PEASANTS, PEERS AND GRAZIERS: THE LANDSCAPE OF QUARRENDON, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, INTERPRETED

PAUL EVERSON

The medieval and later earthworks at Quarrendon, surveyed by staff of the former Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (now English Heritage), are described and interpreted. They reveal a sequence of major land-use phases that can be related coherently to topographical, documentary and architectural evidence. The earliest element may be the site of St Peter's church, located alongside a causeway. The evidence for its architectural development and decline is assembled. The site of a set of almshouses in the churchyard is identified. In the later medieval period, there were two separate foci of settlement, each similarly comprising a loose grouping of farmsteads around a green. It is argued that these form components of a form of dispersed settlement pattern in the parish and wider locality. Following conversion for sheep, depopulation and engrossment by the Lee family, merchant graziers of Warwick, a 16th-century moated country mansion was created, with accompanying formal gardens, warren and park. This was one of a group of residences in Buckinghamshire and north Oxfordshire of Sir Henry Lee, creator of the Accession Day tournaments for Elizabeth I and queen's champion. A tenanted farm, its farmhouse probably reusing a retained fragment of the earlier great house, replaced this house. The sites of agricultural cottages and oxpens of an early modern regime of grazing and cattle fattening are identified. In discussion, access and water supply to the great house, and the symbolism of the formal gardens, almshouses and warren are explored.

INTRODUCTION

The extensive earthwork remains at Quarrendon are situated in the Vale of Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire (Figure 1). They lie in long-established pasture, in an area known in the post-medieval and early modern eras for its value as grazing land. In the later 20th century the area has shared in a more widespread reversion to arable cultivation within mixed farming regimes. The whole extent of the surviving earthworks, with the exception of ridge-and-furrow cultivation lying to the south-west towards Quarrendon House Farm, is a single scheduled ancient monument. This designated area effectively defined the limits of the archaeological survey of the earthworks carried out by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME), beginning in August 1989 and completed in 1990. The survey was undertaken for management purposes at the request of English Heritage. There is evidence from air photographs and historic mapping that the settlement area was formerly slightly more extensive at the west end of the complex. Otherwise the field evidence is very complete.

The survey programme has produced for the first time a large-scale and finely detailed plan of the whole extent of the designated earthworks, on the basis of which to found a robust overall interpretation and understanding. It has identified the site and setting of the 16th- and 17th-century country house of the Lee family, whose most prominent member was Sir Henry Lee (see Figure 11), courtier, poet and soldier, personal champion to Elizabeth I and founder of her Accession Day tournaments. The formal garden earthworks on one side of the house and the warren on the other are notable for their scale, detail and completeness. In this they rival such contemporary archaeological survivals as the house and gardens of the Dormer family at Ascott near Wing, of Sir Baptist Hicks at Chipping Campden in Gloucestershire, of Sir Thomas Tresham at Lyveden in Northamptonshire, and of Sir Christopher Hatton at Holdenby in the same county. Quarrendon appears to be the only one of Sir Henry Lee's several houses clustered in

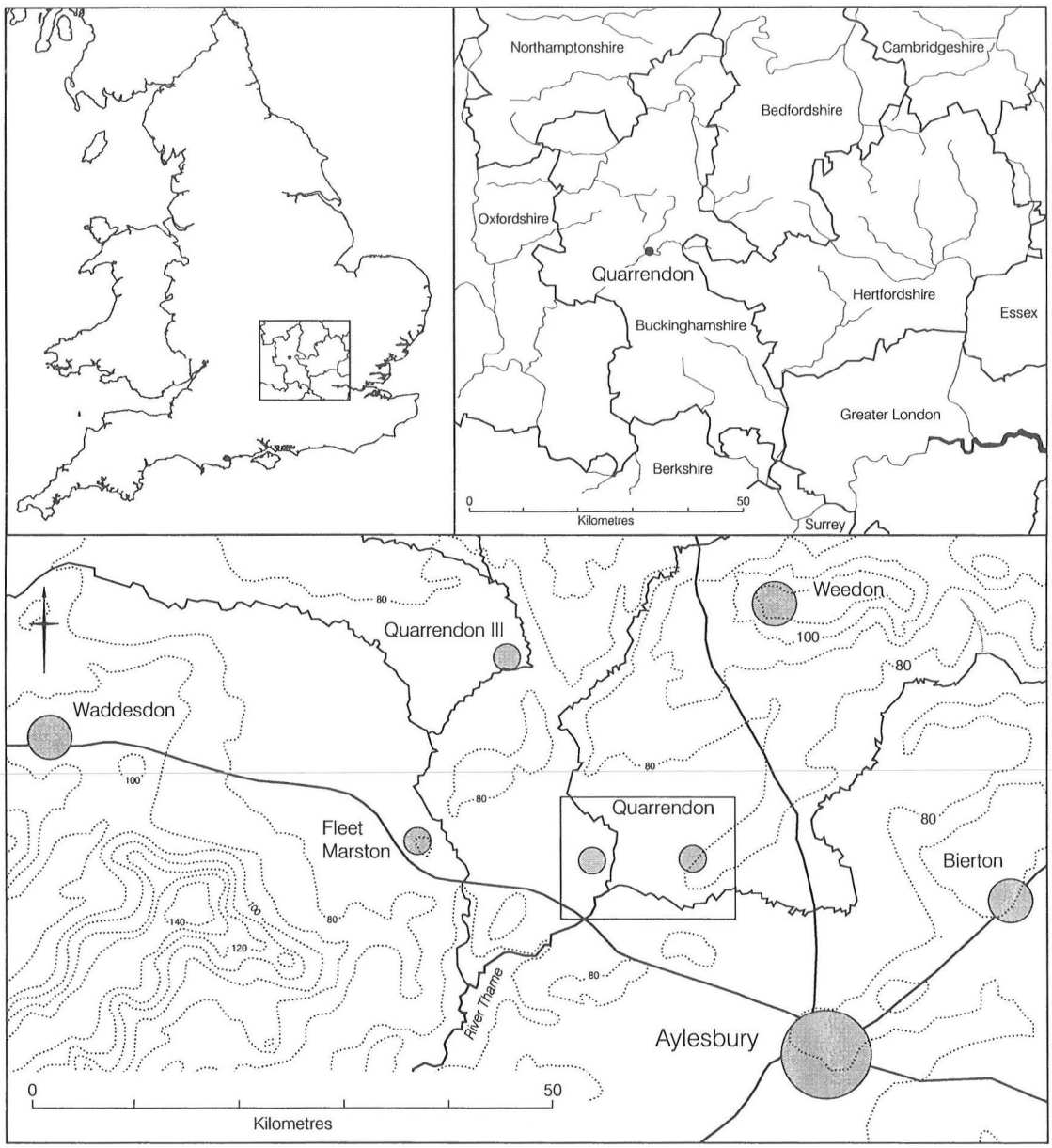

FIGURE 1 Location of Quarrendon, Buckinghamshire

Buckinghamshire and north Oxfordshire where such complete evidence of this period of eminence is accessible. The relationship between this designed setting and courtly, literary, philosophical and religious concerns of the Tudor and Jacobean period is a matter of great interdisciplinary interest and particular potential in the site. The impact on the wider local landscape made by the creation of this complex and access to it, and in particular by its system of water supply and management, is also identifiable and is essential to its nature as a country house within a manipulated setting.

The survey has also more closely characterised the form of the two groups of medieval settlement remains within its bounds as loose groupings of farmsteads based around open greens rather than as deserted medieval villages of a typical nucleated type, as hitherto presumed. One certainly, and the other probably, was deserted prior to the creation of the country house within its moat. It is suggested that the medieval settlement pattern in Quarrendon parish may have been some form of dispersal that included the surveyed settlement elements rather than one based on a single nucleation.

In addition, the survey has identified one property within the larger settlement as distinctive in form and status. It may represent the survivor of a process of depopulation through conversion to sheep grazing, and be the direct predecessor to the country house. The social and economic context that these remains illustrate is recognised in the entrepreneurial activities of the Lees as a merchant family business, and in their rise over 250 years to county gentry, courtiers and finally nobility.

The survey also for the first time brings together evidence for the physical form of the ruined church or chapel of St Peter's at Quarrendon. It identifies the boundaries of its ancient graveyard and proposes the site of a set of almshouses, founded by Sir Henry Lee, along its southern edge. This complex had a place in the setting of the country house: the chancel formerly housed the elaborate tombs of Sir Henry, his parents and his mistress. The church also had an earlier history from at least the 12th century. There are reasons to believe that this ecclesiastical site may even have been a yet more ancient one, whose origins may bear some relationship to the historically documented 7th-century *villa regalis* at Quarrendon, to an early minster at Aylesbury, and perhaps to a nearby pre-Christian religious site evidenced by the place-name Weedon.

On a series of fronts, therefore, the site at Quarrendon plainly has interest and potential that lies beyond and additional to that represented by a descriptive report on its earthworks. Some aspects of that interest tie it into the context of the wider local landscape.

Site Location, Geology, Topography and Land Use

Quarrendon parish lies on the north-west side of the Vale of Aylesbury, immediately north of the town of Aylesbury. It extends to 1948 acres (788ha), lying on Kimmeridge Clay (VCH 1905, geological map between xxvi and 1, 8-9). The surveyed site is situated in its extreme south-east corner (Figure 1).

The parish is generally low-lying at 70-75m above OD but with higher ground at 80-90m above OD along its east side forming a marked ridge running north towards Whitchurch. It is this, presumably, that justifies the generic element of *dun* in the place-name, meaning 'hill'. In this usage it falls within a pattern local to north Buckinghamshire and adjacent parts of Oxfordshire, despite the apparent absence of very strong topographical justification (Gelling 1984, 150-1). Here, topographically the most marked feature is indeed the narrow end of the ridge within the survey area, with the settlement remains on its north-west flank, separated as it is from the outcrop occupied by Aylesbury only 1 km to the south by the narrowest stretch of the Thame valley. Rather than 'hill from which querns are got' (Ekwall 1960, 376; Gelling 1984, 145), perhaps the name meant 'hill shaped like a quern or millstone' or even 'hill associated with or nearby mill sites or mill streams' (Mawer and Stenton 1925, 137).

The River Thame, here flowing in an east-to-west direction and flanked by extensive, low-lying water meadows forms the southern parish boundary. An unnamed tributary, with similar broad floodplains, flows almost due south through the centre of the parish, passing through the surveyed site to join the Thame at right angles little more than 100m to its south. A notable aspect of this stream is that for effectively its whole passage through the parish it appears as two parallel watercourses – one the stream course, the other a leat and/or drain – and these are engineered in two distinct sections. The more northerly creates a leat over 600m long rejoining the stream at what may have been a mill site (see Figure 18). Almost immediately to the south, a watercourse strikes off eastwards then south. In its course of over 1.5km before it reaches the surveyed site, it picks up the outflow of a series of minor streams or channels originating nearby in ponds or springs within the parish along higher land to the north and east. This watercourse is delivered to the surveyed site just north-west of St Peter's church, and channelled along either side of the road leading to the church, on the north back into the steam and on the south

FIGURE 2 Aerial photographic view of the earthworks at Quarrendon from the east, showing the Warren and 'Quarrendon I' settlement remains in the foreground, the moat in centre picture, formal garden terraces and church ruins beyond, and 'Quarrendon II' settlement remains top left beyond the stream (NMR SP 8015/78; © Crown copyright.NMR)

FIGURE 3 Aerial photographic view of the moated 16th-century house site and formal gardens from the south; River Thame in the foreground (NMR SP 8015/76; © Crown copyright.NMR)

into the peripheral watercourses of the garden earthworks described below. The additional fact that immediately north of the site this watercourse is shown by early air photographs (for example Beresford and St Joseph 1979, Fig 19) to have cut through the earthworks of ridge-and-furrow cultivation confirms a post-medieval date for its creation and makes it very plausibly the 16th-century supply arrangement for the surveyed gardens (see section on 'water supply' below).

The modern parish is thinly populated, with a pattern of dispersed farms. The same character and stability pertained through the 19th century: the population in 1801 was 55 and in 1901 65 (VCH 1908, 96). In early modern and recent times it has been an area predominantly of pasture, with grassland 'ranking as the finest in the country' (VCH 1927, 100). The main economy was livestock, and especially fattening of beef cattle, with Aylesbury itself providing the market focus in a farming tradition fully described by the Reports to the Board of Agriculture of the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries (James and Malcolm 1794; Priest 1813).

BACKGROUND TO SURVEY

The remains of the church of St Peter at Quarrendon, the sites of two presumed deserted medieval villages known as 'Quarrendon I' and 'Quarrendon II', the site of a post-medieval house, moat and formal gardens, and a post-medieval rabbit warren together form an extensive, multi-component earthwork landscape, situated alongside a tributary of the river Thame and adjacent to Aylesbury (Figure 2). This complex is well known

from aerial photographic images published in Beresford and St Joseph, *Medieval England, an aerial survey* (Beresford and St Joseph 1958, 57-9, 116-7; 1979, 56, 123-4). The site of Sir Henry Lee's great house of the later 16th century and its formal gardens are marked by a moat, elaborate garden earthworks on a massive scale, and the remains of St Peter's church occupying the centre of the complex (Figure 3). The house and gardens superseded the settlement remains of 'Quarrendon I', whose earthworks lie on the hillslope to the east, partially overlain by the earthwork mounds of an extensive post-medieval rabbit warren. Further earthwork closes, hollow-ways and cultivation remains across the stream to the west have been identified as a separate settlement, labelled 'Quarrendon II'.

The whole complex is designated as a scheduled ancient monument (National Monument No. 12004), whose area includes the scheduled areas of the former scheduled monuments, Buckinghamshire 43 and 45. Characterisation of the principal components of the remains has hitherto been guided by received categorisations. One outcome of the present report is an altered interpretation and improved understanding of the site and the interrelationship of its components.

The RCHME archaeological survey in 1989-90 was undertaken in response to a request from the English Heritage casework inspector to meet twofold site management needs then current:

1. To document and manage potential damage to the SAM by current farming activities, most obviously through active, unsanctioned dumping of urban demolition rubble to fill earthwork hollows and create localised roadways;
2. A desire to make the site more accessible and intelligible to visitors via existing footpaths.

In addition, characterisation of the principal components of the field remains had hitherto been varied and unreliable in both local and national records. The survey therefore also afforded an opportunity to reassess interpretation of the site in the light of developing contemporary understanding, especially of the remains of post-medieval formal gardens and associated ancillary features.

Fieldwork by RCHME Keele staff – Robert Wilson-North (task leader), Wayne Cocroft, Paul Everson, Marcus Jecock, Rachel Morse (Oxford placement), and Simon Brereton (Oxford placement) – in various combinations began in August 1989 and was completed in 1990. It was structured in three phases corresponding to the three parts of the field remains – east ('Quarrendon I' and rabbit warren), central (moat and formal gardens), west ('Quarrendon II') – each represented by a field sheet, generated from a single overall control scheme. The scheme was tied into the National Grid via a buried triangulation station and three Permanent Traverse Stations, using values purchased from the Ordnance Survey. The scheme was systematically witnessed, and its documentation forms part of the site archive.

Archaeological details were surveyed within this framework using standard graphical methods to produce an RCHME level 3 site survey at 1:1000 scale, drawn up as a single landscape plan. A number of 35mm site photographs were taken during fieldwork (negative numbers 135/A/29-36 in the NMR).

History of Research

Before the present RCHME survey, systematic large-scale recording of the remains at large was confined to the Antiquity Models and published map depiction undertaken by Ordnance Survey archaeological surveyors (NMR nos, SP 71 NE 12 and SP 81 NW 3, 6, 7, 8, 15). The Royal Commission's published inventory described as discrete entities the chapel of St Peter, the 'moated site with ramparts' adjoining to its south, Church Farm and its moat, and 'field works' on the nearby hill interpreted as Civil War military features, all of which form elements of the surveyed site (RCHM(E) 1912, 273, monuments (1), (2), (4) and (6)).

There have been no formal excavations. However, in September 1993 a recording exercise on an area of unauthorised disturbance to the earthworks lying immediately west of the bridge over the north-south stream was undertaken by the Archaeology Service of Buckinghamshire County Museum. This recovered some 566 sherds of medieval pottery, including a small quantity of 10th/11th-century material (Smith and Hunn 1993).

Perhaps principally because of the prominent form of the major earthworks at the centre of the site, which afford striking images in favourable

lighting conditions (Beresford and St Joseph, 1958, 57-9; 1979, 56, 123-4), the site has attracted repeated attention from specialist aerial photography. There is specialist low-level oblique photography available at irregular intervals from at least July 1949 (NMR and Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography collections). This sequence gives evidence also of changing cultivation and loss of field evidence in the land adjacent to the survey site, including a strip of former settlement remains along the west side of the site lying in arable at the time of survey.

Elements of the site have been catalogued by various special interest groups (and thereby categorised within the limitations of their current conceptual frameworks), whose purpose has extended little beyond preliminary listing of potentially relevant remains. This applies most obviously to the inclusion of three 'DMVs' in Quarrendon on lists of the former Deserted Medieval Village Research Group (mirrored in local and national records), two of them lying within the surveyed area, and two moats by the Moated Sites Research Group (records in NMR; the two groups are now united as the Medieval Settlement Research Group). The contribution of simplified, preliminary-level categorisation and good imagery has led to misleading assessment of the field remains appearing in authoritative, modern publications (for example Clarke 1984, 47).

The remains of St Peter's church form a special element within the site that attracted early attention and recording activity, albeit typically of an antiquarian rather than strictly archaeological sort. The only systematic record of the building's window glass and monuments was made by Nicholas Charles in 1611 (BL, Lansdowne MS 874, f. 35; original not consulted). Browne Willis described the building and late 16th- or early 17th-century tombs in 1704 (Bodleian Library, Willis MS; original not consulted). The published account on 'Quarrendon chapel' by EK Chambers (1936, 301-8) conveniently provides a transcription of Charles's records, correlated with that of Browne Willis – especially in respect of the text of inscriptions. By the beginning of the 19th century, St Peter's had been stripped of its glass and furnishings apart from the damaged remains of the major Lee monuments in the chancel. It was still roofed but in decay. A flurry of descriptions around 1817 in the *Gentleman's Magazine* were illustrated by engravings exhibiting care in accurate detailing – an external view from the south-east and an internal view looking east (Gomme 1891, 323-35;

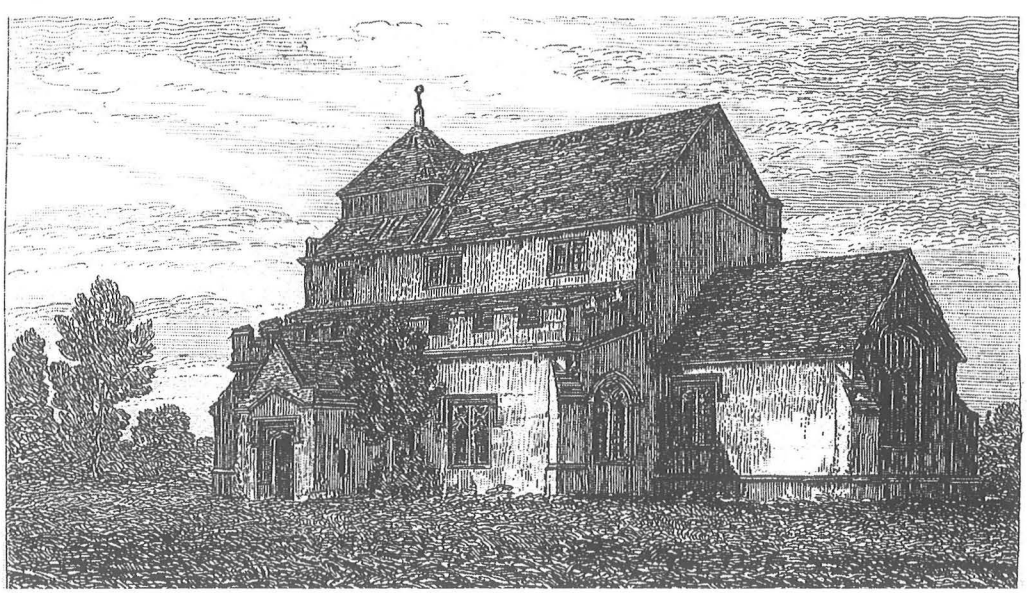

FIGURE 4 Engraved view of St Peter's church at Quarrendon in 1815 from the south-east, reproduced from Bickersteth 1859-62

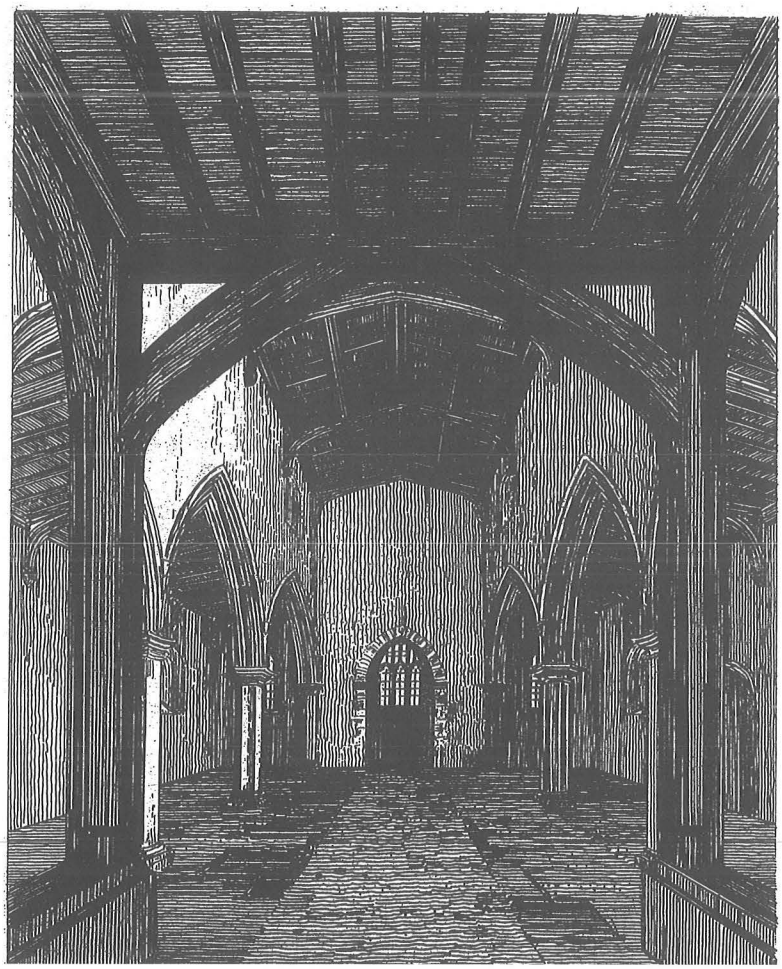

FIGURE 5 Engraved internal view of St Peter's church at Quarrendon in 1815 looking east, reproduced from Bickersteth 1859-62

Figures 4 and 5). Lipscomb, the county historian and one of the pseudonymous authors of the contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine,* consolidated these descriptions in his county history (1847, II, 406). The engravings were reproduced in support of Archdeacon Bickersteth's rallying call to members of the newly founded Buckinghamshire Architectural and Archaeological Society to care for what remained of the building (Bickersteth 1859-62), following renewed expressions of concern at the way it was being robbed of dressed stone (Anon 1854-8a). Three further published engravings – two perhaps of 1828 (Figures 6 and 7) and the third of the 1850s (Figure 8) – though of lesser quality, document its increasingly reduced condition as a roofless building. They also record some additional original detailing. The latest of them shows St Peter's as a consolidated ruin, with the south aisle and south porch fallen or deliberately stripped off. 'By 1858 the spoil had been carried off in cartloads; not a monument or inscription remained … and the very walls were gone' (Anon 1864, 280, Pl. 14-16). At a field visit to the site in summer 1904 by the Buckinghamshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, drawings of the ruin in the 1860s and the early 1880s were reportedly displayed (Anon 1904-9, 173; illustrations not traced). Photographs held by the County

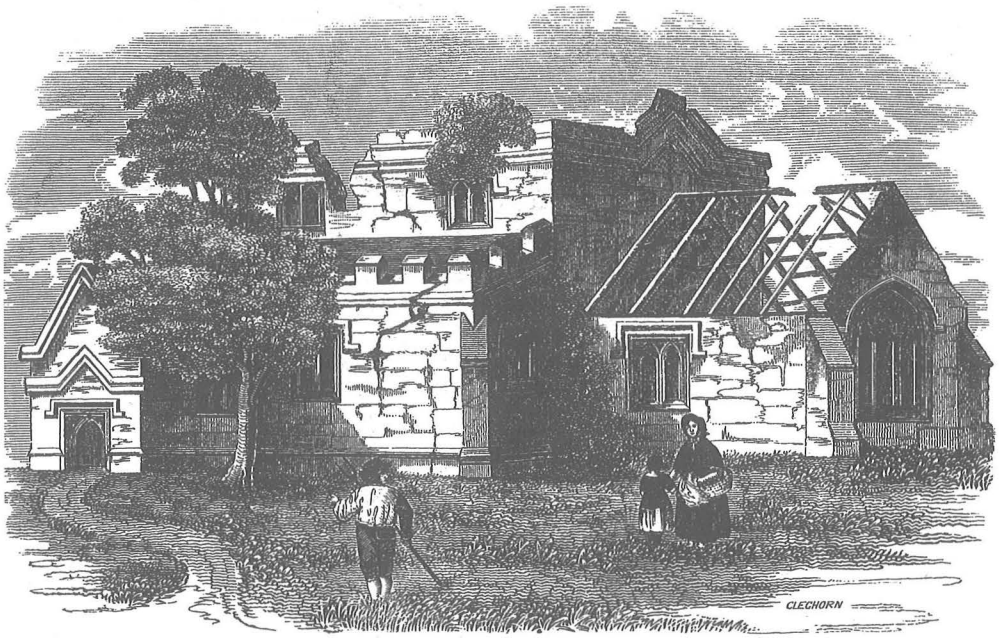

FIGURE 6 Engraved view of St Peter's church at Quarrendon in 1828 from the south-east, reproduced from Anon 1864, Plate 14

Museum appear to show the ruin in about 1905 (Figure 9): certainly they complement the investigation by RCHM(E) staff in the period 1909-11, which made a valuable drawn record of the plan and the last vestiges of architectural detailing and mouldings of the chancel east window, of the arcade capitals and labels and of a north aisle window (Figure 10; NMR, Investigators' notes on Quarrendon parish, *Buckinghamshire 1 (south)*).

The record of the dispersal and fate of monuments from the church/chapel of St Peter's is poor, but not totally absent. It is perhaps worthy of more work than this report can devote to it. In the early to mid 19th century, there were reportedly several parties interested in acquiring the surviving major Lee tombs in part or whole, but they were blocked from this desire (Anon 1864, 280). Marble parts of one of the Lee monuments were turned into a set of vase and candlesticks in about 1843 by Ezra Reed of Aylesbury for the then owner, SG Payne (photo Buckinghamshire County Museum, reference AYBCM Quarrendon14). A few fragments are also reported to have been taken to Hartwell House near Aylesbury, two of them at least *via* the garden of Church Farm (Hollis 1910-6; Chambers 1936, 307).

Brass indents of earlier 16th-century date were recorded reused as paving in the cellar of Church Farm and as a hearthstone in a cottage lying west of the church, and a palimpsest brass from Quarrendon is catalogued by Mill Stephenson (Hollis 1910-6; Stephenson 1964, 584).

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

St Osyth and early history

There is a complex and well developed hagiographic tradition that associates St Osyth with Aylesbury and its immediate area in two respects:

(a) as the location of her birth and early life and Christian commitment in the mid 7th century; and
(b) as the resting place of her sanctified body, perhaps for only a brief period during the 10th century, though the persistence of a cult at

Aylesbury is evidenced by the occurrence of the 'old' annual fair in the town on her saint's day and by the fact that the cult was deliberately suppressed at the beginning of the 16th century (VCH 1925, 6, 11; Hohler 1966).

This hagiographic tradition has been the subject of detailed specialist debate (Hohler 1966; Bethell 1970; Farmer 1979, 302-3; Hagerty 1987; Bailey 1989). Osyth was reportedly a daughter of the *subregulus* Frithuwold and was born at his residence, or *villa regalis*, at Quarrendon. The precise location of this residence is not known, although the Tudor antiquary, John Leland, transcribed the report of a 12th-century source that the site of the royal hall at Quarrendon was at that date still identified by local peasants as a piece of ground on which nothing would grow and which was never used for secular purposes. This location of a royal residence may nevertheless have been a variation on Aylesbury itself, which has good claim to be identified as a royal *tun* at both an earlier and later date (Sawyer 1983). In detail, therefore, it may have been close to Aylesbury rather than more remote, and perhaps lay within direct sight of the monastery or ancient minster created there (Blair 1988, 41-4; Blair 1989, 104-7). Perhaps inevitably, some speculation, romantic rather than antiquarian even, associates

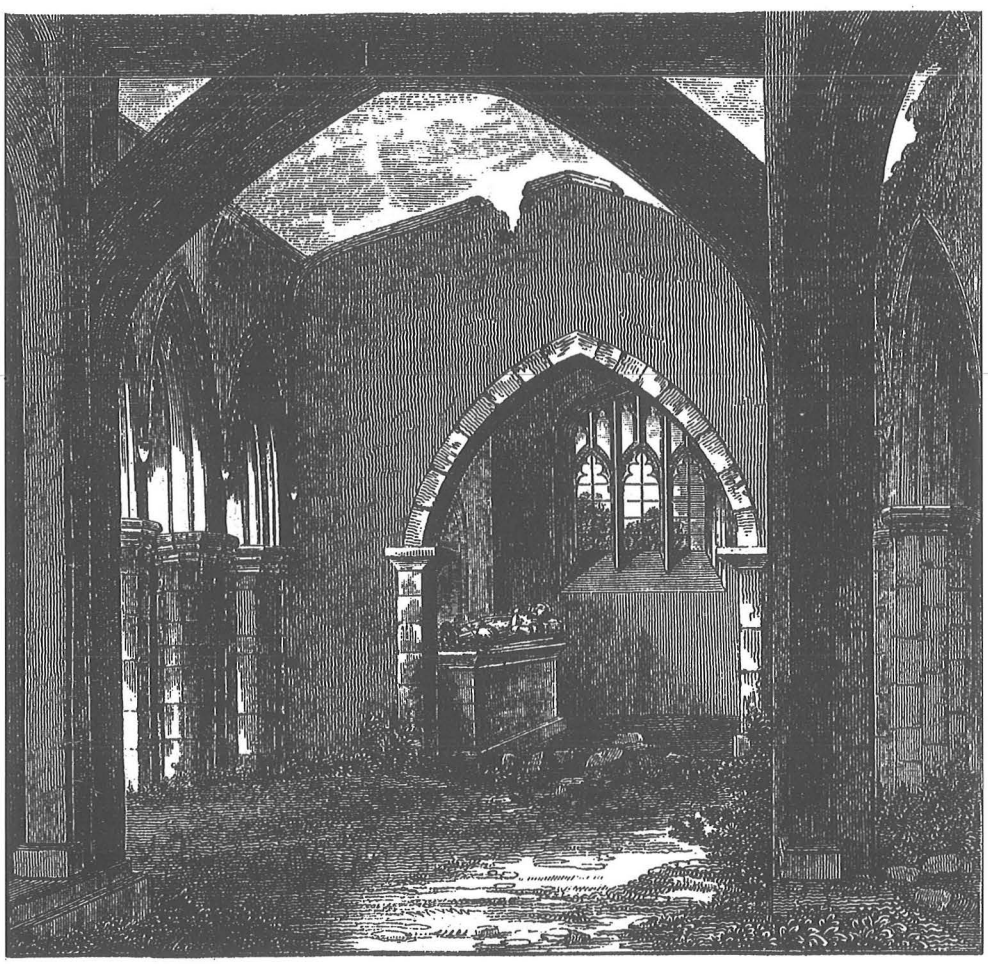

FIGURE 7 Engraved internal view of St Peter's church at Quarrendon in 1828 looking east, reproduced from Anon 1864, Plate 15

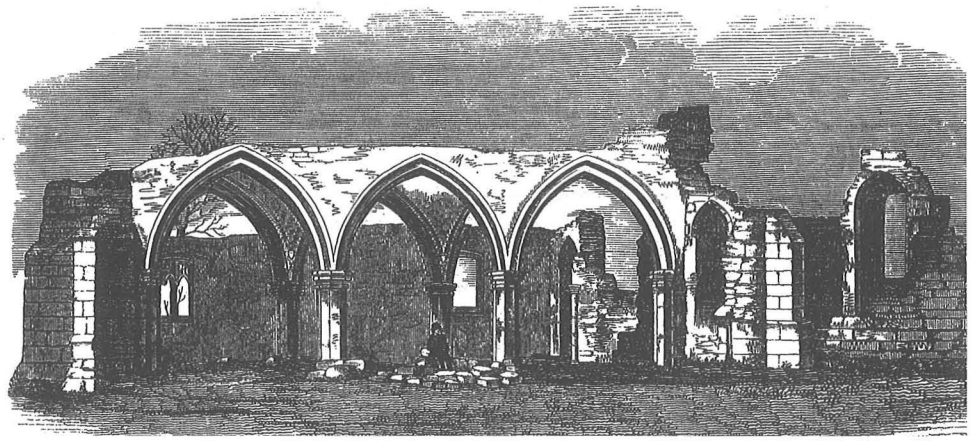

FIGURE 8 Engraved view of St Peter's church at Quarrendon in the 1850s from the south, reproduced from Anon 1864, Plate 16

the chapel of St Peter with St Osyth (for example Anon 1864, 280). Though this is without direct evidence, there may be reason to entertain the possibility that it is indeed an early ecclesiastical site (see below).

Manorial history

The manor of Quarrendon was assessed in 1086 at 10 hides and held of the king by Geoffrey de Mandeville. Its descent through the high Middle Ages is rehearsed in the VCH account (VCH 1927, 100-1). There is no direct indication of the existence of a manorial residence at Quarrendon through this period; but in 1276 John Fitzjohn of Whaddon, whose family held the manor through the later 13th century, was licensed by the Crown to make a park at Quarrendon within the forest bounds (Cantor and Hatherly 1977, 446). It is otherwise undocumented, and where it lay, or indeed whether it was created, is not known.

The manor of Quarrendon was a possession of the earldom of Warwick through much of the later 14th and 15th centuries. It reverted to the Crown in 1499 following the attainder of Edward, Earl of Warwick, and was immediately leased to Richard Lee, who had been farming the manor for several years (VCH 1927, 101). Lees had been active from at least the 1430s as freeholders, lessees of the lord's demesne land and constables of the township, evidently gradually consolidating their holding as graziers (Chambers 1936, 3 ff). This was not a matter of the growth of small, local men, but rather was an entrepreneurial development evidently initiated by Benedict Lee (d. 1476), that characterised the shift in exploitation of the Warwick estates from demesne and arable farming to leased grazing regimes. Lee was a grazier on a substantial and organised scale, based in Warwick (Wedgwood 1936, 530; Stephens 1969, 421, 486). Like others of his class and time – like the better-known Celys or the Stokkers (Thrupp 1962) – there are indications that he used his family network to secure both supplies and distribution: one son, for example, was a citizen and draper of London. His products presumably followed the changeover from wool production for export to feeding the developing worsted cloth trade of the West Midlands. He had a substantial house in Warwick, Bennett's Place, and was master of the Guild of Warwick in 1466; he and his wife were also members of guilds in both Stratford-on-Avon and Knowle; and he represented the borough of Warwick in the parliament of 1467. He had an urban property also in Aylesbury, and clusters of rural holdings notably in Warwickshire and the Vale of Aylesbury, which appear to have been run through four or five sons and were left to them at his death (Chambers 1936, Appendix B). The success of these developments in commercial grazing over the next century and their focus particularly on the supply of heavy wool

FIGURE 9 View of the nave arcades and inner west end of St Peter's church at Quarrendon looking north-west, ? before 1905 (photo Buckinghamshire County Museum; image reference AYBCM Quarrendon1, reproduced by permission of the Museum)

A. ×

RECORD CARD FOR ECCLESIASTICAL MONUMENTS.

(N.B.—Detail of special interest is to be entered here, but described fully on a separate card.)

1. **Dedication and Situation:** Ruined Chapel of St. Peter.

2. **Historical Development:** (with dates and small sketch plan).

The chapel was probably built c. 1280 the arcades of the nave being of that date. A document of 1294 describing the formation of Everton parish mentions the chapel of Gen of Quarrendon. Windows were inserted in the 14th + 15th centuries. The building is supposed to have been partly destroyed by a great storm + flood of c. 1570. Chapel desired early in 18th cent. but a marriage took place there as late as 1746

NORTH AISLE
NAVE
CHANCEL
SOUTH AISLE

3. **Special features** (if any):

4. **Architectural description, from East to West:** (with dates and measurements). The Chancel (c. 13'9" x c. 13'9") has all disappeared except a fragment of the E. wall, the NE. diagonal buttress + part of the N. wall. In the E. wall are remains of the moulded N. jamb of a 15th century E. window.

INSIDE

The Nave (c. 38'10" x 17'6") originally had N. + S. arcades of three bays each. All that remains of the N arcade is the W. bay + of the S. arcade the two westernmost bays remain. The columns are octagonal with moulded late 13th century capitals but no bases remain. The semi-octagonal responds are similar. All the capitals are badly damaged. The arches of the remaining bays are two centred, of two chamfered orders with moulded labels on the nave sides (except to the W. ~~half~~ halves of the westernmost arches) with shield stops over the columns. The jambs + rear arch of a 15th century E W. probably originally of four lights, remain but the sill, tracery + mullions have disappeared.

The N. aisle (7'11" wide) has remains of two 14th cent. windows of two lights each but the tracery + mullions are missing. The easternmost has a little cusping left in the tops of the jambs but is peculiar in not being the same each side. The westernmost one has remains of a low inside sill. Only a fragment of E wall of N aisle remains. All that remains of the S. aisle are the two diagonal buttresses apparently of 15th century date.

The walls are of squared stone laid in courses.

FIGURE 10 Plan of St Peter's church at Quarrendon, plus architectural details and mouldings, reproduced from NMR, Investigators' notes on Quarrendon parish, Buckinghamshire 1 (south)

crops for coarse cloth production is reflected in the high numbers and great weight of fleeces produced from the Lee estates, including Quarrendon, in 1598 (Bowden 1962, 32-3). It is also reflected in the network of marriages at the level of county gentry entered into by successive generations of Lees, and by the rash of country houses that resulted (Chambers 1936, 5-9). In a period of 250 years, the Lees moved from yeoman graziers to peers of the realm, with Quarrendon as one of their core properties. Through the process, Quarrendon went down to grass and the settlement was deserted.

Benedict Lee in 1476 left a residential property, a '*placea*', in Quarrendon – a term which ought to imply a substantial house perhaps of courtyard form. There is no indication of a moat. By the second quarter of the 16th century there appears to have been a moated residence, with a garden and curtilage, enclosed by a moat and a two-acre toft called Pondecroft. Described in the inquisition following the death of Sir Robert Lee in 1540, this could have been a new residence and may have resulted from his acquisition of the manor of Quarrendon on a more secure basis in 1512. This Robert Lee was undoubtedly a figure of substance. As a young man he fulfilled a sequence of posts at court, served on military expeditions in France and was knighted in 1522; latterly he was JP, sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, and consolidated his land holdings in the vicinity of Quarrendon (Chambers 1936, esp. 10-7). In the early 1540s, Leland noted Robert's son Sir Anthony Lee's residence at Quarrendon, in addition to those at Fleet Marston and Burston (Toulmin Smith 1964, volume 2, 110). Anthony Lee also followed the route of courtly service under Henry VIII, and through his marriage to Margaret Wyatt forged a connection with one of the most influential families in the country (Chambers 1936, esp. 19-24; Bindoff 1982, 505). Anthony's son, Henry Lee (b. 1533), was brought up in the Wyatt household at Allington Castle in Kent and succeeded to his father's estates in 1550 while still a minor. His career was notable for following the changes of monarchy without giving offence, as his epitaph noted (Chambers 1936, 304-5). He served at court under Henry VIII. He was knighted in 1553 within the ceremonies surrounding the coronation of Mary I, and married Anne, daughter of William, Lord Paget, one of Mary's privy councillors. Under Elizabeth, he was MP for Buckinghamshire in 1558 and 1572, and held a number of crown preferments including Lieutenant of the royal manor of Woodstock from 1571 and Ranger there, from 1580 Master of the Armoury, Master of the Leash, and Master of the Ordnance from 1590. He was made Knight of the Garter in 1597. Soldier, poet (Chambers 1923, III, 398-407; Briggs 1997, 210, 220-1, 223, 225) and courtier – by gossip alleged to have been illegitimate half-brother to Queen Elizabeth (Lawson-Dick 1949, 189) – most distinctively he was in 1570 the originator of the Accession Day tournaments held annually on 17 November and personal champion to the queen from 1559 until he stepped aside in 1590 (Chambers 1936; Bindoff 1982, 507-8; Hasler 1981, 447-8). His portrait by Antonio Mor (Figure 11) is among the finest of the age (Strong 1969, frontispiece, 189-91; Hearn 1995, 60-1). It is widely affirmed (for example VCH 1927, 100 citing Nichols) that his house at Quarrendon was visited by Elizabeth in 1592, when entertainments were staged to delight and divert her, though Chambers (1923, IV, 106-7; 1936, 145) authoritatively denies it.

Quarrendon was clearly only one of Sir Henry Lee's several major residences, all lying within quite a limited area of northern Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. His epitaph claims that he himself built four 'goodly Mannors', one of these presumably being works at Quarrendon (Chambers 1936, 216-7). He spent much of his time in later life at Ditchley and at High Lodge in Woodstock Park; he died at Spelsbury in Oxfordshire; but he willed to be buried at Quarrendon alongside his parents and, as he intended, his mistress Anne Vavasour, who became an overt part of his household following his wife's death in 1590 (Chambers 1936, 150-63, 234-6 Appendices F and G). Lady Lee was buried in St Mary's church in Aylesbury, where the surviving monument commemorates also the children, John, Henry and Mary, who all three pre-deceased her.

Sir Henry Lee died in 1611 and his estates including Quarrendon passed to his cousin, also Henry Lee, who was created baronet in 1611 (GEC 1900, 78-9). The duration and frequency of continuing use of the house at Quarrendon through the 17th century is unclear. Henry Lee and his heirs in the baronetcy continued to be styled as 'of Quarrendon and Ditchley' but each of them was

FIGURE 11 Portrait of Sir Henry Lee by Antonio Mor, 1568 (reproduced by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London)

buried at Spelsbury – Henry in 1631 (the monument survives), Francis Henry in 1639, Henry in 1658 and Francis Henry in 1667 – as if that was the favoured residence. Chambers reports that Quarrendon was already partly pulled down before 1666 and partly in 1713 (1936, 216), and the record of only 9 hearths in the parish in the 1660s (MSRG records) indeed suggests there was no major residence in use then. Mortgages and leases dating from at least 1680 include the main residence and reveal a shift in their terminology in referring to it, from the 'capital messuage or Mansion House of Quarendon' in 1680 to the 'tenement called Quarrendon House' in 1700/1 or the 'messuage called Quarrendon House' in 1708 (Oxfordshire Archives Office, DIL X/g/2-4). In 1712 Edward Henry Lee agreed with Benjamin How of Quarrendon, grazier, that he 'may remove part of Quarendon great house where the great kitchen is, and build with the materials a new house in Marstone store ground adjoining to the shepherd's house; How to have reduction in rent and a new lease' (ibid, DIL X/g/6). What was left served as the tenanted farm, Church Farm (as argued below).

Sir Edward Henry Lee, who succeeded to the baronetcy in 1667, was created Earl of Lichfield in 1674, having married Lady Charlotte Fitzroy, illegitimate daughter of Charles II (GEC 1929, 643-7), and certainly he and his heirs used Spelsbury and Ditchley as their main residences and Spelsbury for burial. The title Viscount Quarrendon was reserved for the eldest son, but without signifying residence. Nevertheless the Quarrendon estate remained with the family until after the line failed and the peerage became extinct in 1776. It was sold in 1802 (Chambers 1936, 238).

Documentation of the church of St Peter

The church dedicated to St Peter at Quarrendon first appears clearly documented in the 13th century as one of a series of chapels – at Bierton, Buckland and Stoke Mandeville as well as Quarrendon – dependent on the ancient minster church at Aylesbury, which in the medieval period had become a prebendal church of Lincoln Cathedral (VCH 1908, 326). This pattern of dependency looks like the characteristic residue of the gradual breaking up of a pre-Conquest minster *parochia*, in which the ecclesiastical provision centred on Aylesbury may once have mirrored its secular pre-eminence over eight surrounding hundreds (Durham 1978; Farley 1979; Thacker 1985, 7). The group of chapels was appropriated to the Dean and Chapter at Lincoln and in 1294 a vicarage instigated at Bierton, of which the others were made dependencies (Anon 1854-8 b). This appears to have been the formal relationship until regular services ended sometime in the 18th century (VCH 1927, 101).

St Peter's at Quarrendon nevertheless evidently had established burial rights. These were formalised, or perhaps reasserted, as early as the first half of the 12th century when a gift of land in Quarrendon to St Mary's church at Aylesbury secured the establishment of a burial ground attached to the chapel (Foster 1931, no 85, cited by Morris 1989, 146). This transaction confirms the relationship of dependency on a minster at Aylesbury, but also shows the chapel at Quarrendon to be already existing by the early 12th century, and perhaps an ancient institution. These burial rights are evidenced most obviously by the elaborate alabaster and Sussex marble tombs of Sir Henry Lee and his immediate family located in the chancel (Gomme 1891, 325-8; Chamber 1936, 303-8), but also, for example, by the will of Richard Lee in 1499 to be buried 'in St Peter's church at Quarrendon before St George's image' (quoted by Bickersteth 1859-62, 24) and by continuation of burial into the 19th century (ibid, 27). At the end of the 14th century, also, a chantry was instituted in the chapel (ibid, 24; VCH 1927, 102).

This institution of a chantry is likely to have contributed to the fabric of the church. So, too, is the gift of 40 marks to 'ecclesiae meae parochiali de Quarendon' made in Benedict Lee's will of 1476 (Chambers 1936, 264). And the claim of Sir Henry Lee's memorial that he 'renewed the ruins of this chapel' – presumably following the reported damage to it by the floods of 1570 – and 'added these monuments to honour his blood and friends' (Chambers 1936, 305) must imply some substantial work to the fabric in addition to fitting out, and filling out, of the former chancel with the three major late 16th- or early 17th-century tombs that are recorded there.

The decline of the building is to a large extent documented by the history of its recording (see above; Chambers 1936, 237-8). It was an intact structure when the antiquary Browne Willis visited in 1704, though he reported the window glass gone

and replaced by wooden shutters. Bishop Pococke was able to visit in 1751 and observe the major tombs without comment on any dilapidation of the fabric, but noting the notorious absence of the statue on Anne Vavasour's monument, which he ascribes to destructive activity of soldiers during the Civil War (Cartwright 1888, 164). No doubt it was the failure of the direct line of the Lee family, latterly Earls of Lichfield, in 1776 and sale of Quarrendon in 1802 that precipitated the decline of the building through the first half of the 19th century. An engraving depicting the proposed restoration of St Peter's church dates from the 1840s (photo Buckinghamshire County Museum, reference AYBCM Quarrendon18), but the proposal came to nothing. The remains were reduced to a more-or-less stabilised ruin by the late 1850s, and a more gradual but steady decline followed thereafter.

Population

The evidence of population figures and valuations for national taxation that are effective indicators of the growth and decline of settlements in areas where a single nucleated village per parish or township is the norm are not so informative or intelligible in areas where any form of dispersed settlement pattern was current. This is due to the difficulty in associating documented variations with the specific topographical locations of archaeological remains when there are several or many in question, and because dispersed patterns are often inherently dynamic and allow the abandonment of individual locations and settlement at new ones within a given township.

The manor of Quarrendon was assessed at 10 hides and had 10 ploughlands in 1086 with no minimum population recorded. Quarrendon formed a single vill with Little Marston in 1316; about 30 individuals paid towards the Lay Subsidy in 1332 and those of the immediately following years raised 41/8 and 50/-; and the relief allowed in 1341 amounted to 62.5%, which presumably reflects the impact of the crises of plague and agricultural shortages of the mid century. Quarrendon was exempt from collection of the tenths in 1419, though whether from poverty or because of its status as a chapel is unclear; the relief allowed against the subsidy in 1445-6 was 13%; and in 1524-5 20 persons paid the subsidy, but in 1563 the bishop's returns recorded just four families. It is clear that this final depopulation was the result of wholesale conversion to pasture and grazing of sheep promoted by the engrossing activities of the Lee family through the mid to late 15th century, and intensified in the 16th century. Whereas there had been arable still in the Lee holding in 1512, by 1540 Sir Robert Lee had created 960 acres of pasture and held 15 tofts – presumably recognisable closes formerly occupied by dwellings (Chambers 1936, 12-6). No infringements at Quarrendon were recorded by Wolsey's inquiry of 1517-8, though at neighbouring Fleet Marston Lee was a partner in completing the reduction of that vill from one that still after 1500 had 50 persons and 8 ploughs at work to a manor house and 5 cottages for shepherds (Leadam 1897, 171). In 1636 Quarrendon was described simply as 'a hamlet anciently enclosed and depopulated' (VCH 1927, 100; Beresford 1954, 342).

The Earthworks

'Quarrendon I' settlement remains (NMR no, SP 81 NW 3)

Settlement remains lying on and at the foot of the hillslope to the east of the moated site (Figures 2 and 12) have conventionally been treated in the archaeological literature as a 'deserted medieval village'. They are sited generally at about 75m above OD, entirely within the large field named 'Great Ground' on the tithe map of 1848 (Bucks RO, AR 130/81).

The complex is located in the extreme south-east corner of Quarrendon parish or township. Two other groupings of medieval and later settlement remains within the parish have been identified and similarly conventionally characterised as 'deserted medieval villages' – 'Quarrendon II' (NMR no, SP 71 NE 12; see below) and 'Quarrendon III' (NMR no, SP 71 NE 8). There are other individual farmsteads in the parish with potential claims to being settlement locations of some age, perhaps including Berryfield: Uppings Farm was formerly 'Upende', there was a 'Brokend', and Little or Wretched Marston belonged to Quarrendon manor but lay partly in Quarrendon parish and partly in Fleet Marston (Chambers 1936, 7, 9). In addition, St Peter's church stands apart from any of these.

Current scholarly study of medieval settlement is based upon the contrast between nucleated and dispersed patterns (Roberts and Wrathmell 1995).

When looking at the medieval settlement pattern, therefore, rather than the detailed internal form of the settlement elements, these circumstances strongly suggest that there was in Quarrendon some form of *dispersed* pattern rather than the *nucleated* pattern that the designation 'deserted medieval village' connotes. This certainly corresponds to the mixture of villages, 'ends', hamlets and farmsteads apparently pertaining in neighbouring parishes, such as Fleet Marston and (most strikingly) Waddesdon to the west and Bierton to the east. Contrariwise, this part of Buckinghamshire falls within the southern part of the sub-province CINMD within the Roberts and Wrathmell analysis of settlement patterning nationally, 'the largest area wholly dominated by nucleations in the country' (Roberts and Wrathmell 1995; forthcoming a; see discussion below).

The details of the settlement earthworks confirm the propriety of the important conceptual shift here proposed in characterising them as one element – albeit probably the largest element – in a dispersed pattern rather than as a nucleated village. For, although the settlement remains are both extensive and complex, and well preserved as earthworks, they are very loosely organised and uneven in size and form. Specifically, there appear to be a small number – perhaps 4 or 5 – of quite large, complex farmsteads identifiable in the earthworks (as interpreted in Figure 19b). They have around them groups of closes defined by ditched boundaries, which have few or no signs of features within them, but rather are presumably attached to the farmsteads. Where small closes do have signs of a building platform, they may have been cottages or detached agricultural structures such as barns. Whether this pattern is long established or a late medieval development, for example by engrossing, from an earlier pattern is not easy for field survey alone to interpret. On the one hand, one might point to the generally loose structure of the settlement around a road network and an irregular green as its likely long-established framework; on the other hand, there is a degree of regularity in the small plots running north-east from 'b' to 'c' on plan (Figure 12), which might perhaps be an early pattern submerged by later developments,

The settlement earthworks are organised in relation to a clear hollow-way that enters the surveyed area from the south at 'a' and runs north to 'b' on plan. From here, a well-defined branch curves tightly to the west, then runs straight downslope until truncated by the moat at 'd'. It presumably formerly continued west, on the line of the north arm of the moat and then the broad bank or low causeway that skirts the north edge of the garden layout (see the discussion below about 'access'), to give access to St Peter's church. The route may perhaps have continued west across the tributary stream to give access to 'Quarrendon II' and Berryfield beyond, in much the same way – though less substantially and formally and reliably – as later routes did. The way is hollowed over its entire surviving length, usually measuring some 10m across and 0.6m deep except just to the south of 'b' where it attains 15m in width as it climbs obliquely up and across the natural slopes. It is relatively undisturbed, and traces of a cambered surface are traceable within it. Towards its south end within the surveyed area, a low bank with a strong south-facing scarp decisively blocks it. This presumably reflects the phase in the 19th and early 20th centuries when access to Church Farm from the east cut directly across to the moat from this point at 'a'. This alignment is traceable as a broad band of erosion across the south-west corner of the settlement earthworks. Southwards, the way descends to the edge of the water meadows along the Thame. There was formerly an established footpath and footbridge on the river here, allowing direct access to Aylesbury (OS 1879).

North of 'b', a triangular or wedge-shaped area is defined to east and west by less coherent continuations of the main hollow-way, strongly marked only by the outer scarp on either side. The interior is featureless except for the large mound at its southern end (which is interpreted below as a dovecote belonging to a later phase of land use) and an irregular beast pond. A pond is shown with a more compact form on the tithe map of 1848 (Bucks RO, AR 130/81) and may have been an early feature. This wedge-shaped space opens out north of the pond into a large triangle similarly defined by irregular hollow-ways. The whole space north and south of the pond appears best interpreted as a green, with ways characteristically exiting from its corners at the north-east and north-west as well as south-west and south-east. A small platform at the north-east corner of the triangular 'island', near 'c', suggests that it might not have been completely devoid of structures.

The proposal that this area is a large green there-

FIGURE 12 RCHME's surveyed plan of the eastern sector of the earthworks, including 'Quarrendon I' settlement remains and the Warren, original at 1:1000

fore reflects the form of the earthworks; but it also has the virtue that it links together the groups of earthworks that mark the sites of the farmsteads. One of these lies on the west side of the green at 'e'. It appears to lie around a hollow yard opening from the north but also approached by an L-shaped hollow-way from the south and east. Probable building platforms flank the yard: that on the east exhibits several particularly well-formed changes of level and rectangular platforms likely to have been occupied by buildings. Some 70m to the west of this complex, another group of earthworks at 'f' lies along the south side of the green and the way exiting it to the north-west. It is defined by a ditch around its south side and east end, and contains hollows and irregular platforms. It may mark the location of another farmstead. The area behind – that is south and south-west of these two farmsteads and extending to the main hollow-way – is divided into a network of closes of varied sizes which lack evidence of buildings and presumably belong as closes and paddocks with them. On the opposite side of the way at the north-west corner of the green, rather disturbed earthworks at 'g' suggest a building complex on the frontage with a yard behind. Irregularly divided land behind extending north to the straight, strongly marked hollow-way lying parallel to the field boundary may lie with this complex. At 'c' at the north-east corner of the green, a particularly coherent farmstead complex exhibits a hollowed yard opening off the way. It has a good series of building platforms along the street on either side of the entrance and at right angles to the south side of the yard. Parallel shallow ditches divide the rear of the property to the east into rectangular closes averaging 20-25m in width. The north-south ditch to the rear appears to cut into a broad bank on its downslope side, which may therefore be the former headland of the furlong up the slope to the east. A further, less substantial farmstead complex lies immediately next to the south at 'h', also facing west onto the green. It has a small yard, elongated east-west, with good building platforms on the street frontage to either side, and a couple of rectangular closes in a similar way to the rear. Three well-formed rectangular closes that occupy the rest of the east side of the green south of this have no clear yards or platforms on their frontage. They may go with the farmstead to the north, or with the complex at 'i' – which, however, might be better interpreted as overlying these features and belonging rather with the warren in the 16th and 17th centuries (as suggested in the discussion of the warren below).

Finally, a distinctively substantial complex is visible in the angle of the main hollow-way, on its west side, south of 'b'. It is characterised by strongly pronounced boundary ditches and relatively more prominent earthworks than elsewhere on the site. At its north end, a plot measuring 55m by 30m contains a hollowed yard opening north onto the hollow-way as it turns west to head downslope. It therefore at the same time opens onto the south end of the green. There is a large building platform on its west side and an especially well-formed platform measuring 15m by 5m lying along the hollow-way in its south-east corner. Next to the south is a plot measuring 60m by 40m, at 'j' on plan. It has a good building platform along the hollow-way and another on the south at right angles to the street, and perhaps there were ranges on the other two sides forming a quadrangle; but there is only restricted access from the hollow-way and no sign of a yard. The western half of the plot contains only a pair of shallow, parallel scarps or terraces lying with the west range of buildings, in a manner that suggests a simple garden layout. These two plots might be interpreted as two separate properties, but they are so integrated and complementary in form that they seem likely to be one. The building at 'j' appears to be of a different form and superior status to the other farmsteads.

A third plot adjacent to the south of 'j', measuring 45m by 35m and similarly ditched, might also be a separate property, but also seems integrated with those to the north. It contains a slight platform close to the way, upon which the parchmarks of a rectangular feature, perhaps a building measuring at least 12m by 7m, were observed during survey, but no yard or other detail. The boundary to this group of three plots along the north-south hollow-way is a well-formed bank – that is, presumably it was originally a screen wall. And it is precisely the corresponding section of way that has extra width and cambered form. Furthermore, a series of very substantial rectangular and square, angled terraces and plots, lie below this grouping centred on 'j', to its west and south-west. They sit in conformity with it, have a similarly pronounced form, and (so to speak) tie it together. If not yards and platforms for agricultural buildings, they may rather be further

simple garden features, terraced against the slope.

Taken as a whole, this complex has the greatest coherence and formality of any within the settlement. It occupies the most prominent position in the angle of the through way to the church. It may even be no coincidence that two other important features lie adjacent: [a] the circular mounded foundation at 'b', of a dovecote (see below), stands across the way to the north, and [b] the earliest part of the Warren stands across the way to the east (see below). This complex might be the more modest predecessor to the Lees' moated mansion, situated below to the west (see below). It might perhaps even be the '*placea*' of Benedict Lee's will of 1476.

Far slighter earthworks at 'k' on the south side of the hollow-way as it descends the slope towards 'd' contain several well-formed platforms that might have supported buildings. Their configuration does not resemble the farmsteads elsewhere in the settlement, however. The principal distinctive features in the area are slight scarps lying parallel to and at right angles to the hollow-way, conforming generally with the lie of the prominent earthworks adjacent to and upslope of them. This area may therefore also be ancillary to that complex and dependent on the house at 'j' – just possibly representing former properties added to it by engrossment.

'Quarrendon II' settlement remains (NMR no, SP 71 NE 12)

Earthworks at the west end of the surveyed site occupy a single level field of permanent improved pasture at 72m above OD, lying immediately along the west side of the north-south tributary stream (Figure 13). They are located 300-400m west of St Peter's church but across the flood-plain of the tributary stream, and 800m west of 'Quarrendon I' (see above). They occupy an area of some 7ha (17.5 acres), but the west fringe of the settlement – at least as represented by closes and buildings shown on the 1848 tithe map (Bucks RO, AR 130/81) – has been levelled by ploughing in the adjacent field. Traces of these remains appear on aerial photographs, their north-west limit defined by a furlong of ridge-and-furrow (for example, CUCAP, 8290/34-6, 43-7, 56-9 (26.6.50)). The pasture field to the south-west, between the surveyed earthworks and Quarrendon House Farm, is full of the well-preserved earthworks of ridge-and-furrow cultivation, only the north end of which is portrayed within the current survey plan.

Pottery finds were observed from the site during fieldwork, and specifically along the west bank of the stream at about 70-80m south of the bridge. They included Samian ware, and medieval and post-medieval sherds. Since they were not abraded, it seems more probable that the sherds were exposed by erosion of the bank than redeposited by the stream. They were not removed from the site. The large group of pottery recovered from disturbance to the surface in 1993 in the area marked 'l' on plan immediately west of the bridge confirms the presence and core date range of medieval occupation (above; Smith and Hunn 1993).

These earthworks present problems of both recording and interpretation, having been confused in places by land improvement and also by piecemeal drainage. The low-lying aspect of the site seems to have made it liable to flooding in winter along the stream, and this has resulted in the seasonal deposition of silts which has masked the earthworks, especially along its eastern fringe. More recently, infilling of some of the features on the west side of the field has taken place. A raised track running west-east across the earthworks was in the process of construction at the time of survey. This has involved the stripping of a swathe of topsoil along the course of the track and its subsequent filling with hardcore to a depth of 20-30cm in order to create a surface for heavy farm machinery.

A chronological depth can be demonstrated at specific points in the earthworks, typically by relationships between ridge-and-furrow cultivation, different phases of ditched closes and other features, but it cannot be readily extrapolated across the complex. For example, at 'm' a marked north-west to south-east ditch some 0.4m deep that reuses a furrow from the furlong to the south has been cut by a pronounced ditch 0.5m deep running south-west to north-east. Also, at 'n' the east side of a very pronounced curving ditch, 0.6m deep, cuts through and obliquely truncates a low bank and ditch to the east.

None of the small paddocks and enclosures implied by these ditches remained in existence until 1848. The tithe map shows the shape and extent of the field exactly as it is today (Bucks RO, AR 130/81). Nevertheless, in part they must represent that phase of agrarian activity based on grazing and fattening beef cattle, for which the Vale of Aylesbury was famous in the 18th and 19th cen-

turies and which is represented by the scatter of oxpens across this site (see below, 'early modern features').

That aside, the earthworks certainly represent a group of settlement remains, evidently of medieval and later date. The principal feature that gives them coherence is a battered hollow-way running west-east across the field from 'o' to the bridging point of the tributary stream. This is the right of way shown on the tithe map of 1848 and described as 'public road'. At 'o' it has been infilled by rubble but eastwards survives as a narrow ditch 0.4m deep with a fragment of ridge-and-furrow lying parallel with it on the south side. Some 50m east of 'o', it becomes deeper, wider and is more low-lying, and as a consequence has recently been infilled obliquely with topsoil. There are also a number of drains feeding into it. Further east the way is better preserved despite the presence of drains within it; and it continues as such until it is overlain by a modern track just short of the bridge. The tithe map shows the road continuing to the east as far as St Peter's church, before swinging gently north-east away from the site. Its westward continuation lies beyond the limits of the present survey in intensive modern arable land named on the tithe map as 'Little Ground'.

Lying along the south side of this hollow-way is an elongated triangular area, broadening westwards. This has no settlement features within it and seems plausibly interpreted as a green around which a small number of properties are loosely grouped. Perhaps four of these can be identified, none of them with the same clarity of developed form exhibited by most of the farmsteads within 'Quarrendon I' (see above). At 'p', a small rectangular enclosure, measuring 20m by 25m and over-

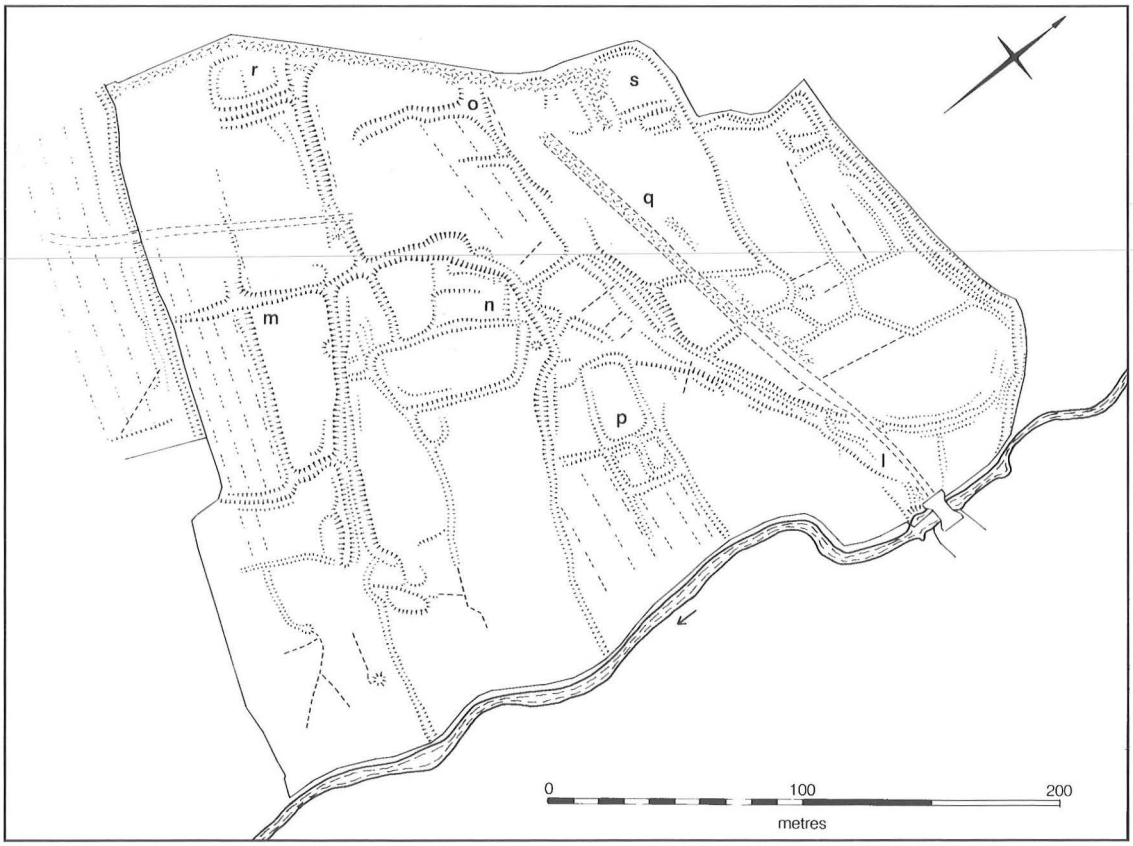

FIGURE 13 RCHME's surveyed plan of the western sector of the earthworks, including 'Quarrendon II' settlement remains, original at 1:1000

lying ridge-and-furrow, almost certainly marks the site of a building. To the west, fronting the green, it has an associated paddock or yard, measuring 35m by 20m. Remnants of other enclosures associated with it lie to the south and east.

At 'n', a rectangular hollow or yard entered from the north has banks or building platforms on its north and east, cut through by the curving ditch, and a good large platform at right angles to its west. Ditched closes to the east and south are associated with it. At 'r', a rectangular ditched platform, measuring 30m by 20m and subdivided in two, is of very similar form to 'p' and must be the site of a building. It has been obscured on the west side by the rubble for make-up of the farm road, and on the south by a dump of topsoil. Rectangular ditched closes lie associated with it to the south. The oxpen and paddock shown on the Tithe Award map lay immediately beyond the hedge to the north, now in arable. At 's' to the north of the hollow-way, the earthworks are less coherent or intelligible owing to dumps of rubble and soil. Nevertheless, they form an area 25m square defined by ditching and a pronounced bank or mound on the east, with perhaps a low platform to the south. A similar feature occupies the next field corner 60m to the north-east, its south and east sides marked by a spread bank up to 0.3m in height, with a shallow ditch to the east. Both these fragments may be peripheral to occupation now in arable in the re-entrant angle of the field boundary immediately to their north and west, which on the tithe map is an occupied dwelling described as 'four cottages with a garden' (Bucks RO, AR 130/81). Ditched closes to the south-east were presumably associated with this grouping.

This green-based settlement of at most a few properties (see Figure 19b), not all of which may have been occupied precisely contemporaneously, is not helpfully described simply as a 'deserted medieval village', as if it were the main element in a nucleated pattern of settlement. Rather more to the point, it may be thought of in the context of the hamlets and 'ends' that are known archaeologically (for example, Smith 1985; Gowing and Macdonald 1989; Everson 1995) and also as surviving elements of the Buckinghamshire settlement pattern. Along with 'Quarrendon I', it appears to be part of a form of dispersed settlement pattern in the parish and perhaps in the wider local area (see the 'Discussion' below).

St Peter's church (NMR no, SP 81 NW 6)

The site and remains of St Peter's church lie at SP 8009 1591, 't' on Figure 14. It is known from earlier recording to have comprised a chancel, nave, north aisle of equal length to the nave and separated from it by a three-bay arcade, south aisle of similar length and identical three-bay arcade, and south porch, with a wooden belfry tower over the west end of the nave (plan in NMR, Investigators' notes on Quarrendon parish, *Buckinghamshire 1 (south)*; see above, with Figures 4-10). The plan dimensions are recorded as:

Nave	40ft x 20ft
Chancel	21ft x 13ft
South Aisle	40ft x 8ft
North Aisle	40ft x 9ft 9in

(Bickersteth 1859-62, 24; compare RCHM(E) 1912, 273).

The building now survives above ground only in part. It was quite accurately orientated east-west. The ground plan can be traced in outline except for the south wall of the south aisle, which survives only as an amorphous stony bank up to 0.3m high. Otherwise the footings of the walls survive generally to about 0.6m in height, although the north wall of the north aisle still stands to 2.2m. There are two surviving buttresses within the length of the north aisle wall, two on the west wall of the nave, and diagonal buttresses at the north-east corner of the chancel and south-east angle of the south aisle. The walls are constructed of limestone ashlar of the local Portland or Purbeck type, with intermittent tile coursing. No trace remains of the arcades. No architectural detailing survives *in situ*.

A few architectural fragments were located during investigation within footings of former farm buildings within the moat at SP 8034 1580. These include a base and a fragment of window tracery, both evidently of late medieval date. They may confirm Sheahan's description of parts of the church being used to prop up pig sties in the 19th century (1862, 739). The process of robbing and destruction documented above under 'History of research' is likely to have led to similar functional reuse of the limestone masonry both on site and elsewhere in the district.

The church site and remains stand approximately centrally within a close or enclosure measuring approximately 80m north-south by 55m east-west,

which is presumably its former churchyard. This is defined by a low narrow bank that forms a coherent boundary along its east and north sides and for the north end of its west side, but southwards thence is lost in disturbance and dumping. Both north-west and north-east corners are markedly rounded. Along the south side of this enclosure at 'u' on plan is a very well formed building platform of long, narrow proportions, measuring approximately 15m wide by about 60m long. At its west end it is overlain by the site of a 19th century cottage, at 'v' on plan – presumably the one where a brass indent was reused as a hearthstone (see above for the documentation of this observation, and below 'Early modern features' for the cottage). This substantial platform abuts and is integrated with the formal garden layout to its south. It is a marginal candidate for the site of the Lees' 16th-century country house (see below); it could alternatively have been the site of some form of building related to the 16th-century gardens. More plausibly in view of its location on the southern edge of the churchyard and association with the church, and more appropriately to its quite distinctive long and narrow configuration, this platform might perhaps have been the site of a set of almshouses. Although they are otherwise undocumented, the inscription on Sir Henry Lee's monument claimed that he 'Reised the foundation of the adjoininge Hospitall', that is adjoining to the chapel (Chambers 1936, 305). If this is a correct interpretation, the almshouses had already gone by 1704, when Browne Willis looked for but failed to find any trace of 'a hospital' (Chambers 1936, 237). The potential interest and cultural significance of this proposed identification is discussed further below.

The same inscription's claim that Lee 'renued the Ruines of this Chapell', apparently in the aftermath of the disastrous flood of 1570 (Gomme 1891, 246, 333), might raise the question whether he was responsible for a substantial rebuilding or even a complete relocation of the chapel. The detailed evidence available argues decisively against either of these. Though quite regular in plan, the building was not actually symmetrical as a new creation of a single date might have been. The buttressing was a mixture of types. The recorded mouldings of the arcade capitals and labels would be consistent with a late 13th-century date ascribed by RCHM(E) (1912, 273; NMR, Investigators' notes; Figure 10). This might correspond broadly to the date of the Decorated window said to have formed the east window of the north aisle (Bickersteth 1859-62, 26). At least one of the square-headed windows in the north aisle had square cusped tracery characteristic of the period extending two decades either side of 1400 (Figures 8 and 10). The fenestration of the south aisle shown in the engravings may have been similar, and is anyway of general Perpendicular type, along with other features including the south porch and perhaps east chancel window. The large west window of the nave is said to have been 15th-century, too (Figure 9). In short, the evidence shows a building of complex accretive development over several centuries. The most clearcut evidence of 16th-century alteration, apart from the armorial glass and major monuments in the chancel, is the raising of the roofs of both the south porch and nave under a tiled covering, all shown in the early 19th-century engravings (Figures 4 and 6). The earlier view also shows domestic-style windows, probably of 16th-century date, in the south clerestory. Interestingly, the contemporary interior view (Figure 5) shows the wooden roof-structure of the superseded low-pitched Perpendicular roof apparently retained as a ceiling to the open roof above. If this was Lee's work, it may have afforded him reuse of lead stripped from the earlier roof.

What seems clear, however, is that the ruins of St Peter's do indeed occupy a long-established ecclesiastical site, with claims to burial rights (Foster 1931, no 85), located in a distinctive, low-lying situation. This was a 'given' in the landscape, that in the later 16th century was taken into the elaborate gardens created by Sir Henry Lee and made to form part of them.

Post-medieval country house and gardens

The earthwork remains of a grand country house and its accompanying formal gardens dating from the 16th and 17th centuries (Figures 14 and 19c) occupy the whole central section of the surveyed site. This elaborate complex – an outstanding survival of its date and type in England – occupies an area extending approximately 500m east-west and 380m north-south, that amounts to over 9ha (22.5 acres) in extent. It incorporates and encapsulates the pre-existing site of St Peter's church (described above). The location is relatively flat and low-lying at 73m (240 feet) above OD on the east side of the north-south tributary stream that joins the river

FIGURE 14 RCHME's surveyed plan of the central sector of the earthworks, including the site of St Peter's church, moated enclosure and formal garden earthworks; original at 1:1000

Thame at right angles little more than 100m to the south.

The whole complex has a coherence and internal logic of layout that suggests it was essentially a single creation. Its superimposition on earlier arrangements is confirmed by the way the moat at its east end – characterised below as the location of the main house – blocks at 'd' the main hollow-way of the former settlement remains lying on the hillslope to the east.

Location of the house: moated enclosure (NMR no, SP 81 NW 15)

Antiquarian (and modern) literature tends to describe the site of Sir Henry Lee's mansion as lying to the south of St Peter's church (for example OS 1879). This is no more than a general indication, acknowledging the eye-catching scale of the raised garden walks that lie immediately south of the church site. Nevertheless, identification of the exact site of the house has been perceived as a problematical issue.

There are no obvious foundations within the garden area dominated by the raised walks, and no obvious candidate location there, for a great house. Foundations and hard standing at 'v' are the remains of a cottage and at 'w' of an oxpen, both shown on early large-scale Ordnance Survey mapping (for example OS 1879; Figure 17). The long narrow building platform at 'u' on the south side of the former churchyard, its west end overlain by the foundations at 'v', is the only possible candidate. But it is limited in scale, awkward in location and has a far more plausible interpretation as the platform for a set of almshouses (see above). The most obvious location for the great house is actually within the moated enclosure at the east end of the complex (centre SP 8033 1581). The documentary evidence makes it possible that the moat originated in the early 16th century, as the residence successively of Sir Robert and then of Sir Anthony Lee, and that the developed gardens were added to it later in the 16th century.

The moat itself is not exceptionally large, but has a series of distinctive characteristics (Figure 14). In plan, it is an irregular rectangle, almost a wedge shape tapering eastwards, with sides measuring an average of 110m by 95m. The south arm aligns closely with the north side of the main garden to the west; the north arm aligns with the conjectured access way along the north side of the complex (see the discussion of 'Access' below). The moat is now dry in summer, and survives up to 1m deep with an average width of 18m lip to lip. The island measures 80m by 55m and is not significantly raised above the surrounding ground surface. Original access is via a causeway 8m in width placed off-centre to the south within the west side.

Superficially, the moat platform has been rather badly disturbed by the presence of a working farm on it – Church Farm – and by its subsequent demolition and removal. Traces of some of the farm buildings, including a small rectangular yard, survive as concrete and brick footings, nowhere standing to more than three or four courses high (0.3m). Blocks of limestone are visible in these footings: though the majority show no sign of architectural detail, they include a base and a section of window tracery both of late medieval date. These are all presumed to have come from the church.

The dwelling house of Church Farm formerly stood south-east of the centre of the moat platform, at approximately SP 8034 1578, at 'x' on plan, on a north-north-east to south-south-west orientation in sympathy with the west edge of the platform (OS 1879; Figure 16). Its ground plan as recorded by RCHM(E) investigators in July 1911 (NMR, Investigators' notes; Figure 15) makes no sense as the plan of a farmhouse constructed for that purpose. Its fabric was timber-framed and brick, with a tiled roof and 'old' chimney (ibid; additional details in Hollis 1910-6), which was assessed as of early 17th-century date. It seems probable that this was but a surviving fragment of Sir Henry Lee's great house, retained to form a tenanted farm when the greater part was demolished at the beginning of the 18th century. Lee's house, from the space available on the moated platform, might have been of quadrangular form.

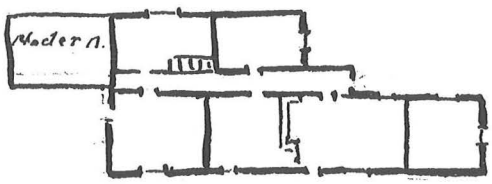

FIGURE 15 Plan of Church Farm farmhouse at Quarrendon in July 1911, reproduced from NMR, Investigators' notes on Quarrendon parish, Buckinghamshire 1 (south)

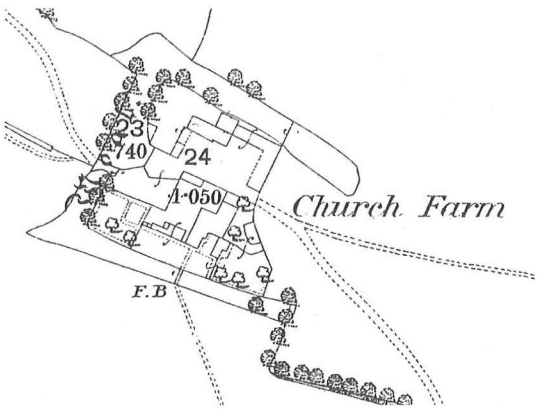

FIGURE 16 Plan of Church Farm farmstead at Quarrendon reproduced from OS 1879

Some of the material from the demolition of the farm has evidently been dumped into the moat, especially on the north and east sides, which appear pushed and obscured. The east side has also been infilled by a combination of hill-wash from the field to the east, and by routine access of farm traffic from this direction from at least the mid 19th century. The swathe of disturbed earthworks to the south-east of the moat represents the impact of this access. It is shown as a track on the tithe map of 1848 and on large-scale Ordnance Survey mapping. According to the present farmer, whose father occupied Church Farm, this arrangement continued until well into this century. This combination has graded the outer lip of the ditch. In addition, old farm machinery and other rubbish have encroached on the inner lip of the west arm of the moat. The moat has been further altered by the creation of a beast pond within the north-west corner. A spread of rubble and stone immediately north of this may indicate the presence of a building. Along the south side, the moat platform is less disturbed and traces of limestone revetment are visible at 'y' on plan.

Two massive external banks lie along the north and south sides of the moat. Both are superfluous as effective water-retaining features. They stand to between 0.8m and 1.2m in height. They are flat-topped and have a double outer scarp creating a stepped effect. Such elaboration suggests either that they have had some form of external revetment that has been robbed away, or that they are for an ornamental purpose. The width of the northern external bank tapers markedly westwards, from a top something like 14m broad in the east to as little as 3m at its west end. Its slightly scalloped outer scarp suggests that this is the result of later removal of construction material from a structure which, like its equivalent to the south, was originally of generally even width throughout (see the explanation proposed below under 'Early modern features'). No equivalent feature is traceable on the east side. On the west side the very battered remains of a bank are visible, best preserved to the north of the entrance causeway, where it stands up to 0.7m high.

The moat was evidently fed into its north-west corner by a channel now represented by a dyke occupied by the modern hedgeline approaching from the north-east. This may have been supplemented from the south-east by a dyke that doglegs around the former Little Ground, picking up water from the slope of the ridge in that direction. There was an outlet at the south-west corner, where a channel some 2.5m in width and much recut runs off westwards into the canal on the east side of the raised terrace of the main garden compartment

Formal garden earthworks (NMR no, SP 81 NW 7)

The formal garden earthworks extend to the west and south-west of the moated country house and form a remarkable complex made up of a series of principal components, notably a water garden and a main compartment characterised by massive raised terraces (Figure 14). Their coherence is indicated by their interlocking and mutually interrelated alignments.

Immediately along the west side of the moated site, an area in front of the entrance causeway lacks the distinctive and strongly marked earthworks found further west and south-west. Such earthworks as there are lie in sympathy with the alignments of the neighbouring areas but are lost in dumped rubble and other disturbance, including a slurry heap and (in July 1990) erection of fenced enclosures for pheasant rearing. RAF vertical air photographs record earlier disturbance from the construction of a pipeline of World War II date, but in contrast to the outer garden area further south-west the specific effects of this are not identifiable. It may be that this area represented some form of entrance court, accessed from the north as well as from the west. Together with the complex of ponds and islands to the west, this formed a single land

parcel in 1848, called 'The Oxpen' (Bucks RO, AR 130/81).

Next to the west and lying along the north edge of the layout is a complex of ponds and islands making up a water garden at 'z'. In detail, this comprises a string of three square islands measuring an average of 20m by 20m. A channel some 8-10m in width and up to 1.2m deep, with a broad flat-topped external embankment or walk very marked along its north side, surrounds the islands. At the east end the external feature appears slightly stepped outwards. Along the west side it is higher and narrower, functioning also as a dam, but turning the south-west corner it widens to 6-7m and eases out eastwards some two-thirds of the distance along the south side opposite the north-east corner of the main raised terrace to the south. In places the channel appears to have been recut and deepened, although this has not taken place between the islands, where the dip is only 0.5m deep and might originally have been separate small ponds. No detail was recoverable from the islands owing to their recent use as the site of pheasant rearing pens: additional height on the most easterly island is the result of this.

Overall this layout is slightly wedge-shaped like the moat to its east. But its ruling alignments seem to be those of its straight west side with the west end of the raised terrace of the main garden compartment to its south, and of its straight south side lying parallel with that terrace and together aligning with the off-set entrance to the moat to the east.

The strip to the south has been disturbed by the insertion of a modern track that runs the length of this part of the site. This process has entailed the dumping of a considerable amount of rubble, which has obscured the earthworks. However, it seems that a low external terrace ran along the south side of the arrangement of islands, on the north side of and above the canal north of the raised terrace of the main garden compartment. This would have created a stepped effect to enhance the appearance of the islands when seen from the main terrace, but principally served to carry the main axial access (see below; Figure 19c).

The main garden compartment lies south of St Peter's church and in its raised terraces includes the most massive and visually prominent earthworks within the surveyed site. These are surrounded, inside and outside, by long canals and linear ponds, which encompass and form a principal part of the garden design. The sheer size and elaboration of the terraces have caused them to be misinterpreted as military earthworks, specifically of Civil War date (Ordnance Survey Record Card, SP 81 NW 7, picking up the discussion by Allcroft 1908, 479, 553, 610).

The terraces are characteristically flat-topped and very broad – with minor variations 10-12m wide – and stand up to 2.2m high. They form three sides, north, east and south, of a rectangle that, like the moat and water garden, is slightly splaying westwards. The north arm is 60m long, the east arm 120m, and the south arm 180m. They are therefore so proportioned as to be in the ratio 1: 2: 3. Taken with their evidently finished state structurally, this evidence of proportions confirms that the terraced layout is *not* incomplete as it might at first sight appear. It may be understood as an angled raised garden or walk of the grandest sort, just as contemporary gardens had angled as well as straight water features or canals (for example Everson 1989).

Along the top of the terraces, fine detail can be traced in the form of raised platforms and ramps or slight changes of level. Large, low L-shaped platforms are visible at the north-east and south-east angles of the terrace. In both cases there appears to be extra height along their western halves, which might suggest the former existence of structures facing one another along the north-south canal that lies along the inner, west side of the east terrace. Rather more clearly, there are well-marked low platforms at the two ends of the terrace – the west end of the north arm and the west end of the south arm – which suggest the former presence of garden buildings or raised viewing locations. A quite similar, sub-rectangular platform measuring 10m by 5m and 0.3m high located at 60m west of the east end of the south terrace appears to indicate a similar structure. Here, it mirrors the feature on the west end of the north arm in a formal way. This might be taken to suggest a phased development of the terraced layout, in which a primary, symmetrical arrangement of the north arm plus east arm plus eastern third of the south arm was subsequently extended by a westward elongation of the south arm. However, the slight westwards drop in level at this platform one-third of the way along the south terrace is matched by a pronounced west-facing scarp two-thirds of the way along – at 60m from the west end of the terrace. Together these give this terrace a tripartite, shallowly stepped profile. This

rigid proportionality tends to emphasise the unity of the layout.

Canals, now largely dry, surround all arms of the raised terraces on both inside and out, effectively turning them into islands (Figure 19c). Access presumably was via ornamental bridges, of which no certain traces survive unless ramping and irregularities on the north side of the west end of the north arm and/or on the north side of the north-east corner reflect that. Either or both might be plausible points of access in relation to the overall layout. The canals around the terraces are notably regular in form, with a width of 12m from lip to lip and an average depth of 0.8m below the surrounding ground surface. That along the outside of the south arm, forming a canal 180m long, has a broad low bank throughout the length of its south side, which effectively acts as a dam for the whole system. There was evidently provision for water to feed southwards from a point rather east of its centre into the channels that form parts of the garden compartments to the south (see below); the outflow currently provided by a dyke from the south-east corner may have afforded an alternative outlet.

The exception to this uniformity is the canal along the north side of the west half of the south terrace, west of the diagonal embankment. This is only 5m wide and in form only a channel by comparison with the substantial water features described so far. It passes round the north-west end of the south terrace to link into the by-pass channel around the west side of the gardens.

To the west of the terminal of the north raised terrace, the inner canal increases in width from 12m to 20m along the south side of the marked elongated building platform at 'u', provisionally interpreted as the site of almshouses along the south side of the churchyard (see above). To the west of the disturbance caused by the late building complex at 'v', the broad canal continues in a rather less well-defined and perhaps damaged form for some 30m. It then turns sharply south-west and narrows to an even width of 10m between well-formed internal and external banks. It then turns through neat right angles north-west then south-west to link into a broad ditch or pond lying for 70m along the west side of the garden. Two ditched channels feed into this from the north; but the superimposition of a deeply ditched hedgeline rather obscures the original form of this pond and of a second one perhaps lying at right angles south-east from its south end along the south side of 'w'. This link completes the circuit to the west end of the south terrace. Though the detail of original ponds and channels here is unclear, a prominent external bank standing to 1m and more in height is traceable around the west edge of the garden layout, matching its configuration. It approaches the west end of the south terrace, then turns southwards around the southern outer garden compartment. It evidently acted both as a flood defence in the winter months against the stream-side meadows and to contain a by-pass channel for the garden's water system. This continues south from the west end of the south terrace as an earthwork occupied by the large hedge dyke, then east (with the hedge dyke taking an alternative course) to the main outlet channel from the garden complex at 'aa'.

The area defined by these water features is of a planned, geometrical configuration but differs in form and alignment between its east and west ends. It contains one major feature and many minor ones represented by slight and, to an extent, amorphous earthworks.

The major internal feature is an embanked canal set diagonally across the enclosed core of the garden. It takes the form of two precisely parallel banks, each with narrow but flattish tops, flanking a channel 6-8m wide. The banks are not symmetrical: that on the east is generally about 0.5m high with a slightly narrower top than that on the west, which is generally about 0.75m high and whose top at 3-4m across is more like a raised walk. It also has had lines of formal planting along its flanks. Tree stumps, recorded as elms and said to have been felled in the late 1970s, form a ragged avenue that is recorded on early aerial photography. Though not as massive as the surrounding terracing, this is a substantial feature cutting a swathe nearly 20m broad across the layout. Its eccentric alignment, lying at an angle of about 65° to the north internal canal, at first sight makes it appear an intrusion. Nevertheless the minimum stratigraphic evidence of the field remains shows that:

1. The building and close at 'bb', recorded in existence in 1848 (Bucks RO, AR 130/81), are contemporary with or more probably post-date the embankment (though see a suggested functional relationship in the 'Discussion' below).

2. Tree-ring counts on the elm stumps gave an approximate planting date of 1830, which gives a *terminus ante quem* for construction of the embankment.

Other considerations may urge the feature's integrity with the layout. For example, its north end is located opposite the west end of the almshouse platform; on the north side of the south terrace, the change from canal to the east to a mere channel to the west coincides with the south end of this feature; there is no sign of the slight features recorded east of the embanked diagonal finding correspondence or continuity with the analogous features to its west, as would be expected were it a late intrusion. Furthermore, there is no plausible historical context outside the Lees' occupation of the great house for construction of such a feature.

The internal platform of the garden enclosure to the east of the embanked diagonal is bounded by a spread bank nowhere more than 0.3m high following the inner lip of the canal. Yet it is practically continuous, except for a stretch of about 30m on the south side where it is broken and narrowed by a shallow dip running out to the canal and in the north-west by a slight circular mound with a surrounding dip. Either might be a later intrusion. The most coherent feature is a shallow north-south pond, 'cc' on plan, which measures 45m by 12m and appears to be aligned northwards on the short stretch of north-south canal and the access way beyond, and perhaps southwards on the platform on the south terrace. Otherwise much of the slight scarping lies in north-south and east-west alignments, in sympathy with the boundary canals, and with this pond, as if forming residual traces of a coherent but only slightly marked configuration.

To the west of the embanked diagonal canal, there is further later disturbance, represented by the building at 'bb', the oxpen in the south-west corner at 'w', and a thorn hedge running north-east from it. These apart, there is a good, slightly stepped, rectangular platform measuring 30m x 15m at 'dd' that conforms to the rectangular orientation of this end of the enclosure. Other long, slight slopes extend this general conformity in rectangular plots south and east. Exceptionally, traces of a shallow rectangular pond at 'ee', measuring 40m by 15m, lie at right angles to the west side of the diagonal embankment and appear to align on the west end of the south terrace.

Outside this main garden compartment, other features form ancillary components of the overall layout.

1. In the north-west, a plot at 'ff' on plan is defined on its south side by the dog-legged formal canal. Its north side perpetuates the overall east-west alignment of the north side of the garden. The plot thereby defined is surrounded by a low flat-topped bank of a regular 2.5-3m width. There are slightly raised platforms at its north-west and north-east corners, though without direct evidence for structures. A series of low parallel banks and dips beyond it to the north are overlain by a recent linear dump of rubble and are of uncertain function.
2. To the south of the main south raised terrace is a bipartite adjunct or outer garden, lying downslope of it and viewable from it. It is divided into two compartments of different character by the north-south main outflow from the main garden's water system. This takes the form of a straight embanked channel some 7m in width, until it links into the modern dyke network at 'aa' and continues due south into the river Thame within 100m.

The western compartment is a large, generally featureless, rectangular plot measuring 65m by 90m. It is defined on the west side by the by-pass channel and external bank: the channel forms a continuous feature turning east in a degraded form in the adjacent field to reach 'aa' at right angles to the outflow. The south side of this compartment is occupied by a large rectangular pond at 'gg', measuring 70m by 20m and with the present dyked hedgeline running east to west through its southern half. The feed, as indicated by the hedgeline, was from the by-pass channel in the west and at the east end is a substantial dam, rather degraded by the passage of the modern dyke, perpetuating the outlet. On its south side is a flat-topped embankment, which lies in the adjacent field and has been smoothed by land improvement. On its north side a similar, very broad flat-topped embankment has a slight circular mound, 0.2m high, at the midpoint of its north edge. Three north-south internal divisions of minimum elevation divide the bed of the pond into four equal sections.

The eastern compartment is full of low ridging, disturbed obliquely by a linear band 5m wide that is reportedly the line of Pipeline Pluto dating from the Second World War (local information). This may be residual ridge-and-furrow ploughing, truncated and overlain by the whole formal garden complex; alternatively it might be orchard ridging within this compartment. It is certainly overlain by a second and unusual water feature at 'hh' on plan, occupying the north-west corner of the compartment. Previously this feature has been categorised as a Civil War redoubt, ancillary to the alleged Civil War military interpretation of the terraced walks to its north (Ordnance Survey Record Card, SP 81 NW 7). Superficially, it resembles a pond, being retained by pronounced, steep-sided banks on its east and west sides. These are generally up to 0.7m high, but the western one is narrower, neater and less irregularly lumpy than that on the east. However, the south or downslope bank lying at right angles to the prominent pair is only 0.3m high and ill suited to ponding back water in any effective way in relation to them. In addition, there is a much slighter double outer channel, separated by a low flattish bank, running along the east side and across the south end. Unless this is some elaborate form of by-pass channel, it tends to confirm that the objective of the feature is not so much to pond water as to have it passing through, albeit slowly. Slight mounding of soil centrally within the south end of the ostensible pond might even suggest that a further linear bank has been removed in an alteration, in a development that could account for the elevation and lumpiness of the eastern bank. An original configuration of low parallel banks separated by watery channels could have underpinned the cultivation of a specialist crop or even provided a context for wildfowl.

3. The neatly rectangular area, 'ii' on plan, lying east of the main terraced garden and south of the moated residence, had the field name 'Little Ground' in contrast to the 'Great Ground' of the large field east of the residence (Bucks RO, AR 130/81). It may have formed part of the formally designed context of the 16th-century country house, but it lies in established arable within which no distinctive features have been recorded.

Perhaps the group of field names – 'Banks and Hop Yard, Church Yard, Paradise Orchard' – in 1754 apply to the area of the former gardens (Oxfordshire Archives Office, DIL X/g/15).

Water supply

The formal garden earthworks were full of water features (Figure 19c), and water control and management systems were a necessary and integral part of the site layout. As elsewhere with formal garden layouts of this date, a secure, controlled water supply was ensured by off-site works (English Heritage 1997, 5, 11). At Quarrendon, as noted in discussing the site location and topography above, this took the form of a header-leat-cum-catchwater-drain of over 1.5km in length that took water off the tributary stream in the valley to the north and augmented it by picking up watercourses from the hills to the east (Figure 18). This arrangement – a considerable archaeological feature in its own right – survives embedded in the modern landscape as functioning drains and dyked hedgelines. It had the additional intended result of converting a large area of former floodplain north of the site, previously liable to winter inundations of the sort that caused (for example) the loss of 3000 head of sheep, cattle and horses in 1570, into rich grazing meadow.

This header leat delivers a reliable water supply to the site along a dyked hedgerow to the point immediately north-west of St Peter's church, 'jj' on plan, where the broad access road terminates. From here, existing and earthwork dykes show that there were options to return water due west to the tributary stream along either side of the broad access road, or into the by-pass network around the west sides of the gardens, or (presumably) directly into the garden complex from the north. Though the field evidence is not clear in detail, this might have been round the west side of the churchyard, as apparently in the 19th century (Bucks RO, AR 130/81; OS 1879); or around its east side where a narrow channel or ditch runs outside the bank bounding the churchyard and opens south into the canal; or both.

The main outflow of the whole water system of the site lay as described above, in the centre of its south side at 'aa'. The control exercised by the internal site arrangements, returning water directly into the Thame rather than into the tributary steam, had a similar effect to that described above for the floodplain north of the site of converting the narrow floodplain west and south-west of the site to

grazing meadow. Overall, therefore, through these measures of water control the impact of the 16th-century country house and its gardens was not solely on the site itself but in remaking the appearance and use of the wider landscape of the tributary valley.

Access

Both the overall arrangement of the elements of the 16th-century site – with the enclosed, park-like 'Great Ground' and Warren (see below) occupying its eastern flank – and its details, such as the fact that the entrance causeway to the moat is in its west side, argue generally that access to Sir Henry Lee's country house at Quarrendon in the later 16th century was from the west.

Specifically (Figures 14 and 19c), the approach from the west was over the north-south tributary stream via a predecessor to the present breeze-block and concrete bridge. Leland refers to a stone bridge over this 'brook' earlier in the 16th century (Toulmin Smith 1964, vol 2, 110). An impressively wide causeway, some 10m broad between flanking dykes, carries the access route straight east for about 80m. A visual end-point to this alignment is provided by the west end of St Peter's church, and views are afforded north and south over the improved grazing lands of the tributary valley and south-east over the terraced gardens to Aylesbury. The access way, still broad and dyked on either side, then turns a few degrees north to pass round the north side of the churchyard. An axial view is afforded immediately on the right, through the churchyard between church and (conjectured) almshouses, between the water garden and the north arm of the raised terrace, directly to the great house in the moat. Beyond, the rising ground has the Warren mounds (described below) outlined on the skyline. At the end of the access way, the view opens out to the north-east to the hilly country around Weedon, but the approach continued around the north side of the churchyard, then at right angles south along the churchyard boundary into the garden complex. Here, a change in alignment of the modern field boundary suggests the site of an entrance. From this point, a flat way passes north-south between the churchyard boundary and the west end of the water garden complex. The visitor's view half right displays the east end of the church and the (conjectured) almshouses, and straight ahead gives a glimpse into the main garden compartment along the short north-south stretch of canal, the pond at 'cc' on this axis, perhaps to a garden structure on the terrace beyond. Finally, a right-angled turn east at the south-west corner of the water garden 'z' gives access to a well engineered way, consolidated by a modern, hard-cored farm track, directly to the causewayed entrance to the moat, which is offset in its west side to fit this alignment.

The continuation eastwards from the churchyard of a broad, low bank along the edge of the field to the north suggests that there may have been an alternative access route that by-passed the formal gardens completely. It passed along the north side of the water garden and turned south into the area immediately west of the moated residence at a point approximately perpetuated in the modern farming access. Even this alternative alignment of approach afforded views straight ahead, east along the water-filled north arm of the moat and into 'Great Ground' with the warren mounds on the skyline.

Approach from the west makes sense also in relation to the contemporary main road system. For until the 18th century and the turnpiked improvement of what is now the A413 Buckingham Road from Aylesbury, the main road to Buckingham left Aylesbury westwards and with the road to Bicester and Banbury crossed the river Thame at Stone Bridge. Only then did it strike north via Blackgrove and East Claydon to Buckingham, as shown on John Ogilby's road map of 1675 (Scott and McLaughlin 1984, XIV-XV; Reed 1979, 214). The approach by turning off this main route is presumably perpetuated in the established bridleway passing through the settlement remains of 'Quarrendon II' lying west of the stream.

'Great Ground' and the Warren

The distinctively large field lying to the east of the moated residence, named 'Great Ground' in 1848 (Bucks RO, AR 130/81), formerly extended south to the water meadows along the River Thame to an undivided total area of some 23.5ha (58 acres). It contained the medieval settlement remains known as 'Quarrendon I' (described above), but by the 16th century these were deserted. It then formed a park-like adjunct to the Lees' country house, the greater part of it lying on the west-facing hill slopes east of the house and therefore within its direct view.

The Warren (NMR no, SP 81 NW 8)

The principal earthworks in this field contemporary with the country house are a complex of well preserved pillow mounds, which together with the shallow drainage ditches that interlink them and define a series of elongated closes around them make up a rabbit warren (Figures 2, 12 and 19c).

The warren occupies a skyline position when viewed from the house and gardens below, on the pronounced ridge some 350-400m east of the house at 76m above OD. Generally the mounds occupy either the top of the ridge or the west-facing slope just below, and are thus well drained. Natural drainage is assisted by the network of shallow ditches surrounding them and running off downslope, or by siting on earlier features to assist drainage. The ridge-top position also makes the complex a skyline feature when viewed from Aylesbury across the Thame valley. This location, together with the segmented morphology of the linear mounds, has led to their erroneous interpretation as military field works of Civil War date – a misinterpretation apparently originating with Hadrian Allcroft (Allcroft 1908, 604; RCHM(E) 1912, 273).

The mounds fall morphologically into three distinct types (Figure 12).

1. Individual circular mounds, typically about 10m in diameter with a shallow surrounding ditch. The example at 'kk' on plan consists of a disturbed sub-circular mound standing to 1m in height. It lies on the east side of, and overlies, the pronounced hollow-way of the medieval settlement, which aids its drainage. A slight ditch, 0.2m deep, runs in from the east from the ditch surrounding the adjacent elongated mound. That at 'll', 90m to the south-east, is very similar, with a diameter of 12m and height of 0.8m. It has its own slight ditch around its west side but uses a larger curving boundary ditch on the east.
2. Individual elongated mounds, typically about 20-30m in length and with an external ditch. There are three examples, all lying close to the pair of circular mounds. At 'mm' the mound is 30m in length, stands 1m high, is orientated north-west to south-east and is surrounded by a shallow, continuous ditch. It is disturbed by a shallow crossways trench or cut dividing it asymmetrically. At 'nn' the mound is only 22m in length, 1m high, is orientated a little off east-west and is surrounded by a shallow continuous ditch. It, too, has a slight trench across its top, placed asymmetrically towards the west end. At 'oo', the most southerly of the group, the mound is 38m in length, a little over 0.5m high, and is orientated west-north-west to east-south-east. It is built on top of an existing bank, which supplies most of its height. The pre-existing ditch affords it drainage around the north side, while a shallow ditch surviving around its west end formerly continued around the south side of the mound but has now been filled by modern ploughing encroaching from the south.
3. Multiple linear mounds, called 'segmented' by Williamson and Loveday (1988, 294), with overall lengths of 70m or more and a continuous external ditch. Three strings of these, two of them surviving as surveyed earthworks and the third now under plough, are laid out in a zigzag or chevron arrangement.

The central arm, 'pp' on plan, consists of a slightly sinuous linear mound, orientated north-east to south-west, about 0.4m high, some 145m in length and flanked by wide external ditches 0.3 deep. It has suffered some encroachment and infilling on the south-east side by modern ploughing. A wide gap or flattening of the mound approximately mid-way along its length divides it into two sections each of 70m, but this seems to be an intrusion caused by latter-day farm access to the field to the south-east. The mound has been divided into irregular segments of between 10m and 20m in length by narrow trenches cut cleanly through it. The spoil from this activity has been pushed through into the ditch on the south-east side, where it is visible as slight mounding on either side of the trench. This argues that it is a secondary activity. The south-west end of this arm abuts on the mound at 'bb' and its associated ditches. Though no clear-cut relationship is discernible, the linear mound seems to be later.

The northern arm, 'rr' on plan, comprises a linear mound now 70m in length, standing to 1m in height and flanked by well-preserved, broad external ditches. It is sharply defined and flat-topped, though disturbed by animal scrapes, and is orientated north-west to south-east. It is divided into four segments each of approximately equal length, about 15m. The segments

are separated by sharp cuts through the mound, which were made after the mound was constructed; spoil has been deposited in small heaps on either side of the mound. Despite this process the ditch is continuous and may have been cleared out or re-cut. At its south-east end the mound has been truncated by perhaps 5m of its original length, probably by long-standing farming activity. This mound is drained from its north-west end by a dog-legged ditch running downslope, that is both rather more substantial than its immediate neighbours and lies at a slight angle to them and to the underlying ridge-and-furrow recorded on both its north-east and south-west sides.

The south-east end of this northern arm sits close to the north-east end of the central arm. No clear stratigraphic relationship between the two can be deduced. But the slight variation in alignment of the northern arm and its relatively more massive size and sharper definition might together suggest that it is at least a phased addition.

A third arm lay at right angles to the south-west end of the central arm, to the south, at 'ss' on plan. It survived in pasture at least into the later 1960s (for example CUCAP, SH 4-5 (8.4.1956); Beresford and Hurst 1958, fig 45; 1979, fig 47), but latterly has been under arable cultivation, within which only limited aspects proved depictable through the current ground survey. This arm was orientated north-west to south-east. Its south end lay some 70m south of the central arm but the linear mound itself apparently was only approximately 50m long and divided into three segments leaving a gap equivalent to one segment between its north end and the south-west end of the central arm. This arm overlay ridge-and-furrow cultivation lying on the same orientation and occupying the whole south-east facing slope of the ridge. It had a continuous, broad and shallow surrounding ditch, and otherwise in overall form and scale appears to have resembled the northern arm more than the low, neat central arm.

Functionally rather than morphologically, these mounds fall into two distinct groups. The individual ones, whether round or elongated, are organised in a close grouping occupying a generally triangular configuration. The elongated mounds, presumably deliberately, adopt a variety of orientations; and, if the network of shallow ditches sustained any sort of barrier, the layout could be read as a pattern where each individual mound had an attached small enclosure. Nevertheless, clearly the overriding aspect of this group of individual mounds is that they – and especially the close northern triangle of three – occupy a very prominent skyline location when viewed from the house and garden, and the low land more generally to their west.

The three linear mounds apparently evidence a quite different, perhaps larger-scale and more purposeful, approach to producing and managing rabbits, similar to that most clearly evidenced in the archaeological record through warrens of the early modern period (Beresford and Hurst 1979, 68-72; Probert 1989). Whether the difference between the two groups does in fact constitute a significant chronological development for the Quarrendon warren, or rather reflects a functional or organisational difference within it, is far from clear. For the central arm of the linear mounds and the pattern of closes defined by the evidently contemporary shallow ditches lying north-west and downslope of it sit quite conformably with the group of individual mounds and its closes. The central linear occupies a similar, albeit less prominent, skyline location, and the closes to north-west, with their smoothed traces of ridge-and-furrow, may have formed the 'lawn' on which the rabbits fed, equally within view of the house and gardens. It seems likely that the distinctive square plot beyond the north end of the central arm and in the angle of the parish boundary may have had a function as an adjunct to the warren: it contains ridging of a length normally too short to plough. The large rectangular plot downslope of it, overlying ridge and furrow and with a small close or building plot in its west corner may also be part of the warren. The whole Warren is thereby defined as occupying a large, slightly wedge-shaped area, extending some 300m along the top and slope of the ridge and some 180m tapering to 90m wide (Figure 19c). Its downslope boundary was formed by the prominent, straight ditch or way along the rear of the settlement closes, with a dog-leg halfway at 'i', and the main hollow-way from 'tt' on plan to the south-west.

This Warren can be understood to have developed in three phases: first, the group of individual mounds; second, the central linear; third, the north and south arms. But arguably the most clearcut and

distinctive of these is the third stage – namely the addition of the northern linear arm on a different scale and at a slight skew within the complex plus the addition of the southern linear arm outside its defined area and beyond the skyline from the great house. This might be seen as the commercial development of what had previously been a designed ancillary to a great house.

There are traces within the earthworks of possible sites of structures associated with the warren. One is the plot on the east side of the hollow-way at 'tt' on plan. It has a shallow hollow, perhaps a yard, in its west end, a well-formed platform in its upper east end and a large hollow at its south corner that might be a pond. But the most plausible location for something as substantial as a warrener's house and lodge is at 'i' on plan, where a group of three clearly defined platforms is integrated with a dogleg in the warren boundary. These two alternatives could in practice represent contemporary structures with complementary functions: one an ornamental lodge in the manner of the triangular lodge at Rushton in Northamptonshire (Stocker and Stocker 1996), the other a practical warrener's house. The location of a further structure may be indicated by the way the ditch that goes downslope from the north-west end of the northern linear mound at 'rr' doglegs, and by traces of a platform in the angle.

There is no direct evidence for the date of this warren. Nevertheless its context clearly lies in the appurtenances and setting of the 16th-century country house of the Lee family. Certainly, Sir Henry Lee in 1579 made a gift of a pair of does to Lord Burghley (Chambers 1936, 47) – something that was presumably both available to him and which he thought appropriate to himself. As early as 1607, Sir Henry leased land including the 'Upper Warren' to an Aylesbury butcher, Richard Gaunt (Oxfordshire Archives Office, DIL X/g/1). Later leases refer to a close called 'The Warren' (ibid, DIL X/g/2, 3, 4, 12, 13, 14), and in 1754 to 'Warren House Close' and 'Lower Warren' (ibid, DIL X/g/15). It is not impossible that the warren survived the disuse and even demolition of the great house since it could have had a commercial value and viability throughout the 17th century at least.

Other features

The Warren and the large enclosure lying to the east of the moated residence, whose 19th-century field-name was 'Great Ground' (Bucks RO, AR 130/81), and their relationship to the 16th-century country house are discussed immediately above. Several other features among the earthworks in this field probably relate to that period rather than belonging with the earlier settlement remains of 'Quarrendon I'.

At 'b' on plan (Figure 12), sited within the main junction of hollow-ways of the settlement remains, is a large bi-partite mound measuring 25m by 11m overall. Its east end stands to 1.5m in height and has a flattish top like a building platform, which is quite circular and dished to the centre. Air photographs in optimum conditions suggest a wall foundation around the top. There is no surrounding ditch. This has previously been interpreted as a windmill mound (Ordnance Survey Record Card), though its positioning for that is bizarre and its form unconvincing. Despite a superficial similarity with the nearby warren mounds, it differs from them in most specific details and lies outside the warren and away from a skyline location. Its most plausible interpretation in the context is as a dovecote, similar perhaps to the surviving 16th-century example within the county at Dinton Hall (English Heritage 1995).

A quite different, low sub-circular mound some 25m in diameter and scarcely 0.2m high, located some 35m south-east of the east arm of the moat at 'uu' on plan, is currently occupied by a water trough and feeding bins, with associated rubble. This may have been its original purpose, but its location centrally to the east arm of the moat suggests the possibility of a platform for an ornamental feature of unknown form – such perhaps as Lee's device of a crowned pillar.

Lying immediately north of the outer bank of the moated residence, at 'vv' on plan, is a complex of a form that sets it apart from the settlement remains but affords no easy interpretation. At its centre is a very low platform measuring about 30m by 20m, which ramps off to the west into the low-lying damp surrounding area. On its east side is a slightly hollowed area, about 17m by 9m, surrounded on three sides by a roughly U-shaped configuration made up of four separate well-formed mounds standing to 0.6m in height but uneven in width. A slight, broad external ditch, 0.3m deep, follows round the south and east sides of the curve. Within the traditional interpretative theme of the site, this

has been alleged to be a Civil War redoubt (Ordnance Survey Record Card, SP 81 NW 15). In linear, segmented form though not in scale, the U-shape bears some resemblance to the warren mounds on the ridge. The complex does not appear to be simply a platform for a large building. Its most direct relationship is with the external raised walk along the north side of the moat, as a contemporary of which it might be an ornamental feature or penning for animals. However, it could rather be the destructive cause, through removal of material, for the narrowing form and raggedy outer scarp of the raised walk (as described above in connection with the moat). In that case, a probable interpretation would be as a relatively modern farming feature ancillary to Church Farm, such as a vegetable or silage clamp.

A well defined pond on the north edge of the field at 'ww' on plan measures 35m by 8m and is 0.5m deep. Spoil from its construction has been thrown up on the north side along the hedgeline to form a flat-topped, compact bank standing to 0.5m in height. The pond seems too well constructed to be a modern beast pond, but it may nevertheless be late in date as it overlies the spoil bank from the boundary dyke, which runs – with interruptions – for most of the historic circuit of 'Great Ground'.

Early modern features

A scatter of early modern features within the surveyed site has generally been noted in the preceding descriptions as they occur within the earthworks (Figure 19d). All are agricultural.

They include dwellings no longer extant. Prime among these is Church Farm, which occupied the moat at SP 803 158 as a tenanted farm from the early 18th century until a fire in 1971 led to its demolition. As argued above, the farmstead (at 'x' on Figures 12 and 14) was both successor to the country house of the Lees and perhaps a surviving fragment of that mansion. The detail of the layout of the farmstead, its outbuildings, garden plots etc within the moat was mapped for the Tithe Award in 1848 (Bucks RO, AR 130/81) and for successive large-scale editions of Ordnance Survey mapping from 1879 (OS 1879; Figure 16). RCHM(E) investigators produced a ground-plan of the house about 1910 (NMR, Investigators' notes; Figure 15) and some incidental details occur in the accounts of antiquarian visitors seeking, for example, reused monuments from the church (as noted above). An earthwork lying immediately north of the moat at 'vv' has been interpreted here as an agricultural structure belonging to this farm (Figure 12).

The tithe map shows a dwelling on the west side of Quarrendon II, north of 's' on plan (Figure 13), called 'four cottages and gardens', which now lies in arable, and also a 'cottage and garden' with 'yard and buildings' to the south-west of the church at 'v' on plan (Figure 14), which survived as an occupied plot into the later 19th century. Some of the footings of the cottage and the floor of one of the outbuildings are traceable within a plot clearly defined by a curving ditch on the east and scarps to the south and west. It overlies and obscures the west end of an earlier, long building platform, 'u', interpreted here as the site of a row of almshouses situated along the southern boundary of the churchyard.

The leases of land in Quarrendon throughout the 18th century are typically to graziers, and refer to cowhouses, sheep-pens, stables and oxhouses or oxpens (Oxfordshire Archives Office, DIL X/g, h, i and j *passim*). In 1798 the adult males of the parish were categorised as 2 graziers, 5 servants and 5 labourers (Beckett 1985, 67). The early modern regime of fattening beef cattle is reflected in a series of oxpens and related features, which generally tie up with depictions on the tithe map and/or early Ordnance Survey sheets. In all, a total of 10 oxpens and a further 3 oxyards are named in the parish in the earlier source, together with field names of Ox Ground and Cow Ground (Bucks RO, AR 130/81). At the western edge of 'Quarrendon II', the 'oxpen yard' west of 'r' on plan (Figure 13) now lies in arable. So, too, does that formerly in the field corner at SP 8047 1555 in the south-east part of the surveyed area, near 'a' on plan (Figure 12), where the location of the building lying along its south side is marked by an east-west scatter of building materials. The best preserved example of this locally characteristic feature therefore is located in the south-west corner of the main formal garden compartment, at 'w' on plan (Figure 14). Here the oxpen, whose detailed arrangement of stalls is shown on Ordnance Survey mapping (OS 1879; Figure 17), survived until very recently (local information). Its footings are readily recognisable as a long narrow configuration of walling foundations, together with the ditched boundary of the rectangular close within which it stood. Two closes overlying the west end of the main garden

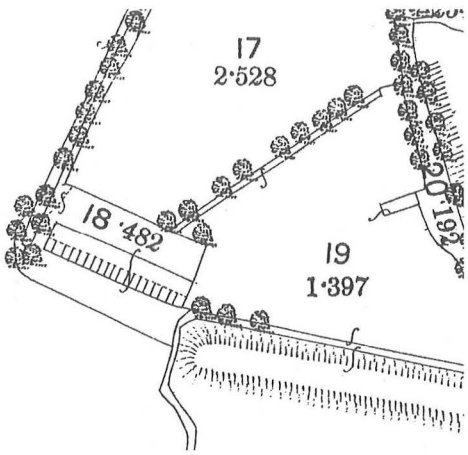

FIGURE 17 Plan of oxpen in the south-west corner of the main formal garden compartment, reproduced from OS 1879

compartment and divided by the intrusive diagonal hedgeline formed part of this complex. The tithe map names that extending north as 'Oxyard' and the triangular one to its east as 'Oxyard, yard and buildings'. The L-shaped platform at 'bb' on plan (Figure 14) corresponds well with the depiction of the yard and buildings on the map. The area of the formal water garden, 'z', east of the church, lay within a large close called 'The oxpen' in 1848, but no associated buildings are mapped or are identifiable in the earthworks.

DISCUSSION

The foregoing description and analysis have identified the components of the exceptional archaeological complex at Quarrendon (Figure 18) and afforded a simplified phased interpretation (Figure 19a-d). Even though this has entailed some significant variations on the previously accepted interpretations of the remains and on their specific characterisation, it has confirmed their national importance individually, and, more importantly, the significance of their interrelationships. The scale, complexity and completeness of the 16th-century formal garden remains are especially outstanding, not least for their integration with a complementary designed landscape focused on the Warren and for the control of a much wider landscape of the north-south stream valley, both upstream and downstream, involved in their water supply and access arrangements.

Several issues lying beyond such description and enhanced understanding of the earthworks merit discussion.

The antiquity of the church site

Core documentary or architectural evidence (as rehearsed above) shows St Peter's to have existed from the 13th century onwards, with the status of a chapel subordinate to the former minister church at Aylesbury. This arrangement might itself be quite ancient, dating at least from the later pre-Conquest period when that secular minster was created (Farley 1979; Thacker 1985, 7). The single reference in the Bishop of Lincoln's earliest registers (Foster 1931, no 85) adds an extra dimension to that view, by showing that the chapel already existed by the early 12th century and that burial rights were then being sought – or perhaps even re-established.

A number of other factors might suggest that St Peter's was rather older as an ecclesiastical site and, whatever its earlier history, was simply incorporated into the hierarchy of minster-and-chapelries when that subsequently developed.

One factor is its distinctive, inconvenient location (Figure 19a). Sited low down, on the edge of or even within the floodplain of the tributary of the Thame, close to its confluence with that river, it was set apart from the secular settlement pattern. It might be supposed that, at an earlier stage than the earthworks reflect, a manorial predecessor to the Lees' great mansion might have been located in immediate proximity to St Peter's. Though quite plausible, it is not certain. There is no direct field evidence of it. Indeed, the analysis of the earthworks of 'Quarrendon I' proposed above suggests that the complex at 'j', within the curve of the hollow-way, stood *primus inter pares* with the farmsteads of that settlement, or perhaps rather that it was the last, aggrandised survivor – the winner of a process of aggressive engrossment and perhaps the '*placea*' of Benedict Lee and his successors. It may then have been the direct precursor to the moated mansion at the foot of the slope below, whose great new gardens enfolded the church site that had previously stood isolated.

Another factor is the dedication to St Peter. This is not only generally a characteristic of early foundations and rare among newly-created later medieval chapels, but more specifically is the dedication used for several of the 7th-century monastic foundations within the ambit of Frithuwold and his

kin, including those at Bermondsey and Woking (for example Blair 1989, 105-7).

Also, one explanation for the site's precocious and unproblematical acquisition of burial rights, despite its subordinate status, is that this may represent a legacy from an earlier existence.

A context for an early ecclesiastical foundation might lie in the reported presence of a *villa regalis* at Quarrendon in the 7th century (see Section 5.1 above). That this was deliberately located at a distance from but with direct sight of an early monastery at Aylesbury would fit a pattern of such pairings exemplified in the relationship between Bamburgh and Holy Island in Northumberland and elsewhere (Blair 1988). An additional factor in this network may have been the presence nearby of a pagan ritual site, to which the place-name of the next parish to the east, Weedon, refers (Mawer and Stenton 1925, 85-6; Wilson 1985; Wilson 1992, 6-11). Its existence may have been a relevant locational factor for the *villa regalis*, presuming its occupation while Frithuwold was still a pagan, as the life of St Osyth implies. Weedon parish occupies the high land to the east of Quarrendon and north of Aylesbury, between the Thame and its northern tributary: the place-name perhaps suggests that the pagan shrine was sited on the hill, but in practice its specific location is not known (Farley 1997). A clustering of early Christian activity might nevertheless be one expected response to it, of which St Peter's may have been a part.

Medieval settlement pattern

The two groups of settlement remains known in the archaeological literature as 'Quarrendon I' and 'Quarrendon II' and conventionally categorised as 'deserted medieval villages (DMVs)' have emerged from the survey and analysis described above as groups of small numbers of farmsteads loosely organised around irregular greens (Figure 19b). Morphologically this sits awkwardly, though not impossibly, with a categorisation of the remains as DMVs. With the reported presence of a third 'DMV' within the parish – 'Quarrendon III' at SP 788 178 (NMR no, SP 71 NE 8; Figure 1) – and a scatter of individual farmsteads, the settlement pattern is better regarded as a form of dispersion, within the wide range of forms covered by that term in current discussion (Roberts and Wrathmell forthcoming a). The possibility that the ecclesiastical provision of St Peter's stood detached from the secular pattern, as argued above, or at best formed a church and manor grouping, adds to that impression. In addition, there are suggestions in the patterns of field names recorded in the Tithe Award schedule (Bucks RO, AR 130/81) of the former presence of several large cultivated blocks or fields – Berryfield in the centre of the parish and Billings Field in the south-west are the most obvious – each with settlement on its periphery. This may resemble types of underlying agrarian frameworks found to be common to the predominantly dispersed settlement areas of the north-west and the south-east of England (Roberts and Wrathmell forthcoming b, especially chapter 4), rather than the open common townfields of the central midlands. To test and give substance to these possibilities requires a more detailed parish study than has been possible to date. That could profitably extend to adjacent parishes, where superficially similar combinations of hamlets, ends, farmsteads and hall-and-church nuclei seem to exist.

This perception sits in contrast to the preliminary characterisation of the settlement pattern for the area that has emerged from the work of Roberts and Wrathmell (for example 1995; forthcoming a). In that modelling of rural settlement, the Vale of Aylesbury lies within local region 2 of the CINMD sub-province, which overall is seen as the largest area wholly dominated by nucleations in the country, with low to very low dispersion (Roberts and Wrathmell 1995, 58-9). However, localised areas of contrasting settlement patterns have been identified elsewhere within the sub-province as defined (for example Everson 1995 on Shenley Brook End, representing CINMD 6). Quarrendon may prove to be another, less obvious, instance. But to examine the case would require a different, more extensive study that this site survey encompasses. There is the additional circumstance that the area lies close to a provincial and sub-provincial boundary in the Roberts and Wrathmell analysis. In such zones, a layering of settlement patterns and shift in their boundaries is a possibility that has been anticipated but not yet studied (Roberts and Wrathmell 1998).

There may be alternative explanations to the suggestion of a local anomaly, which would have a wider interest. The settlement form exhibited most clearly by 'Quarrendon I' – of a green with a handful of farmsteads, one of which displays a fluctuating pre-eminence – may find its most pertinent analogy in the results of the Raunds landscape study

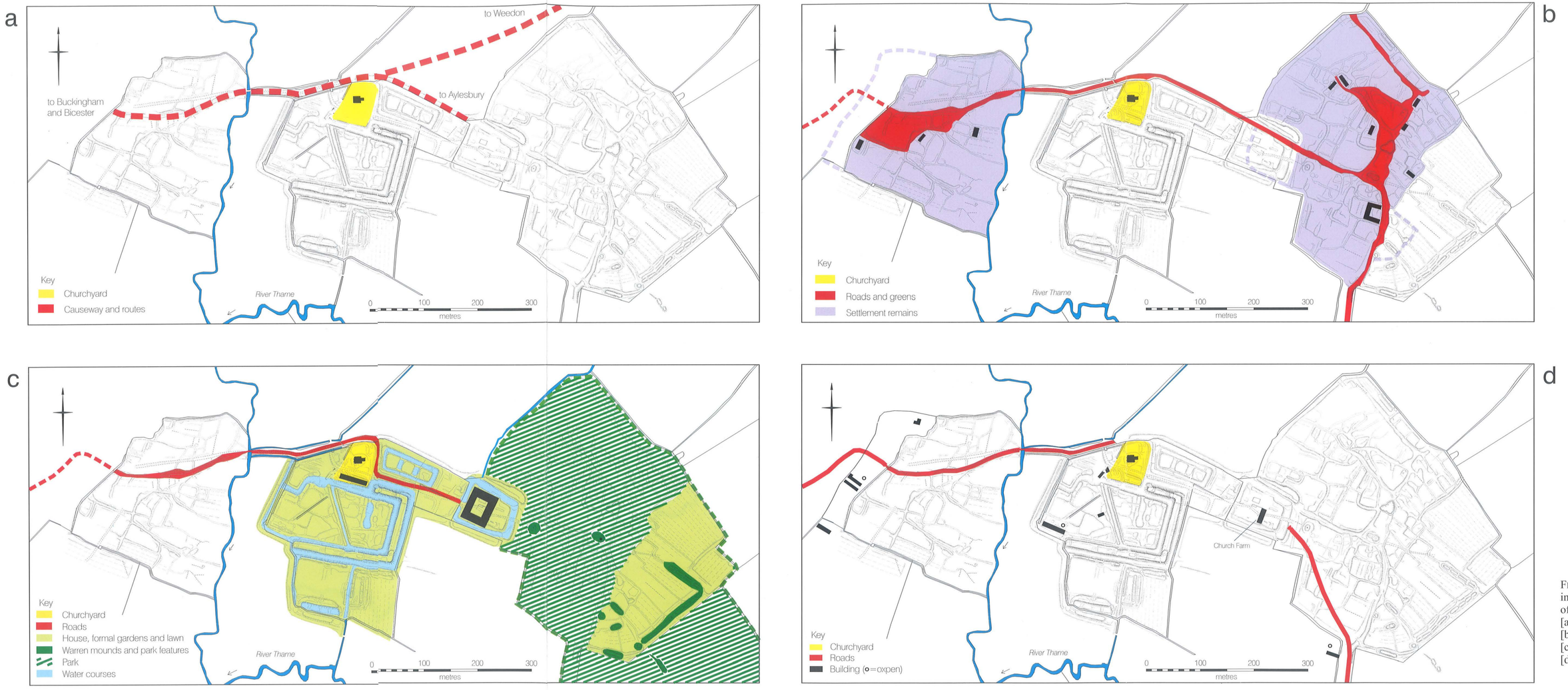

FIGURE 19 Simplified interpretation and phasing of the field remains: [a] early medieval, [b] late medieval, [c] later 16th century, [d] early modern

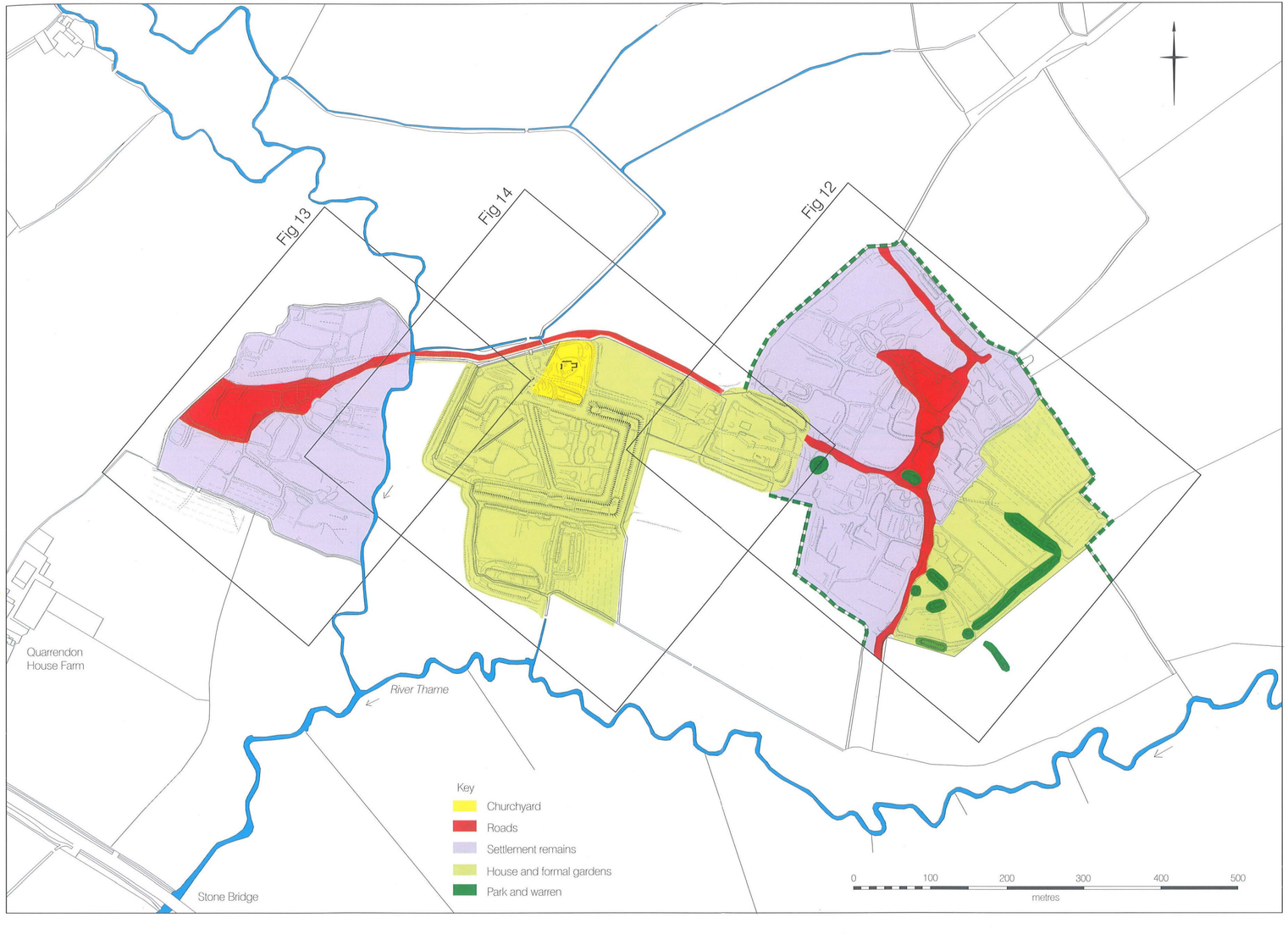

FIGURE 18 Key to FIGURES 12, 13 and 14 and identification of the pri l elements of the earthworks

in Northamptonshire, and specifically from the total excavation of the hamlet of West Cotton (*MSRG Annual Report*, 2 (1987), 23-4; 3 (1988), 22-3; 4 (1989), 41-3; 6 (1991), 6; Chapman forthcoming). Mill Cotton in the adjacent parish of Ringstead had a similar form (RCHM(E) 1975, 81-3, 84-5). The settlement pattern, of which the Cottons formed lesser or subordinate parts, focuses on the nucleated centre of Raunds. If Quarrendon can be seen to be analogous, its relevant central place may be Aylesbury. In such a reading of the settlement pattern, elements such as those recorded in the present site survey may represent the dispersed factor that some scholars have predicted will be found to underlie the predominantly nucleated Central Province of England (Roberts and Wrathmell 1998). This issue, too, needs study in its own terms.

Formal garden earthworks

The magnificent garden earthworks are the most substantial and the most formally organised features within the surveyed site. Their creation was clearly a very deliberate and costly undertaking, and their layout was integrated both with the country house itself, situated within the moat at their east end, and with access to it from the west (Figures 14 and 19c). Several issues arise from their form and layout.

At one level, there is a clear contrast embodied in this designed landscape between the controlled, man-made formal gardens lying entirely to the west of the moated residence and the ostensibly 'natural' designed landscape lying to the east of the house, which comprises a large open space with its skyline perhaps defined by thick hedges except where it is occupied by the Warren. This contrasting juxtaposition of opposites is seen at other contemporary layouts such as those at Chipping Campden in Gloucestershire and at Ascott near Wing in Buckinghamshire (Everson 1989; Everson and Williamson 1998, 147 and Fig 27). Because this is the main framework for the design of the layout, it forms an additional argument that the main house indeed lay in the moat (as argued on other grounds above), at the junction between these two created 'worlds'. This characterisation also tends to confirm that the house was oriented in intimate conformity with the orientation of the moat and with the lie of Church Farm as a presumed surviving fragment of that house – that is, with one main façade facing west and another east. It might even be conjectured that the architectural appearance of those two facades might have been different and contrasting in design, in sympathy with their visual and philosophical context. Such contrasts of architectural face have been remarked in contemporary country houses, though commonly ascribed to pragmatic rather than symbolic reasons (for example Cooper 1999, 46-7).

The way the house was approached, from the west, was clearly carefully arranged and embellished (see above and Figure 19c), even if it did generally perpetuate a pre-existing alignment linking elements of the medieval settlement pattern. Views up and down the valley over improved grazing meadows from the bridge and causeway, besides demonstrating wealth and activity in improved farming, may have been taken by the visitor to allude punningly – as 'leas' or 'leys' – to the name of the resident family, the Lees.

An even more complex verbal allusion, impossible of confirmation from the field remains, may be one of the factors lying behind the curious diagonal canal in the main garden compartment. The platform on its west side at 'bb', though most readily taken as a later intrusion on the earthwork since associated buildings and an enclosed yard existed in 1848 (Bucks RO, AR 130/81), is actually located precisely centrally along the west side of the earthwork. Furthermore, the attached small close depicted in 1848 lay precisely across the channel of the diagonal feature, at right angles to its alignment. This arrangement might possibly, therefore, actually be a relic of the original layout. If so, one possibility is a mill site forming a feature within the garden. There was such a mill on the central canal in the design for the Dell at Hatfield, Robert Cecil's house, two certainly formed part of the layout at Chipping Campden (Everson 1989), and mills are documented as garden features elsewhere (see, for example, Henderson 1992, 117-8 and Fig 1). They were clearly capable of carrying an emblematic significance as well as combining ornament with utility. Such utility might account for the prolonged survival into the 19th century of buildings and their supporting watercourse, which the evidence of the tithe map represents. The linguistic or punning potential of this is that a mill in the foreground and a hill – prominently marked by the Warren – in the background would give to the learned resident or visitor the two elements that make up the place-name of Quarrendon (OE

cweorn plus OE *dūn*), thereby creating a form of rebus in the garden design, of the type that elsewhere and in an earlier generation might have decorated a gatehouse.

Rather less speculatively, the really distinctive feature of the main compartment is its eccentric and asymmetric layout. This exists most obviously in the uneven lengths of the main terrace and its arrangement around just three sides of the compartment, in the diagonal canal or leat, and in the way that the west end of the compartment, though in itself and internally wholly geometrical and rectangular in layout, lies at an angle to the alignments of the east end of the compartment. There is nothing in the earthworks themselves to suggest either that the compartment is unfinished or that its west end has been damaged or destroyed in any material way, as has been suggested (RCHM(E) 1912, 273): rather the opposite. Furthermore, there seems nothing in the life of Sir Henry Lee to justify a suggestion of failure to complete or of major later alteration, either.

A clue to the reason for the apparent eccentricity of layout may lie in the observation that the lengths of the raised terraces are in a ratio of 1 : 2 : 3. The large building platform along the south side of the churchyard at 'u', proposed as the site of a set of almshouses, seems to have had a length very similar to that of the north raised terrace, at about 60m. If that unit of length is sought within the central area of the garden, a first area with that east-west dimension might be recognised at the east end, containing the north-south pond 'cc'. A second area with the same 60m east-west dimension, whose north end matches the platform for the almshouses, is sliced precisely from corner to corner by the diagonal canal. The eastern centre of the garden might therefore be seen as 1½ units of area, which was further subdivided in geometrical ways reflected by the minor internal earthworks (Figure 20). A constructed alignment from the north end of the diagonal canal south-west to the west end of the southern raised terrace – an alignment only tenuously reflected in the minor earthworks – would turn the space on the south-west side of the diagonal canal into a regular triangle. It quite closely approximates to an isosceles form and may even have been intended for equilateral. That constructed alignment would then become the base for the rectangular layout of the west end of the garden, with its traces of rectangular internal divisions.

Without carrying this analysis to levels of detail and metric finesse that earthwork remains are not capable of sustaining, it does suggest a concern in this garden's creation for didactic ratios and scientific geometry very much beyond the organisation and rectangularity that is inherently characteristic of early post-medieval formal gardens in England (English Heritage 1997). Behind it may lie an interest in the golden mean, both as a geometric concept in itself and as a principle understood in contemporary philosophical thought to organise and regulate the universe (Yates 1975). A similar concern in a previous generation may be evidenced by the cap badge of Sir Henry Guildford in his portrait by Holbein (Scarisbrick 1995, 70-1). There were obvious linkages between this realm of thought and, on the one hand, the proper and proportional relationship between a secular monarch and her courtiers and even, on the other, an individual's religious stance. Both in contemporary portraits and in literary contexts, Sir Henry Lee is explicitly associated both with these sorts of scientific interest and through them symbolically with his monarch. In his portrait by Antonio Mor, his shirt is covered with an alternating pattern of true-lover's knots and armillary spheres (Figure 11; and see Strong 1969, colour frontispiece and 189-91; Hearn 1995, 60-1). The same image of the armillary sphere occurs in Elizabeth I's dress and jewellery, most notably as an ear-ring in the Ditchley portrait, with its association with Lee's other great house at Ditchley in

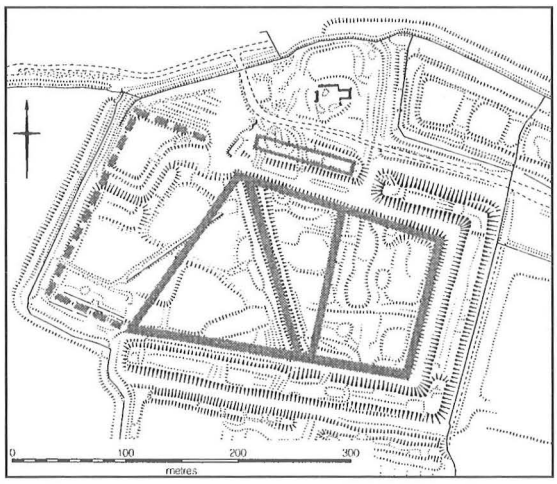

FIGURE 20 Simplified geometry of the main garden compartment

Oxfordshire (Arnold 1988, Figs 20, 79, 140, 448). Its significance in Elizabeth's iconography evidently lay in an allusion to a proper reliance on the Book as the 'verbum Dei', rather than on wordly conceits (Scarisbrick 1995, 48, Fig 34).

There may, additionally or alternatively, be a simpler and more general division in the main garden-compartment. That is between an east half from all parts of which, but especially from the terraces, were afforded views of the almshouses and church beyond, and a west half whence such views were impeded or masked – the more so if the diagonal embankment was planted with a tree avenue or screen in the way it latterly was. The specific significance of this antithesis lies in the unusually intimate integration of the almshouses into the garden layout.

Lee's almshouses

It has been suggested above that the distinctive building platform at 'u' (Figure 14) across the south side of the churchyard was the location of a set of almshouses that represent the 'hospital' mentioned in Sir Henry Lee's funerary inscription. The topographical and charitable link with the church building is convincing. Protestant pious charity, in the context of legislation to address the problems of the needy poor, turned increasingly to foundation of almshouses through the later 16th century. Great courtiers such as Robert Dudley, one of Lee's patrons, gave a lead with the foundation of Lord Leicester's Hospital in Warwick in 1571 (Bailey 1988, 75-6; Howson 1993, 85-94; Stephens 1969, 423-6; for Buckinghamshire see VCH 1908, 73-5). Good examples of the careful location of almshouses in relation to the approach to major residences, effectively as part of the designed landscape, occur for instance at Chipping Campden (Everson 1989) or Ludgershall in Wiltshire (Everson, Brown and Stocker 2000). That this is the case here at Quarrendon, too, is plain from the careful manipulation of the principal access to the great house (see above and Figure 19c). But the apparently deliberate and prominent incorporation of the almshouses at the same time within the garden layout, as here, appears to imply an unusual personal emphasis on or identification with their overt expression of Protestant charity.

It is perhaps relevant to this field evidence that Sir Henry Lee chose to depict himself publicly – or at least in a literary and courtly fashion – in the guise of a bedesman. In the song 'My golden locks time hath to silver turned' (No. 18 in Dowland's First Song-book of 1593), for which Lee provided the words and John Dowland the music, he requests permission 'To be your Beadman now, that was your knight'. This song was performed at the Accession Day tournament in November 1590 on the occasion when Lee relinquished his role as queen's champion to the Earl of Cumberland. Setting aside his arms, he symbolically donned a bedesman's cloak and hat (Poulton 1972, 28, 238-41), in a gesture that arguably carried an allusion to his activeness in this form of charitable foundation.

Location and symbolism of the Warren

The most striking aspect about the Warren is its prominent location on the skyline, when viewed from the lower land to the west. Like some prehistoric funerary monument or medieval castle it nailed or badged the landscape in an evidently deliberate way. This location makes it strikingly visible from the site of the 16th-century house within the moat, but also from the raised garden terraces, from the bridge across the tributary stream and the formal access road. Even across the fields from away to the west, once the visitor turned off the main road and turned east in the general direction of the house, the Warren signposted and identified the end point of the journey.

Whether it was also and equally visible from Aylesbury itself is now difficult to judge because of modern development, but the reverse view suggests that this may have been a further, but not dominant, consideration in the siting.

This location and visibility is not a functional matter to do with the effective management of rabbits. No doubt the slope of the site assisted its drainage; and the tilt of the lawn lying across the slope may have made a mass of rabbits feeding or at play visible from the house as a reminder of the privilege and wealth they represented as furs. But something of more significance, something carrying greater symbolism, seems to be sought here.

One alternative understanding might seek the Warren's symbolic significance in one of the posts or royal preferments that Lee held. The most plausible might be his position from 1571 as Lieutenant of the royal manor of Woodstock and Ranger of the park there (Chambers 1936, 38, 53, 80-105). These clearly absorbed his time and interest. One of John Aubrey's anecdotes undoubtedly confirms Lee's

enthusiasm for, and personal involvement in, all aspects of park and game management (Lawson-Dick 1949, 189-90). It is far from clear, however, in what specific way the Warren at Quarrendon might have formed a cogent allusion to that or any other of Lee's secular interests.

Rather more interestingly, it has been cogently argued that in some circumstances at this period the creation of a rabbit warren as a garden feature was an act of significance in relation to the owner's religious stance, betokening adherence to the Old Faith. A striking example was Sir Thomas Tresham's warren and lodge at Rushton in Northamptonshire (Stocker and Stocker 1996). This does indeed seem to be the case locally at Ascott near Wing, where warren mounds form a significant component within an elaborate garden surviving as earthworks, since the Dormer family, too, were unwavering Catholics (Everson and Williamson 1998, 147-50; Hearn 1995, 61-2).

Does the warren at Quarrendon bear the same symbolism? Elsewhere it has been argued that elongated warren mounds had an additional religious significance when oriented east-west, because within the theology of the device the mounds could be understood simultaneously to represent graves and churches themselves (Stocker and Stocker 1996, 269-70). However, there is no confirmation here, because at Quarrendon they have a mixed and inconsistent orientation. And by comparison with the Triangular Lodge at Rushton and its complex array of symbolism, the triangular configuration in plan of the first phase of warren here (Figure 12) is perhaps too tenuous a pattern to carry conviction as a device of religious significance.

Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence for Catholic sentiment in the Lee family, within the range of religious sympathies typical of the era (see generally, for example, Stone 1967, 332-48; Briggs 1997, 136-74). Sir Henry's upbringing in the household of his uncle Wyatt may indeed have been intended to remove him from the strength of that influence at home. His half-uncle Benedict, who perhaps had care of him after his father's death for the duration of his minority, showed 'furious zeal for Queen Mary's cause' when her accession was in doubt in 1553 and was party to the show of loyalty by the gentry of Buckinghamshire. Henry Lee's knighting within the coronation celebrations may reflect his involvement in that support. By marriage to the daughter of William, Lord Paget, Lee tied himself to a Catholic family, and the activities of his brothers-in-law in exile caused him recurrent embarrassment during Elizabeth's reign. Anne Lee, as mistress of Quarrendon, possibly remained adherent to the Old Faith throughout her life. She was buried at St Mary's in Aylesbury rather than at Quarrendon, in the manor held by the Catholic half-uncle, Benedict, where her monument remains in the north transept, within sight of the Quarrendon warren (Chambers 1936, 28-31, 50-3, 76-9). Even Lee's patronage of artists like Mor and Dowland may reflect the bias of his affiliations.

Sir Henry Lee's own patriotism and presumed staunch Protestantism are not, from conventional documentary sources, in doubt (Chambers 1936, 39, 50); as his association as client and relative with the Earl of Leicester and William Cecil, Lord Burghley, also argues (ibid, *passim*). It would nevertheless be an intriguing conjunction evidenced in the field archaeology if one end of the designed layout at Quarrendon encapsulated symbolism of the Old Faith – in the Warren – while the other had a Protestant stamp – in the formal gardens and almshouses. Perhaps the refurbished chapel, with its former chancel occupied by tombs and presumably fittings of the new order in the nave, conformed with the latter. Yet it would be much in the temper of the age. Such a conjunction might both embody the spirit of the Elizabethan settlement and play as a contrast between the old and the new in religious terms.

Acknowledgements

Anthony Fleming of English Heritage was responsible for initiating the survey at Quarrendon through his formal request for work to be done. He, together with Mike Farley and Sandy Kidd as successive archaeologists with Buckinghamshire County Council, have supported the task with their interest and their enthusiasm to see it through to a conclusion and published outcome. The tenant farmer, Mr Rhodes, was helpful in permitting access to the land.

The site survey was carried out by Wayne Cocroft, Marcus Jecock and Rob Wilson-North, all at that date staff of the RCHME's office at Keele. Simon Brereton and Rachel Morse lent their full-time assistance on two stages of the work while successively on the Oxford In-Service Training

Scheme, and Paul Everson helped with fieldwork for the control scheme. An archive report, researched and written by Paul Everson and drawing on a draft descriptive account by Rob Wilson-North, forms the basis of this published account. The full deposited archive of the survey is accessible at the National Monuments Record, National Monuments Record Centre, Great Western Village, Kemble Drive, Swindon SN2 2GZ; telephone 01793 414600, e-mail info@rchme.gov.uk.

Mark Bowden, Mike Farley and David Stocker have discussed ideas and commented on various aspects of the survey's findings, to the considerable improvement and enhanced clarity of the resulting understanding. Philip Sinton prepared the illustrations for publication.

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This paper is published with the aid of a grant from English Heritage.