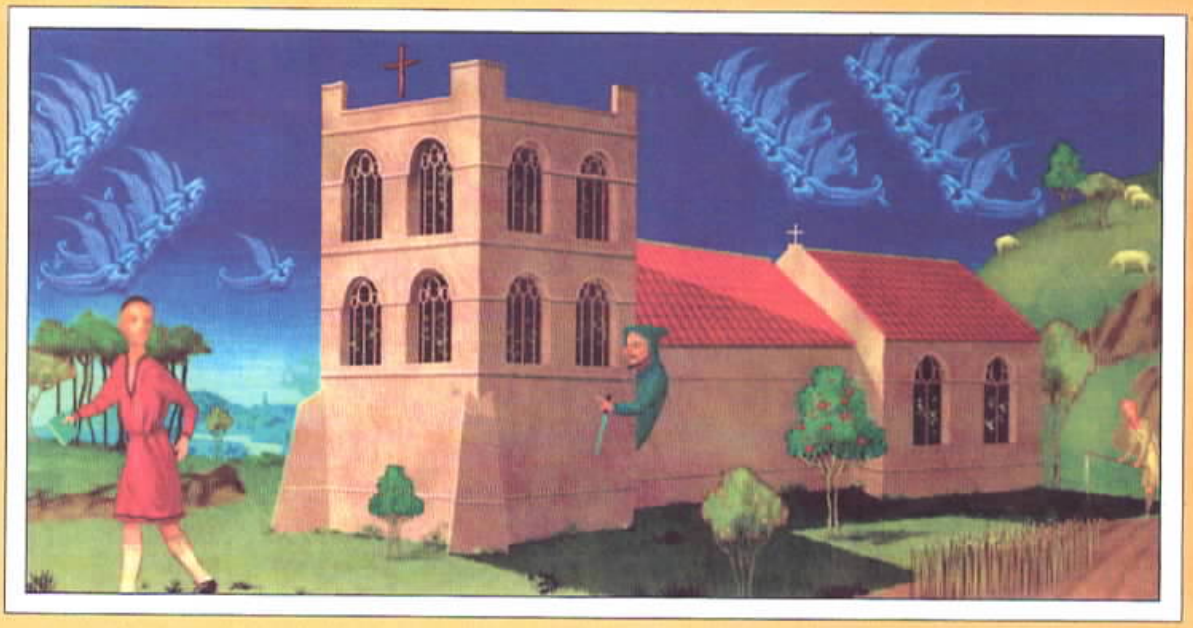
EXCAVATION AND SURVEY REPORT No 9
Chester Archaeology

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL LANDSCAPE



CHAPEL HOUSE FARM, POULTON (CHESHIRE) 1995

Mike M Emery, David J L Gibbins
and Keith J Matthews

Chester City Council
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with sections by

Shirley Y Crompton, Julie E C Edwards, Lesley A Harrison, Alison Jones and Patrick S Quinney

Chester City Council

THE UNIVERSITY *of* LIVERPOOL

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Published by Chester City Council
Department of Development and Leisure Services
for the University of Liverpool
School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies

Printed by Bemrose Shafron Ltd,
11 & 21 Chaser Court, Greyhound Park,
Chester CH1 4QQ

ISBN 1 872587 09 7

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Foreword

David J L Gibbins

This volume is based on the results of the first season of survey and excavation near the site of a medieval Cistercian monastery at Poulton, in farmland some 8 km south of Chester beside a tributary of the River Dee. The project was a collaboration between Chester Archaeology (Chester City Council's Archaeological Service) and the Department of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool. The aims of the 1995 season were threefold: to find and investigate structures and landscape features associated with the monastery; to initiate a major new research programme into rural settlement and economy in Cheshire, including the prehistoric and Roman periods; and to provide local training and research opportunities for University of Liverpool archaeology students. The field season in July-August involved more than 30 students and local volunteers under the direction of the three main authors of this report, with Mike Emery acting as principal field director.

Medieval documents show that Poulton Abbey was founded in 1146 or 1153 and lasted until 1214, when it was removed to Dieulacres in Staffordshire, purportedly as a result of raiding from the kingdom of Gwynedd. Poulton was nevertheless retained as a monastic cell and grange (agricultural estate) until the Dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s, and the nearby Poulton Hall continued in use until the nineteenth century. Today nothing remains above ground of the ecclesiastical buildings, which had apparently disappeared by the eighteenth century, although traces of medieval fishponds still exist along with suggestive field names including 'Cloisters', 'Great Chapel' and 'Pavement'.

As well as a landscape survey, the 1995 season focused on a site where the landowner had found medieval floor tiles, and where early maps showed the location of a chapel. Resistivity survey revealed a rectilinear outline which proved to be the masonry foundations of a large building. Subsequent excavations produced a rich variety of finds of medieval and post-medieval date, including roof slates, window glass and lead, fragments of architectural stone and decorated medieval floor tiles, as well as domestic pottery, clothing ornaments, fishing weights and a sixteenth- to seventeenth-century jeton. Outside the building were numerous human burials, one of which was completely excavated; the skeletal analysis, presented in detail in this report, showed that the burial had been of a woman aged about 30-40.

Of additional interest were indications of much earlier Roman and prehistoric occupation at the site. A small but significant assemblage of Roman material included fragments of samian and Romano-British pottery, window and vessel glass, brick and tile; one tile was stamped with the name of the Twentieth Legion (based at Chester), which would have been produced between the late first and third centuries AD at the legion's tilery at Holt, several kilometres up the Dee from Poulton. The chances are that this material comes from a substantial Roman building, probably a farmhouse, but possibly a villa. Another discovery was a small quantity of worked flint, including four microliths of probable Mesolithic date (*c* 11,000-4500 BC) and a Bronze Age retouched flake. These finds are important as few Roman or prehistoric sites have been investigated in the rural hinterland of Chester.

This volume is divided into seven parts. Part 1 is an account of the local history and environment of Poulton. Parts 2 and 3 cover the survey and excavation results. Part 4 deals with the artefacts and Part 5 the environmental remains. Part 6 contains a discussion of relevant topics in the archaeology and history of the region, including the Mesolithic period, Roman rural settlement, chapels and Cistercian Abbeys. These discussions are designed to provide a broad context for the project and to introduce areas of research in Cheshire which have hitherto received little attention from archaeologists. Part 7 consists of appendices which present texts relevant to the history of the site.

Some of the interpretations in this report will undoubtedly be superseded as more fieldwork is carried out; at this stage the finds have been assessed, and the reports are evaluations of the material, not final statements. Secure location of the abbey buildings is a major future objective; most finds from the chapel site have been later than the thirteenth century, although further excavation may reveal an earlier history of use and help to suggest the relationship of the chapel to the monastery. The excavation of short-lived foundations is an important research aim in monastic archaeology, as is the investigation of grange and manorial sites (Greene J P 1992, 229). Another objective is to expand our picture of the Poulton landscape and settlement from the ecclesiastical back to the Roman and prehistoric periods, and to develop a clearer context for the pre-medieval finds made in 1995.

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Acknowledgements

The Poulton Project would not have been possible without the support and enthusiasm of Councillor Gerry Fair and his sons Richard and John, and their families; we are extremely grateful not only for the opportunity to work on their land, but also for their assistance, advice and kindness during and outside the field season. It was Cllr Fair who first directed the attention of one of the authors of this report (KJM) to the archaeological site on his land. We are also grateful to the Duke of Westminster and Grosvenor Estates, through the good offices of Tim Barter and Bill Lecke, for allowing us access to the site via the estate and to place our Portakabin within the estate boundary, and for other practical assistance.

The aegis for this project was provided by Chester Archaeology and the Department of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool. The staff of Chester Archaeology who were not directly involved in the project, Mike Morris, Peter Carrington, Gill Dunn and Simon Ward, gave much valuable guidance; Cheryl Quinn was responsible for a number of the illustrations in this report. Simon Warburton of Chester Museums photographed the jeton (Ill 35). At Liverpool, we are grateful to Professor John Davies and Professor Elizabeth Slater for supporting the initial proposal, and to Dr Douglas Baird, Dr Phil Freeman, Dr Jen Lewis, Dr Chris Mee, Dr Anthony Sinclair and other academic staff for their interest and advice. The main secretarial and technical backup was provided by Jane Hebblewhite at Chester and by Jennifer Mirdamadi and Pat Sweetingham at Liverpool. The 1995 season was run largely as a student training excavation, and much of the funding for the project came from sources available for that purpose.

Thanks are also due to the staff of the Cheshire County and Diocesan Record Office and Chester Archives; to Eileen Simpson, the archivist of the Eaton Estate; to David Machin and Mrs Thorn, respectively undertreasurer and librarian of Gray's Inn; and the librarian of Lambeth Palace.

The authors of the finds reports would like to record their special thanks to the following: Margaret Ward (for identifying the samian ware); Janet Smith (for comments on the medieval and post-medieval finds reports); Dan Robinson (for identifying the jeton); Geoff Egan (for identifying the fishing net weights); and David Bell, Jon Tayler and Sally Gibbs (for assistance with the human bones retrieval, analysis and descriptions).

It remains to thank the site supervisors, Pete Connolly, Alan Dixon, Andrea Scott and Freja Swogger for their professionalism, and the more than 30 student participants and local volunteers without whose enthusiasm and hard work this report would not be possible. In addition, we would like to thank Alan Dixon and Stephen Kay for their work on the geophysical survey in March 1995, and Jo Jones and Jennifer Mirdamadi for further geophysical work during the main field season.

The publication of this report has been made possible through a grant to one of us (DJLG) from the University of Liverpool Research Development Fund, and through the generosity of Ralph Fiennes.

Existing Information

Mike M Emery, David J L Gibbins and Keith J Matthews

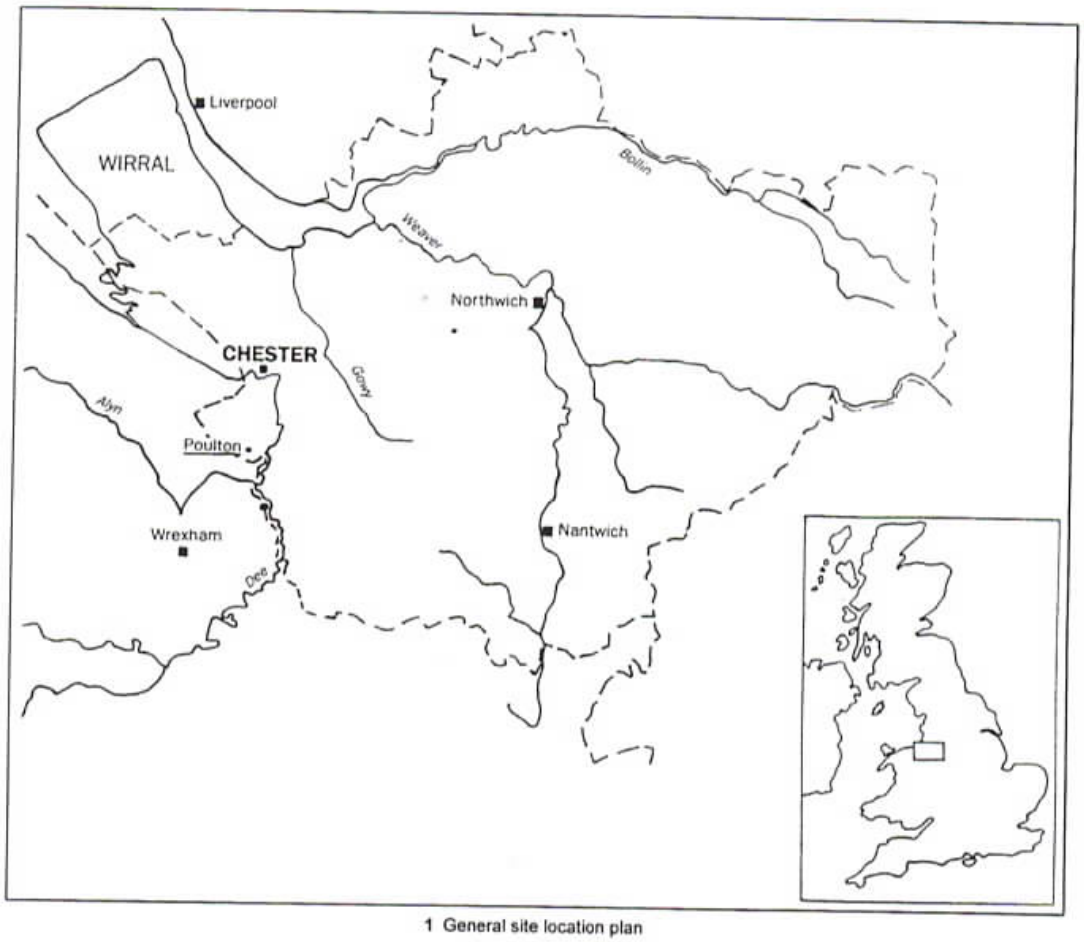
The site

The site of the first archaeological exploration at Poulton in recent years lies approximately eight kilometres to the south of Chester (Ills 1-3). The site, which today has no upstanding remains, is associated with a lost Chapel and the twelfth- to thirteenth-century Poulton Abbey. It occupies a low spur of higher ground which overlooks, to the south, a small stream known as the Old Pulford Brook, which flows into the River Dee some 450 metres to the east. Modern Poulton is a hamlet of less than a dozen dwellings accessible from minor roads to the east of the Chester-Wrexham road.

The landscape

Introduction

The natural and human landscape of rural Cheshire west of the Dee is, for the most part, homogeneous. A high proportion of the farmland is today used for pasturage, specifically dairying, and the limited cultivation is specialised in products such as potatoes and oil-seed rape rather than arable. There are no major landforms, with the exception of the Dee valley to the east and north and the low cliffs above Pulford Brook and Saltney Marsh to the south and north-west. There is a slight ridge which runs parallel to Pulford Brook, although it is barely noticeable



1 General site location plan

Existing information

in the landscape, and towards Balderton the land sinks slowly into the former marshes of the Lache Eyes. These topographical features effectively define the area, giving it both physical and political meaning.

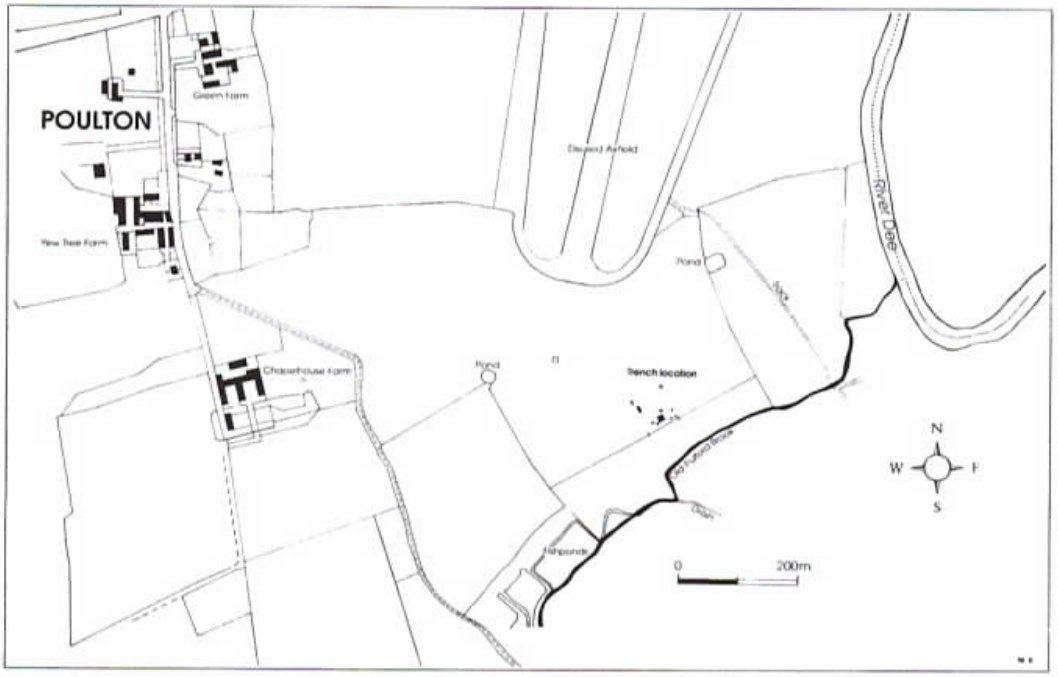
Apart from the humic-alluvial gley soils of the Lache Eyes and the alluvial gley soils of the Dee valley and Pulford Brook, the area is dominated by typical (argillic) stagnogleys. Only Eccleston and Claverton are on areas of brown sandy soils, typical of **tun** type names in western Cheshire; Poulton, Marlston, Dodleston, Kinnerton, Eaton and the lost *Calvinton* are thus quite atypical of this name class. The dominant stagnogleys are the most widespread soil type in Cheshire. They cover some 33.1% of the county, forming flat to gently undulating topography, with stunted hedgerow oaks a typical feature of landscapes formed by these soils (Furness 1978, 117). Such soils are ideal for grassland and have been a major factor in the development of the dairy industry in the county since the fifteenth century. There is also a little market gardening, and arable is currently restricted to the more favourable areas. Surface wetness is the main problem with the exploitation of this soil type (Furness 1978, 123).

The human geography of the area is dominated by Chester: all the major road and rail links which pass through it are focused on the city, and specifically on the river crossings. The region is dominated by village settlements, with a few hamlets. The main settlement foci in the late twentieth century are Dodleston and Pulford, both largely dormitory villages around historic cores with parish churches and motte-and-bailey castles. Eccleston is a good example of a nineteenth-century estate village, whose further development has been precluded by the proximity of the Eaton Estate.

Minor settlements include Lower Kinnerton, Gorstella and Poulton. At these places there has been little or no development beyond their historic cores. Balderton and Belgrave are dispersed hamlets, while the settlements at Claverton, Eaton and Figdale have been lost, largely as a result of the growth of the Eaton Estate. Marlston seems never to have been more than a single farm, while the development of Lache as a suburb of Chester has taken place entirely during the twentieth century, especially since the First World War.

Before the reforms of the late nineteenth century, the ecclesiastical arrangement of the area divided it into four parishes: St Mary on the Hill (Chester), Dodleston, Eccleston and Pulford. Dodleston Parish included Lower Kinnerton in Cheshire and Higher Kinnerton in Flintshire, suggesting that this arrangement originated before the establishment of the Welsh border on its present line as a result either of the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284 or the Act of Union in 1534. Marlston-cum-Lache and Claverton were part of St Mary on the Hill parish, which also included those parts of the Liberty of Chester south of the River Dee, including the manors of Netherleigh, Overleigh and Handbridge. Eccleston Parish included Eaton, while Poulton was part of Pulford parish.

All these parishes (with the exception of that part of St Mary on the Hill included within the Liberty of Chester) were part of Broxton Hundred from the later Middle Ages on. However, at the time of Domesday Book, compiled in 1086, only Eccleston (with Eaton) and Pulford (with Poulton) were in *Dudestan* Hundred, the precursor of Broxton, which also included extensive estates south of Wych Brook, in Maelor Saesneg, later a detached part of Flintshire. St Mary on the Hill and Dodleston were in



2 Detailed site location plan

Atiscross Hundred, which effectively corresponds to the northern part of the later Flintshire. West of the Dee, the part of Denbighshire which lay to the east of Offa's Dyke formed *Exestan* Hundred. The Hundreds were the most important units of local government from the Late Saxon period until the 1870s.

The impression of this area is one of topographic homogeneity and administrative unity, the latter at least from the later Middle Ages on. The line of the border with Wales is based on the dominant landforms, making the existence of this small piece of Cheshire west of the Dee less of an anomaly than it might otherwise appear. It is well known that most of medieval Denbighshire and Flintshire were originally parts of Cheshire, and it is generally assumed that their separation preserved the boundaries of earlier territories. However, the evidence from Poulton may indicate that a slightly different arrangement of local township boundaries existed before 1284, as will be discussed below (4).

The Poulton landscape

Present-day

The modern township and civil parish of Poulton is roughly triangular or wedge-shaped, measuring approximately 3 km from north to south and a little over 3 km from east to west at its widest point (Ill 1). The southern boundary is formed by the Old Pulford Brook; to the west and north the border with Pulford and Eaton follows field boundaries, while to the east it follows the River Dee.

There is virtually no topographical variation within the township. There is a low cliff north of Pulford Brook, while the Chapel site occupies the end of a low spur of slightly higher ground, no more than three to four metres above the surrounding plain. The lane from Poulton to Alington Meadows descends a slight valley to cross Pulford Brook, while the village occupies another slight spur of higher land.

The main communication route, known as Old Lane, was originally east-west across the northern end of the village, from Pulford to Eaton. However, the growth of the Eaton Estate has led to the dereliction of the lane east of the village. Its course has been further obscured by the Second World War airfield which crosses its line. A newer route has been added from the north end of the village to connect with the old Wrexham Road at Belgrave. Known as the Straight Mile for self-evident reasons, it cuts across the pattern of field boundaries and is clearly of post-medieval date.

The Eaton Estate has had a considerable impact on the township. At one time Poulton was entirely in the ownership of the Grosvenor family, although much of it was sold off in the 1920s. One of the estate's private drives, the Pulford Approach, bisects the township, following a line slightly south of Old Lane passing through the later airfield. The north-eastern part of the township remains within the estate, where there are still various parkland features including plantations, pools and osier beds. The Second World War airfield continues to be used by light aircraft based at the estate, although the southern part of the main strip has now been taken over by cattle sheds and other agricultural buildings.



3 Site view

The historic landscape

A good series of eighteenth century estate maps held in the Grosvenor Estate archives helps with the reconstruction of the historic landscape (*below*, 11). They chart the gradual extension of the parkland landscape across the north-eastern part of Poulton and record the earlier field pattern.

The early maps also show that, until the nineteenth century, the village of Poulton was arranged along a linear green. Subsequent development has seen the property boundaries extended into the green to enclose it, leaving only the village street. Regular patterns of this type in western Europe are thought to have originated in the medieval period; they are generally arranged on an east-west alignment, although north-south forms are also found. The arrangement is thought to be associated with cosmologies which divide space into sunny and shady regions (Roberts 1996, 97). It is interesting that the evidence for arable fields around the medieval settlement concentrates to the south-east of the village, perhaps the sunnier side of the township.

The recurrence of three names – Chapel Field, Green Field and Town Field – in the fields between the village, the former Hall and the Chapel site are clearly indicative of the subdivision of formerly large plots. The name Town Field is especially important, as the main open field of medieval settlements in Cheshire is generally referred to by this name (Sylvester 1956, 7).

If this block of land had been the original arable land of the village, it raises questions about the location of Poulton Abbey, whose foundation is discussed below. Although the initial hypothesis assumed that the Chapel lay close to the site of the monastic buildings, the various strands of evidence may suggest that this was not the case. Apart from the landscape evidence, which indicates that the Chapel lay beside the open fields of the medieval settlement, neither the geophysical survey (*below*, 15) nor the excavation (*below*, 19) revealed clear traces of other structures.

There are at least two possible explanations for this. The first is that the Abbey lay to the south of Pulford Brook, in Alington Meadows (now in Gresford, Clwyd), where the field-name Cloisters is very suggestive. It is perhaps no coincidence that this field and a number of others in the former marshland were treated as belonging with Chapel House Farm in Poulton by the Grosvenor family when they were sold off as part of the farm. Such an

arrangement could easily be ancient. Moreover, this site is close to the fishponds (*below*, 18) and in an environment which would have been very inhospitable before reclamation. Given the preference of the Cistercian order for wild and desolate places (Aston 1993, 76), it is reasonable to suggest that they founded their abbey here and began the process of drainage. This would mean that before the Statute of Rhuddlan, which created the counties of Flintshire and Denbighshire from what had been the western part of Cheshire in 1284, Alington Meadows were part of Poulton. The exact course of the boundary between Cheshire and Wales may not have been fixed finally until the Act of Union in 1534. Either date is after the Abbey was transferred to Dieulacres. On the other hand, an early eighteenth-century copy of a seventeenth-century estate map (Ill 5) shows the arrangement of Poulton Hall as consisting of a range of buildings around a square courtyard. The end of one range projects beyond the other outer walls, a typical feature of Cistercian abbeys.

Only further fieldwork will allow a clear choice between these hypotheses; the next season of work will need to examine the site of the former Hall (now occupied by the Black and White Cottages on the Eaton Estate) and also Cloisters, in addition to continuing the work on the Chapel site.

Archaeological background

The prehistory of Cheshire is poorly known in contrast with many other regions of Britain (Carrington ed 1994a, 16). This is due less to a lack of data than to a lack of modern syntheses. Surface finds of all periods from the Upper Palaeolithic (before *c* 11,000 BC) onwards have been reported for many years, but very few settlement or other sites have been identified. The soil types of Cheshire rarely produce crop marks and a very large proportion of fields is under pasture, so it is likely that many sites remain undetected. In addition, the flightpaths of Manchester and Liverpool airports prevent unrestricted aerial survey of large parts of the county.

Because of this lack of known sites and the relative scarcity of reported artefacts, the pattern of early settlement in Cheshire is unknown. The work of the North-West Wetlands Survey in the region has not yet published the results from Cheshire, although preliminary accounts (Leah 1994, 2) suggest that the patterns of intensive wetland use in prehistory observed in Lancashire and Merseyside will be repeated. Other fieldwork is beginning to shed light on later Mesolithic settlement, with scatters of fifth to seventh millennium BC date from the Dee valley and rock-shelter sites in west-facing rock outcrops adding substantially to our knowledge (*below*, 54).

Following the introduction of farming towards the end of the fifth millennium BC, large ritual monuments began to be constructed, perhaps to legitimise claims to areas of land. In some places, such as at Farndon in the Dee Valley and Sutton Weaver, south of Runcorn, evidence is beginning to accumulate for concentrations of such monuments whose date range runs from the Neolithic to the later Bronze Age (fifth to second millennia BC). This suggests continuity not only of land use but also of social practice over huge spans of time.

The local Bronze Age is best represented by burials, as in other parts of England. Although burial mounds are not numerous, they nevertheless form a significant proportion of the prehistoric field monuments of the county. The recent aerial discoveries at Sutton Weaver and Farndon have revealed what appear to be monuments of henge type, although further work is needed to confirm their status.

Environmental evidence from pollen cores shows that major woodland clearance began late in the second millennium BC, possibly for cereal cultivation. The hilltop enclosures of the Mid-Cheshire Ridge appear to date from the first half of the first millennium BC and are perhaps evidence that western Cheshire had already been partitioned into estates by this time, with landowners controlling long-distance trade, perhaps largely based around the distribution of Cheshire salt. It is also probable that by the end of the Iron Age (the earlier first century AD) a network of small farmsteads and some larger settlements had long been established within a substantially cleared landscape.

The Roman period (AD *c* 60-400) is relatively well known at the military establishment of *Deva* at Chester and the civilian settlement which was associated with it and which may eventually have overshadowed it (Carrington ed 1994a, 27). This may be contrasted with an almost total lack of knowledge about the countryside (*below*, 56). A few rural settlements and Romanised country houses (or villas) have been identified, but there must have been many more farms and industrial communities servicing the garrisons and urban populations than have so far been identified. The land around Chester, which must have formed the *prata legionis* ('meadows of the legion'), an area exploited by the military for its agricultural and natural resources, is of particular significance.

Reassessment of the considerable amount of data which exists for Chester District is beginning to locate areas of possible Romano-British rural settlement, and a general pattern can be suggested. The most common form of settlement was probably the farmstead, situated in oval or sub-rectangular enclosures, often on land today considered unsuitable for arable. Some of the wealthier landowners (among them, but not exclusively, retired legionary soldiers) lived in more pretentious villa-type dwellings, and in a few places nucleated settlements grew up, particularly on better-drained sandy soils and around road junctions and river crossings.

Post-Roman British and early Saxon settlement patterns are more obscure: to a large extent this is because little durable material culture was produced at the time, which has meant that few finds have been made, even in large-scale excavations. Placename evidence suggests that there was considerable continuity of population from the Roman period, though, with a strong Christian tradition and a preference for locating settlements on sandy soils (Carrington ed 1994a, 54). The same evidence, together with historical sources, suggests that domination by the Angles of Mercia did not begin until the seventh century AD. The impact of the Norse and Danish invasions of the ninth to eleventh centuries appears to have been limited in the region, being concentrated mostly on the Wirral peninsula and in Chester itself. At the end of the Saxon period, Domesday Book gives us a snapshot of settlement patterns and land tenure in 1066 and 1086. This shows that a pattern of multi-township parishes, which is still the main rural settlement type in Cheshire, had been established by the middle of the eleventh century.

Medieval settlement patterns are relatively well understood, with a wealth of landscape detail surviving until recent times. Much of this consists of traces of medieval agriculture, preserved under later pasture and visible on aerial photographs taken in the 1940s as well as on early maps and other documents. In addition, some villages also have traces of early properties – known as tofts and crofts – which have subsequently been abandoned and which survive as low earthworks. Placenames (and especially field-names) frequently provide clues about medieval land use (*below*, 9). Many sites of medieval manors can be identified with later farm houses and halls, while mill sites, which are recorded from Domesday Book onwards, can frequently be recognised on the ground. The network of minor roads and lanes which connects settlements both with each other and with their fields was largely established by this time.

The later Middle Ages and early post-medieval period saw the growth of the landed gentry as a class and the demise of the feudal system of land tenure. These two processes encouraged the formation of large estates based on agricultural production, which from the fifteenth century on was moving towards dominance by the dairy industry in Cheshire. The new gentry required large and impressive fashionable houses – generally referred to as Halls – in managed parkland, many of which survive and are today Listed Buildings.

Intensification of agriculture coupled with improvements in farming techniques, particularly in the eighteenth century, brought about radical transformations of the landscape. Large areas of what had formerly been heathland were brought into cultivation, and by the end of the eighteenth century, there were few of the traditional commons and wastes left unenclosed. Together with the transport revolution during the nineteenth century and tremendous population growth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these factors led to many settlements expanding beyond their historic cores whilst others were depopulated as people moved into towns. A prominent feature of the nineteenth century in western Cheshire was the rebuilding of entire villages on model estate lines by wealthy landlords: the growth of the Eaton Estate under the Marquises and (subsequently) Dukes of Westminster in particular brought about huge changes in the area. However, in the decade following the First World War there were enormous changes in land-ownership patterns all over England – the largest since the transfer of ecclesiastical estates into lay hands at the Dissolution in the 1530s – and many of the large estates were broken up.

In the late twentieth century a return to villages has been seen, with commuting by car becoming a common feature of work patterns. These villages often contain post-Second World War council estates and, increasingly, estates of houses built by national private developers around cul-de-sacs radiating from a spine road. These have often changed the traditional focus of the settlements as well as the character of both the villages and their communities.

The archaeology of Poulton

Little is known about the archaeology of Poulton: Chester District Archaeological Statement, a document compiled in 1991/2, lists only the Abbey/Grange/Chapel, the early nineteenth-century Iron Bridge and the disused airfield dating from the Second World War. This is not surprising for a township in Chester District, since little or no detailed archaeological research has been undertaken in most places: such sites as are known generally consist of surviving monuments and occasional finds of artefacts in ploughed fields or by metal-detector users.

The site of the Chapel, long associated with the lost Abbey, was rediscovered around 1892, when a Mr R G Williams dug up a number of stamped and glazed floor tiles which he presented, together with his notes, to Canon Rupert Morris. By 1940 it proved impossible to trace these notes or the finds. In 1922, the tenant of Chapel House Farm, a Mr Minshull, ploughed up a number of human bones and pieces of stone (*Cheshire Sheaf* 21 August 1940, 7831).

The Iron Bridge is one of a series of Listed Buildings associated with the Eaton Estate and the Marquises and (subsequently) Dukes of Westminster. The Black-and-White Cottages, on the site of the former Poulton Hall, are estate buildings which date from 1866 and which were designed by John Douglas (DoE 1983, 66). The airfield, constructed during the Second World War, is now largely derelict, although one of the runways is still used for light aircraft by the Grosvenor family. Many of the associated buildings lie ruinous in the woodland alongside the Pulford Approach.

Documentary evidence

This historical summary is based partly on printed sources, largely those quoted by the nineteenth-century county historians, most notably George Ormerod (1785-1873) and his reviser, Thomas Helsby. These older historians were concerned mainly with the lives of the great and wealthy – their intended audience – and consequently spent much time discussing the descent of the lords of the manor. However, because of the nature of the Poulton Project, focusing on a religious institution which produced its own documentation, a preliminary assessment of the primary source material in Cheshire and Staffordshire County Record Offices as well as the Grosvenor Estate archives has also been made. This includes important details about, for instance, repairs to the Chapel in the early post-medieval period.

Origins

The origins of townships in Cheshire are obscure, although by the time most of them enter the light of recorded history, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they were clearly part of a well-organised and ancient system. Recent scholarship has tended to push back the date at which this system was first established into the Saxon period. Nick Higham has recently made a case for believing that the territorial organisation of Cheshire, as recorded in Domesday Book, is largely a creation of the early tenth century, when control of northern Mercia was wrested from the Danes (Higham 1993, 127). This organisation consisted, for the most part, of pairs of territories organised under minster churches into Hundreds. However, in many instances it can be argued that the individual estates which were grouped into Hundreds around this time actually originated at a much earlier date, perhaps in the Roman

period (Matthews 1995, 8). The Poulton Project gives us an opportunity to test this hypothesis.

Domesday Book

The earliest mention of Poulton occurs in Domesday Book, compiled in 1086; at that time it was described as belonging to a Richard Pincerna (Butler): *Ricardvs pincerna ten de com PONTONE. Eduin tenuit. 7 lib ho fuit. Ibi i hida geld. Tra e. v. car. In dnio sunt .iii. car. 7 vi. bouar. 7 pposit 7 iii. bord. cu .ii. car. Ibi .viii. ac pti. T.R.E. ualb. xl. sol. 7 post tntd. Modo .iiii. lib.* (Morgan ed 1978, 6,1). This translates as: 'Richard Pincerna holds Poulton from the Earl. Eadwine held it and he was a free man. There is one taxable hide there. There is land for five ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs and 6 ploughmen; a reeve and 3 smallholders with 2 ploughs. There are eight acres of meadow. In the time of King Eadweard the Confessor it was worth 40s; later the same. Now £4.'

These various pieces of information record and summarise the responses given by witnesses to the commissioners of William I; they were intended to give a clear picture of the resources available to the feudal overlord of the estate and, ultimately, to the king. Of particular importance is the concept of 'taxable land'; the geld was a tax specifically collected to finance the defence of the kingdom against Danish and Norse attack. Only one class of land, arable, was used in assessing the geld. This explains the importance of knowing how many plough-teams the land could support and how many were held in demesne (in other words, on the lord's land). The listings of the different values for the land reflect the revenue it made for its lord, and the term 'waste' is thought to mean that, for whatever reason, the land provided the lord with no revenue. It was important to know what the value was *TRE* (*tempore Regis Eadweardi*: in the time of King Eadweard) because the Norman administration regarded Harold II and Eadgar II as usurpers after the death of Eadweard the Confessor in January 1066; it was therefore anxious to establish what it saw as the legitimate succession from Eadweard's administration to William's.

Geld was in effect as much a protection levy as a source of royal revenue. It could be a means of buying-off hostile Danish armies or money raised to pay professional soldiers for the defence of an area. Each hide was therefore assessed – or gelded – on how much money it should provide to 'defend itself'. The annual geld was notionally levied at a rate of 2 shillings on the hide; in areas formerly controlled by Danes the term *carucata* (a Latin rendition of the Anglo-Danish *plogesland*, 'ploughland') was used as the equivalent of a hide (Stenton 1971, 647). However, the king often increased the rate, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reports occurred at Christmas 1083: 'In this same year... the king had a great and heavy tax ordered all over England – it was 72d for every hide' (Whitelock *et al* 1961, 161).

The next entry of Domesday Book records Richard Pincerna as the owner of a hitherto unidentified estate called *Calvinton*: *Isd Ric. ten. CALVINTONE. Dot tenuit. 7 lib ho fuit. Ibi .ii. hidae geld. Tra. e .ii. car. Wasta fuit 7 Wasta inuen. Modo. e ad firma p lx. solid.* (Morgan ed 1978, 6,2). 'That same Richard holds *Calvinton*. Dot held it and he was a free man. There are two taxable hides there. There is land for two ploughs. It was waste and was found waste. It is now for rent for 60s'.

Domesday Book is the most detailed and accurate record of land ownership in medieval England. It lists over 13,000 towns, villages and hamlets, divided between counties and listed by feudal overlord. However, it was not merely a tax register. In 1085, King Cnut of Denmark and his son-in-law, the Count of Flanders, prepared to invade England whilst King William was in Normandy. William returned with a large army, dominated by mercenaries, who were spread around the country in anticipation of the Danish invasion. The experience of billeting and feeding a large army illustrated to the Norman administration its ignorance of the country and its resources; it was clear that too many English estates had been confiscated, even beyond the number agreed by William and his council after the conquest.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that when William heard that the expected invasion had been postponed: '... the king had much thought and very deep discussion with his council about this country – how it was occupied or with what sort of people. Then he sent his men all over England into every shire and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in the shire, or what land and cattle the king himself had in the country, or what dues he ought to have every twelve months from the shire... and... what or how much everybody had who was occupying land in England, in land or cattle, and how much money it was worth. So very narrowly did he have it investigated, that there was no single hide nor virgate of land, nor indeed... one ox nor one cow nor one pig was there left out, and not put down in his record...' (Whitelock *et al* 1961, 161).

The hide was a unit of assessment originally conceived as the average agricultural holding of a household or family unit. By 1086, however, it had become a tax assessment unit. It seems fairly clear that, in most areas, 120 arable acres were equivalent to a hide of land. The classes of population recorded in Domesday were mostly heads of households and, therefore, male (at least after the Norman Conquest). A *praepositus* or reeve was the general overseer of work on a manor and as such would sit as his lord's deputy in the manorial court and be responsible for the collection of the geld, a position frequently abused. A *bordarius* or smallholder was a free householder of low social status, usually with a little land of his own; it has been thought that the term refers to someone who was bringing marginal land under cultivation (Higham 1993, 206). A *bovarius* was a ploughman (in other words, one who drove oxen). A household is thought to have contained, on average, 4.25 individuals, so we can estimate that the population of Poulton in 1086 was at least 10 times 4.25, ie 42.5 individuals.

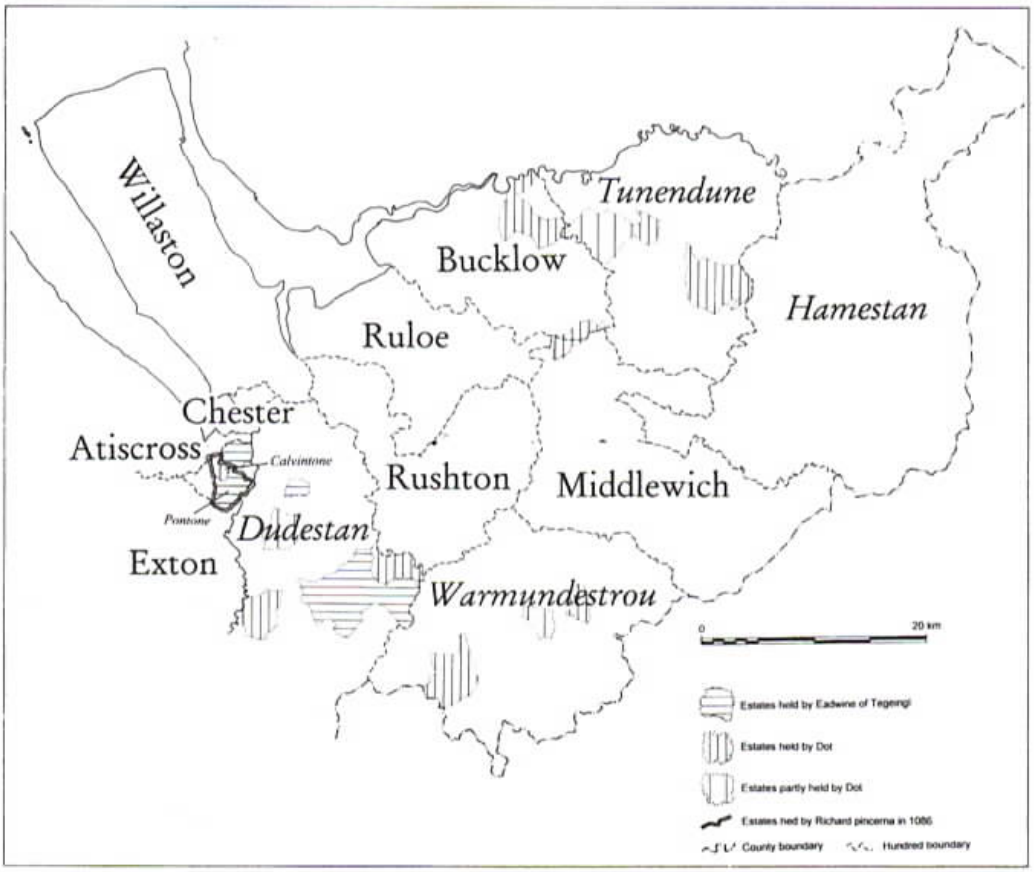
The waste of holdings in Poulton and *Calvinton* does not necessarily indicate that the settlements were totally or even partially ruined or deserted. It is thought that the term refers to a manor which produced no revenue for its lord (Sawyer & Thacker 1987, 336). At least 153 holdings in Cheshire were recorded as waste in the time of King Eadweard the Confessor with 65 still waste in 1086. Sometimes land was classified as waste but a value is given, as in the case of *Calvinton*. This could be a speculative sum of rent required of anyone willing to exploit it (Finn 1973, 75). No value is attached to *Calvinton* in Eadweard's time, whereas it is rated at only a pound less than Poulton

in 1086; perhaps the Norman administration was more concerned to obtain profits from land which its Saxon precursor had been willing to overlook.

Eadwine's possessions in 1066 were entirely confined to western Cheshire (Ill 4), and formed an important group consisting of sixteen manors. He held nine estates in the parish of *Depenbech* (Malpas) and Eccleston, close to Poulton; in the former he was probably the main undertenant of Earl Eadwine. Unusually for a pre-conquest landowner, he continued as undertenant of Robert Fitz Hugo on all but two of his *Depenbech* holdings in 1086; this probably means that he did not take part in the rebellion against William I in 1069. Despite his English name, he appears to have been a Welshman, and is known in other sources as Eadwine of Tegeingl (Sawyer & Thacker 1987, 322).

Calvinton with a site between Poulton and Eaton (*below*, 10); it is not close to any of Dot's other estates, and appears to have been an isolated holding. It was fairly common for landowners with large estates to own single manors close to Chester. Dot also held land at Huyton and Tarbock in Lancashire (now Merseyside), and it has been thought that his holdings on both sides of the Mersey were connected with the defence of the Runcorn Gap (Sawyer & Thacker 1987, 321).

Richard Pincerna held only the two estates of Poulton and *Calvinton* in 1086. Poulton has an unusually small hidage for a place with three ploughteams in demesne, while the presence of a reeve suggests that it was of some importance; it is difficult to reconcile these contradictions. Richard was still alive in 1119, and it was his son or grandson, Robert, who donated a moiety of the manor to



4 Map of Domesday holdings: Dot and Eadwine (1066), Richard Pincerna (1086)

Dot owned seventeen estates in Cheshire in addition to *Calvinton*; they were widely dispersed throughout the county, but fell into three main groups. In the western part of the county, he held lands at Bickerton, Cholmondley, Coddington, Church Shocklach and Shocklach Oviatt. It is likely that he was an undertenant of Earl Eadwine on these estates, although Domesday Book fails to record such niceties in 1066. We have provisionally identified

William, Abbot of Combermere, to found an Abbey here (Sawyer & Thacker 1987, 315).

The Middle Ages

During the sixty years after Domesday Book no documentary evidence has survived for Poulton, in common with much of Cheshire, where there is a general

dearth of early medieval records. This is partly a reflection of its Palatinate status and the separation of the county from the machinery of government in England. The foundation charter of the Abbey at Poulton has survived, however, as part of the collections of documents preserved from its successor, Dieulacres Abbey in Staffordshire. Poulton Abbey was founded during a period of great national instability, largely a consequence of the devastating civil war between King Stephen (1135-54) and Matilda (briefly queen in 1141).

On 29 August 1146 Ranulph II, Earl of Chester, was captured by King Stephen at Northampton. The Welsh took immediate advantage of the Earl's imprisonment to ravage and lay waste the province of Chester as recounted in the *Annales Cestrienses* or Chronicle of St. Werburgh's (Christie ed 1887, 21). Robert *pincerna* (hereditary *botelier* or butler), possibly a descendant and perhaps a grandson of Domesday Book's Richard Pincerna and responsible for the Earl of Chester's household, granted by charter a moiety, or half-manor, of Poulton to William, first Abbot of Combermere (*below*, 64). The abbot was to found an abbey and pray for the health and safety of the Earl. This led Barraclough (ed 1957, 2) to suggest a date of 1146 for the foundation, in spite of the endorsement on the charter, which dates it to 1158.

However, the earlier date agrees better with the vague indication given in the so-called Chronicle of Dieulacres, an unpublished manuscript housed at Gray's Inn, London (Gray's Inn Library, Manuscript 9). This is largely a fifteenth-century work compiled from the manuscripts of earlier writers, including an earlier house chronicle (Studd 1978, 8). The first part is a history of the Earls of Chester until 1354 and the latter two parts primarily comprise a history of England from 1337 to 1403. How the Chronicle came to be at Gray's Inn is unclear. In the late sixteenth century the manuscript was owned by Richard Bostock of Tattenhall, whose son John was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1632, and it is possible that he presented it to the library. On the other hand, Thomas Egerton, who was Solicitor-General 1581-94, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal 1596-1603 and Lord Chancellor 1603-17, was also Lord of the manor of Dodleston, and may have given the manuscript to the library.

The specific foundation date of the abbey at Poulton is thus a source of debate. Dugdale (1825, V 627) gave 1153, based on the text of the Chronicle of Dieulacres. Another date, 12 May 1158, was preferred by Janauschek (1877), based on the endorsement on the verso of the original of the foundation charter and analysis of the Chronicle contained in the Grays Inn manuscript. However, given that Earl Ranulph II died in 1153, a date later than that cannot be accepted as he was clearly still alive when the foundation charter was written. Moreover, the charter states that the house is to follow the Savignac rule: the Savignacs were merged with the Cistercians in 1147, so a date much after this is inconceivable for the foundation.

All three dates may be relevant to the establishment of the abbey of Poulton. A possible scenario is that the half-manor of Poulton was granted to the monks of Combermere in 1146 on the capture of Earl Ranulph II; the foundation charter of Richard Pincerna specifically states that it is for the health and safety of his lord (Dugdale 1825, V 628). Little effort may have been made physically to establish an abbey on the site until 1153, perhaps because of local unrest during the troubled reign of Stephen. It may be significant that 1153×4 (*ie* 1153 to 1154) was notable for the deaths of several leading figures who had played a prominent part in politics and religion at local, national and European levels: St Bernard of Clairvaux, King Stephen of England, Eustace, son of King Stephen, and Ranulph II, Earl of Chester.

In the deaths of the Earl and St Bernard particularly, we can see a strong motivation for establishing a Cistercian presence in Poulton. Earl Ranulph II was poisoned while under sentence of excommunication, possibly because of his continued anti-Stephen position (Morris 1894, 12). St Bernard of Clairvaux was a major figure in the Cistercian order who had founded sixty monasteries (Tobin 1995, 73). At the time of his death there were about 350 Cistercian abbeys throughout Europe, many founded between 1128 and 1140. In 1152 the General Chapter of the order became so concerned about the burgeoning numbers of houses that it tried to put a stop to new foundations (Clarke 1984, 99). Bernard's importance to the Cistercians order was enormous and his death was keenly felt. His death provided the impetus for a second great wave of abbey foundations. It is possible, therefore, that work began on the construction of Poulton Abbey in 1153 and that Janauschek's (1877) preferred date of 1158 refers to the completion, or at least the habitable stage, of the Poulton foundation.

There is a further possibility: the two dates 1153 and 1158, expressed in Roman numerals, are very similar (*mcliii* and *mclviii*) and it is possible that the *-v-* is either intrusive in one date or has been lost from the other: Roman numerals are notoriously susceptible to this type of error. As the date 1158 derives from a later endorsement on the reverse of the foundation charter (*below*, 64) and this contains at least one demonstrable error (... *Ranulphum canonicum Cestrie* ... for the ... *Ranulfum comitem Cestrie* ... of the Chronicle of Dieulacres, quoted by Dugdale 1825, V 627), we should perhaps favour the earlier date of 1153 for the Abbey's completion.

Little work has been done on the history of the Abbey at Poulton, although M J C Fisher's (1967) MA thesis for the University of Keele on Dieulacres Abbey contains some useful discussions. Our study has shown, though, that materials exist for the reconstruction of some of its endowments; further work on the original documents, which have not yet been printed in full, will clearly increase the potential information. Some of the documents are currently in the Staffordshire Record Office, while others remain in Cheshire; a few original charters exist in private collections (notably the Eaton Archives), and some were taken to London in the early seventeenth century and are now stored at Gray's Inn.

Two abbots are recorded at Poulton: Ralph, who appears to have been the first, and Richard, who had been appointed before 1182. Richard was responsible for the translation of the monks to Dieulacres between 1214 and 1220.

In 1214 Earl Ranulph III granted land at Dieulacres (near Leek in Staffordshire) to build a new abbey to which the monks of Poulton were to be translated, allegedly because of problems with the Welsh of Gwynedd (Ormerod 1882, ii 861; Sleigh 1883, 38; Morris 1894, 12; Duggan & Greenslade 1970, 230), although a picturesque legend (Dugdale 1825, V 627; Bayliss 1962, 78) attributes it to a

dream of Earl Ranulph III. It is also possible that the endowment of a monastery was a precondition for Earl Ranulph's divorce in 1199 (Duggan & Greenslade 1970, 231). As with Poulton, there is a discrepancy between the date of translation and of actual foundation: although the monks are said to have been removed from Poulton in 1214, the foundation stone of Dieulacres was laid by Earl Ranulph after his return from the Holy Land in 1220. None of the charters to the new foundation need be any earlier than 1216, while the actual grant of land at Rudyard to build the abbey was not given until 1217×22 (*below*, 72). Moreover, a charter by which Walter, Abbot of Croxden, came to an agreement over the location of property for the new foundation – which he interestingly refers to as the *domus de Pulton* – was not issued until 1230×4 (*below*, 72). As late as 1246×7, Wrenou ap Llywelyn referred to it as *conventus de Deulacres et de Polton* (below, 74). The move was not universally popular: William of Measham, the grandson of Robert Pincerna, withheld agreement to the transfer for twenty-five years (Duggan & Greenslade 1970, 231; *below*, 75).

The Abbey of Dieulacres nevertheless maintained a Chapel and grange at Poulton; the Chapel is first mentioned in a charter of 1250 (*below*, 77) and the grange in a document of 1315 (Dodgson 1972, 154). It is likely that both were established when the Abbey was translated. Further grants of land were made to the monastery in Poulton and nearby townships throughout the Middle Ages and a number of monks resided in the village as managers of the grange. They were also responsible for carrying out religious services at the Chapel. On 14 September 1400, one Ieuan Gogh was indicted for lying in wait near the Chapel with the intent to cause bodily harm on a Thomas Quythod (Morris 1894, 41). The Mize, a tax collected when Edward, the son of Henry VI, was created Earl of Chester in 1454, was assessed at £1 7s 6d for Poulton; a high figure which can be contrasted with the 12s 10d for Pulford and compared with the rich market town of Malpas, assessed at £1 12s (Ormerod 1882, ii 877).

A John Manley seems to have acquired Poulton Grange by lease dated 1493, although it is not known why the Abbey chose to let it out or if this was the first time it had done so. In 1504 John's son Nicholas was confirmed as the tenant with a lease for 89 years at an annual rent of £50 (*below*, 81); in the same year he gave a bond to Thomas Grosvenor, although what the Grosvenor family's interests in Poulton might have been at this date is not known. Nicholas died in 1519 and was buried in the Chapel; he bequeathed the Grange to his son Henry, to be held of the Abbot of Dieulacres. On 1 November in the following year the Abbot leased the manor and Chapel to the Manleys for 61 years at a rent of £25 *per annum*.

The Dissolution and after

The Abbey of Dieulacres was dissolved on 26 August 1543; the abbey's holdings in Poulton were valued at £25, the most valuable of its estates in Cheshire, and were at fee farm to Richard Grosvenor and his son Thomas. The manor and Chapel of Poulton were subsequently granted to Sir George Cotton and his wife Mary (Raines ed 1845, 139; *below*, 81). The Cottons sold part of the manor by license dated 26 December to Thomas Grosvenor (Ormerod 1882, ii 861); given the involvement of the Grosvenors earlier in the century, it appears that this merely formalised an existing arrangement. The Manleys continued to reside at Poulton Hall and acquired much of the surrounding property in succeeding generations, either by leasing from the Grosvenors or by buying outright from the Cottons. The Manleys finally sold their entire estate at Poulton to Richard Grosvenor, either in the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) or early in that of James I (1603-1625).

The Chapel continued to be used after the Dissolution of its parent house, and shared in the religious turmoil of the sixteenth century: the Visitation of 1592 found that an illegal nocturnal marriage without banns had taken place in the Chapel (Beck 1969, 91). Little is certain as to its fate during the seventeenth century, with direct documentary evidence pretty scarce.

The last major historical event associated with Poulton Hall, and perhaps the Chapel, was the English Civil War. The central role of Chester is familiar, with its Royalist garrison enduring a protracted siege until its capitulation on 3 February 1646. The preceeding three years saw the billeting of Parliamentary troops in the surrounding villages, including Farndon, Aldford, Dodleston and Eccleston (Carrington ed 1994a, 84-90). Two letters of the Parliamentary commander, Sir William Brereton, dated to within a month of the surrender, refer to the need to guard Poulton Green and 'the waterside by Poulton Hall' (*below*, 83-4); Holt, a few kilometres upstream, was a Royalist outpost, and the Dee valley would thus have required particular vigilance. Although the Chapel is not specifically mentioned, its commanding site and its tower would have made it an ideal lookout post, and the masonry structure would probably have been both defensible and habitable even if its maintenance had ceased with the end of the Abbot of Dieulacres' patronage more than a century previously.

Sir Peter Leycester (1673, 196) described the Chapel as in decay in 1672 and Bishop Gastrell (Raines ed 1845, 139) states that in 1718 'nothing at all is now left of it'. This dates the period of its final dereliction and demolition to the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. Its possible occupation by a detachment of Parliamentary troops may even have been the cause of its abandonment as a place of worship.

The Grosvenors held the manor and all land in the township of Poulton until early in the twentieth century, when a large part of their estate was sold off. The estate which included the site of the Chapel, part of Chapel House Farm, was ultimately acquired by the Fair family and continues in their ownership.

The placenames

Poulton

The name Poulton appears in documents under various spellings throughout the medieval period: *Pontone* (Domesday Book, 1086), *Poutona* (1146), *Pultun* (1153), *Polton* (1180), *Poulton* (1208) and *Pulton* (1277). The earliest form occurs in Domesday Book, where the *-n-* is an Anglo-Norman orthography. It clearly derives from the Old English **Pulltun*, meaning 'farm enclosure by a stream' (Dodgson 1972, 153). The stream in question is clearly Pulford Brook.

It is a typical Old English settlement name, with its ref-

erence to a habitation form prefixed by a defining element. This type has been thought to refer to early estate organisation, with specialised farms (or *tunas*) supplying rent by way of food renders to an estate centre located elsewhere. Their formation had certainly begun in the seventh century, and they appear to be a generally early type (Higham 1992, 200). They are frequently found in areas where there is good evidence for a cleared landscape in the early Saxon period and where existing sub-Roman estates are likely to have been taken over as complete units by new Anglo-Saxon landowners (Kenyon 1991, 106).

Minor names

One charter (*below*, 72) mentions *Parva Polton*, 'Little Poulton'; together with the seventeenth-century mention of Poulton Green (*below*, 83), this suggests that the medieval settlement was more dispersed than the surviving village. The present village is the site of Poulton Green, a name form which generally belongs to a dependent settlement rather than the main focus of habitation; it is possible that this earlier bore the name Little Poulton. The main early focus may have lain around Poulton Hall: this could be an instance of the depopulation of a settlement following the establishment of a Cistercian abbey, a relatively common phenomenon.

Poulton Hall is first mentioned by that name in Nicholas Manley's will of 1519 (*below*, 82) in a context which may allow it to be identified with the earlier Poulton Grange, the *grangia de Pulton* of a charter of 1315 (*below*, 79). The site of the Hall, at SJ 407 592, is marked on the estate maps in the Eaton archives; it is now occupied by the Black and White Cottages (*above*, 5). The term Grange, although widely used in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to refer to any farmhouse, was technically precise in the Middle Ages, and its meaning will be explored below.

The *Pulenhale* of a number of charters is often mentioned in connection with Pulford, and never with any other place; it is therefore likely that it lay in this area. The name appears to contain Old English *pul*, 'pool', as its first element (in common with both Poulton and Pulford), as a weak genitive, while the second part appears to be Old English *halh*, 'nook' or 'water meadow', in a dative form. The name would mean something like 'at the water meadow of (by) the pool'. Its location might have been somewhere between Poulton and Pulford, close to Old Pulford Brook.

The *Calvinton* of Domesday Book (Morgan ed 1978, 6,2), apparently the only mention of this place, is analysed by Dodgson (1972, 2) as deriving from an Old English **Calwentun*, 'bare farm enclosure'. However, there are a number of field-names which may be relevant to this place, which occur as *Kalvesin* in Earl Hugh II's confirmation charter of 1177×80 (*below*, 65) and *Calvesmore* (Dodgson 1972, 158), the latter analysed as Old English **Calframor*, 'calves' moor'. It is certainly not necessary to assume that the Domesday form *Calvintone* contains Anglo-Norman *-v-* for Old English *-w-*, as Domesday's *Claventone* (Claverton: Morgan ed 1978, FD5,2) has *-v-* for Old English *-f-* (representing a *-v-* sound in *clæfre*, 'clover'). The *-n-* in *Calvintone* could also be an Anglo-Norman spelling or an Old English weak genitive termination, so that the original form might have been **Calfratun*, 'calves' farm enclosure', or **Calfentun*, 'calf's farm enclosure', a tamed location to be contrasted with the wild 'calves' moor'.

Where these places were located is open to question. In the bounds of the monks' property at Poulton, 'the old ditch in the lower part of *Kalvesin*' appears to have been in low-lying ground adjacent to the River Dee (*below*, 65). Logic demands that this lay between Poulton and Eaton. *Calvesmore*, on the other hand, was somewhere between Dodleston, Poulton and Eaton (Dodgson 1972, 158). Apart from a single mention in 1401, the place is not named after *c* 1170, and it is therefore tempting to connect it with Belgrave, which is not attested as a name before *c* 1290 (Dodgson 1972, 149). There is no proof of this, however, and more work needs to be done on the bounds of the charter and on tracing the histories of individual parcels of land in this area before accepting or rejecting the hypothesis.

Field-names

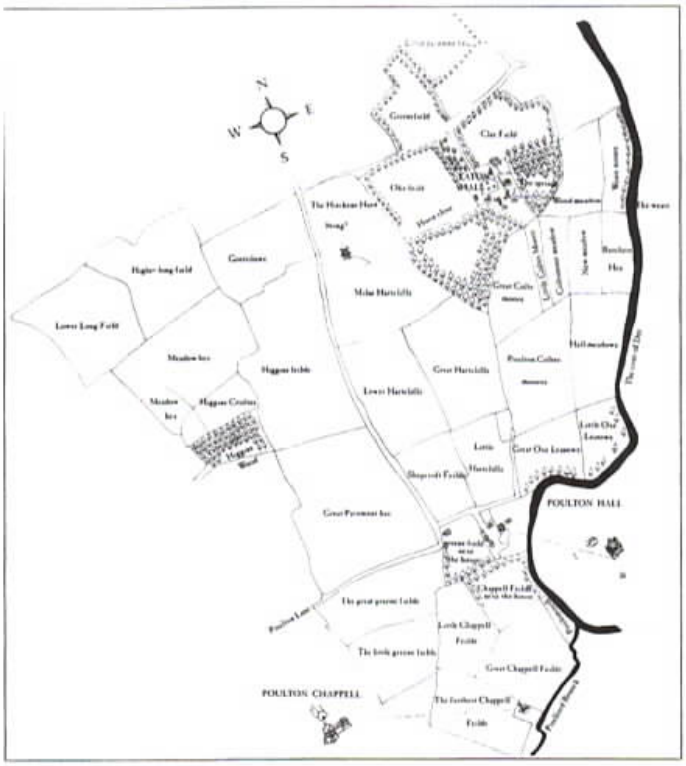
The field-names of a locality often contain a great deal of useful information about the formation of the landscape. Blocks of similar names can demonstrate the subdivision of former open fields, while some name elements can point to former areas of woodland or heath. Occasionally the names may refer to the discovery of archaeological remains in the distant past.

At Poulton, the evidence for field-names comes from a series of maps held in the Grosvenor Archives of the Eaton Estate as well as from the Tithe Award, made in 1838 (*below*, 84). The latter is especially useful as it records ownership, tenancy and the state of cultivation at that time in addition to the names; the earlier maps show parts of the township which had been engulfed by the parkland of the Eaton Estate by the date of the Tithe Award.

Of greatest significance for the Chapel site is the group of fields called Chapel Field which occupy the south-eastern corner of the township. They cover an extensive area and were probably once a single large field. The boundary which divides Chappel Far Field from Chappel Great Field and Chappel Little Field on the eighteenth-century map continues the line of the track travelling east from the south end of the village. The name Chapel Field is typical for a medieval or later open arable field.

To the west of Chapel Field are a number of small parcels known as the Town Fields and Norris' Town Field; this is a common name for the main arable field of medieval townships, and is found locally also in Pulford, Eccleston/Eaton, Claverton and Aldford. To the north, Barn Croft lay immediately west of Poulton Hall; it was first recorded in 1598 (Dodgson 1972, 154) and evidently refers to a building at the Hall. It is tempting to suggest that the barn in question was part of the monastic grange, but this cannot be proven.

To the north-west of Chapel Field are a number of Green Fields, now largely destroyed by the airfield. Again, they appear to have once formed a single large field to the south of Old Lane. On its northern side, there are several fields known as Pavement or Pavement Hay. The latter name contains an element deriving from Old English *hæg*, 'enclosure'. Use of this element in the formation of new field-names continued well into the nineteenth century, so it cannot be used to suggest an early date for the name. Pavement, though, generally refers to the discovery of a buried surface; the name also occurs in Eaton (Dodgson 1972, 152) and has been thought to refer to the Roman



5 Seventeenth-century estate map (pre-1675; Grosvenor Archives maps)

road which ran south from Chester and crossed the River Dee at Aldford. However, these names are not on its line. Perhaps they refer to the discovery of a hard buried floor, such as might have belonged to a Roman villa or medieval monastery. The former suggestion is intriguing, given the discovery of Roman material in 1995 on the Chapel site; it is rather less likely that the name is connected with remains from Poulton Abbey, as the field is not in one of the areas where the Abbey is likely to have stood.

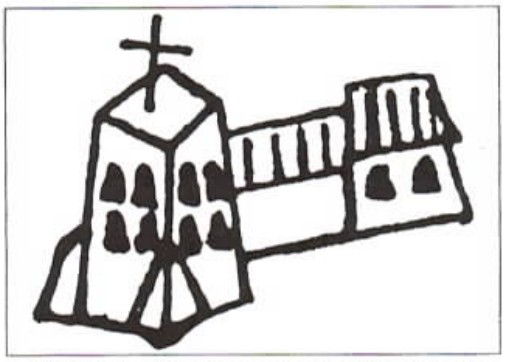
Close to the village of Poulton, the fields are generally referred to as crofts; the term means a small enclosure in private ownership, as opposed to a field, which in medieval terms was a large open area in common tenancy. West of the village are a number of names which contain the element Hay. Together with the occurrence of the name Wood Field they may indicate that this area was not cultivated until a relatively late date, perhaps well into the post-medieval period.

A number of field names occur in documents but cannot now be located. These include *Calvesmore* (*above*, 10) and *Hardcliff*, which was probably located somewhere along the southern edge of the township on the cliff above Old Pulford Brook. *Hules* occurs in a number of charters (*below*, 66-8) both as a placename and as a surname; it cannot be located, but Dodgson (1972, 155) suggests that the name is Middle English *hulus*, 'huts'. On the other hand, Hoose, a lost name in West Kirby at the northern end of Wirral, and Hoole, a suburb of Chester, derive from Old English *hol*, 'hollow'; the former is recorded with the spellings *Hulles* and *Holes* during the Middle Ages, and it is possible that the lost name in Poulton derives from the same word. There are several references to a Priors Meadow during the sixteenth century, and Dodgson plausibly connects them with the former Abbey lands.

Cartographic evidence

Several maps dating from the mid seventeenth to eighteenth centuries have been closely examined, photographed and drawn, the results of which have led to a broader appreciation of Poulton and its place within a wider landscape context. An estate map of Poulton, Belgrave and Eaton (*c* 1640×75) clearly outlines the field systems, trackways, field-names and existing buildings from the period. Of greatest significance is an outline drawing of the Chapel, complete with a buttressed tower, and what appears to be a chancel at its eastern end (Ills 5 & 6). The Chapel and graveyard are placed within an enclosure wholly consistent with the structural remains uncovered during the excavations in Trenches I and VI and touched upon in Trench VII (*below*, 24). Of further interest is the positioning of another substantial building, rather like a tithe-barn, immediately to the north of the Chapel on a roughly north-south axis. Here, then, may be the two components of what is frequently referred to in documents as the 'chappell grange' or 'grange chappell', although the second building may equally be the churchyard gateway.

It is difficult to judge whether or not there is evidence for the Chapel and grange having been moated, *ie* com-



6 Detail of chapel from the seventeenth-century estate map

pletely surrounded by a ditch. A charter of Earl Hugh II, now lodged with the Grosvenor Archive and dated *c* 1177×80, states that the monks of Poulton were to be allowed to: '...make a ditch towards the field of Eton around their field according to the limits as expressed in this charter, and whatsoever is contained within them from the gift of Robert Pincerna around the abbey of Poulton.' This is perhaps most likely refer to a more extensive boundary ditch around the northern side of the monastic estate.

The seventeenth-century estate map clearly shows the Chapel and attendant building enclosed by ditches on the north, west and eastern sides, with the Old Pulford Brook forming its southernmost extent (Ill 5). This enclosure persisted until at least 1738, as attested by another estate map in the Grosvenor Archive (Ill 7). The one significant change, in a landscape where field patterns are basically the same and field-names little altered, is the marked absence of both the Chapel structure and the adjacent building, with the name 'Poulton Chappel Yard' and five fields prefixed with the word 'Chappel' the sole reminder of the chapel's former existence.

The cartographic evidence is borne out by other documentary sources for the final period of the Chapel (*above*, 9). A deanery map of 1732 has Poulton marked by a symbol denoting its total dereliction, although Bishop Gastrell still regarded Poulton as a chapelry of Pulford in Chester Deanery as late as 1725 (Raines ed 1845, 139). The Tithe Apportionment for the parish of Pulford (Chester County and Diocesan Record Office, EDT 336/1), dated 1837, records the site as Chapel field while four other adjacent fields share the name. The field pattern in the immediate vicinity of the Chapel is today little changed from that shown on the accompanying Tithe Map, demonstrating a continuity of field boundaries stretching back at least two hundred years.

Approximately 700 to 750 metres to the north-east of the main Chapel site is an area once occupied by the buildings of the now vanished Poulton Hall. The will of John Manley (died 1598) lists each individual building and the fields on the estate, as well as the Hall itself (*below*, 83). Eight structures are mentioned, although only four are shown as still standing in the Grosvenor estate map of 1640×75, and in maps of 1719 and 1738. The hall itself is shown to be of courtyard type, with an open area surrounded on its four sides by interlinking two- or three-storeyed buildings, not unlike the layout of a Cistercian monastery (*below*, 61); it has a west wing aligned north-south which resembles the accommodation provided for *conversi* in an abbey. It is certainly interesting that the documentary evidence, although referring to the Manley family as occupiers of Poulton Hall, categorically states that Poulton Grange or Hall belongs to the Abbey of Dieulacres (the owner of Poulton Chapel), and that its lessees were obliged to perform certain duties and grant certain benefits to the Abbot and his representatives.

A literary connection?

The anonymous Middle English poem *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knighte* has long been linked with Cheshire. Several interesting and provocative conclusions have been drawn by Professor R W V Elliott who, in 1977, connected certain topographical features vividly described in the poem with sites around both Poulton and Dieulacres.

Sir Gawayne is an elaborately wrought secular romance anonymously written *c* 1360×1400. Briefly, it is composed of four parts (*passus* or *fitts*), opening with the Christmas Day celebrations at the court of King Arthur. Into the great hall rides a green knight on a green horse; the knight has a green beard and long green hair that descends to cover both his chest and back. In one hand he carries a holly branch and in the other an axe. He sets a challenge that a knight should cut off his head, on condition that whoever dares to do so will submit to have his own head chopped off on New Year's Day a year hence (if the Green Knight should survive). Sir Gawain, The son of Arthur's sister, accepts the challenge. The Green Knight's head is cut off and kicked around by the courtiers.

However, the Green Knight's body bizarrely picks up its head and addresses the feasting Gawain, charging him to meet at the Green Chapel on New Year's morning. Gawain will receive a blow in return from the Green Knight's *denes axe* (Danish axe). Both knight and his horse leave the hall, the former carrying his head in his hands.

Passus Two begins a year later, with Sir Gawain preparing to arm himself in readiness for a perilous journey and a quest to the Green Chapel. He leaves Camelot and rides through a winter landscape that resembles a wasteland: snowbound, blizzard-racked mountains inhabited by monsters and the home of all that is pagan. This is why he heads directly for Anglesey, the supposed home of the ancient religion of Britain, Druidism. He expects the Green Chapel to be there and nowhere else, for the Green Knight is akin to the Green Man, something elemental, not quite human, an indestructible force, perhaps symbolic of the perpetual renewal of life.

There is no Green Chapel among the '*iles of Anglesay*' (Tolkien & Gordon eds 1967, 20), so Gawain continues his quest by turning east to look for it in the daunting '*wyldrenesse of Wyrale*' (Wirral). First, though, he has to cross the River Dee; after several fraught adventures in the wastes of North Wales, he fords the river and traverses Wirral in search of the chapel. Wirral was a forest notorious in the writer's time as a refuge for outlaws. The many hazards Gawain has to overcome, both human and physical, lead him close to despair. On Christmas morning amongst the cold and the bleakness of his surroundings he spots a castle, almost magical in its sudden appearance. This marks the third stage of Gawain's quest.

The castle is described in some detail: it is double ditched, single banked and with an outer fortification o



7 Eighteenth-century estate map

barbican. It has watch-towers set at intervals along the outer walls. The inner castle has white chimneys and other towers. The whole is set within the confines of a park with a two-mile radius, enclosed by a spiked palisade.

After six days of hospitality, feasting, hunting and resisting the attentions of the lady of the castle, Sir Gawain leaves the comforts of the castle on New Year's Day. He sets out for the Green Chapel, which his host has informed him is not two miles away.

The Green Chapel turns out to be quite different from what Gawain had expected. It is not a chapel at all:

'*And ouergrowen with gresse in glodes aywhere,*
And al watz hol3 inwith, nobot an olde caue,
Or a creuisse of an olde cragge' (Tolkien & Gordon eds 1967, 60).

In other words, it is merely a cave with a single entrance, perhaps symbolic of the underworld. This may be the site of an earlier, pagan religious tradition, passed down in folklore and still treated with awe and respect in the writer's time. Gawain's meeting with the Green Knight and his successful test of valour conclude the fourth and final *passus*.

The author

Although written with great virtuosity and ingenuity, the poem has a realism unusual for its time. This extends even to the summary accounts of Gawain's adventures throughout his journey. This is achieved less by detailing the his encounters with monsters and the physical hardships he has to endure than by naming features along his route. We must suppose that these features were intended to be recognised by the anonymous author's audience.

The language of the poem is a dialect of English spoken in the north-west Midlands, not the Chaucerian dialect which developed into modern standard English. It contains many French words, as indeed there were in contemporary spoken English, at least among the well-bred and educated. However, the poem also contains Latin and Scandinavian words; the latter were part of the spoken dialect of the region, where there had been Norse settlement. Some of the words, on the other hand, may have been carried down in the alliterative tradition of earlier heroic poetry.

Three other poems – Cleanness, Patience and Pearl – are also contained in the unique manuscript (British Museum MS Cotton Nero A.x Art. 3) and have distinctly Christian themes. This does not demonstrate that the four works were all the product of a single author, although they were certainly written in the same dialect and at about the same time. The most that can be deduced is that there was either a single unknown poet at work, producing masterpieces which stand comparison with Chaucer and Shakespeare, but who remained unrecognised during his (or her) lifetime, or that there was a school of poetry. The quality of the products is such that it suggests that it circulated in a cultivated society.

Why, then, is there no record of the writer's name or school's existence, or any contemporary mention of these remarkable poems? Two great authors of the same period – Chaucer and Langland – are well documented, and their works were known in their lifetime. *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knighte* is, after all, the product of a highly sophisticated artist, which implies the existence of an equally sophisticated audience, capable of responding to the poem at all levels. While it is thoroughly local in its geography, there is nothing provincial about it. A fifteenth-century annotation to the manuscript adds the name *Hugo de* at the beginning of *Sir Gawayne*; it has been conjectured that the author was one Hugh Massey (or Hugo de Masci), a member of a large Cheshire family associated with the poem *St Erkenwald*, which has also been attributed to

the writer (or school) of *Sir Gawayne* (Stone 1974, 145).

Where is this audience to be found? At Chester or Stafford? In a castle or monastery? Can we use the existence of the audience to provide clues about the author? The geography of the last part of Sir Gawain's quest, together with the linguistic considerations, places the author firmly in eastern Cheshire or north-west Staffordshire, as we shall see.

The geography of Sir Gawayne

The geography of Gawain's quest is deliberately constructed and significant. Gawain leaves Arthur's court (perhaps in Somerset), the centre of Christian culture and civilisation, and enters the wild mountains of Wales, eventually reaching Anglesey '*Til þat he ne3ed ful neghe into þe Norþe Walez*' (Tolkien & Gordon eds 1967, 20).

Elliott (1977, 42) asserts that

'*And farez ouer þe fordez by þe forlondez,*
Ouer at þe Holy Hede, til he hade eft bonk
In þe wyldrenesse of Wyrale'
(Tolkien & Gordon eds 1967, 20)

refers to Gawain's having to cross several fords in the vicinity of the Holy Hede before he could continue his journey into the wilderness of Wirral. *Forlondez* is a Middle English descendant of an Old Norse *forlendi*, 'land between sea and hills', and could be taken to refer to low-lying country between hills and the sea or an estuary. These lines occur immediately after Gawain has left '*alle þe iles of Anglesay*', the natural assumption being that he is looking for somewhere to cross the River Dee into Wirral.

It has been suggested (N Davis *in* Tolkien & Gordon eds 1967, 97; Burrow ed 1972, 99) that '*þe Holy Hede*' is the place where Gawain crosses the Dee and is to be identified with Holywell (Treffynnon), the pilgrimage centre. This is where, according to legend, Saint Winifride had her 'holy head' cut off and miraculously restored, echoing the Green Knight's exploits at Camelot. The road along the north Wales coast reaches the Dee near Holywell, but Burrow's interpretation means that Gawain would have had to cross at this point, where there is no ford. The poet is careful to describe the means by which Gawain crosses rivers and similar features and would have mentioned a boat journey rather than fords. We are in a real landscape: the poet would not have missed the opportunity to describe a hazardous boat voyage if it had been part of the envisaged journey.

In the fourteenth century, there were only three possible fording points of the Dee in the area implied by the poem: just below Flint, at Ford Bottoms in Chester and at Aldford, close to Poulton. The Aldford crossing might be the last of a series of three back-and-forth crossings from North Wales into Wirral and fits the topography of the poem, being situated in low-lying land between river and hills, the Clwydian range and the Dee. The '*wyldrenesse of Wyrale*' need not refer specifically to the peninsula itself; it may have been taken to refer to all of western Cheshire.

Elliott (1977, 42) interprets '*þe Holy Hede*' in a quite different vein from Burrow; he notes that the author dispenses with the definite article when referring to placenames, yet specifically inserts it before *Holy Hede*. He sees the word hede as possessing another, figurative, meaning as 'the beginning, source, fountain-head', as it indeed carried in Middle English. Poulton can easily be regarded as 'the holy head', the origin of Dieulacres Abbey, with which the poem has been associated.

The connection with Dieulacres is best shown in the description of the *Grene Chapel*. It is something of a cross between a cave and a cleft in the rock, and Elliott (1977, 28) convincingly identifies it with Ludchurch, a cave-like natural feature near Leek. It is a remote and bizarre place and would have been well known to anyone residing at Dieulacres or nearby. Another suggestion for the Chapel's location has been identified in the hills above Frodsham (Dodd 1990, 15).

The possibility that Poulton was mentioned in a disguised form in this masterpiece of medieval literature is intriguing and deserves further study. R W V Elliott's work has only touched on this aspect of the poem, and it will be fascinating to see if any further information about the place can be teased out of it.

Surveys

David J L Gibbins & Keith J Matthews

The geophysical survey

As a preliminary to investigations, in addition to field-walking (*below*, 17), a soil resistivity survey was carried out on the probable site of the Chapel. A grid was set up close to the line of the hedge which defines the southern boundary of the field, and steel pins were driven in at twenty-metre intervals to mark the base-line, measured in by a fifty-metre steel tape. The basic grid was then established by triangulation using the steel tape and a thirty-metre fibron tape; temporary pins were driven in to set up a rectangular area some 60 m east-west by 80 m north-south.

During the excavation, a magnetometer survey was carried out of the same area, both to test the data obtained by soil resistivity and to add further information. However, the results were inconclusive; none of the anomalies which were evident in the resistivity survey could be discerned in the plot of readings obtained by the magnetometer, and no new anomalies were apparent. It has not therefore been thought worthwhile to report on these results.

Methodology

The machine used for the soil resistivity survey was a Geoscan Research RM4 soil resistivity meter with digital read-out. Readings were recorded manually at intervals of one metre. The electrode array is a frame-mounted twin probe with a separation of half a metre. A resolution of half a metre at a depth of half a metre is obtained by this type of survey, which was considered more than adequate for the location of the Chapel foundations.

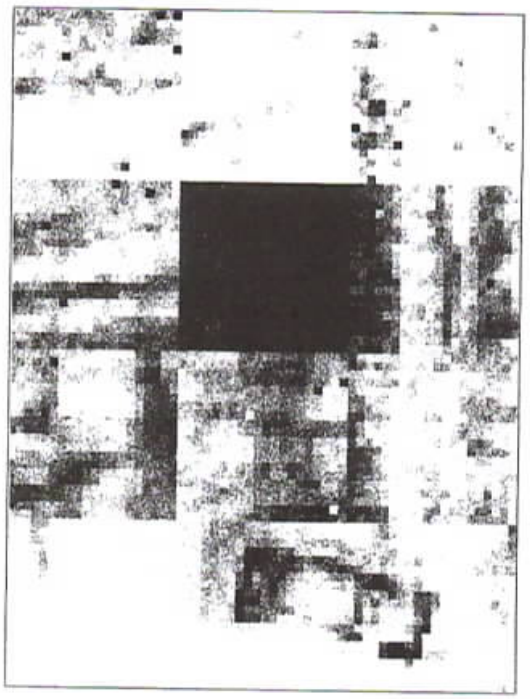
The results were analysed using Geoscan Research's Geoplot version 2.0, a PC-based computer program. Each grid square of 20 × 20 m readings was treated as a single unit as the program works in squares of 20 × 20 readings, but the complete survey area could be treated as a single unit to enable filters to be applied.

Description

The results of the survey can be presented in a number of ways. The most familiar is the dot-density plot, where the number of dots printed randomly within each grid unit is proportional to the measured resistivity of the soil. This is generally related to a mean: calculations are then based on standard deviations or percentage differences. Ill 8 shows the raw data treated in this way.

It is also possible to show the same data in terms of shadow plots, pattern plots and trace plots (Ills 9-11). Each format had its own advantages and limitations. Whilst the dot density is the easiest to read, the random dots can nevertheless create patterns which do not exist in reality. Shade plots and patterns give a less-defined edge to linear features, while trace plots are best at showing features parallel to the y-axis and of little use for showing those parallel to the x-axis. For this reason trace plots are sometimes shown rotated.

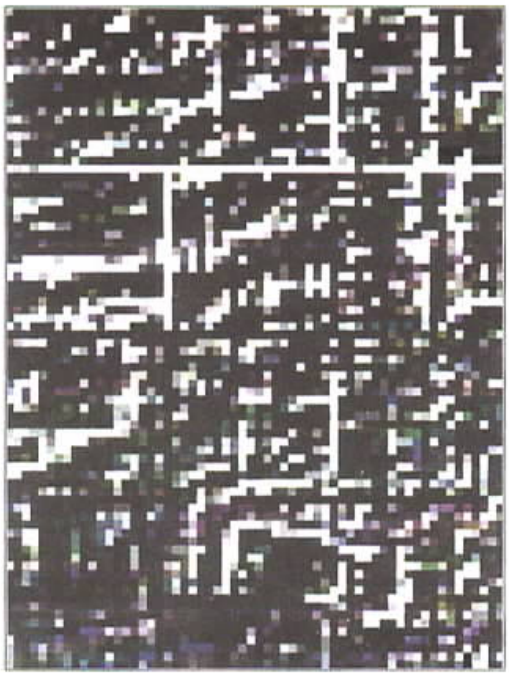
Limited processing of the data was undertaken to remove spikes caused by localised problems with probe-to-earth contact and to reduce the effects of large-scale geological changes. This was achieved by means of clipping, despiking and etch-matching filters followed by a high-pass filter with a radius of ten readings. Finally an interpolation function was used to quadruple the number of readings, giving data points at half-metre intervals. This



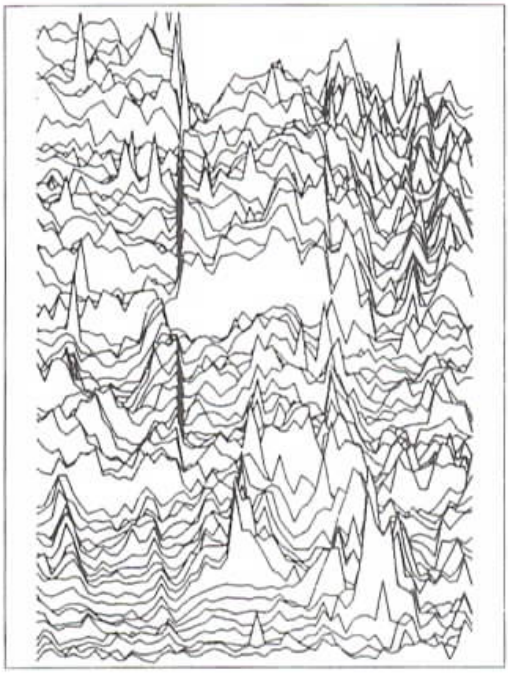
8 Soil resistivity: raw data plot

smoothes the appearance of the graphical output (Ill 12). Although these techniques have considerably improved the presentation of the data they have not been used to emphasise suspected features. The edge-matching between the squares which was intended to reduce the differences between the average readings for each square, making them more directly comparable, was not wholly successful.

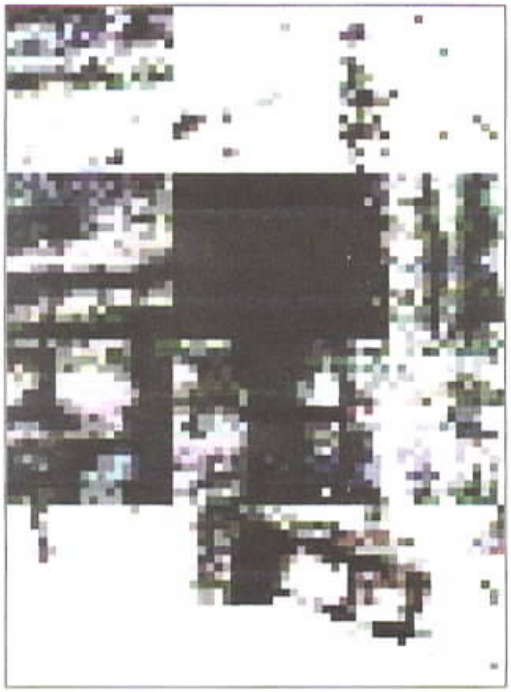
The most obvious feature of the survey is a strong rectangular anomaly close to the south-eastern corner of the area surveyed (Ill 12); it appears to consist of three elements aligned roughly east-west. There are two 'cells' of equal width, the easternmost slightly shorter than the central, while the westernmost 'cell' appears to be narrower than the others. The southern side of the central 'cell' is



9 Soil resistivity: shadow plot



11 Soil resistivity: trace plot



10 Soil resistivity: pattern plot

not very well defined, while there is some confusion over the plan of the western 'cell' because of what appears to be a general spread of high anomalous readings.

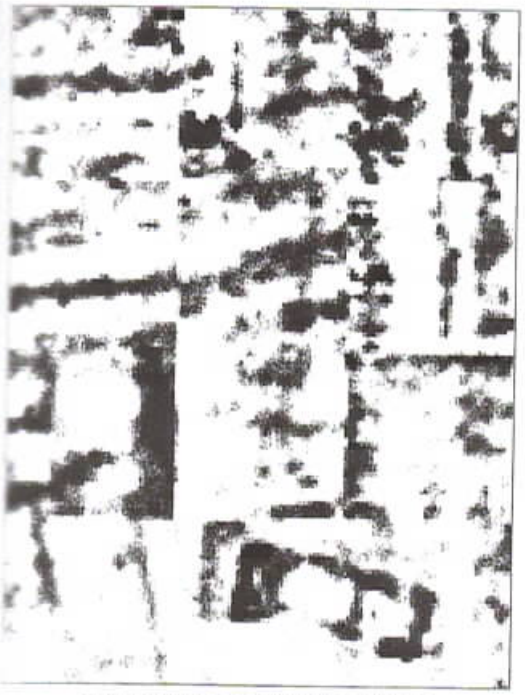
Passing close to the eastern end of the rectangular anomaly is a poorly-defined linear negative anomaly; a second such anomaly runs roughly parallel to it to the west, and is first visible a few metres north of the rectangular anomaly.

To the west of the rectangular anomaly are two poorly-defined slight positive anomalies, meeting at almost a right angle. It is not clear what these might represent; to their north are what appear to be three strongly positive anomalies, running roughly parallel and east-west at the western end of the area surveyed and turning to a slightly more northerly alignment about half way across the survey area. Between the central and northernmost of these anomalies are two weak positive anomalies.

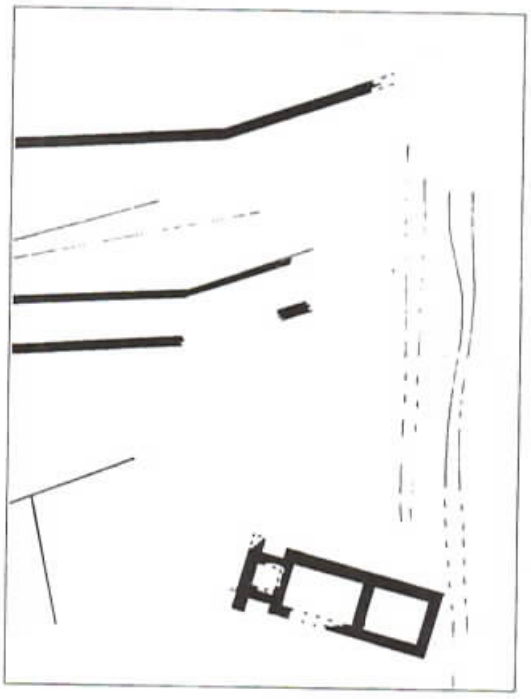
Interpretation

The plan of the strongly positive rectangular anomaly (Ill 13) is convincing for a medieval Chapel, with a western tower, nave and chancel. The 'tower' to the western end seems to be associated with more fallen masonry than the other parts, perhaps because, as a taller part of the structure, it produced more rubble as it decayed or on demolition. There are no traces of, for instance, a porch. The structure appears to be about 27.5 m long and 9 m wide.

Although the results in the vicinity of the Chapel site were largely unambiguous, the pattern elsewhere was less easy to read. The north-south negative anomalies appear



12 Soil resistivity: smoothed dot density plot



13 Interpretation of geophysical anomalies

to be earlier field boundaries, perhaps corresponding to some of those shown on early maps. The remaining positive anomalies are very difficult to account for: although the apparently strongly positive anomalies to the northwest of the Chapel were initially thought to be walls, the subsequent excavation failed to find any trace of them (*below*, 22). However, a large rectilinear positive anomaly, not aligned to the suspected chapel, may be visible to the west. This was not investigated in 1995. The difficulty of identifying anomalies and interpreting the data as a whole reflect the excessively dry conditions during the spring and summer of 1995 as well as the dense clay topsoil at the site.

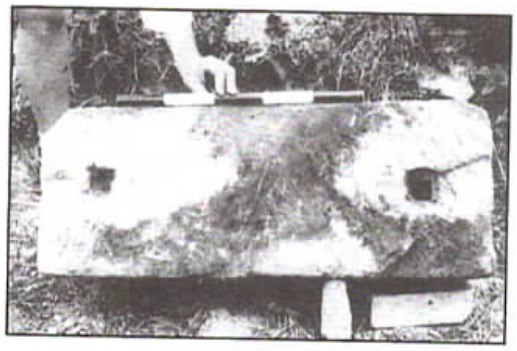
Fieldwalking and aerial photography

The site was fieldwalked during one day in March 1995, when the field to the east of the Chapel site had recently been ploughed. The finds, including human and animal bone, Roman and medieval pottery, and building materials, are discussed within the general finds reports (*below*, 26 ff). The ploughed field abutted an area of slightly raised ground whose identification as the Chapel site was later confirmed by geophysical survey and excavation. This site and the other surrounding fields are today pasture; however, the fields have been ploughed intermittently since the Fairs acquired the land in the 1920s, and were almost certainly ploughed earlier. The *in situ* masonry and other materials uncovered in the excavation showed extensive plough damage. These remains are very close to the surface, and it is possible that ploughing since the Chapel was levelled, probably in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, has reduced the topsoil cover to such an extent that cultivation at this place would no longer be worthwhile.

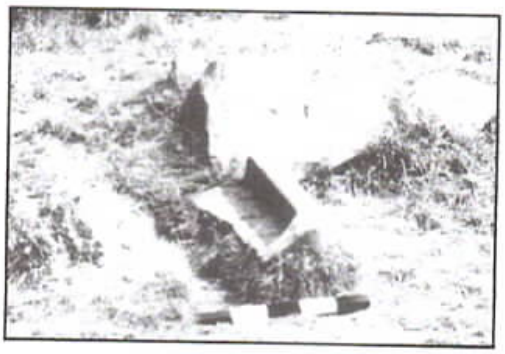
Evidence for levelling of the Chapel may come from the steep but low cliff immediately to the south, whose upper level has a somewhat artificial appearance; alternatively this may be the result of levelling before the Chapel was constructed, as a way of extending the platform for the structure and emphasising its dominant position over Old Pulford Brook and the Dee valley. Below the cliff, beside the brook, were piles of partly buried masonry elements (Ill 15), including a block with a possibly medieval mason's mark and part of what may be a stone coffin lid. These are likely to have been removed from the Chapel site and dumped during levelling activity in the seven-



14 The site from the air



15 Masonry fragment



16 Masonry fragment

teenth or eighteenth century. More masonry blocks (Ill 16) were shown to one of the writers (DJLG) by Councillor Fair and his sons in and around Cloisters, a field one kilometre south-west of the Chapel, which is one possible site for the Abbey; this field displays considerable topographic irregularity and will be a focus for future geophysical survey. The masonry blocks all appear to be Bunter sandstone, the main local building stone, which could have been quarried at Holt or at Chester, where it may also have been reused from derelict Roman structures.

Old Pulford Brook leads to what appears to be a complex of substantial fishponds, part of which continues to be fed with water and is used as a slurry pit. During 1995, only a preliminary reconnaissance of these features was possible, and an intensive survey is planned for future seasons. Fishponds were an integral feature of the Cistercian monastic landscape (*below*, 61); it may be that the nearby course of Old Pulford Brook was itself part of the water engineering programme designed by the Cistercians in the twelfth century. The location of the fishponds is consistent with the Abbey being at either of the three proposed sites, the Chapel, Cloisters to the south-west, or Poulton Hall, to the north-east.

During the excavation, one of the authors (KJM) was able to photograph the site from the air (Ill 14), thanks to a generous offer from a friend of the Duke of Westminster's pilot; the aircraft used the runway of the Second World War airfield adjacent to the site. The excessively dry conditions, as well as the heavy clay topsoil, meant that few new anomalies were visible. Nevertheless, it is possible that aerial photography in different conditions could produce better results, and it is hoped that flying will be possible in future seasons.

The Excavation

Mike M Emery, David J L Gibbins and Keith J Matthews

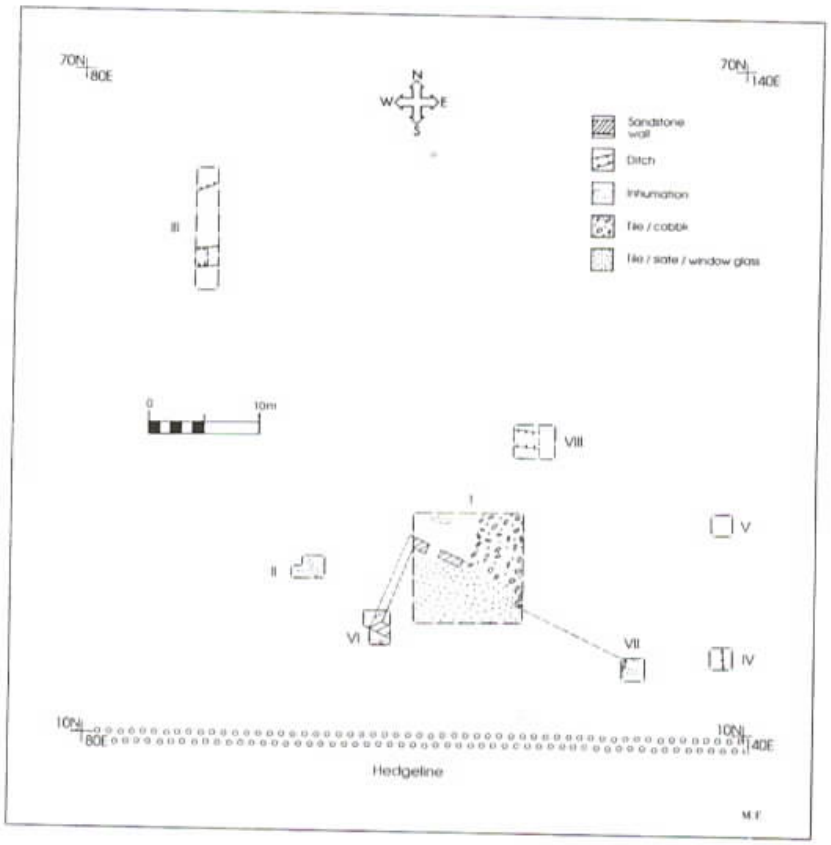
Because of the quantity of surface finds revealed during fieldwalking and the unknown degree of post-depositional disturbance, all trenches were hand-dug from the outset. The location and size of the trenches were chosen as a means of evaluating the artefactual deposit revealed by fieldwalking and the anomalies revealed by geophysics (Ill 17). The excavation operated a policy of virtually total finds retrieval; all finds observed by eye were collected and small samples from all trenches were dry sieved.

The Chester Archaeology recording system

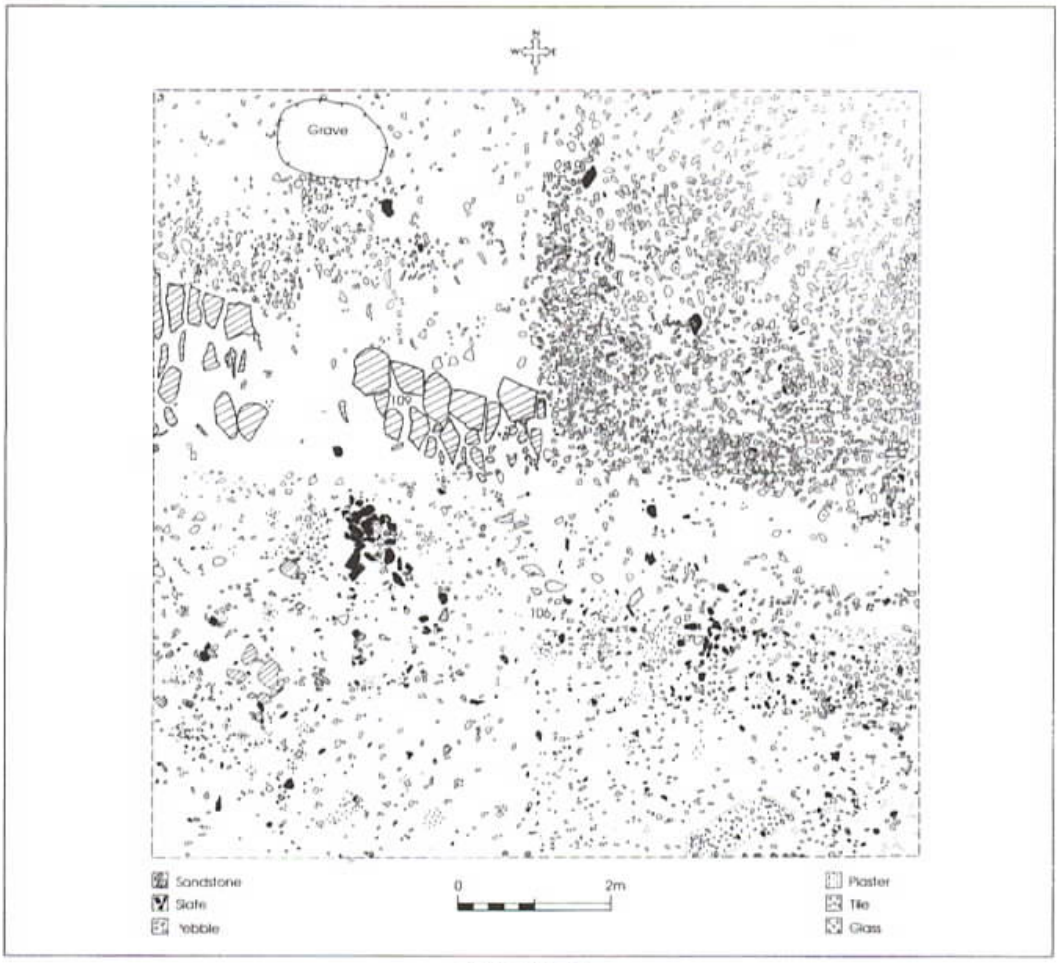
The recording system chosen for the Poulton Project was that currently in use by Chester Archaeology as it allows the finds from Poulton to be dealt within without modifications to existing practices. The basis of this system is an on-site continuous context recording system, currently regarded as best practice within British archaeology. The details of the system are unique to Chester and have evolved over two decades.

Each archaeologically-definable event, be it deposition, truncation or use, is assigned a unique numeric code, shown in round brackets; this is the context number. Individual contexts are recorded in detail on A4 pro-forma sheets, giving three-dimensional location information, shape, matrix type, free text description, stratigraphic relationships, summaries of finds, spot dates, provisional interpretation in the field, cross-referencing information to plans and so on, and a final interpretation. Apart from the final interpretation, it is the responsibility of the individual excavator to fill out the details on the form. The reverse of the form is used for the more detailed listing of finds by post-excavation staff. A pro-forma index of context numbers is maintained, minimising the risk of duplicating numbers. Special context sheets are used in addition for inhumation and cremation burials.

All plans are drawn at a scale of 1:20 on permatrace, although 1:10 or 1:5 can be used when more detail is required; sections are usually drawn at 1:10. Sketches can



17 Trench location plan



18 Trench I plan

be drawn on pro-forma paper sheets. All levels records are made on pro-forma sheets.

All post-excavation work is carried out using pro-forma sheets for quantifying finds by context and by phase. Phase summaries for stratigraphic reports are also used; forms for recording sub-groups and groups have not yet been developed, although a computerised recording system still in its trial phase includes these recent refinements to stratigraphic analysis.

The system is designed to be thoroughly integrated, allowing non-specialists to query the data by means of stratigraphically-based routes of entry as well as by material types and other criteria. Further refinements are envisaged, particularly once the post-excavation recording is fully computerised.

Trench I

Description (Ill 18)

A 10-metre square trench was opened up in an area indicated by the geophysical survey to be a probable rectangular masonry structure; its delineation was confirmed by sampling at locations which appeared to be both internal and external to the structure. The turf was removed to reveal a topsoil (100) of compact, mid yellowish-brown sandy clay, with frequent small, rounded pebbles. This topsoil extended across the area of the trench to a maximum depth of 150 mm, and a high density of grass and nettle root-action was observed throughout it.

After the removal of the topsoil, a comparable deposit of homogenous mid yellowish-brown sandy clay, (101), was exposed. A lower density of root action coupled with a friable consistence clearly distinguished it from (100). Also covering the whole trench, this layer contained a high proportion of pottery and ceramic building materials, although there were no discernibly significant concentrations. A localised spread of both animal and human bones, (102), was observed within (101) and removed to a maximum depth of 70 mm, though no definable cut was present.

In the western part of the trench, a roughly semi-circular spread of clay, tiles and pebbles, (105), with an average width of 1.68 m, appeared to demarcate an area contain-

ing deposits (103) and (104). It soon became apparent that this was of fairly recent origin, as (103) and (104) were both very similar to (101). All these deposits were basically components of the topsoil on the site, the main distinction being between the most heavily root-disturbed (100) and (101). Deposits (102), (103), (104) and (105) may be attributed to relatively recent events in the formation of the site.



19 Surface (110)

The removal of these topsoil deposits exposed two dissimilar deposits of friable, mid yellowish brown sandy clay, (106) and (107). It was soon recognised that the two deposits lay either side of a linear arrangement of red Bunter sandstone blocks, (109), aligned roughly west-east: (106) occurred to the south of (109) while (107) was located to the north. This effectively corresponded with the internal (106) and external (107) areas of the structure revealed by the geophysical survey while (109) lay on the line suggested to have been the north wall of the structure.



20 Plan of skeleton (108

Deposit (107) overlay a rubble surface, (110), composed primarily of small- to medium-sized ceramic tiles, sand stone fragments, frequently-occurring medium-sized worn pebbles and cobbles, bone fragments and occasional slate fragments (Ill 19). This surface formed a clearly-defined and roughly right-angled area in the north-eastern sector of the trench. It was left unexcavated, though (110) clearly overlay the linear sandstone arrangement, (109), at least in part.

To the west of (110), an irregularly-defined sub-rectangular area of compacted clay and sandy loam, with occasionally occurring small cobbles and tile fragments, (108), was observed in the north-western part of the trench, after the removal of (107). Some 40 mm below this possible surface, the disturbed skeleton of an adult female was located (*below*, 41; Ills 20 & 21). The skeleton was laid in a grave-cut (111), which had been dug through a generally compact, homogenous boulder clay matrix, (112), which was left unexcavated and may be the natural subsoil. The skeleton had been laid in an extended supine position, with its right arm bent at the elbow so that the forearm rested across the stomach. The left arm, the left leg and the lower right leg were not *in situ*, having probably been disturbed by ploughing (Ill 21).



21 Skeleton (108)

A series of irregularly-shaped and sized sandstone blocks characterised the east-west alignment previously noted as (109). Occasionally bonded by a sandy clay, with odd patches of mortar, the blocks varied in dimensions from 720 × 410 × 120 mm to 500 × 210 × 100 mm. The width of (109) approximated to 1.80 m on the western edge of the trench. After running some 1.42 m into the trench it terminated abruptly, apparently deliberately. After a gap of 1.40 m the alignment continued eastwards, with a reduced width of 1.10 m, to a point 2.68 m from the

western baulk of the trench (Ill 25). Its eastern limit was directly overlain by (110).

Dating

The topsoil deposit, (101), produced material of nineteenth- to twentieth-century date, which was unsurprising given the history of periodic ploughing on the site. Deposit (103) produced similarly-dated material, but (104) contained material no later in date than the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Deposit (106) also contained seventeenth- to eighteenth-century material, while (107) contained nineteenth- to twentieth-century material.

Interpretation

It is difficult to assess the significance of concentrations of material such as (102), although they may derive from the bases of dumps of rubbish placed on the land surface. Some of these deposits, especially (103) and (104), may derive from earlier interventions on the site, either deliberate (for instance, the digging recorded *c* 1892), or as a result of agricultural practices.

It is highly likely that both (106) and (107) derived from the same depositional process, although one lay inside the area of the Chapel and the other lay outside. Deposit (106), with its earlier material, may have been less disturbed by recent ploughing than (107) and perhaps derives from the formation of topsoil over the collapsed roof of the Chapel, late in the seventeenth century or in the eighteenth.

Wall (109) was clearly the northern wall of the Chapel, corresponding to the central northern part of the structure revealed by geophysical survey. This was therefore probably the north wall of the nave. Gravel surface (110) was clearly later than the wall, although it was not evident whether or not it was laid after the complete demolition of the Chapel or after the demolition of a part of its north wall. The latter interpretation is consistent with the possibility that the disused Chapel was briefly used as a field barn; such a sequence of use has recently been identified at Wervin, where the medieval Chapel-of-ease fell into disuse between 1672 and 1725, but by 1819 was being used as a cattle-shed (Matthews & Quinn 1994, 12).

Surface (110) also overlay grave (111), which was clearly contemporary with the Chapel, but produced no absolute dating evidence. Graves are generally found in greatest concentrations along the southern and eastern sides of churches (Rodwell 1989, 146), and those in other locations are frequently found to be secondary. We can tentatively suggest, then, that grave (111) belongs to a late phase in the use of the Chapel.

Trench II

Description

An area 2 m by 2 m was selected for excavation some 8 m due west of Trench I (Ill 22). Grass and topsoil (207) were removed to a maximum depth of 140 mm, at which point a compact clay and sandy loam, (233), was encountered; this layer extended across the area of the trench. Very few coarse components were present, apart from a fairly frequent occurrence of mixed ceramic materials (pottery, tile fragments, and building materials). Deposit (233) extended to a depth of 292 mm below the present ground surface and was found to cover and include several badly disturbed skeletons oriented east-west. Only one was lifted for future skeletal analysis (*below*, 49), while the rest were left *in situ*.



22 Trench II

Dating

Deposit (207), the topsoil, produced dating material with a terminus post quem of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries.

Interpretation

The extremely disturbed skeletal material at the base of (233) preserved what was presumably its original east-west alignment. Although the bones had been scattered by post-medieval ploughing, it is nevertheless likely that better-preserved inhumations will be found at a greater depth. This area is clearly within the graveyard of the medieval Chapel.

Trench III

Description

A trench 10 m by 2 m, with its long axis aligned north-south, was hand-dug through the topsoil in an area thought likely to contain structural remains. The topsoil, (202), comprised a compact mid yellowish brown sandy clay, with a moderate presence of small rounded pebbles and an infrequent number of small tile and slate fragments. The maximum depth of the topsoil was 100 mm below the grass cover and it extended across the whole trench.

Upon removal of (202), two linear deposits, (203) and (212), were revealed, their long axes aligned east-west and crossing what appeared to be redeposited boulder clay, (209/210). Deposit (203) was located 3.10 m north of the southern limit of the trench. It consisted of a compact sandy clay, with the occasional occurrence of harder clay lumps; coarse components were infrequent and restricted to a few small worn pebbles, small slate fragments and the occasional potsherd. A maximum depth of 50 mm was recorded for (203), which directly overlay deposit (204). This latter deposit contained even fewer coarse components than (203) but was otherwise basically the same deposit, differentiated by a lighter mid-brown sandy clay soil matrix without any clay lumps present. A maximum depth of 60

mm was recorded for (204). The hard-baked nature of both (203) and (204) in the hottest and driest summer for many years made excavation very difficult, with the trench requiring frequent watering; further investigation will certainly benefit from moister soil conditions.

Deposit (212) was aligned upon a SW-NE axis. Its northern edge lay beyond the limit of excavation and only 1.29 m of its width was exposed. It was very similar in texture and consistency to (203/204). As with the latter, the parched soil conditions made distinguishing the deposit's depth very difficult. A spit was taken off to a depth of 90 mm, at which point another context number (213) was assigned. As with (203/204), the two deposits (212/213) were very similar and may well prove to be the same. Deposit (213) was not fully excavated for the same reasons as (204).

The features containing both deposits (203/204) and (212/213) cut through a light greyish-yellow boulder clay (209), which proved very hard to excavate when dry. This was quarter-sectioned mid-way between (203) and (212) to a maximum depth of 80 mm. Only occasional small pebbles, tile fragments and slate chips were recovered. Plough intrusions were observed. At the southern end of the trench, this material was removed as (214). A new context number, (210) was assigned to the material below (209) at a depth of 80 mm.

Dating

The topsoil, (202), contained material of nineteenth- and twentieth-century date, evidently incorporated into the soil as a result of modern ploughing. The fills of the two linear features, (203/204) and (212/213), produced seventeenth- to eighteenth-century and medieval material respectively. However, the latter clearly post-dated the subsoil, (209), which contained post-medieval material, so the medieval pottery must be regarded as residual. The clay subsoil, (214), produced material dating from the seventeenth century or later.

Interpretation

The only possible features in this trench were the two linear bands of clay. They appeared to occupy shallow gullies cut through the natural boulder clay, although this is very uncertain and no cut numbers were assigned to the features at the time of excavation. However, they may correspond to two poorly-defined linear features revealed by the geophysical survey which resemble the boundaries of a track about four to five metres in width, curving slightly as it crosses the site. Whether they were dug as gullies or represent the bases of hedges needs further testing by fieldwork.

Trench IV

Description

This was the most south-easterly of the trenches, positioned 17 m east of Trench I and 10 m south of Trench V. The topsoil, (201), was hand-dug to a depth of 330 mm below the ground surface. It comprised a yellowish-brown compact sandy clay, with coarse components consisting of small to medium sized sandstone fragments and occasional slate fragments, with some small mortar particles. Below (201) a further deposit of lighter, yellowish-brown, compacted sandy clay (205) was excavated to a depth of 480 mm below the ground surface.

Upon the removal of (205), a deposit of compact sandy clay (216), darker than (205), proved to contain very few coarse components apart from small worn pebbles and a lead fragment. These were recovered from cleaning across the surface of the deposit; the deposit itself was not excavated.

Dating

The subsoil, (205), produced material of fifteenth- to sixteenth-century date.

Interpretation

This trench was located over the approximate position of a ditch indicated on early maps and as a negative anomaly by the resistivity survey. However, none of the excavated deposits can be shown conclusively to have been part of its fill, so further investigation is needed here.

Trench V

Description

A 2 by 2 m trench was positioned 10m due north of Trench IV. Its location was dictated by the need to determine the limits of the area of highest archaeological potential on the eastern side of the site surveyed by soil resistivity.

A topsoil, (200), of very firm to compact sandy clay was removed by hand to a depth of 342 mm below the current ground surface. This sealed a far more compact sandy clay, (206), containing small. rounded water-worn pebbles with localised carbon patches. This lower soil had a maximum depth of 50 mm below (200) and in turn overlay (208), a much darker brown clay with a fair proportion (7-15%) of small rounded pebbles within its matrix; it was stickier when wet than the overlying deposits. The deposit was about 200 mm thick and although there were few finds, there were some fragments of human bone.

Deposit (208) sealed a light reddish-brown sandy clay loam, rather powdery in consistence. No finds were recovered from its surface and it was left unexcavated following the baking and eventual cracking of its surface: as elsewhere damper conditions will greatly facilitate further work on this deposit.

Dating

The topsoil, (200), produced only material of sixteenth- to seventeenth-century date; this date range was extended into the eighteenth century by material from the subsoil, (206). Deposit (208), the lowest of those excavated, produced more seventeenth- to eighteenth-century material.

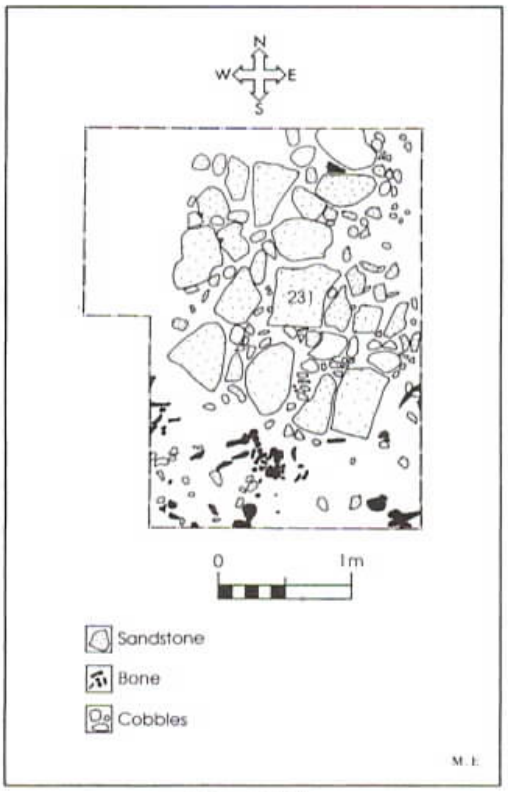
Interpretation

Cartographic evidence suggests that this trench lay outside the enclosed 'Chappel yard'; whether or not the material recovered from it was spread by ploughing from the Chapel site remains to be tested.

Trench VI

Description (Ill 23)

A layer of topsoil, (215), was removed to an average depth of 290 mm. Within its matrix of firm light greyish-brown sandy clay, there were frequent sandstone fragments, mortar flecks, small water-worn pebbles and slate fragments. Towards its base, it took on a more loose consistence, almost resembling pea-grit.

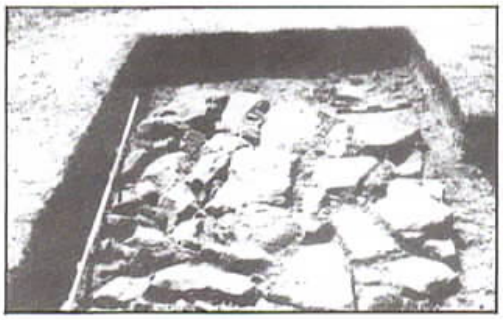


23 Trench VI plan

Below (215) two deposits were visible, although their stratigraphic sequence could not be determined. (222) consisted of a very compact light to mid grey-brown clay which contained a mixture of both human and animal bone, particularly towards the south. Structure (231) consisted of small to large sandstone blocks occasionally interrupted by small to large cobbles, set in a sticky clay with small sandstone fragments and water-worn pebbles (Ill 24 & 26): no mortar was visible. The largest of the sandstone blocks measured 550 × 400 × 237 mm and the smallest, 210 × 183 × 158; the largest of the cobbles measured 460 × 230 × 250 mm. The arrangement formed a right angle aligned approximately north-south and east-west.

Dating

The topsoil, (215), produced material of seventeenth- to eighteenth-century date. The deposit through which the masonry feature, (231), had been cut or which had built up against its outer face, (222), produced material of fourteenth- to fifteenth-century date; however, material from the interface between this deposit and (224) below belonged to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



24 Masonry (231)

Interpretation

The stone feature (231) corresponded to the south-western corner of the structure visible on the geophysical survey results and interpreted as the Chapel. It cut a burial below (222), which may indicate that it was not a primary feature of the structure; it might be part of a tower or buttress added at a later date.

Trench VII

Description

A 2 × 2 m trench was positioned to ascertain the eastern limit of the structure identified from the resistivity survey. The removal of the topsoil (217) to a depth 320 mm below the grass surface revealed a rubble-strewn layer of sandstone, mortar and charcoal fragments within a compacted, mid-dark reddish brown silty clay loam matrix, (219); it survives to a greater height in the north-west area of the trench. It was noticeable that although the matrix remained constant, its consistence became looser towards its base.

Below (219) appeared a roughly north-south alignment of fragmentary sandstone blocks, (223), that issued from the south and east-facing sections. Its position having been established, this wall-like feature was left *in situ* for future examination.

Light trowelling across the trench revealed a semi-circular area of dark grey sandy loam, (225), containing oyster shell and bone, which ran into the west-facing section of the trench. This was left unexcavated, though it was apparent that (225) overlay a deposit of mid reddish-brown silty clay, (227), containing mortar and charcoal flecks and infant skull fragments (229). This was left *in situ* although it was apparent that it closely abutted the sandstone alignment of (223); it is highly likely, then, that (223) superseded (229).

Dating

Material of fourteenth- to fifteenth-century date was recovered from this trench.

Interpretation

Structure (223) corresponded to the south-eastern corner of the structure identified from the geophysical survey as the Chapel; this was probably part of the chancel. The presence of human bone, albeit *ex situ*, shows that burials were deposited nearby. Although not excavated, (229) seems to be a well-preserved infant inhumation.



25 View of chapel walling (Trench I (108) and Trench VI (231))



26 Disturbed burials adjacent to (231)

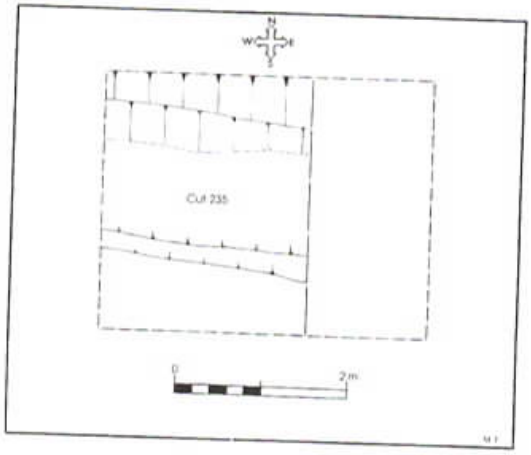
Trench VIII

Description (Ills 27 & 28)

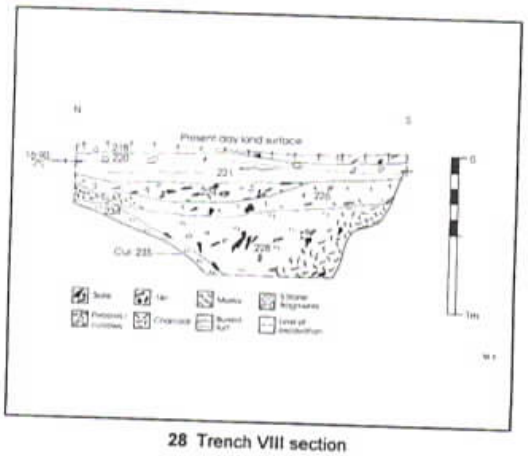
An area 4 × 3.5 m was opened up 5 m to the north of Trench I to delimit the extent of the cemetery. After the removal of the topsoil (the same as (100) in Trench I), a disturbed area (218) of buried turf, small cobbles, slate fragments and boulder clay nodules was recorded and interpreted as a buried plough soil. Two other layers (220) and (221) were similarly interpreted and excavated to a depth of 255 mm below the grass-cover. At this point a clear horizon was visible between (221) and (224), so it was decided to sample the trench within a 1.5 × 1.5 m area.

A very dark greyish brown, firm sandy clay (224) contained large quantities of animal and some human bone, nails, large fragments of tile, slate fragments, charcoal and ceramics, with the occasional occurrence of metalwork, small sandstone fragments and mortar. With an average depth of 120 mm, this context appeared to be confined within a relatively central area of the trench, aligned east-west.

Large fragments of slate associated with a concentration of charcoal fragments and flecks were assigned a separate number (226); these appeared after the removal of (224), and were located within a mid to dark grey brown sandy clay which had a maximum thickness of 170 mm. The southern extent of (226) was clearly contained within a near-vertical cut (235), whilst its northern edge was obscured by the limit of excavation.



27 Trench VIII plan



28 Trench VIII section

Upon removal of (226), 400 mm of a large deposit of dark brown, friable, silty clay (228) was sampled. It contained dense deposits of charcoal fragments, 260 mm thick (particularly on its southern edge), with large inclusions of slate fragments, tile, animal bone, metal fragments and mortar flecks and fragments; other coarse components included occasional small sandstone fragments and small riverine, rounded, cobbles.

On the northern edge of cut (235), a thin layer (50 mm thick) of mortar fragments and flecks (234) underlay (228), and extended from the base of deposit (226) to the limit of excavation, 780 mm below the grass surface (Ill 28). Below (234) was another deposit, (232), which was only partially

excavated.

All the above deposits ((224), (226), (228) and (234)) were clearly contained within a cut running east-west, (235). The southern edge lay approximately 300 mm from the baulk, initially descending in a near-vertical fashion to a point 430 mm below the present ground surface. At this point it broke sharply at a 75 degree angle before descending for 170 mm to a point 500 mm below the surface. A similarly sharp break occurred before the near-vertical slope continued downwards to the limit of excavation. The northern slope was far more regular in form descending at a 45 degree angle for much of its course before reaching the limit of excavation. Cut (235) bisects what appeared to be a very compact boulder clay, which may well prove to be the natural subsoil.

Dating

The buried plough-soil, (218), produced material of nineteenth- to twentieth-century date. The ditch fills, (220), (221), (224), (226) and (228) contained material of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century date. In the base of (235), (232) contained sixteenth- to seventeenth-century material.

Interpretation

Cut (235) was clearly a ditch; although this trench was sited approximately over the line of the enclosure ditch shown on early maps, the enclosure was running north-south at this point, whereas (235) was running east-west. It is therefore difficult to know whether or not the two features are identical. The seventeenth- to eighteenth-century date of the material recovered from the fills may suggest that the feature was deliberately backfilled at the time of the Chapel's demolition. The earlier date of the material from (232), the earliest of the fills identified in the feature, suggests that this may be a deposit which formed by a natural process of silting, even if it is not necessarily the primary fill.

Summary

The 1995 project demonstrated that significant archaeological deposits occur over much of the area sampled. Archaeological deposits were encountered at a very shallow depth across the site, justifying the decision to hand-dig from the outset. The features uncovered were varied in both form and date; they included sandstone walls, ditches, inhumations and cobbled and tile surfaces.

The documentary and cartographic evidence summarised above strongly indicates that at least one other building has yet to be uncovered to the north of Trench VIII where a structure aligned north-south is shown. Aerial photographs (*above*, 18) also suggest the possibility of other activity both to the south of the Chapel site, aligned along the axis of the scarp which overlooks Old Pulford Brook, and to the north, where there are hints of a large feature sharing the same alignment as the Chapel.

Three trenches (I, VI and VII) revealed the foundations of a substantial masonry structure; additional evidence included roof slates and tiles, floor tiles, glass and brick fragments both from these trenches and across the site in general. This is undoubtedly the *capella de Pultona* of medieval documents.

Trenches I, II, VI and VII contained inhumations. Only one was completely excavated: (108), in Trench I. This was the only burial encountered in 1995 which did not appear to have been heavily disturbed by later ploughing. A full report on the osteology of this burial will be found below (41). The level of detail in this report demonstrates how much valuable information can be obtained even from fragmentary burials. It is unlikely that further inhumations will be examined so exhaustively, given the numbers which probably await discovery, and the limitations of time.

Trench III contained two roughly parallel alignments which may prove to be gullies of medieval or earlier origin; this was a very shallow trench, plainly affected by plough action. An alternative interpretation of these features is as the bases of hedges. If they were in use at the same time, it is likely that they bounded a track, perhaps leading to the Chapel. Although post-medieval and medieval material was recovered from the plough-soil, this trench was notable for the quantity of Roman and Mesolithic material in the subsoil. This may suggest that early activity was focused to the north-west of the Chapel site.

Trench IV may represent deposits filling a boundary ditch, a feature known from seventeenth-century maps and which survived until at least 1838 as shown on the Tithe Map. A curious kink in its alignment shown on the maps suggests that it deliberately skirts a solid feature, possibly a structure.

Trench V would appear to be outside the line of the boundary ditch referred to in Trench (IV). However, the recovery of human skeletal material from this area suggests that it deserves further investigation, if only to establish that the remains are the result of the spread of material by post-medieval ploughing, and that this area was not part of the original burial ground.

Trench VI's sandstone masonry (231) undoubtedly represents the south-western corner of the Chapel structure; cartographic evidence (Ill 6) appears to confirm that this trench contains part of the tower or part of a buttress. The partly-exposed inhumation below (222), to the south of the trench, appears to have been cut or overlain by the wall or buttress. This may suggest that the tower was a later addition to the Chapel, which perhaps originated as a two-cell structure, or that the whole Chapel structure was erected on a site previously used for burial practice.

Trench VII represents the probable south-eastern corner of the Chapel; as with the masonry in Trench VI, the alignment of sandstone blocks (223), issuing from the east-facing section, appears to be of later origin than the infant inhumation left *in situ* (229). Although it is possible that the burial pre-dates the construction of the Chapel before 1250, it is perhaps more likely that the chancel represented by wall (223) was a later addition to the structure.

Trench VIII apparently has a ditch (235) aligned east-west; this may well correspond with the ditched enclosure of the Chapel and cemetery as depicted on early estate maps in the Grosvenor Archive. The 103 sherds of pottery retrieved from the upper levels have a *terminus post quem* of the seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries, suggesting that the ditch was backfilled at approximately the same time as the probable levelling of the Chapel and possibly other nearby buildings. Metal objects included 49 nails, a buckle, and lead and copper alloy fragments, along with the largest group of medieval glass fragments from the site (three of which are painted). A jeton, of possible

sixteenth- to seventeenth-century date, was also retrieved. A large quantity of roofing slate was also recovered, further suggesting that this ditch was used to dump material from the demolition of the Chapel and other structures in the immediate vicinity.

The late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century date of the material from the upper levels of the ditch complements and corroborates both the documentary and the cartographic evidence (*above*, 9), for the final years of the Chapel as an upstanding (though ultimately ruinous) building, and for its demolition early in the eighteenth century.

The earliest activity on the site occurred during the Mesolithic period, between *c* 11,000 and 4,500 BC. The discovery of flint and chert objects of this date demonstrates the presence of people, but the focus of their activity has not been located. Similarly, the residual Roman material indicates that a substantial structure existed nearby. The earliest structure so far identified on the site belongs to the thirteenth-century Chapel; some of the burials located may date from as early as this, although others may be as late as the seventeenth century. The Chapel was clearly modified during its period of use: there is evidence that the western end disturbed earlier burials, while the presence of *ex situ* late medieval floor tiles suggests that it was refloored, probably during the fifteenth century. At some point the north wall of the Chapel was demolished and a rough pebble and tile surface laid over its line; this may indicate that it was converted to some other use – probably agricultural – during the final years of its existence, around the close of the seventeenth century. Between 1672 and 1719 the roof appears to have collapsed; this was followed by the complete demolition of the masonry walls. The site was subsequently ploughed. The last activities to have left any archaeological traces were the antiquarian diggings around 1892 and/or 1928 and possibly later.

The area of immediately greatest archaeological potential is undoubtedly around Trench I, with its sandstone wall (109) and its presumed internal area sealed by (106). The excavation of grave (111), together with the proximity of evidently disturbed inhumations in Trenches (II) and (VII), strongly suggests that many more burials have yet to be located around the Chapel site; the documentary evidence for the names of individuals buried within the Chapel itself, and its historically attested period of use of perhaps 400 years, indicate that a large number of graves may yet be located.

The Artefacts

Introduction

Julie E C Edwards

Methodology

The finds in this report were retrieved during fieldwalking in March 1995 and excavations in July and August 1995. Because the excavation operated a policy of virtually total finds retrieval, a large quantity of predominantly medieval and post-medieval material was recovered, including many very small fragments, particularly of ceramics. Despite their small size, it has been possible to identify many of the pieces, especially the floor tile. Where possible, the ceramic materials have been identified according to general fabric type (common name) and form, and quantified by weight and count. Metalwork, stone and bone artefacts as well as medieval window glass have been given small find numbers: there are 92 in total. The finds have been recorded and summarised trench by trench and are then discussed in relation to the site in general.

Condition

Generally the finds are fragmentary, particularly the ceramics and glass. The pottery is represented with some exceptions by small abraded sherds. A lot of building material is so abraded as to be unrecognisable, but larger fragments are present, notably roof and floor tiles; a few floor tiles are almost complete, but these are the exception. The condition of the topsoil material is typical of sherds being constantly disturbed and battered by plough action and under foot. The metalwork is varied in condition. The ironwork is covered in corrosion products, generally rendering it unrecognisable, and appears to represent incomplete objects; lead and copper-alloy survive quite well, with the original metal surviving under layers of surface corrosion. The glass is in poor condition, apart from later post-medieval sherds, although some substantial pieces survive which, considering the disturbed nature of many of the contexts, bodes well for future discoveries at the site.

Lithics

Shirley Ying Crompton

Description

81 pieces of stone felt by the excavators to be potential prehistoric artefacts were recovered from the excavation trenches, comprising mainly flint and chert. Table 1 gives a breakdown of the major raw material types.

All these items were recovered from disturbed soil stripped of primary context and will therefore be discussed as a whole, regardless of context or find spot.

Nearly all the pieces are small flakes and fragments. The average weights for flint and chert items are 3.22 g and 4.90 g respectively. Of the flint materials, 36 pieces (61%) are corticated (*ie* show the characteristic appearance of the outside of the nodule). Over one-third of the flint (39%) and a slightly smaller amount of the chert (30%) exhibits thermal damage. However, most of the items are relatively fresh, with only 15 pieces (19%) showing signs of intense depositional damage, similar to waterworn surfaces. Judging from the generally small dimensions of the flint items, it seems likely that they are derived from small boulder clay pebbles.

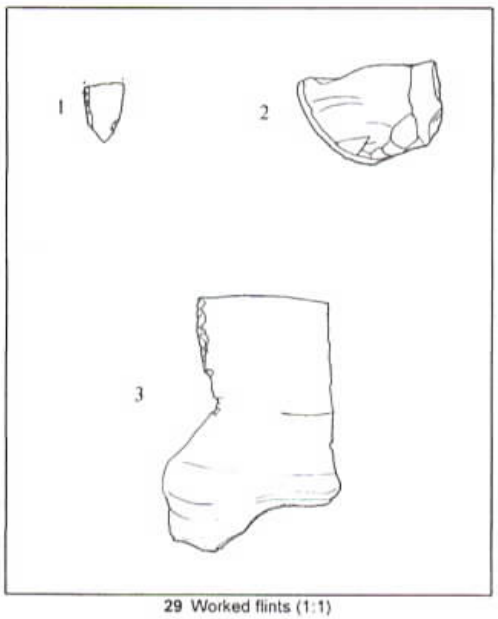
Table 1 Raw materials represented

Major Raw Material Types	Total
Flint	59
Chert (including Agate and Jasper)	15
Quartz	1
Quartzite	2
Sandstone	1
Limestone	3
Total	**81**

This agrees with the observations made by Longworth (1990) and Cowell (1986/7) regarding the provenance of later Mesolithic lithic artefacts on Merseyside. Their work indicates that towards the later Mesolithic, there was an increasing reliance on local raw material resources, typified by the use of banded and black chert from North Wales as well as local glacial till flint in various shades of honey, brown and toffee. Among the Poulton assemblage, flint of these and similar colours accounts for 63% (37 pieces), while grey-coloured items form only 29% (17 pieces) of the total flint finds. However, it must be pointed out that colour is not a reliable indicator of provenance. A given colour, as well as being a subjective category, can result from various localised staining processes. It suffices to note that most of the flint and chert materials from Poulton are qualitatively similar to later Mesolithic finds from Merseyside.

Of the 81 pieces found, only five demonstrate clear technological attributes of intentional human modification (Ill 29). An additional five pieces may provisionally be classified as human artefacts, but their nature is less certain. These latter items possess gross morphological elements comparable to intentional working, but which are equally compatible with natural damage. Of the remaining material, the non-flint and non-chert pieces are likely to have derived from the drift erratics that mantled much of Cheshire and Merseyside. The remaining flint and chert fragments may also have come from the same source, and some may have been broken incidentally through human disturbance.

The five clearly intentionally-modified pieces mentioned above comprise four microliths and one Bronze Age retouched flake. The four microliths include one core trimming flake (Ill 29 no 2), one platform rejuvenation blade and two decortication flakes. Three of the microliths are



29 Worked flints (1:1)

of a honey/toffee colour, and one of the decortication flakes and the Bronze Age flake are greyish in colour. The core trimming flake possesses a corticated platform and bears a series of dorsal scars showing that at least one blade was removed with a punch, as is evidenced by the distinct punctiform shape of the scar's proximal geometry. In addition, the ripple marking of the dorsal scars indicates that the core was worked bidirectionally. This core trimming flake might also have been subsequently used, as its acute, distal edge is crushed and exhibits use chipping with one large, invasive step-terminating fracture on the ventral surface.

Similarly, the platform rejuvenation blade exhibits a well-formed punctiform platform, a small point of contact and a distinct bulb of percussion. Its dorsal surface is bisected by a ridge formed by the intersection of the former core platform and the flaking surface. On the left dorsal surface, a series of spurs and truncated flake scars are retained, attesting to the removal of at least two blades. The right dorsal surface supports the former core platform which is plain and slightly concave in shape.

The two decortication flakes can be further classified as a primary and a secondary decortication flake. The former possesses a completely corticated dorsal surface and is made from a toffee-coloured flint. Other technological attributes include a decorticated, dihedral platform and a diffused bulb of percussion. The flake is unretouched but its rounded distal end is crushed with a step-terminating fracture on the ventral side originating from a cluster of microchipping. The above attributes are compatible with a bipolar, anvil technique which is often used to shear open small pebbles (Crabtree 1982); with this technique, distal end crushing may occur as the base is compressed against the anvil by the percussion blow.

The other decortication flake has a facetted platform and possesses only a small portion of cortex on the left dorsal margin. It, too, is a punch flake as is evidenced by the distinct bulb of percussion which emanates from a small point of contact. In contrast, the Bronze Age flake is much larger (5.50 g) and is produced from a good quality, homogenous grey flint, quite unlike the local small boulder clay materials. It is partially retouched and is truncated proximally by a transverse, bending-initiated, step-terminating fracture (Ill 29 no 3). The ripple marking of the dorsal scars indicates that the original core was worked bidirectionally. Judging from the proximal geometry, the truncated portion is likely to have been rectangular in shape and was probably retained for use. After the proximal portion was removed, the flake was then partially retouched on the left ventral margin before discard. There is little microchipping to indicate that it was intensely used.

Discussion

The five possible tools may be loosely classified as one retouched scraper, one crested blade, one broken microlith tip (Ill 29 no 1) and two trimming flakes. However, given the lack of primary context and their fragmentary and mostly weathered condition, their interpretation must remain uncertain. A further ramification of this overall lack of primary context is that the five identified artefacts cannot be clearly dated from evidence at the site; moreover, the lack of well-dated comparative material from the region prevents cross-dating by typology. Although the four microlithic flakes exhibit raw material similarities and technological attributes consistent with the later Mesolithic period (*c* 6800-3450 BC), evidence from Southern England has shown that similar waste materials were produced by both later Mesolithic and early Neolithic flintworking technology. Nevertheless, local Mesolithic activity is well attested to by finds within a 16 km radius of Poulton, such as those at Farndon, Carden, Bickerton, Tarvin, Ashton and Kelsall (*below*, 54). Regarding the Bronze Age retouched flake, its larger size alone precludes a microlithic technology, and in view of the exotic nature of the flint, a Bronze Age date is proposed. For Cheshire, Bronze Age activity, including evidence of organised regional exchange, is amply testified by nearby fortified sites in the Peckforton and Bickerton Hills areas, such as Beeston Castle.

Roman pottery

Alison Jones

Samian

(identified by Margaret Ward)

5 tiny sherds/<6 g were recovered. Only one sherd could be identified with any certainty, a Central Gaulish cup form, Dr 33, possibly produced between AD *c* 150 and 200. This came from the topsoil deposit (101). Of the other four sherds, one is probably Central Gaulish, two others are either South or Central Gaulish and one is of indeterminate form and origin.

Coarse

Orange

A total of 39 sherds/<195 g was recovered. A possible jar rim, from (101), is burnt, suggesting that it may have been used as a cooking vessel. One very thick base sherd from (207) is presumably from a large storage vessel.

The small size and softness of the sherds, together with

the loss of their surfaces, makes identification of fabrics particularly difficult. (106) produced one possible Holt sherd and fieldwalking produced one possible Wilderspool sherd. All the orange wares are clearly 'Cheshire Plain' types (Webster 1982, 15), with a broad date range between the late first and early to mid-second centuries.

Grey
5 sherds/38 g were recovered in fabrics typical of late first century deposits in Chester. The neck of a possible flagon came from (215). As with the orange wares, the grey ware sherds are worn and softened, and also small in size.

White-on-orange
A single white-slipped orange sherd, weighing only 1 g, came from (106). Only very faint traces of the white slip coating survive. Flagons are the commonest vessel form to have been produced in white-slipped orange fabrics, and are broadly dated between the late first and early to mid-second centuries.

Black-burnished
Two sherds, weighing 5 g, were recovered. A sherd from (101) comes from a closed vessel form, probably a cooking pot, and is burnished on its exterior surface. The other sherd, recovered during fieldwalking, is also from a closed vessel and had become hardened by burning or over-heating. The sherds can only be broadly dated from AD *c* 120 onwards.

White
Three white ware sherds, weighing 7 g, were recovered. A tiny sherd from (101) could come from an Oxfordshire vessel. The fabric is similar to fabric 469 (a white Oxfordshire mortarium fabric) in the Chester fabric reference collection. If correctly identified, the sherd may date from AD *c* 240 onwards. The neck of a possible flagon, in a white, pipeclay fabric, was recovered during fieldwalking.

Mortaria
Four sherds/84 g were recovered, two during fieldwalking. One is in a white pipeclay fabric, and comes from the kilns at Mancetter-Hartshill near Nuneaton, Warwickshire. Although vessels from these kilns appear sporadically in the Chester region from the early second century, most were imported between AD 170 and 350×70. Without the rim, this vessel cannot be more closely dated. The other is a very worn and partially burnt sherd in a coarse, sandy, orange fabric with large, sparsely scattered mixed trituration grits. It is probably a Wilderspool product, dating to the second century. (101) produced a small, burnt and abraded fragment of a Mancetter-Hartshill vessel with red and black trituration grits. The fourth mortarium is an orange vessel with small, white quartz trituration grits in a typical Holt fabric. The kilns at Holt are generally believed to have produced pottery vessels between AD *c* 90 and 130.

Discussion

Of the fifteen contexts which produced Roman pottery, six were turf and topsoil deposits. The total collection, which also includes material recovered during fieldwalking, comprises 59 sherds/336 g. The turf and topsoil deposits produced 33 sherds/197 g, or 56% by sherd count and 59% by sherd weight of the total. Coarse orange wares are the most common pottery type, with a total of 39 sherds/<195 g.

Sherds were located in Trenches I, II, III, IV, V, VI and VIII, but were absent from Trench VII, although fieldwalking in this area did produce nine sherds of Roman pottery. The sherds are generally small in size (ranging from 8 to 90 mm, though most are between 15 and 35 mm) and are very soft and rounded, particularly the coarse orange and grey wares. This eroded appearance is presumably the result of surface weathering or erosion during burial rather than an indication of wear in use. It could have been caused by surface trampling of domestic rubbish or abrasion through ploughing in the Roman period or later. Similar wear has been noted on pottery from rural sites at Tarbock (Merseyside) and Beeston Castle (Cheshire) (Dunn 1994; Carrington 1993, M1: E9); although usually explained as a result of the chemical weathering of the surface in acid soils, the process is unclear. The animal bone from Poulton was in a similar condition (*below*, 50), probably as a result of the same type of weathering.

Apart from three very worn coarse orange ware rims, the sherds are non-diagnostic and it was not therefore possible to identify more than a few forms with any certainty.

Although a relatively small collection, a good range of wares was recovered. These comprise mainly coarse utilitarian kitchen and domestic vessels as well as samian, the mass-produced fine tableware, mainly from Gaul, common on both civilian and military sites of the Roman period. Among pottery other than samian, locally-produced wares predominate but evidence of long-distance trade links is provided by the presence of black-burnished vessels from Dorset, mortaria from Warwickshire and white wares, possibly from Oxfordshire. The presence of samian suggests access to a market which traded with the continent as well as within Britain (compare Carrington 1993, M1: E11-12). The most likely market centre, in terms of accessibility, was the legionary fortress and port at Chester.

As one would expect from a small collection recovered mainly from topsoil deposits, there is no clear distribution pattern. Sherds were scattered fairly evenly over the area excavated and fieldwalked. There were no associated Roman structures, although building material was found (*below*, 33). The Roman pottery is nevertheless evidence of a Roman building, perhaps even a villa, in the vicinity of the excavation. Domestic rubbish, which might include discarded pottery, was generally used as fertiliser on the fields surrounding rural Roman sites. This could reduce the amount of broken pottery actually left on the habitation site and produce misleading concentrations of pottery well away from the actual farm complex (Greene, K G 1992, 45).

Nevertheless, the presence of these sherds is intriguing new evidence of Roman occupation in an area where it was previously unknown.

Medieval and post-medieval pottery

Julie E C Edwards

Medieval pottery

Trench I
151 sherds (805 g) of medieval and post-medieval pottery were retrieved. These are generally small. Condition varies depending on the robustness of the pottery, but a level of surface abrasion exists on all sherds and varies from the total loss of one surface to scratching on the glazed surfaces. The majority of the sherds were found in (101), the lower ploughsoil; contexts (100), (106) and (107) also produced a mixture of post-medieval and medieval pottery.

The medieval pottery consists mainly of small abraded sherds, but some are in a better condition and a very small number appear freshly broken. Some sherds are so small and abraded that it is impossible to identify their fabric and form. Indeed, forms are not generally distinguishable, but a small number of sherds are sooted on the outside so it is possible to suggest that these are from cooking vessels (although other form types cannot be ruled out). The majority of the recognisable wares are either made from red/grey firing boulder clays (56 g, 14 sherds) or pink/white firing Coal Measure clays (44 g, 15 sherds). These wares are the major types in use in the medieval period in Chester and the surrounding area as well as along the North Wales coast.

The red/grey wares have a clear glaze which appears as a brown colour or a reduced green; only one sherd has any evidence of decoration, an applied pellet or scale. Despite being one of the most commonly occurring wares in the area, only four production sites have been found: Eaton-by-Tarporley, Brereton Park near Huxley, Ashton-juxta-Tarvin and Audlem, all in Cheshire. The boulder clays cover most of Cheshire and extend into neighbouring counties, so pin-pointing an exact provenance is difficult. Precise dating is also difficult and is dependant on the excavated groups from Dyserth and Deganwy castles, where similar wares have been found in deposits dated to the mid to late thirteenth centuries (Rutter 1990b, 220). Stylistically, the wares were probably in existence in the first half of the thirteenth century and extend into the fourteenth century. It is also difficult to identify earlier pottery. Little is known of the ceramics used in Chester and the surrounding area during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, perhaps primarily a result of the lack of stratified deposits of this date. Few excavated sites can be dated to this period in Chester, although farther east in the county they do exist, as at Nantwich (McNeil 1983).

The provenance and dating of pink/white firing wares are also indistinct. A spread of kiln waste has been found near Ewloe, Clwyd (Harrison & Davey 1977), which contains forms similar to those regularly found on sites in Chester and to which the ware types at Poulton are similar. It is thus assumed that most of these wares were made in that area of Clwyd and were precursors of the post-medieval Buckley industry. However, similar wares were produced in Staffordshire and some pottery may have come from there. Dating is largely based on stylistic similarity to wares produced in Britain generally in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; a coin hoard in a vessel made of this type of ware has been found in Chester and contains coins dated to *c* 1361 (Rutter 1977). The later medieval development of pink/white wares – Ewloe-type wares – are also present at Poulton (88 g, 6 sherds).

Trench II
There are 29 sherds, 102 g, of medieval pottery consisting of red/grey and pink/white wares. All are abraded and generally quite small. Seventeen sherds (69 g) appear to be from the same vessel; although all the sherds are very abraded, the surviving rim fragment suggests a cooking pot. A group of sherds so similar as to suggest that they are from the same vessel was found in Trench V (208). It is possible that ploughing action may have disturbed the remains of a single vessel. It is not possible to identify the vessel forms of the remaining sherds.

Trench III
There was one possible medieval red/grey sherd from (214).

Trench V
Six of the sherds from (208) are from a red/grey ware possible cooking pot which appears to be part of the same vessel as that found in Trench II (207). These are the only medieval sherds from the trench.

Trench VI
Medieval and post-medieval pottery was retrieved from (215) and (222); most of the sherds are quite small and abraded. The medieval material is a mix of pink/white and red/grey ware jugs and cooking pots. There are also five fragments from two different white ware vessels with copper green glazes. The pieces are too small to identify positively, but they are imports to the area.

Trench VII
Finds from this trench were very sparse. There is one very abraded fragment of pottery which might be a fourteenth/fifteenth century pink/white ware.

Trench VIII
There are 22 sherds (153 g). All were found in the topsoil (218) and upper fill (220) of ditch (235) apart from one piece of abraded pink/white or possibly Ewloe type ware in (221) and a piece of Ewloe type ware in (228). Those that can be identified represent cooking vessels and jugs in the fabrics commonly found in the area: red/grey and pink/white wares, spanning in date from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and late medieval/transitional Ewloe type wares. One or two of the sherds appear slightly different from the local wares and may be imports from elsewhere in Britain, but they are too abraded to be identified with any confidence; none are Continental imports.

Imported wares

Trench I
There is one sherd of Saintonge ware, with a mottled green glaze; three sherds in a similar type of fabric may be from the same area of south-western France, but are too abraded to identify positively. Saintonge wares were the principal ware imported from the Continent in medieval Chester and first appear in the mid-thirteenth century.

Wares from this area of France continue to occur into the post-medieval period in Chester. This type of pottery is generally associated with the trade in Gascon (Bordeaux) wines.

Post-medieval pottery

Trench I
The range of wares is fairly typical for the Chester area: black/brown glazed wares, Midlands Yellow-type ware, Midlands Purple-type, mottled glazed ware, transfer-printed wares, unglazed redwares, pearl-glazed earthenware, slipware and nineteenth/twentieth century whitewares. It is difficult to identify vessel forms, but those that can be identified seem to be domestic wares mainly for use at the table as well as some possible fragments of flower pot.

Black/brown glazed wares form the largest fabric type. Within this group a number of small cups or tygs can be identified: 51% of the sherds in (101) and 33% of sherds from the whole trench. Those from (101) include several sherds from one vessel with rouletted slip decoration: there is a sherd join for this vessel with another from (100). Cups of this type were made in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and are similar to the earlier Cistercian-type ware forms, from which they are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Black/brown glazed wares are common in the post-medieval period in the area. There are several known production sites, including Buckley (Clwyd), Staffordshire and Prescot (Merseyside). As all these areas produced a similar range of form types using similar clays and production methods, it is very difficult to provenance individual vessels and sherds. Buckley would be an immediate choice for supplying this area, but other factors must be taken into account, such as personal links with different regions. Buckley may be geographically nearer, but was perhaps no more accessible than an area where someone may have been travelling which happened also to produce the type of pottery required.

Mottled glazed wares and slipwares were produced in the same areas as black/brown glazed wares. It is possible to suggest a provenance for some slipwares but the type represented on the site – a press-moulded dish with 'combed' decoration – was a widespread style. Midlands Yellow-types occur in small but regular quantities on sites in Chester dated to the seventeenth century. Where these were made is not known, although similar wares were produced in south Lancashire (now Merseyside). The nineteenth- and twentieth-century mass-produced wares may have come from a variety of places in the British Isles.

It is difficult to draw any conclusions regarding the dating of the contexts from the pottery. Nineteenth/twentieth-century transfer-printed wares were found in all contexts except (104) and (106). The earliest post-medieval wares are the Midlands Purple-types which are probably sixteenth/seventeenth-century in date; the ware does occur in the fifteenth century, but is thought not to be this early in the Chester area. The assemblage appears to be a mixture of pottery perhaps incorporated with manure and/or from disturbed deposits in the immediate vicinity. The fragmentary and abraded nature of most of the material is compatible with disturbed ground conditions such as worked farmland.

The preponderance of drinking vessels amongst the black/brown glazed wares is notable. This may be due to a functional bias of the wares in use at a particular time or perhaps a particular area of the site: ploughing may have disturbed a dump of these vessels, perhaps from the deposit in Trench VIII (*below*, 33).

Trench II
Four post-medieval sherds were found in Trench II. Three are small abraded pieces of seventeenth/eighteenth century black/brown glazed ware; the fourth is not so abraded and is from an unglazed redware flower pot which is eighteenth to twentieth century in date.

Trench III
A total of 24 sherds of pottery (41 g) was retrieved. 23 sherds of post-medieval pottery came from (202), (203/204), (204), (209) and (214). This pottery is a mix of seventeenth/eighteenth century and nineteenth/twentieth century wares, all of which are types commonly found in the area. The sherds are quite small and abraded but appear to represent domestic pottery.

Trench IV
The four sherds (16 g) are small and/or abraded and were all found in the lower ploughsoil (205). One is a piece of fourteenth/fifteenth century pink/white ware. There is one very tiny piece of post-medieval slipware and two joining sherds of fifteenth/sixteenth century Midlands Purple-type ware.

Trench V
Seven post-medieval sherds were recovered from this trench. One post-medieval sherd is of some note as it is from a yellow glazed pipkin or skillet made on the Surrey/Hampshire borders, of late sixteenth- to late seventeenth-century date. Surrey wares are occasionally found in the region but generally tend to be Tudor Green types rather than these later post-medieval wares. The remaining sherds are mainly seventeenth or eighteenth century black/brown glazed wares.

Trench VI
The post-medieval pottery is similar to the other groups on the site, consisting primarily of black/brown glazed wares, mottled ware, Midlands Yellow-type and Midlands Purple-type wares. One of the sherds of black/brown glazed ware has a roller stamped applied slip decoration and may be part of the same vessel already described in (100) and (101). One sherd is probably from outside the region, consisting of a redware with a glossy lead glaze from (215). A small fragment of Midlands Purple-type ware has a scoop cut out of the rim; not enough survives to identify the form, but it may be from a chafing dish similar to the type described in Trench VIII (*below*). Some of the sherds from (222) may have been confused with Trench VIII (224) owing to a post-excavation error; however, the post-medieval material from other contexts in the two trenches is very similar and therefore the profile of the material has probably not been significantly altered.

Trench VII
There are two fragments of building material. One of these is from a post-medieval field drain and the other a medieval/post-medieval brick or tile. The other finds are listed below.

Trench VIII

The post-medieval sherds are in better condition than the medieval and appear to form a more cohesive group than the assemblages from the other trenches. Pottery was retrieved from the entire sequence of ditch fills, making a total of 103 sherds or 609 g; apart from two sherds of transfer printed ware from (218), most of the sherds fall into a seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century date range. A relatively small range of wares is represented, with black/brown glazed wares predominating over Midlands Yellow-type ware, mottled glazed ware and Midlands Purple-type.

It is difficult to identify all the form types represented as many pieces are body sherds, but there are a number of cup sherds. These comprise 49 sherds or 219 g (*ie* 48% by sherd count or approximately 36% by weight). Five sherds in a very highly fired fabric that borders on Cistercian ware join to form a large part of one cup. Other recognisable forms appear to be types of jar. However, eight sherds join to form part of the rim and upper body of a different black/brown glazed vessel which is notable as it has a scoop cut out of the rim. A similar vessel was found on excavations by Lancaster University Archaeological Unit at Fazakerley (Merseyside) (pers obs); slightly more of that vessel survives and it appeared to be from a chafing dish. The rim appears to have been indented as an alternative means of forming the projections or knobs usually found applied to the rims of chafing dishes. Chafing dishes are bowl-shaped vessels with a pedestal base and were used in the medieval and early post-medieval periods to keep food warm. The projections or knobs on the rim were used to support plates placed over the bowl, which held hot ashes or charcoal.

The relatively small amount of medieval pottery in the lower levels of this trench, the condition of the post-medieval pottery and the similarity of wares sets this assemblage slightly apart from the other pottery on the site. It may be that this was a discrete dump of material. However, the small amount of sherds and their fragmentary condition, albeit not so fragmentary as in other trenches, means that it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions.

Roman building materials Alison Jones

A total collection of 25 fragments/734 g of possible Roman tile and brick was recovered. Only 9 fragments/435 g, however, are definitely Roman. As with the pottery, many fragments are so small and worn (80% are less than 40 mm long) that the fabric is difficult to identify. It is possible that some of the smaller pieces are in fact medieval roof tile or modern field drain (many fragments of which were found at the site). One problem with the identification of ceramic building materials is that fabrics are often poorly differentiated, both in terms of geographical origin and date.

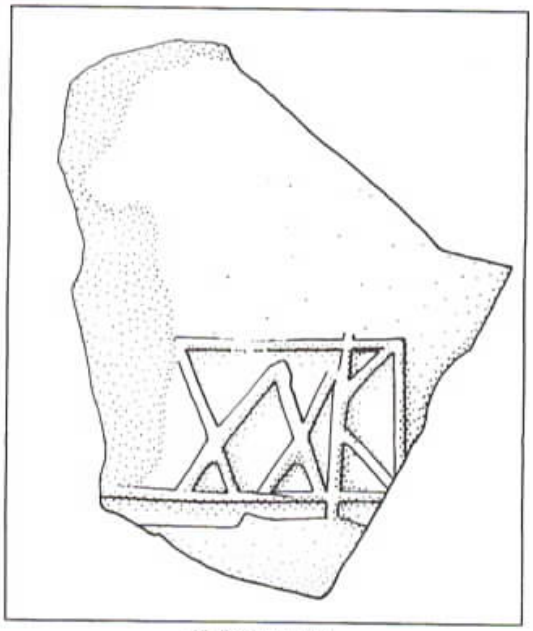
Fragments were located in Trenches I, II, IV, V and VIII, but were absent from Trenches III, VI and VII. Fieldwalking produced two fragments of *imbrex* or ridge tile.

Only four diagnostic pieces were found: three *imbrices* or ridge tiles and a probable *tegula*. The *tegula* fragment has a worn legionary stamp on its upper surface: [LEG XX]VV within an ansate border (Ills 30 & 31); this is a Holt type 6 stamp (Grimes, 1930, 140).



30 Roman *tegula* with legionary stamp

The tile fragments clearly identifiable as Roman are in a hard, dense, orange-red, sandy fabric, typical of the legionary kilns at Holt, 5 km south of Poulton along the River Dee. The *imbrex* and ridge tile fragments recovered during fieldwalking are slightly unusual in that the fabric is a mixture of two clays. The usual red clay is intermixed with thin lenses of white clay, scattered randomly within the main clay body. It is interesting to note that some of the tile fragments recovered from Tarbock, Merseyside, were made in a similar streaky clay (Philpott 1994a, 10). Despite this, they are clearly Roman and their source of manufacture is most probably Holt. The stamp fragment



31 Roman *tegula*

of the Twentieth Legion also suggests Holt as the source of most of the Roman ceramic building materials found at Poulton.

Discussion

As with the pottery, the small size of the fragments, as well as their worn and occasionally softened appearance, suggests erosion before and during burial, rather than wear in use. Again, there is no clear distribution pattern, with fragments scattered fairly evenly over the area excavated and fieldwalked.

The small amount of Roman tile recovered is not surprising considering the absence of any associated structures. Unlike pottery, the greater weight and bulkiness of tile means that it is less likely to have travelled far from the demolished or abandoned building from which it has come. Roman structural remains may, therefore, lie quite close outside the boundary of the area so far excavated. On the other hand, the pattern of deposition may reflect the existence of unequivocally Roman features at the site which have yet to be excavated.

Medieval and post-medieval building materials

Julie E C Edwards

Trench I

These have been divided into floor tiles, roof tiles and fragments of brick and tile.

Floor tiles

A large quantity of abraded, broken and crushed floor tile was retrieved – 7615 g, 513 fragments. The schemes of decoration are generally indecipherable, but a few stamp designs can be identified; glazes appear clear, yellow, reduced green and copper-coloured green. Slip is present on some pieces. Some tiles have upper surfaces which have been worn smooth with use so that glaze survives only in the impressed areas of the design.

The designs which can be identified are numbers 2, 14, 119, 29 (?) and 97 in the Chester stamp series (Ill 32 & 33; Rutter 1990c). Number 2 is a common design in Chester and has been found on sites in North Wales, Shropshire and the Isle of Man, and may be fifteenth-century (Rutter 1990c, 230). 14 is also common locally and has been found in Northern Ireland and Shropshire; it has been dated to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries by Eames (1980, 306). 119 is unusual as it seems to occur on rather large square tiles which are a lot thicker than most of the tiles commonly found in Chester. Such tiles are not common in Chester. Examples have been found at Watergate Street and St John's Church as well as in Clwyd and the Isle of Man (Rutter 1990c, 246) and recently at 29 Bridge Street, Chester. The date of this type is not known, nor is that of 29 which is also relatively scarce in Chester. 97 belongs to a group of fifteenth-century designs whose distribution covers Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire (Eames 1980, 95) and includes Hulton Abbey (Wise 1985, 122, fig 27, 1003). Fragments have been found in Chester, but the design is not common there (Rutter 1990c, 244). No evidence has yet been found to indicate a production source for this type, but the distribution pattern has led to a source in Staffordshire being suggested (Eames 1980, 313). A complete example of this type was found in Chapel Field at Poulton in the 1960s.

Roof tiles

Ceramic roof tiles form the largest single group of finds from this trench (a total of 22,982 g and 605 fragments). Two basic types are present: oxidised pale red flat tiles, sometimes with a grey core and apparently unglazed, and pink/white splash-glazed flat tiles. The former are the most numerous – 19,964 g, 432 pieces – and display two methods of hanging, round peg or nail holes and nibs. It is not possible to tell whether the tiles had either nibs or peg holes or both, as sometimes occurs (Lewis 1987, 7). Only broken fragments are represented, but with more work it might be possible to reconstruct some complete tiles from the assemblage.

A small number of medieval ridge tiles are present but these are in a darker and sandier fabric than the flat tiles and have a splash of glossy clear glaze down the centre.

There are 3018 g, 173 pieces of medieval to late medieval pink/white tiles. These have either a reduced green or an oxidised speckled orange partial glaze on the upper surface. Such tiles are common in the Chester area and are made from the same Coal Measure clays as the pink/white pottery; fragments were found near Ewloe amongst a spread of kiln waste of similar material. These tiles appear to be in a more fragmentary condition than the oxidised red tiles. It is not possible to tell if there are any ridge tiles present; a feature of these tiles locally is a crest decorated ridge. There is no evidence of any such decorative features nor any finials or louvres amongst the roof tiles from the trench.

In general, the types of roof tiles from Poulton are similar to the fabric and form types found in Chester from the medieval period. However, the principal medieval groups studied to date in Chester (Rutter 1990a, 106) have been small and not particularly well stratified, so it has not been possible to establish a good chronological sequence of fabrics or forms. The oxidised pale red tiles from Poulton are a type which does not appear amongst the published assemblages but has been noted from other sites in Chester. It is difficult to know whether they are medieval or perhaps early post-medieval and further work is required to define the group in terms of date and possible provenance. The tiles have been recorded noting the presence of edges and corners to aid any future quantitative analysis, which may include measuring thickness.

Field drain

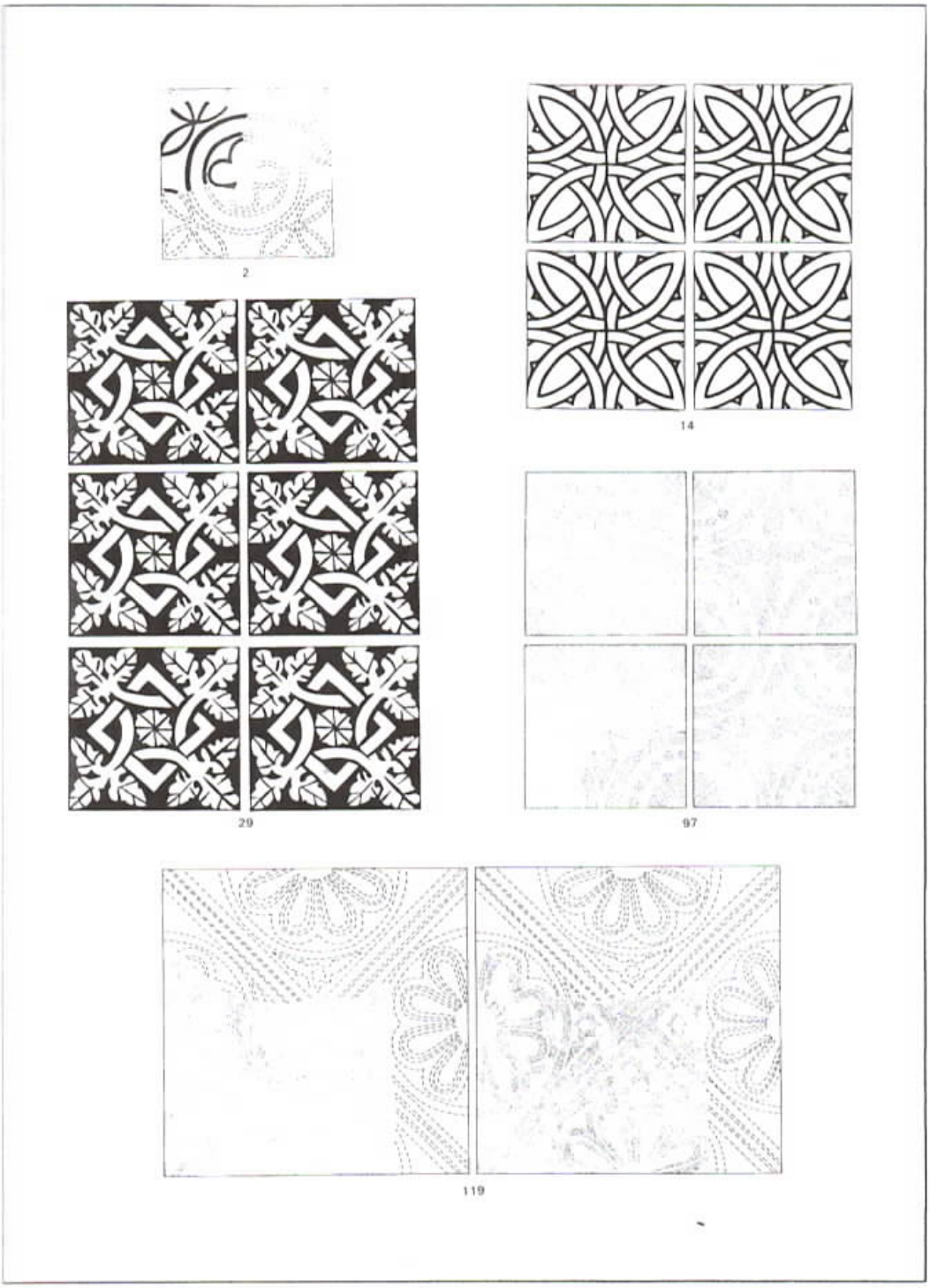
Fragments of post-medieval field drain were also retrieved.

Other ceramic building material

A large quantity of fragments were retrieved which it has not been possible to identify as a result of their abraded and fragmentary state – 6944 g, 1198 pieces. These appear to represent crushed floor and roof tiles and also bricks of medieval and post-medieval date as well as fragments of post-medieval field drain.

Trench II

These are generally fragmentary and abraded, totalling 1069 g, 144 sherds. The assemblage is quite mixed in the date and content of the material. Many of the types present are similar to the Trench I assemblage; these include medieval pink/white roof tiles, oxidised pale red medieval or post-medieval roof tiles and a small amount of floor tile (53 g, 6 pieces). The latter are so fragmentary that no sur-

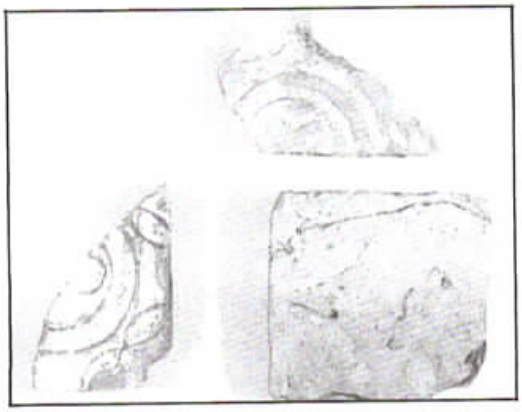


32 Floor tile designs present (1:4)

face designs can be identified. Some of the pieces may be later post-medieval; a fragment of nineteenth-century wall tile was also retrieved.

Trench III
In keeping with the other finds from this trench, the building material consists of small abraded fragments (9432 g, 177 pieces), many of which are so worn that it is impossible to determine their form or type. Identifiable fragments include pink/white roof tile, floor tile, drainpipe and field drain. The material ranges in date from the medieval to recent post-medieval period.

Trench IV
Contexts (201) and (205) produced 70 pieces (819 g) of ceramic building material; most of this is very abraded, and it is difficult to distinguish brick from tile or to date it. Medieval decorated floor tiles were found, although the pieces are so fragmentary (160 g, 11 pieces) that the precise designs are indistinguishable. Amongst the remaining material are pieces of roof tile; one piece in pink/white fabric is an odd shape and possibly from some kind of roof furniture or fitting.



33 Floor tiles

Trench V
Contexts (200), (206) and (208) produced 21 pieces (57 g) of building material. These are mainly abraded indistinguishable fragments of medieval or post-medieval brick or tile. There are three pieces of medieval floor tile, one piece of medieval pink/white roof tile and a fragment of possible field drain.

Trench VI
The surround of the corner wall (222) produced 5572g 214 fragments of building material, dominated by the same type of oxidised pink/red roof tiles found on the rest of the site. Abraded fragments of floor tile are also present. There is also a fragment of what appears to be burnt or baked daub or possibly low fired brick. There are also several fragments that are so abraded it is difficult to determine the type of building material.

Roof slate
A large quantity of roofing slate was retrieved from the excavation, and survives in various conditions and sizes. It has not been possible to quantify the groups in any detail, but it may provide information on roofing materials other than ceramic tiles being used on the nearby buildings. Petrological analysis may reveal the source of the slate.

Pipeclay

Trench VI
Two stem fragments from clay tobacco pipes were found in (215); one has a mouthpiece attached. The pieces have no diagnostic marks and therefore cannot be closely dated.

Roman glass

Alison Jones

In total, 7 sherds/<18 g of Roman glass were recovered. Fieldwalking produced 2 sherds/9 g, while the remainder came from Trenches I and IV. The fragments are generally small; the largest piece measured 45 mm in length.

Vessel

Four sherds of naturally-coloured, blue-green vessel glass were recovered. One possible basal sherd has a scratched, matt underside with slightly curved, parallel ridging. A curved body sherd (possibly from a square bottle) also has a scratched, matt exterior surface and slight iridescent decay. Both sherds presumably came from bottles. The blue-green 'square bottle', used for the transport and storage of liquids, was the most common bottle type in the first and second centuries.

Window

Three fragments of naturally-coloured, blue-green window glass were recovered. All are scratched and pitted and one sherd has a roughly bevelled edge. It is unclear whether this is deliberate, or is the result of post-depositional processes.

Medieval and post-medieval glass

Julie E C Edwards

Trench I
112 fragments of glass were recovered. Window glass predominates; in addition, there are six fragments of vessel glass, all too small to identify accurately. At least one piece is probably from a post-medieval green wine bottle. There are two fragments of very corroded medieval window glass from context (106). The remaining pieces include heavily weathered window glass fragments. Some perhaps date to the early post-medieval period including fragments of quarry with grozed edges (as from (106)). There are also four nineteenth/twentieth-century frosted and clear glass fragments.

Trench II
One fragment of post-medieval (?) window glass.

Trench III
Three pieces of window glass were found in (202) and (203) and a piece of dark green bottle (?) glass in (202). Two pieces are from nineteenth/twentieth century embossed window glass. A water worn fragment came from (204).

Trench VII
(219) SF 88 Piece of heavily weathered medieval window glass.

Trench VIII
The largest group of medieval window glass (18 fragments) came from this trench, in contexts (218), (220), (221), (224) and (232). Three of the pieces (SFs 84, 85 and 87) are painted, although the scheme of decoration is not discernible. Nine pieces are probably post-medieval.

Metal

Iron

Trench I
The ironwork is corroded and there are few recognisable fragments, but in many cases the condition of the metal under the corrosion layer may be quite good. Seventeen fragments have been assigned small find numbers as they seem to be individual objects or parts of objects and should be examined by x-ray. These mainly consist of fragments of sheet, plate and blade-like pieces as well as 'lumps' covered in corrosion products; there do not appear to be any complete objects. The pieces to which it has been possible to give a closer identification are listed below.

Nails
498 nails and nail fragments were found, the majority from (101); seven of these are large square shanked nails, while the others are of various sizes and lengths.

Small finds
(101) SFs 40 & 42 Riveted plate fragments. SF 42 is rectangular. Both pieces may be part of the same object.
(101) SF 41 Knife blade.
(107) SF 47 Socketed point with a flanged edge, length 35 mm, width 20 mm. Possibly part of a spear head or a railing point.
(107) SF 49 Knife blade with whittle tang, 115 mm of its length surviving, 13 mm maximum width.
(107) SFs 51 & 52 Horseshoe nails.

Trench II
21 fragments of nails.
(207) SFs 61 & 62 Horseshoe nails.
(207) SF 60 Horseshoe fragment.

Trench III
The only metalwork from the trench consists of two fragments of iron nail.

Trench IV
Seven pieces of nail from (205).

Trench V
The topsoil layer (200) produced three fragments of iron objects; one, SF 57, may be from a buckle. The other pieces are:
(200) SF 56 Sheet/plate fragment.
(200) SF 58 Bolt shaped fragment.
There is one nail from (206).
(206) SF 59 Penknife with the remains of an iron case trimmed with copper alloy at each end and a bone plate on the outer surface. Post-medieval.

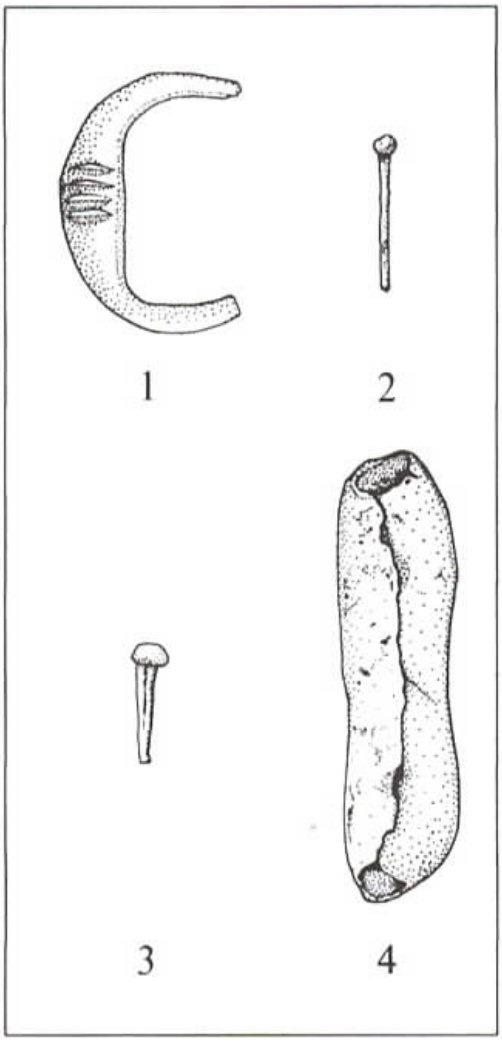
Trench VI
32 nails.
(215) SF 64 A fine rod bent into an eyelet or hook at one end and broken at the other; possibly a handle or some other fitting.
(215) SF 65 Rod shaped fragment.
(215) SF 66 Fragment of iron sheet or plate.

Trench VII
Three nails.
(217) SF 74 Bent strip fragment; maximum width 16 mm, length 71 mm; possibly part of a knife blade.

Trench VIII
A small amount of ironwork came from the trench. This includes 49 nail fragments and four unidentifiable corroded fragments of objects, including strip and sheet fragments. SF 72 is a buckle loop with what may be its pin which has broken away. The buckle is roughly square shaped; its date has not been determined.

Lead

Trench I
Twenty pieces of lead were retrieved. These consist mostly of fragments and off-cuts or trimmings and molten waste fragments. Six pieces have been assigned small find numbers:
(100) SF 1 Narrow sheet folded twice.
(101) SFs 2 & 3 Waste fragments.
(101) SF 21 Fishing net weight (Ill 34 no 4). Three fishing net weights were found from the site, in contexts (101), (207) SF 8 and (218) SF 12. They are made of a lead strip which has been folded or rolled into a cylinder. These are net weights which would have been rolled around the foot rope of a hand held net (Steane & Foreman 1988, 162-3 fig 15). Similar weights were used in the Iron Age, Roman and medieval periods; 2000 were found in the wreck of a fifteenth century vessel in the Thames at Blackfriars (*ibid*). One of the weights, SF 8, has the remains of fibres within its mud-filled hollow centre; further analysis would be required to determine whether this is the remains of twine from the fishing net to which it was attached.
(106) SF 5 Waste/offcuts.
(106) SF 6 Window cames.
(108) SF 7 Window cames or tie.



34 Metal objects (2:1)

Trench II
There are two pieces of lead. One is a small fragment of sheeting, while the other is a fishing net weight (207) SF 8 as described under Trench I.

Trench IV
(216) SF 11 Window cames, junction piece.

Trench V
A fragment of molten waste and a hook shaped off-cut or trimming.

Trench VI
(215) SF 9 Strip shaped fragment
(215) SF 10 Folded sheet fragment.

Trench VII
(219) SFs 14 & 15 Medieval window cames; one piece appears to be from a junction of panes.

Trench VIII
Seven pieces of lead were retrieved. (218) SF 12 is a fishing net weight as described in Trench I. There are five pieces of window cames (SFs 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20) from contexts (220), (221), (226) and (228), two of which are from the junctions of panes. The final piece ((218) SF 13) is perhaps a window tie or may be a waste off-cut.

Litharge?

Trench I
(101) SF 4 A piece of possible litharge cake, a waste product from the purifying of metals; this needs further analysis to confirm identification but may be evidence for metalworking.

Copper alloy

Trench I
(101) SF 35 Buckle frame (Ill 34 no 1). Incomplete; only the outer side survives, width 22 mm. D-shaped with four incised grooves on the outside edge, one of which is probably the notch for the pin. Good condition. Medieval/post-medieval?

(101) SF 77 Mount. Fragment of a flower-like mount with a domed centre and lobes; parts of three lobes survive, and there may originally have been six. Such mounts would have been used to decorate cloth or leather belts, girdles or straps and sometimes articles of clothing. There is no trace of how the mount would have been attached. Many similar examples have been found in London, some still attached to straps and pieces of leather and dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 162-229).

(106) SF 24 Mount? Moulded strip, U-shaped in section with two rivet holes and one rivet still in place; broken at each end, width 5 mm. Decorated with rows of raised beads or pellets. It is perhaps part of a book mount/binding. Medieval/post-medieval.

(106) SF 36 Pin with a wound wire head (Ill 34 no 2): incomplete. Medieval/post-medieval.

(107) SF 37 Mount. Very small (diameter 6 mm) and in the form of an eight petalled 'flower'. The mount is flat with indented edges and has a central rivet hole with the copper alloy rivet still in place.

Trench II
(207) SF 25 Rod shaped fragment, slightly uneven along its length; maximum diameter 10 mm.

(207) SF 26 Two fragments of fine sheet quite heavily weathered; one piece has the remains of three cut out circles or piercing. It is

possibly part of a strap end or a mount such as an eyelet reinforcer.

Trench IV
Shot-gun cartridge (205).

Trench V
(200) SF 82 Sheet fragment.

Trench VI
(215) SF 23 Short narrow rod; length 43 mm, diameter 3 mm. One end has been fashioned into a point with four facets.

Trench VIII
There are eight pieces of copper alloy, including fragments of sheeting, a tack (Ill 34 no 3), a piece of wire and a narrow strip with a rivet hole and the rivet still in place. The remainder are as follows:

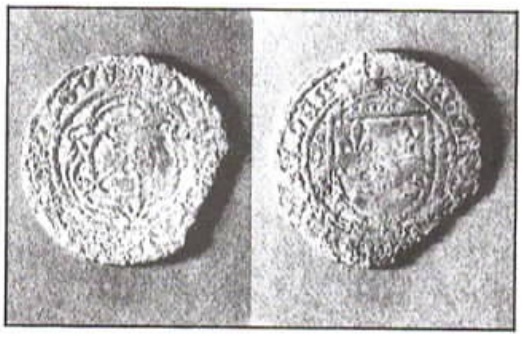
(218) SF 22 Lace chape. Lace chapes were made from sheets of metal rolled into a tube or cone shape and were used to protect and reinforce the ends of laces. Lacing was used to fasten clothing, particularly in the medieval period, as well as on a variety of equipment and artefact types. Lace chapes may have been in use from the late thirteenth century, but most documentary and excavated examples are from the fourteenth, fifteenth and later centuries (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 285). This example is slightly cone shaped and has been closed around the lace with each edge folded inwards. It is similar to one found in Exeter in a seventeenth-century context (Allan 1966, 342, fig 191, 127). Presumably such copper alloy chapes would have continued in use until quite recent times and this may have come from a shoe lace rather than an article of clothing. Remains of fibres (the lace?) are present within the chape. Two other chapes were also found in (224) (SFs 30 and 31). These are tubular and probably also post-medieval but a precise date cannot be assigned at present.

(221) SF 27 Strap-end? A tapered sheet of metal pierced at one end, broken at the other; 11 mm widening to 18 mm. The strip has been folded widthways. The narrower part is plain, while the other has notched edges forming two lobes on each edge. The lobes are decorated with engraved parallel lines at right angles to the outer edges; their inner edge is delineated by two parallel engraved lines leaving the centre of the strip plain. This decorated end has been bent in half lengthwise by accident or intent. The object is suggestive of a strap-end. These were a way of supporting the end of a cloth or leather strap or girdle as well as providing a decorative finish. Such fittings were current in the medieval period and many examples are illustrated and discussed by Egan & Pritchard (1991).

(226) SF 34 Buckle plate, length 27 mm, width 20 mm, rectangular with chamfered corners; six holes pierce the plate, two of which have broken through the edge. Some of these may serve as decoration; others are for rivets to secure the plate. There is a rectangular slot for the pin. The plate has broken at the fold. Medieval or post-medieval.

Coins and tokens

Trench VIII
(228) SF 38 Jeton (Ill 35). The jeton is quite worn and some of the original surface has disappeared whilst other areas are obscured by dirt and corrosion. The lettering is therefore indistinct and only a general design can be seen; it is possibly a Nuremberg type (pers comm D Robinson) dating to the sixteenth or seventeenth century.



35 The jeton

Hones and whetstones

Trench I
(107) SF 91 The remains of a possible hone or whetstone made from a fine grained dark grey stone yet to be identified.

Trench VIII
(220) SF 90 A complete but well-worn hone or whetstone made from a fine grained dark grey stone yet to be identified.

Organic artefacts

Trench VII
(217) SF 92 Length of bone which has been worked; possibly some sort of pointed implement which has been broken.

Miscellaneous

Trench II
(207) SF 76 Small fragment of an amber? bead.

Discussion

The medieval and post-medieval finds fall into two principal groups: structural and personal or domestic items. The quantity of the structural material – roof tiles, floor tiles, roof slates, brick fragments, window glass and lead – confirms the documentary evidence for a building, probably ecclesiastical, in the vicinity.

Three types of roofing material were found: large quantities of both slate and oxidised red/pink tiles, and a small quantity of pink/white tiles. This may reflect different buildings, parts of buildings or changing roofing materials over time; there are references in bequests and wills for monies towards upkeep of the church (*below*, 82) which may indicate when some of these changes took place. In addition to these roofing materials it is possible that other material such as thatch or wooden shingles may have been used but have not survived.

The quantity of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century floor tiles suggests that there was probably a tiled floor within the Chapel; they are of too late a date for the documented period of the abbey. They appear to have been shattered with wear and/or frost. The small fragments may also be the result of tiles breaking *in situ* and gradually fragmenting under foot. The Staffordshire connections of the Chapel may be reflected in the tiles with a design perhaps from that area. It is possible that documents relating to the upkeep of the Chapel exist (as above) that indicate the provenance of the tiles as well as when they were ordered.

There is some evidence to show that the building had glazed windows. There is a small amount of decorated medieval window glass as well as plain quarries which may be early post-medieval. Fragments of lead off-cuts and molten drops may suggest some working or re-working of lead on the site. Some of the iron may be structural.

The pottery, where function can be determined, appears to be domestic in character, relating to cooking, eating and drinking. The quantity of medieval compared with post-medieval pottery is relatively high in comparison with other topsoil and ploughsoil assemblages and is perhaps also indicative of a medieval presence in the close vicinity. A presence in the earlier post-medieval period may tentatively be suggested in Trench VIII.

Among the other finds, a few objects can be associated with items of clothing and perhaps with burials; they include belt fittings, decorative mounts and lace chapes. These range in date from the medieval to the post-medieval period. It is difficult to tell whether they are casual losses or part of discarded household rubbish.

The fishing net weights may be evidence for fishing in the nearby River Dee, Pulford Brook or the fishpond complex. Evidence of horses is present, although whether these were medieval or from recent plough teams is unknown. The suggested spear head in (101) is perhaps not surprising, if this identification is correct, in a border area known to have been subject to raids from the Welsh.

This preliminary examination of the material from the excavation presents a plentiful variety of evidence for activity and buildings in the immediate area. The excavation and the field-walking collected a similar range of material, the latter in smaller quantities. While farmland often produces a variety of domestic and structural debris as a result of manuring with night-soils from domestic habitations, the quantity and variety found here is not usual. These results, combined with the documentary evidence, excavated structural remains and the results of the geophysical survey, suggest that there is potential for the recovery of further (and probably plentiful) finds of various types. Some may be in good condition, especially where not disturbed by later ploughing activity. Further finds and their analysis may illustrate the social and economic connections of the inhabitants of the area.

The Environmental Remains

Human bone: summary

David J L Gibbins

A considerable quantity of human skeletal material was recovered from the site, both from the initial fieldwalking and from the excavation, primarily of Trenches I, II and IV. Much of this material was disarticulated and highly fragmentary, and impossible to group into individual inhumations; its main occurrence, in the topsoil contexts which were the chief focus of the investigations, must reflect disturbance and dispersal of burials through levelling of the site, ploughing, erosion and the digging known to have taken place within the last century. The quantity is entirely consistent with a Chapel and its presumed use as a burial ground for perhaps 400 years, and some of the dispersed skeletal elements may have resulted from the disruption of old graves by fresh cuttings during the Chapel's period of use.

Excavation beneath the ploughsoil revealed several burials substantially *in situ*, of which the one presented in the following section was the best preserved and least disturbed. Its context, discussed above (21), suggests a late date, perhaps in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Its east-west orientation, with head to the west, is typical of Christian burials of lay persons. The other apparently *in situ* burials in Trenches II (Ill 22) and IV, may be earlier, and (particularly in the case of the latter) may even predate the excavated masonry structure of the Chapel; further investigations of these and the other *in situ* burials which undoubtedly exist within and outside the Chapel may therefore reveal early religious use of the site, as well as evidence for dating inhumations within the known period of the Chapel's use.

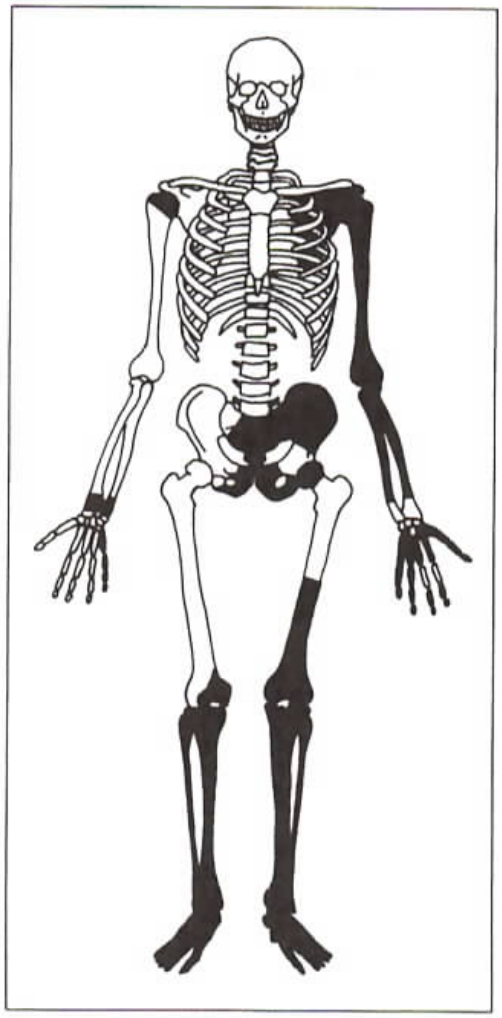
It was decided to focus exclusively on the best-preserved inhumation, skeleton (108), in this report. The detailed physical anthropological and osteological analysis of this burial not only reveals a good deal about that individual but also underlines the potential of future skeletal analysis from the site.

Physical anthropology and osteology of skeleton (108)

Patrick S Quinney

Archaeological context and condition

Skeleton (108) comprises a single inhumation burial (Ill 21). Post-depositional disturbance has resulted in the loss of many of the expected skeletal elements and extensive distortion of the recovered elements. In particular, deep-ploughing activity has transected the inhumation, resulting in the loss of the lower right leg and foot, much of the pelvis and much of the left side with the exception of the distal radius, ulna and hand. Extensive post-depositional damage and ground-water leaching has also resulted in marked exfoliation of the cortical bone, which was recovered in an extremely friable and delicate state. The recoverable and identifiable skeletal elements present are detailed graphically in Ill 36.



36 Skeleton (108): bones present

The skeletal remains

Morphology and morphometry

Cranial remains

The cranium was recovered as some ninety fragments of bone. Reconstruction of over sixty of these has yielded a

fairly complete cranium which maintains gnathic (masticatory) morphology, although their highly fragmentary nature has prevented complete restoration of the facial and basilar regions of the skull. However, a large proportion of the neurocranium, maxilla, and mandible are sufficiently intact for detailed morphological and morphometric studies to be undertaken. Metrical measurements conducted are presented in Table 2.

Following restoration, the cranium is present as the frontal, both parietals, the occipital, the left temporal and the mastoid process of the right temporal (Ills 37-40). The frontal is almost complete, but the facial skeleton has been truncated, resulting in the loss of a large proportion of both orbital plates and the destruction of the frontal sinus. In addition, the inferior aspect of the coronal margin of the frontal has been lost, leaving a gap between the frontal and both parietals in the region of the pterion.

The frontal displays marked fragmentation but little post-depositional distortion. A sharply defined cut can be seen some 20 mm superior to the glabella: the damage appears consistent with ploughshare impact. The parietals are largely intact, but the occipital is somewhat more heavily damaged. The basilar region has been completely fragmented, resulting in the loss of both condyles and the condylar fossae.

On the left side, the temporal bone is almost complete; however, the zygomatic arch has been truncated at the auricular tubercle and the styloid process has been lost.The carotid canal and jugular fossa are clearly is present only as the posterior portion of the mastoid process, with the superoposterior extensions of the occipital groove and mastoid notch clearly defined.

The cranium is gracile (*ie* slight and fine) in form. The vault is thin-boned with an average thickness of 5 mm. In profile, the frontal bone is high and rounded, with moderate expression of frontal tuberosities. The supraorbital region displays small superciliary arches with slight bilateral swelling at the level of glabella; posterior to this, the fused remains of the metopic suture can be discerned. The superior margins of the orbits are clearly defined, with sharp edges when viewed from below. The supra-orbital notch is present but poorly defined on both sides.

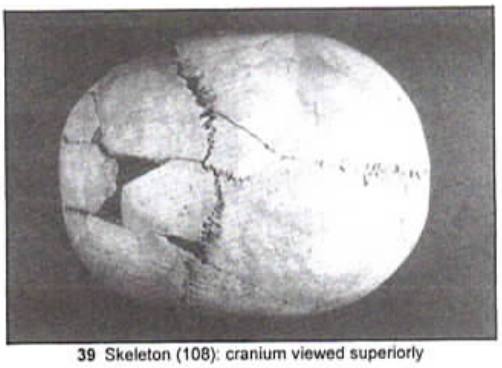
Multiple foramina can be discerned above the orbital margins. On the right side of the frontal, the largest of these is connected to a pronounced sulcus which extends craniodorsally following the orientation of the superior temporal line. This denotes the passage of the supraorbital nerve. There is slight evidence of a similar sulcus on the left side of the frontal, but this does not connect with the supraorbital foramen and is instead confined to the superior third of the frontal, terminating some 20 mm short of the coronal suture.

The parietals are uniform and rounded with no parietal bossing, and there is only very slight evidence of the presence of the superior and inferior temporal lines. The remaining occipital morphology is remarkably gracile, with poorly defined superior and inferior nuchal lines. The external occipital protuberance is marked by a gentle ballooning of the squama, with slightly greater inflation on the left side. A rugosity (*ie* roughness), too slight to be classed as an external occipital crest, runs anterocaudally from this, marking the insertion of ligamentum nuchae.

The mastoid regions of both temporals are small in size, with moderately rugose surfaces. The origin of the poste-



37 Skeleton (108): cranium viewed from front



39 Skeleton (108): cranium viewed superiorly



38 Skeleton (108): cranium viewed from left side



40 Skeleton (108): cranium viewed inferiorly

rior belly of the digastric muscle is clearly defined bilaterally by a deep digastric notch, which is medially marked by a clear sulcus denoting the path of the occipital artery. Both of these structures are more clearly defined on the left temporal; indeed, the digastric notch is three times as wide on this side by comparison with the right temporal.

Gnathic remains

The gnathic remains comprise both the maxillary and mandibular alveolar structures, both of which display largely complete dentitions.

Maxillary remains The maxillary specimens comprise both maxillae with anterior and posterior teeth *in situ*. The remaining bone is limited to the alveolar region and the palatine process. In addition, a small portion of the pyramidal process and horizontal plate of the palatine bone remain articulated on the left side of the maxilla. The palatomaxillary suture is clearly visible. Inferiorly, the right maxilla has been truncated just distal to the second molar, whilst on the left side the bone survives posteriorly as the maxillary tuberosity through to the pyramidal process of the palatine bone (Ill 41). On both sides of the maxilla a small proportion of the delicate palatine process has been lost just distal to the incisive fossa through to the bevel of the palatomaxillary suture. Superiorly, the maxilla has been truncated on both sides just above the level of the zygomaxillary root, preserving the anterior nasal spine and the basal morphology of the inferior meatus and the maxillary sinus (Ill 42). Metric measurements conducted on the maxilla are presented in Table 3.

The preserved dentition comprises I^1 through to M^2 on the left side, and I^1, I^2, and P^3 to M^2 on the right side. All the remaining teeth are in full occlusion and are heavily worn. Metric measurements conducted on the maxillary dentition are presented in Table 4.

The maxillary dentition presents evidence of both dental and periodontal disease, and hypoplasic developmental anomalies. The individual also displays supernumerary tooth development on the right side. Ill 43 shows the position of a supernumerary anterior tooth which is crypted at the level of the root structures of the right lateral incisor and the right canine; it can be seen in a state of partial resorption. Its development has resulted in the antemortem evulsion of the permanent canine, the distal movement



41 Skeleton (108): maxilla viewed inferiorly



42 Skeleton (108): maxilla viewed superiorly

Table 2 Cranial measurements in mm

Anatomical measurement	mm	Anatomical measurement	mm
Glabella-nasion	10.0	Biporionic breadth	110.0
Glabella-opisthocranion	167.0	Mastoid height	23.0
Glabella-inion	160.0	Maximum parietal breadth	127.0
Glabella-bregma	102.0	Maximum parietal thickness	6.0
Bregma-lambda	116.0	Thickness at glabella	10.0
Minimum frontal breadth	93.5	Thickness at bregma	5.0
Bregma-pterion	93.0	Thickness at lambda	4.0
Biasterionic breadth	103.0	Thickness at asterion	5.0
Lambda-asterion	82.0	Bregma-porion	115.0

Table 3 Maxillary measurements in mm (*e* indicates estimated measurement)

Anatomical measurement	mm	Anatomical measurement	mm
Prosthion-palatomaxillary suture	34 *e*	External alveolar breadth at P^3/P^4 interdental septum	41.0
Prosthion-staphylion	42 *e*	External alveolar breadth at M^1/M^2 interdental septum	53.0
Nasospinale-prosthion	10 *e*	Palate breadth at P^3/P^4 interdental septum	29.0
Bicanine external breadth	34 *e*	Palate breadth at M^1/M^2 interdental septum	33 *e*
Prosthion-P^3/P^4 interdental septum	24.0	Prosthion-distal M^2 alveolus	40.0

of the lateral incisor and the distolingual rotation of the tooth crown. Ill 44 indicates the antemortem occlusal position of the incisor. Because of this rotation, interproximal facets have developed on the distolabial moiety of the incisor with a complementary facet on the mesio-buccal corner of the third premolar. In addition, complementary facets can be discerned on the labial aspect of the root of the incisor and on the sharp resorptive edge of the supernumerary crown. Translocation of the lateral incisor crown in combination with mastication has resulted in the tooth developing a notable 'canine' morphology through wear; this has not, however, obscured evidence of pronounced lingual shovelling. Whilst there is some evidence of alveolar resorption in the bone surrounding the supernumerary tooth and the lateral incisor, there is no evidence of reactive or periodontal bone disease.

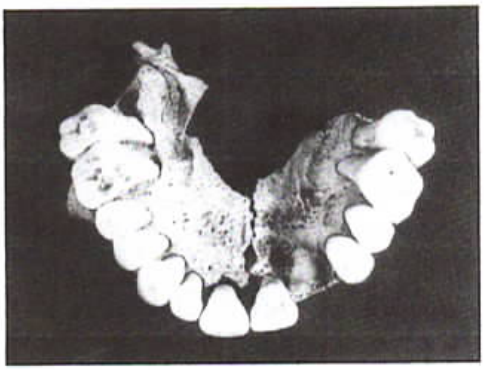
The right central incisor is intact and displays moderate apical attrition, which has resulted in the exposure of a dentine line along the occlusal edge, and a reduction in enamel definition on the lingual surface. The tooth displays a moderate degree of horizontal hypoplasic banding on the labial surface. A pronounced interproximal attrition facet is evident on the mesial moiety. No such contact facet is present on the distal margin of the crown, indicating a pronounced gap between the central and lateral (translocated) incisor. A small degree of calculus deposit can be observed on the distal and lingual surfaces of the tooth, near the gingival margin of the crown.

The right side posterior dentition presents a moderate degree of occlusal wear which has resulted in the obscuring of the surface morphology of the tooth crowns. Both the third and the fourth premolars are worn down to roughly the same level, with the apices of the paracone and protocone on both teeth displaying small basins of exposed dentine. Both teeth display moderate interproximal contact facets, a small degree of hypoplasic pitting on the buccal surface of the teeth, and small flecks of calculus deposit affecting both the buccomesial and buccodistal surfaces of both teeth around the gingival margins.

The first and second permanent molar teeth are heavily worn. All the major cusps have been obliterated, although wear is more heavily concentrated on the lingual aspect of the tooth crowns. The first molar still preserves enough occlusal morphology to note that the protocone is the largest of the four major cusps, with the paracone and metacone being of similar size, and the hypocone the smallest of the four. All four cusps display extensive concavities of exposed dentine. The second molar is mesiodistally reduced in size from the first molar, and not as heavily worn. Attrition has reduced surface morphology, but no dentine exposures are noted. As in the case of the first molar, the protocone is the largest cusp, followed in size by the paracone, the metacone and a greatly reduced hypocone. The buccal surface of both molars is heavily crusted with deposits of calculus, and there is extensive evidence of resorption of alveolar bone around the gingival margins and the roots of both teeth. This resorption is particularly severe on the palatine side of the maxilla.

The left side dentition reflects a much greater degree of occlusal attrition affecting both the anterior and posterior dentition. Both incisors are heavily worn with the exposure of much apical dentine. The central incisor displays a pattern of non-uniform occlusal attrition inclined towards the distolabial corner of the tooth, with the formation of a small notch on the labial aspect towards the distal corner. Lingual surface wear has reduced the extent of enamel shovelling and the presence of the grooved cingulum, these features being more distinct on the antimere. The tooth displays moderate hypoplasic horizontal banding. Apical attrition has obliterated much of the occlusal morphology of the lateral incisor which displays a line of dentine exposure running in an arc from the mesiolabial corner of the tooth through to the distolingual moiety. The tooth displays a large hypoplasic pit affecting the mesial half of the labial surface. The premolar and molar teeth are in an advanced state of occlusal attrition which has resulted in the loss of much occlusal and cuspal morphology. Both premolar teeth have been abraded to a planar surface with a slight lingual orientation; all surface morphology has been obliterated except for a slight presence of the intercuspal fissure of P^3.

The first molar displays extensive occlusal attrition, which has resulted in the exposure of dentine facets and a reduction in height of all four primary cusps. Attrition most notably affects the protocone of this tooth with the exposure of a large ovoid basin of dentine some 6.5 by 4.5 mm in diameter, affected by a marked area of carious lesions. In particular a fissure lesion some 3 mm long is notable within the remnant of the paracone/metacone intercuspal fissure; this is further enhanced by a small point lesion at the centre of the fissure. Central to this area, and thus af-



43 Skeleton (108): supernumerary maxillary tooth



44 Skeleton (108): antemortem occlusal position of incisor

fecting the lingual aspect of the paracone, is an area of darkened and polished dentine which may mark the presence of an old abraded lesion. The second molar tooth displays no evidence of dental caries and a greatly reduced level of occlusal attrition than that displayed by the first permanent molar. Only one facet of dentine is exposed, occurring at the apex of the protocone, with the result that this cusp is greatly reduced in overall height. Both molar teeth display extensive evidence of resorption of alveolar bone around the gingival margins and roots, particularly severe on the palatine side of the maxilla. No evidence remains of the third molar teeth and it is unlikely that these teeth were ever present in the mouth. The remaining maxillary tubercle on the left side is too small to have housed the wisdom root structure; furthermore, the distal margins of both maxillary second molars display no articulation facets. It is thus most probable that individual (108) displayed agenesis of the maxillary wisdom teeth.

Table 4 Maxillary mesiodistal and buccolingual crown diameters in mm

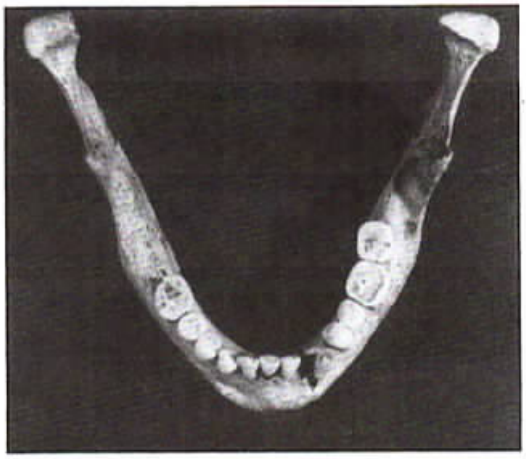
Left	MD	BL	Right	MD	BL
I^1	8.0	7.2	I^1	7.9	7.1
I^2	5.8	5.9	I^2	5.7	6.0
C	5.9	8.5	C	-	-
P^3	5.8	8.4	P^3	6.1	8.5
P^4	5.5	8.2	P^4	5.7	8.2
M^1	9.4	10.3	M^1	9.9	10.7
M^2	7.6	10.2	M^2	7.9	9.7

Mandibular remains The mandibular remains recovered-comprised four fragments which yielded a complete mandibular corpus upon reconstruction, both condyles and coronoid processes, and a largely intact lower dentition (Ills 45 & 46). The mandibular body and processes are gracile in form with no pronounced muscular entheses or rugosities. Metric measurements conducted on the mandible are presented in Table 5.

Viewed superiorly, the mandibular corpus and dental arcade display a wide, shallow parabolic arc. The symphyseal region is marked by the moderate development of a chin. The three components of this are expressed to varying degrees; in the midline the tuber symphyseos is moderately pronounced. The tuberosity is bordered bilaterally by locally pronounced mental fossae, which serve to delineate and accentuate both mental tubercles. These are situated on the inferior border of the corpus at a level below the canine/P_3 interdental septa; the medially-oriented aspect of the tuberculum mentale has resulted in the formation of a pointed or pinched symphyseal region when viewed in both the superior and lateral aspects.

Single mental foramina occur bilaterally at a level below the P_3/P_4 interdental septa. Just posterior to these can be felt the origins of the external oblique lines. These are poorly defined on the buccal margins of the corpus and do not find clear expression until the lines rise cranially to mark the anterior borders of the ascending ramii. Laterally, the gonial region displays moderate evidence of the insertions of the superficial portion of masseter, this being slightly more pronounced on the left side of the mandible. Cranially, the apices of the coronoid processes are intact and sharp.

The mandibular condyles are largely complete; both



45 Skeleton (108): mandible viewed superiorly



46 Skeleton (108): mandible viewed from right side

condylar surfaces are intact with no evidence of wear or eburnation. The internal surface of the corpus is marked to the front by moderate expression of the sublingual fossa, delineating a moderate superior transverse torus. Caudal to this, evidence of small genial tubercles and somewhat more pronounced digastric fossae at the inferolingual border can be discerned. Posteriorly, the internal surfaces are marked caudally by the submandibular fossa, and cranially by the mylohyoid groove, mandibular fossa, and the internal oblique line (temporal crest); these structures are more pronounced on the left side.

The *in situ* mandibular dental remains comprise the central incisor and P_3 through to M_2 on the left side and I_1 through to M_1 on the right side. The left lateral incisor and canine have been evulsed antemortem in response to periodontitis affecting both teeth. The canine socket is sealed at the alveolar margin with much evidence of granular reactive bone growth (Ill 47). The lateral incisor socket shows a much greater degree of dental disease, with evidence of periodontitis having led to a chronic periapical condition and abscess formation; evidence of a small fistula can be observed on the alveolar border. The formation of such an abscess has led to a weakening of alveolar bone on the labial surface of the mandible; this bone has been fragmented and lost post mortem. The second permanent molar on the right side has also been evulsed antemortem in response to periodontal disease. Reactive bone can be

Table 5 Mandibular measurements in mm.

Anatomical measurement	mm	Anatomical measurement	mm
Maximum mandibular length	95.0	Symphyseal height	23.0
Bicondylar breadth	109.0	Symphyseal depth	11.5
Bicondylar articular breadth	97.0	Corpus height at canine	22.5
Bicoronoid breadth	80.5	Corpus depth at canine	9.5
Bigonial breadth	84.5	Corpus height at M_1/M_2 interdental septum	18.5
Gonion-condylar process	45.0	Corpus depth at M_1/M_2 interdental septum	12.5
Gonion-coronoid process	48.0	External alveolar breadth at P_3/P_4 interdental septum	38.0
Gonion-mandibular notch	34.5	External alveolar breadth at M_1/M_2 interdental septum	58.0
Infradentale-P_3/P_4 interdental septum	21.0	Internal alveolar breadth at P_3/P_4 interdental septum	31.0
Infradentale-distal M_2 alveolus	46.0	Internal alveolar at M_1/M_2 interdental septum	45.0

discerned at the site of tooth loss, and much resorption of bone has occurred, reducing the height of the mandibular body at this point.

The remaining dentition displays varying degrees of attrition, with this being more pronounced on the left side. Slight apical attrition has exposed dentine on the occlusal surface of the left central incisor. It displays an extensive build-up of dental calculus affecting the lingual, the mesiolingual and the distolingual surfaces near the gingival margin, the heaviest concretion affecting the lingual surface near the cervix of the tooth. Both premolars display extensive exposures of dentine with the obliteration of all cuspal morphology with the exception of a pronounced secondary ectosylid cusp at the relatively unworn mesiobuccal corner of P_3. Both permanent molar teeth are very heavily abraded with the loss of almost all occlusal enamel. Two instances of pit caries can be seen to affect the occlusal surface of the second molar. In the first case a pronounced pit has penetrated the buccal moiety of the molar intercuspal to the missing protoconid and hypoconid. In the second case, an area of small pit caries has penetrated the surface of the exposed dentine in the area of the now obliterated metaconid-entoconid intercuspal fissure. With the exception of a small area of the distolingual moiety of the left P_3, none of the left side posterior dentition displays evidence of calculus build-up.

Table 6 Mandibular mesiodistal and buccolingual crown diameters in mm

Left	MD	BL	Right	MD	BL
I_1	5.0	5.5	I_1	5.1	5.4
I_2	-	-	I_2	5.0	5.5
C	-	-	C	5.7	6.5
P_3	5.6	7.4	P_3	6.1	7.2
P^4	6.0	7.2	P^4	6.4	7.4
M_1	10.8	9.9	M_1	10.8	9.8
M_2	9.8	9.0	M_2	-	-

The remaining dentition on the right side of the mandible displays a somewhat reduced level of occlusal attrition to that seen on the left, preserving occlusal morphology to a greater extent. Occlusal dentine is exposed at the apices of both incisors and the buccal cusp of both premolars; in the case of P_4 this attrition is more pronounced and has reduced the protoconid and metaconid to approximately the same height. Calculus concretion can be seen to affect the right side of the mandible to a far greater extent than the left. This is particularly concentrated on the lingual, mesiolingual and distolingual gingival margins of the anterior teeth through to P_3, and on the mesiolingual moiety of P_4. Furthermore, small concretions can be observed to affect the buccal surfaces of the lateral incisor and P_3 near the cervix.

Dental disease and occlusal attrition of the left mandible is most heavily concentrated on the first molar. Wear has reduced all five major cusps to roughly the same level, exposing dentine basins at all five locations. Some evidence remains of the presence of an ectostylid (infected with a small carious pit) and a small mesiostylid. A large carious pit can be seen to affect the remaining intercuspal enamel and exposed dentine of the talonid fovea. Post mortem damage has resulted in the loss of the enamel covering the distobuccal moiety of the crown and the abrasion of the underlying dentine. This enamel loss has bisected a small articulation facet which can be discerned on the distal margin of the remaining tooth crown. The distal aspect of the distal root of the first molar displays evidence of discoloration and sub-gingival deposition of calculus. It is thus highly likely that the loss of the second molar and the concomitant resorption of alveolar bone has exposed the distal root structure of the first molar, leaving this open to infection and calculus build-up.

As is the case with the maxillary dentition, no evidence remains of the third molar teeth; it is unlikely that these teeth were ever present in the mouth. Whilst a clear retromolar space exists on both sides, as in the case of the



47 Skeleton (108): reactive bone growth in evulsed mandibular canine socket

maxillary teeth, the distal margin of the remaining left mandibular second molar displays no articulation facet. It is thus most probable that the mandibular as well as the maxillary third molar teeth of individual (108) failed to develop.

Axial and appendicular skeleton

The axial and appendicular skeleton survives in a rather incomplete but recognisable state; however, much of the remains are too fragmentary to identify other than to the type of skeletal element concerned. Detailed osteological analysis is precluded but many inferences can be drawn with regard to life-history and pathological conditions exhibited by the individual. Ill 36 shows the extent of axial and appendicular skeleton remaining. This section will deal with the vertebral column, the pelvis, sacrum and femur, and the upper limb and hand.

Vertebral column The vertebral column is complete from the atlas to the basal lumbar vertebra (cervical vertebrae = 7; thoracic vertebrae = 12; lumbar vertebrae = 5), with a portion of the sacrum also surviving. However, few individual elements preserve intact transverse or spinous processes, most being represented solely by the vertebral centra. The centra, running caudally from the axis to L5, exhibit a number of age-related skeletal changes that are of some interest. In the case of all centrum-bearing vertebrae, both the superior and inferior borders of the centra display evidence of osteophytic activity in a pronounced ring around the margin. This is not, however, lipping of the form usually associated with arthritic degeneration of the vertebral column, which has a tendency to produce laterally oriented stabilising lips around the centrum margin. Instead, the osteophytic activity is medially oriented producing an internal cuff of bone, with no spur or lip of reactive bone extending beyond the lateral margin of the centrum. These bone 'cuffs' are most pronounced in the lumbar region, but do not appear to be associated with evidence of osteoarthritis or stress/occupationally-related arthrosis for a number of reasons:

1: the lipping does not extend out laterally from the vertebral centra;
2: there is no evidence of osteophytosis of the superior and inferior articular surfaces;
3: there is no evidence of wear or eburnation affecting any of the vertebral articular surfaces;
4: the vertebral centra manifest evidence of some porosity and bone on both the superior and inferior surfaces.

Taken as a whole, this indicates a level of general age-related vertebral degeneration and bone modification and not a response to disease or occupational stress.

Pelvis, sacrum and femur Pelvic and sacral remains survive as the right innominate, minus the pubis and a portion of the ischium, the left acetabulum and a small section of the right side of the sacrum. The left acetabulum is undiagnostic for either age or sex, and appears to present normal morphological characteristics. The right innominate (in articulation with the sacral fragment) retains enough morphology to be of use in sex assessment. The innominate is present as the greater portion of the ilium, with only minor damage affecting the regions of the anterior superior iliac spine and the posterior inferior iliac spine. The ischium has been damaged just anteroinferiorly to the lesser sciatic notch and the moderately rugose ischial tuberosity, with the loss of the remaining portion of the ischium and all of the pubic bone. The greater sciatic notch is present with an internal angle of 70□. The iliac crest is diffuse and poorly defined. The acetabulum is intact and displays a transverse diameter of some 49 mm; the articular surface displays no evidence of eburnation or wear, and the acetabular margins are clean and free from evidence of osteophytosis. The sacroiliac articulation is rugose with clearly defined pre- and post-auricular sulci. The pelvis appears to display no pathological conditions.

The femoral remains comprise the greater portion of the right femur. This was recovered in a fragmentary state, but upon reconstruction is present as the greater part of the femoral head, the diaphysis and lateral condylar process. The femur is notably gracile in form. The femoral head and neck exhibit post mortem damage which has resulted in the loss of the greater trochanter, but the lesser trochanter is present and well defined. A well developed gluteal tuberosity can be seen lateral to this, which blends inferiorly into a moderately defined linea aspera. The distal femur exhibits heavy post-mortem damage which has resulted in the destruction of the medial condylar process and roughly 150 mm of the anterior, medial and posterior diaphyseal cortex; only a thin lateral portion of cortical bone links the diaphysis to the lateral aspect of the lateral condylar and epicondylar processes. Both proximal and distal articular surfaces display no evidence of pathology, osteophytosis, lipping, wear or eburnation.

The proximal half of a left femoral diaphysis was found in close association with skeleton (108) at the level of the left shoulder: this would appear to be the individual's left femur. This is somewhat larger, more robust, and with more rugosely defined muscular entheses than that displayed by the right femur; in addition the cortical bone is somewhat denser than that seen in the right femur. This could indicate a degree of asymmetrical osteological and muscular development, with a greater degree of left side muscular and skeletal development, which suggests that the individual was right handed, right side unilateral upper-body activity being balanced with an increase in left side lower limb musculature.

Upper limb and hand The upper limb is present as a small portion of the right scapula, the majority of the right humerus, ulna, and radius, a small number of right hand bones, and the greater proportion of the left hand. The scapula is present as the glenoid cavity, a portion of the acromial spine and process, and the coracoid process. The specimen is gracile with no rugose muscular attachments; no pathological conditions were noted.

The humerus has been damaged post mortem with the loss of the head just superior to the surgical neck; the intertubercular sulcus can be seen clearly. The diaphysis is remarkably gracile with no pronounced deltoid tuberosity or muscular entheses; the distal end is almost intact. The olecranon fossa is complete with no septal aperture. The trochlear and capitular surfaces display no evidence of pathology, occupational disease, or wear; this pattern is repeated in the corresponding articular surfaces of the proximal radius and ulna, with the olecranon and coronoid processes, the radial notch, and radial head displaying smooth and clean bone surfaces. Both bones are gracile with poorly defined entheses. They are present as the proximal three-quarters, the distal ends of both bones having been truncated just distal to the ulnar oblique ridge and

the origin of pronator quadratus. The right hand is present as the lunate, trapezium, trapezoid and scaphoid carpal bones, and two phalanges.

In addition, a small portion of the left upper limb was recovered. This is present as a fragment of the proximal ulna, the distal articular ends of the ulna and radius, and the greater proportion of the left hand. The distal radius and ulna present clean and undamaged articular surfaces, and include the delicate styloid process of the ulna. The left hand is present as the trapezoid, capitate, lunate, hamate and scaphoid carpal bones, and the fingers from first (thumb) to fourth which are complete, and include the metacarpals and all phalanges. No pathological conditions were noted.

Age, sex and stature

Age

Conducting an accurate assessment of chronological age at death of skeletal individuals is a problematical affair. Moreover, skeleton (108) has suffered extensive post-depositional damage and chemical/mechanical scouring which has destroyed or severely modified many of the age-related developmental and morphological characters that can be used to interpret the age at death of an individual. In particular:

1 the individual appears to display agenesis of the third permanent molar teeth;
2 scouring and exfoliation of cortical bone along the margins of the cranial sutures has falsely created an unfused appearance;
3 the bones of the pubic symphysis have not survived;
4 the sternal ends of the fourth ribs have not survived intact.

Points 3 and 4 in particular hamper any attempt to make an accurate assessment of age at death for this individual. However, based on remaining criteria, a broad assessment of age can be made.

It is suggested that individual (108) was somewhere between thirty and forty years of age at death for the following reasons:

1 all the epiphyses recovered are fused to the diaphyses indicating a skeletally adult individual;
2 the remaining section of fused coronal suture is partially obliterated;
3 the sacroiliac articulation of the pelvis and its post-auricular area displays evidence of age-related modification;
4 the presence of osteophytic activity of an age-related nature affecting the inferior and superior surfaces of the vertebral centra;
5 the state of dental wear, particularly that affecting the posterior dentition, is indicative of an individual of some maturity;
6 the individual is in a remarkably good state of skeletal health, with no evidence of extreme age-related or occupationally-derived degenerative osteological conditions such as osteoarthritis.

Sex

An analysis of cranial and post-cranial features suggests that the sex of individual (108) is most likely female. Whilst many of the sexually diagnostic areas of the pubic bone, such as the ventral arc and subpubic cavity, have not survived, enough morphological characteristics are present to allow an assessment of the sex of this individual to be made. These include:

1 presence of a preauricular sulcus;
2 moderately wide sciatic notch;
3 elevated sacroiliac articulation;
4 presence of a pronounced postauricular sulcus.

Enough morphological markers are present on the cranium to correlate with the pelvic assessment of sex. These include:

1 very small superciliary arches and glabellar expression;
2 sharp upper orbital margins;
3 small mastoid processes;
4 gracile nuchal muscular entheses;
5 gracile mandible with a small pointed chin.

The overall skeletal gracility and lack of rugose muscular attachments exhibited by this adult individual appear to corroborate further the assessment of female sex.

Stature

Stature estimation from fragmentary remains is highly problematical, but utilising a femoral length of 39 cm, the stature estimation equation of Trotter and Gessler (1977, 355) for white females ((2.47 x femoral length) + 54.10 cm (± 3.72)) allows an estimated stature of 147 to 154 cm to be derived, with a mean stature of 150 cm. In the absence of corroborating evidence from other intact long bones – such as the humerus or tibia – this figure should only be considered a rough estimate of stature.

Life-history interpretations

We can state with some degree of confidence that inhumation (108) is an adult female, aged between 30 and 40 years at death. The skeletal remains allow a variety of interpretations to be made about her life-history, in particular the state of her general health, childhood illnesses and diet. We may also make tentative inferences about her socio-economic status and even the level of her personal hygiene.

She appears generally to be in good skeletal health, displaying no evidence of congenital defect, metabolic disease, trauma, infection, occupational stress, degenerative joint disease or neoplastic disease. Based on a tentative measurement of femoral length, she appears to have been around 1.5 metres tall, or a little under 5 feet, of gracile build, with no heavy muscular markings apparent on any of the preserved long bones. Furthermore, she presents no evidence of stress or activity-related degeneration affecting any of her joint surfaces. It is therefore unlikely that individual (108) was engaged in a high-stress or physically rigorous lifestyle.

However, she does exhibit a rather poor picture of dental health; her dentition provides information regarding her diet and the incidence of metabolic/infective stress during childhood. In particular, marked hypoplasic lesions affect the labial aspect of her maxillary anterior dentition. Whilst the potential range of causes of such abnormalities in human enamel is extensive, the time-frame during which such stimuli can affect the enamel growth process is limited to the developmental life of the affected teeth; in this case the developmental defect occurred between birth and perhaps six years of age (Hillson 1986).

Perhaps the most interesting aspects of her dentition

are the inferences that can be drawn concerning diet and oral hygiene. She exhibits a predominant bias towards increased occlusal wear on the left side of her mouth. This affects both the maxillary and mandibular anterior and posterior dentition, with the highest level of attrition having completely denuded the occlusal enamel of the left mandibular molar teeth. This pattern appears to be due to the occurrence of extensive periodontal infection on the opposite side, perhaps exacerbated by the presence of the anterior maxillary supernumerary tooth. It is likely that such a periodontal infection was long-term and chronic, leading ultimately to the evulsion of the right second mandibular molar; long-term infection is suggested by the lack of contralateral occlusal wear and extensive unilateral calculus concretion on the buccal surface of the right maxillary molars. However, any right side pain or discomfort experienced by the individual would have been somewhat offset by a chronic periapical condition and abscess formation affecting the left mandibular canine and lateral incisor, teeth that were eventually evulsed antemortem. In addition, she presents a case of severe occlusal overbite, with the occlusal surfaces of the mandibular dentition almost in contact with the lingual cervix of the maxillary anterior teeth (Ill 12). She thus displays a curious mixture of good skeletal, but poor dental health.

Recommendations for future excavations

In addition to the adult female (108), an extremely fragmentary inhumation was recovered from deposit (233) and a large number of plough-dispersed and disarticulated skeletal elements were found. These specimens include isolated teeth and complete and fragmentary unassociated body and limb elements. However, at present only individual (108) has been analysed in detail.

The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, we have sought to highlight the degree of bioanthropological and osteological information that can be derived from a single well-preserved individual and secondly, we sought to circumvent area-dependent (laterally dispersive and/or sample-size) taphonomic biases. We have thus sought to prevent erroneous conclusions concerning the osteology, pathology, and skeletal part representation of human remains so far recovered from the small areas of site that have been opened for excavation.

However, with careful planning and clear research direction further excavation of the site will yield much more detailed information. Thus in order to maximise the osteological, anthropological and biocultural information that can be derived from the human skeletal populations recovered at Poulton it is suggested that the following avenues of activity be pursued:

Supervision of the excavation of inhumations by an archaeologically-trained osteologist or physical anthropologist. The excavation of human burials is not a quick or technically easy process, and much valuable information is readily lost by unfamiliarity with human skeletal anatomy. Skeletal remains should be recorded both during and after excavation, cleaned, conserved, and prepared for analysis on site. The potential savings of post-excavation time and resources cannot be too highly stressed.

An appraisal of anthropogenic factors in site formation processes through detailed taphonomic analysis via:

1 temporo-spatial analysis of associated skeletons and unassociated skeletal remains;
2 the construction of Minimum Number of Individual counts and demographic profiles of associated and unassociated skeletal and dental remains based on developmental and ontogenetic analysis of skeletal remains, and histological calculation of age at death based on dental remains;
3 histo-chemical and histological analysis of bone chemistry residues and diagenetic factors in an attempt to reconstruct the taphonomic history of the Poulton bone deposits;
4 the collection of grave-fill sediments from the thoracic and pelvic regions of inhumations, and the analysis of those sediments for evidence of sarcophagous insect puparia; from this it should be possible to infer season and conditions of burial.

It must be realised from the outset that the skeletal assemblage buried at Poulton is inherently different from the living community that interred the human remains; however, we should not simply treat the human (and zoological) remains as dry bones, static entities or silent voices. The skeletal phenotype is a dynamic entity, reflecting the complex interplay between the genetic history, environment, and life-history of an individual. Skeletal muscle records patterns of cultural activity, trauma, disease, environmental stress and medical intervention. Human remains can be utilised as powerful investigative tools in an attempt to understand cultural practice in ancient societies. Understanding the treatment of the dead provides a window onto the treatment of the living, shedding light on the beliefs and ideologies of the culture that gave birth to and finally, with care, deposited individuals such as skeleton (108). Silent bones have their stories to tell; to understand, we should tread quietly and listen well.

Animal bone

Lesley A Harrison

Introduction

A small amount of animal bone was recovered from field-walking in the area, and animal bone was recovered from most of the contexts during the excavation. No collection of bulk soil samples was undertaken, although some contexts were dry sieved on site. The reliance on hand retrieval only is likely to bias the assemblage toward larger bones. However numerous small bones were recovered, with many fragments less than 10 mm in length, which must partly reflect the slow and meticulous nature of a training excavation as well as the policy of hand digging from the outset and collecting all visible finds.

Methods

All the animal bone recovered was scanned, counted and weighed. The identifiable fragments were assigned to bone type and species as far as was possible using Chester Archaeology's reference collection, which consists of modern and archaeological material. Several recognised texts were also used (Cohen & Serjeantson 1986; Schmid 1972). Several of the small mammal and bird bones were not identified owing to a lack of reference material.

Description

Condition
The bone was poorly preserved and highly fragmented. Weathering had abraded the surface features, making it difficult to recognise pathology and any butchery marks. The bone may have been initially spread on the surface as a fertiliser and exposed to pre-depositional weathering. It had also been affected by the land use in the area, after burial, with ploughing probably bringing it to the surface, where frost, wind, rain and plough damage further fragmented the assemblage. The area is under established grassland and, as most of the recorded archaeological material was near the surface, a great deal of damage appears to have been done by the grass roots completely penetrating and growing through the bone, prising it apart. The local soil is also slightly acidic which would have contributed to the degradation of the bone. Further work may include soil pH tests. Re-deposition and trampling are also in evidence. A small number of calcined fragments were recovered. No metal staining was noted.

Quantity
A single bone box of material was recovered (total 3400 fragments, weight 5082 g). The fragmentary nature of the assemblage makes it difficult to establish species frequencies and ratios, so it is not possible to comment in detail on the importance of livestock.

Range of species
Cattle bones appear to make up the bulk of the assemblage, with a high proportion of teeth being present across the site, an indication of poor preservation conditions. Loose cattle teeth may also be an indication of grazing. Horse remains were scarce. No cervid bones or antler were identified. Sheep/goat (no distinction was made) are represented in small numbers, as is pig. Dog was also recorded but no cat bones were recovered. Bones from amphibians (probably frog) were quite numerous. Of the small mammals, rabbit, hare, rat, vole, mole and shrew were identified. Among bird bones, domestic fowl and goose were identified and possible pigeon and numerous smaller bird bones were also recovered.

Butchery
The poor preservation of the bone and surface erosion made it difficult to recognise butchery marks. However, saw- and knife-marks were noted on a very small number of bones. A cattle-size vertebra fragment (Trench VI (215)) had knife marks representing trimming, and a cattle-size rib fragment (VIII (218)) also bore knife marks. Further knife marks were noted on an immature cattle femur (VI (222)) a sheep/goat astragalus (VII (219)) and on a hare tibia (I (101)). A cattle-size longbone shaft appeared to have been sawn (I (101)) and a cattle radius (VI (215)) had possible chop marks made by a cleaver or chopper.

Gnawing
No evidence of gnawing was seen.

Pathology
Pathological abnormalities were recognised on a few of the bones, although the surface deterioration made it difficult to discern. Irregular wear of the occlusal surface of a cattle second molar (recovered during fieldwalking) was noted. The opposing tooth must also have shown irregular wear, but the cause of these changes is unknown. Possible pathological changes at the proximal and distal articulations of a cattle second phalanx (VI (215)), may be a result of arthritic changes, although the bone is eroded and it may just be a post-depositional effect. A cattle-size rib fragment with a well-healed break was also noted from this context (VI (215)). A possible dog tibia with pathology on the proximal articulation, lipping and new irregular growth, possibly a result of arthritis, was noted (VIII (224)).

Conclusions and future research

As the archaeological deposits investigated in 1995 were close to the surface and partly affected by ploughing, the recovered animal bone is for the most part disturbed and of limited value for site interpretation. Much of the bone was mixed with disturbed human skeletal material and other finds, and was spread across a wide area. It is possible that the spread of animal bone, which appears largely to be derived from kitchen and other domestic waste, represents the use of bone in fertiliser or as a way of coarsening the topsoil to improve drainage. As none of the animal bone was recovered from a sealed and closely-dated pit context it is impossible to say whether any of it is related to medieval or earlier use of the site.

Of numerous small mammal bones recovered, vole, mole and shrew were identified, the bones of which are ubiquitous in field contexts; large numbers would need to be recovered consistently from future excavations, and their modern population estimated, for an assessment to be made of their ecological significance in earlier periods. Small mammals as well as frogs tend to fall into holes and ditches, and their bones may therefore be expected in bulk samples taken from the bottom deposits of these and other negative features.

The assemblage is of potential importance as few rural sites have been excavated in the district, and any material recovered can be used to complement that from urban excavations. The data from Poulton may help to answer questions about variations in diet between medieval town and country, and in particular between monastic and other ecclesiastical establishments. The same would apply to bone from the possible Roman site, which may contrast with assemblages from the fortress and *canabae* of *Deva*.

Discussions

Mike M Emery, David J L Gibbins and Keith J Matthews

The Mesolithic of western Cheshire

Although the Mesolithic evidence from Poulton is limited, the likelihood of some form of occupation brings into the discussion the general context of a period which is poorly-understood in this region, but for which recent work is beginning to highlight many areas of apparent activity. The first permanent settlers are thought to have arrived in the Cheshire region in the late upper Palaeolithic period, around 11,000 BC (Carrington ed 1994a, 16). Flint scatters of Mesolithic date have been found on the western slopes of the Mid-Cheshire Ridge, on the Carden ridge to its west and, more recently, in the Dee valley and at nearby sites such as Little Eye in the Hilbre Island group off north-western Wirral (Ill 48). From settlements on the hilltops or their slopes, the marshy river valleys of the Gowy and Dee to the west and the Cheshire Plain to the east were within easy reach. These locations offered the Mesolithic hunter-gatherers access to a great diversity of plants and animals.

During the earlier part of this period, elk and aurochs were the dominant food animals, but as their habitats decreased in size as deciduous woodland established itself, so wild pig replaced them; red and roe deer remained important throughout. There is little sign of specialisation on any particular species, and where the dominance of one animal is found, this is thought to have been a result of restricted local fauna. In addition, beaver, fox, marten, wildcat and bear were hunted mainly for their fur, while water-fowl and fish were hunted for food.

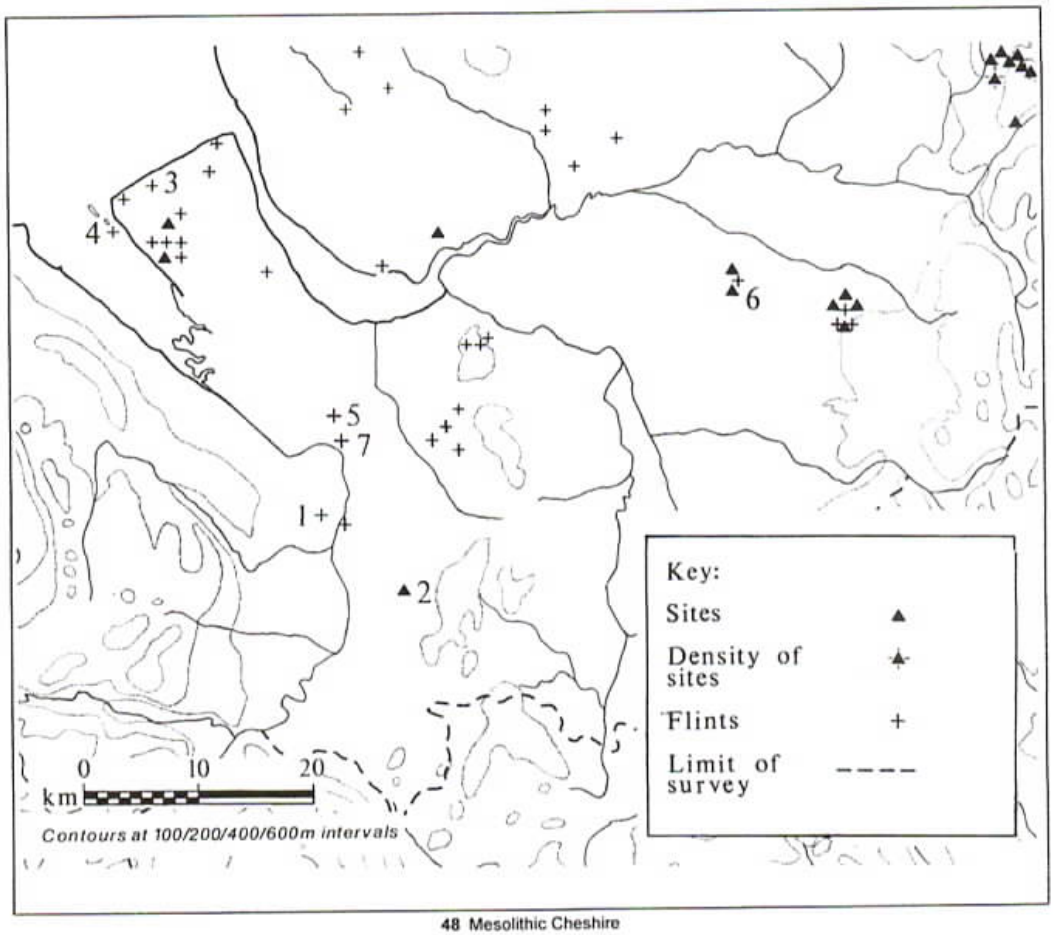
Bows and arrows were important technical innovations of this period. Barbs and tips made from microliths are found all over Europe; although some examples were intended as penetrating arrows, it is clear that not all microliths were used in this way. A later version of the arrow had oblique or transverse chisel ends, which may have been used to stun small mammals and birds. Bird bones include swan. For fishing, a variety of barbs and harpoons were made from bone and antler, while fish-hooks, basket traps, nets, dug-out boats, paddles and skis have been found in the favourable preservation conditions of northern Europe.

Most of this evidence relates to fresh-water exploitation, as the coastal sites of the early Mesolithic have been lost to rising sea levels. However, by the seventh millennium BC sea fisheries existed in eastern Scotland and western Sweden, the hunting perhaps being conducted from skin boats. Cod, haddock, turbot, sturgeon, salmon, tunny, grouper, wrasse, sargus and seabream have all been found as food remains. Occasionally seals, porpoises and whales were hunted. Mounds of discarded shells (shell middens) have been found along the Atlantic coast from Portugal to Scotland. Although traditionally regarded as a last resort because of their allegedly poor nutritional value, the communities which exploited shellfish were evidently settled and perhaps among the more innovatory in Europe. Sedentary peoples may have begun limited horticulture, perhaps encouraging the growth of those trees and shrubs which were important for food around their settlements, as has been claimed for the recently-discovered site at Rhuddlan, Clwyd (Brassil 1991, 49). Recent pollen diagrams from Lancashire and Merseyside have also shown that cereal pollens were present in the period 4900-4500 BC, much earlier than the beginning of a true Neolithic economy (Cowell & Innes 1994, 201). This shows that the Mesolithic populations of the north-west were experimenting with crop raising long before the first farmers arrived in the south-east; incidentally, it also helps to explain what had previously been regarded as anomalous early dates for cereal cultivation in northern Ireland. It now seems likely that an Irish Sea route was being followed by pioneering mariners, perhaps in skin boats.

Hunting was probably not such a random activity as the term seems to imply. There is good evidence that certain groups of animals were sought out in order not to disrupt breeding patterns and on many sites there is a preponderance of mature animals. In some places there is evidence for closer relationships between people and animals. There are suggestions that ivy was used as fodder on a number of sites in southern England, although for what animal is not known. Deliberate forest clearance, albeit temporary, is seen in pollen diagrams, and tools for tree felling were also developed at this time. These clearances have usually been interpreted as a means of attracting deer to a place where controlled hunting could take place, although the evidence from the north-west shows that some, at least, might have been for crop rearing.

Ethnographic examples show that the colder the climate, so the greater the reliance on animals for food; consequently, as the climate improved throughout the Mesolithic, so it is likely that there was an increase in the consumption of plant foods. Direct evidence is unfortunately sparse. Hazelnuts are common, sometimes being found in pits or as spreads across sites; water chestnuts and water lily also seem to have been eaten. At Star Carr, water lily, bog-bean, fat-hen and nettle residues were found, while raspberry was recorded at Newferry. The prominence of hazel in pollen diagrams has been taken to indicate the cultivation of these trees, perhaps by coppicing or transplanting seedlings.

Much of the Mesolithic tool technology derived directly from upper Palaeolithic prototypes. These included burins, steep retouch on flints, microliths and the extensive use of antler and bone. Flint was the most commonly used stone in areas where it was readily obtainable, but in other areas it would be used very economically and different types of stone would be roughly chipped into shape and then ground and polished to form a smooth working edge (Darvill 1987, 43). These tools were used to make dug-out boats, paddles, hafts, handles, bows, arrows, spear-shafts, hut floors and a wide variety of other objects.



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Key

1	Poulton
2	Carden rock shelter
3	Meols
4	Hilbre Island
5	Bache Pool
6	Tatton Park
7	Chester

Our picture of the mobility of Mesolithic people is perhaps exaggerated. The information from Star Carr, for instance, suggests that an area with a radius of only ten kilometres could have supported four separate groups all year round. Although movement into the uplands was certainly dramatic during the summer months, there is no evidence that this necessarily involved the entire population: it could have been a seasonal movement restricted to a small group, similar to transhumance patterns in later pastoral societies. The long distance movements of artefacts and raw materials is not necessarily a result of the movement of people; we have already seen how groups travelling the Irish Sea introduced cereals to north-west England during the late Mesolithic, and the exchange of prestige items may have been a new feature of this period.

Although the movement of Mesolithic peoples into Britain may well have ceased when Britain became an island, *c* 7000 BC, the technology probably existed for cross-channel voyages. The largest assemblage of Mesolithic boat finds comes from Denmark, where as many as fourteen complete and fragmentary logboats have been dated by radiocarbon to 5500-4000 BC (Andersen 1994). The best-known, from Lystrup and Tybrind, were carefully crafted, with separate stern transoms and evidence for repairs; they could have held up to eight people and their belongings. Nevertheless, high-sided skin and plank-built boats, for which there is no Mesolithic evidence, would have been better suited to the open sea. The tradition of sewn-plank construction, now well-established for the British Bronze Age from the Ferriby, Dover and Caldicote boats (Parry & McGrail 1994; Wright 1994), may well have roots in the Neolithic or even earlier; it is not necessary to think of these plank boats solely as a consequence of the easier carpentry possible with bronze tools, or of the need to trade long distances for metal. Indeed, the Ferriby boats were probably designed for the transport of people and animals across the Humber estuary, and ferries would also have been an early development beside the Dee and the Mersey. These vessels, whether

log, skin or plank constructed, could also have been used for longer coast-hugging voyages and occasional trips across the Irish Sea. However, Mesolithic riverine or coastal activity must mainly have been concerned with subsistence – fishing, fowling and the hunting of sea mammals – and perhaps involved the type of simple logboat whose later use is shown by a number of boat finds in the Mersey region (Stammers 1994).

It has generally been assumed that Mesolithic societies had little individual differentiation either internally or between themselves, and there are plenty of ethnographic parallel for this. Service's (1962) evolutionary scheme for human social groups terms this type of society a 'band', and sees them as essentially egalitarian. However, these claims do not stand up to close scrutiny. Long-term environmental changes could have created stress or an uneven distribution of food resources between regions, which would lead to competition and differential status.

Local sites

When the Bache Pool, 1.5 km north of Chester, was drained in the nineteenth century, a small collection of microliths was discovered. The collection also includes at least one core from which the blades to make the microliths had been struck. The site, by the side of a small pool or mere, is very like one excavated in the 1980s at Tatton Park, in east Cheshire. At both sites the mere had developed from a small stream in a marshy valley during the Mesolithic period; a hunter-gatherer group had camped beside it for the food it offered, such as fish, water-fowl and aquatic mammals (for instance, beavers).

At Carden, thirteen kilometres south of Chester, a large collection of chert and flint artefacts has been found over a number of years, mostly eroding from the tail of a cone of occupation debris (talus) in front of a rock-shelter in the cliff there. The artefacts probably date from the late seventh millennium bc or later and most conform to narrow-blade technology, but the rock shelters are rare examples of habitations. It is hoped that the major shelter at Carden will be the subject of a future excavation by the University of Liverpool. Other possible rock shelters occur on the many west-facing cliffs in south-western Cheshire: although none has yet been shown to have prehistoric occupation, it is likely that some of them would have been used at this remote period.

The later Mesolithic was a period of increasing rainfall, rising to something like 11% above twentieth-century levels, when many of the lowland raised bogs (or mosses) began to form (Nevell 1992, 23). Rising sea levels also led to marine incursions in west Lancashire, reaching a height of two metres above Ordnance Datum by *c* 5500 BC (Cowell 1986/7, 26). At this time the transitional forest types of pine, birch, hazel and elm gave way to the mixed oak forest characteristic of the Neolithic (Barnes 1982, 35).

The new evidence from Poulton is adding to the picture of later Mesolithic settlement in the region. Collections of similar material have been found at Ashton-juxta-Tarvin (Leach 1942), at Aldford (Penney 1993, 4) and, in 1995-6, at Tarvin; together with Carden and Bache Pool, these sites are rare examples of lowland activity in the Mesolithic. Although the small quantities of material from Poulton have been found only in residual contexts, they nevertheless demonstrate the use of the site during early prehistory.

Roman rural Cheshire

Iron Age origins

The nature of both urban and rural settlement in Roman Britain is now seen to be inextricably linked with conditions in the late Iron Age, especially in areas where the Roman military presence was transient; even in areas away from the frontiers where there were permanent garrisons, notably the legionary fortresses of Caerleon (*Isca*), York (*Eburacum*) and Chester (*Deva*), the military presence and its archaeology may overshadow the reality of a largely native rural population, which developed more in its own terms than according to the cultural influence and economic requirements of the incomers. In most areas where they are common, villas, the hallmark of rural romanisation, may largely have been occupied by the romanised native élite, who maintained control over the surplus production which had previously provided for their individual wealth and the development of *oppida* and other proto-urban tribal centres. These or nearby sites became the basis for Roman towns, the most successful of which were the focus for administrative cantons (*civitates*) which sustained the geography and names of the native tribes. According to this model, Iron Age tribute translated readily into Roman taxation, and the extra needs of an increased native and an immigrant population were met by agricultural intensification rather than by a radical transformation of the rural economy (*eg* Millett 1990).

The application of this or contrasting coercive models of romanisation to the Cheshire region is fraught with difficulty, as a result of the paucity of appropriate theoretical constructs as much as the limited data. In terms of Late Iron Age Britain as a whole the region has been seen as culturally marginal, as well as an interface between the poorly known tribes of the Cornovii, the Deceangli (to the west) and the Brigantes (to the north) (Ill 49), and we must imagine a lost history of complex interrelations and conflict whose implications on settlement can perhaps only be hinted at by comparison with Welsh border history of the early Middle Ages.

The region perhaps falls within the northern ambit of the Cornovii (Webster 1991), whose tribal central place was probably the Wrekin hillfort in Shropshire, near the later *civitas* capital of *Viroconium* (Wroxeter). The late pre-Roman Iron Age Cornovii are usually viewed as relatively egalitarian and dispersed, by comparison with the strongly hierarchical centralised societies of the south-east, such as the Catuvellauni, which had larger and more sophisticated central places, the beginnings of a monetarised economy, and a more diverse material culture (partly through contact with the Roman world before the conquest). Among the Cornovii, the pace of urbanism and rural manifestations of *romanitas*, including villas, may thus have been comparatively slow after the conquest, and would perhaps have been least apparent in the north, at the periphery not only of the *civitas* but also the civilian administrative infrastructure of north-west Britain.

Romanisation

The picture in western Cheshire is of course complicated by the permanent and major military presence, involving a considerable immigrant community throughout most of the Roman occupation (the legionaries being recruited outside the region, unlike auxiliaries, who eventually were locally recruited). Study of sites at the very northern periphery of the province, along Hadrian's Wall, has suggested that permanent forts could both stimulate nucleated civilian settlement (the parasitic *vici* which grew up alongside forts) and suppress any native tendency towards developing independent nucleated settlements (for which there would be no need). At Chester, on the fringes of a *civitas*, the *canabae* (the *vicus* on military land) may have had a greater than usual immigrant population , given the site's additional extra-regional significance as a port and mercantile centre. Similar populations may also have existed at the additional *vicus* settlements identified at Heronbridge and Saltney.

The number of villas in the surrounding countryside is remarkably small, even if the undiscovered number is several times greater; in this region, it is possible, by contrast with the earlier model, that most were in fact the homes of immigrants and *nouveaux riches*, including veterans and well-to-do merchants, and existed as a quite separate phenomenon from the small-scale independent farms which may have represented a perpetuation of Iron Age landowning traditions in this area. These farms, as well as those of native origin formally within the *prata legionis* (the 'meadows of the legion') and thus perhaps under military control, may have intensified production to provide for local military provision and tax requirements; however, the additional capitalisation required for the development of recognisable villa economies, and indeed villa structures, may have been constrained by a host of unknown local factors other than the military presence, possibly including socially-embedded restrictions on the aggrandisement of land and even cultural resistance (*eg* Kurchin 1995, 127). It is striking that excavations of the large farmstead or nucleated rural settlement at Irby, in Wirral, have so far revealed limited evidence of Roman material culture and certainly nothing approximating to a romanised structure, despite being within the supposed bounds of the *prata legionis*, near the road between Chester and the port of Meols, and in use apparently through much of the Roman period and earlier (Philpott 1994b, 29).

Rural settlement

Information about rural settlement in Cheshire during the Roman period is notoriously incomplete as a result of a number of factors. These include the nature of the county's soils and agricultural practices, neither of which is conducive to the formation of crop marks, and a chronic lack of interest in Roman rural settlement patterns until the 1980s. This latter is perhaps a product of the emphasis on the study of military sites and the region's peripheral location, sandwiched between the lowlands of the south-east and the highlands of the north and west. Furthermore, the presence of the military fortress of *Deva* at Chester proved too strong a magnet for the attraction of earlier generations of archaeologists and more effort has been expended on this one site than on all others in the county put together (Petch 1987, 212). However, there is a considerable amount of data for the rural area during the Roman period: it is the lack of a theoretical framework for interpreting it which has rendered it so intractable.

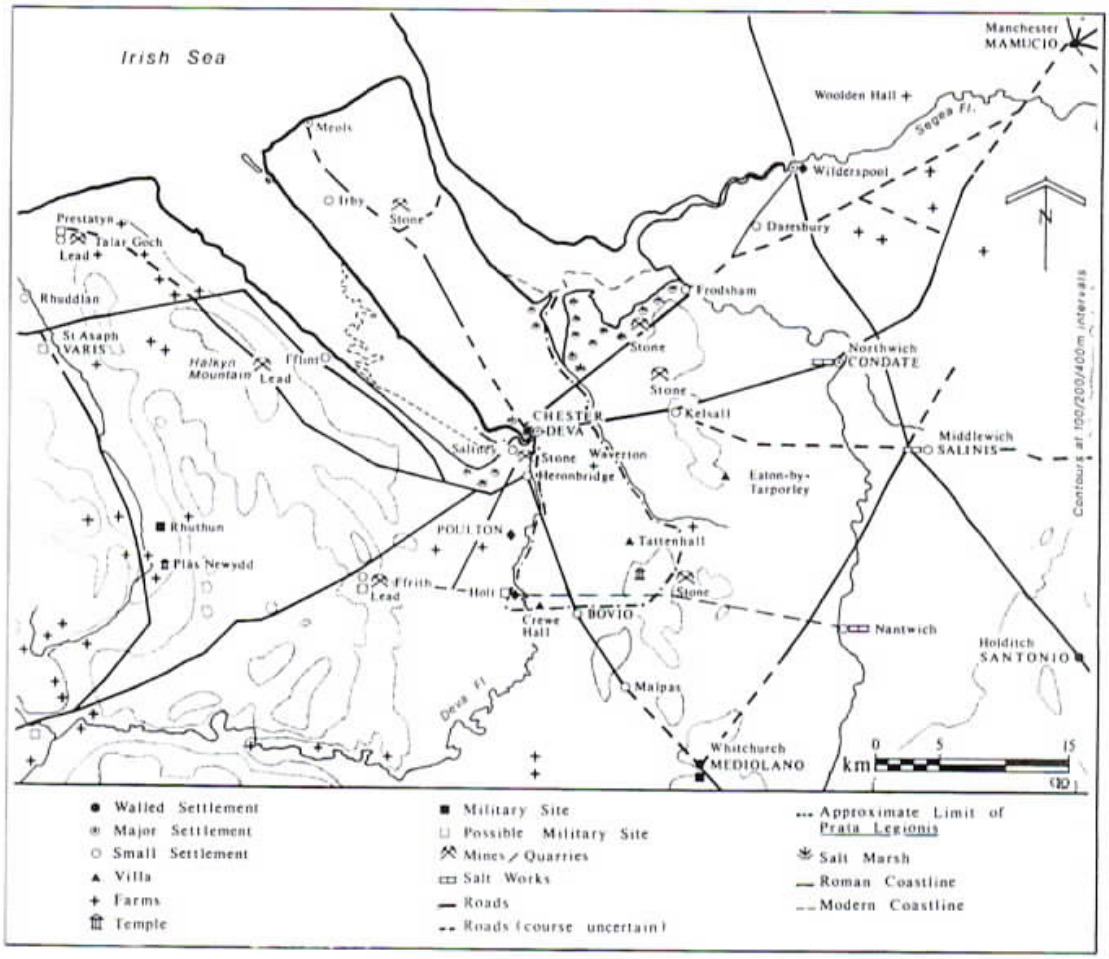
Given that a quantity of data already exists, it is possible to attempt its explanation. The first- and second-order nucleated settlements of Roman Cheshire are familiar, although only Chester can lay any claim to being well-known. Chester dominates the county both in terms of the richness of its Roman past and in the space devoted to it in the archaeological literature. Northwich, Middlewich, Wilderspool, Heronbridge and – to a lesser extent – Nantwich have produced sufficient traces of densely-packed structures of the period as to leave us in no doubt of their status as nucleated settlements. These settlements will have been among the upper levels of a hierarchy of land use and ownership stretching down to individual farmsteads.

If we accept this, those concentrations of material in the areas between the major settlements ought to belong to the lower end of the hierarchy of land use. The model of Romano-British rural settlement in Cheshire which is beginning to emerge starts from the premise that there was relatively intensive exploitation of the land for arable farming and seeks to identify the patterns of exploitation from the very scanty evidence which is available.

In order to do this it is necessary to construct models of the relative values of different classes of data. If the data were complete or rich, this would present few problems. However, we are not yet in a position to accept our data as anything like a representative sample because there is not enough and what there is has been collected haphazardly. A further complicating factor is the military occupation of the region following the conquest, its demilitarisation after thirty years or so and the continuing existence of *Deva* as a military installation, until at least the middle of the third century. This will have caused an initial disruption to land ownership and tenancy during the third quarter of the first century AD and, in the area of the *prata legionis* of *Deva*, the semi-permanent requisitioning of land and tight control by its new owner, the imperial central government.

The position of a rural site at Poulton is useful in helping to seek answers to the questions posed by the problems in the raw data. Firstly, its proximity to the fortress of *Deva* means that it may help to determine whether or not the west bank of the River Dee was included in the *prata legionis*. This is a problem because while the pottery and tilery at Holt was a military installation and on the western side of the river, recent interpretations of the 'small town' at Heronbridge have suggested that it lay outside military control (Mason 1988, 148; Higham 1993, 42). Whether Heronbridge or Holt was the exceptional site in terms of landownership is a question which needs to be resolved.

Furthermore, there are questions about the use of romanising material culture by the rural population of Cheshire which will only be answered by the excavation of a number of 'native' sites. It has generally been assumed that the local population had little interest in acquiring mass-produced pottery, perhaps because it had no tradition of pottery use; it may be that the small quantities in which it is found show that it was used only for display. The spatial patterning of ceramics on rural sites in the region has



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never been explored; Alison Jones (*above*, 31) has drawn attention to the fact that discrete spreads of material may be found well away from the main focus of settlement and could demonstrate the locations of arable fields. At the fully excavated site of Tatton Park, there was no Roman material apart from a single bead (Higham 1993, 57); this lack of material led Higham to conclude that the excavated settlement was sub-Roman in date, even though the radiocarbon dates centred in the Roman period (Higham 1993, 67).

The presence of considerable quantities of tile at Poulton may suggest that the site was of slightly higher status than a simple peasant farm. Although only one villa structure has been excavated in the county, at Eaton-by-Tarporley (Petch 1987, 211), other high-status sites certainly existed, as is demonstrated by the remains of a hypocaust at Crewe Hill near Farndon (Watkin 1886, 305), a substantial wall with painted plaster at Tattenhall (Rutter 1982, 56) and a mosaic pavement at Horton Green, Malpas (Watkin 1886, 309).

The North-West Wetlands Survey encountered a similar problem in locating and characterising prehistoric sites from very limited scatters of lithic material, and Bob Middleton (1993) has suggested a means of doing so. His model has been tested archaeologically and found generally to hold true. Basically, later Mesolithic sites in central Lancashire have been found to fall into two categories: occupation sites, which are represented by a concentration of large numbers of surface finds, and exploitation sites, which are represented by a single flint. Early Neolithic sites of all types, however, are generally located by a single surface find of flint. All classes of Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age sites are characterised by diffuse surface scatters of lithic material.

A similar model has been proposed by one of the authors for dealing with the limited material culture remains of Roman date found during fieldwalking (Matthews 1994, 58). This model has not yet been tested by fieldwork, but its application produces a coherent – and possibly convincing – model of rural settlement. It deals with the lower three tiers of a five-tier settlement hierarchy: at the bottom is the single farmstead, represented by perhaps one or two pottery sherds. These are found all over the county. The next stage up is the minor nucleated settlement or village, represented by a more diffuse and diverse scatter of material, including pottery and metalwork, sometimes also with tile; this type of find-spot is usually located at nodal points on the road network or at river crossings (with

the scatter at Ashton-juxta-Tarvin a notable exception). The third level on this scale is the romanised villa building, which could be represented by a dense scatter of all types of material, including pottery, tile and coins. In western Cheshire, such find-spots occur at roughly five-kilometre intervals and bear no relation to the road system.

This model suggests that the Roman period site at Poulton will prove to be of villa type; it should be located relatively close to the Chapel, as the material does not appear to be part of a diffuse scatter. A number of locations exist which would have been ideal for the siting of a villa, especially to the west of the Chapel. On the other hand, the limited area available for the collection of surface finds may have distorted the perception of their actual distribution; only a small part of the field had been ploughed when initially walked in March 1995. This could mean that the status of the site might have to be downgraded to minor nucleated settlement. To the north, a cropmark was observed in a potato field during the dry summer of 1995 which appeared to be the corner of a rectilinear enclosure (pers comm J Collens); although this was thought to be of Roman military character, it is possible that it formed part of a villa or farmstead enclosure. An important focus of further fieldwork will be establishing the character of the Roman period activity on the site and its relation to later land use.

Communications and the landscape

One of the earliest Roman impositions on the landscape was an arterial network of roads, initially to facilitate the movement of soldiers and their accoutrements, including building materials, and later for use by the provincial and local administration. This included the collection of taxes, and the new roads would have linked with existing trackways to allow ready access between native farmsteads and the local administrative and market centres. The nearest major road to Poulton was Watling Street, which ran south from Chester and Heronbridge via *Bovio* (Grafton) and *Mediolano* (Whitchurch); due east it ran only about 3 km from the site, beyond the Dee, its exact course through the Eaton Estate having been traced in the 1960s. Major roads linked the *civitas* capitals, military sites and small towns, and where the distances between them were too great they had regularly placed service stations – *mansiones* (inns) and *mutationes* (horse changing places) – which themselves often developed as the focus for modest settlements. It is possible that Poulton was linked by a trackway to the point at which Watling Street crosses the Dee some 5 km north of the site, or that an undiscovered metalled road led from that point past the site towards Holt, which also lies on the west bank of the Dee. Pavement Field, immediately to the north-west of the site, may refer to a lost road, although the term is more often associated with a buried floor such as a mosaic.

The main transport route between the legionary tilery at Holt and Chester was undoubtedly the river Dee, which would have been navigable by barges upstream from Holt. No remains of Roman barges or seagoing vessels have been found locally, though judging from finds at London, Guernsey and Newport (Gwent), as well as in the Rhine region, they could either have been of robust Romano-Celtic construction, built frame-first with flat bottoms suitable for rivers and tidal conditions, or of Mediterranean shell-first construction (Marsden 1994). The one vessel of Mediterranean type found in London, at County Hall, has been interpreted as a warship or official transport, and it may be that shipwrights at *Deva* (some conceivably seconded from the *classis Britannica*, the channel fleet) would have been quite familiar with either technique. Whatever the appearance of these vessels, they would have passed very close to Poulton, and it is perhaps no surprise that a Roman site at this location has produced building materials from Holt.

An intriguing area of landscape has been observed between Poulton and Handbridge: early Ordnance Survey maps show a distinctly rectilinear co-axial pattern of fields, parallel with Rake Lane (which runs west from Eccleston) and cut through by the Chester to Wrexham road. Although the line of the present road was established in 1755 as a Turnpike (Harrison 1886, map), it is known that a Roman road ran south-west from Ffrith (Denbighshire) towards the forts at Llanfor, Caer Gai and Brithdir (Dolgellau); this had clearly originated at the legionary fortress at Chester to the north-east. It has been suggested that the route ran through Caergwrle, Honkley and Burton Meadows to reach Dodleston after which it followed the winding road through Balderton and Lache to Chester (Margary 1973, 346) However, the Burton Meadows are low-lying ground which was probably largely marshland during the Roman period, and it is more likely that the road diverted to the east from its alignment through Ffrith to run north of Llay to Rossett and thence on a more northerly line via Pulford and Belgrave to Chester. A possible *agger* (road embankment) has been identified north of Pulford at SJ 381 599 (Cheshire SMR 2105/1), perhaps confirming this alignment.

This situation of an organised landscape which apparently pre-dates the construction of a major Roman road parallels the discovery of pre-Roman co-axial field systems on clay drift deposits in East Anglia (Williamson 1987, 430). Some very extensive areas (of 10 to 35 km^2) have been identified, which Tom Williamson takes to be evidence for widespread landscape organisation in the pre-Roman Iron Age of the region. Although the system between Poulton and Chester has not been examined in detail, if we are correct in ascribing it a date before the Roman conquest, it suggests a much more comprehensive clearance and organisation of the landscape than has hitherto been assumed. This is an area which needs detailed survey in the future.

Medieval religious houses in Cheshire

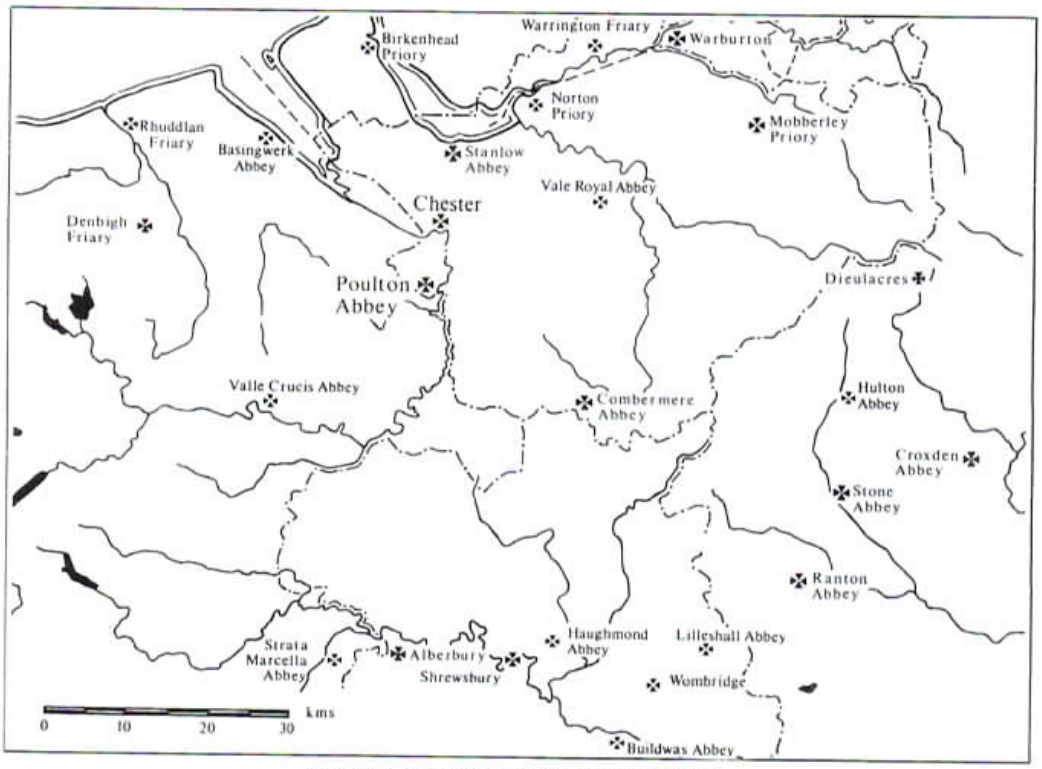
Twenty-two religious houses are known to have existed at various times in medieval Cheshire, mostly in the western and central parts of the county, which were always more wealthy than the east (Ill 50); six of these foundations were hospitals. The earliest known community was established as a college of secular canons at St Werburgh's Minster in Chester before 958, when Eadgar I (as king of Mercia) granted it a number of estates in Cheshire (Thacker 1987, 268). It is likely that the college was founded in 907 by Æthelræd II and his wife Æthelflæd as part of the reconstruction of Chester as a *burh*, perhaps partly as a focus for the cult of St Werburgh, whose remains had been brought to the city in 874, and partly to promote their favouite cult of St Oswald, as the parish of this saint was

based around a Chapel in the Minster. The only other communities known to have existed before the Norman conquest were also in Chester, at St John's Minster, also a college with a dean and seven secular canons, and St Mary's, a nunnery described as 'next to' St John's in Domesday Book (Morgan ed 1978, B11). It is possible that other minster churches such as Acton, Farndon and Runcorn, all of which were served by two priests in 1086, were of similar status (Thacker 1987, 269), although some have claimed that pre-conquest Cheshire had no religious houses at all (*eg* Kettle 1980, 1).

The Norman conquest occurred during a time of ecclesiastical reform, when old religious houses were being reorganised along stricter lines. This renewed interest in endowing monastic institutions led to a flurry of new foundations over the next two centuries or so, especially on rural sites, contrasting with the Saxon preference for foundations in towns or around which towns had grown (Platt 1978, 21). The Cistercian order was especially interested in taking deserted sites which they could mould to their own tastes; some communities copied the layouts of their mother house and took the opportunity to expand when they later prospered.

Cistercian houses were the most numerous in Cheshire: there were four, at Combermere, Poulton, Stanlow and Vale Royal. Combermere was the earliest, dating from 1133, when it was founded as a Savignac house (Kettle 1980, 150); following the joining of this order with the Cistercians in 1147 (Aston 1993, 74), it thereafter became Cistercian itself. Poulton, as seen above (8), was established between 1146 and 1153 as a daughter of Combermere. Stanlow followed in 1178, but was removed to Whalley (Lancs) in 1296 following a disastrous flood as a result of rising sea levels. Vale Royal, the final establishment, was initially founded at Darnhall in 1270, but moved to the site which became known as Vale Royal in 1277 (Kettle 1980, 156). Darnhall was finally abandoned in 1281.

There were three Benedictine foundations: St Werburgh's Abbey and St Mary's Nunnery at Chester and St James's Priory at Birkenhead. St Werburgh's was a re-foundation, based on the Saxon college, established in 1092 by Hugh I, Earl of Chester. Its first Abbot, Richard of Bec, was brought in from Bec in Normandy, but the English canons were allowed to retain their positions (Kettle 1980, 133). Its position in the centre of a major city brought it immense wealth, but often led to conflicts between the abbey and the city authorities (Carrington ed 1994a, 75). Much of the medieval fabric of the abbey has survived, making it one of the best preserved such houses in England. St Mary's was a new foundation, not the successor of the Saxon nunnery mentioned in Domesday Book. It was established at some time between 1147 and 1153 by Earl Ranulph II (Ward 1990, 3); there was a little excavation on the site in 1964 before the construction of the County Police Headquarters. St James's Priory at Birkenhead was founded between 1159 and 1181 and seems never to have been a prosperous establishment (Kettle 1980, 131). Two communities of Augustinians were founded, at Mobberley *c* 1206 and at Runcorn in 1115. The latter may have succeeded a college of Saxon origin, but little is



50 Medieval religious sites in the north-west Midlands

known about it. However, after nineteen years the house was translated to Norton, the site of the largest campaign of research ever undertaken into the archaeology and history of a monastic house anywhere in Europe (Greene 1989). There was also a house of Premonstratensian canons at Warburton, established as a cell of Cockersand (Lancs.) before 1190; the house failed to attract sufficient endowments to survive, and closed before 1216 (Kettle 1980, 171). Friaries were only established in Chester, where there were three: a Dominican friary, founded c 1236 (Ward 1990, 60), a Franciscan friary, founded in 1237×8 (Kettle 1980, 171) and a Carmelite friary, which was in existence by 1277 (Kettle 1980, 176), although it did not acquire a property until 1289×90 (Ward 1990, 207). A community of Friars of the Sack existed in the city by 1274 and seem initially to have been more prosperous than the Carmelites (Kettle 1980, 178); by 1284, though, they were in terminal decline and probably disbanded soon after.

A number of the hospitals survived the Dissolution of the 1530s, largely because of their charitable functions. Three of them – St Giles's, St John's-without-the-North-Gate and St Ursula's – were established in Chester. St Giles's was probably in existence by 1181 (Kettle 1980, 178), but was destroyed during the Civil War in 1643, when the Royal garrison of the city burnt buildings in the suburbs to prevent them falling into enemy hands: it was never rebuilt. St John's-without-the-North-Gate (otherwise known as Little St John's) was founded in the early 1190s (Kettle 1980, 180) and has survived to the present day as a group of almshouses which form part of the Bluecoat School and Hospital. St Ursula's was created in 1508 as almshouses on Commonhall Lane (Kettle 1980, 183); as a religious institution it had lapsed by 1547, but the trustees of the charity continued to administer the houses until 1871, when they were sold.

There were two hospitals in Nantwich: St Lawrence, established before 1260, and St Nicholas, said to have been established in 1084×5 (Kettle 1980, 186). Both were suppressed in 1548. St Andrew's Hospital in Denhall was a rural house established in the early 1230s to help the poor and shipwrecked (Kettle 1980, 184). It was never prosperous, and in 1496 it had to be united with St John's Hospital in Lichfield; it was largely demolished in the eighteenth century, but some ruins were still visible in 1897.

The medieval Cistercian abbey

The Cistercian order took its name from the first foundation established in 1098 at Cîteaux (twenty kilometres south of Dijon, France) in an area of dense forest and marshy bogland, the favoured locations of many succeeding foundations (Tobin 1995, 36). The monks adhered to the strict ideals of St Benedict, in contrast to what they saw as the laxity rampant in the black-robed Benedictine and Cluniac orders. They preferred to found their houses in desolate places and to reflect the austerity and poverty of the order both in the lives of the monks and in their buildings. The houses were intended to be self-sufficient and, unlike other orders, they refused to accept tithes; they were also exempted from paying tithes in parishes in which they pastured sheep, after an order of Pope Honorius III in 1221 (Aston 1993, 127). Furthermore, any contact with lay peasant agriculture was expressly forbidden.

The first house of the Cistercian Order in England was founded at Waverley (Surrey) in 1128. Other foundations, such as Rievaulx and Fountains (both established in 1132) followed rapidly. They needed only waste land in remote and uncultivated districts; by the end of the twelfth century there were seventy-six Cistercian houses in England and Wales.

Despite their austere ideals, they quickly became wealthy, especially through the acquisition and development of land. Their holdings became profitable through their skill at transforming the landscape; their activities included reclaiming marshlands and heaths, where they frequently established themselves as predominantly sheep farmers, especially after 1221. The ransom of Richard I was paid in wool which represented a whole year's output from Cistercian abbeys (Gillingham 1973). Their farms were based on the monastic Grange, a system initiated by the Cistercians. These were worked by *conversi*, hired labourers who were lay brothers within the monastic community. The Cistercians enhanced the status of agricultural work for monks, but the tasks of clearing forests, draining marshes and overseeing flocks and crops in wild and desolate places were beyond the powers of unaided choir monks; the Cistercians, by recruiting cottars and small freeholders as lay brethren, opened up the religious life to classes hitherto excluded from it and created a highly productive labour force (Clarke 1984, 99).

Properties acquired through donations, endowments or other means required skilled management; this factor, plus the need to institutionalise the figure of the lay-brother, led to the grange system. Granges were a characteristic feature of the Cistercian economy, organised mainly as independent farms to control the monastic lands and be responsible for their agriculture. In cases such as Poulton, where the Abbey itself was removed elsewhere, the surrounding monastic properties were usually retained and continued to be worked by the existing (or new) granges under the control of the new abbey, which might now be some distance away.

The establishment of the grange system had the effect on the landscape of opening up hitherto underdeveloped areas. Although some granges were established in villages, others were located in open countryside; those of the Cistercians were sited in the centre of monastic estates (Aston 1993, 115). Old patterns of land division and village life were often swept away. Packets of land were exchanged in order to obtain the compact holdings the order required. If legal means failed, the house could resort to underhand means to evict small peasant farmers who bordered on their territory (even to the extent of branding a neighbouring farmer's sheep with the mark of another farmer, leading to his eviction from the tenancy for usurping a neighbour's property).

Whole villages and hamlets were frequently transplanted as the Cistercians modified the landscape wholesale. The founding of Fountains Abbey (Yorkshire) resulted in the desertion of at least six villages, and Donkin (1978) suggests the additional transplantation of up to sixteen hamlets. In 1146, the nearby village of Cayton was removed to make way for the establishing of a grange. At Rufford (Notts.) an abbey was founded *c* 1145; 2 villages were destroyed to make way for a grange. The site is mentioned in Domesday Book as having 21 villeins and a

church. At Valle Crucis Abbey (Llangollen), founded in 1201 as a daughter of Combermere (as Poulton had been), the inhabitants of Llanegwestl were moved to Stansty in the founder's lordship of Maelor Gymraeg (Bromfield).

Giraldus Cambrensis, a biased but very keen observer of Cistercian takeovers, reports frequent unrest on or close to monastic lands (*Itinerarium Kambrie* I.3 *in* Thorpe trans 1978, 103). He maintains that this was a natural outcome of the forcible conversion of settlements to granges. This was particularly marked in the more settled parts of England where villages were often so densely clustered that barely a mile of fields separated them. The Cistercians were, in many instances, forced to create an artificial wilderness for themselves, often transforming villages into granges. It is not surprising, therefore, that the surface remains of a large manorial complex or the several buildings of a monastic grange can resemble those of a small village. It was common for benefactors to forget to mention the presence of vills in their bequests, and at Poulton it is possible that the *Calvinton* of Domesday Book became 'lost' through Cistercian development of the land (*above*, 10).

Poulton Abbey

Endowment

Most religious houses had wealthy and politically-active founders who were able to provide substantial endowments (Aston 1993, 18). The primary motive of the benefactor was to make provision, through the monks' prayers, for his or her soul and well-being in this life and the hereafter; in addition, endowing a monastic house might well add to its patron's status. In endowing a monastic house at its foundation, money would be made available to pay for the construction and the subsequent running costs of the monastery.

Endowments came in two forms: Spiritualities and Temporalities. Spiritualities were primarily income derived from churches, including tithes. The Cistercians refused in principle to accept tithes (unlike the Augustinians of Norton Priory), preferring to be totally self-supporting. They relied solely on Temporalities, which were wide-ranging in their form, usually gifts of property, and could range from complete manors to small-holdings, mills or their free use and urban properties; other sources of income included mines, salt-works (as at Dieulacres, with extensive rights in Middlewich) and especially fisheries (as evidenced at Poulton), which were not necessarily solely part of the subsistence economy of the monastic estate. It is evident from the list of endowments and the series of charters in the Grosvenor Estate archive and Staffordshire Record Office that Poulton Abbey was well provided for by local benefactors (Duggan & Greenslade 1970, 231).

Grants of land were made locally in Dodleston, Kinnerton, Balderton, Pulford, Gorstella, Aldford and Churton, further emphasising the monks' gradual consolidation of their influence on the landscape and their creation of a large local land-block that was predominantly Cistercian. Several houses or premises were granted to the monks, primarily in Chester, some of which were located in Pepper Street. Other grants refer to land in Christleton, Chelford, Withington, Harthill, Eaton-by-Tarporley and Byley; in addition, they were granted the rights to create fisheries in the Dee near Aldford, to work saltpits in Middlewich and keep a mill at Aldford. The Abbey of Dieulacres was further granted freedom from toll on its salt and on any corn ground in the Earl of Chester's mills.

Construction

The Cistercian *Consuetudines* (the order's rule-book) stipulates quite specifically the minimum requirements of a new colony: *nec tamen illuc destinentur donec locus... domibus... aptetur: oratoros, refectorio, dormitorio, cella hospitum et portarii; necessariis etiam temporalibus ut et vivere et Regulam ibidem statim valeant observare.* (*Consuetudines* II.xii, *Nomasticon* 215). 'Nor shall they be despatched there until the place is ready with houses; oratories, a refectory, a dormitory, a guest-house, and a gate-keeper's house; even with such worldly necessities that they might live and observe the Rule there immediately.'

We must assume that all these buildings were complete prior to the arrival of monks in Poulton, even if only in temporary form. At the Dominican friary in Chester, timber buildings were erected to accommodate the monks whilst the major stone buildings were being constructed (Ward 1990, 42). At the Cistercian site of Bordesley Abbey (Worcs.) excavation revealed post-holes and timber-slots inside the stone church with some of the preserved timber re-used as grave-covers (Hirst 1983; Clarke 1984, 101). At Norton Priory, two superimposed timber buildings in the form of wattle-and-daub walls supported by upright wall-posts were found beneath the masonry cloister (Greene 1989, 73). These were later replaced by a longer aisled building with wattle-and daub walls. The final phase of building witnessed stone foundations inserted below the wooden posts.

As yet it is difficult to estimate the number of *conversi* who would have supplemented the minimum number of thirteen monks. At Rievaulx, 140 monks were complemented by 500-600 *conversi* (Knowles 1971, 352). Certainly, in the initial stages of building and bringing the land into production, large numbers of lay brethren would have been needed. The implications for Poulton are likely to be that a temporary settlement was erected prior to the building of a masonry abbey, housing monks, *conversi*, the master masons and their assistants (who probably had separate lodges).

Work would usually begin at the east end of the abbey church, which was clearly the most important building (Tobin 1995, 75). It would have been carried out by master-masons specially brought in by the monks. They too would have required temporary accommodation, as would those involved in lead and glazing work. It is easy to imagine a community of monks, artisans and lay brothers living together in what must have resembled a large village.

The Cistercian abbey was built to a rigid form in order to imitate the founding house at Cîteaux. The church adhered to a Latin cross shape differing from the Benedictine norm in having a square-ended chancel instead of the more common apsidal. After St. Bernard's death there was a spate of re-building of Cistercian churches, particularly the east end of the church, in order to accommodate more altars and side chapels. The altar was generally plain and squat with the presbytery low and square-ended; the height

of the nave was also relatively low. The Cistercians strove for simplicity in all their buildings: 'the originality of Cistercian architecture lies solely in simplicity taken to its ultimate consequence especially in the abbey church' (Brooke 1974, 192).

The next buildings to be constructed would include quarters for the *conversi*, the monks' dormitory, scriptorium, and the chapter-house. The kitchen, refectory and warming-house wing were generally the last elements of the monastery to be constructed. Whilst all this building work was in progress, the monks and the *conversi* were vigorously chopping down woods, exploiting water resources and generally shaping the landscape to meet their needs.

The Cistercians were extremely innovative hydraulic engineers. A regular feature of their precincts was a stream or brook which would be diverted to provide running water for sanitation. The brook would also be likely to sustain artificially-created fishponds, an important source of food given the order's abstinence from other meats. Water transport would have been important for bringing stone from distant quarries, as well as other materials such as wood, lead and glass. At Poulton, we do not know whether Old Pulford Brook was made navigable or even partly recoursed by the monks, but this is a possibility which needs to be explored.

Running water had a spiritual role in Cistercian life; springs and rivers had a special association with the Virgin Mary. St. Bernard professed a particular devotion to St Mary and insisted that all abbey churches be dedicated to her. Evidence from several endowments made to the monks of Poulton suggest that the abbey's name was St Mary's and St Benedict's.

Once the land had been cleared, the granges were introduced. Many were close to the monastic house, but some were far enough away to warrant simple living quarters attached to the barn, as can be seen at Great Coxwell (Hants). The grange was often at the centre of a complex of buildings which might include a Chapel and accommodation for monks and *conversi*. Great emphasis was placed on the monks' wool production and there is no doubt that the Cistercians were major wool producers in medieval England, contributing significantly to the export trade (Tobin 1995, 128). However, the typical Cistercian grange was perhaps a predominantly arable holding; granges could also be associated with industrial activity, as at Meaux (Yorks), Combermere and Fountains (Aston 1993, 129). At Meaux, a kiln was established expressly for the manufacture of floor-tiles; it was not located in the abbey precinct but at the North Grange, over 1 km away. Other Cistercian granges developed fulling mills, quarries, coal mines, iron-working and lead working (Gimpel 1977, 67; Stamper 1988, 139; Aston 1993, 132); metalworking was practised at Basingwerk and Strata Marcella (Clwyd) (Evans 1987).

The Chapel at Poulton is often referred to in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documents as the grange Chapel. This may, therefore, be on the site of the Grange which was established after the main body of monks was removed from Poulton and the abbey re-established at Dieulacres. Other granges of the Abbey were also located in Churton and possibly Dodleston.

The Chapel

As has already been discussed, little is known of the history of the Chapel at Poulton. The Abbot left Poulton around 1214 and the Chapel was first mentioned in a charter of 1250 (*below*, 77). This suggests that there was continuity between the two establishments. Whether or not the Chapel occupied part of the site of the former monastery or was established at some distance from it is a question which remains to be tested archaeologically. It is also possible that the Chapel was provided by the monks of Poulton to serve the local community before the monastery was translated to Dieulacres.

Rural chapels were important in medieval Cheshire, since few townships were wealthy enough to maintain their own church. Over much of the county, ecclesiastical parishes consisted of a number of townships: Great Budworth had thirty-five, the largest number. Other large parishes (such as Prestbury) might be subdivided into chapelries (in this instance, Macclesfield and Chelford), where a non-parochial chapel was maintained to serve the local community's needs, especially for burial.

The Chapel-of-ease at Wervin, some 8 km north-east of Chester, has recently been surveyed by Chester Archaeology (Matthews & Quinn 1994). Its history forms a curious parallel to the Chapel of Poulton and is worth exploring briefly here. Some time during the second half of the twelfth century, a pension of 6s 8d (one third of a pound) deriving from Wervin was assigned to the wardrobe of St Werburgh's Abbey (Burne 1962, 47). It is not clear if this income derived from the Chapel-of-ease or from lands owned there by the Abbey since before 1066 (Morgan ed 1978, A7). However, between 1214 and 1223, William, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, granted the altarage of the parish church of St Werburgh together with its dependant chapels of Bruera and Wervin and all their appurtenances to the Abbey (Ormerod 1882, i 305; Burne 1962, 23). This is the earliest date at which it is possible to be certain that the Chapel existed, comparing interestingly with 1250 for the earliest mention of the Chapel at Poulton.

Subsequently, in the 1240s, when Abbot Roger Frend increased the number of monks at St Werburgh's to forty, he used income from the Chapel at Wervin to subsidise the greater kitchen costs (Kettle 1980, 136). An agreement between Roger de Soterlegh, the rector of Stoke from 1316 to 1322, and the Abbot of St Werburgh's (not named in the document, but who must have been Thomas de Burchelles) allowed the rector two marks of silver annually for burial (Ormerod 1882, ii, 389); Ormerod conjectured that this had anciently been claimed by St Werburgh's in right of the Chapel at Wervin. However, it may have been because Croughton, a possession of the Abbey, was at that date part of the ecclesiastical parish of Stoke (Burne 1962, 24) and the latter parish was then responsible for the burial of what, technically, were the Abbot's men and women. The document of 1250 which mentions Poulton Chapel for the first time was issued by the Abbot of Dieulacres as a guarantee that it would not prejudice the rights of the mother church, presumably at Pulford.

The minister who officiated at Wervin was employed directly by the Abbot of St Werburgh's rather than by the vicar of St Oswald's, in whose parish the Chapel lay; this

is shown by the endowment of St Oswald's in the early thirteenth century and by the valuation of the Abbey at the Dissolution in 1540 (Ormerod 1882, ii, 777). The chaplain in 1540 was one Ralph Browett, who was paid a stipend of £3 6s 8d per annum (Burne 1962, 193). The Chapel continued to be used, and the charter issued by Edward VI in 1549 to the Dean and Chapter repeats the salary (Ormerod 1882, ii, 777). It was one of four churches which Bishop Lloyd ordered to be repaired in 1608, an order which was repeated in 1611, evidently because the works had not been carried out (Lander & Thacker 1980, 28). About 1643 the Chapel was described by Randle Holme III as parochial in status (Hanshall 1823, 346) and it still contained a font (Raines ed 1845, 118).

In 1673 the Dean and Chapter were paying the curate of Wervin £3 16s 4d per annum (Leycester 1673, ii, 196); this is the last reference to the Chapel as a working establishment. It should be recalled that Sir Peter Leycester described Poulton Chapel as then in decay. Bishop Gastrell was able to describe Wervin in 1725 as 'Now decayed; some of y^{e} Walls only are standing' (Raines ed 1845, 118), which suggests that partial demolition may have occurred as soon as it was deconsecrated, perhaps as a deliberate act of desecration. A possible font found in the 1970s at Wervin New Hall (Matthews & Quinn 1994, 8) may indicate that the fittings of the Chapel were dispersed. Ormerod (1882, ii, 777) states that it was in use as a cattle-shed in 1819, although his illustration of it shows only a roofless ruin.

Not all chapels-of-ease shared this fate. The isolated Chapel of St Chad's at Tushingham-cum-Grindley, part of the extensive Malpas parish, survives to this day, and many others, such as the Chapel at Huxley, became fully parochial in the post-medieval period. With the growth of dissenting religion in the seventeenth century and the Act of Toleration in 1689, the number of chapels increased dramatically, both in towns and in rural areas. Many of these nonconformist chapels are now disused, and their study is one of the areas post-medieval archaeology has yet to address adequately (Crossley 1990, 105).

It is worth speculating on the possibility of religious use of the Chapel site at Poulton before the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. If the Chapel is not on the site of the abbey, or a subsequent provision for a grange estate, then it may be a place with strong local religious associations which pre-date the Cistercians; one would perhaps expect the abbey church of a removed monastery to be retained for the local lay community, rather than a new Chapel built nearby. The relatively high ground of the Chapel site, overlooking the Dee valley, is consistent with the types of site chosen for pre-Christian places of worship as well as for very early Christian churches in this region. A continuity of location has been suggested between the sites of late Iron Age and Romano-British worship of *Deva*, the river deity, and early Christian churches such as Farndon and Eccleston (Higham 1994, 78). This possibility can only be addressed at Poulton if future excavations produce evidence for use in the post-Roman and early medieval periods.

Future fieldwork

The 1995 results from Poulton further emphasised the strong archaeological potential suggested by the resistivity survey. All the trenches, with the exception of Trench V (which nevertheless merits further examination), provided considerable archaeological evidence, with the most significant areas centred upon Trenches I, II, III, VI and VIII. Aerial photographs taken during the excavation suggest that further structure(s) may well be present ten to fifteen metres north of Trench III.

The alignment of wall (109) in Trench I and the proximity of a grave (108/111) clearly indicate an ecclesiastical building consistent with both the documentary and cartographic evidence. This is unquestionably the Chapel mentioned from 1250 onwards.

Geophysical

After the success of the soil resistivity survey in April 1995 (*above*, 15), which revealed a two- or three-cell structure identified with the Chapel, negative anomalies and possible positive anomalies, a programme of future survey work is to be instigated as a means of discovering further structures.

Further work will concentrate on four main areas:

1 North of the Chapel site partly exposed in July 1995. Both cartographic and aerial photographic evidence strongly point to the existence of at least one other major building in this area.

2 South of the Chapel site, concentrating on the scarp that overlooks Old Pulford Brook. Seventeenth-century estate maps from the Grosvenor Archive clearly depict the Chapel totally enclosed, with Old Pulford Brook acting as a natural southern boundary line. Aerial photographs, though not entirely convincing, appear to suggest that some linear features are present; these possibly relate to drainage systems, though they do not match other drains clearly visible in the 'Chapel Field' sites. Resistivity survey could help to clarify whether or not these aerial hints are connected with the medieval foundation, possibly part of a sophisticated drainage system, consistent with the Cistercians' achievements in this area.

The proximity of the fishponds to the west suggest an integrated domestic, industrial and fishpond network discussed elsewhere. Both sites (1) and (2) are on land owned by the Fair family who are keen to witness further survey work here, as well as at (4) (*below*, 63).

3 Some 600-700 metres north-east of the main Chapel site, is the site of the former Poulton Hall. None of its structures, so vividly outlined in the Inquisition of 1598 (John Manley's Will, *below*, 83), remain above ground. However, the site is currently pastureland and has fortunately escaped disturbance caused nearby by the construction of the World War II airfield (Ill 1). Documentary and cartographic sources suggest at least eight structures surrounding the 'courtyard Hall'. A resis-

tivity survey may help to pinpoint these structures.

4 Cloisters is another possible site for the twelfth-century Abbey or the Grange and also merits a full survey programme.

Earthwork survey

It is proposed to survey the fishponds that lie just to the south-west of the Chapel site (Ill 1). Despite recent alterations and additions to this area, the overall form of the ponds remains similar to their appearance in earlier estate maps and the Tithe Map of 1837. A detailed survey of the whole water system – which includes Old Pulford Brook, ditches, man-made islands, eyots and large rectangular ponds – may also help to indicate the location of the abbey.

Locating and understanding the integrated network of domestic and industrial drainage, so common on Cistercian and other monastic sites, is of fundamental importance in assessing how much the monks altered the local landscape and in determining whether Old Pulford Brook is a manufactured stream deliberately created or altered to serve a dual purpose as both southern boundary and water source. The course of the stream has retained the form recorded on the mid seventeenth-century estate map (Ill□5). In addition to the earthwork survey it is proposed to investigate selected areas along the course of the brook where there may be other buildings and a landing quay for the abbey; this would also help to locate potential crossing points and sites of weirs or fisheries.

The extensive land-holdings of the monks and the overall nature of the Poulton Project as a landscape survey, leads to the possibility of discovering further ecclesiastical buildings outside the Poulton township. This is particularly so in Dodleston, Churton, Kinnerton and Newton: on 9 August 1250, William de Boydell of Dodleston granted '... several gifts by charter ... part of his demesnes in Dodleston and Balderton.' Referring to the boundaries of these lands, there is mention of a grange nearby and another in Newton, both belonging to the monks of Poulton.

A preliminary survey is planned to ascertain the survival (or otherwise) of any earthworks that may still be visible in the Dodleston/Balderton area, once the documentary sources have been allied to the cartographic/field-name evidence. Further survey work is envisaged in nearby Pulford, which is indelibly linked to Poulton Abbey, both geographically and historically, and which may well form part of the western extent of the abbey's domain. Those areas that look promising on the ground will be subject to a preliminary resistivity survey, with a view to possible further investigations.

Excavation

The principal aim of the next season's excavation will be to uncover the Chapel walls completely. The collapsed roof will be excavated in the hope that tiled floor surfaces may be revealed. Confirmation of burials within the nave and chancel of the Chapel would further substantiate the documentary evidence. Open-area excavation is therefore planned, not only to define the complete outline of the Chapel but also to determine the limits of the graveyard and to establish whether or not it was enclosed, as appears to be the case (though not conclusively) in the estate maps of the Grosvenor Archive. Further graves will be examined following the approach devised by Patrick Quinney (*above*, 49).

Once this has been accomplished, it is proposed to open a further trench, approximately 15-20 metres to the north of the possible cemetery ditch located in Trench VIII. It will take the form of a 10□10 metre trench, and will be hand-dug from the outset with a sieving strategy in order to facilitate maximum retrieval. This trench will help to determine whether or not a Roman structure underlies, or is adjacent to the medieval Chapel and cemetery. The scarcity of Roman rural settlement sites in Cheshire brings greater emphasis to the need to explore the archaeological potential of the site fully, and to attempt an appraisal of its importance with in a wider landscape context.

Aerial photographs have hinted at a building in the area where the above trench is proposed, though its alignment appears to be at odds with that of the Chapel wall so far uncovered. The seventeenth-century estate map does show a building, roughly in this area, but on a different axis to that suggested by the aerial photographic evidence.

The siting of this trench should either confirm the presence of a Roman structure below the possible medieval Grange, thereby providing a context for the Roman artefacts retrieved from both field-walking and the 1995 excavation (which included Roman pottery as well as a roof tile stamped with the name of the Twentieth Legion), or indicate that another medieval structure is attached to the barn-like structure. Very few monastic granges have been examined archaeologically, perhaps less than ten (Aston 1993, 115).

One of the unexpected results of the season's excavation was the recovery of a quantity of Mesolithic flints; although the traditional view of prehistoric Cheshire has seen it as a virtually unpopulated region, recent fieldwork has shown that there are many hitherto unrecognised sites of Mesolithic date which can be located by simple fieldwalking. The challenge to archaeology is now to characterise these sites and to understand the social background of earlier prehistoric settlement in the area.

Little is known of the archaeology of rural Cheshire: any evidence, however slight, has a greater significance than in other areas where the material culture record is richer. The Poulton Project therefore has the potential to make a major contribution to our understanding of human settlement and activity in the north-western region.

Appendices

The charters

The following texts of charters have been collated from a number of different printed versions; they are a first attempt to bring together all the charter evidence relevant to Poulton Abbey and the succeeding Chapel. Most of the texts form part of the Chartulary of Dieulacres Abbey (Wrottesley ed 1906); in a few cases other collections (such as the Eaton Archive and the Earwaker Collection) contain documents which are not found in the Chartulary. One aim of the Poulton Project is to establish reliable texts of all the documentary sources using the originals, where these still exist. Some charters later than the translation of the abbey to Dieulacres and which do not deal directly with Poulton have been included as they are intrinsically interesting and illustrative of the types of donation made to the foundation.

In the following texts, the number of those charters which form part of the Chartulary of Dieulacres Abbey is given in the heading in the format D*n*. Where charters reproduced by Barraclough disagree with Wrottesley's edition, we have used Barraclough's. Abbreviations have been expanded wherever possible. Documents which are known to us but for which there are no published references have been indexed but not transcribed; full references will be provided for these in future publications.

1146×53 The foundation charter of Richard Pincerna (British Library MS Cotton Nero III f.215); D74.

Universe sancte matris ecclesie soboli nobilissimi Cestrensis comitis Rannulfi R. pincerna in Christo salutem. In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti, clarissimi siquidem Cestrensis comitis karissimi domini mei Rannulfi ego Robertus pincerna, considerans omnia, que sub celo sunt, esse transitoria, statui aliquid facere, quod domino meo comiti Rannulfo et antecessoribus suis mihique et antecessoribus meis in celesti palatio in eternum proficiat. Ad hoc faciendum dominus noster Iesus Christus me animavit atque in evangelio suo incitavit, dicens: Date et dabitur vobis, hoc est dicere: Date terrena et recipietis celestia, date transitoria et pro illis habebitis in perpetuum mansura. Et facite vobis amicos de manmona iniquitatis, ut et ipsi recipiant vos in eterna tabernacula, id est: Date de facultatibus vestris per iniquitatem adquisitis; omnis enim dives aut iniqus est aut heres iniqui. Date, inquam, pauperibus Christi, ut ipsi cum angelis recipiant vos in eterna gloria, quoniam teste evangelio ipsorum est regnum celorum. His igitur atque aliis sacre scripture monitis excitatus, do domino Deo creatori ac redemptori nostro et gloriose semper virgini eius genitrici sanctissime Marie et Willelmo primo abbati Combermare pro salute et incolumitate domini mei prefulgentissimi Cestrensis comitis Rannulfi et antecessorum suorum, Hugonis videlicet comitis et Rannulfi consulis et aliorum, necnon et pro redempcione anime mee et uxoris mee Ivete et filii atque heredis mei Roberti, et pro salute antecessorum meorum, dimidiam Poiltonam cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, in campis et in silvis, in viis et in semitis, in aquis et in piscariis, in pratis et in pascuis, super terram et subtus terram, ad instruendam ibidem quamdam abbatiam monachorum secundum regulam beati Benedicti et secundum instituta Savigneii vivencium. Huius donacionis sunt testes Willelmus primus abbas Combermare, Geminianus monacus eius, Robertus pincerna, Robertus filius eius, Herveus de Filgeriis, Ricardus Walensis, Radulfus sacerdos, Morinus, Ansgerius, Iveta uxor Roberti, Willelmus spuens mendacium.
Signum † Roberti pincerne. Signum † Roberti filii eius. Signum † Ivete uxoris illius.

(On the reverse of the Charter:)

Anno millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo octavo, fundata est Abbatia de Pultune in comitatu Cestrie.
Anno millesimo ducentesimo xiiii conventus de Pultune translatus est apud Deulacresse x kal. Maii anno predicto per Ranulphum canonicum Cestrie.

(Dugdale 1825, V 628; Ormerod 1882, ii 862; Wrottesley ed 1906, 329; Barraclough ed 1957, 1; see Dodgson 1972, 154 for the spelling *Poiltonam*).

The details on the reverse are given in a slightly different form by the Chronicle of Dieulacres:

Anno millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo tertio, fundata est abbathia de Pulton, filia de Cumbermere.
Anno millesimo ducentesimo xiiii, conventus de Pulton translatus est apud Deulacres calendas Maii, anno dicto, per Ranulfum comitem Cestrie, maxime propter intrusionem Wallensium, per quos multa damna perpessi sunt.
(Dugdale 1825, V 627)

1154×89 Grant by Roger de Somerville of a garden by the Bridge of Chester; D91.

Universis sancte ecclesie fidelibus presentibus et futuris. Rogerus de Summervilla salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton pro salute et incolumitate anime mee et sponse mee et filiorum meorum et omnium amicorum meorum quoddam gardinum qui est ad pontem Cestrie quod tenent ex dono Roberti pincerne ... Istis testibus Roberto capellano et Ricardo Clerico, Willelmo de Rudithard.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 12; Sleigh 1883, 48; Wrottesley ed 1906, 334)

1154×89 Robert Pincerna confirms the garden by the Bridge of Chester; D92.

Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Robertus pincerna de Engelbi dedi ... concensu heredum meorum gardinum unum in Cestria ad caput pontis quod tenui de feudo Symonis filii Osberti, Deo et sancte Marie et abbatie mee de Pulton in perpetuam elemosinam ... His testibus Hugone de Boidele, Adam capellano de Forneworth, Symone de Stanton, Roberto de Stanton, Alano de Tichelane, Turpin de Tichenalla et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 13; Sleigh 1883, 48; Wrottesley ed 1906, 334)

1162×70 Earl Hugh II (1162-74 and 1177-81) confirms the foundation charter; D75.

Hugo comes Cestrie episcopo Cestrensi et constabulario suo et dapifero suo et vicecomiti et ballivis et omnibus baronibus et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis tam futuris quam presentibus salutem. Scitote quod concedo et carta mea confirmo donacionem illam quam Ranulfus comes Cestrie pater meus concessit et carta sua liberam fecit, scilicet dimidiam partem de Pultona, quam Robertus pincerna eius fecit deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Combremara ad abbatiam de ordine suo ibidem construendam. Hanc vero eandem donacionem, scilicet dimidiam partem de Pultona cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ad eam iuste pertinentibus, volo et firmiter precipio ut ipsa abbatia de Pultona et abbas et conventus eiusdem ecclesie in perpetuam elemosinam possidendam libere quiete et iuste ab omni servicio seculari habeant et teneant pro salute anime mee et predecessorum meorum in villa et extra, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pasturis, in piscariis et aquis et molendinis, et in omnibus aliis commoditatibus, que in eadem terra fieri poterunt. Et precipio atque prohibeo ne aliquis eis amodo ullam molestiam faciat neque disturbet super meam forisfacturam. Testibus Roberto dapifero et Aluredo de Cumbrai et Willelmo filio Otueri et Gileberto filio Pichot et Roberto filio Hugonis et Hugone filio Oliveri et Hugone sacerdote de Dodlestun et Geraldino et Willelmo clerico de Aldefordia et Simundo de Bedfordia. Apud Cestriam.
(Dugdale 1825, V 628; Ormerod 1882, ii 862; Wrottesley ed 1906, 330; Barraclough ed 1988, 163)

1177×80 Earl Hugh II regarding land at Gorstella and *Kalvemore*; D77.

Hugo comes Cestrie omnibus baronibus et hominibus suis Francis et Anglis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse deo et sancte Marie et abbati et monachis de Pultona pro salute anime mee et patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam terram illam circa Gorstilanam et pratum in inferiori parte de Kalvemor, unde aliquando facta est controversia inter prefatos monachos de Pultona et homines de Ethuna, sicut homines legales vicinie ex mandato domini regis et meo assensu tactis sacrosanctis iurati perambulaverunt, videlicet incipientes paululum versus Dodleston sub Gorstilana ex parte Pultone et campus ex parte Ethune ultra Gorstilanam versus Cestriam prius et propius sub Gorstilana conveniunt, pervenerunt iuxta locum qui dicitur Gorstilana, quem a dextris relinquentes secus culturam deforis versus Ethunam circuierunt campum illum circa Gorstilanam usque ad vallem, per quam in medio descendentes prope locum qui dicitur Saltpit, deflexerunt inter collem et pratum deorsum versus Ethunam usque ad inferiorem partem de Kalvesmor, et ita per transversum prati transeuntes pervenerunt ad vetus fossatum in inferiori parte de Kalvesmor, quod ibi desinit in flumine quod vocatur De, ubi ex altera parte fluminis pene econtra inferior pars nemoris de Aldeford terminatur versus piscariam de Ethuna. Concessi etiam predicto monasterio de Pultona et eiusdem loci monachis intuitu caritatis et pacis fossatum facere versus campum de Ethuna circa pratum suum per has autem divisas sicut in hac carta expresse sunt, et quicquid infra eas continetur ex dono Roberti pincerne circa abbaciam de Pultona. Ne quis contra eos aliquo modo materiam malignandi in posterum habeat, volo et firmiter precipio ut predicti monachi libere et quiete, plene et honorifice et sine ulla contradictione et absque omni terreno servicio et seculari exaccione, que ad me et ad heredes meos pertinent, teneant et in perpetuum possideant. Hiis testibus Aluredo de Combrei, Willelmo Patric, Radulfo filio Warneri, Ricardo de Pulford, Hugone filio Oliveri, Rogeri de Combrei, Roberto filio Ricardi de Pulford.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 1; Wrottesley ed 1906, 330; Barraclough ed 1988, 164)

1177×80 Earl Hugh II confirms a moiety of Poulton; D79.

H. comes Cestrie constabulario, dapifero, iusticiario, vicecomitis, baronibus, militibus, ministris, omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglicis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac mea carta in perpetuum confirmasse monachis de Pultona totam illam medietatem de Pultona cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, quam tenent in feudam firmam de Roberto pincerna, unde mihi servicium surgit. Et sciatis quod clamo eosdem monacos liberos et quietos ab omni servicio, quod ad me pertinet de eadem terra, et amodo ad Robertum pincernam de eodem servicio tenebo. Et ideo volo ut nullo modo namum eorundem monacorum pro eodem servicio aliquis capere faciat, et precipio ut nullus omnino aliquam eis molestiam inde facere presumat. Testibus abbate Cestrie, Iohanne constabulario Cestrie, Willelmo Patric, Aluredo de Cumbrai, Radulfo filio Warneri, Ricardo de Pulford, Willelmo capellano comitis, et multis aliis apud Cestriam.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 3; Wrottesley ed 1906, 331; Barraclough ed 1988, 166)

1181×82 Robert Pincerna confirms his father's gift and adds the other half of Poulton; D78.

Robertus pincerna tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse, assensu heredum meorum deo et abbati et conventui de Pulton donationem quam Robertus pater meus dedit eisdem monachis in elemosinam videlicet medietatem de Pulthon cum pertinentiis suis preter gardinum Cestrie in perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et heredum meorum pro animabus patris mei et antecessorum meorum et comitis Ranulphi, liberam et quietam ab omnibus secularibus serviciis.

Insuper scitote me concessisse eisdem monachis predictis aliam medietatem eiusdem ville preter gardinum Cestrie in quo nihil elemosinarum iure clamare poterunt in perpetuam firmam pro tres marcas reddendo annuatim mihi et heredibus meis liberam et quietam ab omnibus secularibus serviciis ... et istam conventionem tenendam securaverunt abbas Ricardus de Pulton et frater Lucas in loco conventus, in manu Ricardi episcopi tenendam mihi et heredibus meis, et ego securavi in manu eiusdem episcopi similiter tenendam eisdem monachis. Testes Ricardo episcopo, Roberto archdiacono Cestrense, Rogero archdiacono Saloppense, Albino abbate, Pagano Cestrefeld, Radulfo Breydale, Galfrido de Wirth, Willelmo de Wilh, Hugone de Dranefeld, Henrico de Chyrleya, Willelmo filio Radulfi, Roberto de Piro, Serlone de Grendone, Iordano filio Gubaldi, Ewarmo de Mapelton, Hugone filio Radulfi, Willelmo de Seyla, Willelmo Bretun, Roberto filio Walteri, Willelmo filio Colligi et omni capitulo Derbeyense et pluribus aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 331)

1182×1214 Matilda Pincerna releases a rent of 10s per annum; D86.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, tam presentibus quam futuris, Matilda Pincerna salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... Deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton pro salute anime mee et Rogeri de Sumerville sponsi mee et Rogeri de Somerville filii mei et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum in perpetuum v solidos de decem solidis quos mihi singulis annis in festo sancti Iohannis baptiste reddere consueverunt in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Et ego et heredes mei hac ipsam donationem dictis monachis in perpetuum warantizabimus. Preterea alios v solidos qui residui sunt de predictis decem solidos sanctimonalibus de Polleswurda, dicti monachi pro nutrium suum in nativitate sancti Iohannis baptiste transmittent. His testibus Radulfo de Boidele, Ranulfo Grim, Simone de Berchest', Roberto de Wichenovere, Osberto et Willelmo de Boidele monachis de Pulton, Willelmo et Roberto capellanis et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 11; Sleigh 1883, 48; Wrottesley ed 1906, 333)

1186×1214 Hywel and Urian ap Rhun regarding land at *Hules* in the fields of Poulton; D85.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Ioel et Vria filii Ryn salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos remississe ... totam terram nostram de Hules in campis de Pultona quam per concessionem monachorum de Pulton ad terminum tenuimus Deo et sancte Marie et ipsis monachis de Pultone sicut illam in qua nullum rectum ... clamum ... neque aliquid ius hereditarium habuimus vel habere debuimus quam pro ... in curia Madoci filii Griffini de Bromfeld affidavimus et tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis iuravimus quod nunquam aliquid de eadem terra quolibet modo vel ingenio exigemus. Et pro ista remissione et quieta clamatione et sui iuris recognitione dederunt nobis dicti monachi xiii libras in averiis et denariis ... His testibus Reynero episcopo de Sancto Asaph, Angaretta matre Madoci, Oweyn filio Traharn seneschallo Madoci, Kiriadock filio Hugonis, Sewell preposito de Mereford, Henrico filio Owel, Morgan filio Omtl, Iohel et Lewellin filiis Traharn, Daniel Coco et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 10; Wrottesley ed 1906, 333)

1190×99 Earl Ranulph III (1188-1232) confirms his father's grants; D76.

Ranulfus comes Cestrie constabulario suo et dapifero, iusticiario et vicecomiti et omnibus baronibus et ballivis suis et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me pro amore dei et pro salute anime mee et patris mei et antecessorum meorum concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pultona donationem terre illius de Pultona quam pater meus eis dedit in puram et perpetuam elemosinam habendam, sicut continetur in carta patris mei, quam predicti monachi habent. Testibus hiis Rogero conestabulario Cestrie, Radulfo de Mesnilwarin, Roberto filio Picot, Iohanne de Cumbrai, Ricardo fratre conestabularii, Iohanne de Escaioel, Alexandro filio Radulfi, Bertramo camerario, Thoma clerico, Roaudo, Willelmo Gamberello tunc vicecomite, et aliis multis apud Cestrie.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 4; Wrottesley ed 1906, 330; Barraclough ed 1988, 246)

c 1200 Earl Ranulph III regarding a boat on the Water of Chester; D80.

Ranulfus comes Cestrie constabulario suo et dapifero suo, iusticario et vicecomiti et barronibus et ballivis suis, et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglicis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis me pro dei amore et pro animabus antecessorum meorum et pro salute anime mee concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse deo et sancte Marie et abbatie de Pultuna et monachis ibidem deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam unum liberum batellum in aqua Cestrensi in perpetuum, habendum sine omni impedimento et consuetudine liberum et quietum, et ad piscandum subtus pontem Cestrie et supra eundem pontem et ubique ubi aliquod aliorum liberorum batellorum piscatur cum omni genere recium in aqua de De nocte dieque tam apud Etun quam alibi. His testibus Radulfo de Mainguarin, Philippo de Orrebi, Petro Rowald, Petro clerico, Thoma cancellario, Roberto Pigot, et aliis multis apud Cestriam.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 5; Wrottesley ed 1906, 331; Barraclough ed 1988, 247)

1204 Richard, Lord of Aldford, gives licence to make a fishery in the Dee; D81.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Ricardus dominus de Aldeford salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton bonam licenciam faciendi piscariam super aquam de Dee ubicunque eis bene placuerit in omni terra mea de Aldeford ad opus suum proprium ... libere et quiete ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei aliquod impedimentum eis faciemus ... His testibus Roberto milite de Pulford, et Hugone clerico fratre eius, Willelmo filio Hugonis, Alexandro de Aldeford, Tomas Ruddoc, Willelmo de Chirton, Loarch de Chirton, Radulfo de Chirton, Willelmo le Messer et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 6; Wrottesley ed 1906, 332)

1204×1213 Richard, Lord of Aldford, regarding land at Audley and *Esthull*; D107.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit tam presentibus quam futuris Ricardus dominus de Aldeford salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton communionem et commoditatem totius pasture terre mee de Aldetele ad omnia animalia sua que habuerint apud Esthult tam in bosco manerii mei de Alditel quam in plano ut possint animalia suorum cum custodibus ire et redire per omnem terram meam utrique longe et prope exceptus tamen frugibus et pratis ubicunque dominica animalia mea pascentur ... Tenendam et habendam de me et heredibus meis libere, et quiete in perpetuum sine omni terreno servicio et seculari exactione et pannagio omni tempore tam in tempore peissionis quam in alio ... His testibus Giliberto Picot, Roberto de Faleys, Gaufrido de Merleston, Symone de Torinton clerico, Roberto capellano, Iordano de Auditel, Radulfo de Aldeford, Willelmo de Chirton et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 21; Wrottesley ed 1906, 339)

1207 William Fitz Hugh and Maredudd ap Urian regarding land in Pulford; D93.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Willelmus filius Hugonis de Pulford et Meredic filius Wyon salutem. Noveritis nos concessisse ... deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton terram quandam iuxta rivulum que dicitur Smalsich in campo de Pulford quam ipsi monachi perambulaverunt et certis distinctionibus concluserunt cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ad arandum et seminandum et ad domos et edificia sua in ea faciendas fossas et hayas et quidquid eis placuerint faciendum, in bosco, in plano, in aquis ... Tenendam de nobis et heredibus nostris libera et quiete sine omni seculari exactione. Dedimus etiam eis communionem et commoditatem totius pasture nostre de Pulford ad omnia animalia et averia sua utrique longe et prope exceptis frugibus et parcis in perpetuum ... Hiis testibus Ricardo domino de Aldeford, Roberto milite de Pulford, Martino de Pulford, Ricardo clerico de Roudeston, Willelmo Bunz et aliis multis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 8; Wrottesley ed 1906, 334)

c 1208 Lands near Alderley once held by David Bradford.

Richard, Lord of Alderley, gives to God and St Mary and the monks of Poulton all the land which David Bradford held near his manor of Alderley. Witnesses: Philip of Orreby justiciar of Chester, Simon de Torinton clerk, Liulf sheriff of Cheshire, William Daw..., Ivo de Stanley, Thomas Aldley and Alexander de Aldford.
(*Cheshire Sheaf* 29 December 1920, 4212)

c 1208 Richard, Lord of Aldford, regarding land at Bradford and Alderley; D104.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Ricardus dominus de Aldeford salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... Deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton totam terram meam que dicitur Bradeford cum parvo prato adiacente iuxta manerium meum de Aldredelegea usque ad saltum quod dicitur Bradele cum bosco adiacente et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ad arandum et seminandum et ad fossas et hayas suas et quicquid eis placuerit faciendum in bosco, in plano, in aquis ... Tenendam de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete sine omni terreno servicio et seculari exactione: habebunt autem dicti monachi in terra et pastura mea circa manerium meum de Aldredelega omni tempore intra hayas meas et extra ubicunque dominica animalia mea pascuntur, boves et vaccas et capros et porcos vel sues cum nutrimentis suis quot voluerint et necesse habuerint libere et quiete sine pannagio et omni exactione. Preterea habebunt xxx equas cum stallone et cum exitu illarum semper trium annorum et in tempore peissionis singulis annis ad peissionem habebunt lx porcos de abbatia vel de aliis locis suis exceptis porcis adgistiatis apud Bradeford in predicta pastura libere et quiete sine omni pannagio. Preterea habebunt dicti monachi quandam croftam iuxta Sandhul sicut fossata in circuitu ducta designant ad faciendam bercariam et ortum excolendum. Dedi quoque prefatis monachis pasturam in terra mea quadraginta ovibus cum exitu semper duorum annorum largitur et sine aliquo impedimento, et si voluerint de quibuslibet ovibus hunc numerum supplebunt quicquid autem supra hunc numerum inventum fuerit, sine calumnia aliqua amovebitur. Habebunt etiam communionem et commo-ditatem in bosco meo de Aldithele ad predicta animalia et averia sua pascenda et ad edificia sua et ad ceteras necessitates suas supplendas ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Ricardo de Roudesthorn clerico iusticiarii, Symone de Thornton clerico, Liulpho tunc vicecomite, Willelmo de Sydent, Yvone de Stanle, Thoma Ruddoc, Alexandro de Aldeford et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 20; Wrottesley ed 1906, 338)

1209×13 Einon ap Rhun regarding land at *Hules*; D83.

Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Eignon filius Runi de Hules remisi et quietam clamavi deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton quartam partem terre de Hules cum pertinentiis quam ab ipsis monachis ad firmam et terminum acceptavi ... et in pleno comitatu in manu abbatis et monachorum de Pulton resignavi. His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Petro clerico domini comitis, Roger de Montealto seneschallo Cestrie, Ricardo de Aldeford, Liulpho de Twamlaw, David de Maupas, Anketillo de Pulford, Ricardo de Pulford, Willelmo filio Hugonis, Ricardo de Rudeston clerico et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 8; Wrottesley ed 1906, 332)

1209×13 Robert Hockenhull regarding land in Churton; D95.

Sciant omnes presentes et futuri presentem paginam inspecturam vel aduituram quod ego Robertus de Hokenhull divino intuitu concessi ... deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton et monachis ibidem deo servientibus duas bovatas terre in Chirton cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in villa et extra, illas scilicet que propinquiores sunt grango ipsorum monachorum habendas et tenendas in puram et perpetuam elemosinam quietam et liberam ab omni servicio et exactione seculari sicut continetur in carta Loarchi filii Howel qui dictas duas bovatas eis dedit quam modo habent. His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc

iusticiario Cestrie, Petro clerico domini comitis, Roberto de Pulford, Roberto le Brun de Stapelford, Mereduc filio Wyon, Oweyno filio Trah, Hamone marito Yyseude, Davido tunc camerario domini comitis, Willelmo preposito, Ricardo clerico de Kegwurth, Ricardo clerico de Rodeston et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 15; Wrottesley 1906, 335)

1209×13 Robert Fitz William Hockenhull regarding land in Churton; D96.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ... Robertus filius Willelmi de Okenul salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me concessisse ... deo et beate Marie et monachis de Pulton terram illam quam Lowar de Chirton filius Owel dedit predictis monachis in campo de Chirton in loco qui dicitur Heyfurlong cum communione totius pasture sue et cum omnibus aliis aysiamentis et libertatibus illius terre pertinentibus et cetera omnia que in carta prefati Lowar continentur ... His testibus magistro Alano, Wilichino filio Roberti, Symone de Ocunul, Hugone fratre suo, Philippo de Derewe, Willelmo Bunz, Ricardo filio Osberni, Willelmo filio Sond, Ricardo filio Albini, Nicholao monacho de Cumbermara et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 16; Wrottesley ed 1906, 335)

1209×13 Richard of Aldford regarding land in Aldford; D94.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Ricardus dominus de Aldeford salutem. Sciatis me concessisse ... deo et beate Marie et monachis de Pulton illas tres bovatas terre in campis de Aldeford quas Iohanna tunc domina de Aldeford dedit predictis monachis iuxta Holedene ex parte Aldeford tenendas in perpetuum de me et heredibus meis per ipsas divisas et landas sicut ipsa domina predictis monachis assignavit et incartavit et cetera omnia que continentur in carta prefate domine. Preterea dedi et feci prefatis monachis unam viam a terra sua usque in Vruemers in qua duo carra sibi invicem poterint obviare, scilicet inter terram Willelmi filii Hugonis filii Oteri et Holedene a chimino commune usque de per alii homines vadunt ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Petro clerico, Herberto de Orreby, magistro Alexandro, David de Malopassu, Ricardo clerico de Rudeston, Symone de Covintre, magistro Turstan et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 18; Wrottesley ed 1906, 335)

1209×13 Richard of Aldford regarding land at *Saglcos* and Fernley; D108.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Ricardus dominus de Aldeford salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pultone totam terram meam de Saglcos et de Fernle cum omnibus pertinentiis et liberatibus suis ad arandam et seminandam et ad fossas et hayas suas et quicquid eis placuerit faciendas in bosco, in plano, in aquis, in pasturis, in viis et semitis ... in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Waltero de Deivil, Aluredo de Sulni, A abbate de Basingwerk, Roberto et Hugone clericis de Pulton, Willelmo et Loarch de Chirton et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 339)

1209×13 Richard of Aldford regarding the whole manor of Byley; D97.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Ricardus dominus de Aldeford salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton totum manerium meum de Bifle cum bosco et molendino et omnibus aliis pertinentiis et libertatibus suis in escaetis et wardis omnium liberorum et integrementis omnibus tam liberis quam servilibus et omnibus liberis consuetudinibus ad arandum et seminandum ad fossas et hayas suas et quicquid eis placuerit faciendum in bosco, in plano, in aquis, in pasturis ... Tenendum de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete sine omni terreno servicio et seculari exactione: feci etiam dictis monachis saisinam terre de Bifle cum omnibus pertinentiis per concessionesm et confirmationem domini comitis Cestrie Ranulfi coram eodem comite et Philippe tunc iusticiario Cestrie et coram subscriptis testibus tam integre et plenarie tam libere et quiete quam nec ego in omni vita mea nec aliquis heredum meorum in sempiternum pro dicta terra in puram elemosinam data exigemus nisi tamen elemosinam et orationes. Si quis ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, H tunc abbate Cestrense, A tunc abbate de Basingwerk, Waltero de Dayvil, Aluredo de Sulni, magistro Hugone et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 23; Wrottesley ed 1906, 336)

1209×13 Earl Ranulph III confirms Richard of Aldford's gift of Byley.

R. comes Cestrie omnibus presentibus et futuris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse Radulfo abbati et monachis de Pultona donum quod Ricardus de Aldeford fecit eisdem de villa sua de Biveleia cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, habendam et tenendam libere et quiete sicut liberam elemosinam, sicut carta ipsius R., quam dicti abbas et monachi habent, testatur. Et quia volo quod dicta donacio sit stabilis in perpetuum, eam presenti scripto et sigilli mei inpressione roboravi. Testibus H. abbate Cestrie, A. abbate de Basigwerc, P. de Orrebi iusticiario Cestrie, Gualtero de Daivilla, Stephano de Segrave, Aluredo de Suligni, magistro Hugone, et multis aliis.
(Barraclough ed 1988, 248)

1209×14 Llywarch and Wrenoc ap Rhun regarding land at *Hules*; D84.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Loarch et Wrenoch filii Rui iunioris et Damwistel quondam uxor Iohannis salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos remisisse ... totam terram de Hules in campis Pultone deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pultona sicut, illam terram in qua nullum rectum clamum atque aliquid ius hereditarium habuimus aut habere debuimus quam pro ... in pleno comitatu affidavimus et tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis quod nunquam aliquid de eadem terra quolibet modo vel ingenio exigere. Et pro ista remissione et quieta clamatione et iuris sui recognitione dederunt nobis dicti monachi quinque marcas argenti et quinque solidos ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Rogero de Mohaut seneschallo, Willelmo de Venables, Warino de Vernon,

Petro clerico domini comitis, Liulfo de Tamlow tunc vicecomite, David clerico de Malpas, Roberto milite de Pulford, Ricardo et Hugone fratribus eius, Mereduc filio Wyun, Anketillo de Pulford, Willelmo filio Hugonis et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 9; Wrottesley ed 1906, 332)

1209×14 Richard, cleric of Rostherne, regarding a rent of 12 shillings; D87.

Universis Christi fidelibus presentibus et futuris Ricardus de Ruddeston clericus salutem ... Noverit universitas vestra me pro salute anime mee ... dedisse ... Deo et beate Marie et abbatie de Pultone in auxilium reparationis ecclesie xii denarios annuatim percipiendos de terra illa que est de feodo de Dodleston ad caput de Clavertonelane versus magnum vicum in civitate Cestrie per manum magistri domus Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Cestrie ad duos terminos ... Testes domino Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Petro clerico domini comitis, Ricardo tunc vicecomite Cestrie, Thoma camerario, Ricardi de Kegwurth, Ricardo, Willelmo et Aldino fratribus Ricardi de Rodestone, Rogero clerico de Cestria et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 11; Wrottesley ed 1906, 333)

1209×14 The prior the Hospital of St John of Chester confirms Richard Rostherne's charter; D88.

Prior et conventus fratrum hospitalis Cestrie extra portam septemtrionalem omnibus Christi fidelibus presentibus et futuris salutem in eo, qui salus est. Noverit universitas vestra nos de communi consensu et unanimi voluntate concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse Deo et sancte Marie et abbatie de Pultona et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus duodecim denarios de reditu annuo percipiendos per manum nostram ad duos terminos, videlicet VI denarios in natali Domini et VI denarios in festo nativitatis beati Iohannis, quos Ricardus de Roudestorn clericus domui prefate caritative contulit de terra illa, que est de feodo de Dodleston, ad caput de Clavertunelane versus magnum vicum in civitate Cestrie, sicut continetur in carta, quam prefati monachi de eo habent. Et ut hec nostra confirmatio perpetue firmitatis vigorem optineat, eam presenti scripto cum sigilli nostri appositione dignum duximus communire. Hiis testibus: Philippo de Orrebi tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Ricardo vicecomite Cestrie, Thoma camerario domini comitis, Ricarde de Kegwrthe clerico, Radulfo Sarraceno, Alexandro de Oxonia, Rogero Herre, Ricardeo filio Radulfi, Iohanne clerico de Cantia.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 13; Wrottesley ed 1906, 333; Barraclough ed 1957, 27)

1210 Gilbert Pigod regarding common pasture in Chelford and Withington; D89.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Gilibertus Pigod salutem. Noveritis me et heredes meos concessisse ... abbati et monachis de Pulton communionem et commoditatem totius pasture mee de Chelford et de Withinton et per totam terram meam in cercuitu Hesthul longe et prope ubicunque averia mea et hominum meorum pascuntur ad averia sua ... quiete ab omni terreno servicio et seculari exactione triginta annis ... Hec autem facta fuit anno ab incarnatione domini M°CC°X° anno quo dictus Ranulfus comes cepit castellum de Gannu et durabit xxxti annis. His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Petro clerico, Rogero de Meringwarin, Willelmo de Venables, Warino de Vernoun, Ricardo Fitun, Beneit de Wrth, Ricardo de Daveneport, Roberto de Pulford, Anchetil de Pulford et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 14; Wrottesley ed 1906, 334)

1210×14 Gilbert Pigot regarding land in *Esthull*; D90.

Sciant tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Gilibertus Pigot concessi ... concessionem et confirmationem quam Galfridus de Esthul fecit abbati et monachis de Pulton de predicta terra de Esthul, libere et quiete de me et heredibus meis pro omnia sicut continetur in carta eiusdem Galfridi ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Petro clerico, Rogero de Meringwarin, Willelmo de Venables, Warino de Vernoun, Ricardo Fitun, Beneit de Wrth, Ricardo de Daveneport, Roberto de Pulford, Anchetil de Pulford et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 334)

1213×14 John Ardern, Lord of Aldford, regarding land at Bradford and Wettenhall; D105.

Omnibus presentibus et futuris presentem paginam inspecturis et audituris Iohannis de Ardern, dominus de Aldeford salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me concessisse ... domui sancte Marie de Pulton et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus totam terram de Bradeford cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus ad eam spectantibus prout continetur in carta Ricardi de Aldeford. Preterea dedi ... eidem domui et dictis monachis de Pultona totam terram de Wetehull que iacet iuxta manerium meum de Aldithel cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus et aysiamentis in bosco, in plano, in pratis ... in escambio terrarum quas idem monachi tenuerunt in manerio de Aldeford ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Guarino de Vernoun, Willelmo de Venablis, Hamone de Mascy, Petro clerico, Ricardo de Santbach, Hugone de Paci, Ricardo de Rodestorn, Thurstino clerico et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 19; Wrottesley ed 1906, 338)

1213×14? Ranulph Fitz Simon confirms Wettenhall; D82.

Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Radulfus filius Simonis concedo atque confirmo ... donationem illam quam Robertus filius Ricardi militis de Pulford dedit patri suo Ricardo quando intravit cenobium Pultone ut fieret monachus scilicet totam terram illam que continetur infra has divisas in loco qui dicitur Wetehul ab Hendegreve per fossatum quod est inter terram illam et campum Pulfordie usque ad ... His testibus Willelmo Arsic, Radulpho de Crumbwell, Symone fratre eius, Willelmo de Muletona, Galfrido persona, Symone fratre eius, Hugone clerico fratre Roberti, Radulfo fratre eius et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 332)

1213×14 Earl Ranulph III regarding land at Bradford and Wettenhall; D106.

Ranulfus comes Cestrie universis presentibus et futuris presentem paginam inspecturis et audituris salutem. Vestra noverit universitas me concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse abbati et monachis de Pultona totam donacionem terrarum, scilicet de Bradeford et Wetehull, in escambio terrarum quas idem abbas et monachi tenuerunt in manerio de Aldeford, tenendarum et habendarum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam libere et quiete, bene et pacifice, sicut carta Iohannis de Arderne domini de Aldeford testatur. Testibus hiis Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Petro clerico, Ricardo de Perepunt tunc vicecomite Cestrie, Hugone de Pasey, Willelmo monacho, Bertrammo camerario, Ricardo de Rodestorne, Thurstano clerico, Ricardo de Sondbach, Ricardo clerico, et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 22; Wrottesley ed 1906, 339; Barraclough ed 1988, 249)

1214 Hugh the Jew gives land in Byley; D98

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Hugo Iudeus frater Willelmi Cravail de Biviley salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et monachos de Pulton quatuor bovatas terre scilicet totam meam quam habui in superiori parte ville de Bifle cum gardino et antiquo mesuagio et tota esteya et cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis in bosco, in plano, in pratis ... Tenendas et habendas in puram et perpetuam elemosinam libere quiete sine omni terreno servicio et seculari exactione. Ego autem et heredes mei ... His testibus H tunc abbate Cestrense, Philippo tunc iusticiario Cestrie, R seneschalo de Hawerdin, Willelmo de Venables, Warino de Vernoun, Rogero de Meinwarin, Petro, magistro Alano, Ricardo de Rudestorn clericis, Roberto milite et Ankitun de Pulford, Warine de Bivile, Henrico filio meo et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 336)

1214 Henry, son of Hugh the Jew, gives land in Byley; D99

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Henricus filius Hugonis Iudei de Bivele salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton donationem quam pater meus eis fecit et per cartam suam confirmavit de quatuor bovatis terre quas habuit in villa de Bivele ... Preterea cum messuagio et xx seylionibus quos pater meus de dictis monachis tam in vita sua tenendis acceperat, ego aut heredes mei nullum ius vendicabimus in perpetuum. Ipsi autem monachi concesserunt in omnibus diebus vite mee victum et vestimentum quamdiu in famulatu illorum fidelis et diligens esse voluero ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Rogero seneschallo de Hawardin, Rogero de Meinwarin, Warino de Vernoun, Liulpho de Twamlaw, Ricardo milite filio eius, Ricardo de Rudeston clerico, Ricardo et Henrico de Kegwerth clericis, Roberto milite et Anketino de Pulton, Warino de Bivile et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 336)

1214 Liulf of Twemlow gives land at Byley; D100.

Omnibus presentibus et futuris ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Lidulphus de Tuamlaw salutem. Sciatis me concessisse ... deo et sancte Marie et abbatie de Pulton et monachis ibidem deo servientibus ius et clamium meum totum quod habui in quatuor bovatis terre cum pertinentiis in Bivile quas habui et tenui de Ricardo de Aldeford do dono per cartam suam et de vadio et de iure hereditario excepta quadam terra que vocatur Dernelekegreve quam mihi et heredibus meis retentavi de dicta domo de Pulton ... His testibus domino H abbate Cestrense, Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Rogero de Montealto seneschallo Cestrie, Willelmo de Venables, Warino de Vernon, Rogero de Meinwarin, Hamone de Mascy, Roberto Patric, Petro clerico Cestrie, magistro Alano de Tawell, magistro Hugone, Ricardo filio Ludi, Roberto fratre suo, Iohanne de Aculvestre, Ricardo de Sonbach, Ricardo de Perpounts tunc vicecomite Cestrie, Bertramo camerario, Ricardo de Kegwurth, Ricardo de Rodestorn clericis et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 336)

1214 Ralph Fitz Simon of Pulford grants land in Byley; D101.

Radulphus filius Symonis de Pulford omnibus presentibus et futuris presentem cartam inspecturis vel audituris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse ... deo et beate Marie et monachis de Pulton ibidem deo servientibus donationem et concessionem quam Ricardus de Aldeford eis fecit de villa de Biveleye cum omnibus pertinentiis. Habenda ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Henrico de Aldideli, Waltero de Deville, Rogero de Meinwarin, Aluredo de Sulneye, Lidulpho de Tuamlaw, Ricardo filio suo, Roberto Putrel, Anketillo de Pulton, Roberto milite de Pulton, Ricardo de Rondesthorn clerico, Bertramo camerario, Ricardo de Kegwurth clerico et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 337)

1214 Philip de Orreby grants land in Byley; D102.

Philippus de Orreby omnibus presentibus et futuris presentem cartam inspecturis vel audituris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse ... deo et beate Marie et monachis de Pulton ibidem deo servientibus, concessionem et donationem quam Ricardus de Aldeford fecit eis de villa de Bivele cum omnibus pertinentiis. Habenda et tenenda adeo libere ... His testibus Radulpho filio Symonis, Petro clerico domini comitis Cestrie, Henrico de Alditel, Waltero de Dayville, Rogero de Meinwarin, Aluredo de Sulingneye, Liulpho de Tuamlowe, Ricardo filio suo, Roberto Putrel, Anketillo de Pulford, Roberto milite de Puleford, Ricardo de Rondesthorne clerico, Bertramo camerario domini comitis, Ricardo de Kegwurth clerico et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 337)

1214 Hugh the Jew grants property in Nantwich and Eaton by Allington belonging to the manor of Byley; D103.

Omnibus ad quod presens scriptum pervenerit Hugo Iudeus frater Willelmi Travail de Bivele salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Pulton totum ius et clamium quod ego et heredes mei habuimus vel habere debuimus in salina de Wico pertinente ad manerium de Bivele et in villa de Etun iuxta Alinton cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis in bosco, in plano, in pratis ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Petro et Ricardo de Roudesthorn clericis, Roberto de Pulford milite, Anketillo et Ricardo de Pulford, Warino de Bivele, Henrico filio meo et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 337)

1214×16 Earl Ranulph III regarding protection for Dieulacres Abbey; D169.

Ranulfus comes Cestrie constabulario suo, dapifero, iusticiario, vicecomiti, baronibus et omnibus ballivis et hominibus suis Francis et Anglis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis quod abbatia de Deulacresse et monachi eiusdem loci et homines sui et omnes terre et possessiones sue sunt in mea manu et custodia et protectione. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predictam abbatiam et homines suos et terras et omnia, que ad eam pertinent, manuteneatis et custodiatis et protegatis sicut res meas dominicas, nullam eis iniuriam vel contumeliam facientes vel ab aliquo fieri permittentes, et sitis eis in auxilio ad manutenendum rectitudines suas, quas habere debent, ne pro defectu auxilii et consilii aliquid de rectitudinibus vel rectis consuetudinibus suis amittant. Et si quis eis vel hominibus aut rebus suis in aliquo forisfacere presumpserit, sine dilatione plenariam iusticiam eis fieri faciatis. Et sint quieti de syris et hundredis et placitis et querelis et auxiliis et consuetudinibus et omni terreno servitio et seculari exactione. Et prohibeo ne ipsi vel homines sui ponantur in placitum de ulla re nisi coram me vel coram capitali iusticia mea, supra decem libras forisfacture. Hiis testibus Thoma dispensatore et Roberto fratre eius, Roberto de Coudray, Alfredo de Suleni, Iohanne de Erderne, Roberto de Daiville, Hugone de Paschi, et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 355; Barraclough ed 1988, 371)

1214×16 Earl Ranulph III confirms the manor of Byley.

Rannulfus comes Cestrie omnibus presentibus et futuris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse abbati et monachis meis de Deulacresse totam villam de Bivelehe cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in villa et extra villam habendam et tenendam in perpetuum libere et quiete sicut liberam elemosinam, prout carte donatorum, venditorum et exchambiatorum, quas inde habent, testantur. Et preterea eisdem dedi et concessi et presenti carta confirmavi quietentiam exercitus et syre et hundredi et omnium placitorum et pouture servientium et omnium demendarum et consuetudinum ad me et heredes meos spectantium. Hiis testibus Phillipo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Rogero de Monte Alto senescallo Cestrie, Willelmo de Venables, Warino de Vernun, Henrico de Alditelegh, Rogero de Medinlwarin, Hamone de Mascy, Hugone et Thoma dispensariis, Waltero de Deivilla, Petro clerico meo, Aluredo de Suligni, Hugone de Pascy, Lidulfo de Tuamlowe, Ricardo filio suo, magistro Hugone, Ricardo de Kegwrthe clerico, et multis aliis.
(Barraclough ed 1988, 375)

1214×17 William Mainwaring regarding a salthouse in Middlewich; D124.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris Willelmus de Meinwarin salutem in vero salutari. Noverit universitas vestra me divine pietatis intuitu dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Deulacres unam salinam in Medio Wico illam scilicet quam emi de Ricardo filio Colbayn. Habendam et tenendam in perpetuam elemosinam de me et heredibus meis. Reddendo annuatim monachis de Basingwerk sex denarios in nativitatem sancti Iohannis baptiste pro omni servicio ... His testibus domino Ranulpho comite Cestrie, Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Petro clerico domini comitis, Thoma expensario, Ricardo de Kagwurth et Ricardo de Rodeston clericis et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 343)

1214×17 Earl Ranulph III confirms a salthouse in Middlewich given by William Mainwaring.

Universis Christi fidelibus presentem cartam inspecturis et audituris Rannulfus comes Cestrie salutem. Noveritis me concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse abbati et monachis meis de Deulacresse in puram et perpetuam elemosinam salinam illam in Medio Wyco, quam Willelmus de Meisnilwarin eis caritative dedit, liberam et solutam et quietam de tholneto et de secta de wychmot et de omnibus secularibus consuetudinibus et exactionibus, habendam et tenendam imperpetuum cum sale de die veneris. Concessi etiam et presenti carta mea confirmavi predictis abbati et monachis et hominibus in domibus suis salem bullientes salsam capiendam de omnibus fossis, sicut eis magis expedire noverint. Hiis testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario meo, Henrico de Aldithlea, Petro clerico meo, Warino de Vernoun, Willelmo de Venables, Hugone et Thoma et Henrico et Roberto et Galfrido dispensariis, Waltero de Daivilla, Roberto de Coudray, Aluredo de Suligny, et multis aliis.
(Barraclough ed 1988, 377)

1214×28 William Fitz William Boydell regarding land in Dodleston and Balderton; D60.

Omnibus hominibus presentibus et futuris ... Willelmus de Boidle filius Willelmi de Boidle salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me concessisse ... deo et beate Marie de Deulacres et abbati et monachis ibidem deo servientibus totam terram cum pertinentiis in Dodleston et Baldreton quam Willelmus Boidle pater meus aliquo tempore dedit deo et beate Marie de Pulton. Habendam ... His testibus domino Philippo de Orrebis tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Willelmo de Malo Passu, Hugone de Presces, Willelmo filio Pagani, David parsona de Dodleston, Roberto de

Pulford, Ada clerico de Cristelton et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 325)

1214×28 Hugh the Jew, brother of William Cravail, regarding land in Byley; D66.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. Hugo Iudeus frater Willelmi Cravail de Bivile salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Deulacres totam terram quam habui in villa de Bivilega cum omnibus pertinentiis et totam ius et clamum quod habui in terra Warini de Bivele et aliis terris eiusdem ville ... His testibus Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Petro clerico, magistro Alano, Ricardo de Ruddistorn, David de Dodleston clericis, Roberto de Pulford milite, Anketino et Hamone servientibus comitis, Warino de Bivil, Henrico filio meo, Ioseph, Willelmo, Fulchero monachis de Deulacres et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 327)

1215×29 Exchange of land in Pulford.

Grant by Richard, Abbot of Dieulacres, to Richard Fitz Richard of Pulford in exchange of a toft in Pulford for other lands there. Witnesses William de Boydel, David parson of Dodleston, Maurice his brother, Hugh parson of Pulford and John Fitz Meredith.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 9)

1217×18 Earl Ranulph III confirms the privileges of Dieulacres; D170.

Ranulphus comes Cestrie et Lincolnie constabulario suo et dapifero, iusticiario, vicecomiti, baronibus et ceteris suis baillivis, et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis quod abbatia mea de Deulacresse, quam construxi, et monachi mei, qui ibidem sunt, in mea sunt protectione et custodia, et quod eisdem omnes homines et terras et possessiones, quas nunc habent vel inposterum in toto comitatu Cestrie dono meo et hominum meorum vel aliis iustis modis adquirere possunt, concedo et confirmo pro me et heredibus meis, ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei in omnibus hominibus et terris dictorum monacorum meorum nunc perquisitis vel in posterum perquirendis aliquam vendicationem habere possumus, sed in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam pacifice possideant. Quare volo et firmiter precipio, quod predictam abbatiam et homines suos et terras, et omnia que ad eam pertinent, manuteneatis et custodiatis et protegatis sicut res meas dominicas, nullam eis iniuriam vel molestiam facientes vel ab aliquo fieri permittentes, et sitis eis in auxilio ad manutendendum rectitudines suas, quas habere debent, ne pro defectu auxilii vel consilii rectitudines suas vel de rectis consuetudinibus suis aliquid amittant. Et si quis eis vel hominibus aut rebus suis in aliquo forisfacere presumpserit, sine dilatione plenariam iusticiam eis fieri faciatis. Et sint quieti de siris et de hundredis, ut nullus vicecomes eos implacitare presumat in hundredis, et placitis et querelis et auxiliis et exercitu et consuetudinibus et omni terreno servitio et seculari exactione. Et prohibeo ne ipsi vel homines sui ponantur in placitum de aliqua re supra decem libras forisfacture, nisi coram me val capitali iusticiario meo. His testibus Philippo de Orrebi tunc iusticiario meo, R de Monte Alto senescallo, Willelmo de Venabulis, H de Mascy, Ricardo de Aldeford, Roberto Patric, Warino de Vernun, Petro clerico, Ricardo Roudistorn clerico, et multis aliis apud Cestriam, me presente.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 355; Barraclough ed 1988, 373)

1217×22 Grant of land at Rudyard to build the Abbey of Dieulacres.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris, hanc cartam inspecturis vel audituris, Ranulfus comes Cestrie et Lincolnie salutem. Noveritis me pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum dedisse in puram et perpetuam elemosinam deo et beate Marie et monachis apud Deulacres deo servientibus terram de Rodeiard cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ad construendam ibidem abbatiam, scilicet per istas divisas: per aquam de Luddebeche, qui currit inter Rudiard et Leck, usque ad domum Radulfi Bec, et inde usque ad Merebroc, et a Merebroc usque ad Quamendehul, et inde deorsum per domum Dodni, usque as sepulcrum Thoni, et inde usque ad Falingbroc, et per Falinbroc usque ad Fulhe et inde usque ad Luddebeche. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod dicti monachi mei de Deulacres habeant et teneant in perpetuum predictam terram ad fundandam abbatiam suam eis collatam libere, quiete, pacifice et honorifice sicud liberam et puram elemosinam, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et libertatibus in bosco, in plano, in pratis, in pasturis, in stagnis et molendinis, in moris et marescis, in viis et semitis, et in omnibus locis et cum eisamentis, que in predicta terra sunt vel fieri possunt, ita quod predicta terra cum suis pertinentiis sit omnino extra forestam et libera penitus ab omni exactione seculari, sicut aliqua elemosina potest esse liberior. Et ut hec, me donatio stabilis sit in perpetuum, eam hac carta mea et sigilli mei impressione roboravi Testibus H tunc abbate Cestrie, Petro de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, magistro Hugone, qui hanc cartam scripsit, et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 363; Barraclough ed 1988, 378)

1217×26 Ithel ap Rhun releases the lands called Little Poulton; D71.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod hec est conventio facta inter abbatem de Deulacres et monachos ibidem deo servientibus ex una parte et Hichell filium Runi ex alia parte, scilicet quod prefatus Hichell predictis abbati et monachis totum ius et totum clamum suum quod habuit in terra que vocatur Parva Polton de se et heredibus suis, et de tota progenie sua, quietum clamavit in perpetuum sicut in carta continetur quam idem abbas et monachi de eodem Hichell habent, ita tamen quod prefati abbas et monachi prefato Hichell tamen in vita sua dabunt per annum iiiior solidos ad nativitatem beati Iohannis baptiste ... Hanc vero conventionem coram domino Ranulpho comite Cestrie et Lewelino principe Wallie et multis aliis viris legalibus fideliter firmiter ... sine dolo affidavit. His testibus Ranulpho comite Cestrie et Lincolnie, Lewelin principe Wallie, H abbate Cestrie, Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, David de Malo Passu et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 7; Wrottesley ed 1906, 328)

1220×21 Ranulph, earl of Chester, grants protection to Dieulacres Abbey; D 167.

Ranulfus comes Cestrie et Lincolnie constabulario suo et dapifero, vicecomiti, baronibus et ballivis suis, et omnibus hominibus suis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis me in honore dei et beate Marie semper virginis et sancte Benedicti abbatis et omnium sanctorum dei pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum quandam abbatiam, que vocatur Dieulencres, de ordine Cisterciensi fundasse. Abbatia igitur illa et monachi et conversi et homines et illas res omnes et omnes terre et possessiones et omnia ad eam pertinencia sunt in mea manu, custodia et protectione. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predictam abbatiam et homines ipsius et terras et omnia, que ad ipsam pertinent, manuteneatis et custodiatis et protegatis et defendatis in omnibus, nullam eis iniuriam vel molestiam facientes vel ab aliquo fieri permittentes, et sitis eis in auxilium ad manutenendum rectitudines et libertates, quas habere debent, ne pro defectu auxilii vestri vel consilii de rectitudinibus aut libertatibus suis aliquid amittant. Et si quis eis vel hominibus vel rebus suis in aliquo forisfacere presumpserit, sine dilatione eisdem plenariam iusticiam faciatis. Et prohibeo ne ipsi vel homines sui ponantur in placitum de aliqua re supra libras forisfacture decem, nisi coram me ipso vel coram capitali iusticiario meo. His testibus domino abbate Cestrie, Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario meo, Iohanne constabulario, Rogero senescallo, Henrico de Aldithele, Willelmo de Venabules, Hamone de Mascy, Warino de Vernoun, Rogero de Meinwarin, Radulfo filio Symonis, Iohanne de Ardern, Ioceramo de Hellesby, Petro clerico domini comitis, David de Malopassu, Ricardo de Kingeslee, et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 354; Barraclough ed 1988, 374)

1220×25 Earl Ranulph III regarding freedom from tolls in his mills at Chester; D70.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ... Ranulphus comes Cestrie et Lincolnie salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse ... deo et beate Marie et monachis meis de Deulacres in puram et perpetuam elemosinam quietancium tolneti de blado suo in molendinis meis de Cestria ... His testibus W abbate Cestrense, Philippo de Orreby tunc iusticiario Cestrie, P clerico domini Cestrie, Roberto Bray et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 328)

1220×30 Exchange between Robert, Abbot of Dieulacres, and Richard Fitz Richard of Pulford of lands in Pulford.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 19)

1228×32 Einon ap Llywelyn of Burton regarding land in Poulton and *Pulenale*; D42.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris, Eynun filius Lewellen de Berton salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres totam partem meam de terra de Pulford et de Pulenale scilicet quartam partem totius terre quam Lewelinus pater meus quondam tenuit in Pulford et Pulnale ... Habendam ... His testibus domino Willelmo de Vernon tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Madoc domino de Bromfeld, domino Willelmo Boidel, Roberto milite de Pulford, Hugone fratre eius, W Bunz, Ricardo Bunz, Willelmo filio Hugonis de Pulford et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 321)

1228×32 William, Wrennoc and Hywel ap Llywelyn regarding Pulford and *Pulnale*; D43.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris Willelmus et Wrennoc et Howel filii Lewelini de Borton salutem. Noveritis nos concessisse ... deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Dulacres donationem illam de terra de Pulford et de Pulnale quod Eynun frater noster domui de Deulacres contulit ... His testibus domino Willelmo de Vernon tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Madoch domino de Brumfelde, Willelmo de Boidele, parsona de Dodleston, Roberto milite de Pulford, Hugone fratre eius, W Bunz, Ricardo Bunz, W filio Hugonis de Pulford et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 321)

1228×40 Exchange of a toft in Pulford for other lands in Pulford.

Adam, abbot of Dieulacres to Richard Fitz Richard of Pulford: the exchange of a toft in Pulford which the abbot had from William Fitz Hugh de Pulford for four butts at *Stuelsiche* belonging to Richard Fitz Richard. Witnesses: William de Boydel, David parson of Dodleston, Maurice his brother, Hugh parson of Pulford, John Fitz Meredith.
(Beamont ed 1866, 45; Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 10; Sleigh 1883, 63)

1229×32 Ranulph, earl of Chester, gives the church of Sandbach.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentem cartam inspecturis vel audituris Ranulfus comes Cestrie et Lincolnie salutem. Sciatis me divine potestatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee, quantum ad patronum pertinet, dedisse, concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse in puram et perpetuam elemosinam deo et beate Marie et monachis apud Deulacresse deo servientibus ecclesiam de Sondbache cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, habendam et tenendam sibi in proprios usus imperpetuum, ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei in predicta ecclesia cum pertinentiis aliquid exigemus preter orationes. Et ut hec mea donacio et concessio rata permaneat et inconcussa presens scriptum sigillo meo roboravi. Hiis testibus domino Waltero abbate Cestrie, domino Willelmo de Vernon iusticiario Cestrie, Willelmo de Cantilupo, Fulcone filio Warini, Radulfo de Bray, Baldewine de Ver, Ricardo Fiton, Ricardo de Buron, Simone clerico et aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 30; Barraclough ed 1988, 386)

1229×32 Confirmation of Byley; D65.

Ranulfus comes Cestrie et Lincolnie omnibus presentibus et futuris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse abbati et monachis meis de Dieulacres totam villam de Bifle cum omnibus pretinenciis suis in villa

et extra villam, habendam et tenendam in perpetuum libere et quiete sicut liberam elemosinam, prout carte donatorum, venditorum et escambiatorum, quas inde habent, testantur. Et preterea eisdem dedi et concessi et presenti carta confirmavi quietanciam exercitus et syre et hundredi et omnium placitorum et puture servientium et omnium demandarum et consuetudinum ad me et heredes meos spectantium. His testibus Willelmo abbate Cestrie et K abbate Gerevalle, Willelmo de Vernoun tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Ricardo Fitun, Radulfo de Bray, Ricardo Birun, Iohanne de Laxington, Simone clerico, Ricardo de Arderne, et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 327; Barraclough ed 1988, 376)

1230×4 Walter, Abbot of Croxden, regarding the transfer of monks from Poulton to Dieulacres; D171.

Universis Cisterciensis ordinis abbatibus, fratribus ... dominus abbas Walterus sancte Marie de Crokesdene et humilis eiusdem loci conventus salutem in auctore salutis. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum Ranulfus venerabilis comes Cestrie transferat domum de Polton ad locum magis oportunium vicinium terram abbacie nostre et infra terminos ab ordine constitutos, ita inter nos et conventum nostrum et abbatem et conventum dicte domus de Pulton convenitur quod citra unum miliare Anglie ab abbacia sua distans terras et pastura ubi nobis oportunium fuerit et utile infra spatium inter nos et ipsos constitutum licite poterimus adquiere et possidere, ipsi autem nichil terre vel pasture ab eodem miliari Anglie versus domum nostram accipientes nisi de manerio de Lec et de proprio dominico comitis, salva eis ecclesia de Lec cum pertinentiis suis; ita tamen quod de terris quas in parochia de Lec iam adquisivimus vel adhuc adquiremus et propriis sumptibus excolemus nullas prs' decimas eis dabimus. His testibus dominis abbatibus de Clara Valle, de Savigni, de Beaulec, de Alneto, de Sancto Andree, de Fornesio, de Bellalanda, de Buldewas, de Quarreria, de Stratford, de Barbereyo et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 355)

1230×37 Grant of freedom from tithes in Byley; D131.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Hugo capellanus et Rector ecclesie de Medio Wico salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me in perpetuum a me et successoribus meis per concensum magistri Willelmi archidiaconi Cestrensis, abbati et conventui de Deulacres omnes decimas suas grangie sue de Bivele, remississe et quietas clamasse. Reddendo annuatim sub nomine decimarum decimarum mihi et successoribus meis duas marcas argenti unam in septimana Pasche et aliam in nativitate sancti Iohannis baptiste ... His testibus domino R tunc abbate de Cumbermara, domino W tunc abbate Cestrense, domino K tunc abbate de Stanlawe, Henrico de Auditheley, Henrico Tuchet et aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 24; Wrottesley ed 1906, 345)

October 1232 Earl Ranulph III donates the manor and church of Leek.

Ranulphus comes Cestrie et Lincolnie universis Christi fidelibus presentem cartam visuris vel audituris salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me pro salute anime mee animarumque antecessorum et successorum meorum dedisse, concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confimasse deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui abbatie mee de Deulacresse totum manerium de Lech cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis simul cum corde meo, quod ibidem legavi sepelier.dum, habendum et tenedum sibi et successoribus suis bene, quiete, integre et pacifice in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam absque ullo retenemento et quietum ab omni servicio et exactione seculari. Ego vero et heredes mei predictum manerium cum pertinentiis suis memoratis abbati et conventui contra omnes gentes warantizabimus imperpetuum. Et ut hec mea donacio perpetue firmitatis robur optineat, eam presentis pagine testimonio et sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus Petro Wyntoniensi, Alexandro Coventrensi et Lychefeldensi episcopis, Iohanne de Lascy constabulario Cestrie, Stephano de Segrava, Fulcone filio Warini, Henrico de Aldithlega, Willelmo de Cantilupo iuniore, Waltero de Dayvilla, Baldewino de Ver, Ricardo de Arderne, Simone et Iohanne clericis, et aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 31; Barraclough ed 1988, 387)

25 October 1232 Confirmation by King Henry III of the manor and church of Leek.

Henricus dei gratia rex Anglie dominus Hibernie, dux Normannie, Aquitanie et comes Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiariis, vicecomitibus, prepositis, ministris et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis salutem. Inspeximus cartam Ranulphi comitis Cestrie et Lincolnie quam fecit deo et ecclesie beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Dieulacres in hec verba. Ranulphus comes Cestrie et Lincolnie universis Christi fidelibus presentem cartam visuris vel audituris salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me pro salute anime mee animarumque antecessorum et successorum meorum dedisse, concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confimasse deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui abbathie mee de Deulacres totum manerium de Leeke cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis cum corde meo simul quod ibidem legavi sepeliendum. Habendum et tenedum sibi et successoribus suis bene, quiete, integre et pacifice in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam absque ullo retenemento et quietum ab omni servicio et exactione seculari. Ego vero et heredes mei predictum manerium cum pertinentiis suis memoratis abbati et conventui contra omnes gentes warantizabimus imperpetuum. Et ut hec mea donatio perpetue firmitatis robur optineat, eam presentis pagine testimonio et sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus P. Wyntoniense, A. Coventrense et Lichfeldense episcopis, I. de Lascy constabulario Cestrie et aliis. Nos igitur donationem et concessionem predicti comitis ratam et gratam habentes eam pro nobis et heredibus nostris concedimus et confirmavimus sicud carta ipsius comitis quam predicti abbas et conventus inde habent rationabiliter testatur. Hiis testibus P. Wyntonensi, A. Conventrensi et Lichfeldensi episcopis, S. de Segrave iusticiario nostro et aliis. Datum

per manum venerabilis patris nostri R. Cicestrensis episcopi cancellarii, apud Radingam vicesimo quinto die Octobris anno regni nostri sexto decimo.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 363)

1232×44 Confirmation of exchange of land in Pulford.

Confirmation by Adam, Abbot of Dieulacres, to Richard Fitz Richard of Pulford of the exchange of lands in Pulford. Witnesses, Roger de Hardi (Hawarden?), William de Boydel, Daid parson of Dodleston, Hugh parson of Pulford and John Fitz Meredith.
(Beamont ed 1866, 45)

1233×6 Earl John le Scot (1232-7) remits the homages and services of the manor of Leek.

Omnibus presentibus et futuris Iohannes de Scotia comes Cestrie et Huntendonie salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me pro salute anime mee et pro salute omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum remississe et quietaclamasse deo et beate Marie et abbati de Deulacresse et monachis ibidem deo servientibus in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam omnia homagia et servitia pertinentia ad manerium de Lek, que prius retinui ad opus meum, ita quod ego vel heredes mei in dicto manerio cum pertinentiis nichil omnino poterimus exigere, sed possideant predicti abbas et monachi sepedictum manerium de Lek cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis absque ullo retenemento plene et pacifice, prout carta pie memorie domini Ranulphi quondam comitis Cestrie et Lincolnie avunculi mei testatur. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus venerabili viro domino Alexandro Coventrensi et Lychefeldensi episcopo, Waltero abbate Cestrie, Roberto abbate de Cumbremare, Henrico de Audithelege, Warino de Vernun, Willelmo de Breyn, Radulfo de Camays, Radulfo de Say, Hanketino de Folevilla, et aliis.
(Barraclough ed 1988, 446)

1233×7 Earl John le Scot confirms the gifts of Ranulph III and others; D165.

Omnibus presentem cartam inspecturis vel audituris, Iohannes de Scotia comes Cestrie et Huntindonie salutem. Sciatis me pro salute pie memorie Ranulfi quondam comitis Cestrie et Lincolnie avunculi mei et pro salute anime comitis Davidis patris mei et pro salute anime mee animarumque omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse deo et beate Marie et abbatie de Deulacres et monachis ibidem deo in perpetuum famulantibus omnes rationabiles donationes et libertates a dicto Ranulfo comite et ab antecessoribus suis et a quibuscunque aliis infra terram meam vel alibi illis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam collatas, sicut carta dicti Ranulfi comitis et aliorum, quas dicti loci abbas et conventus inde habent, rationabiliter testantur. Et in huius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apponere feci. His testibus Waltero dei gracia abbate Cestrie, Roberto abbate Cumbremara, Karolo abbate de Stanlawe, Ricardo Phitun tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Roberto de Campania, Hugone Phitun, Radulfo Basset, Franco Teutonico peregrino, Ada de Audithele, et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 353; Barraclough ed 1988, 447)

1233×7 Earl John le Scot grants protection to Dieulacres Abbey; D166.

Iohannes de Scotia comes Cestrie et Huntundon constabulario suo, dapifero, vicecomiti, baronibus et ballivis suis et omnibus hominibus suis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Noveritis me pro salute anime comitis Ranulfi avunculi mei et mee animarumque antecessorum et sucessorum meorum specialiter suscepisse in manutenemento meo et custodia et protectione mea abbatiam de Deulacres, monachos et conversos ibidem deo servientes, homines, res terras et possessiones, et omnia ad predictam abbatiam pertinencia. Qaure volo et firmiter precipio quod dictam abbatiam et omnia ad eam pertinencia pro posse fideli manu teneatis, custodiatis, protegatis in omnibus, nullam eis iniuriam vel molestiam inferentes nec pro posse vestro eis inferri permittentes, et quod sitis eis in auxiiium et consilium ad libertates suas et iura sua habenda et manutenenda in omnibus pro posse vestro fideli. Et si quis eis vel hominibus vel rebus suis in aliquo forisfacere presumpserit, sine dilacione eisdem faciatis iusticiam plenariam. Et prohibeo supra forisfacturam decem librarum ne ipsi vel homines sui ponantur in placitum de aliqua re nisi coram me ipso vel coram capitali iusticiario meo. In cuius rei testimonium presens scriptum sigillo meo munitum contuli. His testibus Waltero abbate Cestrie, Ricardo Phitun tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Willelmo de Catelupo, Willelmo de Malopassu, Hugone Phitun, Walkelino de Arderne, Galfrido de Appleby, Simone, Petro, Hugone clericis, et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 19o6, 354; Barraclough ed 1988, 447)

1241 William Measham reaches agreement with the Abbot of Dieulacres; D181.

Omnibus sancte matris filiis Willelmus de Meysham eternam in domino salutem. Noveritis universitas vestras me remississe pro me et heredibus meis abbati et conventui de Deulacres totam actionem quam habeo vel habere potui contra eos super translationem domi de Polton, ita scilicet quod numquam ego vel heredes mei super predicta translatione aliquam eisdem movebimus questionem nec movendam procurabimus, dum tamen ibidem secundum servandum dei servitium faciant convenientur ministrari prout decet. Pro hac autem remissione predicti abbas et conventus dederunt mihi quinque marcas sterlingorum. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte mee una cum signo domini prioris de Derlega qui de controversia inter nos mota cognovit, sigillum meum apposui. His testibus domino Iohanne abbate de Crokesdene, domino Philippo abbate de Rouecestria, domino Andrea priore de Derel', domino Willelmo de Vernon, domino Willelmo de Montegomery, domino Galtero de Segishale, domino Ricardo de Draycote et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 361)

4 April 1241 William Measham reaches agreement with the Abbot of Dieulacres; D182.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum

pervenerit, Willelmus de Maysham salutem. Noveritis nos concessisse, donasse et hac presenti carta nostra finaliter quietos clamasse abbati et conventui de Deulacres viginti solidos redditus quos dicti abbas et conventus mihi pro Polton ubi quondam fuit abbacia solebant reddere. Ita sive quod a dictis abbate et conventu nihil omni ratione predicti redditus neque nos neque heredes nostri in perpetuum aliquid exigere poterimus. Pro hac autem concessione, donatione et quieta redditus clamatione dederunt mihi predictus abbas et conventus sexdecim marcas sterlingorum, et ego predictus Willelmus et heredes mei predictam concessionem, donationem, quietam redditus clamationem contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum warantizabimus. Pariter quod corpus meum cum universe viam carnis ingressus fuerimus, loco predicto, videlicet apud Deulacres humandum decrevi, et absque aliqua conditione confirmandum, ut igitur nostra concessio, donatio et quietaclamatio firmitatis robur optineat, presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus. His testibus, domino Symone tunc abbate de Cumbermara, domino Iohanne tunc abbate de Crokesden, domino Roberto tunc abbate de Hulton, domino H de Aldithel, domino Ricardo de Draycote, domino Roberto de Lega, Willelmo de Chetelton, Willelmo de Ipstanes et aliis. Datum anno gratie m°cc°xl° die sancti Ambrosii episcopi.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 362)

1244 Grant by William Fitz William de Boydel of lands in Dodleston; D63.

Omnibus hominibus has literas ... Willelmus de Boidle dominus de Dodleston eternam in domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestras me pro salute anime mee ... dedisse ... Deo et beate Marie de Deulacres et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus pratum illud quod iacet inter acram hospitalis Cestrie quam dicti monachi habent et possident de dicto hospitali tenent et inter pratum dictorum monachorum quod habent ex dono patris mei Willelmi de Boidle cuius unum caput tendet versus Reddefeld et aliud versus Salteney in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ... Habendum ... Concessi etiam et dedi dictis monachis quandam partem terre ad chiminum tam in longitudine et latitudine quantum dicti monachi retro ... his temporibus habere solent cuius caput unum tendet versus Wittefeld et alium versus fossam de Baldreton liberam et quietam ab omnimoda exactione et servicio seculari. Ita quod ... His testibus domino tunc abbato de Cumbermara, domino R tunc abbate Cestrie, domino Iohanne Extraneo tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Roberto Lancelin, Iohanne de Haselevelle, Simone clerico, Roberto de Pulford et multis aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 12; Wrottesley ed 1906, 326)

1244×6 William ap Llywelyn of Burton regarding land in Pulford and *Pulenhale*; D45.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ... Willelmus filius Lewelin de Burtona salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres omnem donationem quam Eynun, Wrenon et Howel fratres mei predictis abbati et conventui de terra de Pulford et de Pulenale fecerunt ... His testibus domino Iohanne Extraneo tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Willelmo Boydel, Roberto milite de Pulford, Hugone fratre eius, David parsona de Cristelton, W Bunz, Ricardo Bunz et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 322)

1244×6 Wrennon ap Llywelyn of Burton regarding land in *Pulnale*; D46.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ... Wrennon filius Lewelin de Burton salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres totam partem meam de Pulnale, scilicet partem totius terre quam Lewelinus pater meus quondam tenuit in Pulnale ... His testibus domino Iohanne Extraneo tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Willelmo Boydel, Roberto milite de Pulford, Hugone fratre eius, David parsona de Cristelton, W Bunz, Ricardo Bunz et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 322)

1244×6 William ap Llywelyn regarding land in *Pulenhale*; D48.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ... Willelmus filius Lewelin de Burtona salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres totam partem meam de terra de Pulnale, scilicet quartam partem totius terre quam Lewelinus pater meus quondam tenuit in Pulenhale ... His testibus domino Iohanne Extraneo tunc iusticiario Cestrie, Willelmo Boidel, Roberto milite de Pulford, Hugone fratre eius, David parsona de Cristeltona, Willelmo Bunz, Ricardo Bunz et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 322)

1246×7 Wrenou ap Llywelyn regarding land in Pulford; D52.

Omnibus ad quod presens scriptum pervenerit, Wrenou filius Lewelini salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres et de Polton, unam landam in campo de Pulford iacentem inter terram domini Roberti de Pulford versus Dodleston et terram quam predicti abbas et conventus tenent de Ricardo filio Willelmi et heredibus suis, illam scilicet cuius caput tendit versus Cestriam et aliud versus moram cum prato adiacente. Tenendam ... His testibus domino Iohanne de Grey tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Henrico de Eu tunc constabulario castri Cestrie, domino Willelmo Boidel, domino Roberto de Pulford, Willelmo filio Lewelin, Ricardo filio Willelmi, Ricardo filio Edith et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 323)

9 August 1250 Grant of land in Dodleston and Balderton by William Fitz William Boydell; D61.

Notum sit omnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris quod ego Willelmus de Boidle filius Willelmi de Boidle dedi ... deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Deulacres et abbati et conventui ibidem deo servientibus pro salute anime mee ... quandam partem terre mee de dominico meo in territorio de Dodleston et de Baldreton, illam scilicet terram que iacet iuxta grangiam dictorum abbatis et conventus quam habent de dono patris mei et iacet infra divisas subscriptas extendendo a messuagio in quo manebant quondam filii Agnetis Anglice vocatur Anneschilderhus usque ad predictam grangiam sicut per communem viam se extendit

et de predicta grangia extendit versus illam de Neuton et sic extenditur ultra viam de Kinarton usque ad fossam que est divisa inter terram meam predictam et terras filiorum Oweni de Kinarton et sic extenditur usque ad finem predicte fosse ad unum hevedlandum quod extenditur versus fontem qui Anglice vocatur Edevardesewalle et de dicto hevedlando extenditur iterum ultra predictam viam de Kinarton et sic extenditur inter viam predictam et terras hominum meorum usque ad viam que Anglice vocatur Chesterwey ex opposito scilicet terre que Anglice vocatur Lanedelondesend et sic extenditur iuxta predictam viam versus villam de Dodleston usque ad predictum messuagium in quo manebant quondam filii predicti Agnetis cum predicto messuagio et cum tota terre et omnibus particulariis infra predictas divisas iacentibus. Tenenda et habenda ... Preterea dedi et concessi predictis abbati et conventui et successoribus suis libertatem faciendi chiminum de terra mea in territorio de Dodleston et Baldreton in puram et perpetuam elemosinam et dictus chiminus extendet se de predicta terra quam eisdem dedi usque ad viam que Anglice vocatur Hauwurdineswey et sciendum quod chiminus predictus extendet se per fontem qui Anglice vocature Edwardeswalle iuxta terras filiorum Oweni de Kinarton descendendo usque ad predictam viam scilicet Hanwurdineswey et dictus chiminus habebit in se latitudinem a fossato dictorum monachorum ex una parte usque ad terras filiorum Oweyn de Kinarton ex altera parte, longitudinem vero ad predictum hevedlandum, et licebit dictis abbati et conventui et successoribus suis dictum chiminum ex utraque parte fossati si voluerint et in quoscunque usu voluerint convertere. Ego vero ... His testibus domino Alano de la Surch tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Rogero de Monalto senescallo Cestrie, domino David de Maupass tunc vicecomite Cestrie, David parsona de Cristelton, domino Ricardo de Vernoun, domino Waltero fratre eius, domino Roberto de Pulford, Thoma de Kegoueswurthe, Benedicto de Coudray, et aliis. Datum anno domini M°CC°L° anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Iohannis XXXIIII° in vigilia beati Laurencii in domo de Deulacres.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 325)

9 August 1250 Grant of land in Balderton by William Fitz William Boydell; D62.

Notum sit omnibus ... quod ego Willelmus de Boidle dedi ... deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres pro salute anime mee ... quandam partem terre mee in territorio de Baldreton illum videlicet campum qui iacet inter sichetum qui anglice vocatur Warmessech, descendendo et ascendendo per predictum sichetum usque ad viam de Hawurdin in longitudine in latitudine vero de predicti Wormessich usque ad campum qui vocatur Rudifeld quem campum habent et libere possident predicti monachi ex dono Willelmi Boidle patris mei et sic descendendo de campo de Rudifeld usque ad divisas in prato meo de Baldreton constitutas. Tenendam et habendam ... His testibus domino Alano la Surch tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Rogero de Montealto, domino Ricardo de Vernoun, domino David de Maupasse vicecomite Cestreyra, domino David parsona de Cristelton, domino Roberto de Pulford, Benedicto de Coudray et aliis. Datum anno gratie M°CC°L° anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Iohannis XXXIIII° in vigilia beati Laurencii in domo de Deulacres.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 326)

1250 Certificate of the Abbot of Dieulacres that his Chapel in Poulton is to be no prejudice to the mother church.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 15)

1250×67 Richard del Holt grants land in Holt near Middlewich.

Ricardus del Holt concessit deo et beati Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres terram illam extra Mediumwicum versus le Holt quam Willelmus Niger capellanus legavit domui de Deulacres pro salute anime sue quam etiam terram predicti abbas et conventus disregnaverunt in pleno comitatu Cestrie de Stephano de Hargreve et uxore eius, habendam ... Testibus domino Thoma tunc vicario de Mediow:co, Benedict de Coudray, Warino de Croxton, Ricardo fratre suo, Ricardo Duns et aliis.
(Varley ed 1944, 382)

1251×3 Leuca, daughter of Llywarch de Chirton, confirms all her lands in Christleton, Churton and in Pepper Street in Chester; D59.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ... Leuca filia Lower de Chirton salutem. Noveritis me ... in libera viduetate mea per concensum heredum meorum concessisse ... Deo et sancte Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres et de Pulton duas bottas ad caput fosse iuxta grangiam iuxta versus villam de Chirton illas scilicet quas Hounagon quondam vir meus eisdem dedit in puram et perpetuam elemosinam et totam terram de Chirton et de Cristerton et quandam terram in villa Cestrie in vico quod vocabatur Peperstrate quam Lower de Chirton pater meus dedit dictis abbati et conventui ... His testibus domino Alano de Zuch tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Willelmo de Boidel, domino Roberto de Pulford, Willelmo de Hanneleg, Petro filio Ricardi de Pulford, Radulpho filio Roberti de Pulford militis et aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 864 no 17; Wrottesley ed 1906, 325)

1251×5 Howel ap Einon ap Llywelyn of Burton regarding Pulford and *Pulenhale*; D44.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus scriptum visuris vel audituris Howel filius Eynoun filii Lewelino de Burtona salutem. Noveritis me dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres ... ius et clamum quod habui in tota terra de Pulford et Pulenhale ... His testibus domino Alano de la Zouch tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Rogero de Montealto, domino Griffino de Brumfeld, domino Roberto de Pulford, Wrennon et Howell filiis Lewelini de Burton, Griffino filio Meredic de Pulford et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 322)

1251×5 Wrennow and Hywel ap Einon ap Llywelyn regarding land in Pulford and *Pulenhale*; D47.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ... Wrennow et Howel filii Eynun filii Lewelin de Burton salutem. Noveritis nos dedisse ... deo et sancte Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres ibidem deo servientibus pro salute animarum nostrarum ... totum ius et totum clamum quod habuimus in totam terram de Pulford et de Pulenhale ... illam scilicet quam predictus Eynon filius Lewelin de Burton dedit predictis abbati ... His testibus domino Alano la Zouch tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Griffino de Bromfel, domino Roberto de Pulford, Wrennon et Howell filiis Lewelin de Burton, Griffino filio Meredic de Pulford et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 322)

1251×5 Craddoc of Kinnerton and Eynon his son grant two selions of land; D53.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Craddoc de Kynarton et Eynon filius meus dedimus ... deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres duas saylones iacentes inter terram Willelmi Boidel et ... iuxta viam s. His testibus domino Alano de la Zuch tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Nicholao de Vaus tunc constabulario Cestrie, domino Willelmi de Boidel, domino Roberto de Pulford, Keneureik filio Oweni, Eynoun filio Oweni et aliis.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 33; Wrottesley ed 1906, 323)

1251×5 John ap Maredudd of Pulford regarding land at *Blakegreves*; D49.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ... Iohannes filius Meredic de Pulford salutem. Noveritis me per concensum heredum meorum pro salute anime mee ... quietum clamasse ... deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres et de Polton totum ius et clamum quod habui vel habere potui in totam terram de Blakegreves cum pratis adiacentibus quam dicti abbas et conventus de antecessoribus meis et de me prius tenuerunt ... His testibus domino Alano la Zuch tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Rogero de Montealto, domino Nicholao de Wall tunc constabulario castri Cestrie, domino Willelmo de Boydel, domino Roberto de Polford, Ranulpho de Oxonia, Ricardo filio Willelmi filii Hugonis de Polford, Ricardo filio Ede de Polford et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 323)

1251×5 Griffin ap Maredudd of Pulford regarding land at *Blakegreves*; D50.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ... Griffinus filius Meredich de Polford salutem. Noveritis me per concensum heredum meorum pro salute anime mee ... quietum clamasse ... deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres et de Polton totum ius et clamum quod habui vel habere potui in totam terram de Blakegreves cum pratis adiacentibus quam dicti abbas et conventus de antecessoribus meis et de me prius tenuerunt ... His testibus domino Alano la Zuch tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Rogero de Montealto, domino Nicholao de Wall tunc constabulario castri Cestrie, domino Willelmo de Boydel, domino Roberto de Polford, Ranulpho de Oxonia, Ricardo filio Willelmi filii Hugonis de Polford, Ricardo filio Ede de Polford et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 323)

1251×5 Richard Fitz William regarding land in Pulford; D51.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Ricardus filius Willelmi de Pulford salutem. Noveritis me concessisse ... deo et sancte Marie et abbati ... conventui de Deulacres et de Polton totam terram quam habent de feodo meo de Pulford de dono meo et dono patris mei et dono Matildis filie Caducani et excambium quod fecit cum eis Hulle Cradoch et omnimoda particula terre vel prati cum pertinentiis quam habent de dono meo vel dono predictorum sive legatione sive venditione sive excambio sive invadatione sive aliquo modo perquisitam ad assartanda et seminanda et aranda et ad domos et edificia sua construenda et fossas et hayas et quicquid eis placuerit faciendas cum omnibus pertinentiis in bosco et plano, in aquis et pasturis, in viis, in semitis et in omnibus aysiamentis que ibi sunt autem que ibi fieri possunt in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Tenendam ... His testibus domino Alano de la Zuch tunc iusticiario Cestrie, domino Rogero de Montealto senescallo Cestrie, domino Willelmo de Boidel, domino Roberto de Pulford, Ricardo filio Ede, David filio eius, Willelmo filio Lewelin, Ricardo filio Ede parsone de Dodleston et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 323)

1257 Letters of protection purchased from Griffin, Lord of Bromfield.

Letters of protection purchased from Griffin Lord of Bromfield by the monks of Poulton, who had been implicated in the murder of a man from Eaton.
(Eaton Charters: Henry III 18; Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 16)

1257×68 Land in Balderton; D64.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie fidelibus ... Rogerus prior hospitalis sancti Iohannis de Cestria et eiusdem loci fratres salutem ... Noverit universitas vestra nos communi consilio dedisse ... abbati de Deulacres et eiusdem loci fratribus ibidem successive deo famulantibus totam terram quam dedit nobis Willelmus de Boidle in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in Baldirton. Tenendam ... His testibus Thoma de sancto Nicholao tunc archidiacono Cestrie, Willelmo de Boidle, Roberto de Pulford, Hugone fratre eius, Willelmo filio Hugonis, David parsona de Dodleston, Willelmo Saraceno tunc vicecomite Cestrie, Iohanne filio Hulfketel, Hamone Herre, Willelmo Bonz et aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 326)

1260 Grant by Andrew Bunte of premises in Chester.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 17)

31 August 1260 Grant by Amicia of Middlewich of premises in Middlewich; D109.

Sciant presentes et futuri ego Amicia de Mediowico uxor

quondam Willelmi filii Roberti filii Thoraldi dedi ... deo et beate Marie et abbati et conventui de Deulacres quandam terram in Mediowico cum edificiis et orto, que sita est inter domum Hingerami clerici et terram que fuit Ricardi Godchep, quam terram emi de predicto Hingeramo clerico: tenendam et habendam sibi et successoribus suis de me et heredibus meis vel assignatis libere, quiete, integre et pacifice in perpetuam elemosinam, absque alio terreno servitio preter vi denarios annuatim, reddendos dicto Hingeramo et heredibus suis ad festum sancti Iohannis baptiste pro omni servicio, sicut continetur in carta quam dictus Hyngeram de predicta terra mihi fecit, quam cartam habent dicti monachi ex donacione mea simul cum illa carta ... His testibus: domino Willelmo Bridun tunc decano de Mediowico, Thoma vicario de eodem Wico, Warino de Crocston, Ricardo Dun, Willelmo filio Walteri, Alano Craket et multis aliis.
(Wrottesley ed 1906, 339; Varley ed 1944, 381)

1266 Grant by Hamo, Abbot of Dieulacres, to Robert de Molendinis of premises in Chester.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 18)

1269×71 Grant to Ranulph Hargrave of Middlewich.

Frater H. dictus abbas de Deulacres et eiusdem loci conventus salutem. Noveritis nos unanimi consensu dedisse Ranulpho de Hargreve de Mediowico et cuicunque voluerit de liberis suis, et ipsorum liberorum heredibus, pro homagio et servitio suo, totam terram illam quam Robertus Irel de nobis tenuit extra Mediumwicum per metas et divisas per quas idem Robertus tenuit et habuit: habendam ... Testibus: domino Ricardo de Wilburham tunc vicecomite Cestrescire, domino Ricardo de Neuton, Warino de Croxton, Ricardo Dodefin et Willelmo Bostok, Alexandro Craket et aliis.
(Varley ed 1944, 382)

1271×99 Grant to Matthew de Cranage of a burgage in Middlewich

Frater Walterus abbas de Deulacres et conventus ... dederunt Matheo de Craunach et heredibus unum burgagium in Mediowico ad feodi firmam, illud scilicet quod iacet inter terram Philipi Dun et Gilberti capellani: habendum de nobis et successoribus; reddendo ii s. vi d. annuatim midsomer et Christmas. Testibus: Warino de Croxton, Ricardo fratre suo, Alano Craket, Radulfo Hargreve, Simone clerico.
(Varley ed 1941, 119)

1 September 1280 Judgement of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the case of Richard Sandbach vs the Abbot of Dieulacres

Abbati et conventui de Deulacres. Cum nuper ad instantiam domini Ricardi de Sandbache milits, super ecclesia de Sandbache quam tenetis, vos ad nostram fecerimus presentiam evocari; vos quoque super optentu ipsius ecclesie nobis exhiberi feceritis instrumenta; licet eodem milite a sua querela cessante, nos, ex nostri oficii debito de iure valetne procedere, vos de stricto iure ex indagatione sollicita super eadem ecclesia gravare possemus, nos tamen religionem in vobis et honestatem pariter attendentes, ipsi duximus supersedere negotio, vos vestris ad presens in hac parte conscientiis relinquentes. Datum apud Boggeden prim die Septembris, consecrationis nostre anno secundo.
(Lambeth Palace Library, Papal Documents 40)

1294 Lease by the Abbot of Dieulacres to William de Doncaster of lands in Balderton, Dodleston and *Rudfeld*.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 21)

1296×7 Inspeximus by Robert Fitz Hugh of Pulford, setting out his great-grandfather Robert's charter of lands in Pulford to the Abbot of Poulton.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 20)

1299 Lease to Robert, Abbot of Dieulacres, of land in Dodleston and Pulford.

1303 Release by John, Lord of Pulford, to the Abbot of Dieulacres of lands in *Polnale*.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 22)

1308 Grant by Sir Robert de Pulford to the Abbot of Dieulacres of his three bondservants Adam, William and their sister, with all their goods and issue.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 23)

22 January 1315 Philip de Turvill regarding the tenants of Poulton and Poulton Grange

Philip de Turvill, canon and official of the Bishop of Lichfield, confirms an agreement between Peter de Peterstowe, Abbot of Dieulacres, and Robert de Pulford, rector of Pulford, respecting the tenants of Poulton and Poulton Grange. Witnesses: Peter de Peterstowe, rector of Dieulacres, Lady Johanna, wife of Robert de Pulford.
(Beamont ed 1866, 45; Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 24)

1319 Demise to Robert de Croxton of land at Rudheath for 21 years.

Anno mcccxix. Religiosi viri abbas et conventus de Dieulacres demiserunt Roberto de Croxton viii acras terre de wasto suo de Roddheth, iacentes prope fossatum iuxta altam viam, ad finem xxi annorum. Testibus: Roberto de Bulkley, Willelmo de Ravenscroft, Rogero Carpentario et aliis.
(Varley ed 1944, 377)

1320 Release by Daykin son of Daykin to the Abbot of Dieulacres of lands in Poulton.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 25)

8 December 1326 Demise to Richard de Warihull of three salthouses free from toll.

Abbas et conventus Dieulacres dimiserunt Ricardo de Warihull tres salinas de tolneto quietas, duas videlicet super ripam aqua iuxta pontem magnum cum octo plumbis, et unam que abuttat super stratam publicam ad unum caput iuxta salinam abbatis de Valle Regali cum quartum plumbis, ad terminum xx annorum, termino incipiendo in festo Natalis domini mcccxxvi; reddendo annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris xvi s. cum lx^{ta} walmis salis at midsomer et Martinmas; reddendo etiam iv s. pro redditu domini. Et predictus Ricardus salinas predictas reparabit ... et si edificio igne predicti Ricardi seu alicuius alterius de supradictis fuerint combusta, ipsemet teneatur reparare: si vero per communem ignem dicti abbas et conventus teneantur contribuere pro edificiis reparandis. Datum apud Dieulacresse die Lune proximo post festum sancti Nicholai episcopi et confessoris anno supradicto.
(Varley ed 1944, 233)

1330 Inspeximus of the king's confirmation of the charters of Dieulacres Abbey.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 26)

19 May 1337 Exchange of lands for 45 years.

The Abbot of Dieulacres and and Lord Robert de Pulford, rector of Cheadle exchange land for 45 years. No witnesses.
(Beamont ed 1866, 45; Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 27)

27 May 1337 Grant to Robert de Pulford, rector of Cheadle.

Grant by the Abbot of Dieulacres to Robert de Pulford, rector of Cheadle, of the lands mentioned in the charter of 19 May 1337. Witnesses: lords Henry de Ferrars, justiciar of Chester, John de Arderne, William Boydel, Peter de Thornton, J de Leye, John de Damport, kts., John de Wrenbury, sheriff, Peter de Arderne, escheator, William de Coton, Robert de Orton, Richard Strech...
(Beamont ed 1866, 45; Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 27)

1338 Release by Sir John Sumervill to the Abbot of Dieulacres of land in Poulton.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 28)

1341 Grant by Yovan de Brocton to the Abbot of Dieulacres of land in Kinnerton.

... pro precibus et orationibus deo et beate Marie effundentibus pro salubri statu dum vixerit et pro obitu eiusdem cum ab hac luce migraverit singulis annis faciendam in abbathia suam predicta imperpetuum ...
(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 29)

1359 Grant of Letters of Protection.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866)

1390 Release by Margaret ap Gruffydd to the Abbot of Dieulacres of land in Poulton.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 30)

1393 Release by Margaret ap Gruffydd to the Abbot of Dieulacres of land in Poulton.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 30)

1401 A record respecting a dispute over *Calvesmore* in Poulton between the Abbot of Dieulacres and John de Eton.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 31)

12 September 1402 Enrolment showing the delivery of three charters to Richard, Abbot of Dieulacres, originally sealed by Earl Ranulph.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 31)

4 October 1402 Writ of disseizin given at Eaton and issued by the Abbot of Dieulacres as plaintiff against John son of Richard de Eaton, defendant, as to lands in Poulton.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 31)

19 July 1414 Nicolas of Poulton, fellow monk of Richard, Abbot of Dieulacres, occurs in a recognisance as bound over in £100.

1488×9 A free boat on the water of Chester for fishing... above and below the bridge... as well at Eaton as elsewhere.

1493 John Manley leases land and buildings (Poulton Grange) from the Abbot of Dieulacres.

12 August 1498 Claim of the Abbot of Dieulacres.

Arthurus ilusstrissimi Henrici VII Regis Anglie et Francie, et Dominus Hibernie, primogenitus, Princeps Wallie, Dux Cornubie, Comes Cestrie, Vicecomes Cestrie, salutem. Cum per ... abbatem Deulacres quod coram iusticiariis nostris respondeat apud Cestriam die lune proximo ante festum natalis beate Marie virginis proximum futurum ad respondendum nobis de placito quo warranto clamum

habere pro se et successoribus suis illam salinam in Medio Wico quam Willelmus Masniwarin eis ... dedit, liberam, solutam, et quietam de tolneto et de secta de Wichemote et de omnibus secualribus consuetudinibus et exactionibus, cum sale die Veneris, et etiam quo warranto clameo habere pro se et successoribus suis, monachis et hominibus in domibus suis salem bullientibus salsam capiendi de omnibus fossis ... eis magis expedire volunt, ac etiam quietantiam de tolneto per totam terram meam tam de sale, quam de omnibus aliis rebus, quas emerint vel vendiderint tam per aquam quam per terram: ac etiam quo warranto clameo quod ipse et successoribus sui sint quieti de shiris et hundredis placitis, querelis, et consuetudinibus, de vallagiis, passagiis, pontagiis, de multura in omnibus molendinis suis, et comitis Cestrie ac etiam de pannagiis in omnibus missionibus, auxiliis, impositionibus, consuetudinibus et demandi; ac etiam quo warranto clameo habere visum franci plegii, de omnibus tenentibus suis ac residentibus, singulis annis tenendum coram senescallo suo apud manerium suum de Pulton, bis in anno, videlicet semel infra mensem post clausum Pasche, et infra mensem post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli, et habere quicquid ad visum franci plegii pertinet infra manerium predictum, ac etiam habere curiam suam liberam infra manerium suum predictum, ac sectam omnium tenentium suorum infra manerium predictum ad eandem curiam, ac etiam habere wayffe et straies, ac etiam habere visum franci plegii singulis annis tenedam coram senescallo suo apud manerium suum de Byvelegh bis in anno, videlicet semel infra mensem post terminum Pasche, et infra mensem post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli, de omnibus tenentibus ac residentibus infra manerium predictum, et quicquid ad visum franci plegii pertinet, ac etiam habere curiam suam liberam infra manerium suum predictum, ac sectam omnium tenentium suorum infra manerium predictum ad eandem curiam; ac etiam quo warranto clameo pro se et successoribus suis unam liberam batellam in aqua Cestrensi, ad piscandam subtus pontem Cestrie et supra eundem pontem, ubi aliquod aliarum batellarum piscatur in aque de Dee, nocte dieque, tam apud Eton quam alibi, que ad gladium et dignitatem meam pertinent, et sine licentia et voluntate mea vel progenitorum meorum, habeat ibi sum' per hoc b've. Teste meipso apud Cestriam 12 die Augusti anno Regis patris nostri quartodecimo.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 862)

1504 Nicholas Manley, son and heir of John, also has lease from Dieulacres for 89 years at a rent of £50 *per annum*.

... the said Nicholas Manley will receive and entertain the said Abbot and twelve mounted companions twice a year for six days, and also that he will entertain the cellarer and other servants of the house (Dieulacres) when they shall pass towards Poulton.
(Eaton Charters: Henry VII 22)

1504 Nicholas Manley gives a bond to Thomas Grosvenor.

1506 Nicholas leases lands in Poulton to his brother William Manley of Monksfield (ancestor of the Manleys of Dodleston and Lache Hall).

1513 Exemplification of all the charters relating to the Abbeys of Poulton and Dieulacres.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 32)

1518 Henry Manley covenants with Richard Grosvenor respecting a lease of lands in Dodleston and Poulton.

1 November 1520 The Abbot and Convent demise the manor and Chapel of Poulton for 61 years at £25 per annum to Henry Manley.

1541 Answers by Robert Burgoyn, the king's auditor, to questions touching Poulton, late parcel of Dieulacres.
(Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 33)

9 July 1543 A grant of Byley and other estates to Geoffrey Shakerley of Shakerley (Lancs.).
(Ormerod 1882, ii 865 no 32)

26 August 1543 Poulton manor and Chapel sequestered from the recently dissolved monastery of Dieulacres.

The king to Sir George Cotton, knight, and Marie, his wife, our manor of Pulton, lately belonging to the monastery of Delacres, co. Staff.; our farm and tenement of Pulton in the parish of Pulford lately belonging to the same monastery; all messuages, meadows, pastures and hereditaments known as Pulton in Pulton, Pulford, Dodleston, Churton and Chester to the said monastery lately belonging; all messuages, mills, lands, tenements, etc., beyond the forest of la Mare and in the towns fields and parishes of Pulford, Dodleston, Churton and Chester and now or late in the tenure of Henry Manley lately deceased or his assignees; also our Chapel of Pulton with appurtenances in the parish of Pulford lately to the said monastery belonging and all tithes and oblations in Pulton and Pulford called the Chapel of Pulton and belonging to the same.
(Public Record Office Pat. Roll 756; Ormerod 1882, ii 866 no 34).

Other documents

1291 Taxation of Pope Nicholas

BONOROM TEMPORALIUM ABBATIS DE DEULACRES INTRA CESTRESIRIAM

Abbas de Deulacres habet apud Pulton in Decimas Cestrie sexdecim carucatas terre et valet carucatas per annum	*0 10 0*
Et h'et ibidem de vendico'e prati p' annu'	*0 13 4*
Et h'et ib'm de redd' assis' p' annu'	*0 10 0*
Et h'et ib'm de profic' stauri p' annu'	*5 00 0*
Item h'et in Dodleston in eodem Dec' quatuor caruc' terr. et val' caruc' p' annu'	*0 15 0*
Et h'et apud Biveley, in Dec' Medii Wyci quinq' caruc' terr' et val' caruc' p' annu'	*0 15 0*
Et h'et ib'm de prato p' annu'	*0 06 8*
Et h'et ib'm de redd' assis' p' annu'	*2 10 0*
Et h'et ib'm de p'fic' stauri p' annu'	*4 00 0*
Et h'et apud Bradeforth de redd' assis' p' annu'	*2 00 0*
Sma	*10 00 0*
Inde decima	*1 00 0*

(Ormerod 1882, ii 866)

12 May 1519 Nicholas Manley's will.

I Nicholas Manley, whole of body and perfect of mind, intending to avoid discord after my death, make my will. My body to be buried in the chapell of Pulton in the chancell there. After my death and my wife's a priest to be found to sing there for my soul... Residue of the issues to be spent on the Chapel of Pulton.... Henry Manley, my son, to have my farme and holding, held of the Abbot of Dieulacres... provided that he dwell in the hall of Pulton wherein I now do dwell, and do not sell without the advice of my executors.
(Earwaker MS. Parcel 16 Wills; *Cheshire Sheaf* 21 August 1940, 7831).

1535 The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*

Compotus super dissolutionem abbatie de Dieulacres, per Humfridum Whitney, ballivum	
Middlewich,	
Una salina p'd' Humfridum dimissa 4° die Decembris per 49 annis anno 27 Hen. VIII redd. 13s 4d et 12 walmes salis et iacet intra salinam Caroli Mainwaring ex parte boreali, et regiam viam ibidem apud Littlebridge ex parte australi	*0 13 4*
Alia salina dimissa Petro de Walley, iacet intra salinam abbatis de vallem regalis et viam regiam apud Tippingtone ex parte boreali, dimissa Humfr. Whitney et Alicie uxori eius	*0 13 4*
Alia salina dimissa Petre Yate, apud viam regiam borealem	*0 0 0*
Salina tenente Willelmo Vanbles de Kinderton, milite, per redditum 7s 4d	*0 7 4*
Byurley	
Firma grangia de Byurley	*4 0 0*
Dimissa H° Reynolds, nunc tenura Iohannis filii sui tenentis ibidem	*18 3 10*
Pulton	
Pulton firma 25l feodum Ricardi Grosvenor et Thome Grosvenor, filii et heredis app. senescalli	*25 0 0*
Hulme	
Firma decimarum capelle de Hulme, parocia de Sondbach, dimissa Willelmo de Brereton	*6 13 4*
... tenente ad voluntatem domini dudum dimissa in Hulme	*1 4 6*
Sandbach	
Firma 10 acri de Sondbach	*13 16 0*
... tenente in Sandbach ad voluntatem domini dimissa dudum per redditum 24s 6d per annum	*1 4 6*
Goostree	
Firma capelle Goostree	*3 6 8*
Twemlowe	

Appendices

Firma 20 acri Granori de Twemlowe, pertinente ad ecclesiam de Sandbach dimissa Roberto Needham de Shavinton, milite, anno 1138, et non redditum exemplum 0 0 0

Newbold infra

Redditum aul' exemplum de octava parte manerii de Newbold infra parochia de Astbury 1 0 0

Knottesford

Ex burgo et crofto dimissis Roberto Antrobus et Emme uxori eius per 39 annis in Knottesford 0 2 0

Alderlegh

Messuagium terre pratis in tenente W Ward in Alderley nun tenura Henrico Deyne et Elizabthe uxori eius 2 5 0

Grangia et cottagia vocatur Tykhouse lib. tenente 10 12 6

Byveley

Firma omnium regalium relev' escet' bonorum wayffat' cum omni casuali grangie et firma omnium proficu' Car. sect' p't manerium de Byveley p'd et les Yatehouses 13 6 8

Nota quod 20s redd' annual' solvend' de domino de Newbold infra parochi de Astbury exeuns de manerio suo per octava parte eiusdem per compositionem facienda inter decimum dominum et quendam abbatem predicti monasterii in festo sancti Iohannis Baptisti.

(Ormerod 1882, ii 867)

6 May 1558 Inspeximus (letters patent) regarding John Manley.

A petition of John Manley of Poulton, claiming to have been deprived of rights to his father's leasehold property, Poulton Grange, by Henry Brereton gent., by means of a forged will; of a commission to Sir John Holcroft kt., Sir Phillip Egerton kt. and William Gerrard esq., Recorder of Chester, to examine witnesses; of interrogatories of witnesses and their answers.
(Cheshire C.R.O. DDX 18/16)

1598 An Inquisition regarding the will of John, son of Henry Manley.

Jurors say that John Manley died seised of a capital messuage called the Hall of Pulton, 1 messuage, 2 cottages, 1 dovecote, 3 gardens, 3 orchards, 200 acres of land, 60 acres of meadow, 80 acres of pasture and 8 acres of wood in Pulton and elsewhere. And the said particularly mentioned are parcel of the buildings of the said Hall, that is to say, the gallerie over the entree of the said mansion house, the kytchine and larder house there, and the buyldings over the same, the daye house, the barne house, the lofte over the same, the Goose house there and the Hinn house over the same, all the northe buyldings of the Court there and the oxe-house and the hey barne there, the kylne, the south orchard at the parlour end, the lower garden, the Deares orchard, the More, the Hempe butt, the Barne pitt, the barne crofte, with all the bankes and hill from the hey barne unto the Chappell feld, the Pryors meadow being in the lower end of Hardcliffe. The foure chappell felds, the poole mott, the meadowe and the chappell meadow, with the bankes under the chappell yorde joyninge to the said meadowe.

1627 Thomas Stools of Poulton leases land from Eaton Hall.

1636 E Philips of Poulton negotiates land rights between Eaton and Poulton.

7 January 1646 Letter to Colonel John Jones from Sir William Brereton.

Col. John Jones
4pm. I send you verbatim the intelligence that I have received this instant. This last night there came 11 men from Chester to Holt and are to return this night. One [John] Starre is come from Chirck thither this morning with a great packet which is going into Chester this night. Pooton Green and Wayrooke's bridge are the places to be watched. It is of great consequence to intercept these men and letters. At this time your sentries must be doubled, one behind another, esle some of them will pass our single watches. The forces about Denbigh have some sudden design in hand. They send their scouts as far as Yale and take up horses in the country and keep those together. My intelligence thinks they will part this night on this side Ruthin. If they come so near, they will attempt another relief or storming of some quarters. Slight not these advertisements. I have them from good hands. Remember to send us powder and match.
(Dore ed 1990, 490)

7 January ? 1646 '... to loving friend'

I am sorry to see so many as I do pass to Chester and back again, but I hope this my letter will make you more careful. There comes every day in the week four men and carry provisions in of the best, as pigs, turkeys and other things for the great men, which makes them stand out so. Some times there comes six or seven men and some of them carry pike staves on their shoulders. The way they go is through the Neerhackes and Pooton and along the water to Eaton. Sometimes they go through the fields betwixt Poulton Green and Pulford and so to the Gorstelow behind Dodleston. I pray be careful to set a strong guard on Poulton Green and one by the waterside by Poulton Hall near Eaton Boat and one at the Gorstella in the fields. But especially let there be a private guard of foot in the Werhacks near the bridge under some hedge, and you may be sure to take those wicked men who do a great deal of hurt. Their times of going from the Holt is two or three hours within the night and when they come back from Chester is about three or four o'clock in the morning. The Lord direct you that you may take these vile fellows. They report to friends in private that Chester is in a poor condition and can hold out but seven or eight days without relief. Have a strong coy on this side the water for there is provision providing

for relief of Chester within this four or five days. Ld. St. Pol, general of the horse in Chester, is come out to hasten the relief. Sir Rich. Lloyd reports there will be relief at Holt within this five or six days. Have a special care of the sands that go over the water betwixt Flint and Hawarden for, as I hear, they will venture over and relieve Chester in at the Watergate. Have a careful regard on Poulton Green and see they make no private way for horse to march that way. Sir Rich. Lloyd sent for hay to Aldford and Barton and for 40 loads to Escoyde. If you can prevent him the saieth forces will come to Holt. Have an eye on High Ercall, Chirck and the mountains for, take my word, there are forces in private drawing nigh. Be not careless of this letter, but let your general see it and seriously consider of it, and the Lord give us a blessing. They that bring you this letter will tell you my name; let it be known to none.
(Dore ed 1990, 490)

1651 Farmer Pott and Elizabeth Butler took possession of a messuage and tenement in Poulton comprising barn buildings, orchards and meadows.

1837 The Tithe Award

Occupier	Number	Description	Cultivation
Marquis of Westminster	Ba 1	Park	Pasture
	Ba 2	Meadow	Hay
	Ba 3	Meadow	Hay
	Ba 4	Meadow	Hay
	Ba 5	Part of Butchers Hays	Hay
	Ba 6	Meadow	Hay
	Ba 7		
	Ba 8		
	Ba 9		
	Ba 10		
	Ba 11	Lodge and Pleasure Grounds	
	Ba 12	Plantation	
	Ba 13	Plantation for Wildfowl	
	Ba 14	Plantation for Wildfowl	
	Ba 15	Fishpond	
	Ba 15a	Fishpond	
	Ba 16	Fishpond	
	Ba 17	Plantation and Drive	
	Ba 18	Plantation	
	Ba 19	Plantation and Drive	
	Ba 20	Plantation and Drive	
	Ba 21	Plantation	
	Ba 22	Plantation	
	Ba 23	Plantation	
	Ba 24	Plantation	
	Ba 25	Plantation	
	Ba 25a	Road adjoining	
	Ba 26	Plantation	
	Ba 27	Plantation	
	Ba 28	Plantation	
	Ba 29	Plantation and Gorse	
	Ba 30	Gammock's Walks Plantation	
	Ba 31	Plantation	
	Ba 32	Plantation	
	Ba 33	Plantation	
	Ba 34	Plantation	
	Ba 34a	Plantation	
	Ba 35	Plantation	
	Ba 36	Plantation	
	Ba 37	Plantation	
	Ba 38	Plantation & Drive	
	Ba 39	Plantation	
	Ba 40	Plantation	
	Ba 41	Plantation and Drive	
	Ba 42	Plantation	
	Ba 43	Plantation	
	Ba 44	Plantation	
	Ba 45	Plantation	

Thomas Ridgway	Bb 1	House Buildings Yard and Garden	
	Bb 2	Orchard	
	Bb 3	Cow Hay	Pasture
	Bb 4	Barns Croft	Pasture
	Bb 5	Part of Bowens Ground	Potatoes
	Bb 6	Kiln field	Pasture
	Bb 7	Little Hill & Green field	Pasture
	Bb 8	Big field	Pasture
	Bb 9	Wigmear field	Arable
	Bb 10	Little town Meadow	Pasture
	Bb 11	Part of Little Town Meadow over new brook	Hay
	Bb 12	Hard Meadow	Pasture
	Bb 13	Fearnalls Hill	Oats
	Bb 14	Fishpond Meadow	Hay
	Bb 15	Hill field	Arable
	Bb 16	Green Field	Pasture
	Bb 17	Pear Tree Hay	Pasture
	Bb 18	Wood Fields	Pasture
	Bb 19	Pulford Croft	Oats
Mrs Rebecca Jones	Bc 1	House Buildings Yard &c	
	Bc 2	Stackyard Croft	Pasture
	Bc 3	Garden	Garden
	Bc 4	Garden	Garden
	Bc 5		Oats
	Bc 6	Bowens Ground	Oats Clovered
	Bc 7	Town field	Pasture
	Bc 8	Thistley field	Pasture
	Bc 9	Hand Hay	Wheat
	Bc 10	Little Wood Field	Wheat
	Bc 11	Big Wood Field	Pasture
	Bc 12	Wallet Field	Pasture
	Bc 13	Ell Meadow	Arable
	Bc 14	Horse Field	Pasture
	Bc 15	Gorsey Field	Pasture
	Bc 16	Philips'Meadow	Pasture
	Bc 17	Philips' Meadow	Hay
	Bc 18	Part of Philips Meadow	Hay
Joseph Morris	Bd 1	Cottage and Two Gardens	
	Bd 2	Croft	Pasture
	Bd 3	Croft	Pasture
	Bd 4	Croft	Pasture
John Mesham	Be 1	House and Garden	
	Be 2	Croft	Arable
	Be 3	The Wallets	
	Be 4	Croft	
Thomas Evans	Bf 1	House and Garden	
Jonathan Powell	Bg 1	Cottage and Garden	
	Bg 2	Garden	
	Bg 3	Croft	Pasture
John Snelson	Bh 1	House Buildings Yard and Gardens	
	Bh 2	Part of Meakins Hay	Pasture
	Bh 3	Garden	
	Bh 4	Croft	
	Bh 5	Part of Barn Croft	Pasture
	Bh 6	Part of Barn Croft	Pasture
	Bh 7	Meakins Hay	Pasture
	Bh 8	Town Field	Pasture
	Bh 8a	Small piece adjoining	Hay

			Other documents
	Bh 9	Town field	Pasture
	Bh 10	Gorsty Pritchards Leasowe	Pasture
	Bh 11		Arable
	Bh 12	Little Pritchards Leasowe	Arable
	Bh 13	Bowens Leasowe	Wheat
	Bh 14	Coppice field	Clover mowed
Thomas Smith	Bs	Cottage and Garden	
William Huxley	Bt 1	The Daisy field	Pasture
	Bt 2		Hay
	Bt 3		Hay
	Bt 4	Garden	Hay
Thomas Speed	Bu 1	House Building Yard and Garden Outbuildings and Yard	
	Bu 2	Croft	Potatoes
	Bu 3	Meadow Croft	Pasture
	Bu 4	Palins Croft	Hay
	Bu 5	Little pavement Hay	Pasture
	Bu 6	Palins Croft	Wheat
	Bu 8	Pavement	Oats
	Bu 9	Big Pavement	Pasture
	Bu 10	Palins Croft	Pasture
	Bu 11	Farmers Croft	Pasture
	Bu 12	Pavement Hay	Pasture
	Bu 13	Pavement Hay	Pasture
	Bu 14	Far Higginsons field	Pasture
	Bu 15	Near Higginsons field	Clover Pastured
	Bu 16	Near Higginsons field	Arable
	Bu 17	Huxleys field	Pasture
John Snelson	Bv 1	House Buildings Yard Garden &c	
	Bv 2	Barn Croft	Pasture
	Bv 3	Boat Meadow	Pasture
	Bv 4	Orchard Croft	Pasture
	Bv 5	Little Chapel field	Arable
	Bv 6	Fallow field	Pasture
	Bv 7	Little Green field	Pasture
	Bv 8	Big Green field	Arable
	Bv 9	Part of Chapel field	Pasture
	Bv 10	Chapel field	Pasture
	Bv 11	Part of Chapel field	Arable
	Bv 12	Great Chapel field	Grass
	Bv 13	Pool Meadow	Meadow
Samuel Moores	Bw 1	Broad field	Arable
	Bw 2	Gorsey Hooks	Pasture
	Bw 3	Gorsey Hooks	Clover mowed
	Bw 4	Broad field	Pasture
	Bw 5	Broad field	Pasture
	Bw 6	Broad field	Arable

(Cheshire County and Diocesan Record Office, EDT 336/1)

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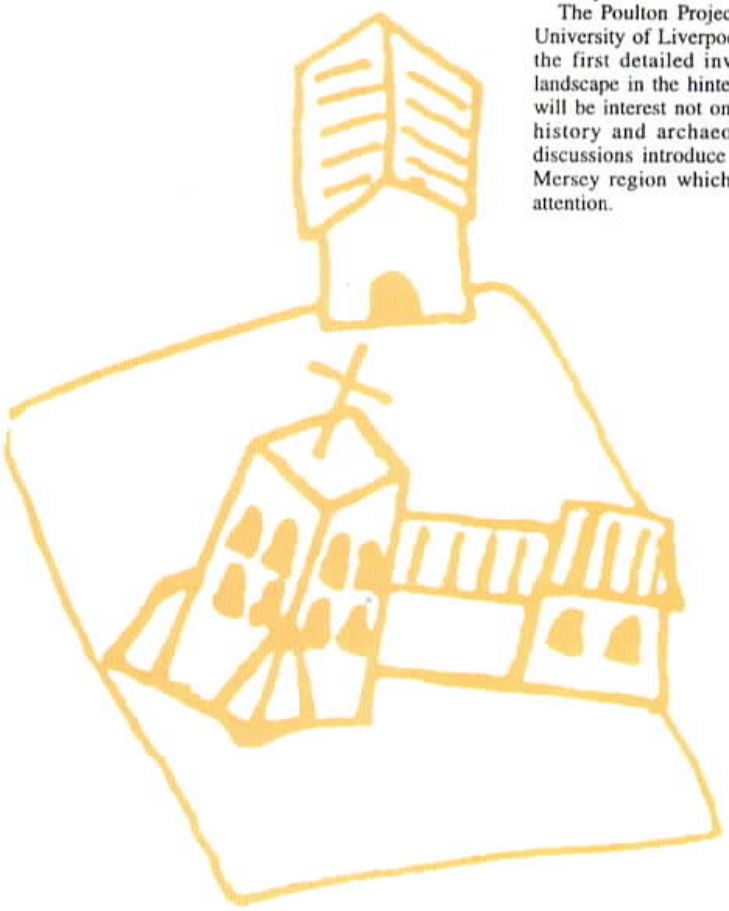
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THIS volume is based on the first season of archaeological investigations near the site of a medieval Cistercian abbey at Poulton, some 8 km south of Chester, beside the River Dee. The excavation produced evidence for the medieval Poulton Chapel, associated with the abbey, and also for earlier Mesolithic and Roman activity.

The volume is divided into seven parts. Part 1 is an account of the local history and environment of Poulton. Parts 2 and 3 cover the survey and excavation results. Part 4 deals with the artefacts and Part 5 with the environmental remains, including a detailed skeletal report. Part 6 contains discussions of relevant topics in the archaeology and history of the region, including the Mesolithic period, Roman rural settlement, chapels and Cistercian abbeys. Part 7 consists of appendices which present texts relevant to the history of the site.

The Poulton Project, a collaboration between the University of Liverpool and Chester Archaeology, is the first detailed investigation of a multi-period landscape in the hinterland of Chester. This volume will be interest not only for those interested in local history and archaeology, but also because the discussions introduce areas of research in the Dee-Mersey region which have hitherto received little attention.



Drawing above Detail from a seventeenth-century estate map in the Grosvenor Archives showing Poulton Chapel.

Front cover Computer-generated illustration by Stephen Player of Poulton Chapel based on the drawing above. The landscape is fanciful, but draws inspiration from the fifteenth-century Book of Hours of Jean, Duc de Berry, and shows typical Cistercian farming activities, with arable in the foreground and sheep on the hillside. The illustration also depicts a recorded incident in 1400, in which one 'Ieuan Gogh was indicted for lying in wait near the Chapel with the intent to cause bodily harm on a Thomas Quythod'.

ISBN 1 872587 09 7