

PART TWO
THE MIDDLE AGES

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JOHN LELAND (writing between 1536 and 1542).
Itinerary (ed. 2), 3, 87.

PART TWO

THE MIDDLE AGES

ST. CATHARINE'S CHAPEL

Introduction : Literary evidence for the history of the Hill and Chapel.

AS has been already mentioned in the general introduction, the attempt to recover knowledge of the site and character of St. Catharine's Chapel was the origin of the excavations recorded in this volume, and in the following pages a summary is given of the results of that work, which during the first two seasons, 1925 - 1926, formed the sole objective of the authors, and during the following two seasons was continued and completed simultaneously with the examination of the prehistoric remains on the Hill of which an account has been given in the first part of the book. Four seasons' work have therefore been spent on the structure of the chapel, and while it will be clear from what follows that there are certain problems connected with the building which cannot be regarded as finally solved, yet it is, we believe, unlikely that much more light can be thrown on them so long as the site continues to be covered with the clump of beech trees which at present makes so conspicuous a landmark of the Hill, and whose roots are no less deeply embedded in the fabric of the chapel than they are in the sentiment of the Wykehamical body. The apparent incompleteness of the plan is in fact not due to the incompleteness of the investigation, but to three unavoidable difficulties : the existence of the trees, the fact that the walls, being built straight on to the solid chalk, have no foundation trench, and the thoroughness with which some sections of them have been grubbed up. On the other hand, in certain parts, notably the piers of the crossing, one of which has still seven feet of masonry, the building is in a remarkable state of preservation ; all the more so when it is remembered that any material traces of it were said to be undiscoverable by the local historians of the early 19th century,¹ and that its very position was not certainly known until the excavations of 1925 had been in progress for

1. "Not the slightest vestige of this building is now discoverable." Duthy, *Sketches of Hampshire*, p. 246.

a week. And while in point of scientific value this part of the work has less importance than the prehistoric sections of this report, yet it may not be without interest to put on record the details of a mediæval building which must have had considerable claims to architectural merit, and whose surprisingly large size made the Hill which bears its name for four centuries even a more striking landmark to travellers in the Itchen valley than it is to-day.

The story of the Hill in the early Middle Ages can be very briefly told. It was in all probability¹ included from the first in the great Chilcombe property which formed from the time of King Kinegyls of Wessex (608-634) onwards the chief endowment of the Christian Church in Wessex. With the detailed history of the famous "Hundred Hides of Chilcombe" we are not here concerned, but if the story contained in the Annals of the Church of Winton and the Winchester Chartularies,² spurious as most of the earlier charters apparently are, can be relied on in its main outline, St. Catharine's Hill and the Chilcombe Manor have been Church property with but slight interruptions for nearly thirteen hundred years. The so-called Manor was in reality an agglomeration of numerous properties at Easton, Avington, Ovington, Tichborne, Kilmeston, Stoke, Brambridge, Otterbourne, Twyford, Coldhannington and Nursling, and from the time of Athelwulf (856) it was rated for taxation purposes at one hide only. Many of these properties were of considerable size, and Chilcombe itself contained at the time of the Domesday Survey³ no less than nine churches, those probably of Winnall, Morestead, Compton, St. Faith's, St. James' (or White Minster),⁴ Littleton, Sparsholt and Weeke,

1. It has been suggested (e.g. by Win. Coll. Arch. Soc. in *Winchester, Its History, Buildings, and People*, ed. 1, p. 11: ed. 2, p. 13) that a passage in *Annales Monastici II* (Rolls Series), p. 16: "Rex Cnutus dedit Wintoniensi ecclesie terram trium hidarum quae vocatur Hille" may have reference to St. Catharine's Hill, which is still known to Wykehamists simply as "Hills," and so may mean that it was only included in the Chilcombe property in 1035. But there are two objections to the identification:—

1. Three hides is far too large an assessment. The area of the Hill is only 100 acres, and three hides on the usual reckoning would apply to an area of about 360 acres.

2. Both Chilcombe and Twyford were part of the Manor from the first, and the Hill must have been in one of these parishes and so have been Church property already. The Chilcombe-Twyford parish boundary runs along the valley S. and S.E. of it (see p. 1 and fig. 1 above).

3. The Winchester Chartularies are in B.M. Add. MSS. 15,350 and 20,436. See Dugdale's *Monasticon* (ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, 1817) I, 218, for details.

4. *Domesday Book* I, 41.

4. The inclusion of St. James', which as a parish church dropped out in the 14th century, is due to information from Canon Goodman. It disposes of the argument which has been based on this passage that St. Catharine's Chapel was in existence in 1086 and was in fact the ninth church. There is no literary evidence for believing that the foundation is pre-Conquest, and hardly a bare possibility on other grounds (see below, pp. 256-7).

besides the parish church: St. Catharine's Chapel was therefore associated closely both with the Bishop of Winchester and the Cathedral monastery of St. Swithun to which the Manor belonged, and with the parish church of Chilcombe to which it was directly attached, and it is mainly from documents connected with St. Swithun's and with Chilcombe that our knowledge of it is derived.

The history of the chapel, however, so far as it is known to us from literary sources, is a very meagre one. No record of its foundation appears to exist, and no trace of the landed endowment attributed to it by Leland has been found. It is barely possible to assume on archaeological grounds that the early chapel at the east end of the main building, whose remains will be described below, is of pre-Conquest date, though it was extensively added to within little more than half a century of 1066, but there is nothing at all substantial to go upon. In fact the first certain mention of the chapel is not until 1284, when Edward I granted to John Pontissara, Bishop of Winchester, a quit claim to a quantity of disputed property which included the advowson of the Church of Chilcombe with the Chapel of St. Catharine.¹ In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas (1291) the "*Ecclesia de Chiltecumbe cum capella*" is rated at £6. 13s. 4d.² In the register of Bishop Pontissara (1282 - 1304) the connection with Chilcombe is again emphasized—"Collatio de Chiltecumb Henrico de Rowadon diacono ecclesiae de Chiltecumb cum capella Sanctae Katerine."³ One 13th century incident has been attributed, with perhaps too little reason, to St. Catharine's Chapel.⁴ We are told that in January 1268 there was such a violent wind in Winchester that it overturned trees, and laid low houses and churches, with the bell turret of St. Catharine.⁵ This may of course refer to our chapel. But in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas there is mentioned a Church of St. Catharine in Winchester itself, and though nothing else is known of its existence, it is perhaps as likely as the Chapel on the Hill to have suffered damage to its "*tintinnabulum*" or "*campanile*."⁶ The connection of the chapel with St. Swithun's

1. Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257 - 1300, Vol. II, p. 273.

2. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (Record Commission), p. 210.

3. B.M. Add. MSS. 5830, fols. 45-7. Coll., 3 v.

4. *V.C.H. Hants* V, p. 75, note. It is wrongly dated 1286.

5. *Annals of Winton*, Rolls Series, p. 106: "Item xix Kal. Feb. Ventus vehemens ita quod arbores evelleret, domos prosterneret, et ecclesias cum tintinnabulo Sanctae Katerinae."

6. The word used in the parallel passage in *Annals of Waverley*, Rolls Series, p. 375.

is well illustrated by the inclusion in a Roll of Perquisites of the Prior, dated 1331, of "all oblations coming in the Chapell of St. Katherine, by Winchester, on her feast" (25 Nov.) "as well by day as by night," and he was entrusted with the keys of the chapel during this period.¹ When at the Dissolution of the Monastery the Prior is given a pension of 26s. 8d. from the Church of Chilcombe, we may perhaps see a ghost of this earlier annual source of income.² Finally with a reference to "Chilcombe with exempt chapel," valued at ten marks as in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, from Wykeham's *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of the Winchester Diocese (1335-45),³ we close the scanty list of literary references from the mediæval period.

Of the last years of the chapel it is possible to reconstruct the history with some detail. Leland, who visited Winchester between 1536 and 1542, writes as follows: "Ther was a very fair Chapelle of S. Catarine on an Hille scant half a mile without Winchester Toun by South. This Chapelle was endowid with Landes. Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal, causid it to be suppressid, as I hard say."⁴ Whatever the exact date of the writing of these words may have been, Leland's visit was in any case some years before the passing of the Chantries Acts in 1545 and 1547 under which such foundations as the chapel would have fallen, and, as we shall see in a moment, the Prior and Convent of St. Swithun's were already leasing it to a lay tenant as early as 1538. There is therefore independent evidence that the chapel was suppressed earlier than similar buildings of its type, and there is no reason to doubt Leland's statement that Cardinal Wolsey was responsible. As early as 1524-5 the Cardinal suppressed a number of small monasteries, and transferred their endowments to his projected Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. But it does not seem likely that St. Catharine's Chapel fell at this time, for the institutions affected seem all to have been monastic, and not only is there no mention of any lands derived from this source in the Christ Church Book of Evidences, but there is no Christ Church property at all in the neighbourhood of Winchester which could be accounted for in this way.⁵ The landed endowment mentioned by Leland has, in fact, disappeared, and it would be difficult if not impossible to trace it

1. B.M. Add. MSS. 29,430, quoted by Leach, *History of Winchester College*, p. 185.

2. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Record Comm., Vol. VI, App. VI, p. 10.

3. Hants Record Society, *Wykeham's Register*, I, p. 304.

4. *Itin.*, ed. 2, 3, 87: *V.C.H. Hants* III, 315.

5. See Dugdale, *Monasticon* II, 138-9, for the sources of Christ Church property.

now; its fate is probably typical of that of many small Church properties which were secularized more or less surreptitiously in the confused years of Henry VIII's reforming zeal. A more likely date for the confiscation is 1528-9, for in 1528 Wolsey was himself appointed to the See of Winchester *in commendam*, and was installed by proxy in 1529, shortly before his fall. There is no mention of the matter, it is true, in his Episcopal Register, but it may well have been thought a somewhat equivocal subject for insertion in an official record.

Whatever the exact date of the suppression may have been, we learn from the Obedientiary Roll of St. Swithun's that in 1536-7, seven years after Wolsey's fall, the Pentecostal oblations from the chapel amounted to nothing at all.¹ If the Rolls between 1528 and 1536 were not lost, we could perhaps tell whether this implies that an attempt was made to keep up the services after the endowment had disappeared, but that congregations were no longer forthcoming, or that the clerk was merely using an old list of sources of revenue, regardless of the fact that that particular item had permanently dried up owing to Wolsey's suppression of the endowment at least seven years before. In either case it indicates the end of the Chapel's religious history—for from the following year, 1538, there is an unpublished indenture in the Cathedral archives between "William Basyng Prior and the Convent of Saynt Swithunes of the one partye and Thos. Wryothesley of Tycche-feld esquier" by which the Manor of Prior's Barton was leased to the latter "with the proffets growing and comming of the fayre called Mawdelyn Fayre for the tyme beynge, and also Seynt Kateryn's Chapell with the cymytorie dycched abowte the same."² The lease was renewed in 1542 in the same terms when the "first original and modern" Dean and Chapter of the new foundation replaced the Prior and Convent of the old.³

Thomas Wriothesley (1505-1550), the first lay tenant of the site, who later became Earl of Southampton and Baron Titchfield, was almost certainly responsible for the destruction of the fabric of the chapel, and an examination of his career enables us to date its demolition with some accuracy. He was

1. Edited by Kitchin, 1889: pp. 16, 20, 28. "de oblatione stationum sanctae Katerinae supra Montem . . . hoc anno nihil."

2. *Winchester Cathedral Register* (or *Enrolments*), 20 Sept., 30 Hen. VIII, Book II, fol. 85. Information kindly supplied by Canon Goodman. On the identity of the "cymytorie" ditch, see below, p. 229.

3. *Dean and Chapter Register* III, fol. 20, 1 Aug., 34 Hen. VIII.

one of the most unscrupulous of the new Tudor nobility who were enriched with the spoil taken from the monasteries, and, as we see from his connection with our story, he also obtained leases of Church property which was not actually confiscated, with a view to profiting by the sale of materials from the destruction of unwanted buildings. Between 1536, in which year he became Coroner and Attorney in the King's Bench, and 1538, he was granted property belonging to the monastery at Titchfield, to Quarr Abbey, to Beaulieu Abbey, and Hyde Abbey at Winchester, and we are told that he pulled down the buildings "with amazing expedition and sold the rich materials."¹ This destructive zeal won him the enmity of Bishop Gardiner, but in 1540 the two men were reconciled and Wriothesley, having apparently made his pile, abandoned his iconoclastic fervour in favour of more peaceful but no less influential activities. In 1542 he is described as "governing almost everything in England."

As we have seen, it was not until 1538 that he obtained the lease of St. Catharine's Chapel, and its demolition must therefore be dated between that year and 1540, when his destructive activities came to an end. Plenty of evidence of the destruction and its systematic character in certain parts of the building will be found in the description below, and it is worth noticing also that, systematic as it was, it bears all the evidence of having never been finished. Thus while the roof slates were carefully piled at the west end and elsewhere, and while parts of the nave were completely pulled down and even their foundations grubbed up, yet three of the piers of the crossing were left standing several courses high buried under nine or ten feet of collapsed masonry, and the south transept was walled off from the rest of the building and apparently retained for secular purposes for some years. It may be suggested that Wriothesley's abandonment of his iconoclastic habits in 1540 is reflected in this incomplete destruction. He obtained his lease of the site only in the autumn of 1538: before the work of demolition was finished he had changed his plans, and in 1540 the half-destroyed ruins of the chapel were deserted save for the south transept.

There is no reason to believe that the use of the latter for lay purposes was prolonged. For the ensuing phase of the history of the Hill, when it was used as the playground of Winchester College, the earliest evidence is that of Christopher

1. *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, Rolls Series: Introd., p. lxxiii.

Johnson's *Themes* (c. 1565),¹ and it was probably ruinous if not demolished before that date. The surviving walls were buried beneath their own fallen masonry, and the centre of the site became the grass-grown mound which it has since remained.

The memory of the chapel quickly disappeared, and even its precise site was forgotten. No map of the 17th or 18th century appears to be aware of its existence, and the same may be said of such literary accounts of the Hill and its surroundings as may be found in Mathew's poem of 1647.¹ In 1762, as is narrated elsewhere, the mound was adorned by Lord Botetourt with a clump of fir trees, the predecessors of the present clump of beeches, but no one seems to have realised at the time that it concealed the crossing of a large cruciform building. In 1845, however, the British Archaeological Association met in Winchester, and in the heyday of the Gothic revival an August afternoon was spent by some of its members under the direction of the Rev. S. Isaacson in looking for the chapel, but in the words of the official report "foundations of no very early date were all that were met with."² It is clear that no proper excavation took place on this occasion, which was merely an afternoon excursion, in spite of the tendentious diction of Moody.³ As has been already indicated, a great deal more than "foundations of no very early date" are still in existence, and it is clear that the discoveries of 1845, even if they were made on the right site ("the apex," where indeed the S.E. tower pier stands to within 6 ins. of the surface), were of a very superficial character. Since that date the building has apparently not been disturbed at all, except that some walls were met with accidentally by workmen during the planting of additional trees in 1897,⁴ until the present excavations began in the summer of 1925. The chapel as revealed by these excavations must now be examined.

1. See below, p. 259 ff.

2. *Transactions of the British Archaeological Association, 2nd Annual Congress, 1846*, p. 460. An ample proportion of the members seem to have preferred the alternative excursion to St. Cross, which included the reception of the customary dole of bread and beer.

3. *Sketches of Hants, 1846*, p. 71: *Notes and Essays relating to Hants and Wilts, 1851*, p. 137: "the foundation(s) (of this Chapel) were brought to light (discovered), . . . etc.," his lead was followed by certain 19th century guide-books.

4. The site of the South Transept.—Private information from one of the workmen employed. See further p. 285.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CHAPEL

As will be seen from the plan (fig. 19), St. Catharine's Chapel was a large aisleless cruciform building consisting structurally of three parts. One, made up of the nave, crossing, north and south transepts, and western bay of the chancel, forms a single homogeneous unit with a characteristic late Norman plan, dating, as will be seen, between about 1110 and 1125. The second is the eastern part of the chancel, which opens from the first by a secondary chancel arch and was originally separated from it by a wooden screen (Plate XI, 2). This, as will be shewn, is the oldest part of the building, and formed originally a small oratory which was apparently the first Christian building on the site. Thirdly, there are to the east and north-east the scanty remains of what was probably a lodging for a hermit or for whoever had charge of the chapel. They consist of at least two rooms; one abutted on the north-east corner of the early chapel, and the other, of later date and inferior masonry, was attached to the south wall of the first and could have been little more than a porch to it. The date of these domestic buildings and even their precise extent is quite unknown, for the remaining walls are robbed to their foundations and the ground is so disturbed that the most exhaustive search for further masonry *in situ* has been fruitless.

BUILDING MATERIALS

(See pp. 220-1 for detailed description of moulded stone illustrated in fig. 22 below.)

Before examining these three sections of the building in detail it will be as well to give a general account of their construction and of the materials of which they were built. Except for the smaller of the two domestic rooms at the east end, the walls throughout are of a uniform thickness of about 3 ft. 6 ins. They are built of flint with occasional blocks of chalk or Quarr stone from the Isle of Wight—materials which were used also for angles, window jambs, and all architectural details. The central piers of the crossing are built of rubble and faced with Quarr stone throughout. Where the walls are of flint there is frequently a thick layer of cement plaster on the interior face. Two small fragments of wall plaster showing part of a design in red paint were found among the building débris. Owing to the presence of the solid chalk within a foot of the

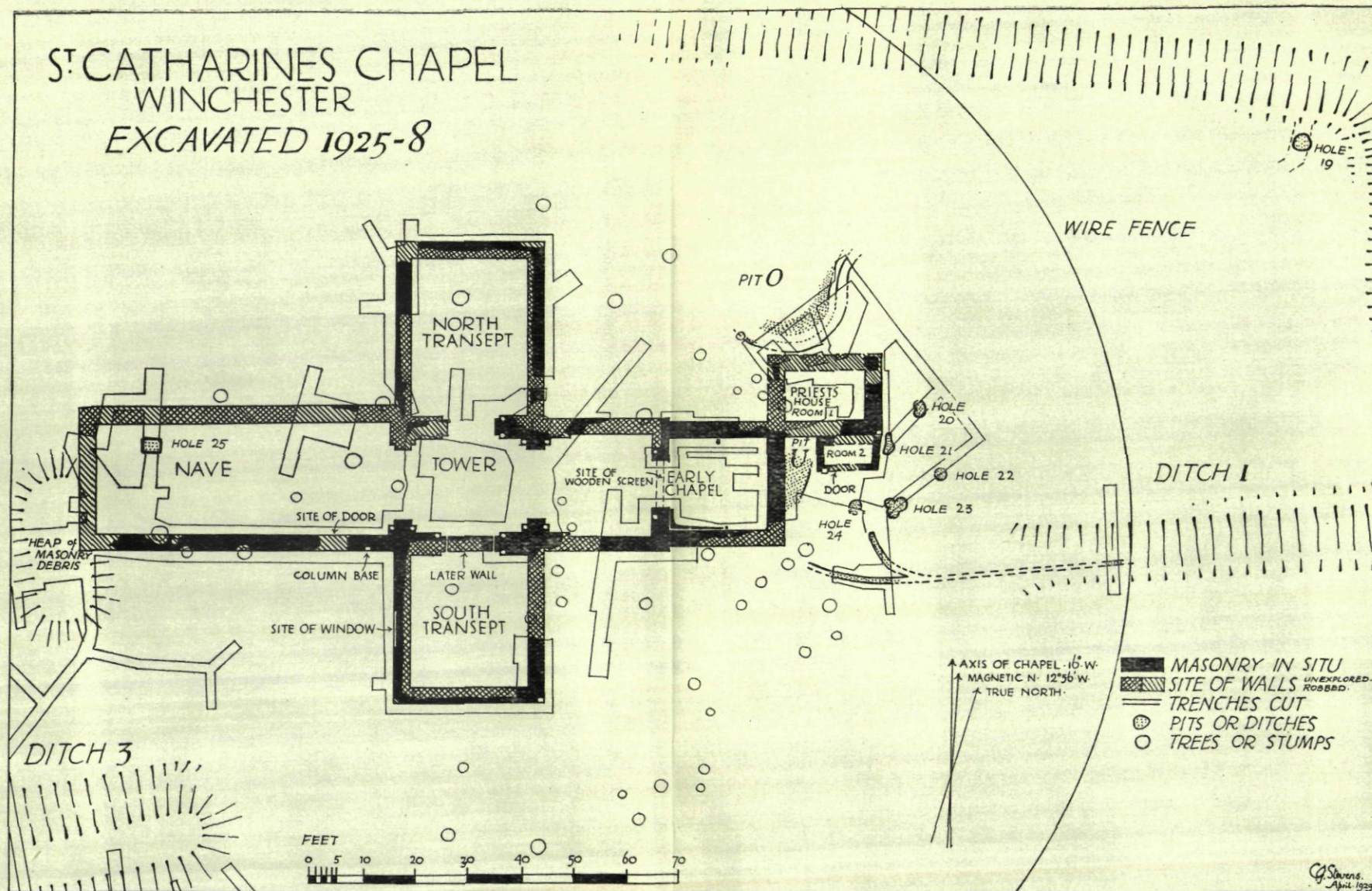


FIG. 19. PLAN OF ST. CATHARINE'S CHAPEL.

old ground surface, there was no need for foundations, and in most parts of the building the walls spring straight from the natural chalk. No foundation-trench was dug in it, though where the surface of the chalk was uneven, as for example at the east end of the early chapel, a course of large unshaped chalk blocks was laid as a footing between it and the lowest courses of the flint wall. This absence of foundation-trench, as will be seen below, makes it extremely difficult to determine the course of the walls in those parts of the building (such as the west end of the nave or the domestic rooms) where they have been completely robbed away, though in the former case its exact position can fortunately be determined by other features of the stratification. The height of the walls at present *in situ* varies from 7 ft., in the case of the rubble core of the south-eastern pier of the crossing, to a single course of flints, but except in the immediate neighbourhood of the central area, they are rarely more than a foot above the old ground surface, and large sections such as the west front and the north wall of the nave have been almost totally removed.

FLOORING

(See sections, fig. 20, and Plate X.)

No remains of floor tiles were found either *in situ* or as loose fragments, with one possible exception,¹ and this almost complete absence makes it unlikely that the building ever had tiled floors, for while it is possible that the whole floor may have been taken out at the time of the destruction, yet the lack of broken fragments left behind makes this very improbable, especially when the extremely careless treatment of the slates and glazed tiles which formed the roof is considered, for numbers of these were found in fragments all over the site, though the roofs had clearly been systematically stripped for removal.

In default of tiles, the floors may have consisted of a layer of cement of a very sandy character similar in appearance to the mortar from the walls, for which the bulk of the materials was obtained from the sand and lime pits in the immediate neighbourhood of the building (see below, pp. 232-3 ff.). This cement, of which the smooth whitish surface is generally disintegrated, was laid either directly on the natural chalk or

1. The fragment in question is more probably from a glazed brick. There are however in the Winchester City Museum parts of two encaustic floor tiles which were found on the site of the chapel by Mr. Ward-Evans in 1926.

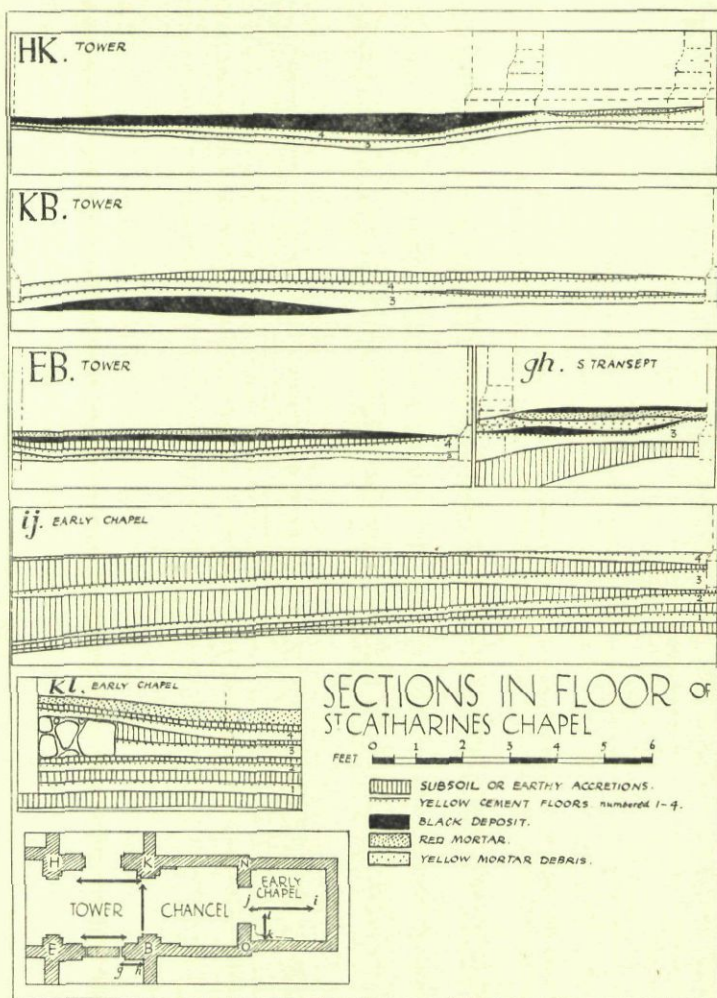


FIG. 20.

Sections in Chapel floor, with lettered key-plan.

surface-soil covering it, or in the case of superimposed floors as in the early chapel, on the dirt and refuse which had accumulated on the previous surface when in use. In the early chapel, where four successive floors were found (Plate X), and where the ground slopes naturally towards the east end, they were

separated by a make-up of humus designed to counteract the downward slope. But as the successive re-floorings and patchings in the eastern part of the building indicate, the disintegration of the earlier surfaces and sinkage of the make-up between them rendered this attempt at levelling largely nugatory, and also had the effect of making the floor extremely uneven. It is of course possible that the cement may have carried or been intended to carry wooden floors, but all trace of such woodwork if it existed has disappeared.

In the early chapel, as has been indicated, there are four floors, numbered 1-4 in fig. 20, sections i-j and k-l. The first is the original floor of the building and was found in a ruinous condition. It is laid on the old surface-soil above the natural chalk. Separated from it by a band of make-up is the second floor, which is also confined to the early chapel and has a hard yellow surface. The third floor, seen in all the sections in fig. 20, is contemporary with the building of the later chapel, and was continued over the earlier surfaces in the structure already existing, to avoid a step down at the east end, for owing to the slope of the ground the flooring of the latter was at a lower level. Unlike the earlier floors, it was laid almost horizontal, and the make-up below it is therefore much thicker at the east than at the west end of the earlier building (see section i-j). Elsewhere this floor is of course the first, and in the nave and transepts remained the only floor until the 16th century. However, under the tower and from the crossing eastwards there was a fourth floor (see sections H K, K B, E B, as well as i-j and k-l): it consisted of rather looser cement, and represents a renewed attempt to level up the eastern part of the building, being absent west of the crossing and in the transepts. The south transept, however, was re-floored with a red mortar, laid over the black deposit and mortar débris due to the main destruction, at the time of its secondary occupation for secular purposes towards the middle of the 16th century (see section g-h), and patches of this were also found in the crossing (see sections H K, E B) which are clearly connected with the same event (see pp. 214-5 below), as one (in section E B) overlies the same black deposit of destruction-rubbish. The exact dates of the successive alterations are not very clear. No large areas could be examined, and in the sections which were cut in the nave, crossing, south transept, and early chapel which provided the evidence here recorded, almost no datable material was

found. The floor coming third in the early chapel and first elsewhere belongs of course to the earlier part of the 12th century when the later chapel was built.

The isolated patch of black burnt deposit seen underlying it in section K B was barren and may be disregarded. In the south transept mediæval green glazed ware and fragments of stained glass were found in the main destruction-layer (section G - H), while in the red mortar floor already mentioned were some pieces of 16th century Farnham ware, dating the secondary occupation of the transept. In the early chapel between the third and fourth floors was found a Nürnberg jetton, the date of which is discussed below (p. 244). Though it is of a type common in the latter half of the 16th and in the 17th century, the upper limit of its occurrence is apparently unknown, and therefore while its discovery in this position need cause no great surprise, it adds little or nothing to our knowledge of the date of the fourth floor.

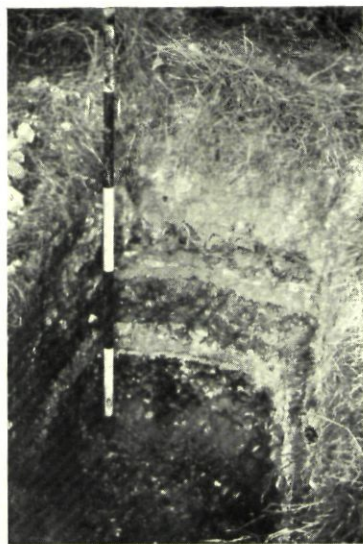
ROOFING MATERIALS

(See below, fig. 24, and detailed description pp. 224-6, with index letters referred to in text.)

Of the roof of the building it is difficult to speak with *certainty* in spite of, or perhaps because of, the great variety of roofing materials with which the soil of the site is littered. These include unglazed red tiles (I), glazed tiles of many different types (A - H), which included decorated ridge tiles and finials, and were carried out in various shades of brown, yellow, and green glaze, and finally blue slate (J). A number of small pieces of sheet lead were found (K), but not more than could be accounted for by the existence of gutters and spouting of this material.

The presence of the blue slate demands further consideration. It was at first thought that it must belong to some post-mediæval building on account of the great improbability of this material being used in Hampshire in the Middle Ages, so far from any source of supply. There are apparently very few cases of the use of blue slate for roofing purposes in the Middle Ages in England outside the areas in which it occurs geologically, that is to say Cumberland and Westmorland, Wales and Devon and Cornwall, and of these cases it is generally difficult to be certain that blue slate and not some limestone such as was used habitually

PLATE X,
ST. CATHARINE'S CHAPEL.



Floor levels in early Chapel :

- 1, near E. end, seen from East ;
- 2, near Archway opening from Chancel, seen from South.

in the Cotswold region and Northamptonshire is intended by the word "sclat" and its Latin equivalent "ardesia" in the documents.

One or two examples may be quoted to illustrate the difficulty. When in 1325 the gaol at the Northgate of Oxford was enlarged and repaired, and we read of the use of "sclat et crestes,"¹ the meaning is almost certainly a roof of Cotswold limestone slates, still the normal material in the north Oxfordshire villages, with ornamented ridge tiles or "crestes" of earthenware. But when in 1430 the cloister of Bermondsey Abbey was re-roofed by its Abbot, "cum petra vocata sclat,"² it seems impossible to determine whether this was a blue slate or a limestone. A French example is clearer. The Abbot of Cluny a little after the middle of the 15th century re-roofed part of his church with wood and slate from Brittany brought by water.³ It is just possible that the two last instances may be connected, for in 1458 envoys from Cluny were in England and may have seen the new slate roof of the cloister at Bermondsey. The Breton slate which is in common use in north-western France is a true slate allied to the Cornish and Welsh types. Other examples could no doubt be found for its use in France outside the immediate neighbourhood of its occurrence.

But in England, St. Catharine's Chapel appears to be one of the few instances in which certainty is beyond question of the mediæval use of blue slate outside the limits of its geological distribution. This conclusion is based on the following considerations:—

In the first place the slate has been found stratified in the building in positions which it could not have reached unless it is of mediæval date, for example, piled in heaps on the cement floor against the piers of the crossing under all the débris, many feet thick, which fell from the walls after the roof had been removed. Again, very large quantities of it are found all over

1. *Munimenta Civitatis Oxonie* (Oxford Historical Society), p. 262: "Item pro sclat et crestes pro domo mulierum et gaole porte borealis Oxon—xivd."

2. *Annals of Bermondsey* (*Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, III, p. 487), 1430: "Eodem anno Thomas Thetford abbas de Bermundeseye de novo cooperiri fecit claustrum cum petra vocata sclat."

3. *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* (ed. Marrier et Duchesne): Abbot Jean de Bourbon (Abbot, 1458). "Item reparari fecit et de novo cooperiri tam in lignis quam in tegulis ardesiae ex Britannia per flumen Ligerim (Loire) usque ad portum de Digoy traductis quattuor maiora pinacula sacri monasterii Cluniacensis." (The last two instances are due to the kindness of Miss Rose Graham, F.S.A.).

the chapel site. Heaps had been made outside the west front, along the north wall of the nave, and, as already mentioned, against the central piers. But as one recedes from the neighbourhood of the chapel, the soil becomes much freer of slate fragments, until outside the line of the present fence its occurrence is comparatively rare. It is obviously related, that is to say, to a building occupying the chapel site, and we have already seen reason to believe that after the destruction of the south transept, which there are grounds for placing before 1565, no such building existed. We are left therefore with the conclusion that the slate must have been used on the chapel itself, though it is impossible to suggest a date. Thirdly, the slate comes almost certainly from the North Devon area, and is not of a type which has been mined for export for at least the last hundred and fifty years.¹ We know that there was no building on the Hill after the destruction of the chapel, and it must therefore go back to the time of the chapel itself. It is worth noting that West country slates, and especially those of Cornwall, were much fancied from the 16th century onwards, and are known to have been exported from the 17th. The earliest record is that of Norden, who, writing in 1584, describes Menheniot slate as the best in Cornwall. In 1602 Carew says Cornish roofing slate "generally carrieth so good regard as (besides the supplie for home provision) great store is yeerely conveyed by shipping both to other parts of the Realme, and also beyond the Seas, into Britaine and Netherland."² As late as 1758 Borlase, writing of Delabole slate, says that it is perhaps the finest in the world.³ But its use in the chapel is apparently earlier than any literary record.

The slate fragments are found in such large quantities in every part of the chapel as to make it probable that a great part of the building was roofed with it at the time of its destruction. This was almost certainly the case with the nave and probably with the north transept. But the presence of both plain red tiles and also glazed tiles of several different types which belong to the 14th and 15th centuries but cannot apparently be dated more accurately within those limits, shows that certain parts at least were roofed at some time in a different way. Though the glazed tiles were found all over the site, they were present

1. Specimens were submitted to Dr. F. J. North, Keeper of the Dept. of Geology in the National Museum of Wales, and to Mr. J. A. Howe of the Geological Survey and Museum, Jermyn St., who reported in this sense.

2. Carew, *Survey of Cornwall* (1602), p. 6.

3. All three authorities quoted in *V.C.H. Cornwall* I, p. 519.

in the greatest quantities in the chancel, and a heap of them, together with fragments of leading which was found against the outside of the south wall near the junction of the earlier and later buildings, rather suggests that the chancel was covered with them at the time of the destruction. Plain red tiles were prevalent in the south transept and were also stacked at various points along the south wall of the nave, and it is possible though not certain that they were used in the south transept either before or after the latter was secularized on the destruction of the rest of the building. The domestic rooms at the east end seem to have been covered with tiles of a very glossy yellow orange glaze, a number of which were found in their neighbourhood and nowhere else on the site.

Though it must be remembered that these conclusions are necessarily tentative owing to the fact that the bulk of the roofing materials were carted away at the time of the destruction, yet sufficient was left behind to show that whatever the precise arrangement, the building must have presented a striking appearance from the variegated colours of the roof. The blue slates of the nave, red tiles of the south transept, and bright green, brown and orange glazes at the east end, the last possibly set out in geometrical patterns, would have made a remarkable colour-scheme above the grey flint and chalk walls of the chapel. The idea invites comparison with many existing glazed-tile roofs of churches in Austria and South Germany.

DOORS AND WINDOWS

The walls are so badly robbed almost everywhere that the positions of doors and windows must remain obscure. Only one window opening is left, and from this the stone sill and jambs have been taken: it is in the middle of the west wall of the south transept (see p. 216, fig. 21, and Plate XIV, 2). The general appearance of the plan would indicate a single window of this width in each wall of the transepts and one in each side of the western bay of the chancel, with two or three in each side of the nave. About the early chapel and the west front nothing can be said. There was presumably one west doorway, but there appears to have been no south door in the nave, as was usual in churches of this type, unless the column base in the wall 5 ft. west of the crossing represents an original doorway subsequently built up (see p. 217 and Plate XV, 2). If so, it is in an unusual

position. If no south door existed, its absence would not be very surprising for the main approach from the direction of Winchester would be from the north, and the complete removal of the wall of the nave on this side deprives us of information as to a possible north door. There is also no trace of the usual "priest's door" on the south side of the chancel, but its absence may be accounted for by the presence of the domestic buildings to the north-east of the structure. So far as the trees have permitted examination, however, there appears to be no door on the north side either. The remains in this area are in fact in too fragmentary a state for it to be clear what direct communication, if any, existed between the chancel and the domestic buildings. There is, however, a door jamb still *in situ* in the south wall of the smaller domestic room.

Small and very corroded fragments of stained glass were found at various points: in the south transept and outside the north and south and east walls of the chancel, and there were also a number of fragments of leading for glass. One, which had held diamond-shaped quarries, was outside the south wall of the chancel.

STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION

(For explanatory notes on the Elevations, fig. 21, see below, pp. 219-20.)

THE EARLY CHAPEL

The eastern part of the chancel is, as has been indicated above, structurally the oldest part of the building, and the description should therefore begin at the east end. The internal dimensions of the early chapel are 19 feet from east to west by 18 feet from north to south, and its original floor level was a little over a foot lower than that of the later building, whose builders, as it occupied the very top of the Hill, found it convenient not to cut away the natural chalk over the whole of its floor space to the level of the floor of the earlier building, but maintained a uniform surface at the higher level throughout. The chronological relationship of the two parts is thus clear, for not only was the southern pier of the later chancel arch built actually over the original floor of the early chapel, but that original floor had itself been raised a few inches and a fresh surface made before the later chapel was built. After the later chapel was built its floor was carried straight through over the

two floors in the early chapel to avoid the necessity of a step down at the east end, and at a later date still the level was again raised and a fourth floor was added, probably because the floor of the early chapel had a natural tendency to sink owing to the gradual disintegration of the earlier surfaces beneath, and the consolidation of the dirt and débris which had accumulated on them when in use.

Owing to the gradual slope of the ground from the centre of the mound to the east, and to the presence of trees at the north-east and south-east angles and on the greater part of the south wall, the walls of the early chapel, though they are built about a foot lower than those of the later chapel, are very imperfectly preserved. The east wall is nowhere higher than two courses of flints over a footing of heavy unshaped chalk blocks. The south (Plate XI, 1) starts with six courses of flints at the junction with the later chapel, but drops almost immediately to two, while the north wall, which begins at the junction with eight courses, is almost entirely destroyed by the trees for several feet from the north-east corner. A remarkable fact about the east wall is that its footing of chalk blocks is built partly over one of the natural swallow-holes in the chalk which are common on the top of the hill and whose contents of sand provided material for the mortar used by the builders. In this case the swallow-hole seems to have been partly cleared of sand by a pit (Pit U: see p. 233 and fig. 21) dug outside the east wall and refilled with earth and rubbish after the demolition of the chapel, for in the filling at the bottom of the pit was a number of chalk blocks, one of them squared, which can only have come from the building after it was destroyed. It is, moreover, inconceivable that a pit more than 8 feet deep can have been dug against and partly underneath the east wall when it was still standing to any considerable height, and leaving it supported only by loose sand without causing a collapse. It is perhaps reasonable to suggest that the occasion for digging sand from a pit in this position may have been the need for mortar for the re-pointing and re-conditioning of the south transept for use after the rest of the building was demolished in 1538-40. That is at any rate the only occasion that we know of when building of any kind which would have required sand for the mortar took place on the Hill after the main destruction of the chapel, and no other explanation for the extraordinary position of the pit is easy to put forward.

The inner surface of the walls where it is preserved above the level of the original floor is almost everywhere covered with a thick layer of plaster and, as already mentioned, fragments of fresco have been found though not *in situ*. On the south side, and in the angle formed by the south pier of the chancel arch, there is further a revetment of roughly-shaped chalk blocks, some 20 inches wide and 10 inches high, set against the inside face of the wall (see section k-l in fig. 20 and Plate XI, 2). These blocks are not part of the original construction, as they rest upon the second of the four floors, whose significance is discussed above. The third floor runs against the face of the revetment, leaving about the upper 5 inches exposed, while the fourth floor covers it entirely. The structure therefore dates from the third period, which is that of the building of the later chapel, and as it is built against the east side of the chancel arch of that period, it must be dated with but rather after it. It was probably intended to serve as the base for some construction, and its position suggests that it carried the tall backs of some kind of choir stalls or heavy panelling. No such feature was noticed on the north side, but it may easily have been removed when the fourth floor, which covers it on the south, was laid down. In the middle of the north side, however, embedded in mortar against the inner face of the wall at the level of the third floor, was found a worked stone of hexagonal section, evidently intended as a bracket or support for something which has disappeared, possibly wooden flooring.

THE DOMESTIC ROOMS

(Priest's House or Hermit's Dwelling)

The north wall of the early chapel, instead of coming to an end at its junction with the east wall, was found to continue in a very fragmentary state some 18 feet towards the east, at which point it makes a right-angle turn towards the north, the lowest corner-stone being still *in situ*, but after about 10 feet it breaks off, and having no foundation-trench its further course could not be traced with certainty. Apart from one isolated fragment of its core still *in situ* a few feet farther on, the most exhaustive search failed to find any trace of its continuing in any direction. The presence of a large and very deep sand-pit (Pit O: see p. 233 below) in the chalk immediately north and north-west of the point where the wall disappears makes it

PLATE XI.
ST. CATHARINE'S CHAPEL.



1. S. Wall of Chancel, seen from East, shewing offset at junction with S. Wall of early Chapel.
2. S. Pier of Archway opening from Chancel into early Chapel, seen from North, shewing slot in centre for wooden screen. The rough masonry added later, perhaps to support stalls, is visible on the left.

unlikely that it could have been run much further in that direction, for the pit was certainly open in the Middle Ages, as its contents shewed, a flight of steps having been roughly cut in its south-east side to provide access to the sand at the bottom, though it is now filled in level with the ground around it with earth and rubbish. To the east the ground is comparatively clean and undisturbed, and it seems fairly certain that the wall turned to the west about the point where its last fragment is found and skirted the southern edge of the sand-pit. The whole of its assumed course on this line is littered with loose flints and mortar débris as if a wall of some sort had been demolished, and a mass of mortared flints probably represents the remains of its core some 10 feet north of the north-east angle of the chapel. If the east wall of the chapel had been prolonged north across the angle in the same way as the north wall was prolonged east, it would meet this mass of core, and so produce the west side of a rectangular room with dimensions of 10 by 16 feet. Unfortunately, however, a group of trees stands immediately north of the corner of the chapel, so that its outer face cannot be examined to see whether the east wall was continued in this way, and it is just possible that the west wall of the room lay as much as 6 feet farther west, and still under the trees. Further west than this it cannot be, for the rest of the face of the north wall of the early chapel has been cleared and shows no sign of its abutment, and it was not found in a diagonal trench outside the north wall of the later chancel. We are therefore justified in using the evidence, fragmentary as it is, to indicate a room of approximately the above dimensions attached to the north-east angle of the early chapel.

As to the date of the room, there is no stratification in the foot or so of soil which lies in it over the natural chalk to give any assistance, and unfortunately roots from the trees have destroyed the eastward continuation of the north wall of the early chapel so completely at the crucial point that it is impossible to say whether it is of the same build as the early chapel or a later addition. The similarity of the alignment, the width, and the masonry where it is preserved at the eastern angle would certainly suggest contemporaneity, but it would be rash to speak definitely on so doubtful a point.

It must in any case be earlier than the small room or porch with irregular angles, and main walls only 18 inches thick, which is attached to the south side of it. This room, with

internal dimensions only 10 ft. by 3 ft. 6 ins., and a doorway with one grooved corner-stone in place at its south-west angle, is built against and not bonded into the larger room, and it has its own north wall running alongside the wall of the larger room, and partly covering the eastern corner-stone of the latter. Its walls only stood one or two courses high and were built of flint with wall-plaster on the inner surface, and it seems to have been floored with yellow cement, now very much disintegrated. The roof, as already mentioned, must have been covered with very glossy and foamy orange-yellow glazed tiles, many fragments of which were found round it and nowhere else on the site.

Before passing to the later chapel, there are two points in connection with these rooms which should be emphasized. Firstly, there can be no question that they are of a domestic and not a religious character. For the latter indeed their plan would be highly anomalous. Moreover, one of the most remarkable features of the whole site is the enormous quantity of broken mediæval pottery which it has produced,¹ and it was quite clear, even before these rooms were found, that it could not be accounted for by the casual droppings of picnic-parties and pilgrims. Now in these rooms and their immediate neighbourhood the quantity of broken cooking pots, domestic utensils, and glazed pitchers, is far greater than in any other part of the site, and it is impossible to resist the conclusion that they indicate the permanent habitation, if not of a priest, of a sexton or caretaker, or very possibly (as so often in chapels of this sort) of some anchorite or hermit, who took charge of the building on behalf of the priest of Chilcombe. In the space between the small room and the east wall of the chapel was a mass of mediæval pottery in which were the most complete specimens of glazed pitchers found anywhere on the site. It is clear that this corner must have been used as the rubbish-heap of a permanent dwelling, and can only be connected with these two rooms. Secondly, it will have been clear to anyone reading this account that their plan as shown does not necessarily represent the whole of the original building. The surviving walls are all robbed down to within a few inches of their base, and since they have no foundations, nothing but the disintegration of a little mortar is needed to make them

1. Parts of at least 600 different vessels have been found : for details see pp. 234-42 and figs. 26-8 below.

indistinguishable from the surrounding soil, which likewise consists largely of loose flints, broken mortar and other building débris. It must not therefore be thought that the plan is necessarily a final and complete one. For while on every side, except the west where the trees are an obstacle, the ground has been extensively trenched without the discovery of any structural remains *in situ*, it would not be safe to assume from this that none certainly existed. This caution will cause no surprise to those who have experience of tracing destroyed flint walls on a chalk subsoil where no foundation-trench was dug.

The Domestic Rooms : Note on comparative material.¹

The domestic rooms may certainly be presumed to have belonged to a chaplain's dwelling, though the position at the north-east corner of the chancel is unusual. Rooms for chantry-priests or sometimes anchorites are common above the side-chapels or sacristies of parish churches (*e.g.* at St. Mary's, Beverley, Yorks, or Long Sutton, Lincs.), but a regular dwelling-house abutting on a church is more anomalous : *e.g.* at Ravenstonedale, Westmorland, where in the north-east of the churchyard a sizable house has lately been unearthed which seems to have adjoined the old church, its occupants being the two or three canons of Walton who habitually resided there.

Save in such cases as that of St. Catharine's Chapel, Milton Abbas (see below, p. 251), which was served from the abbey close by below the hill, every isolated chapel would naturally have some residence on the spot for a chaplain or warden, either standing near, or forming a single building with it ; St. Mary's Chapel, Jesmond, near Newcastle, had one on its north side : at Terrington St. John's, near King's Lynn, it was between the south-west corner of the nave and the tower, and large enough for more than one chaplain, while all the western portion of the chapel (now ruined) at Rowland's Gill, near Newcastle, was so used, and had two storeys. Thus the precise location of such domestic rooms clearly varied, and the position in the present case need cause no surprise : the 14th century chapel at Wykeham near Spalding itself formed part of a house, which was used as a grange of Spalding Priory.

1. The substance of this note has been kindly provided by Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson.

THE LATER CHAPEL

Note on its addition to the earlier building.¹

As has been seen, the priority of the early chapel is clear from the stratification, and its enlargement by the addition of a structure abutting on to its western end is a case of one among several mediæval devices for enlarging sacred buildings. At St. Woolos, Newport, Mon., the old nave was made to form the narthex of the later church, while at Llantwit Major, Glamorgan, two distinct churches were formed by adding a large annexe to the original structure. Sometimes an old building was completely enclosed within a new one and then destroyed to its foundations, as at Finchale Priory, Co. Durham,² where St. John the Baptist's Chapel was enclosed, along with the tomb of St. Godric which it contained, in the 13th century aisled choir, occupying the space between the ritual choir and the high altar: it was then demolished, while the tomb was carefully preserved. The practice followed in the present instance may be compared with the case of the church at Jarrow, Co. Durham, where a large nave (now entirely rebuilt) was added at the west end of the early (Saxon) church, with its tower porch: but as the latter was far from being a simple small oratory like our early chapel, and had a regular nave and chancel, we find its nave becoming the chancel of the new church formed by the additional building, while what had been its chancel was destroyed probably at the same time, and is now fragmentary.

The Chancel.

As has been already indicated, the early chapel opens westward into the later chancel through an archway of the later period flanked on its western side by a pair of engaged columns (Plate XI, 2) whose bases are still *in situ*, and are of the same type as those of the piers of the crossing, to be described below.

That on the north has still one drum of the column shaft remaining, and the pier is preserved for one course above its bevelled plinth, but the western bevelled corner-stone has been replaced by a square unbevelled stone at some unknown date. The southern pier is in much the same state of preservation but the base alone of the column is preserved. The archway,

1. Acknowledgement for the material of this note also is due to Prof. Hamilton Thompson.

2. Peers in *Archæologia Aeliana*, ser. 4, vol. IV, p. 193 ff.

PLATE XII
ST. CATHARINE'S CHAPEL.



1. N.E. Tower Pier, seen from South.
2. S.E. Tower Pier, seen from North.

which is 9 feet wide, was originally blocked by a wooden screen, the groove for the end of which is to be seen on the southern pier. The western bay is 2 feet wider than the early chapel, and there is accordingly an offset of a foot on each side where the junction of the walls comes (Plate XI, 1). The eastern 10 feet of the southern wall were exposed and were standing to an average height of 3 feet or about seven courses of flint: the inner face was covered with a layer of wall plaster. On the north side a smaller distance only could be cleared owing to the proximity of trees; a length of 6 feet of the external face was, however, found standing to a height of eight courses of flints.

The Crossing.

The site of the crossing lies under the highest part of the mound, and the original floor level is buried under more than 10 feet of fallen masonry and earth. It was not found practicable to clear the whole of this area during the excavations, but the piers were fully examined and several sections were taken in the floors between them. Each pier consists of two members, a short one carrying the arches over the chancel and nave, and a longer one at right angles to it carrying the transept arches. Each of these members is flanked by a pair of columns, whose bases rest on a bevelled plinth. The bases of nine and perhaps ten of the sixteen original columns are still *in situ*; of the remainder, all four on the north-western pier and two on the transept member of the north-east pier have been removed, and that on the south side of the transept member of the south-western pier has not been examined. The east and west arches of the crossing, leading into the chancel and nave, are 14 feet wide, the north and south arches leading into the transepts only 9½, the difference being due to the greater length of the transept member of each pier. A curious feature is that the transept arches are set asymmetrically, the western members being in each case 7 feet in length while the eastern members are only 6 feet long.

The north-east pier (Plates XII, 1 and XIII, 3) is preserved in the eastern part of the transept member to a maximum height of 3 feet or five courses of ashlar above the bevelled plinth, and the western column base of the shorter member still retains its lowest drum, but the rest of the member is robbed to a single course above the plinth, and only the base of the eastern column

remains. The end of the transept member is robbed to the plinth itself and both bases have gone.

The core of the south-eastern pier (Plates XII, 2 and XIII, 1) is preserved to a maximum height of 7 feet, and seven courses of the ashlar facing are standing in the corner facing the transept more than 5 feet above the original floor. The southern column of the transept member retains four drums above its base to a height of 5 feet from the bevelled plinth, nearly 6 from the floor level. The shorter member is less well preserved, but even here four courses of ashlar are in position, and the western column retains two drums and the eastern one above its base. The northern column of the transept member, however, has only its base left, though the masonry behind it is four courses above the plinth. The good preservation of this pier is no doubt due to the fact that the south transept was retained in use after the destruction of the rest of the building. Between it and the south-west pier (Plate XIII, 2) a blocking wall was then built of inferior masonry to close the transept arch and cut off that part of the chapel from the rest. In this wall a red mortar was employed quite unlike that in any other part of the building. The south-east and south-west piers were re-pointed with it at the same time, and on the transept member of the south-east pier there is a large patch of it covering an area of decay in the masonry.

The south-west pier is in a more fragmentary state. The ashlar stands nowhere more than three courses above the plinth, and over a great part of the transept member only one course remains. The bases, except that on the north side of the transept, have lost all their drums, and the latter retains only part of its lowest one. The side of this pier facing the transept was not examined.

The north-west pier has been entirely robbed of its ashlar facing, but sufficient of its rubble core remains to indicate its position, and show that it resembled the other three in architectural features.

The stratification in the floor of the crossing has already been described, and allusion made to the blackened destruction-layer overlying most of the flooring, and to the patches of red mortar partly overlying it in their turn. The latter are of the same material not only as the post-destruction floor in the south transept, but also as the mortar used for the contemporary reconditioning of the masonry there, including the wall blocking

PLATE XIII.
ST. CATHARINE'S CHAPEL.



1. E. Pier of S. Transept Arch, S. side. The later blocking wall is seen on the left.
2. Looking West from S.E. Tower Piers across S. Transept entrance blocked by later wall.
3. N.E. Tower Pier, seen from West.

its arch: it was along the latter that these patches of mortar in the crossing were most frequent, and where they are not mere casual droppings they clearly represent the builders' piles.

Above comes the wreckage of the demolition: miscellaneous rubbish, some of it burnt, stacks of abandoned slates against the walls, and over all the 6 to 8 feet of mortar, broken masonry, and flint, which at its highest point form the bulk of the mound that has ever since marked the spot.

The Transepts.

The dimensions of the transepts are not exactly similar, the internal measurements of the south being 25 ft. 6 ins. north to south by 22 ft. east to west, while the north has the same east to west measurements, but is 30 ft. 6 ins. from north to south. The difference of 5 feet may partly be explained by the asymmetrical position of the north wall of the nave, to be discussed below, one effect of which would be to make the external length of the west wall of the north transept shorter than that of the south unless the internal measurement was made longer. As it is, while the north transept is 5 feet longer internally, the external measurements of the two west walls are within 18 inches of one another.

The north transept is much less well preserved than the south. Of its east wall practically the whole length has been exposed and the face is nowhere preserved to a height of more than four courses of flints. The northern half is only two courses high and the north-east angle has been robbed of its ashlar corner blocks. The north wall is only traceable with difficulty. Some 5 feet adjoining each angle has disappeared altogether and the remaining section is represented only by a single course of flints, except for a length of some 4 feet where two courses remain. The northern corner of the west wall is also only marked by the core, and for 4 feet more by a single course of flints, but it then mounts gradually to six courses at a point 3 feet from its junction with the north wall of the nave. Most unfortunately, however, a tree here makes the angle unapproachable by the spade, and the valuable evidence for the exact line of the destroyed wall of the nave which that junction would provide cannot be used. The problem of this wall will be discussed further in connection with the nave.

Of the east wall of the south transept only the southern half could be examined because of a tree growing on the wall itself.

The wall dropped quickly from six courses high under the tree to two courses for the greater part of the distance to the south-east corner which is the only one to retain a bevelled corner-stone *in situ*. The south wall (Plate XIV, 1) is nowhere more than four courses high and drops to two at both ends. A large tree grows almost directly over the south-west corner and has seriously disintegrated the remaining courses of the wall. The lowest course is, however, practically intact, though the bevelled corner-stone has been removed. The west wall (Plate XIV, 2) is the best preserved of the whole building. Except where it is broken by the roots of the tree just mentioned, it is never less than five courses of flints in height, and rises for the last 4 feet before joining the nave to no less than 11, or 4 feet above the old ground surface. In the middle of this side there is a straight-sided drop of four courses in the flint masonry, with a width of a little over 6 feet. Its bottom is also level at a height of 2 feet from the old ground surface. It represents without doubt the site of the lower part of a window from which the ashlar facings have been removed. Its original width would have been probably about 4 ft. 6 ins. and its sill some 3 feet from the ground. Since none of the facing stones remain it is not possible to say whether it was of the same date as the building or a later insertion, but a window of some kind, though not necessarily one of this size, would be normal in this position from the beginning. In the corner of the wall nearest the junction with the nave there are several blocks of ashlar and squared chalk among the flint masonry to add strength to the angle. The interesting stratification revealed by section g-h in the north-east corner of this transept (fig. 20) has already been recorded (pp. 201-2): it makes it clear that the south transept was not merely spared from the general destruction, but was deliberately re-floored and generally repaired to fit it for a lease of life which turned out for some reason to be unexpectedly short.

The Nave.

The south wall of the nave, the only part which is left in any degree of preservation, runs westwards from the south transept for 52 feet. For the first 5 feet seven courses are preserved to a height of about 3 feet. The wall then breaks down very quickly, and for some 6 feet is completely absent. It soon begins again, however, and three courses are preserved

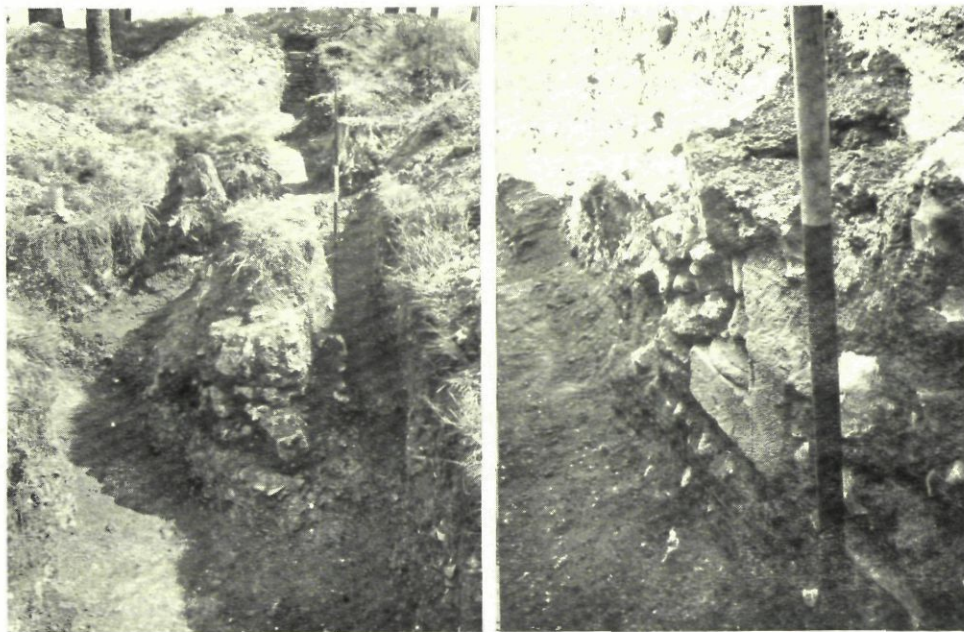
PLATE XIV.
ST. CATHARINE'S CHAPEL.



1. S. Wall of S. Transept, seen from East.
2. W. Wall of S. Transept, seen from North.
is just seen behind the measuring pole.

The gap marking probable position of window

PLATE XV.
ST. CATHARINE'S CHAPEL.



1. Broken end of S. Nave Wall, seen from West.
2. Column-base built into S. Nave Wall, seen from S.E.: the gap perhaps marking site of door is visible on the left.

for the rest of its length, and four for about 8 feet, though three or four tree stumps remain on the line of the wall. Wherever it is preserved high enough, the inner face is covered with wall plaster, and in the corner by the south transept there are a number of large stone blocks among the flints similar to those in the west wall of the south transept. At a height of a foot from the old surface at a point 5 feet west of the south transept angle there is built into the outer face of the wall a column base for an engaged column of exactly similar type to those in the crossing (Plate XV, 2). It serves no purpose where it is, as it is built round with the ordinary flint masonry of the wall, and only two explanations of it are possible. One alternative is to say that it is not *in situ* at all, but that all this piece of wall has been rebuilt and this base, of 12th century work, has been re-used fortuitously at this point. But on the other hand the fact that the wall completely disappears for about 6 feet a little to the west of this base may not be wholly without significance, for both the presence of the base and the absence of the wall may be due to the same cause—a door. It is clear that the base could not have formed part of a door in the later period of the chapel's history, for the wall continues at least 3 feet west of it, but it may be a ghost of a door of the original building which for some reason was moved a few feet further west at a later date. The ashlar facings of the later version of the door may have been completely removed, leaving as the only signs of its existence a break in the wall and the built-up column base of its predecessor. But it is impossible to speak with certainty.

The 12th century cement floor was in poor condition but recognizable throughout: it was in places covered with stacked slates and tiles, in addition to other débris.

The south wall ends in a broken mass of core 52 ft. west of the crossing (Plate XV, 1), and the most extensive search has failed to reveal any masonry beyond this point. But there can be no doubt that the west front lay only 7 feet further west. The whole of it has been removed, and its plan is not recoverable, but its precise position can be determined by the state of the surrounding soil. The cement floor of the nave, though much disintegrated, is preserved up to a definite line 4 feet beyond the broken end of the wall. Beyond this line the ground is disturbed for 3 feet, representing the thickness of the vanished west wall, and outside this begin the heaps of slate which extend all along the west and north of the building. The

slates were evidently stacked, here as elsewhere, against the outside of the wall, and after the majority had been carted away the rest, mostly broken, were left, even when the walls themselves were grubbed up, as was the case with this one. Hence the line of the edge of the slate heaps still keeps approximately to the outer line of the walls where, as in this case, the latter have been entirely removed, and the space between this line at the west end and the line of the western edge of the cement floor provides the exact site of the west wall without any reasonable doubt. This gives the nave an external length of 59 feet.

Like the west wall, the north wall of the nave has also been completely grubbed up. But the same means are available to determine its position. Three sections taken across its site all showed the same result, which was at first sight unexpected, namely, that the north wall did not spring directly from the back of the transept arm of the north-west pier, but from a point nearly 4 feet to the north, and was therefore out of symmetry with the south wall. But there are two factors which confirm the evidence of the ground. In the first place, it provides an explanation for the fact that the internal length of the north transept is 5 feet greater than that of the south. For if the north wall of the nave lay, as the slate-heaps and the floor-line shew, 4 feet north of its expected alignment, there would be only about 18 ins. difference in the external measurements of the two west walls of the transepts, and the eccentric axis of the nave would thus be practically masked from the outside of the building. It suggests in fact very forcibly not only that the nave and transepts are of homogeneous build, but that building began on the west end of the nave simultaneously with the tower piers. Had it begun only at the east end, as at Romsey or St. Cross, the extra length of the north transept would not have been made to fit an eccentric nave which *ex hypothesi* was not yet built. But the second argument is still more decisive. In one of the sections cut across the supposed line only about 10 feet west of the junction with the north transept, a line of flints 5 feet in length was found exactly on the required alignment with the slate fragments running up to but not beyond it. Though so short a length of one course only of flints remained and the core and inner face of the wall had been entirely removed, this is clearly the sole remaining fragment of the north wall of the nave; if it were possible to cut down the tree and examine the abutment on the north transept, it would

PIER O WEST ELEV.

PIER B

PIER E

ELEVATION KLM INT.

PIER N WEST AND EAST ELEVATIONS.

SITE OF W. WALL OF NAVE

RED MORTAR

TILES AND SLATES IN HEAPS ON YELLOW CEMENT FLOOR

SECTION ef

SITE OF WALL

SLATES AND TILES STACKED ON CEMENT FLOOR

PIT 25 CONTAINING CLEAN CHALK FILLING AND POT. 69.

FLINTY DEBRIS

S.WALL of NAWE

OLD TURF LINE

NAVE

PIER K WEST ELEV.

PIER B WEST, EAST, SOUTH ELEV.

E-WALL OF S-TRANSEPT INT.

PIER E EAST AND WEST ELEV.

ELEV. BA EXT.

HEXAGONAL STONE BEDDED IN CEMENT

E-WALL OF EARLY CHAPEL

SITE OF DOOR ?

W. WALL of ROOM 2

MEDIAEVAL JARS IN LARGE QUANTITIES

SITE OF DOOR ?

E-WALL of ROOM 1

I **J**

G **H** **K** **L** **M**

F **A** **B** **C** **D** **E**

SITE OF DOOR

COLUMN BASE ? NOT IN SITU

ED EXT.

SITE OF WINDOW

DC EXT.

CB EXT.

STRUCTURAL REMAINS OF CHAPEL CLEARED OF MOUND & TREES

GROUND SURFACE

PLASTER FACING

TURF AND SUBSOIL

MASONRY DEBRIS

MORTAR DEBRIS

SAND

SLATE HEAPS AND DEBRIS

CHIEF OMISSIONS — THE N. AND W. WALLS OF NAWE, WHICH HAVE VANISHED

N-WALL OF N-TRANSEPT STANDS TO 2 COURSES — N-WALL OF CHANCEL TO 8 · E-WALL TO 2 ·

FIG. 21. ELEVATIONS OF THE CHAPEL WALLS WITH LETTERED KEY-PLAN

no doubt be found to confirm the same alignment. The breadth of the nave is thus 28 ft. externally, and internally 22 ft.

DESCRIPTION OF ELEVATIONS (fig. 21)

As a concise summary of the foregoing account of the chapel, it may be well to supply a guide to the accompanying *stone-for-stone* elevations.

ABEF, extending along the top of the sheet from left to right, gives the complete internal elevation of the south walls of the chancel and nave. The débris from the domestic rooms is seen outside the east end, and the half-dug swallow-hole (Pit U) underlying the east wall of the early chapel. The higher footing-level marks the beginning of the later building at Pier O, the west elevation of which is appended. On the other side of the short unexcavated portion of the later chancel, the crossing is reached with Piers B and E (the southern supports of the tower), with the secondary wall built with red mortar blocking the transept archway between them. The remains of the nave wall, cut by the possible south doorway gap, complete the elevation, and just beyond its broken end is shewn the site of the vanished west wall.

Directly below this on the right of the sheet, K L M is the internal elevation of the north chancel wall, from Pier K, the north-west pier of the crossing, through Pier N, the west and east elevations of which are appended: here, with the change in footing-level, the early chapel is reached, and beyond its east wall is the remnant of the domestic rooms.

Below this again, the extreme right of the third row of elevations is occupied by B A, which shews the outside of the south chancel wall, answering to the left-hand portion of ABEF at the top: at the point corresponding to Pier O there the joint and change of footing-level is seen between the earlier and later masonry. On the left of this appear other elevations of the central piers K, B, and E, and of the uncovered interior portion of the south transept east wall adjoining Pier B.

Returning now to the left-hand side of the sheet, immediately below A B E F are seen the sections a - b, c - d, and e - f cut to locate the missing north nave wall, which was fixed, as above explained, between the line of the heaps of slate on the outside and the edge of the cement floor of the nave inside. In section a - b the latter is marked by a slight error as 'red floor'—it

should of course be '(yellow) cement floor': it is further not marked in section c - d, as it was found here too disintegrated to be reliably distinguished from the surrounding débris. In section e - f it is overlaid by stacks of slates and roof-tiles: the curious square Pit or Hole 25, which lies beneath it here, is described below, p. 233.

Below these sections, FE is the outside elevation of the south nave wall, answering to the right-hand portion of ABEF at the top of the sheet: the site of the west wall appears on the left, and further to the right the conjectural site of the south door and the column-base built into the wall just beyond.

The bottom row of elevations comprises KJ and IH, the exteriors respectively of the east and west walls of the north transept, and ED, DC, and CB, those of the west, south, and east walls of the south transept: the possible position of former windows answering to that recognized in ED is shewn in all.

A lettered key-plan occupies the centre of the sheet, and in the bottom right-hand corner is a sketch shewing the appearance which the remains of the chapel would present, as seen from the south, with Winchester Cathedral in the background, if they were cleared of the overlying mound of débris and the trees growing upon it.

When in due time these trees die, and the clump consists only of those recently planted around the edge of the mound covering the chapel, such a clearance could be effected without spoiling the picturesque appearance of the Hill, and the remains of the chapel might well thus be permanently exposed and preserved for the eyes of posterity.

MOULDED STONE (fig. 22)

In addition to the drums and bases of piers found as described *in situ*, there was among the masses of masonry débris encumbering the ruins of the chapel a quantity of moulded stone, among which the best pieces are here illustrated (nos. 1 - 15). In the following descriptive list, Q = Quarr stone, Ch. = Chalk: the presence of worked stone of any other kind was not attested save by the discovery of two fragments of a Purbeck marble slab just inside the Early Iron Age Entrance on its north side. Perhaps the pack-animals of Wriothsesley's breaking-up gang passed this way and dropped them: it is anyhow only reasonable to derive them from the chapel, and one might guess them to be the remains of a desecrated altar-stone.

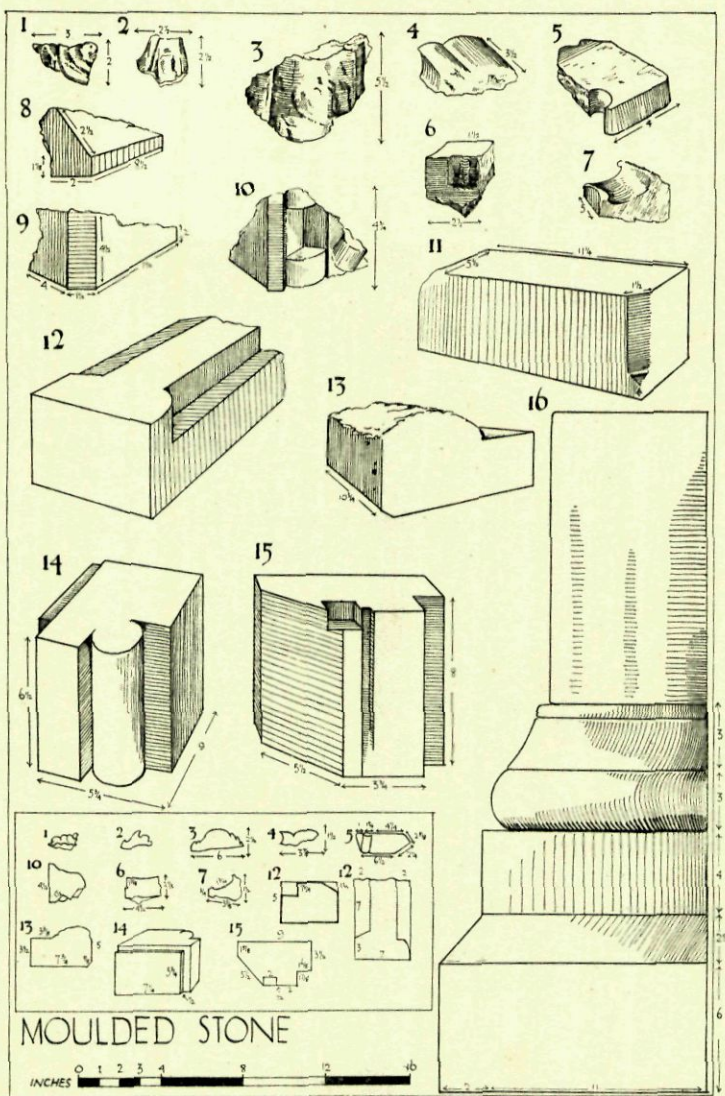


FIG. 22. (See pp. 220-2.)

	<i>Where found.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1.	Q. West end of nave.	Fragment of decorative moulding.
2.	Q. " " "	" " "
3.	Q. " " "	Fragment of draped statue, perhaps an angel.
4.	Ch. " " "	Low double moulding.
5.	Q. South wall of chancel.	Perforation, perhaps for window-bar.
6.	Q. West end of nave.	Upper face concave and coated with white plaster.
7.	Ch. " " "	Probably flanking of window.
8.	Ch. South wall of chancel.	Plain: well squared.
9.	Ch. Domestic rooms.	Presumably flanking of window or door (<i>cf. no. 11</i>).
10.	Q. West end of nave.	Billet-moulding with part of chevron-ornament.
11.	Ch. South wall of chancel.	Lower termination of bevelled flanking of window or door.
12.	Q. " " "	Part of moulded window-sill.
13.	Ch. " " "	Bevel as on no. 9, but smaller.
14.	Ch. Inside north wall of chancel. Near east end.	Flanking shaft of window.
15.	Ch. South wall of chancel.	Splayed flanking of window or door, with socket presumably for bar, and vertical groove rising to vanish near bottom.

No. 16 is an elevation of the type of shaft and base used on the piers, with one drum in position: like nos. 1-15, it requires a date in the earlier part of the 12th century. The following note gives the evidence here afforded for the closer fixing of the date of the later chapel; that of the early chapel cannot so be fixed, in the absence of any such evidence associated with its remains.

ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE FOR THE DATE OF THE LATER CHAPEL

1. An upper limit of date is provided by no. 10 in the above list, which in addition to the regular Norman billet-moulding shews part of what has clearly been chevron-ornament, and must therefore be after about 1110.

2. The moulding of the pier-shaft base, no. 16, is of the regular 'Western' type which lasted till about 1120-30. In the absence of any material requiring a later date this supplies the lower limit, as all the pieces may safely be placed in the first quarter of the 12th century.¹

1. The substance of these two paragraphs has been kindly supplied by Mr. A. W. Clapham, F.S.A.

Consideration of typical base-mouldings of the period from buildings in the immediate neighbourhood shews the range of variation in the local modifications of the 'Western' type, as illustrated by nos. 1-5, fig. 23.

As compared with the St. Catharine's Chapel moulding (no. 4), that from St. Cross (no. 1) shews its later date by its reduced lower projection and its more regularly-shaped *f*-curve: St. Cross was founded in 1136 by Bishop Henry de Blois, and the piscina whence this example comes may be confidently dated about 1160, when the 'Western' type proper had become thus modified. On the other hand, no. 2, from the tower of Winchester Cathedral as rebuilt after its fall in 1107, is allied

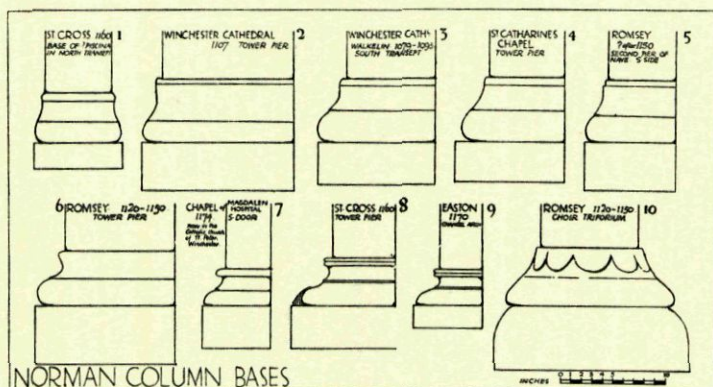


FIG. 23.

Comparative Chart of Column-base mouldings (pp. 222-4).

by its vertical upper portion and its angular concavity to no. 3, which belongs to Bishop Walkelin's Cathedral built in the latter part of the preceding century, and shews the earlier form of the type. The St. Catharine's Chapel moulding (no. 4) thus comes between nos. 2 and 1, but it is also fairly similar to one (no. 5) from that portion of the nave of Romsey Abbey which is dated to 1150-70 in *V.C.H. Hants* IV, p. 460 ff. If this moulding is really of so late a date, it is anomalous, as by the middle of the 12th century the flatter type of moulding shewn in nos. 6-9, fig. 23, had come into general use. The St. Catharine's Hill moulding at least seems to stand before the development of this type, which had begun before 1150, as no. 6 from the tower at Romsey shews: its later evolution is

shewn by no. 7, from the doorway of the former Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, on the eastern hill above Winchester, now re-erected in the Roman Catholic Church in Jewry Street, and further by no. 8 from the tower at St. Cross, which is roughly contemporary with the modified form of the earlier type from the same church (no. 1), and by no. 9, about 10 years later, from the chancel arch of Easton Church. The overlapping of the two series is thus illustrated, and if the Romsey example (no. 5) is really after 1150 it looks like a survival for the sake of conformity with the adjoining earlier work, as no. 10 from the choir triforium may be dated (like no. 6) 1120-50, and in spite of its different ornamentation is clearly a form of the same earlier type, as shewn at St. Catharine's Chapel. No. 5 may then be treated as a special case which need not disturb the natural dating of our mouldings before about 1120-30, and we may reasonably sum up by dating the later chapel as nearly as possible between 1110 and 1125.

It was clearly built in the regular tradition of the larger Norman churches of cruciform plan with a central tower, and its nave is of the length usually given to those of aisled churches of this type (60 ft. was probably the original measurement at Romsey), suggesting that it was designed and expected to be an important building.¹ We shall find this notion confirmed by what is known of the history of English devotion to its patron Saint (see below, p. 248 ff.).

ROOFING MATERIALS (fig. 24)

These have received general discussion above (pp. 202-5): it is only required here to give a brief inventory of the types of material discovered, of which the chief are illustrated opposite, and marked below with an asterisk.

1. TILES.

Glazed.

Type A.* Coarse thick ware, heavy light-green glaze: flat and coping tiles, thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

- (a) The coping tiles have either plain pointed finial, length at base $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ in.: or elaborate semi-circular finial with aperture and six slashes at base, length at base 6 in., height $\frac{3}{4}$ in., thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 1 in.
- (b) An odd fragment of light-green glazed ware, ribbed, and glazed both sides, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick.

1. *V.C.H. Hants* IV p. 461.

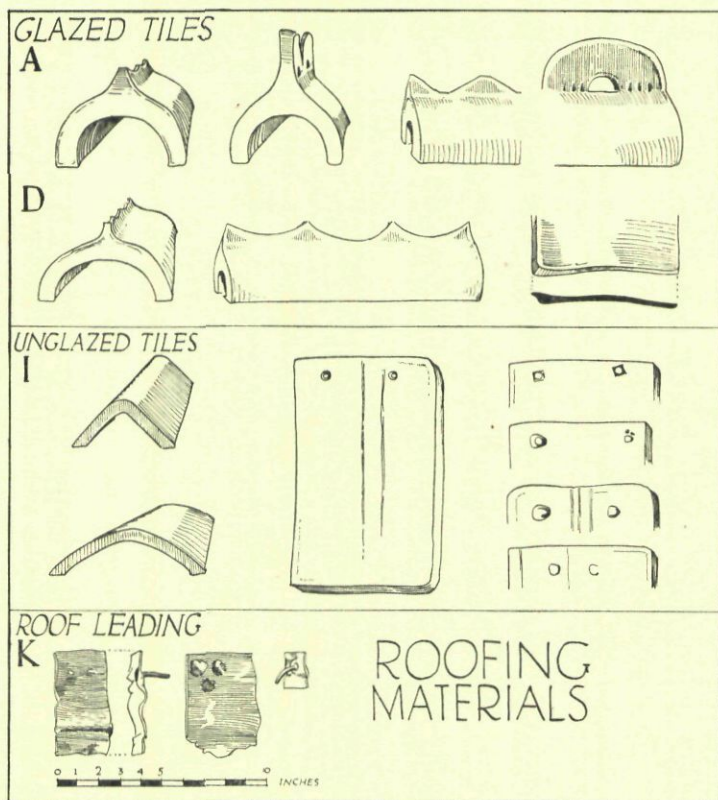


FIG. 24. (See pp. 224-6.)

Type B. Coarse thick flinty ware, thin brownish green glaze: flat and coping tiles, thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Similar finials, length $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.

Type C. Fine thick gritless ware, brownish-green glaze: flat only, thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

Type D.* Fine thin pink ware, widening to flanged edge, partially covered with green spotty glaze: similar to the pottery exx. nos. 44 and 47 in figs. 26 and 27 respectively (see below, pp. 238-40), thickness $\frac{3}{8}$ in. to $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

(a) Flat tiles, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick: at edge $\frac{3}{8}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

One was mortared on both sides and had slate adhering to one side.

(b) Coping tiles: scallops 4 in. long, finials $\frac{5}{8}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. high: $\frac{3}{8}$ in. to $\frac{7}{8}$ in. thick.

One was mortared all over.

Compare similar scalloped tile in Northampton Museum from the Drapery, Northampton.

- Type E. Coarse flinty ware, glossy orange-green glaze: coping tiles only. Thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ in., length of scallops $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- Type F. Glossy yellowish-brown glaze splashed on at edge: with peg-holes, flat only: thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- Type G. Fine ware, very glossy bright-green glaze: coping tiles only. Thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ in.: length of scallop $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- Type H. Very glossy foamy orange brown glaze: flat only. Thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
- Type H was confined to the Domestic Rooms, while types A - G were found mainly along the chancel walls, and at the west end of the nave.

Unglazed.

- Type I.* Coarse ware, moulded lines running at various intervals: peg-holes for wooden pegs (one was found) punched at average interval of 2 in. with a square tool, or a round tool with square incuse: holes $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diam.
- The ware is yellow, orange, or red, with slightly flanged edges. Average size 11 in. or 12 in. by $5\frac{1}{4}$ in., $6\frac{3}{4}$ in., 8 in.: thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
- Found in very large quantities at all levels, especially on the yellow floor in the nave.
- Coping tiles are of finer grain: exact dimensions doubtful. They are confined to south transept, so probably connected with the secondary occupation there.

II. BLUE SLATE.

- Type J. The slates are fairly thick, with circular holes for nails (in one example the nail still remained in the hole): they generally bear traces of cement on one side. Average dimensions 11 in. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.: thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

III. ROOF LEADING.

- Type K.* The pieces of leading are rectangular, with holes for nails, at least one of which remained in every case. They are either from spouts or gutters, or perhaps more probably are slips which were put in under a loose slate or tile and bent over upwards at the bottom to hold it up.

Normal size 5 in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., with two nails.

Also pieces 5 in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., with three nails.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., " two "

2 in. by 1 in., " one nail.

For the nails see below, p. 247.

GLAZING MATERIALS

A certain number of small fragments of very corroded stained glass were found on the chapel site, the only stratified ones being in the destruction layer in the south transept (section g-h, fig. 20) sealed by the red flooring of the secondary occupation. Some strips of glass-leading were also found, twisted and in poor condition. One had contained the usual diamond-shaped quarries.

THE MINOR EARTHWORKS

Now that the chapel and its structure have been fully reviewed, it is necessary, before describing the contemporary pottery and objects discovered, to notice the *minor earthworks* present on the Hill, most of which may be considered mediæval. They are numbered as Ditches 1-8: for their location see general plan, fig. 36, and for sections the accompanying fig. 25.

DITCH 1 forms three sides of a slightly embanked enclosure at the east end of the chapel. Its northern arm was found to be unconnected with Ditch 2 or any other earthwork on the west, but to end abruptly some 60 ft. almost due north of the north transept, the intervening space being apparently quite unenclosed. The northern arm of the ditch runs for 140 ft. just north of east from this terminal point, and then a turn to the south - south - east forms the eastern arm, 75 ft. long, on which the Maze abuts and is aligned (see p. 273 below). The south arm is set at right angles to this, which makes it nearly parallel with the south wall of the chapel, its bottom running some 10 ft. south of the latter's alignment. At a point 20 ft. east of the south-east corner of the early chapel, it curves a little north of west so as to make straight for this corner, where it presumably ends, though tree-roots prevented its being traced for the latter half of the distance.

This last portion of it had clearly undergone subsequent alteration (see plan, fig. 19). The section of the original work was found both in the north and south arms to have the profile shewn in the first drawing in fig. 25, where the outer face of

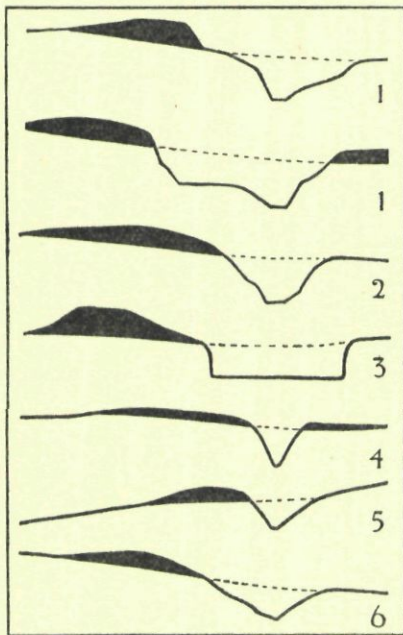


FIG. 25.

Sections of Minor Earthworks (pp. 95-6 and 227-31). Scale $\frac{1}{150}$.

the ditch has an irregular slope inclined at about half the angle of the inner face, from which the upcast, all of which was on the inner side, was separated by a considerable berm, the lip having become eroded as shewn. But nearly 30 ft. east of the south-east corner of the early chapel the ditch had been cut back on a curve to the north-west, rather shallower than the original bottom, the berm thus disappearing and the increased upcast being heaped on the very edge of the new inner face, as shewn in the second drawing in fig. 25. Unfortunately the upcast was too disintegrated to reveal stratification distinguishing the original from the secondary deposit, but comparison of the two sections leaves no doubt that this was what occurred.

This new cutting of the termination of the ditch ran for 15 ft. from its point of divergence from the original cutting, and then stopped 11 ft. south of Room 2 of the Domestic Buildings. That the latter is a secondary addition to Room 1 has been seen, and it is possible that the alteration of the ditch was made at the time of its construction. For the ditch as a whole is certainly mediæval and associated with the Chapel and Domestic Rooms, which it encloses on three sides, and analysis of the contents of the upcast and silt indicates further that it was not dug until the Chapel and presumably Domestic Room 1 at least had been in existence for a considerable time. Both the primary and the secondary ends of the ditch were clearly designed to receive drainage from the roofs.

Besides stray fragments of Early Iron Age pottery, the silt contained two glazed pitcher-handles, probably of the 14th century, and a fragment with dark glazed lines in relief as on the 14th century pitcher-neck no. 67, fig. 26, as well as unglazed cooking-pot rims (*e.g.* nos. 32, 33, fig. 28) of type prevalent all over the site. The upcast contained as well as some plain examples, decorated glazed pitcher-handles of the cabled type of nos. 97-99, fig. 26, which is not earlier than the 14th century, and decorated fragments of the 14th-15th century types of nos. 88-93: also unglazed cooking-pot rims of the most prevalent forms, including the decorated no. 187, fig. 28. The inference, that the ditch is of fairly late mediæval date, is reasonably plain, and the further precision desirable in view of the difficulty of distinguishing upcast proper from surface-soil where many of these sherds were found is provided by the iron key (I 26 in fig. 29), which as is decided below (p. 246) is of the period 1300-1350; this was found well down in the upcast

of the north arm, and must have been already discarded when the ditch was dug. The second half of the 14th century is thus an acceptable date for Ditch 1.

Such rectangular enclosure-ditches were probably normal in the Middle Ages for a variety of purposes; a not very dissimilar one near Morgan's Hill, Wilts, excavated by Mrs. Cunnington,¹ had numerous gaps and was probably a village sheepfold: the purpose of Ditch 1 is not so clear, but it is very possibly the 'Cymytorie' ditch mentioned in Wriothesley's lease (see p. 195 above). No graves indeed were found, but the enclosure was not exhaustively trenched, and this notion is supported by the absence of a western arm to the ditch. If the cemetery was instituted in expectation of a number of burials, room for expansion would be afforded if one side was left without an enclosing ditch, and closed only by a fence or hurdling, which could be moved outwards if and as required. If this was the case, it would seem that the site acquired inadequate popularity as a place of burial, which is perhaps not surprising, especially as we shall find reason to suspect the decline of devotion to St. Catharine in the 15th century (see pp. 254-6).

DITCH 2, traceable as a wide arc of a circle passing some 80 ft. west of the west front of the chapel, was at first expected to be a prehistoric earthwork of earlier date than the Iron Age fortification; but this hope was disappointed, as by digging at the northern limit of its surface indication it was found to be cut through the top of the rubbish filling the mediæval chalk-pit N (see pp. 232-3 below).

There is nothing in the post-Reformation history of the Hill to suggest a date for it subsequent to the destruction of the chapel, for it is clearly a boundary-ditch, and as such the most plausible explanation, since none of the rubbish in Pit N need be later than the 14th century, is to connect it with the possibility that a clump of trees stood on the Hill in the 15th century: at least it encloses far too large an area to have anything to do with the subsequent plantation of 1762. It might well be such a boundary-ditch from its section, and in plan it recalls the plantation-ditch shewn in the air photograph of Calstone Fields, Calne, Wilts, in *Wessex from the Air*, pl. XXVIII, which is absent from the early 18th century map *ibid.* pl. XXIX. For the chronology of the St. Catharine's Hill plantations see below

1. *W.A.M.* XXXVI, p. 590 ff. For the earthwork surrounding St. Catharine's Chapel, Milton Abbey, Dorset, see below, pp. 251-2.

pp. 261, 267, 282, 285: there is here nothing further to say concerning this ditch, which it was not possible to pursue to its end in either direction.

DITCH 3 was found to be L-shaped in plan. Its southern arm runs rather south of west, from a point about 35 ft. south-west of the south-west corner of the south transept, for a distance of 42 ft., being 9 ft. wide, cut square into the chalk to a depth of 4 ft. below the upcast bank on the south, which is 12 ft. wide. Ditch and bank then turn not very abruptly north-westward, and run on past a 'pipe' of natural clay to vanish in the dump of rubbish from the destruction of the chapel outside its west end.

The width and profile of this ditch are peculiar, but it seems to mark the south-west corner of the chapel precinct, and is certainly of mediæval date, as on its bottom was found a ring (pl. XVI, 7) probably of the late 13th century (see below, p. 245), and what scanty fragments of rubbish the silt contained were at latest mediæval up to a line 1 ft. from the bottom, which was marked by a thick layer of slate, tile, and masonry débris, unmistakably attesting the destruction of the chapel. It may thus be believed that the ditch, dug late in the 13th century at the earliest, was half silted up at the time of the destruction, which was responsible for most of the rest of the filling. Near where it vanished on the north was found an Edward III silver halfpenny (pl. XVI, 2, and p. 243).

DITCH 4 has been seen above (pp. 95-6) to belong without much doubt to the Early Iron Age.

DITCH 5 runs eastward through the Early Iron Age counterscarp some 250 ft. south of the Entrance, and is lost in the Sewage Farm. It is presumably connected with the secondary ditch noticed above in Sections 2 and 3 through the Early Iron Age defences (fig. 4), and requires treatment along with Ditches 6 and 7.

DITCH 6 is in fact the continuation of this same secondary ditch, which having run along the Early Iron Age ditch as above described (pp. 23, 26-7) as far as a point 600 ft. south of the Entrance and just beyond Domum Cross, turns outwards at right angles, and cutting through the counterscarp turns somewhat north of east to run down the slope, and again northwards into the Sewage Farm (see fig. 1). It will be wise not to attempt to trace it further,¹ but fairly clearly it forms the boundary of an area on the gentle eastern slope of the Hill which

1. cf. Williams Freeman, *Field Archaeology*, pp. 253, 403.

was enclosed in the Middle Ages or perhaps later, but is quite unconnected with the Sewage Farm, a 19th century creation. It has been seen above how the Early Iron Age ditch was silted up practically to its present level when it was dug; at the point where it cuts through the counterscarp by Domum Cross its upcast was easily distinguishable overlying the Early Iron Age counterscarp bank.

The excavations in it here produced no finds.

DITCH 7. The same secondary ditch has been shewn to run northwards across the Entrance causeway: no doubt it continues along the Early Iron Age ditch as before until, by cutting through the counterscarp once more, it emerges on the northern slope of the hill as Ditch 7. This was not excavated, but though the Sewage Farm hedge runs along it northwards down the Hill and follows its right-angle turn westwards (see fig. 1), it is plainly older than this, as where the hedge turns northward again to reach the foot of the Hill by the modern path leading up from the railway, the ditch and its accompanying bank run straight on westward across the path till cut away by the big chalk-pit. It is here that clear evidence that it enclosed cultivated land is forthcoming, for between this last stretch and the railway a series of low plough-banks are discernible running parallel to it across the slope (see fig. 1). It thus appears that the whole area bounded by this ditch on the north and east of the Hill was formerly enclosed, in part at least, for cultivation. Ditches 6 and 7 are thus not prehistoric 'boundary-ditches' or 'covered ways,' but simply the bounds of this enclosure, very possibly once marked also by a hedge line, while Ditch 5 must represent an internal boundary, or possibly even the original limit of the area on the south, Ditch 6 thus marking a later extension.

DITCH 8 was not excavated. It appears as a slight depression running into the Sewage Farm out of the Early Iron Age ditch between the Entrance and Ditch 5—it may reasonably be considered as similar to the latter, and certainly as no more important.

THE PATHS

None of these, which are marked on fig. 1, require notice save that running down the northern hillside by an easy gradient south-west and north-east above the lip of the chalk-pit, and disappearing under the Sewage Farm hedge and the continuation

of Ditch 7. It looks earlier than both these, and also than the steeper paths which breach the Early Iron Age earthwork at its northernmost part, and it is unmistakably terraced. Possibly this was done at or after the building of the earlier or more probably of the later chapel, while the steeper paths, which are largely worn into steps, are no doubt chiefly due to the College from the 16th century onwards (see below, p. 259 ff.).

THE MEDIÆVAL AND LATER PITS

While the Early Iron Age pits were found only in exceptional cases to be marked by depressions on the surface, the bulk of those which are so marked turned out to be mediæval, though a few, unexcavated, look quite modern. For the location of these pits see the general plan, fig. 36, where they are distinguished from those of the Early Iron Age by smaller capital letters.

PIT B, at the edge of which Early Iron Age pottery, etc., was discovered as noticed above (p. 89), was itself certainly dug to extract the sand here present as a pocket in the chalk, and may thus be considered a small example of the same type as Pit H.

PIT C contained some fragments of mediæval pottery, and was clearly a chalk-pit dug to obtain blocks for the Chapel buildings.

PIT D, just south of it, was not excavated but probably another: west of these a quarry-face in the chalk was found to stretch 80 feet or more north and south, and must have been dug for the same purpose.

PITS E, F, and G, west of this, were not excavated and look modern.

PIT H was found to be dug quite deep into a natural pocket or swallow-hole of sand in the chalk, no doubt to get material for mortar for the chapel buildings.

PIT I, just west of this, was not excavated but had perhaps the same purpose.

PITS J and L, north and east of the chapel, were not excavated and certainly look modern.

PIT N was a very deep mediæval chalk-pit, much larger than Pit C, which had been filled with rubbish including much

pottery, none of which need be later than the 14th century; through the top of this Ditch 2 was dug as explained above (p. 229).

Pit O, close to the Domestic Rooms on the north-west, was dug in a large sand-hole, with a roughly-cut flight of steps leading into it. Its object was clearly material for mortar for the chapel, and its filling contained mediæval pottery.

Pit U was dug with the same purpose in a swallow-hole of sand at the east end of the chapel, and its peculiar position relative to the east wall has been discussed and accounted for above (p. 207).

THE SMALLER HOLES, 19-25 (see fig. 19)

In the north-east angle of Ditch 1 was found HOLE 19, which was full of mediæval rubbish, and was presumably a cesspit: it was at least 12 ft. deep.

HOLES 20-24, south and east of the Domestic Rooms, could not be reliably dated, though the presence in and all around them of mediæval pottery and rubbish suggests that they were dug by occupants of the rooms for the disposal of refuse.

HOLE 25, a curious rectangular excavation in the natural chalk inside the chapel nave near the west end, could not be accounted for: its filling of quite clean chalk rubble only contained the fragmentary glazed pitcher no. 69 (fig. 26), datable somewhere in the latter two centuries of the chapel's existence, and so, though the hole was apparently sealed by the cement floor of the nave, as shewn in section e-f, fig. 21, it was presumably actually dug through it and re-covered, an operation of which the floor in its ruined state would naturally show no traces.

Most of these pits and holes contained fragments of Early Iron Age pottery, in common with the surface soil around them and all over the chapel area.

THE MOUNDS (see fig. 36)

The four small low mounds lying near Pit N on the north-west probably all consist of upcast from it. This is certainly true of the largest of them, which was excavated in the hope that it might prove to be a denuded round barrow.

THE LARGE CHALK - PIT

The chalk-pit by the northern path up the Hill has long been disused, and seems to be of great age; an oil painting in the College of about 1692 shews it apparently just as it is now (see below, fig. 32). The chalk required for the chapel was quarried in pits on the top of the Hill, and if this chalk-pit should be connected with any single event, a likely occasion for so big a work would be the embankment of a canal up the Itchen from Northam to Alresford by Bishop Godfrey de Lucy (1189-1204). His canal was the predecessor of the present disused Itchen Navigation, which passes immediately below the pit (see above, fig. 1), and must have required large quantities of chalk for its embankment.

THE MEDIÆVAL POTTERY

I.—Glazed (figs. 26-27).

NOTE.—The writer of this section desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. R. L. Hobson, Keeper of the Department of Ceramics in the British Museum, for helpful advice and criticism.

The typological study of English mediæval glazed pottery has never been able to advance beyond a rather elementary stage for two reasons: first, there is an almost prohibitive dearth of reliably dated examples; second, it is doubtful whether a regular development of types really exists to be traced save in rather broad outline, and it is accordingly wise not to press suggested criteria of date too closely.

To Mr. Hobson's *Catalogue of English Pottery in the British Museum* (1903) reference will be made where possible abbreviated as *B.M. Cat.*, and his paper in *Arch. Journ.* LIX (1902), p. 1 ff. may also be consulted.

The pottery is of course all made on the wheel. The most important type of glazed vessel to be considered is the handled pitcher, and for its history in broad outline attention must first be directed to the series of small drawings at the bottom of fig. 27, selected from the collections in the Winchester and the Northampton Museums.

The 13th century is the earliest period of which it is possible to speak at all definitely, and of this the tall narrow pitcher at

the right-hand end of the row is typical. Here the swelling of the body is slight and comes low down, the mouth is tapering rather than everted, and the upper end of the handle springs not very far below it, while the base pinched out between finger and thumb is present, though not so prevalent as it became later.

Towards the close of the century the mouth shews a tendency to become everted, and a more pronounced contraction appears above the base, while there may be a greater swelling of the body: of this stage the vessels fourth and sixth from the left of the row are each in their way typical—the latter may be dated about 1300:

In the 14th century two more or less distinct types of pitcher may be observed. One, in which the handle normally springs from the rim of the mouth, has a tendency to squatness, as in the vessel fifth from the left of the row, between the two noticed in the preceding paragraph. This tendency is sometimes pronounced, and continues in the 15th century; the neck is apt almost to coalesce with the wide body, and even to merge altogether into it, as is shewn by the vessels seventh, eighth and ninth along the row from the left: here also the increased prominence of decoration, which may take the form of a human face, is to be noticed, and also the gradual dying out of the clumsy expedient of the thumb-pinched base, which seems to have been most prevalent in the 14th century and to have diminished as the art of potting later improved. The other type is long-necked, with rim well everted and handle springing well below the mouth, while the swelling of the body is emphasized: the third vessel from the left of the row is a good 14th century example, and the body gets more and more swollen. In the 15th century, while this type no doubt continued in various forms, the development of a shortened form of it is to be noted with a cylindrical neck, as in the vessel on the extreme left of the row, and the example next to it shews how the distinction is apt to disappear between this and small specimens of the former type, with neck tending to coalesce with the body.

Cabled decoration on the handle appears in the 14th century, and various forms of ornament on the body become more prevalent as this and the ensuing century go on.

The glaze is applied externally almost invariably all over the neck, and usually to the body and most of the base: thus while

many pots are glazed right down to the foot, a fair proportion are found on which the glaze thins out to vanish before the foot is reached, and the under side of the base is only quite occasionally found glazed.

A rather yellowish dark green is the prevailing colour, but various shades of brown, reddish-brown, green and yellow may occur. The tendency of the glaze to flake off is often remarkable: many quite large sherds bore only minute specks to shew that they had once been glazed. It was not till towards the 16th century that a thicker, more lustrous, and at the same time more durable glaze is met with, and a stage in the improvement of English potting under the Tudors is marked by the 'Farnham ware' to be noticed below as associated with the secondary occupation of the south transept.

The clay used for mediæval glazed pottery is never so coarse as that of the roughest unglazed wares: it is close-grained, hard, and of uniform texture, ranging over every variety of colour—buff, brown, purplish, blue, grey, pink, and almost white.

The classification adopted for the pottery here illustrated is intended to be no more than a convenient method for defining the leading features of the yield of this particular site.

Handled pitchers form the leading series to be considered. We have already seen that the earliest recognized type is the tall narrow pitcher of the 13th century: this type, exemplified by *B.M. Cat.*, figs. 38-41, could not be identified at all on St. Catharine's Hill. This is not to say that 13th century pottery is absent: vessels may have been reduced to featureless fragments, and anyhow at so early a date the proportion of glazed to unglazed wares is naturally lower than at a later period, and it may reasonably be assumed that the earlier two centuries of the life of the chapel are represented for us mainly by unglazed pottery. It must also be remembered that all this pottery is to be connected most closely with the Domestic Building, which cannot be proved coeval, strictly speaking, with either the earlier or the later chapel, and in any case seems at first to have consisted of one room only.

The 14th century is much more fully represented. As no pitchers were found of which the complete profile could be restored, examples with neck and body contour of unmistakable pitcher type are here grouped to form the first class.

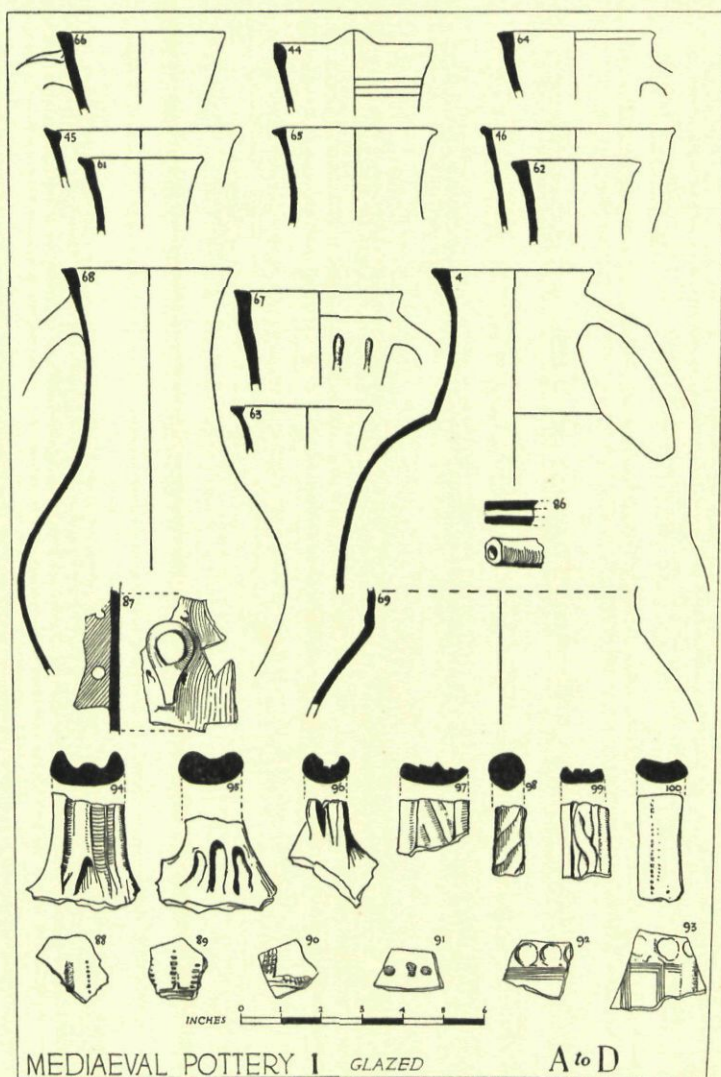


FIG. 26. (See p. 238.)

Class A, nos. 4, 44-6, 61-9.

Class B, nos. 86-7.

Class C, nos. 94-100.

Class D, nos. 88-93.

CLASS A occupies the whole of the top half of fig. 26, and comprises a reasonable range of 14th century types. Ten examples (nos. 44-6 and 61-7), preserving the upper part of the neck only, give a representative selection of lip-mouldings, while of the two shewing the body-profile as well, no. 68, from the floor of the south transept beneath the destruction-rubbish (see pp. 201, 216, appears to be the earliest of the illustrated series, as it recalls the vessel (sixth from the left) in the row at the bottom of fig. 27 attributed above to c. 1300. No. 4, on the other hand, is a late, perhaps a 15th century example, as is suggested by its big swollen body and shortened rather squat neck. No. 69, inserted below it for comparison, is not likely to be earlier, and seems to have been a wide-mouthed vessel with some affinity to the cooking-pot class I, dealt with below.

The marks of the potter's wheel are prominent within, and external ornament of parallel horizontal lines or vertical burnt strips is present occasionally, appliqué decoration very rarely.

The decorative and other features liable to occur on vessels of this type will next be classified.

CLASS B: SPOUTS (fig. 26; 86, 87).

A slight spout is sometimes to be seen on the lip of these pitchers, but two other more pronounced forms require notice. No. 86 is a straight cylindrical spout which is as likely to have projected from the body as from the neck of the vessel, whatever its shape. No. 87 projects through a straight neck suggesting the 15th century (see below, p. 240, on Class H): it is ornamented and elaborated with transverse holes above and below. The spout on the example of Class E below (no. 73, fig. 27, *q.v.*) is not dissimilar, and the two vessels may have been alike: the 15th century is anyhow the probable date.

CLASS C: HANDLES (fig. 26: 94-100).

The various forms of grooved and cabled handles belonging to these pitchers are exemplified by nos. 94-100, which are most of them probably 14th century. No. 100, with square punching, was the only one of its type. On the whole, decorated handles were about twice as numerous as plain handles.

CLASS D: SURFACE DECORATION (fig. 26: 88-93).

The type of decoration appearing on these six representative pieces are as follows, in descending order of frequency:—

- (i) Parallel straight (or curved) lines incised before glazing (92, 93: also 44 at top of fig. 26 and 1 in fig. 27).
- (ii) Lines or patches burnt on to glaze (88, 91: also 67 above), often cutting across examples of (i) (1, fig. 27).
- (iii) Raised lines or bands, moulded before glazing (89, 93).
- (iv) Finger-prints in rows (92, 93).
- (v) Lines of square punch-marks (88, 89).
- (vi) Applied bands covered with incised trellis-pattern (90, the only example).

These types may be considered largely 15th century, though some, at least, began in the 14th, e.g. (i) and (ii): see below on fig. 27, 1, under Class F.

CLASS E (fig. 27: 73).

Double-rimmed and double-spouted neck of a vessel with appliqué decoration, no doubt of the 15th century: the only example of its form, but the appliqué ornament occurred in six other cases: cf. also D (vi).

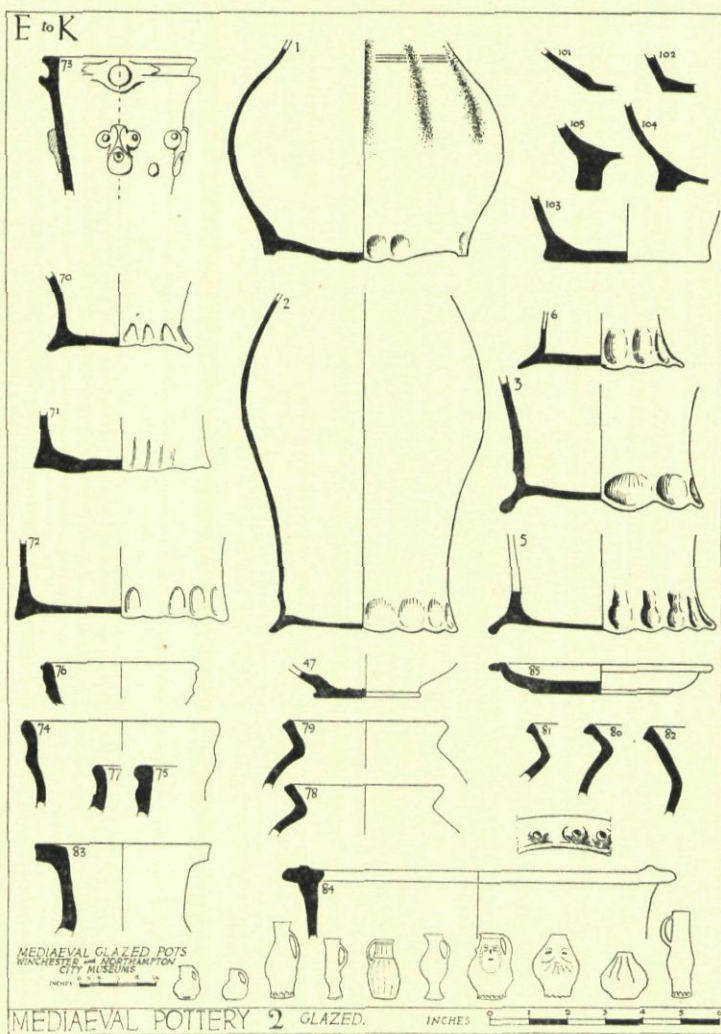


FIG. 27. (See pp. 234-5 and 238-40.)

Class E, no. 73.

Class F, nos. 1-3, 5-6, 70-2, 101-5.

Class G, nos. 74-7.

Class H, no. 83.

Class I, nos. 78-82.

Class J, no. 84.

Class K, no. 85.

CLASS F: BASES (fig. 27: 1-3, 5-6, 47, 70-72, 101-5).

To be associated mainly with Class A necks.

- (i) Flat and featureless bases (101-2) were rare: there were only three examples.
- (ii) Bases with feet pinched out between finger and thumb (in a few cases with a tool) were common, the pinchings either continuous or in threes or fours (1-3, 5-6, 70-2). Most of these clearly belonged to regular 14th century pitchers like no. 2, which must have had necks of Class A. No. 1, with decoration of types D (i) and D (ii), resembles a vessel figured in the Luttrell Psalter (*B.M. Cat.*, fig. 43), and this rather squat type was therefore in use about 1840.
- (iii) Plain moulded feet were rare (only three examples): no. 103 may be put near the turn of the 14th-15th centuries, and no. 47, with its careful beading, in the 15th century certainly.
- (iv) Bases with a definite footstand (104-5) were also rare (six examples). They seem to be 15th century, as the association of some with appliqué knobs further suggests.

The early mediæval 'sagging' base, on which all these are improvements, was absent: more stable forms were already current in the 12th century.

CLASS G: CORDONED RIMS (fig. 27: 74-77).

There were only six examples: no. 74 at least may be 15th century.

CLASS H: STRAIGHT OR NEARLY STRAIGHT NECK WITH LIP EVERTED AT RIGHT ANGLES (fig. 27: 83, the only example).

This suggests the straight necked squat form of *B.M. Cat.*, figs. 63, 65 (former dated to Henry V by documents found in it), which is apparently 15th century.

CLASS I: COOKING-POT RIMS (fig. 27: 78-82).

These cooking-pots or jars are much commoner unglazed than glazed (see below): they all have knobbed everted rims, the variations of which defy classification. There were only ten glazed examples.

CLASS J: WIDE FLANGED RIM WITH RAISED ORNAMENT (fig. 27: 84, the only example).

On this curious piece (body form uncertain) the decorative knobs were on the top of the rim, and each had a round punch-mark in its top. Date perhaps 15th century: cf. no. 73 above, Class E.

CLASS K: FLAT DISHES, GLAZED INSIDE (fig. 27: 85).

Five examples were found, not all as likely to be 15th century as no. 85.

A quantitative analysis of the mediæval glazed ware shows a marked predominance of pieces likely to be 14th over those likely to be 15th century: in all, parts of over 200 distinct vessels could be recognized, without considering the more featureless fragments.

The pottery was distributed all over the chapel site, especially thickly in and around the Domestic Rooms, and more sparsely over the surrounding area of the Hill.

The pieces of 16th century Farnham ware found in the secondary floor in the south transept may be distinguished as CLASS L (not illustrated): the paste is in this case whitish with good, lustrous rather pale-green glaze: a rim and handle occurred, decorated above with ribbed lines.

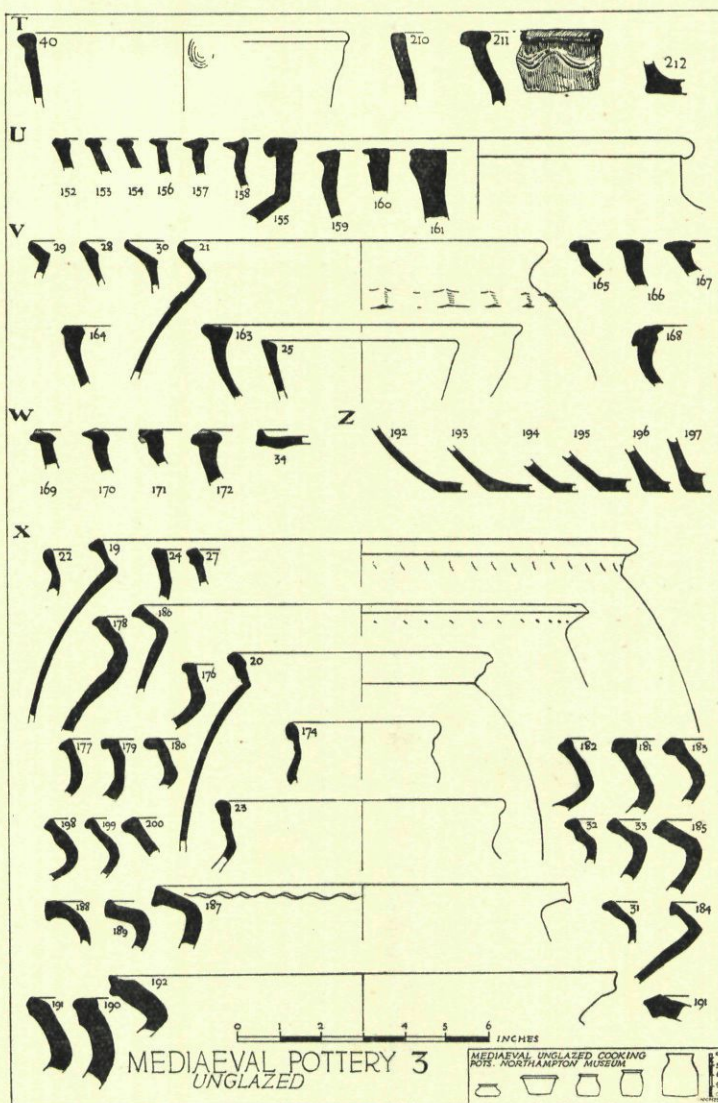


FIG. 28. (See p. 242.)

Classes T, U, V, W, X and Z: also Class Y (nos. 19, 21, 186-7, 211).

II.—Unglazed (fig. 28)

Any approach to classification by suggested chronology would here be wholly out of place. Little more can be done than to group the types of rim and base, so as to make possible an easy review of the range of forms found.

The paste of the ware, though often inferior, resembles in general that used for glazing, but in addition a notably coarse, gritty quality is met with, much of which is certainly coeval wholly or partly with the rest, but which was possibly in existence earlier and in the Norman period.

CLASS T: (40, 210-212) illustrates fragments of this coarse pottery such as might be guessed to be contemporary with the building of the later or even of the earlier chapel.

CLASS U: (152-161) comprises rims with horizontally projecting lip or flange.

CLASS V: (21, 25, 28-30, 34, 163-168) consists of rims with varying degrees of upward or outward curve.

There were some 25 recognizable examples of each of these two classes.

CLASS W: (169-172) illustrates some half a dozen rims found in or near the Domestic Rooms with finger-moulded depressions at intervals.

CLASS X: (19-20, 22-24, 27, 31-33, 174-192, 198-200) illustrates as amply as possible the variations in the profile of the unglazed cooking-pots found in such quantities especially near the Domestic Rooms, where over 100 of the 150 odd specimens occurred. The rims are knobbed and normally everted at a slant, and nos. 19 and 20 show the usual form of body, though more swollen examples occur like no. 184. In some cases the size attained is very large, and vessels like nos. 190-192 were no doubt big storage-jars.

As CLASS Y such forms of decoration as were found on unglazed vessels may be grouped, but it was very rare, and usually little more than a series of faint stabs (19, 186). Wavy-line ornament occasionally appeared (211, 187); also horizontal grooving on the neck, and in one case finger-printing. Seven pieces were found of jars of rather fine ware, pink to buff, with applied pinched-up ribbon decoration round the shoulder (21).

Broadly speaking, however, the unglazed ware is plain. Only four handles (cylindrical or double-ridged) were found.

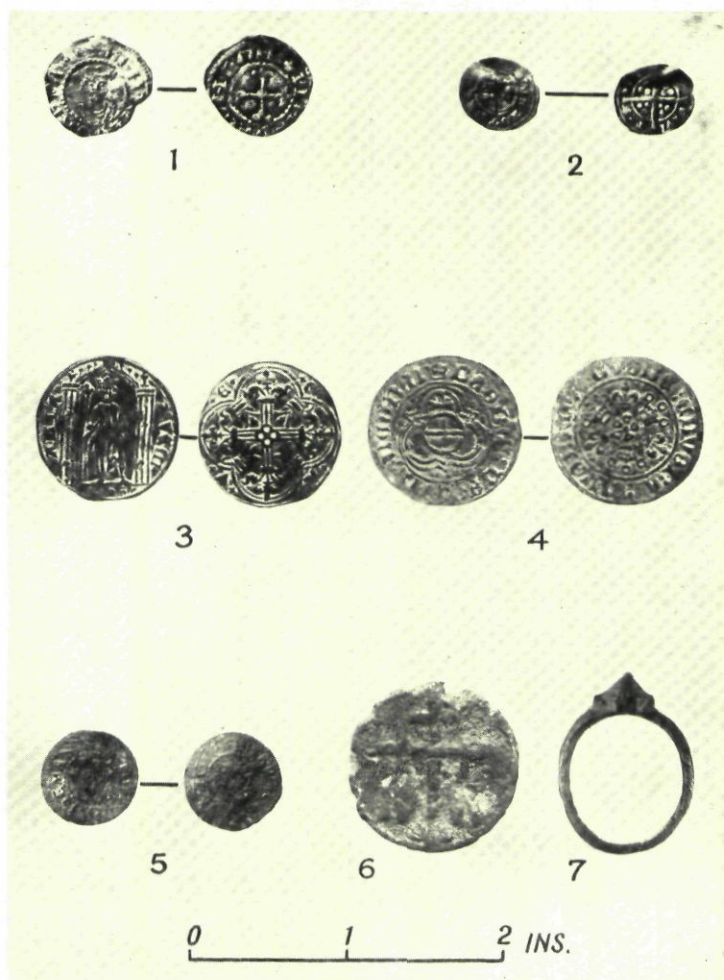
CLASS Z (192-197). No vessels were discovered with completely restorable profile, and the bases can therefore be grouped separately under this head. In no case was there any kind of projecting foot or any other noteworthy feature. The bases were often caked with soot.

The distribution of pottery was roughly the same as that of glazed—the total of recognizable fragments of distinct vessels was between 300 and 400.

Whereas the glazed pottery is chiefly to be ascribed to the 14th and 15th centuries, there is no reason to suppose that the unglazed ware does not cover the whole lifetime of the chapel, as there is no recognized evolution of type in these uninteresting vessels.

Typical examples, from the Northampton Museum, are appended at the bottom of fig. 28.

PLATE XVI.



- 1, 2. Mediaeval silver coins (p. 243).
- 3, 4. Jettons (pp. 243-4).
5. Farthing token (p. 244).
6. Lead pack-seal (p. 244).
7. Lead finger-ring (p. 245).

MEDIÆVAL COINS AND JETTONS

(Plate XVI.)

1. **Silver penny**¹ of Henry I, type X: Canterbury mint, moneyer Winedi or Winedaeg; struck c. 1120 - 1125.

Obv. Facing bust of King: leg. * **HENRICVS: REX: AN.**

Rev. Cross fleury: leg. * **PINEDEI ON CĀN.**

Not remarkable for good workmanship, nor in very good condition: the edge has been partly clipped. Found on the roadway through the Early Iron Age Entrance; if, as is very possible, this coin was current at the time of the building of the later chapel, it suggests that this Entrance was then in use: men as well as materials would in fact naturally pass this way from and to Winchester, and perhaps one of them inadvertently dropped his pay.

2. **Silver halfpenny**² of Edward III: London mint; issue of 1369 - 1377.

Obv. Facing bust of King: leg. (E)**DWĀRDVS REX AN.**

Rev. Cross fleury and pellets: leg. **CIVITĀS LON(DON).**

Very worn and bent. Weight only 5 grains: a halfpenny at this period should weigh 9 grains, the loss in this case being due to clipping and wear.

Found in the disturbed area outside the west end of the chapel.

3. **Jetton**, perhaps 14th century. **Æ.**

Obv. A King crowned, with long staff in right hand, standing to front in an ogee-arched canopy with finials: leg. **AVEM ARIA** (*sic*).

Rev. Quatrefoil containing cross fleury with four pellets at intersection of the arms; the cusps of the quatrefoil terminate in fleurs-de-lys: leg. **CAVE**, one letter in each spandrel.

The type is suggested by the Roial d'Or of William III, Count of Hainault (1304 - 1337), whose daughter Philippa married Edward III. (F. P. Barnard, *The Casting Counter*, etc., pl. V; 21, and cp. pl. II, 39, and p. 102).

Found unstratified outside south transept.

4. **Nuremberg Jetton**. **Æ.**

Obv. Trefoil containing orb surmounted by a cross, the whole surrounded by a meaningless legend.

1. This coin was kindly identified by Mr. G. C. Brooke of the British Museum.

2. The substance of this note is due to Sir Charles Oman, who kindly examined the coin.

Rev. Pattern of fleurs-de-lys and pellets, surrounding a conventional five-petalled flower, the whole surrounded by a meaningless legend. A very common Nuremberg type of the 16th - 17th centuries, very rarely bearing a date. This specimen is most closely paralleled by those of Conrad Laufer (F. P. Barnard, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII, 82, 83, 85), but could be earlier.

It was found beneath the fourth and last floor in the later chancel, and should therefore antedate that floor, but it must be remembered firstly that the floor is not very complete and therefore the counter may have penetrated it after the destruction; and, secondly, that while the earliest dated counter of this type which Mr. Barnard has seen is of 1553,¹ the upper limits of its occurrence are not certainly known, and are possibly as early as 1500. The evidence of this counter cannot, therefore, be used with any certainty in interpreting the chronology of the chancel floors.

LATER COINS, Etc. (Plate XVI.)

For convenience, the list of these is appended here.

5. Winchester Trade Token (farthing), 1657. Æ.

Obv. ^W_{SM} surrounded by leg. : ANTHONY · WISEMAN.

Rev. Date 1657 surrounded by leg. : DRAPER · IN · WINTON.

cf. G. C. Kent, *British Metallic Coins and Tradesmen's Tokens* (1912), p. 287, no. 233 (similar farthing token of 1667).

It may be noted that the obverse reads WSM whichever way up it is turned. Condition, fair. Found on the site of the Domestic Rooms.

6. Lead Pack-Seal, 17th or 18th century.

Obv. Design of scales or triple gallows.

Rev. Blank.

See *British Numismatic Journal* IV (1907), p. 337: use as a hop-picker's or tavern token is not impossible. Condition, worn. Found in 1897 by a workman engaged in trenching near the south transept (see p. 197), and acquired by the writers.

There were also found:—Two George II halfpennies, one with date illegible, the other 1747: one halfpenny of Queen Victoria, a modern Chinese coin (brass), and a French 25-centime piece, 1923: all these occurred in the surface-soil in the Entrance area except the first mentioned, which was found on the site of the Domestic Rooms.

1. Information in a letter from Mr. Barnard.

OBJECTS OF METAL

Silver.

Along with the pack-seal no. 6 above, a silver spur is said to have been found in 1897: this, however, was acquired on the spot by a clergyman from whom the writers have not been enabled to hear.

Lead Finger-Ring (plate XVI, 7).

The ring has a conical bezel decorated with horizontal grooves and surrounded by a border of raised pellets. The band is ornamented with a continuous pattern of diagonal lines.

There is no parallel to this ring in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert, or the Ashmolean. Mr. Reginald Smith, who has seen a photograph, suggests that it is late 13th century in date and used perhaps as undertaker's furniture. This recalls the 'cymytorie' mentioned above (pp. 195, 229), but such a conjecture can hardly be pressed.

Found at the bottom of Ditch 3 (see p. 230 above).

Iron (fig. 29).

The illustrated specimens are described in the order in which they are drawn in fig. 29, beginning with the group at the top right-hand corner and then passing along the two main rows of drawings, the upper first, from left to right.

I 26. Key: length $2\frac{1}{4}$, breadth of bow 1, of bit $\frac{5}{8}$ ins.

The classical dated series of mediæval keys is that in the Salisbury Museum, described by W. E. W. Penny in *The Connoisseur*, vol. XXIX (January - April, 1911), pp. 11-16.¹ The dating is authenticated by the stratification revealed by the drainage excavations in which

1. This reference has been kindly supplied by Mr. A. B. Tonnochy, F.S.A., of the British Museum, who further examined the key and supported the conclusion here reached.

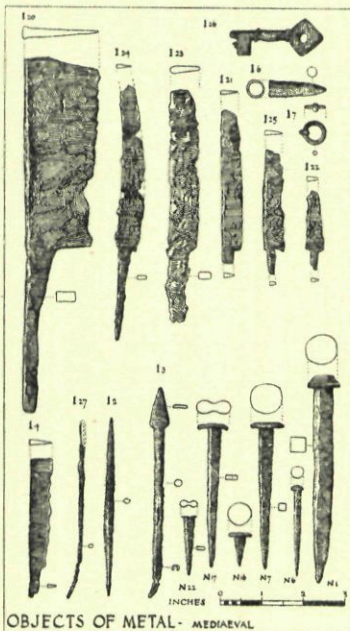


FIG. 29. (See pp. 245-7.)

most of these keys were found during the 1860's in Salisbury, which was a virgin site in the 13th century, and it is corroborated by representations of keys in mediæval art.

1. Up to the end of the 13th century keys with lozenge-shaped bows had the angles of these ornamented with foliations. In the 14th century the foliations disappear, and the lozenge-shaped bow is found plain till about 1350, when the bow begins to be filled and pierced in a manner recalling contemporary window-tracery. In the 15th century the lozenge-shaped bow disappears altogether.

2. Early keys have very simple wards: during the 14th and still more in the 15th century these become increasingly complicated.

3. Up to the end of the 13th century keys are usually cut from a single plate of iron and the stem rolled.

4. Early keys tend to considerable length, and short examples are hardly earlier than the 14th century.

In the light of these conclusions, our key may be reviewed as follows:—

1. It has a lozenge-shaped bow, not foliated as before the 14th century, or filled with tracery as after c. 1350, but plain.

2. Its wards are very simple, simpler even than those of Penny's example (*op. cit.* pl. II, 5) which it otherwise closely resembles, though not made like it to operate from both sides of the lock. It thus stands before the later 14th and 15th century tendency to complication.

3. It is not cut and rolled from a single plate, as was usual before the 14th century.

4. It is too short to be earlier than the 14th century. It is, like the example of Penny's cited, a door-key, not a chest key, and the foregoing considerations date it safely to the period 1300-1350.

It was found in the upcast of the north arm of Ditch 1, on the date of which its bearing has been discussed above (pp. 228-9).

I 6. Small pointed ferrule. Disturbed area outside west end of Chapel.

I 7. Small ring with attachment. Same area.

I 20. Chopper, tanged and with oblong blade, the back hammered down. Pit N, among rubbish at low level.

I 24. Part of tanged knife. Chapel site, unstratified.

I 23. Part of tanged knife. Domestic Room I.

I 21. Part of smaller tanged knife. Hole 19.

I 25. Part of tanged knife, end of blade at acute angle to tang. Chapel site, unstratified.

I 22. Part of small double-bladed tanged knife. Hole 19.

I 4. Part of tanged knife or razor. Disturbed area outside west end of Chapel.

I 27. Bodkin, the eye broken. Chapel site, unstratified.

I 2. Thin tool pointed at both ends, section diamond-shaped. Perhaps a file. Disturbed area outside west end of Chapel.

I 3. Grooved graving-tool, with tang of arrow-head shape. (N.B.—In the drawing the latter is shewn uppermost). Same area.

Many other iron objects were found on and around the chapel site; the majority of doubtful purpose and date; iron

strapping, many staples of various forms, and part of a horse-shoe may be mentioned. There were also more than 450 nails, all of which had stems square or rectangular in section; they were especially numerous in the area outside the west end and south of the chancel, and were associated closely with the heaps of broken roofing-slate and tile. Many certainly came from the roof, one being found fixed in a piece of slate and others in lead sheeting.

N 22, N 17. Short and long examples of a large class (about 100 in all) with flattened stems and flat heads of figure-of-eight shape.

N 16, N 7. Short and long examples of the prevalent square-stemmed type with flat round heads.

N 6, N 1. Short and long examples of the common square-stemmed type with round (more rarely square) conical heads. These probably came from doors or other structural woodwork, and included the largest specimens from the site (length from 4 to nearly 6 ins.).

Though certainty is impossible on a site so lacking in stratification, mediæval nails no doubt form the bulk of those discovered.

REPORT ON THE MAMMALIAN REMAINS

The mammalian remains from the chapel site and neighbourhood, and from the earthworks and pits of mediæval date, have been submitted to Mr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, Lecturer in Physical Anthropology in the University of Oxford, and to Miss Dorothea M. A. Bate, of the Department of Geology, British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, the substance of whose reports is here given in tabular form. The possible presence of such remains dating from the Early Iron Age must not be overlooked, and in fact Miss Bate distinguishes from the size of the remains two types of *Bos*, one of which, *bos longifrons*, must belong to the period of the Early Iron Age settlement, while the other is the larger animal of mediæval and modern type. Two species of *Equus* were also distinguishable, the smaller of which came only from the chapel site and may be the donkey.

Chapel site.	<i>Bos</i> , <i>equus</i> (small), <i>sus</i> , sheep or goat, <i>canis</i> , rabbit (1 bone only).
Domestic Rooms area.	<i>Bos</i> , <i>sus</i> , sheep or goat.
Ditch 1, silt.	<i>Bos</i> (small), sheep or goat.
Ditch 1, surface-soil.	<i>Bos</i> (young), <i>equus</i> , <i>sus</i> , sheep or goat, goose (1 bone only).
Ditch 2.	<i>Bos</i> , <i>equus</i> , <i>sus</i> , sheep or goat.

Ditch 3 and neighbourhood, including disturbed area outside west end of Chapel.

Bos, sus, and sheep or goat in almost equal proportions: *equus* (a few teeth only); mostly young animals, many bones sawn, and most nearly unmineralized, though a few exceptions were perhaps Early Iron Age. Oyster-shells and fish-bones also present.

Pit C.

Bos, equus, sheep or goat.

Pit N (under Ditch 2).

Bos, equus (small: complete cannon-bone), sheep or goat.

Domestic and food animals thus account for the whole group.

ON THE HISTORY OF DEVOTION TO ST. CATHARINE IN MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND

NOTE.—Detailed reference is impossible in this essay save in a few leading cases to the archæological and topographical literature consulted.

Valuable information has also most courteously been supplied by a number of the parish clergy, to whom the writer desires to acknowledge his gratitude.

The archæological material provided by the chapel and its surroundings has now been exhaustively reviewed. We have seen that a small chapel of unknown date was enlarged between 1110 and 1125 to form a large cruciform towered structure which, with domestic buildings attached, stood on the Hill till after the first quarter of the 16th century, and was clearly a noteworthy local centre of devotion. Its patron Saint was St. Catharine of Alexandria¹ and it is worth while to pause at this point and attempt to sketch something of the history of her popularity in England and its part in the religious life of the Middle Ages.² In so doing we may find additional light thrown on the chapel which has been our concern.

The conventional date for the martyrdom of the virgin St. Catharine is 307, but there is no mention of her in history or legend for some centuries afterwards. Her story may be said in fact to begin with the discovery in the early 9th century of her supposed corpse on Mount Sinai, where the Christian community, then suffering from Moslem persecution, saw advan-

1. The name is here spelt Catharine throughout, but many of her dedications spell it Katharine, Katherine, or Catherine; the mediæval orthography naturally varies, and it is of course not suggested that uniformity is desirable.

2. The chief secondary authority used has been Miss F. Arnold-Forster's *Studies in Church Dedications* (1899), cited hereafter as *A-F*, reference to which is recommended, though some of her statistical data will be found here to have been modified.

tage both spiritual and material in attaching to an unknown body a legendary sanctity and all that that might imply.

The symbolic name *Καθάρια* that was bestowed stood in Greek for purity, and the legend in presenting so typical a figure of the pure, devout, and beautiful girl martyr bears all the stamp of pious romance, though no doubt the type was realized in many of the sufferers under the Imperial persecutions, both known and unknown. St. Catharine is thus one of a limited number in the Calendar of Saints who are not so much historical as edifying.

The story that became traditional is as follows.

Catharine was the only daughter and heiress of the King of Egypt, who was himself descended from the father of the Emperor Constantine the Great. She was good, beautiful, and devoted to learning. When she was 14 (the date is supposed to be in the early years of the 4th century) her father died, and she reigned in Alexandria as sole Queen, steadfastly refusing wedlock, for though as yet a pagan, she declared that she would be content only with a husband far above herself in all gifts of nature and grace, thus embracing albeit in ignorance an ideal which Christ alone could satisfy. In due course she was converted to the Faith by a hermit, and resolved to become the bride of Christ alone. The persecuting Roman Emperor Maxentius then intervened, and set pagan philosophers to pervert her, but the result of the disputations which followed was the conversion of the philosophers themselves, who consequently suffered martyrdom at Maxentius' hands. The enraged Emperor condemned her to breaking on the wheel, but Divine intervention rewarded her prayers, and it was the wheel that was broken. Thereupon, however, she was ordered to be scourged and beheaded, and this time the sentence was carried out. Her body was miraculously borne by angels to the grave on Mount Sinai where it was found five centuries later, on the spot marked by the famous monastery which bears her name.

It seems improbable that any genuine source lies behind this myth, but the attribution of a story of the kind to such a persecution as Maxentius' was easy, and hagiography was enriched. The Saint received a pedigree, and November 25th became her festival. Her cult soon became popular, but was for the present confined to the Christian East, and her legendary Acts were edited, with some attempt at the pruning of details,

by Metaphrastes, a noted 10th century collector of sacred stories.

It has been regularly said that she only became known to Western Christendom in the course of the First Crusade, and there seems to be no positive evidence to contradict this very reasonable notion. The date of the First Crusade being 1095 - 1099, her devotion may be said to have come in with the 12th century.¹ There are indeed in England three churches dedicated to her where earlier building is known, namely Houghton-on-Hill (Leics.), Little Bardfield (Essex), and Ringshall (Suffolk), and there are other cases, such as Merstham (Surrey) and Fritton (Norfolk) where Domesday records a church, the predecessor of the present one, but in all these there has been 12th century rebuilding or alteration which would form a likely occasion for re-dedication, and no doubt many Saxon dedications were changed in this way in the 12th century. At Barmby Moor (Yorks), where Saxon work existed in the church before its 19th century restoration, St. Catharine was patroness at least as far back as 1252, but was probably preceded by St. Peter, as the date of the village feast suggests: here the most likely occasion for re-dedication is the known rebuilding of the church in the 12th century. At least from the very beginning of this century the popularity of St. Catharine would make her a likely choice: in about 1110 her life formed the subject of a miracle play acted at Dunstable,² and early in the century the village of Catherington (Hants) was bearing her name, clearly owing to the dedication to her of the church that must have preceded the existing building of nearly a century later, in which the dedication remains unchanged.³

Among parish churches perhaps the earliest of this dedication is St. Catharine Cree, London, which was in existence by 1108;⁴ that at Tugford (Salop) was standing by 1158, and the saint is the patroness at Irchester (Northants), Loversal (Yorks), St. Catharine near Batheaston (Somerset), Swell (Somerset), and Teversal (Notts), though the last combines her with St. Mary; while re-dedication is not impossible in any of these

1. Her name is absent from Anglo-Saxon Kalendars, e.g. those of the Missal of Robert of Jumièges (early 11th century), and of the Homiliary of St. Wulfstan (1064-70) (*Arch.* 78, p. 219 ff.), and there seems to be no literary evidence of this or any other kind that she was known in England before the closing years of the 11th century.

2. *A-F* I, p. 119.

3. *V.C.H. Hants* III, pp. 94, 100.

4. Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, I, p. 140.

five, the origin of the fabric is 12th century in them all. There is clearer evidence that the dedication is original in the case of a number of 12th century chapelries: at the chapel at Hylton Castle (Durham) it dates from 1157; at Leconfield (Yorks) the church, originally a chapel in Elton parish, dates from later in the same century, and early glass portraying the Saint argues the dedication to be coeval; at Temple (Cornwall) there is no doubt of it: the foundation was that of a small commandery of the Knights Templars, which lasted from a date in the 12th century till the suppression in 1314, after which the chapel (subsequently ruinous and now rebuilt) passed to the Hospitallers. This is especially interesting as a clear case of the importing of the Saint by returned Crusaders in the 12th century.

Milton Abbey, Dorset, was founded by King Athelstan in 938, in consequence, we are told, of a vision vouchsafed him when encamped on the hill overlooking its site on the east by St. Sampson of Dol, who foretold his victory in the approaching battle of Brunanburh. It is apparently established that a chapel was built on this spot at the same time as the Abbey below, and it must have been dedicated to St. Sampson; but in the 12th century the existing building superseded this, and it was certainly then that the dedication, which has since remained unchanged, was transferred to St. Catharine.¹ This is a good instance of a re-dedication such as we have already suspected in the case of the parish churches mentioned above, effected when devotion to the Saint was new and at its most popular. A particular motive appears in this case, for the chapel is on a hill, and from the first the Saint's legendary association with Mount Sinai suggested hill-tops as appropriate sites for her chapels. Our later chapel, by far the largest of them in England, is of course a striking instance of this, and the question of the early chapel will be discussed below in the light of the analogies cited, especially this of the Milton Chapel. The latter, which has been fitted with some Perpendicular windows and undergone subsequent desecration and restoration, was served from Milton Abbey and was a resort of pilgrims, and the source of its maintenance is indicated by an extant 13th century inscription on brass by the south door:

INDVLGENCIA : N' : SCI : LOCI : C : E : X : DIES.

1. Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of Dorset*, ed. Shipp and Hodson, 1873, Vol. IV, p. 409; H. Pentin in *Memorials of Old Dorset*, p. 103 ff.; F. R. Heath, *Dorset* p. 201.

It is surrounded on three sides by a low earthwork, 137 by 51 paces, which has been attributed to King Athelstan's army as being too large for a chapel-yard, but which rather recalls our Ditch I (see p. 229 above).

Milton Abbey was responsible for another 12th century chapel of St. Catharine on a hill overlooking the sea at Holworth (Dorset), near Lulworth—the land belonged to the Abbey and still belongs to Milton Abbas parish. A modern chapel now represents the original building, known as St. Catharine's-by-the-Sea.¹ Another 12th century example, if the dedication be coeval with the earliest building, is the chapelry at Ickleford (Herts).

At Bath, St. Catharine, jointly with St. John the Evangelist and St. Werburgh, had a chapel founded in 1170 on the site of the Fountain buildings (ruined at the Reformation), and she actually became patroness of the city: a passage in the Freeman's oath, as given in the *Ruber Codex Bathoniae* (1412) runs: "Seynt Katern day Y schal kepe holy day yerely and seynt Katern Chapell and the brygge help to mentayne and to susteyne by my powre."² The association of this loyalty with maintaining the bridge is typical. The Saint had another notable 12th century foundation in the collegiate church and hospital founded near the Tower of London in 1148 by Matilda, which subsequently became a parish church.³

It is clear that St. Catharine achieved instant popularity on her introduction into England, both as a romantic figure appealing to popular imagination and as the patroness of learning, which received such an impulse in the 12th century.

She has five 13th century parish churches: Chalfield Magna (Wilts), Draughton (Northants), Litlington (Cambs), Preston-by-Faversham (Kent), and Weston Birt (Glos): re-dedication is at least unlikely at Preston, where there is an image of her about 1300, while at Litlington a 12th century font points to an earlier church. The case of Barmby Moor, where she very possibly superseded St. Peter in this century, has already been noticed and also, in a previous section,⁴ the church of her dedication in Winchester (sometimes confused with our chapel), which was certainly by this time in existence. Of chapels dedicated to her in larger churches a good 13th century example

1. Pentin, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 108.

2. King and Watts, *Municipal Records of Bath*, p. 46.

3. Stow, *op. cit.* I, p. 123.

4. See p. 193 above.

exists in Carlisle Cathedral: the 13th century chapel at Towersey (Bucks) bears her name, and also those at Haydon (Dorset), a chapelry to Sherborne Priory, and Holt (Wilts), chapelry to Bradford-on-Avon, where a 12th century font again suggests an earlier building. In spite of the possibility of re-dedication, there is no likelihood of so great a falling-off in her popularity as would be implied in the scouting of any large proportion of dedications to her in this century: in the next, there are several examples of the building of isolated chapels under her name, which shew that the tradition, begun early as our chapel and that at Milton prove, was maintained at least until the Black Death.

In 1312, on the high hill of Chale in the south of the Isle of Wight to which, as to the headland below, the Saint has given her name, a hermitage was standing, but out of repair, and in that year Bishop Woodlock licensed its rebuilding by Walter de Godston in dedication to St. Catharine (John Langeberewe was the first priest); the chapel, no doubt the 'oratorium' mentioned in a letter of Bishop Stratford (17th Aug., 1328), was a small buttressed building some 20 ft. by 10 abutting at its west end on to the 4-storeyed octagonal light-house, 36 ft. high, still standing, which may be contemporary, though the existing doorheads are 15th century at earliest. It has owed its preservation to its use as a sea-mark, which the foundation was probably from the first intended to supply.¹

The 14th century chapel of St. Catharine on the hill just south of Guildford is one of the best known in the country, and that near Christchurch, on the hill of Rishton near Winkton (Hants), was existing in 1331, as in that year Bishop Stratford inhibited the Prior of Christchurch, to whom the chapel belonged, from celebrating there owing to breach of various formalities, and licence was not restored till the next year.² How much older than this the chapel was is unknown, but it might be 12th century: a similar uncertainty attaches to the chapelries of this dedication at Crook (Westmoreland), Popham (Hants) and Shorne (Kent). However, those at Blackrod, near Bolton (Lancs), and Hoddesdon (Herts) are certainly

1. *V.C.H. Hants* V, p. 235: see also *H.F.C.* X, pt. 1, p. 12 ff., and cf. J. C. Cox, *Churches of I. of Wight*, p. 75 ff.; Woodlock's Register of 1312 reads: "hermitorium supra Montem de Chale in Insula Vecta nostre diocesis in honorem S. Katerine Virginis construendum et reparandum."

A-F III, p. 80, wrongly gives the date as 1323.

2. *V.C.H. Hants* II, p. 155; V, p. 109.

14th century, and at Eskdale (Cumberland) a chapelry in St. Bees which became a parish in 1445, the earliest extant building is of about 1330, and the legend **2CV CVTRIBV** on a 15th century bell, and a 14th century stained-glass representation of the Saint (lost in 1881), substantiate the originality of the dedication. Here, however, there is a tradition that the chapel was first founded in the 12th century by Ranulph de Meschyn, lord of the earldom of Carlisle, and dedicated to St. Catharine since it was on her feast that the White Ship sank and drowned his nephew, Richard Earl of Chester. But the truth of this story must remain uncertain. Near here also there is an ancient St. Catharine's Well, and till about the middle of the last century a fair was held at Eskdale on St. Catharine's day, known as Kattie Fair, yarn, hides, etc., being exposed for sale on the walls adjacent to the church.

There was a Guild Chapel of St. Catharine in the Church of St. Paul at Stamford (Northants), and at Gloucester she had a chapel belonging to the Priory of St. Oswald, the predecessor of a modern parish church; the Priory was a Saxon foundation, but the date of the chapel is unknown.

Of 14th century parish churches St. Catharine Coleman (London), Montacute (Somerset), and apparently Flempton (Suffolk) have always borne this dedication, and the same may be true of Ludham (Norfolk), Winterbourne Bassett (Wilts) and Wormington (Glos).

The Black Death made a great rift in the religious and social life of England, and after this devotion to St. Catharine seems to have fallen off considerably. Her dedication appears at Pettaugh (Suffolk), where the church can hardly be earlier than the 15th century, and at Gosfield (Essex), where it may be dated about 1435: her only isolated 15th century chapel seems to be that at Abbotsbury (Dorset), a fine hill-top chapel overlooking the sea, belonging apparently to Edward IV's reign and perhaps founded as some act of reparation connected with the Wars of the Roses, and though she has a fine chapel in Cirencester Church founded in 1508 by Richard Osmund, with a notable fresco of her martyrdom on its south wall, the list of her datable mediæval dedications is closed when we have mentioned Catharine Hall, Cambridge (now St. Catharine's College), founded in 1473 by Robert Woderlarke, third Provost of King's, and incorporated by charter two years later. Here

her character as the patroness of learning clearly indicates a special case.

However, her devotion, which had taken so strong a hold on the country in the years immediately following its introduction, had established considerable traditions. Her name was soon a favourite one for christening. The wheel that is her symbol has become a household word and also a not infrequent sign for inns, in which 'the Catharine Wheel' sometimes appears¹ as 'the Cat and Wheel.' On the downs east of Cerne Abbas (Dorset) once stood an inn called 'The Cat and Chapel,' said to mark the site and preserve the name of a chapel of St. Catharine. As the patroness of spinsters, her intercession by women desiring husbands came to be regularly sought: we may compare the French idiom, familiar to readers of Henri Bué, 'coiffer Ste. Catharine,' alluding to what became an established practice among women anxious for matrimony, and inspiring popular doggerel litanies.² Acts of devotion by citizens of London may be cited as typical. In 1348 John de Holegh, hosier, bequeaths £20 'to any one going a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and to the tomb of St. Katherine on Mount Synay'—though he is careful to provide in an ensuing clause of his will against the inability of his executors to find such a person.³ Bequests are received by 'the sisters of St. Katherine towards the tower' in 1354,⁴ by 'the women of the house of St. Katherine' in 1361,⁵ and by the churches of St. Catharine Cree, St. Catharine Coleman and St. Catharine by the Tower⁶ constantly. There was a Fraternity of St. Catharine near the Tower, which received bequests, e.g. in 1378⁷ and in 1386⁸ and had a light in that church, to which money was also bequeathed in 1386,⁹ as also to the Saint's light in the church of All Hallows, Stanning. In St. Catharine Coleman church the Saint had another Fraternity, which was moved to Edward III's New Abbey near the Tower not long before 1376, when it benefited under a will proved five years later.¹⁰ The Haberdashers of London had a Brotherhood in her name, to which money was left in 1368¹¹: it was incorporated as a Guild or Fraternity in 1448¹² and confirmed by Henry VII.¹³

1. As at Bristol: G. J. Monson-Fitzjohn, *Quaint Signs of Old Inns*, p. 44

2. See Pentin, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.

3. *Cal. Wills* i, 657.

4. *ib.* i, 688.

5. *ib.* ii, 106.

6. e.g. *ib.* ii, 143.

7. *ib.* ii, 209.

8. *ib.* ii, 268.

9. *ib.* ii, 343.

10. *ib.* ii, 220.

11. *ib.* ii, 132.

12. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, Henry VI, V, 164.

13. *Stow, op. cit* i, p. 298.

It is in fact fair historically to summarize the Saint's devotion as having achieved on its introduction at the very beginning of the 12th century an immediate popularity, which lasted over two centuries and diminished most noticeably only after the Black Death, though not before the establishment of a strong popular tradition. It will be convenient here to add the names of the places where mediæval dedications to her are known, but of uncertain date:—Burbage (Leics), Cossall (Notts), Drayton (Somerset), Flaxley (Glos.),¹ Holbeck (Yorks.), Kingsdown (Kent), Netherhampton (Wilts), Sedgheill (Wilts), Towthorpe (Yorks., E. Riding), Whitstone (Devon), Wolverton (Hants).²

The list of mediæval dedications could no doubt be much extended if more of the isolated chapels whose existence may be suspected could be reliably traced, but such conclusions as have here been drawn may fairly be considered safely based upon the statistics given; it only remains to see how any of these may bear upon the history of our chapel. A decline in popularity in the 15th century is now seen to accord with general considerations as well as with the archaeological material, and a prosperous period lasting anyhow to the middle of the 14th century also fits reasonably well with both. The building of the later chapel before the end of the first quarter of the 12th century clearly belongs to the vigorous initial period of devotion to the patroness. The only question which remains is that of the early chapel.

The fact that before the later chapel was added its floor had already once been completely renewed certainly suggests pushing the date of the original building back anyhow beyond 1100. But this would make it earlier than the presumed date at which St. Catharine became known in England, and the possibility thus arises that the dedication was originally different. We have seen that St. Catharine's Chapel at Chale replaced an earlier hermitage of dedication different, if any, and unknown antiquity: we have seen reason to suspect the re-dedication to

1. The authority here is only *A-F*: e.g. *Liber Regis* gives no dedication. The church was appropriated to the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, founded by Henry I, and the modern church is St. Mary's.

2. It seems clear that the church of Eyton-upon-the-Wild-Moors (Salop), was originally All Saints', and the Chapel of Marazion (Cornwall) St. Ervetus', Ervan's, or Ermes': the original dedication of Melling Chapel (Lancs.) is wholly doubtful. Of the other dedications given by *A-F* as ancient, but here excluded from the text, Chiselhampton (Oxon.) dates only from the 18th century (formerly St. Mary), Wyville (Lincs.), from 1850. The Leigh Church (Glos.) was till 1885 St. James, though the south transept chapel (late 13th century) may have been originally St. Catharine's, as a statue of her (mutilated: apparently c. 1425-60) suggests.

St. Catharine of several parish churches in the 12th century and to believe that in the same century St. Catharine superseded St. Sampson of Dol at the rebuilding of the Saxon chapel near Milton Abbey. If now a similar change in dedication be assumed at the building of our later chapel, the date of the early chapel may certainly be pre-conquest. This possibility is attractive and it definitely cannot be disproved, but it is well to add certain cautions. The selection of a hill-top site, even though waterless, is comprehensible at once if the dedication were to St. Catharine, for it would recall the most striking incident in her legend, and the popularity of this idea is attested not only often in England but abroad (as notably outside Rouen) by the choosing of such sites for her chapels: But if the place was otherwise dedicated or not at all, the choice is harder to understand: at Chale the need of a beacon, at Milton the King's vision, supplying explanation enough, but here it can only be imagined.

On the other hand, if St. Catharine was patroness from the first, the early chapel can hardly have been over 25 years old at the outside before the later building was added. Now this is not as unlikely as it may sound, for as it was built on what was really a slope with a swallow-hole of sand at its lower end, and the original floor was not very firmly made up, there is nothing impossible in renewal being required in the course of a quarter of a century or even less. So while the question of a date before the Norman Conquest, or anyhow before the First Crusade, may be left open, such a theory requires coupling with that of a change in dedication at the building of the later chapel and has to forgo the readiest explanation of the choice of site; whereas if the later chapel was added shortly before 1125 to a small oratory built in the extant name within a few years of 1099, it would be nothing extraordinary that the first really striking hill on the way from the sea to the capital of England should be the first spot on English soil to be hallowed to the new Saint of the returning Crusaders, Catharine of Mount Sinai.