

Rabbit Warrens of South-West England: Landscape Context, Socio-Economic Significance and Symbolism

Two Volumes, Volume I

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ABSTRACT

For several centuries following their introduction into the British Isles by the Normans, rabbits were farmed on man-made warrens. The right to hunt rabbits during the medieval period was restricted to the highest strata of society and warrens, and rabbit products, carried connotations of wealth and exclusivity. During the post-medieval period, as rabbits became less expensive, their exclusivity declined and access to the species increased across a wider spread of the population. Consequently, later warrens tended to be purely commercial ventures that in places lingered as a form of animal husbandry up until the early twentieth century. Evidence of these warrens is particularly common across England and Wales and typically, although not exclusively, takes the form of pillow mounds, earthworks created to encourage rabbits to burrow.

Despite their longevity and high numbers, warrens remain relatively little studied. This thesis investigates surviving warren architecture within south-west England, incorporating archaeological data into a GIS in order to identify the locational, morphological and typological trends of the region's warrens. It also assesses associations between warrens and other classes of archaeology, notably elite residences and parks, large ecclesiastical institutions and prehistoric earthworks. Doing so allows for a better understanding of warrens' roles within their immediate environs and of their relationships with other aspects of the human landscape. This study also addresses natural geographical aspects of the landscape in order to determine the principal factors that influenced where warrens were installed.

This study investigates documentary reference to warrens as many have not survived within the landscape. Medieval chancery rolls in particular allow for the creation of a national framework of warrening so that the South West can be compared and contrasted to other regions of medieval England. Documentary references, both medieval and post-medieval, to the South West's warrens allow for the creation of a discrete regional history that defines the context for the establishment of the region's warren architecture. This study assesses how rabbits were interpreted by medieval society and discusses symbolism, particularly the visual role played by warrens in advertising their owners' wealth and any possible religious concepts associated with rabbits.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED

- Coney** Middle English word for rabbit, sometimes spelt *cony*.
- Coneygarth** The historic word for a manmade rabbit warren. Variants of the word frequently survive in fieldnames, such as *Coney Gree*, *Congygre*, *Conegar* etc.
- Pillow Mound** Artificial mound of earth, sometimes with internal structures, constructed to provide accommodation for rabbits. The morphologies and dimensions of pillow mounds vary from site to site. Historic documents record these features variously as *buries*, *burrows* or *berries*.
- Rabbit Warren** Although rabbits today live in feral colonies, the use of the term rabbit warren throughout this investigation refers specifically to areas where rabbits were bred for their meat and fur; essentially the term refers to historic rabbit farms. The architectural features of a rabbit warren vary but typically include pillow mounds and occasionally boundaries, lodges and traps.
- Vermin Trap** Small earthwork constructed as part of a rabbit warren to capture the vermin that preyed upon rabbits – polecats, wild cats, weasels, foxes, rats and stoats.
- Warren Boundary** Any feature that delineated the physical boundary of a rabbit warren, although not every warren would have been enclosed. Warren boundaries could take several forms, including earthen banks, hedges, walls, fences or natural water courses.
- Warrener** A professional employed as the keeper of a rabbit warren.
- Warrener's Lodge** A structure that provided accommodation for a warrener and a place to store carcasses, skins and tools. Not all warrens would have had a warrener's lodge, particularly during the earlier medieval period when warrening activities would have been managed directly from the manor house.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

B&NES	Bath and North East Somerset
BGS	British Geological Society
CCR	Calendar of Close Rolls
CChR	Calendar of Charter Rolls
CIPM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
CLR	Calendar of Liberate Rolls
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
CRO	Cornwall Record Office, Truro
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
DMV	Deserted Medieval Village
DRO	Dorset Record Office, Dorchester
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GRO	Gloucestershire Record Office, Gloucester
HER	Historic Environment Record
HLC	Historic Landscape Characterisation
HSMO	His / Her Majesty's Stationary Office
KRO	Kent Record Office, Maidstone
LB	Listed Building
NGR	National Grid Reference
NMP	National Mapping Programme
NMR	National Monuments Record
NRO	National Record Office, Kew Gardens
OS	Ordnance Survey
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Wales
RCHM	Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England
SCLA	Shakespeare Centre Library and Archives, Stratford-upon-Avon
SM	Scheduled Monument

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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXTUAL REVIEW AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Questions

Physical remains of artificial rabbit warrens, particularly pillow mounds, are a common feature of the historic landscape of England and Wales, although they are less common elsewhere in the UK and Ireland: RCAHMS's Canmore website lists only eight pillow mounds in Scotland and none are known in Ireland despite a small number of medieval references to Irish rabbit warrens (O'Connor 1998, 34). Although Historic England's National Monument Record (NMR) has 554 separate pillow mound records and the four Welsh archaeological trusts list 497 pillow mounds on the Archwillio website, their exact number is unknown: these figures are almost certainly conservative as further records are held by the individual Historic Environment Records (HERs). While many HERs are searchable via the Heritage Gateway website, it frequently fails to accurately reflect HER data: for example, it records Somerset's HER as having 38 pillow mound records, although 42 records were received directly from Somerset's HER by the present author.

The high frequency with which they occur throughout England and Wales is in part a product of their longevity: the earliest confirmed references to warrens occur in the late twelfth century (Veale 1957, 31), while the same method of farming rabbits persisted in places such as Dartmoor into the twentieth century (Lineham 1966, 141). Despite the relative lack of historic warrens in Scotland and Ireland, they nonetheless represent an enduring and geographically widespread exploitation of both medieval and post-medieval rural landscapes and their resources.

A number of previous investigations have addressed rabbit warrens, but aside from a small number of regional studies, these tend to present a national overview. Consequently, many uncertainties and untested theories remain, particularly when addressing warrens on a localised level. As such, this study adopts historical and archaeological approaches in order to examine the history and landscapes of warrening within south-west England, addressing the following key research questions:

- What physical remains of rabbit warrens survive in the South West and what have been lost?
- What are the architectural, typological and morphological trends of the region's warrens?
- What are the landscape characteristics of these warrens?
- What were the determining factors behind their locations?
- How would warrens have been viewed and interpreted by contemporary society?
- How old are the South West's warrens?
- What is the social and economic history of the region's warrens?

Ostensibly this study is primarily concerned with an exploitation of elite landscapes as the right to install a warren was, during the medieval period at least, confined to the aristocracy. Moreover, only members of this social group would have been able to afford rabbit meat and fur, both of which were initially luxury commodities. Despite this, the installation of a warren could have far reaching effects on non-elite members of society, particularly with regards to the loss of commons and crops being destroyed by straying rabbits. The study of historic warrens therefore extends beyond merely examining an elite exploitation of the landscape; rather it furthers our understanding of the wider social history of rural landscapes.

Moreover, beyond examining how the historic landscape was exploited, this study also allows for a greater understanding of how contemporaries viewed and understood these landscapes. It is often assumed that medieval warrens were created with social messages in mind, particularly the outward expression of their owners' wealth and access to and control over an expensive commodity (Williamson 2007, 164; Creighton 2009, 144). Warrens may also have played a purely ornamental role in medieval designed landscapes (Williamson 2007, 164) and they may also have fulfilled a theological role with rabbits, under the protection of a warrener, symbolising mankind's protection under Christ (Stocker and Stocker 1996).

The European Rabbit – History, and Domestication

The European rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*) is one of about 40 living species of Leporidae, which comprises all rabbits and hares (Corbet 1994, 1). Its taxonomy has traditionally been defined in relation to the European hares of the genus

Lepus, and whereas the two species clearly differ in terms of the hare's adaptation to fast running on open ground, evident in its longer rear legs, the differences between the European rabbit and the American rabbits and the African rabbit are more subtle and have never accurately been described (*ibid.*, 6). The European rabbit is well-documented in south-west Europe, particularly Iberia, from the Middle Pleistocene onwards (*ibid.*), with a spread towards south-west France and the Maghreb occurring in the post-Pliocene period (Van Damme and Ervynck 1988, 279). A northward spread throughout Europe perhaps occurred naturally during the Holocene but it is generally accepted that human intervention drove this northward expansion (*ibid.*).

Although the Romans are known to have farmed rabbits for their food in roofed enclosures, true domestication probably occurred in French monasteries between AD 500 – 1000 (Flux 1994, 8). Indeed, all breeds of domestic rabbits are descended from the wild European rabbit (McNitt *et al* 2013, 1). This domestication means that modern wild rabbits of northern Europe are more closely related to their medieval farmed forbears than the true wild rabbits of Spain (Flux 1994, 8). Rabbits of northern Europe are much larger than their Mediterranean and North African counterparts, with human intervention, an evolutionary response to local ecologies, and the possibility that northern and southern rabbits belong to two different evolutionary stocks having all been suggested as possible reasons for this (Rogers *et al* 1994, 25).

Whatever the reason behind this adaption, from its initial domestication during the medieval period, the rabbit of northern Europe represents a successful coloniser and its numbers grew steadily until the modern period. Evidence of its adaptation to northern European conditions is easily seen in the fact that nearly 2 million rabbits were sold at markets in Paris in 1863 (*ibid.* 29). However, this very abundance of rabbits and the species' damage to crops led a Dr Delille to introduce the myxoma virus on his estate in the French department of Eure-et-Loire on 14 June 1952 in an effort to control rabbit numbers. Expecting it to be confined to his 300 ha walled enclosure, by the end of 1953 the whole of France was affected and isolated cases had been reported in Spain, Belgium, Holland, Germany and England (*ibid.*). Approximately 90-98% of the French rabbit population was wiped out between 1953 and 1955 (*ibid.*), while in mainland Britain 99% of rabbits died in those areas affected by the disease (Thompson and Worden 1956, 158).

Although the mortality rates of myxomatosis were therefore high, the spread of the disease was such that “many pockets of susceptible rabbits [were] missed” (*ibid.*). Consequently, isolated rabbit populations across Europe were able to withstand the disease and natural resistance gradually increased. The resilience of the species means that today the rabbit is still consumed in great numbers across Europe, particularly in the west in Italy, France and Spain.

However, the continental European rabbit industry underwent a massive change in the early 1950s, with large rabbit farms being replaced by a production on a backyard scale (McNitt 2013, 13). Although the number of rabbit producers declined, intensification increased and modern European rabbit production has been described as “the most advanced in the world with the possible exception of China” (*ibid.*). Modern rabbit breeding programmes typically employ hanging wire cages in environmentally controlled buildings with a pelleted diet (*ibid.*, 14) and while this a far cry from the ‘free range’ rabbit farms of the medieval and post-medieval periods, the demand for rabbit meat remains high across continental Europe. In contrast, the British rabbit industry is small, partly due to the stigma that rabbit is a “poor person’s meat” and partly due to the collective memory of the physical effects of myxomatosis (*ibid.*), the most characteristic symptom of which was the large swelling of rabbits’ eyelids and the bases of their ears (Thompson and Worden 1956, 135).

The History of the Rabbit in the British Isles

Although the modern history of the rabbit in Britain, particularly in terms of commercial breeding, has diverged from that of mainland Europe since the 1950s, the species’ appearance in Britain mirrors its introduction into the northern Europe in that it was a direct result of human agency. Since at least the early twentieth century, the introduction of the rabbit into Britain and Ireland has been attributed to the Normans. Literature regarding the introduction and management of the rabbit in medieval Britain has historically tended to focus on three, often unconnected, strands of investigation: the introduction and management of the rabbit with an emphasis on warrens’ economic outputs; warrens’ physical remains; and warrens’ symbolism, occasionally in relation to a wider study of designed medieval landscapes.

Generally speaking, the earliest subject studies were primarily concerned with identifying documentary references to rabbits and warrens. The study of

warren architecture has only relatively recently emerged as a complementary strand of investigation for although warren features had been noted by early historians and antiquarians, they were not necessarily recognised as the remains of warrens (Williamson and Loveday 1988, 303-305; Williamson 2007, 127-153). The symbolic role of warrens and their role within medieval landscapes is a still more recent development in the study of rabbits.

The Introduction of the Rabbit into the British Isles

Perhaps the earliest study of the rabbit in Britain was Barrett-Hamilton's 1911 study of British mammals. Noting the lack of British or English words for rabbit and that the Middle English term for rabbit warren, *conygarth* and its variants, was absent from Domesday Book, he concluded that the Normans had introduced rabbits. This linguistic evidence has also been noted by subsequent authors as indicative of a Norman introduction (Rackham 1986, 47; Williamson 2007, 11). In concluding that the Normans had introduced rabbits to Britain, Barrett-Hamilton also stated that it had previously been commonly supposed that it had been introduced by the Romans (1911, 184), but does not expand upon this assertion.

Barrett-Hamilton's approach is typical of early authors in that he predominantly focused on documentary sources and ignored physical warren remains. The earliest rabbit reference identified by Barrett-Hamilton dated from 1200, and although he noted that it "soon became important at feasts" (1911, 185), he made no real attempt at creating a narrative history. Ritchie's 1920 study of Scotland's fauna adopted the same documentary approach and was in agreement with Barrett-Hamilton that the Normans had introduced rabbits, again citing linguistic evidence (1920, 248). Ritchie did expand on Barrett-Hamilton's study to a certain extent, however, highlighting how the success of the species' introduction had necessitated the introduction of anti-poaching laws by the sixteenth century (*ibid.*, 251).

Both studies highlight that by the early twentieth century it was commonly accepted that the Normans had introduced rabbits to Britain. Such was this acceptance that Matheson wrote in 1941 that "all we need to say is that the rabbit, in the opinion of most zoologists...was introduced to England from France by the Normans" (1941, 371). Matheson was primarily concerned with the introduction and subsequent management of hares and rabbits in Wales, but he also included

documentary examples of England's medieval rabbit economy. While Matheson's study is therefore useful in identifying the types of documents that mention rabbits, it typifies a common flaw of documentary approaches to rabbit studies in that he addresses geographically unconnected warrens. While his example of a 1325-26 pipe roll containing receipts for rabbits caught on the islands of Skomer, Skokholm and Middleholm off Pembrokeshire (1941, 373) illustrates the expenses of those particular warrens at that date, to what extent they are representative of other contemporary warrens is unclear. Matheson did however conclude that the earliest Welsh warrens, as evidenced by surviving documentary sources, were located on small islands and sandy coastal areas, a trend subsequently confirmed for England (Veale 1957, 85; Williamson 1997, 96 and 2007, 13) and north-west continental Europe (Van Damme and Erynck 1988, 280).

Matheson's documentary approach was also adopted by Veale (1957), who pushed back the earliest substantiated documented rabbit reference to the late twelfth century, noting that Richard de Wyka had granted the abbey of Tavistock his tithe of rabbits from the Scilly Isles in 1176 (1957, 86). Veale noted an earlier reference dating to c1135 concerning Drake's Island in the Plymouth Sound, although derived from an unsubstantiated statement by the sixteenth-century antiquarian John Leland (*ibid.*). As such, this latter source is disputed and is often ignored by later authors, although Williamson described it as "the earliest unambiguous" documentary reference to rabbits in Britain (2007, 11).

The Growth of the Rabbit Economy during the Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries

Veale proposed that it was possible to trace the spread of rabbits across mainland England as having occurred during the reign of Henry III (1216-72) because although the liberate rolls from 1226 onwards contained orders for various foodstuffs to be supplied for feasts, rabbits were not ordered until Christmas 1240 (1957, 88). Initially rabbits were provided only by the bishopric of Winchester, the earl of Warenne and from Henry's escheator, but throughout the 1240s the geographic range of those providing rabbits increased markedly, as did the numbers of rabbits provided (*ibid.*, 88-89).

Bond was in general agreement with Veale, stating that references to warrens increased from the mid-thirteenth century (1994, 145). This proliferation of mainland warrens during the later medieval period is now an accepted aspect

of the history of the medieval landscape, with deer parks being particularly favoured warren locations (Creighton 2009, 111). Unfortunately, deer park studies exhibit a distinct bias towards the South East and the central lowland belt, with parks in the South West being particularly neglected (Wainwright 2006, 12). Exceptions are Bond's (1994) study of medieval Wessex's hunting landscapes and Herring's (2003) study of Cornish deer parks, although the latter does not address associations with rabbit warrens. Alongside deer parks, there are some suggestions that warrens became common features of medieval monastic sites (Bailey 1988, 4; Stocker and Stocker 1996, 269).

Studies dealing primarily with documentary sources almost by default address the economies of the rabbit 'industry'. However, the studies of Veale and Matheson, although attempting to produce national chronologies, merely reproduced a range of economic outputs for geographically and chronologically unconnected warrens. This aspect of research has been advanced by subsequent location-specific studies, which naturally allow for more detailed investigations of geographically connected warrens. However, the warrens under examination may not necessarily be contemporary with each other: for example, Bettey's (2004) study of Wiltshire's warrens addressed those from the seventeenth century, while Harris and Spratt's (1991) study of North Yorkshire's Tabular Hills primarily addressed nineteenth-century warrens. While both are useful resources, the extent to which seventeenth-century warrening in Wiltshire is analogous with the nineteenth-century experience in North Yorkshire is debatable. In terms of the medieval period, the most comprehensive location-specific study is Bailey's (1988) investigation of East Anglia.

Bailey indicated that despite rabbits' spread throughout mainland England during the thirteenth century, most warrens' outputs remained low until the later fourteenth century with cullings varying wildly from year to year but seldom exceeding a couple of hundred per warren (1988, 10). The later fourteenth century appears to have experienced a rise in rabbit prices: for example, between 1300 and 1348 the Brandon demesne on the Norfolk/Suffolk border received only a negligible income from rabbit sales; by the second half of the fourteenth century they constituted one-fifth of gross manorial revenue (*ibid.*). Other studies have corroborated Bailey's findings: Miller wrote that rabbit sales at Lakenheath, Suffolk, reached £37 in 1394-95, twice the income received from wool sales, the demesne's former staple product (1991, 53). That the rabbit trade appears to

have been particularly robust during the fourteenth century in south-east England is also suggested by a group of London merchants describing themselves as fellmongers who exported rabbit skins to Flanders during the reign of Edward III (Veale 1966, 61).

Although Bailey's study provides the most comprehensive study of a specific region's medieval rabbit economy, to what extent East Anglia's warrens were indicative of the national rabbit economy is unclear. While there is scope to make comparisons with warrens from other regions, until those other regions are studied, compiled and assimilated, there is a danger of drawing general conclusions from the East Anglian experience (Bailey 1988, 19). For example, the 1388-89 accounts for Bishops Sutton, Hampshire, record a price of £7 17s 11d for 530 rabbits, selling at 2½d each, a lower price than those achieved by contemporary East Anglian warrens (Miller 1991, 392); to what extent this reflects a wider picture of Hampshire's warrens or just the individual fortunes of Bishops Sutton is unknown. Certainly East Anglia was undoubtedly a favoured area by virtue of its ability to reach London's markets cheaply and efficiently and "it remains to be seen how the more remote warrens fared in the Middle Ages" (Bailey 1988, 19).

The danger of extrapolating information from one locality and projecting it on to others was stressed by Sheail, who highlighted that rabbit values varied from place to place (1971, 74). He wrote that warrens' outputs varied depending on the type of land used, its suitability for other agricultural outputs, local weather conditions, and whether a warren's owner was concerned with profits or merely with providing "a good day's sport" (*ibid.*). Sheail also noted that many local markets were too small to sustain large-scale warrening similar to that in East Anglia (*ibid.*, 70). He recorded how in the reign of Richard II 300 rabbit skins sold at Haverford, Pembrokeshire, were sent to Tenby where they were stored in damp conditions for a week before being sent to Bristol where they were further damaged, becoming worthless (*ibid.*). Veale also noted the considerable variations in rabbit prices, which suggests that they were not easily obtainable everywhere. For example, while rabbit skins on Lundy were valued at 5½d a dozen in 1275, elsewhere they fetched prices averaging 1s 1½d a dozen between 1310 and 1313 (1957, 90). Consequently, our knowledge of rabbits' role in the medieval economy is drawn from geographically unconnected sources, with studies of the South West particularly lacking.

The Decline of the Rabbit Economy during the Fifteenth Century

From their fourteenth-century peak, rabbit prices, at least as suggested by the experience of East Anglia, appear to have fallen slightly by the fifteenth century as rabbits became more common. Prices appear to have held steady at around 2d per rabbit for most of the fifteenth century, and while still relatively expensive, warrening was less able to offset rising wages and transport costs and profit margins must have declined (Bailey 1988, 10). During this period, the larger East Anglian warrens fell to around two-thirds their earlier value, while a small warren such as Cavenham, Suffolk, lay vacant without a tenant (*ibid.*). The formerly profitable Brandon warren had its rents increased by the Bishopric of Ely in 1480, resulting in its lessee defaulting on payments and running up substantial arrears by the 1490s (*ibid.*).

This decline paradoxically coincided with an increase in warren numbers: following the Black Death of 1348-49, warrens allowed landowners to diversify agricultural outputs by utilising marginal land, while labour costs were low and cullings could be increased without a big rise in those costs (Bailey 1988, 12; Williamson 2007, 17). Moreover, the Black Death also increased the purchasing power of the lower classes, opening up new markets for goods previously considered non-essential such as woollen cloth, cutlery, leather, pewter and wine (Bailey 1988, 12). This increased purchasing power began to open up the market for rabbits among the non-elite members of medieval society. The increase in rabbit numbers led the Swiss naturalist Conrad Gesner to write in 1555 that “there are few countries wherein coneys do not breed, but the most plenty of all is in England” (Veale 1957, 90).

An increased popularity of rabbit fur was also a result of a change in prevailing clothing fashions. During the fifteenth century, strong colours became fashionable as European courts echoed the new taste of the Spanish court (Van Dam 2001, 162). Alongside furs like marten, sable and civet cat, black rabbits met the demand for darker furs and in 1550 black rabbits cost ten times more than grey rabbits, while silver-grey rabbits cost fifty times more than grey rabbits (*ibid.*). Grey rabbit skins in turn moved down the social scale and by 1532 were considered suitable for “serving men and yeomen taking wages” (Veale 1966, 177).

The Rabbit as a Luxury Commodity and its Social Impact on Local Populations

Despite the incomplete picture of the national rabbit economy, rabbits were considered luxury items during the medieval period. This was reinforced by the fact that the right to hunt certain animals was a limited legal privilege afforded by the king via charters of free warren (Bailey 1988, 2). The granting of free warren conferred the right to hunt within a specified area small game such as pheasants, partridges, hares and rabbits. The picture of the rabbit as an exclusively elite commodity is also suggested by the volume of offences committed against warrens (Creighton 2009, 111). Although Bailey wrote that court rolls “overwhelmingly suggest that many peasants living in the vicinity of warrens secured a reasonable supply of rabbits illegally” (1988, 16), Williamson noted that many legal cases concern “not so much the poaching activities of local peasants, but episodes of deliberate park-breaking by neighbouring landowners” (2007, 15).

Despite the fact that rabbits only began to spread down the social scale during the later medieval period, a warren’s installation could often have detrimental impacts on non-elite populations. This aspect has until relatively recently been ignored in favour of investigating relationships between rabbits and their elite owners. Rackham touched upon the subject, noting how rabbits had proved impossible to confine and caused some damage to the local countryside during the medieval period, citing the example of the lord of Petworth buying tar in 1347-48 to grease his orchard’s trees in order to protect them from rabbits (1986, 47). While Sheail also wrote of rabbits’ destructive tendencies, he was writing about the post-medieval period (1978, 352-353).

Bailey’s (1988) study of East Anglia is the first study of medieval rabbits to focus on this aspect of the animal’s history, noting their capacity for crop destruction increasing over time (1988, 7). The earliest East Anglian example of rabbits’ impact on the wider landscape dates from 1341 when 400 acres at Gazeley, Suffolk, lay uncultivated because “of the poverty of the tenants and the destruction by the lord’s rabbits”, with the problem increasing during the later fourteenth century (*ibid.*). Betty’s study of Wiltshire also included examples of rabbits’ destructive tendencies, such as the commoners of Mendip’s 1660 petition to the Lord Chancellor stating that their commons were diminished due to rabbits (2004, 391). Williamson also noted that warrens were often regarded with

particular hatred because they were regularly established on commons, resulting in a loss of grazing land (2007, 161).

The Post-Medieval Rabbit Economy

The post-medieval history of the British rabbit economy was first addressed in detail by Sheail in 1978. As might be expected, documentary sources from this era are more common than medieval sources and Sheail's study is relatively detailed although it addresses geographically unconnected warrens. It has however been augmented by a small number of regional studies of post-medieval warrens, although they are often limited in scope: for example, Bettey's (2004) study of Wiltshire draws solely on documentary sources for seventeenth-century warrens, while Harris and Spratt (1991) focussed on the nineteenth-century warrens of the Tabular Hills, North Yorkshire. The main source of information regarding the post-medieval history of warrening in Britain therefore remains Sheail's 1978 study, augmented by Williamson's 2007 study.

Sheail wrote that warren numbers increased into the seventeenth century, noting that over half the royal parks identified in Parliamentary Surveys of 1650 included warrens (1978, 347). The link between warrens and elite residences was noted by Reyce in 1618, who considered that a house was not deemed well-seated unless it had a wealth of rabbits and that a good housekeeper was one who had plenty of rabbits at all times with which to furnish the table (*ibid.*). Sheail attributed a post-medieval growth in warren numbers to the fact that they allowed landlords to exploit marginal lands which were otherwise unsuitable for other forms of agriculture (*ibid.*, 348).

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, rising grain prices led many commentators to advocate replacing warrens with crops, and many warren leases anticipated their decline: for example, Little Bindon's warren in Dorset required the tenant to leave it well-stocked unless converted to arable in the meantime (Sheail 1978, 352). Rabbit prices declined markedly after the Napoleonic Wars, with skins falling from 16s a dozen in 1814 to 9s a dozen in the early 1820s at Dalby Warren, Yorkshire (Harris and Spratt 1991, 202). Only in particularly marginal areas, such as the Tabular Hills, did warrens survive into the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Williamson 2007, 18). A very few warrens lingered into the mid-twentieth century by providing raw materials to local

hat-making industries, ending only with the spread of myxamotosis in 1954 (*ibid.*, 19).

Faunal Remains

Although predominantly focusing on documentary sources, early authors occasionally referenced physical remains. However, although both Barrett-Hamilton (1911) and Veale (1957) made passing references to *coneygarths*, the physical remains discussed were rabbit bones as opposed to warren architecture. Matheson referenced rabbit bones discovered in a midden at Rayleigh Castle, Essex, which had been occupied between the late eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Despite this potentially early date range, Matheson concluded that there was “no satisfactory evidence of [rabbits’] existence in England before the thirteenth century” (1941, 371). Veale referenced these same bones, concluding that they pointed to an early Norman introduction (1957, 86). Sheail reported how rabbit bones had been excavated from household refuse at the Buttermarket, Ipswich, below early twelfth-century pottery (1971, 18).

For a long time, these bones were the oldest post-Pliocene rabbit remains known in Britain and appeared to confirm a Norman introduction. However, rabbit bones showing clear signs of butchery were found in a Roman context at Lynford, Norfolk, in 2001 (British Archaeology 2006, 7). Further rabbit bones were recovered from Beddingham Roman Villa, Sussex, in late third-century fill and are considered by David Rudling of the University of Sussex unlikely to be intrusive (*ibid.*). As of September 2006, however, funding has not been obtained to date these remains (ZOOARCH Archives). These Roman bones have not necessarily re-written the species’ history in Britain, however: Williamson explains their presence by saying that if rabbits were present in Britain during the Roman period then they “presumably died out in late Roman or early post-Roman times, to be re-introduced once more seven centuries later” (2007, 11).

Rabbit bones have proven notoriously difficult to interpret, mainly due to the burrowing activities of later rabbits. Consequently, rabbit bones may not be contemporary with the archaeological context in which they are found and many archaeozoologists have frequently ignored them (Bailey 1988, 166). Nevertheless, rabbit remains have occasionally been found in undisturbed deposits and some authors have inferred details of historic rabbits. For example, Bailey considered that the increase in rabbit bones in late medieval urban

contexts possibly represents the establishment of rabbit as a food supply for the late medieval and post-medieval urban market (*ibid.*). Bond noted that rabbit bones recovered in Exeter indicate that the species did not begin to surpass hares as a regular food source until the sixteenth century, although it still remained a luxury (1994, 146). Lawrance wrote of the faunal assemblage at Castle Acre, Norfolk, where the upper ward was dominated by sheep/goat, deer and cattle bones and the lower ward by rabbit and chicken bones, perhaps indicating social differences between the two areas and possibly the penning of animals within the lower ward (1987, 300). Castle Acre's rabbit bones were found in all occupation layers, suggesting that rabbits were part of the site's staple diet, and were probably the next important source of meat after pigs, sheep and cattle (Lawrance 1982, 283).

Rabbit bones recovered from parkers' residences at Lodge Farm, Dorset, Donnington Park Lodge, Leicestershire, and Stanstead Lodge, Essex, have been interpreted as indicating that parkers were responsible for catching rabbits where warrens were located in deer parks (Sykes 2007, 53). This supports the notion suggested by Middle English hunting manuals that rabbit hunting was considered a low activity unsuitable for lords (*ibid.*). The relative scarcity of rabbit bones in medieval contexts has also been seen as evidence that rabbits were predominantly used for furs rather than meats (Van Damme and Eryvynck 1988, 283). This would, however, contradict contemporary medieval sources that show rabbits to have been a popular meat in elite residences (Veale 1957, 89).

Although the above examples suggest that the presence of rabbit bones represents a largely untapped source of possible information, there are inherent problems in any attempt to reconstruct livestock husbandry from animal remains. Any animal bones recovered during excavations would likely reflect the proportions of carcasses in the larder rather than animals kept on the estate. For example, Bolton Priory's fourteenth-century accounts show that only 3% of its livestock were pigs, while nearly 30% of carcasses in the larders were pork (Bailey 1988, 149).

Ferret bones may also present a further avenue for investigation, particularly as ferrets were domesticated for the sole purpose of hunting rabbits, with its distribution closely linked to the spread of its prey (Van Damme and Eryvynck 1988, 279). Hunting rabbits with ferrets was the internationally accepted optimal method: a seventeenth-century Dutch hunting manual explained that it

was the best way of catching rabbits quickly without killing them, allowing for selective culling by releasing adult does to breed (*ibid.*, 281-282). This implies that ferrets did not use their teeth or otherwise they would have killed their prey, and indeed a ferret skull with filed-down teeth was discovered at Laarne Castle, Flanders, in 1986 (*ibid.*). Ferret bones are unfortunately likely to be rare, partly because a ferreter needed only a few individuals to capture rabbits (for example, in 1334 the Count of Holland had only two of them in his service), but also because most animal bones are recovered from kitchen layers, an unlikely source of ferret bones (*ibid.*, 283). Nevertheless, the presence of faunal remains is a largely untapped resource in the investigation of historic warrens.

The Architecture of Rabbit Warrens

Surviving warren architecture is numerous throughout England and Wales, although authors have not necessarily addressed them as such: while their remains have long been noted, it is only relatively recently that they have been securely identified as warrens. Both Barrett-Hamilton (1911) and Veale (1957) made references to the Middle English *coneygarth* as the historic term for artificial rabbit warren, but beyond noting early examples, they did not attempt any wider discussion of these remains. Artificial warrens were necessary for the management of an elite commodity, one frequently affected by disease, storms and a climate that was considerably harsher than that of its native Mediterranean (Sheail 1978, 346).

Warrens had a dual purpose of stopping rabbits from straying and providing protection from predators and poachers (Williamson 2007, 14). Many warrens would therefore have been enclosed by banks, walls or fences, although the extent to which landowners erected boundaries was partly determined by the character of the surrounding land and partly by the warren's size: smaller warrens were cheaper to enclose, while rabbits were less likely to stray from large warrens if their feed was adequate (*ibid.*, 26). Physical boundaries also legally defined a warren's area, making it easier to prosecute poachers, and they also stopped wild rabbits from entering, a hazard if a warren specialised in breeding specific types, such as black or silver-blue rabbits (*ibid.*, 66).

The most characteristic architectural elements of warrens were, however, the mounds constructed as artificial accommodation for rabbit colonies; today known as pillow mounds, contemporary documents name them variously as

buries, berries or burrows (Williamson 2007, 32). Unfortunately, no historic texts survive that provide a precise reasoning for their construction, and we are therefore forced ‘to speculate on their precise function’ (*ibid.* 53). Their primary purpose was to provide accommodation, and in areas prone to damp conditions, they may have helped to provide dry soil for rabbits. This is particularly evident in surrounding ditches that have been noted at many pillow mounds, which were not just by-products of excavating soil for the mounds’ construction but helped to aid drainage and deflect any floodwaters (Sheail 1971, 40). However, pillow mounds are also frequently found in areas less prone to damp conditions, and a secondary function was likely to aid the capture of rabbits by confining them to a relatively localised area (Williamson 2007, 57).

Typology and Morphology of Pillow Mounds

In 1988 Williamson and Loveday published a survey of 190 pillow mound sites in southern Britain compiled from aerial photographs, OS records, RCHM and RCAHMW volumes, and excavation reports and observations of pillow mounds. This survey remains the most comprehensive study of surviving pillow mounds and goes the farthest in establishing a national picture of typologies and morphologies. This survey also informs a large part of Williamson’s subsequent 2006 and 2007 studies.

Pillow mounds exhibit a range of shapes and sizes and while most are rectangular, circular, cruciform and conjoined examples also exist (Figs. 1.1 and 1.2). Most have encircling ditches, although these can be absent on the downhill side of a mound if located on a slope. Indeed, while pillow mounds do occur on level ground, most are found on sloping ground, usually orientated at right angles to the contours (Williamson 2006, 16). Pillow mound lengths vary, with Williamson citing ranges of between 6m and 150m (*ibid.*) and between 9m and 243m (2007, 32). That he gives two varying ranges in studies published one year apart highlights that we are dealing in generalisations. Nevertheless, Williamson states that whatever their length, “few pillow mounds are more than 10m wide, a very small number more than 15m, and the majority have transverse dimensions of 4-7m” (*ibid.*). While this suggests that such dimensions are a useful tool in identifying previously unrecorded pillow mounds, it nevertheless hides the fact that there will doubtless be examples falling outside these ranges, although how many is currently unknown.

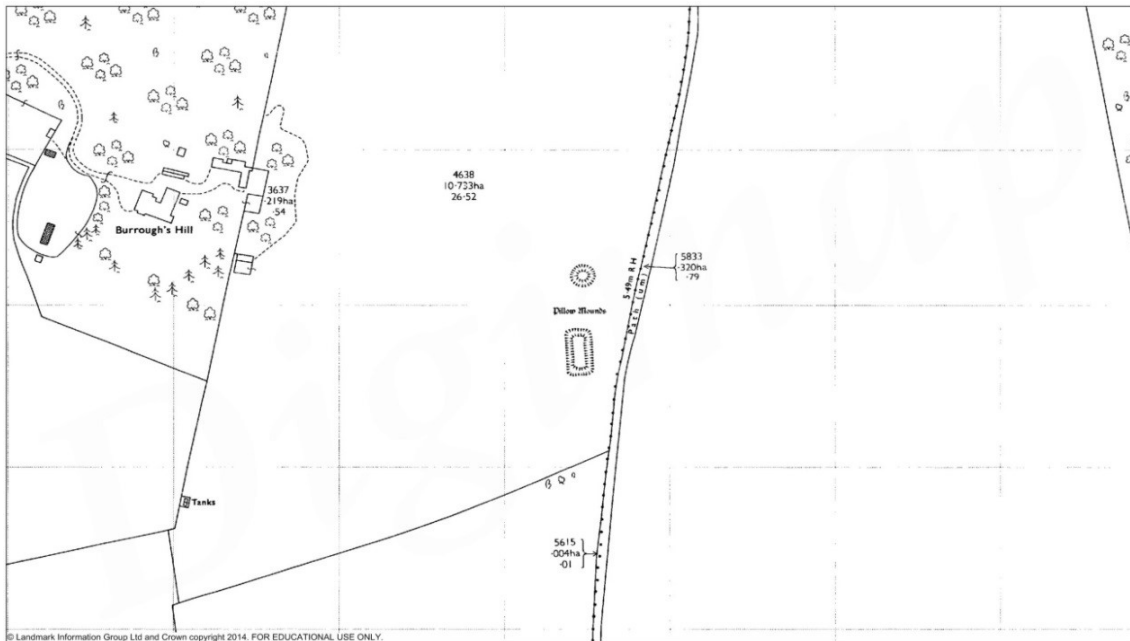


Fig. 1.1 A rectangular and circular pillow mound on Burrough's Hill, Wiltshire (1975 25" OS Map)

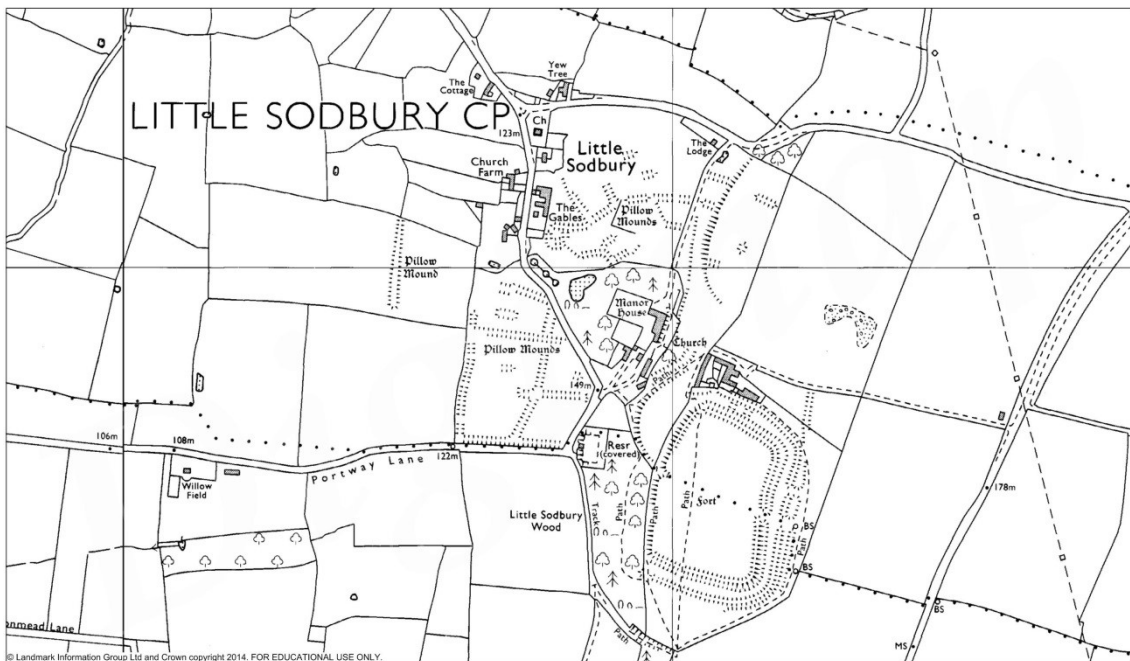


Fig. 1.2 Rectangular and cruciform pillow mounds at Little Sodbury, Gloucestershire (1982 6" OS Map)

Williamson's and Loveday's survey suggested that to some extent there appears to be regional variation in pillow mounds' morphologies and sizes. For example, while the average length in their sample was 30m, those in Sussex's Ashdown Forest averaged 80m (1988, 295). The most noticeable aspect of regional variation was the distinction between large groups of mounds in western upland England and Wales and the smaller groupings found elsewhere (*ibid.*). Despite

this survey's contribution towards understanding pillow mounds, a comprehensive national picture remains to be established.

Williamson also reported that the internal features and construction methods of pillow mounds display as much variation as their external forms (2007, 39). While some pillow mounds contain no internal features and are simply mounds of earth, others have distinct interior layers and contain complex internal features. For example, pillow mounds at Llanfair Clydogau in Dyfed covered long lines of stones with short transverse branches leading off them (Austin 1982, 146-9). Austin's excavations of these pillow mounds apparently revealed the function of such lines of stones as reinforcement for rabbit runs that had initially been cut into the ground to provide instant shelter from predators; these runs were then subsequently lined and covered by the pillow mounds (*ibid.*, 146-7). Although Williamson considered that other pillow mounds displaying internal features served similar purposes (2007, 42), this scenario does imply that the rabbit colonies were introduced before the construction of the pillow mounds was complete. Regardless, it does seem likely that internal lines of stones do indeed represent rabbit runs, although it is unclear why such runs are present in only some pillow mounds.

In areas where stone was less abundant, internal rabbit runs were probably capped with organic material, leaving behind a series of slots cut into the subsoil. Historical evidence of the addition of internal rabbit burrows is found from the reign of Henry VIII, where the household accounts of Hampton Court record the purchase of 'a great long nagre [auger] of irne, to make and bore cony holes within the kynges beries new made for blake conyes in the warren' (Sheail 1971, 43).

The Identification of Pillow Mounds

Pillow mounds' function as artificial warrens is today largely accepted, although earlier authors proposed various alternative theories that have been discussed at length by Williamson and Loveday (1988) and Williamson (2007). Given that viable breeding rabbit colonies were able to survive and thrive in feral colonies outside of warrens since the eighteenth century (Sheail 1978, 354), it is unsurprising that early authors failed to recognise earlier needs to provide accommodation for rabbits: for example, O.G.S. Crawford wrote that "such temptations to burrow seem rather superfluous" (1927, 432).

While a range of explanations for pillow mounds' functions have been expounded, by the middle of the twentieth century most archaeologists had accepted that they represented warrens, although this is still not universally accepted: as recently as 1998 Paul Ashbee wrote that pillow mounds were "possibly" artificial rabbit warrens (1998, 2). The biggest cause for confusion are the similarities between pillow mounds and Neolithic long mounds, which have "always appeared a reassuringly secure class of monument" with length being their only real variable (Williamson and Loveday 1988, 290). However, their uniformity has since been questioned, with small oval barrows, low linear mounds and sites defined by shallow encircling ditches now considered part of the same tradition (*ibid.*, 291). Consequently, the identification of any particular earthen mound as either a pillow mound or an earlier monument remains problematic.

An example of such uncertainty is found in the report of a mound at Melton Warren, South Yorkshire (Barnatt and Reader, 1982). Although the authors identified it as a long barrow, they admitted that its dimensions would make it "one of the best preserved and largest in North England" (*ibid.*, 491), and while no documentary record of a warren was found, the site's highly suggestive name was dismissed, somewhat unconvincingly, as a reference to natural banks or prominent lynchets (*ibid.*). As a result of similar uncertainties, it is likely that many pillow mounds have been incorrectly identified; likewise, it is probable that some earthworks identified as pillow mounds may in fact be earlier earthworks.

The Age of Pillow Mounds

Aside from difficulties in identifying pillow mounds, the principal uncertainty regarding these monuments is their age. While there are medieval depictions of pillow mounds, for example in the early fourteenth-century *Queen Mary, Macclesfield* and *Luttrell Psalters* (Fig. 1.3), by as early as 1971 Sheail wrote that most pillow mounds were post-medieval (1971, 41). Williamson and Loveday's survey concluded the same: "fieldwork and excavation have seldom produced any evidence for their construction before the sixteenth century" (1988, 298). They also stressed that "many" pillow mounds overlie demonstrably early features such as ridge and furrow, narrow rig and DMVs (*ibid.*, 309).



Fig. 1.3 The early fourteenth-century *Luttrell Psalter* depicting a pillow mound (British Library MS 42130 fol. 176v)

Some authors have argued that further dating evidence is suggested by pillow mounds' general appearance: in 1935 Cyril Fox wrote of Glamorgan's pillow mounds that "a marked and consistent feature is their perfect condition. The ditches are always complete, frequently lacking that smoothness of profile which great age gives to earthworks" (1935, 222). Williamson likewise argued that their appearance indicates a recent construction (2007, 49) and that most artefacts recovered from pillow mound excavations probably date from the time of their construction, with most indicating a post-medieval date (*ibid.*, 48). So accepted is the post-medieval date of pillow mounds that White's study of the medieval English landscape simply stated that the "vast majority" are post-medieval without providing reasons for this conclusion (2012, 50). However, this dating evidence needs to be addressed in more depth before such conclusions can be reached.

Pillow mound excavations, while useful for understanding their construction, have proved less useful in dating them. Contradicting his statement that most artefacts recovered from pillow mounds probably date from their construction, Williamson noted that "many contain little if any debris contemporary with their construction" (2007, 47). An example is the 1982 excavation of pillow mounds at Mount Down, Hampshire, where the excavators merely concluded that no datable features were discovered (Clark *et al* 1983, 124). Williamson also noted that later material is also often incorporated into pillow mounds by burrowing rabbits (2007, 48), and that "only one excavation [of

pillow mounds] has produced a medieval date”, namely that at Llandfair Clydogau, Dyfed (*ibid.*). The excavators of that site recovered charcoal with traces of scorching on the surface of the buried turf, suggesting that the material was burnt *in situ* immediately prior to the mound’s construction. Radiocarbon dates of the burnt material suggest the mound was constructed between 1315 and 1415 (Austin 1988, 146-151).

However, although Williamson referred to this site as the sole example to have yielded contemporary medieval material, he also noted that pillow mounds excavated by Francis Villy in 1912 at Sutton-in-Craven, Yorkshire, produced 40 sherds of medieval pottery (2007, 48). He also reported that excavations at Bodwen, Cornwall, produced sherds of late medieval pottery (*ibid.*), which the excavators recovered from two separate mounds and which were tentatively dated to the fifteenth century (Harris *et al* 1977, 57). Just how useful earlier excavations are for dating pillow mounds is questionable as many were excavated under the impression that they were barrows. Disappointing or negative results ensured that many excavation reports remain unpublished, and the results of many excavations are known only from passing references in early antiquarian works (Williamson 2007, 38).

As Williamson admitted, the best dating method for providing at least a relative date is by assessing pillow mounds’ relationships with other landscape features (2007, 48). As mentioned, Williamson and Loveday’s 1988 survey noted that many pillow mounds overlie post-medieval landscape features, although their survey was based on examining secondary sources only. Their survey also only listed a small number of such examples and it is difficult to gauge just how common these instances truly are, although Williamson provides further examples in his 2007 study (48-49).

This situation is confounded by the fact that archaeological studies have tended to focus predominantly on the architectural remains of the warrens themselves, rather than on placing them within a wider landscape context. Lineham’s (1966) study of Dartmoor identified 16 warrens with surviving pillow mounds and over 100 deserted settlement sites; although documentary evidence was found to be sparse, little attempt was made to discuss their relationship with the wider landscape beyond a few cursory comments. For example, the warrens at Merrivale, Huntingdon and Headland were noted as being near mines and quarries, suggesting that they may have been created or re-used during the

modern era to provide food and sport for the workers in these mines and quarries (Lineham 1966, 142). Of those pillow mounds near medieval remains, all that was said was that it was tempting to view those at Merrivale and Yalland as being early because they are near deserted long houses, although this could be illusory as they may pre-date the warrens (*ibid.*). Haynes' (1970) subsequent study of Dartmoor's warrens added to our understanding of these warrens' architecture, particularly their vermin traps, but likewise failed to place them within a wider landscape context.

This lack of landscape studies is not confined to England: RCAHMW's study (1982) of Glamorgan's pillow mounds contains an inventory of 50 pillow mounds and 12 warrens identified solely through documentary references. Although these sources indicate that Glamorgan's pillow mounds have potential date ranges of 1316 to c1800, and while a number appear to be associated with late medieval elite residences, no attempt was made to address their wider landscape contexts; instead the RCAHMW suggested that the problem of dating pillow mounds was largely due to the fact that relatively few of the thousands of examples in Britain have been excavated (1982, 313), contradicting Williamson's statement that "a large number of pillow mounds have been excavated" (2007, 38).

English Heritage's survey of the Quantocks (Riley 2006) demonstrates the value of undertaking landscape studies and of the need to exercise caution when making generalising statements. Riley produced several pieces of evidence suggesting that the Quantocks' pillow mounds may be medieval: the surrounding ditches of two pillow mounds at Vinny Combe are overlain by ridges of a later relict field system; a pillow mound in Plainsfield Camp is overlain by the ridges of a possible relict field system; Cothelestone manor was owned by an absentee landlord between the mid-seventeenth and late eighteenth century, suggesting an earlier medieval date for the manor's pillow mounds; pillow mounds on Stowborrow Hill can "confidently be dated to the fifteenth century or earlier on the basis of earthwork and documentary evidence" (*ibid.*, 98-99). Riley concluded that "most earthwork evidence for the Quantock's pillow mounds suggest they are medieval rather than post-medieval" (*ibid.*, 99). How common such evidence is throughout the remainder of the British Isles remains unknown largely because the few previous investigations have not adopted landscape approaches to studying pillow mounds.

Regarding the assertion that well-defined ditches and sharp pillow mound profiles suggest relatively recent construction, caution must be exercised here too. Williamson and Loveday themselves made the point that the maintenance of pillow mounds was “clearly important” because once constructed, mounds were not abandoned but were regularly maintained (1988, 298). For example, Dartmoor’s pillow mounds were still maintained with earth and peat that was periodically dug from their ditches in the early twentieth century, while excavations at Castell Odo, Gwynedd, revealed repeated recutting of pillow mounds (*ibid.*). A number of warrens are known to have had a long history, such as that at Kingston Lacy, first recorded in 1295 but not abandoned until 1740, or Llanfair Clydegau where the excavations that yielded a radiocarbon date range of 1315-1415 also suggested a long history, with the warren possibly being extended in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Austin 1988, 155). The well-defined features of a number of pillow mounds, aside from being a subjective quality, must therefore reflect their condition when last maintained rather than when constructed.

The Identification of Lost Warrens

While many pillow mounds survive, many have also been lost to the archaeological record. Can such warrens still be identified? Place-name evidence has been used as a means of identifying lost warrens, with variants of the word *coney* being frequent components of field-names and sometimes house-names. Sheail (1971) warned, however, that some rabbit-related place-names have been corrupted, obscuring their original function. He cited the example of the former *Cunnery* warren at Milverton, Warwickshire, whose name was corrupted first to *Conery Farm* and then *Gunnery Farm*, resulting in the local belief that it was a Civil War site (1971, 38). Conversely, the field name *Coneys Acre*, recorded on the 1846 tithe map of Cranborne, Dorset, does not record a historic warren, but is named after the Cony or Conny family, recorded in 1664 (Mills 1980, 214).

Many English place-names also include the element *warren*, which may relate to historic warrens, although it has been suggested that as a place-name element, it refers to hare warrens since *coneygree* and its variants were commonly used for rabbit warrens (Richardson 2003a, 68). However, a reference from 1553 to two rabbit warrens in Norfolk named *Wiken Warren* and *Custhorpe Warren* indicates that *warren* place-names can refer to rabbit warrens (CPR,

Edward VI, vol. 5, 240). Tittensor and Tittensor also suggest caution when dealing with *warren* place-names as its meaning has changed from referring to areas for commercially rearing rabbits to “an area for encouraging wild rabbits for sport” and then to “an interconnecting system of rabbit burrows” (1985, 153). Moreover, even if place-name evidence *does* record a historic warren, it does not indicate when that warren was founded (Williamson and Loveday 1988, 310).

Warrens as Symbols of Wealth and Status

While earlier studies largely focused on the history, economy and architecture of warrens, a more recent strand of investigation involves addressing their symbolism and iconography. Perhaps the most easily understood form of symbolism is the notion that warrens demonstrated their owners’ wealth (Creighton 2009, 114). By locating warrens in prominent locations, the medieval aristocracy were conspicuously highlighting their access to, and consumption of, a restricted luxury commodity. The display and management of species that carried connotations of social status has been described as one of the defining aspects of later medieval landscapes (*ibid.*, 100).

That warrens were viewed as statements of wealth by their contemporaries is perhaps evidenced by the numerous protests against them. Many documents record complaints, and in some cases attacks, against warrens. While some attacks were almost undoubtedly a result of the physical effects of rabbits on local crops, several authors suggest that they represent wider social grievances. Williamson wrote that some signified generalised opposition to inequality and authority and some historical examples do indeed suggest this: rebels in St Albans during the 1318 Peasants’ Revolt took a rabbit from the Abbot’s warren and placed it in the town pillory, while in 1548 villagers in Hertfordshire killed 1000 of Sir William Cavendish’s rabbits and blew up his pillow mounds following rumours that he was about to enclose common land (Williamson 2007, 163). Bailey likewise suggested that protests in East Anglia were motivated by a sense of social grievance as much as by economic necessity, particularly as resistance to the feudal order was endemic in late-medieval East Anglia. Accordingly, rabbits were “undoubtedly a very tangible embodiment of seigneurial privilege and status, and therefore an ideal medium for social protest (1988, 18).

Creighton expressed caution when assuming solely symbolic reasons behind warren locations, suggesting that many were positioned in prominent locations because of the need for well-drained soils, while their visibility deterred poaching (2009, 114). It is of course possible that warren locations were determined by both practical and symbolic requirements, although this matter has yet to be fully resolved. The question is an important one, however, for if, as many authors have suggested, most pillow mounds are post-medieval, they would have been constructed in an era when their connotations of wealth and exclusivity were declining. Consequently, it might be expected that post-medieval warrens would have been less conspicuous if one accepts that medieval warrens were ostentatious statements of wealth. Despite the assertion that most pillow mounds are post-medieval, a large number have been reported as being sited so as to be prominent features within the landscape.

Although medieval warrens were undoubtedly a component of elite landscapes, their contemporary value should perhaps not be overemphasised. A number of authors have suggested that hunting rabbits was not a particularly well-regarded pastime (Sykes 2007, 53; Williamson 2007, 164), something supported by Gaston Phoebus's hunting manual *Livre de Chasse*, written between 1387-89. Phoebus's work includes a chapter on hunting with nets, a method commonly used for hunting rabbits, and it is evident that he believed such a method to be ignoble (Cummins 1988, 235). Phoebus complained that hunting deer with nets was a method reserved for "fat men, old men, idle men and churchmen, not of men who wish to hunt with skill and true venery" (*ibid.*). It seems likely then, though not explicitly expressed, that his views of hunting rabbits as a pastime would not have been complimentary. Indeed, Phoebus's work was translated by Edward, Duke of York, between 1406-13 as his *Master of Game* and includes a comment on rabbits: "of conynges speke I not, for no man hunteth for hem but yit it be bisshunters [fur-hunters]" (*ibid.*, 236). In light of such comments, Cummins believed that hunting rabbits should be considered as livestock husbandry than true hunting (*ibid.*, 237).

Some authors have also noted references to women hunting rabbits. Although the depiction in *Queen Mary's Psalter* is widely cited, the fourteenth-century *Taymouth Hours* (Fig. 1.4) also depicts a woman hunting rabbits while Van Damme notes a 1393 depiction in a French manuscript of a woman letting a ferret on a leash into the openings of rabbit burrows (1988, 282). It is possible

then that while hunting rabbits was inappropriate for lords, it was more appropriate for ladies (Sykes 2007, 53). It has also been suggested that the low status of rabbits amongst medieval nobility indicates a degree of machoism and male chauvinism that rendered catching rabbits for the table as women's work (Henderson 1997, 102).



Fig. 1.4 Extract from *The Taymouth Hours* from the first quarter of the fourteenth century (British Library MS Yates Thompson 13).

Designed Medieval Landscapes and Rabbit Warrens

A further consideration is the extent to which past societies would have viewed landscapes with the same attitudes as modern commentators. Cosgrove wrote that the concept of landscape did not exist until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when a new way of seeing the external world was formulated (1985, 46). He argued that this concept was a product of three contemporary developments: the survey and mapping of estates newly-acquired by an urban bourgeoisie; the calculation of distance and trajectory for cannon fire; and the projection of the globe onto map graticules by cosmographers and cartographers (*ibid.*). These were mirrored by developments in the arts, particularly the conception of perspective: published in 1435, Leon Battista Alberti's *Della Pittura* demonstrated a technique which allowed the painter to project three-dimensional spaces onto two-dimensional surfaces, which, Cosgrove argued, visually rendered space as the property of the individual detached observer (*ibid.*, 48). This new Renaissance worldview meant that space could be 'possessed', with the observer detached from it and able to objectify it (Wainwright 2006, 32).

Such arguments necessarily dictate that that medieval society would have had a fundamentally different way of viewing the world prior to these developments. The assumption is that medieval society, lacking the concept of landscape ownership, would not have consciously designed, experienced and enjoyed their landscape in the way that their successors did. Hence Williamson and Bellamy wrote that the only distinctive contribution made to the landscape by medieval elites was the deer park, although they did not fulfil the aesthetic functions of later elite landscapes (1987, 71). Everson wrote that in contrast to the aesthetic content of later parks and gardens, it is unclear if any medieval gardens were purely or predominantly aesthetic, “which is a later concept” (1998, 38).

However, regardless of the numerous anti-poaching laws suggestive of a strong concept of ownership, or at least exclusivity of access, recent advances in identifying medieval ornamental landscapes indicates that medieval society, or at least its aristocracy, shared similar concepts of landscape as their successors. Analytical field archaeology traditionally addressed utilitarian sites and landscapes, but advances during the 1970s and 1980s in identifying former pleasure gardens hint at past generations experiencing an enjoyment of their landscape (Taylor 2000, 38). Initially, however, such sites tended to date from the sixteenth century or later, but during the 1980s the palace of the Bishops of Lincoln at Stow, dating from the mid-twelfth to the mid-fifteenth century, was recognised as preserving ornamental features. Evidence that Stow’s landscape was deliberately contrived to produce an ornamental approach stretches back to 1186 when it was chosen for the setting of Giraldus Cambrensis’s tale of St. Hugh’s pet swan, with Giraldus describing it as being “delightfully surrounded with woods and ponds” (*ibid.*)

Following the recognition of Stow’s medieval ornamental landscape, similar elite sites were subsequently recognised, most being associated with deer parks and containing the remains of water management features and enclosed gardens. The majority appear to have been arranged so that they could be viewed from above, from local eminences such as upper floors or roofs (*ibid.*). Although certainly a feature of designed elite landscapes and often associated with deer parks, to what extent rabbit warrens had aesthetic qualities and were deliberately positioned to create a view that was to be enjoyed is unclear. Almost in passing, Williamson mentioned that in many cases warrens formed the principal view from

elite houses but he fails to give examples (2007, 164). One certain example, however, is the singular accentuated pillow mound visible from the viewing window of Middleham Castle, Yorkshire (Moorhouse 2007, 113).

Although this issue of warrens as aesthetic features remains little discussed, Liddiard wrote that “features such as fishponds, mills, settlements and dovecots [were] carefully placed in specific locations” in order to enhance the aesthetic appeal of the medieval landscape (2007a, 97). Although Liddiard does not specifically mention rabbits, Williamson stressed the effort that was expended during the medieval period in what he terms ‘intermediate exploitation’, forms of livestock management that “lay somewhere between hunting wild animals and farming truly domesticated ones” (2007, 155). Rabbit warrens were a key component of this ‘intermediate exploitation’ and if Liddiard’s assumption is correct, warrens may also have played an aesthetic role in medieval landscapes. This issue also has implications for the dating of pillow mounds for as the rabbit slid down the social scale during the post-medieval period, it is conceivable that warrens became simply functional and were less likely to be viewed as aesthetic features. Does the extent to which warrens are visible from elite residences indicate a relative date for their construction? Again, this particular question has yet to be adequately addressed.

As well as having possible aesthetic qualities, warrens may also have represented a symbolic control of nature. Creighton wrote that the idea of controlling nature, of creating order from chaos, was of absolutely central importance to the concept of the medieval designed landscape (2002, 2). The installation of a warren may therefore have represented the teeming variety and wonder of creation, and man’s control over it, explaining why deer and rabbits are particularly depicted in contemporary illustrations of ornamental landscapes (Taylor 2000, 51).

Theological Symbolism of Rabbit Warrens

A further strand of warren symbolism has been proposed by Stocker and Stocker (1996) who argued that during the medieval period, rabbits had a theological meaning and that any structures associated with them would have conveyed that meaning. They claim that while rabbits were often associated with fecundity and lust, they were imbued with a secondary symbolic meaning “predicated upon their vulnerability, which made them iconic of the soul’s defencelessness against

Satan's onslaught" (*ibid.*, 267). They argued that as defenceless rabbits relied on a warrener's protection, they became a metaphor for humankind's salvation by Christ. Evidence for the 'Popish' symbolism of the rabbit and of its association with the Mass is possibly suggested by John Harington's epigram *Of an Aborne Rabbet*, in which he satirised the pope and the materialism of the Catholic Church by mocking the high prices of rabbits. The Stockers believe Harington's work implied that the devout Catholic was spiritually overcharged for the transubstantiation of Christ's body in the Mass, and that such a Protestant assault on Catholic ritual assumed a prior knowledge of the rabbit's salvatory symbolism by its readers (*ibid.*, 268).

The Stockers propose that the clearest physical example of this symbolism is Sir Thomas Tresham's lodge built between 1594 and 1597 at Rushton, Northamptonshire. Much of the lodge's architecture has long been understood as a visual pun on Tresham's surname and as a celebration of the tridentine mass (Pevsner 1961, 52). However, the Stockers have observed that a pillow mound is aligned on the lodge, raising the question as to whether the rabbits in this warren were intended to play a part in Tresham's theological landscape. The Stockers argued that the lodge's architecture was designed more to allude to this theological symbolism than to assist with its practical use, pointing to it being lit by small, often circular, windows that are "reminiscent, no doubt, of rabbit burrows" (1996, 267). The result of such lighting is that on entering the lodge, visitors would have been placed in the same relationship with the outside world as the rabbits in their warren (*ibid.*).

In support of their theory, the Stockers noted a relative frequency of pillow mounds in monastic precincts. However, while there may have been religious symbolism at play in these locations, it is possible that they were simply displaying wealth or fulfilling a purely functional role. That the consumption of rabbits by monks was important is suggested by the fact that unborn or new-born rabbits (*laurices*) were not regarded as meat and so could be consumed during Lent (Van Damme and Ervynck 1988, 280). Williamson also made the point that if Catholic iconography was present in post-Reformation warrens, they would likely have invited persecution (2007, 168). In the case of the strongly Catholic Dormer family of Wing, Buckinghamshire, for example, their warrens were highly visible and represented "a remarkably public statement of the Dormer family's allegiance to the old faith" (*ibid.*, 169). Highly prominent warrens were also built

by families who do not seem to have had strong Catholic sympathies (*ibid.*). As Williamson concludes, the Stockers' arguments are "interesting and original, and to an extent may be correct," but there is a danger in over-interpreting the landscape (2007, 168). To date no study of relationships between warrens and religious landscapes has been undertaken.

Summary

From their introduction by the Normans, the general history of the rabbit in Britain has been constructed from a relatively limited number of overviews, particularly those of Matheson (1941), Veale (1957), Sheail (1978) and Williamson (2007). A number of location-specific works augment these studies, with Bailey's (1988) study of medieval East Anglia being the most comprehensive investigation. Even those location-specific studies that primarily focus on warrens' physical remains, such as Lineham's (1966) and Haynes' (1970) studies of Dartmoor, often invariably contain a limited number of documentary references that add to the national pool of evidence for the history of rabbit warrening.

Many of these secondary sources have been compiled by Williamson's 2007 work, the most recent major study of the subject. Consequently, that study runs the risk of ostensibly presenting a complete picture of the history of the rabbit in Britain. In reality, this picture has been compiled from a range of geographically unconnected warrens with the original documentary sources quoted exhibiting a large date range. How far these unconnected sources should be used to extrapolate a coherent national picture is debatable, particularly as each warren was likely to have experienced its own changing fortunes. With regards to south-west England, aside from a number of studies of Dartmoor's warrens, the history of the rabbit and its management and economy is little known. For example, where Bailey (1988) notes that East Anglian warrens would have benefitted from their close proximity to London's markets, to what extent the South West's warrens would have suffered due to their relative isolation from London is presently unknown. Despite the ostensibly complete national picture of Britain's rabbit warrens and rabbit economy as presented by numerous secondary sources, there remains ample scope for contributing to this picture as many sites simply remain understudied or indeed unstudied.

The ostensibly comprehensive picture of warrens' physical remains also belies the fact that there is ample scope to contribute to this field. The prevailing

consensus is that most pillow mounds are post-medieval despite the long history of warrening in Britain. However, as Riley's (2006) investigation of the Quantocks shows, there is danger in reaching such a conclusion given there has been no truly comprehensive study. While Williamson and Loveday (1988) surveyed a large number of sites, there were nevertheless large gaps in their sample and they addressed only secondary sources rather than the physical remains and their landscapes themselves.

A lack of landscape studies affects not only the dating of warrens by inhibiting assessments of their relationships with other landscape features, but also our understanding of warrens' symbolism. The role warrens played within the landscape is likely to have been determined by the extent to which they were positioned with social and aesthetic messages in mind, while this in turn is likely to be related to their age. A possible theological role of pillow mounds has likewise been inadequately studied to allow for any firm conclusions to be reached. There is therefore much opportunity for furthering our knowledge of the South West's warrens in terms of their history, architecture and symbolism. This in turn will increase our understanding of the wider regional and national historic landscape.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

The Study Area

The study area encompasses south-west England following Historic England's definition of the South West as comprising Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Dorset. As discussed in Chapter 1, previous warren studies have traditionally drawn upon evidence from a range of geographically unconnected sites, ostensibly providing a comprehensive overview of the subject. However, given the large number of individual warrens and the longevity of warrening, they often deal with generalities, the danger of which is confirmed by Sheail who stressed that the economic value of rabbits varied from place to place, with each individual warren being a discrete commercial entity (1971, 74). Bailey's study of the East Anglian medieval rabbit economy represents the most complete regional study to date, although Bailey himself warned of the dangers of drawing general conclusions from the East Anglian experience (1988, 19). Furthermore, Bailey's study is concerned with the history of East Anglia's rabbit economy rather than its warrens' landscapes.

Focusing on south-west England therefore allows for a greater degree of coherency by establishing a defined regional history of a particular rabbit economy and its associated landscapes. By investigating the South West's warrens, this study also offers a fresh perspective in comparison to Bailey's study of East Anglia's warrens: for whereas that region's warrens were well placed to exploit London's markets, it is largely unknown how more remote warrens compared in terms of local markets (Bailey 1988, 19).

Adopting a regional focus has other merits too, as the study of local history goes "to the very heart of our national understanding [and is] probably the most fundamental aspect of the past to which the majority of ordinary people may relate" (Phythian-Adams 1993, xii). Traditionally, Britain has been divided into several informal subdivisions such as the North, the West Country, the Midlands etc., although these are changeable according to the stance of the observer as an outsider or an insider. A number of authors have therefore sought to define areas of landscape according to meaningful contexts for their inhabitants such as historic cultural identity or by past and present land-use. For example, Thirsk

(2000) identified factors such as industrial activity or open-field agriculture, Roberts and Wrathmell (2002) identified differing settlement characteristics, while Phythian-Adams focused on drainage basins and watersheds as representing “identifiable lines of punctuation in the landscape” (1993, 11).

Consequently, there is no single model for how Britain should be divided. Nevertheless, that Britain has traditionally been sub-divided rather than being viewed as a single homogenous entity indicates the value of undertaking a regional rather than a national study. This latter point is particularly pertinent to the present study as although there is no general consensus as to how Britain should be sub-divided, the south-west peninsula of Cornwall and Devon has often been viewed as its own discrete geographical entity. For example, Phythian-Adams’ model of ‘cultural provinces’ formed by drainage basins with “more features in common internally than they have with neighbouring groupings” (1993, 13), views Cornwall and Devon as a distinct cultural province. Even Roberts and Wrathmell’s model in which Britain consists of only three fundamental zones, dubbed the Northern and Western, Central, and South-Eastern Provinces (2002, 1), treats Cornwall and Devon as being distinct from the area immediately to its east.

Rippon makes the point, however, that these “generic types of landscape” are strongly influenced by the natural environment rather than the unique locales as expressed in the *pays* of French geographers (2012, 2). As such, the broad landscape character zones that underpin the work of British geographers can hide the fact that they often contain smaller districts with their own unique characteristics (*ibid.*, 3). By investigating warrens within the South West, this study is therefore able to assess whether there are differences in rabbit economies and warren architecture/symbolism *within* this region and will be able to provide a foundation for further studies as to whether the South West as a whole differs from other regions of the UK.

The History of Warrenning in the South West

While previous authors have noted several trends regarding the history of warrenning in England and Wales, a more exact history of warrenning in south-west England has yet to be defined. Previous studies have noted that from the coastal locations of the earliest warrens, several phases of warren expansion into and throughout mainland England and Wales may be identified. Veale proposed that

warrens spread throughout mainland England during the 1240s as evidenced by increased references to warrens in the liberate rolls of Henry III (1957, 88). Both Bailey (1988, 12) and Williamson (2007, 17) argued that the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed a further increase in warren numbers, particularly following the Black Death as they were able to offset some of its economic impacts. While the South West may have conformed to such trends, this aspect of the history of the region's warrens is largely unknown. This is particularly true of Cornwall as there is some evidence that following the Black Death, and in contrast to much of England, the Duchy's manors experienced a period of consolidation and high landlord incomes "with the first quarter of the fifteenth century being a period of unprecedented prosperity" (Hatcher 1970, 142).

While a small number of the South West's medieval warrens have been discussed in previous subject overviews, this aspect of the region's historic landscape has attracted little attention and the South West Archaeological Regional Framework makes no reference to warrens. Other sources of secondary literature have tended not to attempt creating a coherent narrative of the region's warrens: for example, while Bond wrote of the Bishop of Bath and Wells' complaint that 10,000 rabbits were poached from his warren at North Curry, Somerset, in the late fourteenth century (1994, 144), this ultimately represents a 'snapshot' of rabbit numbers at this warren at a particular moment in time; isolated references such as this are limited in furthering our understanding the economic fortunes of the South West's warrens as a whole.

A small number of more detailed investigations have however addressed warrens within the South West, namely Bettey's (2004) study of Wiltshire's seventeenth-century warrens and those focusing on Dartmoor (Lineham 1966; Haynes 1971; Robertson 1991). Indeed, Dartmoor's warrens are among the best studied in the UK although the available evidence suggests that these are frequently large post-medieval commercial warrens, although augmented by small non-commercial warrens intended for hunting or to supplement local farms' produce, again dating from the post-medieval and early modern period (Robertson 1991, 236-338). As such, it is debatable how representative Dartmoor's warrens are of the region's warrens as a whole, particularly those of a medieval date.

The lack of a coherent narrative of the South West's warrens is primarily due to the absence of dedicated studies addressing this topic. Bailey's (1988)

study of the East Anglian medieval rabbit economy demonstrates the value in undertaking a dedicated study of a particular locality: Bailey was able to produce figures recording the sale prices of rabbits, and the numbers of rabbits sold, on East Anglian manors between 1250 and 1469 and figures recording warren lease valuations of six East Anglian manors between 1398-99 and 1541-42 (1988, 11). While these figures are admittedly fragmentary, they nevertheless represent the most comprehensive picture of a particular locality's medieval rabbit economy within the UK.

The present study therefore aims to establish a chronology of the South West's warrens and the rabbit economy through the identification of historic references to warrens. However, given that some of the South West's warrens could feasibly date from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, it is expected that much historical documentary source material is likely to be fragmentary and therefore complete coverage of the region's historic warrens will not be realistically achieved.

Primary Source Material

The types of documents likely to contain information about warrens and the rabbit economy have been identified from those used to inform previous subject studies: patent rolls, close rolls, liberate rolls, charters, court/manorial rolls, inquisitions post mortem/*escheators*, warren leases, accounts and estate surveys. As well as these sources, numerous other documents containing references to rabbit warrens are found in local archives.

Patent Rolls

Patent rolls were letters patent issued by the sovereign. Derived from the Latin verb *pateo*, to be open, letters patent were legal documents where the originator's seal was attached to a pendent so that it did not have to be broken in order to be read. English patent rolls, first issued in 1201, cover a wider range of topics including grants of land, licences to widows to marry, pardons, confirmations of charters and licences to alienate land. In terms of warrens, although a small number of references record the licencing of rabbit warrens or allowing individuals to hunt rabbits within royal forests, the vast majority record complaints and investigations into break-ins of deer parks and warrens. Such references are often specific in recording the animals taken, allowing for the identification of sites containing rabbit warrens: for example, an example dated 6th December 1333

records the thefts of hares, partridges, pheasants and rabbits from a park at Stoke Trister, Somerset (CPR, Edward III, Vol. 2, 504); the reference to rabbits indicates the presence of a rabbit warren within the deer park. However, references to trespassing of hunting lands, both those containing rabbit warrens and those without, will only specify the manor and the relevant landowner rather than a specific location. Nevertheless, such sources are invaluable in highlighting the existence of warrens within those manors.

Patent rolls from 1201-1216 were published in the Record Commission's *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium* (1835), those from 1216-1232 in HMSO's *Letters Patent of the Reign of Henry III* (1901-03), and those from 1232-1595 in HMSO's *Calendars of Patent Rolls* (1891-1986), although those from 1509-47 were published separately in HMSO's *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (1864-1920); patent rolls from 1595-1601 have been published by the List and Index Society. The vast majority of these publications have transcribed the original Latin sources into English and are readily available via scanned and searchable online copies, most notably the patent roll search tool of Professor G.R. Boynton and the University of Iowa Library, covering the years 1216-1452.

Close Rolls

In contrast to letters patent, letters close were documents issued by the Sovereign that were folded and sealed so that they could be read only by their intended recipient. The content of medieval letters close, which were enrolled in close rolls, often includes grants of a right, monopoly, title or status to an individual or an entity.

Close rolls contain numerous references to warrens, although the interpretation of such references is problematic as they almost always refer to free warrens rather than specifically to rabbit warrens. While the patent rolls' references to rabbit thefts from free warrens indicates that many free warrens contained rabbit warrens, unambiguous associations cannot be assumed without an explicit reference to rabbits or a rabbit warren. Nevertheless, there are occasional unambiguous references such as that from 1348 recorded in the purparty of John son of John Tibetot and Margaret the fourth sister of Giles Badelesmere in Northamptonshire that included a piece of pasture containing a rabbit warren (CCR, Edward III, Vol. 28, 538). However, as with the patent rolls'

references to warrens, the exact location beyond their parent manor is not specified.

Close rolls from 1204-27 were published in Latin in the Record Commission's *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* (1833, 1844), those from 1227-72 were published in Latin in HMSO's *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III* (1902-38), while those from 1272-1509 were published in English by the HMSO in various volumes of *Calendars of the Close Rolls* (1892-1963). These volumes have been scanned and are readily available and searchable via online sources.

Liberate Rolls

Liberate rolls are enrolments of writs of liberate issued by the Chancery ordering the Exchequer to pay money from the royal treasure for pensions, salaries, stipends, expenditure of the royal household and other State expenditure. They also contain enrolments of writs of allocate ordering an allowance to be paid to royal officials presenting accounts, writs of compute ordering the reckoning of accounts presented by these accountants, and writs of computabiture ordering the reimbursement of money spent by royal officials on behalf of the Crown.

Liberate rolls were produced between 1200-1436, although entries of writs became increasingly abbreviated during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With regards to warren studies, liberate rolls are primarily useful in that they record counterwrits, or contrabrevés, to various individuals ordering the supply of rabbits from warrens within their jurisdiction for royal feasts. From the figures involved, something of the popularity and availability of rabbits, particularly in relation to other meat sources, can be discerned across the various counties, although other ad hoc references to warrens and rabbits are also recorded, such as payments covering the purchase of rabbit furs. Unfortunately, very few specific locations of rabbit warrens are recorded; instead orders of rabbits are dealt with on a county-wide level.

Translations of the liberate rolls of King John were published by in the Royal Commission's *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis* (1844), while those of Henry III's reign were published in HMSO's *Calendars of the Liberate Rolls* (1916-64). Later liberate rolls have not been translated and published and are instead accessible through original copies held at the National Archives.

Charter Rolls

Charter rolls contain enrolments of royal charters granting benefits such as liberties, privileges, immunities, exemptions and land rights, both to individuals and to cities, towns and civil and religious corporations. Enrolments can either contain the original granting charter or the charters confirming previous grants, the latter sometimes being recited in full.

Charter rolls were produced between 1199-1517, after which all royal charters were enrolled on the patent rolls. With regards to warren studies, charter rolls record the granting of the right of free warren, allowing the grantee the right to hunt the beasts of the warren within a specified tract of land. Rabbits were often included among the beasts of the warren, as the patent rolls indicate through their references of rabbit thefts from free warrens, although a reference to free warren in any medieval text does not necessarily indicate that rabbits were bred within it. Consequently, although the charter rolls indicate the founding dates and owners of free warrens and in which manors they were located, they fail to specify whether any particular free warren contained a rabbit warren. While references to warrens with the charter rolls *may* therefore indicate the presence of rabbits, this cannot be assumed with any degree of certainty.

Latin transcriptions of charter rolls from 1199-1216 have been published in the Royal Commission's *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensis Asservati* (1837), while English abstracts of charter rolls between 1226-1517 have been published in HMSO's *Calendars of the Charter Rolls* (1903-27).

Court Rolls

Court rolls are records of the manorial courts that provided justice at local level as opposed to the national law courts at Westminster. Produced from c1200 onwards, they contain information on a wide range of issues, but all concerning local issues such as cases of the transfer of property rights, occupation of land at a particular time, cases of minor disputes, debts and theft, the regulation of agricultural affairs and the enforcement of local bye-laws and labour services. Such locally-focused documents may record the presence of warrens within a particular manor and may reveal something of the social impact of a warren on a local population, in particular the recording of complaints or petitions made to the local lord about escaping rabbits destroying crops.

As such documents were private rather than public records, their survival is more limited compared to State records, although records for manors owned by the Crown or the Church are generally well-preserved. Nevertheless, many manorial court rolls are preserved in the National Archives and in the various county archives, and because of their legal significance a searchable online national listing (the Manorial Documents Register) of known surviving records exists for Wales, the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, the three Ridings of Yorkshire, Shropshire, Surrey, Middlesex, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. A number of manorial court rolls have been transcribed and translated by various local studies groups, but there is no blanket coverage of English manors and such translations are ad hoc.

Inquisitions Post Mortem or Escheats

Inquisitions post mortem, sometimes known as *escheats*, were inquiries undertaken after the death of a feudal tenant in chief (i.e. a direct tenant of the Crown) in order to establish what lands they held and who should succeed them. They were produced from c1240 until the Restoration in 1660 and the abolition of feudal tenure. Earlier inquisitions tend to be less detailed than later examples, but generally they recorded the date of the tenant's death, the names of manors held and details of the services performed in return for them plus the name, age and relationship of the heir. Records might also be made of the assignment of dower, i.e. part of a husband's estate to be held by his widow for her lifetime. Such inquisitions would therefore record the presence of a rabbit warren as part of a tenant in chief's land and also its value.

A number of published sources cover certain aspects of these records. HMSO's *Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office* (1904-2010) cover the years 1236-1447 and contain English abstracts of inquisitions post mortem, while a second series covering the years 1485-1509 was published between 1898-1955. An *Index of Inquisitions Preserved in the Public Record Office* covers the period from 1509 onwards and was published by HMSO (1907-09), although this index gives name, county and year only. Inquisitions from 1236-1447 and 1485-1509 are also searchable in English translations via the National Archive's online catalogue,

while those produced between 1447-1485 and 1509-c1640 are available at the National Archives as original documents only.

Warren Leases

Leases are contractual agreements between a lessee, which in this case would be a warrener, and a lessor, which in this case would be the landowner. Bailey's study of East Anglian warrens indicated that during the fifteenth century, landowners moved away from the direct management of warrens and instead leased them to warreners (1988, 10). Whether this situation is reflected in the South West is as yet unclear, but if similar leases exist then something of the management, conditions of tenancy and warren values may be discerned: for example, a 1498 lease records that John Wareyn was obliged to leave Blythburgh warren, Suffolk, "well replenysshed with two thousand coneyes or more" (*ibid.*, 6). Some leases may even hint at the wider social impact of the presence of a warren: the lessee at Freckenham, Suffolk, was required in 1551 to block up rabbit holes on common land, implying that rabbits were straying from the warren onto the commons (*ibid.*, 7).

As leases were private documents, their survival is incomplete in comparison to the public records produced by the Chancery and they have not been compiled in the same way as those records; instead leases are held by county archives or in private family collections. Access to them is dependent on how accurately and comprehensively they have been catalogued by county archives and whether those in private collections are available for public consultation.

Manorial Accounts

Accounts of manorial income and expenditure would have been kept by the manor's steward or bailiff, with each account nearly always covering a single year. Manorial income was typically generated from rents, the sale of produce or from fines issued by the manorial court, while expenditure may have been in the form of purchasing livestock, repairing buildings or paying for labour. The presence of manorial rabbit warrens was recorded in manorial accounts and the income from the sale of rabbit furs and meat were recorded alongside expenditure on wages, sales and the maintenance of the warren's architecture. Access to such documents is dependent on the same issues facing access to other private records such as leases mentioned above.

Estate Surveys

Occasionally surveys of manors were produced, consisting of a written record of the property, tenants, rents and services provided to the lord. Different types of manorial surveys were produced but the most useful in terms of the present study are Extent Surveys, which listed and valued every building and piece of land on the manor or demesne. Depending on how detailed the survey was, the location of a rabbit warren may be ascertained. The survival of these records varies from manor to manor and from institution to institution, and any surviving examples are stored within county archives or in private archives: for example, the records of Glastonbury Abbey have been preserved by the Thynn family at Longleat since the sixteenth century following the Dissolution.

Other Documents

Alongside the above-named sources, numerous documents held at local archives contain references to rabbits and rabbit warrens. The most numerous sources are historic maps, land conveyances and leases. Historic maps are particularly useful in that they record the locations of former warrens, with nineteenth-century tithe maps often recording the specific fields where warrens were located. However, they will not record the foundation date of any warren, only the (former) land-use at the time the map was produced. Land conveyances frequently record former warren-related field-names among any parcels of land being transferred from one owner to another. Unfortunately, they do not specify the exact locations of any former warrens with any great detail, nor do they give an indication as to the age of any former warrens. Similarly, historic warrens are often recorded in leases of agricultural land in the form of warren-related field-names, although again the exact locations and foundation dates of warrens are not recorded in such leases.

Throughout the course of this investigation, several local archives have been consulted, either in person or through requesting copies of documents, or by viewing detailed document descriptions on their online catalogues. The following archives were consulted: Cornwall, Devon, Gloucestershire, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, Exeter Cathedral, the National Archives, Kent Archives and Shakespeare Centre Library and Archives in Stratford-upon-Avon.

Searches for documents likely to contain references to warrens employed two methodologies. The first involved a targeted search for documents referring

to areas known to have had rabbit warrens. For example, historic maps, leases, conveyances, surveys and accounts covering parishes and/or manors in which pillow mounds are located or which are recorded in primary and secondary sources as having a rabbit warren were investigated in order to provide historical details of any relevant warrens. While many warrens ultimately proved to be 'anonymous' by not being recorded in historical documentation, at least that which survives, documentary research into the wider local areas nevertheless provided a historical background to the areas in which such warrens were located.

A second methodology was more speculative in approach, as it involved searching for key-words on archives' online catalogues. Search terms involving variant spellings of coney and coneygarth, as well as rabbit and warren, frequently produced results providing details of historic warrens. This approach often allowed for the identification of previously un-recorded rabbit warrens throughout the study area.

From summaries above of the types of primary sources consulted, it will be noted that several document-types are State documents issued by the sovereign, while others are related to individual manors. Given the large number and dispersed nature of many manorial documents, it is not possible to investigate every document of every manor within the South West. Therefore, the initial step was to identify warrens belonging to specific manors/owners within the State documents as an aid to directing the investigation towards individual manors.

The Physical Landscapes of Warrening – Data Collection

Alongside documentary historical research, a complementary strand of investigation addresses the physical remains and landscapes of warrening within the South West. The initial stage was to determine what physical remains have survived and what have been lost; these remains are primarily pillow mounds although other architectural features such as traps, lodges and boundaries are also recorded.

To date no national inventory of warrens and their architecture has been compiled and the most comprehensive secondary source materials addressing the topic are Williamson and Loveday's (1988) and Williamson's (2007) studies. Although these studies identified several national and regional trends relating to the morphology, construction, size and locations of pillow mounds, given the large

number of warrens, they necessarily deal with generalities. The most complete picture of warren architecture is therefore found in the various county HER databases, Historic England's NMR, listing entries of Scheduled rabbit warrens/pillow mounds, RCHM surveys, the National Trust's Historic Buildings, Sites and Monuments Record (HBSMR), and various secondary sources.

Although these resources list most known warren examples, there is much inconsistency between them in terms of completeness of data. For example, Somerset's HER includes instances of *bury*, *burrow* and *barrow* fieldnames as evidence of possible former warrens based on the historical word *bury* for pillow mound; no other south-west county's HER uses similar fieldnames as evidence of former warrens. Such fieldnames probably do record the presence of some form of mound or tumulus (Field 1989, 14 and 33) but not necessarily pillow mounds: for example, a warren within the sixteenth-century Holm Park in Thornbury, Gloucestershire, is indicated by several *coneygre* fieldnames (South Gloucestershire HER 6176); however, Thornbury's tithe map (GRO D11494/1/1) also records separate fieldnames within the park with *barrow* elements and these are unlikely to record the presence of an otherwise unattested second warren nearby. Therefore, to ensure consistency and due to the uncertain nature of the meaning of *barrow* or *burrow* fieldnames, such evidence was not considered throughout the South West as evidence of former warrens.

Individual records of specific warrens also vary from database to database. For example, NMR monument no. 194963 records the presence of a warren at Brockley Court Farm, Somerset, at one end of a field without providing any further information; in contrast, Devon's HER (MDV18422) records 8-digit NGR numbers for two pillow mounds south of Tor Royal Farm as well as dimensions of the mounds and their accompanying ditches. There are also inconsistencies within the same database: Devon HER's (MDV13388) record of pillow mounds at Corringdon Ball records separate 8-digit NGR numbers for each mound but only records one set of dimensions rather than three individual dimensions.

Given the limitations of the available information regarding warrens, the initial stage during this phase of research was to compile a gazetteer of known sites from the various information sources and incorporate them into a GIS. This gazetteer was created using Microsoft Access and contained the following data fields:

- Site Name (Short Text)
- Relevant HER (Short Text)
- Parish (Short Text)
- HER number(s) (Short Text)
- NMR number(s) (Number)
- Historic England's Listing/Scheduling number (Number)
- NGR (Short Text)
- Easting (Number)
- Northing (Number)
- Site type (Short Text recording whether site is a warren, pillow mound, possible pillow mound or non-pillow mound)
- Identification as pillow mound uncertain (Y/N)
- Located near deer park (Y/N)
- Located near elite residence (Y/N)
- Located near ecclesiastical site (Y/N)
- Located near prehistoric earthworks (Y/N)
- Located near medieval earthworks (Y/N)
- Located near field system (Y/N)
- Located near farmstead (Y/N)
- Historic period of site (Short Text)
- Earliest known reference to site (Short Text)
- Warren known only from documentary sources (Y/N)
- Pillow mounds now levelled (Y/N)
- Historic Landscape Character (Short Text)
- Classification of soil group (Short Text)
- Dominant soil grain (Short Text)
- Dominant mineral (Short Text)
- Underlying bedrock (Short Text)
- Maximum permeability of site (Number)
- Minimum permeability of site (Number)
- Warrener's lodge present (Y/N)
- Vermin traps present (Y/N)
- Rabbit traps present (Y/N)
- Warren boundary present (Y/N)

- Shape of pillow mound (Short Text)
- Length of pillow mound (Number)
- Width of pillow mound (Number)
- Height of pillow mound (Number)
- Pillow mound ditch present (Y/N)
- Width of pillow mound ditch (Number)
- Depth of pillow mound ditch (Number)
- HER/NMR entry covers more than one pillow mound (Y/N)
- Notes recording historical and bibliographic data (Long Text)
- Notes recording details of surrounding HER archaeological data (Long Text)
- Site visit undertaken (Y/N)
- Site visit comments (Long Text)

These data fields allow for the interrogation of archaeological and geographical information relating specifically to warrens but also to their surrounding areas. Data was initially collated via requests of archaeological GIS data and monument reports from the relevant HERs within the study area: Cornwall, Plymouth, Devon, Dartmoor, Exmoor, Bath and North East Somerset, Somerset, Bristol, South Gloucestershire, Gloucester City, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Dorset¹. NMR data was also collected via the PastScape website and Listed Building/Scheduled Monument listings was collected from the Heritage Gateway website, for although HER data is the primary source of information, Historic England's listings contain several unique warren/pillow mound records.

Site-Visit Methodology

As mentioned above, many pillow mound records contain incomplete information and site visits were undertaken during detailed case studies (Chapters 6-8) and had several purposes. Within each case study area, each warren site was visited, as far as public access allows, with the initial aim of confirming or otherwise the presence of any warren features recorded by the evidence sources. In several cases, site visits did indeed reveal that features which had been recorded as pillow mounds had been erroneously identified, for example the 'pillow mound'

¹ At the time of writing, North Somerset's HER was accessible only for commercial inquiries and data for the region has been based on information held by the NMR.

noted by Dorset HER at Wool which is felt by the present author to be a natural feature (Wool 1 in Appendix 1).

Because the various evidence sources have varying levels of detail and accuracy in their recording of warren data, a further function of any site visit was to record the nature of surviving warren architecture. In certain instances, this merely confirmed the details held by the relevant HERs or the NMR, but in other cases it was necessary to record the numbers of pillow mounds present as well as recording their locations, morphologies and dimensions. Pillow mound locations were recorded using a GPS, which then allowed new records to be added to the Access database and the GIS mapping. Dimensions of any warren features were recorded using a 30m tape measure and by taking GPS measurements at various points around pillow mounds' external edges, which could then be uploaded as points in the GIS and their dimensions measured. Relationships between warren features and other archaeological remains were also assessed during field visits in order to provide relative dating.

Where warrens were associated with elite residences and parks, a phenomenological approach was taken by assessing the visibility of the warren in relation to various points within the immediate landscape, and by moving through that landscape in order to create a sensory record of how any warren would have been experienced. Doing so also created a sense of what visual role a warren played within its immediate environs. This methodology also facilitated an assessment as to how vulnerable any warren would have been to poaching by allowing a judgement of whether any poachers would have been shielded from the surrounding environs. Undertaking site visits therefore provides a greater understanding of the types of landscapes used for warrening than can be achieved through simply undertaking desk-based research. A full photographic record of each site visit was also undertaken and notes of each site visit were added to the relevant entries in the Access database.

Aerial Photographs and LiDAR Analysis

The NMR's collection of aerial photographs in Swindon was also consulted as a means of supporting data collection. Due to the frequency with which the evidence sources lack complete warren data and because it is not physically possible to visit every warren site, it was necessary to view aerial photographs. Doing so allowed for the identification of pillow mounds, their numbers and their

morphologies and dimensions. Dimensions were ascertained by taking digital copies of aerial photographs in order to geo-reference them within the GIS and then measuring them using ArcGIS's measuring tools. Aerial photographs also allowed for the assessment of the relationships between warren features and other archaeological remains, particularly ridge and furrow, field boundaries and prehistoric earthworks, in order to provide relative dating.

Because logging requests to view aerial photographs from the NMR involves inevitable delays as their staff process requests and retrieve photographs from storage, it was not possible to view photographs of every warren. Consequently, an approach was adopted to view photographs covering areas that contained multiple pillow mounds rather than single mounds. Doing so facilitated compiling the greatest amount of information about the largest number of pillow mounds. As well as consulting the NMR's collection, the various HERs' collections of aerial photographs were viewed in order to shed light on specific sites where the NMR's photographs had proved to be inconclusive.

LiDAR images were obtained from the Geomatics Group, again to augment data held by the various evidence sources by revealing the presence of pillow mounds, their numbers, dimensions, morphologies and relationships with other archaeological features. Dimensions were obtained by georeferencing LiDAR images within ArcGIS and measuring warren features. The use of LiDAR images was therefore targeted at those sites affected by insufficient levels of recording by their relevant HERs and/or the NMR. However, the Geomatics Group's LiDAR coverage of the country is incomplete and several warrens are not covered by their mapping. Moreover, where LiDAR images do exist, a range of resolutions from 25cm to 2m were used by the Geomatics Group, meaning that some LiDAR images are naturally more detailed than others. In some cases, the lower resolution images may therefore have concealed surviving warren features, hindering a complete interrogation of the relevant sites.

The Creation of a GIS

This initial stage of data collection facilitated the creation of a GIS using ArcGIS with a basemap of 1:50,000 OS map tiles obtained from Edina's Digimap service. HER data regarding warrens and pillow mounds was not immediately uploaded into this GIS, however; where records indicate the presence of more than one pillow mound and where these have individual NGR numbers recorded within

their HER entry, these were ‘unbundled’ and added as separate points within the GIS and as separate entries within the Access database. Those warrens known only from primary historic sources were added as a separate layer to surviving pillow mounds as they do not always allow for their locations to be accurately determined. Doing so highlighted the fact that any relationships between them and other archaeological, geographical and topographical features as shown within the GIS is necessarily more tentative and speculative than similar relationships as exhibited by surviving pillow mounds.

HER data was also obtained for specific classes of monument often cited as common locations of warrens - elite residences and parks, and ecclesiastical/monastic sites - in order to assess relationships between them and warrens. Archaeological data from within 500m radii of each pillow mound/warren was also requested from the relevant HERs and incorporated into the GIS in order to ascertain whether there are any relationships between warrens and other archaeological features such as prehistoric earthworks, ridge and furrow, field systems and DMVs.

GIS datasets recording the physical characteristics of the landscape were obtained from Edina’s Geology Digimap. Soil Parent Material data was obtained in order to determine the soil characteristics of each warren by identifying the underlying bedrock, the dominant soil grain, the dominant mineral present within the soil, and a classification of the soil group as broadly indicated by DEFRA’s 2006 Cross Compliance Guidance for Soil Management. Permeability Indices Data was also obtained in order to assess the drainage characteristics of each warren. This dataset is derived from an attribution of the 1:50,000 scale BGS digital geological mapping, DiGMapGB-50, and provides a “qualitative classification of estimated rates of vertical movement of water from the ground surface through the unsaturated zone, the zone between the land surface and the water table” (British Geological Survey 2010, 1).

The BGS have allocated Permeability Index codes to every mapped lithology for each rock unit in DiGMapGB-50 and for the four types of deposits shown as separate layers or themes within the DiGMapGB-50 dataset: artificial ground, mass movement deposits, superficial deposits and bedrock. The Permeability Index provides Maximum and Minimum Permeability values indicating the range of flow rates likely to be encountered in the unsaturated zone for each mapped lithology. Five classes are used – very high, high, moderate,

low and very low – representing a likely permeability range for the specified rock unit at, and immediately below, outcrop rather than at any significant depth. The Maximum Permeability represents the fastest potential vertical rate of water migration through the unsaturated zone likely to be encountered; the Minimum Permeability represents the slowest, and in some cases more normal, rate of vertical movement.

At any one location, bedrock will always be present, but the other three types of deposit (artificial ground, mass movement deposits and superficial deposits) may be absent. Within the study area, no artificial ground or mass movement deposits are present at any warren location, while superficial deposits are located at a minority of warrens. Most warrens will therefore have only two permeability ratings relating to the Maximum and Minimum Permeability through the bedrock, while a smaller number will have four ratings relating to the bedrock and superficial deposits. Where both bedrock and superficial deposits are present, both layers will affect an area's drainage characteristics (Coe 2011, 230), although generally speaking, the bedrock is the most influential in determining the drainage characteristics found in the South West due to the relative rarity of superficial deposits.

Because each site will have both Maximum and Minimum Permeability ratings, this study employed a method of scoring these ratings so that 'very low' was scored as 1, 'low' as 2, 'moderate' as 3, 'high' as 4 and 'very high' as 5. This allows for an aggregate of the Maximum and Minimum Permeability ratings for different sites to be compared and contrasted. Using this system, the permeability ratings of bedrock can have a minimum score of 2, where both the Maximum and Minimum Permeability ratings are classified as very low, and a maximum score of 10, where both Maximum and Minimum Permeability ratings are classified as very high. Where sites overlie bedrock and superficial deposits, the lowest possible score is 4, where the Maximum and Minimum Permeability ratings of both layers are classified as very low; the highest possible score is 20 where the Maximum and Minimum Permeability ratings of both layers are classified as very high. Due to the size of the study area and the large number of warren sites, scoring these permeability ratings allowed for a consistent method of comparing these various sites.

There are, however, inherent flaws in this methodology. Where sites overlie both bedrock and superficial deposits, it will not necessarily be clear which

geological layer is the most influential in determining drainage. For example, a site may have highly permeable superficial deposits overlying poorly draining bedrock; although the site may therefore be generally well-drained, under certain conditions, such as when the superficial deposits reach saturation point, it may then be considered poorly drained. Other factors also affect drainage, such as the amount of local surface runoff, local vegetation, the presence of manmade structures, the depth of the water table, and previous land-use. Soils can also have layers below the surface that restrict the natural movement of water and a common man-made impermeable layer can be found on land that was previously ploughed for many years (Smiley and Martin 1999, 1), and indeed many warrens are located on land that was formerly arable. Such issues therefore mean that the drainage scores provided in this thesis are not definitive, and are instead used as a guide to suggest the drainage characteristics of sites across a wide geographical area. Where the exact locations of warren sites and pillow mounds are unknown, or not known to any degree of accuracy, drainage ratings were not assigned.

Relevant historic maps were also georeferenced within the GIS in order to show landscape details now lost from the landscape. Historic OS maps were obtained through Edina's Historic Digimap while other historic maps such as tithe maps or estate surveys were viewed at county archives with digital photographs taken.

The Architecture of Rabbit Warrens within the South West

As with other regions of England and Wales, the South West exhibits a range of pillow mound shapes and dimensions, but due to the lack of dedicated investigation, no geographical and temporal trends have yet been identified within the region. The compiling of a database of surviving warren features and their incorporation into a GIS therefore allows for any regional and local patterns relating to typologies, dimensions and morphologies to be discerned. Where possible, it also allows an assignment of a medieval or post-medieval date to surviving pillow mounds; any architectural differences between the two periods can then be analysed and interpreted.

The Physical Characteristics of Warrenning Landscapes

Beyond merely addressing the physical remains of the warrens themselves, compiling a database of warrens also allows questions relating to the wider

landscapes of warrening to be addressed. By studying warren locations and their relationships with geographical, geological and archaeological features, two primary questions were addressed: what were the principal factors determining these locations and what are the ages of surviving warren features.

O'Connor wrote that "presumably rabbit-farming on medieval English manors was carried out in suitable fields" (1998, 34), although what constituted a "suitable field" is unclear. Previous studies have suggested that a number of factors determined the siting of warrens, although it has yet to be fully established whether the primary concern was the fulfilment of practical or symbolic requirements. Williamson noted that many warrens were located on commons as a means of exploiting marginal land, particularly in the later medieval period (2007, 17), while Williamson and Loveday noted that most pillow mounds are located on sloping ground (1988, 295). The frequent occurrence on sloping land has been seen as a requirement for aiding drainage and the dispersal of burrowed soil (Bailey 1988, 2). Such locations strongly suggest a functional role in determining the location of many warrens.

However, alongside such functional considerations, it is a common assumption that warrens fulfilled symbolic roles in advertising their owners' wealth by being positioned in prominent locations (Williamson 2007, 164; Creighton 2009, 114). Many pillow mounds may also have been located in monastic precincts as a means of expressing theological ideas (Stocker and Stocker 1996, 269) and many were located in deer parks as part of a larger 'suite' of lordly hunting landscapes (Sykes 2007, 50). Pillow mounds may also have had a purely aesthetic role in designed landscapes and as such some have been noted as forming the principal view from elite residences (Williamson 2007, 164).

Through the identification of warren sites, the present study enables the interpretation of trends relating to their locations within the landscape and investigates the extent to which various landscape characteristics determined these locations. That rabbits were particularly susceptible to disease and adverse weather (Sheail 1978, 346) meant that they needed a significant degree of management in order to survive. This suggests that, in theory at least, considerable attention would have been paid to ensuring an optimal chance of survival of what was an expensive commodity, which in turn would have resulted in optimum economic returns. Such considerations may therefore explain why many warrens were located on sloping land as meeting the need to provide

drainage for a species that prefers well drained soils and whose young are particularly vulnerable to drowning (Williamson 2007, 12).

However, while previous studies have identified the trend for positioning warrens on sloping land, to what extent warrens were located on flat or poorly drained land has not been adequately addressed. Do examples of warrens on poorly drained land represent examples where symbolic factors were more important in determining their location than the physical qualities of the land? Are there examples where associative factors, such as the desire to locate warrens within deer parks or beside elite residences, appear to override other geographical factors? To what extent do soil types, the underlying geology and drainage characteristics affect the locations and sizes of warrens? By identifying all known warren sites and incorporating them into a GIS, local geographic and topographical characteristics can be identified and analysed. Where the presence of former warrens is suggested by place-names only, only those where relatively precise locations can be deduced, such as specific field-names, are analysed in terms of their physical geographic contexts.

The issue of the extent to which physical geography affected the siting of rabbit warrens is also important in terms of wider landscape studies. Rippon highlighted how ‘environmental determinism’ has, in recent decades, been seen as an outdated model in favour of an emphasis on ‘social determinism’ which saw communities as free to shape their physical world (2012, 3). Recent years have seen a revival of environmental determinism and the current study therefore feeds into these issues by addressing the extent to which the physical local geography affected a method of farming that was practised on a nationwide level.

Associations Between Rabbit Warrens and Other Archaeological Features

This study also investigates associations between warrens and other classes of monument in order to determine if those monuments, both earlier and contemporary, determined warren locations. With regards to earlier archaeological features, an association between warrens and prehistoric earthworks has often been noted (for example, Williamson and Loveday 1988, 296; Williamson 2007, 36) although the reasons are not entirely clear. Williamson and Loveday suggested that both classes of monument have frequently survived where they are on marginal land and have therefore not been ploughed out (1988, 296). The implication here is that any association is perhaps illusory and that their

survival is merely an accident of location rather than representing a conscious decision by warren owners to locate their warrens beside earlier earthworks.

However, an alternate viewpoint was proposed by Williamson who suggested that prehistoric earthworks may have been populated by 'pioneer' colonies of rabbits that were then exploited and managed through the creation of nearby pillow mounds (2007, 58). While Loveday and Williamson indicated that 17% of pillow mounds included within their study of 190 warren sites in southern England were located within or adjacent to Iron Age defensive earthworks (1988, 296), the exact relationship between pillow mounds and prehistoric earthworks is unclear. Moreover, when there does appear to be a relationship, it is equally unclear to what extent they represent direct or indirect associations: are earlier earthworks merely 'nearby' or do they form part of a coherent group of earthworks alongside pillow mounds? The latter would possibly be suggestive of earlier earthworks being incorporated by warrens, supporting Williamson's theory that they supported pioneer colonies.

The present study addresses apparent associations between warrens and prehistoric earthworks by incorporating HERs' archaeological data from within 500m radii of each pillow mound/warren into the GIS. This allows for the identification of warrens located near prehistoric earthworks, facilitating investigation as to whether there are direct or indirect associations between such sites. Ultimately, this phase of research addresses the frequency of such associations and ascertains whether such associations are merely the result of the monuments being preserved on unploughed, marginal land or whether prehistoric earthworks were incorporated into warrens.

The remains of rabbit bones within faunal assemblages recovered from excavations of elite residences were also investigated through excavation reports. Instances of rabbit bones may possibly indicate the presence of former warrens, and depending on how secure the contexts are, they may provide a date as to when rabbits were present on the site. The numbers of rabbit bones within a faunal assemblage may provide evidence of the extent to which rabbit formed part of the diet at that particular residence in relation to other animal species. Any examples of ferret bones recovered during excavations were also noted as possible indicators of rabbits as they were specifically bred to hunt rabbits, although such examples are rare.

Rabbit Warrens as Visible Components of the Landscape

This study also addresses the role that warrens played within their landscapes and assesses the extent to which they fulfilled symbolic and/or aesthetic functions. The notion that warrens conspicuously advertised their owners' wealth is an untested theory. The present study therefore questions the visibility of warrens: where are they visible from? Are they located on important routeways in order to be seen by people entering a specific landscape? Are they located within lines of sight between specific locations? Are they designed to be visible from within any associated high-status monuments or are they 'out of sight'? Are they associated with any aesthetic, ornamental features within designed landscapes? Such questions were addressed by undertaking site visits during detailed case studies and by performing viewshed analyses within the GIS.

This stage of inquiry also investigates the association of warrens with ecclesiastical sites. According to the Stockers (1996), warrens *should* be prominently displayed in monastic landscapes due to what they perceive as a theological meaning behind warren architecture. The present study assesses the frequency with which pillow mounds are associated with ecclesiastical sites and their prominence within those landscapes. If pillow mounds *do* occur frequently in ecclesiastical landscapes but are not particularly prominent, then this would strongly suggest a functional rather than symbolic purpose behind such associations.

Although warrens were used throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods, any symbolism is likely to have been more prevalent in medieval and early post-medieval warrens: it was during that period that rabbits were at their most expensive whereas post-medieval warrens tended to be mainly commercial ventures as rabbit prices had decreased, becoming more readily available to a greater proportion of the population. The religious symbolism of warrens as proposed by the Stockers (1996) is also likely to have been more prominent during the medieval period as they link this symbolism to Catholic theology rather than to post-reformation Protestant theology. As such, the present study addresses the symbolism and the role played within the landscape by medieval warrens. This strand of investigation also assesses contemporary medieval depictions of rabbits, particularly in art and marginalia, in order to ascertain how the animal was understood by its contemporaries. If, as the Stockers propose,

rabbits were understood to represent mankind's salvation through Christ, traces of this theological mindset should be present in contemporary documents.

The end of the medieval period is defined in this study as occurring c1550. This allows for the period covering the Dissolution to be studied and allows for the investigation of warrens in relation to monastic landscapes. However, given that this is something of an arbitrary cut-off point as warrening continued in some locations until the twentieth century, post-medieval and modern warrens are not excluded from investigation as this allows for comparisons between medieval and post-medieval sites to be made. Moreover, documentary references to warrens in the period immediately after 1550 may, unless recording the founding of a warren, also be considered to document earlier medieval warrens. As such, the present definition of c1550 as the end of the medieval period allows for slightly later documentary references to be considered as referencing medieval warrens.

The Age of Pillow Mounds

Perhaps the most prominent question concerning pillow mounds is that of their age. As far as the available literature suggests, there appears to be little difference between medieval and post-medieval/modern methods of farming rabbits and consequently it is difficult to assess whether any particular pillow mound is a medieval or a more recent example without further analysis.

The excavation of pillow mounds has proven to provide little in the way of dating evidence as most contain little, if any, debris contemporary with their construction (Williamson 2007, 47), while later material has often been incorporated into them by the burrowing activities of later rabbits (*ibid.*, 48). A notable exception is an excavation of a pillow mound at Llanfair Clydogau, Dyfed, one of over 30 such earthworks at the site. The site was long known to antiquarians who believed the earthworks represented a prehistoric cemetery and religious ground, although it was not until 1978 that the site was investigated. The excavators found that pillow mound PRN8276 contained traces of burning interpreted as the remains of vegetation cleared immediately prior to the mound's construction, and which was radiocarbon-dated to between 1315-1415 (Austin 1988, 146-151). Several other pillow mounds have also been found to overlay similar areas of burning (Williamson 2007, 40) and it is therefore possible that other mounds may be able to provide radiocarbon dates from this burnt material. However, the present study does aim to excavate pillow mounds given their

general tendency to contain little/no datable debris; although some may contain datable traces of burning, it is not possible to identify which pillow mounds would contain such traces until excavated. Given the large number of pillow mounds in the study area, unless a prohibitively large sample is tested, this dating method would be too arbitrary and would not allow for any real trends to be discerned.

The most appropriate method of dating a large sample of warrens is therefore through studying relationships with other archaeological features within the landscape (Williamson 2007, 48). A number of pillow mounds have been shown to overlay earlier features such as ridge and furrow, narrow rig and DMVs (Williamson and Loveday 1988, 309). Such relationships have indicated that most datable pillow mounds are post-medieval, something that would be expected as later examples are more likely to have survived in the landscape than earlier examples. Nevertheless, examples also exist of pillow mounds being overlain by later features, such as one at Sulby, Northamptonshire, which is overlain by broad rig (*ibid.*), and numerous examples throughout the Quantocks, Somerset, which are overlain by relict field systems (Riley 2006, 98-99). As discussed above, many pillow mounds also exhibit associations with medieval monuments, and although this may not necessarily indicate contemporaneity, it is perhaps highly likely that warrens “found in close proximity to medieval elite residences and monastic sites are relatively early examples” (Creighton 2009, 111).

The collection of archaeological data from within 500m radii of each pillow mound/warren therefore allows for the identification of associations between contemporary and later archaeological features that may be used to aid dating. The locations of warrens in relation to physical topography, settlements and historic landscape characterisation is also considered and interpreted in order to determine any chronological trends determining those locations.

Other strands of investigation are also assimilated in order to assess the date of warrens. References to known warrens in historic documents are considered, although unless the founding of a warren is recorded, any date will indicate only that a particular warren was in existence at a particular date, thereby providing a *terminus ante quem*. Nevertheless, documentary references to warrens may still indicate their general age and may allow warrens to be assigned a general medieval or post-medieval date.

The assessment of warrens’ locations within the landscape may also yield dating clues. As mentioned above, an accepted, though untested, theory is that

medieval pillow mounds acted as symbols of wealth and were also perhaps ornamental components of designed landscapes. This theory relies on the fact that during the medieval period, rabbits were luxury items affordable to the elite only and therefore warrens had a symbolic as much as a functional role. During the post-medieval period, as the price of rabbits declined and they became available to more people, warrens became more widespread and fulfilled an increasingly commercial role. Consequently, it is doubtful that post-medieval warrens would have played the same role within the landscape as their medieval counterparts. By assessing this role through analysing their visibility and positioning, some differences between medieval and post-medieval warrens may be ascertained.

A further strand of possible dating evidence may be found in the general appearance of pillow mounds, many of which have well-defined ditches and sharp profiles suggesting a recent construction (Fox 1935, 222; Williamson 2007, 49). Although what constitutes well-defined ditches and sharp profiles is clearly subjective, and while many pillow mounds were maintained and repaired over long periods of time, this aspect of pillow mound architecture was noted during site visits by the present author. While these qualities are subjective, any ill-defined pillow mounds may nevertheless represent earlier examples than more well-defined examples, or at least examples that fell out of use earlier.

Summary

Through consulting original documentary sources and investigating archaeological and geographical evidence, this study aims to increase our understanding of historic warrening practices. It identifies where warrening was undertaken and assesses whether certain factors relating to the physical geography or proximity of other monuments, both contemporary and earlier, played a part in determining the location of these warrens. This study also ascertains whether there are any trends across, and within, the South West relating to the typology, morphology and size of surviving warren architecture.

This study also addresses the historical background of warrening within the South West by ascertaining a chronology of their introduction into and subsequent expansion throughout the region. Ultimately it aims to date the South West's warrens, many of which are presently anonymous features within the landscape. Through the study of contemporary documents, the extent to which

warrens played a part in local economies may be determined. Aside from merely examining this functional aspect of warrens, this study also addresses the perceived symbolism of warrening landscapes and allows for a greater understanding of how their contemporaries would have understood and experienced the landscapes in which they lived.

CHAPTER 3

SURVIVING WARREN ARCHITECTURE

Pillow Mounds in the South West

Pillow mounds are the most common surviving architectural feature of historic warrens, with at least 1,338 recorded in the study area. However, this figure is best viewed as an informed estimate as information sources do not allow the exact number of pillow mounds to be determined. A particular issue is that many individual HER and NMR records indicate the presence of multiple pillow mounds without specifying their number. In such cases aerial photographs have been viewed in order to ascertain their numbers but 10 locations remain where inadequate photographic coverage prevents individual mounds from being discerned. For the sake of producing a total number, these sites have been treated as having a minimum of two pillow mounds although their true number may be higher. All site-names included in this text correspond to entries in the gazetteer (Appendix 1).

It should also be noted that some earthworks identified as pillow mounds are likely to have been misidentified: of the 1,338 pillow mounds included in the gazetteer, 122 are marked as possible pillow mounds where doubt has been expressed as to their true nature in their HER/NMR descriptions. Further investigation has also indicated that numerous earthworks previously recorded as pillow mounds were probably misidentified and while they are noted as such in the gazetteer, they do not inform the following discussions. It is also likely that numerous extant pillow mounds in the South West remain to be identified.

Despite such uncertainties, a figure of 1,338 pillow mounds is higher than was initially expected, particularly as single HER and NMR records frequently refer to multiple pillow mounds, something not obvious without fully interrogating these records. It is not therefore possible to determine the number of pillow mounds simply by counting numbers of HER and NMR records. As previous pillow mound studies are generally lacking, there is no clear picture of how many survive nationally, and although Williamson wrote that there are “well over two thousand individual pillow mounds recorded in England and Wales” (2006, 16), the vagueness of this total indicates the uncertainty in determining their true number.

Although only 10 sites contain unknown numbers of pillow mounds, the precise locations of the remaining pillow mounds are not always known with certainty as the evidence sources do not always provide individual NGRs. In such cases attempts have been made to determine locations by analysing aerial photographs and undertaking site visits, although the exact locations of 293 pillow mounds remain unknown. The most notable examples are Huntingdon Warren, Dartmoor, where a single HER entry (MDV5183) covers 102 individual pillow mounds. Where NGRs are recorded, there are often discrepancies in the level of accuracy given by the evidence sources, with some having much more accurate data than others. Despite these shortcomings, Figure 3.1 indicates the distribution of sites containing pillow mounds within the South West. All county borders depicted in this study are based on the Historic County Borders Project's mapping, while the Dartmoor National Park boundary was obtained from Dartmoor's HER with copyright held by Natural England.

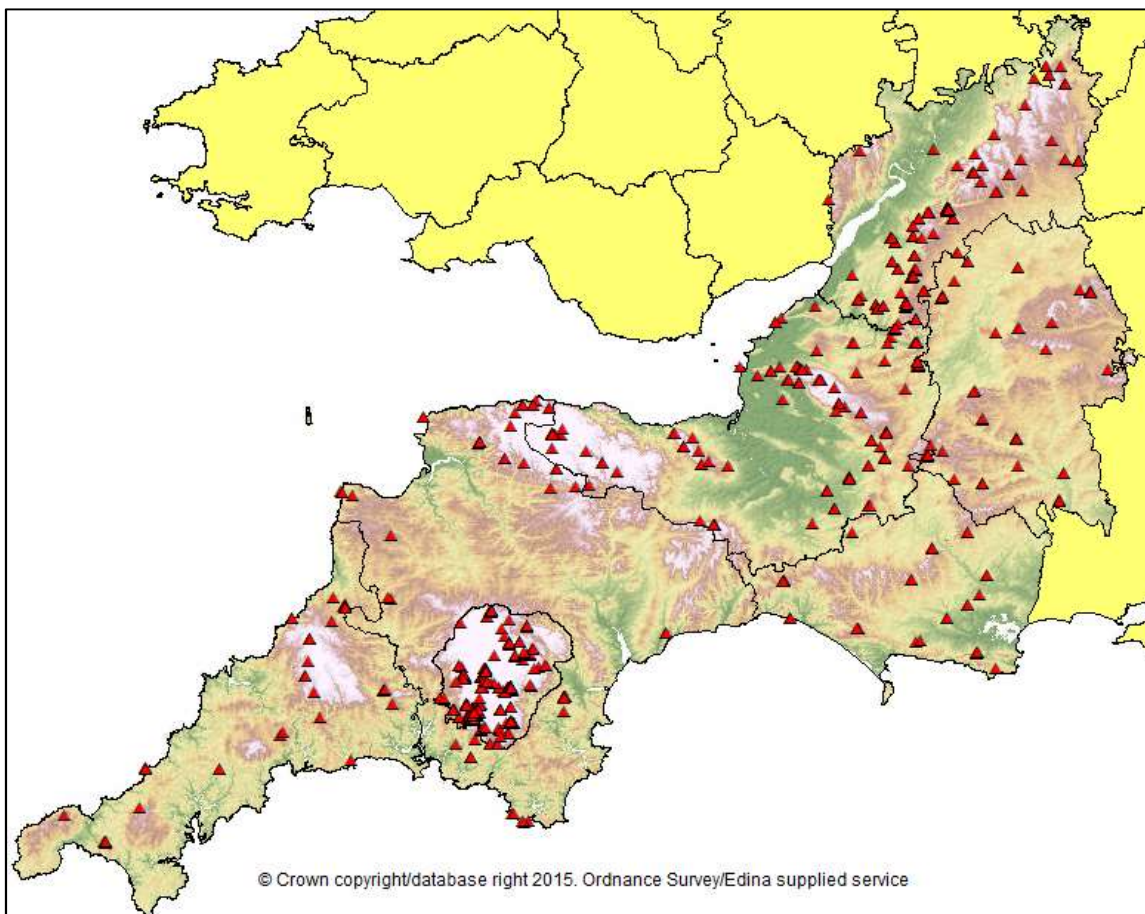


Fig. 3.1 Sites containing pillow mounds in the South West

In terms of a county by county breakdown, the following tables records pillow mound numbers, densities per square kilometre and proportional distribution across the region:

	Number of Pillow Mounds	Pillow Mounds per km ²
Cornwall	54	0.02
Devon	787	0.12
Dorset	40	0.02
Gloucestershire	231	0.07
Somerset	165	0.04
Wiltshire	61	0.02

Table 3.1 Pillow mound numbers and densities per county

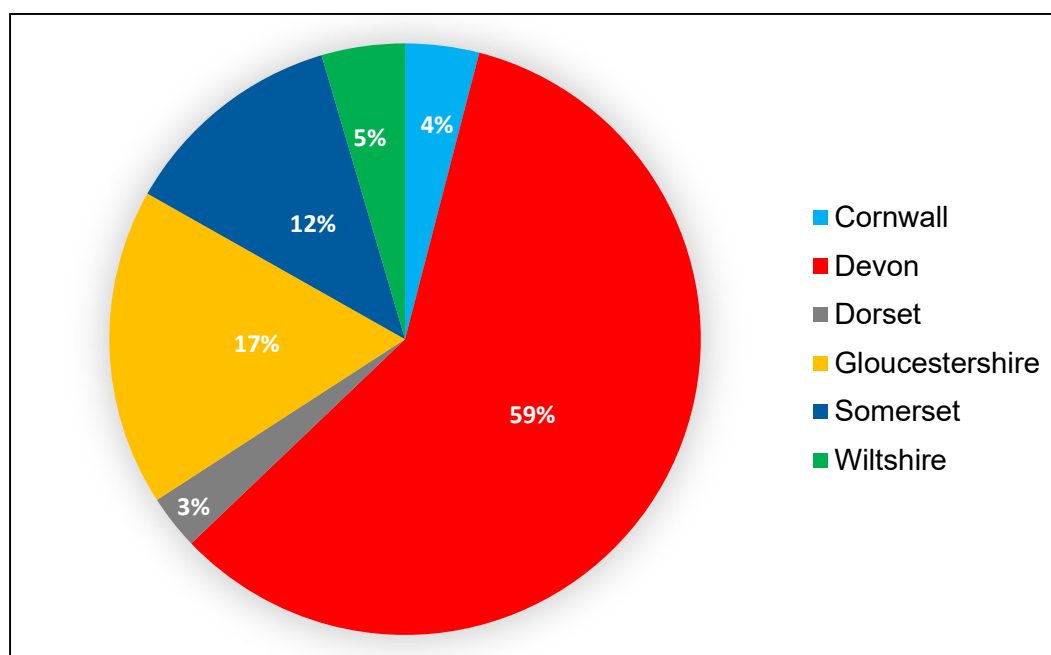


Table 3.2 County proportions of the total number of pillow mounds in the South West

Morphological Forms of Pillow Mounds

Throughout this study, various terms are used to describe different pillow mound morphologies (Fig. 3.2). These terms are ultimately derived from the various descriptors used by previous commentators and the numerous evidence sources recording pillow mounds such as HERs, Historic England and the National Trust. The use of such terms is not always employed consistently by the various evidence sources and it necessary therefore to explain how the various terminologies have been applied and used throughout this investigation.

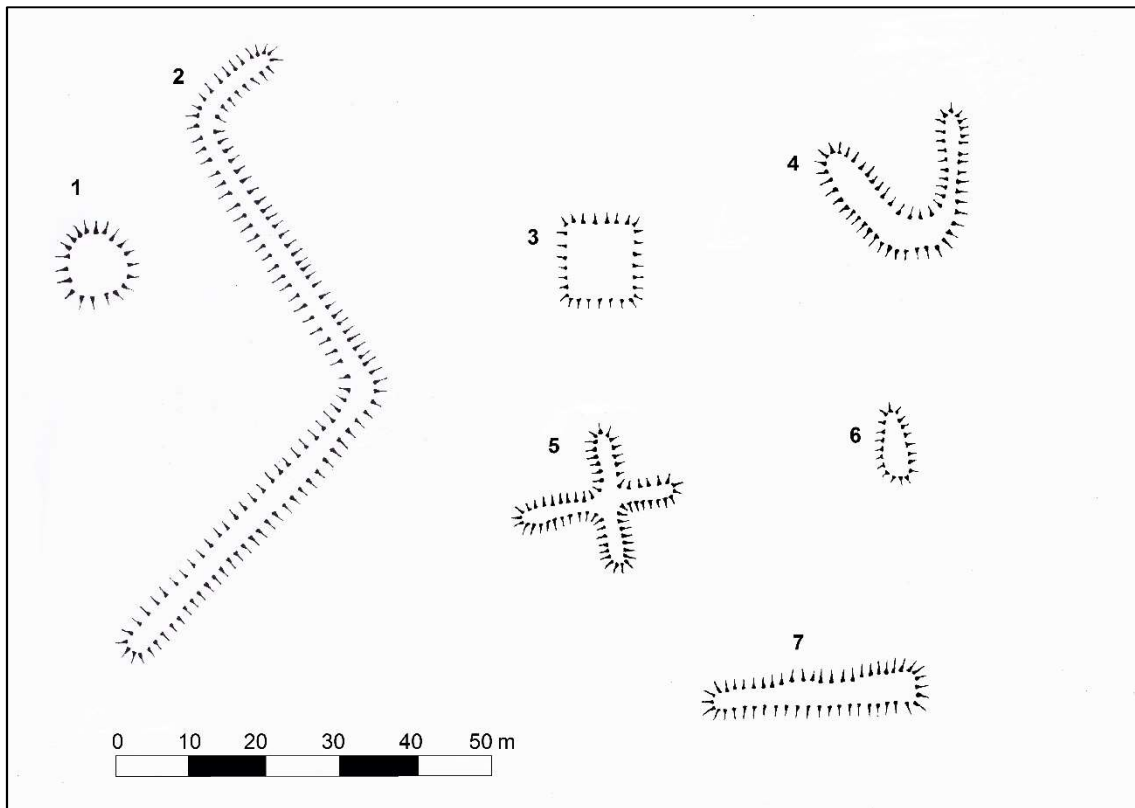


Fig. 3.2 Pillow mound morphologies: 1) circular mound at Saintbury, Gloucestershire; 2) conjoined mound at Saintbury, Gloucestershire; 3) sub-rectangular mound at Woolland Grove, Dorset; 4) chevron-shaped mound at Hyam Wood, Wiltshire; 5) cruciform mound at Banwell, Somerset; 6) oval mound at Willapark, Cornwall; 7) rectangular mound at Blockley, Gloucestershire.

While rectangular pillow mounds (Fig. 3.3) are by far the most common form of pillow mound morphology, many evidence sources use the descriptor “sub-rectangular”. Because of the frequency of this term, it has been retained in order to determine if there are differences between rectangular and sub-rectangular forms. However, because of a lack of consistency in the employment of this term, this study has applied it only to quadrilateral pillow mounds whose widths were equal to or more than half their lengths.

Another problematic descriptor applies to oval pillow mounds as it is unclear whether they are distinct from circular pillow mounds (Fig. 3.4). It is unlikely that any ‘circular’ pillow mounds are perfectly circular as there was no need to construct such geometrically precise mounds. While most sources describe such pillow mounds simply as circular, occasionally there are more accurate descriptions: for example, Cornwall’s HER describes those at Creddacott Farm as “roughly circular” (MCO54214). Where possible, the true shape of oval/circular mounds has been determined by assessing aerial photographs and HER/Historic England GIS mapping. Naturally, when a “roughly

circular” mound becomes an oval mound is somewhat subjective, but when distinct sides are visible as opposed to a continuous curving arc, then such mounds have been classified as oval in this study.



Fig. 3.3 1946 aerial photograph showing two rectangular pillow mounds (A and B) on Wain's Hill, Somerset (Somerset's HER)

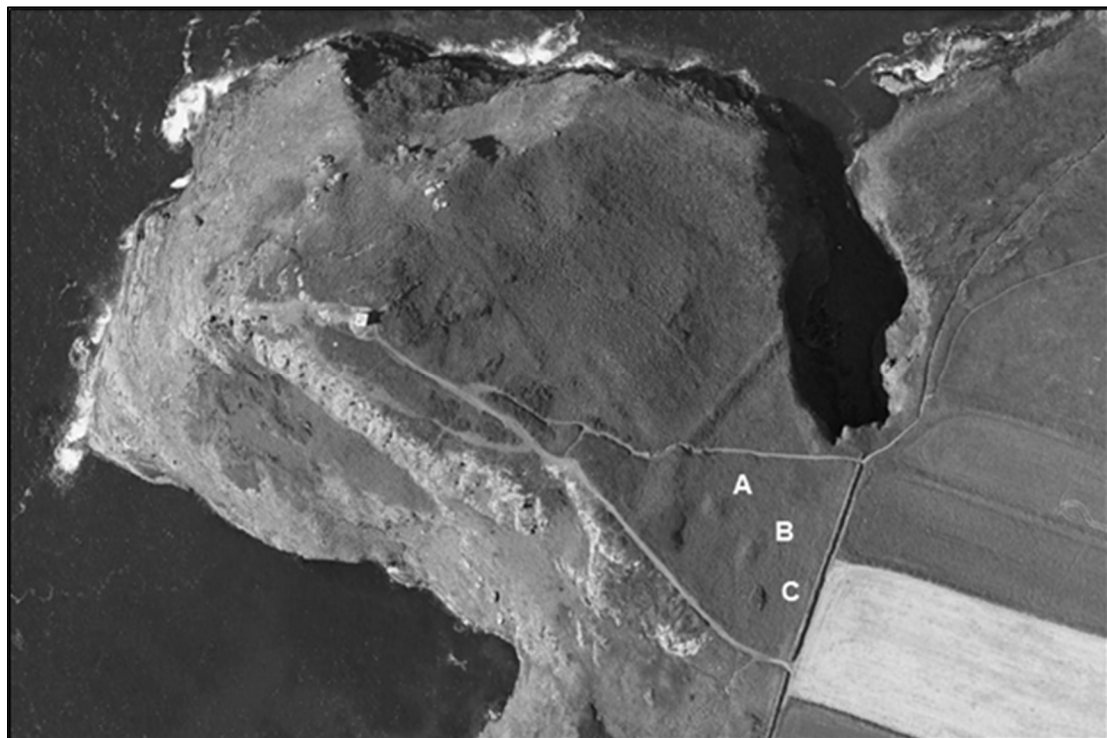


Fig. 3.4 Pillow mounds at Willapark, Cornwall, showing one circular (A) and two oval examples (B and C) (© Google 2015).

A small number of pillow mounds are described as chevron-shaped (Fig. 3.5). While the term chevron implies a mound with two distinct lengths meeting at a point, it is also used for those exhibiting a gradual, curving arc. It is possible that more examples exist than have been identified: for example, Gloucestershire's HER describes Barrington Park's pillow mounds as "linear mounds [that] are slightly curving or chevron shaped" (37511). It is unclear how far from being rectilinear they are and it is possible that other pillow mounds described as linear are also slightly curving. However, chevron-shaped examples viewed on aerial photographs and in GIS mapping clearly represent a distinct morphology rather than being damaged or eroded rectangular mounds.



Fig. 3.5 Aerial photograph taken 01.08.1981 showing a chevron-shaped pillow mound (A) at Hyam Wood, Wiltshire (Wiltshire Council Archaeology Service)

A small number of pillow mounds are described as cruciform, although they could feasibly be described as separate rectangular pillow mounds assembled in a cruciform layout. For example, the cruciform mound at Little Sodbury, Gloucestershire (Fig. 3.6), could just as accurately be described as two rectangular mounds adjoining a third at roughly right angles to form a cruciform shape. Consequently, it is possible that other cruciform examples exist but which the evidence sources have classified as separate rectangular pillow mounds.

Despite such uncertainties, the cruciform descriptor is retained in order to highlight a rare practice of grouping pillow mounds.



Fig. 3.6 Cruciform pillow mound at Little Sodbury, Gloucestershire (© Google 2015)

A final descriptor applies to mounds described as conjoined. This term is problematic because many rectangular mounds could feasibly be described as conjoined: for example, Dorset's HER describes Pilsdon Pen's pillow mounds as rectangular while Williamson describes them as a conjoined group (2006, 141). Likewise, the NMR describes the group at Dolebury, Somerset, as separate pillow mounds when they could instead be considered as five conjoined and two separate pillow mounds: on Figure 3.7, the pillow mounds at Dolebury marked A-E form a large conjoined group, while F-G are separate rectangular mounds.

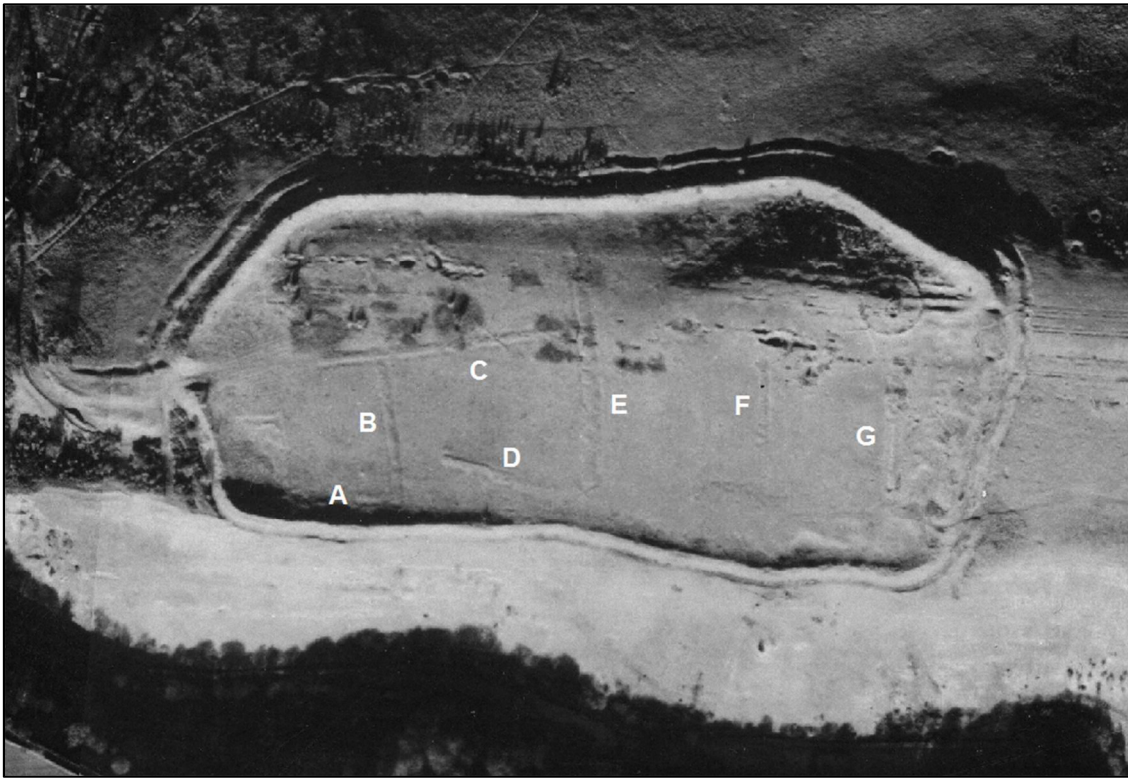


Fig. 3.7 1946 aerial photograph of pillow mounds at Dolebury (Somerset's HER)

Determining pillow mounds' dimensions is also often problematic as many have no dimensions recorded by the evidence sources. In such cases, attempts have been made to measure pillow mounds in ArcGIS by using HERs' polygons and georeferenced aerial photographs, and through undertaking site visits. Such methods are perhaps not entirely accurate and it is recognised that there is scope for error in any given dimensions within this study, confounded by the eroded nature of many pillow mounds that inhibit accurate measurements. Moreover, uncertainty often remains even when using HER and NMR data: for example, the pillow mound at Cholwell Park, Devon, has been surveyed on a number of occasions and a single NMR record (1540858) lists several dimensions, with lengths ranging from 40m to 25m. In such cases, judgements have been made as to which measurement is most accurate by assessing aerial photographs and HERs' GIS mapping.

Measuring circular mounds also presents issues because it is unlikely that any are perfectly circular. When determining their sizes, the longest diameter across the mound has therefore been used to form the basis of average dimensions discussed in this study. While this may provide a false picture of the true shape of circular mounds, it is necessary in order to provide a meaningful basis with which to compare them across the study area. When describing oval pillow mounds throughout the study, their widths refer to their widest point.

Cornwall's Pillow Mounds

Fifty-four pillow mounds are recorded in Cornwall (Fig. 3.8). Predominantly concentrated in the eastern third of the county, with isolated examples found throughout the county, most of Cornwall's pillow mounds are located in areas of uplands, which are marked on subsequent mapping as areas of pink/white while lower elevations are darker greens. The 54 individual pillow mounds are concentrated at 18 sites, while Cornwall's HER expresses doubt as to the true identification of ten mounds (recorded in Appendix 1).

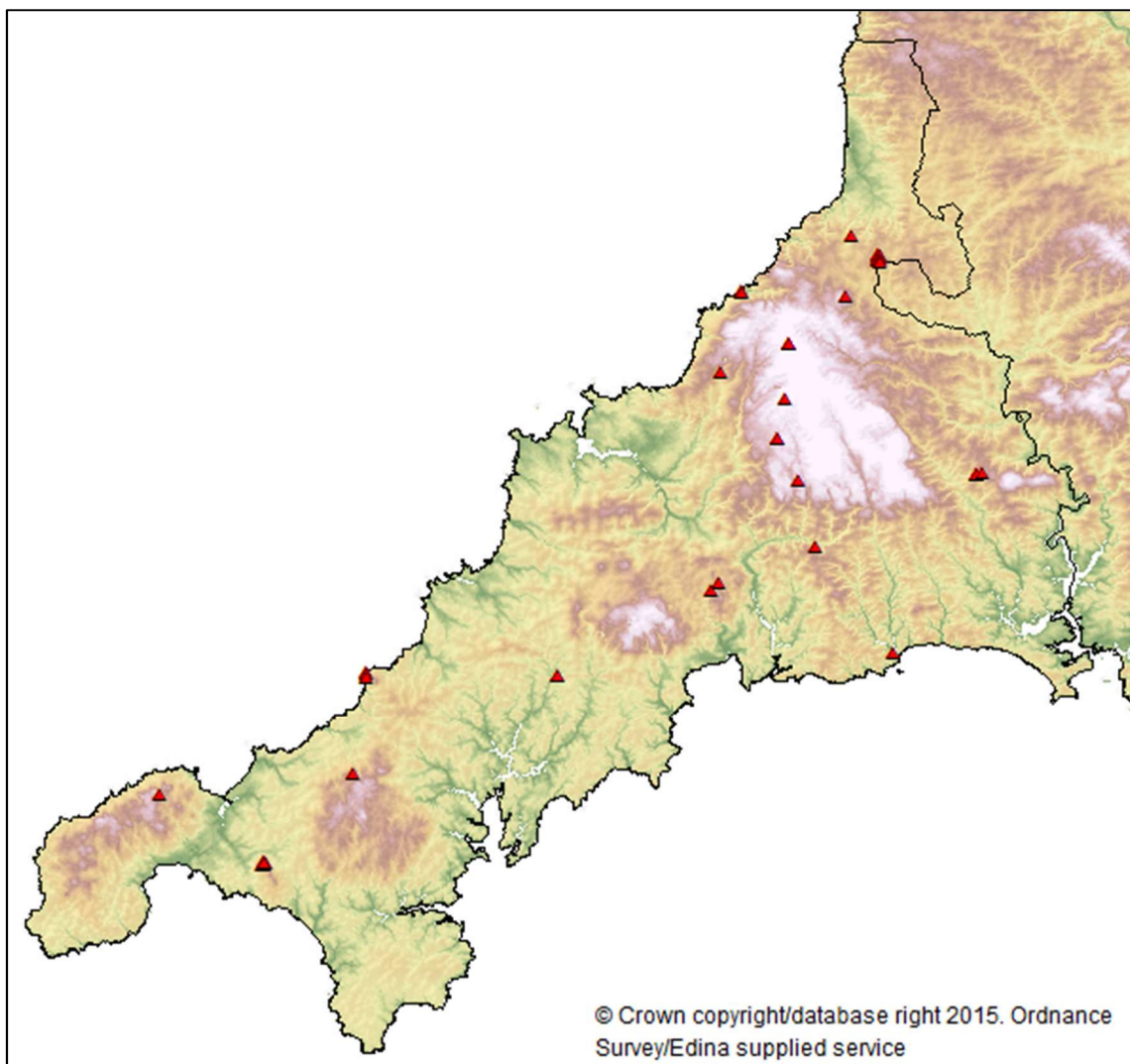


Fig. 3.8 Distribution of pillow mounds in Cornwall

This eastern concentration of pillow mounds roughly corresponds to an area depicted in Webb's map of *Land Capability in south-west England* as having either very severe, severe or moderately severe limitations where agricultural practices are restricted (2006, 37); the remainder of Cornwall is predominantly classed as having only moderate limitations. This distribution ostensibly suggests that in the east of the county, warrens took advantage of lands with limited

agricultural potential. However, this is contradicted both by Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) mapping (see Chapter 5) and Chapter 8’s case study that suggest many warrens lie within the county’s agricultural heartland. At present then, the reason behind this particular eastern concentration is unclear. Rectangular pillow mounds are the most common form within Cornwall (Table 3.3), although three sites exhibit no rectangular examples: Willapark and Carbilly Tor both have only circular or oval pillow mounds, while a single sub-rectangular mound is located at Towednack.

Rectangular	37 examples
	Dimensions of 22 rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 25.6m, ranging from 62m (Creddacott Farm 9) to 6.6m (St Agnes Head 2)
	Average width 7.4m, ranging from 17m (Creddacott Farm 4) to 2m (Tubby’s Head)
Sub-rectangular	2 examples
	Dimensions of both sub-rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 12.5m, ranging from 13m (Godolphin 5) to 12m (Towednack)
	Average width 8.5m, ranging from 10m (Towednack) to 7m (Godolphin 5)
Circular	10 examples
	Dimensions of eight circular mounds are known
	Average diameter 16.8m, ranging from 25m (Creddacott Farm 8) to 8m (Godolphin 2)
Oval	3 examples
	Dimensions of only one of Cornwall’s three oval mounds is known, Creddacott Farm 7, measuring 18m by 10m
Unknown	Morphologies of 2 mounds are unknown
	Dimensions of 24 mounds are unknown
Height	Ten mounds have heights recorded
	Average height 0.9m, ranging from 3m (Towednack) to 0.4m (Bodwen 1 and Tubby’s Head)
Ditches	Ditches are recorded at 18 mounds

Table 3.3 Morphologies and dimensions of Cornwall’s pillow mounds

Devon's Pillow Mounds

Approximately 787 pillow mounds are located within Devon, with at least 726 in Dartmoor. Rabbit farming in Dartmoor evidently belongs to a different tradition than was present in the remainder of Devon, and indeed much of the UK, given that its warrens represent some of the country's largest pillow mound groupings. While not every Dartmoor warren was a large-scale commercial venture, with some being small non-commercial warrens supplementing individual farms' incomes or providing recreational hunting opportunities (Robertson 1991, 249), these represent only a small proportion of Dartmoor's pillow mounds. Because Dartmoor's pillow mounds are not therefore representative of the rest of Devon, Dartmoor is treated as a discrete area throughout this study. The distribution of Devon's pillow mounds excluding Dartmoor is shown in Figure 3.9.

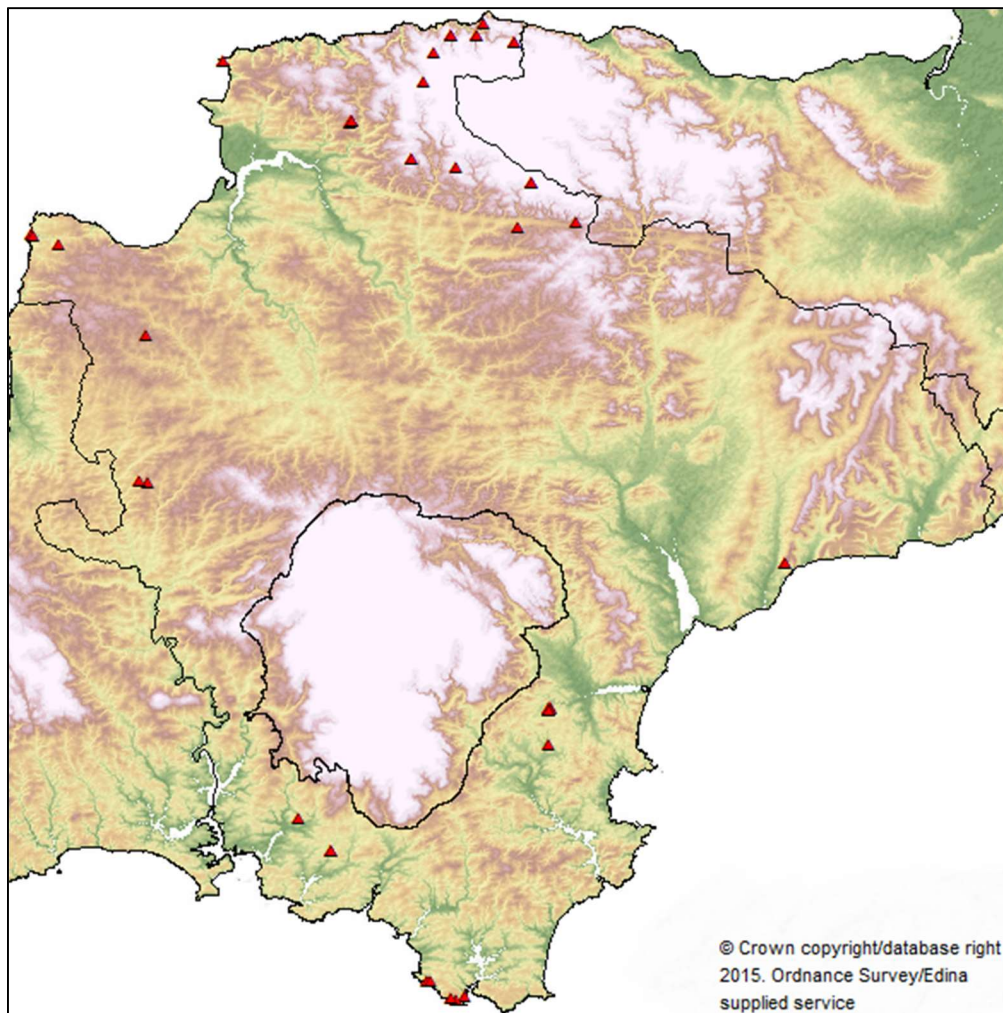


Fig. 3.9 Pillow mound locations in Devon (excluding Dartmoor)

With Dartmoor excluded, 61 pillow mounds at 25 sites are recorded within Devon, although doubt has been expressed to the true identification of 18 of them. The obvious aspect of their distribution is that they are largely confined to the county's

borders; even with Dartmoor taken into account, pillow mounds are largely absent from Devon's central and eastern zones. It should also be noted that there is a larger concentration of pillow mounds within the north-east section of the county covered by Exmoor's HER and it is possible that this represents differences in recording these monuments by the two HERs rather than accurately reflecting their survival. However, it is perhaps more likely that this concentration reflects exploitation of that particular area of upland. Another noticeable aspect of Devon's pillow mounds is that, in contrast to Cornwall, a relatively large number are on or near the coast: five on the south coast and six on its northern coast.

As expected, rectangular pillow mounds are the most common form (Table 3.4), although of the county's 25 pillow mound sites, six contain no rectangular examples: Blindwell, Bolberry Down and Challacombe Common have only circular mounds, North Down has a single sub-rectangular mound, and Wasteberry Camp and Warren 1 have only oval examples. Although still relatively rare, six oval pillow mounds are recorded in Devon contrasting to the three examples in Cornwall.

Rectangular	29 examples
	Dimensions of 23 rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 43.4m, ranging from 204m (Blagdon Cross 1) to 8m (Tossell's Barton 1)
	Average width 8.5m, ranging from 28m (Blagdon Cross 1) to 2.5m (Tossell's Barton 1)
Sub-rectangular	5 examples
	Dimensions of all five sub-rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 20.8m, ranging from 61m (Blagdon Cross 2) to 5m (Windy Cove)
	Average width 12.2m, ranging from 32m (Blagdon Cross 2) to 5m (Windy Cove)
Circular	8 examples
	Dimensions of five circular mounds are known
	Average diameter 19.5, ranging from 27m (Challacombe Common) to 13m (Lynton and Lynmouth)
Oval	6 examples
	Dimensions of five oval mounds are known

	Average length 11.6m, ranging from 18m (The Warren 6) to 10m (Greenaway Deer Park 6 and Wasteberry Camp 1, 2 and 3)
	Average width of 8m, ranging from 11m (The Warren 6) to 5m (Greenaway Deer Park 6)
Unknown	Morphologies of 13 mounds are unknown
	Dimensions of 23 mounds are unknown
Heights	Heights of seven mounds are recorded
	Average height 1.2m, ranging from 1.8m (Cholwell Park) to 1m (Pin Beacon 1, Wasteberry Camp 1, 2 and 3, and Eworthy)
Ditches	Ditches are recorded at four mounds

Table 3.4 Morphologies and dimensions of Devon's pillow mounds

Dartmoor's Pillow Mounds

Approximately 726 pillow mounds are located within Dartmoor (Fig. 3.10), and although Dartmoor's warrens are relatively well-studied, many uncertainties remain. For example, its largest concentration of pillow mounds is in the Upper Plym valley, where Lineham reported 86 mounds in five warrens at Legis Tor, Ditsworthy, Hentor, Willing Walls and Trowlesworthy (1966, 139), while Robertson noted 194 pillow mounds in these same warrens (1991, 250). Haynes wrote that pillow mounds are found at 17 sites (1970, 156-164), while Robertson listed 27 separate warrens (1991, 250). Although Robertson's study is the most recent, its figures do not always tally with those recorded by other evidence sources and so Robertson's 579 pillow mounds contrasts with the 726 listed in this study. It is therefore recognised that this figure is an informed estimate, particularly as the numbers of pillow mounds at Manaton, North Bovey and Redlake Tramway Warren are unknown.

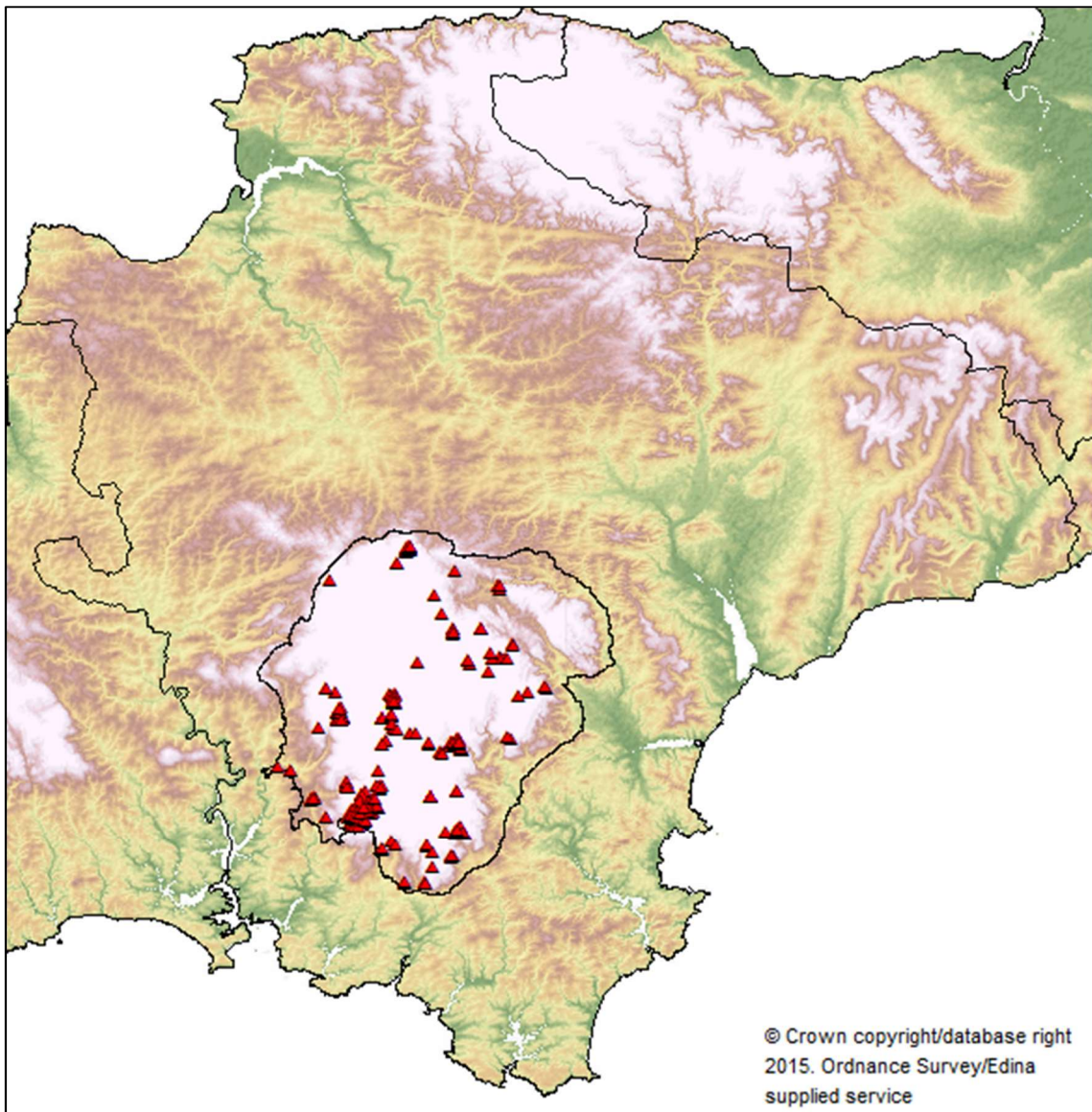


Fig. 3.10 Pillow mound locations in Dartmoor

Pillow mounds are located on at least 61 sites on Dartmoor, with many small warrens existing alongside the larger, commercial warrens. Although these smaller warrens have previously been mentioned, particularly by Robertson (1991), their number is greater than previously reported. Of Dartmoor's 726 pillow mounds, four are recorded as having an uncertain identification. Dartmoor's pillow mounds are predominantly rectangular, although other forms have also been noted (Table 3.5). Unfortunately, although its warrens are relatively well-studied, many individual pillow mounds are still unrecorded in any detail and a considerable number have unknown morphologies. Of particular note is that all of Dartmoor's oval examples are located at Merrivale, a site that has, unusually for Dartmoor, been suggested as having early origins. Lineham wrote that it was tempting to view them as having an early date because of their proximity to deserted long houses (1966, 141), while White wrote that they are "likely to be of

medieval date” although no reasons were given (2012, 50). Perhaps Merrivale’s oval morphologies reflect an early construction date, although note that a 1979 English Heritage field survey reported Merrivale’s mounds as true rectangular shapes (NMR 439654).

Rectangular	317 examples
	Lengths of 247 rectangular mounds are known; widths of 246 are known
	Average length 19.6m, ranging from 190m (Trowlesworthy Warren 47) to 4m (White Tor 1 and 2)
	Average width 5.2m, ranging from 11m (Hentor Warren 40) to 1.3m (White Tor 1 and 2)
Sub-rectangular	49 examples
	Dimensions of 43 sub-rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 8.8m, ranging from 15m (Hentor warren 20) to 4m (Yardworthy 1)
	Average width of 5.4m, ranging from 8m (Olverton Plantation 2) to 2.2m (Yardworthy 2)
Circular	11 examples
	Dimensions of six circular mounds are known
	Average diameter 5.7m, ranging from 8.8m (Vaghill Warren 17) to 2.3m (Vaghill Warren 18)
Oval	26 examples
	Dimensions of all 26 examples known
	Average length 8.4m, ranging from 30m (Merrivale Warren 3) to 5.2m (Merrivale Warren 11)
	Average width of 4.1m, ranging from 6.6m (Merrivale Warren 21) to 2m (Merrivale Warren 4)
Unknown	Morphologies of 323 mounds are unknown
	Dimensions of 404 mounds are unknown
Heights	Heights of 311 mounds are known
	Average height 1m, ranging from 2m at examples at Hentor and Vaghill Warrens to 0.2m (Shaugh Prior 16)
Ditches	Ditches are recorded at 386 mounds

Table 3.5 Morphologies and dimensions of Dartmoor’s pillow mounds

Dorset's Pillow Mounds

40 pillow mounds are recorded in Dorset (Fig. 3.11) at 17 locations, although eight are of uncertain identification. This total represents the lowest figure of any region within the study area, and in fact three pillow mounds at Poyntington were historically part of the Hundred of Horethorne in Somerset until 1895. On Figure 3.10, based on the historic counties of England, this site is therefore depicted in Somerset. The scarcity of pillow mounds is partly a result of limited recording as many of Dorset HER's records lack detail, with a number simply listing their presence without providing further information or sources. As expected for a region with relatively few pillow mounds, its warrens contain the smallest pillow mound groupings within the study area, with the largest being the six recorded at Woolland Grove.

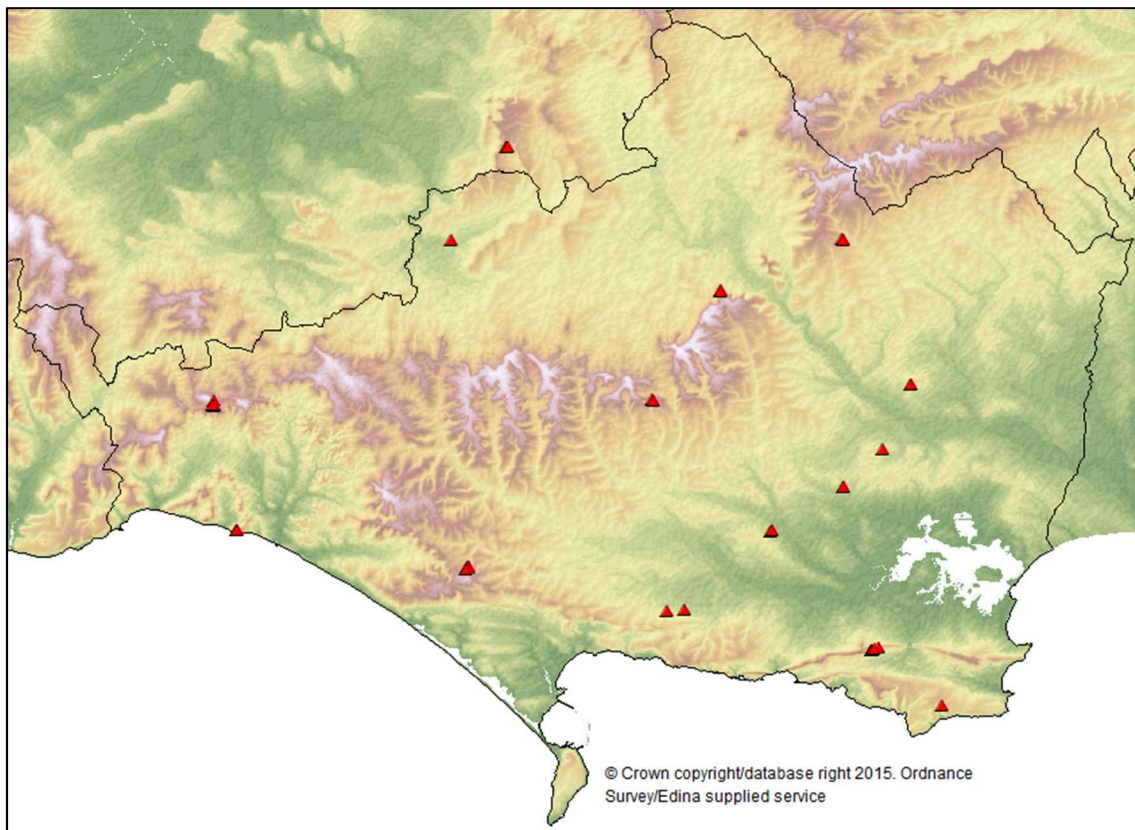


Fig. 3.11 Pillow mound locations in Dorset

The limited number of pillow mounds in Dorset inhibits identifying spatial trends, but one noticeable aspect is the greater concentration in its eastern half and a relative absence on the uplands of the North and South Dorset Downs. This contrasts with other regions of the study area where pillow mounds are predominantly, but not exclusively, located in higher areas. Also noteworthy is the lack of coastal pillow mounds relative to Cornwall and Devon, with only three at

Doghouse Hill located on its coastline. The most noticeable aspect of Dorset's morphologies (Table 3.6) is the relatively high number of sub-rectangular mounds compared to rectangular mounds. A single conjoined mound at Badbury is also found in within the county, and although rare, 'atypical' pillow mound forms are usually found in the north-east of the study area in Somerset, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.

Rectangular	12 examples
	Dimensions of 11 rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 28.9m, ranging from 55.5m (Owermoigne 1) to 12m (Windmill Barrow Farm)
	Average width 5.2m, ranging from 7.3m (Pilsdon Pen 4) to 2m (Owermoigne)
Sub-rectangular	14 examples
	Dimensions of 13 sub-rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 15.4m, ranging from 55m (Poytington 3) to 7m (Giant's Grave 2)
	Average width 9.3, ranging from 33m (Poytington 3) to 4.5m (Hartcliff Farm 1 and 2)
Circular	5 examples
	Dimensions of all five circular mounds are known
	Average diameter 26.4m, ranging from 56m (Poytington 2) to 8.5m (Cowleaze)
Oval	2 examples
	Dimensions of both oval mounds are known
	Average length 29.2m, ranging from 42.7m (Bere Regis 1) to 15.6m (Badbury 2)
	Average width 9.4m, ranging from 10.7m (Bere Regis 1) to 8.1m (Badbury 2)
Conjoined	1 example
	Total length of Badbury 1, which forms an approximate 'Z' shape is 115m
	Width of Badbury 1 is 7.6m
Unknown	Morphologies of six mounds are unknown
	Dimensions of six mounds are unknown

Heights	Heights of 19 mounds are recorded
	Average height 0.6m, ranging from 1m (Tarrant Gunville, Eastington Farm and Owermoigne 1) to 0.4m (Doghouse Hill 1-3)
Ditches	Ditches are recorded at 21 mounds

Table 3.6 Morphologies and dimensions of Dorset's pillow mounds

Gloucestershire's Pillow Mounds

At least 231 pillow mounds are recorded in Gloucestershire (Fig. 3.12) at 53 sites, although Gloucestershire's HER and the NMR have a further 118 records of possible pillow mounds. These earthworks are discussed in Chapter 7 and they are not believed by the present author to represent pillow mounds and are not included in the subsequent discussion. Gloucestershire's pillow mounds are more densely concentrated in the uplands of the Cotswolds, and are largely absent from the Severn Valley and the Forest of Dean in the west of the county: indeed, no pillow mounds are recorded in the Severn Valley and are recorded only at Ruardean Wood and St Briavels in the Forest of Dean. However, several warrens are recorded in both areas from the late fourteenth century until the first half of the sixteenth century, indicating a more widespread warrening tradition than is suggested by surviving warren architecture. That a 1569 feoffment records *Le Conyger* at Newland in the Forest of Dean as pasture (GRO D2957/256/6) suggests some of the region's warrens may have been abandoned relatively early. The Thames Valley to the east of the Cotswolds is also sparsely populated with pillow mounds.

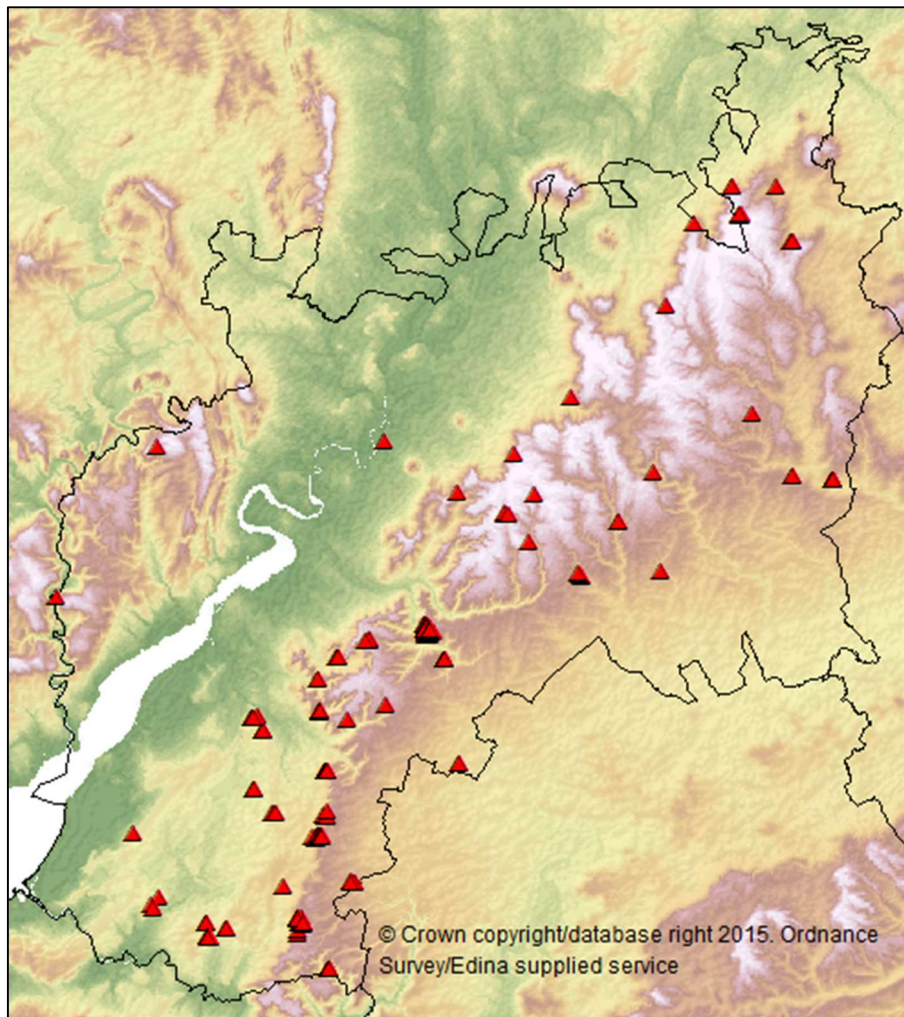


Fig. 3.12 Pillow mound locations in Gloucestershire

The high number of pillow mounds, of certain and uncertain identification, is partly a result of Historic England's National Mapping Programme (NMP), whose analysis of aerial photographs has greatly increased the number of examples recorded in the county. Nine NMP projects have assessed Gloucestershire's archaeology: Forest of Dean, Severn Estuary, Frampton on Severn, Leadon Valley, Malvern Hills, the Carrant Valley Landscape, North Gloucestershire Cotswolds, Cotswold Hills and Thames Valley. In terms of morphologies, as well as exhibiting the more 'standard' forms, Gloucestershire includes a rare cruciform mound (Little Sodbury 11), conjoined mounds at Chedworth Woods and Saintbury, and five chevron-shaped examples at Barrington Park (Table 3.7).

Rectangular	145 examples
	Lengths of 116 rectangular mounds are known; widths of 113 are known
	Average length 38.2m, ranging from 200m (Minchinhampton 17) to 11m (Trulls Wood 7)

	Average width 8.6m, ranging from 19m (Minchinhampton 43) to 3m (Little Sodbury 6)
Sub-rectangular	31 examples
	Dimensions of 20 sub-rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 17.5m, ranging from 40m (Little Tortworth Copse) to 6.9m (Dyrham Park 8)
	Average width 11m, ranging from 30m (Little Tortworth Copse) to 4.5m (Dyrham Park 4 and 8)
Circular	15 examples
	Dimensions of 13 circular mounds are known
	Average diameter 14.1m, ranging from 26m (Barnsley 1) to 7m (Barrington Park 9)
Oval	1 example
	Dimensions are unknown
Chevron-shaped	5 examples
	Dimensions of chevron-shaped mounds at Barrington Park are unknown, although Gloucestershire's HER records them as being up to 45m long and c4m wide
Cruciform	1 example
	The east-west arm of the mound at Little Sodbury measures 105m; its north-south arm measures 163m
Conjoined	2 examples
	The mound at Saintbury measures 106m along its length, forming a rough inverted 'Z' shape, and is 5.2m wide; dimensions of the conjoined mound at Chedworth Woods are unknown.
Unknown	Morphologies of 31 mounds are unknown
	Dimensions of 90 mounds are unknown
Heights	Heights of 77 mounds are known
	Average height 0.5m, ranging from 1.5m (North Nibley 1) to 0.1m (Minchinhampton 17, 47 and Saintbury 2)
Ditches	Ditches are recorded at 71 mounds

Table 3.7 Morphologies and dimensions of Gloucestershire's pillow mounds

Wiltshire's Pillow Mounds

At least 61 pillow mounds are located within Wiltshire (Fig. 3.13) at 24 sites, although 11 are recorded as having an uncertain identification. Their distribution is relatively even, although it is possible to discern three main groupings: the chalk downlands that extend northeast from central Wiltshire; an area of lowland in the northwest of the county; and the area of downlands to the south and west of Salisbury Plain.

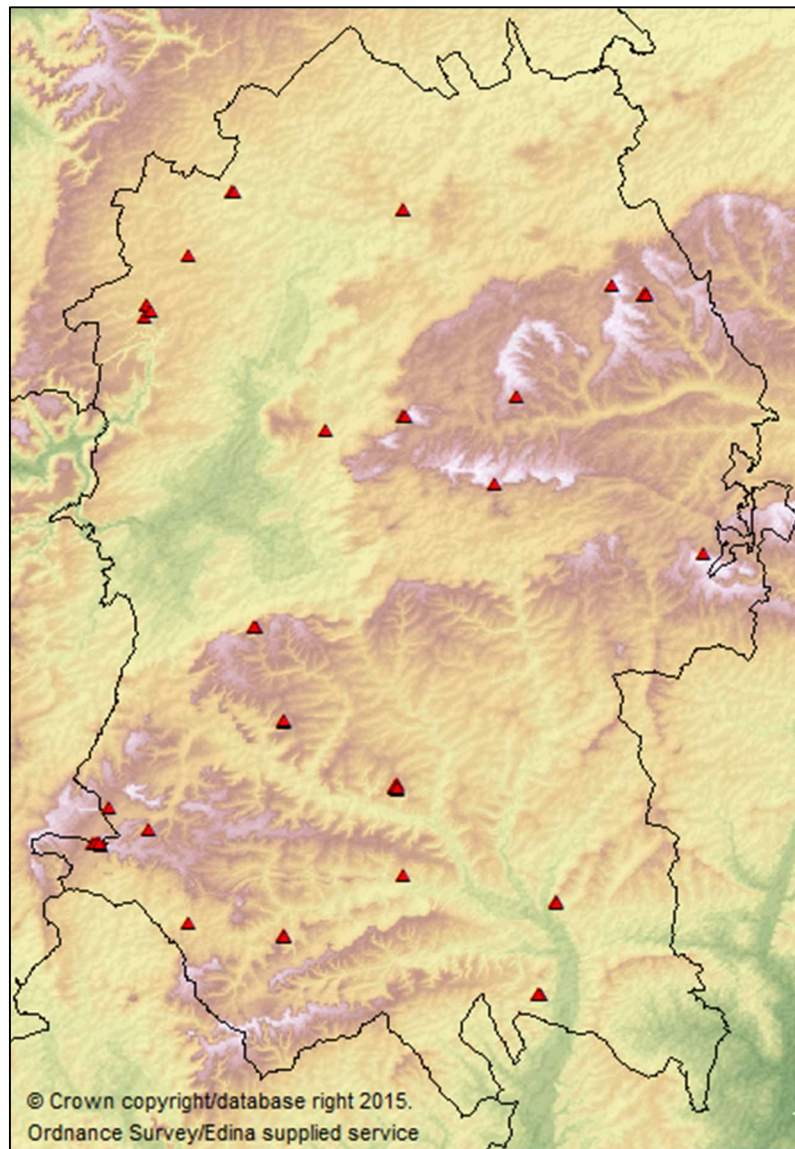


Fig. 3.13 Pillow mound locations in Wiltshire

The most noteworthy aspect of Wiltshire's morphologies (Table 3.8) is the relatively high number of chevron-shaped mounds and the relative lack of circular examples. The presence of chevron-shaped examples within the study area is noted only in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset, although only a single example exists in the eastern half of the latter. They can therefore be considered

a more easterly form of pillow mound that is entirely absent from the more south-westerly counties. Although still relatively rare, examples of conjoined mounds are also absent from the most westerly counties, being present only in Wiltshire, Dorset and Gloucestershire.

Rectangular	31 examples
	Lengths of 31 rectangular mounds are known; widths of 29 are known
	Average length 30.2m, ranging from 137m (between Corner Farm and Red House Farm) to 11.5 (Rowety Plantation 4)
	Average width 7.8m, ranging from 29m (between Corner Farm and Red House Farm) and 2m (Rowety Plantation 4)
Sub-rectangular	8 examples
	Dimensions of six sub-rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 17.6m, ranging from 29m (Steeple Langford Cow Down 4) to 10m (Giant's Grave Longbarrow 5)
	Average width of 10.2m, ranging from 17m (Sugar Hill 3) to 6.5m (Giant's Grave Longbarrow 5)
Circular	3 examples
	Dimensions of two circular mounds are known
	Average diameter 7m, ranging from 8m (White Sheet Camp 2) to 6m (Burroughs Hill 1)
Oval	3 examples
	Dimensions of all oval mounds are known
	Average length 40.3m, ranging from 58m (Kingston Deverill) to 10m (White Sheet Camp 3)
	Average width of 13.1m, ranging from 17m (Crouchs Down) to 7m (White Sheet Camp 3)
Chevron	11 examples
	Dimensions of all chevron-shaped mounds are unknown
Conjoined	3 examples
	The conjoined mounds do not display a standard form and it is not possible to compare their dimensions

Unknown	Morphologies of 2 mounds are unknown
	Dimensions of 19 mounds are unknown
Heights	Heights of five mounds are known
	Average height 0.6m
Ditches	Ditches are recorded at ten mounds

Table 3.8 Morphologies and dimensions of Wiltshire's pillow mounds

Somerset's Pillow Mounds

165 pillow mounds are recorded in Somerset (Fig. 3.14) at 58 sites although the identification of 41 are uncertain. Their distribution is far from even, with discernible concentrations in Exmoor, the Quantocks, the Mendips, and in the north-east and south-east of the county. While at first glance this possibly suggests more comprehensive recording by the HERs of Exmoor, North Somerset, and B&NES, the latter two in fact cover a relatively small area and much of the north-eastern grouping falls under Somerset's HER. However, it is worth noting that although Somerset's HER records are comparatively robust, there has not been a systematic NMP survey of the county, or at least such a survey has not informed the HER's records. Consequently, it is possible that further pillow mounds remain to be discovered within these 'empty' areas of Somerset.

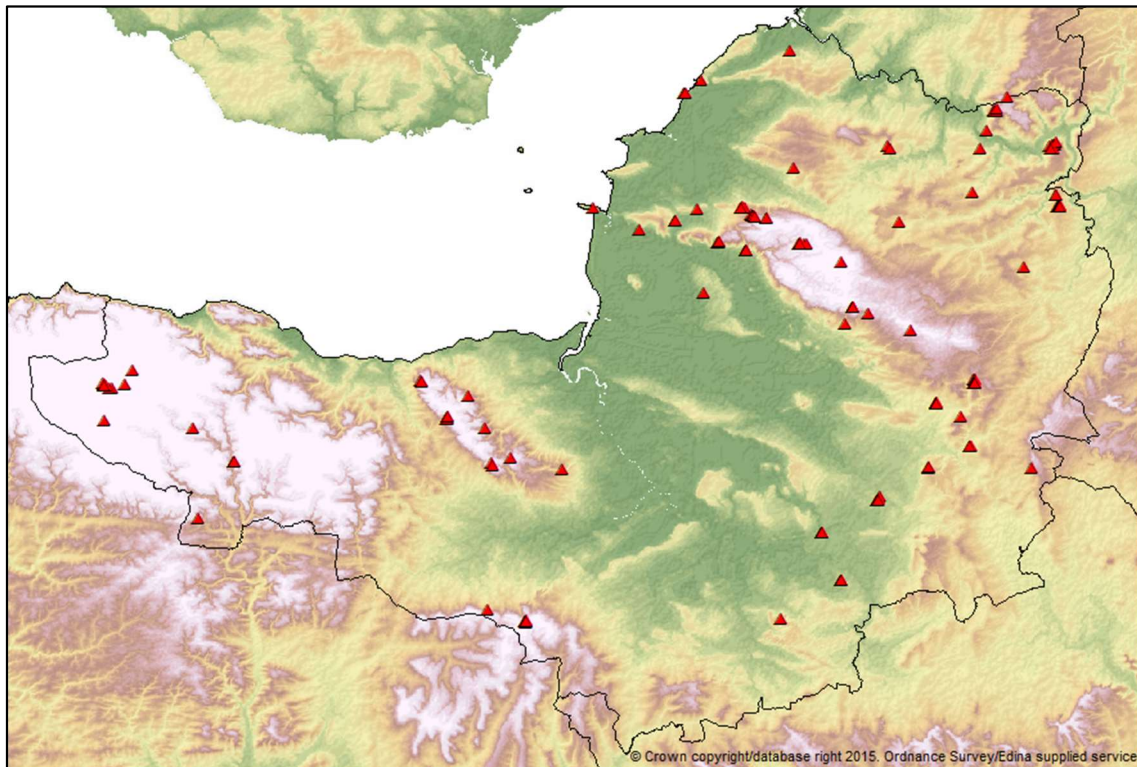


Fig. 3.14 Pillow mound locations in Somerset

Rectangular forms are the most standard form in Somerset (Table 3.9), and although circular examples are nearly as numerous as sub-rectangular forms, they include 11 at a single site (Hinton Priory) whose identification as pillow mounds is uncertain. Six oval mounds are located at a single site (Holman Clavel) There are also single examples of rare cruciform and chevron-shaped mounds.

Rectangular	102 examples
	Dimensions of 69 rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 42.1m, ranging from 219m (Pen Hill 1) to 3.6m (Beacon Hill 1)
	Average width 7.3m, ranging from 17m (Roweberrow Warren 2) to 1.8m (Beacon Hill 1)
Sub-rectangular	18 examples
	Dimensions of 12 of sub-rectangular mounds are known
	Average length 12.7m, ranging from 28m (Babcary 3) to 6.2m (Crowcombe Park 1)
	Average width 7.6m, ranging from 16m (Babcary 3) to 4.3m (Crowcombe Park 1 and 4)
Circular	16 examples
	Dimensions of seven circular mounds are known
	Average diameter 5.7m, ranging from 8m (Babcary 6) to 2m (Beacon Hill)
Oval	10 examples
	Dimensions of only two oval mounds are known
	Average length 16.6m and an average width of 8.5m
Cruciform	1 example
	Full dimensions are unknown – North Somerset’s HER records that its arms are of unequal length and 12m wide
Chevron	1 example
	Dimensions are unknown
Unknown	Morphologies of 17 mounds are unknown
	Dimensions of 76 mounds are unknown
Heights	Heights of 55 mounds are known
	Average height 0.8m
Ditches	Ditches are recorded at 49 mounds

Table 3.9 Morphologies and dimensions of Somerset’s pillow mounds

Summary of the South West's Pillow Mounds

Although the incomplete recording of the study area's pillow mounds inhibits the compiling of a complete picture of surviving warrens, it is nevertheless possible to make several inferences. Regarding the distribution of pillow mounds, Devon has by far the most with 58.9% of the total number (Table. 3.10), although this includes Dartmoor, which accounts for 54.3% of the study area's pillow mounds; the remainder of the county therefore has 4.6% of the total number, comparable to the percentages of Cornwall and Wiltshire, with 4% and 4.6% respectively. Dorset's percentage of 3% is the lowest, although it is unclear whether this represents inadequate recording or whether it is representative of limited rabbit farming there; historic sources, however, would appear to contradict the latter scenario (see Chapter 6). Gloucestershire's 17.4% of the study area's pillow mounds includes Minchinhampton's large commercial warren, which accounts for 4% of the study area's total number. Somerset also contains a high number of pillow mounds with 12.3% of the study area's total. In terms of densities of pillow mounds, Devon (excluding Dartmoor), has 0.1m per km², roughly analogous with the 0.02 pillow mounds per km² in Cornwall, Dorset and Wiltshire; in contrast, Somerset has 0.04 per km², Gloucestershire has 0.07, while Dartmoor's large commercial warrens equate to 0.76 pillow mounds per km².

Region	No. of Pillow Mounds	Percentage of the Study Area's Pillow Mounds	Pillow Mounds per km ²
Devon (including Dartmoor)	787	58.9	0.12
Dartmoor	726	54.3	0.76
Gloucestershire	231	17.4	0.07
Somerset	165	12.3	0.04
Devon (excluding Dartmoor)	61	4.6	0.01
Wiltshire	61	4.6	0.02
Cornwall	54	4	0.02
Dorset	40	3	0.02

Table 3.10 Pillow mound numbers and densities per region

While not always possible to ascertain the warren groupings that these pillow mounds belong to, the data suggests that the average grouping within the study area contains 5.2 pillow mounds. This figure includes the large commercial

warrens of Dartmoor and Minchinhampton, several of which contain over fifty pillow mounds. This figure indicates that while there are several large warrens dispersed throughout the South West, the majority contained only relatively small numbers of pillow mounds, frequently just single examples.

In terms of morphological forms, Table 3.11 indicates the percentages, rounded up to one decimal place, of these forms per region.

	Rect.	Sub-Rect.	Circular	Oval	Chevron	Cruciform	Conjoined	Unknown
Cornwall	37 (68.5%)	2 (3.7%)	10 (18.5%)	3 (5.6%)	-	-	-	2 (3.7%)
Devon	29 (47.5%)	5 (8.2%)	8 (13.1%)	6 (9.8%)	-	-	-	13 (21.3%)
Dartmoor	317 (45.6%)	49 (7.1%)	11 (1.6%)	26 (3.7%)	-	-	-	323 (44.5%)
Dorset	12 (30%)	14 (35%)	5 (12.5%)	2 (5%)	-	-	1 (2.5%)	6 (15%)
Glos.	145 (62.5%)	31 (13.4%)	15 (6.5%)	1 (0.4%)	5 (2.2%)	1 (0.4%)	2 (0.9%)	31 (12.5%)
Wiltshire	31 (50.8%)	8 (13.1%)	3 (4.9%)	3 (4.9%)	11 (18%)	-	3 (4.9%)	2 (3.3%)
Somerset	102 (62.2%)	18 (11%)	16 (9.8%)	10 (6.1%)	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.6%)	-	17 (9.8%)
Total	673 (50.4%)	127 (9.5%)	68 (5.1%)	51 (3.8%)	17 (1.3%)	2 (0.1%)	6 (0.4%)	394 (29.2%)

Table 3.11 Numbers and percentages of pillow mound morphologies

Table 3.11 indicates that rectangular pillow mounds are the South West's most common form, representing just over half of known pillow mounds, although they are relatively few in Dorset. Sub-rectangular mounds are the second most common form, representing almost a tenth of all known examples, circular mounds represent just over 5% of known examples while oval mounds represent 3.9%. The occurrence of chevron-shaped mounds is rare, limited to only 17 examples, while the number of conjoined and cruciform mounds is negligible, consisting of only six and two examples respectively. However, the morphologies of 29.2% of pillow mounds across the study area remain unknown: in effect we are dealing with percentages of known morphologies rather than total morphologies. The morphological breakdown of known pillow mound types is therefore shown in Table 3.12.

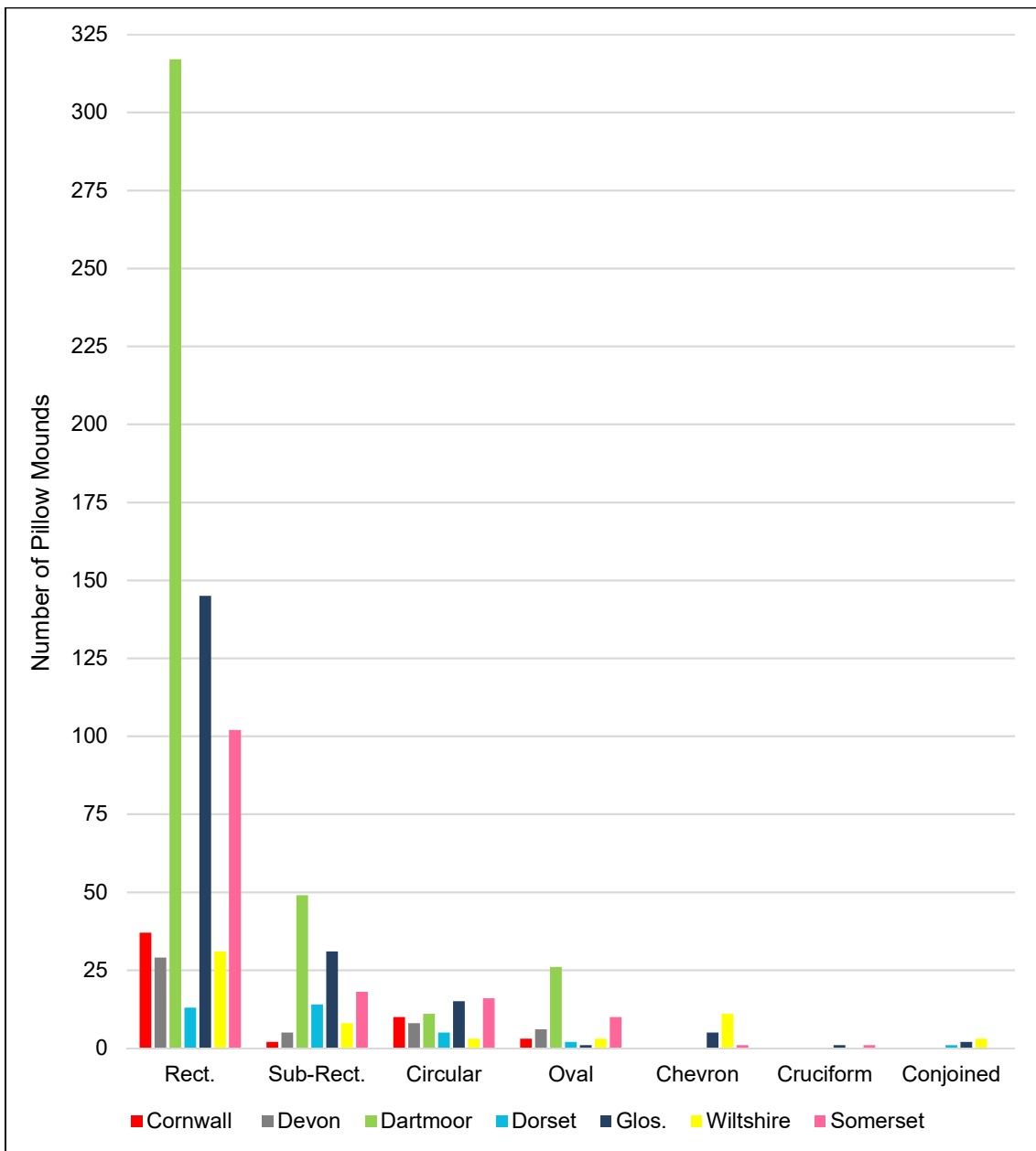


Table 3.12 Known morphologies of pillow mounds per region

Morphological Distributions

While not present at every single site, rectangular pillow mounds are evenly distributed throughout the study area with no discernible spatial trends (Fig. 3.15).

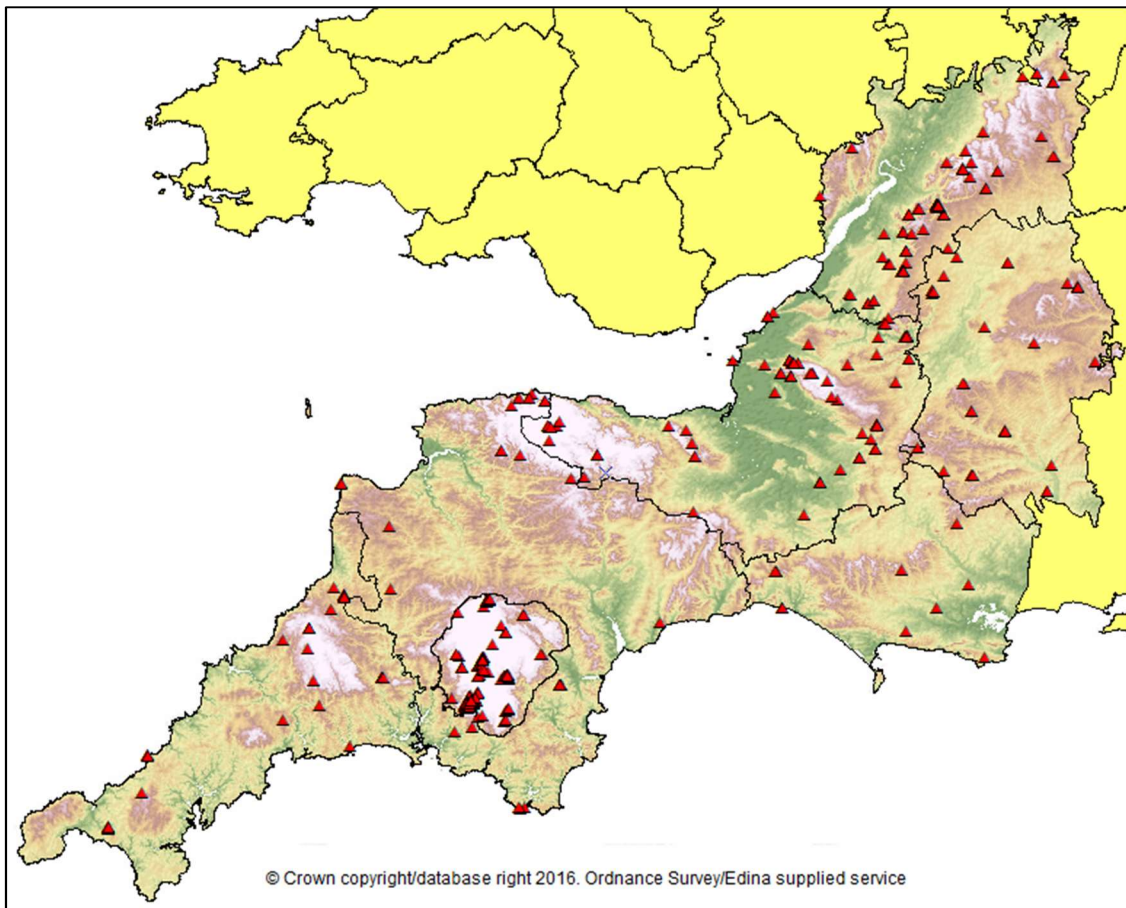


Fig. 3.15 Distribution of rectangular pillow mounds

With regards to the relationship between the lengths and widths of rectangular pillow mounds, to a limited extent there is a positive correlation (Table 3.13). While the shortest pillow mounds tend to be the narrowest, due to the limited range of rectangular pillow mound widths (with two exceptions, all are less than 20m wide and the majority are less than 15m), the longest pillow mounds are not necessarily the widest. This indicates that the most obvious way to increase the surface area of a rectangular pillow mound, and therefore the potential rabbit colony size, was to increase its length rather than its width. This may be because relatively narrow mounds would have facilitated the capture of rabbits as distances between their entrances and the rabbits within them was kept to a minimum. However, this does not explain the presence of several large circular pillow mounds such as those at Poyntington, Dorset, with diameters of over 40m unless they served a different function.

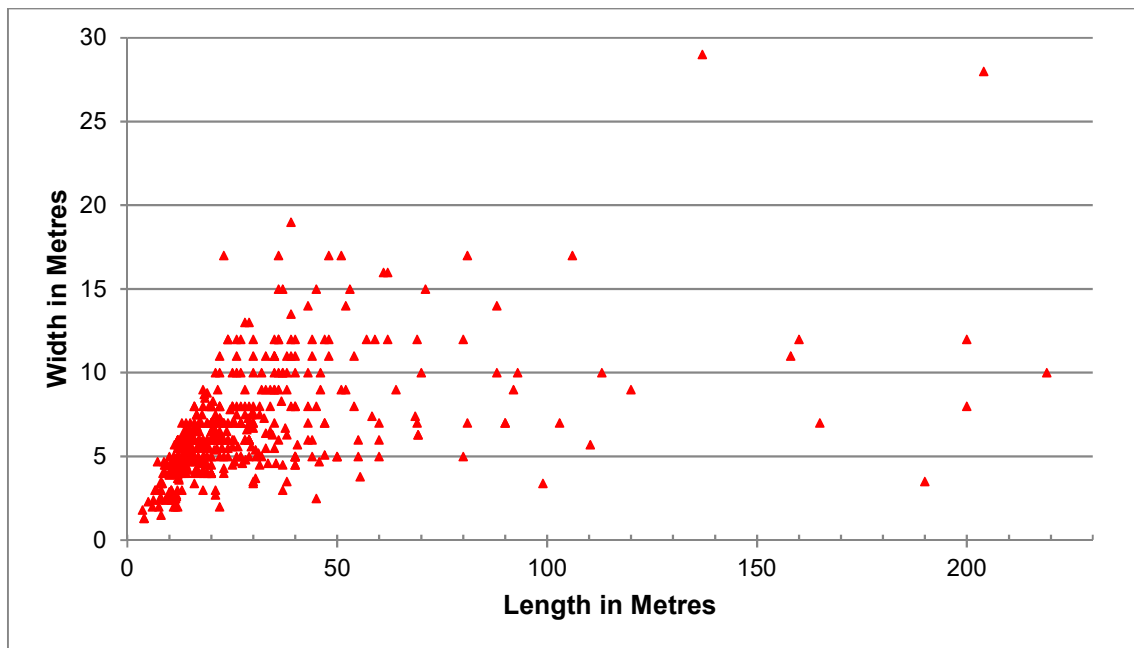


Table 3.13 Relationship between the lengths and widths of rectangular pillow mounds

Sub-rectangular mounds are relatively rare throughout the South West apart from a noticeable concentration in Dartmoor (Fig. 3.16). Sub-rectangular mounds are found at 37 locations, representing 14.5% of the total number of sites. In terms of their numbers, Cornwall has a far lower proportion than the study area average, while the proportions within Devon, Dartmoor, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset are roughly analogous with the study area average. Dorset's proportion of sub-rectangular pillow mounds is far greater than the study area average, with a quarter of pillow mounds in the county being sub-rectangular. However, because few pillow mounds are recorded in Dorset, a total of 14 sub-rectangular examples there still represents a limited number. Their distribution suggests that they are merely variants of the longer rectangular form, although their absence in Cornwall suggests a degree of regional variation.

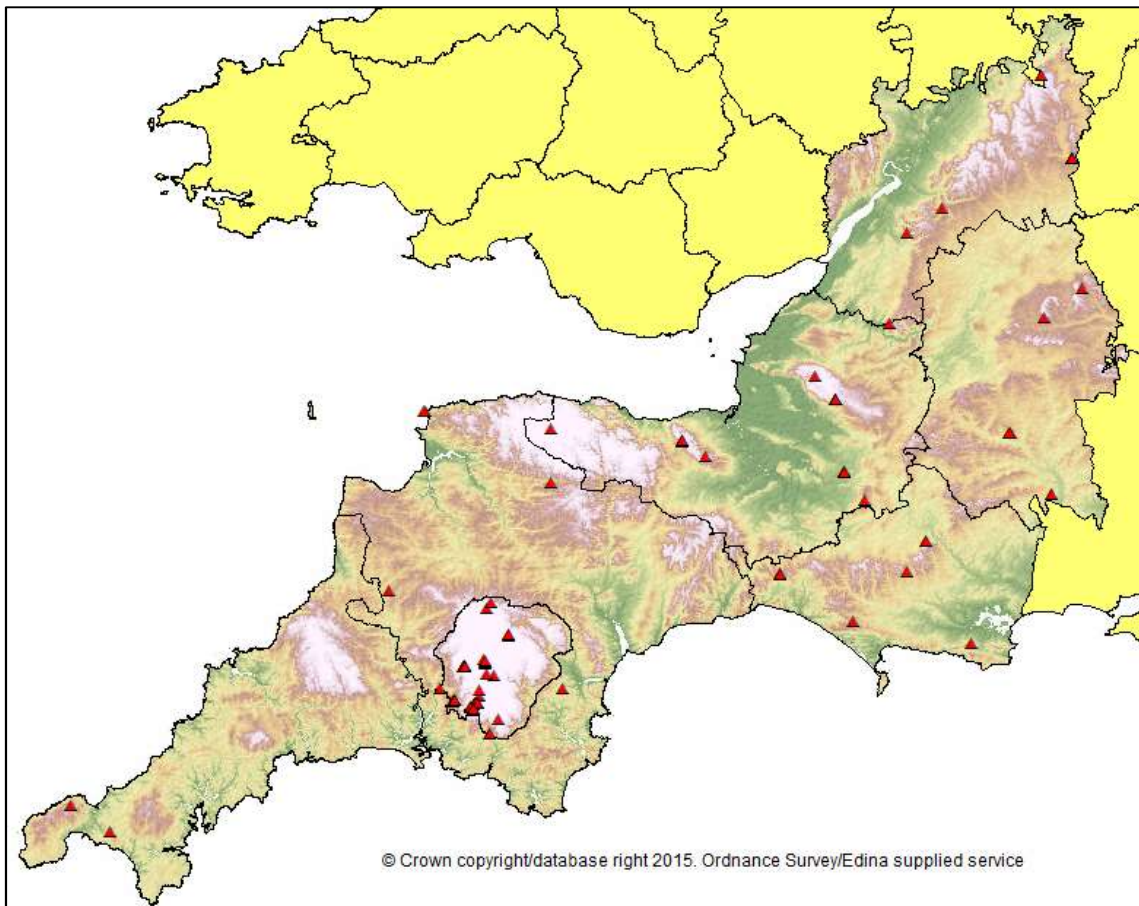


Fig. 3.16 Distribution of sub-rectangular pillow mounds

Sites containing circular pillow mounds are ostensibly fairly evenly distributed across the study area (Fig. 3.17), although there are some regional variances. Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset have higher proportions of circular mounds than the study area average, while Wiltshire and Gloucestershire have lower proportions, suggesting an increased trend in constructing circular mounds in the west and south of the study area. Dartmoor has very few circular examples, although this is probably linked to the fact that its large commercial warrens are atypical of the study area as a whole. Nevertheless, the relative scarcity of circular pillow mounds across the region makes it difficult to discern any firm trends: for example, although 14.7% of Dorset's pillow mounds are circular, there are in fact only five recorded examples at two sites.

Although the national number of circular pillow mounds is unknown, Williamson wrote that one fifth of pillow mound sites contain circular examples (2006, 60). While the exact number of pillow mound sites in the South West is unclear, the approximate number is 256, with circular pillow mounds present at 39 of them, representing 15.2% of the total number of sites. This suggests that either the South West has fewer circular mounds than the national average or

that Williamson's figures are inaccurate, which is possible given the lack of previous detailed studies of pillow mounds.

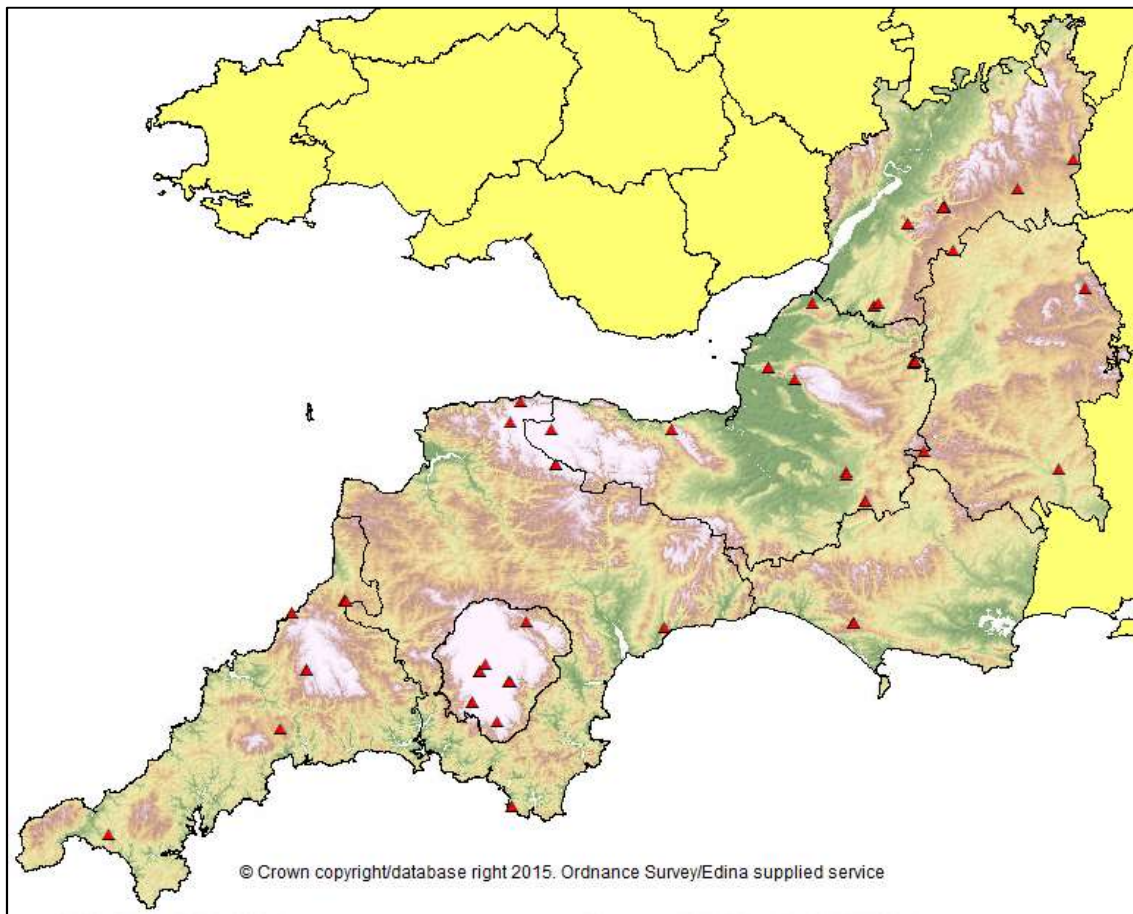


Fig. 3.17 Distribution of circular pillow mounds

Oval pillow mounds are recorded at only 15 locations in the South West, representing 5.9% of known pillow mound sites (Fig. 3.18). Given this small number, their distribution is confined to isolated sites, although there is a relatively large concentration at Merrivale, Dartmoor, while the remainder of Devon has four separate sites with oval mounds. Other, admittedly slight, regional trends may also be discerned: Exmoor, the Quantocks and the Mendips lack oval examples, despite being the locations for Somerset's main pillow mound concentrations; northern Wiltshire is lacking examples as oval mounds are found only on the downlands south and west of Salisbury Plain; Dorset's oval pillow mounds are found exclusively in its south-eastern heathlands; Cornwall's are confined to its north-east.

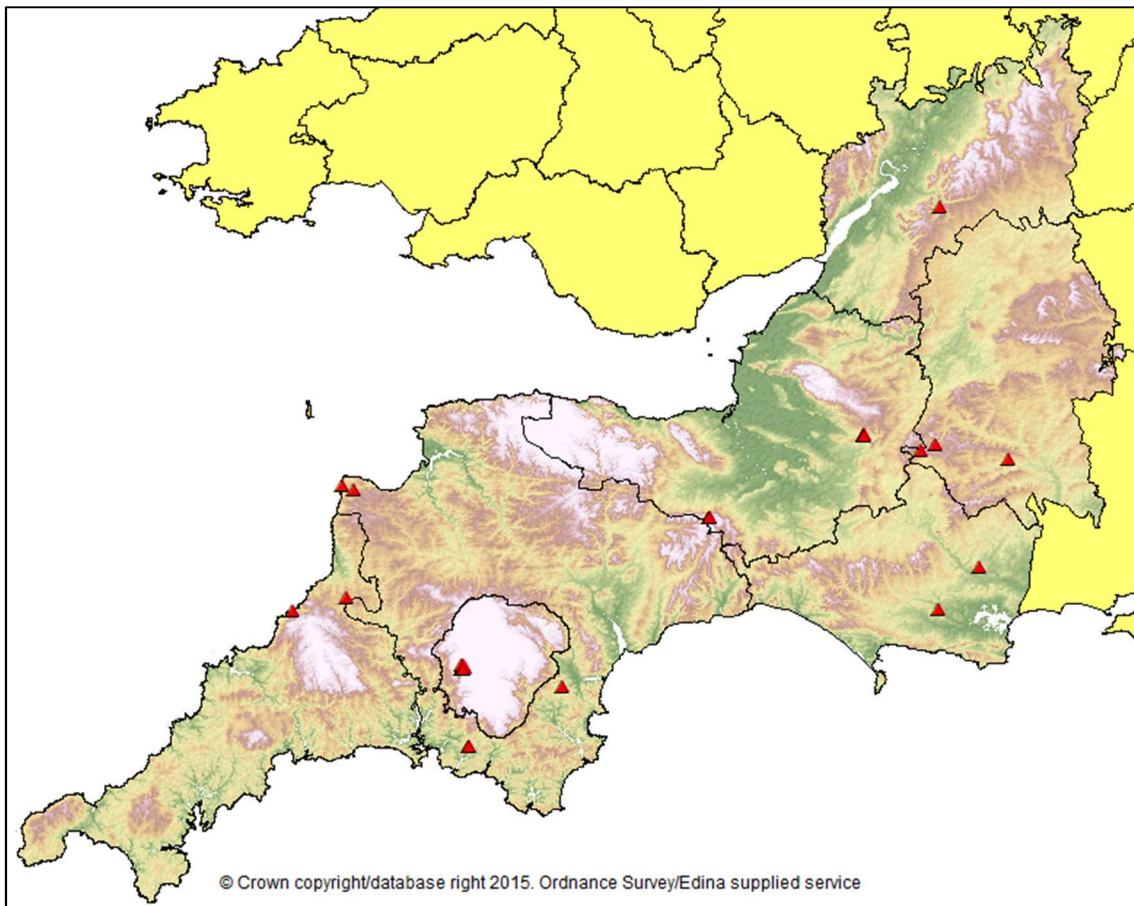


Fig. 3.18 Distribution of oval pillow mounds

Chevron-shaped pillow mounds are found at only six locations, representing 2.3% of pillow mound sites (Fig. 3.19). Such a small figure inhibits ascertaining any real geographical trends beyond the fact that these sites are confined to the north-eastern half of the study area and are entirely absent from Devon, Cornwall and Dorset. It is possible that further chevron-shaped pillow mounds remain to be identified: the archetypal pillow mound is rectangular, although circular mounds are accepted as the most “important variant form” (Williamson 2006, 60). While other forms of earthwork are now recognised as pillow mounds (*ibid*, 59), the possibility remains that chevron-shaped earthworks have not been recognised as pillow mounds because of their perceived atypical shape.

Cruciform pillow mounds are recorded at only two sites (Fig. 3.20), while conjoined examples are recorded at only five sites (Fig. 3.21) Again, such limited numbers inhibit drawing firm conclusions concerning their distribution beyond observing that they are entirely absent from the western parts of the study area.

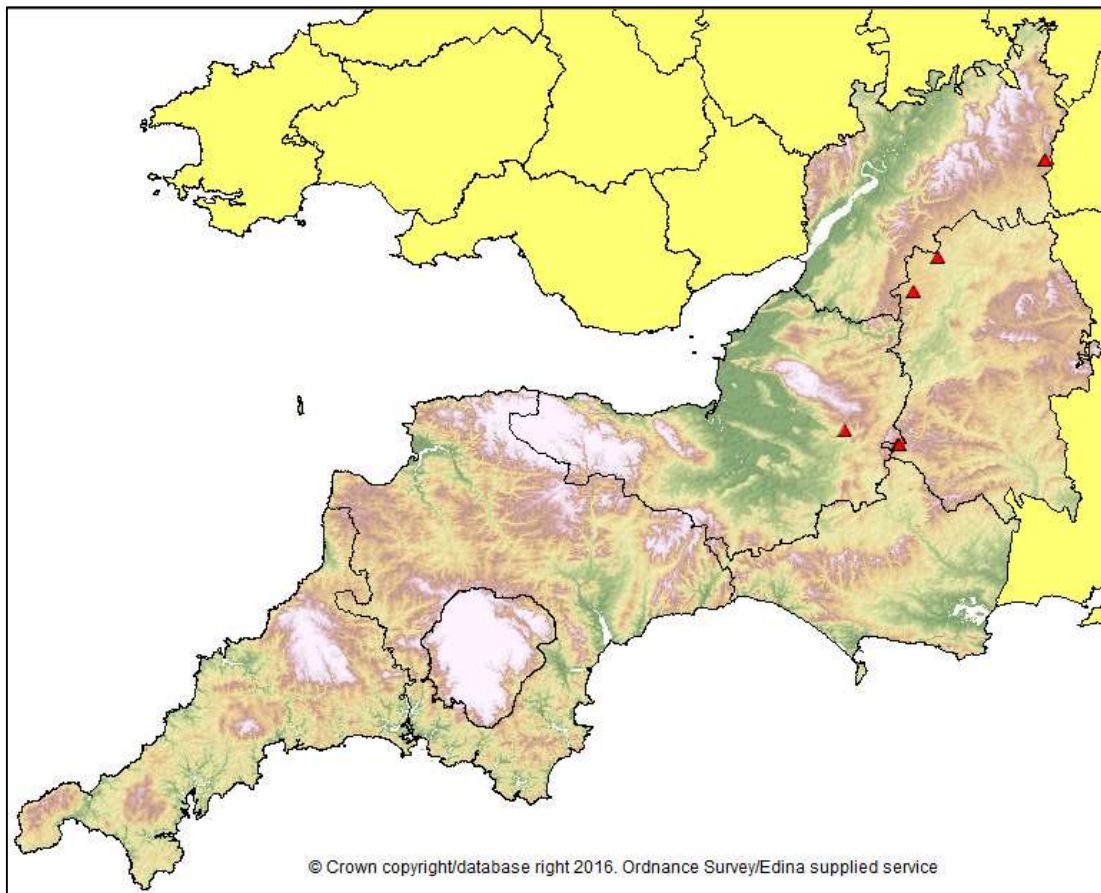


Fig. 3.19 Distribution of chevron-shaped pillow mounds – Beech Clump and Whitesheet Downs in south-west Wiltshire appear as a single site due to the scale of the image

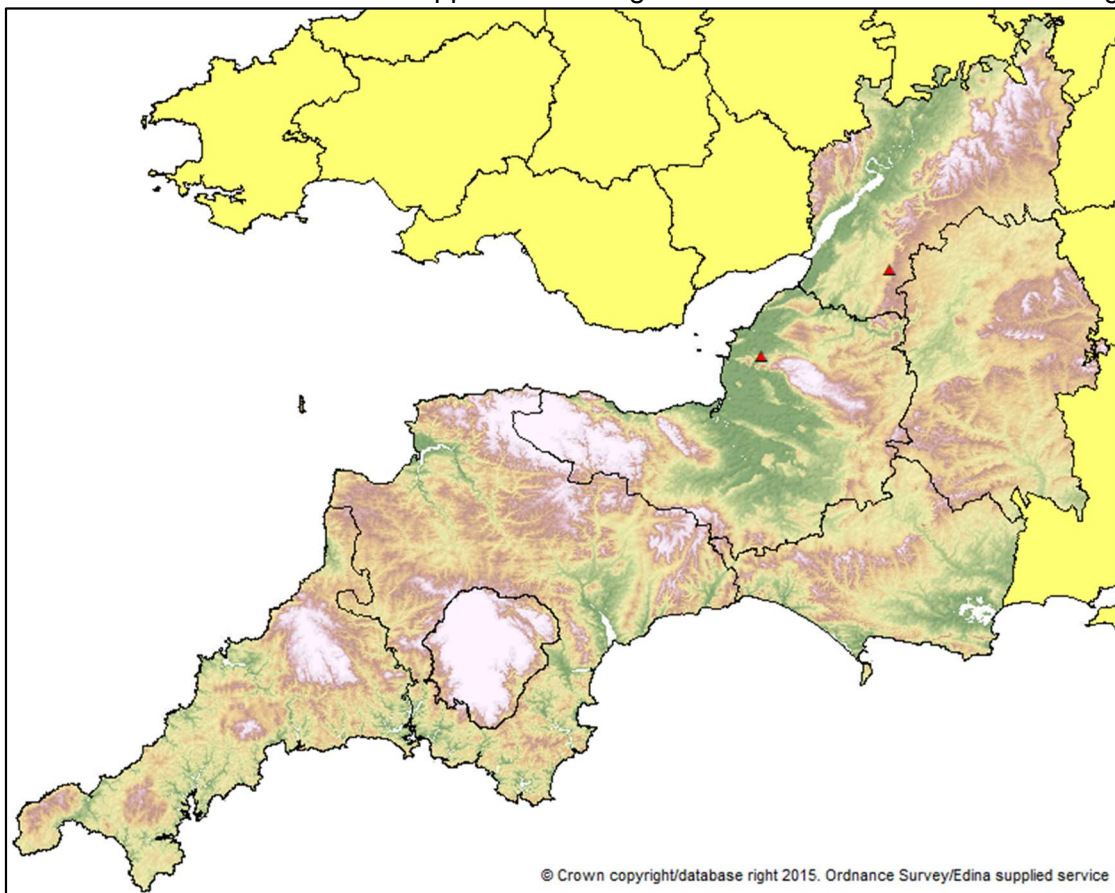


Fig. 3.20 Distribution of cruciform pillow mounds

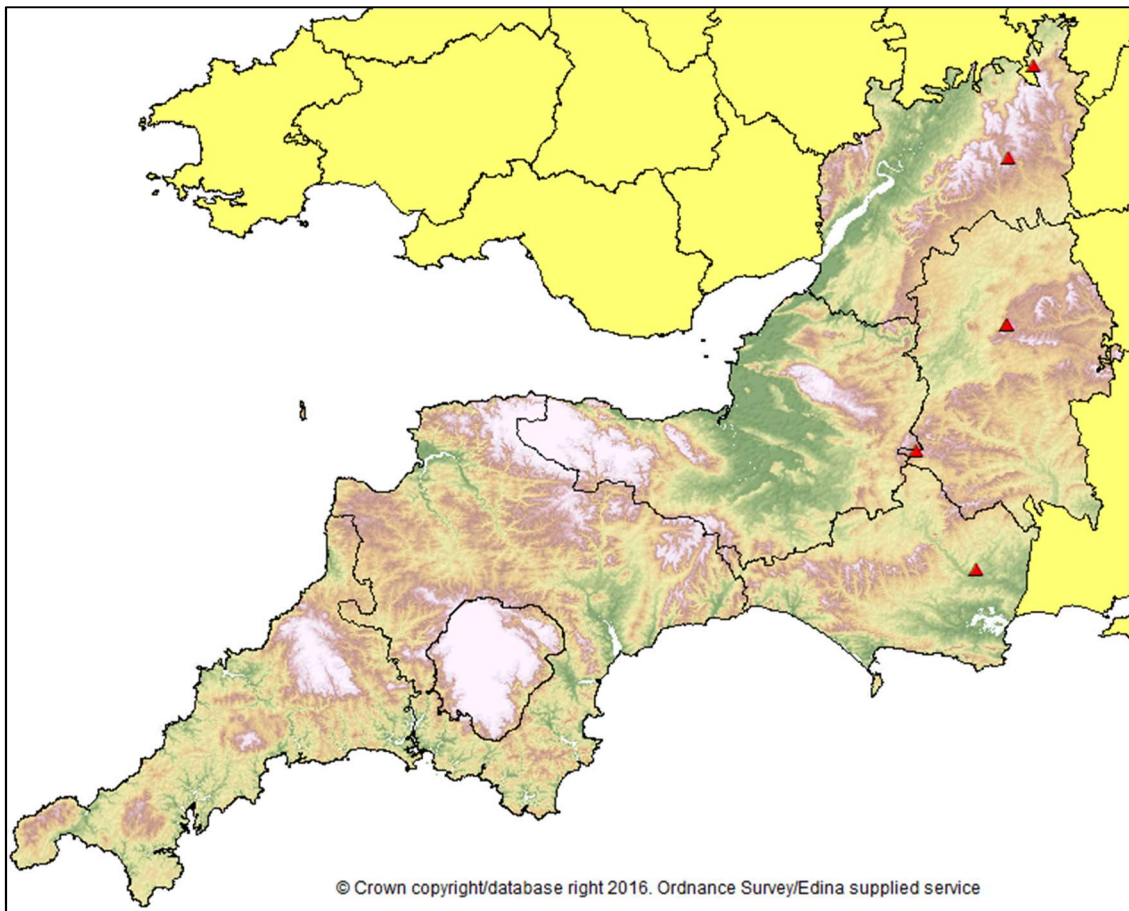


Fig. 3.21 Distribution of conjoined pillow mounds

Although many pillow mounds have unknown dimensions, Tables 3.14 and 3.15 presents the known dimensions of pillow mounds within the South West.

	Cornwall	Devon	Dartmoor	Somerset	Dorset	Wiltshire	Glos.	Study Area
Rectangle Length	25.6	43.4	19.8	42.1	28.9	30.2	38.2	29
Rectangle Width	7.4	8.5	6.1	7.3	5.2	7.8	8.6	6.6
Sub-rectangle Length	12.5	20.8	8.8	12.7	15.4	17.6	17.5	13.1
Sub-rectangle Width	8.5	12.2	5.4	7.6	9.3	10.2	11	8
Circle diameter	14.5	19.5	5.7	5.7	26.4	7	14.1	13.4
Oval length	13	11.6	8.4	16.9	29.2	40.3	?	12.9
Oval width	7.7	8	4.1	8.5	9.4	13.1	?	6
Height	0.9	1.2	1	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.9

Table 3.14 Average dimensions in metres of pillow mounds

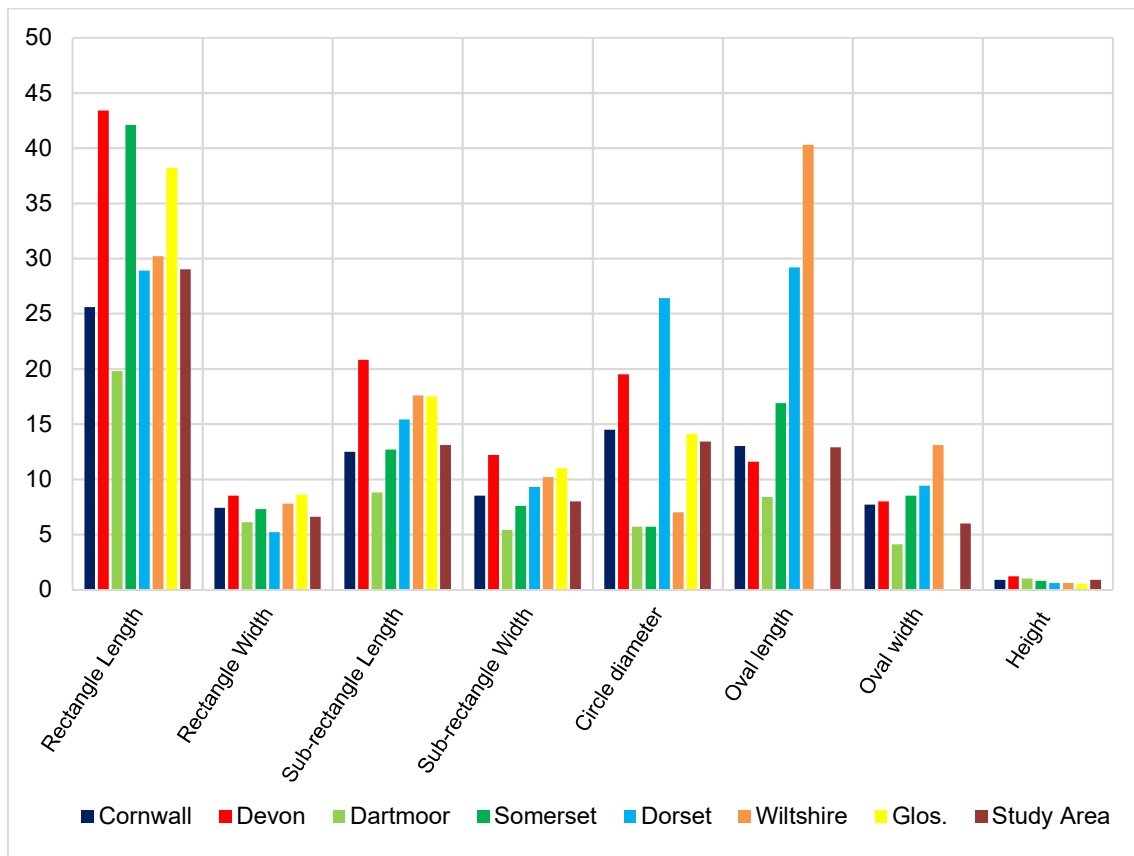


Table 3.15 Average dimensions in metres of pillow mounds

The average length of rectangular mound is 29m, although the average length in Cornwall and Dartmoor is shorter while Dorset's rectangular mounds are almost nearly analogous with this figure; indeed, it is apparent that while most of Dartmoor's warrens are large, commercial ventures, their high numbers of pillow mounds was an alternative to constructing fewer, but larger, pillow mounds as was the case in other parts of the study area. Indeed, if Dartmoor's pillow mounds are excluded, the average length in the remainder of the study area increases to 37.2m: this is roughly analogous to the lengths of rectangular mounds in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, while those in Somerset and the remainder of Devon far exceed this figure.

These averages hide the fact there is a great degree of variation of rectangular pillow mounds across the region. For example, there are examples measuring over 200m in length in Devon, Gloucestershire and Somerset, over 100m in length in Dartmoor and Wiltshire, while the longest examples in Cornwall and Dorset measure 62m and 55.5m respectively. At the other end of the spectrum, there are examples in Cornwall, Devon, Dartmoor and Somerset measuring under 10m, while in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Dorset the shortest examples still measure no more than 12m in length. These variances suggest

that there were probably many factors determining pillow mound dimensions, even when using the 'standard' rectangular form, such as the number of pillow mounds at the warren, the purpose of the warren, local geographical and topographical conditions and the motivations of the landowner.

The average width of the study area's rectangular pillow mounds is 6.6m, although if Dartmoor's generally small mounds are excluded, this increases to 7.9m. This discrepancy between the average dimensions of Dartmoor's rectangular pillow mounds and those in the remainder of the county justify viewing Dartmoor as a discrete region within the study area. Aside from the generally small size of Dartmoor's pillow mounds, Dorset's rectangular pillow mounds are also notable for having a low average width of 5.2m, although this figure is derived from a relatively small number of mounds.

The average length of sub-rectangular pillow mounds is 13.1m, although as previously discussed, these may simply be smaller variants of the standard rectangular form. As with rectangular mounds, there are considerable variances in the average lengths of sub-rectangular pillow mounds across the study area: those in Cornwall and Somerset are roughly analogous with the study area average, Dartmoor's are smaller, while those in the remaining regions exceed the study area average. The average width of sub-rectangular pillow mounds is 8m and again there are considerable regional variations: only those in Somerset are roughly analogous with this figure, Dartmoor's are narrower, while those in the remaining regions exceed this figure. Gloucestershire in particular has, on average, the widest sub-rectangular pillow mounds, averaging over twice the width of the study area average.

The average diameter of circular pillow mounds is 13.4m, although as mentioned, there are unlikely to be any perfectly circular examples. The average diameters of circular pillow mounds in Cornwall, Devon, Gloucestershire and particularly Dorset exceed the study area average; those in Somerset and Wiltshire are smaller. These trends possibly suggest a tradition of using larger circular pillow mounds in the far south and west of the study area compared the north and east, Gloucestershire excepted.

The average length of oval pillow mounds is 12.9m, although assessing county averages is hindered by their uneven distribution across the South West. For example, only a single example is found in Gloucestershire, two examples are found in Dorset, while Wiltshire and Cornwall both have only three examples;

in contrast only Somerset and Dartmoor have significant numbers of oval pillow mounds. As such, the average length of oval pillow mounds in Dorset and Wiltshire exceed the study area average at 29.2m and 40.3m respectively. In terms of their widths, those in all areas apart from Dartmoor exceed the study area's average and in fact it is the relatively small size of Dartmoor's oval mounds that reduces this average. As far as can be determined then, the construction of oval pillow mounds is rare outside of Dorset and Dartmoor, while the examples in the South West's remaining counties are too rare to allow for the observance of any firm trends.

The recording of pillow mound heights is rare, confined to only 486 examples. Nonetheless, the average height across the study area is 0.9m, with the average heights in Cornwall, Devon and Dartmoor exceeding this figure. The average height of Somerset's pillow mounds equals the study area average, while the average heights in Dorset, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire are all smaller, with Gloucestershire's average of 0.5m being the lowest in the South West. The incomplete record of pillow mound heights, coupled with the fact that all pillow mounds will have suffered erosion, makes drawing firm conclusions difficult. Nevertheless, the figures hint at pillow mounds in the far west being slightly taller than those elsewhere in the study area, with heights decreasing further to the east.

Other Surviving Architectural Features

Although pillow mounds are the most common elements of surviving warrens, other architectural features sometimes survive, such as boundaries, lodges and traps. These architectural forms are uncommon, however, and the majority of warrens with surviving physical evidence are known only from the presence of pillow mounds.

Warren Boundaries

Warren boundaries are recorded at only 39 locations within the study area (Fig. 3.22 and Appendix 2).

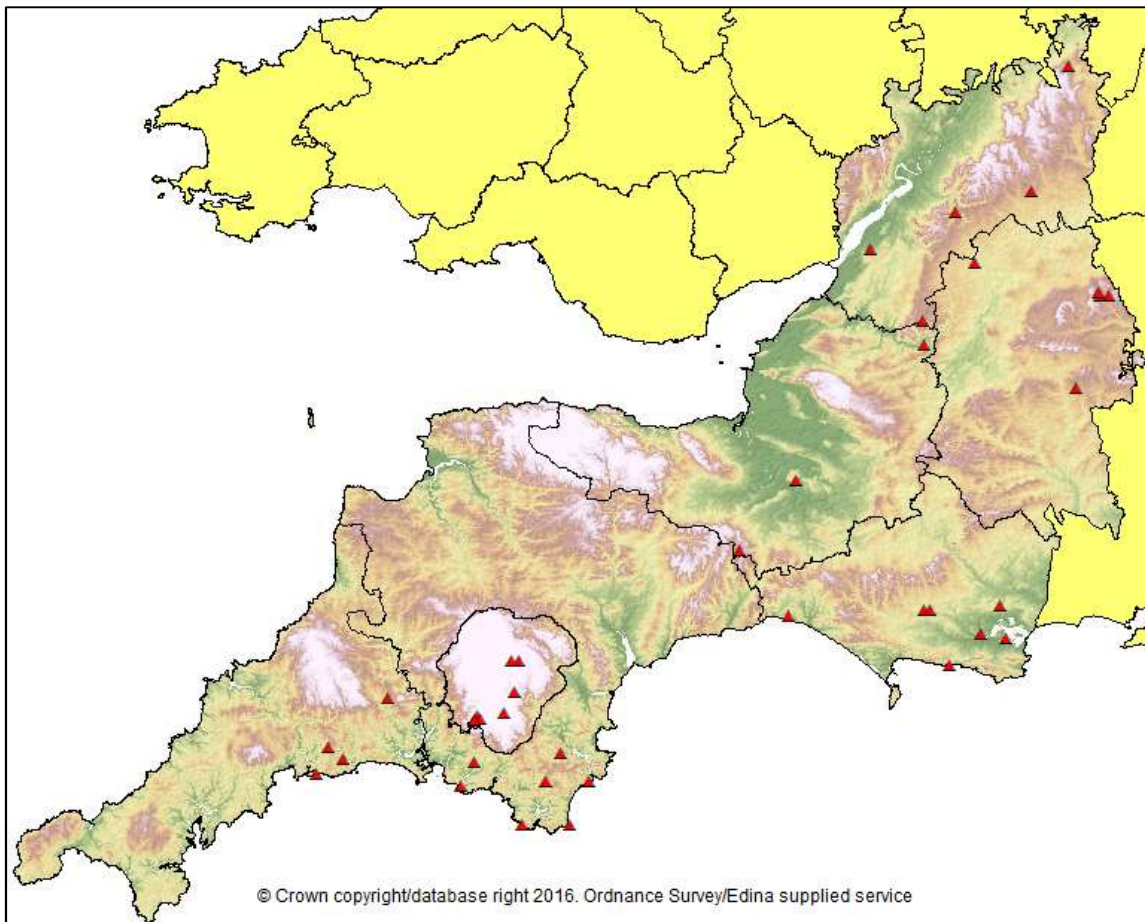


Fig. 3.22 Distribution of warren boundaries

Warren boundaries are reported across the study area, with a particular concentration in south Devon and south-east Dorset, although the latter is largely a result of the detailed investigation that informed Chapter 6. Although many of Devon's warren boundaries are found in Dartmoor, where the need to stop rabbits straying from its large commercial warrens is expected, there are nevertheless a number of other south Devon warrens that preserve boundaries. Despite their geographic spread, their scarcity renders identifying spatial trends difficult, particularly as it is likely that other boundaries survive but which have not been recorded. For example, Ditsworthy Warren is described in detail in its NMR listing (438818), but the fact that it is bounded by a corn-ditch and turf banks as well as the River Plym is not mentioned. Another example is Holm Park, Gloucestershire, where a warren is recorded by South Gloucestershire's HER solely through documentary references; however, site visits reveal that the field named *Gully Coneygre* on Thornbury's tithe map is bounded by a ditch and hedge-topped bank, a feature not found elsewhere within the former deer park and which probably represents a warren boundary. A number of sites utilise natural features as boundaries, with several warrens in south-east Dorset incorporating the rivers

Piddle and Frome as boundaries, while several of Dartmoor's warrens also utilise waterways. Several boundaries are recorded in documentary references and it is unclear whether any physical remains survive.

Only 15 pillow mound sites are associated with boundaries (see Appendix 2); the remaining 24 warren boundaries are not associated with pillow mounds. While 39 warrens with boundaries represents 15.2% of known pillow mound sites within the South West, it was expected that boundaries would not have been present at every site: Williamson and Loveday reported that 65% of pillow mounds in their sample of 190 sites in southern Britain were located in unenclosed warrens (1988, 297). In the present study area, approximately 1,019 pillow mounds lie within unenclosed warrens, representing 76.2% of known examples. The discrepancy between Williamson and Loveday's figure supports the notion that boundaries are under-reported within the study area. That more boundaries are recorded at sites without pillow mounds than at sites with pillow mounds suggests that the presence of pillow mounds dominates the recording of historic warrens to the extent that other features are ignored.

Warreners' Lodges

In light of the suspected deficiencies in the recording of boundaries, it is possible that a similar situation exists regarding warreners' lodges, with unrecorded examples likely to have survived. However, the converse situation has also been noted where the identification of buildings recorded as warreners' lodges is far from certain. For example, B&NES's HER (MBN9407) associates the building at Conygre Farm with the Abbot of Keynsham's thirteenth-century rabbit warren, which was granted in an area called *Wynterleye* (CPR, Edward I, vol. 1, 371). It is unclear, however, where *Wynterleye* was and to confound matters, a source held by the HER suggests that the farm was in fact built in 1852, although it is possible that it was built on the site of an earlier farm. Nevertheless, this case highlights the fact that Conygre Farm has been identified as the lodge of the Abbot of Keynsham's medieval rabbit warren without any conclusive evidence.

A similar uncertainty is acknowledged by Somerset's HER regarding Holman Clavel warren, where the nearby *Warren House* (HER 43486) may be a warren lodge or it may simply be named after the Warren family who lived in the parish from at least the seventeenth century. At Long Cove, Devon, *Warren Cottage* is marked on the 1915 OS map, but is absent on the 1896 OS map

although the warren itself is depicted: it is possible that this cottage is so-named not because it was a warrener's lodge but because it was a recent construction near the pre-existing warren. *Old Lodge Inn* on Minchinhampton Common, Gloucestershire, is a Grade II Listed Building (133074) and described merely as a "hunting lodge" in its listing entry; no connection is made with the extensive warren surrounding it, although it is described as the warren's former lodge by Mason (2009, 30). Gloucestershire's HER (2777) also records the presence of a possible warrener's lodge at Saintbury although site visits undertaken by the present author suggest that this identification is unlikely (see Chapter 7). Although 35 warreners' lodges are recorded within the study area (Fig. 3.23 and Appendix 3), due to such uncertainties, not all are identified with any degree of certainty, while a small number are known only through cartographic or documentary sources.

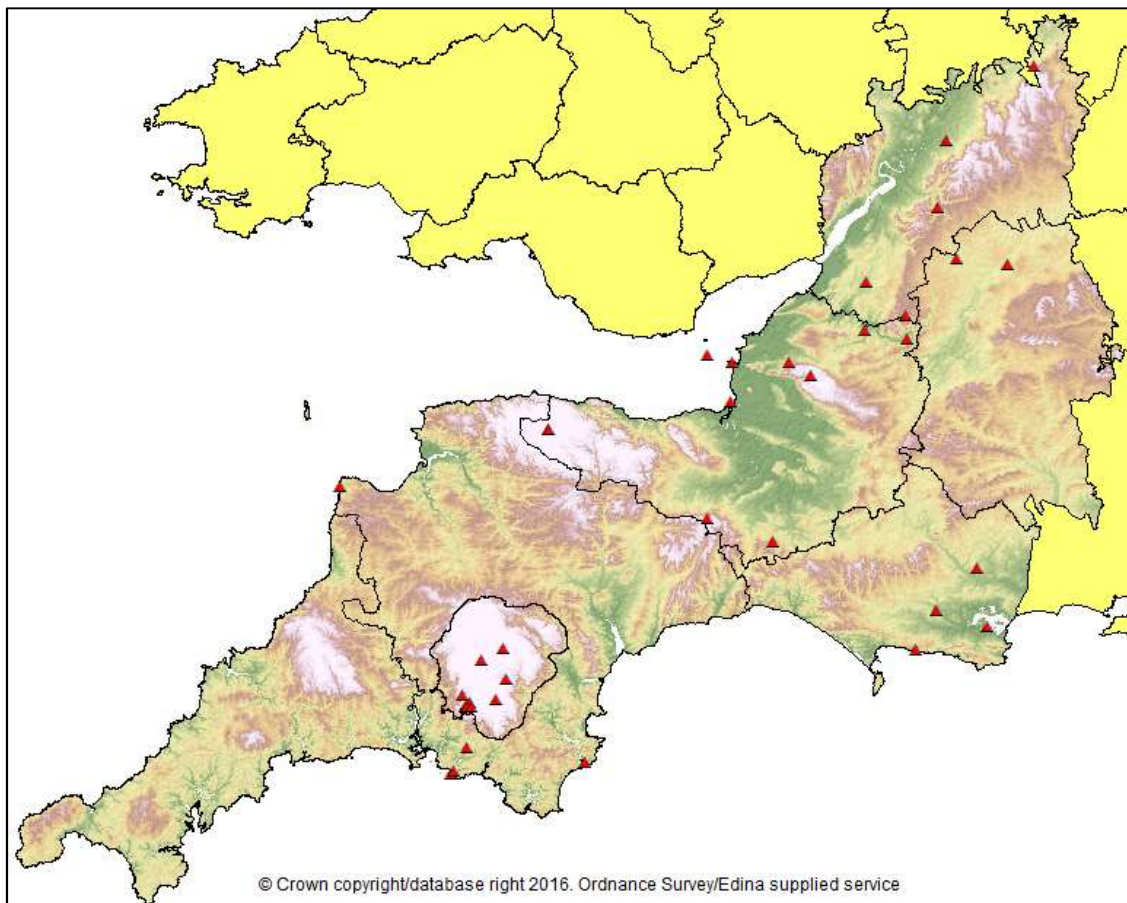


Fig. 3.23 Distribution of warreners' lodges

Aside from five possible examples in Gloucestershire, two in north Wiltshire and four in Dorset, most warreners' lodges are located in Devon and Somerset, with a particular concentration in Dartmoor. The link with Dartmoor is unsurprising

given the large-scale commercial nature of its warrens and the need to provide facilities for the professional warreners managing them.

Vermin Traps

Some warrens would have been equipped with traps to catch vermin, such as stoats, weasels and foxes. Vermin traps are generally small tunnels covered in turf whose endings could be closed by a gate or a shutter placed in grooves (Fig. 3.24). This generalised description hides the fact that vermin traps never share the exact same design, but were instead constructed to suit the local physical peculiarities of their parent warrens (Haynes 1970, 152).



Fig. 3.24 Interior view of a vermin trap at Legis Tor, Dartmoor (© 2007-2015 Keith Ryan)

Although some vermin traps would have been made from stone, most were likely constructed from wood and consequently very few remain intact. Indeed, even on Dartmoor where the majority of known examples are recorded, most are revealed by the presence of funnel walls designed to lead the animals into the traps rather than the traps themselves, which have not always survived (Haynes 1970, 152). However, as the architecture and construction methods of Dartmoor's vermin traps, representing the majority of known examples, are particularly well-recorded by Haynes (1970), it is not the intention of this study to repeat such discussions. In terms of the distribution of vermin traps, 151 examples are

recorded in Dartmoor, with at least 16 examples recorded elsewhere in the South West (Fig. 3.25 and Appendix 4).

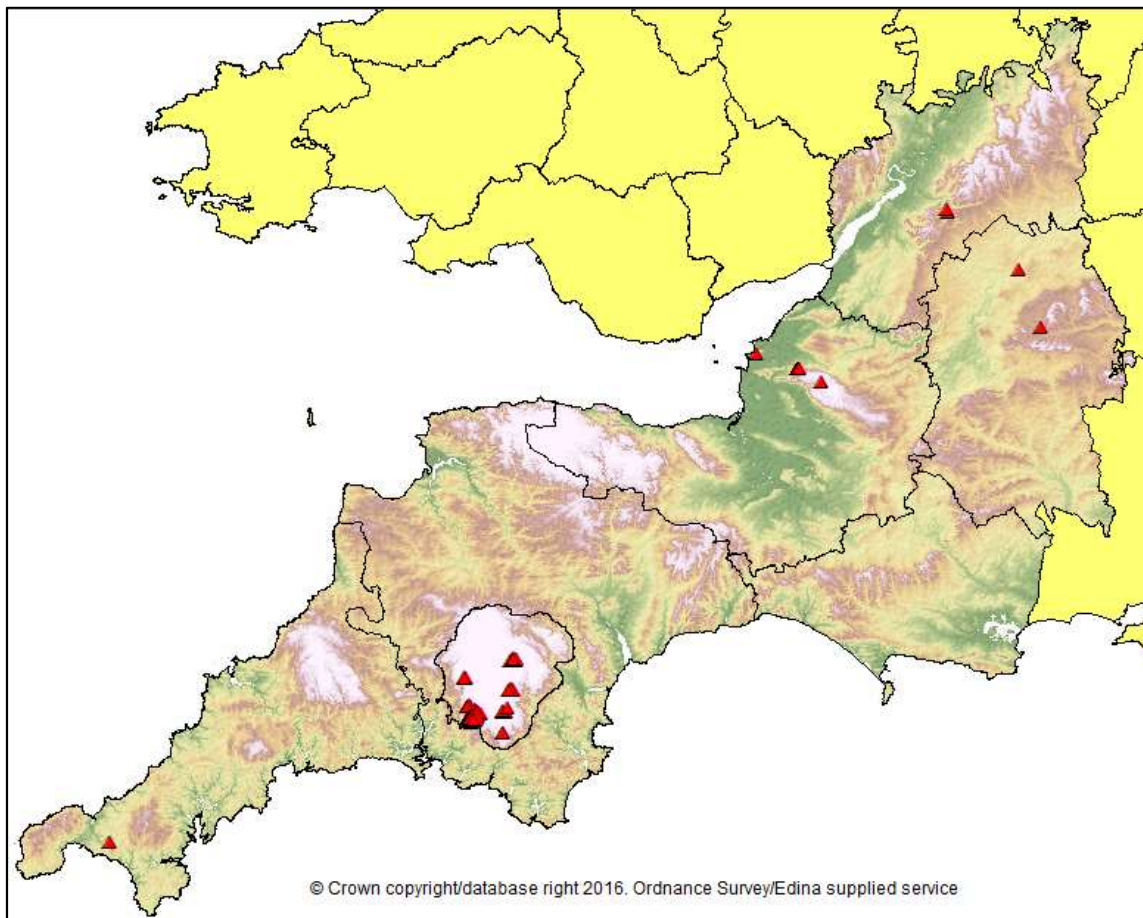


Fig. 3.25 Distribution of vermin traps

As relatively ephemeral features, vermin traps are not particularly well-recorded outside of Dartmoor and often nothing besides their presence is known. Two traps are recorded in Gloucestershire, although surprisingly only one is recorded by Gloucestershire's HER at Minchinhampton despite it being comparable in size to Dartmoor's warrens. However, Williamson wrote of two vermin traps there (2006, 80) and probably refers to the example at Amberley, which although neighbouring Minchinhampton, is not associated with that warren by Gloucestershire's HER. Nevertheless, a maximum of two vermin traps associated with over 50 pillow mounds at Minchinhampton is a curiously small number.

Vermin traps are recorded at three sites in Somerset's Mendips: North Somerset's HER records the locations of nine at Dolebury Warren (although NMR monument no. 1494857 states there are up to 20 without giving NGRs) and unknown numbers at Worlebury and Ubley Warren Farm. Two sites in Wiltshire, Avebury and Skinner's Ground, are recorded as having vermin traps, although their numbers are unknown. Moreover, the identification of vermin traps at

Avebury is questionable: Haynes reported how Hansford Worth had written of being told of vermin traps at Worlebury and Avebury (1970, 155), although Hansford Worth in fact mentioned traps only at Worlebury (1994, 161). It is unclear therefore where Haynes' reference to Avebury's vermin traps originates, although his reference has subsequently informed Williamson's attestation of vermin traps there (2006, 80). A single possible example is recorded at Godolphin, Cornwall: a feature previously recorded as a culvert was considered by Herring to instead represent a vermin trap as there seems little need to provide drainage on Godolphin Hill (1998, 254). No vermin traps are recorded in Dorset or Devon outside of Dartmoor.

The link between vermin traps and large commercial warrens such as those on Dartmoor and Minchinhampton and smaller commercial warrens such as Dolebury is easily explained by the need to ensure maximum profitability by protecting rabbits. That vermin traps are found on sites such as Skinner's Ground with only two pillow mounds also indicates that the need to protect rabbits was sometimes required regardless of whether they were bred for commercial purposes or to supplement individual farms' produce. That vermin traps are small earthworks suggests that, aside from explaining their lack of recognition and survival, not much further effort would have been required to construct them and it is likely that there would have been further examples that have not survived or been recorded. Certainly despite their rarity they cannot be said to be a tradition solely connected with Dartmoor's warrens, and outside of the study area vermin traps are known from Bryn Cysegfan, Dyfed, (Austin 1988, 141) and in Hertfordshire (Williamson 2006, 80; Mason 2009, 35).

Aside from vermin traps, traps for catching rabbits have also been noted at a number of warrens in England and Wales (Harris and Spratt 1991, 180; Williamson 2006, 75). Known as *types*, these were essentially trap-door covered pits over which rabbits ran after being funnelled through small tunnels known as *muces*. No examples are recorded within the study area.

Summary

The incomplete recording of surviving warren architecture at times makes it difficult to define any absolute trends relating to the distribution, sizes and morphologies of pillow mounds. However, due to their large numbers, several inferences can still be made, most notably that pillow mounds are an incredibly

common feature of the South West's historic landscape: 1,338 examples within six counties, albeit including several of uncertain identification, represents a remarkably high figure. Their distribution is far from even, however: outside Dartmoor's large commercial warrens, Somerset and especially Gloucestershire are notable for having high numbers of pillow mounds at relatively high densities per km²; in contrast Wiltshire, Dorset, Cornwall and Devon (excluding Dartmoor) have far fewer pillow mounds and while the numbers in these counties vary, they have similar densities.

Rectangular pillow mounds clearly represent the most standard shape although it is unclear whether sub-rectangular forms are a distinct typology or whether they are merely shorter variants. However, there are some hints that they represent two distinct forms: Somerset's sub-rectangular mounds are generally small while its rectangular mounds are generally very large, while Dorset has a high prevalence of sub-rectangular mounds and a low prevalence of rectangular mounds. Outside of Somerset, the largest rectangular pillow mounds are found in Devon, the smallest are located in Dartmoor and Cornwall, while those in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Dorset are roughly analogous with the study area's average. Indeed, it is evident that the small size of Dartmoor's rectangular (and sub-rectangular) pillow mounds was a result of the unique rabbit 'industry' there: while many pillow mounds were built there to support this industry, it was not necessary to construct large mounds.

Circular pillow mounds are generally distributed evenly, although they are less common in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire suggesting a slight prevalence in the far west and south of the study area. However, the study area as a whole seems to have less circular examples than was previously noted by Williamson: where he reported that a fifth of sites nationally contain circular mounds, (2006, 60), they are found at only 15.2% of the South West's pillow mound sites. Oval mounds, outside of a relatively large concentration at Merrivale, Dartmoor, are generally rare across the study area and it is not clear if they are simply variants of circular forms. There is some evidence, however, that oval examples may represent remnants of earlier, medieval pillow mounds, such as those at Dartmoor's Merrivale Warren and Dorset's Badbury and Bere Regis (see Chapter 6). Although very rare, conjoined, cruciform and chevron-shaped mounds are limited to Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset and Gloucestershire, suggesting an increased diversity of forms towards the north and east of the study area.

Evidence regarding pillow mound heights is very incomplete, although the available evidence suggests they were higher in the west than in the east of the study area.

Likewise, evidence regarding warren boundaries, lodges and traps is very incomplete. Nevertheless, boundaries are found throughout the study area, though they are more numerous in south Devon, including Dartmoor, and south-east Dorset: the latter is largely a result of the greater degree of investigation that informed Chapter 6, although similar case studies in north-east Gloucestershire and north-east Cornwall failed to reveal similar numbers of boundaries. However, because it is evident that natural features such as water courses often formed warren boundaries, it is likely that other boundaries exist but have not been recorded due to the limited investigation of such features. The same is true of warreners' lodge and traps: although lodges are again found throughout the study area, particularly in Dartmoor and Somerset, the evidence sources are sometimes confused as to the identification of lodges primarily because such features generally receive little dedicated study. Vermin traps have been found at a small number of locations, but are unsurprisingly more common on Dartmoor's commercial warrens. However, that they are found at small, non-commercial warrens suggests they may have been more prevalent than is suggested by the current archaeological record. No rabbit traps have been recorded within the study area.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORIC REFERENCES TO RABBIT WARRENS

Medieval Rabbit Warrens

The following investigation of historic references to warrens complements Chapter 3's study of warren architecture as many historic warrens are known only through documentary references. While some sources allow for a relatively secure identification of these warrens' locations, such as warren field-names on tithe maps, many earlier medieval references are more vague, often containing no site-specific information beyond indicating the manors in which they were located.

Nevertheless, certain medieval sources are invaluable in constructing something of a narrative history of warrening, notably the various calendars of chancery rolls, an overview of which is included in Chapter 2. The patent rolls are the most useful in identifying former rabbit warrens because, amongst other things, they record trespassing into, and animal thefts from, aristocratic hunting lands. Such references preserve a tradition not of peasants breaking into these lands to feed themselves and their families, but of members of the aristocracy breaking into their rivals' lands in a culture of one-upmanship. The patent rolls are remarkably specific in recording which animal species were stolen, and because rabbits did not then live in feral colonies, their thefts indicate the presence of manmade rabbit warrens. While this means that the patent rolls are predominantly of use in identifying only those rabbit warrens that were broken into, that this culture of trespassing was so prevalent in medieval England means they preserve many records of rabbit thefts: between 1268 and 1551, 465 instances of rabbit warren break-ins are recorded in England, two in Ireland in 1350 and 1373, one in Guernsey in 1280, and two in Jersey in 1280 and 1328; none are recorded in Wales or Scotland. These figures were obtained by searching for references to rabbits, warrens and coney/cony/conies in the online Calendar of Patent Rolls Search Tool, developed by Professor G.R. Boynton and the University of Iowa Libraries, covering patent rolls from 1216-1452; later patent rolls were searched via online scanned reproductions.

The Distribution of Medieval Rabbit Warrens in the Patent Rolls

Although the patent rolls allow for the identification of the legally defined hunting lands that were broken into and their owners, they do not record the specific locations of rabbit warrens within these lands. This is because the patent rolls record the break-ins of deer parks, chases and free warrens and it is clear that in numerous cases single free warrens extended over several contiguous manors. For example, a 1283 investigation into rabbit thefts from William Bardolf's free warren at Stowe, Wormegeye, Ryngeton, Whynebergh and Castre in Norfolk (CPR, Edward I, vol. 2, 102) indicates that he had been granted the right of free warren across these five manors; somewhere within that free warren was at least one rabbit warren from which rabbits were stolen, although it is unknown whether each manor had its own rabbit warren. Due to the frequency of such examples, when assessing the distribution of rabbit warren break-ins, numbers of investigations into rabbit thefts have been used rather than the numbers of named manors as this represents the only consistent means of expressing the patent rolls' records of rabbit warren break-ins (Fig. 4.1).

Aside from County Durham, rabbit theft investigations occurred in every English county between the first recorded instance in 1268 and the last in 1551. Although the numerical divisions depicted in Figure 4.1 are somewhat arbitrary, their distribution presents a recognisable pattern: running down the east coast from Yorkshire along the south coast to Hampshire are counties that experienced the highest number of rabbit thefts, with Yorkshire experiencing 109 separate instances and Sussex and Norfolk experiencing 39 and 35 instances respectively. The south-west South Midlands and the South West east of Devon represent a discrete area that, while experiencing fewer rabbit thefts than the aforementioned eastern and south-eastern counties, experienced more than the remainder of the country. The rest of England encompassing the far South West, the far North, the North West, much of the Midlands, and several counties that would today be termed part of the Home Counties are relatively 'warren poor'; indeed, these areas account for 23 out of the 39 English counties and belong to the bottom two groupings depicted in Figure 4.1 (see also Appendix 5).

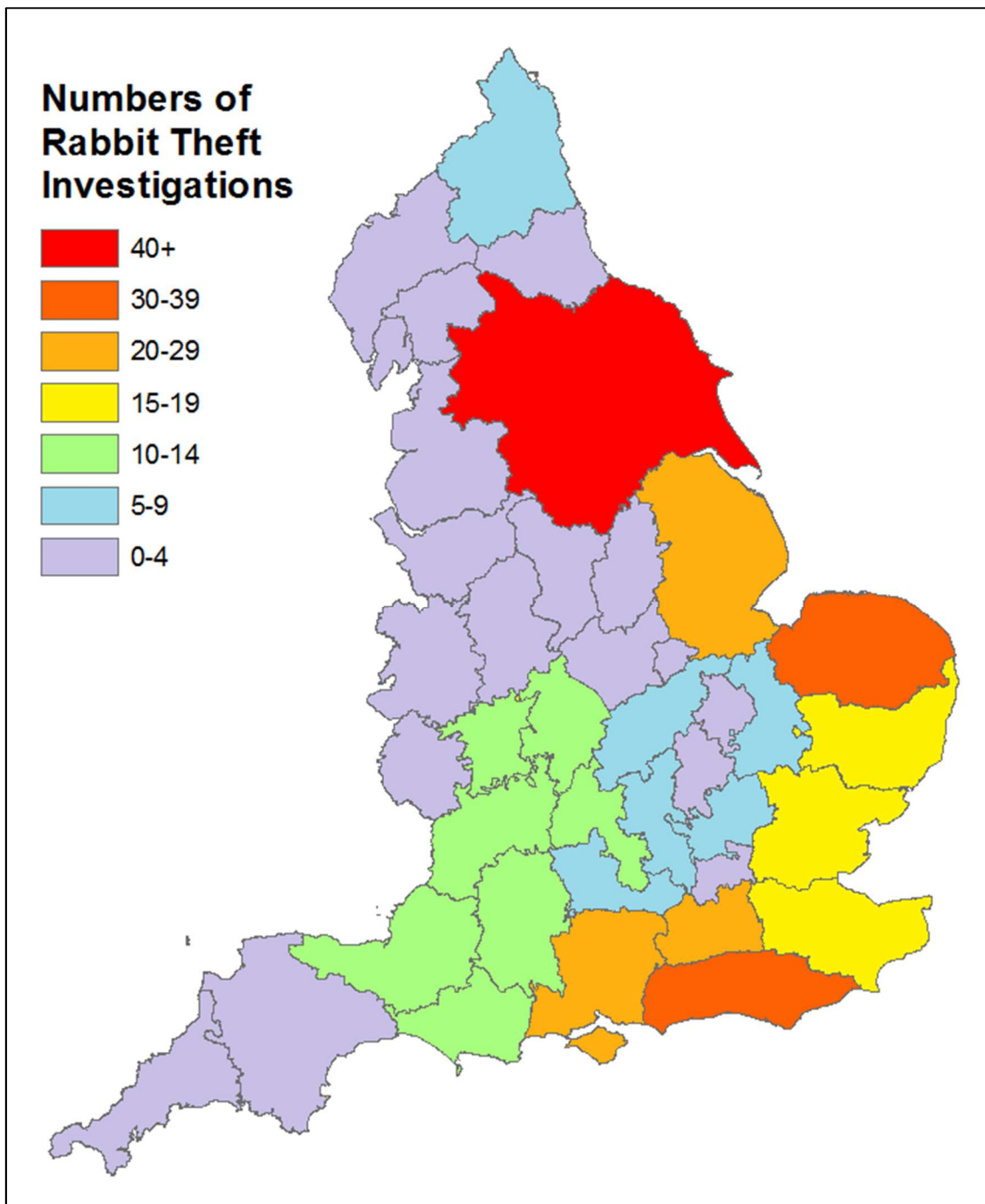


Fig. 4.1 Distribution of rabbit theft investigations in England recorded in the patent rolls between 1268 and 1551

When looking at the various English counties there are large differences in their sizes and it is unlikely that each county would have had the same number of rabbit warrens. However, if each county's proportion of the national number of rabbit thefts is compared to their proportion of the total area of England, what emerges is that there is often no direct correlation between county size and numbers of rabbit thefts (Table 4.1). Determining the size of medieval counties is unfortunately not always possible and county sizes have been determined using the first national census of 1801, which therefore provides only a guide to

medieval county sizes. Nevertheless, several counties appear to have a disproportionately large number of rabbit thefts compared to their size, particularly Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Norfolk and Yorkshire. For example, while the latter is the largest English county, accounting for 11.33% of the total national area, it experienced 22.44% of the country's rabbit theft investigations. Conversely, many counties experienced a disproportionately small percentage of rabbit theft investigations, notably Nottinghamshire, Herefordshire, Cheshire, Durham, Staffordshire, Cornwall, Shropshire, Cumberland, Northumberland, Devon and Lancashire. Those counties that experienced a disproportionately large number of rabbit thefts all lie in the east and south east; those that experienced a disproportionately small number are generally located in the west and far north. If numbers of rabbit theft investigations are indicative of the numbers of rabbit warrens within the medieval English counties, then this strongly suggests that they were more numerous in the east of England compared to the west and north.

In terms of the South West, both Dorset and Gloucestershire experienced a disproportionately large number of rabbit theft investigations compared to their size, while Somerset's number of investigations roughly corresponds to its percentage of England's land area. In contrast, Wiltshire had a slightly lower than expected number of rabbit theft investigations and Cornwall and Devon had much lower number of investigations in relation to their areas. The most surprising aspect here is the relatively large number of investigations documented in Dorset, with 14 separate instances recorded. This contrasts to the small number of pillow mounds recorded there, suggesting that either the county's warrening tradition was largely a medieval phenomenon, or that the physical remains of warrening of all eras are under-recorded. On the other hand, the small number of investigations recorded in Cornwall and Devon compared to numbers of surviving pillow mounds suggests the converse: that the post-medieval period saw an increase in warrening or that the remains of warrening are particularly well recorded there.

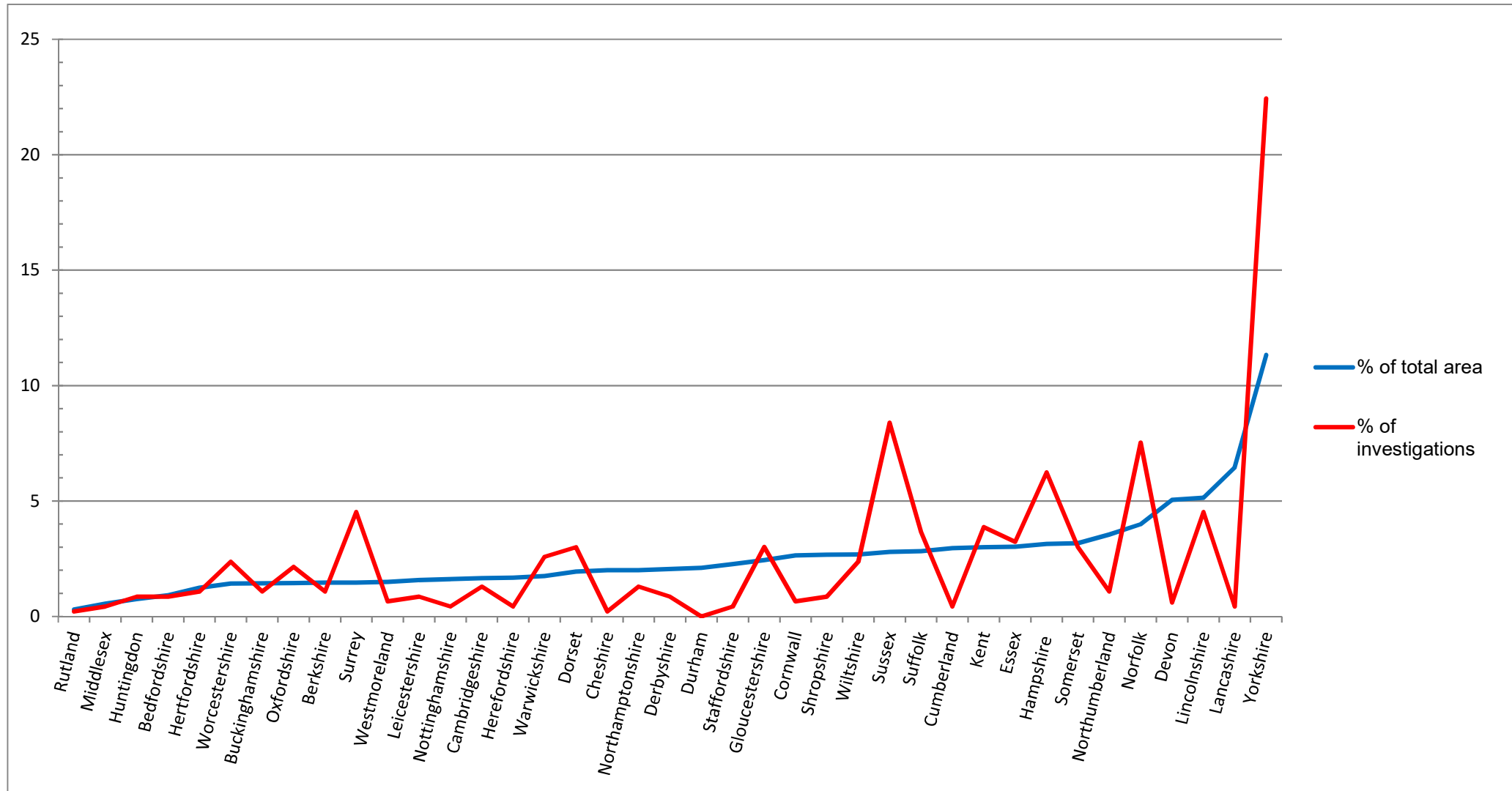


Table 4.1 County sizes as percentages of total national area compared to the percentages of investigations into rabbit thefts

References to rabbit thefts in the patent rolls become rare from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, although ad hoc references to specific warrens then become more common. For example, they record William Paulet being granted a close called *Connyngarth* in Edington, Wiltshire, in 1540 (CPR, Edward VI, vol. 2, 376) and while similar examples are occasionally recorded earlier, such as the 1280 licence for the Abbot of Keynsham to create a rabbit warren (*ibid.*, Edward I, vol. 1, 371), they are rare. Whether this change signifies a ceasing of warren break-ins or whether it represents a change in the details being recorded in the patent rolls is unknown. That references to licencing rabbit warrens only begin to appear in the patent rolls on a frequent basis from the late fifteenth century onwards suggests the latter scenario however, as the presence of a manorial rabbit warren would have required the manorial lord to have been granted the right of free warren, and such licences are rarely recorded in earlier patent rolls.

The Distribution of Rabbit Warrens in the Charter Rolls

As mentioned in Chapter 1, being granted the right of free warren conferred the right to hunt the 'beasts of the warren' within an area of land covered by that free warren. Because rabbits were not native, if they were to be hunted then a rabbit warren would have been installed through the addition of pillow mounds and occasionally boundaries. Grants of free warren are preserved in the Calendars of Charter Rolls as this right was conferred by royal charter. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, references to a free warren does not necessarily mean that it would have contained a rabbit warren. Unfortunately, the charter rolls almost always record the licensing of free warrens and the 1281 reference to Grimbald Pauncefot being allowed to make a rabbit warren in Feckenham, Worcestershire, appears to be their only reference to the specific licensing of a rabbit warren (CChR, vol. 2, 258). The charter rolls in effect record the potential number of rabbit warrens in medieval England rather than their actual number; therefore, they cannot be used as a precise indication of the locations of medieval rabbit warrens.

Nevertheless, they can be used as a guide to the distribution of the legal potential for rabbit warrens, particularly when consulted in conjunction with the rabbit warrens recorded in the patent rolls. Between 1226 and 1516, the years covered by volumes 1-6 of the Calendars of Charter Rolls and whose contents are readily available and searchable online, 3,233 separate free warren licences

are recorded, with Yorkshire again having the highest number with 362 examples (Appendix 5 and Figure 4.2). Although their distribution trends are not as unambiguous compared to those of the patent rolls' rabbit theft investigations, the highest free warren numbers are again predominantly recorded in eastern England, particularly in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Suffolk, Essex and Norfolk. The poorest counties in terms of free warrens are generally in the far north and the west of England, although this distribution is far from even: the fewest free warrens are found in the non-contiguous counties of Durham, Rutland, Cornwall and Cheshire, while several eastern counties also have relatively few free warrens, such as Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire and Middlesex. Within the South and the Midlands are several counties which can be considered to fall within the middle of the distribution range, including Wiltshire and Somerset. Despite such regional variations and despite the large differences in county sizes, Figure 4.2 nevertheless indicates that in the most general terms, eastern England had more free warrens than the West and far North. Legally then, there was a greater potential for rabbit warrens in eastern rather than western England.

Comparing each county's percentage of the total number of free warren licences against their percentage of England's total land area provides a more refined picture (Table 4.2). As with the above comparison of county sizes against numbers of rabbit theft investigations, there is not always a direct relationship: Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Suffolk, Essex, Norfolk and Lincolnshire have disproportionately large numbers of free warrens compared to their acreage and notably all are located in the East or in the East Midlands. In contrast, Westmoreland, Cheshire, County Durham, Cornwall, Cumberland, Hampshire, Somerset, Northumberland, Devon and Lancashire have a disproportionately low number of free warrens in relation to their size. With the exception of Hampshire, all are located in the far South West, North West or the far North.

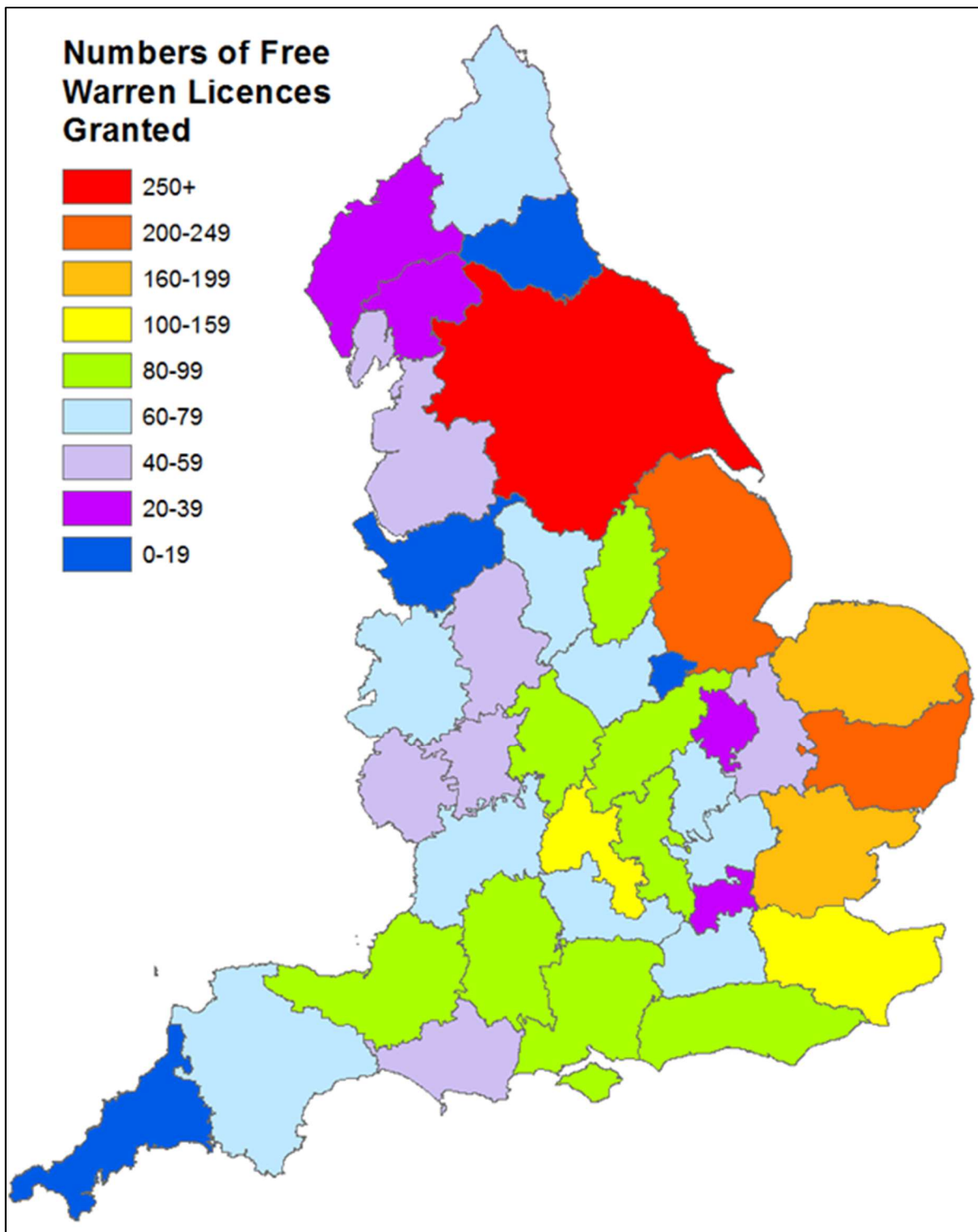


Fig. 4.2 Distribution of free warren licences in England recorded in the charter rolls between 1226 and 1516

When considered together with the patent rolls' references to rabbit warren break-ins, these figures strongly suggest that eastern England had a higher number of rabbit warrens than the West. Within that general picture, the South West, or at least that part which excludes Cornwall and Devon, emerges as an area that, while not as 'warren rich' as eastern England, nevertheless had more rabbit warrens than the remainder of western England.

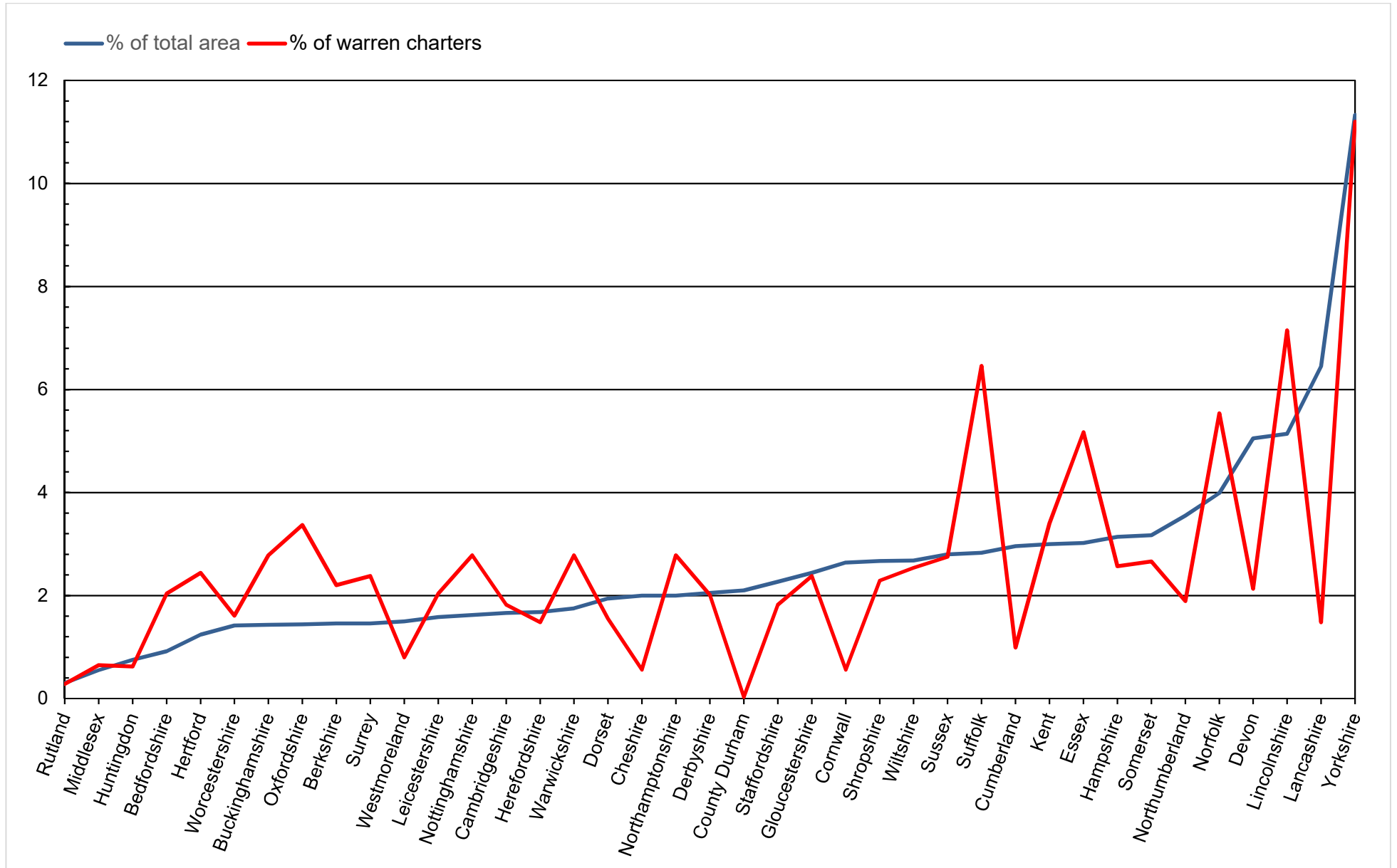


Table 4.2 County sizes as percentages of total national area compared to the percentages of free warren licences

Other References to Rabbits in Medieval Documents

Other references to rabbits in medieval documents, particularly the various chancery rolls, are not necessarily rare although the types of evidence that allow for the creation of a narrative history are unfortunately more scant. Nevertheless, one particularly consistent picture that emerges is the notion that there were differences between east and west England. Generally speaking, evidence suggests that warrens in the East produced a surplus of rabbits that supplied an export trade and the royal court at Westminster, while in the West there is instead evidence of importing rabbits, which while indicating a demand also suggests that local warrens were unable to meet it.

Veale wrote that the earliest reference to English rabbit exports dates from 1305 when 200 skins were traded from Hull (1957, 85). Perhaps not coincidentally then, Hull's location in east Yorkshire ties in with the distribution of warren thefts recorded in the patent rolls and free warrens recorded in the charter rolls, which together suggest that Yorkshire had the highest number of medieval rabbit warrens. Perhaps then Hull acted as a local export hub for the North East's warrens in the same way as Bailey described London in relation to East Anglia's warrens (1988, 13).

Indeed, as far as the chancery rolls are concerned, London acted as the principal export hub for rabbit products leaving for mainland Europe. The close rolls are particularly informative in this regard (Appendix 6), first recording rabbits leaving London in 1353 when its collectors of petty custom were commanded to take the oaths of Nicholas Belard and Simon de Hermonier that they were to take 500 rabbits to Middlesbrough and not to Flanders (CCR, Edward III, vol. 30, 530). In 1398 Collard Chierpetit was granted a mandate to take 10,000 rabbit felts to Holland (*ibid.*, Richard II, vol. 42, 330), two mandates were issued in 1402 to Robert Arnalde and William Groom allowing them to take 5,000 rabbit felts to "foreign parts" (*ibid.*, Henry IV, vol. 43, 523) and Flanders respectively (*ibid.*, 455) while a 1428 mandate allowed Arnald de Gent to take cloth, including three mantles of rabbit fur, to Jacoba duchess of Gloucester and Holland without paying customs or duties (*ibid.*, 370). While such references are rare, and do not indicate the locations of the warrens providing the rabbits, that all five mandates refer to the passage of rabbits through London probably indicates that they originated from warrens in the South East.

In contrast to these references to exports from London, the chancery rolls' evidence regarding the West presents a different picture. Although there are a small number of references to rabbit sales from islands in the Bristol Channel, such as the 1243 reference to the sales of rabbits financing the construction of a stone bailey (*cingulo*) on Lundy (CLR, vol. 2, 170), it is not clear whether such references record exports of those rabbits or whether they were simply being sold to markets in Bristol. Instead, what the chancery rolls primarily record are references to rabbit imports. In 1405 Mark William, owner of the ship *La Marie* of Bristol, was licensed to export goods to Ireland and to return with products including rabbit skins (CPR, Henry IV, vol. 3, 4). An earlier reference of imports into Bristol is mentioned by Veale, who noted that the ship *The Rose* brought rabbit skins from Lisbon in 1309 (1966, 68). The patent rolls record that in 1471, pirates from Dartmouth, Devon, seized the Spanish ship *Le Michell* and took products including two bales of rabbit skins (CPR, Edward IV / Henry VI, 288), while Veale also recorded an earlier example of Spanish merchants with rabbit skins being caught by pirates off Dartmouth in 1338 (1966, 68). Sheail also wrote of imports of rabbit skins into Bristol from Pembrokeshire, Wales, during the reign of Richard II (1971, 70). In 1455 Oliver Johnson and John Benson were granted the office of packer of products including rabbit skins within the port of Poole and places "pertaining to that port in Dorset and Wiltshire" (CPR, Henry VI, vol. 6, 252). While it is not clear whether this reference refers to products being imported or exported, the earlier references indicate that rabbit skins were imported via the South West from at least Ireland, Wales, Portugal and Spain, suggesting that the local warrens were unable to supply a surplus to meet demands for rabbits. Rogers *et al* also wrote how Delort reported that 6,000 rabbit pelts were imported to Devon from Castille in 1221, although it has not been possible to trace this original source (1994, 28). These references support Sheail's assertion that many local markets would not have sustained largescale warren development as seen in East Anglia (1971, 71).

The liberate rolls also record payments to European merchants for rabbit products, although unfortunately it is not recorded where their produce would have been imported into. For example, in 1244 John Vincene, a Lisbon merchant, was paid 27l 12s 6d for rabbit skins (CLR, vol. 2, 278), while Bertram de Yspania was paid 40s for rabbits in 1249 (*ibid.*, vol. 3, 216), with both references indicating the import of rabbits from Iberia. The liberate rolls also record payments for

rabbits to Domenic de Sancto Tereano and Garsia Ernaldi in 1249 (*ibid.*), whose names also suggest foreign imports. Although these references are infrequent, they suggest that, during the thirteenth century at least, early English warrens were not able to satisfy all the demands of the royal court for rabbits.

However, as well as supplying an export trade, many of the rabbits bred in England were also consumed internally. The largest consumer, or rather the consumer about whom we have the most information, was the royal court at Westminster. The most useful source of information in this regard are the liberate rolls (Appendix 7), although as mentioned in Chapter 2, only those covering the reigns of Kings John (1199-1216) and Henry III (1216-72) have been translated. Consequently, only those from the reign of Henry III have been consulted here as the earliest reference to rabbits contained within the liberate rolls dates from 1240.

From 1240 onwards, the liberate rolls preserve numerous references to rabbits, predominantly orders of rabbits for royal feasts. Veale wrote that the liberate rolls record the spread of rabbit warrens throughout mainland England as the geographical sources of those providing rabbits increased from the 1240s onwards (1957, 88). As such, the earliest requests for rabbits were made in November 1240 from the unspecified lands of William de Warenne, Richard de la Lade and the Bishopric of Winchester (CLR, Henry III, vol. 2, 11). Between them, they supplied 600 rabbits for the royal Christmas feast, and although requests for animals were made to the Sheriffs of Sussex, Essex, Cambridge and Huntingdon, Bedford and Buckingham, Lincoln, London, Gloucester, Kent and Nottingham and to the bailiffs of Gloucester and Norfolk, none provided rabbits, probably indicating the rarity of rabbit warrens in these areas.

By the following year, 800 rabbits were requested for the royal Christmas feast from the sheriffs of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey and Kent and also from Richard de la Lade (CLR, Henry III, vol. 2, 95); requests for animals were also made to the sheriffs of Bradford, Essex, Cambridge and Lincoln although these did not include requests for rabbits. Ostensibly then, these entries suggest a large increase in the geographical distribution of rabbit warrens between 1240 and 1241. However, what emerges from studying the liberate rolls is that although there is an increase in the distribution of warrens providing rabbits, both for Christmas feasts but also in response to ad hoc demands, the numbers provided fluctuated from year to year. Correspondingly, the liberate rolls record no rabbits

ordered for the Christmas feasts of 1242 or 1243, while in 1244 only the Bishopric of Chichester provided 300 rabbits (CLR, Henry III, vol. 2, 280). 460 rabbits were provided for the 1245 Christmas feast by the bailiffs of Guildford, the Bishopric of Chichester and the Earl of Devon (CLR, Henry III, vol. 3, 12), none are recorded for the Christmas feasts of 1246 and 1247, while the Earl of Devon provided 100 rabbits in 1248 (CLR, Henry III, vol. 3, 215).

However, some caution should be exercised in interpreting these figures as although not recorded in the liberate rolls, the close rolls indicate that in 1247 at least 300 rabbits were ordered from the sheriffs of Dorset and Somerset, Surrey and Sussex and William Passelewe for the Christmas feast, as well as an unspecified number from the sheriffs of Oxford and Berkshire (CCR, Henry III, vol. 6, 96). Nevertheless, between these two sources, there still appears to be years when no rabbits were provided for the Christmas feast, and the numbers varied widely during those years when they were provided.

Despite these fluctuations, the liberate rolls of Henry III and the close rolls indicate that this particular feast was one of the principal occasions where rabbit was consumed as one of the main meat courses. The feasts in commemoration of St Edward's Day on 13 October were also noticeable occasions for consuming rabbit, with the liberate rolls recording their consumption in 1248-50, 1252, 1255 and 1270 and the close rolls recording their consumption in 1249, 1250 and 1260. Again these date ranges point to a fluctuation in the availability of, and perhaps demand for, rabbits.

Of the sources named in conjunction with providing rabbits and rabbit skins to the royal court, the majority are the various county sheriffs, although a small number of bishoprics and members of the aristocracy also provided rabbits. The locations of the warrens providing rabbits are not always known, although it can be assumed that rabbits requested from county sheriffs came from within their counties. Such an assumption cannot be made of rabbits requested from the Bishoprics of Canterbury, Chichester and Winchester, however, as their lands need not necessarily have been located in Kent, Sussex and Hampshire respectively. Likewise with the various members of the aristocracy who provided rabbits, it is not possible to determine the locations of their warrens. For example, the lands of Baldwin de Insula, Earl of Devon, provided rabbits to the royal court although they need not have come from warrens within Devon as he held lands throughout England (CIPM, Henry III, vol. 1, 171-177). Nevertheless, regarding

the county sheriffs who provided rabbits, most were in the South East, with only limited references to counties in the South West providing rabbits. While this may simply reflect the logistics of providing rabbits to Westminster, the wide range of other foodstuffs requested from south-western counties suggests instead that there were more rabbit warrens, or at least a surplus of rabbits, in the South East compared to elsewhere.

With regards to references to rabbits and rabbit warrens in the various chancery rolls, the close rolls are perhaps the most varied in terms of the types of evidence that they preserve. Aside from references to the provision of rabbits for the royal court and the licencing of rabbit exports discussed above, they also cover the provision of rabbits to non-royal seats of residence, assignments of lands including rabbit warrens, and the giving of rabbit furs as gifts. The earliest references generally record the provision of rabbits to other English landowners, with the earliest dating from 1240 when 20 live rabbits were given from the Justice of Chester's warren at *Wyrhal* to William de Ferrariis, earl of Derby (CCR, Henry III, vol. 4, 192), and when Hugh le Fraunceys was instructed to take 100 rabbits from Dorking and Reigate, Surrey (*ibid.*, 227). Interestingly, this first instance indicates a rabbit warren in the Wirral, Cheshire, a county that is rarely associated with rabbit warrens elsewhere in chancery rolls.

One particular gift of note recorded in the close rolls dates from 1276 and relates how Sir Francis de Bononia was to take six live rabbits from Bernewode Forest and place them in the King's garden at Beaumont, Oxford (*ibid.*, Edward I, vol. 1, 296; VCH 1907, 294). References associating rabbit warrens with gardens are rare in these sources, although there are possibly hints of other similar associations in the liberate rolls and patent rolls. A reference in the former from 1269 records a contrabreve to the sheriff of Nottingham to build a dovecote and a garden by the paling of Nottingham castle and a rabbit warren within the castle (CLR, Henry III, vol. 6, 95). While the installation of a dovecote and rabbit warren may have been purely functional, that they were constructed at the same time as a garden suggests they may also have been installed to serve an ornamental purpose. A reference from 1461 in the patent rolls records the presence of a rabbit warren and an adjacent garden at Kennington, Surrey (CPR, Edward IV, vol. 1, 52). While such references are rare, they nevertheless hint that in some cases, rabbit warrens *may* have played an ornamental role, associated with gardens rather than with the hunting landscapes of deer parks and free

warrens. Also of note are the requests made to the various county sheriffs in 1274 to order their bishops, priors and abbots to prepare as many rabbits as they can for the King's use (CCR, Edward I, vol. 14, 70-71). In light of the Stockers' (1996) theory that rabbit warrens were located in monastic precincts because of what they perceive to be religious symbolism, such requests indicate that ecclesiastical rabbit warrens also played a functional role in providing rabbits for the King.

From 1255 onwards, the close rolls record gifts of rabbit fur coats, the first instance recording a mandate to Roger the Taylor and Bonacio Lumbard to make rabbit fur coats for Robert de Cadamo and William Beautiz (CCR, Henry III, vol. 8, 24). Between 1255 and 1260 there are 21 royal mandates ordering the creation and/or the giving of rabbit fur coats, robes, tabards, capes, gowns, capes and beds, with one further example from 1269. However, two of these references appear to record the same mandate ordering a replacement rabbit fur robe for Fortuneto de Luk', after the King had thrown the original in water (CCR, Henry III, vol. 9, 83 and 171). While such references do not indicate the sources of the rabbits used to provide these furs, they nevertheless express the wealth and status associated with rabbit ownership during this period. Why such mandates as recorded in the close rolls are predominantly confined to a five-year period during the reign of Henry III is unclear, although it probably indicates a change in the details recorded in the close rolls rather than a change in the status of rabbits.

From the 1290s onwards, the contexts in which rabbits are mentioned in the close rolls changes from recording the provision of rabbits to the assigning of lands to various individuals. References occasionally specify that the named lands contained rabbit warrens, or that the profits of the various lands included rabbits, and in such cases the individual manors are specified. These references are, however, relatively rare and in terms of the South West, only two rabbit warrens in Wiltshire are specified: Amesbury in 1382 (CCR, Richard II, vol. 38, 220) and Barton in 1467 (*ibid.*, Edward IV, vol. 53, 350). Numerous free warrens within the South West are recorded, but as mentioned above, these need not necessarily indicate the presence of rabbit warrens. Consequently, references to specific rabbit warrens contained in the close rolls are perhaps more useful in terms of identifying the locations and spread of rabbit warrens on a national level rather than on a regional, South West level.

A further source of information regarding late medieval references to rabbits is the Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry

VIII. As discussed in Chapter 2, this source includes the patent rolls of 1509-47, but they also cover a range of topics which have been summarised as comprising private and official letters, reports and instructions, treaty papers, memoranda council minutes, and draft parliamentary bills (Letters and Papers, the National Archives 2015). Because of the wide-ranging scope of such documents, the contexts in which rabbits are mentioned vary widely, although a number of specific rabbit warrens are mentioned, typically with regards to grants of land. Nine rabbit warrens within the South West have been identified in these sources, while a tenth in the parish of Sutton-under-Brailes was historically part of Gloucestershire before it was transferred to Warwickshire in 1844. While nine warrens is not necessarily a large number, it is interesting to note that two are recorded in Cornwall at Clowance and Tehidy in 1530 (Letters and Papers, vol. 6, 271), while two are recorded in Devon at Exminster in 1511 (*ibid.*, vol. 1, 404) and Stokenham in 1540 (*ibid.*, vol. 5, 286). As explored above, rabbit warrens in Cornwall and Devon are generally not well represented in the chancery rolls, and these four warrens suggest that further localised studies may identify other medieval examples in the far south west of the study area.

Elsewhere, the letters and papers of Henry VIII appear to confirm Bailey's supposition that while warren values decreased during the fifteenth century, the market for rabbits remained buoyant (1988, 14). While they provide little information on the value of warrens, these documents indicate the high status in which rabbits were still held during the early and mid-sixteenth century through their association with the aristocracy. For example, a 1523 inventory of Lord Monteagle lists a black damask placard furred with black rabbit fur (Letters and Papers, vol. 3, 1523), while a 1527 inventory of Thomas Cromwell's goods indicates that he owned several black rabbit fur-lined items of clothing (*ibid.*, vol. 4, 1455). Although Veale reported that lighter rabbit furs moved down the social scale in relation to black furs (1966, 177), lighter rabbit furs were evidently still very much part of the elite wardrobe: for example, a 1533 inventory of Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, lists him as owning a mantle of grey rabbit fur (Letters and Papers, vol. 6, 286), while in 1545 Sabyne Johnson wrote to her husband John asking him to bring a grey rabbit skin in order to line a stomager, a type of garment such as a vest or waistcoat (*ibid.*, vol. 20, pt. 2, 472). A further indication of the status of rabbits during this period is found in a 1536 letter from Sir Edmund Bedyngfeld urging William Tyrell to make haste with some expected money, for

without it he would not be able to pay warreners for rabbits and would not be able to maintain his household, which would not be “to the king’s honour” (*ibid.*, vol. 10, 43).

One medieval source that proved frustrating in the amount of detail relating to rabbit warrens is the Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem. The vast majority of entries in these Calendars concern the recording of land held by various tenants in chief on their death or the undertaking of investigations into proofs of age. Unfortunately, the Calendars abbreviate details of the various lands recorded so that rather than providing a full description of a manor or estate, the phrase “extent given” is written instead. However, some descriptions *do* include detailed particulars such as specifying the acreages of pasture or arable land, or recording the presence of mills or fishponds. References to rabbit warrens are infrequent, although the Calendars do make a distinction between free warrens and rabbit warrens so that the two are easily distinguishable.

Nevertheless, references to rabbit warrens are extremely rare and although a number of medieval rabbit warrens have been identified through this source, their limited number is such that no real inferences can be made regarding medieval rabbit warrens in the South West. What limited references to South West rabbit warrens that are recorded in the Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem are confined to Devon, Somerset and Wiltshire, although the lack of references to rabbit warrens in other counties cannot be taken as evidence as a lack of rabbit warrens. Indeed, a total of only six manors in the South West are named as having rabbit warrens between 1291 and 1361.

Rabbit Warrens Recorded in Secondary Sources

Aside from the chancery rolls, numerous other types of primary sources reference medieval warrens. While the nested study areas discussed in later chapters allow for the opportunity to investigate localised areas in greater depth and to utilise a wider range of sources, because of the relatively large size of the study area it is also necessary to consult secondary sources in order to identify further medieval warrens. However, secondary sources do not necessarily provide an even coverage of the study area and consequently a large number of medieval warrens have been identified in Wiltshire compared to other regions. This is primarily due to the fact that Victoria County History series for Wiltshire is particularly advanced and because Bettey has written of the county’s historic warrens (2004).

However, despite this, a number of the secondary sources recording Wiltshire's warrens as medieval are problematic: Bettey lists those at Chisenbury, Liddington and Wanborough as medieval but provides no sources (2004, 381), while Wiltshire's HER (ST98NW612) records Hyam Wood's warren as being mentioned in the early sixteenth century but likewise provides no sources. Similar issues are found throughout the study area: in Dartmoor, Whiddon Park warren is described in its Scheduled Monument listing (1021398) as being associated with a mid-sixteenth-century deer park but provides no sources. In Gloucestershire, John Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys* refers to Lady Elizabeth making a gown for herself in 1361 with "cony skins out of the kitchen" of Berkeley Castle (1883, 374), implying the presence of a warren although this cannot be assumed with certainty. Somerset's HER notes that a *Conygar* at Whitestaunton is recorded in 1532, citing a pamphlet of parish surveys although it has not been possible to view the original copy of this survey. Despite the uncertainties of these above-mentioned warrens, they are nevertheless listed in the gazetteer (Appendix 1) as medieval and are included in all GIS mapping of medieval warrens.

Secondary sources have identified further medieval warrens in all counties within the study area. However, as these secondary sources are based on a range of primary medieval sources including court rolls, eyres, leases and estate papers, the specific locations of many warrens are again not known with certainty. Indeed, the vast majority of medieval references to rabbit warrens do not allow their location to be ascertained beyond identifying their parent manors. In a small number of instances it has not been possible to identify with certainty the manors mentioned in these sources: Aldsburn, Wiltshire, is mentioned in 1307 as being one of a number of free chases and warrens from which rabbits were stolen (CPR, Edward I, vol. 4, 544), and while this may correspond to Aldbourne, which had a rabbit warren in the fourteenth century, this is not certain; Avynton, Wiltshire, is also mentioned in this same entry and its location is also unknown (*ibid.*); Fittlewode, Gloucestershire, was one of Queen Philippa's parks and closes that were broken into in 1352 (*ibid.*, Edward III, vol. 9, 331), and may correspond to Filwood, named as one of Queen Philippa's parks in 1364 (*ibid.*, vol. 12, 546).

These three above-named manors also highlight another problem in identifying rabbit warrens, particularly in relation to the break-ins recorded in the

patent rolls: when a large number of break-in sites are mentioned in a single incident, it is not always clear which of those sites had rabbit warrens. For example, the references to Aldsburn and Avynton occur in relation to the lands of Henry de Lacy, of which the patent rolls record that people broke into his parks at “Henstrigge and Aldeburn in the counties of Somerset and Wilts, his free chaces and warrens of Canford, Wymburn, Holt and Kyngeston, co. Dorset, and his free warrens of Henstrigge, Cherleton and Kyngesbury, co. Somerset, his free chaces and warrens of Aldeburn, Troubrigge, Avynton, Wynterburn and Ambresbury, co. Wilts, hunted therein and carried away deer, hares, rabbits and partridges” (*ibid.*, Edward I, vol. 4, 544). From this wording, it is unclear from which of these sites rabbits were taken, although it is of course possible that rabbits were taken from each site. Similar problems are posed by other references, particularly those relating to individuals who held many separate parks and warrens, most notably Queen Philippa who suffered numerous break-ins at many sites during the 1350s-60s. In such cases, any affected manor within the South West is listed in the gazetteer (Appendix 1) as a possible medieval rabbit warren site although it is recognised that such identifications remain tentative.

Locations of Medieval Rabbit Warrens

The general locations of the rabbit warrens referred to in the above sources are shown in Figure 4.3, which provides an overview of their locations rather than specific locations. Wiltshire has a particularly high concentration of rabbit warrens recorded in medieval documentary sources, although as mentioned above, this is partly a result of the relatively large number of secondary sources addressing the county’s historic warrens rather than necessarily indicating that it had more warrens than other counties. Devon has by far the fewest recorded medieval rabbit warrens and while Cornwall also has fewer recorded medieval warren sites compared to Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset and Gloucestershire, it nevertheless has considerably more than Devon.

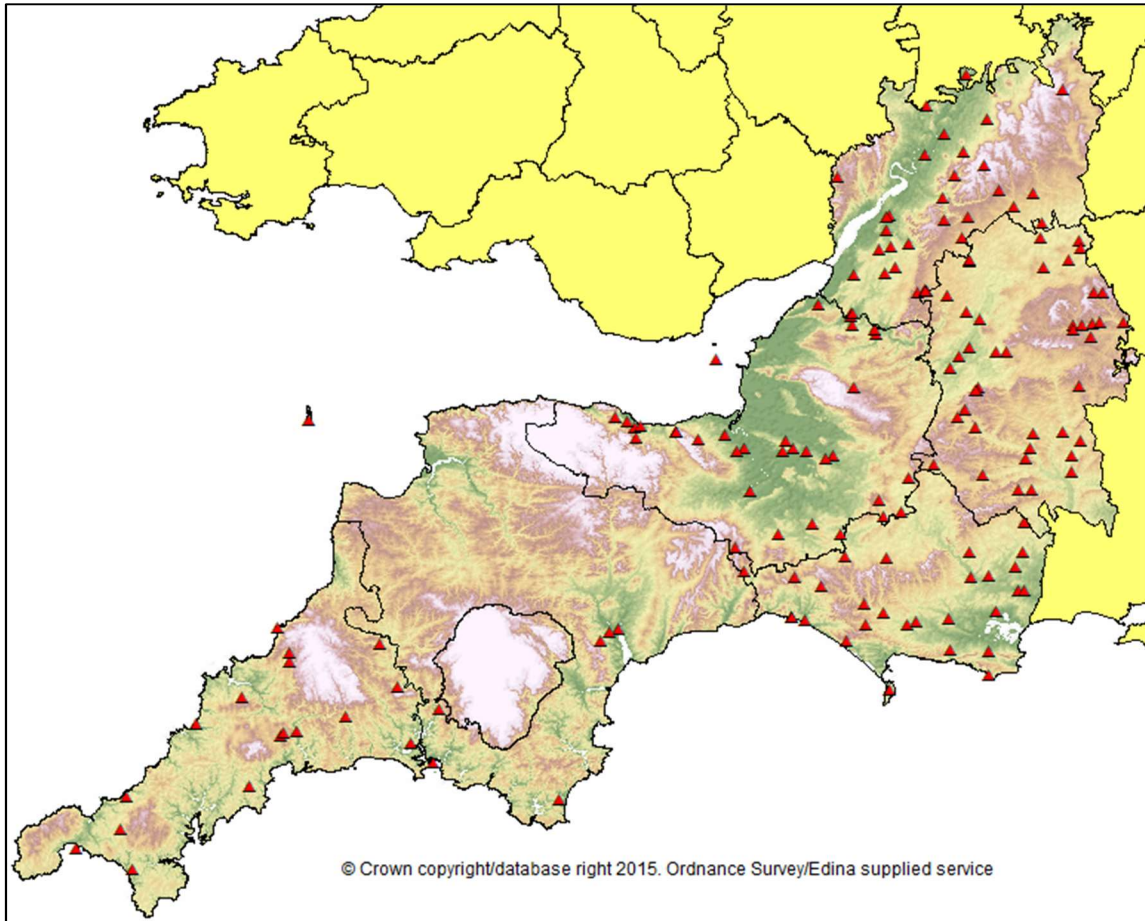


Fig. 4.3 General locations of South West rabbit warrens referred to in medieval documentary sources

Although the evidence is fragmentary and the recording uneven, the densities of warren references per county (Table 4.3) are roughly analogous in Dorset, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire with a slight reduction in Somerset; Cornwall and particularly Devon have significantly lower densities of warrens. The available sources therefore indicate an uneven distribution of rabbit warrens across the medieval South West, with a greater density of warrens in the eastern half of the study area.

	No. of Recorded Warrens	Warrens per km²
Cornwall	15	0.004
Devon	8	0.001
Dorset	28	0.011
Gloucestershire	36	0.011
Somerset	32	0.008
Wiltshire	43	0.012

Table 4.3 Densities of medieval warren references per county

The above figures cover all known warrens documented between 1135-1553, and as such cover the period from rabbits' introduction into England and Wales to its gradual spread throughout the mainland over the following centuries. Figure 4.3 does not therefore necessarily present a picture of contemporary medieval rabbit warrens. However, if warrens are presented by date then it is possible that their spread throughout the South West can be discerned. Figure 4.4 shows rabbit warrens first recorded before the end of the thirteenth century.

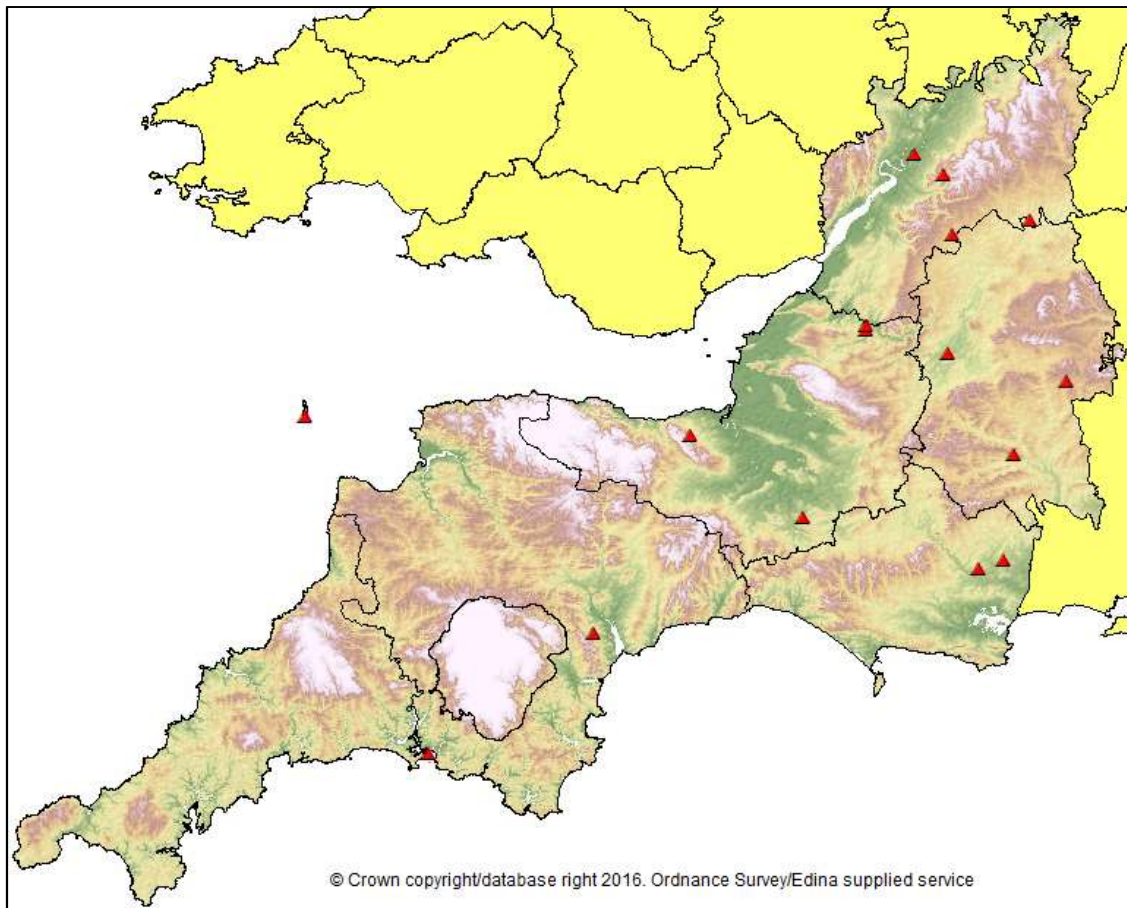


Fig. 4.4 Rabbit warrens first documented before the end of the thirteenth century

Aside from Lundy and Drake's Island, no rabbit warrens are documented on islands or on coastal locations. The reference to a warren on Drake's Island is questionable as it originates from a grant of the island by Walter de Vautort to Plympton Priory *cum cuniculi* ('with the rabbits'). Information about the grant is derived from a statement by the sixteenth-century antiquarian John Leland, who provided no date for it; the date in fact derives from a statement in Hurrell's 1953 report on mammals in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association (Veale 1957, 86). Although this has been referred to as the first unambiguous documentary record of rabbits (Williamson 2006, 11), the existence of a rabbit warren on Drake's Island at this date is therefore questionable. Small islands and

coastal locations are typically cited as the locations of the country's earliest warrens (Veale 1957, 85; Williamson 2006, 13), and the relative absence of documentary references to such in the South West suggests that the initial phase of rabbit introduction in the UK occurred elsewhere than in the South West.

If one examines rabbit warrens documented between 1300 and 1349 (Fig. 4.5), an increased occurrence is noticeable, although they are unevenly distributed with none recorded in Devon and very few in Gloucestershire. The majority are instead located in Dorset, Wiltshire and in the deer parks of eastern Cornwall; while a number are located in Somerset, with the exception of Portbury in the north, almost all are found in the far south-east near the Dorset border. This distribution is, however, partly indicative of the high level of recording of historic field-names in Dorset undertaken by the English Place Name Society, which has identified many medieval, and post-medieval, rabbit warrens in the county. With regards to Dorset's medieval rabbit warrens, the noticeable aspect of their distribution is that, like known pillow mounds, they are predominantly found in the south and south east rather than in the uplands of the North and South Dorset Downs.

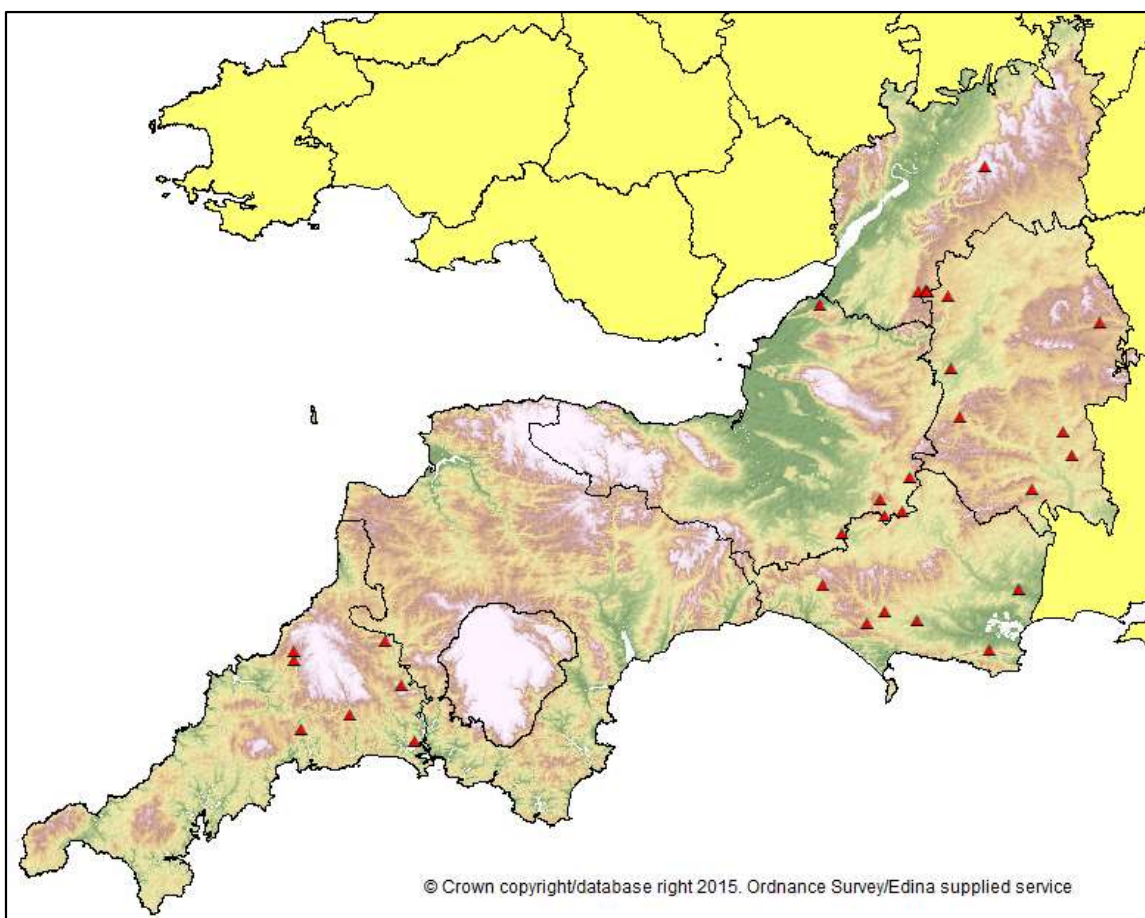


Fig. 4.5 Rabbit warrens first documented between 1300 and 1349

The second half of the fourteenth century witnessed a further increase in rabbit warren references (Fig. 4.6), although the majority are located in Somerset and northern Wiltshire, and to a smaller degree in Gloucestershire. Interestingly, the majority of those recorded in Somerset are located in the Polden Hills within the Somerset Levels rather than in the uplands of the Quantocks, the Mendips or Exmoor. In contrast to the first half of the fourteenth century, only five rabbit warrens are recorded in Dorset and Cornwall, while Devon again has none documented during this period. A further fourteenth-century site is Steep Holm in the Bristol Channel, which had a rabbit warren in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although more specific details of when it was first recorded are lacking (Rendell 2002, 17).

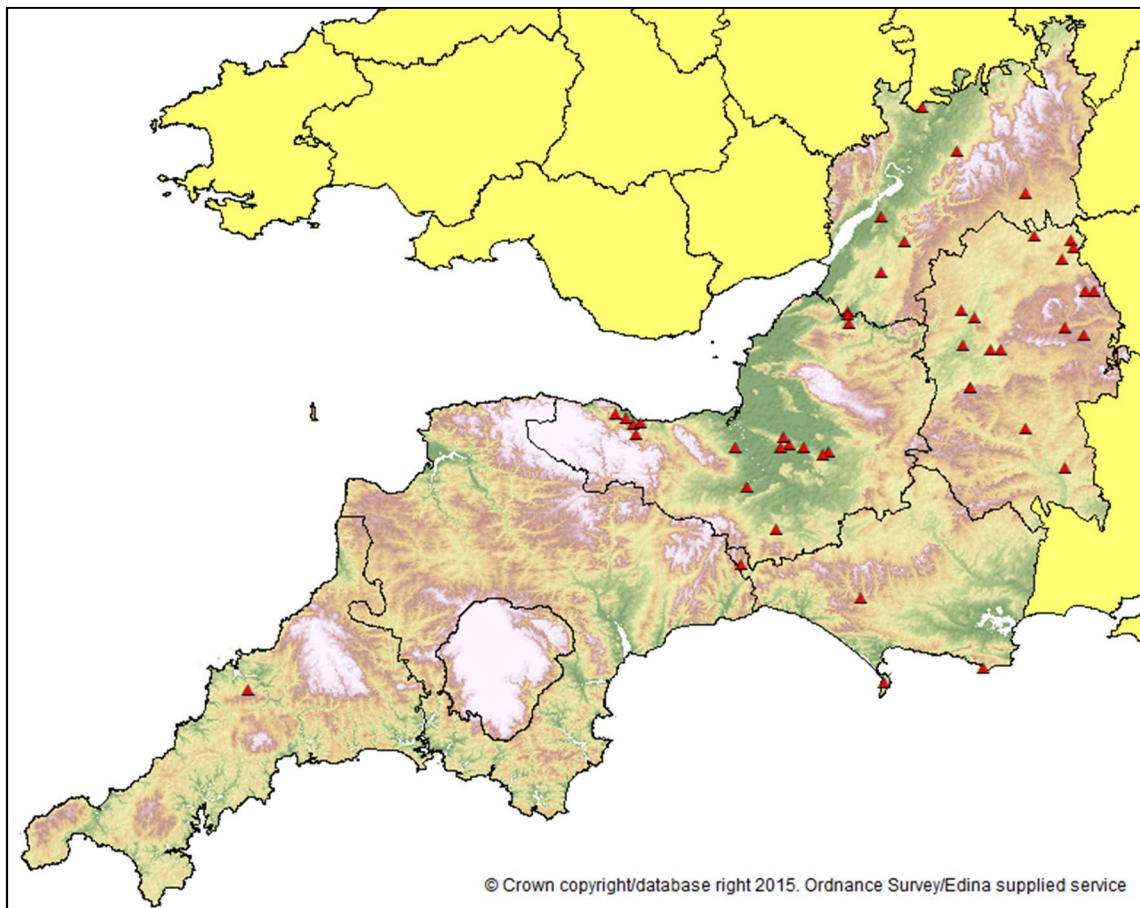


Fig. 4.6 Rabbit warrens first documented between 1350 and 1399

References to rabbit warrens in the first half of the fifteenth century are relatively rare, with most occurring in Wiltshire although even here only four sites are recorded (Fig. 4.7). Elsewhere, isolated examples are recorded in Somerset, Gloucestershire, Cornwall and Dorset, while none are recorded in Devon.

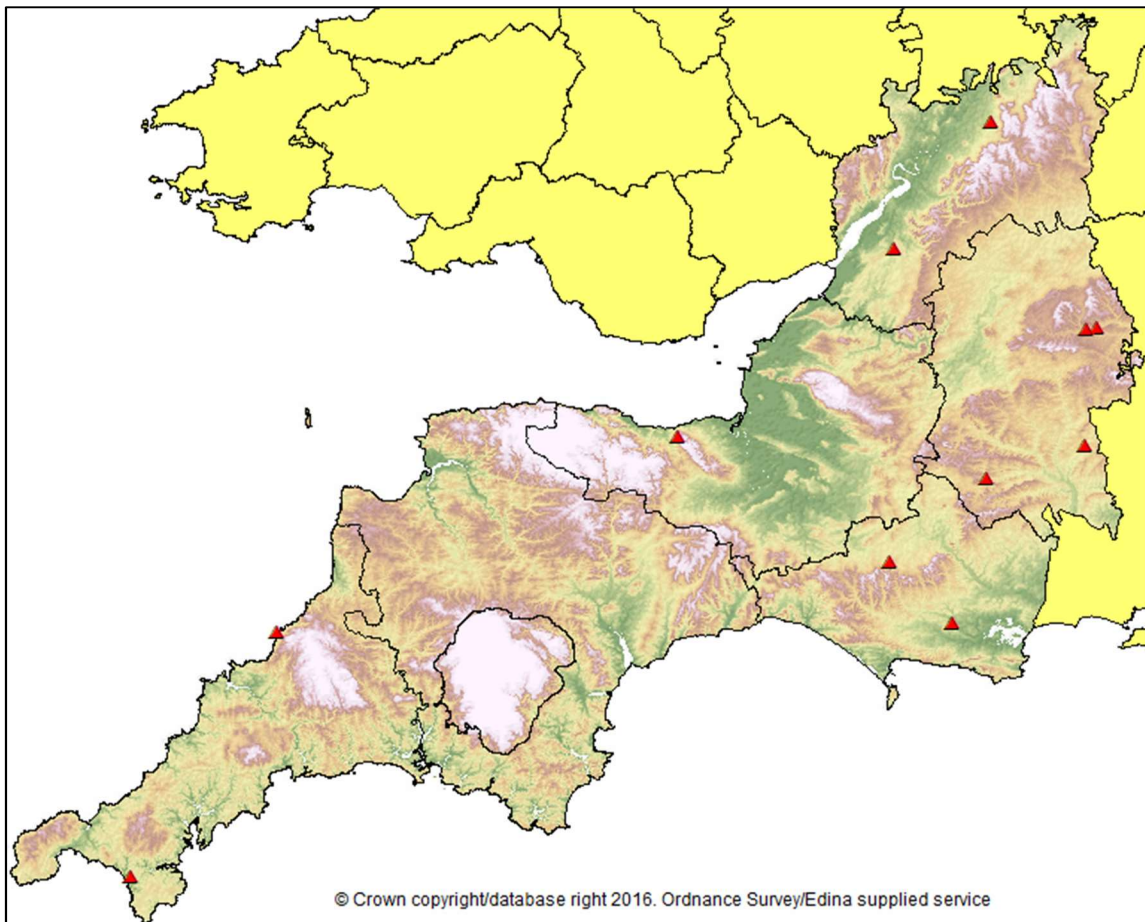


Fig. 4.7 Rabbit warrens first documented between 1400 and 1449

During the second half of the fifteenth century, most known rabbit warrens are recorded in Dorset, with isolated examples in Wiltshire, Cornwall and Somerset, the latter again in the Somerset Levels rather than in the county's uplands (Fig. 4.8). Three examples are recorded in Gloucestershire, while none are recorded in Devon. However, of importance here is the fact that two pillow mounds at Bodwen, Cornwall, were excavated and dated to the fifteenth century by the presence of fifteenth-century pottery (Harris *et al* 1977), but which have not been linked to any medieval warren recorded in documentary sources. This highlights the fact that documentary sources do not provide a complete coverage of medieval warrens.

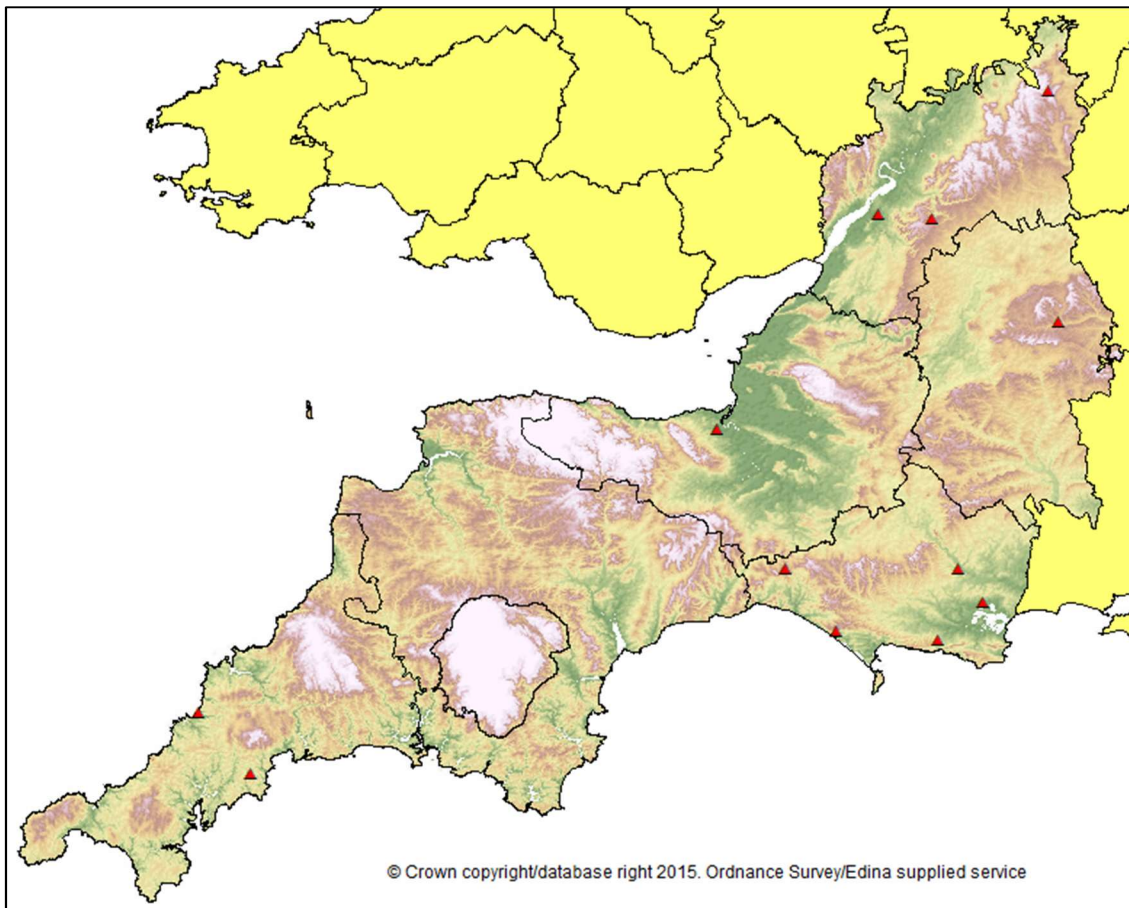


Fig. 4.8 Rabbit warrens first documented between 1450 and 1499

The early sixteenth century saw an increase in the number of documented rabbit warrens throughout the South West (Fig. 4.9). As discussed in Chapter 2, the end of the medieval period is defined in this thesis as c1550 and it is possible that later documentary references may refer to warrens that were in existence during the medieval period. Nevertheless, the latest warrens included in this study as being medieval are those at Bridgwater, Somerset, and at Heytesbury, Wiltshire, both recorded in 1553. The distribution of warrens documented in the South West during the first half of the sixteenth century is relatively even, although there is a greater concentration in the east of the study area in Gloucestershire, Dorset and Wiltshire. There are relatively few sites documented in Somerset, which appears to have had its greatest concentration of rabbit warrens in the second half of the fourteenth century. There are also a small number of rabbit warren references in western Cornwall and in south Devon where previously rabbit warrens are conspicuous through their scarcity.

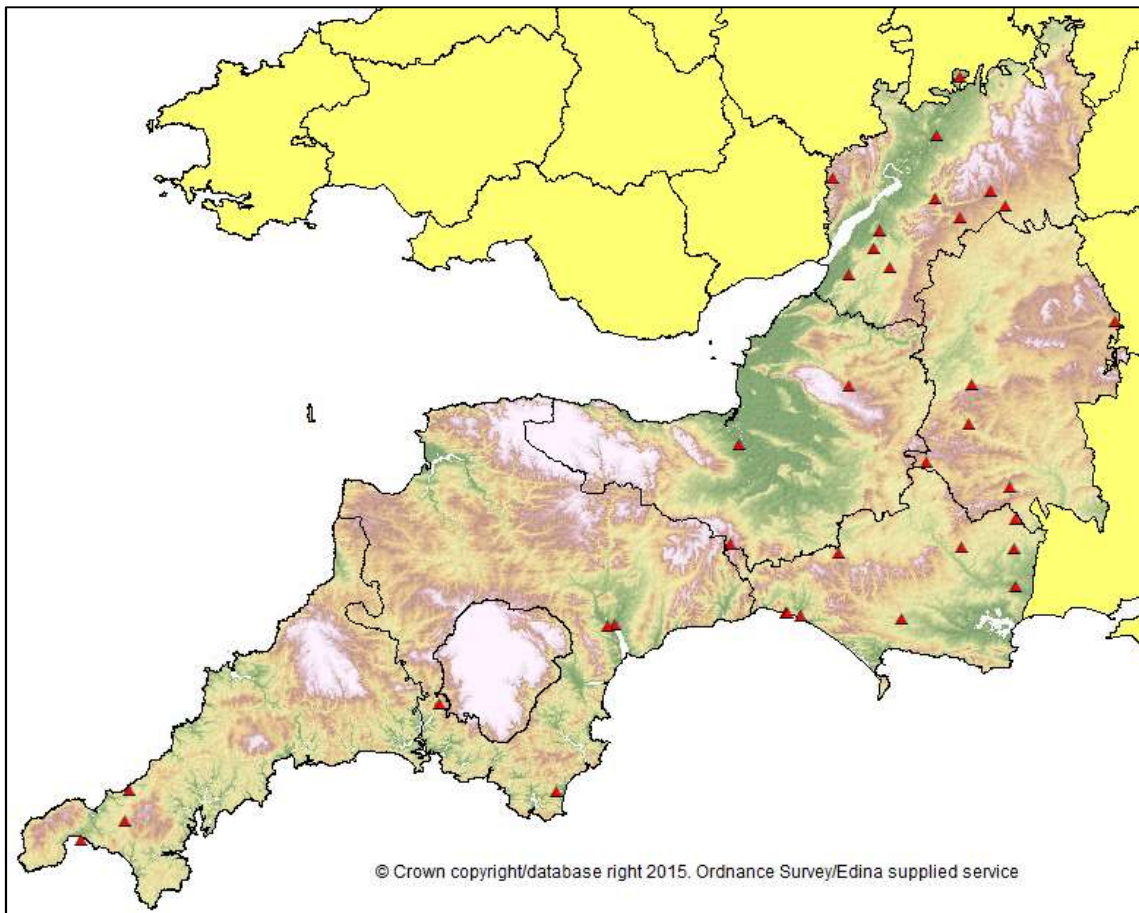


Fig. 4.9 Rabbit warrens first documented between 1500 and 1553

Although the above figures show rabbit warren sites throughout the medieval period, it should be noted that they show the dates of the earliest documented references to those warrens. They do not necessarily indicate the foundations of those rabbit warrens. Furthermore, it is likely that numerous primary sources exist which have not been studied that would provide earlier dates as well as indicating further as yet unrecorded warren locations. Nevertheless, and with such flaws in mind, Figures 4.4 to 4.9 indicate something of the regionalised trends in the spread of rabbit warrens throughout the South West.

Medieval Documentary Rabbit Warrens and Physical Remains

Of the various sites recorded in the above-mentioned medieval sources, the locations of many within deer parks and near elite residences is well supported, but relatively few sites can be linked with surviving warren architecture. Where warren architecture survives in areas that had documented medieval warrens, the possibility arises that they represent the remnants of those medieval warrens. Figure 4.10 indicates the spatial, if not necessarily historical, relationships between surviving warren architecture and documented medieval sites. The

small number (22) of sites with surviving warren archaeology in areas named in medieval documents supports the notion that most surviving warren archaeology is post-medieval.

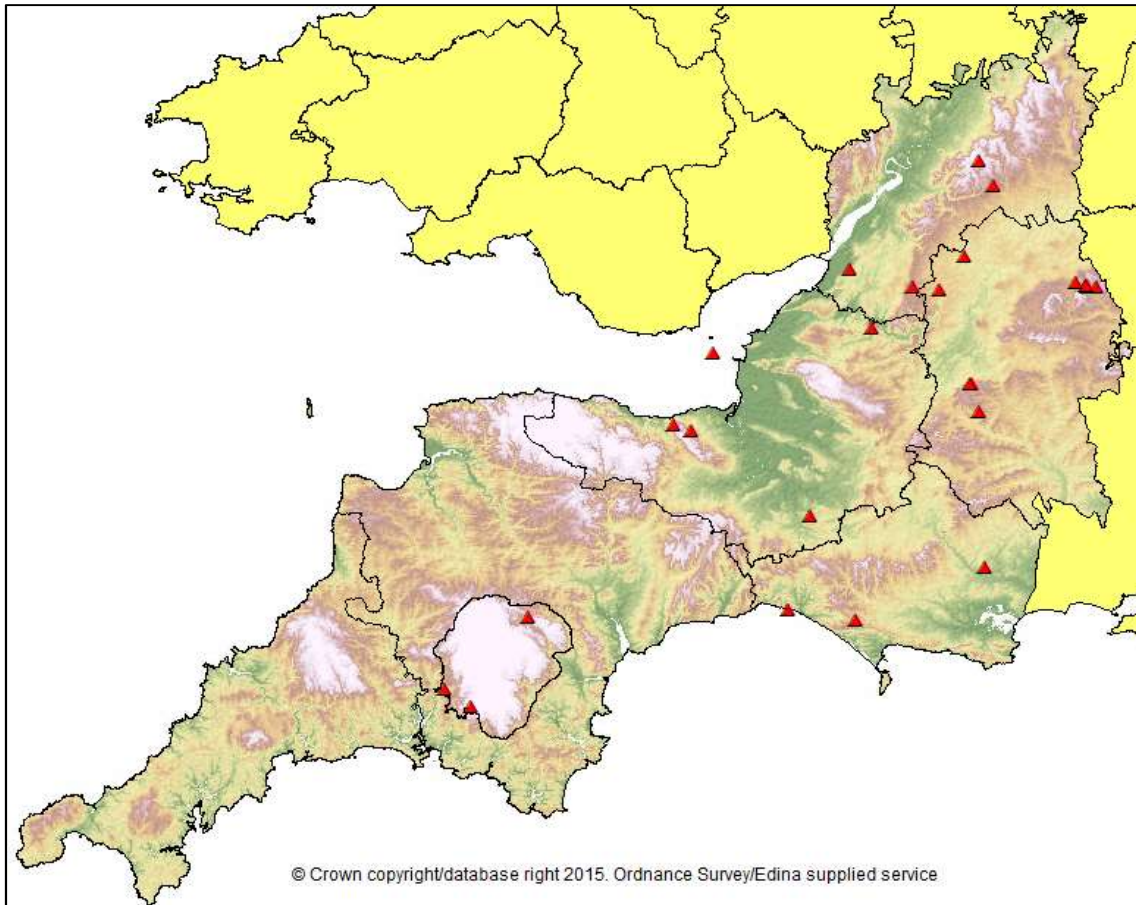


Fig. 4.10 Locations of surviving warren features with possible links to documented medieval sites

No Cornish pillow mounds are spatially linked to known documented medieval warrens. Three pillow mound sites within Devon may be linked to documentary references to warrens, all within Dartmoor, and all with links that are far from substantiated. At Buckland Monachorum, Dartmoor, two separate pillow mound sites may be associated with a 1550 reference to Hugh Poulett being granted lands at Buckland Abbey, including a plot called *Conyngarth Close* (CPR, Edward VI, vol. 3, 21). The extent of Buckland Abbey's lands within Buckland Monachorum is unknown although both pillow mounds are c3.2km away from the abbey and it cannot be assumed that they represent remnants of Hugh Poulett's warren. In north-east Dartmoor, Whiddon Park's pillow mounds may be medieval as the warren's Scheduling description associates it with a mid-sixteenth-century deer park; unfortunately, no further details of this association are given (SM 1021398).

The Dartmoor warren most frequently cited as medieval is Trowlesworthy. Containing at least 83 pillow mounds, it has been suggested by many that documentary references date it to the late thirteenth century (Price 1977, 48; Tittensor and Tittensor 1985, 153; Williamson 2006, 110). However, both Lineham (1966, 144) and Robertson (1991, 254) wrote that the only source for this appears to be Risdon's 1811 survey of Devon which included a statement that Trowlesworthy Warren had been granted to Sampson de Traylesoworthy between 1135 and 1272. Robertson suggests that Risdon's editor was probably referring to the earliest in the series of title deeds for Trowlesworthy with the warren itself not recorded until a lease of 1651 (1991, 254). It seems unlikely then that Trowlesworthy's pillow mounds are associated with a medieval warren as there are no medieval documentary references to such a warren.

In Dorset, pillow mounds at Badbury are associated with Kingston Lacy where a warren was recorded as early as 1295. However, the warren remained in use until 1740 and it is feasible that the pillow mounds date to a later phase of the warren. Three pillow mounds on Doghouse Hill are located in an area named *Le Conyngar* in 1516 (Papworth 2010, 164-6), suggesting a medieval date. Four pillow mounds (Cowleaze 1-3 and Sheep Down) may be associated with Richard de Portes' warren at Winterbourne Steepleton that was broken into in 1323 (CPR, Edward II, vol. 4, 445): the group is located 1.8km south-west of Winterbourne Steepleton, although the extent of its medieval warren is unknown and the pillow mounds' association may be spatial only.

Five sites with surviving warren archaeology may be associated with documented medieval warrens in Somerset. Pillow mounds on Stowborrow Hill are associated with an area named *Conyger Hill* in 1418 (VCH 1985, 130) and which Riley suggested were pre-fifteenth century according to earthwork evidence (2006, 98). In Keynsham, the Abbot of Keynsham was granted a rabbit warren in 1280 in an area called *Wynterleye* (CPR, Edward I, vol. 1, 371) and while this location is unknown, the farm buildings of Conygre Farm have been interpreted as the medieval warren's lodge (B&NES HER MBN9407). This association is far from certain, however, and *Wynterleye* may have been located elsewhere in Keynsham. Ham Hill's pillow mound is ostensibly linked to a warren recorded in 1248, although it is probably instead associated with a seventeenth-century deer park as it is located within DMV earthworks (Dunn 1997, 45). A medieval warren is recorded on Steep Holm where the island's monastic

buildings were re-used by the warreners. While these buildings were not purpose-built for the warren, several linear earthworks survive and although their identification is uncertain, the NMR suggests they may either be part of the warren, field boundaries or fortifications of unknown date (191345). Ultimately a dedicated survey is required to determine whether they represent warren remains. A pillow mound on Conygar Hill in Portbury may be associated with a warren recorded there in 1327 although the medieval warren was named *Le Holmes* and any such association is therefore conjectural (CIPM, vol. 7, 85).

Six pillow mound sites in Wiltshire may be connected with documented medieval warrens. Two separate groups of pillow mounds are located at Castle Combe, which had a warren in 1307 (CPR, Edward I, vol. 4, 540). The pillow mounds and warrener's lodge at Hyam Wood are recorded in the early sixteenth century according to Wiltshire's HER (ST98NW612) although they are unable to ascertain the source of this reference (personal communication, Wiltshire's HER, March 2015). Two pillow mounds at Luccombe Bottom and North Luccombe Bottom may be associated with the manor of Edington's warren recorded in 1396 (VCH 1965c, 243) or they may be associated with a later warren called *Connyngarth* in the same parish, leased to William Paulet in 1550 (CPR, Edward VI, vol. 2, 376). A 1361 reference to Aldbourne Manor refers to its profits of rabbits (CIPM, vol. 9, 185), although two rabbit warren enclosures there are however described by Wiltshire's HER as being "probably seventeenth century in date" (SU27NW459 and SU27NW460) citing Bettey although he himself wrote that Aldbourne had a warren in 1378 (2004, 389). While the two enclosures are ultimately undated, it is possible then that they are associated with the manor's medieval warren. Bettey also claims medieval warrens existed in Wanborough and Liddington, although he gives no sources (2004, 381). However, two pillow mounds at Half Moon Plantation may be linked to Wanborough, while three at Sugar Hill may be linked to Liddington manor. A rabbit warren at Heytesbury was granted to Henry Wheeler in 1553 (CPR, Edward VI, vol. 5, 243) while two pillow mounds in the same parish were recorded at Willis's Field Barn. Now ploughed out, it is unclear whether they relate to Heytesbury's historic warren.

Four pillow mounds sites in Gloucestershire may be recorded in medieval documents. The pillow mound at Brimpsfield lies within a medieval deer park where a warren was recorded in 1316 (CPR, Edward II, vol. 2, 427). The pillow mound at Over Lane in Almondsbury is located near the entrance of Knole Park

in an area that was leased to make a rabbit warren in 1536 (South Gloucestershire HER 5344). Four pillow mounds lie within Tormarton deer park from which rabbits were stolen in 1336 (CPR, Edward III, vol. 2, 283) although they lie outside of an area named *Cuny Warrant* on a 1637 map and instead lie in an area named *The Parke* (Lay and Iles 1979, 10). The pillow mounds are not therefore associated with the seventeenth-century warren depicted on this map, suggesting that they may be associated with an earlier medieval warren within the park. Three pillow mounds are located at Duntisbourne Rouse, which is recorded as having a rabbit warren in 1542 called *Le Conyngre* (Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, vol. 17, 631).

It is worth noting here too that a 1548-49 survey of Yate Court, South Gloucestershire, references a “small warreyne of conyes” (Fox 1898, 24), and while its location is not recorded, the Yate tithe map records a *Coneygre* near Yate Court (GRO GDR/T1/207). An earthen mound is located south of this field (South Gloucestershire HER 5268) and although Lay and Iles wrote that it roughly conformed to the shape of a pillow mound, it was considered very stony and very unlikely to represent a pillow mound (1979, 10). Furthermore, that it lies outside *Coneygre* supports the notion that it is not a pillow mound and has not been included within the gazetteer (Appendix 1).

Post-Medieval Documentary References to Rabbit Warrens

Alongside rabbit warrens recorded by medieval documents, many are known only from post-medieval and modern references. One particular class of document that becomes more frequent from the later medieval period onwards are leases as warrens began to be more commonly managed by professional warreners (Williamson 2006, 23). For example, a rabbit warren is known to have existed at Clyst Honiton, Devon, solely through the preservation of leases held at Exeter Cathedral’s archives dated to 1570 and 1750 (Catalogue Nos. 6020/1 and 6020/16). The survival of these leases is typical of such documents in that, where they do survive, they are located in archive centres and have not been published in a comprehensive overview in the way that medieval chancery rolls have been. Further localised studies are therefore needed to fully utilise such documents, although some secondary sources have made use of leases, most notably the Victoria County History series and Bettey’s (2004) study of Wiltshire’s warrens.

Secondary sources such as these indicate the existence of warrens across the study area, although their coverage is uneven and several references raise questions. For example, while Bettey has produced a relatively comprehensive study of Wiltshire's seventeenth-century warrens, some of his references are not explored in depth: East Knoyle and Nettleton are included on his map of Wiltshire's warrens (2004, 382) but are not discussed in the body of the article. Elsewhere, he mentions seventeenth-century disputes between farmers and warreners of Oakhill, but provides no sources (*ibid.*, 391). Other secondary sources are similarly problematic and suffer from an inconsistent level of supporting information. For example, Aston wrote of a *coneygar* located near the priest's house of St Katherine's manor at Low Water, Somerset (Aston and Leech 1977, 52), without providing further information. Pett quoted the nineteenth-century antiquarian Thomas Moule who wrote of a walled warren at Trewoofe, Cornwall (1998, 40), although more substantive evidence is lacking. Similarly, Hansford Worth wrote of being told of vermin traps at Worlebury, Somerset (1994, 161), the only known reference to a possible warren at this location, but provides no further evidence.

The Victoria County History series is fortunately more thorough in providing sources for its references. For example, it mentions that a rabbit warren and lodge are recorded on Chosen Hill, Gloucestershire, in 1622 (1988, vol. 4, 430), referencing papers held at the National Archives relating to a proposed sale of Churchdown Manor. It is not possible, however, to trace every source quoted by the Victoria County History series. For example, it suggests that a warren at Chisbury, Wiltshire, probably existed in the seventeenth century and that in 1719 the manor had a warren of 11 acres (1999, 63); although a source is provided of a document at Wiltshire Archives, it is not possible to trace the reference number on their catalogue. However, given the specific details recorded, the source is nevertheless invaluable in providing information of the manor's warren and provides a lead for any further investigation. A further aspect of the Victoria County History series' references to warrens that needs to be considered is that its coverage of the study area is uneven, with references to rabbit warrens largely confined to Wiltshire and to a lesser extent Gloucestershire.

By far the most common source of post-medieval and modern documentary references to historic warrens are maps. Tithe maps and their apportionments in particular record numerous field-names preserving the

presence of former warrens, such as *warren* in Dodbrooke, Devon (Bowcombe Creek in Appendix 1), *conygere* in Tortworth, Gloucestershire (Charfield Road in Appendix 1), or *rabbit paddock* in Compton Dando, Somerset (Compton Dando 2 in Appendix 1). While tithe maps are able to highlight the specific locations of rabbit warrens, they do not however give an indication of date. There is however a possibility that the use of either *warren* or *coneygarth*-derived field-names indicate different dates of origin: while there are some medieval references to the term *warren* in conjunction with rabbit warrens, for example the 1462 reference to a rabbit warren named *Northampton Wareyn* in Northamptonshire (CPR, Edward IV, 13), it is far more common to find distinctions between [free] warrens and coneygarths; only from the mid-1500s does it become common to find references to “warrens of coneyes” (see CPR, Edward VI). Further investigations are therefore required to ascertain whether *warren* and *coneygarth*-derived field-names can be used as a rough dating tool of those warrens.

OS maps from the nineteenth century onwards also frequently record former warrens (Fig. 4.11). For example, *warren house* is recorded on OS maps of Bincombe, Somerset, while an area labelled *the warren* is recorded on the first edition OS 25” map of Torrington Commons, Devon. Although such references are relatively common, as with tithe maps, they give no real indication of date; unlike tithe maps and their apportionments, they give no indication of land-use.

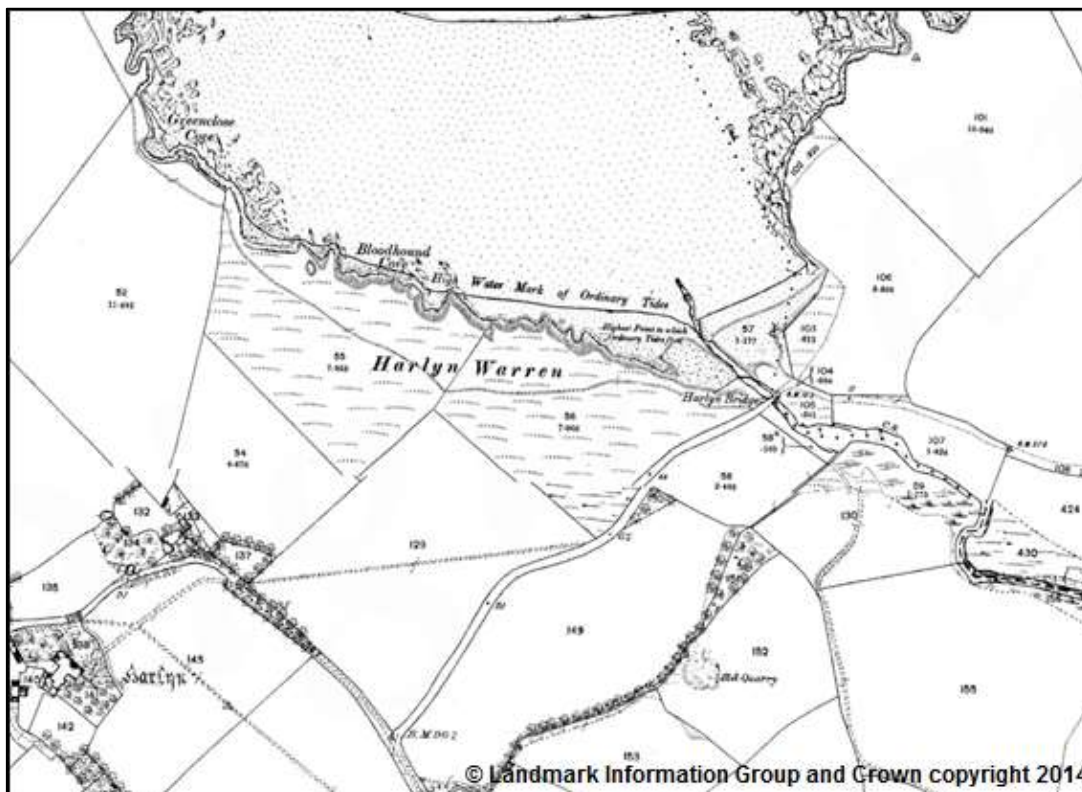


Fig. 4.11 1881 First Edition 25” OS Map showing Harlyn Warren, Cornwall

A small number of early cartographic sources also depict rabbit warrens, and while they may provide a more precise dating method, they are often schematic and do not accurately record a warren's geographic extent. Despite this, such maps are occasionally able to convey more information than just the presence of a former warren: the warren at East Allington Deer Park, Devon, is depicted on an estate map of c1600 as being confined within a walled enclosure where today no physical remains have been noted (Fig. 4.12). Many early cartographic sources remain to be uncovered in various county archives, although occasionally they are reproduced in secondary sources: for example, Beresford and St Joseph include a 1580 map of Long Melford warren, Suffolk (1979, 70).



Fig. 4.12 An enclosed warren, labelled *warrin*, associated with Vallapit House at East Allington, Devon, dated c1600 (Devon Heritage Centre)

Although there are often many inherent uncertainties surrounding post-medieval and modern references to warrens, Figure 4.13 shows the locations of those warrens in the South West known only from such references.

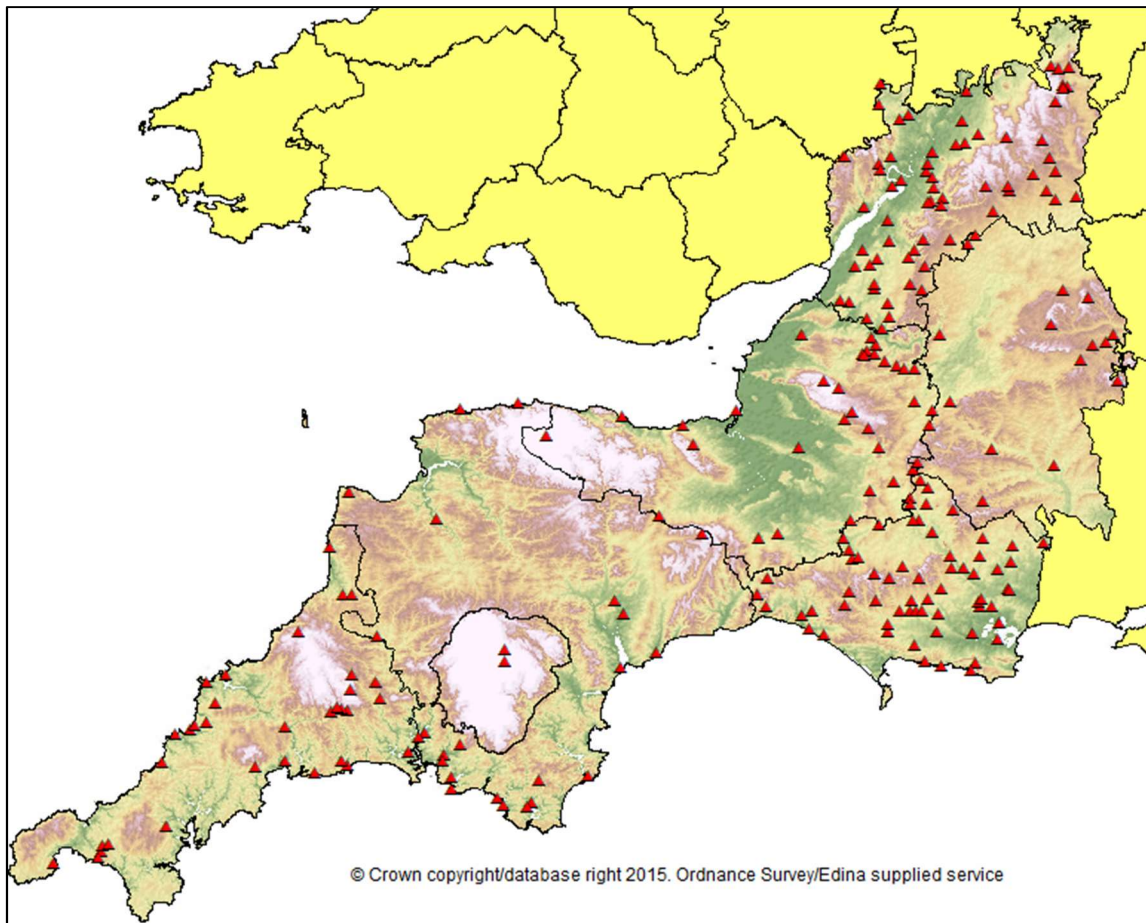


Fig. 4.13 Distribution of rabbit warrens known only from post-medieval and modern documentary sources

Several regions of the study area emerge as having distinct groupings of warrens, particularly north-east Somerset, the Mendips, north-east Wiltshire, the south coast of Devon, the north and south coasts of central Cornwall and the area south-east of Bodmin Moor. The concentrations on the Cornish and Devon coasts are particularly noteworthy because they represent areas that, when looked at in terms of surviving warren architecture, are not known to have been heavily exploited for rearing rabbits when it might be expected that such areas would have been utilised. The distribution in both Gloucestershire and Dorset presents a fairly uniform picture across both counties, although this is in part a product of a more intensive investigation as parts of both counties were chosen as nested study areas for this study. This latter point suggests that there is much potential for further as yet unrecognised warrens to be identified throughout the remainder of the South West.

Indeed, the relative lack of post-medieval/modern warrens recorded in Wiltshire is a very noticeable aspect of their distribution shown in Figure 4.13. Despite Bettey's study and the Victoria County History series' relatively comprehensive treatment of the county, only a single site in Wiltshire (Coney Bury) is recorded from place-name evidence, whereas elsewhere in the study area many sites are known from place-name evidence. This strongly suggests that a comprehensive study of Wiltshire's tithe and OS maps would reveal the presence of as yet unrecorded rabbit warrens. Even in counties where warrens are known through place- and field-name evidence, it is likely that further examples remain to be recorded. For example, while Cornwall's HER lists numerous warrens known through field-names recorded in tithe apportionments, further examples were recorded by the present author during a consultation of the county's archives in August 2014: Higher Trengale 2, Henwood and Pengelly. It also possible that due to the relatively limited studies of historic warrens, some sites presently known only from documentary sources may reveal traces of physical architecture. For example, Holm Park warren is recorded by South Gloucestershire's HER only through the presence of *coneygre* field-names on the Thornbury tithe map; site visits undertaken by the author in October 2012 revealed traces of what may have been a former warren boundary.

Summary

In all regions of the study area, many rabbit warrens are known only through references in historical documents. Regarding the medieval period, many primary sources have been collated in readily accessible and easily searchable reference works, notably the various Chancery rolls. While these allow for something of a national history of rabbit warrens to be discerned, they often do not confirm the presence of a rabbit warren with any degree of accuracy: specific locations are usually not recorded and they tend to record the presence of free warrens. While these free warrens may have had rabbit warrens, this cannot be assumed and although the presence of rabbit warrens can be confirmed by patent rolls' investigations into rabbit thefts, they only confirm the presence of those rabbit warrens from which rabbits were stolen.

Nevertheless, and with such caveats in mind, these sources suggest that eastern England had higher numbers and higher densities of rabbit warrens than the rest of the country, with the far North and far South West having the least.

This is supported by Fairnell's study of faunal remains from 1,821 zooarchaeological records that showed more sites in the east of England contained rabbit bones (2003, 118; Fig. 4.14). While this study also identified rabbit bones at sites in Devon, these could feasibly represent the remains of rabbits imported into the region as indicated in the Chancery rolls. Given the difficulty in interpreting rabbit bones, and indeed the limited reporting of such remains, Fairnell's study nevertheless supports the picture suggested by the Chancery rolls. The evidence of the Chancery rolls and Fairnell's study is in direct contrast to the picture suggested by surviving warren archaeology, which is more prevalent in the west of England and Wales.

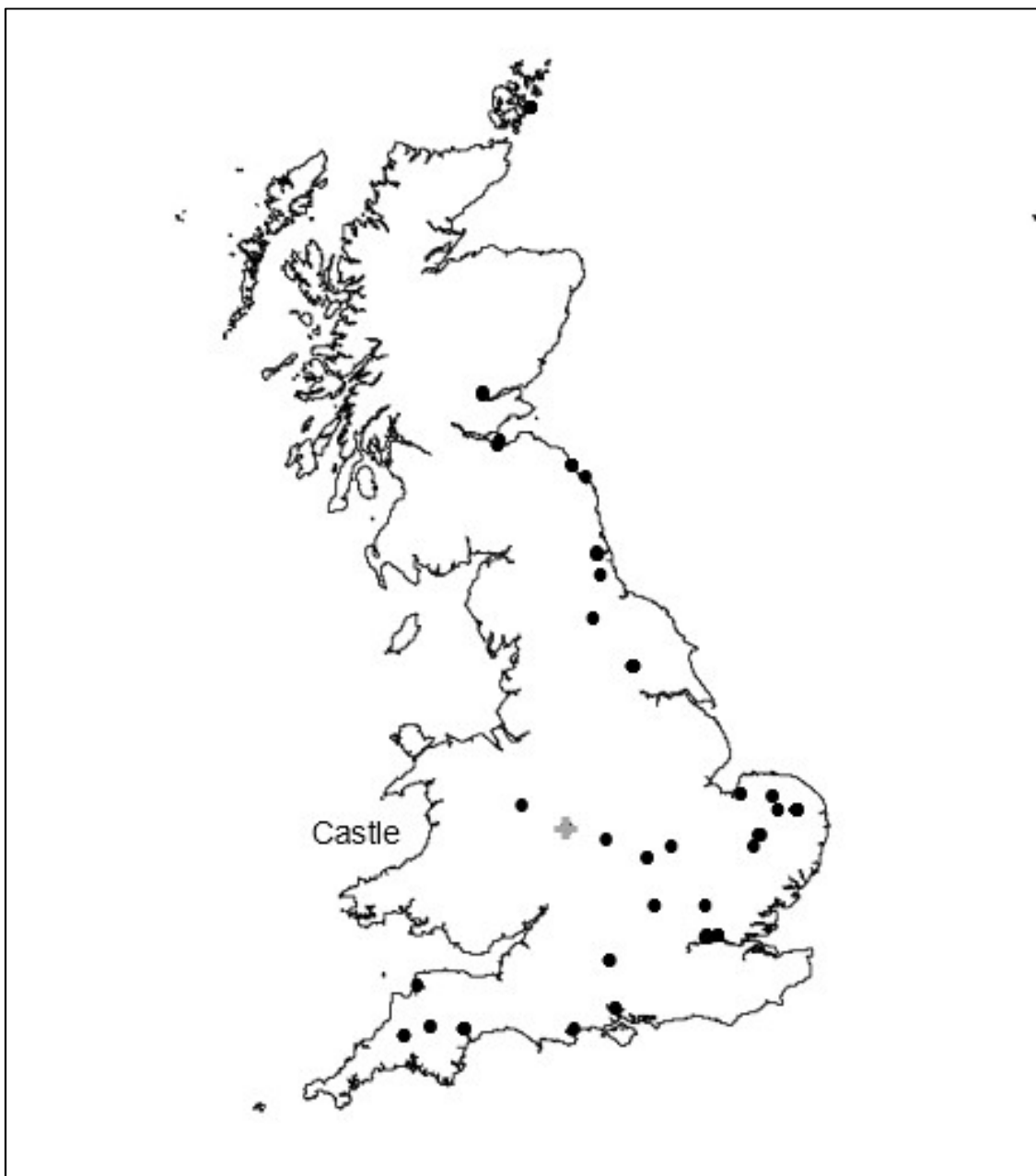


Fig. 4.14 Location of probable non-intrusive rabbit records allocated to the tenth-fifteenth centuries (from Fairnell 2003, 118)

However, localised studies may well indicate the presence of other warrens not recorded in the discussed documentary sources. For example, pillow mounds at Bodwen, Cornwall, were dated to the fifteenth century by the presence of pottery (Harris *et al* 1977) but are not recorded in any of the principal sources of medieval documentation, suggesting that further studies of other documents and archaeological investigations of known warrens are needed to fully inform our knowledge of medieval rabbit warrens. Medieval sources also suggest a discrepancy between the numbers of documentary references and surviving warren architecture in Dorset, as the county has very few surviving warrens compared to known medieval documentary references. While it is possible that rearing rabbits declined in Dorset during the post-medieval period, as indeed evidence suggests (see Chapter 6), this contrasts to the rest of the study area. It is possible then that further examples of warren architecture, although not necessarily from the medieval period, remain to be discovered in the county.

The lack of known warren architecture in Dorset therefore probably partly reflects the uneven nature of the recording of historic rabbit warrens across the study area, and indeed the UK as a whole. The uneven recording also extends to documentary sources: while the medieval sources discussed above present an opportunity to study medieval warrens on a national level, the same is not true for later documents. This is particularly evident in Wiltshire, whose post-medieval warrens are largely known from the work of Bettey (2004) and the Victoria County History series; warrens recorded by place-name evidence are lacking in Wiltshire compared to other regions in the study area. The uneven recording of post-medieval and modern documentary references to rabbit warrens and the lack of any accessible compendium of sources equitable to the earlier Calendars of Charter Rolls, Patent Rolls etc., means that further localised studies are required to fully achieve a comprehensive picture of post-medieval and modern documentary references to rabbit warrens.

Nevertheless, that later sources are numerous allows for many rabbit warrens to be identified where no known physical architecture survives. Through studying such sites, it is already apparent that stretches of the Cornish and Devon coastlines were far more heavily utilised for rearing rabbits than surviving physical evidence suggests, something that might be expected given that marginal lands are often cited as areas used for warrening (Williamson and Loveday 1988, 293; Williamson 2007, 17). An in-depth study of documentary references to Dorset's

warrens likewise suggests that many tracts of land within the county were more heavily utilised for rabbit warrens than is suggested by the amount of surviving warren archaeology there. It is evident that a comprehensive study of documentary sources, both medieval and post-medieval/modern, in conjunction with surviving warrens and their landscapes is required before a truly complete history of rabbit farming can be constructed.

CHAPTER 5

THE LOCATIONS OF RABBIT WARRENS IN SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND

Introduction

Although previous studies have indicated the high number of warrens found in England and Wales, beyond noting a higher prevalence of surviving warren architecture in western England and Wales (Williamson 2007, 35), statements regarding warren locations tend to deal in generalisations. In one respect this is because of the relatively limited amount of prior investigation, but it is due also to the fact that rabbits are able to live in most kinds of British habitats (Sheail 1971, 19) and so the geographic variables affecting warren locations are numerous.

What is commonly accepted is that rabbits naturally prefer dry soils, something borne out by The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food's National Rabbit Survey (1981-86), which monitored evidence of rabbit activity throughout England; analysis of this survey indicated that there were more rabbits in areas of dry soils (Trout *et al* 2000, 231). Although this survey also revealed a decreasing rabbit abundance with altitude (*ibid.*), rabbits also prefer areas of sloping land as it aids the removal of excavated soil (Sheail 1971, 19). Dry and warm environments are preferred because baby rabbits in particular are vulnerable to cold and wet conditions because their surface area to mass ratio is such that they expend more energy in keeping warm than adults (personal communication, Anne McBride, Senior Lecturer in Human-Animal Interactions and Animal Behaviour at Southampton University, June 2015). Rabbits are also prone to pododermatitis, a chronic ulcerative dermatitis which most commonly affects the plantar aspect of the caudal metatarsal and tarsal areas (Mancinelli *et al* 2014, 429). Most commonly studied in relation to laboratory and pet rabbits, the causes of pododermatitis are numerous although the highest risk factor is inappropriate flooring (Rosell and de la Feunte 2009, 199). In wild rabbits, burrowing without artificial flooring, moisture is a contributing factor as their feet are covered with fur but have no foot pads, essentially a product of having evolved in hard, dry surfaces such as the Iberian Peninsula (personal communication, Anne McBride, June 2016).

The perceived importance of well-drained land is demonstrated by Somerset's HER description of a pillow mound on Ham Hill (54296) as being "in an ideal position...on a well-drained east-facing slope". However, Sheail suggested that keepers may have exaggerated the species' aversion to dampness (1971, 19) and indeed Thompson wrote that rain, unless very heavy, does not deter rabbits from feeding and although they prefer dry soils, they have been found living in marshy areas and have been witnessed swimming across rivers and in the sea (1994, 84). McBride also confirmed that while some local populations may be adversely affected by flooding, only small colonies are likely to be wiped out (personal communication, June 2015).

So while rabbits may prefer well-drained land, to what extent these preferences influenced warren locations is unknown for although rabbits *can* survive in damp conditions, poorly drained environments would nevertheless have introduced some risks to the steady supply of rabbits that was warrens' *raison d'être*. Moreover, if rabbits are able to thrive in most kinds of UK habitats, would any consideration have been made to underlying geology and soil types, or would such matters simply have been irrelevant?

A possible answer is provided by J. Simpson, a warrener who in 1893 wrote of his experiments in improving productivity on Wartley Hall Warren, Sheffield. Although noting rabbits' preference to burrow into dry ground, he reported that rabbits thrived best simply where there was adequate food (1893, 17). He wrote that the then universal custom was to use the best land for farming and the worst for warrens, resulting in poorer rabbit 'harvests' (*ibid.*, 32), and advised that pillow mounds be placed at 100 yard intervals to ensure that rabbits fed evenly (*ibid.*, 86). Simpson's manual suggests that local conditions may have been irrelevant provided there was adequate pasture, supported by Rogers *et al* who reported that their natural habitat requirements are not too specific: somewhere to dig a hole and with food nearby (1994, 56). This chapter therefore addresses the extent to which natural landscape characteristics influenced warren locations.

Also addressed is the extent to which human agency influenced warren locations. It has been noted that many pillow mounds lie near prehistoric earthworks (Williamson 2007, 36), although whether they were repurposed as pre-existing pillow mounds or whether this is simply due to their survival on unploughed marginal lands is unclear (*ibid.*). This chapter examines whether

these were merely coincidental relationships or whether there were deliberate attempts to locate pillow mounds amongst prehistoric earthworks. Relationships with elite residences and parks are also addressed as associations may provide dating evidence and shed light on the symbolic roles of warrens as a means of displaying wealth. Relationships with medieval ecclesiastical remains are also investigated in order to assess the Stockers' theory (1996) that rabbits had Christian symbolism and that pillow mounds were visible components of ecclesiastical landscapes as a means of displaying that symbolism. To date, no studies have addressed spatial relationships between warrens and ecclesiastical landscapes.

The Drainage Characteristics of Warren Sites

As discussed in Chapter 2, warrens' drainage characteristics have been assessed by consulting the BGS's Permeability Index codes, which provide a qualitative classification of vertical water movement rates from the ground surface to the unsaturated zone. While this methodology is not without flaws, particularly as it does not take into account factors such as local vegetation and the influence of human activities, it provides a consistent and objective method of comparing drainage across the study area. However, drainage characteristics remain unknown wherever it is not possible to ascertain warren locations and where warrens, and at times individual pillow mounds, overlie areas of varying drainage rates.

Nevertheless, the remaining warrens can be evaluated, although not all sites can be treated equally: while most directly overlie bedrock, 54 warrens also overlie superficial deposits, with both layers having differing drainage characteristics; consequently, these two groupings are discussed separately below. As explored in Chapter 2, the methodology employed in assessing the BGS's dataset assigns ratings to each site ranging from a minimum of 2 to a maximum of 10 for sites overlying bedrock. No sites within the study area have a drainage rating of 2, with 3 being the lowest encountered (Fig. 5.1). In terms of displaying this data on the following maps, because drainage has been calculated using two separate GIS layers, or four layers when sites overlie superficial deposits, it is not possible to show the accumulated drainage rating as a single GIS layer. Therefore, the following maps retain the elevation base-mapping used elsewhere in this study.

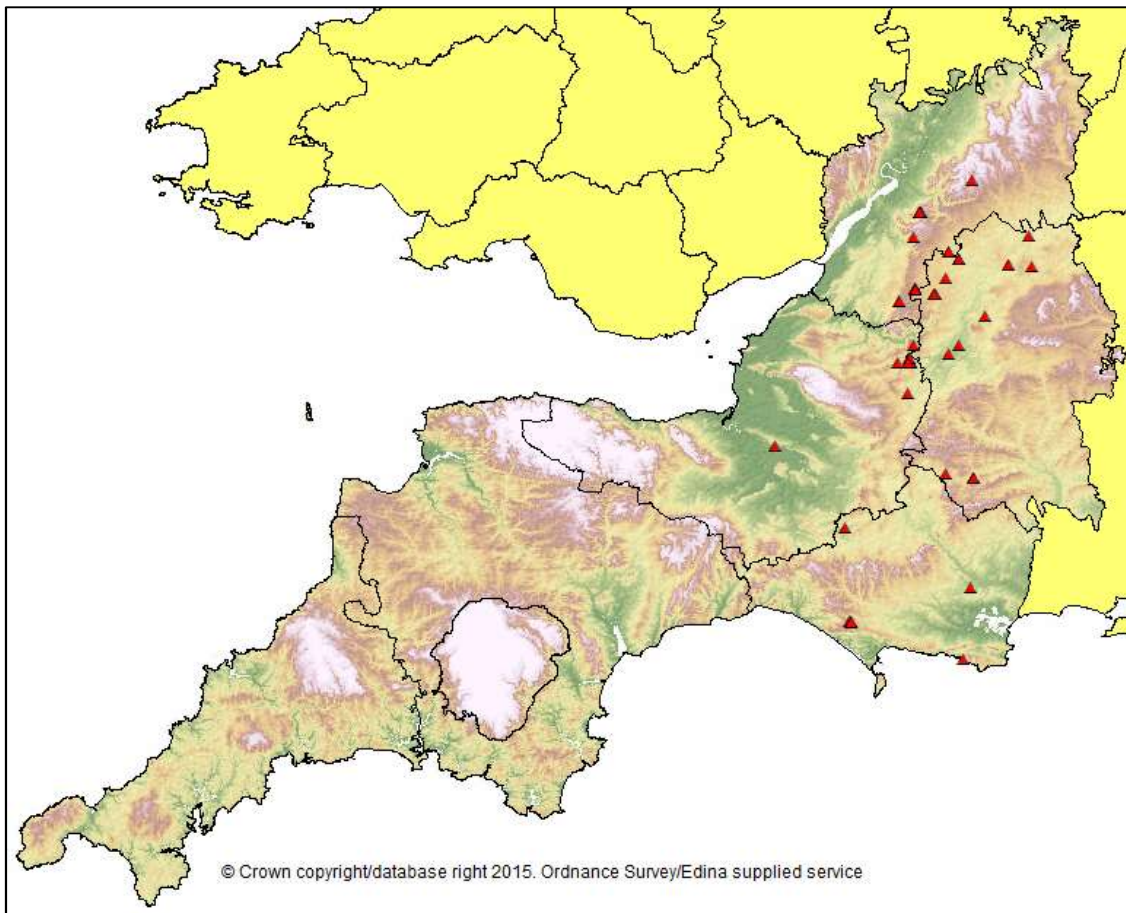


Fig. 5.1 Warrens with a drainage rating of 3

Apart from isolated sites in Dorset, south Wiltshire and central Somerset, warrens with the poorest draining conditions belong to a well-defined grouping across north-east Somerset, south-east Gloucestershire and north-west Wiltshire. In contrast, sites with a drainage rating of 4 are widely distributed (Fig. 5.2), although several distinct groupings exist in south-west Devon, Exmoor, north-central and north-east Somerset, south and north-west Gloucestershire, and north-east Cornwall. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 indicate that while warrens with the poorest drainage are relatively few, there are nevertheless a considerable number of examples, although Dorset represents an exception. Analysis of the BGS's Permeability Index ratings shows that much of Dorset consists of poorly draining bedrock, and while the number of pillow mounds in the county is admittedly low, it is noticeable that very few are located in those areas of poor drainage; whether this was a conscious decision by landowners is unknown, however. Because many warrens are undated, it is not possible to say whether warrens in poorly draining locations belong to a particular era beyond noting that both medieval and post-medieval warrens are found in such areas.

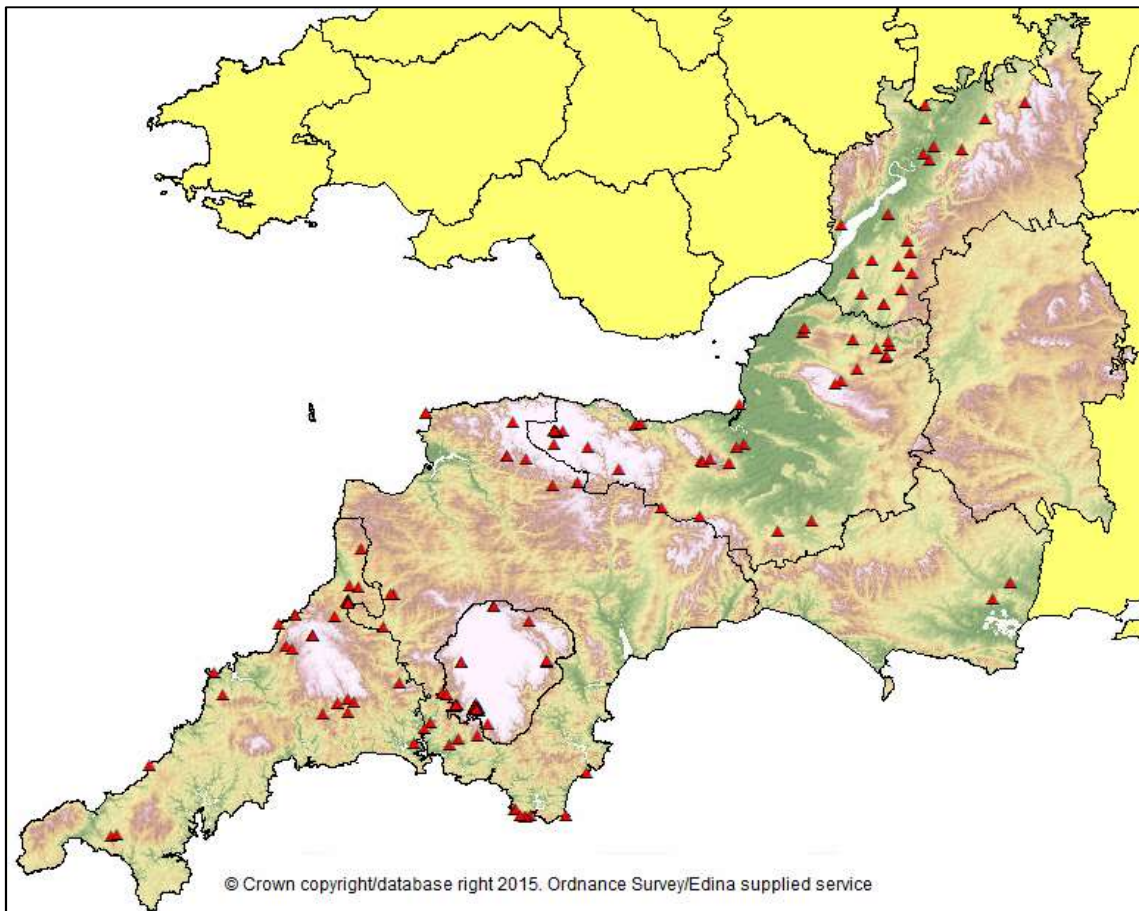


Fig. 5.2 Warrens with a drainage rating of 4

Sites with a drainage rating 5 are predominantly found in the far west, particularly throughout Cornwall and south Devon including Dartmoor (Fig. 5.3). Other groupings exist in north Exmoor and south and north-east Gloucestershire, with isolated examples in Somerset; only one site is recorded in Dorset and none in Wiltshire. The prevalence of warrens in Dartmoor with only moderate to poor drainage suggests that this was not a consideration in the foundation of the region's commercial rabbit industry. It also suggests that it was not because of similarly poor to moderate drainage that a similar industry did not flourish on Bodmin Moor, but rather it was due to local preferences as the region was widely used for pasture but not for rabbits to any large degree (see Chapter 8).

Sites with a drainage rating of 6 are predominantly found in the north of the study area in Somerset's uplands, with isolated sites in north Devon and south Gloucestershire; a single site lies on the south Devon coast (Fig. 5.4).

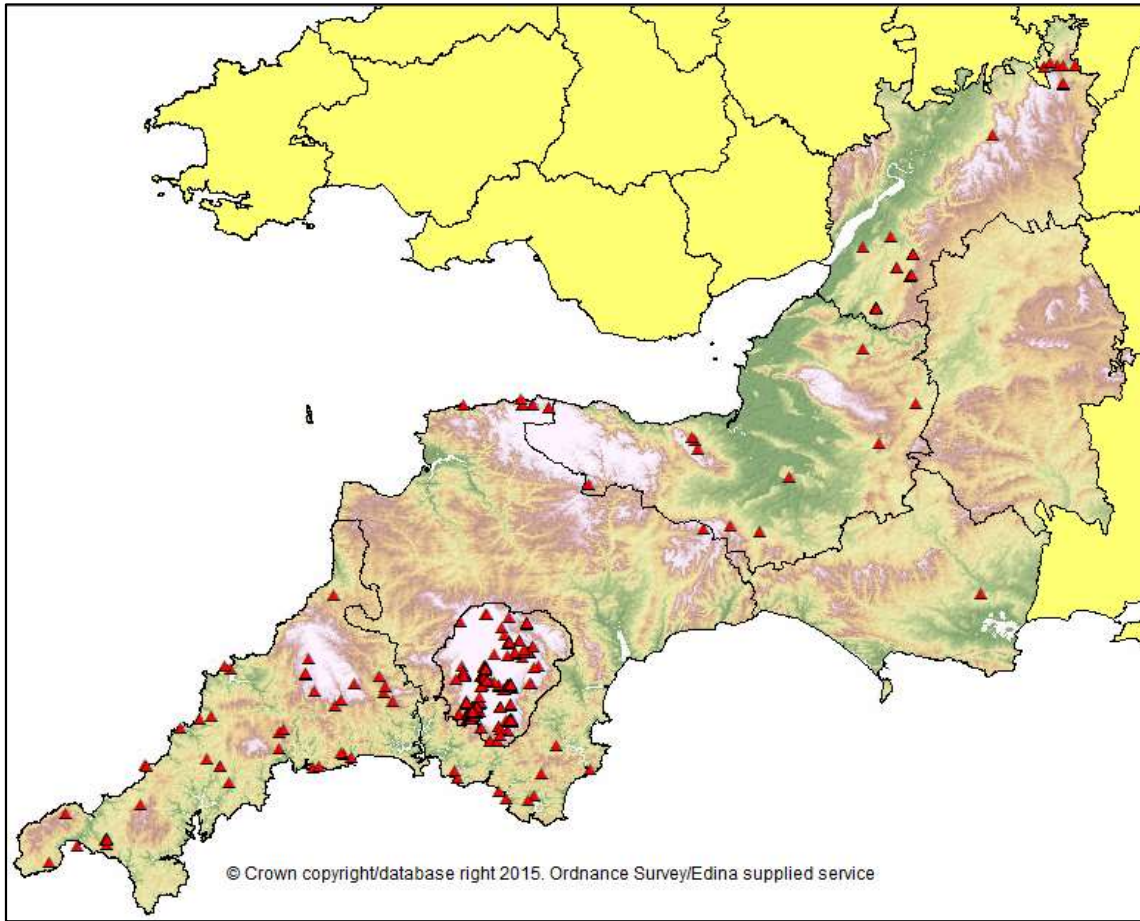


Fig. 5.3 Warrens with a drainage rating of 5

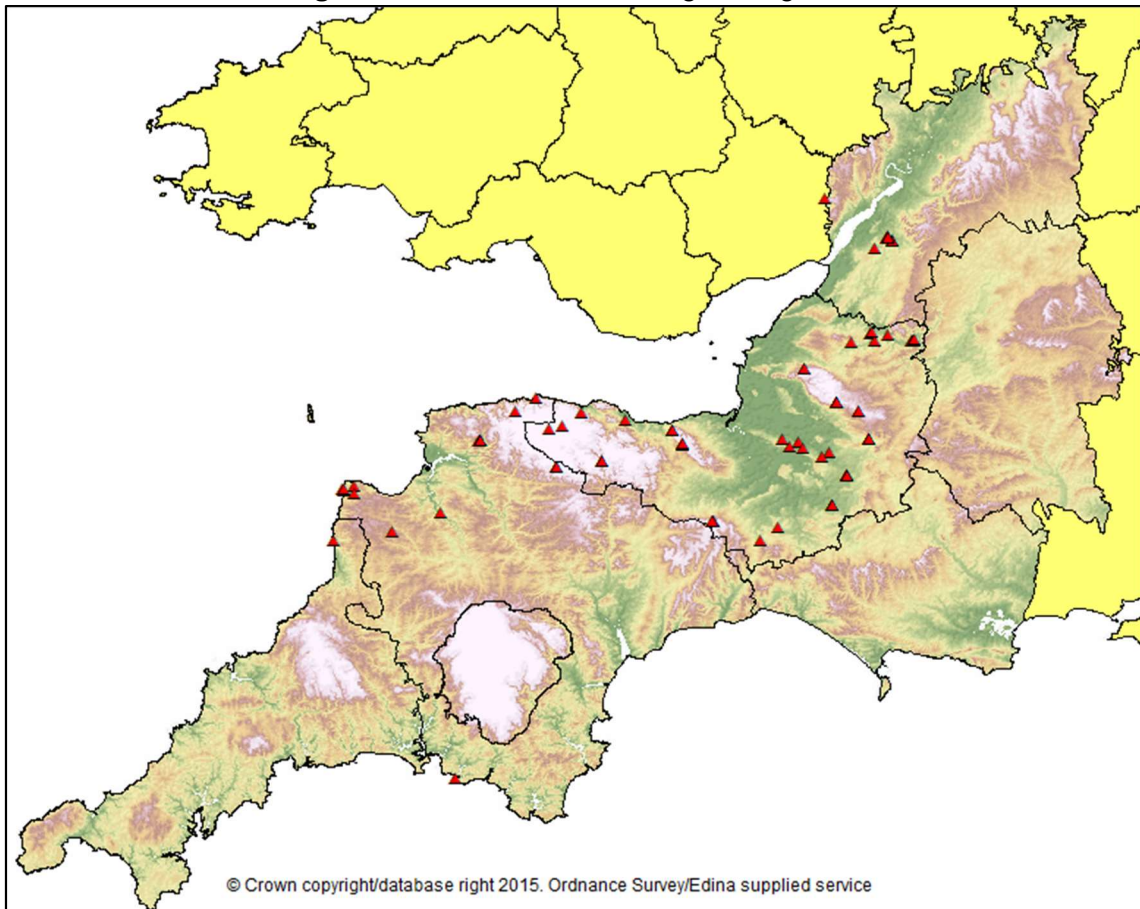


Fig. 5.4 Warrens with a drainage rating of 6

Warrens with a drainage rating of 7 are relatively scarce, although there is a distinct cluster in south Gloucestershire and isolated sites in Somerset, Wiltshire, the Forest of Dean and south-east Devon (Fig. 5.5).

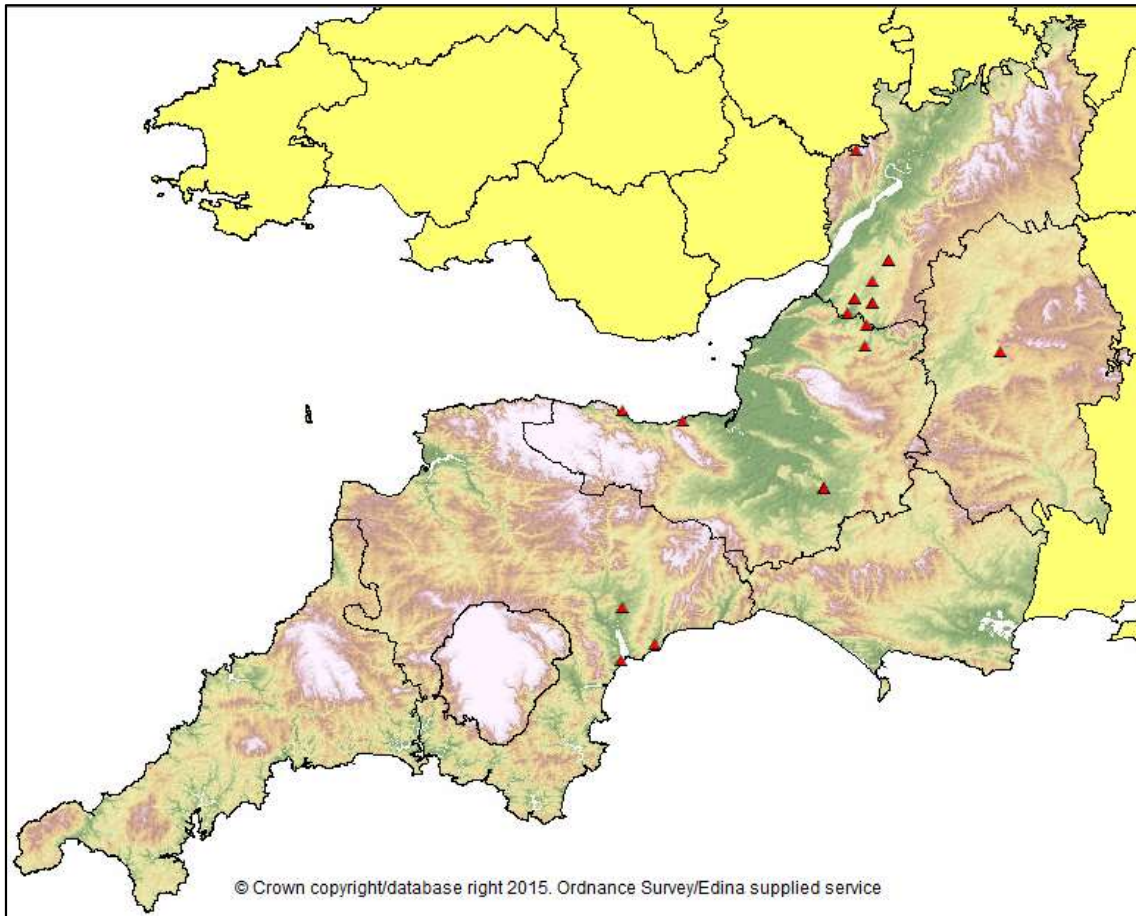


Fig. 5.5 Warrens with a drainage rating of 7

Warrens with a drainage rating of 8 are in contrast relatively numerous, with concentrations in south and east Somerset, south Dorset and the south Cotswolds; none are however recorded in Cornwall while a single example is found in south-east Devon (Fig. 5.6). Sites with a drainage rating of 9 are located predominantly in the Mendips, although isolated examples are found in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and south Devon (Fig. 5.7). Warrens with the highest drainage rating of 10 are widespread, but are found in several distinct concentrations in east Dorset, south and east Wiltshire, north Somerset and east Gloucestershire; they are entirely absent from Cornwall and Devon (Fig. 5.8).

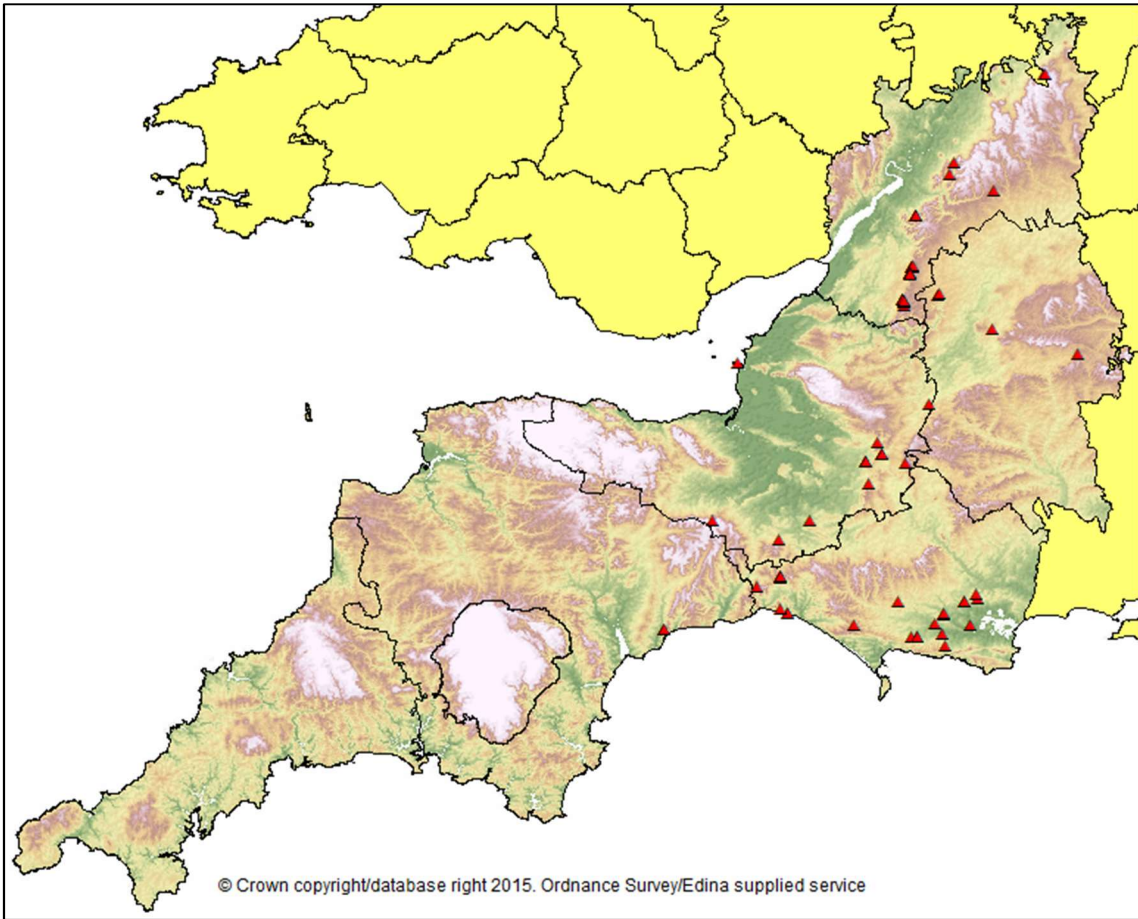


Fig. 5.6 Warrens with a drainage rating of 8

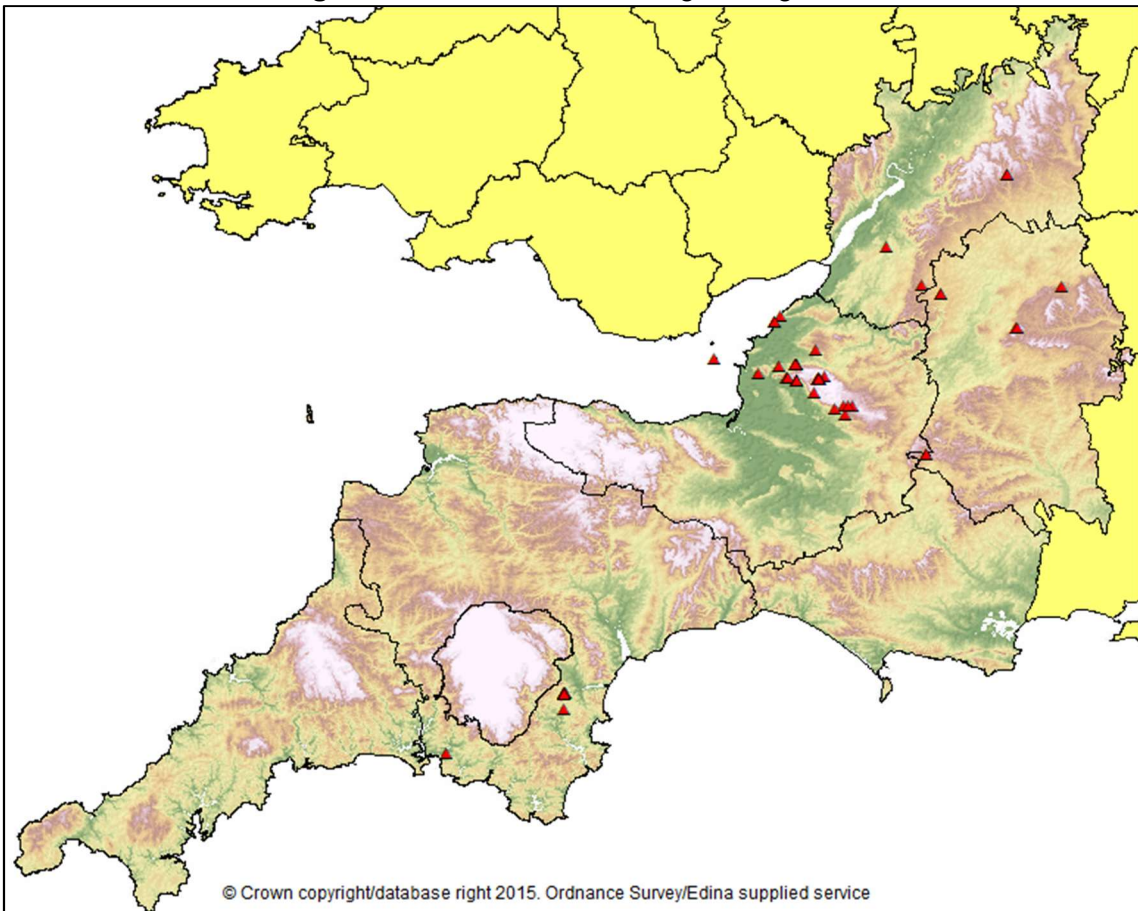


Fig. 5.7 Warrens with a drainage rating of 9

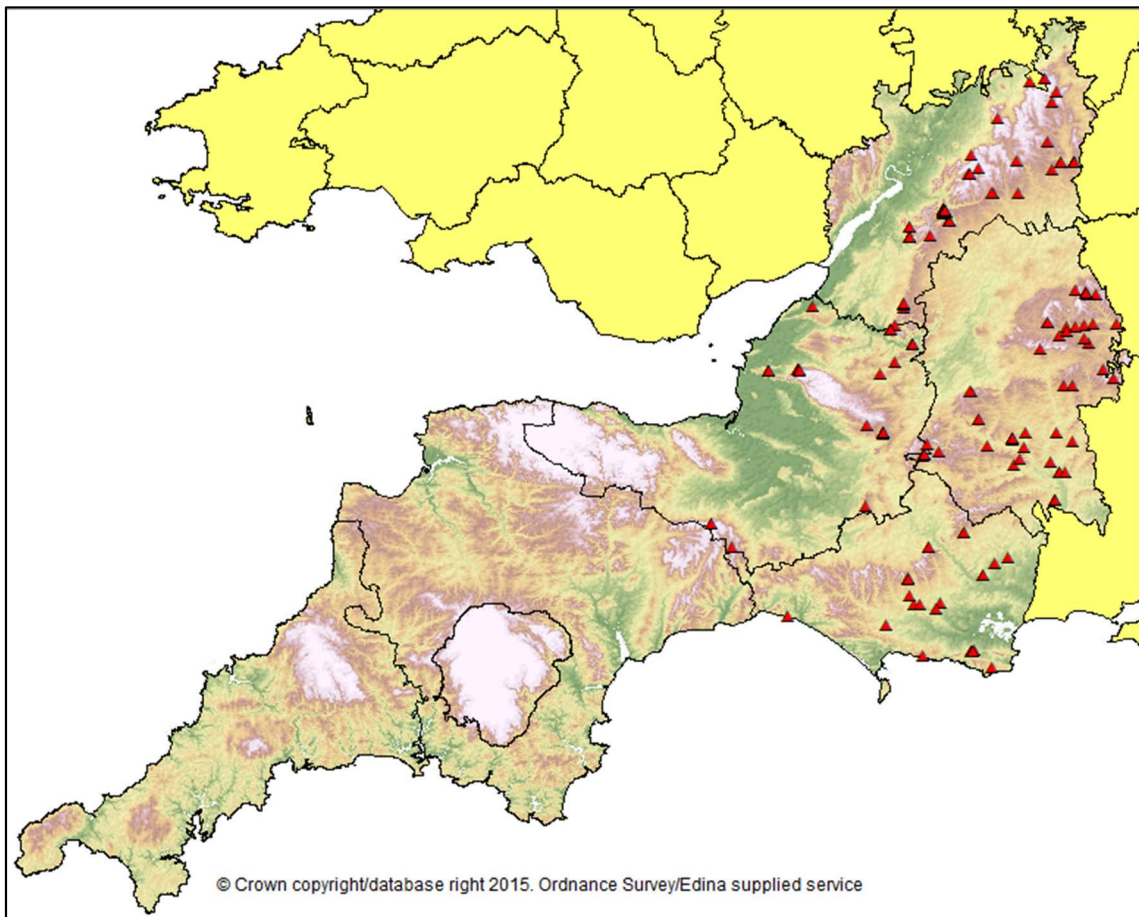


Fig. 5.8 Warrens with a drainage rating of 10

When considered together (Fig. 5.9), these maps indicate three key observations. First, warrens were not located only in well-drained areas; many are found in areas of poor to moderate drainage, including England's largest warrening area of Dartmoor, strongly suggesting that decisions to install warrens were not determined by how well-drained the land was, although this may have been a consideration in isolated instances. This is also implied at numerous warrens whose pillow mounds overlie areas of varying drainage. For example, the western half of at least 14 pillow mounds at Little Sodbury, Gloucestershire, have drainage ratings of 5 (a single example has a rating of 4), while the eastern half have ratings of 8. If drainage was a major consideration, why all of Little Sodbury's pillow mounds were not constructed on the better drained land is unclear. Secondly, in the most general terms the east of the study area is more well-drained than the west. While Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire all have warrens in poorly drained areas, they also have many warrens in well-drained areas; in contrast, warrens in Cornwall, Devon and west Somerset are typically located on poorly drained land. This may explain a possible trend discussed in Chapter 3 where pillow mounds in the far west are taller than those in the east,

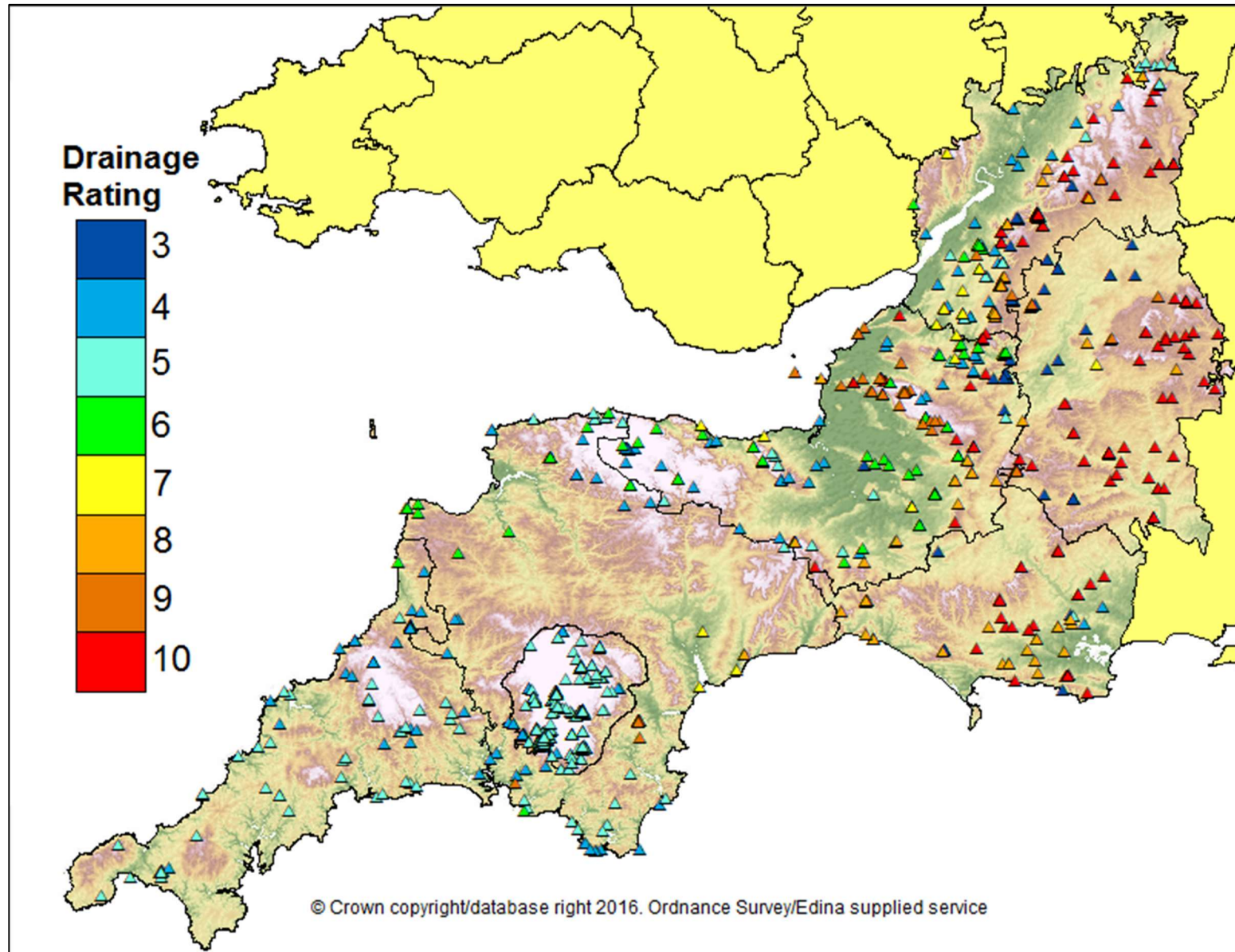


Fig. 5.9 Drainage ratings of all sites in the South West located above bedrock

perhaps as a means of reducing flood risks. Lastly, there is no obvious correlation between either the shapes or sizes of pillow mounds and drainage characteristics, and although Dartmoor's generally small mounds presents a possible exception, their size is more likely a product of constructing large numbers rather than constructing them on poorer draining soils.

As mentioned above, where warrens overlie both superficial deposits and bedrock, the BGS provide Permeability Indices for both layers, with a combination of both used to assess drainage characteristics. In these cases, instead of a range between 2 and 10, permeability ratings therefore range from a minimum of 4 to a maximum of 20. Warrens located above superficial deposits are concentrated in Dartmoor and south-east Dorset, although isolated examples are found throughout the South West (Fig. 5.10). Warrens overlying superficial deposits are located in areas with wide-ranging drainage capabilities, again suggesting drainage did not primarily determine warren locations. Generally speaking, of the two largest concentrations, those in Dorset have more potential for well-drained conditions than those in Dartmoor and again, the size of the warrens in the latter point to drainage not being a primary concern.

Warren Locations and Relationships with Geology and Soil Types

Although there are several dominant geological groups in the South West, namely areas of chalk, granite, limestone, mudstone, sandstone, and slate, its geology is varied and the wide distribution of warrens is such that many have unique underlying geology. For example, Lesnewth, Cornwall, is the sole warren overlying bedrock formed from a mixture of tuff and agglomerates while six sites on the south Devon coast are the only warrens overlying schist. According to the BGS's geological mapping, the South West's warrens are located in areas of 42 distinct geological formations, although this includes groupings of interbedded rock types: for example, interbedded limestone and mudstone is a distinct formation from both limestone and mudstone.

This geological make-up dictates that there are no discernible relationships between underlying geology and warren locations. For example, while the warrens on the granite outcrop of Dartmoor are the largest in England, it cannot be said that warreners favoured areas above granite when such areas of granite are not distributed evenly across the country. Likewise, the prevalence of warrens on mudstone and sandstone in Somerset and Gloucestershire does

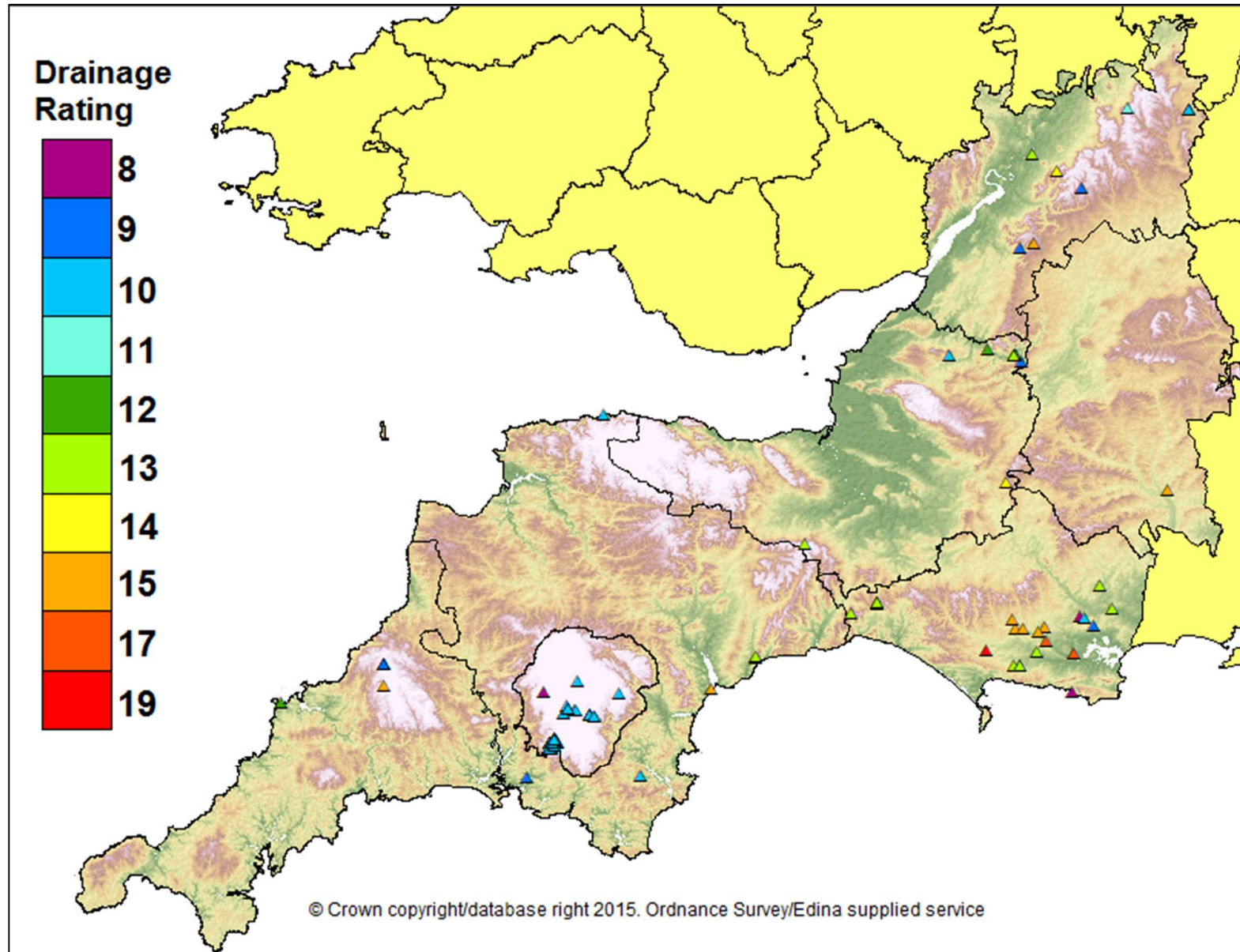


Fig. 5.10 Drainage ratings of all sites in the South West located above superficial deposits

not necessarily indicate local preferences; rather it merely underlines the fact that warrens could, and were, installed in areas of wide ranging geologies. Ultimately, local geological conditions did not determine warren locations.

It might be expected however that soil conditions influenced warren locations, particularly in light of rabbits' preferences for drier soils: generally speaking, large soil grains aid drainage while smaller grains tend to hold water and drain more slowly. Dominant soil grain size was assessed using the BGS's National Soil-Parent Material database, which classifies the most common (dominant) soil grain size found at any given location according to ten categories (Lawley 2011, 31):

Dominant Grainsize	Particle Diameter (mm)
BOULDER	600+
COARSE (igneous rock crystal size)	2.0+
GRAVEL	2.0 - 600
MEDIUM (igneous rock crystal size)	0.25 > 2
SAND	0.06 – 2.0
FINE (igneous rock crystal size)	< 0.25
SILT	0.002 – 0.06
MUD	0 – 0.06
CLAY	0 – 0.002
UNKN	Unknown

Table 5.1 BGS soil grainsize definitions

The distribution of these soil grainsizes is extremely complex and it not possible to ascertain dominant grainsize for many sites, particularly as many warrens are often not located in areas of uniform grainsize. Indeed, the BGS's grainsize definitions are ultimately estimations derived from geologists' descriptions of the parent material, but this is often difficult to estimate consistently and as seen above, the BGS lists many areas as having unknown grainsizes. Moreover, it is evident that the BGS's mapping is in some places incomplete, particularly in central Devon where a conspicuous band of 'unknown' grainsizes is present (Fig. 5.11). Fortunately, this particular area of the South West is not heavily populated with former warrens.

Despite this flaw in the BGS's mapping, soils with the largest grainsize categories of boulder and coarse are evidently found in the far west of the study

area on Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor and in west and central Cornwall, while grainsizes classified as gravel are more numerous, with distinct areas in east Devon Dorset, south and east Wiltshire, south and west Somerset and on the edges of the Mendips. The smaller grainsizes of sand and mud dominate elsewhere within the South West (Fig. 5.11).

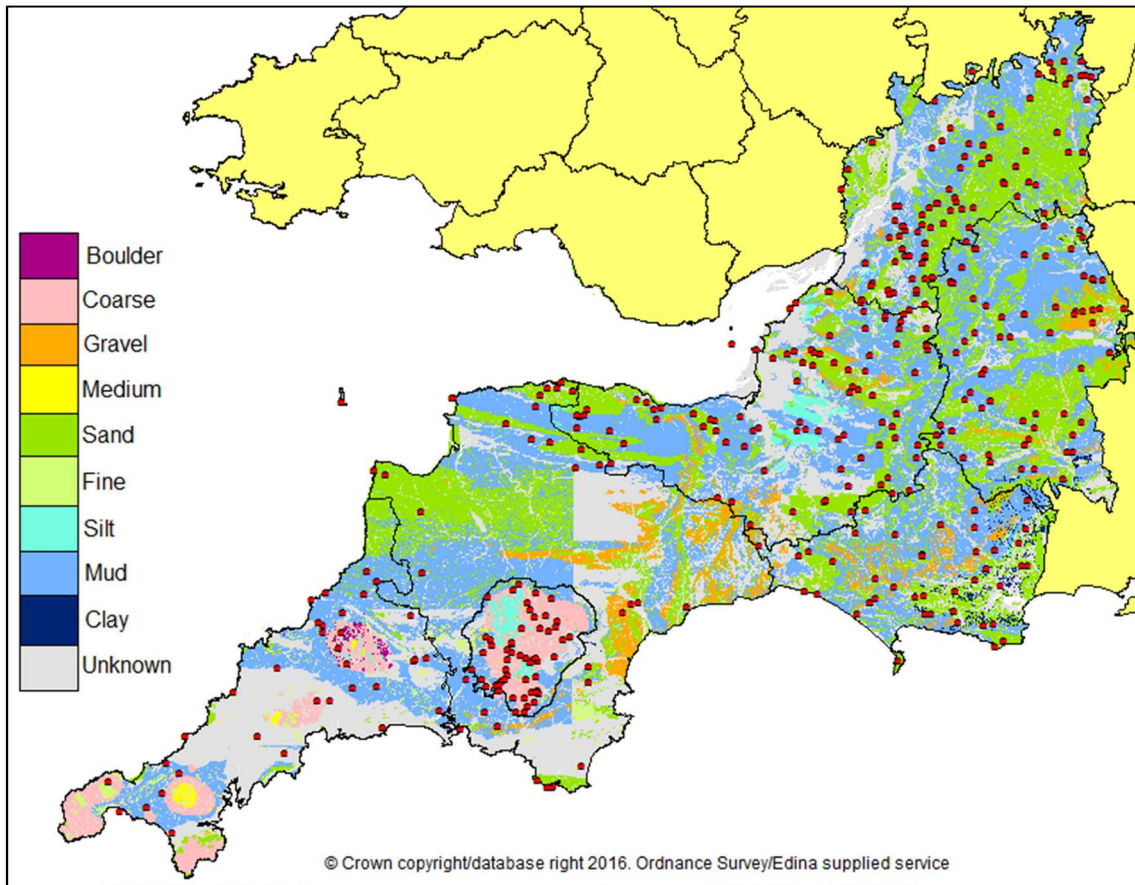


Fig. 5.11 Warren locations and relationships to underlying dominant soil grainsize

Because of the proliferation of soils with smaller grainsizes in the South West, this particularly aspect of soils' physical qualities is unlikely to have influenced warren locations. Despite larger grainsizes being potentially more beneficial to warrens as they aid drainage, warrens on such soils are naturally rare in the South West. An obvious exception are the commercial warrens of Dartmoor, whose large sizes may reflect the ability to fully utilise soils with large grainsizes, although as will be seen in Chapter 8, a comparable rabbit industry failed to take hold on the similar soils of Cornwall's Bodmin Moor. While the small soil grainsizes found throughout most of the South West may not have been the most suitable for warrening due to their hindrance of drainage, the high numbers of warrens found within the region, particularly when compared to examples of pillow mounds recorded elsewhere in the UK (see Williamson's distribution map,

2007, 35), reveals that this aspect of the South West's physical geography had little influence on determining warren locations.

Another dataset of the BGS's National Soil-Parent Material database is dominant soil mineral - natural inorganic compounds with definite physical, chemical and crystalline properties. Silicate minerals dominate in most soils, although other major groups include sulphides, oxides and hydroxides, halides, sulphates, carbonates and phosphates (Karathanasis 2009, 233). Minerals play a "significant role in dictating the suitability and behaviour of the soil for various land uses" (*ibid.*, 234), with alkaline soils particularly unsuited for agricultural production. Although acidic soils are therefore generally more beneficial for arable farming, such soils invariably have a range of pH levels and overly acidic soils are also typically not conducive to growing plants.

Analysis of the BGS's mapping of dominant soil minerals reveals an uneven spread across the South West (Fig. 5.12), with acidic soils dominating in the far west of the study area in Cornwall and Devon, predominantly caused by the presence of silicates, while the study area east of Devon has a greater concentration of alkaline soils, predominantly caused by the presence of carbonates. While there is no uniform soil mineralogy across the South West, Figure 5.12 nevertheless reveals no great trend for warrens to have avoided alkaline soils in those areas where such soils are present.

If, in the most general terms, arable farming is hindered by the presence of alkaline soils, that most warrens in the east of the study area tend to be located in areas of alkaline soils rather than on acidic soils possibly suggests a desire to utilise areas for warrening as a means of negating those soils' unproductivity. However, there are nevertheless many examples of warrens located on acidic soils, even in those areas with pronounced alkaline soils. While it is possible then that warrening could, and often did, provide opportunities for utilising 'marginal' lands, areas that could otherwise be considered as suitable for sustaining arable activities also supported rabbit warrens. Analysis of the BGS's mapping of dominant soil mineral therefore reveals that rabbit warrens were not solely confined to marginal lands unsuited to arable farming.

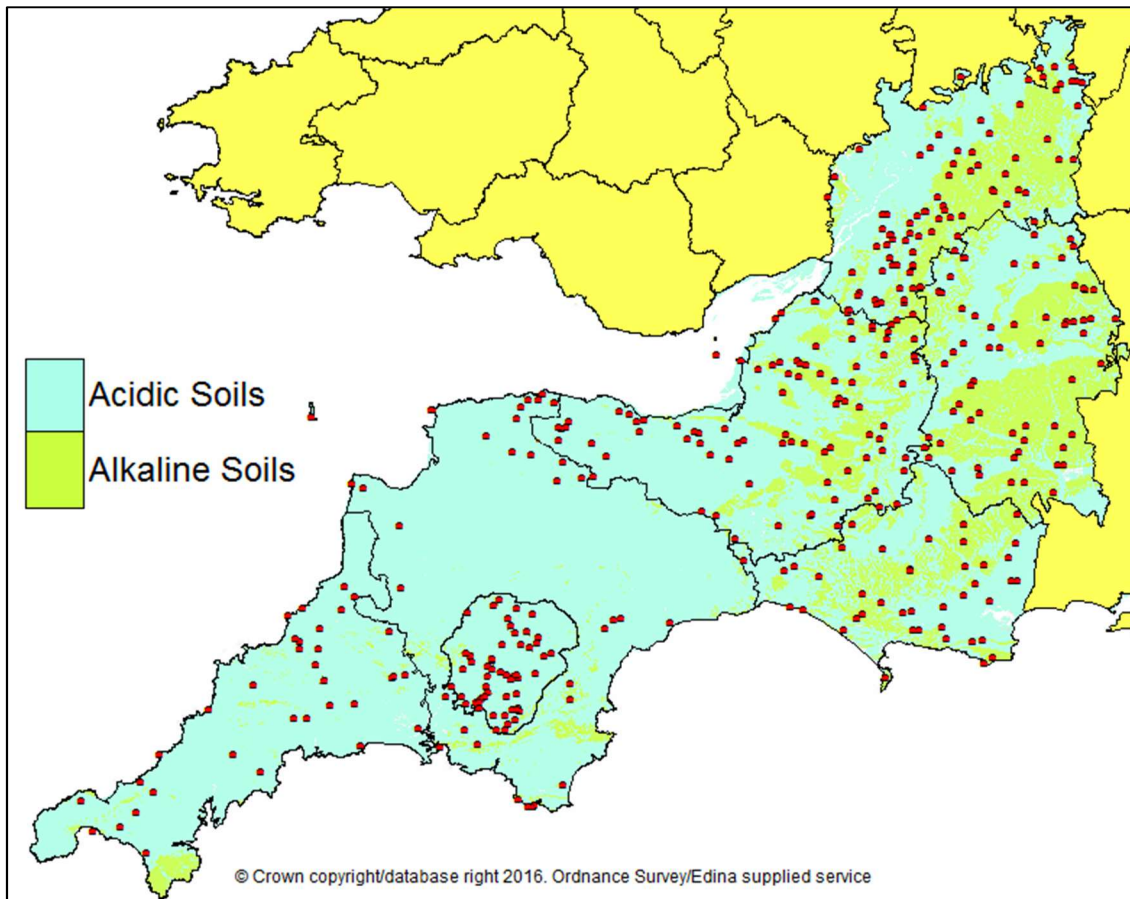


Fig. 5.12 The distribution of warrens in relation to acidic and alkaline soils

The BGS's National Soil-Parent Material database also classifies soil texture as either Heavy, Medium or Light as defined in DEFRA's Cross Compliance Guidance for Soil Management (2006). Although defined in the context of managing soil to ensure productive arable conditions, soil texture nevertheless has potential implications for warrens as it affects drainage. According to DEFRA, sand and light silty soils are naturally free-draining and do not lie wet for long while their low clay and organic matter content makes them easy to break up (*ibid.*, 12). Medium soils are not as free-draining, with the presence of clay making soils stick together and increasing the effects of surface run-off in saturated conditions, particularly on sloping land (*ibid.*, 15). Heavy soils have a low permeability and are prone to waterlogging and the ponding of surface water and are affected by surface run-off (*ibid.*, 16).

The BGS's database divides these soil types into a range of subsets according to the presence of sand and silt, although there are five principal groupings in the South West: light, light to medium, medium, medium to heavy, and a mixture of light to heavy soils. As with other soil datasets, it is not possible to determine underlying soil types for many warrens, but of those that can be

assessed, only four are located on light soils: three on Bodmin Moor and one on Dartmoor, although light soils are rare in the South West (Fig. 5.13). Warrens on light to medium soils are generally concentrated in the west of the study area in Cornwall, Dartmoor and Somerset's uplands; in contrast, sites in Dorset, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire are relatively rare reflecting the relative of such soils in these counties (Fig. 5.14). Warrens located on medium soils are distributed throughout the South West, with a particular concentration in Cornwall and west Devon, south-east Somerset and the Cotswolds (Fig. 5.15); none are recorded in Wiltshire, while only three are recorded in Dorset while it is also notable that the large extent of medium soils in northern Devon were not utilised to any large degree. Sites on medium to heavy soils are concentrated in the north-east of the study area in Somerset and Gloucestershire, although there are isolated examples in east Cornwall, west Devon and west Wiltshire; none are recorded in Dorset (Fig. 5.16). No sites on heavy soils are recorded in the study area.

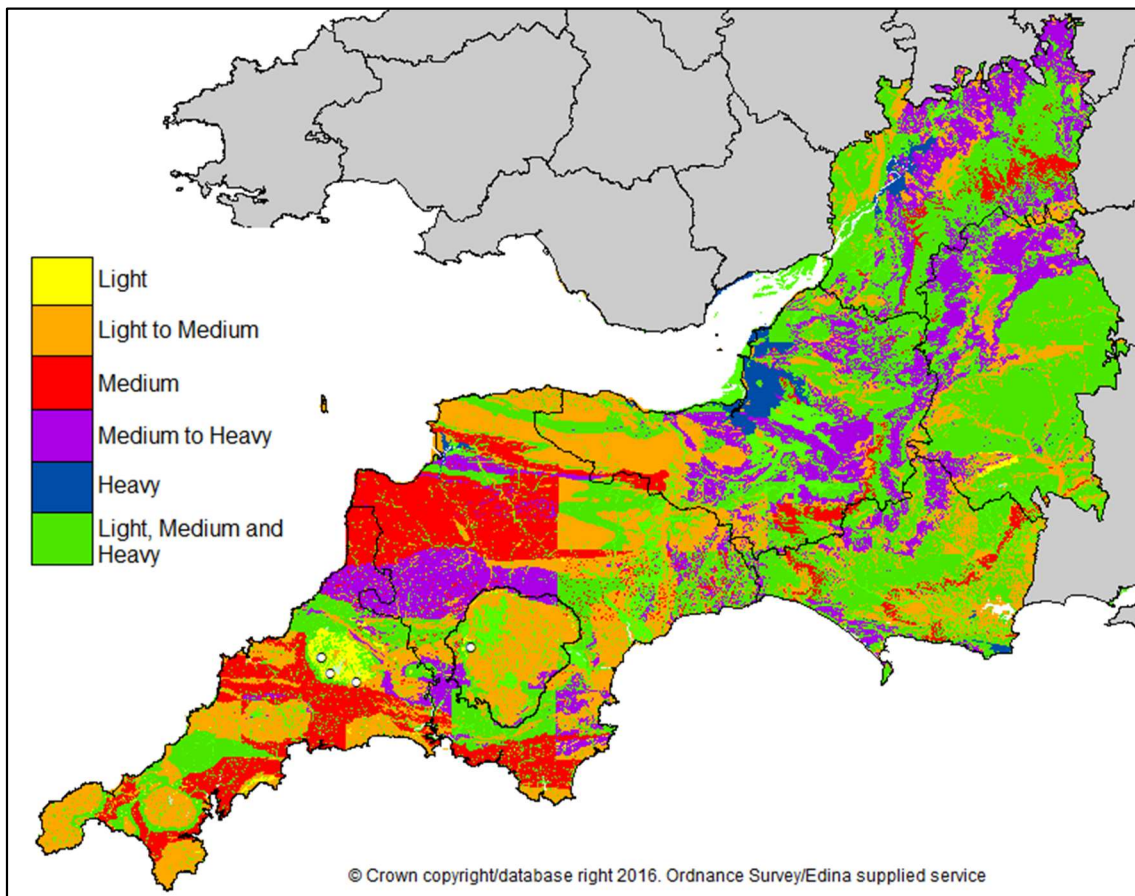


Fig. 5.13 Warrens located on light soils

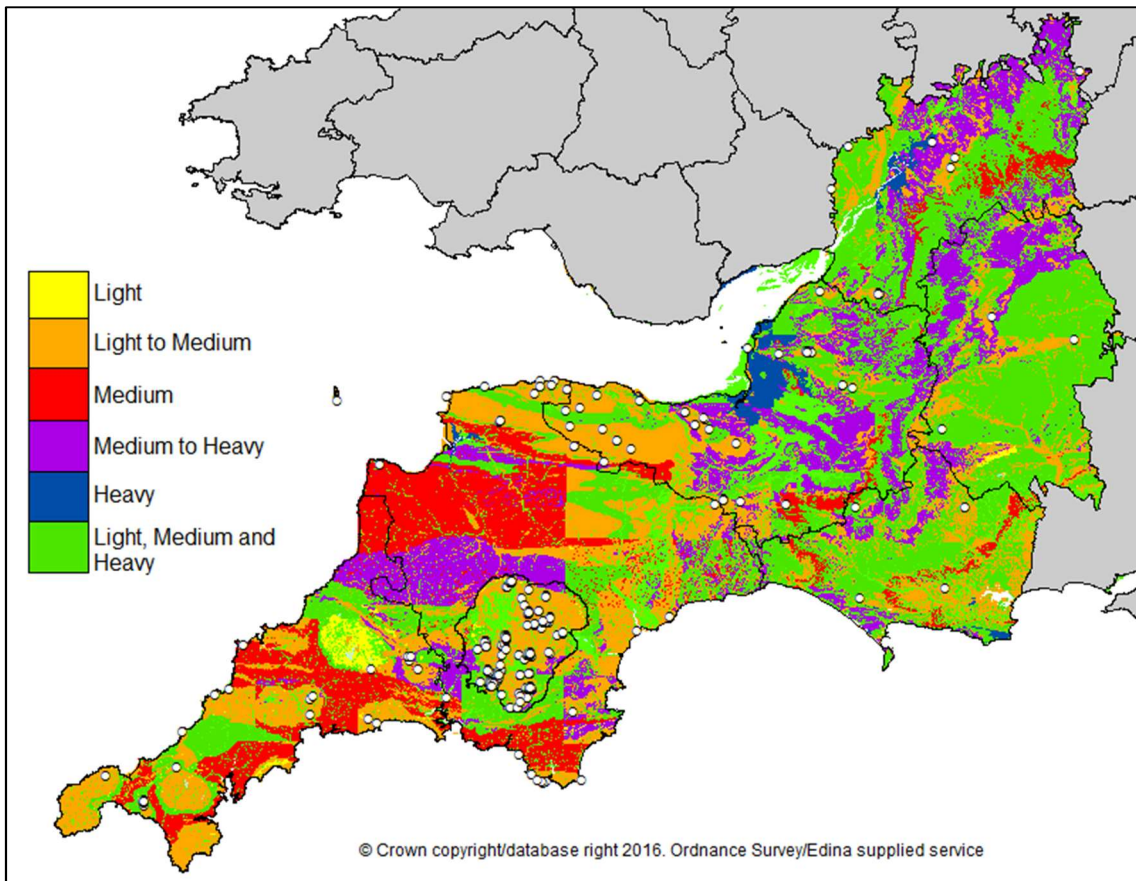


Fig. 5.14 Warrens located on light to medium soils

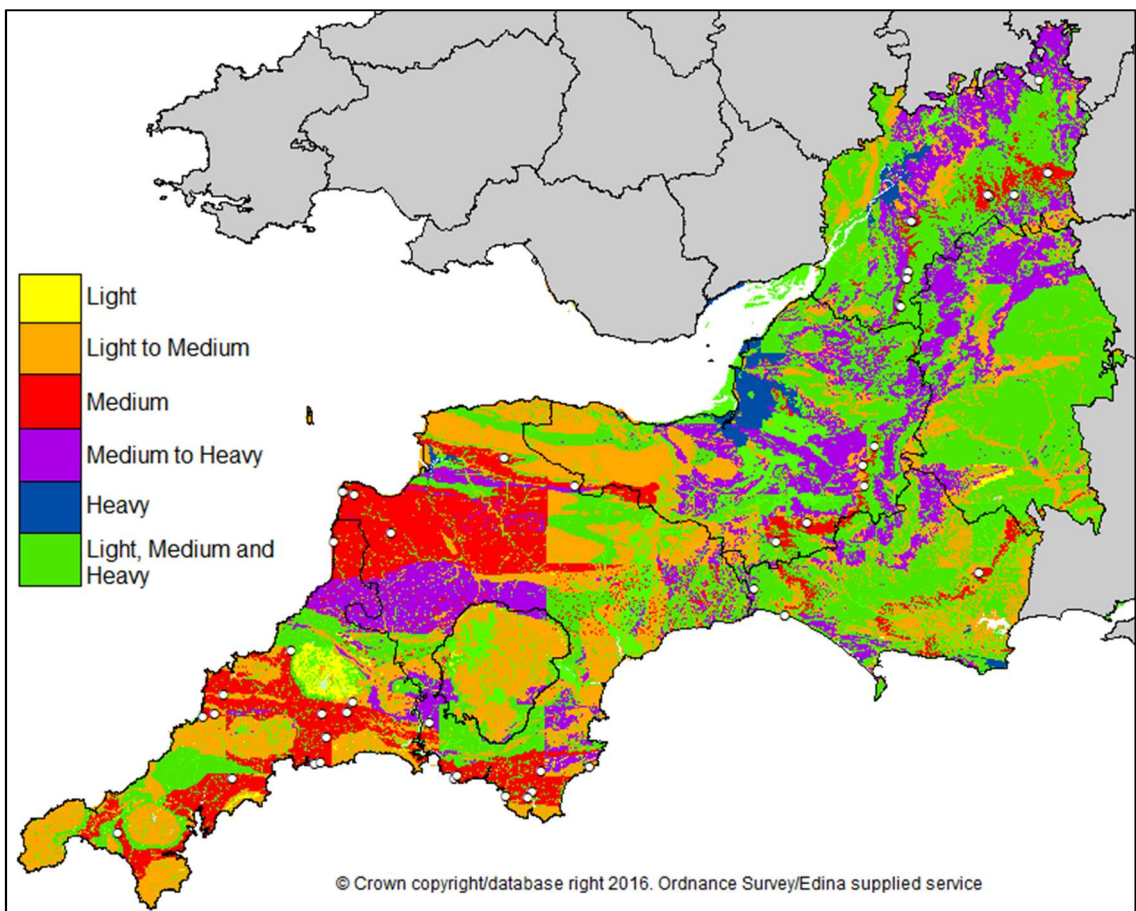


Fig. 5.15 Warrens located on medium soils

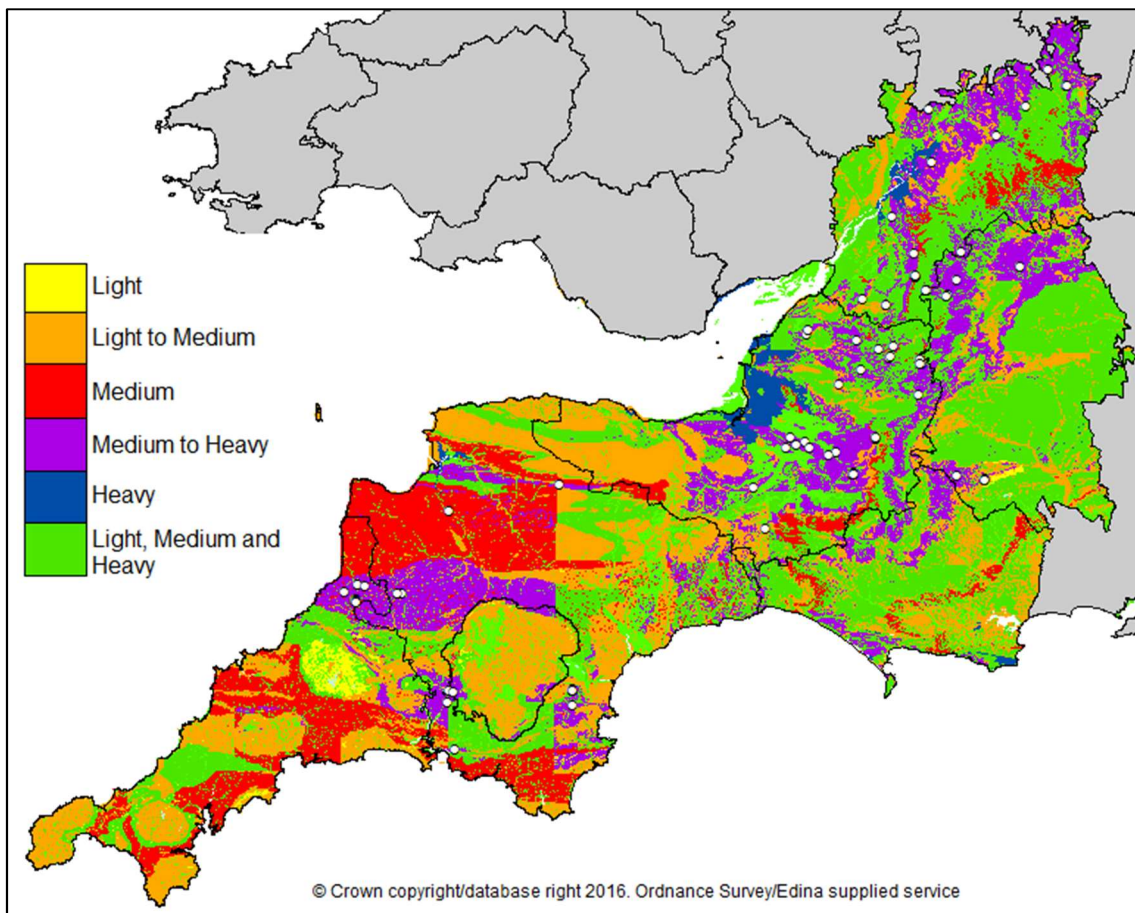


Fig. 5.16 Warrens located on medium to heavy soils

As mentioned above, the BGS classifies many soils as having a mixture of light, medium and heavy soils; it is unclear whether these represent conservative estimates of areas not fully investigated, or whether they are accurate descriptions of such soils. Whatever the reasons, many warrens are recorded in such areas across the study area, although they are particularly concentrated in north-east Somerset and Gloucestershire reflecting the prevalence of such soils in the east of the study area (Fig. 5.17).

Figures 5.13 to 5.17 indicate no real preference for warren locations in relation to soil groups. Although light soils are rare in the South West, light to medium soils are more common and many warrens made use of such soils. However, numerous warrens were also located on medium to heavy soils. Indeed, excluding Dartmoor's atypically large warrens, the largest warren concentrations within the South West are on predominantly medium to heavy soils in Somerset and Gloucestershire. Evidently the absence of more freely draining lighter soils in these regions did not hinder warrening. In fact, as Figure 5.20 shows, many sites are not characterised by single soil types, mirroring the situation seen regarding dominant mineral and soil grainsize. Consequently,

landowners frequently had no choice as to the specific soil properties on which a warren could be installed, particularly as there is much variation in these properties even within single fields. While in some cases it is feasible that landowners would have not installed a warren because of unfavourable conditions, ultimately the individual reasons determining warren locations appear not to have been influenced by environmental factors.

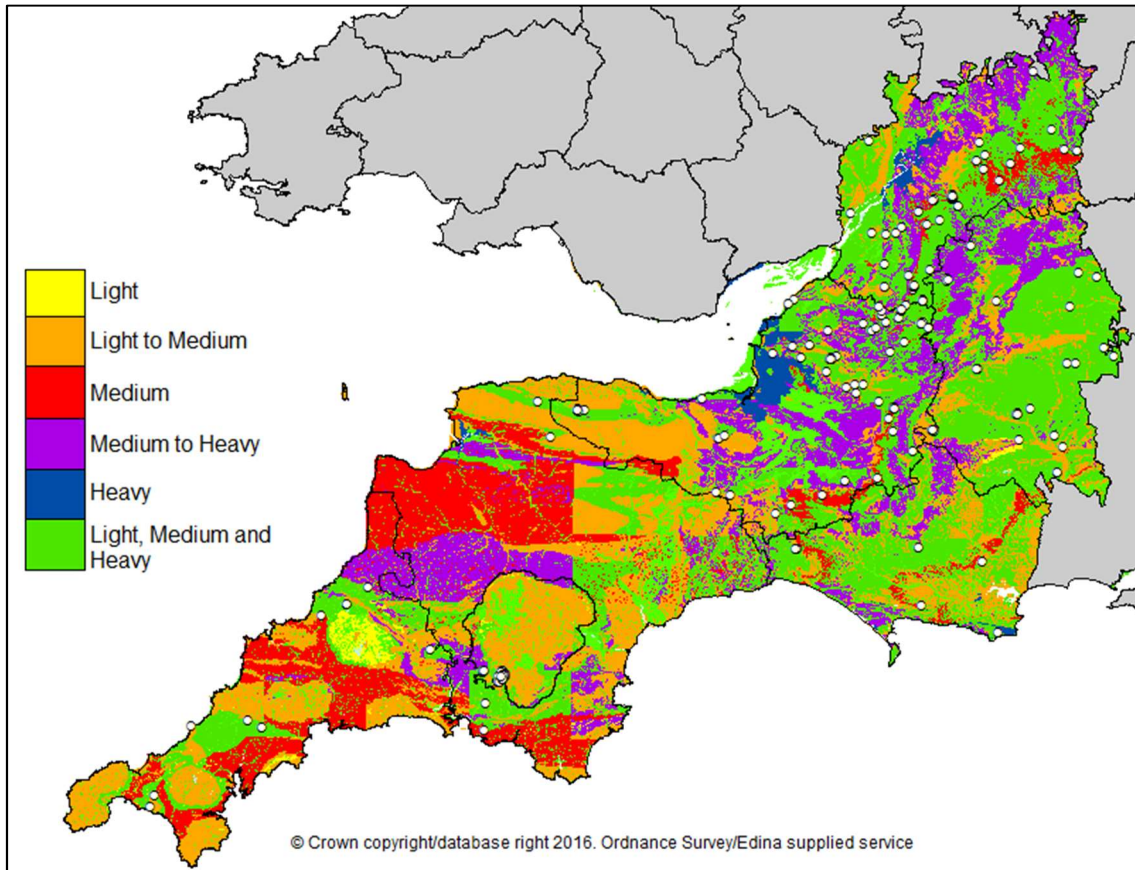


Fig. 5.17 Warrens located in areas classified as having a mixture of light, medium and heavy soils

What the above maps indicate is that warrens were installed in areas of wide ranging soil types and it cannot be said that any specific type of local condition was considered most beneficial to rearing rabbits; while well-drained conditions may have ensured a more stable rabbit 'harvest' and were more naturally preferable to rabbits, conditions that ostensibly seem uncondusive still sustained warrening. This contradicts Bailey's statement that warrens' sites were selected according to strict topographical criteria and not at random as rabbits do not like moisture (1988, 2). While Bailey was referring to medieval warrens, suggesting that later rabbits had become acclimatised to British conditions, the inherent difficulties in dating pillow mounds and identifying medieval warren locations means it is difficult to assess differences between the locations of medieval and

post-medieval warrens. However, where medieval warren locations are known, many evidently *were* located on poorly drained land, just as numerous post-medieval warrens were.

This supports the notion outlined by Simpson that providing adequate food was the most important aspect in ensuring warren productivity (1893, 17). Unfortunately, besides assessing how close a warren's pillow mounds were to each in order to highlight potential competition for pasture, this aspect of warren history is unknown. While underlying conditions did not seem to have determined warren locations beyond most being on sloping land (although numerous examples on flat topography exist), records of warren outputs and profitability may shed light on how these underlying conditions affected them; unfortunately, beyond a small number of known examples, such records remain to be extensively studied or simply no longer exist.

Warrens and Relationships with Topography

It has been reported on numerous occasions that pillow mounds are often found on sloping land, principally as an aid to drainage (Sheail 1971; Bailey 1988, 19; Williamson and Loveday 1988, 295; Williamson 2007, 12). While it is certainly true that many pillow mounds have been noted on sloping land throughout the South West, field-visits undertaken by the present author revealed that numerous pillow mounds are also located on flat land or land that may be considered only very gently sloping. To investigate this matter further, a slope analysis was performed in ArcGIS for pillow mound sites in the South West. Sites known only from documentary evidence were discounted because it is necessary to know where the pillow mounds themselves are located if the topography of the land on which they were constructed is to be assessed.

Determining when a gentle slope becomes a steep slope is naturally somewhat subjective, although the present methodology considered all those pillow mounds constructed on land with an angle of 5° or over as being on sloping land; areas with an angle less than this were grouped together as flat or gently sloping. While such a division is naturally somewhat artificial, it does allow for a quantitative assessment of pillow mounds relative to topography.

Of the study area's pillow mounds, 348 are located on sloping land compared to 990 on flat or only very gently sloping land (Table 5.2). These figures indicate that most of the region's pillow mounds were not constructed on steeply

or even moderately sloping land. However, these figures include Dartmoor, which is essentially a granite plateau and whose topography is therefore marked by much flat land. Dartmoor's warrens account for 668 of the region's pillow mounds that have been recorded on flat land, but even if they are excluded then it remains notable that many other pillow mounds were still constructed on relatively flat land. Indeed, in Devon, Somerset and Gloucestershire more pillow mounds were constructed on flat/gently sloping land than on more steeply sloping land. In Dorset, Wiltshire and Cornwall the picture is reversed, but many pillow mounds are still nevertheless located on flat/gently sloping lands. Throughout the study area it is apparent that flat or gently sloping land was used for pillow mound locations to a higher degree than has previously been reported.

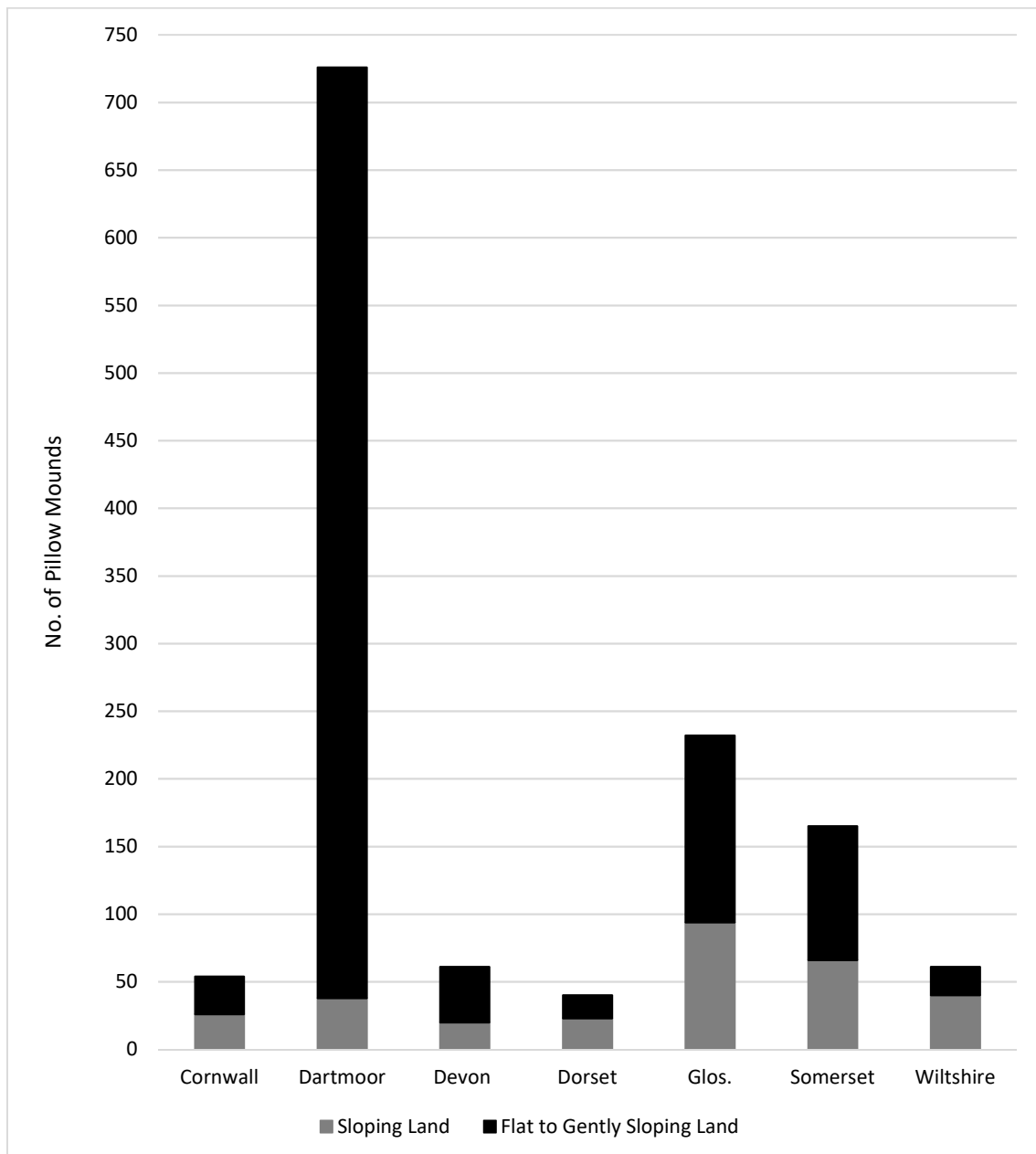


Table 5.2 Proportions of pillow mounds constructed on flat and sloping land

While most warrens in the study area were therefore more likely to utilise sloping land, flat lands were evidently not a considerable hindrance to installing a rabbit warren. Indeed, at several sites, flat land was utilised instead of nearby sloping land, with perhaps the most notable example being the large commercial warren of Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire (Fig. 5.18). Here, the site's 53 pillow mounds are located in Minchinhampton Common, which is considerably less sloping than an area of land immediately to its west. The reason why the slopes to the west of Minchinhampton Common were not utilised is unknown. The same phenomenon is not confined to large commercial warrens, as it is also seen at sites with only a small number, even singular examples, of pillow mounds (Fig. 5.19). As will be discussed below, there have many suggestions that warrens made frequent use of Iron Age hillforts, but such pillow mounds sites represent extreme examples of the use of flat land in preference of nearby sloping lands (Fig. 5.20)

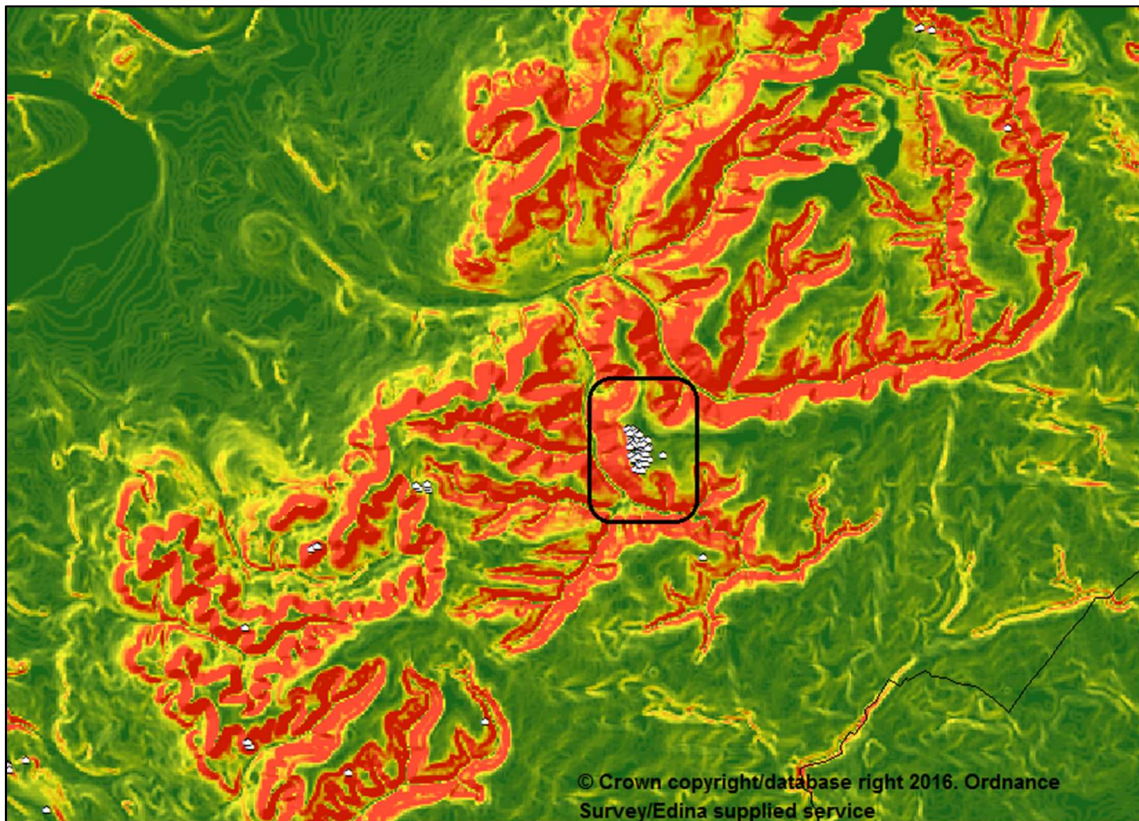


Fig. 5.18 Slope analysis of Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, with areas of steep slope shaded red and flat land shaded green.

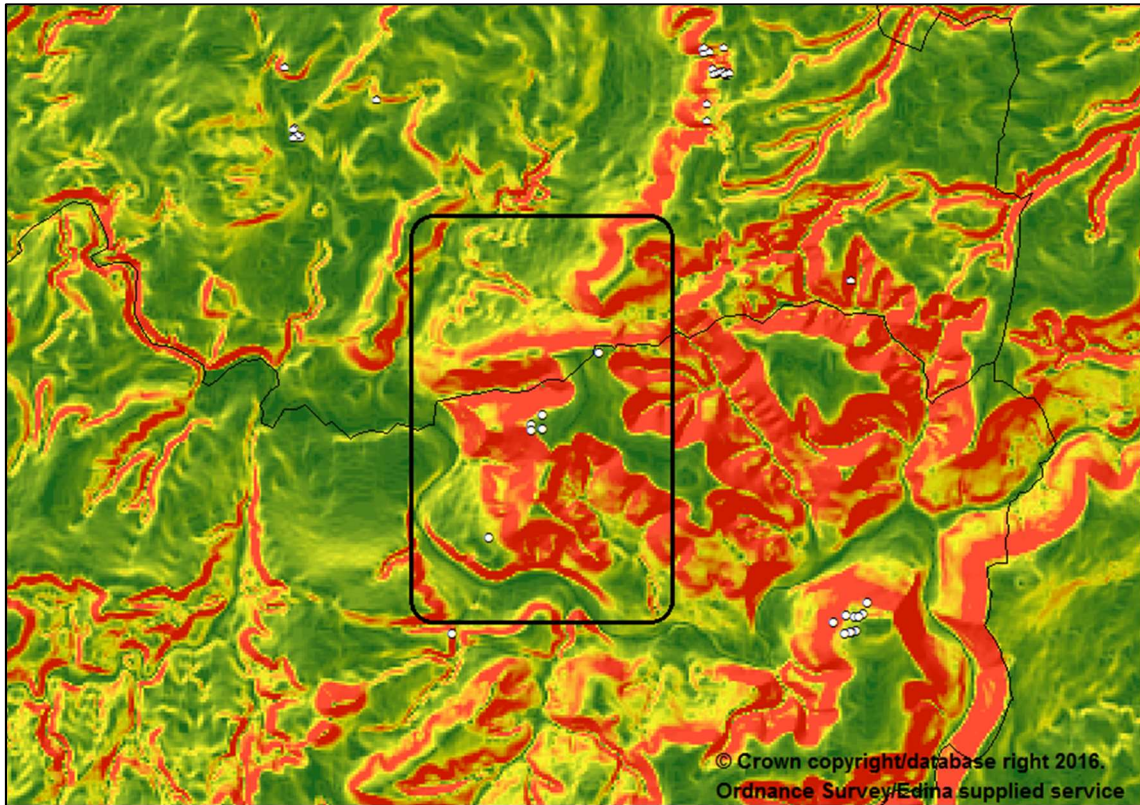


Fig. 5.19 Slope analysis of several small warrens near the Somerset-Gloucestershire border, and while many pillow mounds utilise sloping land, those highlighted utilise flat or mildly sloping land adjacent to steeper land

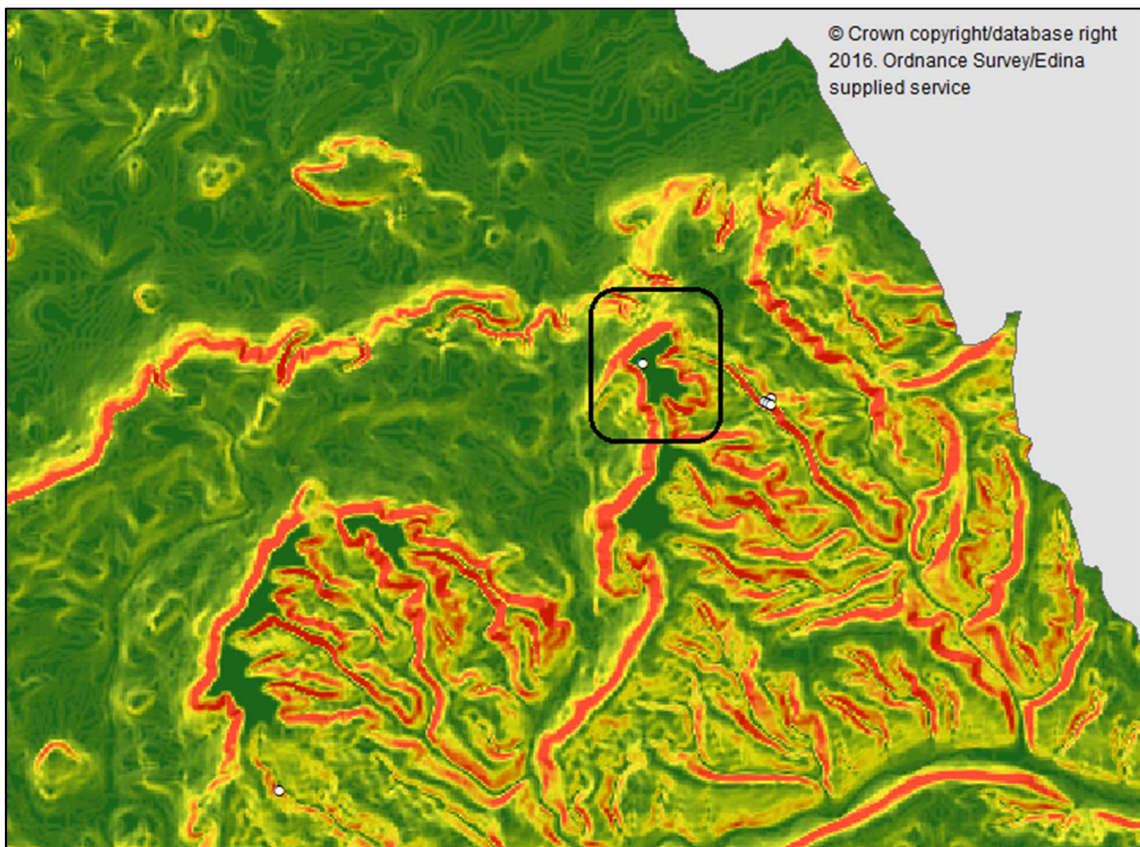


Fig 5.20 Slope analysis of Liddington Castle, Wiltshire, showing a pillow mound in the flat interior of the hillfort rather than using the hillfort's slopes

An analysis of the aspects of those pillow mound sites located on sloping land reveals that slopes facing all cardinal points were utilised for constructing pillow mounds on (Table 5.3). Unfortunately, as noted earlier, the precise locations of several pillow mounds throughout the study area are not known with great accuracy and what follows is therefore only a guide. With that caveat in mind, the largest number of pillow mounds were constructed on south-facing slopes, followed by south-west and south-east-facing slopes, suggesting some preference for siting warrens in areas that would receive the most amount of sunlight, thereby ensuring warmer, drier conditions. However, the presence of warrens on slopes of all directions implies that a south-facing slope was not a major concern in determining warren locations. Indeed, several warrens have pillow mounds located on different aspects, such as Tilbury Hollow, Gloucestershire, where pillow mounds are located on opposing north- and south-east-facing slopes, or Steeple Langford Cowdown, Wiltshire, where pillow mounds are found on northwest-, south- and south-east-facing slopes. Clearly then, while south facing slopes may have been preferable they were not a necessity for constructing pillow mounds on, and slopes of all directions could and were utilised for installing warrens.

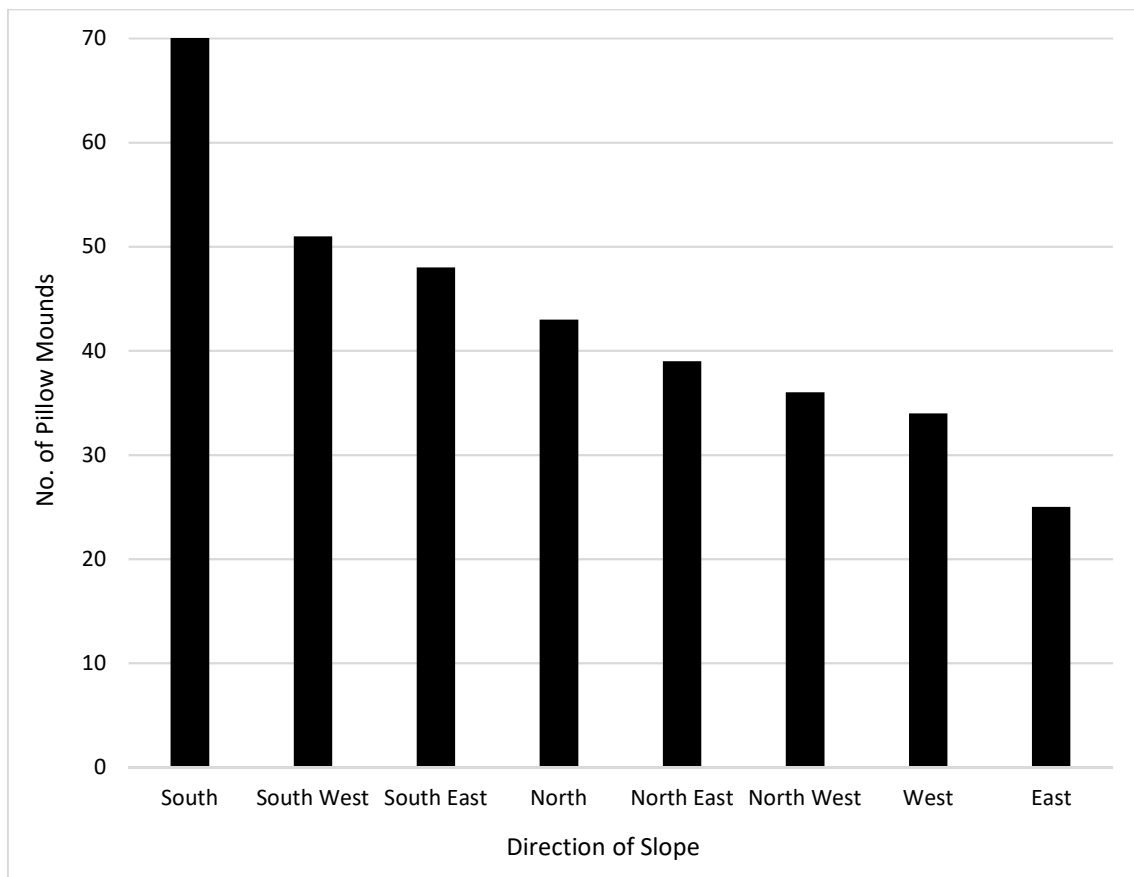


Table 5.3 Aspects of Pillow Mound Sites Located on Sloping Land

Warrens and Relationships with the Human Environment

One aspect of the human environment particularly pertinent to warren locations is former land-use, particularly with previous commentators noting that warrens often utilised marginal lands. HLC mapping allows historic land-use to be assessed, although the various regions' differing methodologies hinders constructing a coherent picture across the study area, while Wiltshire's HLC mapping is not yet published. Moreover, that many warren locations are unknown means that it is not always possible to identify their previous land-use. Nevertheless, the various regions are discussed separately below and 53 Cornish warrens can be assessed against the county's HLC mapping:

HLC Zone	No. of Warrens	% of Warrens with Known HLC Zones	No. of Pillow Mounds	% of County's Pillow Mounds
Coastal rough ground	10	18.9	6	11.1
Upland rough ground	4	7.5	12	22.2
Farmland: prehistoric	1	1.9	1	1.9
Farmland: medieval	25	47.2	20	37
Post-medieval enclosed land	4	7.5	3	5.5
Modern enclosed land	2	3.8	10	18.5
Ornamental	3	5.7	1	1.9
Plantations and Scrub	2	3.8	0	0
Woodland	2	3.8	1	1.9

Table 5.4 Cornwall's warrens and HLC zones

Only fourteen Cornish warrens whose HLC zones are known are on marginal land, representing 26.4% of the sample, with warrens on coastal rough grounds more prominent than those on upland rough ground. In contrast, most warrens (67.9% of the sample) are on lands that at various times, particularly the medieval period, were utilised for arable farming. Unfortunately, knowledge of pre-1866 agricultural practices in the Cornwall-Devon peninsula is fragmentary (Overton 2006, 116) and further investigation is required to determine exactly what types of lands were used for Cornwall's warrens.

There is a lack of consistency regarding Devon's HLC mapping as Devon and Exmoor have employed different terminologies in their respective areas. Nevertheless, Devon's warrens with known HLC mapping can be grouped as follows:

HLC Zone	No. of Warrens	% of Warrens with Known HLC Zones	No. of Pillow Mounds	% of County's Pillow Mounds
Rough ground	10	25.6	21	34.2
Medieval commons	2	5.1	4	6.6
Post-medieval commons	2	5.1	2	3.3
Anciently enclosed land	2	5.1	3	4.9
Medieval enclosed land	1	2.6	1	1.6
Post-medieval enclosed land	8	20.5	5	8.2
Recently enclosed land	2	5.1	3	4.9
Moor and heath	2	5.1	2	3.3
Conifer plantation	1	2.6	2	3.3
Other woodland	2	5.1	4	6.6
Park / garden	2	5.1	9	14.8
Modern Settlement	2	5.1	0	0
Barton Fields	3	7.7	0	0

Table 5.5 Devon's warrens and HLC zones

Excluding Dartmoor, 16 warrens in Devon with known HLC mapping, representing 41% of the sample, are on rough ground, moorland or former commons, while 33.3% are on land that has been utilised for arable. These figures indicate that Devon's warrens were more likely to exploit marginal land compared to Cornwall and indeed other counties in the South West as seen below. Regarding Dartmoor, most warrens whose HLC mapping is known are unsurprisingly located on marginal land, although areas of other land-uses were also exploited:

HLC Zone	No. of Warrens	% of Warrens with Known HLC Zones	No. of Pillow Mounds	% of County's Pillow Mounds
Rough ground	35	72.9	444	61.2
Enclosed farmland	5	10.4	13	1.8
Woodland	8	16.6	29	4.0

Table 5.6 Dartmoor's warrens and HLC zones

Where the HLC mapping for Dorset’s warrens is known it is particularly informative for it often also includes previous HLC zones: for example, the primary HLC mapping at Frogmore Farm is post-1914 enclosures but its previous land-use is recorded as post-medieval (defined as 1500-1799) enclosure. In such instances, the earlier historic HLC definitions inform the following figures due to the historic nature of rabbit warrens:

HLC Zone	No. of Warrens	% of Warrens with Known HLC Zones	No. of Pillow Mounds	% of County’s Pillow Mounds
Enclosed: medieval	5	13.9	0	0
Enclosed: post-medieval	7	19.4	5	7.5
Enclosed: post-medieval enclosure of open fields	2	5.6	3	7.5
Enclosed: post-medieval enclosure of heathland	1	2.8	0	0
Enclosed: post-medieval enclosure of former woodland	2	5.6	3	7.5
Enclosed: post-1800	3	8.3	0	0
Rough ground	3	8.3	9	22.5
Common	1	2.8	0	0
Downland	3	8.3	8	20
Woodland: previously downland	2	5.6	1	2.5
Recreation / ornamental	2	5.6	7	17.5
Valley floor	2	5.6	3	7.5
Watermeadow	1	2.8	1	2.5
Settlement	1	2.8	0	0
Water association: withy beds	1	2.8	0	0

Table 5.7 Dorset’s warrens and HLC zones

Only 27.8% of Dorset’s warrens whose HLC mapping is known are on marginal heathland, commons or downland while 55.6% are located on land that has been enclosed and brought under cultivation. However, in several instances it is not known what the condition of the land pre-enclosure was and one site (Fitzworth Park) is characterised as enclosure of former heathland, indicating that marginal lands have been brought under cultivation. Nevertheless, Dorset’s HLC mapping does not indicate a prevalence of warrens on marginal lands.

Gloucestershire’s HLC mapping employs a considerably more detailed breakdown of former land-uses than other South West counties, although several classifications can be grouped into related zones rendering it possible to group Gloucestershire’s warrens as follows:

HLC Zone	No. of Warrens	% of Warrens with Known HLC Zones	No. of Pillow Mounds	% of County's Pillow Mounds
Enclosure of former unenclosed cultivation	27	37	36	15.6
Post-medieval enclosure of medieval parkland	8	11	46	19.9
Medieval enclosure of woodland	1	1.4	0	0
Enclosure of heath	4	5.5	3	1.3
Largely unenclosed pasture	4	5.5	63	27.3
Ancient unenclosed commons	2	2.7	9	3.9
Former unenclosed commons or downland, now enclosed	6	8.2	3	1.3
Woodland	7	9.6	23	10
Designed ornamental landscapes	8	11	28	12.1
Active recreational site	1	1.4	1	0.4
Settlement	3	4.1	1	0.4

Table 5.8 Gloucestershire's warrens and HLC zones

37% of Gloucestershire's warrens are in areas of former unenclosed cultivation, typically former open fields. In contrast, only 21.9% are in former marginal heathlands, pasture, downland or commons. While former marginal lands contain the highest proportion of the county's pillow mounds, this includes Minchinhampton's atypically large warren. It is also worth noting that Ebrington, Lane Coppice and Newhouse Farm are described as enclosure of former heathland, while Weston-sub-Edge is described as cultivation of marginal slopes, indicating that former marginal lands could be brought under cultivation. Ultimately a more complete picture could be ascertained by assessing the HLC mapping of the numerous former warrens recorded in the county's tithe maps, but this is outside the scope of the present study.

The known HLC zones for Somerset's warrens, including relevant sites in Exmoor, are as follows:

HLC Zone	No. of Warrens	% of Warrens with Known HLC Zones	No. of Pillow Mounds	% of County's Pillow Mounds
Ancient unenclosed	1	1.2	7	4.3
Ancient unenclosed commons	1	1.2	3	1.8
Medieval commons	1	1.2	1	0.6
Post-medieval commons	2	2.3	12	7.3
Unenclosed pasture	9	10.5	18	11
Moor and heath	1	1.2	0	0
Anciently enclosed land	21	24.4	29	17.7
Late medieval enclosed open fields	3	3.5	4	2.4
Post-medieval enclosures	1	1.2	1	0.6
Post-medieval enclosures of medieval parkland	2	2.3	1	0.6
Recently enclosed land	15	17.4	23	14
Historic landscape park	7	8.1	5	3
Woodland	17	19.8	18	11
Settlement	2	2.3	3	1.8
Military Site	1	1.2	0	0
Sand, sand and shingle, sand dunes	2	2.3	0	0

Table 5.9 Somerset's warrens and HLC zones

17.4% of Somerset's warrens with known HLC zones are on former commons, unenclosed pasture and moorland, while two sites are located on sandy coastal sites not used for cultivation. 48.8% are located on land that has been enclosed and used for cultivation although it is not always certain when those lands were enclosed. For example, the category 'Anciently Enclosed Land' is defined as land enclosed prior to the seventeenth century with no further explanation. Another noticeable feature of Somerset's warrens is that nearly a fifth are in woodland, although this includes four sites in recently replanted ancient woodland whose former land-use is not recorded.

Although not possible to assess HLC zones of all warrens in the South West, those that can be evaluated are particularly informative. Figure 5.21 shows the distribution of the major HLC zones in which warrens are found. Due to regions' differing methodologies, the different categories have been combined into four major groups: 'farmland', covering areas that have been used for arable;

‘marginal land’, covering rough ground, pasture, heathland and commons; ‘woodland’; and ‘other’, covering various categories such as ornamental landscapes, settlements, military sites etc.

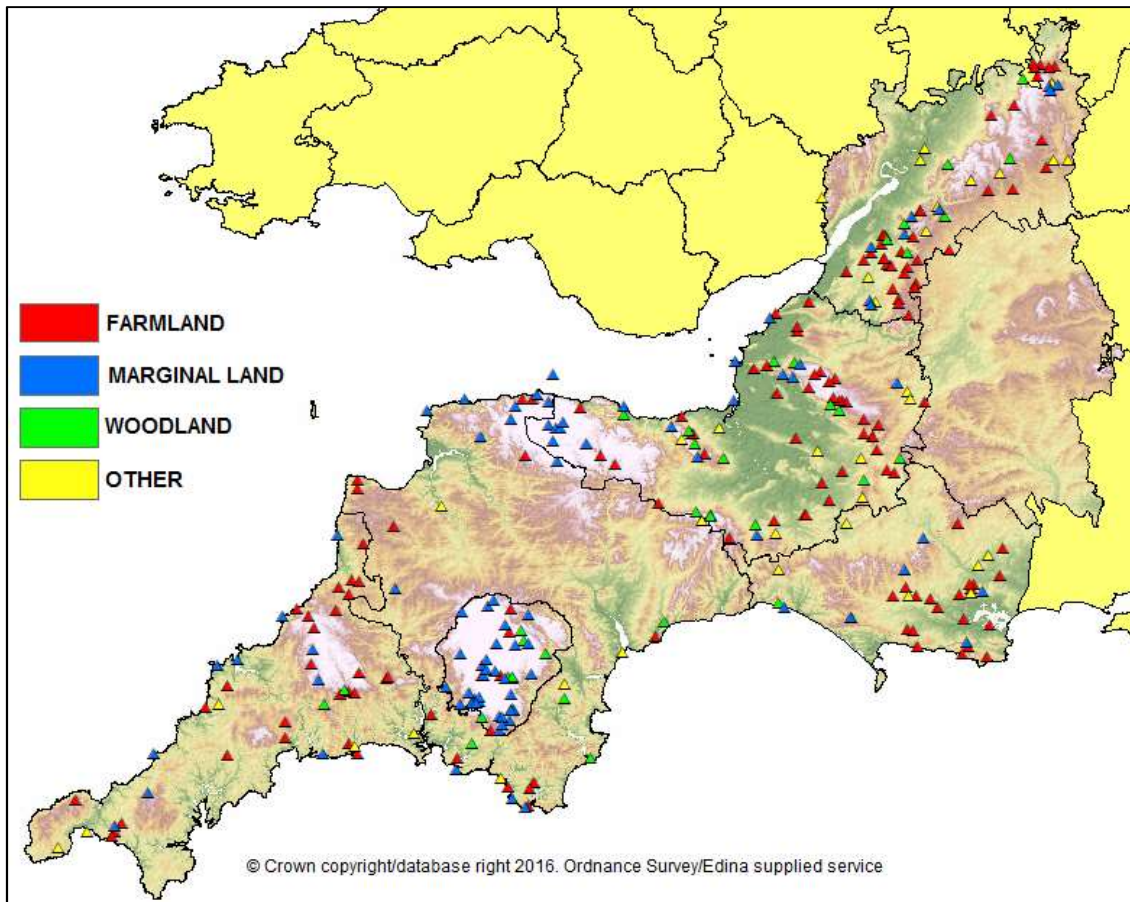


Fig. 5.21 Warrens and HLC zones

While it is true that marginal lands were often utilised, aside from concentrations on Exmoor and Dartmoor, most ‘marginal’ warrens were located on coastal locations. In contrast, most inland warrens are found in areas that were at one stage exploited for arable farming. Unfortunately, it is not always known exactly when such lands were farmed and it may be that some cases represent the bringing of marginal land under plough, with warrens having been a feature of that pre-arable land-use. While such questions remain unanswered, numerous pillow mounds overlying ridge and furrow have previously been noted (Williamson 2007, 48), highlighting warrens’ use of arable lands. Despite this, the present study indicates a greater use of non-marginal lands than has previously been suggested, contradicting prior assumptions that “most mounds are located in areas which were marginal for arable farming in the medieval and post-medieval periods” (Williamson and Loveday 1988, 293).

Warrens and Elite Residences

As noted elsewhere, dating rabbit warrens is notoriously problematic and it is difficult to distinguish between medieval and post-medieval examples. Indeed, as noted in Chapter 4, only 22 South West warrens with surviving architecture can be associated with warrens named in medieval documents. While this supports the notion that most surviving warrens are post-medieval, it also highlights the difficulty in providing firm dating evidence. Consequently, it has been suggested that warrens in close proximity to medieval elite residences are likely to be relatively early examples (Creighton 2009, 111). While previous authors have noted a limited number of warrens with close links to elite residences, there has been no previous systematic study of such relationships.

Using data obtained from HERs, the NMR and OS maps, Figure 5.22 shows warrens identified during an initial search for examples within 500m radii of elite residences.

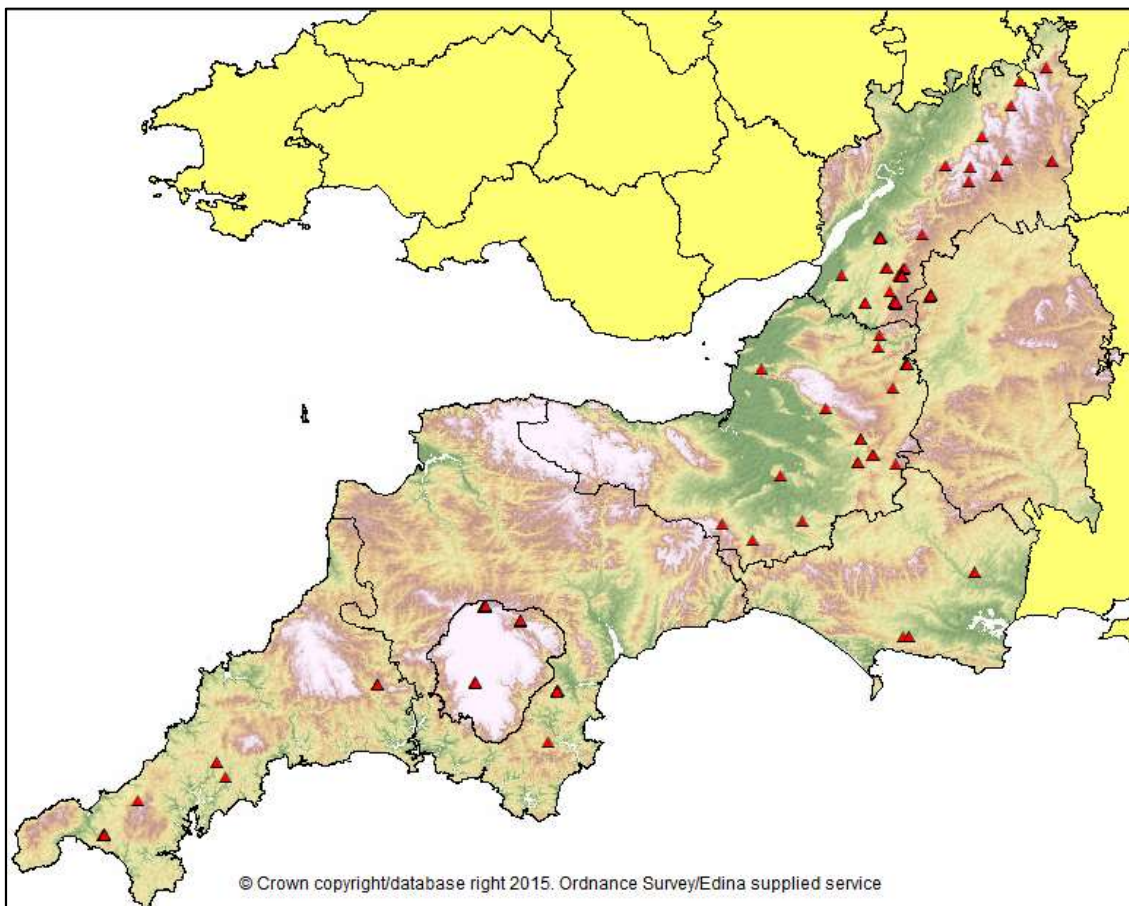


Fig. 5.22 Surviving warren architecture with spatial associations to elite residences

Both medieval and post-medieval residences were included as a means of providing both dating evidence and possible ownership through association. While 500m is something of an arbitrary limit, it allows for a consistent data

collection method, although in some cases sites falling just outside this buffer were also noted and it is acknowledged that some warrens may be further away from associated residences and still have links. Figure 5.22 shows a greater concentration of warrens with spatial associations to elite residences in Somerset and Gloucestershire, with examples in Dorset and Wiltshire particularly lacking. However, such spatial associations need not necessarily indicate historical contemporary associations. A complete list of these warrens spatially associated with elite residences is included in Appendix 8.

Little is known about most sites in Appendix 8, although some inferences can be made. Pillow mounds at Little Sodbury, Gloucestershire, may be associated with Little Sodbury Manor House although they are clearly post-medieval as they overlie ridge and furrow. Likewise, a pillow mound at Badgers Halt, Gloucestershire, may be associated with Brinsham Farmhouse, a sixteenth-century gentry house, although again it overlies ridge and furrow. A pillow mound on Ham Hill, Somerset, is spatially associated with Montacute Castle but is unlikely to be contemporary: instead it probably dates to the construction of a seventeenth-century deer park as it overlies earthworks of a DMV, the history of which is unknown but which may have been cleared during the creation of the park (Dunn 1997, 45). Skaigh Warren, Dartmoor, lies near a structure sometimes called Old Castle but an association is unlikely as the warren probably represents a nineteenth-century hunting establishment (Robertson 1991, 250). The pillow mound at Neroche Castle, Somerset, is unlikely to be contemporary as the castle was abandoned shortly after the Anarchy in the mid-twelfth century (Cathcart King 1982, 442). Likewise, pillow mounds at Castle Combe, Wiltshire, may not be contemporary with the castle as it was abandoned shortly after the Anarchy (Pettifer 1995, 275) and may be associated with a later manor house recorded in 1392 (Barber 2009, 4); that said, a rabbit warren is recorded there in 1307 (CPR, Edward I, Vol. 4, 540) and a medieval date for some of its pillow mounds cannot be discounted. Pillow mounds at Badbury, Dorset, certainly belong to Kingston Lacy although their date is unknown for the warren is first recorded in 1295 but remained in use until 1740. Pillow mounds at Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire, appear to have been purely functional as they are not conspicuous components of estate's designed landscape and are discussed in more detail in Chapter 9. Pillow mounds associated with Godolphin House, Cornwall, have in contrast

been reported as exhibiting strong visual symbolism (Herring 1998, 72; Creighton 2009, 114) and are also explored in Chapter 9.

Of these elite residences, most are post-medieval, supporting the notion that most pillow mounds are post-medieval. However, it is worth noting that some warrens may be located in areas that formerly had manor houses that have not survived: certainly, there are numerous references to medieval manors in locations where no corresponding manor house has been identified. For example, a pillow mound at Eastington Farm, Dorset, is located in the former Eastington manor although nothing survives of a manor house. Further dedicated investigation of elite residences is required to fully investigate this issue, although this is outside the scope of the present study.

Of the pillow mounds exhibiting spatial associations with elite residences, 119 are rectangular, representing 76.8% of the sample. Across the study area 71.2% of pillow mounds with known morphologies are rectangular, suggesting that rectangular examples were the most common form associated with elite residences. Only seven sub-rectangular and seven oval examples, each representing 4.5% of the sample, are associated with elite residences, while 16 circular examples are recorded, representing 10.3%, a slightly higher prevalence than the study area's average of 7.2%. A single conjoined mound is associated with an elite residence at Kingston Lacy. The limited amount of available data regarding the sizes of these pillow mounds makes it difficult to determine trends, but there is no indication that these pillow mounds are atypically large: for example, the average rectangular length of the above sample is 30.5m, while the study area average is 29.1m. Alongside surviving warren architecture, numerous warrens known only from historic references have spatial associations with elite residences (Fig. 5.23).

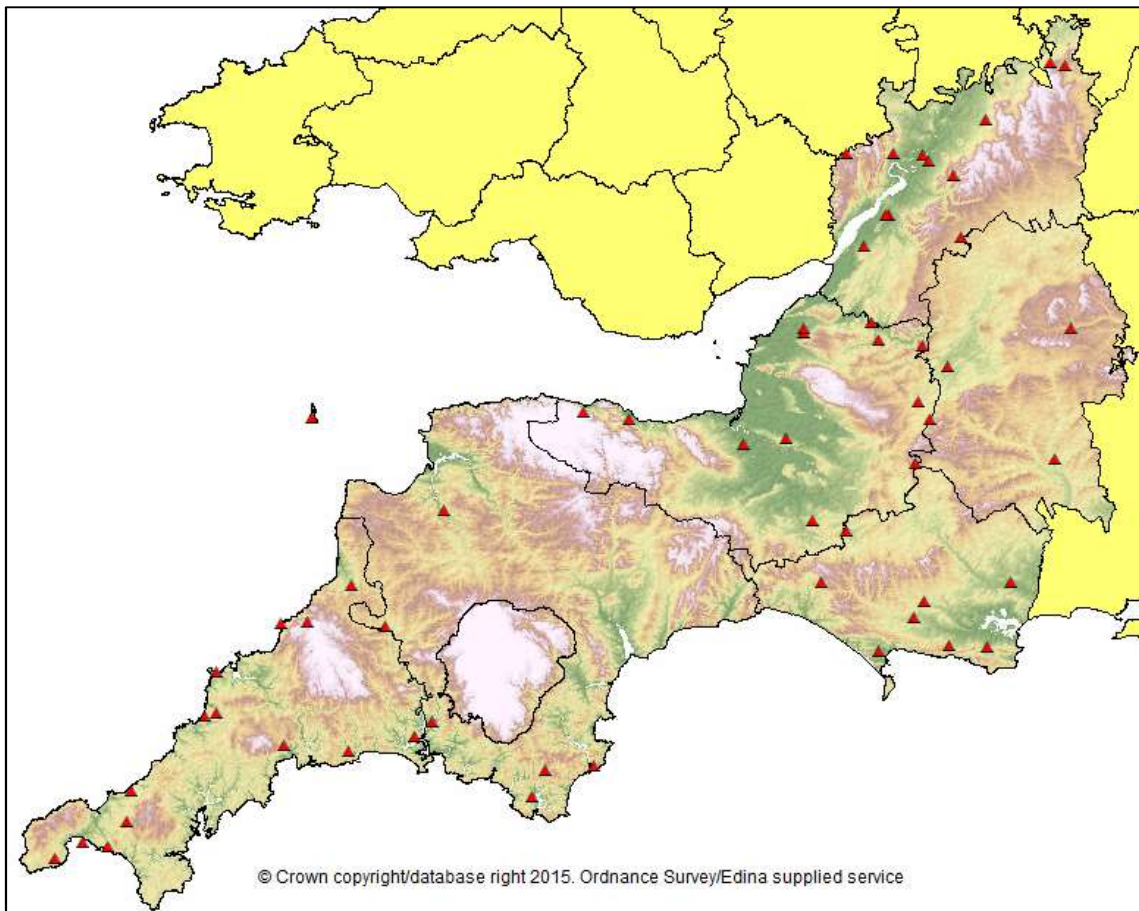


Fig. 5.23 Warrens known only through documentary references with spatial associations to elite residences

While in many cases historic references do not provide specific warren locations, that some have confirmed aristocratic ownership implies links with nearby residences. Some uncertainties remain, however: at Bridgwater, Somerset, Nicholas Halswell and Thomas Sydney were granted *le conynger* (CPR, Edward VI, vol. 5, 54) and although Halswell and Sydney have no links with Bridgwater Castle, it is unknown whether *le conynger* was previously linked with the castle's lands. While the warren recorded as Ham Hill 2 in Somerset is spatially associated with Montacute Castle, it has no historical association as its owners the Beauchamps had no links with the castle. Likewise, the warren at Leigh Common, Wiltshire, is unlikely to be associated with Castle Orchard as this Norman castle fell out of use before warrens became widespread; it is also unclear when the Norman Tetbury Castle, Gloucestershire, fell out of use and thus whether it had any active links with a warren recorded there.

While only a portion of these warrens have confirmed links with elite residences, the above figures support the notion that most medieval warrens have left no architectural remains. This is particularly evident when one considers

that most warrens with spatial associations to elite residences are known only through documentary references rather than surviving architecture. Overall, the relatively few warrens with spatial associations to elite residence compared to the total number of warrens suggests that many were not confined to elite landownership; instead, it suggests that most of the region's known warrens were non-aristocratic ventures run from individual farmsteads. This again suggests that most known warrens in the South West are post-medieval, a period when warren numbers grew as access to rabbits increased.

Warrens and Deer Parks

Aside from providing an arena for hunting deer, many medieval parks also housed other game, especially rabbits (Milesen 2009, 3), something ably demonstrated by contemporary documentary sources, particularly patent rolls (see Chapter 4). The survival of pillow mounds within former parks therefore raises the possibility that they are medieval, although it also is possible that they were installed post-disparking, particularly as data collected for this study revealed that warrens were also a common feature of post-medieval parks. Figure 5.24 indicates warrens known only through documentary sources that are associated with elite parks with noticeable concentrations in Somerset's uplands, east Cornwall and north Wiltshire; while they are evenly spread throughout Gloucestershire, they are surprisingly few given the large number of warrens recorded there. The few warrens near deer parks in Dorset lie in the east and south of the county, while the small number in Devon lie in its south-west. Dorset's limited figures represent the largest anomaly here for although the county preserves few pillow mounds, many historic warrens have been identified there and the distribution of medieval parks suggests that Dorset should exhibit similar numbers of warrens associated with deer parks as Somerset, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire; Devon and Cornwall had a lower density of medieval parks (Lasdun 1991, 11).

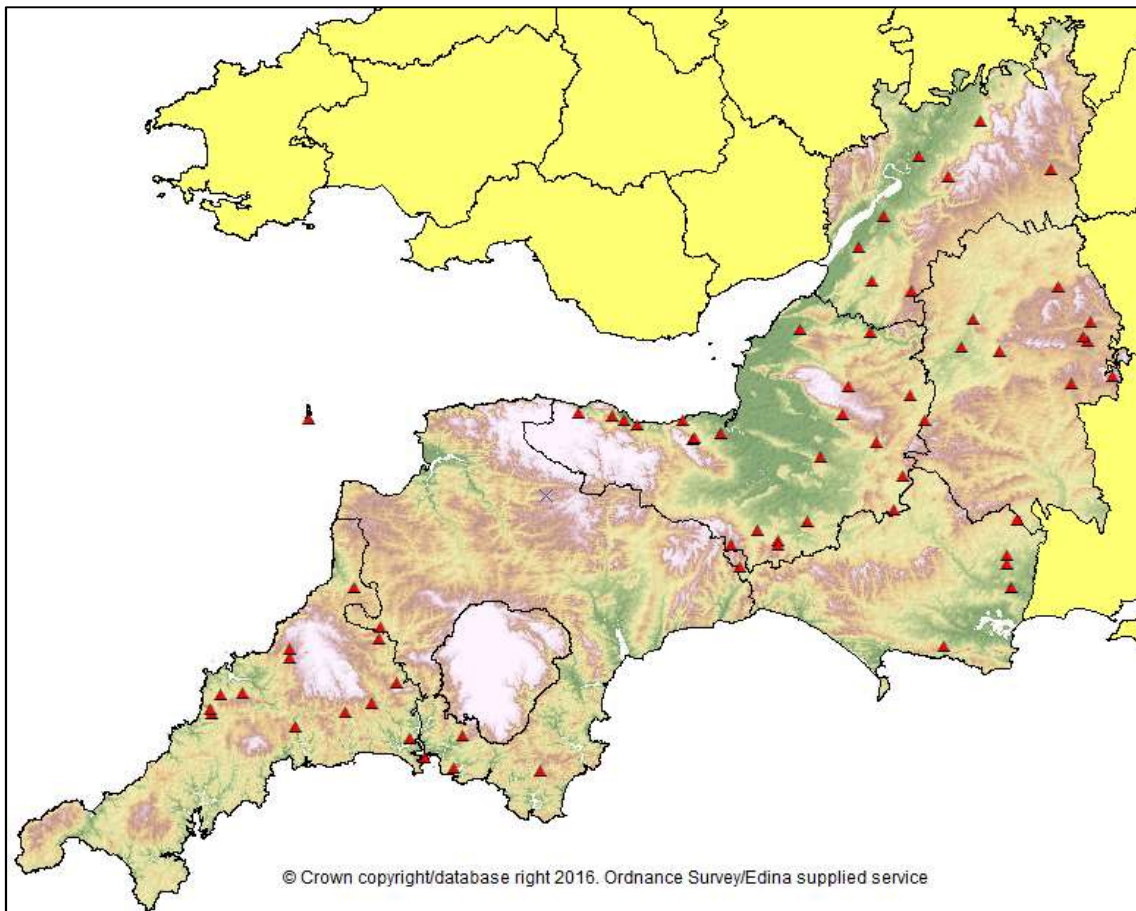


Fig. 5.24 Warrens known only through documentary sources associated with elite parks

In most cases the associations between the warrens and parks depicted in Figure 5.24 (listed in Appendix 10) are confirmed by documentary sources; several warrens are however recorded only by nineteenth-century maps and may therefore not be contemporary with the parks. Some of the earliest warren references pre-date the earliest park references and it is possible that this indicates the parks were in existence earlier than is currently known. Conversely, it is possible that pre-existing warrens were incorporated into later parks as appears to have occurred at Thornbury's Holm Park, Gloucestershire, which was created under royal licence in 1510 and includes a warren recorded in 1441-42 (Phillpotts 2010, 12).

Surviving warren architecture associated with parks is shown in Figure 5.25. Again the largest concentration is in Somerset's uplands, with a smaller concentration in Gloucestershire's Cotswolds. Although relatively scant, there is more surviving warren architecture associated with Devon's parks than warrens recorded solely by documentary references; in contrast, Cornwall has fewer sites with surviving architecture, while both Dorset and Wiltshire are conspicuous by the few surviving warrens associated with parks. While this concentration in

Somerset and Gloucestershire matches the pattern shown by warrens known only from documentary sources, the relative lack of surviving warrens associated with parks in Cornwall and Wiltshire is noticeable; however, if warrens were constructed in deer parks during the medieval period, it is unsurprising that few have survived as the available evidence suggests that most pillow mounds are post-medieval. It is possible then that the numerous pillow mounds associated with parks in Somerset and Gloucestershire are post-disparking additions to the landscape.

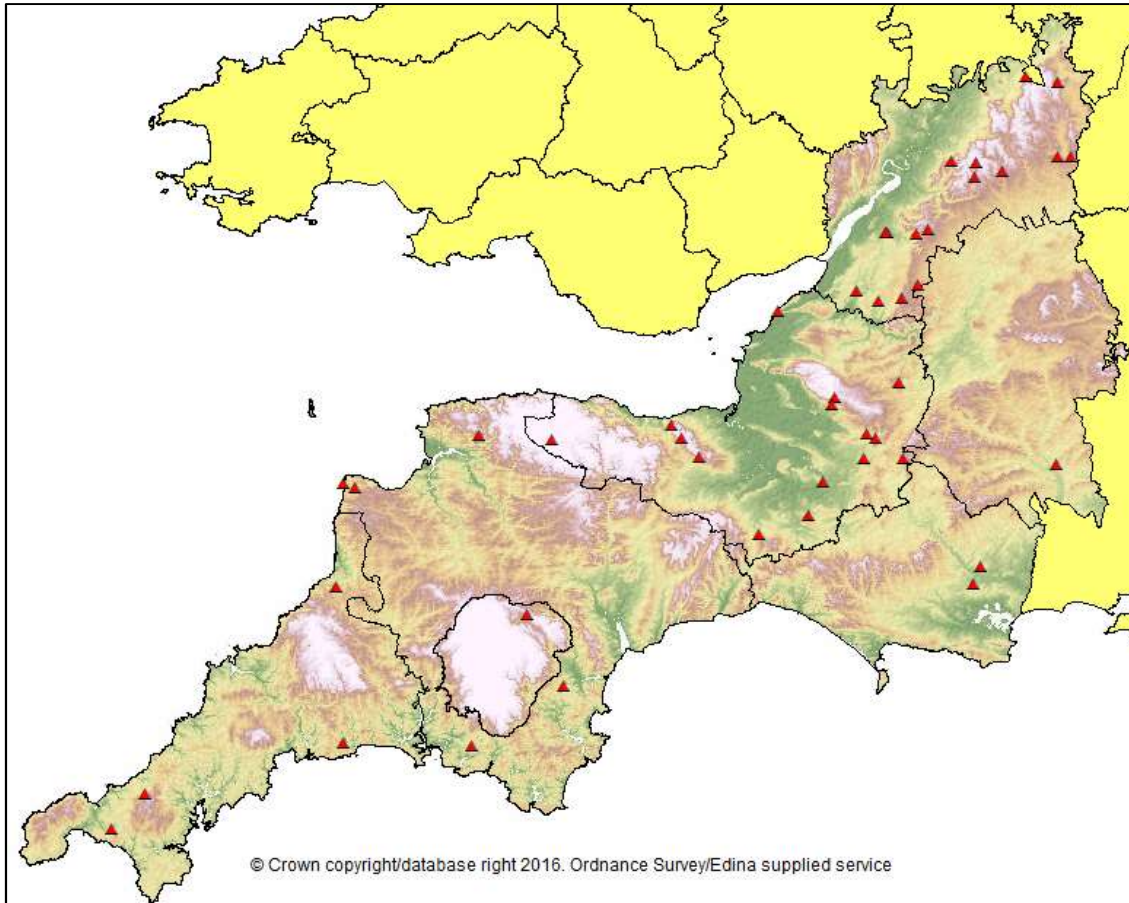


Fig. 5.25 Surviving warren architecture with spatial associations to elite parks

Of those pillow mounds associated with parks, only 76 are rectangular, representing 51.7% of the sample whose morphology is known. This proportion is far lower than the proportion of rectangular pillow mounds noted in the wider study area (see Chapter 3), suggesting rectangular mounds were less commonly associated with parks. In contrast, 17.7% of the sample are sub-rectangular, a higher figure than the study area's average, suggesting smaller mounds were more common in deer parks. Perhaps notable are the (admittedly few) depictions of medieval rabbit warrens which are generally small, squat structures rather than long, linear earthworks, although how much this represents the reality on the

ground is debatable. Given the high proportion of rectangular mounds with spatial associations to elite residences discussed above, it is possible that longer mounds were more symbolic of wealth and status by virtue of being larger, while those in parks were more functional to aid hunting. With that said, only six parks actually contain sub-rectangular mounds and ultimately the limited survival rate and small sample size make it difficult to draw any firm conclusions.

Warrens and Ecclesiastical Architecture

Associations between warrens and ecclesiastical architecture were investigated in order to address the Stockers' (1996) theory that medieval warrens displayed Christian symbolism whereby rabbits under a warrener's protection were understood to represent humankind's protection under Christ. Accordingly, this symbolism should be manifest in some warrens' locations (*ibid.*, 265), and although much of the Stockers' work focuses on Thomas Tresham's late-sixteenth-century warren at Rushton, Northamptonshire, they note a small number of ecclesiastic landscapes where pillow mounds appear to have played a visually important role (*ibid.*, 267-9), although they admit that "no census has been done to establish where pillow mounds were usually located within monastic precincts" (*ibid.*, 269). Everson also wrote of how Sir Henry Lee's sixteenth-century mansion at Quarrendon, Buckinghamshire, and the Peyto/Peto family's mansion at Chesterton, Warwickshire, represented evidence of warrens displaying "symbolism for adherents to the Old Faith" (2007, 114-124). Clearly a supporter of the Stockers' theory, Everson is however only able to cite the Stockers themselves as other proponents of this particular strand of symbolism. Consequently, the extent to which such symbolism is evident in the South West is currently unknown.

In order to answer this question, warrens within 500m radii of medieval/post-medieval ecclesiastical buildings were collated using data obtained from HERs, the NMR and OS maps, although in several instances ecclesiastic remains outside this buffer were noted. The ecclesiastic remains recorded in the various data sources were often parish churches, rectories and small chapels although the Stockers' theory alludes to elite warrens owned by the aristocracy and large religious houses. References to ecclesiastical warrens in medieval Chancery rolls also indicate that they belonged to large religious

institutions rather than parish churches. Consequently, spatial associations with small religious buildings are ignored.

Figure 5.26 shows warrens with spatial associations to large medieval religious institutions (listed in Appendix 10). Although generally rare, there is a greater concentration in Gloucestershire, Somerset and Devon; sites in Wiltshire, Dorset and Cornwall are comparatively few. Perhaps of note is that, particularly in Devon, Cornwall and north Somerset, a relatively large number of sites are located in coastal areas. As noted in Chapter 4, there is little evidence of warrens in the South West during the earliest phase of rabbits' introduction into the UK, which is generally thought to have occurred in coastal areas. The presence of coastal warrens associated with large ecclesiastic institutions ostensibly suggests that medieval ecclesiastical institutions' warrens may therefore have been relatively early examples. With regards to the types of ecclesiastic buildings, possible associations with priories are particularly numerous in Somerset but limited elsewhere, while associations with abbeys are more frequent in Devon, although they are found throughout the study area, Wiltshire excluded. Associations with granges are known only from north-east Gloucestershire, while associations with miscellaneous institutions such as nunneries, chantries, monasteries etc. are limited to Devon and Somerset.

Closer investigation is required to determine the true nature of these associations shown in Figure 5.26. In Cornwall, Looe Island's warren is recorded in 1602 (Chynoweth *et al* 2004, 128v) when the island was owned by Glastonbury Abbey, with Lammana Priory on the mainland being directly aligned with a small chapel on the island; in 1282 the priory was sold to a private landowner and became a chapel served by a secular priest until the Dissolution. While the warren was therefore on land owned by Glastonbury Abbey on an island overlooked by the former Lammana Priory, it has no real direct spatial relationship with either institution and it is unknown if the warren existed during the medieval period. A direct association exists between the warren on St Michael's Mount, site of a Benedictine priory, although it is known only through documentary sources; the location of its pillow mounds is unknown and it is not known then what visible role they played.

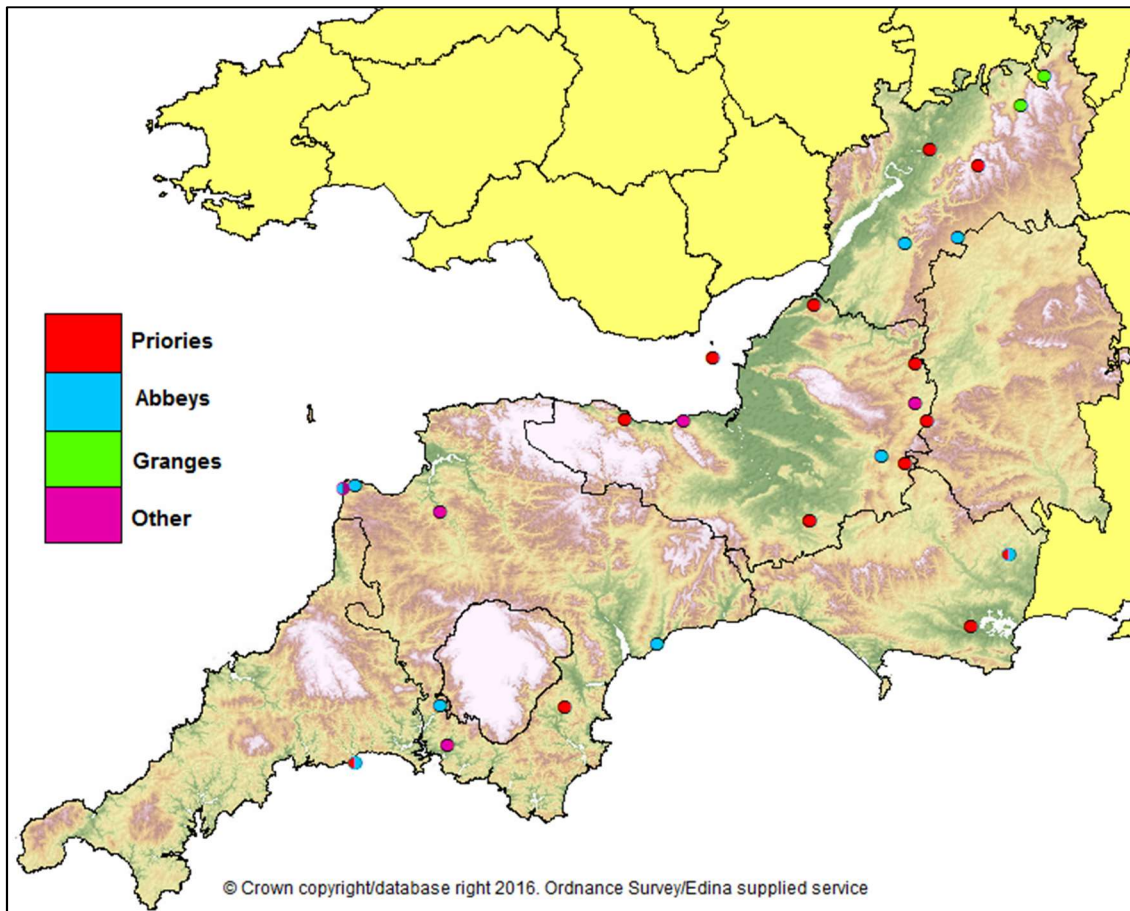


Fig. 5.26 Warrens spatially associated with large ecclesiastical sites

In Devon, a warren was granted to Hugh Poulett in Buckland Abbey's grounds in 1550 (CPR, Edward VI, vol. 3, 21), when the abbey was then owned by the Grenvilles who were in the process of converting it into a residence named Buckland Greynvile. Although the Stockers' theory relates primarily to Catholic theology, they claim examples of religious warren symbolism continued into the post-Reformation age. Nevertheless, a warren installed in the grounds of a former Cistercian abbey so soon after the Dissolution on lands then owned by the protestant Grenvilles is unlikely to have exhibited Catholic symbolism. The warrens recorded in the gazetteer as East of Otter River, Efford Warren, Long Furlong Farm and Torrington Commons are known only from nineteenth-century mapping and their spatial associations with medieval religious houses cannot therefore be taken as evidence of medieval religious symbolism. In any case, these warrens have only indirect spatial associations with nearby religious houses making it doubtful that they were originally owned by those institutions. Possible pillow mounds (The Warren nos. 4-6 in the gazetteer) in an area recorded as *The Warren* from 1891 onwards may represent a warren of Hartland Abbey c1km to their east; this cannot be verified, however, and such a distance

means that the warren has no obvious visual connection to the abbey. A pillow mound on Orley Common lies c890m west of Ipplepen Priory and while any association is unknown, this distance again suggests no visual connection existed between the two sites.

In Dorset, deeds of 1793 (DRO D-GLY/B/T/10/1) record Horton Manor's warren lying c280m northwest of Horton Priory (formerly Horton Abbey); no earlier evidence of the warren survives and no medieval symbolism can be confirmed, although the proximity between the two sites suggests a link. A warren is recorded in 1628 on the western edge of Wareham (DRO D-RWR/T/438), c600m west of Wareham Priory; the warren lay outside the medieval town walls while the priory lay at the inner south-east corner of the town meaning that there would have been no visual connection between the two sites.

In Gloucestershire, a pillow mound c470m southeast of Brimpsfield Priory lies within Brimpsfield Park, which had a warren in 1316 (CPR, Edward II, vol. 2, 427). If the mound is medieval, it is more likely to have belonged to the elite landscape of the park and the nearby Brimpsfield Castle rather than Brimpsfield Priory. A warren is possibly recorded at Kingswood in 1352 although the reference relates it to Queen Philippa's parks rather than to Kingswood Abbey (CPR, Edward III, vol. 9, 331). Pillow mounds at Newark Camp lie in an area called *Coneygar* in Llanthony Priory's medieval Newark Manor (Gloucestershire HER 4226), with the priory itself located c650m north of the mounds. Although undated, it is possible that the mounds formed part of the priory's medieval warren, although any visual symbolism is at present unclear. Pillow mounds at North Farmcote and Tilbury Hollow are located in former granges of Hailes Abbey and Bordesley Abbey respectively. While both warrens are undated, that they are associated with granges rather than the abbeys themselves discounts any visual symbolism. A warren is recorded at Tetbury in 1262, although rabbit thefts in 1316 reveal that the warren belonged to Tetbury Manor rather than Tetbury Abbey (CPR, Edward II, vol. 2, 499).

In Somerset, three pillow mounds within the precinct of Bruton Abbey (Bruton Priory before 1511) may have belonged to the medieval abbey/priory. Worth noting, however, is that the abbey was sold to the Berkeleys after the Dissolution, and parts of the abbey's buildings were used as a mansion (Aston and Leech 1977, 20-24) and it is probable that the pillow mounds date to this period (see Chapter 9). A pillow mound in Coneygore Wood lies c970m east of

Stavordale Priory, which was converted into a private residence after 1533; there is no confirmed visual or historic link between the two sites. A pillow mound inside Portbury Hillfort lies c140m southeast of Portbury Priory, and while the hillfort would have been a visual landmark from the priory, there is no direct visual link between the warren itself and the priory. Conygar Wood near Dunster has been identified as Dunster Castle's warren by Exmoor's HER (MSO11240), although it also lies c200m north of Dunster Priory. If the site does represent a medieval warren it is unlikely to belong to the priory, however, as Dunster's only known medieval warren was owned by John de Mohun, baron of Dunster, in 1355 (CPR, Edward III, vol. 10, 231). A pillow mound on Ham Hill c635m east of Montacute Priory probably dates from the creation of a seventeenth-century landscape park as it lies among DMV earthworks; an earlier warren is recorded in 1248 belonging to the Beauchamps rather than the priory (VCH 1974, 242). Eleven pillow mounds near Hinton Priory are undated although they feasibly represent the priory's medieval warren. However, elements of the priory were reused by the sixteenth-century manor house Hinton Abbey and the mounds could feasibly be an elite post-medieval warren. *Conygar* field in Kilve is associated with Kilve Chantry c150m to its north-east by Somerset's HER (34544), although the warren is not documented until 1839. Somerset's HER (23526) records an undated reference to a *coneygar* at Low Water c570m north of a nunnery on St Catherine's Hill, although this is not attested until 1787. Steep Holm's St Michael's Priory owned a medieval warren, although it is questionable how much of a visual impact an island warren would have had.

The sole example in Wiltshire is Longleat House, constructed on the site of a former Augustinian priory dissolved in 1529, while the warren is recorded only in 1687 (Betley 2004, 383-4). The warren's exact location is unknown so no clear spatial, or indeed historical, association can be claimed for this warren.

The above records therefore show very few warrens exhibited direct spatial associations with large ecclesiastical institutions, despite a small number within the South West being in their 'general vicinity'. Of course, given that most surviving warren architecture is probably post-medieval, it is possible that former ecclesiastical pillow mounds have not survived. However, even when taking into account warrens known through documentary sources, there is still an evident minority that display spatial associations with religious institutions. There is little landscape evidence to support the Stockers' claims that medieval warrens were

located within monastic precincts as a means of displaying Christian symbolism inherent in rabbits. Moreover, medieval depictions of rabbits suggest that this proposed symbolic meaning is unlikely and is explored in Chapter 9.

Warrens and Prehistoric Earthworks

It has been noted that many pillow mounds appear to have been deliberately located near prehistoric earthworks, particularly hillforts, burial monuments, hut circles and occasionally prehistoric/Roman settlement remains (Williamson 2007, 36). In some cases, relationships seem purely coincidental, with both class of monument surviving simply where they have not been ploughed out; at others there appears to have been a deliberate siting near prehistoric earthworks (*ibid.*). It is possible that some warrens incorporated earlier earthworks as pre-existing pillow mounds or perhaps because they already supported feral rabbit colonies. Hillforts in particular may have been used as ready-formed warren boundaries: Williamson and Loveday reported that 32 groups of mounds (17% of their sample) in southern Britain were located within, or immediately adjacent, to Iron-Age defensive earthworks (1988, 296).

In order to investigate these questions, warrens within 500m radii of prehistoric earthworks were collated using HER and NMR data. Warrens near prehistoric earthworks were then divided into two classes: those near hillforts and those near small earthworks such as barrows or hut circles. It was decided to exclude Dartmoor from this second stage of investigation because the region's archaeology is dominated by prehistoric earthworks to the extent that attempts to ascertain relationships between them and warrens becomes almost meaningless. It was also decided not to investigate relationships with warrens known only from documentary sources: while in some cases these warren locations may be determined, it is not possible to discern relationships with small prehistoric earthworks where no pillow mounds survive.

Warrens located near hillforts are most numerous in Somerset with 12 examples, followed by Cornwall, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire with seven, six and five examples respectively. Dorset has only two warrens near hillforts, and while this is unsurprising given the small number of pillow mounds recorded there, there are likewise few associations between hillforts and documentary warrens. Devon has only one site outside of Dartmoor near a hillfort, although surviving evidence suggests the county had fewer hillforts than other counties in the South

West (Brown 2009, figures 2a and 2b). The status of some of these hillforts are however uncertain: earthworks near Yarner Wood in Dartmoor and near Nympsfield and Bath Farm Road in Gloucestershire have been interpreted as 'possible' hillforts; the 'hillfort' at White Tor Camp, Dartmoor, may be a Neolithic tor enclosure; Tubby's Head and Willapark in Cornwall are Iron Age cliff castles rather than true hillforts. The exact number of warrens in the South West is unknown, although there are approximately 256 pillow mound sites and 418 documentary warrens; while it is not possible to determine the location of many of these documentary sites, the 37 warrens near hillforts (Appendix 11) nevertheless represent approximately 5.5% of the South West's warrens. This is considerably less than Williamson and Loveday's 17% of warrens in their sample, although they only investigated pillow mounds, suggesting the relationship between warrens and hillforts has been previously overestimated.

Although in some cases there is not enough data to pinpoint warrens' locations, while in others complete hillfort boundaries have not survived, approximately 18 warrens (2.7% of the South West's warrens) exhibit direct relationships with hillforts, being either located within them or utilising their ramparts; 14 warrens are merely located near hillforts, while the relationship at five sites is unclear (Fig. 5.27). The majority of warrens exhibiting direct relationships are found in Cornwall and Somerset, with six examples each. Typically, where pillow mounds are located within hillforts, only single examples occur although there are exceptions: Little Down, Somerset, contains two mounds although two more lie outside the hillfort; Wain's Hill in Somerset, Wasteberry Camp in Devon and Willapark's Iron Age cliff castle all contain three mounds; Pilson Pen, Dorset, contains five mounds; Dolebury Warren, Somerset, contains seven mounds.

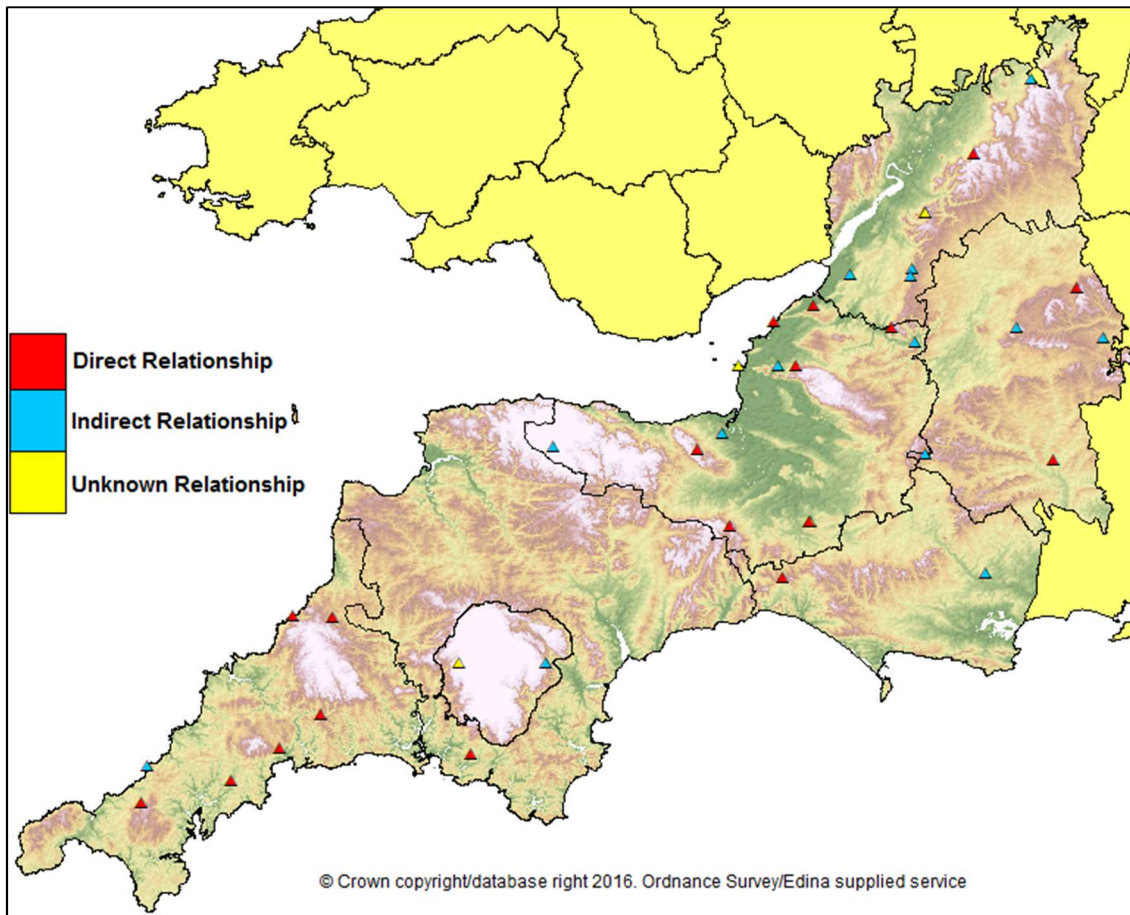


Fig. 5.27 Relationships between warrens and hillforts

While hillforts were therefore occasionally used as warrens, this trend was not widespread; indeed, the numerous warrens located in the vicinity of, but not within, hillforts demonstrate that installing a warren within a hillfort seemingly provided no great advantages. Hillforts may occasionally have offered locations that were otherwise unused for arable or they may have provided ready-made boundaries, but other incentives were apparently absent. Indeed, some hillforts' locations may have hindered warrening, with their ramparts shielding poaching activities: for example, the ramparts of Warbstow Bury, Cornwall, render the pillow mound in its interior entirely invisible from the surrounding landscape (see Chapter 8)

Regarding smaller prehistoric earthworks, assessing differences between coincidental and causal relationships is problematic for any differentiation is somewhat subjective. In certain cases, the nature of the archaeological remains hinders attempts at determining associations: for example, a single pillow mound at Windmill Barrow Farm, Dorset, lies c90m east of a single bowl barrow; assessing the relationship between two isolated earthworks is simply not possible. However, at sites where numerous earthworks are present, it is

sometimes possible to determine two types of relationship: one where pillow mounds are simply near earlier monuments without forming a single coherent group of earthworks, and one where pillow mounds and prehistoric earthworks essentially form a single group where it is not possible to identify separate zonal divisions between the earthworks. The following examples illustrate such relationships between pillow mounds and prehistoric earthworks.

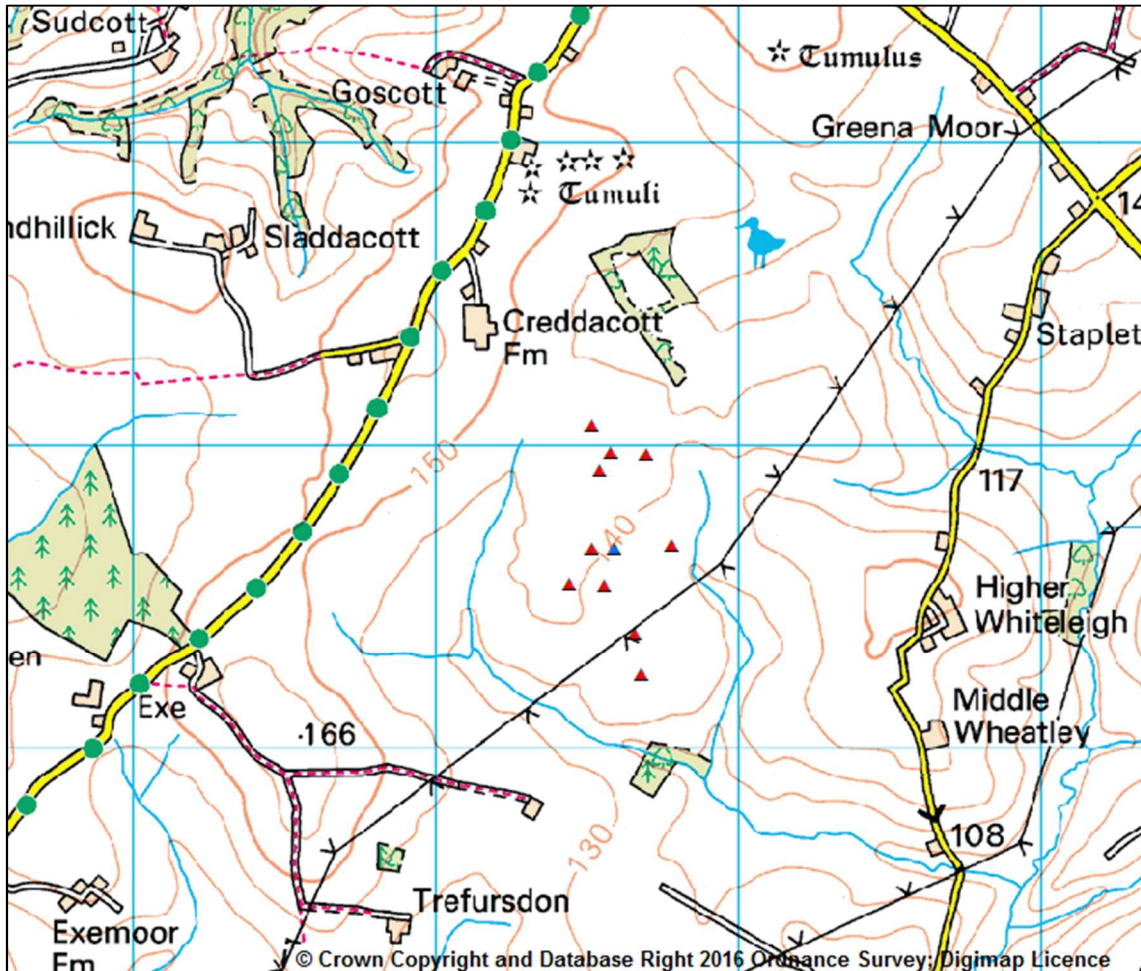


Fig. 5.28 Creddacott Farm, Cornwall, with pillow mounds marked in red and a round barrow in blue

Creddacott Farm's earthworks include a barrow cemetery (marked by the legend *tumuli* in Figure 5.28), ten pillow mounds and a single, isolated round barrow. While the pillow mounds have no clear relationship with the barrow cemetery to their north, no spatial distinction can be made between them and the single outlying barrow. While this does not necessarily indicate that this barrow was incorporated, in this example the warren has been classified as having a direct relationship with prehistoric earthworks.

Figure 5.29 shows four pillow mounds south of Half Moon Plantation (with a fifth on Sugar Hill), and a single round barrow north of Half Moon Plantation.

The pillow mounds form a discrete group of earthworks separated from the round barrow by the trees of Half Moon Plantation. In this example, the warren is therefore classified as having no direct relationship with prehistoric earthworks.

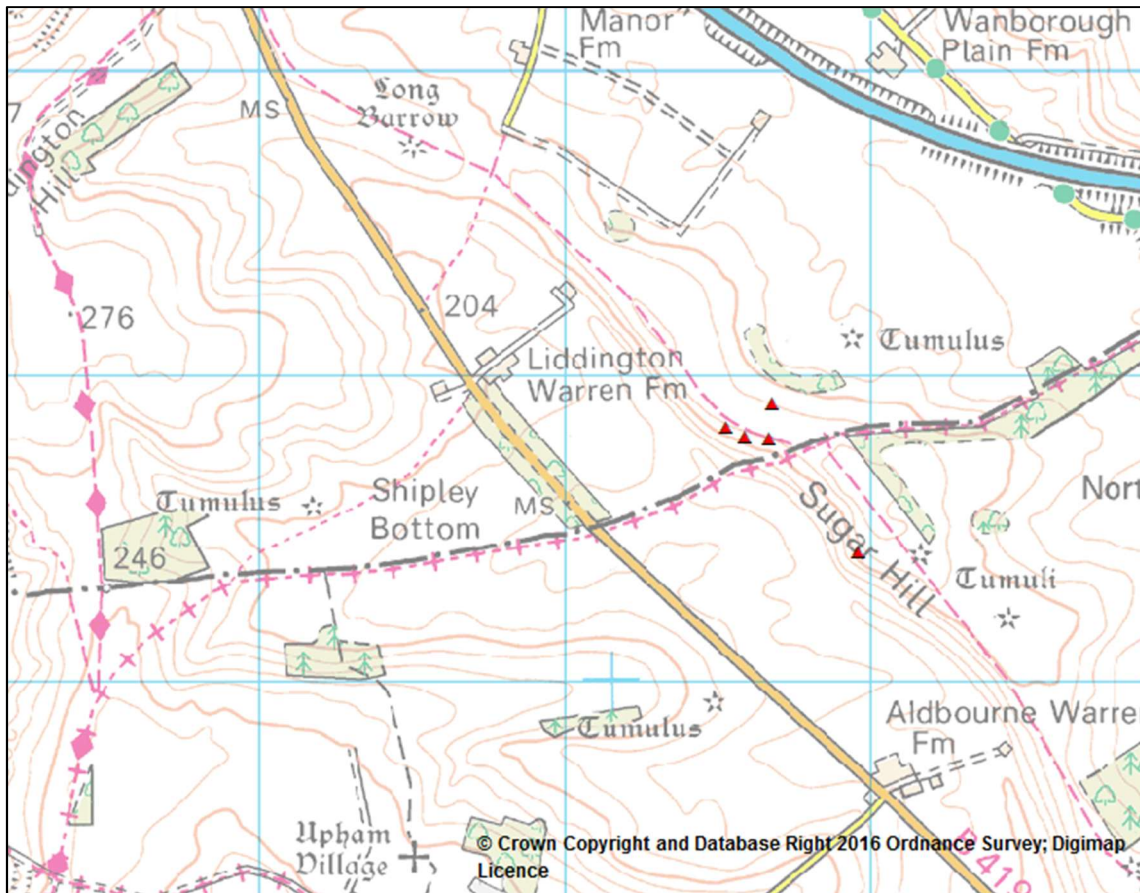


Fig. 5.29 Half Moon Plantation, Wiltshire, with pillow mounds marked in red and round barrows marked by the legend *tumulus/tumuli*

Figure 5.30 shows Louden Hill's base populated by Bronze-Age cists and cairns, hut circles, Neolithic long cairns and a single pillow mound. While those earthworks to the north, west and south-west of the hill are unlikely to be associated with the pillow mound, there is no obvious separation between the pillow mound and those earthworks immediately to its east and south. While it cannot be confidently claimed that these prehistoric earthworks exhibit a causal relationship with a single pillow mound, neither can it be said that there is no association. In this case, the warren is classified as exhibiting a direct relationship with prehistoric remains.

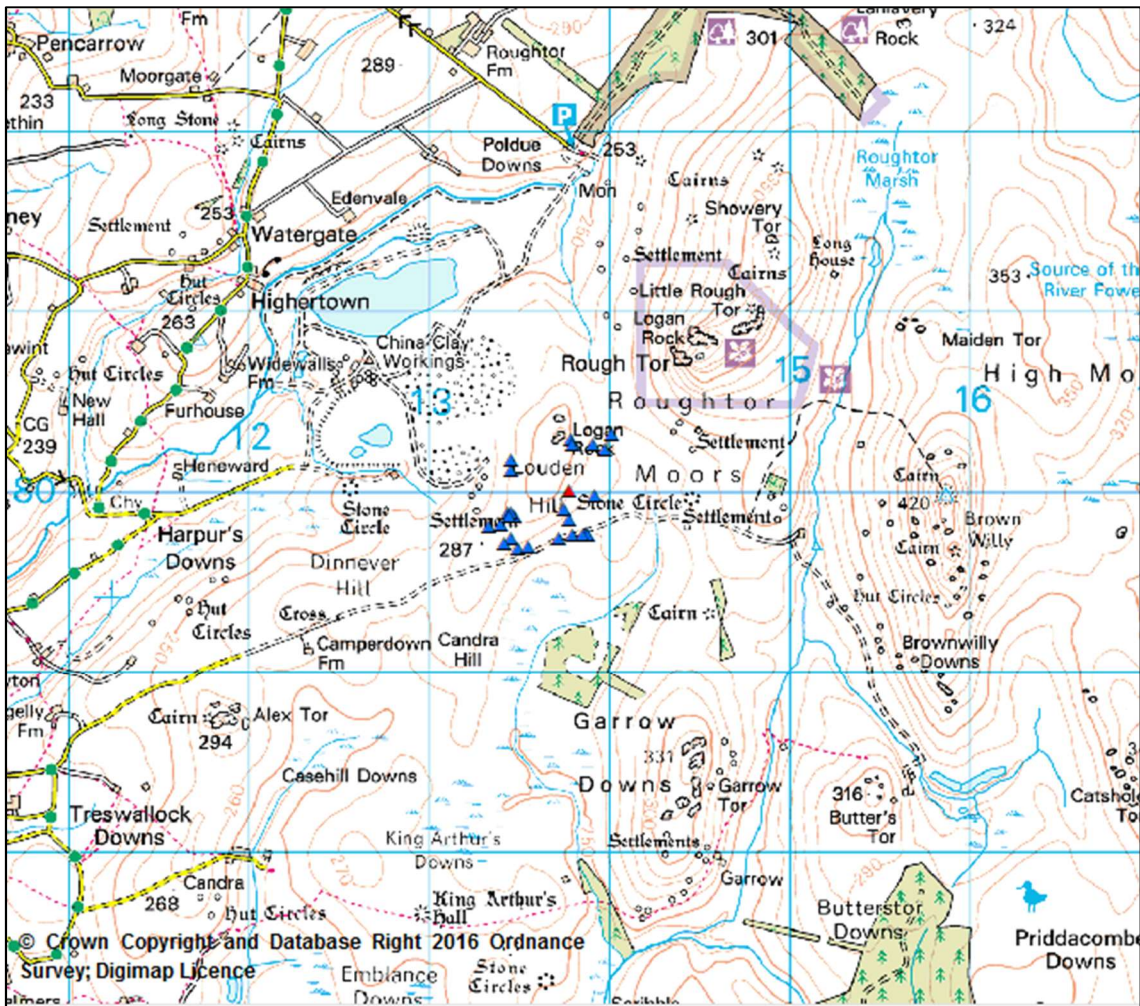


Fig. 5.30 Louden Hill, Cornwall, with prehistoric earthworks marked in blue and a pillow mound in red

Figure 5.31 shows two pillow mounds to the south of a linear earthwork on Knook Down (indicated by the legend *Earthwork*). Bronze-Age round barrows lie east and south of the pillow mounds while a Romano-British mound lies to their west. In this example the area immediately south of Knook Down's linear earthwork contains multi-period prehistoric earthworks and although the pillow mounds occupy a defined area, it cannot be said that this space is distinct from those prehistoric remains. In this example the warren is classified as having a direct relationship with prehistoric earthworks.

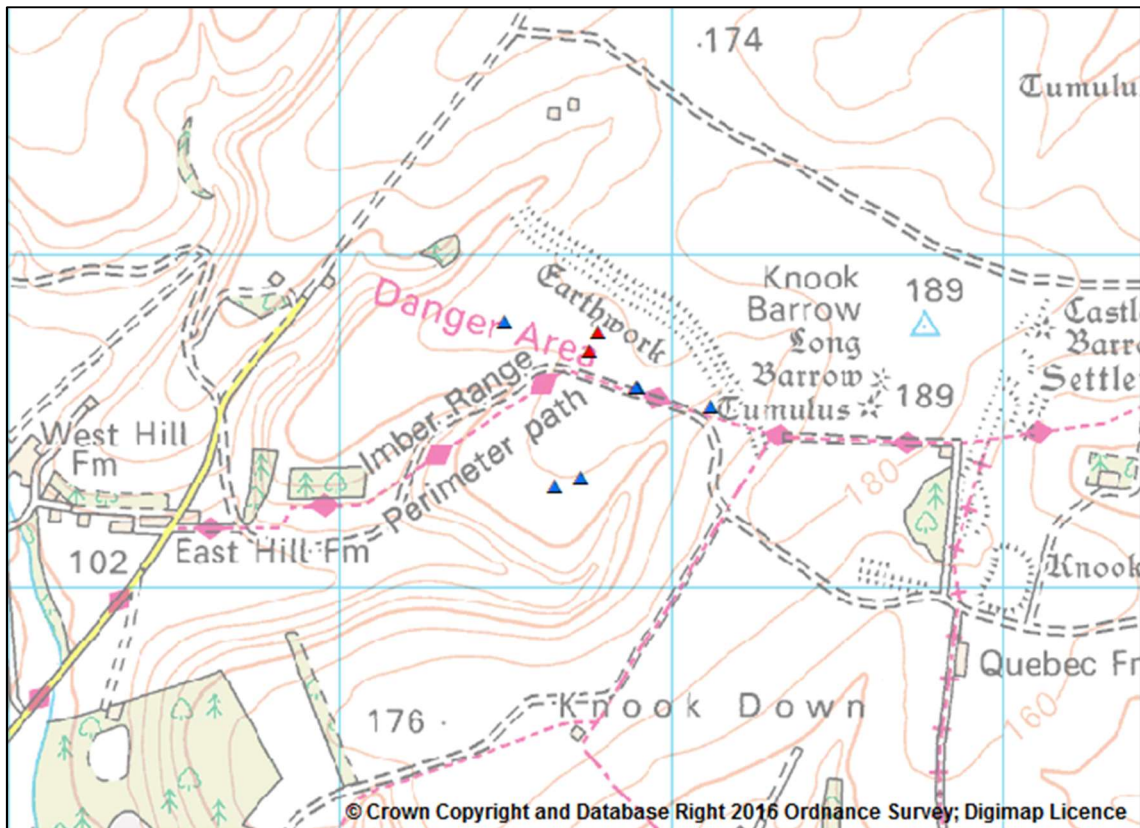


Fig. 5.31 Knook Down, Wiltshire, with pillow mounds marked in red, prehistoric earthworks in blue

Although relationships between pillow mounds and prehistoric earthworks are therefore difficult to interpret, Figure 5.32 shows pillow mound sites near prehistoric earthworks in the South West. Excluding Dartmoor, 78 pillow mound sites (Appendix 12) lie near prehistoric earthworks, representing 40.2% of sites found outside Dartmoor. Of these, only 28 (14.4%) have pillow mounds located in such a way as to be indistinguishable from prehistoric earthworks, possibly indicating a causal relationship. Prehistoric earthworks may have already supported feral colonies, indicating that the land could support rabbits, leading to the construction of pillow mounds. If pillow mounds were constructed among or near earlier earthworks, it is hardly feasible that warreners would have expected rabbits *not* to have burrowed into them. Close associations between pillow mounds and prehistoric earthworks therefore suggests some relationship, even if only an opportunistic exploitation of earlier monuments.

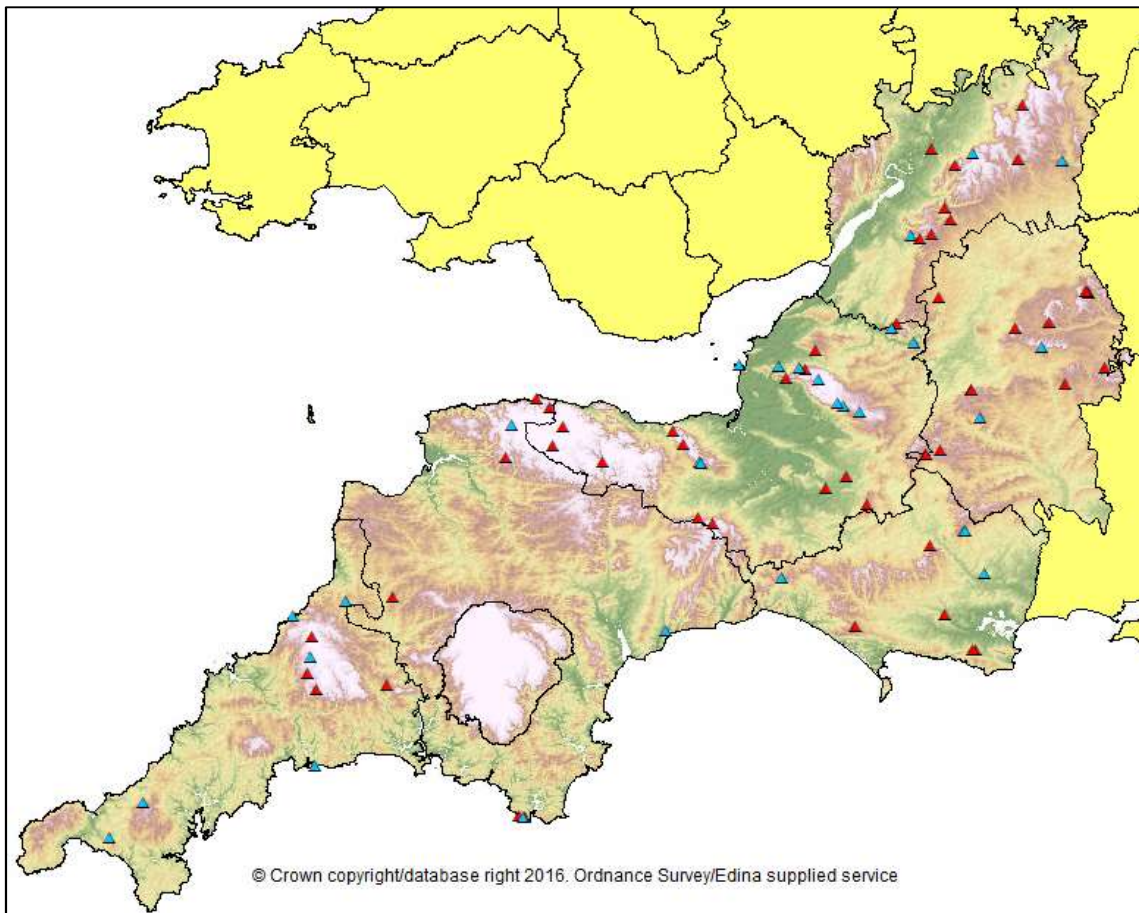


Fig. 5.32 Warrens near prehistoric earthworks: those in red exhibit no discernible relationships, those in blue possibly exhibit direct relationships

Whatever the true relationship between pillow mounds and prehistoric earthworks, it seems likely that while some earlier monuments were incorporated into warrens, there are no obvious indications that this was ever a widespread phenomenon. Although there are perhaps greater tendencies for warrens in Cornwall and in Somerset's Quantock hills to exhibit direct relationships, that there are more warrens merely near prehistoric earthworks than inhabiting the same spaces certainly suggests that prehistoric earthworks were not a major concern for warren owners. That said, given the large number of warrens known only from documentary references, it is possible that many former associations have been lost from the archaeological record. However, as far as the available evidence suggests, such relationships appear to be predominantly coincidental rather than causal.

Summary

Previous works discussing rabbit warrens tend to present provision of adequate drainage as the most important aspect of their locations. This requirement is evident in the sloping locations of many pillow mounds and the presence of

ditches that would have deflected flooding away from pillow mounds (Sheail 1971, 40). However, it is also true that many warrens were located on flat land, although how many is unknown: examples have been noted during field visits, and while other examples can be identified using various cartographic sources, it is often not possible to objectively discern whether a warren is on sloping land without visiting the site. Therefore, all that can presently be said is that some warrens do not conform to the expected trends of being situated on sloping land. Uncertainties also exist regarding pillow mounds' surrounding ditches: while Williamson and Loveday reported that very rarely do they not have ditches (1988, 294), few ditches are reported in the study area (see Chapter 3). This is likely a limitation of pillow mound recording and a product of subsequent silting and erosion and it is therefore not possible to discern how common flood-deflecting ditches are without undertaking a prohibitively large number of field visits.

The BGS's data recording permeability and soil characteristics do however allow for more confident summations to be made. While it is true that many warrens *were* located in well-drained locations, it is also true that many were located in poorly or moderately drained areas. Where grainsizes can be assessed, more warrens have been noted in areas with smaller grainsizes that tend to hold water more than with more freely draining large grainsizes. At most locations however, it is not possible to ascertain soil grainsize because the complexity of soil characterisations is such that most warren locations are not characterised by a single grainsize. Consequently, most landowners had no choice as to the types of grainsize that they could exploit for warrens. The same is true regarding soil types: while warrens are found on medium / medium to heavy soils as much as they are on light / light to medium soils, many locations are simply not characterised by single soil types. Likewise, the South West's geological make-up is such that it cannot be claimed that certain geological conditions would have been favoured when these conditions are not distributed evenly across the study area. Ultimately, while some local topographical and geographical conditions may have been conducive to warrening and were exploited correspondingly, BGS data suggests that many sites that ostensibly seem unconducive to warrening were also exploited. That this was a geographically widespread form of animal husbandry practised against a backdrop of varied soil characteristics and geologies is itself an indicator of how successful this activity was regardless of local conditions. Stated simply, there

was no possibility that a model warrening landscape could ever have existed and instead landowners were opportunistic and exploited a range of land for a species that was evidently hardier than is generally credited.

That warrens utilised land not traditionally seen as typical warren locations is evidenced by the BGS's soil mineral classifications. These indicate that many warrens were located on acidic rather than alkaline soils, with the latter hindering crop growth and therefore being more marginal. It might then be expected that more warrens were located on alkaline soils when in fact more warrens are on located on acidic soils. While the BGS's dataset does not express if any of these soils would have been too acidic for crop growth, it nevertheless suggests many warrens were not located on marginal lands but were instead located in areas that could have sustained arable farming. This is supported by HLC mapping. Previous authors have stated that warrens tend to be located on marginal land, but HLC mapping indicates only a minority were. Although Devon, including Dartmoor, represents the exception to this, elsewhere warrens are more numerous in areas that were at one time exploited as arable. This perhaps should be expected given that many pillow mounds are recorded as overlying ridge and furrow and the fact that many historic warrens have been ploughed out.

Regarding other aspects of the human environment, relatively few warrens can be associated with elite residences, with most that can dating from the post-medieval period. While this suggests that many known warrens are post-medieval installations rather than elite medieval warrens, it also supports the notion that most medieval warrens have not survived as identifiable landscape features. The same is true of elite parks: while some can be associated with surviving warrens, instances are few and those that can are often post-medieval parks. Indeed, most associations between medieval warrens and deer parks are known from documentary rather than archaeological evidence. There is very little evidence of associations between warrens and medieval ecclesiastical institutions. While again medieval warren archaeology is likely to have not survived, documentary sources also provide limited evidence. Ultimately there is little landscape evidence to support the Stockers' theory that warrens played symbolic roles in ecclesiastical landscapes.

Relationships between warrens and prehistoric earthworks certainly exist, and are most evident when hillforts' interiors were used for warrens. However, associations between hillforts and warrens appear to have been previously

overestimated and few warrens are known to have utilised them, at least in the South West. It seems probable that hillforts were occasionally used because they provided a predefined plot of land not being used for arable that could be exploited, but generally they were evidently deemed no more favourable for warrening than other types of land. Associations with small prehistoric earthworks are also found in the South West, albeit in relatively limited numbers. While it is not always possible to discern whether such relationships are causal or coincidental, there are certainly a limited number of examples where prehistoric earthworks may have been incorporated into warrens either because they already supported feral rabbits or because they provided a source of earthworks that could be co-opted as pillow mounds. Ultimately, there is no clear trend of incorporating them into warrens and once again decisions regarding this matter are likely to have represented a matter of personal choice by warren owners.

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY: SOUTH-EAST DORSET

Rationale for Case Study

As discussed in Chapter 3, fewer pillow mounds are recorded in Dorset than in other counties within the study area, with 40 examples. While equating to 0.02 pillow mounds per km², comparable to Cornwall and Wiltshire, this contrasts with the relatively high number of medieval warrens recorded in Dorset. Moreover, the quality of pillow mound data held by the two major evidence sources (Dorset's HER and the NMR) is not always robust with many individual records lacking information. Consequently, our knowledge of Dorset's pillow mounds is poorly informed.

Regarding warrens recorded solely through documentary sources, Dorset's HER listed no examples, the NMR recorded only two, and a third was mentioned within the listing of Newlands Warren's Scheduled field system. Compared to historic warrens recorded elsewhere within the study area, knowledge of Dorset's historic warrens is also therefore poorly informed. This is highlighted by the subsequent identification of a further 83 examples, primarily through the recording of warren-related fieldnames in the Place Names of Dorset (Mills 1977-2010) and by consulting documents at Dorset Archives.

A nested study area addressing Dorset therefore provides an opportunity to further knowledge of a region whose warrens are little understood. Chapter 3 indicated that many warrens are located within south-east Dorset, with relatively few in the North and South Dorset Downs, contrasting to other regions in the study area where pillow mounds are concentrated in upland areas. South-east Dorset was therefore chosen as a case study for the potential to investigate a unique warrening landscape, one not dominated by uplands that predominantly characterise warrening landscapes found elsewhere within the South West.

South-East Dorset – Location

This nested study area approximately corresponds to the county's natural geological divisions (Fig. 6.1). The far south-east of Dorset contains the Isle of Purbeck, a plateau formed predominantly by argillaceous minerals interbedded with limestone, framed to its south by a thin band of sandstone and to its north

and south-west by a band of argillaceous minerals. North of the Isle of Purbeck is heathland overlying sandstone, with a thin band of chalk separating the two regions. These heathlands give way to chalk downs occupying most of the centre of the county, culminating in a high escarpment that gives way to the clay vales and low argillaceous hills of north-west Dorset and the more rugged sandstone heights of west Dorset (Taylor 1970, 22).

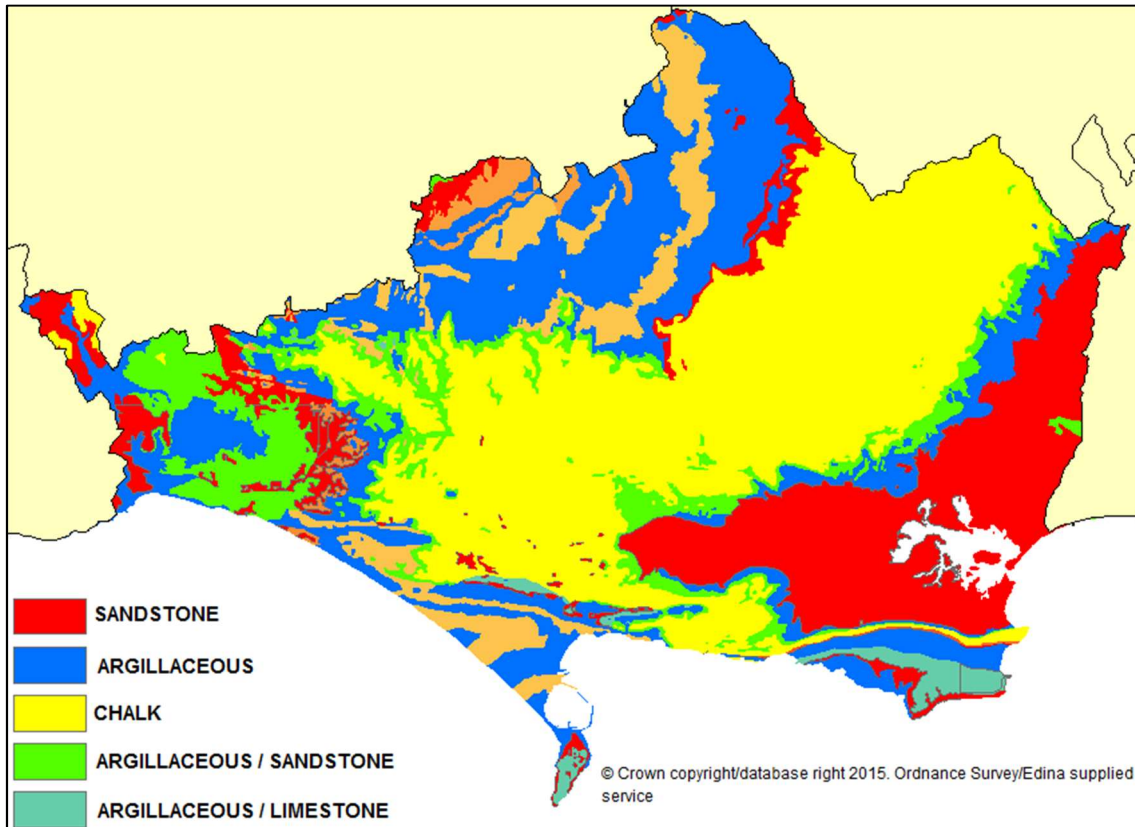


Fig. 6.1 Dorset's geology with the major rock groups of the south-east defined

The nested study area therefore covers the Isle of Purbeck and the heathland beyond it (Fig. 6.2). Several sites investigated may be considered to lie on the border of the heathland and the chalk highlands beyond, but as Dorset's natural topography is not as clearly defined as suggested by Figure 6.1, they have been included to increase the present state of knowledge of Dorset's warrens.

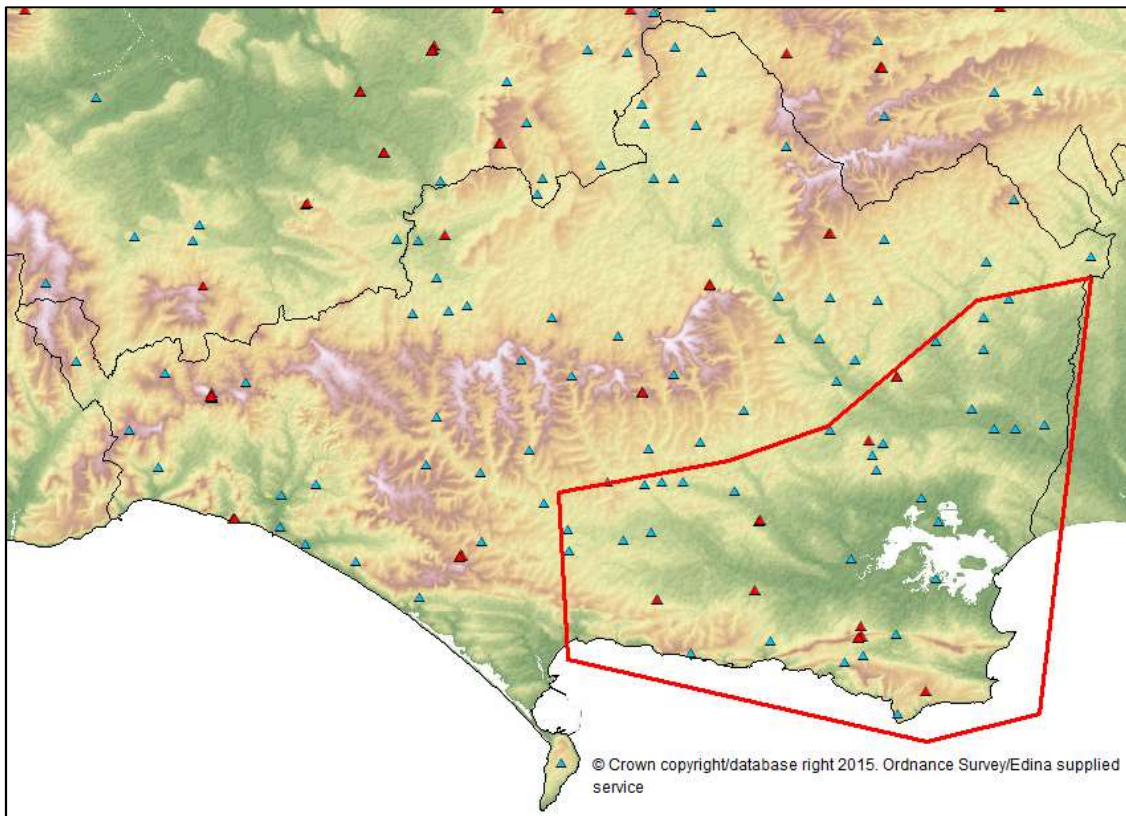


Fig. 6.2 The nested study area in south-east Dorset, with surviving warrens marked in red, historic warrens in blue

Medieval Warrens

The two earliest known warrens within south-east Dorset are Wimborne Holt and Badbury (Fig. 6.3). Wimborne Holt's warren is recorded in 1279 when rabbits were stolen from Henry de Lacy's free chase there (CPR, Edward I, vol. 1, 346), although nothing else is known of this warren. In contrast, Badbury is well-documented due to its association with Kingston Lacy. Originally part of the Saxon estate of Wimborne, Kingston Lacy was granted to John de Lacy in 1229 and from 1349 to 1603 it formed part of the Duchy of Lancaster. Sir John Bankes purchased both Kingston Lacy and Corfe Castle in the 1630s, although after the latter was demolished during the Civil War, a new house was commissioned at Kingston Lacy. The estate's medieval accounts survive from 1295-1465, with some extracts translated during an investigation of the estate's Lodge Farm (Papworth 1998).

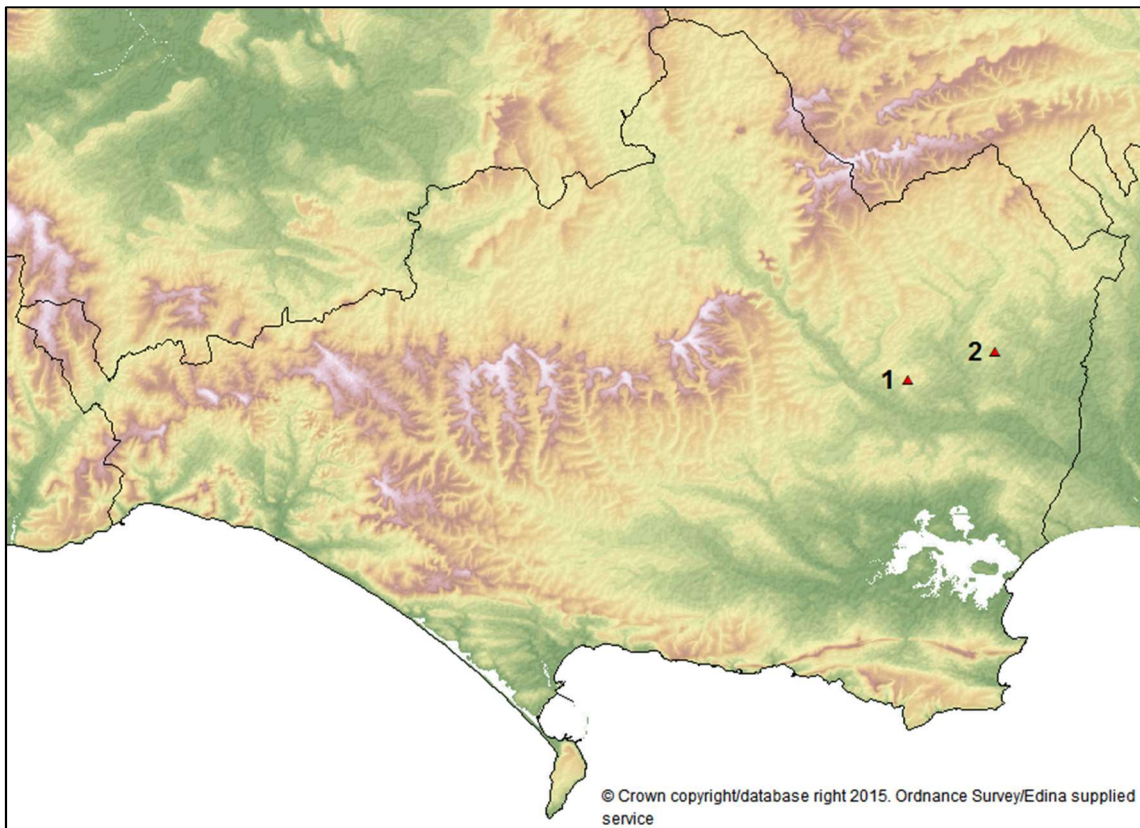


Fig. 6.3 Locations of (1) Badbury and (2) Wimborne Holt

The de Lacys held several hunting lands in Dorset, including Wimborne Holt's free chase, Badbury Warren, Holt Park and Badbury Park, which are first recorded in 1267, 1295, 1295 and 1348 respectively. The earliest reference to Badbury Warren is found in the estate's accounts, recording 5s spent on its warrener's wages (NRO DL29 1/1); the next reference dates from 1305 when 11s 11¼d was spent on hedges around Holt Park and Badbury Warren (NRO DL29 1/2). While this suggests that Badbury Warren lay within Holt Park, later accounts record that one person occupied the role of Badbury's warrener and Badbury Park's keeper, suggesting the warren lay within that park. Interestingly, however, references to Badbury Warren predate Badbury Park and it may initially have been created as a separate hunting area not directly associated with a deer park.

There is a probable reference to a trespass in 1307 when it is included in a list of Henry de Lacy's lands from which animals, including rabbits, were stolen (CPR, Edward I, vol. 4, 544). Interestingly, Badbury Park is not recorded as being broken into, again suggesting it post-dates the warren. A second break-in of Badbury Warren is recorded in 1348, when Alice, Countess of Lincoln, complained of thefts of hares, rabbits, pheasants and partridges (*ibid.*, Edward III, vol. 8, 60).

The warren is not mentioned again until 1390-91 when 6s 8d was spent on warrener William Overbury's wages, who also received 13s 4d as keeper of Badbury Park (NRO DL29 682/11046). The accounts record a total of 34s 4d spent on Badbury Warren during this year, although there is no break-down of costs. Details of warreners' wages at Badbury are well-recorded and aside from the 5s per annum in 1295-96, they remained 6s 8d per annum between 1390-91 and 1461-62. The 1390-91 accounts also record an allowance of one bullock, while the 1395-96 accounts record an allowance of 13 quarters of wheat.

Details of medieval warreners' wages throughout England are scant, although Bailey reported how the warrener at Dunningworth, Suffolk, was the highest-paid manorial official in 1302, receiving 52s per annum (1988, 7), while warreners at Ely Abbey, Cambridgeshire, received at least £5 per annum during the fifteenth century (*ibid.*). Although only two examples, the 6s 8d paid to Badbury's warreners is considerably less, suggesting that it operated on a smaller scale. This is also implied by two incidents in the late fourteenth century: in December 1371 John of Gaunt stayed at Kingston Lacy and instructed the warrener of Aldebourne, Wiltshire, to supply 72 rabbits for the household (Papworth 1998, 37), while the warren's entire yearly profits were on one occasion during this period described as nil having been "destroyed", possibly through poaching (*ibid.*, 40). That Badbury was unable to meet the demands of John of Gaunt's visit and that its yearly outputs could be destroyed suggests that it was relatively small, supporting the notion outlined in Chapter 4 that the West's warrens operated on a smaller scale than those in the East.

Rabbit bones recorded during 1986-89 excavations of Kingston Lacy's Lodge Farm suggest a post-medieval increase in the warren's size (Locker 1994). 19 rabbit bones were found in medieval deposits, roughly equivalent to the numbers of ox and sheep/goat bones, with fallow deer bones being the most numerous remains recovered. Only two animal bones were recovered from sixteenth-century deposits, both of which were rabbit bones. Animal bones were recovered in greater numbers from seventeenth-century deposits, with rabbit being the most commonly identifiable species with 63 bones recorded. Rabbit bones were present in large numbers in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century deposits, although their precise numbers are not specified other than the 15 examples recovered in the filling of the culvert in Lodge Farm's south ground-floor room (*ibid.*, 108).

While the presence of rabbit bones from the building that served as the lodge of both Badbury Warren and Badbury Park is perhaps expected, the recovery of two ferret bones is unexpected due to their limited survival in the archaeological record (Van Damme and Eryvynck 1988, 282). It is unclear whether the presence of polecats, a related species of mustelidae, at Lodge Farm indicates that they were also used in hunting rabbits: the sole reference to the capture of rabbits at Badbury is found in the 1380-81 accounts, recording the purchase of one ferret for this purpose (Papworth 1994b, 61). The presence of rabbit and ferret bones in Badbury warreners' lodge suggests that he was responsible for catching rabbits rather than the warren being a place of lordly hunting pursuits, something also suggested by rabbit bones recovered from parkers' residences at Donnington Park Lodge, Leicestershire, and Stansted Lodge, Essex (Sykes 2007, 53).

By the sixteenth century, Badbury Warren was no longer managed directly by the estate, but was leased to private tenants. Throughout the sixteenth century it was leased for periods of 21 years at £11 per annum (Papworth 1994b, 64), increasing to £30 per annum in 1636 and to £65 in 1641, by which time it was to be stocked with 2,000 couples of rabbits, with 12d to be paid by the warreners for every couple under this figure at the end of their lease (*ibid.*). The warren was abandoned in 1740, with its rent at £70 and its stock at 2,500 couples (*ibid.*).

Manorial accounts indicate that traditional agricultural management techniques of raising crops and animals on the demesne lands, partly through using labour services of unfree tenants, lasted until 1418. After this date, direct management of arable agriculture was abandoned and the manorial economy switched towards sheep farming and it seems likely that increased importance of Badbury Warren coincided with this development. The late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century household accounts of Margaret Bankes (Eldred 1999 and undated) record no rabbits being consumed by the household, strongly suggesting that the warren's rabbits were then bred purely for commercial purposes.

Despite the warren's post-medieval growth, there are several recorded instances of stock fluctuations. In 1695, the warren's rent was waived for a year after the 1694-95 winter's heavy snows had greatly reduced rabbit numbers (Papworth 1994b, 64), although by 1699 they had recovered to the extent that its lessee paid £15 for damage to wheat caused by rabbits (*ibid.*). Earlier damage

caused by rabbits is recorded in 1564 when a manorial survey recorded that rabbits had destroyed several of the estate's copses (DRO D/BKL/EA 1), with further instances recorded in surveys of 1595 (*ibid.*) and 1598 (*ibid.*). Poaching is recorded in a legal case of 1641 concerning the trespassing of the warren by Richard Trooper (DRO S-235/C/7/6/3), while three men were prosecuted for poaching in 1735 (Papworth 1994b, 64). Some mismanagement is recorded during 1710-19 when the warrener accrued rent arrears of £326 and was paid £10 to vacate the warren, although the exact circumstances are unknown (*ibid.*).

Badbury Warren was abandoned in 1740-41, having been assessed at 600 couples over the reserve stock of 2,500 couples, resulting in warrener Thomas Henwood being paid £45 on his leaving (*ibid.*). That the warren was abandoned in spite of the high number of rabbits indicates that its commercial potential had dropped to the extent that it was no longer economical to maintain. The final extent of the warren is recorded in three 1742 maps (Fig. 6.4).



Fig. 6.4 1742 map showing Badbury Warren's boundary (Dorset Archives)

Despite these maps, as early as 1564 the warren's full extent was recorded as unknown, with a manorial survey witness stating that he had never heard of its bounds within his lifetime although the warrener kept a circuit of approximately

four miles (DRO D/BKL/EA 1). The warren’s bounds were likewise recorded as unknown in a 1595 survey, although its circuit was then estimated at approximately three miles (*ibid.*). A 1606 survey recorded that Clement Farre had been given the right to breed and hunt rabbits in the warren and also in *Conygar Copse* and *Court Close* and wherever else in Kingston Lacy and Shapwick that rabbits might breed (Papworth 1994b, 63-4). *Court Close* lies slightly to the north of the current house (Papworth 1998, 10), while *Conygar Copse* survives to the west of the house. The reference to “wherever else rabbits might breed” suggests that rabbits were breeding in feral colonies and were no longer confined to the warren.

Four rabbit warrens are first recorded during the fourteenth century (Fig. 6.5), possibly indicating an increase in the number of warrens in the region.

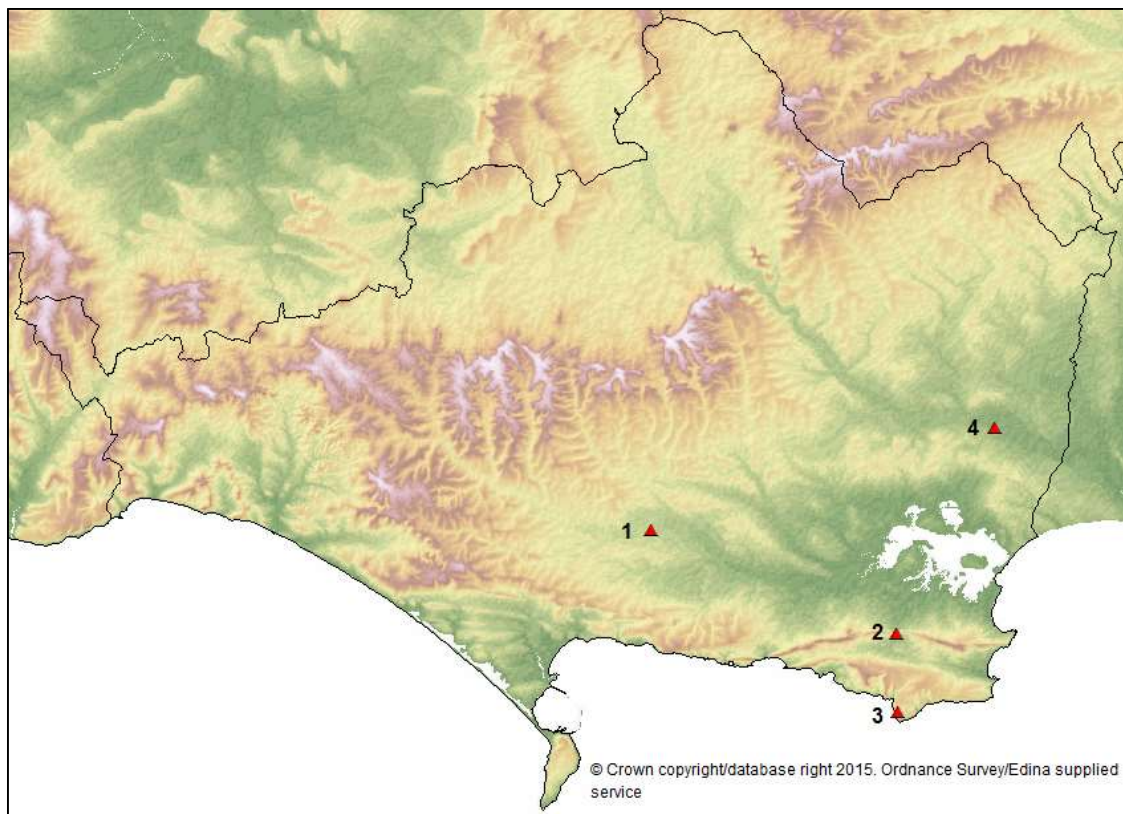


Fig. 6.5 Locations of (1) Woodsford, (2) Corfe Castle, (3) Purbeck, (4) Canford Magna

Canford Magna is listed in 1307 as one of Henry de Lacy’s free chases and warrens from which deer, rabbits, hares and partridges were stolen, alongside Kingston Lacy, Wimborne Holt and several locations in Somerset and Wiltshire (CPR, Edward I, vol. 4, 544). The patent rolls are ambiguous as to whether rabbit warrens were located at each site, and the presence of one at Canford Magna is therefore conjectural. Details of the other fourteenth-century warrens in south-east Dorset are scant and little is known other than their presence: rabbits were

stolen from Richard de Portes' warren at Woodsford in 1323 (*ibid.*, Edward II, vol. 4, 555), and from the King's warrens at Corfe Castle in 1342 (*ibid.*, Edward III, vol. 5, 447) and Purbeck in 1353 (*ibid.*, vol. 9, 452).

Of the six warrens recorded in south-east Dorset before the fifteenth century, three were owned by the de Lacy family and two were royal warrens, indicating that warren ownership was restricted to only the highest echelons of medieval society. While the number of recorded warrens increases throughout Dorset during the fourteenth century, with examples recorded at Chardstock, Mapperton, Charminster, Winterbourne Steepleton and Portland, with the exception of Richard de Portes' Woodsford warren, there appears to have been little increase in access to warrens in south-east Dorset.

Most of Dorset's fourteenth-century warrens are first documented in the first half of the century, with only a limited growth in warren numbers recorded during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Indeed, references to warrens during the fifteenth century are rare throughout the wider study area, particularly during its first half. Correspondingly, only three warrens are first recorded in south-east Dorset during the fifteenth century: East Lulworth, Bere Regis and Upton (Fig. 6.6). Two are known from late fifteenth-century references and while only limited in number, they fit the county-wide pattern that saw a slight increase in warrens during the second half of the fifteenth century.

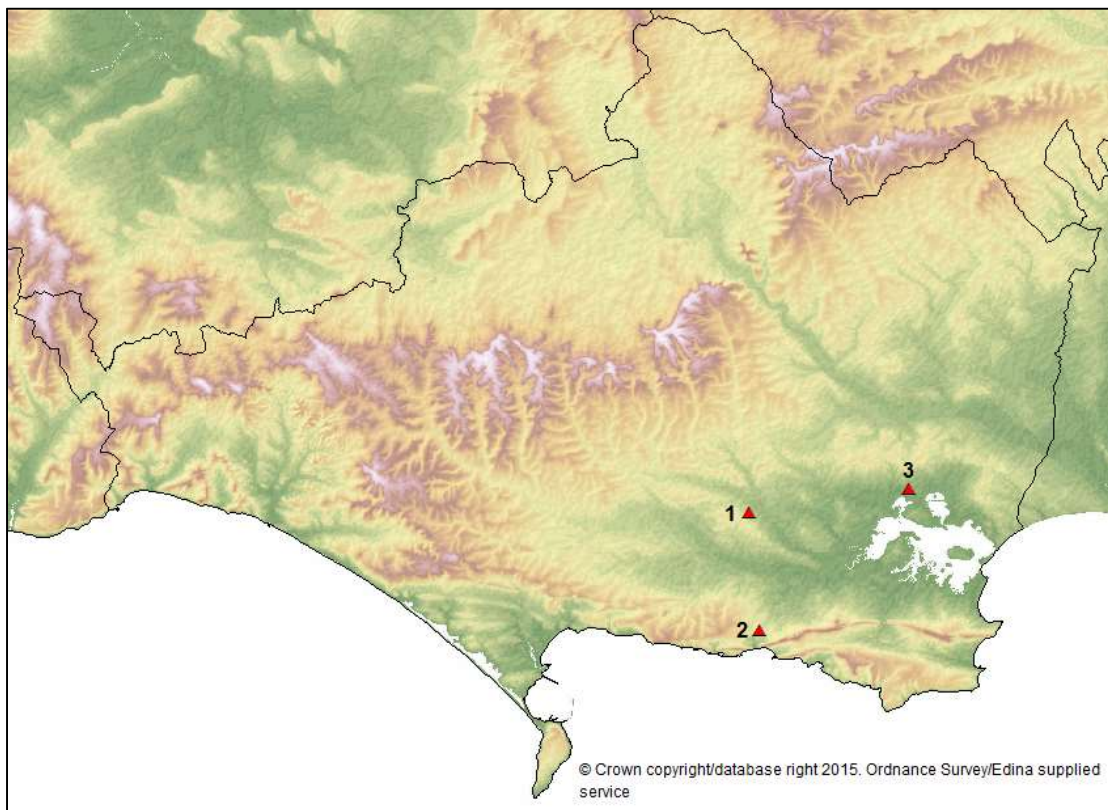
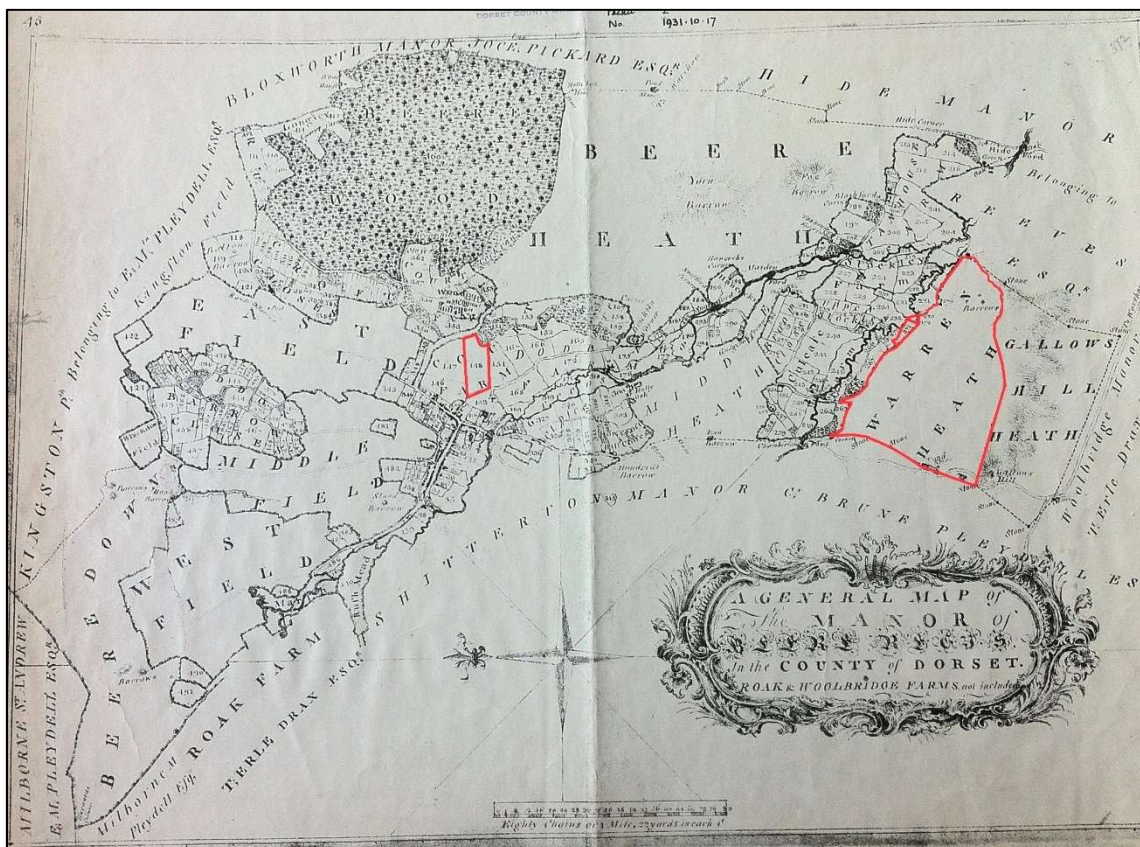


Fig. 6.6 Locations of (1) Bere Regis, (2) East Lulworth, (3) Upton

Bere Regis's warren is first documented when rabbits were stolen from the Abbesses of Tarrant's chase in 1402 (CPR, Henry IV, vol. 2, 126) and 1404 (*ibid.* 428). Mills wrote that a *claus' in Waram* is recorded there in 1546, although he does not provide a source (1977, 280). A warren is next recorded on Isaac Taylor's maps of the Drax Estate surveyed between 1773-77 (DRO Ph2/1-34) that show *Warren Heath* at the southern edge of Bere Regis parish adjoining two smaller plots named *Warren Field* and *Red Lodge*; a second warren, *Warren Field*, was located further north in the parish (Fig. 6.7). Whether these warrens correspond to the medieval warren is uncertain, although Bere Regis is unusual in that its medieval common fields still existed in the north of the parish until the nineteenth century (Taylor 1970, 90), with *West, Middle and East Fields* clearly visible on Isaac Taylor's map. The common fields lay north of the River Piddle, while the two warrens lay in the heathland to its south. It is unlikely that the Abbesses of Tarrant's chase and warren would have been located on common fields and is therefore perhaps to be associated with the warrens depicted on Taylor's map, with the larger *Warren Heath* being the most likely location.

**Fig. 6.7** 1773-76 map of Bere Regis showing locations of *Warren Heath* and *Warren Field* (Dorset Archives)

A land-register accompanying Taylor's map does not give *Warren Heath's* land-use, while the adjoining *Warren Field* is simply listed as Stockley Farm. However, *Red Lodge* is listed as the warren house, suggesting that the warren was still in use by this date; the smaller northern *Warren Field* is listed as arable belonging to Court Farm. The 1844 tithe map (DRO T/BER) records that *Warren Heath* had by then been enclosed and subdivided into twelve fields used variously as pasture, arable and meadow. The northern *Warren Field* had been severely truncated and was effectively house's garden plot, although still named *Part of Rabbit Warren* and listed as pasture. No surviving earthworks are recorded for the northern *Warren Field*, although two pillow mounds are recorded on *Warren Heath* and are discussed below.

Warren Heath lies on a gentle north-facing slope and is well-drained, with both its underlying bedrock and superficial deposits having drainage ratings of 8. In contrast, *Warren Field* is located on flat land, with its underlying superficial deposits having a drainage rating of 5 and its underlying bedrock having a rating of 8. Its underlying superficial deposits therefore introduce some potential for poorly drained conditions not found on *Warren Heath*.

Mills notes several warren place-names at East Lulworth, although it is unclear whether they refer to the same place or where they were located: *Conynglond* and *Connyng* are recorded in 1461 and 1462 in rentals at the National Archives, while documents at Dorset Archives mention *Conynger Hill* in 1529, *Conesmede* in 1530, *prat' apud Conynges* in 1531, *Coneger Hill* in 1649 and *Conigreere Hill* in 1686 (1977, 127). A 1768-71 survey of East Lulworth by John and Thomas Sparrow show two adjacent fields as *Connygar Wood* and *Connyngar* east of Lulworth Castle's demesne lands (DRO D-WLC/E/19, Fig. 6.8).

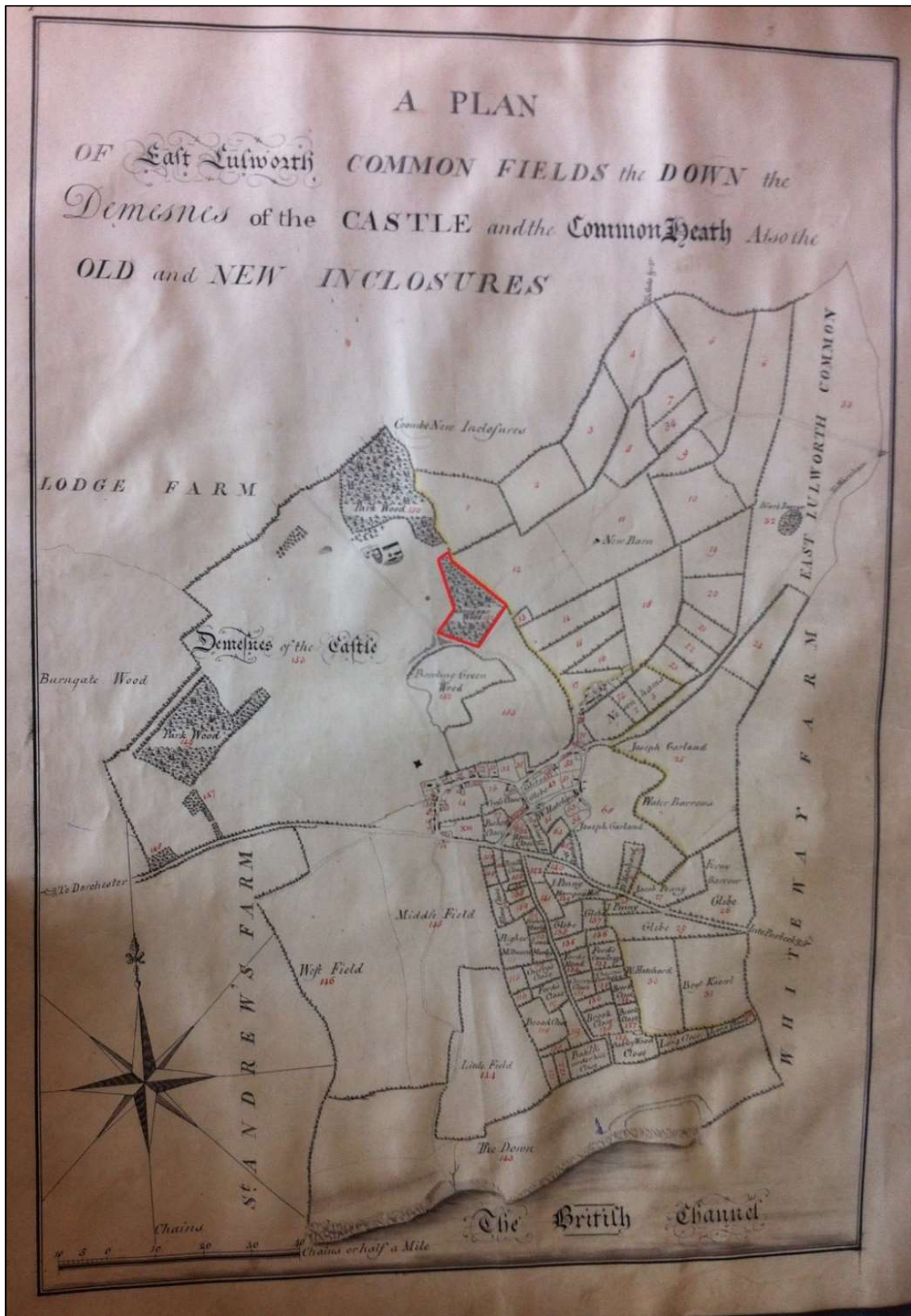


Fig. 6.8 1771 map of East Lulworth with *Connygar Wood* highlighted - a map at Lulworth Castle depicts *Connygar* field immediately south-east of *Connygar Wood* (Dorset Archives)

Although Lulworth Castle itself is an early seventeenth-century hunting lodge, it may have been located on the site of an earlier structure and a twelfth-century castle is recorded in Lulworth. Lulworth Castle is associated with a deer park

created in 1605, recorded on the Sparrows' surveys as *New Park*, although traces of a park pale may belong to an earlier park recorded in 1601 (Tracy 1987, 63). The warren may therefore be associated with the seventeenth-century park or it may be an earlier medieval warren and its visual symbolism, or lack of, is discussed in Chapter 9. The warren has a drainage rating of 8, and since at least the 1888 First Edition 6" OS map it has formed part of *Bowling Green Wood*, which was originally depicted on the Sparrows' surveys as a smaller wooded area west of the warren.

A warren at Upton was granted to John Nanby in 1482, although no other details are known (CPR, Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III, 299). The same warren is recorded in 1512 when its profits were granted to John Hunte, chief cook in the King's kitchen following the death of Margaret countess of Richmond who had previously held the land (Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, vol. 1, 647).

The warrens at Bere Regis, East Lulworth and Upton indicate an increased ownership of warrens within south-east Dorset, a trend that continued into the sixteenth century, both in Dorset and throughout the South West (see Chapter 4). Correspondingly, sixteenth-century warrens are recorded at East Stafford, Hampreston and Woodlands (Fig. 6.9). East Stafford's warren is first recorded in 1516 when the Knights Hospitaller leased Friar Mayne manor to John Gerard of Tincleton together with its farm and rabbit warren called *Stafford* for 30 years, with a combined rent of £12 per annum (Hutchins 1863, 502). The warren is then recorded in a 1533 indenture between the Knights Hospitaller and John Gerard, although Hutchins does not provide more specific details (*ibid.*, 499). Following Henry VIII's suppression of the Knights Hospitaller, these lands changed hands several times: in 1540 they belonged to the King, in 1553-4 they were restored to the Knights Hospitaller, in 1563 they were granted to William Poole of Shute, and in 1601 they were sold to John Williams (*ibid.*, 499-500). The farm and rabbit warren was then sold in 1669 by John Williams' daughter Jane Lawrence to her uncle Robert Williams, whose son John sold it to John Richards of Warmwell in 1699 for £5,000 (*ibid.*, 500). Its rent of £12 per annum in 1516 compares with Badbury Warren's sixteenth-century rental of £11, although nothing is known of later rental rates at East Stafford

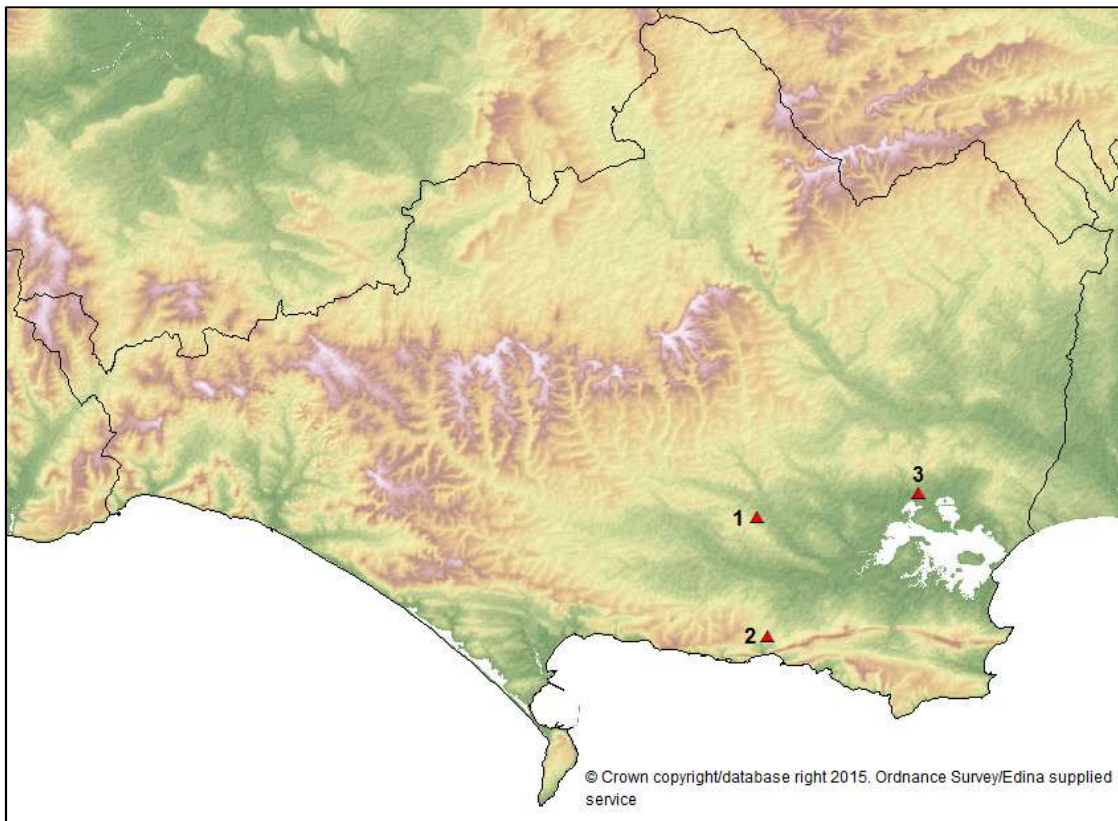


Fig. 6.9 Locations of (1) East Stafford, (2) Hampreston, (3) Woodlands

References to East Stafford's warren in seventeenth-century indentures suggests that it may still have been operational. Earthworks near Lower Lewell Farm were reported in 1980 and interpreted as house platforms and field boundaries of East Stafford, although a 1981 field visit reported that the area was intensively ploughed and the earthworks formed no coherent pattern (NMR 454109). Investigation of LiDAR images by the present author has not identified any features that may be attributable to this warren despite its possible late abandonment.

Hampreston's warren is first referenced in 1541 in documents at Dorset Archives recording a *Conyger Howe*, with *Coniger* and *Connyger* recorded in 1583 (Mills 1980, 227). Mills reports that a *Conegar* is recorded on an 1811 OS map (*ibid.*), and while it has not been possible to view this map, later maps show a *Coneygar Lane* north-east of Hampreston (Fig. 6.10). Woodlands's warren is little known beyond a 1551 reference to *Comingere Closes* in the Middleton Deeds held at Nottingham University (*ibid.*, 289).

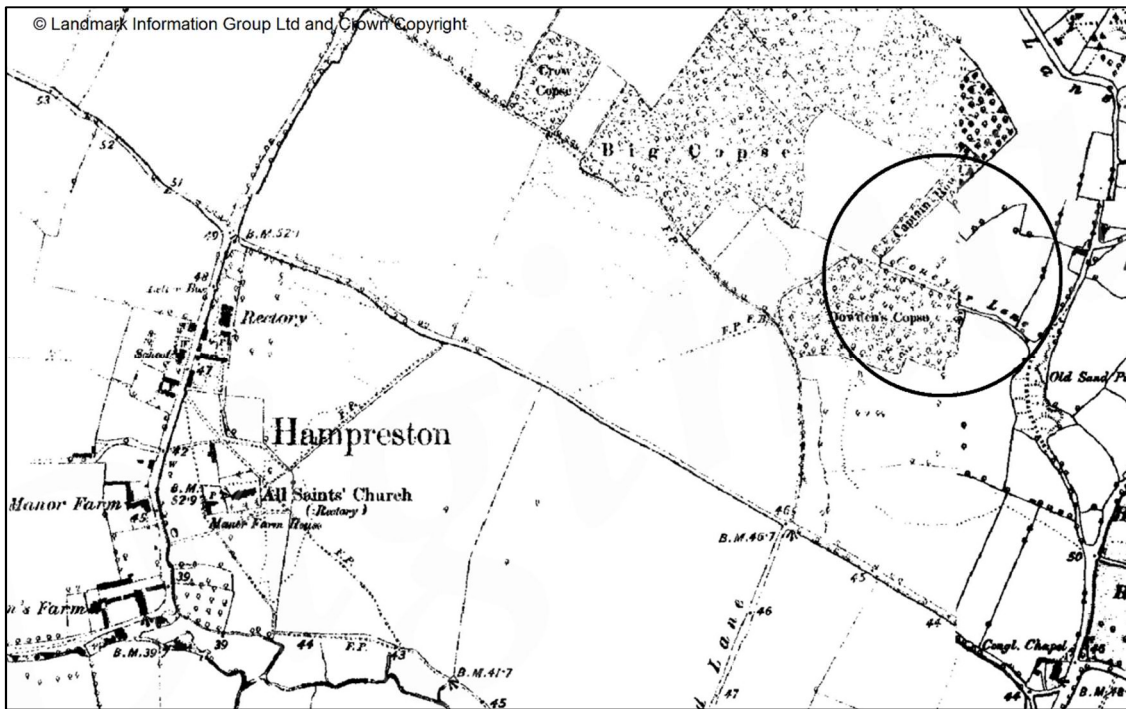


Fig. 6.10 1889 First Edition 6" OS map of Hampreston with *Coneygar Lane* highlighted

Post-Medieval Warrens

As expected, references to warrens increases during the post-medieval period, with six first recorded in the seventeenth century. (Fig. 6.11).

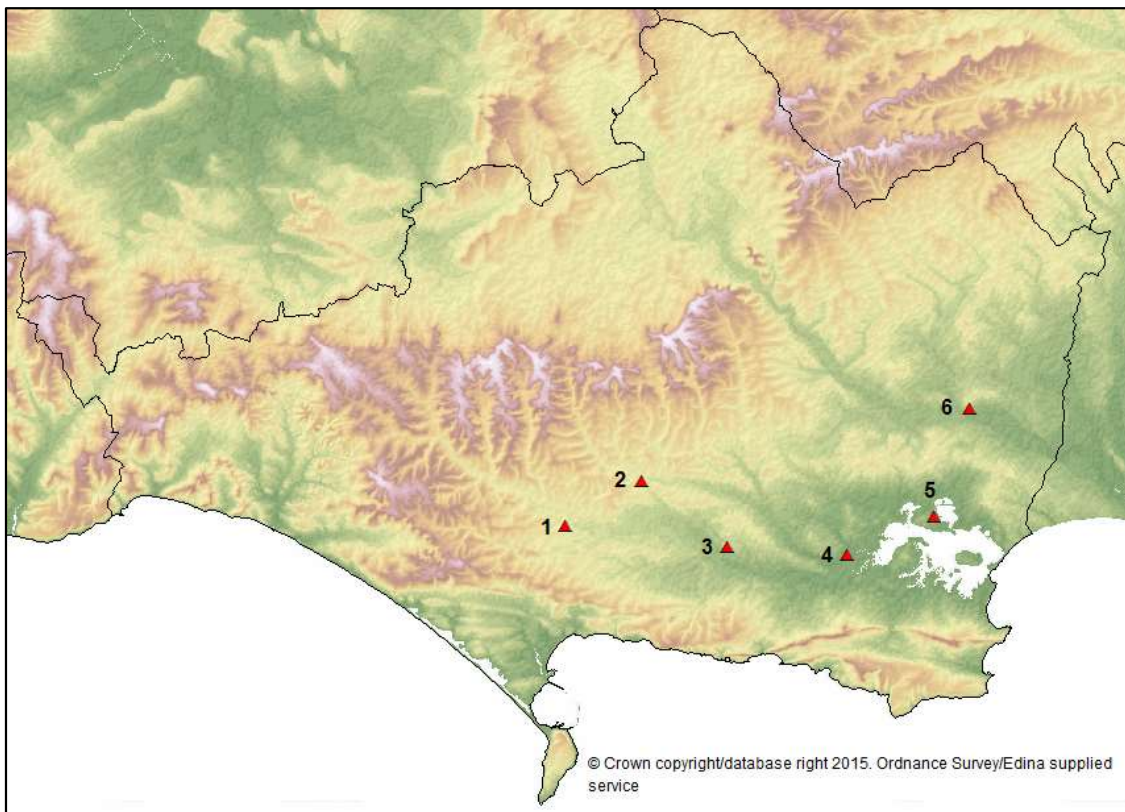


Fig. 6.11 Locations of (1) Fordington, (2) Little Cheselbourne, (3) Wool, (4) Wareham, (5) Hamworthy, (6) Leigh

Leigh's warren is recorded in a 1672 lease of an area of pasture called *Coniger* (DRO D-GLY/B/T/99), probably corresponding to two *Coneygar* fields on the Wimborne Minster tithe map (DRO TWM, Fig. 6.12) north-west of Leigh Common.



Fig. 6.12 Wimborne Minster tithe map showing *Coneygar* fields north of Leigh (Dorset Archives)

The same warren is probably named in deeds of lands in Wimborne Minster from 1702, 1719 and 1735 recording the lease of three acres: one near Hinton Moore, one near Pamphill, half an acre at Berryfield and half an acre at *Coneygear* (DRO PE-WM/CW/5/13). All three acres are described as arable, and the 1702 document refers to the same plots as having been leased in 1684, although this document has not survived. Outside of Kingston Lacy's *Conygar Coppice*, no other similarly named fields are known in Wimborne Minster, suggesting that the *Coneygear* in these deeds is Leigh's warren. The warren lies above superficial deposits with a drainage rating of 9 and bedrock with a drainage rating of 4. It is also near a moated manor house, suggesting that proximity to an elite residence

may have been the decisive factor influencing its location rather than a desire to install it on the most appropriate land for rearing rabbits.

Hamworthy's warren is mentioned in a 1649 lease of pasture named *Coney Common* (DRO D-WIM/JO-1034). Its location is unknown as there is no corresponding field recorded on Hamworthy's 1838 tithe map (DRO T/HMY) and there are no other warren-related field-names recorded in the parish. Little Cheselbourne's warren is recorded in 1684 deeds as an area of cow pasture called *Cony Garthe* (DRO D-MIC/T/20/1). Fordington's warren is mentioned in a 1653 parliamentary survey, although its location and land-use are not recorded (DRO D1/10741).

Cunigar Close in Wareham St Lady is recorded in 1621 deeds (Mills 1977, 155). No other details are known, although a 1741 deed in the same parish refers to a lease of land called "*Clower* and that part of meadow or pasture ground called the *Coney Grove*, estimated at three acres" (DRO D-RWR/T/438). Its location is unknown although the 1846 tithe map records *Conegre Meadow* (nos. 48 and 53, listed as meadow) and *Conegre* (no. 51, arable) (Fig. 6.13). This warren has since been obscured by a westward expansion of Wareham, although it would have originally been on well-drained land despite its low-lying position bordering the River Frome, with its superficial deposits having a drainage rating of 9 and its underlying bedrock having a drainage rating of 8.

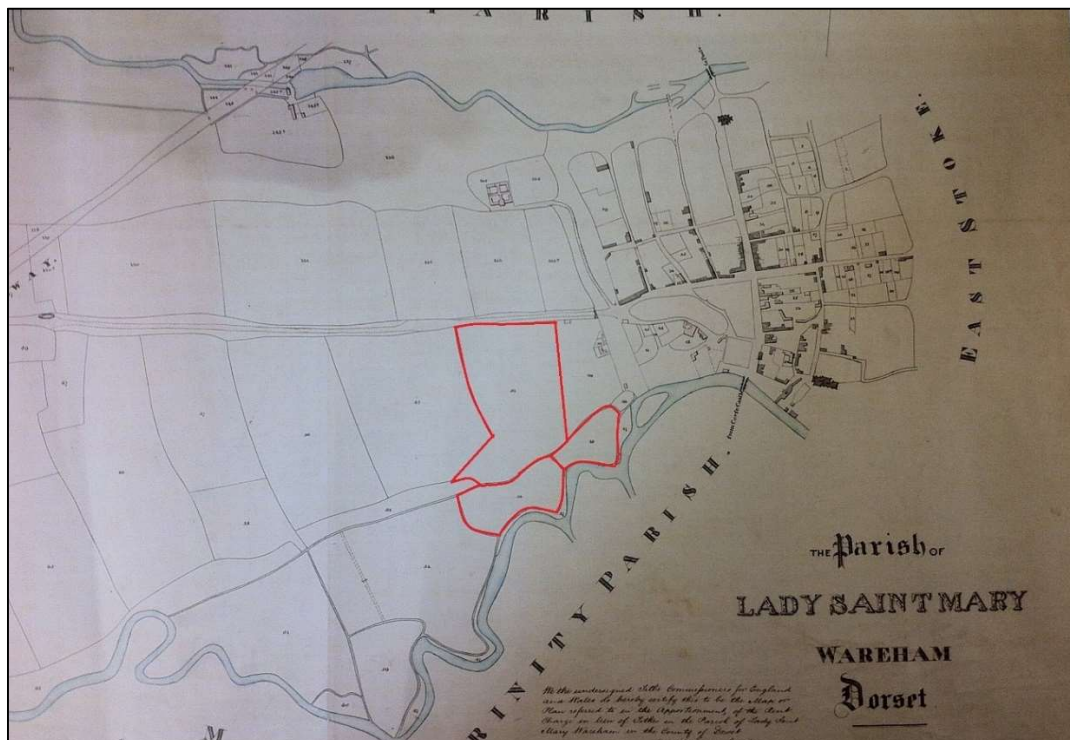


Fig. 6.13 Wareham Lady St Mary tithe map showing location of the warren on the River Frome (DRO T/WA(BV))

Wool's warren is first recorded in a 1640 lease of Bovington Farm as an area of pasture called *Conyger* (DRO D-FRA/T/231). An 1819 lease records two areas of arable named *Coniger* and *the Warren* (DRO D-FRA/T/233), corresponding to the 1842 tithe map's *Conygar Heath* (no. 12, furze), *Conygar* (no. 13, arable), *the Warren* (no. 34, arable) and *Part of the Warren* (no. 35, pasture, Fig. 6.14). Although neighbouring fields, *Conygar* and *the Warren* are two distinct areas and it is unclear whether they originally formed a single warren that had been truncated by the mid-nineteenth century. However, although the 1819 lease is the earliest reference to *the Warren* as distinct from *Conyger/Coniger*, as *Conyger* had fallen out of use by 1640, it is unlikely that a warren would have been installed after that date on a neighbouring field.



Fig. 6.14 Extract of Wool tithe map showing *Conygar* and *Conygar Heath* to the west, and *The Warren* and *Part of the Warren* to their east (DRO T/COK)

While little is known of Wool's historic agricultural practices, early OS maps indicate that its arable heartland was in the south of the parish while in the north was open heathland, preserved in the names of Bovington Heath, Stoke Heath and Wool Heath. The location of this warren near, or perhaps originally on, this

heathland mirrors the scenario seen at Bere Regis's warrens which were likewise located on heathland away from arable lands. Wool's warren is located above superficial deposits with a drainage rating of 5 and bedrock with a rating of 8.

While details of these warrens are scant, it is noteworthy that those at Hamworthy, Little Cheselbourne, Wool, and Leigh are recorded as being either arable or pasture during the mid- and late-seventeenth century. While four warrens represent a small sample, they are perhaps indicative of a wider trend of changing land-use in the county where warrens were abandoned and converted to other agricultural uses. Taylor wrote that the most marked aspect of the Dorset landscape from the sixteenth century onwards was the enclosure of large areas of former downland and common fields that were often, but not always, associated with sheep farming (1970, 127-9). At the same time, landlords also carried out reclamation of heathland on an enormous scale for both pasture and arable (*ibid.*, 133). The lack of recorded warrens from the mid-sixteenth century until the mid-seventeenth century, with those latter references merely recording former warrens, suggests that south-east Dorset's warrens were affected by this changing agricultural landscape. Despite an apparent decline in rabbit prices during the sixteenth century (Bailey 1988, 7), warren numbers nationally increased in the seventeenth century as landlords sought to exploit marginal lands unsuited to other forms of agriculture (Sheail 1978, 347). A different scenario is suggested in south-east Dorset's heathlands: rather than increasing in numbers during the early post-medieval period, warrens were abandoned and converted primarily to pasture but also to some limited arable.

In light of this, most, though not all, references to warrens in south-east Dorset in post-1700 documents refer to former warrens whose land-use had changed (Fig. 6.15).

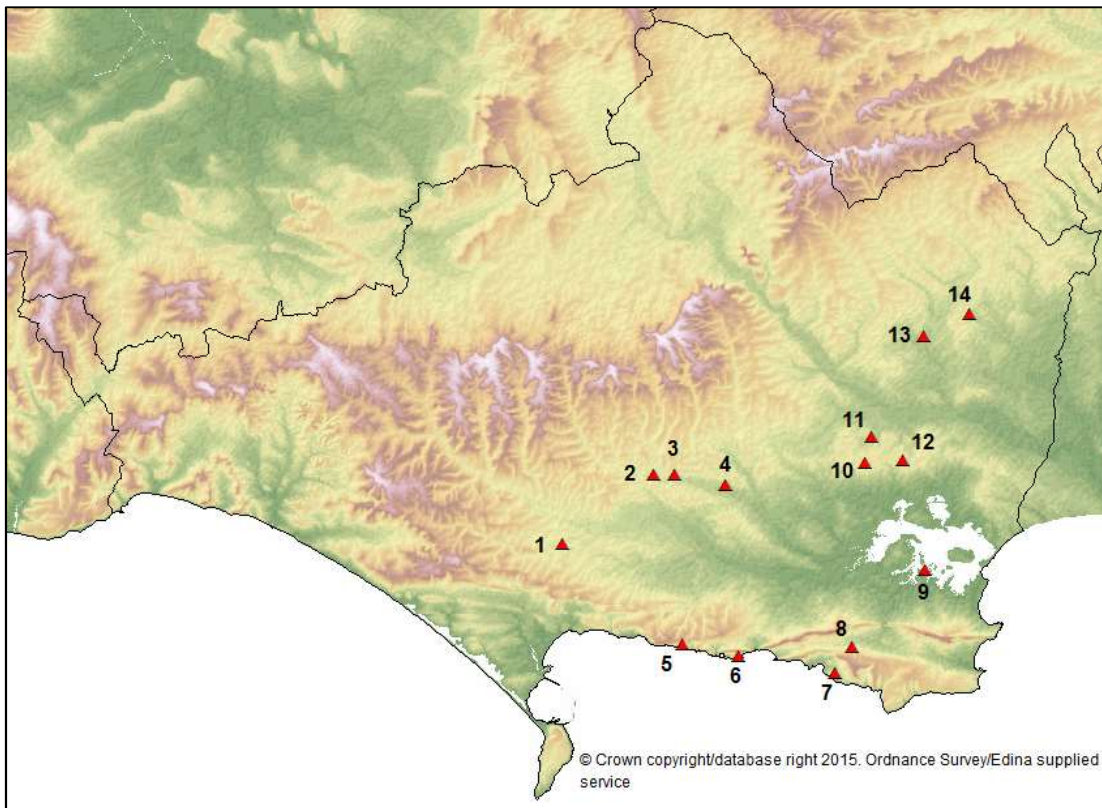


Fig. 6.15 Locations of (1) Conygar Hill, (2) Puddletown, (3) Tolpuddle, (4) Turners Puddle, (5) Newlands Warren, (6) Bindon Hill, (7) Kimmeridge, (8) Bradle, (9) Fitzworth Park, (10) Lychett Matravers, (11) Sturminster Marshall, (12) Ferndown, (13) Witchampton, (14) Horton

Conygar Hill near Bridport is known only from historic mapping, with the 1890 First Edition County Series OS map recording the names *Conygar Hill* and *Conygar House*. Although the warren's exact location is unknown, the general topography of Conygar Hill consists of sloping land with excellent drainage.

Puddletown's 1842 tithe map records three former warrens (Figs. 6.16 and 6.17): in the parish's north-east were fields named *Warren Peak* (no. 683, arable), *Part of Warren* (no. 688, arable), *Warren Plantation* (no. 689, plantation) and *Green Warren* (no. 690, pasture); in the east was *Warren* (no. 641b, pasture); and in the south-west was *Great Warren* (no. 795, arable). The presence of three former warrens in such close proximity in a single parish is unusual, and while there is no dating evidence, the name *Great Warren* coupled with the fact that it belonged to the Earls of Ilchester suggests that it was a former manorial warren, with the other two being later additions. However, the easternmost warren lies 200m east of Bardolfeston DMV and may have been associated with that rather than with Puddletown itself and may have been contemporary with *Great Warren*. However, it is possible that the warren was installed after the abandonment of Bardolfeston on what may have been the village's arable fields. *Great Warren*

lies directly above bedrock and has a drainage rating of 8; Puddletown's two other warrens are less well-drained for although above bedrock with a drainage rating of 10, underlying superficial deposits have drainage ratings of 5.

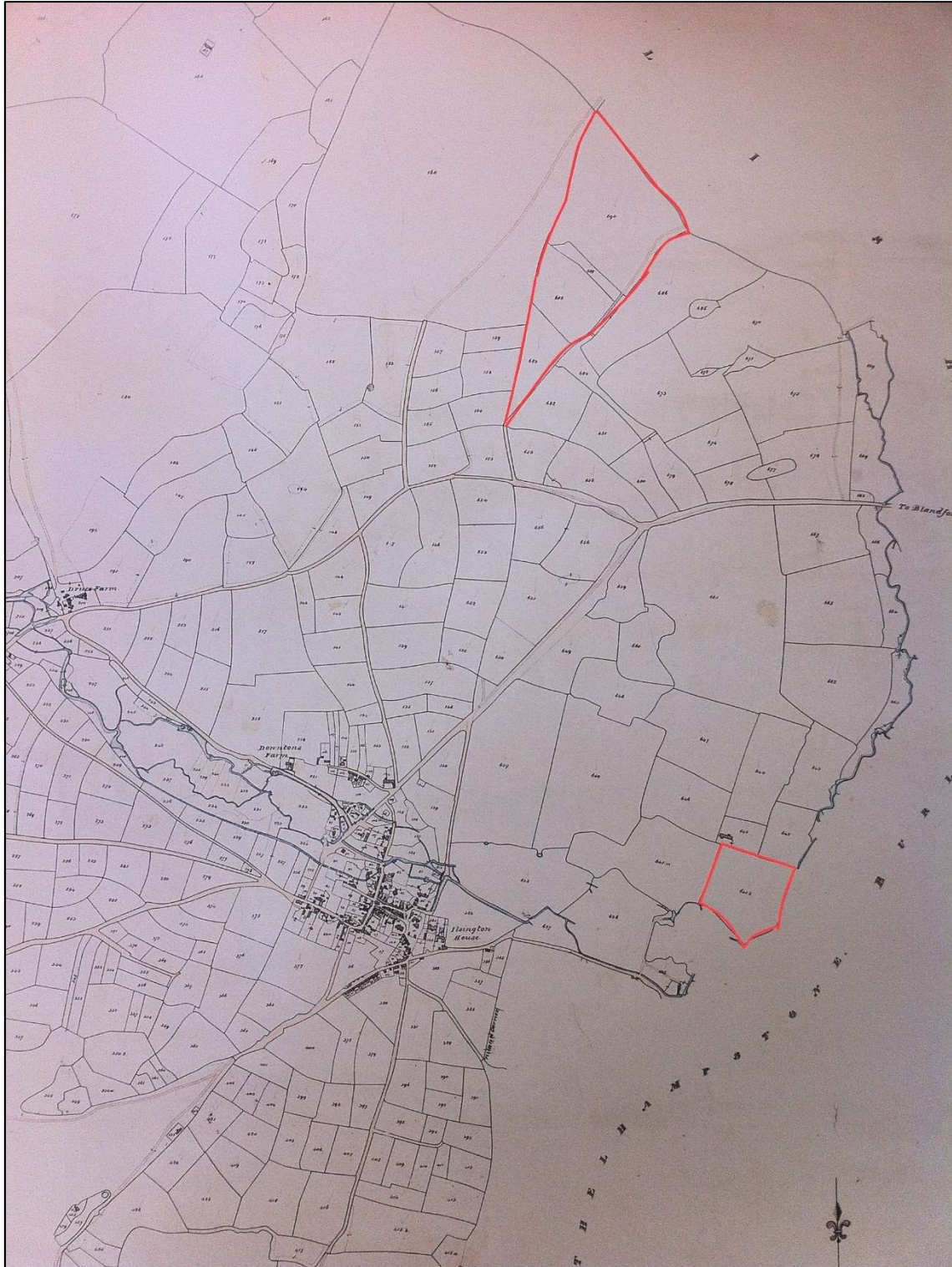


Fig. 6.16 Puddletown tithe map showing warrens at the north-east of the parish (field nos. 683, 688-90) and at its eastern edge (field no. 641b) (DRO T/PUD)

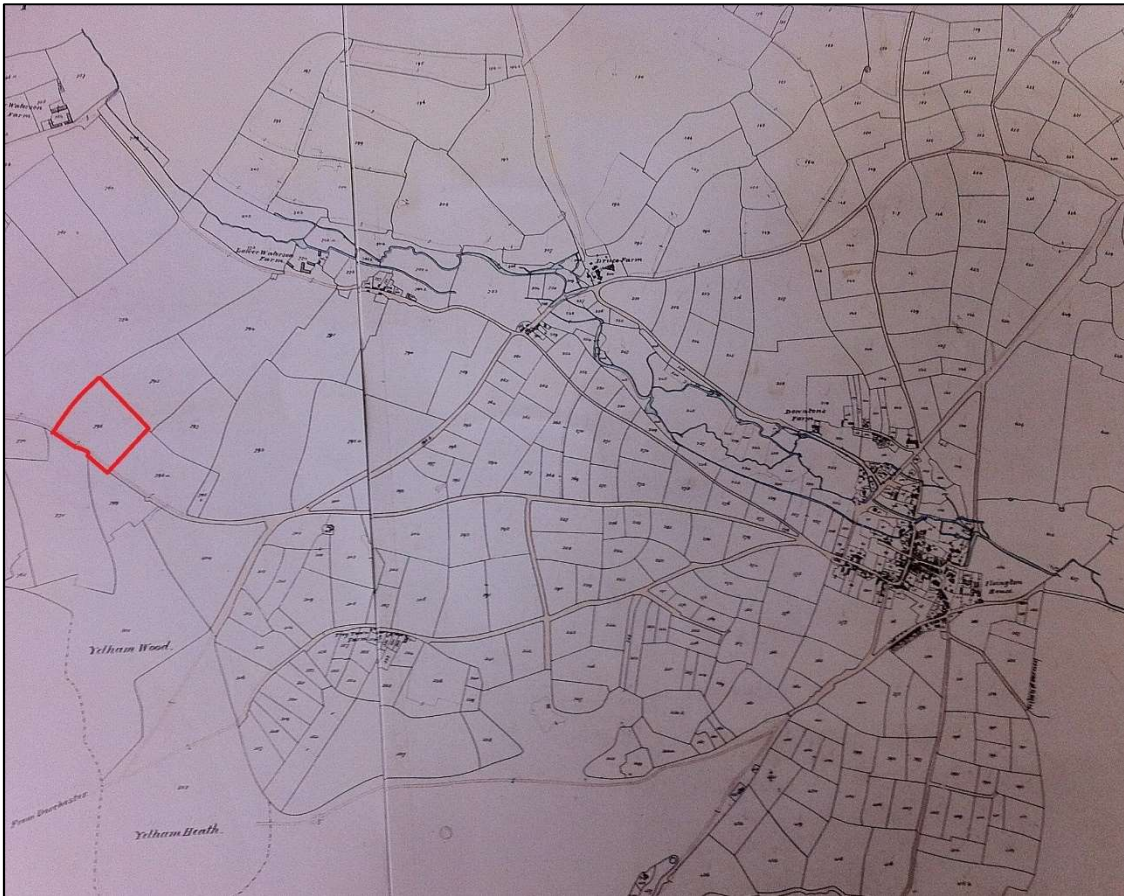


Fig. 6.17 Puddletown tithe map showing *Great Warren* at the west of the parish (DRO T/PUD)

Also on the River Piddle is Tolpuddle, whose 1843 tithe map (DRO T/TOL) records *Warren* (no. 136, pasture). Its location near a manor house suggests a link although it was constructed in 1696, a time when there are suggestions that warrens were being abandoned in south-east Dorset. It is possible then that the warren pre-dates the manor house or that the present house was built on the site of an earlier building. The warren is located above bedrock with a drainage rating of 10 and superficial deposits with a drainage rating of 5.

East of Tolpuddle is Turners Puddle, whose 1839 tithe map records *Coney Gare* (no. 11, pasture) and *Warren* (no. 39, arable), separated by a field named *Brick and House Close* (no. 38, no usage listed, Fig. 6.18). Whether the two warren fields were formerly joined is not clear, although their proximity suggests so. This site shares the same drainage characteristics as the nearby warrens in Tolpuddle and east and north-east Puddletown: generally well-drained, but with some potential for saturated conditions. The warrens at Tolpuddle, Turner's Puddle and Puddletown's south-easternmost warren are all on low-lying land near the River Piddle, which would ostensibly be unsuitable for rearing rabbits: possible flooding, low-lying topography and the focussing of rain runoff all

potentially compromising drainage capabilities. Nevertheless, the high concentration of warrens in this region suggests that they were not adversely affected by such conditions and were evidently able to support rabbit colonies despite such ever-present risks.

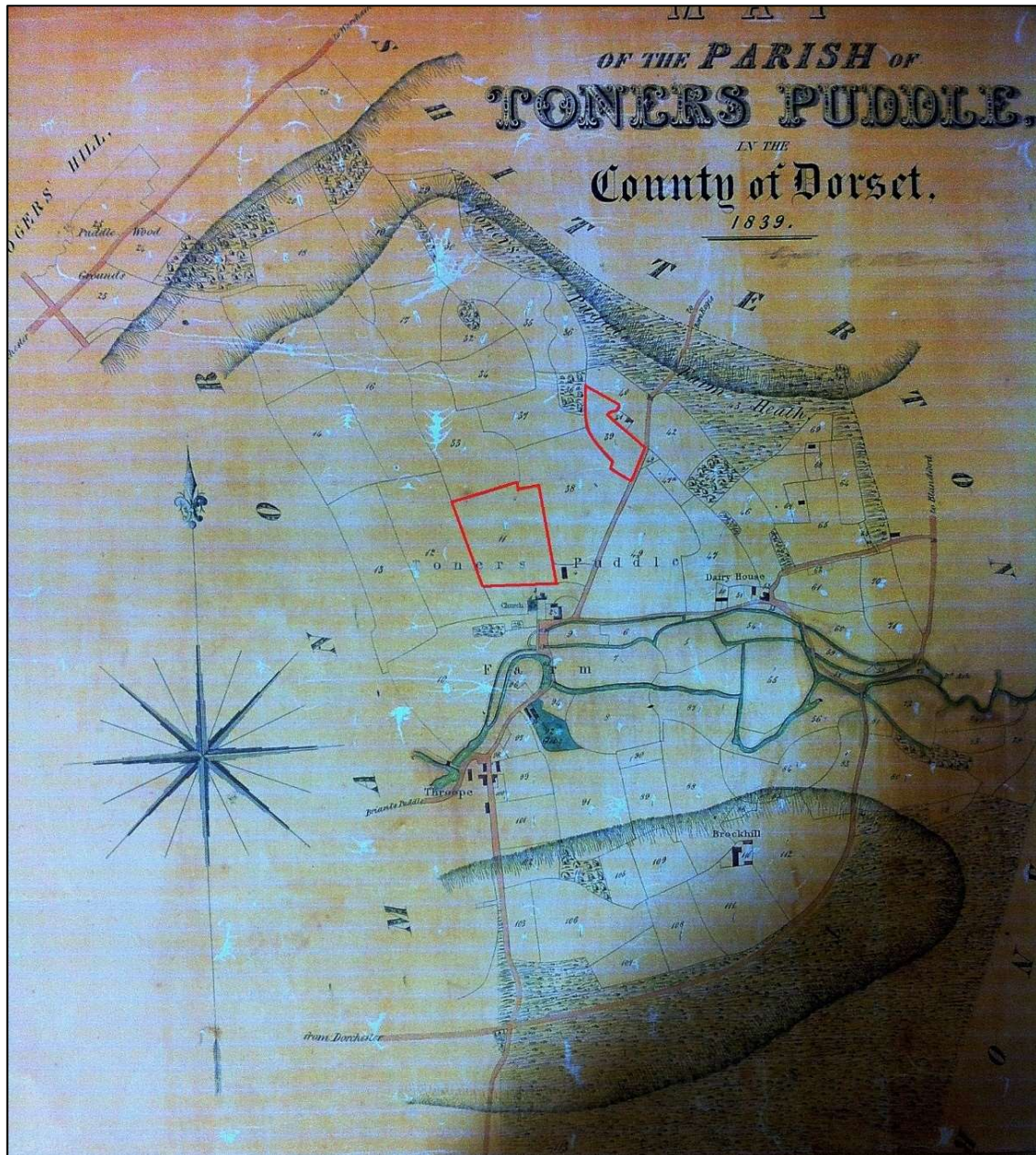


Fig. 6.18 Turners Puddle tithe map showing Coney Gare to the south-west and Warren to its north-east (DRO T/PUD)

Bradle's warren is mentioned in a 1770 lease of lands at Bradle and Barnston Farms, including a close named *Conniger* (DRO D-SEN/17/5). The land-use of fields mentioned in the lease is not always specified, although they were predominantly used for arable and pasture and there is no mention of a functioning warren. No warren architecture survives, although six pillow mounds lie c1.5km to the north at Woolland Grove (discussed below) and probably

represent a separate warren connected with Barnston: that the 1770 lease refers to Bradle rather than Woolland Grove is indicated by the 1843 Church Knowle tithe map where *Coneygre* (no. 231, meadow, Fig. 6.19) at East Bradle Farm corresponds to the lease's *Conniger*; no warren-related fields are indicated near Woolland Grove.



Fig. 6.19 Church Knowle tithe map showing *Coneygre* west of East Bradle Farm (DRO T/CKL)

Although now simply a farmhouse, Bradle was originally a manor and whether its warren represents a manorial warren or an installation of the post-medieval farmstead is unknown. The physical location of this warren is noteworthy as its underlying bedrock exhibits three contrasting drainage characteristics: its southern section has a drainage rating of 5, its northern section has a rating of 3, while a separating band has a rating of 8. If well-drained soil was a consideration in the siting of warrens, then Bradle's warren was not located in an optimal location as parts of it were potentially on poorly drained land; instead, proximity to the farmhouse appears to have determined its location.

Lytchett Matravers's 1838 tithe map records two warrens within the parish: *Coneygar Plantation* and *Plot Adjoining Coneygar Plantation* (nos. 118 and 118a, both listed as arable) and *Coney Park* (no. 460, arable, Fig. 6.20). A third warren

located at Windmill Barrow Farm, whose pillow mound is discussed below, is not recorded on the tithe map.



Fig. 6.20 Lytchett Matravers tithe map showing *Coney Park* to the north and *Coneygar Plantation* to the south (DRO T/LMA)

As with Puddletown, the presence of at least three warrens in Lytchett Matravers is unexpected and probably indicates a post-medieval date as rabbits had by then become less of an exclusive commodity. Both *Coney Park* and *Coneygar Plantation* are in well-drained locations, with the presence of suitable land in the region perhaps contributing to the high number of warrens. Likewise, a warren in neighbouring Sturminster Marshall parish, c1km north-east of *Coney Park*, further highlights the utilisation of land that was suitable for rearing rabbits, although nothing is known of this warren other than its depiction as *Great Coneygar* (no. 1422, arable) and *Little Coneygar* (no. 1429, arable) on the 1839 tithe map (DRO T/SML)

Witchampton's warren is known only through the recording of *Coneygar Clump* on OS maps from the 1880s onwards. Depicted as a roughly circular

wooded area, whether this distinct shape represents the warren boundary is unclear. The warren has some potential for saturated soils as its underlying superficial deposits have a drainage rating of 3, although the bedrock has a drainage rating of 10. Horton's warren is recorded in 1793-94 deeds of parcels of arable, meadow and pasture called *The Walk and Coniger* (DRO D-GLY/B/T/10/1). Its location is recorded on the 1840 tithe map (DRO T/WIT) as *Coney Gare* (no. 43, arable), sited on very well-drained land with the underlying bedrock having a drainage rating of 10.

Three warrens lie on Dorset's south coast, all with slightly differing physical landscape qualities, representing the utilisation of marginal coastal lands for warrening, something that is ostensibly rare in Dorset as suggested by surviving pillow mounds. The study of historic warrens therefore suggests coastal warrening was more common in Dorset than previously thought. The largest, Newlands Warren, is little known although the listing of the Warren Field System (SM 1018435) records that "when the post-medieval rabbit warren was developed at the site, the Warren House was sited within the north western area of the monument." OS maps show two distinct, but adjoining, areas: *The Warren* and *Newlands Warren*; it is unclear whether they represent a single warren, although this seems likely given they are adjoined. The Scheduling also mentions "associated structures" without giving further details; no warren features were noted during a May 2015 field visit, although the warrener's lodge was still depicted on 1956 OS mapping.

East along the coast was a warren on Bindon Hill, on the border of West and East Lulworth parishes. It is depicted in a 1771 survey and map of Saint Andrew's Farm in West Lulworth (DRO D-WLC/E/19) as *Bindon Hill and Warren within the Hedge* (Fig. 6.21). This hedge refers to a warren boundary separating it from the fields of Saint Andrew's Farm to its north and East Lulworth's common field to its north-east. A third coastal warren recorded as *Cunnigar* is documented on a map of Kimmeridge from 1795 (DRO Ph910/1), although no land-use is recorded (Fig. 6.22). While located on coastal land, this warren did not extend directly onto south coast's cliffs as those at Bindon Hill and Newlands did, while it was also much smaller than those two warrens.

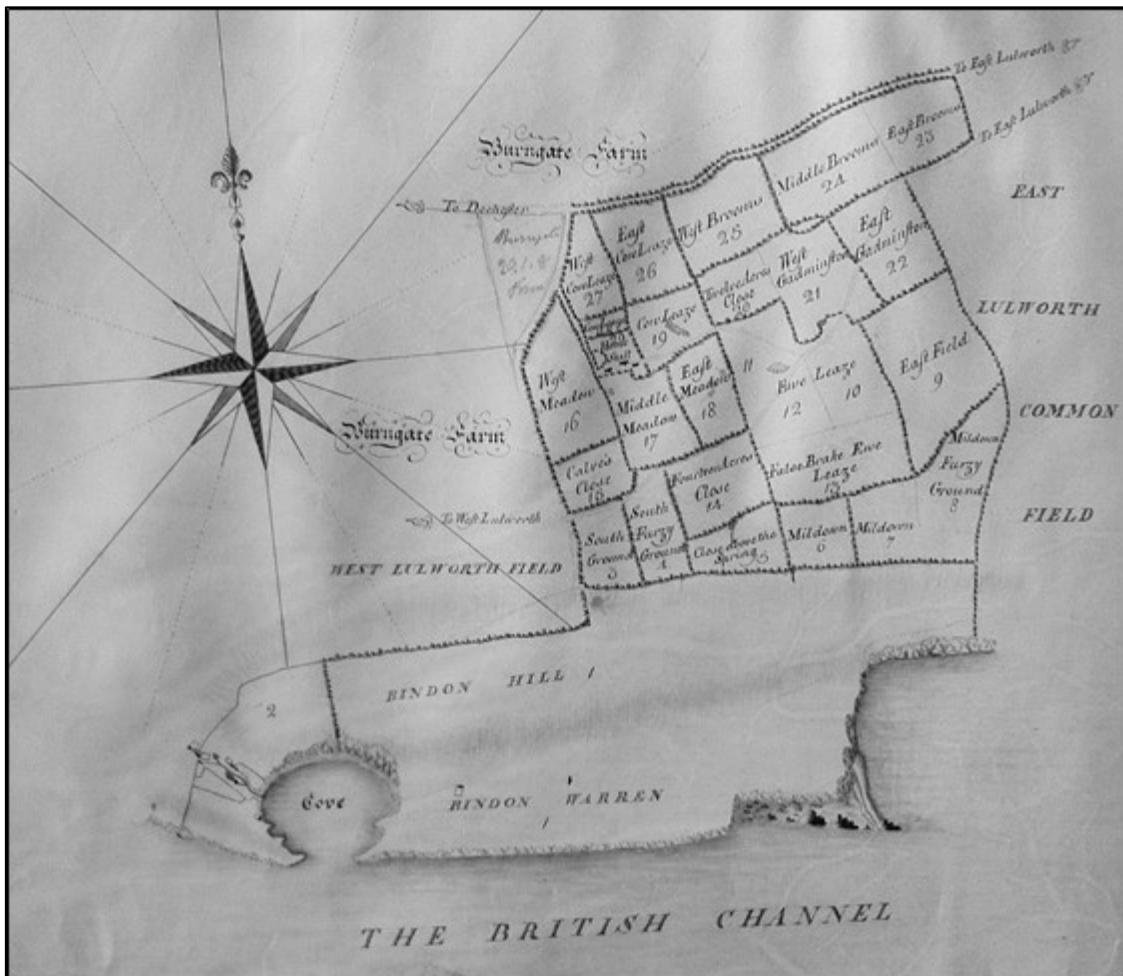


Fig. 6.21 1771 survey of Saint Andrews Farm recording *Bindon Warren* and *Bindon Hill* (Dorset Archives)

Kimmeridge's warren is located on a south-facing gentle incline whose underlying superficial deposits have a drainage rating of 5 and the bedrock a drainage rating of 3. In contrast, Newlands Warren is on steeper incline above bedrock with a drainage rating of 10. Such differences between two sites that are, ostensibly at least, located in similar coastal regions may explain the differences in their respective sizes, with Newlands Warren being far more extensive. Bindon Hill has a mix of well- and poorly drained soils, indicating that while it was not necessarily located on optimal land for rearing rabbits, it utilised marginal coastal lands that were otherwise underexploited for agricultural purposes, at least as suggested by the 1771 survey depicting the limits of nearby common fields and Saint Andrew's Farm.



Fig. 6.22 1795 map of Kimmeridge with *Cunnigar* highlighted (Dorset Archives)

While the above named sites attest to the abandonment of numerous warrens in south-east Dorset, probably following the sixteenth century, at least two warrens have an unexpectedly late date. Fitzworth Park's warren is recorded in an 1807 lease when it was rented to Thomas Orchard with a farm: the latter's rent was £50 per annum while the warren's was an additional £20 (DRO D-RWR/T/38). The lease specified that the stock of breeding rabbits was to be kept "good and complete", and that they were not to be killed outside of the culling season between 1st February and 29th September as was deemed agreeable to the usage and custom of managing rabbit warrens. The lease specified that ferrets should not be used for killing rabbits nor should rabbit burrows be blocked or broken down; instead rabbits should be taken and killed in an unspecified but "fair, usual and accustomed way". The lease records the presence of a boundary fence and a house that was to be occupied at all times by at least one person. At the termination of the lease, the warrener was to leave a stock of 1,000 couples.

Despite these details, its location, described as being in *Fitzworth Park and Broaders*, is unknown. Dorset Archives holds a 1771 plan of *Fitzworth Park and Broaders*, is unknown. Dorset Archives holds a 1771 plan of *Fitzworth Park and Broaders* in a collection relating to Wareham and Purbeck (DRO D-RWR/E16), although it not detailed enough to identify its location. The 1807 warren lease is part of Dorset Archives' Rempston and Wareham archive, while the only *Fitzworth*

recorded in the Historical Gazetteer of England's Place Names is listed variously as *Fitzworth Copse, Farm, Heath and Point* and is in Corfe Castle parish. Whether this is the same place as Fitzworth Park is unclear, but the available evidence suggests that this warren was located in the Wareham / Corfe Castle region of south-east Dorset.

More recent still is Ferndown warren, documented in a 1921 lease of 141 acres and 8 perches of Poor Common for 21 years at £70 10s per annum, with the warren delineated by a wire fence. Despite the warren's recent date, no further details are known and it is not recorded on any OS maps, although the lease includes a map allowing its location to be ascertained (Fig. 6.23).

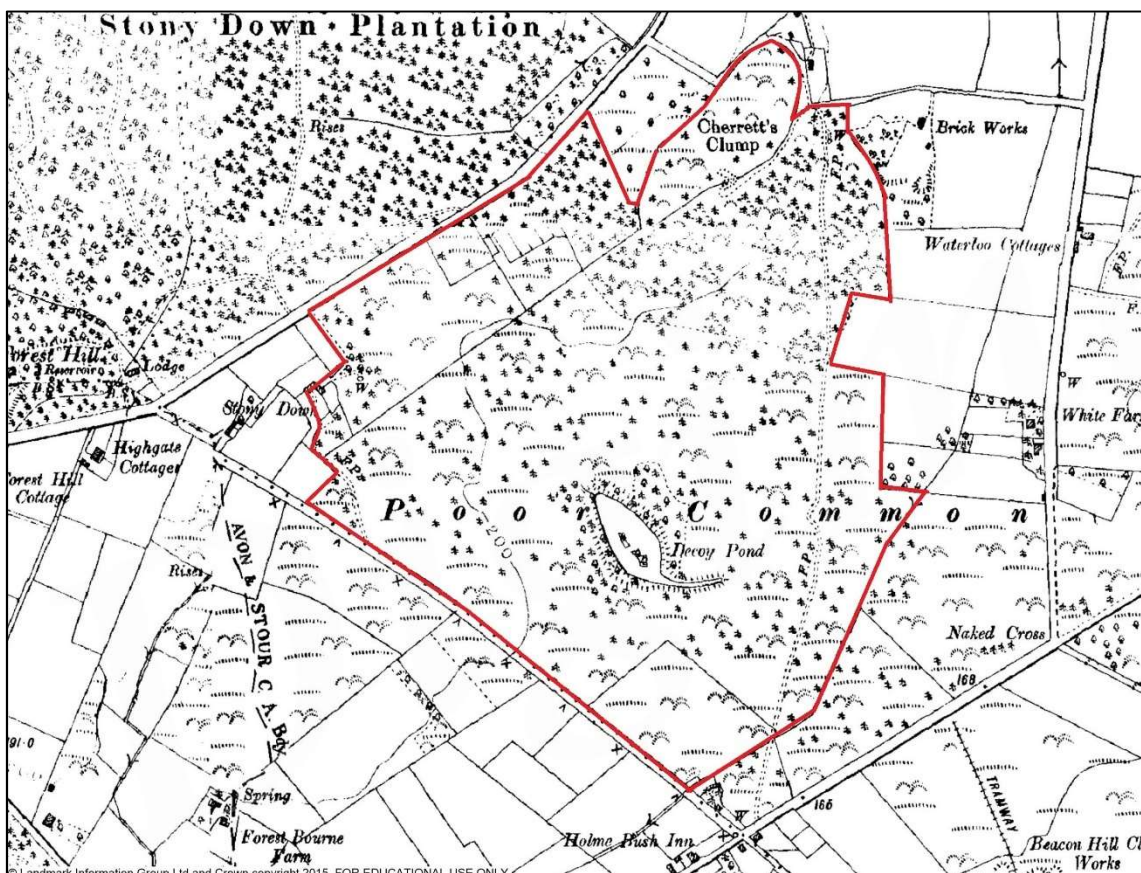


Fig. 6.23 The 1921 warren on Poor Common, Ferndown, with base mapping based on 1925 OS County Series

Dorset Council describes Poor Common as a fifteen-hectare site that was, prior to nineteenth-century enclosure, left open for Corfe Mullen's poor to collect fuel but not for grazing stock (Poor Common 2015). Although much of it was enclosed during the nineteenth century, OS maps show that the warren's area remained unenclosed until at least the 1950s, and the warren's installation therefore provided an opportunity to exploit land not used for agricultural purposes. The warren would have been poorly drained as its underlying bedrock has a drainage

rating of 4 while its superficial deposits have a rating of 5. This suggests that the primary reason behind its installation was the desire to utilise land that lay unused rather than to exploit land that was particularly suitable for rearing rabbits. While this lease represents an uncommonly late date for a commercial warren, Kelly's 1927 Directory of Dorset records two rabbit merchants in Sturminster Newton in north Dorset and two rabbit skin merchants in London, indicating the presence, albeit on a small scale, of a contemporary commercial rabbit industry within Dorset (1927, 385)

Surviving Warren Architecture

Pillow mounds are recorded at eight sites in south-east Dorset (Fig. 6.24).

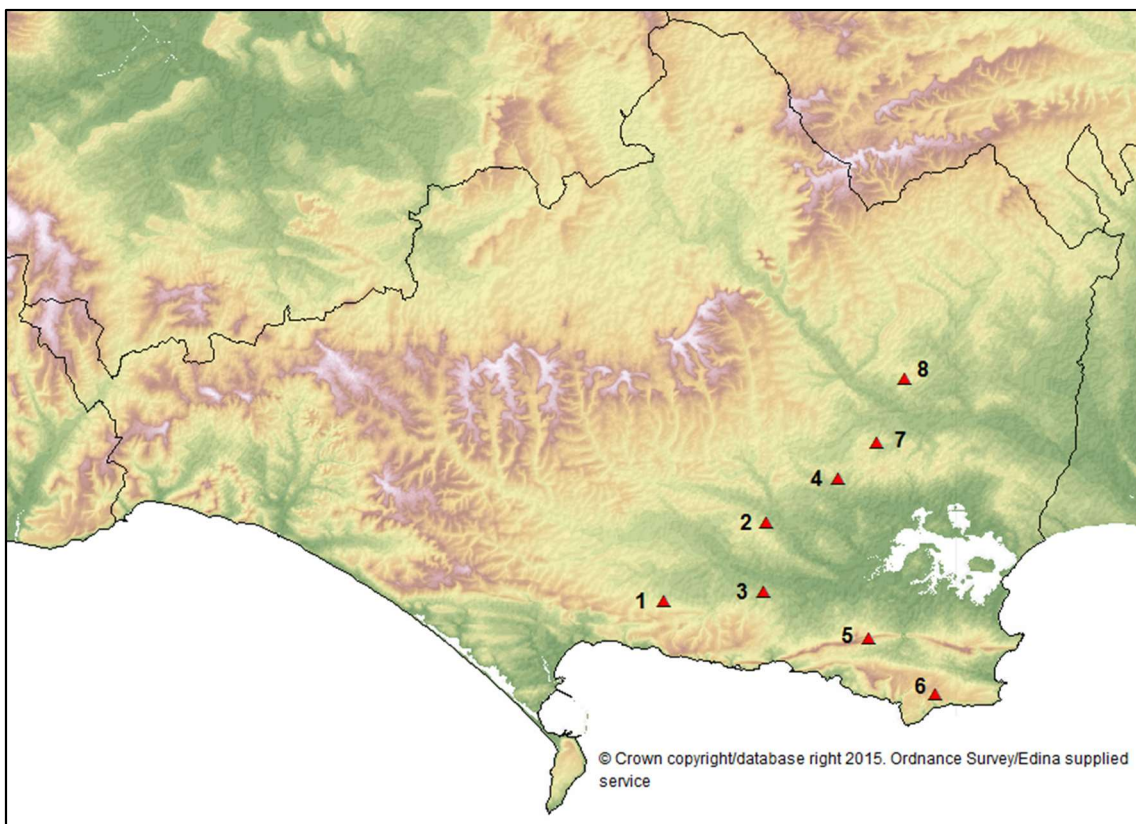


Fig. 6.24 Locations of (1) Owermoigne, (2) Bere Regis, (3) Wool, (4) Frogmore Farm, (5) Woolland Grove, (6) Eastington Farm, (7) Windmill Barrow Farm, and (8) Badbury

Dorset's HER records two pillow mounds west of Galton, in Owermoigne parish, on 1946 aerial photographs. However, upon consulting these photographs at the NMR it became evident that while linear marks are visible, they are not obviously identifiable as pillow mounds. Nevertheless, if this identification is correct, their close proximity to Galton Farm suggests an association, although their date is unknown. A second warren within the parish is recorded west of Owermoigne village as *Conyegar* on the 1842 tithe map (DRO T/OWN, no. 86, pasture). Site

visits undertaken in May 2015 revealed this field is now ploughed out although a copse immediately to its south contains a linear earthwork c55m long, 2m wide and 1m high (Fig. 6.25). Its function is unknown, although its proximity to *Coneygar* and its appearance, including segmenting noted in other pillow mounds (Williamson and Loveday 1988, 294; Williamson 2007, 32), suggests a previously unrecorded pillow mound.



Fig. 6.25 Possible pillow mound at Owermoigne with segmenting visible (author's photograph taken at SY76528523 looking south-west)

Although there is no dating evidence, aspects of its appearance suggest two contrasting dates: mature trees along its length suggests a degree of antiquity, while its well-defined profile suggests a more recent construction. It is tempting to link it to Moigne Court, a thirteenth-century fortified moated house c600m to its north-east at SY77058569: viewshed analysis confirms the warren would have been visible from this location (Fig. 6.26). The mound's length also suggests a link with an elite residence: within Dorset, only the linear pillow mound at Badbury, associated with Kingston Lacy, is longer than this example; shorter mounds tend not to be associated with elite residences.

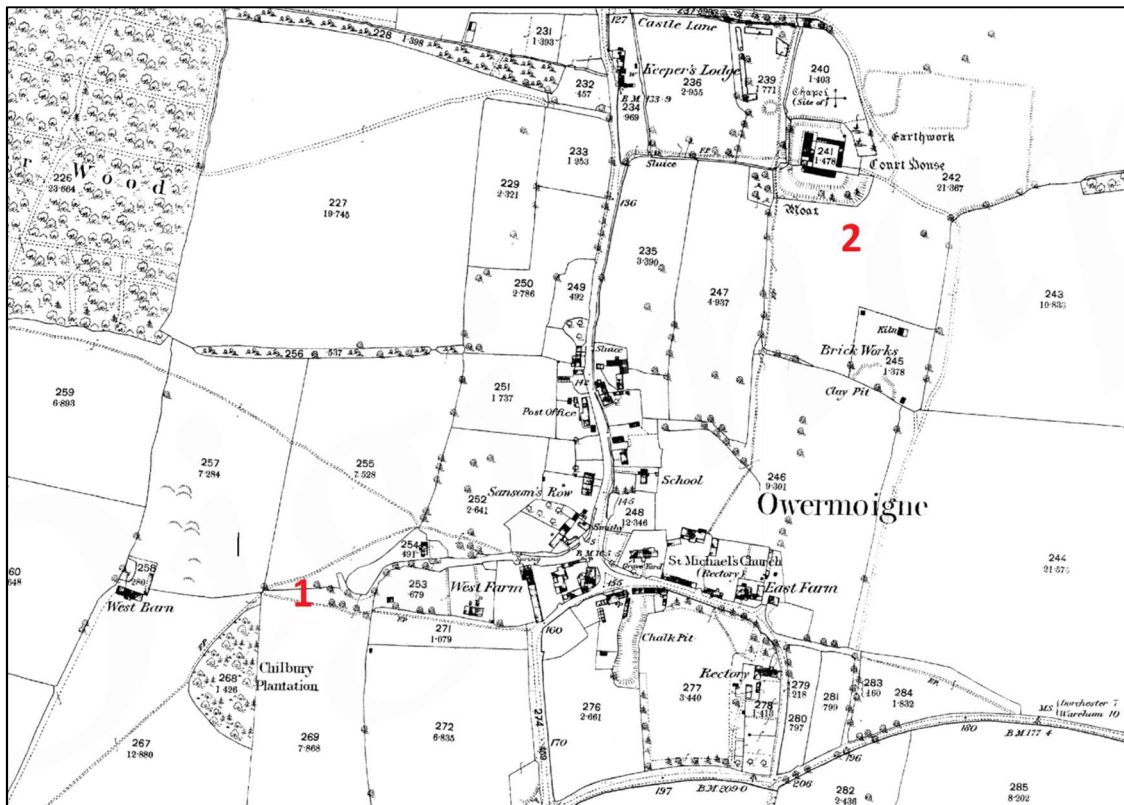


Fig. 6.26 Locations of (1) pillow mound at Owermoigne and (2) Moigne Court

Both of Owermoigne's warrens are located on generally well-drained land, albeit with some potential for poorly drained conditions: their underlying bedrock has drainage ratings of 8 while their underlying superficial deposits have ratings of 5.

Two pillow mounds are recorded at Bere Heath (Dorset HER MDO7146 and MDO7147), initially during a 1951 field investigation and subsequently as part of the RCHM's 1970 Inventory of Historical Monuments in Dorset (Vol. 2, 481), although both were ploughed out by 1981. One mound was oval and while pillow mounds in Dorset as a whole are relatively rare, the presence oval examples is far more uncommon and that two are probably associated with medieval warrens (the other being located at Badbury) hints at this being a medieval morphological form. Parallels may be found in Merrivale's oval pillow mounds, the only known examples in Dartmoor and which are considered rare examples of medieval pillow mounds in the region (Lineham 1966, 141). Note however, that a 1979 English Heritage field survey reported that Merrivale's mounds were rectangular rather than oval (NMR 439654).

Bere Regis's mounds were on a gentle north-facing slope with a drainage rating of 8. Their location on Warren Heath well away from the parish's common fields perhaps suggests a desire to not only utilise land not under arable, but also to protect that arable from the destructive potential of straying rabbits; the

presence of the River Piddle between Warren Heath and the common fields also provided a physical barrier that would have hindered rabbits' movements.

Two mounds (Fig. 6.27) south-west of Badbury Rings may be pillow mounds, although they fall outside the warren boundary as depicted on maps from 1742. Both mounds lay within Shapwick Parish, and while a 1595 manorial survey stated that the warren was not in Shapwick manor, this is contradicted by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century accounts referring to taxes and poor rates for “that part of Badbury Warren which lies in Shapwick” (Papworth 1994b, 65).



Fig. 6.27 Badbury Rings and (1) conjoined pillow mound and (2) oval pillow mound

Badbury's conjoined mound measures approximately 115m by 7.6m and exhibits a distinct westward 'kink' towards its south-west end; an oval mound measures 15.6m by 8.1m with a height of 0.7m (Fig. 6.28). Both mounds are located in an area of Romano-British and prehistoric earthworks, which aside from Badbury Rings itself and a group of three round barrows centred on ST95870297, are far less well-defined than pillow mounds. Despite the atypical typology of the linear mound, it therefore appears to be more recent than the surrounding prehistoric earthworks due to its relative sharpness of profile and its identification as a pillow mound is almost certainly correct.



Fig. 6.28 Oval pillow mound at Badbury Rings (author's photograph taken at ST96000281 looking east)

Despite their proximity to Badbury Rings, the warren evidently made no use of the hillfort itself as the pillow mounds are clearly separate from it. The large size of Badbury Ring's ramparts probably explains why they were not utilised as they are too substantial to have served as pillow mounds, negating their role of facilitating hunting operations and making "the catching of large numbers of rabbits easy and convenient" (Simpson 1893, 81). The date of both mounds is unknown, but they could feasibly be medieval: although more well-defined than most of the surrounding prehistoric and Romano-British earthworks, they are still severely eroded and do not exhibit a sharpness of profile that has been seen as evidence of pillow mounds' recency (Williamson and Loveday 1988, 311; Williamson 2007, 49).

An investigation of Kingston Lacy's *Conygar Coppice* during field visits in May 2015 proved largely unfruitful due to scrub and trees obscuring the landscape. While two small mounds were noted, these probably represent roots of upturned trees that have subsequently been covered with soil and new vegetation (Fig. 6.29). However, LiDAR images show a substantial linear bank running east-west through *Conygar Coppice* which may be a pale of Badbury Park (Fig. 6.30). If so, it would suggest that *Conygar Coppice* is a later medieval

or early post-medieval extension to the warren as evidence suggests that Badbury Warren was contained within Badbury Park during the medieval period. The survival of a second length of bank at the edge of *Pitts Copse* at ST975027 is traceable for 500m and survives up to 3m wide and 1m deep and has likewise been interpreted as a boundary of Badbury Park (Papworth 1994b, 64-5).



Fig. 6.29 Small mound located in *Conygar Coppice*, Kingston Lacy (author's photograph)

Although the extent of the medieval warren at Badbury is unknown, the general topography of Kingston Lacy and Badbury Rings is flat although with a drainage rating of 10. Although flat lands are not generally considered beneficial for warrening because “they become flooded in heavy and sudden rains and drown the young rabbits” (Simpson 1893, 82), the well-drained soils must have been able to offset this evidenced by the warren’s longevity.

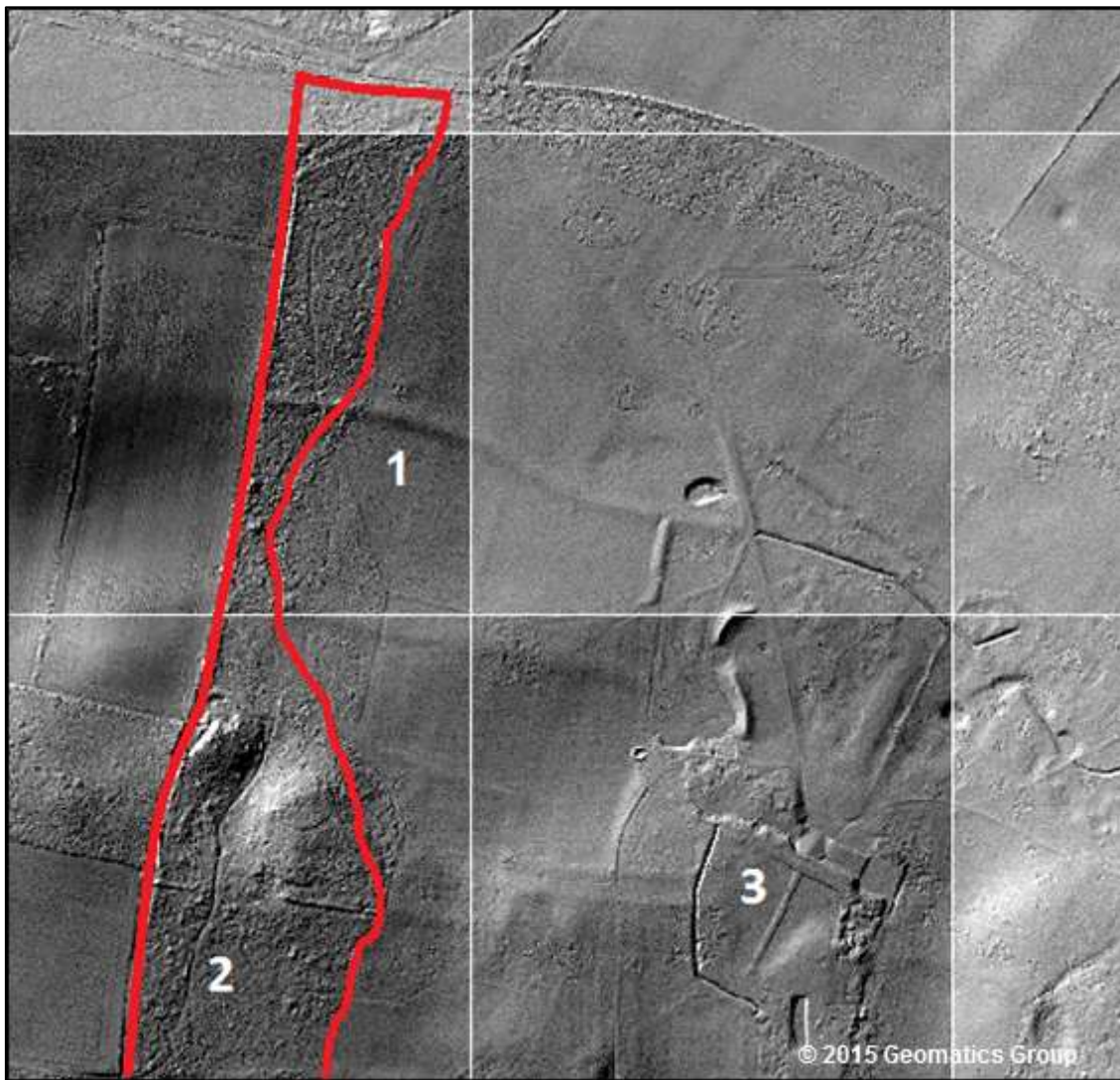


Fig. 6.30 LiDAR of Kingston Lacy showing linear bank (1) running through *Conygar Coppice* (2, with boundary highlighted); Kingston Lacy House is labelled 3

A pillow mound is recorded at Wool, although until it was identified during a May 2015 field visit, nothing was recorded except its existence at SY84768583 (Dorset HER MDO8361). The field visit noted an oval mound measuring 4.1m by 3.1m at the foot of sharply rising hillock (Figs. 6.31 and 6.32). As discussed earlier, the only warren documented in Wool lies near Bovington Farm, while the location of this earthwork is unusual for a pillow mound: although located in a field with a drainage rating of 8, its positioning at the foot of the hillock is unexpected as any excess surface runoff would be directed towards it while its low, hidden position would aid poaching. In light of its unusual location, extremely small size and lack of documentary evidence for warrening in this area, it seems probable that this mound is a natural feature.



Fig. 6.31 Small mound at Wool (author's photograph taken at SY84768582 looking north)



Fig. 6.32 Viewing looking up the hillock immediately to the west of the mound at Wool (author's photograph taken at SY84768582 looking east)

More securely identified are six Scheduled pillow mounds at Woolland Grove, the largest grouping in Dorset, although specific details are lacking: Dorset's HER (MDO7297) has a single record covering the entire group simply noting their presence; the group's Scheduling description (SM 1015353) gives only the range of dimensions for the whole group without specifying individual details. Presently, five of these pillow mounds are under scrub and only the easternmost was visible during July 2015 field visits (Fig. 6.33).



Fig. 6.33 Easternmost pillow mound at Woolland Grove (author's photograph taken at SY92968201 looking north-east)

Although five of this group's pillow mounds are therefore no longer visible, their Scheduling description and an entry in RCHM's *Inventory of the Historic Monuments of Dorset* (1970, 48) indicates that three pillow mounds lie on a north-south axis across contours while three lie along contours. This layout appears to have originally been noted by Hutchins in his 1773 history of Dorset, which included a plan of earthworks at Knoll (sic) that similarly depicts three earthworks on one axis and three at 90° (1861, 581, Fig. 6.34). Although he made no further reference to these earthworks, the plan's title records them as being near Barnston, in Purbeck, and it seems likely that they record Woolland Grove's pillow mounds north of Barnston Farm. As such, this would make his plan an extremely early pillow mound survey.

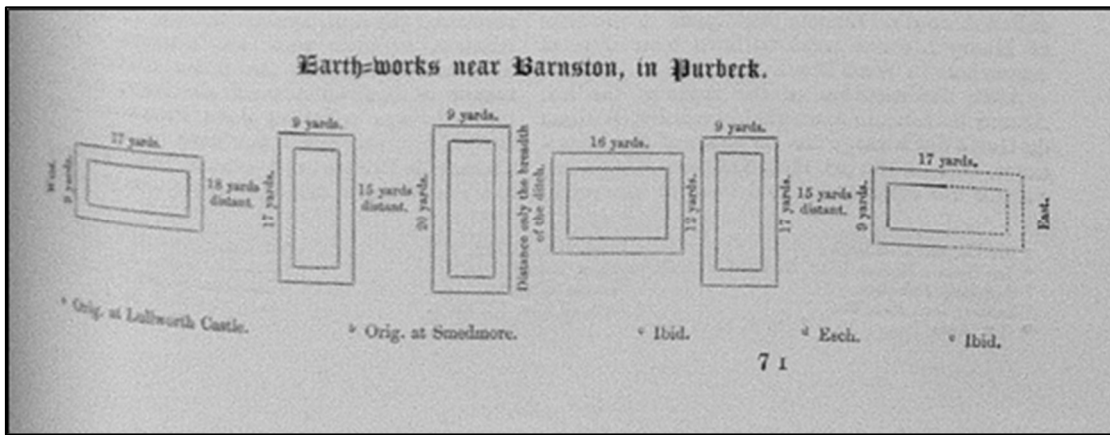


Fig. 6.34 Plan of earthworks near Branston, originally published by Hutchins in 1773

The group is located on a steep south-facing slope with a drainage rating of 10, although the individual mounds' orientation is curious: why three are at 90° to the contours and why three follow the contours is unclear when it is more common for all to be at 90° to the contours. It is possible that the steepness of the slope necessitated that some mounds be constructed along the contours, as was also the case at Eastington Farm (see below). The close proximity of the mounds to each other is also unusual, with aerial photographs revealing that several are almost touching (Fig. 6.35) and Simpson recommended that pillow mounds should ideally be located 100 yards apart to avoid competition for pasture (1893, 86). Woolland Grove's pillow mounds suggest then there may have been inadequate pasture for its rabbits.

RCHM reported that there are enough remains of strip lynchets farmed from Branston to suggest that these pillow mounds lay just beyond the limits of former open fields, making use of land that was not under cultivation (1970, 48). While this contrasts to the situation seen in Bere Regis and Wool, where warrens were kept away from the parish's arable lands, Woolland Grove's setting on top of a steep-sided ridge suggests that siting the warren on land suitable for rearing rabbits and utilising areas otherwise unused was more important than siting it away from arable land.

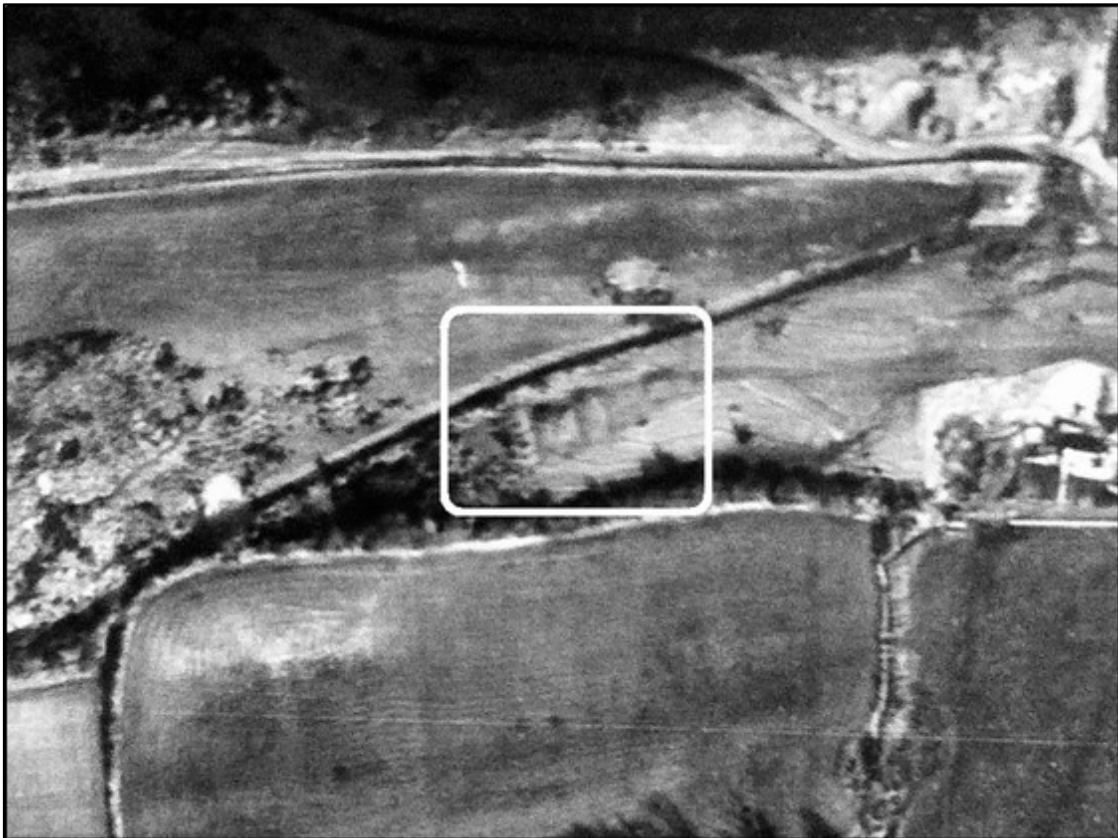


Fig. 6.35 Aerial photograph taken 18.02.1970 showing the close proximity of Woolland Grove's pillow mounds (NMR)

There is little dating evidence for these mounds, and although RCHM's suggestion that their arrangement along a trackway leading to either Barnston or Whiteway is compatible with a medieval date (1970, 40), this would not preclude a post-medieval date. Their location at the edge of the parish's common fields suggests that they may have been constructed when those fields were in use as they utilised land not under plough, although again this does not preclude a post-medieval date as its location may have been determined by the desire to use land suited to rearing rabbits. It seems certain, however, that the warren was not in use by the 1770s as a valuation of Barnston Farm from 1776 lists the pillow mounds' location as meadow with no mention of a warren (DRO D-SEN/17/2/1), while a 1770 lease of Bradle and Barnston Farms likewise makes no mention of a warren associated with Barnston Farm (DRO D-SEN/17/5). The amorphous nature of the one visible pillow mound suggests a degree of antiquity.

A seventh pillow mound possibly related to Barnston Farm lies slightly north-east of Woolland Grove on the crest of Knowle Hill and is part of a Scheduled Monument (1014839) that also includes a hilltop enclosure (Fig. 6.36). Although located on land with a drainage rating of 10, its position on the crest of Knowle Hill rather than on either the north- or south-facing slopes is difficult to

explain as a position on a slope is more common. The site itself is highly visible and while this suggests that the pillow mound may exhibit some symbolic function, its low height means that the mound itself is not easily visible and does not seem likely to have acted as a conspicuous advert of wealth. Its position may instead have deterred poachers, who would have been exposed on the skyline.



Fig. 6.36 Knowle Hill's pillow mound on aerial photograph taken 18.01.1962 (NMR)

Other earthworks in the immediate vicinity are commonly interpreted as cross-dykes, although one example (SM 1014842) has the appearance of a pillow mound and may possibly have been misidentified as a cross-dyke (Fig. 6.37).



Fig. 6.37 Possible pillow mound or cross-dyke (A) in the foreground with Woolland Grove in the background (author's photograph taken at SY93178211 looking south-west)

One of only two coastal pillow mound sites recorded in Dorset is Eastington Farm (SM 1016915, Fig. 6.38). Its location on a natural terrace of a steep south-facing slope means that it is aligned along the contours rather than at the more usual 90° angle. The steep slope and the underlying bedrock's drainage rating of 10 means that the mound is located on very well-drained land, with its south-facing aspect providing a high level of sunlight. Two nearby features have previously been described as pillow mounds but are now considered to be terraces cut into the slope and are not included in SM 1016915 (Fig. 6.39). While they appear to have attracted considerable burrowing by rabbits, their original purpose is unknown: their proximity to the pillow mound suggests a similar function although they do not share the pillow mound's well-defined profile and ditches; if they were used as pillow mounds then they possibly have a different construction date. Perhaps of note is that one of these mounds/terraces has experienced a small landslip, revealing the entrance of two burrows that appear to have been artificially created using reinforcing slabs of rock (Fig. 6.40). While possibly natural features, they are not found elsewhere on the site and their association with a mound/terrace that *may* be a pillow mound is certainly suggestive.



Fig. 6.38 Pillow mound at Eastington Farm (author's photograph taken at SY98397770 looking east)

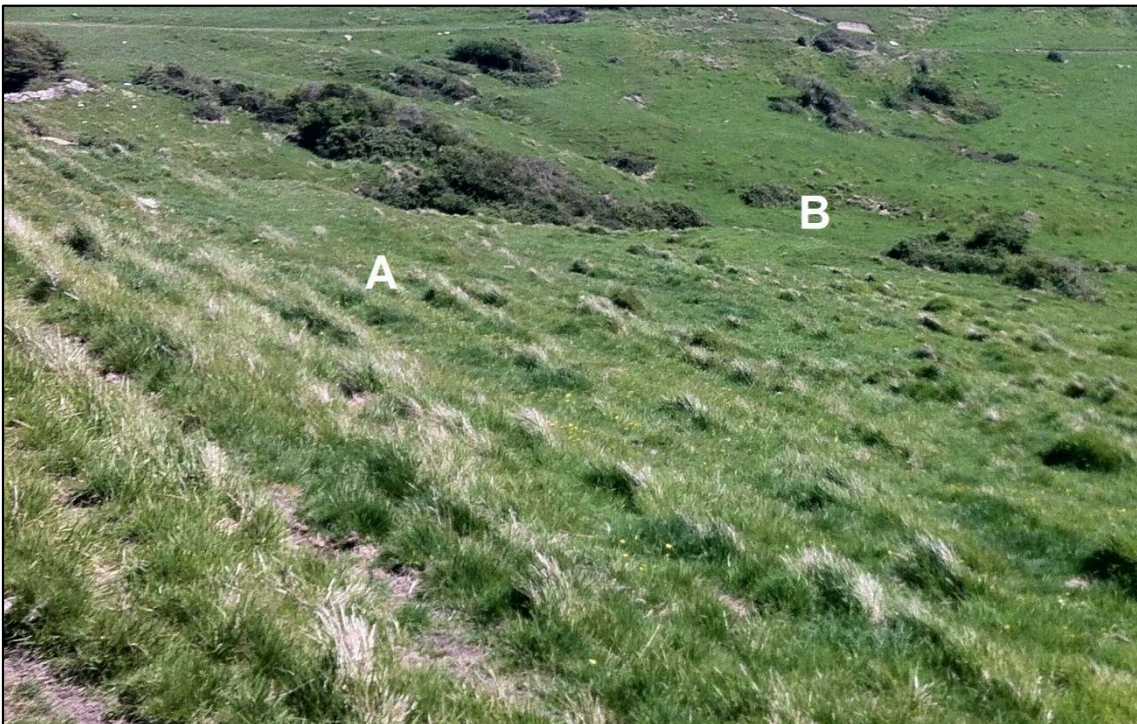


Fig. 6.39 Linear mound at Eastington Farm (A) with the pillow mound (B) in the background on the same orientation (author's photograph taken at SY98347770 looking south-east)



Fig. 6.40 Entrance to a burrow in one of the mounds/terraces of uncertain function (author's photograph)

There is little dating evidence for Eastington Farm's pillow mound, although it is sometimes claimed to be medieval (Papworth 1994a, 34), while the listing entry for Woolland Grove's pillow mounds (SM 1015353) cites an apparent similarity with this mound as evidence for their suggested medieval date of the latter. Eastington Manor was given to Christchurch Priory in 1259, reverting to the Crown in 1539 although it was subsequently granted to Edward Duke of Somerset and ultimately passed into private ownership. A 1585 survey records various plots of pasture, arable and meadow although no warren is recorded (Papworth 1994a, 26). By 1724 Eastington Manor was described as "destroyed" and was combined with Langton into one farm, the current Eastington Farm, with earthworks north of the pillow mound believed to represent remnants of Eastington's shrunken medieval settlement (Dorset HER 6 028 030).

The proximity of the pillow mound to the former medieval settlement of Eastington suggests contemporaneity, although strip lynchets on the same terraces indicates the attempts to maximise the area brought under cultivation and are thought to represent Eastington's manorial open-field system (Papworth 1994a, 26). If such concerted efforts were made to increase the amount of land under cultivation, it is unexpected for a pillow mound to be constructed so close

given rabbits' tendencies to destroy crops. It is therefore more likely that the pillow mound was created by Eastington Farm during the seventeenth century when the former arable strip lynchets were abandoned and converted to pasture; certainly the pillow mound's well-defined profile argues against a medieval construction.

Another Scheduled pillow mound lies at Windmill Barrow Farm, located on a very slight south-facing incline. Although well-preserved, the mound has no traces of side-ditches while its eroded profile and amorphous outline suggests a degree of antiquity, as does that fact that a number of mature trees grow along its length (Fig. 6.41).



Fig. 6.41 Pillow mound at Windmill Barrow Farm (author's photograph taken at SY93799775 looking east)

Windmill Barrow Farm's underlying bedrock has a drainage rating of 3 while its superficial deposits have a rating of 5, indicating much potential for saturated soils at the site. Coupled with its location on generally flat land, the potentially poorly drained nature of the site is in marked contrast to many other pillow mound sites in south-east Dorset. Lytchett Matravers' 1838 tithe map records that this pillow mound lies in a field named *Fortune Close* listed as pasture and wood, while a 1734 lease lists all the land around Windmill Barrow Farm as arable (DRO D-BLX/T89). There is therefore no available dating evidence for the pillow mound, although it had evidently gone out of use by 1734, and given its apparently

inappropriate landscape qualities for rearing rabbits, it is possible that the warren was only a short-lived enterprise, possibly explaining the lack of any documentary evidence.

Two pillow mounds are located west of Frogmore Farm, recorded by Dorset's HER as two adjacent sub-rectangular mounds visible on aerial photographs taken on 17 January 1947 (Fig. 6.42). Today their location is ploughed out, while they are not visible on later photographs held at the NMR. Morden's 1847 tithe map (DRO T/MDN) records no former warren in this area and it is unclear then whether these earthworks are therefore pillow mounds. Nevertheless, their location is well-drained having a drainage rating of 8.



Fig. 6.42 Two possible pillow mounds at Frogmore Farm on aerial photograph taken 17.01.1947 (NMR)

Summary

As far as the available evidence suggests, south-east Dorset's earliest warrens belonged to the de Lacys' suite of hunting landscapes. The first phase of rabbits' introduction into England occurred during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, with the earliest examples located on small islands and sandy coastal areas (Williamson 2007, 13-14). That the earliest warrens in south-east Dorset, indeed in the county as a whole, were the de Lacys' late thirteenth-century warrens suggests that the county was not involved in that earlier phase of rabbit introduction. The large expanse of high cliffs that characterise Dorset's Jurassic

Coast perhaps explains this because there would have been little appropriate land for the earliest warrens.

Aside from warrens owned by the de Lacys and the king, the only other known warren owner in south-east Dorset recorded during the fourteenth century is Richard de Portes, who held one at Woodsford in 1323. Throughout the remainder of Dorset there was an apparent increase in warren numbers during the early fourteenth century (see Chapter 4), and while four warrens recorded in south-east Dorset reflects that expansion, there does not appear to have been increased access to warrens as there was elsewhere; instead, there appears to have been almost a monopoly on warren ownership within south-east Dorset during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, confined largely to the de Lacys and the king. However, warren ownership appears to have increased in south-east Dorset during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with examples held by several individuals and institutions: the de Newburghs at East Lulworth, the Abbesses of Tarrant at Bere Regis, John Nanby at Upton, and the Knights Hospitaller and subsequently John Gerard at East Stafford, plus the warrens at Hampreston and Woodlands of unknown ownership.

With the exception of Badbury Warren, details of these warrens are scant. Although associated with the de Lacys, Badbury Warren appears to have been relatively small during the medieval period, evidenced by when it was unable to meet the demands of a feast in 1371, while its stock was also vulnerable to poaching and extreme weather. Not until the post-medieval period did it become more substantial, as suggested by an increased number of rabbit bones recovered from Lodge Farm, reports of its rabbits destroying crops, and its final stock of 6,200 rabbits in 1740. Its small scale perhaps explains why its warreners' wages were considerably less than those at Dunningworth, Suffolk, and Ely Abbey, Cambridgeshire, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although associated with an elite residence of the de Lacys, Badbury Warren's rental value of £11 per annum during the sixteenth century compares with the East Stafford's warren's rent of £12 in 1516, suggesting that it was operating on a similar scale.

From the mid-sixteenth century there are no references to warrens in south-east Dorset until 1640 onwards, although these generally record warrens that had been abandoned. This suggests that following a period of growth during the medieval period, many were abandoned as a result of widespread changing agricultural practices within Dorset when large areas of land were enclosed and

converted to pasture and some limited arable. This contrasts with other regions of England and Wales where evidence suggests warren numbers steadily increased throughout the seventeenth century. This suggests that the large number of former warrens recorded on tithe maps throughout south-east Dorset originally date from the later medieval period when there was an apparent increase in warren numbers. However, some of these documented warrens may reflect post-medieval ventures for despite an apparent widespread abandonment of warrens after the late 1500s, a small number remained in use until relatively late in the region.

Badbury Warren was not abandoned until 1740, Fitzworth Park was still in use during 1807-10 and Ferndown's warren was installed as late as 1921. There is also some evidence that warrens in Eastington Farm and East Stafford were in use during the seventeenth century, and that Bere Regis's warren was in use during the eighteenth century. Whatever the dates of installation and abandonment for the region's warrens, their large numbers points to a relatively widespread use, something not immediately obvious when solely studying pillow mounds. Indeed, if many of south-east Dorset's warrens were abandoned relatively early compared to other regions, then this may explain why few pillow mounds survive. The presence of at least three coastal warrens also indicates greater exploitation of coastal lands than is suggested by pillow mounds, particularly when compared to coastal sites in Cornwall and Devon.

Regarding the locations of south-east Dorset's warrens, it is not until the advent of accurate mapping that they can be truly ascertained. Of those whose locations are known, most are on well-drained land, albeit with some potential for saturated soils dependent on weather conditions. Dorset's geology is such that a large proportion of its soils directly overlie bedrock, with only a smaller proportion overlying superficial deposits. These superficial deposits, generally speaking, experience both high and low rates of permeability, although most overlie highly permeable bedrock. Such conditions are generally favourable to warrening as the drier and warmer the warren, the more successful it will tend to be (Simpson 1893, 66). The generally well-drained soils help to explain why many warrens were located on ostensibly unfavourable locations along the River Piddle, for while there may have been occasional periods when warrens were affected by saturated soils, rabbit colonies would not have been too adversely affected in the longer term. Indeed, the situation at Badbury Warren when its stock was severely

diminished by the 1694-95 winter's snow but recovered to such an extent by 1699 that the warrener paid for damage caused to crops by the rabbits illustrates the regenerative potential of a warren's population. Only the warrens at Ferndown and Windmill Barrow Farm were located on lands where both superficial deposits and bedrock were not well-drained.

The presence of at least four warrens on the south coast indicates that there was no great necessity to shield warrens from the prevailing winds. While these winds are more likely to carry precipitation, south-facing aspects also experience more sunlight, suggesting that the desire to create warmer warrens was more beneficial than sheltering them from prevailing winds. Indeed, that Woolland Grove's warren was located on a south-facing slope below a thin ridge when it could feasibly have been located on the north-facing slope likewise suggests a desire to optimise the amount of sunlight received. However, if rabbit populations were to be healthy and productive then the most pressing need was to provide adequate food (Simpson 1893, 67). Unfortunately, nothing is known of how south-east Dorset's warrens were provisioned in terms of pasture for their rabbits, although there is some evidence, particularly at Woolland Grove, that pillow mounds were not located so as to minimise competition for pasture.

In the heathlands that characterise south-east Dorset north of the Isle of Purbeck, there is some evidence that warrens were separated from arable common fields during the medieval period. This is evident at Bere Regis and at Wool, although whether this merely represents utilisation of land unsuited for cultivation or whether it was a deliberate means of separating crops from potentially destructive rabbits is unknown. In contrast, warrens at East Lulworth, Eastington Farm and Woolland Grove were located near former common fields. However, these are not heathland warrens but are instead either coastal warrens or located on the ridge separating the Isle of Purbeck from the heathland, suggesting slightly differing warrening traditions in the two areas. Ultimately more study needs to be done to identify common fields within the region before any relationships with warrens can be ascertained.

Although medieval references to warrens in south-east Dorset link them to aristocracy, very few warrens are spatially associated with elite residences. Badbury Warren and East Lulworth are the obvious exceptions although there may be other possible examples: the 1793 deeds of Horton's warren mention a deer park, while a manor house was formerly located in Horton; Leigh's warren

lies near a moated site; Owermoigne's warrens may be associated with the thirteenth-century Moigne Court. While several other sites are also near elite residences, these tend to be post-medieval houses, such as Puddington's Islington House, constructed in 1690, or Tolpuddle's manor house, constructed in 1696. Their construction during a time when many warrens in south-east Dorset had been abandoned, argues against associations with nearby warrens.

A number of warrens lie near prehistoric earthworks, the obvious example again being Badbury, although it did not utilise Badbury Rings; whether other prehistoric earthworks in the vicinity were incorporated into the warren is unknown. A bowl barrow is recorded on Bere Regis's *Warren Heath* approximately 525m south-east of its pillow mounds, suggesting that it was not utilised by the warren; however, it is unclear whether there would originally have been more than two pillow mounds as this seems a small number for such an expansive warren. Earthworks associated with prehistoric field boundaries as well as bowl barrows are present on Newlands Warren and while it seems certain that the warren was positioned to take advantage of marginal land favourable to warrening, its relationship with these earlier earthworks is unknown. Windmill Barrow Farm's pillow mound lies c90m east of a bowl barrow, and while Simpson recommended pillow mounds be placed 100 yards apart (1893, 86), that there are only two earthworks present here means it is not possible to discern any direct association. Knowle Hill's pillow mound lies near prehistoric cross-dykes, bowl barrows and a hilltop enclosure, and those earlier earthworks may have been utilised by the warren.

Very few, if any, warrens are associated with monastic sites: Horton's lies c360m north-west of Horton Priory; Wareham's lies c600m west of Wareham Priory, although on the opposite side of the town outside the town walls; the warren at Bovington lies c2.9km north-west of a Cistercian abbey at Wool. Whether these warrens would have been associated with these establishments is unclear, although the lack of references to ecclesiastic warren owners, outside of the Abbesses of Tarrant's Bere Regis warren, suggests there was no strong link between ecclesiastical landscapes and warrens in south-east Dorset during the medieval period.

At least 19 pillow mounds are recorded in south-east Dorset, although two further examples may be present at Eastington Farm and a further example may be misidentified as a cross-dyke at Knowle Hill; in contrast, the mound at Wool is

likely to be a natural feature. Thirteen of these pillow mounds are either rectangular or sub-rectangular, while single oval examples are recorded at Badbury and Bere Regis and a single conjoined mound is also located at Badbury. Both oval mounds are potentially medieval, suggesting that this typology represents an earlier form of construction. Pillow mounds at Badbury and Owermoigne, as well as Knowle Hill's 'cross-dyke', exhibit signs of segmenting, which are not found elsewhere and are probably results of their substantial lengths.

Very few associated warren structures have survived in the region beyond Badbury's Lodge Farm, which acted as the warren's lodge, and a possible length of Badbury Park pale that may also have acted as a warren boundary. Red Lodge is also recorded as the warren house at Bere Regis, while a warren house was also recorded at Newlands Warren prior to its demolition in the twentieth century; warrens located near farmhouses were probably managed and run directly from those farmhouses. Boundaries are recorded in association with a small number of warrens: Bindon Warren appears to have been bounded by a hedge while Ferndown and Fitzworth Park would both have had fences. Several other warrens, particularly those on the River Piddle, may have utilised that watercourse as a natural boundary. No traps have been noted in south-east Dorset.

CHAPTER 7

CASE STUDY: NORTH-EAST GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Rationale for Case Study

At the time of writing, 232 pillow mounds have been recorded in Gloucestershire. Of the counties within the South West, Gloucestershire has the second highest density of pillow mounds at 0.07 per km², although Devon's higher figure incorporates the large commercial warrens of Dartmoor. Such figures do not necessarily represent absolute numbers of pillow mounds across the study area; instead they partly reflect different levels of recording across the various regions. Nevertheless, Gloucestershire is notable for having a high number of pillow mounds.

Many possible pillow mounds have also been recorded by the North Gloucestershire Cotswolds NMP in the north-east of the county near Knee Brook and Paddle Brook in Blockley parish. Typically circular or oval mounds, 118 examples here have been identified and while they are not necessarily confined to a single discrete grouping, they would represent a remarkably high density of pillow mounds in such a localised area. While several of Dartmoor's warrens have over 100 pillow mounds, their distribution is such that it is relatively easy to identify the various warren groupings; the earthworks in north-east Gloucestershire do not conform to such easily identifiable groupings and are instead dispersed across a wide area with no discernible pattern. Consequently, it has been suggested that these earthworks represent either pillow mounds or stack stands, meaning that the interpretation of approximately a third of the potential total number of pillow mounds in Gloucestershire is open to question. North-east Gloucestershire was therefore investigated in order to explore this atypically high number of possible pillow mounds.

North-East Gloucestershire – Location

The eastern half of Gloucestershire is dominated by the Cotswolds, the best-known section of the oolitic limestone outcrop that stretches across England from Dorset to the North Sea. Much of this outcrop is bordered by a thin band of sandstone, particularly to its west. The remainder of the county's geology consists predominantly of argillaceous rocks (Fig. 7.1). The northern and western edge of

the Cotswolds is marked by a steep escarpment known as the Cotswold Edge, beyond which are outlying hills comprising the remnants of a former alignment of this escarpment.

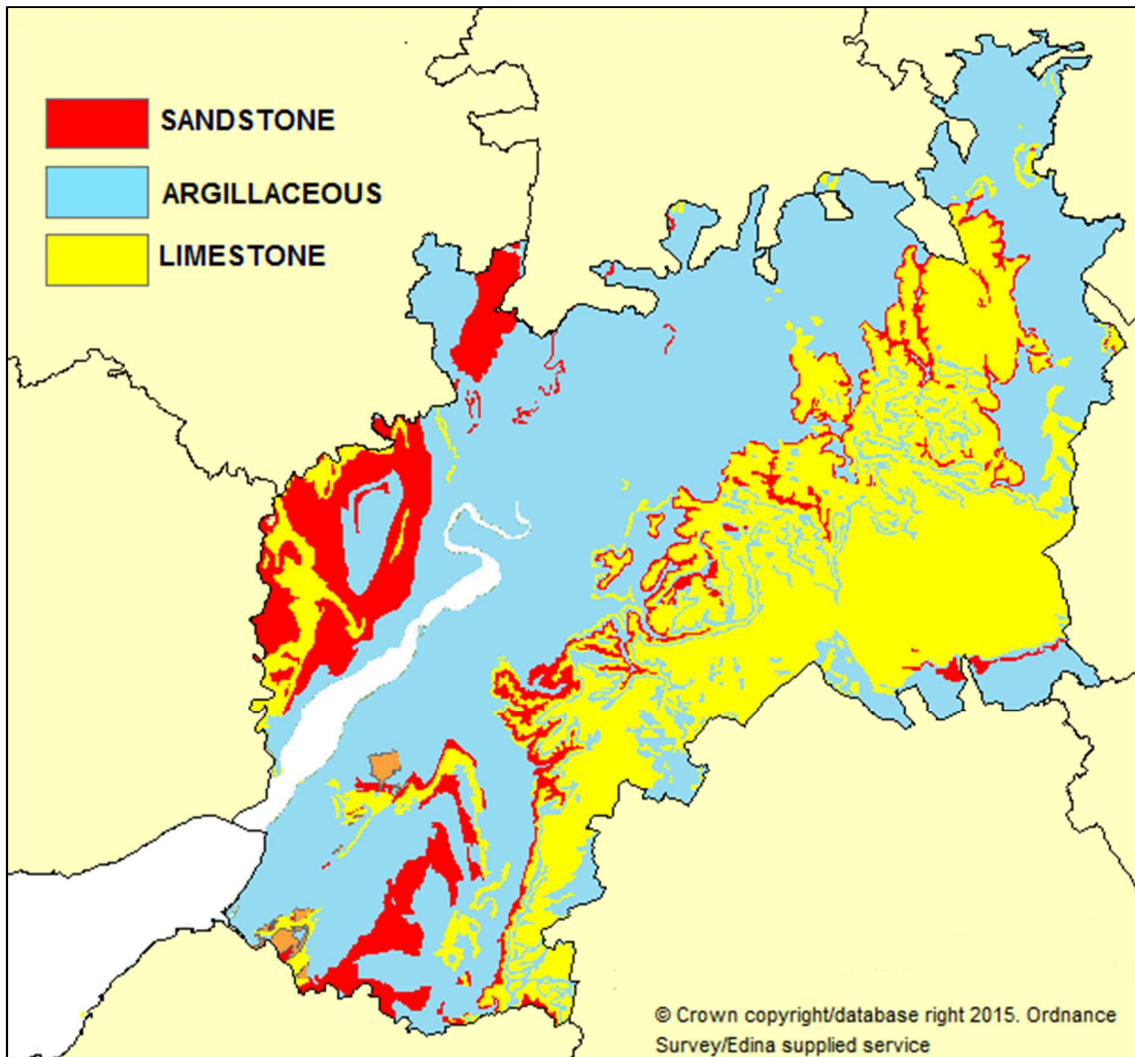


Fig. 7.1 Geology of Gloucestershire, with the major rock groups defined

Most of Gloucestershire's pillow mounds are located within the Cotswolds, although there is a substantial number in South Gloucestershire to their south-west; whether this is a result of different levels of recording by the HERs of South Gloucestershire and Gloucestershire is unknown. The largest concentration of earthworks recorded as (possible) pillow mounds is, however, located north-east of the Cotswold Edge in Blockley parish. This case study therefore covers all of those earthworks beyond the Cotswold Edge as well as the northernmost sites to the south of the Cotswold Edge (Fig. 7.2). The inclusion of these latter sites provides a means of comparing Blockley's earthworks with those located on the steeper, higher lands to their south.

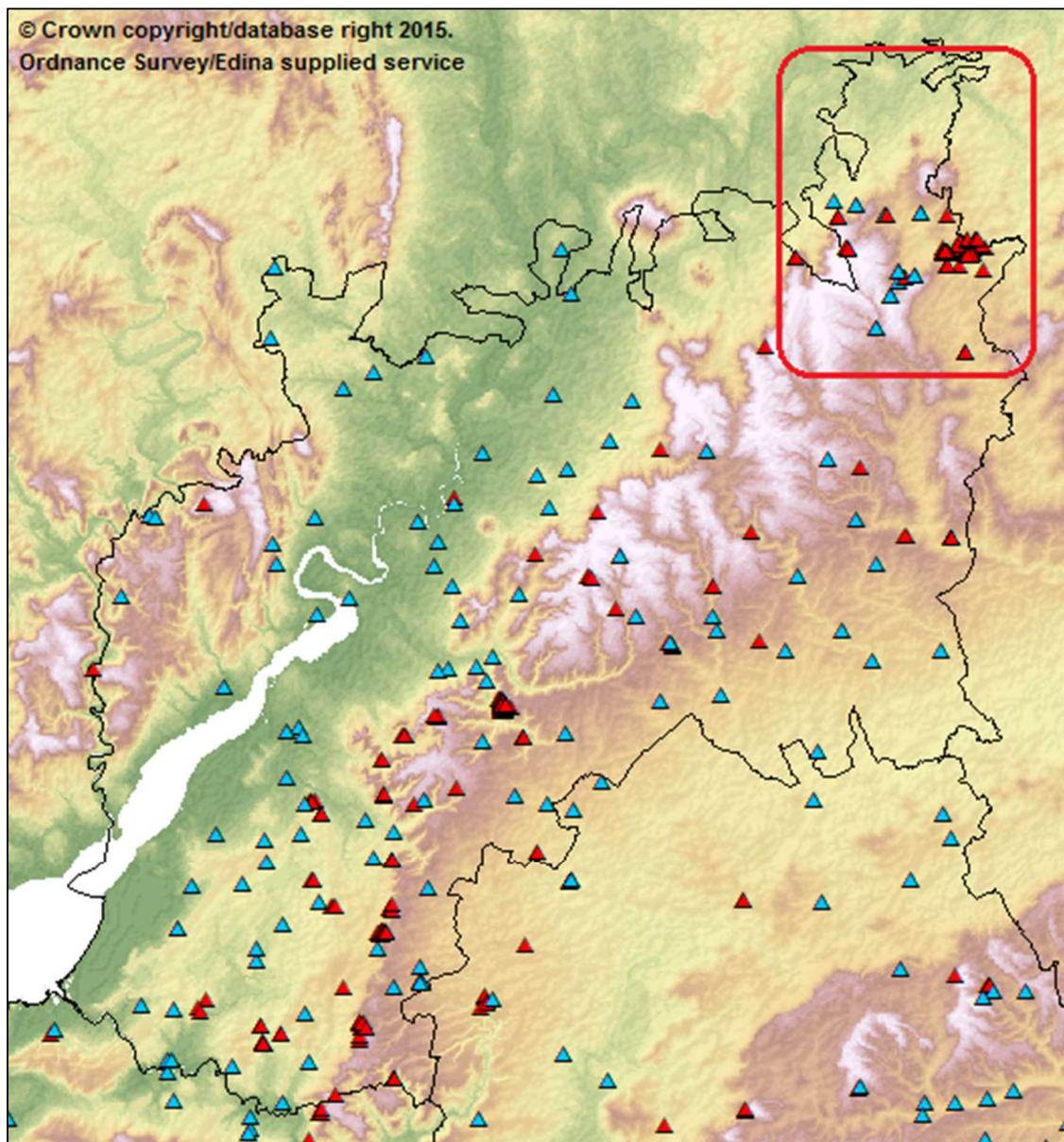


Fig. 7.2 The nested study area of north-east Gloucestershire, with surviving warrens marked in red and historic warren sites in blue. This figure also includes those earthworks in north-east Gloucestershire recorded by the North Gloucestershire Cotswolds NMP whose interpretation as pillow mounds is doubtful.

Medieval Warrens

Excluding the numerous earthworks in Blockley, Figure 7.2 indicates that relatively few warrens are recorded in the north-easternmost quarter of Gloucestershire compared to the rest of the county. As expected then, very few medieval warrens have been documented within the nested study area beyond two recorded at Bourton-on-the-Hill and Saintbury (Fig. 7.3).

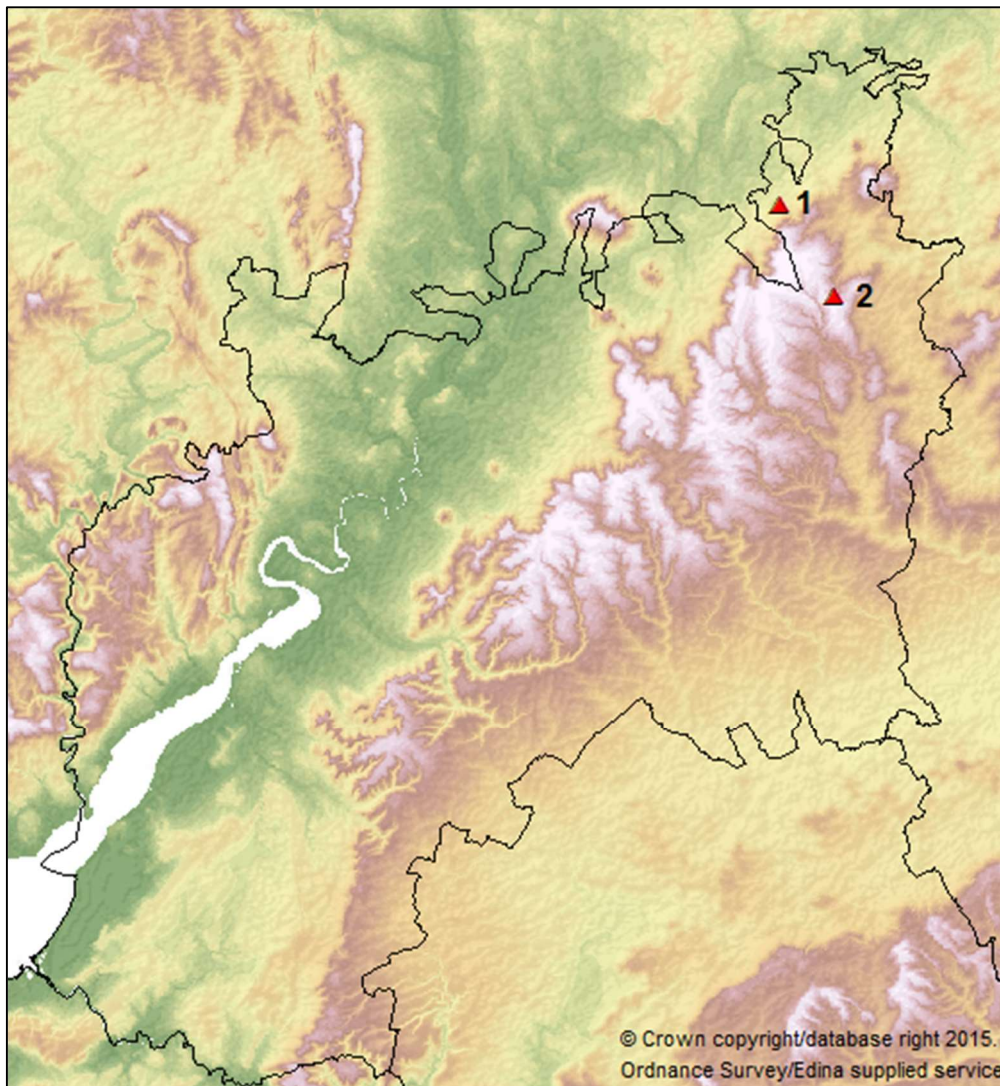


Fig. 7.3 Locations of (1) Saintbury and (2) Bourton-on-the-Hill

The earliest reference records a *conyng'* at Bourton-on-the-Hill in 1474 (Mills 1964, 237). Unfortunately, nothing else is known of this warren for although Mills cites documents held at Gloucestershire Archives, it is unknown which specific documents he refers to and it has not been possible to trace this original reference. Two medieval manors are recorded in the parish, although it is unknown to which the fifteenth-century warren would have belonged. It is likely, however, to have belonged to the larger and wealthier of the two manors, usually called *Bourton and Moreton* and owned by Westminster Abbey until the Dissolution; the smaller of the two manors, called *Bourton-on-the-Hill and Condicote*, was held by various private families (VCH 1965a, 197-206). The capital messuage of Westminster Abbey's manor was located north-west of the village, centred on Bourton Farm (*ibid.*), and indeed there is a nineteenth-century reference to a warren in this general area in the parish's Inclosure Award (see below). Although the medieval warren may therefore have been located on lands

owned by Westminster Abbey, no ecclesiastic remains are recorded here other than the parish church. The medieval warren cannot therefore be considered a physical manifestation of the religious symbolism proposed by the Stockers (1996) as tangible links between warren architecture and ecclesiastical buildings is a central tenet of their theory.

A warren is next recorded in the parish in the 1821 Inclosure Award, which references *Cony Ground* (Fig. 7.4), although whether this is the same site as the fifteenth-century warren is unknown. *Cony Ground* lies on a gentle incline to the north-west of Bourton-on-the-Hill village, which is itself located on much steeper land comprising part of the Cotswold Edge, the derivation behind its particular appellation. The warren lies in an area categorised by Gloucestershire's HLC mapping as former open common land used as long-term pasture and was therefore situated beyond the parish's agricultural heartland, located to the east of Bourton-on-the-Hill village. Although not on the steep land that characterised the parish's eponymous village, it was nevertheless situated on well-drained land with a drainage rating of 10. The areas comprising the parish's former arable lands are generally less well-drained than its former commons, and although it is unknown to what extent this would have been a contributing factor behind the siting of this warren, it is likely that the decisive factor was the desire to utilise land not being used for arable. No surviving architecture is associated with this warren.

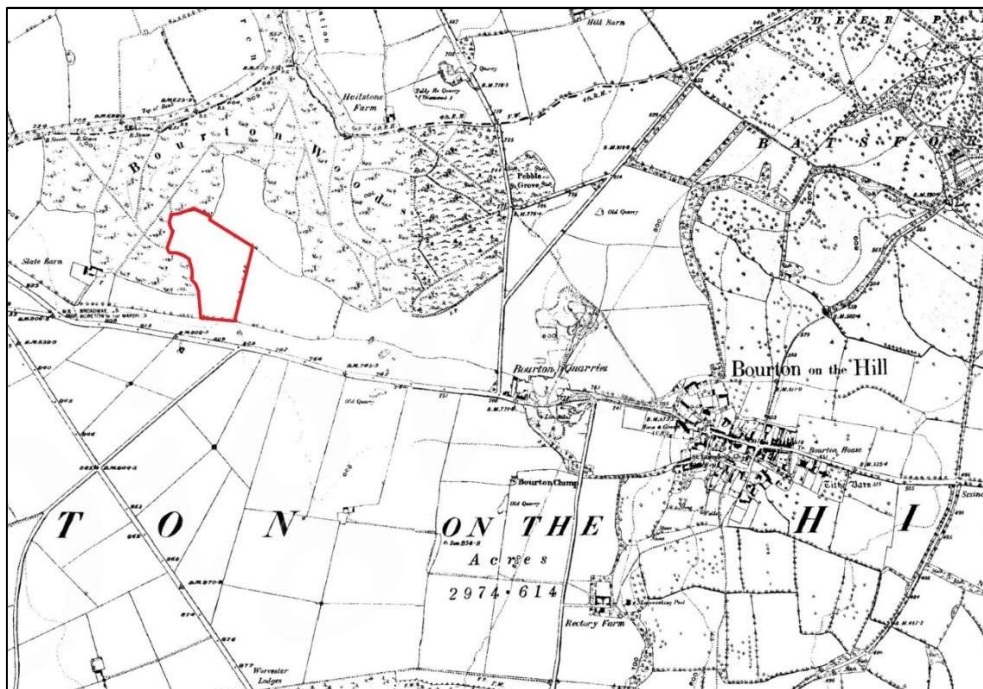


Fig. 7.4 The location of the *Cony Ground* - base mapping from the 1885 First Edition 6'' OS Map (© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2015)

A warren is recorded at Saintbury in 1539 when *Le Conyngger* and the charge of its rabbits was leased by Evesham Abbey (Mills 1912, 658). Although Bourton-on-the-Hill's medieval warren cannot yet be confirmed to have belonged to Westminster Abbey, the possibility nevertheless remains that the two known medieval warrens within north-east Gloucestershire both belonged to large religious houses. Saintbury, like Bourton-on-the-Hill, has no surviving ecclesiastical buildings besides its parish church and its warren can likewise not be considered to have formed part of a wider landscape of religious symbolism as its association with a religious institution was one simply of management and ownership. The exact location of this medieval warren is unknown, and in fact there may have been two former warrens in the parish as indicated by its 1841 tithe map (GRO GDR/T1/155, Fig. 7.5) which records *Cony Holt* (no. 65, pasture) and *Cony Green* (no. 135, pasture).

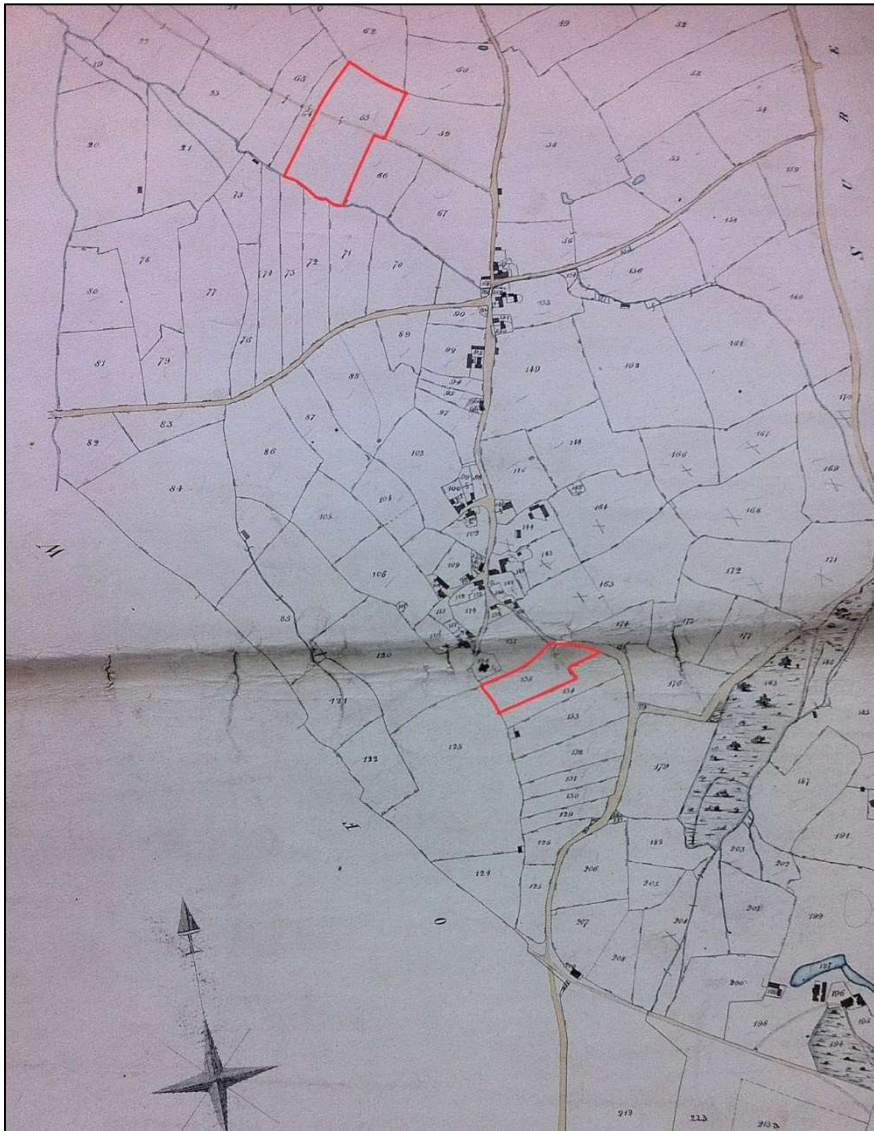


Fig. 7.5 Saintbury's 1841 tithe map showing *Cony Holt* to the north and *Cony Green* to the south (Gloucestershire Archives)

Both warrens are now characterised by ridge and furrow, although only *Cony Green* is associated with surviving pillow mounds that overlie that ridge and furrow (discussed below), indicating a post-medieval date. However, the pillow mounds associated with *Cony Green* are actually located in a field called *Round Ground* on Saintbury's tithe map. This field is adjacent to *Cony Green* and its pillow mounds must surely have belonged to the same warren. Both *Cony Green* and *Round Ground* are located in area of considerable earthwork remains suggestive of a DMV (Gloucestershire HER 26938 and 2777), again supporting the notion that the warren was installed in the post-medieval period following the settlement's abandonment. Unfortunately, there are no documentary references to *Cony Green* prior to 1842 and the exact date of its installation is unknown.

If *Cony Green*, or at least the surviving pillow mounds in *Round Ground*, is demonstrably post-medieval, then perhaps the site of *La Conyngger* recorded in 1539 is represented by *Cony Holt*. However, that *Cony Holt* is also covered in ridge and furrow indicates that it was arable during the medieval period and is therefore unlikely to have been the site of the medieval warren. Conversely, it is possible that the medieval warren was installed at a relatively early date prior to being converted to arable and that the 1539 reference to *La Conyngger* preserves its former land-use rather than its then current land-use. Ultimately there is little evidence for the location of the medieval warren, although if it follows the same pattern as Bourton-on-the-Hill, then it may have been located on the parish's former pasture land to the south-east of Saintbury village on Saintbury Hill.

Post-Medieval Warrens

The lack of documentary evidence recording north-east Gloucestershire's historic warrens is not confined to the medieval period as there is generally very little later evidence of the region's warrens. Indeed, many of its warrens are not attested until nineteenth-century mapping records their presence, while many pillow mounds cannot as yet be associated with any documented warren sites. Consequently, only seven post-medieval warrens in north-east Gloucestershire are recorded by datable documentation, although the majority of this documentation is not contemporary with the warrens' usage (Fig. 7.6).

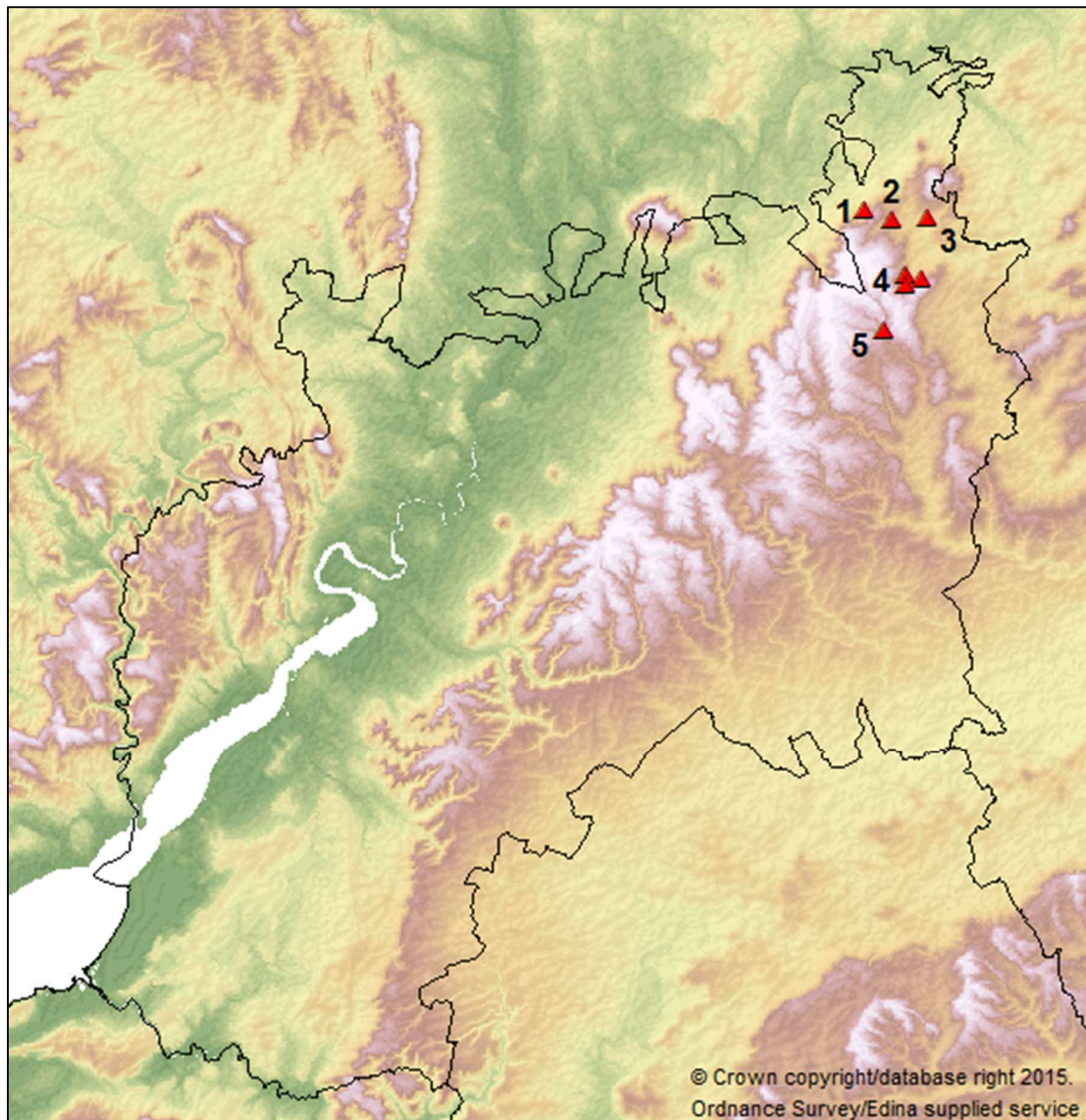


Fig. 7.6 Locations of (1) Weston-sub-Edge, (2) Chipping Campden, (3) Ebrington, (4) Blockley, containing three warrens, and (5) Sezincote

The earliest of these warrens is Sezincote, recorded in documents held at Kent Archives dated between 1632-49 that reveal the warren to have been an extensive commercial entity. A rental agreement dated by Kent Archives to 1632-41 records the warren's rent as £70 per year, and while this would certainly have represented a considerable financial burden, an element of desirability and competition in securing this rent is indicated by the clause "if any man will give [your honour] a better rent for the warren and the meadow then I will be content to leave it allwise provided that I would have a quarters warning" (KRO U269/E255). The same agreement records that if the warrener left after the rental period, a stock of 1,000 black rabbits was to be left. However, the accounts of 1639-40, while incompletely preserved, record rabbit numbers far in excess of this figure with at least 2,367 conies and 9 rabbits (i.e. juvenile rabbits) killed for

four clients (KRO U269/A444). However, the accounts appear to record that 2,367 couples of conies were killed, although it is unclear why the numbers culled would be recorded as couples. The vast majority of the warren's rabbits were black rabbits, with only 95 (or 95 couples) of the total rabbits killed being described as grey. The presence of black rabbits indicates the warren's wealth as black furs were far more valuable during this period than grey furs (Veale 1966, 177; Van Dam 2001, 162). The 1648-49 accounts also indicate that horses were bred on the warren, with the sales of yearlings recorded (KRO U269/A427/1-2).

Sezincote manor at that time was owned by the Cranfields, although Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, had only obtained it in 1622 from Sir Edward Greville (Roberts 2012, 17). The Grevilles themselves had obtained the manor in 1545 after it had been alienated from the former monastery of Bruern in Oxfordshire (KRO U269/T191) and while the date of the warren's installation is unknown, it is possible that it formed part of Bruern monastery's medieval lands. The three earliest known warrens in north-east Gloucestershire were potentially therefore owned by medieval religious houses, with no evidence of rabbit warrens playing a part in the lay manorial economy of the region.

While the dates of its foundation and abandonment are currently unknown, its general location is known as current OS maps record both *Sezincote Warren* and *The Warren*. This in itself suggests that it was abandoned at a relatively late date if its use as a rabbit warren was long-lived enough to have influenced local place-names. No pillow mounds are associated with the warren although two bowl barrows lie immediately east of *The Warren* (SM 1020952). While there has often been confusion between the identity of prehistoric monuments and pillow mounds (see Williamson and Loveday 1988), that the majority of confirmed pillow mounds in the region are rectangular suggests that in this case the two mounds are indeed bowl barrows as opposed to circular pillow mounds. A Warren Farm is also associated with the warren, although it dates to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries and therefore post-dates the warren's installation; whether it was constructed when the warren was still in use is unknown. Warren Farm may therefore have served as a warrener's lodge, although it may simply have been constructed as a farmhouse during a time when the former warren was used for other agricultural pursuits and merely took its name from the pre-existing warren.

Today the area marked *Sezincote Warren* on OS maps lies on gently sloping land east of the summit of Bourton Downs, while the area recorded as *The Warren* exists as an area of woodland that follows the steeply contoured slopes below the summit of Bourton Downs (Fig. 7.7). While the general area of the warren is therefore known, its specific boundaries are not, although OS mapping suggests that the slopes of the Bourton Downs were the principal warrening area. Gloucestershire's HLC mapping records that the woodland on these slopes represent an area of surviving early woodland believed to be of "medieval or earlier origin" (Hoyle 2006, 55). While some historic warrens are known to have been "filled quite densely with pollarded trees which had presumably become established before the introduction of rabbits" (Williamson 2007, 25), wooded areas are generally not well-suited for warrening: aside from the presence of trees making it more difficult to capture rabbits, tree coverage also inhibits undergrowth and there is usually inadequate food for rabbit populations to thrive (personal communication, Anne McBride, Southampton University, June 2015). Perhaps then the main area of the warren was located around the area marked *Sezincote Warren* where there is less woodland cover, with the term *The Warren* later being applied to the general wooded area; or perhaps this woodland is in fact later than the medieval date assigned by Gloucestershire's HLC mapping. Aside from being located on the favourable slopes below the east of Bourton Downs' summit, as well as possibly on the slopes to its south and south-west, Sezincote Warren is located on naturally well-drained land with a drainage rating of 10.

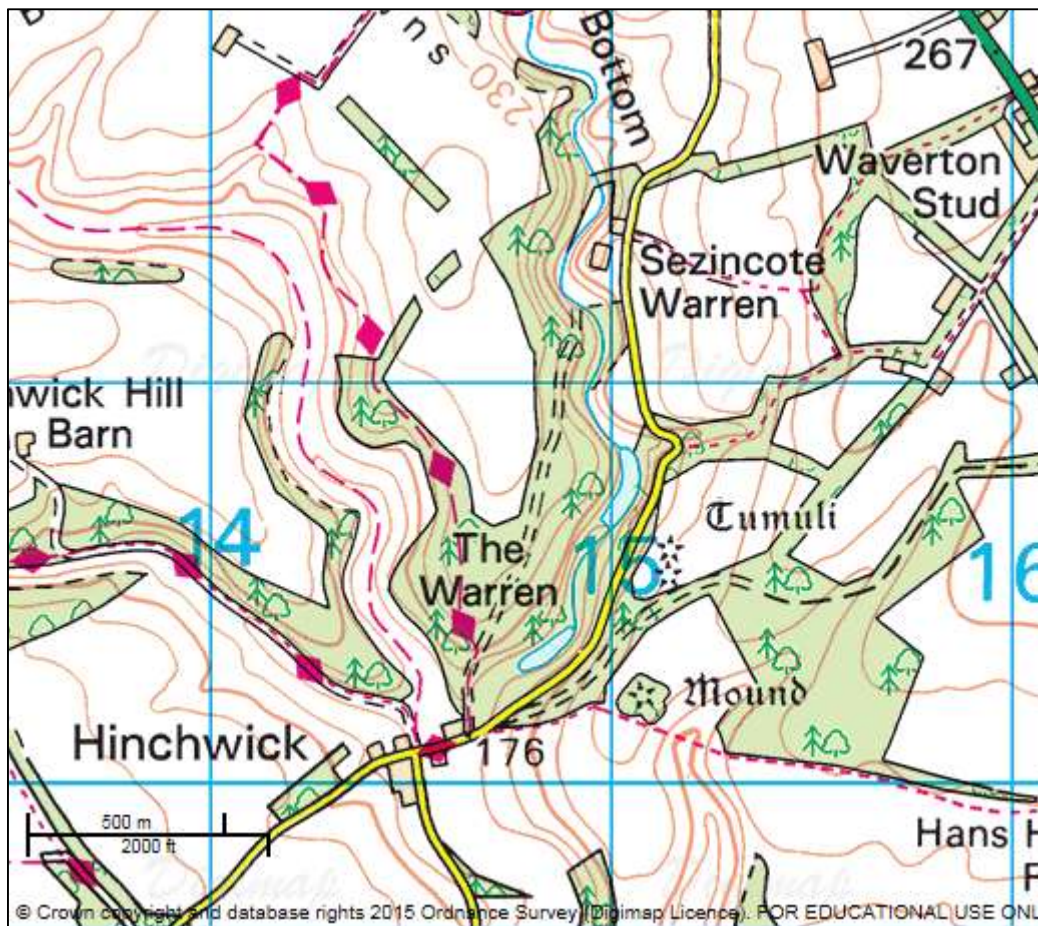


Fig. 7.7 2015 OS mapping showing the location of *Sezincote Warren* and *The Warren*

A warren at Chipping Campden is recorded in 1719, although it almost certainly dates to at least the early seventeenth century. Rushen wrote in his history of Chipping Campden of a lease dated 16 November 1719 that referred to the estate's banqueting house and the adjoining *Coney Gree* (1911, 41). This banqueting house is one of a pair forming part of Sir Baptist Hicks' estate, who bought the manor of Chipping Campden c1609 and constructed the present manor house in 1612. The eastern banqueting house overlooks the *Coneygree*, as it is called today, with the warren separated from the manor house's formal gardens by a wall. The earliest extent of the *Coneygree* is shown on a map of 1722 (Fig. 7.8) and is depicted as three fields: *The Upper Cunigree*, *The Lower Cunigree* and *Sally Beds and Cunigree*.

Most of the *Coneygree* has been preserved by its purchase by the National Trust in 1934, although its north-west corner was given to the Church of St James for an extension to its graveyard during the nineteenth century. No contemporary depictions of Hicks' manor house and warren exist, although several watercolours survive from c1750, and while they focus on the house and its gardens, the warren is depicted as having trees around its boundary and with an

avenue of trees running east-west across what is labelled *The Upper Cunigree* on the 1722 map. No other warren features are depicted on these watercolours.

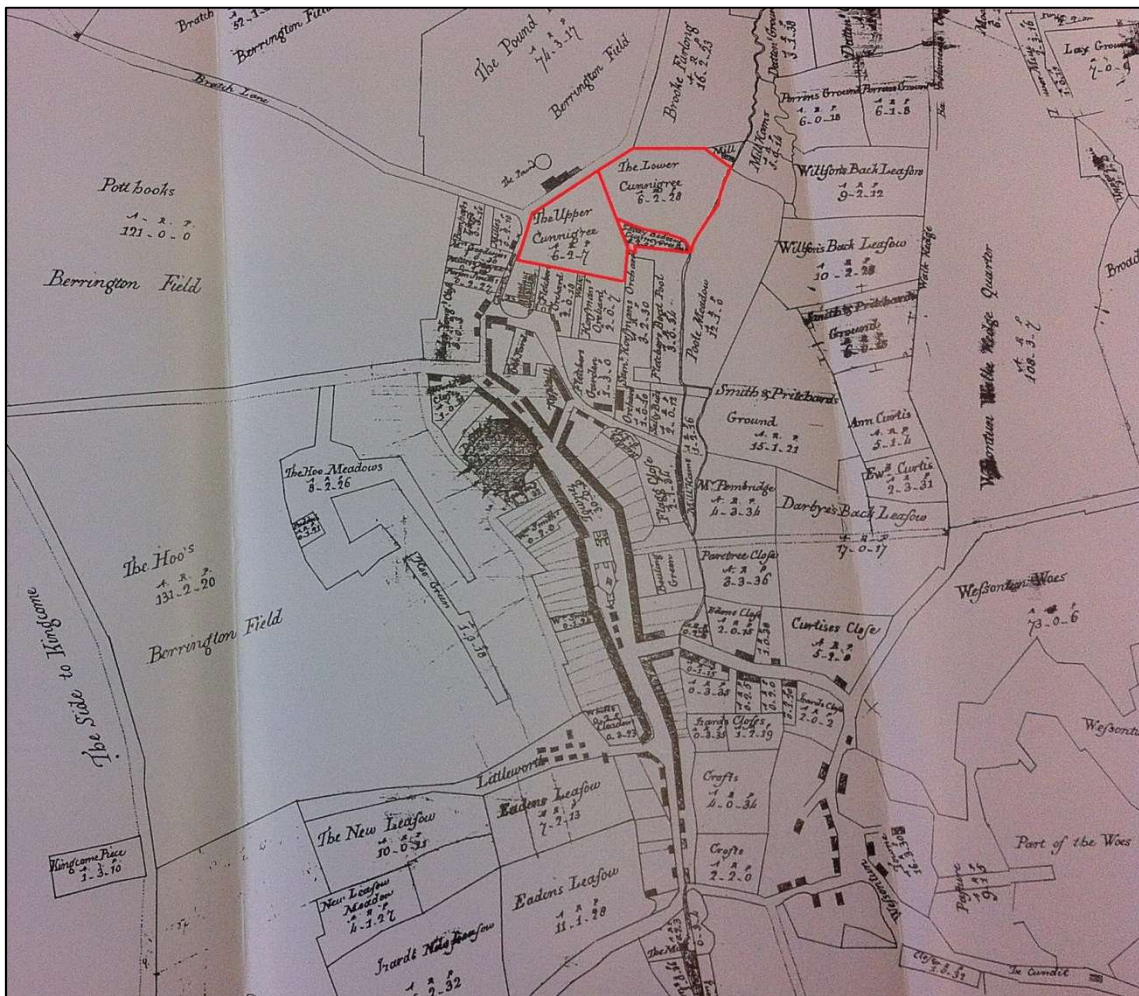


Fig. 7.8 Extract of 1722 map of Chipping Campden, orientated with east at the top of the map, with the location of the *Coneygree* highlighted (source: Warmington 2005, © Chipping Campden History Society)

The date of this warren's installation is unfortunately unknown, for although Hicks' manor house dates to 1612, it was possibly built on the site of an earlier mansion (Everson 1989, 120). Certainly Chipping Campden manor has a long history and was a thriving market town during the medieval period and its wool church, predominantly dating from the early fifteenth century but incorporating earlier elements, points to the wealth of the town derived from a prosperous wool trade. It seems likely then that the town would have had an earlier manor house and the *Coneygree* may therefore have been a medieval warren, rather than a post-medieval warren associated with Hicks' manor house. Certainly a free warren was granted to Richard de Somery at [Chipping] Campden in 1247 (GRO D2635/2), and while this does not prove the existence of a medieval rabbit warren, it at least confirms that, legally at least, there may have been one.

However, the majority of the *Coneygree* is covered by extensive ridge and furrow indicating that during the medieval period the area was used for arable. With that said, the westernmost part of the *Coneygree* adjoining Hicks' manor house is largely free from ridge and furrow and it is possible that the *Coneygree*'s present extent represents a post-medieval extension to an earlier medieval warren. Such a scenario is admittedly hypothetical, and it seems safest to assign a post-medieval date to the *Coneygree* based on the earthwork evidence of the extensive ridge and furrow.

The warren's position immediately to the east of a banqueting house associated with the manor house is noteworthy and suggests that the warren played some symbolic role in advertising Hicks' wealth and is explored in more detail in Chapter 9. The warren is located on flat land with a drainage rating of 5, suggesting that proximity to the manor house was more important to the siting of the warren than choosing the most optimum location for rearing rabbits. No surviving warren features have been recognised by Gloucestershire's HER or by the NMR although its boundary survives and several earthworks may represent warren architecture and are discussed below.

A warren is first recorded in Blockley in 1747, although there appears to have been four separate warrens in the village (Fig. 7.9) although details of all are scant. The earliest recorded warren (Blockley 1 in the gazetteer) is the *Coneygree*, which was leased in 1747 to Joseph Peyton and Edward Whatcott to be used as part of a silk mill (Icely 1984, 94) and indeed the mid-nineteenth-century *Coneygree Mill* still stands on the site today. A second warren (Blockley 2) is recorded on an undated map compiled by Richard Belcher of Blockley's fieldnames held at Gloucestershire Archives, showing two named *Coney Green* and *Coney Green Hill* (GRO D3471/1035). Unfortunately, the map was compiled from various sources and it is unclear which original sources record the presence of these fields, while Blockley's tithe map (GRO P52 SD 2/1) records no such fields in this area. It is also not entirely obvious who Richard Belcher was, but he is likely the same Richard Belcher who opened a business at Blockley in 1847 and finished his autobiography in 1898, in which he refers to himself as Richard Belcher "of Banbury and Blockley" (1976). Belcher died in 1901, which places his map as originating sometime in the latter half of the nineteenth century. A third warren (Blockley 3) is recorded as *The Warren* on OS maps from 1830 onwards, although its extent is not demarcated. A *Warren Farm* is also depicted as part of

this warren, while a building named *Lodge* on the 1880s-90s OS maps is labelled *Warren Cottages* on post-1903 OS maps. No surviving warren features are associated with these three warrens, although several pillow mounds are recorded at a fourth location (Blockley Park Farm 1-4, discussed below), at a site whose fields are unfortunately not named on Blockley's tithe map.

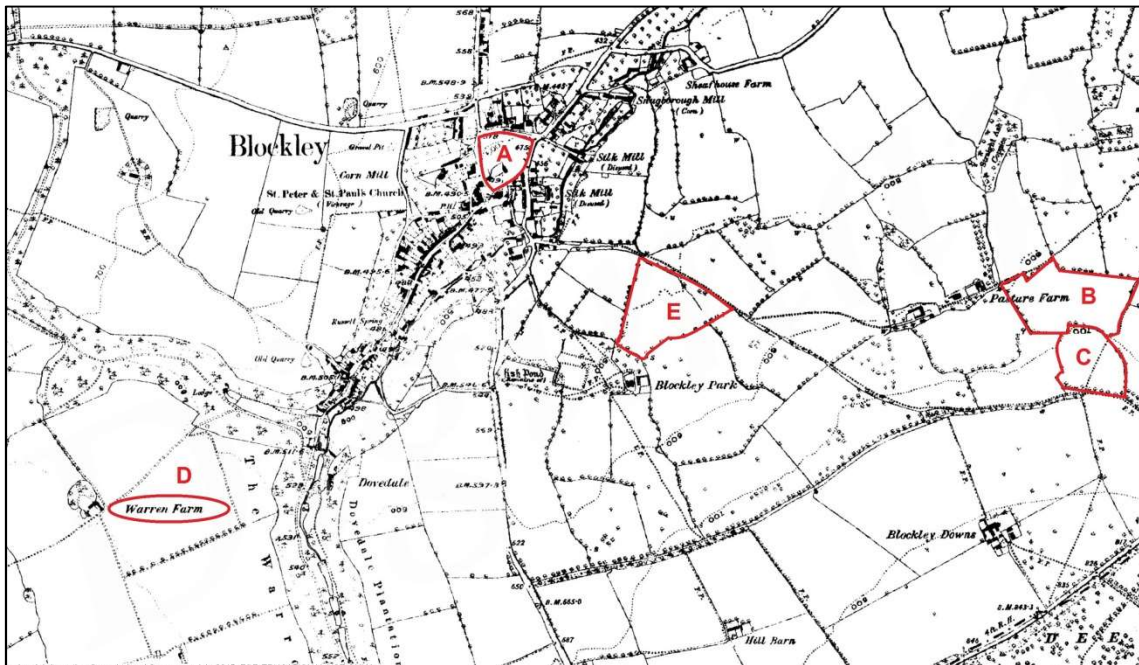


Fig. 7.9 Warrens in Blockley, with base mapping from the 1891 First Edition 6" OS map: (A) *Coneygree* recorded in 1747; (B) and (C) *Coney Green* and *Coney Green Hill* depicted on Belcher's nineteenth-century map; (D) *Warren Farm* depicted on OS maps; (E) pillow mound site associated with Blockley Park Farm (© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2015)

Little is known of any of Blockley's warrens, although clearly *Coneygree* had fallen out of use by 1747 when a silk mill was established there. Indeed, despite the presence of *Coneygree Mill*, the field is now called *Mill Close* due to these later milling activities and highlights a particular issue: although many warren-related field-names are long-lived, such names can fall out of use, replaced by names relating to more recent land-use and removing all trace of former warrening activities.

Nevertheless, *Coneygree* almost certainly formed part of the lands of the Waldegraves, also known as the Walgroves, as the Old Bell Inn (LB 126773) was built on the site of the Waldegrave's *Coneygree Mansion* during the early-eighteenth century. While the date of *Coneygree Mansion*'s construction is unknown, the Waldegraves have held land in Blockley since the fifteenth century (Iceley 1984, 94). The site of *Coneygree Mansion* / Old Bell Cottage overlooks the parish church with the *Coneygree* to its south-west and the warren was

probably therefore a late medieval / early post-medieval holding of the Waldergraves. As with all four warren sites in Blockley, it is difficult to assess the drainage characteristics of *Coneygree* due to varying geology, but the majority of the warren would have been poorly drained, although a well-drained band runs across it in an approximate north-east to south-west direction. The location of the warren, close to the Waldergraves' mansion suggests that it expressed status and prestige rather than reflecting the most appropriate area for rearing rabbits.

There is no evidence for *Coney Green* and *Coney Green Hill* beyond Belcher's undated map. Nevertheless, it is not necessarily unusual for multiple warrens to be recorded in a single parish, such as the three recorded in Puddletown, Dorset (see Chapter 6). The majority of Belcher's *Coney Green* is located on land with a draining rating of 4, although an area to the south, roughly corresponding to Belcher's *Coney Green Hill* has a drainage rating of 10. Belcher's map records that an alternate name of *Coney Green* was *The Poor Ground*, suggesting that it was used for common pasture by the town's poor, and Gloucestershire's HLC mapping supports this as the area is described as open common land used as long-term pasture. Evidently then the warren, although undated, was located on Blockley's marginal land beyond its arable fields.

The warren at Blockley Park Farm is unrecorded by documentary sources, although earthwork evidence suggests that it is post-medieval. Its pillow mounds are part of a wider group of earthworks including several enclosures, a fishpond, hollow ways, trackways, sheep folds and ditches and channels that may be linked to washing sheep. The name of the farm, together with the presence of pillow mounds and fishpond, have led to suggestions that this was the site of the Bishops of Worcester's park at Blockley, which is recorded in 1277 (CCR Edward I, Vol. 1, 370). Certainly the farm's large fishpond at SP16653447, measuring 70m by 55m, suggests links with a medieval elite site and the Bishops of Worcester were granted a monastery at Blockley in 855. Much of the manor remained in their possession until 1648 when it was sold to William Combe, although it was restored to them after the Restoration. While Blockley Park Farm may therefore have its origins as a site held by the Bishops of Worcester, many of its earthworks, including the pillow mounds, overlie ridge and furrow. Whatever the origins of the site, at some stage in its history it was used for arable and was subsequently converted to a rabbit warren and sheep pasture as evidenced by the pillow mounds and sheep folds. The underlying geology of the farm is varied,

as are its drainage characteristics, although Gloucestershire's HER (2734) records the farm's owner, Mr. Dee, reporting that the area corresponding to these earthworks becomes heavily charged with water during winter months and is very boggy. Evidently the land was not the most optimal location for rearing rabbits, but the option to install a warren and convert to pasture in the post-medieval period must have been more economically viable than to continue with the former arable farming undertaken there.

No details of Warren Farm are known other than it is first recorded on an OS map of 1830 and it is not certain whether the name of the farm definitely reflects the presence of a former warren as it could be named after a Warren family. However, that the wider surrounding area is called *The Warren* and the fact that no Warren surnames are recorded in Blockley's parish registers of deaths and baptisms in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries suggests that it does indeed reflect a former warren. Its name of Warren Farm compares to the more historic *coneygarth*-derived field-names of Blockley's other warrens, suggesting a more recent addition to Blockley's landscape. Although no firm delineation of *The Warren* is known, it evidently covers a larger area than the parish's other warrens and may therefore represent the remnants of a large, post-medieval commercial warren on land that, according to Gloucestershire's HLC mapping, had previously been open common land used as pasture. Warrening may have been the main economic interest of Warren Farm given its size and name, whereas the warrens found elsewhere in Blockley may have been largely incidental to their associated owners. Because of the large extent of *The Warren*, it has no single drainage characteristic, and instead its land ranges from well-drained areas to poorly drained areas.

A warren at Ebrington is recorded as *coneygreen* on an 1815 map of Hugh Earl Fortescue's estate in Ebrington and Hitcote (GRO D481/1, Fig. 7.10). The date of the warren's installation is unknown, although Ebrington manor had been held by the Fortescues since 1456. According to Gloucestershire's HLC mapping, the warren is located on former unenclosed heathland situated away from the main settlement of Ebrington and the Fortescues' manor house, placing it on the manor's marginal lands that had not been brought under cultivation. The warren is located in an area with some potential for poorly drained conditions, having a drainage rating of 6. This suggests that the determining factor behind its location

was to take advantage of land not used for agriculture rather than to take advantage of land that was particularly suited to rearing rabbits.

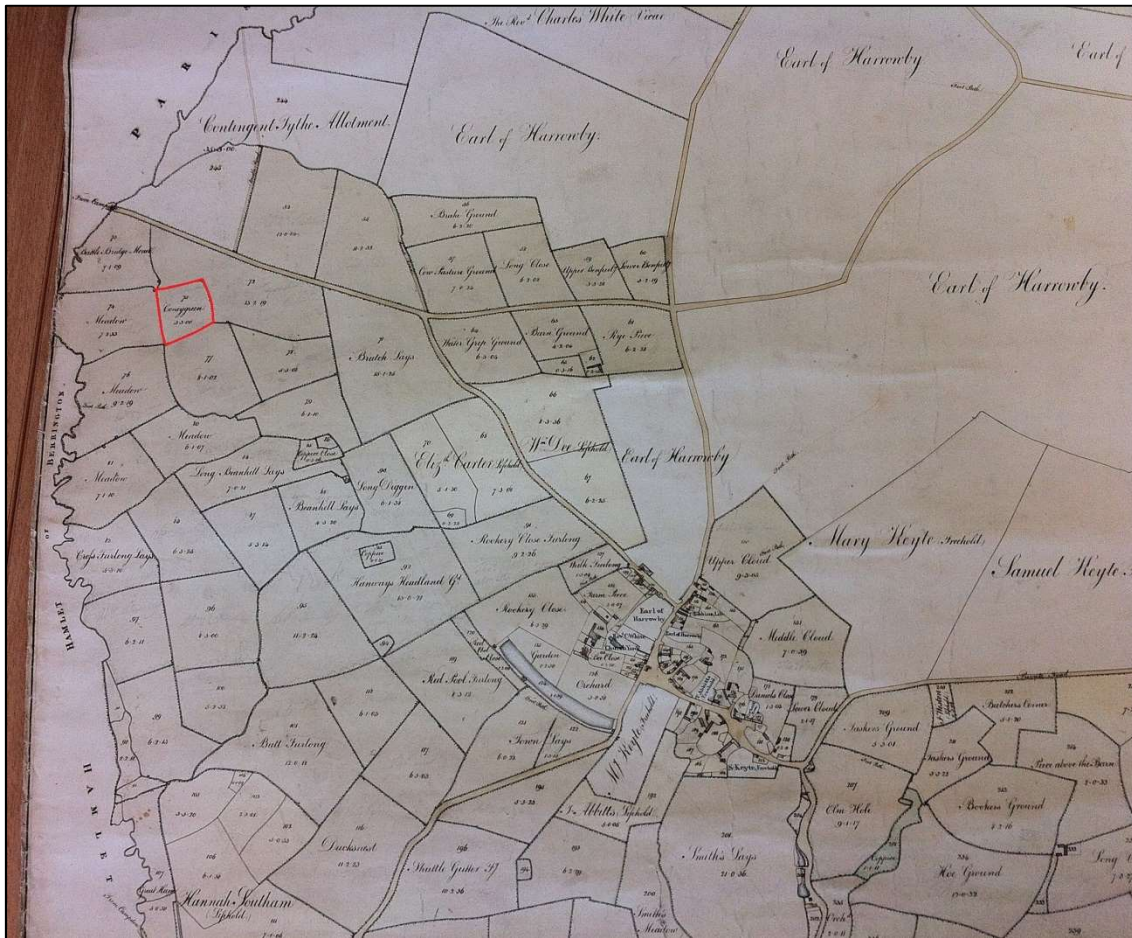


Fig. 7.10 Extract of 1815 map of Ebrington and Hitcote, with *Coneygreen* highlighted (Gloucestershire Archives)

A warren at Weston-sub-Edge is known solely through the recording of *Coney Gree* (no, 113, pasture) on the parish's 1839 tithe map (GRO GDR/T1/194, Fig. 7.11). The warren was then owned by Sir Thomas Phillips, although Weston-sub-Edge itself has its origins as a residential manor for the bishops of Worcester, founded in the thirteenth century by Geoffrey Giffard. Traces of the thirteenth-century manor house remain in the form of a moat and fishponds at the southern end of the village, while a second manor house, constructed in the late seventeenth century, is located in the central area of the village. While the date of the warren is unknown, its close proximity to the site of the former medieval manor house c450m to its north-west suggests an association. However, according to Gloucestershire's HLC mapping, the site is located on former unenclosed cultivation situated on marginal slopes and the link with the manor house may therefore be illusory and its location instead determined by a desire to fully exploit the steep marginal lands to the south of the village. Although these

slopes had previously been cultivated, the main arable heartland of the village lay to the north of the warren and the attempts to cultivate the steep slopes to its south may have only been short-lived with the warren representing a more productive use of the marginal land. However, although located on steeply sloping land, the warren has a drainage of rating of 5. Ultimately, the date of this warren is unknown and no surviving warren features have been noted.

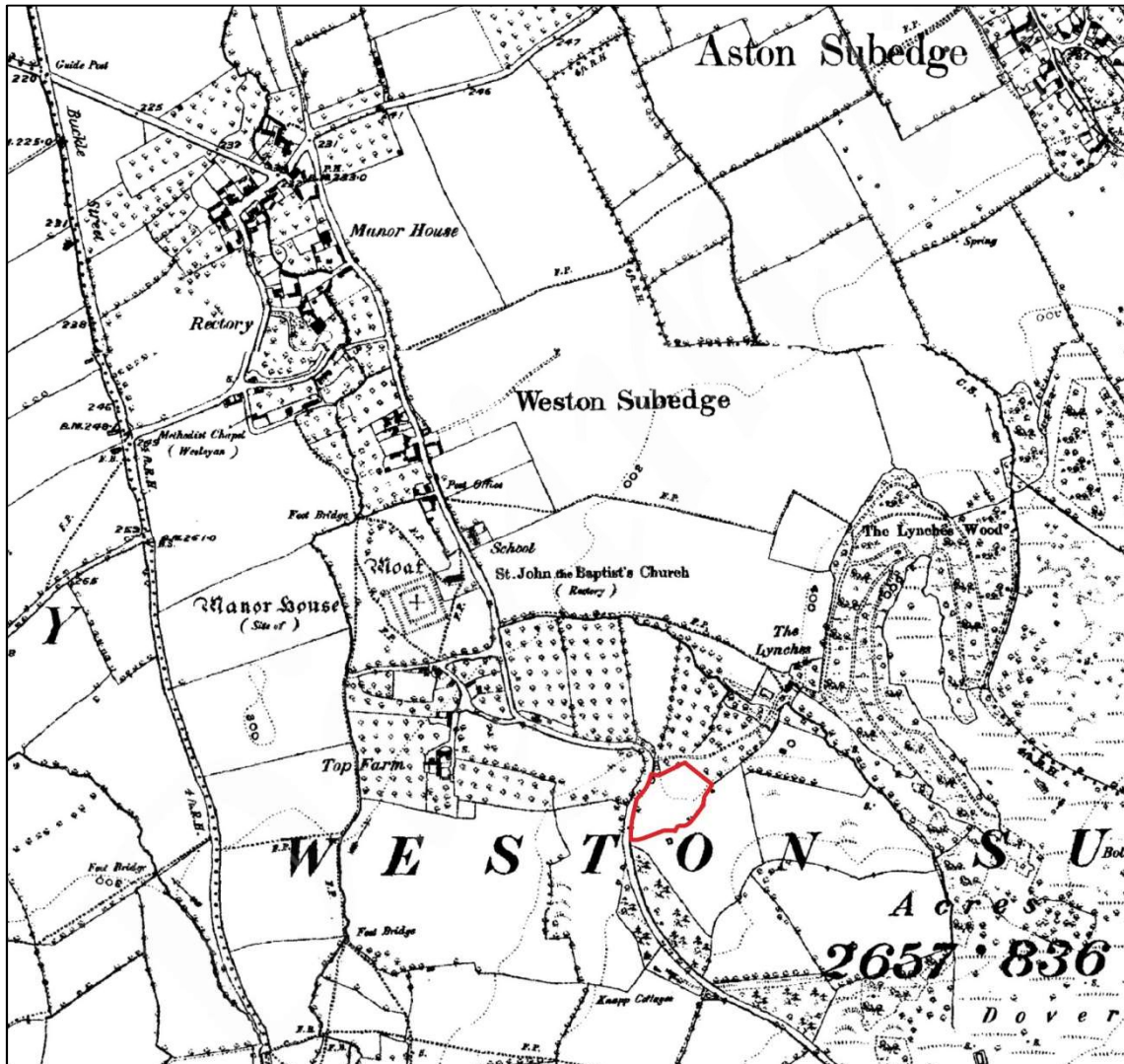


Fig. 7.11 Location of Coney Gree in Weston-sub-Edge, with base mapping from the 1890 First Edition 6" OS map (© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2015)

Surviving Warren Architecture

As well as the above-mentioned warrens referred to by documentary sources, several sites preserve pillow mounds (Fig. 7.12). As mentioned in Chapter 3 a large number of earthworks in the region, particularly concentrated along Knee Brook, have been interpreted as possible pillow mounds and these are discussed separately below.

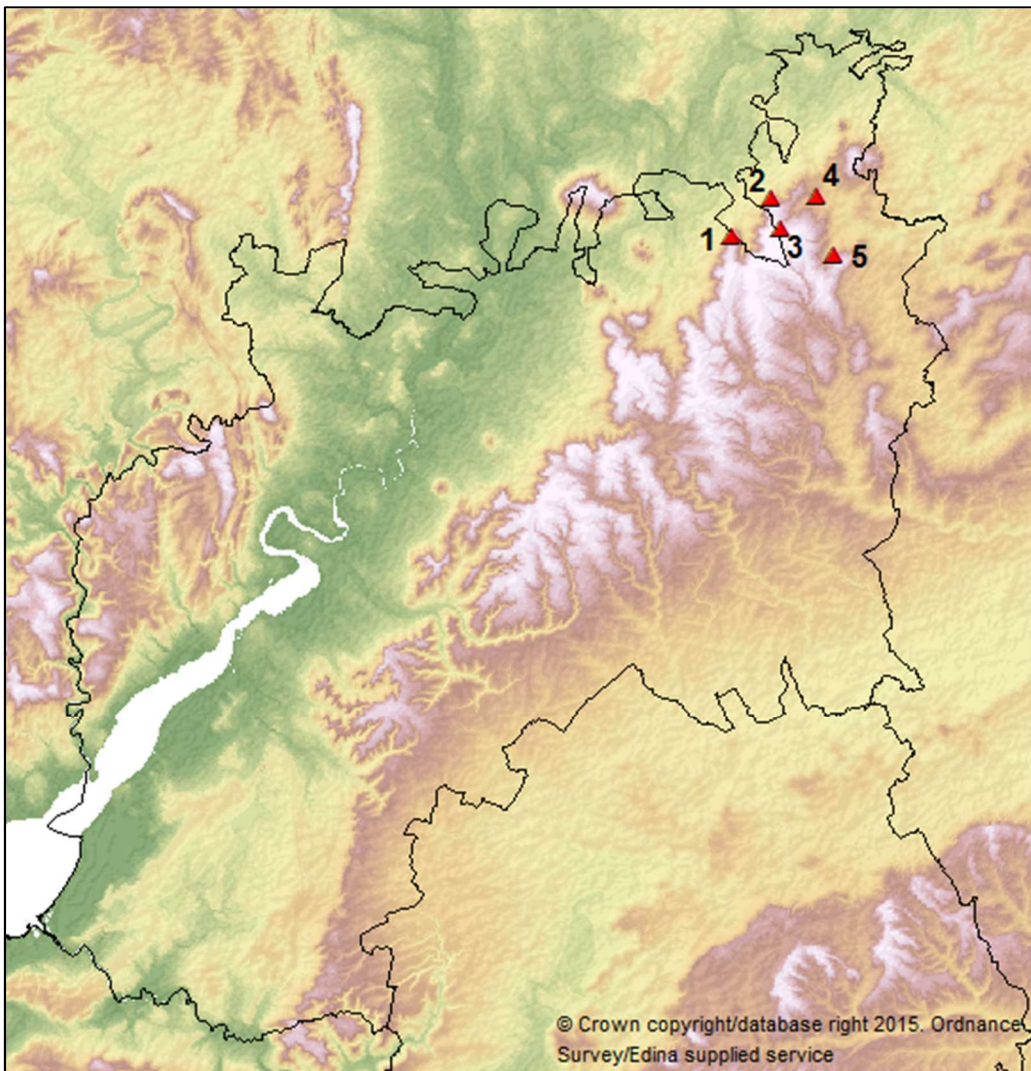


Fig. 7.12 Locations of (1) Burhill, (2) Tilbury Hollow, (3) Saintbury, (4) Chipping Campden, and (5) Blockley Park Farm

The pillow mound at Burhill, in Buckland parish, is a ditched rectangular mound located just outside the southern side of Burhill hillfort, towards the top of a natural scarp. The mound was not visible on site visits undertaken in July 2015 due to heavy grass cover, but it is clearly visible on LiDAR images (Fig. 7.13). The mound is located on steep south-facing land with a drainage rating of 10. Its positioning on the sloping sides of Burhill east of Buckland indicates an exploitation of marginal lands that were not used for other agricultural purposes, and indeed Gloucestershire's HLC mapping characterises the site as surviving early woodland, indicating a lack of previous agriculture. Its location near Burhill hillfort is notable given that links between pillow mounds and prehistoric earthworks have been noted elsewhere (Williamson 2007, 36), although it is not located within the hillfort itself; rather it utilises the marginal slopes of Burhill outside the hillfort.



Fig. 7.13 LiDAR image of the pillow mound at Burhill (© 2015 Geomatics Group)

There is no dating evidence for the pillow mound, although on the Buckland Inclosure Map of c1779 it lies in an area simply labelled *Burhill* that adjoins an area named as *Upfield or Cow Pasture*, both owned by the lord of the manor, Lord Viscount Weymouth. Both areas adjoin a series of four small fields to their south named *Little Park*, *Green Park*, *Middle Park* and *Upper Park* that lie a short distance from the manor house, suggestive of a former elite park (Fig. 7.14). Although the land-use on *Burhill* is not given, that it is on high sloping land adjacent to *Upfield or Cow Pasture* suggests that it was similarly used as pasture. That the pillow mound on *Burhill* is located outside of the possible manorial park suggests a post-medieval date, with it being constructed purely to utilise land not under cultivation; had it been constructed earlier then it might be expected that it would have been more explicitly linked to the park, with the warren as well as the park being representing wealth and status.

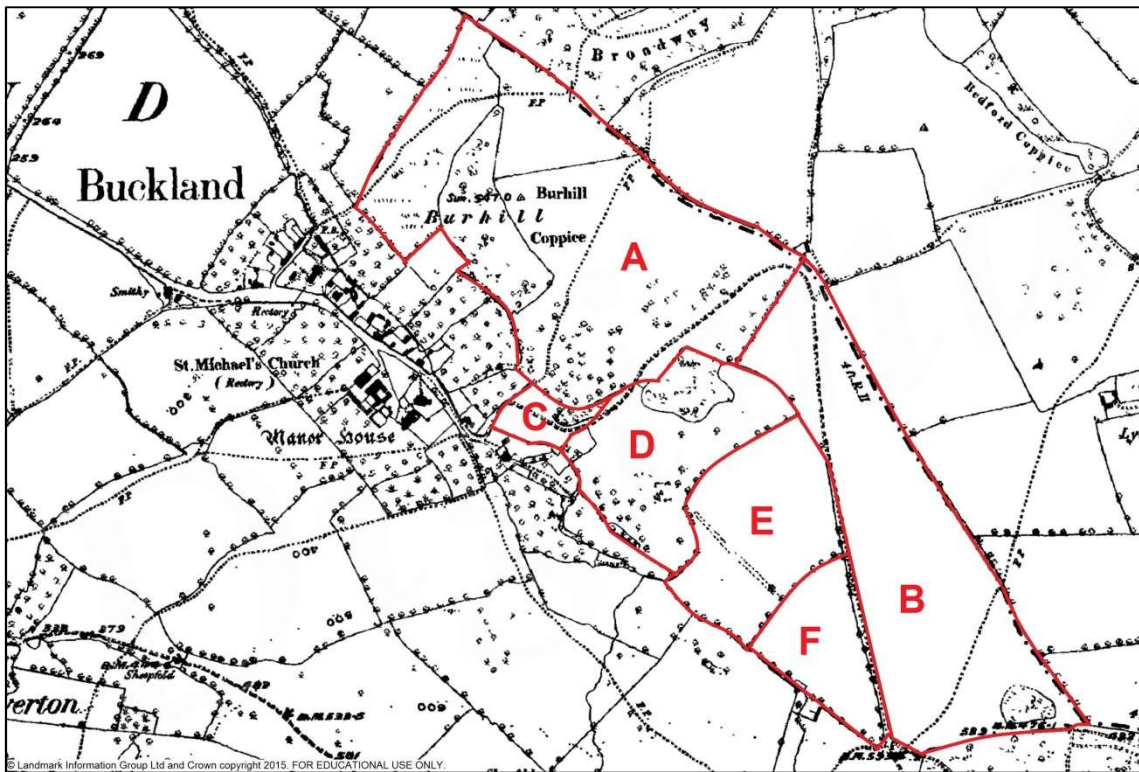


Fig. 7.14 Locations in Buckland of (A) *Burhill*, (B) *Upfield or Cow Pasture*, (C) *Little Park*, (D) *Green Park*, (E) *Middle Park*, and (F) *Upper Park*, with base mapping from 1889 First Edition 6" OS map

Four ditched linear pillow mounds are recorded at Tilbury Hollow, in Chipping Campden parish (note however that Reading University records the presence of five pillow mounds although their locations are not given – The Bordesley Abbey Project 2015). The mounds lie near the head of a shallow dry valley, with two on the valley's northern slope and two on its southern slope (Fig. 7.15). Those on the southern slope are slightly longer measuring 37m and 36m compared to the 24m and 28m of those on the northern slope, although the two longer mounds actually have their southern ends truncated by a farm wall and the ploughland beyond it. However, site visits undertaken in July 2015 revealed the northern mounds to be more eroded than their southern counterparts, so much so that that Tilbury Hollow 4 was not located, and it is possible that their lengths, which are derived from Gloucestershire HER's GIS mapping, would have originally been similar to the southern mounds. As well as being located on steeply sloping land with a gradient of 1 in 3 (Gloucestershire HER 2771-4), the pillow mounds are on naturally well-drained land with a drainage rating of 8.



Fig. 7.15 Pillow mound at Tilbury Hollow on the valley's southern slope with the farm wall visible at its southern end (author's photograph taken from SP12593689 looking south-west)

Unfortunately, there is little dating evidence for this warren. The site was formerly associated with Combe Grange, a grange of Bordesley Abbey that was situated further north along Tilbury Hollow and which was rebuilt as Campden House by Sir Baptist Hicks in 1628. As such it may have formed part of the Abbey's medieval agricultural lands, although Reading University reports that one of the pillow mounds cuts through a bank interpreted as a boundary of the medieval grange. If this interpretation is correct then the pillow mounds would post-date the medieval grange and would instead date from when the lands were leased out, perhaps as late as the seventeenth century (The Bordesley Abbey Project 2015).

A small distance to the north of the pillow mounds are cropmarks and earthworks of sheepcotes and associated structures, within which, and adjacent to, are three small blocks of ridge and furrow (NMR 1394393). This indicates that Tilbury Hollow was used as arable during the medieval period, with the land later being converted to sheep pasture, while Gloucestershire's HLC mapping also reports this area to have formerly been unenclosed pasture. This picture is similar to that seen at Blockley Park Farm where former arable land was converted to sheep pasture and a warren in the post-medieval period. That the southern pillow

mounds have been truncated by the walls of the adjacent farm would provide a *terminus post quem*, although unfortunately the date of the farm is unknown and there is no inclosure map for Chipping Campden, while Tilbury Hollow is not depicted on its tithe map (GRO GDR/T1/44).

Two pillow mounds are recorded in Saintbury. As mentioned above, two warrens are recorded on the 1841 tithe map, one named *Coney Holt* to the north of the village and one as *Cony Green* to the south, while a medieval warren is recorded in the parish in 1539. The two pillow mounds are not actually located in either field, but instead lie in *Round Ground* field adjacent to *Cony Green*. The pillow mounds are part of a larger group of earthworks including ridge and furrow, DMV house-steads, and various banks, ditches and hollow-ways. Despite various previous investigations, or rather observations (see Gloucestershire HER 2777), the exact identification of these earthworks and their relationships with each other has never been satisfactorily ascertained. Nevertheless, it seems likely that they represent a desertion or shrinkage of medieval Saintbury, with its former arable lands, as indicated by the ridge and furrow, being converted to pasture reflecting the site's current usage.

One of the pillow mounds is a circular earthwork formerly believed to have been a round barrow (Fig. 7.16), while the other is a conjoined mound, roughly taking the form of an inverted Z, although its arms are not of even length: its southern arm measures approximately 46m, its central arm measures approximately 41m, while its northern arm measures approximately 18m in length. Although highly unusual in form, conjoined and chevron pillow mounds have been noted elsewhere within the study area, albeit rarely, with perhaps the closest comparison being the conjoined mound at Badbury, Dorset, which likewise accompanies a circular mound. Saintbury's mounds overlie ridge and furrow, although much less-pronounced than ridge and furrow located immediately to their south. Nevertheless, this indicates a post-medieval date of construction following the shrinkage/desertion of that part of Saintbury village.

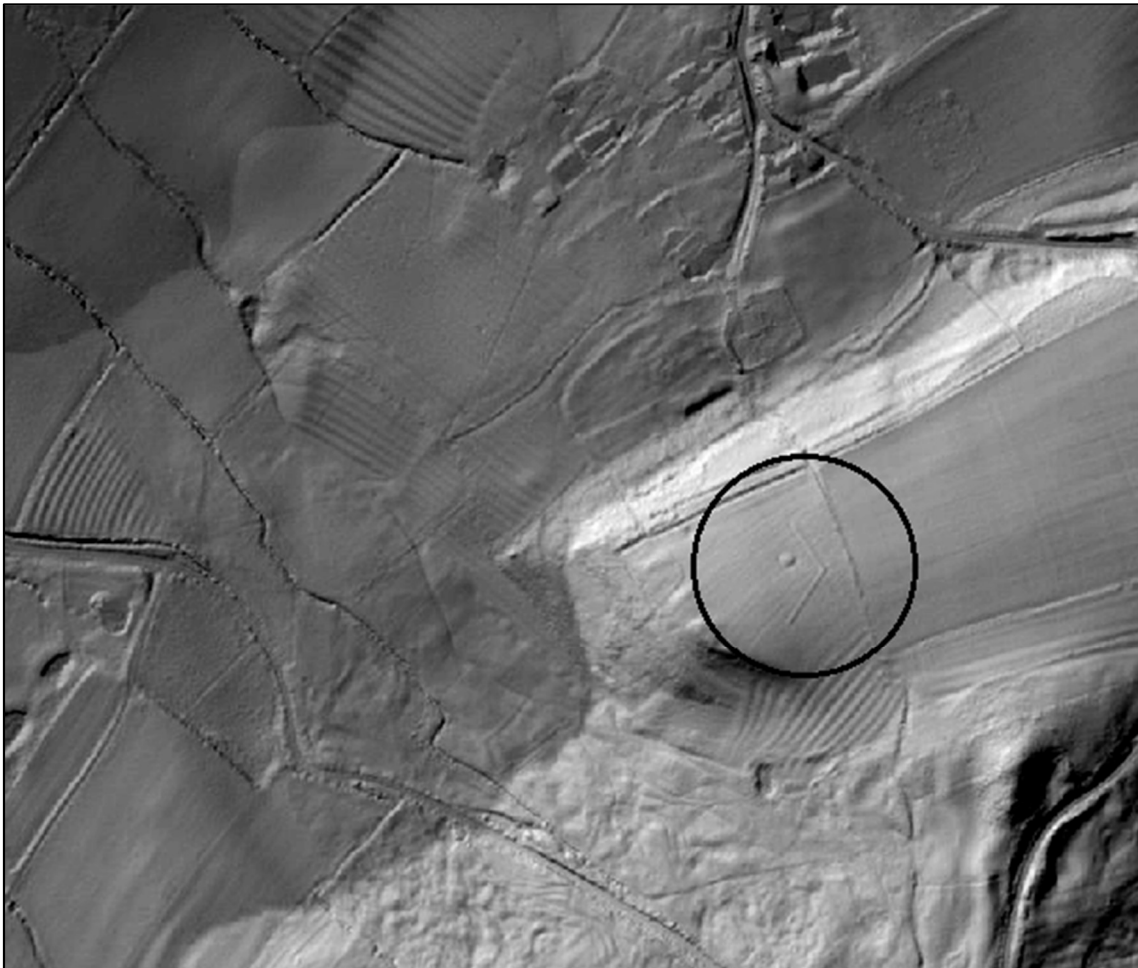


Fig. 7.16 LiDAR image of Saintbury's pillow mounds and ridge and furrow (© 2015 Geomatics Group)

The pillow mounds are located on land with a drainage rating of 5, suggesting that they were installed to utilise former arable land that had been vacated by the shrinkage of medieval Saintbury rather than because it was optimal land for rearing rabbits. Further features possibly associated with this warren are a house platform, one of three to the west of the pillow mounds, that has been suggested as being a warrener's lodge, and a possible warren boundary (NMR 330598). The identification of a warrener's lodge seems unlikely as it does not take into account the presence of two other house platforms, while other house platforms elsewhere in the vicinity have been associated with the shrinkage of medieval Saintbury. The possible boundary was noted during field visits undertaken in July 2015 as an earthwork bank along the escarpment edge to the south-west of the pillow mounds. Aligned at a right angle to the ridge and furrow, it is more likely the remains of a plough headland than a warren boundary.

As mentioned above, a warren was attached to Old Campden House, an early seventeenth-century mansion at Chipping Campden. While the mansion

may have been built on the site of an earlier mansion, with the warren therefore potentially predating the seventeenth-century house, earthwork evidence suggests the warren was a post-medieval addition to the landscape. The mansion has attracted a relatively large amount of previous study, particularly focused on its formal gardens, although its warren has tended to be ignored. Nevertheless, an earthwork survey of the formal gardens and the *Coneygree* was undertaken in 1984 by RCHM and reproduced by Everson (Fig. 7.17), although he himself makes no mention of the *Coneygree* beyond recording its presence (1989, 118). The principal features relating to the *Coneygree* recorded on RCHM's earthwork survey include several linear features (Fig. 7.17, A-D) and an area of extensive ridge and furrow (Fig. 7.17, E), which as mentioned above, is only noted in the eastern section of the *Coneygree*.

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Fig. 7.17 Extract of earthwork survey of Old Campden House and the *Coneygree* (source: RCHM survey reproduced by Everson 1989, 109; annotations by the present author)

The feature labelled 'A' above is almost certainly a previously unrecorded pillow mound, although it has been truncated by the construction of a wall during the nineteenth-century expansion of the Church of St James's graveyard (Fig. 7.18). As such, its original length is unknown, although it survives to a height of c1m

and has a width of c7m, while no surrounding ditch was noted on site visits undertaken in July 2015. The identification of earthworks to the north-east of the pillow mound, labelled 'B' above, remains uncertain although an L-shaped linear feature of a similar width to the pillow mound may represent the remains of a second pillow mound. Linear feature 'C' was revealed during the site visit to be a ditch and is probably to be associated with the tree-lined avenue depicted on eighteenth-century watercolours of the mansion. While the ditch is not centred on the eastern banqueting house as might be expected, these watercolours confirm that the tree-lined avenue was instead aligned on the mansion to the north-west of the banqueting house. The feature labelled 'D' is a small, roughly circular mound at the southern foot of a ditch, and while the purpose of both features is unknown, the mound appears to have been created from the excavation of the ditch and is probably not a further pillow mound, although this cannot be ruled out. The surviving ridge and furrow is separate from these earthworks and it cannot therefore be conclusively proved that they pre-date the warren. Alongside at least one surviving pillow mound, the warren preserves a boundary wall along its northern and western sides that is probably contemporary with the construction of Old Campden House in 1612.



Fig. 7.18 Pillow mound at Chipping Campden truncated by an extension to a church wall (author's photograph taken at SP15553939 looking north)

The region's remaining pillow mounds are the three at Blockley Park Farm. It is worth noting, however, that the NMR's description (330647) actually lists four separate NGRs, although the two at SP16903454 and SP16913454 appear to be duplicates. The site is privately owned and it was not possible to gain access during field visits undertaken in April 2015, although the farm's earthworks are revealed on a number of aerial photographs. However, of the three reported pillow mounds here, only two are clearly visible on these photographs (Blockley Park 2 and 3, Fig. 7.19), although a third was noted and measured during previous field investigations that inform the NMR's description. However, in light of the aerial photographs showing only two pillow mounds, the presence of Blockley Park 1 listed in the gazetteer must be considered doubtful.

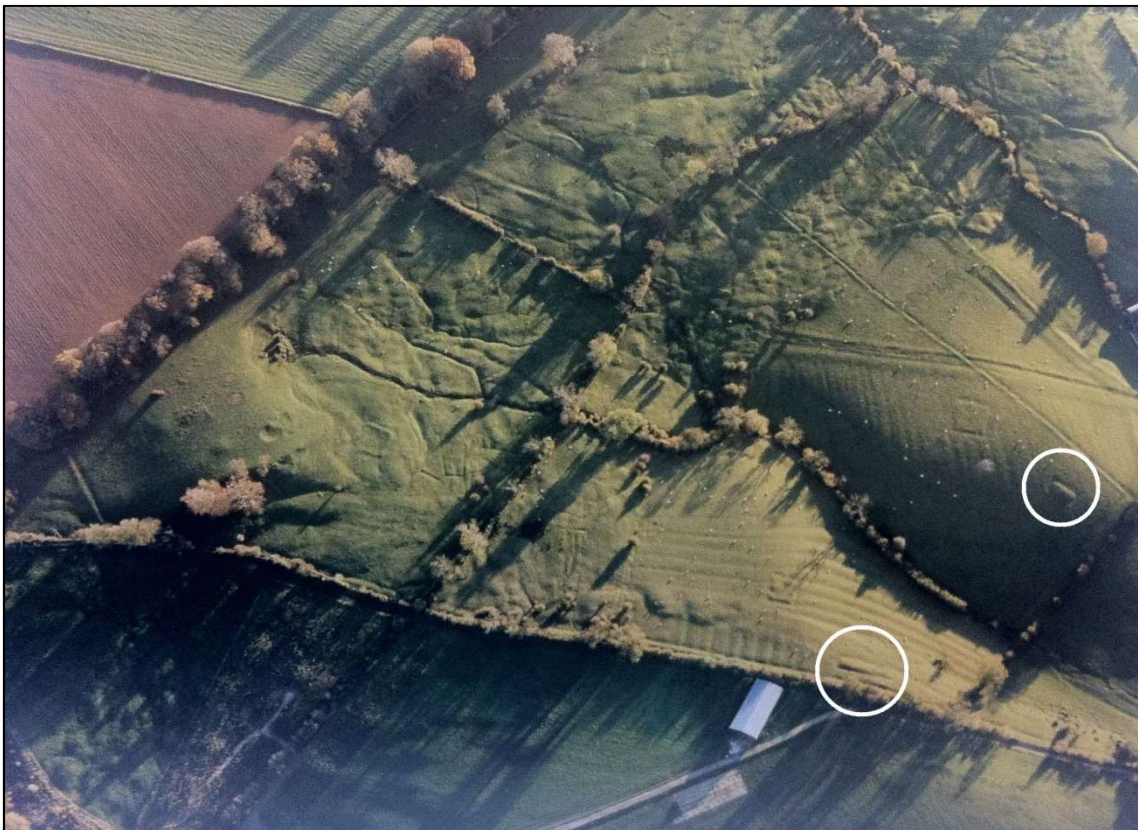


Fig. 7.19 Aerial photograph of Blockley Park Farm taken 03.11.2000 with two pillow mounds highlighted (NMR)

The two confirmed pillow mounds at the site are both rectangular, although Blockley Park Farm 3, at 29m in length, is far longer than Blockley Park Farm 2, which measures only 16m in length. The mounds are situated approximately 160m apart, suggesting that some attempt to ensure enough pasture land was available for the warren's rabbits as Simpson recommended that pillow mounds be placed at least 100 yards (approximately 91m) apart to avoid competition for food (1893, 86). Despite this, they are located on generally poorly-drained land

and the location does not therefore represent an optimal choice for the construction of pillow mounds.

Possible Pillow Mounds

As mentioned above, a large number of earthworks, typically low circular and oval mounds, have been recorded in north-east Gloucestershire. Their identification is currently unknown, although the NMR suggests that they represent either pillow mounds or stack stands. These earthworks are generally located north-east of the Cotswold Edge near the courses of Knee Brook and Paddle Brook, primarily in Blockley parish, although an isolated group is located further south at Cowham Farm in Broadwell parish while a single example is located at Charingworth, in Ebrington parish, although this neighbours Blockley (Fig. 7.20).

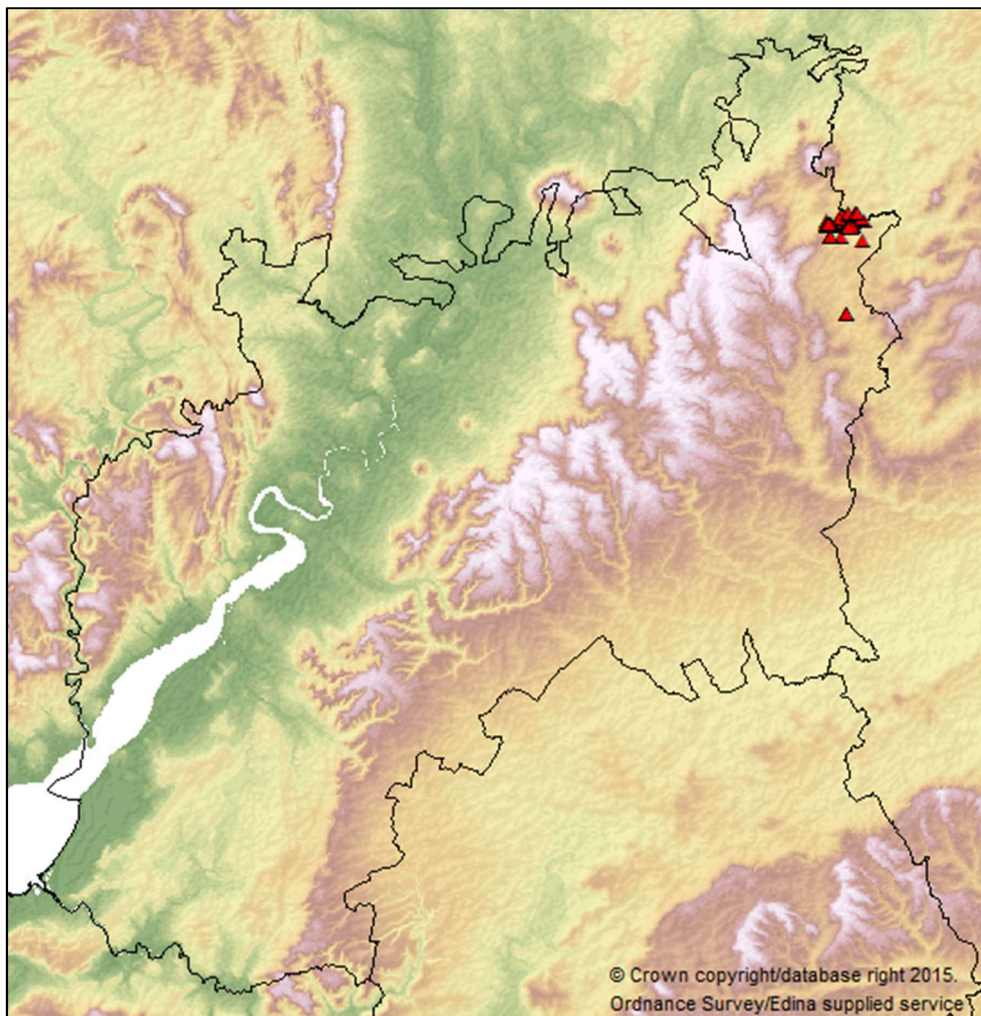


Fig. 7.20 Locations of earthworks identified as either pillow mounds or stack stands in north-east Gloucestershire

The distribution of these mounds is such that there may be considered two principal groups at Neighbrook and Upper Ditchford, while to the north of Upper Ditchford and south of Paddle Brook is a largely dispersed set of mounds with no

discernible grouping (Fig. 7.21). A total of 107 earthworks have been recorded in this area by the North Gloucestershire Cotswolds NMP, while a single isolated example is located to the north at Charingworth and ten earthworks have been located south of this group: four each at Aston Magna and Cowham Farm and single examples at Aston Hale and Fox Farm.

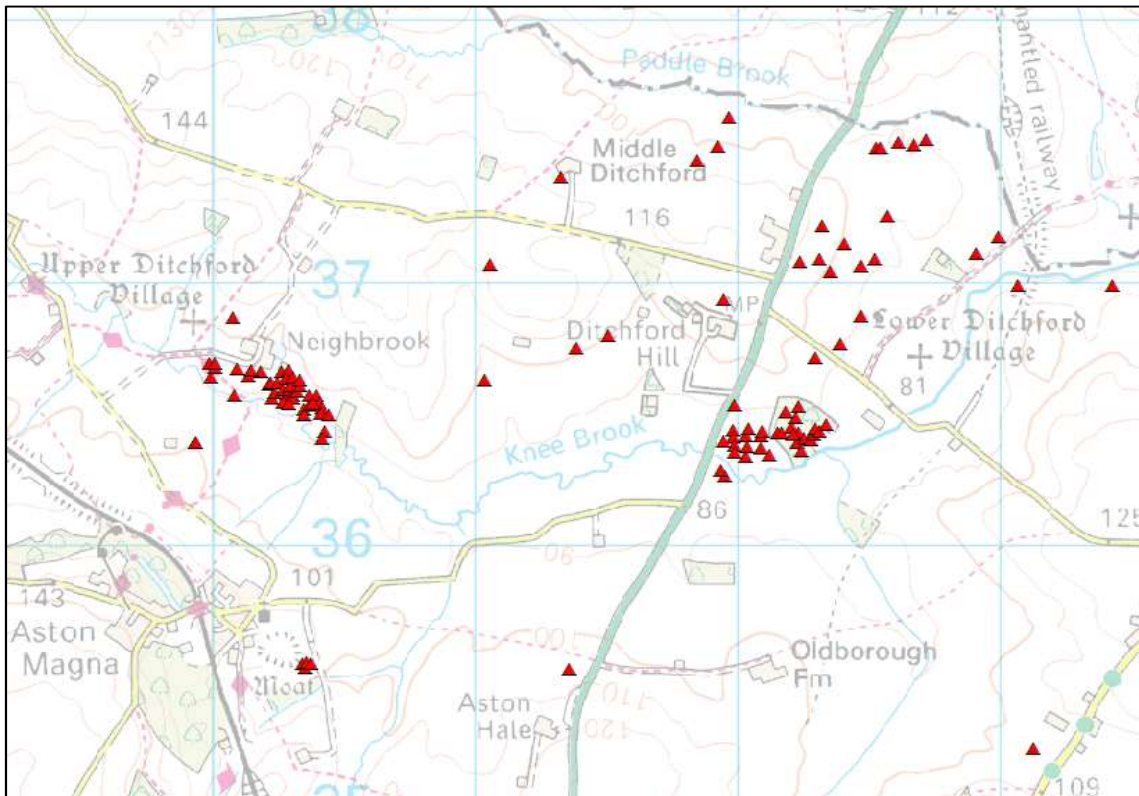


Fig. 7.21 Distribution of earthworks of unknown origin in north-east Gloucestershire, although the isolated examples at Charingworth and Cowham Farm lie outside this extract (base mapping © 2015 Ordnance Survey)

All of the earthworks recorded by the North Gloucestershire Cotswolds NMP are either roughly circular or oval mounds, with a single exception: the rectangular Neighbrook 14. Although rarely, if ever, perfectly round, the circular mounds in the area have an average diameter of 7.6m, while the oval examples have an average length of 11.5m and an average width of 6.9m. Given the imperfect nature of the circular mounds, it seems probable that both the circular and oval mounds recorded in the region represent the same tradition of construction rather than being two distinct typological forms.

Although it is possible to discern a number of distinct groupings, the general distribution pattern of these earthworks is one of seemingly random dispersal even within these distinct groupings. For example, the mounds within the largest grouping at Neighbrook are arranged with no coherent pattern and

without any direct relationship to each other, with the distances between each mound varying greatly (Fig. 7.22).

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Fig. 7.22 Distribution of earthworks of unknown origin at Neighbrook identified by the North Gloucestershire Cotswolds NMP (© Historic England)

All of these examples appear to overlie ridge and furrow and while indicating a post-medieval date, their purpose remains unknown. Site visits were undertaken in April 2015 and a large number of the earthworks recorded by the NMP were not visible as they were either under cultivation or have apparently been ploughed out, although several were visible at Upper Ditchfield DMV. The earthworks here were, as noted above, either circular or oval mounds and all were very low-lying, rendering their identification difficult (Fig. 7.23). Nevertheless, those that were identified do not lend themselves to an obvious interpretation, for while individual examples may ostensibly have the appearance of small pillow mounds, their distribution is unlike any other pillow mound grouping so far recorded within the study area. While there are several large pillow mound groups within the South West, notably on Dartmoor and at Minchinhampton, if the earthworks in north-

east Gloucestershire represent individual farmsteads with their own warrens then they represent the largest concentration of such pillow mounds within the study area. It is worth noting too that very few pillow mounds are recorded in the adjacent county of Warwickshire, with only 20 recorded by Warwickshire's HER and the NMR. While this low number in part probably reflects how they are recorded in that county, their relative absence on its south-west border with Gloucestershire poses the question as to why the Knee Brook pillow mounds are confined only to the Gloucestershire side of the border.



Fig. 7.23 Circular mound at Upper Ditchford (author's photograph taken at SP22973724 looking east)

The circular mounds at Upper Ditchford were previously noted by Chris Dyer, Emeritus Professor of History at Leicester University, who has undertaken much research of medieval economic and social history, particularly focusing on the West Midlands of Gloucestershire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire. Dyer reported that Upper Ditchford was abandoned c1475 and that the circular mounds at the site were probably then installed as a warren (2012, 145). According to this interpretation, the mounds at the other sites in the region could likewise be warrens for there is much evidence of medieval settlement shrinkage in north-east Gloucestershire (*ibid.*, 133) and the installation of warrens could therefore have post-dated the contraction of the agricultural

workforce in the region. However, in an email exchange, Dyer expressed doubts about these conclusions, feeling that the mounds may have been “too small and an odd shape” to have been pillow mounds (personal communication, 23 April 2015). When the full extent and range of the circular/oval mounds in north-east Gloucestershire was made known to Dyer, he was of the opinion that they could not be pillow mounds because they are too scattered and numerous, undermining their purpose of concentrating rabbits in a controlled area (*ibid.*).

The NMR suggests that these mounds may alternatively be stack stands, defined by Historic England as “platform[s] for storing winter fodder” (Monument Type Thesaurus). Certainly in the late medieval and early post-medieval periods, this region of Gloucestershire was used extensively as sheep pasture, with Blockley parish in particular noted for its extensive pasture: at almost 10,000 acres, the parish’s three largest pastures at Middle and Upper Ditchford and Upton amounted to a quarter of its total area and could have pastured 3,000 – 4,000 sheep in the early sixteenth century (Dyer 2012, 153); a similar number of sheep would have been pastured by the peasants of the parish’s smaller villages (*ibid.*). The wool industry in England was thriving in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and although there was a decline in wool exports during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, evidence suggests that the Cotswold wool industry continued to prosper: in 1380-1400, Cotswold wool fetched £8-10 per sack compared to the national average of £5-6 (Dyer 1995, 156).

Clearly then much of north-east Gloucestershire was given over to sheep pasture during the late medieval and early post-medieval period and there would have been provisions for the management of the region’s sheep flocks. As such, a number of sheepcotes have been identified in the region representing buildings where sheep would have been housed in the medieval period. Sheep would have been fed hay, peas, vetch, pulse and oats, some of which would have been stored in these sheepcotes, while there are also references to stacks of hay and corn near to sheepcotes (*ibid.*, 152). The interpretation of these mounds as stack stands is, however, unlikely: according to Dyer, there cannot be any connection with sheep houses and nor can they be stack stands as hay would have been gathered into a central place, not left dispersed among the pasture fields (personal communication, 23 April 2015).

Dyer points out an observation made by J. Harvey Bloom, a Warwickshire antiquarian active in the early twentieth century, who wrote of Compton Scorpion

about two miles north of Upper Ditchford that “there are three flat meadows here with about a dozen small circular mounds three yards or so across. They seem too small for burial mounds and it has been suggested that they were made for the sheep to lie on in flood times” (SCLA DR41/22). This explanation seems unlikely, however, as despite many of the mounds being near the courses of Paddle Brook and Knee Brook, they are frequently found on gently rising land rather than on low-lying meadows. With that said, the drainage characteristics of the area is generally poor, with all sites except Charingworth have drainage ratings of 4, with the latter having a rating of 5. While the sites may therefore be located on poorly drained land, it remains unlikely that special platforms would have been constructed to protect sheep from damp conditions. Bloom’s observation is also interesting for the fact that he found the mounds puzzling and Dyer considered him to be the sort of man (a country parson) who would have enquired of farmers and locals as to the purpose of such mounds, indicating that by c1900 their purpose had been completely forgotten (personal communication, 01 May 2015).

Ultimately then, the purpose of these mounds remains unknown. Dyer has ruled out them being stack stands for despite the prevalence of sheep farming in the region, the sheep’s fodder would have been collected in a central area rather than in a dispersed fashion. It also seems unlikely that they would have been platforms constructed to protect sheep from flooding, as Bloom suggested, for they are not located in low-lying fields prone to flooding. Their interpretation as pillow mounds also seems unlikely for a number of reasons. First, their dispersed nature would undermine a central tenet of pillow mounds in that they were designed to concentrate rabbits allowing for their easy capture. Certainly a ‘warren’ of the size seen at Neighbrook or Upper Ditchford is not seen anywhere in the study area other than in the large post-medieval commercial warrens of Dartmoor and Minchinhampton. The prevalence of circular/oval mounds is also unusual, for although examples of both types are found throughout the study area, that 117 out of the 118 examples here are either circular or oval is unprecedented. There are also no known documentary sources referring to warrens in these regions, either in the form of leases or maps. Indeed, as discussed above, several maps of north-east Gloucestershire do indicate the presence of historic warrens, but these are shown to have been confined to

defined fields rather than being large, sprawling warrens, dispersed across the countryside.

There are also reasons to believe that these warrens, if they are warrens, would not have been particularly successful. As noted elsewhere, Simpson recommended that pillow mounds be placed at least 100 yards (approximately 91m) apart to avoid competition for food (1893, 86) and clearly at the larger concentrations the mounds are located less than 100 yards apart. Evidently this would have resulted in competition for food on land that was not particularly well-drained, suggesting that the warrens would not have been particularly, or at least consistently, productive. Given the large number of mounds, if they represent warrens then clearly much effort would have been expended in rearing and capturing the rabbits and it seems unlikely that such an expenditure of effort would have been afforded to a range of sites that would have yielded poor returns. That much of the area was demonstrably used for sheep pasture further increases the competition for fodder if rabbits were sharing the landscape with sheep.

Moreover, despite the NMP's mapping clearly recording the location of these mounds, this has been based solely on the investigation of aerial photographs rather than field visits. As noted above, field visits undertaken by the present author in April 2015 identified a number of these mounds, while others were under cultivation or ploughed out. However, a number were simply not visible on the ground in areas that were not under cultivation, while it has also not been possible to locate every mound on LiDAR images. It is possible then that several examples of these earthworks have been misidentified by the NMP. For example, four circular mounds were recorded at Aston Magna, and while the site is on privately owned land and was not accessible during field visits, aerial photographs of the site have been viewed at the NMR. While areas of ridge and furrow and a moated site are visible, the four mounds identified by the NMP are not clearly visible on any of the NMR's photographs. While there are certainly areas of shadow suggesting the presence of mounds, or at least some disturbance of the ridge and furrow, it cannot be conclusively shown that there are four distinct circular mounds at this location (Fig. 7.24). It is possible then that a number of the 118 mounds recorded by the NMP have been identified in error, particularly given the mounds' small size, and consequently the true number of these circular/oval mounds in north-east Gloucestershire remains unknown.



Fig. 7.24 Aerial photograph of Aston Magna taken 16.01.1947 – the location of four circular mounds identified by the NMP is highlighted, and while an area of disturbance to the ridge and furrow may be discerned, the identification of four discrete mounds is not possible (NMR)

Summary

During the medieval period, a high proportion of the Cotswolds was held by ecclesiastical magnates (Dyer 1995, 148) and correspondingly the three earliest rabbit warrens recorded in north-east Gloucestershire may have been owned by religious houses. Bourton-on-the-Hill's warren recorded in 1474 may have been owned by Westminster Abbey, although this is not certain: two manors were located in the medieval parish, and while the larger was owned by the abbey, the smaller was in private hands. However, it seems more probable that the warren would have been owned by the wealthy Westminster Abbey, whose demesne lands lay in the north-west of the parish in roughly the same location as a warren recorded in Bourton-on-the-Hill's 1821 Inclosure Act. The 1539 reference to a warren at Saintbury can however be conclusively linked to an ecclesiastical landlord as it is recorded in a lease of land owned by Evesham Abbey. Sezincote

Warren may also originally have had ecclesiastical owners as although not recorded before 1632, the manor had belonged to Bruern Monastery during the medieval period. The pillow mounds at Tilbury Hollow and Blockley Park Farm may also have links with ecclesiastical institutions: Tilbury Hollow was, during the medieval period, associated with Bordesley Abbey's Coombe Grange while Blockley Park Farm may have been associated with a park belonging to the Bishops of Worcester. In both cases, however, these associations have yet to be proven and both warrens are moreover likely to date from the post-medieval period. Nevertheless, given the high proportion of land in the region owned by ecclesiastical institutions, it is perhaps expected that the earliest warrens in north-east Gloucestershire would have had ecclesiastical owners. Consequently, there is no recorded evidence of rabbit warrens forming part of the lay manorial economy within north-east Gloucestershire during the medieval period. Indeed, it is not until the early seventeenth-century accounts of Sezincote Warren that evidence emerges of rabbit warrens playing an important role in aristocratic manorial economies in the region.

Ostensibly, such a link possibly supports the Stockers' theory (1996) that medieval warrens expressed explicit Christian symbolism, with rabbits understood to represent humankind under the protection of Christ. According to this theory, "some evidence for the deliberate siting of pillow mounds in 'symbolic' locations within monastic precincts may indeed be detectable" (*ibid.*, 269). However, despite connections between north-east Gloucestershire's warrens and ecclesiastic owners, there is no evidence that they were sited so as to highlight any such symbolism. None of region's warrens are located in the grounds of ecclesiastic institutions except for the pillow mounds at Tilbury Hollow, although these are associated with a grange of Bordesley Abbey rather than the abbey itself and probably post-date the dissolution of the abbey. Despite the high concentration of ecclesiastic landowners in the region, there is therefore no evidence to support the Stockers' theory that pillow mounds and warrens displayed overt Christian symbolism that would have in part been expressed through a physical association with ecclesiastic sites.

The relatively small number of medieval and early post-medieval warrens also suggests that the region, despite the high prevalence of wealthy ecclesiastical landowners, did not play a part in the earliest phase of rabbits' introduction into England and Wales. While it has long been reported that the

earliest warrens were located on small islands or sandy coastal areas (Matheson 1941, 373; Veale 1957, 85; Williamson 2007, 13), they eventually spread throughout the mainland during the medieval period and yet there are no confirmed warrens in north-east Gloucestershire until that at Bourton-on-the-Hill in 1474. Robertson proposed that the Church may have been responsible for the spread of rabbits in England, with monastic orders in particular being considered the ideal agents for the spread of warrens due to them favouring isolated and dispersed locations (1991, 245). Although there are relatively few ecclesiastical remains present in this part of Gloucestershire, the Church was nevertheless a principal landlord in the region. If the Church was an agent of rabbits' spread throughout England during the medieval period, it might be expected that north-east Gloucestershire would have had far more warrens than is currently recorded. With that said, more extensive investigation of the ecclesiastical institutions' medieval accounts may reveal further references, although even then additional information may not be forthcoming: Reading University warned that documentary references to Coombe Grange at Tilbury Hollow are so sporadic that "it is difficult to know if the grange had been leased during the fourteenth century" (The Bordesley Abbey Project 2015).

A study of post-medieval documents at Gloucestershire Archives has likewise revealed few traces of warrens beyond the preservation of warren-related field-names on various maps. This is in direct comparison to the experience of investigating south-east Dorset where numerous warrens are recorded in seventeenth-century leases, albeit most had evidently fallen out of use by then. As such it is difficult to gain a full picture of warrening in north-east Gloucestershire beyond the fact that there were evidently few medieval warrens, while the majority of surviving pillow mounds and references to warrens point to post-medieval activities.

Certainly this region underwent a fundamental change during the medieval period, and particularly affected were the villages of Blockley whose revenue from tithes declined from 1384 to 1420, before recovering slightly in the mid fifteenth century and then declining again (Dyer 1980, 248). With the decline of cereal production came desertion and shrinkage of settlements in the region, of which there is ample evidence in the DMVs and shrunken villages in the Cotswolds of north-east Gloucestershire. Following the decline of cereal production, sheep farming dominated the region as the former arable fields were abandoned,

attested by documentary records of the wool industry and also the archaeology of surviving sheepcotes. The installation of rabbit warrens on former arable lands was a less labour-intensive method of exploiting the landscape no longer under arable and would therefore have been unaffected by a declining population. Certainly pillow mounds at Saintbury and Blockley Park Farm overlie ridge and furrow, while extensive ridge and furrow is present at Chipping Campden's *Coneygree*, although not at its western extent, while ridge and furrow has also been noted at Tilbury Hollow, although again it is not directly overlain by pillow mounds. Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence indicating the installation of warrens on former medieval arable fields.

Given that the wool industry dominated the landscape both before and following the decline of arable farming, it is unclear whether warrens and sheep pasturing would have been concurrent as this would have resulted in competition for pasture. However, Sheail wrote that, nationally, the installation of warrens in the post-medieval period may have been in response to the general decline in grain and wool prices between 1660 and 1750 (1978, 348). The Cotswold wool industry did not decline, however, until the late nineteenth century (Walrond 1973, 183), by which time rabbits were already generally unprofitable. It seems likely then that warrening would have been concurrent with sheep farming in an attempt to optimise the yields of those fields under pasture. Indeed, pillow mounds and sheepcotes share the same fields at Blockley Park Farm and at Tilbury Hollow.

So as far as the available evidence suggests, although there are few documentary references to confirm the matter, north-east Gloucestershire's pillow mounds were installed on former medieval arable lands during the post-medieval period, often alongside sheep pasture. In which case the majority would be purely utilitarian rabbit farms, although Chipping Campden's warren apparently has some symbolic meaning as it was clearly visible from the early seventeenth-century banqueting house, and though separated from formal gardens by a wall, its close proximity renders it part of that same designed, elite landscape. This particular warren is the only example recorded in north-east Gloucestershire with such obvious symbolic overtones.

Of the region's surviving pillow mounds, with two exceptions, all are either rectangular or sub-rectangular, with an average length of 25.4m and an average width of 10m. The two exceptions are those at Saintbury, where a single circular mound and a conjoined mound are present, although the widths of its arms are

approximately 5m, again differentiating it from the remainder of the region's linear pillow mounds. Despite the small sample size, and the obvious exception of Saintbury's pillow mounds, north-east Gloucestershire's pillow mounds can be described as belonging to a tradition of linear earthworks. Several warrens are located on well-drained land, although several are also found on only moderately or poorly drained land, suggesting that the desire to fully exploit land that had formerly been arable was more important than installing a warren on land that was most beneficial to the rearing of rabbits.

Aside from eleven confirmed pillow mounds in the region, there are a further 118 earthworks that have been recorded by the North Gloucestershire Cotswolds NMP and which have been interpreted as being either pillow mounds or stack stands. While all of them overlie ridge and furrow, it seems unlikely that they are pillow mounds. As noted above, those earthworks that can be confirmed as pillow mounds are almost always linear earthworks, with only the single circular example at Saintbury being an exception (and although the conjoined mound at the site is also not rectangular/sub-rectangular, it is nevertheless also a linear mound); of the 118 earthworks identified by the NMP, 117 are either circular or oval. Such a concentration of circular/oval mounds is unprecedented either within the wider South West or within north-east Gloucestershire. Moreover, the dispersed distribution of these mounds does not correspond to the confirmed warrens found within the region, which are always confined to single fields, or in the case of Saintbury across two fields. Their distribution pattern is unprecedented outside of Dartmoor and Minchinhampton, and yet no documentary evidence has been found recording large commercial warrens in north-east Gloucestershire. While it seems unlikely that they are pillow mounds, it is also unlikely that they are stack stands and at present then their function remains unknown. However, the vast majority of known warrens and pillow mounds in north-east Gloucestershire are located on the highlands to the west and south of the Cotswold Edge, while these circular/oval mounds lie beyond the Cotswold Edge. While this raises the possibility that they represent a unique geographical variant of warrening activities and architecture, in light of the above evidence it seems unlikely that they truly are pillow mounds.

CHAPTER 8

CASE STUDY: NORTH-EAST CORNWALL

Rationale for Case Study

Fifty-four pillow mounds are recorded in Cornwall at a density of 0.02 pillow mounds per km², analogous with densities in Dorset and Wiltshire. Cornwall's pillow mounds are distributed throughout the county, although the largest concentration is in its eastern third. Warrens recorded solely through documentary references are likewise distributed throughout Cornwall, particularly along its northern and western coastlines, but the biggest inland concentration is again found in this eastern third. North-east Cornwall was therefore chosen as a case study for the opportunity to investigate the biggest concentration of pillow mounds within the county and a sizeable number of its historic warrens. This case study also provided the opportunity to investigate Bodmin Moor as a means of providing a comparison to the extensive warrens found on the comparable moorlands of Dartmoor. Additionally, despite the fact that some of the very few pillow mounds shown to be medieval through excavation are located in the county at Bodwen, and although HER and NMR records are generally robust, the county's warrens have nevertheless received little prior investigation. This case study therefore provides an opportunity to examine a hitherto neglected area of England's historic landscape.

North-East Cornwall – Location

Cornwall contains a number of distinct geological areas, although most of its underlying geology consists of sedimentary argillaceous rocks (Fig. 8.1). The county is punctuated by four distinct areas of acidic igneous rock forming outcrops of highland, the most well-known being Bodmin Moor. A band of sandstone and argillaceous rocks runs in a north-west to south-east direction across the centre of Cornwall, while there are also dispersed areas of dolerite and limestone found in the eastern third of the county. The geology of Cornwall's far south-western tip is more complex than the remainder of the county and features a distinct geological makeup.

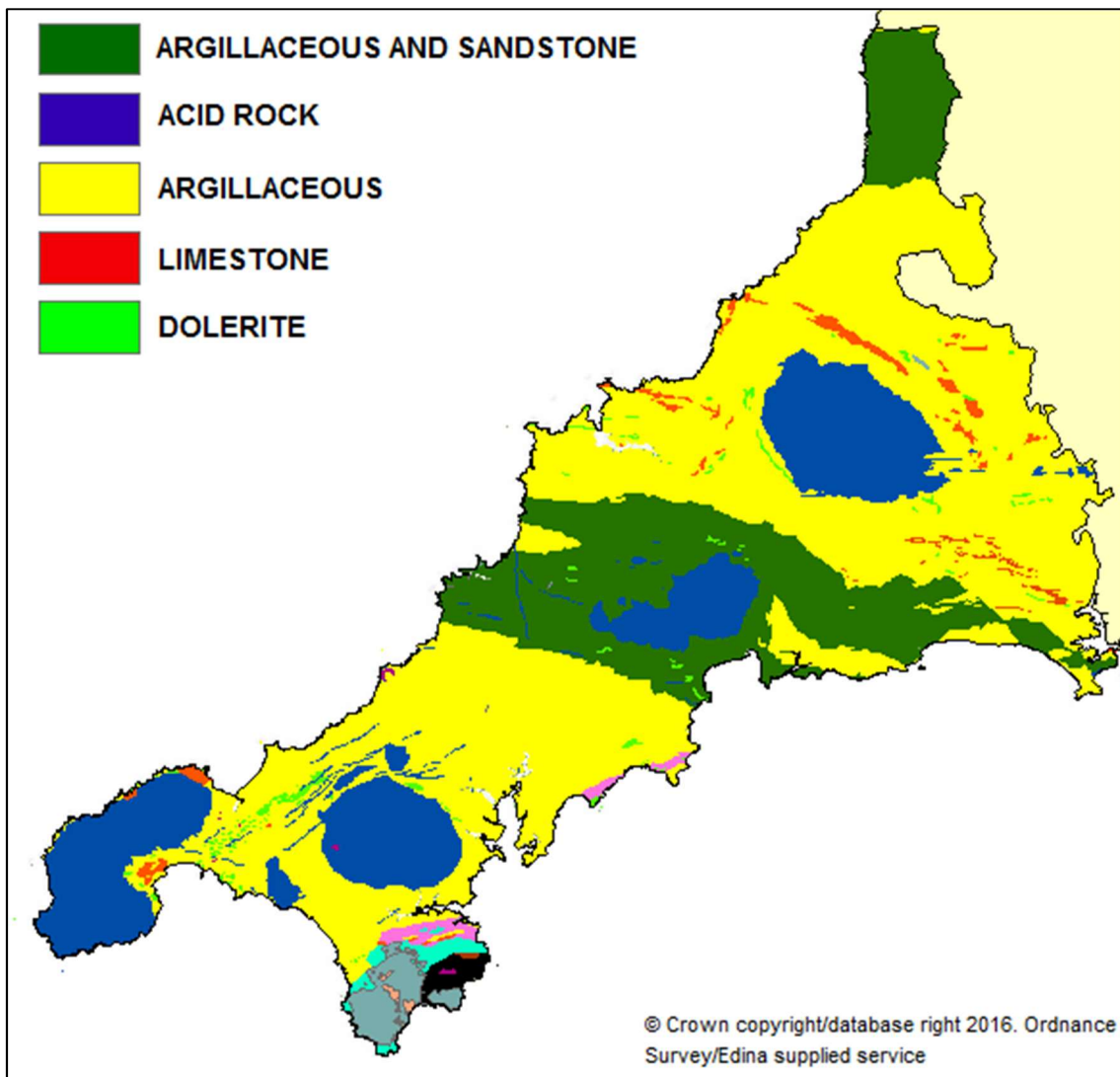


Fig. 8.1 Cornwall's geology with the major groups in the east of the county defined

The present case study, although incorporating Bodmin Moor, is not confined solely to that region but instead includes the whole of north-east Cornwall stretching to its coastline (Fig. 8.2). This provides the opportunity to compare the different landscapes of coastal warrens, sites on Bodmin Moor itself, and warrens on the lower lands east of Bodmin Moor. This investigation also includes Werrington, which prior to 1966 was located in Devon: on Figure 8.2, based on the historic counties of England, Werrington is therefore depicted in western Devon.

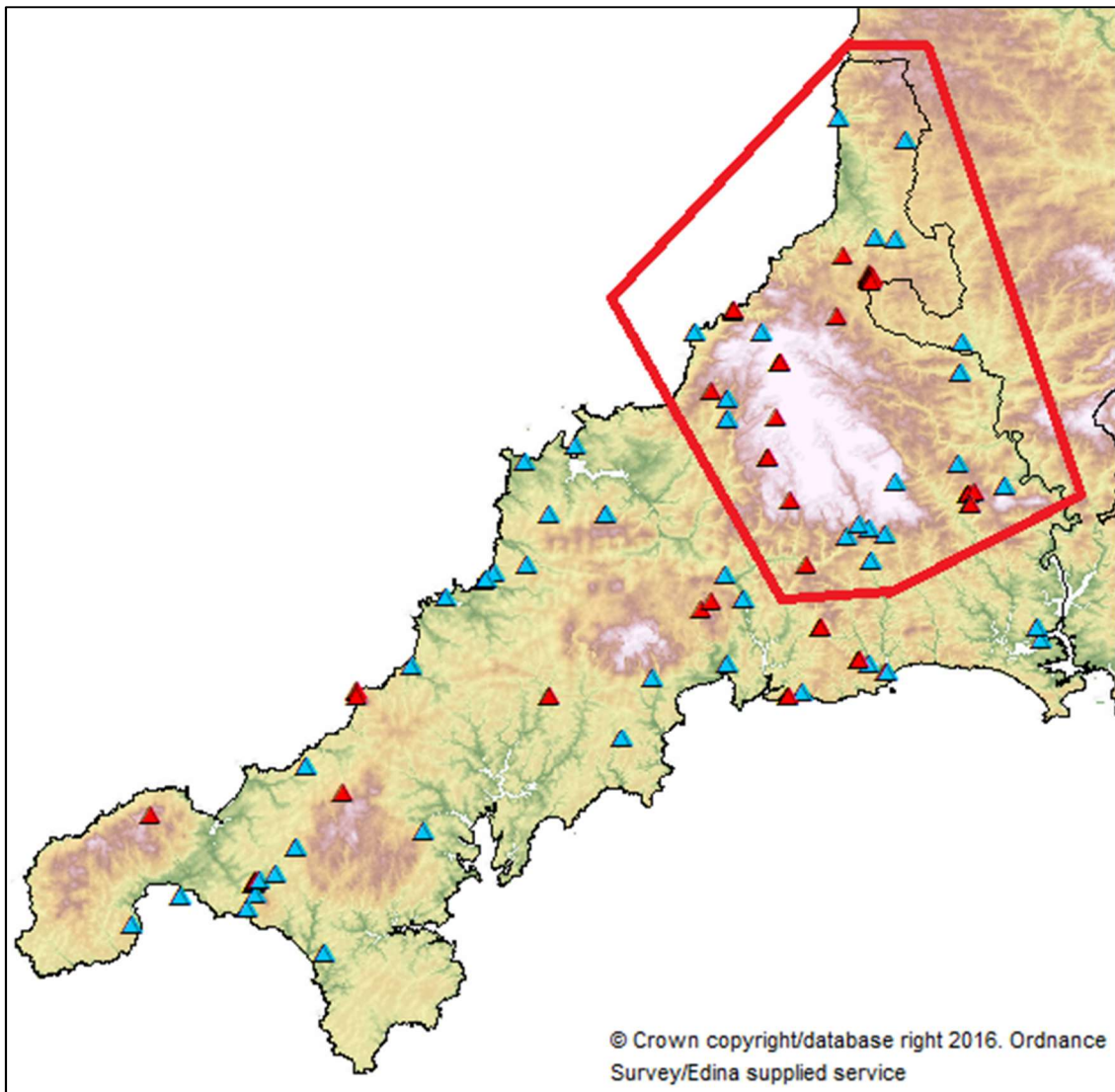


Fig. 8.2 The nested study area of north-east Cornwall, with surviving warrens marked in red and historic warrens in blue

Medieval Warrens

Six possible medieval rabbit warrens are documented in north-east Cornwall, five being associated with the Duchy of Cornwall's deer parks (Fig. 8.3). Very little is known of them and most are mentioned in a single patent roll entry recording rabbit thefts from deer parks including Lanteglos, Helsbury, Liskeard, Kerrybullock and Launceston in 1347 (CPR, Edward III, vol. 7, 394). However, it is unclear whether a rabbit warren would have been located at each site although there is no reason to assume that these elite parks, belonging to Edward Duke of Cornwall, would not each have had rabbit warrens. An earlier reference to break-ins of Kerrybullock, Liskeard, Lanteglos, Restormel and Trematon is recorded in 1272 (*ibid.*, Henry III, vol. 6, 706), although they did not then contain rabbit warrens for the patent roll records only thefts of deer and hares.

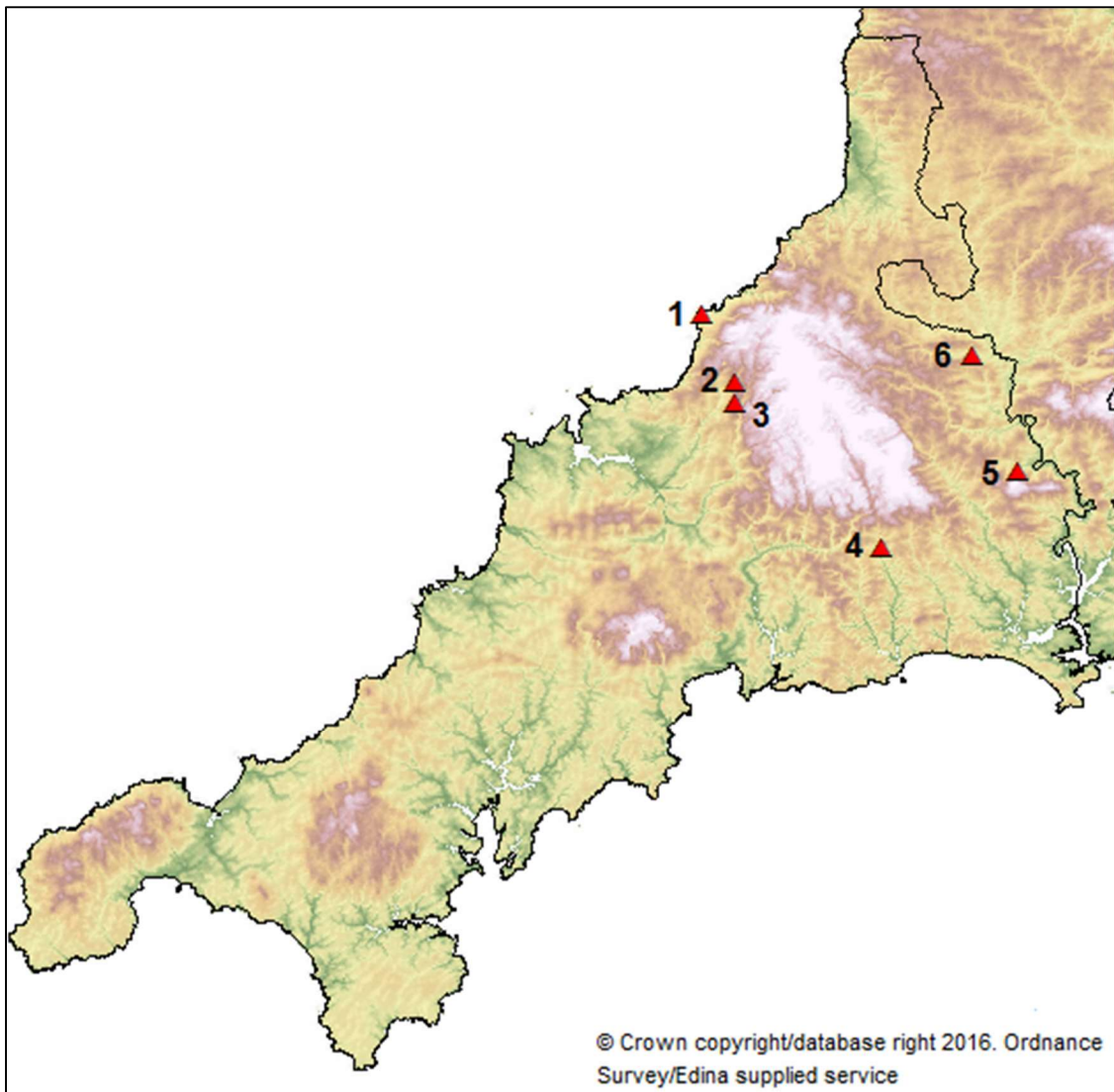


Fig. 8.3 Locations of (1) Tintagel, (2) Lanteglos, (3) Helsbury, (4) Liskeard, (5) Kerrybullock, (6) Launceston

Rabbit warrens were therefore installed in at least some of these parks between 1272 and 1347 and possibly relate to the creation of the Duchy of Cornwall by Edward III in March 1337. The Duchy's core estates were derived from the Earldom of Cornwall as it had existed under Edmund de Allemania, inheriting its 17 demesne manors, various boroughs and towns and those parks recorded in the patent rolls' 1272 entry. The creation of the Duchy may have been accompanied by an 'upgrade' of its hunting lands and it is possible that the installation of rabbit warrens was a product of this process. Cornwall's deer parks are mentioned on several occasions in the patent rolls, but the 1272 and 1347 references are the only ones to record the specific animal species contained within them.

Aside from the Duchy's hunting lands, work by Paul Herring indicates that many other land-owners possessed parks in the county (Fig. 8.4), with 123 pre-

twentieth-century examples recorded there: 49 predating 1550, 26 probably predating 1550 and 48 being post-medieval (2003, 35).

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Fig. 8.4 Medieval deer parks in Cornwall – those shown solid belong to the Duchy, those shaded are other parks, and those shown open represent possible parks (source: Herring 2003, 36)

Given that many of Cornwall's medieval rabbit warrens are explicitly associated with deer parks, the high number of parks within the county suggests a potential for further unrecorded medieval warrens. While Chapter 4 suggested that there were fewer medieval warrens in western England, particularly the Cornwall-Devon peninsula, compared to eastern England, a number of 'non-Duchy' warrens have nevertheless been recorded in Cornwall. It is possible then that historic numbers of rabbit warrens far exceeds the current known examples, both within north-east Cornwall and the wider county. Indeed, Herring wrote that even smaller parks that were more modest reflections of their owners' wealth, such as

Bennacott or Pengersick, would still have served as stock for deer and other game animals such as rabbits (2003, 35).

Although Herring's study has enhanced our understanding of Cornish deer parks, their rabbit warrens remain little understood. So while Herring was able to show how almost all Cornish deer parks incorporated landscape elements that either put those parks on display or provided seclusion (*ibid.*, 38), it is unknown whether their rabbit warrens would have been conspicuous statements of wealth as their specific locations are not recorded. Tithe maps, often a source of useful locational information, do not record their locations due to the temporal gap between the maps' production and the warrens' foundations. However, there is some evidence that several of these warrens were surprisingly long-lived. In 1814, Lyons wrote of Helsbury Park that "till lately" it was still a rabbit warren (234), while the disparked Liskeard Park contained a rabbit warren in the eighteenth century: a 1748 indenture records the lease of various lands and hunting rights within them, including a "free warren of coneyes" with a yearly rental value of £20 (CRO EL/39/10). These same lands are recorded in other leases, with the latest mentioning the rabbit warren dating from 1784 (CRO EL/39/22). Several of these leases mention a 26-acre parcel of land called *Coning Wood* although its location is unknown, and while a survey of the barton of Lodge in the former park includes maps of various parcels of land, including *Coning Wood* (CRO EL/39/17), they are recorded separately and it is not possible to discern their locations within the wider landscape. Lying outside the present case study, a 1791 map of Tomarton Park incorporates pictures of agricultural activities, including hunting rabbits, suggesting that a warren also existed in that medieval deer park at a similarly late date (CRO X1323/2/3).

While several Cornish deer parks were associated with castles, only Launceston Castle has been subject to excavations investigating animal consumption. Probably founded in 1067, the castle underwent numerous phases of occupation: until the mid-thirteenth century it was a densely occupied residence, from the mid-thirteenth to the fifteenth century it was only sporadically occupied as its status declined, from the fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century its use was probably limited to the justices' circuit, and from the mid-seventeenth century onwards it served as the town's jail (Albarella and Davis 1996, 1-3). During excavations undertaken between 1961 and 1982, over 9,500 faunal

remains were identified, with rabbit recovered from late thirteenth-century deposits onwards (*ibid.*, 24), although only becoming more common than hare from the sixteenth century onwards (*ibid.*, 9).

While there are no specific details recording percentages of rabbit specimens compared to other species or where within the castle the bones were recovered, the excavations indicate some rabbit consumption occurred during the medieval period and although the nearby deer park would have provided a convenient 'larder' for rabbits, they nevertheless remained relatively rare until the post-medieval period. That rabbits were consumed at Launceston during the late-thirteenth century before the creation of the Duchy of Cornwall suggests a different scenario to that posited above that its creation was the driving force behind the foundation of its parks' warrens. However, this may be explained by the fact that Launceston Castle considerably predates the Duchy and was the *caput* of the earlier Earldom of Cornwall and therefore a site of considerable importance.

A sixth medieval warren, and one unconnected with the Duchy's deer parks, was located at Tintagel and is first recorded in the 1447-48 accounts of the Arundells of Lanherne. These accounts cover rents collected from Bossiney, Tintagel and Tywernayle, all boroughs on the north Cornwall coast, and record "6s 8d revenue of Tyntagell castle called llond with rabbit warren there, demised to John Lowr" (CRO AR/2/719/5). Tintagel was formerly part of the Duchy of Cornwall but during this period the Arundells acted as steward of the Duchy's Cornish estates so it is unclear whether Tintagel's warren formerly belonged to the Duchy or whether it can be considered as belonging to the wider lands of the Arundells. In either case, Tintagel's warren was demised to a private tenant rather than managed directly by the manor, as was the warren at the family's seat at Lanherne, where the 1480 accounts record one leased to John Richard (Fox and Padel 2000, 99).

Tintagel Castle itself was constructed by Richard Earl of Cornwall, who purchased Tintagel island together with 'Richard's Castle' from Gervase de Tyntagel (Tintagel Castle 2015). It is presumed that 'Richard's Castle' was built by the earl himself and so dates from between 1225, when he was granted the earldom of the county, and 1233 when he purchased Tintagel island (*ibid.*). The castle's inner ward is located on a small peninsula, the so-called 'island', while its

upper and lower wards were constructed on the mainland with a bailey constructed on either side of the connecting isthmus. Despite the castle's present fame, little is known of how it was used although by 1337 it was in ruin and was subsequently reworked into smaller buildings with a small staff managing its upkeep (*ibid.*). The 1447-48 warren reference therefore dates to the period following the castle's decay although it is feasible that a warren had existed at an earlier date. Excavations undertaken between 1990 and 1999 revealed a small number of animal bones, although Tintagel's acidic soils hinder preservation of faunal remains (Barrowman *et al* 2007, 285). Nevertheless, a small number of animal bones were found in securely dated deposits (Phase X, corresponding to the twelfth/thirteenth centuries) including a single rabbit femur, while a rabbit atlas was found in the same trench but from float residue (*ibid*, 296). While this may indicate the presence of rabbits, or consumption of rabbits, during the thirteenth-century, the excavators admit that the specimen may derive from a later, intrusive animal (*ibid.*, 299).

John Carew's 1602 survey of Cornwall noted that Tintagel was then being used as pasture for rabbits and sheep (Chynoweth *et al* 2004, 120v). Although no other details were given, the reference is noteworthy for indicating that both sheep and rabbit shared pasture and that there may therefore have been competition between the two species. In light of Simpson's comments that a successful warren's pillow mounds should be placed at regular intervals, ideally about 100 yards apart, to ensure that rabbits fed evenly (1893, 86-7), the presence of both sheep and rabbits at Tintagel suggests the desire to utilise otherwise unused land was paramount rather than the desire to produce an exceptional stock of rabbits. Moreover, the underlying bedrock is not well-drained, having a drainage rating of 4.

It is not clear whether Tintagel would have had pillow mounds for the island's natural geography creates a discrete warren boundary that negates the need to concentrate the rabbits within a specific location to facilitate their capture. Nevertheless, RCHM's earthwork survey of the castle's inner ward revealed numerous earthworks (Fig. 8.5), and while the identification of many is uncertain, some may feasibly represent pillow mounds: while it may not have been absolutely necessary to have constructed pillow mounds at Tintagel, three are

located at nearby Willapark and which has a similar 'island' topography (discussed below).

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Fig. 8.5 RCHM earthwork survey of Tintagel Island (source: Thomas 1988, 426)

Post-Medieval Warrens

Thirteen rabbit warrens within the nested study area are recorded solely through post-medieval documentary references (Fig. 8.6).

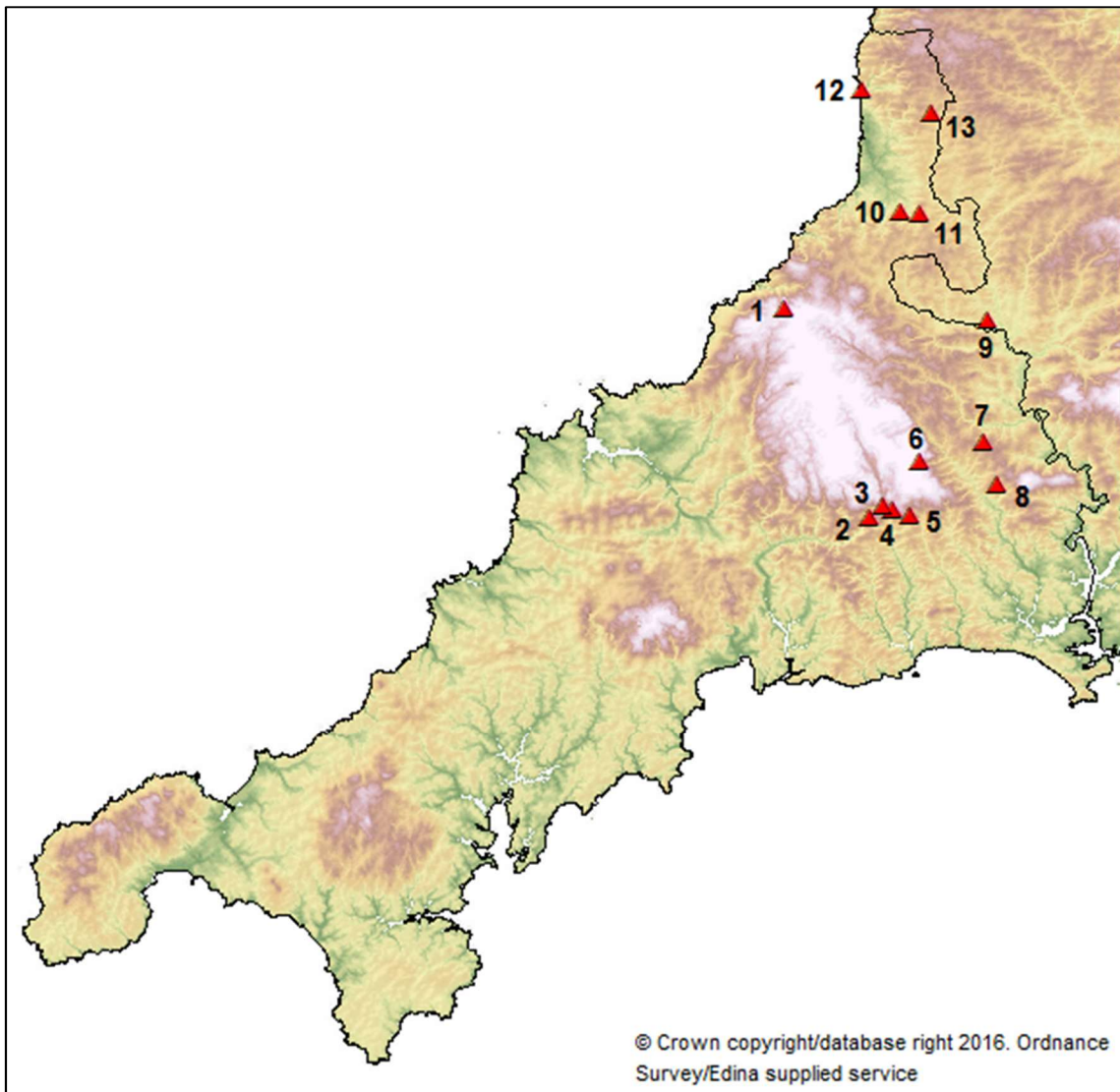


Fig. 8.6 Locations of (1) Lesnewth, (2) Higher Treworrick, (3) South Draynes, (4) Higher Treworrick, (5) St Cleer, (6) Henwood, (7) Winslade, (8) Lower Manaton, (9) Werrington, (10) Leigh, (11) Whitstone, (12) Warren Point, (13) Launcells

A rabbit warren is recorded on Lesnewth's 1841 tithe map (CRO TM/121) as *Higher Warren* (no. 139, arable) and *Lower Warren* (no. 140, arable, Fig. 8.7). No other details are known although it is tempting to link it to Grylls, the former seat of the Grylls and Betenson families. The name of Grylls today survives as Tregrylls while in 1838 the farmhouse at Tregrylls was described as "anciently the seat of the Betenson family" (Penaluna 1838, 12). Although the farmhouse itself dates from the mid-eighteenth century, the medieval seat of the Grylls family is first recorded in 1303 (Tregrylls, Lesnewth 2015). The warren lies c230m south-west of Tregrylls, suggesting an association with this elite residence, potentially stretching back to the medieval period.

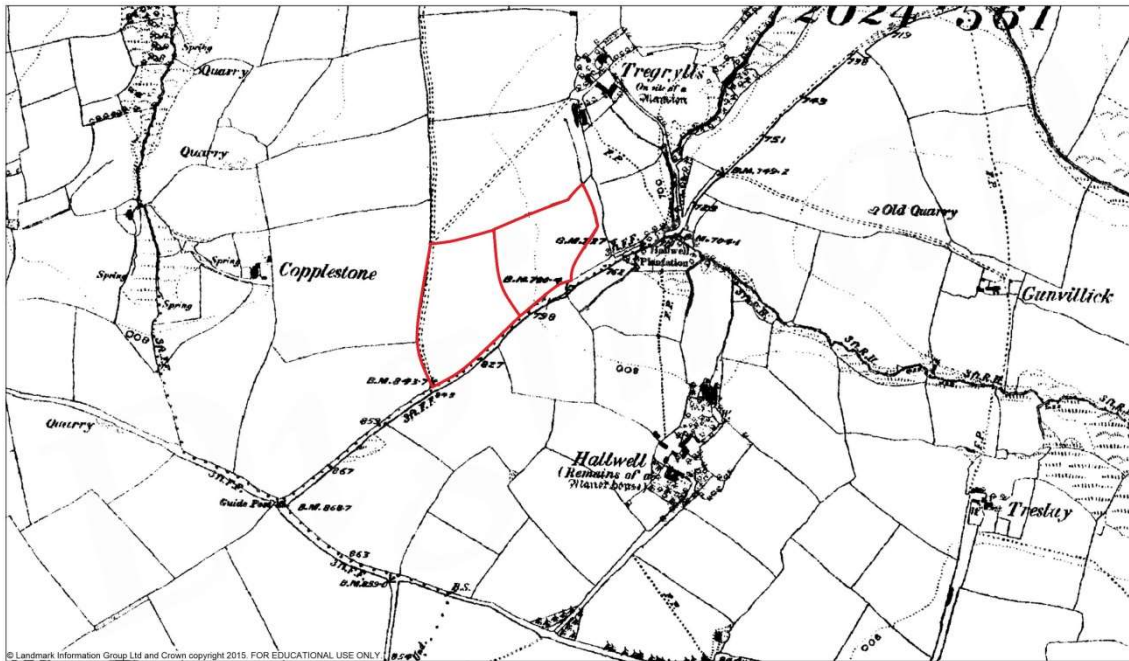


Fig. 8.7 Higher and Lower Warren fields in Lesnewth, with base mapping from 1887 First Edition 6" OS map

While this spatial association may preserve traces of a medieval manorial warren, etymologically there is more reason to suspect a post-medieval origin due to the preservation of *warren* field-names rather than a variation of *coneygarth*. During the medieval period, a distinction was usually made between the terms *warren* and *coneygarth*, as the former nearly always referred to the legal concept of free warren while the latter was used specifically to describe rabbit warrens. While there are occasional examples of medieval uses of the word *warren* to denote rabbit warrens, such as the 1462 reference to a rabbit warren called *Northampton Wareyn* (CPR, Edward IV, vol. 1, 13), this term is not consistently used to describe rabbit warrens until c1540, at least as preserved in the patent rolls. Etymologically then, the use of the word *warren* to describe a rabbit warren is later than the use of *coneygarth* and its variants, suggesting a post-medieval date for Lesnewth's warren. Elsewhere in the South West, *coneygarth*-related field-names are common and while this indicates the longevity of the term, it also indicates that *warren* field-names did not replace earlier *coneygarth* field-names, despite this earlier terminology dropping out of common usage. While *warren* fields are also found elsewhere in the South West, it is noteworthy that Cornwall has an unusually high proportion of such field-names.

With regards to the setting of Lesnewth's warren, Cornwall's HER (MCO22490) reports that OS considers its location on a north-east facing slope to represent a good position for a warren. However, while it is on sloping land and

sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds, it only has a drainage rating of 5, indicating potential for waterlogged soils. No surviving warren features are recorded at the site.

Lesnewth's warren is the sole post-medieval documentary warren recorded on north Bodmin Moor; most found on or near Bodmin Moor are instead located on its southern edge. Three such warrens are in St Cleer parish at Higher Trengale, Higher Treworrick and St Cleer itself, although Cornwall's HER records of these warrens are confused: HER no. MCO24649 is listed as being at Poketor although its NGR places it at Higher Trengale, while the warren listed at St Cleer (MCO24649) is nearer to Poketor. Evidently Cornwall's HER entry of a warren at Poketor is an erroneous amalgamation of the warrens at St Cleer and Higher Trengale.

The warren at Higher Trengale is recorded on St Cleer's 1843 tithe map (CRO TM/32) as *Warren* (no. 2163, arable, Fig. 8.8). Its foundation date is unknown, although Trengale is recorded in Domesday Book when it was held from the monastery of St Petroc by someone recorded only by the forename Richard (Jankulak 2000, 204). Today Trengale exists as the hamlet of Higher Trengale and the farmstead of Lower Trengale, with the close proximity of these two settlements probably representing a contraction of the medieval Trengale. While the warren is therefore potentially medieval, as mentioned above, the use of a *warren* field-name suggests a post-medieval origin.

The warren lies among the arable fields of Higher Trengale, indicating that no attempt was made to separate it from the settlement's arable lands, and that a desire to locate it close to hamlet's farmstead was instead more important. Perhaps this represents an anti-poaching measure as the warren's location makes it highly visible from Higher Trengale's farmstead. The warren is situated on poorly drained land with a drainage rating of 4, although land immediately to the south of the warren is slightly better draining, having a drainage rating of 5, again suggesting the warren was sited so as to be in close proximity to the farmstead. No warren architecture survives.

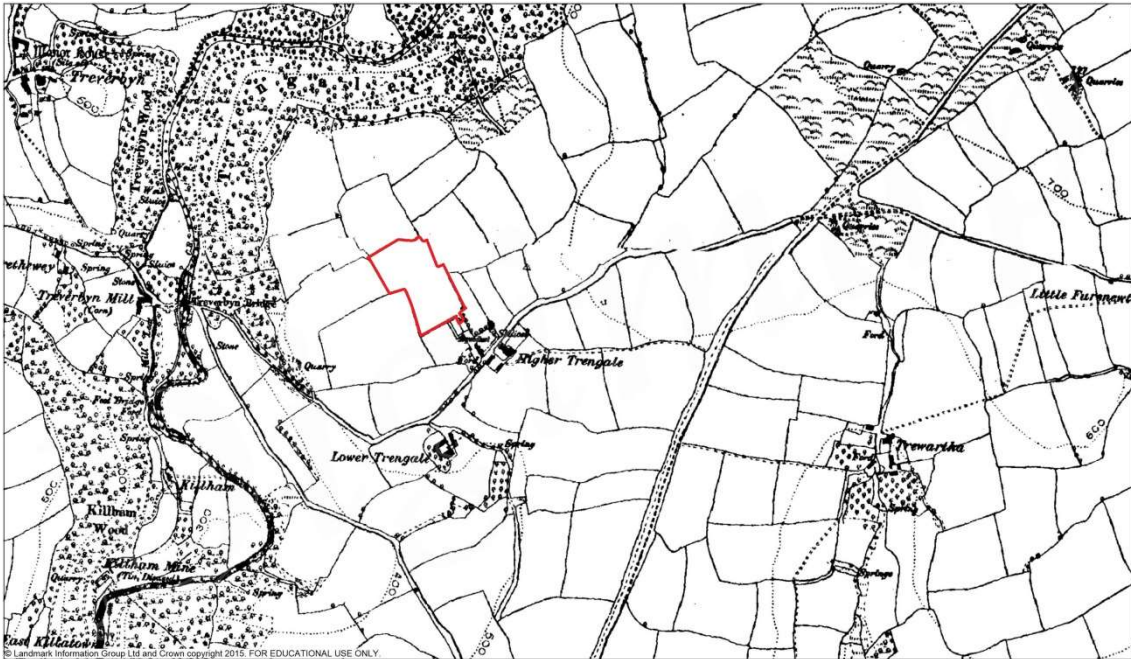


Fig. 8.8 Higher Trengale warren, with base mapping from 1882 First Edition 6'' OS map

The warren at Higher Treworrick is recorded on St Cleer's tithe map as *Warren* (no. 1744, arable, Fig. 8.9). The setting of Higher Treworrick's warren mirrors that of Higher Trengale as it also lies among arable lands immediately adjoining the settlement on land with a drainage rating of 4. Again, there is no surviving warren architecture and there is no dating evidence beyond the use of *warren* field-name, although Treworrick itself is first recorded in 1339 (Gover 1948, 257).

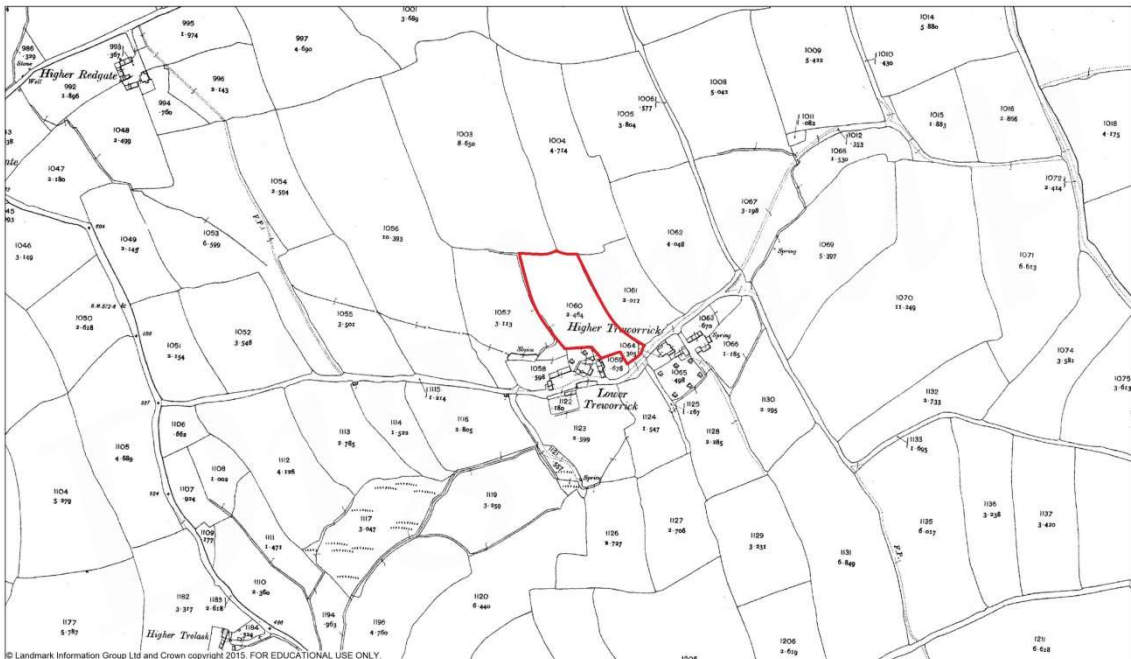


Fig. 8.9 Higher Treworrick warren, with base mapping from 1907 First Revision 25'' OS map

The parish's third warren lies between St Cleer itself and Poketor and is recorded on the tithe map as *Warren* (no. 1333, furze, Fig. 8.10) It differs from the parish's other two warrens in that it does not immediately adjoin a farmstead/hamlet, but is instead situated in farmland set back from these settlements. It is nevertheless still located among arable fields and made no use of St Cleer Downs immediately to its south. At all three warrens there were therefore no attempts made to separate them from their surrounding arable fields, and although St Cleer's warren is listed as furze on the tithe map (and was evidently still not under plough by 1962 as depicted on OS maps of that year), all three were located within the arable heartlands of their parent settlements.

There is no dating evidence beyond its name and again no physical archaeology survives. However, a circular earthwork is depicted on early OS maps at SX25206785 within the warren although nothing exists today. Cornwall's HER (56986) records that aerial photographs reveal a large negative feature with associated mounds at this location, although they are believed to represent quarrying activity and indeed the negative feature would be hard to reconcile with a rabbit warren. As with the parish's two other warrens, St Cleer's warren is located on poorly drained land with a drainage rating of 4.

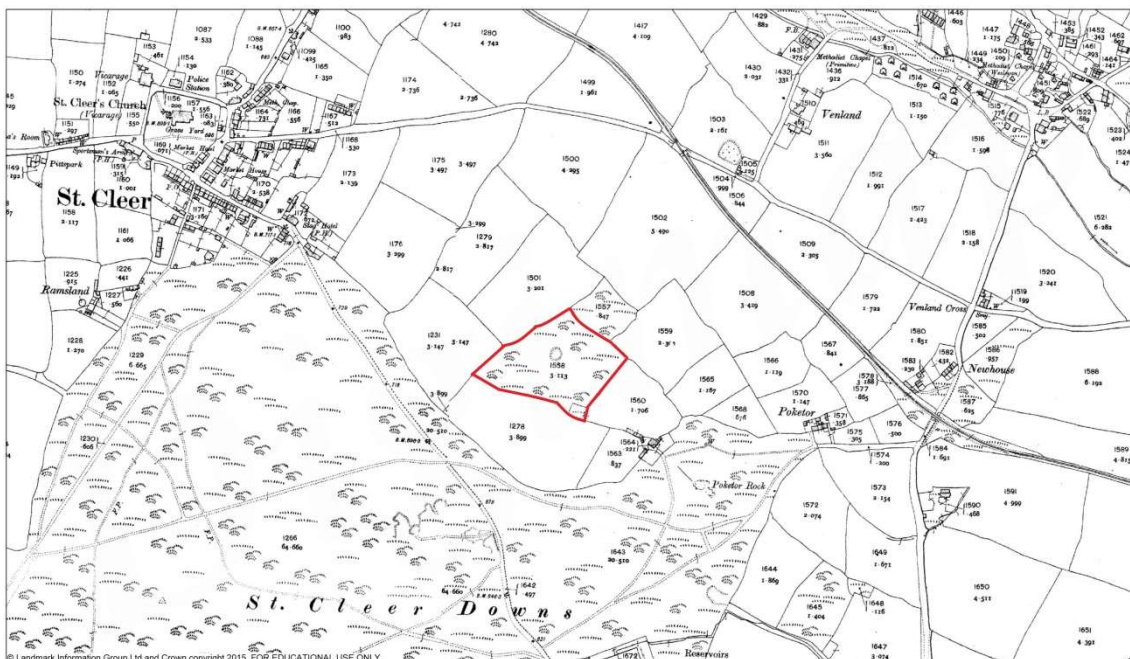


Fig. 8.10 St Cleer warren, with base mapping from 1907 First Revision 25" OS map

A fourth warren in this region is located at South Draynes in the neighbouring St Neot parish, recorded on the 1843 tithe map as *Warren* (no. 1081, arable, Fig. 8.11). It is located at the edge of Draynes Wood, and while still located within

South Draynes' arable heartland, it is nevertheless located on the edge of those farmlands rather than immediately adjoining the farmstead, as seen at Higher Treworrick and Higher Trengale. No warren architecture survives and again there is no dating evidence beside the use of the word *warren*. However, as seen on Figure 8.11, South Draynes was historically known as East Draynes, which is recorded in documents at Cornwall Archives as an alias of Bulland manor. Documents relating to this former manor preserved at the archives are numerous, particularly seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century rentals and surveys, none of which mention the warren. While this may not necessarily indicate that the warren was a medieval, manorial warren, the possibility cannot therefore be ruled out despite etymological reasons suggesting a later date. As with St Cleer's warrens, that at South Draynes is not located on particularly well-drained land, having a drainage rating of 5.

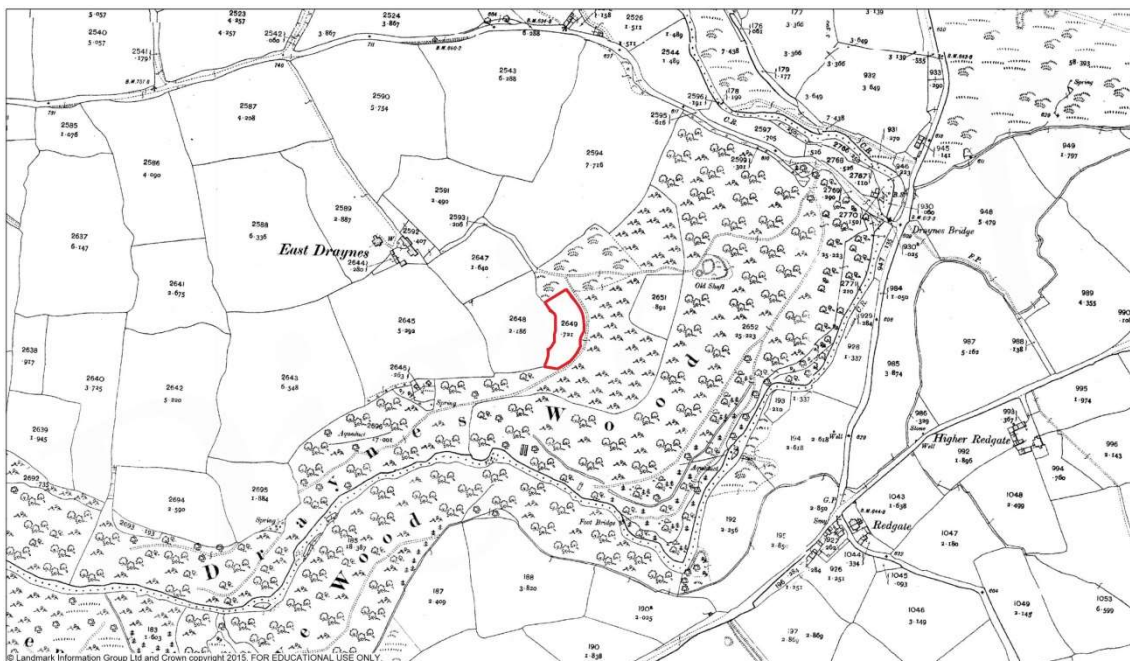


Fig. 8.11 Warren at South Draynes (historically East Draynes), with base mapping from 1907 First Revision 25" OS map

Henwood's warren is recorded on Linkinhorne's 1841 tithe map (CRO TM/125) as *Warren* (no. 18, pasture, Fig. 8.12). Of note is that it is located within Henwood's arable heartland rather than the surrounding areas of rough grassland on Langstone Downs, Witheybrook Marsh and Craddock Moor. The location of Henwood's warren is classified by Cornwall's HLC as medieval farmland and therefore does not represent a post-medieval growth of farming activities onto this moorland. Clearly then the warren was positioned on land that could have otherwise have been used for arable rather than using the marginal

moorland, although the reason for this, as with the above mentioned warrens, is not obvious. Besides the use of the word *warren*, there is no dating evidence and there is no surviving architecture. The warren is not particularly well-drained, for although on relatively steeply sloping land, it has a drainage rating of 5.



Fig. 8.12 Extract from Linkinhorne 1841 tithe map showing Henwood's warren (Cornwall Archives)

A possible warren is located at Winslade also in Linkinhorne parish (Fig. 8.13), where the 1841 tithe map records two fields named *Homer Warren's House* (no. 845, arable) and *Outer Warren's Field* (no. 846, arable). Although *warren* field-names were relatively common in this part of Cornwall, these field-names suggest that they may have been named after an individual with the *warren* element representing a surname rather than a rabbit warren. Nevertheless, the site shares similar traits with other warrens on the southern edge of Bodmin Moor in that it lies amongst the arable fields of Winslade rather than in the nearby rough grasslands of Tremollet Down. The possible warren is located on poorly draining land with a drainage rating of 5, while there is no surviving architecture or dating evidence beyond the use of the word *warren*.

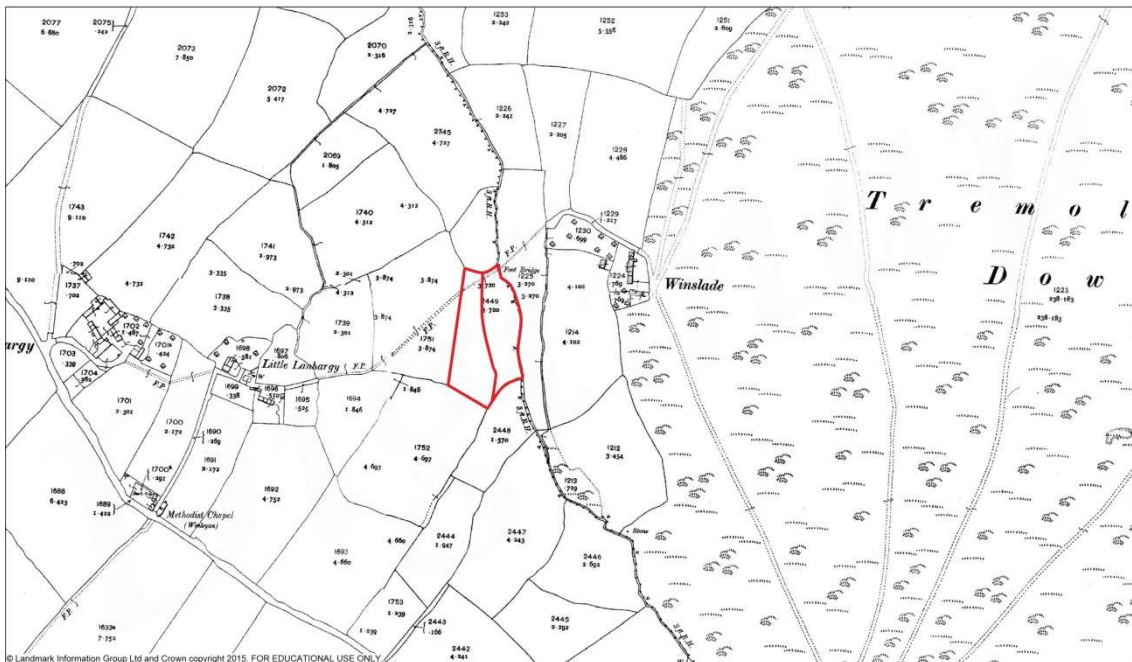


Fig. 8.13 Possible warren at Winslade, with base mapping from 1906 First Revision 25” OS map

More securely identified is Lower Manaton’s warren, recorded on the 1841 South Hill tithe map (CRO TM/210) as *Warren* (no. 669, arable, Fig. 8.14). A warren boundary is preserved and described in the Listed Building description of Lower Manaton mansion (LB 61435): “the stone walls are constructed of vertically laid slates. The top of the walls have horizontally laid slates with the top slate projecting so to prevent rabbits from jumping over. Thereby containing them within the enclosure.” No pillow mounds are associated with this warren, although eleven are recorded c290m to the west and are probably associated with Polhilsa Farm (discussed below).

The current mansion was built in 1687, although an earlier building was noted by Carew in 1602 and the warren, clearly attached to the mansion, may therefore potentially pre-date the seventeenth century. A 1787 survey of Manaton manor made no reference to the warren, indicating that it had fallen out of use by then (CRO RH/9/9/2/1). Its location adjoining a post-medieval, and possibly medieval, mansion indicates that it was an elite installation in contrast to those found elsewhere on the southern edge of Bodmin which tend to be attached to single farmsteads. The high status of this warren also accounts for the presence of a stone boundary wall, something that would have been expensive to install and maintain. It is not clear, however, whether the warren was designed to be visible from the mansion as today trees block views between the two although

whether they would have existed when the warren was in use is unknown. The warren is located on flat land with a drainage rating of 5.

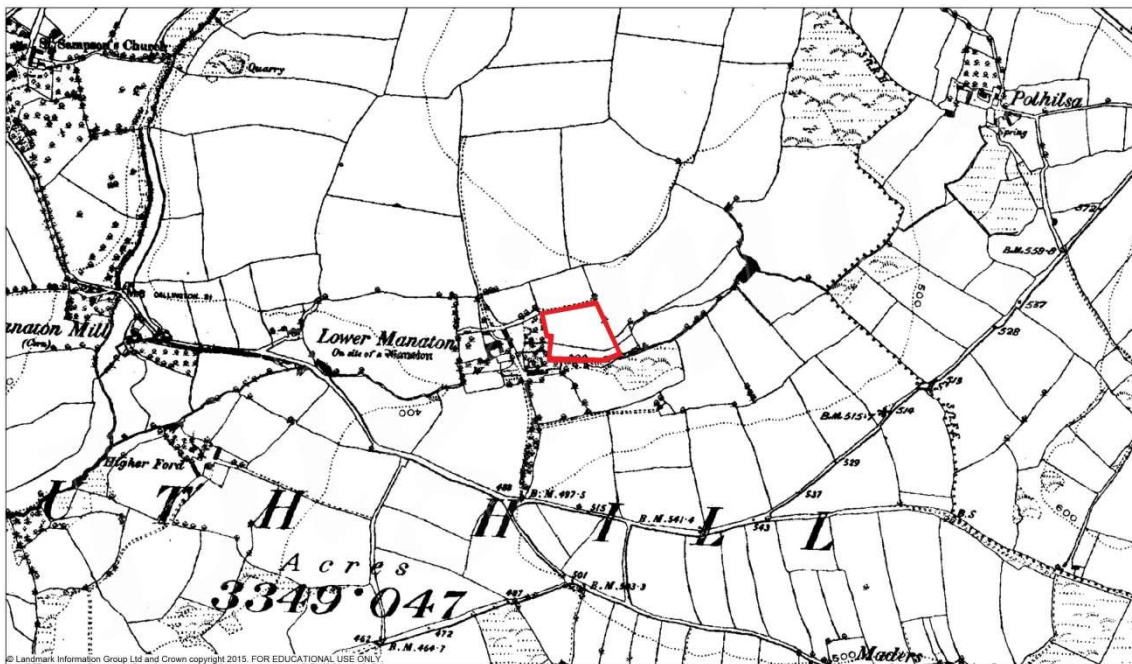


Fig. 8.14 Lower Manaton warren, with base mapping from 1880s First Edition 6" OS map

The case study also includes the site of Werrington, which as mentioned above, lay within Devon until 1966. The site has been included because Werrington straddles the river Tamar which has traditionally formed the boundary between Cornwall and Devon, with the warren being located on the Cornwall side of the Tamar. It can therefore be considered to share the same landscape qualities as other sites within north-east Cornwall and because numerous documents relating to the site are held at Cornwall Archives, this case study provides an opportunity to investigate a site that would otherwise remain anonymous.

Werrington's warren is first recorded in a 1641 lease (CRO WW/642), although it gives no record of its land-use. However, that it is referred to simply as "the warren" suggests that it may still have been in use and that its land-use was implied by its name. A later lease of 1775 mentions the warren but again gives no land-use (CRO WW/140), although at this relatively late date, any suggestion that it was still in use is made with less confidence. As with the warren at Lower Manaton, Werrington's warren was clearly associated with an elite residence rather than representing the operations of a single farmstead. Werrington Manor is recorded in Domesday Book and from 1066-68 until the Dissolution it was held by Tavistock Abbey, and following a period where it changed hands a number of times, it was bought in 1620 by Sir Francis Drake,

the nephew of the celebrated admiral Sir Francis Drake. The surviving manor house largely dates from the sixteenth century, although incorporating medieval fabric, and was largely remodelled by Drake in 1641 (LB 1000514).

Associated with Werrington House is Werrington Park, although this was developed during the 1740s and therefore post-dates the warren. However, the park does contain a structure called *Warren House*, and while this may be a warrener's lodge, it is equally likely that it is a later romantic structure rather than a functional building associated with the warren, particularly as the park contained other romantic structures such as a ruined castle, a temple of the sun, a triumphal archway, a hermitage and the so-called Tomb of the Horatii (Werrington Park, Launceston, 2015). Ultimately the exact location of the warren is unknown for it is not recorded on any map and no surviving architecture remains. Nevertheless, the warren would have been on poorly-drained land as the area containing and surrounding Werrington Park and House has a drainage rating of 4.

North-east of Bodmin Moor, a former warren is named on the 1839 Week St Mary tithe map (CRO TM/248) at Leigh as *Warren* (no. 637, arable, Fig. 8.15). Like several of the warrens documented south of Bodmin Moor, it lies among arable farmlands rather than on marginal land in close proximity to Leigh's farmstead. And as with those warrens, there is no dating evidence beyond its use of *warren*, although the settlement of Leigh itself is first recorded in 1202 (Gover 1948, 36). The warren has a drainage rating of 4 and no surviving architecture remains.

A second warren in this region lies c2km east of Leigh at Whitstone, recorded on the parish's 1840 tithe map (CRO TM/252) as *Warren* (no. 411, arable) and *Warren Garden* (no. 412, listed as a garden, Fig. 8.16). Again there is no dating evidence beyond the use of the word *warren*, although the settlement of Whitstone itself is first recorded in Domesday Book. Whitstone's warren is located amongst its agricultural heartland, immediately adjoining the settlement rather than utilising marginal land on the edge of cultivation which is demarcated by several areas of woodland including Whistone Wood, Wadfast Wood and Trehawsa Wood. No surviving architecture remains while the warren has a drainage rating of 4.

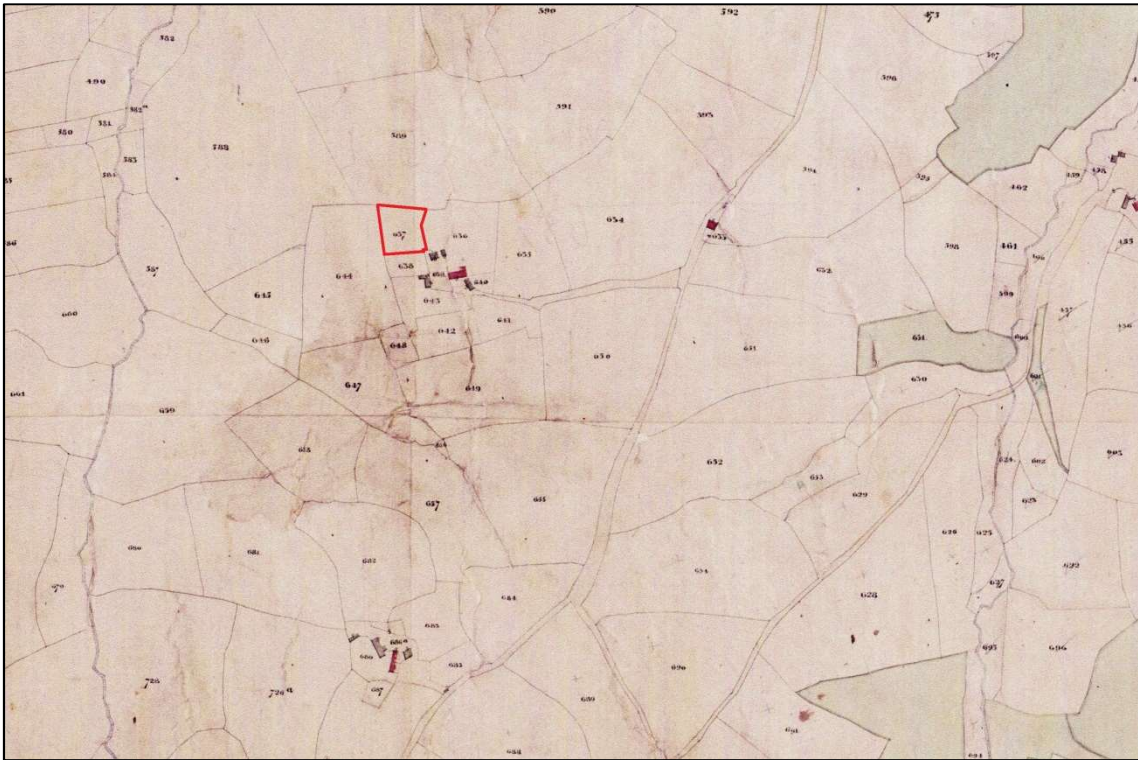


Fig. 8.15 Extract from Week St Mary 1839 tithe map showing Leigh's warren (Cornwall Archives)

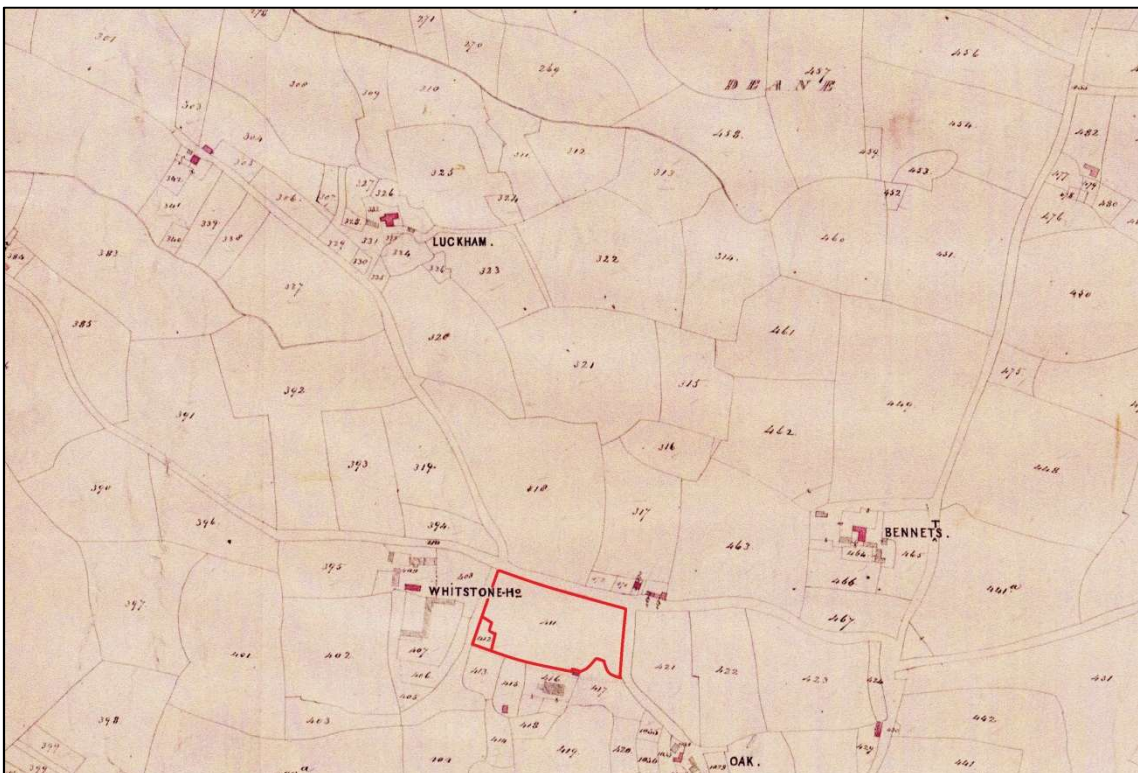


Fig. 8.16 Whitstone warren as depicted on the 1840 tithe map (Cornwall Archives)

The sole post-medieval warren documented on the coast is at Warren Point in Kilkhampton parish. The 1840 tithe map (CRO TM/102) records all fields adjacent to the coast named as *Warren*, while OS maps from the 1880s onwards record the area as *Warren Point* and also depict *Warren Little Beach*, *Warren Gutter*

Beach and Warren Gutter (Fig. 8.17). No warren architecture survives, although an unnamed stream and combe running into the sea may have acted as a natural northern boundary, although no similar features would have served as southern and eastern boundaries.



Fig. 8.17 1889 First Edition 6" OS map showing elements of the coastal warren at Warren Point

Warren Point represents a relatively rare coastal warren within north-east Cornwall for alongside Willapark and Tintagel, it is one of only three such warrens; elsewhere in the county, coastal warrens are more common, particularly on its north-central coast. Warren Point's location suggests that it may have belonged to the Grenvilles who held Kilkhampton during the medieval period, probably being given the manor by the earls of Gloucester during the Anarchy (Thomas 1992, 6). While their main seat may originally have been Kilkhampton Castle (*ibid.*), from the fourteenth century they also had a seat at Stowe where their last house was constructed in 1679 by John Granville, although it was subsequently demolished and replaced by Stowe Barton in 1739. Warren Point lies immediately west of Stowe Barton, the nearest settlement to the warren, suggesting ownership. However, whether the warren dates to the medieval or post-medieval period is unknown although again the use of the word *warren* may indicate a post-medieval date. The warren is moderately well-drained with a drainage rating of 6.

The final documented warren in north-east Cornwall is at Launcells, whose 1840 tithe map (CRO TM/117) records fields numbered 261-265 and 270-271 as

a tenement called *Conegar* (Fig. 8.18). The individual field-names themselves within this tenement preserve no record of the former warren and their land-use is recorded variously as coarse pasture, arable, meadow, house and garden, and orchard. No architecture survives, although the eastern boundary is formed by the stream Lamberal Water. Launcells' *Conegar*, which was probably farmed from Moreton Pound although Lophthorn is a possibility, was located on a natural edge of the area's farm lands, and indeed later OS maps depict the area bordering Lamberal Water as rough marshland unsuited to agricultural exploitation while the warren itself has a drainage rating of 4. The utilisation of marginal land on the edge of cultivation, the use of a *coneygarth*-derived name and the subsequent division of the warren suggests a relatively old date for this warren. Certainly these aspects, particularly in combination at a single site, differ from most warrens in north-east Cornwall suggesting that Launcells' belongs to an earlier tradition of rearing rabbits.

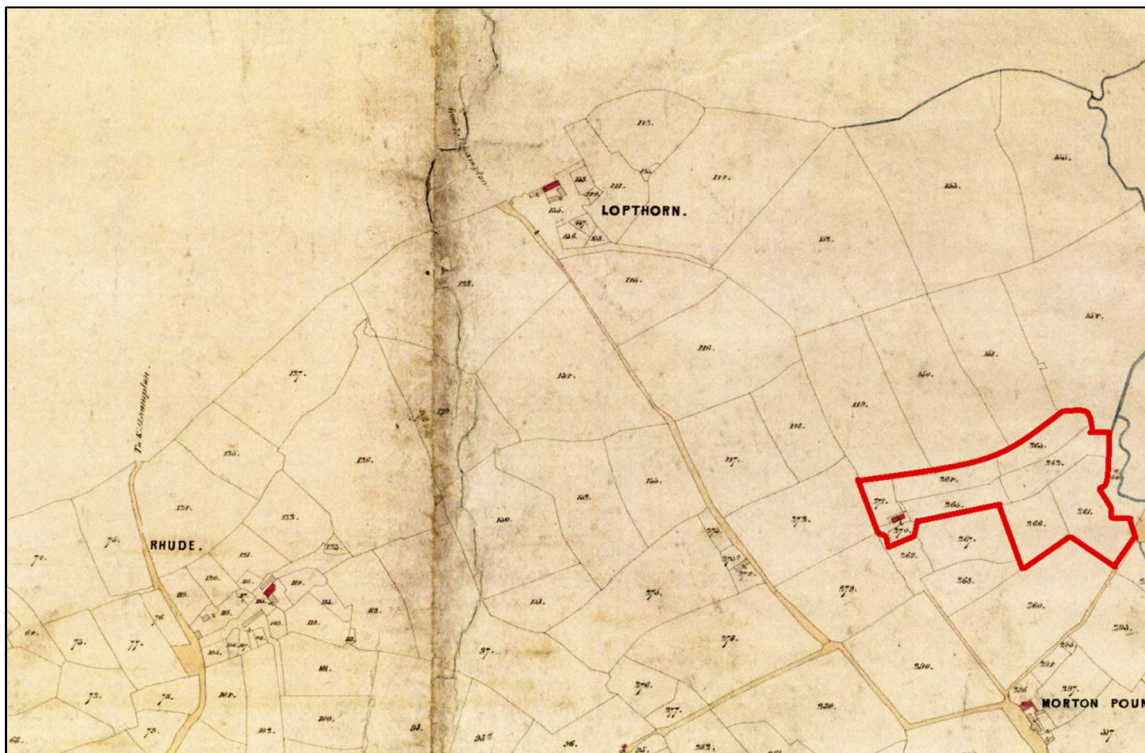


Fig. 8.18 Extract from Launcells 1840 tithe map showing the *Conegar* tenement (Cornwall Archives)

Surviving Warren Architecture

Thirteen sites in north-east Cornwall preserve surviving warren architecture, although in some cases it has not been possible to ascertain exactly what survives (Fig. 8.19).

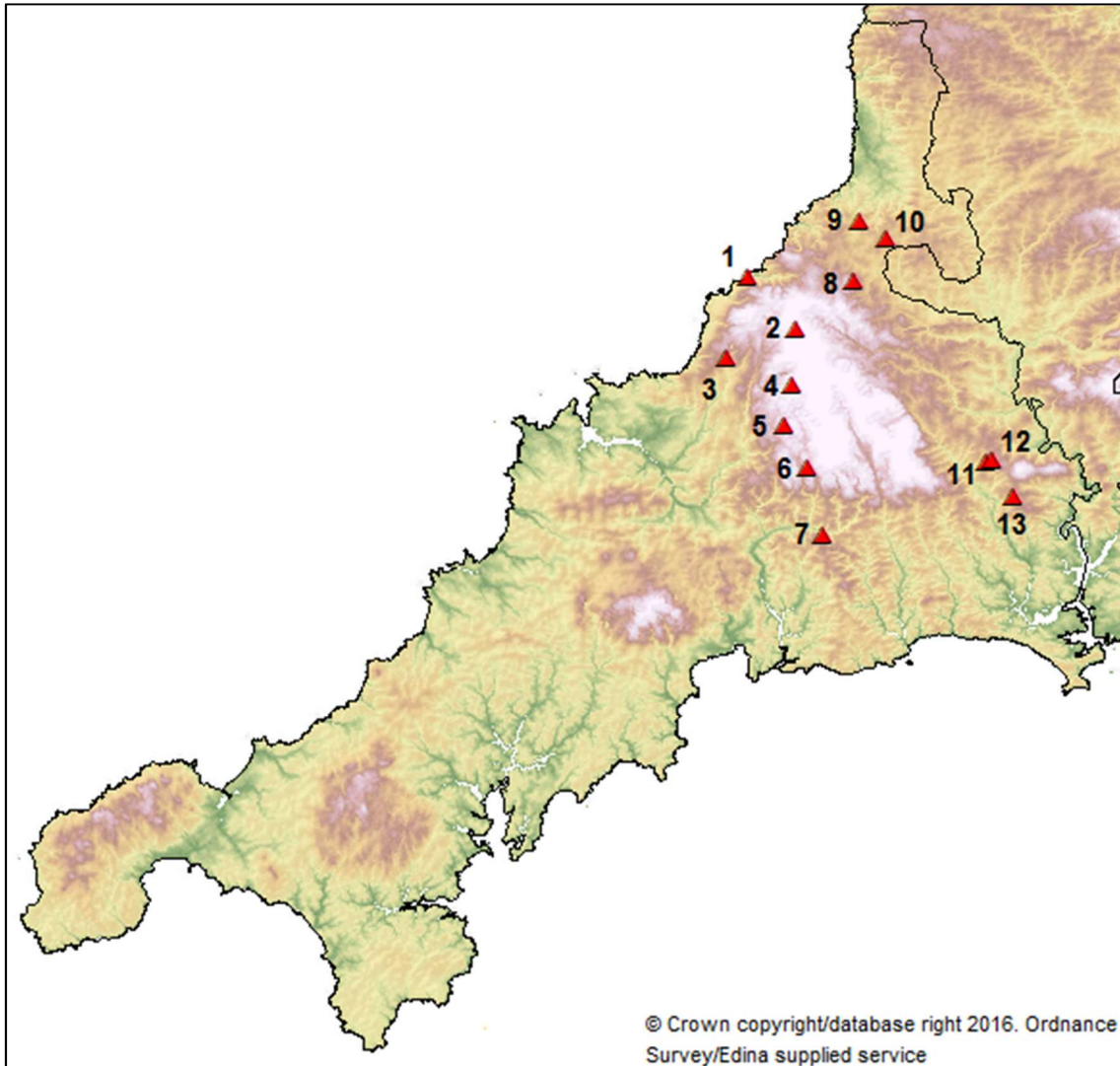


Fig. 8.19 Locations of (1) Willapark, (2), Davidstow, (3) Helland Barton, (4) Louden Hill, (5) Carbilly Tor, (6) Hardhead Downs, (7) Largin Castle, (8) Warbstow Bury, (9) North Dinnicombe, (10) Creddacott Farm, (11) Polhilsa / Lower Manaton, (12) Trefursdon, (13) Castlewich

Three pillow mounds are located on the north coast at Willapark, occupying a similar coastal position to Tintagel's medieval warren c4.6km to the west. Cornwall's HER records that the mounds were initially considered to represent round barrows, although a 1995 site visit considered this unlikely as their position on a steep, east-facing slope was unusual for barrows (MCO41872). Their interpretation as pillow mounds is more likely as they probably represent the utilisation of a marginal coastal outcrop beyond the main agricultural heartland of

nearby Boscastle in the same way that Tintagel was utilised during the medieval period. Indeed, Boscastle's medieval agricultural lands are still preserved in the strip fields, known as *the Stitches*, on Forrabury Common immediately east of Willapark, highlighting the boundary between these agricultural lands and the marginal lands beyond (Fig. 8.20).



Fig. 8.20 Two pillow mounds at Willapark with *the Stitches* in the background (author's photograph taken at SX09199118 looking east)

Although the pillow mounds have something of a relationship to *the Stitches* in that they represent the utilisation of marginal land beyond their limits, it is not possible to date them in relation to *the Stitches*: for while *the Stitches* preserve the medieval layout of Boscastle's common fields, those same fields were farmed in the post-medieval period, albeit under reduced ownership, and it is not possible to say therefore from which period the pillow mounds originate. Although using land not under arable cultivation, Willapark does not represent the most appropriate land for rearing rabbits for while the pillow mounds are sheltered from prevailing south-westerly winds, they have drainage ratings of 4. Their close proximity to each other also introduces an element of competition for pasture as there is less than the 100 yards between them as recommended by Simpson (1893, 86).

A fourth circular mound lies slightly to the south-west amongst *the Stitches*. Recorded by Cornwall's HER as a possible round barrow or a clearance cairn, it lies in the corner of one of the strip fields at SX09259108, which probably discounts it being a clearance cairn: if it represents the amalgamation of several individual strips that occurred between 1842 and 1884, then it would have been unlikely to have placed a clearance cairn in actively ploughed fields. The mound may therefore represent a prehistoric round barrow that was respected by the site's farmers or it may mark a shallow outcrop of unploughable bedrock (HER MCO36291). Although similar in appearance to Willapark's pillow mounds, it is unlikely to be a pillow mound as the land has been continuously ploughed since the medieval period: no medieval pillow mound would survive here unploughed, while the post-medieval arable usage discounts the installation of a more recent construction.

The local Church of St Symphorian, also known as Forrabury Church and originally dating from the twelfth century, is noteworthy for the representation of rabbits on its medieval pulpit (Fig. 8.21). Among its carved wooded registers is a depiction of a dog hunting two rabbits in a burrow, with the head of one rabbit and the rear of the other visible in the burrow's entrances. While this may possibly portray the Christian symbolism that the Stockers (1996) proposed was manifest in pillow mounds, ultimately the true meaning of this frieze is unknown. Certainly the adjacent panel, which has been interpreted as an ape on a stool (Forrabury Church 2015), is hard to reconcile with any overt Christian symbolism. Whatever the meaning of the rabbits on the pulpit, the pillow mounds at Willapark itself have no obvious connection with the Stockers' theory, and indeed as mentioned above, their setting firmly links it with marginal land beyond the limits of Boscastle's cultivation rather than with any ecclesiastical landscape. Indeed, their position on the east coast of the Willapark peninsula renders them invisible from Forrabury Church.



Fig. 8.21 Forrabury Church's pulpit showing rabbits hunted by a dog on its top-left register (author's photograph)

Cornwall's HER records five possible pillow mounds at Davidstow Moor (MCO38135), although this seems to be an overestimation as it admits: three mounds were considered to possibly represent remnants of a field boundary that was probably destroyed during the creation of the nearby Second World War airfield instead, something confirmed by the present author during examination

of aerial photographs held at the NMR (Fig. 8.22). That said, the date of this field boundary's removal actually considerably predates the airfield's construction as the former boundary is absent on nineteenth-century maps. Two mounds to the east were felt less likely to be field boundaries, and again an examination of aerial photographs supports this notion. However, while one of these pillow mounds to the east of the removed field boundary is clearly visible, it is not immediately obvious where the second pillow mound reported by the HER is located, although its possible position is marked on Figure 8.22.

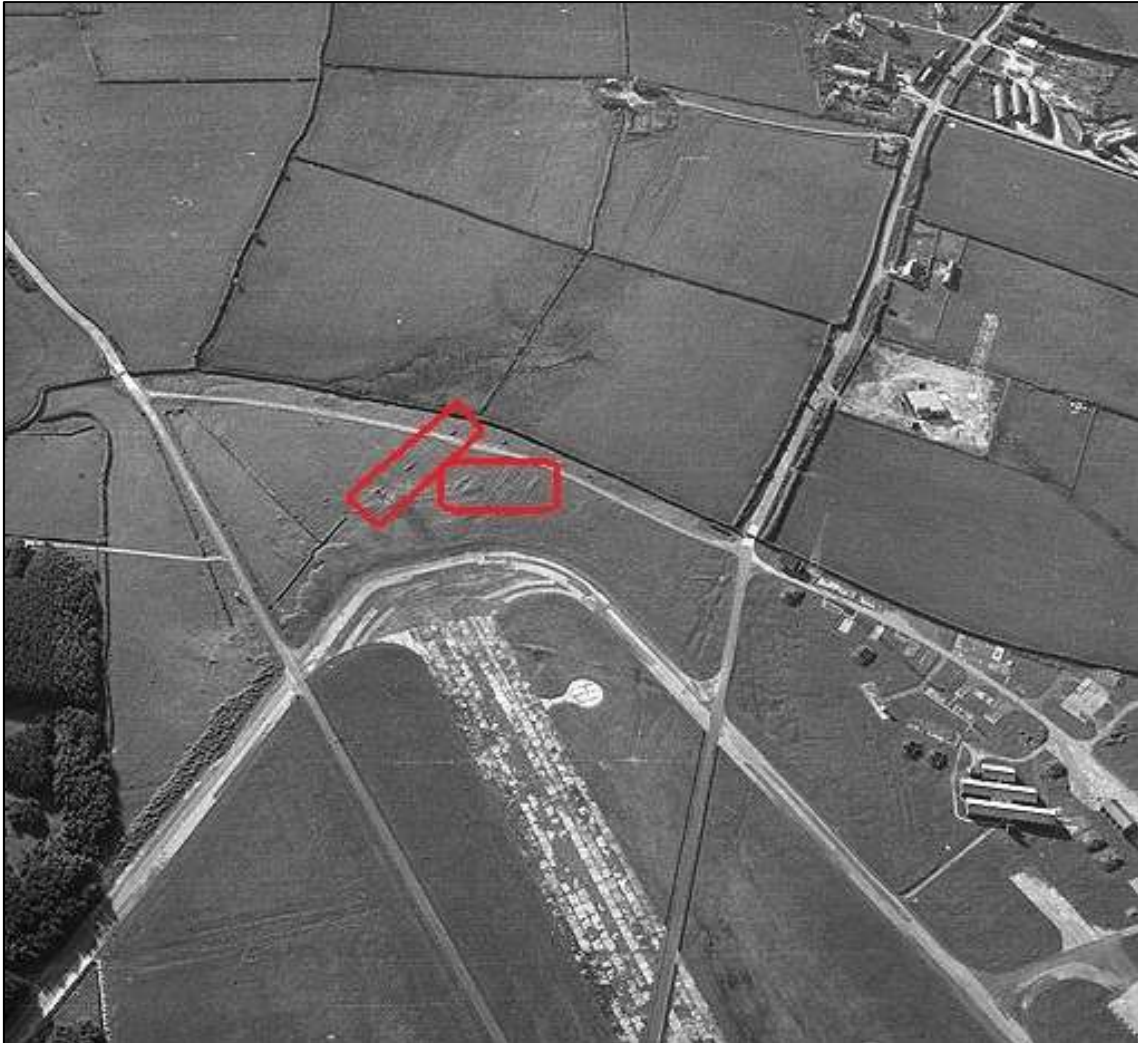


Fig. 8.22 Aerial photograph of Davidstow Moor taken 19.05.1977, with remnants of the field boundary highlighted to the left and probable pillow mounds to the right (NMR)

Site visits undertaken in November 2015 revealed the site's earthworks are more complex than is suggested by aerial photographs. While these earthworks include the abovementioned field boundaries and pillow mounds, there are more than five extant earthworks and their identification and relationships with each other is difficult to determine and a dedicated earthwork survey is required to fully understand the site. Nevertheless, one of the linear pillow mounds is clearly

identifiable at the site (Fig. 8.23), while a large circular earthwork whose immediate identification was uncertain (Fig. 8.24) can be discounted as a pillow mound as it appears to be a continuation of a natural feature visible on Figure 8.22 extending in the adjacent field to the north.



Fig. 8.23 pillow mound at Davidstow Moor (author's photograph taken at SX14098571 looking south)



Fig. 8.24 Large circular mound at Davidstow Moor that is likely to be a natural feature (author's photograph taken at SX13988569 looking north)

Less easy to explain are a number of small circular mounds along the field boundary at the northern edge of the airfield (Fig. 8.25). Unreported by the HER, these may potentially be small pillow mounds although that they appear to be aligned on a regimented axis suggests otherwise as it is relatively uncommon to find pillow mounds laid out in such an orderly fashion following a field boundary. It is worth noting that the 1883 First Edition OS map records a round barrow that was subsequently destroyed during the construction of the airfield. That this is the only earthwork recorded on OS maps predating the airfield suggests that many of the site's earthworks are clearance mounds formed during the airfield's construction. The same 1883 map also records the presence of quarrying in the area and an alternate explanation of these earthworks is that they are products of quarrying activity.



Fig. 8.25 Two circular earthworks at Davidstow Moor (author's photograph taken at SX14168576 looking west)

Although the identification of the numerous earthworks at Davidstow Moor is far from certain, it seems safer to view the site as containing two pillow mounds rather than the five suggested by Cornwall's HER. The history of the site prior to

the airfield's construction is little known, although nineteenth-century maps reveal that it was then uncultivated moorland in contrast to much of the surrounding area that had been enclosed by the numerous local farmsteads and hamlets. A document from 1858, although relatively late, records a legal case concerning grazing rights on Davidstow Moor (CRO CA/B46/70) and it seems likely that the region containing the earthworks would have been used for grazing rather than arable. As such, it is unclear who would have claimed ownership of this warren, although the close proximity of the now-destroyed Higher Grigg's Down farmstead suggests a likely candidate. That scrubbed-out field boundaries are traceable at the site suggests that it was formerly enclosed, during the post-medieval period according to the Cornwall's HLC mapping, and the warren possibly dates from the post-medieval abandonment of arable farming. Although situated on the higher lands of Bodmin Moor, the warren itself is on flat land that hinders drainage of the warren, while the site's bedrock has a drainage rating of 4 and its superficial deposits have a rating of 5. There is therefore much potential for poorly drained conditions dependent on local weather conditions and the deciding factor behind its location was evidently not to take advantage of land particularly well-suited for rearing rabbits, but to utilise land not being used for arable following the post-medieval contraction of arable farming.

A possible pillow mound was recorded at Helland Barton by the NMP as an oblong earthwork c9m long. This identification was derived from a rapid assessment of aerial photography and is far from secure, and examination of LiDAR images by the present author suggests a depression rather than an earthwork. The NMR's aerial photos reveal in several instances what appears to be a small mound, but this is revealed by other photographic sorties undertaken under more favourable conditions to be part of a long, sinuous feature running along the length of the field from east to west. Although it is not obvious what this feature is, it does not exhibit an expected pillow mound typology and is to be equated with the depression visible on LiDAR images. A field visit undertaken in November 2015 found no evidence of an earthwork, suggesting that the NMP's identification of a pillow mound is erroneous.

More securely identified is a pillow mound on the south face of Louden Hill (Fig. 8.26). The pillow mound occupies an area of moorland noted for the high quantity of prehistoric remains including several hut settlements and Bronze Age

cists and cairns and there is no obvious separation between them and the pillow mound. However, several Bronze Age cairns on Louden Hill's west face are more substantial than those near the pillow mound and if the prehistoric earthworks were used as 'pre-existing' pillow mounds, those on Louden Hill's west face seem like more obvious candidates. A possible reason for the construction of the pillow mound on Louden Hill's south face is that from there it is visible from Fernacre, a farmstead c1km to its east, possibly acting as a deterrent to poachers. Its location on a south-facing slope means that it is exposed to prevailing south-westerly winds, although the topography would have aided drainage; indeed, its underlying superficial deposits are particularly well-drained, having a drainage rating of 10, although the underlying bedrock only has a rating of 5.



Fig. 8.26 Pillow mound on Louden Hill (author's photograph taken at SX13788001 looking north)

Cornwall's HER (MCO22833) records remnants of medieval fields c200m north of the pillow mound indicating that some efforts at arable farming were attempted in this remote area of moorland. Documents at Cornwall Archives indicate that much of the surrounding Roughtor Commons was used for pasture from at least the late seventeenth century onwards, as indeed it still is, and the pillow mound therefore probably dates to the post-medieval period following the abandonment

of arable farming. Fernacre is the only candidate for ownership of this warren, being the only farmstead in the vicinity, although its history is unknown.

Three circular mounds are recorded in a similar moorland location at Carbilly Tor. The mounds were recorded by the NMP and are clearly visible on LiDAR images (Fig. 8.27), although site visits undertaken in November 2015 revealed the presence of only two mounds: their extremely low height hinders their identification to the extent that the third mound was not visible. Cornwall's HER (MCO50152) is uncertain if they are pillow mounds or round barrows, and ultimately field visits failed to determine their true identification, although their location suggests that they are pillow mounds.

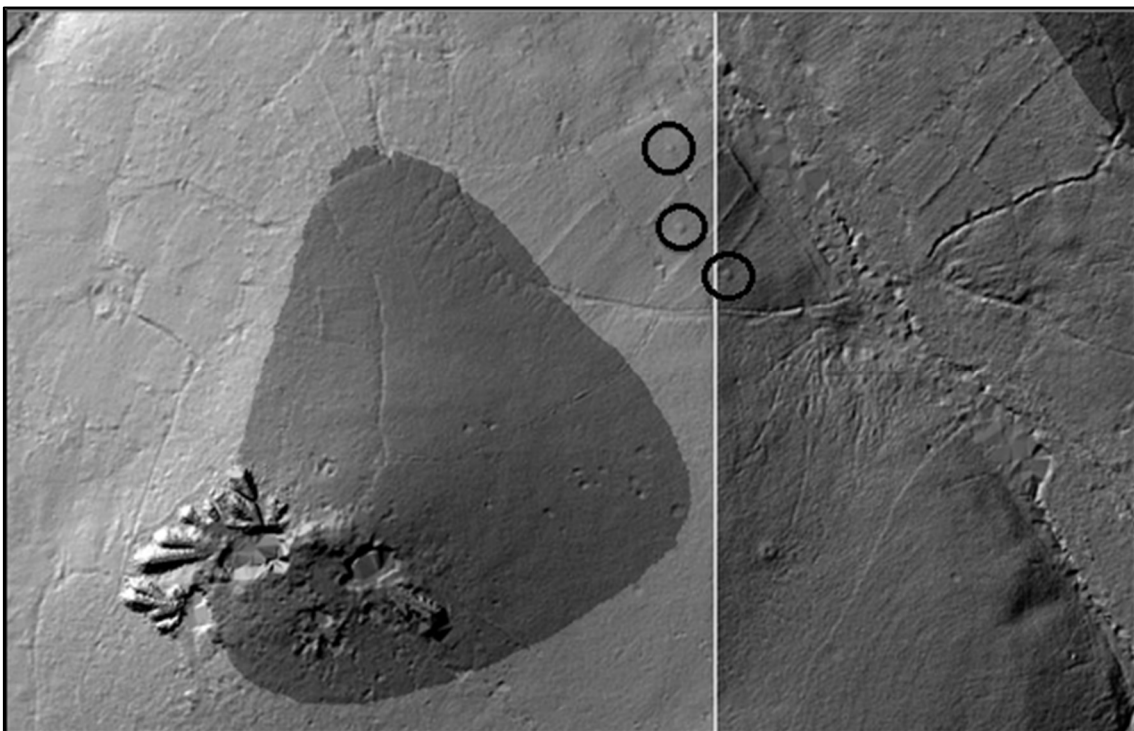


Fig. 8.27 LiDAR image of Carbilly Tor's pillow mounds with medieval field boundaries also visible (© 2015 Geomatics Group)

The slopes of Carbilly Tor preserve a medieval field system in an area associated by Cornwall's HLC with farmsteads documented before the seventeenth century. The three mounds are located within these medieval fields, while a 1662 conveyance of land in the former manor of Trevedowe records Carbilly as 'mooreland' (CRO GRA/225/4) and makes no mention of any agricultural practices, suggesting that the medieval arable fields had passed out of use by then. The mounds' position within the former medieval fields indicates efforts to utilise land no longer exploited for arable, although it is not particularly well-drained, having a drainage rating of 5.

Carbilly Tor's pillow mounds are located in the general area of extensive quarrying and it is known that in some instances pillow mounds were constructed in Dartmoor to feed workers in nearby mines and clay works, such as those at Eylesbarrow and Holne (Robertson 1991, 250) and the Redlake and Leftlake clay works (*ibid.*, 249). It is not inconceivable that Carbilly Tor's pillow mounds would have likewise fed workers at the nearby quarry, although their position on the opposite north-facing slope suggests that they instead supplemented the outputs of the farmstead at Carbilly, who pastured its flock on Carbilly Tor.

A pillow mound is recorded on Hardhead Downs in a location referred to as commons in a 1662 conveyance of lands in Trevedowe manor (CRO GRA/225/4). The mound is built against a former field boundary demarcating an area of ridge and furrow (Fig. 8.28), indicating a post-medieval date. As with the pillow mounds at Carbilly Tor, Louden Hill and Davidstow Moor, its presence in or adjacent to medieval fields points to a common experience whereby former arable land was abandoned in favour of pasture, with the construction of rabbit warrens being part of that later phase of land exploitation. However, although the construction of Hardhead Down's pillow mound against a medieval field boundary helps to date it and to provide some historical context for its construction, it does not explain the need for that construction: the boundary itself is of a similar height and width to the pillow mound, while its length far exceeds it and it is unclear why it was not utilised as a rabbit warren.



Fig. 8.28 Hardhead Downs with the field boundary labelled 'A' and the adjoining pillow mound labelled 'B' (author's photograph taken at SX15217145 looking north)

A multi-period mine is located on Hardhead Downs c480m west of the pillow mound (Cornwall HER MCO12168), while the 1882 First Edition 6" OS map records the presence of Hardhead Mine, a disused tin mine and various associated shafts, in its immediate vicinity. It is possible that the pillow mound was constructed to feed miners or conversely it may have simply provided extra food for nearby farmsteads who pastured on the moor, such as Tiptreehall and Higher Dewey, both depicted on the 1882 OS map. The pillow mound has a drainage rating of 5 and during field visits undertaken in November 2015, the land was sodden after a day's rain, indicating that the desire to construct a pillow mound here was either to feed local miners or utilise land not under arable rather than because it represents an optimal location for rearing rabbits.

Two pillow mounds are recorded in hillforts in north-east Cornwall, although the example at Largin Castle is now obscured by heavy tree cover. Nevertheless, it is visible on LiDAR images as a linear earthwork built against the innermost rampart at the hillfort's northern edge. A second linear feature of similar dimensions is also visible on LiDAR images near the hillfort's southern edge, albeit at a ninety-degree angle (Fig. 8.29). Due to the heavy tree coverage, this

second mound was not identified during field visits undertaken in November 2015.



Fig. 8.29 LiDAR image of Largin Castle showing (1) pillow mound and (2) linear feature (© 2015 Geomatics Group)

Little is known of the site's history, although Cornwall's HER records its interior as ancient oak woodland and the exterior woodland as more recent conifers (Flying Through Cornwall's Past 2015). Evidently Largin Castle's interior was not used for agricultural practices and instead the construction of a pillow mound represents the exploitation of land that was otherwise unexploited. It is unclear if the tree density would have been the same when the pillow mound was constructed however, for as well obscuring the location of the pillow mound, heavy tree cover inhibits undergrowth and limits the amount of food available for rabbits (personal communication, Anne McBride, 18 June 2015). To confound this, the land itself is flat and poorly drained, having a drainage rating of 4. The ownership of the warren is unknown, although it was probably managed by Bodithiel Farm c400m to the east.

The interior of Warbstow Bury hillfort also preserves a mound known locally as the Giant's Grave. According to local tradition, the mound represents the burial place of the Warbstow Giant after being killed by the Giant of Beacon (History of Warbstow Parish 2015), and although this possibly preserves a

memory of the earthwork having a mortuary origin, it is more probable that it represents a pillow mound. Indeed, the name of the hillfort itself is suggestive as the *Bury* element represents the historic word for pillow mound.

The hillfort's ramparts are well-preserved meaning that although the pillow mound is in an elevated position, it is rendered invisible to and from the surrounding areas (Fig. 8.30). While hillforts are generally designed to dominate views over their local environs, Warbstow Bury's pillow mound itself was not therefore located to be a highly visible statement of wealth or to detract poaching; instead it appears to have been located in order to take advantage of land that was not well-suited for other forms of agricultural exploitation. The hillfort has a drainage rating of 4, again reinforcing the notion that it was used not because it was an optimal location for rearing rabbits, but because it provided an opportunity to utilise marginal land.



Fig. 8.30 Interior of Warbstow Bury with the pillow mound in the foreground (author's photograph taken at SX20149075 looking south)

The presence of faint ridge and furrow also indicates that the warren took advantage of land that was viewed largely as marginal by surrounding settlements. Recorded during a 2013 earthwork survey, the faintness of the ridge and furrow was felt to represent only a limited period of arable activity, possibly

just “for a few seasons” or to prepare the area for the placement of the pillow mound (Edwards 2014, 26). The latter scenario seems unlikely as the warren would have needed continuous pasture for its rabbits, but the fact that the pillow mound overlies the ridge and furrow (Fig. 8.31) clearly indicates that it post-dates the arable farming, representing a conversion to pasturing. That the arable activities were evidently short-lived indicates that the hillfort was never part of the agricultural heartland of Warbstow, and that the installation of a rabbit warren therefore utilised land that was considered marginal.

[This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons]

Fig. 8.31 Earthwork survey of Warbstow Bury (source: Edwards 2014, 11)

Although overlying medieval ridge and furrow, the team that undertook the 2013 survey felt that the scale of the pillow mound indicated a medieval date, possibly serving one of the nearby manor houses of Fentrigan or Downinney (Edwards 2014, 21). The size of the mound was felt to represent personal rather than commercial use, thereby indicating a medieval rather than later date (*ibid.*). While

the presence of a single pillow mound probably does represent personal use, the conclusion that personal usages of pillow mounds ceased during the post-medieval period is questionable. Rather than hiding a warren within Warbstow Bury, it is more likely that these manor houses would have constructed their warrens at a closer distance, partly to deter poaching but also to exhibit the wealth and status associated with medieval warrens. Despite the fact that medieval arable activities were evidently short-lived in the hillfort, it seems more probable that the pillow mound dates from the post-medieval period.

A pillow mound is recorded on the west-facing slope at North Dinnicombe. Identified as a linear mound by the Cornwall NMP, site visits undertaken in November 2015 identified no earthwork at this location while LiDAR images likewise fail to show any feature. Evidence of a medieval field system associated with Little Dinnicombe c240m to the east and of a possible abandoned post-medieval farmstead at Beara c330m to the west indicates former agricultural land-use in the surrounding vicinity. While no physical trace of a pillow mound was found, its location is therefore certainly not unusual for a pillow mound in this region, although its existence must at present be considered tentative. No records exist documenting a warren here, while the Jacobstow tithe map (CRO TM/92) names the field as *Lower Long Row* (no. 1132, arable).

Ten pillow mounds are recorded at Creddacott Farm, Week St Mary, consisting of six rectangular and four circular mounds (Fig. 8.32). This group is atypically large for Cornwall, with only the eleven recorded at Polhilsa (discussed below) and the nine at Godolphin in west Cornwall being comparable. The mounds themselves also cover a large area: the northernmost mound lies c840m north of the southernmost mound. The large number of mounds and the scale of their distribution suggests a post-medieval commercial rabbit warren rather than an individual farmstead breeding rabbits for personal consumption. There is some evidence of a contraction of the former farm/settlement of Creddacott, which is first recorded in 1298 (Bond 2007, 299), with the NMR recording former settlement earthworks (914167) and a possible deserted farm (914164), although both records lack specific details. Nevertheless, it is possible that there was a contraction of former medieval arable activities and that this land was converted to pasture, including the installation of a warren, during the post-medieval period. Despite this, there are few records concerning Creddacott in Cornwall Archives

and the Week St Mary tithe map records no warren-related field-names in the area. Ultimately, despite the scale of the warren, there is little evidence of its history.

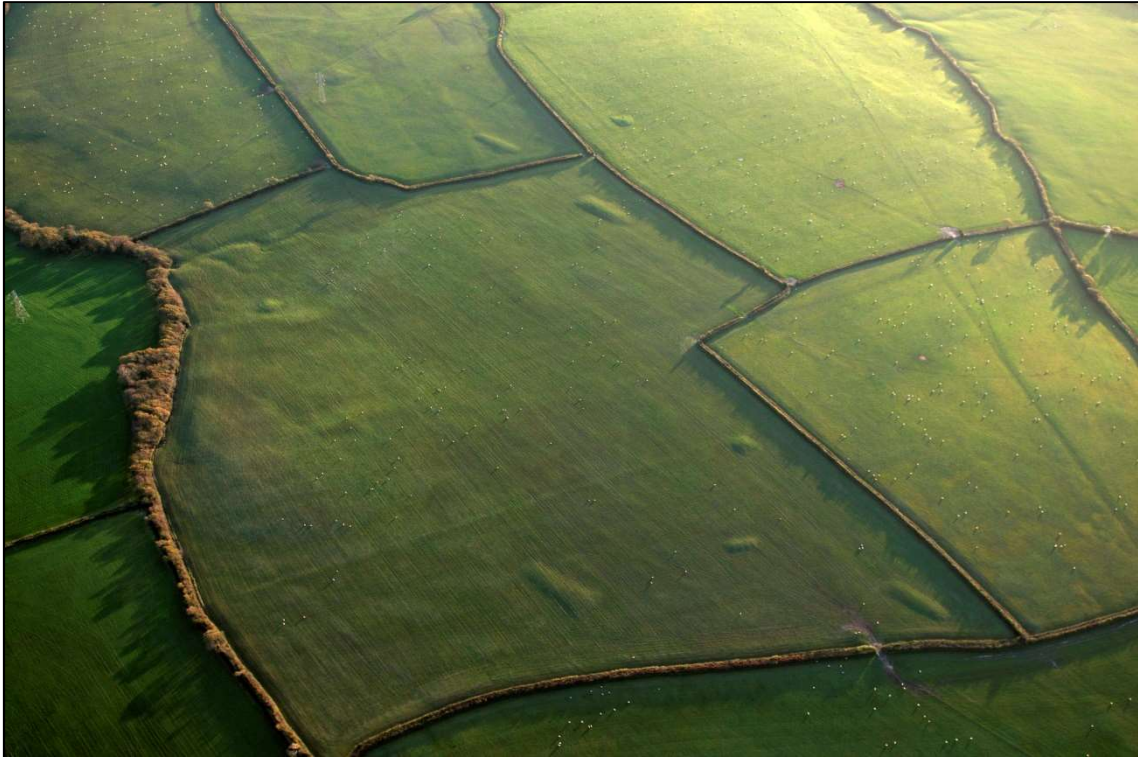


Fig. 8.32 Pillow mounds at Creddacott Farm (© HER, Cornwall Council, 2008; F87-225)

Creddacott's warren has a drainage rating of 4 and lies on generally flat land although more steeply sloping land is located directly to its east and south-east. Although the warren's location is not especially suited to rearing rabbits, the spatial distribution of the pillow mounds nevertheless suggests some attempt at minimising competition for pasture. However, given how large the total area of the warren is, ten pillow mounds is a relatively small figure, especially when compared to other commercial warrens in the South West such as those on Dartmoor or Minchinhampton, and it is probable that other pasturing animals would have shared this land alongside rabbits.

Eleven pillow mounds are recorded at Polhilsa by the Cornwall NMP although this identification remains uncertain. Linear features are visible on aerial photographs taken in 1964, although nothing remains today, and their location c290m east of Lower Manaton's walled warren is hard to explain. If the linear features are pillow mounds they need not necessarily be associated with the former manor house at Lower Manaton and they may instead be associated with Polhilsa Farm, with the settlement of Polhilsa first recorded in 1302 (Gover 1948, 210) although such a close proximity is unusual. The number of pillow mounds

here suggests that they represent a post-medieval commercial warren rather than an elite medieval warren, perhaps associated with the shrinkage of the medieval Polhilsa to its present state as a single farmstead. Ultimately the true identification of these linear features remains unknown.

A small rectilinear mound was noted on aerial photographs by Cornwall's HER (MCO29649) at Trefursdon c1.2km south of Lower Manaton warren. It is located in an area characterised by Cornwall's HLC as medieval farmland, and indeed there are several areas of ridge of furrow in the immediate vicinity. The mound lies c50m south-east of the eighteenth-century remnants of Treconner Farm which represent the remains of the former settlement of Treconner as depicted on Martyn's c1748 map of Cornwall (Cornwall HER 171666). The site therefore shares many similarities with warrens documented elsewhere in north-east Cornwall in that it was evidently located in the immediate vicinity of its parent farmstead among its arable lands rather than on marginal lands away from the arable heartland. This is particularly evident at Treconner as it lies only a short distance from Golberdon Downs (Fig. 8.33) although the warren evidently made no use of them. However, it is possible that the mound instead represents a former structure associated with Treconner Farm rather than a pillow mound. The site is under private ownership and there was no public access when visited in November 2015, and no records have been identified in Cornwall Archives recording a warren here. The site is not particularly well-drained land, having a drainage rating of 5.



Fig. 8.33 1880s OS map (edition not identified by Edina) showing the location of the pillow mound at Trefursdon in relation to Golberdon Downs

The final site in north-east Cornwall with reported warren architecture is Castlewich, although it is perhaps the most obscure of these sites. The NMR and Cornwall's HER both record that an area of earthworks survive in a field named *The Warren* on Callington's 1842 tithe map (CRO TM/25), although no other information is provided. The site itself has no public access and it was not possible to view it during field visits undertaken in November 2015. Aerial photos held at the NMR taken by sorties ranging from 13 April 1946 to 09 April 2002 fail to reveal any earthworks suggestive of a warren. The area is also not covered by the Geomatics Group's LiDAR images and the reference to surviving earthworks at this site is therefore unconfirmed.

Castlewich itself is first recorded in 1284, although the present farmhouse is believed to be post-medieval as seventeenth-century architectural elements have been recorded within its chimney (NMR 931419). HER and NMR records interpret nearby earthworks and building platforms as representing shrinkage of this settlement. As with the numerous warrens discussed above, the presence of a *warren*-related field-name as opposed to one derived from *coneygarth* possibly represents a post-medieval date on etymological grounds. As with those abovementioned warrens, Castlewich's is also notable for being located in the immediate vicinity of a farmstead rather than lying beyond its arable fields or on Viverdon Down c680m to the south. Evidently a close proximity to the farmhouse was the principal factor determining its location rather than a desire to utilise marginal lands unsuited for other forms of exploitation. The warren is not particularly well-drained, having a drainage rating of 5.

Summary

The earliest tradition of rabbit warrens in north-east Cornwall is primarily related to the Duchy of Cornwall's deer parks, with five warrens documented in a patent roll entry recording thefts of rabbits from the parks of Lanteglos, Helsbury, Liskeard, Kerrybullock and Launceston in 1347. Although as is often the case when the patent rolls record separate sites under a single investigation of park-breaking, it is unclear whether rabbit warrens were present at every site. With that said, there is no reason to assume that warrens would not have been present at each of these deer parks, sites associated with the highest echelon of Cornish society at a time when rabbit warrens were a means of expressing wealth and status. A 1272 reference to break-ins of Kerrybullock, Liskeard and Lanteglos

parks makes no mention of rabbit thefts, suggesting that these warrens were installed in the interim, possibly associated with the creation of the Duchy in 1337. It is of course possible that those deer parks had rabbit warrens at that earlier date but that their rabbits were not stolen during those earlier break-ins. This seems unlikely however, as park break-ins were primarily symbolic acts reflecting a widespread activity of aristocratic 'one-upmanship' where rivals' prized hunting lands were entered and their animals stolen. Given that rabbits were expensive, luxury items whose presence would have been signposted by the presence of pillow mounds, features that would have also aided their capture, then it seems unlikely that rabbits would not have been stolen had they been present.

The presence of rabbits at Launceston predates the creation of the Duchy and the patent rolls' 1347 reference to rabbit thefts. Excavations at Launceston Castle yielded rabbit remains from late-thirteenth-century deposits, although it was not consumed in large numbers until the post-medieval period. The status of Launceston as the *caput* of the pre-Duchy Earldom of Cornwall perhaps explains why rabbit was consumed there at such an early date. Despite the lack of archaeological and documentary evidence, other deer parks, both within north-east Cornwall and elsewhere in the county, are likely candidates for further medieval warrens as recent work by Herring (2003) has revealed the richness of its medieval deer parks. Nevertheless, the only other known medieval warren in north-east Cornwall was at Tintagel, where the 'island' was used for rabbit and sheep pasture from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. Aside from this coastal site, north-east Cornwall's medieval rabbit warrens form a conspicuous distribution pattern skirting the edges of Bodmin Moor with no evidence that the Moor itself was utilised for rearing rabbits. Given that most of the area's medieval warrens are associated with deer parks, this is unsurprising as there are very few confirmed deer parks on Bodmin Moor (*ibid.*, 36).

Despite the relative rarity of medieval warrens in north-east Cornwall, there is evidence that some may have been long-lived. Helsbury Park was described in 1814 as being "till lately" a rabbit warren (Lyons, 234), while the rabbit warren at Liskeard Park was mentioned in eighteenth-century leases up to 1784. This evidence of post-medieval warrening activities corresponds with a general increase in the number of rabbit warrens in north-east Cornwall during the post-medieval period. Much of this evidence takes the form of *warren*-field names

recorded on tithe maps, and while it is admitted that this evidence does not itself provide foundation dates for the region's warrens, there are etymological grounds for assigning them post-medieval dates. With the exception of *Conegar* tenement at Launcells, all of north-east Cornwall's warrens preserved by tithe maps are recorded by *warren* field-names. Historically, the term *warren* only came to describe rabbit warrens instead of the more traditional *coneygarth* and its variants from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, suggesting a post-medieval date for those warrens recorded in tithe maps. Certainly, the use of *warren* is unlikely to merely represent a Cornish alternative to *coneygarth* as field-names of this derivation are found throughout Cornwall: *Conyng Close* at Carminow (CRO AR/2/894), *Connynger* at East Looe (CRO WM/188), *Park and Conyn* at Gwether (CRO EN/585), *Coney Park* at Quethiock (CRO CY/3384), *Coney Field* at St Gluvias (CRO EN/600), *Conygerparke* at Tywardreath (CRO B/1/23/1) as well as the abovementioned *Conegar* at Launcells.

Evidence for these warrens beyond their existence is however scant, although several observations may be made. Most are located amongst the arable heartlands of their parent settlements, typically immediately adjoining a farmstead rather than utilising marginal land on the edges of cultivation. While there are exceptions to this, for example South Draynes's warren on the edge of cultivation adjoining Draynes Wood, they are rare. Cornwall's HLC mapping indicates that most of these warrens are located on former medieval farmland, in areas with farming settlements documented before the seventeenth century and whose field patterns are morphologically distinct from the generally straight-sided fields of later enclosure. These later historical documents therefore preserve an earlier tradition that saw tracts of former arable land converted to rabbit pasture during the post-medieval period.

The locations of these warrens typically immediately adjoining their parent farmsteads indicates that this close proximity was a decisive factor in determining their location rather than any desire to utilise marginal land. The reasons are unknown although it may have been an anti-poaching measure or it may simply reflect the land ownership of post-medieval Cornwall that saw previously unenclosed areas of rough ground that had traditionally been shared by several hamlets as commons becoming increasingly privatised (The Post-Medieval Landscape 2015). With an increasing privatisation of former commons, access to

these areas would have become more limited in post-medieval Cornwall and consequently it may not have always been possible to construct rabbit warrens on these areas.

Most known rabbit warrens within north-east Cornwall preserve no archaeology, although a limited number have preserved pillow mounds, albeit generally in small numbers. This limited number of pillow mounds, coupled with the general small size of warrens as demarcated on tithe maps, suggests that most warrens were non-commercial ventures that bred rabbits for personal consumption rather than for commercial means. Two exceptions are Polhilsa with 11 pillow mounds and Creddacott with ten. The large number of pillow mounds at both locations and the large spatial extent of the warren at the latter indicates that they belong to a different tradition of rearing rabbits, although evidence of large-scale commercial warrens in north-east Cornwall is rare.

This last point is perhaps not surprising given the county's economic history. Historically, installing a rabbit warren represented one particular response to the Black Death whereby landowners could diversify their produce (Williamson 2007, 17). Constructing a warren offered the benefit of cheap labour costs compared to arable farming, while cullings could be increased without a rise in those costs (Bailey 1988, 12). Consequently, the later medieval period generally witnessed an increase in the number of rabbit warrens. Nationally, the growth in warren numbers and the increased access to and affordability of rabbits meant that warrens shed their connotations of wealth during the post-medieval period, and became either commercial ventures or installations that supplemented individual farmstead's outputs for personal consumption.

Evidence in Cornwall suggests a slightly different scenario: while the county was undoubtedly affected by the Black Death, it may have been less severely affected than the rest of England as more dispersed settlement patterns lessened its impact (Coleman 2006, 70). During the last quarter of the fourteenth century, rising wages and falling grain prices undermined the basis of demesne farming in much of England and many landlords abandoned arable farming, a move that was accompanied by peasant discontent, falling rents and vacant holdings (Hatcher 1970, 142). The Cornish experience was contrary, with many manors experiencing a period of consolidation and high landlord incomes, with the first quarter of the fifteenth century being a period of "unprecedented

prosperity” (*ibid.*). Analyses of tax assessments from the 1330s to the early 1500s indicate that the South West in general advanced among English counties, while Cornwall itself was ranked 35th out of the 38 counties in the 1330s for assessed wealth per 1000 acres but ranked 27th by 1515, representing the third highest growth (Coleman 2006, 70). It is also worth noting that there was a discrepancy between the east and the west of the county, with the east suffering less from the effects of the Black Death (*ibid.*) and its manors generally receiving higher rental receipts from the 1420s onwards (Hatcher 1970, 149-156).

If Cornwall’s medieval agrarian economy was less affected than the rest of England by the Black Death, particularly in the east of the county, then this may help to explain why there is little evidence for later medieval warrens in north-east Cornwall. During a period that has traditionally been noted for an increase in warren numbers, landowners in north-east Cornwall may have had less incentive for rearing rabbits. Moreover, the importance of fishing and especially tin-mining in Cornwall (Rowse 1941, 54-66) would have augmented traditional local economies to an extent that negated the desire to install warrens, while any post-medieval privatisation of rough grazing areas and its division into smaller blocks of land would also have hindered the spread of post-medieval commercial warrens. With that said, Cornwall Archives preserves numerous confirmations of grazing rights on Bodmin Moor and there is also evidence that the county’s wool produce increased in both quality and quantity following the Tudor period (*ibid.*, 66). Evidently then much of Cornwall’s marginal land, particularly Bodmin Moor, was utilised for pasturing, but for unclear reasons large-scale pasturing of rabbits appears to have not occurred within the county.

Cornwall’s agrarian history may also explain the relative lack of warrens on its north-east coastline, with those at Tintagel, Willapark and Warren Point being the only known examples. In general terms, the coastal areas of north-east Cornwall are fertile and suitable for farming, with productivity rapidly decreasing around the edges of Bodmin Moor (Hatcher 1970, 23; Webb 2006, 37). If there was generally little, or reduced, incentive to install rabbit warrens on former arable lands compared to the rest of England, then those productive coastal lands would be unlikely to have been subject to the installation of rabbit warrens. Indeed, it is notable that the warrens of Tintagel and Willapark are both situated on rocky outcrops rather than on the arable lands immediately inland of them.

Nevertheless, despite this scenario, most of north-east Cornwall's warrens were installed on former arable lands, indicating that their introduction would have been more profitable than the continuation of arable farming. A noticeable aspect of Bodmin Moor's settlement pattern is that from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, the dominant form of settlement changed from hamlet to single farmstead (Johnson and Rose 1994, 114). This change has often been linked to the upheaval caused by the Black Death (Beresford 1979, 143-5), but given the evidence that Cornwall, particularly its eastern half, was able to withstand the worst effects of the Black Death, it may be instead linked to a decline in soil productivity following two centuries of sustained cultivation (Johnson and Rose 1994, 115). This settlement shrinkage, and in some places abandonment, possibly linked to a decline in land productivity, may be the reason why small-scale rabbit warrens are seen attached to a number of farmsteads on former arable lands. Whatever the driver behind these warrens' installations, it is noticeable feature of north-east Cornwall's warrens that they are generally confined to the region's arable heartlands while the interior of Bodmin Moor is largely devoid of warrens; where warrens are located on Bodmin Moor, they are confined to its outer edges.

Although one reason why Bodmin Moor's interior was not utilised for rearing rabbits is the abovementioned post-medieval privatisation of Cornwall's rough grazing land, a second explanation is found in a poem written c1694 by Edmund Spoure of Trebartha House (CRO FS/3/93/4/158). Located on the south-eastern edge of Bodmin Moor, Trebartha House had been the seat of the Trebartha family from the twelfth century, although by the fifteenth it belonged to the Spoure family. Edmund Spoure's poem described life at the house and contains the following lines:

*Altho a warren here, we want
You'll find that Cunneys are not scant
Our Tors produce good store, tho they seem barren
They are equivalent even to a warren*

The poem indicates that rabbits were living wild on Bodmin Moor by the late seventeenth century and that there was therefore no need to construct a rabbit warren. Although Sheail wrote that wild rabbits were generally not found in England until the eighteenth century (1978, 354), that Spoure wrote of wild rabbits

at the end of the seventeenth century need not necessarily contradict this as the establishment of wild rabbits is unlikely to have happened in a single event evenly across England. However, given that evidence of warrens themselves is relatively rare within the interior of Bodmin Moor, it is unclear where these wild rabbits would have originated from.

Ostensibly then, the large open expanses of Bodmin Moor provide a comparatively similar landscape to Dartmoor. This latter site witnessed a boom in rabbit warrens during the post-medieval period to the extent that it contains approximately 726 pillow mounds. In comparison, Bodmin Moor was not used for the construction of post-medieval rabbit warrens to anything approaching this scale. However, given that rabbits naturally prefer warmer, drier sites sheltered from the prevailing winds (personal communication, Anne McBride, 18 June 2015), Bodmin Moor would therefore appear to be the more appropriate area for rearing rabbits: its climate is warmer, with a longer growing season of 275 days per year compared to 225 to 175 days in much of Dartmoor's interior (Webb 2006, 30); its annual rainfall is lower, having c1400mm per year compared to the c1600mm of much of Dartmoor and c2000mm per year in its interior (*ibid.*, 31); while Dartmoor is also characterised by a high average annual number of days with hail reflecting the instability of the south-westerly prevailing winds travelling across the Atlantic Ocean as they hit Dartmoor (*ibid.*). While the underlying soils of Bodmin Moor are admittedly not particularly well-draining, this is a characteristic shared with Dartmoor where no warren has a drainage rating above 5. Evidently then, Bodmin Moor was not utilised for commercial warrening not because of environmental limitations, but because the economic and agrarian history of Cornwall dictated that other forms of agriculture prevailed.

CHAPTER 9

THE SYMBOLISM OF RABBITS AND RABBIT WARRENS

Introduction

As explored in Chapter 5, there is little surviving landscape evidence to support the Stockers' (1996) theory that rabbits were interpreted by contemporary society as symbols of Catholic theology, with warrens visually displaying that symbolism within ecclesiastical precincts. However, medieval Chancery rolls clearly illustrate that ecclesiastical land-owners often held rabbit warrens, although compiling a complete picture of them is outside the scope of the present study. What can be presently ascertained is that the number of confirmed ecclesiastical warren owners in the South West is relatively small compared to lay owners, although they represent a mix of Cistercian, Benedictine and Augustinian houses as well as several bishoprics. The possibility remains, however, that because extant medieval warrens are rare, further ecclesiastical examples would have existed but have not survived. Because archaeological evidence is therefore possibly lacking, it remains necessary to investigate how rabbits were viewed by medieval society.

The visibility of warrens within the wider landscape, and the implications of these visual traits, is also investigated through several case studies. Chapter 5 noted that several warrens display spatial associations with elite residences although they are not necessarily contemporary with them. Consequently, it is not possible to easily determine what visual role those warrens played without further investigating their histories and relationships with those nearby residences. This chapter therefore investigates several such warrens in greater depth in order to assess whether they ostentatiously displayed their owners' wealth, namely: Dyrham Park, Chipping Campden and Rodway in Gloucestershire, Godolphin in Cornwall, East Lulworth and Kingston Lacy in Dorset, and Bruton Abbey in Somerset (Fig. 9.1). These warrens were chosen because they are likely to be contemporary with neighbouring residences and because public access allows site visits to be undertaken, permitting a full assessment of their visual roles and relationships with nearby residences.

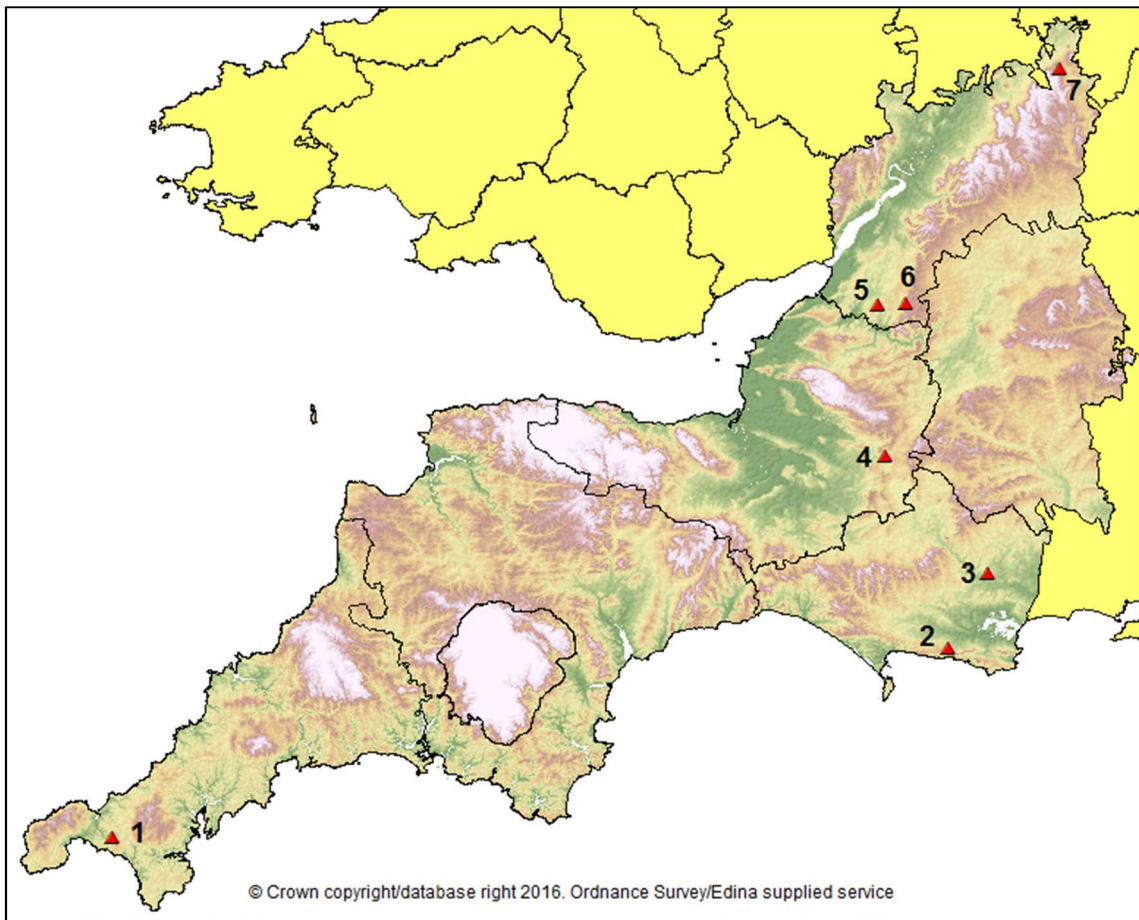


Fig. 9.1 Locations of (1) Godolphin, (2) East Lulworth, (3) Badbury, (4) Bruton, (5) Rodway, (6) Dyrham, (7) Chipping Campden

Rabbits and Religious Symbolism

Despite the few surviving examples, ecclesiastical warrens were certainly a feature of the medieval landscape as demonstrated by the Chancery rolls' references to ecclesiastical warren owners. However, caution should be exercised when assuming that these warrens were designed primarily to display Christian symbolism. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Chancery rolls record many instances of ecclesiastical warrens fulfilling a purely functional role in supplying rabbits to the royal court. There is even evidence that rabbits were viewed merely as pets: nuns of Romsey Nunnery, Hampshire, were warned twice during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries about keeping dogs, monkeys, birds and rabbits in private chambers (Aberth 2013, 175).

Most tellingly, however, is that when one examines medieval depictions of rabbits, evidence of overt religious symbolism is lacking or at best questionable. Although the Stockers admit that most dictionaries of symbolism associate rabbits with fecundity and lust (1996, 267), they claim that they were endowed with a second meaning predicated upon their vulnerability, rendering them iconic of the

soul's vulnerability against Satan (*ibid.*). Indeed, depictions of rabbits being hunted are numerous in medieval documents (Figs. 9.2 – 9.6) and while they certainly display rabbits' vulnerability, it is hard to reconcile such explicit scenes of hunting with the Stockers' proposal: killing rabbits to provide food and meat, and possibly simply for the pleasure of hunting, hardly equates with mankind's protection under Christ. While rabbits may well have been protected by a warrener, this was simply to provide 'raw materials' for the hunt and subsequent culling that was rabbits' inescapable fate.

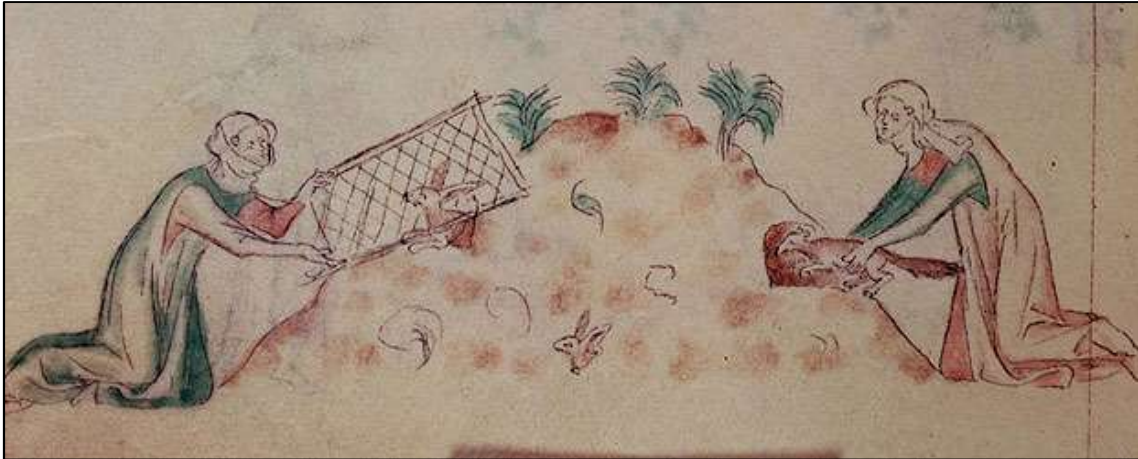


Fig. 9.2 Detail from the Queen Mary Psalter, 1316-21, showing women hunting rabbits with nets and possibly a ferret (British Library MS Royal 2 B VII f. 155v)



Fig. 9.3 Detail from Queen Mary Psalter, 1310-1320, showing women hunting rabbits with clubs (British Library MS Royal 2 B VII, f. 156r)



Fig. 9.4 Detail from the Taymouth Hours, second-quarter of the fourteenth century, showing a woman hunting a rabbit with bow and arrow (British Library MS Yates Thompson 13, f. 68v)



Fig. 9.5 Detail from the Voeux du Paon c1350 showing a dog hunting rabbits (MS G 24, f. 2r)



Fig. 9.6 Detail from the Sforza Hours, Milan 1490, showing a dog mauling a rabbit (British Library, Add 34294, fol. 45r)

There are also frequent displays of role-reversals in marginalia showing rabbits hunting humans and dogs (Figs. 9.7 – 9.10). In many instances it is not entirely clear whether rabbits or hares are being depicted (George and Yapp 1991, 64), although this is largely irrelevant: what such images depict are generic portrayals of small quarry who have turned the tables on those who traditionally hunted them. Given the differences between the species, with hares living above ground rather than in burrows, hares are unlikely to have been associated with the Christian symbolism as proposed by the Stockers as they did not represent obvious examples of warreners' protection. If hares and rabbits are interchangeable in medieval marginalia, then this makes the explicit symbolism inherent in depictions of rabbits as argued by the Stockers unlikely. The meaning of such depictions is not clear, however, and they may simply represent medieval humour. Regardless, although they show the tables being turned, they are still explicitly linked to hunting and death and again this is hard to reconcile with the Stockers' theory. Depictions of rabbits in marginalia therefore explicitly play on knowledge of the fact that rabbits were bred for the sole purpose of being hunted; any protection offered by a warrener was simply necessary, not to mention temporary, to ensure the supply of a product rather than representing the altruistic actions of warreners.



Fig. 9.7 Detail from the Gorleston Psalter, fourteenth century, showing a rabbit beheading a man (British Library Add 49622, f. 13v)



Fig. 9.8 Detail from the Smithfield Decretals, c1300, showing a rabbit beheading a man (British Library MS Royal 10 E IV f. 61v.)



Fig. 9.9 Detail from pontifical of Guillaume Durand, before 1390, showing a rabbit in a traditional hunting pose riding a greyhound (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève MS 143 f. 165r)



Fig. 9.10 Detail from the Smithfield Decretals, c1300, showing a rabbit hunting a dog with bow and arrow (British Library MS Royal 10 E IV f. 62r)

Although associated with being hunted, rabbits need not necessarily have been viewed as without virtue: Cohen proposed that because they were constantly hunted, they also represented alertness and vigilance (2008, 83), and there are occasional depictions that *do* represent Christian theology. For example, a rabbit is conspicuously included in Bellini's fifteenth-century painting *San Francesco nel deserto* hiding among rocks and has been interpreted as representing early Christian ascetic hermits (Fleming 1982, 46) or even a reference to Moses' hiding in a cleft in Mount Sinai (*ibid.*, 60).

Ultimately, modern historians have never completely agreed on the significance of rabbits and their place in medieval religious imagery, particularly as they rarely appear in the bible (Patton 1986, 16). In Psalms 104:18 and Proverbs 30:26, rabbits are described as finding refuge in the rocks, perhaps representing the heathen or the sinner finding refuge in the spiritual rock of the Church (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, rabbits are, as the Stockers admit, most commonly associated with fertility and lust. Both Herodotus and Aristotle believed rabbits capable of superfetation, beliefs that ultimately led to rabbits becoming fertility symbols (Abraham 1963, 590). Such sexual connotations again need not be seen as unvirtuous: the belief that rabbits could procreate without a mate implied that they could give birth without the loss of virginity, thus becoming a symbol of the virgin birth and chastity (Cohen 2008, 82).

But to assume that rabbits were *only* associated with chastity would be inaccurate. The similarity of the species' Latin name (*cuniculus*) and words for vagina (Latin *cunnus*, Old French *conin*) saw rabbits being associated with women and the vagina (Abraham 1963, 592). Although Abraham wrote that this play on words occurred only in Old French, a similar scenario occurred in England where associations between the words *coney* and *cunny* existed, while the English medieval aristocracy would also have been well-versed in Latin and Old French. The link between the terms *coney* and *cunny* became so entrenched in England that by the seventeenth century *cunny-warren* was a euphemism for a brothel (Hughes 2006, 112). Indeed, in England and France, the similarity between these terms led to the adoption of new words for the species: *lapin* in France and rabbit in England (*ibid.*).

In the medieval world, rabbits were therefore part of the artistic 'language of love' and were explicitly linked with female sexuality with male sexuality

frequently represented by depictions of dogs (Camille 1998, 98). For example, a late thirteenth-century *chansonnier* contains a motet about love's sorrows accompanied by a depiction of two lovers, where the lady "fondles her own smirking rabbit and her lord's thigh while he strokes his puppy and places his white-gloved hand on the lady's shoulder" (*ibid.*, 101). Elsewhere, in an Old French version of The Aeneid, *Roman d'Eneas* of c1160, Lavinia's mother tries to persuade her daughter that Aeneas is not worthy of her love by saying that he has disdain for the *pel de conin*, or rabbit fur (*ibid.*, 102).

For the Stockers' theory to be correct, the association between rabbits and humankind's salvation under Christ needed to have been widely understood if it was to have had any currency with those encountering warrens. While rabbits may have had some religious symbolism, it is clear that rabbits had two main associations in the medieval world: the hunt and lust/female sexuality. While the former association involves a degree of vulnerability and protection, ultimately it reinforces the notion that rabbits were bred solely to provide meat and fur, with death their ultimate fate; if this final act was to be performed by the warrener, then the very person responsible for their death was the same as was responsible for their well-being. Such notions are hardly compatible with rabbits reflecting humankind's protection under Christ. An association with sexuality may occasionally have been linked with chastity and the virgin birth, but it is doubtful whether the majority of medieval society would have held rabbits in such lofty regard given the 'vulgar' linguistic connotations with which the very word *coney* came to be held. In light of such associations, and the lack of archaeological associations between warrens and ecclesiastical sites, there is no firm evidence to support the Stockers' claims that medieval warrens exhibited Christian symbolism.

The Visual Symbolism of Warrens

As mentioned elsewhere in this study, some pillow mounds may have played an important role in visually displaying their owners' wealth and access to a luxury commodity. The conferring of hunting rights to certain individuals and institutions by the Crown meant that some animal species, rabbits included, were restricted to the landed elite and effectively became status symbols (Williamson 2007, 156). Evidence of the social connotations of these hunting rights is clearly evident in the patent rolls' records of trespasses of, and animal thefts from, medieval

hunting lands by members of the aristocracy against their rivals, targeting what were ostentatious symbols of wealth and therefore social standing. Because rabbits were status symbols during the medieval period, it has been reported that many warrens were constructed to be highly visible landmarks (Creighton 2009, 114). As much as they were functional rabbit ‘farms’ producing meat and fur for their owners, many warrens are believed to have been integral elements of designed landscapes, forming principal views from manor houses (Williamson 2007, 164).

While this symbolic function is largely accepted as a fundamental tenet of elite warrens, investigating instances where it is present is problematic because it is derived from rabbits’ exclusivity and association with the aristocracy. Consequently, it would have been more prominent during the medieval/early post-medieval period because connotations of exclusivity diminished with rabbits’ increased affordability in the post-medieval period. However, as has been widely reported, most surviving pillow mounds are post-medieval and as outlined in Chapter 5, very little surviving warren architecture can be conclusively associated with elite residences, while much of what does survive is probably post-medieval. Although mapping can often preserve the locations of former warrens, most examples likewise appear to record post-medieval warrens. Consequently, most warrens whose locations can be identified and placed within a wider landscape context tend not to exhibit any visual symbolism associated with wealth and exclusivity.

Nevertheless, a small number of warrens within the South West are suspected of belonging to elite medieval or early post-medieval residences. However, their dispersed nature hinders an in-depth investigation of warren symbolism, while public access to such warrens is in some cases limited. Considering these issues, viewshed analyses of elite warrens could feasibly shed light on the visibility of pillow mounds, although caution is required. For example, a viewshed analysis performed in ArcGIS by the present author of the two warrens associated with Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire, suggests that several pillow mounds would have been visible from the main residence (Fig. 9.11). However, site visits suggest otherwise for while some of the mounds’ locations are potentially visible, the mounds themselves, at least in their present condition, are very low earthworks that are not conspicuous landscape features. Moreover,

the presence of trees block lines of site between the mounds and the mansion, something not considered in the viewshed analysis.

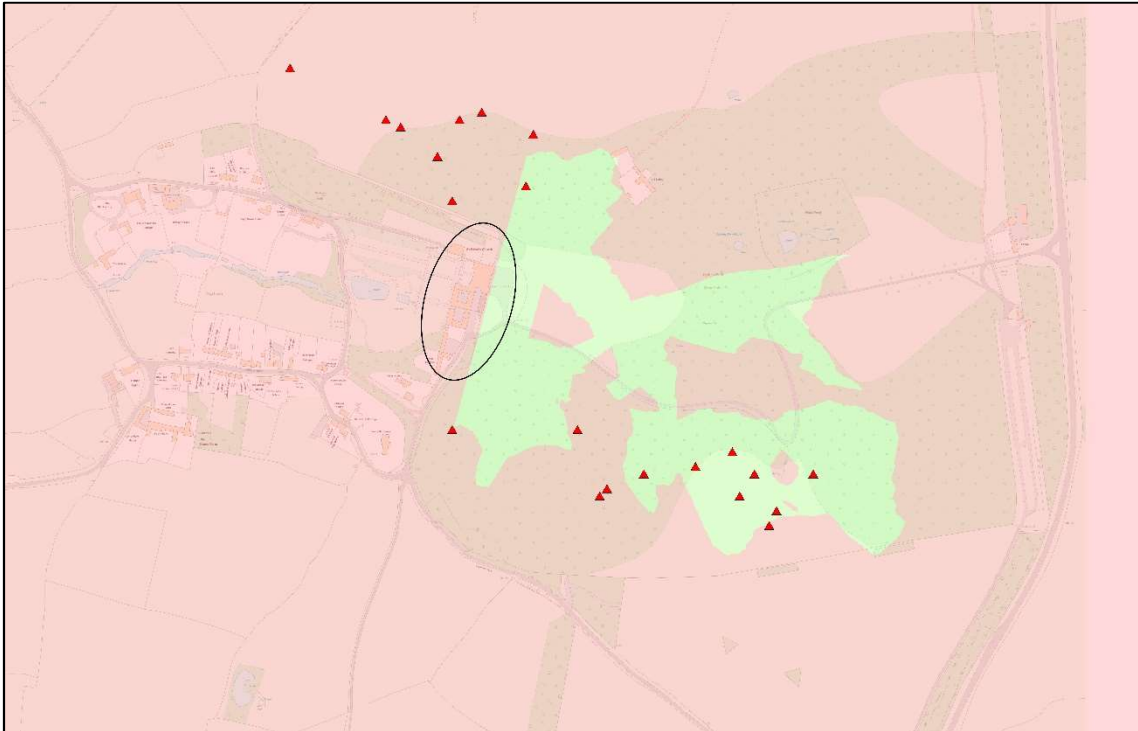


Fig. 9.11 Viewshed analysis of Dyrham Park, with the areas visible from the mansion (circled) shown in green and the areas not visible shown in pink. According to this analysis, a number of pillow mounds (marked by red triangles) in the southern warren are visible to the mansion.

In light of such concerns, it was decided not to rely on viewshed analyses when determining warrens' visibility, but instead to undertake site visits. Doing so allowed for the sensory properties of warrens to be experienced, and facilitated the creation of personal judgement through physically moving through warrens and their associated landscapes. It is admitted, however, that most, if not all, pillow mounds are eroded and do not reflect their original visual role within the landscape. Moreover, any original routeways that directed people through elite landscapes may also have been lost to history, hindering an appreciation of how contemporary society would have experienced these landscapes.

Dyrham Park, South Gloucestershire

Dyrham is possibly recorded as early as AD 577 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's reference to the Battle of Deorham (Giles 1914, 12), although its rendering as Dirham in Domesday Book (Gloucestershire A-F 2016) means that its association with Deorham is tentative. In 1259 a free warren was granted there to Robert Walerand, although by 1311 the manor belonged to the Russels and by 1416 it

had passed to Sir Gilbert Denys. Although it has not been possible to view original documents, the Listed Building description (1000443) of the estate notes that modern archaeological surveys suggest Denys' house was on the site of the present mansion. A licence to impark 500 acres was granted in 1511 although only 250 acres were in fact imparked, forming what is now known as the Old Park. In 1571 the manor was sold to the Wynters, with Sir George Wynter creating the New Park that surrounds the house to its north, east and south in 1620 (Fig. 9.12). Between 1691-1704 major works to the house and garden were undertaken by William Blathwayt, husband of heiress Mary Wynter, and the estate remained in that family until sold to the National Trust in 1957.



Fig. 9.12 1889 First Edition 6" OS map showing Dyrham Park mansion (circled) and the deer park to its north, east and south

Dyrham Park had two rabbit warrens, although when they were created is unknown. A northern warren preserves nine possible pillow mounds and is recorded on a 1689 estate map as three fields named *The Warren*, *The Stub Conigeere* and *Limekiln Conigeere* immediately north of the house (GRO D2659/16, Fig. 9.13). That the warren had been enclosed and divided into three fields with *The Stub Conigeere* and *Limekiln Conigeere* being farmed by Moses Hignell rather than by the manor directly indicates a contraction of the warren; unfortunately, no land-use is recorded and it is unknown if any part of these fields was then a functioning warren. However, a series of estate accounts from 1696 records payments for “wire Lettice to prevent ye Rabbetts coming down ye Steps at both ends of ye Long Terras” (GRO D1799/A106). This “Long Terras”

refers to the terrace north of the house directly below *The Warren* and indicates that a rabbit population was present there at the end of the seventeenth century. A 1766 map (GRO D2659/18, Fig. 9.14) records that *The Warren*, then named *Warrant*, had been extended westward while *Limekiln Conigeere*, then named *Limekiln Tyning*, had been extended southwards resulting in the removal of *The Stub Conigeere*. No land-use is recorded although *Warrant* is depicted as being bounded by trees, suggesting it was not used for simple pasture but was possibly still a functional warren or merely an ornamental component of the estate.



Fig. 9.13 “A Map of the Mannour of Dirham, belonging unto William Blathwryt Esquire”, 1689, showing (A) *The Warren*, (B) *The Stub Conigeere* and (C) *Limekiln Conigeere* (Gloucestershire Archives)



Fig. 9.14 1766 Map of Dyrham by George Coates, with *Warrant* highlighted (Gloucestershire Archives)

Twelve further pillow mounds lie south and south-east of the house (Fig. 9.15) in the area labelled as *The Park* on Figure 9.14, although field-names here preserve no trace of a warren. It is possible that the two warrens had two different foundation dates as the manor preserves a long history of piecemeal additions to its parks and gardens. Possibly the northern warren predates the southern as its depiction on the 1689 estate survey suggests it was a pre-existing part of the manor, while the lack of any warren depicted on maps south of the house suggests the southern warren was added during the creation of the New Park in 1620. Moreover, the northern pillow mounds are more eroded than the southern group, suggesting an earlier construction. At least one of the warrens were still in use by 1704 as details of the warrener's salary and responsibility for stocking the warren is preserved in a letter at Gloucestershire Archives (GRO D1799/E244).

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Fig. 9.15 Locations of Dyrham Park's pillow mounds (Source: Smith 2002)

Regarding the warrens' visibility and their role in relation to the house's formal gardens, the extent of their symbolic function is limited. Stephen Switzer's lengthy description of Dyrham Park included the note that the northern warren contained a rotating seat from where the viewer had "the most entertaining prospect all round" (1718, 125). While the views offered from the warren were therefore considered integral to experiencing and enjoying Dyrham's landscape, Switzer makes no mention of either the northern or southern warren in terms of them

being distinct elements of the park and does not recognise either as warrens. Johannes Kip's 1712 birds-eye engraving of the gardens also provides much information about the formal landscaping that characterised the post-medieval Dyrham Park (Fig. 9.16).

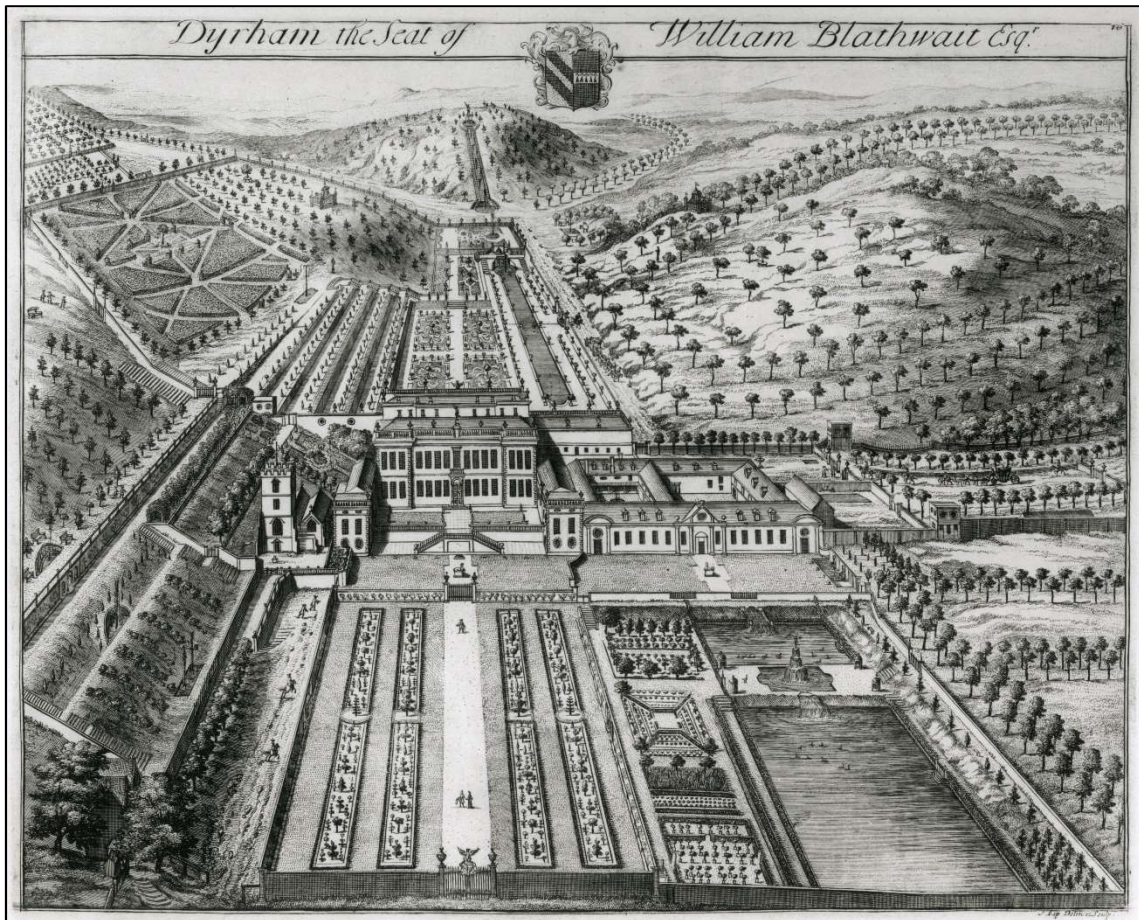


Fig. 9.16 Kip's 1712 engraving of Dyrham Park looking east along its east-west axis; the area containing the northern warren is beyond the edge of his engraving, while no details of the southern warren are depicted (© National Trust Images)

Kip's engraving is noteworthy in that the warren north of the mansion is not included; instead the lower levels of the terraces north of the mansion form the limit of his engraving. The area containing the southern warren is however depicted although the pillow mounds themselves are not. The Listed Building description of Dyrham Park refers to an area of wilderness north of the house (LB 1000443) but Kip's engraving shows clearly that the area south-east of the house was similarly an area of wilderness and it is here that the southern warren was located. It is possible then that this warren was a constituent part of that landscape, with its rabbits contributing to this artificially constructed wilderness. The presence of trees in this area means that the pillow mounds themselves are

however largely obscured from the mansion and the valley floor on which the formal gardens were located.

Kip's engraving and Switzer's description provide the only contemporary information regarding what elements of this landscape were meant to be appreciated, albeit only relative to the Blathwayt's late seventeenth/early eighteenth-century gardens. However, between them they indicate that northern warren, while offering a location that provided fine views of the surrounding countryside, did not form an integral view from either the mansion or the formal gardens. The southern warren probably aided the creation of a concept of wilderness that was a constituent part of these gardens, but its pillow mounds would not themselves have been visible. This was confirmed by site visits undertaken by the present author in April 2016: while there are some limited views between the southern warren and the mansion, it is largely obscured by trees, trees that are present on Kip's engraving, and the distance between it and the mansion ensures that its pillow mounds would not have been visible from the mansion or its gardens (Fig. 9.17). The northern warren is even more obscured as it lies on a plateau above the level of the house and is entirely invisible from both the mansion and the gardens (Fig. 9.18).



Fig. 9.17 View from pillow mound (arrowed) towards Dyrham Park mansion, which is obscured by trees (author's photograph taken at ST74317556 looking north-west)



Fig. 9.18 View of Dyrham Park mansion with its northern warren (arrowed) located on the summit of a hill (author's photograph taken from ST74437566 looking west)

One pillow mound (Dyrham Park 20 in the gazetteer) does however appear to be more conspicuous than others on the site. Although not listed as a pillow mound by English Heritage's earthwork survey, an alternative identification is not offered although they write that it "may" be linked with the warren (Smith 2002, i). It possibly relates to the avenue of trees depicted by Kip (Fig. 9.16) running up the park's southern valley slope although the mound is in fact further to the east, aligned on the statue of Neptune shown at the centre-top of his engraving, in which case a pillow mound seems like the most likely interpretation. This mound is, however, only visible as a linear earthwork when looking down upon it (Fig. 9.19); from the valley floor it is barely recognisable. While it is the estate's longest pillow mound and is aligned on the statue of Neptune, it is doubtful then that it was deliberately sited so as to be visible from anybody within the mansion or the formal gardens on the valley floor. It may have been a conspicuous monument to anyone walking within the wilderness section of the park, but ultimately its atypically large size in relation to the estate's other pillow mounds is not linked to it being an ostentatious symbol of wealth. Ultimately, while Dyrham Park's warrens were a constituent part of its designed landscape, they do not appear to

have been created so as to be highly conspicuous monuments and cannot be considered to visually represent wealth and control of resources.



Fig. 9.19 View from pillow mound (arrowed) towards Dyrham Park mansion (author's photograph taken at ST74467549 looking north-west)

Godolphin, Cornwall

The history of Godolphin House in Breage, west Cornwall (Fig. 9.20), stretches back to at least the late-thirteenth/early-fourteenth century when Sir Alexander de Godolghan (c1295-1349) constructed a fortified house within a walled and ditched enclosure slightly south of the present mansion (Herring 1996, 7). Pre-fifteenth-century documentation of the estate is scant however, although archaeological evidence survives of fifteenth-century formal gardens surrounding the house (*ibid.*), while an axially-placed ride led southwards to Godolphin Hill on which was a deer park. When this park was created is unknown, although Herring

suggests it probably dates from the sixteenth century (*ibid.*, 12) although the fourteenth has also been suggested (Schofield 2015, 71).

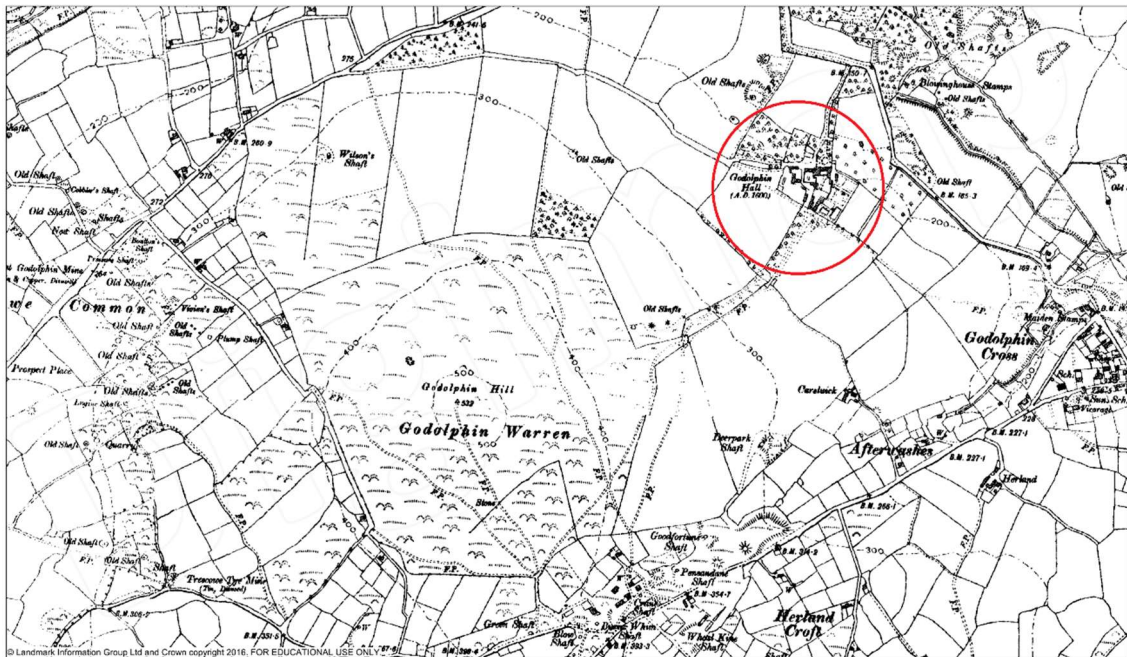


Fig. 9.20 1908 First Revision 6" OS map with Godolphin House and gardens circled, linked to Godolphin Warren on Godolphin Hill to its southwest

Documentary evidence of the estate is unfortunately fragmentary up to the late seventeenth-century as its papers were destroyed in a fire shortly after it was inherited by William Godolphin IV in 1667. Despite this, some later amendments and additions to the Godolphins' lands are known to have occurred during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, and elements of both medieval and post-medieval designed landscapes are represented at Godolphin (Fig. 9.21). Although these lands include ornamental elements such as gardens, orchards and ponds, the wider landscape of Godolphin represents a 'landscape of power'. Several pre-Conquest hamlets are recorded in what would become the estate as Godolghan, Carsluick, Gwedna, probably Nanjenkyn and Boscreege and possibly Tregonning, Trennal and Trescove, most of which had been subsumed by Trescove and Binnerton manors by 1086 (Herring 1996, 5). The Godolghan family carved out their estate through the absorption of these neighbouring lands and previous tenants were disposed of their lands. The family's influence is nowhere better shown than in an assize roll of 1320 in which Alexander de Godolghan was accused of dispossessing tenements in Harland and Sparnon; the jury supported de Godolghan's claim that he need not answer the writ as his family name had been misspelt as de Godolghen and the disposed were punished for making a false claim (*ibid.*, 6). The deer park on Godolphin

Hill, south-west of the house and gardens, is the most ostentatious aspect of this landscape of power, created through the appropriation of a “striking and dominant hill, visible from much of west Cornwall, and enclosing it with a high pale, which itself cut across and made redundant the fields of medieval peasants” (Herring 2003, 40).

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Fig. 9.21 The c1600 gardens and ornamental grounds at Godolphin as revealed by visible remains and documentary references (source: Herring 1998, 69)

The estate’s rabbit warren was a constituent part of that landscape, lying within the deer park and preserving nine pillow mounds usually cited as dating from the sixteenth or early-seventeenth century (for example, see Listed Building description 1001443). As a supporter of the Stockers’ (1996) theory, Herring

believes that this warren may exhibit Catholic symbolism and consequently he suggests that it may pre-date 1537 because the Godolphins suppressed a Catholic uprising in that year (2003, 44). It seems certain that it pre-dates 1661 when Godolphin Hill was enclosed and *Little Warren* field was created, while Herring suggests that it had been abandoned by 1703 when a lease of *Perroe's Croft* refers to it as “lyeing neare the old warren” (1996, 12).

Godolphin Hill is located south-west of Godolphin House and six pillow mounds lie on its north-eastern face and three on its opposite face. Creighton wrote that four are silhouetted on the skyline (2009, 114), although Herring wrote of only two being distinct skyline features when viewed from the house (1998, 72). Regardless, a site visit undertaken by the present author in April 2016 revealed most pillow mounds to be obscured by bracken and scrub, although two were clearly visible as conspicuous features of the deer park, particularly when contrasted to their surrounding vegetation (Fig. 9.22).



Fig. 9.22 Pillow mound on Godolphin Hill (author's photograph taken at SW59313128 looking south-west)

Views between the warren and the medieval and post-medieval phases of Godolphin House cannot truly be ascertained as much of the mansion was demolished in 1805 when converted into a farmhouse (Godolphin House 2015). Regardless, at a distance of approximately 800m, it is doubtful how visible the

pillow mounds would have been from the mansion and its gardens (Figs. 9.23 and 9.24). However, as both Creighton and Herring wrote of at least two pillow mounds being silhouetted on the skyline and visible from the house it is possible that vegetation and light conditions play a part in determining the visibility of parts of this warren. It is noteworthy then that Herring conducted his survey in October 1995 (1998, 2) when vegetation conditions would have differed from the dense scrub and bracken noted by the present author during April 2016. The presence of scrub and bracken within the deer park may have been a deliberately cultivated feature of deer management as they would have provided cover and fodder for fawns and there is evidence that at some locations the removal of bracken was an offence (Birrell 1992, 116). It cannot be assumed then that Godolphin's medieval and post-medieval deer park would have been kept free of vegetation, something that would have increased the visibility of its pillow mounds



Fig. 9.23 View towards Godolphin House (highlighted at top of picture) from pillow mound (highlighted bottom, author's photograph taken at SW59273134 looking north-east)



Fig. 9.24 View towards Godolphin Hill, here obscured by trees, from southern edge of the estate's farm buildings (author's photograph taken at SW59983180 looking south-west)

While Godolphin Hill itself is therefore highly visible and any original park pale may well have been a conspicuous landmark, the pillow mounds themselves are really only visible from *within* the deer park although a small number of them *may* have been visible from nearer the mansion under certain conditions. While they are a representation and a product of the Godolphins' wealth, it is doubtful that they truly fulfilled a symbolic role in ostentatiously displaying that wealth. While it cannot be ruled out that they were meant to be visible to those entering the deer park from Godolphin House, although Schofield suggests the main entrance into Godolphin itself was via the west-side of the park (2015, 72), the deer park itself is arguably a more imposing statement of wealth and power; the pillow mounds are merely secondary components of the deer park. In many respects this situation mirrors that of Kingston Lacy (see below) where both estates had warrens that were key components of their deer parks but which were evidently not designed to have been highly visible features from the main residences.

Rodway, Gloucestershire

Although largely rebuilt in 1520, Rodway Manor House in Mangotsfield, South Gloucestershire, has medieval origins and perhaps dates from the mid-fourteenth century (Jones 1899, 91). The medieval manor had belonged to the Blouts since at least 1327 before passing to Robert Dormer in 1515 and then to the Berkeleys, in whose possession it remained until 1613 after which it was sold and passed through several private owners (*ibid.*, 93-99). The manor house lies at the northern edge of Rodway Hill on which is “a good example of a manorial rabbit warren” (NMR 201285) comprising at least three pillow mounds (Fig. 9.25).

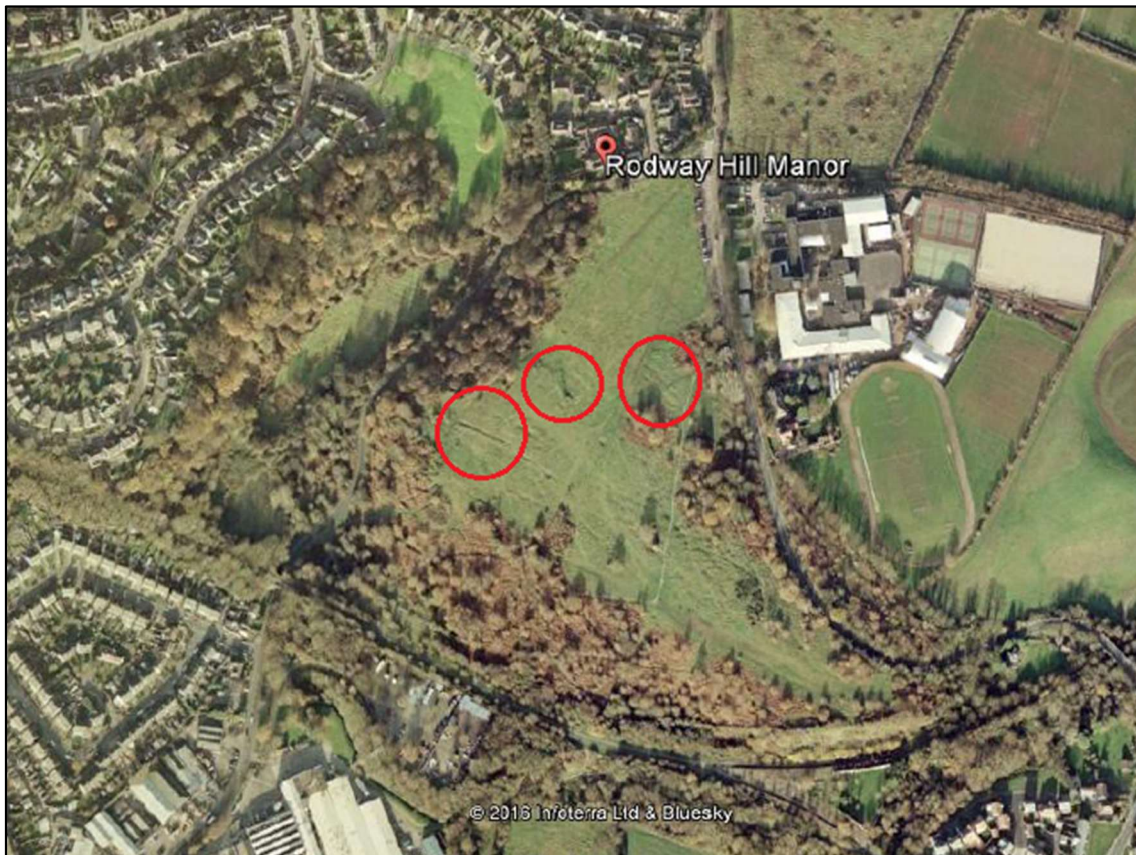


Fig. 9.25 Aerial photo taken 17.04.2005 showing Rodway Hill with three pillow mounds circled to the south of Rodway Manor house

The warren is first mentioned in legal proceedings of 1629 when William Tucker of Stapleton testified that he knew “a warren of conies near Mangersfield belonging to the owner of Mangersfield Court” (quoted by Jones 1899, 180). It is recorded again in 1783 when the estate was transferred to Edward Freeman and Robert Read, with the abstract of title including “the warren (called Rodway Hill), three score acres” (*ibid.*, 99). The sale of the manor to Dormer in 1515 is recorded in the Close Rolls of Henry VIII, and while several details of the manor’s lands

are recorded, no warren is mentioned (*ibid.*, 96). This may possibly indicate a post-1515 date for the warren, although this cannot be assumed with certainty.

Although three pillow mounds are visible on Figure 9.24, site visits undertaken in April 2016 by the present author reveal that much of the central part of Rodway Hill consists of heavily undulating topography and it is possible that further pillow mounds exist but remain unidentified. Indeed, South Gloucestershire's HER (4781) records that there are five or six pillow mounds here, but this cannot be confirmed on the ground or on aerial photographs, although it is possible that a mound at ST66427543 on the southern edge of Rodway Hill represents a further example. Regardless of the local undulating topography, Rodway Hill is effectively a flat plateau with steep escarpments at its western and southern edges; the manor house is therefore on the same level as the pillow mounds and consequently the westernmost pillow mound on Figure 9.24 is entirely hidden from the mansion as there is no direct line of site between them (Fig. 9.26).



Fig. 9.26 Pillow mound (arrowed) on the summit of Rodway Hill (author's photograph taken at ST66277558 looking west)

The two other pillow mounds are however less hidden and there are clearer lines of site between them and the mansion, although the house is only directly aligned

with the mound listed as Rodway Hill 3 in the gazetteer; Rodway Hill 1 lies slightly to the west of the mansion's south wing and is presently obscured by trees. Rodway's warren provides another example of the dangers in relying on a GIS-generated viewshed analysis, because doing so suggests that because of the flat local topography, there is a high level of intervisibility between the mansion and the pillow mounds (Fig. 9.27).

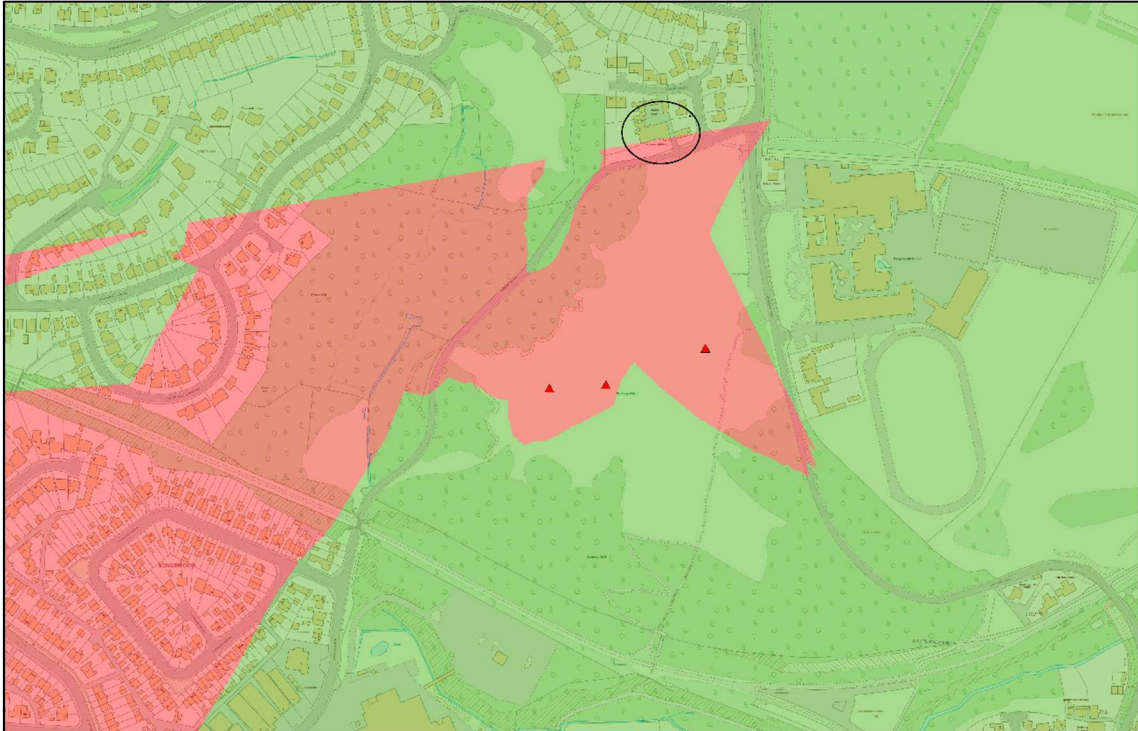


Fig. 9.27 Viewshed analysis of Rodway Mansion, with the areas visible from the mansion (circled) shown in green and the areas not visible shown in pink. According to this analysis, a number of pillow mounds (marked by red triangles) are visible to the mansion.

Despite these lines of site, Rodway Hill's flat topography ensures that the mounds themselves are not visible from the mansion, or rather their locations are but it is not possible to discern any clearly defined pillow mounds despite them being well-defined at closer distances (Figs. 9.28 and 9.29).



Fig. 9.28 View from Rodway Hill 3 pillow mound towards Rodway Mansion (author's photograph taken from ST66297559 looking north)

While Rodway Mansion may therefore have had views over Rodway Hill, there is little to suggest that this area was ever considered as a conspicuous and distinct landscape of power and wealth. South Gloucestershire's HLC characterises Rodway Hill as formerly unenclosed commons derived from heaths, much of which constituted the Forest of Kingswood. Evidently then the views from the mansion over Rodway Hill were of open lands that had no formal landscaping beyond the addition of pillow mounds; indeed, it is possible that these views were considered attractive for they offer a sense of seclusion and isolation even if they offer no hints of associated wealth. While the warren is close to the mansion, the local topography is such that its pillow mounds offer no ostentatious display of wealth and power; instead it is more likely that they were purely functional in providing rabbits for Rodway Manor's table.



Fig. 9.29 View from Rodway Mansion towards the warren, although no pillow mounds can be discerned (author's photograph taken from ST66357580 looking south)

East Lulworth, Dorset

Lulworth Castle in East Lulworth is an early seventeenth-century hunting lodge associated with a deer park created by Thomas Howard, 3rd Lord Bindon (Fig. 9.30). A licence to impark 1000 acres was granted in 1605 although there is an earlier reference to a deer park from 1601 and it is unclear whether a surviving park pales belongs to the 1605 park or an earlier medieval park, although evidence perhaps suggests the latter: the pale encloses only 533 acres, its large size is inconsistent with pales of more ornamental post-medieval parks, and it had been disregarded as a park boundary on its northern sides on 1768-71 estate surveys (Tracy 1987, 63). Further, that these eighteenth-century surveys record an area east of Lulworth Castle as *New Park* also suggests the presence of an earlier park. Tracy believes the park pale dates to c1299 when the manor had been purchased by the de Newburghs and is consistent with the archaeological trends relating to park pales in Dorset (*ibid.*).

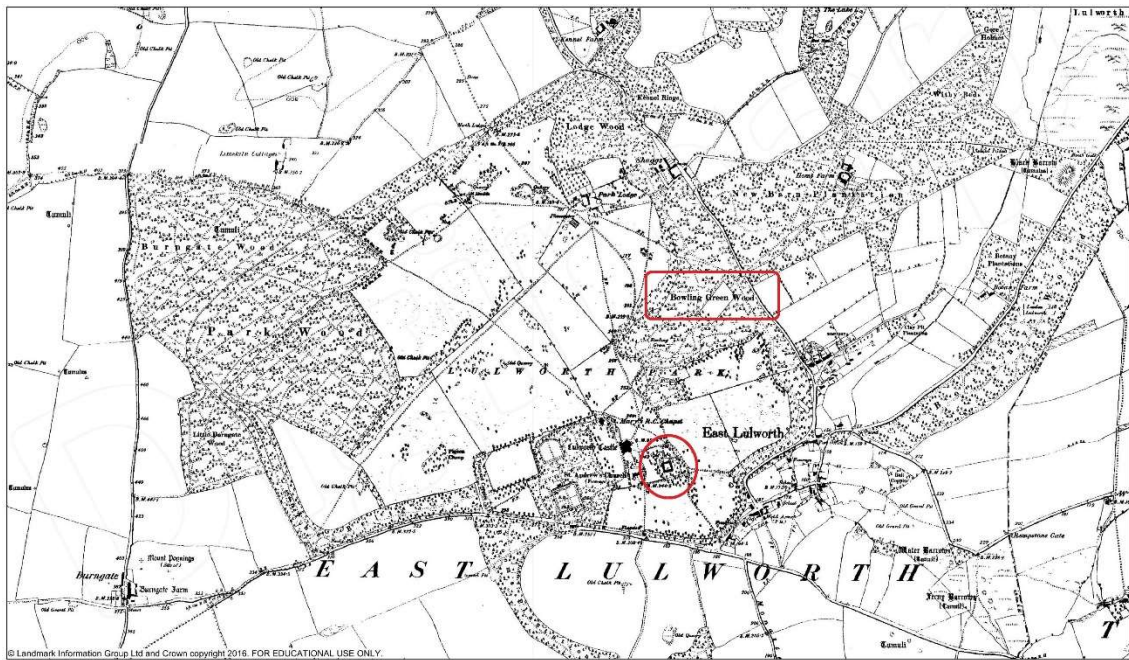


Fig. 9.30 1889 First Edition 6" OS map of East Lulworth with Lulworth Castle and *Bowling Green Wood* highlighted

Towards the north-east of the area demarcated by the park pale are two fields recorded by the 1768-71 estate surveys as *Connygar Wood* and *Connygar* (DRO D-WLC/E/19, Fig. 9.31). It is possible that this is the same warren that was recorded as early as 1461 (Mills 1977, 127) and which would have been associated with the earlier medieval deer park, although this cannot be confirmed. Although only c700m north-east of Lulworth Castle, the warren is today entirely hidden by the trees of *Bowling Green Wood* (Fig. 9.32), which is also depicted in the 1768-71 surveys standing between the warren and the castle.

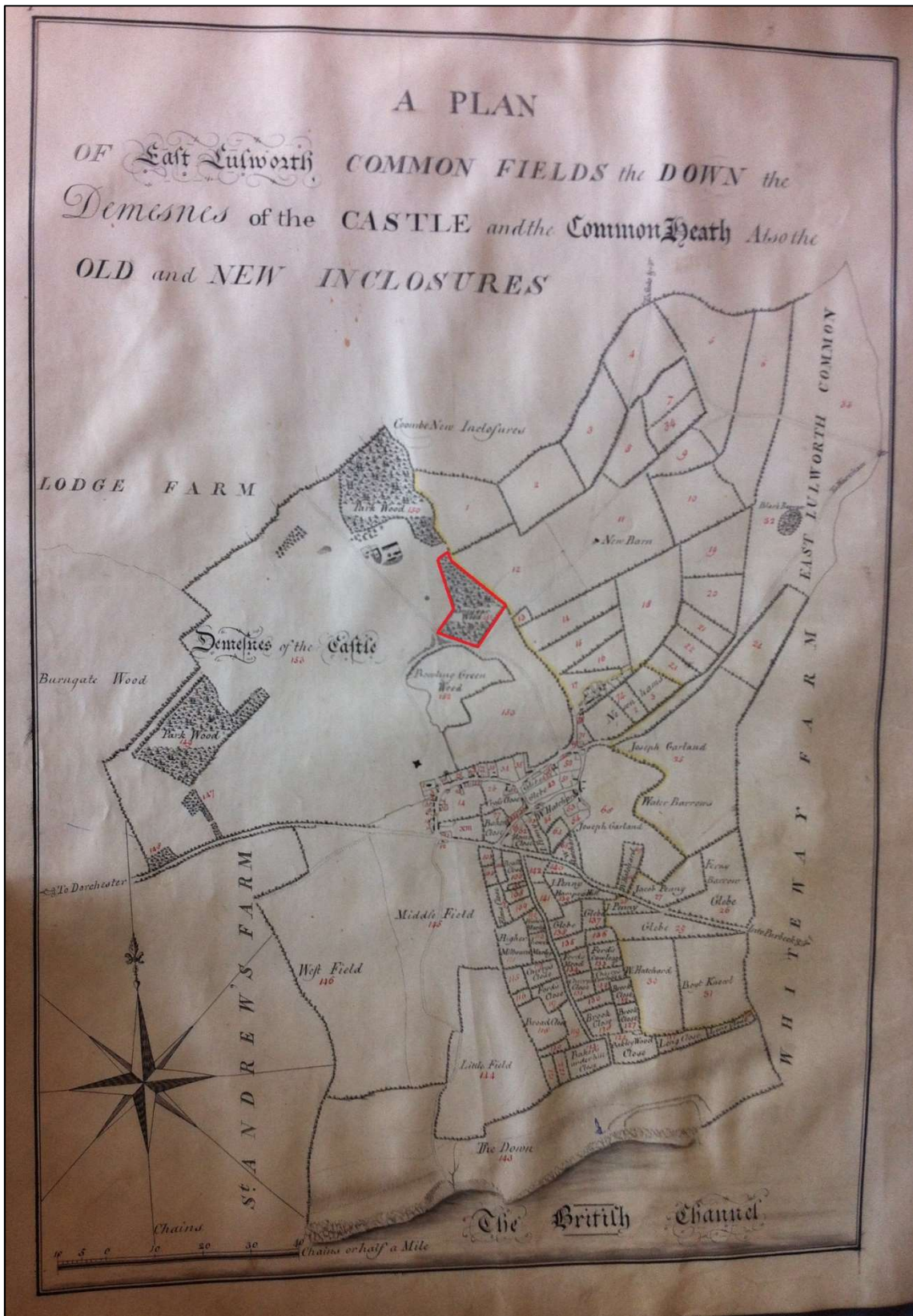


Fig. 9.31 1771 map of East Lulworth with *Connygar Wood* highlighted – a second map displayed at Lulworth Castle records a separate *Connygar* field adjoining *Connygar Wood* to its south-east (Dorset Archives)



Fig. 9.32 View towards the warren from Lulworth Castle obscured by *Bowling Green Wood* (Author's photograph taken at SY85358220 looking north-east)

Lulworth Castle was surrounded by various designed landscape elements as depicted in Margaret Weld's 1721 illustration, a bird's-eye view in the style of Kip's engraving of Dyrham (Fig. 9.33). The stylised illustration depicts gardens, orchards, an area of wilderness, tree-lined avenues, a deer-park and a bowling green; of note here is that the warren, which lay just behind *Bowling Green Wood*, plays no part in this ornamental landscape. Clearly then, East Lulworth's warren displayed no visual symbolism and was not incorporated into this designed landscape as an advert of wealth, at least during the post-medieval period. This may point to it being earlier than the castle, a remnant of the earlier medieval deer-park, and suggests that it been abandoned by the early seventeenth century. It may also indicate that earlier medieval warrens were not employed as ostentatious adverts as wealth, but were instead purely functional. However, it is admitted that the location of the de Newburgh's manor house is unknown although Lulworth Castle may have been built on its site (Lulworth Castle 2016).

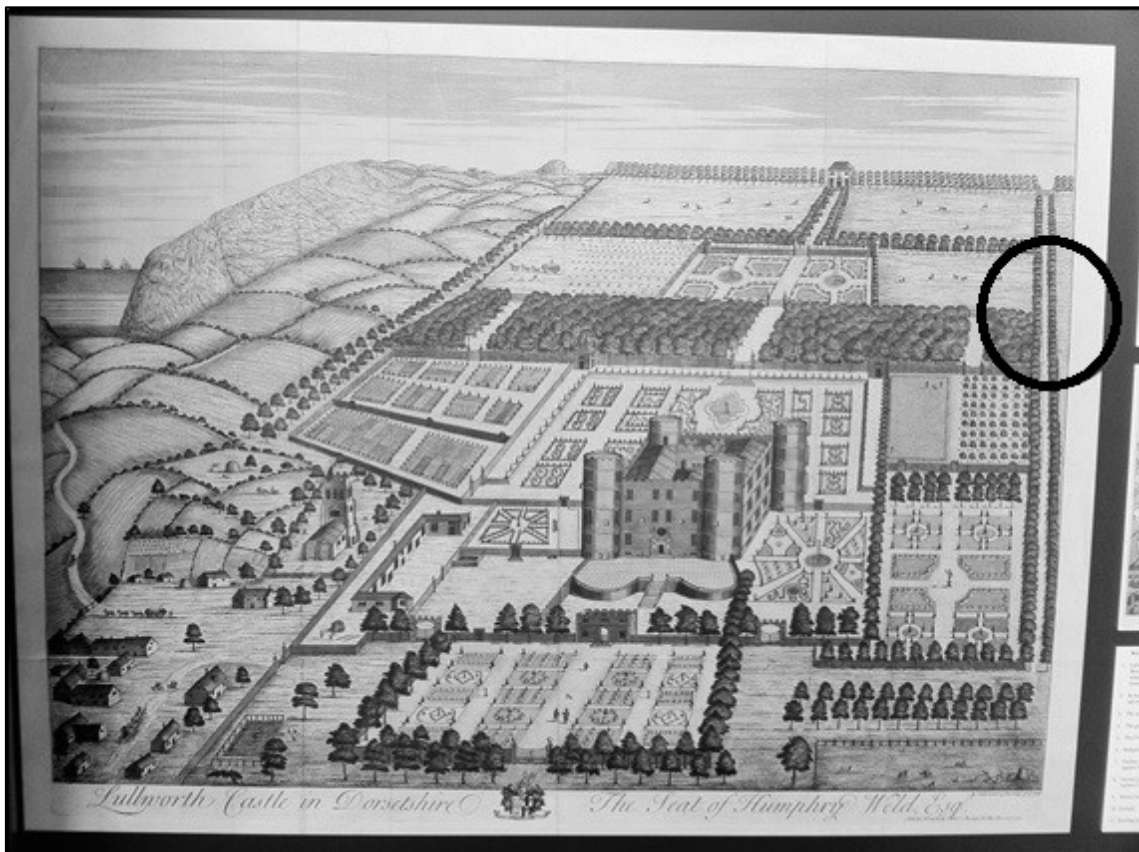


Fig. 9.33 Margaret Weld's 1721 illustration of Lulworth Castle and its formal gardens looking north; although highly stylised, the approximate location of the warren has been circled (source: copy on display at Lulworth Castle; annotated by the present author)

Kingston Lacy, Dorset

Although the present house at Kingston Lacy (Fig. 9.34), dates from 1663, the manor itself dates to the Anglo-Saxon period and the original medieval manor house lay c100m north of the present house (Papworth 1999, 54). A warren associated with the manor is first recorded in 1295 and was not abandoned until 1740, making it one of the most long-lived warrens in south-east Dorset. Kingston Lacy's medieval manor belonged to one the country's, and certainly the local region's, wealthiest landowners, the de Lacys, with the family owning several distinct hunting lands in south-east Dorset, of which their warren was a constituent element.

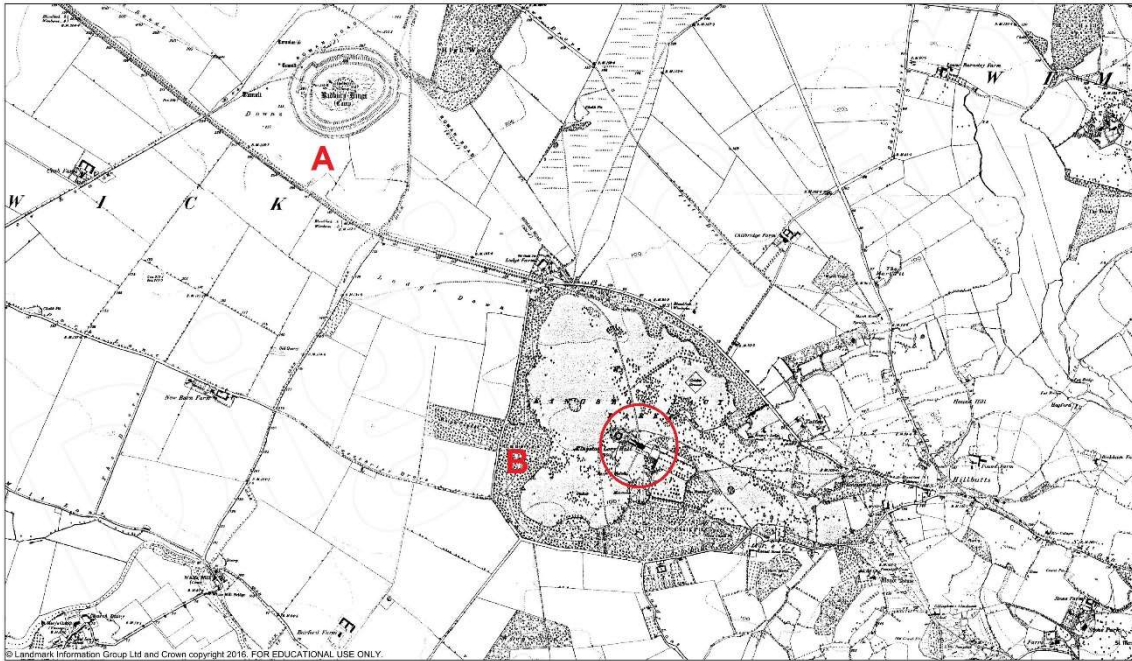


Fig. 9.34 1891 First Edition 6" OS mapping showing Kingston Lacy house (circled), with the pillow mound site near Badbury Rings labelled 'A' and *Conygar Copse* labelled 'B'

The full extent of the medieval warren is unknown, although its boundary near Badbury Rings at the time of its abandonment is recorded on 1742 estate maps (see Chapter 6, Fig. 6.4). Two pillow mounds also survive near Badbury Rings, c2km north-west of the present house, and which once lay within one of the de Lacys' deer parks, Badbury Park. The distance between these pillow mounds and the current mansion, coupled with the fact that potential lines of sight between the two are blocked by trees and the estate's gardens means that the warren, at least that section near Badbury Rings, was entirely hidden from the mansion.

However, an area c300m west of the house is known as *Conygar Copse*. Its relationship with the medieval warren is unclear, although if a large linear bank running through it is a pale of Badbury Park then it probably represents a post-medieval addition as medieval documents indicate that the medieval warren lay within Badbury Park. Whether *Conygar Copse* originally had pillow mounds is unknown although none are known to currently exist. If pillow mounds were originally present, despite their close proximity to the house they would have been obscured by trees, while the local topography slopes down westwards from the house meaning that even without trees they would have been hidden from the house (Fig. 9.35).



Fig. 9.35 View from Kingston Lacy house with *Conygar Copse* visible in the distance as a line of trees (author's photograph taken at ST97840124 looking west)

Although the full extent of Kingston Lacy's medieval warren is unknown, there is nevertheless no evidence that it played any visual role in symbolising manorial wealth. The de Lacys possessed several distinct hunting landscapes including several deer parks that were both products and reflections of their wealth and their rabbit warren was a constituent component of those lands. While access to rabbits and the ability to provide them for feasts were prestigious indicators of wealth, there is very little landscape evidence that the de Lacy's warren (or warrens if *Coneygarth Copse* was a separate installation) were ever designed to visually display the family's wealth. This scenario is similar to the landscape evidence from Godolphin and East Lulworth, particularly if the latter's warren was originally associated with an earlier medieval deer park, suggesting that warrens located within deer parks were functional rather than employed to visually advertise their owners' wealth. After all, any large deer park pale would have advertised that wealth to a far greater degree than any pillow mounds, which in comparison are far more ephemeral landscape features.

Bruton Abbey, Somerset

The Augustinian Bruton Priory was founded c1127-1135 on the south side of the River Brue and although it only had 18 canons, by the end of the fourteenth century it was a wealthy institution and was given the status of abbey in 1511 (Aston and Leech 1997, 20). Following the Dissolution, it was sold to the Berkeleys who used parts of its buildings as a mansion, and although this was demolished in the eighteenth century after being sold to the Hoares in 1776 (VCH 1999a, 25), watercolours from 1786 show its location immediately south of the church of St Mary (Figs. 9.36 and 9.37). Sections of the abbey's enclosure wall still survive and much of the outline of its former precinct can be traced as an earthwork enclosing a large open area south of the church today known as *Jubilee Park*. Within this precinct is a large dovecot, several fishponds and three pillow mounds.

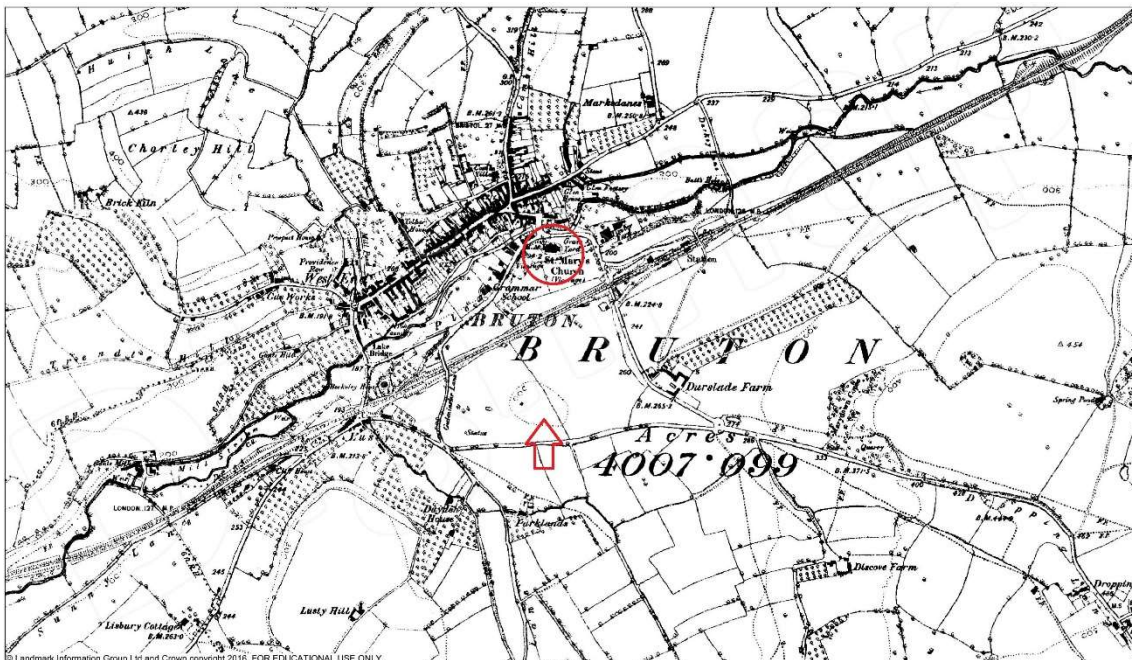


Fig. 9.36 1890 First Edition OS map of Bruton with the Church of St Mary circled and the approximate site of three pillow mounds highlighted



Fig. 9.37 1786 watercolour of the south view of Bruton Abbey with the Church of St Mary at its rear by Samuel Hieronymus Grimm (© National Trust / David Cousins)

The dovecot (SM 1056424) is thought to be a sixteenth-century conversion of a building that formerly belonged to the abbey by the Berkeleys; initially it was perhaps converted into a prospect tower and then later a dovecot (VCH 1999a, 25). A large pillow mound (Bruton Abbey 1 in the gazetteer) lies immediately south of the dovecot, which according to its Scheduling listing was “originally associated with the abbey” (SM 1020015). Closer examination reveals this association is likely to be merely spatial as the southern end of the mound overlies the remains of the abbey precinct (Figs. 9.38 and 9.39) and instead it probably dates to the post-Dissolution period and was associated with the Berkeleys’ mansion; two smaller pillow mounds lie east of the dovecot, and while similar dating evidence is lacking, they are likely to be contemporary with the southern mound.



Fig. 9.38 Pillow mound south of Bruton Dovecot (author's photograph taken at ST68373435 looking north)



Fig. 9.39 Southern end of pillow mound ('B') overlying the ditched remains of Bruton Abbey's precinct boundary ('A', author's photograph taken at ST68373436 looking west)

The three pillow mounds within Bruton Abbey's precinct therefore belong to the aristocratic landscape of the Berkeleys, although there is little evidence that they visually displayed the family's wealth. Site visits undertaken by the present author in April 2016 reveal that the pillow mound recorded as Bruton Abbey 1 in the gazetteer lies on the southern face of a hill and is not visible from either the Berkeleys' mansion or Bruton itself, while to the south of the hill lies only farmland. The pillow mounds recorded as Bruton Abbey 2 and 3 on the summit of the hill are likewise not visible from either the mansion or Bruton town (Fig. 9.40). The placement of Bruton Abbey 1 on the side of the hill *opposite* Bruton and the mansion is particularly noticeable in this regard when it would have been easy, and indeed convenient and less appealing to poachers, to have constructed it on the side of the hill facing the town. While there would have been ample opportunity to have constructed the pillow mounds as ostentatious landmarks designed to be visible from the mansion or those entering Bruton, they evidently played no such role and appear therefore to have been purely functional.



Fig. 9.40 View from pillow mound (Bruton Abbey 2) looking north towards Bruton, which is slightly obscured below the edge of the hill (author's photograph taken at ST68403442 looking west)

Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire

As discussed in Chapter 7, the *Coneygree* associated with Sir Baptist Hicks' manor house at Chipping Campden (Fig. 9.41) is not recorded until 1719 although it is probably earlier, with Hicks' house itself dating from 1612. It is possible that the house was built on the site of an earlier residence and the warren may therefore predate the seventeenth century, although this cannot be confirmed. The presence of ridge and furrow within *Coneygree* would suggest a post-medieval date, although it is largely absent from the western side of the warren which confuses the issue. However, at present it seems safest to view the warren as being created alongside Hicks' early seventeenth-century manor house and associated formal garden.

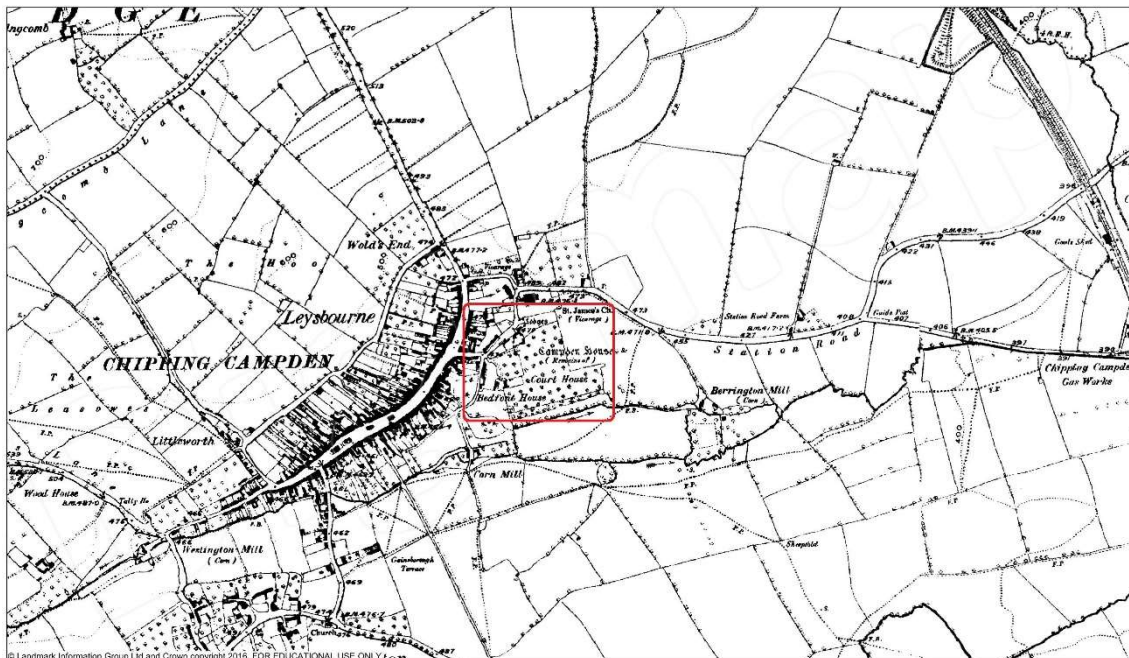


Fig. 9.41 1890 First Edition 6" OS mapping of Chipping Campden with the site of the former manor house and gardens highlighted

Only a fragment of Hicks' original house survives, although earthwork remains of its formal gardens surround it. The garden's earthworks were fortuitously preserved because the house was damaged during the Civil War and was subsequently demolished without being rebuilt and its gardens were not altered according to changing fashions but were instead preserved as a rare example of an English Renaissance garden (Everson 1998, 109). The gardens form a plan that "continues the axis of the principal entrance of the house and is to a large extent symmetrical or at least balanced about that north-south axis" (*ibid.*, 113). The importance of the north-south axis of both the house and its gardens is

shown on illustrations by William Hughes of c1750, which although later than the house, are their earliest depiction (Fig. 9.42).

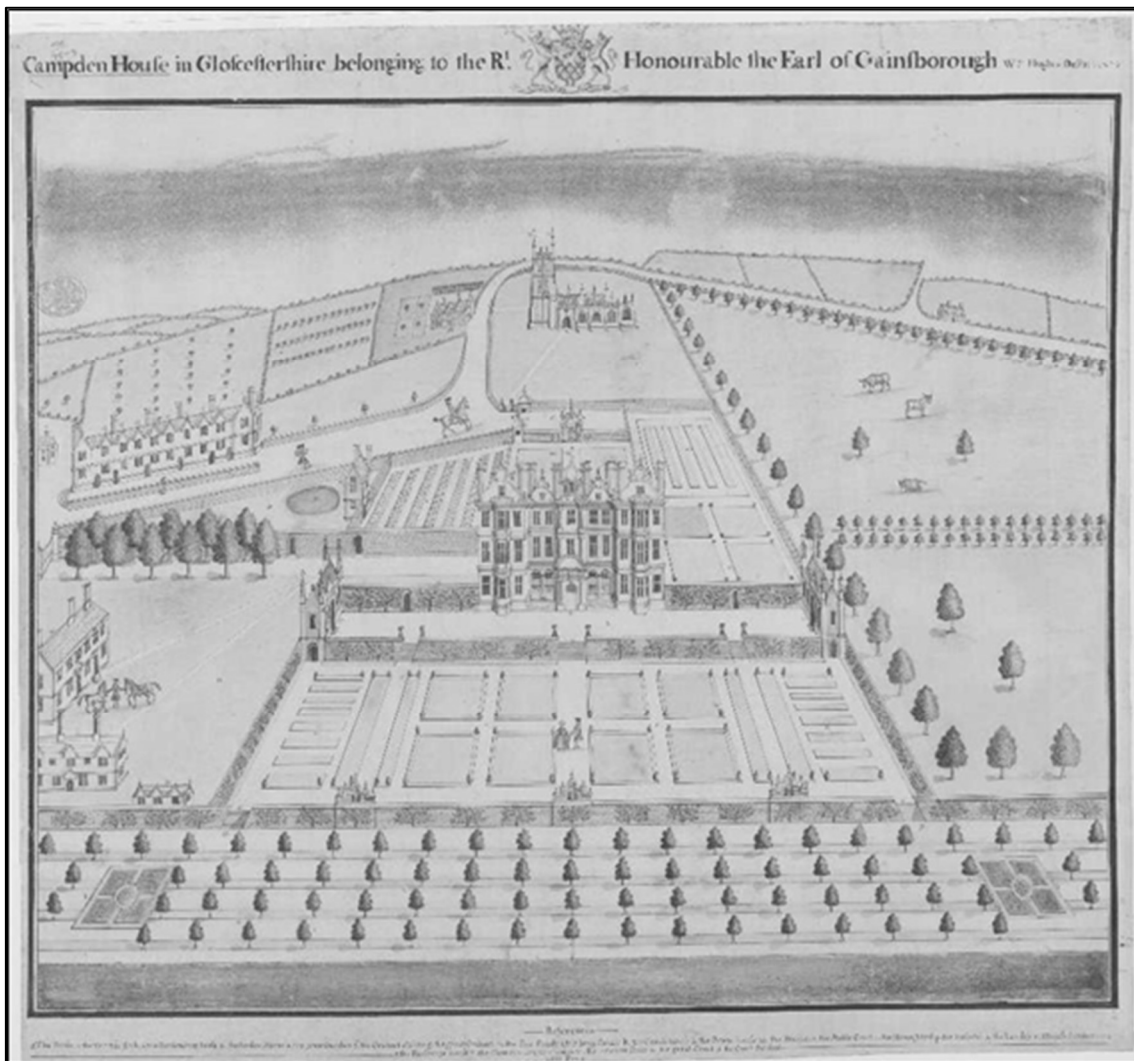


Fig. 9.42 Illustration of Campden House and gardens looking north along its central axis by William Hughes c1750 (© British Library, Kings Maps Top XIII 75.3)

The warren lay to the east of the house and gardens and is separated from them by a boundary wall. It is not depicted on Hughes's illustrations, but it would have been located in the field he depicts as containing an avenue of trees aligned on the house's eastern wing. The presence of this avenue of trees and its alignment on the house suggests that this field also played a role within Hicks' designed landscape, although it is noteworthy that Hughes does not depict any features directly associated with a warren. However, what warren features would have been present within the field is not known for all that survives today is a single truncated pillow mound.

Also noteworthy is the siting of Hicks' two banqueting houses, with the eastern one directly overlooking the warren (Fig. 9.43). While purely commercial

warrens began to proliferate in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Williamson 2006, 17), Chipping Campden's warren possibly therefore has more in common with the earlier, pre-commercial phase of warrening: while it may certainly have played a commercial role in Hicks' personal economy, it probably also had some symbolic role in signifying his status and access to wealth. While the warren was certainly not positioned in order to form a principal view from the mansion and while its boundary wall physically disconnected it from the formal gardens that did form that principal view, that the eastern banqueting house overlooks it is significant. For those using the banqueting house, the warren must have been understood as a representation of Hicks' status and wealth; given the close proximity of the formal gardens, this alternative view of the warren cannot have been intended to represent a vantage point over land that was 'merely' used for agricultural practices and instead it must have carried a deeper meaning. It is probable then that the views over a rabbit warren represented Hicks' control of natural resources and therefore his wealth and status; it is possible too that, given the extent of ridge and furrow in the eastern half of the *Coneygree*, arable activities were still undertaken on Hicks' land and that these too were an additional reflection of his control his manor's natural resources.



Fig. 9.43 View of the eastern banqueting house overlooking Chipping Campden's *Coneygree* (author's photograph taken at SP15703938 looking west)

Summary

On the basis of the evidence and case studies presented in this chapter, there is little surviving archaeological evidence to support the Stockers' (1996) theory that medieval rabbit warrens were prominently positioned within ecclesiastical precincts in order to visually display a religious symbolism that was inherent in rabbits and widely understood by contemporary society. While medieval documents record warrens belonging to ecclesiastical landowners, their number is limited compared to lay aristocratic warrens. Where ecclesiastic warren ownership can be established, this need not necessarily mean that such warrens were spatially and visually associated with ecclesiastic sites as the great religious houses of medieval England often held lands far beyond their parent institution. For example, as seen in Chapter 7, the medieval warren at Bourton-on-the-Hill in north-east Gloucestershire was likely owned by Westminster Abbey. However, the limited survival of medieval warren architecture may obscure links between warrens and ecclesiastical sites and it is possible that examples of former ecclesiastical warrens have been lost from the archaeological record.

Nevertheless, when one examines how rabbits would have been understood by medieval society, there is similarly little evidence that they ever exhibited overt Christian symbolism. While there may have been some limited religious symbolism based on the species' propensity for burrowing, serving as a representation of those seeking refuge in the spiritual rock of the Church, rabbits were primarily associated with fecundity, lust and female sexuality. While this sometimes carried virtuous connotations linked to the belief that rabbits were able to perform virgin births, the linguistic associations between archaic words for rabbit and vagina (*coney/cunny* in medieval English and *conin/con* in Old French for example) means that such virtuous traits are unlikely to have been the predominant characteristic associated with the species. Indeed, such 'vulgar' connotations were the drivers behind the adoption of the words rabbit and *lapin* in England and France.

Moreover, rabbits (often interchangeably with hares) are frequently associated with hunting, either as prey or performing the hunt themselves in a reversal of traditional roles. This implies that rabbits were widely understood to represent typical examples of small prey, bred purely to be hunted. It is doubtful that such an understanding easily lent itself to rabbits being widely viewed as

symbolising humankind under the protection of Christ represented by a warrener when that very ‘Christ-figure’ was responsible for breeding rabbits purely to provide meat and fur. Ultimately, there is very little evidence to be found in contemporary medieval portrayals of rabbits that they were ever widely understood in terms of Christian symbolism as proposed by the Stockers.

With regards to the visual role played by warrens in advertising their owners’ wealth and access to an elite resource, assessing instances of this is not straightforward. As noted earlier, most medieval warren architecture has not survived and it is precisely this era’s warrens and those of the early post-medieval period that might be expected to visually convey wealth. While in many cases mapping allows us to identify locations of former elite medieval warrens even when no pillow mounds survive, it is the survival of those pillow mounds that is often necessary to fully assess warrens’ visibility: for while the general area of any particular warren may have been visible from certain viewpoints, this does not necessarily mean that any pillow mounds themselves would have been visible. This problem is confounded by the limited public access to many such sites while their dispersed geographic nature often hinders undertaking site visits. While this chapter therefore contains a number of case studies addressing the visibility of medieval/early post-medieval elite warrens, it is admitted that these represent only a small sample and cannot be considered to be representative of the entire experience of warrening.

Nevertheless, these case studies are particularly informative in that examples of warrens positioned in order to advertise wealth are perhaps fewer than initially expected. Associations between warrens and deer parks are frequently recorded in documentary sources but it seems likely that in terms of displaying wealth, pillow mounds would often have been secondary to far more substantial park pales. A factor that needs to be considered here is the proximity of residences and their deer parks. While many earlier deer parks were often located well away from residences (Williamson 2007, 156), spatial associations strengthened between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (Mileson 2009, 86-88). Nevertheless, it cannot be assumed that most parks *were* positioned close to residences (*ibid.*, 96) and instances of proximity may simply have reflected more prosaic motives of convenience and security (*ibid.*, 97).

Where parks and warrens were distantly located from residences, any pillow mounds would more than likely simply not have been visible as they tend not to be substantial structures. This is particularly pertinent as evidence suggests that longer, rectangular pillow mounds were less common in medieval parks than shorter, sub-rectangular examples (see Chapter 5). This lack of visibility is clearly evident at Kingston Lacy and Godolphin, and although pillow mounds at the latter have sometimes been cited as being conspicuous landscape features, this has been overstated as the distance between Godolphin House and its deer park and warren is too great for its pillow mounds to have been truly conspicuous adverts of wealth. Parks were also “sometimes put to a wide range of agrarian and even industrial uses” (Milesen 2009, 65) and the addition of a rabbit warren may have fulfilled purely functional requirements, even if only to provide rabbits for the lord’s table and for occasional gifts rather than for commercial purposes (*ibid.*, 70). That said, the ability to provide rabbit meat at feasts would still have signified wealth and the frequency with which warrens were targeted during trespasses as recorded in the patent rolls likewise highlights the exclusivity and connotations of wealth associated with rabbits.

Where warrens are more closely associated with residences, there is again evidence that they did not necessarily form principal views from their parent residence. This is certainly the case at Bruton Abbey and Lulworth Castle, although the latter’s warren may have been associated with an earlier medieval deer park rather than the seventeenth-century castle/hunting lodge; regardless, surviving pictorial evidence indicates that the warren played no visual part in the designed landscapes that surrounded the castle/hunting lodge during the early seventeenth century when, according to the theory that warrens visually displayed their owners’ wealth, there is no obvious reason for it not to have done so.

The warren associated with Rodway Manor House is clearly visible from the mansion, with one of its pillow mounds being directly aligned on its front entrance; however, the pillow mounds themselves are not visible from the mansion. Likewise at Dyrham Park, where the southern warren is visible from the mansion and gardens although its pillow mounds themselves are obscured; its northern warren is entirely hidden by virtue of being on top of a hill above the level of the house. In both cases Dyrham’s warrens may have been constituent parts

of the estate's formal designed landscape, with the southern warren contributing to a sense of wilderness and the northern warren providing far-reaching views, but the pillow mounds themselves, the architectural signposts of any warren's existence, are not visible. Chipping Campden's warren was separated from its mansion and gardens by a stone wall but was overlooked by a banqueting house, suggesting that this particular vantage point carried some connotation of wealth if it was deemed an appropriate backdrop for feasting. However, today all that survives of this warren is a single truncated pillow mound; it is not known whether other original warren features would have signposted this warren's existence. Consequently, it is not clear whether other pillow mounds would have been visible from the banqueting house or whether the principal view was instead meant to incorporate a field not touched by Sir Baptist Hicks' landscaping activities and which instead represented an area of wilderness.

Clearly warrens *were* a constituent part of elite landscapes of the medieval and early post-medieval periods, frequently associated with deer parks and often in close association with manor houses and formal gardens, particularly from the fifteenth century onwards (Williamson 2007, 164). While at some locations pillow mounds may well have been located so as to be highly visible, for example from the viewing window of Middleham Castle, Yorkshire (Moorhouse 2007, 113), this trend has been previously overstated. Williamson states that many warrens were "proudly displayed beside the mansion...and in some cases they formed the principal view from the house" (2007, 164). However, it is necessary to differentiate between a warren and pillow mounds; some warrens may have had boundary walls but ultimately it would have been pillow mounds that acted as the visual signposts to any warren's existence and function.

The above case studies show that while warrens were indeed often near elite residences, this does not necessarily mean that their pillow mounds were highly visible. While some pillow mounds are certainly substantial structures, at least in terms of their length, this class of monument evidently does not, and did not, easily lend itself to being highly conspicuous landscape features that served to advertise their owners' wealth. It is suggested then that while pillow mounds may occasionally have been able to take advantage of local topographic conditions and be prominently displayed, and while the ability to provide rabbits was certainly an indicator of wealth, pillow mounds themselves were generally

not used to advertise that wealth. If a warren was to have served as an advert of wealth, then anyone encountering it needed to have known what it was that they were encountering. While warrens may have been awash with rabbits and while conversations between hosts and guests may have proudly mentioned their warrens, these are aspects of history that cannot now be gauged; what can is the fact that pillow mounds, then as now, would have explicitly notified visitors as to a warren's existence. As far as the available evidence suggests, only a limited number of pillow mounds appear to have been located so as to be highly conspicuous landscape features, regardless of whether their parent warren was located in close proximity to a residence.

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Summary of Findings

Outlined in Chapter 1 were the principal research questions that the current study addressed over the course of this investigation. The following chapter presents the summary of the research undertaken in relation to those questions as well as outlining avenues for future areas of research.

Research Question 1 - What physical remains of rabbit warrens survive in the South West and what have been lost?

The present study highlights just how common surviving warren architecture is in south-west England. While it has previously been reported that high numbers of pillow mounds survive in the region (see Williamson 2007, 35), which itself was a factor in choosing the South West as a defined study area, an interrogation of archaeological data indicates an unexpectedly high number of extant pillow mounds with approximately 1,338 examples recorded. However, it remains possible, even likely, that some earthworks that have been previously recorded as pillow mounds have been misidentified; conversely, it is also likely that further examples of pillow mounds remain to be discovered. Consequently, a total of 1,338 pillow mounds in the South West must be considered an informed estimate rather than a definitive number.

Perhaps more importantly, this study has also identified 418 historic warrens where no architecture survives. Their identification is dependent on the survival, and examination, of contemporary documents and as such this total is almost certainly a conservative estimate of the region's former warrens. Extant pillow mounds are recorded at 256 sites, with a mean of 5.2 mounds per site, although this includes the atypically large warrens on Dartmoor and Gloucestershire's Minchinhampton. Nevertheless, if this figure is applied to historic warrens where no architecture presently survives then potentially a further 2,000 or more pillow mounds may have once existed in the South West, albeit not necessarily at any one given time. As hypothetical as this figure is, it highlights just how common pillow mounds once were, while it also indicates that to compile a complete picture of historic rabbit warrens, not just within the South

West but throughout the UK, it is necessary to combine archaeological and historical methodologies. Failure to do so, as has often been the case with previous investigations, will by default deal with only a limited number of former warrens.

Although pillow mounds are numerous throughout the study area, they are not distributed evenly. Dartmoor's warrens represent the largest concentration, although they evidently belong to an atypical tradition of expansive post-medieval commercial warrening, one rarely seen elsewhere in the region. Outside of Dartmoor, pillow mounds are most numerous in Gloucestershire and Somerset and are least numerous in Dorset. However, in terms of densities of pillow mounds per km², Dorset is in fact analogous with Cornwall and Wiltshire, having 0.02 pillow mounds per km², while Devon (excluding Dartmoor) has the lowest density of 0.01 mounds per km². In contrast, Somerset has 0.04, Gloucestershire has 0.07 and Dartmoor has 0.76 pillow mounds per km². If surviving pillow mounds are predominantly post-medieval in origin, as is suggested by their limited associations with documented medieval warrens and medieval archaeology coupled with the relatively high number that overlie ridge and furrow, then this indicates a greater propensity for warrening in Dartmoor, Somerset and Gloucestershire compared to the remainder of the South West during the postmedieval period. Although the high number of Dartmoor's pillow mounds has previously been reported, there was no specific reason to expect that either Somerset or Gloucestershire would have had increased levels of post-medieval warrening than elsewhere prior to conducting this investigation.

While pillow mounds are therefore incredibly numerous across the South West, it is also true that numerous warrens have been lost from the landscape. As noted, 418 examples of historic warrens have been recorded from documentary sources and which have preserved no archaeological traces of former warrening activities. Assessing regional trends relating to the distribution of these warrens across the region is however hindered by the highly variable survival of, and access to, contemporary documents that record their presence. Moreover, the present study's use of nested study areas resulted in more thorough investigations of Cornwall, Gloucestershire and Dorset.

Regardless, it is clear that in all south-western counties there were once many more warrens than presently survive; in fact, 62% of the 674 warrens

recorded in the South West preserve no physical remains. Despite this large number of historic warrens, their distribution does not appear to have been uniform. Certainly Cornwall and particularly Devon appear to have had fewer medieval warrens than elsewhere in the South West, while Dorset, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire appear to have had the most, or rather the highest densities, of medieval warrens. Somerset appears to have had a slightly lower density of medieval warrens compared to three above-named counties in contrast to the high density of pillow mounds recorded there. However, this may simply reflect a relatively less complete recording of the county's historic warrens compared to those of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, with the former being addressed by the present investigation's nested study area in Chapter 7 and the latter by Bettey's 2004 study, while both are well-covered by the VCH.

The biggest anomaly, however, is the high density of medieval warrens recorded in Dorset compared to its low density of pillow mounds. While this may suggest that rearing rabbits declined in the county during the post-medieval period, it might also highlight gaps in the recording of warren architecture by the county's HER. Historic documentary sources also reveal that stretches of the Cornish and Devon coastlines were far more heavily exploited for breeding rabbits than is suggested by the distribution of extant pillow mounds. As with surviving warren architecture, it is almost certain that further examples of warrens recorded solely by documentary references remain to be uncovered within the region. Unfortunately, unless every document that records a historic warren is to be studied, then this will undoubtedly remain the case.

Warren-related architecture other than pillow mounds is generally rare across the study area, or at least it is poorly recorded. The proportion of pillow mounds located in unenclosed warrens, i.e. those without physical boundaries, in the South West is 76.2%, significantly higher than the 65% recorded in Williamson and Loveday's sample of warrens in southern Britain (1988, 297). While this may indicate a regional trend of constructing unenclosed warrens, it is more likely that warren boundaries have either not survived or have simply not been recorded. The latter is certainly true of Ditsworthy Warren, Dartmoor, and Holm Park, Gloucestershire, while an investigation of south-east Dorset's warrens suggested that many utilised natural water courses as boundaries. It is highly probably therefore that the study and recording of pillow mounds

dominates investigations of warrens to the extent that other related architecture is often neglected.

The same is likely true of warreners' lodges and vermin traps. However, with the former it is often difficult to establish links between warrens and nearby buildings that may have been lodges, while the ephemeral nature of vermin traps hinders their identification, not to mention their survival. Regardless, evidence survives to indicate that both classes of monument were probably more common than is currently recognised, although they are naturally more prevalent at the relatively modern commercial warrens on Dartmoor. Ultimately, more dedicated research is required to identify warren boundaries, lodges and traps as opposed to merely recording pillow mounds.

Research Question 2 - What are the architectural, typological and morphological trends of the region's warrens?

As well as an uneven distribution of pillow mounds across the South West, there are also regional and sub-regional variances regarding the nature of those pillow mounds, as well as other associated warren features. Rectangular pillow mounds clearly represent the most common typology, although there is considerable variation in their lengths, and to a much more limited extent, their widths. Although mounds' average dimensions vary within each region, there are also distinct trends across the region. For example, rectangular mounds in Devon and Somerset, and to a lesser extent Gloucestershire, are on average the longest in the South West, those in Dorset and Wiltshire are roughly analogous with the study area's average length, while those in Cornwall and Dartmoor are generally shorter.

Other morphological forms likewise exhibit complex regional variations in their average dimensions, although the reasons why are not clearly understood beyond it being apparent that Dartmoor's numerous, but typically small, pillow mounds were considered advantageous to its large-scale rabbit industry. Precisely how smaller pillow mounds were advantageous is not clear, although it suggests that variances in pillow mound dimensions were linked to the size of rabbit colonies rather than reflecting a means of adapting to underlying geographic or topographical conditions. Indeed, there are no obvious correlations between pillow mound dimensions/morphologies and geographic conditions: for example, it is not the case that smaller mounds tend to be located on poorly

drained conditions only, as on Dartmoor, for they are also found on well-drained soils throughout the study area. At the other end of the spectrum, the region's largest mounds are similarly not connected to specific geographic conditions. For example, the 204m long rectangular Blagdon Cross 1 pillow mound in Somerset has a drainage rating of 4, while the 200m long rectangular Minchinhampton 17 mound in Gloucestershire has a drainage rating of 10. Like most of Dartmoor's generally short pillow mounds, Minchinhampton 17 is also located on flat land, suggesting that topography likewise did not necessarily dictate pillow mound dimensions.

It is admitted, however, that the general rarity of several morphological forms hinders drawing firm conclusions regarding pillow mound distributions, although some trends may be identified: while rectangular mounds are clearly the norm, Wiltshire and Dorset both have proportionally fewer examples than other regions, with the latter instead having a noticeably high proportion of sub-rectangular mounds, suggesting that this form is merely a shorter variant of the rectangular mound. Circular mounds are found throughout the South West, albeit at only 15.2% of sites compared to Williamson's attestation that they are found at 20% of sites nationally (2006, 60). However, they constitute a greater proportion of pillow mounds found in Cornwall, Devon and Dorset compared to the rest of the South West. Regardless, their numbers remain low compared to linear mounds and the exact relationship between the two morphological types remains unclear.

The relationship between circular and oval mounds is also unclear, for while they may merely be variants of the same form, there are some suggestions that oval mounds represent an earlier medieval morphology as possible medieval examples have been noted at Dartmoor's Merrivale Warren and at Bere Regis and Badbury in Dorset. Medieval depictions of pillow mounds, albeit limited in number, also portray pillow mounds as short, squat structures rather than long linear earthworks. Whether this reflects the physical reality of medieval pillow mounds is however unclear. The east of the study area has a greater variety of morphological forms as conjoined, cruciform and chevron-shaped mounds are limited to Somerset, Wiltshire, Dorset and Gloucestershire, albeit in limited numbers.

There is some evidence that sub-rectangular mounds were more commonly associated with deer parks, while longer linear mounds were connected with elite residences, although the rarity of such associations makes this interpretation tentative. Ultimately, although the construction of pillow mounds represents a distinctly singular method of hunting rabbits, the forms of those individual mounds were myriad and decisions regarding which form was constructed were likely to have been a matter of personal choice by warren owners.

Trends relating to other architectural forms are difficult to ascertain due to their limited recording. Vermin traps are most numerous on Dartmoor and are well-discussed by Haynes (1970), and although other examples have been noted throughout the study area, they are rare and frequently nothing beyond their presence has been noted. Therefore, it is not presently known how other vermin traps in the South West compare architecturally to those known on Dartmoor. Regarding warreners' lodges, it is often difficult to ascertain with certainty whether any particular building served that specific function. However, when warreners' lodges can be identified, it is evident that they took several architectural forms, from Old Lodge on Minchinhampton Common, Gloucestershire, which is a large detached building that now serves as an inn and hotel (LB 133074) to the small single-roomed cottage that served Wasteberry Camp's warren in Devon (HER MDV19953). Warren boundaries took several forms across the region, from utilising hedgerows, fences to specially constructed earthworks. However, it is clear from the investigation of south-east Dorset in Chapter 6 that where natural water courses are present they could be frequently used as boundaries, something not widely reported in previous literature.

Research Question 3 - What are the landscape characteristics of the region's warrens?

The importance of well-drained land is frequently cited as the most important factor that determined warren locations. While many did indeed utilise well-drained land, particularly in the east of the study area, many were also located on poorly or moderately drained land, notably on Dartmoor. Other geographical variables such as geology, soil grainsize and soil type are unlikely to have influenced warren locations. Underlying geology is so locally variable that it cannot be said that certain conditions were favourable to warrening when those conditions are not uniform across the region. Likewise regarding soil grainsizes,

for while there are areas of potentially more freely draining larger grainsizes, particularly in the west of the study area, the South West is largely characterised by the smaller particles of sand and mud, and there are no obvious trends relating soil grainsizes to warren locations. So too with dominant soil minerals, for while acidic soils dominate in the west of region, giving way to more alkaline soils in the east of the study area, warrens are located on both types of soil. While alkaline soils are generally less suited to arable farming than acidic soils and some warrens may have provided the opportunity to exploit such soils, that many warrens are located on acidic soils suggests that the presence of acidic or alkaline soils did little to determine whether a warren was to be installed or not.

The prevalence of warrens in areas of uplands indicates that this was the most common factor that influenced their locations. Even here, however, there are examples of warrens not on uplands, such as those in south-east Dorset's heathlands discussed in Chapter 6. This frequency of upland locations need not necessarily indicate that warrens were located on sloping land, typically cited as an aid to drainage, because many are also found on flat or only gently sloping land, with several of Dartmoor's large commercial warrens being the obvious examples. While in numerous cases, the presence of sloping land may therefore have proved advantageous to a warren's outputs, and may have influenced decisions whether to install a warren, the absence of sloping land was evidently not a hindrance to warren installation. While it is not currently known how the presence or absence of sloping land affected the success of any warren, given the number of warrens on relatively flat land then it seems likely that the absence of sloping land did not inhibit warren outputs to any great extent.

Where warrens were located on sloping land, there seems to have been a preference for south- and south-east-facing slopes, probably to ensure warmer warrens, although slopes on all aspects were utilised. This latter point indicates that a south-facing slope, while preferred, was not an essential requirement for the construction of a warren. This in turn supports the notion that less importance was given to ensuring that warrens were located in the driest conditions than has previously been considered given that many are found in areas that would have received lower levels of sunlight relative to more ostensibly 'favourable' south-facing slopes.

The extent to which marginal lands, i.e. land unsuited for arable exploitation, were used for warrens has also been previously overestimated. HLC mapping indicates that only in Devon and Dartmoor were more warrens located on marginal land than on areas that were at one time used for arable farming, although it is worth reiterating that Wiltshire's HLC mapping is at the time of writing still not published. Nevertheless, data from the South West contradicts previous commentators' suggestions that warrens typically made use of land unsuited for arable farming. What emerges instead is that areas that could, and did, sustain arable farming were frequently used to breed rabbits. Indeed, this should be expected given that many surviving pillow mounds overlie ridge and furrow, an aspect commonly cited as evidence for the post-medieval age of most pillow mounds. However, land that may today be perceived as formerly marginal or not may well have been viewed differently by past societies and relationships between warrens and HLC are therefore best viewed as suggestive rather than definitive.

Archaeological evidence of associations between surviving warrens and elite residences and parks is limited, although historical documentary associations are numerous. However, if most surviving warren architecture is post-medieval then this is to be expected as the warrening experience evolved from being an elite, aristocratic activity during the medieval and early post-medieval periods towards being a purely commercial activity. Consequently, it is likely that medieval warrens that were associated with elite residences and parks fell out of use relatively early on and have left no trace within the landscape. There are of course exceptions to this, such as Kingston Lacy's late thirteenth-century warren that remained in use until 1740 and which preserves two pillow mounds.

Associations between surviving warrens and large ecclesiastical institutions such as abbeys and priories are also limited, although this is again expected if most surviving warren architecture is post-medieval. Medieval documents, particularly Chancery rolls, do however record ecclesiastical warren owners and it is therefore likely that examples have been lost from the archaeological record.

Regarding associations between warrens and prehistoric earthworks, several hillforts in the South West were used for warren locations, with pillow mounds constructed in their interiors and their ramparts providing pre-existing

boundaries. However, their numbers are limited and more warrens are merely located in their general vicinities without attempting to utilise them. This implies that hillforts offered no special benefits to warrening, although in some locations they could have offered land that was otherwise unused and, as mentioned, pre-existing boundaries. Regarding smaller prehistoric earthworks, particularly funerary monuments, it is often difficult to assess whether they were incorporated into warrens. In some instances, no obvious attempts were made to separate them from pillow mounds and it is hardly likely that rabbits would have been expected to avoid burrowing into them. However, in other instances it appears that prehistoric earthworks were not incorporated as there are clear spatial distinctions between them and pillow mounds.

Research Question 4 - What were the determining factors behind warren locations?

The investigations of warren locations in relation to physical geography and previous and contemporary land-use referred to above were undertaken to determine whether it is possible to classify certain types of landscapes as ‘typical’ warren locations. Ultimately, aside from elevation and some preferences for south- or south-east-facing slopes, environmental factors appear not to have influenced warren locations. Instead, the most important factor in determining warren locations was the agency of landowners, such as a desire to supplement a farm’s produce, to provide hunting, or to express wealth through the ability to provide rabbits.

Clearly a larger range of physical landscapes could, and did, support warrens than has previously been considered. While this is true of geographical factors, it is also true of landscape qualities influenced by human agency, particularly in relation to the notion that warrens were frequently located on marginal lands. As noted above, the present study has identified a greater than expected trend of utilising land that could, and did, sustain arable farming for the construction of rabbit warrens. The reasons for doing so, however, are not immediately obvious, although installing a warren on land that could otherwise have supported arable farming must have offered economic benefits.

One of those benefits has been linked to the decline of the workforce and rising wages after the Black Death, often cited as a driver behind increased warren numbers during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as warrening

offered a cheap alternative to arable farming (Bailey 1988, 12; Williamson 2007, 17). This scenario would have therefore encouraged the utilisation of former arable lands rather than hindered it, while the post-medieval rise in commercial warrens dedicated to making profits by breeding rabbits would likewise not have necessitated using only marginal lands. However, most warrens recorded in the South West were apparently not large commercial ventures, but were, at least judging by their size, small personal installations that perhaps merely supplemented farms' primary produce. It is unclear how locating such warrens on land suited to arable farming could have been economically viable, particularly during the later post-medieval period when rabbits' value declined. The likely answer is that it reflects wider changes in farming practices in western England that saw a general decline in arable farming in favour of pasturing, which in places evidently included rabbit pasturing. This is most clear in north-east Gloucestershire where several warrens share the same immediate landscapes with sheep pasturing. It is probable that more warrens are located on marginal lands in eastern England given that arable farming became more concentrated there in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries compared to the dominance of pasture in the West.

It is likely then that economic factors influenced local decisions to install a warren or not, rather than those decisions being dictated by the physical qualities of landowners' lands. While previous commentators have not explicitly discussed warrens in such terms, many have nevertheless implied that a form of environmental determinism was in play in that only certain types of landscapes could sustain warrens, landscapes that in turn could not sustain other forms of agriculture. The present investigation strongly suggests otherwise, and although certain conditions may have been more favourable, the presence of any warren within the landscape is instead a reflection of human agency, a decision by a particular landowner to focus on breeding rabbits, either as a primary economic output or simply as a complementary agricultural output.

The importance of human agency is also implied by the investigation of associations between pillow mounds and prehistoric earthworks. It has been noted that although some prehistoric earthworks may occasionally have been used as pre-existing pillow mounds, perhaps already supporting feral colonies, there was evidently no widespread trend of incorporating them. As with

underlying geographic conditions, it appears that decisions regarding whether to utilise prehistoric earthworks were taken at a local level. It is unclear, however, whether they would have been conscious avoidance of prehistoric sites on superstitious grounds, although there are examples where this was not the case, such as the pillow mound in Warbstow Bury hillfort, Cornwall, known locally as the grave of the Warbstow Giant.

Perhaps the one area where factors other than local personal agency dictated the decision to install a rabbit warren is the medieval expectation that members of the aristocracy would have owned a warren. It has been noted how in 1536 Sir Edmund Bedyngfeld expressed that an inability to pay his warreners for rabbits would not be “to the king’s honour” (Letter and Papers, vol. 10, 43), while Reyce wrote in 1618 that a house was not considered well-seated unless it had a wealth of rabbits for its own personal consumption (Sheail 1978, 347). While both examples are not automatically applicable to the earlier medieval period, it seems likely that similar attitudes would have then existed. Indeed, this is implied by the numerous documentary references to warrens in conjunction with earlier parks and residences and the fact that rabbit products had higher monetary values during the medieval period.

Consequently, members of the medieval aristocracy would have been expected to have had a warren, although the fact that the numbers of free warren licences granted far outweighs the number of recorded rabbit warrens indicates that not every manor would have had a rabbit warren. Regardless, this social expectation would have likely been a considerable driver behind the installation of numerous medieval and early post-medieval warrens. With warren locations largely uninhibited by physical geographic properties, landowners were thus given much freedom as to where they could install a warren within their lands. Nonetheless, the numerous documentary links between deer parks and warrens clearly show that these hunting lands were favoured locations, although some warrens were instead more closely connected with the parent manor house.

Research Question 5 - How would warrens have been viewed and interpreted by contemporary society?

Where pillow mounds survive in association with elite parks and residences, there is little evidence that they were ever truly designed to ostentatiously display wealth. While it is admitted that the limited survival of medieval warrens naturally

makes such statements tentative, pillow mounds are nevertheless generally small structures that do not lend themselves to being conspicuously displayed as highly visible components of the landscape. This is particularly true in deer parks, especially those positioned in remote areas, for it is hard to reconcile the notion that warrens would have been a focal point within them when the parks themselves, particularly their pales, would have been far more obvious additions to the landscape. However, warrens' ability to provide rabbit meat and furs would have signified wealth and while this did frequently result in warrens being integral components of elite landscapes, pillow mounds themselves were not necessarily put on display.

The same is true of medieval ecclesiastical warrens, for as limited as the surviving archaeology is, there is little landscape evidence to support the Stockers' theory (1996) that warrens were predominantly positioned within ecclesiastical precincts in order to visually display a widely understood Christian symbolism inherent in rabbits. Moreover, Chancery rolls frequently indicate that ecclesiastic warrens fulfilled purely functional roles in supplying rabbits to the royal court.

Medieval depictions of rabbits also provide little evidence in support of the Stockers' theory. Rabbits are associated with two main themes in medieval portrayals: the hunt and female sexuality. The former theme explicitly links them with death, and although they would have been nurtured by a warrener, that same person would have been responsible for killing them for meat and fur, a fate that is hardly a synonym for humankind's protection under Christ. Rabbits may occasionally have been associated with the Virgin Birth due to beliefs that they could perform superfetation, but they were predominantly associated with lust and female sexuality. This primarily resulted from similarities between the species' name, Latin *cuniculus* and medieval English *coney*, with archaic words for vagina, such as *cunney*. Again, such connotations hardly lend the species an air of virtuousness, certainly not one that would have been widely understood by contemporary society.

While rabbit warrens may not therefore have visually, or at least obviously, displayed wealth and/or Catholic symbolism, there is no doubt that they were still status symbols. As noted above, members of the medieval aristocracy were expected to have had a warren, and doing so would have been an indicator of

personal wealth and control over natural resources. This access to rabbits and rabbit products would have been a clear signifier of wealth and status to other members of the aristocracy who would have well understood the importance of such items. However, to the medieval peasantry, warrens were also recognised in terms of status and wealth and thus social inequality. Several attacks against warrens during the medieval period have been interpreted as representing acts of social protest (Williamson 2007, 163), with warrens being a tangible embodiment of seigneurial privilege (Bailey 1988, 18). Links with social inequality would have declined during the post-medieval period as access to rabbit products increased, although private commercial warrens were nevertheless frequently targeted. Local archives preserve numerous records of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rabbit poaching from private lands, indicating that warrens then represented a convenient, if illegal, source of cheap food.

Research Question 6 - How old are the South West's warrens?

It has been claimed that the earliest warrens in the UK and northern mainland Europe were often located on small islands and on coastal areas during the twelfth century (Matheson 1941, 373; Veale 1957, 85; Van Damme and Eryvynck 1988, 280; Williamson 2007, 13-14). While several early warrens were located in the Bristol Channel, such as on Skomer, Skokholm and Middleholm, these are Welsh islands and have therefore not been included in this study. While such geographical restrictions are somewhat artificial, comparable island or coastal warrens of similarly early dates are generally rare in the study area.

An exception is Drake's Island in the Plymouth Sound, recorded in a sixteenth-century as having rabbits in 1135 which would in fact make this the earliest reference to rabbits in the UK. However, this reference has never fully been substantiated and the presence of a warren at this date cannot be assumed with certainty. Veale wrote that a rabbit warren existed on Lundy in the Bristol Channel sometime between 1183 and 1219 (1957, 86), which despite the date range would make it the earliest confirmed warren in the region. While the Bristol Channel's islands were therefore home to some of the UK's earliest warrens, the lack of similarly early warrens elsewhere in the South West strongly suggests that the earliest phase of the rabbit's introduction to the UK generally occurred in areas other than the South West.

Only from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards are consistent references to warrens found within the South West, although as recorded in Chapter 4, their distribution is not uniform. It is apparent that aside from a reference to rabbit thefts associated with the Duchy of Cornwall's deer parks in 1347 in north-east Cornwall, medieval rabbit warrens were more scarce in Cornwall and Devon than the remainder of the study area. Although references to warrens in the South West area therefore become numerous from the latter thirteenth century onwards, it is evident that very little medieval warren architecture has survived. Previous commentators have already noted that most surviving pillow mounds are likely to be post-medieval, and the current study is in accordance with this view. The most compelling piece of evidence is the extremely limited number of medieval documentary references to warrens that can be associated with surviving warren archaeology, while most surviving warren archaeology cannot conclusively be associated with medieval residences and parks, strongly suggesting that it was constructed during the post-medieval period.

However, it is often difficult to establish exactly when during the post-medieval period any warrens would have been constructed. The investigations of the nested study areas that inform Chapters 6-8 reveal that warrens in each of these localities, and indeed at each individual site, were constructed as a response to specific local economic conditions. One of the problems in studying warrens is that each warren effectively has its own unique history separate from that of both its specific locality and the wider study area. For example, while Chapter 6 posited that warrening reached a peak in south-east Dorset during the late medieval period/early post-medieval period, after which there was some warren abandonment, there are nonetheless examples of medieval warrens continuing in use until 1740 (Badbury warren) and even a warren being licenced in 1921 (Ferndown warren). Ultimately there is no definitive way of providing a date range for the region's warrens, beyond saying that they stretch from the late twelfth century until the early twentieth century. Surviving warren architecture conceivably has the same date range, and while medieval examples are likely to exist in limited numbers, the vast majority of pillow mounds are instead likely to date from the post-medieval growth in commercial warrening.

Research Question 7 - What is the social and economic history of the region's warrens?

Medieval chancery rolls provide a means of comparing references to medieval warrens not just across the South West but across England. Between them, the various chancery rolls discussed in Chapter 4 strongly suggest that eastern England had greater numbers of rabbit warrens than elsewhere and could sustain a rabbit industry by exporting rabbits to mainland Europe and by supplying rabbits to the royal court at Westminster. In contrast, the rest of England had fewer warrens although their distribution was far from uniform, with the far South West and the far North evidently having the fewest warrens. That the Cornwall-Devon peninsula had fewer warrens than the rest of the South West also indicates that the medieval warrening experience was not uniform across the study area. The South West to the east of Devon may be considered to fall within a 'middle range', for while there are fewer references to warrens compared to eastern England, it nevertheless had considerably more warrens than other English regions. In the South West as a whole there is little evidence that its medieval warrens supported an export trade as seen in eastern England; instead there are references to imports, implying that while there were demands for rabbits, local warrens were not always able to meet them. Compared to eastern England then, rabbit warrens appear to have played a smaller role in the local economies of the region during the medieval period. However, the numerous references to medieval warrens in the South West implies that warrens played some economic role, and while some warrens may have been purely intended to supply rabbits for the local lord's table, it should not be assumed that the region's warrens played no commercial role in its economy. Unfortunately, a more intensive study of the accounts of the region's medieval manors is required before a complete picture of the role of warrens in the South West's medieval economy can be compiled.

Moreover, it is likely that the commercial role played by warrens was not uniform across the region, in the medieval as well as the post-medieval/early modern periods. Because of the geographic dispersal of warrens, it has not been possible to study every site in detail and consequently several nested case studies were investigated. While their findings are not necessarily applicable to the wider study area, they are nevertheless invaluable in shedding light on specific landscapes of warrening. In south-east Dorset, the earliest warrens are

recorded in the late thirteenth century during the phase following rabbits' introduction and subsequent spread throughout the mainland. The region's earliest warrens were concentrated in the hands of the very highest strata of medieval society and it was not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that there was increased access to warrens, albeit on a limited scale.

Evidence of historic warrens throughout Dorset far outweighs the number of recorded pillow mounds, which while suggesting inadequate recording of warren architecture, also points to a post-medieval decline in warrening. Indeed, evidence supports this scenario as numerous seventeenth-century documents record former warrens then being used for pasture and some limited arable. This relates to a county-wide trend where much of Dorset's former downland and common fields were enclosed and converted to pasture, particularly sheep farming, while there was also reclamation of heathland for both pasture and arable (Taylor 1970, 127-133). The paucity of warrens recorded from the mid-sixteenth century onwards suggests that south-east Dorset's warrens were affected by this changing agricultural landscape. This is at odds with what is generally perceived to be a national trend of increased warren numbers during the seventeenth century (Sheail 1978, 347).

In north-east Gloucestershire, much land was held by ecclesiastical institutions during the medieval period (Dyer 1995, 148) and the region's earliest references to warrens point to ecclesiastical landowners. Such references are rare, however, and it is not until the early seventeenth century that warrens played a significant role in the personal economies of the lay aristocracy. As far as the available evidence suggests, many of north-east Gloucestershire's warrens were installed on former arable lands during the post-medieval period, frequently alongside sheep pasture. This was part of a late-medieval regional trend of declining cereal production that resulted in settlement desertion and shrinkage in the Cotswolds of north-east Gloucestershire. Increased sheep pasture was a local response and the Cotswold wool industry remained atypically profitable until the late nineteenth century (Walrond 1973, 183).

Given the profitability of sheep pasturing, the presence of warrens likely represent attempts at fully exploiting former arable lands following a contraction of the local workforce, but they are unlikely to represent the primary economic interests of local landowners outside of isolated examples. While this accords

with the national picture of increased post-medieval warrening, the national decline in wool prices between 1660 and 1750 does not appear to have been applicable as a driver behind warrening in north-east Gloucestershire as it was elsewhere in England (Sheail 1978, 348). It is also noteworthy that the increase in post-medieval sheep pasture here was often accompanied by rabbit pasturing, which is a different scenario to that noted in south-east Dorset above.

In north-east Cornwall, the earliest warrens were associated with the newly created Duchy of Cornwall's deer parks in the early-fourteenth century, although Launceston, as the caput of the pre-Duchy earldom, likely had a warren during the late-thirteenth century. Evidence for later warrens is relatively numerous, particularly in cartographic sources, although warrening evidently did not utilise Bodmin Moor to anything approaching the scale attested on Dartmoor. Many of the region's warrens were small-scale installations, typically immediately attached to their parent farmstead. Although firm dating evidence is lacking, etymological grounds suggest that they are relatively recent post-medieval ventures due to the use of warren field-names rather than derivatives of coneygarth.

Most of these warrens made no attempts at utilising marginal lands and instead they lie among their parent farmsteads' arable heartlands. The small size of north-east Cornwall's warrens indicates a limited tradition of commercial warrening. This is probably a result of regional resilience to agricultural and demographic crises of the mid-fourteenth century, which have traditionally been seen as instigating an increase in warrening as it offered a cheap and efficient way to utilise land during a period of reduced workforce (Bailey 1988, 12). The unique importance of fishing and tin-mining to the Cornish economy (Rowse 1941, 54-66) would also have reduced incentives to introduce warrening. Evidently north-east Cornwall's warrens were introduced following a period of settlement shrinkage and privatisation of rough grazing land, and they represent a means of supplementing farms' produce rather than attempts at commercial warrening.

Future Research Questions

The three above-mentioned case studies reveal that each locale, and indeed each warren, often has a unique history. As a result, many gaps still remain in our knowledge of warrening in the South West and also nationally. While Veale

(1957), Sheail (1978) and Williamson (2007) have produced something of a national history of warrening, it is striking that in some respects the three nested study areas discussed above fail to conform to the generally accepted narrative of warrening in England: the profitability of the Cotswold's wool industry hindered the advent of widespread commercial warrening in north-east Gloucestershire; the conversion of much of Dorset's heathlands to pasture and some limited arable saw some former warrens abandoned in favour of sheep farming during the post-medieval period; Cornwall's resilience to mid-fourteenth-century agricultural and demographic crises coupled with the importance of tin-mining and fishing and the privatisation of grazing lands meant that warrening never played a large part in its economy, at least in its north-east. This last point also provides a striking contrast between Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor, two similar landscapes that share very differing warrening histories.

An obvious and pressing need for future research would be the investigation of other localised studies. Although warrens are ostensibly distributed evenly across the South West, there are several pronounced groupings that suggest avenues for future research. Cornwall's coastal zones had many former warrens as evidenced by documentary references, and their investigation would be particularly illuminating in light of suggestions that fishing's prominent role in the county's economy may have hindered warrening. Moreover, these coastal zones have relatively productive soils compared to the county's interior (Hatcher 1970, 23; Webb 2006, 37) and it would be interesting therefore to analyse the relationship between Cornwall's former coastal warrens, arable agriculture and fishing.

Devon's south coast also represents a potential case study, while Exmoor provides an opportunity for comparison with Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor. Dorset's chalklands would provide a comparative study to the heathlands in its south-east, and while recorded pillow mounds are scant there, post-medieval documentary references to warrens are particularly numerous. An investigation of Gloucestershire's southern Cotswolds and the lower lands to their west would reveal how representative Chapter 7's study of north-east Gloucestershire is of the county as a whole. Somerset's uplands provide possibilities for case studies, with the Quantocks in particular representing a noteworthy opportunity in light of suggestions that much of its warren architecture is medieval (Riley 2006, 98-99).

Much of Wiltshire's historic warrening has been addressed by Bettey (2004), although opportunities remain to study areas of surviving warren architecture, particularly the downlands in the north-east of the county and to the south and west of Salisbury Plain, and the lowlands in north-west Wiltshire.

Besides focussing on discrete warrening landscapes, a further required strand of investigation is the completion of data collection, both regarding surviving architecture and documentary sources. Although the present study goes a long way to cataloguing surviving architecture, numerous pillow mounds exist whose dimensions, morphologies and underlying soil conditions remain unknown. Only when all surviving warren architecture has been investigated and analysed can a truly complete picture of the region's warrens be created and regional and localised trends be recorded. The same is true of documentary research, and while it is unrealistic to expect to be able to locate every documentary warren reference, it is admitted that the present study has not undertaken a uniform investigation of documentary references. Researching three nested case studies resulted in a greater degree of investigation in Gloucestershire, Cornwall and Dorset, particularly in terms of locating documents in county archives. Further study is therefore required to investigate documentary references to warrens in Somerset, Devon and Wiltshire, although Bettey (2004) and the VCH have noted many instances in the latter. The identification of warrens in those counties, and where possible georeferencing their locations in a GIS, would allow for a greater understanding of the South West's warrens as a discrete region, facilitating the identification of any intra-regional trends.

Themed Case Studies

The investigation of nested study areas represents only one method of studying specific locations. A different approach would be to undertake themed investigations, with one avenue being a study targeted at medieval warrens. Although the present study has identified a number of medieval warrens through documentary references, evidently few have survived on the ground. However, some surviving warrens have been earmarked as potentially medieval although they are geographically dispersed, hindering in-depth research during the present study. Further targeted examinations of these sites, involving documentary research as well as field surveys, may therefore be able to confirm the existence of medieval warrens. This is an important step in being able to compare and

contrast the medieval experience of warrening to the post-medieval one. This is particularly pertinent to understanding the landscapes and architecture of medieval warrening as most of the surviving evidence is post-medieval and there are reasons to believe that warrens' symbolism and associations with elite landscapes declined following the medieval period.

Identifying potential medieval warrens would also then allow for targeted excavations. As noted in Chapter 2, excavations of pillow mounds have in some cases revealed medieval origins, but at the onset of this study it was felt that a prohibitively large number would have to be excavated if further examples were to be identified due to the prevalence of post-medieval pillow mounds. By identifying possible medieval candidates, these select examples may be excavated and although this would not guarantee the recovery of contemporary medieval remains, or even that the suspected examples *are* medieval, it would nevertheless provide the opportunity for potentially confirming the survival of medieval warrens.

Documentary research has identified sites that formerly had medieval warrens, although their exact locations are frequently not specified. References to warrens in former parks may narrow down their locations to some extent, but their specific locations within those parks frequently remain unknown, particularly if the parks' complete boundaries are themselves unknown. References to manorial warrens suggest that many would have been near the main residence, but exact locations are again often not specified and some manorial warrens may have been located away from their parent residence. An analysis of aerial photographs and LiDAR of parks and residences known to have had medieval warrens may reveal the presence of previously unrecorded warren architecture.

An in-depth investigation of warrens' visual roles should also be undertaken. While a small number of case studies were explored in Chapter 9, these cannot be assumed to represent the totality of the warrening experience. By identifying warrens near elite residences and within parks, a platform is created for fully investigating the history of these sites through documentary research and for visiting these sites in order to assess the warrens' role within their wider landscapes. This approach could also be supported by a systematic undertaking of viewshed analyses within a GIS. It is important that this latter stage would not form the principal method of research due to inherent limitations, the

most fundamental being that although pillow mounds' locations may be rendered as visible from certain vantage points, this does not guarantee that the mounds themselves would have been. Moreover, many designed landscapes incorporated trees, and their presence would have to be considered in any viewshed analysis. Nevertheless, such an approach could still be a powerful tool in a dedicated approach to assessing the visibility of warrens, particularly wherever public access is limited.

A themed approach to research should also be employed to investigate ecclesiastical warrens. Although it was noted in Chapter 9 that there is little evidence to support the Stockers' (1996) theory that warrens fulfilled a visual role in displaying Christian symbolism within ecclesiastical precincts, medieval Chancery rolls nevertheless record the existence of ecclesiastic warrens. Because most surviving warren architecture is post-medieval, assessing landscape evidence of warrens' associations with medieval ecclesiastical institutions is problematic. This is compounded by the fact that these institutions' accounts are often not held by county archives meaning that the true nature of ecclesiastic warrens is little understood, although the Chancery rolls do indicate a role in supplying rabbits to the royal court. A study of ecclesiastical records therefore has the potential to shed light on their warrens, particularly with regards to whether rabbits were bred simply to feed their communities, or whether they fulfilled a commercial function. Certainly their ability to supply rabbits to the royal court suggests that they produced a surplus, and the fact that religious institutions often held land throughout the country asks the question as to whether those lands had warrens and what their produce was used for. The picture from north-east Gloucestershire suggests that distant ecclesiastic institutions held warrens there, but nothing is currently known of how these warrens and their outputs were managed. As with investigating warrens near parks and elite residences, aerial photographs and LiDAR could be invaluable tools in identifying previously unrecorded warren architecture.

A further strand of future research involves investigating 'female' spaces within hunting landscapes. It has been suggested that hunting rabbits during the medieval period was more appropriate for ladies than for lords (Henderson 1997, 102; Sykes 2007, 53), while Gilchrist (1999) and Richardson (2003b) have written how spatial segregation between the sexes was a feature of medieval society.

Elite residences, particularly castles, would have had defined women's quarters distinct from lords' more public quarters (Richardson 2003b, 163), while private external spaces would have been provided for the female household, typically associated with gardens (Gilchrist 1999, 126). Some hints of associations between medieval warrens and gardens have been noted in this study (see Chapter 4), and while the survival of medieval gardens is rare, they are more and more being recognised as features of elite medieval landscapes (Taylor 2000, 39) and the possibility exists for many gardens to be identified in the future (Liddiard 2007b, 206). Confirmed associations between medieval gardens and warrens are rare, but this topic is relatively unstudied and invites investigation as to whether warrens were associated with 'female' spaces. The expected rarity of confirmed associations between warrens and gardens requires a national rather than regional investigation.

One aspect of medieval warrening that was initially highlighted as a research strand was the investigation of court rolls. These documents may record further examples of warren break-ins as well as petitions presented to manorial lords about rabbits destroying local crops or the removal of commons, and could therefore also shed light on social inequality and resistance within the wider medieval landscape. Due to the lack of published compendiums similar to the various calendars of chancery rolls and the fact that this study had to balance documentary research with archaeological approaches, an examination of court rolls was not undertaken. For the same reasons, an investigation of complete versions of inquisitions post-mortem was not undertaken. A dedicated study of these two sources therefore has much potential to shed light on medieval warrening in the South West.

Warrens' Capabilities and Landscape Qualities

Chapter 5 highlighted the fact that more warrens than initially expected were located on well-drained land and in areas that were appropriate for arable farming. These conclusions were derived primarily by interrogating HLC mapping and the BGS's mapping of soil qualities and drainage characteristics. While these sources are invaluable in allowing for the investigation of a large number of geographically dispersed locations, one particular source of evidence remains underutilised, namely field-names.

While field-names have been used to identify many historic warrens across the South West, they are nevertheless a resource with much untapped potential. Field-names specifying soil types occur in many places (Field 1993, 34-43), while others preserve traces of former agricultural practices (*ibid.*, 80-105) or land quality, often using ironic epithets (*ibid.*, 105-112), and some frequently preserve prior tenures and endowments, offering clues to previous landownership (*ibid.*, 165-198). Recording field-names as described by their contemporaries and where possible ascertaining their locations, creates an opportunity for assessing warrens' relationships with land quality, prior usage and ownership. This method would complement HLC assessments of previous land-use because although HLC methodologies vary from county to county, many typically rely on assessing field morphologies (Aldred and Fairclough 2003, 9-10). Such an assessment would therefore be particularly pertinent to assessing warrens' relationships with marginal or poor quality land.

Experimental Archaeology

One fundamental question that is as yet unanswerable concerns the sizes of warren colonies and their productivity. While some warren accounts record the numbers of rabbits killed per season and while some leases specify a requisite colony size, how such figures relate to the physical landscape is currently unknown. For example, prior to being abandoned in 1740, Badbury Warren in Dorset was required to have a stock of 2,500 couples, and yet the warren preserves only two pillow mounds. Although maps produced after it was abandoned record its boundary, questions remain: did other pillow mounds previously exist but have subsequently been removed? Were the warrens' rabbits essentially feral by the eighteenth century, without the need for more pillow mounds? In which case, what were the two extant mounds constructed for? Conversely, when encountering a warren with surviving pillow mounds but which has no supporting documentary evidence, there is no way of ascertaining the size of its colony nor how successful that colony would have been. This scenario is again complicated when one starts to consider variables such as pillow mound dimensions and morphologies, distances between pillow mounds, and underlying soil and topographic conditions. Without producing documentary evidence of warrens' outputs, there is simply no way of knowing what size colonies they

supported nor how successful and productive they would have been at sustaining viable rabbit colonies.

While poorly drained soil may have inhibited warren productivity to some extent, assessing drainage alone does not permit making firm conclusions about warren productivity. A useful strand of investigation would therefore be to assess distances between pillow mounds in light of Simpson's assertion that they should be placed approximately 100 yards to reduce competition for pasture (1893, 86). Even so, this does not take into account other management techniques and specific feeding provisions.

The obvious method of investigating this matter would be to reconstruct a warren, utilising various soil types and topographies, different pillow mound shapes and sizes, varying distances between mounds, and different feeding provisions. Only then would we be in a position to understand the differences noted in surviving warrens, allowing for some evaluation of how successful any particular warren would have been. This would permit a more complete assessment warrens' roles within regional and personal economies. A complementary strand of research would be to investigate current rabbit farming in Europe, particularly Italy, Spain, Malta and France, where it remains a more common agricultural activity than in the UK (McNitt *et al* 2013, 14). Although an initial investigation of current practices suggests that modern rabbit farms use hutches rather than pillow mounds, a comparison with modern techniques may shed light on former practices. While modern methods are therefore not entirely synonymous with historic ones, because historic warreners and landowners have left very little documentation concerning how their warrens were managed, they nevertheless represent an untapped source of information on how rabbits may be bred for purely commercial purposes.

Rabbit Warrens of South West England: Landscape Context, Socio-Economic Significance and Symbolism

Two Volumes, Volume II

Submitted by David Robert Gould, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy* in Archaeology, September 2016.

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

(Signature) David Gould.....

Appendix 1: Site Gazetteer

Explanation of Terms Employed in the Gazetteer

Site Name refers to the names of each site as given within the various HER and NMR monument reports. Where warren details are taken from other sources, the site name is derived from the nearest settlement to the warren. *Site Names* have been grouped by region – the regions are listed alphabetically and the sites within them are also listed alphabetically.

References refer to the sources recording the presence of a warren or pillow mound, and several abbreviations have been used:

- Regarding medieval sources, *CCR* refers to Calendars of Close Rolls, *CChR* to Charter Rolls, *CLR* to Liberate Rolls, *CPR* to Patent Rolls, *L&P* to Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, and *CIPM* to Inquisitions Post Mortem;
- Regarding the various HERs, *CHER* refers to Cornwall, *DeHER* to Devon, *DaHER* to Dartmoor, *PHER* to Plymouth, *EHER* to Exmoor, *SHER* to Somerset, *NSHER* to North Somerset, *B&NES HER* to Bath and North East Somerset, *DoHER* to Dorset, and *WHER* to Wiltshire;
- *NMR* is the National Monuments Record;
- *LB* is Listed Building description;
- *SM* is Scheduled Monument description;
- *VCH* is Victoria County History;
- *HBSMR* is the National Trust's Historic Buildings, Sites and Monuments record;
- All other primary and secondary sources are listed in full in the Bibliography.

Site Type covers four categories of site:

- *Warren* - a warren site rather than an individual pillow mound, often where the latter have not survived and where the warren is known only from documentary sources;
- *Pillow Mound* - earthworks recorded as individual pillow mounds;

- *Possible Pillow Mound* - earthworks tentatively recorded by HERs or the NMR as being pillow mounds, with other interpretations having been suggested;
- *Non-Pillow Mound* - earthworks recorded by HERs or the NMR as (possible) pillow mounds but which are considered by the present author not to be pillow mounds.

Pillow Mound Shape covers the various morphological descriptors used throughout the thesis: *R* is rectangular, *S-R* is sub-rectangular, *C* is circular, *Cr* is cruciform, *Ch* is chevron-shaped, *Co* is conjoined, and *O* is oval.

DR refers to the drainage rating of underlying bedrock as explored in Chapter 5.

SDR refers to the drainage rating of superficial deposits as explored in Chapter 5 and which are present at only a minority of the South West's sites.

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Antony Park	A rabbit warren is recorded in 1783; the extent of any remains is unrecorded	Cornwall	Antony	CHER MCO23247; NMR 437500	Warren	SX 4152 5674	1783	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Bodwen 1	Pillow mound north of Bodwen Farm excavated in 1971 and dated to the fifteenth century due to the presence of pottery	Cornwall	Lanlivery	CHER MCO7603; NMR 431479	Pillow mound	SX 0698 6095	15th C.	C	12	12	0.4	5	n/a
Bodwen 2	Pillow mound north of Bodwen Farm excavated in 1971 and dated to the fifteenth century due to the presence of pottery	Cornwall	Lanlivery	CHER MCO41184; NMR 431479	Pillow mound	SX 0693 6078	15th C.	R	16	4	1.5	5	n/a
Boscrege	<i>The Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Germoe	CHER MCO27160	Warren	SW 5923 3004	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Brea Hill	1871 reference to a rabbit warren on Bray (now Brea) Hill; tithe map and OS 1st edition 1:2500 map both show a continuous boundary round the lower slopes of the hill, possibly a warren boundary.	Cornwall	St Minver Lowlands	CHER MCO56790	Warren	SW 9284 7714	1871	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Carbilly Tor 1	Circular mound, suggested as being a pillow mound or a round barrow	Cornwall	Blisland	CHER MCO50152	Possible pillow mound	SX 13013 75759	Post-medieval	C	10	10		5	n/a
Carbilly Tor 2	Circular mound, suggested as being a pillow mound or a round barrow	Cornwall	Blisland	CHER MCO50152	Possible pillow mound	SX 12968 75801	Post-medieval	C	12	12		5	n/a
Carbilly Tor 3	Circular mound, suggested as being a pillow mound or a round barrow	Cornwall	Blisland	CHER MCO50152	Possible pillow mound	SX 12960 75874	Post-medieval	C	9	9		5	n/a
Carminow	Account rolls of the Arundell Family includes receipts from the demesne at "Carmynowe" with field names, including <i>Conyng Close</i>	Cornwall	Mawgan in Pydar	CRO AR/2/894	Warren	SW 6648 2396	1447	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Carn Brea	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Carn Brea	CHER MCO24896; NMR 426099	Pillow mound	SW 6852 4071		R	14	4	0.8	5	n/a
Carnanton	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Mawgan in Pydar	CHER MCO26000	Warren	SW 8765 6468	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Castlewich	<i>The Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Callington	CHER MCO46959; NMR 931419	Warren	SX 3651 6849	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Clowance	Record of gift of rabbits to replace deceased ones at Clowance	Cornwall	Crowan	L&P Henry VIII, Vol. 6, 1882	Warren	SW 63477 34962	1530	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Court Barton	Warren walls of roughly coursed slatestone, with original capping having slate course cantilevered out to prevent the rabbits escaping, enclose an area of c105m x 65m	Cornwall	Lanreath	LB 1146528	Warren	SX 18310 57952		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Creddacott Farm 1	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO54214	Pillow mound	SX 23516 95065	Post-medieval	R	39	11		4	n/a
Creddacott Farm 2	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO54214	Pillow mound	SX 23544 94916	Post-medieval	C	18	16		4	n/a
Creddacott Farm 3	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO54214	Pillow mound	SX 23696 94971	Post-medieval	R	43	14		4	n/a
Creddacott Farm 4	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO54214	Pillow mound	SX 23520 94659	Post-medieval	R	51	17		4	n/a
Creddacott Farm 5	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO54214	Pillow mound	SX 23446 94542	Post-medieval	C	21	17		4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Creddacott Farm 6	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO54214	Pillow mound	SX 23559 94536	Post-medieval	R	43	10		4	n/a
Creddacott Farm 7	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO54214	Pillow mound	SX 23785 94670	Post-medieval	O	18	10		4	n/a
Creddacott Farm 8	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO54214	Pillow mound	SX 23659 94378	Post-medieval	C	25	25		4	n/a
Creddacott Farm 9	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO54214	Pillow mound	SX 23683 94239	Post-medieval	R	62	12		4	n/a
Creddacott Farm 10	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO54214	Pillow mound	SX 23582 94973	Post-medieval	R	38	11		4	n/a
Davidstow Moor 1	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Davidstow	CHER MCO38135	Pillow mound	SX 1410 8571	Post-medieval	R				4	5
Davidstow Moor 2	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Davidstow	CHER MCO38135	Pillow mound	SX 1410 8571	Post-medieval	R				4	5
Davidstow Moor 3	Probable scrubbed-out field boundary	Cornwall	Davidstow	CHER MCO38135	Non-pillow mound	SX 1410 8571		R				4	5
Davidstow Moor 4	Probable scrubbed-out field boundary	Cornwall	Davidstow	CHER MCO38135	Non-pillow mound	SX 1410 8571		R				4	5
Davidstow Moor 5	Probable scrubbed-out field boundary	Cornwall	Davidstow	CHER MCO38135	Non-pillow mound	SX 1410 8571		R				4	5
East Looe	Lease of tenement in East Looe bordered by various lands, one of which is <i>Connynger</i>	Cornwall	Looe	CRO WM/188	Warren	SX 254 533	1581	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
East Pentire Warren	An area of East Pentire Point is recorded as a rabbit warren in 1810 and is called <i>Warren Close</i> in 1840; the entire promontory of East Pentire is called <i>The Warren</i> on modern maps	Cornwall	St Columb Minor	CHER MCO26498; NMR 890283	Warren	SW 792 613	1810	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Godolphin 1	Pillow mound; <i>Little Warren</i> first recorded in 1661 during enclosure of Godolphin Hill although warren usually cited as dating from the sixteenth century	Cornwall	Breage	CHER MCO36033	Pillow mound	SW 5927 3134	1661	R	20	7		5	n/a
Godolphin 2	Pillow mound; <i>Little Warren</i> first recorded in 1661 during enclosure of Godolphin Hill although warren usually cited as dating from the sixteenth century	Cornwall	Breage	CHER MCO36031	Pillow mound	SW 5931 3145	1661	C	8	8		5	n/a
Godolphin 3	Pillow mound; <i>Little Warren</i> first recorded in 1661 during enclosure of Godolphin Hill although warren usually cited as dating from the sixteenth century	Cornwall	Breage	CHER MCO36034; NMR 425001	Pillow mound	SW 5931 3128	1661	R	30	8		5	n/a
Godolphin 4	Pillow mound; <i>Little Warren</i> first recorded in 1661 during enclosure of Godolphin Hill although warren usually cited as dating from the sixteenth century	Cornwall	Breage	CHER MCO36032; NMR 425001	Pillow mound	SW 5933 3140	1661	R	22	7		5	n/a
Godolphin 5	Pillow mound; <i>Little Warren</i> first recorded in 1661 during enclosure of Godolphin Hill although warren usually cited as dating from the sixteenth century	Cornwall	Breage	CHER MCO36035	Pillow mound	SW 5936 3123	1661	S-R	13	7		5	n/a
Godolphin 6	Pillow mound; <i>Little Warren</i> first recorded in 1661 during enclosure of Godolphin Hill although warren usually cited as dating from the sixteenth century	Cornwall	Breage	CHER MCO36037	Pillow mound	SW 5930 3106	1661	R	21	6		5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Godolphin 7	Pillow mound; <i>Little Warren</i> first recorded in 1661 during enclosure of Godolphin Hill although warren usually cited as dating from the sixteenth century	Cornwall	Breage	CHER MCO36036; NMR 425001	Pillow mound	SW 5921 3112	1661	R	29	6		5	n/a
Godolphin 8	Pillow mound; <i>Little Warren</i> first recorded in 1661 during enclosure of Godolphin Hill although warren usually cited as dating from the sixteenth century	Cornwall	Breage	CHER MCO36030	Pillow mound	SW 5931 3158	1661	R	24	7		5	n/a
Godolphin 9	Pillow mound; <i>Little Warren</i> first recorded in 1661 during enclosure of Godolphin Hill although warren usually cited as dating from the sixteenth century	Cornwall	Breage	CHER MCO27180	Pillow mound	SW 593 313	1661	R				5	n/a
Golden	The earthwork at Golden was known as <i>The Warren</i> in the first half of the nineteenth century. Cornwall's HER cites a source from 1740, however, suggesting it was known by this name then	Cornwall	Probus	CHER MCO26148	Warren	SW 9244 4687	1740	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Gwether	Leases of lands from 1598 onwards include a close called <i>Park and Conyn</i> ; <i>Cony/Coney Close</i> recorded in a 1746 lease	Cornwall	St Gluvias	CRO EN/585; CRO EN/60	Warren	SW 769 367	1598	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Hardhead Downs	Pillow mound built against bank demarcating area of ridge and furrow	Cornwall	Warleggan	CHER MCO22332; NMR 433787	Pillow mound	SX 1521 7145	Post-medieval	R	8.5	4	0.6	5	n/a
Harlyn Warren	The site of a warren is implied from the name <i>Harlyn Warren</i>	Cornwall	St Merryn	CHER MCO25860	Warren	SW 875 755	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	8
Helland Barton	Pillow mound reported by HER, but LiDAR images appear to show a depression rather than a mound	Cornwall	St Teath	CHER MCO38373	Non-pillow mound	SX 0706 8271		R	9			4	n/a
Helsbury Park	People broke into Hellesbyry and took rabbits	Cornwall	Lanteglos-by-Camelford	CPR Edward III, Vol 7, 394	Warren	SX 086 798	1347	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Hendra Farm	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Ladock	CHER MCO25623	Warren	SW 8622 5308	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Henwood	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Linkinhorne	CHER MCO22243	Warren	SX 2615 7333	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Higher Trengale	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	St Cleer	CRO TM/32	Warren	SX 2105 6749	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Higher Treworrack	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	St Cleer	CHER MCO24641	Warren	SX 2351 6836	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Kemiell	Lease of lands including rabbit warren at Kemiell Barton in Paul in 1763; also recorded in a marriage settlement lease of 1795	Cornwall	Paul	CRO RD/285; CRO CY/7367	Warren	SW 465 270	1763	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Kerrybullock Park	People broke into Kerybullock and took rabbits	Cornwall	Stoke Climsland	CPR Edward III, Vol 7, 394	Warren	SX 375 727	1347	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Kilminorth	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Talland	CHER MCO21646	Warren	SX 2348 5421	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Lanhadron	Court roll records trespass of rabbit warren, 1462-64	Cornwall	St Ewe	CRO AR/2/343	Warren	SW 977 463	1462	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Lanherne	1478 account rolls include rabbit farm in Lanherne; linked to deer park in 1495 account roll where 18 shillings of rabbits were sold in 1495-96; park broken into and warrens destroyed in 1511-12; 1518-19 account rolls details the rabbits sold at Lanherne	Cornwall	Mawgan in Pydar	CRO AR/2/916; CRO AR/2/175; CRO AR/2/144; CRO AR/2/948	Warren	SW 873 656	1478	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Lanhydrock	Correspondance about the Robartes' estate mentions supply of rabbits although by this date this was probably a wild colony	Cornwall	Lanhydrock	CRO CL/5/394	Possible warren	SX 084 636	1833	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Lanteglos Park	People broke into Lanteglos and took rabbits	Cornwall	Lanteglos-by-Camelford	CPR Edward III, Vol 7, 394	Warren	SX 086 819	1347	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Largin Castle	Pillow mound within hillfort; second linear feature visible on LiDAR images may be another pillow mound	Cornwall	Broadoak	CHER MCO23345; NMR 432647	Pillow mound	SX 1689 6457		R	14	6	0.7	4	n/a
Launcells	Tenament called <i>Conegar</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Launcells	CRO TM/117	Warren	SS 2735 0898	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Launceston Park	People broke into Launceston Park and took rabbits	Cornwall	Launceston, St Mary Magdalene	CPR Edward III, Vol 7, 394	Warren	SX 3294 8466	1347	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Leigh	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Week St Mary	CHER MCO22415	Warren	SX 2416 9892	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Lesnewth	<i>Higher Warren</i> and <i>Lower Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Lesnewth	CHER MCO22490	Warren	SX 12297 89013	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Liskeard Park	People broke into Liskeard Park and took rabbits in 1347; 1748 assignment of the former park included the free warren of coneyes; 1784 assignment of former park also records free warren of coneyes	Cornwall	Liskeard	CPR Edward III, vol. 7, 394; CRO EL/39/10; CRO EL/39/22	Warren	SX 236 650	1347	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Looe	The NMR has identified an earthwork as a pillow mound or possibly remnants of an old hedge bank. A 1581 warren is recorded in East Looe, although its location is unknown.	Cornwall	Looe	NMR 434855	Possible pillow mound	SX 2513 5344	1581	R				5	n/a
Looe Island	Carew's survey of Cornwall records St George's Island (Looe Island) being plentifully stocked with conies	Cornwall	Looe	Chynoweth, J. <i>et al</i> (eds.) 2004, vol. 47, 128 recto	Warren	SX 257 514	1602	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Louden Hill	Pillow mound	Cornwall	St Breward	CHER MCO22833	Pillow mound	SX 1378 8001	Post-medieval	C	19	19		5	10
Lower Manaton	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO23441	Warren	SX 3396 7210	1841	n/a				5	n/a
Mount Edgecumbe	Carew's survey of Cornwall mentions a deer park with deer and conies	Cornwall	Maker	Chynoweth, J. <i>et al</i> (eds.) 2004, vol. 47, 99	Warren	SX 451 527	1602	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Nankilly 1	<i>Spark Warren</i> recorded on tithe map. A cropmark of uncertain derivation on aerial photograph may be a pillow mound	Cornwall	Ladock	CHER MCO2801	Pillow mound	SW 9003 5093	1839					5	n/a
Nankilly 2	<i>Spark Warren</i> recorded on tithe map. A cropmark of uncertain derivation on aerial photograph may be a pillow mound	Cornwall	Ladock	CHER MCO2801	Pillow mound	SW 9003 5093	1839					5	n/a
North Dinnicombe	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Jacobstow	CHER MCO36185	Pillow mound	SX 2067 9694		R	23	6		5	n/a
Pawton Park	Bishop of Exeter's park at Ponton (Pawton), broken into and rabbits taken	Cornwall	St Breock	CPR, Richard II, vol. 6, 46	Warren	SW 959 700	1380	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Pengelly	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Breage	CRO TM/18	Warren	SW 6140 3215	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Pengersick	A document of 1696 refers to the location as <i>Old Warren</i> and it is recorded on the tithe map as <i>The Park Or Warren, Warren Croft</i> and <i>Warren Field</i>	Cornwall	Breage	CHER MCO27146	Warren	SW 5843 2855	1696	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

APPENDIX 1: SITE GAZETTEER

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Pentcarrow Head	<i>The Warren</i> recorded on tithe map and boundary of enclosing hedge with overhanging slate survives.	Cornwall	Lanteglos by Camelford	CHER MCO28617; NMR 432231	Warren	SX 1510 5074	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Perranporth	Lease of Higher Reen mentions the rabbits there in 1770, while a 1920 sales catalogue records the warren called <i>Reen Sands</i>	Cornwall	Perranporth	CRO EN/719; CRO EN/803/1	Warren	SW 756 541	1770	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Poketor	<i>Warren Fields</i> recorded on tithe map; HER record is possibly a duplicate of Higher Trengale warren	Cornwall	St Cleer	CHER MCO24649	Warren	SX 2107 6747	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Polhilsa 1	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Polhilsa 2	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Polhilsa 3	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Polhilsa 4	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Polhilsa 5	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Polhilsa 6	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Polhilsa 7	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Polhilsa 8	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Polhilsa 9	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Polhilsa 10	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Polhilsa 11	Earthwork identified by NMP as a possible pillow mound	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29653	Possible pillow mound	SX 3440 7232		R					
Porth	<i>Rabbit Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	St Columb Minor	CHER MCO23071; NMR 890577	Warren	SW 8320 6282	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Prideaux Castle	The alternative name for Prideaux Castle, <i>The Warren</i> , suggests that the site was once used for keeping rabbits. <i>Warren Wood</i> to east of Prodeaux Castle	Cornwall	Luxulyan	CHER MCO20026	Warren	SX 0592 5568	1882	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Quethiock	Lease of land including <i>Coney Park</i>	Cornwall	Quethiock	CRO CY/3384	Warren	SX 313 647	1720	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Restormel Park	People broke into Restormel Park and took rabbits	Cornwall	Lanlivery	CPR, Edward III, vol. 7, 394	Warren	SX 1039 6106	1347	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
South Draynes	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	St Neot	CHER MCO24637	Warren	SX 2243 6877	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
St Agnes Head 1	Pillow mound	Cornwall	St Agnes	CHER MCO30074; NMR 1152135	Pillow mound	SW 69953 51412		R	8	1.5	0.5	5	n/a
St Agnes Head 2	Pillow mound	Cornwall	St Agnes	CHER MCO30072; NMR 1152135	Pillow mound	SW 69915 51217		R	6.6	3	0.6	5	n/a
St Cleer	<i>Warren</i> and <i>Part of Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	St Cleer	CHER MCO24636	Warren	SX 2525 6785	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR	
St Columb Major	<i>Warren Meadow</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	St Columb Major	CHER MCO23072; NMR 890578	Warren	SW 8440 6386	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a	
St Gluvias	Lease of land includes <i>Coney Field</i>	Cornwall	St Gluvias	CRO EN/600	Warren	SW 769 367	1746	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
St Ive	References to warren at St Ive at Cornwall Archives, earliest from 1571, often linked with Deer Park	Cornwall	St Ive	CRO CY/371	Warren	SX 308 672	1571	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
St Michael's Mount	Rabbits recorded on the island in 1538, while a warren is recorded in 1640 and 1762	Cornwall	St Michael's Mount	National Trust HBSMR MNA104010	Warren	SW 515 298	1538	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a	
Stepper Point	The headland may have formed a historic warren	Cornwall	Padstow	CHER MCO26601	Warren	SW 91 78		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a	
Tehidy	Letter from Thos. Seynt Aubyn to Lady Lisle thanking her for a gift of rabbits from Tyhyde	Cornwall	Illogan	L&P Henry VIII, vo. 6, 262-75	Warren	SW 64721 43428	1530	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
Tewington	Lands at Tewington enclosed and converted into a rabbit warren	Cornwall	St Austell	CRO CF/1/543	Warren	SX 008 527	1802	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
Tintagel	Account rolls record the rabbit warren at Tintagel, 1447-48, while Carew's 1602 Survey of Cornwall records it being used as pasture for conies and sheep	Cornwall	Tintagel	CRO AR/2/719/5; Chynoweth, J. <i>et al</i> (eds.) 2004, vol. 47, 120 verso	Warren	SX 05189 88928	1447	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a	
Towednack	Pillow mound	Cornwall	Towednack	CHER MCO27709	Pillow mound	SW 4835 3846		S-R	12	10	3	5	n/a	
Trefursdon	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound although it may be remnants of Treconner Farmstead	Cornwall	South Hill	CHER MCO29649	Possible pillow mound	SX 34127 70898		R	18	8		5	n/a	
Trelawne House	Stone wall possibly enclosing deer park, later rabbit warren to Trelawne Estate.	Cornwall	Pelynt	CHER MCO22912; LB 1310033	Warren	SX 2250 5460		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a	
Trematon Park	People broke into Trematon Park and took rabbits	Cornwall	St Stephens-by-Saltash	CPR, Edward III, vol. 7, 394	Warren	SX 4104 5799	1347	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
Trevarder	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Lanteglos by Fowey	CHER MCO28625	Warren	SX 164 512	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a	
Trevelgue	1490-91 account rolls of Lanherne Manor include the rabbit warren at Trevelgy; rental of 1480 records a "mowable meadow with rabbit island", 28s 4d per year	Cornwall	Newquay	CRO AR/2/172; Fox, H.A.S and Padel, O.J. 2000, vol. 41	Warren	SW 83527 63147	1480	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
Trewinnick	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	St Ervan	CHER MCO26632	Warren	SW 9002 6982	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a	
Trewoofe	A walled-rabbit warren is described in Douglas Ellory Pett's 'The Parks and Gardens of Cornwall'	Cornwall	St Buryan	CHER MCO56561	Warren	SW 4390 2530	1870	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a	
Tubbys Head	Pillow mound	Cornwall	St Agnes	National Trust HBSMR 96740	Pillow mound	SW 700 508		R	11	2	0.4	4	n/a	
Tywardreath	Lease of land records the <i>Conygerparke</i>	Cornwall	Tywardreath and Par	CRO B/1/23/1	Warren	SX 086 543	1605	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
Warbstow Bury	Pillow mound within hillfort	Cornwall	Warbstow	CHER MCO22454; HMR 436587	Pillow mound	SX 20133 90743		Post-medieval	R	22.5	9	0.6	4	n/a
Warren Point 1	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Kilkhampton	CHER MCO46379; NMR 913604	Warren	SS 20305 11395	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a	
Werrington	Lease of lands including the barton of Werrington and the warren	Cornwall	Werrington	CRO WW/642	Warren	SX 332 878	1641	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a	
Whitstone	<i>Warren</i> and <i>Warren Garden</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Whitstone	CHER MCO22053	Warren	SX 2626 9869	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a	

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Willapark 1	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound or a round barrow	Cornwall	Forrabury and Minster	CHER MCO41872	Possible pillow mound	SX 09225 91154		O	9	5		4	n/a
Willapark 2	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound or a round barrow	Cornwall	Forrabury and Minster	CHER MCO41872	Possible pillow mound	SX 09209 91187		C	11	11		4	n/a
Willapark 3	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound or a round barrow	Cornwall	Forrabury and Minster	CHER MCO41872	Possible pillow mound	SX 09221 91172		O	12	8		4	n/a
Winslade	<i>Homer Warren's House and Outer Warren's House</i> recorded on tithe map	Cornwall	Linkinhorne	CRO PRN/337	Warren	SX 3275 7519	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Beardown Warren 1	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 2	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 3	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 4	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 5	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	C				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 6	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 7	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 8	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 9	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 10	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 11	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 12	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 13	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 14	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 15	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 16	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 17	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a
Beardown Warren 18	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	R				5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Beardown Warren 41	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in a lease of 1808	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 600 754	1808	S-R	13	7		5	n/a
Beetor Bridge 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 706 849						5	n/a
Beetor Bridge 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV5968; NMR 1021176	Pillow mound	SX 706 849						5	n/a
Beetor Bridge 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV26882	Pillow mound	SX 706 849						5	n/a
Beetor Bridge 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV26882	Pillow mound	SX 706 849						5	n/a
Belstone 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Belstone	NMR 1392929	Pillow mound	SX 6157 9185		R	6.7	3	0.8	5	n/a
Belstone 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Belstone	NMR 1392929	Pillow mound	SX 6167 9187		S-R	5.6	3.2	0.7	5	n/a
Black Tor	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV28476	Pillow mound	SX 678 633		R	10	5	0.4	5	n/a
Buckfastleigh Moor 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Buckfastleigh	DaHER MDV28977	Pillow mound	SX 680 675						5	n/a
Buckfastleigh Moor 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Buckfastleigh	DaHER MDV24688	Pillow mound	SX 6795 6751						5	n/a
Buckfastleigh Moor 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Buckfastleigh	DaHER MDV24688	Pillow mound	SX 6795 6752						5	n/a
Buckland Common 1	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound by HER	Dartmoor	Ashburton	DaHER MDV25195	Possible pillow mound	SX 737 731						5	n/a
Buckland Common 2	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound by HER	Dartmoor	Buckland in the Moor	DaHER MDV25194	Possible pillow mound	SX 733 734						5	n/a
Buckland Monachorum 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Buckland Monachorum	DaHER MDV28252	Pillow mound	SX 5032 6974						4	n/a
Buckland Monachorum 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Buckland Monachorum	DaHER MDV63818	Pillow mound	SX 489 701		S-R				4	n/a
Buckland Monachorum 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Buckland Monachorum	DaHER MDV28252	Pillow mound	SX 5024 6978						4	n/a
Buttern Hill	Possible pillow mound on 1947 aerial photograph	Dartmoor	Gidleigh	DaHER MDV28152	Pillow mound	SX 656 884						5	n/a
Chagford Common	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV59200; NMR 901288	Pillow mound	SX 66448 86470		R	6.2	2.4	0.4	5	n/a
Cornwood 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Cornwood	DaHER MDV15374	Pillow mound	SX 601 613						5	n/a
Cornwood 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Cornwood	DaHER MDV15375	Pillow mound	SX 600 615		R	35	9		5	n/a
Cornwood 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Cornwood	DaHER MDV28128	Pillow mound	SX 610 623							
Cornwood 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Cornwood	DaHER MDV15375; NMR 1129372	Pillow mound	SX 6146 6191		R	13.3	5.5	0.8	4	n/a
Corringdon Ball 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13388	Pillow mound	SX 6747 6054		R	14	7	1	5	n/a
Corringdon Ball 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13388	Pillow mound	SX 6751 6058		R	12	5.5	0.8	5	n/a
Corringdon Ball 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13388	Pillow mound	SX 6750 6056		R	12	5.5	0.8	5	n/a
Dartmeet	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV12995	Pillow mound	SX 663 718		R	19	4	0.9	5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren	Records of Ditsworthy Warren date back to 1676, when Sir Nicholas Slanning leased the holding to Edward Meade who was described as a warrener. Warren remained in use until 1947	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV14142; NMR 438818	Warren	SX 582 665	1676	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Ditsworthy Warren 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV29183	Pillow mound	SX 583 665	1676					5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Ditsworthy Warren 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79273	Pillow mound	SX 583 663	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79281	Pillow mound	SX 585 663	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79274	Pillow mound	SX 584 663	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV29183	Pillow mound	SX 583 665	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV3493	Pillow mound	SX 579 664	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79205	Pillow mound	SX 577 663	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79207	Pillow mound	SX 577 664	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79209	Pillow mound	SX 577 666	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79210	Pillow mound	SX 577 666	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79211	Pillow mound	SX 579 662	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79212	Pillow mound	SX 578 661	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79213	Pillow mound	SX 579 663	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79214	Pillow mound	SX 578 668	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79215	Pillow mound	SX 579 667	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79217	Pillow mound	SX 579 668	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79218	Pillow mound	SX 580 668	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 18	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79220	Pillow mound	SX 580 667	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 19	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79221	Pillow mound	SX 580 669	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 20	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79222	Pillow mound	SX 578 666	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 21	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79224	Pillow mound	SX 580 666	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 22	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79225	Pillow mound	SX 579 665	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 23	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79253	Pillow mound	SX 584 665	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 24	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79254	Pillow mound	SX 583 664	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 25	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79255	Pillow mound	SX 582 666	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 26	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79256	Pillow mound	SX 580 664	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 27	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79257	Pillow mound	SX 580 664	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 28	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79258	Pillow mound	SX 581 664	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 29	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79259	Pillow mound	SX 581 665	1676					5	5
Ditsworthy Warren 30	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79261	Pillow mound	SX 580 663	1676					4	5
Ditsworthy Warren 31	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79262	Pillow mound	SX 580 662	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 32	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79263	Pillow mound	SX 580 661	1676					4	5
Ditsworthy Warren 33	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79264	Pillow mound	SX 581 661	1676					4	5
Ditsworthy Warren 34	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79265	Pillow mound	SX 582 662	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 35	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79270	Pillow mound	SX 581 662	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 36	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79271	Pillow mound	SX 582 663	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 37	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79272	Pillow mound	SX 583 662	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 38	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79275	Pillow mound	SX 585 664	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 39	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79277	Pillow mound	SX 586 664	1676					5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Ditsworthy Warren 40	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79280	Pillow mound	SX 587 664	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 41	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79282	Pillow mound	SX 586 663	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 42	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79283	Pillow mound	SX 586 663	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 43	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79285	Pillow mound	SX 583 668	1676					5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 44	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79286	Pillow mound	SX 583 667	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 45	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79287	Pillow mound	SX 578 662	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 46	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79288	Pillow mound	SX 578 666	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 47	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV79273	Pillow mound	SX 583 663	1676					4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 48	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV3583	Pillow mound	SX 586 662	1676					4	5
Ditsworthy Warren 49	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV56208	Pillow mound	SX 582 675	1676	R	14.5	4.2	0.8	4	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 50	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV3472	Pillow mound	SX 579 671	1676	R				5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 51	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV3472	Pillow mound	SX 579 671	1676	R				5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 52	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV3472	Pillow mound	SX 579 671	1676	R				5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 53	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV3472	Pillow mound	SX 579 671	1676	R				5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 54	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV3472	Pillow mound	SX 579 671	1676	C				5	n/a
Ditsworthy Warren 55	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV3472	Pillow mound	SX 579 671	1676	C				5	n/a
Dockwell Ridge 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13386	Pillow mound	SX 6825 6375		R	14	5	1	5	n/a
Dockwell Ridge 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13386	Pillow mound	SX 6826 6371		R	14	5	1	5	n/a
Dockwell Ridge 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13386	Pillow mound	SX 6832 6367		R	10.5	3	0.25	5	n/a
Dockwell Ridge 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13386	Pillow mound	SX 6835 6362		R	17	4	1.5	5	n/a
Eylesbarrow 1	Pillow mound associated with Eylesbarrow Tin Mine, which was operated from 1814 till 1852.	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV66489	Pillow mound	SX 599 681	1814	R	14	6.5	1.2	5	n/a
Eylesbarrow 2	Pillow mound associated with Eylesbarrow Tin Mine, which was operated from 1814 till 1852.	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV66507	Pillow mound	SX 601 682	1814	R	10.3	4.2	0.8	5	n/a
Eylesbarrow 3	Pillow mound associated with Eylesbarrow Tin Mine, which was operated from 1814 till 1852.	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV66512	Pillow mound	SX 598 678	1814	R	14.7	4.9	1	5	n/a
Eylesbarrow 4	Pillow mound associated with Eylesbarrow Tin Mine, which was operated from 1814 till 1852.	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV66444	Pillow mound	SX 595 681	1814	S-R	9.3	7	1.2	5	n/a
Eylesbarrow 5	Pillow mound associated with Eylesbarrow Tin Mine, which was operated from 1814 till 1852.	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV66446	Pillow mound	SX 599 680	1814	R	13.8	5.6	0.9	5	n/a
Great Coney Park	<i>Great Coney Park</i> recorded on tithe map	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV6634	Warren	SX 673 841	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Hamel Down	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	DaHER MDV26677	Pillow mound	SX 714 803						5	n/a
Hanger Down 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Cornwood	DaHER MDV27664	Pillow mound	SX 6243 5773		S-R	4.5	3	1	5	n/a
Hanger Down 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Cornwood	DaHER MDV27664	Pillow mound	SX 6242 5779		S-R	5	4	1	5	n/a
Harford 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Harford	DaHER MDV25319	Pillow mound	SX 6466 5777						5	n/a
Harford 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Harford	DaHER MDV25319	Pillow mound	SX 6465 5775						5	n/a
Harford 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Harford	DaHER MDV25319	Pillow mound	SX 6463 5774						5	n/a
Haytor Down	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Islington	DaHER MDV26591	Pillow mound	SX 756 781						5	n/a
Headland Warren 1	Warren first documented in 1797 and which was operational until the 1920s	Dartmoor	North Bovey	DaHER MDV6549; NMR 1344328	Warren	SX 693 811	1797	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Headland Warren 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	DaHER MDV6699	Pillow mound	SX 692 814	1797					5	n/a
Headland Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	DaHER MDV6699	Pillow mound	SX 692 814	1797					5	n/a
Headland Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 18	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 19	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 20	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 21	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 22	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 23	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 24	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 25	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 26	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 27	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 28	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 29	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 30	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 31	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 32	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 33	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 34	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Headland Warren 35	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	NMR 1344328	Pillow mound	SX 6875 8119	1797						
Hentor Warren	Hentor Warren was established by at least 1807 and sometime shortly after 1815 it was taken over and worked from Ditsworthy Warren and continued in use until 1930s	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV13510; NMR 438876	Warren	SX 591 657	1807	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Hentor Warren 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55431	Pillow mound	SX 581 660	1807	R	15	7	1.4	4	5
Hentor Warren 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56845	Pillow mound	SX 596 659	1807	R	69.3	6.3	1	5	n/a
Hentor Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55406	Pillow mound	SX 5834 6557	1807	R	16	3.4	0.8	5	5
Hentor Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55403	Pillow mound	SX 582 657	1807	S-R	13	7	0.6	5	5
Hentor Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55408	Pillow mound	SX 581 658	1807	R	14	5	0.7	5	n/a
Hentor Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55405	Pillow mound	SX 587 659	1807	S-R	13	7	0.6	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55406	Pillow mound	SX 5824 6565	1807	R	51	9	0.75	5	5
Hentor Warren 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55411	Pillow mound	SX 582 659	1807	R	12	6	1	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55412	Pillow mound	SX 581 659	1807	R	20	8	0.8	4	n/a

APPENDIX 1: SITE GAZETTEER

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Hentor Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV14549	Pillow mound	SX 582 657	1807					5	5
Hentor Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55422	Pillow mound	SX 586 655	1807	R	28	6	1	5	5
Hentor Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55425	Pillow mound	SX 588 653	1807	R	35	7	0.5	5	
Hentor Warren 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55421	Pillow mound	SX 585 655	1807	R	24	5	0.7	5	5
Hentor Warren 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55423	Pillow mound	SX 586 660	1807	R	34	6.5	0.6	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55427	Pillow mound	SX 587 661	1807	R	26	5	0.6	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55428	Pillow mound	SX 588 662	1807	R	20	6	0.8	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55429	Pillow mound	SX 5887 6629	1807	R	27	7	0.9	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 18	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55430	Pillow mound	SX 5899 6632	1807					5	n/a
Hentor Warren 19	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55430	Pillow mound	SX 5894 6635	1807					5	n/a
Hentor Warren 20	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55432	Pillow mound	SX 583 660	1807	S-R	15	7	1.4	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 21	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55455	Pillow mound	SX 590 654	1807	R	12	6	0.9	5	n/a
Hentor Warren 22	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55458	Pillow mound	SX 590 654	1807	R	27	8	0.8	5	n/a
Hentor Warren 23	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55471	Pillow mound	SX 592 664	1807	R	15	5	0.6	5	n/a
Hentor Warren 24	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55472	Pillow mound	SX 593 662	1807	S-R	9	4	1	5	n/a
Hentor Warren 25	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55474	Pillow mound	SX 594 661	1807	S-R	11	7	0.7	5	n/a
Hentor Warren 26	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV62929	Pillow mound	SX 596 659	1807	R	69.3	6.3	1	5	n/a
Hentor Warren 27	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55496	Pillow mound	SX 5880 6580	1807	R	36	6	1	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 28	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV62192	Pillow mound	SX 585 660	1807	S-R	8.7	4.7	1.4	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 29	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV62193	Pillow mound	SX 588 652	1807	R	15	5	2	5	5
Hentor Warren 30	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55320	Pillow mound	SX 589 652	1807	R	15	5	2	4	5
Hentor Warren 31	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55496	Pillow mound	SX 5877 6581	1807	R	22	6	1	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 32	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55496	Pillow mound	SX 5875 6581	1807	R	18	6	1	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 33	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55496	Pillow mound	SX 5873 6582	1807	R	19	6	1	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 34	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55496	Pillow mound	SX 5870 6583	1807	R	29	6	1	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 35	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55496	Pillow mound	SX 5871 6586	1807	R	16	5	0.9	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 36	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55406	Pillow mound	SX 5828 6560	1807	R	12	6	0.8	5	5
Hentor Warren 37	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55406	Pillow mound	SX 5827 6558	1807	R	14	6	0.8	5	5
Hentor Warren 38	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55406	Pillow mound	SX 5824 6560	1807	R	16	8	0.8	5	5
Hentor Warren 39	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55406	Pillow mound	SX 5839 6556	1807	R	30	3.5	0.8	5	5
Hentor Warren 40	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55397	Pillow mound	SX 585 659	1807	R	35	11	1.5	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 41	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55397	Pillow mound	SX 585 659	1807	S-R	8	4.7	1	4	n/a
Hentor Warren 42	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV25095	Pillow mound	SX 595 660	1807						
Hexworthy 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV26238	Pillow mound	SX 6512 7261						5	n/a
Hexworthy 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV26238	Pillow mound	SX 6504 7270						5	n/a
Higher Piles Newtake 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Harford	DaHER MDV16519	Pillow mound	SX 648 617		S-R	10	7		5	n/a
Higher Piles Newtake 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Harford	DaHER MDV16519	Pillow mound	SX 648 618		C	5	5	0.3	5	n/a
Holne 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Holne	DaHER MDV24746; NMR 443075	Pillow mound	SX 673 724						5	5

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Holne 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Holne	DaHER MDV24746; NMR 443075	Pillow mound	SX 673 724						5	5
Holne 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Holne	DaHER MDV24746; NMR 443075	Pillow mound	SX 673 724						5	5
Holne 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Holne	DaHER MDV24746; NMR 443075	Pillow mound	SX 673 724						5	5
Holne 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Holne	DaHER MDV24746; NMR 443075	Pillow mound	SX 673 724						5	5
Holne 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Holne	DaHER MDV24746; NMR 443075	Pillow mound	SX 673 724						5	5
Holne 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Holne	DaHER MDV24746; NMR 443075	Pillow mound	SX 673 724						5	5
Huntingdon Warren	Huntingdon Warren established in 1808 and abandoned in 1882. Its pillow mounds' lengths vary from 9m to 44m, widths from 4.5m to 10m and heights from 0.7m to 1.6m. Warren comprises 610 acres and is bounded by the rivers Wallabrook and Avon to the east and south, and by a reave to the north and west.	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Warren	SX 653 669	1808	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Huntingdon Warren 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 18	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 19	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 20	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 21	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 22	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 23	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 24	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 25	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Huntingdon Warren 69	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 70	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 71	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 72	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 73	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 74	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 75	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 76	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 77	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 78	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 79	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 80	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 81	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 82	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 83	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 84	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 85	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 86	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 87	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 88	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 89	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 90	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 91	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 92	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 93	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 94	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 95	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 96	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 97	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 98	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 99	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 100	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 101	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Huntingdon Warren 102	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV5183	Pillow mound	SX 653 669	1808					5	n/a
Langstone Moor	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Peter Tavy	DaHER MDV66370; SM 1386442	Pillow mound	SX 55099 78228		R	7	3	0.6	5	3

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Legis Tor Warren	A warren of about 230 acres, bounded on its north and west by a wall, and on its east by a ruined wall that formed a common boundary with Ditsworthy Warren. It has no warren house and is considered too small to be efficient and economic and was perhaps originally an addition to Trowlesworthy Warren, which was linked to it by a wooden bridge below Spanish Lake. Alternate name of Legis Tor Warren is New Warren	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV14144; SM 1019876	Warren	SX 574 653	1718	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Legis Tor Warren 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV29682	Pillow mound	SX 568 652	1718	R	14.9	4.7	1.1	5	5
Legis Tor Warren 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50620	Pillow mound	SX 571 651	1718	S-R	10.4	5.8	0.9	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50625	Pillow mound	SX 574 655	1718	R	30	7	1.2	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50628	Pillow mound	SX 569 654	1718	R	13	4.7	1.1	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50630	Pillow mound	SX 571 655	1718	R	16.5	4.3	0.7	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50629	Pillow mound	SX 569 656	1718	R	18.3	5	1.2	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV42763	Pillow mound	SX 570 652	1718					5	5
Legis Tor Warren 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV49778; SM 1008715	Pillow mound	SX 571 655	1718	R	16.5	4.3	0.7	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV49779	Pillow mound	SX 569 656	1718					5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV49780; SM 1008713	Pillow mound	SX 569 654	1718	R	13	4.7	1.1	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV49781	Pillow mound	SX 567 654	1718					5	5
Legis Tor Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50622	Pillow mound	SX 572 653	1718	R	17.1	6.5	1.4	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50622	Pillow mound	SX 572 653	1718	R	28.8	7.3	1.2	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50622	Pillow mound	SX 572 653	1718	R	37.6	6.7	1.4	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50622	Pillow mound	SX 572 653	1718	R	17.6	7	1.2	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50622	Pillow mound	SX 572 653	1718	R	15	6	1.2	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50625	Pillow mound	SX 574 655	1718	S-R	13.2	7.5	0.6	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 18	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50625	Pillow mound	SX 574 655	1718	R	12.4	5.5	0.7	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 19	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50625	Pillow mound	SX 574 655	1718	R	14.6	5.5	1	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 20	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50625	Pillow mound	SX 574 655	1718	R	13.5	5	0.8	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 21	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV50625	Pillow mound	SX 574 655	1718	R	14.5	6.5	1	5	n/a
Legis Tor Warren 22	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV42763	Pillow mound	SX 570 652	1718					5	5
Legis Tor Warren 23	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV42763	Pillow mound	SX 570 652	1718					5	5
Longaford Tor	Longaford Warren and warren house survive on the western slopes of Longaford and Littaford Tors. The warren was established in 1895 by James Saltroun of Powder Mills and was abandoned sometime before 1914. Some of the pillow mounds may however belong to an earlier undocumented warren.	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66019; SM 1020876	Warren	SX 611 778	1895	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Longaford Tor 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66105	Pillow mound	SX 613 770	1895	S-R	8	4.6	1.2	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66018	Pillow mound	SX 612 778	1895	R	9.5	4.5	0.9	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66020	Pillow mound	SX 611 778	1895	R	13	5	1	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66021	Pillow mound	SX 612 778	1895	S-R	4.5	3.7	0.7	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Longaford Tor 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66040	Pillow mound	SX 612 775	1895	R	10.5	2.4	0.75	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66052	Pillow mound	SX 613 775	1895	C	4	4	1.1	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66057	Pillow mound	SX 612 774	1895	R	11	2.7	0.8	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66078	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R	10	2.8	0.6	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66086	Pillow mound	SX 612 772	1895	R	9.5	2.5	0.75	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66088	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R	11.7	2.6	0.7	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66091	Pillow mound	SX 613 771	1895	R	11.4	2.5	0.7	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66094	Pillow mound	SX 614 771	1895	R	10.5	2.6	0.7	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66095	Pillow mound	SX 612 771	1895	R	10.8	2.4	0.7	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66096	Pillow mound	SX 613 771	1895	S-R	9	6	0.75	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66097	Pillow mound	SX 613 771	1895	R	99	3.4	0.8	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66100	Pillow mound	SX 613 771	1895	S-R	7.5	6.6	1	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66102	Pillow mound	SX 615 770	1895			1.7		5	n/a
Longaford Tor 18	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66108	Pillow mound	SX 615 770	1895			2.4		5	n/a
Longaford Tor 19	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66110	Pillow mound	SX 613 770	1895	R	10	2.9	0.8	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 20	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66147	Pillow mound	SX 609 780	1895	S-R	9.5	5	0.9	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 21	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66148	Pillow mound	SX 615 780	1895	R	12.2	4	0.9	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 22	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66149; SM 1020879	Pillow mound	SX 61506 77902	1895	R	8.9	4.5	0.8	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 23	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66150; SM 1020879	Pillow mound	SX 61509 77802	1895	R	10.6	4.6	0.7	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 24	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66157; SM 1020881	Pillow mound	SX 610 757	1895	R	31.5	4.5	1.7	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 25	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66158	Pillow mound	SX 610 757	1895	R	55.5	3.8	1.3	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 26	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66159	Pillow mound	SX 610 756	1895	R	12.5	4.4	1.6	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 27	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66160; SM 1020881	Pillow mound	SX 610 756	1895	R	8	3.4	1.3	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 28	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66161	Pillow mound	SX 610 756	1895	R	12.3	3.6	1.4	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 29	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV28592; SM 1020881	Pillow mound	SX 611 758	1895	R	11.6	4.9	1.6	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 30	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66064	Pillow mound	SX 612 774	1895	R	10.7	2.5	0.75	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 31	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66070	Pillow mound	SX 612 773	1895	R	9.5	2.5	0.7	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 32	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66103	Pillow mound	SX 614 770	1895	R	11.7	2.7	0.7	5	n/a
Longaford Tor 33	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV66104	Pillow mound	SX 613 770	1895	R	13	3	0.8	5	n/a
Lucky Tor 1	Pillow mound, possibly linked to Vaghill Warren	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	DaHER MDV59505	Pillow mound	SX 683 719	17th C.	R	20	4.5	1	5	5
Lucky Tor 2	Pillow mound, possibly linked to Vaghill Warren	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	DaHER MDV59506	Pillow mound	SX 685 720	17th C.	R	18	6	1	5	5
Lydford	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV54690	Pillow mound	SX 639 813		R	21	2.7	1.4	5	5
Manaton 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV26818	Pillow mound	SX 745 778						5	5
Manaton 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV8807; NMR 445680	Pillow mound	SX 726 819						5	n/a
Manaton 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV8807; NMR 445680	Pillow mound	SX 727 816						5	n/a
Manaton 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV8807; NMR 445680	Pillow mound	SX 727 816						5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Manaton 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV8807; NMR 445680	Pillow mound	SX 727 816						5	n/a
Manaton 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV8807; NMR 445680	Pillow mound	SX 727 816						5	n/a
Manaton 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV8807; NMR 445680	Pillow mound	SX 727 816						5	n/a
Manaton 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV8807; NMR 445680	Pillow mound	SX 727 816						5	n/a
Manaton 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV8807; NMR 445680	Pillow mound	SX 727 816						5	n/a
Manaton 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV8808; NMR 445681	Pillow mound	SX 731 816						5	n/a
Manaton 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Manaton	DaHER MDV8809; NMR 445682	Pillow mound	SX 734 817						5	n/a
Mead's Warren	Swete, travelling across Dartmoor in 1797, describes how on his approach to the turnpike road a couple of miles from Postbridge, found himself 'surrounded by innumerable Rabbits' at <i>Mead's Warren</i> . The warren was delineated by a line of stones but was otherwise unfenced and its exact location is unknown	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV103106	Warren	SX 673 810	1797	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Meavey 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Meavey	DaHER MDV40207	Pillow mound	SX 541 648						5	n/a
Meavey 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Meavey	DaHER MDV40206	Pillow mound	SX 541 648						5	n/a
Merrivale Warren	It has been suggested that Merrivale Warren's pillow mounds may be medieval because of their unusual oval shape and association with a nearby medieval settlement, although a 1979 English Heritage field survey reported that the mounds were not in fact oval. The warren may therefore instead have been established by the Lopes family who granted permission to a man named Watts who built the Warrener's House about 1830 and the warren was not operational for more than a few years.	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV14150; NMR 439654	Warren	SX 554 755	Medieval or late 18th C.?	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		n/a
Merrivale Warren 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV27080	Pillow mound	SX 555 764	Medieval or late 18th C.?	S-R	6.6	4.9	1.2	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV57412	Pillow mound	SX 555 758	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8	4.3	0.8	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55263	Pillow mound	SX 556 751	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	30	3.4	0.8	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Merrivale Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55264; SM 1014672	Pillow mound	SX 556 751	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	7.5	2	0.7	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV57402	Pillow mound	SX 556 765	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8.9	4.1	0.9	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV57403	Pillow mound	SX 554 764	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	9.1	4.9	1.2	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV57404	Pillow mound	SX 5533 7602	Medieval or late 18th C.?	S-R	6.3	5	0.8	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV29181	Pillow mound	SX 554 763	Medieval or late 18th C.?					5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55265; SM 1014672	Pillow mound	SX 556 751	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	6	2	0.7	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55266; SM 1014673	Pillow mound	SX 557 752	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8	3	0.7	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55267; SM 1014673	Pillow mound	SX 557 751	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	5.2	2.3	0.8	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55268; SM 1014655	Pillow mound	SX 557 751	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	7.4	3.7	1	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55269	Pillow mound	SX 558 754	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	6	3.4	1	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55273; SM 1014653	Pillow mound	SX 556 754	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8	5.2	1.4	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55274; SM 1014653	Pillow mound	SX 556 754	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8	4.8	1.4	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55294; SM 1014609	Pillow mound	SX 559 754	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8.3	4.1	0.9	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55292; SM 1014609	Pillow mound	SX 559 754	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	6.2	3.7	0.6	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 18	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55293; SM 1014609	Pillow mound	SX 559 754	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8.2	4	0.7	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Merrivale Warren 19	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV61978; SM 1019569	Pillow mound	SX 553 753	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	9.7	6	1.5	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 20	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV61979; SM 1019569	Pillow mound	SX 552 752	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8.2	6.5	1.5	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 21	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV61980; SM 1019569	Pillow mound	SX 553 752	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8.9	6.6	1.5	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 22	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55584; SM 1014653	Pillow mound	SX 556 754	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8	5.2	1.4	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 23	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55585	Pillow mound	SX 554 753	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	8	4.8	1.4	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 24	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55586	Pillow mound	SX 557 751	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	7.4	3.7	1	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 25	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55587	Pillow mound	SX 559 755	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	6.5	4	0.6	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 26	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55589; SM 1014675	Pillow mound	SX 558 754	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	6.8	3.6	0.8	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 27	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55590	Pillow mound	SX 558 754	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	6	3.4	1	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 28	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55592; SM 1014673	Pillow mound	SX 557 752	Medieval or late 18th C.?	R	6	2	0.7	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 29	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55593; SM 1014672	Pillow mound	SX 556 751	Medieval or late 18th C.?	R	30	3.4	0.8	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 30	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV29956	Pillow mound	SX 553 759	Medieval or late 18th C.?					5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 31	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55270; SM 1014675	Pillow mound	SX 558 754	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	6.8	3.6	0.8	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 32	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55271	Pillow mound	SX 559 755	Medieval or late 18th C.?	O	6.5	4	0.6	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 33	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV57404	Pillow mound	SX 5540 7604	Medieval or late 18th C.?	S-R	12	7	1.7	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Merrivale Warren 34	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV57404	Pillow mound	SX 5568 7604	Medieval or late 18th C.?	S-R	6.7	4	1.1	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 35	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV57404	Pillow mound	SX 5533 7596	Medieval or late 18th C.?	S-R	10	5.5	1.5	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 36	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV57404	Pillow mound	SX 5535 7590	Medieval or late 18th C.?	S-R	9	5	1.1	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 37	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV57404	Pillow mound	SX 5553 7598	Medieval or late 18th C.?	S-R	6	4	0.8	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 38	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV57404	Pillow mound	SX 5548 7587	Medieval or late 18th C.?	S-R	7	4	0.8	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 39	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV15706	Pillow mound	SX 555 762	Medieval or late 18th C.?					5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 40	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV15706	Pillow mound	SX 555 762	Medieval or late 18th C.?					5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 41	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV15706	Pillow mound	SX 555 762	Medieval or late 18th C.?					5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 42	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV15706	Pillow mound	SX 555 762	Medieval or late 18th C.?					5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 43	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV15706	Pillow mound	SX 555 762	Medieval or late 18th C.?					5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 44	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV15706	Pillow mound	SX 555 762	Medieval or late 18th C.?					5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 45	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55592; SM 1014673	Pillow mound	SX 557 752	Medieval or late 18th C.?	R	8	3	0.7	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 46	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55592; SM 1014673	Pillow mound	SX 557 752	Medieval or late 18th C.?	R	5	2.3	0.8	5	n/a
Merrivale Warren 47	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV55593; SM 1014672	Pillow mound	SX 556 751	Medieval or late 18th C.?	R	7.5	2	0.7	5	n/a
North Bovey 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	DaHER MDV8810; NMR 445683	Pillow mound	SX 739 833						5	n/a
North Bovey 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	DaHER MDV8811; NMR 445684	Pillow mound	SX 739 830						5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
North Bovey 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	DaHER MDV8812; NMR 445685	Pillow mound	SX 718 817						5	n/a
North Bovey 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	North Bovey	DaHER MDV8813; NMR 445686	Pillow mound	SX 716 822						5	n/a
Nun's Cross	Pillow Mound	Dartmoor	Walkhampton	DaHER MDV52401	Pillow mound	SX 596 698		S-R	10	5.6	1.2	5	n/a
Olverton Plantation 1	Pillow Mound	Dartmoor	Meavey	DaHER MDV35355	Pillow mound	SX 529 669		S-R	8	5	1.7	4	n/a
Olverton Plantation 2	Pillow Mound	Dartmoor	Meavey	DaHER MDV35354	Pillow mound	SX 529 668		S-R	12	8	1.6	4	n/a
Olverton Plantation 3	Pillow Mound	Dartmoor	Meavey	DaHER MDV45583	Pillow mound	SX 526 667		S-R	11.8	6.8	1.7	4	n/a
Olverton Plantation 4	Pillow Mound	Dartmoor	Meavey	DaHER MDV45584	Pillow mound	SX 526 666		S-R	11	7.6	1.5	4	n/a
Olverton Plantation 5	Pillow Mound	Dartmoor	Meavey	DaHER MDV45585	Pillow mound	SX 527 667		S-R	12.8	7.4	1.6	4	n/a
Olverton Plantation 6	Pillow Mound	Dartmoor	Meavey	DaHER MDV45586	Pillow mound	SX 527 667		S-R	11	7	1.6	4	n/a
Olverton Plantation 7	Pillow Mound	Dartmoor	Meavey	DaHER MDV45587	Pillow mound	SX 527 668		S-R	10	6	1.5	4	n/a
Olverton Plantation 8	Pillow Mound	Dartmoor	Meavey	DaHER MDV45588	Pillow mound	SX 528 668		R	12	6	1.6	4	n/a
Piles Hill	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Ugborough	DaHER MDV25673	Pillow mound	SX 654 610						5	n/a
Redlake Tramway Warren	Workers in the redlake and leftlake china clay industry, 1910 to 1932, built pillow mounds to augment their food supply.	Dartmoor	Harford	DaHER MDV14154; NMR 441221	Pillow mound	SX 654 594	1910					5	n/a
Rowbrook Farm 1	Pillow mound, possibly part of Vaghill Warren. A lease date 23rd April 1613 concerns this warren where William, Earl of Bath, gives the lease to Richard Reynelt Esq and Walter Fursland of Bickington, in which they are given certain rights in connection with maintaining and keeping a warren.	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	DaHER MDV26481; NMR 443119	Pillow mound	SX 683 723	1613	R	20	7	1.5	5	n/a
Rowbrook Farm 2	Pillow mound, possibly part of Vaghill Warren. A lease date 23rd April 1613 concerns this warren where William, Earl of Bath, gives the lease to Richard Reynelt Esq and Walter Fursland of Bickington, in which they are given certain rights in connection with maintaining and keeping a warren.	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	DaHER MDV6524; NMR 443119	Pillow mound	SX 684 721	1613	R	20	7	1.5	5	n/a
Saddle Bridge 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Holne	DaHER MDV26272	Pillow mound	SX 664 717						5	n/a
Saddle Bridge 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Holne	DaHER MDV26256	Pillow mound	SX 664 715						5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56851	Pillow mound	SX 571 650						5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29986	Pillow mound	SX 581 646						5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV52627	Pillow mound	SX 577 643		S-R	8.5	5	0.4	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 4	Pillow mound overlying earlier alluvial tin streamworking earthworks and is therefore is more recent than the last phase of tin exploitation in this part of the River Plym	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55304	Pillow mound	SX 585 660		R	8.7	4.7	1.4	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV61741	Pillow mound	SX 577 650						5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5822 6439		R	9	4.5	0.6	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5820 6442		R	19.5	5.5	0.8	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5820 6446		R	13.7	4	0.7	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5818 6452		R	11.6	4	0.6	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Shaugh Prior 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5818 6457		R	14.9	5.3	0.8	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5817 6560		R	12.7	5.8	1	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5814 6465		R	16.5	6.5	0.8	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5813 6468		R	34	8	1.3		
Shaugh Prior 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5813 6470		R	18.5	8.5	0.8	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5808 6475		R	22	6.5	0.5	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5805 6478		R	16	6.5	0.2	5	n/a
Shaugh Prior 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56825	Pillow mound	SX 5798 6485		R	19	4.5	0.8	5	n/a
Sheeps Tor 1	Pillow mound base, consisting of a rectangular stone heap with no surrounding ditch and it is likely that the mound was never completed	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV56213;	Pillow mound	SX 5915 6675		R	11.5	2.5	0.2-0.3	5	n/a
Sheeps Tor 2	Pillow mound base, consisting of a rectangular stone heap with no surrounding ditch and it is likely that the mound was never completed	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV56213	Pillow mound	SX 5917 6680		R	11.5	2.5	0.2-0.3	5	n/a
Sheeps Tor 3	Pillow mound base, consisting of a rectangular stone heap with no surrounding ditch and it is likely that the mound was never completed	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV56213	Pillow mound	SX 5918 6683		R	10.5	3	0.2-0.3	5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren	No documentary information is currently known concerning Sheeps Tor Warren, although its vermin traps were described in 1802 as turfed over and out of use	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV12721; SM 1021391; Robertson 1991, 253	Warren	SX 563 682	1802	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25262	Pillow mound	SX 562 682	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25263	Pillow mound	SX 562 683	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25274	Pillow mound	SX 562 681	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25085	Pillow mound	SX 562 681	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25275	Pillow mound	SX 562 685	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25276	Pillow mound	SX 562 681	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25277	Pillow mound	SX 562 685	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25076	Pillow mound	SX 564 679	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25088	Pillow mound	SX 563 680	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25090	Pillow mound	SX 562 681	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25082	Pillow mound	SX 565 679	1802					5	n/a
Sheeps Tor Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Sheepstor	DaHER MDV25084	Pillow mound	SX 563 682	1802					5	n/a
Sherberton 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV26111; NMR 907368	Pillow mound	SX 630 738		R	12	3.9	0.6	5	5
Sherberton 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV54424	Pillow mound	SX 636 737		S-R	5.7	3.2	0.6	5	5
Shipley	Pillow mound that traditionally served Shipley Farm rather than being part of a commercial warren	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13387	Pillow mound	SX 683 639		R	8	3.5	1	5	n/a
Skaigh Warren 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Warren	SX 630 935	19th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Skaigh Warren 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 629 934	19th C.	S-R	6	5.5	1.5	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 629 934	19th C.	R	12.8	6	1.2	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 626 933	19th C.	R	12.4	6	1.3	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 630 935	19th C.	R	14	5	1.5	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 630 935	19th C.	R	22.5	5.5	1.1	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 631 934	19th C.	R	14	4.3	0.8	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 631 935	19th C.	R	15	5.5	1.3	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 631 935	19th C.	R	13	4.5	1	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 630 934	19th C.	R	12	4.5	1.3	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 630 932	19th C.	R	13.6	6	1.4	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 630 933	19th C.	R	16.9	5	1	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 630 932	19th C.	R	13.2	5	0.9	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 628 936	19th C.	R	10.3	4.6	1.3	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 628 934	19th C.	R	14	5	1.1	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 628 932	19th C.	R	17.2	6	1.1	4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Skaigh Warren 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 626 933	19th C.	R	13	6	1.2	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 18	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 626 932	19th C.	R	13	4	1.2	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 19	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 626 931	19th C.	R	13.2	6	1.4	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 20	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 626 931	19th C.	R	16	5	1.2	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 21	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 626 930	19th C.	R	14.5	5.4	1.2	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 22	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 626 930	19th C.	R	13.5	5.3	1.3	4	n/a
Skaigh Warren 23	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV14158; SM 1018925; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 628 931	19th C.					4	n/a
Sourton Tors	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow	Dartmoor	Okehampton Hamlets	DaHER MDV61968; NMR 1343687	Pillow mound	SX 546 900	Post-medieval	R	11.9	3	1.9	5	n/a
South Brent	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV25729	Pillow mound	SX 668 632						5	n/a
South Tawton	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Tawton	DaHER MDV27490	Pillow mound	SX 678 910						5	n/a
Tor Royal Farm 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV54447	Pillow mound	SX 6010 7256		R	9.4	4.5	0.8	5	n/a
Tor Royal Farm 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV18421	Pillow mound	SX 6045 7291		R	10	3.9	0.8	5	5
Tor Royal Farm 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV18421	Pillow mound	SX 6045 7300		R	10	3.9	0.8	5	5
Tor Royal Farm 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV18422	Pillow mound	SX 6011 7255		R	10.3	4.2	1.1	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren	Often cited as the oldest of the Dartmoor Warrens - Ridson's c1630 'Survey of Devon' claims that it was granted by Baldwin de Redvors to Sampson de Traylesworthy between 1135 and 1272. However, Ridson's editor was probably referring to the earliest in the series of title deeds for Trowlesworthy with the warren itself not recorded until a lease of 1651 when it was occupied by John Hamblin, a skinner from Plymouth. The warren appears to have remained in use from then until the first half of the 20th C.	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV14148; DaHER MDV14145; SM 1020323; Robertson 1991, 254	Warren	SX 572 650	1651	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Trowlesworthy Warren 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV57380	Pillow mound	SX 575 639	1651					5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Trowlesworthy Warren 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV43427	Pillow mound	SX 566 648	1651	R	21	6.5	1	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV43428	Pillow mound	SX 565 648	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV43429	Pillow mound	SX 566 648	1651	R	35	5.5	0.8	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV43430	Pillow mound	SX 566 648	1651	R	12	4	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV43431	Pillow mound	SX 566 648	1651	R	20	6	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV43432	Pillow mound	SX 565 648	1651	R	20	5	0.8	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV57380	Pillow mound	SX 575 639	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV57381; SM 1016147	Pillow mound	SX 575 639	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV57382	Pillow mound	SX 575 639	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29965	Pillow mound	SX 575 639	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29966 SM 1016147	Pillow mound	SX 574 638	1651	R	20.6	6.4	1	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29971	Pillow mound	SX 570 645	1651	R	22	8	1	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29972	Pillow mound	SX 570 646	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29974; SM 1019084	Pillow mound	SX 574 646	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29975; SM 1014458	Pillow mound	SX 576 645	1651	R	14.5	5.5	0.7	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29976	Pillow mound	SX 573 646	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 18	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29977; SM 1016147	Pillow mound	SX 574 640	1651	R	20.4	6.7	1.2	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 19	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56830	Pillow mound	SX 564 648	1651	R	18.5	5.5	1.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 20	Pillow mound overlying earlier tin streamworking spoil dumps	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV32069	Pillow mound	SX 566 642	1651	R	28	6	0.8	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 21	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV32066	Pillow mound	SX 571 638	1651	R	20.4	7	0.5	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 22	Pillow mound overlying an earlier boundary bank	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV32076	Pillow mound	SX 571 642	1651	R	23	5	0.7	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 23	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV32073	Pillow mound	SX 5712 6430	1651	R	19.5	8	1	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Trowlesworthy Warren 24	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56833	Pillow mound	SX 569 649	1651	R	10.5	4	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 25	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55261; SM 1014661	Pillow mound	SX 577 643	1651	R	9	4	0.8	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 26	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55255; SM 1014666	Pillow mound	SX 580 642	1651	R	23.7	6.5	0.8	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 27	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55256; SM 1014665	Pillow mound	SX 578 642	1651	R	16	6	1.1	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 28	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55257	Pillow mound	SX 569 639	1651	R	29.7	7.5	1.1	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 29	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55258	Pillow mound	SX 569 638	1651	R	29.4	6.8	1.2	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 30	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55259; SM 1014663	Pillow mound	SX 570 638	1651	R	30.7	5	0.9	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 31	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55302; SM 1014470	Pillow mound	SX 573 647	1651	R	11.5	4.5	1	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 32	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56829	Pillow mound	SX 569 646	1651	R	20	6.5	1.2	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 33	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55307; SM 1014481	Pillow mound	SX 580 645	1651	R	50	5	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 34	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55308; SM 1014481	Pillow mound	SX 579 645	1651	R	27	7	1	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 35	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55309; SM 1014481	Pillow mound	SX 578 645	1651	R	20	4	0.8	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 36	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55310; SM 1014459	Pillow mound	SX 578 646	1651	R	16.5	7.5	0.7	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 37	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56850; SM 1015754	Pillow mound	SX 571 649	1651	R	11.5	4.1	0.8	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 38	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV52620	Pillow mound	SX 575 642	1651	R	24	5.5	0.6	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 39	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV52623	Pillow mound	SX 577 642	1651	R	27	5	0.6	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 40	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV52629	Pillow mound	SX 580 642	1651	R	25	8	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 41	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV52672	Pillow mound	SX 569 647	1651	R	24	6	1.2	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 42	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV52674	Pillow mound	SX 569 648	1651	R	25	7	1.3	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 43	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56848; SM 1015758	Pillow mound	SX 577 648	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 44	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56879; SM 1015748	Pillow mound	SX 575 646	1651	R	21	6	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 45	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56880; SM 1015747	Pillow mound	SX 573 649	1651	R	12	3.7	1	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Trowlesworthy Warren 46	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV3586	Pillow mound	SX 5686 6504	1651	R	30	6.7	0.6	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 47	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV3586	Pillow mound	SX 5690 6502	1651	R	20	7	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 48	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV3586	Pillow mound	SX 5693 6504	1651	R	40	4.5	0.8	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 49	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV3586	Pillow mound	SX 5698 6508	1651	R	22.5	5.5	1.2	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 50	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV3586	Pillow mound	SX 5696 6508	1651	R	33	6.4	1.2	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 51	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV3586	Pillow mound	SX 5702 6504	1651	R	40	4.5	1.4	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 52	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV3586	Pillow mound	SX 5706 6505	1651	R	20	6.5	1	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 53	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55258	Pillow mound	SX 569 638	1651	R	29.4	6.8	1.2	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 54	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56847; SM 1015758	Pillow mound	SX 578 646	1651	R	28	7.5	0.8	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 55	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29967; SM 1016147	Pillow mound	SX 573 639	1651	R	22	7.3	1.3	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 56	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29969; SM 1016147	Pillow mound	SX 574 639	1651	R	22	7.2	1.3	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 57	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55275; SM 1014657	Pillow mound	SX 575 651	1651	R	15	6.5	1	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 58	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV62189	Pillow mound	SX 573 647	1651	R	11.5	4.5	1	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 59	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55290; SM 1014616	Pillow mound	SX 570 639	1651	R	33	5.5	1.4	5	5
Trowlesworthy Warren 60	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV62190; SM 1014459	Pillow mound	SX 578 646	1651	R	16.5	7.5	0.7	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 61	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV62191; SM 1014481	Pillow mound	SX 579 645	1651	R	50	5	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 62	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV52642	Pillow mound	SX 572 647	1651	R	12	5.5	0.8	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 63	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55299; SM 1014611	Pillow mound	SX 575 650	1651	R	21	7.5	0.7	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 64	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55308; SM 1014481	Pillow mound	SX 579 645	1651	R	27	7	1	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 65	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55313; SM 1014460	Pillow mound	SX 578 644	1651	R	12	4	0.4	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 66	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55314; SM 1014461	Pillow mound	SX 577 644	1651	R	14	4.8	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 67	Pillow mound overlying a leat	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56824	Pillow mound	SX 5739 6467	1651	R	22	6.3	1.2	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Trowlesworthy Warren 68	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56824	Pillow mound	SX 5738 6466	1651	R	16.2	4.8	1.2	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 69	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV25091; SM 1014658	Pillow mound	SX 575 651	1651	R	29	6	1.3	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 70	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56829	Pillow mound	SX 569 646	1651	R	20	6.5	1.2	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 71	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56833	Pillow mound	SX 569 649	1651	R	10.5	4	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 72	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56834	Pillow mound	SX 566 650	1651	R	18	4	0.7	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 73	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56818	Pillow mound	SX 571 650	1651	R	190	3.5	1.4	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 74	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56819	Pillow mound	SX 571 650	1651	R	23	4.3	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 75	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56848; SM 1015758	Pillow mound	SX 577 648	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 76	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56848; SM 1015758	Pillow mound	SX 577 648	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 77	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56848; SM 1015758	Pillow mound	SX 577 648	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 78	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56848; SM 1015758	Pillow mound	SX 577 648	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 79	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56848; SM 1015758	Pillow mound	SX 577 648	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 80	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56848; SM 1015758	Pillow mound	SX 577 648	1651					5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 81	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56880; SM 1015747	Pillow mound	SX 573 649	1651	R	12	5.7	0.5	5	n/a
Trowlesworthy Warren 82	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV62191; SM 1014481	Pillow mound	SX 579 645	1651	R	20	4	0.8	5	n/a
Two Bridges 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV54366	Pillow mound	SX 612 743		R	7.2	4.7	0.8	5	n/a
Two Bridges 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV54430	Pillow mound	SX 611 747		R	13	7	1.3	5	5
Two Bridges 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV6239	Pillow mound	SX 6155 7420		S-R	5.5	4.7	0.9	5	5
Two Bridges 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV6239	Pillow mound	SX 6160 7419		R	8.3	3.4	0.5	5	5
Vaghill Warren	A warren of about 520 acres, defined in a lease of 1613	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	DaHER MDV6523; NMR 443116; NMR 443113	Warren	SX 681 727	1613	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Vaghill Warren 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	DaHER MDV16718	Pillow mound	SX 6804 7306	1613					5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6804 7306	1613	R	14	5.8	0.8	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	DaHER MDV26478	Pillow mound	SX 6811 7299	1613					5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	DaHER MDV26478	Pillow mound	SX 6810 7307	1613					5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Vaghill Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	DaHER MDV26478	Pillow mound	SX 6811 7315	1613					5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6810 7299	1613	R	15.5	6.5	1	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6813 7286	1613	R	14.3	6.2	1.1	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 8	Pillow mound built against enclosure reave	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6817 7288	1613	R	30.5	5.4	0.9	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6812 7280	1613	R	16.6	6.8	0.9	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6819 7274	1613	R	15.3	5.6	0.6	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6822 7274	1613	R	15.2	4.8	1.1	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6818 7257	1613	C	7.6	7.6	0.9	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 13	Pillow mound built against enclosure wall	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6807 7260	1613	R	11.6	4.5	1.4	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6806 7261	1613	R	28.2	4.8	1.1	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 15	Pillow mound built against enclosure wall	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6793 7258	1613	R	17.4	4.6	0.5	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6789 7258	1613	R	22.1	7.3	0.9	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6788 7258	1613	C	8.8	8.8	1	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 18	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6787 7260	1613	C	2.3	2.3	0.6	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 19	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6786 7257	1613	R	17.9	5.6	0.8	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 20	Pillow mound built against enclosure wall	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6789 7262	1613	R	11.3	4.8	0.8	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 21	Pillow mound built against enclosure wall	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6788 7263	1613	R	17.3	5.6	0.8	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 22	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6751 7271	1613	R	19.2	5.6	1.4	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 23	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6751 7273	1613	R	11.3	4.8	0.8	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 24	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6741 7270	1613	R	16.2	4.7	0.8	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 25	Pillow mound built against enclosure wall	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6741 7272	1613	R	20.7	5.4	0.5	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 26	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6744 7265	1613	R	11.2	5.7	0.9	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Vaghill Warren 27	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6743 7279	1613	R	29.5	5.6	0.7	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 28	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moor	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6825 7321	1613	R	26.3	5.6	0.7	5	n/a
Vaghill Warren 29	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Widecombe-in-the-Moorv	NMR 443116	Pillow mound	SX 6764 7276	1613	R	110.3	5.7	2	5	n/a
Whiddon Park 1	Pillow mound associated with Whiddon Park, which was established in the mid-16th C. and continued in use until the end of the 19th C.	Dartmoor	Moretonhampstead	DaHER MDV20578; SM 1021398	Pillow mound	SX 726 894	16th C.	R				5	n/a
Whiddon Park 2	Pillow mound associated with Whiddon Park, which was established in the mid-16th C. and continued in use until the end of the 19th C.	Dartmoor	Moretonhampstead	DaHER MDV44330; DaHER MDV20578; SM 1021398	Pillow mound	SX 724 895	16th C.	R				5	n/a
Whiddon Park 3	Pillow mound associated with Whiddon Park, which was established in the mid-16th C. and continued in use until the end of the 19th C.	Dartmoor	Moretonhampstead	DaHER MDV44332; DaHER MDV8279; SM 1021398	Pillow mound	SX 7267 8922	16th C.	C	6.38	6.38	0.6	5	n/a
Whiddon Park 4	Pillow mound associated with Whiddon Park, which was established in the mid-16th C. and continued in use until the end of the 19th C.	Dartmoor	Moretonhampstead	DaHER MDV44331; DaHER MDV20578; SM 1021398	Pillow mound	SX 726 895	16th C.	R				4	n/a
Whiddon Park 5	Pillow mound associated with Whiddon Park, which was established in the mid-16th C. and continued in use until the end of the 19th C.	Dartmoor	Moretonhampstead	DaHER MDV44331; DaHER MDV20578; SM 1021398	Pillow mound	SX 726 895	16th C.	R				5	n/a
Whiddon Park 6	Pillow mound associated with Whiddon Park, which was established in the mid-16th C. and continued in use until the end of the 19th C.	Dartmoor	Moretonhampstead	DaHER MDV44333; DaHER MDV20578; SM 1021398	Pillow mound	SX 725 895	16th C.	R				5	n/a
Whiddon Park 7	Pillow mound associated with Whiddon Park, which was established in the mid-16th C. and continued in use until the end of the 19th C.	Dartmoor	Moretonhampstead	DaHER MDV44330; DaHER MDV20578; SM 1021398	Pillow mound	SX 724 895	16th C.	R				5	n/a
Whiddon Park 8	Pillow mound associated with Whiddon Park, which was established in the mid-16th C. and continued in use until the end of the 19th C.	Dartmoor	Moretonhampstead	DaHER MDV44330; DaHER MDV20578; SM 1021398	Pillow mound	SX 724 895	16th C.	R				5	n/a
Whitchurch	Pillow mound attached to a leat	Dartmoor	Whitchurch	DaHER MDV25900	Pillow mound	SX 534 743						5	n/a
White Tor 1	Probable remains of pillow mound foundations	Dartmoor	Peter Tavy	DaHER MDV28514; NMR 439943	Possible pillow mound	SX 542 786		R	4	1.3	0.1	4	n/a
White Tor 2	Probable remains of pillow mound foundations	Dartmoor	Peter Tavy	DaHER MDV28514; NMR 439943	Possible pillow mound	SX 542 786		R	4	1.3	0.1	4	n/a
Willing Walls Warren	Warren covering an area of c113 ha that was established by at least 1807, when a lease indicates that it formed part of Hentor Warren. It is unclear why this part of Hentor Warren was given a separate name, but may refer to a time when it was operated separately. Sometime shortly after 1815 it was taken over by and worked from Ditsworthy Warren until abandoned in the 1930s	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV13511; NMR 438879	Warren	SX 584 650	1807	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Willing Walls Warren 1	Pillow mound situated amongst earlier tin streaming earthworks.	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56846; SM 1015742	Pillow mound	SX 577 655	1807	R	20	6	1.1	5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Willing Walls Warren 2	Pillow mound overlying earlier alluvial tin streamworking earthworks.	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV62930; SM 1015742	Pillow mound	SX 577 655	1807	R	20	6	1.1	5	5
Willing Walls Warren 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29985; SM 1918083	Pillow mound	SX 581 645	1807	S-R				5	5
Willing Walls Warren 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29987; SM 1019083	Pillow mound	SX 581 646	1807	S-R				5	5
Willing Walls Warren 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29988; SM 1019083	Pillow mound	SX 581 647	1807	S-R				5	5
Willing Walls Warren 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29992; SM 1019083	Pillow mound	SX 581 646	1807	S-R				5	5
Willing Walls Warren 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV29993; SM 1019083	Pillow mound	SX 582 644	1807	S-R				5	5
Willing Walls Warren 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV62194; SM 1014457	Pillow mound	SX 576 653	1807	R	20	7	1	5	5
Willing Walls Warren 9	Pillow mound overlying earlier alluvial tin streamworking earthworks.	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55315; SM 1014467	Pillow mound	SX 580 659	1807	R	13.4	5	1.2	5	5
Willing Walls Warren 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55318; SM 1014469	Pillow mound	SX 581 657	1807	R	29	6	0.5	5	n/a
Willing Walls Warren 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55319	Pillow mound	SX 576 653	1807	R	20	7	1	5	5
Willing Walls Warren 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV56826; SM 1019083	Pillow mound	SX 584 655	1807	R	23	7	0.75	5	n/a
Willing Walls Warren 13	Pillow mound overlying earlier alluvial tin streamworking earthworks.	Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	DaHER MDV55315; SM 1014467	Pillow mound	SX 5804 6591	1807	R	12.3	5	1.2	5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 1	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 2	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 3	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 4	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 5	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 6	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 7	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Wistman's Wood 8	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 9	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 10	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 11	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 12	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 13	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 14	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 15	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 16	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Wistman's Wood 17	Pillow mound constructed in 1895	Dartmoor	Lydford	DaHER MDV14156; SM 1020876; Robertson 1991, 251	Pillow mound	SX 613 772	1895	R				5	n/a
Yalland Warren 1	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in 1780	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13384; NMR 441977	Pillow mound	SX 687 631	1780					5	n/a
Yalland Warren 2	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in 1780	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13384; NMR 441977	Pillow mound	SX 687 631	1780					5	n/a
Yalland Warren 3	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in 1780	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13384; NMR 441977	Pillow mound	SX 687 631	1780					5	n/a
Yalland Warren 4	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in 1780	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13384; NMR 441977	Pillow mound	SX 687 631	1780					5	n/a
Yalland Warren 5	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in 1780	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13384; NMR 441977	Pillow mound	SX 687 631	1780					5	n/a
Yalland Warren 6	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in 1780	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13384; NMR 441977	Pillow mound	SX 687 631	1780					5	n/a
Yalland Warren 7	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in 1780	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13384; NMR 441977	Pillow mound	SX 687 631	1780					5	n/a
Yalland Warren 8	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in 1780	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV13384; NMR 441977	Pillow mound	SX 687 631	1780					5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Yardworthy 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV26786	Pillow mound	SX 677 848		S-R	4	3		5	n/a
Yardworthy 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV26787; NMR 1409070	Pillow mound	SX 6777 8457		R				5	n/a
Yardworthy 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV26788; NMR 1409071	Pillow mound	SX 6773 8434		S-R	4.2	2.2		5	n/a
Yardworthy 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV26786	Pillow mound	SX 677 848		S-R	5	4		5	n/a
Yardworthy 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV26787; NMR 1409070	Pillow mound	SX 6777 8457		R				5	n/a
Yardworthy 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV26787; NMR 1409070	Pillow mound	SX 6777 8457		R				5	n/a
Yardworthy 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Chagford	DaHER MDV26787; NMR 1409070	Pillow mound	SX 6777 8457		R				5	n/a
Yarner Wood 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Bovey Tracey	DaHER MDV20782; NMR 1409204	Pillow mound	SX 7745 7860		R	20		0.75	4	n/a
Yarner Wood 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	Bovey Tracey	DaHER MDV20783; NMR 1409205	Pillow mound	SX 7730 7875		R				4	n/a
Zeal 1	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 679 632	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 2	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 679 631	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 3	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6790 6308	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 4	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6800 6318	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 5	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6802 6322	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 6	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6805 6325	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 7	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6792 6328	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 8	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6780 6327	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 9	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6805 6351	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 10	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6803 6334	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 11	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6802 6332	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 12	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6793 6329	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 13	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6791 6327	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 14	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6801 6322	19th C.?					5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Zeal 15	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6802 6324	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 16	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6801 6319	19th C.?					5	n/a
Zeal 17	Pillow mound	Dartmoor	South Brent	DaHER MDV14155; Robertson 1991, 250	Pillow mound	SX 6789 6308	19th C.?					5	n/a
Bigbury-on-Sea	<i>Warren and Warren Field</i> recorded on tithe map	Devon	Bigbury	DeHER MDV36197	Warren	SX 6513 4436	1886	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Blagdon Cross 1	Earthwork interpreted as a long barrow, a pillow mound or an entirely natural feature	Devon	Tetcott	DeHER MDV2753; NMR 437277	Possible pillow mound	SX 3616 9653		R	204	28		4	n/a
Blagdon Cross 2	Earthwork interpreted as a long barrow, a pillow mound or an entirely natural feature	Devon	Tetcott	DeHER MDV103763	Possible pillow mound	SX 3608 9671		S-R	61	32		4	n/a
Blindwell 1	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound; HER mapping viewed by current author suggests they may be remnants of an old field boundary	Devon	Molland	EHER MDE14878; EHER MMO815; NMR 1129353	Possible pillow mound	SS 80510 31350		C				6	n/a
Blindwell 2	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound; HER mapping viewed by current author suggests they may be remnants of an old field boundary	Devon	Molland	EHER MDE14878; EHER MMO815; NMR 1129353	Possible pillow mound	SS 80520 31310		C				6	n/a
Blindwell 3	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound; HER mapping viewed by current author suggests they may be remnants of an old field boundary	Devon	Molland	EHER MDE14878; EHER MMO815; NMR 1129353	Possible pillow mound	SS 80520 31250		C				6	n/a
Bolberry Down 1	Pillow mound visible on aerial photographs of 1946, since levelled; recorded by HER as a "possible" pillow mound	Devon	Malborough	DeHER MDV104299	Possible pillow mound	SX 6843 3879		C	22	22		4	n/a
Bolberry Down 2	Pillow mound visible on aerial photographs of 1946, since levelled; recorded by HER as a "possible" pillow mound	Devon	Marlborough	DeHER MDV104301	Possible pillow mound	SX 6875 3888		C	22	19		4	n/a
Bowcombe Creek	<i>Warren, Inner Lower Warren, Outer Lower Warren, Point Warren, Outer Higher Warren and Inner Higher Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Devon	Dodbrooke	DeHER MDV36530	Warren	SX 7437 4328	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Buckland Abbey	Grant to Hugh Poulett lands in Abbotsesham, Devon, in the site of the monastery of Buclonde including meadows, pastures and feedings, one of which was called <i>Conyngarth Close</i>	Devon	Buckland Monachorum	CPR, Edward VI, vol. 3, 21	Warren	SX 4870 6682	1550	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Challacombe Common	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound or a post-medieval building	Devon	Challacombe	EHER MDE1058; NMR 34715	Possible pillow mound	SS 6805 4292		C	27	24		4	n/a
Chardstock	Complaint by Robert Bishop of Salisbury that people broke into his park and warren at Cherdestoke, Dorset (now Devon), and took rabbits	Devon	Chardstock	CPR, Edward III, vol. 12, 358	Warren	ST 304 041	1363	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Cholwell Park	Pillow mound	Devon	Malborough	NMR 1540858	Pillow mound	SX 7277 3708		R	30	12	1.8	4	n/a
Clyst Honiton	Lease of tenement and mansion house or parsonage house with the warren of coneyes in the manor with a rent of 3s 4d for the warren	Devon	Clyst Honiton	Exeter Cathedral Archives 6020/16	Warren	SX 9888 9349	1570	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Collapit Creek	<i>Warren and Waste In Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Devon	West Alvington	DeHER MDV36529	Warren	SX 7309 4184	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Coney Park Plantation	A rabbit warren lies immediately north west of a post-medieval deer park constructed c1700	Devon	Sparkwell	SM 438407	Warren	SX 55325 58523	c.1700	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Countisbury	Pillow mound, now levelled. False colour aerial photograph held at Exmoor HER suggest ridge furrow runs over the pillow mound's location, possibly indicating a medieval date	Devon	Countisbury	EHER MMO2021; NMR 1466889	Pillow mound	SS 7493 4982	Medieval?	R	18	4		6	n/a
Dawlish Warren	<i>The Warren and Warren House</i> recorded on 1743 map of Exmouth and the Exe estuary, while a warren is recorded in the episcopal registers of the Exeter diocese for c1280 though unclear if refers to free warren	Devon	Kenton	DeHER MDV42068	Warren	SX 984 792	1743	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	8
Drake's Island	A reference to rabbits on Drake's Island in the Plymouth Sound in a grant by Walter de Vautort has been dated to 1135, although information regarding the grant is derived from a statement by the sixteenth-century antiquarian John Leland who gave no date for it	Devon	Plymouth	Veale 1957, 86	Warren	SX 4689 5284	1135	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
East Allington Deer Park	A deer park and rabbit warren are shown in an enclosure to the east of Vallapit House on a stylistic plan of East Allington c1600. The enclosure appears to be entered via a lodge or lychgate and contained a small building. The fields are recorded as The Warren on the tithe map	Devon	East Allington	DeHER MDV63576	Warren	SX 765 490	c1600	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
East Anstey	A linear cropmark is visible on aerial photographs of April 1946 suggestive of a pillow mound	Devon	East Anstey	EHER MMO3356; NMR 1493932	Pillow mound	SS 8569 2667		R	88	14		4	n/a
East of River Otter	<i>The Warren</i> recorded on OS maps	Devon	Otterton	DeHER MDV43237	Warren	SY 076 834	1881	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	n/a
Efford Warren	<i>Efford Warren</i> recorded on 1993 OS 6" provisional map and 1869 OS map	Devon	Compton Gifford	PHER SX55NW/181	Warren	SX 51 56	1869	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	5
Eworthy	Pillow mound	Devon	North Molton	NMR 1493859	Pillow mound	SS 7176 3310		R	40	8	1	4	n/a
Exminster	Grant of land to John Braband, yeoman of the Guard, including the warren and hunt of coneyes in Ken and Exmistre	Devon	Exminster	L&P Henry VIII, Vol. 1, 399-408	Warren	SX 9447 8773	1511	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Foxhole Cove	<i>The Warren</i> recorded on OS maps; possible warren wall shown running across start point peninsular from sx82373710 to sx82413740	Devon	Stokeham	DeHER MDV43352	Warren	SX 8260 3714	1884	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Giant's Grave 1	Earthwork - Devon's HER records that it is likely to be a pillow mound but that it is "not in the normal cross-contour situation"; an alternate interpretation is that it is a long barrow	Devon	Malborough	DeHER MDV7033; NMR 444283	Possible pillow mound	SX 718 367	1775	R	62	16		4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Greenawell Deer Park 1	Pillow mound in former deer park believed to be part of the 'warren upon Downeleghe' referred to in late 16th century documents concerning the building of an enclosing wall, which was completed in 1598. The latest reference to the warren was in a survey of c1700	Devon	West Ogwell	DeHER MDV76362; MDV76377	Pillow mound	SX 82706 70470	1598	R	13	6		9	n/a
Greenawell Deer Park 2	Pillow mound in former deer park believed to be part of the 'warren upon Downeleghe' referred to in late 16th century documents concerning the building of an enclosing wall, which was completed in 1598. The latest reference to the warren was in a survey of c1700	Devon	West Ogwell	DeHER MDV76365; MDV76377	Pillow mound	SX 82611 70379	1598	R	13	6		9	n/a
Greenawell Deer Park 3	Pillow mound in former deer park believed to be part of the 'warren upon Downeleghe' referred to in late 16th century documents concerning the building of an enclosing wall, which was completed in 1598. The latest reference to the warren was in a survey of c1700	Devon	West Ogwell	DeHER MDV76371; MDV76377	Pillow mound	SX 82415 70248	1598	S-R	10	6		9	n/a
Greenawell Deer Park 4	Pillow mound in former deer park believed to be part of the 'warren upon Downeleghe' referred to in late 16th century documents concerning the building of an enclosing wall, which was completed in 1598. The latest reference to the warren was in a survey of c1700	Devon	West Ogwell	DeHER MDV76368; MDV76377	Pillow mound	SX 82502 70301	1598	R	12	5		9	n/a
Greenawell Deer Park 5	Pillow mound in former deer park believed to be part of the 'warren upon Downeleghe' referred to in late 16th century documents concerning the building of an enclosing wall, which was completed in 1598. The latest reference to the warren was in a survey of c1700	Devon	West Ogwell	DeHER MDV76369; MDV76377	Pillow mound	SX 82509 70243	1598	R	15	6		9	n/a
Greenawell Deer Park 6	Pillow mound in former deer park believed to be part of the 'warren upon Downeleghe' referred to in late 16th century documents concerning the building of an enclosing wall, which was completed in 1598. The latest reference to the warren was in a survey of c1700	Devon	West Ogwell	DeHER MDV76370; MDV76377	Pillow mound	SX 82570 70231	1598	O	10	5		9	n/a
Greenawell Deer Park 7	Pillow mound in former deer park believed to be part of the 'warren upon Downeleghe' referred to in late 16th century documents concerning the building of an enclosing wall, which was completed in 1598. The latest reference to the warren was in a survey of c1700	Devon	West Ogwell	DeHER MDV76367; MDV76377	Pillow mound	SX 82626 70445	1598	R	13	6		9	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Greenawell Deer Park 8	Pillow mound in former deer park believed to be part of the 'warren upon Downeleghe' referred to in late 16th century documents concerning the building of an enclosing wall, which was completed in 1598. The latest reference to the warren was in a survey of c1700	Devon	West Ogwell	DeHER MDV76366; MDV76377	Pillow mound	SX 82542 70446	1598	R	13	6		9	n/a
Greenawell Deer Park 9	Pillow mound in former deer park believed to be part of the 'warren upon Downeleghe' referred to in late 16th century documents concerning the building of an enclosing wall, which was completed in 1598. The latest reference to the warren was in a survey of c1700	Devon	West Ogwell	DeHER MDV76372; MDV76377	Pillow mound	SX 82452 70110	1598	R	25	8		9	n/a
Ireland Sands	<i>Warren Point</i> recorded on 1880s OS map	Devon	Thurlstone	DeHER MDV47775	Warren	SX 670 422	1880s	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Kenn	The Manor of Ken, including its profits of coneys, is described in an an inquisition post mortem	Devon	Kenn	CIPM, Vol. 3, Edward I, 15-30	Warren	SX 920 854	1291	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Long Cove	<i>The Warren</i> recorded on 1896 OS map, a <i>Warren Cottage</i> is first recorded on 1906 OS map	Devon	Revelstoke	DeHER MDV43592	Warren	SX 530 469	1896	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Long Furlong Farm	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Devon	Harford	DeHER MDV106637	Warren	SS 257 262	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Lower and Higher Cowlings	Pillow mound	Devon	Brompton Regis	EHER MMO713; NMR 1120034	Pillow mound	SS 9655 3059		R				4	n/a
Lundy	Sheriff of Devon ordered to send to London all rabbit skins taken from Lundy in 1244, while in 1254 a mandate was issued to put Adam de Aston or his proctor in charge of the Church of St Mary on Lundy and have him be paid tithes of produce including rabbits. Veale wrote that "at some time between 1183 and 1219 the tenant of Lundy Island was entitled to take fifty rabbits a year from certain chovis (coves?) on the island" citing deeds in Exeter City Archives	Devon	Lundy	Calendar of Liberate Rolls Henry III, vol. 2, 228; Calendar of CPR Henry III, vol. 4, 378; Veale 1957, 86	Warren	SS 136 442	1183- 1219	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Lynton and Lynmouth 1	Pillow mound, now levelled	Devon	Lynton and Lynmouth	EHER MMO345; NMR 926159	Pillow mound	SS 7113 4833		C	13	13		5	n/a
Lynton and Lynmouth 2	Pillow mound, now levelled	Devon	Lynton and Lynmouth	EHER MMO345; NMR 926159	Pillow mound	SS 7113 4833		R	20	4		5	n/a
Lynton and Lynmouth 3	Pillow mound, now levelled	Devon	Lynton and Lynmouth	EHER MMO345; NMR 926159	Pillow mound	SS 7113 4833		R	20	4		5	n/a
Mill Bay Cove	A lease of 1873 records 'a cottage, dwelling house and garden lately built on <i>Brownstone Warren</i> ', but by the 1881 census, the warren cottage was uninhabited. <i>The Warren</i> recorded on 1889 OS map	Devon	Kingswear	DeHER MDV41984; DeHER MDV42066; DeHER MDV41983	Warren	SX 896 502	1873	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Myrtleberry Lane 1	Pillow mound or an extractive pit/quarry	Devon	Lynton and Lynmouth	EHER MMO1972; NMR 1465879	Possible pillow mound	SS 7411 4845		R				5	n/a
Myrtleberry Lane 2	Pillow mound or an extractive pit/quarry	Devon	Lynton and Lynmouth	EHER MMO1972; NMR 1465879	Possible pillow mound	SS 7411 4845		R				5	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
North Down	Pillow mound	Devon	Bishops Nymton	EHER MMO3524; NMR 1496977	Pillow mound	SS 7893 2612		S-R	13	8		4	n/a
Nr Boringdon House	Pillow Mound	Devon	Plympton	PHER SX55NW/090	Pillow mound	SX 5355 5772		R	45	15		4	n/a
Orley Common	Pillow Mound	Devon	Denbury and Torbryan	NMR 446369	Pillow mound	SX 8258 6626						9	n/a
Painsford Mill	Rabbit warren boundary walls of local dressed slate rubble walls enclosing an irregular field. The walls on the east and west ends are most complete, where they are coursed horizontally despite being built on a steep slope and rise to c1.75m high and have their original copping which has a slate course cantilevered out on the inside to prevent the rabbits from escaping. The south wall at the top of the slope has its top courses missing and is breached at the centre. The north wall at the bottom in the meadow has been reduced to less than half its original height. A conveyance of 1801 mentions the rabbit warren.	Devon	Ashprington	DeHER MDV86680; LB 1108365	Warren	SX 8028 5653	1801	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	5
Pin Beacon 1	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound or fire beacon	Devon	Otterton	DeHER MDV10598; NMR 448553	Possible pillow mound	SY 0985 8732		C	13.3	13.3	1	8	5
Pin Beacon 2	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound or fire beacon	Devon	Otterton	DeHER MDV10598; NMR 448553	Possible pillow mound	SY 0990 8739		R	17.8	end) / 9.2 (w. end)	end) / 0.7 (w.	8	5
Plymstock	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Devon	Plymstock	PHER SX55SW/087	Warren	SX 5051 5426	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	n/a
Poltimore	A mortgage records Poltimore and Conyger Meadow	Devon	Poltimore	CRO HX/483	Warren	SX 965 970	1736	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Shirwell 1	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5955 3829	1889					6	n/a
Shirwell 2	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a
Shirwell 3	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a
Shirwell 4	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a
Shirwell 5	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a
Shirwell 6	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Shirwell 7	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a
Shirwell 8	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a
Shirwell 9	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a
Shirwell 10	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a
Shirwell 11	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a
Shirwell 12	Pillow mound c.230m east-southeast of <i>King's Warren</i> , in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on OS maps	Devon	Shirwell	NMR 1031887	Pillow mound	SS 5969 3842	1889					6	n/a
Slipper Rock	Pillow mound in an area recorded as <i>Warren Corner</i> on tithe map although it may be a natural feature	Devon	Morthoe	DeHER MDV103016	Possible pillow mound	SS 448 453	1840	S-R	15	10		4	n/a
Southern Ball 1	Pillow mound recorded here although subsequent field investigations have revealed no trace of it	Devon	Brendon	EHER MDE11927	Possible pillow mound	SS 7843 4757		R				5	n/a
Southern Ball 2	Pillow mound recorded here although subsequent field investigations have revealed no trace of it	Devon	Brendon	EHER MDE11927; NMR 1001708	Possible pillow mound	SS 7843 4757		R				5	n/a
Stokenham	A lease records the granting of lands to Nich. Uppeton from the demesne lands of Stokenham Manor including the warren of coneyes on the south side of the chapel of St. Laurence, late in the occupation of Hen. Strete	Devon	Stokenham	L&P Henry VIII, Vol. 15, 251-300	Warren	SX 8061 4286	1540	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
The Goat	Pillow mound; <i>The Warren</i> and <i>Warren Barn</i> marked on 1907 and 1963 6" OS maps, although the earthwork has also been suggested as being a long barrow	Devon	Malborough	DeHER MDV42014	Possible pillow mound	SX 7126 3686	1907	R				4	n/a
The Warren	<i>The Warren</i> recorded on OS maps	Devon	Berrynarbor	EHER MMO1573	Warren	SS 5555 4832	1889	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
The Warren 2	<i>Warren</i> delineated on 1889 OS map	Devon	Lynton and Lynmouth	None	Warren	SS 7081 4980	1889	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	5
The Warren 4	Linear cropmark recorded in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on the tithe map	Devon	Hartland	DeHER MDV81219; DeHER MDV43119; DeHER MDV81100	Pillow mound	SS 2264 2532	1844	R	55	5		6	n/a
The Warren 5	Possible pillow mound recorded on LiDAR images in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on the tithe map, although it may represent an old field boundary	Devon	Hartland	DeHER MDV81252; DeHER MDV43119; DeHER MDV81100	Possible pillow mound	SS 22744 25049	1844	R	200	12		6	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
The Warren 6	Pillow mound in an area called <i>The Warren</i> on the tithe map, although the earthwork has also been suggested as being a long barrow or Bronze-Age burial mound	Devon	Hartland	DeHER MDV43120; DeHER MDV43119; DeHER MDV81100	Possible pillow mound	SS 2270 2507	1844	O	18	11		6	n/a
The Warren 7	An area called <i>The Warren</i> , a wall of which cuts through part of a field system that seems to mainly date from the Medieval or Post Medieval period but some of the boundaries may have much earlier origins, possibly in the later prehistoric period. <i>Warren Barn</i> is not recorded on the 1841 tithe map but appears on the 1862 1st edition 25" OS map. A suggested pillow mound in the vicinity of <i>Warren Barn</i> is likely to be a field bank.	Devon	Malborough	NMR 1369288	Warren	SX 7015 3714	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Topsham	Grant of land to William Rolt, yeoman of the Guard, including the coney warren	Devon	Exeter	L&P Henry VIII, Vol. 1, 155-66	Warren	SX 9656 8834	1510	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Torrington Commons	<i>The Warren and Warren Lane</i> recorded on 1887 OS map	Devon	Great Torrington	DeHER MDV55064	Warren	SS 4888 1913	1887	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Tossell's Barton 1	Pillow mound, now levelled	Devon	East and West Buckland	EHER MMO3429; NMR 1495128	Pillow mound	SS 6658 3408		R	8	2.5		4	n/a
Tossell's Barton 2	Pillow mound, now levelled	Devon	East and West Buckland	EHER MMO3429; NMR 1495128	Pillow mound	SS 6658 3408		R	8	2.5		4	n/a
Warleigh House	<i>Warren Plantation, Warren Lane and Warren Quay</i> recorded on 1867 OS map	Devon	Bickleigh	DeHER MDV43590	Warren	SX 4600 6200	1867	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Warren 1	Pillow mound recorded as a cropmark on 1959 and possibly 1946 aerial photographs immediately west of a field named <i>Easter Coney Park</i> on the 1842 tithe map; however this identification is considered tentative by the HER	Devon	Harford	DeHER MDV102087; DeHER MDV81271	Possible pillow mound	SS 258 241	1842	O				6	n/a
Warren Point 2	<i>Warren Point</i> recorded on 1860s OS map	Devon	St Budeaux	PHER SX46SW/510	Warren	SX 444 605	1860s	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Warren Point 3	<i>Lower Warren, Great Warren, Little Warren and Warren Waste</i> recorded on tithe map; section of warren wall survives	Devon	St Petrox	DeHER MDV30708	Warren	SX 8799 4865	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Warren Point 4	<i>Warren Point and Warren Cottages</i> recorded on 1915 6" OS map. The warren was part of Wembury Manor and the surviving warren walls are of a more massive construction than the more recent field walls of Old Barton Farm	Devon	Wembury	DeHER MDV43593	Warren	SX 537 478	1915	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Wasteberry Camp 1	Pillow mound within hillfort	Devon	Brixton	DeHER MDV19953	Pillow mound	SX 5727 5396		O	10	8	1		
Wasteberry Camp 2	Pillow mound within hillfort	Devon	Brixton	DeHER MDV19953	Pillow mound	SX 5727 5396		O	10	8	1		
Wasteberry Camp 3	Pillow mound within hillfort	Devon	Brixton	DeHER MDV19953	Pillow mound	SX 5727 5396		O	10	8	1		
Wembury Road	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Devon	Wembury	DeHER MDV36087	Warren	SX 5310 4994	1839	n/a				5	n/a

APPENDIX 1: SITE GAZETTEER

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
West Putford	Pillow mound, although the HER also suggests it may be a long barrow	Devon	West Putford	DeHER MDV19682; SM 1031709	Possible pillow mound	SS 3589 1369		R	57	12		6	n/a
Windy Cove	Pillow mound	Devon	Morthoe	DeHER MDV56679	Pillow mound	SS 447 453		S-R	5	5		4	n/a
Woodcote	<i>Rabbit Warren</i> recorded on 1889 OS 1st edition 6" map	Devon	Hawkchurch	DeHER MDV43265	Warren	SY 347 986	1889	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	5
Woolhanger Common	Cropmark on aerial photographs interpreted as a possible pillow mound	Devon	Lynton and Lynmouth	EHER MDE11188; NMR 915177	Possible pillow mound	SS 6918 4635		R	22	5		6	n/a
Abbotsbury	<i>Conyger</i> recorded in 1458	Dorset	Abbotsbury	Mills 2010, 10	Warren	SY 5782 8528	1458	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Alderholt	<i>Cunnerberry</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Alderholt	Mills 1980, 199	Warren	SU 1145 1246	1845	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Alton Pancras	<i>Higher and Lower Conygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Alton Pancras	Mills 2010, 124	Warren	ST 6994 0297	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Badbury 1	Pillow mound in warren recorded in 1295	Dorset	Shapwick	DoHER MDO6044	Pillow mound	ST 9605 0282	1295	Co	115	7.6		10	n/a
Badbury 2	Pillow mound in warren recorded in 1295	Dorset	Shapwick	National Trust HBSMR MNA139535	Pillow mound	ST 95992 02816	1295	O	15.6	8.1	0.7	10	n/a
Bere Regis 1	Pillow mound, now levelled, in a warren probably recorded in 1402	Dorset	Bere Regis	DoHER MDO7146; NMR 456124	Pillow mound	SY 8505 9130	1402	O	42.7	10.7	0.5	8	9
Bere Regis 2	Pillow mound, now levelled, in a warren probably recorded in 1402	Dorset	Bere Regis	DoHER MDO7147; NMR 456124	Pillow mound	SY 8515 9142	1402	R	27.4	4.6		8	n/a
Bere Regis 3	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Bere Regis	None	Warren	SY 8455 9494	1844	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	5
Bindon Hill	<i>Bindon Warren</i> depicted on 1770s survey of East Lulworth	Dorset	West Lulworth	DRO D-WLC/E/19	Warren	SY 8411 7984	1770s	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Blagdon Park	Letter confirming Sir Giles Strangweys as keeper of Blagdon Park, having the herbage, pannage, and warren of coneyes there at a rent of 13l. 6s. 8d. A Jacobean map of Blagdon Park in Cranborne Archives shows the south-west of the park enclosed as a warren	Dorset	Martin	L&P Henry VIII, Vol. 14 (1), 191	Warren	SU 0533 1700	1539	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Bradle	<i>Coneygre</i> recorded on the tithe map. A lease of Bradle and Barston Farm records closes called <i>Mead and Conniger</i>	Dorset	Church Knowle	DRO D-SEN/17/5	Warren	SY 9323 8056	1770	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Bridport	<i>L'Conyger infra Manerium de Bradpole</i> recorded in 1513, <i>Conyger</i> recorded on 1844 tithe map	Dorset	Bridport	Mills 2010, 361	Warren	SY 4672 9086	1513	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Broadwindsor	<i>Conyng(g)er(e)</i> first recorded in 1496, <i>Lt. Cunnigar and Cunnigar</i> recorded on 1839 tithe map	Dorset	Broadwindsor	Mills 2010, 266	Warren	ST 4397 0245	1484	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Bryanston	<i>Old Warren Plantation</i> recorded on 1st Edition 1891 OS Map	Dorset	Bryanston	None	Warren	ST 8665 0586	1891	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Buckhorn Weston	<i>Conygar</i> at Conygar Farm recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Buckhorn Weston	Mills 1989, 86	Warren	ST 7564 2463	1838	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Burton Bradstock	<i>Conigre Coppice</i> , <i>Broad and Middle Conigre</i> , and <i>Conigre or Luggs Meadow</i> recorded on 1841 tithe map	Dorset	Burton Bradstock	Mills 2010, 479	Warren	SY 4870 8954	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Canford Magna	Henry de Lacey's free warren broken into and rabbits possibly taken	Dorset	Canford Magna	CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 544	Warren	SZ 038 987	1307	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Cann	<i>Conygar Close</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Cann	Mills 1989, 97	Warren	ST 8718 2122	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Castleton	Cropmark interpreted as a possible pillow mound	Dorset	Castleton	NMR 981345	Possible pillow mound	ST 599 142		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
Cattistock	<i>The Warren Hill Close</i> recorded in 1621 and <i>Hr and Long Warren</i> recorded on 1839 tithe map	Dorset	Cattistock	Mills 2010, 132	Warren	SY 59196 99615	1621	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Charminster	Thomas de Hatfeld's free warren broken into and rabbits taken	Dorset	Charminster	CPR Edward III, Vol. 6, 419	Warren	SY 678 928	1344	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Chetnole	<i>Conygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Chetnole	Mills 2010, 164	Warren	ST 6018 0808	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Chettle	<i>The Cunygere</i> recorded in 1572	Dorset	Chettle	Mills 1980, 291	Warren	ST 9494 1383	1572	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Clifton Maybank	A 1648 description possibly linked to a sale mentions a rabbit warren on the hill; <i>Conygar Coppice</i> , <i>Conygar Meadow</i> , <i>Green and Lr Conygar</i> and <i>Plowed Conygar</i> all recorded on 1840 tithe map	Dorset	Clifton Maybank	Dorset Houses - the Lost Mansion; Mills 2010, 192	Warren	ST 57734 13751	1648	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Coneygar Hill	<i>Coneygar</i> and <i>Coneygar Hill</i> recorded on OS maps	Dorset	Bridport	None	Warren	SY 4686 9336	1890	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Conygar	<i>Conygar</i> place name, although first recorded on 1963 OS maps	Dorset	Broadmayne	None	Warren	SY 7359 8590	1963	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Conygar Hill 2	<i>Conygar</i> place name recorded on OS maps	Dorset	Dorchester	None	Warren	SY 6974 8894	1888	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	9
Corfe Castle	Corfe Castle's warren broken into and rabbits taken	Dorset	Corfe Castle	CPR Edward III, Vol. 5, 447	Warren	SY 9591 8229	1342	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Cowleaze 1	Earthwork, now levelled, identified as a possible pillow mound, round barrow or tree clump	Dorset	Winterbourne Steepleton	DoHER 1 133 024; NMR 452301	Possible pillow mound	SY 6119 8856		C	10.7	10.7	0.6	3	n/a
Cowleaze 2	Earthwork, now levelled, identified as a possible pillow mound, round barrow or tree clump	Dorset	Winterbourne Steepleton	DoHER 1 133 025; NMR 452301	Possible pillow mound	SY 6126 8860		C	10.7	10.7	0.6	3	n/a
Cowleaze 3	Earthwork, now levelled, identified as a possible pillow mound, round barrow or tree clump	Dorset	Winterbourne Steepleton	DoHER 1 133 026; NMR 452301	Possible pillow mound	SY 6128 8850		C	8.5	8.5	0.6	3	n/a
Doghouse Hill 1	Pillow Mound recorded in an area called <i>Le Conygar</i> in 1516. Dorset HER reports there are five pillow mounds here (MDO229574-8) based on LiDAR images; however, LiDAR images viewed by the present author only show three mounds, which corresponds with observations made by the National Trust's Martin Papworth	Dorset	Chideock	DoHER MDO29574; Papworth 2010, 164-66	Pillow mound	SY 43055 91463	1516	R	40	5	0.4	10	n/a
Doghouse Hill 2	Pillow Mound recorded in an area called <i>Le Conygar</i> in 1516. Dorset HER reports there are five pillow mounds here (MDO229574-8) based on LiDAR images; however, LiDAR images viewed by the present author only show three mounds, which corresponds with observations made by the National Trust's Martin Papworth	Dorset	Chideock	DoHER MDO29575; Papworth 2010, 164-66	Pillow mound	SY 43089 91480	1516	R	40	5	0.4	8	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Doghouse Hill 3	Pillow Mound recorded in an area called Le Conyngar in 1516. Dorset HER reports there are five pillow mounds here (MDO229574-8) based on LiDAR images; however, LiDAR images viewed by the present author only show three mounds, which corresponds with observations made by the National Trust's Martin Papworth	Dorset	Chideock	DoHER MDO29576; Papworth 2010, 164-66	Pillow mound	SY 43143 91483	1516	R	30	5	0.4	8	n/a
East Lulworth	Several cony-place names in East Lulworth, although unclear if they refer to the same location: <i>Conynger Hill</i> in 1529, <i>Coneger Hill</i> in 1649, <i>Conigeere Hill</i> in 1686, <i>Conigeere Hill</i> 1686, <i>Conyngland</i> in 1461, <i>Connyng</i> in 1642, <i>Conesmede</i> in 1530, <i>Cowney Mead</i> in 1640 and <i>prat' apud Conynges</i> in 1531; a 1768-71 survey of East Lulworth record two adjacent fields at Lulworth Castle as <i>Connygar Wood</i> and <i>Connyngar</i>	Dorset	East Lulworth	Mills 1977, 127	Warren	SY 8567 8274	1461	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	n/a
East Stafford	The farm and Warren of conies called Stafford alias East Stafford are recorded in 1516, 1601 and 1699	Dorset	West Knighton	NMR 454109	Warren	SY 741 898	1516	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
East Stour	<i>The Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	East Stour	Mills 1989, 77	Warren	ST 7991 2295	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Eastington Farm	Pillow mound; two other features to the north west previously considered as pillow mounds are now considered to be terraces cut into the base of the slope.	Dorset	Worth Matravers	DoHER MDO8374; SM 1016915	Pillow mound	SY 98407 77699	Post-medieval	R	18	6	1	10	n/a
Ferndown	Lease for 21 years of Poor Common, Decoy and other land amounting to approximately 141 acres for purpose of a rabbit warren	Dorset	Corfe Castle	DRO D-CRL/B6/6/34	Warren	SY 9738 9563	1921	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	5
Fitzworth Park	Lease of rabbit warren at Fitzworth Park and Broaders together with the stock of rabbits - rent of £50 a year for the farms and for the use of the conies £20 a year, so £70 in total. Exact location unknown.	Dorset	Corfe Castle	DRO D-RWR/T/38	Warren	SY 9914 8678	1807	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Fordington	Parliamentary Survey of [Frome] Whitwell records the <i>Conygar</i> in Fordington	Dorset	Fordington	DRO D1/10741	Warren	SY 6969 9062	1653	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Frampton	<i>La Conyngere</i> recorded in 1350, <i>Warren</i> recorded on 1837 tithe map	Dorset	Frampton	Mills 1977, 345	Warren	SY 6274 9518	1350	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Frogmore Farm 1	Pillow mound recorded on 1947 aerial photograph	Dorset	Morden	DoHER MDO30511	Pillow mound	SY 9080 9481		S-R	11	7		8	n/a
Frogmore Farm 2	Pillow mound recorded on 1947 aerial photograph	Dorset	Morden	DoHER MDO30511	Pillow mound	SY 9079 9482		S-R	12	7		8	n/a
Giant's Grave 2	Earthwork recorded by HER as "probably" a pillow mound	Dorset	Melcombe Horsey	DoHER MDO1697	Possible pillow mound	ST 7574 0166		S-R	7	5.5		10	n/a
Gillingham	<i>Coneygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Gillingham	Mills 1989, 26	Warren	ST 8033 2717	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Godmanstone	<i>Cunniger Mead</i> recorded in 1625, and <i>Coney Gree</i> recorded on 1842 tithe map	Dorset	Godmanstone	Mills 2010, 143	Warren	SY 6660 9702	1625	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Hampreston	<i>Coniger</i> and <i>Connyger</i> recorded in 1583, <i>Congyer Howe</i> in 1541 and <i>Conegar</i> in 1811	Dorset	Hampreston	Mills 1980, 227	Warren	SZ 0540 9874	1541	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Hamworthy	Lease of land including <i>Coney Common</i>	Dorset	Hamworthy	DRO D-WIM/JO-1034	Warren	SY 9930 9131	1649	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Hartcliff Farm 1	Pillow mound	Dorset	Okeford Fitzpaine	DoHER MDO4538; SM 1015043	Pillow mound	ST 81067 10222		S-R	7.6	4.5	0.5	10	n/a
Hartcliff Farm 2	Pillow mound	Dorset	Okeford Fitzpaine	DoHER MDO4537; SM 1015048	Pillow mound	ST 81100 10135		S-R	7.6	4.5	0.5	10	n/a
Henning Hill	Pillow mound	Dorset	Melcombe Horsey	DoHER MDO1698	Pillow mound	ST 7575 0157		R	21.3	5.5	0.5	10	n/a
Hilton	<i>Conygree</i> and <i>Conigree Copse</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Hilton	Mills 1989, 212	Warren	ST 7820 0300	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Horton	Deeds of Horton Manor mention a plot of land called <i>Coneygear</i> ; <i>Coney Gare</i> recored on 1840 tithe map	Dorset	Horton	DRO D-GLY/B/T/10/1; Mills 1980, 160	Warren	SU 0276 0755	1793	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Kimmeridge	<i>Cunnigar</i> recorded on 1795 map	Dorset	Kimmeridge	Mills 1977, 87	Warren	SY 9191 7847	1795	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	5
Kingston Magna	<i>Coneygar</i> and <i>Cunnigar</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Kingston Magna	Mills 1989, 44	Warren	ST 7578 2309	1846	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Knowle Hill	Pillow mound	Dorset	Church Knowle	SM 1014839	Pillow mound	SY 9350 8222		S-R	18	9	0.55	10	n/a
Langdon Hill	Langdon Hill is ringed by a large lynched bank, representing a former upper cultivation limit and the perimeter of a former warren	Dorset	Chideock	NMR 866926	Warren	SY 412 927		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	n/a
Langton Long Blandford	<i>Conygar Field</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Langton Long Blandford	Mills 1980, 109	Warren	ST 8983 0593	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Leigh 2	<i>Conninger</i> recorded 1569-74	Dorset	Leigh	Mills 2010, 209	Warren	ST 6166 0855	1569	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Leigh 3	1672 Deeds record pasture land "in the <i>Coniger</i> "; 1702 mentions <i>Coneygear</i> ; <i>Coneygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Wimborne Minster	DRO D-GLY/B/T/99; DRO PE-WM/CW/5/13; Mills 1980, 139	Warren	SZ 0218 9997	1672	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	9
Little Cheselbourne	Deeds record cow pasture called <i>Coneygarthe</i>	Dorset	Puddletown	DRO D-MIC/T/20/1	Warren	SY 7580 9424	1684	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Loders	<i>Coneygar Hill</i> modern place name; <i>Conyger</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Loders	Mills 2010, 484	Warren	SY 4957 9423	1845	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Lytchett Matravers 1	<i>Coneygar Plantation</i> and <i>Plot Adjoining Coneygar Plantation</i> recorded on the tithe map	Dorset	Lytchett Matravers	None	Warren	SY 9429 9542	1838	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	n/a
Lytchett Matravers 2	<i>Coney Park</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Lytchett Matravers	None	Warren	SY 9403 9663	1838	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	n/a
Manston	<i>Connegar Farm</i> and <i>Great, Middle and Outside Conygars</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Manston	Mills 1989, 46	Warren	ST 8162 1525	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Mapperton	<i>Conygear</i> recorded on 1837 tithe map, <i>La Conyngger</i> recorded in 1322, <i>Lower Coniger</i> recorded in 1699	Dorset	Mapperton	Mills 2010, 308	Warren	SY 5101 9988	1322	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Mappowder	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Mappowder	Mills 1989, 263	Warren	ST 7367 0614	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Marnhull	<i>Coneygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Marnhull	Mills 1989, 176	Warren	ST 7818 1870	1838	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Melbury Osmond	Closes called <i>the greate</i> and <i>the lyttell Coninger</i> recorded in 1550, <i>Conye Lane</i> recorded in 1580	Dorset	Melbury Osmond	Mills 2010, 218	Warren	ST 5734 0788	1550	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Milborne St Andrew	<i>Coneygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Milborne St Andrew	Mills 1977, 309	Warren	SY 8023 9761	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

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Minterne Magna	<i>Coneygar Wood</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Minterne Magna	Mills 2010, 164	Warren	ST 6596 0425	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Newlands Warren	<i>The Warren Field System</i> is a Scheduled Monument, whose listing includes a 'post-medieval' rabbit warren and warren house. OS maps record <i>The Warren</i> and <i>Newlands Warren</i> as two adjacent areas.	Dorset	West Lulworth	SM 1018435	Warren	SY 7953 8077	1889	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Owermoigne 1	Large segmented earthwork near a field recorded as <i>Coneygar</i> on tithe map is probably a previously unreported pillow mound	Dorset	Owermoigne	None	Pillow mound	SY 76519 85236	1838	R	55.5	2	1	8	5
Owermoigne 2	Pillow mound identified on 1946 aerial photograph by HER; images viewed by current author has failed to indicate conclusive proof of a pillow mound at this location	Dorset	Owermoigne	DoHER MDO32053	Possible pillow mound	SY 782 852						8	5
Owermoigne 3	Pillow mound identified on 1946 aerial photograph by HER; images viewed by current author has failed to indicate conclusive proof of a pillow mound at this location	Dorset	Owermoigne	DoHER MDO32053	Possible pillow mound	SY 782 852						8	5
Pilsdon Pen 1	Pillow mound within hillfort, dated by Dorset HER to the eighteenth century	Dorset	Pilsdon	DoHER MDO2019; SM 193120	Pillow mound	ST 4133 0155	18th C.?	S-R	11.6	6.4	0.5	8	5
Pilsdon Pen 2	Pillow mound within hillfort, dated by Dorset HER to the eighteenth century	Dorset	Pilsdon	DoHER MDO2022; SM 193120	Pillow mound	ST 4134 0120	18th C.?	R	14.6	6.4	0.6	8	5
Pilsdon Pen 3	Pillow mound within hillfort, dated by Dorset HER to the eighteenth century	Dorset	Pilsdon	DoHER MDO2023; SM 193120	Pillow mound	ST 4129 0118	18th C.?	S-R	13	6.7	0.6	8	5
Pilsdon Pen 4	Pillow mound within hillfort, dated by Dorset HER to the eighteenth century	Dorset	Pilsdon	DoHER MDO2024; SM 193120	Pillow mound	ST 4128 0132	18th C.?	R	32.6	7.3		8	5
Pilsdon Pen 5	Pillow mound within hillfort, dated by Dorset HER to the eighteenth century	Dorset	Pilsdon	DoHER MDO2185; SM 193120	Pillow mound	ST 4123 0128	18th C.?	R				8	5
Pimperne	Granted to Walter Farre, the manor of Tarrant Gonneville, Dorset, with the demesne lands including the warren of coney in the lordship of Pymperne, Dorset, with rent of 3s 4d for the warren	Dorset	Pimperne	L&P Henry VIII, Vol. 13 (1), 124-42	Warren	ST 9063 0918	1538	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Portland	Mention of rabbit warren in Portland in 1382 Fine; <i>Coney Croft</i> recorded on 1839 tithe map	Dorset	Portland	Mills 1977, 226	Warren	SY 6920 7199	1382	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Poyntington 1	Pillow mound	Dorset	Poyntington	DoHER MDO2185	Pillow mound	ST 6424 2149		C	46	47			
Poyntington 2	Pillow mound	Dorset	Poyntington	DoHER MDO27757	Pillow mound	ST 6430 2148		C	56	47		10	n/a
Poyntington 3	Pillow mound	Dorset	Poyntington	DoHER MDO27758	Pillow mound	ST 6437 2144		S-R	55	33			
Puddletown 1	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Puddletown	None	Warren	SY 7722 9451	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	5
Puddletown 2	<i>Warren Peak</i> , <i>Part of Warren</i> , <i>Warren Plantation</i> and <i>Green Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Puddletown	None	Warren	SY 7616 9707	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	5
Puddletown 3	<i>Great Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Puddletown	None	Warren	SY 7284 9449	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Purbeck	People broke into the king's free warren of Purbeck and took away rabbits	Dorset	Purbeck	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 452	Warren	SY 96 76	1353	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Radipole	Lease for 7 years between John Somer of Corfe Hill and Thomas Jesope of Gillingham, for 20 acres of land called Southill in Corfe Hill, adjoining the <i>Conigar</i>	Dorset	Weymouth	DRO D-24/1	Warren	SY 6640 8100	1614	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Sheep Down	Pillow mound recorded on aerial photographs	Dorset	Winterbourne Steepleton	DoHER MDO24687	Pillow mound	SY 611 884		S-R				8	n/a
Silton	<i>Bourton Coney-geer, Long Coney-geer and Way Coney-geer</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Silton	Mills 1989, 66	Warren	ST 7823 2918	1837	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Spettisbury	<i>Le Conynger</i> recorded in 1460	Dorset	Spettisbury	Mills 1980, 66	Warren	ST 9117 0252	1460	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Stourpaine	<i>Conygar Clump</i> south-east of Stourpaine, south of Manor Farm, recorded on 1891 OS Map	Dorset	Stourpaine	None	Warren	ST 8652 0923	1891	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Stubhampton Down	Pillow mound, now largely ploughed out	Dorset	Tarrant Gunville	DoHER MDO4921	Pillow mound	ST 9060 1429						10	n/a
Sturminster Marshall	<i>Little Conygar</i> and <i>Great Conygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Sturminster Marshall	Mills 1980, 51	Warren	SY 94825 97545	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	5
Swyre	<i>The Coneger</i> and <i>the Conigre</i> recorded in 1587, <i>Coney Garths</i> recorded on 1838 tithe map	Dorset	Swyre	Mills 2010, 42	Warren	SY 52776 88154	1587	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Tarrant Gunville	Pillow mound	Dorset	Tarrant Gunville	DoHER MDO4905; SM 1019396	Pillow mound	ST 9074 1422		R	27	5	1	10	n/a
Tarrant Keyneston	<i>Coneygear</i> recorded on 1838 tithe map, <i>Connigar Close</i> in 1624, <i>Conniger Furlong</i> in 1677, <i>The Cunnygares</i> c1700	Dorset	Tarrant Keynestone	Mills 1980, 124	Warren	ST 9268 0421	1624	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Tarrant Monkton	<i>Coneygarth</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Tarrant Monkton	Mills 1980, 293	Warren	ST 9440 0901	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Thorncombe	Grounds called <i>the downs and coniger</i> recorded in 1679; <i>Connygar</i> and <i>Lower and Higher Cunniger</i> recorded on 1841 tithe map	Dorset	Thorncombe	DRO D-MHM/8854; Mills 2010, 484	Warren	ST 3752 0319	1679	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Tolpuddle	<i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Tolpuddle	Mills 1977, 333	Warren	SY 7889 9449	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	5
Trent	<i>Cunninggear</i> recorded in 1740, <i>Coneygar</i> recorded on 1839 tithe map	Dorset	Trent	Mills 1989, 395	Warren	ST 5957 1854	1740	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Turners Puddle	<i>Coney Gare</i> and <i>Warren</i> recorded on tithe map, separated by field named <i>House and Brick Close</i>	Dorset	Turners Puddle	Mills 1977, 297	Warren	SY 8302 9369	1838	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	5
Upton	Rabbit warren granted to John Nanby	Dorset	Lytchett Minster and Upton	CPR Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III, 299	Warren	SY 979 932	1482	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Wareham	1628 deeds record piece of meadow called <i>Coney Grove</i> or <i>Conyger</i> , an 1840 document refers to <i>Conygar</i> or <i>Conygrove</i> in Wareham; <i>Coniger Lane</i> recorded in 1774, <i>Conegar</i> in 1747; <i>Cunigar Close</i> in 1628, <i>Coneygeare</i> in 1774, <i>Coneygear</i> on 1842 tithe map	Dorset	Wareham St Lady Mary	DRO D-RWR/T/438; DRO D-COO/H/T/19; Mills 1977, 155	Warren	SY 9235 8828	1628	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	9
Wimborne Holt	People broke into the free chace of Henry de Lacy and took away rabbits	Dorset	Holt	CPR Edward I, Vol. 1, 346	Warren	SU 029 051	1279	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

APPENDIX 1: SITE GAZETTEER

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Wimborne St Giles	<i>The Coneygar and Orchard</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Wimborne St Giles	Mills 1980, 270	Warren	SU 0315 1201	1838	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Windmill Barrow Farm	Pillow mound	Dorset	Lytchett Matravers	SM 1015372	Pillow mound	SY 9381 9774		R	12	5	0.5	3	5
Winterborne Whitechurch	<i>Great Warren Field</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Winterborne Whitechurch	Mills 1980, 85	Warren	ST 8379 0018	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Winterbourne Steepleton	People entered Richard de Portes' and carried away rabbits; <i>Conygar Meadow Coppice</i> recorded on 1839 tithe map	Dorset	Winterbourne Steepleton	CPR Edward II, Vol. 4, 445; Mills 2010, 44	Warren	SY 628 897	1323	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Witchampton	<i>Conygar Clumps</i> recorded on 1880 OS map	Dorset	Hinton Martell	None	Warren	ST 9907 0569	1880	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	3
Woodlands	<i>Comingere Closes</i> recorded in 1551	Dorset	Woodlands	Mills 1980, 289	Warren	SU 0496 0907	1551	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Woodsford	People entered Richard de Portes' free warren and carried away rabbits	Dorset	Woodsford	CPR, Edward II, Vol. 4, 445	Warren	SY 763 905	1323	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Wool 1	Very small mound at foot of a hill, tucked away against a hedge; probably a natural feature rather than a pillow mound	Dorset	Wool	DoHER MDO8361	Non-pillow mound	SY 8476 8583		O	4.1	3.2		8	n/a
Wool 2	1640 lease of Bovington Farm records an area of pasture as <i>Conyger</i> ; 1819 lease records two areas of arable as <i>Coniger and The Warren</i> ; 1842 tithe map records <i>Conygar Heath, Conygar, The Warren and Part of the Warren</i>	Dorset	Wool	DRO D-FRA/T/231; DRO D-FRA/T/233	Warren	SY 8270 8886	1640	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	5
Woolland Grove 1	Pillow mound, depicted in a survey by Hutchins in 1773	Dorset	Church Knowle	DoHER MDO7297; SM 1015353; Hutchins 1861, 581	Pillow mound	SY 92884 81968	1773					10	n/a
Woolland Grove 2	Pillow mound, depicted in a survey by Hutchins in 1773	Dorset	Church Knowle	DoHER MDO7297; SM 1015353; Hutchins 1861, 581	Pillow mound	SY 92911 81980	1773					10	n/a
Woolland Grove 3	Pillow mound, depicted in a survey by Hutchins in 1773	Dorset	Church Knowle	DoHER MDO7297; SM 1015353; Hutchins 1861, 581	Pillow mound	SY 92929 81991	1773	S-R	17	8		10	n/a
Woolland Grove 4	Pillow mound, depicted in a survey by Hutchins in 1773	Dorset	Church Knowle	DoHER MDO7297; SM 1015353; Hutchins 1861, 581	Pillow mound	SY 92939 81994	1773	S-R	13	13		10	n/a
Woolland Grove 5	Pillow mound, depicted in a survey by Hutchins in 1773	Dorset	Church Knowle	DoHER MDO7297; SM 1015353; Hutchins 1861, 581	Pillow mound	SY 92951 82000	1773	S-R	17	10		10	n/a
Woolland Grove 6	Pillow mound, depicted in a survey by Hutchins in 1773	Dorset	Church Knowle	DoHER MDO7297; SM 1015353; Hutchins 1861, 581	Pillow mound	SY 92974 82013	1773	S-R	10	6		10	n/a
Wootton Fitzpaine	<i>claus' voc' Coningearas</i> recorded 1577, <i>Coneygore Hill</i> recorded on 1811 OS map, and <i>Lower Conyger</i> recorded on 1842 tithe map	Dorset	Wootton Fitzpaine	Mills 2010, 459	Warren	SY 3775 9532	1577	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Wootton Glanville	<i>Conyngar</i> recorded in 1446, <i>Conygar</i> recorded on 1841 tithe map	Dorset	Wootton Glanville	Mills 1989, 271	Warren	ST 6842 0756	1446	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Wynford Eagle	<i>Conygar Meadow</i> recorded on tithe map	Dorset	Wynford Eagle	Mills 2010, 118	Warren	SY 5837 9588	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

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Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Yetminster	<i>Conigers</i> recorded 1601, <i>Conigre</i> recorded 1671, <i>Conagar Down</i> recorded on 1840 tithe map	Dorset	Yetminster	Mills 2010, 233	Warren	ST 5920 1075	1601	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Abenhall	<i>The Cunnigar</i> recorded in 1630, <i>the Conigree</i> on 1838 tithe map	Glos.	Abenhall	Smith 1964c, 211	Warren	SO 6720 1744	1630	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Alderley	<i>The Conygree</i> recorded in 1633, <i>the Coniger</i> in 1639, <i>Conygar</i> on 1838 tithe map	Glos.	Alderley	Smith 1964c, 24	Warren	ST 7683 9089	1633	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Aldsworth	A rabbit warren is documented on a map of 1700; the boundary defining the eastern edge of the warren had been removed by c1820 when the land was incorporated within an arable field called <i>West Coneygree</i> . A <i>Conygree</i> is first attested in the 16th C. and a warren was specifically mentioned in 1674. Today the warren is recorded by the place names <i>Conygree Farm</i> and <i>Conygree Cottages</i> .	Glos.	Aldsworth	GHER 14203	Warren	SP 14700 12000	16th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Alkington	<i>Conegre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Alkington	Smith 1964b, 210	Warren	ST 6966 9857	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Amberley	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11708	Pillow mound	SO 85110 01390		S-R	23	13	0.5	10	n/a
Ampney Crucis	<i>Coneygarthstones</i> recorded on 1700 inclosure award, <i>Conygarshon Lane</i> on 1777 map	Glos.	Ampney Crucis	Mills 1964 (a), 50	Warren	SP 0673 0204	1700	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Ashley	<i>Conygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Ashley	Mills 1964 (a), 85	Warren	ST 9321 9481	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Aston Hale	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38710; NMR 1471806	Non-pillow mound	SP 21360 35530		O	21	11		4	n/a
Aston Magna 1	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38707; NMR 1471747	Non-pillow mound	SP 20345 35538		C	7.8	5.5			
Aston Magna 2	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38707; NMR 1471747	Non-pillow mound	SP 20357 35537		C	7.1	6.2		4	n/a
Aston Magna 3	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38707; NMR 1471747	Non-pillow mound	SP 20364 35555		C	8.4	5.8		4	n/a
Aston Magna 4	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38707; NMR 1471747	Non-pillow mound	SP 20378 35548		C	6.4	5.5			
Avening 1	Pillow mound; <i>Conegar</i> is recorded on 1838 tithe map although unclear if refer to this site; 1727 document in Dorset Archives refers to capital message of Avening in Gloucestershire and mentions <i>the Coniger</i>	Glos.	Avening	GHER 27325; NMR 1401193; Smith 1964a, 88; DRO D-PLR/T/408/1	Pillow mound	ST 86940 98320	1727	R				10	n/a

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Avening 2	Pillow mound; <i>Conegar</i> is recorded on 1838 tithe map although unclear if refer to this site; 1727 document in Dorset Archives refers to capital message of Avening in Gloucestershire and mentions <i>the Coniger</i>	Glos.	Avening	GHER 27325; NMR 1401193 Smith 1964a, 88; DRO D-PLR/T/408/1	Pillow mound	ST 86940 98320	1727	R				10	n/a
Avening 3	Pillow mound; <i>Conegar</i> is recorded on 1838 tithe map although unclear if refer to this site; 1727 document in Dorset Archives refers to capital message of Avening in Gloucestershire and mentions <i>the Coniger</i>	Glos.	Avening	GHER 27325; NMR 1401193 Smith 1964a, 88; DRO D-PLR/T/408/1	Pillow mound	ST 86940 98320	1727	R				10	n/a
Avening 4	Pillow mound; <i>Conegar</i> is recorded on 1838 tithe map although unclear if refer to this site; 1727 document in Dorset Archives refers to capital message of Avening in Gloucestershire and mentions <i>the Coniger</i>	Glos.	Avening	GHER 27325; NMR 1401193 Smith 1964a, 88; DRO D-PLR/T/408/1	Pillow mound	ST 86940 98320	1727	R				10	n/a
Avening 5	Pillow mound; <i>Conegar</i> is recorded on 1838 tithe map although unclear if refer to this site; 1727 document in Dorset Archives refers to capital message of Avening in Gloucestershire and mentions <i>the Coniger</i>	Glos.	Avening	GHER 27325; NMR 1401193 Smith 1964a, 88; DRO D-PLR/T/408/1	Pillow mound	ST 86940 98320	1727	R				10	n/a
Avening 6	Pillow mound; <i>Conegar</i> is recorded on 1838 tithe map although unclear if refer to this site; 1727 document in Dorset Archives refers to capital message of Avening in Gloucestershire and mentions <i>the Coniger</i>	Glos.	Avening	GHER 27325; NMR 1401193 Smith 1964a, 88; DRO D-PLR/T/408/1	Pillow mound	ST 86940 98320	1727	R				10	n/a
Avening 7	Pillow mound; <i>Conegar</i> is recorded on 1838 tithe map although unclear if refer to this site; 1727 document in Dorset Archives refers to capital message of Avening in Gloucestershire and mentions <i>the Coniger</i>	Glos.	Avening	GHER 27325; NMR 1401193 Smith 1964a, 88; DRO D-PLR/T/408/1	Pillow mound	ST 86940 98320	1727	R				10	n/a
Awre	<i>Conygear</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Awre	Smith 1964c, 254	Warren	SO 7074 0808	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Badgers Halt 1	Earthwork overlying ridge and furrow; a field to the north-west is named <i>Conygre</i> . The NMR suggests it may be a pillow mound or possibly a house platform or plough headland, although that it overlies ridge and furrow suggests the former interpretation is correct	Glos.	Yate	NMR 1520494	Possible pillow mound	ST 7197 8502	Post-medieval	R	52	14		5	n/a
Badgers Halt 2	Earthwork overlying ridge and furrow; a field to the north-west is named <i>Conygre</i> . The NMR suggests it may be a pillow mound or possibly a house platform or plough headland, although that it overlies ridge and furrow suggests the former interpretation is correct	Glos.	Yate	NMR 1520492	Possible pillow mound	ST 7206 8504	Post-medieval	R	113	10		5	n/a
Badgeworth	<i>The Conygree</i> recorded in 1628	Glos.	Badgeworth	Smith 1964b, 117	Warren	SO 9048 1946	1628	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Bagendon	<i>Coney Garth</i> recorded on 1792 Inclosure Award	Glos.	Bagendon	Smith 1964a, 56	Warren	SP 0228 0682	1792	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Barnsley 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barnsley	GHER 32955; NMR 1482177	Pillow mound	SP 05570 05976		C	26	26		10	n/a
Barnsley 2	<i>Conynger</i> recorded in 1316, <i>Coney Gore</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Barnsley	Smith 1964a, 25	Warren	SP 0768 0517	1316	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Barrington Park 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		S-R				10	n/a
Barrington Park 2	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		S-R				10	n/a
Barrington Park 3	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		S-R				10	n/a
Barrington Park 4	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		Ch				10	n/a
Barrington Park 5	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		Ch				10	n/a
Barrington Park 6	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		Ch				10	n/a
Barrington Park 7	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		Ch				10	n/a
Barrington Park 8	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		Ch				10	n/a
Barrington Park 9	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		C	7	7		10	n/a
Barrington Park 10	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		S-R				10	n/a
Barrington Park 11	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		S-R				10	n/a
Barrington Park 12	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		S-R				10	n/a
Barrington Park 13	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		S-R				10	n/a
Barrington Park 14	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		S-R				10	n/a
Barrington Park 15	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		S-R				10	n/a
Barrington Park 16	Pillow mound	Glos.	Barrington	GHER 37511; NMR 1505427	Pillow mound	SP 20590 14010		S-R				10	n/a
Bath Farm Road 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Nympsfield	GHER 4180	Pillow mound	ST 80370 99940		S-R	13	8.02	0.6	3	n/a
Bath Farm Road 2	Pillow mound	Glos.	Nympsfield	GHER 4181	Pillow mound	ST 80130 99960		S-R	13	8.2	0.6	3	n/a
Bath Farm Road 3	Pillow mound	Glos.	Nympsfield	GHER 4182	Pillow mound	ST 80330 99990		S-R	13	8.2	0.6	3	n/a
Berkeley	Granted to William Freme the King's free warren in the hundred of Berkeley with licence to hunt and kill rabbits, rendering 6s 8d yearly	Glos.	Berkeley	CPR Henry VII, Vol. 9, 471	Warren	ST 694 991	1494	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Berkeley Castle	Reference to Lady Elizabeth, wife of Maurice VI, making a new gown of furred with rabbit skins from the castle's kitchen	Glos.	Berkeley	Smyth 1883, 374	Warren	ST 685 989	1361	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Beverstone	<i>The Conygree</i> recorded on 1804 tithe award	Glos.	Beverstone	Smith 1964b, 213	Warren	ST 8631 9375	1804	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Bibury	<i>Conyngar</i> recorded in 1575, <i>the Conegree</i> in 1713, and <i>Cunninger</i> in 1840	Glos.	Bibury	Smith 1964a, 28	Warren	SP 1202 0677	1575	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Bicknor Court	In 1608, Bicknor Court had a U-shaped plan open to the east with a garden to the south and a walled rabbit warren to the north	Glos.	English Bicknor	VCH 1996a, 101-117	Warren	SO 5770 1576	1608	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Bitton	<i>Conegre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Bitton	Smith 1964c, 76	Warren	ST 6817 6960	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Blockley 1	<i>The Conygree</i> leased in 1747 in area subsequently used for a silk mill	Glos.	Blockley	Icely 1984, 94	Warren	SP 1649 3501	1747	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Blockley 2	<i>Coney Green</i> recorded on Belcher's undated map	Glos.	Blockley	GRO D3471/1035	Warren	SP 1783 3465	Late 19th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Blockley 3	<i>Warren Farm</i> recorded on 1830 OS map	Glos.	Blockley	None	Warren	SP 1547 3413	1830	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Blockley Park Farm 1	Pillow mound recorded here, although it is not visible on any aerial photograph viewed by current author	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 2734; NMR 330647	Possible pillow mound	SP 1695 3455	Post-medieval	R	12.2	3.7	0.3	5	n/a
Blockley Park Farm 2	Pillow mound	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 2734; NMR 330647	Pillow mound	SP 1690 3454	Post-medieval	R	16	8	0.5	5	n/a
Blockley Park Farm 3	Pillow mound	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 2734; NMR 330647	Pillow mound	SP 1705 3460	Post-medieval	R	29	6	0.5	5	n/a
Boddington	<i>The Conyngar</i> recorded on Enclosure Award	Glos.	Boddington	Smith 1964b, 77	Warren	SO 8939 2533	1804	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Bourton-on-the-Hill	<i>The Conyng'</i> recorded in 1474, <i>Cony Ground</i> on 1821 Enclosure Map	Glos.	Bourton-on-the-Hill	Smith 1964a, 237	Warren	SP 1586 3305	1474	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Bourton-on-the-Water	<i>Conygree</i> recorded on 1773 map	Glos.	Bourton-on-the-Water	GRO GDR/T1/35	Warren	SP 1651 2094	1773	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Brimpsfield	Pillow mound in Brimpsfield Park, which was broken into and from which rabbits were stolen in 1316	Glos.	Brimpsfield	GHER 27023; CPR Edward II, Vol. 2, 427	Pillow mound	SO 9463 1268	1316?	R	20	6		10	n/a
Brinsham Farm	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound, house platform or field boundary	Glos.	Yate	NMR 1520488	Possible pillow mound	ST 7227 8502		R	30	11		4	n/a
Bristol	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Bristol. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Glos.	City of Bristol	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	ST 590 730	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Brockworth	Free warren at Brockworth broken into and rabbits taken	Glos.	Brockworth	CPR Edward III, Vol. 11, 151	Warren	SO 891 164	1358	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Burhill	Pillow mound located just outside hillfort	Glos.	Buckland	GHER 2330	Pillow mound	SP 0845 3614		R	21	6		10	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Caps Grove	Memorandum of conviction of Robert Pitt of Pauntley, carpenter, for the crime of killing a coney at Caps Grove in Newent, kept for breeding of conies occupied by Mr John Hill, dated 22 August 1836	Glos.	Newent	GRO Q/PC/2/55/D/83	Warren	SO 7282 2579	1836	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Charfield Hill 1	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound, field boundary or spoil heap	Glos.	Tortworth	NMR 1523312	Possible pillow mound	ST 7119 9225						6	n/a
Charfield Hill 2	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound, field boundary or spoil heap	Glos.	Tortworth	NMR 1523312	Possible pillow mound	ST 7119 9225						6	n/a
Charfield Hill 3	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound, field boundary or spoil heap	Glos.	Tortworth	NMR 1523312	Possible pillow mound	ST 7119 9225						6	n/a
Charfield Hill 4	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound, field boundary or spoil heap	Glos.	Tortworth	NMR 1523312	Possible pillow mound	ST 7119 9225						6	n/a
Charfield Road	<i>Conygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Tortworth	SGHER 6172	Warren	ST 6990 9320	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Charingworth	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely and it may instead be a plough headland	Glos.	Ebrington	GHER 38640	Non-pillow mound	SP 2027 3951		O	17	7		5	n/a
Chedworth Woods	Pillow mound recorded on aerial photographs of 1946 and 1967; auction documents of 1811 refer to a <i>Coneygree</i> and <i>Conegree Wood</i> at Chedworth	Glos.	Withington	GHER 37274; Smith 1964a, 151	Pillow mound	SP 0490 1450	1811	Co				10	n/a
Cheltenham	<i>Le Conigre</i> recorded in 1606, <i>the Conygree</i> in 1806 Enclosure Award	Glos.	Cheltenham	Smith 1964b, 107	Warren	SO 9382 2167	1606	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Cherington	<i>(le) Conygar</i> recorded in Treasury of the Receipt Miscellaneous Books in National Archive	Glos.	Cherington	Smith 1964a, 91	Warren	ST 9027 9867	1536	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Chipping Campden	Truncated pillow mound built over by extension to church graveyard in a field named <i>the Coneygree</i> , first recorded in 1719	Glos.	Chipping Campden	Rushen 1911, 41	Pillow mound	SP 15551 39403	1719			7	1	5	n/a
Chosen Hill	The archbishop of York may have had a warren on the upper slopes of Churchdown Hill where a warren for conies and a lodge were recorded in 1622	Glos.	Churchdown	VCH 1988, 430-443	Warren	SO 8808 1892	1622	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Churcham	<i>The Coneygree</i> recorded on Enclosure Award	Glos.	Churcham	Smith 1964c, 197	Warren	SO 7660 1873	1803	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Cirencester	<i>Le Con(n)yger/gar</i> recorded in 1539 and 1540	Glos.	Cirencester	Smith 1964a, 67	Warren	SP 0259 0167	1539	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Cloisters Road	<i>Warren House</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Watleys End	SGHER 6166	Warren	ST 6610 8070	1844	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Coates	<i>The Conygree</i> recorded on 1793 Inclosure Award	Glos.	Coates	Smith 1964a, 69	Warren	SO 9775 0119	1793	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Coldharbour Lane	Earthwork recorded as a possible pillow mound identified on 1946 aerial photographs; now levelled	Glos.	Stoke Gifford	SGHER 1336; NMR 201320	Possible pillow mound	ST 6215 7777						4	n/a
Coln St Denis	<i>Conygree</i> recorded on 1637 lease, <i>the Conigrees</i> recorded on 1798 Inclosure Award	Glos.	Coln St Denis	GRO D2957/90/24; Smith 1964a, 166	Warren	SP 0860 1104	1637	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Coney Berrow Farm	Abstract of title to land called the Reddings at Upleadon, includes <i>Coney Berrow Farm</i>	Glos.	Upleadon	GRO D2379/2	Warren	SO 7527 2702	1848-69	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Conygre Farm 3	<i>Conygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Alveston	SGHER 5167	Warren	ST 6490 8670	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a

APPENDIX 1: SITE GAZETTEER

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Coombe Hill 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Wotton-under-Edge	GHER 4076	Pillow mound	ST 7600 9388		R	40	10		10	n/a
Coombe Hill 2	Pillow mound	Glos.	Wotton-under-Edge	GHER 4076	Pillow mound	ST 7605 9381		R	35	12		10	n/a
Coombe Hill 3	Pillow mound	Glos.	Wotton-under-Edge	GHER 4076	Pillow mound	ST 7607 9378		R	28	8		10	n/a
Coombe Hill 4	Pillow mound	Glos.	Wotton-under-Edge	GHER 4076	Pillow mound	ST 7610 9378		R	27	7		10	n/a
Coombe Hill 5	Pillow mound	Glos.	Wotton-under-Edge	GHER 4076	Pillow mound	ST 7604 9389		S-R	13	9		10	n/a
Corse	Rabbits stolen from a warren in Corse	Glos.	Corse	CPR Edward II, Vol. 9, 93	Warren	SO 793 284	1351	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Court Farm	Pillow mound, now levelled	Glos.	Codrington	SGHER 1954; NMR 204867	Pillow mound	ST 72937 78642						4	n/a
Courthill Coppice	Pillow mound, now levelled, in a field called <i>Coneygres</i>	Glos.	Cold Aston	GHER 2598	Pillow mound	SP 13500 19700	1694	R	68.6	7.4	1.2	10	n/a
Cowham Farm 1	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function	Glos.	Broadwell	GHER 40141	Non-pillow mound	SP 21770 28750		O				4	6
Cowham Farm 2	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function	Glos.	Broadwell	GHER 40141	Non-pillow mound	SP 21770 28750		O				4	6
Cowham Farm 3	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function	Glos.	Broadwell	GHER 40141	Non-pillow mound	SP 21770 28750		O				4	6
Cowham Farm 4	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function	Glos.	Broadwell	GHER 40141	Non-pillow mound	SP 21770 28750		O				4	6
Cranham 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Cranham	GHER 3824	Pillow mound	SO 8799 1286		R	18	4.2	0.76	8	6
Cranham 2	Pillow mound recorded on 1947 aerial photograph	Glos.	Cranham	GHER 26997	Pillow mound	SO 9212 1100		R	20	8		10	n/a
Cranham 3	Pillow mound recorded on 1947 aerial photograph	Glos.	Cranham	GHER 26997	Pillow mound	SO 9218 1102		R	18	5		10	n/a
Crickley Hill	Pillow mound. A Coneygree is recorded on 1838 tithe map	Glos.	Coberley	GHER 14711	Pillow mound	SO 92912 16087	1838	R	25	4.5	0.3	10	n/a
Ditchford Far Farm	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38698; NMR 1472064	Non-pillow mound	SP 21040 36630		O	12	8		4	n/a
Ditchford Hill 1	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Batsford	GHER 38696; NMR 1472178	Non-pillow mound	SP 21390 36754		C	8.9	8.9		4	n/a
Ditchford Hill 2	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Batsford	GHER 38696; NMR 1472178	Non-pillow mound	SP 21510 36800		C	7.4	6.7		4	n/a
Ditchford on Fosse 1	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38660	Non-pillow mound	SP 22575 37254		O	16.1	10.1		4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Ditchford on Fosse 10	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38658; NMR 1472029	Non-pillow mound	SP 22324 37216		O	14.4	8.2		4	n/a
Ditchford on Fosse 11	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38658; NMR 1472029	Non-pillow mound	SP 22240 37081		C	10.1	7.3		4	n/a
Ditchford on Fosse 2	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38658; NMR 1472029	Non-pillow mound	SP 22313 37092		C	7.4	5.6		4	n/a
Ditchford on Fosse 3	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38658; NMR 1472029	Non-pillow mound	SP 22409 37147		O	13	8.1		4	n/a
Ditchford on Fosse 4	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38658; NMR 1472029	Non-pillow mound	SP 22358 37043		O	15	9.2		4	n/a
Ditchford on Fosse 5	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38658; NMR 1472029	Non-pillow mound	SP 22473 37064		C	15.3	11		4	n/a
Ditchford on Fosse 6	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38658; NMR 1472029	Non-pillow mound	SP 22525 37088		C	9.9	7.3		4	n/a
Ditchford on Fosse 7	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38658; NMR 1472029	Non-pillow mound	SP 22474 36873		C	12.4	8.3		4	n/a
Ditchford on Fosse 8	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38658; NMR 1472029	Non-pillow mound	SP 22396 36766		C	20.1	14.2		4	n/a
Ditchford on Fosse 9	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38658; NMR 1472029	Non-pillow mound	SP 22298 36713		O	11.3	6.2		4	n/a
Dowdeswell	<i>The Connigree</i> recorded in Inquisition Post Mortem	Glos.	Dowdeswell	Smith 1964a, 171	Warren	SP 0022 1978	1632	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Down Ampney	<i>Coninggores</i> recorded in 1275, <i>Coneygree</i> on 1840 tithe map	Glos.	Down Ampney	Smith 1964a, 52	Warren	SU 1014 9722	1275	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Downham Hill 1	Pillow mound; <i>Conygree</i> recorded in 1674	Glos.	Uley	GHER 2836; Smith 1964b, 255	Pillow mound	ST 7773 9858	1674	R				8	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Downham Hill 2	Pillow mound; <i>Conygree</i> recorded in 1674	Glos.	Uley	GHER 2834; Smith 1964b, 255	Pillow mound	ST 7755 9852	1674	R				8	n/a
Downham Hill 3	Pillow mound; <i>Conygree</i> recorded in 1674	Glos.	Uley	GHER 2833; Smith 1964b, 255	Pillow mound	ST 7767 9858	1674	R				8	n/a
Downham Hill 4	Pillow mound; <i>Conygree</i> recorded in 1674	Glos.	Uley	GHER 2835; Smith 1964b, 255	Pillow mound	ST 7767 9858	1674	R				8	n/a
Duntisbourne Abbots	<i>The Coniger</i> recorded on 1740 Inclosure Award	Glos.	Duntisbourne Abbots	Smith 1964a, 72	Warren	SO 9590 0795	1740	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Duntisbourne Rouse 1	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound, long barrow or spoil heap	Glos.	Duntisbourne Rouse	NMR 1511196	Possible pillow mound	SO 9880 0557		R	22	8		8	n/a
Duntisbourne Rouse 2	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound, long barrow or spoil heap	Glos.	Duntisbourne Rouse	NMR 1511198	Possible pillow mound	SO 9867 0565		R	22	8		10	n/a
Duntisbourne Rouse 3	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound, long barrow or spoil heap	Glos.	Duntisbourne Rouse	NMR 1511202	Possible pillow mound	SO 9846 0580		R	45	8		10	
Duntisbourne Rouse 4	Grant to Wm. Sharyngton and all lands in Duntisborne in tenure of John Geffreys and Matilda his wife and Richard their son, including the rabbit warren called <i>le Conygre</i>	Glos.	Duntisbourne Rouse	L&P Henry VIII, Vol. 17, 618-643	Warren	SO 98586 05887	1542	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Dyrham 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Dyrham and Hinton	SGHER 6129; SGHER 6130; NMR 205029	Pillow mound	ST 74315 74650		R	60	6		8	n/a
Dyrham 2	Pillow mound	Glos.	Dyrham and Hinton	SGHER 6129; SGHER 6130; NMR 205029	Pillow mound	ST 74322 75000		R	81	7		10	n/a
Dyrham Park 1	Pillow mound in an area named as <i>Warren and Conigeere</i> in 1689 map	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7405 7598	1689	R	36.7	8.3	0.5	8	n/a
Dyrham Park 2	Pillow mound in an area named as <i>Warren and Conigeere</i> in 1689 map	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7407 7597	1689	R	38	6.3	0.3	8	n/a
Dyrham Park 3	Pillow mound in an area named as <i>Warren and Conigeere</i> in 1689 map	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7412 7593	1689	R	18.6	4.5		8	n/a
Dyrham Park 4	Pillow mound in an area named as <i>Warren and Conigeere</i> in 1689 map	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7414 7587	1689	S-R	8.7	4.5		8	n/a
Dyrham Park 5	Pillow mound in an area named as <i>Warren and Conigeere</i> in 1689 map	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7415 7598	1689	R	25.6	4.7		8	n/a
Dyrham Park 6	Pillow mound in an area named as <i>Warren and Conigeere</i> in 1689 map	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7418 7599	1689	R				10	n/a
Dyrham Park 7	Pillow mound in an area named as <i>Warren and Conigeere</i> in 1689 map	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7425 7596	1689	R	24.5	7.8		10	n/a
Dyrham Park 8	Pillow mound in an area named as <i>Warren and Conigeere</i> in 1689 map	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7424 7589	1689	S-R	6.9	4.5		8	n/a
Dyrham Park 9	Pillow mound in unnamed warren	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7414 7556		C	8.4	8.4		8	n/a
Dyrham Park 10	Pillow mound in unnamed warren	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7431 7556		R	12.1	4.4	0.6	10	n/a
Dyrham Park 11	Pillow mound in unnamed warren	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7434 7547		R	34.6	6.3			
Dyrham Park 12	Pillow mound in unnamed warren	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7435 7548		R	31.2	5.2	0.4		
Dyrham Park 13	Pillow mound in unnamed warren	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7440 7550		R	25.4	6			
Dyrham Park 14	Pillow mound in unnamed warren	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7447 7551		R	28.5	6.6		3	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Dyrham Park 15	Pillow mound in unnamed warren	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7452 7553		R	18	4.7		3	n/a
Dyrham Park 16	Pillow mound in unnamed warren	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7453 7547		R	12.5	5.8			
Dyrham Park 17	Pillow mound in unnamed warren; Dyrham Park 17 and	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7457 7543		R	45.7	4.7		8	n/a
Dyrham Park 18	Pillow mound in unnamed warren; Dyrham Park 17 and	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7458 7545		R	17.6	5.8		8	n/a
Dyrham Park 19	Pillow mound in unnamed warren	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7463 7550		R				8	n/a
Dyrham Park 20	Pillow mound in unnamed warren	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Pillow mound	ST 7455 7550		R	58.3	7.4			
Dyrham Park 21	Pillow mound that lies just outside an area named as <i>Warren and Conigeere</i> in 1689 map	Glos.	Dyrham	NMR 1000443	Warren	ST 7392 7605	1689	R					
Eastleach	<i>Ye Conigree</i> recorded in Inclosure Act	Glos.	Eastleach	Smith 1964a, 34	Warren	SP 1993 0520	1773	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Ebrington	<i>Connigre</i> recorded on 1815 map	Glos.	Ebrington	Smith 1964a, 244	Warren	SP 1714 3971	1815	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Elmore	Rabbits stolen from Anselm de Gise's free warren at Elmore	Glos.	Elmore	CPR Edward I, Vol. 2, 92	Warren	SO 787 153	1282	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
English Bicknor	<i>Conegree</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	English Bicknor	Smith 1964c, 213	Warren	SO 5813 1568	1838	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Farmington	<i>Conybushe</i> recorded in 1621, <i>Cony Hill</i> in 1707 and 1714 Inclosure Awards	Glos.	Farmington	Smith 1964a, 173	Warren	SP 1313 1544	1621	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Filwood	People broke into Queen Philippa's free chase and warren at Filwood and stole rabbits	Glos.	Filwood Park	CPR Edward III, Vol. 12, 546	Warren	ST 595 698	1364	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Firingclose Farm	Earthwork, now levelled, recorded on aerial photographs suggested as being a possible pillow mound	Glos.	Wickwar	NMR 1520499	Possible pillow mound	ST 7034 8705		R	53			7	n/a
Fittelwode	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Fittelwode. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren. Location of Fittelwode uncertain.	Glos.	Unknown	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	Unknown	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Fox Farm	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Todenham	GHER 38680	Non-pillow mound	SP 23130 35230		C	9	9		4	n/a
Frampton Court	<i>Conygere</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Frampton Cotterell	SGHER 6167	Warren	ST 6610 8170	1848	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	n/a
Frampton-on-Severn	Lease of land including pasture called <i>Conyger</i>	Glos.	Frampton-on-Severn	GRO D2957/137/64	Warren	SO 7510 0819	1660	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Fretherne	<i>The Coniger</i> recorded in 1761, <i>Conygree</i> on tithe map	Glos.	Fretherne and Saul	GRO D2957/139/53; Smith 1964b, 180	Warren	SO 7338 0932	1761	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Ham	Pillow mound	Glos.	Charlton Kings	GHER 39428; NMR 1409721	Pillow mound	SO 97820 21080		R	27	10		5	n/a
Ham & Stone	<i>Le Commyngerth</i> recorded in 1516	Glos.	Ham & Stone	Smith 1964b, 227	Warren	ST 6839 9513	1516	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Hanham	<i>Coniger</i> recorded in 1673	Glos.	Hanham	GRO D2957/146/69	Warren	ST 6421 7241	1673	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Hanley Hill	Moated site depicted on tithe map, which survives as a U-shaped moat at the foot of Hanley Hill in which is a raised mound. Considered to be the remains of a moated rabbit warren.	Glos.	Tidenham	GHER 4023	Warren	ST 56600 96400		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Hardwicke	<i>Conegres</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Hardwicke	Smith 1964b, 182	Warren	SO 7997 1190	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Haresfield	<i>Coniger Hill</i> recorded in 1653, <i>Coneyar</i> recorded on Enclosure Award	Glos.	Haresfield	GRO D678/1 T2/7/14-27; Smith 1964b, 184	Warren	SO 8144 1032	1653	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Hawkesbury 1	Pillow mound; two at the Hawkesbury site are now levelled	Glos.	Hawkesbury	NMR 1524634	Pillow mound	ST 7662 8868		R				5	n/a
Hawkesbury 2	Pillow mound; two at the Hawkesbury site are now levelled	Glos.	Hawkesbury	NMR 1524634	Pillow mound	ST 7662 8868		R				5	n/a
Hawkesbury 3	Pillow mound; two at the Hawkesbury site are now levelled	Glos.	Hawkesbury	NMR 1524634	Pillow mound	ST 7662 8868		R				5	n/a
Hawkesbury 4	Pillow mound; two at the Hawkesbury site are now levelled	Glos.	Hawkesbury	NMR 1524634	Pillow mound	ST 7662 8868		R				5	n/a
Hawkesbury 5	Pillow mound; two at the Hawkesbury site are now levelled	Glos.	Hawkesbury	NMR 1524634	Pillow mound	ST 7662 8868		R				5	n/a
Hempsted	<i>The Conigree</i> recorded in Inquisition Post Mortem	Glos.	Hempsted	Smith 1964b, 167	Warren	SO 8165 1685	1630	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Highfield Farm 1	Pillow mound; <i>La Conygar</i> recorded in 1575 and <i>Coneygre</i> on 1838 tithe map; <i>Little Conigree</i> in 1717 survey	Glos.	Horton	SGHER 3067; NMR 205084; Smith 1964c, 37; Iles 1984, 45	Pillow mound	ST 7657 8480	1575	R	103	7		8	n/a
Highfield Farm 2	Pillow mound; <i>La Conygar</i> recorded in 1575 and <i>Coneygre</i> on 1838 tithe map; <i>Little Conigree</i> in 1717 survey	Glos.	Horton	SGHER 3067; NMR 205084; Smith 1964c, 37; Iles 1984, 45	Pillow mound	ST 7645 8483	1575	R	30			8	n/a
Highfield Farm 3	Pillow mound; <i>La Conygar</i> recorded in 1575 and <i>Coneygre</i> on 1838 tithe map; <i>Little Conigree</i> in 1717 survey	Glos.	Horton	SGHER 3067; NMR 205084; Smith 1964c, 37; Iles 1984, 45	Pillow mound	ST 7668 8477	1575	R	60	5		8	n/a
Holm Park	<i>Conygre</i> , <i>Church Conygere</i> , <i>Middle Conygre</i> , <i>Conygre Covert</i> recorded on tithe map; a rabbit warren was leased out in 1441-2 and 1450 and incorporated into the 16th-C. New Parke	Glos.	Thornbury	SGHER 6176; Philpotts 2010, 12	Warren	ST 62800 90700	1441	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Horfield	<i>Coneygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Horfield	Smith 1964c, 104	Warren	ST 5947 7699	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Horsley	<i>Conyngfeld</i> recorded in 1466, <i>Coney Ground</i> on 1840 tithe map;	Glos.	Horsley	Smith 1964a, 93	Warren	ST 8389 9805	1466	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Horton Court	Pillow mound; <i>La Conygar</i> recorded in 1575 and <i>Coneygre</i> on 1838 tithe map	Glos.	Horton	Smith 1964c, 37	Pillow mound	ST 76748 85199	1575	R	40	12		8	n/a
Iron Acton	<i>Conygere</i> recorded in 1377, <i>Cunnygar</i> on 1839 tithe map	Glos.	Iron Acton	Smith 1964c, 3	Warren	ST 6817 8357	1377	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Kempley	<i>Cony Gar</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Kempley	Smith 1964c, 173	Warren	SO 6712 2971	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Kings Stanley	<i>Coneyerthe</i> recorded in 1576, <i>Coneygar</i> on 1839 tithe map	Glos.	Kings Stanley	Smith 1964b, 200	Warren	SO 8112 0382	1576	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Kingswood	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Kingswood. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Glos.	Kingswood	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	ST 746 918	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Knee Bridge 1	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Batsford	GHER 38695	Non-pillow mound	SP 21954 36266		C	8.2	6.4		4	n/a
Knee Bridge 2	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Batsford	GHER 38695	Non-pillow mound	SP 21937 36288		C	7.4	7.1		4	n/a
Knee Brook 1	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Todenham	GHER 38683	Non-pillow mound	SP 23070 36990		O	10.5	7		4	n/a
Knee Brook 2	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Todenham	GHER 38685	Non-pillow mound	SP 23430 36990		O	6	4		4	n/a
Lane Coppice	<i>Conis Mead</i> recorded on tithe map to the north-east of the Barton, possibly the warren for the now missing manor house of Inglestone	Glos.	Inglestone	SGHER 6124	Warren	ST 75300 88900	1840					4	n/a
Lasborough	Pillow mound	Glos.	Kingscote	GHER 144; SM 1012499	Pillow mound	ST 81730 94370		S-R	22	12	0.5	10	5
Leonard Stanley	<i>The Conniger</i> recorded in 1632, <i>Conygree Orchard</i> on 1834 Enclosure Award	Glos.	Leonard Stanley	Smith 1964b, 202	Warren	SO 8038 0365	1632	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Little Sodbury 1	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 11149; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 75887 83130	1730	R	43	6		5	n/a
Little Sodbury 2	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 75921 83200	1730	R	20	4		5	n/a
Little Sodbury 3	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2107; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 75957 83159	1730	R	20	5			
Little Sodbury 4	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 76084 83157	1730	R	38	3.5		8	n/a
Little Sodbury 5	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 76121 83031	1730	R	13	4.5		8	n/a
Little Sodbury 6	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 76170 83110	1730	R	37	3		8	n/a
Little Sodbury 7	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 76108 82921	1730	R				8	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Little Sodbury 8	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 76149 82920	1730	R					
Little Sodbury 9	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 76156 82957	1730	R					
Little Sodbury 10	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 75699 82817	1730	R	19	4		5	n/a
Little Sodbury 11	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 75752 82767	1730	Cr	163	105		5	n/a
Little Sodbury 12	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 75828 82802	1730	R	14	4.7		5	n/a
Little Sodbury 13	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 75699 82914	1730	R	25	5.6		5	n/a
Little Sodbury 14	Pillow mound overlying ridge and furrow in warren named as <i>Conigree</i> on 1730 schedule of meadow land	Glos.	Little Sodbury	SGHER 2104; NMR 205135; GRO D871/E3	Pillow mound	ST 75494 83007	1730	R	160	12		4	n/a
Little Tortworth Copse	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound, spoil heap from local quarrying or a charcoal burning platform	Glos.	Tortworth	NMR 1523311	Possible pillow mound	ST 7069 9345		S-R	40	30		5	n/a
Littledean	<i>Clappers</i> recorded on tithe map, derived from Middle English word for a rabbit warren	Glos.	Littledean	Smith 1964c, 226	Warren	SO 67294 13658	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Long Newton	<i>Coneygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Long Newton	Smith 1964a, 103	Warren	ST 9094 9261	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Longford	<i>Conyngarth Orchard</i> recorded in 1535	Glos.	Longford	Smith 1964b, 150	Warren	SO 8384 2081	1535	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Lovetts Wood Farm 1	Pillow mound recorded on aerial photograph, now levelled	Glos.	Hillesley & Tresham	GHER 15653; GHER 15654	Pillow mound	ST 76620 88600		R				5	n/a
Lovetts Wood Farm 2	Pillow mound recorded on aerial photograph, now levelled	Glos.	Hillesley & Tresham	GHER 15653; GHER 15654	Pillow mound	ST 76620 88600		R				5	n/a
Lovetts Wood Farm 3	Pillow mound recorded on aerial photograph, now levelled	Glos.	Hillesley & Tresham	GHER 15653; GHER 15654	Pillow mound	ST 76620 88600		R				5	n/a
Lovetts Wood Farm 4	Pillow mound recorded on aerial photograph, now levelled	Glos.	Hillesley & Tresham	GHER 15653; GHER 15654	Pillow mound	ST 76620 88600		R				5	n/a
Lovetts Wood Farm 5	Pillow mound recorded on aerial photograph, now levelled	Glos.	Hillesley & Tresham	GHER 15653; GHER 15654	Pillow mound	ST 76620 88600		R				5	n/a
Lydney	A warrener was employed at the rabbit warren on the estate in 1703; <i>Coneygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Lydney	VCH 1996b, 46-84; Smith 1964c, 261	Warren	SO 6345 0238	1703	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Middle Ditchford 1	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38652; NMR 1472058	Non-pillow mound	SP 21330 37400		O	12.7	8		4	n/a
Middle Ditchford 2	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38656; NMR 1472062	Non-pillow mound	SP 21060 37070		O	12	9		4	n/a

APPENDIX 1: SITE GAZETTEER

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Milbury Heath	1521-23 expenses of Thornbury Castle included 8l 1s 4d spent on rabbits from Milbury Heath; 1547 William Denys appointed keeper of the rabbit warren in Milbury Heath	Glos.	Thornbury	L&P Henry VIII, Vol. 3, 11-20; CPR Philip and Mary, Vol. 1, 484	Warren	ST 666 902	1521	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Minchinhampton 1	Pillow mound in a warren first recorded in an account of the poaching of a rabbit in 1823 although it is probable that the warren originated before this date, most likely between the 16th and 17th Cs. This dating would be supported by the building and naming of the 'Old Lodge' house in the seventeenth century.	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11405; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85330 00430	16th-17th C.	R	39	12	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 2	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11406; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85410 00410	16th-17th C.	R	69	12	0.8	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 3	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11407; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85580 00620	16th-17th C.	R	32	10	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 4	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11408; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85600 00560	16th-17th C.	R	36	10	0.3-0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 5	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11411; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85570 00580	16th-17th C.	R	48	11	0.3		
Minchinhampton 6	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11414; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85580 00800	16th-17th C.	R	21	10	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 7	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11415; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85550 00790	16th-17th C.	R	53	15	0.8	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 8	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11419; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85670 00950	16th-17th C.	S-R	13	8	0.4	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 9	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11420; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85620 00920	16th-17th C.	R	35	11	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 10	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11424; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85530 00960	16th-17th C.	R	26	10	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 11	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11425; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85500 01090	16th-17th C.	R	71	15	0.7	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 12	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11426; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85320 01220	16th-17th C.	R	26	12	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 13	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11427; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85450 00900	16th-17th C.	C	14	14	0.4	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 14	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11428; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85410 00910	16th-17th C.	R	48	12	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 15	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11430; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85580 00980	16th-17th C.	S-R	13	8	0.4	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 16	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11431; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85470 00900	16th-17th C.	R	44	12	0.4	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 17	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11432; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85440 00850	16th-17th C.	R	200	8	0.1	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 18	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11433; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85250 00980	16th-17th C.	R	46	9	0.3	10	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Minchinhampton 19	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11434; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85430 00980	16th-17th C.	R	61	16	1	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 20	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11435; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85470 00950	16th-17th C.	R	26	11	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 21	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11438; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85240 01180	16th-17th C.	R	44	11	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 22	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11439; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85310 01010	16th-17th C.	S-R	19	10	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 23	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11465; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85250 01390	16th-17th C.	S-R	18	10	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 24	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11466; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85170 01380	16th-17th C.	R	40	11	0.6	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 25	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11467; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85200 01310	16th-17th C.	R	18	9	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 26	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11468; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85350 01330	16th-17th C.	R	22	11	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 27	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11469; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85400 01270	16th-17th C.	R				10	n/a
Minchinhampton 28	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11470; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85310 01140	16th-17th C.	R	36	12	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 29	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11471; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85210 01110	16th-17th C.	S-R	23	12	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 30	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11472; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85260 01040	16th-17th C.	R	24	12	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 31	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11473; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85460 01020	16th-17th C.	R	35	11	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 32	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11474; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85570 01060	16th-17th C.	S-R	19	11	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 33	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11475; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85530 01130	16th-17th C.	S-R	16	11	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 34	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11476; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85620 01120	16th-17th C.	C	14	14	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 35	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11477; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85230 00780	16th-17th C.	S-R	20	11	0.4	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 36	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11489; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85230 00780	16th-17th C.	S-R	16	10	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 37	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11490; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85530 00480	16th-17th C.	R	54	11	0.7	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 38	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11502; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85280 00620	16th-17th C.	R	33	11	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 39	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11711; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85410 01250	16th-17th C.					10	n/a
Minchinhampton 40	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11712; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85520 01020	16th-17th C.	R	37	10	0.6	10	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Minchinhampton 41	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11727; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85470 00770	16th-17th C.	R	59	12	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 42	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11729; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85280 00670	16th-17th C.	R	47	12	1	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 43	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11730; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85420 00580	16th-17th C.	R	39	19	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 44	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11732; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85530 00700	16th-17th C.	R	36	15	0.7	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 45	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11734; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85550 00710	16th-17th C.	R	29	13	1	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 46	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11735; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85990 00750	16th-17th C.	R	36	12	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 47	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11736; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85640 00680	16th-17th C.	R	30	10	0.1	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 48	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11737; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85470 00520	16th-17th C.	R	24	12	0.3	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 49	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11738; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85490 00410	16th-17th C.	R	37	10	0.8	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 50	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11743; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85400 00740	16th-17th C.	C	13	13		10	n/a
Minchinhampton 51	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 11787; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85520 00690	16th-17th C.	C	14	14	0.5	10	n/a
Minchinhampton 52	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 597; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85190 00980	16th-17th C.	C				10	n/a
Minchinhampton 53	Pillow mound	Glos.	Minchinhampton	GHER 632; SM 1010433	Pillow mound	SO 85570 00880	16th-17th C.	O				10	n/a
Miserden 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Miserden	GHER 7228	Pillow mound	SO 9424 0860		R	13.5	6.5	0.7	3	6
Miserden 2	Pillow mound recorded on aerial photographs	Glos.	Miserden	GHER 26998	Pillow mound	SO 9243 1095		R	44	5		10	n/a
Naunton	<i>The Conigree</i> recorded in 1604 Inquisition Post Mortem, deeds dating from 1704-43 record a field called <i>Cony Borows</i>	Glos.	Naunton	Smith 1964a, 201; GRO D444/T24	Warren	SP 1129 2338	1640	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Neighbrook 1	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38699; NMR 1472162	Non-pillow mound	SP 20080 36870		C	8	8		4	n/a
Neighbrook 2	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38940; NMR 1471666	Non-pillow mound	SP 19940 36390		O				4	n/a
Neighbrook 3	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38940; NMR 1471666	Non-pillow mound	SP 19940 36390		O				4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Neighbrook 4	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471666	Non-pillow mound	SP 20010 36678		C	6.5	5.4		4	n/a
Neighbrook 5	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471666	Non-pillow mound	SP 20010 36695		C	5.9	5.7		4	n/a
Neighbrook 6	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471666	Non-pillow mound	SP 20096 36671		C	4.2	3.9		4	n/a
Neighbrook 7	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471666	Non-pillow mound	SP 20085 36572		C	8.2	7.7		4	n/a
Neighbrook 8	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471666	Non-pillow mound	SP 20141 36648		C	7.9	7.3		4	n/a
Neighbrook 9	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471666	Non-pillow mound	SP 20150 36668		C	6.5	5.1		4	n/a
Neighbrook 10	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471666	Non-pillow mound	SP 19993 36691		C	6.3	5.9		4	n/a
Neighbrook 11	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471666	Non-pillow mound	SP 19998 36643		C	6.7	5		4	n/a
Neighbrook 12	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20187 36664		C	4.9	4.1		4	n/a
Neighbrook 13	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20220 36616		C	4.3	4.3		4	n/a
Neighbrook 14	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20223 36621		R	18	3		4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Neighbrook 15	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20229 36563		C	6.4	5.9		4	n/a
Neighbrook 16	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20239 36580		C	4.7	4.6		4	n/a
Neighbrook 17	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20252 36620		C	4.6	4.3		4	n/a
Neighbrook 18	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20267 3657		C	7	6.9		4	n/a
Neighbrook 19	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20291 36666		C	5.9	6.3		4	n/a
Neighbrook 20	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20282 36633		C	7.3	7.2		4	n/a
Neighbrook 21	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20270 36594		C	7.8	6		4	n/a
Neighbrook 22	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20286 36576		C	7.6	7.4		4	n/a
Neighbrook 23	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20294 36592		C	5.6	4.7		4	n/a
Neighbrook 24	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20299 36610		C	7.4	6.7		4	n/a
Neighbrook 25	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20310 36640		C	8.1	7.9		4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Neighbrook 26	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20296 36564		C	4.8	4.6		4	n/a
Neighbrook 27	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20307 36573		C	5.5	5.4		4	n/a
Neighbrook 28	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20308 36559		C	8	7.6		4	n/a
Neighbrook 29	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20324 36588		C	7.5	7.4		4	n/a
Neighbrook 30	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20336 36507		C	5.6	5.3		4	n/a
Neighbrook 31	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20350 36521		C	6.1	5.8		4	n/a
Neighbrook 32	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20351 36498		C	5.3	5.1		4	n/a
Neighbrook 33	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20372 3657		C	6.6	6.2		4	n/a
Neighbrook 34	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20374 36569		C	5.8	5.7		4	n/a
Neighbrook 35	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20397 36572		C	7.3	7.1		4	n/a
Neighbrook 36	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20411 36543		C	9.8	9		4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Neighbrook 37	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20422 36522		C	6.7	6.7		4	n/a
Neighbrook 38	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20413 36505		C	6.2	5.9		4	n/a
Neighbrook 39	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20447 36495		C	8.4	8.4		4	n/a
Neighbrook 40	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20431 36434		C	6	5.9		4	n/a
Neighbrook 41	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20419 36407		C	7.6	6.8		4	n/a
Neighbrook 42	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20336 36632		C	7.3	6.8		4	n/a
Neighbrook 43	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20274 36546		C	7.4	6.4		4	n/a
Neighbrook 44	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20295 36542		C	8.1	7.8		4	n/a
Neighbrook 45	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38703; NMR 1471682	Non-pillow mound	SP 20384 36540		C	6.7	5.7		4	n/a
New Road	<i>Le Coniger</i> recorded in 1592; <i>Further Conygere</i> , <i>Lower Conygere</i> and <i>Upper Conygere</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Tytherington	SGHER 5570	Warren	ST 66882 88527	1592	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Newark Camp	Pillow mound, part of complex of earthworks suggesting abandoned medieval settlement. HER reports the site was known as <i>the Coneygar</i> and belonged to Llanthony Priory	Glos.	Gloucester	GCHER 4226; NMR 115325	Pillow mound	SP 81550 17250	Medieval?					4	9
Newark Farm	Pillow mound	Glos.	Ozelworth	NMR 1522807	Pillow mound	ST 7846 9315		S-R	12	7		3	6

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Newhouse Farm	<i>Higher Warren Piece</i> and <i>Lower Warren Piece</i> recorded on tithe map; <i>Warren Barn</i> and a building named <i>Old Warren</i> also recorded	Glos.	Tomarton	SGHER 6112	Warren	ST 78900 80300	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	n/a
Newland	John Yeme granted <i>le Conynge fd.</i> to John Doll in 1532-33; a 1569 feoffment records <i>le Conygar</i> as pasture; <i>the Coniger</i> recorded in 1678; <i>Le Conygree</i> recorded on 1618 and <i>Conninger</i> on 1840 tithe map	Glos.	Newland	GRO D1677/GG/356; GRO D2957/256/6; GRO D2957/214/87; Smith 1964c, 240	Warren	SO 55414 09472	1532	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Newnham	<i>Coniger</i> recorded in 1749; <i>Cunnigar</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Newnham	GRO D2957/215/31; Smith 1964c, 200	Warren	SO 6770 1207	1749	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
North Cerney	<i>Coneygree</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	North Cerney	Smith 1964a, 149	Warren	SP 0190 0790	1837	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
North Farmcote	Pillow mound, part of complex of earthworks including croft-platforms, boundary banks, hollow ways and a fishpond representing shrinkage of Farmcote village; on site of grange of Hailes Abbey. Pillow mound overlies boundary bank in area of pasture, so represents post-medieval land-use.	Glos.	Temple Guiting	GHER 2222	Pillow mound	SP 06100 29100	Post-medieval					4	7
North Nibley 1	Pillow mound; <i>the Coniger</i> recorded in 1598	Glos.	North Nibley	GHER 30370; GRO D2957/216/40	Pillow mound	ST 75949 96625	1598	C	10	10	1.5	10	n/a
North Nibley 2	Pillow mound; <i>the Coniger</i> recorded in 1598	Glos.	North Nibley	GHER 30370; GRO D2957/216/40	Pillow mound	ST 75949 96625	1598	C				10	n/a
Notgrove	<i>The Coney Gree</i> recorded on Inclosure Award	Glos.	Notgrove	Smith 1964a, 176	Warren	SP 1095 2033	1771	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Nympsfield 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Nympsfield	GHER 3421	Pillow mound	SO 8032 0006						3	n/a
Nympsfield 2	Pillow mound	Glos.	Nympsfield	GHER 5938	Pillow mound	SO 8005 0004						3	n/a
Old Lodge Farm 1	Pillow mound on the east side of <i>Coney Ground</i> within Tortworth Park; a 1602 document refers to the coney burrows in Mr Wylmott's ground adjoining the park	Glos.	Tortworth	LB 1523310; NMR 205396; GRO GDR/89/page 208	Pillow mound	ST 70260 93369	1602				0.5	6	n/a
Old Lodge Farm 2	Pillow mound on the east side of <i>Coney Ground</i> within Tortworth Park; a 1602 document refers to the coney burrows in Mr Wylmott's ground adjoining the park	Glos.	Tortworth	LB 1523310; NMR 205396; GRO GDR/89/page 208	Pillow mound	ST 70205 93316	1602				0.5	6	n/a
Old Lodge Farm 3	Pillow mound on the east side of <i>Coney Ground</i> within Tortworth Park; a 1602 document refers to the coney burrows in Mr Wylmott's ground adjoining the park	Glos.	Tortworth	LB 1523310; NMR 205396; GRO GDR/89/page 208	Pillow mound	ST 70266 93320	1602				0.5	6	n/a
Old Lodge Farm 4	Pillow mound on the east side of <i>Coney Ground</i> within Tortworth Park; a 1602 document refers to the coney burrows in Mr Wylmott's ground adjoining the park	Glos.	Tortworth	LB 1523310; NMR 205396; GRO GDR/89/page 208	Pillow mound	ST 70300 93235	1602				0.5	6	n/a
Old Sodbury	<i>Conigre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Old Sodbury	Smith 1964c, 55	Warren	ST 7558 8171	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Over lane	Pillow mound near entrance to Knole Park. A lease of 1536 records "a parcell of ground called the knowle conteyning iii acres of pasture and the herbage of a Ground Anexid to the same to make a Warrant for Conys conteyning ii acres of pasture"; <i>Cunney Leaze</i> recorded in 1700, <i>Coney Leaze</i> in 1704	Glos.	Almondsbury	SGHER 5344	Pillow mound	ST 59867 83297	1536					4	n/a
Ozleworth	<i>Coneygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Ozleworth	Smith 1964b, 247	Warren	ST 7921 9345	1838	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Paddle Brook 1	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38653; NMR 1472050	Non-pillow mound	SP 21851 37466		C	14.3	14.3		4	n/a
Paddle Brook 2	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38653; NMR 1472050	Non-pillow mound	SP 21926 37518		C	9.7	8.6		4	n/a
Paddle Brook 3	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38653; NMR 1472050	Non-pillow mound	SP 21972 37632		C	12.1	11.2		4	n/a
Paddle Brook 4	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38657; NMR 1472049	Non-pillow mound	SP 22529 37515		C	11.8	11.2		4	n/a
Paddle Brook 5	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38657; NMR 1472049	Non-pillow mound	SP 22548 37515		O	13	7.5		4	n/a
Paddle Brook 6	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38657; NMR 1472049	Non-pillow mound	SP 22616 37533		O	12.2	7.3		4	n/a
Paddle Brook 7	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38657; NMR 1472049	Non-pillow mound	SP 22673 37525		O	16.6	8.5		4	n/a
Paddle Brook 8	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38657; NMR 1472049	Non-pillow mound	SP 22720 37544		C	12.1	9.3		4	n/a
Painswick	Rabbits taken from the free warren of William son of Warin de Monte Canisio; <i>Coneygre</i> recorded on 1838 tithe map	Glos.	Painswick	CPR Edward I, Vol. 2, 104; Smith 1964a, 136	Warren	SO 867 097	1283	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	n/a
Pale Plantation 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	City of Bristol	BHER 1801M; NMR 201314	Pillow mound	ST 6144 7704		R				7	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Pale Plantation 2	Several earthworks have been identified as strip lynchets, although one has been identified as possible pillow mound	Glos.	City of Bristol	BHER 1861M	Possible pillow mound	ST 6155 7682		R				7	n/a
Parks Farm 1	Pillow mound in Tormarton Park which was levelled by motorway construction and cultivation. There is a reference to rabbit thefts from the park in 1336 while a map of 1637 records fields named <i>The Parke</i> and <i>Cuny Warrant</i> . The pillow mound is located in <i>The Parke</i> so the <i>Cuny Warrant</i> may be a later warren, also suggested by the fact that one of the local farms is named <i>Old Warren</i> .	Glos.	Tormarton	SGHER 1980; SGHER 3368; NMR 204842	Pillow mound	ST 7884 7912	1336?					3	n/a
Parks Farm 2	Pillow mound in Tormarton Park which was levelled by motorway construction and cultivation. There is a reference to rabbit thefts from the park in 1336 while a map of 1637 records fields named <i>The Parke</i> and <i>Cuny Warrant</i> . The pillow mound is located in <i>The Parke</i> so the <i>Cuny Warrant</i> may be a later warren, also suggested by the fact that one of the local farms is named <i>Old Warren</i> .	Glos.	Tormarton	SGHER 17047; SGHER 3368; NMR 204842	Pillow mound	ST 79053 79060	1336?					3	n/a
Parks Farm 3	Pillow mound in Tormarton Park which was levelled by motorway construction and cultivation. There is a reference to rabbit thefts from the park in 1336 while a map of 1637 records fields named <i>The Parke</i> and <i>Cuny Warrant</i> . The pillow mound is located in <i>The Parke</i> so the <i>Cuny Warrant</i> may be a later warren, also suggested by the fact that one of the local farms is named <i>Old Warren</i> .	Glos.	Tormarton	SGHER 17048; SGHER 3368; NMR 204842	Pillow mound	ST 79051 78952	1336?					3	n/a
Parks Farm 4	Pillow mound in Tormarton Park which was levelled by motorway construction and cultivation. There is a reference to rabbit thefts from the park in 1336 while a map of 1637 records fields named <i>The Parke</i> and <i>Cuny Warrant</i> . The pillow mound is located in <i>The Parke</i> so the <i>Cuny Warrant</i> may be a later warren, also suggested by the fact that one of the local farms is named <i>Old Warren</i> .	Glos.	Tormarton	SGHER 17049; SGHER 3368; NMR 204842	Pillow mound	ST 78823 78993	1336?					3	n/a
Postlip Warren	A probable warren site at <i>Postlip Warren</i>	Glos.	Winchcombe	GHER 7521	Warren	SO 9990 2610		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Prestbury	People broke the park at Prestbury and entered the free warren and took rabbits	Glos.	Prestbury	CPR Henry IV, Vol. 1, 553	Warren	SO 955 248	1401	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Preston	<i>The Conygrees</i> recorded on Enclosure Award	Glos.	Preston	Smith 1964a, 81	Warren	SO 6753 3538	1771	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Pucklechurch	<i>The Conygree</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Pucklechurch	Smith 1964c, 66	Warren	ST 6987 7654	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Quedgeley	<i>Conygres</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Quedgeley	GHER 7368	Warren	SO 8030 1380	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Quenington	<i>The Conygree</i> recorded on 1754 Inclosure Act, <i>Conyegar Wood</i> on 1830 map	Glos.	Quenington	Smith 1964a, 45	Warren	SP 1441 0440	1754	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR	
Redcliffe	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Redcliffe. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren.	Glos.	St Mary Redcliffe	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	ST 59 72	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
Rendcomb Park 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Rendcomb	GHER 10751	Pillow mound	SP 0194 1034		R	30	7.6	0.3	9	n/a	
Rendcomb Park 2	Pillow mound, levelled during construction of a school sports field c1973	Glos.	Rendcomb	GHER 10751	Pillow mound	SP 0197 1028		R	43	8	0.6	9	n/a	
Rodborough	<i>The Conygree</i> recorded on Enclosure Award	Glos.	Rodborough	Smith 1964a, 105	Warren	SO 8455 0474	1793	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
Rodway Hill 1	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in a court proceeding of 1628 and a survey of 1783	Glos.	Mangotsfield Rural	SGHER 4781; NMR 201285	Pillow mound	ST 6630 7560	1628	R	35	6		7	n/a	
Rodway Hill 2	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in a court proceeding of 1628 and a survey of 1783	Glos.	Mangotsfield Rural	SGHER 4781; NMR 201285	Pillow mound	ST 66240 75597	1628	R	48	3		7	n/a	
Rodway Hill 3	Pillow mound in a warren recorded in a court proceeding of 1628 and a survey of 1783	Glos.	Mangotsfield Rural	SGHER 4781; NMR 201285	Pillow mound	ST 66390 75633	1628	R	41	7		7	n/a	
Ruardean Wood	Earthwork identified as a possible pillow mound or slag heap	Glos.	Ruarden	GHER 4359	Possible pillow mound	SO 61950 16780		R	40			7	n/a	
Saintbury 1	Pillow mound in area of DMV earthworks associated with shrinkage of Saintbury village; associated with subsequent post-medieval pasture land use as overlies ridge and furrow	Glos.	Saintbury	GHER 2777; NMR 330601; NMR 330598	Pillow mound	SP 11737 39294		Post-medieval	C	12.6	12.6	0.5	5	n/a
Saintbury 2	Pillow mound in area of DMV earthworks associated with shrinkage of Saintbury village; associated with subsequent post-medieval pasture land use as overlies ridge and furrow	Glos.	Saintbury	GHER 2777; NMR 330601; NMR 330598	Pillow mound	SP 11762 39288		Post-medieval	Co			0.1	5	n/a
Saintbury 3	1539 reference to <i>Le Conyngger</i> in Saintbury and <i>Coney Holt</i> recorded on 1842 tithe map, separate from pillow mounds Saintbury 1 and 2	Glos.	Saintbury	Ellis 1912, 658	Warren	SP 1138 4058	1539	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
Selsley Common	An area on the south of Selsley Common, known in the early nineteenth century as <i>The Warren</i> , was perhaps the rabbit warren recorded in 1638; it may have been held by the tenant who died in 1533 owing a heriot of a rabbit.	Glos.	King's Stanley	VCH 1972, 242-245	Warren	SO 834 039	1533	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a			
Sezincote	Series of warren accounts held in Kent Archives from 1632-49 as part of the Cranfield Family's papers; Taylor's 1777 map names it as <i>Chapman's Warren</i>	Glos.	Sezincote	KRO U269/A444; KRO U269/A427/1-2; KRO U269/E255; Smith 1964 (a), 258	Warren	SP 14721 30526	1632	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a	
Sherborne 1	Possible pillow mound, although located along rather than across contours; alternatively it may be a long barrow	Glos.	Sherborne	GHER 9620	Possible pillow mound	SP 17090 14280		R	106	17		10	n/a	
Sherborne 2	Possible pillow mound, although located along rather than across contours; alternatively it may be a long barrow	Glos.	Sherborne	GHER 9621	Possible pillow mound	SP 16970 14188		R	81	17		10	n/a	
Siston Common 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Siston	SGHER 1377; NMR 201356	Pillow mound	ST 666 743		R	40	5		5	n/a	

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Siston Common 2	Pillow mound	Glos.	Siston	SGHER 1364; NMR 201356	Pillow mound	ST 66463 74462		C	12	12		5	n/a
Siston Common 3	Pillow mound	Glos.	Siston	SGHER 4899; NMR 201356	Pillow mound	ST 66457 74447		R	40	5		5	n/a
Siston Common 4	Pillow mound	Glos.	Siston	SGHER 6486; NMR 201356	Pillow mound	ST 66574 74289		R	35	10		5	n/a
Siston Common 5	Pillow mound	Glos.	Siston	SGHER 6487; NMR 201356	Pillow mound	ST 66533 74334		C	15	15	0.3	5	n/a
Siston Common 6	Pillow mound	Glos.	Siston	SGHER 4529; NMR 201356	Pillow mound	ST 66448 74266						5	n/a
Siston Farm 1	Pillow mound	Glos.	Siston	SGHER 1377; NMR 201380	Pillow mound	ST 68000 75000		R	40	5		4	n/a
Siston Farm 2	Pillow mound	Glos.	Siston	SGHER 1377; NMR 201380	Pillow mound	ST 68000 75000		R	40	5		4	n/a
Siston Farm 3	Pillow mound	Glos.	Siston	SGHER 1377; NMR 201380	Pillow mound	ST 68000 75000		C	12	12		4	n/a
St Briavels	Pillow Mound; <i>Coniger</i> is recorded between 1574-1671 and <i>Coneygree</i> recorded on 1842 tithe map	Glos.	St Briavels	NMR 1385927; GRO D2026/T19; Smith 1964 (c), 246	Pillow mound	SO 5325 0381	1574- 1671	R	13	6		6	n/a
St Philip	Licence to Maurice Dennis of Siston, Glos., parcels of land in the parish of St Philip, Glos, including <i>le conyngree</i> - possibly refers to parish of St Philip and St Jacob, now in Bristol	Glos.	St Philip and St Jacob	CPR Philip and Mary, Vol. 3, 337	Warren	ST 594 730	1557	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	n/a
Standish	<i>Coniger Close</i> recorded in 1672, <i>the Coneygree</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Standish	GRO D678/1 T2/6/1-10; Smith 1964b, 192	Warren	SO 8213 0763	1672	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Stroud	<i>Conegar</i> recorded in 1690	Glos.	Stroud	Smith 1964a, 140	Warren	SO 855 058	1690	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Talbots End	1444 feoffment of arable land held by Richard Tyler of William Gyffard, including 2 acres extending to the road called the Berywey to the south and to the lane called <i>Conyngers Lane</i> to the north; <i>the Conigres</i> recorded in 1609; <i>Hollow Conygre</i> , <i>Middle Conygree</i> and <i>Home Conygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Cromhall	GRO P104 CH 1/3; Smith 1964c, 5; SGHER 6173	Warren	ST 6950 9080	1444	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	n/a
Tetbury	A warrener is recorded in 1262 at North Hayes in Tetbury, although exact location unclear; rabbits stolen from free warren at Tetbury in 1316; <i>the Coniger</i> recorded in 1594, <i>Conigree</i> in 1690 and <i>Coneygre</i> on 1838 tithe map	Glos.	Tetbury	VCH 1976, 269-273; CPR Edward II, Vol. 2, 499; Smith 1964a, 113	Warren	ST 889 932	1262	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Tetbury Road	<i>Rabbit Warren</i> within boundary of Badminton Park and <i>Back Warren</i> immediately north outside the park recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Hawkesbury	SGHER 6118	Warren	ST 79500 86500	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Tewkesbury	<i>le(z) conynger(-gre)</i> recorded in 1560	Glos.	Tewkesbury	Smith 1964, 69	Warren	SO 9086 3332	1560	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Tilbury Hollow 1	Pillow mound, possibly associated with Combe Grange, a grange of Bordesley Abbey, that was situated further north along Tilbury Hollow	Glos.	Chipping Campden	GHER 2771	Pillow mound	SP 12500 36830		R	37	15	1	10	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Tilbury Hollow 2	Pillow mound, possibly associated with Combe Grange, a grange of Bordesley Abbey, that was situated further north along Tilbury Hollow	Glos.	Chipping Campden	GHER 2772	Pillow mound	SP 12590 36890		R	36	17	1	10	n/a
Tilbury Hollow 3	Pillow mound, possibly associated with Combe Grange, a grange of Bordesley Abbey, that was situated further north along Tilbury Hollow	Glos.	Chipping Campden	GHER 2773	Pillow mound	SP 12390 36870		S-R	24	20		8	n/a
Tilbury Hollow 4	Pillow mound, possibly associated with Combe Grange, a grange of Bordesley Abbey, that was situated further north along Tilbury Hollow	Glos.	Chipping Campden	GHER 2774	Pillow mound	SP 12460 36910		S-R	28	18		8	n/a
Tockington	<i>Coniger</i> recorded in 1664	Glos.	Olveston	GRO D2202/2/7/T1/3	Warren	ST 6094 8657	1664	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Tormarton	Rabbits taken from free warren and park at Tomarton	Glos.	Tormarton	CPR Edward III, Vol. 3, 283	Warren	ST 769 787	1336	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Trulls Wood 1	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 77303 71672	1575	R	34	9			
Trulls Wood 2	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 77045 71723	1575	R	17	7			
Trulls Wood 3	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 76980 71715	1575	R	21	6			
Trulls Wood 4	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 77017 71701	1575	R	14	5			
Trulls Wood 5	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 77054 71693	1575	R	16	7			
Trulls Wood 6	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 76970 71676	1575	R	16	6			
Trulls Wood 7	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 77022 71672	1575	R	11	5			
Trulls Wood 8	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 77008 71644	1575	R	12	5			
Trulls Wood 9	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 76900 71600	1575						
Trulls Wood 10	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 76900 71600	1575						
Trulls Wood 11	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 76900 71600	1575						

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Trulls Wood 12	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 76900 71600	1575						
Trulls Wood 13	Pillow mound in a field separated from rest of Trulls Wood by a low bank; reference in 1575 to <i>Rabbottes Hill</i>	Glos.	Marshfield	SGHER 3620	Pillow mound	ST 76900 71600	1575						
Twyning	<i>Le Conyngar</i> recorded in 1540, <i>Coningree</i> on tithe map	Glos.	Twyning	Smith 1964b, 73	Warren	SO 8996 3678	1540	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Upper Ditchford 1	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38661; NMR 1472040	Non-pillow mound	SP 22910 37110		C	14.3	12		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 2	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38661; NMR 1472040	Non-pillow mound	SP 22997 37175		O	18.7	10		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 3	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22281 36400		O	6.7	4		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 4	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22185 36510		C	6.3	5.4		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 5	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22236 36528		O	6.4	4.6		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 6	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 21947 36398		C	10.6	8.9		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 7	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22212 36424		C	5.9	5.3		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 8	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22247 36361		C	5.5	5		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 9	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 21993 36353		C	3.7	3.7		4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Upper Ditchford 10	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 21947 36938		C	10.6	8.3		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 11	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 21968 36438		O	8.5	5.2		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 12	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 21984 36415		O	6.1	4.1		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 13	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 21990 36383		C	7.7	6		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 14	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22035 36420		C	6.3	4.3		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 15	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22046 36445		O	7.9	5.2		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 16	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 21993 36535		C	3.8	4		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 17	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22035 36339		C	10.3	8.4		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 18	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22040 36378		C	8	7.3		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 19	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22094 36368		C	9.7	8.3		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 20	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22092 36418		O	11.1	7.3		4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Upper Ditchford 21	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22099 36433		C	7.3	6.6		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 22	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22122 36345		C	7.1	5.6		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 23	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22153 36430		O	7.3	3.9		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 24	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22170 36431		O	11.9	6.4		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 25	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22210 36452		C	6.1	5		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 26	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22225 36487		C	4.7	4.7		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 27	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22237 36431		C	5.3	4.1		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 28	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22229 36391		C	7.1	7.3		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 29	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22258 36405		O	7.8	5.2		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 30	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22289 36424		C	7	5.6		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 31	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22294 36426		C	5.5	5.5		4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Upper Ditchford 32	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22300 36442		C	5.2	3.6		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 33	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22314 36432		O	6.9	4.7		4	n/a
Upper Ditchford 34	Small mound recorded by NMP of unknown function - suggested by the NMR to be either a pillow mound or a stack stand, although both identifications seem unlikely	Glos.	Blockley	GHER 38694; NMR 1472028	Non-pillow mound	SP 22338 36460		O	9.1	5.7		4	n/a
West End Stud 1	Pillow mound or spoil heap recorded on 1946 aerial photographs, although it appears to have been levelled on aerial photographs taken in 1972	Glos.	Shipton Moyne	GHER 38332	Possible pillow mound	ST 88110 89310		R	35	9		3	n/a
West End Stud 2	Pillow mound or spoil heap recorded on 1946 aerial photographs, although it appears to have been levelled on aerial photographs taken in 1972	Glos.	Shipton Moyne	GHER 38332	Possible pillow mound	ST 88110 89310		C	25	25		3	n/a
Westbury on Severn	<i>The Conygree</i> recorded in 1637, <i>Cunygree</i> on 1839 tithe map	Glos.	Westbury on Severn	Smith 1964c, 207	Warren	SO 7059 1573	1637	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Westbury on Trym	<i>Coneygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Westbury on Trym	Smith 1964c, 144	Warren	ST 5692 7727	1848	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Weston-sub-Edge	<i>Coney Gree</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Weston-sub-Edge	GRO GDR/T1/194	Warren	SP 1320 4019	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Whittington	<i>Conygear</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Whittington	Smith 1964a, 185	Warren	SP 0146 2089	1838	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Wick	<i>The Coniger</i> recorded in 1654	Glos.	Wick and Abson	GRO D2957/2/8	Warren	ST 7015 7284	1654	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Wickwar 1	Earthwork interpreted as a possible pillow mound, field boundary or plough headland	Glos.	Wickwar	NMR 1520638	Possible pillow mound	ST 7041 8706						7	n/a
Wickwar 2	Earthwork interpreted as a possible pillow mound, field boundary or plough headland	Glos.	Wickwar	NMR 1520638	Possible pillow mound	ST 7041 8706						7	n/a
Woodchester	<i>Coneygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Woodchester	Smith 1964a, 116	Warren	SO 8415 0285	1838	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Wootton-Under-Edge	Record of trespassing <i>Conyger Wood</i> in search or pursuit of conies	Glos.	Wootton-Under-Edge	GRO Q/Gh/10/2 entry number 423	Warren	ST 7593 9411	1834	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Yate Court	A 1548-49 survey of the Berkeleys' Yate Court records "a small warreyne of conyes"; <i>Conygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Glos.	Yate	Fox 1898, 24; SGHER 6128	Warren	ST 7100 8530	1548-9	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Ashcote	People broke into the Abbot of Glastonbury's free warrens at Ashcote and stolen rabbits; several sites recorded and unclear if a rabbit warren present at every site	Somerset	Ashcote	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 40	Warren	ST 434 369	1356	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Axbridge Hill 1	Pillow mound	Somerset	Axbridge	SHER 10057; NMR 194466	Pillow mound	ST 4247 5532		R	25	10		9	n/a
Axbridge Hill 2	Pillow mound	Somerset	Axbridge	SHER 10057; NMR 194466	Pillow mound	ST 4256 5535		R	22	7		9	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Axbridge Hill 3	Pillow mound	Somerset	Axbridge	SHER 10057; NMR 194466	Pillow mound	ST 4263 5540		R	40	8		9	n/a
Babcary 1	Pillow mound overlying broad rig; HER suggests it may also be a round barrow but cannot be if overlying broad rig	Somerset	Babcary	SHER 53528; NMR 196328	Pillow mound	ST 5919 2931	Post-medieval	R	16	6	0.4	6	n/a
Babcary 2	Pillow mound overlying broad rig; HER suggests it may also be a round barrow but cannot be if overlying broad rig	Somerset	Babcary	SHER 53524; NMR 196328	Pillow mound	ST 5905 2928	Post-medieval	C	8	8	0.4	6	n/a
Babcary 3	Pillow mound overlying broad rig; HER suggests it may also be a round barrow but cannot be if overlying broad rig	Somerset	Babcary	SHER 53525; NMR 196328	Pillow mound	ST 5902 2902	Post-medieval	S-R	28	16	0.2	6	n/a
Babcary 4	Pillow mound overlying broad rig; HER suggests it may also be a round barrow but cannot be if overlying broad rig	Somerset	Babcary	SHER 53526; NMR 196328	Pillow mound	ST 5899 2895	Post-medieval	S-R	14	8	0.5	6	n/a
Babcary 5	Pillow mound overlying broad rig; HER suggests it may also be a round barrow but cannot be if overlying broad rig	Somerset	Babcary	SHER 53528; NMR 196328	Pillow mound	ST 5885 2884	Post-medieval	S-R	11	8	0.5	6	n/a
Babcary 6	Pillow mound overlying broad rig; HER suggests it may also be a round barrow but cannot be if overlying broad rig	Somerset	Babcary	SHER 53527; NMR 196328	Pillow mound	ST 5892 2884	Post-medieval	C	8	8	0.5	6	n/a
Baltonsborough	People broke into the Abbot of Glastonbury's free warrens at Baltonsborough and stolen rabbits; several sites recorded and unclear if a rabbit warren present at every site	Somerset	Baltonsborough	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 40	Warren	ST 541 350	1356	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Banwell	Pillow mound	Somerset	Banwell	NSHER 223; SM 194457	Pillow mound	ST 4030 5876		Cr				9	n/a
Barrow Gurney	<i>The Conygar</i> recorded on 1884 OS map	Somerset	Barrow Gurney	None	Warren	ST 5106 6800	1884	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Barwick	People entered William de Hastineg's free warren at Berwick, Somerset, and stole rabbits. Unclear if Berwick is the same location as Barwick	Somerset	Barwick	CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 54	Warren	ST 560 138	1307	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Batcombe 1	Pillow mound	Somerset	Batcombe	SHER 18838	Pillow mound	ST 6878 4126		R	29	8		10	n/a
Batcombe 2	Pillow mound	Somerset	Batcombe	SHER 18838	Pillow mound	ST 6885 4123		R	14	5		10	n/a
Batcombe 3	Pillow mound	Somerset	Batcombe	SHER 18838	Pillow mound	ST 6891 4121		R	19	5		10	n/a
Batcombe 4	Pillow mound	Somerset	Batcombe	SHER 18838	Pillow mound	ST 6877 4089		R	32	9		10	n/a
Batcombe 5	Pillow mound	Somerset	Batcombe	SHER 18838	Pillow mound	ST 6891 4095		R				10	n/a
Batcombe 6	Pillow mound	Somerset	Batcombe	SHER 18838	Pillow mound	ST 6891 4095						10	n/a
Batcombe 7	Pillow mound	Somerset	Batcombe	SHER 18838	Pillow mound	ST 6891 4095						10	n/a
Bathampton Down 1	Pillow mound within <i>Bathampton Warren</i> , excavated in 1925 and found to be entirely of made soil with no finds	Somerset	Bathampton	B&NES HER MBN4538	Pillow mound	ST 7698 6504		R				10	n/a
Bathampton Down 2	Pillow mound within <i>Bathampton Warren</i> , the area of which now forms a golf course and some of its pillow mounds have been partly destroyed	Somerset	Bathampton	B&NES HER MBN4539	Pillow mound	ST 7683 6533		R				6	5

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Bathampton Down 3	Pillow mound within <i>Bathampton Warren</i> , the area of which now forms a golf course and some of its pillow mounds have been partly destroyed	Somerset	Bathampton	B&NES HER MBN4540	Pillow mound	ST 7655 6519		R				6	5
Bathampton Down 4	Pillow mound within <i>Bathampton Warren</i> , the area of which now forms a golf course and some of its pillow mounds have been partly destroyed	Somerset	Bathampton	B&NES HER MBN4541	Pillow mound	ST 7690 6502		R				10	n/a
Bathampton Down 5	Pillow mound within <i>Bathampton Warren</i> , the area of which now forms a golf course and some of its pillow mounds have been partly destroyed	Somerset	Bathampton	B&NES HER MBN4542	Pillow mound	ST 7695 6531		R				6	6
Bathampton Down 6	Pillow mound within <i>Bathampton Warren</i> , the area of which now forms a golf course and some of its pillow mounds have been partly destroyed	Somerset	Bathampton	B&NES HER MBN4543	Pillow mound	ST 7704 6531		R				6	6
Bathampton Down 7	Pillow mound within <i>Bathampton Warren</i> , the area of which now forms a golf course and some of its pillow mounds have been partly destroyed	Somerset	Bathampton	B&NES HER MBN4544	Pillow mound	ST 7718 6558		R				6	6
Bathampton Down 8	Pillow mound within <i>Bathampton Warren</i> , the area of which now forms a golf course and some of its pillow mounds have been partly destroyed	Somerset	Bathampton	B&NES HER MBN4545	Pillow mound	ST 7687 6501		R				10	n/a
Bathampton Down 9	Pillow mound within <i>Bathampton Warren</i> , the area of which now forms a golf course and some of its pillow mounds have been partly destroyed	Somerset	Bathampton	B&NES HER MBN4547	Pillow mound	ST 7677 6499		R				10	n/a
Bathampton Down 10	Pillow mound within <i>Bathampton Warren</i> , the area of which now forms a golf course and some of its pillow mounds have been partly destroyed	Somerset	Bathampton	B&NES HER MBN4537	Pillow mound	ST 7711 6535		R				6	6
Beacon Hill 1	Pillow mound overlain by ridges of relict field system and can be dated to the fifteenth century or earlier on the basis of earthwork and documentary evidence	Somerset	West Quantoxhead	SHER 29779; NMR 1367308; Riley 2006, 98	Pillow mound	ST 1195 4111	c.1418	R	3.6	1.8	0.5	6	n/a
Beacon Hill 2	Pillow mound overlain by ridges of relict field system and can be dated to the fifteenth century or earlier on the basis of earthwork and documentary evidence	Somerset	West Quantoxhead	SHER 29784; NMR 1367319; Riley 2006, 98	Pillow mound	ST 1197 4108	c.1418	C	2	2	0.8	6	n/a
Beech Wood	Possible pillow mound excavated in 1911; nothing was found except a few flints, some Roman pottery sherds and a probable eighteenth-century tobacco pipe bowl	Somerset	Charlcombe	B&NES HER MBN2002	Possible pillow mound	ST 7216 7025		R	16.5	5.5	0.6	10	n/a
Bere Farm	Pillow mound	Somerset	Brushford	EHM MMO3365; NMR 1494148	Pillow mound	SS 8905 2703		R	60	7		5	n/a
Bincombe	<i>Warren House</i> recorded on OS maps	Somerset	Nether Stowey	SHER 11026	Warren	ST 1762 3888	1888	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Binford Wood	A linear mound picked out by different vegetation was noted by Somerset HER officer from across the valley - possibly a boundary bank although it appeared to have two clear ends and is perhaps a pillow mound.	Somerset	Broomfield	SHER 27699	Possible pillow mound	ST 264 321						4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Black Down 1	Pillow mound; 1946 aerial photos appear to show Black Down 1-2 mounds as one earthwork that has been split by trackway running over the mound	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 24126	Pillow mound	ST 4744 5785		R	30	7		6	n/a
Black Down 2	Pillow mound; 1946 aerial photos appear to show Black Down 1-2 mounds as one earthwork that has been split by trackway running over the mound	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 24126	Pillow mound	ST 4746 5785		R	22	2		6	n/a
Brean Down	Pillow mound, possibly associated with rabbit warrens on Brean Down mentioned in reign of Edward III and in 1637	Somerset	Brean	SHER 10127; SHER 12610; NMR 191311; NMR 1065945	Pillow mound	ST 29635 58842	1327- 1377	R	15	6	0.6	8	n/a
Bridgetown 1	Pillow mound	Somerset	Exton	EHER MMO1031; NMR 1133899	Pillow mound	SS 92664 32879		R	19	8.8		6	n/a
Bridgetown 2	Pillow mound	Somerset	Exton	EHER MMO1031; NMR 1133899	Pillow mound	SS 92668 32869		R	18.3	8.7		6	n/a
Bridgetown 3	Pillow mound	Somerset	Exton	EHER MMO1031; NMR 1133899	Pillow mound	SS 92710 32885		S-R	25.4	13.4		6	n/a
Bridgwater	Grant to Nicholas Halswell and Thomas Sydney of Norfolk various lands in throughout the county including <i>le conynger</i> (3 acres) in Bridgwater	Somerset	Bridgwater	CPR Edward VI, Vol. 5, 54	Warren	ST 303 370	1553	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Brockley Court Farm	HER reports that this field "has an old rabbit warren at one end but no sign of a burial chamber"	Somerset	Brockley	NSHER 4694; NMR 194964	Warren	ST 4640 6720		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Bruton Abbey 1	Pillow mound in the outer precinct of Bruton Abbey; probably associated with post-Dissolution mansion of the Berkeleys as it overlies ditch of the precinct boundary	Somerset	Bruton	SHER 53603; SM 1020015	Pillow mound	ST 68380 34379	Post- medieval	R	69	7	0.8	8	n/a
Bruton Abbey 2	Pillow mound in the outer precinct of Bruton Abbey; probably associated with post-Dissolution mansion of the Berkeleys	Somerset	Bruton	SHER 53603	Pillow mound	ST 68401 34420	Post- medieval	R	80	5		8	n/a
Bruton Abbey 3	Pillow mound in the outer precinct of Bruton Abbey; probably associated with post-Dissolution mansion of the Berkeleys	Somerset	Bruton	SHER 53603	Pillow mound	ST 68400 34436	Post- medieval	R	32	5		8	n/a
Butleigh Farm	Possible rabbit warren recorded here by Somerset HER. People broke into the Abbot of Glastonbury's free warren at Bodecleye (Butleigh) and stole rabbits. Not necessarily this specific site, but exact location is unknown	Somerset	Butleigh	SHER 23187; CPR Edward III, Vol. 1, 40	Warren	ST 523 341	1356	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Bye Common	A previously reported alleged pillow mound could not be located during field investigation in 1997; it may be a natural feature	Somerset	Winsford	EHER MSO8558; EHER MSO11205	Possible pillow mound	SS 8842 3625						4	n/a
Cameley	Pillow mound	Somerset	Cameley	B&NES HER MBN5248	Pillow mound	ST 611 574		R				4	n/a
Camerton House	HER records an arrowhead found in the warren at Camerton House; no details of the warren itself are recorded	Somerset	Camerton	B&NES HER MBN5185	Warren	ST 680 570		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Cannington Park	This area is known as <i>The Warren</i> and may be part of Cannington Park; the park had a rabbit warren in the 1480s south-east of Gurney Street where the name <i>Conygars</i> survived into the nineteenth-century	Somerset	Cannington	SHER 10009; VCH 1992, 73-76	Warren	ST 253 405	1480s	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Carhampton	Complaint by John de Mohun that people broke into his free warren at Carampton and took rabbits	Somerset	Carhampton	Patent Roll Edward III, Vol. 10, 231	Warren	ST 010 424	1355	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Castle Cary 1	Pillow mound in grounds of Castle Cary; 2011 geophys survey held by Somerset HER shows them to overlie a rectangular building within the castle bailey	Somerset	Castle Cary	NMR 200127	Pillow mound	ST 64162 32208		R	17	6		8	n/a
Castle Cary 2	Pillow mound in grounds of Castle Cary; 2011 geophys survey held by Somerset HER shows them to overlie a rectangular building within the castle bailey	Somerset	Castle Cary	NMR 200127	Pillow mound	ST 64178 32223		R	23	7		8	n/a
Castle Cary 3	Pillow mound in grounds of Castle Cary; 2011 geophys survey held by Somerset HER shows them to overlie a rectangular building within the castle bailey	Somerset	Castle Cary	NMR 200127	Pillow mound	ST 64191 32234		R	17	6		8	n/a
Charlton Horethorne	People broke into Henry de Lacey's free warren of Cherleton and took rabbits; many sites were broken into and unclear if rabbit warrens were present at each site. However Thomas Gargrave and William Adam the Younger were granted a close called <i>conygarth</i> in Chewton and Charleton in 1549, and which may refer to the same location	Somerset	Charlton Horethorne	CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 544; CPR Edward VI, Vol. 2, 198	Warren	ST 664 231	1307	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Chelvey Court	The manor house is described as having an adjoining park and warren	Somerset	Brockley	LB 194931	Warren	ST 4655 6838	1791	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Chewton Mendip	Grant to Thomas Gargrave and William Adam the Younger a close called <i>conygarth</i> and lands in Chewton and Charleton in tenure of Nicholas Fitzjames which belonged to the monastery of Keynsham, Somerset. From this wording it is not clear if the warren was in Chewton or Charleton or in both, however.	Somerset	Chewton Mendip	CPR Edward VI, Vol. 2, 198	Warren	ST 599 531	1549	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Chewton Place	<i>Conygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Keynsham	B&NES HER MBN3391	Warren	ST 654 673	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Churchstanton	<i>Trickey Warren</i> and <i>Trickey Warren Farm</i> recorded on OS maps	Somerset	Churchstanton	SHER 43186	Warren	ST 202 151	1888	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Claverton Manor	<i>Conygre Plantation</i> placename; an undated description of the demesne of Claverton describes a warren of 80 acres value £25.00	Somerset	Claverton	B&NES HER MBN5647	Warren	ST 785 638		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	6
Compton Dando 1	<i>Conygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Compton Dando	B&NES HER MBN3991	Warren	ST 666 654	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Compton Dando 2	<i>Rabbit Paddock</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Compton Dando	B&NES HER MBN5986	Warren	ST 64 64	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Compton Pauncefoot	<i>Warren Hill</i> recorded on OS maps	Somerset	Compton Pauncefoot	SHER 53783	Warren	ST 648 264	1887	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	n/a
Coneygore Hill	Placename probably indicates a rabbit warren here. A large sandy bank runs along the length of the northern section of the hill - is this a possible pillow mound or warren boundary?	Somerset	Stoke Trister	SHER 54609	Warren	ST 732 281	1887	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Coneygore Wood	<i>Coneygore</i> and <i>Coneygore Wood</i> recorded on OS maps; a low linear mound and ditch may be a pillow mound	Somerset	Charlton Musgrove	SHER 55158	Pillow mound	ST 7473 3218	1886					8	6
Conygar Hill	<i>Conygar Hill</i> suggests indicates presence of rabbit warren; a mound in the interior of the hillfort may be a pillow mound	Somerset	Portbury	NSHER 454; NMR 195214	Pillow mound	ST 4989 7509	1884	C			1.5	10	n/a
Conygar Wood	<i>Conygar Wood</i> indicates the presence of a warren, considered by the HER to have been attached to Dunster Castle; a 1355 complaint by John de Mohun that people broke into his free warren at Dunster and took rabbits is recorded in the patent rolls. Sir John Luttrell's accounts show he built a lodge at the rabbit warren at Dunster, and he was at Dunster from 1405 and died in 1428	Somerset	Dunster	EHER MSO11240; CPR Edward III, Vol. 10, 231	Warren	SS 990 441	1355	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Conygarth Farm	<i>Congers Copse</i> and <i>Congers Farm</i> recorded on OS maps	Somerset	Selwood	SHER 24479	Warren	ST 814 479	1888	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	n/a
Conygre Farm	The farm lies within a probable warren, which has been identified with a thirteenth-century warren of the Abbot of Keynsham and is possibly the site of a medieval warreners lodge. The Abbot of Keynsham was granted a licence to create a rabbit warren in 1280 at <i>Wynterleye</i> at Keynsham, although the exact location of this place is unclear.	Somerset	Keynsham	B&NES HER MBN9407; CPR Edward I, Vol. 1, 371	Warren	ST 656 676	1280	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Cothay	<i>Conygore Wood</i> recorded on OS maps	Somerset	Stawley	SHER 43590	Warren	ST 084 199	1889	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Cothelstone Hill 1	Pillow mound; Cothelstone manor was owned by an absentee landlord between the mid-seventeenth century and the end of the eighteenth century, suggesting a medieval rather than post-medieval date for the pillow mound	Somerset	Cothelstone	SHER 43026; NMR 1370648; Riley 2006, 99	Pillow mound	ST 1912 3265	Medieval?	R	27	12	1.3	4	n/a
Cothelstone Hill 2	Pillow mound overlying relict field system	Somerset	Cothelstone	SHER 28592; NMR 1466636	Pillow mound	ST 1923 3244	Post-medieval	R	54	8	1.3	4	n/a
Cricket Court	<i>The Warren</i> recorded on OS maps. There is a large earthwork bank along the east side with a ditch to the east which is occupied by an avenue of trees on the 1887 OS map but nothing is shown on the title map of 1843 where the area is part of <i>West Field</i> . This may suggest that the suitably rustic name may have been applied when the park was laid out around Cricket Court	Somerset	Knowle St Giles	SHER 53218	Warren	ST 35600 11400	1887	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Crowcombe Park 1	A probable ploughed over pillow mound in an area where a warren was documented in the early seventeenth century suggests that is earlier than the field system.	Somerset	Crowcombe	SHER 22553; NMR 1440508	Pillow mound	ST 1466 3745	Medieval?	S-R	6.2	4.3	0.4	6	n/a
Crowcombe Park 2	A probable ploughed over pillow mound in an area where a warren was documented in the early seventeenth century suggests that is earlier than the field system.	Somerset	Crowcombe	SHER 22554; NMR 1440509	Pillow mound	ST 1458 3722	Medieval?	S-R	7.4	5	0.6	6	n/a
Crowcombe Park 3	A probable ploughed over pillow mound in an area where a warren was documented in the early seventeenth century suggests that is earlier than the field system.	Somerset	Crowcombe	SHER 22555; NMR 1440510	Pillow mound	ST 1464 3725	Medieval?	S-R	11.5	6.5	0.6	6	n/a
Crowcombe Park 4	A probable ploughed over pillow mound in an area where a warren was documented in the early seventeenth century suggests that is earlier than the field system.	Somerset	Crowcombe	SHER 34602	Pillow mound	ST 1466 3745	Medieval?	S-R	6.2	4.3	0.4	6	n/a
Dial Hill	Pillow mound	Somerset	Clevedon	NSHER 465; NMR 1465060	Pillow mound	ST 4078 7199		R	43	7	0.7	9	n/a
Dinder Wood	<i>The Warren</i> recorded on OS maps as an enclosed area	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 23372	Warren	ST 5814 4540	1887	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	n/a
Dolebury Warren 1	Pillow mound within Dolebury Hillfort; one of the site's pillow mounds is overlain by narrow rig although there is evidence of two phases at the warren as another pillow mound is overlain by a vermin trap	Somerset	Churchill	NSHER 5893; SM 194279; NMR 1494857	Pillow mound	ST 4488 5892		R	90	7		9	n/a
Dolebury Warren 2	Pillow mound within Dolebury Hillfort; one of the site's pillow mounds is overlain by narrow rig although there is evidence of two phases at the warren as another pillow mound is overlain by a vermin trap	Somerset	Churchill	NSHER 5893; SM 194279; NMR 1494857	Pillow mound	ST 4500 5895		R	158	11		9	n/a
Dolebury Warren 3	Pillow mound within Dolebury Hillfort; one of the site's pillow mounds is overlain by narrow rig although there is evidence of two phases at the warren as another pillow mound is overlain by a vermin trap	Somerset	Churchill	NSHER 5893; SM 194279; NMR 1494857	Pillow mound	ST 4511 5894		R	55	6		9	n/a
Dolebury Warren 4	Pillow mound within Dolebury Hillfort; one of the site's pillow mounds is overlain by narrow rig although there is evidence of two phases at the warren as another pillow mound is overlain by a vermin trap	Somerset	Churchill	NSHER 5893; SM 194279; NMR 1494857	Pillow mound	ST 4519 5890		R	64	9		9	n/a
Dolebury Warren 5	Pillow mound within Dolebury Hillfort; one of the site's pillow mounds is overlain by narrow rig although there is evidence of two phases at the warren as another pillow mound is overlain by a vermin trap	Somerset	Churchill	NSHER 5893; SM 194279; NMR 1494857	Pillow mound	ST 4491 5897		R	165	7		9	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Dolebury Warren 6	Pillow mound within Dolebury Hillfort; one of the site's pillow mounds is overlain by narrow rig although there is evidence of two phases at the warren as another pillow mound is overlain by a vermin trap	Somerset	Churchill	NSHER 5893; SM 194279; NMR 1494857	Pillow mound	ST 4493 5889		R	90	7		9	n/a
Dolebury Warren 7	Pillow mound within Dolebury Hillfort; one of the site's pillow mounds is overlain by narrow rig although there is evidence of two phases at the warren as another pillow mound is overlain by a vermin trap	Somerset	Churchill	NSHER 5893; SM 194279; NMR 1494857	Pillow mound	ST 4486 5887		R	24	6		9	n/a
Doutling Manor Farm	<i>Conygre</i> and <i>Conygre Orchard</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Doutling	SHER 11097	Warren	ST 6465 4302	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Dry Hill	Pillow mound, possibly associated with Warren Farm's pillow mounds although somewhat separate from it	Somerset	Exmoor	EHF MSO11037; NMR 974891	Pillow mound	SS 8008 4041		R	21.3	7.2	1.8	4	n/a
Duke's Plantation	Pillow mound recorded on aerial photographs	Somerset	Holford	SHER 26753; NMR 1373894	Pillow mound	ST 1683 3958		R	38	10		5	n/a
Dunkerton	<i>Coneygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Dunkerton	B&NES HER MBN5940	Warren	ST 72 60	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Elsworthy	Pillow mound or mining earthworks	Somerset	Exmoor	EHF MSO11034; EHF MSO7035; NMR 974888	Possible pillow mound	SS 8148 4075		R				4	n/a
Evercreech 1	<i>Connegar</i> recorded on 1775 map; 20002 earthwork survey of the field suggested pillow mounds although a small area of geophysical survey was inconclusive	Somerset	Evercreech	SHER 17894	Possible pillow mound	ST 64916 38890	1775	O				6	n/a
Evercreech 2	<i>Connegar</i> recorded on 1775 map; 20002 earthwork survey of the field suggested pillow mounds although a small area of geophysical survey was inconclusive	Somerset	Evercreech	SHER 17894	Possible pillow mound	ST 64916 38845	1775	Ch				6	n/a
Evercreech 3	<i>Connegar</i> recorded on 1775 map; 20002 earthwork survey of the field suggested pillow mounds although a small area of geophysical survey was inconclusive	Somerset	Evercreech	SHER 17894	Possible pillow mound	ST 64935 38861	1775	O				6	n/a
Evercreech 4	<i>Connegar</i> recorded on 1775 map; 20002 earthwork survey of the field suggested pillow mounds although a small area of geophysical survey was inconclusive	Somerset	Evercreech	SHER 17894	Possible pillow mound	ST 64922 38819	1775	O				6	n/a
Evercreech 5	<i>Connegar</i> recorded on 1775 map; 20002 earthwork survey of the field suggested pillow mounds although a small area of geophysical survey was inconclusive	Somerset	Evercreech	SHER 17894	Possible pillow mound	ST 64926 38797	1775	O				6	n/a
Evercreech 6	<i>Connegar</i> recorded on 1775 map; 20002 earthwork survey of the field suggested pillow mounds although a small area of geophysical survey was inconclusive	Somerset	Evercreech	SHER 17894	Possible pillow mound	ST 64998 38832	1775	R				6	n/a

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Feltham	<i>Warren House</i> recorded on 1888 OS map; however it is the probable home of the Warren family, famous non-conformist preachers, who lived in the parish from at least the 17th C. and may well, therefore, not indicate a rabbit warren	Somerset	Otterhampton	SHER 43486	Warren	ST 2279 1660	1888	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Fernhill Farm	<i>Rabbit Warren, Warren Lodge and Warren Farm</i> recorded on OS maps	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 24194	Warren	ST 527 559	1885	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	n/a
Green Town Batch	<i>Rabbit Warren</i> recorded on c1904 map	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 18217	Warren	ST 5670 5403	1904	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Greinton	People broke into the Abbot of Glastonbury's free warren at Greinton and took rabbits; numerous sites broken into and unclear if every named site would have had a rabbit warren, however	Somerset	Greinton	CPR Edward III, Vol. 10, 40	Warren	ST 408 362	1356	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
Ham Hill 1	Pillow mound overlying part of boundary scarp that separates two separate former properties at the southern end of the DMV of <i>Lower Warren</i> . The warren was possibly built in the 17th C. in conjunction with the creation of a deer park as it is certainly later than the DMV since it is found within the settlement earthworks	Somerset	Stoke sub Hamdon	SHER 54296; NMR 1086793	Pillow mound	ST 4898 1670	17th C.	R	47	7	0.9	8	n/a
Ham Hill 2	On the woodland and pasture of Ham Hill in 1248 the Beauchamps established a warren; in 1339 1,000 rabbits were stolen from it while in 1456-7 it was unstocked and valueless, though it remained part of the demesne estate until the end of the 16th C.	Somerset	Stoke sub Hamdon	SHER 54314	Warren	ST 487 166	1248	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Hanham Court	<i>Warren</i> marked to the north of Keynsham parish but may be the warren for Hanham Court	Somerset	Hanham Abbots	B&NES HER MBN3392	Warren	ST 647 699		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	n/a
Hardington	A pillow mound, destroyed in October 1977. A warren is recorded in 1693 as part of Sir Charles Bampfylde's estate associated with a park.	Somerset	Hemington	SHER 23663	Pillow mound	ST 7400 5288	1693	R	70	10			
Henstridge	People broke into Henry de Lacey's free warren at Henstridge and took rabbits; numerous sites are mentioned and it is unclear whether every named site would have had a rabbit warren, however.	Somerset	Henstridge	CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 544	Warren	ST 723 198	1307	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Herne Hill	A 19th-C. rabbit warren was created on the north side of Herne Hill whose construction caused the boundaries of atdeer park to be altered	Somerset	Donyatt	SHER 56952	Warren	ST 351 140	19th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Heygrave	Complaint by William son of William la Zouche that people entered his close at Heygrave, entered his free warren there and took away rabbits	Somerset	Bridgwater	CPR Richard II, Vol. 1, 50	Warren	ST 285 362	1380	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Hinton Park	<i>Old Warren</i> recorded on OS maps; suggested as being a medieval warren which presumably was replaced by the new warren to the south of Hinton Park, now in West Crewkerne parish	Somerset	Hinton St George	SHER 54009	Warren	ST 406 115	Medieval?	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	n/a

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Hinton Park 2	<i>Warren Copse, Warren Spring, Warren Hill and Warren House</i> printed on OSAD 6" map; was presumably the warren attached to Hinton Park which was used when the previous <i>Old Warren</i> went out of use	Somerset	West Crewkerne	SHER 54682	Warren	ST 406 101	1888	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Hinton Priory 1	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7774 5932		C			1.2	3	n/a
Hinton Priory 2	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7740 5904		C			0.6	3	n/a
Hinton Priory 3	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7746 5903		C			0.45	3	n/a
Hinton Priory 4	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7746 5898		C			0.3	3	n/a
Hinton Priory 5	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7755 5908						3	n/a
Hinton Priory 6	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7757 5909		C			1	3	n/a
Hinton Priory 7	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7761 5904		C			0.6	3	n/a
Hinton Priory 8	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7760 5906		R			0.6	3	n/a
Hinton Priory 9	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7759 5903		C			0.46	3	n/a
Hinton Priory 10	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7756 5902		C			0.6	3	n/a

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Hinton Priory 11	Mound in complex of earthworks associated with Hinton Priory; may be a possible pillow mound, a barrow or the product of eighteenth-century landscaping activities	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN1630	Possible pillow mound	ST 7744 5900		R			0.7	3	n/a
Holman Clavel 1	Earthwork identified as a pillow mound or long barrow, although the HER records that neither interpretation is "convincing"	Somerset	Otterford	SHER 25495; SHER 29887	Possible pillow mound	ST 2273 1633		O	17.7	8	1.3	8	5
Holman Clavel 2	Pillow mound	Somerset	Otterford	SHER 29890; SHER 29887	Pillow mound	ST 2278 1651		O				6	n/a
Holman Clavel 3	Pillow mound	Somerset	Otterford	SHER 29889; SHER 29887	Pillow mound	ST 2269 1647		O	16	9	1.3	10	n/a
Holman Clavel 4	Pillow mound	Somerset	Otterford	SHER 29888; SHER 29887; NMR 1479550	Pillow mound	ST 2264 1647		O				10	n/a
Holman Clavel 5	Pillow mound	Somerset	Otterford	SHER 29892; SHER 29887	Pillow mound	ST 2275 1643		O				6	n/a
Holman Clavel 6	Pillow mound	Somerset	Otterford	SHER 29891; SHER 29887	Pillow mound	ST 2267 1638		O				6	n/a
Horrington Hill	Possible pillow mound, although it could be a long barrow and was not visible on a survey of aerial photographs and LiDAR in the Mendip AONB	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 24903	Possible pillow mound	ST 5793 4798		R	14	4.5	0.6	9	n/a
Horsen	A pillow mound is alleged at this location, however no trace was visible during field investigation	Somerset	Exmoor	MSO6917	Pillow mound	SS 7939 3700		R	7.62	2.44		4	n/a
Kelston Manor	Pillow mound within the garden of Kelston Manor; fields to the south of the mound are called <i>Coneygeare</i> on 1744 estate map and tithe map	Somerset	Kelston	B&NES HER MBN3557; B&NES HER MBN5668	Pillow mound	ST 701 668	1744				0.5	6	6
Kilve	<i>Conygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Kilve	SHER 34544	Warren	ST 148 439	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	n/a
Kingsbury Regis	People broke into Henry de Lacey's free warrent at Kyngesbury and took away rabbits; numerous sites mentioned and it is unclear whether every named site would have had a rabbit warren, however	Somerset	Milborne Port	CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 544	Warren	ST 677 187	1307	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Larkbarrow Farm	Earthwork that may be a pillow mound or it may be associated with Second World War training activities	Somerset	Exmoor	EHM MMO1229	Possible pillow mound	SS 8219 4220		R	20	8		6	n/a
Leigh Common	A rabbit warren was mentioned in 1631 in fields attached to the mill	Somerset	Penselwood	VCH 1999a, 184-192	Warren	ST 766 319	1631	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Leigh Farm	<i>Conygear</i> recorded in 1776, <i>Conegre</i> on 1839 tithe map	Somerset	Publow	B&NES HER MBN8680; B&NES HER MBN8710	Warren	ST 628 632	1776	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Limington 1	Pillow mound in area named <i>The Warren</i> and <i>Warren Plantation</i> on OS maps	Somerset	Limington	SHER 54161; NMR 620079	Pillow mound	ST 551 207	1887					6	n/a
Limington 2	Pillow mound in area named <i>The Warren</i> and <i>Warren Plantation</i> on OS maps	Somerset	Limington	SHER 54161; NMR 620079	Pillow mound	ST 551 207	1887					6	n/a
Limington 3	Pillow mound in area named <i>The Warren</i> and <i>Warren Plantation</i> on OS maps	Somerset	Limington	SHER 54161; NMR 620079	Pillow mound	ST 551 207	1887					6	n/a

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Limington 4	Pillow mound in area named <i>The Warren and Warren Plantation</i> on OS maps	Somerset	Limington	SHER 54161; NMR 620079	Pillow mound	ST 551 207	1887					6	n/a
Little Down Farm 1	Pillow mound; B&NES HER cites a map of 1787	Somerset	Charlcombe	B&NES HER MBN1644; NMR 1004677	Pillow mound	ST 709 689	1787?	R			0.5	10	n/a
Little Down Farm 2	Pillow mound; B&NES HER cites a map of 1787	Somerset	Charlcombe	B&NES HER MBN1647	Pillow mound	ST 709 688	1787?	R			0.4	10	n/a
Little Down Farm 3	Pillow mound; B&NES HER cites a map of 1787	Somerset	Charlcombe	B&NES HER MBN1650	Pillow mound	ST 7110 6883	1787?	R			1	10	n/a
Little Down Farm 4	Pillow mound; B&NES HER cites a map of 1787	Somerset	Charlcombe	B&NES HER MBN1656	Pillow mound	ST 711 691	1787?	S-R	10.4	6.4	0.46	10	n/a
Lord's Wood	<i>Warren House, Lower Warren and Upper Warren</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Compton Dando	B&NES HER MBN3988	Warren	ST 635 628	1842	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Low Ham	The ground rising to the south of the Hext House was occupied in 1662 by 5 acres of warren and orchards and 2 acres of gardens; One of the enclosures shown on a map of 1779 is called <i>Hare and Rabbit Warren</i> , which is aligned with the mansion and so is probably contemporary with it. However, a reinterpretation of the earthworks suggested that the area of the warren is in fact the Stawell Garden	Somerset	High Ham	VCH 2004a, 70-91; SHER 53985	Warren	ST 432 289	1662	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Low Water	Near the Priest's house of St Katherine's Manor was <i>the Coneygar</i>	Somerset	Frome	SHER 23526	Warren	ST 774 486		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Loxton 1	Pillow mound	Somerset	Loxton	NMR 1493738	Pillow mound	ST 3810 5761		C	7	7		10	n/a
Loxton 2	Pillow mound	Somerset	Loxton	NMR 1493738	Pillow mound	ST 3810 5761		C	7	7		10	n/a
Loxton 3	Pillow mound	Somerset	Loxton	NMR 1493738	Pillow mound	ST 3810 5761		R	10	4		10	n/a
Lytes Cary 1	Pillow mound or possible building platform	Somerset	Charlton Mackrell	SHER 53708	Possible pillow mound	ST 532 256		R				7	n/a
Lytes Cary 2	Pillow mound or possible building platform	Somerset	Charlton Mackrell	SHER 53708	Possible pillow mound	ST 532 256		R				7	n/a
Lytes Cary 3	Pillow mound or possible building platform	Somerset	Charlton Mackrell	SHER 53708	Possible pillow mound	ST 532 256		R				7	n/a
Lytes Cary 4	Pillow mound or possible building platform	Somerset	Charlton Mackrell	SHER 53708	Possible pillow mound	ST 532 256		R				7	n/a
Lytes Cary 5	Pillow mound or possible building platform	Somerset	Charlton Mackrell	SHER 53708	Possible pillow mound	ST 532 256		R				7	n/a
Manor Farm	Pillow mound	Somerset	Chapel Allerton	SHER 11223	Pillow mound	ST 4096 5021		R	46	10			
Marshwood	Complaint by John de Mohun that people broke into his free warren at Merreshewode and took rabbits	Somerset	Dunster	CPR Edward III, Vol. 10, 231	Warren	ST 027 427	1355	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Minehead 1	<i>Warren House, Warren Point and The Warren</i> recorded on OS maps	Somerset	Minehead	SHER 35156	Warren	SS 988 465	1889	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	n/a
Minehead 2	Complaint by John de Mohun that people broke into his free warren at Minehead and took rabbits	Somerset	Minehead	CPR Edward III, Vol. 10, 231	Warren	SS 96 45	1355	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Moorlinch	People broke into the Abbot of Glastonbury free warren at Murlynch and took rabbits	Somerset	Moorlinch	CPR Edward III, Vol. 10, 40	Warren	ST 397 373	1356	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Neroche Castle	Pillow mound in the area between the outer ramparts of the Norman bailey	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 43844; NMR 190317	Pillow mound	ST 2725 1565						5	n/a

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Nether Stowey	There are several placenames in the area to the southwest of Nether Stowey Castle, at the foot of Bincombe and on the lower slopes of Great Bear, to suggest that this was the location of a 13th-C. deer park and warren associated with the castle	Somerset	Nether Stowey	SHER 17901	Warren	ST 1810 3908	13th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Newton Park	<i>Coneygar</i> marked on 1789 estate map south-east of house in area of the later park, which is visible as an unploughed area on aerial photographs	Somerset	Newton St Low	B&NES HER MBN5992	Warren	ST 699 639	1789	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
North Curry	Complaint by the dean and chapter of Wells Cathedral that people broke into their free warren at Northcory, Somerset, and took rabbits	Somerset	North Curry	CPR Edward III, Vol. 1, 32	Warren	ST 320 252	1376	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Norton Malreward 1	Possible pillow mounds in fields to the NE of the court	Somerset	Norton Malreward	B&NES HER MBN5240	Pillow mound	ST 599 653						4	6
Norton Malreward 2	Possible pillow mounds in fields to the NE of the court	Somerset	Norton Malreward	B&NES HER MBN5254	Pillow mound	ST 602 650						6	n/a
Orchardleigh Park	<i>Warren Plantation</i> recorded on OS maps	Somerset	Lullington	SHER 23757	Warren	ST 767 505	1904	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
Peipard's Farm 1	Pillow mound	Somerset	Freshford	B&NES HER MBN1830	Pillow mound	ST 7721 6021						3	n/a
Peipard's Farm 2	Pillow mound	Somerset	Freshford	B&NES HER MBN1831	Pillow mound	ST 7725 6018			6	0.2		3	n/a
Pen Hill 1	Pillow mound, one of seven on Pen Hill. The southwestern end of one mound has been eroded by the construction of a post-medieval stock pond, suggesting that the pillow mounds predate the pond	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 24360	Pillow mound	ST 5640 4872	Medieval?	R	219	10		6	n/a
Pen Hill 2	Pillow mound, one of seven on Pen Hill. The southwestern end of one mound has been eroded by the construction of a post-medieval stock pond, suggesting that the pillow mounds predate the pond	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 24360	Pillow mound	ST 5640 4872	Medieval?	S-R				6	n/a
Pen Hill 3	Pillow mound, one of seven on Pen Hill. The southwestern end of one mound has been eroded by the construction of a post-medieval stock pond, suggesting that the pillow mounds predate the pond	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 24360	Pillow mound	ST 5640 4872	Medieval?	S-R				6	n/a
Pen Hill 4	Pillow mound, one of seven on Pen Hill. The southwestern end of one mound has been eroded by the construction of a post-medieval stock pond, suggesting that the pillow mounds predate the pond	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 24360	Pillow mound	ST 5640 4872	Medieval?	S-R				6	n/a
Pen Hill 5	Pillow mound, one of seven on Pen Hill. The southwestern end of one mound has been eroded by the construction of a post-medieval stock pond, suggesting that the pillow mounds predate the pond	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 24360	Pillow mound	ST 5640 4872	Medieval?	S-R				6	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Pen Hill 6	Pillow mound, one of seven on Pen Hill. The southwestern end of one mound has been eroded by the construction of a post-medieval stock pond, suggesting that the pillow mounds predate the pond	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 24360	Pillow mound	ST 5640 4872	Medieval?	S-R				6	n/a
Pen Hill 7	Pillow mound, one of seven on Pen Hill. The southwestern end of one mound has been eroded by the construction of a post-medieval stock pond, suggesting that the pillow mounds predate the pond	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 24360	Pillow mound	ST 5640 4872	Medieval?	S-R				6	n/a
Pitminster	Earthwork that may be a pillow mound or connected with eartmoving for the construction of a reservoir	Somerset	Pitminster	SHER 31777	Possible pillow mound	ST 1871 1758		R	26	7.5	1.5	4	n/a
Plainsfield Camp	Pillow mound overlain by ridges, which could be the remains of a relict field system or part of the process of planting the area as part of Great Wood in the early twentieth century, suggesting the mound may be medieval	Somerset	Over Stowey	SHER 26726; NMR 1363092; Riley 2006, 99	Pillow mound	ST 1844 3622	Medieval?	R	19	7	1	5	n/a
Porlock Parks	Porlock Parks were established by Sir Nigel Loring in the fourteenth century. Elements of the park include <i>Cunnigar Plantation</i> recorded on 1891 OS map	Somerset	Porlock	EHER MSO7977	Warren	SS 8790 4653	1891	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Portbury	Reference to rabbit warren in 1327; in 1368 it is named as <i>Le Holmes</i>	Somerset	Portbury	CIPM, Vol.7, 86; CIPM, Vol. 12, 193	Warren	ST 502 753	1327	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Priston	Pillow mound	Somerset	Priston	B&NES HER MBN5262	Pillow mound	ST 687 605		R				4	n/a
Pristonmill	<i>Conegre</i> recorded north of stream on tithe map; stream still called <i>Conygre Brook</i> today	Somerset	Priston	B&NES HER MBN5936	Warren	ST 69 61	1840	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Rodhuish	Complaint by John de Mohun that people broke into his free warren at Redehewys and rabbits	Somerset	Rodhuish	CPR Edward III, Vol. 10, 231	Warren	ST 016 396	1355	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Rookery Farm	Prior to enclosure in 1792 the fields to the south of rookery Farm were known as <i>Whitnol Warren</i> . An estate map for Chilcote of 1788 shows this as an open area of common with a warrener's watch tower	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 12175	Warren	ST 601 477	1788	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	n/a
Roweberrow Warren 1	Pillow mound lying along contours rather than across them	Somerset	Shipham	SHER 10792; NMR 618421	Pillow mound	ST 45926 58235		R	39	8		10	n/a
Roweberrow Warren 2	Pillow mound lying along contours rather than across them	Somerset	shipham	SHER 10792; NMR 618421	Pillow mound	ST 45961 58145		R	48	17		10	n/a
Roweberrow Warren 3	Pillow mound lying along contours rather than across them	Somerset	shipham	SHER 10792; NMR 618421	Pillow mound	ST 46003 58095		R	47	7		10	n/a
Roweberrow Warren 4	Pillow mound lying along contours rather than across them	Somerset	shipham	SHER 10792; NMR 618421	Pillow mound	ST 46170 58053		R	93	10		10	n/a
Roweberrow Warren 5	Pillow mound lying along contours rather than across them	Somerset	shipham	SHER 10792; NMR 618421	Pillow mound	ST 46242 57969		R	92	9		10	n/a
Rowley House	<i>Warren Wood</i> recorded on OS maps	Somerset	Combe Hay	B&NES HER MBN6156	Warren	ST 74 60	1889	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Seavington Abbots	<i>Great Conygre</i> recorded on tithe map adjoining <i>Court Field</i> and <i>Court Field Close</i>	Somerset	Seavington St Mary	SHER 53399	Warren	ST 4028 1504	1841	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Shapwick	People broke into the Abbot of Glastonbury's free warren at Shapwick and took rabbits; east of the manor house is a field known as <i>Horsepark</i> , part of which had been made a rabbit warren by 1726	Somerset	Shapwick	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 40; VCH 2004a, 160-179	Warren	ST 4168 3883	1356	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Sharpham Park	<i>Cunnigar Copse</i> recorded on OS maps in the centre of Sharpham Park	Somerset	Sharpham	SHER 24921	Warren	ST 4600 3792	1821	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
South Hill	Extensive earthworks of remnants of field system, ridge and furrow and lynchets and possible pillow mound reportedly overlying ridge and furrow.	Somerset	Bleadon	NSHER 3596; NMR 192510	Possible pillow mound	ST 34619 56774	Post-medieval	R	15.3	3.9		9	n/a
Spargrove 1	<i>Great Coneygar</i> and <i>Little Coneygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Batcombe	SHER 23107	Warren	ST 67308 38032	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	n/a
Spargrove 2	Pillow mound, lies outside of warren recorded in Spargrove 1	Somerset	Batcombe	SHER 23108; NMR 199949	Pillow mound	ST 6745 3745		R	9	2.4	0.9	8	n/a
Steep Holm	Earthworks, possibly field boundaries, fortifications or part of a medieval warren used by the Augustinian canons during the 14th and 15th Cs.	Somerset	Weston-super-Mare	NSHER 46005; NMR 191345	Warren	ST 22827 60668	14th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	n/a
Stert Island	<i>Warren House</i> recorded on 19th-C. OS maps	Somerset	Otterhampton	SHER 12662	Warren	ST 2920 4800	19th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Stoberry	<i>Stoberry Warren</i> recorded on OS maps; a mound within it is probably a pillow mound	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 24433	Pillow mound	ST 5560 4692	1888	R	10.8	1.9		9	n/a
Stoke Trister	Complaint by John de Urtiaco that people broke into his park at Stoke Tristre, taking rabbits from its warren	Somerset	Stoke Trister	CPR Edward III, Vol. 2, 504	Warren	ST 744 288	1333	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Stoke Woods	<i>Stoke Warren</i> recorded on OS surveyors drawings; Warren mentioned in a court case in the time of Henry VIII	Somerset	Rodney Stoke	SHER 24304	Warren	ST 497 516	1509-47	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	n/a
Street	People broke into the Abbot of Glastonbury's free warren at Street and took rabbits	Somerset	Street	CPR Edward III, Vol. 1, 40	Warren	ST 471 362	1356	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
The Belt	Possible pillow mound, now levelled. The farmer says that it was composed of soil and considers that it was nothing more than peat from the pond to the south-west	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 24141	Possible pillow mound	ST 5521 5338		R	33.5	4.6	0.9	4	n/a
The Travellers' Rest	Pillow mound that appears to have been ploughed over, probably in the early post-medieval period, suggesting that the mound is medieval in date.	Somerset	Broomfield	SHER 29803	Pillow mound	ST 2116 3324	Medieval?	S-R	10	6.7	0.5	4	n/a
The Warren 3	<i>Warren</i> and <i>Warren Farm</i> recorded on 1891 OS map	Somerset	Turbury	None	Warren	SS 7829 4137	1891	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	n/a
Tuckingmill	<i>Conygre</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Marksbury	B&NES HER MBN5938	Warren	ST 66 63	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
Tytherly Farm	<i>Conygar</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Hinton Charterhouse	B&NES HER MBN6182	Warren	ST 77 59	1851	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
Ubley Warren Farm 1	Pillow mound associated with Ubley Warren Farm, also depicted on map of c1800 alongside vermin traps and two lodges, although it may instead be a spoil head associated with lead mining	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 24209	Possible pillow mound	ST 5155 5522	c1800	R	88	10		9	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Ubley Warren Farm 2	Pillow mound associated with Ubley Warren Farm, also depicted on map of c1800 alongside vermin traps and two lodges	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 25361	Pillow mound	ST 5078 5520	c1800	R	38	9		9	n/a
Ubley Warren Farm 3	Pillow mound associated with Ubley Warren Farm, also depicted on map of c1800 alongside vermin traps and two lodges, although it may instead be a spoil head associated with lead mining	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 24209	Possible pillow mound	ST 5154 5520	c1800	R	52	9		9	n/a
Ubley Warren Farm 4	Pillow mound associated with Ubley Warren Farm, also depicted on map of c1800 alongside vermin traps and two lodges	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 24209; NMR 197433	Pillow mound	ST 5095 5532	c1800	R	17	6		9	n/a
Ubley Warren Farm 5	Pillow mound associated with Ubley Warren Farm, also depicted on map of c1800 alongside vermin traps and two lodges	Somerset	Priddy	SHER 24209	Pillow mound	ST 5090 5513	c1800	S-R	9	5		9	n/a
Wain's Hill 1	Pillow mound within hillfort	Somerset	Clevedon	NSHER 4653; NMR 1465843	Pillow mound	ST 39026 70627		R	37	4.5		9	n/a
Wain's Hill 2	Three pillow mounds are recorded on Wains Hill although aerial photographs reveal only two mounds so the existence of this one is uncertain	Somerset	Clevedon	NSHER 4653; NMR 1465843	Possible pillow mound	ST 39025 70632		R	45	2.5		9	n/a
Wain's Hill 3	Pillow mound within hillfort	Somerset	Clevedon	NSHER 4654; NMR 1465845	Pillow mound	ST 39113 70604		R	29	5		9	n/a
Warren Farm 1	Pillow mound, forming part of a warren which was likely created by James Boevey in the 17th C.	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER MSO10930; NMR 35304	Pillow mound	SS 7954 4068	17th C.	R	31.5	7.5	1.5	4	n/a
Warren Farm 2	Pillow mound, forming part of a warren which was likely created by James Boevey in the 17th C.	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER MSO10935; NMR 35304	Pillow mound	SS 7932 4073	17th C.	R	31.5	8	1.4	4	n/a
Warren Farm 3	Pillow mound, forming part of a warren which was likely created by James Boevey in the 17th C.	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER MSO10932; NMR 35304	Pillow mound	SS 7943 4058	17th C.	R	29	7	2.2	4	n/a
Warren Farm 4	Pillow mound, forming part of a warren which was likely created by James Boevey in the 17th C.	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER MSO10933; NMR 35304	Pillow mound	SS 7938 4069	17th C.	R	29.5	7.5	1.2	4	n/a
Warren Farm 5	Pillow mound, forming part of a warren which was likely created by James Boevey in the 17th C.	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER MSO10934; NMR 35304	Pillow mound	SS 7933 4077	17th C.	R	15.5	6.2	0.4	4	n/a
Warren Farm 6	Pillow mound, forming part of a warren which was likely created by James Boevey in the 17th C.	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER MSO10936; NMR 35304	Pillow mound	SS 7987 4040	17th C.	R	20.4	8.3	2.4	4	n/a
Warren Farm 7	Pillow mound, forming part of a warren which was likely created by James Boevey in the 17th C.	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER MSO10931; NMR 35304	Pillow mound	SS 7924 4084	17th C.	S-R	13	7	0.6	4	n/a
Warren Farm 8	Earthwork not as easily recognisable as a pillow mound like other examples at James Boevey's 17th-C. Warren Farm	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER EHER MMO284; NMR 35304	Possible pillow mound	SS 7946 4066	17th C.					4	n/a
Warren Farm 9	Earthwork not as easily recognisable as a pillow mound like other examples at James Boevey's 17th-C. Warren Farm	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER MSO6941; NMR 35304	Possible pillow mound	SS 7937 4070	17th C.					4	n/a
Warren Farm 10	Earthwork not as easily recognisable as a pillow mound like other examples at James Boevey's 17th-C. Warren Farm	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER MSO10937; NMR 35304	Possible pillow mound	SS 7941 4066	17th C.					4	n/a
Warren Farm 11	Pillow mound, forming part of a warren which was likely created by James Boevey in the 17th C.	Somerset	Exmoor	EHER MSO10938; NMR 35304	Pillow mound	SS 7929 4078	17th C.	C	4	4	0.4	4	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Warren Farm 12	Pillow mound in a rabbit warren recorded as in existence by 1752	Somerset	Ashwick	SHER H15033; SHER 23082	Pillow mound	ST 62185 46388	1752	R	56	13.9		6	n/a
Warren Farm 13	Pillow mound in a rabbit warren recorded as in existence by 1752	Somerset	Ashwick	SHER H15033; SHER 23082	Pillow mound	ST 62223 46381	1752	R	45	16.5		6	n/a
Warrens Hill 1	Pillow mound in area named <i>Warrens Hill</i>	Somerset	Cheddar	NMR 618633	Pillow mound	ST 453 545	1886	R				9	n/a
Warrens Hill 2	Pillow mound in area named <i>Warrens Hill</i>	Somerset	Cheddar	NMR 618633	Pillow mound	ST 453 545	1886	R				9	n/a
Warrens Hill 3	Pillow mound in area named <i>Warrens Hill</i>	Somerset	Cheddar	NMR 618633	Pillow mound	ST 453 545	1886	R				9	n/a
Warrens Hill 4	Pillow mound in area named <i>Warrens Hill</i>	Somerset	Cheddar	NMR 618633	Pillow mound	ST 453 545	1886	R				9	n/a
Warrens Hill 5	Pillow mound in area named <i>Warrens Hill</i>	Somerset	Cheddar	NMR 618633	Pillow mound	ST 453 545	1886	R				9	n/a
Warrens Hill 6	Pillow mound in area named <i>Warrens Hill</i>	Somerset	Cheddar	NMR 618633	Pillow mound	ST 453 545	1886	C	4	4		9	n/a
Wellow	<i>Conygere</i> recorded on tithe map	Somerset	Wellow	B&NES HER MBN6199	Warren	ST 74 59	1839	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
Whitestaunton	<i>Conygar</i> recorded in 1532, <i>Warren</i> recorded on 1841 tithe map	Somerset	Whitestaunton	SHER 53267	Warren	ST 280 103	1532	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Whitnell Corner	<i>Whitnell Warren</i> is mentioned in the perambulations of St Cuthbert Out parish bounds	Somerset	St Cuthbert Out	SHER 24452	Warren	ST 59 48		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	n/a
Wincanton	<i>Coneygore</i> recorded on OS maps	Somerset	Wincanton	SHER 54717	Warren	ST 713 290	1886	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Woodenhouse	Pillow mound	Somerset	Corston	B&NES HER MBN1315	Pillow mound	ST 694 650		R	28	9	0.5	4	n/a
Worlebury	R. Hansford Worth wrote "my good friend, Mr C.W. Dymond, could tell me that similar structures (vermin traps) at Worlebury had puzzled him, but that he had been told those also were traps connected with a warren"	Somerset	Worlebury	R. Hansford Worth 1994, 161	Warren	ST 33660 62838		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Wrington	Pillow mound	Somerset	Wrington	NSHER 670; NMR 198084	Pillow mound	ST 5019 6303		R			0.5	9	n/a
Wynterleye	Licence granted to the Abbot of Keynsham to make a rabbit warren at <i>Wynterleye</i> in Keynsham; exact location unknown	Somerset	Keynsham	CPR Edward I, Vol. 1, 371	Warren	ST 655 685	1280	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Aldbourne 1	A rabbit warren in the form of a rectangular enclosure, recorded by the HER as probably dating to the seventeenth century although Aldbourne had a rabbit warren by at least 1361 when the manor's profits or rabbits were recorded; in 1378 the Abbess of Lacock received confirmation of an allowance of four dozen rabbits a year from Aldbourne Warren	Wiltshire	Aldbourne	WHER SU27NW459; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. 9, 185; Bond 1994, 146	Warren	SU 2396 7842	1361 (?)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Aldbourne 2	A rabbit warren in the form of a rectangular enclosure, recorded by the HER as probably dating to the seventeenth century although Aldbourne had a rabbit warren by at least 1361 when the manor's profits or rabbits were recorded; in 1378 the Abbess of Lacock received confirmation of an allowance of four dozen rabbits a year from Aldbourne Warren	Wiltshire	Aldbourne	WHER SU27NW460; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. 9, 185; Bond 1994, 146	Warren	SU 2645 7840	1361 (?)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Aldsburn	People broke into Henry de Lacey's free warren of Aldsburn and stole rabbits; numerous sites recorded and uncertain if every named location had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Unknown	CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 544	Warren	Unknown	1307	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Amesbury	People broke into Henry de Lacey's free warren of Ambresbury and stole rabbits; numerous sites recorded and uncertain if every named location had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Amesbury	CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 544	Warren	SU 156 411	1307	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Ashfold Wood	Woodland in the centre part of the parish included part of Ashfold Wood which had been inclosed by 1438 when the warren in it was leased for 24 pairs of rabbits a year	Wiltshire	Tisbury	VCH 1987c, 195-248	Warren	ST 944 297	1438	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Avebury	Haynes wrote that there were vermin traps at Avebury, quoting Handsford Worth although Handsford Worth only mentions vermin traps at Worlebury and doesn't mention Avebury so identification of a warren here is uncertain	Wiltshire	Avebury	Haynes 1970, 155	Warren	SU 103 700		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Avynton	People broke into Henry de Lacey's free warren of Avynton and stole rabbits; numerous sites recorded and uncertain if every named location had a rabbit warren. Location of Avynton also uncertain.	Wiltshire	Unknown	CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 544	Warren	Unknown	1307	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Axford Manor	In 1403 Axford manor consisted of demesne and customary land. The demesne was in hand. It included sheephouses and folds said to be at Axford and Ashridge, a several pasture, woodland, and a rabbit warren. North of Sound Bottom and apparently adjoining Sound Copse in Mildenhall was the site of Kearsdown Farm, a croft called <i>Caresden</i> , within which there was a rabbit warren: it had been inclosed by the late 13th C. It was held customarily and in 1462, when the rabbit warren was held separately, was more than 50 acres. The rabbit warren was last mentioned in the early 16th C.	Wiltshire	Axford	VCH 1983b, 47-52	Warren	SU 235 700	1403	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Barton Farm	There was a large hare warren on Marlborough Common by 1232; in the later 15th C., when it was said to lie within Savernake forest, the warren was possibly for rabbits. It was apparently discontinued in the later 16th C., but a smaller rabbit warren on Marlborough Common was part of Barton farm in 1574 and in 1635.	Wiltshire	Preshute	VCH 1983e, 160-184	Warren	SU 186 697	1467	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Beech Clump 1	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST73SE601	Pillow mound	ST 7997 3499		Ch				10	n/a
Beech Clump 2	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST73SE609	Pillow mound	ST 7967 3490		Ch				10	n/a

APPENDIX 1: SITE GAZETTEER

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Beech Clump 3	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST73SE610	Pillow mound	ST 7969 3491		Ch				10	n/a
Between Corner Farm and Red House Farm	Pillow mound visible on aerial photographs	Wiltshire	Sedgehill and Semley	WHER ST82NE614	Pillow mound	ST 8726 2868		R	137	29		3	n/a
Burderop Park	A warren lease is recorded in 1696	Wiltshire	Chiseldon	Betty 2004, 387	Warren	SU 1667 8013	1696	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	n/a
Burroughs Hill 1	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Laverstock	WHER SU13SE645	Pillow mound	SU 1654 3031		C	6	6		10	5
Burroughs Hill 2	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Laverstock	WHER SU13SE660	Pillow mound	SU 1654 3027		R	19	6		10	n/a
Castle Combe Castle 1	Pillow mound - possibly a single monument with Castle Combe Castle 2 with the two being split in two as they are on the same axis but now part of a landscaped golf course. In 1307, people entered John de la Mare's free warren at Castle Combe and carried away his rabbits and other goods	Wiltshire	Castle Combe	WHER ST87NW615; CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 540	Pillow mound	ST 8392 7796	1307?	R	47	5.1		9	n/a
Castle Combe Castle 2	Pillow mound - possibly a single monument with Castle Combe Castle 1 with the two being split in two as they are on the same axis but now part of a landscaped golf course. In 1307, people entered John de la Mare's free warren at Castle Combe and carried away his rabbits and other goods	Wiltshire	Castle Combe	WHER ST87NW615; CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 540	Pillow mound	ST 83934 77988	1307?	R	35.4	4.6		9	n/a
Castle Combe Park 1	Pillow Mound, possibly levelled with the creation of a golf course. Betty refers to a warren in Castle Combe Park in 1416	Wiltshire	Castle Combe	WHER ST87NW610; Betty 2004, 381	Pillow mound	ST 8410 7754	1307?	Ch				3	n/a
Castle Combe Park 2	Pillow Mound, possibly levelled with the creation of a golf course. Betty refers to a warren in Castle Combe Park in 1416	Wiltshire	Castle Combe	WHER ST87NW610; Betty 2004, 381	Pillow mound	ST 8410 7754	1307?	Ch				3	n/a
Castle Combe Park 3	Pillow mound. Betty refers to a warren in Castle Combe Park as existing in 1416	Wiltshire	Castle Combe	WHER ST87NW611; Betty 2004, 381	Pillow mound	ST 8374 7709	1307?	R	39	13.5	1.1	8	n/a
Castle Combe Park 4	Pillow mound. Betty refers to a warren in Castle Combe Park as existing in 1416	Wiltshire	Castle Combe	WHER ST87NW604; Betty 2004, 381	Pillow mound	ST 8414 7745	1307?	R	21	3		8	n/a
Chilton Foliat	1539 letter from Margaret Darrell referring to the coneys within Chilton Folyat having been granted to her late husband Edmund Darrell by the Queen ; Edward Darell granted a rabbit in a rabbit warren 1548	Wiltshire	Chilton Foliat	L&P Henry VIII, Vol. 14 (2), 208-226; CPR Edward VI, Vol. 2, 80	Warren	SU 321 705	1539	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Chippenham	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Chippenham. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Chippenham	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	ST 901 734	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Chisbury	Immediately north-east of the hill fort there was a warren in which rabbits were probably kept in the early 17th C. In 1552 and 1612 the farm was mainly pasture. In 1719 it had 610 a. including 472 a. of arable, which included the warren of 11 a.	Wiltshire	Little Bedwyn	VCH 1999b, 50-69	Warren	SU 2806 6616	17th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Chisenbury Warren	A rabbit warren existed here, described as medieval by Betty	Wiltshire	Enford	WHER SU15SE453; Betty 2004, 381	Warren	SU 1780 5378		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Clarendon	The earliest mention of rabbits at Clarendon, in the 1355 eyre, are made in conjunction with hares	Wiltshire	Clarendon	Richardson 2003, 68	Warren	SU 1816 3037	1355	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Coney Bury	A rabbit warren is known from the place-name <i>Coney Bury</i>	Wiltshire	Preshute	WHER SU16NE479	Warren	SU 1650 6730	1886	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Coniger	A warren, recorded in the late 14th C., was part of Winterbourne Stoke manor and presumably at the site called <i>the Coniger</i> . In 1435–6 and 1440–1 it was leased: 42 couples of rabbits were caught in 1435–6. The warren was leased as pasture in 1486 and 1545, and was not recorded thereafter.	Wiltshire	Winterbourne Stoke	VCH 1995c, 275-284	Warren	SU 0760 4209	Late 14th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Conigre Farm	Linear features visible on an aerial photograph identified as a medieval rabbit warren of the small unenclosed variety (English Heritage MPP classification).	Wiltshire	Calne Without	WHER ST97SE456	Warren	ST 9791 7161		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
Conygre Farm 2	A very large rabbit warren was constructed c1608 associated with Conygre Farm when it was leased for a rent of 500 pairs of rabbits. The preservation of rabbits had apparently ceased by 1625, when the warren was leased as 6 closes.	Wiltshire	Easton	WHER SU26SW530; VCH 1996c, 140-149	Warren	SU 2139 6133	c.1608	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	n/a
Cricklade	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Cricklade. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Cricklade	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	SU 099 934	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
Crouchs Down	A probable pillow mound is visible on an aerial photograph	Wiltshire	Barford St Martin	WHER SU03SW645	Possible pillow mound	SU 0429 3237		O	53	17		10	n/a
Devizes	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Devizes. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Devizes	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	SU 0068 6261	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	n/a
Durley 1	The area north and north-east of Durley village included two warrens in which rabbits were preserved from the early seventeenth century or earlier, where the tenant held both for a render of 1520 rabbits. A smaller warren had been inclosed by a pale by 1609 but from 1623 or earlier rabbits were apparently preserved only in the great warren. In 1703 the warren, 145 a., was inclosed and divided by private agreement.	Wiltshire	Burbage	VCH 1996d, 69-82	Warren	SU 24344 65327	1609	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Durley 2	The area north and north-east of Durley village included two warrens in which rabbits were preserved from the early seventeenth century or earlier, where the tenant held both for a render of 1520 rabbits. A smaller warren had been inclosed by a pale by 1609 but from 1623 or earlier rabbits were apparently preserved only in the great warren. In 1703 the warren, 145 a., was inclosed and divided by private agreement.	Wiltshire	Burbage	VCH 1996d, 69-82	Warren	SU 2434 6532	1609	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
East Boscombe	In 1446 the demesne was said to have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Boscombe	VCH 1995a, 55-61	Warren	SU 203 387	1446	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
East Knoyle	Betty includes a warren at this site in his map of Wiltshire's warrens although he gives no date and does not refer to it elsewhere in his article; an area called <i>The Warren</i> is located just to the east of West Knoyle, north-west of East Knoyle, on OS maps.	Wiltshire	East Knoyle	Betty 2004, 382	Warren	ST 8815 3057	17th C. ?	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Edington	William Paulet owned a rabbit warren at Edynton	Wiltshire	Edington	CPR Edward VI, Vol. 2, 376	Warren	ST 933 533	1550	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Everleigh	In 1297 a rabbit warren was valued at 60s and 40s in 1361. The profits from it were leased with the demesne in 1496. A park lay in the north-eastern part of the manor, which in the mid-16th C. covered 200 acres with 40 acres given over to rabbits; in 1361 it was worth 40s.	Wiltshire	Everleigh	VCH 1980a, 135-142; Stokes 1914, 288	Warren	SU 202 537	1297	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Faulston	The land in Faulston was all part of Faulston manor, in 1328 the demesne land of the manor was said to be 250 acres of arable, 6 acres of meadow, a pasture called <i>Ox Downe</i> and with a sheepfold and rabbit warren near the manor house.	Wiltshire	Bishopston	VCH 1980b, 3-19	Warren	SU 0726 2564	1328	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Fyfield Down	A rabbit warren of some 536 acres was established on Fyfield Down by 1880, and was managed as a game warren until c1910, when Alexander Taylor the younger killed c14,000 rabbits to make the downland gallops safer.	Wiltshire	Overton	VCH 1980c, 181-203	Warren	SU 1347 7084	1880	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Giants Grave Longbarrow 1	An undated funnel-shaped trackway, possibly a droveway for a rabbit warren; Betty refers to a 17th-C. warren at Downton, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Downton	WHER SU12SE646; Betty 2004, 382	Warren	SU 1529 2295	17th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Giants Grave Longbarrow 2	Pillow mound; Betty refers to a 17th-C. warren at Downton, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Downton	WHER SU12SE648; Betty 2004, 382	Pillow mound	SU 15225 22903	17th C.	R	20	6		10	n/a
Giants Grave Longbarrow 3	Pillow mound; Betty refers to a 17th-C. warren at Downton, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Downton	WHER SU12SE648; Betty 2004, 382	Pillow mound	SU 15245 22891	17th C.	R	14	6		10	n/a
Giants Grave Longbarrow 4	Pillow mound; Betty refers to a 17th-C. warren at Downton, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Downton	WHER SU12SE648; Betty 2004, 382	Pillow mound	SU 15253 22902	17th C.	S-R	15	8		10	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Giants Grave Longbarrow 5	Pillow mound; Bettey refers to a 17th-C. warren at Downton, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Downton	WHER SU12SE648; Bettey 2004, 382	Pillow mound	SU 15215 22858	17th C.	S-R	10	6.5		10	n/a
Grovely	The 1330 eyre roll cites several cases of rabbit poaching at Grovely going back, in one case, to 1289	Wiltshire	Barford St Martin	Richards 2003, 69	Warren	SU 057 339	1289	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Half Moon Plantation 1	One of two pillow mounds in a square enclosure; Bettey says a medieval warren was located in Wanborough but gives no specific details.	Wiltshire	Wanborough	WHER SU27NW638; Bettey 2004, 381	Pillow mound	SU 2368 7891	Medieval?	C				10	n/a
Half Moon Plantation 2	One of two pillow mounds in a square enclosure; Bettey says a medieval warren was located in Wanborough but gives no specific details.	Wiltshire	Wanborough	WHER SU27NW638; Bettey 2004, 381	Pillow mound	SU 2368 7891	Medieval?	S-R				10	n/a
Hazelbury	The warren at Hazelbury was granted in a will of 1598	Wiltshire	Corsham	Bettey 2004, 381	Warren	ST 8355 6833	1598	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Heytesbury	Henry Wheeler was granted "the rabbit warren" at Heytesbury; the wording of the patent roll entry implies that it was already in existence by 1553	Wiltshire	Heytesbury	CPR Edward VI, Vol. 5, 243	Warren	ST 924 426	1553	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Highworth	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Highworth. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Highworth	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	SU 200 924	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Hippenscombe	Land at Hippenscombe had been inclosed by 1343 and was managed as a park, which contained a warren in the 1630s. In 1633 the estate was leased as a farm, and the tenant destroyed the rabbits. In the 1640s, however, the rabbits multiplied, and those killed in 1657 were worth c.£130. The woodland was much damaged by the rabbits, many trees were felled, and some coppices were grubbed up for arable. In 1693 the farmer was licensed to clear rabbits from, and to plough, 250 acres. In 1702 the farmer was licensed to clear rabbits from, and to plough, a further 220 acres	Wiltshire	Tidcombe & Fosbury	VCH 1999d, 226-229.	Warren	SU 311 560	1630s	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Hyam Wood 1	Pillow mound associated with a warren which, according to Wiltshire's HER, is mentioned in documents in the early 16th C. although they are unable to trace to the source of this claim.	Wiltshire	St Paul Malmesbury Without	WHER ST98NW612	Pillow mound	ST 90705 86974	16th C.	Ch				3	n/a
Hyam Wood 2	Pillow mound associated with a warren which, according to Wiltshire's HER, is mentioned in documents in the early 16th C. although they are unable to trace to the source of this claim.	Wiltshire	St Paul Malmesbury Without	WHER ST98NW612	Pillow mound	ST 90720 86985	16th C.	Ch				3	n/a
Hyam Wood 3	Pillow mound associated with a warren which, according to Wiltshire's HER, is mentioned in documents in the early 16th C. although they are unable to trace to the source of this claim.	Wiltshire	St Paul Malmesbury Without	WHER ST98NW612	Pillow mound	ST 90827 87086	16th C.	R	80	12		3	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Kingston Deverill	The HER records a possible pillow mound here; Bettey refers to medieval warrens and then mentions this site, but gives no date	Wiltshire	Kingston Deverill	WHER ST83NW702; Bettey 2004, 381	Possible pillow mound	ST 8411 3615	Medieval?	O	58	15.4		10	n/a
Liddington Castle	The HER records a probably pillow mound here; Bettey refers to medieval warrens and mentions Liddington but gives no dates	Wiltshire	Liddington	WHER SU27NW630; Bettey 2004, 381	Possible pillow mound	SU 2098 7962	Medieval?	R	21.5	9		10	n/a
Little Knoll	A series of pillow mounds visible on aerial photographs	Wiltshire	Maiden Bradley with Yarnley	WHER ST83NW527	Pillow mound	ST 8087 3781						10	n/a
Longleat	Poaching recorded of the warrens on Longleat in 1687	Wiltshire	Horningsham	Bettey 2004, 383-4	Warren	ST 8066 4395	1687	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Luccombe Bottom	Pillow mound; a rabbit warren at Luccombe was leased to Peter Frankeleyn in 1396 at a rent of 6s. 8d. and four pairs of rabbits a year	Wiltshire	Edington	WHER ST95SW551; VCH 1965c, 239-250.	Pillow mound	ST 9255 5232	1396?	R	26	8		10	n/a
Lydiard Tregoze	Bettey refers to medieval warrens and gives a list including Lydiard Tregoze but without further details	Wiltshire	Lydiard Tregoze	Bettey 2004, 381	Warren	SU 1051 8535	Medieval?	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
Mancombe Down	100 acres at High Hook (now Mancombe Down) were claimed as parcel of the farm of Smallbrook in 1607; it had formerly been a rabbit warren but this had been destroyed 50 or 60 years before to protect the tenants' corn.	Wiltshire	Warminster	WHER ST95SW551; VCH 1965b, 105-110	Warren	ST 895 471	16th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Marlborough	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Marlborough. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Marlborough	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	SU 185 687	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Melksham	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Melksham. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren; <i>Coniger</i> recorded in 1632	Wiltshire	Melksham Without	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331; Smith 1939, 129	Warren	ST 906 638	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
Mere	Grant to Th. Chafyn. Lease of all the demesne lands and the whole barton of the manor of Mere, including the warren of coneyes	Wiltshire	Mere	L&P of Henry VIII, Vol. 11, 73-89	Warren	ST 8116 3238	1538	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Mildenhall	Much of the chalk downland was used as pasture and there was a large rabbit warren near the site of <i>Warren Farm</i> . The demesne warren, first mentioned in 1448, was leased in 1453 to three tenants. In the 16th and early 17th C., the warren was leased with the demesne farm. Estimates of its size vary from 250 acres in 1673 to 400 acres in the early 18th C. By 1673 a lodge had been built for the warrener. A reference to the warren of 1731 is the latest which has been found.	Wiltshire	Mildenhall	VCH 1983d, 125-138	Warren	SU 209 696	1448	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Nettleton	Betty includes this site in his map of Wiltshire's warrens but doesn't refer to it in the text of his article	Wiltshire	Nettleton	Betty 2004, 382	Warren	ST 8197 7809		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
North Luccombe Bottom	Pillow mound; a rabbit warren at Luccombe was leased to Peter Frankeley in 1396 at a rent of 6s. 8d. and four pairs of rabbits a year	Wiltshire	Edington	WHER ST95SW550; VCH 1965c, 239-250	Pillow mound	ST 9242 5225	1396?	R	28	13		10	n/a
Oakhill	Betty refers to 17th-C. disputes between farmers and Oakhill's warreners	Wiltshire	Froxfield	Betty 2004, 391	Warren	SU 29826 68061	17th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Old Sarum	Robert Cecil was created Earl of Salisbury in 1605, and in 1606 was granted the freehold of the castle, with the castle itself used as a rabbit warren. In 1613 the 2nd earl leased the castle site and the sporting rights to John Wayte, of Alderbury, and John and Ellen Lymminge for life in succession. An enquiry made in 1633 showed that the castle, walls and 'lodge' were decayed and that £160 would be needed to put them in order, that the castle area had been sown with corn, the rabbits destroyed and the burrows spoilt.	Wiltshire	Laverstock	VCH 1962, 65-67	Warren	SU 143 332	1610	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Oldbury Castle 1	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Calne Without	WHER SU06NW651	Pillow mound	SU 0439 6905		Co				9	n/a
Oldbury Castle 2	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Calne Without	WHER SU06NW651	Pillow mound	SU 0445 6907		Co				9	n/a
Overton Down	Pillow mound in warren established in 1880	Wiltshire	West Overton	WHER SU17SW644	Pillow mound	SU 1339 7071	1880	S-R	12	7		10	n/a
Pewsham	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Pewsham. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Calne Without	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	ST 9370 7140	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Ramsbury	In 1347 the park at Ramsbury was broken into and rabbits stolen; from the 14th C. the imparked land was divided between north and south parks with the great park, described by Leland as a 'right fair and large park hanging on the cliff of a high hill well wooded over the Kennet', and containing 600 acres of pasture, 300 acres of woodland, and a rabbit warren.	Wiltshire	Ramsbury	CPR Edward III, Vol. 7, 307; VCH 1983a, 12-46	Warren	SU 2550 7065	1347	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Rowde	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Rowde. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Rowede	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	ST 979 626	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Rowety Plantation 1	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Tisbury	WHER ST92NW552	Pillow mound	ST 9481 2749		R	12	2		3	n/a
Rowety Plantation 2	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Tisbury	WHER ST92NW553	Pillow mound	ST 9486 2749		R	13	5.6		3	n/a
Rowety Plantation 3	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Tisbury	WHER ST92NW554	Pillow mound	ST 9480 2761		R	22	6		3	n/a
Rowety Plantation 4	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Tisbury	WHER ST92NW555	Pillow mound	ST 9486 2745		R	11.5	2		3	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Savernake	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Savernake. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Savernake	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	SU 234 667	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Sevenhampton	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Sevenhampton. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Highworth	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	SU 206 904	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Sherrington	A rabbit warren of 2 a. was located amid the open arable above the Cliff, south of the village; it may have replaced an earlier one in Longdean Bottom on the west boundary. <i>Conygar Barn</i> recorded on OS maps	Wiltshire	Sherrington	VCH 1995b, 234-242	Warren	ST 9730 3755	17th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Skinner's Ground 1	Pillow mound within a clearing in Webb's Wood, known as Skinner's Ground. Skinner's Ground is shown as a clearing on a map of 1776, although no buildings are shown.	Wiltshire	Lydiard Millicent	WHER SU08NW527	Pillow mound	SU 0437 8556		R	14	5.5	0.4	3	n/a
Skinner's Ground 2	Pillow mound within a clearing in Webb's Wood, known as Skinner's Ground. Skinner's Ground is shown as a clearing on a map of 1776, although no buildings are shown.	Wiltshire	Lydiard Millicent	WHER SU08NW527	Pillow mound	SU 0437 8556		R	14	5.5	0.4	3	n/a
Stapleford	Betty refers to medieval warrens and gives a list that includes Stapleford although no other information is provided	Wiltshire	Stapleford	Betty 2004, 381	Warren	SU 07085 36987	Medieval?	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	n/a
Steeple Langford Cow Down 1	One of many earthworks, perhaps a pillow mound, or perhaps associated with Yarnbury Fair; Betty says a medieval warren was located at Steeple Langford, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Steeple Langford	WHER SU03NW670; Betty 2004, 381	Possible pillow mound	SU 039 392	Medieval?	R	25.6	7		10	n/a
Steeple Langford Cow Down 2	One of many earthworks, perhaps a pillow mound, or perhaps associated with Yarnbury Fair; Betty says a medieval warren was located at Steeple Langford, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Steeple Langford	WHER SU03NW706; Betty 2004, 381	Possible pillow mound	SU 0390 3968	Medieval?	S-R	15	9		10	n/a
Steeple Langford Cow Down 3	One of many earthworks, perhaps a pillow mound, or perhaps associated with Yarnbury Fair; Betty says a medieval warren was located at Steeple Langford, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Steeple Langford	WHER SU03NW707; Betty 2004, 381	Possible pillow mound	SU 0378 3937	Medieval?	R	19	7		10	n/a
Steeple Langford Cow Down 4	One of many earthworks, perhaps a pillow mound, or perhaps associated with Yarnbury Fair; Betty says a medieval warren was located at Steeple Langford, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Steeple Langford	WHER SU03NW708; Betty 2004, 381	Possible pillow mound	SU 0374 3948	Medieval?	S-R	29	14.6		10	n/a
Steeple Langford Cow Down 5	One of many earthworks, perhaps a pillow mound, or perhaps associated with Yarnbury Fair; Betty says a medieval warren was located at Steeple Langford, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Steeple Langford	WHER SU03NW709; Betty 2004, 381	Possible pillow mound	SU 0369 3953	Medieval?	R	40.5	5.7		10	n/a

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Steeple Langford Cow Down 6	One of many earthworks, perhaps a pillow mound, or perhaps associated with Yarnbury Fair; Bettey says a medieval warren was located at Steeple Langford, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Steeple Langford	WHER SU03NW710; Bettey 2004, 381	Possible pillow mound	SU 0382 3955	Medieval?	S-R	24.6	16		10	n/a
Steeple Langford Cow Down 7	One of many earthworks, perhaps a pillow mound, or perhaps associated with Yarnbury Fair; Bettey says a medieval warren was located at Steeple Langford, but gives no specific details	Wiltshire	Steeple Langford	WHER SU03NW711; Bettey 2004, 381	Possible pillow mound	SU 0384 3949	Medieval?	R	21	6.5		10	n/a
Stockton	<i>Conynger</i> recorded in 1570	Wiltshire	Stockton	Smith 1939, 230	Warren	ST 979 383	1570	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Stourton	Rabbit warren recorded in a bond and lease held at Cornwall Archives, both dated to 1560	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	CRO AR/1/791; CRO AR/4/2120	Warren	ST 778 341	1560	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Stratton	Investigation into the breaking in of Queen Philippa's parks and closes in numerous locations, including Stratton. Rabbits stolen from some sites but unclear if every location mentioned would have had a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Stratton St Margaret	CPR Edward III, Vol. 9, 331	Warren	SU 174 871	1352	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Sugar Hill 1	Pillow mound; Bettey refers to medieval warrens and mentions Liddington but gives no dates	Wiltshire	Liddington	WHER SU27NW605; Bettey 2004, 381	Pillow mound	SU 2353 7883	Medieval (?)	R	20			10	n/a
Sugar Hill 2	Pillow mound; Bettey refers to medieval warrens and mentions Liddington but gives no dates	Wiltshire	Liddington	WHER SU27NW606; Bettey 2004, 381	Pillow mound	SU 2359 7880	Medieval (?)	R	24			10	n/a
Sugar Hill 3	Pillow mound; Bettey refers to medieval warrens and mentions Liddington but gives no dates	Wiltshire	Liddington	WHER SU27NW607; Bettey 2004, 381	Pillow mound	SU 2367 7879	Medieval (?)	R	23	17		10	n/a
Surrendell Farm	Pillow mound within a field named <i>Conyger</i> in a 1665 survey and <i>Conygre</i> on 1841 tithe map	Wiltshire	Hullavington	WHER ST88SE550; LB 1018610	Pillow mound	ST 8715 8199	1665	R	36	9	0.7	3	n/a
Tidcombe Down	Two adjacent mounds with slight ditches which appear as two separate entities but which were probably originally one mound; interpreted by HER as a "probable" pillow mound	Wiltshire	Tidcombe & Fosbury	WHER SU25NE606	Possible pillow mound	SU 2833 5819		R	33	9		10	n/a
Trowbridge	Henry de Lacey's free warren broken into and rabbits taken; the warren was let at 10s in 1372-3 and was probably then on the Down although in 1383-4 it was flooded, which suggests it was possibly nearer the river. An area of Trowbridge is still named <i>The Conigre</i> , which the council records has having been used by the medieval castle and which was owned by the Houlton family by the 1690s	Wiltshire	Trowbridge	CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 544; VCH 1953, 125-171; Wiltshire Community History 2016	Warren	ST 8541 5823	1307	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Upham	In 1622 Henry Martin claimed free warren in Hay Leaze in Upham, adjoining Aldbourne warren. He was accused in return of enticing rabbits from the warren to new burrows, so reducing the number sent by the warrener to the London markets, and in effect created a new, adjoining warren.	Wiltshire	Aldbourne	VCH 1983c, 67-86	Warren	SU 23235 77948	1622	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Upton Lucy	In the late 16th C., the demesne of Upton Lucy manor had been divided between Ashcombe and Upton farms, with Ashcombe Farm comprising 140 a. of woodland and a warren, part of which was ploughed in the early 17th C. The surviving warren may have been able to support 300 couples of rabbits in 1661. Bettey refers to a warren here, mentioning a lease of 1594	Wiltshire	Berwick St John	VCH 1987a, 16-27; Bettey 2004, 388	Warren	ST 950 237	1594	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Vernditch and Rough Gore	In the 1530s and in 1567 the demesne was leased in two parts, with one portion comprising pasture south of the river, including a rabbit warren in woods called Vernditch and Rough Gore.	Wiltshire	Broad Chalke	VCH 1987b, 36-52	Warren	SU 038 256	1530s	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Walkers Hill	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Alton	WHER SU16SW629	Pillow mound	SU 1159 6372		R	44	6	0.4	10	n/a
Warminster	A rabbit warren was there worth 2s in 1300	Wiltshire	Warminster	Fry 1908, 250	Warren	ST 877 452	1300	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Site Name	Notes	Region	Parish	Reference	Site Type	NGR	Earliest Known Date	Pillow Mound Shape	Pillow Mound Length	Pillow Mound Width	Pillow Mound Height	DR	SDR
Westbury	In the mid-16th C. the lord of the manor licensed the farmer to use part of Westbury as a rabbit warren	Wiltshire	Pewsey	VCH 1999c, 181-207	Warren	ST 863 504	16th C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Whaddon	The Manor of Wadden had a rabbit warren appraised of 3s whereof the sum of the third part is worth 12d	Wiltshire	Hilpertton	Fry 1908, 87	Warren	ST 879 613	1273	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
Whetham House	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Calne Without	WHER ST96NE550	Pillow mound	ST 9812 6796		R	27	7		8	n/a
White Sheet Camp 1	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST83SW680	Pillow mound	ST 8001 3499		R				10	n/a
White Sheet Camp 2	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST83SW681	Pillow mound	ST 8012 3495		C	8	8		9	n/a
White Sheet Camp 3	Pillow mound	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST83SW652	Pillow mound	ST 8015 3476		O	10	7		9	n/a
Whitesheet Downs 1	Pillow mound, constructed on top of a strip lynchet; Bettey says a medieval warren was located on Whitesheet Downs, but gives no date	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST83NW680; Bettey 2004, 381	Pillow mound	ST 8000 3501	Medieval (?)	Co				10	n/a
Whitesheet Downs 2	Pillow mound; Bettey says a medieval warren was located on Whitesheet Downs, but gives no date	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST83NW681; Bettey 2004, 381	Pillow mound	ST 8005 3500	Medieval (?)	Ch				10	n/a
Whitesheet Downs 3	Pillow mound; Bettey says a medieval warren was located on Whitesheet Downs, but gives no date	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST83NW682; Bettey 2004, 381	Pillow mound	ST 8004 3501	Medieval (?)	Ch				10	n/a
Whitesheet Downs 4	Pillow mound; Bettey says a medieval warren was located on Whitesheet Downs, but gives no date	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST83NW699; Bettey 2004, 381	Pillow mound	ST 8007 3501	Medieval (?)	Ch				10	n/a
Whitesheet Downs 5	Pillow mound; Bettey says a medieval warren was located on Whitesheet Downs, but gives no date	Wiltshire	Stourton with Gasper	WHER ST83NW700; Bettey 2004, 381	Pillow mound	ST 8006 3501	Medieval (?)	Ch				10	n/a
Willis's Field Barn 1	Pillow mound excavated by Cunnington, who found a few animal bones, potsherds and a nail; now levelled	Wiltshire	Heytesbury	WHER ST94SW551	Pillow mound	ST 94755 44712		R	23	4		10	n/a
Willis's Field Barn 2	Pillow mound excavated by Cunnington, who found a few animal bones, potsherds and a nail; now levelled	Wiltshire	Heytesbury	WHER ST94SW551	Pillow mound	ST 94781 44765		R	25	6		10	n/a
Winterbourne	People broke into Henry de Lacey's free warren of Wynterburn and carried away rabbits; <i>Conygar Close</i> is recorded in 1466 and <i>Conygeer</i> in 1574 at Winterbourne Stoke, although unclear if this is the same location as de Lacey's Wynterburn	Wiltshire	Winterbourne	CPR Edward I, Vol. 4, 544; Smith 1939, 237	Warren	SU 18 35	1307	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Details of Boundary	Pillow Mounds Present?
Cornwall	Court Barton	Bounded by walls of coursed slatestone with cantilevered slate capping	No
Cornwall	Lower Manaton	Bounded by wall capped with horizontal slates to prevent rabbits escaping	No
Cornwall	Pentcarrow Head	Bounded by hedges with overhanging slate	No
Cornwall	Trelawne House	Bounded by stone rubble wall with vertically laid slate stone, horizontally coursed slate stone piers and coping of flate slate stone oversailing inner face wall	No
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	Bounded by the River Plym to its south, by a corn-ditch to its west, and by turf banks to its east and north	Yes
Dartmoor	Headland Warren	Bounded by Wellabrook to its west, by West Webburn River to its east, by a stone wall to its south, and open to its north	Yes
Dartmoor	Hentor Warren	Bounded by streams on three sides, and open on its fourth with boundary markers only	Yes
Dartmoor	Huntingdon Warren	Bounded by Western Walla Brook, the River Avon, a wall and what Dartmoor HER MDV5183 describes as a "linear feature"	Yes
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	Bounded on its north, east and west sides by walls	Yes
Dartmoor	Mead Warren	Boundary delineated by boundary stones but otherwise unenclosed	No
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	Bounded by Blackabrook to its west, by the River Plym to its north, by Spanish Lake to its east, and by Cotta Brook to its south	Yes
Dartmoor	Vaghill Warren	Bounded to its south and west by the River Dart, by Rowbrook to its south-east, and open to its north and north-east	Yes
Devon	East Allington	Rabbit warren depicted in a walled enclosure on a map of c1600	No
Devon	Foxhole Cove	A possible wall shown on OS maps	No
Devon	Painsford Mill	Bounded by local dressed slate rubble walls	No
Devon	The Warren 7	Bounded by a wall	No
Devon	Warren Point 3	Bounded by a wall	No
Devon	Warren Point 4	Bounded by a wall	No
Devon	Wasteberry Camp	Bounded by an embankment	Yes
Dorset	Bindon Hill	A 1771 survey records Bindon Hill's warren as "being within the hedge"	No
Dorset	Ferndown	Lease records the presence of a wire fence, although this has not survived	No
Dorset	Fitzworth Park	Lease records the presence of a fence, although this has not survived	No
Dorset	Langdon Hill	Bounded by a lynched bank	No
Dorset	Puddletown 1	The River Piddle forms its southern and eastern boundaries	No
Dorset	Tolpuddle	The River Piddle forms its southern boundary	No
Dorset	Wareham	The River Frome forms its southern boundary	No

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Details of Boundary	Pillow Mounds Present?
Glos.	Barnsley	A field boundary wall (HER 38034) may have acted as a warren boundary	Yes
Glos.	Chipping Campden	Partly bounded by a wall, separating it from the formal gardens of Old Campden House	Yes
Glos.	Holm Park	Bounded by a ditch and hedge-topped embankment	No
Glos.	Minchinhampton	A linear bank and ditch orientated northwest to southeast, varying from 3m to 4m wide and c0.3m to 0.5m high; the external ditch has been largely infilled but survives as a slight depression 2m wide and c0.1m deep	Yes
Glos.	Trulls Wood 1-13	Bounded by a low bank	Yes
Somerset	Bathampton Down	Bounded by a wall	Yes
Somerset	Low Ham	Bounded by a wall	No
Somerset	Whitestaunton	Bounded by a chert and limestone wall	No
Wiltshire	Aldbourn 1	The warren is recorded as an enclosure by Wiltshire's HER	No
Wiltshire	Aldbourn 2	The warren is recorded as an enclosure by Wiltshire's HER	No
Wiltshire	Chisenbury Warren	Bounded by a ditch	No
Wiltshire	Half Moon Plantation	The warren is recorded as an enclosure by Wiltshire's HER	Yes
Wiltshire	Hyam Wood	Bounded by a bank	Yes

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Notes	Source
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	The warren was run from <i>Ditsworthy Farmhouse</i>	Dartmoor MDV14142
Dartmoor	Huntingdon Warren	The warren was run from <i>Huntingdon Warren House</i>	Dartmoor MDV5183
Dartmoor	Longaford Tor	Warrener's house at NGR SX61167779 includes two separate rectangular earthwork buildings within a rectangular enclosure	Dartmoor HER MDV66019
Dartmoor	Mead's Warren	<i>New Warren House</i> replaced one burnt down in nineteenth century	Dartmoor HER MDV20721
Dartmoor	Shaugh Prior	Shaugh Prior warren may have been managed from <i>Trowlesworthy Warren House</i>	Dartmoor HER MDV14368
Dartmoor	Sheeps Tor Warren	Lying within the southern part of the warren at NGR SX56426801 is an irregular shaped drystone built enclosure containing a small rectangular building and at least four internal divisions. This structure has been identified as the warreners' house.	Dartmoor HER MDV12721
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	<i>Trowlesworthy Warren House</i> probably built in early nineteenth century, replacing an older building which had been demolished	Dartmoor HER MDV14368
Dartmoor	Vaghill Warren	Warreners' lodge mentioned in Dartmoor HER's description of Vaghill Warren	Dartmoor HER MDV6523
Dartmoor	Willing Walls Warren	<i>Hentor Farm</i> is considered to have been the warren house	Dartmoor HER MDV13511
Devon	Long Cove	<i>Warren Cottage</i> recorded on 6" OS map 1915	Devon HER MDV43592
Devon	Mill Bay Cove	<i>Warren House</i> and <i>Warren Cottage</i> recorded on post-1906 OS maps	Devon HER MDV41984
Devon	The Warren 5	Possible warreners' lodge recorded	Devon HER MDV43119
Devon	Warren Point 4	<i>Warren Cottages</i> built for the warrener	Devon HER MDV43593
Devon	Wasteberry Camp	A single-roomed warrener's house of stone rubble survives as a ruin	Devon HER MDV19953
Dorset	Badbury	<i>Lodge Farm</i> is a hunting lodge associated with Badbury Park and Warren, first recorded in 1391-92	Papworth 1994, 63
Dorset	Bere Regis	<i>Red Lodge</i> recorded as a warren house associated with <i>Warren Heath</i> on surveys of 1773-77	Dorset Archives Ph2/1-34
Dorset	Fitzworth Park	A warren lodge is recorded in an 1807 lease	Dorset Archives D-RWR/T/38
Dorset	Newlands Warren	Listing of Newlands Warren Field System records a warrener's lodge - although it no longer survives, it was still shown on 1956 OS map	Scheduled Monument 1018435
Glos.	Chosen Hill	A warren and lodge is recorded in 1622	VCH 1988, 430
Glos.	Cloisters Road	<i>Warren House</i> recorded on Winterbourne Tithe Map 1844	South Glos HER 6166
Glos.	Minchinhampton	<i>Old Lodge Inn</i> was the warreners' lodge	Mason 2009, 30
Glos.	Saintbury	A building platform has been interpreted as remains of warreners' lodge by NMR, although this seems unlikely	NMR 330598
Glos.	Trulls Wood	Warrener's cottage recorded by HER	South Glos HER 12828
Somerset	Bathampton Down	Possible warreners' lodge platform survives	NMR 203247
Somerset	Brean Down	Remains of building interpreted as a warreners' house	Somerset HER 12610

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Notes	Source
Somerset	Conygre Farm	<i>Conygre Farm</i> interpreted as the lodge associated with the Abbot of Keynsham's warren	B&NES HER MBN9407
Somerset	Dolebury Warren	The warren house or lodge survives as a rectangular stone building, of which very little survives	NMR 1494857
Somerset	Hinton Park 2	<i>Warren House</i> recorded in 6" OS map 1888	Somerset HER 54682
Somerset	Holman Clavel	<i>Warren House</i> recorded on 1969 OS map, although may be associated with a Warren family	Somerset HER 43486
Somerset	Steep Holm	Building remains on the island may represent remnants of warreners' buildings	NMR 191345
Somerset	Stert Island	<i>Warren House</i> recorded on nineteenth-century cartographic sources	Somerset HER 12662
Somerset	Ubley Warren Farm	Two possible lodges recorded	NMR 197448
Somerset	Warren Farm 1-11	Possible lodge platform survives	Exmoor HER MSO10930
Wiltshire	Hyam Wood	<i>Hyam House</i> may have served as the warrener's house	Wiltshire HER ST98NW612
Wiltshire	Skinner's Ground	Warrener's house survives as a rectangular platform	Wiltshire HER SU08NW527

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Vermin Trap NGR	Reference
Cornwall	Godolphin	SW 596 315	Herring 1998, 254
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58120 66960	Dartmoor HER MDV3387
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58080 67000	Dartmoor HER MDV3388
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 57782 66915	Dartmoor HER MDV3389
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 57820 66850	Dartmoor HER MDV3390
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 57870 66760	Dartmoor HER MDV3392
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58730 66380	Dartmoor HER MDV3395
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58030 66340	Dartmoor HER MDV3396
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58520 64440	Dartmoor HER MDV2497
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 57820 66510	Dartmoor HER MDV3397
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58395 66265	Dartmoor HER MDV14618
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58040 66480	Dartmoor HER MDV3398
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 57900 66900	Dartmoor HER MDV14628
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 57850 66800	Dartmoor HER MDV14629
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 57950 66700	Dartmoor HER MDV14630
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58400 66600	Dartmoor HER MDV14631
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58500 66400	Dartmoor HER MDV14632
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58600 66350	Dartmoor HER MDV14633
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58600 66200	Dartmoor HER MDV14634
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58600 66150	Dartmoor HER MDV14637
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58650 66330	Dartmoor HER MDV14638
Dartmoor	Ditsworthy Warren	SX 58210 66910	Dartmoor HER MDV3386
Dartmoor	Headland Warren	SX 68400 80900	Dartmoor HER MDV78200
Dartmoor	Headland Warren	SX 69250 80500	Dartmoor HER MDV14382
Dartmoor	Headland Warren	SX 69200 80500	Dartmoor HER MDV14383
Dartmoor	Headland Warren	SX 67350 80250	Dartmoor HER MDV13034
Dartmoor	Headland Warren	SX 68300 80500	Dartmoor HER MDV22804
Dartmoor	Headland Warren	SX 68300 80500	Dartmoor HER MDV22805
Dartmoor	Hentor Warren	SX 58690 65410	Dartmoor HER MDV55424
Dartmoor	Hentor Warren	SX 58750 66000	Dartmoor HER MDV55426
Dartmoor	Hentor Warren	SX 58100 65900	Dartmoor HER MDV3415
Dartmoor	Hentor Warren	SX 58100 65940	Dartmoor HER MDV3418
Dartmoor	Hentor Warren	SX 58150 66000	Dartmoor HER MDV14624
Dartmoor	Hentor Warren	SX 59300 65900	Dartmoor HER MDV14625
Dartmoor	Hentor Warren	SX 58300 65700	Dartmoor HER MDV14626
Dartmoor	Hentor Warren	SX 58800 65300	Dartmoor HER MDV14627
Dartmoor	Hentor Warren	SX 58100 65900	Dartmoor HER MDV3416
Dartmoor	Huntingdon Warren	SX 66400 66200	Dartmoor HER MDV14373
Dartmoor	Huntingdon Warren	SX 65650 66250	Dartmoor HER MDV14374
Dartmoor	Huntingdon Warren	SX 65500 66700	Dartmoor HER MDV14375
Dartmoor	Huntingdon Warren	SX 66650 67400	Dartmoor HER MDV14376
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57070 65180	Dartmoor HER MDV3408
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57500 65300	Dartmoor HER MDV3412
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 56750 65360	Dartmoor HER MDV3417
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57000 65320	Dartmoor HER MDV3394
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 59400 65800	Dartmoor HER MDV55457
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57630 65460	Dartmoor HER MDV3419
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 56810 65520	Dartmoor HER MDV3421
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 56750 65650	Dartmoor HER MDV3422
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 56700 65300	Dartmoor HER MDV14639
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57300 65250	Dartmoor HER MDV14642
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 56700 65600	Dartmoor HER MDV14643
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 56750 65200	Dartmoor HER MDV14644
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57000 65600	Dartmoor HER MDV14645
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57080 65560	Dartmoor HER MDV49777
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57080 65560	Dartmoor HER MDV3393
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57830 66110	Dartmoor HER MDV3420

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Vermin Trap NGR	Reference
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57550 65400	Dartmoor HER MDV14640
Dartmoor	Legis Tor Warren	SX 57600 65400	Dartmoor HER MDV14641
Dartmoor	Merrivale Warren	SX 55740 75570	Dartmoor HER MDV63863
Dartmoor	Merrivale Warren	SX 55240 76020	Dartmoor HER MDV57410
Dartmoor	Merrivale Warren	SX 55250 75350	Dartmoor HER MDV61971
Dartmoor	Piles Hill	SX 65420 60970	Dartmoor HER MDV25679
Dartmoor	Piles Hill	SX 65460 60890	Dartmoor MDV25680
Dartmoor	Redlake Tramway Warren	SX 65420 60970	Dartmoor HER MDV25679
Dartmoor	Redlake Tramway Warren	SX 65460 60890	Dartmoor HER MDV25680
Dartmoor	Rowbrook Farm	SX 68250 72200	Dartmoor HER MDV30102
Dartmoor	Sheepstor Warren	SX 56000 68000	Dartmoor HER MDV3399
Dartmoor	Sheepstor Warren	SX 56550 68200	Dartmoor HER MDV14646
Dartmoor	Sheepstor Warren	SX 56600 68150	Dartmoor HER MDV14647
Dartmoor	Sheepstor Warren	SX 56650 68050	Dartmoor HER MDV14648
Dartmoor	Sheepstor Warren	SX 56000 68000	Dartmoor HER MDV3400
Dartmoor	Sheepstor Warren	SX 56000 68000	Dartmoor HER MDV3401
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57530 64050	Dartmoor HER MDV2484
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57050 64650	Dartmoor HER MDV56841
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57210 64640	Dartmoor HER MDV56842
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57170 64620	Dartmoor HER MDV56843
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57130 64650	Dartmoor HER MDV56844
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57440 64280	Dartmoor HER MDV2485
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56780 65030	Dartmoor HER MDV3409
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57290 64470	Dartmoor HER MDV2486
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56840 65110	Dartmoor HER MDV3410
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57290 64510	Dartmoor HER MDV2487
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57600 64230	Dartmoor HER MDV2463
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56620 65030	Dartmoor HER MDV3411
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57860 64850	Dartmoor HER MDV2488
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57400 64200	Dartmoor HER MDV2464
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57970 64310	Dartmoor HER MDV2490
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56560 65040	Dartmoor HER MDV3413
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57890 64320	Dartmoor HER MDV2491
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56460 65020	Dartmoor HER MDV3414
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56750 64300	Dartmoor HER MDV14357
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56700 64150	Dartmoor HER MDV14358
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57700 64700	Dartmoor HER MDV14359
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57100 64400	Dartmoor HER MDV14360
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57100 64400	Dartmoor HER MDV14361
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57050 64400	Dartmoor HER MDV14362
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57150 64200	Dartmoor HER MDV14363
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57450 64520	Dartmoor HER MDV14364
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57170 64280	Dartmoor HER MDV32077
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57700 64550	Dartmoor HER MDV14365
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57220 64350	Dartmoor HER MDV32078
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 58050 64100	Dartmoor HER MDV14366
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57030 64430	Dartmoor HER MDV32079
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57490 64460	Dartmoor HER MDV2498
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56600 65100	Dartmoor HER MDV14619
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56600 65100	Dartmoor HER MDV14620
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57530 64050	Dartmoor HER MDV62932
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56550 65100	Dartmoor HER MDV14621
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56600 65150	Dartmoor HER MDV14622
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57620 64800	Dartmoor HER MDV2474
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57150 65150	Dartmoor HER MDV14623
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57500 64400	Dartmoor HER MDV2499
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57550 65160	Dartmoor HER MDV55276

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Vermin Trap NGR	Reference
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57430 64020	Dartmoor HER MDV32115
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57450 64100	Dartmoor HER MDV14650
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 58000 64350	Dartmoor HER MDV14651
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57900 64300	Dartmoor HER MDV14652
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57300 64400	Dartmoor HER MDV14653
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56550 64550	Dartmoor HER MDV14654
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57200 64550	Dartmoor HER MDV14655
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57410 65030	Dartmoor HER MDV55298
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57660 65120	Dartmoor HER MDV3402
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57670 65150	Dartmoor HER MDV3403
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57770 64560	Dartmoor HER MDV55311
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57800 64630	Dartmoor HER MDV55312
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 69230 80440	Dartmoor HER MDV54585
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57480 65070	Dartmoor HER MDV3404
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57460 65050	Dartmoor HER MDV3405
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57580 64460	Dartmoor HER MDV56823
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57560 65220	Dartmoor HER MDV3406
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56670 64910	Dartmoor HER MDV56827
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56670 64950	Dartmoor HER MDV56828
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57380 63780	Dartmoor HER MDV2483
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56500 64810	Dartmoor HER MDV56831
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56610 64910	Dartmoor HER MDV56832
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57090 65170	Dartmoor HER MDV3407
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56620 65010	Dartmoor HER MDV56835
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56560 65040	Dartmoor HER MDV56836
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56650 65080	Dartmoor HER MDV56837
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56650 65100	Dartmoor HER MDV56838
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56840 65060	Dartmoor HER MDV56839
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57240 64590	Dartmoor HER MDV56840
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57250 63800	Dartmoor HER MDV14367
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56510 64930	Dartmoor HER MDV2473
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57360 63840	Dartmoor HER MDV32083
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57870 64280	Dartmoor HER MDV2482
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 56800 64940	Dartmoor HER MDV56820
Dartmoor	Trowlesworthy Warren	SX 57530 64240	Dartmoor HER MDV56821
Dartmoor	Vaghill Warren	SX 67410 72310	Dartmoor HER MDV19823
Dartmoor	Vaghill Warren	SX 67428 72753	Dartmoor HER MDV14378
Dartmoor	Vaghill Warren	SX 67950 72700	Dartmoor HER MDV14379
Dartmoor	Vaghill Warren	SX 67750 72300	Dartmoor HER MDV14380
Dartmoor	Vaghill Warren	SX 67100 72500	Dartmoor HER MDV44109
Glos.	Amberley	SO 85180 201530	Gloucestershire HER 11589
Glos.	Minchinhampton	SO 85460 200940	Gloucestershire HER 11777
Somerset	Dolebury	ST 44850 159050	North Somerset HER 05893
Somerset	Dolebury	ST 44900 158880	North Somerset HER 05893
Somerset	Dolebury	ST 44940 158970	North Somerset HER 05893
Somerset	Dolebury	ST 44990 159050	North Somerset HER 05893
Somerset	Dolebury	ST 44990 159040	North Somerset HER 05893
Somerset	Dolebury	ST 45000 158870	North Somerset HER 05893
Somerset	Dolebury	ST 45110 158900	North Somerset HER 05893
Somerset	Dolebury	ST 45190 158830	North Somerset HER 05893
Somerset	Dolebury	ST 45220 158920	North Somerset HER 05893
Somerset	Ubley Warren Farm	Unknown	NMR 197433
Somerset	Worlebury	Unknown	Hansford Worth 1994, 161
Wiltshire	Avebury	Unknown	Haynes 1970, 155
Wiltshire	Skinner's Ground	Unknown	Wiltshire HER SU08NW527

County	No. of Investigations Into Rabbit Warren Break-ins, 1268-1551	% of Total Number of Recorded Break-ins	No. of Free Warren Charters, 1226-1516	% of Free Warren Charters Granted	County's % of Total Land Area of England
Bedfordshire	4	0.86	66	2.04	0.92
Berkshire	5	1.08	71	2.2	1.46
Buckinghamshire	5	1.08	90	2.78	1.43
Cambridgeshire	6	1.29	59	1.82	1.66
Cheshire	1	0.22	18	0.56	2
Cornwall	3	0.65	18	0.56	2.64
Cumberland	2	0.43	32	0.99	2.96
Derbyshire	4	0.86	65	2.01	2.05
Devon	5	1.08	69	2.13	5.05
Dorset	12	2.58	50	1.55	1.94
Durham	0	0	1	0.03	2.1
Essex	15	3.23	167	5.17	3.02
Gloucestershire	14	3.01	77	2.38	2.44
Hampshire	29	6.24	83	2.57	3.14
Herefordshire	2	0.43	48	1.48	1.68
Hertfordshire	5	1.08	79	2.44	1.24
Huntingdon	4	0.86	20	0.62	0.75
Kent	18	3.87	110	3.4	3
Lancashire	2	0.43	48	1.48	6.45
Leicestershire	4	0.86	66	2.04	1.58
Lincolnshire	21	4.52	231	7.15	5.14
Middlesex	2	0.43	21	0.65	0.55
Norfolk	35	7.53	179	5.54	3.99
Northamptonshire	6	1.29	90	2.78	2
Northumberland	5	1.08	61	1.89	3.55
Nottinghamshire	2	0.43	90	2.78	1.62
Oxfordshire	10	2.15	109	3.37	1.44
Rutland	1	0.22	9	0.28	0.3
Shropshire	4	0.86	74	2.29	2.67
Somerset	14	3.01	86	2.66	3.17
Staffordshire	2	0.43	59	1.82	2.27
Suffolk	17	3.66	209	6.46	2.83
Surrey	21	4.52	77	2.38	1.46
Sussex	39	8.39	89	2.75	2.8
Warwickshire	12	2.58	90	2.78	1.75
Westmoreland	3	0.65	26	0.8	1.5
Wiltshire	11	2.37	82	2.54	2.68
Worcestershire	11	2.37	52	1.61	1.42
Yorkshire	109	22.44	362	11.2	11.33

Year	Details	Custodian / Warren Owner	Location of Warren	Calendars of Close Rolls Reference
1240	Gift of 20 live rabbits from Wirral to William de Ferrariis, earl of Derby	Justice of Chester	Wirral, Cheshire	Henry III 1237-42, Vol. 4, 192
1240	Instruction to allow Hugh le Franceys to take 100 rabbits from Reigate and Dorking	Unspecified	Reigate and Dorking, Surrey	Henry III 1237-42, Vol. 4, 227
1241	Mandate to cart hay from his rabbit warren at Guildford	Henry III	Guildford, Surrey	Henry III 1237-42, Vol. 4, 381
1242	Instruction to allow Robert de Mares and Jacob Hosatum to take 30 rabbits from the warren in the deer park at Guildford	Henry III	Guildford, Surrey	Henry III 1237-42, Vol. 4, 390
1247	50 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriffs of Somerset and Dorset	Somerset / Dorset	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 96
1247	Rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriffs of Oxfordshire and Berkshire	Oxfordshire / Berkshire	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 96
1247	200 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	William Passelewe	Unspecified	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 96
1247	50 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 96
1249	50 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriffs of Essex and Hertfordshire	Essex / Hertfordshire	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 250
1249	50 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 250
1249	40 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriff of Kent	Kent	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 250
1249	50 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriff of Middlesex	Middlesex	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 250
1250	Rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Bailiff of Esher	Esher, Surrey	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 332
1250	50 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Bailiff of Southampton	Southampton, Hampshire	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 385
1250	Mandate to take live rabbits from the rabbit warren at Guildford	Henry III	Guildford, Surrey	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 327
1251	Mandate to make repairs to dead trees at Guildford park and rabbit warren	Henry III	Guildford, Surrey	Henry III 1242-51, Vol. 6, 394
1253	Mandate to Richard de Gray to act as custodian of the King's rabbit warren	Richard de Gray / Henry III	Channel Islands	Henry III 1251-53, Vol. 7, 346
1254	Mandate for the custodian of the King's rabbit warren to catch 40 rabbits	Henry III	Guildford, Surrey	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 2
1254	100 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Kent	Kent	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 149
1254	100 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriffs of Essex and Hertfordshire	Essex / Hertfordshire	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 149
1254	50 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 149
1254	100 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of London	London	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 152
1255	100 rabbits requested for royal Easter feast	Sheriffs of Essex and Hertfordshire	Essex / Hertfordshire	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 166
1255	100 rabbits requested for royal Easter feast	Sheriff of Middlesex	Middlesex	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 166

Year	Details	Custodian / Warren Owner	Location of Warren	Calendars of Close Rolls Reference
1255	100 rabbits requested for royal Easter feast	Sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk	Norfolk / Suffolk	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 166
1255	100 rabbits requested for royal Easter feast	Sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 166
1255	300 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 377
1255	100 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriffs of Somerset and Dorset	Somerset / Dorset	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 377
1255	Mandate to Roger the Taylor and Bonacio Lumbard to make rabbit fur coats for Robert de Cadamo and William Beautiz	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 24
1255	Mandate to Roger the Taylor and Bonacio Lumbard to make rabbit fur coats for Joan, wife of Roger Galyot	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 32
1255	Mandate that Richard Foliot, his wife Julianne and daughter Lucie shall receive rabbit fur coats	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 46
1255	Mandate that Raymond William shall receive a rabbit fur coat	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 64
1256	Mandate to Roger the Taylor and Huce de Turri to make a rabbit fur coat for Mabel de St. Edward	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 284
1256	Mandate to Roger the Taylor and Huce de Turri to make a rabbit fur coat for Arnold, chaplain of Saltu	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1254-56, Vol. 8, 300
1256	100 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Surrey	Surrey / Sussex	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 105
1256	40 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Middlesex	Middlesex	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 106
1256	20 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Essex	Essex	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 106
1256	Mandate to Roger the Taylor and Huce de Turri to make a rabbit fur coat	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 6
1257	40 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Buckinghamshire	Buckinghamshire	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 280
1257	100 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Surrey	Surrey	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 280
1257	20 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Essex	Essex	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 280
1257	40 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Middlesex	Middlesex	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 280
1257	Mandate to give a gift of rabbit fur-lined cloak	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 56
1257	Mandate to give a gift of rabbit fur-lined robe	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 61
1257	Mandate to give a gift of rabbit fur-lined robe	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 98
1257	Mandate to give a gift of rabbit fur-lined robe and a rabbit fur tabard	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 163
1257	Mandate to give a gift of rabbit fur-lined tabard	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 55
1257	Mandate to make a rabbit fur-lined cape	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 62
1257	Mandate to give a gift of rabbit fur-lined robe as a replacement for one that the King threw in the water	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 83
1257	Mandate to give a gift of rabbit fur-lined robe as a replacement for one that the King threw in the water	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 171
1257	Mandate to give a gift of rabbit fur-lined tabard	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 167

Year	Details	Custodian / Warren Owner	Location of Warren	Calendars of Close Rolls Reference
1258	300 rabbits to be taken from Winchester and delivered to Sheriff of Southampton	Unspecified	Winchester, Hampshire / Southampton, Hampshire	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 271
1259	Mandate to give a gift of rabbit fur-lined robe	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 395
1259	Mandate to give a gift of rabbit fur-lined robes to Reginald de Drumare and his wife	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1256-59, Vol. 9, 442
1260	A gift of a rabbit-fur lined bed	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1259-61, Vol. 10, 61
1260	A gift a rabbit fur lined gown, coat and tunic for John of Ely and his wife	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1259-61, Vol. 10, 65
1260	A gift of a rabbit fur lined cape	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1259-61, Vol. 10, 112
1260	200 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriff of Kent	Kent	Henry III 1259-61, Vol. 10, 113
1260	200 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriffs of Essex and Hertfordshire	Essex / Hertfordshire	Henry III 1259-61, Vol. 10, 113
1262	Request for rabbits for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Kent	Kent	Henry III 1261-64, Vol. 11, 168
1262	Request for rabbits for royal Christmas feast	Bishopric of London	Unspecified	Henry III 1261-64, Vol. 11, 179
1262	Request for rabbits for royal Christmas feast	Count of Gloucester	Gloucester	Henry III 1261-64, Vol. 11, 179
1264	Grant to allow Phillip Basset to take rabbits from the King's warren at Guildford	Henry III	Guildford, Surrey	Henry III 1261-64, Vol. 11, 364
1269	Mandate to have Richard de Ewell and John de Sutton make rabbit-fur robes for Reginald de Drumar	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry III 1268-72, Vol. 13, 47
1271	Gift of 24 rabbits from the King's warren at Guildford to Nicholas Braunche	Henry III	Guildford, Surrey	Henry III 1268-72, Vol. 13, 351
1272	Mandate that Richard de Cliff, warden of the Archbishop of Canterbury, give 22 rabbits to Raymond de Bovisvilla	Archbishop of Canterbury	Unspecified	Henry III 1268-72, Vol. 13, 455
1274	Order to tell bishops, priors and abbots to prepare as many rabbits as they can for the King's use	Sheriff of Essex	Essex	Edward I 1272-79, Vol. 14, 70
1274	Order to tell bishops, priors and abbots to prepare as many rabbits as they can for the King's use	Sheriff of Kent	Kent	Edward I 1272-79, Vol. 14, 71
1274	Order to tell bishops, priors and abbots to prepare as many rabbits as they can for the King's use	Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset	Somerset / Dorset	Edward I 1272-79, Vol. 14, 71
1274	Order to tell bishops, priors and abbots to prepare as many rabbits as they can for the King's use	Sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire	Oxfordshire / Berkshire	Edward I 1272-79, Vol. 14, 71
1274	Order to tell bishops, priors and abbots to prepare as many rabbits as they can for the King's use	Sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire	Buckinghamshire / Bedfordshire	Edward I 1272-79, Vol. 14, 71
1274	Order to tell bishops, priors and abbots to prepare as many rabbits as they can for the King's use	Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Edward I 1272-79, Vol. 14, 71

Year	Details	Custodian / Warren Owner	Location of Warren	Calendars of Close Rolls Reference
1276	Mandate to have Sir Francis de Bononia place six live rabbits in the King's garden at Oxford	To John son of Nigel, Keeper of the forest of Bernewode	Bernewode Forest / Oxford, Oxfordshire	Edward I 1272-79, Vol. 14, 296
1291	Assignment of Parkfield and its rabbit warren	Lady Joan, widow of Sir Robert de Camville	Unspecified	Edward I 1288-96, Vol. 16, 165
1294	Assignment of the "Old Rabbit Warren" in Le Julick in Fleet	Margaret, widow of Thomas son of Lambert de Molton	Fleet, Lincolnshire	Edward I 1288-96, Vol. 16, 398
1298	Assignment of dower including a third part of the rabbit warren in Eppeworth	Roesia, late the wife of Roger de Moubray,	Epworth, Lincolnshire	Edward I 1296-1302, Vol. 17, 214
1306	Order to permit William, prior of Christ Church, Twynham, to have a tithe of the king's rabbits within the parish of Thornley because many rabbits were taken and consumed by Ralph de Tony, Robert Betot, and others in their company, while awaiting their passage in the king's service to Gascony	William Russel, constable of Carisbrooke Castle and keeper of the king's manor of Thornley	Thornley, Hampshire	Edward I 1302-07, Vol. 18, 388
1306	Moeity of the "old rabbit warren" in North Creake	John de Thorp	North Creake, Norfolk	Edward I 1302-07, Vol. 18, 462
1306	Moeity of the "old rabbit warren" in North Creake	Edmund de Packenham	North Creake, Norfolk	Edward I 1302-07, Vol. 18, 462
1307	Assignment of a third part of the rabbit warren in Newhall	Hugh de Meynill	Newhall, Derbyshire	Edward I 1302-07, Vol. 18, 541
1307	Assignment of a third part of the rabbit warren in Newhall	Ida, widow of Robert de la Warde	Newhall, Derbyshire	Edward I 1302-07, Vol. 18, 543
1348	The purparty of John son of John Tibetot included a piece of pasture in which was a rabbit warren measuring 5.5 acres	John son of John Tibetot	Northamptonshire	Edward III 1346-49, Vol. 29, 538
1353	Order to the collectors of petty custom in the port of London to take the oaths of Nicholas Belard and Simon de Hermonier that they will take 500 rabbit skins to Middleburgh in Zetland and not to Flanders	Unspecified	Unspecified	Edward III 1349-54, Vol. 30, 530
1363	A grant of land to Amaury de Sancto Amando, giving pond, mills, rivers, meadows etc and also cony warrens in his manor in the counties of Meath and Dublin	Amaury de Sancto Amando	Meath and Dublin, Ireland	Edward III 1360-64, Vol. 32, 547
1366	Assignment of a third part of the rabbit warren in Marske and Redcar	Isabel, widow of Walter de Faucomberge	Marske and Redcar, Yorkshire	Edward III 1364-68, Vol. 33, 282
1371	Assignment of a third part of the rabbit warren of Barton Stacey	Isabel, widow of John Husee	Barton Stacey, Hampshire	Edward III 1369-74, Vol. 34, 310
1375	Complaint that people broke into the rabbit warren at East Ruston and Ridlington and took hares, pheasants, partridges and rabbits	William Mugge	East Ruston and Ridlington, Norfolk	Edward III 1374-77, Vol. 35, 210
1378	Order to Thomas Fynch, searcher of the King's forfeitures in Calais, to deliver to John de Iclungham of London several bales of felt as well as conies and foxes	Unspecified	Unspecified	Richard II 1377-81, Vol. 36, 146

Year	Details	Custodian / Warren Owner	Location of Warren	Calendars of Close Rolls Reference
1381	Assignment of dower to Thomas Barre and his wife Elizabeth of land including the rabbit warren in Hitchen	Thomas Barre	Hitchen, Herefordshire	Richard II 1377-81, Vol. 36, 507
1382	Charter with warranty of lands including the rabbit warren at Amesbury	William la Zouche	Amesbury, Wiltshire	Richard II 1381-85, Vol. 38, 220
1383	Indenture of lease of the manor of Iken, and other lands in Iken, Sudbourne, Gedgrave, Orford, Chiselford, Helmley, Blaxhall, Stratford and Tunstall at a yearly rent of 50 marks, 6 cygnets, 3 loads of rushes and 24 rabbits at seasonable times	Sir John de Wyngefeld	Iken, Sudbourne, Gedgrave, Orford, Chiselford, Helmley, Blaxhall, Stratford and Tunstall, Suffolk	Richard II 1381-85, Vol. 38, 294
1387	Mandate to to the mayor and bailiffs of Thetford that nobody shall take rabbits from the rabbit warren of Thetford Monaeborum	Prior of Thetford Monaeborum	Thetford, Norfolk	Richard II 1385-89, Vol. 39, 206
1391	To all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, ministers etc - notice that the king has appointed his ferreter Robert Compnere to take, purvey and buy conies in certain warrens and to take thread to mend nets for rabbits and take them to where the household shall be	Richard II	Unspecified	Richard II 1389-92, Vol. 40, 373
1396	Inquisition to find out who broke into the king's park and free warren of Berkhamsted, taking deer, rabbits, pheasants, hares and partridges	Richard II	Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire	Richard II 1392-96, Vol. 41, 506
1397	To the sheriffs of London - writ of supersedeas in favour of John Gylmyn for detinue of 200 rabbits, price 5 marks	Unspecified	Unspecified	Richard II 1396-99, Vol. 42, 90
1397	Inquisition into the waste of woods, deer and rabbits in Cheylesmore Park	Richard II	Cheylesmore, Warwickshire	Richard II 1396-99, Vol. 42, 122
1397	Order to give Queen Philippa a third part of Abergavenny Castle, including the rabbit warren	Escheator in Herefordshire and the March of Wales	Abergavenny, Wales	Richard II 1396-99, Vol. 42, 182
1397	To the collectors of petty custom at the port of London - order for Collard Chierpetit to take 10,000 rabbit fells to Holland	Unspecified	Unspecified	Richard II 1396-99, Vol. 42, 330
1398	Inquisition into the stealing of rabbits, hares, pheasants and partridges from the warren and deer park at Stillington and Nenlande by Eastrington	Unspecified	Stillington and Nenlande by Eastrington, Yorkshire	Richard II 1396-99, Vol. 42, 426
1399	Transfer of various lands, including a rabbit warren, to Reynold Braybroke	Reynold Braybroke	Cobham, Kent	Henry IV 1399-1402, Vol. 43, 59
1401	Order to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford to set free John Chedynfolde who had been imprisoned for stealing gold from a wallet; when his own wallet was searched, suspicious chattels were found, including various gowns and piece of cony fur	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry IV 1399-1402, Vol. 43, 369

Year	Details	Custodian / Warren Owner	Location of Warren	Calendars of Close Rolls Reference
1401	Inquisition concerning all craftsmen, labourers and laymen not having land to the value of 40s a year in Derbyshire and Staffordshire who kept greyhounds and other hunting dogs, and who used ferrets, hays, nets, "harepipes" springes and other engines for taking deer, hares and rabbits	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry IV 1399-1402, Vol. 43, 389
1402	Order to the collectors of customs in the port of London to allow Robert Arnalde to take 5000 rabbit fells to "foreign parts"	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry IV 1399-1402, Vol. 43, 523
1402	Order to the collectors of customs in the port of London to allow William Groom to take 5000 rabbit fells to Flanders	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry IV 1399-1402, Vol. 43, 455
1402	Inquisition into the waste of woods, deer and rabbits in Cheylesmore Park	Henry IV	Cheylesmore, Warwickshire	Henry IV 1399-1402, Vol. 43, 494
1405	Inquisition into the break in of Chilternelangle Park from which deer, hares, pheasants, partridges and rabbits were taken	Henry IV	Kings Langley, Hertfordshire	Henry IV 1405-09, Vol. 45, 70
1406	Grant of the manor of Pitworth along with the little park and rabbit warren to Roger Wyse	Roger Wyse	Pitworth, Sussex	Henry IV 1405-09, Vol. 45, 44
1428	Order to the collectors of custom in the port of London to allow Arnald de Gent to take, without payment of customs or duty, lengths of cloth including 3 mantles of rabbit fur to Jacoba duchess of Gloucester and Holland	Unspecified	Unspecified	Henry VI 1422-29, Vol. 48, 370
1440	Order to the farmers of Kennington to pay an annual salary to James Legh for his keeping of the palace and manor of Kennington and the rabbit warren there	James Legh	Kennington, Surrey	Henry VI 1435-41, Vol. 50, 305
1451	Demise indented in the manor of Harting, including land to the north of the rabbit warren, and assignment of payment of certain animals to be taken including a third of the rabbits taken within the lordships of Harting, Wenham and Pulborough	Constance Huse	Harting, Wenham and Pulborough, Sussex	Henry VI 1447-54, Vol. 52, 260
1467	Order to pay Queen Elizabeth from the profits of the lordship of Marlborough with the manor of Barton, including its rabbits	Humprhey, Duke of Gloucester	Barton, Wiltshire	Edward IV 1461-68, Vol. 53, 418

Year	Details	Warren Owner / Provider of Rabbits	Warren Location	Calendar of Liberate Rolls Reference
1240	200 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	William de Warenne	Unspecified	Vol. 2, 11
1240	100 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Bishop of Winchester	Hampshire (?)	Vol. 2, 11
1240	200 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Richard de la Lade	Unspecified	Vol. 2, 11
1241	Contrabreve to take 100 live rabbits to Suggewaz, the manor of the Bishop of Hereford, for his use	Bishop of Winchester	Hampshire (?) / Stretton Sugwas, Herefordshire	Vol. 2, 54
1241	Contrabreve to have Peter de Sabaudia the king's uncle take 80 live rabbits from the rabbit warren of Clakinton and Horseye and carry them to Cestrehunt	Bishop of London	Clacton-on-Sea and Horseye, Essex / Cheshunt, Hertfordshire	Vol. 2, 89
1241	100 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Hampshire	Hampshire	Vol. 2, 95
1241	50 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Sussex	Sussex	Vol. 2, 95
1241	50 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Richard de la Lade	Unspecified	Vol. 2, 95
1241	100 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Surrey	Surrey	Vol. 2, 95
1241	500 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Sheriff of Kent	Kent	Vol. 2, 96
1243	Contrabreve to construct a stone tower and bailey wall on Lundy, funded by the sale of rabbits	Sheriff of Devon	Lundy, Devon	Vol. 2, 170
1243	100 rabbits requested from the Isle of Wit., 40 from Merdon and 40 from Biterme	Bishop of Winchester	Isle of Wight, Mardon and Bitterne, Hampshire	Vol. 2, 196
1243	300 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Bishop of Canterbury	Kent (?)	Vol. 2, 197
1244	Contrabreve to send to London all rabbit skins taken in Lunday for delivery to Roger the tailor, saving to the church of the island the tithes arising from their sale	Sheriff of Devon	Lundy, Devon	Vol. 2, 228
1244	Contrabreve to take 400 rabbits and deliver them to Bernard de Sabaudia to place in the park of Windes'	Bishop of Chichester	Sussex (?) / Windsor Park, Berkshire	Vol. 2, 251
1244	Contrabreve to take 100 rabbits in the warren of Guildeford to the park of Windes'	Sheriff of Surrey	Guildford, Surrey / Windsor Park, Berkshire	Vol. 2, 251
1244	Contrabreve to the Sheriff of Berkshire to take live rabbits from William de Feraiis's warren at Staunford and carry them to the King's warren at Windes'	William de Feraiis, Earl of Derby	Stamford, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire / Windsor Park, Berkshire	Vol. 2, 255
1244	Payment of 27l 12s 6d to John Vincene 27l 12s for rabbit skins bought by Roger the tailor at Winchester fair	John Vincence, merchant of Lisbon	Unspecified	Vol. 2, 278
1244	300 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Bishop of Chichester	Sussex (?)	Vol. 2, 280
1245	Request for 200 rabbits	Bishop of Chichester	Sussex (?)	Vol. 2, 289
1245	200 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Earl of Devon	Unspecified	Vol. 3, 12
1245	200 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Bishop of Chichester	Sussex (?)	Vol. 3, 12
1245	60 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Bailiffs of Guildford	Surrey	Vol. 3, 12
1246	100 rabbits requested for royal Easter feast	Bishop of Chichester	Sussex (?)	Vol. 3, 38

Year	Details	Warren Owner / Provider of Rabbits	Warren Location	Calendar of Liberate Rolls Reference
1246	200 rabbits requested	William Passelewe	Unspecified	Vol. 3, 93
1246	120 rabbits requested	Sheriff of Sussex and Surrey	Sussex / Surrey	Vol. 3, 93
1247	Payment of 1/2 mark for the carriage of rabbits caught in the Bishop of Chichester's warren	Bishop of Chichester	Sussex (?)	Vol. 3, 114
1247	48 rabbits requested from the earl of Devon's warrens to be sent to the house of the Chancellor of Salisbury at Salisbury	Earl of Devon	Unspecified / Salisbury, Wiltshire	Vol. 3, 129
1248	Payment to the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 103s 3d for the purchase of 5 boars, 12 rabbits, 21 hares, 192 fowls and 900 eggs for the royal feast of St Edward and for carriage to Westminster	Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Vol. 3, 178
1248	100 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Vol. 3, 201
1248	60 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriff of Middlesex	Middlesex	Vol. 3, 201
1248	100 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire	Essex / Hertfordshire	Vol. 3, 201
1248	100 rabbits requested for royal Christmas feast	Earl of Devon	Isle of Wight, Hampshire	Vol. 3, 215
1249	Payment of 16l to Domenic de Sancto Tereano for wax and rabbits	Domenic de Sancto Tereano	Unspecified	Vol. 3, 216
1249	Payment of 32l to Garsia Ernaldi for rabbits	Garsia Ernaldi	Unspecified	Vol. 3, 216
1249	Payment of 23l to Peter Johannis for rabbits	Peter Johannis	Unspecified	Vol. 3, 216
1249	Payment of 17l 2s to Aust' Berere for rabbits	Aust' Berere	Unspecified	Vol. 3, 216
1249	Payment of 40s to Bertram de Yspania for rabbits	Bertram de Yspania	Spain (?)	Vol. 3, 216
1249	Payment of 93l 17s to Bartholomew the Spicer of London for silken cloth, almonds, rabbits, raisins and other wares	Bartholomew the Spicer of London	Unspecified	Vol. 3, 236
1249	50 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriff of Buckingham and Bedford	Buckinghamshire / Bedfordshire	Vol. 3, 251
1249	50 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Vol. 3, 251
1251	Payment of 6l 12d for boars, eggs, geese, fowls, chickens and rabbits	Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Vol. 3, 337
1251	Payment of 22l 3s 11d for hogs, swine, geese, fowl, chickens, partridges, pheasants, bucks, roes, rabbits, pike, perch, swans, and cheese	Bishop of Winchester	Hampshire (?)	Vol. 3, 368
1251	Payment of 21s 9d for 2 swans, 2 boars, 8 rabbits, and 4 partridges for the purification of the king's sister and for their carriage to Windes'	Sheriff of Hampshire	Hampshire / Windsor, Berkshire	Vol. 3, 380

Year	Details	Warren Owner / Provider of Rabbits	Warren Location	Calendar of Liberate Rolls Reference
1252	Payment of 10s 8d for rabbits taken from Elham for the Queen and for the Countess of Provence on their way to Dover	Unspecified	Elham, Kent	Vol. 4, 27
1253	Payment of 71s 4d for 6 boars, 200 fowls, 12 rabbits and 32 partridges for the feast of St Edward and 35s for 210 fowls and 50 rabbits for the Christmas feast	Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Vol. 4, 105
1253	Payment of 100l 15d to Stephen del Puy and his fellows for wax and rabbits	Stephen del Puy	Unspecified	Vol. 4, 108
1253	Payment of 36s 4d for eggs, rabbits, hens and geese for the feast of St Edward	Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire	Essex / Hertfordshire	Vol. 4, 121
1255	Payment of 32l 18s 4d for 31 1/2 oxen, 10 boars, 100 pigs, 456 fowls, 29 hares, 66 rabbits, 9 pheasants, 56 partridges, 68 woodcocks, 39 plovers, 6 lapwings, a heron and 300 eggs for the Christmas feast	Sheriff of London	London	Vol. 4, 198
1255	Payment of 12l 19s 11d for pigs, fowls, rabbits, boars, mallards, widgeons, plovers, hares, eggs and dishes for the Christmas feast	Sheriff of Kent	Kent	Vol. 4, 245
1256	Payment of 63s 8d for rabbits, boars, plates and cups for the feast of St Edward	Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex	Surrey / Sussex	Vol. 4, 286
1263	Payment of 25l 15s to Martin Philippi and John le Phaner for rabbit furs	Martin Philippi and John le Phaner	Unspecified	Vol. 5, 279
1264	Payment of 10l 9s for rabbit skins	Sheriff of London	London	Vol. 5, 137
1269	Contrabreve to have a dovescote and a garden made by the paling of Nottingham castle, and a rabbit warren within the castle as shall seem most to the king's advantage	Sheriff of Nottingham	Nottingham Castle, Nottinghamshire	Vol. 6, 95
1270	100 rabbits requested for royal feast of St Edward	Archbishop of Canterbury	Canterbury, Kent (?)	Vol. 6, 144

County	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Residence	Date of Residence	Earliest Warren Reference	Pillow Mounds Present
Cornwall	Carn Brea	Carn Brea Castle	First recorded in 1478	Undated	Yes
Cornwall	Carnanton	Tudor House	Constructed between 1485-1603	1840	No
Cornwall	Clowance	Clowance House	c1380	1530	No
Cornwall	Godolphin	Godolphin House	Constructed in the late fifteenth century, but probably incorporates earlier fabric	1661, but usually considered to have been constructed in the sixteenth century	Yes
Cornwall	Golden	Golden Keep	Sixteenth century	1740	Yes
Cornwall	Harlyn Warren	Harlyn House	Constructed during the eighteenth century on the site of a fourteenth-century house	1841	No
Cornwall	Kilminorth	Kilminorth House	Sixteenth century	1840	No
Cornwall	Leigh	Mansion	Sixteenth century	1839	No
Cornwall	Lesnewth	Halwill Country House	1897 OS map records "remains of manor house" although no other details are known	1841	No
Cornwall	Lower Manaton	Lower Manaton House	Original date of construction is unknown, but the present structure was rebuilt in 1687	1841	Yes
Cornwall	Nankilly	Tetfurffe Manor	Construction date unknown, but a chapel associated with the residence was licensed in 1400	1839	Yes
Cornwall	Pengersick	Fortified Manor House	Date of the house is unknown, although a chapel associated with it is recorded in the fourteenth century	1696	No
Cornwall	Prideaux Castle	Great Prideaux	Possibly constructed during the fourteenth century	1882	No
Cornwall	St Columb Major	Trebelsue House	Unknown – site of former manor house	1840	No
Cornwall	St Michaels Mount	St Michaels Mount Castle	Date of construction unknown, although after the reformation, the medieval house passed to the Crown and then private ownership	1538	No
Cornwall	Tehidy	Tehidy House	Constructed in 1734 on the site of medieval manor house	1530	No
Cornwall	Tintagel	Tintagel Castle	1225-33	1441	No
Cornwall	Trematon Park	Trematon Castle	Mid-twelfth century	1347	No
Cornwall	Trewoofe	Country House	Constructed during the seventeenth century, replacing an earlier manor house	1870	No
Cornwall	Werrington	Werrington House	Rebuilt c1631	1641	No
Dartmoor	Skaigh Warren	Skaigh House	Unknown – the house built here is sometimes known as <i>Old Castle</i>	Nineteenth century	Yes
Dartmoor	Tor Royal Warren	Tor Royal House	1785-1798	Undated	Yes
Dartmoor	Whiddon Park	Whiddon House	Sixteenth century	Possibly constructed during the mid-sixteenth century	Yes

County	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Residence	Date of Residence	Earliest Warren Reference	Pillow Mounds Present
Devon	Collapit Creek	Garston Manor	Farmhouse constructed during the seventeenth century on the site of a medieval manor house	1841	No
Devon	East Allington Deer Park	Fallapit House	House and park with associated warren are depicted on a map of c1600	c1600	No
Devon	Greenawell Deer Park	Ogwell House	1589	1598	Yes
Devon	Lundy	Marisco Castle	Constructed by 1243	1183-1219	No
Devon	Mill Bay Cove	Kingswear Castle	1491-1502	1873	No
Devon	Painsford Mill	Painsford Mansion	Constructed during the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, although it incorporates earlier fabric	1801	Yes
Devon	Torrington Commons	Great Torrington Castle	Referenced in 1139 and 1228; subsequent history unknown	1887	No
Devon	Warleigh House	Warleigh House	Constructed during the sixteenth century, but incorporating earlier elements	1867	No
Dorset	Badbury	Kingston Lacy	Thirteenth century	1295	Yes
Dorset	Clifton Maybank	Clifton Maybank House	Constructed between 1485-1603	1648	No
Dorset	Corfe Castle	Corfe Castle	1066-87	1342	No
Dorset	East Lulworth	Lulworth Castle	Constructed during the early seventeenth century, although its foundations were laid in 1588	1461	No
Dorset	Leigh 3	Leigh Farm	A moated manor house constructed during the fifteenth century	1672	No
Dorset	Mapperton	Mapperton House	1540s	1322	No
Dorset	Owermoigne	Moigne House	Thirteenth century	1838	Yes
Dorset	Radipole	The Old Manor	Sixteenth century	1614	No
Dorset	Tolpuddle	Manor House	1696	1841	No
Dorset	Woodsford	Woodsford Castle	Constructed by 1370	1323	No
Glos.	Badgers Halt / Brinsham Farm	Brinsham Farmhouse	Sixteenth-century gentry house	Post-medieval: pillow mound overlies ridge and furrow	Yes
Glos.	Berkeley	Berkeley Castle	c1067	1494	No
Glos.	Berkeley Castle	Berkeley Castle	c1067	1361	No
Glos.	Bicknor Court	Bicknor Court	Late sixteenth century	1608	No
Glos.	Brimpsfield	Brimpsfield Castle and Brimpsfield Park	The site contains a thirteenth-century castle and a seventeenth-century country house	1316	Yes
Glos.	Burhill	Buckland Manor House	Seventeenth century	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Chedworth Woods	Cassey Compton House	Early- to mid-seventeenth century	1811	Yes
Glos.	Chipping Campden	Old Campden House	Constructed in 1612, possibly on site of earlier manor house	1719	Yes

County	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Residence	Date of Residence	Earliest Warren Reference	Pillow Mounds Present
Glos.	Court Farm	Codrington Court	Fifteenth century	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Cranham	St Peter's Grange	Late fifteenth century	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Dyrham Park	Dyrham Park	Present house dates to the late seventeenth century, although on the site of an earlier medieval and Saxon estate	1689	Yes
Glos.	Ebrington	Ebrington Hall	Fifteenth century	1815	No
Glos.	Elmore	Elmore Court	1564-88	1282	No
Glos.	Ham	Ham Farm	Possible site of medieval manor house	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Highfield Farm	Horton Court	c1521	1575	Yes
Glos.	Holm Park	Thornbury Castle	Constructed during the fourteenth century on the site of an earlier manor house	1840	No
Glos.	Horton Court	Horton Court	c1521	1575	Yes
Glos.	Lasborough	Lasborough Park	Country house built in 1794 on site of medieval manor; earlier manor house documented in the fourteenth century	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Little Sodbury	Little Sodbury Manor	Early fifteenth century	1730	Yes
Glos.	Little Tortworth Copse	Tortworth Old Court	Sixteenth century	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Miserden	Miserden Park	c1620	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Newark Farm	Newark Park	1554-66	Undated	Yes
Glos.	North Farmcote	Great Farmcote Manor	Seventeenth century	Post-medieval: pillow mound overlies medieval field boundary bank	Yes
Glos.	Old Lodge Farm	Tortworth Old Court	Sixteenth century	1602	Yes
Glos.	Over Lane	Knole Park House	Probably constructed during the late sixteenth century	1536	Yes
Glos.	Painswick	Castle Hale / Court House	Castle constructed during the twelfth century, but was replaced with a late sixteenth-century house	1283	No
Glos.	Prestbury	Prestbury Moat	Eleventh-century palace of the of Bishops of Hereford	1401	No
Glos.	Quedgeley	Woolstrop Manor	Moated site possibly represents the site of a manor house recorded in 1246; later house built c1600	1839	No
Glos.	Rencomb Park	Rendcomb College	Late seventeenth century	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Rodway Hill	Rodway Hill House	Medieval manor house that was largely rebuilt c1520	1628	Yes
Glos.	Sherborne	Sherborne House	Late seventeenth century	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Tetbury	Tetbury Castle	Twelfth century	1262	No
Glos.	Westbury on Severn	Westbury Court Garden	1696-1705	1637	No
Glos.	Weston-sub-Edge	Manor House	1624	1839	No
Somerset	Bridgwater	Bridgwater Castle	Constructed by 1202	1553	No

County	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Residence	Date of Residence	Earliest Warren Reference	Pillow Mounds Present
Somerset	Brockley Court Farm	Brockley Court	Mid-seventeenth century	1973	No
Somerset	Bruton Abbey	Bruton Abbey	Buildings of Bruton Abbey re-used as a mansion following dissolution in 1539	Post-medieval: pillow mound overlies precinct boundary of Bruton Abbey	Yes
Somerset	Castle Cary	Castle Cary and manor house	Twelfth-century motte and bailey that was abandoned after 1153 and a manor house constructed; the present manor house dates to late eighteenth Century	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Chelvey Court	Chelvey Court	1618-60	1791	No
Somerset	Claverton Manor	Claverton Manor	House built 1820, but earlier gardens built c1580	2000 record of undated document	No
Somerset	Compton Dando 1	Manor House	Early seventeenth century	1842	No
Somerset	Coneygore Wood	Ballands Castle	Norman motte and bailey which by 1540 was used as a forest lodge	1886	Yes
Somerset	Conygar Wood	Dunster Castle	1066-86	1355	No
Somerset	Cricket Court	Possible Mansion	<i>Mansion House</i> recorded on 1843 tithe map; 1793 deeds mention a destroyed mansion	1887	Yes
Somerset	Evercreech	Priors Hill	Architectural fragments suggest presence of an unknown high status building	1775	Yes
Somerset	Ham Hill 1	Montacute Castle	1066-68	Seventeenth-century: pillow mound overlies earthworks of DMV cleared then	Yes
Somerset	Ham Hill 2	Montacute Castle	1066-68	1248	No
Somerset	Hanham Court	Hanham Court	Constructed during the sixteenth century, but may incorporate earlier fabric	1986	No
Somerset	Hardington	Hardington Manor House	Possibly constructed during the fifteenth century	1693	Yes
Somerset	Hinton Priory	Hinton Abbey	Sixteenth-century manor house incorporating fifteenth-century elements	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Kelston Manor	Kelston Manor House	1574-89	1744	Yes
Somerset	Low Ham	Hext House	Constructed or refurbished by 1582	1662	Yes
Somerset	Low Water	St Katherine's Manor	Purchased in 1606	1977	No
Somerset	Loxton	Christon Court	Possible medieval origins, although altered during the seventeenth century	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Neroche	Neroche Castle	Twelfth-century castle, but abandoned after the Anarchy	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Newton Park	Newton Park House	1762-65	1789	No
Somerset	Porlock Parks	Court Place	Constructed by 1420	1891	No

County	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Residence	Date of Residence	Earliest Warren Reference	Pillow Mounds Present
Somerset	Shapwick	Shapwick House	1487	1356	No
Somerset	Stoberry	Palace of Bishop of Wells	Thirteenth century	1888	Yes
Wiltshire	Castle Combe	Castle Combe castle and manor house	Mid-twelfth-century castle superseded by a manor house by 1392	1307?	Yes
Wiltshire	Leigh Common	Castle Orchard	Twelfth century	1631	No
Wiltshire	Longleat	Longleat	1567	1687	No
Wiltshire	Marlborough	Marlborough Castle	1086	1352	No
Wiltshire	Old Sarum	Old Sarum Castle	1066	1610	No
Wiltshire	Trowbridge	Trowbridge Castle	Constructed by 1139	1307	No

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Park	Earliest Reference to Park	Earliest Reference to Warren	Pillow Mounds Present
Cornwall	Carn Brea	Carn Brea	1348	Undated	Yes
Cornwall	Carnanton	Lanherne	1481	1840	No
Cornwall	Godolphin	Godolphin	Early fourteenth century	1661, but usually considered to have been created in the sixteenth century	Yes
Cornwall	Helsbury Park	Helsbury	1337	1347	No
Cornwall	Kerrybullock Park	Kerrybullock	1282	1347	No
Cornwall	Lanherne	Lanherne	1481	1478	No
Cornwall	Lanteglos Park	Lanteglos	1337	1347	No
Cornwall	Launceston Park	Launceston	1282	1347	No
Cornwall	Liskeard Park	Liskeard	1301	1347	No
Cornwall	Mount Edgecumbe	Mount Edgecumbe	1602	1602	No
Cornwall	North Dinnicombe	Unknown - presence of deer park suggested only by circumstantial landscape evidence	Undated	Undated	Yes
Cornwall	Pawton	Pawton	c1258	1380	No
Cornwall	Restormel Park	Restormel	1331	1347	No
Cornwall	St Ive	Newton Park	1571	1571	No
Cornwall	Trelawne House	Trelawne	Seventeenth century	Undated	Yes
Cornwall	Trematon	Trematon Park	1282	1347	No
Cornwall	Trewinnick	Trenouth	1842	1842	No
Cornwall	Werrington	Werrington	Retrospective licence granted in 1631 for park created without a royal licence	1641	No
Cornwall	Whitstone	Deer park suggested by the presence of a possible park pale	Undated	1840	No
Dartmoor	Whiddon Park	Whiddon	Sixteenth century	Possibly constructed during the mid-sixteenth century	Yes
Devon	Coney Park Plantation	Newnham Park	c1700	c1700	No
Devon	East Allington Deer Park	East Allington	c1600	c1600	No
Devon	Greenawell Deer Park	Ogwell	1618	1598	Yes
Devon	Horsen	<i>Deer Park</i> recorded on OS map	1968	Undated	Yes
Devon	Lundy	Lundy	1225	1183-1219	No
Devon	Shirwell	Youlston	1575	1889	Yes

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Park	Earliest Reference to Park	Earliest Reference to Warren	Pillow Mounds Present
Devon	The Warren 4	Hartland Abbey Deer Park	Medieval	1891	Yes
Devon	Warren 1	Hindeharton	1301	1842	Yes
Devon	Wasteberry Camp	Lyneham	Sixteenth century	Undated	Yes
Devon	Wembury Road	Wembury Park	Sixteenth century	1839	No
Dorset	Babury	Badbury	1348	1295	Yes
Dorset	Blagdon Park	Blagdon	1321	1539	No
Dorset	Canford Magna	Canford Great Park	1291	1307	No
Dorset	East Lulworth	Lulworth	1601	1461	No
Dorset	Horton	Red Deer Park	1793	1793	No
Dorset	Wimborne Holt	Holt Park	1295	1279	No
Dorset	Windmill Barrow Farm	Charborough	Seventeenth century	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Aldsworth	Lodge Park	1620s	Sixteenth century	No
Gloucestershire	Barrington Park	Barrington	Seventeenth century	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Blockley Park Farm	Unknown - site has been suggested as Bishops of Worcester's park	Medieval	Probably post-medieval	Yes
Gloucestershire	Brimpsfield	Unknown - presence of deer park suggested by park pale	Undated	1316?	Yes
Gloucestershire	Burhill	Burhill	1528	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Coldharbour Lane	Stoke Park	1483-85	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Cranham	Prinknash	Medieval	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Dyrham Park	Dyrham	1511	1689	Yes
Gloucestershire	Elmore	Elmore Court	Designed landscape incorporating earlier medieval park	1282	No
Gloucestershire	Frampton Court	Frampton Cotterell	Sixteenth century	1848	No
Gloucestershire	Holm Park	Holm Park	1510	1840	No
Gloucestershire	Lasborough	Lasborough	1319?	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Little Tortworth Copse / Old Lodge Farm	Tortworth	Medieval?	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Miserden	Miserden	Seventeenth century	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Newark Farm	Newark Park	Sixteenth century	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Painswick	Painswick	Medieval	1283	No
Gloucestershire	Parks Farm	Tormarton	1336	1336?	Yes
Gloucestershire	Prestbury	Prestbury	Pre-1066	1401	No
Gloucestershire	Rendcomb Park	Rendcomb	1544	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Sherborne	Sherborne	Seventeenth century	Undated	Yes

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Park	Earliest Reference to Park	Earliest Reference to Warren	Pillow Mounds Present
Gloucestershire	Siston Farm	Kingswood	1252	Undated	Yes
Gloucestershire	Tormarton	Tormarton	1336	1336	No
Somerset	Beacon Hill	West Quantoxhead	1761	1418	Yes
Somerset	Bincombe	Nether Stowey	1222	1888	No
Somerset	Butleigh Farm	Butleigh	Fifteenth century	1356	No
Somerset	Cannington Park	Cannington	Fourteenth century	1480s	No
Somerset	Castle Cary	Castle Cary / Ansford	1886	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Chardstock	Chardstock	Thirteenth century	1363	No
Somerset	Chelvey Court	Chelvey	Undated - HLC mapping records area as former medieval parkland	1791	No
Somerset	Chewton Mendip	Deer park suggested by the presence of a possible park pale	Undated	1549	No
Somerset	Coneygore Wood	Ferschet	Twelfth century	1886	Yes
Somerset	Conygar Wood	Dunster Old Park	1279	1355?	No
Somerset	Conygre Farm	Abbot's Park	1285	1280?	No
Somerset	Cothelstone Hill	Cothelstone	Medieval	Two mounds - one is post-medieval as overlies field system, although documentary evidence suggests the warren may be medieval	Yes
Somerset	Cricket Court	Chaffcombe	Fifteenth century	1887	Yes
Somerset	Crowcombe Park	Crowcombe	1724-39	Medieval: pillow mound ploughed out in post-medieval period	Yes
Somerset	Dial Hill	Unknown - Somerset's HLC mapping records area as former medieval parkland	Medieval	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Evercreech	Evercreech	Medieval	1775	Yes
Somerset	Ham Hill 1	Montacute	Eleventh century	Seventeenth century: pillow mound overlies earthworks of DMV abandoned then	Yes
Somerset	Ham Hill 2	Old Park	Eleventh century	1248	No
Somerset	Hardington	Hardington	Seventeenth century	1693	Yes
Somerset	Henstridge	Henstridge	1307	1307	No
Somerset	Herne Hill	Donyatt	1086	Nineteenth century	No

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Park	Earliest Reference to Park	Earliest Reference to Warren	Pillow Mounds Present
Somerset	Hinton Park	Hinton Park	1561	1888, although name of Old Warren suggests it may have been medieval and replaced by post-medieval warren (Hinton Park 2)	No
Somerset	Hinton Park 2	Hinton Park	1561	1888	No
Somerset	Kilve	Kilve Park	1280	1839	No
		Kilton Park	1675		
Somerset	Lytes Cary	Unknown - former park suggested by place names only	1887	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Marshwood	Marshwood	1240	1355	No
Somerset	Minehead 2	Minehead Park	Sixteenth century	1355	No
Somerset	Pen Hill	Unknown - presence of deer park suggested by park pale	Undated	Medieval: southwestern end of one mound is overlain by a post-medieval stock pond	Yes
Somerset	Porlock Parks	Porlock Parks	Fourteenth century	1891	No
Somerset	Sharpham Park	Sharpham	c1260	1821	No
Somerset	Spargrove 1	<i>The Park recorded on tithe map</i>	1843	1843	No
Somerset	Spargrove 2	<i>The Park recorded on tithe map</i>	1843	A warren is recorded in 1843 (Spargrove 1), although pillow mound lies outside it and may be separate	Yes
Somerset	Stoberry	Stoberry Park	1888	1881	Yes
		Bishops of Wells' park	1207		
Somerset	Stoke Trister	Stoke Trister	1314	1333	No
Somerset	Whitestaunton	Whitestaunton	1534	1532	No
Wiltshire	Burderop Park	Burderop	1583	1696	No
Wiltshire	Burroughs Hill	Unknown - presence of deer park suggested by park pale	Undated	Undated	Yes
Wiltshire	Devizes	Old Park	1149	1352	No
		New Park	1157		
Wiltshire	Durley	Tottenham Park / Savernake Forest	Royal forest since 1066, emparked during the fifteenth century	1609	No

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Park	Earliest Reference to Park	Earliest Reference to Warren	Pillow Mounds Present
Wiltshire	Everleigh	Everleigh	Thirteenth century	1297	No
Wiltshire	Hippenscombe	Conholt	1343	1630s	No
Wiltshire	Melksham	Melksham Forest	1299	1352	No
Wiltshire	Pewsham	Pewsham Forest	1299	1352	No
Wiltshire	Ramsbury	Old Park	1246	1347	No
		New Park	Fourteenth century		
Wiltshire	Savernake	Tottenham Park / Savernake Forest	Royal forest since 1066, emparked during the fifteenth century	1352	No

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Name of Ecclesiastical Institution	Religious Order	Earliest Reference to Warren	Warren Contains Surviving Pillow Mounds?
Cornwall	Looe Island	Glastonbury Abbey	Benedictine	1602	No
		Lamma Priory	Benedictine		
Cornwall	St Michael's Mount	St Michael's Mount Priory	Benedictine	1538	No
Devon	Buckland Abbey	Buckland Abbey	Cistercian	1550	No
Devon	East of River Otter	Otterton Abbey	Benedictine	1881	No
Devon	Efford Warren	Unnamed carmelite convent recorded on 1933 OS map	Carmelite	1869	No
Devon	Long Furlong Farm	Hartland Abbey	Augustinian	1842	No
Devon	Orley Common	Ipplepen Priory	Augustinian	Undated	Yes
Devon	The Warren 4-6	St Nectan's Monastery	Augustinian	1891	Yes
		Hartland Abbey	Augustinian		
Devon	Torrington Commons	Unnamed anchorite cell	Other	1887	No
Dorset	Horton	Horton Abbey / Priory	Benedictine	1793	No
Dorset	Wareham	Wareham Priory	Benedictine	1628	No
Glos.	Brimpsfield	Brimpsfield Priory	Benedictine	1316	Yes
Glos.	Kingswood	Kingswood Abbey	Cistercian	1352	No
Glos.	Newark Camp	Llanthony Priory	Augustinian	Undated	Yes
Glos.	North Farmcote	Grange of Hailes Abbey	Cistercian	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Tilbury Hollow	Grange of Boardsley Abbey	Cistercian	Undated	Yes
Glos.	Tetbury	Tetbury Abbey	Cistercian	1262	No
Somerset	Bruton Abbey	Bruton Abbey	Augustinian	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Coneygore Wood	Stavordale Priory	Augustinian	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Conygar Hill	Portbury Priory	Augustinian	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Conygar Wood	Dunster Priory	Benedictine	1355	No
Somerset	Ham Hill 1	Montacute Priory	Cluniac	Seventeenth century	Yes
Somerset	Ham Hill 2	Montacute Priory	Cluniac	1248	No
Somerset	Hinton Priory	Hinton Priory	Carthusian	Undated	Yes
Somerset	Kilve	Kilve Chantry	Other	1839	No
Somerset	Low Water	Nunnery	Other	1977	No
Somerset	Steep Holm	St Michael's Priory	Augustinian	Fourteenth century	Yes
Wiltshire	Longleat	Longleat Priory	Augustinian	1687	No

Region	Warren name as listed in gazetteer	Name of Hillfort	Direct relationship with hillfort?	Relationship between warren and hillfort
Cornwall	Carn Brea	Carn Brea	Yes	Pillow mound located within Carn Brea
Cornwall	Golden	Golden Camp	Yes?	Cornwall's HER (MCO26148) states that the earthwork (pillow mound? Or part of Golden Camp's ramparts?) was known as <i>The Warren</i> during the nineteenth century
Cornwall	Largin Castle	Largin Castle	Yes	Pillow mound located within Largin Castle
Cornwall	Prideaux Castle	Prideaux Castle	Probably	<i>The Warren</i> is an alternative name for Prideaux Castle
Cornwall	Tubby's Head	Unnamed Iron Age cliff castle	No	Pillow mound located north along the coast of an Iron Age cliff castle
Cornwall	Warbstow Bury	Warbstow Bury	Yes	Pillow mound located within Warbstow Bury
Cornwall	Willapark	Unnamed Iron Age cliff castle	Yes	Three pillow mounds located within an Iron Age cliff castle
Dartmoor	White Tor	White Tor Hillfort	Unknown	Exact relationship between two pillow mounds and White Tor hillfort unknown - Dartmoor HER's GIS mapping is unclear
Dartmoor	Yarner Wood	Unnamed hillfort	No	Two possible mounds located outside of possible hillfort
Devon	Wasteberry Camp	Wasteberry Camp	Yes	Three pillow mounds located within Wasteberry Camp
Dorset	Badbury	Badbury Rings	No	Two pillow mounds located outside Badbury Rings
Dorset	Pilsdon Pen	Pilsdon Pen	Yes	Five pillow mounds located within Pilsdon Pen
Gloucestershire	Bath Farm Road	Unnamed hillfort	Unknown	A hillfort is suggested by presence of earthworks, but relationship between earthworks and three pillow mounds is not clear
Gloucestershire	Burhill	Burhill	No	Pillow mound located on slope outside of Burhill hillfort
Gloucestershire	Crickley Hill	Crickley Hill	Yes	Pillow mound located within Crickley Hill hillfort
Gloucestershire	Highfield Farm	Horton Camp	No	Three pillow mounds located outside of Horton Camp
Gloucestershire	Little Sodbury	Little Sodbury	No	Fourteen pillow mounds located outside of Little Sodbury hillfort
Gloucestershire	Nympsfield	Unnamed hillfort	Unknown	A hillfort is suggested by presence of earthworks, but relationship between earthworks and two pillow mounds is not clear
Gloucestershire	Over Lane	Almondsbury Fort	No	Pillow mound located outside of Almondsbury Fort
Somerset	Banwell	Banwell Camp	No	Pillow mound located outside of Banwell Camp
Somerset	Bathampton Down	Bathampton Camp	No	Ten pillow mounds located outside of Bathampton Camp
Somerset	Brean Down	Brean Down Fort	Unknown	Unclear – earthwork remains of Brean Down Fort are too scant to determine their boundary and any relationship with pillow mound
Somerset	Cannington Park	Cannington Camp	No	Area outside of Cannington Camp known historically as <i>The Warren</i>
Somerset	Conygar Hill	Conygar Hillfort	Yes	Pillow mound located within Conygar Hillfort, the name of which also preserves presence of former warren
Somerset	Dolebury Warren	Dolebury Warren	Yes	Seven pillow mounds located within Dolebury Warren
Somerset	Ham Hill 1	Ham Hill	Unknown	Somerset's HER (54296) records that the warren here incorporated the defences of Ham Hill hillfort - direct relationship with pillow mound uncertain

Region	Warren name as listed in gazetteer	Name of Hillfort	Direct relationship with hillfort?	Relationship between warren and hillfort
Somerset	Ham Hill 2	Ham Hill	Yes	Somerset's HER (54314) places medieval warren within Ham Hill hillfort
Somerset	Horson	Cow Castle	No	Pillow mound located outside of Cow Castle
Somerset	Little Down Farm	Little Down	Yes	Two pillow mounds located within Little Down hillfort, although two are located outside it
Somerset	Neroche Castle	Neroche Castle	Yes	Pillow mound located within Neroche Castle
Somerset	Plainsfield Camp	Plainsfield Camp	Yes	Pillow mound located within Plainsfield Camp
Somerset	Wain's Hill	Wain's Hill	Yes	Three pillow mounds located within Wain's Hill hillfort
Wiltshire	Chisbury	Chisbury Camp	No	Historic warren recorded as lying immediately to the north-east of Chisbury Camp
Wiltshire	Liddington Castle	Liddington Castle	Yes	Pillow mound located against rampart of Liddington Castle
Wiltshire	Old Sarum	Old Sarum	Probably	Historic references suggest Old Sarum hillfort was used as a warren from the early 1600s
Wiltshire	Oldbury Castle	Oldbury Hill	No	Two pillow mounds located outside Oldbury Hill hillfort
Wiltshire	White Sheet Camp	Whitesheet Hill	No	Five pillow mounds located outside Whitesheet Hill hillfort

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Prehistoric Earthwork and HER number	Direct Relationship?
Cornwall	Carbilly Tor	MCO20559 - prehistoric field system and hut circle MCO4250 - Bronze Age cairn	No
Cornwall	Carn Brea	MCO24888 - two Neolithic tor enclosure earthworks	Yes
Cornwall	Creddacott Farm	MCO36449 - possible Bronze Age round barrow	Yes
Cornwall	Davidstow Moor	MCO2529 - Bronze Age round barrow MCO2531 - Bronze Age round barrow MCO2532 - Bronze Age round barrow	No
Cornwall	Godolphin	MCO19567 - prehistoric hut circles MCO36041 - prehistoric enclosure MCO21578 - prehistoric enclosure MCO36040 - prehistoric enclosure	Yes
Cornwall	Hardhead Downs	MCO4446 - Bronze Age cairn MCO19612 - prehistoric hut circle MCO19613 - prehistoric hut circle MCO19178 - prehistoric hut circle MCO20713 - prehistoric field system / hut circle MCO19177 - prehistoric hut circle MCO19611 - prehistoric hut circle	No
Cornwall	Louden Hill	MCO11015 - Neolithic long cairn MCO19462 - hut circle settlement MCO19468 - hut circle settlement MCO22837 - hut circle MCO22840 - Bronze Age cist MCO4357 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4386 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4362 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4349 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4355 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4360 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4358 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4366 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4365 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4353 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4367 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4364 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4356 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4361 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4359 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4369 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4387 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4350 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4388 - Bronze Age cairn MCO4368 - Bronze Age cairn	Yes
Cornwall	Pentcarrow Head	MCO53880 - Bronze Age barrow MCO53881 - Bronze Age barrow	Yes
Cornwall	Trefurston	MCO8589 - prehistoric / undated enclosure	No
Cornwall	Willapark	MCO36278 - Bronze Age barrow MCO36291 - Bronze Age barrow or clearance cairn	Yes
Devon	Blagdon Cross	MDV58519 - possible prehistoric / Roman enclosure	No
Devon	Challacombe Common	MDE10894 - prehistoric hut circle MMO313 - prehistoric hut circle MDE20714 - barrow group MDE20368 - barrow MDE1060 - barrow MDE1058 - barrow MDE1059 - group of 3 barrows	Yes

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Prehistoric Earthwork and HER number	Direct Relationship?
Devon	Countisbury	MMO79 - possible barrow MMO1858 - hut circle MMO1857 - hut circle	No
Devon	Giant's Grave	MDV22812 - possible cist MDV75893 - hut circles MDV63612 - Bronze Age hilltop enclosure	No
Devon	Pin Beacon	MDV60663 - possible cross ridge dyke MDV11017 - barrow MDV10598 - barrow	Yes
Devon	Southern Ball	MDE11928 - Bronze Age barrow MDE20788 - possible barrow	No
Devon	The Goat	MDV63612 - Bronze Age hilltop enclosure MDV22812 - possible cist MDV36181 - cairn MDV36182 - cairn MDV36192 - long barrow MDV75893 - hut circles	Yes
Devon	The Warren 7	MDV36026 - hut circles MDV66011 - barrow	No
Devon	Tossell's Barton	MMO11 - round barrow cemetery MMO3505 - round barrow MMO3504 - round barrow MMO3507 - round barrow MMO3506 - round barrow	No
Dorset	Badbury	MDO6012 - bowl barrow MDO6013 - bowl barrow MDO6014 - bowl barrow MDO6015 - bowl barrow MDO6016 - bowl barrow MDO6017 - bowl barrow MDO6018 - bowl barrow MDO6019 - bowl barrow MDO6020 - bowl barrow MDO6021 - bowl barrow MDO6048 - hut circle	Yes
Dorset	Bere Regis	MDO7099 - Bowl Barrow Other possible barrows on Bere Heath not recorded by HER	No
Dorset	Hartcliff Farm	MDO4536 - round barrow	No
Dorset	Knowle Hill	MDO7309 - bowl barrow MDO7310 - bowl barrow MDO7311 - bowl barrow MDO7351 - bowl barrow MDO7362 - bowl barrow MDO7332 - cross dyke MDO7333 - cross dyke	No
Dorset	Pilsdon Pen	MDO2020 - bowl barrow MDO2021 - bowl barrow	Yes
Dorset	Poyntington	MDO2178 - bowl barrow MDO2181 - bowl barrow MDO2182 - bowl barrow MDO2177 - bowl barrow MDO2179 - bowl barrow MDO2180 - bowl barrow	No

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Prehistoric Earthwork and HER number	Direct Relationship?
Dorset	Sheep Down	MDO3370 - bowl barrow MDO3374 - bowl barrow MDO3375 - bowl barrow MDO3397 - bowl barrow MDO3398 - bowl barrow MDO3420 - possible bowl barrow MDO24689 - possible barrow MDO24692 - possible barrow MDO24690 - possible barrow	No
Dorset	Stubhampton Down	MDO4916 - round barrow MDO4917 - round barrow	Yes
Dorset	Tarrant Gunville	MDO4916 - round barrow MDO4917 - round barrow	Yes
Dorset	Woolland Grove	MDO7309 - bowl barrow MDO7310 - bowl barrow MDO7311 - bowl barrow MDO7351 - bowl barrow MDO7362 - bowl barrow MDO7332 - cross dyke MDO7333 - cross dyke	No
Glos.	Amberley	560 - round barrow 123 - long barrow	No
Glos.	Avening	2978 - Romano-British settlement site 95 - round barrow	No
Glos.	Chedworth Woods	17071 - round barrow	No
Glos.	Coombe Hill	2873 - "the Ring of Bells" earthwork 2852 - possible barrow 2853 - possible barrow 2854 - possible barrow	Yes
Glos.	Cranham	3817 - possible barrow site 34136 - 2 parallel mounds of uncertain identification 34135 - unidentified mound 34102 - long mound of uncertain identification	No
Glos.	Crickley Hill	3793 - supposed Disc Barrows 173 - Neolithic long mound	Yes
Glos.	Lasborough	143 - round barrow	No
Glos.	Newark Camp	4227 - Romano-British settlement earthworks	No
Glos.	Newark Farm	35384 - possible barrow	No
Glos.	North Farmcote	2214 - round barrow	No
Glos.	Sherborne	9622 - bowl barrow	Yes
Somerset	Axbridge Hill	10056 - Roman and medieval occupation earthworks	No
Somerset	Babcary	53522 - barrow 55126 - barrow site 53532 - Roman settlement earthworks	No
Somerset	Banwell	Roman camp (no HER number - Listed Building 1008111)	Yes
Somerset	Bathampton Down	20326 - barrow 2033 - Bronze Age barrow 204119 - two round barrows 204064 - round barrow	Yes
Somerset	Beacon Hill	33332 - bowl barrow or cairn 34723 - barrow 33331 - bowl barrow 35474 - cairn	No
Somerset	Beech Wood	204997 - round barrow 205020 - two round barrows	No

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Prehistoric Earthwork and HER number	Direct Relationship?
Somerset	Black Down	24124 - barrow 24122 - barrow 24125 - barrow 24123 - barrow 24129 - barrow	No
Somerset	Brean Down	10126 - barrow 10122 - barrow or cairn 28004 - cairn 10117 - roman temple	Yes
Somerset	Bridgetown	MMO1032 - round barrow	No
Somerset	Cothelstone Hill	43025 - barrow 43027 - Seven Sisters Tree Ring Enclosure - probably a prehistoric mound planted with trees in the 18th century as an ornamental feature 43029 - barrow 43031 - barrow 43292 - barrow cemetery 17910 - prehistoric linear earthwork	Yes
Somerset	Crowcombe Park	33225 - barrow 15781 - cairn 34737 - cairn	No
Somerset	Holman Clavel	19911 - possible barrow	No
Somerset	Horrington Hill	24907 - cairn 24353 - alleged barrow 24905 - barrow 24906 - barrow 24908 - barrow	Yes
Somerset	Horsen	MSO12510 - bronze age cairn MSO12511 - bronze age cairn	No
Somerset	Larkbarrow Farm	MMO2464 - hut circle	No
Somerset	Little Down Farm	203752 - bowl barrow 203791 - barrow 203794 - barrow 203719 - roman or medieval earthworks	Yes
Somerset	Lytes Cary	53707 - possible barrow	No
Somerset	Pen Hill	24357 - barrow 24356 - long barrow 24358 - cairn 24363 - cairn 24364 - barrow 24365 - barrow 21499 - barrow or cairn	Yes
Somerset	Pitminster	31777 - linear mound (barrow, pillow mound, bank?)	No
Somerset	Roweberrow Warren	10770 - cairn 10769 - round barrow	Yes
Somerset	Spargrove	31996 - long barrow	No
Somerset	Ubley Warren Farm	4013 - bowl barrow 24080 - bowl barrow 24010 - bowl barrow 24011 - bowl barrow 24212 - barrow 24217 - barrow 24012 - barrow	Yes
Somerset	Warren Farm	12198 - possible long barrow	Yes
Somerset	Wrington	00668 - roman settlement earthworks	No
Wiltshire	Aldbourn 1	SU27NW611 - bowl barrow	No

Region	Site Name as Listed in Gazetteer	Prehistoric Earthwork and HER number	Direct Relationship?
Wiltshire	Beech Clump	ST83NW104 - causewayed enclosure ST83NW646 - bowl barrow ST83NW647 - bowl barrow ST83NW648 - bowl barrow ST83NW649 - bowl barrow	No
Wiltshire	Castle Combe Park	ST87NW307 - Roman settlement earthworks	No
Wiltshire	Chisenbury Warren	SU15SE305 - Romano-British settlement earthworks	No
Wiltshire	Half Moon Plantation	SU27NW634 - bowl barrow	No
Wiltshire	Kingston Deverill	ST83NW610 - bowl barrow ST83NW611 - bowl barrow	No
Wiltshire	Luccombe Bottom / North Luccombe Bottom	ST95SW606 - bowl barrow ST95SW607 - bowl barrow ST95SW608 - bowl barrow ST95SW609 - bowl barrow ST95SW610 - bowl barrow ST95SW644 - round barrow	No
Wiltshire	Oldbury Castle	SU06NW106 - long barrow SU06NW105 - long barrow SU06NW661 - possible prehistoric cross dyke SU06NW683 - possible prehistoric cross dyke	No
Wiltshire	Overton Down	SU17SW200 - Iron Age settlement earthworks SU17SW625 - round barrow SU17SW760 - round barrow SU17SW628 - round barrow	No
Wiltshire	Sugar Hill	SU27NW634 - bowl barrow	No
Wiltshire	Tidcombe Down	SU25NE603 - bowl barrow SU25NE615 - round barrow	No
Wiltshire	Walkers Hill	SU16SW102 - long barrow SU16SW624 - barrow SU16SW632 - round barrow SU16SW635 - bowl barrow SU16SW630 - bowl barrow SU16SW619 - bowl barrow SU16SW620 - bowl barrow SU16SW621 - bowl barrow SU16SW623 - bowl barrow SU16SW625 - bowl barrow SU16SW626 - bowl barrow SU16SW627 - bowl barrow SU16SW628 - bell barrow	Yes
Wiltshire	White Sheet Camp / Whitesheet Downs	ST83NW104 - causewayed enclosure ST83NW646 - bowl barrow ST83NW647 - bowl barrow ST83NW648 - bowl barrow ST83NW649 - bowl barrow	No
Wiltshire	Willis's Field Barn	ST94SW604 - bowl barrow ST94SW668 - bowl barrow ST94SW714 - bowl barrow ST94SW697 - disc barrow ST94SW607 - bowl barrow	Yes

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- T/LMA Lytchett Matravers tithe map and apportionment, 1838.
- T/MDN Morden tithe map and apportionment, 1847.
- T/OWN Owermoigne tithe map and apportionment, 1842.
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D678/1 T2/7/14-27 Vines or Veynes at Haresfield: acquisition and exchange, 1614-1664.

D871/E3 Schedule of meadow land of Little Sodbury estate, c1730.

D1677/GG/356 Grant by JOHN YEME of Ruardene to JOHN DOLL of the same parish, of a parcel of land called le Conynge fd. lying in breadth between land late of Thos. Dene and land of Chrictopher Beynham, knt., and abutting at both heads on the king's forest there, 1532-1533.

D1799/A106 Estate vouchers of the Blathwayt family, 1692-1699.

D1799/E244 Letters between Wm. Blathwayt, Tho. Hurnall and Charles Watkins relating to gardens, 1704-1705.

D2026/T19 The Wyeseal estate; Wyeseal House, Lowham close, Williams Ham, Buddings Ham, Cansy Ham, the Coniger, the Rough Grounds and a grove in Wyes Hill, 1574-1671.

- D2202/2/7/T1/3 Conveyance of lands in Tockington, 10 October 1664.
- D2379/2 Abstract of title to land called the Reddings at Upleadon, 1848-1869.
- D2635/2 Inspeximus of two royal grants relating to Chipping Campden, 1555.
- D2659/16 "A Map of the Mannour of Dirham, belonging unto William Blathwryt Esquire" With plans and maps, 1689.
- D2659/18 The manor of Dyrham, by Giles Coates with plans of buildings, roads, fields etc, 1766.
- D2957/2/8 Abson and Wick: Lease, 1654.
- D2957/90/24 Coln St. Dennis: Deed to lead to recovery, and schedule of deeds from 1614, 1637.
- D2957/137/64 Frampton-on-Severn: Lease, 1660.
- D2957/139/53 Fretherne with Saul: Lease, 1731.
- D2957/146/69 Hanham: Lease, 1673.
- D2957/214/87 Newland: Lease. From George Bond of Redbrooke, Newland, gent. To Christopher Whitson of Wyeseale, Newland, gent; and Hannah his wife and John and William their sons, 1678.
- D2957/215/31 Newnham: Transfer of Mortgage, 1749.
- D2957/216/40 North Nibley: Bargain and sale. From Anne Hardfield of North Nibley, widow to William Tracie of North Nibley, esquire and George James of North Nibley, clothier, 1598.
- D2957/256/6 Saint Briavels: Feoffment, 1569.
- D3471/1035 Photograph of Richard Belcher's map showing field names around Blockley.
- D11494/1/1 Thornbury tithe map, 1840.
- GDR/8/page 208 CASE: [John] Wayt & Howell v [John] Wylmott: [Clergy misbehaviour]: 13 October 1602.

GDR/T1/35 Bourton-on-the-Water tithe map and apportionment, 1846.

GDR/T1/44 Chipping Campden tithe map and apportionment, 1845.

GDR/T1/155 Saintbury tithe map and apportionment, 1841.

GDR/T1/194 Weston-Sub-Edge tithe map and apportionment, 1839.

GDR/T1/207 Yate tithe map and apportionment, 1838.

P52 SD 2/1 Tithe map and award of Blockley tithing, 1843.

P104 CH 1/3 Deeds of Church House, Cromhall, 1444-1665.

Q/Gh/10/2 entry number 423 George Anderson, aged 24, labourer: entry in Horsley gaol register, 1834.

Q/PC/2/55/D/83 Memorandum of conviction of Robert Pitt of Pauntley, carpenter, for the crime of killing a coney at Caps Grove in Newent, kept for breeding of conies occupied by Mr John Hill, 22 August 1836.

Kent Archives

U269/E255 Sezincote Warren, 1632-1641.

U269/A444 Accounts relating to Sezincote, 1639-40.

U269/A427/1-2 Sezincote warren accounts, 1647-1649.

U269/T191 Manor of Sezincote, 1554-1664.

National Archives

DL29 1/1 Kingston Lacy Manor, summary accounts, 1294-1296.

DL29 1/2 Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts of the Possessions of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, 1395-1396.

DL29 682/11046 Kingston Lacy Manor, reeve's accounts, 1390-1391.

Shakespeare Centre Library and Archives

DR41/22 Collections of Reverend J. Harvey Bloom, 1100-1999.

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