it represents the northernmost known site of a fairly dense cluster of villas and settlements around Maidstone. It was noticed in 1844 when masonry was being removed and hypocaust tiles recognised; Roman tile was being used for road repair (Scott Robertson 1883: 73). Although other Roman finds have been found thereabouts, including a late-third-century coin hoard, tomb and possible kiln, the extent of the presumed villa is unknown.

The cluster of known buildings around Eccles is not as dense as in the stretch of valley around Maidstone, although the evidence is perhaps circumstantial, an

accident of discovery. Overall there is a mixture of well-appointed buildings interspersed with lesser settlements or farmsteads, the latter either being part of large estates or connected in some way. Several succeeded Late Iron Age settlement, and some farmsteads appear to have been abandoned in the late 2nd century, perhaps not unconnected with the enlargement of the nearby villas. Nevertheless, at least in its heyday, the agricultural and industrial activities of a villa estate such as Eccles would have been kept at a distance from the house, although still the basis of its wealth.

The end of the villa

The coin and pottery evidence shows that the villa was occupied from the 1st to the late 4th century. A preliminary chart of coin loss (Figure 3.56) demonstrates a fairly typical distribution from Claudius to a single coin of Arcadius, evidence of some form of activity on the site at the very end of the 4th or into the 5th century. The lack of coins in the early 3rd century is common to most sites before the mid-century debasement of the silver coinage which resulted in a far greater coin loss everywhere – the spike cannot necessarily be taken as an indicator of re-occupation of the site following abandonment. There is a strong showing of Constantinian coins, even allowing for a

large group found in the ash deposit in Room 96 (shown in grey on Figure 3.56).

There can be little doubt that in the later 2nd century, the villa at Eccles was still a sumptuous residence, a period when villas in south-east Britain, and town houses also appear to have experienced a 'golden age'. The barbarian incursions into Gaul during the later 3rd century and the fiery devastation they wrought, from which many villas there never recovered, perhaps had an effect on Britain, particularly that part closest to Gaul, if only as a curtailment in trade. In general, the 3rd century was characterised by inflation, political turmoil and uncertainty so that building projects were unlikely to have been undertaken; for instance, very few mosaics can be dated to this period in Britain and the majority that can are fairly crude in concept and construction (Smith 1981). It has been shown that a significant number of villas in the south east show signs of disruption during the later 3rd century (Black 1987: fig. 19); Folkestone villa, for instance, was abandoned during the 3rd century with only a brief re-occupation during the 4th. How the economic and political situation of the later 3rd century affected Eccles is unclear, and a detailed analysis of the finds may eventually give some indication. There does not appear to have been any important construction work in the 3rd century. Nevertheless, the Period 4 rebuilding
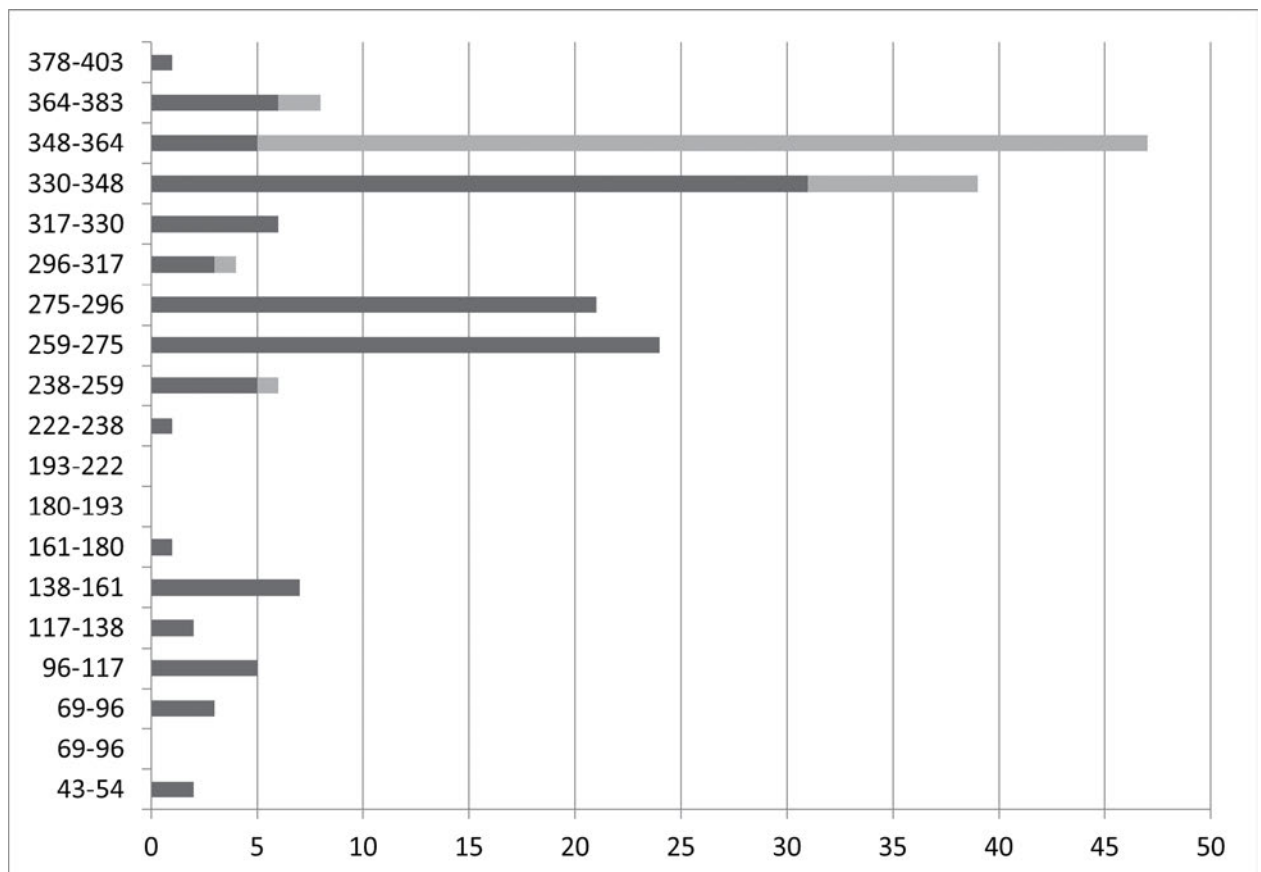
Figure 3.56. Chart to show coin loss (those from the ash deposit in Room 96 shown in grey).

of the baths and additional rooms in the main house, probably in the early years of the 4th century, seems to indicate a revival in the villa's fortunes, if indeed it had experienced a serious decline. Box flue and *pila* tiles were re-used from the demolished Period 3 baths, but this cannot necessarily be taken to mean that new ones were unavailable, although the same recycling is evident elsewhere (Black 1987: 40). While the baths themselves appear grand, especially the inclusion of a swimming pool with ambulatory, there is little evidence for exceptional adornment; no trace was found of mosaic pavements of any kind by contrast to the exceptionally fine ones which graced the Period 2 baths, or, indeed, the expanding villas in south-west Britain. The simple banded tessellated pavements of the newly created Rooms 92 and 103, and over a hypocaust in Room 95, all in the former eastern *porticus*, appear more practical than ostentatious. The fine fragments of mosaic found in the debris used to make up the floor of Room 95, and other bits of painted wall-plaster and mosaic within foundation trenches of these early fourth-century divisions presumably came from the site, either from stripping out rooms in the main house or from the demolition of the Period 3 baths. However, again there is nothing to indicate lavish adornment during the 4th century. The divisions along the length of the corridor suggest that the refurbishment was not confined to the northern end of the building, but the red tessellated pavements and superior floors in the newly created rooms are concentrated at one end, along with the new baths, which were created regardless of the overall symmetry of the villa, might point to that part only being used as a residence; this scenario is also seen in the large true-winged corridor villa at Farningham 2 (Meates 1973). However, the loss of later stratification to the plough towards the south at Eccles must make this speculative.

At some time during the mid to late 4th century there are more definite signs of decline at Eccles, here termed Period 5. These may well have been a turbulent times. The Roman historian, Ammianus, who wrote an account of the empire, *Res Gestae,* in the 380s, of which the part dealing with the years after AD 354 survives, tells of two significant events in Britain; both may have affected high-status villas in the south east, although it is always difficult to assess the impact of historical events upon a particular site. The first involved the reprisals taken by the legitimate emperor's agent, Paulus Catena, against British supporters of Magnentius after the failure of his coup in AD 353. Paulus was reportedly overzealous in his task:

> When he found them unable to resist he went far beyond his instructions, and descending like a sudden torrent upon the persons and estates of many people spread ruin and destruction in various forms. Loading the

> limbs of free-born men with chains and subjecting some to the degradation of handcuffs, he stitched together a patchwork of charges far removed from the truth (Ammianus 14, 5, trans. W. Hamilton).

Allowing for a certain amount of hyperbole, it seems that the retributions had a considerable effect on many individuals. The ruin was more probably confined to the persons rather than their property, which would have been appropriated and re-distributed. This action would not leave detectable traces unless major changes ensued, either improvements by the postulated new owner or decline in the case of an absentee landlord replacing a resident one. A hoard of over 4500 coins, mainly Constantinian down to *c*. AD 350 was found by a metal-detectorist at Snodland; the latest issue was of Magnentius, but, while hinting at money hidden for safe-keeping at that time and not recovered, it cannot definitely be linked to this episode (*Britannia* 40, 2009: 279; 41, 2010: 408).

The other event was the so-called Barbarian Conspiracy (*conspiratio barbarorum*) of AD 367. The nature of this 'disaster' has been much disputed, and it is questionable how serious it really was, since Ammianus may well have been playing up the role of his patron's father, Theodosius, who was sent to Britain to restore order. The problem was perhaps an incursion of Franks and Saxons (even though Ammianus mentions only their attacks on Gaul) or other peoples, or mutiny amongst the Roman troops or civil unrest (Bartholomew 1984). Be that as it may, for the people of Britain there may have been little difference if the troublemakers were barbarians from beyond Britain or Roman troops who were in all probability 'barbarians' or had been not so long before. What is perhaps more significant to the fate of the villa at Eccles is the region affected by this upheaval as is revealed in the description of Theodosius' campaign, and what was happening there:

> From Boulogne Theodosius made a calm crossing to Richborough, a quiet harbour on the opposite coast. On the arrival of his troops, which consisted of the Batavi and Heruli together with the Jovii and Victores, a sufficiently strong force, he disembarked and marched towards the old town of London, since called Augusta. Dividing his men into several detachments, he attacked the roving parties of freebooters, who were hampered by the weight of their spoils and driving before them prisoners and cattle. He quickly routed them and wrested from them the plunder which the wretched provincials had lost. He restored everything to its owners except for a small part which he distributed to his exhausted troops, and then entered the town in triumph. Hitherto it had been plunged in the deepest distress but it was now re-established almost before it could have hoped for rescue (Ammianus 28, 3, trans. W. Hamilton).

Whatever the nature of the troubles, it would seem to have affected the area between Richborough and London, that is, North Kent. It is interesting that this is the area where villas were occupied until the late 4th century, including Eccles, whereas a significant number of the villas elsewhere in Kent have no post-Constantinian coins (Black 1987: 46, fig. 20). How effective Theodosius was in restoring the *status quo* is difficult to assess, but the continued existence of these villas perhaps suggests that London was still an important market, just as in *Gallia Belgica* the villas in the vicinity of Trier fared better than others. At Eccles the coin of Gratian found in the ash of Room 96, a *praefurnium*, indicates that the hypocaust was still operating after the 'Barbarian Conspiracy', but this need not be associated with luxurious living standards. While there is no mention of evidence for iron working in the form of forges and slag, or corn-driers inserted into formerly residential rooms, which typify the late occupation of villas in south-west Britain, it would appear that the swimming pool was filled in and the building turned into a work-hall. A similar scenario can be seen just to the south at the Barton Road Villa, Maidstone where the octagonal hypocausted room with a mosaic floor was turned over to corn-drying. It is possible that, subsequent to the fourth-century revival, it was increasingly difficult to maintain such a large building. Clearly for at least the first half of the century, there was a fairly high standard of living, which the new swimming pool exemplifies, but in the later 4th century, the baths and the main house witnessed occupation at a considerably reduced standard. Whether the villa was still the centre of an estate run on behalf of an absentee land owner, or became the property of another is uncertain. The large first-century villas of *Gallia Belgica*, described above as comparable to Eccles appear also to have undergone a similar evolution: the villa at Haccourt continued to be occupied at an inferior level, and at Echternach, even though there is evidence for luxurious living in the 4th century, and a covered swimming pool was added, the villa was only partially occupied (Wightman 1985: 257-258). The villa at Eccles gradually became derelict, parts perhaps demolished – there was apparently no evidence for destruction by fire – and became a source of building material and a place to bury the dead.

Chapter 4
The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery

Nick Stoodley

Introduction

This chapter is intended to act as the site report for the Eccles Anglo-Saxon cemetery. It is based on the catalogue and cemetery plan that Rachael Shaw (1994) compiled from site notebooks, field plans and the photographic archive. Additional information has been obtained from the cemetery archive, which has enabled the compilation of a detailed catalogue and consequently a fuller understanding of the burial rites performed at Eccles.

The cemetery was investigated from 1970 to 1976, and the remains of approximately 200 burials were recovered, although the quantity of disturbed material indicates that the original number was probably much higher. The fact that a small number of graves had been dug through the remains of the villa demonstrates that this part of the building, at least, had been abandoned before the establishment of the cemetery.

In common with the excavation of the villa, the cemetery was initially investigated by the box-grid method, which was not without its problems (see above p4). The limitations of the technique did not go unrecognised: the baulks were eventually removed, and the cemetery was treated as a single open area (Shaw 1994: 166). Another problem was the agricultural disturbance that had badly affected the site, especially the burials closest to the surface, and in these areas, individual interments could not be identified. Those deep enough to escape damage were recorded as individual burials, but some were also disturbed by later episodes of grave digging. Furthermore, ploughing had disturbed and reduced the overlying layers, and it was impossible to discern grave outlines in the dark soil. Consequently, very few grave cuts were identified, and the presence of articulated human bone was often the first indication that a grave had been encountered. Thus, the cemetery plans show the position and alignment of burials, not grave cuts. Despite these limitations, the location of most of the burials is known (Shaw 1994: 169), but some of the disturbed material was unable to be accurately provenanced and had to be given an approximate location (Shaw 1994: 169).

The excavators allocated each burial a letter according to the year of excavation, i.e. I (1970), J, K, L, M, N and O (1976), followed by a number starting from 01. At the beginning of the following year, the numerical sequence was reset. This system has been retained here. No burial plans were drawn; in their absence, selective information about mortuary ritual was retrieved from site notebooks and has also been gleaned from the

occasional photograph. The original measurements were in imperial but have been converted into metric units. The numbers allocated to the small finds by Detsicas have been retained and are prefixed by 'SFB.'

Many of the burials were unaccompanied, but 24 had grave goods that date to the mid-7th to earlier 8th century and were mainly found in the earliest of three layers. Two subsequent layers demonstrate that the site was long-lived, a view supported by a radiocarbon date of the mid 9th to later 10th century (Griffiths 2007, 28). In its earliest phase, Eccles can be described as a 'Final Phase' cemetery – a term devised by Leeds (1936) to describe the last of the pagan rites before unfurnished, Christian, practices took hold. The use of the term in this report does not imply any religious persuasion; it is employed as a shorthand for the practices that characterise burial between the late 6th to early 8th century. Unlike most examples of its kind, Eccles was not abandoned during the mid Anglo-Saxon period, but continued into the late period.

The significance of Eccles will be considered by evaluating it against comparable evidence from the Medway valley. The bulk of this material is found on the west bank, where two important Final Phase cemeteries (Holborough (Evison 1956) and Cuxton (Mackinder 2006)) have been excavated, but there are several less well-understood sites. Where appropriate, other Kent cemeteries will be cited: the Final Phase sites of Pilgrim's Way (Stoodley 2015) and Polhill (Hawkes 1973b) and the long-lived cemeteries of Dover Buckland (Evison 1987), Broadstairs (Valetta House and St Peter's Tip, both unpublished) and Finglesham (Hawkes and Grainger 2006). Subsequent references to these cemeteries will not provide bibliographic details.

The site of the cemetery

The Eccles cemetery (TQ 722605) was located adjacent to, and partly over, the south-east wing of the Roman villa (Figure 4.1a-d). It was on gently sloping land above the river Medway, roughly 880m west of the centre of modern Eccles, at about 20m AOD. In common with the villa, it had been situated over the Gault Clay, but burials also extended southwards across the second river terrace and over the alluvium of the river. Most of the interments had been concentrated in an area lying close to the south east of the villa, roughly 18 x 15m in size. Graves had been dug into the fills of ditches that crossed the area, with a particularly dense concentration in a wide pre-Roman example (Ditch X).
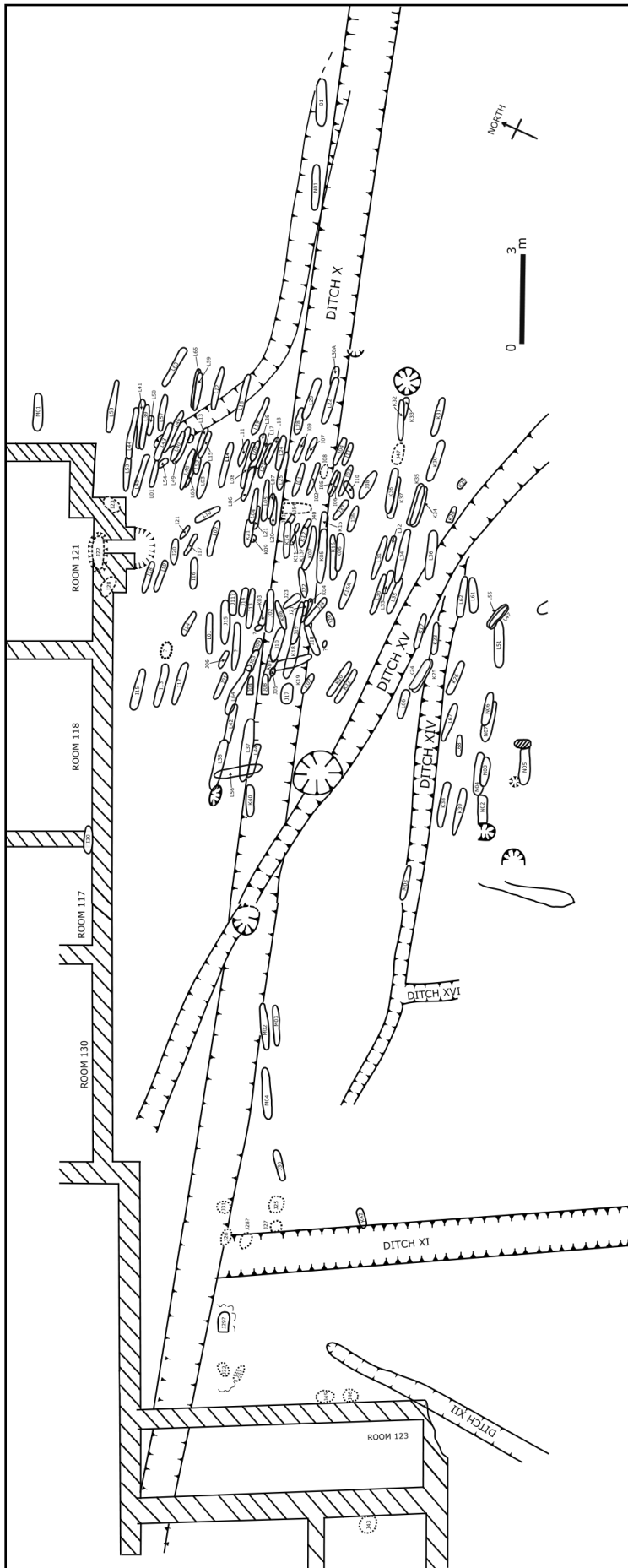
Figure 4.1a. Overview of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery in relation to the Roman villa, ditches and the larger pits. Where the location of a burial is uncertain, it is indicated by dashes.

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.1
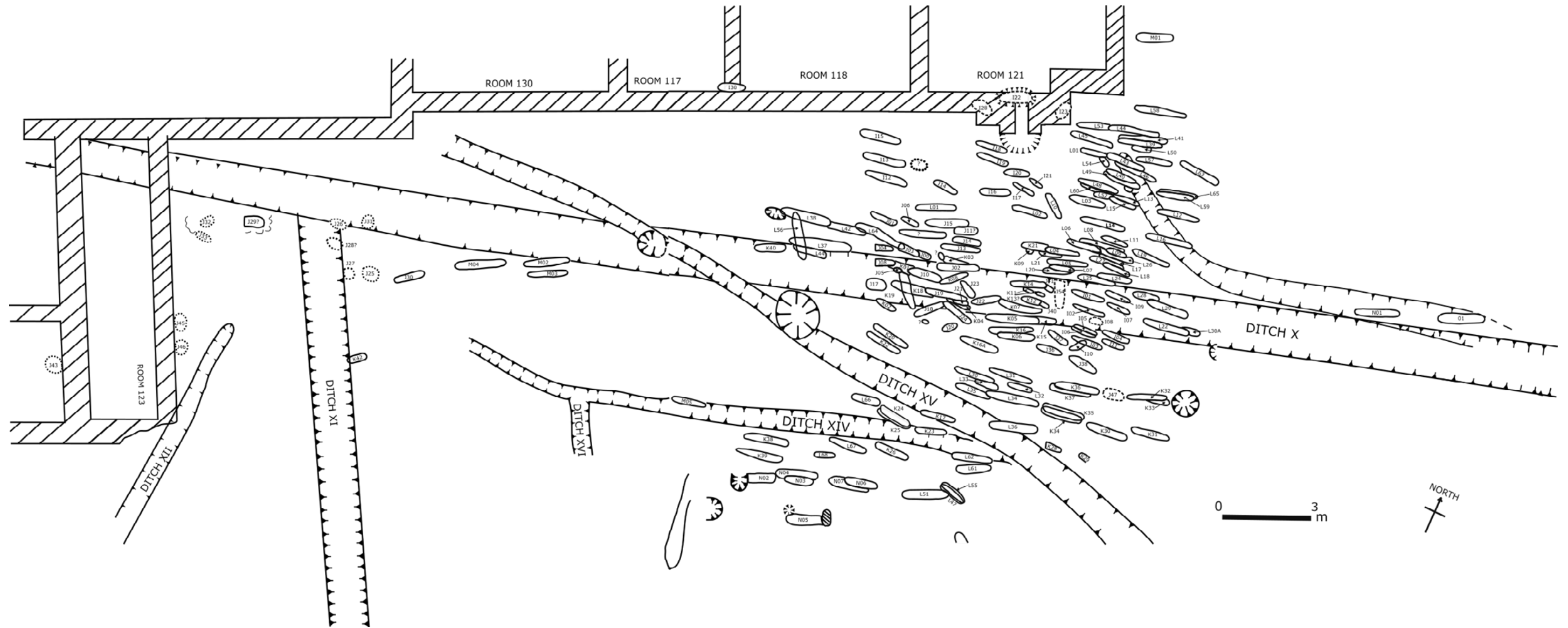
Figure 4.1b. Overview of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.1
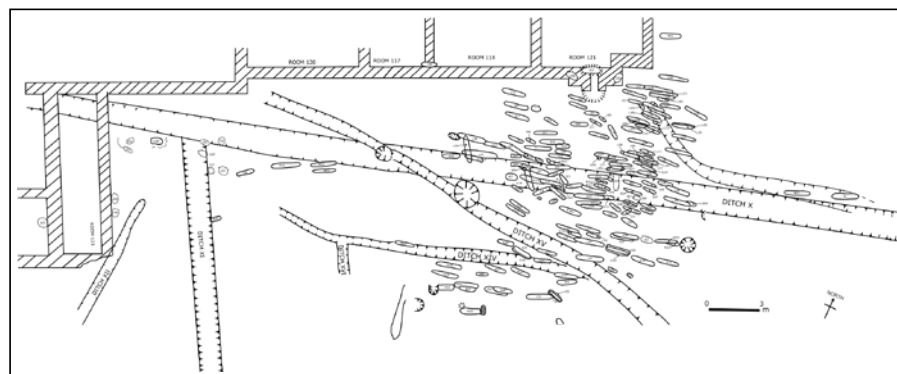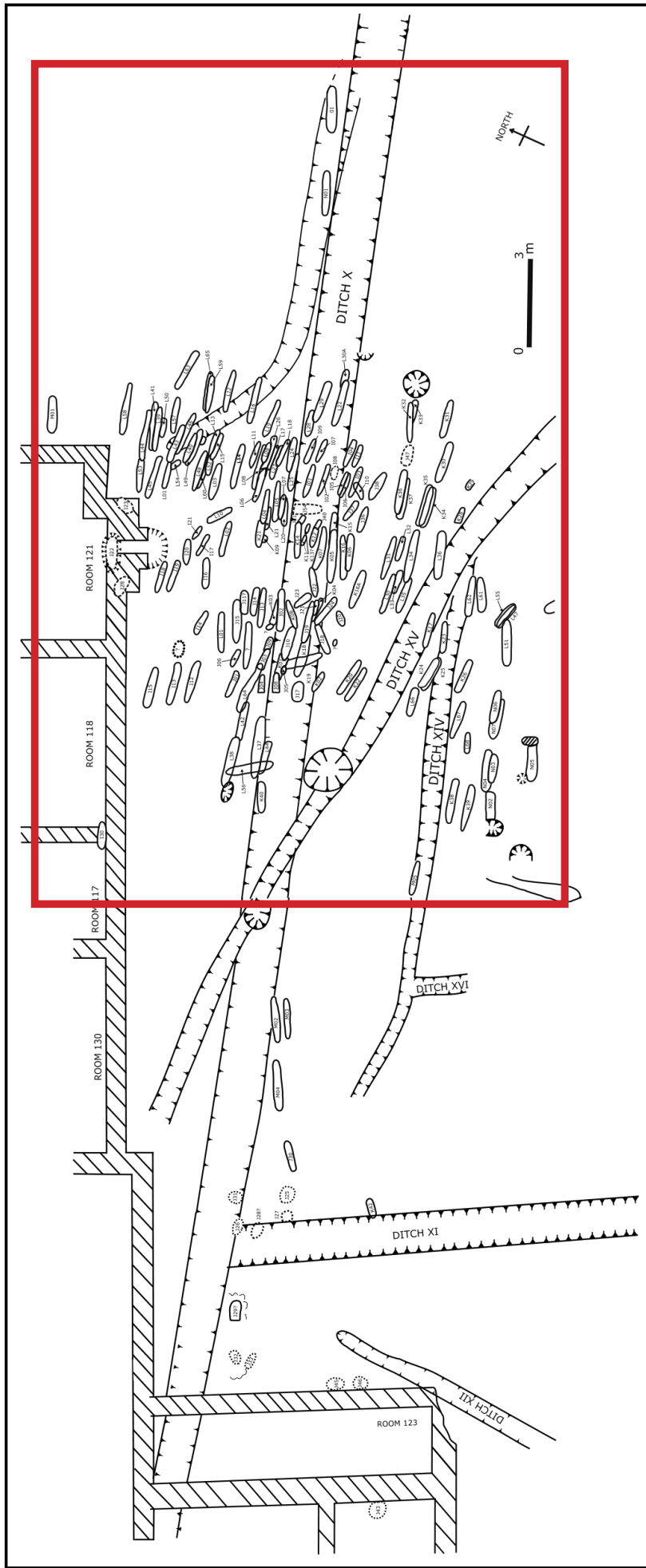
Figure 4.1c. Close up of the main group of burials.

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.1
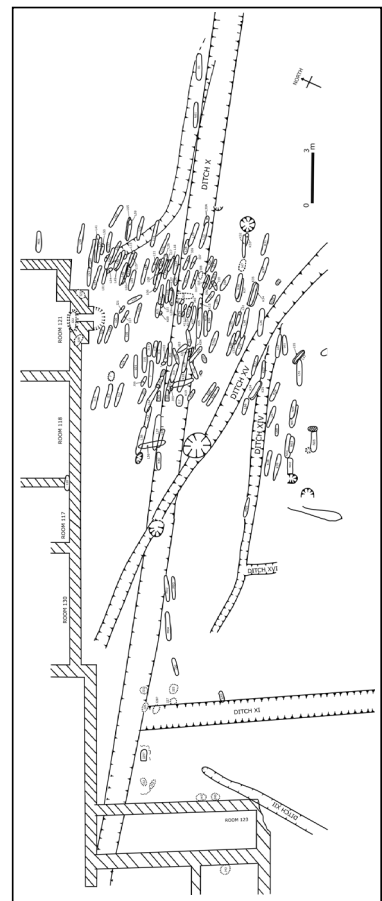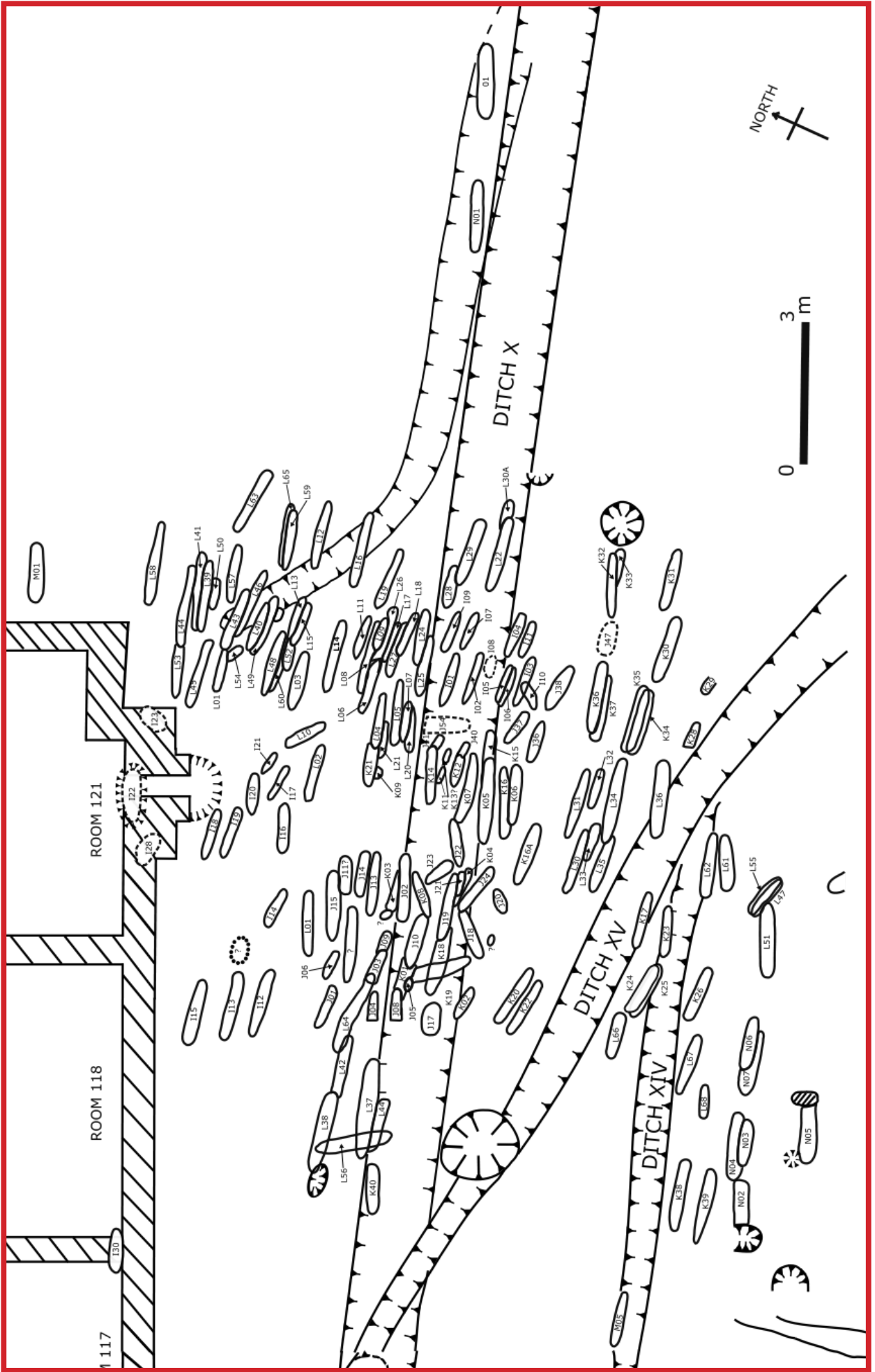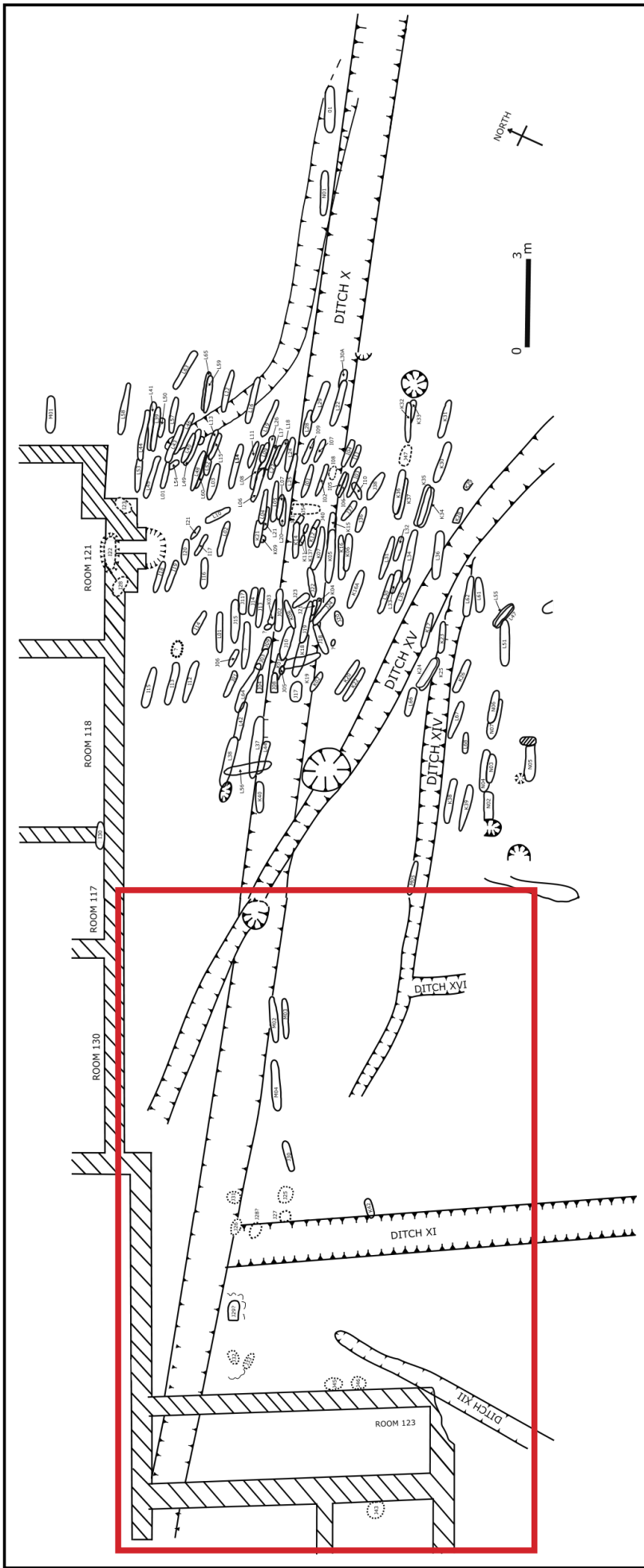
Figure 4.1d. Close up of the west group of burials.

DITCH XVI

M02
M03

M04

J30

NORTH

0 3 m

J31
J25
J28?
J27
J26
K42

DITCH XI

J29?

J32
J33

J45
J46

DITCH XII

ROOM 123

J43
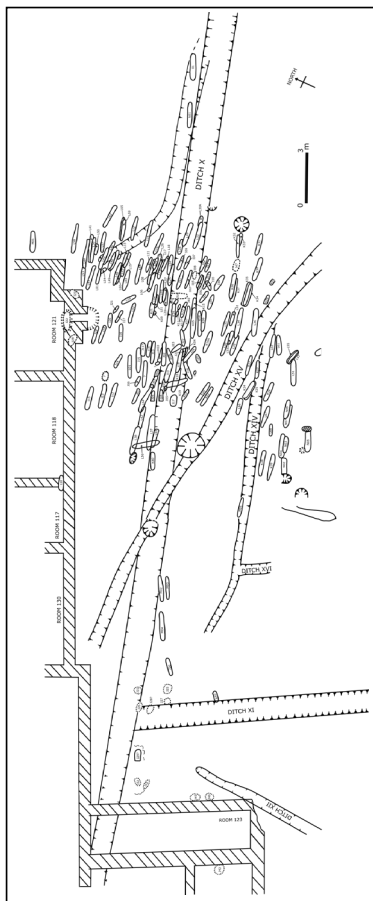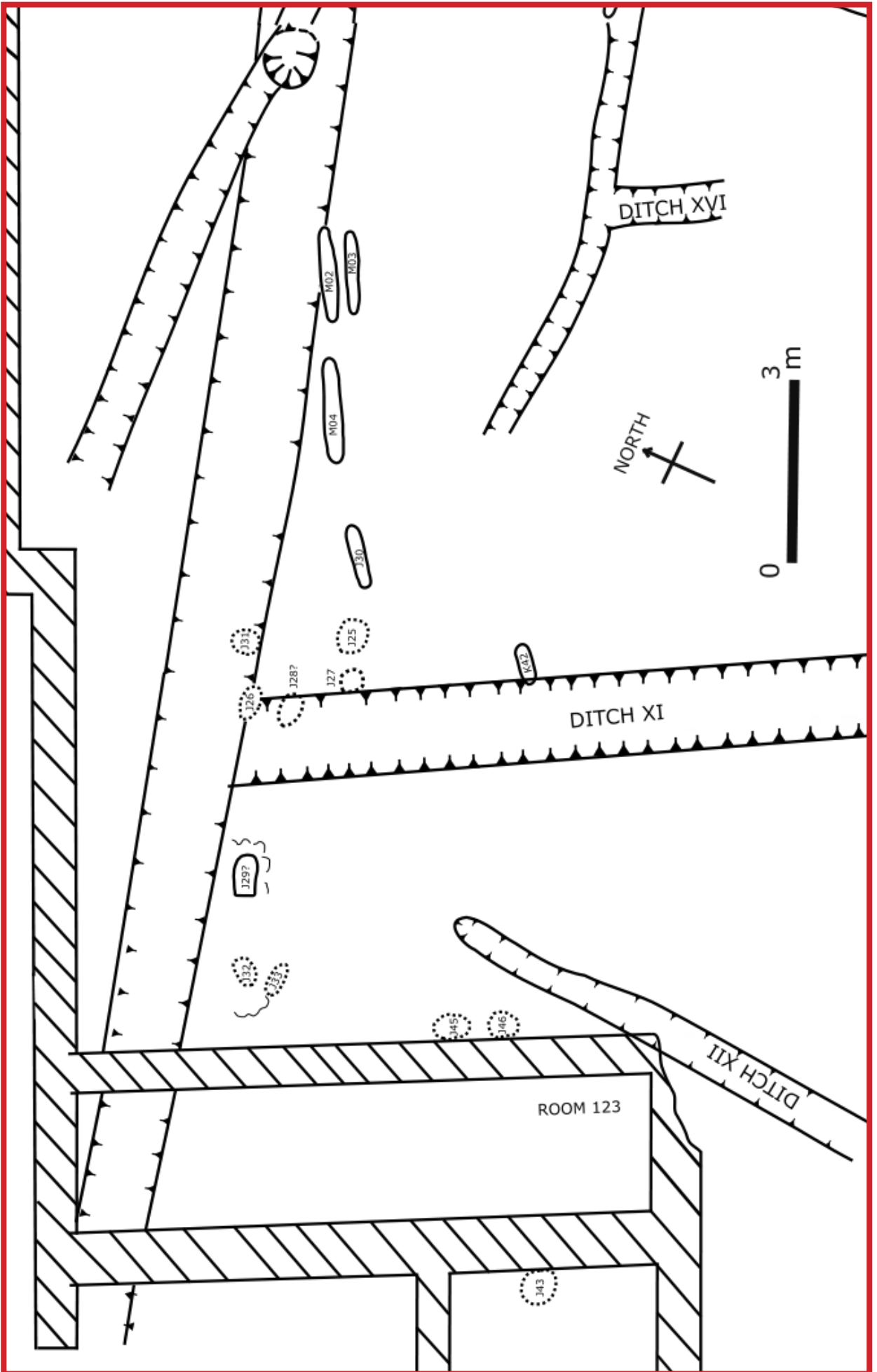
Detsicas (1973: 78) states that a small number of burials had been found in the ruins of the villa right from the outset of the excavation (see below pp181-182), but information about these interments is generally lacking. Several of these were discovered near the cemetery and are potentially important to an understanding of its origins because they could be evidence for a phase of burial before the site's location was properly fixed. They are discussed below. Before the discovery of the cemetery proper, burials had also been found a short distance to the south west, in an area characterised by demolition debris and robber trenches (Shaw 1994: 166-67). At the time of their excavation, they were considered isolated interments like those found in the ruins of the villa and were not fully recorded. They can now be identified as Anglo-Saxon, but compared to those in the main cemetery, they were more widely spaced and probably formed a separate group.

Circumstances of discovery

The cemetery may have been encountered when evidence for the villa first came to light in 1848. The Rev. Beale Poste notes the discovery of Roman coins and sepulchral remains stating that the latter was later than Roman times, 'of about the sixth or seventh century' (Poste 1848: 81, quoted in (Detsicas 1963: 126)). No evidence for this date is given. Because the discovery was said to have been '.... a little to the west (about 100 yards) of the site of the town [*sic*]', it was probably not part of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Other details cast doubt on the identification: 'The sepulchral remains consisted of a pit six feet square, lined with blocks of chalk, and four feet deep. In it were fragments of pottery, dark burnt material, and the very large antlers of a stag and other bones.' This sounds like the remains of a hypocaust or kiln, rather than a mortuary feature.

As just mentioned, burials had been discovered in the ruins of the villa, but it was not until the 1970 season that the presence of a cemetery was confirmed. A large number of burials was found directly to the south and east of Room 121. Some were at subsoil depth, but two further layers were within about 0.30m of the modern surface (Detsicas 1971: 32-2, fig. 1); damage had occurred to some of the lower ones by this later activity (see below pp98-99). The investigation of the cemetery continued during the ensuing years, again revealing three separate layers of superimposed burials and quantities of disarticulated bones (Detsicas 1972-74). Burials were still being discovered during the final years of the excavation, especially to the south east of the villa, but it was felt that most of the cemetery had been investigated, and its extent can be mapped. Its north edge is marked by the villa's south-east wing. Similarly, the east wall of Room 123 acted as a boundary to the group of burials in the west. The eastern limits appear to have been defined by

the curving gully adjacent to Ditch X, although burials had extended over its line, and two interments were discovered some distance away within the feature. To the south, the burials thin out, but the presence of a burial right on the edge of the excavation suggests that the cemetery may continue in this direction.

The excavation also revealed various other post-Roman features. Two ditches (XIV and XV) cut Roman layers but pre-dated the cemetery (Detsicas 1974: 129); they were still open in the 7th century when burials were deposited within them (Detsicas 1974: 129). To the south west of the cemetery, numerous pits and post-holes were recorded that probably belonged to an Anglo-Saxon building and associated features (Detsicas 1975: 159-62).

Post-excavation work, study and publication

Apart from brief mentions in Detsicas' interim reports, the most detailed account of the cemetery was published by Rachel Shaw (1994). It includes cemetery plans, a summary catalogue of burials based on the evidence then available to her, and a fairly detailed discussion of the interments from each area of the excavation, which incorporated information from Keith Manchester's analysis of the human remains (see below p95). Detsicas sought the help of Sonia Hawkes with the reporting of the grave goods, resulting in the publication of a summary report in the *Antiquaries Journal* (Hawkes 1973a). Not surprisingly, the bulk of the report was given over to the fine Style II buckle and plate from burial K19. Despite continual requests by Detsicas, Hawkes did not produce a final report, although, with the help of an undergraduate student, an inventory was prepared (Hawkes and Borno 1991), which has formed the basis for the chapter on the grave goods. While at Oxford, Hawkes had the small finds drawn, and the illustrations have been reproduced in this report. Post-excavation specialist work was also undertaken on the Anglo-Saxon and medieval pottery by J Potter (unpublished and undated), and there is an unpublished report on a halfpenny of King Alfred by Metcalf (also undated).

Because of the lack of detailed published information, references to Eccles have been brief. However, the cemetery has featured in research undertaken by several doctoral students. In his study of the reuse of Roman structures in Anglo-Saxon England, Tyler Bell (2001: 202, published in 2005) argued that Room 121 served as a ready-made chapel; a notion supported by the densely packed burials that surrounded it. Andrew Richardson's research (published in 2005) on the cemeteries of Anglo-Saxon Kent included a catalogue of burials, based on that of Shaw's. He also suggested that because some of the interments appear to post-date the 7th century, Eccles

may have continued into the 9th or even 10th century (2005, vol. II, 5). In Geake's study (published in 2002) of grave goods during the 'Conversion period', she assigned Eccles to her third type of Conversion-period cemetery: an intermediate placed between a Final Phase cemetery and that of a churchyard.

In contrast to the archaeology, the human remains from Eccles have received more attention. The University of Bradford's Calvin Wells Laboratory acquired the material in 1980. Shortly after the collection arrived, Keith Manchester published a series of short articles on various palaeopathological cases: an injury caused by an arrowhead (Burial I22) (Manchester and Elmhirst 1980); a case of leprosy (Burial J11) (Manchester 1981); hydrocephalus in a child (Burial J35) (Manchester 1980); spondylolysis (burial unknown) and spondylolisthesis (Burial L20) (Manchester 1982), and a secondary cancer in a female (Burial K16) (Manchester 1983). In 1984, Manchester prepared a report on the human remains and revised it in 1995, along with Philip Boocock and Charlotte Roberts, but as it was meant to be part of the excavation report, it has remained unpublished. One of the key findings was that a relatively high number of individuals had suffered traumatic events. This was first discovered by Manchester (1984) who identified six male adults with evidence for fatal cranial injuries, plus an adult female, and two other individuals with healed weapon injuries. Wenham (1989) undertook further analysis of the six individuals with unhealed cranial trauma, concluding that the type of weapons used and the location of the injuries suggest that the fatalities were battle victims.

The Eccles human remains have also been used as a teaching collection, which unfortunately has resulted in some bones sustaining damage, the intermixing of individuals and the loss of material (Upex 2006: 41). However, only a small proportion has been affected, and its use as a teaching resource has had many positive benefits. It has provided opportunities for the collection to be studied using the latest techniques, the discovery of new evidence, and the reinterpretation of earlier findings. Research carried out by post-graduate students has shed significant light on the cemetery population. Especially noteworthy are the master's dissertations by Beth Upex (2006) on the palaeopathology of the group (a summary of her findings has been included in this report) and John Griffiths' (2007) bio-cultural analysis of the evidence for trauma. He discovered several new cases of trauma, some of which were probably not inflicted by weapons. All the individuals identified as having evidence for trauma by Griffiths have been included in Appendix 1. A sample of human bone was also radiocarbon dated; the result of which supports Richardson's argument that burial activity continued at Eccles into the 10th century.

The burials

All the Eccles burials were by inhumation. The clayey soils provided relatively good bone preservation (Upex 2006: 5); yet as already mentioned, disturbance from agriculture and also by later grave digging resulted in 'much unstratified material' (Shaw 1994: 165). Consequently, it has been impossible to arrive at a definite total for the original population. In her catalogue, Shaw lists 202 burials, plus several groups of disturbed remains (Table 4.1). Estimates have also been based on the collection of human remains stored at Bradford. Manchester (1984: 1-2) calculated the minimum number of individuals to be 132, and the reassessment by Boocock et al. (1995: 1) estimated the total to be at least 146, but noted that 23 burials also contained the remains of one or more individuals. Upex identified 160 complete individuals, in addition to 116 contexts that contained mixed or isolated bones (Upex 2006: 38).

Upex also noted that 53 skeletons located on Shaw's cemetery plan are not in the Bradford collection. The fate of the missing individuals is unknown. Over the years, storage methods and the handling of the material may have led to the mixing of the remains, but as Upex (2006: 47) says it is unlikely that so many individuals would have been lost in this way. Shaw (1994: 167) stated that 'most of the material' went to Bradford, so the remainder possibly ended up at an undisclosed location (Upex 2006: 47). Rather worryingly, the discrepancy could be a result of research bias. The Eccles population is known for having a relatively high proportion of disease and trauma, but this could be an artefact of a collection strategy that favoured pathological specimens (Upex 2006: 47). In fact, the collection of pathological remains was a feature of the Calvin Wells Laboratory in the 1980s and could explain not only the high numbers of pathologies from Eccles but also the missing individuals (Upex 2006: 47). The absence of a significant number limits the type of questions that can be asked of the Eccles population, especially the application of bio-cultural approaches and how such patterning varied spatially. Despite this, the large sample of burials, and the relatively good bone preservation, has allowed specialists to carry out detailed osteological analysis, which has returned assessments for a range of variables, not only biological sex, age at death and mortality, but also stature, pathology and disease.

About two-thirds of the Eccles burials survived *in situ*. Those closest to the villa had been interred in a soil that contained Romano-British building material and domestic rubbish; the burials farthest away were in a dark brown plough soil, which made it impossible to distinguish grave cuts – a problem compounded by

Table 4.1. Groups of disarticulated human remains.

Trench and details (if known)	Depth	Artefacts recovered
O14/1	0.20m	
O14/3/4.	0.31m	Coin (SFB 395, RB no. 14), flint implement (SFB 405), coarse ware fragments
P14/1/2. Frags of adult and subadult	0.28m	Flint implement (SFB 406)
O10/3	0.56m	
P15/1	0.71m	
P15/3/4	0.48-0.69m	
P14	0.43-0.51m	
P15/3/4	0.61m	Pendant coin
O13/4	0.33m	
P13/4	0.48-0.64m	Coin
Trench O10/3N. Two burials (?multiple): 20-25 female and 20-25 unsexed.	?	Coin (SFB 16, no. 1), copper alloy rings (SFB 15)
Trench Q14/1/2	0.97m	
Trench Q13/2	0.26-0.59m	RB penannular brooch (SFB 620), coarse ware fragments

the fact that the features had been backfilled with the same soil as overlay the cemetery. Detsicas (1973: 78) states that grave outlines were only visible where they had been dug into the yellow clay subsoil. However, in correspondence with Sonia Hawkes, he says that the lowest layer of burials had been deposited on top of the Gault Clay subsoil, and it seemed that the overlying layers had been stripped before this because there was no trace of grave cuts (Figure 4.2). He goes on to say that it was as if the bodies had been placed on the cleared subsoil and then covered with the soil that had been removed. It seems more likely that the graves had been

Figure 4.2. View of burials lying above the subsoil.

Figure 4.3. Disturbance to an area of burials.

Figure 4.4. Plough damage to Burial L61.

dug through the overlying layers, but their cuts had been obscured by ploughing in medieval and modern times. This would have been more of a problem in the area closest to the villa where the subsoil was thin, and the latest burials lay very close to the present ground level. Plough-damage was evidenced by disturbed bones (Figures 4.3 and 4.4) and large quantities of unstratified human bone (Table 4.1).

Further disturbance was caused by grave digging in those areas that already contained interments, which in some places resulted in three separate layers of burials. Detsicas (1972: 108) states that in 1971 'the same conditions of three layers of interments were recorded, each new layer causing considerable disturbance to the one below it and adding to the difficulty of recording.' The notebooks describe the action as either [burials] 'overlapping over', or [a burial] 'overlies'; it is likely that many of the interments in the earliest two layers (2 and 3) were truncated. Only those burials for which a relationship is recorded in the site notebooks are taken as evidence for the practice. The cemetery plan apparently shows more cases, but as the relationship between the interments is unproven, they are not included in any analysis.

The remains of disturbed burials were found in the fills associated with later burials, which may have resulted from attempts to rebury individuals, or were accidental inclusions. Some disturbed bones must

also have entered the upper soil levels eventually becoming mixed with the plough-damaged remains, indicated by the fact that most of the disturbed material is associated with those areas that contained the highest numbers of superimposed burials, i.e. the central and north-east zones of the cemetery. Intercutting was not a phenomenon that affected the entire cemetery. It does not, therefore, appear to have been carried out comprehensively to clear the site of its old burials in order to make way for a new phase of grave digging. Despite Detsicas' claim that later grave digging caused serious damage to earlier burials, a careful examination of the records reveals that the actual degree of disturbance was relatively low. Of the 31 burials identified as having been below a later interment(s) (Table 4.2), only nine were recorded as disturbed, and in most cases, it was the skull that had been displaced: for example, the skull of J24 lies over the knees of J18. In places 15cm of soil had built up between the layers, and although this is not a particularly great depth, it is possible that it afforded some protection to the underlying interments. Yet, in some cases, more serious disturbance occurred, for example L21 was beneath L04, and only the former individual's legs remained *in situ.* Most of the right-hand side of L52 (Figure 4.5) had been removed, and of L27 where only the legs remained in their original place. The relatively low-level of disturbance possibly indicates that later acts of grave digging were undertaken to accommodate additional graves

Figure 4.5. Damage to Burial L52 from intercutting.

Table 4.2 Intercutting burials, showing stratigraphic relationships. Based on information from the archive.

Year I		Year J/K		Year K		Year L		Year N	
Upper	*lower*	*Upper*	*lower*	*Upper*	*lower*	*Upper*	*lower*	*Upper*	*lower*
I05	I06	J19	K04	K01	K19	L01	L54	N03	N04
		J21	K04	K18	K19	L04	L21	N06	N07
		J24	J18	K24	K25	L06	L26		
				K32	K33	L07	L20		
				K35	K34	L09	L08 & L26		
				K36	K37	L17	L27		
						L18	L27		
						L30A	L22		
						L37/38/44	L56		
						L39	L41		
						L40	L49		
						L42	L64		
						L43	L46		
						L44	L53		
						L47	L55		
						L48	L60		
						L52	L60		
						L59	L65		

into an already densely populated area, while at the same time trying to limit damage to pre-existing burials. Only one definite charnel deposit (J20, in Level 1) was discovered, suggesting that the reburial of disarticulated remains did not generally occur. At Eccles, it seems that the earlier generations were not treated with the same level of respect that the ancestors enjoyed in medieval cemeteries where the reburial of human remains was more common.

This report is largely concerned with the evidence from the discrete burials, which were recorded through archaeological excavation. The disturbed and comingled remains can contribute to the general understanding of the population, its size, structure and health, but, lacking an archaeological context, their value to the assessment of the site is limited. In brief, Eccles was a community of men, women and children, and although their general health was typical for the period, the group did have an unusually high number of pathologies and trauma (Upex 2006). Moreover, the quantity of disturbed remains, resulting from both plough damage and intercutting, indicates that the excavated burials represent only a proportion of the original population.

Catalogue of burials

This inventory is based on the one published by Shaw (1994) but includes additional information obtained from the archive and the report prepared by Hawkes and Borno (1991). It sets out the evidence for burial practice and the provision of grave goods.

The excavation of some burials took place over two seasons, and some were, unwittingly, recorded as separate deposits. Based on the position of the remains, and the sex and age of the individuals, it has been possible to identify a number of probable examples. These are indicated in the catalogue, but the remains have not been repatriated because the associations are unproven. There are numerous groups of fragmentary bones, which on excavation were treated as discrete burials and given separate numbers. Some of these were probably disturbed from known interments, and thus the size of the burial population could be smaller.

The provenance of most of the grave goods is known, and the majority were drawn. All measurements are maximum dimensions. Typological schemes have been used to classify the following artefacts: buckles (Marzinzik 2003),

knives (Evison 1987), Pins (Ross 1991) and spearheads (Swanton 1973 and Hines and Bayliss 2013). The finds were assigned numbers by the excavators and were prefixed with 'SFB'; the numbers have been retained in this report. Two knives had been incorrectly labelled: they were given numbers that had already been assigned to knives. This is confirmed by the fact that the drawings of these artefacts do not match the descriptions in the catalogue. Based on their descriptions, it has been possible to associate these knives with burials; they have been assigned new numbers. Four knives are now missing. Because they were not drawn, they must have been misplaced before the finds were sent to the illustrator (Marion Cox, then at Oxford). Drawings of the grave goods are mainly reproduced at 1:1, the remainder are either 3:1 or 2:1.

The information about the human remains is taken from Upex (2006) and Boocock *et al.* (1995); the latter is an updated version of Manchester's 1984 report. Upex's analysis is the more recent and therefore takes priority. However, by the time that she came to study the collection, some burials could no longer be identified; in these cases, Boocock *et al.* has been used. The sex and age of the burials are provided by osteological analysis (after Upex 2006), and the following categories are used: F (female), ?F (probable female), M (male), ?M (probable male), Ad (unsexed) and ? (undetermined). A simplified set of age categories has been used: birth/infant (0-12 months), subadult (1 year to 18 years) and adult (18 years and over).

The structure of the burial catalogue is: burial number; disturbance (if affected); the burial layer (L1 highest, L3 lowest) if applicable)); the location of the interment in relation to significant features; its relationship to other burials; orientation (based on the position of the head, if unknown the alignment of each end of the burial is given); the position of the individual and maximum depth of the burial in metres (recorded from the modern ground surface). A '?' indicates missing information. The human remains are then summarised, plus material from additional individuals (ii: recorded as an individual, but the original context is uncertain). Finally, a description of the grave goods is given.

I01. Disturbed. WSW, extended, 0.36m.
Human bone: Ad. 30-35yrs. Preservation poor. Medium periodontal disease, slight calculus, slight hypoplasia.
ii: ?F Ad. mature. Pathological lesions: osteoarthritis.

I02. WSW, extended, 0.36.
Human bone: M Ad. 1.75m. Preservation moderate-good. Pathology: sacralisation 1st coccygeal vertebra, osteoarthritis interphalangeal joints of toe.
Additional bones: subadult.

I03. Disturbed, legs only. W, extended, 0.36.
Human bone: Ad. 18-25yrs. 20% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: well healed periostitis on the medial

sides of both femoral shafts. Possible slipped capital epiphysis on the left femoral head with posterior and inferior displacement.

I04. Disturbed. W, extended, 0.36.
Human bone: 7yrs. Preservation moderate-good. Additional bones: Ad.

I05. Disturbed. Above I06. W, extended, ?
Human bone: M 36-45yrs. Preservation poor.

I06. Disturbed. Below I05. W, extended, ?
Human bone: ?M 25-35yrs. 1.73m. Preservation poor. Slight periodontal disease.

I07. Disturbed. W, extended, 0.51.
Human bone: ?M 25-35yrs. Preservation moderate-good. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus, slight hypoplasia. Pathology: osteoarthritis, periostitis, possible ankylosing spondylitis.
ii: ?M. 1.69m. Preservation poor. Pathology: osteoarthritis.

I08. Disturbed. SW?, extended, 0.30m. Location not certain: possibly by I02.
Human bone: 6-7yrs. Preservation poor. Non-metric traits: mastoid foramen exsutural, palatine torus, maxillary torus.

I09. Disturbed. W, extended, 0.51.
Human bone: Ad. 20-25yrs. Preservation poor. Slight periodontal disease. Pathology: periostitis, vertebral osteophytosis.

I10. Slightly disturbed. SW, extended, 0.66.
Human bone: M 26-35yrs. 50% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: cortical defects on both clavicles at costoclavicular ligament attachment.

I11. No information.

I12. Badly disturbed. WSW, extended, 0.30m.
Human bone: Ad. 25-35yrs. 1.71-1.74m. Preservation moderate. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus, medium hypoplasia. Non-metric traits: mastoid foramen sutural, precondylar tubercle, anterior condylar canal multiple, foramen ovale complete, foramen spinosum complete, condylar facet single, accessory lesser palatine foramen, palatine torus. Pathology: periostitis, spinal joint disease.

I13. Badly disturbed. WSW, extended, 0.30m.
Human bone: M 25-35yrs. 1.84m. Preservation good. Slight periodontal disease, medium calculus.
Pathology: osteoarthritis, ?subperiosteal haematoma.

I14. Disturbed. WNW, extended, 0.30.
Human bone: Ad. Preservation poor.
Additional bones: subadult.

I15. WSW, extended, 0.38.
Human bone: F 36-45yrs. 1.72m. 80% complete. Preservation good. Severe calculus. Pathology: severe osteoarthritis of right knee joint, with osteochondrosis; spondylosis deformans of lower spine.

I16. SW, extended, 0.15.
Human bone: Ad.

I17. WNW, extended, 0.15m.
Human bone: Ad. (fragments). Additional bones: subadult <18yrs and foetus, 33 +/- 2 weeks.

I18. WSW, extended, 0.15m.
Human bone: ?M 35-45yrs. Preservation poor.

I19. W, extended, 0.15m.
Human bone: Ad. (fragments).
Additional bones: 2-6yrs.

I20. SW, extended, 0.23.
Human bone: Ad.

I22. Skull disturbed. Above S wall of Rm 121, where the stokehole entered. SW. ?, 0.13.
Human bone: M 46+yrs. 1.74m. 70% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: spondylolysis of the 5th lumbar vertebra. Periostitis of the left tibia. Two broken ribs on the right hand side, both well healed with good apposition and alignment. Osteoarthritis of spinal joints. Sharp force trauma to the cranium consisting of a vertical cut through the posterior portion of the right parietal, detachment of the diploe and inner table of the skull at the centre of the wound. Cut on the same line as above on the internal occipital protuberance indicating the full extent of the intra cranial blade cut. See also Wenham 1989 (Wenham burial III, fatal cranial injury).
Manchester (Manchester and Elmhirst 1980) also records extensive iron staining of the 3rd lumbar vertebra with transaction of the spinous process correlating with an arrowhead (now lost) found under the body in this position.
Additional bones: infant.

I23. Above wall in SE corner of Rm 121. SW, extended, 0.46.
Human bone: Ad. 30-35yrs. Preservation poor. Medium periodontal disease, slight calculus, slight hypoplasia.
ii: ?F Ad. young. 1.72m. Preservation poor. Pathology: Schmorls nodes.
Additional bones: infant.

I24. In Ditch VII (north of Room 121). ?, ?, ?
Human bone: F 18-25yrs. 30% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: acute mastoiditis in the left mastoid. Large area of lytic destruction and infection.

Taphonomic damage but probably originally cloaca penetrating externally.
ii: subadult 14-15yrs. Preservation moderate.

I25 In Ditch VII (north of Room 121), ?,?, 0.28m.
Human bone: ?F 20-25yrs. 1.54m. Preservation moderate.
Grave goods
SFB 328 (Figure 4.6). Iron spearhead (possibly associated with burial). Lozengiform profile with angle relatively low in the blade. Swanton's Type F1; Hines and Bayliss SP2-a1a2. The cleft socket retains a nail. Overall length 128mm, length of blade 60mm, width 21mm.

I26. In Ditch VII (north of Room 121). ?, ?, 0.28m.
Human bone: M 26-35. 1.70m. 90% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: spondylosis deformans of the spine with Schmorls nodes.
ii: Ad. 18-20yrs. iii Ad. and additional bones: 2-6yrs.
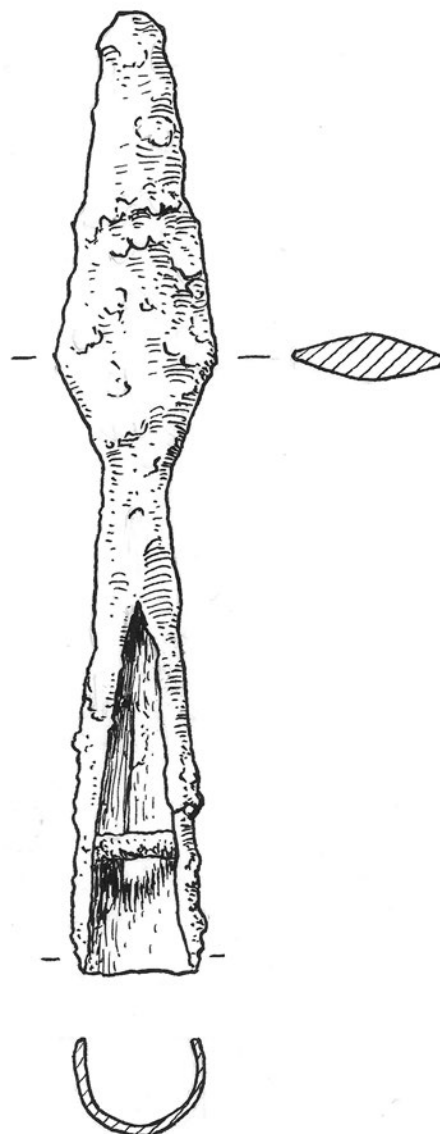
Figure 4.6. Spearhead (I25) (1:1).

I27. New individual identified by Boocock *et. al.*, (1995) location in cemetery unknown. ?, ?, ?
Human bone: ?M 25-35 yrs. Preservation poor. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus. Non-metric traits: mastoid foramen exsuturaI, palatine torus, frontal foramen.

I28. Above wall in SE corner of Room 121. WNW, ?, ?
Human bone: ?Ad. (fragments).

I29. Location not certain: possibly in Room 121. ?, ?, 0.20m.
Human bone: Ad.

I30. In backfilling of walls between Rooms 117/118. WSW, ?, ?
Human remains lost.

I31. New individual identified by Upex, location in cemetery unknown. ?, ?, ?
Human bone: M 26-35. 1.73m. 60% complete. Preservation good.

J01. (L1). W, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: ?M.

J02. (L1). SW-NE, extended, 0.36.
Human bone: F 46+. 50% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: bilateral sacroiliitis, spinal joint disease, osteoarthritis.

J03. Disturbed. (L1), possibly same as J09. WNW-ESE, ?, 0.20.
Human bone: unidentified, small quantity of bone.

J04. Disturbed. (L1), incompletely excavated, upper part under section. Possibly part of L64. WSW, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: Ad.

J05. Disturbed. (L1), skull only, probably K19.?, ?, 0.20.
Human bone: Ad.

J06. (L1). WNW-ESE, ?, 0.20.
Human bone: F 20-30yrs. I.58m. Preservation moderate-good. Pathological lesions: osteochondritis dissecans, osteoarthritis.
Additional bones: subadult.

J07. Location not known: probably part of J06 or unidentified burial to south. ?, ?, 0.20.
Human bone: M 35-45yrs. Preservation poor. Moderate periodontal disease, considerable enamel hypoplasia, considerable calculus. Non-metric traits: lambdoid ossicle (L), foramen of Huschke, mastoid foramen exsutural, single condylar facet, single anterior condylar canal, foramen ovale complete, accessory lesser palatine foramen, zygomatico facial foramen (R), frontal foramen (R), anterior ethmoid foramen exsutural. Pathology: ankylosing spondylitis, periostitis, osteoarthritis.

J08. WSW, extended, ?.
Human remains lost.

J09. Disturbed. (L1), possibly same as J03. W, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: Ad. 25-30. Mandible only.
Additional bones: 2-6yrs.

J10. (L1). W, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: F Ad. mature. 60% complete. Preservation good. Abscesses on maxillary central and lateral left incisors. Pathology: spondylosis deformans on the spine and osteoarthritis of both wrist joints.
ii: M 45+.

J11. Disturbed. Location not certain: possibly part of J15. ?,?, 0.20.
Human bone: Ad., leprosy (Manchester 1980).

J13. Disturbed below mid thigh. (L1). WSW, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: ?M Ad.

J14. Disturbed below the sacrum. (L1). WSW, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: M 46+yrs. 10% complete. Preservation good.

J15. Disturbed. (L1), possibly includes J11. Double burial. WSW-ENE, ?, 0.20.
Human bone: Ad. 26-35. 20% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: mild periostitis and sever calculus.
ii: 11-17yrs. 50% complete. Preservation poor.

J17. WSW, extended, 0.20.
Human remains lost.

J18. Disturbed. Below J24. SW, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: F 46+yrs. 1.56m. 90% complete. Preservation excellent. Mild calculus, only on the right side of the mandible, moving to moderate on the third molar. Pathology: spondylolysis of the 5th lumbar vertebra. Fracture to the 1st and 2nd right ribs, poor apposition of ends leading to the formation of a false joint between the ribs.

J19. Disturbed. (L1). Above K04. WSW, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: F 46+yrs. 1.50m. 40% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: osteochondrosis dissecans on both femoral condyles. Spondylosis deformans in spine with extensive osteophytic lipping.

J20. Group of disarticulated bones (charnel), (L1). 0.20.

J21. Badly disturbed. (L1). Above K04. WSW-ENE, ?, 0.20.
Human bone: Ad.

J22. (L1). Stratigraphic relationship with K07 not known. SW, extended, 0.20m.
Human bone: F 46+yrs. 1.66m. 50% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: spinal joint disease with sever lipping and osteophyte development, also the presence of Schmorls nodes. Osteochondritis on both tali right edge of tibial facet, also on right femur lateral condyle. Osteoarthritis in right hip, sub-chondral cysts and joint contour change.

J23. Badly disturbed, skull only, ?, ?, 0.20.
Human bone: M 46+yrs. 20% complete. Preservation good. Abscess on maxillary left central incisor.

J24. (L1). Above J18. WNW, extended, 0.20.
Human remains lost.

J25, Disturbed. ?, ?, 0.38m.
Human bone: 5-8yrs. 30% complete. Preservation excellent.
Additional bones: infant.

J26. Disturbed. WSW-ENE, ?, ?
Human bone: 11yrs. 10% complete. Preservation moderate.

J27. Disturbed. SW-NE, ?, ?
Human bone: 12-14yrs. Preservation moderate.

J28. Disturbed. W, ?, ?
Human bone: Ad. 25-35yrs. Preservation poor-moderate. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus.
Non-metric traits: mastoid foramen exsutural, palatine torus, frontal foramen.

J29. Disturbed. Remains found over a hearth east of Room 123. WSW, ?, 0.20.
Human bone: Ad. Preservation moderate. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus, slight enamel hypoplasia. Pathology: cribra orbitalia, trauma, blade injury, osteoarthritis, periostitis.

J30. SW, extended, 0.30m.
Human bone: M 36-45yrs. 1.65m. 40% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: fractured right radius displaced posteriorly, well healed but with poor apposition and shortening. Fractured right femur, displaced medially, well healed but with poor apposition and shortening. Also has cribra orbitalia. Spondylosis deformans of spine. Large enthesophyte on left 1st metatarsal. Manchester mentions cranial trauma to
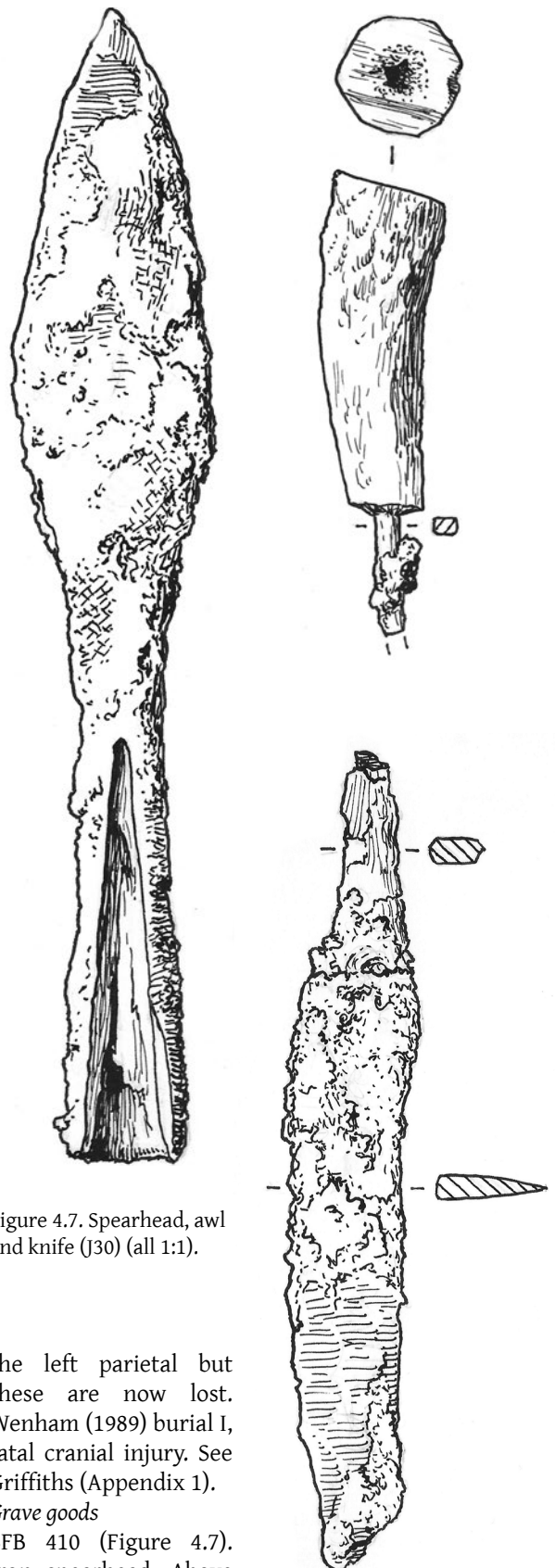
Figure 4.7. Spearhead, awl and knife (J30) (all 1:1).

the left parietal but these are now lost. Wenham (1989) burial I, fatal cranial injury. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).
Grave goods
SFB 410 (Figure 4.7). Iron spearhead. Above and to the right of the skull. Leaf shaped blade, cleft socket. Swanton's

type C1/Hines & Bayliss SP1-a1. Overall length 165mm, length of blade 90mm, width of blade 28mm.

SFB 412 (Figure 4.7). Fragmentary iron awl. Below rib-cage. Handle made from the end of an antler tine, circular in section with unsmoothed sides and saw-cuts at both ends. Projecting from the sawn-off tip, of which an attempt has been made to bevel the edges, is a fragmentary iron rod, sub-rectangular in section. Length of antler handle 51mm; diameter 17mm tapering to 12mm, length of iron rod 11mm.

SFB 411 (Figure 4.7). Fragmentary iron knife. At the waist. Flat and tapered tang; curved back, straight cutting edge. Evison's type 4. Length of blade 85mm, length of tang 33mm, width of blade 18mm, thickness 4mm.

J31. Deposited through a layer of compacted mortar. ?, ?, 0.46.
Human bone: ?F 36-45yrs. 30% complete. Preservation good.

J32. Badly disturbed. SW, ?, ?.
Human bone: ?M 18-25yrs. 20% complete. Preservation moderate. Impacted 3rd molars with infection in the maxilla. Pathology: scoliosis of the spine to the left in T2 to T6. Scheuermann's disease in L4 and intervertebral osteochondrosis in L2 and L3. Cribra orbitalia. Periostitis of left fibula. Oblique anterior-posterior sharp force trauma on right mandibular rami. Oblique superior posterior wound on left zygomatic. Sharp force trauma on left parietal, anterior-posterior position, central to parietal. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).
Grave goods
SFB 414 (Figure 4.8). Fragmentary iron spearhead. Leaf-shaped, the top half of the blade is missing. Possibly Swanton type C1 or C5. Socket retains a fragment of a probable nail. Overall length 142mm, length of blade 60mm, (estimated original length 115mm), width of blade 34mm.
SFB 409. Copper alloy ring, lost.

J33. Badly disturbed, lower mandible only? NW-SE, ?, ?
Human bone: Ad. Medium calculus, medium periodontal disease.

J34. Badly disturbed, partially excavated. Not located: may be part of L45.
Human bone: ?M. 10% complete. Preservation poor.

J35. ?, ?, 0.61. Not located on plan.
Human bone: 14-16yrs. Preservation good. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus, medium hypoplasia. Non-metric traits: parietal foramen (L), foramen ovale complete, foramen spinosum incomplete (L), accessory lesser palatine foramen, palatine torus, multiple zygomatico-facial foramen, frontal foramen. Pathology: possible hydrocephalus. Manchester (1980) reported hydrocephalus.

Figure 4.8. Spearhead (J32) (1:1).
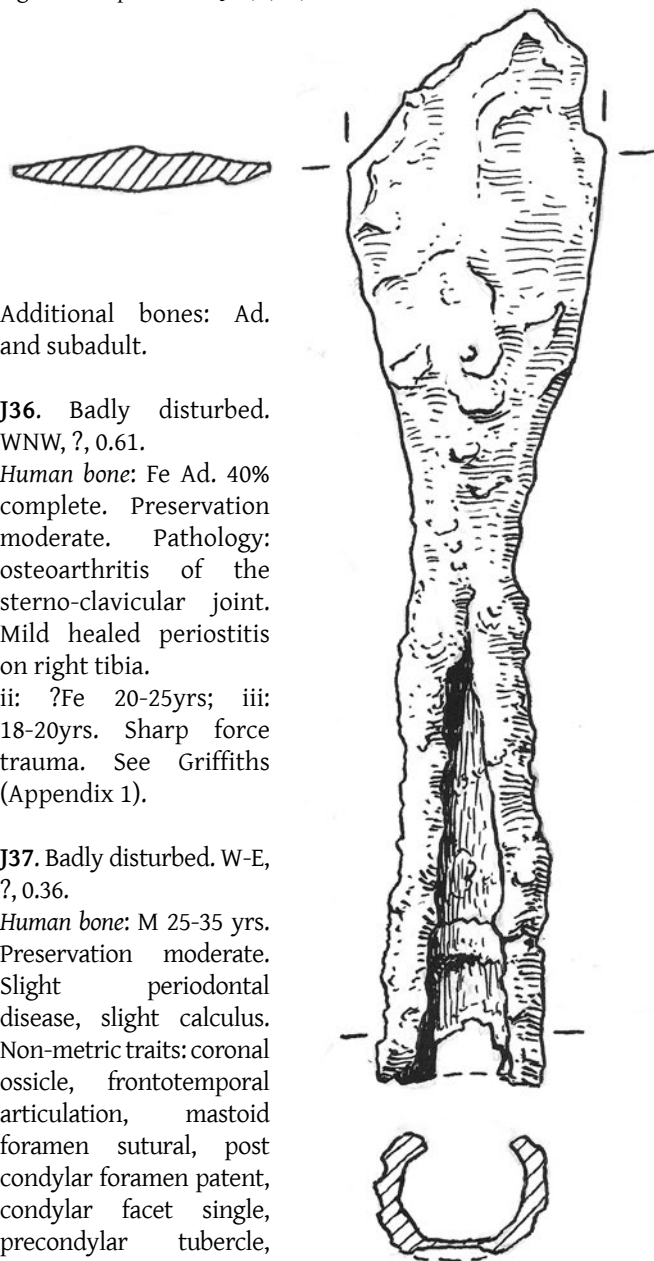
Additional bones: Ad. and subadult.

J36. Badly disturbed. WNW, ?, 0.61.
Human bone: Fe Ad. 40% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: osteoarthritis of the sterno-clavicular joint. Mild healed periostitis on right tibia.
ii: ?Fe 20-25yrs; iii: 18-20yrs. Sharp force trauma. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).

J37. Badly disturbed. W-E, ?, 0.36.
Human bone: M 25-35 yrs. Preservation moderate. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus. Non-metric traits: coronal ossicle, frontotemporal articulation, mastoid foramen sutural, post condylar foramen patent, condylar facet single, precondylar tubercle, anterior condylar canal single, foramen ovalae complete, foramen spinosum complete, zygomatico-facial foramen multiple, supraorbital foramen incomplete. Pathology: cribra orbitalia, vertebral body osteochondrosis. Trauma: blade injury. Wenham (1989) burial V, fatal cranial injury. See Griffiths (Appendix 1). Radiocarbon dated (Griffiths 2007: 28): 1135 ± 26 BP before calibration. After calibration: AD 858 to AD 985 (89.6% probability), AD 915 to AD 969 (52.3% probability).

J38. Disturbed. WNW-ESE, ?, 0.51.
Human bone: 9yrs. 50% complete. Preservation poor. Slight periodontal disease.

J39. ?, ?, 0.61. Not located on plan.
Human bone: <17yrs. Preservation poor.

Additional bones: Ad. 25-35yrs; ?Fe 20-25yrs; F 45+.

J40. W?, ?, 0.51.
Human bone: M Ad.

J41. (L3). Probably part of K14. WSW, extended, ?
Human bone: ?F 35-45yrs. 30% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: mild cribra orbitalia.
Additional bones: unidentified.

J42. ?, ?, ? Not located on plan (beyond western edge of excavation).
Human bone: M Ad. 1.73m. 30% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: periostitis of the right tibia. Mild osteophytosis on the spine.

J43. Disturbed. Buried in brown soil and demolition debris over hypocaust in Rm 124. W-E, ?, ?
Human bone: 12+. Preservation poor.
Grave goods
SFB 490 (Figure 4.9). Fragmentary iron knife. Blade with a curved back and straight cutting edge. Evison's type 4. Length of blade approx. 125mm, length of tang approx. 36mm, width of blade 20mm.

J44. ?, ?, 0.43. Not located on plan.
Human remains lost.

[**J45 & J46**. Disturbed bones found over the line of the north wall of Room 123, probably the same burial.]

J45. NW-SE, ?, 0.30.
Human bone: subadult.

J46. NW-SE, ?, 0.30.
Human bone: subadult.

J47. WSW-ENE, ?, 0.56. Not located on plan.
Human bone: 1-2yrs. 50% complete. Preservation good.
Additional bone: Ad.

J48. ?, ?, 0.61. Not located on plan.
Human remains lost.

J50. ?, ?, 0.18. Not located on plan.
Human remains lost.

J53. ?, ?, 0.30. Not located on plan.
Human remains lost.

J54. Gully or pit contained bones from several individuals, charnel? NW-SE, ?, 0.64.
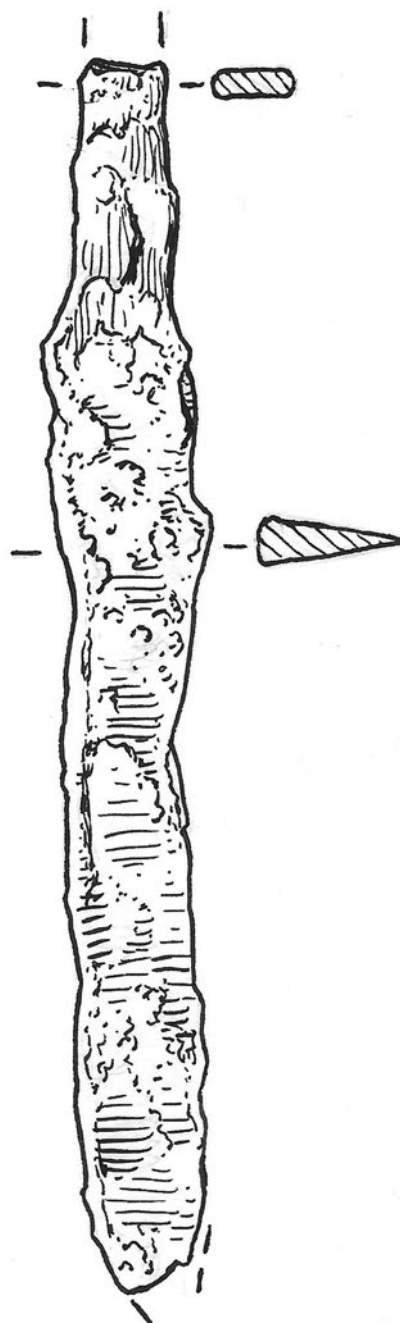
Figure 4.9. Knife (J43) (1:1).

Human remains lost.

K01. (L2). Above K19. W, extended, ?
Human bone: F 26-36yrs. 1.71m. 90% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: cribra orbitalia, periostitis, bilateral sacralisation on L5 on right side.

K02. (L2). WNW, extended, ?
Human bone: F 18-25yrs. 40% complete. Preservation good. Abscess on mandible right first molar. Supernumerary tooth posterior to left canine and

lateral incisor. Carious lesion inter-proximal on right mandibular 2nd premolar.

K03. Disturbed. (L2). W, extended, ?
Human bone: F 26-35yrs. 30% complete. Preservation moderate. Medium calculus. Pathology: periostitis, spinal joint disease.

K04. Disturbed. Below J21. (L2). WSW, extended, ?
Human bone: M 26-35yrs. 1.71m. 60% complete. Preservation excellent. Dental abscess under left mandibular M1 (lost pre-mortem). Pathology: cortical defects in both attachments of the biceps brachii on the radius, more severe on left side. Unicameral cyst on left ilium with degenerative changes in both acetabulum, worse on left side.

K05. Disturbed. (L2). Stratigraphic relationship with K15 unknown. WSW, extended, ?
Human bone: ?M 13-17yrs. 1.70m. 70% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: oblique fracture to the right tibia. Spondylolysis of L5.

K06. (L2). WSW, extended, ?
Human bone: M 46+yrs. 1.64m. 90% complete. Preservation excellent. Mild enamel hypoplasia. Pathology: osteoarthritis of spinal facets. Severe osteophytosis and lipping of lumbar vertebrae. Reactive lesions on anterior surface of vertebral bodies, fusion of 11th and 12th thoracic vertebrae. Differential diagnosis: severe erosive spinal joint disease or tubercular osteomyelitis.

K07. Disturbed. (L2). Stratigraphic relationship with J22 unknown. WSW, extended, ?
Human bone: F Ad. 1.69m. 40% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: severe osteoarthritis of the right femur, lateral condyle, with depression above the articular facet possibly caused by trauma to patella with secondary osteoarthritis to the knee. Intervertebral osteochondrosis and spondylosis deformans on the spine.
Additional bones: Ad.
Grave goods (possibly enclosed in box above the burial)
SFB 458 (Figure 4.10). Copper alloy buckle and plate. The loop is D-shaped in outline and plano-convex in section; it is incised with four sets of three transverse grooves. The tongue is plano-convex in section and at its anchorage flattens and is wrapped around the loop. It shows traces of gilding and is decorated near the anchorage by a set of three incised transverse grooves. Sheet metal plate, rectangular in outline, is folded around the loop to form a backplate, pierced with a rectangular perforation to accommodate the tongue. The backplate is narrower and longer than the openwork top-plate and is pierced centrally by two pairs of circular perforations, one set at its far edge and the other in its centre; two contain rivets that would have secured the plates to the belt. The far set of rivets appear to have also secured a separate piece
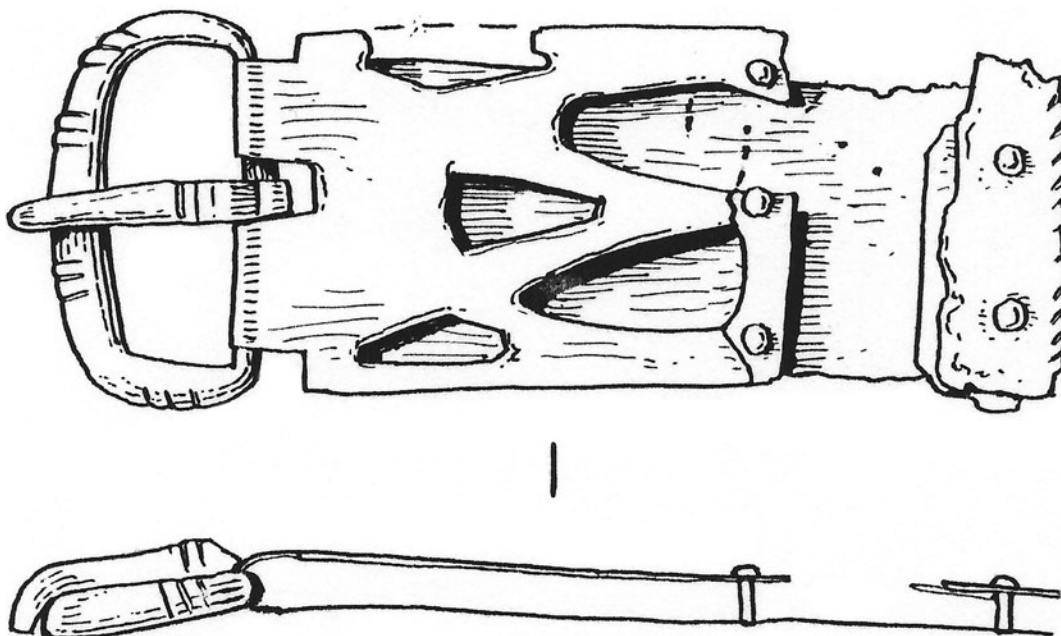
Figure 4.10. Buckle (3:1), antler disc, copper alloy disc and two rings (K07) (all 1:1) (continued page 107).

the plate's edge. Marzinzik Type II.26. Total length 47mm, length of top plate 24mm, length of back plate 36mm, width of top plate 17mm, width of back plate 16mm, thickness 4mm; length of loop 11mm, height 20mm, thickness 1mm.

SFB 451 (Figure 4.10). An annular antler disc perforated with a large central hole, which is decorated by an irregularly-spaced ring and dot pattern. There are four, originally 12, small holes, (approx. 2.5 - 4mm in diameter), each spaced at approx. 15mm around the periphery, which would have enabled it to be secured to a receptacle. Deposits of iron oxide indicate that iron rings or links performed this task. Diameter 76mm, diameter of central hole 30mm, thickness 4mm.

SFB 452 (Figure 4.10). Openwork copper alloy disc. Flat annular disc with seven sub-triangular cut-outs pointing to its centre. The underneath has four regularly spaced cast attachment points (each approx. 6mm long), which probably secured it to a bag or purse. A central attachment point has been filed down; two outer rivets have also been filed down. Diameter 43mm, thickness 2mm.

SFB 454 (Figure 4.10). Iron ring. Circular in outline and section. Diameter 57mm.

SFB 454b (Figure 4.10). Iron ring. Circular in outline, rectangular section. Replaced organic remains: double-thread tie. Diameter 54mm.

of the top plate. The openwork top plate is decorated by two triangular cut-outs. The space between them is filled by a further cut-out triangle with its points facing towards the centre of the plate. This is flanked by two pear-shaped cut-outs one of which has broken through

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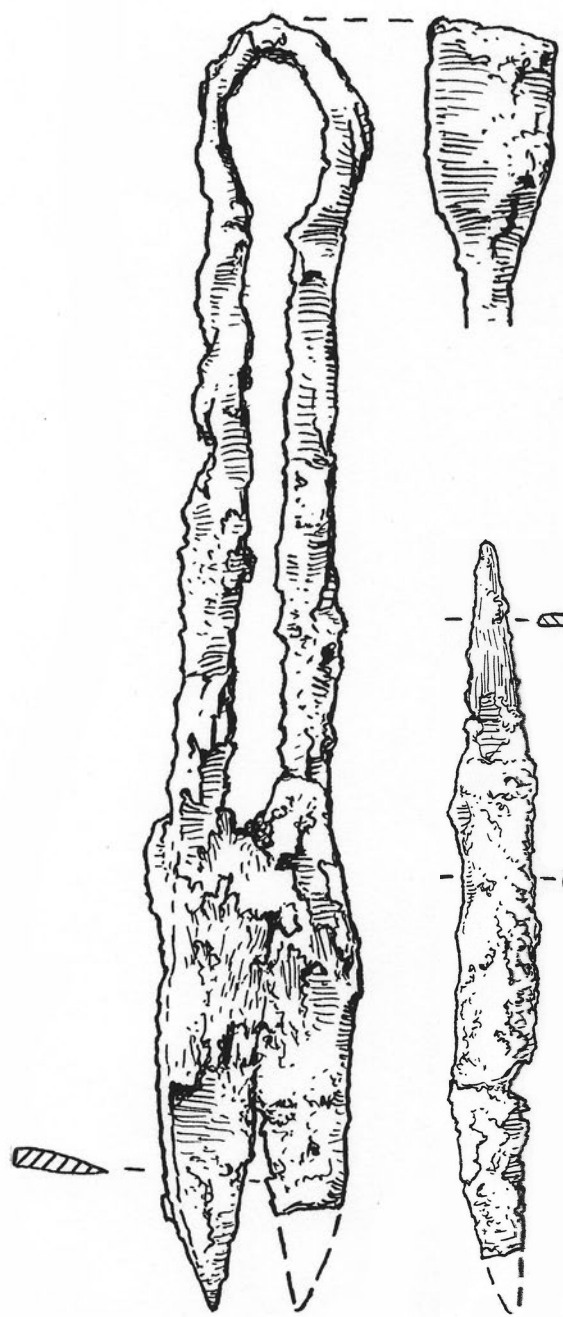
SFB 453 (Figure 4.11). Fragmentary iron shears. Circular sectioned stems flatten and widen towards the U-shaped bow. The two opposing blades of unequal size have straight cutting edges with backs curving inwards at the tips. Length from tip of longest blade to loop 17.2mm, width of loop 23mm, width of blade 12mm.

SFB 454a (Figure 4.11). Yellow/brown clay spindle whorl. Circular in outline, circular central perforation. Convex uneven surface. Diameter 36mm, diameter of central hole approx. 10mm, width 13mm.

SFB 450c (Figure 4.11). Iron sharpening steel/firesteel. Curved at top with a dome-headed copper alloy? rivet, blade tapers to a chiselled tip. Length 108mm, width 11mm, thickness 3mm.

SFB 450d (Figure 4.11). Fragmentary iron knife. Parallel sided blade with beginnings of an angled back. Evison Type 5. Length approx. 95mm, length of tang 36mm, width 12mm, thickness 3mm.

K08. (L2). SW, extended, ?
Human bone: M 18-25yrs. 50% complete. Preservation poor. Dental abscess on maxillary left 1st molar leading to oroantral fistula with subsequent maxillary sinusitis infection. Pathology: cribra orbitalia.

K09. Badly disturbed, skull only. (L2). ?, ?, ?
Human bone: Ad. 25-35yrs. Medium calculus, medium hypoplasia. Non-metric traits: mastoid foramen sutural, single condylar facet, precondylar tubercle, single anterior condylar canal.

K10. Badly disturbed. (L2). Not located on plan.
Human bone: ?F 46+yrs. 1.66m. 60% complete. Preservation poor. Schmorls nodes, malformed teeth.

K11. Badly disturbed, long bones only. (L2). W-E, ?, ?
Human bone: Ad. Preservation poor. Pathology: periostitis.
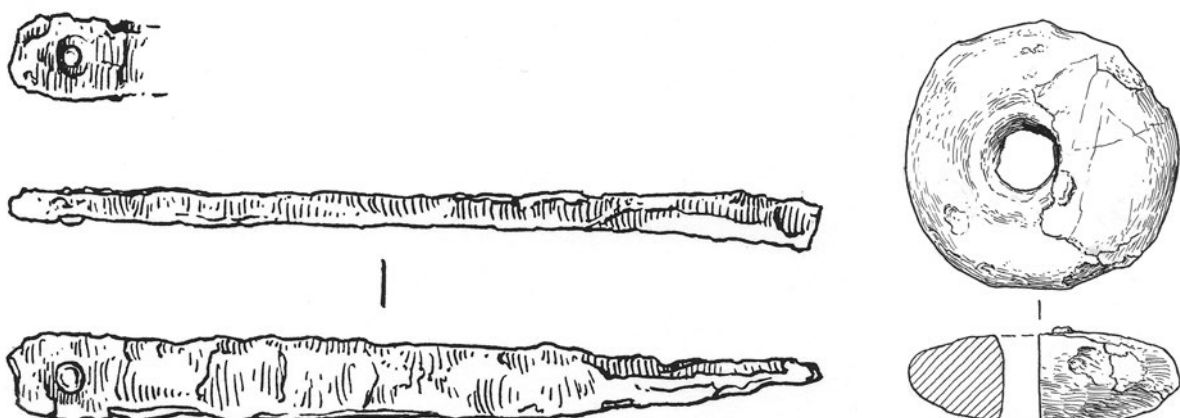
Figure 4.11. Shears, spindle whorl, sharpening steel and knife (K07) (all 1:1).
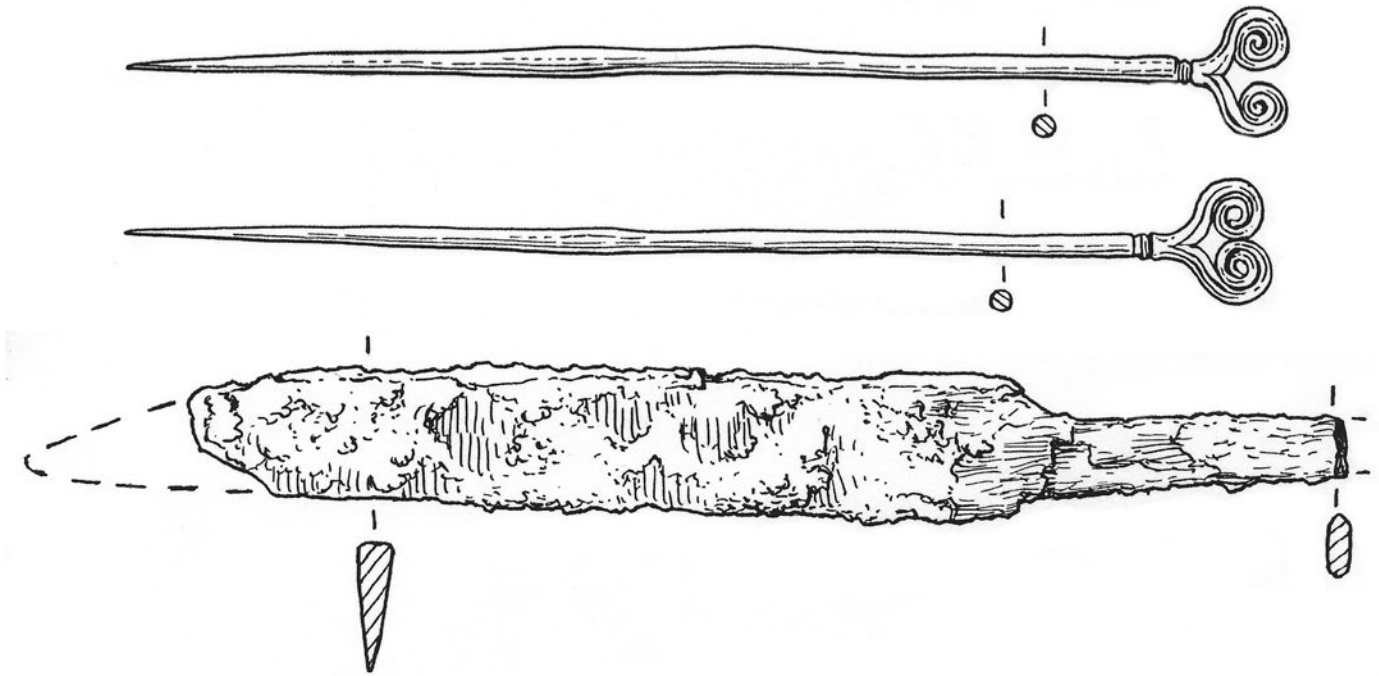
Figure 4.12. Pair of silver pins and knife (K12) (pins 2:1, knife 1:1).

K12. W, extended, 0.51m.

Human bone: 3 years. 40% complete.

Grave goods

SFB 462 (Figure 4.12). Pair of identical silver pins found side by side on the upper left chest (Figure 4.13). The shank, circular in section, thickens before it tapers to a point. The upper end of the shank is split into two wires which are incoiled to form a heart-shaped spiral head. Ross Type LXVI.ii. Length 77mm, width of head 9mm, width of shaft 2mm.

SFB 491 (Figure 4.12). A fragmentary iron knife: curved back, straight cutting edge. Evison Type 4? Length of blade 116mm, length of tang 41mm, width of blade 19mm, thickness 6mm.

K13. Badly disturbed, skull only (L2).

Human bone: ?M 20-25yrs. Non-metric traits: lambdoid ossicle, parietal foramen, parietal notch bone (L), ossicle at asterion (L), mastoid foramen exsutural, post condylar facet patent, single condylar facet, anterior condylar canal single, foramen ovale, foramen spinosum, multiple zygomatico facial foramen, frontal foramen, anterior ethmoid foramen sutural, accessory infraorbital foramen sutural.

K14. (L3). Probably includes J41. SW, ?, ?

Human bone: mature Ad. Preservation poor. Loose dentition. Upper R. M2, lower M3's carious, slight periodontal disease, slight calculus.

Grave goods

Iron knife (no SFB, lost). Parallel to left side of body.

Figure 4.13. Burial K12 showing pins *in situ*.

K15. (L3). Stratigraphic relationship with K05 unknown, partially excavated. WSW, extended, ?

Human bone: F 25-35yrs. Preservation poor. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus, slight hypoplasia. Non-metric traits: parietal foramen (R), metopism, mastoid foramen exsutural, post condylar foramen, foramen ovale complete, accessory lesser palatine foramen, frontaI foramen, anterior ethmoid foramen sutural, post ethmoid foramen sutural. Pathology: supernumerary cervical vertebra, cribra orbitalia, partial collapse of lower thoracic vertebral bodies and collapse of central bodies L5 and L4: possible osteoporosis, osteoarthritis, spina bifida occuIta.

K16. Disturbed. (L3). SW, extended, ?

Human bone: F 46+yrs. Preservation moderate-good. Medium periodontal disease, medium calculus, slight hypoplasia. Non-metric traits: highest nuchal line, ossicle at lambda, lambdoid ossicle (R), coronal ossicle (R), mastoid foramen exsutural, condylar facet single, anterior condylar canal single, foramen ovale complete, zygomaticofacial foramen single, supra orbital foramen complete, anterior ethmoid foramen sutural, posterior ethmoid foramen exsutural. Pathology: periostitis, traumatic swelling of the left tibia, possible metastatic carcinoma (also reported by Manchester 1983).

K16A. (L3). W, extended, ?

Human bone: M 25-35yrs. Preservation excellent. Considerable periodontal disease, considerable calculus, slight hypoplasia. Non-metrical traits: highest nuchaI line, parietal foramen, metopism, parietal notch, mastoid foramen exsutural, single condylar facet, single anterior condylar canal, foramen ovale complete, accessory lesser palatine foramen, zygomatico-facial foramen, frontal foramen, posterior ethmoid foramen. Pathology: periostitis, rib fracture, osteoarthritis, Schmorls nodes.

K17. (L3). WSW, extended, 0.79.

Human bone: 12yrs. 70% complete. Preservation moderate. Slight calculus. Pathology: failure of posterior laminal fusion of S1.

K18. (L2). Above K19 WSW, extended, 0.79.

Human bone: ?M 25-45yrs. 1.69m. 40% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: small osseous growth on cranium located on sagittal suture mid parietal.

K19. Disturbed, below K01 & K18. (L3). Skull missing, probably J05. NW, extended 'ankles tied', 0.79. (Figure 4.14)

Human bone: Ad. 50% complete. Preservation poor. Pathology: vertebral osteophytosis.

Grave goods

SFB 458 (Figures 4.15-4.17). Copper alloy buckle. Buckle with plate at the waist, horizontal (Figure 4.19). The following description is an edited version of the text Sonia Hawkes published in 1973. The compressed oval loop, cast in coppery bronze, has a hoop of hemispherical section, ornamented by twelve groups of transverse grooves, and a round sectioned bar for attaching tongue and plate. The tongue, cast with a stout attachment loop and a decorative stop-ridge, which abuts the mid-rib on the plate, terminates in a stylized eyeless animal head with a blunt snout and single neck ring. The composite plate has as its basis a parallel-sided strip of stout sheet bronze, more brassy in appearance and in a better state of

Figure 4.14. Burial K19.
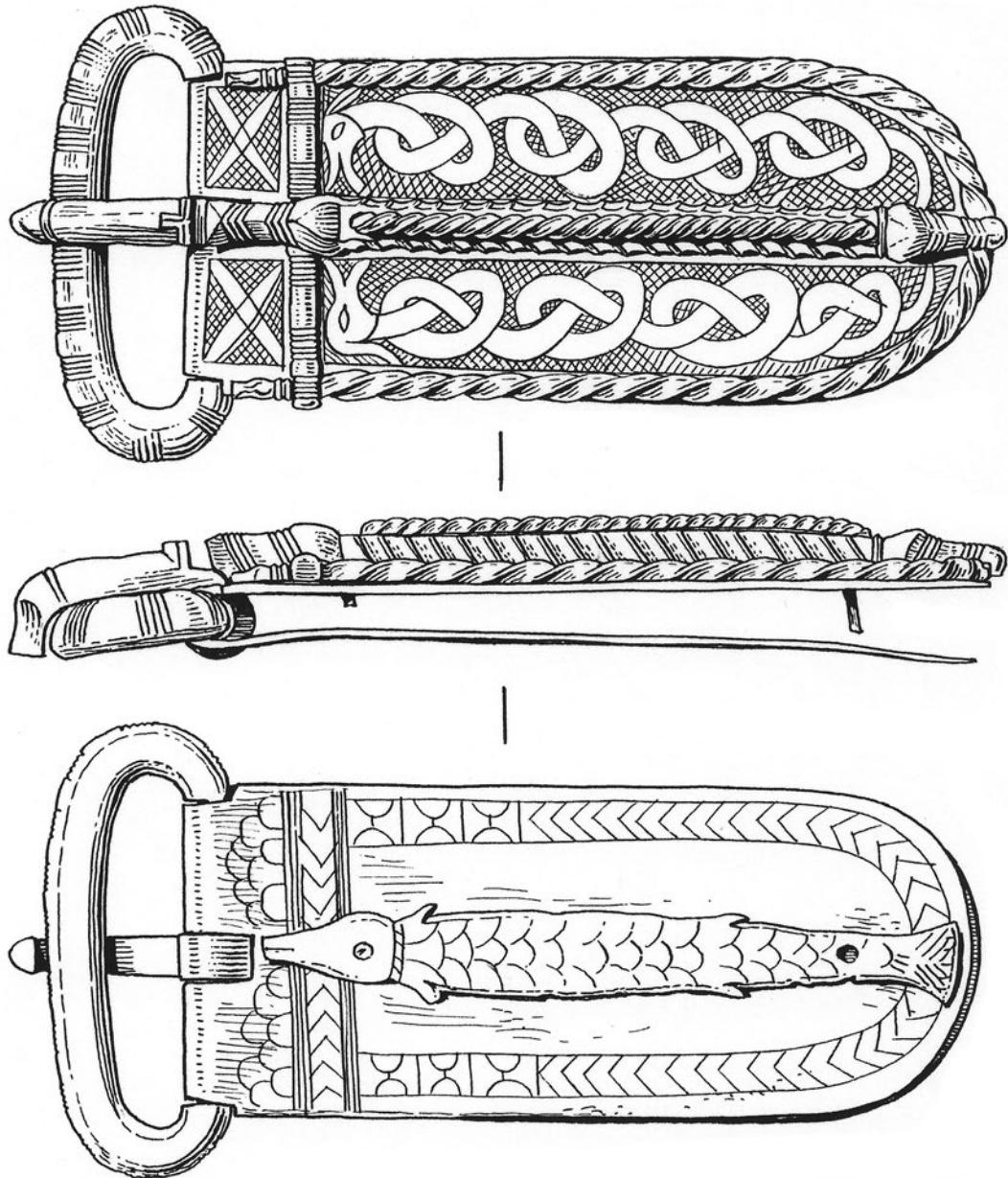
Figure 4.15. Buckle (K19): front, side and rear views (2:1).

preservation than either loop or tongue, which, after its ends had been neatly rounded and middle portions cut away to accommodate the tongue and sides of the loop, was doubled over the buckle's bar. Before it was folded the parts destined to become the front and back of the finished plate were both decorated with engraved work, and that on the front is remarkable for its design and fine execution. Here the ornament is divided, by plain bands and border, into four panels; at the tongue end, two small rectangles with diagonal crosses on a cross hatched ground and, running down the length of the plate, twin panels containing zoomorphic ornament again with a background of cross hatching, in an insular variant of Salin's style II. Fronting each other from their respective panels are

identical creatures: their heads with lentoid eyes, ears and open jaws; their bodies limbless and serpentine, loosely knotted four times. The jeweller calculated the size and placing of the plain borders and divisions very exactly, so that when he added to the plate its composite structure of relief ornament - the buckle's most unusual feature - none of the engraved work was obscured. Around the rim was placed a U-shaped band, cast with hemispherical section in imitation of twisted wire, which has tiny stylized animal heads with collared necks at either end where this frame abutted on the buckle loop. Immediately behind these heads, and at the centre of the curved end, are square sectioned slots that were made to interlock with matching slots under the ends of the cross bar
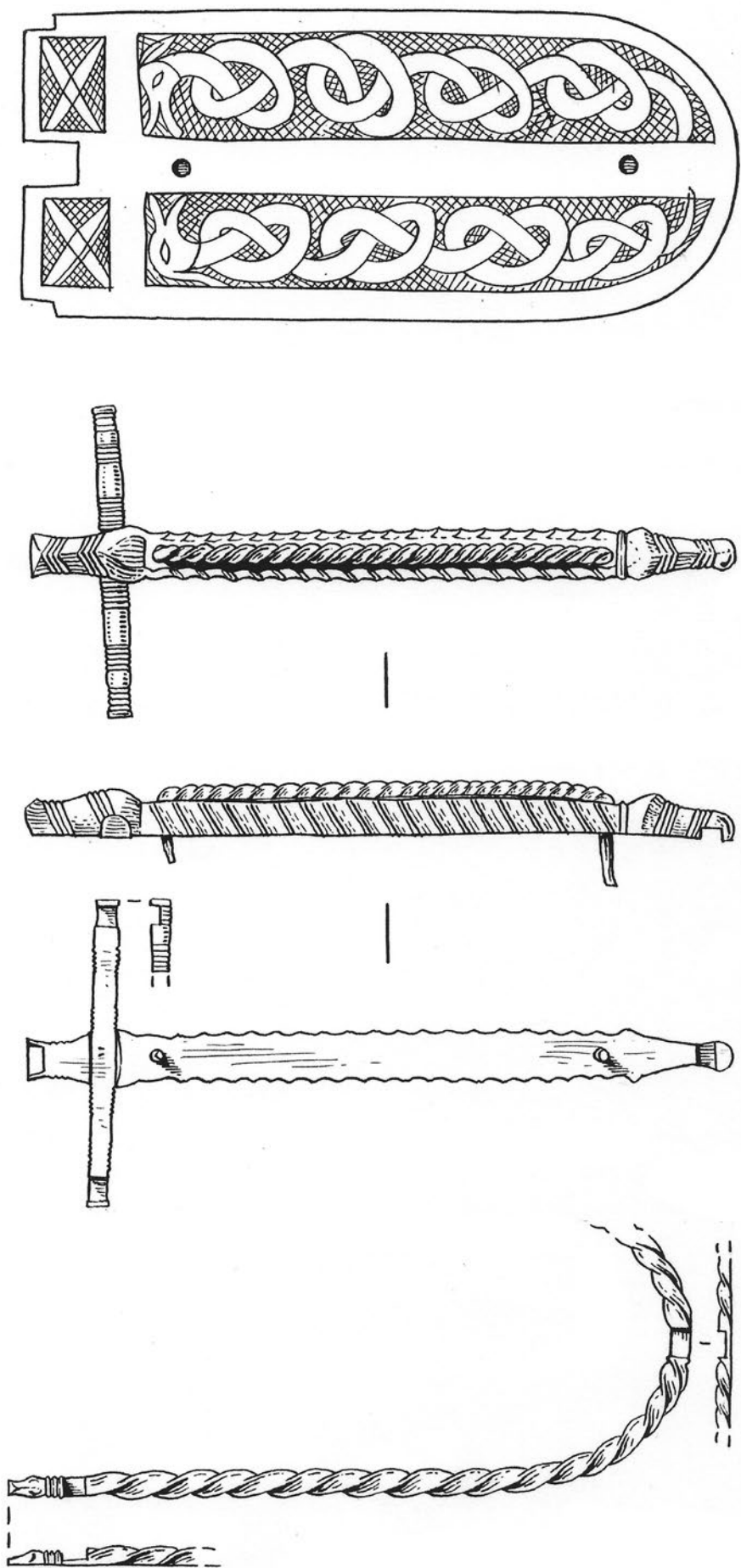
Figure 4.16. Buckle (K19): front view with the band and relief ornament removed; three views of the mid-rib and bar; the U-shaped band (2:1).
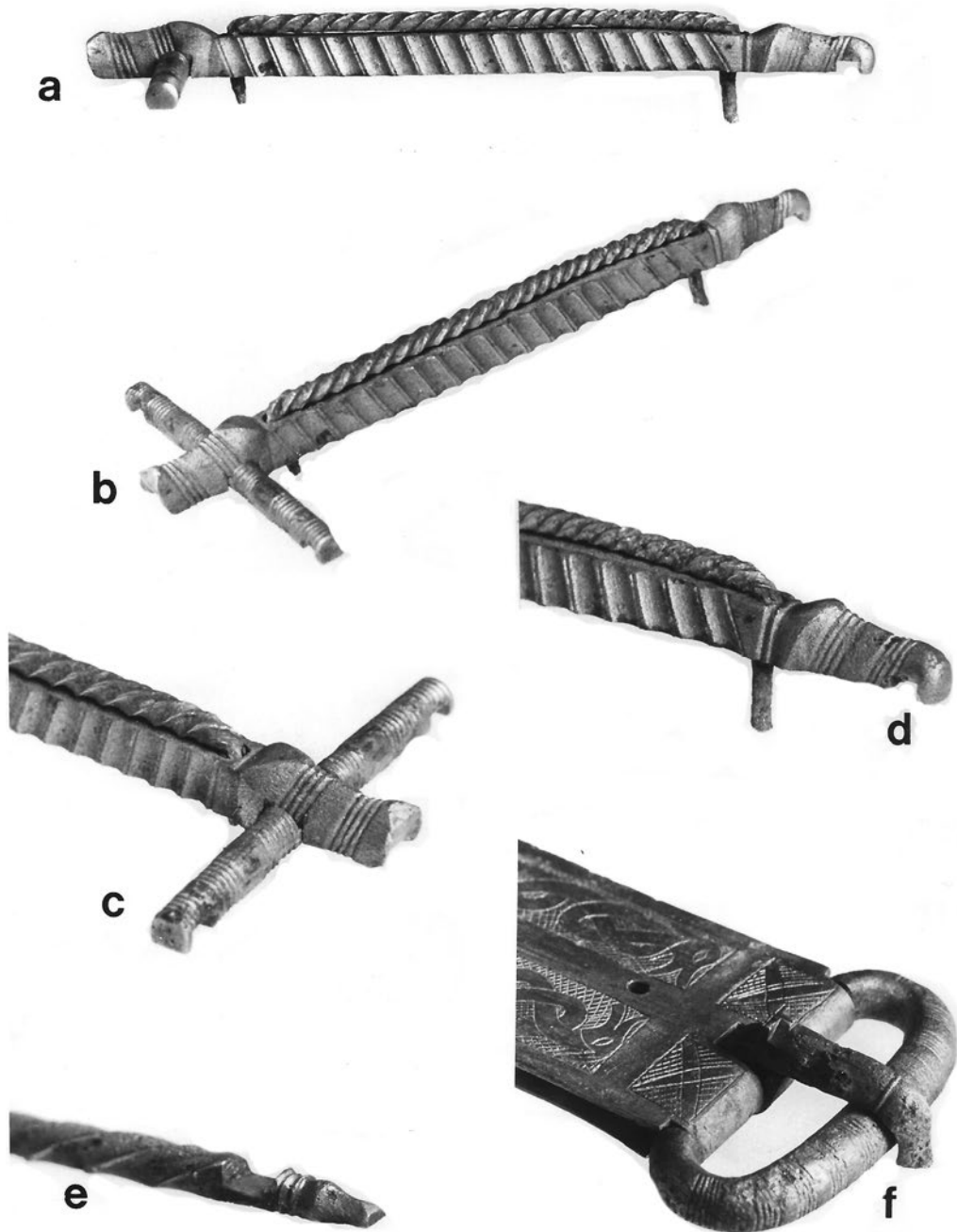
Figure 4.17. Buckle (K19) a and b the mid-rib and bar; c and d the animal-head terminals of the mid-rib; e one of the animal-head terminals on the U-shaped band; f the animal-head on the tongue (2:1).

and mid-rib, which fitted on top. This mid-rib with bar is itself composite in structure. The mid-rib, cast in brassy bronze, consists essentially of a bar with sloping, diagonally fluted, sides and stylized, decoratively grooved, animal-head terminals; the head at the buckle end having a blunt, the other a down-curving muzzle. The latter locks with the outer frame, as described above; the former has a rounded groove underneath, which still grips the middle of the ornamentally grooved cross-bar, the ends of which, in their turn, lock with the outer framework. Although the outer frame had been brazed to the plate and the cross-bar to the mid-rib, the structure as a whole was chiefly held together by an ingenious form of riveting,

at once functional and decorative. A piece of cast, twist-ornamented, wire forms a crest on top of the mid-rib, and its plain tapered ends are bent at right-angles to pass through rivet holes drilled behind each animal head. They project at the back sufficiently to pass through matching rivet-holes in the plate itself, thus securing not only the mid-rib - the uppermost element in the composition of relief ornament - to the front plate, but also both plates to the belt originally sandwiched between them. As a final touch, the rivets were reinforced at the back by a washer in the form of a fish - perhaps a pike - made of coppery sheet bronze. This is now rather fragile and marred by corrosion, but its jaw, eye, fins, engraved scales and tail were

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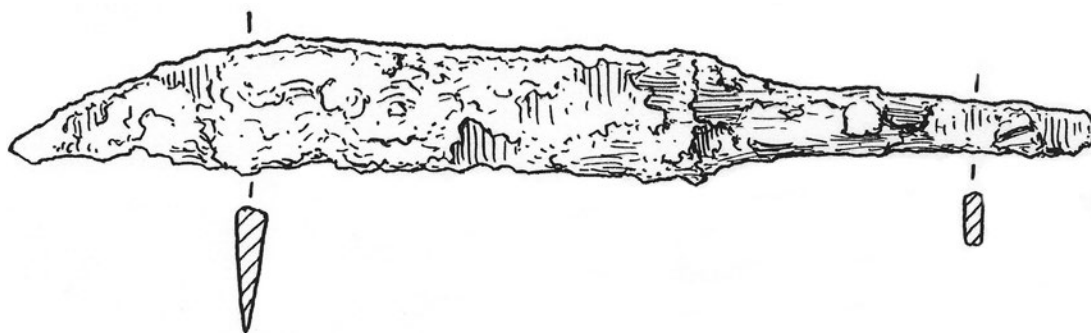
Figure 4.18. Knife (K19) (1:1).

Figure 4.19. K19 showing buckle and knife *in situ*.

originally most precisely shown. It lies along the centre of the back plate, head towards buckle, with the head of one rivet forming its eye and the hole for the other appearing just above its tail. The fish overlies part of the engraved work on the back plate, but this consists merely of simple border patterns; of scales, of chevrons, and of linked half-circles that imitate motifs used in cloisonné work. The workmanship here, though competent, has not the delicacy and precision of that on the front plate. Overall length 69mm; length of plate 57mm, width of plate 24mm, length of loop 9mm, height 32mm.

SFB 450A (Figure 4.18). Iron knife. At waist to the left of the buckle. A curved back, straight cutting edge corresponding to Evison's type 4. Flat and tapered tang. Length of blade 95mm, length of tang 47mm, width of blade 18mm, thickness 3mm.

K20. (L3). WNW, extended, 0.79.
Human bone: Ad. 20% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: depression on right femur inside joint capsule. Possible trauma causing patella to crush into femur.

K21. Disturbed, possibly part of L21. WSW, ?, 0.64.
Human bone: F 18-25yrs. 60% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: sacralisation of the 5th lumbar vertebra.

K22. (L3). WNW, extended, 0.61.
Human bone: F 18-25yrs. 1.63m. 90% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: bilateral spondylolysis of 5th lumbar vertebra. Extensive periostitis on left fibula with small areas on both distal tibiae. Extensive area of woven bone formation on left calcaneus lateral side. Possible rounding of the nasal aperture.

K23. SW, extended, 0.74.
Human bone: ?M 46+. 70% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: fusion of the pubic symphysis, well healed rib fractures, sever osteoarthritis of both glenoid fossae, humeral heads and medial end of right clavicle. Osteophytic growths on lumbar vertebrae.

K24. WNW, extended, 0.74. Immediately above K25.
Human remains lost.

K25. WNW, extended, 0.74. Immediately under K24.
Human bone: 18-25yrs. 30% complete. Preservation good.

K26. W, extended, 0.74.
Human bone: F 36-45yrs. 1.65m. 60% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: periostitis on both tibia and fibula. Osteochondrosis dissecans on right tibia. General lipping and enthesophyte presence on lumbers. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).

K27. ?, ?, 0.74. Skull observed, location unknown.
Human remains lost.

K28. Partially excavated (lower half). W, ?, 0.66.
Human bone: Ad. Preservation poor. Pathology: periostitis.

K29. Disturbed, partially excavated (uppermost), skull only. W, ?, ?.
Human remains lost.

K30. W, extended, 0.81.
Human bone: ?F 26-45yrs. 1.66m. 80% complete. Preservation excellent. Mild calculus. Pathology: cribra orbitalia and hyper porosity of the parietals. Extensive new bone formation on inside of the ribs, predominantly focused on the vertebral ends, possibly a long-standing infection. Schmorls nodes.

K31. Badly disturbed. (L3). WSW, ?, ?.
Human bone: ?F 36-45. Preservation good. Medium periodontal disease, medium calculus.
Non-metric traits: parietal foramen, epipteric bone, mastoid foramen exsutural, posterior condylar foramen (R), single condylar facet, precondylar tubercle, anterior condylar canal single (R), anterior ethmoid foramen sutural, posterior ethmoid foramen sutural. Pathology: spina bifida occulta, osteoarthritis, spinal joint disease.

K32. Double burial. Above K33. SW, extended, 0.61.
Human bone: Ad. 15% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: spondylosis deformans, Schmorls node.
ii 8-9yrs, 10% complete. Preservation moderate.

K33. Disturbed, below K32. WSW, extended, ?
Human bone: ?F 26-35yrs. 1.59m. 70% complete. Preservation excellent. Dental caries. Pathology: cribra orbitalia in left orbit (right missing). Porosity of the skull on parietals. Lytic destruction in right acetabulum.

K34. Disturbed, almost directly below K35. WSW, extended, 0.71.
Human bone: M 20-25yrs. Preservation good. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus, hypoplasia.
Non-metric traits: parietal foramen, mastoid foramen, extrasutural, supraorbital foramen complete, frontal foramen. Pathology: sacralisation, periostitis, blade injury. Wenham (1989) burial VI, fatal cranial injury. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).

K35. Disturbed. Almost directly above K34. WSW, extended, 0.66.
Human bone: 8yrs. 70% complete. Preservation good.

K36. Partially excavated. Above K37. WSW, extended, 0.71.
Human bone: M 46+yrs. 1.68m. 80% complete. Preservation good. One large carious lesion. Pathology: both calcanei and tali display severe osteophytic lipping combined with subchondral cysts and eburnation: osteoarthritis. Well healed periostitis on right tibia and fibula central shaft both medial and laterally on the anterior surface.

K37. Disturbed. Below K36. WSW, extended, 0.91.
Human bone: F Ad.
Grave goods
SFB 456 (Figure 4.20). Fragmentary iron knife. Angled back, straight cutting edge, welding line visible where the blade joins back. Evison Type 5. Length of blade 80mm, length of tang 33mm, width of blade 13mm, thickness 3mm.
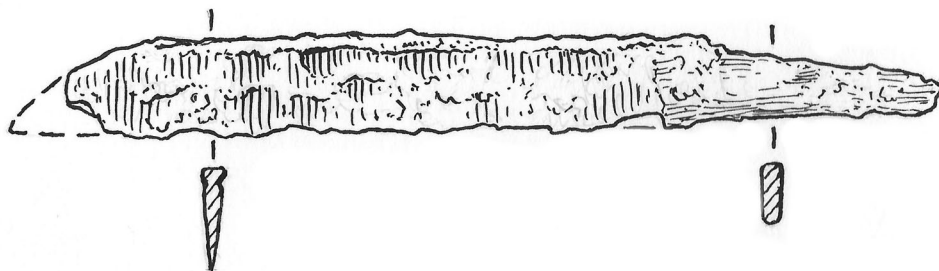
Figure 4.20. Knife (K37) (1:1).

K38. Partially excavated. WSW, extended, 0.61.
Human bone: M 26-35yrs. 50% complete. Pathology: five broken ribs on the left side. Well healed but with poor apposition causing false facets between three of them. Fractured, well healed left scapula.

K39. Partially excavated. WSW, extended, 0.61.
Human bone: ?F 18-22yrs. Preservation moderate-poor. Medium periodontal disease, slight hypoplasia, supernumerary tooth. Non-metric traits: parietal foramen, mastoid foramen exsutural, zygomatico facial foramen, supra orbital foramen incomplete. Pathological lesion: early cribra orbitalia.

K40. Partially excavated. WSW, extended, 0.76.
Human bone: F 26-35yrs. 1.65m. 60% complete. Preservation good. Mild calculus.

K41. ?, ?, 0.61. Not located on plan.
Human bone: Immature.

K42. Disturbed, partially excavated, in 'rubbish filling layer.' SW-NW, ?, 0.61.
Human bone: F 35-45yrs. Preservation moderate-good. Considerable periodontal disease, medium calculus. Pathology: spinal joint disease, osteoarthritis of right and left femoral heads, right and left elbow and right and left shoulder.
Grave goods
SFB 438 (Figure 4.21). Fragmentary iron key. Terminal missing, shank rectangular in section, widens to a rectangular bit pierced by a sub-rectangular ward. Length 100mm, width 34mm.
SFB 437. Iron knife (lost).

L01. Above L54. W, extended, 0.43.
Human bone: ?M 46+yrs. 30% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: sinusitis of both maxillary sinuses. Osteoarthritis of the right distal radioulna joint, possible due to Colles's fracture of the right radius. Additional bones: Ad.
Grave goods
SFB 473 (Figure 4.22). A fragmentary pair of iron shears: square-sectioned stems flatten towards a U-shaped bow. The two opposing blades of unequal length have straight cutting edges, with backs curving inwards at, broken, tips. Length 152mm, width (of loop) 23mm, width (of blade) 12mm.
SFB 474 (Figure 4.22). Iron knife. A curved back, straight cutting edge. Evison Type 4. Length of blade 70mm,
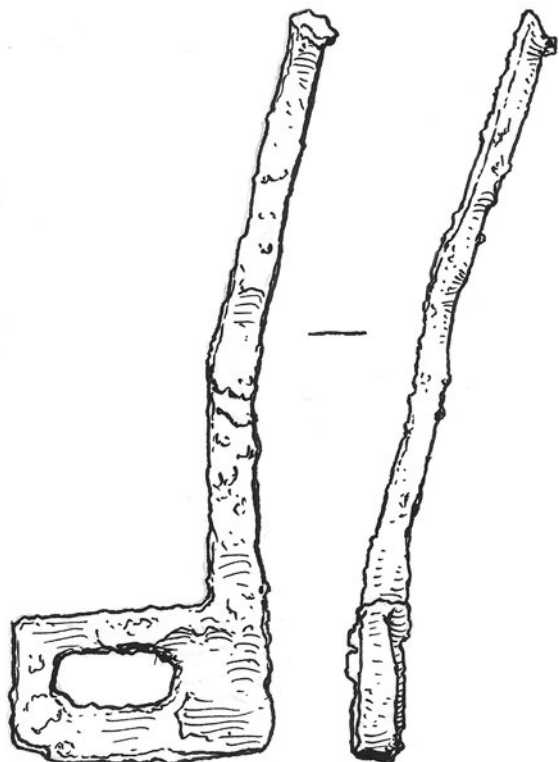
Figure 4.21. Key (K42) (1:1).
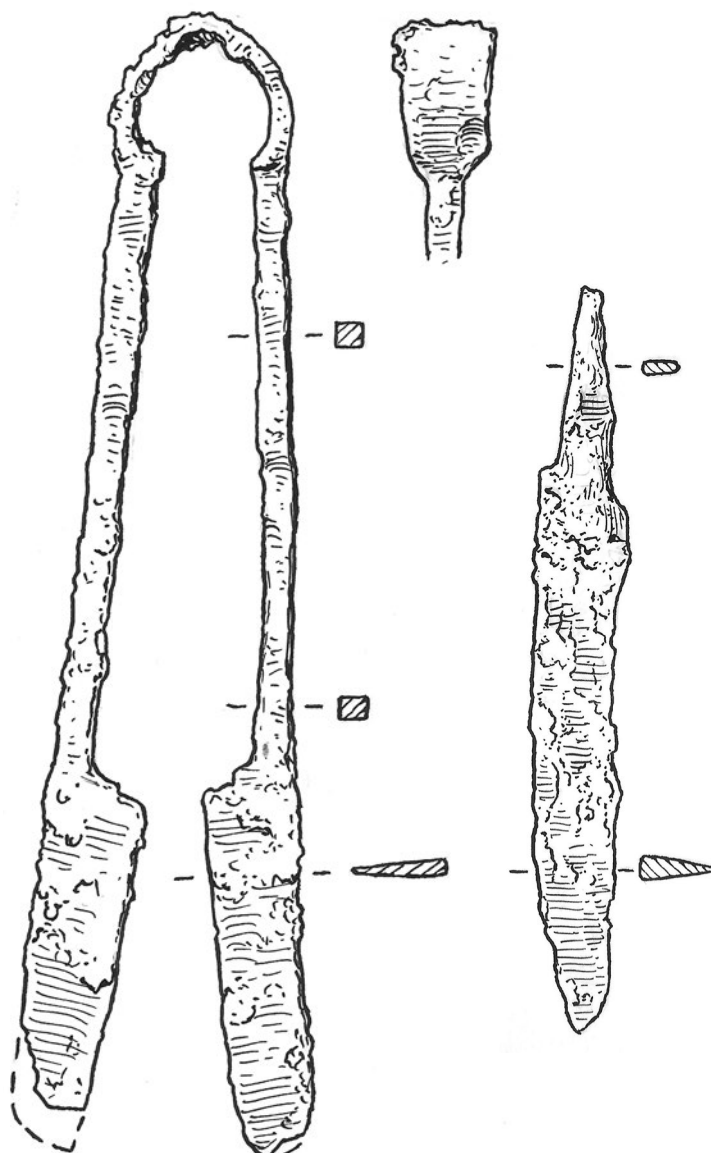
Figure 4.22. Shears and knife (L01) (both 1:1).

length of tang 23mm, width of blade 12mm, thickness 3mm.
Iron nails (SFB 489) (lost)
Iron stud (no SFB) (lost).

L02. Double burial. WSW, ?, ?
Human bone: ?F 46+yrs. 1.66m. 60% complete. Preservation poor. Pathology: dense bony growth on right temporal inside cranium located anterior and lateral to the petrous portion of the temporal bone, possible extradural haemorrhage.
ii. Ad. 46+yrs. 40% complete. Preservation poor. Pathology: lipping and osteophytic growth on lumbar 5 with general evidence of spondylosis deformans. Schmorls nodes. Osteoarthritis of both hips with joint contour change and subchondral cysts. Formation of osteochondritis dissecans in both acetabulum. Mild osteitis of nasal surface and resorption of maxillary alveolar bone. Round punched out lesion with surrounding ring of infective bone leading through into maxillary alveolus. Possible evidence for leprosy, but no evidence of infection on feet and hands or elsewhere on the body.
Grave goods
SFB 480 (Figure 4.23). Copper alloy pin. Cast with rounded biconical head, collar with a zone of moulded beading, below a shank of circular section tapering to a point. Ross medium-biconical sub-type (LXVIIIii). Length 62mm, diameter of head 5mm, diameter of shaft 3mm.
Knife (no SFB) (lost).

L03. WSW, extended, 0.33m.
Human bone: Ad. Preservation poor. Slight calculus. Pathology: osteoarthritis.
Grave goods
SFB 469 (Figure 4.24). Iron knife: a curved back, curved cutting edge. Evison Type 1. Length of blade 59mm, length of tang 32mm, width of blade 12mm, thickness 4mm.

L04. Above L21. WSW, extended, 0.46.
Human bone: M 26-35yrs. 1.73m. 70% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: periodontal disease. Additional bones: Ad. and subadult.

L05. SW, extended, 0.46.
Human bone: F 36-45yrs. 1.65m. Preservation good. Pathology: woven and compact bone on both tibiae at distal end with same on fibula extending up the shaft. Right fibular has ossification of muscle/ligament
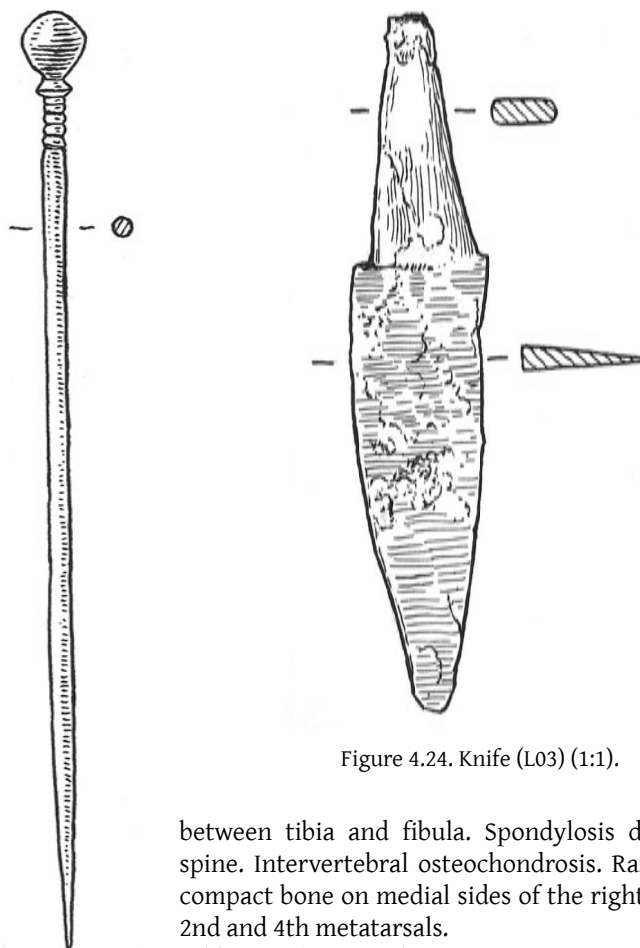
Figure 4.23. Pin (L02) (2:1).

Figure 4.24. Knife (L03) (1:1).

between tibia and fibula. Spondylosis deformans of spine. Intervertebral osteochondrosis. Raised areas of compact bone on medial sides of the right 3rd and left 2nd and 4th metatarsals.
Additional bones: Ad.

L06. Above L26. W, extended, 0.46m.
Human bone: M 20-25yrs. 1.60m. Preservation: moderate-good. Pathology: vertebral osteophytosis, osteoarthritis, osteochondritis dissecans.
ii: F 26-35yrs. 1.56m. 50% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: osteoarthritis of the right hip, with subchondral cysts and lipping. Spondylosis deformans of spine with osteophytes and lipping. Green staining to ii, copper alloy corrosion products but no object recovered.

L07. Above L20. WSW, extended, 0.46.
Human bone: Ad. 10% complete. Preservation good.

L08. Disturbed, below L09. WSW, extended, 0.56.
Human bone: Ad. 10% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: cribra orbitalia of right orbit (left missing), Schmorls nodes.

L09. Above L08 and L26. W, extended, ?
Human bone: 4-5yrs. 70% complete. Preservation good.

L10. Disturbed below knees, upper part under section. NW, extended, 0.41.
Human bone: 20-25yrs. Preservation poor.
Additional bone: Ad. and subadult.

L11. Disturbed, lower part of burial only. W, ?, 0.33.
Human bone: Ad. 10% complete. Preservation moderate. Additional bones: infant.

L12. WSW, extended, 0.46.
Human remains lost.

L13. Upper part of burial under section. W, extended, 0.33.
Human bone: ?Fe Ad. Preservation poor. Pathology: slight osteoarthritic lipping right femoral head.

L14. WSW, extended, 0.48.
Human bone: M 26-35yrs. 1.71m. 60% complete. Preservation moderate. Impacted 3rd molar.

L15. Lower part of burial under section. ?, extended, 0.46.
Human bone: ?M Ad. Preservation poor.

L16. WSW, on right side, 0.46. (Figure 4.25).
Human bone: F 36-45yrs. 70% complete. Preservation moderate. Carious lesions on all remaining teeth. Pathology: spondylosis deformans in lumbar vertebrae. Additional bones: subadult.

L17. Above L27. W, extended, 0.43.
Human bone: 9-10yrs. 80% complete. Preservation excellent. 1st molar erupted. Pathology: non-union of posterior neural arch of S1.

L18. Above L27. W-E, extended, 0.46.
Human bone: Ad. 20% complete. Preservation moderate.

L19. W, extended, 0.46.
Human bone: ?M 26-35yrs. 1.69m. 30% complete. Preservation poor. Numerous dental caries. Pathology: extensive periostitis on both tibia and fibula. Manchester (1984) recorded depressed skull fracture and cribra orbitalia, but the skull is now lost.

L20. Disturbed, below L07. SW, extended, 0.48.
Human bones: F 46+yrs. 1.66m. 40% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: fractured and well healed left rib. Possible sharp force peri-mortem trauma to lateral side of right femur, mid shaft two cut marks, hit from below in an upwards motion. Sharp clean lines on inferior edges with chip effect on upper edges making a v-shaped depression with fine cut marks at the base of the V. Spondylolisthesis (spondylolysis of L5 with the vertebral body fused to the sacrum and located anteriorly) (also reported by Manchester 1982). Extensive bilateral periostitis of both tibia and fibula. Fine woven bone at base of both with more compact bone further up the legs. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).

L21. Disturbed, legs only. Below L04. Possibly part of K21. WSW, extended, 0.61.
Human bones: ?Ad. 10% complete. Preservation moderate.

Figure 4.25. L16 on right side.

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L22. Below L30A. W, extended, 0.61.
Human remains lost.

L23. Disturbed, skull only. ?, ?, 0.61. Not located on plan.
Human bone: ?M Ad. 10% complete. Preservation good.
Pathology: osteoarthritis to both sterno-clavicular joints.

L24. WSW, extended, 0.61.
Human bone: 1-6 yrs. 20% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: periostitis on right distal tibia.

L25. WSW, extended, 0.46m.
Human bone: Ad. 40% complete. Preservation good.
Pathology: linear enamel hypoplasia.
Grave goods
SFB 477 (Figure 4.26). Fragmentary iron knife. On the left side of the chest. Fragmentary tang. Parallel sides with angled back. Evison Type 5. Welding line along back of the knife. Length of blade 116mm, length of tang approx. 25mm, width of blade 14mm, thickness 4mm.
Pottery vessel (no SFB) (Figure 4.27). Intact sandy ware tempered pot. Slightly everted rim, partially fire blackened on outside surface. Diameter of rim 86-91mm. Found very close to the right of the skull.
Pottery vessel (no SFB) (Figure 4.27). Intact sandy ware tempered pot. Slightly everted rim, partially fire blackened on outside surface. Diameter of rim 86-91mm. Found very close to the right of the skull.

L26. Below L06 and L09. W, extended, 0.71.
Human bone: F 19-22yrs. 60% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: severe osteomyelitis of the right tibia with extensive compact periostitis, and cloaca. Secondary to an oblique fracture across the proximal tibia.

L27. Below L17 and L18. W, extended, 0.71.
Human bone: Ad. 10% complete. Preservation poor.

L28. WSW, extended, 0.33.
Human bone: Ad.

L29. W, extended, 0.56.
Human bone: M Ad. Preservation poor.
ii: M Ad. Pathology: rib fracture, Schmorls nodes, periostitis, osteoarthritis.
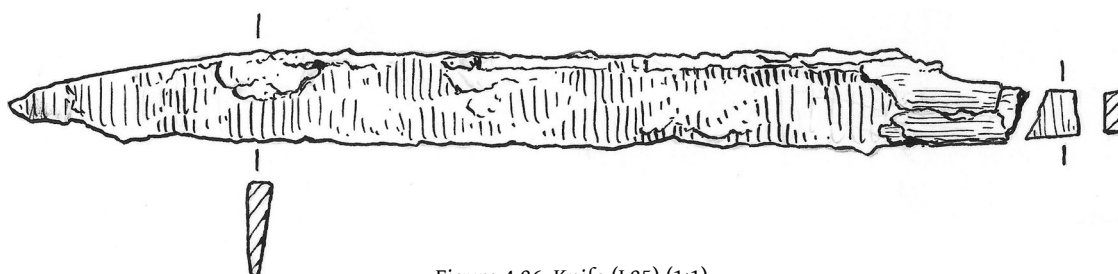
Figure 4.26. Knife (L25) (1:1).

Figure 4.27. Photo of pot in situ (L25).

L30. W, on side, 0.46.
Human bone: F 46+yrs. 10% complete. Preservation good. Considerable periodontal disease. Non-metric traits: coronal ossicle (R), zygomatico-facial foramen, accessory infraorbital foramen. Pathology: spondylolysis, spinal joint disease, osteoarthritis (R) sternoclavicular joint, periostitis, osteochondritis dissecans.

L30A. Disturbed. Above L22. W, extended, 0.46.
Human bone: subadult.

L31. WSW, on side, 0.46.
Human bone: ?F 46+yrs. 20% complete. Preservation poor. Pathology: spondylosis deformans of bodies of cervical vertebrae, sub chondral cysts and lipping with osteophyte formation. Gross rotator cuff changes, some changes present on right humeral head (patches of woven bone and nodules of bone on attachments for rotator cuff) but both scapular missing.

L32. Lower part of burial not recovered. WSW, extended, 0.46.
Human bone: ?F 46+yrs. 20% complete. Preservation moderate.
Dental abscess. Pathology: osteoarthritis in the left tempo-mandibular joint. Possible healed cranial trauma on left frontal bone. Straight edged, V-shaped depression: only a glancing blow, did not affect or penetrate the inner table of dipole. 6th and 7th cervical bodies fused together due to the collapse of C6, also fused through the facets. Differential diagnosis: osteoarthritis secondary to vertebral collapse. Evidence of inflammatory arthrosis down much of the spine. T4 collapsed on left side leading to slight scoliosis to the left. T1 has a smooth edged lytic lesion on its left side just in front of the beginning of the transverse process. Lytic destruction on many of the superior surfaces of the lumbar and thoracic vertebral bodies. Differential diagnosis: possible tuberculosis. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).

L33. WSW-ENE, ?, 0.46.
Human bone: 1-2yrs. 30% complete. Preservation good.

L34. Feet under section. WSW, extended, 0.61.
Human bone: ?M 26-35yrs. 1.77m. 80% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: spondylolysis of 5th lumbar vertebra. Ossification of muscle tissue on posterior of right femur, probable due to soft tissue trauma. Compact porous periostitis on left femur.

L35. W, extended, 0.61.
Human bone: 11-12yrs. 50% complete. Preservation moderate. Malformed erupting maxillary left M3. Maxillary sinusitis.

L36. Disturbed, skull not recovered. SW, extended, 0.81.
Human bone: ?F 36-45yrs. 1.60m. 60% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: spinal joint disease, osteochondritis dissecans, osteoma.

L37. Disturbed. Above L56, stratigraphic relationship with L44 unknown. WSW, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: ?F 18-25yrs. 30% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: spinal joint disease.

L38. Disturbed. Above L56. WSW, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: ?Ad. 20% complete. Preservation poor. Pathology: osteochondritis dissecans, osteoarthritis, chondromalacia (L) patella, spondylolysis L5.

L39. Above L41 not known. SW, extended, 0.38.
Human bone: M 46+. 80% complete. Preservation moderate. Mild dental calculus. Pathology: oblique fracture to left ulna, well healed with evidence of periosteal infection on callus: compound fracture. Active periostitis on both tibia, mostly distal but some proximal on left tibia, located anterior and medial. Also on both fibula, small areas of active periostitis mainly distal and central on the shaft. Also extensive woven bone on both calcanei on medial side as well as on the shafts of several metatarsals and two metacarpals. Woven bone also is present on both clavicles on superior anterior sides and the left scapula on inferior surface of coracoid. Maxilla missing, no evidence of palmer grooves but dorsal tarsal bar present on talus. Differential diagnosis: possible leprosy or non-specific systemic infection.
Additional bones: unidentified.

L40. Above L49. W, extended, 0.46.
Additional bones: ?F 18-20. Preservation poor. Pathology: periostitis on sacrum ?secondary to pelvic infection.

L41. Below L39. SW, extended, 0.51.
Human bone: Ad. 20% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: spondylosis deformans in spine. Woven bone on 5th left metatarsal plantar surface and on the inferior surface of the acromion.

L42. Above L64. WSW, extended, 0.20.
Human bone: 13-17yrs. 20% complete. Pathology: probable trauma to the left knee joint, crushing of patella into femur? Gross changes to the sacro-illiac joint, with fusion. Probably due to infection. Shallow acetabulum, possible hip dislocation or some kind of crushing trauma (insufficient evidence for accurate diagnosis).

L43. Above L46. W, extended, 0.46.
Human remains lost.

L44. Double burial. Above L53, stratigraphic relationship with L41 unknown. WSW, extended, 0.33.
Human bone: Ad. 46+yrs. 40% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: mild spinal joint disease: slight lipping and osteophytic growth in the lower lumbar vertebra.

ii. WSW, extended, 0.53.

Human bone: ?M Ad. 1.64m. 40% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: osteoarthritis of left hip joint. Spinal joint disease.

L45. Disturbed, only lower part of burial excavated. W, extended, ?

Human bone: ?M 36-45yrs. 1.92m. 50% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: tibial periostitis on right tibia. Skeleton stained green in places from copper alloy corrosion products.

Grave goods

SFB 484 (Figure 4.28). Copper alloy buckle and plate with traces of gilding, below left pelvis (Figure 4.29).

The loop is D-shaped in outline and convex in profile. A sheet metal plate, rectangular in outline, is wrapped around the loop to form a backplate with a circular perforation pierced through both plates to receive the anchorage of the, missing, tongue. Two flush-headed rivets at the outer corners would have secured the plates to the belt. The top plate is outlined by a single incised line extending to border part of the under plate. The top plate is also decorated by two sets of two prominent circular repoussé bosses, each flanked by lines of punched ring and dot motifs. Marzinzik's Type II.24a. Total length 66mm, width 24mm, thickness 2mm; length of loop 23mm, height 37mm, thickness 5mm.
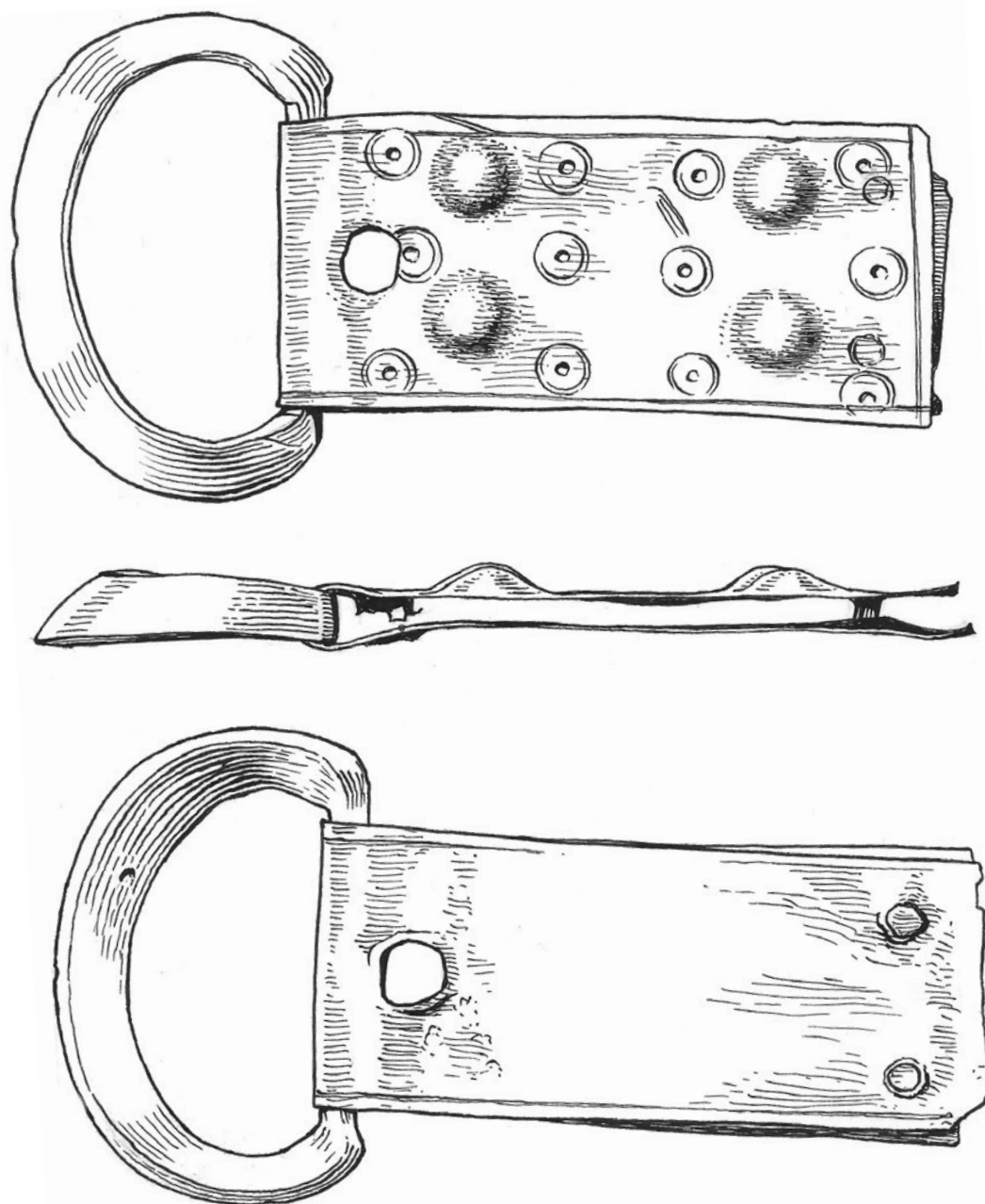
Figure 4.28. Buckle (L45) (2:1).

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Figure 4.29. L45 showing buckle *in situ*.

L46. Disturbed, below L43. W-E, ?, 0.53.
Human bone: M 36-45yrs. 1.79m. 90% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: sharp force trauma to the left frontal slicing off the top of the orbit and part of the glabella. The cut appears to have extended down to the mandible where there is a small cut mark in front of the mandibular condyle. Also has slight tibial periostitis mainly on the right tibia medial side of the medial malleolus. Wenham (1989) burial IV, fatal cranial injury. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).

L47. Above L55. NW, extended, 0.74.
Human bone: F 26-35yrs. 70% complete. Preservation excellent. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus, considerable hypoplasia. Non-metric traits: parietal foramen, mastoid foramen exsutural, precondylar tubercle, condylar facet single, anterior condylar canal single.

L48. Above L60. WSW, extended, 0.53.
Human bone: F 46+yrs. 60% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: osteoarthritis of right shoulder and both hips. Fusion of C3 and C4, collapse of L3 causing scoliosis to the left. Spondylosis deformans and osteoarthritis affecting the spine. Periostitis of both tibia distal ends.

L49. Below L40. W?, ?, 0.53.
Human bone: F 46+yrs. 1.58m. 50% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: Schmorls nodes on lumbar vertebrae. Osteoarthritis of both knees, thumbs and right shoulder, probably on left shoulder as well

but missing. The left fibula displays green staining, suggestive of a copper alloy artefact.

L50. WSW, crouched, 0.38.
Human bone: 3-4yrs. Preservation poor.

L51. SW, extended, 0.74. (Figure 4.30).
Human bone: M 18-25yrs. 1.82m. 80% complete. Preservation good. Severe dental calculus. Pathology: small compact striated area of bone on left tibia located on the central shaft medially. Sacralisation of L5 on the right side.

L52. Above L60. WSW, extended, 0.66m (Figure 4.5).
Human bone: M 18-25yrs. 40% complete. Preservation moderate.
Medium periodontal disease, slight calculus, medium enamel hypoplasia. Non-metric traits: parietal foramen coronal ossicle (R), ossicle at asterion (L), mastoid-foramen exsutural, post condylar foramen, precondylar tubercle, accessory lesser palatine foramen, frontal foramen, multiple zygomatico-facial foramen, single condylar facet. Pathology: osteitis, Schmorls nodes.
Grave goods
SFB 506 (Figure 4.31). Fragment of a cast copper alloy bracelet from under the burial. Plano-convex in section and curved with three faint facets on the decorated upper surface. At one end is an undecorated area followed by a moulding of three transverse grooves, the other end shows a moulding of two transverse grooves. A central field of ring and dot patterns, punched roughly

Figure 4.30. L51 showing position of the limbs.

in three lines, is divided by two slanting ridged lines. It is similar to many fourth-century types from Lankhills, Winchester (Hampshire). Length 55mm; width 7mm. Iron staining on head of left humerus indicating the position of a probable artefact.

L53. Disturbed, below L44. SW, extended, 0.66 (Figure 4.32).
Human bone: 8-9yrs. 10% complete. Preservation moderate.
Additional bones: Ad.
Grave goods
SFB 472 (Figure 4.33). Fragmentary iron knife, right of torso point down. Tip broken, curved back, straight cutting edge. Evison Type 4. Length of blade 111mm, length of tang 47mm, width 16mm, thickness 5mm.

L54. Disturbed, below L01. NW, ?, 0.66m (Figure 4.35).
Human bone: Ad. mature. Preservation poor. Pathology: osteoarthritis, osteochondritis dissecans, possible old capsule injury right ankle.
ii: subadult 6-8yrs. Preservation poor. Pathology: early cribra orbitalia right orbit.
Additional bones: subadult.
Grave goods
SFB 467 (Figure 4.34). Fragmentary iron knife. At waist. Tip broken, curved back and curved cutting edge. Evison Type 1. Length of blade 65mm, length of tang 28mm, width 12mm, thickness 4mm.
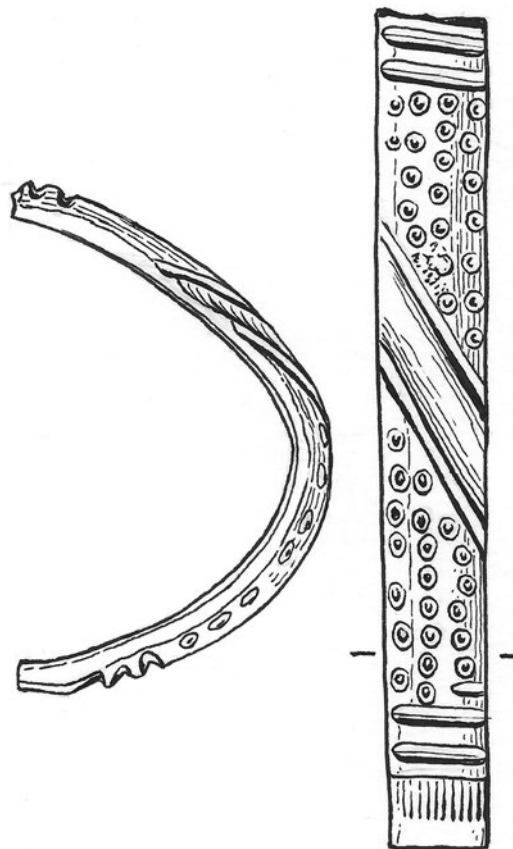
Figure 4.31. Fragment of bracelet (L52) (2:1).

Figure 4.32. L53.
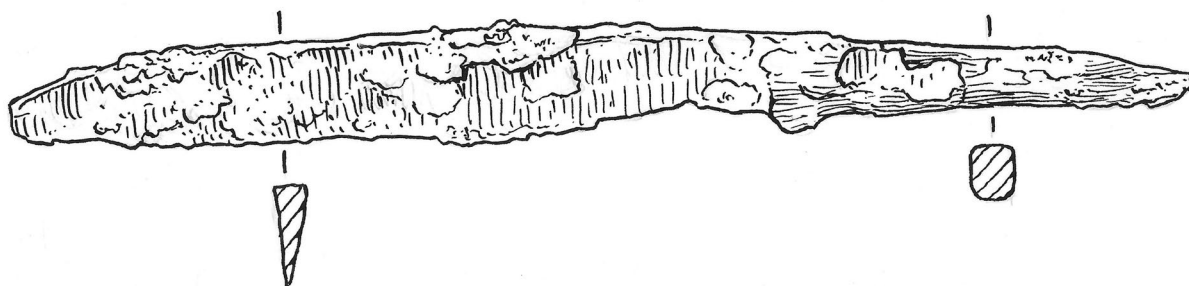
Figure 4.33. knife (L53) (1:1).
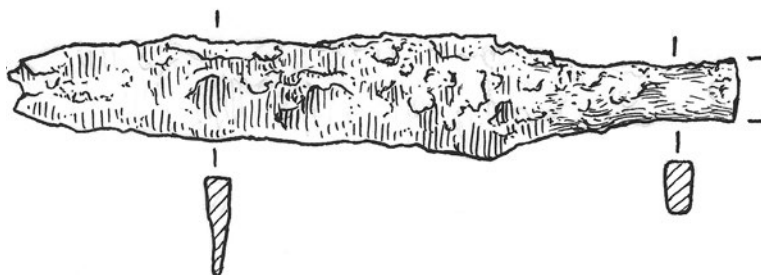
Figure 4.34. Knife (L54) (1:1).

L55. Disturbed, below L47. NW, extended, 0.74. *Human bone*: M 46+yrs. 1.62m. 60% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: osteoarthritis and spondylosis of the spine, fusion on L1 and L2. Osteoarthritis of the hips, shoulders and left elbow. Osteochondrosis of the right knee.

Figure 4.35. L54 showing disturbance to the interment and the knife *in situ*.

L56. Disturbed, below L37, L38 & L44. NW, extended, 0.61m (Figure 4.36).

Human bone: F 26-35yrs. 1.66m. 90% complete. Preservation poor. Mild calculus.

Grave goods All objects to right of waist.

SFB 492 (Figure 4.37). Triangular copper alloy buckle at waist. Oval loop, plano-convex in section with a narrow bar for the iron tongue, which is plano-convex in section with a curved tip. Cast triangular plate with curved expansions on either side to accommodate two iron rivets, the shank of one projecting though the back of the plate. Part of a larger iron domed-headed rivet is retained at the circular terminal. Two smaller rivets survive at the edge of the plate nearest the loop. The hinge is formed by a rectangular strip projecting from the plate folded back on itself and slotted to receive the tongue. The back plate (Figure 4.38) is sheet metal and was originally held in place by all five rivets; it has an indentation on one side in order to accommodate the anchorage of the tongue. Marzinzik's Type II.23b. Total length 61mm, width 30mm, thickness 2mm; loop length 13mm, height 22mm, thickness 3mm.

SFB 495 (Figure 4.38). Copper alloy buckle plate: rectangular in outline, wrapped around a fragment of the loop to form a backplate and slotted to receive the tongue. Of the three holes punched into the back plate,

Figure 4.36. L56 showing buckle and knife in situ. Part of the pursemount is visible on the edge of the photograph (L56 is cut by L37, visible to the left).
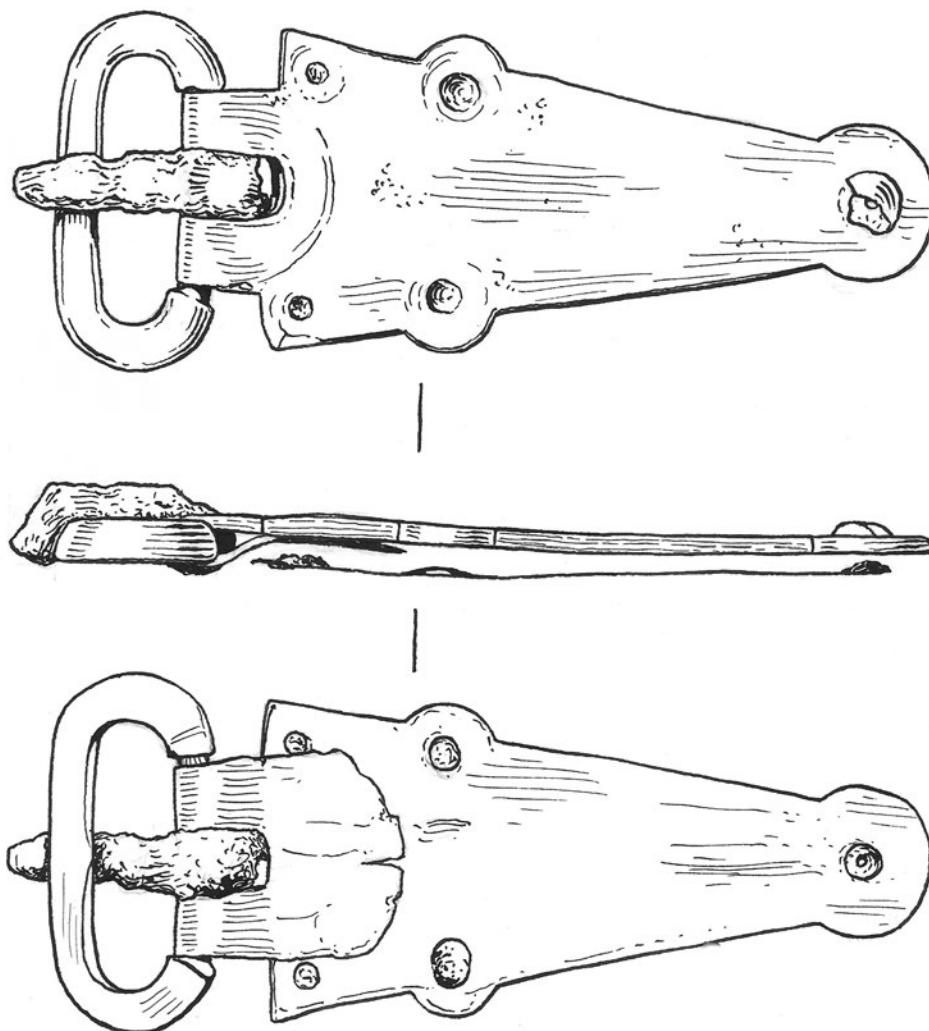
Figure 4.37. Buckle with triangular plate (L56) (2:1).

two still contain a dome-headed rivet, with shanks flush with the back plate, and would have secured the plates to a belt. Marzinzik's Type II.24a. Length 14mm, width 11mm.

SFB 476 (Figure 4.38). Fragmentary iron pursemount at the waist: triangular with a straight edge, the ends terminate in hooked terminals. Length approx.. 133mm, width 26mm.

SFB 475. Iron knife at waist (missing).

L57. WSW, extended, 0.71.
Human bone: M 46+yrs. 60% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: fractured right rib, well healed and aligned. Severe osteoarthritis of both hips and right sterno-clavicular joint. Healed periostitis of tibiae. Spondylosis deformans. Ossification of cartilage around acetabulum in hips. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).

L58. Partly under section. WSW, crouched, 0.61. (Figure 4.39). Human remains missing.

L59. Above L65. SW, extended, 0.38.
Human bone: 4-6yrs. 60% complete. Preservation good. Additional bones: Ad.

L60. Disturbed, below L48 & L52. WSW, extended, 0.71.
Human bone: M 26-35yrs. 60% complete. Preservation good. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus, slight hypoplasia. Non-metric traits: highest nuchal line, lambdoid ossicle (R), parietal foramen, mastoid foramen exsutural, frontal foramen.

L61. Disturbed. SW, extended, 0.76 (Figure 4.4).
Human bone: M 46+yrs. 1.80m. 50% complete. Preservation excellent. Severe dental abscess under 2nd and 3rd molars in the right maxilla, with infection and bone resorption. Multiple dental caries and bad to moderate dental calculus. Pathology: broken well healed left femur, unset, grossly shortened, but well healed. Spondylosis deformans of spine. Schmorls nodes, lipping and osteophytes.
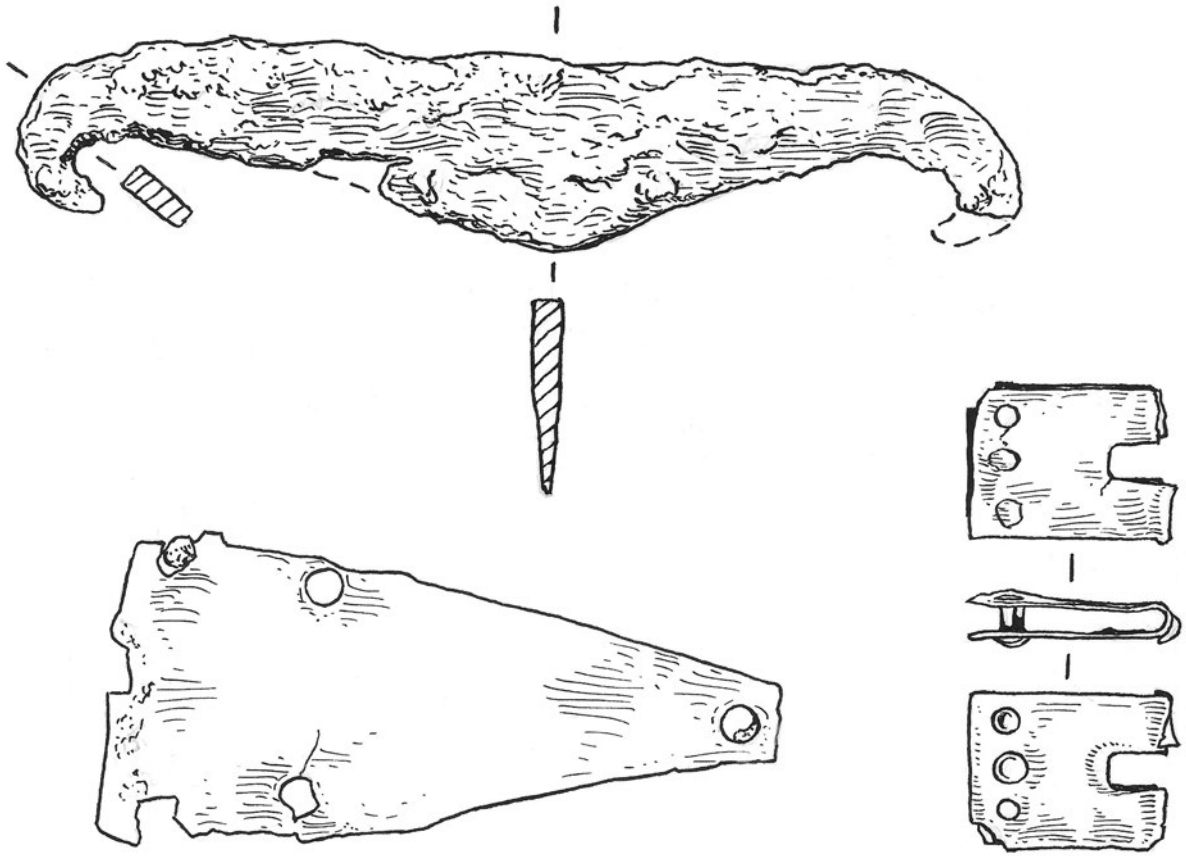
Figure 4.38. Backplate to buckle (2:1) buckle plate (2:1) and pursemount (1:1) (L56).

Figure 4.39. Crouched burial (L58).
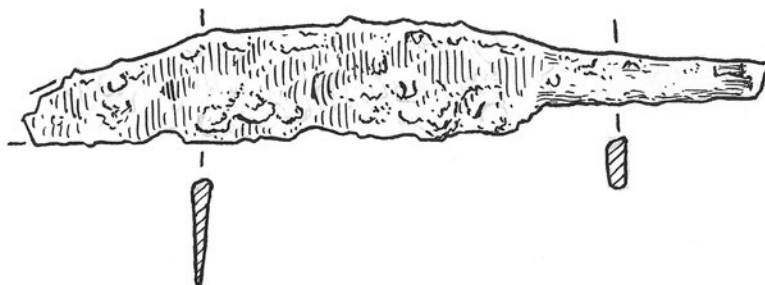
Figure 4.40. Knife (L63) (1:1).

L62. Skull under section. WSW, extended, 0.83.

Human bone: Ad. 15% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: woven bone, lipping and growth in proximal phalanx of 1st metatarsal. Mild periostitis of tibia.

L63. Feet under section. WNW, extended, 0.74m.

Human bone: F 26-35 yrs. 1.53m. 90% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: fusion of two thoracic vertebrae mid spine. Maxillary sinusitis in both sinuses.

Grave goods

SFB 468 (Figure 4.40). Fragmentary iron knife, tip missing, at left hip. A curved back, straight cutting edge. Evison Type 4. Length of blade 68mm, length of tang 30mm, width 15mm, thickness 3mm.

L64. Below L42. W, extended, 0.36. Possibly part of J04.

Human bone: M 18-25yrs. 1.76m. 40% complete. Preservation moderate. Periodontal disease and calculus.

L65. Below L59. SW, extended, 0.61m.

Human bone: ?M 46+ yrs. 40% complete. Preservation moderate. Dental abscess under 1st right mandibular premolar and carious lesion on posterior surface of the tooth. Pathology: severe long standing periostitis on both tibia and the remaining fragment of left fibula, covering whole shaft but most severe medially.

Grave goods

SFB 470 (Figure 4.41). A fragmentary copper alloy plate and iron buckle loop: rectangular sheet metal plate wrapped around the loop to form a back plate, with a perforation to receive the tongue. The rear corners of the plate have two holes to accommodate iron rivets that would have secured the buckle to the belt. Marzinzik's Type II.24a. Length 23mm, width 15mm, thickness 5mm (of plate). Adhering to the back-plate is an area of mineralised textile as well as a textile impression. Plain tabby, possibly linen. An even, balanced, weave with a spin direction of Z/Z. Thread count, 20 threads/cm. Yarn diameter of 0.5mm.
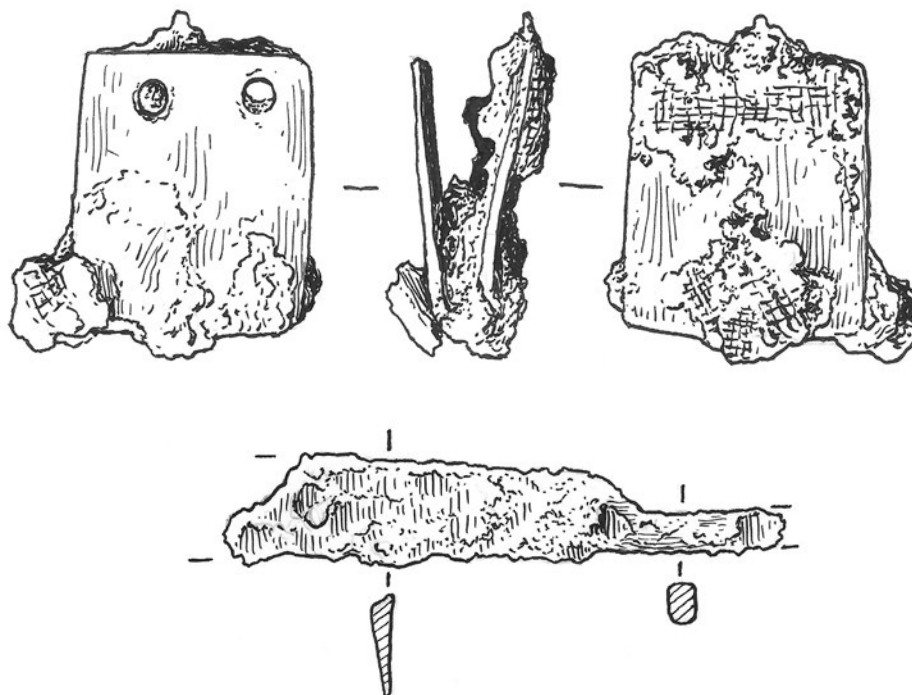
Figure 4.41. Buckle (2:1) and knife (1:1) (L65).

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SFB 471 (Figure 4.41). Fragmentary iron knife. Length of blade 53mm, length of tang 22mm, width 14mm, thickness 3mm.

L66. Lower half under section. WSW, extended, 0.71.
Human bone: M 35-45yrs. Preservation moderate.
ii: adolescent 12-17yrs. 50% complete. Considerable periodontal disease. Pathology: osteoarthritis.

L67. WSW, extended, 0.79.
Human bone: F 46+yrs. 70% complete. Preservation good. Pathology: osteoarthritis bilaterally in both hips, gross joint changes with sub chondral cysts, also in temporo-mandibular joint. Possible tuberculosis lesions in spine: thoracic vertebra on anterior surface right side (8mm by 4mm); rounded lytic lesion. No other evidence on spine but badly preserved.

L68. Disturbed. SW, extended, 0.66.
Human bone: F 26-35yrs. 1.59m. 30% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: osteoarthritis of the spinal joint facets.
Additional bones: infant.

L69. ?, ?, 0.43. Not located on plan.
Human bone: 9-12yrs. Skull only. Slight hypoplasia, dental crowding left maxilla. Non-metric traits: metopism.

L70. ?, ?, ?. Not located on plan.
Human bone: 10yrs. 20% complete. Preservation good.

M01. Upper half under section. SW, extended, 0.71.
Human bone: 7-10yrs. 60% complete. Preservation good.

M02 and **M03**. Double burial in the same grey ash layer at the same depth (Figure 4.42).

M02. SW, extended, 0.36, top half turned right facing M03.
Human bone: F 18-20yrs. 80% complete. Preservation moderate. Infection around the 3rd molars on mandible both sides and left side on maxilla (other side missing). Two dental carries. Pathology: mild cribra orbitalia. Fine porous woven bone on both sides of the right scapula mid blade. Small patches of fine woven bone on inside of vertebral ends of ribs.

M03. SW, extended, 0.36.
Human bone: 10-12yrs. Preservation moderate-good. Slight periodontal disease, slight calculus, slight

Figure 4.42. View of M03 and M02.

Figure 4.43. Buckle (M03) (1:1).

hypoplasia. Non-metric traits: lambdoid ossicles, mastoid foramen exsutural, supra orbital foremen incomplete.
Grave goods
SFB 545 (Figure 4.43). A fragmentary iron buckle (possibly penannular brooch) at the waist of M03

Figure 4.44. Closeup of M03 and M02 showing position of 'buckle'.

(Figure 4.44). Circular section, pin wrapped around the artefact. Diameter 30mm, length of pin 28mm.

M04. Feet under section, SW, extended, 0.36.
Human bone: F 26-35+yrs. 1.56m. 70% complete. Preservation moderate. Moderate calculus.

M05. WSW-ENE, ?, 0.53.
Human remains lost.

N01. Outlying burial in gully. Partly under section. SW-NE, ?, 0.89m.
Human bone: 11-13yrs. Non-metric traits: coronal ossicle, mastoid foramen sutural, frontal foramen.
Grave goods
SFB 625 (Figure 4.45). Fragmentary composite bone comb. Double-sided with missing teeth. The central bone plates are held together by two long rectangular-shaped, trapezoid sectioned, side plates with approximately four or five holes that held dome-headed iron-rivets, one of which is intact. The plates are decorated by four parallel linear grooves running from end to end, marked by numerous tooth cuts. The two end plates are each pierced by a small perforation which probably functioned either for suspension or for attachment to a comb-case. Overall length 103mm, width 37mm, length (of plates) 92mm, width (of plates) 12mm.
SFB 611. Iron object (lost).

Figure 4.45. Bone comb (N01) (1:1).

130

Figure 4.46. N03 showing disturbance.

N02. ?Disturbed by Pit 34. SW-NE, extended, 0.56.
Human bone: ?M Ad. Preservation poor. Pathology: periostitis, osteochondritis dissecans, vertebral osteophytosis.

N03. Disturbed, above N04. WSW, extended, 0.61 (Figure 4.46).
Human bone: F 18-35yrs.

N04. Below N03. WSW, extended, 0.71m (Figure 4.47).
Human bone: F 36-45yrs. 1.57m. 80% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: fractured left ulna, distal end posterior lateral displacement but well healed, good union, some well healed periostitis. Maxillary sinusitis. Also new bone formation on inner surface of ribs, active at time of death. Osteoarthritis of cervical vertebrae and osteoporosis and osteophytosis of lumbar vertebrae. Manchester records fractured fingers but now missing.
Grave goods
SFB 616. Copper alloy needle, at depth of burial (lost).

N05. Disturbed. SW, extended, legs resting on large stones, 0.71 (Figure 4.48).
Human bone: Ad. 50% complete. Preservation moderate. Pathology: mild periostitis to both tibia and fibula, oblique fracture to right tibia at distal end, well healed, slight malnormal alignment. Well healed sharp force trauma to occipital. Spondylosis deformans and Schmorls nodes.

N06. Above N07, lower legs under section. WSW, extended, legs flexed to right, 0.76 (Figure 4.49).
Human bone: F 46+yrs. 70% complete. Preservation moderate. Dental abscess on maxillary left premolars, anterior surface extending up to nasal aperture, with infection inside the nasal opening on the nasal spine of maxilla. Pathology: extensive periostitis on right humerus. Posterior proximal half of shaft, striated and spiculated bone formation, long standing infection. Spondylolysis of L5.

N07. Disturbed, below N06. WSW, extended, 0.89 (Figure 4.50).
Human bone: M 26-35yrs. 1.71m. 90% complete. Preservation excellent. Pathology: four collapsed thoracic vertebrae (un-fused). Fractured left femoral neck with inferior/posterior displacement, with secondary osteoarthritis. Fractured and un-united patella with secondary osteoarthritis. Fused lumbar vertebrae L5-L3, fused through facets and ligaments. Differential diagnosis: ankylosing spondylitis, but there are doubts over whether these vertebrae belong to this individual. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).

O1. Outlying burial in gully. SW-NE, ?, ?
Human bone: M 20-25yrs. 1.71m. 50% complete. Preservation good. Non-metric traits: parietal foramen (L), coronal ossicle (L), precondylar tubercle, condylar facet single, supra orbital foramen complete, frontal foramen. Pathology: massive cranial and post cranial

Figure 4.47. N04 view.

Figure 4.48. N05 showing feet resting on large stones.

Figure 4.49. N06 view of burial showing legs flexed to right.

sharp force trauma. Wenham (1989) burial II: fatal cranial injury, records a total of 30 bone injuries representing a minimum of seven cranial blows and eleven post cranial blows to the arms and the back. See Griffiths (Appendix 1).

Grave goods and the chronology of the cemetery

Introduction

The following analysis is based on Shaw's (1994) report and also draws on a catalogue compiled for an archive report (Hawkes and Borno 1991). In total, 50 objects were recovered from 24 burials (Figure 4.51; Table 4.3). The most common materials are iron (31/62%) and copper alloy (12/24%). The assemblage also contains a pair of silver pins, two ceramic artefacts, two bone objects and a composite buckle.

In addition to the provenanced artefacts, finds were also made in the disturbed areas of the cemetery (see above p96, Table 4.1 There are also two flint tools (a scraper and a blade), three coins, including a 'pendant' coin, a number of copper alloy rings (now lost) and a copper alloy penannular brooch. All these finds could have originated from Anglo-Saxon graves, but alternatively, each may have come from a Roman context and entered accidentally with the fill of the grave cut. The penannular brooch and the coins are a case in point. Although these artefacts occur in Anglo-Saxon graves, especially coins

Figure 4.50. N07 showing disturbance by N06.

pierced and reused as pendants, they would not be out of place on the villa. Flint tools have also been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, but they could be further evidence of prehistoric activity on the site.

The grave finds have been divided by material, subdivided into object type and then, using the main classificatory schemes, further divided by subtype thus allowing, where appropriate, the date and cultural association of each piece to be considered. The form of each artefact plus any decoration is summarised (full details can be found in the burial catalogue). There are some fragmentary objects for which an identification is at best tentative. This is compounded by the lack of burial plans because the location of a grave good can help disclose its original function.

Most of the grave goods were deposited over a period of about 75 years from the mid-7th to the earlier 8th century, what is commonly termed the 'Final Phase' period. The practice had largely died out by the late Anglo-Saxon period, although a few individuals were still accompanied by grave goods (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 138). However, at Eccles, no grave goods were found in the stratigraphically latest phase of burials (Layer 1) (see below pp180-181).

Table 4.3 Eccles Anglo-Saxon cemetery: breakdown of objects from burials by material and type.

Copper alloy	Total	Types (where applicable)
Buckle	4	Marzinzik Type II.26, Type II.24a x2, Style II buckle and plate
Disc	1	
Pin	1	Ross Type LXVIIIii
Bracelet	1	Frag. 4th century Romano-British type
Needle	1	
Ring	1	
RB coin	1	
Other	1	
Iron		
Knife	17	Evison Type 1 x2, Type 4 x7, Type 5 x2, unid. x6
Spearhead	3	Swanton, Group F1, C1, C1/5; Hines and Bayliss, Type SP2-a1a2, SP1-a1, unclass.
Key	1	
Pursemount	1	
Shears	2	
Ring	2	
Steel	1	
Buckle	1	
Awl	1	
Stud	1	
Nails	?	
Other	1	Possible ring
Silver		
Pin	2	Ross Type LXVI.ii
Ceramic		
Spindle-whorl	1	
Pot	1	Tempered sandy ware
Bone		
Disc	1	
Comb	1	
Composite artefacts		
Buckle	2	Marzinzik Type II.23b, II.24a
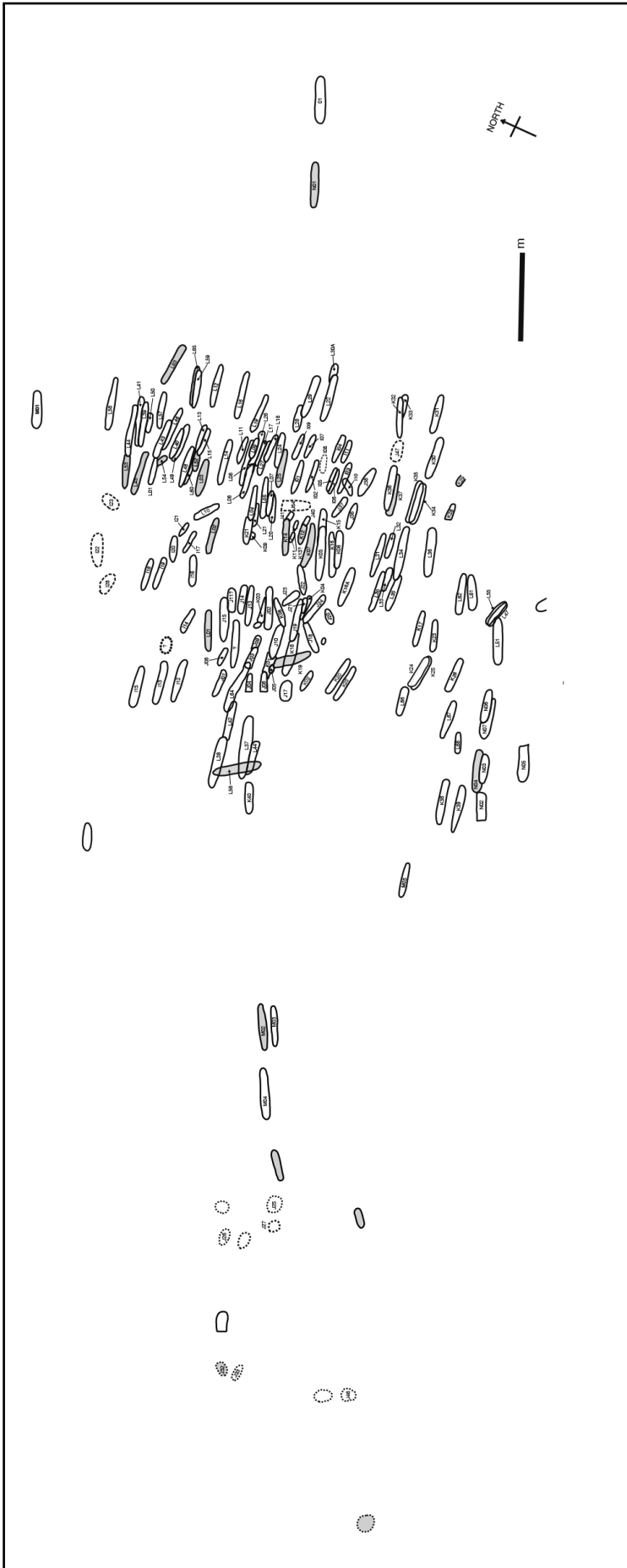
Figure 4.51a. Distribution of burials with grave goods (shaded).

Figure 4.51b. Distribution of burials with grave goods (shaded).

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.51
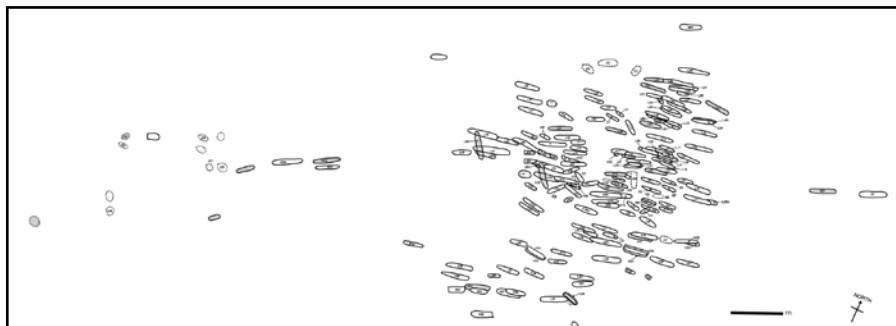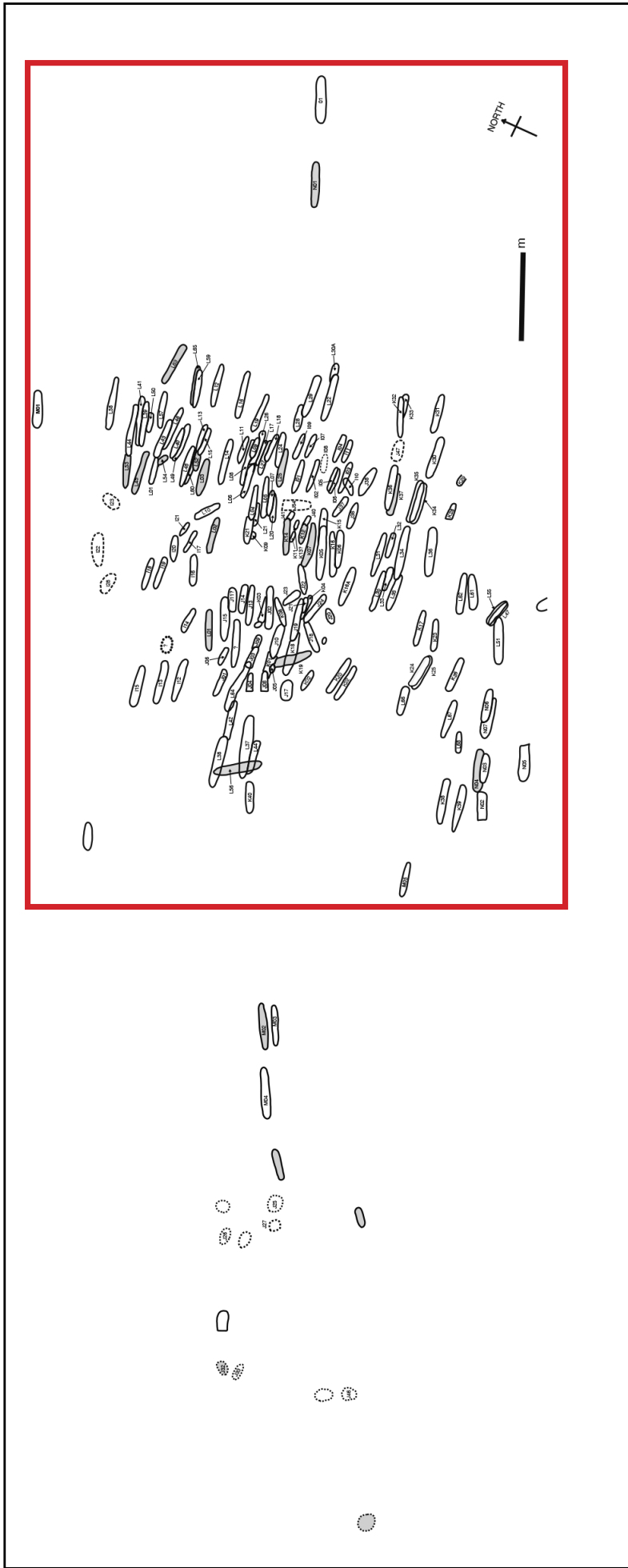
Figure 4.51c. Distribution of burials with grave goods (shaded). Close up of the main group of burials.

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.51
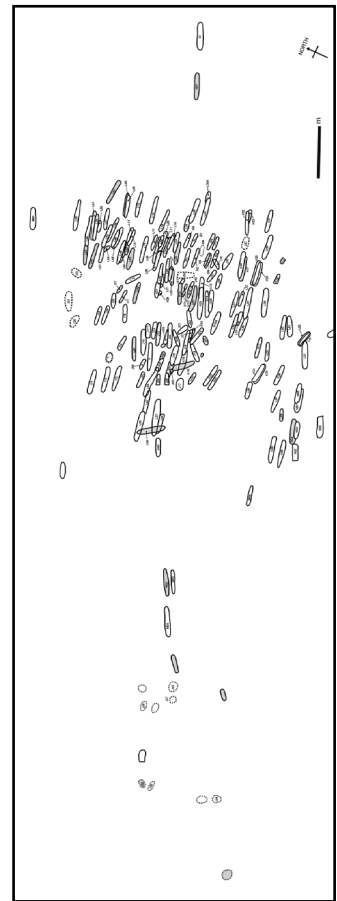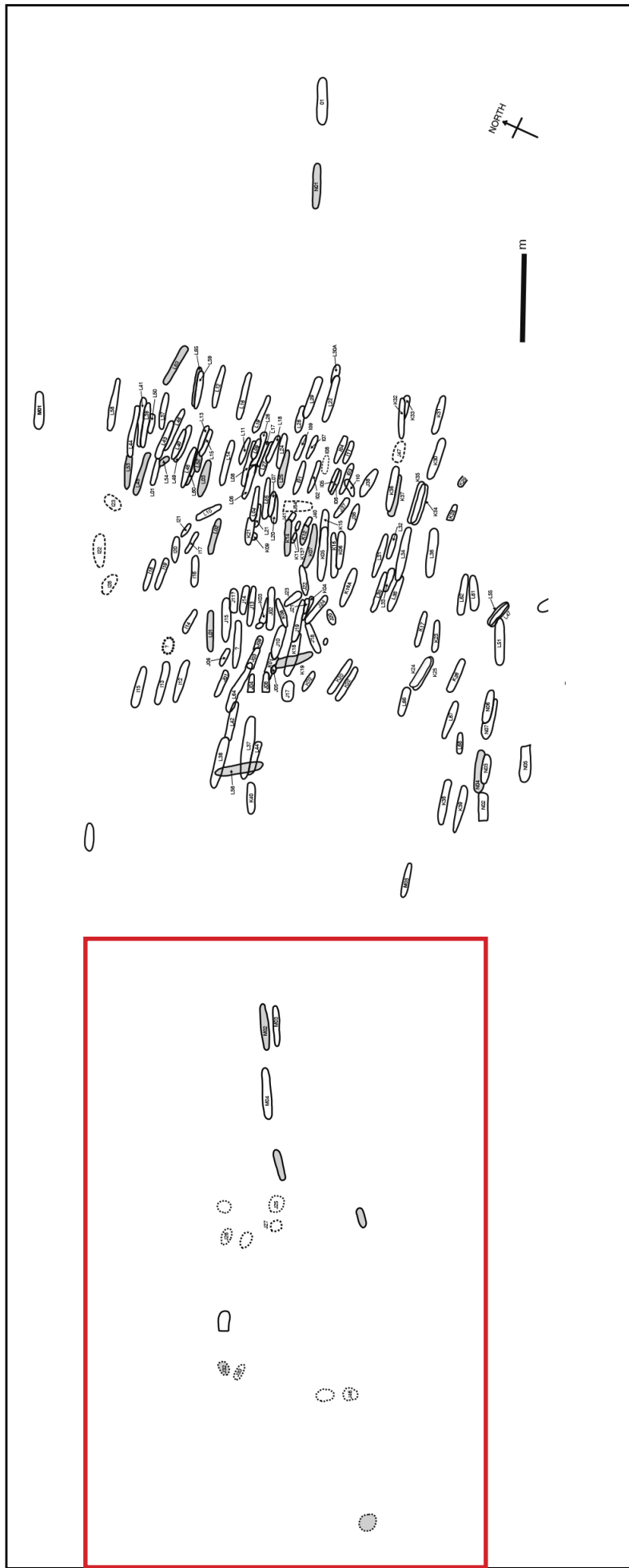
Figure 4.51d. Distribution of burials with grave goods (shaded). Close up of the west group of burials.

NORTH

M02 M03

M04

J25

J27

J26

J32 J33

J46

m
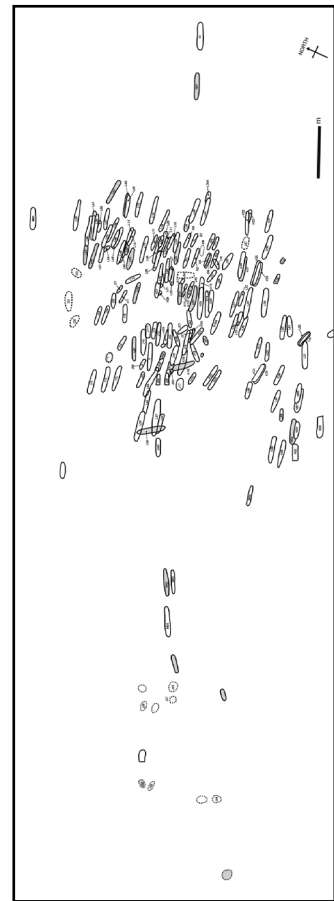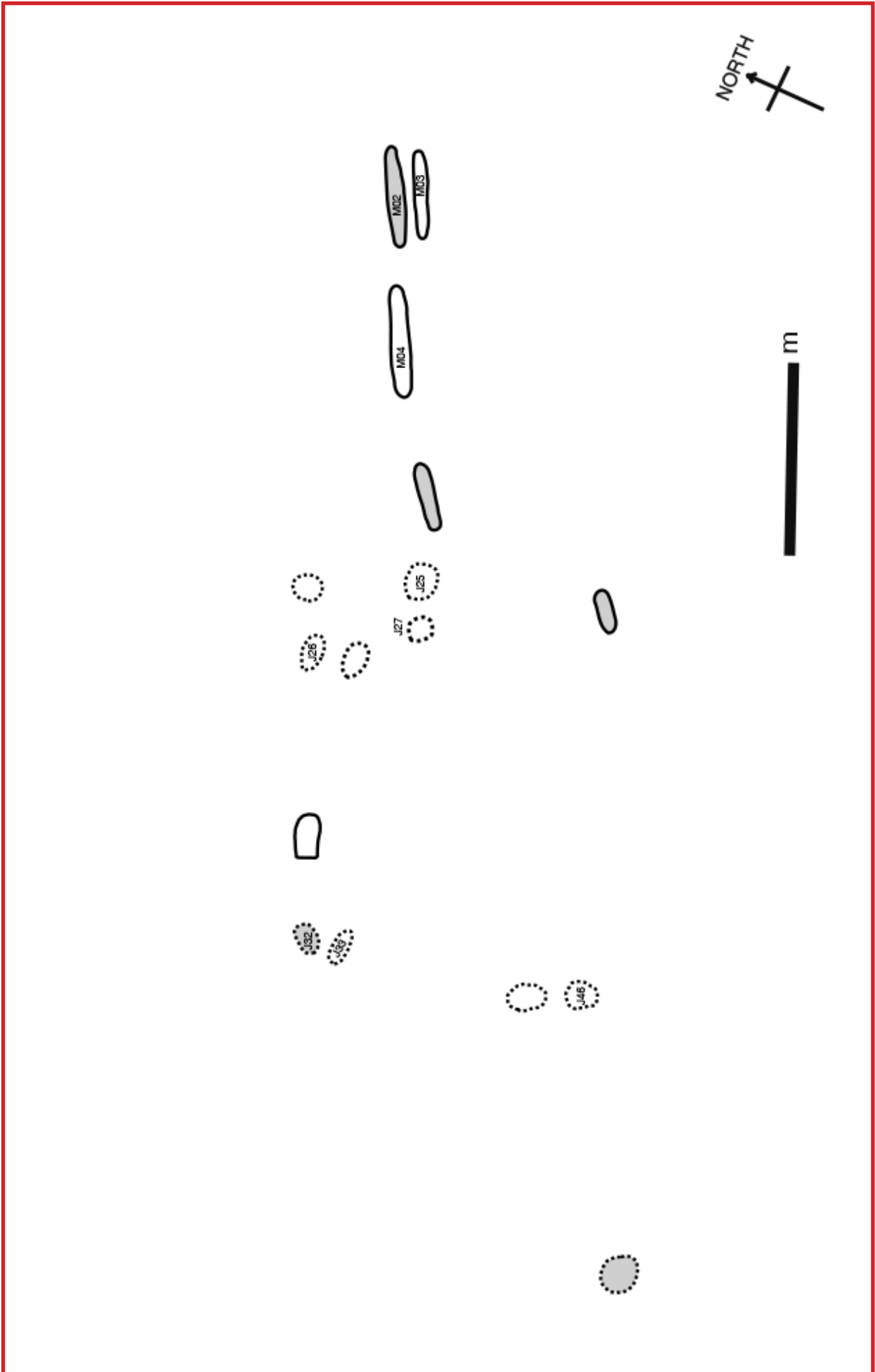
Weapons

The only weapons recovered from Eccles were spearheads, although there is an unstratified axe head of uncertain, but possibly medieval, date. An iron arrowhead (now lost) was found in an archival box containing the remains of I22; it did, however, fit exactly on an iron-stained perforated neural arch lumbar vertebra traumatic injury (Manchester, pers. comm.). Clearly, this artefact was not a deliberate grave deposition. It is similar to lance points of the Viking period in Aarhus Museum, to which Keith Manchester compared it; it is, therefore, important evidence for an act of violence suffered by the Eccles community (see below pp184-185).

Spearheads were found with three burials. The example with J32 (SFB 414, Figure 4.8) is fragmentary: only its socket and a small section of the blade remains, but it appears to have been a small leaf-shaped spearhead. A spearhead may have accompanied I25 (SFB 328, Figure 4.6). Shaw has associated it with this burial, but there are not finds listed against it in the site notebooks. It is a small angular spearhead classified as a Hines and Bayliss type SP2-a1a2, dated to the period AD 525-50 to 565-95, or a member of Swanton's Group F1, a long-lived type (5th to 7th century). The type is relatively rare in Kent, but two were found in the East Kent cemetery of Broadstairs I (Valetta House/Bradstow School) in graves 13 and 80 that date to the late 7th century.

A leaf-shaped spearhead was found with burial J30 (SFB 410, Figure 4.7). It is a Hines and Bayliss type SP1-a1, also dated to AD 525-50 to 565-95 . It conforms to Swanton's Group C1, which is another of his long-lasting types, although it is more numerous in contexts of the 5th and 6th centuries. These small simple blades are found throughout the areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement. In Kent, examples were found in seventh-century graves at Polhill (graves 40 and 45) and Dover Buckland (grave 137).

Spearheads, and weapons generally, are predominantly found in the graves of adult males (Härke 1990; Stoodley 1999a: 74-6), a view supported by evidence from Kent where the majority of the sexed weapon burials of the late 6th to 8th centuries are possible, or probable, males, and all but two are adults. At Eccles, J30 was a male of 36-45 years, and J32 was a probable male aged 18-25 years. However, I25 was identified as the remains of a probable female of 20-25 years. The burial was originally sexed as female by Manchester (1984) but downgraded in the reassessment of the human remains (Boocock *et al.* 1995). It was not examined by Upex, presumably the remains could no longer be identified. Although rare, Kent has examples of female weapon burials, most notably from Dover Buckland (six

probable and one possible female) and Broadstairs I (a possible female). These burials span the early Anglo-Saxon period, but Broadstairs I (grave 51) and Dover Buckland (graves 61 and 93) are from the 7th century. I25 could be an example of a female weapon burial, but given the doubts over the provenance of the object and the sexing of the burial, any interpretation must be treated with considerable caution. At Eccles the spearheads were all associated with adults; burials of children accompanied by weapons are rare and usually consist of a single small spear, which is exactly the case in the Medway valley at Cuxton (graves 291 (6-7 years), and 313 (9-12 years)).

Most spearheads are found on the right-hand side of the burial, either next to or above the skull (Härke 1990: 26), which indicates a majority of right-handed spearmen. At Eccles, most of this information is lacking, though it is known that the weapon was on the right-hand side of J30. At Holborough, and outside the Medway valley at Polhill, most of the spearheads were also found on this side (no.6/9). At Cuxton, they were equally split between either side of the individual.

Both J30 and J32 were discovered in the western group of burials, and I25 was dug into the rubbish ditch (VII). The weapon burials were therefore placed in outlying locations, and the situation is similar to Holborough where they were located on the southern edge of the site and to Cuxton where they were found in its eastern half. Similarly, at Polhill, they were restricted to the southern and north-eastern areas of the burial ground. The tendency for weapon burials to have been placed together, and in some cases to have been set apart from the rest of the cemetery, suggests a different status for the group – one preserved in death through a spatial separateness.

Dress accessories

Most jewellery and dress accessories are found with the burials of females (Stoodley 1999a: 33-35). Strictly speaking keys are not pieces of jewellery but are included here because along with chatelaines and girdle hangers they adorned the female costume. Buckles are found with both sexes and are included in this section as they also formed an integral part of the costume.

Pins

A child of three years of age (K12) had been interred with a pair of identical spiral-headed silver pins (SFB 462, Figure 4.12). The top of each pin splits to form two wires, which coil inwards to create a heart-shaped spiral head. The narrowing diameter of the curled-wire terminals indicates that the pin was cast (Ross 1991: 270, Type LXVI.ii). Spiral-headed pins were a long-lived

type. They have been excavated from late Anglo-Saxon contexts, for example at York (Geake 1997: 66), but most examples from funerary contexts were deposited in the 7th century, such as Kingsworthy, Hampshire, grave 62.

A copper alloy pin (SFB 480, Figure 4.23) came from L02 and consists of a biconical head with collar, below which is a zone of moulded beading. It belongs to Ross's (1991: 282-3) small-biconical-headed sub-type (LXVIII.i), with examples from contexts as late as the first half of the 8th century. Several pins came from Holborough, including a copper alloy specimen with a spherical knob and ring moulding (grave 15). After copper alloy, iron pins are the next most common type with both Holborough and Cuxton producing examples. Eccles has not yielded any definite examples, but there is the possibility that these small and often-poorly preserved artefacts have been misidentified.

Brooch

A possible iron penannular brooch was discovered at the waist of M03 (SFB 545), but it is fragmentary and is probably a buckle (see below). A Roman copper alloy penannular brooch (SFB 620) was retrieved from a disturbed area of the cemetery (Q13/2) perhaps an heirloom from a Saxon burial or disturbed from a Roman-period context. No brooches were found at either Holborough or Cuxton, but Polhill (grave 37) produced an Anglo-Saxon disc brooch decorated in Salin's Style II ornament with glass inlaid cells.

Bracelet

A fragment of a copper alloy bracelet decorated with mouldings and ring-and-dot motifs came from L52 (SFB 506, Figure 4.31). It is very similar to fourth-century types, for example from the Romano-British cemetery of Lankhills (Winchester, Hants), particularly the decorative D and E types (number 303, Clarke 1979). Given that the fragment was approximately 300 years old when it was buried, it was probably scrap. A copper alloy wire bracelet with slip-knot terminals was encircling the upper left arm of the woman in Cuxton grave 306. Notably, five of the nine examples recorded by Geake (1997: 55) were also found on the left arm, and another two were discovered by the left arm or shoulder, demonstrating a fashion for wearing bracelets on that side of the body.

Buckles

Eccles has produced an important collection of buckles. There is a probable iron one (M03, SFB 545, Figure 4.43), four copper alloy specimens and two composite buckles. K07 had a small bronze buckle with a narrow rectangular openwork plate (SFB 458, Figure 4.10), and given the slight nature of the artefact, it was probably fastened to a light strap. The loop is D-shaped and incised with four sets of three transverse grooves; the tongue is similarly decorated near to where it is anchored around the loop. The plate is bent around the loop, and the openwork top is decorated by three triangles and two sub-circular perforations. It is a relatively rare find but is closest to a group of later seventh-century buckles with fixed narrow openwork plates, sometimes described as 'decoration *á jour*' (Evison 1956: 92-4; Hawkes 1973a, 283; Marzinzik 2003: 53, Type II.26). A comparable example comes from Finglesham (grave 57), dated to the second half of the 7th century (Hawkes 1973a: 283).

A D-shaped buckle from L45 has a relatively long rectangular plate, which is bent around the loop (SFB 484, Figure 4.28). It is identified as a Marzinzik Type II.24a, which mainly date to the late 6th and 7th centuries and are found throughout the country. The top plate is decorated by two sets of two prominent circular *repoussé* bosses each flanked by two lines of three punched ring-and-dot motifs. The upper surface is also outlined by an incised line which extends to the underside. A small buckle with a broken loop and a rectangular plate came from L56 (SFB 495, Figure 4.38; Marzinzik's Type II.24a). A similar type, but with a rectangular copper alloy plate and fragmentary iron loop and tongue (SFB 470, Figure 4.41) was found with L65. Its back plate was formed by bending the plate around the loop. This was a relatively popular type of buckle. Two instances were found at Holborough (graves 8 and 18) and a number come from the excavations at Polhill (graves 42, 65, 85 and 103). Cuxton produced numerous specimens (graves 179, 191, 262, 283 x 2, 291, 294 and 373), plus three examples with iron loops and copper alloy plates (graves 215, 313 and 364).

Burial L56 also produced a copper alloy buckle with an oval loop and an iron tongue (SFB 492, Figure 4.37; Marzinzik's Type II.23b) (Figure 4.36, shows it *in situ*). Its triangular sheet-metal back-plate is folded around the loop; it exhibits curved expansions on either side and at the narrow end to accommodate iron rivets. These buckles were very popular in Continental Europe, but the form of the Eccles piece with the plate being simply bent around a solid rather than hollow loop suggests an insular provenance (Marzinzik 2003: 50). A similar buckle was recovered from Cuxton grave 283.

A fine fixed-plate buckle (SFB 458) was found at the waist of K19 (Figures 4.15-4.17; Figure 4.19 shows it *in situ*). Hawkes wrote extensively about it in her review of the finds from Eccles published in the *Antiquaries Journal* (1973a), and the following is a summary of her discussion of the buckle's style and date. The bronze loop is decorated by transverse grooves, and it has a tongue with a decorated stop ridge that ends in an animal head. The plate is decorated to both front and

back by engravings. The former has four panels: at the tongue end are two small ones containing crosses on a cross-hatched background; two panels run down the length of the main part of the plate each filled with a Style II serpentine creature on the same cross-hatched background. A mid-rib, cast in bronze, consists of a grooved bar and decorated with an animal-head at either end. Along the centre of the plate's reverse is a fish, fashioned from sheet bronze, with its head at the buckle end.

The loop and plate of the Eccles buckle are typical of the 7th century. Cross-hatching, as a background to engraved Style II animal ornament, is found on the back of a composite disc brooch from Faversham, Kent, which dates to around the middle of the 7th century. Fittings on a sword hilt from Crundale display non-zoomorphic open-knot interlace similar to that on the Eccles buckle, while there are very close parallels for the interlace, but terminating in snakes' heads, bordering the plate of the buckle that was probably interred in the same grave as the sword. The Crundale objects are also dated to approximately the middle decades of the century. A further instance of this open-knot work, and attached to open-jawed heads, as at Eccles, occurs on a bronze-gilt disc from Standlake, Oxfordshire, from a context dated to the middle 7th century at the earliest. Moreover, the fish on the reverse of K19's buckle, which is probably Christian in inspiration, is a motif found in the 7th century.

The fragmentary iron loop recovered from M03 (SFB 545, Figure 4.43) has a pin wrapped around it. It is either a penannular brooch, the gap indicating where the terminals would have been, or it is a fragmentary buckle loop. It was found between the waist area of the two burials, which suggests that the latter identification is the more likely (Figure 4.44 shows it *in situ*). Compared to Eccles, iron buckles were more popular at Cuxton with eight examples recovered, including grave 300, which had a pair. In fact, it is not unusual to find two or more buckles in a grave. Multiple examples probably reflect a variety of functions, which range from securing waist belts through to narrower accessory straps that had been associated with pursemounts and scabbards, for example. The small specimen (SFB 495) from L56 probably secured a thin strap, and the larger one (SFB 492) may have fastened a belt at the waist. At Polhill, grave 28, produced three buckles, and grave 65 two. Holborough (grave 7) also had three buckles, and at Cuxton seven burials were accompanied by multiple buckles.

Keys

Burial K42 produced an iron key or latch-lifter (SFB 438, Figure 4.21). It is missing its upper terminal, but it has a rectangular shank which widens to a rectangular bit pierced by a sub-rectangular ward. A similar example, but with a three-pronged bit and a looped terminal, is an unstratified example (J/L9, SFB 439, Figure 4.56). Keys probably opened doors of various sorts and were usually suspended from the waist; as a grave good, they may have symbolised the bearer's role as a housekeeper, rather than 'the lady of the house' (Hawkes 1973b: 195-196). They were deposited during both the Migration and Final Phase periods and have been found throughout Anglo-Saxon England. Although no keys were discovered at Holborough, three graves at Cuxton (215, 297 and 306) produced them and several came from Polhill.

Personal equipment

Knives

A knife is the most common early Anglo-Saxon grave good: in a national sample, 55% of undisturbed adult burials had this object (Stoodley 1999a: 30–2). They were also the most numerous object type during the Final Phase (Geake 1997: 102). Unsurprisingly they almost always outnumber other grave goods in individual cemeteries. Their popularity must have stemmed from the variety of functions they had fulfilled. At Eccles, 17 burials were found with knives. Almost half of the Polhill burials (no:62) had them, and at Cuxton 26 knives were found in 23 graves (72%). An exception is Holborough, where only five interments (12.5%) were furnished with them.

At Eccles more than twice as many females than males had knives (5:2). However, this statistic is unlikely to be accurate because the sample also contains six unsexed burials. Conversely, at Polhill knives were strongly linked to males: 34 (78% of sexed adults). At both Cuxton and Holborough, no gender bias was recorded, but the sample from the latter is too small to be significant. Knives could also be deposited with subadults: there were three occurrences at Eccles, compared to 12 at Polhill (21% of aged individuals), one at Holborough and five at Cuxton.

The position of most of the Eccles' knives is unknown, but generally, they are found at the waist and had probably been secured by a belt. For example, in K19, it was lying horizontally at the waist just to the left of the buckle (Figure 4.19, shows it *in situ*). Yet only four of the Eccles burials produced buckles, and in the other cases, the knife may have been secured by a cord or strap knotted at the waist.

Evison's (1987) classification has been used here, although in the case of fragmentary knives, it was often impossible to identify the type. It is based on the shape of the blade and its point in relation to its centre. Two examples of Type 1 were found; a long-lived form

deposited from the 5th to the 7th century. The rest are predominantly later types, with eight knives having a curved back and straight cutting edge (Type 4) and three with an angled back and straight cutting edge (Type 5).

Typically, a burial was accompanied by a single knife (Stoodley 1999a: 30–33), but occasionally pairs have been found and may reflect different functions, for example, preparing food, craftworking or other daily tasks. No burial at Eccles produced more than one knife, but the adult male at Polhill (grave 11) had two knives; at Cuxton pairs of knives were discovered in three graves.

Generally, information about the original appearance of a knife is usually absent, although scabbards are occasionally evidenced by mineralized remains and fragments of horn or antler reveal the type of handle that enclosed the tang. None of the Eccles examples had any such evidence.

Pursemount

A triangular pursemount (SFB 476, Figure 4.38), with incurving terminals and a pronounced triangular outline was found with L56. These types are dated to the late 7th century (Geake 1997: 79-80). Parallels for the Eccles specimen can be found throughout the country, although they are relatively well represented in Kent, with four examples coming from Polhill (graves 66, 68A, 84 and 85) and three from Springhead (Stoodley 2008). An example with only a slight triangular profile was found in a weapon burial at Holborough (grave 7). The Eccles pursemount was found in the area of the waist. It was associated with a buckle and knife and had probably been attached to a belt, perhaps hooked onto it by one of its curled terminals (Geake 1997: 79). Brown (1977: 451-56) argued that pursemounts functioned as a frame for a pouch that contained flint and tinder. Geake (1997: 80) concluded that some pursemounts appear to have been included in bags or were part of a chatelaine.

Comb

A double-sided and fragmentary rectangular bone or antler comb, with numerous missing teeth, was discovered with N01 (SFB 625, Figure 4.45). The central bone plates are held together by two rectangular-shaped, trapezoid-sectioned, side plates that are decorated by parallel linear grooves. The tooth-cuts stop short of the side plates. Each end-plate is pierced by a small perforation from which the comb was either suspended or was attached to a case. Another fragmentary double-sided composite bone comb (SFB 501) was an unstratified find.

Double-sided combs had a long currency occurring in contexts from the 3rd to the 13th century and most were fashioned out of antler (MacGregor 1985: 74, 92). They were usually interred with females, and in addition to serving a practical function, they were probably symbolic of female-related activities as suggested by the fact that they were not part of the costume (Geake 1997: 63). At Cuxton, a very fragmentary antler double-sided comb with iron rivets was found with the adult female in grave 215, but at Eccles, the object was retrieved from the burial of an unsexed 11-13 year old.

Tools

Tools are rarely found in graves of the 5th and 6th centuries but are more common from settlements. As grave finds they are better represented in the 7th and 8th centuries.

Sharpening steel

K07 produced a spatulate-shaped tool (SFB 450c, Figure 4.11), i.e. an iron tang with a blade of rectangular section. The identification of such objects is uncertain, but their strong association with knives suggests that they functioned as sharpening steels or knife blanks (Geake 1997: 93). Steels were popular in the second half of the 7th century, which is consistent with the date indicated by some of the other objects accompanying this burial. The female in grave 215 (Cuxton) had a similar artefact, which has also been identified as a possible sharpening steel.

Needle

A copper alloy needle (SFB 616, now missing) came from N04. Needles are rare, and it is possible that the object was a pin. A bronze sewing needle was found at the waist of a woman in grave 138 (Dover Buckland) dated to the late 7th century (Evison 1987: 112). Also, two 'brass needles, gilt' were discovered in a needle box in grave 222, Kingston (Kent) (quoted in Evison 1987: 112).

Shears

Eccles has produced two pairs of fragmentary shears (K07, SFB 453; L01, SFB 473; Figures 4.11 and 4.22), both have U-shaped bows and blades of unequal length with straight cutting edges. Full-size shears were occasionally interred with inhumation burials in the second half of the 7th century, with the practice continuing into the early 8th (Geake 1997: 96). They may have been used to shear sheep, but Evison (1987: 113) suggests that instead they were used as a weaving implement. Although shears are not commonly associated with textile-related tools, K07 also produced a clay spindle whorl strengthening Evison's argument.

A pair of shears was found with the woman in grave 41 at Polhill, and at least two pairs come from Cuxton (graves 215 and 297).

Spindle whorl

A circular spindle whorl fashioned from yellow clay was found with K07 (SFB 454a, Figure 4.11). These artefacts were buried during the 5th and 6th centuries but are more commonly found in graves of the following century. Most occur singly, and although the use of clay is not unusual, chalk or various types of stone were the preferred materials (Geake 1997: 58). So far, no whorl has been discovered with evidence for a spindle, but other textile-related items have been found with them (Geake 1997: 58), such as the shears with K07. Spindle whorls are relatively common finds from Anglo-Saxon settlements, often found in sunken-featured buildings along with other artefacts related to the production of textiles. When deposited in burials, they may have symbolised the owner's involvement in textile production, for example, her skill as a spinner (Meaney 1981: 95). This interpretation might apply to examples found concealed in vessels, for example at Finglesham (grave 202) and Dover Buckland (grave 60), where they were in boxes placed at the foot end of the grave. Whorls may also have functioned as toggles, taking the place of belt buckles (Lethbridge 1931: 76), and Geake found that they were mainly discovered around the pelvis or waist (Geake 1997: 59). The spindle-whorl from K07 may have been housed within a box (see below), so in this case, the former interpretation is the more likely.

Miscellaneous tool

J30 produced an object with a circular-sectioned handle fashioned from the end of an antler tine, which encases a fragmentary iron rod of rectangular section (SFB 412, Figure 4.7). From Finglesham artefacts with pointed blades of circular section and tangs of square or rectangular shape enclosed by wooden handles have been interpreted as awls (Geake 1997: 94). At Cuxton a fragmentary circular-sectioned object set in wood has also been interpreted in this way. Awls were probably used to punch holes in leather or similar materials, but another use may have been to engrave or mark metal (Hinton and White 1993: 155). SFB 412 may have been an awl, but without its terminal a definite identification is impossible. A fork from Harnham Hill (Wiltshire) (Hawkes 1973a: 281) had a handle like that of the Eccles specimen, and it would not be surprising if circular-sectioned handles were a general-purpose type of grip for different tools.

Rings and discs

A fragmentary ring-and-dot ornamented annular antler ring with a large central perforation came from K07 (SFB 451, Figure 4.10). At its edge are four holes which

display iron deposits, although it is estimated that there could have been up to 12 originally. Perforated bone rings are usually found with purses and chatelaines of the later 7th century. The iron staining on this example may be evidence of attachment links, possibly a chatelaine chain. However, no chain was found with K07, which suggests another function, perhaps that it was originally attached to a bag by small iron links. A similar ring comes from Polhill (grave 43), and again the holes around the edge of the artefact are stained with iron oxide (Hawkes 1973b: 196).

K07 also contained an annular copper alloy openwork disc consisting of seven sub-rectangular perforations (SFB 452, Figure 4.10). On its reverse are several lugs that would probably have secured it to a receptacle. Most of the English openwork discs are from seventh-century graves, often of high status, for example, Swallowcliffe Down, Wiltshire (Speake 1989: 72-74), and it is believed that these fittings furnished bags or purses. Interestingly, the central lug, plus two on the edge of the Eccles disc, had been filed down, suggesting that the function of the object had changed before its deposition, perhaps following its removal from the object it had originally adorned. In conjunction with the disc were two iron rings that retained fragments of mineral-preserved textiles, one being a loop of a thick woven thread, possibly the remains of a bag (Hawkes 1973a: 281). Following its removal, the disc could have been enclosed in a box or other type of organic container, perhaps along with some of the other artefacts from this grave. In a letter to Hawkes, Detsicas mentions that the objects were discovered at a height above the skeleton, and she responded by suggesting that they may have originally been housed in a box on top of a coffin.

J32 produced a copper alloy ring (SFB 409, now lost). It may have fixed a cloth or similar soft furnishing around the shaft of the spearhead in this grave.

Vessels (incorporating a report by J Cotter)

L25 produced a simple undecorated sandy-tempered, hand-made, small globular pot with a slightly flattened base and a gently everted rim (diameter of 86-91mm) (SFB 477). It was located to the right of the skull (Figure 4.27 shows *in situ*). The exterior surface is partially fire-blackened, though it shows no sign of use. It appears to have been of local manufacture, but its simple form makes it difficult to date. Pots were rarely used as grave goods and are not well-represented in the other local cemeteries. A reasonably close parallel comes from Holborough: a small hand-made vessel (unstratified), of grey ware and decorated over the upper part with criss-cross tooling (Evison 1956: 104-105). A small, sub-biconical jar with an elongated, upright neck, in an organic-tempered fabric, was recovered from the Pilgrim's Way cemetery (grave 7095).

The grave good rite

At Eccles, 24 out of approximately 202 burials (12%) were discovered with grave goods. Proportionally, this figure is lower than at Holborough (nine/40=23%) and especially Cuxton (32/35=91%) and can be partly explained by the presence of late Anglo-Saxon burials. Grave goods were rarely interred during the late period, but those that were include a disparate range of objects, for example, jewellery, coins, combs, tweezers and knives – evidence of a small but persistent tradition (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 138-39). Because the Final Phase burials cannot be easily separated from their late Saxon counterparts, it is difficult to calculate the proportion of the former interred with grave goods. For the same reason, a comparison of the number of accompanied burials at Eccles against those from contemporary cemeteries is also problematic.

On balance, most of the accompanied burials at Eccles ought to belong to the Final Phase, i.e. the earliest phase of the cemetery. An estimate of the proportion of accompanied burials can be made by removing the stratigraphically latest burials: the uppermost ones are those most likely to have been interred at Eccles during the late period, of which none, incidentally, had accompanying objects. (NB: this technique relies on stratigraphic relationships. Any burial without a spatial relationship will not have been eliminated, and the number of late ones could be higher). A total of approximately 170 burials is returned of which 14% were accompanied by grave goods – a figure still lower than that from the neighbouring Medway valley cemeteries. The very high number of accompanied burials from Cuxton *is* unusual, but can be explained by the earlier start date of the cemetery (late 6th century to first half of the 7th) compared to both Holborough and Eccles. Another factor to consider is the possibility that the excavation at Cuxton focussed on an area reserved for higher-status individuals, which are more likely to have had grave goods deposited with them. This view is supported by the presence of external grave structures and internal embellishments, as the extra investment in a grave's construction can be interpreted as a way of signalling higher social status. Out of the 130 burials at Polhill, 79 (61%) had grave goods, and grave structures were also relatively common. In contrast to Eccles and Holborough, Polhill may also have belonged to a higher-status community, or it was one that chose to express its wealth through the burial of its dead.

Except for two assemblages (K07 and K19) none of the Eccles dead appear particularly wealthy. This can be explored further by comparing the types of grave goods with those recovered from contemporary cemeteries in the Medway valley and elsewhere in Kent. Knives and buckles are the most common grave good at Eccles, a finding typical of the period generally (Stoodley

1999a: 30-34), and are well-represented in the other local cemeteries. In addition to knives, Eccles has also produced a relatively wide range of other pieces of personal equipment, including various tools; a situation similar to that noted at Cuxton where two pairs of shears, a possible sharpening steel and a punch/awl were recovered. On the other hand, Holborough only produced one tool: a rare example of a whetstone, probably from a disturbed grave.

A different situation applies to the other object types at Eccles. Only three burials contained spearheads, which can be compared to Holborough (10%, n=4) and Polhill (13%, n=17). Moreover, only this weapon was found at Eccles. In contrast, the local cemeteries have produced multiple types, which also include examples of seaxes or swords. At Holborough, grave 7, was furnished with a spear, sword and shield, and graves 3 and 8 each produced a spear and shield. Although no swords or seaxes were discovered at Cuxton, eight graves contained a single spear, four of which were paired with a shield. The higher proportion and more complex nature of the Cuxton weapon burials may be explained by the reasons given above. As Holborough is almost contemporary with Eccles, the disparity in their assemblages is noteworthy.

Outside the Medway valley at Polhill, graves 84 and 85 both produced a spear and seax; at the Pilgrim's Way cemetery two graves contained a sword, spear and shield (7010, 7067), and a further two had a spear and shield (7020, 7049). Moreover, the burials in graves 7010 and 7067 were richly furnished: the sword in grave 7010 was deposited in a scabbard that had a strap decorated with three silvered pyramidal studs inlaid with red glass or garnets; grave 7067 had a pair of rare drinking horns in addition to other vessels, which included a glass claw beaker. It is probable that Pilgrim's Way was not a community cemetery, but belonged to an elite group (Stoodley 2015); it is therefore not directly comparable to Eccles.

Eccles demonstrates a move away from the earlier Migration-period styles: no burials had multiple brooches and elaborate bead necklaces. This is unsurprising given the date of the cemetery, but neither is the evidence for Final Phase costume particularly abundant. The clearest evidence comes from K12 and its pair of silver spiral-headed pins, which could represent a less expensive version of the linked pins found in burials of the later 7th to earlier 8th century (Hawkes 1973a: 283). Linked pins tend to be found at a burial's neck, and given their delicate nature probably fastened a veil to a cloak or shawl (Owen-Crocker 1986: 92-3, 97); pairs of similar, but unattached, pins may have performed the same function, for example the pair of spiral-headed pins from Bourton-on-the-Water (Gloucestershire). The pins in K12 were found side-by-

side on the chest of a young child (Figure 4.13, shows the pins *in situ*); they were probably securing a light-weight item of clothing. An alternative explanation is that they were securing a burial shroud, although their position on the burial makes this unlikely. For example, at the Goblin Works (Surrey), grave S517 had two spiral-headed pins, one at the neck and the other at the knees and a shroud is suspected (Geake 1997: 35).

No beads were found, unlike at Cuxton, Polhill and the Pilgrim's Way cemetery. In fact, at Cuxton beads and associated necklace fittings were the most common type of dress accessory. Two burials particularly standout: grave 215, dug in the second half of the 7th century or early 8th, contained a female of 17-30 years with *inter alia* a bead necklace, which included a silver slipknot ring and a cowrie bead; in the roughly contemporary grave 306 (female of 17-25 years) there was a range of artefacts, which includes a necklet consisting of two gold pendants and other pieces. It seems improbable that the female costumes from Eccles were embellished by necklaces. Yet an unstratified coin pendant suggests that at least one burial could have had a necklet, and similar evidence may have been lost through post-depositional disturbance. Overall, the mundanity of the female costumes is highlighted by the absence of any 'classic' Final Phase jewellery. Geake (1997: 124) found that in her Period 2 (late 7th and early 8th century) many types of jewellery were present, especially beads and pendants, and it was also common for objects to be worn at the waist, for example, workboxes and spoons – not jewellery but still illustrative of the type of changes female adornment underwent at this time. The closest Eccles comes to suggesting that it had embraced the latest fashions, which many of the other seventh-century Kentish communities had done, is the pair of silver spiral-headed pins. Neither did Holborough produce any jewellery, which may reflect a decision by the two neighbouring communities to shun these influences.

Chronology

Detsicas (1971: 32) observed that the depth of soil that had built up in the area closest to the villa indicated a considerable lapse of time between the end of the villa's occupation and the interment of the burials. This is in keeping with the date of most of the accompanied burials, which centre on the mid 7th to earlier 8th century. However, two burials contained spearheads dated to the 6th century, according to Hines and Bayliss' (2013) recent chronological framework. J30 produced a Type SP1-a1, but it was associated with a knife more usually found in seventh-century contexts. I25, on the other hand, had a Type SP2 a1a2A; this was the only object with this burial, but there are doubts over its provenance. It is worth pointing out that in Swanton's typology, it is a long-lived type (F1). Moreover, there

are several examples of artefact types that were manufactured before the 7th century, although these continued to be deposited as grave goods throughout that century. For example, knives with blades with a curved back and curved cutting edge (Evison Type 1) start to appear in the second half of the 5th century but were still being interred in the 7th century. An example was found in J22 alongside a buckle, also broadly dated. Two burials (L45 and L65) produced buckles of Marzinzik's Type II.24a, a type dated to the late 6th to 7th century. Similarly, Type 5 knives first appear in the late 6th century, as found in K07, K37 and L25. However, apart from a triangular buckle from L56, there are none of the distinctive artefacts of the later 6th and earlier 7th century, such as, Style II bracteates and keystone and plated disc brooches.

Several burials can only be given a broad date spanning the 7th to earlier 8th century, for example, those with Type 4 knives (J43, K12, L53, and L63). More closely datable burials include K12 with its pair of spiral-headed pins of seventh-century date, and L01 with a Type 4 knife in association with a pair of shears, indicative of a date in the second half of the 7th century. The aforementioned triangular buckle (Marzinzik's Type II.24a buckle) from L56 is one of the earliest artefacts, possibly manufactured in the later 6th or earlier 7th century. Because the burial was also accompanied by a pursemount of later seventh-century date, it may well have been an heirloom when deposited. A key artefact in terms of chronology is the fine Style II buckle from K19, which is dated to the mid 7th century (Hawkes 1973a: 286). In addition, the burial had a Type 4 knife and a date in the middle to later 7th century seems reasonable. K07 had the largest assemblage of grave goods, and it included a fine fixed-plate buckle, which is dated to the second half of the 7th century; its sharpening steel and bone disc share a similar date, though the Type 5 knife may push its date into the earlier 8th century. Of roughly contemporary date is L02 with a pin of Ross's medium-biconical sub-type (LXVIIIiii).

There is a slim possibility that the earliest graves were dug before the 7th century, but this is unlikely given that the majority of datable burials can quite comfortably be placed in a period of about 75 years from the mid 7th to the earlier 8th century. However, the presence of three layers of superimposed burials implies a greater longevity than the grave goods indicate, and this is confirmed by the evidence from a radiocarbon date from one burial (J37) of the mid 9th to later 10th century. Furthermore, I22 was discovered with an arrowhead (now missing) of probable Viking date and similar to examples from Denmark. It was underneath the skeleton and associated with iron staining on the third lumbar vertebra, suggesting that at least one individual from Eccles had been involved in an episode of conflict during the Viking incursions into Kent.

Unstratified objects

Anglo-Saxon

SFB 512 (Figure 4.52). A fragmentary iron tool with a blade of rectangular section and an antler handle. The antler handle, cracked and repaired in conservation, encases the tang. It is decorated with three fine incised grooves at the end nearest the blade, four in the middle and four at the furthest end. Length 133mm, length of handle 70mm, width 27mm.

SFB 456 (Figure 4.53). Fragmentary iron knife. Tip missing, straight cutting edge with an angled point. A welding line runs along its back. Length of blade 81mm, length of tang 36mm, width of blade 14mm, thickness 3mm.

SFB 450 g/h? (Figure 4.54). Fragmentary iron curved rod. Plano-convex in section. Length, 72mm, width 9mm.

SFB 558 (Figure 4.55). Coin 19. Coin, silver, found in dark soil at 0.30m down, in trench Q16/1, slightly to the east of the cemetery area. No burials were found in this trench. Halfpenny dating from the reign of King Aelfred. London monogram. Reported on by Metcalf.

SFB 439 (Figure 4.56). L-shaped slide key. The bit has three prongs projecting upwards from the base. The shank is widened and flattened towards the head with a looped terminal at right angles to the bit. Length 154 mm, width (of shank) 21mm, width (of bit) 43mm.

SFB 501. Fragmentary composite bone comb. A double-sided composite comb. Both side plates are fixed on either side of the central tooth plates by an iron rivet. The side plates, rectangular in section, are decorated by two parallel longitudinal grooves which flank the central rivet; the location of a second rivet is indicated by staining from iron corrosion products. The teeth are now missing, but are indicated by coarsely spaced saw cuts on both the edges of the side plates and the edges of the central plate. Length 32mm, width 11mm.
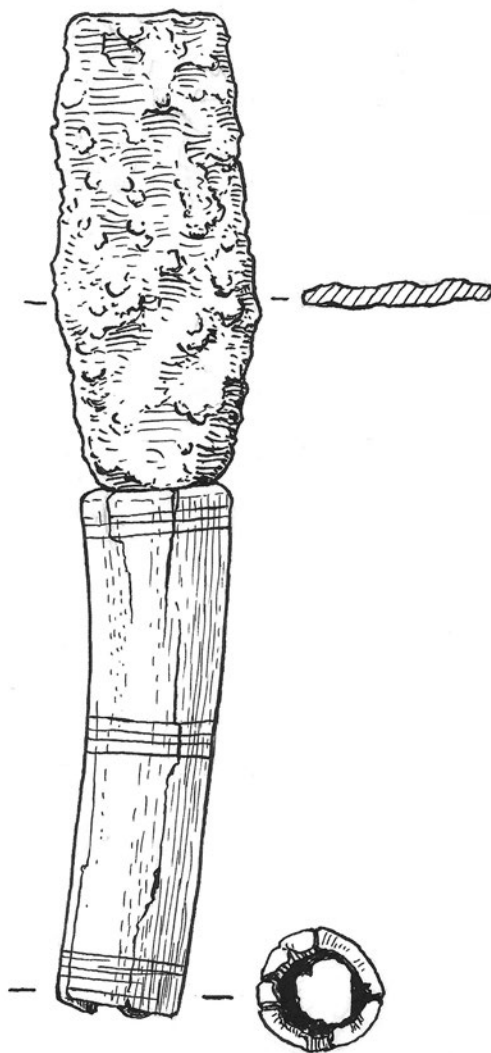
Figure 4.52. Unstratified tool with decorated handle (1:1).
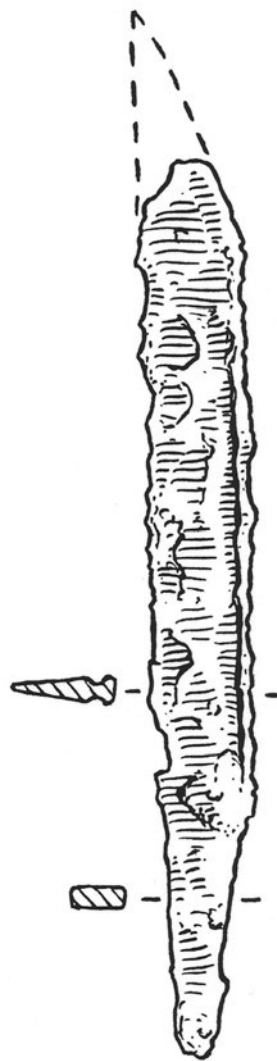
Figure 4.53. Unstratified knife (1:1).
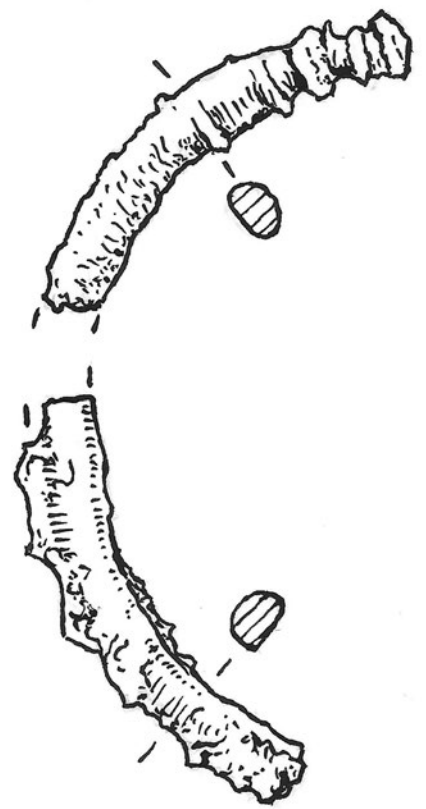
Figure 4.54. Unstratified iron rod (1:1).

Figure 4.55. Unstratified coin (2:1).

Medieval

SFB 780. An iron axe-head. Trapezoid in outline, square section neck pierced by an oval socket hole. Asymmetrical blade that is slightly wider on one side than the other. Medieval/Anglo-Saxon? Length 63mm, width 30mm.

SFB 779. An iron calthrop consisting of four prongs, roughly trapezoid in section, projecting from a central point and tapering towards their ends. Three of the prongs are fairly straight; the longest arcs slightly towards the tip. The object is formed so that the three prongs can form a stable base whilst the fourth projects upwards. Length of prongs 41mm, 30mm, 34mm, 25mm.

SFB 680. A fragmentary iron knife. Tip broken. Long tang with knobbed terminal, possibly used as a handle. Straight back, straight cutting edge. Length, 161mm, width 26mm.

The cemetery and its wider context

The purpose of this section is to assess how varied the treatment of the human body was through an examination of the different aspects of mortuary ritual. Of course, what survives is only part of the picture. By their very nature, certain rituals will not have survived in the archaeological record: ceremonies and libations performed by the graveside, for example. Furthermore,
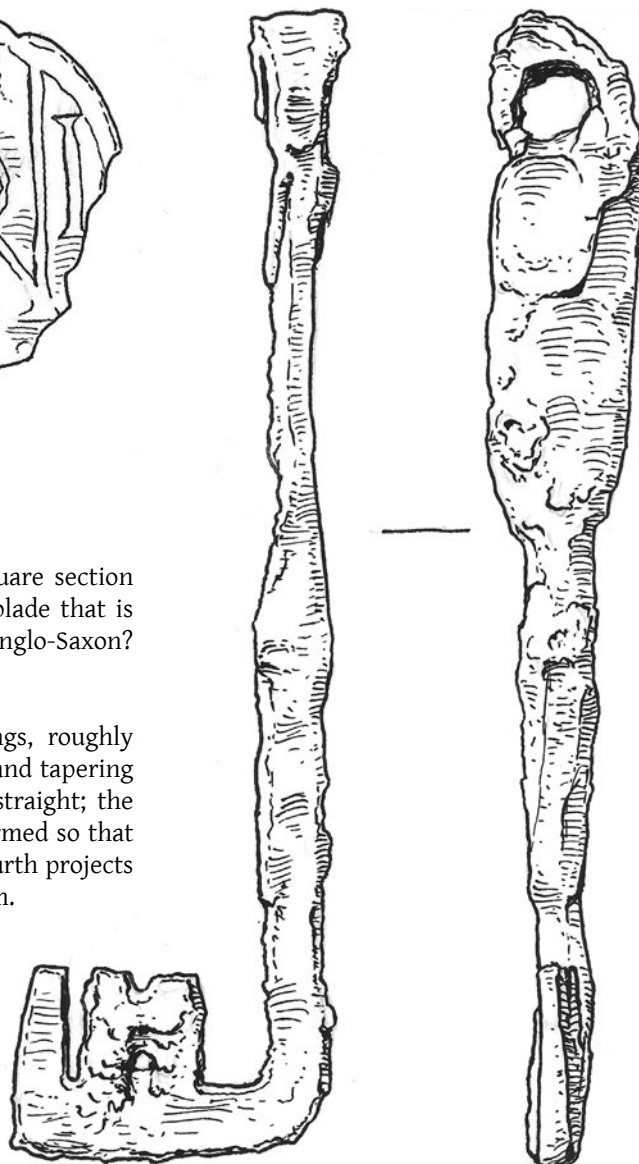
Figure 4.56. Unstratified key.

grave structures manufactured out of organic materials will only survive under special environmental conditions.

Aspects of burial practice (Table 4.4)

Table 4.4 Comparison of aspects of burial practice.

	Eccles	Holborough	Cuxton
Earlier evidence	Iron Age settlement, Roman villa	Prehistoric barrow, Roman barrow nearby	Iron Age settlement
Intercutting / overlapping	Extensive	No	No
Multiple burials	5	1	0
Orientation	Some variability	Restricted (W-E)	Variable
Grave depth (average)	0.47m	0.40m	0.57m
Grave structures	No	Coffins	Coffins, stones and external structures
Position of burials	Extended supine, 2 x crouched	Extended supine	Extended supine, 1 x ?crouched

150

Grave structure and features associated with the burial

Our knowledge of the structure of the graves is limited. They had been backfilled with the same dark brown soil through which they had been dug, which thwarted attempts to recognise cuts, and this was exacerbated by later grave digging and ploughing that obscured graves, especially those that lay closest to the modern ground surface (see above p98). Consequently, information for the shape, character and size of the graves is not available, although depth was recorded for 174 burials and ranges from 0.13m to 0.91m (the avg. is 0.47m, the standard deviation 0.20m); the majority measuring between 0.51-0.75m (Table 4.5). Depth is not available for those in layers 1 and 2 because of the aforementioned disturbance.

Depth was calculated for 36 graves from Holborough, varying from 0.20m to 0.69m (avg. 0.40m). At Cuxton, it is between 0.21m to 1.0m (36 graves, avg. 0.57m) and on average they are the deepest graves, which is all the more significant considering that they had been dug into chalk bedrock and a regular (sub-apsidal) shape had been achieved (Mackinder 2006: 14). Holborough had been sited over similar geology, but in this case, the chalk probably deterred the excavation of deep graves. The extra care and effort expended on the Cuxton graves may be a reflection of the higher status of the group (see above p147).

At Eccles there is a lack of evidence for internal features: coffins and other timber accessories, for instance, wooden planking. Yet, their existence cannot be entirely discounted because timber rarely survives in archaeological contexts. No stone or flint linings or other similar structures were found either, although the legs of a probable male (N05) rested on large stones (Figure 4.48). The examination of his remains revealed a fractured right tibia and periostitis to the lower legs (Upex 2006: 114); the stones may thus have been a ritual response to the problems associated with these conditions, i.e. it was symbolic of attempts to alleviate them. Two unidentified burials from year I were also associated with stones (Figure 4.57 and 4.58). They were found by the upper right arm and the lower right leg of one individual, and a large stone was by the feet of one of a pair of partially excavated interments. Overall, the evidence for grave structure is minimal, and it seems that the bodies were interred in simple pits.

The arms of the mature female in K19 were close to her side, and the position of her feet suggest that her legs had

been bound (Figure 4.14). This degree of compactness may indicate that the body had been wrapped in a shroud (Boddington 1996: 13). Such a covering may have been secured by metal pins, though the lack of them in this burial is not particularly significant because other methods, which will not have survived, were available (Mui 2015: 151). Shrouds can be viewed as a type of grave furnishing, though Thompson (2004: 107-08) has argued that they should be considered as a grave good, which if correct would place it alongside the Style II fixed-plate buckle as further evidence for this woman's importance. Shroud burial is characteristic of late Anglo-Saxon Christian practice and is thought to have first appeared during the early 8th century (Daniell and Thompson 1999: 85). However, K19 is dated to the mid to late 7th century; it is also the earliest in a sequence of three layers of superimposed burials. The religious identity of the women is possibly also expressed by the fish that adorns the backplate of the buckle (see above pp113-114, Figure 4.15). Her skull was missing, which might be viewed in ritualistic terms, but probably resulted from disturbance to the interment by K01.

The protection of the corpse and the marking of its final resting place was a greater concern at the other Medway valley sites. At Holborough, the burial in grave 17 was in a coffin, and two other graves produced timber fragments. However, the evidence is often provided by less direct sources. For example, at Holborough, grave 18 produced an iron nail, typical of the sort used to join planking, and in several cases, a rectangle of dark material was observed above the grave floor and along its sides (Evison 1956: 92). Indirect evidence also pointed to coffins in seven graves at Cuxton: a pair (grave 176 and 382) had ledges fashioned out of the grave walls, probably to support wooden covers; one (grave 215) had a slot at the foot end of the pit that may have contained a marker, and grave 291 produced two large flints from the grave's head end, possibly the remains of a similar feature (Mackinder 2006: 13-14). Outside the Medway valley, ten burials were found contained in coffins at Polhill.

Earthen barrows and other features, such as ring and penannular ditches, post-holes and timber mortuary structures, have been found in several Kentish cemeteries of the 7th and 8th centuries (Hogarth 1973a), including Dover Buckland, Broadstairs (St Peter's Tip) and Finglesham. Any trace of embellishment over some of the earlier graves at Eccles would have been obliterated by later grave digging. Yet none of the undisturbed burials were associated with these features; thus, they were probably not part of the rites practised at Eccles. Neither were any of the Holborough graves associated with external features. At Cuxton, however, the excavation revealed a relatively large range of features: 11 graves were enclosed by penannular ditches, mainly located in the centre of the burial ground (Mackinder

Table 4.5 Eccles, depth of graves.

Measurement	0-0.25m	0.26-0.50m	0.51-0.75m	0.76-0.91m
Total number	36	58	66	14

Figure 4.57. Unknown burial associated with stones.

Figure 4.58. Unknown burial showing a large stone by the feet.

2006: 13-14). Most of these had an entrance to the north east, and some had a post-hole in the gap indicating the prior existence of a marker post (Mackinder 2006: 4). In some cases, it is believed that a low barrow was raised from the penannular ditch, for example at Finglesham (Kent) where the remains of chalk mounds were found in the interior of the features (Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 63). Conversely, the spoil may have been used to create a ring-bank around the grave; the causeway suggests that the interior was accessible. Seven graves were also enclosed by penannular ditches at Polhill. One grave at Cuxton was surrounded by ten small post-holes (Welch 2007: 233), the remains of a timber structure of some description. Although timber structures are more commonly associated with cremation burials (Down and Welch 1990: 25-33), inhumations have also produced evidence, for example, at St Peter's Tip, Broadstairs, numerous graves were lined by sockets, which may have supported timber superstructures (Hogarth 1973: 109-111). An elaborate structure was discovered at the Pilgrim's Way cemetery: the burial in grave 7067 had been interred in a chamber, which was in the centre of a probable barrow (Stoodley 2015: 51-2). Investment in grave construction can be interpreted as a way of signalling higher social status, although

it is intriguing that not all the penannular ditches at Cuxton were associated with the richest burials (Welch 2007: 233). It is probable that the rise in the popularity of external structures coincided with the decline of the grave good rite: it may have been an alternative way of expressing the social worth of the deceased or his/her family. The emphasis was moving away from signifying status through portable wealth to one where the location of the grave was marked for posterity. As far as it is possible to tell, the Eccles community did not embrace this development.

Multiple burial

Without the evidence for the grave pits, it is difficult to know how many individuals had been buried together. The vast majority of Anglo-Saxon graves contained a single burial, but a small number had a pair, and in a tiny number of cases, three or more individuals were buried together (Stoodley 2002). Most multiples consist of individuals interred contemporaneously, although a smaller number saw a later addition to an existing grave. At Eccles, there are five cases where the remains of two individuals were found together: J15 (adult 26-35 and a subadult aged 11-17 years), K32 (adult and 8-9 year

old), L02 (female 46+ and a 46+ adult) and L44 (46+ adult and a ?male adult). M02, a female of 18-20 years, and M03, a subadult of 10-12 years, is also interpreted as a multiple burial. A photograph (Figure 4.42) shows that the skeletons were touching, and the adult's upper body is also turned towards the child. A national study found that most multiple burials comprised an adult female and a child, or two adults of differing sex (Stoodley 2002). At Eccles, three of the examples involved an adult and subadult. A kin-based relationship may have existed between the individuals and, significantly, the adults in L02 had similar genetic traits (Manchester's Group B). Alternatively, a previously prepared grave may have provided an opportunity to bury together unrelated community members who had died at a similar time (Stoodley 2002: 120-1). The Eccles population recorded an unusually high number of individuals who had suffered fatal weapon-induced injuries (see below pp184-185), but none of them shared the same grave, possibly disproving the idea that multiple burial by this community was a practical response to concurrent violent deaths.

All the above are cases of side-by-side multiples, which is the commonest form. It is rarer for burials to be stacked on top of each other, but this is known to have taken place at Dover Buckland where no less than 12 examples were discovered (Stoodley 2002: 108). At Eccles, K34 (male 20-25) and K35 (subadult of 8 years) are described as burials that 'completely overlap' (Shaw 1994: 181), and L47 appears to have been lying over L55. Both pairs could be examples of the stacking of burials, or cases of carefully superimposed graves. Numerous instances of the latter were recorded at Thwing (East Yorkshire) with the upper grave disturbing the lower one, but at Jarrow (Tyne and Wear) nine examples were noted where no damage to the earlier interment had occurred (Craig 2010: 125), demonstrating that considerable care had been taken during the digging of the later pit. At Eccles, K34 was disturbed, so perhaps the existence of the earlier burial was unknown, and the perfect superimposition of the two graves was coincidental.

The evidence from Eccles can be compared to Holborough where one multiple burial was excavated (grave 18: female 30-40 years and a child 3-4 years) and Cuxton where none were uncovered. Although it was a rarity at Eccles, the evidence may reflect a greater willingness to inter individuals together. The popularity of multiple burial increases during the Anglo-Saxon period (Stoodley 2002), as illustrated by Polhill where 14 examples (out of 130/11%) were recorded, one of which contained three burials, in addition to four cases where a grave had been reopened to allow the insertion of another individual. There seems to have been an increasing willingness to allow the interment of multiple individuals in the same grave; a trend

which may reveal changing attitudes to the sanctity of the body, perhaps as also revealed by the widespread practice of intercutting in the later Anglo-Saxon period.

Orientation

It is generally assumed that by the 7th century burial orientation had become standardised, a W(head)-E alignment (Evison 1956: 107-108) as opposed to the variation in the previous two centuries. At Eccles the orientation of the burials was ascertained where the position of the head was known (Table 4.6). Whilst it is certainly true that the cemetery had a relatively restricted range of orientations, less than a quarter followed a strictly west-east attitude. Most of the Eccles burials had an orientation that was SW-NE or WSW-ENE, i.e. 'westerly' and this can be considered the 'standard' for the site. The southern wall of the villa was on a similar alignment, and it seems probable that graves were laid out in relation to it. Yet the initial aim was not to create a cemetery consisting of rows of uniformly-aligned graves as a small number of the earliest burials deviated from the standard, for example, L56 and K19 (both dated to the second half of the 7th century) (Table 4.7). They were also underneath burials that followed the normal alignment, which may reflect greater freedom over the positioning of graves during the earliest years of the cemetery. The use of pre-existing ditches to bury the dead also seems to have influenced orientation. Ditch X is the widest, and its softer fill may explain the high number of burials within it. Moreover, the necessity to accommodate graves in the feature could have resulted in the mix of orientations within it. In the southern part of the cemetery, Ditch XIV appears to have determined the alignment of most of the graves that had been dug to the south of it. Finally, the orientation of a pre-existing grave may have influenced the direction that later examples were dug; for instance, I15, I13 and I18, located just outside the south wall of Room 118, shared the same orientation but one that was slightly different to that of the room. Nevertheless, the limited range of orientations is consistent with the dating of the cemetery to the 7th and 8th centuries.

Most of the burials with a W-E alignment were located in the north-east sector of the cemetery and formed a rough row extending from the villa southwards, e.g. L43, L46, L40, L49, L13, L15, L11, L09, L17, L27, L16, I09,

Table 4.6. Overall burial orientation.

Orientation (direction of head)	Number	Percentage
SW	35	23
WSW	65	43
W	31	21
WNW	12	8

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I08, I07, I06, I05 and I04. This arrangement exhibits a degree of planning not apparent in the rest of the cemetery. The reasons for this regularity are unknown, but this orientation was maintained over a long period, as testified by the presence of superimposed burials.

At Holborough the bulk of the graves were orientated W-E, except for a small one (NNW-SSE), in which there was no trace of a body nor grave goods, but it had probably contained a young child. Orientation at Cuxton was more variable with three principal alignments recorded: W-E, NW-SE and SW-NE and the graves may have been laid out in relation to the grave structures (Mackinder 2006: 13). Outside the Medway valley, a westerly orientation was common: for example, at Polhill, although at the Pilgrim's Way cemetery, two main orientations prevailed: either S-N or W-E, the former slightly outnumbering the latter. As mentioned, a standard orientation is typical of the 7th and 8th centuries and is seen as contrasting with the earlier migration period (Stoodley 1999a: 64-5), but the evidence from Kent and elsewhere (Stoodley *et al.* 2012: 75-76) demonstrates that this is not always the case.

Burial position

An extended supine position is the most common one (Stoodley 1999a: 56-57), found throughout the whole of Anglo-Saxon England from the 5th to the 11th century. The site notebooks describe how most of the burials at Eccles had been deposited in this manner, with their hands crossed over the pelvis (Detsicas 1972: 108). However, the lack of detailed plans means that specific details, such as the position of the legs, are unknown, except in the rare cases where photographs exist. From the photograph of K19, it can be seen that the arms are close to her side and her feet are touching, which is believed to indicate burial in a shroud (see above p151) another female (N06) had her hands over the pelvis and her legs flexed to the right (Figure 4.49).

Other positions (crouched, prone (face down) and burial on the side)) are much rarer, but it is not unusual for a cemetery to contain the odd example of each. At Eccles, L58 (Figure 4.39) of unknown sex or age was tightly crouched and L50, a 3-4 year old,

is also described as being found in a similar position. Elsewhere in Kent, crouched burial is very rare: only single examples can be cited from Cuxton (grave 303, where an unsexed adult 46+ yrs was possibly in this position), Pilgrim's Way (a juvenile, grave 7040) and Polhill where a possible female adult (grave 105) may have been crouched. The rarity of this practice in Kent suggests that, as in the rest of southern England, it was a minority rite, one that had probably been used to mark an individual out as different. The correlation between crouched burial and little or no burial wealth may be indicative of lowly status, or a loss of standing incurred through a particular action or behaviour. This belief is supported by the fact that some examples were in peripheral locations, for instance, Eccles L58 on the northern edge of the cemetery. Similar spatial patterning is noted on the western edge of Barrow Clump, Wiltshire, where grave 7036 contained a tightly crouched possible male of 15-16 years (radiocarbon dated AD 655–720 (OxA-34488/ UBA-31685; averaged result)) (Marshall *et al.* 2019: 136) and at Pewsey where grave 103 was found on the perimeter of the cemetery (Eagles 2010: 281). It could be that a crouched attitude *and* peripheral location were used to set these individuals apart from the rest of the cemetery. However, crouched burial was also associated with younger individuals: for example, at Collingbourne Ducis, a 12–14-year-old (grave 90) (Dinwiddy and Stoodley 2016: 49) and from Pewsey the aforementioned grave 103 (a juvenile of 6–7 years) and an infant of about 2.5 years (grave 73) (Eagles 2010: 259, 281). The evidence from Eccles reinforces this association. A crouched attitude is reminiscent of the foetal position, and it may have been symbolic of a concept associated with rebirth (Binford 1972: 218).

Eccles has also produced several examples of burials laid on their side: L16 (female 36-45 years, Figure 4.25), L30 (female 46+ years) and L31 (?female 46+ years). L16 was found on the north-east edge of the site, and the other two are close together just north of Ditch XV. It is unknown why they were treated in this way, although it is a practice mostly associated with females. From a national sample of 142 burials, 70 were adults, and 43 (61%) were female (author's data). The Kent sample is not large (T=21), but 38% are female compared to 14%

Table 4.7. Burials with a non-westerly orientation. Where position of head is known.

Burial	Orientation	Sex and age	Grave goods	Remarks
J54	NW-SE	?		Ditch X
K19	NW	Ad.	Style II buckle, knife	Cut by K01 and K18, Ditch X
L10	NW	Unid.		No pressure on space
L47	NW	Fe. 26-35		L47 and 55 overlap
L55	NW	M. 46+		
L56	NW	Fe ad.	Knife, pursemount, buckle, 2 coins	Cut by L37, 38 and 44

male (the other adults are unsexed). The position is also noted at Holborough, Polhill and further afield in Kent, including Dover Buckland, Lyminge and Orpington. None of the Eccles or Holborough examples had grave goods, though at Polhill four of the six were accompanied. The latter is particularly noteworthy because each interment was part of a multiple burial, including a rare triple burial (grave 99) made up of a central extended interment, flanked on either side by a skeleton lying on its side. Although a burial may have been laid out in this way to allow room for additional interments, it is notable that at least two of the Polhill graves were wider than normal and could have comfortably accommodated a pair of extended individuals. As with crouched burial, it is impossible to know for sure what the significance of the position was, but it may well have been symbolic of a female-related situation.

Deviant burial

This category is defined as burials exhibiting atypical features, for instance, prone burial, those covered by quantities of stones (stoned burials), decapitation and other forms of mutilation (Reynolds 2009). These traits are ritualistic and were probably used to mark out the burials of wrongdoers: those considered guilty of transgressing social or legal conventions – the practices are symbolic of this behaviour and/or the community's response to them. At Eccles, O1, a male of 20-25 years, was discovered on the easternmost edge of the cemetery, interred lengthwise in the curving gully adjacent to Ditch X, some 10m distant from the cemetery proper. He had suffered a particularly violent attack: trauma was recorded to the head, the back of the trunk and the arms. The evidence is consistent with an attack by an assailant wielding an edged weapon, probably a sword: the individual had raised his arms in defence before suffering seven strikes to the head, which resulted in partial decapitation, and after being immobilised a series of blows rained down on his back (Wenham 1989: 171). It has been suggested that the individual was a member of a raiding party (Shaw 1994: 186). Alternatively, he could have been from within the community, brutally executed for his wrong doings. Whatever the explanation, the nature of the trauma marks O1 out as a deviant burial, a belief underlined by the fact that he was interred in a peripheral location, one that may well have reinforced his status as an outcast.

The origins of the cemetery and its structure

Whilst most of the Anglo-Saxon burials lay to the south and east of the villa, a small number were discovered at the south end of the building (see below p181). These are potentially important to an understanding of the origins of the cemetery because they could mark the commencement of burial before the location of the cemetery was formally established. Alternatively, they might belong to an episode of sporadic grave digging in the decades following the abandonment of the villa in the immediate sub-Roman period, and should be considered along with the other burials found amongst the ruins of the villa.

The limits of the cemetery are relatively well defined (Figure 4.1) (see above p94), and it is clear that the presence of the villa influenced the decision to establish the cemetery here. The villa also determined the character that the cemetery took: the desire to bury one's dead close to the building resulted in not only a dense concentration of graves but a high degree of intercutting (see above, Table 4.2). The situation is marked by a complex, occasionally confusing, arrangements of superimposed burials that clearly shows how popular this part of the cemetery was. The phenomenon is especially illustrated by the central group of burials. K19 was stratigraphically the earliest burial underneath both K01 and K18, and in the site notebook it is described as lying in dark soil in Layer 3: "the lowest of three superimposed layers of inhumations, at a depth of about 3 ft" (0.91m). J19 was also later than K04. On the western edge of the cemetery, L56 is the earliest in a group that contained L38, L37 and L44 (L37 and L44 are immediately adjacent, but their stratigraphic relationship is unknown). L64 was underneath L42. On the eastern edge of the site is a particularly dense concentration of burials, many of which make up a small but tightly-packed row. L18 was dug partly over L27, and L09 was above both L08 and L26. The extent of the intercutting is unusual. It is not characteristic of the Final Phase period, and at the Medway valley sites of Holborough and Cuxton all the graves respected each other. Rather, the activity is more typical of the late Anglo-Saxon period when the layering of burials was a regular feature of cemetery organisation.

The villa was certainly a focal point, which influenced cemetery topography. Moreover, a relatively high number of the accompanied burials were found in its northern half, perhaps signalling where the origins of the cemetery lie (Figure 4.51a). Yet accompanied burials were also discovered in its south and west parts. Also, there are cases of stratigraphically early burials without grave goods, for example, L41 and L28. Thus, the presence of grave goods alone cannot be considered an accurate method for tracing the development of the cemetery.

It is not surprising that the cemetery appears unstructured, but a close examination of the plan uncovers a subtle degree of spatial patterning. It can be argued that the site consists of several plots separated from each other by small stretches of unbroken ground

(Plots A-G) (Figure 4.59 a-d). By its very nature, the analysis is rudimentary and subjective. As Reynolds (2009: 181) has pointed out, it is difficult to know whether a grave was part of a burial plot; it may have originally been located outside one only to be subsumed within it as later graves were dug. At Eccles, the plots endured as discrete units, which indicates that this was the structure on which the site was laid out. It was a principle that was adhered to, even surviving the disruption that later grave digging produced. Also, most of the plots exhibit a formal structure in terms of where graves were dug (see below pp156-164), supporting the belief that this was the main spatial concept upon which the cemetery was organised.

A well-defined example of a plot is found in the north-east corner of the cemetery (Plot A), but there is also a smaller one to its west (Plot B). In the middle of the burial ground, two large groups are identified which extend over Ditch X (Plots C and D), and to their south, there may be at least two further examples (Plots E and F). Perhaps the groups were fairly widely separated, but over time they merged as additional graves were added, thus partly obscuring their spatial boundaries. This belief can be supported by the distribution of the accompanied burials: all the groups contain at least one, demonstrating that each was established early in the site's development. A monocentric model of cemetery development, where the origins lie around a founder's grave and then spread outward from it, either radially or in one direction, can therefore be discounted.

Thus, the burial ground had probably been established around several plots, and given the presence of individuals of different ages and both sexes in each, they probably belonged to families or households (Figure 4.61 a-d). Plot (C) may have been established first; it contains one of the earliest burials (K19), dated to the mid to late 7th century and, as previously mentioned, it is the earliest in a sequence of three layers of burials. Yet the highest number of accompanied burials were found in the north-east group (Plot A), and although none of these can be dated more closely than the 7th century, it does not rule out the possibility that it was established at a similar time, or even earlier than Plot C. It is likely that either one of these plots belonged to the founding family, the descendants of whom subsequently established their own burial plots, in what is termed a polycentric model of development. The presence of superimposed burials, especially in Plots A and C, demonstrates the continued desire to continue this arrangement, and at the same time supports the notion that they belonged to generations of the same family and members of the wider household.

The two plots in the southern sector of the cemetery (E and F) are distinguished by more widely-spaced burials - it seems that there was more room within the peripheral areas of the burial ground. Some burials also record temporal relationships, e.g. K32-33, 35-34, 36-37, N03-04 and N06-07 (Figure 4.59c), and, because space was not limited, the degree of superimposition was therefore less. Yet, the fact that it *did* occur when space was available suggests that it was not a means to accommodate burials in an already crowded area of the cemetery. The different character of these plots cannot be explained by chronology alone because each contained accompanied burials, although compared to Plot A they are fewer. Both plots exhibit several features in common: the burials are on average deeper than those elsewhere (average depth of Plot E is 0.69m, that of Plot F 0.72m; the average of the cemetery is 0.47m) and orientation is relatively uniform. It is possible that Ditch XV, and, to a lesser extent Ditch XIV, acted as a boundary to Plot F, which also lay to the south east of the probable Saxon building (see Chapter 5).

Plot G, which also contained a group of widely-spaced burials, is on the building's other side, and occupied the western extremity of the cemetery; its graves are also separated from the main area by a short distance, approximately 6m. In contrast to Plots E and F, there was a higher number of accompanied burials: J43 knife, J32 ring and spearhead, J30 knife, tool and spearhead and M02/M03 a probable buckle; in addition, burial orientation was also more varied. Furthermore the distinctiveness of the area is revealed by the relatively high number of subadults. This plot was not structured along the same lines as the others and may have formed a separate, small, cemetery. It is not an 'overflow' area, utilised when space in the main cemetery became limited, because it had come into use at roughly the same time as the other plots. In a similar vein, it is not evidence for the gradual spread of the cemetery in a westward direction. Plot G should, therefore, be treated as different from the main part of the cemetery, especially as it lay on the opposite side of a probable building (Chapter 5). Moreover, none of its burials had been disturbed by later grave digging (Shaw 1994: 180), which suggests that they enjoyed a greater degree of protection: the individuals were perhaps of a different, possibly higher, status compared to those in the main cemetery.

Beth Upex (2006: 96) found little correlation between the sex and age of an individual and burial location, though, because only 134 individuals could be sexed, any associations may not have been apparent (Upex 2006: 99). She concludes that, based on the lack of evidence for spatial patterning, burial location was probably not important at Eccles. However, if each plot is analysed, some interesting patterns *do* emerge. The position of a grave was determined to a certain extent by the occupant's sex and age: adult males
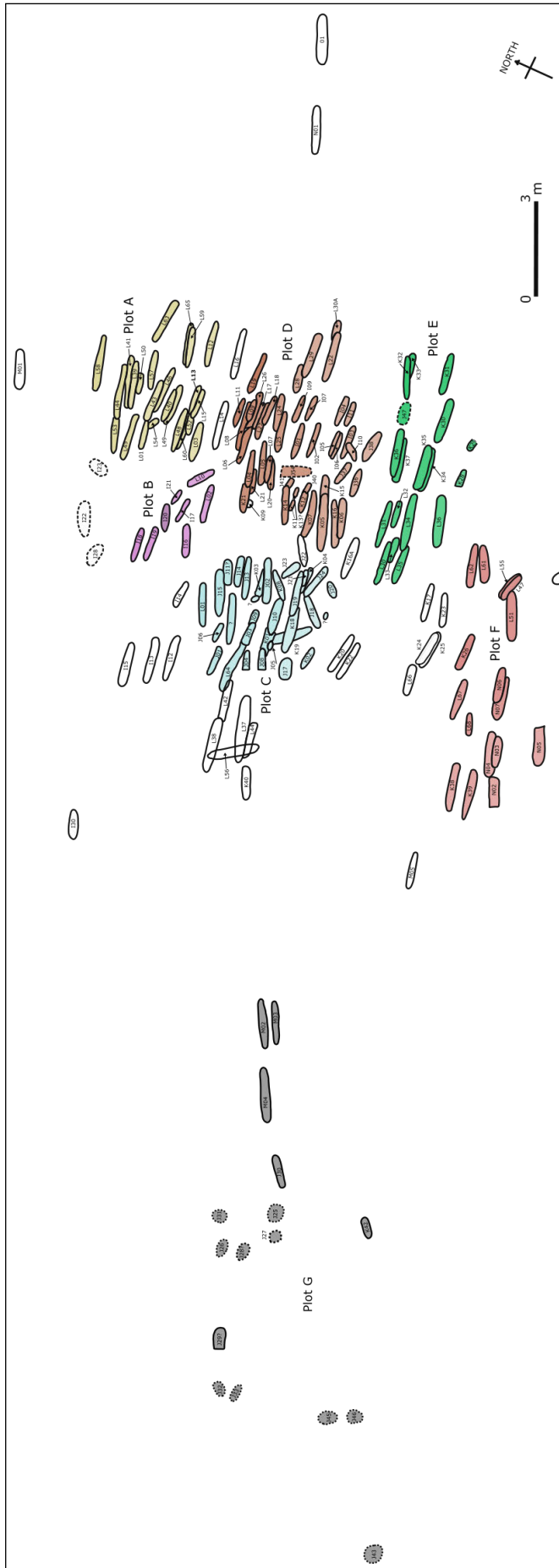
Figure 4.59a. Burial plots (unshaded burials = not possible to allocate to a plot with any certainty).

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.59
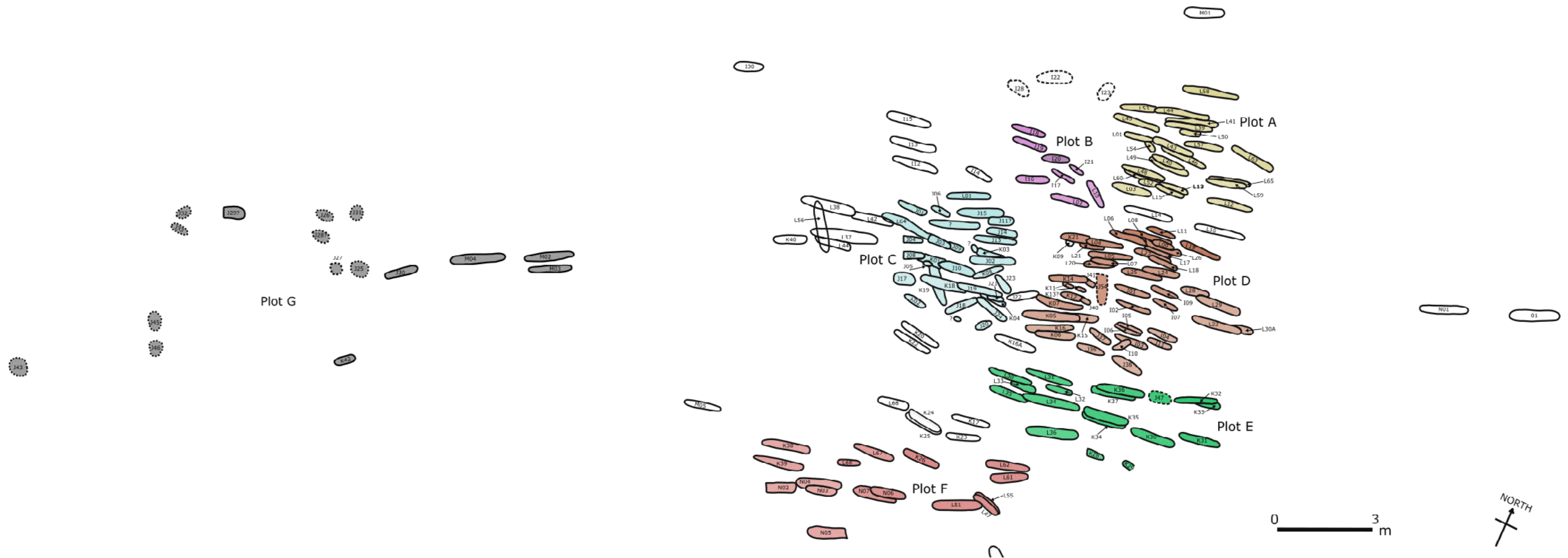
Figure 4.59b. Burial plots (unshaded burials = not possible to allocate to a plot with any certainty).

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.59
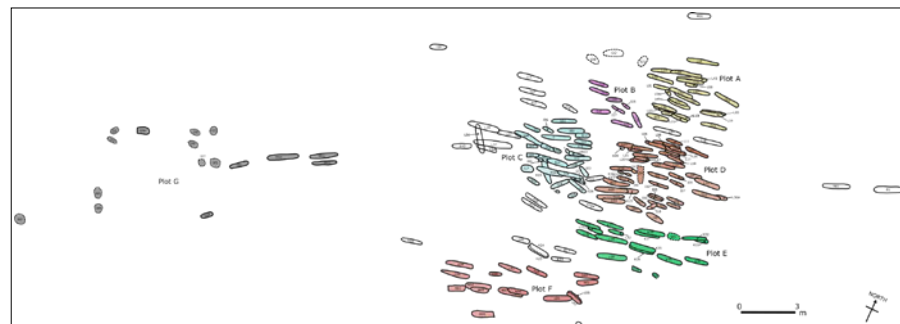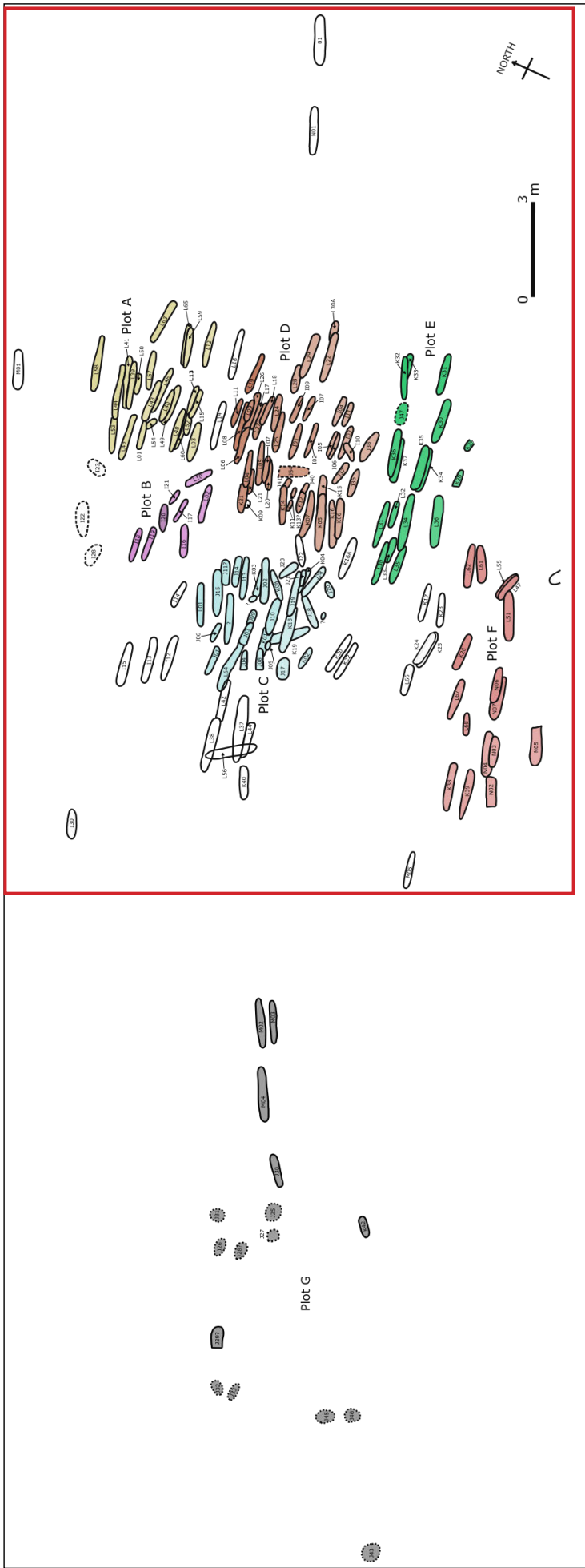
Figure 4.59c. Distribution of burials with grave goods (shaded). Close up of the main group of burials.

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.59

Plot A

Plot B

Plot C

Plot D

Plot E

Plot F

NORTH

0 ___ 3 m
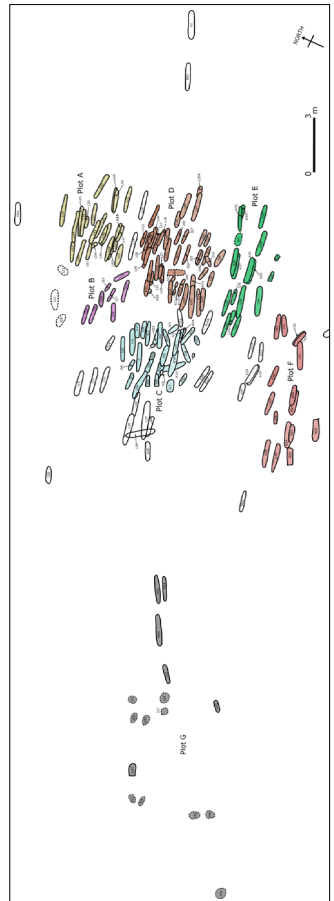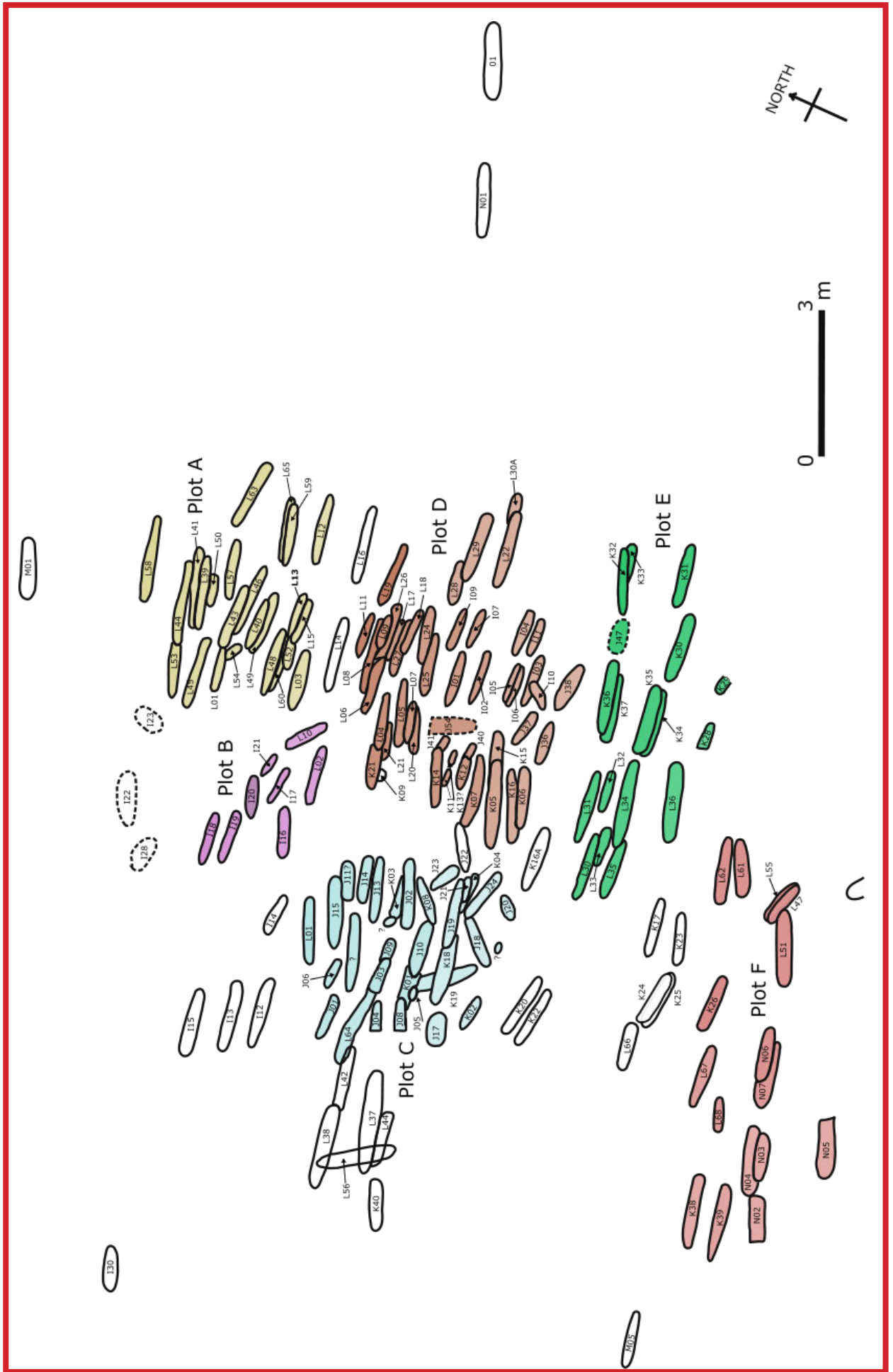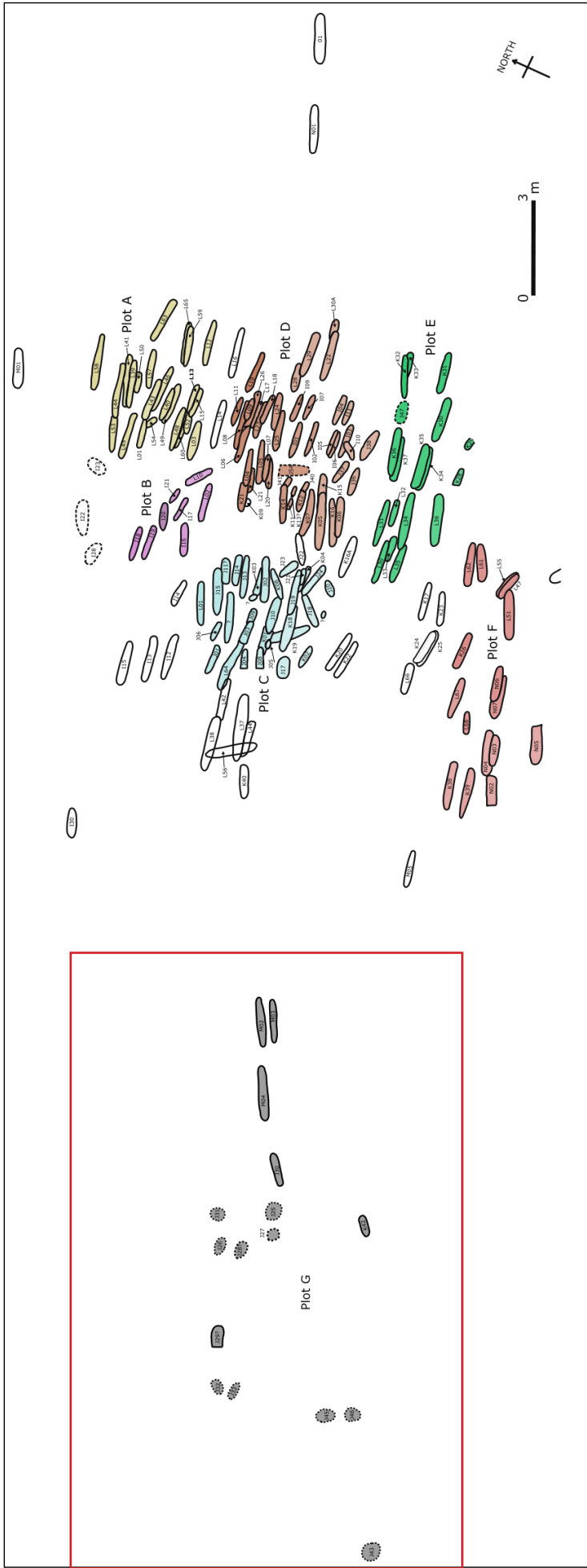
Figure 4.59d. Burial plots (unshaded burials = not possible to allocate to a plot with any certainty). Close up of the west group of burials.

The full image is avaliable athttps://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.59
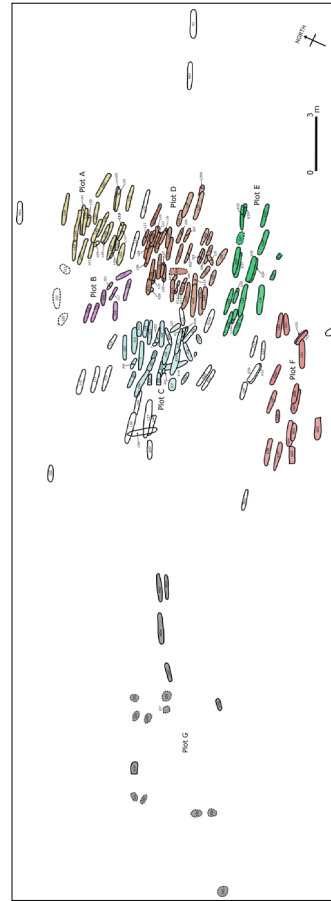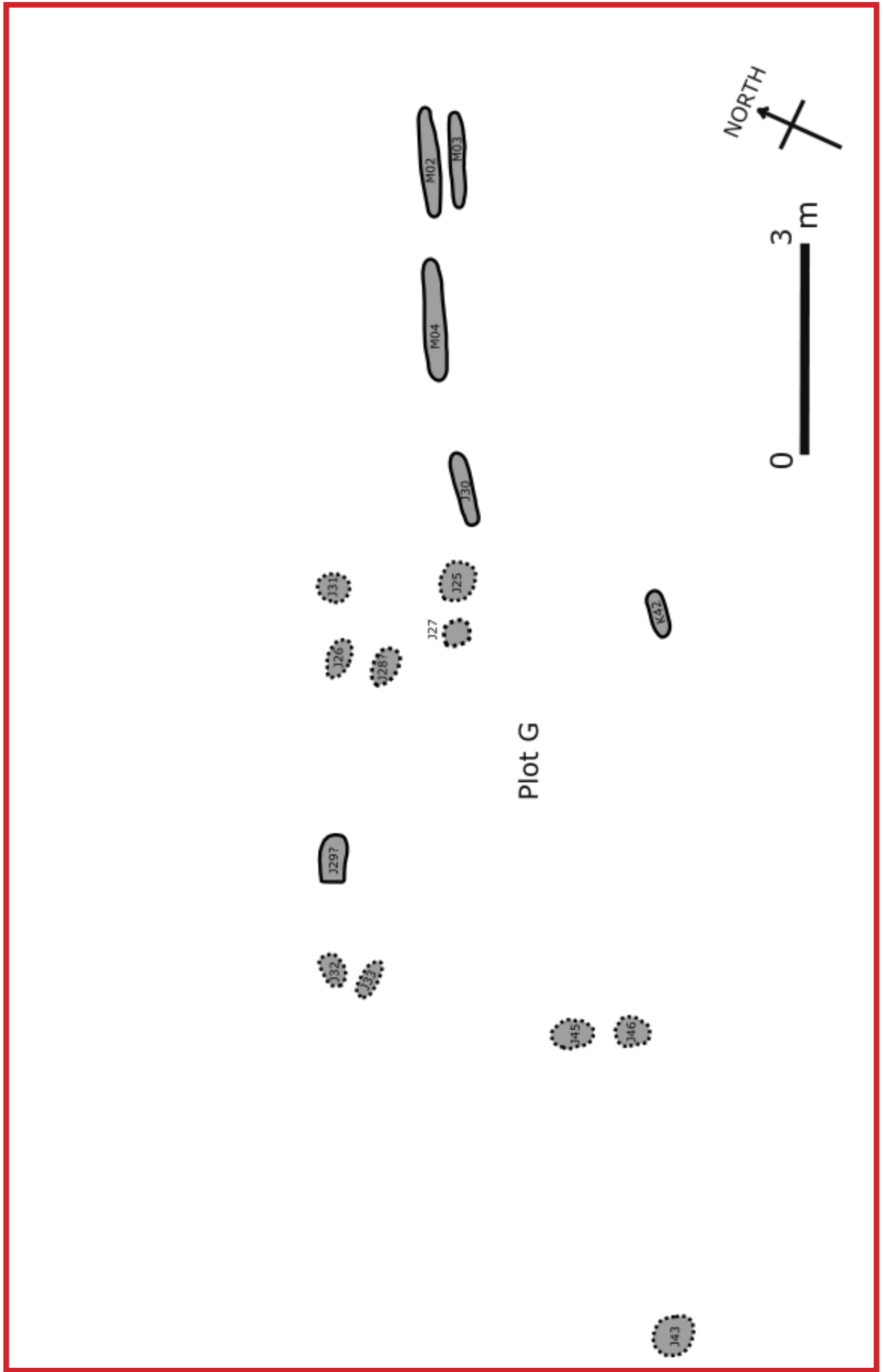
tended to be on the periphery of a plot with females or subadults in a central position. For example, in Plot A adult males (L39, L45, L57, L15, L52 and 60) surround a group of females (L13, 48, 49 and 40). In Plot C, the male burials are again found on the extremity of the group, but in this case, it is the graves containing subadults that are within the interior. This form of organisation is still present on the south edge of the cemetery (Plot F) where males had mainly been interred around female interments. The pattern is less clear in Plot D, which is characterised by a large, more widely-spaced concentration of burials, but males tend to be found on its periphery.

Further evidence for the existence of burial plots is provided by Manchester's (1984) genetic study (Figure 4.60 a-d). Although it is not an exclusive pattern, burials of his Group A and C cluster in the central part of the cemetery; those belonging to B are more prolific in the central and northern part. The fact that individuals of the same genetic group are found in different plots can probably be explained by marriage taking place between the families.

Society and community

The human remains (Figure 4.61 a-d)

The following section summarises the results of Upex's (2006) study of the palaeopathology of Eccles. Human remains can give valuable insights into the size, general health and type of society represented by a cemetery. By integrating the data and archaeological evidence, a more rounded understanding of a population can be achieved. At Eccles, there were roughly equal numbers of males and females, which is within the normal range for Kent. Likewise, the age-at-death profile for Eccles is very similar to that recorded for other Kentish groups. The number of subadults is low, but this is a reflection of their survival into adulthood, combined with their poor representation – a feature typical of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Stoodley 2000: 458-59). Based on the human remains, Eccles appears to have been the burial place of a typical rural community; it did not belong to a specialist group, for example, a religious site or a trading centre.

The Eccles population was relatively healthy compared to contemporary communities. Anaemia recorded an average prevalence rate, and there was a total absence of evidence for scurvy and rickets. The very low incidence rates for linear enamel hypoplasia indicates that the amount of childhood illness or malnutrition was rare compared to many other groups of the time. Although spinal problems (osteoarthritis, spinal joint disease and Schmorls nodes), were common at Eccles the statistics reveal that the community was not

abnormal for the period – the group did not partake in any unusual lifestyle or occupation-related activities resulting in deformities. The amount of manual labour undertaken by the community was probably normal. Eccles was also typical in terms of non-specific infection. Interestingly the rate of dental calculus was much lower than the national average, although this may have resulted from how the material has been stored leading to its loss. The evidence from carious lesions and dental abscesses is comparable to that recorded elsewhere, suggesting that the occurrence of dental disease was not unusual. Overall, the general health of the Eccles community was probably quite good. However, an aspect that sets Eccles apart from the rest of the county is the relatively high occurrence of sharp force trauma weapon injuries. In fact, proportionally, Eccles has the second-highest rate of trauma nationally. Further proof that the community experienced violent episodes is the fact that cases of multiple fractures are above the national average. A detailed study of the trauma was undertaken by John Griffiths (2007) and is discussed below.

No spatial patterning of burials with stress markers, non-specific infections and dental diseases was found, and the same applies to individuals with degenerative joint disease and trauma, demonstrating that these conditions did not influence the organisation of the cemetery. Apart from sex and age, the human remains offer little evidence to indicate why certain individuals were buried in specific places or specific ways. An exception for the latter is N05, an unsexed adult who had suffered an oblique fracture to the distal right tibia and was found with its legs resting on large stones (see above p151).

Social archaeology and the Eccles community

Mortuary remains are valuable because they have the potential to provide detailed information about the structure of past societies. Where a strong association exists between cultural practices and biological sex, it is usually taken as representative of a gender-based system of social organisation. The analysis of early Anglo-Saxon burial practice has revealed that during the 5th and 6th century gender determined the form that an individual's burial took (Stoodley 1999a). The signalling of gender was afforded priority through the provisioning of grave goods: males had weaponry (Härke 1990) (symbolising masculinity), and females were associated with dress fasteners and items of jewellery (symbolising femininity) (Stoodley 1999a: 74-80). In Kent 87% (no.: 76) of weapons were found with male burials (author's data), although a higher proportion was found in Richardson's (2005) study of the county (95% of all weapons were in graves containing males). The deposition of jewellery was not as strictly gender-
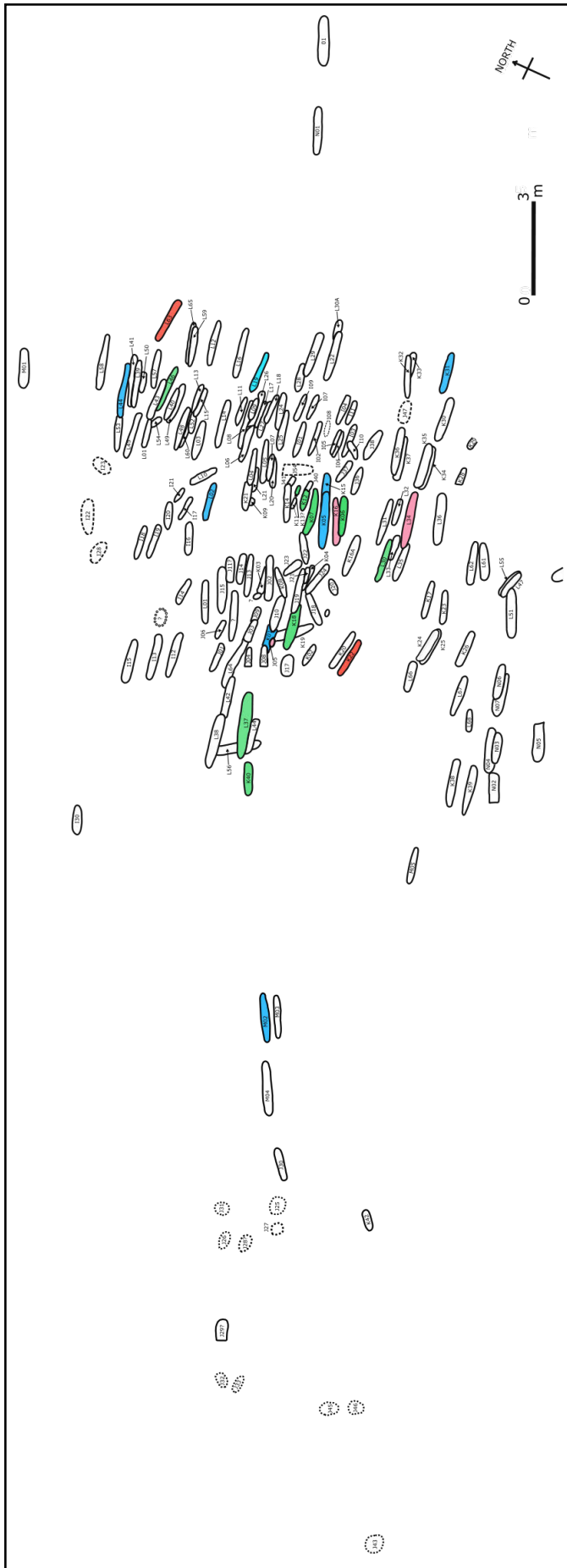
Figure 4.60a. Genetic groups. Red (Group A; lighter red = possible Group A), blue (Group B; lighter blue = possible Group B), green (Group C).

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.60
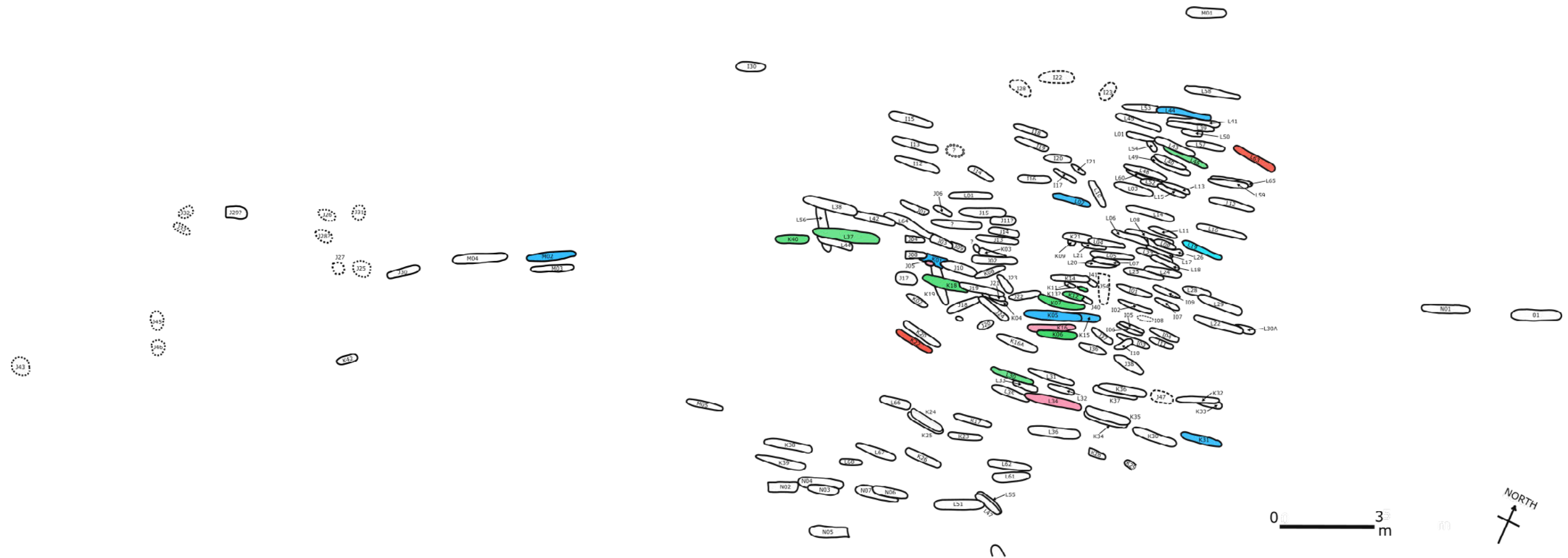
Figure 4.60b. Genetic groups. Red (Group A; lighter red = possible Group A), blue (Group B; lighter blue = possible Group B), green (Group C).

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.60
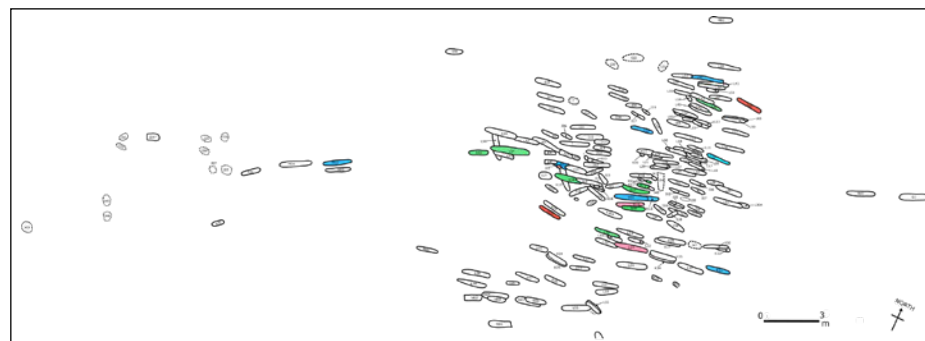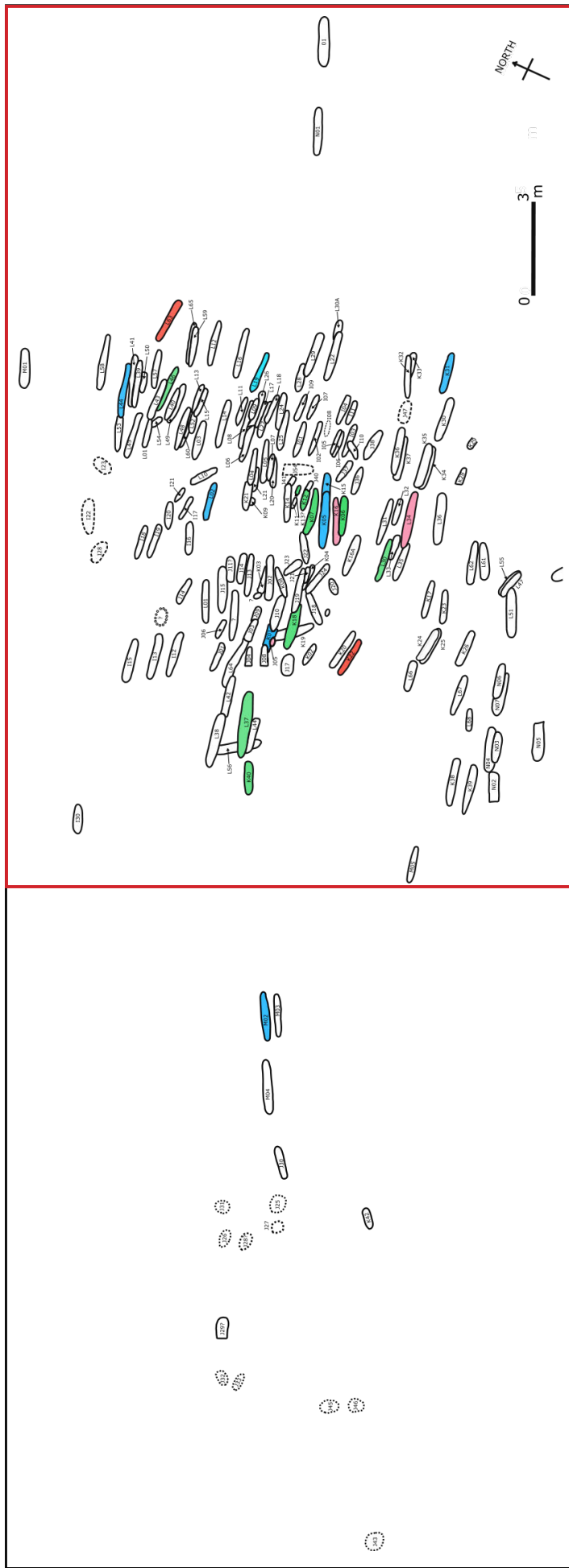
Figure 4.60c. Genetic groups. Red (Group A; lighter red = possible Group A), blue (Group B; lighter blue = possible Group B), green (Group C). Close up of the main group of burials.

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.60
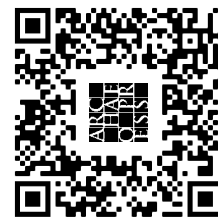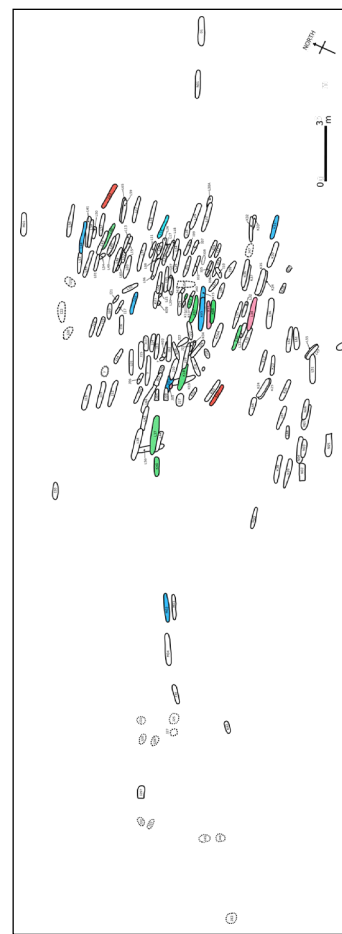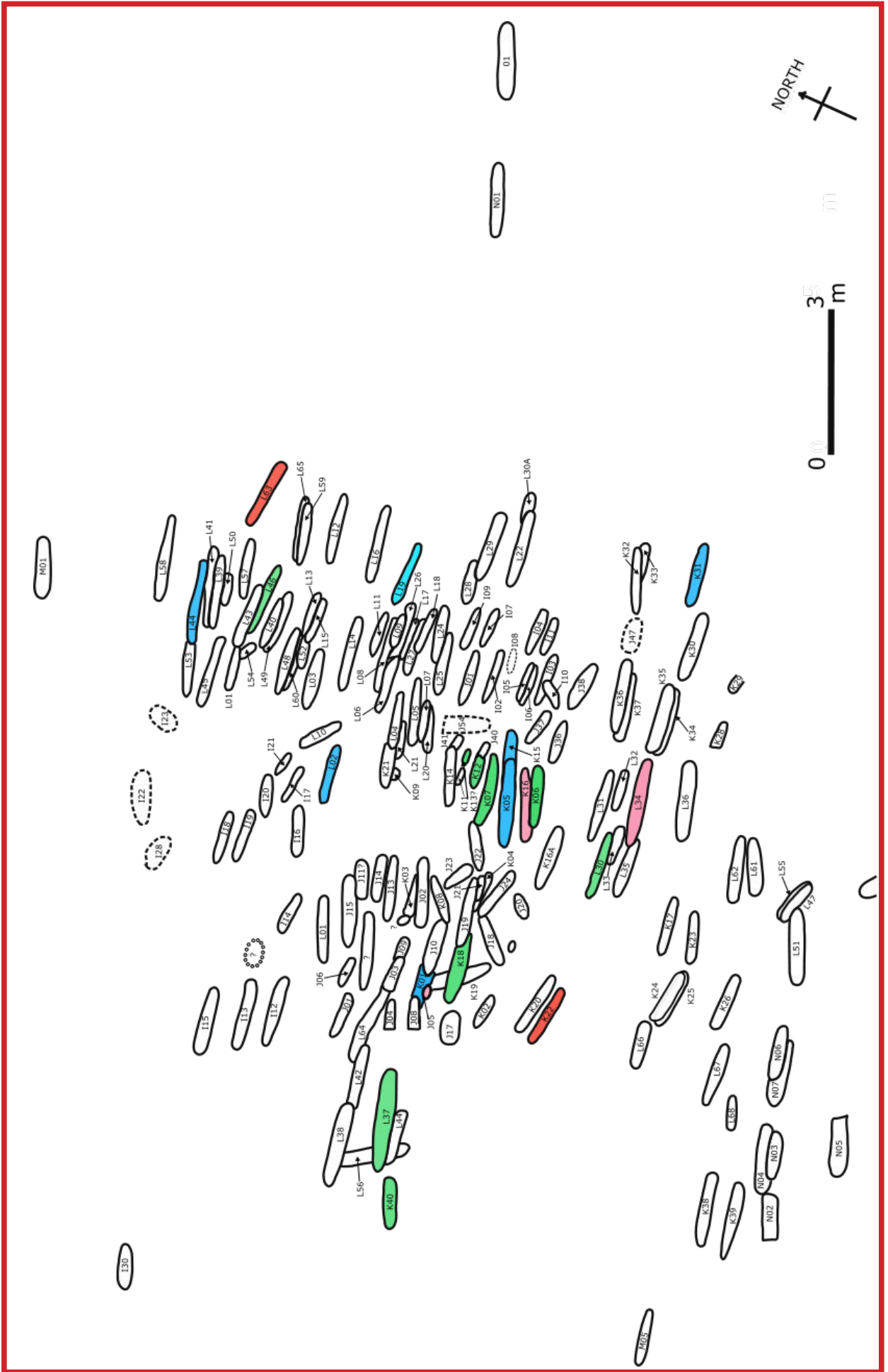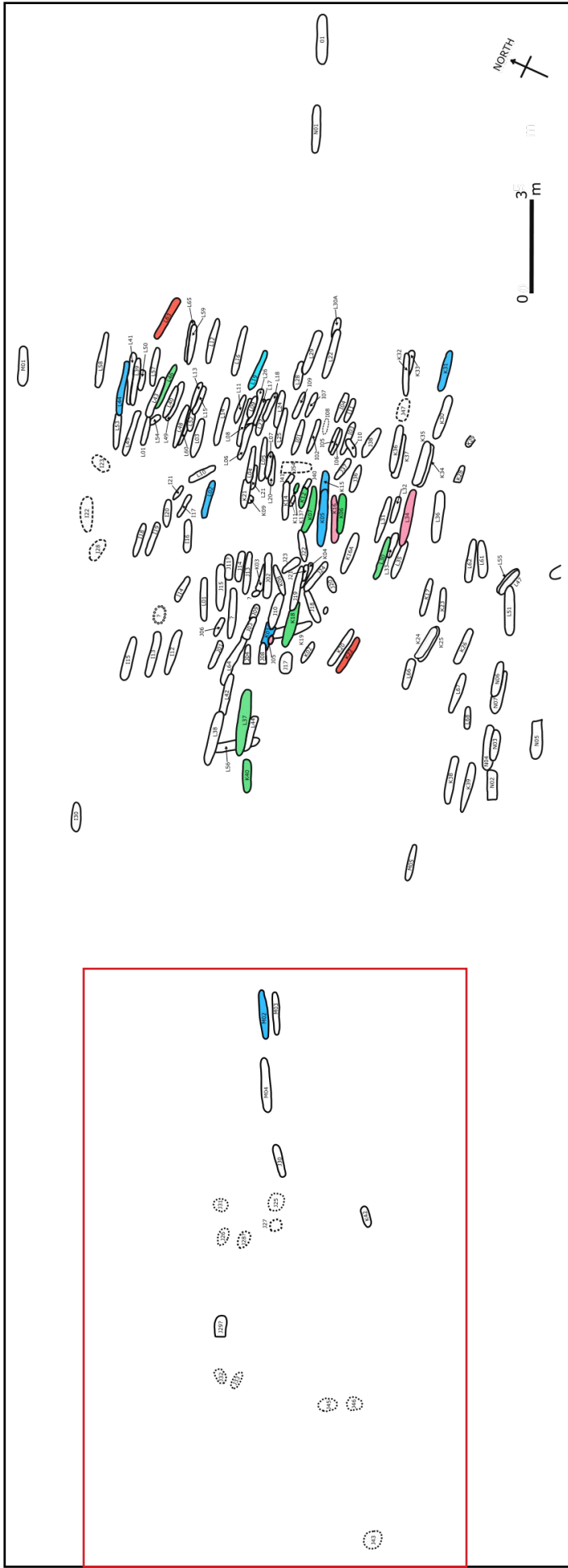
Figure 4.60d. Genetic groups. Red (Group A: lighter red = possible Group A); blue (Group B: lighter blue = possible Group B), green (Group C). Close up of the west group of burials.
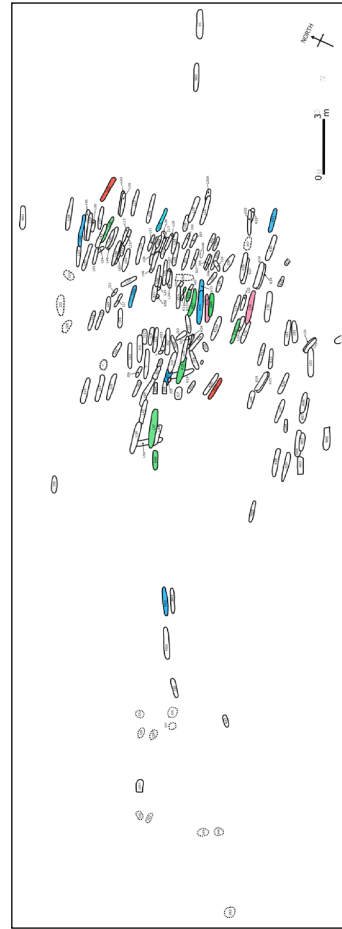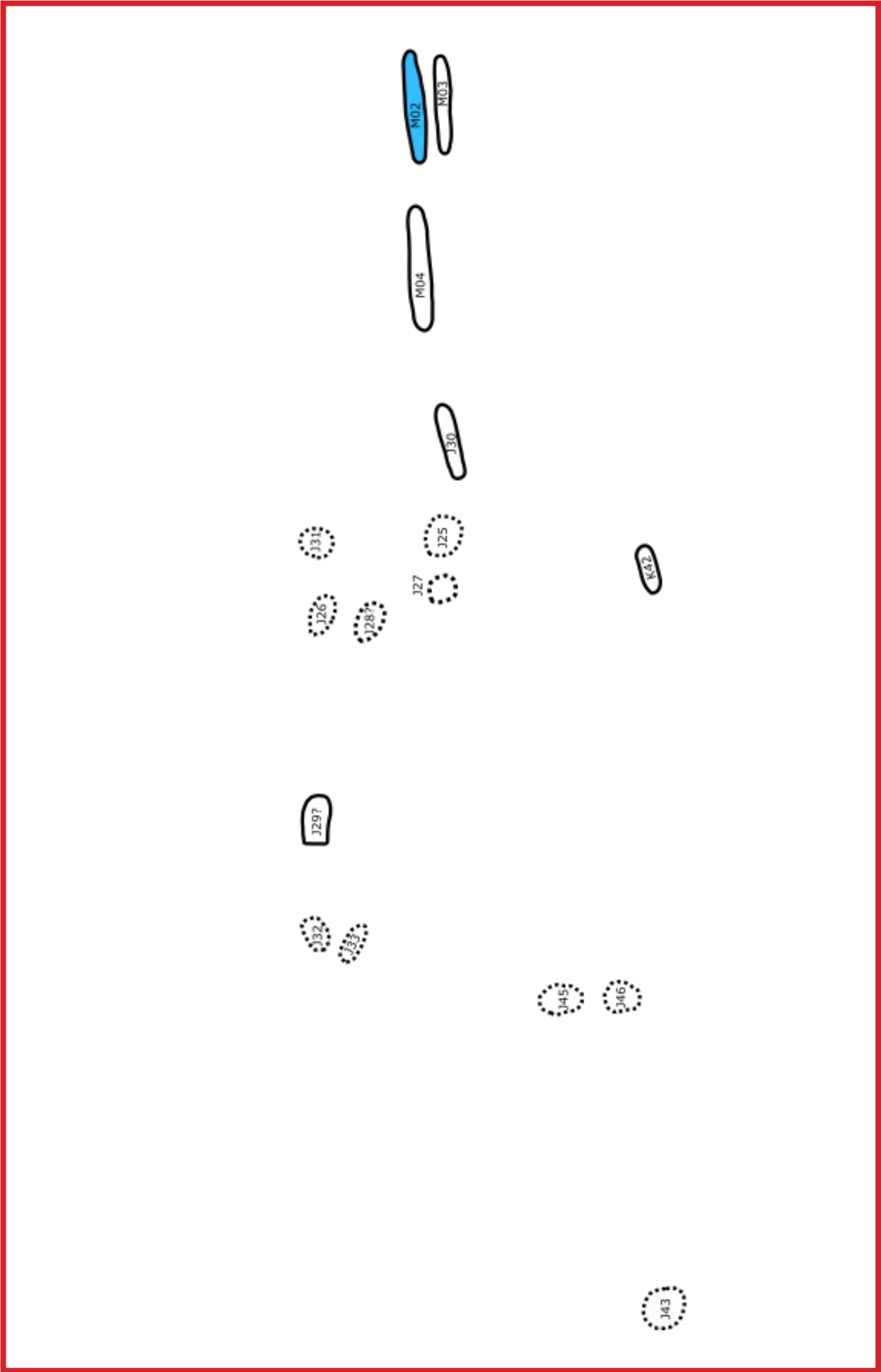
based in Kent: 80% (no.: 75) of female burials were furnished with these items (author's data), but it is still significant enough to indicate that the practice was symbolic of femininity.

By the late 6th century the grave good rite was waning, and although it was still possible for a minority to express distinctions of gender through burial wealth, the numbers with this paraphernalia had declined. The weapon-burial rite ended by the early 8th century (Härke 1992: 159), and at the same time, there is a sharp fall in the number of burials afforded jewellery and dress accessories (Stoodley 1999a: 81-83). Moreover, the nature of the gender-related assemblages interred during the 7th century was subtly different from that of the preceding two centuries. As swords, spears and shields, weapons popular during the 5th and 6th centuries, declined in number, the seax gradually increased in popularity (Härke 1992: 159). For females, the Germanic character of the costume jewellery gave way to more subtle, classically-inspired, items. A change concomitant with the decline of the gendered burial rite is the increase in the number of individuals buried without gender-signalling grave goods; many being unaccompanied, or furnished with only a knife and/or buckle (Stoodley 1999b).

The 24 accompanied burials at Eccles consist of two males and four probable males, seven females and one probable female, five unsexed adults and five subadults. There is a low number of accompanied burials but compared to other Final Phase sites the evidence for a ritually-expressed gender system is much weaker. Of the three weapon burials, I25 is a possible female. Although there are concerns over both the provenance of the artefact and the sexing of the individual, the burial is not without parallels (see above p142). Compared to Eccles, masculinity was signalled more strongly at Holborough, where there were four weapon burials. At Cuxton, its expression was greater still with eight graves containing weapons. The ritual marking of a masculine status at Eccles may have been less relevant to the group. In some areas during the 7th century, such as Wessex, most weapon burials were interred in separate burial locales away from the community cemeteries, either under barrows or in a non-community type of cemetery, identified by an unusually high number of males (Stoodley 1999b). Weapons had become a symbol of elite male status, rather than a general symbol of masculinity. If a similar development was taking place in Kent, this might explain the low number of weapon burials at Eccles. The higher numbers of weapon burials at Cuxton, and the generally greater burial wealth and above-ground structures, could indicate that it belonged to an elite group. The same probably applies outside the Medway valley at the Pilgrim's Way cemetery (Stoodley 2015).

However, at the community cemetery of Holborough, the signalling of masculinity is relatively strong, especially compared to Eccles. As previously described (see above p142) the weapon burials were clustered on its southern edge, and at Eccles two burials with spearheads were located on the western edge of the site. This arrangement suggests that the distinctiveness of the group was being commemorated. It seems that in the 7th century, the location of weapon burials was more tightly controlled than in the preceding two centuries, whether internally within a community cemetery or through the foundation of a separate site. Both developments affected burial practice in the Medway valley; it is an event that may have been reflective of the increasing social stratification as a result of the emergence of large kingdoms and the associated changes to male status (Stoodley 1999b).

The scarcity of jewellery at Eccles affected the expression of the feminine gender, yet, notably, women had a greater number of grave goods generally, which in itself may have been a way of distinguishing them (Upex 2006: 99). Moreover, only two probable males, compared to six females, had knives and/or buckles, objects traditionally viewed as gender-neutral. Within the context of Eccles, knives and buckles may have, therefore, functioned as active symbols of gender, although caution is urged because there are also six unsexed burials with these items.

An individual's gender was closely bound up with their age, and this determined the level of symbolism that was conferred (Stoodley 2000). Compared to children, adults got a greater number of objects and wealthier assemblages (Crawford 1993; Gowland 2006; Stoodley 2000). Detailed analysis of the burial data has revealed age-related thresholds within each gender category that defined passage from one age grade to another (Stoodley 2000). With each grade may have come different social roles and identities, which were symbolised through grave goods. Not surprisingly, the ritual expression of age was also seriously affected by the decline of the grave good rite. Furthermore, during the 7th century, the deposition of weapons was increasingly restricted to adults (Härke 1992: 160-161): weapons had become a strong signal of adult male status. Unsurprisingly, at Eccles, the three spearheads were found with adults.

The situation regarding jewellery and female-linked grave goods is quite different. With the decline in the grave good rite, there is a loosening of the age-related barriers previously observed (Stoodley 1999b: 103). In the 7th century, it was not unusual for jewellery to occur with children, as seen at Eccles: K12 a three-year-old with a pair of silver pins, and Holborough where grave 11 contained the burial of 12-15-year-old

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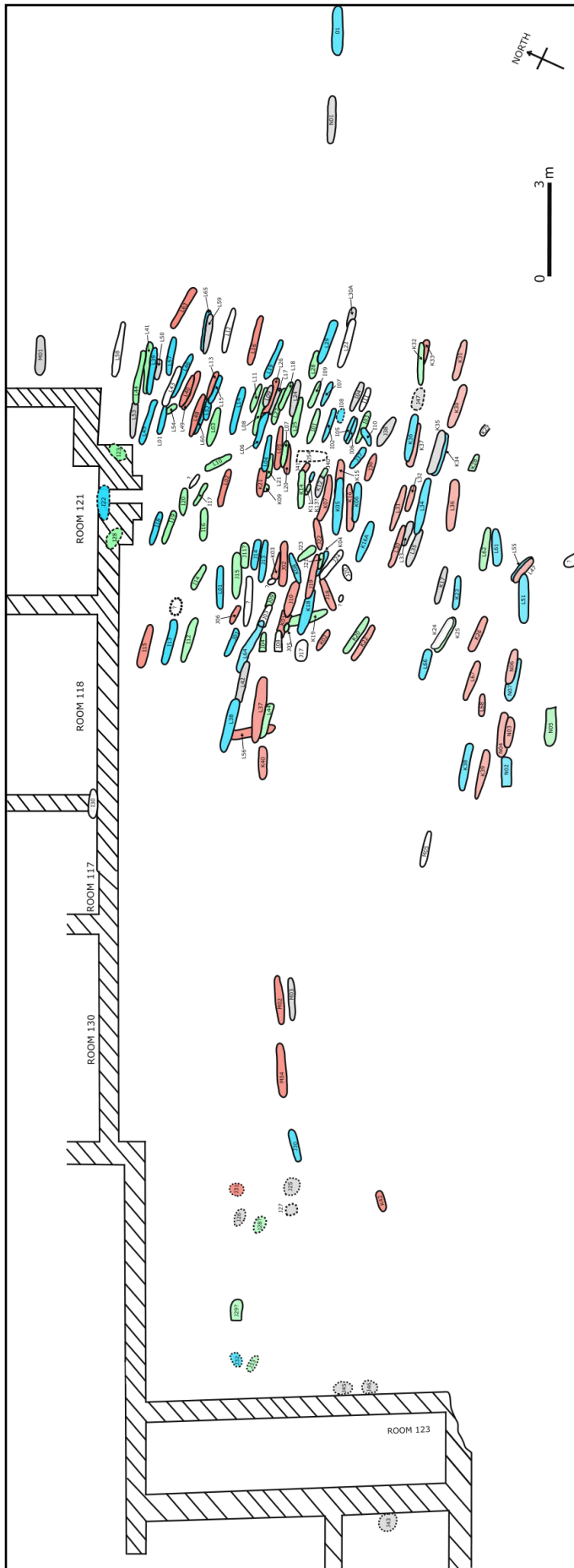
Figure 4.61a. Distribution of sex and age groups. Blue=male, red=female, green=unsexed adult, grey=subadult, unshaded=unknown sex or age.

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.32028/9781789695878-fig4.61
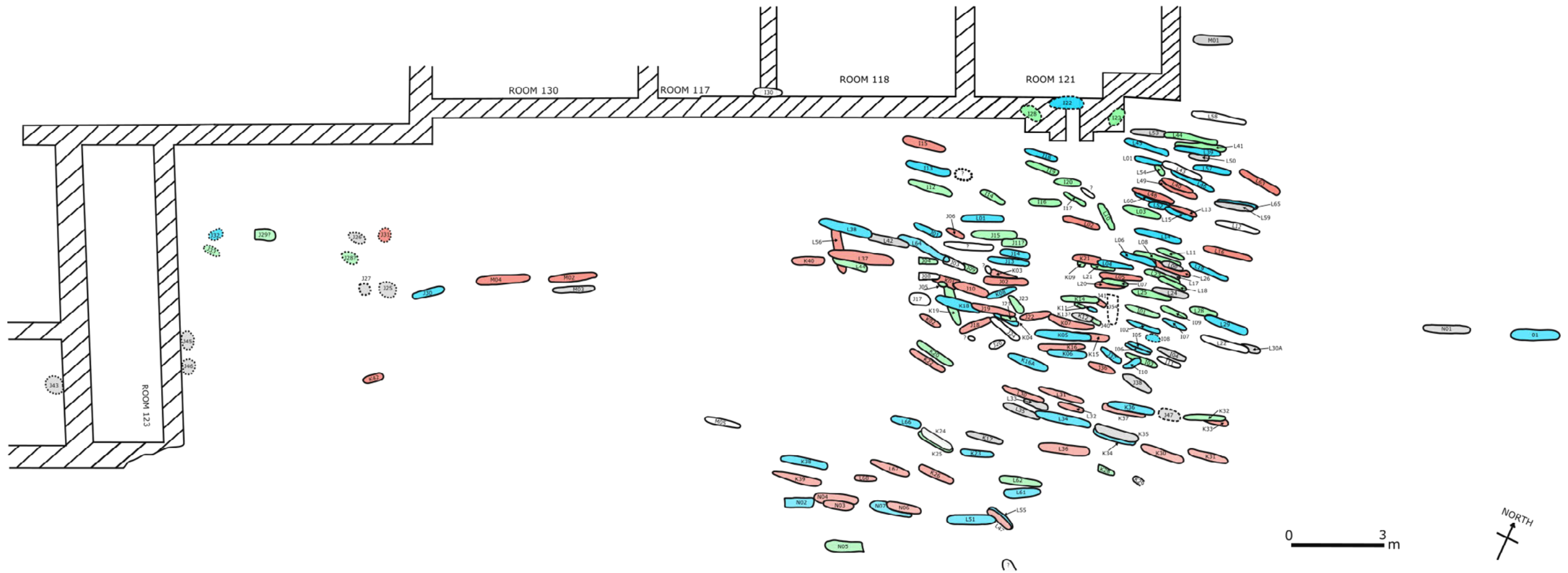
Figure 4.61b. Distribution of sex and age groups. Blue=male, red=female, green=unsexed adult, grey=subadult, unshaded=unknown sex or age.

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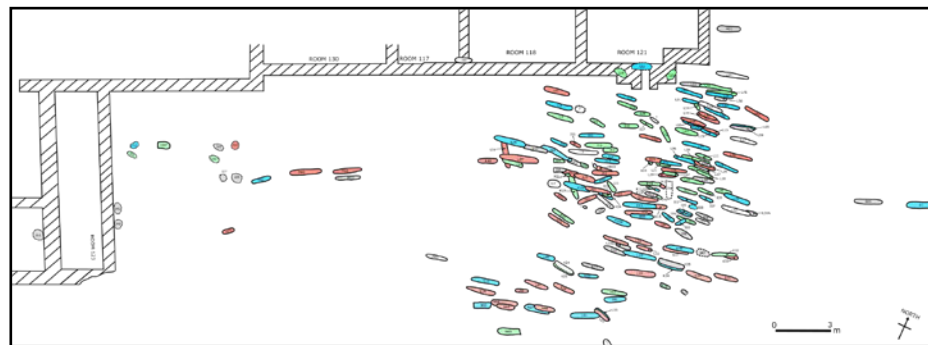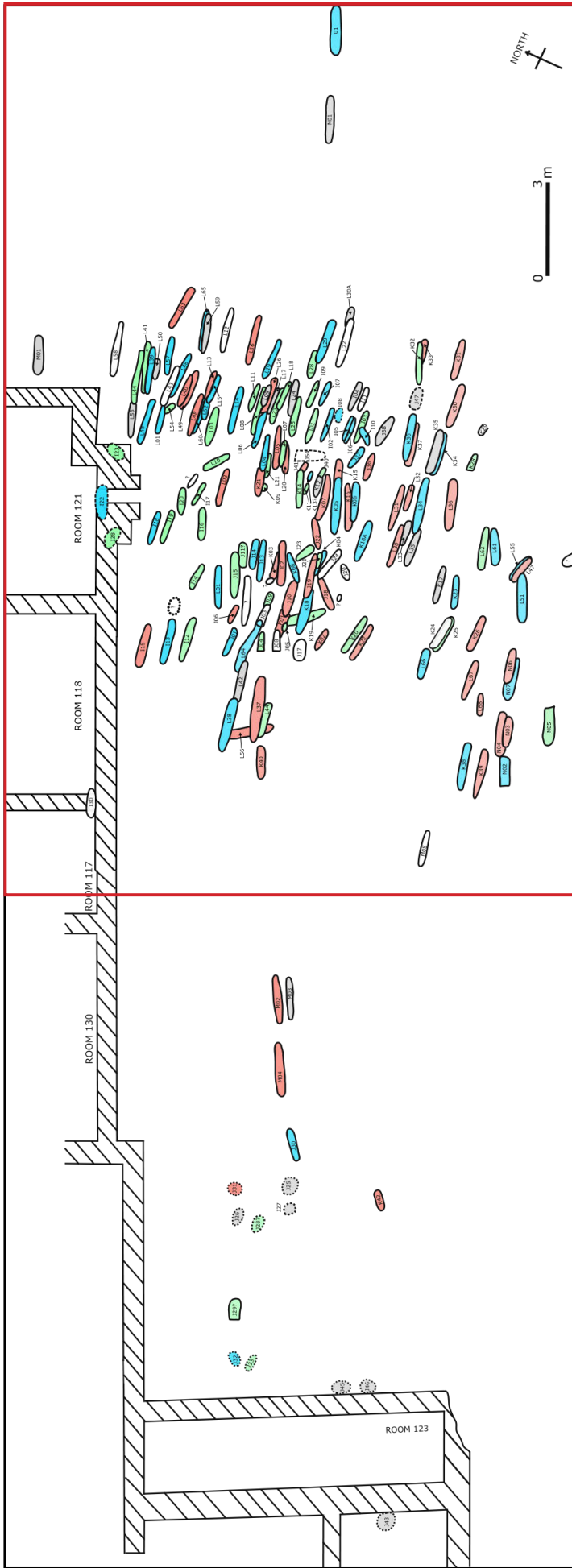
Figure 4.61c. Distribution of sex and age groups. Blue=male, red=female; green=unsexed adult, grey=subadult, unshaded=unknown sex or age. Close up of the main group of burials.

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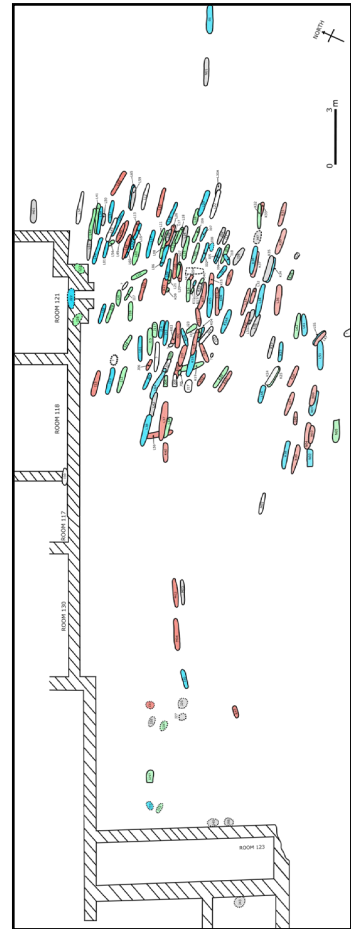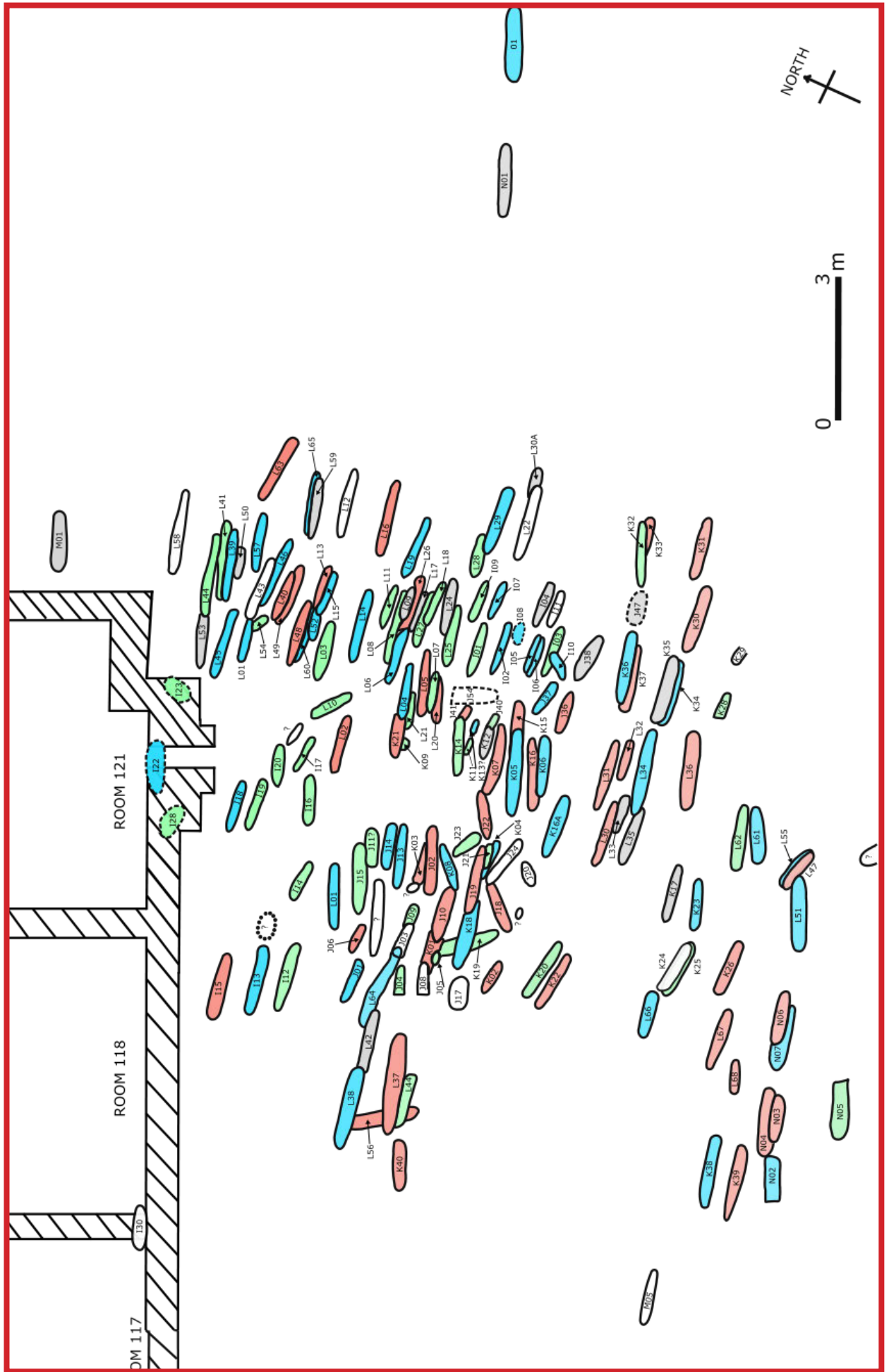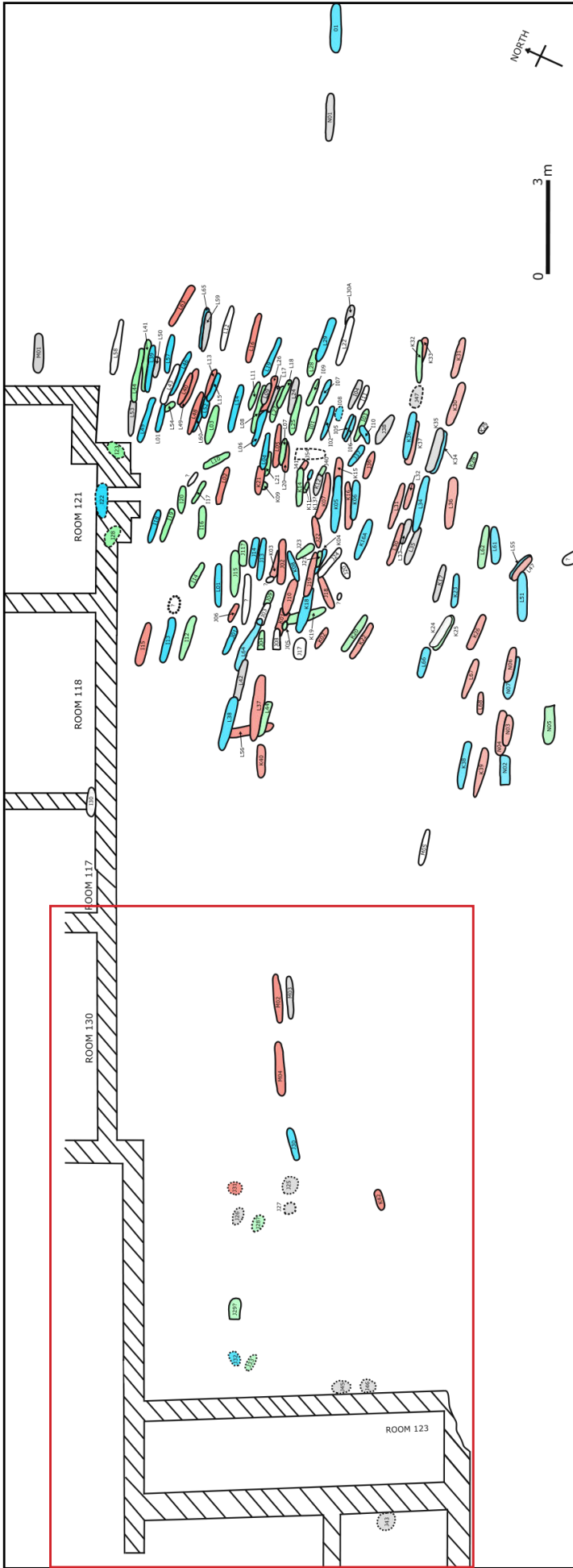
Figure 4.61d. Distribution of sex and age groups. Blue=male, red=female, green=unsexed adult, grey=subadult, unshaded=unknown sex or age. Close up of the west group of burials.

The full image is avaliable at https://doi.org/10.3202B/9781789695878–fig4.61

178

ROOM 130

ROOM 123

NORTH

3 m

0

M02

M03

M04

J30

J31

J25

J27

J26

J28?

J29?

J32

J33?

K42

J45

J46

J43
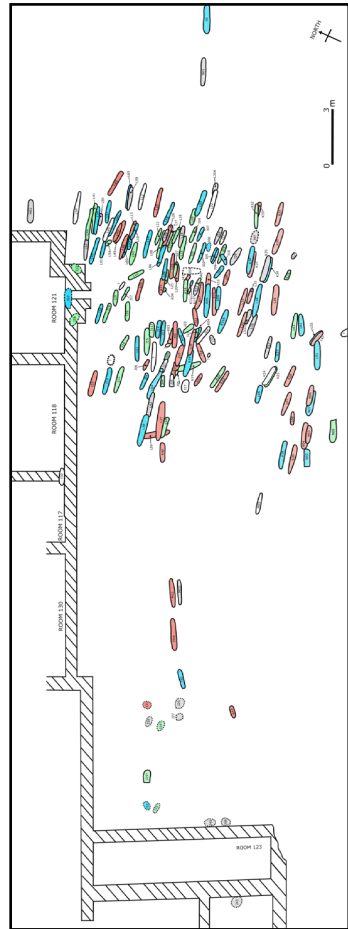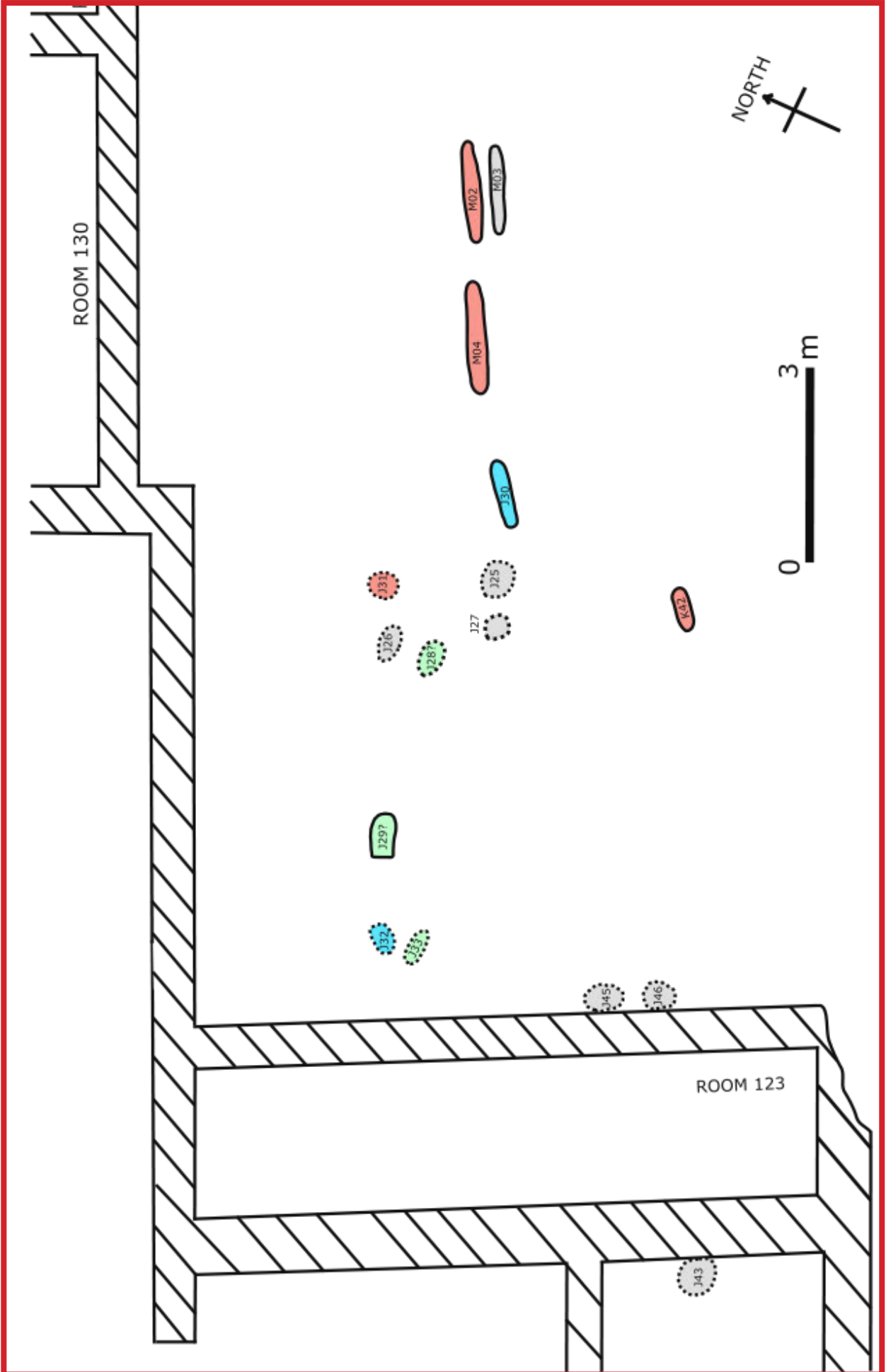
with a variety of objects that included keys. Outside the Medway valley at Polhill, the following children had female-linked objects: a child of about 7 years with a key (grave 104), a child of 2-5 years of age with a small necklet (grave 51), and a 15-year-old with another small necklet (grave 71). Jewellery no longer symbolised female adulthood in a strong and visual manner, a development that seems to have influenced burial practice at Eccles and elsewhere in Kent. If the jewellery was symbolic of age-related status, perhaps bound up with specific roles and responsibilities, then younger females now appear to have been eligible for these positions. In contrast to males, the changes that affected seventh-century society had a more positive effect on younger females.

On closer inspection, it appears that the quantity of burial wealth is also age- and gender-related at Eccles. Only adults had assemblages containing more than two different types of object, and this is illustrated by the adult female (K07) with at least six different artefacts and another adult female (L56) with a pair of buckles, a pursemount and a knife. This wealth may have symbolised female adulthood and the increased status that it brought. Related to this is the probability that position within a social hierarchy also placed a constraining effect on the level of material wealth deposited with a burial. Recent approaches to examining social ranking have combined a detailed analysis of all aspects of the burial and skeletal material with a consideration of the symbolism in various aspects of the burial rite (Härke 1997: 145; Stoodley 2010: 95-100). Variations in both the quantity and quality of portable wealth can be compared to the amount of effort spent and the material employed on the construction of the grave and the treatment of the corpse; greater investment in both areas can be interpreted as indicative of a relative system of social ranking. This is especially pertinent for the 7th century because the decline in the grave good rite coincided with the appearance of a range of external grave structures intended to mark the location of an individual's final resting place. The construction of these features involved an investment in raw materials and labour not previously exploited and suggests that these individuals, or their families, enjoyed a higher than average standing in their community. It was a show of wealth, but in contrast to the grave goods, the features were visible and permanent symbols and marked a significant shift in how social worth was signalled. Only a small proportion of seventh - eighth-century society had their graves marked in this way, but in Kent, it seems to have been more widespread than in the other regions with, for example, numerous graves enclosed by penannular ditches at both Finglesham and Polhill and within the Medway valley at Cuxton (see above pp151-152). At Eccles it is the earliest graves that would have had these features, and as they may have been damaged, or even destroyed by later grave digging, their absence cannot be proven.

The lack of burial wealth at Eccles may partly lie in the fact that the cemetery was established in the middle of the 7th century at the earliest, thus well into the period when the accompanied grave good rite was in decline. Cuxton is thought to have begun in the late 6th century, but it continued until the earlier 8th century, and at least ten of the burials can be dated to after AD 625, including a wealthy female (grave 215) and a weapon burial (grave 247) with a spear and shield. Holborough had a date range roughly similar to Eccles, and its burials were also wealthier. Polhill was probably established at a similar time to both Eccles and Holborough, yet 61% of the burials had grave goods, thus strengthening the view that the difference between the sites is unlikely to be merely chronological.

The above analysis implies that Eccles was not home to a particularly wealthy or high-status community: its members unable to deposit material wealth in graves or undertake the necessary effort and expense on constructing elaborate memorials. Most telling is the lack of swords and seaxes, often considered to be wealthy high-status objects. Yet based on diet and nutrition, the Eccles population was relatively healthy compared to other contemporary groups and this assumption is supported by only average levels of childhood illness and malnutrition (Upex 2006: 177-18). This implies that there was a readily available supply of food and that, in general, the community was not impoverished. Moreover, there was no correlation between health and burial wealth; individuals with evidence of malnourishment, illness and trauma were still buried with grave goods (Upex 2006: 112-13). Perhaps the impoverished nature of the Eccles burial rite during the Final Phase was cultural, a means by which this community chose to differentiate itself from other contemporary groups. It is tempting to see this as a religious statement, but there is nothing especially Christian about unaccompanied burial, just as there is nothing particularly pagan regarding the deposition of grave goods (Scull 2015: 76).

The Eccles cemetery continued into the late Anglo-Saxon period, and although burial in these centuries is traditionally viewed as relatively uniform, recent studies have identified a diverse range of practices. For example, burial could have taken place in a timber coffin, possibly with metal fittings, or a stone sarcophagus; some burials were associated with layers of charcoal, and occasionally grave goods were still deposited with the dead (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 132-143). Graves have also been found with stone or tile linings, or stones placed under or around the head, and there was a range of above-ground markers, either stone or wooden (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 132-143). As in the earlier period, greater expenditure on the burial may have correlated with higher social status (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 143-44). However, none of

the stratigraphically highest burials at Eccles produced internal or external features or had grave goods. As these were the latest burials, it can be assumed that they would have escaped disturbance from subsequent grave digging, although they were prone to damage from later agricultural activity. Yet, on balance, it seems that the late Anglo-Saxon dead at Eccles were buried in basic pits, not unlike those from the earlier phase.

Discussion

Burials within the villa complex

Burials had been found in the ruins of the villa right from the start of the excavation (Detsicas 1973: 78). At the south end of the house (east wing) burials (I22, I23 and I28) were dug over and through the remains of a stokehole, the south wall of Room 121 (Detsicas 1971: 31), and also within the trench of the robbed wall dividing Rooms 118 and 117 (I30) (Table 4.8). The activity demonstrates that these rooms had been abandoned and that the walls were in a ruinous and/ or partly robbed state. Burials had also been found a short distance to the south west, in an area of demolition debris and robber trenches (Rooms 123 and 124). In addition, three interments were discovered in the Roman period rubbish ditch (VII), north west of Room 121. All these may have been outliers of the main cemetery; it is not unusual to find isolated burials on the perimeters of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, for example, Dover Buckland. Alternatively, they could have been deposited before the location of the burial ground was formally established and would, therefore, be important evidence for the origins of the cemetery.

At least another three groups of burials are known from the villa, but their relationship to the main cemetery is unknown. No less than four were found beyond the north end of the main house, in and around its northern extension. In Room 34 "A burial was inserted in this room close to the east corner; probably a male, it was fully extended on its back, except for the head which, at right angles to the body, was resting against the south-east wall of the room. No grave goods were recovered" (Detsicas 1964: 130, fig. 1; 1967, fig. 1). Another was discovered inserted in the area immediately outside the south-east wall of Room 34, but very little can be

said about this as only the lower part of the skeleton was exposed within the excavated area (Detsicas 1964: 130). A burial was also revealed in the north part of Room 84/south-east part of Room 79, although as both rooms were only partially excavated there may have been more. At least three burials were encountered in the demolition rubble of the latest baths (Rooms 20 and 21): 62VI (Burial A1) an adult crouched on its left side in hypocaust demolition debris; 62VJ (Burial A2) in the rubble fill of hypocaust Room 20, and 62VK (Burial A3) also in the rubble of the hypocaust (Detsicas 1963: 140; site notebook). There was also evidence for burials in Rooms 23 and 24. All these burials were on the opposite side of the villa to the Anglo-Saxon cemetery and, therefore, are unlikely to be associated with it. Rather, they may have derived from an episode(s) of grave digging in the sub-Roman period and can be compared to evidence from elsewhere. At Shakenoak (Oxfordshire) an organised cemetery was discovered adjacent to and over a late Roman building, and other burials were more haphazardly interred in a building that had been abandoned (Brodribb *et al.* 2005) At Llantwit Major (Glamorgan), 41 burials and three horses were discovered in a room with a tessellated floor (Storrie 1808: 54-59). Disturbed burials were found in the baths at Denton villa (Lincolnshire), probably made after they had decayed (Greenfield 1971: 30-41). At Southwell (Nottinghamshire) (Daniels 1966) and Winterton (Lincolnshire) (Stead 1976: 149-50, 296-9, fig. 25), the same sequence of events is noted: following the abandonment of the villa, a phase of robbing ensued before graves were dug into wall foundations, over mosaics and through floors. The phenomenon is also very common in North France and Belgium (Percival 1976: 183-199), and it is another similarity that Eccles shares with some continental villas.

The fact that graves had been intentionally dug within villas, even if the walls were in a ruinous state, suggests that the buildings had some significance to the people undertaking the activity. The ruins may have been mistakenly viewed as dilapidated churches, which suggests Christian belief continued. However, Salway (1982: 734-39) has argued that there is no real evidence for a strong or organised fifth-century church. Rather, Christianity could have been followed by small aristocratic groups attracted to old villas because of the

Table 4.8. Burials from the south end of the villa.

Burial	Location	Remarks
J43	Debris of a hypocaust Room 124	Subadult, knife, west group
J45/46	Line of Room 123	Subadult, ?same burial, west group
I30	Backfilled wall between Rooms 117 and 118	
I22, I23 & I28	Stokehole and wall of Room 121	All adults
I24, I25 & I26	Rubbish ditch VII	

memories that they evoked – they formed part of a suite of beliefs centred on the Roman past. It is within this context that the place-name *Eccles* may have originated (see below p205).

If Eccles already had an association with the burial of the dead, it might have been viewed as an appropriate location for an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. The previous mortuary activity may have infused the area with a sacredness, which was key to the decision to locate the dead here. Another major factor must have been the ruins of the villa. The fact that so many of the Anglo-Saxon burials were aligned with the walls demonstrates that the building was still recognisable, even if some walls had been demolished and others robbed. The villa's presence must have been a major factor in the siting of the cemetery here. Comparable examples can be cited from across the country, although the Kentish ones are more relevant to the current discussion. At Howletts, approximately 36 inhumations of the 5th and 6th centuries were associated with an undated, but probable Roman building, and included burials with weapons and also those accompanied by jewellery (Smith 1918). About 200m away from the barrow cemetery at Chatham Lines, graves were found associated with what appears to have been the baths of a villa (Bell 2001: 76). At Folkestone, five seventh- to eighth-century graves, one contained within a coffin, were found during work at this large villa, and previously some had been found in the walls of the building, though no further details are available (Bell 2001: 250). Two burials were found close to a Roman building at Kemsing, and after the investigation a spearhead was recovered (Bell 2001: 254). A very short distance from the bathhouse at Little Chart, a small number of burials, some with weapons and other artefacts, were discovered (Bell 2001: 257). Probably the best understood, and most thoroughly excavated example, is Fordcroft, Orpington, in the valley of the River Cray, where Roman baths and associated features, including a large cobbled courtyard, lay close to the banks of the river (Palmer 1984). The baths appear to have been joined to other rooms or buildings, but it is unknown whether they were part of a villa (Palmer 1984: 26-27). The buildings were abandoned in the late 4th century, and in the following century it became the focus of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, which, in common with Eccles, was aligned upon the structure. Graves were dug to the east of the Roman building, on land that was probably much closer to the river in the past (today it is 150m away), and, as at Eccles, was probably marginal. A pale brown loam had built up and contained most of the graves; the earliest were probably made during the second half of the 5th century with burial continuing into the 6th. Graves were also dug through the cobbled courtyard and cut pits and ditches of Roman date, but, unlike at Eccles, they avoided the walls of the buildings. A sunken-

featured building was revealed on the other side of the river, 350m south east of the cemetery (Palmer 1984: 62) and may point to the location of the settlement. Bell (2001: 64) has compiled the dates of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at former Roman sites, and although they range from the 5th to 8th centuries, they peak in the earlier 7th century, indicating that the practice was most popular at the time when furnished burial was in decline. This association of burials with Roman structures may in part have been a response to the ending of the grave good rite, and the notion is discussed below (p234).

Eccles: a Kent cemetery of the 7th to 10th centuries

All the Eccles burials were by inhumation. Cremation was a popular rite of disposal in the 5th and 6th centuries, especially in the (Anglian) east of the country where large cremation cemeteries had been established in the 5th century. In Saxon territories, smaller mixed-rite cemeteries were preferred, and this applies as much to West Kent, as it does to Surrey or Essex. Several cremations were noted at Riseley (Horton Kirby II, Meaney 1964: 133–4), although probably the best-understood site is the aforementioned example at Fordcroft, Orpington, where 64 inhumation and 21 cremation burials were found (Tester 1969; 1970; 1977; Palmer 1984). In East Kent, cremation seems to have been a minority practice; the largest group comes from Ringlemere Farm, 2km from the Wantsum Channel, where 11 cremations were part of a mixed-rite cemetery of 51 burials (Marzinzik 2011). By the 7th century, cremation was a minority practice, although late cremations have been found in Hampshire at St Mary's Stadium, Southampton, (Birbeck 2005) and in West Sussex at Apple Down (Down and Welch 1990). In West Kent, cremation may also have continued into the 7th century. At Cuxton, on the west bank of the Medway, two seventh-century inhumation graves (291 and 294) each contained a single cremation. The remains were in vessels that are provisionally dated *c.* AD 580-700, demonstrating that they are unlikely to have been earlier depositions reburied in the 7th century. Some type of relationship had likely existed between the individuals interred in the same grave. However, by concealing a cremation in this manner, it may have reduced the visibility or significance of the practice at a time when it was going out of fashion, perhaps as a result of it encountering disapproval from the newly established church. No evidence for seventh-century cremation has been recognised in East Kent and even allowing for the disturbance to the cemetery at Eccles it is highly unlikely that it was practised there. Overall, cremation had largely gone out of use by the 7th century, and like many of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Kent demonstrates a genuine and widespread preference for a single rite by this time.

According to the grave goods, Eccles was established in the mid 7th century. East Kent is notable for its long-lived cemeteries: Finglesham and Dover Buckland, for example, were in use during the migration and Final Phase periods. An earlier core of burials is possibly waiting to be discovered at Eccles, although the lack of fifth- and sixth-century artefacts from the site perhaps makes this unlikely. However, the VCH for Kent (vol. III, 153) mentions that urns containing cremated remains were found in Mr Furnes' brickfield, Rowe Place Farm, in 1876. The exact location was not given, but the brickfield was sited at the lower end of Kiln Tile Field, which is that part farthest from the villa (Ocock pers. comm.). Yet it is telling that no early Anglo-Saxon finds are mentioned, and the cremations may well have been from the period of Roman occupation.

During the 7th and 8th centuries, the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the Medway valley are similar to contemporary cemeteries in both east and west Kent. In contrast to their early Anglo-Saxon counterparts, Final Phase cemeteries are easily distinguishable by their layout and their burial rites. They are generally more ordered; the graves often placed in rows, which could be separated by several metres of unbroken ground. This type of organisation is found at Holborough, Cuxton and Polhill and may imply a move away from the more community-orientated format characteristic of the 5th and 6th centuries. It is therefore of interest that the Eccles cemetery had been structured around several plots, which probably belonged to individual households, and endured throughout the life of the cemetery; by implication, it reflects the importance of kin to the community.

Grave goods were still buried during the Final Phase, although there were fewer accompanied burials and an increasingly restricted range of objects. This is clearly illustrated by Eccles, where only a small proportion of the burials were accompanied by grave goods. Only K07 with a range of objects and K19 with a Style II fixed-plate buckle, stand out in terms of their wealth. Moreover, weapons were rarely deposited with the dead, and, significantly, only single spears, which is in contrast to both Holborough and Cuxton where multiple types of weapons were discovered. One of the most profound changes to the deposition of material wealth during the Final Phase involved changes to the nature of the female costume. Women interred in Kentish migration-period cemeteries, for instance Lyminge, Deal, and the earlier burials from Finglesham and Dover Buckland, had a variety of costumes, which range from Merovingian styles to those more typically found elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England; this includes the peplos, secured over the shoulders by a pair of brooches and often embellished by a large festoon of beads (Stoodley 2010: 90-92). From the late 6th century, female costume underwent a major change: the regionally-specific

artefact types of the migration period was replaced by a jewellery suite that was inspired by classical and Mediterranean influences. Single brooches, dress pins, chatelaines, necklets and pendants became fashionable (Welch 2011: 278-78). What especially illustrates this change is the manner in which the large festoons of beads were replaced by small necklets of largely monochrome glass beads, often with wire rings, and occasionally pendants (Hawkes 1973b: 191-3). Costume had become simpler, more classical in appearance. As with the weapons, the jewellery assemblages from Eccles are also unspectacular. Except for the pair of silver spiral-headed pins with K12, the burials are characterised by a general absence of any 'classic' Final Phase jewellery. Neither did Holborough produce any of this jewellery, and it may be that both communities deliberately avoided these cultural influences.

Given the scarcity of the practice, it might be reasonable to interpret the artefacts at Eccles as special deposits rather than evidence for a formal grave good rite. With this in mind it should be remembered that grave goods were deliberately selected for the funeral; they were intended to serve as a visible element during the preparation of the body for interment and were also on display before the grave was backfilled (Williams 2006: 46). The choice of grave goods, or the lack of such paraphernalia, may have been part of a strategy employed by local communities; a mechanism through which individual families could signal allegiance or difference. The form of the burial can be viewed as a symbol of local identity; the types, combinations and quantities of objects functioned as the medium through which allegiances were signalled or disassociations from the group made. Williams' (2006: 46-55) analysis of the Upper Thames Valley cemetery at Berinsfield (near Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire) revealed a high degree of diversity, which he interpreted as a means by which the mourners distinguished burials from earlier interments and also helped to preserve the memory of the deceased. In the Medway valley, the differential use of weapons, jewellery and other objects could have been part of a deliberate decision on the part of the mourners to distinguish the individual in death and to facilitate the survival of their memories. The cemetery may well have been an arena in which competing groups had an opportunity to express similarity and difference visually. At Eccles K07 had the highest number, and greatest range of grave goods, and some might have been contained within a box. The artefacts with this woman could have reflected a complex range of meanings and identities, but the mourners may have manipulated these messages by revealing some artefacts and concealing others. The choice not to reveal certain objects but to keep them concealed could have been dictated by their mnemonic links with previous owners (Williams 2006: 77) and perhaps the social, cultural or personal associations

that they had for that person at certain times during their lifetime. Overall, the burial party orchestrated the ceremony, emphasising those parts of that individual's life that they wanted remembered. Thus, local concerns and customs dictated the types and numbers of grave goods that were buried.

The wider aspects of the Eccles burial rite are largely unremarkable. The protection of the corpse and the marking of its final resting place appears not to have been a concern, and in this way the cemetery differs to Cuxton where both internal and external grave structures were identified. The other aspects of burial appear to have been influenced by more generalised attitudes to ritual behaviour: at all the cemeteries, the majority of the dead had been deposited in an extended supine manner, and very few burials deviate from this – the crouched burials from Eccles and Cuxton being exceptions. Likewise, most graves contained single interments, though Eccles did produce more multiple burials than the other cemeteries.

The Eccles cemetery does stand out as having the only example of a deviant burial so far discovered in the Medway valley: O1, a male of 20-25 years, who had been mutilated (see above p155) and had also been buried some 10m beyond the cemetery. Deviant burials are viewed as having had negative connotations: a ritual response to an individual seen as different, perhaps someone who had contravened accepted social norms and values. O1 may have been brutally punished for his transgressions, his spatial isolation perhaps indicating his exclusion from the wider community. Alternatively, the individual could have been a community member cut down in battle or ambushed, and his body brought back for burial. Perhaps it was a superstitious belief, or some unease over his death, that required his burial in an isolated location. Reynolds' (2009: 200) detailed analysis of the spatial patterning of deviant burials found that early Anglo-Saxon examples were often in an outlying location, either on the periphery of a cemetery or the edge of a burial plot, and their separateness reflects the beginning of 'concepts of spatial otherness' (Reynolds 2009: 206). From the 7th century onwards, deviant burials were increasingly situated in isolated locations, for example alongside roads and on estate boundaries, demonstrating the development of concepts of exclusion (Reynolds 2009: 216-18). Yet they were still being interred in community cemeteries, for instance at the long-lived burial ground at Lechlade, Gloucestershire, (Boyle *et al.* 1998) and the Final Phase burial ground of Winnall II, Hampshire, (Meaney and Hawkes 1970); thus ritualised responses to dealing with such individuals could still be carried out locally and O1 is not out of step with the evidence elsewhere.

The cemetery at Eccles is also marked out by having a high proportion of individuals with fatal weapon-induced trauma, certainly when compared to the neighbouring sites. At Cuxton, the injuries sustained by the group are believed to have derived mostly from activities undertaken during everyday life (Powers 2006: 23), and no trauma was identified at Holborough. Manchester's (1984) original study of the human remains from Eccles identified six male adults (I22, J30, J37, K34, L46 and O1) with evidence for fatal cranial injuries and an adult female (J36ii). Two additional individuals had evidence for healed weapon injuries (K26 adult female and N05 adult). Wenham (1989: 127) also analysed the six individuals with fatal cranial trauma, discovering that the type of weapon used, and the location of the injuries, suggest that they were battle victims. Manchester had previously suggested that the injuries were inflicted during a single violent episode, but Wenham (1989: 138) argued that it is impossible to know whether they were the result of one or several incidents. Also, as trauma may only affect soft tissue, other individuals could have been afflicted. When Griffiths reanalysed the Eccles collection in 2007, he made several important discoveries. He identified that the cases of trauma came from both phases of the cemetery: one individual was accompanied by grave goods (J30), which dates the burial to the earlier phase. All the individuals with trauma that had stratigraphical relationships (L46, L20, K34 and N07) were beneath later interments and are also likely to have been from the earlier phase. However, J37 was radiocarbon dated to the mid 9th to later 10th centuries and must have been one of the latest interments. Griffiths also identified new examples of trauma, as well as some cases that do not appear to have been sustained by weapons. In addition to young males, females, and individuals unable to fight, evidence of peri-mortem trauma was discovered. However, it is males that suffered with the majority of cranial trauma, some producing multiple injuries that are indicative of face-to-face fighting. It is a pattern characteristic of raiding; young males capable of defending themselves were at the forefront of the fighting and suffered the worst injuries. The more vulnerable community members who were not directly involved had fewer and less serious injuries, for example, L32 a possible female with evidence of a possible healed sharp force trauma. In addition, two women appear to have sustained trauma while on horseback (K26 and L20) and may have been fleeing from danger (Griffiths 2007: 51). The evidence indicates several violent episodes, that commenced shortly after the cemetery was established in the mid 7th century. A possible context for the violence experienced in the early phase is the conflict associated with the expansion of the Kentish kingdom. Both the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Bede report battles in the area around Eccles, demonstrating that at this time it was an unstable and contested territory (see below pp212-215). Attacks by Vikings could have been responsible for traumatic injuries experienced by at least one member of the late Anglo-Saxon community (I22, probably killed by an arrowhead of possible Scandinavian origin).

No battles are recorded at Eccles or Aylesford, but Scandinavians were in the Medway valley as evidenced by the camp they built at Rochester in AD 885. It is just as probable, however, that the trauma from both phases resulted from sporadic raiding and is characteristic of the endemic violence typical of Anglo-Saxon society (Griffith 2007: 58-59). Individuals with evidence for sharp force trauma are distributed throughout the cemetery, occurring in four of the burial plots. If, as argued above (pp155-156) these were family plots, then individuals from different kin groups were caught up in conflict.

There is no doubt that Eccles began as an east Kent Final Phase cemetery, but how long it remained in use is harder to ascertain. Most Final Phase cemeteries went out of use after about a century. At Eccles, the three layers of superimposed burials indicates greater longevity, especially given the fact that an accumulation of soil had built up between the burials. Layered burial is a feature of late Anglo-Saxon practice; for example, at Worcester Cathedral nine superimposed layers were revealed in a cemetery dating *c.* AD 680- *c.* 1100 (Guy 2010). Also characteristic of the late period is the phenomenon of intercutting, as discovered at Raunds Furnells (Northamptonshire) where a cemetery was laid out around a church, and one-fifth of the interments were cut by later graves, with 50% of the burials suffering damage (Boddington 1996: 32). Grave

digging resulted in some damage to the earlier burials at Eccles, but most appear to have escaped serious disturbance (see above pp98-99). It seems that when the location of earlier graves was known, or when they were encountered, action was taken to limit the damage. However, the practice of intercutting at Eccles was not restricted to the latest phase: at least two burials (K01 and K06) belong to Layer 2. Thus, the superimposition of graves was an event that affected the layout of the cemetery from an early date and was probably initiated by a wish to bury the dead close to the villa.

Another feature of late Anglo-Saxon burial is the recovery of disturbed bone for reburial, which was again noted at Rounds Furnells. At Eccles, a collection of bones (J20, Figure 4.62) was encountered close to burials J18 and J24 and can be interpreted as a charnel deposit containing material disturbed by subsequent grave digging. This assumption is supported by the fact that the deposit came from the stratigraphically highest layer (L1). Furthermore, J54 is described as a gully or pit that contained bones from several individuals and may also have been charnel. Despite these examples, the recovery of disarticulated bones at Eccles does not appear to have been carried out systematically and routinely, and many of the burials included the remains of additional individuals. Unfortunately, it is unknown whether these remains were accidental inclusions, or

Figure 4.62. Charnel deposit.

are evidence for the reopening of a pre-existing grave for a later interment, the original remains then moved out of the way. This was noted in at least two of the graves from the seventh- to ninth-century cemetery of Bevis's Grave, Bedhampton (Hampshire) (Stoodley 2002: 109, fig. 1).

Other aspects of burial practice usually found in the late Anglo-Saxon period are absent. The arrangement of the cemetery is not particularly rigid; it certainly does not exhibit rows of tightly-packed east-west aligned graves typical of the period (Boddington 1996: 49-57). Neither is there any evidence for coffins, which was the main way of protecting the inhumed at this time. Yet only in exceptional circumstances is wood preserved; most of the evidence for coffined burial is provided by nails and fittings. This type of evidence may have been destroyed, especially as it would have been associated with the stratigraphically highest burials. Other features are also absent, for example, stone linings or sarcophagi, and embellishments such as stones around or under the head – evidence that should have survived, even if it had been disturbed. Neither was there any sign that the graves had been marked, although all trace of the post-holes that once contained timber or stone markers may well have been destroyed by disturbance; moreover, any stonework may have been removed by later generations to be reused. On balance, the late Anglo-Saxon community appear not to have expended much expense in the burial of their dead, as in the preceding phase. However, this it is not that significant in the wider context. Most of the late Anglo-Saxon dead were interred in plain pits without additional features, or in simple coffins (Hadley and Buckberry 2012: 144). It is the layered burials and the charnel deposit(s) that demonstrate Eccles continued into the late Anglo-Saxon period, confirmed by a radiocarbon date of the mid 9th to later 10th century (Griffiths 2007: 28).

Thus, the Eccles cemetery outlived the Final Phase becoming the burial place of a late Anglo-Saxon community. Its longevity is uncommon: many Final Phase cemeteries were replaced in the middle of the 8th century by new cemeteries. In the Medway valley, both Holborough and Cuxton did not outlast the earlier 8th century. Eccles cuts across the mid and late periods without any abrupt shift in either burial practice or location. Consequently, it is virtually impossible to identify the transition between the phases. But, this is missing the point. Burial practice at Eccles gradually changed, demonstrating that a community could continue burying in the same location at a time when others were abandoning burial grounds for new ones. A shift in burial practice did not always necessitate a shift in cemetery location.

Dawn Hadley's (2007) research has done much to further knowledge and awareness of mid and late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and their attendant burial rites. Her work may help to provide a more accurate definition of Eccles, the type of role it fulfilled and the community it served. Hadley has identified four types of cemetery: 1) those associated with religious communities of the 7th and 8th centuries; 2) new burial grounds not initially associated with a church but which acquired one; 3) cemeteries not associated with a church and 4) execution cemeteries.

The only one that can be ruled out with any certainty is Type 4. Examples of earlier burial grounds reused in the late Anglo-Saxon period as execution cemeteries include Guildown near Ashtead and Galley Hills, both Surrey, where execution burials overlie earlier interments (Reynolds 2009: 139). Nevertheless, execution cemeteries have a similar (visible) location to Eccles, being close to communication routes, either road or river (Reynolds 2009: 155). They could also reuse the site of earlier monuments, which may have increased their visibility. In most instances, an earthen mound was chosen, with the cemetery sited on the south and east of the monument. Although at Eccles, the cemetery was to the south east of the villa, the use of a building weakens the comparison. In execution cemeteries the depth of burial is generally shallow, roughly 0.15-0.20m, there is a range of orientations, but most are west-east or north-south, and it is not uncommon to find double or triple burials (Reynolds 2009: 158-59, 174-77) – all practices noted at Eccles. What really distinguishes execution cemeteries is the high incidence of trauma and especially certain types, such as mutilation, broken bones and the removal of limbs and heads (Reynolds 2009: 173). Despite the large number of fatal cranial injuries at Eccles, the trauma is thought to have resulted from hand-to-hand combat and is evidence for conflict rather than the formal execution of felons (see above p184). The situation is similar to Shakenoak villa (Oxfordshire) where five post-Roman burials had weapon injuries and their graves had been oriented on an abandoned villa (Brodribb et al. 1973: 32-35, fig. 16). The exception at Eccles is O1 an adult who had suffered multiple fatal injuries before being buried in a peripheral location. As previously discussed, it may be an example of punishment meted out locally. At any rate, a single burial does make an execution cemetery.

Eccles is also unlikely to be an example of Hadley's Type 1. Monastic cemeteries associated with mid Anglo-Saxon monasteries include Ripon (North Yorkshire), where one of the excavated cemeteries, Ailcy Hill, dated to the 7th to 9th centuries, appears to have comprised only adult males during the second of three phases (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 126). However, Eccles is not known as the site of a religious community. No structural evidence suggestive of a monastery was found by excavation or geophysical

survey, and the age and sex profiles of the dead do not hint at a religious community. However, monasteries were served by a lay population and may have provided them with a burial place. At Monkwearmouth (County Durham), a cemetery that contained females and subadults was associated with the seventh- to eighth-century monastery (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 126). The Eccles dead were possibly from a lay population that served a religious establishment, perhaps an undocumented monastery, and in this regard, the place-name is significant. It is believed to indicate an area of land that belonged to a Christian community, rather than an actual building(s) (see below p205). Without physical evidence for the holy nature of the *area* being recognised by later old English speakers, the idea will have to remain unproven.

Eccles is probably not an example of a new burial ground which acquired a church (Hadley's Type 2). The area to the south west of the cemetery housed a timber building, which has led to speculation that it was a church or chapel (Blair 2005: 236 n.229; Detsicas 1976: 159-162) (see Chapter 5). It is therefore notable that the cemetery was in use before the building was constructed. Moreover, in this area, the graves start to peter out, demonstrating that the building was not a focal point for the cemetery. It was probably a secular building, part of a wider settlement of which the remainder lies to the south (see below p202). Tyler Bell argued that Rooms 118 and 121, which make up a small wing projecting from the south-east corner of the villa (see above p94), was a ready-made two-celled chapel similar to the pair of rooms and underground chamber excavated at Folkestone (Chapel Field), of which the foundations were also associated with burials (Bell 2001: 202, 211). He argues that at Eccles the zone of densely packed and superimposed burials on the periphery of the wing is reminiscent of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery clustered around its church (Bell 2001: 202, 211). The analysis of some late cemeteries has revealed that the graves of young children and juveniles were located close to a church so that they would be blessed by rainwater running off the roof (Crawford 1993: 88). An examination of the Eccles cemetery plan reveals that there is no such clustering in the area closest to the villa. Furthermore, it is notable that the graves do not increase in density the closer they get to the villa (Figure 4.1). Plot A lies immediately to the south east of Room 121; to the west of this are several relatively widely spaced burials, and immediately in front of the villa, patches of open ground can be observed. Finally, a glance at the distribution of the stratigraphically highest burials (Figure 4.63) reveals that they do not cluster around the villa. Plot A contains examples, which might support the view that burials were being crammed into the area close to the villa, but superimposed burials were also found in the centre of the cemetery and on its southern edge. Neither do the

latest burials form a regularly-aligned group, which could be interpreted as evidence for an organised late Anglo-Saxon churchyard. Overall, it is doubtful whether Rooms 118 and 121 had been converted into a church. Moreover, graves had been dug over the walls of these rooms (I30, I22, I23 and I28) demonstrating that by this time, they were in a ruinous state. And apart from the buckle recovered from burial K19, with its fish symbol, and the possibility that the interred had been wrapped in a shroud, none of the burials were displaying obvious Christian practices or symbols.

On balance, it is safer to view Eccles as an example of Hadley's Type 3: a simple unbounded field cemetery without a church. Recent research, aided by radiocarbon dating, has shown that numerous cemeteries of the 8th century and later were not associated with churches. Burial in a churchyard was not universally carried out until the 10th century (Hadley 2000: 209-15), contrary to the traditional view that the phenomenon swiftly became the norm during the mid Anglo-Saxon period (Meaney and Hawkes 1970: 53-4). Thus, from the 8th to 10th centuries, the majority of the rural dead must have received burial in a simple field cemetery. These small, short-lived, cemeteries may have served as a way of excluding locals from the churchyard, or other types of burial grounds used by the elite, or they were a way to keep the dead within the bounds of the settlement rather than relinquishing them to churchyards (Hadley 2007: 200).

In the Medway valley, an example of a field cemetery was investigated on the Hoo peninsula, to the north north west of Kingsnorth Power Station (North Street, TQ 8134074310) (Howell *et al.* undated) (see below p195). There were no grave structures, and all the burials were unaccompanied, orientated east-west and had been laid out supine. A similar example was partially excavated at Seaton Road, Harringworth (Northamptonshire) with radiocarbon dates that indicate it was in use from the mid 7th- to mid-9th centuries (Atkins 2004). The burials were unaccompanied and had been laid in rows, and in one area, three overlapping layers of burials were excavated (Atkins 2004: 104). Another case comes from Saffron Walden, where mostly unaccompanied burials had been placed in rows of regularly-orientated graves (Bassett 1982: 13-14). Towns also had cemeteries characterised by an organised layout with unaccompanied burials and apparently not associated with churches. A good example is Staple Gardens, Winchester (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 127), where 288 burials were excavated. The dead had been orientated west-east, interred in simple coffins or directly in the ground, and most were extended supine and unfurnished. In addition to the lack of a church, Eccles has similarities to these examples, and in its latest phase it may well have been a simple field cemetery. Yet, as previously mentioned, it developed
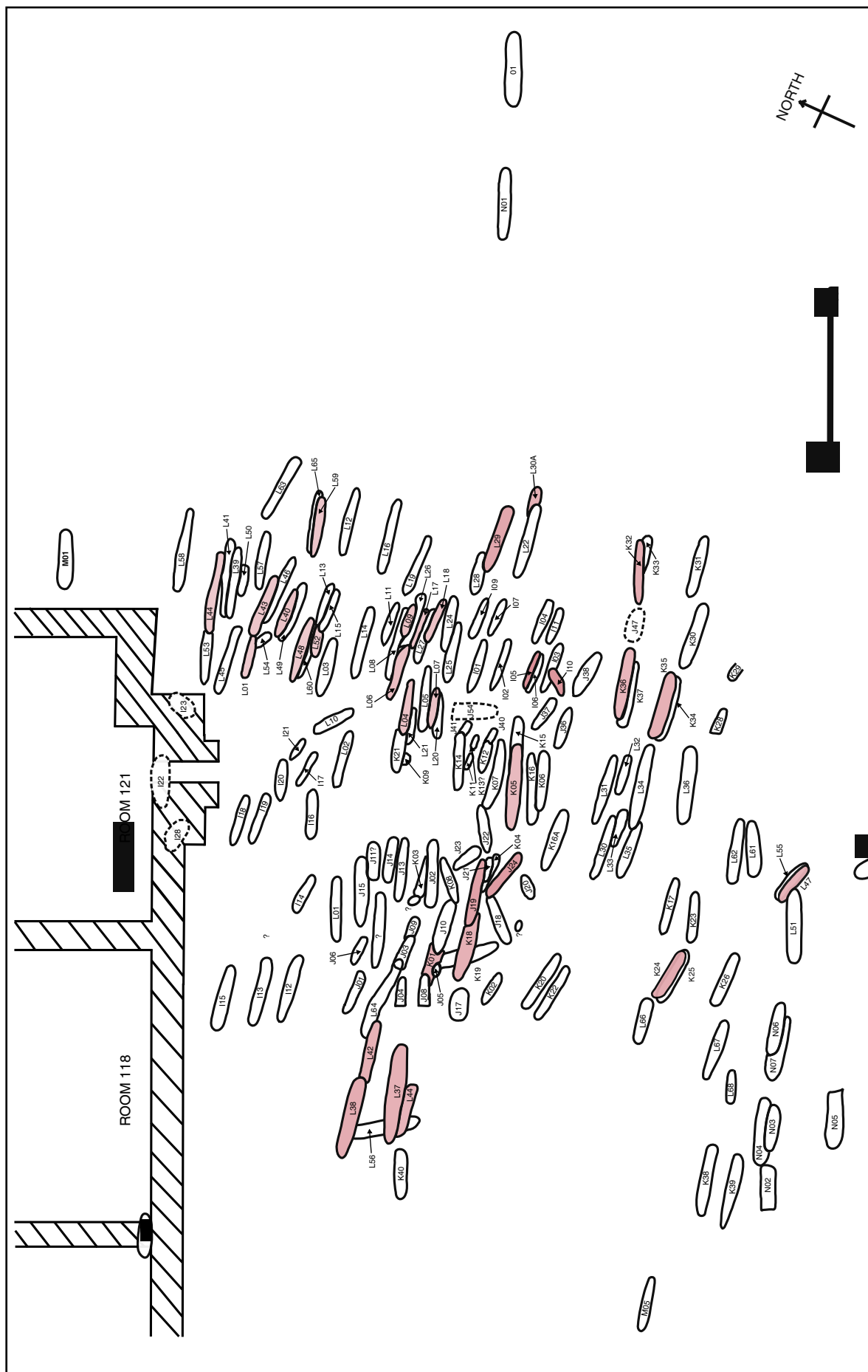
Figure 4.63. Stratigraphically highest burials (shaded).

out of a Final Phase burial ground, which marks it out as unusual. It is one of the largest Anglo-Saxon cemeteries to have been associated with a Roman villa and this was probably the reason for its longevity. The presence of a substantial, and once important, villa influenced not only the community's decision to locate here in the first place but also their continued use of the site into the 10th century.

Following the widespread early Anglo-Saxon practice, cemeteries of the mid and late periods were also established at prehistoric earthworks. In the Medway valley, Holborough is associated with a Bronze Age barrow. Monument reuse may have given prominence to the cemetery, or as Williams (1997: 26) argues it could have been a way to represent the Anglo-Saxon dead as the rightful descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the land; a way to legitimise claims to territory and resources by linking with a mythical past. A large masonry building, such as a villa, could have worked in the same way and is an idea supported by Bell's (2001) national study, which found a close association between numerous Roman villas and Anglo-Saxon burials. A similar example to Eccles was investigated in the Medway valley at Chatham Lines, about 200m distant from the barrow cemetery, where Saxon graves were associated with what was probably a bath house (Bell 2001: 76). Other examples can be cited from elsewhere in Kent (see above p182). As at Eccles, most of the examples consist of graves cut through destruction levels or over the remains of walling; the evidence suggesting the reuse of a villa, not its continuous occupation.

Hadley (2000: 161) has argued that late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries located at earlier barrows should be seen in a similar light to churchyard burial: it was an act of ostentatious display, bound up with the expression of social status by the deceased and his or her family – part of the repertoire of practices available to high-status Christians. At Eccles the Roman villa can also be interpreted as the expression of the group's status. The restricted range of wealth, both artefactual and structural need not, therefore, be viewed as evidence that this was a low-ranking community. This assumption is also supported by the evidence from the human remains which do not suggest Eccles was an impoverished group. Such expressions of status were possible because, although the late Anglo-Saxon populace may have been largely Christian, the church did not yet have exclusive control over where the dead were buried (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 131). Eccles may have been used by a secular Christian community, perhaps K19 with its Christian overtones was an example of one of its more pious members, but whatever the reason, it had chosen not to inter its dead in consecrated ground.

Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Medway valley

The evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Medway valley will now be described and discussed; it comprises archaeological sites and concentrations of finds. The area is defined by the parishes that line each side of the river from Maidstone in the south to the mouth of the river at Sheerness. On the west bank these are: Aylesford, Snodland, Halling, Cuxton, Strood, Frindsbury, Hoo St Werburgh, Stoke and Grain. On the east bank: Aylesford (including Eccles), Burham, Wouldham, Rochester, Chatham, Gillingham, Rainham, Upchurch, Newington, Lower Halstow, and Sheerness. The Medway valley is further subdivided into four separate areas: 1) the west bank (from Maidstone to Strood); 2) the east bank (Maidstone to Rochester); 3) the west bank of the estuary (the Hoo Peninsula) and 4) the east bank of the estuary. Several sources have been used to compile the data: Meaney's (1964) *Gazetteer of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites*, the Historic Environment Record for Kent (HER Kent), the database of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, and published and unpublished excavation reports. To arrive at a clearer understanding of the reasons for the settlement pattern: topography, the local environment including soil types (Soilscapes Types), and communication routes will be examined (Table 4.9). This analysis is intended to provide an insight into the nature and scale of settlement in the Medway valley, both before and after its annexation by the kingdom of East Kent. Furthermore, it lays the foundation for an investigation into how the importance of the river as a boundary varied with the wider political and administrative changes that occurred during the Anglo-Saxon period (Chapter 8).

Area 1: west bank

Modern Aylesford straddles the Medway, and in this section only the evidence from the west bank is considered. In 1922 a burial was found about 400m north west of Preston Hall (TQ 729579, Figure 4.64 no. 1); it was accompanied by a Frankish wheel-thrown jug, two squat blue glass vessels, a composite disc brooch and a pair of spearheads (Evans 1924: 53; Meaney 1964: 108; Richardson 1995ii: 5). Over the next few years, another jug, several spearheads and the grip of a shield boss were also discovered. The finds indicate that a cemetery had been established just under 500m west of the Medway on low-lying fertile soils. The disc brooch and vessels suggest a date in the earlier 7th century for the burials. Later evidence from Aylesford is provided by a ninth-century silver penny from the Holt Hill (Figure 4.64 no. 2) area and a sceat from a similar location. To the south of Aylesford at Barming Station (TQ 731568, Figure 4.64 no. 3), a long knife, or possible seax, was found.

Snodland parish contains the important later seventh-to the earlier eighth-century cemetery at Holborough
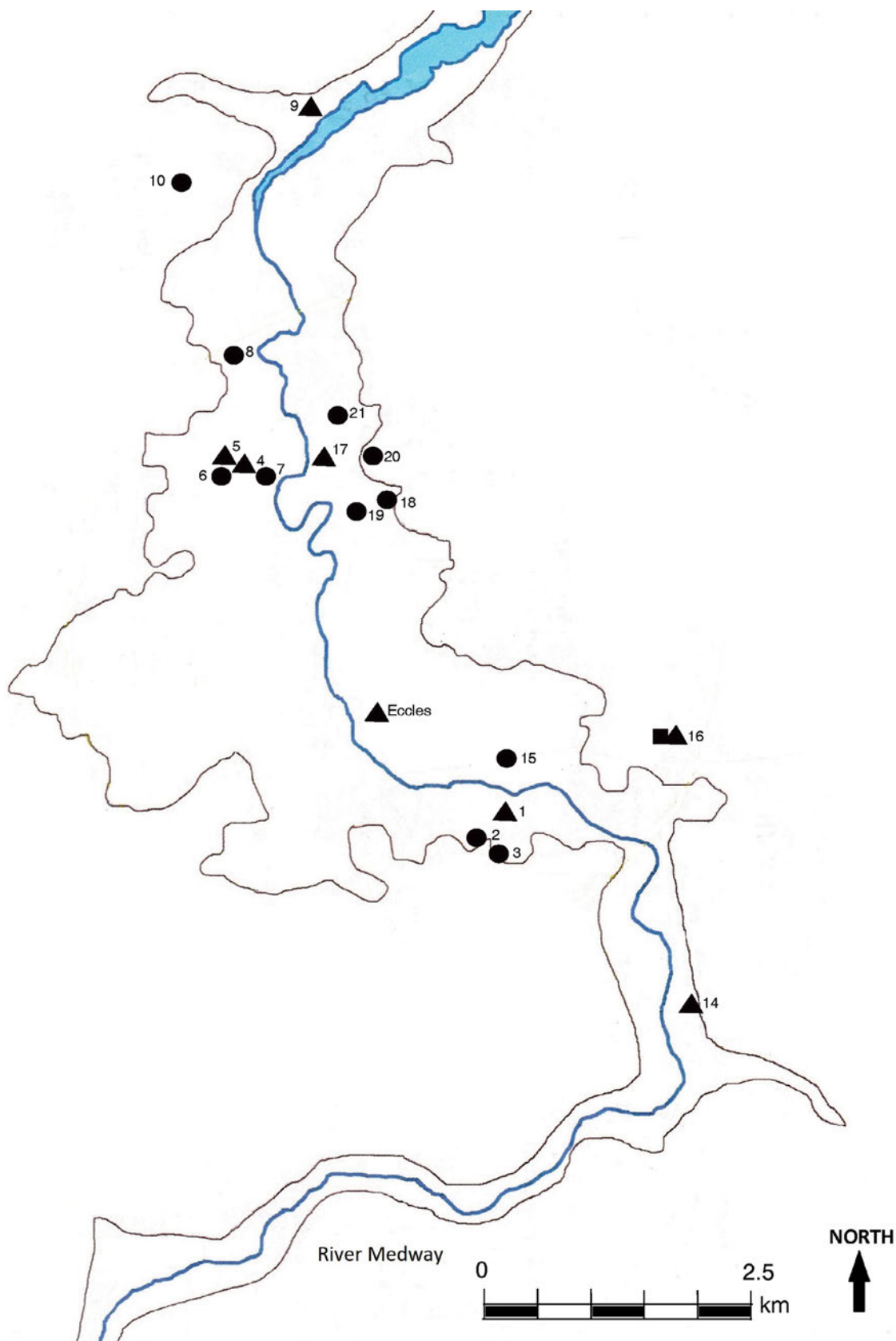
Figure 4.64. Location of sites mentioned in the text.
Key: ▲ burial/cemetery; ■ settlement; ● finds
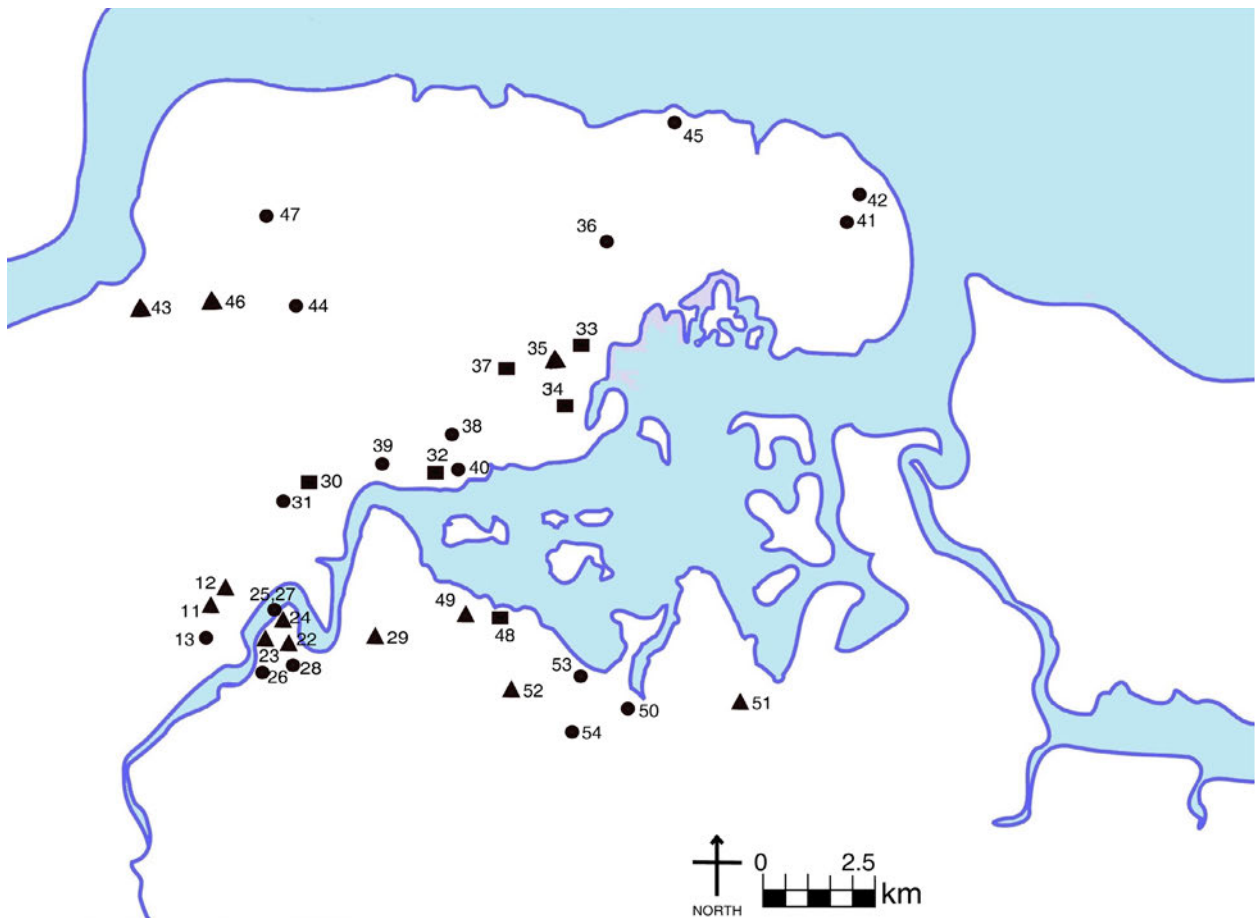
Figure 4.65. Location of sites mentioned in the text (estuary).
Key: ▲ burial/cemetery; ■ settlement; ● finds

Hill (TQ 6936962794, Figure 4.64 no. 4) (Evison 1956). It was sited some 1.5km west of the Medway, on a hill crowned by a Bronze Age barrow, and had excellent views over the surrounding area. The North Downs trackway ran over the top of the hill, and to the north the Pilgrim's Way followed the foot of the Downs (Evison 1956: 84). About 180m down slope, in the direction of the Medway, is a Roman barrow known as Holborough Knob (Evison 1956: 84); the Anglo-Saxon cemetery had been sited over moderately fertile soils. 40 inhumation burials were found in 39 graves, divided between two distinct groups: one around the Bronze Age barrow; the second, which contained all the accompanied burials, lay to the east and lower down the slope. Before the excavation, quarrying had destroyed an unknown number of graves and it is possible, based on more completely excavated examples, that less than 50% of the cemetery was investigated. There were no intersecting graves, and allowing for the spacing between them, perhaps each had been marked by a small mound. Some of the male burials, particularly those with weapons, had been interred on the southern edge of the cemetery. Anglo-Saxon weapons and knives were also discovered when a road leading to the Roman barrow was made, 250m west of Holborough Hill,

which probably points to another, potentially earlier, cemetery (Holborough Lads Farm, Figure 4.64, no. 5). Evison also lists a single burial at Parrington Lane, just to the north east of Holborough Hill. A horse harness fitting of the 11th century was found a short distance to the west of Holborough (TQ 6866662864, Figure 4.64, no. 6). The general area has also produced a needle case of broad date (TQ 6904862311) and a sceatta (TQ 690624, Figure 4.64, no. 7). Closer to the river, an eighth- to ninth-century penny of Aethelheard (793-805), was an isolated find.

Fragments of two early Anglo-Saxon brooches were found in Halling Parish on the lower slopes of the Downs, 500m west of the Medway (TQ 702636, Figure 4.64, no. 8): a head of an early cruciform type and an equal-armed brooch dated to AD 450-550.

A major Anglo-Saxon cemetery has recently been excavated in Cuxton (Mackinder 2006). It is situated immediately adjacent to the M2 Medway Bridge (TQ 72006735, Figure 4.64, no. 9) and occupies a relatively level terrace overlooking the river at about 20m OD, with excellent views along the Medway. The cemetery was sited over the same soils as Holborough, and

the Pilgrim's Way passed about 100m upslope. A probable early to middle Iron Age settlement was also investigated (Mackinder 2006: 9-10). In 1959 a weapon burial (with a shield boss, spear and a rare example of an angon (javelin)) had been discovered (Meaney 1964: 138). In 1998, investigations by the Museum of London Archaeology Service revealed 36 inhumation graves and two cremations. Some of the former had internal features, for example, ledges, while others had external mortuary structures (mostly penannular ditches, but one was surrounded by a group of postholes). The majority of the dead had been accompanied by grave goods, which date the cemetery to the late 6th – to early 8th century. Nine burials, including the 1959 discovery, contained weapons, and two produced dress assemblages of a relatively rich nature (Welch 2007: 232-233). Large parts of the cemetery must have been destroyed by the construction of the railway, the M2 bridge and quarrying. As at Holborough, it is estimated that less than 50% of the cemetery remained to be investigated. The graves were relatively well-spaced, and because there was no intercutting, their locations must have been visible. Most interments were aligned west(head)-east, but some were north(head)-south, and almost all the burials had been laid out supine, though one was possibly crouched. The cremated remains were in urns, provisionally dated AD 580-700, and had been interred in inhumation graves. The heads of two early Anglo-Saxon brooches (a ?small-long brooch) and a cruciform brooch (TQ 6890066177, Figure 4.64, no. 10) were found above the Bush valley, about 3km south west of Cuxton, and may have come from an earlier cemetery.

At least two separate discoveries revealed Anglo-Saxon burials in the parish of Strood (Meaney 1964: 138). At a location between Strood and Temple Farm (Strood I, TQ 7291868909, Figure 4.65, no.11) a grave containing a spearhead and a pair of knives was uncovered and close by was another skeleton. Probably associated with these, was a weapon burial (sword, spear and shield, in addition to a knife, buckle and possibly a drinking vessel) interred close to a Roman cemetery (TQ 7329368759). Early Anglo-Saxon graves had probably been dug in the old burial place, or a new cemetery had been established very close to it. The site was on low-lying terrain, but with higher ground to the north and west, and had been sited over moderately fertile soils. About 600m to the north north east of the Roman cemetery, at the junction of Castle View Road and Jersey Road (Strood II, TQ 7300869345, Figure 4.65, no. 12), a skeleton with a spearhead and knife was found, and close by in Woodstock Road another burial was encountered, furnished with a spearhead and shield boss. These discoveries may derive from an early cemetery, located on slightly higher ground than Strood I, but over soils of a greater fertility. Strood I and II point to at least two cemeteries in the vicinity of an old Roman cemetery,

close to the Medway and opposite Rochester where a number of significant Anglo-Saxon discoveries have also been made (see below pp192-193). A small-long brooch and a button brooch (TQ 725685, Figure 4.6, no. 13), discovered 1km west of the Medway at the Cedar Children's Academy, South Strood, probably derived from a disturbed grave(s).

Area 2: east bank

Numerous Anglo-Saxon artefacts, along with skeletons and some urns, were encountered during construction works in Wheeler Street, Maidstone (Meaney 1964: 127-28) (TQ 763563, Figure 4.64, no. 14). The finds include a sword, spearhead and shield boss and two brooches inset with garnets. It is clear that a mixed-rite cemetery had been disturbed, and a late sixth- to early seventh-century date is indicated by the artefacts. The site was on the valley sides, over highly fertile soils.

The location of the Roman and Anglo-Saxon site at Eccles has already been described (see above pp1-3) Elsewhere in Aylesford, a bronze buckle came from an unidentified property, which at the time was known as 'Norbury', Rochester Road (centred on TQ 732591, Figure 4.64, no. 15); it is very similar to one found at Gilton (Grave 88) (Meaney 1964: 108). A possible equal-armed brooch was retrieved from the Medway between the Friary and the bridge (dated to *c*. AD 550-650). Approximately 2.6km to the north east of Aylesford, a female inhumation was found in a section cut across the Pilgrim's Way (TQ 763596, Figure 4.64, no. 16) and provided a radiocarbon date of the late 7th to late 10th century (Hayden and Stafford 2006: 179-180). Just to the west, a probable mid Anglo-Saxon settlement was partially excavated at Boarley Farm, evidenced by animal burials in pits, other pits and post-holes (Hayden and Stafford 2006: 179-180).

The recent development at Peters Village, Wouldham (TQ 7138462680, Figure 4.64, no. 17) encountered a Roman site (see above p81) as well as a very disturbed Anglo-Saxon burial with a knife, stone pendant and buckle (Clarke 2015: 5-7). The site occupied soils of moderate fertility. Two late Anglo-Saxon finds (a stirrup-strap mount (TQ 732622, Figure 4.64, no. 18)) and an eleventh-century horse harness strap junction (TQ 722619, Figure 4.64, no. 19), were retrieved from the valley sides around Burham village. Close to Eccles, an eleventh-century harness fitting was found on the edge of Burham Common (TQ 7291062729, Figure 4.64, no. 20), and a stirrup terminal of the 11th century (TQ 719648, Figure 4.64, no.21) was also found in Wouldham parish.

As in Roman times, Rochester was a significant place in the Anglo-Saxon period. The cathedral was founded in AD 604 by Justus, but several cemeteries demonstrate

that parts of the former town, or the area immediately around it, were settled from at least the late 5th century. All the sites were established on the chalk, over moderately fertile soils. The earliest evidence probably comes from Orange Terrace, Star Hill (Rochester I, TQ 747680, Figure 4.65, no. 22), where 20 burials had been unearthed in conjunction with an assemblage of grave goods that comprises five spearheads, a keystone-garnet brooch, belt fittings, beads and a pin (Meaney 1964: 134). A cemetery was discovered a short distance from the Medway at Watts Avenue (Rochester II, TQ 740680, Figure 4.65, no. 23) on steep ground overlooking the river and close to the southern wall of the Roman town. It was quite large, with evidence for at least 30 burials recovered (Meaney 1964: 134). Although grave goods were found, the majority are knives suggesting a seventh-century or later date. About 500m south of Watts Avenue, a single grave was disturbed, and a sword, shield boss and two spearheads were also recovered (Rochester III, TQ 736675). Also of relevance are the graves found underlying Rochester cathedral (Rochester IV, TQ 7427268578, Figure 4.65, no. 24) as they could have been associated with Justus' foundation (Meaney 1964: 135). An isolated early Anglo-Saxon button brooch was recovered near Rochester bridge (TQ 743686, Figure 4.65, no. 25). On the shore between Wickham and Tower reaches (TQ 735676, Figure 4.65, no. 26) a probable Merovingian denier (penny) (c. AD 725-50) was also discovered. A sceat was retrieved from the northern part of the town (TQ 743686, Figure 4.65, no. 27), and later finds include an eleventh-century stirrup mount from Troy Town (TQ 744674, Figure 4.65, no. 28) and an eighth- to tenth-century strap end found at the west end of Watts Avenue (TQ 740680).

A barrow cemetery was excavated at Chatham Lines (TQ 764681, Figure 4.65, no. 29) in the late 18th century following disturbance to the graves by work on the military lines (Meaney 1964: 114-15). The barrows had been sited on the slope of a steep hill that faces Rochester and overlay moderately fertile soils. Seven barrows were opened, and all the burials produced grave goods; three females were especially richly furnished, and some graves produced Roman material. The finds indicate that the cemetery may have been established as early as the later 5th century.

Area 3: the Hoo Peninsula

The Hoo Peninsula has numerous Anglo-Saxon sites, both settlements and cemeteries, although the most well-known is the nunnery of St Werburgh at Hoo, founded *c.* AD 686-697 by Werburgh, daughter of King Wulfhere of Mercia. It is believed to have been dissolved or destroyed in the mid-9th century.

Excavations have taken place in Frindsbury Extra around Hoo Road, Wainscott (TQ 7504771417, Figure

4.65, no. 30) revealing multi-period evidence (the Four Elms site). The area is low lying, about 1km west of the Medway, but is surrounded by higher ground to the north and east and was covered by soils of low fertility. A mid Anglo-Saxon settlement, which had reused a Romano-British site, was found to consist of two or more buildings, including a post-built bow-shaped hall, enclosures and pits, (Clark *et al.* 2009). Just to the south (TQ 7507071069) settlement evidence dating to the 6th and 7th centuries was also recorded (Cooke and Seager Smith, n.d.). In one area a trackway was flanked by a pair of enclosures, one of which contained a small rectangular building, a pair of sunken-featured buildings and two pits. Another sunken-featured building was investigated to the south east. Occupation continued into the mid and late periods, although the focus had shifted to the south where another enclosure was investigated. The fills of its ditch produced metalwork, which included a button brooch, bracteate die, sceattas, vessel glass and imported pottery. This was a large, long-lived settlement of some importance, which by the late Anglo-Saxon period was possibly an estate centre with overseas links (Cooke and Seager Smith, n.d., 3). About 1.3km to the south west, a hammered silver broad penny of Aethelstan I, King of East Anglia, AD 827-845 (TQ 7368371253, Figure 4.65, no. 31) was recovered, and a penny of Cnut was found at Four Elms Hill (TQ 756717), close to Four Elms Roundabout.

Just to the south of Hoo St Werburgh (TQ 78107168, Figure 4.65, no. 32), and 550m north of the salt marshes, a site with Romano-British evidence produced a number of early to mid Anglo-Saxon features, which possibly comprised an enclosure, along with evidence for iron working or smelting. It could have belonged to an industrial quarter connected with the nunnery, and imported pottery points to a relatively early date for its establishment (Moore 2002). Activity continued into the later Anglo-Saxon period as revealed by the interventions at Church Street (TQ 78287185) where a pair of ditches were superseded in the late period by other features (Swale and Thames Archaeological Survey Company 2009). Both sites occupied a low-lying naturally wet area, with soils of low fertility, and avoided the higher terrain and more fertile soils just to the north.

A further probable settlement was investigated at Upper Stoke (TQ 81617516, Figure 4.65, no. 33), where a pit and associated deposits of the early Anglo-Saxon period had been made in a late Roman water hole (Dawkes 2009). It is 1.2km north west of the salt marshes, on soils that suffer from impeded drainage and are of moderate to high fertility. As with the previous example, it avoided higher ground, which in this case lies to the south west. To the south at Kingsnorth Power Station (TQ 810728, Figure 4.65, no. 34), pits and a section of a ditch of the early and mid Anglo-Saxon periods were excavated

Table 4.9. Soil types and topography of the Medway valley Anglo-Saxon sites.

Area	Site	Soil type (Soilscape)	Type of site	Height O.D. m	Distance from river m/km
1. Medway, west bank	Aylesford	7 acid	cemetery	30	400
	Holborough	5 alkaline	cemetery	50	1.5km
	Cuxton	5 alkaline	cemetery	20	350
	Strood I	5 alkaline	burials	20	600
	Strood II	7 acid	burials	25	1km
2. Medway, east bank	Maidstone	7 acid	cemetery	40	600
	Wouldham	5 alkaline	burial	15	200
	Rochester I	3 alkaline	cemetery	30	300
	Rochester II	3 alkaline	cemetery	50	200
	Rochester III	3 alkaline	burial	20	100
	Rochester IV	3 alkaline	cemetery	10	300
	Chatham Lines	5 alkaline	cemetery	55	800
3. Hoo Peninsula, south	Wainscott	6 slightly acidic	settlement	7	1km
	South of Hoo St. Werburgh/ Church Street	22 alkaline	settlement	15	700
	Upper Stoke	8 slightly acidic	settlement	25	1.2km
	Kingsnorth I	22 alkaline	settlement	<10	1km
	North Street	8 slightly acidic	cemetery	10	800
	Sharnal Street	8 slightly acidic	settlement	40	2.8km
Hoo Peninsula, north	Cooling	6 slightly acidic	probable burials	10	4km (Thames)
	Cliffe-at-Hoo	6 slightly acidic	burials	15m	3km (Thames)
	Cliffe	5 alkaline	settlement, possible burials	10	3km (Thames)
	Higham	6 slightly acidic	cemetery	10	1.5km (Thames)
4. East bank of the estuary	Grange I	6 slightly acidic	settlement	10	200
	Grange II	6 slightly acidic	burial	15	350
	Gillingham	5 slightly acidic	burial	80	2.3km
	Otterham Creek	6 slightly acidic	burials	<10	200
	Lower Halstow	6 slightly acidic	burial	10	1.1km

Soilscape (http://www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes/) soil types:

3. Moderate fertility (lime rich). Freely draining shallow lime-rich soils

5. Moderate fertility (lime rich). Freely draining lime-rich loamy soils

6. Low fertility. Freely draining slightly acid loamy soils

7. High fertility. Freely draining slightly acid but base-rich soils

8. Moderate to high fertility. Slightly acid loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage

18. Moderate fertility. Slighty acidic but base-rich loamy/clayey soils, impeded drainage

22. Low fertility. Loamy soils with naturally high groundwater. Naturally wet

(Johnson 1999), evidence for Roman activity was also revealed. This is another low-lying location, about 1km north of the mud flats, characterised by a wet habitat with low-fertility soils. An investigation to the north north west of Kingsnorth Power Station, North Street (TQ 8134074310, Figure 4.65, no. 35) revealed a mid Anglo-Saxon cemetery of 20 graves containing both males, females and subadults. Radiocarbon dating has placed it in the period AD 680-890 (Howell *et al.* n.d.). The graves had probably been arranged into rows and they also respected an open central space, which possibly contained a building of some description, or a prehistoric mound. All the burials had been orientated west(head)-east, laid out supine and had no evidence for grave structures or shrouds. Only two graves intercut, though several were so close that they abutted, and another two contained a pair of burials. To the south of the cemetery, evidence for agricultural activity was found in the form of cereal processing (Howell *et al.* n.d.: 14-21). This was another low-lying location that occupied soils of moderate to high fertility, with higher ground to the north and west. About 2.5km to the north east, a button brooch (TQ 829765, Figure, 4.65, no. 36) was an isolated find.

At Sharnal Street (TQ 79877436, Figure 4.65, no. 37), three hearths produced radiocarbon dates of the 5th or first half of the 6th century (Dawkes 2009). In contrast to the other sites, this was on the edge of a ridge of higher ground with views to the east over the estuary and occupied soils of moderate to high fertility. Sporadic finds from the parish also testify to activity throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

To the east of Hoo St Werburgh a silver strap-end of the 9th to 10th centuries (TQ 78837253) and a coin pendant, dating to *c.* AD 640-670 (TQ 78787258, Figure 4.65, no. 38), were recovered. A silver penny of Offa of Mercia (*c.* 765-792) (TQ 767715, Figure 4.65, no. 39) was found on the bank of the Medway just east of Lower Upnor; 2km to the east, and also on the riverbank, was a sceatta (TQ 788714, Figure 4.65, no. 40). Further mid and late Anglo-Saxon finds have been discovered in the north east of the parish: a copper alloy D-shaped buckle featuring 'biting beasts', dated to *c.* AD 900-1100 (TQ 868761, Figure 4.65, no. 41), and a stirrup-strap mount, *c.* AD 1000-1100 (TQ 870760), were retrieved from the power station at St James, Isle of Grain. In addition, the Kent HER records four sceattas in the same area, and to the north east at Perry's Farm a strap end, *c.* AD 800-1066 (TQ 8795476408, Figure 4.65, no. 42) was recovered.

The Anglo-Saxon sites that occupy the northern parishes of the Hoo Peninsula face the Thames and probably belonged to a wider North Kent territory, strung out on the south bank of the river, which includes the mixed-rite cemetery at Northfleet (Meaney 1964: 130-131) and the recently-excavated example at Springhead (Pitts 2008). The area may also have had links across the Thames with Essex where pottery stamps from Mucking are of the same design as those found in the Darent valley and from the Thames coast (Tyler 1996: 113). The sites from the northern parish are included in this assessment because they demonstrate that the whole of the peninsula was populated from an early date. In Higham parish (TQ 703736, Figure 4.65, no. 43), several early Anglo-Saxon graves were disturbed during the construction of the railway. A range of grave goods was recovered comprising brooches (small-long, saucer, and penannular varieties, as well as a possible disc brooch), buckles, pins, knives, a bucket and weapons (Meaney 1964: 123). It is a low-lying location (10m), at the very edge of the marshes, with soils of low fertility. Evidence of disturbed early Anglo-Saxon graves also come from several closely-related locations in Cooling parish. Three fragmentary small-long brooches come from the site of the railway at Cooling Court Farm (TQ 752750, Figure 4.65, no. 44); investigations on the other side of the railway produced the foot of an early cruciform brooch (AD 450-500) (TQ 75367468) and a small square-headed brooch (TQ 749747). This is a low-lying location with a ridge of higher ground to the south. It is about 2km from the marshes beside the northern shoreline and the site overlies soils of low fertility. Middle Anglo-Saxon activity is evidenced by sceattas from both Cooling and Halstow parishes. A sceat was also discovered in High Halstow, to the north west of the village, and a silver penny of Offa, AD 757-796 (TQ 839787, Figure 4.65, no. 45), was retrieved in Allhallows parish.

A poorly understood, but probably large, cemetery was accidentally discovered at Cliffe-at-Hoo in 1880 where the B2000 road crosses over the railway near to the Old Rectory (TQ 733747, Figure 4.65, no. 46). It occupies a similar location to the discoveries at Cooling Court Farm. An account mentions that in the late 19th century 'a large quantity of bone was carted away', but a spearhead, some belt fittings and the bottom of a Roman skillet were recovered (Meaney 1964: 115). The soils are of low fertility. Some 2km to the north, a large group of artefacts (67 are recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database), which span the early to late Anglo-Saxon periods, are clustered around the village of Cliffe (centred on TQ 7416976728, Figure 4.65, no. 47). The majority come from the mid and late periods, with sceatta coins (n=28 and one copy) the most prolific object type. Strap ends and stirrup fittings were also common late Anglo-Saxon finds, but seven brooches and several other finds, including a gold tremissis (coin), attest to activity in the early period. The presence of a Group I cruciform brooch

(AD 450-500), a Group II cruciform brooch (AD 475-525) and an equal-armed brooch (AD 450-550) suggest activity perhaps as early as the second half of the 5th century. The site lies on the edge of the marshes, over soils that are of moderate fertility. Previously, this area had yielded settlement evidence: several pits were discovered in the garden of Westcourt and contained burnt material, animal bones and an iron girdle hanger (Evans 1924: 53).

Area 4: east bank of the estuary

Anglo-Saxon activity is also evident throughout the eastern parishes that border the estuary. An important site was investigated at Grange, about 200m from the marshes (Grange I, TQ 7930268684, Figure 4.65, no. 48), from which a fine gilt bow brooch of the mid 5th century, cast in silver with moulded relief decoration, was recovered by a metal detectorist (https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/129594; Richardson 2006). A pit and building platform were uncovered by the excavation, the latter was made from reused material and appears to date to the early Anglo-Saxon period (Seddon 2008). The site had seen significant activity in the Roman period: a complex of buildings, including a granary, aisled barn and a mausoleum, suggest that it was a villa. By the 4th century metalworking seems to have been carried out in the barn, and then in the late 4th to 5th century there was further activity, perhaps including the melting down of coins (Seddon 2008). About 300m to the west, an inhumation burial accompanied by a pot was uncovered in a field between Woodlands and Grange Road (Grange II, TQ 790687, Figure 4.65, no. 49) (Meaney 1964: 121). A probable cemetery was located in the area around Otterham Creek, Upchurch: a group of finds discovered at the top of the creek in 1930 (TQ 828671, Figure 4.65, no. 50), included spearheads, pottery and beads, which suggests at least two burials, although the finder does not remember any bones. Previous to this, a pair of glass vessels had been found sometime before 1847, and in 1852 a burial was unearthed that had been furnished with a silver-gilt and garnet 'star' brooch, amethyst beads and several vessels (Meaney 1964: 139). Near the head of the creek, a burial with an amber bead was discovered, and a gold copy of a late Roman or Byzantium coin was recovered from the same area (Meaney 1964: 139). There is also a record of a single burial from the west side of the creek's head (Evison 1956: 111). In the adjoining parish of Lower Halstow, to the south of the village (TQ 856665, Figure 4.65, no. 51), a grave accompanied by a spearhead, sword and other artefacts was encountered in the base of an old road (Meaney 1964: 123). All these sites were low-lying, with higher ground to the south and east, and occupied soils of low fertility. An exception is the inhumation burial (TQ

79156668, Figure 4.65, no. 52) unearthed in Gillingham town centre, just north of Watling Street. It was 2.3km away from the shore, at 70m OD on moderately fertile soils, and was furnished with a pot. At Lower Rainham, Gillingham (TQ 81246760, Figure 4.65, no. 53) a fifth-century Merovingian gold coin was discovered, and a seventh-century gold tremissis was found in Rainham (TQ 81006500, Figure 4.65, no. 54).

Topographical analysis

The analysis of the topographic and environmental evidence has allowed the settlement pattern in the Medway valley during the Anglo-Saxon period to be partially reconstructed. The salient points will now be summarised. All the sites in Areas 1 and 2 occupy soils that are freely draining, of moderate or high fertility, and which reflect the desire to settle on land suitable for pasture and growing crops. Most sites are no more than a 1km away from the river, often much nearer (average 770m, west bank; average 357m, east bank). The lower average of the latter is a result of the four Rochester cemeteries lying close to the waterfront – a consequence of the town occupying a bend in the river. Almost all the sites are low-lying (the average height above sea level on the west bank is 29m, on the east it is 26m) and they would, therefore, have benefitted from easy access to the river. Water for livestock was readily available, while locally-caught fish would have made an important contribution to the local economy. Holborough is an outlier at 1.5km and 50m OD; a location that had been determined by the presence of the Bronze Age barrow on Holborough Hill and the need to incorporate an ancient monument into the mortuary rituals of the community (see above pp189-191).

A split in the distribution of the two types of site is noted: except for the building at Eccles and the partially excavated settlement at Boarley Farm, some 5 km away from the Medway, only cemeteries and groups of burials are found south of a line drawn from Rochester across to Strood. This would not, however, have been just a funerary landscape. Evidence from the Darent valley (Tyler 1992: 81) shows that there was a close spatial relationship between the living and the dead, with the former on the lower-lying land near the river. A similar association between settlement and cemetery has been noted elsewhere in the country (Dinwiddy and Stoodley 2016: 155-56). The lack of settlement evidence in the Medway valley can be explained by the fact that burials, especially those accompanied by grave goods, are easier to recognise and date than the, often-ephemeral, features left by buildings. Moreover, most of the sites, especially in Rochester and Strood, derive from accidental discoveries made in the earlier 19th century, if not before, and the lack of formal

investigations over a wider area explains the failure to locate buildings and other types of settlement evidence.

An imbalance is also observed in the distribution of the sites in Areas 1 and 2 according to which bank of the Medway is studied (south of Rochester and Strood). The greatest number of early and mid Anglo-Saxon sites is noted on the west bank: Holborough and Cuxton are home to major Final Phase cemeteries; an early cemetery is suspected on the river terrace at Aylesford; and a handful of early artefacts have been retrieved from the parishes of Snodland and Halling, which may have come from disturbed graves. In contrast, the east bank south of Rochester appears to have been sparsely settled. Apart from the Eccles cemetery, a poorly understood burial ground at Maidstone, and a presently undated burial from Wouldham, there are a few finds of mainly late Anglo-Saxon date from the parishes of Burham and Wouldham. The same soil types occur on each side of the river, so both should have been as equally attractive. Also, the paucity of evidence on the east bank is in contrast to the distribution of artefacts that extends south east from Maidstone to Ashford along the route of the M20 and includes what appear to be major sites at both Thurnham and Hollingbourne. The greater density of sites on the west bank has provided a picture of a settlement pattern characterised by regularly-spaced sites, which compares well to the findings from the neighbouring Darent valley where Tyler (1992: 80-81) noted a distance of about 1.5 miles between cemeteries.

If the chronology of the sites in Areas 1 and 2 is considered, it is noteworthy that the earliest Anglo-Saxon evidence is concentrated at Rochester and Strood: on both sides of the river around the former Roman town and its bridge over the Medway. As far as it is possible to ascertain, the sites south of Rochester are later: the earliest is Cuxton, which was established in the late 6th century, although there are unstratified finds of early Anglo-Saxon date. Rochester was the centre of an episcopal see founded in the early 7th century (Bede: *A History of the English Church and People* II.3), but the cemeteries leave little doubt that the former Roman town and its environs had attracted settlers before this; a notion supported by several richly-furnished weapon burials. Moreover, an important barrow cemetery had been established at Chatham Lines, a short distance to the east of the town, perhaps as early as the late 5th century. The old Roman towns of Canterbury (Welch 2007: 199), Winchester (Biddle & Biddle 2007) and Dorchester-on-Thames (Blair 1994: 39-41) also attracted early Anglo-Saxon activity before going on to become important ecclesiastical centres. None of these towns can demonstrate unbroken continuity from the Roman to Anglo-Saxon periods, although the evidence from within the walls and the surrounding areas suggests that they must have been of some importance by the late 5th century, at the latest. The walls of former Roman towns may have acquired symbolic meanings and could also have retained some military importance (Speed 2010: 96). At Rochester, the town's significance probably derived from the Roman bridge over the Medway that provided the only known crossing in the area, and its position on a bend in the river was also strategically important. Whatever the reason, the former Roman urban landscape shaped the nature of the rural settlement pattern that was to develop around it during the Anglo-Saxon period.

The Hoo Peninsula is an extension of the north Kent coast into the Thames estuary, with marshland and mudflats surrounding much of the landmass (Area 3). It has a central spine of low hills on the Medway side, while a band of flatter, more exposed land, faces northwards towards the Thames across a large expanse of marshland. In contrast to Rochester and the valley south of it, most of the sites in this area are further from the Medway: all those in the southern half are over 0.5km away (average 1.3km). Sharnal Street is almost 3km from the waterfront, at 40m OD on the edge of a spur of land. The majority are also low lying: Hoo St Werburgh/Church Street was on the edge of the marshland – its possible industrial associations might explain its marginal location. Upper Stoke overlooked the marshland from a similar position, albeit farther inland. Three of the sites (Upper Stoke, North Street and Sharnal Street) are on soils of a moderate to high fertility, suitable for pasture and arable farming. The remainder occupy areas affected by low to high levels of impeded drainage or are naturally wet and would appear to have been unattractive to settlement and agriculture, although the environment would probably have sustained grasslands. The northern parishes of the peninsula also supported habitation as the sites at Cooling, Cliffe and Cliffe Woods demonstrate. In common with their counterparts to the south, they were low-lying, located at the foot of the central band of hills, a short distance from the northern marshlands, and inhabited freely draining soils of low and moderate fertility.

The marshland landscape and higher ground of the Hoo Peninsula were, in effect, two landscape zones that encouraged mixed farming practices (Newsome *et al.* 2015: 5-7). The central spine of low hills offered a range of upland resources, for example, arable land and possibly woodland for pannage and timber. The low-lying salt marshes and mudflats were probably linked to the upland areas by trackways, and they may well have been used for various economic and agricultural activities that included fishing, the grazing of animals, possibly the extraction of salt, and the harvesting of the marsh reeds for thatch (Newsome *et al.* 2015: 19-20). These varied resources can explain the settlement

of the Hoo Peninsula from an early date and why it continued to sustain settlement throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

Evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity comprising isolated burials and chance finds points to the location of settlements on the shoreline from Grange in the west to Lower Halstow in the east (Area 4). Most of these are low-lying, close to the waterfront and on freely draining soils of low fertility, with higher ground to the south and east. Their location is reminiscent of the situation in the Hoo Peninsula, and they would also have had an opportunity to exploit a similar range of resources and environments. The exception is the location of the inhumation from Gillingham town centre, which had more in common with the sites on the chalkland rather than the those of the waterfront.

In addition to environment and topography, the presence of a Romano-British site was another factor that determined the character of the Anglo-Saxon settlement pattern. A case study from the neighbouring Darent valley revealed how closely the Anglo-Saxon settlement pattern was tied to the system of villa estates (Tyler 1992: 71). Similarly, the analysis of the Medway valley has demonstrated that the sites of former villas attracted Anglo-Saxon settlement. Yet, the situation is more complex because farmsteads and single masonry buildings were also reused. The association between Roman and Anglo-Saxon sites in the Medway valley suggests that sections of the former estates continued to be farmed, either by native peoples or by Germanic migrants. This assumption is supported by environmental evidence that indicates that the south east of the country did not see a drastic decline in the amount of open countryside in the 5th century (Dark 1996). In the Medway valley it may well have been the agricultural potential of the land, regardless of the type of site, that determined the shape of the Anglo-Saxon settlement pattern.

Chapter 5

The Anglo-Saxon Building and Associated Non-Cemetery Features

Nick Stoodley

Introduction

A short distance to the south west of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, excavation uncovered an area of pits, post- and stake-holes and gullies cutting through the debris of the villa. Detsicas (1976: 159) describes how some of the post-holes were packed with stones and tiles and were large enough to have contained substantial posts. There has been speculation about the interpretation of this evidence, with Detsicas (1976: 159-162) suggesting a timber building, perhaps a church or chapel. The features are important to an understanding of the environs of the cemetery, and this chapter examines the evidence for a building, related features and their relationship to the burials. The analysis is based on the information from Detsicas' interim reports, in addition to excavation notebooks and trench plans.

Pre-cemetery features

Ditches XV and XIV are evidence for activity after the abandonment of the villa but before the establishment of the cemetery (Figure 5.1). They post-date Roman layers and remained open as late as *c.* AD 650 when they were cut by Anglo-Saxon graves. Ditch XIV was excavated over a length of approximately 17m and ran roughly north-west to south-east before it merged at its east end with Ditch XV. A gully (3) was traced a short distance to the south; its relationship to Ditch XIV was not discerned because at that point it lay under a baulk. Ditch XV was a larger feature: it was investigated over a length of approximately 25m and had been cut through a late Iron Age/early Roman ditch (X), a layer of debris and a late Roman pit (Detsicas 1975: 44). Ditches XV and XIV may have demarcated fields that were established sometime after the abandonment of the villa, perhaps associated with an early Anglo-Saxon settlement.

Possibly related to these ditches is a short section of a curving gully revealed during the sectioning of Ditch X (Figure 4.1c). It was argued that it post-dated Ditch X (1st century AD); the presence of an Anglo-Saxon burial (N01) laid out lengthways and entirely contained within it, proof that it was cut after the destruction of the villa (Detsicas 1976: 159). This burial does not necessarily prove that the ditch was post-Roman – numerous Anglo-Saxon interments had cut this feature. A year later Detsicas changed his mind, stating that the north edge of Ditch X had been

cut through a section of the curvilinear gully, which it had virtually obliterated (Detsicas 1977: 56). The gully should probably be viewed as a pre-Roman feature.

The building

On the south-west edge of the cemetery, a large number of stake-holes, post-holes and pits were excavated (Figure 5.1). They are stratigraphically related by having been cut through a thick layer of Romano-British building debris and domestic refuse (Detsicas 1976: 159). A large pit (P1/8) lay between Ditches XV and XIV; two pits lay over the line of Ditch XV, and another was on the eastern edge of the cemetery, immediately east of burials K32 and K33 (Figure 4.1c). The fact that the pits had been cut into Ditch XV demonstrates that they post-date the putative early Anglo-Saxon field boundaries and were part of a phase laid out over the earlier fields. Most of the stake- and post-holes were to the south of Ditch XIV in an area that did not contain pits. However, two pits (P39 and 40) lay to the south of the structural features, cut into (late Iron Age/early Roman) Ditch XI. It seems that the pits had been positioned around the edge of the post- and stake-holes. At least one post-hole (P11) was dug into Ditch XIV, and Gully 3 was cut by several others (P9, P21 and P26). The structural features probably belong to the same phase as the pits and post-date the field boundaries. However, knowledge of the area is diminished by the unexcavated baulks, which partly obscure some of the features. Nevertheless, this evidence suggests a structure to the south of Ditch XIV. 14 complete and partial post-holes of varying sizes appear to form the outline of a rectangular building orientated roughly east to west (Figure 5.2). It had approximate dimensions of 10m by 5m, giving a floor area of about 50m² laid out in a ratio of 2:1. The footprint of the structure conforms to the double-square plan, which is a key feature of the early and mid Anglo-Saxon building tradition.

The post-holes were mostly circular or oval, indicating round posts, but their depth was not recorded. They varied in maximum width from approximately 0.30m to about 0.75m, although some were not measured because they were incompletely excavated. Some of the post-holes were packed with stones and tiles and according to Detsicas (1976: 159) they must have contained fairly substantial posts. The post-hole at the north-west corner, if it ever existed, was not
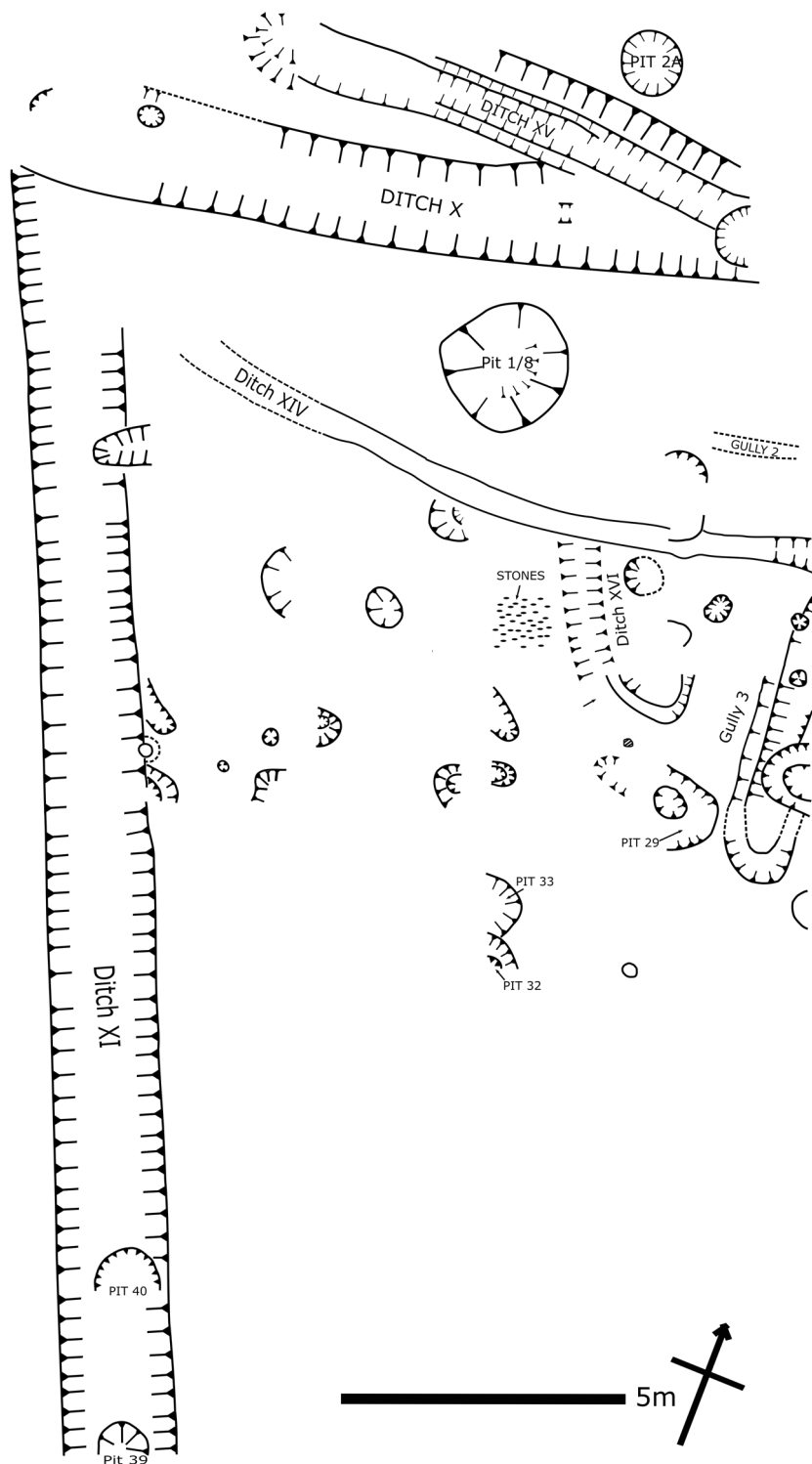
Figure 5.1. Area of ditches, gullies, stake- and post-holes (all features: post-holes not labelled see Figure 5.2).

located and perhaps lay beneath an unexcavated baulk. Alternatively, the feature could have been destroyed by erosion or was not deep enough to penetrate the Roman layers. However, corners may not have been crucial to the structural integrity of Anglo-Saxon buildings (Addyman *et al.* 1972: 23). The larger post-holes at Eccles formed the foundations of the long walls, while those of the end walls were less substantial. The latter indicates

that the weight of the roof would have been taken by the side walls, which is another characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon building tradition (Gardiner 2012a: 241). Perhaps it is not surprising that so little of the west end survived, especially at the north-west corner. Along the north side, a possible entrance is suggested by a broad gap (4.50m) between post-holes (P6 and 13), and it lines up with a shallow ditch (XVI). The door may have been hung on
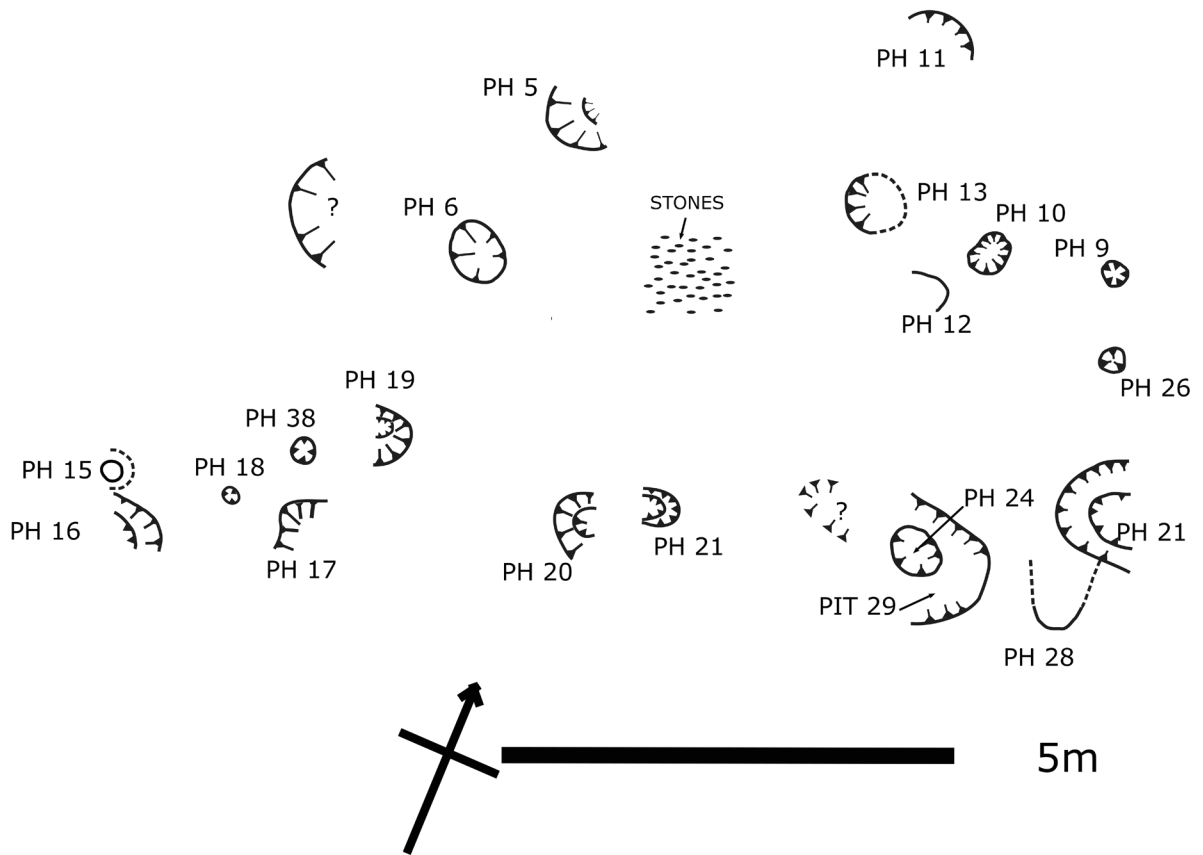
Figure 5.2. Tentative building outline.

a substantial post indicated by the relatively large post-hole (P6). Two post-holes (P5 and P11) lie immediately outside the area and could have formed part of a porch. However, the width of this putative entrance, at over a third of the total length of the wall, is unusual, and other post-holes may have been hidden within a baulk. It is unknown whether there was an entrance in the opposite (south) wall because its central part was unexcavated, but as there are two, probably paired post-holes (P20 and 21), it is unlikely. Post-built Anglo-Saxon buildings usually lack floors, but at Eccles a layer of stones close to the north wall may be the remains of a surface. Several post-holes suggest internal features, especially in the south-west corner where a partition could have existed; a post-hole in the north-east corner suggests another. A number of post-holes lay outside the structure, especially to the east (not on the plan), although it is unknown whether they acted as supports for the building or are evidence for a later phase.

Although there is no doubt that the building is post-Roman, there was no stratified evidence to closely date it. Finds from the general area are mostly sherds of residual Roman pottery, although a handful of Anglo-Saxon pottery was recovered. The area of the building yielded two sherds of Frankish wheel-thrown sandy ware

of sixth- to seventh-century date, and a reduced sherd. Five sherds of sixth- and seventh-century organic-tempered ware came from the area of the medieval settlement, which lay approximately 15m south west of the cemetery. A sherd of late Anglo-Saxon shelly-flinty ware also came from the medieval settlement area. The latter is probably contemporary with a penny of Alfred, found just to the east of the cemetery (Metcalf n.d.). Although only a small assemblage, the pottery suggests that a wider settlement lay in the general area.

The style of the building is of little help either as the technique of post-hole construction continued throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. A stratigraphic relationship is recorded by burial N02, which appears to have been cut by Pit 34 (Figure 4.1c). If, as is believed, the pits were associated with the building, then the cemetery had been established by the time the building was constructed. The building should, therefore, be no earlier than the mid 7th century. Burials N03 and N04 (the former lay partly over the latter), apparently record an association with a pit, or gully, but their relationship is unclear. The records state that N03 'looks as if cut' by the feature, which supports the notion that the building is later. However, the plan (not included here) appears to show that the burials overlay the feature,

and the edge of the cemetery possibly encroached upon redundant settlement features.

The structure is imperfectly understood, but the arrangement of post-holes is suggestive of a post-built structure erected adjacent to the cemetery, with Ditch XIV marking its northern boundary and a group of pits surrounding it. If it had existed in isolation, it might have served as a mortuary house or even a chapel. No other structures were identified, but the pottery to the south west, suggests that further settlement evidence might lie beneath the medieval site.

Discussion

Early Anglo-Saxon activity, probably consisting of boundary features, was encroached upon by the cemetery, demonstrating that the ditches had fallen out of use by the mid 7th century at the latest. The location of this early settlement and its burial ground, is unknown. In the early Anglo-Saxon period, the two zones were usually separate; for example, at West Heslerton (North Yorkshire) (Powlesland and Haughton 1999) and West Stow (Suffolk) (West 1985) where they were several hundred metres apart. In these situations, the dead were deliberately distanced from the living, yet in others, the spaces of the living and dead were adjacent or had merged, for instance at Bishopstone (East Sussex) (Bell 1977) and Mucking (Essex) (Hamerow 1993). No earlier-period burials were situated near the Eccles cemetery, nor found within it to suggest long usage, as noted elsewhere in East Kent, for example at Finglesham and Dover Buckland. The dead of this postulated early settlement had probably been deposited farther away from the site and there are two possible locations, though neither are particularly convincing. The *Victoria County History for Kent* (vol. III, 153) reports that in 1876 cremation burials were identified in Mr Furnes's brickfield (see above p183). The date of these burials is unknown, and, as there is no mention of grave goods, they were probably Roman. The other location is provided by the Rev. Beale Poste who described a square pit of the 6th or 7th century, lined with blocks of chalk, and which contained fragments of pottery, dark burnt material and bones (see above p94). However, it sounds more like the remains of a stoke hole, rather than an early Anglo-Saxon mortuary feature.

Several later Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were sited on, or next to, land that had previously been occupied, but in most instances this involved the disturbance of domestic activity of the mid Anglo-Saxon period (Hadley 2007:

195). Eccles is an early example of this development – a Final Phase cemetery had been established over land previously worked in the early Anglo-Saxon period. A similar situation occurred at Rivenhall (Essex), though in this case an early building was encroached upon by a mid Anglo-Saxon cemetery (Rodwell and Rodwell 1986: 80), again associated with a large Roman villa estate.

At Eccles, the building was erected to the south west of the cemetery, and the fact that the two zones were largely separate suggests contemporaneity. The cemetery probably went out of use in the 10th century, but it is unknown when the building was abandoned. The burials were not tightly clustered around the building at Eccles: those to the east side were more widely distributed compared to those dug in the central and northern parts of the cemetery (Figure 4.1a). The building does not appear to have been a focal point of the cemetery, thus weakening any argument that it was a mortuary building or a chapel. It was perhaps part of a larger settlement that lay to the south west, indicated by the post-Roman pottery in the area and indirectly by Detsicas' (1967: 170) observation that 'not a single sherd of post-Roman pottery has been found so far' from the excavations of the baths and the western end of the main Roman building.

The evidence from Eccles conforms to the pattern that takes shape roughly from the mid 7th century and sees the disposal of the dead more closely associated with the settlement (Hamerow 2010; 2012: 123-27): at Yarnton (Oxfordshire) burials had been interred in boundary ditches on the edge of the settlement. In other cases, formal cemeteries were established within the area of habitation, such as at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville (Suffolk) (Hamerow 2010: 73; Lucy *et al.* 2009), where 26 graves dated to the second half of the 7th century were interred within a pre-existing settlement. At Thwing (East Yorkshire) a settlement was accompanied by a cemetery containing at least 132 individuals of a seventh- to eighth-century date and contained a small building interpreted by the excavator as a mortuary chapel. At Gamlingay (Cambridgeshire) an eighth- to ninth-century cemetery of 110 burials was no less than 50m south of the settlement, and about 30m to its north east a group of six burials was uncovered next to a small timber building (Murray 2006). The closer association of the living and the dead may have helped to strengthen ancestral claims to land at a time when there was greater pressure on resources (Hamerow 2010: 75-76).

Chapter 6

Place-names around Eccles and their Contribution to understanding the History of the Area

Jillian Hawkins

Introduction

Place-names are an important resource in the understanding of the history of an area. In this part of south-east England they will provide evidence of the process by which this area of Britain, the pre-Roman territory and Roman province, became part of England, the country gradually taken over by incomers from the near continent. This process varied in different parts of the country, and since Kent is close to the continent, changes could have taken place here earlier. The small area of Kent where the Eccles villa was situated would not have been so accessible and easily targeted by newcomers as early as, say, the east coast region, Thanet, the Wantsum Channel and so on. It is not surprising, therefore, that names from the Romano-British period continued, and Old English names appeared later.

Sometimes it is necessary to use some lateral thinking when assessing the evidence of place-names, but imagination must always be tempered with knowledge and fact. It is important to remember that language develops and changes according to the needs, preferences and sometimes the whims, of the people who use it. Spelling will change to reflect pronunciation, which itself changes through time. It is important to avoid making assumptions based on the present form of a name. This was a matter of scathing comment by the late Margaret Gelling (Gelling 1978: 12). In the centuries since a name was first used, many changes to speech and pronunciation will have taken place, or a place with two names will have come to be known by the preferred name. In this area an example of this is Frindsbury, which was also known as Æslingham (BCS 195 AD 764 *...de Æslingham sive Freondsberiam...*). Names may have changed out of all recognition, and the changes may or may not be informative.

A word will have its own meaning or meanings, but it is its significance to the people who used it which influenced its use in naming a place. People named places according to what was significant to them about that place at that time. This could be the name of the landowner, or what activity could be carried out there, or what the soil was like, etc. If there were something different about a certain place, or if

a place were perceived to be different in some non-obvious way, this would most probably be reflected in its name. Thus place-names carry not only meaning but also significance. For example, if only one place out of a group of several had a well or a spring, this would probably be reflected in its name. Sometimes the absence from names of what, to us in the 21st century, appears to be important, may not have been important to people of another time, and so may be a factor for investigation. Meanings and significances are not always the same, and both undergo change. Anachronisms must be avoided.

The names of the places in the Eccles area are largely of Old English derivation, as is the case throughout south-east England. It is assumed that any resident British people gradually adopted the new Germanic speech: this would be a cultural change, necessary if the emergent Anglo-Saxon groups were perceived as more powerful, but names of places were often passed on. As will be discussed more fully below, some names survive from Roman times: near the mouth of the Medway Upnor, and Rochester, contain a vestige of their Latin names. If the people using these names had been totally wiped out or had deserted the area, the names would have died with them. Since the names continue, we can assume that some people survived and passed on the name. A continued British existence in the area is suggested by the name of Chatham and Chattenden and certainly a clue to the newcomers' view of the natives survives in the name Wickham. These names indicate that there was some continuation of native Romano-British presence around the mouth of the Medway. The name Eccles is extremely significant, indicating the continuation not only of a name, and so of inhabitants, but also the existence of a Christian community in late Roman times. How long the Christian community continued here is a matter of debate. To date the name is the only indication of Christianity here, but comparison with other sites, especially Lullingstone, some 20km to the west, leads one to believe that this community may have continued to exist, and practise, into the early 5th century, and possibly beyond. The place-names therefore suggest that there was a continuing British or Romano-British presence near the river mouth, and also in the Eccles area.

Local place-names of significance and their derivation (Figure 6.1)

First, the place-name Eccles will be examined in some detail, then some place-names which appear to be significant in assessing the early history of this area are examined.

Abbreviations

A.S.C. (A) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A version.
BCS: Birch, W de Gray (1885) *Cartularium Saxonicum*
D.B.: *Domesday Book* 1086.
Brit.: Brittonic, language spoken in Britain before the Romans arrived, and continuing
Corn.: Cornish
H.E.: Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*
M.E.: Middle English
Mod. W.: modern Welsh
O. Celt.: Old Celtic
O. Dan.: Old Danish
O. Fris.: Old Frisian
O.H.G.: Old High German
O. Scand.: Old Scandinavian
O.W.: Old Welsh

Pers. n.: personal name
S.: Sawyer charter number
I.E.: Indo-European, a spoken language deduced by linguists
Pr.W.: Primitive Welsh, spoken by native British, but not written.
O.E.: Old English, the language developed in Britain by incoming Germanic people.

Eccles (TQ 728606)

Ekwall 1922: 37-38; Wallenberg 1931: 305; Wallenberg 1934: 145; Jackson 1953: 227, 265-267, 270, 556-557; Smith 1956: 145; Ekwall 1960: 159; Cameron 1977: 1-7; Gelling 1978: 82-83, 96; Coates and Breeze 2000: 272-273; Watts 2004: 207; Hough 2009: 109-111; James 2009: 126-130.

Roughly 200 years after the Roman villa fell out of use, part of the site was used as a cemetery. There was an associated structure, possibly a shrine/small chapel or part of a domestic settlement, and evidence of later medieval settlement. The continued use of the site explains why the name Eccles survived, although its original meaning had probably been lost.
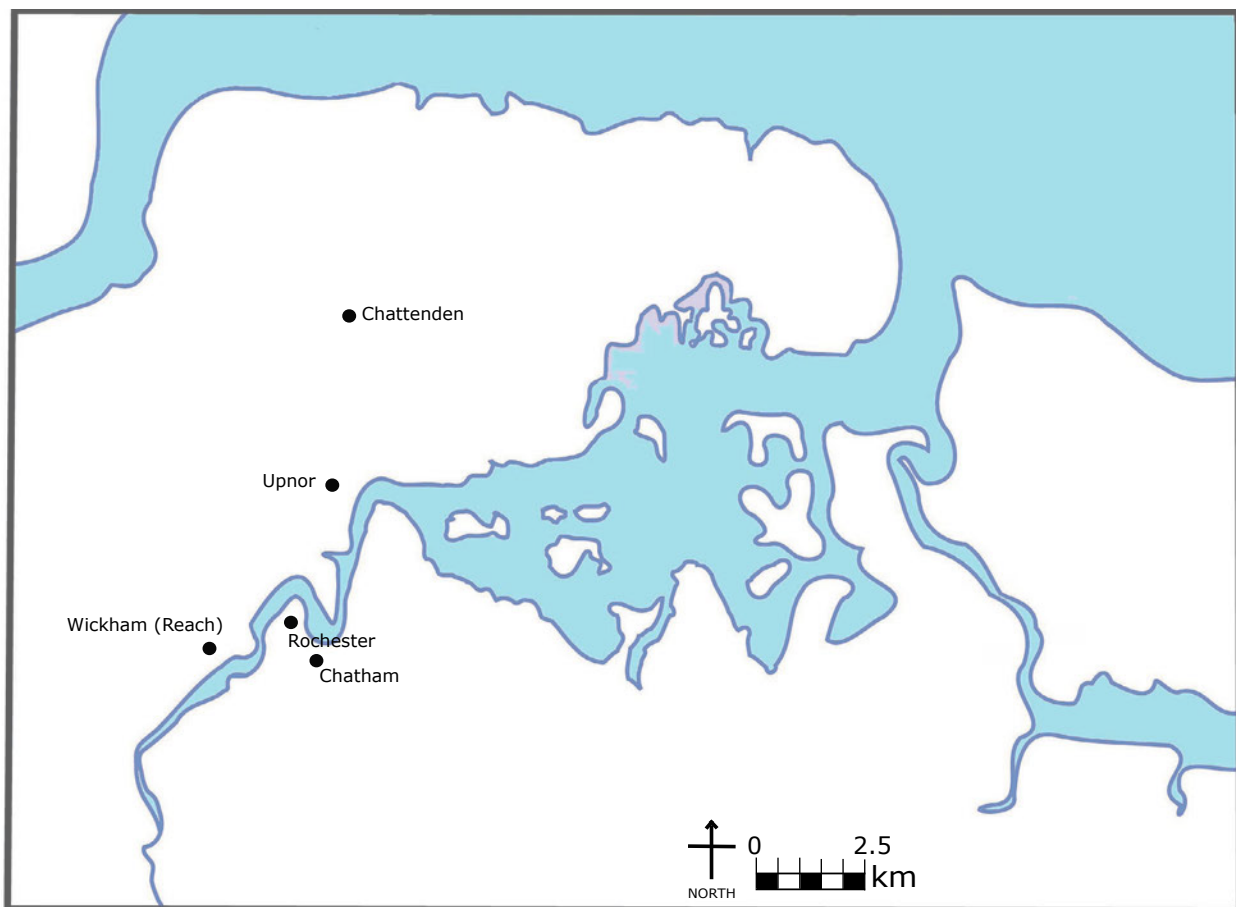
Figure 6.1. Location of pre-Germanic place-names around the mouth of the estuary.

The first recorded written example of this name in Kent is in the regulations for the repair of the bridge at Rochester, *c.*AD 975, *of æclesse.* In *Domesday Book* it is given as *Aiglessa*, and from 1208 Eccles. Listed as a manor in 1086, Eccles declined in importance, but the name must have continued locally, as on the Fryars estate plan of 1700 'Eccles Field' is marked. On an early Ordnance Survey map (*c.* 1842) Eccles cottages are included, and the newly-created nineteenth-century village was called Eccles, as today.

The meaning, use and significance of *Eccles*

The original Greek word meant, in ancient Athens, a legislative assembly. It acquired a religious sense in the context of Hellenic Judaism and was used for the congregation in a particular synagogue, then for the Jewish community in general; so originally the word indicated a body or group of people. Later it was adopted by the Christian church, and applied to both a specific local group, and also to the universal Christian church in general: this more abstract usage is typified in Christ's words to Peter:

'thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church' (*ecclesia* the English transliteration of Greek *ekklesia*) (Matt. 16, xviii)

Gradually the word began to be applied to the place or building where groups of Christian folk gathered (James 2009: 126).

Thus in British Latin the word probably, and in any case initially, was used to mean the Christian community in the same sense as used by Christ. In late Roman Britain its use implies organised Christian worship by a group of people (Jackson 1953: 227), and this was noted by early Germanic settlers (Gelling 1978: 82), who respected the practice and the word used to designate it (Gelling 1978: 96). Gradually the significance of the word altered, so that rather than referring to the people, it referred to the place where such people met together, or perhaps lived, and thus to a church building. This could form part of an élite household or, where a group of Christians lived apart, a small building. Therefore the notions of place and people came together, a place connected to the Church or owned by it.

In the case of Brittonic *eglēs, which the Germanic incomers took from the resident British, the word probably signified a place where Christian people lived (Coates and Breeze 2000: 273), and therefore a certain area belonging to such a community. The O.E. adaptation *eclēs may thus have come to mean 'piece of land called Eccles', in the same way that many rivers were understood by the new people to be called *aþon.* It does not even appear to be an appellative in the same way as *wīchām* was: it was the Germanic folk who

created the name *wīchām* for a certain type of place, using Latin *vīcus* , which was used in the homelands for a small settlement, or a group of houses, with *–ham,* their own element for a village. But they appear to have just accepted *eclēs as a local name. To the British it was an appellative, or a type of place where certain things happened, to the Anglo-Saxons a land name (James 2009: 125-130, 140-142). However, in many places in the country the spiritual aspect of a place continued to be recognised, even though the religion may have been different. Burial took place at Eccles from the mid 7th century and the designation of a place as sacred would still hold good. The continuation of the knowledge that a place was holy would help the name to continue, though its original Christian significance may have been lost, just as the word acquired a Christian significance in Roman Britain. In line with this is the fact that it was not unusual for the incoming Germanic folk to adopt a place known to have a spiritual significance (discussed further below).

Some scholars believe the word *eccles* was a loan-word into O.E., and although it has never so far been found in the written record, it does occur in the toponymic record, which is not unusual. It is never used as a generic in a bi-syllabic place-name, indicating that it was used as a toponym rather than an appellative, i.e. it was the name of a place rather than the name of a type of place (see Hough 2009: 109-111). It has also been suggested that *eccles* may be seen as a Celtic coinage, and so a survival from Brittonic which lasted into Anglo-Saxon times (Hough 2009: 109; Watts 2004: 207; Mills 2003: 172). This has implications for the question of the survival locally of Brittonic speakers into the Anglo-Saxon period.

There now follows a discussion of some other local names, which may throw light on the significance of the local area and in turn the continuation of the place-name Eccles.

Aylesford (TQ 730592)
Sweet 1896: 184; Wallenberg 1931: 286-288; Wallenberg 1934:145; Jackson 1953: 227; Smith 1956: 205-209, 215-216; Ekwall 1960: 20, 468-469; Sims-Williams 1983: 26-27; Bassett 1989: 60-61; Swanton 2000: 13; Watts 2004: 29, xlvii – xlviii; Momma and Matto 2008: 133; Cullen *et al.* 2011*: passim;* Gardiner 2012: 16-30; Coates 2017: 41-48.
A.S.C. (A) *Ægeles þrep.*
S.1211 *c.* AD 959 *Æglesforda.*
S.1212 *Agelesford.*
D.B. 1086 *Elesford.*

The earliest recording of the name of this place, *Ægælesþrep,* is in A.S.C.(A) *sub anno* 455, when it is stated that a battle took place here, between the resident population and the Germanic newcomers. It is believed that a document from Kent was acquired by copyists

in Winchester, and that this information lies behind the Kentish annals in the A.S.C. The Winchester scribe copied the first version of the annals, in its original language, into the first version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, up to the entry for AD 891, then stopped (Swanton 2000: 13). Thus Þrep was written in the first transcript, and retained in later transcripts, but when A.S.C. (A2) was produced, þrep became –ford, perhaps in an attempt at 'improvement'. Þrep may have been an unfamiliar word to the Winchester scribes, but was retained until the 10th century. Modern Aylesford may, in fact, be a different place, though the two are usually taken to be the same by place-name scholars and etymologists. Nowhere else locally appears to be an earlier Aylesford, and nowhere else locally appears to derive its name from Ægelesþrep. An alternative explanation is that there were two place-names here, describing different aspects of the same settlement. The scribe responsible for A.S.C. (A) may have been familiar with Æglesþrep and used that form, which then gave rise to the Chronicle tradition. It may be that Æglesford became the more usual way to refer to the place locally by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, evidenced by the fact that it is the one that has survived to this day. The A.S.C. (A2) scribe may have been aware of this and emended it accordingly (John Baker pers. comm.).

Nennius, in the *Historia Brittonum* in the early 9th century, spelled the name *Episford*, the first element signifying 'horse', with a note that in fact the name should be, in a Celtic tongue, *syddin y cenbail,* 'house of the ferry boat', presumably taken from Middle and Late Latin *caupalus* 'skiff, small, light boat' (*Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*: 2, 454). There may well have been a ferry here: there was certainly a ferry lower down the river, from New Hythe to the opposite bank, until the mid-1950s (A.J. Prior, former resident of New Hythe, pers. comm.). However, there may also have been a ford here in this stretch of the Medway at low tide, even though it may have been too wide at other times.

The qualifying initial element Ayles-

Ekwall (1960, 20) suggests that the element *Ayles-* may be the genitive of the personal name *Ægel*. Jackson (1953: 227) refers to Ekwall's suggestion but makes no comment on it. Wallenberg (1931: 286-287) discusses the likelihood of the first element being a personal name, but suggests alternative possibilities, concluding that although a personal name here is not impossible, it is rather doubtful. Three years later Wallenberg (1934: 145), devotes almost a page to a discussion of the likelihood of a personal name, which he describes as 'not on independent record in OE', though granting that it may well have been a common personal name in O.E. before personal names were recorded. The name *Ægel* was certainly known and used on the Continent, and occurs for example, in runic form, on the lid of the

early eighth-century Franks Casket, now in the British Museum. *Egil* or *Ægili* was a Germanic hero, brother of Wayland the smith, and may have been a master archer. (British Museum shelfmark 1867,0120.1). There are no known grounds for stating that the personal name *Ægel* was not used in England at this time; it may well be found in documents still to be examined.

Ekwall (1960: 20) suggests that an alternative name for Aylesford may be *Ægel's thorp,* thus referring to the name in A.S.C.(A), *Ægelesþrep*, and repeating the theory of a personal name. Watts (2004: 29), repeats the suggestion of a personal name and translates þrep as farm, but suggested (Watts 2004: 29) that the identification of modern Aylesford with the *Ægelesþrep* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is 'no more than a guess'.

The second (generic) element: -ford or -þrep

The element –ford was not used in the name Aylesford before the mid-10th century. Prior to that, the generic was –þrep, and this has been treated as a scribal error, but an examination of the word is necessary to ascertain why it appears in the early place-name *Ægelesþrep*, before it disappeared or was replaced by modern Aylesford. Some recent entries are as follows. Sweet (1896: 184) gives þrop, þorp, þrep 'farm, estate, village', thus acknowledging þrep as an alternative to þorp. Ekwall (1960: 20) gives Aylesford as '*Ægel's* thorp', thus acknowledging the first known spelling, and discussing þorp, þrop as a "rare word and its meaning is doubtful", but in neither reference listing þrep as an alternative (Ekwall 1960: 468-469). More work has now been done on *thorp* (Cullen *et al.* 2011). Smith (1956: 205-209, 215-216) discusses at length O.E. þrop, O. Dan. þorp, O. Scand. þorp, describing usages, significances and derivations. He nowhere mentions the form þrep, and states that þrop, þorp are not found in Kent, as indeed is true at the time of writing. Watts (2004: xlvii-xlviii) discusses derivations and cognates, and though not including the form þrep, mentions other forms in –e-: O. Fris. *therp*, O. Scand. **trēb*, OW *tref-, tre-,* Corn. *tre-* O. Ir. *treb, a-treba* 'lives', Gaulish *Atrebates* 'the settled ones', I.E. **treb.* The –e- is known to continue even into some modern languages: the variant *terp,* a man-made mound, was widely used during the period of inundation of the coast of north-west Europe, and survives in modern west Frisian (retrieved from https://en.wiktionary.org/w/index.php?title=terp&oldid=49105424).

Chatham (TQ 755670)
Wallenberg 1931; 226; Wallenberg 1934: 127; Ekwall 1960: 97; Watts 2004: 127.
S.321 AD 880 æt *Cetham.*
Birch 1885: 1321 AD 975 *Cœtham* (repairs to Rochester bridge).
S. 885 AD 995 *Cethœma mearc.*
D.B. 1086 *Ceteham.*

1195→ Chatham.
O. Celt. *kaito > Brit. *ceto 'forest'>Pr.W. *cēd 'wood' >Welsh coed +O.E. –ham 'settlement'.

The second, generic, element is one of the usual O.E. terms for a settlement. The first, qualifying, element is the interesting one, as a Brittonic word continuing into the O.E. place-name lexicon it indicates that the Germanic arrivals learned it from the resident British, with whom they must have spoken. They probably thought it was the name of the place, and indeed it may by this time have become just that. However, Ekwall (1960: 97; Mills 2003: 108) suggests an alternative derivation from an O.E. personal name *Ceatta, which has never been recorded and is therefore suspicious, or an association with the words chat, chatter. This is unnecessary. A connection with the place-name Chattenden may be suggested, which is some 5km north across the river, and also Chetney Marsh, though this is some 13km to the north east. These two names, at some distance from Chatham, belie the notion of a local personal unrecorded name (Mills 2003: 108) and give more probability to the use of Brittonic *ceto (forest).

Medway (river name)
Wallenberg 1931, *passim*; Ekwall 1960, 320; Watts 2004, 405.
This river-name is recorded in several Anglo-Saxon charters, which is not surprising as a river can form a natural boundary to a stretch of land.
Six charters mention the Medway:
S. 105 AD 764 *ad occidentalem partem fluminis Meduuœian* (gen. sing.)
S. 37 AD 765x790 *in flumen Medeuuæge*
S. 327 AD 790 *Meodwæge*
S. 165 AD 811 *flubius Meduwege*
S. 339 AD 868 *ad flumine modico et magno Meadowege flumina*
        oð Miadowegan
        oð Mediwægan
        fram Miadwegan
S. 321 AD 880 *Miodowæge*
        oð þa ea Medewegan
S. 885 AD 995 *Medwæge*
from 1281 Medway
Thus the spelling developed through the centuries.
The elements are considered in turn.

The first (qualifying) element Med-

The first element is from Indo-European *medhu 'middle'. Spellings with diphthongs are due to a back-mutation, or influenced by the O.E. word *me(o)du* 'mead'. This has led some scholars to suggest that the qualifying element refers to the colour of the water in the river. However, geography and common sense indicate that the significance of the first element lies in its route and its function in human terms: historically

it marked the division between East and West Kent, as it still does to this day.

The second (generic) element –way

This is also found in other river-names in England, such as Wye, Wey, Wear, and on the continent such as Weser, Vistula. I.E. *wis, *weis 'water' produces the river-name *Waisa (Berger, D.1999. *Geographische Namen in Deutschland.* Mannheim, Duden-Verlag).

It is not unusual for English river-names to be pre-English and this is more common the further west in England one goes. The fact that river-names are frequently pre-English demonstrates that people new to an area learned the names from the resident population, and thus that there was spoken communication between the two groups. The name of the Medway shows that it was considered to be a river 'in the middle', especially where it flows between stretches of the North Downs. Rather than acting as a dividing line a river could have been perceived as joining the two banks. This might have been applicable in Roman times when the whole of Kent belonged to one civitas, though by the later 5th century the river appears to have constituted a dividing line between East and West Kent, until West Kent was annexed and the two were joined (see below pp238-239).

Rochester (TQ 740689)
Wallenberg 1931: 3; Wallenberg 1934: 123; Jackson 1953: 267; Ekwall 1960: 390; Rivet and Smith 1979: 346-348; Watts 2004: 503-504.

Rochester (Roman *Durobrivae*) is situated in an important and strategic position on the east bank of the mouth of the Medway. The site was used in the Iron Age: coin moulds were recovered in the north-east corner of the town and it is suggested that there was an Iron Age oppidum here (see above p1). Rochester was one of the sites chosen by St Augustine as an early ecclesiastical centre (A.S.C. (A) sa 604) and is named, with various spellings, in many charters and other documents. The name has undergone systematic linguistic changes, which are described most thoroughly in Rivet and Smith (1979), with a careful analysis of the various names in Watts (2004): these two sources are used here.

The first element *dŭro- 'fort, town on low ground'

This element is of Gallic and Celtic derivation and so was widely known in Gaul for a century before the Roman conquest of Britain, and also known in Britain. It is believed that the element cannot be used to signify walls, as there were no walls here before the early 3rd century (Harrison and Williams 1979: 21).

The second element –brivæ "bridges"

Again, this is found in many places in Gaul, deriving from Celtic *brīu̯ā 'bridge'. Also in Gaul the word is often in the plural, brivæ. The plural was used even in places where there was only one bridge, perhaps to signify that the bridge had more than one arch or stage. This gives names such as Brives in modern France, and accounts for the element –brivae in the Latin name for Rochester.

The element –chester "fortress"

This is the usual derivation in Britain from Latin castra 'fortress'. Some uses of the name through the centuries now follow. Not all known uses are listed here.

1. Romano-British. *Durobrivæ. Durobrivis, -brovis*, 4th century (Antonine Itinerary), first known written date 8th century (Watts 2010, 503).
2. Later Latin. *Civitas Hrofi, Hrofensis civitas* AD 731 Bede.
3. English. *Hrofæscæstræ* AD 731 Bede.
4. Combination. *Civitas Hrofibreui* AD 604 (first written 12th century) S 1. (Watts 2010, 504).

It will be seen that spellings and uses varied through the centuries, and even Bede used varied spellings within his *Historia.*

The development of the name

The loss of the first syllable *du-:*

The element *duro-* would have had the accent on the second syllable thus *durò-,* so the initial *du-* would have been dropped leaving *ro-* as the first syllable heard in the name. This is an important clue to considering communication between the resident and incoming groups (Jackson 1953: 267, referring to Ekwall 1960).

How *ro-* and *brivæ* became *Hrof-:*

The change of b+v to f: in the element *brivæ* b came together with v (they are cognate) which then became f. This would result in something like **d'rovrīw,* and as English became more widely spoken, perhaps **rofi.* Bede assumed this was the genitive of a personal name **Rofus* or **Hrofus,* and there was also an association with O.E. *hrof* 'roof'. The –s or –es after the name comes and goes and is finally dropped, the f returns to v and is finally dropped. So the whole word *Durobrivæ* became just Ro-.

Upnor (Castle) (TQ 759705)
Lewis and Short 1879: 1274; Wallenberg 1934: 116; Watts 2004: 637.
M.E. *up(pe)* 'higher' +Latin *ōra* 'gravelly beach where boats may be landed'.
O.E. *æt þæm oran* > M.E. *atten ore* >1292 *atte Nore.*

The transfer of the final –n of one word to the initial of the next is a common phenomenon, for example 1374 *Upnore.* The second element *ōra* is not common on this stretch of coast, though it is found further east in Kent, at Oar Farm (TR 225682) and at Stonar (TR 335595), which would have lain at either end of the Wantsum Channel. However, *ōra* is found in many places along the south coast of England, where it is known that trading was important in pre-Roman and Roman times, which is why the Latin word was used. Thus it can be seen that this site, on the left bank of the lower Medway, was a site of coastal trade in Romano-British times. In place-names it continued into Anglo-Saxon times with *ōrā* as generic, usually combined with other, O.E., elements as locally appropriate. This naming signifies that the use of the beaching facility was continued, at least into the 5th century, and is confirmed by archaeology at Northfleet, further up the Thames estuary (Millett 2007: 184). The element is not used for places where large vessels came into port, needing deeper water and berthing facilities. The continuation of the name *ōra* indicates spoken communication between resident and incoming people. Although the name had become established, what it signified had probably been forgotten, but the trade continued (see Hawkins 2020, where this usage is explored in more detail).

Wickham (TQ 730675)
Wallenberg 1934: 119; Ekwall 1960: 516; Watts 2004: 677; Gelling 1967: 87-103 (for the name in general).
Latin *vīcus* > O.E. *wīc* 'a certain type of place' +O.E. *hām* 'settlement'.
AD 1100 *Wycham.*
AD 1210 *Wicheham.*

Wallenberg (1934) spells the name Wicham, though in 1838 (Directory of Strood), 1844 (Strood Tithe Award Schedule) and 1891 (Census) the name is spelled Wickham.

This is an extremely important name for any assessment of the early history of the area. In the south-east part of England, east of an imaginary line drawn from Yorkshire to the Bristol Channel and then south to the coast, there are some 30 places with this name. Most of these places are close to a Roman road (see Gelling, 1967: 87-103). This has led to the understanding that instead of being the name of a place, *wīchām* was the name given by the Germanic incomers to a certain type of place which they encountered, and so an appellative, but later it would have been perceived merely as a local name. Latin *vīcus* was known and used in Old Saxony, so the fact that the word is from Latin does not, in this instance, indicate Romano-British usage, but does indicate that speakers of a nascent Old English perceived local inhabitants who were to be respected. A *vīc* was a place to be noted for a certain reason.

It is believed that places called *wīcham* were Romano-British settlements, perhaps with some degree of local authority, which were observed and respected by the new Germanic people. Roman remains are often found in the vicinity of a *wīchām*, and so it is near Wickham on the Medway: in 1895 Roman pottery was found at Wickham Cement works and at Wickham Farm. There are several places called Wickham in Kent. It is interesting that this Kentish Wickham is on the west bank of the Medway, along from Upnor, thus two names with Latin elements lying close together.

Other local place-names and their derivation

Most of the following local names are of Old English derivation, but two show evidence of pre-migration elements (Chattenden and Comp). Notably, Chattenden is located quite close to Wickham and Upnor, both of which names have Latin elements, and Comp, though at some distance from the lower Medway, is part of a group of similar names with Latin roots (Gelling 1978: 76-78). The name Cuxton refers to a stone which was important in some way, perhaps having a religious connotation which was appreciated by incoming people. The others indicate landscape features which the incomers perceived as important in the location of their settlements. The names are listed simply to provide the evidence, but an analysis of each within the context of the landscape and in relation to known archaeological evidence may reveal further information about the Anglo-Saxon settlement process in the lower Medway.

Borstal (TQ 735668)
Wallenberg 1931: 124; Wallenberg 1934: 123; Ekwall 1960: 53.
D.B. *Borchetelle, Borcstele.*
O.E. *borg* 'security' + O.E. *steall* 'place'.

Burham (TQ 726623)
Wallenberg 1931: 305; Wallenberg 1934: 147; Ekwall 75; Watts 2004: 100.
D.B. *Borham.*
O.E. *burh* 'fort, homestead' + O.E. *ham* 'settlement' or O.E. *hamm* 'spur of land surrounded by water', here the River Medway.

Chattenden (TQ 756749)
Wallenberg 1931: 308; Wallenberg 1934: 115; Ekwall 1960: 97; Mills 2003: 108; Watts 2004: 127.
For the initial element Chat- see Chatham.
+ O.E. *–ing* + O.E. *dūn* 'hill'.

Comp, Great, Little etc (TQ 632567)
Wallenberg 1934: 147.
D.B. –
Gelling 1978: 76.
?Latin *campus* 'field' or PrW **cumm* > Mod. W. *cwm* 'valley'.

Culand (TQ 731612)
Wallenberg 1931: 361; Wallenberg 1934: 147.
1232 *de Coddeslande*; 1254 *de Codeland*; 1334 *de Codelonde*; ?O.E. *codd* "bag" i.e. high ground, or an O.E. pers. n. *Codd, Codda.*

Cuxton (TQ 709670)
Wallenberg 1931: 225; Wallenberg 1934: 113; Ekwall 1960: 137; Watts 2004: 176.
D.B. *Coclestane.*
O.E. pers. n. **Cucola,* gen sing –n + OE *stan* 'stone', 'Cucola's stone'.

Ditton (TQ 711585)
Wallenberg 1931: 306; Wallenberg 1934: 147; Watts 2004: 188.
D.B. *Dictune.*
O.E. *dīc* 'ditch, stream' + O.E. *tūn* 'settlement'.

Frindsbury (TQ 740696)
Wallenberg 1931: 49; Wallenberg 1934: 115; Ekwall 1960: 188; Watts 2004: 241.
D.B. *Frandesberie.*
O.E. pers. n. **Freond* + OE *burh*, dat sing *byrig* 'manor, fortified place'.

Halling (TQ 703642)
Wallenberg 1931: 75; Wallenberg 1934: 116; Ekwall 1960: 212; Watts 2004: 271.
D.B. *Hallingas.*
Either O.E. *Hallingas* 'people of a man called Heall' or O.E. *heall* 'hall' or O.E. *heal* 'stone, rock'.

Holborough (TQ 703642)
Wallenberg 1931: 179; Wallenberg 1934: 116; Ekwall 1960: 212; Watts 2004: 271.
D.B. –
Birch 1885: 437 AD 841 *Holanbeorges tuun.*
O.E. *hol(a)* 'hollow' + O.E. *beorg* 'hill'.

Hoo St Werburgh (TQ 780725)**, St Mary** (TQ 803766)
Wallenberg 1931: 20, 36; Wallenberg 1934: 119, 120, 122; Ekwall 1960: 248; Watts 2004: 313.
D.B. *Hou.*
O.E. *hōh* 'spur of land'.

Hythe, New (TQ 708599)
Wallenberg 1934: 459.
O.E. *hȳþ* 'landing place'.

Larkfield (TQ 707603)
Wallenberg 1934: 148.
D.B. *Lavrochesfel.*
O.E. *lāwerce* 'lark' + O.E. *feld* 'field'.

Nashenden (TQ 731660)
Wallenberg 1931: 310; Wallenberg 1934: 126.
D.B. *Essedene*   AD 995 *hyscan denes mearce.*

O.E. *hȳscen 'small house' + OE denu 'valley' or O.E. denn 'pasture'.

Ryarsh (TQ 670590)
Wallenberg 1934: 149; Ekwall 1960: 398; Watts 2004: 515.
D.B. Riesce.
O.E. ryġ "rye" + O.E. ersc, ærsce 'ploughland'.

Snodhurst Bottom (TQ 756655)
Wallenberg 1931: 145, 311; Wallenberg 1934: 28.
O.E. snod 'piece cut off" or as in Snodland (qv)+ O.E. hyrst .copse, wood.

Snodland (TQ 705615)
Wallenberg 1931: 178; Wallenberg 1934: 150; Ekwall 1960: 429; Watts 2004: 557.
D.B. Esnoiland.
O.E. pers. n. Snodd(a) +O.E. land 'newly cultivated land belonging to Snodda' or O.E. snōd 'twist, bend in river' from O.E. snōd 'head-dress'.

Strood (TQ 729690)
Wallenberg 1931: 118; Wallenberg 1934: 228; Ekwall 1960: 451; Watts 2004: 587.
O.E. strōd 'marshy land overgrown with brushwood'.

Wainscott (TQ 745718)
Wallenberg 1931: 230; Wallenberg 1934: 116; Watts 2004: 643.
O.E. wægn-weg 'cart road'; Mod. E. wain 'wagon' + cot 'shed'.

Walderslade (TQ 760634)
Wallenberg 1934: 128; Watts 2004: 644.
O.E. weald 'forest' + O.E. slæd 'flat valley'.

Wouldham (TQ 712641)
Wallenberg 1931: 123, 360; Wallenberg 1934: 152; Ekwall 1960: 537; Watts 2004: 703.
D.B. Oldeham
O.E. pers. n. *Wulda + O.E. hām 'settlement' (O.E. wuldor 'glory'); or O.E. *wuld < O.H.G. * wulsta 'bend in river'. O.H.G. *wellan 'roll'.

Conclusion: the evidence to be gained from the place-names

It appears that a notable element of the Romano-British population continued in Kent, though it can only be estimated in what numbers and in what relationship to the incomers (Richardson 2016: 30). The investigation into the place-names of the lower Medway valley contributes important information about native survival in the area, which can be supplemented by historical knowledge and archaeological fact.

On the basis of the known archaeological evidence, the villa at Eccles was probably inhabited until the early 5th century, when coin use declined and then failed (Millett 2007: 184). The place-name itself is extremely significant, indicating the continuation not only of a name, and so of local inhabitants, but also the existence of a Christian community in late Roman times. Only the name survives to inform us that there were people in the area, and a continuation of the notion of spirituality; there is no archaeological or historical evidence for a Christian group (Millett 2007: 195). Yet it would probably have remained an attractive location, being protected by the Downs to the north and east and accessible by river and road. How long this putative Christian community continued is a matter of debate. The name is the only indication of Christianity here, but comparison with other local sites, especially Lullingstone, leads one to believe that this community may have continued to exist, and practise, into the early 5th century, and possibly beyond. Thus, it appears that the site was occupied by a Christian community, originally of Romano-British derivation, whose name, an *eccles,* was respected particularly for its spiritual significance and was important enough to have survived to the present day, in various guises and with different uses. The preservation of a local British name appears to support the British victory at *Ægelesþrep* reported in the Chronicle under the year 455, indicating that a British population continued to inhabit this part of the Medway. The accuracy of the date is not important for the present purpose; it is the fact that two opposing ethnic groups clashed in the area that is significant.

It was not unusual for the Anglo-Saxons to adopt a place that had previous spiritual associations; for example prehistoric monuments and Roman villas and mausolea were used by the incoming people as places for the burial of the dead. At Eccles it was not only the site that was reused, but the place-name itself was adopted. This may or may not indicate a continuing awareness of the religious significance of the location, perhaps it continued as local tradition, and knowledge of this tradition may well have been instrumental in the decision to establish a cemetery at Eccles in the mid 7th century. At Eccles the date of the earliest graves is later than the Anglo-Saxon graves around Rochester, for example at Chatham, indicating that Germanic people were later arrivals in the Eccles area. Thus history, archaeology and place-names supplement and support each other, bearing witness to the fact that Germanic occupation was late here, relative to other parts of East Kent, even just down-river at Rochester.

In the area on either side of the water where the wide mouth narrows to become the beginning of the river Medway, the existence of a number of pre-Germanic place-names (Figure 6.1) indicates a notable survival, and perhaps predominance, of Romano-British inhabitants. The continued use of some pre-English names or parts

of names in this area provides information about Germanic settlement and British survival. Rochester was *Durobrivæ*, a name whose components are pre-Roman, although only the *Ro-* is kept from a pre-Roman date. Names such as Comp and the two places with *chat-* as qualifying element, i.e. Chatham and Chattenden on opposite sides of the river, are testament to a British population whose place-names were taken on by newcomers. Upnor has the Latin generic *–ōrā,* here indicating 'beach where boats can be drawn up on the shingle'. Wickham was the appellative given by the newcomers to a place where a British settlement was observed and respected. The river-name Medway was learned from the resident population, and may have been acquired by traders visiting the *ōrā* prior to the Germanic settlement. On the basis of linguistic evidence, it appears that, after the end of the Roman domination of Britain, the mouth of the Medway was not open to strangers wishing to settle. However, the place-name evidence suggests that the two groups were not mutually exclusive. Relationships between indigene and incomer may have developed around the mouth of the Medway, for example trade and exchange was carried out on the *ōrā*, while Wickham continued to be a notable place. Names do not continue unless there are people who use them, and then the names change according to the use.

This putative enclave would have come into existence after the collapse of the Roman administration, pre-dating the establishment of early Anglo-Saxon territories in both East and West Kent. But its life would have been relatively short lived, probably having been extinguished sometime during the sixth century through the expansion westwards of East Kent, which also resulted in the annexation of West Kent (Brookes and Harrington 2010: 65, 68, 71). In AD 604 Rochester became the diocesan centre of the western half of the Kingdom of Kent, so the evidence of the place-names in this corner of Kent illuminate what must have been a short-lived phase in the kingdom's development, and soon to become just another part of Kent.

Chapter 7

Documentary Evidence for the Medway Valley

Courtnay Konshuh

Introduction

By the 11th century Aylesford was home to a royal manor, a minster church and an assembly site. It was also part of a network of related parishes and had provided the name for the 'Lathe of Aylesford,' a region with Rochester as its religious and administrative centre. This chapter seeks to tease out the origins and history of the lathe of Aylesford, of Aylesford itself, the extent of its royal manor and appurtenances, how it fits into Larkfield Hundred, and the likelihood of an early Anglo-Saxon minster in Aylesford. This chapter also provides the historical background for Eccles in the later Anglo-Saxon period by situating it in the territory to which it belonged.

The first section of this chapter will survey the historical sources available, placing references to Aylesford in a general historical context. The approach will then be to work backwards from the late Anglo-Saxon period, identifying known centres and administrative obligations. The extension of the hundredal system across England, and the burghal innovations of King Alfred's reign are identified as significant events in the development of the region. Central to this topic is a consideration of the origins of late Anglo-Saxon local and regional assembly points. Other developments that Aylesford went through, including early and mid Anglo-Saxon land administration and the division of new territories such as occurred following East Kent's conquest of West Kent will be explored through the topics of the lathes and the ecclesiastical geography of the Medway. There is no doubt that by the Anglo-Saxon period the Lathe of Aylesford was an important administrative division and its continued importance is also acknowledged in *Domesday Book*. However, although the East Kentish lathes seem to have developed by the mid-sixth century, it is impossible to determine whether the Lathe of Aylesford reflects an analogous earlier administrative territory.

While no direct archaeological or written evidence can help to determine the earliest possible foundation date for Aylesford, an examination of the location of the settlement within its early medieval geographical and political contexts does suggest an early date for its foundation. It is possible that Aylesford was home to an early minster church that was active in converting neighbouring settlements and which eventually developed administrative functions as royal authority was implemented through established religious hierarchies.

The historical sources and their context

This section considers historical evidence for Aylesford and the surrounding area (Table 7.1). There are several early references to battles on the Medway that have been identified as taking place at Aylesford, but it will be shown that written references to Aylesford date to the 9th century at the earliest. Histories of the Roman invasion of Britannia and the Anglo-Saxon *adventus* in Kent tell of a series of battles that occurred as the invaders made their way from the continent to Kent and then westwards. Aylesford is often assumed to be the location of one these battles, both by ninth-century and modern historians, because of its strategic location as a ford. Cassius Dio, a Roman historian writing around AD 229, gives an account of an unnamed battle at a crossing of the Medway in AD 43 that historians have assumed must have been at Aylesford (*Historiae Romanae*, lv, 20.2). Following Gildas, Bede explains that the Anglo-Saxons were invited into Britannia by the Britons (*A History of the English Church and People (HE)* I.15), and the earliest mention of Aylesford occurs within this context. This narrative may present some reliable details derived from oral tradition, but in general this material can be regarded as semi-legendary (Yorke 1993). Bede also mentions a battle that may have taken place at Aylesford (*HE* I.15), and later ninth-century historians may have taken this to assume that an important battle was fought there. It is also in Bede that the earliest written accounts of the brothers Horsa and Hengest are found. Though he does not give much detail, Bede refers to a battle in which Horsa died and after which a monument in East Kent was raised in his honour (*HE* I.15). One of the rocks from the two Neolithic megalith complexes in the Medway valley close to Aylesford may have been viewed by locals as the Horsa-monument by the time Bede was writing, and there is in fact a stone which bears his name to this day (Evans 1952). Before Bede was writing, when stories of Horsa and Hengest were circulating, a megalith near Aylesford may have become associated with the burial of Horsa, leading Bede to conclude that the stone must be a memorialisation of his death.

The next source to discuss these events is the *Historia Brittonum* compiled around 829/830 by a Welsh cleric. It has been preserved in two main versions: one presents

Table 7.1. Main historical events in the Medway valley.

	(possible) References to Aylesford	Important events in Kentish history
	Cassius Dio refers to a battle at the ford on the Medway in AD 43	
mid C6	Gildas refers to several battles, probably in Kent	
by ~580		West Kent conquered by East
597		Augustine arrives in Kent; Christianisation begins
604		Cathedral at Rochester built
By 731	Bede refers to several battles fought between Horsa and Hengest and the British	
by 768		Kent under Mercian overlordship
825		Kent submits to Wessex, becomes a shire
from 840s		Increased Viking raids across England and Kent, including a Viking winter camp at Thanet in 865
	The *Historia Brittonum* refers to battles found in Kent	
885		Vikings besiege Rochester but abandon the camp set up there after a short time
c. 890-910	The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* MSS ABCE record a battle at 'Ægelesthrep' in 455	
959	Charter S1211, Queen Eadgifu's will, refers to an assembly held at Aylesford 905x924	
c. 975? (or 1000-1050)	Rochester Bridge List describes taxation in West Kent; refers to an administrative area of 'Aegelesforda 7 of ellan þam laet þe þærto liþ'	
980s-1016		Viking attacks across England, including bases set up in Kent
986		King Æthelred lays waste to Rochester Diocese
1016	The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* MSS CDE records that King Edmund accepted Eadric Streona's fealty at Aylesford	Cnut's conquest of England
1066		Norman Conquest
1086	Domesday Book refers to the royal manor at Aylesford	
1122/23	*Textus Roffensis* cartulary compiled; includes several charters and a will which mention Aylesford	

a narrative more favourable to the British, while the other favours the Anglo-Saxons (Dumville 1990). The narrative suggests that oral history or myths were used, although the main information is likely to derive from Gildas and Bede. Some reliable details may come from oral tradition, but in general the material can be regarded as semi-legendary and any pre-Christian dates are unlikely to be correct. The relevance to Aylesford is that each account mentions a series of battles between Hengest and Horsa and the Britons, and refer to a battle at 'Episford' or *Rit her Gabail* in Welsh (Harleian recension ch. 39). Witney gives the etymology for *Epes-* as British for horse, a somewhat shaky connection to Horsa's death or to the White Horse Stone (Witney 1982: 29). Episford was assumed by early modern and some modern historians to refer to Aylesford as it is in between the other two battles mentioned, on the Derwent and on the 'Gaulish coast', and also because it is the most likely fording place of the Medway (Sowerby 2007: 12).

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (A.S.C.) stem from a project developed at King Alfred's court (871–899) which sought to provide a wide history for the Anglo-Saxon peoples in the form of yearly annals (Brooks 2011). While the *adventus* narrative in part follows Gildas, the compilers went to great lengths to combine oral stories with the timeline available in their written sources. The oldest version of the A.S.C. (A, or the Parker Chronicle) describes a battle between the Britons and the brothers where Horsa died as taking place in 'Ægelesþrep' and dates it to 455. This version is probably not the first compilation, and several copies have survived, each of which incorporated changes and additions. A.S.C. (A² or G, a Kentish manuscript) changes –þrep to –*ford* (see above pp205-206). Both versions agree on the personal-name Ægel or Ælle, and the difference could be due to corruption of the second part of the place-name, which may indicate a minor or dependent farm (-*thorpe*) rather than a ford (Gelling 1978: 227) as there is no known site or mention of Ægelesthrep in Anglo-Saxon England.

Alternatively, a settlement at Aylesford may not have been important enough for a ninth-century West Saxon scribe to recognise the name. It is possible that an early Chronicle scribe miscopied or misunderstood Aylesford as Ægelsþrep and a later Kentish scribe for MS G corrected this reading. The reading cannot be regarded as absolute; even if the tradition reflects an actual battle the scribe of MS G may simply have corrected the text to refer to a place known to have existed on the Medway. The copyists of these Chronicles (all operating outside of Kent) may have mixed up the name or had to speculate from an unclear tradition, lighting upon Aylesford as the most likely location. Whether the original Chronicle scribes meant Aylesford or not, this is just as likely to indicate Aylesford's importance as a ford and regional centre in the 9th century rather than as a renowned site of an historic battle whose name had survived, though somewhat garbled, in oral tradition.

Folk etymology may lie behind both of these traditions, as is often the case in early Chronicle place-names. Barbara Yorke has shown that, for example, the fictional 'conqueror' Wihtgar was created from a back-formation of the place-name Wight (Yorke 1990: 4, 28). As the *Chronicles* go on to tell of the conquest of Sussex by Ælle from 477–491, derived from Bede's reference to him as the first *bretwalda* or overlord of Britain (*HE* II.v), the compilers of the Chronicle may have connected the name to the location Aylesford and assumed that he fought an early battle there. Aylesford is not mentioned in any charters before the 10th century. Whatever the case may be, there is not sufficient evidence to assume that there was a site or battle at Aylesford. The only thing that can be certain on the basis of these early written sources, then, is that by the 9th century a ford on the Medway, possibly Aylesford, was viewed as having been the site of a legendary battle.

While the battles described in the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Chronicles* may or may not reflect a sixth-century battle, by the early 10th century Aylesford was at the least the site of an assembly point as well as a ford. A land grant from the Dowager Queen Eadgifu to Christ Church Canterbury refers to an assembly held at Aylesford (S1211) and is the earliest indisputable source for an Anglo-Saxon settlement at Aylesford.

Aylesford appears as an administrative region in the Rochester Bridgework List, which details the taxes to be collected from the king's dominion across the 'Lathe of Aylesford' for the upkeep of Rochester Bridge. This version of the list can be dated to the early 11th century on linguistic grounds, though it may have been updated before that and again by the time it was included in the Textus Roffensis around 1121 (see below p215) and it was updated again when the first leaf was replaced towards the end of the 12th century (Brooks 1994: 18,

20). The Bridgework List names the manors that were collectively responsible for maintaining each of the nine piers of Rochester Bridge, and the manors are roughly grouped by the hundreds that they belong to with the most important manor first in the list. Ward argued that the bishop of Rochester set up this Bridgework List and therefore dated it to the late 10th century (to *c.* 975; Ward 1934). Nicholas Brooks, noting that estate organisation could not be the sole basis for dating this text, suggested the early 11th century on linguistic grounds (Brooks 1994: 20). If the earlier date is correct, this is the first reference to the 'lathe' of Aylesford, and recent work on the lathes of Kent has also argued that this territorial division was more likely to originate in the 10th century (Lloyd 2013: 96-99) , perhaps resulting from administrative reforms at this time.

It is impossible to say to what extent West Kent was affected by the Viking depredations which plagued England from the 9th century through the rest of the Anglo-Saxon period. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, Rochester was targeted by Vikings in 842 and 885, but for the most part the Vikings seem to have concentrated on East Kent, where there were probably more royal centres. It seems they were unable to make headway into West Kent and in 893 Alfred's army destroyed the base at Appledore, bringing all the people and supplies to safety at Rochester. The Roman fortification at Rochester had probably been sufficiently refurbished by this time and may have prevented the Vikings from sailing up the Medway, although it is still possible that the Viking troops raided up the river via the River Swale, which they could access from their base at Milton Regis, or by marching their armies across the Pilgrim's Way. As a nexus on the Medway and the Pilgrim's Way and possibly an important centre by the late Anglo-Saxon period, Aylesford was a logical place for a burh. Yet there is no written or archaeological evidence to support this idea.

The main sources for the reign of Æthelred are a set of detailed annals from 983-1016 (the Æthelredian Annals), written for the Chronicles around ten years after 1016 and included in MSS C, D, and E. These sources do not provide specific information about Aylesford nor mention any battles in the Aylesford area, but they do mention widescale depredations by Vikings in Kent in 994, 1009 and 1011 which were mainly concentrated on the coasts or around Canterbury.

The rebuilding of Rochester Bridge by 975 would have served to protect West Kent and the Medway to some extent, though the Vikings were able to defeat a Kentish army there in 999, after which the Æthelredian Annals relate that the Vikings plundered across West Kent. The Chronicle does record a near-contemporary event that took place at Aylesford in 1016. After Æthelred II died

in this year, his son Edmund was chosen as the next king by the people of London, but Edmund needed to travel around the country gathering submissions from his new people to consolidate his position. At the same time, the Vikings were raiding across England and gaining submission from northern magnates; there may have been a lack of support for the new king in the south. Ealdorman Eadric (Streona) of Mercia had married Edmund's sister, probably in an attempt to secure his loyalty to the West-Saxon line, but according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle he was already known for his duplicitousness and had been supporting Cnut since shortly after Cnut had returned to England in 1015. Eadric fought against King Edmund in 1016 before meeting him that summer in Aylesford, where he seems to have formally submitted to Edmund. As the Chronicler observes, 'there was never such bad advice as this', and Eadric betrayed Edmund again at the Battle of *Assandun* a short time later. Aylesford seems to be functioning as an assembly place, where the submission of a very important English lord was publicly accepted. It is also likely that Edmund called the Kentish forces together at this meeting; this was his first appearance in Kent since becoming king and it would be important to gather oaths from other thegns as well as that of Eadric. There is therefore evidence that an assembly was held at Aylesford in the late Anglo-Saxon period and this is supported by a reference to a legal dispute heard at Aylesford almost a century previously. A charter details how Queen Dowager Eadgifu (mother of King Edgar) was required to prove her ownership of a property at Cooling and was called by the *witan* (counsellors) to swear an oath at the assembly at Aylesford in the presence of the whole assembly.

England was conquered by the Normans in 1066. In the wake of this conquest, many administrative documents were drafted, probably to aid the conquerors in administering the land as effectively as it had been previously. *Domesday Book,* a Norman document of taxation, is extremely useful in determining how areas were related to one another. The original purpose of *Domesday* is still unclear, though it was created by Norman conquerors from 1086 and seems to have been an administrative document of some sort, revolving around lordship, service and taxation. A notoriously difficult source to work with, it assesses estates, properties (including slaves), and their values before and after the conquest, following existing Anglo-Saxon administrative organisation (Roffe 2006: 171). *Domesday* records existing connections between manors, including all the major holdings in England, and what lands, pastures, weirs, slaves, etc. belonged to each, and their value contemporarily and in the time of King Edward before the Conquest in 1066 (T.R.E.= *tempore regis Edwardi).* In *Domesday*, shires are usually

assessed by their hundreds; Kent is unusual in that it alone was assessed by lathe, possibly preserving older administrative divisions. Each lathe, or 'lest' is further subdivided into hundreds and manors as is typical.

Domesday Book is therefore useful for its assessment of Aylesford as well as for determining wider territorial and administrative connections in the Lathe of Aylesford. Aylesford is listed as a royal manor in Larkfield Hundred, named for a parish just west of Aylesford today. Aylesford's royal manor belonged to King Edward before the conquest and to William after. It was a large estate, containing 53 households with land for 15 plough teams, and three reserved for the lord. Its very low tax assessment, only one sulung (the basic unit of assessment in Kent) both in 1066 and 1086, may suggest the manor's antiquity as a royal possession. There was also a mill, 43 acres of meadow and enough woodland to allow for a rent of 70 swine, presumably locally, as no Wealden denes are mentioned (Darby 1950: 28-30). Kentish woodland is generally recorded in terms of the swine render which would be given to the lord, rather than how much in total it could support, so we may be dealing with a much larger area. The Domesday entry does not mention a church at Aylesford, and while it is not exceptional for a church to be left out, it is very unusual for a royal manor not to have had a parish church. The income for the land was 31 pounds, of which three went to the sheriff, and seven were held by Ansgot of Rochester. Another interesting aspect of this entry is that it states that part of Aylesford (worth 17s. 4d.) was held by Bishop Gundulf of Rochester in return for the castle that William was having him build at Rochester. A portion of the lands at Aylesford were evidently deemed sufficient to compensate the bishop.

The *Textus Roffensis* (DRc/R1) is especially useful in studying the history of West Kent, as the diocese of Rochester, formed in 604, seems to reflect the division between East and West Kent. It was put together in 1122-23 and includes various legal documents relevant to the Diocese of Rochester. In addition to a compilation of English laws and the Rochester cartulary, it includes the Rochester Bridgework List and a Church List of early churches in the diocese of Rochester. The Rochester Church List, copied around 1115, probably dates to the early part of Lanfranc's archbishopric in its original form (1070-89). It is correlative to a similar church list which was created for Archbishop Lanfranc for East Kent in the *Domesday Monachorum* (Ward 1932: 55-57), a bilingual Old English-Latin version of *Domesday Book* collected using the same source material as *Domesday Book.* The list is not entirely reliable as it has obviously been edited; in addition to several erasures, the first folio is missing and has possibly been edited and replaced on the following page in a later hand.

The *Textus Roffensis* contains copies of most of the charters pertaining to West Kent that have survived. In general, this text's scribe was very careful in copying. There are ten single-sheet charters extant in the British Library which were also copied into the T.R., and the versions are very close, probably even copied directly from the single sheets (Campbell 2005: xiv). Some of the charters in this cartulary reveal the disruptions that the Bishopric of Rochester underwent over the Anglo-Saxon period. Long after the Mercian conquest of Kent, Kentish charters lamented Coenwulf's depredations, particularly of church lands (Capper 2013: 219). From 796 to 798 under King Eadberht Præn, Kent rebelled against Mercia, and King Coenwulf of Mercia responded by harrying Kent up to the marsh (probably Romney Marsh) and removing King Eadberht. That Coenwulf did not harry beyond Romney may indicate that rebellion was limited to West Kent, and it may have been this area which the Mercian kings especially redistributed. Nor was this the last time that Rochester's lands would be redistributed. According to the A.S.C. (MS C, D and E), in 986 King Æthelred II destroyed (*fordyde*) the bishopric of Rochester; this would seem to be true, as several charters refer to the alienation or subsequent recovery of Rochester's monastic estates (S 864, S 885, S 893 and possibly S 926). In one of his charters, Æthelred discusses an estate in Bromley with appurtenances in the Weald "which, due to certain incitements in the time of my youth, I dragged away from the diocese of the church of Rochester. In fact, its despoilment by plunder I ordered to take place" (S 893, AD 998; *Textus Roffensis*, ff. 156v-159v).

Early modern descriptions of the local landscape also provide glimpses into the Anglo-Saxon period. William Lambarde's late-sixteenth-century *Perambulation of Kent* and Edward Hasted's eighteenth-century *History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent* are very useful not only because they record the landscape from before the enclosure acts and industrial ploughing that obscured medieval divisions, but they also record any taxes, tithes, and obligations that are shared between churches or owed from one estate/church to another. Often such connections are indicative of a longer-standing dependency, and in some cases can be traced back to the foundation of dependent daughter churches.

Most of the written sources are not very helpful as to the pre-tenth-century status of Aylesford. Yet it is clear that Aylesford had a royal manor before the conquest, though how long it had existed previous to this is impossible to prove. It may pre-date the conquest of West Kent in the later sixth century or have arisen at any time in between, founded by East Kentish kings, or Mercian or West Saxon kings. The same can be said for Aylesford's church, a Norman building that cannot be proven to pre-date the 11th century. The assembly point dates at least to the early tenth century and was probably in use over an extended period of time. Again, it may be substantially older or a recent West Saxon innovation.

Territorial and administrative organisation of the Medway valley

The separateness of East and West Kent appears to pre-date recorded history and is reflected in the Kentish tradition of joint kingship, the unusually small division of Kent into two dioceses and the nature of the lathes. East and West Kent had been unified by King Æthelberht's reign (580x593 - 616x618) or the reign of his father (Brooks 1989: 68). However, in the following two centuries, Kent was generally ruled by an over-king stationed at Canterbury with a junior sub-king who was likely responsible for the west (Yorke 1983). In the 8th century there was a perception of a longstanding tradition of joint kingship in East and West Kent, and there is charter evidence that might suggest that Eardwulf, a son of King Eadberht of Kent (d. 748) was ruling West Kent as a sub-king with his uncle Æthelberht II (Yorke 1990: 30-31). Kent was absorbed by Wessex in 825 as a shire, but the internal division of East and West Kent seems to have been understood by the West-Saxon chroniclers for at least 200 years after its conquest; in particular a distinction between the 'men of Kent' (for East Kent) and 'Kentishmen' (for West Kent) is noted under the annals 838, 902, 999 and 1009.

When Augustine arrived in Kent at Æthelberht's invitation in 597, he quickly established the archbishopric at the largely abandoned Roman town of Canterbury and founded another See at the Roman town of Rochester in 604. The separate bishoprics of East and West Kent were developed very early, and King Æthelberht had churches built at Rochester and London in 604, installing the bishop Justus for West Kent (*HE* II.3; Brooks 1984: 11). These two dioceses are unusually small, and this division likely indicates that East and West Kent were perceived as different cultural and political territories and were accordingly administered as such. This administrative division was maintained throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, particularly in the church. A chrism fee list for churches in the *Textus Roffensis* (fol. 220v) created after the conquest reveals Kentish churches were organised by diocese. Not only are the churches listed separately, but their fiscal responsibilities also differed; most of the churches of East Kent paid multiples of seven pence, whereas the West Kentish churches usually paid nine pence, with minor chapels paying six, reflecting the their separate development (Ward 1932: 40).

Hundreds and their meeting places

Kent may have been administered along its diocesan borders, so it is possible that earlier boundaries were also

maintained across the Anglo-Saxon period. This section begins with a consideration of the hundreds of Kent as recorded in *Domesday Book* and is particularly concerned with the Medway valley and the area around Aylesford (Figure 7.1). It is possible that the eleventh-century system may preserve older boundaries, but Lloyd has pointed out that none of the pre-*Domesday* charters confirm the round sulung assessments for hundreds that feature in *Domesday*, which suggests that these figures were created for territorial units applied at a late date (Lloyd 2013). Charter evidence shows that several larger estates in north-west Kent were broken up in the late 10th century (Brett 1995: 6). George Molyneaux suggested that the hundredal system could have been developed as late as the mid-10th century (Molyneaux 2015: 121-123), but it probably began in an embryonic form during Edward the Elder's reign. Edward's laws refer to the regulation of local disputes at assembly points to ensure local administration followed common guidelines. Jeremy Haslam has recently argued that the shires of the midlands were created in the process of King Alfred and Edward's burh-building programme (Haslam 2016) and might have corresponded with an attempt to extend a consistent hundredal system across all territories including Kent.

While the hundreds may not represent a completely new division of territory, they did mean a new organisation of the land. The Hundred Ordinance (*Hundredgemot*), a legal text which dates to the mid-10th century (*c.*
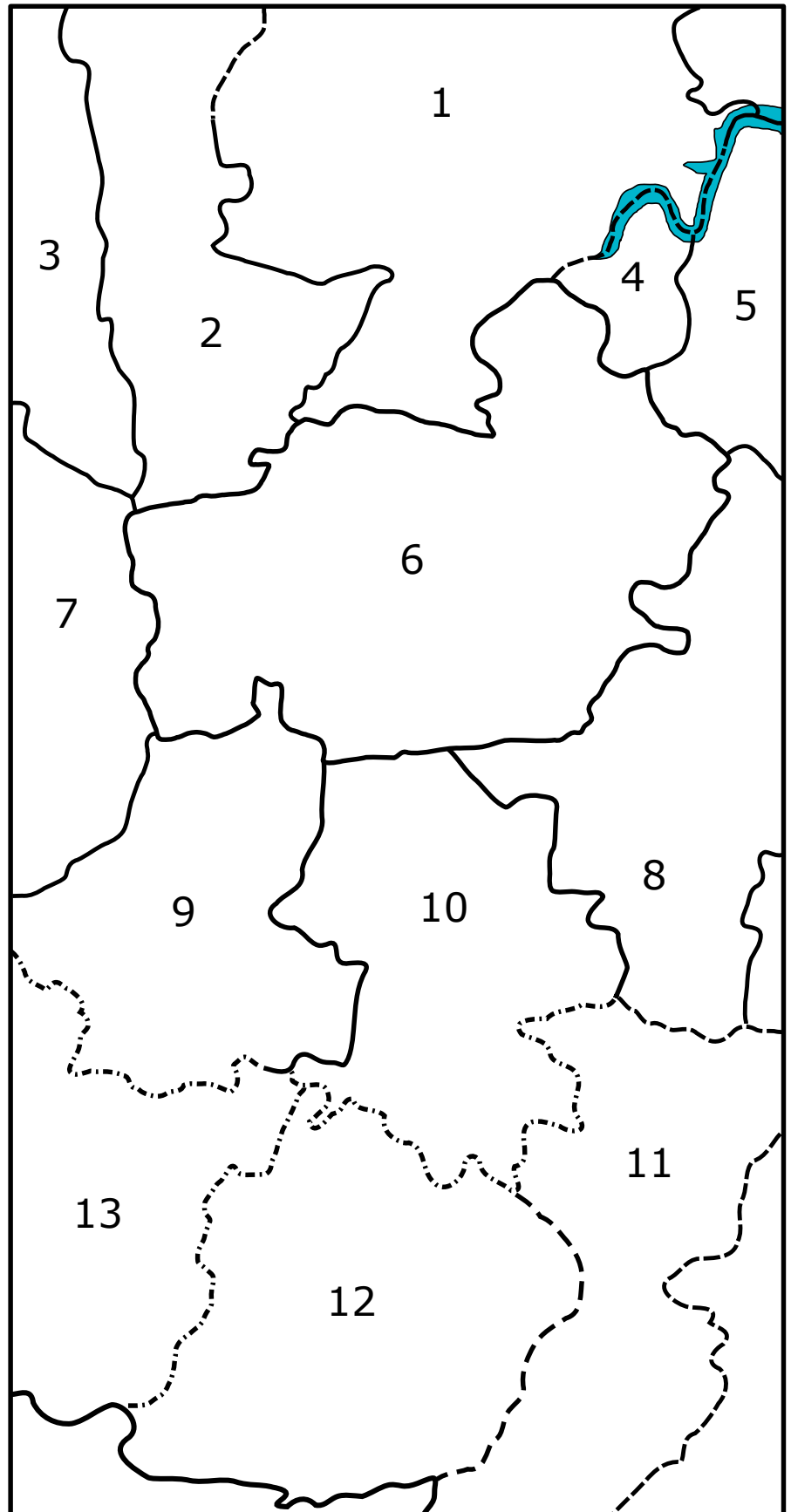
Figure 7.1. Hundreds. 1: Shamwell, 2: Toltingtrough, 3: Axtane, 4: Rochester, 5: Chatham and Gillingham, 6: Larkfield and Aylesford, 7: Wrotham, 8: Maidstone, 9: Littlefield, 10: Twyford, 11: Marden, 12: Brenchley and Horsmonden, 13: Wachlingstone.

946-961), and possibly to King Edwy or Edgar's reign, required that the men of the hundred meet every four weeks in order to settle any legal disputes. It is from this point that the system can be viewed as properly regulated. Edgar's laws also emphasise three layers of assembly point administration, for the hundred (*hundredgemot*), shire (*scirgemot*) and burh (*burhgemot*) and there is evidence for each of these assembly points near Aylesford, as will be discussed below. By the late 10th century these processes were firmly in place, but territorial organisation was not fixed, and when administrative documents like *Domesday Book* and the Rochester Bridgework List are scrutinised it is seen that estate groupings were fluid. This makes it difficult to determine to what extent hundreds were based on earlier territories.

Kentish estates in *Domesday Book* are listed first in order of lathe and then by hundred. Larkfield Hundred, the core territory around Aylesford and the Medway valley, is a fairly coherent territory, with many of the estates having interdependencies, especially with Twyford Hundred (Appendix 2). This can be especially seen in comparison with the Rochester Bridgework List. Almost all of the territories mentioned in the Rochester Bridgework List correspond in total to the Lathe of Aylesford in *Domesday Book* (see below), but the list uses the term 'lathe' to refer to the territories of Hollingbourne (later Eyhorne Hundred) and Aylesford (later Aylesford Hundred), while referring to the 'land of the people of Hoo' (*Howaran lande*) in the same terms seventh-century charters used to describe East Kentish *regiones* (-*wara*). The meaning of 'lathe' in this document is ambiguous. 'Lathe' is obviously not being used as a consistent term, and the list was probably put together in order to divide the obligations for bridgework roughly equally amongst existing units.

In assessing taxes for the fourth pillar, the Rochester Bridgework List refers to 'the area which belongs to the Lathe of Aylesford' – 'Aegelesforda 7 of ellan þam læt þe þærto liþ.' This area seems roughly to correspond to the Hundreds of Larkfield and Twyford. The pier is said explicitly to be the king's responsibility, though this need not imply that all the estates belonged to the king; however, the first estates listed under the other piers are royal estates, making it very likely Aylesford was already a royal manor when the Bridgework List was created. The Mallings and Trottiscliffe might also be expected to contribute to the fourth pier alongside the rest of the estates most closely associated with Aylesford, but they are part of the bishop's responsibility alongside four other estates for the third pier. These estates can be found in the Hundreds of Shamell and Tollingtrough in *Domesday Book*, which may be evidence of a later stage of estate reorganisation, possibly as late as the twelfth-century copying of the text (Brooks 1994: 20). Besides the missing estates of Malling and

Trottiscliffe, however, the 'lathe' of Aylesford in the list roughly corresponds to the area covered by Larkfield and Twyford Hundreds, or the Medway valley, and could preserve older territorial organisation. Moreover, the fact that the two hundreds of Larkfield and Twyford are strongly connected, suggesting that they were once part of a larger territory that was later divided into hundreds.

Larkfield may in general represent the main settlement centre with Twyford having been created later as the Wealden denns became permanent sites, while a couple of other parishes are closely connected and may reflect earlier links. Wrotham straddles the weald, and is another very small hundred like Twyford that was probably a late creation. Both manors of Wrotham were paying for the fifth pier in the Rochester Bridge List, alongside Offham, Leybourne and Ditton in Larkfield, and Nettlestead in Twyford. In the 16th century, parts of Stansted, dependent on Wrotham, passed to Aylesford, possibly reflecting an earlier link. Additionally, West Barming, part of Maidstone in 1080, went back and forth between Maidstone and Twyford across the late middle ages, and it or both Barmings may also have older ties to Aylesford and were separated into Maidstone Hundred by 1080.

Both of the hundred names Larkfield and Twyford and the lathe-name Aylesford seem to have been taken from their estates or assembly places. Hundreds in *Domesday Book* are generally named for their meeting place (Semple 2004; Pantos 2004). Assembly points were central to hundredal administration in the late Anglo-Saxon period, when they were used for the mustering of troops as well as local taxation, justice and other administrative matters (Baker and Brookes 2015: 228) and as such, they can provide important clues to earlier territories. Assembly sites had long been used as sites for execution, sometimes high-profile cemeteries, legal disputes, and also for trade before they were co-opted into the hundred administration (Pantos 2004: 162-168). Central meeting places or moot points for the hundreds were not chosen randomly, they were often located at bottlenecks in the transport network, or convenient locations which had long been used for these purposes (Gelling 1978), for example prehistoric or Roman routes (Baker and Brookes 2015: 240-242), or liminal locations, near Roman ruins or Neolithic sites, and early burhs. As such they were convenient and obvious places for the congregation of local people.

Larkfield Hundred was probably named for the estate of Larkfield, roughly in the centre of the hundred on the parish boundary between East Malling and Ditton on the Roman road to Maidstone (Andersen 1939: 119). The estate could have served as a local meeting point for East Malling and Ditton before the Hundred of Larkfield was formed. The location is central in Larkfield Hundred

and could be the same location referred to as 'Mustow' (from *gemot-stowe*?) in a deed of 1461 (Lyte 1890: 366). The Kent Hundred Rolls from the 1274-75 census record that the locals of Wateringbury and Nettleshead used to meet twice a year at Twyford Hundred (*Kent Hundred Rolls Project* 2007: 100), and while the assembly point is unknown, it was probably at a location where there were two fords, possibly near where the Beult joins the Medway; the hundred name Twyford being derived from the place-name associated with the fords. Both of these assembly points could pre-date the hundreds which are named for them, though there are no Anglo-Saxon records of their use.

Penenden Heath is attested as the assembly site for the shire of Kent after the Norman Conquest, but there is a strong likelihood that it was used before this, perhaps serving as the shire moot. It is located only a few kilometres east of Aylesford on the boundary between the Hundred of Larkfield and Eyhorne (the 'lathe of Hollingbourne' in the R.B.L.). The prominent hill provides excellent views over the surrounding area, including of the Pilgrim's Way, and it is easily reachable from East Kent as well as from the Medway valley via Aylesford. The earliest records of Penenden as a shire moot date to the 11th century. It is recorded in *Domesday Book*, where it is stated that no Kentish man could be compelled to go further than to Penenden for a shire moot: '*Si fuerint premoniti ut conveniant ad sciram, ibunt usque ad pinnendennan non longius.*' – 'Should they be ordered to convene a shire [moot], they will be required to go to Penenden Heath but not further' (*Domesday Book*, fol 1ʳ). Penenden was being used as a shire moot since at least 1076, when a court case records that Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, was tried there for stealing land from the Church of Rochester. It continued to be used as a general meeting point throughout the Middle Ages, including as the starting point for Wat Tyler's rebellion in the Peasants' Revolt and was a longstanding site of executions into the 19th century. Despite Penenden's centrality to Kent as a whole, it is not particularly central to West Kent or the Medway valley. It could have been used locally or as a central assembly point for all of Kent at any point after the conquest of West Kent by the East.

There is a final option for an assembly point specific to the Medway valley, which can be dated earlier than the above options. Aylesford itself is recorded as a mustering point in 1016, when King Edmund Ironside gathered his troops there against Cnut (A.S.C. C 1016) and accepted Eadric Streona's fealty there after he had twice betrayed the English and supported Swein and Cnut. Aylesford was not only a mustering point but had also been used as an assembly site to resolve legal disputes almost a century previously. The earliest reference to an assembly site at Aylesford is in a charter that refers to an ownership dispute. This charter

survives both in Old English as an original single sheet in the British Library (Stowe Ch. 28) and as a twelfth-century Latin copy in the Cartulary of Christ Church, Canterbury (S1212, CCCC 189, f. 200v). In S1211 (AD 959) Queen Dowager Eadgifu (mother of King Edgar) granted land to Christ Church, Canterbury. She was required to prove her ownership of the property at Cooling (OE *Cilling*–now lost) and was called by the *witan* (counsellors) to swear an oath at the assembly at Aylesford in the presence of the whole assembly. According to the charter, 'heo þæs aþ lædde on ealre þeode gewitnesse to Æglesforda, 7 þær geclænsude hire fæder þæs ægiftes be xxx punda aþe' – 'she gave the oath before all the assembly at Aylesford, and thereby cleared her father of the repayment of the oath by 30 pounds.' In the charter, Eadgifu not only relates the long history of her attempt to secure land but also recalls an assembly that was held at Aylesford after the Battle of the Holme (904) and the death of her husband King Edward (d. 924). The estates of Cooling and 'Osterland' (Stoke, Kent) in this charter are on the Hoo peninsula; they are not especially close to Aylesford, but are part of the bishopric of Rochester and of the territory the Rochester Bridge List considers to belong to the Lathe of Aylesford. This may indicate that the meeting place at Aylesford was in use for wider concerns in West Kent in general. These two references are perhaps the strongest evidence for Aylesford's importance as a royal manor from the early 10th century, pre-dating the Hundred Ordinance. The location of the assembly point at Aylesford can only be speculated on, but there was a 'Court Farm' roughly 100 metres west of Aylesford church at the foot of the hill. The Court Farm Barn, a mid-nineteenth-century building constructed from the stables of Court Farm (now 'Church Barn - Le Grand holiday home'), and the name may preserve the site's earlier use as a moot point. This location suits many of the hallmarks of an early assembly site: located near a prominent hill, at a crossroads, on the ford and by what was a royal estate from the late-10th century at least.

The written evidence for Aylesford's assembly place is stronger than that for its manor or church. The parish church belonged to the lord of the manor, though it could be gifted to a religious community, which implies a manor was in existence from the same date as the church (Flight 1999: 289). The manor probably pre-dates the 10th century, but the Rochester Bridgework List is the first evidence that this was a royal estate. There is no certainty where the Anglo-Saxon manor of Aylesford would have stood; however, considering the long history of Preston Hall, a Norman manor built by the early 12th century (at the latest 1102), it is possible this was the site of Aylesford manor. The Colepeper family owned the estate throughout most of the medieval period and occasionally were also sheriffs of the county (Ireland 1829: 370), an office one would expect from the lords of Aylesford manor. An

Anglo-Saxon cemetery, probably of late sixth- to early seventh-century date, was discovered close to Preston Hall (see above p189). This discovery may indicate that a settlement was located in the immediate area and if the grave goods are anything to go by, then it may have been of some importance.

The hundreds show evidence of having been redrawn in the late 10th and 11th century and were in any case laid out upon existing territories with established local and regional moot points. The links between the estates of Larkfield seem to reflect old settlement patterns, and some estates in neighbouring hundreds likewise reflect earlier connections. These links can be more closely explored following the lines of parish dedications, as will be shown below.

Lathes (Figure 7.2)

Kent is unique in *Domesday Book* in that its estates are listed according to lathe (analogous to the rapes of Sussex) and measured land in sulungs and yokelets rather than hides. A Kentish sulung is described as equivalent to two hides (*manentes*) in a charter from Canterbury (S 169, AD 812). A quarter sulung is equivalent to one yoklet, which is roughly the area which can be ploughed by eight oxen. Yet, as was

briefly discussed above, the term lathe is a problematic one, and can be found with different meanings from the middle Anglo-Saxon period through to the late medieval period. The current view of historians is that lathes are territorial divisions that no longer have any administrative significance; however, they were still quite important for the regulation of taxes, military service, and the resolution of matters of justice in the high- and late-Medieval periods. The court of a lathe in the later-Middle Ages is at the root of the term 'court leet', suggesting the juridical function of the lathe in the late medieval period, but this was not necessarily the case from an early stage. In *Domesday Book*, the list of Kentish estates is largely organised by lathe, but again while this may imply administrative function, it may simply be a territorial organisation.

There is a great deal of evidence for the origins of the lathes of East Kent, with the term 'lathe' appearing in seventh-century charters. But there is notably less information available for West Kent. The best understood of the West Kent lathes is that of Aylesford, with the evidence coming from the Rochester Bridgework List and *Domesday Book*. In the latter, Aylesford lathe contained the hundreds of Hoo and Hollingbourne at 80 sulungs each, with Aylesford itself valued at 160 sulungs. There have been attempts to show that the lathes are

Figure 7.2. Lathes of Kent.

fossils of early settlement structures (Jolliffe 1929: 612-618); however, these neat figures are more likely to be evidence of late Anglo-Saxon territorial reorganisation. In fact, it is unlikely that the lathes of East and West Kent have the same origins at all. When viewed separately it can be seen that the four lathes of East Kent derive from geographical markers of the region, such as the rivers Limen (now the Rother) and Wye, the burh or fortification at Canterbury and the 'east' part, and the people who lived in them, usually referred to as -*wara* (people). These *regiones* take their names from the local groups of people, and constructions like *Limenwaralæð* mean the lathe of the people of the Limen (Brookes 2011: 159). The Old English lathe names in East Kent are all formed from a combination of the people's regional marker (such as the Limen) and the suffix -*ge*, evidence for which can be found in early East Kentish charters. Charter references begin to explain the meaning of these district names already in the 7th century, suggesting that the -*ge* suffix was a rather early term and its precise meaning had already been forgotten by around 650 (Lloyd 2013: 89-90).

The eastern lathes' manors, which are generally stated as lying in royal demesne in *Domesday Book* if the king still owned them, are often labelled *villa regalis* (king's/royal villa, also known as a vill) in Anglo-Saxon charters. The estate at Wye is first named as a royal vill in a charter from 762 (S 25), in which King Æthelberht II of Kent gave pasture rights in the Weald to the Bishop of Rochester in exchange for the use of a mill to the royal manor at Wye ('ad uillam regalem que nominatur With'), and these estate centres were named to reflect the *regio*. The lathe of the people *burhware* is clearly named after the fortification (the *burh*) at Canterbury, even though the burh was probably only resettled after Christianisation. However, an early name of the Stour-*ge* based on the river Stour is recorded, and these people probably became *burhware* after the centre of Canterbury eclipsed the royal vill at Sturry in importance in the 7th century (Lloyd 2013: 91). The lathes of East Kent can therefore indeed be seen to reflect early *regiones* which probably date to before 550 and developed organically around a central site, perhaps a hall, which later became a royal manor. Such a development cannot be shown for West Kent, however.

Anglo-Saxon manor – lathe-name in *Domesday Book* – thirteenth-century lathe-name – Putative *Regio*

East Kent

Lyminge – Limowart Lest/Lympne – Shepway – Limenwara/Limen-*ge*

Canterbury – Borowart Lest – St Augustine – Burhwara/Stour-*ge*

Eastry – Lest de Estrei – Hedelinth – St Augustine – Eastern-*ge*

Wye – Wiwart Lest – Scray – Wiwara/Denu-*ge*

West Kent

Aylesford – Lest de Elesford – Aylesford

Sutton – Lest de Sudtune – Sutton-at-Hone (half-lathe)

Milton – Lest de Middeltun – Milton (half-lathe)

While the four lathes of East Kent could date to the settlement period, representing early *regiones*, developing royal estate centres by the mid-6th century (Richardson 2016: 33) there is little archaeological or place-name evidence to support a similar origin for the West Kentish lathes. Some West Kentish early charters use the term *ceasterware* to refer to some of the people of West Kent ('people of the Roman town [Rochester]') when referencing their ownership of the wealden denns. This may indicate that West Kent, was viewed by the East as having its centre in Rochester (Brooks 1989: 73). However, the *ceasterware* may simply refer to Rochester's importance as an early centre of administration for West Kent, analogous to the *burhware* of Canterbury. Thus, it is not likely to be the name of a local *regio*, but rather a name adopted after East Kent had conquered the West. It is far more probable that the East Kentish system was applied to West Kent sometime after the conquest of the West and by the composition of *Domesday Book*. It is nonetheless interesting that a later territorial organisation took its name from Aylesford. Nicholas Brooks has suggested that any early administrative unit for West Kent would have been based at Rochester and the region named for its people, and this district would have been later divided into three areas based on the royal vills of Maidstone, Aylesford, and Rochester (Brooks 1989: 73). As the head of the bishopric, Rochester was the natural administrative centre of the lathe; it had the prestige of being a Roman centre and a bishopric and would have been the main crossing point of the Medway in the Roman period when the bridge was functional. However, in the period before the rebuilding of the bridge, sometime in the 9th or 10th century, the ford at Aylesford provided an alternative way across the Medway. The cemetery, which had been sited close to the river (see above p189) probably served a community that grew up around the ford, from at least the late 6th century, and from which the origins of the settlement may be traced. The prominence of Aylesford in the region may have resulted in it becoming the most important royal estate, perhaps as early as the end of the 9th century. The lathe could have acquired its name as late as the 10th-century following the breakup of these older estates (Brookes and Harrington 2010: 105), and was therefore named after the estate at Aylesford. Furthermore, the importance of Aylesford may also

be reflected in the various legends that developed during the period and which located early battles at Aylesford (as recorded in the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*). Admittedly this is as far as the evidence can be stretched. Aylesford cannot be shown to have derived from an early region or people-name. There is no evidence of a 'people of Ægel' (though this is not impossible, see above p206), or that West Kent or the *Domesday Book* Lathe of Aylesford was a unified territory or *regio* similar to the lathes of East Kent.

The lathes of Sutton and Milton are obviously late and seem to have been named for the estate centres around which they were previously based (Williamson and Bellamy 1987: 20; Williamson 1993: 88). They are not 'south' (*sud-tun*) or 'central' (*middle-tun*) to Aylesford or Rochester and may be early dependents of other estate centres. These territories are far more likely to be tenth- or eleventh-century hundredal innovations than independent sixth- and seventh-century manors or lathes.

Parish connections and earlier territories (Figure 7.3)

Everitt's important study in 1986 looked at the development of the early Christian landscape across Kent and related the foundation of churches to early 'Jutish' settlement and continuity from pre-Christian *Cantia* (Everitt 1986). By analysing the development of church foundations and dependencies, he developed rough phases for early Kentish church foundation based on the dedications of particular saints. St Peter and Paul, for example, appear in church dedications much more commonly than in the rest of England, and churches dedicated to them are some of the earliest built in the first decades after Augustine's Christianisation of Kent. In fact, Augustine's church in Canterbury was dedicated to St Peter and Paul, as is Aylesford's and several others in the Medway valley (Everitt 1986: 294). Female saint names are also more common across Kent, which may correlate to the high number of female Kentish royal saints immediately after the conversion; the high association of churches dedicated to female saints at springs and wells may even have pre-Christian roots and relate to British or early Anglo-Saxon cults (Everitt 1986). Later churches, for example in the Wealden outlands that post-date the 7th century, do not tend to follow the same naming conventions. It is also found that small rural parishes, such as those in the Weald, probably resulted from a division of earlier parishes as a mother church founded a daughter in a less desirable settlement area and then carved out a parish as small as possible for the daughter church (Everitt 1986: 274-78). The daughter church in these cases is usually sited fairly close to the parish boundary of its mother church. This belief is supported by the fact that most Kentish estates have north-south droveways linking manor centres to southern Wealden denns for the purpose

of swine pasturage. These outlying areas were used seasonally until population growth in the mid Anglo-Saxon period led to them developing into independent estates (Everitt 1986: 276).

The link that Everitt proposed between pre-Christian religious sites/cemeteries and early (seventh- to eighth-century) church foundations would seem borne out in the heartlands around Aylesford. The complex of megaliths (Neolithic chambered long barrows) in the Medway valley comprise the only such group in eastern England. Although they are partially standing it is unusual that such a large number have survived. The megaliths are centred around the Aylesford minsterland, with one group directly around Aylesford and another by Trottiscliffe and Addington to the west. In addition, there are several springs just south of the monuments at Kits Coty Stones, approximately 1.5km away from both Aylesford and Eccles, plus a number of important medieval springs or wells are also nearby (such as Haly-Garden by Burham). The site of the Hermitage at Well Wood implies the existence of a well, which can be seen on early maps and was also encountered during excavations (Philp 2006: 27). Evidence of ritual practice at watery sites (Semple 2013: 72-74) suggests they may have functioned as centres of pre-Christian worship, while some went through a process of assimilation and were appropriated by emerging elites during the conversion period (Blair 2005: 226, 472).

The area occupied by the Medway monoliths is also home to Belgic cemeteries and may support the view that the area was a long-lasting centre of pre-Christian worship. Thus, there may have been an important network of religious sites in the Medway valley and the term 'Pilgrim's Way' could refer to a practice that pre-dates Roman settlement. Despite the lack of evidence for any pagan Anglo-Saxon activity at Aylesford, the prominent hill-top adjacent to a fording point in combination with the earlier monuments make it a likely site for pre-Christian worship. Pope Gregory recommended that Augustine replace pagan temples with Christian churches in the first years of the conversion (*HE* I.30); perhaps the current St Peter and Paul's is built upon an older site. Admittedly this is speculation, but the area does form the centre of Aylesford minster's network of daughter parishes. Similarly, John Blair has noted the association across England of Anglo-Saxon long halls of the 7th century and prehistoric monuments (to roughly AD 700), many of which were then replaced with early church foundations (Blair 2018: 103-135). He interprets such sites as centres of worship, with princes or kings acting as ritual leaders or guardians. On their conversion to Christianity, these leaders would have maintained their positions by erecting churches, which also preserved the sanctity of these sites. As estate centres gained churches, their dependent properties would naturally
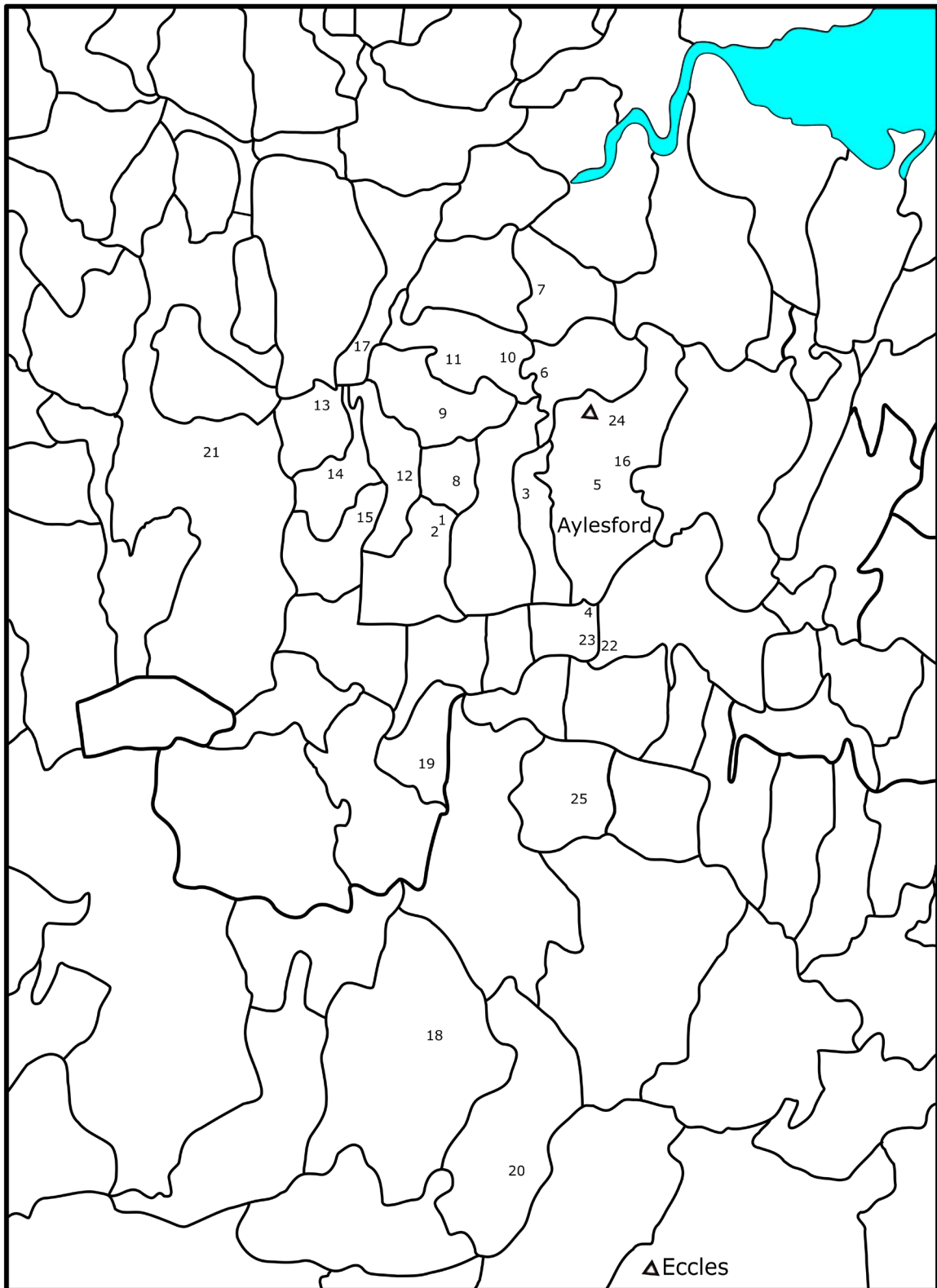
Figure 7.3. Parishes of the Medway area

1. St Mary, West Malling; 2. Leonard's Tower, West Malling; 3. St Peter, Ditton; 4. Chapel of St Laurence, the Hermitage or Longsole, Barming; 5. St Peter and Paul, Aylesford; 6. St Mary, Burham; 7. All Saints, Wouldham; 8. St Peter and Paul, Leybourne; 9. All Saints, Birling; 10. All Saints, Snodland; 11. Paddlesworth church [daughter of Birling, probably located at Pellesorde manor in Domesday Book]; 12. St Martin, Ryarsh; 13. St Peter and Paul, Trottiscliffe; 14. St Margaret, Addington; 15. St Michael All Saints, Offham; 16. unknown, Cossington; 17. Dode church (linked to Paddlesworth, possible daughter or cousin); 18. All Saints, Brenchley?; 19. St Mary the Virgin, Nettlestead?; 20. St Margaret, Horsmonden; 21. St George, Wrotham; 22. St Margaret, East Barming; 23. Barnjet Manor, West Barming; 24. St Stephen's Chapel, Tottington; 25. St Mary, Hunton.

also need chapels, and such dedications may have spread along existing pre-Christian networks. Thus, the mother churches that sponsored the dedication of neighbouring and related communities can be interpreted as reflecting early settlement *regiones.* Everitt also takes the fact that Kentish parishes are unusually large as evidence for them originally having been *regiones.* He is convinced that Aylesford, as the largest of the lathes, with the manor sited on a river with territory on either side, was the centre of an early 'Jutish' territory which possibly even reflects Romano-British origins (Everitt 1986: 280).

It is possible that Aylesford was connected with Eccles. With its Roman villa and location on the Greenway, near the Pilgrim's Way and Medway megaliths, and only approximately 5km away from Aylesford, Eccles is a prime candidate for an early church (Everitt 1986: 266). This may have built on an earlier, or pre-existing tradition, preserved in the place-name *Eccles* (see above p205). But if there had been a church at Eccles, it has left no trace in the historical record, which may imply that Aylesford's church already existed, and Eccles was dependent on it. The reused Roman stonework in Aylesford's early Norman church may have come from an earlier structure on which St Peter and Paul's had been built, but it probably derived from Eccles, which if correct could strengthen the association between the two. The manor of Eccles dates to at least the late 10th century, as listed in the Rochester Bridge List, but its holdings were fairly small. In the Bridge List, it is included in the pier that belongs to Aylesford, so it was probably dependent on that manor in the parish and hundred structure, in a similar way to Cossington or Allington. *Domesday Book* lists Eccles among the Bishop's possessions.

The locations of Aylesford and her daughter churches seem to rest quite firmly among what must surely have been a pre-Christian cultic centre that extended from Aylesford westward across the Medway valley. This group of neighbouring communities had churches which can reasonably be supposed to have been founded as daughter churches of St Peter and Paul's at Aylesford. Some of these churches, such as Allington and Cossington, were very near to Aylesford. This could also include a daughter church at Eccles, but as just mentioned there is no evidence for such an idea. What can additionally be seen is that these churches appear at regular intervals along the Medway valley and its tributaries, as well as at important intersections such as where the Pilgrim's Way crosses the Medway or approaches one of its tributaries. While the sites were connected in the early period, with increasing settlement, especially from the eighth century onward, daughter chapels or foundations that were initially dependent upon Aylesford developed into their own manors with their own dependencies. The estates

further south and west that show a dependency on, or a relation to, Aylesford were probably those founded in the Wealden pastures, but which had grown sufficiently to require their own administration, becoming independent of their mother church by the 10th century. The evidence permits a reconstruction of a situation in which the church spread out along the Medway valley and across the Aylesford heartland, probably following an existing settlement pattern. The parish relationships across the Medway valley reveals long-standing connections between its churches, which in turn suggests a territorial unity dating from the period of Christianisation, possibly even earlier.

The following will not address all the possible candidates but will provide an overview of those for which the evidence is strongest. Most of these early structures are linked to an estate centre, either to an existing manor mentioned in *Domesday Book*, evidence of a lost manor, or are court farms; the name of the latter indicating an earlier assembly site. Connections between parish church dedications can also be revealed by disputes in the medieval period over parishes and ownership. Several of the villages in the Aylesford area are listed as having a church in *Domesday Book*, and architecturally there are indications that some are earlier foundations, though Snodland is the only one with some surviving Anglo-Saxon brickwork. In fact, most of the Medway valley churches do not have many traces of Anglo-Saxon architecture, probably a result of Bishop Gundulf's (of Rochester, 1077-1108) programme of rebuilding the churches. Those at Snodland, Trottiscliffe, West Malling, and Wouldham are all in very early Norman architectural style. He acquired Trottiscliffe around 1080 and seems to have had St Peter and Paul's church rebuilt there as well. St Peter and Paul's at Leybourne is also very early Norman in style and may have been one of his projects. Eccles is not listed in *Domesday Book* as having a church, although it does rank among the Bishop of Rochester's possessions. The Bishop later gave some of Eccles' earnings to the King, which may have been part of the trades conducted by Bishop Gundulf and King William to finance Gundulf's church-building programme in the Medway valley.

Addington

Addington was probably a daughter church of Aylesford. If the early church was in a similar location as the fourteenth-century St Margaret's, it was on a hilltop very near a Neolithic barrow (Everitt 1986a: 294), possibly part of the pre-Christian religious complex centred around Aylesford. The Addington Long Barrow, just north of St Margaret's church on the other side of the hill, is a part of the Medway Megaliths, and the Chestnuts Long Barrow is also nearby. Addington, an *-ingas* formation, could derive from a folk group. A royal manor may have been established there as early as the

late 6th century; the -*tun* ending suggests the site was founded as a royal centre, possibly dependent of the *villa regis* of Aylesford.

Offham

Addington probably had a daughter church at Offham: St Michael's is situated only a few hundred yards from the parish border to Addington; it appears to have been founded as a dependency on Addington, which later became independent (Everitt 1986: 276-277), thereby a granddaughter of Aylesford. Blaze Wood, which may be named for the now ruinous chapel of St Blaise's just south of Offham, was still part of the parish of Aylesford at the time of the dissolution, when it was being leased by Thomas le Despencer (Ireland 1829: 573), and also in the 17th century. It is unknown whether St Blaise's was a part of Blaze Wood belonging to Aylesford and may have been a late dependency of Aylesford, or perhaps another dependency of Addington which did not become independent as St Michael's did.

Allington and Barming

These parishes were probably part of Aylesford and only detached in the 11th century. Neither is listed as a separate estate in the Rochester Bridgework List, though Allington is listed as an estate with a church in *Domesday Book.* An Anglo-Saxon church in Allington has not survived, but a St Lawrence's, converted for residential use in the 1980s, occupied an elevated area in a bend on the river (currently on Castle Road). In the reign of Henry V, Allington fought with Aylesford parish over the rights to this chapel and it was awarded to the vicar of Aylesford, probably reflecting its earlier dependency on Aylesford, though it had been independent before this (Hussey 1852: 21).

There is also evidence of a Belgic cemetery at Allington, which is similar to the Belgic burial ground at Hermitage Farm (Hasted 1798b: vol. 4, 448). This could suggest a pre-Christian connection between the two sites. The Hermitage Farm burial site is also the site of a seventh-century church called St Lawrence's. East across Hermitage Lane is the site of the Ancient Free Chapel of Longsole, formerly called St Lawrence of Longsole and later the Hermitage for its isolation, which belonged to the castle at Allington in the 13th to 16th centuries and has left no trace. The site of the Hermitage at Well Wood indicates that there was a spring or well nearby, which can be seen on early maps and was found in recent excavations (Philp 2006: 27). The chapel was in ruins by the 18th century. The Free Chapel could have been a daughter church of St. Lawrence's in Allington, if the late medieval church there preserved an earlier church's name, which was itself the daughter of Aylesford. Ireland records a dispute between the parishes of Aylesford and Allington over oblation

dues in the reign of Henry V. The Bishop of Rochester decided in favour of Aylesford, which would seem to confirm the mother-daughter relationship between Aylesford and Allington. The chapel remains were purchased alongside the manor of Allington in 1732 (Ireland 1829) and this joint ownership may reflect a daughter-granddaughter relationship.

East and West Barming are both listed in *Domesday Book* for Maidstone Hundred, and though no church is listed for either, both East and West Barming churches are included in the T.R. list 'de capellis'. East Barming has a St Margaret's church just north of the Medway which dates to the early 12th century, and which may be built on the foundations of a Roman villa, is near the Conduit Spring and from whence the barrows can be seen. This is a likely site for an early church, and the current one may have been rebuilt on an earlier site, though the village was quite small in the 12th century. West or 'Little' Barming (now Barnjet) had a church just north of the Medway (located at the site of Barnjet Manor) until the 16th century which was reduced to a chapel after it was annexed by Nettlestead in 1486, and the parish was dissolved sometime between the 14th and 17th centuries. Located on the edge of Twyford and Aylesford parishes and on the north of the Medway, they may have been a late Anglo-Saxon detachment to Maidstone hundred.

Cossington

Cossington was an estate included in the Rochester Bridgework List, but it is not listed in *Domesday Book.* A chapel to St Stephen dates to at least 1293 (Hussey 1852: 24) and is mentioned in the list of parish churches in the T.R. under Chapel List ('*de capellis*') that appear to be independent. The chapel probably pre-dates the Norman Conquest (Flight 2010: 240-241), and the chalk springs at Cossington make it a likely site for an early church. The chapel would have originally been dependent on Aylesford before attaining independence sometime before the Conquest. The only other trace of this estate is the Great Cossington Farm cottages on Pratling Street north east of Aylesford and the ruins of a sixteenth-century manor.

Twyford Hundred

Twyford Hundred was probably carved out of Aylesford's Wealden dens to the south. Aylesford manor's estate was most recently broken up in the early 20th century, before which it had extended over the adjoining parishes of Rugmer Hill, Yalding and Hunton parishes further up the Medway valley. This is another fertile part of the river valley where the streams Teise and Beult join the Medway. This seems another likely creation of the hundredal reform, where a hundred was created around a manor for which it was named. The

hundred was drawn along established local borders and could represent another area which had been absorbed by Aylesford before the conquest of West Kent, or the boundaries may have changed.

Yalding

The core of the Twyford Hundred was Yalding, and the royal manor there was still occupied by the king at the time of the Norman Conquest. The denns (and later parishes) of Horsmonden and Brenchley must have been Aylesford's early appurtenances (Furley 1871: 702, 28; Ireland 1829: 360). Yalding's manor is about halfway between Aylesford and the dens and there are old droveways leading south from the Medway at Yalding. The parish church is dedicated to St Mary and probably dates to the Anglo-Saxon period as well, though the current church is thirteenth-century. Horsmonden's church might be an early wealdan daughter church with its dedication to St Margaret. The parishes here are much larger than around Aylesford with villages sited generally on the hillside in the weald, which reflects their early development as the denns of Aylesford. Yalding's royal manor in *Domesday Book* is valued at two sulungs, more than Aylesford but still a very low figure, again suggesting the relative antiquity of the manor. It could have been the caput of an early kin group controlling the confluence of the rivers with the place-name probably deriving from the *Ealdingas,* possibly the kin of *Eald* (Watts 2004, 708).

East and West Malling

These two estates were probably divided after originating as a single estate called Malling, and it may have been dependent on Aylesford. In the Rochester Bridgework List Malling is taxable for the third pier alongside Trottiscliffe and a few other territories, though it is part of the Larkfield Hundred in *Domesday Book*, suggesting some territorial reorganisation may have occurred in the meantime. They are both centred around the Medway valley, potentially part of a local complex centred around the Neolithic ruins around the Pilgrim's Way and Greenway. They adjoin the moot point at Larkfield. The Church St Mary-the-Virgin is recorded as being given from King Edmund to the Bishop of Rochester in 954 (S 514), and churches dedicated to St Mary tend to date to the original church foundation wave in the early 7th century (Everitt 1986: 193, 97). Malling may have been a daughter of Aylesford with a royal manor and dependencies of its own, which was eventually separated into East and West Malling by the 11th century. St Mary's is early Norman and was probably rebuilt by Gundulf along with the other Medway valley churches in his tenure.

Trottiscliffe

There is currently a St Peter and Paul's church at Trottiscliffe, whose name alone suggests it may have been a daughter church of Aylesford (Everitt 1986: 275). A charter by Offa in 788 (S 129) granted the church at Trottiscliffe to St Andrew's in Rochester, including six sulungs from Birling to Wrotham and north to Meopham plus swine pastures in the weald that cannot be identified, two of which were probably on the ridgeway south of Malling ('uuealdbaera ubi dicitur Holenspic bi suðan eé Eppanhrycg non longe ab eo loco Langanhrycg' - 'weald-beres which are called *Holenspic* south of the river *Eppanhrycg* and not far along to the place 'Long-Ridge'). While none of the denns has been located, they were probably adjacent to Aylesford's denns in Twyford Hundred. Trottiscliffe is in an important location in the weald almost directly west of Aylesford; the Greenway passes from Eccles through Trottiscliffe which is located in the midst of the western cluster of Medway valley megaliths. It is closest to the Coldrum standing stones, some of which may have been used in the church walls. It is further connected by the Pilgrim's Way to Burham east over the Medway.

Conclusion

A study of the documentary sources reveals many tantalising clues but very little concrete evidence about Aylesford from before the 10th century, and even less for Eccles. The evidence may simply be missing, a result of West Kent sustaining the brunt of attacks by other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms before the 8th century and the Vikings thereafter. Despite the paucity of the evidence several points can be made.

Aylesford may have been an important regional centre from the late 6th or 7th century, probably growing up around the ford and the earlier roads and trackways that converge on the area and was probably associated, in some as yet to be determined way, with Eccles. The discovery of a cemetery at Aylesford dating from the late 6th century points to the existence of an undiscovered settlement in the vicinity of the ford. The 'Lathe of Aylesford' seems to have been a late coining; the various territories it was used to describe were probably named for Aylesford after it had become a prominent centre thus obscuring any earlier *regio* that may lie behind it. The term 'lathe' was probably imported from East Kent and was used inconsistently depending on the purposes of the documents that employed it. In *Domesday Book*, the lathe is most of West Kent while the Rochester Bridgework List uses the term to refer only to Aylesford's immediate surroundings, not including estates that must have

been earlier dependencies. The hundreds of Larkfield and Twyford taken together seem to reflect earlier parish boundaries and may be representative of a heartland across the Medway valley on the basis of their parish connections, but this can only be inferred, not proven.

Aylesford was a royal manor by the end of the 10th century at the latest and remained one of the last four manors in Kent in the king's hands at the time of the Domesday inquest; this implies antiquity but nothing more. It is very unlikely that St Peter and Paul's was built much later than the manor, but there is no evidence for an Anglo-Saxon church in Aylesford. The church dates to the early Norman period, but the reused Roman stonework in its walls, potentially scavenged from the Roman villa at Eccles, could have been recycled from an earlier Anglo-Saxon minster. The early tenth-century assembly point is perhaps the clearest indication that Aylesford was an important centre, and while an assembly point does not need to have been a royal manor, kings and queens are recorded at Aylesford. It is possible that the manor was much older, and the site bears all the hallmarks of an early Anglo-Saxon minster, but excavations of the church would be required to know more. Evidence of local connections between parish churches also suggest an older tradition, and if Everitt's model for the founding of parishes along earlier settlement networks applies to West Kent, then Aylesford emerges as the most likely mother church to some of these nearby churches.

While it is tempting to imagine a *regio* in the valley with Aylesford as its *caput*, the evidence simply cannot be stretched this far. Nonetheless, Aylesford's importance in the 10th and 11th centuries should not be understated. Although Rochester was the diocesan seat, the lathe was named for Aylesford, and its location in the Medway valley made it a desirable location across the early medieval period.

Chapter 8
General Discussion and Conclusion

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with contributions by, Stephen R. Cosh, Jillian Hawkins and Courtnay Konshuh

Introduction

Eccles has occasionally been mentioned in the wider archaeological literature, but the lack of easily accessible information has limited its value. For example, note the brief references that it receives in the recent book *The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800* (Williams 2007). This project has attempted to remedy the situation: it has surveyed the records, described the salient points and highlighted the limitations and ambiguities of the evidence. The main findings of the study will now be reviewed by placing the evidence in a broader context, that of the Medway valley. The approach is to organise the evidence from the valley into themes that reflect current scholarly interest, with each one structured chronologically. This is very much the starting point: as will become apparent, all the topics have the potential for more detailed analysis from which a deeper understanding of the area during later prehistory through to Anglo-Saxon times will emerge. This project is only intended as the beginning of what is hopefully a new era into research and work on Eccles. In fact, its overriding aim is to emphasis the national importance of the Roman villa and to reenergise efforts to achieve a formal excavation report.

Landscape, environment and settlement patterns

Historically rivers have had a major impact on the character of rural landscapes, determining the location of major settlements and agricultural zones. The Medway is no exception. It is one of the major river basins of North Kent and the importance that it played in influencing settlement in the past is evidenced not only by the number of sites occupying the valley, but also how settlement patterns remained largely constant from late prehistory through to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. The Medway can be divided into several landscape zones based on a simplified version of the zones used in *The Archaeology of High Speed 1*, hereafter HS1, Foreman 2011, 17, fig. 2.1): 1) the London Clays of the estuary; 2) The Chalks of the middle valley, i.e. where the Medway Gap cuts through the North Downs and 3) the Greensands of the upper valley. The valley is thus characterised by a varied landscape, one in which geological and environmental factors dictated the type of agricultural regimes practised and in turn determined the specifics of the settlement pattern:

access to water, soil fertility, good drainage and the availability of food and other resources were of key importance and is confirmed by the spatial analysis of the sites detailed below. The analysis of the local environment proceeds by mapping the archaeological sites against the soils dataset provided by Soilscapes (http://www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes/) (Table 4.9 for key).

Most of the sites, including Eccles, are in Zone 2. The main landscape feature of this zone is the North Kent Downs, which was, and still is, important agriculturally. In the valley it offers a well-drained land suitable for pasture and arable farming; the foothills are ideal for grazing animals, while the woodland of the upper slopes is suitable for pannage and timber. For this zone the findings from HS1 have given general insights into the local environment during the Late Iron Age and Roman periods, confirming that much of the landscape would have been open; mixed agricultural practices were the order of the day (Booth 2011: 252-54), and this is a situation that would have persisted into Anglo-Saxon times.

The fact that the Medway could be navigated almost to Tonbridge helps to explains why the valley was a major area of settlement throughout later prehistory and the first millennium AD. The river was not only a reliable and plentiful source of water, it also served as an important communication route. Similarly, the presence of earlier sites, both domestic and ritual, were an important determinant in the establishment of settlement patterns. For example, Eccles occupied an important location in the landscape, located as it was at the foot of the Downs close to Neolithic sites, Bronze Age depositions of precious metals and the early Iron Age site at White Horse Stone (Champion 2011: 212).

None of the Medway Iron Age sites have been completely excavated, consequently detailed knowledge of their character and layout is lacking. For example, Iron Age Eccles is mainly represented by a series of ditches; the location of the actual settlement remains unknown. The situation at Cuxton is slightly better: pits and some undated features were investigated and were probably part of a larger settlement destroyed by the construction of the railway and other developments in the area. More is known about the aforementioned

site at White Horse Stone, which comprised pits, granaries and other structures (Champion 2011: 212). In general, during the Iron Age, Zone 2 would have been characterised by a landscape that consisted of enclosed or unenclosed farmsteads, made up of round houses, granaries, pits and associated field systems. At White Horse Stone, both emmer and spelt, the main wheat crops throughout later prehistoric Kent, were well represented in early Iron Age assemblages and cattle and sheep/goat were found in roughly equal proportions; the ages of the former suggest that they were kept for traction and dairy (Champion 2011: 172-173). Such patterns are probably generally typical of the Iron Age Medway sites.

The analysis of the location of the Iron Age sites has provided additional evidence about the local environment and economy. Eccles occupied a small plateau, at 25m AOD. Today it lies 750m east of the Medway, although because of changes to the river's course it would probably have been much closer in prehistoric and Roman times, perhaps as near as 400m. The site had been situated over seasonally slightly acidic wet soils, typically grassland and arable of moderate fertility with impeded drainage (Soilscape Type 18). The comparable Iron Age settlements record a variety of topographic and environmental settings, yet in contrast to Eccles, they were sited over soils with better drainage, the majority occupying freely draining alkaline soils of moderate fertility suitable for arable cultivation (Type 5). Eccles also differed regarding topography: the comparative sites record an average distance of 960m from the river, with three sites over 1km away, and in addition to the valley bottom locations on the upper slopes were also chosen. Overall, the analysis of the Iron Age sites has revealed a relatively varied settlement pattern. Eccles stands out as unusual, a difference that might be explained by an economy dependent on livestock and a necessity to be close to water.

The presence of essential resources and basic environmental determinants can explain why most of the Iron Age sites continued in use into the early Roman period. Because settlement form varied little over the period 100 BC to AD 100, it is difficult to differentiate the two phases on the basis of morphology alone. Dating is further complicated by the fact that some late Iron Age ceramic traditions survive the Roman conquest (Booth 2011: 248-49). Although it is often impossible to prove unbroken occupation, continuity of site is at least assured. Those that straddle the transition generally comprised unenclosed and enclosed settlements; the latter either irregular or rectilinear in character and furthermore defined by the presence of linear features (Booth 2011: 264-67). At Eccles continuity into the early Roman period is evidenced by the presence of several

ditches, plus the early buildings that were erected within a walled enclosure before the construction in the later part of the 1st century to mid to later 2nd century AD of the first baths and the main house (see above pp15-17). A timber structure located to the south outside the enclosure possibly belonged to this period. Elsewhere in Kent, masonry buildings replaced earlier timber structures. For example, at Thurnham a late Iron Age roundhouse was followed in the early Roman period by a proto-villa that in turn was replaced by a larger second-century villa house (Booth 2011: 281-83). Similarly, at Otford a round house was superseded by a building first occupied at the end of the 1st century AD, while at Orpington, Farningham II and East Malling, Roman structures succeeded pre-Roman activity (Booth 2011: 281).

The start of the Roman period witnessed a realignment of agricultural practices and a diversification of settlement patterns, perhaps resulting from the economic demands that Imperial authority placed on the region; or a response to new economic opportunities (Cosh pers. comm.). The appearance of a new communication network, i.e. the system of Roman roads, stimulated the growth of settlements at key spots along them. Another major influence on the form that the settlement pattern in the Medway valley took was the establishment of an urban centre over the important Iron Age settlement at Rochester. This was no accident: *Durobrivae* was strategically located near the mouth of the Medway, where it was crossed by Watling Street. The various functions of the town, not least a market for local agricultural surpluses and craft products, can account for the density of settlement to its south, in addition to the smattering of sites around the estuary (Zone 1). Many of the settlements were villas, centres of agricultural estates, founded on both the east and west banks of the river. A significant cluster of important villas were established around Maidstone (Zone 3) close to the road that ran southwards from Rochester to the Hastings area (see above pp75-78) (Table 8.1). The presence of both the road and the river must have been instrumental in the decision by the Roman landowners to exploit the agricultural potential of the land through a network of estates. Down river towards Eccles there are fewer major sites and it is suspected that this large villa dominated the settlement pattern. However, on the west bank of the Medway a large villa was investigated at Snodland, close to Snodland church. It overlooked the Medway to the east, a few kilometres north-north-west of Eccles. A structure was also discovered 1.2km north of Eccles at Court Road Farm, Burham, but the nature of the site in unknown.

The buildings at both Eccles and Snodland had been sited over soils with impeded drainage (Gault clay) possibly because this was marginal land not suitable for

Table 8.1. Roman sites of the Medway, summary details.

Site	NGR	Soilscape	AOD	Distance from the Medway m	Evidence
Teston, west of Maidstone	TQ 698531	7 & 18	20	320	villa
Florence Road, Maidstone	TQ 752550	7	20	125	stone buildings
Little Buckland Farm, Maidstone	TQ 748566	7	30	540	stone buildings
The Mount, Maidstone	TQ 756562	7	10	35	villa
Barton Road/Loose Road, Maidstone	TQ 765548	7	50	720	villa
Snodland	TQ 707620	18	5	120	villa
Court Road Farm, Burham	TQ 726617	5/18	25	1100	stone building
Peters Village	TQ 71384 62680	5	10	130	probable settlement

agricultural exploitation. Their fields would have been laid out over the better drained soils of higher fertility that bordered both sites. The large expanse of well-drained soils around the Maidstone area can probably account for the concentration of villas and other sites in this area. These are a heavier type of soil, acidic and of a greater fertility compared to the lighter soils of the North Downs favoured in the proceeding Iron Age. The cultivation of heavier soils would have been facilitated by the introduction of the coulter, although this may not have been until later in the Roman period (Manning 1964). The average distance from the villas to the Medway is 429m (average elevation is 22m), but there is a wide variation ranging from those in the valley bottom, such as Eccles, Snodland and The Mount, to those that inhabited the slopes of the valley and enjoyed panoramic views over the river, for example Teston, Little Buckland Farm and Barton Road. As in the Iron Age, the distance from the river was probably determined by the type of agricultural regimes followed: economies dependent on livestock would be closer to a reliable supply of water. Overall, the lack of sites outside the immediate environs of the valley demonstrates that as in the preceding period the settlement pattern was strongly tied to the Medway – it provided vital resources, in addition to affording access to *Durobrivae* and thence to the Thames and other markets, perhaps national and even those overseas.

At the same time, more humble rural settlements sprang up throughout the valley. The evidence comprises modest masonry structures and simple farmsteads, the latter not unlike those of the Iron Age. A short distance to the north of Eccles, on flat ground just above the floodplain, work in advance of a development at Peters Village, between Wouldham and Burham, revealed a field system defined by ditches dating from the first century AD (Clarke 2015: 5-7). In common with the villas it had been located on freely draining soil of moderate fertility. Sections of a probable trackway running parallel to the Medway were excavated, while other features are consistent with a settlement in the wider area and which might be related to the Roman building

discovered by antiquaries in the vicinity (Clarke 2015: 5-7).

The evidence from excavation, chance discoveries and metal-detected finds, reveal that by the mid Anglo-Saxon period much of the Medway in Zones 1 and 2 was occupied. Yet compared to the preceding periods less is understood about the types of sites that were inhabited. The only structural evidence consists of several timber-framed and sunken-featured buildings excavated at Frindsbury Extra on the Hoo Peninsula, and the fragmentary building encountered on the edge of the Eccles Anglo-Saxon cemetery. This is not unusual; the ephemeral traces left by the buildings, especially the post-built 'halls', can be difficult to detect archaeologically. Overall, the evidence from Zone 2 largely comes from burial grounds, but based on landscape studies of the Anglo-Saxon period (Dinwiddy and Stoodley 2016: 155-156) it is probable that people lived at sites close to the river, which provided a fresh supply of water and good pasture. It is likely that the settlement pattern in the Medway valley was characterised by a network of regularly spaced hamlets or farmsteads, made up of halls and smaller structures for storage or work. Fields would have adjoined each settlement, with their dead buried in small communal cemeteries. This belief is supported by work in areas where the survival of the evidence is better. In the Darent valley (Kent), Tyler (1992: 80-81) noted a distance of about 1.5 miles between cemeteries, sited on the 50m contour, with settlements on lower-lying land closer to the river. A roughly similar situation has been identified in the Medway valley by a general analysis, which takes all sources of archaeological evidence together: most Anglo-Saxon sites were relatively low-lying (the average height above sea level on the west bank was 29m, while for the east it is 26m) with a preference for free-draining alkaline soils of moderate fertility suitable for cereal crops with grassland available at higher altitudes. It was a settlement pattern that would have been familiar to those living in late prehistory. However, the former Roman settlement pattern also influenced the location of Anglo-Saxon sites, with many producing Roman

evidence of one sort or another; especially notable is the strong association between the two on the Hoo Peninsula (Zone 1). Likewise, in the post-Roman period the former town of *Durobrivae* remained a focal point as indicated by the relatively large number of cemeteries in its vicinity.

A closer examination of the Medway reveals that the majority of sites are located on the west bank. This imbalance is unlikely to be a result of environmental factors, rather it is suggested that political circumstances were responsible (see below p239). A different situation is also apparent on the Hoo Peninsula (Zone 1), where most of the known sites lie at the bottom of a central band of hills, while those in its southern half were over 0.5km distant from the waterfront or the marshes. However, three sites were in naturally wet locations, over soils of low fertility; marginal places that may have exploited marine-based economies in the marshland or at the water's edge. Some of the sites in the northern part of the peninsula also had a close association with the marshes, while others occupied slightly acidic freely draining soils of low to medium fertility, which are better suited to cereal crops, a relationship also recorded for the sites on the opposite side of the estuary.

Throughout the 1st millennium the findings from the Medway valley generally demonstrate mixed agricultural practices, but with a strong emphasis on livestock. The apparent variation may reflect different patterns of stock rearing: the settlements where cattle were the most important animal were probably located on lower ground, close to a regular supply of water; where sheep were the major contributor to the economy they were located on higher ground in order to exploit more open pasture.

Communication routes

A topographical factor that determined settlement and land use has already been touched upon - communication routes. The Medway is one of the major rivers of Kent, it rises in the High Weald flowing northwards, passing through Maidstone, Aylesford, and Rochester, before emptying into the Thames estuary at Sheerness. Since prehistory it has afforded an important route into this part of Kent and was probably navigable at least as far as Maidstone (Harrington and Welch 2014: 54), although the name of Hadlow Stair or '*hithe*', recorded for the first time in 1327, suggests that it was originally navigable almost to Tonbridge (Everitt 1986: 72). In fact, the Medway offered relatively easy and swift communication, a key advantage that the people settled within it enjoyed over the surrounding areas. During the Roman period the river would have been an important means for transporting the area's products, for example

the quarrying of Kentish ragstone from the Hythe Beds near Maidstone, and flint and chalk from outcrops of the North Downs, while iron from the works in the Weald may also have been transported by road and river (see above pp68 and 75). As previously mentioned, most of the Roman villas had been deliberately sited close to the river, not only because it provided a pleasant vista, but because it made it easier to load the produce from the estates onto vessels for transport downriver. During Anglo-Saxon times the transport links provided by the Medway must have remained important, especially as it connected rural settlements economically and socially. Compared to the Roman period, Anglo-Saxon sites were a greater average distance from the water, but this is misleading because it is mainly based on the location of the cemeteries, which were generally upslope of the living. Little is known about river-going boats, but archaeological evidence gained from the fragments of sea-going clinker-built vessels unearthed from sixth-century Kentish graves (Brookes 2007: 65) reveal that they had shallow drafts ideal for river navigation and beaching on riverbanks. The *ora* element "gravelly beach where boats may be landed", preserved in the place-name Upnor, indicates that this was a site of coastal trade in Romano-British times where boats were drawn up onto the shore (see above p208). The fact that the place-name continued into the Anglo-Saxon period suggests that the beaching of vessels continued.

In addition to the river, land routes helped to connect people within the valley to the wider area. During prehistory the North Downs trackway/Pilgrim's Way was an important route utilised by early travellers in southern Britain (Belsey 1998: 30). It followed the chalk escarpment on the southern edge of the Downs, but it was not a single route. The North Downs comprised an upper 'ridge' way and a lower 'terrace' way, the weather and season determining which was taken (Bright 2010: 3). Upon reaching the Medway, travellers had a choice of crossings, which probably included Snodland, Cuxton and Aylesford (Bright 2010: 3-16). Close to Rochester the main Roman road to London (Watling Street), crossed the Medway, while on the east bank of the river a road ran south from Rochester towards the Weald and thence to the Hastings area; significantly it passed closest to the river near Maidstone where there is the greatest concentration of known villas. In addition to these two major routes, the valley would have been criss-crossed by a network of minor roads and trackways. Sections of a north-south aligned trackway were excavated at the Peters Village site, lying just east of the river and possibly linked with the settlement of Eccles, about 1km to the south. Probably associated with this is a section of a Roman road, which was visible in a clay pit half a mile north of New Hythe Ferry in 1911, and also likely connected Eccles and Burham (VCH Kent III: 145; see also Evans 1924: 52).

The network of Roman roads retained their importance during the Anglo-Saxon period. Early Anglo-Saxon settlers around the estuary, especially those occupying the sites near Rochester and Strood, may well have been attracted to the area just as much by Watling Street as by *Durobrivae* itself. Despite the continuing importance of the Roman roads, the trackways remained important. A section cut across the Pilgrim's Way at White Horse Stone, Aylesford, indicated that this section at least was probably Anglo-Saxon or medieval in origin (Hayden 2006: 11). On the river's west bank, both Holborough and Cuxton lie close to the North Downs trackway, which must have linked these neighbouring communities, whilst also affording ease of access westwards along the Downs. As well as fulfilling practical necessities, routeways may have helped with the remembrance of the ancestors by increasing the visibility of their memorials. Brookes' (2007: 71, fig. 34) viewshed analysis of sites along the Pilgrim's Way and Roman roads in the area of Wye reveals that early Anglo-Saxon burials and cemeteries occupied prominent positions within the landscape. As just mentioned, both Holborough and Cuxton were near to an ancient trackway, while Eccles was probably close to the trackway/road that connected the villa with the site at Burham.

Burial ritual and religious belief

Little is known about the burial practices of the Medway valley during the Iron Age. There is of course the famous 1st century BC cemetery at Aylesford and despite considerable damage to the cemetery, Evans (1890) was able to excavate and record some burials. It was clear from the level of wealth deposited with the dead, especially three complex bucket burials, that the burials contained the cremated remains of locally important individuals (Cunliffe 2010: 153-55). Distinctions of status were also represented by the presence of exotic vessels and grave goods, such as brooches (Cunliffe 2010: 153-55). The small settlement near Bradbourne House, East Malling, included an enclosed cemetery, which probably contained the remains of individuals from lower down the social order (Wilson and Ward 2002: 21-22). 13 Late Iron Age to early Roman inhumations were found, some accompanied by grave goods (Wilson and Ward 2002: 21-22). A Middle to Late Iron Age crouched inhumation was unearthed during the work at Peters Village and the burial of a probable male adult, radiocarbon dated to 360-90 cal BC, was found in the northern part of the site near Wouldham (Clarke 2015: 5).

No temple sites have been discovered in the Medway valley and it could be that secular and ritual activities were so closely enmeshed that it is virtually impossible to distinguish ritual behaviour solely from archaeological remains. Acts of ritual may however be represented in so-called special deposits, where objects and other materials appear to have been deliberately chosen (Champion 2011: 239). At White Horse Stone, pit deposits comprising human remains and artefacts are probable examples of such activity (Champion 2011: 239).

The Roman period provides clearer evidence for the provision of the dead. Compared to the situation in the towns, less is known about burial practice in the countryside, but it seems that the dead were deposited in marginal locations, such as in ditches or by trackways; while in some cases graves had been grouped together within small ditched, or walled, enclosures. At Eccles several urns survive from cremation burials found in 1867 in Furness Brickfield on Rowe Place Farm (VCH Kent, III: 153). These cremations would certainly have occupied a marginal position as the Brickfield was sited at the lower end of Kiln Tile Field, i.e. that portion farthest from the villa. Cremation is typical of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, and these urns may well have contained the remains of individuals from the early phases of the villa. Roman burial urns were also discovered in the vicinity of Aylesford (TQ 726590) (Evans 1890), and traces of buildings and a burial in a disused gault pit were observed at the rear of the former West Kent Cement Co.'s Works, south west of Eccles village (VCH Kent III: 153); both these separate discoveries may have come from farmsteads belonging to the Eccles' estate. Other small groups of burials are known from the wider area and probably belonged to farmsteads or small villas. In Aylesford itself several burial urns were found in 1921 on the high ground between its centre and The Friars (VCH Kent III: 145). What has been described as 'many Roman burials' were found in Burham near the road leading towards Eccles (Payne 1893). A walled cemetery was found in the area at Lockham Wood, Boughton Monchelsea (TQ 776522) with finds of the 1st to 3rd century (Detsicas 1983: 150-2, fig. 33 called 'Langley'). The aforementioned enclosed cemetery at Bradbourne House, produced 22 late first - early second-century cremations, many were accompanied by vessels, while a small number also produced jewellery (Wilson and Ward 2002: 21-22). Barming villa (TQ 720541) was also associated with an enclosed cemetery. While most of these interments probably belonged to the rank and file, an elite burial site is indicated by the Roman barrow at Holborough, approximately 1km to the north west of Snodland villa (see above p82). Such barrows are rare outside the south east and like in Gallia Belgica they may have also functioned as shrines (Jessup 1954).

A possible temple was discovered on Blue Bell Hill, Aylesford (Detsicas 1983: 145; VCH Kent III: 104), sited on a mound close to the crossing of the Roman road from Rochester and the North Downs Way. In 1893 a

large subterranean vaulted chamber was found close to the east bank of the Medway and a trackway at Wouldham/Burham (VCH Kent III: 108-10). Although it has the appearance of a podium for a mausoleum or temple it could have been a monumental nymphaeum (see above p82). Alternatively, it may be an example of a subterranean shrine; although rare in Britain, examples have been found underlying villas in the south east, particularly in Kent, and also North Gaul (Perring 1989). At Eccles, possible evidence for superstitious belief came from the rubble fill of Room 121. It takes the form of a rolled-up lead sheet, a defixio or curse tablet, inscribed on both sides cursing an individual named Butu, a probable thief (Tomlin 1985; *Britannia* 17, 1986: 428 no 2). Furthermore, the inscription included the phrase *in domo dei* (in the house of God), which could have had a Christian connotation (see above p68). At East Farleigh, a lead defixio was found in what is believed to have been a temple or shrine (*Britannia* 43, 2012: 402-3, fig. 10). Although the presence of hypocausts in Room 121 demonstrate that it was not constructed as a chapel, it is possible that it acquired a religious function during the later 4th century. This is of course significant in relation to the place-name *Eccles*, which in the context of late Roman Britain implies organised Christian worship (see above p205). It may also have been instrumental in the decision to establish an Anglo-Saxon cemetery immediately outside the room, although this was after a gap of more than 200 years and probably stemmed from a tradition of worship at the site.

Christianity had been a minority religion, mainly followed by the Romanised sections of the province's populace but had attracted more adherent followers during the 4th century, especially from the elite (Petts 2016). It went into decline following the end of the Roman administration, becoming by the 6th century a rural-based religion, especially prevalent in the (native) west of the country. Christianity was reintroduced to the south east by missionaries from Italy, Kent being the first Anglo-Saxon kingdom to be converted (597 AD, during the reign of Aethelberht). On his death Aethelberht was interred in St Martin's in the monastery of St Peter and St Paul, Canterbury, a final resting place that unequivocally expressed his religious persuasion. His association with a permanent stone structure was a deliberate strategy to protect his status and that of his family. Following his example, interment in a church soon became the preserve of the secular and ecclesiastical elite; it was a potent and permanent symbol of status. Not all the Kentish elite relinquished the old gods, however: for example Æthelberht's son, and heir, Eadbald was a pagan at his accession (Kirby 1992: 36). Members of the elite that adhered to the traditional practices would still have required a final resting place that was in keeping with their status and may have been interred in barrows and

other such elaborate monuments, such as excavated in the Medway at Cuxton and outside it at the Pilgrim's Way cemetery.

The religious affiliation of the community burying their dead at Eccles is unknown. The major changes to burial practice, known collectively as 'Final Phase', have previously been interpreted as marking a transitional phase between paganism and Christianity (Boddington 1990: 170; Pluskowski and Patrick 2003: 35), i.e. the early Anglo-Saxon period where grave goods were routinely deposited and the late period characterised by unaccompanied regularly-aligned (east-west) burials. It was assumed that the church had gained control over burial and had outlawed the deposition of grave goods. Late Anglo-Saxon burials were therefore viewed as the earliest churchyard burials, stratified under interments of the medieval and modern period. However, this simple chronological development can no longer be sustained. Firstly, grave goods are not a reliable indicator of paganism: no documents record that the church banned the practice. In fact, by the late Anglo-Saxon period a small number of burials still had grave goods, usually the odd item, such as a knife. And secondly, radiocarbon dating has revealed numerous field cemeteries dating from the 8th century that appear not to have been associated with a church (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 125). Burial in unconsecrated ground was still a major feature of the mortuary landscape; the church did not have a monopoly over the disposal of the dead.

The occurrence of three layers of intercutting graves at Eccles strongly suggested that the site continued into the late Anglo-Saxon period, a notion subsequently proved by radiocarbon dating (Griffiths 2007: 28). Previously it had been suggested that both the timber building to the south west of the cemetery and Room 121 were churches or chapels, yet the evidence is not strong enough to prove that either were places of worship. Eccles started as a Final Phase cemetery but developed into a late Anglo-Saxon field cemetery; during its later phase it is another example of a burial ground that was probably not under the control of the church. This is Eccles' real significance, both Final Phase and late Anglo-Saxon practices overlapped spatially and chronologically, a situation contrary to that observed elsewhere in the Medway valley where Final Phase cemeteries, e.g. Holborough and Cuxton, did not outlast the earlier 8th century. Elsewhere in Kent, burial at the Final Phase cemeteries of Broadstairs (St Peter's Tip), Broadstairs (Bradstow School), Kingston Down, Polhill, Cliffs End Farm and Updown and the long-lived cemeteries of, Dover Buckland, Finglesham, Ozengell and Sarre (to name just the better understood examples) also came to an end in the early to mid-8th century. On the Hoo peninsula, an example of a

field cemetery, was established at Kingsnorth Power Station at the end of the 7th century. Although it coexisted alongside the older Final Phase cemeteries of Holborough, Cuxton and the early phase at Eccles, for at least a generation, crucially it did not contain Final Phase burials. It is therefore not directly comparable to Eccles but stands as evidence for the diversification of Anglo-Saxon cemetery type in the Medway.

Clearly Eccles was different. The ruins of a large and once significant Roman villa must have been one of the reasons why burial did not relocate to a new site in the 8th century. Eccles can be added to the growing corpus of 8th century and later cemeteries that are associated with earlier monuments (Hadley and Buckberry 2005: 127). In some cases, an earlier earthwork was used as a focal point for a cemetery, in others an old Roman villa may have been considered suitable. For example, Fordcroft, Orpington, which has already been mentioned several times during this study. Tyler Bell (2001) identified numerous other cases, such as Howletts (Kent), where early Anglo-Saxon burials were associated with a probable Roman building; close to the barrow cemetery at Chatham Lines, burials were discovered around what appears to have been the baths of a villa, and at Folkestone a small group of unaccompanied burials were associated with a two-roomed structure. Overall, the dates of the burials range from the 5th to 8th century but centre on the earlier 7th century (Bell 2001: 64), i.e. when furnished burial was in decline. Williams (1997: 7-13; figs 7 and 11) discovered that not only did Anglo-Saxon cemeteries occupy the sites of former villas, but a range of different Roman structures, including temples and shrines, were chosen. Yet Roman sites comprised a small proportion of the overall corpus, especially compared to prehistoric barrows and this was explained by the greater number of the latter and their similarity to earthen Anglo-Saxon funerary monuments (Williams 1997: 14); a case in point being Holborough, which was focussed on a Bronze Age barrow. Importantly, during the 7th century monument reuse was not restricted to the elite, but lower status groups also participated (Williams 1997: 62), which appears to have been the case at Eccles during its early phase. By the later Anglo-Saxon period monument reuse has been interpreted as aligning more closely with the display of social status, one that was irrespective of the religious affiliation of the deceased (Hadley 2000). Had the standing of the Eccles community improved and consequently burial did not relocate because the ruins of this large villa now served to symbolise the status of the group?

The Medway cemeteries support the view that mid and late Anglo-Saxon burial customs were dynamic; the evidence from Eccles demonstrates that late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were not necessarily established on new sites. Eccles thus has the potential to reveal new attitudes to death and burial. Some Medway communities, such as Kingsnorth Power Station, decided to establish a new cemetery and also to bury their dead without grave goods. While this may reflect a change in settlement pattern, it can also be viewed as resulting from an ideological shift regarding how the dead were treated, i.e. it was clean break with the past. At Eccles, the cemetery was in use for about 300 years, yet it was eventually abandoned for a new site. This would have happened after a church in the locality acquired the burial rights (Blair 1994: 72-3). Archaeology has yet to locate this new burial ground. Neither is there any documentary evidence for a late Anglo-Saxon church in Eccles, although by this time Eccles may have been dependent on Aylesford's church (see above p224).

Economy, society and community

The enquiry into the economic and social life of the Medway region during the Iron Age is problematic because most of the known sites have been partially investigated. Information about the original scale, character and layout of the sites is lacking, while the absence of detailed structural evidence and accurate economic data, such as environmental material, is another limiting factor. However, the fragmentary knowledge can be used to make some broad generalisations. The Medway valley probably supported a dispersed population, characterised by individual households inhabiting simple agriculturally-based settlements. The sites excavated at Cuxton and Burham (Margetts Pit) probably belonged to settlements of this type and status. The presence of pits on most of the Medway sites indicates that arable farming was an important part of the economy, an assumption supported by the chalk geology of the Downs. The local economy would also have been bolstered by craft-based industries. For example, shale-working was evidenced at Burham (Champion 2011: 215). And trade and exchange may be glimpsed through the fragments of fired clay briquetage containers found at Cuxton indicating the acquisition of salt, perhaps to preserve meat and dairy products (Champion 2011: 215-217).

An exception to these poorly understood examples is the early Iron Age site at White Horse Stone, where investigations uncovered a large settlement, which contained numerous pits and granaries, plus extensive evidence for industrial activity, especially the large-scale production of iron and shale-working (Champion 2011: 207-209). Significantly, the site also produced a varied range of pottery, including non-local types, on the basis of which Champion (2011: 212, 218-19) suggested that the site became a hub of activity for this part of the Medway. It attracted socially and

economically disparate groups and was characterised by a more complex social makeup compared to the rural settlements belonging to those lower down the social ladder (Champion 2011: 212, 218-19). White Horse Stone may have been inhabited by an elite whose power derived from the control and distribution of local resources, such as the supply of iron ore, extracted from deposits in the Weald, or salt, and the wealth that resulted from such trade.

Whereas the evidence at White Horse Stone is indirect, the findings from the famous late La Tène cremation cemetery at Aylesford (Evans 1890) points more strongly to the existence of a Medway elite and it is likely that the individuals buried here were in some way related to White Horse Stone (Champion 2011: 212). Distinctions of status were represented by the presence of exotic vessels and grave goods, such as brooches (Evans 1890). Along with the evidence from another important Kent cemetery at Swarling, Cunliffe (1991: 133) has argued that this Aylesford-Swarling Culture resulted from an intensification of trade between the Iron Age tribes of eastern Britain and their Gaulish neighbours. In particular the imported pottery suggests that the people of the Medway valley were able to exploit the benefits offered by cross-channel trade. Rochester may have occupied an important role within such exchanges, perhaps becoming by the late Iron Age a centre of regional importance. Possible evidence of occupation, plus Iron Age coins and 'coin moulds', has been uncovered by excavations (Harrison 1991), but unfortunately its nature and extent is unknown (Booth 2011: 255). Yet it remains a possibility that within the Medway valley, Rochester was an important place. Individuals from lower down the social order were probably encountered at the small settlement near Bradbourne House, East Malling, where an enclosed cemetery was found. In addition to the Roman cremations, 13 Late Iron Age to early Roman inhumations were found, some accompanied with grave goods, which included a copper alloy torc and a brooch (Wilson and Ward 2002: 21-22).

Widespread changes to society and the economy accompanied the arrival of Roman rule in the 1st century AD. Villas occupied the top tier of the rural settlement hierarchy, marked out by complex architectural designs and rich assemblages of finds. With its façade and court with pool, Eccles must have been one of the more important of the Medway villas, yet the status of the site varied over the three and a half centuries that it was inhabited. The grand residence of the later 1st century AD had replaced a modest building and granary, possibly part of a small farming estate. The construction of the house and baths shortly after the conquest and their style, especially the military character of the baths, suggest the possibility that Eccles

was the centre of an Imperial estate, perhaps associated with the extraction of mineral resources. Other large villas in the Medway valley were probably of a similar status to Eccles: Snodland, The Mount and Barton Road (both Maidstone) and lying to the west of Maidstone, the residence at Teston. A large barrow, roughly a kilometre to the north west of Snodland villa and overlooking the river, contained funerary remains that included a lead coffin. The erection of a large barrow in a prominent position, plus the use of lead for the coffin suggests someone of importance. Large barrows are rare outside the south east, and as in *Gallia Belgica*, they may have contained a villa owner, perhaps functioning as shrines (Jessup 1954). The remains of villas exist at Birling and East Malling, while more modest sites could have belonged to farmsteads, such as the small building found at Court Road Farm, Burham, though the latter's hypocaust and painted wall plaster suggest a site of some importance.

The main source of income for the villas was agriculture, a view supported at Eccles by the possible granary (Period 1). But other activities would have contributed to the economy and Eccles had a tile (Detsicas 1967: 170-8) and pottery kiln (Detsicas 1974: 128-9; Detsicas 1977b: 19-36). Thus, the villa buildings would have formed the centre of the estate (the *pars urbana*) separate from economic activity (the *pars rustica*). Other industry included the quarrying of Kentish ragstone from the Hythe Beds near Maidstone, flint and chalk from outcrops of the North Downs and iron ore from the works in the Weald.

By the later 4th century Eccles was in decline. Little is known about the latest period of occupation because much of the uppermost stratigraphy had been destroyed before the site was excavated. From the available evidence it seems that the main house was still occupied during the later 4th century, but it was no longer a high-status residence (see above pp66-67). While some of the smaller rooms were abandoned and fell into disrepair, the swimming pool and ambulatory appear to have been turned over to industrial use. Elsewhere in the Medway valley, the octagonal room with a mosaic floor and underfloor heating at Barton Road (Maidstone) was used for corn drying. Such developments are not out of line with the changes noted in town and country in the later 4th century, for example villas witness a reduction in the number of rooms in use coupled with a change in the function of other areas, which could include industrial or burial activity (Esmonde Cleary 1991: 134). Industrial activity occurred when the buildings were no longer purely residential, and when the occupants were forced to be more self-sufficient, no longer able to buy in these services (Cosh pers. comm). These changes are considered to signify a lower standard of living, that it was no longer possible to maintain the buildings to such

a high standard, either financially or because of a lack of skilled stonemasons and other craftsmen. Nevertheless, at most sites the main villa buildings were still inhabited, suggesting that the wider estate continued in some form, though probably on a reduced scale.

Unambiguous evidence for Roman rule in Britain disappears shortly after the start of the 5th century, a result of the country severing its links with the Empire. Despite this upheaval, there would have been a settled and relatively large population in earlier fifth-century Britain (Arnold 1984; Dark 2000). But with the supply of coinage and mass-produced goods drying up and the skill-base required for the upkeep of stone buildings disappearing, the native population is rendered almost archaeologically invisible. In general very few, if any, Roman sites demonstrate an unbroken archaeological sequence from the late Roman to early Anglo-Saxon period. Yet this may be more illusory than real, for example at Wroxeter, the latest masonry phase is overlain by the faint traces of structures that demonstrate a shift to a very different architectural style - one that utilised timber, possibly resulting from the downturn of the economy and the aforementioned difficulties maintaining stone buildings (Esmonde Cleary 2011: 17; Laing and Laing 1990: 86-88). So, although the buildings at Eccles, and for that matter those from the other Medway villas, were apparently abandoned in the late 4th or early 5th century, it does not necessarily indicate that the sites were wholly deserted. If a shift to a timber tradition had occurred at Eccles the evidence would almost certainly have been destroyed by agricultural disturbance, although it is possible that the undated traces of timber structures belonged to this period (see above p15).

The material culture that starts to appear in the Medway valley during the later 5th century was radically different from that of the preceding Roman period: it is evidence of Germanic settlers, the finds comparable to that found throughout the south and east of the country, which by the late 5th century had formed the dominant culture. The 5th century thus marks the transition from the state-based organisation that was Roman Britain to a disparate collection of Anglo-Saxon tribes, tied to social and economic systems centred around small kin-based rural self-sufficient communities. Early Anglo-Saxon evidence is focussed on the lower Medway, the earliest sites appear to be the cemetery at Chatham, probably established in the late 5th century, and possibly the settlement at Grange. The latter had seen significant activity in the Roman period and was probably a villa, but by the 4th century it demonstrates a shift to more industrial pursuits, while in the late 4th to 5th century further changes occurred that involved the melting of coins (Seddon 2008). Late Roman finds include coins and military belt fittings, such as a chip-carved belt plate.

A pit and building platform were found by excavation, the latter made from reused material and appears to be early Anglo-Saxon in date (Seddon 2008). A fine mid fifth-century gilt bow brooch was recovered by a metal detectorist. It is cast in silver with moulded relief decoration and was imported either from Scandinavia or produced locally in a Scandinavian style (Richardson 2006). The artefact is potentially important evidence for Germanic involvement in the region at a date earlier than elsewhere in the Medway, although caution is advocated because it was an unstratified find. On the Hoo Peninsula, Cliffe has produced early Anglo-Saxon finds, while three hearths at Sharnal Street have been radiocarbon dated to the 5th or first half of the 6th century.

Overall, the lower Medway has yielded a small number of sites and finds of 5th and 6th century date, but it is a poor relation to the valleys of East Kent, especially those of the Stour and Nailbourne, for example (Welch 2007: 211). In line with the lower Medway generally, Eccles has not produced evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon phase and it does not become archaeologically visible until the establishment of a Final Phase cemetery in the middle of the 7th century. A major characteristic of the Final Phase was the replacement of Germanic, migration-period, artefacts with examples that took their inspiration from Frankia and the eastern Roman Empire. It was a shift that marked a profound cultural transformation and coincided with other significant changes in society. From the later 6th century evidence from both settlements and cemeteries reflect a more sharply ranked society - a process that accompanied the formation of the major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (Geake 1997: 135).

The burial rites practised at Eccles during the 7th to 8th century, i.e. the Final Phase, were relatively simple compared to those of the neighbouring burial grounds. The layout of Eccles, with its graves organised into discrete plots, reflects an organisation that was familial and community orientated. Unfortunately, little is known about the location or character of the settlement, although it is suspected that it lay on the edge of the cemetery where a timber building was discovered. The building has been interpreted as a small church or chapel, but it is just as likely to have belonged to a wider settlement, which extended southwards in the direction of the medieval site. It is a situation found elsewhere in the mid Anglo-Saxon period, for example at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville (Suffolk), Thwing (E Yorkshire) and Gamlingay (Cambridgeshire), where a close spatial relationship existed between the living and the dead (see above p202).

The lack of burial investment, either in terms of the grave goods or structural features, suggests Eccles was a relatively poor community. An exception is the

mature female (K19) with the fine Style II fixed-plate buckle, possibly interred in a shroud, and who can be identified as an important member of the community. Alternatively, the apparently impoverished nature of the memorials may have been deliberate, a way by which Eccles signalled its cultural difference to those groups expressing a more foreign identity. Support for this idea is provided by the analysis of the human remains, which revealed that the group's general health was quite good and notably they did not appear to suffer prolonged periods without food. Likewise, as far as it is possible to tell, given the high degree of disturbance, the late Anglo-Saxon rites practised at Eccles were also simple: no grave goods were deposited and the graves were not embellished by structural features, either within the pits or adorning their exteriors. As previously suggested, it may have been the association with the ruins of the villa that conveyed the status of the group - not the effort expended on the individual monument.

Territorial and political organisation

The Medway valley was strategically important because it allowed passage from Sussex through the Weald, the Downs and then to the Thames and beyond. The political significance of the valley is reflected in the role that it played in the establishment of boundaries for new territories (Foreman 2011: 17). In particular, the Medway has traditionally marked the boundary between East and West Kent. This is reflected archaeologically in the distribution of hillforts, which suggest that the territory of the Belgae only extended as far west as the Medway (Detsicas 1983: 1). Similarly, during the 1st century BC to the 2nd/3rd century AD, coarse ware types differed markedly in East and West Kent, they did not appears to constitute a single exchange network (Pollard 1988: 200). The lack of oblique 'furrowed' decoration on West Kent pottery is notable, while certain imports, for example copies of Gallo-Belgic and Central Gaulish Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra platters, seem to be confined to the east of the Medway. The separateness of the two areas is also mirrored by the distribution of Iron Age coins (Pollard 1988: 200). From *c.* 50 BC coin finds from east of the Medway display a coherence not observed in the west (Holman 2000: 224-25). Holman (2000: 224–5) noted the increasing similarity east of the Medway after *c.* 50 BC of Iron Age coins type, which he suggests indicates potential economic unity. Distribution of different coin-types suggests possible tribal centres, each probably that of a sub-tribe. However, mapping the territories of tribal groups on cultural evidence alone is problematic because it is unlikely to reflect political structures in a straightforward manner. In fact, Cunliffe (1982) suggests that the Medway was not a boundary, but that it lay within a territory that also included Rochester

and the Late Iron Age oppidum at Quarry Wood Camp, Loose, south of Maidstone (for details about the latter see Kelly 1971).

In reality, boundaries would probably have been fluid, territories expanded and contracted as the fortunes of individual tribes fluctuated. More certain is the knowledge that the Roman conquest brought together the Belgic peoples of East Kent and the disparate tribal groups in the west to create a new *civitas* (the *Cantii* or *Cantiaci*), with Canterbury becoming the capital of this confederation. The other major centre of the *civitas* was Rochester, previously an important Iron Age settlement (*oppida*?) possibly with a mint (Detsicas 1983: 14). Given the size of the *civitas* it is likely that by the late Roman period it had been split into two *pagi*, possibly based upon earlier tribal arrangements, with Rochester administering the area west of the Medway (Detsicas 1983: 38), though its position on the river's east bank weakens the argument, and Eccles falling in the eastern division.

At the local level the landscape was probably organised around extensive agricultural estates, at the centre of which were the large and wealthy villas. In West Kent the villas are mainly found on the foothills of the North Downs, for example in the valley of the Darent there is an example roughly every two kilometres (Detsicas 1983: 103-14). As this study has shown, a concentration of villas lies around Maidstone, and a network of them line the sides of the valley between Rochester and Maidstone. It is difficult to reconstruct the territory of villa estates with any certainty, but the question can be approached by an examination of the topography of the area in conjunction with the distribution of villas and other settlements. A study of the large and early villas of Sussex revealed that each is located on a distinct block of land, which may 'represent the territory over which the landowning aristocracy held control' (Cunliffe 1973: 79). Fieldwork and excavation on at least 18 villas on a 24-kilometre stretch north and south of Watling Street around Faversham shows them to be regularly placed, with postulated estate boundaries enclosing approximately 1,000 hectares (official Roman planning following the conquest can be tentatively suggested) (Wilkinson 2009: 7). The extent of the Eccles estate can also be tentatively mapped. The western limit of the land unit was probably marked by the Medway, while the Roman Road from Rochester to Hastings defined its eastern extremity; its northern and southern boundaries would probably have been defined by the adjoining estates on the east bank of the Medway (see above p81). The closest known villa of comparable status on this bank was 6km away at the Mount, Maidstone, and the southern boundary of Eccles should have fallen somewhere between the two. If, as suspected, an important villa existed 2km north at

Wouldham/Burham, the Eccles estate boundary should similarly lie between the two, perhaps marked by the nearby trackway which ran east to west. This gives an area of roughly 10km². Within the area around the villa, lesser structures are likely to have had some connection with the estate, possibly dependent farmsteads. About 1.2km to the north of Eccles, on the same side of the river, a modest building was found at Court Road Farm, Burham (Payne 1898: 10-13), while Detsicas (1983: 95) mentions a building marked on the Ordnance Survey map just north of Eccles, but nothing is known of it. In a similar way, the Peters Village settlement may have been part of the Wouldham/Burham estate.

Roman control of Britain effectively ceases in the early 5th century and many of North Kent's villas appear to have been abandoned around this time. Yet at Rochester coins were being used into the 5th century (Millett 2007: 184), which may indicate the continued occupation of the town by native peoples. A potentially significant group of place-names containing pre-English elements are found around Rochester and may support the belief that a native enclave held the area where the estuary narrows to form the mouth of the river (see above pp210-211). The two places with *chat-* as a qualifying element, Chatham and Chattenden, reveal a British population whose place-names were taken on by newcomers. Similarly, Upnor has the Latin generic *-ōra*, indicating "beach where boats can be drawn up on the shingle", indicating a place where trade was still carried out in the 5th century. Wickham (Wickham Reach, south of Rochester), with a qualifying element from Latin *vīcus*, was the appellative given by the Anglo-Saxons to a place where a native settlement was observed and respected, perhaps because it retained something of its former importance. Furthermore, evidence for fifth-century activity in Rochester has just been mentioned, but this belief may be strengthened by the name *Durobrivæ*, which consists of pre-Roman components (see above pp207-208). Finally, the river-name Medway was acquired from the native population, possibly learned from traders prior to the Germanic settlement. This linguistic evidence may point to a fifth-century British territory that pre-dated the settlement and subsequent expansion of Germanic groups in this part of Kent. Such a location is strategically important because it would have controlled access down river into the interior of Kent. The bridge at Rochester carried Watling Street over the Medway, and by holding it a native group would also have controlled one of the major routes between East Kent and London.

In a similar way the place-name *Eccles* is important linguistic evidence for a native presence in this part of the valley (see above p210). In the context of late Roman Britain, the name implies organised Christian worship by a group of people (Jackson 1953: 227), presumably at the villa. The name passed into the Old English lexicon probably through Germanic settlers adopting Brittonic *eglēs*, from the native British, which by this time may have denoted a place where Christians lived (Coates and Breeze 2000: 273), i.e. an *area* belonging to such a community. Eccles may therefore have belonged to another British enclave based in the lower Medway valley, but, in the absence of documentary or archaeological evidence, the fate of these peoples is unknown. It is argued that it was the knowledge of this place and the memory of the sacred or religious nature of the activity that had taken place that was significant enough to attract the Anglo-Saxons to the site in the 7th century, subsequently resulting in the adoption of the name. Use of the place-name continued throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and later; it appears in the regulations for the repair of the bridge at Rochester, AD *c.* 975 (of *æclesse*). In Domesday Book it is listed as a manor and given as *Aiglessa*, *Eclesse* from 1166 and from 1208 Eccles (Cameron 1977: 1) (see above pp204-205). Following this, Eccles declined in importance, but the name must have continued locally, as on the Fryars estate plan of 1700 (Figure 1.2) 'Eccles Field' and several other 'Eccles' places are marked and this may well reflect its prior significance.

Also relevant to the question of native survival in the Medway valley is the Quoit Brooch Style, comprising belt fittings and brooches. It had its origins in late Roman metalwork and was probably manufactured in British workshops of the 5th century (Suzuki 2000). Such pieces were possibly issued to Anglo-Saxon mercenaries in Kent following the Roman practice of kitting out barbarians with uniforms (Welch 2007: 200). However, Swift disputes the view that Quoit Brooch Style artefacts were solely the preserve of mercenaries: 'not only worn by militias but more generally by people presenting themselves within wider late-Roman conventions of dress' (Swift 2019: 44). This is a view echoed by Esmond Cleary who argues that the metalwork 'would seem to argue for a population to whom an identity linking them to the trappings of Roman power was important' (Esmond Cleary 2011: 25). The only Quoit Brooch Style pieces from the Medway are eight D-sectioned tubes found in Tumulus 6, Chatham Lines. These types were later products, which were influenced by Germanic traditions and functioned as female dress accessories, probably not being deposited until the 6th century (Swift 2019: 9-10, 46). Crucially, there are none of the earlier fifth-century pieces suggesting that the native group had eschewed such practices and customs.

By the later 5th century the Medway was still an important frontier; it demarcated the kingdoms of East and West Kent, which remained separate territories for probably much of the 6th century (Hawkes 1982: 74). This division is certainly attested by the material

culture: the artefacts, and to a certain extent the burial rites of West Kent, have more in common with surrounding Anglo-Saxon provinces compared to the melting pot of Scandinavian/Frankish/Anglo-Saxon influences that predominated in the east of the county. Unfortunately, it is unknown when the Medway became the boundary that divided the kingdoms, but it is safe to assume that it would have been in place by the turn of the 6th century when the material culture of the two territories is so clearly different; as Hawkes (1982: 74) stated: 'The finds from the cemeteries make it absolutely clear that the Medway formed its [East Kent's] western frontier.' The documents also support a tradition of separateness. The terms 'men of Kent' and 'the Kentishmen' were respective labels for East and West Kent (Brooks 1989: 31); during the mid Anglo-Saxon period, West Kent was probably ruled over by a sub-king on behalf of the king of Kent (Yorke 1983). Perhaps most telling is the establishment, very early after the introduction of Christianity, of separate bishoprics for the east and west of the county. Each bishopric was small suggesting that they correlated with a separate political territory.

In addition to the archaeological and documentary evidence, linguistics also supports the view that the Medway was an important boundary. The evidence comes chiefly from the survival of a *ge place-name, an archaic Germanic word which dates to the early 7th century at the latest and referred to an administrative unit that formed the basis of the Kentish lathe (Lloyd 2013: 87-93). All the examples of *ge names appear to be located in East Kent, for example Eastry, which means the eastern *ge (Lloyd 2013: 87-93). This name suggests the presence of a corresponding western *ge, which is believed to be the lost hamlet (Wester) in the parish of Linton, lying to the south of Maidstone and close to the banks of the Medway and which today is preserved in several local and field names, such as Wester Hill and Westerhill Farm (Lloyd 2013: 100-01). Wester occupied a ridge of east-west running greensand rock, overlooking the valley of the Medway to the west and that of the river Beult to the south. It was a strategically important location and Wester may have helped to defend the frontier against the neighbouring west Saxons (Lloyd 2013: 102). Moreover, Wester was a possible royal manor (Hawkes 1979: 81) and in the immediate area is Court Lodge, which may preserve the location of an assembly point.

Archaeology provides additional details about the importance that the Medway played in the territorial organisation of the area. Evison (1956: 110) pointed out that the sites south of Rochester are mainly late 6th and 7th century, a view echoed by Hawkes (1982: 74) who noted that the Medway valley does not appear to have been settled early. The cemeteries at Aylesford and Cuxton date from the late 6th century at the earliest, those at Eccles and Holborough were established in the 7th century; as a group they coincide with the conquest of West Kent. As this study has shown it is a view that has not been altered by recent discoveries, either from excavation or metal-detecting. Compared to the estuary and Thames coastline, the area between Rochester and Maidstone has produced notably fewer early Anglo-Saxon finds. For the 5th and much of the 6th century this stretch of the river looks to have been sparsely populated. If, as seems likely, the Medway marked the division between opposing kingdoms, the lack of early sites implies that the valley was a hostile frontier zone (Hawkes 1982: 74); at least until the annexation of West Kent in the late 6th or early 7th century. It would therefore have been an unstable area, one not conducive to permanent settlement – a liminal area, a no man's land. The presence of a native territory at the mouth of the river during the 5th century is compatible with such an idea as it may have been tolerated because it acted as a buffer zone.

It is only from the 7th century that the valley south of Rochester appears to have been settled in earnest. It was a process that followed the conquest of West Kent, resulting in the Medway valley being incorporated into the wider kingdom of Kent and which probably saw it gradually losing its strategic importance. Its integration into the wider kingdom would have been facilitated by the establishment of the lathe of Aylesford, which united both sides of the border as part of a single administrative unit (Lloyd 2013: 102). Thus, as Cunliffe (1982: 48, fig. 22) has argued for the Iron Age, the Medway became the centre of a block of territory as opposed to marking the division between separate land units. A closer examination of the main Medway Anglo-Saxon sites shows that they could have been associated with crossing points over the river and consequently helped to unite the once opposing banks: at Cuxton, Snodland and Aylesford (Bright 2010). The Pilgrim's Way passed about 100m to the north of the cemetery at Cuxton and it is possible that the river was crossed by either boat or via a ford (Bright 2010: 18). Holborough cemetery is about 1.6km north west of the crossing at Snodland, known as 'Snodland Rocks', which does not appear to be a natural feature but is possibly the remains of a track between Snodland and Burham (Snodland Historical Society web site, http://www.snodlandhistory.org.uk/index.htm). In fact, Eccles is actually closer to 'Snodland Rocks', at just over 1km south-south-east of it, than it is to Aylesford and it may have been associated with the former. Hawkes (1982: 74) noted that the North Downs trackway passed close to the cemetery at Aylesford (Preston Hall), which is near to where it probably crossed the river (Bright 2010: 11-14). The cemetery may have served a group associated with this crossing. The place-name *Aylesford*

is therefore important, but it was first recorded in the 9th century and cannot be taken as definitive proof of a settlement before this date.

The situation is complicated, however, by the fact that the east bank of the Medway, south of Rochester, was more thinly populated than its western counterpart. In fact, apart from Aylesford, Eccles is the only other site between Maidstone and Rochester that is known to have witnessed mid Anglo-Saxon activity. The nature and scale of settlement on the east bank of the Medway appears not to have changed much following the major political and administrative changes that must have occurred following the conquest of West Kent. The situation may have been a legacy of the former territorial arrangements and insecurities that persisted along the former frontier (above see p239). It seems that with the incorporation of the Medway into the wider Kentish kingdom, the valley does not lose its strategic importance. Perhaps security around the river crossings was strengthened. The belief that the area remained unstable is supported by the relatively high prevalence of fatal weapon-related trauma from Eccles. It is significant that the individuals who had suffered such injuries date from both phases of the cemetery, indicating that the threat of violence continued, probably intermittently from the 7th to the 10th centuries. Griffiths (2007) has demonstrated that the pattern of trauma recorded by the Eccles population points to a series of separate attacks typical of raiding and characteristic of the endemic violence that was part of Anglo-Saxon society. It is notable that only Eccles has produced such evidence; no trauma was found on the western bank at either Cuxton or Holborough. Was there something unusual about Eccles, either its community or its location, which made it a target? Eccles had been a large and important villa and the ruins must still have made an impressive statement in the Anglo-Saxon period, perhaps ensuring that it remained a significant place. The site is also close to a Roman road, and it lies between the suspected river crossings at Aylesford and Snodland (see above p239). The community at Eccles may have been involved in policing routes in the area, for example the eastern side of the river crossings and thence the northern approach to Aylesford. Such a responsibility could explain Eccles' continued importance and why it attracted unwanted attention. If Aylesford required protecting, it suggests that it was also a significant place. The archaeological evidence for its importance before the late Anglo-Saxon period is indirect, but documentary evidence in the form of Queen Eadgifu's will describes how an assembly was held at Aylesford in the mid 10th century (see above p214). Even if royalty was present in Aylesford, it does not prove that it was a royal manor at this time. However, the first estates listed for each pier in the Rochester Bridgework are all royal estates implying that Aylesford had a royal manor when the document was first compiled in the late 10th century, possibly occupying the same site as the 12th-century Norman manor. The latter is at Preston Hall where the aforementioned cemetery was discovered, and it is also close to the probable ford across the Medway. This location may mark the centre of an earlier estate, and by implication the origins of Aylesford.

Conclusion

Up until now detailed and easily accessible knowledge of the important and long-lasting archaeological site at Eccles was lacking. This project has attempted to remedy the situation. Archaeology obviously figures strongly, but the outcomes have benefited from a multi-disciplinary approach. The contribution of linguistic and documentary evidence has been key to understanding the wider significance of Eccles, especially during the Anglo-Saxon period.

A major achievement is Stephen Cosh's account of the large and important Roman villa. Given the constraints of time and money, it would have been impossible to publish a definitive site report. Rather, what has been produced is a detailed chronological overview, which also includes re-assessments of the architectural evidence along with some new interpretations. In common with many Roman sites, both in Kent and elsewhere in the country, the villa was sited over an Iron Age site, probably a farmstead, and although continuity across the Iron Age – Romano-British interface cannot be proven, it remains a strong possibility. The construction of the house and baths shortly after the conquest and the military character of the latter suggests the possibility that the villa was the centre of an Imperial estate. Over the four centuries that the villa was inhabited, its fortunes fluctuated, but arguably it was in the 2nd century that its pinnacle was attained. The place-name *Eccles* hints that by the late Roman period the villa had an association with Christianity, although the scale and nature of it is unknown. It is believed that it was the awareness of this religious tradition, coupled with the size of the ruined villa, that proved decisive in establishing an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at the site in the mid 7th century.

The post-excavation analysis of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery had reached a more advanced stage than that of the villa and consequently it was decided to use this opportunity to produce a formal excavation report. Despite the widespread disturbance that the cemetery suffered, a detailed and hopefully accurate understanding of the burial rites and layout of the site has been achieved. One of the major outcomes was the realisation that burial had taken place over

a relatively long time. It commenced in the mid 7th century, the practices marking it out as a typical Final Phase cemetery, but, in opposition to most examples, it continued to be used well into the late Anglo-Saxon period. Such longevity was suspected from the presence of intercutting graves but has been confirmed by a radiocarbon date. The project also offered the opportunity to integrate the findings of unpublished work, mainly research carried out on the human remains by students at Bradford. These studies have provided a good understanding of the population, against which the archaeology has been evaluated and through which a clearer understanding of the nature and status of the community has emerged.

The scope of the project was expanded by considering Eccles within the context of the Medway valley. This has been conducted for each major chronological period, exposing how Eccles was fully integrated into the valley from at least later prehistory through to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. What has emerged is the knowledge that settlement patterns and their relationship to the landscape was dynamic - over time the types of settlement and burial grounds, their arrangement to one another and to the landscape, both natural and manmade, varied as individual groups responded to the situations and constraints specific to

them. Many insights were gained through this approach and several of the more significant ones can be briefly reviewed. Eccles and the other Medway Roman villas are better understood by viewing them as centres of agricultural estates that exploited the natural resources the valley had to offer. While this helps reconstruct local arrangements, other evidence has revealed how at various times the Medway was key to the marking out of cultural and political territories. In particular, the work on the pre-English place-names by Jill Hawkins identified a cluster of names around the mouth of the river, which is interpreted as evidence for the existence of an independent native territory chronologically sandwiched between the Roman administration and the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of East and West Kent. This enclave may explain the general lack of fifth — sixth-century sites in the lower Medway, and by implication the absence of an early Anglo-Saxon phase at Eccles. The examination of the documentary evidence by Courtnay Konshuh highlighted the probable importance of Aylesford as the site of a royal manor, certainly by the end of the 10th century, possibly established during the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Although the relationship between Eccles and Aylesford is imperfectly understood, the former may have been involved with the defence of Aylesford, perhaps policing a river crossing in the Snodland area.

Appendix 1. Trauma Case Studies (Griffiths 2007)

J30

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: through left frontal bone starting at the medial edge of the left orbit.
Measurements: length 113.4mm, breadth?
Description: a peri-mortem sharp force injury that has been delivered from above and to the victim's right hand side. It has caused a radiating fracture at the anterior end which extends into the orbit. Spalling of bone had taken place on the medial fracture margin on the outer table posteriorly.

Injury No. 2
Anatomical location: 17.9mm superior to the nuchal crest.
Measurements: length 42.3mm, breadth 1.7mm.
Description: superficial sharp force injury which has significantly rounded edges. Possible ante-mortem injury to back of the cranium. Delivered from behind and different incident to injury 1.

J32

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: left frontal 1mm anterior to the coronal suture.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: a spall of bone 49.5mm by 13.3mm has been removed and there is no evidence of healing suggesting a peri-mortem injury. Blow delivered from right hand side across suture.

J36

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: left parietal central and 81.0mm from the midline.
Measurements: length 42.1mm, breadth?
Description: a sharp force injury showing a diagnostic flat, smooth surface. From the anteroposterior direction and delivered from the victim's left-hand side. Spalling of bone at the posterior extent. Anterior extent cannot be determined due to poor preservation. No healing therefore peri-mortem. Oblique due to the other fracture margin which consists of a flat surface on the inner table and a roughened surface on the outer table.

Injury No. 2
Anatomical location: left zygomatic, just lateral to the inferior portion of the orbit.

Measurements: length 14.7mm, breadth 13.1 mm.
Description: there is a sharp force injury that shows no healing therefore peri-mortem. There is a smooth, flat surface surrounding exposed diploë/cancellous bone. It is an oblique cut running supero-inferiorly and postero-anteriorly. It was delivered from victim's left hand side in a downward motion.

Injury No. 3
Anatomical location: left maxilla superior portion from the premolars forward.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: very slight evidence of smooth, flat surfaces indicative of sharp force perimortem trauma. Also a dental trauma by oblique fracture of the root of the 1st premolar. This would have been in line with the cut and could be a continuation of injury 2 because the alignments are similar.

Injury No. 4
Anatomical location: on the left mandibular ramus, 6.1 mm posterior to the 3rd molar socket.
Measurements: length 8.4mm, breadth 5.8mm.
Description: oblique cut in the same direction as injury 2. Again, there is a smooth, flat surface, indicative of the sharp force peri-mortem injury. This cut would have been delivered from the victim's left side in a downward motion.

Injury No. 5
Anatomical location: through the socket for the 1st right maxillary premolar.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: a flat, smooth surface which cuts through the inferior part of the socket for the right 1st premolar. This is a sharp force peri-mortem injury. An oblique peri-mortem fracture of the right central incisor demonstrates a continuation of this injury. It was delivered from the victim's right-hand side in a downward postero-anterior motion.

Injury No. 6
Anatomical location: left maxilla 2nd premolar and 1st and 2nd molar.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: oblique fractures from buccal to lingual. Probably due to clenched teeth and blow to left side of the head and face. Probably similar to injuries 1 to 4.

Injury No. 7
Anatomical location: on the left maxilla above 1st molar.
Measurements: length?, breadth?

Description: horizontal nick on different alignment to injury 3. Very superficial and adds to the forces on victim's left hand side which could have caused the injury.

Injury No. 8
Anatomical location: left parietal 10mm lateral to injury 1.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: possible penetrating injury. Displays characteristic internal bevelling and micro concentric fractures on outer table. Also has a radiating fracture which runs anteriorly. Medial impact point is a flat surface which is a possible hinge fracture. Injury 1 seems to cut through this hinge fracture so therefore is delivered afterwards.

J37

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: left parietal runs from coronal suture into the occipital. Roughly 67mm from the midline.
Measurements: Length 97.4mm, breadth?
Description: characteristic flat smooth surface visible suggesting sharp force trauma.
Extends into the occipital (Possible radiating fracture?). Anterior extent unknown due to post-mortem breaking. 45.9mm section of the diploe has detached at the posterior part of the parietal. Other fracture margin was not found. Direction of the blow would have been horizontally from the victim's left-hand side.

K26 (probably I22)

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: antero-Iateral surface of additional right proximal femur.
Measurements: length 22.8mm, breadth 6.5mm.
Description: there is a flat cut surface inferiorly which shows no evidence of healing. A spall of bone has been removed superiorly. The direction of the blow is slightly upward but mainly horizontal.

K34

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: extends from 57.9mm superior to the glabella latera-posteriorly to 50.9mm from the coronal suture.
Measurements: length 96.8mm, breadth?
Description: a large peri-mortem sharp force trauma to the top pf the cranium. Smooth flat surface medial. A 30mm section of the diploe has been removed with

internal bevelling at anterior end. Penetrates through skull apart from at posterior and where the inner table is not cut. It was delivered from just to the left, directly in front and nearly vertically. A radiating fracture at anterior end, which runs inferiorly and laterally and then posterior stopping at the left coronal suture.

L20

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: lateral side of right femur.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: sharp force injury delivered from below in an upward motion. Smooth flat fracture margin is located inferiorly and a spall of bone has been removed on the superior margin. Because no healing is evident, it is a peri-mortem injury. Delivered from a more horizontal angle than injury 2 and cuts deeper.

Injury No. 2
Anatomical location: 13.7mm superior to injury 1.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: another sharp force injury delivered from below. Flat smooth plane located inferiorly but no spall removed superiorly. No healing and more superficial than injury 1.

L32

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: left frontal, 50.1mm posterior to the left orbit.
Measurements: length 20.8mm, breadth 13.3mm.
Description: a possible healed sharp force trauma. Smoothed rounded edges to the fracture margins. V-shape with no exposure of the diploë. Only a glancing blow which is delivered form the victim 's left hand side.

Injury No. 2
Anatomical location: right frontal 51.0mm posterior to right orbit.
Measurements: length 13.4mm, breadth 12.6mm.
Description: a sharp force glancing blow to the right frontal. Exposure of the diploë and shiny surface. Could be possible compact bone formation due to healing. Possible ante-mortem sharp force trauma delivered from right hand side of victim posterior to anterior.

L46

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: posterior of left parietal, 23.8mm from lamboid suture and 54.1mm from midline.
Measurements: length 12.4mm, breadth 3.3mm.

Description: a superficial peri-mortem sharp force injury with no evidence of reactive bone. Smooth flat surface anterior and spall removed posteriorly. Delivered from left-hand side of the victim, from a probably right-handed assailant, in face-to-face fighting.

Injury No. 2
Anatomical location: 25.7mm anterior to injury 1 and 26.6mm from the midline.
Measurements: length 73.2mm, breadth?
Description: a large sharp force trauma to left parietal. It arcs anterior and towards the squasmosal suture. No evidence of healing therefore peri-mortem. The injury perforates the skull, and there is internal bevelling on the smooth anterior margin with loss of 51.2mm of diploë. Internal and external bevelling on posterior fracture margin. Direction of the blow from a similar position as injury 1 but not exactly in the same alignment.

Injury No. 3
Anatomical location: superior to left orbit. Medial end finishes at the glabella.
Measurements: length 62.7mm, breadth 26.1mm.
Description: sharp force peri-mortem trauma to frontal bone that has removed the outer table around the orbit and exposed the frontal sinus. No zygomatic or other facial bones were found to reconstruct the full extent of the injury. Blow delivered from above and from the left hand side of the victim.

Injury No. 4
Anatomical location: 6.1mm anterior to mandibular condyle and 16.2mm inferior.
Measurements: length 6.1mm, breadth 6.2mm.
Description: superficial peri-mortem sharp force trauma. Smooth flat fracture margin posteriorly with roughened anterior fracture margin. Possible continuation of injury 3 but on a different alignment. If this is the case, the weapon would have to have been pushed down then forward through the face.

Injury No. 5
Anatomical location: 1st mandibular left premolar.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: an oblique fracture through a tooth running antero-superior to postero-inferior.
No evidence of healing therefore peri-mortem injury resulting from a maxillary canine being driven into premolar from force inferior to the mandible, perhaps due to a fall.

Injury No. 6
Anatomical location: left zygomatic.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: peri-mortem sharp force cut through left zygomatic. It extends across the whole fragment and does not mark the end point for the blow. Therefore, it is possible that this and injuries 3 and 4 are part of the same blow.

Injury No. 7
Anatomical location: right scapula medial to the coracoid process.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: there is an extension of new bone on the scapula (a traumatica myostitis ossificans of the inferior belly of the omohyoid).

Additional material
Injury No. 8
Anatomical location: parietal?
Measurements: length 26.2mm, breadth 6.2mm.
Description: the additional bone has a superficial sharp force peri-mortem injury due to not healing. The outer table is very weathered and it is difficult to determine the extent and nature of this injury.

L57

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: directly superior to the nuchal crest.
Measurements: length 28.2mm, breadth 8.9mm.
Description: possible glancing blow to back of head. Similar to scooped out appearance from a blow delivered downwards. No exposure of diploë. Very rounded edges. Antemortem sharp force injury with flat surface being superior and very well-rounded.

N7

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: left femoral neck.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: a well healed fracture of the femoral neck. Femoral head has been displaced inferiorly. A possible slipped epiphysis or congenital hip dysplasia, which may have affected walking.

Injury No. 2
Anatomical location: right patella.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: gross bone formation due to un-united fracture of patella. Probably related to injury 1. Secondary arthritis.

Injury No. 3
Anatomical location: thoracic vertebrae 3 through to 6.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: four collapsed vertebrae. T4 and T5 are most affected; side affects would have been scoliosis and kyphosis.

Injury No. 4
Anatomical location: neck of left rib (3rd?).
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: a peri-mortem sharp force injury through the pleural portion of the rib. The cut is oblique and would have been delivered from the right to left. There is no end to the cut inferiorly but there is superiorly. Delivered from the front of the victim.

Injury No. 5
Anatomical location: neck of left rib (4th?).
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: peri-mortem sharp force cut. Only on superior half of rib but cuts through both anterior and posterior surfaces. Probable continuation of injury 4 therefore delivered from in front of the victim.

Injury No. 6
Anatomical location: shaft of left sternovertebral rib.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: possible peri-mortem fracture of the rib. Uncertain whether it is a fracture or a sharp force trauma. No entry point for blade if sharp force trauma. Would be separate blow to injuries 4 and 5.

O1

Injury No. 1
Anatomical location: placed on the coronal suture of the left frontal 11.5mm from the midline.
Measurements: length 20.8mm, breadth 47.4mm.
Description: the injury consists of a sharp force peri-mortem trauma. The posterior margin is smooth and flat with a linear edge. The anterior margin is roughened and spalls of the outer table have been removed. The blow was only superficial and has exposed the diploë. There is no evidence for healing. This would have been delivered from behind the victim and from their left-hand side.

Injury No. 2
Anatomical location: it crosses the saggital suture but mainly located on the left parietal 37.6mm anterior to the lambda.
Measurements: length 28.9mm, breadth 48.9mm.
Description: a very similar injury to no. 1. A superficial sharp force peri-mortem trauma which exposes the diploë. Again, a smooth, flat surface, to the posterior. This blow would have been delivered from the victim's left side and from behind.

Injury No. 3
Anatomical location: it runs antero-posterior through the lamboid suture on the left side.

Measurements: length 49.4mm, breadth?
Description: there is a smooth, flat fracture margin which is still present despite distinct weathering of the bone. This is consistent with a sharp force peri-mortem trauma as no evidence for healing can be seen. This blow would have been delivered from the victim's back and left side.

Injury No. 4
Anatomical location: it starts at posterior end of injury 3 and runs for 54.6mm superiorly and laterally from this point.
Measurements: length 54.6mm, breadth?
Description: similar injury to 3. However, this trauma has a different alignment, and the blow would have most likely been delivered from directly behind the victim.

Injury No. 5
Anatomical location: begins at the anterior end of 4 and continues anteriorly and laterally onto the right parietal.
Measurements: length 71.2mm, breadth?
Description: similar to injuries 3 and 4. The injury arcs slightly and again would have been delivered from behind the victim. Only slight deviation of alignment from injury 4, and they could have been delivered in quick succession.

Injury No. 6
Anatomical location: left mandibular ramus.
Measurements: length 48.7mm, breadth 0.3mm.
Description: there is a fracture margin which has smooth if not flat edges. No evidence of healing, therefore a peri-mortem sharp force trauma which has produced significant bone spalling both anteriorly and posteriorly and removed the condyle. The blow was delivered at a downward angle from victim's left side. (It is possibly a continuation of Wenham's (1989) injury No.7 which was not found here).

Injury No. 7
Anatomical location: endocranial surface of the occipital, anterior to the foramen magnum.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: there is a smooth flat fracture margin running left to right and posteriorly to anteriorly along the edge of the foramen magnum. The outer table at the basal area of the skull also shows trauma in the same alignment to the endocranial trauma. This trauma is peri-mortem and sharp force. It was delivered downward and from behind therefore a probable continuation of one of the occipital injuries (3, 4 and 5, most probably 3). This injury would have severed the spinal cord and brain stem, therefore killing the individual.

Injury No. 8
Anatomical location: endocranial surface, lateral to the sella turcica and posterior and inferior to the foramen rotundum.
Measurements: length 10.2mm, breadth 2.7mm.
Description: another peri-mortem sharp force trauma endocranially. Oblique superolateral to infero-medially. A clean cut which cut right through, and the blade did not rest there. Similar orientation to injury 7 so probably the same blow.

Injury No. 9
Anatomical location: endocranial surface of the greater wing of the sphenoid, right on the suture.
Measurements: length 12.9mm, breadth 5.5mm.
Description: another oblique peri-mortem sharp force trauma. Again running through the bone showing two smooth flat surfaces surrounding exposed diploë. Similar alignment to 7 and 8, and probably the same injury.

Injury No. 10
Anatomical location: petrous portion slightly anterior to internal auditory meatus.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: slight evidence of sharp force peri-mortem trauma. Small area of flat smooth well-defined bone. Similar alignment to injuries 7, 8 and 9 and probably the same.

Injury No. 11
Anatomical location: temporal bone, endocranial surface. 15.3mm superior to zygomatic process.
Measurements: length 12.5mm, breadth?
Description: a sharp force peri-mortem injury which was inflicted on the endocranial surface. This is because there is bevelling on the ectocranial surface and no evidence of further cutting on this surface. This injury could have extended posteriorly and there is bevelling to suggest this. Not entirely same alignment as injuries 7-10 but could be from the same blow.

Injury No. 12
Anatomical location: lateral to foramen magnum on the left side (endocranially).
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: the surface resembles a sharp force trauma, but poor preservation means that determining the direction of the force is very difficult. Slightly rougher than other injuries and round in shape. Different orientation to injuries 7-10.

Injury No. 13
Anatomical location: through the basio-occiput, endocranial.
Measurements: length?, breadth?

Description: small, flat smooth margin. Possible peri-mortem sharp force trauma. Transverse in orientation and different to other endocranial lesions.

Injury No. 14
Anatomical location: lateral to right superior articular facet of atlas.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: a cut with no evidence of healing which runs supero-Iateral to inferomedial and just inferior to superior facet. Delivered from above and from victim's left hand side. Probably a continuation of cranial injuries (possibly 5). The cut does not pass through the atlas and there is a subsequent radiating fracture.

Injury No. 15
Anatomical location: endocranial surface of occipital across right lamboid suture.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: peri-mortem sharp force trauma. Probably an extension of injury 4.

Injury No. 16
Anatomical location: just inferior and medial to injury 15.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: another peri-mortem sharp force injury. Extension of injury 5, which extends to the atlas in injury 14.

Injury No. 17
Anatomical location: 28.9mm inferior to the internal occipital protuberance.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: peri-mortem sharp force injury to the endocranial occipital. Possible extension of injury 3. Also possible same cut as other endocranial injuries around the foramen magnum.

Injury No. 18
Anatomical location: directly anterior to injury 3.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: a peri-mortem sharp force injury. Possible extension of injury 3 as on the same alignment, but there is a nodule of bone separating the two injuries. Possible kink in sword, or the blade bouncing along the wound. Could be responsible for endocranial injuries, whether it is a new injury or not.

Injury No. 19
Anatomical location: left superior articular facet of 6th thoracic vertebra.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: an oblique cut from supero-medial and infero-Iateral. This is a peri-mortem sharp force trauma with the characteristic fracture margins. The blow would have been delivered from behind and

from right to left. The above neural arch is not found to demonstrate the full extent of the injury. It would probably have severed the spinal cord.

Injury No. 20
Anatomical location: left superior articular facet of the 1st lumbar vertebra.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: an oblique cut similar to injury 15 and displays the same direction of force. This cut is probably related to the oblique shape of the above vertebra, but it is too weathered to determine. It is possible that the blade went through both bodies and caused the corresponding oblique shapes of these two vertebrae. It was delivered from behind and would have severed the spinal cord.

Injury No. 21
Anatomical location: neural arch of the 1st lumbar and left superior articular facet of the 2nd lumbar.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: two injuries that are in alignment and represent one sharp force blow which is only slightly off vertical. It has split the neural arch of the 1st lumbar then continued through to remove the superior articular facet of the 2nd. There is no healing and this injury is peri-mortem; it would have severed the spinal cord. Delivered from behind.

Injury No. 22
Anatomical location: right inferior articular facet of the 2nd lumbar and left lamina of 3rd lumbar.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: sharp force peri-mortem oblique cut running through the right inferior facet of the 2nd lumbar and just inferior to the 3rd lumbar superior facet. Delivered from behind and downward right to left. Possibly associated with injury 19.

Injury No. 23
Anatomical location: right superior articular facet of the 3rd lumbar vertebra and its left lamina.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: a shallow oblique cut running through the centre of the vertebra (spinal foramen). It would have completely severed the spinal cord. The direction of the blow is the same as the previous spinal injuries. Possibly associated with injury 18.

Injury No. 24
Anatomical location: left scapula.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: a peri-mortem sharp force cut at medial end of left scapula. Delivered from behind. Associated with rib and vertebral injuries.

Injury No. 25
Anatomical location: left *os coxae*, 40.8 mm superior to the auricular surface.
Measurements: length 36.7mm, breadth?
Description: a peri-mortem sharp force trauma to the anterior surface of the iliac crest. Smooth, flat surface inferiorly with a more roughened surface superiorly. Direction of cut is infero-medial to supero-lateral. Probably delivered from behind. There is a radiating fracture at the lateral end which extends superiorly.

Injury No. 26
Anatomical location: right ischial tuberosity.
Measurements: length 40.9mm, breadth?
Description: a sharp force peri-mortem trauma. Smooth, flat surface with incised mark showing extent of injury. A supero-inferior alignment, and it would have been delivered from behind.

Injury No. 27
Anatomical location: lateral surface of the iliac crest 29.9mm superior to the acetabulum of left *os coxae*.
Measurements: length 8.0mm, breadth 2.8mm.
Description: superficial cut with a smooth, flat surface posteriorly with depression anteriorly. A peri-mortem sharp force trauma. It would have been delivered from behind and through the gluteal muscles: probable reason why the cut is superficial.

Injury No. 28
Anatomical location: neck of right second rib.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: peri-mortem sharp force trauma running obliquely through the second rib. Both sides of the cut surface identified. A clean cut right through rib which has split it in two. Delivered from above and behind from the victim's right side.

Injury No. 29
Anatomical location: superior surface of right second rib.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: a superficial nick which does not extend into the cancellous bone of the rib. Spalling is observed posterior to the cut. It was delivered left superior to right inferior. It may be the end of a more extensive trauma, possibly evidenced elsewhere. A possible cranial injury?

Injury No. 30
Anatomical location: neck of left 3rd? rib.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: peri-mortem sharp force trauma running obliquely through rib. A flat surface and delivered from same direction as injury 23.

Injury No. 31
Anatomical location: shaft of left sternovertebral rib.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: a very similar injury to 23 and 25, running right to left. Anterior to the cut there is peri-mortem spalling and a large piece of bone on the pleural surface had been removed. This could be from the removal of the weapon. Possible continuation of injury 25.

Injury No. 32
Anatomical location: neck of left sternovertebral rib.
Measurements: length?, breadth?

Description: same as injuries 23, 25 and 26. Also has spalling on pleural surface very similar to 26. Possible continuation of one of the vertebral injuries previously described.

Injury No. 33
Anatomical location: shaft of left rib.
Measurements: length?, breadth?
Description: peri-mortem spalling on the external surface. Very similar to that of injuries 26 and 27. No evidence of sharp force trauma directly but this evidence of spalling probable represents a blade injury.

Appendix 2. Estates in Larkfield Hundred in Domesday Book

Site	RBL pier	DB: Hundred	DB: Manor, whether church is listed, owner	Possible early churches*
East and West Malling	3	Larkfield	Mellingetes, a church, archbishop's manor	St Mary's, East Malling – early Norman, built by Bishop Gundulf. West Malling Abbey Church – early Norman. Leonard's Tower/Chapel – early Norman, it was a chapl dependent on West Malling. All three of these are early Norman and may have been built or rebuilt by Bishop Gundulf. A Saxon church at Malling was a daughter to Aylesford.
Cudham			Codeham, a church, bishop's manor	St Peter and St Paul's church. Has a Norman church listed in DB and in the TR after Malling.
Ditton	5	Larkfield	Dictune, a church, bishop's manor	St Peter's – early 12th century; on a ford site, suggesting it may be built atop an earlier site.
Allington	(part of Aylesford?)	Larkfield	Elentune, a church, bishop's manor	Free Chapel of St Lawrence's at Longsole – on the road to the castle, demolished in the 1970s. This was probably an early chapel and dependent on Aylesford.
Aylesford	4	Larkfield	Aylesford, royal manor	St Peter and Paul's – at least 12th century, possibly earlier. Includes some reused Roman stone (possibly from Eccles).
Burham	4	Larkfield	Borham, a church, bishop's manor	St Mary's – probably 12th century, on eastern bank of the Medway on Court Rd.
Wouldham	4	Larkfield	Oldeham, a church, bishop's manor	All Saints – pre-Norman nave and chancel, with reused Roman brick. Located on the east bank of the Medway where it is still tidal. Possibly an early ford point. The church in DB and in TR after Burham. Wouldham was given to St Andrews, Rochester in the reign of Æthelberht in the early ninth century (S165), was subsequently lost, and restored to Rochester by King Æthelred II in 995 (S 1458). Rings manor in Wouldham extends into St Margaret's parish, Rochester.
Leybourne	5	Larkfield	Leleburne, a church, bishop's manor	St Peter and Paul's – early Norman. Located on the Roman road to Rochester, on the West Malling stream which feeds into the Medway. This may also be part of Gundulf's building project.
Birling	9	Larkfield	Berlinge, a church, bishop's manor (previously was King Edward's)	All Saints' – early Norman. Listed in DB and TR.
Snodland	9	Larkfield	Esnoiland, a church, bishop's manor	All Saints – at least early Norman, possibly pre-Norman. Includes stone from nearby Roman villa.
Paddlesworth in Snodland	9	Larkfield	Pellesorde, a church, bishop's manor	Paddlesworth in Snodland has a church in DB and is listed as a chapel dependent on Birling in the TR. There is a ruined church on the road from the Medway to Trottiscliffe and it may have originally been a stopping point on the way. This chapel was converted into a barn but appears to date to Gundulf's bishopric. The parish became independent before it was dissolved by 1659.
Ryarsh	(included as part of Birling)	Larkfield	Riesce, a church, bishop's manor (previously was King Edward's)	St Martin's – originally early Norman. Listed in DB. Probably dependent on Birling.

Site	RBL pier	DB: Hundred	DB: Manor, whether church is listed, owner	Possible early churches*
Sifleton		Larkfield		Dependent on Ditton.
Nashenden		Larkfield		The chapel was dependent on St Margaret's in Rochester. This might make it a mid to late Saxon foundation.
Trottiscliffe	3	Larkfield	Totesclive, a church, bishop's manor	St Peter and Paul's mentioned in charter S 129 is a daughter church of Aylesford. Gundulf reclaimed and rebuilt the manor ca. 1080. Church and manor are listed in DB and the TR. The TR includes a marginal note about a dependent chapel 'de Anfridi' that is unidentified.
Addington	(included as part of Birling)	Larkfield	Eddintun, a church, bishop's manor	St Margaret's – Early Norman nave and shell. Listed in DB.
Offham	5	Larkfield	Ofeham, bishop's manor	St Michael All Saints – probably built in the 1080s, made use of reused Roman brick. Located north of village by Court Lodge (now Church Farm). Located just the other side of the Addington parish border, it is probably a daughter church, as is Hadlow beyond Offham, which was still paying a church tithe to Addington in 1287.
Eccles	(included as part of Aylesford)	Larkfield	Aiglessa, bishop's manor	No known medieval church though the name 'Eccles' suggests there was a British church at the site. There is a Roman villa at the site.
Tottington		Larkfield	Totintune, king's manor	Tottington is listed as a berewick in DB but no church is mentioned. The manor farm at Great Tottington is also the site of a springhead and the Coffin Stone, possibly the remains of a Neolithic long barrow. It has since been absorbed into Aylesford. St Stephen's chapel was located on the Pilgrim's Way by the springhead.
Cossington	4 (listed separately from Aylesford	--	--	Cossington no longer has a church but there are several mentions of previous churches. The location of Cossington at a springhead on the Pilgrim's Way and near sarsen monuments (removed in the 19th century) make it a likely site as a stopping point along the pilgrimage route. It is listed after Aylesford in the TR as a daughter chapel of St Peter and Paul's. St Stephen's dated to the 13th century but may have been on the site of a pre-conquest church. There was also a chapel named St. Michael's named in the Registum Roffense that was built in the 14th century. The manor had likely been absorbed into Aylesford by the eleventh century.
Dode	4	[Larkfield?]	--	Habitation at Dode can be dated to pre-Roman times. The stone circle visible from the church is the westernmost of the Medway Megaliths, and there are 2 Roman villas nearby and a Bronze-Age burial site. The Norman church, which incorporates a sarsen stone, is on a built Norman mound and probably one of Gundulf's. Dode is not mentioned in DB or TR, but the name suggests a Saxon habitation. The village was wiped out by the Black Death in 1349, deconsecrated in 1367 and restored in the mid-20th century.
Yalding	(perhaps included under the dænewaru of pier 9?)	Twyford	2 churches	DB reports two churches at Yalding. Bensted chapel (Beantestede) in Hunton is listed in the TR church list after Yalding and marked as dependent on it. It was just north of the Court Lodge in Hunton, quite close to the current St Mary's in Hunton and dates to at least the 11th century. The other chapel is probably Brenchley (below), as Tim Tatton-Brown argues. Part of Hunton parish was still in Larkfield Hundred in the 16th century.

Site	RBL pier	DB: Hundred	DB: Manor, whether church is listed, owner	Possible early churches*
Nettlestead	5	Twyford	A church, bishop's manor	A church at Nettlestead is recorded in TR amongst others of Larkfield.
Twyford	(perhaps included under the *dænewaru* of pier 9?)	-- [Twyford]	--	St Mary's – rebuilt in the 14th century on the site of a 12th century Norman church, but there was probably a Saxon church at the site previously. It is not mentioned in DB.
Horsmonden	(perhaps included under the *dænewaru* of pier 9?)	-- [Twyford]	--	St Margaret's – dates to the early 14th century but is probably on the site of an earlier church. In TR a church at Horsmonden is listed after Brenchley, suggesting it was a chapel in the 11th century, possibly dependent on Brenchley. There is no mention of Horsmonden in DB.
Brenchley	(perhaps included under the *dænewaru* of pier 9?)	-- [Twyford]	--	The chapel at Brenchley was located near to the current All Saints' church, which dates to the early 13th century. It is not listed in DB but there is a church for Brenchley in the TR.
Wrotham	5	Wrotham	Broteham: A church, archbishop's manor; Litelbroteham: bishop's manor	St George's church – early Norman, with some possible Anglo-Saxon features. In DB, and in TR, Stansted (St. Mary's, 14th century) and other chapels may have been dependent on it. In DB, two separate manors are listed, which before 1066 were held separately. These two manors are the only sites in Wrotham hundred.
East Barming		Maidstone	Bermelinge, bishop's manor	St Margaret's was built in the twelfth century. Barrows are visible from the church site which may suggest an earlier church on that site, though none is mentioned in DB. The church is also only 225 yards from a walled Roman cemetery and possibly built on the site of a Roman villa.
West Barming		Maidstone	Bermelinge, bishop's manor	A church was sited at Barrjiet manor. This was a chapel in TR, it became a church sometime thereafter and was later reduced to a chapel dependent on Nettlested in 1486 and probably fell to ruin shortly after that. West Barming was part of Maidstone in DB but belonged to Twyford when its church was reduced to a chapel.

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