

Surrey Archaeological Society Medieval Studies Forum Newsletter

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A warm welcome to a new edition of the MedForum Newsletter for the new year.

This edition is pleasingly broad in its contents, from sixth-century archaeology to fourteenth-century architecture, and much more besides. If there can be said to be an overarching theme this time around, it is perhaps monasteries in their many facets, with Peter Balmer's opening paper representing a hugely useful guide to some tricky terminology. It dovetails with the one annexe to this edition, again provided by Peter Balmer, summarising the characteristics of the major medieval monastic orders. And, as if that wasn't enough, there is also news of several forthcoming events and a recently-published book to justify the title!

If you would like to contribute something to the next Newsletter (tentatively pencilled-in to be issued in late Spring/early Summer of this year), be it a long or short research note, notice of an upcoming public event or a new publication, or a response or question arising from the content of this issue, please contact the Newsletter Editor using the details below.

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What distinguished abbeys from priories in medieval England?

Peter Balmer

At the time of the Norman Conquest all monasteries in England were Benedictine. In Benedictine tradition an abbey in the middle ages was a religious house of monks (or nuns) which should have at least 12 religious, headed by an abbot or abbess. A priory was a lesser religious house, usually dependent on an abbey, headed by a prior or prioress (i.e. a rank below abbot or abbess). As other orders established monasteries in England, the position became rather more complicated, mainly because the use of the titles abbey and priory varied among the orders (and because monastic houses with the status of abbeys, including among the Benedictines, retained their title if their number of religious fell, which occurred in some English monasteries in the later Middle Ages). The title of prior was also given to deputies to abbots in the larger abbeys.

Among Benedictine houses, abbeys were autonomous monasteries, with many originating from before the Norman Conquest. Most Benedictine priories were dependent on an abbey, which restricted their status irrespective of size, although a few priories, such as Dover, appear always to have been independent. Examples of larger dependent priories included Great Malvern Priory in Worcestershire, a dependency of Westminster Abbey, and Leominster Priory in Herefordshire, a dependency of Reading Abbey. Others were dependent on abbeys outside England, principally in France, the so-called alien priories. Some of these achieved independence during the fourteenth century, such as Boxgrove in Sussex, formerly a dependency of Lessay in Normandy, or when alien priories were finally forbidden in 1414, having gone through earlier periods of confiscation at various times during the French wars.

Nearly all alien priories came into existence after the Norman Conquest. They were sometimes very small, perhaps with only 2–3 monks, and thus often cannot really be considered as fully conventual monasteries, but rather monastic manors or granges. Hence, for example, the dependent house of Bec-Hellouin Abbey at Tooting, often referred to as Tooting Bec Priory, was effectively a grange with its own chapel. An example where the buildings survive is Wilmington Priory in Sussex, a dependency of Grestain Abbey in Normandy that was suppressed in 1414, which is manor house-type structure, lacking a cloister or its own chapel, but adjoining the parish church. Among the alien priories that were dissolved in the later Middle Ages was Ogbourne St George in Wiltshire, Bec-Hellouin Abbey's principal dependency in England, from which others including Tooting were administered. The majority of alien priories that were suppressed in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries were thus not essentially monastic in character. Of the more important alien priories that became independent around the time of their final prohibition were St Neots in Huntingdonshire and Totnes in Devon. Among those transferring to the dependency of other abbeys was Pembroke, originally dependent on Sées, later on St Albans.

A special case among the Benedictines was that of cathedral priories, i.e. those cathedrals served by monks (and not secular canons as was the standard throughout Europe). These were Bath, Canterbury, Coventry, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester. To these can be added Carlisle, which was served by Augustinian canons regular. In all of these, the bishop (or archbishop) was the titular abbot, but the prior was effectively in charge of the monastery. In the later Middle Ages, bishops of these cathedrals despite their title of abbot were rarely monks by origin. Henry Woodlock, Bishop of Winchester 1305–1316, was an exception, promoted from being prior of the cathedral monastery. Some cathedral priories were extremely wealthy, notably Christ Church Cathedral Priory in Canterbury, which was among the richest monasteries in England, and had a number of estates in Surrey, including at Cheam, East Horsley and Merstham.

Among other orders of monks, all Cistercian houses had the status of abbey, despite nearly all having a mother-daughter relationship with the house from which they were founded. By contrast, Cluniac monasteries were nearly all priories, indicating their dependence on the mother house at Cluny. This even included Lewes Priory, the first and largest Cluniac house in England, which became one of the richest monasteries in the country. It experienced problems at various dates as it was technically an alien priory, until it broke from this status in 1351, although it retained the title of priory. The rest of the Cluniac priories became “denizen”, i.e. fully English establishments, before 1414. Partial exceptions to the Cluniac pattern were Henry I’s foundation of Reading Abbey, which had close connections to Lewes Priory in the twelfth century but appears always to have been formally Benedictine, and King Stephen’s foundation of Faversham Abbey in Kent, which was founded as an independent Cluniac house but became effectively Benedictine. Bermondsey Priory, which ceased to be an dependency of Cluny in 1380, was uniquely raised to the status of abbey in 1400. The heads of the nine Carthusian monasteries in England (“charterhouses”) all had the title of prior, even though they all had considerably more than 12 monks.

The vast majority of the houses of Augustinian canons (priests who lived according to the rule of St Augustine) were priories, reflecting the comparatively small-scale origin of many of their houses. Only a few, such as Bristol, Cirencester, Leicester and Waltham, had the title of abbey. In Surrey, Merton remained a priory despite being the second richest house of the order by the Dissolution. Southwark Priory (Figure 1) was also substantial, while Newark was moderately so, and Tandridge and Reigate were on a more modest scale. Nearly all the houses of the Premonstratensian canons, who were not present in Surrey and followed the Cistercians in establishing in mainly rural locations, were by contrast abbeys.

The heads of houses of friars (Franciscan, Dominican, Carmelite, Austin) were generally termed priors, even though their houses were usually known simply as “friaries” rather than “priories” (although there are also examples where the term “priory” appears in documents).

The conventual arrangements and the terminology of the military orders (Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller) were rather different. The head of the Hospitallers in England was the Prior. Subordinate houses were “commanderies”, with their head being a commander. The Templar equivalent until their suppression in 1312 were “preceptories”, with the head of the order in country known as the “Master”.

The position among nunneries was also varied. Some 22 or 23 nunneries had the status of abbey (perhaps a sixth of all houses of nuns), about half of which were pre-Conquest Benedictine nunneries, including the royal Wessex foundations of Amesbury (changed to a priory of the order of Fontevraud in 1177), Romsey, Shaftesbury, Wherwell, Wilton, and Winchester Nunnaminster. Some examples, such as the Cistercian nunnery at Wintney in Hampshire, were usually called “priory” but occasionally “abbey”. Three houses of Franciscan nuns (otherwise known as Poor Clares or Minoresses) were sometimes referred to as abbeys, but two (Bruisyard in Suffolk and Denny in Cambridgeshire) do not appear to have had any greater status than houses known as priories. By contrast the Minories Abbey in London, with royal connections and considerable wealth, may well have been regarded as of higher status than other Franciscan nunneries.

The Bridgettine abbey of Syon, founded by Henry V, was unique in England; it was a double house for men and women, inhabiting separate cloisters, but the overall head, as in Bridgettine monasteries elsewhere in Europe, was the Abbess. The Gilbertines, whose foundation in the twelfth century predated that of the Bridgettines by two centuries and were the only purely English order, also had double houses (although not exclusively). These had both priors and prioresses, who had distinct roles; both appear to have participated in the order’s general chapter.



Figure 1: The Cathedral and Collegiate Church of St Saviour and St Mary Overie, Southwark, incorporating portions of the church of the Augustinian priory of St Mary Overie, founded in the early twelfth century (Photograph by Rob Briggs, taken May 2014).

An Anglo-Saxon Spearhead from Pyrford, Surrey

Dr Simon Maslin, Finds Liaison Officer for Surrey

One of the most interesting finds recorded from Surrey by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) during summer 2018 was an Anglo-Saxon spearhead, recorded on the PAS database (www.finds.org.uk) as SUR-0EC561 (Figure 1). This object was recovered by magnet fishing from the confluence of the Bourne or Hoe stream with the Abbey Stream and River Wey adjacent to Newark Priory near Pyrford (grid reference TQ0457). The find was reported to Dr Simon Maslin, Surrey Finds Liaison Officer, at the Surrey History Centre in Woking, where it was measured, photographed and recorded.

This spearhead has a lozenge-shaped cross section, with pronounced midrib and a characteristic split socket. According to a commonly-used typological scheme for these objects produced by Michael Swanton (1973) from studies of burial assemblages, aspects such as the profile and ratio of blade to socket length enable the spearhead to be attributed to category H2 (angular blade with concave curves to the angle) and dated to the latter half of the sixth century AD. It was heavily corroded by nearly fifteen centuries at the bottom of a river. It was also apparent that it had been intentionally bent to an angle of around 50° before deposition and would have been over 27cm in length when straight.

Spears had a great deal of meaning in early Anglo-Saxon society which was, in many ways, fundamentally a warrior culture. They were the most common weapon type of the fifth and sixth centuries, at least from the perspective of frequency in burials. In society they were legally representative of, and thus only able to be owned by, freemen. Furthermore, spears were associated in myth and symbolism with the god Woden (Glasswell 2002, 37, 141). Analogies may be extended from this to Norse myths concerning his equivalent deity Odin, one of whose many names was “Spear-shaker”, and who possessed a magical spear named *Gungnir*.

This backdrop of social and religious symbolism underlies the many examples of riverine deposition known from the wider region of the Thames valley throughout the early medieval period. Early Anglo-Saxon finds dating from the fifth century onwards are particularly concentrated in the region between Windsor and Kingston, which has led to speculation that the various confluence of rivers which occur in this area (such as the Thames with the Mole and Wey) acted as a particular focus for such activity (Booth *et al.* 2007, 232-33). However, it is worth noting that spear heads as objects selected for deposition are particularly widespread in the Thames valley and occur in a wide variety of types of location (Naylor 2015).

With this context in mind, a number of comparable examples of deposition of contemporary spearheads can be identified within the Woking area (Figure 2). A late fifth-/early sixth-century spearhead of Swanton series L was found in the mid-twentieth century around 1.5km from the latest find spot, in a context associated with the line of a former river channel predating later medieval drainage (Clark 1952). Another mid-sixth-century example in Swanton group C1 was recovered around 1.8km away in a moated context at Woking Park Farm near Woking Palace in 1904 (Elsley 1912). Downstream near the confluence of the Wey with the Thames, a sixth-century spearhead of Swanton type D3 was recovered at Weybridge, along with other artefacts (Gardner 1912).

Deposition of such weapons has been linked to pre-Christian votive practices and it may be tempting to view this latest example from Pyrford, with its apparently intentional pre-depositional damage, as evidence of a nearby community and associated ritual activity during the sixth century. There is, however, other data to support this perspective. Historical evidence for the site of Newark Priory adjacent to the findspot suggests that the foundation was on a site previously known as *Aldebury* or “old burh” (Blair 1991, 95), a name whose etymology suggests a precursor occupation of some sort, al-

though actual material evidence is thus far confined to a single sherd of grass-tempered Anglo-Saxon pottery of possible early or middle Anglo-Saxon date (Hicks and English 2010, 4). An unusual silver *Sceat*, or penny, dating to the late seventh century (675–80 AD) has been recorded by the PAS (SUR-075EF5) around 600m north of the spearhead's findspot, although this has no archaeological context.

Further afield, an eighth-century minster is certainly known to have existed at Old Woking and there is some evidence that it superseded an earlier central place for a territory known as *Woccingas* (Blair 1989, 100). Recent work by Surrey Archaeological Society has uncovered pig and cattle remains dated to the late seventh century from a possible boundary ditch to the Anglo-Saxon minster (Bond 2018, 17) with the suggestion that this material may represent pre-Christian or more likely Conversion Period occupation activity at this site.

Within this landscape of potential settlement in the sixth to seventh century the findspot for the spearhead itself lies notably close to a point in the river valley previously proposed for an early medieval river crossing and also sits alongside a documented early medieval estate boundary (Briggs 2010). Against this topography, the rationale behind the spearhead's deposition becomes clearer and we can envision a locally significant crossing point, trackway and territorial boundary meeting at a confluence of rivers, which required marking or in some other way defining through this sacrifice of what would have been an expensive and socially-charged object.

This find represents a rare and important material addition to our understanding of the pre-Christian cultural landscape in Surrey, as well as the origins of the minster of Old Woking and the occupation activity underpinning the medieval site of Newark Priory. Following its recording by the PAS, the artefact was returned to the finder, who subsequently and very generously donated the spearhead to Guildford museum, where it now compliments the wider collection relating to Anglo-Saxon Surrey and the history of Newark Priory.

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Figure 1: The spearhead from Pyrford, SUR-0EC561.

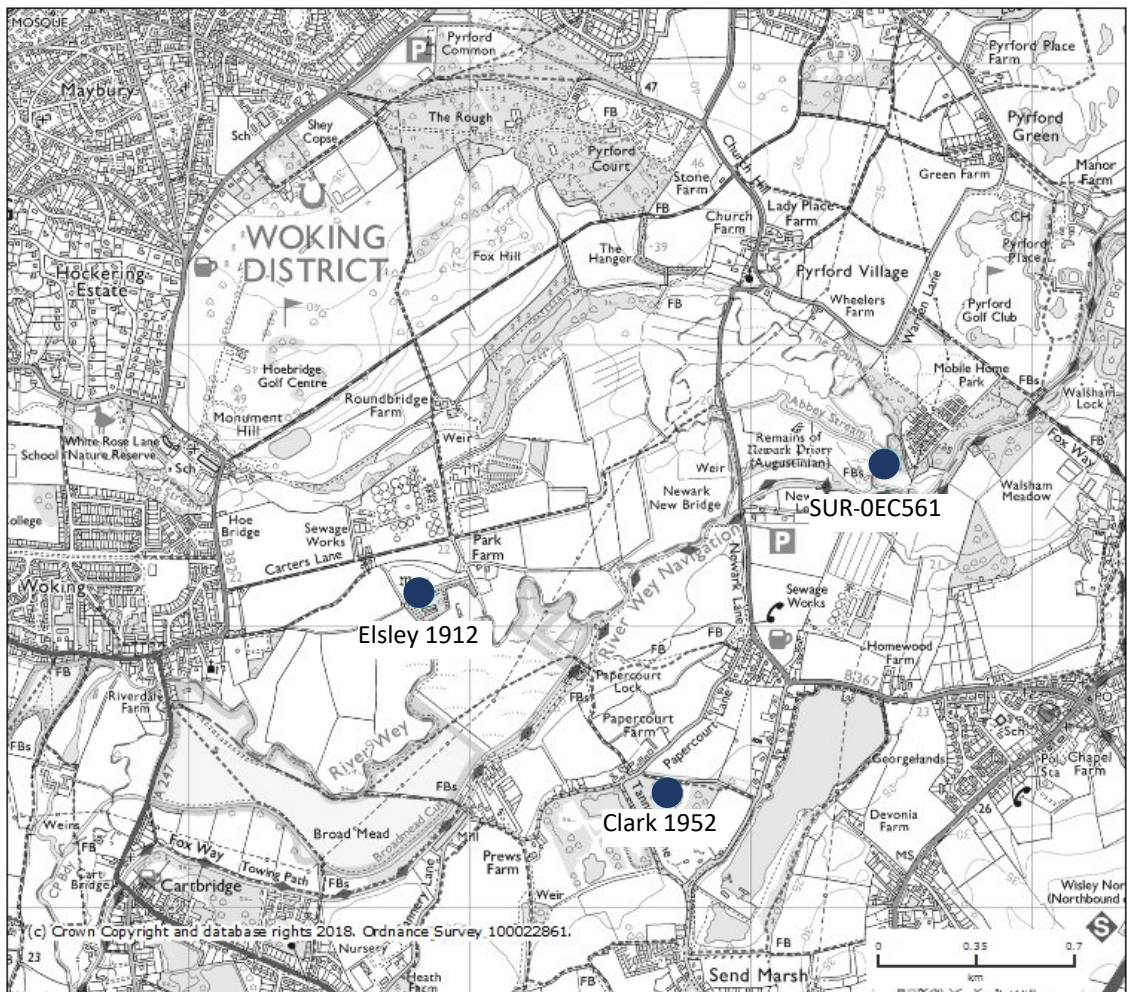


Figure 2: Findspots (blue circles) for spearheads near Woking.

The fiery fate of St Botwulf's skull: a little-known episode in the late eleventh-century history of Guildford

Rob Briggs

For all its prominence as the first (and in some ways most detailed) entry for Surrey in Domesday Book, and the frequent citation of its two earlier appearances in the textual record, Guildford is not a well-documented place before the twelfth century. (One could argue that this is offset by the numerous early occurrences of forms of its name resulting from its status as a mint from at least the final quarter of the tenth century – see Carroll and Parsons 2007, 150 for the data – but in truth numismatics provide little local-level information beyond a place-name and a moneyer's name.) A recent discovery in the published edition of a monastic cartulary caused me to recall an earlier discovery of a similar ilk, pertaining to an event that purportedly took place in the final decade of the eleventh century. Revisiting it has been remarkable for the details provided by the source in question, but also for inspiring ideas about the nature of Guildford as a “central place” in the decades either side of the Norman Conquest.

In view of the next Medieval Studies Forum meeting being about Guildford in the Middle Ages, it seems like a good time to bring these references to wider attention, and moreover to assess what they do and do not say about Guildford as an urban centre in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The testimony of the *Liber Eliensis*. I will say more about my recent published discovery in due course, as for now it makes far more sense to focus on the earlier reference to Guildford. This is to be found in book two (of three) of the *Liber Eliensis* “Book of Ely”, a narrative chronicle-like compilation of historical events relevant to Ely Abbey. Its second book was commenced no earlier than 1154, but perhaps not so many years after (the third book was completed by 1169x74). In my head, the story concerned a fire at an inn owned or used by members of the monastic community at Ely; an interesting historical vignette, but not a patch on what the text actually reports!

The story begins in the monastery at Ely, in the wake of the death of its abbot, Simeon (all of the following translations are quoted from Fairweather 2005, 265-66, and the Latin text from Stewart 1848, 280-81). The *Liber's* author supplies a credible year of death (1093) and an improbable age at death (100). Simeon had come to Ely from the cathedral priory at Winchester, and it transpires he brought a cohort of monks with him. At the time of his death, seven remained, understandably ‘grief-stricken’ but also fearful for what the future would hold for them. As a result, they resolved ‘to return to Winchester with all speed’.

So far, so good. The story thereafter takes a turn for the dishonourable. It is not easy to discern what is meant by the author's claim that ‘they attempted to demolish and ruin everything with the greatest avidity’. However, it then moves on to a much clearer course of action taken by the ex-Wintonian monks. They went to pray in the church, where Simeon's body lay, and conspired to get their Ely counterparts to leave. Thereafter, they ‘leapt like madmen upon all the goods and the highest-quality articles’ in the church. These are identified as decorated vestments, silk garments, ‘a very valuable and famous hanging’, relics ‘of many saints’ taken from shrines, and gold and silver. Most remarkably of all, they broke open the casket holding ‘the head of the blessed confessor Botulph and his larger bones’ (*caput beatissimi confessoris Domini Botulphi simul et majora ipsius ossa*) and removed those corporeal relics. The larcenous monks then made good their escape from Ely.

Four days later, the *Liber Eliensis* reports the monks ‘succeeded in coming apace to Guildford [*ad Geldeforde*], full of joy ... at how much plunder there was and at their being victorious’. Such joy was to be short-lived. Their stay in Guildford started off well enough; having been ‘received’ at ‘a guest-house’ (*Illuc hospitio*), they proceeded to spend ‘a considerable time in banqueting and drunkenness’. But

they did so ‘with a great fire in their midst’. Duly, and apparently without warning, this fire ‘suddenly burst forth and the whole house [*domus tota*] started to catch light’. The ‘revellers’ were able to exit the house without injury but, being too inebriated to save ‘the doomed house’ (*domui periturae*), had to leave the stolen goods inside the burning building. Courtesy of a spot of divine intervention, it came to pass that ‘the goods were completely swallowed up in the flames, so that they might not bring to Winchester even a single thing from the great collection of spoils ... they had stolen’ – and for good measure the author went on to clarify that ‘the goods were consumed by fire and reduced to ashes’. The skull and certain bones of St Botwulf, one of the most significant East Anglian saints, had met their end in Guildford.

Details and credibility. It is surprising that the events of 1093 reported in the *Liber Eliensis* have not received more attention (from my admittedly somewhat limited research to date, only Farmer 1985, 35, discusses them in print). So far as its absence from published discussions of the early urban history of Guildford is concerned, this may be because of the predominantly East Anglian focus of what would appear to be the solitary record (although, remarkably, it escaped the notice of two regional historians who have written scholarly articles about St Botwulf and his cult: Stevenson 1924; Newton 2017).

The comparative obscurity of a source that takes the form of short chapter in a twelfth-century historical work should not count against it as a credible account of a genuine late eleventh-century incident. But, when subject to closer scrutiny, it is not easy to separate fact from fiction in the narrative; the truth probably lies somewhere in between it being a full factual account and an entirely fictional one. There is a tradition recorded in two medieval historical sources – but not the *Liber Eliensis* – that Ely possessed the skull of St Botwulf as the result of a three-way division of his remains ordered by King Edgar (963–75: Stevenson 1924, 44). However, other sources suggest no such tripartite division took place, and St Botwulf’s body was divided in two, with part going to Thorney Abbey and the remainder ending up at Grundisburgh in Suffolk (Newton 2017, 16–20). Furthermore, some of the details (such as the original deception, the drunkenness, and the fire) appear a lot like tropes borrowed from the hagiographical tradition.

On the other hand, it is not difficult to believe that the chapter reflects a period of antagonism between the monks of Ely and those from Winchester for which there is ample independent contextual evidence in terms of Simeon’s career. It is not inconceivable that this might speak to more general animosity between two powerful monasteries, although the author emphasises that the lesson to be learnt from the episode is ‘that loss of goods always comes about where there is administration by outsiders’ (Fairweather 2005, 266), implying the same could have been perpetrated by anyone from outside the Ely community, not just from Winchester cathedral priory. More to the point, a detail like an overnight stop in Guildford en route from Ely to Winchester seems like a curious one to make up for the purposes of a story that has a general message of maintaining a degree of distrust of outsiders. If it was fictional, why set it four days away in Guildford, rather than London, or somewhere closer to Ely?

Other early textual evidence. The idea of Guildford being a place where a group could rest for a time in a “guest-house” is borne out by a small number of other early references relating to the town. One is to be found in the earliest of the many eleventh- and twelfth-century prose and poetry accounts of the capture of Ætheling Alfred and his men at Guildford in 1036; the so-called *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, believed to have been written in 1041x42 (the following text and translation excerpts are from Campbell with Keynes 1998, 42–43). It narrates how Earl Godwine led Alfred and companions to Guildford (*in uilla Geldefordia*) ‘and lodged his soldiers there in billets’ (*inibique milites ... duxit per hospicia*). In the night, after the companions ‘had gladly ascended their couches’ (*lectos ... libenter ascenderant*) Godwine’s men ‘entered the various billets’ (*singula hospicia inuadunt*) and led them away to suffer various

fates, from death to slavery. Given the circumstances, it does not seem unreasonable to retranslate ‘billets’ as “guest-houses” or “inns”.

These details are not found in most of the subsequent tellings of the same episode, but echoes can be detected in what is now known as the Warenne Chronicle compiled in the late 1150s (all the following quoted text and translation comes from van Houts and Love 2013, 8–9). Its author claims Alfred was ‘conducted ... to a hostel’ (*hospicio inducunt*) after being met by Earl Godwine, although Guildford is not named as the location of these premises. His men seem to have been put up in the same establishment, because it specifies Godwine’s agents ‘brought those innocent men out of the house’ (*domo innocentes educunt*). The narrative tradition of the episode in question is exceedingly complex and detailed discussion of the veracity and implications of the various versions is best reserved for a separate time and place. Nonetheless, the absence of equivalent references to “guest-houses” from the majority of the published surviving accounts does not mean it was concocted and interpolated into the few that do contain such mentions. Indeed the references to *hospicia* in the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, written only a few years after the events usually attributed to the year 1036, lend credibility to the belief that Guildford was the site of more than one guest-house in the middle third of the eleventh century.

My recent discovery, late twelfth-century charter testimony presented in the published edition of the cartulary of Waltham Abbey, is rather clearer in both substance and significance, while using comparable terminology. The foundation charter granted by Henry II *circa* 1177, by which an Augustinian monastic community was established at Waltham, includes mention of the gift made by ‘Walter of Guildford son of Alwrun’, namely ‘his house at Guildford to provide lodging for the canons when attending the king’s court there’ (Ransford 1989, 14). This provision for Waltham to operate its own lodgings in Guildford did not endure, for later in the cartulary is to be found the text of a charter, perhaps of 1197, by which Abbot Walter of Waltham granted to Jocelin son of Henry of Boothby, a wine merchant active in Guildford, ‘the land and houses’ (*terram et domos*) formerly held by Walter of Guildford, to be run as an inn. In return, Waltham would receive an annual payment of four shillings. Significantly, the charter also stipulated that anyone from the Abbey who wished to stay at the inn would have to bear the costs themselves; Jocelin was under no obligation to allow them to stay for free (Ransford 1989, 433–34). It is likely this inn stood on the same site as a parcel of land ‘beside Holy Trinity parish church’ that still rendered 4s. annually in 1573, and was reputed to have been an erstwhile possession of Waltham Abbey (Ransford 1989, 434).

The details of the later charter testimony prompt a further thought. It is notable that there is a development in the two charter texts from reference to a single house *circa* 1177 to multiple ‘houses’ around two decades later. Quite possibly for the majority of the intervening period it had operated as the Waltham lodgings in Guildford, rather than a private house. Does this therefore tell us something about the form of a twelfth-century Guildford inn, indicating they were complexes of buildings rather than single edifices?

Conclusions. A walk down Guildford High Street may bring reminders of former coaching inns both obvious (The Angel Hotel) and more subtle (the panel on the front of the Sainsbury’s building denoting its status as the former location of The White Hart, for example), but the historical testimony examined above proves this is a situation with roots that go back several centuries further. Overnight lodging (and by extension feeding/watering of horses and so forth) was not the sole reason for Guildford’s emergence as a town – its morphology betrays its burghal origins and likely mercantile function (arguably reinforced by its status as a mint by the late tenth century). All the same, it seems a reasonable conclusion to draw from this episode and the sorry tale of Ætheling Alfred and his companions some six decades earlier that Guildford did serve a purpose as a stopping-off place on the route to Winchester, and it is likely that this encouraged some degree of “urban” growth in terms of the existence of houses that were not solely occupied by resident townsfolk.

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In response to a general request for proofreading the draft version of the above piece, Dr Mary Alexander went above and beyond by contributing the following note, elaborating on some of the points raised within in.

St. Botwulf's skull and Guildford

Mary Alexander

I have known for some years about the punishment visited upon the larcenous monks escaping Ely in Rob Briggs' article, but it seemed an odd story that wasn't really relevant to anything I've written about Guildford so far. However, Rob has made me think again.

I'm a great believer in taking original chronicles seriously, even if they were written with a specific agenda, and in a particular literary style. It is highly likely that the monks returning to Winchester from Ely would travel through Guildford. The town was on an old route from the south-west, and the south coast ports, up to London, known as 'London Way' in Saxon times (Hill 1981, 116 Map 199). This may be why it was chosen to be developed into a town in the tenth century. The base map in the publication on Southampton's trade shows the medieval roads, which correspond with the modern A3 and A31 from London through Guildford and Winchester to Southampton (Hicks 2015, Map 3). So it is highly likely that there would be accommodation for travellers there.

The evidence for hostels or guest-houses in the accounts of the massacre of Alfred the Ætheling and his followers is very useful. The massacre was one of the few things that medieval chroniclers knew about Guildford, and it was considered particularly shocking because of the breach of hospitality.

The Abingdon version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (MS C) says that Alfred was travelling to see his mother at Winchester, but doesn't actually say where Godwin met him, though several other chronicles say it was at Guildford, including the *Encomium Emmae* (Swanton 1996, 158, 160). This suggests Alfred was travelling on the normal, well-established route.

The Waltham Abbey connection is later. The house was re-founded by Henry II in 1177, possibly as part of his reparation for the murder of Thomas Becket (Ransford 1989, xxiv). One of his gifts to the new monastery of Augustinian canons was 'Walter of Guildford son of Alwrun and his house at Guildford to provide lodging for the canons when attending the king's court there' – slightly odd wording (Ransford 1989, 14). Henry II did spend time at Guildford, and almost certainly built the king's chambers in the bailey, rather than living in the keep, but it seems unlikely that the canons would have much business with him, or that he would be in Guildford often enough to justify this grant. Perhaps at the time it all seemed likely, and anyway there may be many other activities which have escaped surviving documentation. Later medieval kings paid the stipend of the chaplain of St. Thomas' leper hospital outside the town, and it is possible that this was also part of Henry's reparations for Becket's death (Anon 1937, 251).

About twenty years after the re-founding of Waltham Abbey, in about 1197, the abbot granted the land and houses, which were once held by Walter of Guildford, to Jocelin son of Henry of Boothby to run as an inn, rendering 4s a year at Easter and Michaelmas. The canons could no longer have free lodging there. Jocelin was the abbot's agent responsible for tallage in Guildford in 1205 (Ransford 1989, 434). Waltham seems to have had a lot more involvement in Guildford than would seem likely, though if the abbot was responsible for collecting the tallage for the king in a wider area it would make sense to use someone to whom he had a link in Guildford. Jocelin seems to have been a wine seller; one of several we know about in thirteenth-century Guildford, who were probably importing French wine through Southampton (Meekings and Crook 1983, 397).

In 1227 the abbot was claiming that his tenants in Guildford had always been quit of tallage. Even in 1573 there was a parcel of land in the High Street, beside Holy Trinity church, which was rendering 4s, said to have been once in the possession of Waltham Abbey. There is an eighteenth-century sketch of what looks like a medieval stone building west of the church, which might be this property.¹

Ransford suggests that the canons of Waltham deliberately developed properties across the east of England so they could travel and stay at their own possessions (Ransford 1989, lii). Guildford was the southern-most of these properties, 38 miles from Waltham. Henry II may also have been encouraging the establishment of hospices by the Augustinians, as Henry I did (Ransford 1989, 434). Even so, market forces are likely to have provided inns since so many people would have been travelling through the town. This became very obvious when the coaching trade developed in the later seventeenth century. The town had half a dozen large coaching inns such as the White Lion, the Angel, the Red Lion, the Crown and the White Hart, as well as smaller inns.

References

- Anon, 1937, *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, Henry III. Vol. III. 1245-51* (London: HMSO)
 Hicks, Michael, ed., 2015, *English Inland Trade 1430-1540* (Oxford: Oxbow Books)
 Hill, David, 1981, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell)
 Meekings, C.A.F., and D. Crook, eds., 1983, *The 1235 Surrey Eyre*, 2 (Guildford: Surrey Record Society)

¹ Guildford Museum TG 442, the Russell-Traylen album, with sketches by John Russell RA, and perhaps others.

Ransford, Rosalind, ed., 1989, *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex 1062–1230*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 2 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer)

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A new 3D model of Chertsey Abbey in 1362

Emma Warren, Curator, Chertsey Museum

In its heyday in the fourteenth century, Chertsey Abbey was the fifth largest monastery in the country. However, it gradually disappeared over the decades following its dissolution in 1537 as the trend of using the stone for new building projects, initiated on the orders of Henry VIII, continued with little restraint. So how to enthuse visitors to Chertsey Museum about the town's most famous building when it's no longer there? The answer is a new 3D computer model, created using archaeological reports, comparisons with contemporary buildings, educated guesswork and artistic license!

Set in 1362, the abbey model shows the church and its immediate surroundings, from the river via the Black Ditch to the road, and across the fishponds. The date is not one chosen at random, but one that gave the model's designer, James Cumper, the most archaeological information to draw on. It is a date after Abbot John de Rutherwyk's building programme (1307–1346) that saw the fishponds dug, new outbuildings added and changes to the abbey church, but before the collapse of the bell tower in 1370. The tower, which "fell to the grounds in ruin, to the irreparable loss of our monastery" (according to the Chertsey Abbey cartulary now held in, of all places, the National Library of Australia), was replaced by a spire and a new free-standing campanile, as was fashionable at the time. However, because the location of the latter structure has not been excavated, it was considered safer to pre-date it with the model.

The basic plan of the church has been taken from the surviving foundations excavated in the 1850s and 1950s. A plan of Barking Abbey, which was also built by the first known abbot of Chertsey, Eorcwald/Erkenwald, for his sister, was used as a guide for the other buildings and layout. The Abbey was built in the Romanesque style, so where archaeological evidence was lacking or didn't provide an answer the designer drew on other churches of similar age and style (the cathedrals of Winchester, St Albans, Durham, and St Magnus in Kirkwall) to enable the completion of the model.

Now that the model has been created we have installed it on a PC in our local history gallery and are adding information to make a new interactive for visitors of all ages. As well as a two-minute "fly-over" film giving an overview of the model, there is an animated abbey time line and two games: one guessing which order of monk wore which habit, the other working out where the monk should be at given times of the day! The next stage is to add information about the making of the model using stills from the film, and to add images of the Dissolution documents held at The National Archives, Kew.

Whilst not available to the wider online public just yet, the flyover and timeline can be viewed using the following links:

Flyover - <https://youtu.be/OiFQTIKRaMs>

Timeline - <https://youtu.be/115eqLOPcdI>

NEW PUBLICATION

***The Accounts for the Manor of Esher in the Winchester Pipe Rolls, 1235-1376*, edited by David Stone. Published by the Surrey Record Society, Vol. XLVI, 2017.**

Mary Alexander

This latest volume from the SRS has just appeared, in October 2018, despite the year of publication in the book. The Surrey Archaeological Society had an important part in it because the Village Studies Group work on Esher, led by Jo Richards, inspired it. Dr Stone happened to meet Jo, and offered to translate one or two accounts for the Bishops of Winchester's Manor of Esher for her. One thing led to another, and the result is forty-four accounts published in this volume. Although not all the accounts in the pipe rolls survive, Dr Stone translated no fewer than one hundred accounts from the period 1235-1376; the series ended when the bishops no longer managed their estate, so the detailed records of what was produced on the manor were no longer needed by their administration. Certainly, there are enough published in the book to give a vivid account of life at Esher in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (The unpublished translations have been deposited in the Surrey History Centre and with the Surrey Archaeological Society.)

Although one might assume that this volume is only of interest for Esher, in fact, it has much wider appeal. It is very interesting for the working of a Surrey medieval estate, as there are few such complete accounts. Of particular interest is the growth of the manor house and its surrounding buildings into a suitably high-status residence. Each year's account begins with an introduction by Dr Stone teasing out what the lists of planks, nails, tiles, horses, sheep, cows, hens, pears, nuts, etc are telling us. We hear of bolshie workers even then, refusing to work in a new field that was not part of their ancient customary work.

We also get to know individual people and can trace their fortunes to an extent. We see who was brewing beer to sell, who was fighting whom and being fined, or breaking manorial rules, or inheriting property. Place-names can be traced to modern times, and land use gives an idea of the quality of the soil.

The volume costs £30 from the SRS, but if you join the Society for £5 you will receive it, and future volumes, free.

The Surrey Record Society publishes records relating to Surrey, making manuscripts available for study. Publications have covered the twelfth to the twentieth centuries, covering medieval courts, Elizabethan inventories, gunpowder mills and a Second World War diary, amongst much else.

To join the society complete the [application form available online](#) and return it to the Hon Secretary SRS, c/o Surrey History Centre, 130 Goldsworth Road, Woking GU21 6ND, or email shs@surreycc.gov.uk.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

University of Surrey FASS Festival of Research 2019, including keynote lecture by Prof Diane Watt on the 'Women's Literary Culture Before the Conquest' project

24th January 2019, 09.30–17:30, Rik Medlik Building, University of Surrey, Guildford GU2 7XH

The third annual Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS) Festival of Research will be held on Thursday, 24th January 2019. It is a full day event filled with 'exciting and topical panel discussions exploring the intersection between FASS research and current societal challenges'. Forum members may be especially interested in the concluding keynote lecture, to be given by Prof. Diane Watt, Professor of Medieval Literature, on the 'Women's Literary Culture Before the Conquest' project, which is funded by a Major Research Fellowship granted by the Leverhulme Trust.

Further information on the project, including a link to the project's consistently-fascinating blog, can be found at <https://www.surrey.ac.uk/womens-literary-culture-before-conquest>.

Tickets for the event are free, and can be obtained online from Eventbrite <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/fass-festival-of-research-2019-tickets-53055823396>.

David Williams Memorial Conference

Saturday, 9th February 2019 – 10:00 to 16:30 Surrey History Centre, 130 Goldsworth Road, Woking GU21 6ND

A conference in honour of former Surrey Finds Liaison Officer, David Wynn Williams. The programme is as follows:

10:00pm Registration and Coffee

10:15pm Dot Boughton (*former Finds Liaison Officer, Lancashire and Cumbria*): Welcome

10:20-10:45pm Rob Webley (*Portable Antiquities Scheme*) and Peter Reavill (*Finds Liaison Officer, Herefordshire & Shropshire*): New adventures in 11th century horse equipment

10:45-11:10pm Kayt Hawkins (*Surrey County Archaeological Unit*): Lost and Found: Recognising identity through medieval seal matrices

11:10-11:40pm Annemarieke Willemsen (*Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*): The leather for the frame: From David's purse bars to excavated, preserved and depicted medieval purses

11:40-12pm Emma Corke (*Surrey Archaeological Society*): David Wynn Williams: Illustrating the past

12pm Questions/Discussion

12:15–1:15pm Lunch – please make own lunch provision. During lunch there is an opportunity to view some of David's illustrations and art work, and finds by local detectorist groups recorded by David through the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS).

1:20-1:45pm Alex Egginton (*Surrey County Council*): Portable Antiquities Scheme contributions to Surrey's Archaeological Record

1:45-2:10pm Rob Briggs (*Surrey County Council*): What has the Portable Antiquities Scheme told us about early medieval Surrey (5th to 9th centuries CE)?

2:10-2:35pm *Ben Jervis (University of Cardiff): The Material Culture of English Medieval Rural Households: Understanding the values and possessions of ordinary medieval folk*

2:35-2:45pm Questions

2:45-3:10pm Break

3:10-3:35pm *David Higgins (National Clay Pipe Archive): Coins and tokens with clay tobacco pipe countermarks*

3:35-3:55pm *James Mather (Metal Detectorist): The Discovery and Excavation of The Watlington Hoard*

3:55-4:15pm *Simon Maslin (Finds Liaison Officer, Surrey): The Portable Antiquities Scheme in Surrey: 2018*

4:15-4:30pm Round up of day

Tickets for the conference cost £10. Booking is through Eventbrite <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/david-williams-memorial-conference-dw1conference-tickets-53057986867>.

FORTHCOMING MEDIEVAL STUDIES FORUM MEETING

Medieval Guildford

Saturday, 6th April 2019 – 10.30 to 16.00

The Trinity Centre, Trinity Churchyard, Guildford, GU1 3RR

A series of talks about the medieval town by various local speakers, with an introduction by Prof. Keith Lilley (Queen's University Belfast) to the proposed Historic Towns Atlas project volume on Guildford.

Further details will be circulated to members of the Medieval Studies Forum and posted on the SyAS website in due course.