A Beaker Burial and Medieval Tenements in The Hamel, Oxford

By Nicholas Palmer

With contributions by Eleanor Beard, Don Bramwell, Humphrey Case, Alison Goodhall, Ian Goodhall, Mary Harman, Martin Henig, Jennifer Jones, Martin Jones, Jill Kerr, Nicholas Mayhew, Maureen Mellor, Carole Morris, Peter Newton, Mark Robinson, Simon Robinson, David Williams and Bob Wilson

SUMMARY

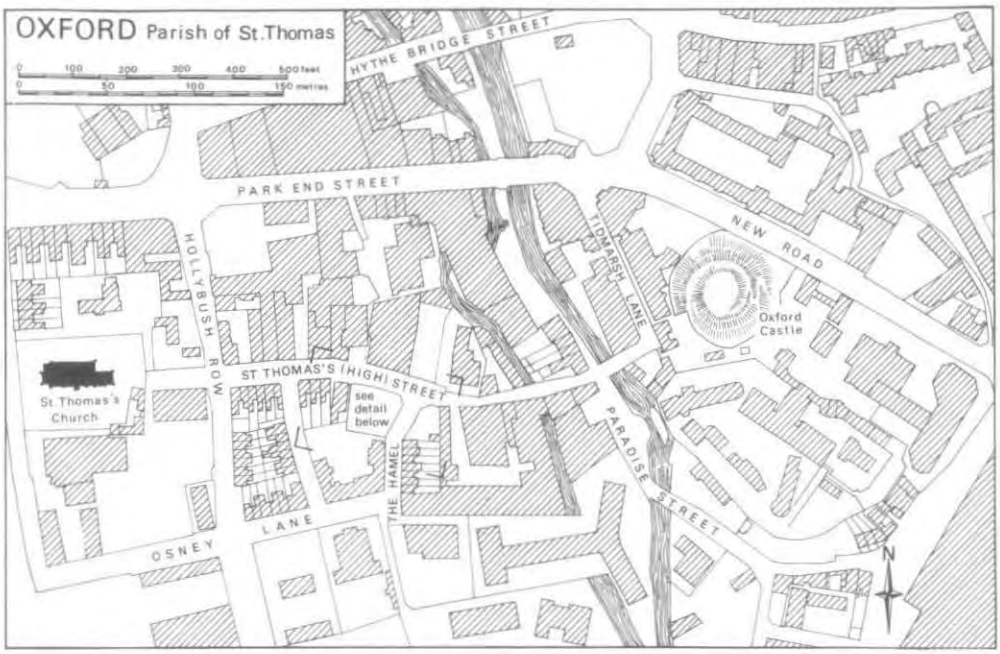
Excavations in St. Thomas's Parish, the Western suburb of medieval Oxford, uncovered a Late Beaker burial associated with occupation material, and possible evidence of early cultivation on the floodplain of the Thames. There was a well stratified sequence of medieval occupation beginning in the late 12th century when documentary evidence suggests the suburb was laid out by Oseney Abbey. Domestic tenements, inhabited mostly by artisans, were built on the site in the early 13th century and rebuilt in the mid and late 13th century and late 15th/early 16th century. The finds included pottery, tile, coins, metal, bone, stone, wooden and leather objects, window and vessel glass, clay tobacco pipes, human, animal and bird bones and environmental evidence.

CONTENTS OF REPORT

For reasons of cost the report has been produced partly in print and partly on microfiche.[1] As far as possible the printed part is designed to stand alone; only the detailed description of the archaeology, catalogues of finds, long environmental tables and information of specialist interest has been put on microfiche. Drawings of finds have been printed both for ease of reference and to show the range of material from the site. Figs. 1-40 and Tables I-VI are printed; Figs. I-XIX and Tables A-X are on microfiche.

The report is divided into two main sections: the first dealing with the prehistoric period, the second with the medieval period. They are sub-divided as follows:

[1] Microfiche readers are available in Oxford at the Ashmolean Library, the Central Library, Westgate, and the Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit, 46 Hythe Bridge Street.



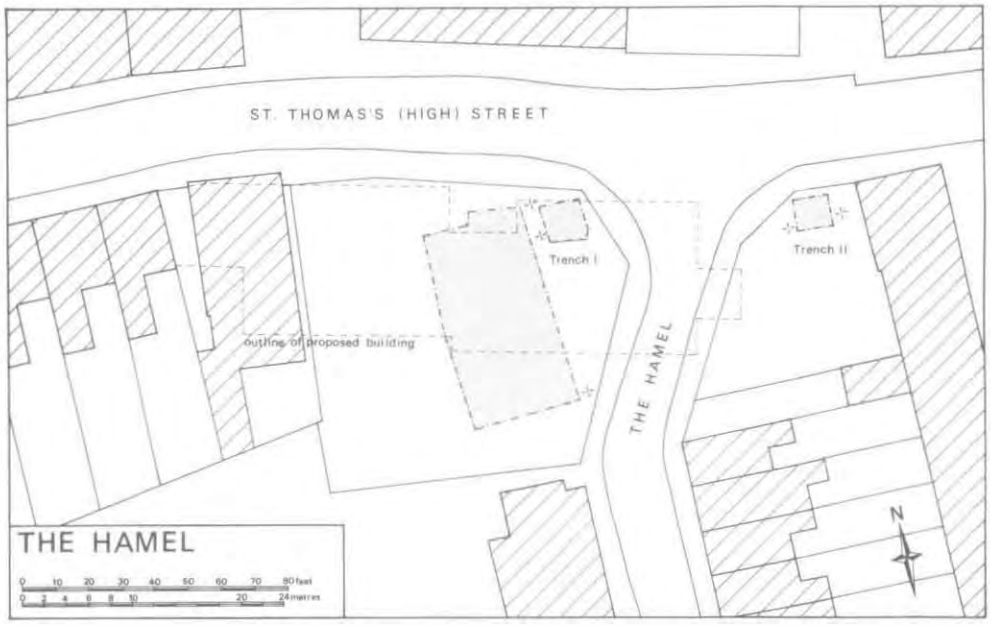


Fig. 1
Location Plan

INTRODUCTION

The Hamel[2] (SP 5077 0614) lies in the parish of St. Thomas the Martyr (Fig. 1), the western suburb of medieval Oxford, between the Castle Mill and the navigation (formerly the Oseney Mill) streams of the Thames. The main excavation (Trench I) was on the western side of the Hamel at its northern end near the corner with St. Thomas's Street. A smaller trench (Trench II), to the east of the Hamel, excavated parts of other property fronting St. Thomas's Street. In 1975-6 the site, owned by Christ Church, was awaiting redevelopment.

The main aims of the excavation were to recover plans of medieval houses, to check the pottery sequence derived from previous excavations, and to elucidate the history of the western suburb of Oxford. This particular site was suitable because it was well documented, because a 19th century realignment of the Hamel meant that the tenement frontages were, exceptionally, available for inspection, and because the proximity of the river meant both that the medieval deposits were unlikely to have been destroyed by later cellars and that medieval waterlogged samples might be obtained for environmental research.

After three trial trenches dug by the Oxford University Archaeological Society in May and June 1975 had revealed undisturbed medieval stratification, a major excavation was launched as the Society's Summer Excavation, under the aegis of the Oxford Archaeological Excavation Committee. This ran from 30 June to 17 September 1975 in which time a trench about 18m. × 10m. was excavated to 12th century levels; the topsoil and some post medieval layers were removed by a mechanical excavator, the rest by hand. In November and December 1975 the O.U.A.S. extended Trench II. Finally between 5 July and 4 August 1976 the main area was almost totally excavated to natural gravel together with a small extension (*c.* 4m. × 4m.) to its north east.

The finds and excavation records have been deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, and a microfiche copy of the full excavation record has been deposited in the National Monuments Record.

Acknowledgements

The success of the work at the Hamel is due to the participation, support and encouragement of many people. Christ Church, the owners of the site, kindly gave permission to excavate; arrangements were made through the good offices of the Treasurer, Mr. Batey, and the College Clerk of Works, Mr. Cox. The project was financed by the Department of the Environment, Oxford City Council, Oxfordshire County Council, Oxford Preservation Trust and the British Academy. Bruce Cramond, Elizabeth Pepper, Judy Young, David Critchley and John Martin acted as excavation supervisors; Philippa Burne, Anne Kidson, Judy Peacock, Elizabeth Pepper, Tania Tinkoff-Utechin and Judy Young assisted with the finds. Many members of the O.U.A.S. and others took part in the excavation, including Maureen Brown, Simon Palmer, George Renn III, James Rutherford, Jonathan Sharp, Martin Straw and Michael Wilcox. Martin Welsh, Dr. C. Western, Kathleen Kimber, Gwyn Miles and Arthur MacGregor of the Ashmolean Museum kindly arranged and carried out conservation of the finds. To all these I would like to express my thanks.

[2] The name first occurs in 1407 (*V.C.H. Oxon.*, iv, 476). It seems to derive from the shape of the street: the O.E. adj. *hamel* seems to have meant 'maimed', but very likely originally 'crooked' (E. Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names* (4th ed. 1960), 214). Alternatively the name may be equivalent to 'hamlet' (M. Gelling, *Place Names of Oxfordshire*, i. E.P.N.S. xxiii (1953), 39).

I am also grateful to the various specialist contributors to the report, to Eleanor Beard who with the assistance of Wendy Page and Patricia Roberts prepared the published drawings and to Sarah Richardson and Lindsay Donaghy who typed the manuscript. The report has been much improved by comments from John Blair, Humphrey Case, Janet Cooper, Tom Hassall, George Lambrick, Julian Munby, Mary Prior and Mark Robinson. Finally I would like to thank Brian Durham, and Tom Hassall of the Oxford Archaeological Unit for their constant guidance and advice both during the excavation and during the preparation of this report.

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

Prehistoric Features p. 129, Fig. 2; Prehistoric Finds, *Human Remains* by Mary Harman, Fiche 1 A03, *Pottery, Flint and Metalwork* by Humphrey Case, Fig. 3, Fiche 1 A04, *Animal Bones* by Bob Wilson. Fiche 1 A07; Environmental Evidence by Mark Robinson, Fiche 1 A08; Note: *Flooding and the Bronze Age use of the Thames Floodplain in the Oxford District* by Mark Robinson, p. 133.

PREHISTORIC FEATURES

(Fig. 2, Plan 1; Figs III, IV, Sections A, B, C ; Pls. 1, 2)

The site lies on the floodplain of the Thames, about 150m. from the nearest point on the Summertown-Radley or second gravel terrace on which Oxford is built.[3] The natural subsoil is alluvium which overlies gravel, presumably the eroded remains of the first or floodplain gravel terrace.

Within the excavation the surface of the natural gravel was an average of 55.21m. above sea level. It was approximately flat and covered by a layer of brownish orange alluvial clay silt, on average 0.17m. thick, which was cut by a variety of features. In the south-east corner of the trench was a row of five irregular hollows filled with grey silt. They contained no charcoal or other archaeological material and were probably natural. Other features did, however, provide evidence of human activity. On the western side of the trench, partly cut by later pits, was a small steep-sided pit (831), 0.65m. by *c.* 0.7m. by 0.4m. deep, containing, pushed into its south-west corner, the skeleton of a child between two and four years old (Pl. 1). This was crouched, lying on its right side, with its head to the south-east, but twisted backwards to face south-west. The fill of the pit (L831/1), orange brown clay silt with charcoal flecks, contained late Beaker pottery, animal bone and flint flakes. A radiocarbon determination on the human and animal bone from the pit gave a date of 3470± 80 bp (1520 bc).[4] This date falls well within the range of Late Beaker dates, although at the end of the sequence.[5] To the south of the trench was another feature (832), an irregular hole, 0.8m. by 0.6m. by 0.2m. deep, filled with orange brown clay silt with charcoal flecks and containing one sherd of pottery.

The material from pit 831 presumably represents domestic rubbish and suggests the presence of a settlement of Late Beaker date nearby. The presence of such a settlement on the floodplain of the Thames deserves comment. Previously such settlement, mostly

[3] Geological Survey, 1 in, Solid with Drift, Sheet 236 (Witney); *Oxford Region*, ed. A.F. Martin and R.W. Steel, (1954), 167, Fig. 60.

[4] HAR 3410. The human and animal bone from Pit 831 were submitted as separate samples but it was necessary to combine them.

[5] H. Case, 'The Beaker Culture in Britain and Ireland'. *Beakers in Britain and Europe*, R. Mercer, ed., (BAR 26, 1977), 90, Fig. 4:1; See also C. Renfrew, ed., *British Prehistory* (1974), 168, 223-5.

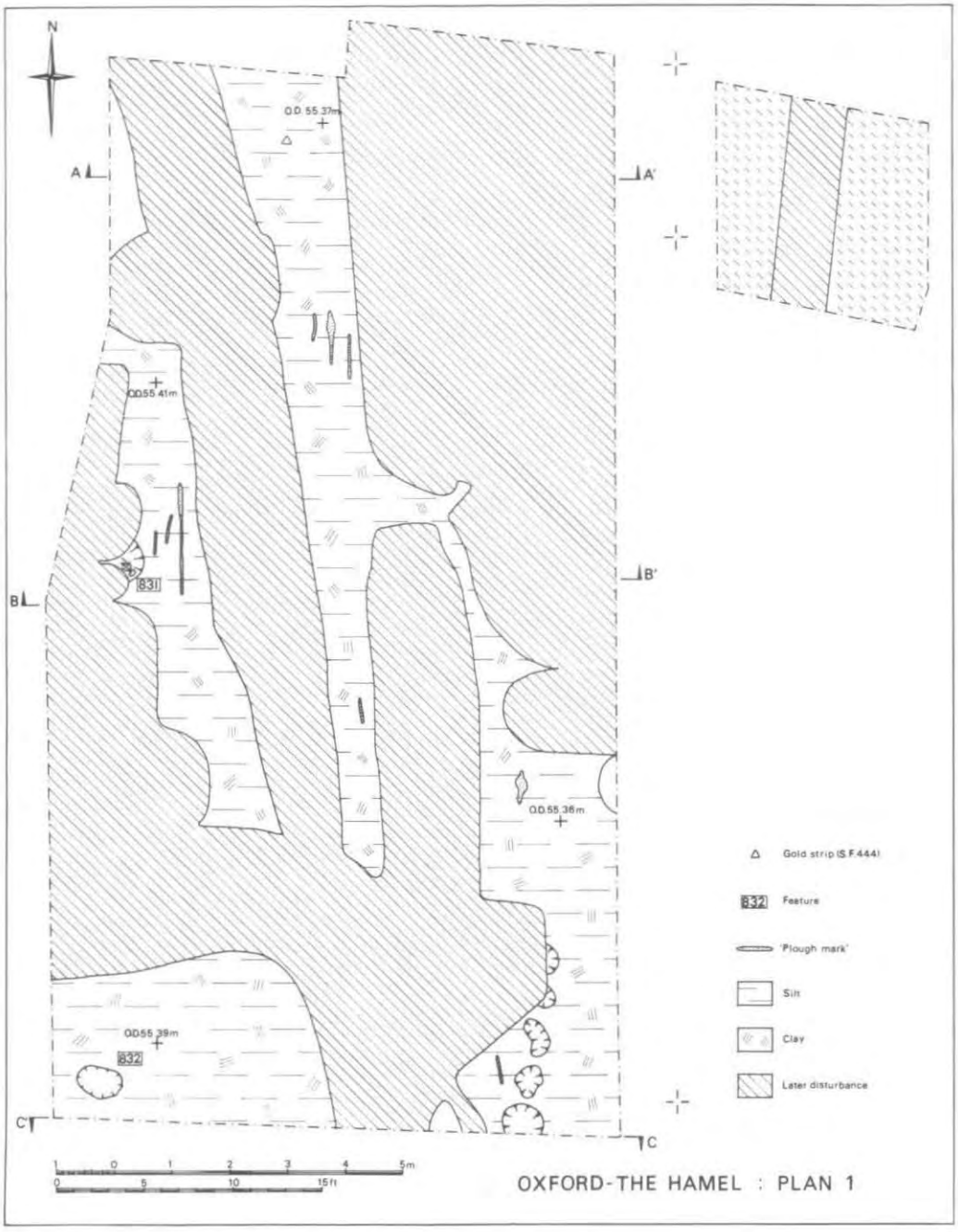


Fig. 2
Prehistoric Features

Plate 1
Late Beaker Burial, F831 (Scale 500mm., cms to N)

Plate 2
South Section of Main Trench (See also Fig. IV, Section C)

evidenced by burials, has been observed almost exclusively on the Summertown-Radley or second gravel terrace, with a few examples on the first or floodplain terrace,[6] although this distribution may reflect the concentration of archaeological activity in areas threatened by gravel extraction.[7] Air photographs have indicated the possibility of Beaker settlement on the floodplain[8] and now, with the Hamel and the King's Weir Barrow,[9] physical evidence is beginning to appear.

The remaining features at this level were a series of striations filled with dark brown clay silt, up to 100mm. wide, 50mm. deep and between 0.4m. and 2m. long. They were scattered over the site, running north-south parallel to each other and were sealed by an undisturbed brown-grey alluvial clay silt with red flecks about 0.28m. thick (Layers 641/2, 750, 783, 817, 828). This contained a few flint fragments, one of Beaker date, a non-descript crumb of crude pottery, and an early Bronze Age gold strip. These striations might be interpreted as fragmentary plough- or ard-marks, particularly as, where they survived together, the distance between them was 0.3m., which seems to be standard for such features.[10] However, there are difficulties with this interpretation. The marks run in one direction only whereas the normal prehistoric practice was to cross-plough. Nevertheless marks in one direction only have been accepted as ploughmarks.[11] The layer sealing the features was not a ploughsoil,[12] but that might have been eroded away by the river before the deposition of the upper alluvium. The lack of any further occupation material on the surface around the burial pit (831) is difficult to explain except by such erosion. The real problem of the 'ploughmarks' is their date. Although the alluvium sealing them contained nothing later than the early Bronze Age it is not really possible on that evidence alone to say that the marks are that early; the layers above were medieval. However the suggestion that the floodplain of the Thames was once cultivated presupposes drier conditions than now exist. Evidence from elsewhere suggests that by the middle Iron Age, because of flooding the floodplain could only be occupied seasonally and in the Roman period was totally abandoned.[13] This flooding, which was accompanied by the deposition of alluvium, is explained by forest clearance and cultivation which caused increased surface run-off.[14] In the Severn-Avon valley the process is dated to the later Bronze Age.[15] It seems, therefore, reasonable to suggest that the Hamel ploughmarks might be Bronze Age or earlier.

[6] H. Case, 'Beaker Pottery from the Oxford Region: 1939-1955', *Oxoniensia*, xxi (1956), 20, Fig. 6.
[7] D. Benson and D. Miles, *The Upper Thames – an Archaeological Survey of the River Gravels* (1974), Figs. 9, 10.
[8] A.G. Sherratt, 'A New Beaker from Radley', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii (1973), 385.
[9] See this volume p. 1.
[10] P.J. Fowler and J.G. Evans, 'Plough-marks, Lynchets and Early Fields', *Antiquity*, (1967), 294.
[11] Ibid., 293.
[12] I am indebted to M.G. Jarvis of the Soil Survey of England and Wales for this information.
[13] G. Lambrick and M. Robinson, *Iron Age and Roman Riverside Settlements at Farmoor, Oxfordshire* (CBA research report 32 1978), 134-140.
[14] S. Limbrey, 'Changes in quality, and distribution of the soils of Lowland Britain', *The effect of man on the landscape: the Lowland Zone*, ed. S. Limbrey and J.G. Evans (CBA Research Report 21, 1978), 23, 25. These conclusions are also held by J. Hazelden and M. Jarvis, 'Age and Significance of alluvium in the Windrush Valley, Oxfordshire, *Nature*, cclxxxii (1979), 291-2.
[15] F.W. Shotton, 'Archaeological inferences from the study of alluvium in lower Severn-Avon Valley' in Limbrey and Evans, op. cit., 31.

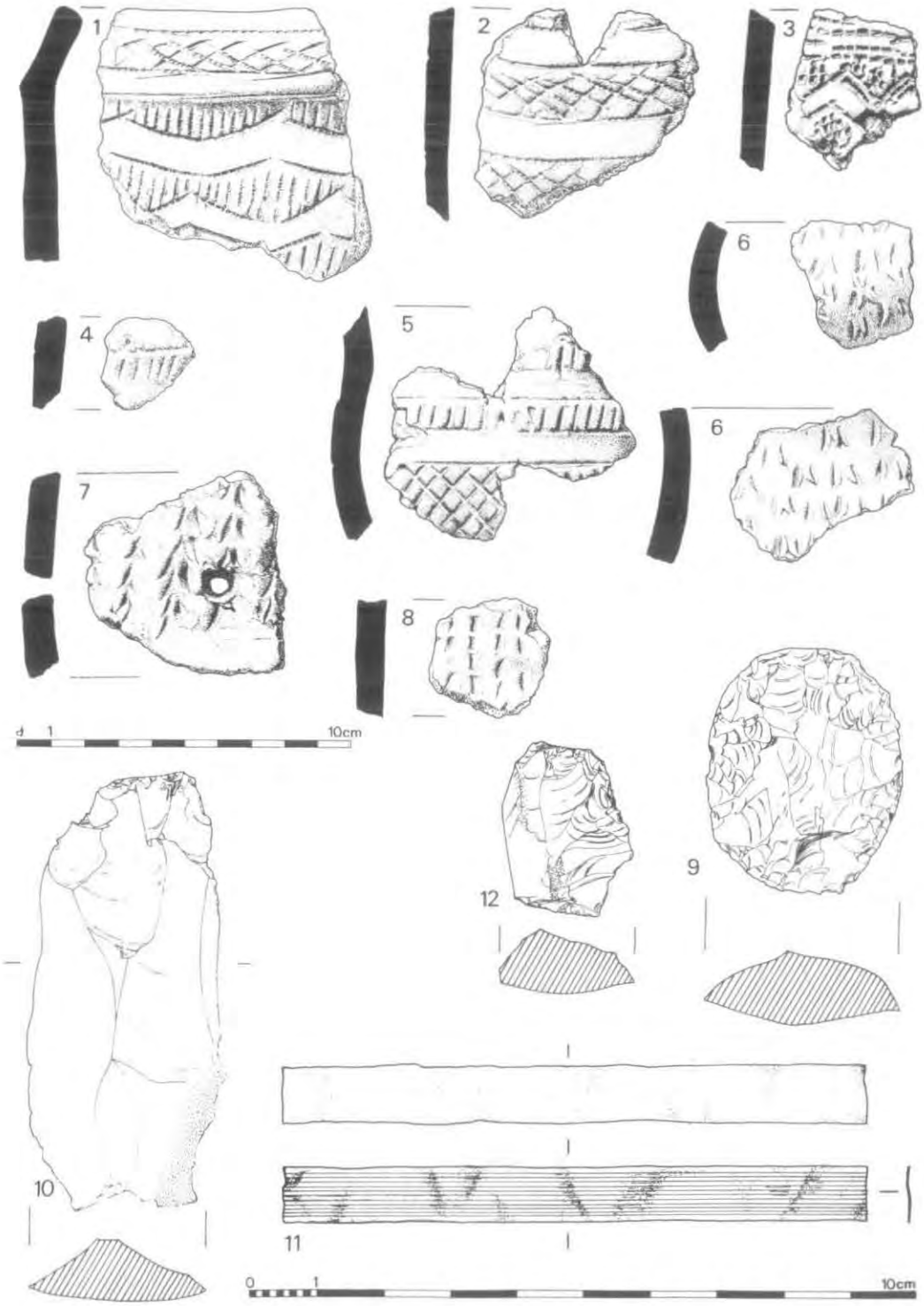


Fig. 3
Prehistoric Finds: Pottery 1-8 (½); Flint 9, 10, 12 (1/1); Gold 11 (1/1)

FLOODING AND THE BRONZE AGE USE OF THE THAMES FLOODPLAIN IN THE OXFORD DISTRICT

By Mark Robinson

Seventeen years ago H. Case suggested that Bronze Age and Iron Age sites on the Thames floodplain at Port Meadow were not occupied in the winter because of flooding and that the floodplain was used for summer grazing.[16] Later the discovery at Farmoor of hut sites on the floodplain, with evidence for contemporaneous flooding and an environment of pasture confirmed the hypothesis for the Iron Age.[17]

The excavation of the Beaker burial at the Hamel and the barrow at Kings Weir provides the opportunity to investigate this hypothesis for the Bronze Age. Both sites produced evidence that the water table was once lower than it is now. Furthermore, at both sites the relatively silty soils contemporary with the burials were subsequently covered by alluvium with a high clay content, comparable with the modern floodplain soils.[18] These points suggest that the floodplain was drier and better drained in the Bronze Age, an idea supported by evidence from Enclosure Complex 3 at Farmoor. The pre-Iron Age soil there, L1184, was a thin covering of yellow sandy silt, but by the time of occupation a gleyed clayish alluvium, L1172, was forming over the site.

The only direct evidence that, for a period in the Bronze Age, these sites were not regularly flooded, is the lack of aquatic molluscs in a possibly lime-free Bronze Age soil under the Kings Weir barrow. Both molluscs and a basic soil would be expected if the site were regularly flooded by the mollusc rich calcareous waters of the Thames. The state of the soil cut by the Beaker burial on the Hamel cannot be taken into account because, without the protection of a limestone gravel barrow, decalcification could have occurred at a later date. The Hamel does, however, provide indirect evidence in the form of the probable plough marks. It is unlikely that the site would be used for arable if flooding, even in the winter, were at all frequent.

The predominant soils at present on the First (Floodplain), Second (Summertown-Radley) and Third (Wolvercote) Gravel Terrace are the Badsey and Sutton series. They have A horizons that are circumneutral to basic composed of loam, sometimes sandy or clayey, but with a gravel content.[19] The gravel in these soils includes limestone. In contrast, where ancient soils have been discovered in situ on the gravel terraces they have usually been stone-free silt loams to loams.[20] Often they only survive truncated in small pockets below ploughsoil, but a more extensive deep covering exists beneath the medieval layers of the City of Oxford on the Second Gravel Terrace. Some archaeologists describe the old soil as a clay but this may be due to the misidentification of silt. One point which is frequently remarked upon is the distinctive reddish brown colour of this soil.[21] It is likely that this reddish stone-free, rather silty loam represents the soil which developed from the Late Glacial onwards by weathering of the gravel and terraces, and reworking of any earlier soil cover, possibly with the addition of wind blown material. Loess has been

[16] H. Case, 'Notes on finds and ring-ditches in the Oxford Region', *Oxoniensia*, xxviii (1963), 51. I am grateful to Mr. Case for discussing the subject of this paper with me and for his helpful suggestions.

[17] G.H. Lambrick and M.A. Robinson, *Iron Age and Roman Riverside Settlements at Farmoor, Oxfordshire*, (1979), 134

[18] M.G. Jarvis, *Soils of the Wantage and Abindon district* (1973), 110-12.

[19] Ibid., 114-19.

[20] H. Case, N. Bayne, S. Steele, G. Avery and H. Sutermeister, 'Excavations at City Farm, Hanborough, Oxon', *Oxoniensia*, xxix/xxx (1964/5), 8; M. Gray, 'Northfield Farm, Long Wittenham', *Oxoniensia* xii (1977), 2; T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1972: Fifth Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii (1973), 296-7; Lambrick and Robinson, *Farmoor*, 79, 124.

[21] B. Durham, 'Archaeological investigations in St. Aldates, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 90.

recognised as an important component of some silt soils in Southern England. The lack of limestone gravel in this soil would have meant that decalcification by rainwater leaching and the formation of a sol lessivé was a distinct possibility.[22] Perhaps the relatively silty early soil on the floodplain was derived partly from reworked soil of the gravel terrace.

If much of what is now the floodplain of the Thames did not flood in the Bronze Age, it may have been as well suited for arable as the First and Second Gravel Terraces. The only problem is that the soil covering of the gravel in some places on the floodplain seems to have been very thin, as at Farmoor,[23] but this was not so at the Hamel or Kings Weir.

The modern soils on the gravel terraces are likely to have resulted from ploughing mixing the natural soil with the sandy limestone gravel underneath. When this occurred on an extensive scale is uncertain. Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age ploughing at Mount Farm near Dorchester, Oxon. occurred in a stoney soil and cut into the gravel[24] but the presumably Early Saxon soil under Oxford is relatively stone-free. Soil depth would have been an important factor.

The modern floodplain's clays and clay loams of the Thames Series have been derived from alluvial deposition. Even with modern machinery and flood control they present problems for arable agriculture.[25] The date and cause of their deposition is uncertain. At Farmoor the main period of aggredation seems to have been at some time between the late Iron Age and the Mid-Roman period, but it need not have been the same elsewhere. Changes in sea level are not responsible because the base level of the Upper Thames is the Goring Gap.[26] The cause may have been the presumed increase in rainfall of the Sub-Atlantic Phase[27] but this would seem rather too early for the Farmoor deposit. Forest clearance, expansion of arable agriculture and the introduction of winter cereals have been argued as increasing surface water run-off and river sediment load. It would cause aggredation of alluvium, a rise in the water table and an increase in flooding.[28] This explanation was suggested as the reason for the deposition at Farmoor[29] and at present seems likely for the other sites too.

Although these investigations probably show that part of the Thames floodplain in the Oxford area did not suffer frequent flooding in the Bronze Age, and in one instance may have been used for arable, this does not mean that occupation was permanent or arable widespread on the floodplain. What is demonstrated is that, unlike the Iron Age, usage of the floodplain in the Bronze Age does not seem to have been determined by flooding. Further work on soils of the gravel terraces and floodplain is needed in particular to establish their origin and to detect periods of decalcification.

[22] J.A. Catt, 'The contribution of loess to soils in lowland Britain', *The effect of man on the landscape: the Lowland Zone*, ed. S. Limbrey and J.G. Evans (1978), 12-20; S. Limbrey, *Soil Science and Archaeology* (1975), 134-7, 189-90.

[23] Lambrick and Robinson, *Farmoor*, 124.

[24] Information from G.H. Lambrick.

[25] Jarvis, op. cit.

[26] P.D. Wood, *The Oxford and Newbury area* (British Landscapes through Maps, xi, 1968), 15.

[27] H. Godwin, *History of the British Flora* (2nd edn. 1975), 472-3.

[28] S. Limbrey, 'Changes in quality and distribution of the soils of lowland Britain', *The effect of man on the landscape: the Lowland Zone*, ed. S. Limbrey and J.G. Evans (1978), 23, 25.

[29] Lambrick and Robinson, op. cit. 148, 181-2.

THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The Parish of St. Thomas

St. Thomas's Parish covers the area to the west of Oxford. The main settlement in the parish, containing the Hamel site, and on which this introduction concentrates, was on Oseney Island and formed the western suburb of the medieval city. The area is well documented as about two thirds of it belonged to Oseney Abbey and then to Christ Church, for whose properties large numbers of medieval deeds and rentals and modern leases and surveys survive.[30] Much of this information however, is uncollated, although two modern studies have been devoted to the area.[31] Archaeological work has been mainly concerned with standing buildings[32] and observations of builders' trenches,[33] although two small excavations have been carried out in Fisher Row[34] and on the north side of St. Thomas's Street.[35]

At the time of Domesday the area to the west of Oxford was divided between the manors of Robert D'Oilly and Roger D'Ivri in South and North Oseney respectively.[36] The D'Oilly holding was given to Oseney Abbey, a house of Augustinian canons founded by Robert D'Oilly II in 1129. The boundary between the manors seems to have lain north of Waram Bank[37] then along the line of St. Thomas's Street and Oseney Lane (Fig. 4). At any rate the only property later owned by Oseney Abbey north of this line was a separate acquisition.[38] The D'Oilly holding in Domesday included houses inside and outside the walls, a mill and a meadow of 30 acres near the wall.[39] The early charters (1130-1166) granted to Oseney at its foundation give all Robert II's property on the island of Oseney and all the houses he owns on Waram Bank by his mills near Oxford Castle.[40] These descriptions perhaps show that the houses outside the walls in Domesday were confined to Waram Bank and up to the early 12th century the area of Oseney island proper was not built up. An excavation in the northern part of Waram Bank, in fact,

[30] Collected in H.E. Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, i, O.H.S. lxxxix (1929); ii, O.H.S. xc (1929); iii, O.H.S. xci (1931). Hereafter *C.O.*

[31] W.T.Squires, *In West Oxford*, (1928) has a useful series of topographical drawings; Mary Prior, 'Fisher Row — an Oxford Community of Fishermen and Bargemen (1500-1800)', Unpublished Oxford D.Phil. Thesis 1976 includes a valuable general introduction to the parish (hereafter Prior, 'Fisher Row').

[32] W.A. Pantin, 'Fisher Row, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xxv (1960), 121-5; J. Doran, '64-6 St. Thomas' Street', *Oxoniensia*, xxvi/xxvii (1961/2), 323-32; xxix/xxx (1964/5), 195-8; J. Munby, 'A Fifteenth Century Wealden House in Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xxxix (1974), 73-6.

[33] *Oxoniensia*, iii (1938), 172; x (1945), 97; xvi (1951), 82-3; xxviii (1963), 91; *Excavations in Oxfordshire 1975* (Oxon. Arch. Unit 1976), 14.

[34] *Oxoniensia*, xxix/xxx (1964/5), 192.

[35] *Oxoniensia*, xvi (1951), 83.

[36] *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 279; Janet Cooper, 'The Hundred Rolls for the Parish of St. Thomas, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii (1972), 167 (hereafter Cooper, HRST); *Domesday Book*, fol. 158b, 159a.

[37] i.e. the area between the Castle Mill and the backstream (Lower Fisher Row).

[38] *C.O.* ii, 432-3, 447-8.

[39] Domesday Book fol. 158b, 154a. The meadow which perhaps represents the South Oseney land, may have been extorted by Robert D'Oilly from Abingdon Abbey (J. Stevenson ed. *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ii (1858), 12-13).

[40] *C.O.*, i, 1-6, '*quidquid meum est in prefata insula* (Oseney), *cum omnibus mansuris quas habui supra waram que est de molendinis meis, que sunt iuxta castellum Oxenafordie . . .*'

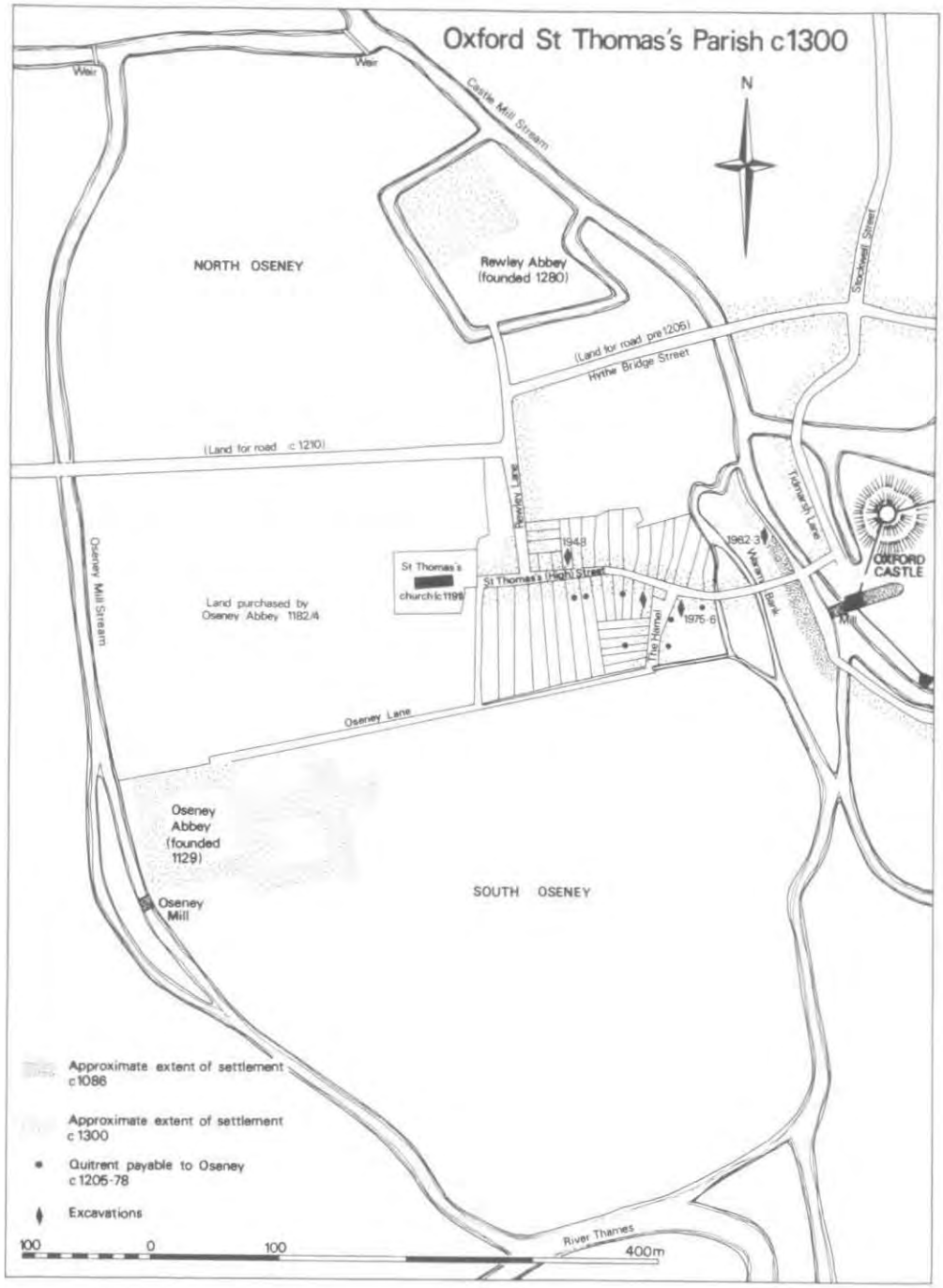


Fig. 4
Sources: O.S. 1:2500 1st ed. 1876; Badcock's survey of Christ Church Property 1829 (*C.O.* ii, 601-632); Loggan's Map 1675; *C.O.*, ii, 344-550, iii, 116-286

failed to discover occupation this early,[41] so it is possible that the earliest occupation was confined to the area immediately round the castle mill. The island may not, however, have been completely unoccupied at this period: the estate mentioned in Archbishop Alfric's will[42] (*c.* 1005) will have had a centre, perhaps on the abbey site, and there is a reference to a house with a cellar and solar and a court, held by Wigerus in Oseney, earlier than 1184/1205,[43] but this may have been on Waram Bank.

The foundation of Oseney Abbey was crucial for the development of the suburb. By the end of the 12th century the abbey seems to have started developing the area outside its gates. In 1182/4 it acquired land on Waram Bank[44] and in 1182/9, more importantly, it acquired from Bernard of St. Walery, the holder of North Oseney, a 17½ acre plot on the west side of the island between the two manors.[45] In 1189/91 the diocesan bishop, the Bishop of Lincoln, gave the abbey permission to build a chapel on this land for the use of their retainers and guests and parishoners in the area.[46] In the same period (1184-1205) Oseney made grants of land around the chapel,[47] in Stockwell Street area[48] and on Waram Bank.[49] The court attached to the house mentioned above was subdivided at this period.[50] When the surviving series of deeds and rentals for the South Oseney properties on the east of the island begins, the properties were mostly in hands other than the Abbey's.[51] However, most of them paid quitrents to the Abbey[52], suggesting that they had once belonged to it. These references belong to the period *c.* 1205-1278 and it is clear from them that some properties had already passed through a number of hands, so with some justification the original grants by Oseney can also be placed at the end of the 12th century. Thus we have evidence of activity, all over the parish within a fairly short time, possibly part of a deliberate and planned development programme.

Topographical evidence may support this proposition. Early maps[53] show that the tenement plots at the west end of St. Thomas's Street on the south side, were long and narrow. At the east end of the street the pattern is complicated because the tenements are aligned on the Hamel. Such long narrow plots are typical of planned developments of this date[54] as is the 'back lane', here marked by the Hamel and Oseney Lane which provided access to the rear of the tenements.[55] A back lane can only be easily created where one land owner is subdividing property. In fact the plots on the north side of St. Thomas's Street are also long and narrow and although there is here no convincing 'back lane' it

[41] Information from D. Sturdy; Cf. *Oxoniensia*, xxix/xxx (1964/5), 192.

[42] Translation in *Eng. Hist. Docs.* i, 544.

[43] *C.O.*, ii, 480. *Capitalis domus cum cellario et solario . . . cum curie.*

[44] *C.O.*, ii, 394-5.

[45] *C.O.*, ii, 432-3. The suggestion (p.433 n.l.) that this was originally common to the two is topographically attractive.

[46] *C.O.*, ii, 434-5.

[47] *C.O.*, ii, 481.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid., 395.

[50] Ibid., 480.

[51] Ibid., 402-30.

[52] *Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide*, i, ed. Wigram, O.H.S. xxviii (1894), 275 (1260/5) (Hereafter *C.St. Frid.*); *C.O.* ii, 410-11 (1251/2, 1258/9); *C.O.* iii, 117 (1277/8); *C.O.* ii, 423 (*c.* 1205), 429 (*c.* 1240), 430 (*c.* 1230).

[53] D. Loggan, *Map of Oxford* (1675) O.H.S. xxxviii (1899); B. Badcock's Survey of Christ Church Property (1829) (*C.O.* ii, 611-15).

[54] cf. the Mill Street and Newland areas of Eynsham, the latter laid out *c.* 1215 (K. Rodwell, *Historic Towns in Oxfordshire* (1975), 109-116; M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (1967), 476; H.M. Colvin, Domestic Architecture and Town Planning, *Medieval England* (1958), 63) or New Thame (Rodwell, op. cit., 147-54).

[55] An alternative explanation of the Hamel and Oseney Lane as the original route to Oseney Abbey might be made combining Anthony Wood's remark (*City of Oxford*, i, 317) that The Hamel was later the road to the

may be that the development was sponsored jointly by the Abbey and the Lord of North Oseney. Excavation[56] on the north side of the street has shown that occupation here also began in the late 12th century and the St. Walerys were involved in a number of the transactions crucial for the development.[57]

Discussions of suburban development[58] tend to emphasise the part played by approach roads. Although the road from the West Gate of Oxford to the ford at Hinksey went through Oseney both, its early line and its importance are uncertain. It seems unlikely that the original road line has been completely abandoned and as the Hamel and Oseney Lane were probably a back lane of the new suburb and the land for Hythe Bridge Street was only acquired in *c.* 1205,[59] St. Thomas's Street itself seems likely to have been the original route, especially as it marked the boundary between the two manors on the island. Where the road went after the end of St. Thomas's Street is more difficult; the obvious line is that of Rewley Lane and the eastern Botley road and thence to Hinksey, although it was only *c.* 1210 that Thomas of St. Walery granted land for a road on this line.[60] Perhaps it followed the line of the west part of Oseney Lane — the reason for the exact position of Oseney Abbey deserves thought.[61] Modern work has shown that the road from West Gate was of less importance, most westbound traffic, especially heavy traffic, leaving Oxford by the South Gate.[62] It will be noticed that the construction of Hythe Bridge Street (*c.* 1205) and the development of the east end of the Botley Road (*c.* 1210), taking the road north of the built up area, were carried out by Oseney Abbey slightly later than the main development of the suburb. The Abbey would be unlikely to blight the suburb's prospects by by-passing its centre in this way and since Hythe Bridge Street never became a focus of settlement we can perhaps conclude that it and St. Thomas's Street were only of local significance.[63]

The same argument can be applied to river transport. Although the Hythe (by Hythe Bridge) was the landing place for heavy goods brought from places upstream of Oxford, [64] the fact that the surrounding area was never a focus of medieval settlement and in fact suffered worse than any other part of the parish from late medieval decline again perhaps shows that the river trade was not very important in the growth of the suburb. Although it is perhaps relevant that the parish was outside the city's jurisdiction,[65] the best

Abbey with H.E. Salter's idea that the tenements on St. Thomas's Street originally faced onto Oseney Lane. However, Salter's theory was based on the medieval description of these tenements as *super conductum*, taking *conductum* as the stream on Oseney Lane. In fact, as Loggan shows, there was a stream along the St. Thomas's St. frontage as well.

[56] S.E. Rigold 'Notes and News', *Oxoniensia*, xvi (1951), 83.

[57] *C.O.* ii, 432-3, 442, 463.

[58] D.J. Keene, 'Suburban Growth', *Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns*, ed. M.W. Barley, (CBA Research Report 14, 1975), 71-82.

[59] *C.O.* ii, 449-50.

[60] Ibid. 442-3.

[61] See note 42.

[62] G. Lambrick, 'Some Old Roads of North Berkshire', *Oxoniensia*, xxxiv (1969), 78-93; R.H.C. Davis, 'The Ford, the River and the City', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii (1973), 258-9; B.G. Durham, 'Archaeological Investigations in St. Aldates, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 178; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 3-4, 284; for the old view, H.E. Salter, *Medieval Oxford*, O.H.S. c (1936), 1-3.

[63] The building of a causeway up to Hinksey Ferry seems to have had to wait until 1445 (*C.O.* ii, 443-4) although there is a reference to a causeway (*magnam calceiam*) on the island in 1184/1205 (Ibid. 481).

[64] Eg. Stone was landed here for Merton College 1309-10, W.J. Arkell, *Oxford Stone*, 38, 61, pl. 15.

[65] Prior, 'Fisher Row', 36, 42-3. 45-6.

explanation for the development of the area seems to lie in the proximity of the river which provided water and power, especially for the cloth industry on which the prosperity of Oxford at this period was based; the availability of open spaces for drying cloth; the pressure on space within the walls, and the presence of Oseney Abbey as both employer and market.

The suburb seems to have expanded very rapidly so that by 1279[66] it contained about 200 properties of different kinds. The largest landowner was Oseney Abbey, which during the century had reacquired almost all the land it had granted away and more besides.[67] The Earl of Cornwall held North Oseney which, in 1281, he granted to Rewley Abbey. By this date it seems that Waram Bank, both sides of St. Thomas's Street and the Hamel, the east side of Rewley Lane, perhaps parts of Hythe Bridge Street and certainly the land to the east of the Castle Mill Stream and Stockwell Street were all quite densely settled.

The known occupational structure (Table I) of the parish up to 1300 emphasises the importance of the cloth industry which employed the higher proportion of the inhabitants. Others were engaged in the clothing trade and building. Other groups, attracted to the parish by the river, were fishermen and millers. The leather trade was also well established.[68] In spite of the success of the suburb however, St. Thomas's seems to have been one of the poorer parts of the city: in 1279[69] the proportion of cottages to more substantial buildings was higher there than in any other parish.

The expansion of the suburb seems to have reached its peak towards the end of the 13th century. Property in Rewley Lane was still being subdivided between 1277/8 and 1283/1316 with a *domus nova* recorded in 1283/1316.[70] Thereafter however expansion ceased, and the 14th century was a period of decline for St. Thomas's parish as for Oxford as a whole.[71] In St. Thomas's the effects of decline can be seen in the rentals with accumulating arrears and vacant properties.[72] The part of the suburb worst affected was that on the east side of the Castle Mill stream by Hythe Bridge and north towards the castle where after 1353 almost all the properties were vacant and derelict, being described as gardens by 1449.[73] The part of the parish around St. Thomas's Street was not affected so much, but here also there was vacant property and some contraction of holdings. The parish also appears to have been one of the poorest in the city according to the tax assessments of the period.[74] In spite of its decline during the 14th century the cloth trade (see Table I) still occupied the highest proportion of the parish's inhabitants between 1300 and 1400. The second largest employer was the leather trade followed by building and clothing. The proportion of fishermen remained constant while that of those in the food and drink and brewing trades rose slightly. The picture these figures show is perhaps more industrial than Oxford as a whole, where the effect of the economic decline was to

[66] Cooper, HRST, 167 ff.

[67] Ibid.; *C.O.* ii, 350-485 *passim*.

[68] Oseney Abbey's tannery is recorded as paying tax in 1282; A. Wood, *City*, ii, ed. A. Clark, O.H.S. xxi, 208-9.

[69] Cooper, HRST, 167: 125 cottages to 63 tenements in St. Thomas's, 32 cottages to 605 tenements and 148 selds in the rest of Oxford.

[70] *C.O.* iii, 118, 129. *Terra Rogeri de Comenore* in 1277/8 has become *Terra vacua iuxta Blisse, Domus Nova, Cotagium primum* and *cotagium secundum* in 1283/1316.

[71] *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 39-41.

[72] *C.O.*, iii, 149-50, 180.

[73] Ibid., 180, 243-4.

[74] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, iv, 31, Table I.

TABLE I

RECORDED OCCUPATIONS IN ST. THOMAS'S PARISH 1150-1750

	1150-1300	1300-1400	1400-1500	1550-1650	1650-1750
Building	18 14%	8 9%	5 16%	21 28%	18 13%
Cloth	26 21%	14 16%	6 19%	4 5%	4 3%
Clothing	8 6%	8 9%	4 12%	5 6%	3 2%
Distributive	3 2%	— —	— —	— —	1 1%
Food and Drink	7 6%	6 8%	— —	3 4%	16 12%
Brewing	— —	2 2%	1 3%	5 7%	20 15%
Fishermen/Watermen	9 8%	7 8%	— —	9 12%	16 12%
Leather	6 5%	12 14%	4 12%	8 11%	16 12%
Metal	10 8%	— —	— —	1 1 %	3 2%
Millers	12 10%	2 2%	4 12%	2 2%	4 3%
Others	25 20%	26 32%	8 25%	18 24%	34 25%
Sample Total	124	85	32	76	135

The categories used are the same as those in *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 45, except that brewers and fishermen have been separated from food and drink and millers and watermen have been separated from others. Columns 1, 2 and 3 have been compiled from Oseney Deeds and Rentals, Hundred Rolls survey and Poll Tax 1381. Occupational surnames have not been used after 1325; witnesses to deeds are included if they only witness deeds relating to the parish. The printed text of the Poll Tax (Thorold Rogers, *Oxford City Docs.*, 32-4) omits a fuller and mistakes 4 leatherworkers for tilers (information from Janet Cooper) Columns 4 and 5 have been compiled from Christ Church and City leases (from H.E. Salter, *Oxford City Properties*, O.H.S. lxxxiii (1926), 195-200 and Prior, 'Fisher Row', appendix 1), discounting people who can be shown not have lived in the parish. This table should be used with care: the totals involved are small and the sources may contain a bias towards the property owning classes.

increase dependence on the university market. In the Poll Tax of 1381 in the city as a whole 28% of those whose ocupations are given were in the food and drink and distributive trades.[75] In the 14th century the recurrent conflict between Oseney Abbey and the City about water rights and jurisdiction became particularly bitter.[76]

In the 15th century the parish's fortunes seem to have revived at least in comparison with Oxford as a whole. The rent crisis of the period does not seem to have affected St. Thomas's where there were more upward revisions of rent than anywhere else in Oxford and where in the second half of the century rent payments held up better.[77] This prosperity seems to be connected with an upsurge in the cloth industry. The occupational structure of the parish in the period 1400-1500 (see Table I), although based on very few individuals, does show an increase in the proportion of those engaged in the cloth trade and Oseney Abbey built four fulling mills in or just before 1412.[78] The proportions involved in other trades seem to remain fairly constant except for an upsurge in millers

[75] Ibid., 45, Table II.

[76] Prior, 'Fisher Row', 43 ff; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* iii, 20; *Public Works in Medieval Law*, ii, (Seldon Soc. xl, 1933), 17-22; *C.O.* ii, 477-9.

[77] Prior, 'Fisher Row', 46, quoting unpublished article by Andrew Butcher; cf. Julian Munby, 'A Fifteenth Century Wealden House in Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xxxiv (1974), 75.

[78] *C.O.*, ii, 417, probably fulling mills according to H.E. Salter.

and a total absence of fishermen which can probably be explained by the inadequacy of the data. This period also saw the improvement of the west road from Oxford by the building of a causeway to Hinksey Ferry.[79]

Although the prosperity did not lead to rebuilding on the abandoned sites to the east of the Castle Mill stream, in the period 1407-1452 there are a series of references to new buildings in the parish.[80] This building activity may have been simply replacement (which at other periods went unrecorded), but its volume is suggestive especially when considered with the other evidence of rising prosperity in the parish. On Bookbinders tenement at the east end of St. Thomas's Street on the north side in 1420[81] a *domus* 12 ft. × 20 ft. was to be constructed (other leases in 1423 and 1436 mention two other new buildings on this property);[82] on the southern part of Waram Bank in 1439 a detatched kitchen 12 ft. × 16 ft. was specified; [83] and on the east side of the Hamel in 1407 a *domus* 14 ft. × 40 ft. with a timber roof of five couples (4 bays of 10 ft. each) was mentioned. This building may have had stone walls since the roof members are described as the principal timber.[84] Again there seems to have been further new building on this site in 1424.[85] In 1450 another *domus*, possibly of Wealden type, at the south end of the Hamel on the west side, was to be 14 ft. × 36 ft., timber-framed with 'two solars for two chambers' with a hall between.[86] In Tidmarsh Lane in 1452 a brewhouse was to be built 18 ft. × 66 ft. with a solar 30 ft. or more long.[87] The wealden house depicted by Buckler on the corner of Rewley Lane and St. Thomas's Street may have been built at this period.[88] Thus these new buildings ranged in size, some having more than one storey; they were probably mostly timber-framed, although some may have been stone built. Where it is specified the roof covering is stone slate or tile, although other buildings in the area including one on the excavation site, were thatched.[89]

Although the prosperity was waning by the end of the 15th century, St. Thomas's parish was still in 1524/5 a middling parish in terms of taxable wealth. Analysis of the Lay Subsidies of 1524-5[90] shows an average of 53 assessable persons representing perhaps 70 households in all. There were a few quite rich inhabitants but the parish was very much a working class area, having the highest proportion of wage earners in the assessment of any parish in Oxford. Furthermore since the parish had the second highest wage assessment in the city, a large group of these wage earners were highly paid. Oseney Abbey was the largest employer, having 40% of the wage earners in the parish on its payroll, but its servants received wages lower than the parochial average.[91]

In a parish containing two monasteries, one of which employed *c.* 40% of the wage earners of the parish, the results of the Dissolution were catastrophic; vacant houses and

[79] Ibid., 443-4.
[80] Cf. Munby, 'Wealden House', 75-6.
[81] *C.O.*, ii, 392.
[82] Ibid., 392-3.
[83] Ibid., 397. *domus . . . pro coquina.*
[84] Ibid., 408-9.
[85] Ibid., 409.
[86] Ibid., 422; Munby, 'Wealden House', 75.
[87] *C.O.*, ii, 379-80.
[88] Munby, 'Wealden House', 73-6.
[89] *C.O.*, ii, 431-2, 427; iii, 274.
[90] Carl Hammer Jr., 'Some Social and Institutional aspects of Town-Gown Relationships in Late Medieval and Tudor Oxford', (Univ. of Toronto, Ph.D. Thesis 1973): Copy in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c.368.
[91] Ibid., 132.

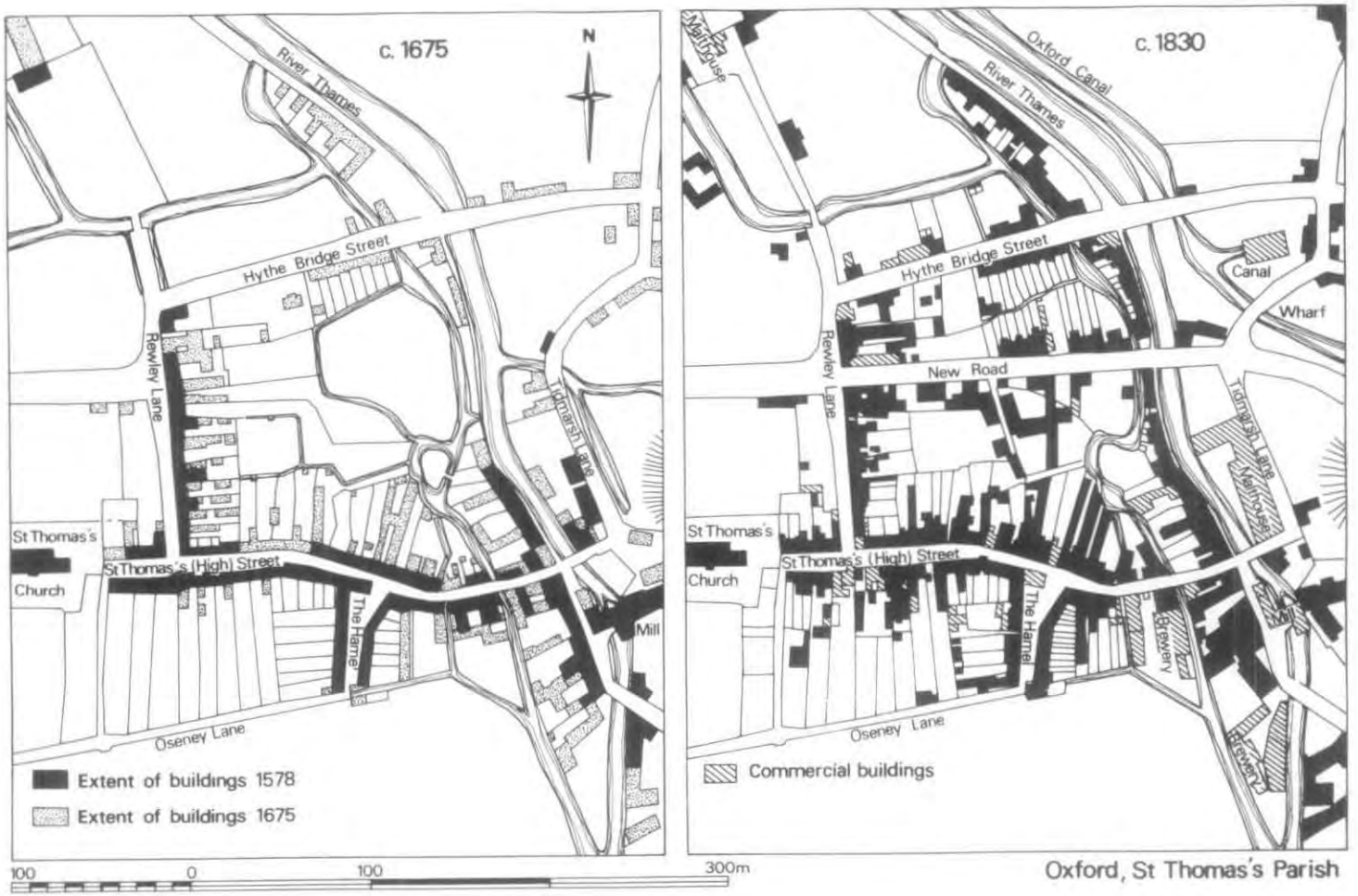


Fig. 5
Sources: O.S. 1:2500 1st ed. 1876; Agas' Map 1578; Loggan's Map 1675; Badcock's survey 1829, Pearson's Map 1817, Hoggar's Map 1850

rent arrears increased, there was a very high turnover in population in the parish between 1524-5 and 1543-4, and a number of abortive schemes were promoted to erect fulling mills to provide work for the poor.[92]

Agas's Map of 1578[93] (Fig. 5) shows the parish in the later sixteenth century. The built-up area of the parish was much less than its greatest medieval extent. The area on the east of Hythe Bridge is vacant. Along Tidmarsh Lane there are a few houses, more to the south. Waram Bank is fairly densely settled and the whole southern frontage of St. Thomas's Street is built up (Agas does show gaps but these are probably an attempt at perspective), as are both sides of the Hamel and the east side of Rewley Lane. The north side of St. Thomas's street does not seem to be completely built up, and both sides of Hythe Bridge Street are vacant. The houses in St. Thomas's parish seem to be mostly one and two storied and smaller than houses on the main streets within the walls. They are all shown with tile or stone slate roofs and chimneys. The backs of the tenement plots, except at the east end of St. Thomas's Street on the south side and on Rewley Lane are undeveloped.

The period between 1525 and 1667 seems to have been one of rapid population increase; the 70 households of 1525 becoming about 200 comprising about 590 people by the time of the Poll Tax of 1667.[94] This growth was repeated all over Oxford and was accompanied by much new building of which the effects can be seen in Loggan's Map of 1675 (Fig. 5).[95] In St. Thomas's parish houses have reappeared along Stockwell Street, on the east side of Hythe Bridge and over the Castle ditch. The north side of St. Thomas's Street is completely built up.[96] There are new houses along the south side of Hythe Bridge Street and along Upper and Middle Fisher Row.[97] In the areas previously built up Loggan shows many attics and 'cocklofts' and considerable development at the backs of tenements, especially on the north side of St. Thomas's Street and the east side of Rewley Lane. The houses again appear generally to be smaller than those on main streets within the walls but comparable with other suburban property.

In the period 1550-1650 by far the largest employer of labour in the parish was the building trade; much the largest group within the trade being carpenters. The next largest group was the watermen, about equally divided between fishermen and boatmen, followed by the leather workers and brewers. The cloth and clothing trades show a marked decline. In the subsidies of 1648 and 1667 St. Thomas's parish paid the largest contribution (£10 9s 3d and £27 17s 1d) and the third and fourth highest average contributions.[98] This would suggest that the parish was relatively wealthy but the unnaturally large numbers of apparently childless couples[99] listed in the Poll Tax of 1667[100] probably means that the untaxed part of the population was large and so the parish as a whole was not wealthy.

[92] Prior 'Fisher Row', 48 ff; *C.O.*, iii, 286-90; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 110.

[93] O.H.S. xxxviii (1899).

[94] Prior, 'Fisher Row', 55.

[95] In a list of new buildings in Oxford between 1620 and 1640, St. Thomas's Parish has the highest number although these are almost all less substantial buildings, cottages or squabs (University Archives WP ß/R/10 [item 9]. I am grateful to Julian Munby for bringing this to my attention.

[96] There is also rebuilding: J. Doran, 'Eleven Small Oxford Houses', *Oxoniensia*, xxvi/xxvii (1961/2), 329 ff; also *Oxoniensia*, xxix/xxx (1964/5), 195-8.

[97] W.A. Pantin, 'Fisher Row, Oxford,' *Oxoniensia*, xxv (1960), 121-5.

[98] *Surveys and Tokens*, ed. H.E. Salter, O.H.S. lxxv (1920), 179-82, 337-53.

[99] This is probably explained if they were too poor to be assessed or if their children were employed as servants away from home.

[100] *Surveys and Tokens*, 243-250. But see Prior, 'Fisher Row', 54.

Analysis of the parish registers[101] from 1671 has shown that the parish's population continued to increase until the 1720s but then declined slightly until the 1780s when a period of rapid increase supervenes. This stagnation during the 18th century,[102] although typical of Oxford, contrasts with general trends elsewhere. It was probably due to falling prosperity caused by a decline in the University and in navigation on the Thames, and in St. Thomas's parish it is evident in the reduction of fines paid at the renewal of Christ Church leases[103] during most of the 18th century. Most lessees were investors who sub-divided the tenements and sublet them. In the period 1650-1750 brewing was the commonest occupation, followed by building, the river trades, leather working and the food and drink trade.

The later 18th century brought major changes in the topography of the parish with the building of New Road (Park End Street) in *c.* 1770 and the Oxford Canal in 1790. Fig. 5 shows the parish in the early 19th century before the coming of the railway, the development of New Oseney and the rebuilding of most of the Christ Church property south of St. Thomas's Street. There are new buildings along New Road but the most striking feature is the concentrated development of the backs of tenements which produced the large numbers of mean houses opening off alleys or 'yards' back from the streets. These 'yards' are most noticeable along St. Thomas's Street, which also by this date contained numbers of common lodging houses catering for the poorest of itinerant labourers and hawkers.

The Excavated Tenements (Fig. 6)

The west side of the Hamel, where the main excavation took place, seems to have been divided between two medieval tenements. To the south was what Salter called the 'Hall of St. Helen',[104] to the north was Bretel's tenement.[105] The southern quarter of the trench encountered the former, the northern three quarters the latter. The small trench on the east side of the Hamel was on the property known as St. Frideswide's tenement.[106]

The Hall of St. Helen c. 1205-1333

The Hall of St. Helen was first recorded between 1240 and 1244 when Philip of St. Helen granted land with buildings to the Hospital of St. John.[107] Philip had been preceded by Andrew Halegod and Andrew by Philip Halegod who held the property *c.* 1205.[108] Earlier the tenement had belonged to Oseney, to whom quitrent was paid.[109] Apart from this reference and three appearances as a witness to deeds *c.* 1190-1200[110] nothing is known of Philip Halegod. His successor, Andrew Halegod, witnessed a large number of deeds between *c.* 1210 and 1248/9 and had extensive property interests in both the city and

[101] Prior, 'Fisher Row', 57 ff.
[102] Ibid., 102.
[103] *C.O.*, ii, 494-550.
[104] Ibid., 416-23. The property is described thus twice in 1271/2 (*C.O.* ii, 414) and in 1285 (*C.O.*, iii, 127); otherwise it is known to Oseney as Nicholas Weston's Ten. (*C.O.*, iii, 271) and to the Hospital of St. John as William de Wodestone's Ten. (*Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist* ed. H.E. Salter O.H.S. (hereafter *C.H.S.J.*) iii, 44 etc.).
[105] *C.O.*, ii, 423-8.
[106] Ibid., 405-10. So-called because Oseney acquired it from St. Frideswide's.
[107] Ibid., 416.
[108] Ibid., 423.
[109] *C.O.*, iii, 117, 129.
[110] *C.O.*, ii, 29, 189, 446.

Fig. 6

Sources: Top left, *C.O.*, ii, 405-428, iii, 117, 127, 129, 133-4, 144-5, 150-1, 160 (for 1-9 see Table II); Top right, *C.O.*, ii, 427, iii, 272, 285 (for 6-9 see Table III); Bottom left, Badcock's Survey (*C.O.*, ii, 609-10), *C.O.*, ii 517-21, 530-4 (for H12-13, ST 11-15 see Tables IV and V); Bottom right, O.S. 1:500 1st ed. 1878

suburbs.[111] He presumably occupied one of his properties within the city, renting the St. Thomas's one. From Andrew Halegod, apart from a reserved rent of 10*s*. the property descended to Philip of St. Helen, perhaps before *c.* 1220 when he witnessed a deed relating to the northern adjoining tenement.[112]

Philip, in 1240/4, gave the property to the Hospital of St. John, reserving to himself for life a rent of 4 marks a year, an amount showing the size of the property.[113] Presumably the Hospital rented the property out. In 1259 the reserved rent of 10*s*. was surrendered by John Halegod.[114] In 1266/7 the Hospital, reserving a rent of 1 mark, granted the *messuage* to the wealthy merchant Nicholas de Weston[115] who, according to his will, occupied it himself.[116] He died in 1271 leaving the property to his wife Emma for her life, with reversion to his daughter Alice. Alice apparently married a William de Wodestone who held the property, then worth ½ mark over and above the rent of one mark to the Hospital, in 1279,[117] and in 1293/4 and *c.* 1302.[118] He had died by 1316/17 when Alice de Wodestone herself paid the Oseney quitrent;[119] she died in 1322[120] dividing the property among her children, Katherine, Nicholas and William. Katherine's share descended to her daughter Matilda who sold it to Michael Pille.[121] This share consisted of two cottages at the south end of the Hamel in 1325 when Michael Pille granted it to Stephen de Adyngton.[122] In 1325 Nicholas and William de Wodestone also transferred their share of the Hall of St. Helen to Stephen de Adyngton.[123] Stephen de Adyngton was Mayor of Oxford in 1338-9 and a substantial property owner.[124] He lived in Bedford Lane within the city and presumably rented the Hall of St. Helen out during the eight years he held the property. In 1333 Stephen de Adyngton transferred the property to John de Bibury,[125] another substantial Oxford landowner, who in the same year gave it back to Oseney.[126] In the first of these transactions the property is described as *tenementum* with five cottages and in the second *unum toftum* with five cottages. It is not clear whether the word *tenementum* refers to a building demolished by the time of the second transfer, rather than to the plot of land on which the cottages were built.

Bretels Tenement c. 1205-1324

The northern tenement seems to have been granted by Oseney to the otherwise unknown Juliana daughter of Gilbert sometime before *c.* 1205 when she granted it to John Bretel.[127] Bretel began or more probably continued building; *c.* 1220 he acquired an easement to

[111] *C.H.S.J.*, ii, 15, 357; H.E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ii, O.H.S. N.S. xx (1969), 319.
[112] *C.O.*, ii, 424.
[113] Ibid., 416.
[114] *C.H.S.J.*, ii, 434.
[115] *C.O.*, ii, 418.
[116] Ibid., 564.
[117] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 791.
[118] *C.H.S.J.*, iii, 44, 53.
[119] *C.O.*, iii, 133.
[120] *C.O.*, ii, 562, n2, 419-20.
[121] Ibid., 420.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid., 419.
[124] *C.H.S.J.*, ii, 65; Salter, *Survey*, ii, 276.
[125] *C.O.*, ii. 420; Salter, *Survey*, ii, 285.
[126] *C.O.*, ii, 421.
[127] Ibid., 423.

TABLE II

BRETEL'S TENEMENT, TENANTS 1257-1324

Date	TENEMENT Nos. 1	2	3	4
		Walter Carpentarius		
1254/60	Walter le Tannur 6*s.*			
1257				
1277/8		*Domus Galfridi de Withon'* Powyc F 6*s.*	Domus in angulo relicta Bretel A 4*s.*	Cotagium angulare Matild. de Fullewelle A 3*s.*
1283		*Domus Powic* ad vitam suam	*Domus in angulo* Bretel ad vitam suam	*Terra angularis*
1283/ 1316	*Domus Walteri le Tannur* Will. Quadrator 9*s.*	*Cotagium primum Poywyk* 4*s.*	*Cot. secundum* relicta Thome le Foel 3*s.*	
1316	*Domus le Quareour*	*Cotagium primum Poywyk*	*Cot. secundum* Thome le Foel 5*s.*	
1317	*Domus le Quarreour* Will le Quareour A 8*s.*	*Domus Poywyk* A 4*s.*	*Cot. Thome le Foel* I. le Gurdlere A 5*s.*	
1320	*Domus le Quareour* Will le Quareour A 8*s.*	*Cotagium Poywik* Elias le Couper A 4*s.*	*Cot. Thome le Fol* Matilda le Scipster A 5*s.*	
1324	*Domus le Quarreour* A 8*s.*	*Cotagium Poywik* Hugo Scriptor A 4*s.*	*Cot. Thome le Fol* Ric. Carpentarius A 5*s.*	

support his timbers on the gable of his western neighbour.[128] John Bretel, clerk, witnessed a number of Oseney deeds between *c.* 1195 and *c.* 1235.[129] He apparently died *c.* 1240 leaving this property back to Oseney, saving his widow's right to accommodation there. At any rate between 1254 and 1260 Oseney leased out sections of the property[130] while in

[128] *C.O.*, 424. This is not evidence of pressure on space in the area (*V.C.H. Oxon.*, iv, 26) it may be simply an economy or convenience measure.
[129] *C.O.*, ii, 276-7, 352.
[130] Ibid., 424-6.

5	6	7	8	9
	William Doddeford			
	William de Foulewelle le Lingedraper 10*s.*		Hugo de Burgo 10*s.*	
Cotagium secundum Will. Cuper A 3*s.*	*Cotagium tercium* Potter A 3*s.*	*Cotagium quartum* Ricardi le Graunger A 3*s.*	*Domus vocatur scola Agne . . .* A 8*s.*	*Domus nova Bretel* Rob. Clotmonger F 6*s.*
Cot. primum Will. Molendinarius	*Cot. secundum* Potter	*Cot. tercium* Avicina	*Domus Cham* Joh. Sclattor	*Domus nova* Rob. Lingedraper
	Cot. tercium		*Domus Cham*	*Domus Bridel*
			W. Scriptor 8*s.*	Emma le Lingedraper 6*s.*
	4*s.* *Parvum cotagium ibidem*		*Domus Cham* Vacat.	*Domus Bretel*
	4*s.* *Cot. parvum ibidem*		8*s.* *Domus Willelmi le Messager*	6*s.* *Domus Emme le Sclopmongere*
	Matilda le Scupstere A 4*s.*		A 8*s.*	A 6*s.*
	Cot. parvum ibidem		*Domus Willelmi le Messenger*	*Domus Emme le Clothmonger*
	vac. A 4*s.*		vac. A 8*s.*	A 6*s.*
	Cot. parvum ibidem		*Domus W. le Messenger*	*Domus Emme Clothmonger*
	vacat. A 4*s.*		A 8*s.*	F 6*s.*

From *C.O.* ii 424-7, *C.O.* iii 117, 127-8, 129, 133-4, 144-5, 150-1, 160. See also Fig. 6, Top Left.

1277/8[131] Bretel's widow occupied part of it (see Table II). Three of these leases survive: one,[132] of 1254/60, granted to Walter the Tanner a plot between the southern boundary of the tenement and a plot formerly held by Walter Carpenter; the other two leases, both dated 1257, granted a plot on the western boundary of the tenement to Hugh de Burgo,[133] and a plot to the east, formerly occupied by William Doddeford to William de Foulewell,

[131] *C.O.*, iii, 117.
[132] *C.O.*, ii, 424.
[133] Ibid., 426.

linen draper.[134] Bretel's widow was also presumably in occupation at this date; in 1277/8 she was next to Matilda de Fullewelle,[135] presumably the successor of William de Foulewell, so she should perhaps be placed between Walter Carpenter's plot and William de Foulewell's.

That in 1277/8 Matilda de Fullewelle had the corner cottage shows that William de Foulewell's and Hugh de Burgo's holdings lay along the St. Thomas's Street frontage whilst those of Walter the Tanner, Walter Carpenter and widow Bretel lay along the Hamel. Thus these three properties, with part of that of William de Foulewell, lay within the excavated area. Of the people mentioned in connection with the tenement, Walter Carpenter is otherwise unknown, William Doddeford[136] appears as a witness in Oseney deeds *c.* 1240 (two relate to St. Thomas's one to all Saints), and Walter the Tanner, William de Foulewelle and Hugh de Burgo witness St. Thomas's deeds between 1258/9 and *c.* 1270.[137] Hugh de Burgo held other property in Holywell[138] on which he may have lived, but William, Walter and William are likely to have lived on the tenement. Their occupations, carpenter, tanner and linendraper, seem to be typical of the parish. In the Hundred Rolls of 1279 this tenement was apparently included with the 2 large and 22 small tenements belonging to Oseney Abbey in the South West Ward.[139]

Between 1257 and 1277/8 the holdings of William de Foulewelle and Hugh de Burgo on the St. Thomas's Street frontage were subdivided into at least six parts and the subdivision may have been accompanied by building: the description *Domus nova Bretel* may or may not be significant.[140] In the late 13th or early 14th century,[141] however, the number of holdings on the tenement was reduced from nine to six and in 1316, 1320 and 1324[142] some of those holdings were vacant, suggesting that here as elsewhere, the peak of expansion had been reached and that decline was seting in.

In 1277/8 the house of Walter the Tanner was omitted from the rental; in the early 14th century it was occupied by William Quadrator or le Quarreour (quarryman), from whom it was named *domus le Quarreour* from 1316 (Table II). The property of Walter Carpenter is perhaps to be identified with *Domus Galfridi de Withon* which from 1277/8 to 1317 was occupied by Poywyck, in 1320 it was the *cotagium Poywik* occupied by Elias le Couper and in 1324 by Hugh Scriptor. In 1277/8 and 1285 Bretel's widow occupied the next property; its designation *domus in angulo* is conveniently explained if, already by 1277/8, the building projected half across the end of the Hamel as it did later. The corner cottage held by Matilda de Fullewelle in 1277/8 had become *terra angularis* in 1285. Between Domus Powic and Domus Cham in the rentals from 1285/1316 to 1324 there were only two holdings (where previously there had been five) and it is impossible to say whether they were on the Hamel or the St. Thomas's Street frontage.

[134] Ibid., 425.
[135] Ibid., iii, 117.
[136] *C.O.*, i, 431; ii, 428-9.
[137] *C.O.*, ii, 180, 377, 407-8, 412; *C.H.S.J.*, ii, 358.
[138] *C.H.S.J.*, ii, 359-61.
[139] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 788.
[140] *C.O.*, iii, 117.
[141] Ibid., 129.
[142] Ibid., 133-4, 150-1, 160.

TABLE III

THE WEST SIDE OF THE HAMEL 1449-1498: TENANTS

Ten. 6 (Rent 20*s.*) *Nicholai Westun*	*Ten. 7* (10*s.*)	*Ten. 8* (15*s.*)	*Ten. 9* (6*s.* 8*d.*) *vel cot. voc. Marionhall*
Thomas Smart, weaver 1449-1456	Thomas Gardiner 1449-1479	Oliver Roweland 1449	John Mason and Will Carver 1453
		Vacant 1453-1458	
Joh. Flokke 1458-9			Will. Carver 1454-8
		Thomas Gurdon 1459-61	vacant 1459
Will. Noode, carpenter 1460(-1)			Johanna Glover1460-1
(Thomas Gardiner 1461)?		Thomas de Infirmaria 1479	Uxor Ricardi Ambresden glover
T. Wodcok 1477			1477
Will Wodcok 1479			T. Matrassmaker 1479
Thomas Keball (26*s.* 8*d.*) 1498	Thomas Harold (13*s.* 4*d.*) 1498	Will. Cocke (15*s.*) 1498	Thomas Wilcock (7*s.*) 1498

From *C.O.* ii 427, iii 272, 285. See also Fig. 6, Top right.

The West side of the Hamel 1333-1498

After 1333, therefore, in common with most of the property in South Oseney, both the tenements had been reacquired by Oseney Abbey. The next surviving rental after 1324 is that for 1387 which begins a sequence of nine up to 1449.[143] For some reason all these omit the properties on the west side of the Hamel, moving straight from 'St. Frideswide's tenement' and the tenement of Lucas de Worth on the east side of the Hamel to the tenement of Adam the Porter which seems to occupy the western part of Bretel's original tenement on St. Thomas's Street. The reason for this is unclear. It is unlikely that the west side of the Hamel was vacant for the whole of the period; perhaps the Abbey was using it to house short term workmen or for some other purpose that prevented it being rented. In 1443 the Hospital of St. John quitclaimed to Oseney its rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* from the Hall of St. Helen.[144]

The western side of the Hamel reappears in the rental for 1453.[145] A lease of the 'sixth tenement', to Thomas Gardiner in 1449,[146] contains a clause requiring repair of roof-thatch. By 1453 there are nine tenements along the west side of the Hamel described

[143] Ibid., 180-245.
[144] *C.O.*, ii, 421-2, but the rent was apparently paid between 1507 and 1680 (*C.H.S.J.*, iii, 291-328).
[145] *C.O.*, iii, 272.
[146] *C.O.*, ii, 427.

as *tenementa Nicholai Westun*. A lease of 1616[147] suggests that the seventh and eighth belonged to Bretels, and corresponded to the post medieval tenements (see Fig. 6) numbered in the Christ Church lease books Hamel No. 13 (H13) and St. Thomas's Street, No. 13 (ST13). The ninth medieval tenement is probably the corner house, the post-medieval St. Thomas's Street tenement No. 14 (ST14). This means that the first six medieval tenements[148] covered the Hall of St. Helen and probably correspond to the post-medieval tenements 7 to 12 in the Hamel (H7-H12). The post-medieval properties can be located on Badcock's Survey of 1829,[149] so we can say that the main excavation covered parts of the later medieval tenements 6, 7 and 9, and possibly 8 since it is not clear where the boundary was, and the post medieval tenements 12 and 13 in the Hamel and 14, and possibly 13, on St. Thomas's Street. In fact, in the post medieval period 13 in the Hamel and 13 in St. Thomas's Street were leased together with 11 and 12 in St. Thomas's Street.

The tenants of tenements 6-9 in the Hamel for the period 1453-1498 are given in Table III. There seems to be an error in the 1461 rental,[150] in which the inhabitants of tenements nos. 4-7 have all moved one house south since 1460. The writer may have been confused by the Adstocks in both no. 2 and no. 3 and probably William Node should be in no. 6 and Thomas Gardiner in no. 7 only. The only tenants with known occupations are Thomas Smart, weaver (1449-1456) and William Node, carpenter (1460-1) in no. 6, Thomas de Infirmaria (1479) in no. 8 and T. Matrassmaker (1479) in no. 9; we cannot say whether Joanna Ambresden (1460-1) in no. 9 carried on her husband's trade of glover.

St. Frideswide's Tenement c. 1220-1498

St. Frideswide's Tenement extended from Little Bookbinder's Bridge along St. Thomas's Street and some way down the Hamel.[151] Again the evidence of quitrents[152] suggests that originally the property was granted by Oseney Abbey, with the next tenement,[153] to William Amis, linendraper, who witnesses Oseney deeds from *c.* 1220 to *c.* 1240.[154] William sold the property to Reginald the Mason of Abingdon[155] who also acquired the next tenement to the south[156] before dividing the enlarged property in 1258/9 between St. Frideswide's Priory, his daughter Emma and his son Walter.[157] Soon afterwards, in 1260/1, St. Frideswide's sold their share to Oseney by which time the land had been built up.[158] In 1261 Oseney rented the corner part of the property to Richard Miller and his wife

[147] Ibid., 518; cf. *C.O.*, iii, 96.

[148] In the post medieval leases the twelfth ten. in the Hamel is subsidiary to the eleventh, although the sixth late medieval ten. is worth 20*s*., twice as much as the fifth (10*s*.), so some rearrangement of these tens. may have taken place between 1498 and 1574.

[149] *C.O.*, ii, 608-10.

[150] *C.O.*, iii, 271-2.

[151] *C.O.*, ii, 405.

[152] *C.St. Frid.*, i, 275, *C.O.*, iii, 117.

[153] From which Amis's daughter Christina received a quitrent in 1251/2 and 1258/9 (*C.O.*, ii, 410-11).

[154] *C.O.*, ii, 424, 397.

[155] *C.St. Frid.*, i, 275.

[156] *C.O.*, ii, 413.

[157] *C. St. Frid.* i, 275-6; *C.O.*, ii, 411, 413.

[158] *C.O.*, ii, 405 = *C.St. Frid.*, i, 337. It is described as *terram angularem cum mesuagiis*.

Alice Scot reserving a number of cottages on the eastern side of the tenement.[159] By 1277/8 the tenement was divided into eight holdings; the excavated area was probably covered by *Domus Alicie Scot*,[160] which in 1277/8 was occupied by Alice Scot herself, in 1283/1316 by Simon Petingale, in 1317 by Rob. le Leche and in 1320 by Laurence .....[161]

From 1387 to 1435, the property, although divided into five cottages and a tenement, was let *en bloc* to single tenants, who presumably sublet to others. Geoffrey Fuller (1387-9) was succeeded by Thomas Bolt (1406), Peter Brember (1407-1424), Matilda Webbe (1428) and Richard Tanner (1433-5).[162] Two leases to Peter Brember mention new building on the tenement between 1407 and 1424, but the part concerned lay round the corner from the excavation, in the Hamel.[163] After 1449 the holdings on the tenement were re-arranged and let individually. They are somewhat difficult to relate to the previous arrangement but a landmark is provided by the shop on the corner of the Hamel (*shopa in angulo*).[164] The excavation probably covered part of the preceding holding in the rentals, *Ten. tercium Fredeswyde*, which was rented to John Elyot, tailor (1449-1458), Agnes Taverner (1459-60), Robert Benett (1460-3, 1467, 1477), John Peyntour (1464-5), Martin Karver (1466), William Plummer (1467), John Fosbroke (1477), John Waren (1479) and Edward Miller (1498).[165] One or two of these are recorded as renting other property at the same time[166] but most of the others probably occupied the tenement.

The Post-Medieval Period

After the Dissolution, the excavated tenements passed with the rest of Oseney Abbey's property to Christ Church. The main excavation covered parts of the college tenements numbered 12 and 13 in the Hamel (H12 and H13 on Fig. 6) and 13 and 14 on St. Thomas's Street (ST13 and ST14). Trench II covered part of tenement no. 15 on St. Thomas's Street (ST15).[167] The Christ Church lease books supply a fairly complete list of the lessees of the properties.[168] This is set out following Salter in Table IV. However, it is clear that from the beginning most of these lessees were investors who only occasionally occupied the property themselves. Information about the actual occupiers and their occupations (Table V) is patchy. Tenement no. 12 in the Hamel was occupied in 1614 by a carpenter and in 1660 by a tanner. From 1757 to 1829 it and the property to the south were held by the Whiteaves family who were pork butchers operating from the premises. However, they seem to have sublet as a dwelling house the part of their property within the excavation.

Tenement no. 13 in the Hamel was occupied by a weaver in 1622 and no. 13 on St. Thomas's Street by a millwright in 1609. Tenement no. 14 on St. Thomas's Street was leased to brewers from 1722 and in 1829 was a public house called the White Horse. The occupier in 1728 is described as a boatman, but probably combined this with his duties as

[159] *C.O.*, ii, 406.
[160] *C.O.*, iii, 117. From *Domus Thome Tinctoris* to *Domus Alicie Scot*.
[161] Ibid., 117, 129, 144, 150.
[162] *C.O.*, iii, 181, 186, 198, 202, 218, 234; *C.O.*, ii, 408-10.
[163] See above p. 141; *C.O.*, ii, 408-9.
[164] *C.O.*, iii, 244, 271.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Rob. Benett, *C.O.*, iii, 274; Joh Fosbroke, ibid. 277; Joh Waren, ibid. 270.
[167] See above.
[168] *C.O.*, ii, 517-21, 533-4, 606-10; iii, 96.

TABLE IV

EXCAVATED TENEMENTS: LESSEES 1509-1829

H12 Rent 6*s.* 8*d.*	*H13, ST13, ST12, ST11* Rent 31*s.* 4*d.*	*ST14* Rent 2*s.*	*ST15* Rent 13*s.*
	1509 William Thomas, plumber		
1574 John Winkell, tailor	1537 William Thomas	John Winkle, tailor	
1608 Robert Willmott, cordwainer	1607 Robert Lynke MA	1607 John Buttress, Carpenter	1603 Richard Rowland, husbandman
1622 Robert Willmott	1616 Marmaduke Brooks		1617 John Fletcher, glasier
1649 Thomas Boswell	1630 John Crutch, yeoman	1639 John Buttress	1646 Richard Hall, tailor
1663/4 Zachary Roberts, yeoman Fine £5	1660 Avis Crutch, widow	1667 Richard Buttress, surgeon Fine £4	1656 Richard Hall, tailor
	1672 William Lyvard Fine £10	1677/8 William Gray, cooper	1678/9 Amy Hall, widow Fine £8
1686 Andrew Dully, carpenter Fine £6	1695 William Lyvard Fine £12	1684 John Curtice, fisherman Fine £4	1682 John Kendall
		1690/1 James Gold. yeoman	1693 John Kendall, fellmonger Fine £8
		1703 Sarah Wright (No fine)	1708 Elizabeth Kendall, widow Fine £8
1705 William Carter, miller	1713 John Hawkins	1719 John Buckingham	1722/3 Henry Edwards Fine £8
1721 Elizabeth Carter Fine £4 10*s.*	1727 John Hawkins Fine £15	1722 Thomas Loder, Brewer	Betty Edwards
1738 Elizabeth Carter Fine £5 5*s.*		1748 John Treacher, brewer	1738/9 Henry Edwards Fine £9
			1752 Stephen Earle
1757 Joseph Whiteaves, baconman Fine £5 5*s.*	1763 John Walton	1762 John Treacher, Fine £2	1753 Stephen Earle, maltster Fine £6
1786 Joseph Whiteaves	Elizabeth Walton	1776 John Treacher, Fine £2	1777 Stephen Earle, maltster Fine £18
		1792 John Treacher, Fine £2	1798 Thomas Earle, victualler Fine £20
1800 Sarah Whiteaves	1801 Henry Goulding	1806 (William Hall) Fine £8	1811 John Simons, mason
1814 Joseph Whiteaves, butcher	1818 Edward Price		1812 John Simons Fine £40
1829 Joseph Whiteaves	1829 Edward Price	1829 Henry Hall and Co.	1827 Mark and James Morrell
			1829 Mrs. Norgrove

From *C.O.* ii, 517–21, 533–4, 606–10; iii, 96. See also Fig. 6, bottom left.

TABLE V

EXCAVATED TENEMENTS: OCCUPIERS 1537-1829

	H12	*H13*	*ST13*	*ST12*	*ST11*	*ST14*	*ST15*	
pre 1537/8		Robert Hewlett	John Duke	Rob. Lawe	Ric. Coterell			
1608		John Barnes	James Jessop, millwright					
1614	Augustine Bennett, carpenter							
1616	Joan Lewis, widow	Agnes Rowneswall Ric. Ford Wm. Clarke	Thomas Freeman	James Field	Judith French			
1622		Edward Barker, weaver	Edward Tomkins				1619 Robert Page, plasterer	
1630		Thomas Milles John Blackburn Emma Clarke, widow	William Wright	James Field	Judith French	John Buttress (?)		
1660	Clement Stiles, tanner	Thomas Stanley Henry Adams Gilbert Chase		Thomas Livard Margaret Demoche William Wyatt		John Buttress (?)		
1663		Henry Dawson						
1672		Thomas Stanley	William Lyvard, Robert Pagett, Henry Gray, William Wyatt					
1686		Jonas Payne				1728 William Hall, boatman		
1738		Richard Bignell						
1772	Mr. Robinson	Mr. Borton, Mr. Bustin	Mr. Walton, Mrs. Hatton, Mr. Walton			Mr. Vincent	Mr. Earle	
1827							John Walker	
1829	James Sparkes	William Day	Richard Holloway	James Earl	Anne Innis	William Ormerod	David Walker	Mrs. Johnson
		George Baskifield	John Billing	James Lock	Edward Lindsay		William Lloyd	Mary Cox
		John Mathews	Joseph Walden	Mrs. King	William Hughes		Thomas Hawkins	Jane Owen
							John Wright	John Holloway

From *C.O.* ii 517–21, 533–4, 606–10, iii, 96, *Surveys and Tokens* 40–1. See also Fig. 6, bottom left.

a publican. The occupier of tenement no. 15 in 1614 was a plasterer. The most striking feature revealed by the leases is the great increase in the number of occupants on the site by 1829. On tenement no. 15 this increase was accommodated by building ten small houses at the back of the tenement, but on the main area, the existing buildings seem to have been subdivided.

Agas's map (1578),[169] which may not however be very accurate, shows the houses on the west side of the Hamel as a continuous range of one storey buildings. The house to the north (ST13) is two storied with its roof line parallel to St. Thomas's Street. The house half across the end of the Hamel (ST14) is shown as one storey and detached from its western neighbour. The house on the eastern corner of the Hamel (ST15) is two storied with a gable projecting from the middle of its northern side. All the houses are shown with tiled roofs and centrally placed chimneys. Loggan's map (1675)[170] shows seven separate houses along the west side of the Hamel, both the northern ones (H11 and H12) having gabled attics. The house to the north (ST13) is difficult to assess; it was probably of three storeys including a gabled attic, but the windows seem to suggest it was only two storeys. The house across the Hamel (ST14) is shown as contiguous with and similar in construction to its western neighbour. On the eastern corner of the Hamel (ST15) Loggan shows a small one (or two) storey house with a three storey house to its east. Probably Trench II covered part of the latter. Loggan also shows the cross base, in the middle of the Hamel, mentioned by Wood.[171]

In Badcock's Survey of 1829[172] the dimensions of the southern excavated tenement (H12) are *c.* 15ft. × 15ft. with a back extension to the south measuring *c.* 6ft. × 8ft. Probably the 15ft. 8ins. frontage of Mr. Robinson in the 1772 Survey[173] refers to this tenement. The houses to the north (H12 and ST13 (part)) form a trapezoid range *c.* 55ft. along the frontage by 15ft. wide, divided in 1829 into four units (in 1772 it seems to have been divided into three between Messrs. Borton, Bustin and Walton whose frontages totalled 48ft. 8ins.). The area behind the houses seems to have been a yard and garden held in common by the occupiers. In 1829 the houses along St. Thomas's Street (ST11, ST12 and ST13 part) formed a range parallel to the street to which the White Horse public house (ST14) measuring *c.* 25ft. × 40ft. (in 1772, Mr. Vincent 22ft. 3ins. × 43ft. 3ins.) was attached.

Between 1850 and 1878,[174] like the other Christ Church property in the parish, the north end of the Hamel was redeveloped (Fig. 6). The street line was changed and the old buildings replaced with two-storey brick houses: a pair on the west side of the Hamel, a terrace of seven on St. Thomas's Street to the west of the Hamel and a pair on the east, with shops below on the corners.[175] These houses were demolished in the 1960s.

[169] O.H.S. xxxviii (1899).
[170] O.H.S. xxxviii (1899).
[171] Wood, *City*, i, 318.
[172] *C.O.*, ii, 606-10.
[173] *Surveys and Tokens*, 40-1.
[174] i.e. Between Hoggar's Map of 1850 and 1st Ed. O.S., 1878.
[175] 1st Ed. O.S., 1878; J.W. Squires, *In West Oxford*, (1928), 169, pl. CI; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d. 505, f.41 (Minn Coll. Neg 7/18).

THE EXCAVATION

Stratigraphy and Chronology p. 156, Fig. 7; *Archaeological Description* Fiche 1 A09, Figs. I—XVI.

STRATIGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY

The layers from the excavation have been divided into groups representing structural phases. These groups are shown schematically on Fig. 7.

The earliest medieval activity in the main trench was represented by successive ditches (D2a and D2b) which appear, from a comparison of the pottery within them with that from St. Aldates Ph. 7,[176] to belong to the mid 12th century and the later 12th century respectively. These were succeeded by another complex of ditches (D3), which can be subdivided into those layers which built up while the ditches were in use (D3a) and the layers which represent the infilling of the ditches immediately before the construction of the earliest buildings on the site (D3b). Although there were no buildings actually on the site in this phase, the environmental evidence from D3a suggests that there were some close by.[177] Documentary evidence suggests that the building up of the area began *c.* 1190,[178] which accords with the late 12th century date suggested by a comparison of the pottery of D3a with that from the beginning of St. Aldate's phase 8, and the St. John's Well.[179] D3b is dated to the late 12th/early 13th century; its pottery compares again with the St. John's Well and St. Aldates Ph. 8 and also with Bodleian Extension groups A and B.[180]

The first buildings formed a row of three along the west side of the site (HI, BI1 and BI2).[181] To their east was a yard area cut by a ditch and pits (BI0). This last can be divided between the layers deposited while the buildings, pits and ditches were in use (BIOa) and those which relate to their infilling when the first buildings were demolished and their successors (BIOb) constructed. The earliest layers in the extension to the main area (E1) appear to correspond to BIOa. The dating of the end of building phase I depends on evidence for the beginning of building phase II.

On the southern tenement building phase II consists of a large building on the Hamel (HII) of which only a part was excavated and which had a very short life before being replaced. At the northern end of the site there was a range of buildings along St. Thomas's Street and protruding half across the end of the Hamel, of which again only parts were excavated: BIIa, a very small area at the north end of the main area, and E2, in the extension. Between BIIa and HII was another building (BII), fronting the Hamel, which had a long life, undergoing six rearrangements (BII1–6), before its demolition (BIID). The area outside BII to the west (BII0) contained a few layers; the area to the east had a sequence of road surfaces (RII).

Apart from pottery there are three pieces of evidence for the beginning of building

[176] See Fig. 9, Fiche 1 E09; B.G. Durham, 'Archaeological Investigations in St. Aldates, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 133, Fig. 19.

[177] See p. 203.

[178] See p. 137.

[179] See Fig. 9, Fiche 1 E10; Durham, op. cit, 134, Figs. 20, 21; E.M. Jope *et al* 'Pottery from a late 12th Century Well from St. Johns College, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xv (1950), 44-55.

[180] See Fig. 10, Fiche 1 E11; Durham, op. cit., 134, figs. 20, 21; Jope, *et al* op. cit., 44-55;; R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Archaeology of the site of the Bodleian Extension in Broad Street, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 89-146, 115-21.

[181] Buildings on the southern tenement (Hall of St. Helen) are designated H, those on the northern (Bretels) B.

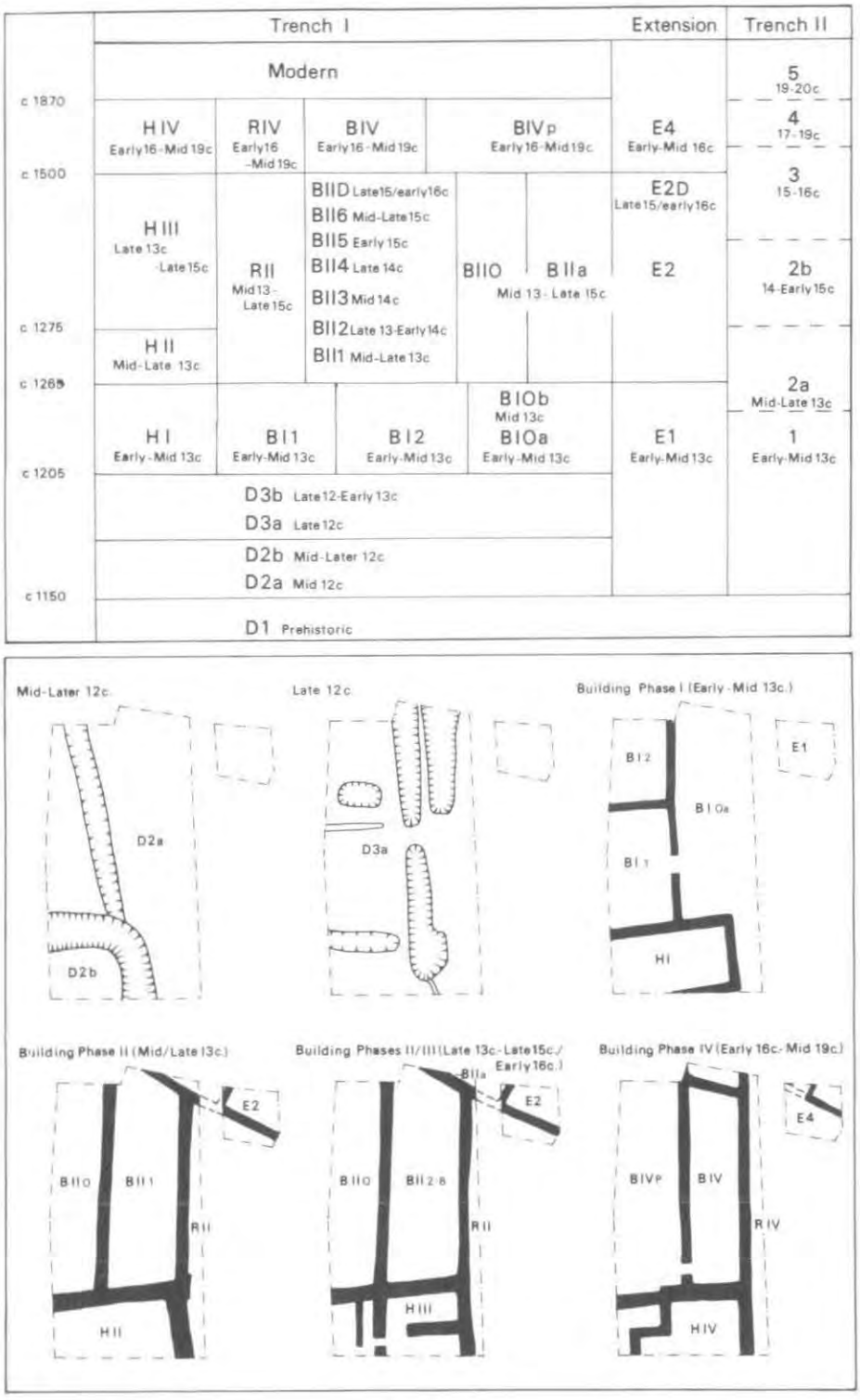


Fig. 7
Schematic representation of Stratigraphy

phase II. Firstly the Oseney rental of 1277/8[182] appears to describe the house half across the end of the Hamel which was apparently only built in building phase II. Secondly, a seal matrix belonging to one Adam the Chaplain was discovered in an occupation layer in building HII; Adam the Chaplain can perhaps be identified with the Adam the Chaplain of Cirencester mentioned in documents of 1259-61.[183] Thirdly, from a wall of the building (HIII) which replaced the short-lived building on the southern tenement (HII) came a coin of a type issued *c.* 1251-3, which had disappeared from circulation by 1280.[184] This coin suggests that the replacement building (HIII) on the southern tenement was built *c.* 1275. Since there is archaeological evidence that building HII had a short life it would not be unreasonable to suggest that building phase II began *c.* 1265. The rental confirms that it began before 1277/8 and the seal matrix would not be inconsistent with *c.* 1265.[185] However, even though this date is towards the end of the possible timescale it is earlier than the currently accepted dating of pottery would suggest.

The latest pottery from building phase I came from the upper layers of BI1 and BIOa and from BIOb[186] and compares with that from St. Aldates Ph. 9,[187] Bodleian Extension Group B, Well 9 and Group C,[188] as well as pottery from Seacourt,[189] Bicester Priory[190] and Banbury.[191] The pottery from the earliest layers in building phase II (HII, BII1 and possibly BII2)[192] compares with the same groups except for St. Aldates where Ph. 10 provides a better match than Ph. 9.[193] The best dated of these groups is the St. Aldates sequence where Ph. 9 was dated *c.* 1250 - *c.* 1325 and Ph. 10 *c.* 1325 - 1400. However, the dating of these phases presented problems.[194] From Ph. 9 came a coin of 1279-1324 and a jetton of the 1320s and from Ph. 10 a coin of 1260-79 which would have left circulation by 1280 and another of 1280-1300. This inversion meant that either the Ph. 9 coins were intrusive or the Ph. 10 coins were residual. The Ph. 9 coins were felt to be less securely stratified. Furthermore the description in the Hundred Rolls of 1279 seems to require two separate tenements on the site and there was no physical partition until Ph. 10. However, it was felt that since there was a marginally greater chance of the Ph. 10 coins being residual than of the Ph. 9 ones being intrusive, the transition to Ph. 10 should be dated *c.* 1325. The extra evidence from the Hamel perhaps now suggests that the Ph. 9 coins should be regarded as intrusive, full weight given to the Ph. 10 coins and the transition to Ph. 10 dated perhaps *c.* 1270. This would also mean that the St. Aldates tenements were physically divided by 1279. Ph. 9 could either be regarded as shortlived or, since Ph. 8 is regarded as ending in the early 13th century, moved earlier. Of the pottery from the Bodleian Extension, Group B was dated 1200-50, Well 9 *c.* 1240-80 and Group C late

[182] See p. 149, Table II.
[183] See Fig. 23, 1, Fiche 2 B13, No. 1.
[184] See Fiche 2 B09, Coin 2.
[185] The coincidence of the construction of a large building (HII) with the acquisition of the tenement by the very wealthy Nicholas de Weston in 1266/7, and the first desription of the tenement as the Hall of St. Helen in 1271/2 also provide circumstantial corroboration for this date.
[186] See Figs. 11-14, Fiche 1 F02, 05, 09.
[187] Durham, op. cit., 134, Fig. 22.
[188] Bruce-Mitford, op. cit., 121-4.
[189] M. Biddle, 'The Deserted Medieval Village of Seacourt', *Oxoniensia*, xxvi/xxvii (1961/2), 134, the group below the Area 4 house.
[190] D.A. Hinton, 'Excavation at Bicester Priory, 1968', *Oxoniensia*, xxxiv (1969), 26-8.
[191] P.J. Fasham, 'Excavations in Banbury 1972', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii (1973), 323-338, (pottery from F51).
[192] See Figs. 15-16, Fiche 1 F13, G03, G05.
[193] Durham, op. cit., 135, Fig. 23.
[194] Ibid., 142, 191-2.

13th/early 14th century. Since these groups seem in fact to overlap, these dates do not seem to exclude a mid/late 13th century date for the Hamel group. The other comparable groups come from outside Oxford. The Seacourt and Bicester Priory groups are dated early 14th century. However, the former has no independent dating evidence and the latter consists of very few sherds from building debris rather tenuously linked to early 14th century building activity.[195] The Banbury group, which has previously tended to be dismissed,[196] is dated by three coins to 1251-79 which is consistent with the Hamel dating.

On the evidence now available, therefore, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest a date of *c.* 1265 for the beginning of building phase II at the Hamel, although this requires some adjustment of previous work. Thus building phase I is here dated from the early to mid 13th century with BIOb coming at the very end of this period. The earliest layers in building phase II (HII and BII1) are dated mid/later 13th century and BII2 late 13th/early 14th century. BII3 contained a jetton[197] of a type issued in the early 14th century and so can be dated to the mid 14th century which accords with its pottery. BII4 and BII5 are dated by pottery to the late 14th and early 15th centuries respectively. The BII_3 and BII4 pottery compares with that from St. Aldates Ph. 10 and Bodleian Extension Group C,[198] and that from BII5 with St. Aldates Ph. 11 and the latest groups from Seacourt.[199] BII6 contained a coin issued from 1430 to 1434[200] which, with pottery comparable again with Seacourt groups, suggests a date of mid/later 15th century. The demolition of the building (BIID) appears from the pottery to belong to the late 15th/early 16th century. The pottery from BIIa and E2, from the road surfaces (RII) and from the area to the west of BII (BIIO) spans the period when BII was in use (mid 13th to late 15th/early 16th centuries). From BIIO came a coin used *c.* 1281[201] and from RII a jetton[202] issued in the early 14th century.

Building phase III consists solely of the replacement building (HIII) for HII on the southern tenement. It has already been argued on coin evidence that this building was built *c.* 1275. It seems to have remained in occupation alongside BII until the late 15th century. Apart from the coin already mentioned there was a good sequence of coins and jettons from HIII: coins issued *c.* 1281 and *c.* 1300, a jetton of a type issued 1360-80, a coin issued 1335-43, a 14th-15th century French jetton and a coin of a type issued 1351-61.[203] Most of the pottery from HIII[204] which is dated 14th - late 15th century comes from the later layers in the phase. The latest group is only paralleled by pottery from the demolition layers of Chalgrove manor which are dated *c.* 1485.[205]

Building phase IV saw new buildings on both tenements. These lasted from the early 16th to the mid 19th century. In the extension, E4 represented part of a building on St. Thomas's Street; the layers within it belonged to the early part of the sequence, being

[195] Documentary evidence is discussed in D.A. Hinton, 'Bicester Priory', *Oxoniensia*, xxxiii (1968), 25-6.

[196] D.A. Hinton, ' "Rudely made earthen vessels" of the Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries AD', *Pottery and early commerce*, D.P.S. Peacock, ed. (1977), 229.

[197] See Fiche 2 B11, Jetton 22.

[198] See Fig. 16, Fiche 1 G07, G09; Durham, op. cit., 135, Fig. 23; Bruce-Mitford, op. cit., 123-4.

[199] See Fig. 17, Fiche 1 G11; Durham, op. cit., 135-6, Fig 24; Biddle, op. cit., 163-6, for the suggestion that this is later than the excavator argued, see p. 179.

[200] See Fiche 2 B10, Coin 18.

[201] See Fiche 2 B09, Coin 5.

[202] See Fiche 2 B11, Jetton 23.

[203] See Fiche 2 B09-B12, Coin 6, coin 11, jetton 24, coin 14, jetton 28, coin 16.

[204] See Fig. 18, Fiche 2 A04.

[205] Unpublished; for interim report see P. Page, 'Harding's Field Chalgrove', *CBA. 9 Newsletter*, ix, (1979), 118-123.

dated by pottery to the early-mid 16th century.[206] To the south of this was a range parallel to the Hamel (BIV) and on the southern tenement a new cottage (HIV). Although both these buildings lasted throughout the phase, most of the layers in them related to their demolition. To the west of BIV was a garden/yard area cut by pits (BIVP). These fell into two groups, one dated by pottery[207] to the 16th century and another dated by pottery and clay pipe[208] to the 18th and 19th centuries. The remaining features in the main excavation were modern, relating to the Victorian buildings on the site or to their demolition.

The phases of Trench II, on the eastern side of the Hamel, are dated by comparison of their pottery with that from the main area. The earliest of these (Ph. 1) represents early-mid 13th century dumping. This was succeeded by the first building (Ph. 2a) which was built in the mid 13th century, just predating the second building phase in the main area. Phase 2b represents a rebuilding or rearrangement of the buildings dating from the 14th to early 15th century. Phase 3 is a replacement building of the 15th to 16th century and phase 4, another building, which produced no pottery, is placed between the 16th and mid 19th century when the last Victorian building (Ph. 5) on the site was built.

MEDIEVAL FINDS

Pottery by Maureen Mellor (Introduction, p. 160; Method of Classification, Fiche 1 E06; Catalogue, Figs. 8-22, Fiche 1 E09; Discussion, p. 161); *Petrological Examination of Medieval Pottery from Oxford* by David Williams. Fiche 2 B06; *Coins and Jettons* by Nicholas Mayhew, Fiche 2 B09; *Copper Alloy and Lead Objects* by Alison R. Goodall, Figs. 23-28, Fiche 2 B13; *Iron Objects* by Ian H. Goodall, Figs. 29-31, Fiche 2 C07; *Bone and Antler Objects* by Martin Henig, Fig. 32, Fiche 2 C10; *Wooden Objects* by Carole Morris, Fig. 32, Fiche 2 C12; *Vessel Glass* Fig. 32, Fiche 2 C13; *Leatherwork* by Jennifer Jones, Figs. 33-34, Fiche 2 C14; *Stone Objects* Fig. 35, Fiche 2 D05; *Clay Tobacco-pipes* Fiche 2 D07; *Building Material* Fiche 2 D08; *Tiles* by Simon Robinson, Fig. 36, Fiche 2 D09; *Window Glass* by Peter A. Newton and Jill Kerr, Fig. 37, Fiche 2 E01; *Human Remains* by Mary Harman, Fiche 2 E03.

POTTERY by MAUREEN MELLOR

This was the first opportunity to compare long pottery sequences of the late 12th to 15th centuries with the overall ceramic framework established at 79-80 St. Aldates for the same period.[209] Pottery from the site also extended the ceramic sequence for Oxford to the mid 16th century. Continental imports were not present until the late 15th or early 16th century and the pottery assemblages suggest a population of mixed fortunes.

The objectives of the study of this large group of pottery (*c.* 12,000 sherds) were:

(a) to compare the pottery sequences from each tenement to establish whether the quantity or quality of the pottery suggested differences in the use of the tenements or the wealth of the inhabitants;

(b) to compare the pottery from the tenements (HI, BI1 and BI2) with pottery assemblages from pit groups (BIOa) to establish whether the pits were likely to be associated with these tenements;

[206] See Figs. 18-19, Fiche 2 A07.

[207] See Figs. 20-21, Fiche 2 A12.

[208] See Figs. 20-21, Fiche 2 A12, D07.

[209] B. Durham, 'Archaeological Investigations in St. Aldates, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), Fig. 14, Phases 8-11, pp.134-6.

(c) to compare pottery assemblages from the floor levels with those from the occupation layers to establish whether floor levels yield more residual pottery;
(d) to establish changes or improvements in technology of discrete types likely to have originated from the same production area;
(e) to establish whether the overall ceramic sequence at this site substantiates the conclusions derived from the study of sequences from other sites in Oxford and the surrounding area.

Discussion

The chronology of Oxford pottery for the period of the Hamel is broadly based on nine externally dated groups: one at St. Aldates dated by an irregular coin of Stephen *c.* 1141; the St. John's Well group dated by a coin of Henry II, 1168-80; groups sealed by the Greyfriars Priory, built *c.* 1244, and the Town Wall, built *c.* 1226-44; the Bodleian Extension groups from the north-eastern suburb laid out in the late 12th early 13th century; a group from Trinity College dated by a coin of Henry III, 1216-72;[210] and three more St. Aldates groups, dated by a coin 1279-1324 and a jetton of the 1320s (Phase 9), two coins 1260-79 and 1280-1300 (Phase 10), and two coins, 1300-2 and 14th/15th century and a jetton *c.* 1460 (Phase 11). The Hamel adds others: groups associated with the laying out of the suburb *c.* 1190 (D3a), with a coin of 1430-4 (BII6), and with the building of HII and BII1, and HIII, dated respectively *c.* 1265 and *c.* 1275 by a combination of coin and documentary evidence. Unfortunately the last of these, as argued above (Stratigraphy and Chronology), cast doubt on the date of the St. Aldates Phase 9 group.

The overall ceramic trends compared well with the sequence established at 79-80 St. Aldates, and allowed several improvements to be made in understanding the development of pottery in the 13th to 15th centuries as well as continuing the sequence well into the 16th century.

The pottery suggests that the series of ditches began to be infilled in the mid 12th century (D2b) when coarse sandy wares already dominated the market, with cooking-pots and pitchers in the ratio of 5:1 (Fabric *Y* Gp III). Shallow dishes and cooking-pots, however, continued to be made in calcareous gravel tempered fabric (Fabric *AC* Gp IB). By the end of the century the sandy wares included a greater variety of products (D3a and 3b) and in the early 13th century shallow dishes and pans (BIOa), forms which had traditionally been associated with the calcareous gravel tempered wares (Fabric *AC* GP IB) were also marketed. The potters of the gravel tempered wares at first attempted to copy the new forms of their rival (Fabric *Y* Gp III) (BII), but by the mid 13th century their work was no longer marketed in the area (BIOb). A wide range of regional imports, principally from the south (Fabrics *AG* & *AQ*) probably also from the east (Fabric *BK*), were available at the end of the 12th century (D3) and continued during the first half of the 13th century (BI), probably reflecting increasing prosperity in the area.[211]

By the middle of the 13th century the coarse sandy wares (Fabric *Y* Gp III) were meeting considerable competition (BIOb) and were finally superceded (BII1), although they were probably used in a limited manner throughout the 14th century (BII1 - BII4). The site suggests that these coarse sandy wares were rapidly replaced by finer sandy

[210] J. Ingrams, 'Medieval Pottery', *Arch. J.*, iii, 62-4.
[211] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, iv, 12.

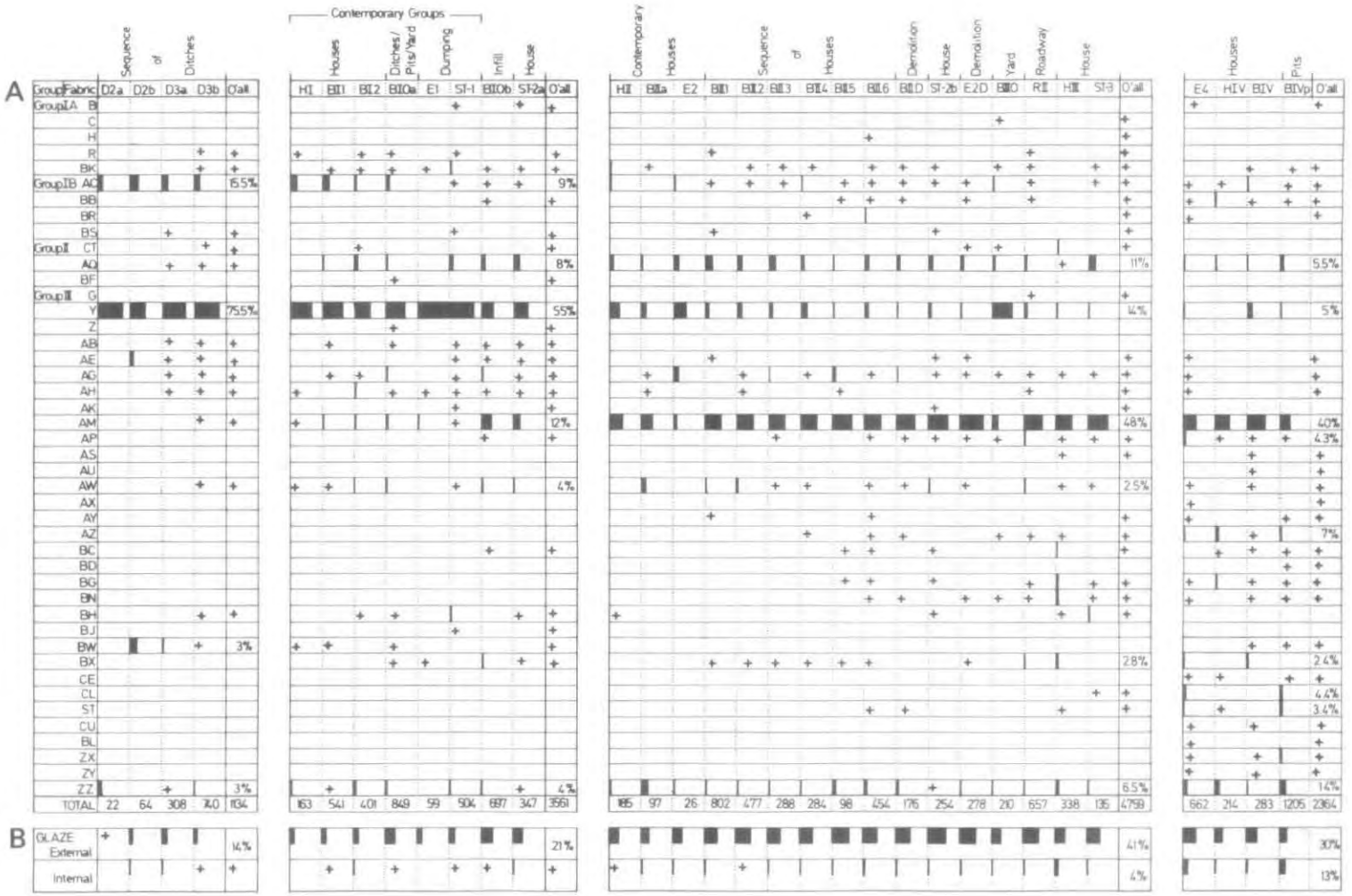


Fig. 8

A) Pottery Fabric types from The Hamel. Histogram showing sherds numbers in each Fabric as a percentage of the total in each sub Phase and Phase, + indicates less than 2%

B)Histogram showing percentage of sherds with external and internal glaze.

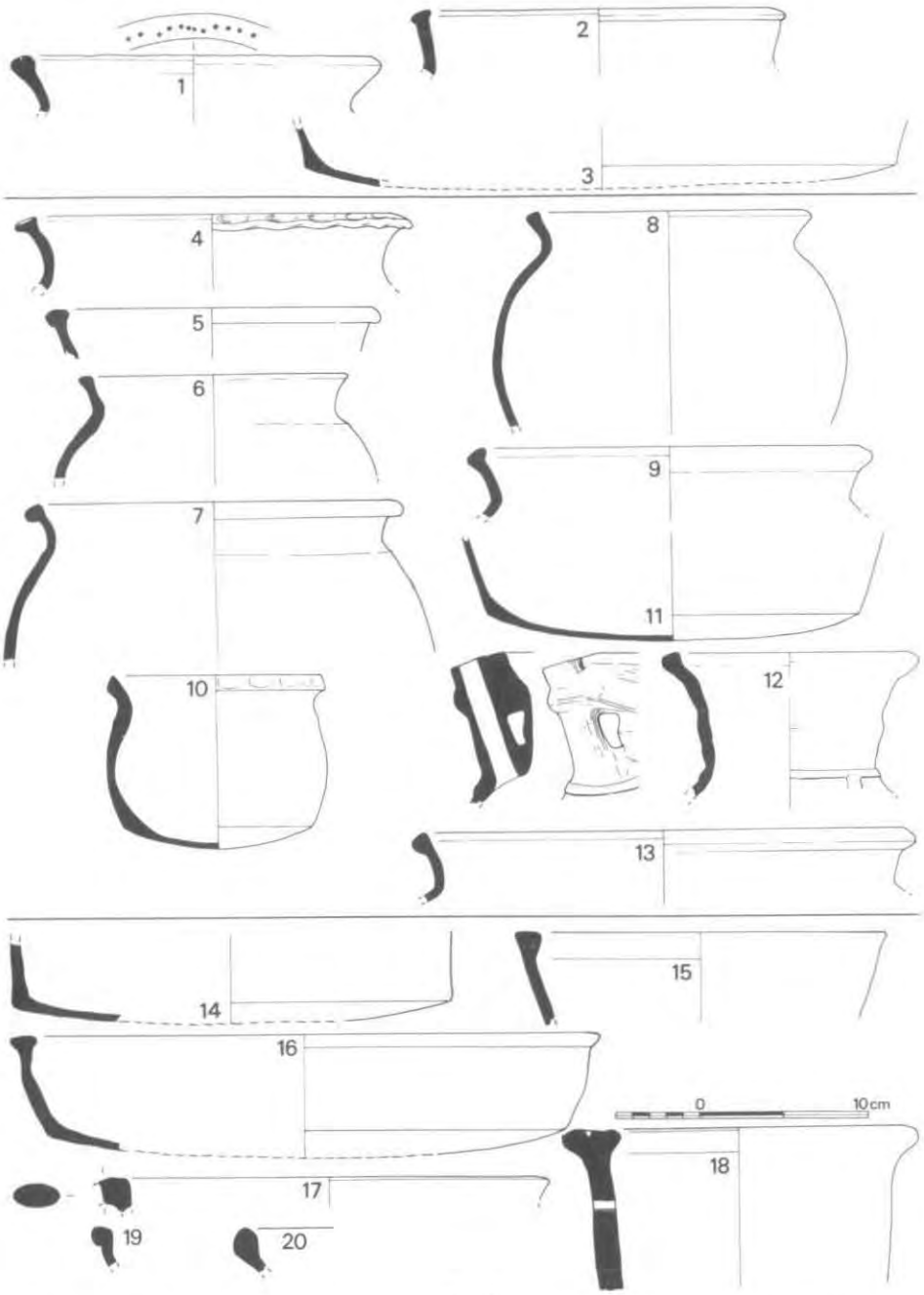


Fig. 9

Phases D2b. Nos. 1-3. Mid-later twelfth century. D3a. Nos. 4-13. Late twelfth century. D3b. Nos. 14-20. Early thirteenth century.

1.P645/9/1*AC*; 2. P645/3/1*AE*; 3.P645/6/1*BW*; 4.P645/1/1*Y*; 5.P780/0/1*Y*; 6.P786/17/1*Y*; 7.P786/17/2*Y*; 8.P795/0/2*Y*; 9.P807/0/1*Y*; 10.P786/20/1Y; 11.P795/0/1*Y*; 12.P795/0/3*Y*; 13.P645/1/2*BW*; 14.P734/0/2*BK*; 15.P700/0/6*AC*; 16.P775/0/2*AC*; 17. P708/0/3*AC*; 18.P774/0/1*AC*.

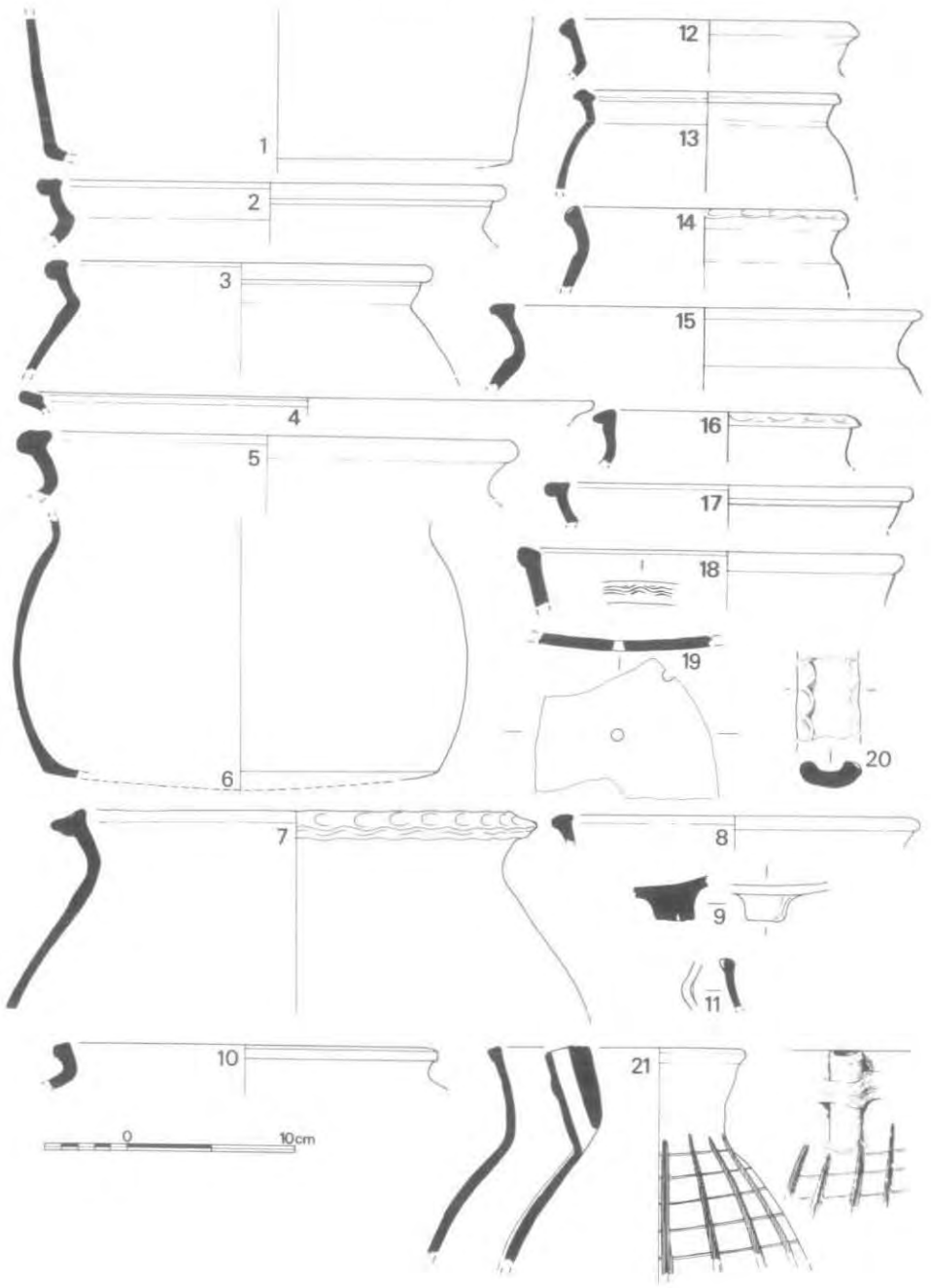


Fig. 10
Phase D3b. Late twelfth-early thirteenth century
1.P700/0/4*AQ*; 2.P700/0/2*Y*; 3.P479/0/5*Y*; 4.P761/0/1*Y*; 5.P479/0/3*Y*; 6.P741/0/2*Y*; 7. P775/0/1*Y*; 8.P751/1/1*AH*; 9.P784/0/1*AG* 10.P708/0/2*AW*; 11.P708/0/1*BW*; 12.P626/1/1*Y*; 13.P700/0/1*Y*; 14.P769/1/1*Y*; 15.P741/0/1*Y*; 16.P761/0/2*Y*; 17.P479/0/4*Y*; 18.P734/0/1/*Y*/1; 19.P778/0/1*Y*; 20.P479/0/2*Y*; 21.P479/0/1*AH*;

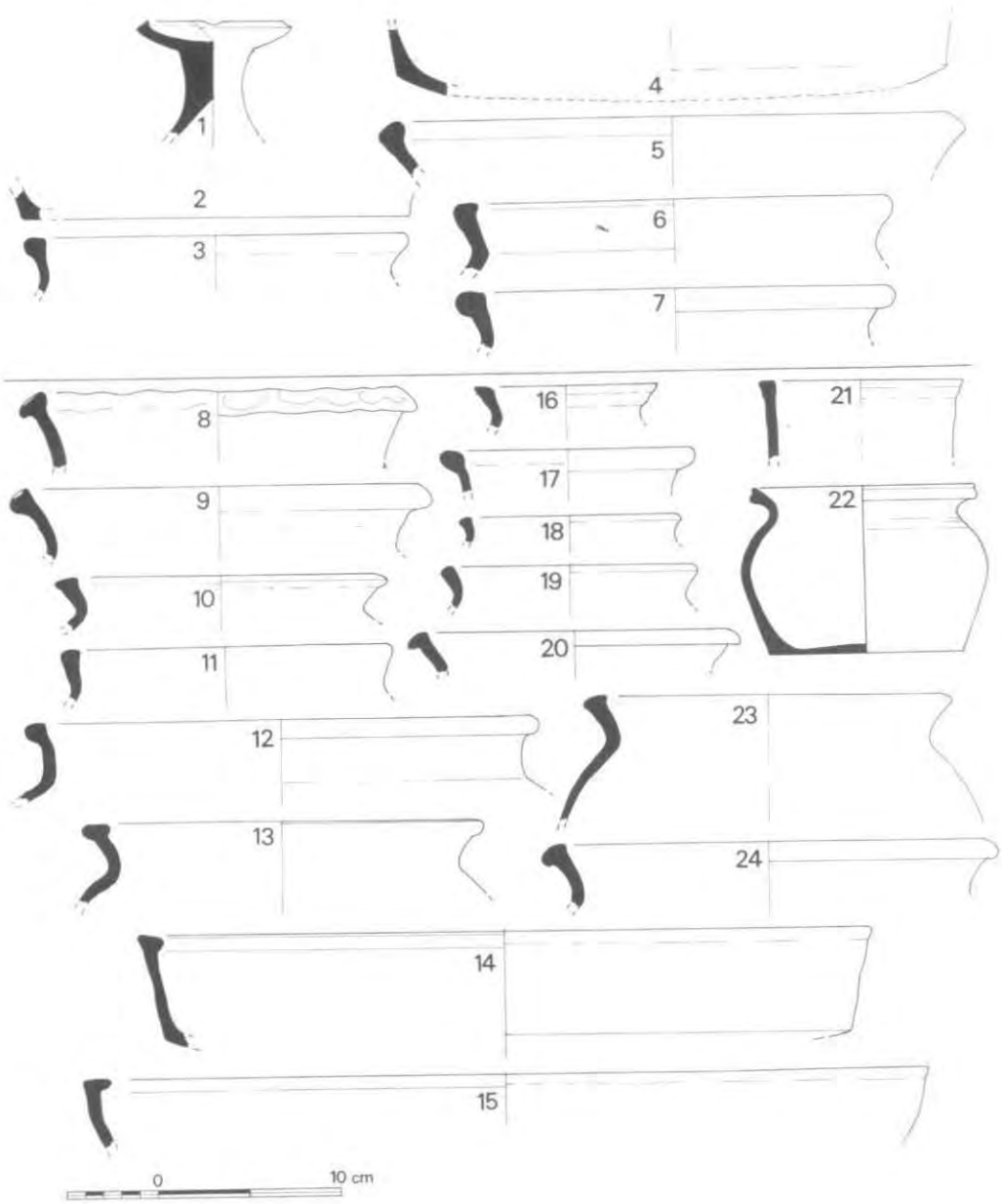


Fig. 11

Phase HI. Early-mid thirteenth century. Nos. 1-7. Phase BI1. Early-mid thirteenth century. Nos. 8-24
1.P457/0/5*AM*; 2.P418/0/1*AM*; 3.P352/0/1*Y*; 4.P457/0/4*Y*; 5.P457/0/1*AC*; 6.P457/0/2*Y*; 7.P457/0/3*Y*; 8.P693/0/1*BW*; 9.P682/0/1*Y*; 10.P681/0/2*Y*; 11.P375/0/1*AC*; 12. P681/0/1*Y*; 13.P525/0/2*Y*; 14.P728/0/1*AC*; 15.P677/0/1*AC*; 16.P237/0/1*Y*; 17.P682/0/2*Y*; 18.P425/0/1*AC*; 19.P639/0/1*AC*; 20.P556/0/1*Y*; 21.P237/0/2*AM*; 22.P429/1/1*AW*; 23.P525/0/3*Y*; 24.P525/0/1*Y*.

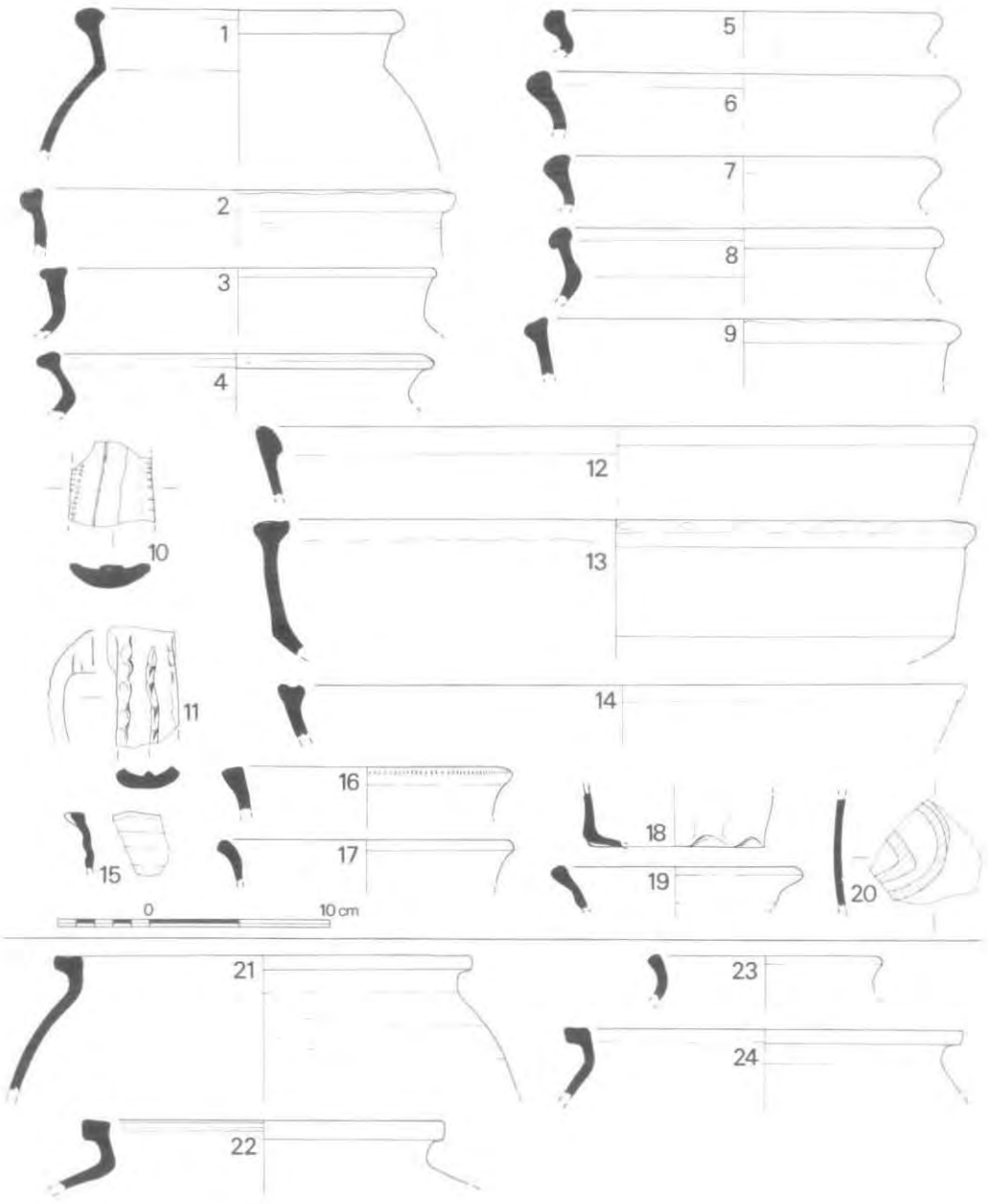


Fig. 12
Phase BI2. Early-mid thirteenth century. Nos. 1-20. Phase BI0a. Early-mid thirteenth century. Nos. 21-24. 1.P689/0/2*Y*; 2.P685/0/3*Y*; 3.P685/0/2*Y*; 4.P503/0/1*Y*; 5.P497/0/1*AQ*; 6.P685/0/4*Y*; 7.P673/0/1*Y*; 8.P688/0/1*Y*; 9.P671/0/2*Y*; 10.P689/0/4*Y*; 11.P601/0/1*AW*; 12.P689/0/1*Y*; 13.P671/0/1*Y*; 14.P689/0/3*Y*; 15.P671/0/4*Y*; 16.P685/0/5*Y*; 17.P629/0/1*AW*; 18.P691/0/5*AH*; 19.P673/0/2*AM*; 20.P685/0/6*AW*; 21.P531/0/4*AW*; 22.P746/0/1*AW*; 23.P496/0/1*BW*; 24.P722/1/2*AW*.

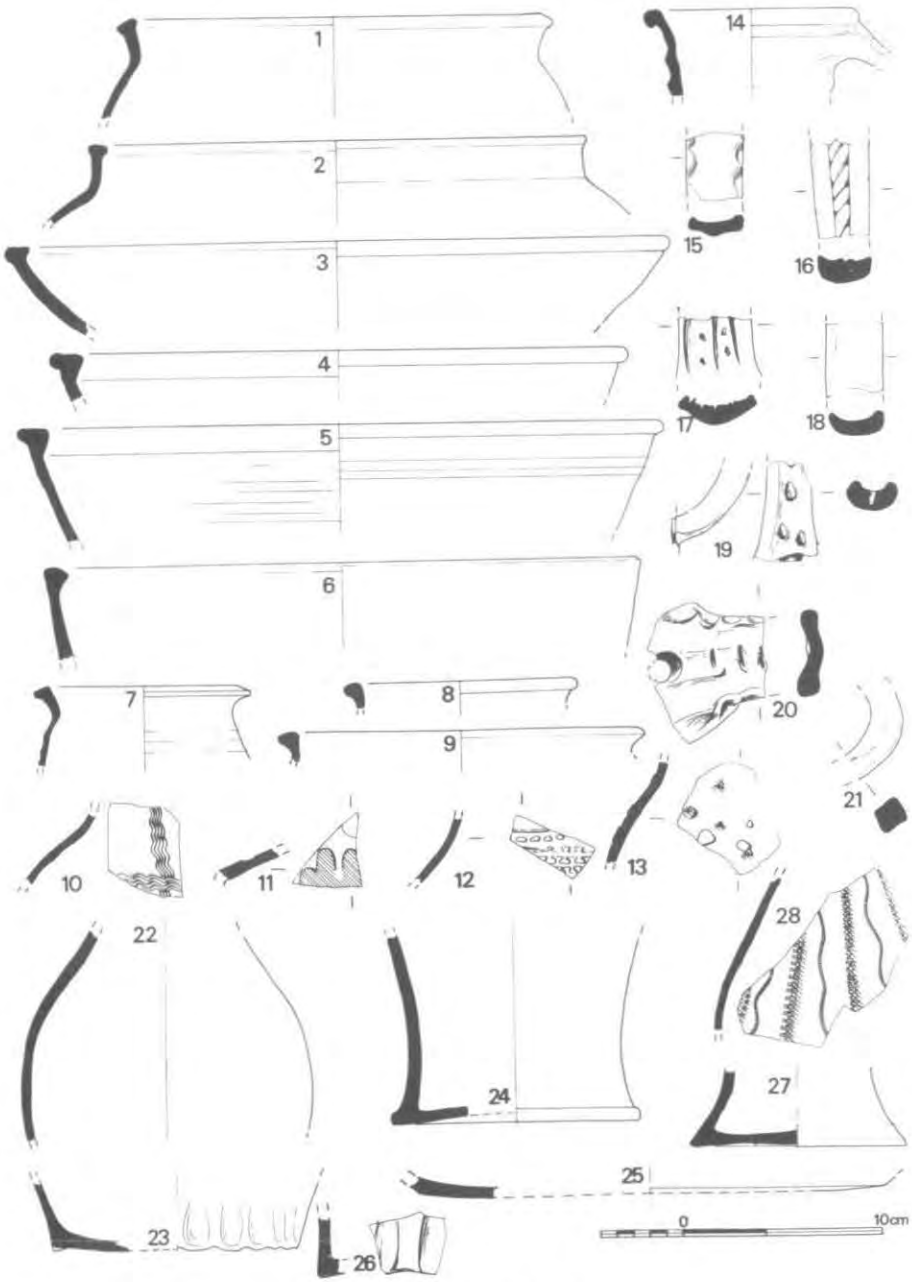


Fig. 13
Phase BIOa. Early-mid thirteenth century.
1.P722/0/4*AC*; 2.P579/0/1*AC*; 3.P589/0/2*Y*; 4.P757/0/1*Y*; 5.P754/1/1*Y*; 6.P589/0/1*Y*; 7.P590/0/1*AM*; 8.P582/0/1*AC* 9.P582/0/2*AC*; 10.P590/0/2*AB*; 11.P722/0/3*AM*; 12.P722/0/1*AM*; 13.P495/0/1*AM*; 14.P596/0/1*Y*; 15.P548/0/1*BW*; 16.P550/0/1*AB*; 17.P732/0/1*AG*; 18.P779/2/1*Y*; 19.P753/2/1*AW*; 20.P531/0/3*BK*; 21.P755/1/1*AM*; 22.P753/2/3*AG*; 23.P757/0/2*AW*; 24.P531/0/2*AM*; 25.P722/1/3*BK*; 26.P531/0/1*AW*; 27.P755/2/2*AM*; 28.P548/0/5*AW*.

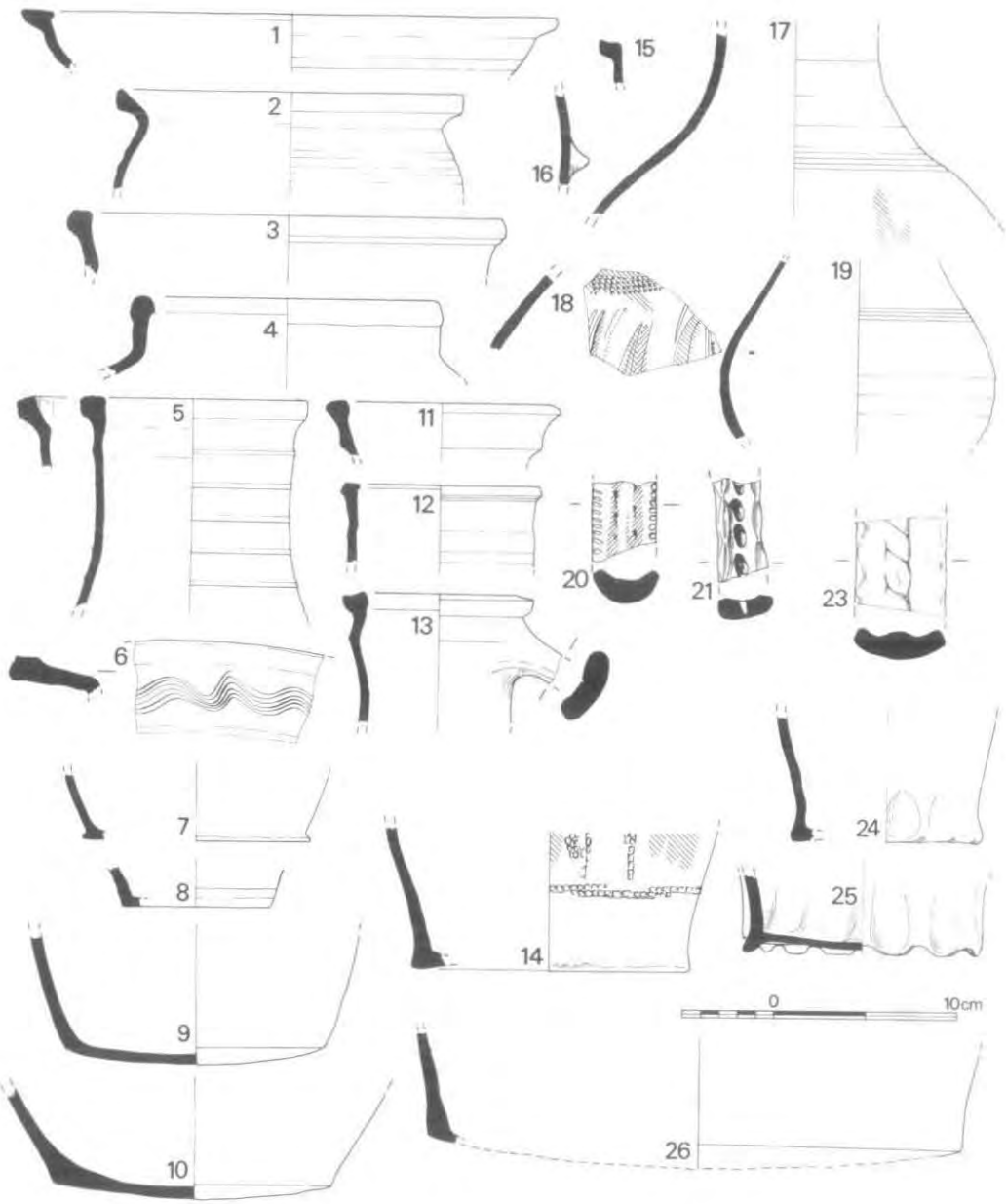


Fig. 14
Phase BIOb. Mid thirteenth century. Nos. 1-2, 5-20, 22-23, 25-26. Phase E1. Thirteenth century. Nos. 3-4, 21, 24. 1.P499/0/1*Y*; 2.P455/0/1*AW*; 3.E P854/0/2*Y*; 4.E P854/0/1*Y*; 5.P523/0/4*AM*; 6.P510/0/2*AQ*; 7.P510/0/3*AM*; 8.P447/0/1*AW*; 9.P506/0/1*AM*; 10.P523/0/3*AW*; 11.P717/0/1*BK*; 12.P499/0/2*AS*; 13.P519/0/1*AM*; 14.P455/0/4*AM*; 15.P451/0/1*AW*; 16.P451/0/2*AW*; 17.P456/0/3*AM*; 18.P523/0/1*AM*; 19.P455/0/3*AM*; 20.P456/0/1*AG*; 21.E P854/0/4*Y*; 23.P451/0/3*AH*; 24.E P852/0/1*AW*; 25.P523/0/2*AG*; 26.P510/0/1*AQ*.

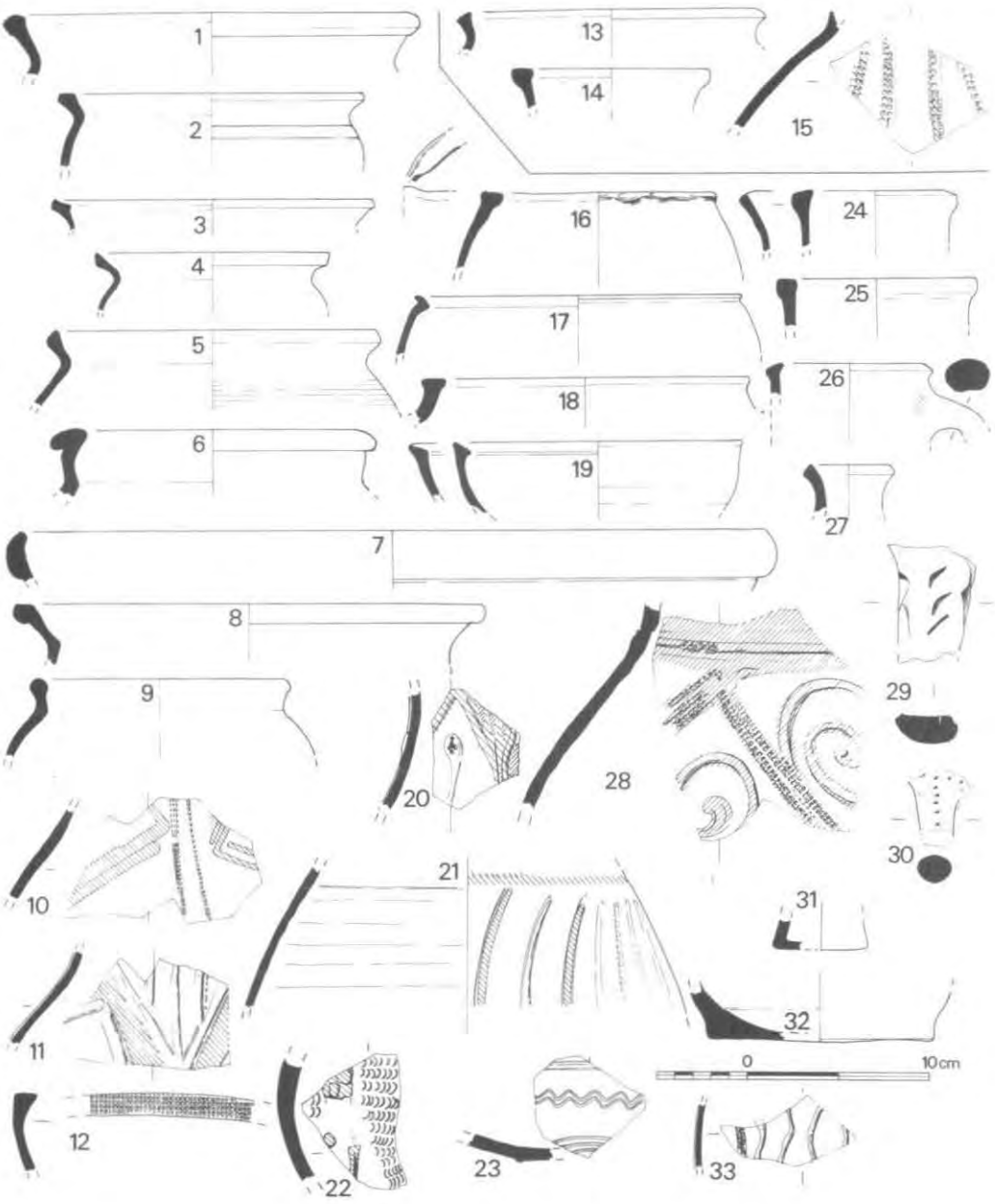


Fig. 15

Phase HII. Mid-late thirteenth century. Nos. 13-15. Phase BII1. Mid-late thirteenth century. Nos. 1-12, 16-33. 1.P407/0/2*AW*; 2.P437/0/9*BX*; 3.P438/0/2*AW*; 4.P438/0/1*AW*; 5.P437/0/10*AW*; 6.P437/0/5*AQ*; 7.P407/0/4*AQ*; 8.P407/0/12*AQ*; 9.P437/0/3*AQ*; 10.P437/0/2*AM*; 11.P437/0/1*AM*; 12.P438/0/5*AM*; 13.P311/0/1*Y*; 14.P232/0/1*AM*; 15.P227/0/1*AM*; 16.P437/0/6*BX*; 17.P406/0/1*AM*; 18.P406/0/2*AM*; 19.P407/0/9*BX*; 20.P438/0/4*AM*; 21.P437/0/14*AM*; 22.P407/0/14*AM*; 23.P407/0/5*AM*; 24.437/0/11*AM*; 25.P437/0/12*AM*; 26.P437/0/7*AM*; 27.P407/0/8*AM*; 28.P437/0/15*AM*; 29.P407/0/7*AM*; 30.P406/0/3*AM*; 31.P407/0/3*AM*; 32.P407/0/1*AM*; 33.P437/0/13*AM*.

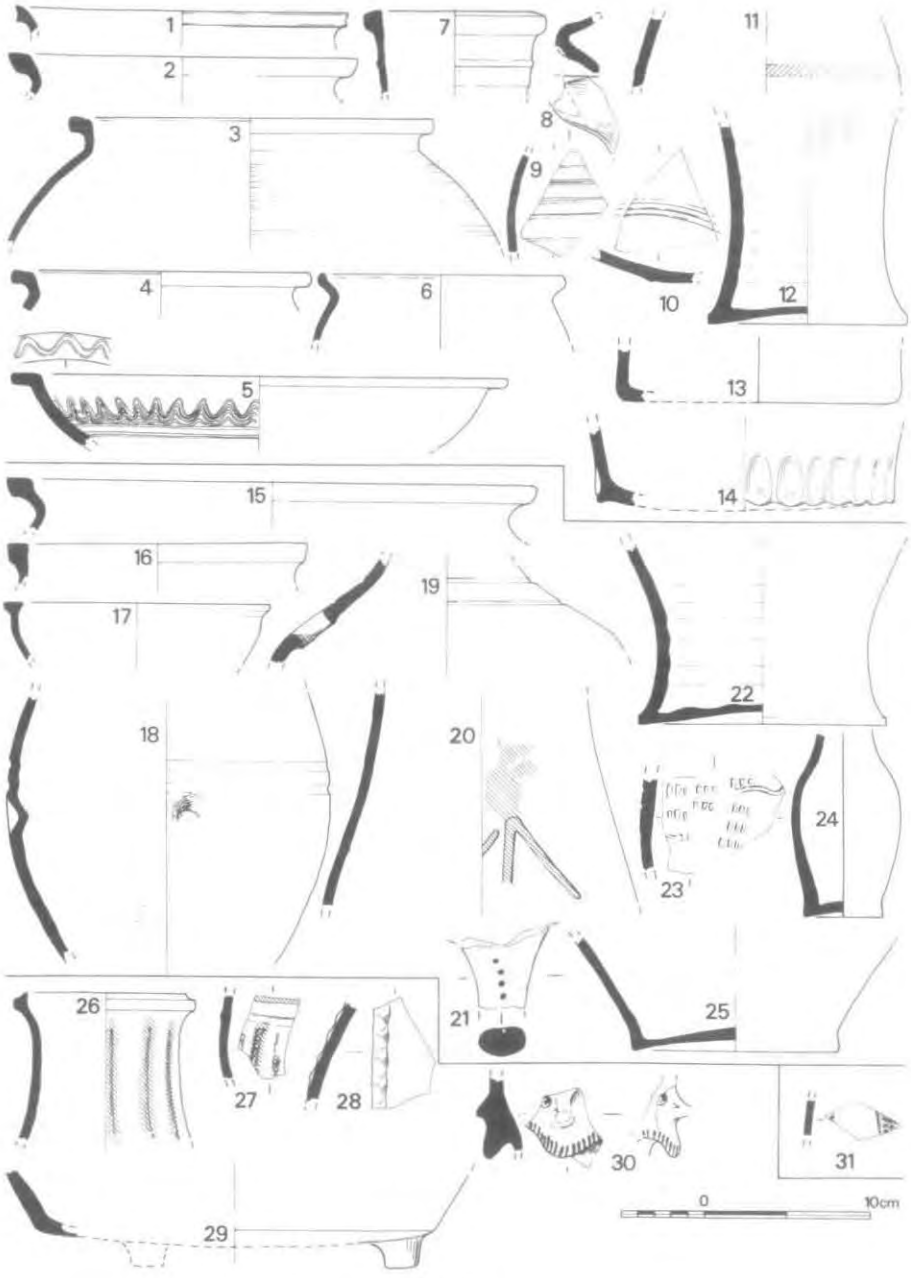


Fig. 16

Phase BII2. Late thirteenth-early fourteenth century. Nos. 1-14. Phase BII3. Mid fourteenth century. Nos. 15-25. Phase BII4. Late fourteenth century. Nos. 26-30. Phase ST2a. No. 31.

1.P334/2/3*AM*; 2.P363/1/3*AW*; 3.P392/0/3*AW*; 4.P392/0/2*AW*; 5.P379/0/2*AM*; 6.P399/0/2*AQ*; 7.P363/1/4*AM*; 8.P392/0/5*AM*; 9.P334/2/2*AM*; 10.P344/2/1*AM*; 11.P363/1/2*AM*; 12.P363/1/1*AM*; 13.P399/0/1*AM*; 14.P392/0/4*AM*; 15.P315/0/1*AM*; 16.P299/0/1*AW*; 17.P315/0/2*AM*; 18.P246/0/1*AM*; 19.P337/0/1*BB*; 20.P286/0/1*BX*; 21.P286/0/2*AM*; 22.P287/0/1*AM*; 23.P262/0/1*AQ*; 24.P367/0/1*AP*; 25.P246/0/2*AM*; 26.P171/0/1*AM*; 27.P293/0/1*AM*; 28.P597/0/1*AW*; 29.P210/0/1*AG*; 30.P211/0/1*AM*; 31.*ST* P120/0/1*AM*.

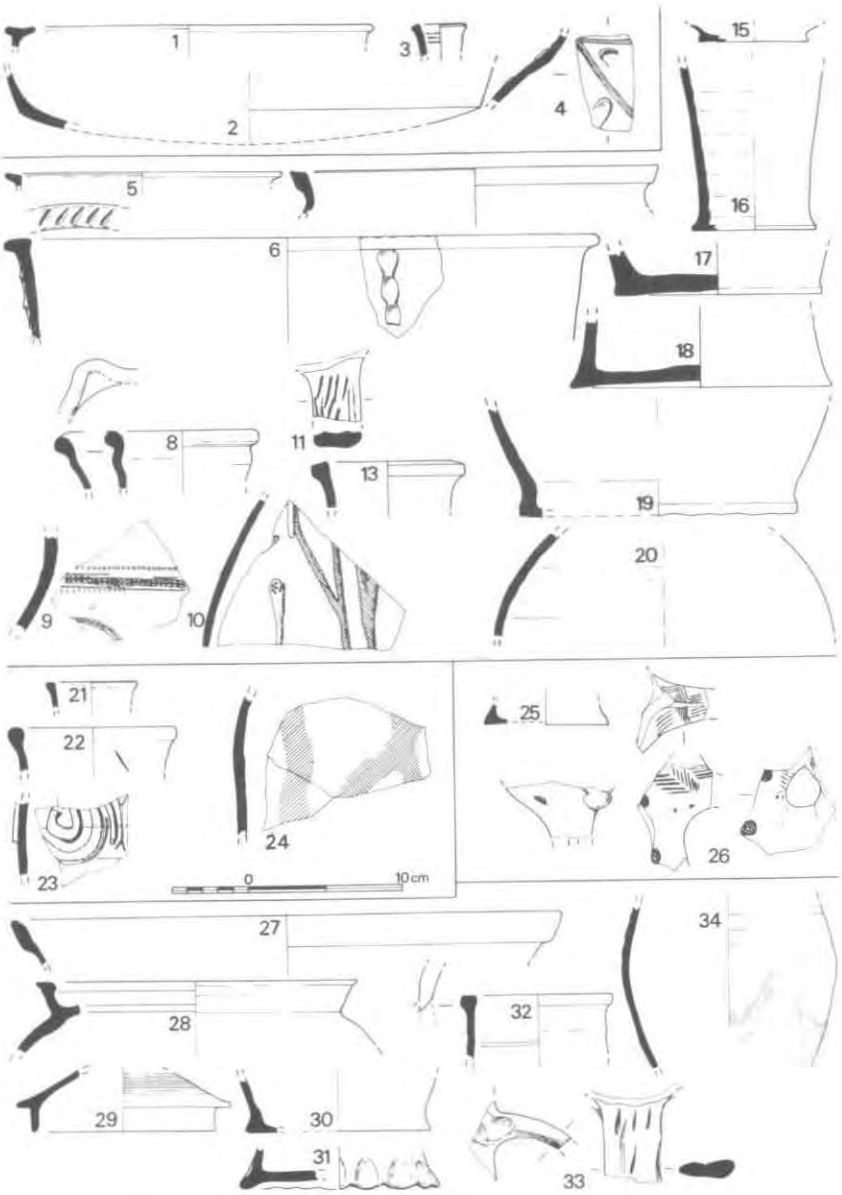


Fig. 17

Phase BII5. Early fifteenth century. Nos. 1-4. Phase BII6. Mid-late fifteenth century. Nos. 5-6, 8-11, 13, 15-20. Phase BIIa. Mid thirteenth-late fifteenth century. Nos. 21-24. Phase BIIO. Mid thirteenth-late fifteenth century. Nos. 25-26. Phase E3. Fifteenth century only. Nos. 27-34. Phase ST2b. Fourteenth-Fifteenth century. Nos. 12, 14.

1.P197/0/1*AG*; 2.P145/0/3*AG*; 3.P145/0/4*AM*; 4.P145/0/2*AM*; 5.P85/0/1*AM*; 6.P146/0/9*AC*; 8.P106/0/1*BX*; 9.P146/0/5*AM*; 10.P146/0/8*AM*; 11.P146/0/1*AM*; 12.*ST* P100/0/1*AM*; 13.P146/0/6*AM*; 14.*ST* P100/0/2*AM*; 15.P40/1/1*BC*; 16.P146/0/7*AM*; 17.P96/0/1*AM*; 18.P146/0/10*AM*; 19.P96/0/3*AM*; 20.P128/0/2*BB*; 21.P64/0/1*AM*; 22.P224/0/1*BG*; 23.P243/0/1*AH*; 24.P224/0/2*AG*; 25.P613/0/1*BN*; 26.P613/0/3*AM*; 27.*E* P839/0/4*AM*; 28.*E* P833/0/1*BX*; 29.*E* P839/0/1*AM*; 30.*E* P839/0/3*AM*; 31.*E*P843/0/1*AW*; 32.*E* P839/0/2*AM*; 33.*E* P843/0/2*AM*; 34.*E* P844/0/1*AM*.

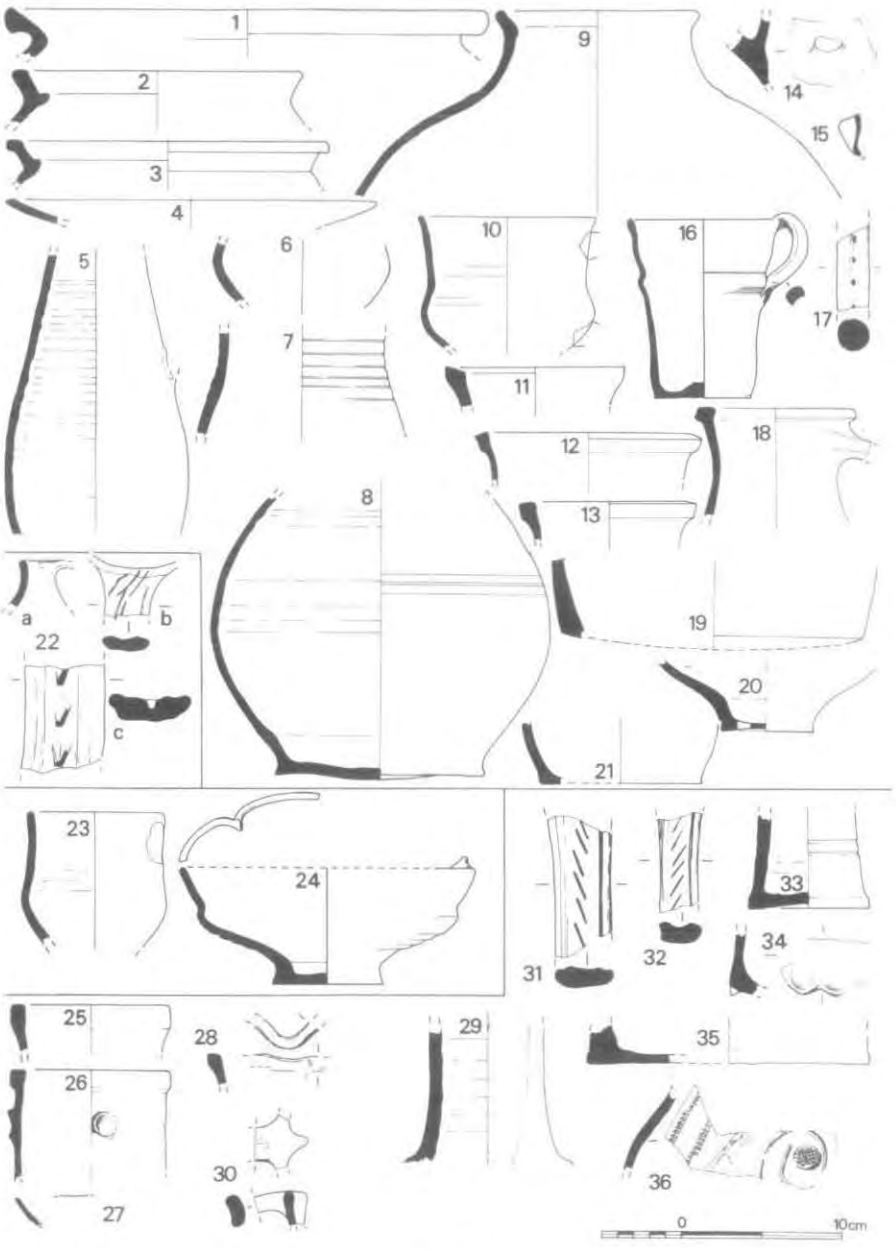


Fig. 18

Phase HIII. Fifteenth century only. Nos. 1-21. Phase ST3. Fifteenth century. Nos. 22-24. Phase E4(1). Late fifteenth century. Nos. 25-36.

1.P50/0/9*CT*; 2.P49/0/4*AZ*; 3.P49/0/1*AM*; 4.P49/0/3*AM*; 5.P50/0/1*AM*; 6.P60/0/4*AM*; 7.P50/0/7*AP*; 8.P153/0/1*AM*; 9.P88/0/1*AM*; 10.P50/0/2*BC*; 11.P88/0/2*BX*; 12.P50/0/6*AP*; 13.P50/0/5*AM*; 14.P153/0/2*AM*; 15.P94/0/1*BC*; 16.P50/0/1*BN*; 17.P50/0/8*AP*; 18.P49/0/5*AM*; 19.P50/0/10*BB*; 20.P49/0/2*AM*; 21.P88/0/3*AM*; 22.*ST* P92/0/1*AM*; 23.*ST* P71/0/2*AM*; 24.*ST* P71/0/1*BN*; 25.*E* P827/1/1*AM*; 26.*E* P826/0/1*AM*; 27.*E* P790/0/3*BN*; 28.*E* P826/1/3*BX*; 29.*E* P829/0/1*BX*; 30.*E* P802/0/1*AP*; 31.*E* P790/0/1*AM*; 32.*E* P790/0/2*AM*; 33.*E* P826/0/2*BX*; 34.*E*P824/0/4*AM*; 35.*E* P827/1/2*AM*; 36.*E* P826/0/5*AM*.

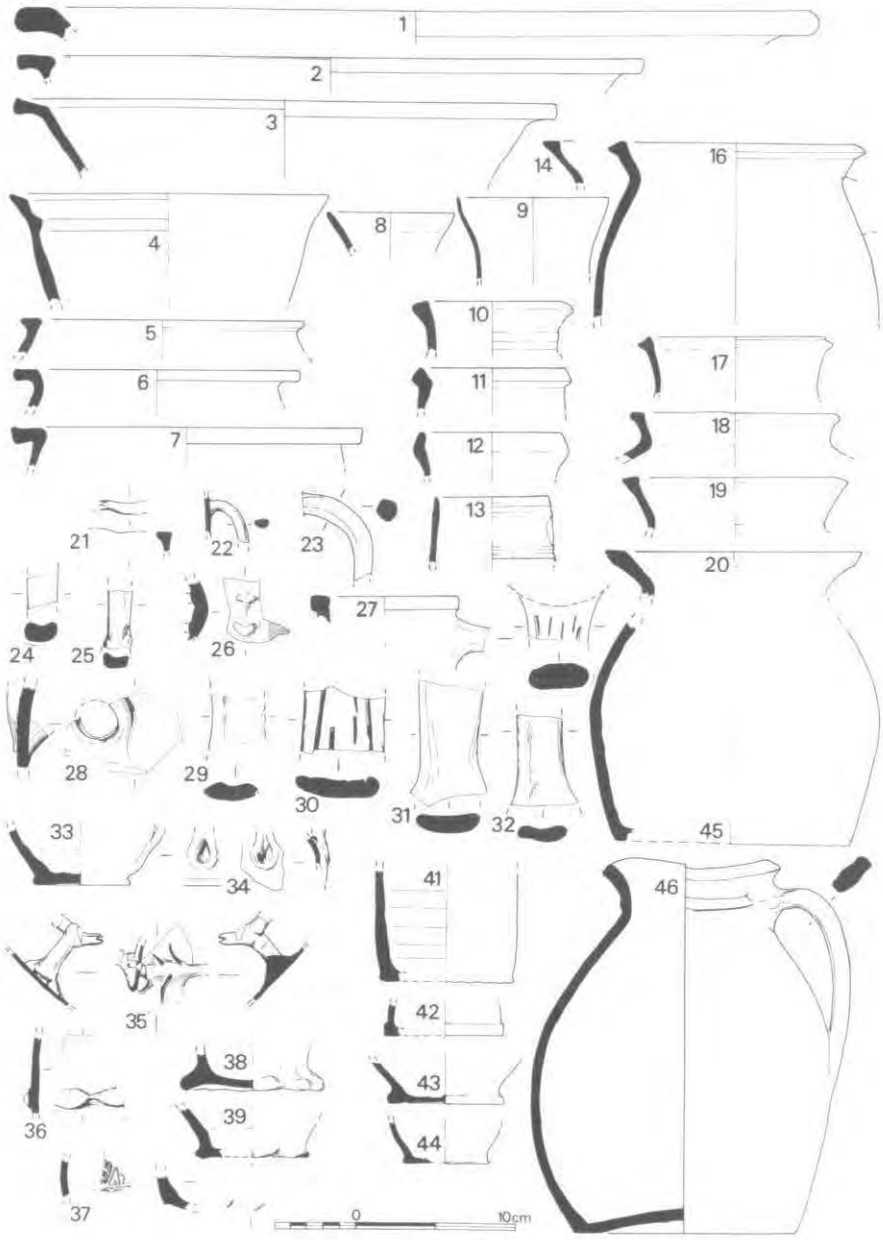


Fig. 19

Phase E4(2) Early-mid sixteenth century. Nos. 1-46.

1.*E* P792/0/1*AZ*; 2.*E* P801/0/2*BG*; 3.*E* P810/2/4*AM*; 4.*E* P801/0/4*AM*; 5.*E* P801/0/9*AM*; 6.*E* P789/0/4*AM*; 7.*E* P789/0/1*AM*; 8.*E* P810/1/8*CL*; 9.*E* P810/2/16*CL*; 10.*E* P791/0/3*AM*; 11.*E* P789/0/5*AZ*; 12.*E* P801/0/6*AM*; 13.*E* P810/1/4*ST*; 14.*E* P801/0/7*AZ*; 16.*E* P810/2/16*BX*; 17.*E* P810/2/1*AM*; 18.*E* P791/0/1*AZ*; 19.*E* P801/0/1*AZ*; 20.*E* P791/0/2*AM*; 21.*E* P789/0/2*BN*; 22.*E* P810/2/2*CL*; 23.*E* P801/0/8*AM*; 24.*E* P810/2/9*BN*; 25.*E* P800/0/1*BN*; 26.*E* P810/2/15*CE*; 27.*E* P826/0/3*AM*; 28.*E* P810/2/13*AM*; 29.*E* P801/0/5*AZ*; 30.*E* P810/2/11*CU*; 31.*E* P810/1/3*AM*; 32.*E* P810/2/12*AM*; 33.*E* P810/1/7*AZ*; 34.*E* P810/1/10*AM*; 35.*E* P801/0/12*BN*; 36.*E* P789/0/6*AM*; 37.*E* P792/0/2*ST*; 38.*E* P810/1/6*ST*; 39.*E* P810/2/5*AZ*; 40.*E* P801/0/3*BG*; 41.*E* P801/1/1*CL*; 42.*E* P801/0/11*CL*; 43.*E* P810/1/5*CL*; 44.*E* P810/2/7*CL*; 45.*E* P801/0/10*BX*; 46.*E* P810/2/1*AP*.

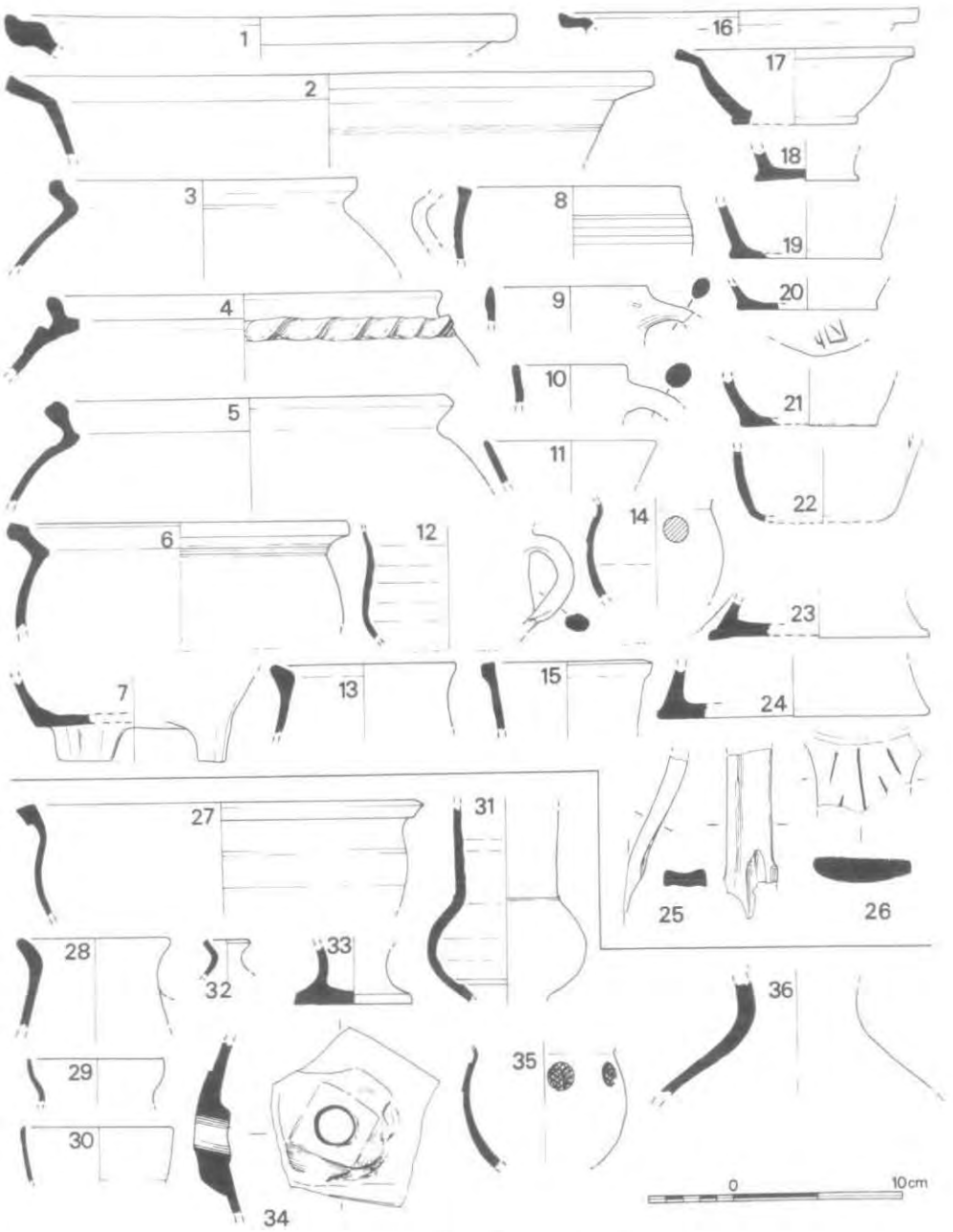


Fig. 20
Phase BIVP. Early-mid sixteenth century. Nos. 1-36.
1.P308/0/16*BX*; 2.P308/0/13*AZ*; 3.P308/0/2*AZ*; 4.P308/0/22*AZ*; 5.P308/0/5*AZ*; 6.P308/0/4*AZ*; 7.P308/0/17*AZ*; 8.P308/0/20*AM*; 9.P308/0/24*AM*; 10.P308/0/25*AM*; 11.P308/0/7*AZ*; 12.P308/0/15*AM*; 13.P308/0/18*AZ*; 14.P308/0/6*CL*; 15.P308/0/26*AM*; 16.P308/0/27*BX*; 17.P308/0/28*AM*; 18.P308/0/23*AM*; 19.P308/0/10*AM*; 20.P308/0/14*AM*; 21.P308/0/19*AM*; 22.P308/0/8*CL*; 23.P308/0/12*AM*; 24.P308/0/11*AM*; 25.P308/0/3*AM*; 26.P308/0/1*CU*; 27.P583/0/1*AW*; 28.P255/0/1*AZ*; 29.P300/0/2*CL*; 30.P199/0/2*BC*; 31.P254/0/2*ST*; 32.P206/0/1*BN*;33.P193/0/3*AZ*; 34.P300/0/1*AP*; 35.P199/0/1*CL*; 36.P199/0/4*AM*.

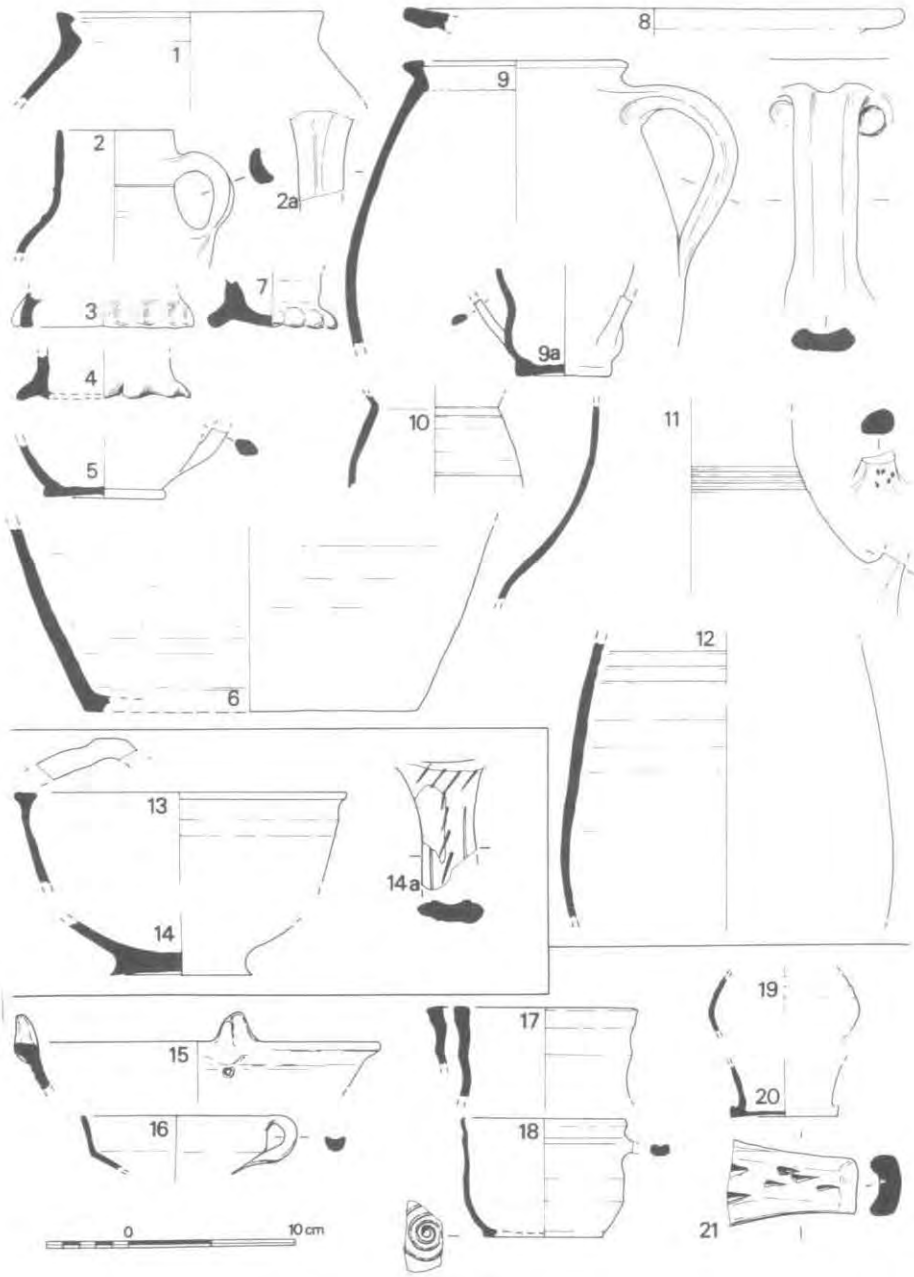


Fig. 21
Phase BIVP. Early-mid sixteenth century (Nos. 1-12). Phase BIV. Fifteenth century (Nos. 13-14a). Phase Mod. Later sixteenth century only (Nos. 15-24).
1.P226/0/7*AM*; 2.P226/0/6*ST*; 2a.P226/2/10*BX*; 3.P226/2/8*ST*; 4.P226/0/8*ST*; 5.P226/1/5*AM*; 6.P226/2/2*BX*; 7.P226/0/5*ST*; 8.P226/1/1*AM*; 9.P226/0/2*AP*; 9a.P226/2/11*CL*; 10.P226/2/6*AZ*; 11.P226/0/1*AM*; 12.P226/0/9*AP*; 13.P31/1/1*AM*; 14.P75/0/2AM; 14a.P31/1/2*AM*; 15.P1/0/9*AM*; 16.P1/0/3*BN*; 17.P1/0/11*AM*; 18.P1/0/1*AM*; 19.P1/0/6*BN*; 20.P1/0/4*BN*; 21.P1/0/10*AM*;

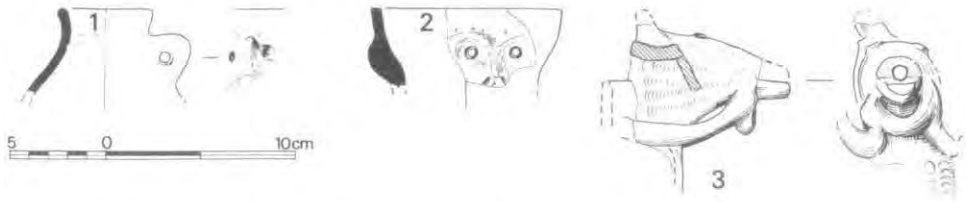


Fig. 22
Phase BIVP (No. 3). Phase Mod. (Nos. 1-2)
1.P1/0/12*AM*; 2.P1/0/13*AM*; 3.P611/0/1*AM*.

wares (Fabric *AM* Gp III) which included a wide variety of highly decorated jugs, thin-walled porringers, double-shelled lamps and, later, bottles. Large vessels suitable for cooking were not found in this ware. Cooking pots, shallow dishes and pans in a flint and chalk tempered fabric (*AQ* Gp III) had had a limited market in the first half of the 13th century (BI) and may have filled the void left by the calcareous gravel tempered wares (Fabric *AC* Gp IB). By the middle of the 13th century Fabric *AQ* was increasingly used for kitchen wares (BIOb), Fabric *AW* (Gp III) was also used but never gained ascendancy over the flint and chalk tempered wares (BIOb-BII3). The fine sandy wares (Fabric *AM* Gp III) continued to dominate the market throughout the later medieval period (BII1-BII5) but the very elaborately decorated jugs had been discontinued by the later 13th or early 14th century (BII2). The other vessel forms and decoration, including mottled green glaze, remained in use throughout the 14th century. The absence of jugs imported from outside the region during the 14th century is probably an indication that the finer sandy wares (Fabric *AM*) had a monopoly within the Oxford region. In fact, a few of these wares even travelled as far as Newbury, Gloucester, Northampton, Bedford and Hertfordshire.[212]

In the early 15th century (BII5) there was little change in the local pottery industry, except that partially glazed sherds with clear colours became as popular as mottled green glazes. By the middle of the 15th century (BII6, E2D) regional imports from the south-east, perhaps brought via Henley, began to appear (Fabrics *BG*, a Farnborough-Hill type & *BN*, Tudor Green). These may have stimulated part of the static local industry, as two distinct trends appeared. In the first traditional jugs continued to be made, but they were poorly executed and lacked the skill of earlier examples. In the second, Tudor Green table-wares from Surrey were copied in local clay by very competent potters. These local tablewares found in HIII may have been used only in more affluent households.

By the early 16th century firing techniques had evidently improved and a harder version of the medieval fabric (Fabric *AM*) was produced. This was used for kitchen wares, often internally glazed and jars including the bung-hole type. These wares were found in association with drinking vessels (Cistercian types) known all over England at this period,[213] and Rhenish stoneware tankards (E 4(2)); the medieval jug industry and the local table-wares had virtually disappeared.

[212] Newbury, Gloucester, information from Alan Vince; Northampton, Mary Gryspeerdt 'The Pottery', in J.H. Williams, 'Excavations at Greyfriars, Northampton, 1972', *Northants. Archaeology*, xiii (1978), Fabric W14, p.139; Bedford, D. Baker *et al*, 'Excavations in Bedford 1967-77', *Beds. Arch J.*, xiii (1979), fabrics C9 and C11, p.173; Hertfordshire, manor of More, seen in Brit. Mus. reference collection; Information from J.G. Hurst.

[213] H.E.J. le Patourel, 'Documentary evidence and the Medieval Pottery industry', *Med. Arch.*, xii (1968), 122.

The wide variation in the quantities of pottery associated with occupation levels within the earliest buildings complicated detailed comparison between buildings, but HI, interpreted as a work shop, had a more limited range of wares than the house BI2 which also contained slightly more of the 'newer' fabrics and regional imports (Fig. 8). BI1 fell between the two. The small amount of pottery from occupation levels in these buildings contrasts strongly with the heavy build-up at 79-80 St. Aldates, and again makes detailed comparison very difficult. The minor variations of regional imports probably reflected nothing more than individual preference and lack of continental imports was to be expected in a suburb.

This site seemed to afford a good opportunity to compare pit assemblages with contemporary debris within the buildings. The material from the pits outside the buildings (BIOa) gave more information concerning vessel forms than did the material from within the buildings, but the percentage of green glazed sherds from pits was twice that from the buildings. It may be that comparison between the assemblages from different types of deposit is misleading, or that these pits were not in fact associated with the buildings (HI, BI1, BI2). There was also a group of pits containing pottery which possibly related to BIs, (Fig. 13 Nos. 11-13) but seemed to have closer affinities with the later sub-phase BIOb. These mixed groups made comparison even more hazardous.

The north-eastern suburb was probably built up at much the same time as St. Thomas's, and Ceramic Groups A, B, C and their associated Ceramic Groups from the site of the Bodleian extension were all represented in BIOa, although some elements were missing, notably the polychrome copies of French jugs, and jugs with applied pads, representing face-masks, styles which may reflect special commissions rather than wares produced for the general market. The wide bodied jugs from Well 1 were also difficult to parallel and there was no certainty that they were present at 79-80 St. Aldates. Possibly they did not play a very important part in the development of Oxford pottery. It is now clear that several fabric-types are included within the Bodleian Ceramic Groups A, B, and their associated Groups (Ceramic Group A: Fabric *AH*, Oxford Medieval Ware Fabric *Y*, Ceramic Group B: Fabrics *AG*, *AW* a Brill-type; Associated Group A: Fabric *AG* & *AW* a Brill-type; Associated Group B: Fabrics *AW* a Brill type and *AM* Oxford late Medieval ware; Ceramic Group C: *AM* Oxford late Medieval ware) and in this report some are classified as regional imports. Although the Ceramic Groups A, B and C do closely follow on one from another, the presence of these regional imports in any one assemblage cannot be relied upon. Closer dating can only be acheived when more is known about their kiln sites or areas near to the production centres.

On stylistic grounds the pottery from BIOb was later than the pottery from the Phase I buildings (Fig. 8) and had stronger affinities with pottery from the occupation levels in BI11. The highly decorated jugs were with one or two exceptions (HI and BIOa) fully evolved by the time they appeared on the site. The full range of jug styles including triple-deckers and stout baluster-types was already present. This suggests a very dramatic ceramic change. The triple-decker is a jug form unique to the Oxford region and the skill required to make these highly decorated jugs was considerable and would require a good many years of experience. So where were the earlier less developed jugs from this production centre? The earliest recognisable form in fabric *AM* was a double-shelled lamp glazed light green, from the earliest floor-levels in building HI. Such lamps were also amongst the earliest wares of this fabric at 79-80 St. Aldates, as was an unglazed splayed base from a baluster jug which can be paralleled by one from a pit in BIOa (Fig. 13 No. 27). A new pottery industry wishing to break into an already saturated market would need to produce new products suitable for every household or workshop. The double-shelled lamp, a type unknown to the area at earlier periods, and the slim baluster-type

jugs with their stable flat bases may well have been such products. If so, should they not be present in greater quantities on the site?

The kilns for these wares were probably in the Brill/Boarstall area, although no triple-decker or composite decoration has actually been found at a kiln site. The earliest reference to potters at Brill is 1254.[214] Sherds of Fabrics *AM* and *AW* were not found sealed by the Greyfriars or Oxford town wall, which suggests that they were not available until the second quarter of the 13th century. A few decorated sherds (Fabrics *AM* & *AW*) were associated with the buildings (HI, BI) but only one highly decorated composite design was noted (BI2, Fig. 12, No. 20), suggesting that some plainer jugs were available in the second quarter of the 13th century but that highly decorated composite designs may not have been. These highly decorated composite designs are virtually absent from the Bodleian sequence, a few sherds only having been recovered (Well 13 Nos. 2 & 4, and Well 10),[215] but they were widely marketed throughout Oxfordshire, and are known at Abingdon, Seacourt and Bicester Priory. They were present in a stone-lined pit at Banbury, dated by three coins to 1251/1279, as well as at other sites from Oxford including 79-80 St. Aldates Phase 9.

The highly decorated triple-decker and stout baluster type continued in use during the occupation of the next building BII1. Curiously the occupation levels here yielded sherds as large as those from the pits (BIOa; BIOb); perhaps the dwelling had been abandoned in a hurry. A sherd from an aquamanile was also found in this early sub-phase. Like the polychrome copies, this ewer may have been a special commission, as there are few aquamaniles from other recent excavations in Oxford, whereas the Hamel boasts at least two if not three (BII6 & L1). A preference for mottled green glaze was now evident; this accorded with Phase 10 at 79-80 St. Aldates dated to the 14th century.[216] Documentary evidence may suggest that the rebuilding (BII1) took place before 1277/8, and a date as early as *c.* 1265 is favoured above. This would bring forward the beginning of Phase 10 by some 50 years and suggests that BIOb and Phase 9, both with substantial number of sherds (697 and 972 respectively) enjoyed a comparatively short span of life, *c.*20 years at the outside (*c.* 1250-1265). This could mean that BII1 (802 sherds) might be contemporary with the Banbury pit 1251-79. By the next sub-phase BII2 (472 sherds), the absence of highly decorated jugs including rouletted strips was noticeable, suggesting that the zenith of the medieval jug industry was over by *c.* 1280-1290.

The pottery industry thereafter appeared to market a limited range of wares over a period of a century (BII2-BII5). BII3 contained a jetton *c.* 1305-15 but little independent dating is available for the rest of the 14th century. These phases apparently covered a greater span of time than BIOb-BII1 but the assemblage from each of these sub-phases was half the size of the BIOb-BII1 groups. The small assemblages may in part be to the presence of ovens in BII2 and BII3 but they might equally imply that vessels in other materials, perhaps metal, were in use.

Several 'wasters' were found (BII2 and BII3), the only examples from recent excavations. These products might not have been sold in the market place but distributed by an individual to workshops or less well-to-do households. An *Alexander le Poter* leased land

[214] M. Farley, 'Pottery and Pottery Kilns of the Post Medieval Period at Brill, Buckingham', *Post Med. Arch.*, xiii (1979), 129.

[215] Bruce-Mitford, 'Bodleian Extension', *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 107, 109.

[216] Durham, 'St. Aldates', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 142, the two coins of 1260-79, 1280-1300 in Phase 10 were considered residual.

in the area *c.* 1316-1320,[217] if, as is possible, he was a working potter[218] he might have distributed the sub-standard products. The sub-phase BII5 (with very few sherds) was similar to pottery from Phase 11 at 79-80 St. Aldates dated *c.* 1400 - *c.* 1550.[219]

Sub-phase BII6, with its two distinct potting traditions, showed an increase in Surrey-types including Fabric *BG* a Farnborough-Hill-type known to be common in London in the late 15th century,[220] and Tudor-Green (Fabric *BN*) which was missing at 79-80 St. Aldates and the barbican ditch but is known from All Saints in a pre 1495 context.[221] A coin issued 1430-4 was also recovered from an occupation layer. The pottery was similar to some later material from Seacourt (Fig. 27). This site was regarded by the excavator as deserted by 1400 although the documentary evidence does not really preclude some activity continuing at least into the first quarter of the 15th century, and pottery in the later phase of Areas 1, 4, 5 and 11 and a sherd from Site Q might date to this period or a little later.

Few sherds came from HII, compared with BIOb-BII2. Highly decorated jugs were absent, apart from a single sherd (Fig. 14, no. 15). The dominance of Fabric *AM*, mottled green glaze and presence of rouletted dcoration suggested that it might be contemporary with BII1 and possibly BII2, although rouletted applied strips are not a particular characteristic of BII2. The excavator has argued that the replacement building, HIII, was built *c.* 1275 so that HII had a span of a mere ten years. This being so the early levels in HIII should be contemporary with BII2 and later levels. However, the highly decorated pottery and even the plain applied strips and red slip of the 14th century BII sub-phases (BII2-BII4) are missing, as are the coarse flint and chalk tempered kitchen vessels (Fabric *AQ* Gp II) Fig. 8. Coins issued in the late 13th and 14th centuries were present but these could have circulated much later (See Coins and Jettons). It therefore seems that pottery relating to the late 13th and early 14th centuries had been removed. Most of the pottery was anyway associated with the final structural phase and included table wares of Tudor Green and local Tudor-types which, apart from some sherds from BII6, are not paralleled from recent excavations in Oxford. The demolition levels of Chalgrove Manor dated *c.* 1485 produced table wares, and a date about the third quarter of the 15th century might be expected for the Hamel material.

The E4(2) group is also unparalleled within Oxford, but it contained a quantity of Rhenish stonewares and a Netherlands tinglaze altar vase dated *c.* 1500. Outside parallels for this convivial Oxford group include that from Farnham Castle,[222] Surrey dated *c.* 1520 and one further afield at Rockley Smithies, Yorkshire,[223] where an assemblage yielding Cistercian types, a sherd of South Netherlands majolica (tinglaze) as well as local wares, was found in association with a coin of 1500-7. These very similar assemblages illustrate the rapid spread of styles across the country in the early post-medieval period. The presence of continental imports on the site may also suggest that this pottery belonged to a tavern or to one of the wealthier households existing in the parish by 1524.[224]

[217] H.E. Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, iii, O.H.S. xci (1931), 134, 145, 150.
[218] Le Patourel, 'Documentary Evidence', *Med. Arch.*, xii (1968), 102.
[219] Durham, 'St. Aldates', *Oxoniensia* xlii (1977), 141, Phase 11 contained a jetton *c.* 1460, a coin of 14th - 15th century and a lease of 1438-9.
[220] Information from C. Orton
[221] E.M. Jope, 'Medieval Pottery in Berkshire', *B.A.J.*, x (1947), 71; Jope, 'Recent Finds', *Oxoniensia*, vii (1942), 79.
[222] S. Moorhouse, 'Two Late and Post Medieval Pottery Groups from Farnham Castle, Surrey', *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, lxviii (1971), Fig. 1, p.39
[223] D. Crossley and D. Ashurst, 'Excavations at Rockley Smithies', *Post Med. Arch.*, ii (1968), 36.
[224] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, iv, 32.

Pottery from the site was predominantly wheel-thrown, with the exception of two fabric types: the first, the calcareous gravel tempered wares (Fabric *AC* Gp IB) were hand-made in the 11th century[225] and showed no development in potting skills during the 12th century but the finer thin-walled vessels of the early 13th century appear to be finished on a wheel. The second, the flint and chalk tempered wares (Fabric *AQ* Gp II) which were coil-made from the 13th to 15th century, were also finished on a wheel, particularly the rim, with its characteristic rounding (Fig. 14, No. 9). Largely because of its coarse texture it has often been considered as residual but this open, coarse-textured fabric would be ideally suited to the continual stresses of heating and cooling during cooking.

'Knife-trimming' was evident on the coarse sandy cooking pots and kitchen wares including shallow dishes (Fabric *Y* Gp III). This would have ensured even walled vessels and often gave a faceted effect to the surface (uneven thickness would cause the pot to split on drying or during the firing process). It is not clear why the pitchers in this fabric did not also show signs of 'knife' trimming but it may indicate that kitchen wares were made by less competent potters within the same production centre. The surface treatment also occurred on some shallow dishes in the calcareous gravel tempered wares (Fabric *AC* Gp IB) but was not noted on other wares.

Few correlations were noted between the type of structural decoration, glaze colour and style of jug in the finer sandy wares (Fabric *AM* Gp III) with the exception of baluster-types which favour little or no structural decoration (red slip, if anything) and clear lead glazes, and the triple-decker or stout baluster types which show a preference for applied strips, plain and rouletted arranged in often very complex designs, the glaze either clear or mottled green. Several different sizes of rouletting tool were evident (Fig. 14 Nos. 14 and 18) and it may in the long term be possible to recognise individual potters particularly during the late 13th century (BIOb & BII1).

As at 79-80 St. Aldates the use of mottled green glaze proved to be a good chronological indicator, and its continued pre-eminence from the late 13th and 14th centuries indicated no dislocation or lack of availability until the mid 15th century, when clear lead glazes became as popular as mottled green glaze (BII5). The presence of streaky mottled green glaze was thought to be a good indicator for the 15th century at 79-80 St. Aldates, Phase 11; this apparent change is a reflection of higher firing temperatures which draws the iron out of the body into the glaze giving a brownish hue; this increase in temperature also causes the copper filings to run, giving a streaky effect. Although this colouration is more evident towards the end of the sequence, its presence or absence cannot be relied upon.

The use of Munsell Soil Color chart to record the colour of the sherd has enormously furthered the understanding of firing procedures within major fabric types, but only one fabric type (Fabric *AM* Gp III) showed an improvement in temperature over time (BII6-E4).

Eighty per cent of the sherds from any one sub-phase were not attributable to specific identifiable vessel-types. Slight changes in the ratio of cooking pots to jugs (based on number of rims) were noted at different periods. In the late 12th to mid 13th century (D3-BI), the ration was 5:1, jugs increased in the late 13th - 14th centuries BIO-BII4 cooking-pots to jugs 2:1), and again in the 15th century (BII5-BII6, E3, HIII ratio 1:1); by the 16th century totally new wares had emerged (E4(2)).

[225] T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle', *Oxoniensia*, xli (1976), 257.

The majority of rim forms showed no evolution within the major fabric types but it was evident that a number of discrete production areas (Fabrics *AC*, *Y*, to the north, *AM* to the east and *AQ* to the south-west of Oxford) were producing very similar wares in the first half of the 13th century (B12). This strongly suggests that there was an exchange of ideas, perhaps stimulated by a guild or the conservatism of the commercial customers.[226] Bifid rims are associated with 15th century or later levels. Only four examples of undercut rims (BI11, BI16, E3, BIVp) were recovered from the site. This type of rim was a product of the Brill kilns, and was probably made over a period of some 200 years but its comparative rarity on Oxford sites indicates that the bulk of these Brill wares were not marketed in Oxford. Jugs with distinctive thumb-marked handles (E3, E4(1)) are also associated with Brill, but they did not appear on this site until the end of the sequence, and then only in small numbers.

No medieval kilns of the period have been excavated in the county although there are documentary references to kilns at Woodstock, Benson and Nettlebed. However, it is possible to suggest the general area whence the major pottery types came. Calcareous gravel tempered wares (Fabric *AC* Gp IB) were made north of Oxford or possibly north-west during the 12th and early 13th centuries, there being flint tempered wares in the south at this period. Few Oxford tripod-pitchers (Fabric *Y* Gp III) are found south of Oxford and these too were probably made north, possibly in New Woodstock, where a pottery was recorded in 1279.[227] Recent excavations have shown that both the flint and chalk tempered wares (Fabric *AQ* Gp II) and the sandy 'painted wares' (Fabric *AG* Gp III), once thought to have originated from Oxford,[228] account for a much higher proportion of pottery at Newbury during the 13th and 14th centuries, suggesting that the source for flint and chalk tempered wares was in the vicinity of Newbury. The sandy 'painted wares', with great affinities with London painted ware, were also found in some profusion at Reading, so their source may be expected between Reading and Newbury, perhaps at Tilehurst. The sandy wares (Fabric *AM* Gp III), which specialised in jugs, probably came from the east perhaps from the Boarstall area during the second half of the 13th century and later medieval period.[229] The coarser sandy wares (Fabric *AW* Gp III), in particular kitchen wares with undercut rims, are similar to those excavated at Brill. Only a few wares came to Oxford from the west during the late 12th - 14th century (Fabrics *BB* & *CT* Gp IB), these are known to have a wide distribution in the Cotswold area and were found at Seacourt and Faringdon Clump.[230] The pottery traditions to the south of Oxford, at Abingdon and Wallingford, are very different to those of Oxford during the 12th and 13th centuries and may be associated with the Benson Kilns.[231] The finer table wares of the 15th century at Hamel and from Chalgrove Moated Manor have not been noted from the Boarstall/Brill area and another source may be expected, perhaps Nettlebed, a mere six miles from Henley which was the limit of the navigable Thames during the century. It was ideally placed to copy Surrey-types transported over

[226] D.A. Hinton, 'Rudely Made Earthen Vessels',in *Pottery and Earty Commerce*, ed. D.P.S. Peacock, 221-238.
[227] H.E.J. le Patourel, 'Documentary Evidence and the Medieval Pottery Industry', *Med. Arch.*, xii (1968), 109.
[228] S. Moorhouse, 'The Pottery' in C.F. Slade, 'Excavations at Reading Abbey', *B.A.J.* lxvi (1971-2), 92-3.
[229] M. Farley, 'Pottery and Pottery Kilns of the Post Medieval Period at Brill, Buckingham', *Post. Med. Arch.*, xiii (1979), 130-2.
[230] E.T. Leeds, 'Excavations at Faringdon Clump; First Report', *Antiq. J.*, xvi, 165-78.
[231] E.M. Jope, 'Medieval Pottery in Berkshire', *B.A.J.*, x (1947), 50.

the Chilterns, and the earliest documentary reference to a potter of 1442 would fit very well.[232] It would seem therefore that Oxford was drawing pottery from a wide area of its hinterland.

The pottery from the Hamel serves to highlight some of the problems encountered when trying to answer complex questions, whether social, economic or chronological. In the B sequence the wide disparity in survival (or retrieval) of pottery from different types of deposit — floors, occupation, ditches and pits — shows that more work is needed on assemblages from similar deposits before detailed questions of a social or economic nature can be answered satisfactorily. While stratified urban sites can provide an overall chronological framework which may serve the town and surrounding hinterland, it may be that rural sites with good documentary evidence within the Oxford Region but with less risk of the residual pottery found in most urban excavations will act as better pointers for social and economic differences, and will thus aid the interpretation of urban sites.

The Hamel provides two other cautious but cautionary conclusions. Firstly, were it not for documentary evidence for the rebuilding of BII, the development of the highly decorated jugs would have been assumed to have taken place more gradually and the apogee of the jug industry allowed a larger span of time.[233] Secondly, on the pottery evidence alone the interpretation of the H sequence with its comparatively few sherds in each phase would have been very different. But for the exceptional coin evidence, often absent from other sites, it would never have been suspected that HIII was constructed in the late 13th century.

[232] Minister's Accounts 1442. P.R.O. S.C. 6/961, 21-6, 21-8, Henry VI.
[233] D.A. Hinton, 'Rudely Made Earthen Vessels', in *Pottery and Early Commerce*, ed. D.P.S. Peacock, 229-38.

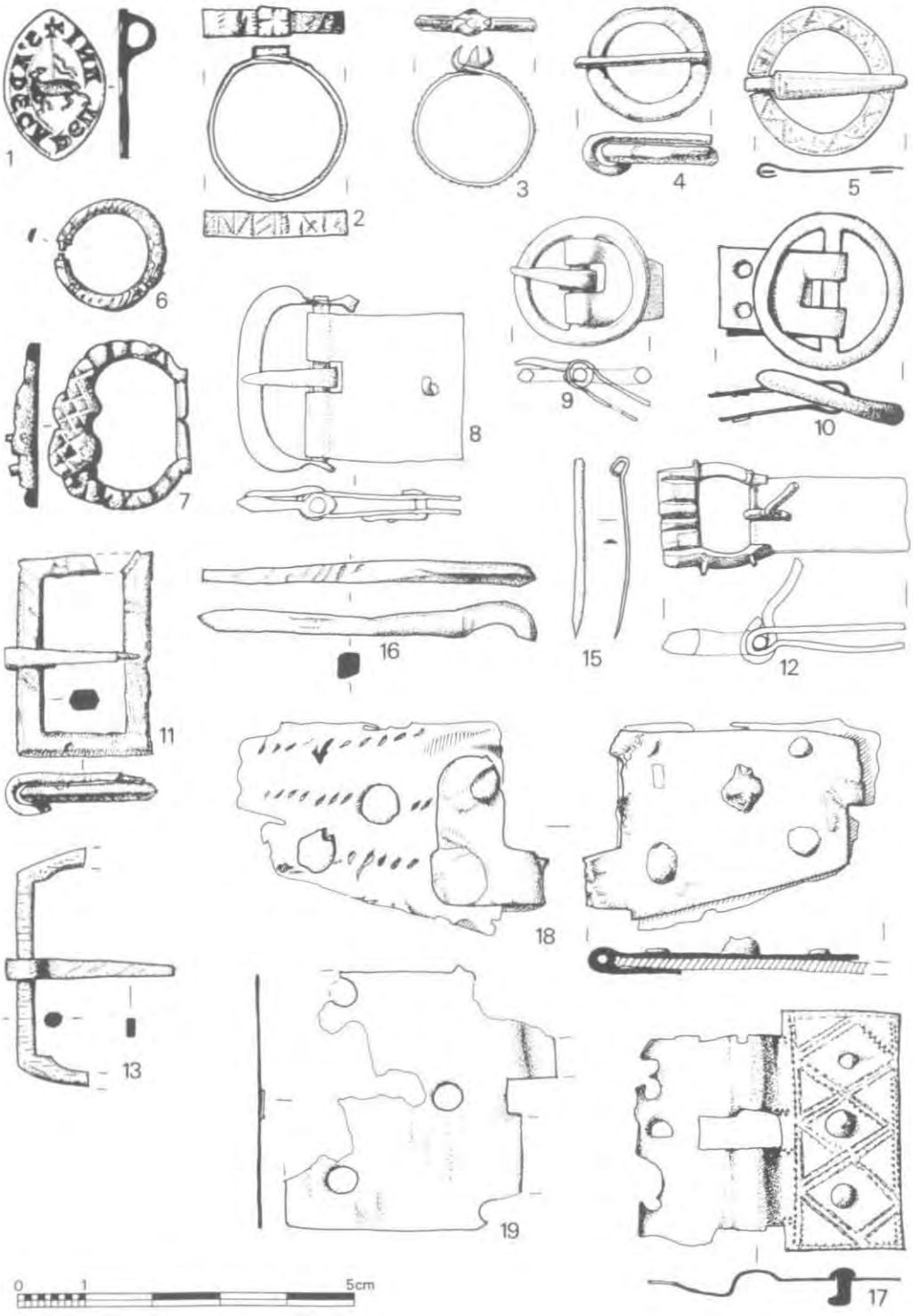


Fig. 23
Copper alloy objects: 1-13, 15-19 (1/1)

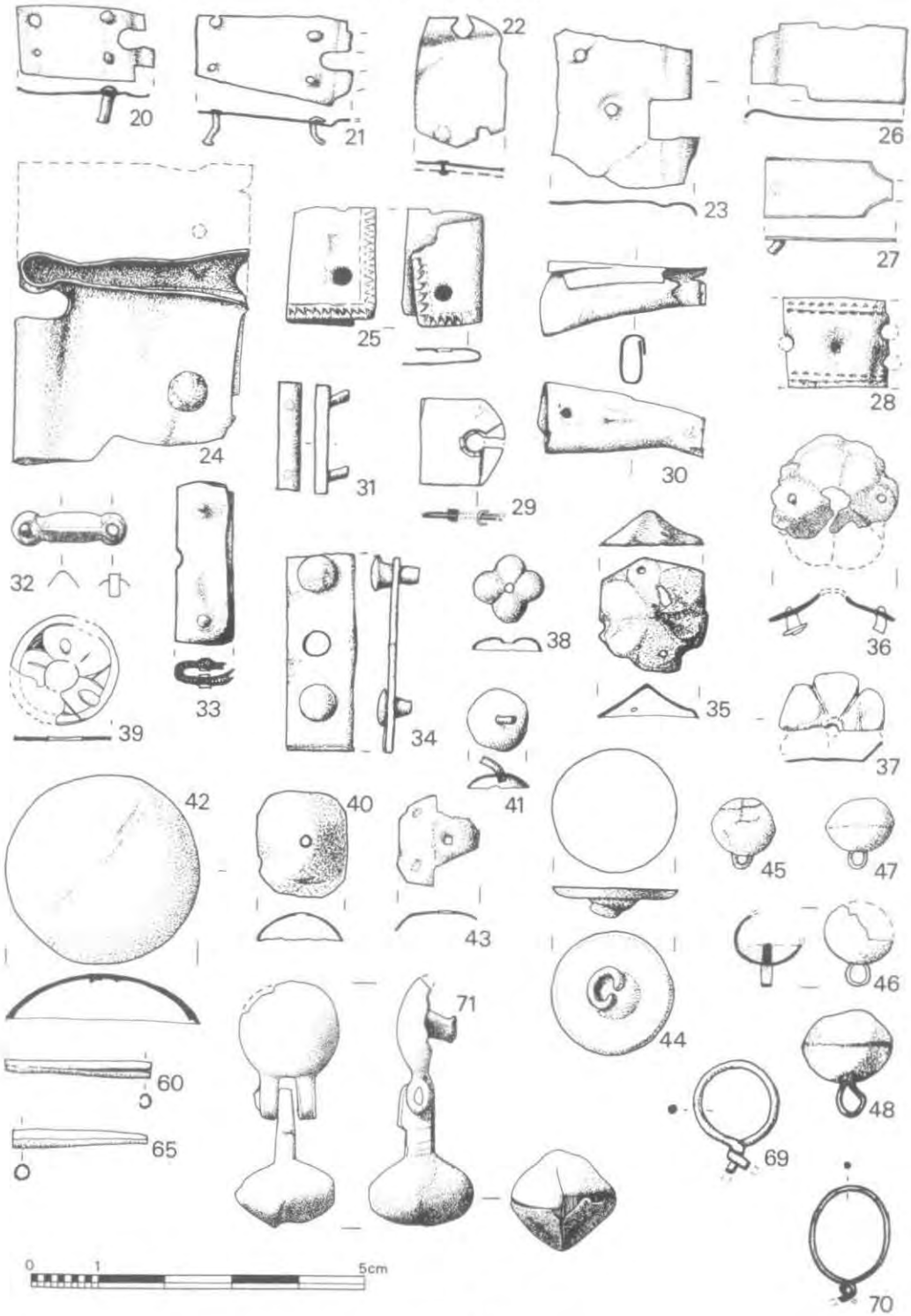


Fig. 24
Copper alloy objects: 20-48, 60, 65, 69-71 (1/1)

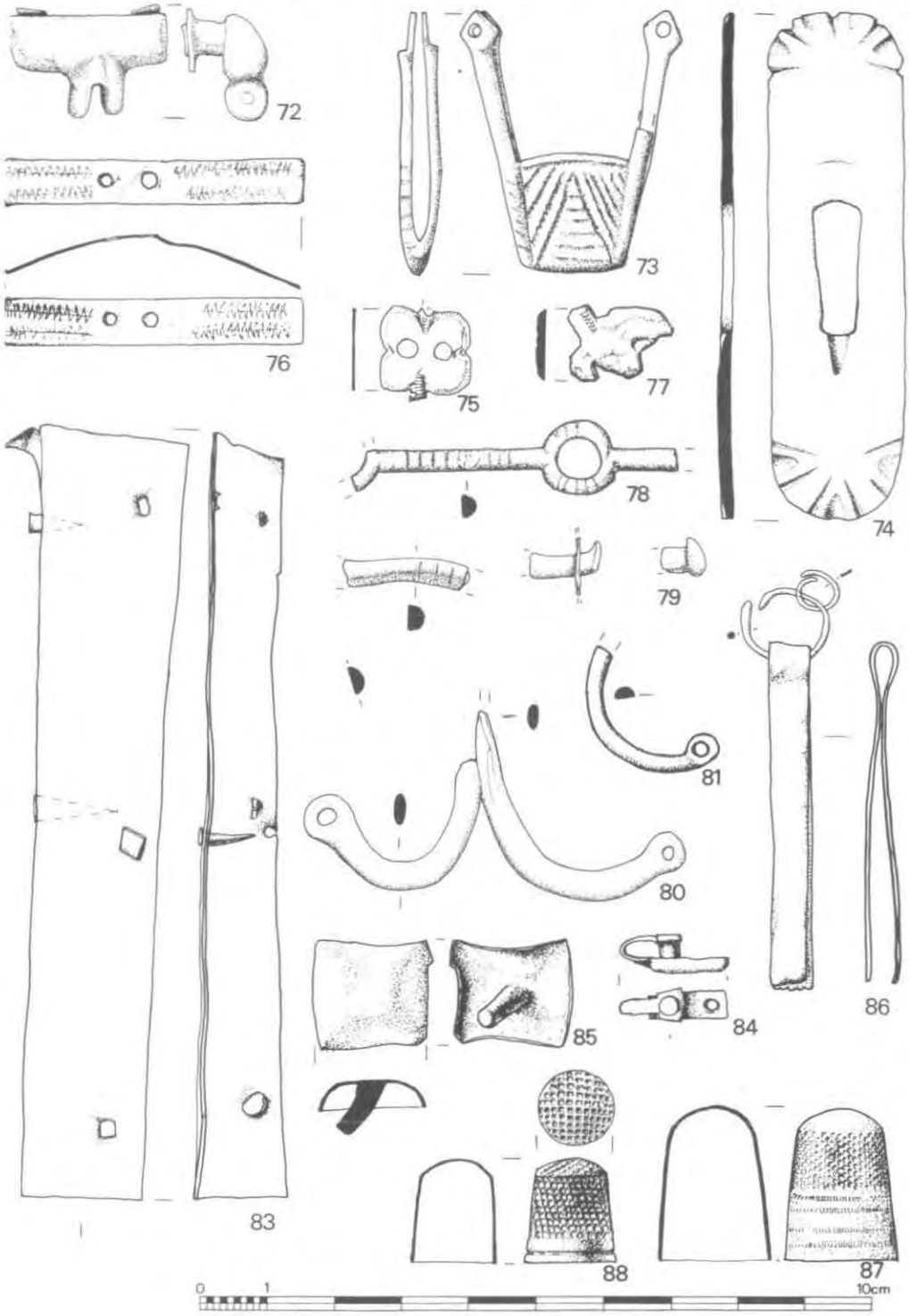


Fig. 25
Copper alloy objects: 72-81, 83-88 (1/1)

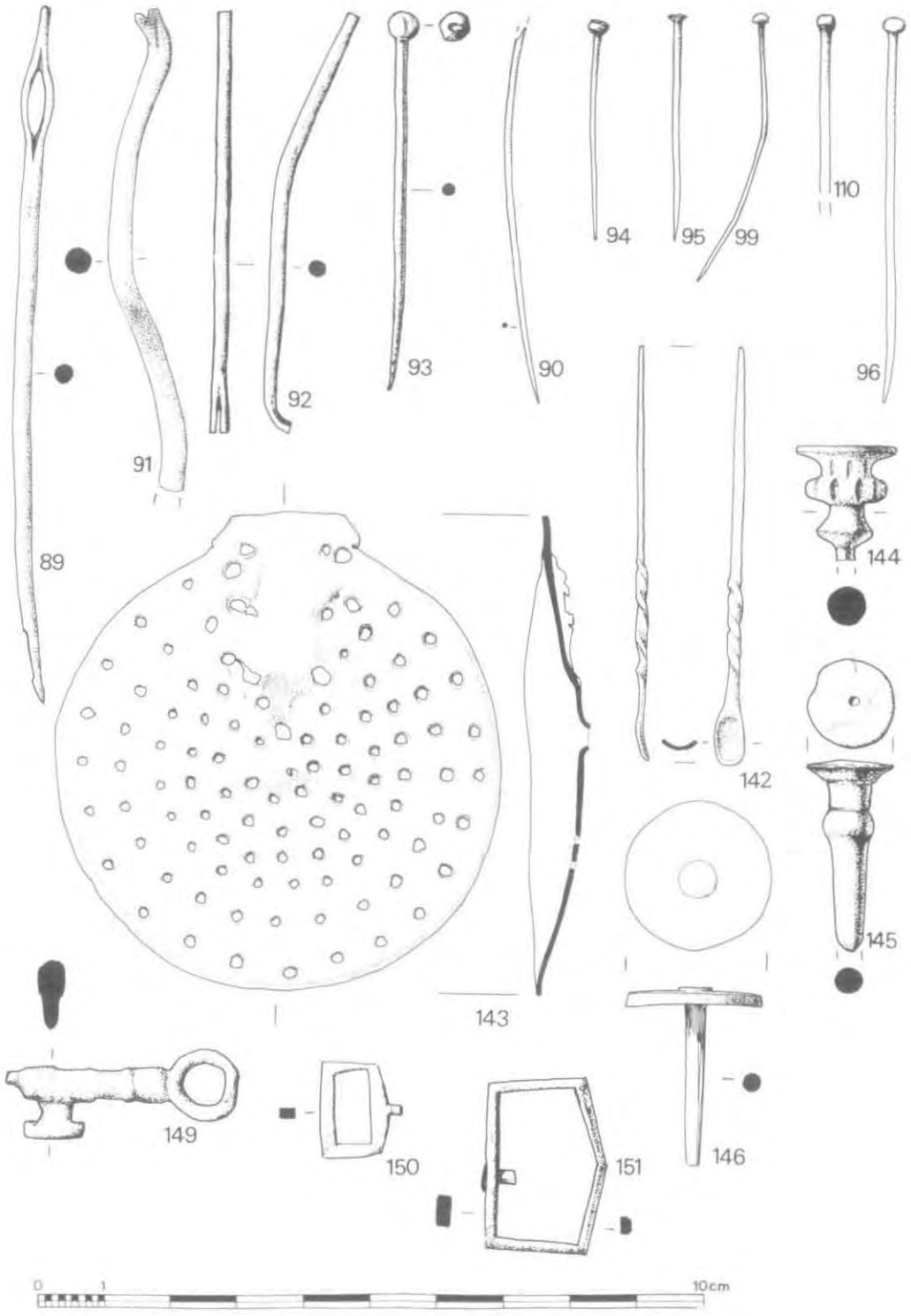


Fig. 26
Copper alloy objects: 89-96, 99, 110, 142 (1/1), 143 (½), 144-146, 149-151 (1/1)

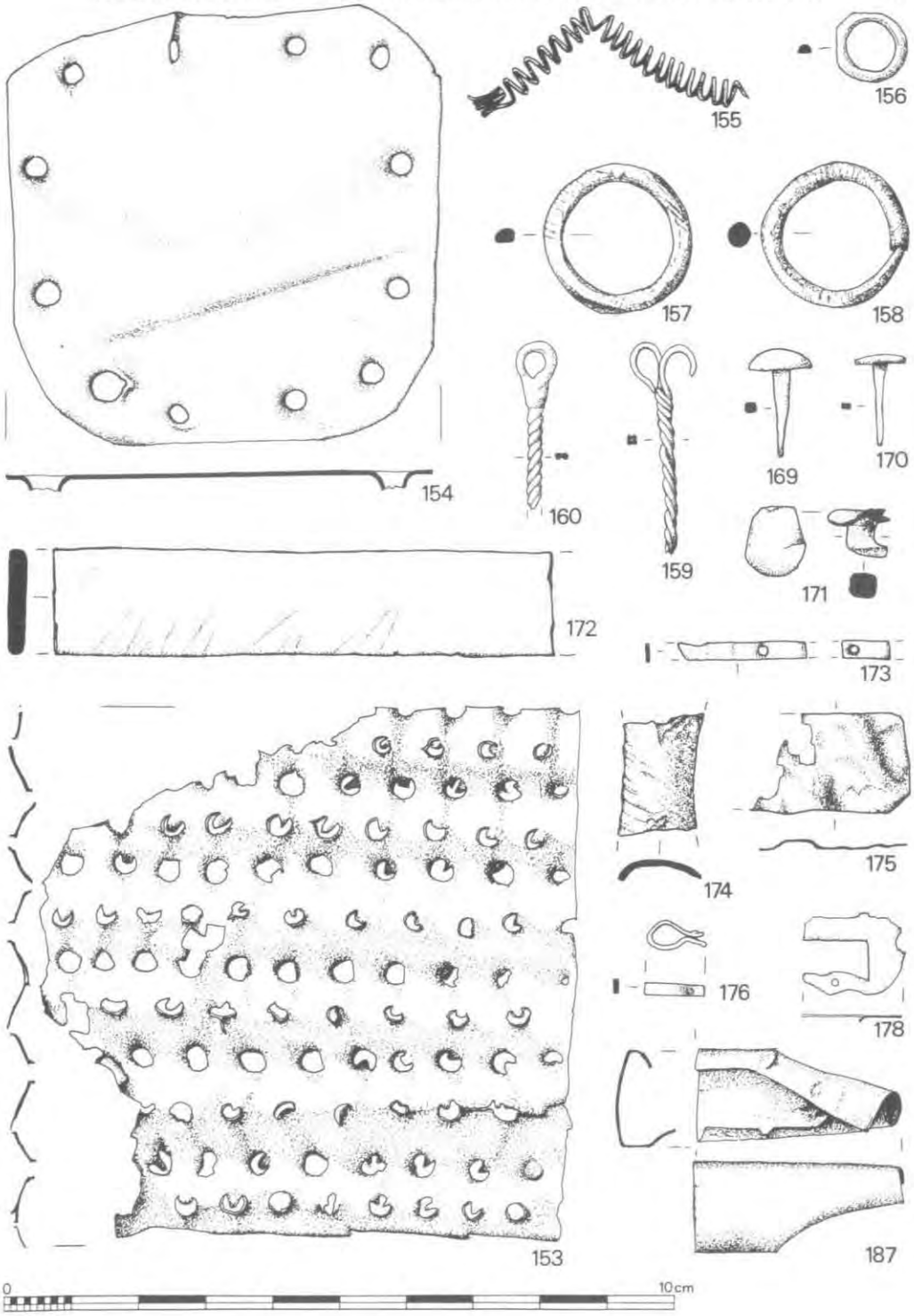


Fig. 27
Copper alloy objects: 153-160, 169-176, 178, 187 (1/1).

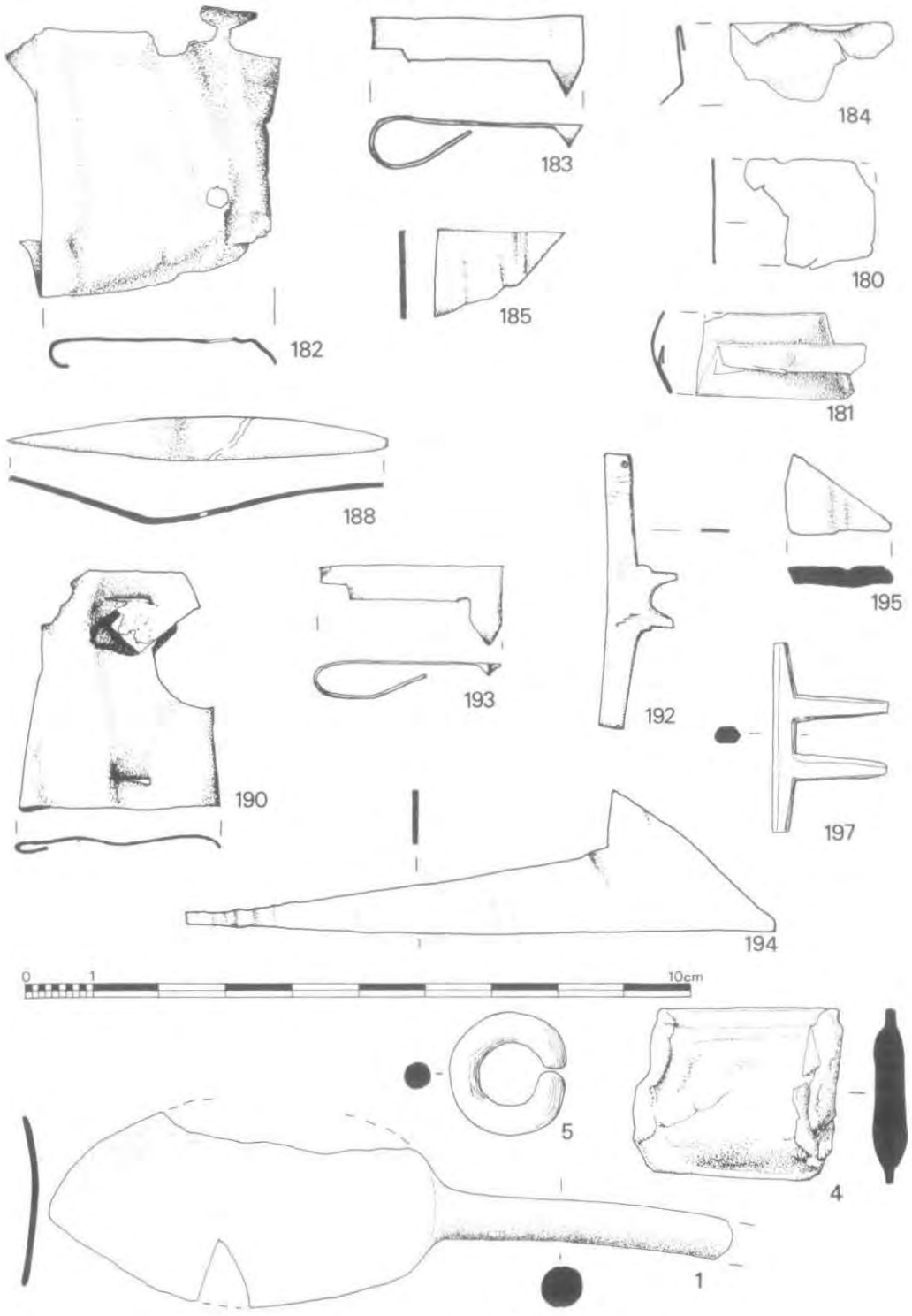


Fig. 28
Copper alloy objects: 180-185, 188, 190, 192, 195, 197 (1/1); Lead objects: 1, 4, 5 (1/1).

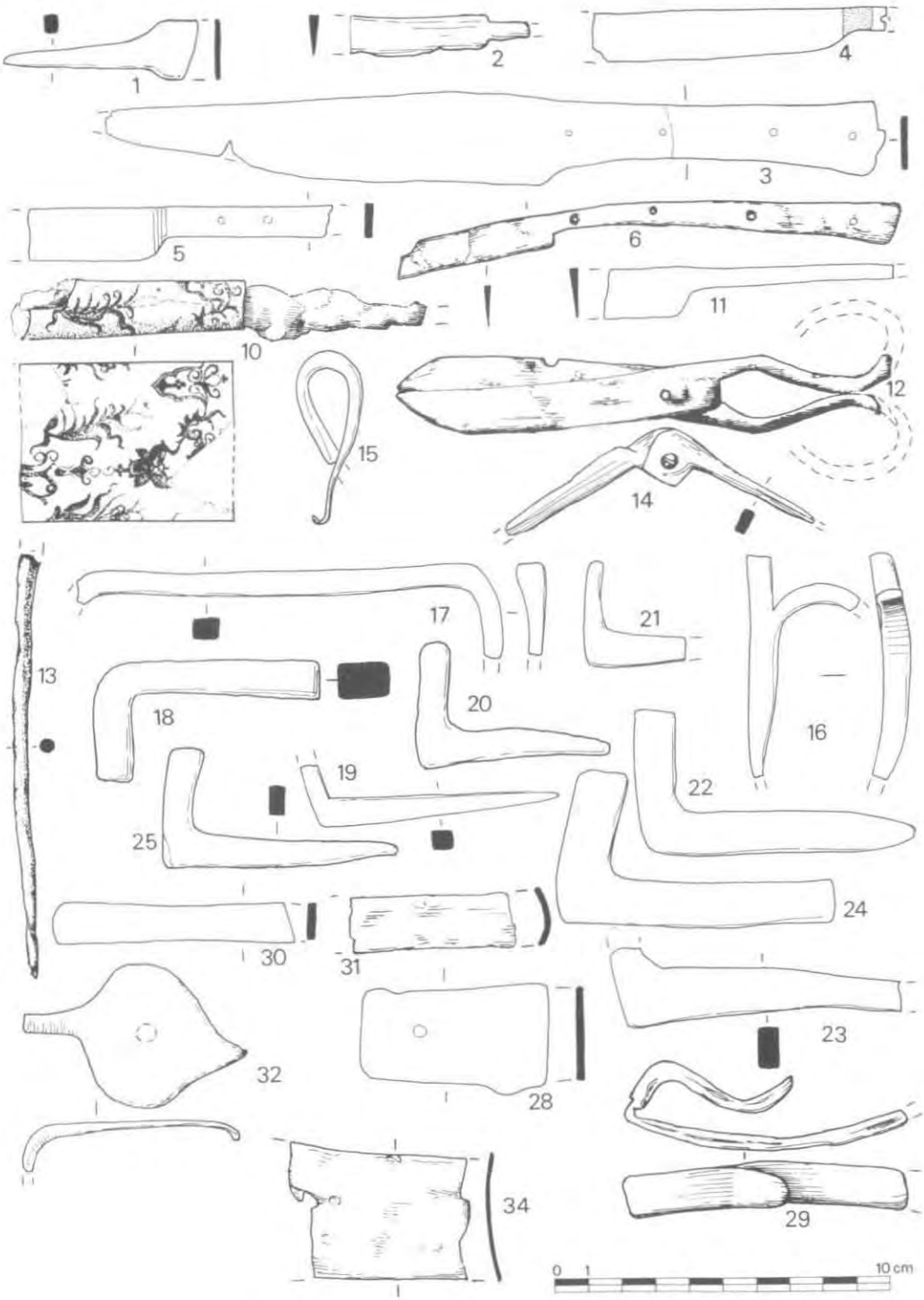


Fig. 29
Iron objects: 1-6, 10-12 (½), 13 (1/1), 14-25, 28-32, 34 (½).

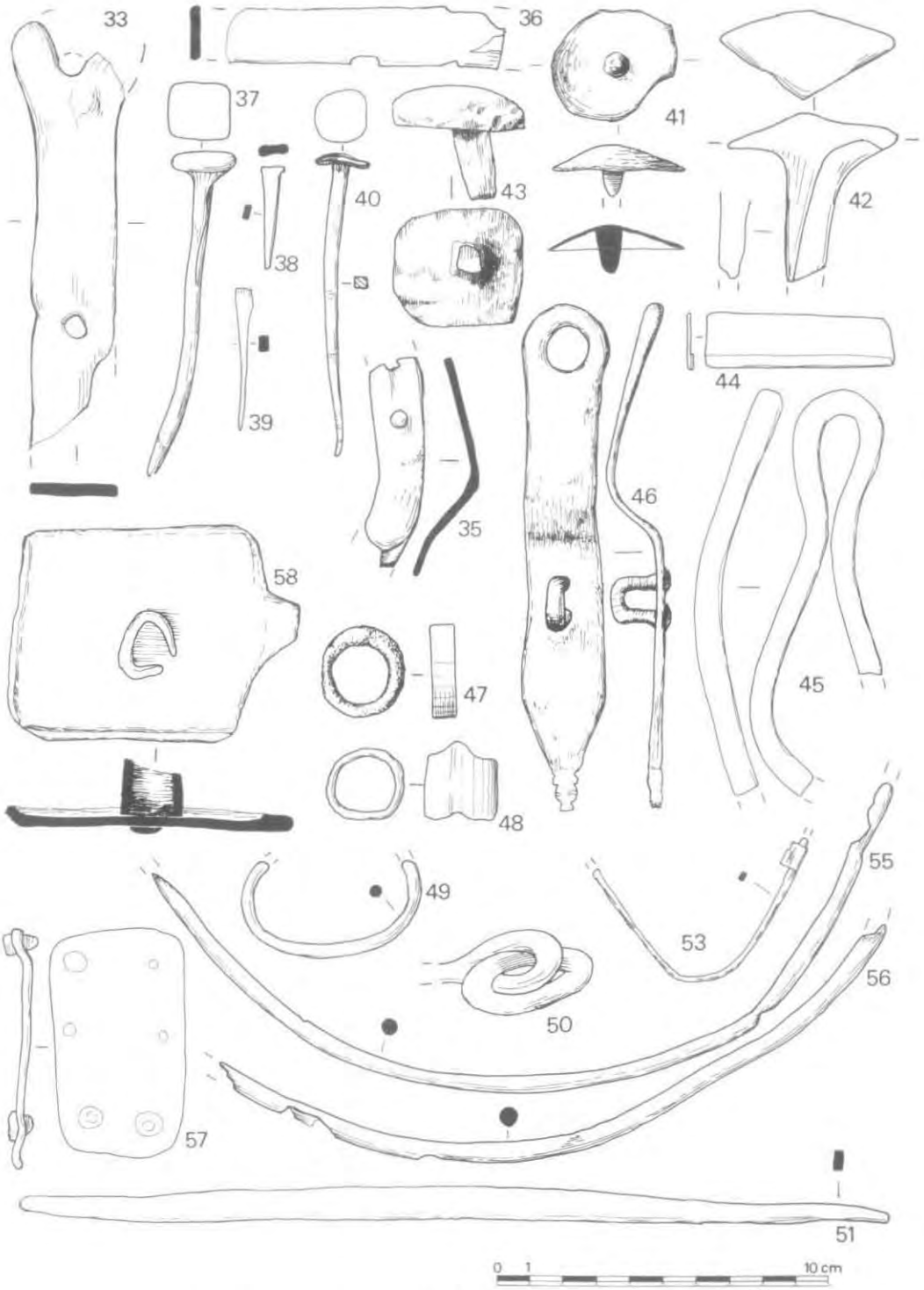


Fig. 30
Iron objects: 33, 35-46 (½), 47 (1/1), 48-51, 53, 55-58 (½)

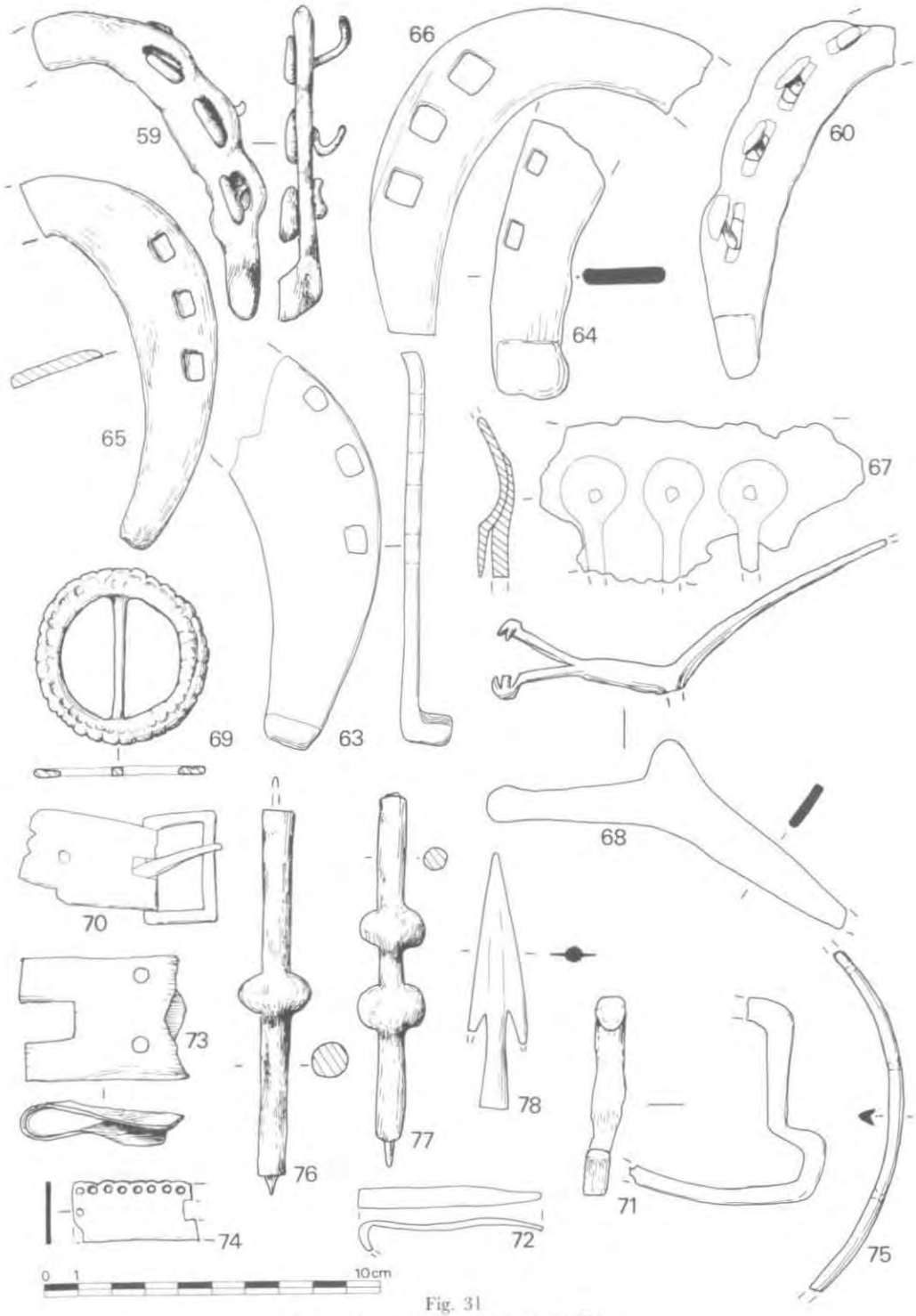


Fig. 31
Iron objects: 59-60, 63-71, 73-78 (½).

Fig. 32
Bone and Antler objects: 1-12 (½); Wooden objects: 20-21 (¼); Vessel Glass 22 (½).

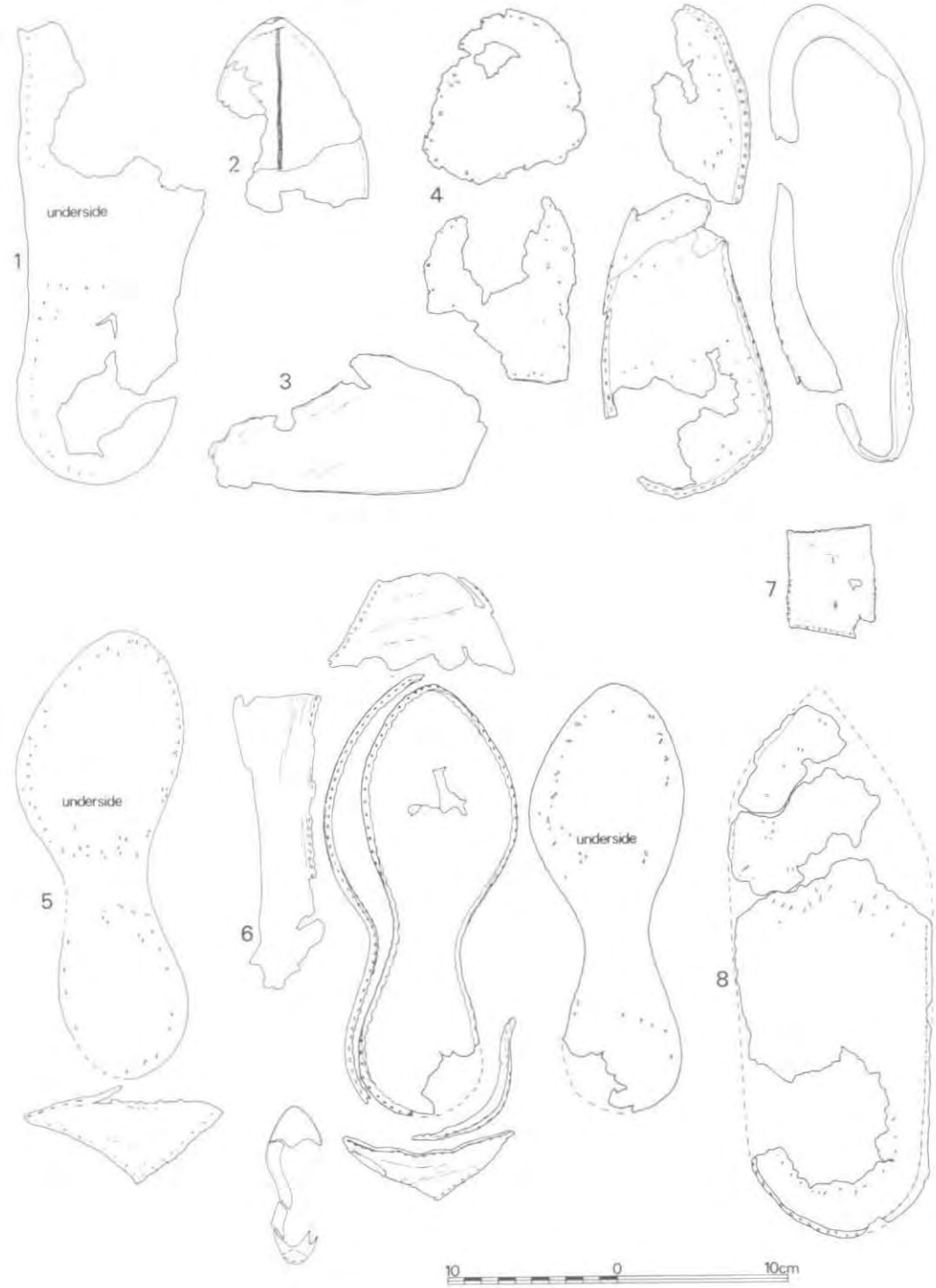


Fig. 33
Leatherwork: 1-8 (¼)

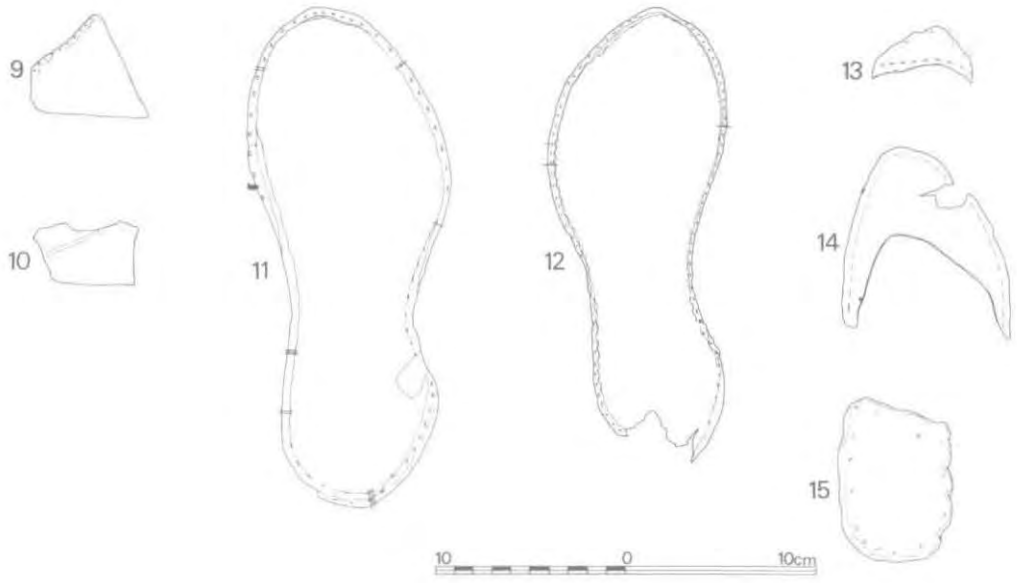


Fig. 34
Leatherwork: 9-15 (¼)

Fig. 35
Stone objects: 1-11 (½), 12-15 (¼), 16-20 1/8)

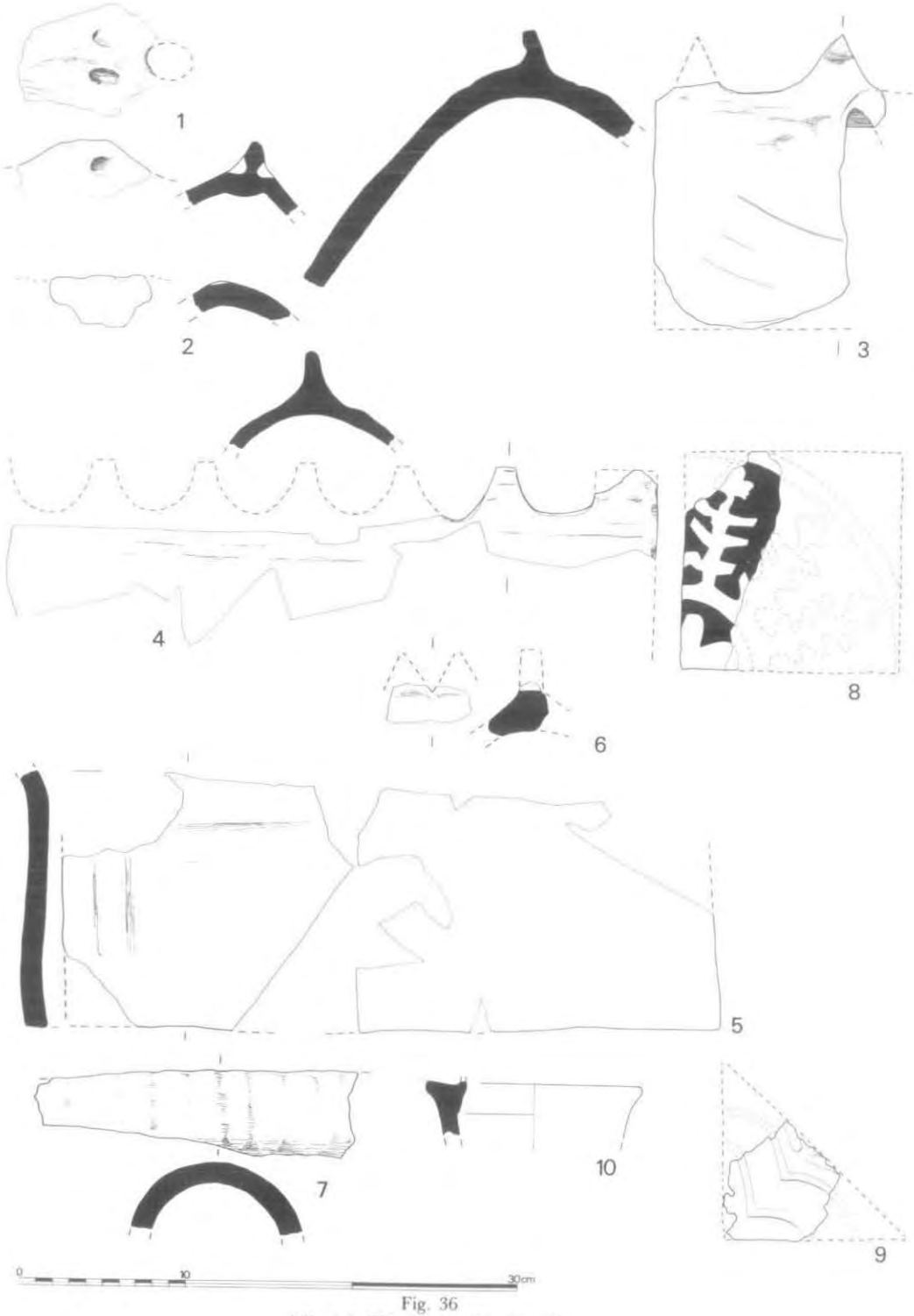


Fig. 36
Tile 1-9 (¼); Water pipe 10 (¼)

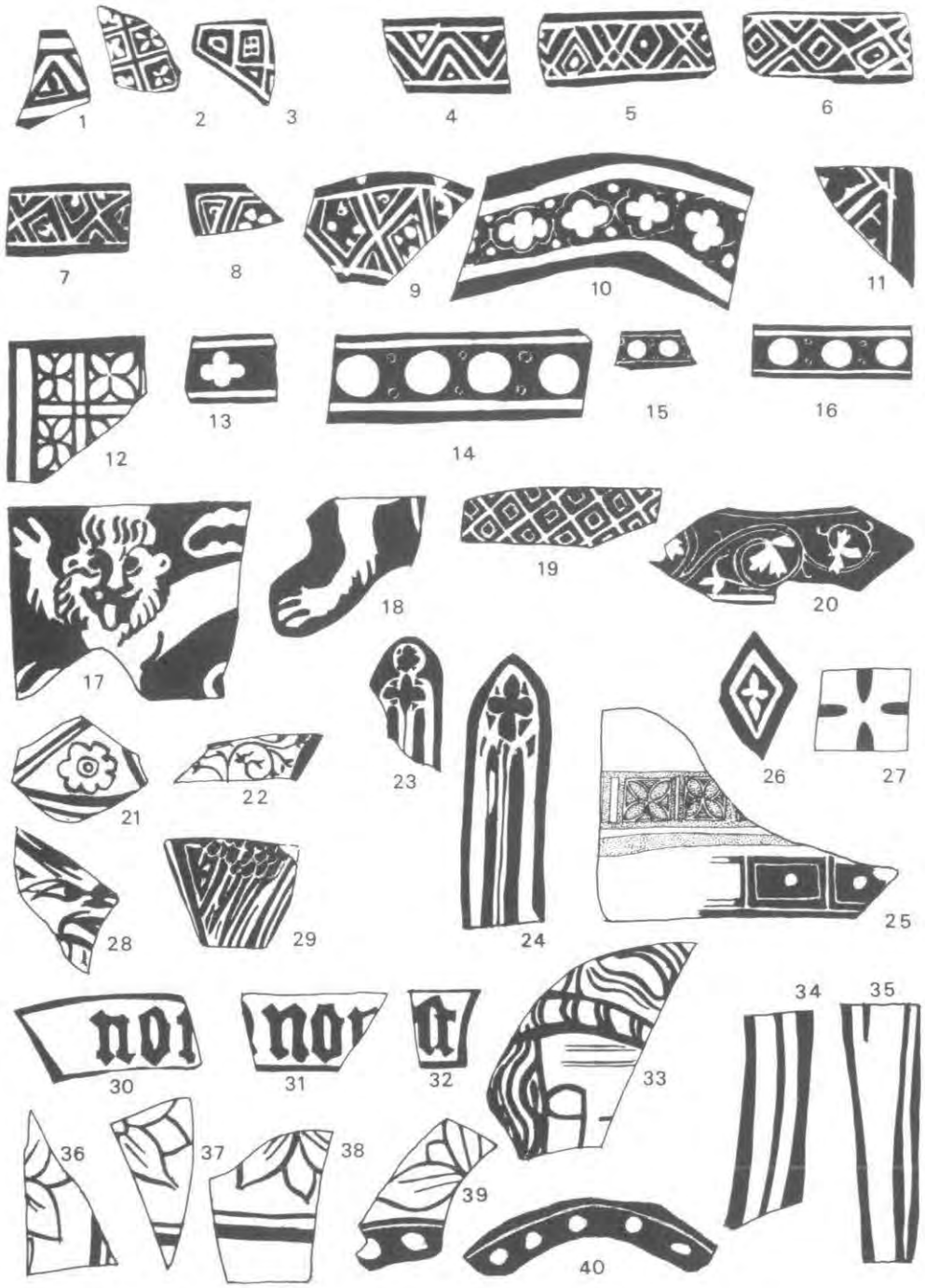


Fig. 37
Window glass: 1–40 (½)

ENVIRONMENTAL EVIDENCE

Animal Bones and Shell by Bob Wilson with Don Bramwell (Summary p. 198; Fragment Numbers, Fiche 2 E04; Butchery and site use of Horn and Bone, Fiche 2 E09; Minimum number of individuals, Fiche 2 E10; Age Information, Fiche 2 E10; Cattle Bone measurements, Fiche 2 E14; Sheep Bone measurements, Fiche 2 E14; Measurements of other species, Fiche 2 F04; Hogget Skeletons, Fiche 2 F05; Pathology Notes, Fiche 2 F05; The Bird Bones by Don Bramwell and Bob Wilson, Fiche 2 F09; Discussion, Fiche 2 F09); *Waterlogged Plant and Invertebrate Evidence* by Mark Robinson (Introduction, p. 199; The Samples, p. 200; Extraction and Identification, Fiche 2 F12; Results, Fiche 2 F12, Tables R-X; Interpretation, p. 200; Conclusions, p. 206); *Carbonised Plant Remains* by Martin Jones, Fiche 2 G07

ANIMAL BONE AND SHELL by BOB WILSON WITH DON BRAMWELL

Summary

The microfiche report describes diverse aspects of over 12,000 medieval and post-medieval bones and shells. The most interesting bone group was the 16th century debris, largely from F810, which included a high proportion of sheep skull debris. Comparison with skull and metapodial remains elsewhere suggests that the skulls were deposited after meat joint dispersal and splitting of sheep heads for brains, perhaps at a nearby butcher's stall or shop. By contrast, most of the medieval bones appear to be undifferentiated domestic debris, or the remains from less specialised butchery, or more complete local usage of carcass materials. Small scale utilisation of minor carcass products is shown by several groups of 13th century horn cores, and a greater incidence of worked bone in 12th-14th century deposits. Higher percentages of burnt bone from the 12th century ditches may be associated with these.

Proportions of domestic animal bones fluctuate over time without clear trends, but in medieval deposits small percentages of bones indicate a gradual replacement in diet of red and roe deer by fallow deer, and hare by rabbit. Oyster remains are abundant from the 13th century, and several species of mussel, limpet, and cockle also occur. In general meat diet appears diverse and of a similar level to most other urban sites.

Not surprisingly, forest and arable species are less well represented, and the larger species already noted appear to decline in abundance. Water and meadow birds, such as teal, gadwall, shelduck, wigeon, whooper swan, woodcock, and golden plover predominate, perhaps because they include preferred edible species. Their presence may also indicate hunting on nearby meadows. Adjacent folding of sheep may be shown by the burial of two hoggets in the late 12th century ditches. Horse, dog, and cat bones were more numerous in early medieval levels perhaps pointing to a degree of prosperity among their owners or to some use of these as working animals.

Few detailed conclusions can be drawn about individual species and their husbandry except for sheep. It is estimated that goats comprised less than 2% of local medieval sheep and goat populations. Most sheep were horned, although the incidence of polled skulls increased over the medieval period. The skeletons are relatively robust compared to Iron Age sheep but smaller than Saxon and post-medieval sheep: their constitutions seem to have been affected by poor grazing, parasites such as keds, or other factors. Such conditions may have been exacerbated by keeping sheep to greater ages during the late medieval period. This practice would have increased wool yields. Another means of improving yields by increasing the size of sheep flocks was not demonstrated since the evidence of changing animal abundance was ambiguous.

WATERLOGGED PLANT AND INVERTEBRATE EVIDENCE by MARK ROBINSON

Most of the 12th and 13th century (Phases D2b, D3, BIOa) pits and ditches on the site extended below the water table. In many of them were preserved rich deposits of organic material and during the excavation substantial soil samples were taken from them. When it came to processing the samples it was realised that there was neither the time nor justification for examining them all. Therefore a limited programme was devised to investigate particular problems.

Waterlogged urban archaeological sites often contain immense quantities of organic material from a large number of different contexts. From them can be obtained long species lists of plants and invertebrates, which are, however, often extremely difficult to interpret and still harder to convert into useful archaeological information.[234] The following questions seemed both archaeologically useful and likely to be answered relatively easily:

1. The archaeological evidence seems to show a change from rural to urban conditions. Do the biological remains give any indication of such a change?
2. Were the pits cess pits and if so what dietary evidence can they provide?
3. Is the assumption that the waterlogged features contained standing water when they were open correct?
4. Is the range of species from the Hamel broadly similar to those from medieval urban sites elsewhere?

It was assumed that other unsuspected useful information would emerge during the investigation of these problems.

Urban medieval coleopteran death assemblages are often very rich in synanthropic species which commonly live indoors or on the structure of buildings. These indoor species are rarely abundant in rural archaeological deposits away from buildings. In addition species from decaying organic material are often extremely numerous. Rural faunas tend to have a greater species diversity and a higher proportion of species which are not detritivores.[235] In contrast, the differences to be expected between seeds from urban and rural contexts are uncertain. It was decided that the first question could be answered by investigating relatively small samples to give about 100 beetles from the full stratigraphic range of deposits. The samples were to be chosen to ensure that any differences detected were not simply those between pits and ditches.

The most numerous seeds from medieval cess pits tend to be from edible fruit.[236] Often cess pits can be recognised by what has been described as 'medieval fruit salad' of strawberry, bramble, *Prunus* spp., fennel, apple, grape, fig and mulberry seeds.[237] Sufficient seeds should be recovered in the paraffin flot from those pits already being investigated to establish their rural or urban nature. In addition small sub-samples from the other pits would be investigated. If any of the pits proved to be cess pits, larger samples would be examined.

[234] H.K. Kenward, 'Pitfalls in the environmental interpretation of insect death assemblages', *J. Archaeological Science* ii (1975), 85-94.

[235] M.A. Robinson and H.K. Kenward, 'The interpretation of urban and rural archaeological insect assemblages: a comparative assessment', (forthcoming).

[236] E.g. G.W Dimbleby, 'The seeds', *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*, by C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, Vol. I: *The excavation* (1975), 344-6.

[237] J.R.A. Greig, *The Worcester Barrel* (forthcoming).

The molluscan faunas of the ditches ought to indicate whether they were water filled. It is unlikely that the pits contained autochthonous mollusca, but the evidence from the ditches for the water level should apply to them as well.

Information on the final question could be obtained by examining a sample from one of the deposits for a wider range of plant and invertebrate remains. The samples investigated for the other reasons should provide extra details for comparison.

The Samples

Wet weights for the samples are given in Table Q. The sample numbers are those of their archaeological contexts.

645/7 Mid-late 12th century ditch (D2b). Gritty grey organic silt with some gravel.

645/3 Mid-late 12th century recut of ditch (D2b). Gritty grey organic silt with some gravel.

778 Late 12th-early 13th century ditch (D3b). Gritty dark grey organic silt with thin layers of compacted plant material.

769/2 Late 12th century pit (D3a). Gritty brown peaty silt.

757/1 Early-mid 13th century pit (BIOa). Brown laminated peat, darkening on exposure to air, with some fine layers of sandy silt.

738 Early-mid 13th century ditch (BIOa). A localised thin layer of compacted plant material with many snails of the genus *Planorbis* evident.

Interpretation

The Origin of the Assemblages

Before the answers to the four questions can be discussed, the origins of the deposits must be considered briefly. All the features examined had refuse dumped in them (pottery, old boots, etc.) and therefore derived remains are likely to have been present. Some of the plant material identified from ditch 778 was probably brought to the site from elsewhere. The bottoms of the ditches seem to have filled up relatively slowly (i.e. the layers sampled were not dumped over a period of a few days), being open long enough for them to develop an aquatic fauna of chironomid (midge) larvae and branchiopods (water-fleas). One of the ditches, 738, shows there must have been a period of at least a year when virtually no silting took place so the shells of molluscs living in the ditch made up an important part of one of its layers. During the period when the ditches were open, seeds and insects would naturally have entered them.

It is difficult to decide whether the pits were open for a long period of time. While many of the insects could have lived in organic material as it decayed within the pits, it is also possible that they were living in partially decomposed rubbish when it was dumped in the pits.

The Urban Rural Change

The samples listed in Tables R to X are in a stratigraphic sequence, with the earliest first. Ditch 778 and Pit 769/2 are regarded as being almost contemporaneous. There appear to be significant differences in the various death-assemblages of Coleoptera and Hemiptera correlated with date. One of the differences is related to the type of feature sampled. The earlier samples came from ditches, the later mostly from pits. All the ditches had faunas of water beetles especially *Helophorus* spp. and *Ochthebius* sp. The pits contained few aquatic habitats or were not open for long.

Other differences, however, may show the urbanization of the site. There are eight species of Caravidae, predatory ground beetles, in both sample 645/7 and sample 645/3, whereas there are only one to three species in samples 778, 769/2 and 757/1. Likewise, phytophagous beetles from the family Chrysomelidae (leaf beetles) and super-family Curculionoidae (weevils) are more numerous, both in terms of species and number of individuals, from samples 645/7 and 645/3 than from samples 778, 769/2 and 757/1. Species associated with dung were present in all the samples. Different species predominated in the first two samples compared with the last three. Those species which tend to be restricted to dung under field conditions (i.e. in the form of cowpats rather than manure heaps) especially *Aphodius* spp.[238] were more important in the first two samples. The species which also occur in manure heaps or more generally on foul plant matter, such as many of the Staphylinidae and *Cercyon* spp., along with those species of decaying plant remains which rarely occur in dung, occurred in all the deposits. They were more numerous in the last three samples, as were the puparia of *Musca domestica* (the house fly) and *Stomoxys calcitrans* (the stable fly). Also relatively numerous in the latter three samples were five species which seem to be particularly associated with buildings: *Anobium punctatum, Tipnus unicolor, Ptinus fur, Mycetaea hirta* and *Typhaea stercorea*. Most of these species are commonly regarded as synanthropic though all can occur in habitats away from man in the British Isles. Only *A. punctatum*, the woodworm beetle, was present in the earlier samples though only as single individuals. The woodworm beetle bores into dead wood, frequently occurring in structural timbers.[239] *T. unicolor* and *P. fur* feed on a wide range of rather dry organic materials but often live in old straw including thatch.[240] *M. hirta and T. stercorea* are fungal feeders which are often occupants of thatch, though *M. hirta* seems to have a special liking for the dry rot fungus.[241]

Some of the methods suggested by Kenward prove very useful in comparing the insect assemblages.[242] Table VI gives the proportion of outdoor and aquatic insects, the more abundant species in each sample and an index of diversity (Fisher's α). Indoor species, those which are thought likely to be capable of breeding indoors, have been indicated in Tables U and V. It must be stressed that all the Coleoptera and Hemiptera identified from the site are without doubt capable of breeding out of doors and that many of the species indicated as indoor probably were living outside on the Hamel. The definition of habitats as indoors has been taken very broadly. The structure of a buidling itself is included as would be a layer of decaying litter on a byre floor. The division is necessarily rather arbitrary, for instance some of the more catholic species of *Aphodius*, regarded as outdoor species, may live inside under certain circumstances. In practice the 'indoor' species will mostly be detritivores. The species included in the aquatic group are all truly aquatic; marsh insects have been excluded.

Table VI shows how the samples fall into two groups, 645/7 and 645/3 having a much higher proportion of outdoor Coleoptera and Hemiptera than the others in terms of numbers both of individuals and of species present. While one of the common characteristics of urban insect assemblages, the presence of superabundant species,[243] is not shown

[238] B. Landin, 'Ecological studies on dung beetles', *Opuscula Entomologica*, Supplementum 19 (1961), 1-227.
[239] N.E. Hickin, *The woodworm problem*, (1963), 21-2.
[240] A.D. Horion, *Faunistik der Mitteleuropaischen Kafer* viii (1961).
[241] Ibid.; J. Green, 'The food of *Typhaea stercorea* (L.) (Col., Mycetophogidae)', *Entomologists Monthly Magazine*, lxxxviii (1952), 62.
[242] H.K. Kenward, *The analysis of archaeological insect assemblages: a new approach* (The Archaeology of York 19/1, 1978).
[243] M.A. Robinson and H.K. Kenward, 'The interpretation of urban and rural archaeological insect assemblages: a comparative assessment', (forthcoming).

TABLE VI

STATISTICS FOR THE COLEOPTERA AND HEMIPTERA FROM THE MEDIEVAL DEPOSITS

	Sample				
	645/7	645/3	778	769/2	757/1
No. of individuals	69	112	194	99	102
No. of species	48	56	72	39	37
% outdoor individs.	68	60	25	8	9
% outdoor spp.	69	66	36	20.5	19
% aquatic individs.	20	8.5	12	2	3
% aquatic spp.	14.5	9	12.5	5	5.5
% outdoor less % aquatic individs.	48	51.5	13	6	6
% outdoor less % aquatic spp.	54.5	57	23.5	15.5	13.5
Species at 4% and above (%)					
Helophorus brevipalpis gp.	7.5	—	4	—	—
Octhebius sp.	4.5	—	—	—	—
Ptenidium sp.	—	—	—	—	5
Omalium sp.	—	—	—	5	—
Platystethus arenarius	—	—	—	—	5
Anobium punctatum	—	—	5.5	7	9
Ptinus fur	—	—	—	—	4
Mycetea hirta	—	—	—	5	—
Lathridius minutus gp.	—	—	4	7	7
Enicmus transversus	—	5.5	—	4	—
Index of diversity (α)	70	45	40	24	21
Standard error (% of α)	30	20	15	20	20

in these samples, the later deposits do have rather more species which are numerous, perhaps suggesting a larger proportion of individuals breeding in the vicinity of the features. Apart from *H. brevipalpis* and *Octhebius* sp., which are water beetles that probably lived in the ditches, all the species making up 4 per cent or more of the beetles and bugs in their samples fall into the indoor group. Another frequent characteristic of urban assemblages is that they possess low indices of species diversity. There is a substantial decrease in species diversity from the earliest to the latest deposits. The two pits have the lowest indices of diversity which may partly be the result of their being filled fairly rapidly with town refuse, whereas the dithes would all have had autochthonous aquatic faunas and have been open long enough to collect insects from the various habitats around them.

At the present stage of palaeoentomological knowledge, the death assemblages from samples 778. 769/2 and 757/1 can only be regarded as urban. Certainly the proximity of human occupation is strongly suggested. In contrast the insect lists from F645/7 and F645/3 would not seem unusual for ditches on a rural occupation site in wet grassland. They could also occur on an urban site if it possessed well vegetated open spaces or some mechanism which caused the aerial background fauna to become concentrated. Such a concentration of non-urban insects has been shown to occur on roofs in York.[244] The three later deposits might be misinterpreted if their contents were indeed urban but the features

[244] H.K. Kenward, 'Reconstructing ancient ecological conditions from insect remains: some problems and an experimental approach', *Ecological Entomology* i (1976), 7-17.

themselves were situated outside the town. Whether rubbish would be taken from a medieval town to be buried in small pits is a matter for speculation. However, the sample from F778 also shows a strong urban influence. It silted up slowly enough to have its own aquatic fauna, yet it does not seem to have collected many 'rural' insects, unlike the earlier ditches. This suggests that long distance transport of urban rubbish to the site is not a satisfactory explanation.

The archaeological evidence shows that there were no buildings within the excavated area until the latest of the features sampled (F757/1) was open. Indeed it is stratigraphically impossible for Ditch 778 to have been open when these buildings were constructed. What the entomological evidence suggests is that there were buildings just outside the trench. The entomological results do not conflict with the archaeological interpretation that the earlier ditches, F645/3 and F645/7 were field ditches and there were no buildings on the Hamel at this date but neither do they prove the rural nature of the site.

The Use of the Pits

The contents of the coarsest sieve (7mm.) and the paraffin flot from Pits 769/2 and 757/1 were examined for seeds and stones of economic plants. Small samples were also investigated from Pits 746/2 and 722/2. Apart from a few seeds of *Sambucus nigra* (elderberry) and *Rubus fruticosus* agg. (blackberry), no seeds from edible fruits were found and even these are as likely to be from bushes growing wild on the site. Shells from hazelnuts were relatively frequently encountered during the excavation of the pits but they were hardly likely to have been swallowed! A few plum stones were also found during excavations but they were not very abundant. Whatever uses the pits may have been put to, perhaps as sources of gravel and then for refuse disposal they do not have the 'medieval fruit salad' of pips or fragments of wheat periderme[245] which seem to characterise waterlogged cess pits.

The Level of the 12th/13th Century Water Table

The discussion on the origin of the assemblages has largely answered this question. The molluscs from Ditches 778 and 738 suggest that the water in the ditches did not dry up or even become excessively foul. Most of the water snails do not belong to the 'slum' group which can tolerate such conditions.[246] Almost all of them belong to the 'catholic' or 'ditch' groups. In particular the very large number of shells of *Planorbis planorbis* forming a distinct layer within F738 shows that there must have been a period when the environment of the ditch was very favourable for this species. It is assigned by Sparks to the 'ditch' group, species requiring clean slowly moving water often with abundant aquatic plants.[247] However, the two species Stelfox describes it as frequently associated with in Ireland might suggest that it is not quite so fastidious about its requirements.[248]

The Similarity of the Assemblages to those from Other Medieval Towns.

This aspect too has partly been covered with the consideration as to whether the insect

[245] Information from Dr. A.R. Hall.

[246] B.W. Sparks, 'The ecological interpretation of Quaternary non-Marine Mollusca', *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London*, clxxii (1959-60), 76.

[247] Ibid.

[248] A.E. Ellis, *British Snails* (2nd edn. 1969), 120.

faunas had urban origins. Few medieval urban insect faunas have been published[249] but the results from the three latest samples follow the general trend, both in terms of population structure and species present, shown by many assemblages from towns in Northern England examined by H. Kenward.[250]

Apart from those occurring in cess pits, plant remains from urban archaeological sites have usually proved hard to interpret. There are often species from a wide range of ecological groups and it is difficult to decide whether they were all growing on the site or not. The results from 778 do not seem unusual when compared with those obtained from York and elsewhere by J. Greig and A. Hall.[251] Two common features of many of the York early medieval deposits are the presence of ling (*Calluna vulgaris* (L.) Hull) and the strong representation of seeds from marshland plants. The former is presumed to have been imported from heathland as bedding material, etc. while the latter are thought to have been brought in amongst reeds, sedges and rushes used as thatch and for flooring.[252] The frond fragments of bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) from 778 are likely to be analagous to the ling. Bracken requires acidic conditions for sporeling establishment and at present it grows in Oxford only on the site of the old gasworks where the soil is much contaminated. Bracken grows on the hills around Oxford, mostly on acidic sands. Aquatic and waterside plants are well represented amongst the seeds from 778 but all of them could have grown in the ditch.

Other Aspects of the Medieval Environment — Sheep Keds

Perhaps the most interesting discovery was 23 puparia and 3 adults of *Melophagus ovinus*, the sheep ked, in the sample from Pit 769/2 and a further puparium from Ditch 778. It is a highly specialised wingless fly which is a bloodsucking permanent ectoparasite of sheep and will not survive if removed from the host for more than two to five days. The female produces fully grown larvae singly which attach themselves to the wool of their host and immediately pupate.[253] The ked is not regarded as a serious pest though its attacks can sometimes lead to secondary infestations of *Lucilia sericata* Mg.[254] Some of the puparia from the Hamel were intact enough for it be to evident that the adult had not emerged and it is possible that the adults found had emerged post mortem during the sieving process.

It is unlikely that much more than single finds of puparia would have occurred if the enclosure formed by Ditches 778 and 786 had simply been used for sheep pasture It is possible that their presence was due to a high concentration of sheep in the enclosure, for instance if sheep on their way to or from market were temporarily penned in it. Alternatively, an ovine product, with the unhatched puparia still attached, may have

[249] But see Kenward, *New approach* (1978)

[250] Information from Mr. H.K. Kenward.

[251] Information from Mr. J.R.A. Greig and Dr. A.R. Hall.

[252] H.K. Kenward, D. Williams, P.J. Spencer, J.R.A. Greig, D.J. Rackham and D.A. Brinklow, 'The environment of Anglo-Scandinavian York', *Viking-age York and the North*, ed. R.A. Hall, (Council for British Archaeology Research Report 27, 1978), 60.

[253] E. Conway and R. Stephens, 'Sporeling establishment in *Pteridium aquilinum*: effects of mineral nutrients', *Journal of Ecology*, xlv (1957), 389-99.

[254] F.W. Edwards, H. Oldroyd and J. Smart, *British Blood-sucking Flies* (1939), 123-4; G.O. Evans, 'Studies in the bionomics of the sheep ked, *Melophagus ovinus* L. in West Wales', *Bulletin of Entomological Research* xl (1949-50), 459-478.

been processed there. Perhaps skins were soaked in the pit prior to the removal of the hairs for parchment making[255] or wool was carded and washed on the site.

Economic Plants

Bracken, perhaps brought to the site as bedding for animals, has already been referred to. Hazel (*Corylus avellana*) nuts were enountered sufficiently frequently in the waterlogged deposits on the site to assume that they were being eaten but no layers particularly rich in them were found. Likewise, the few plum stones were presumably from fruit which had been consumed. A single seed of flax (*Linum usitatissimum* L.) was identified from sample 738, but by itself it cannot be used to indicate any particular activity on the site. The unidentified umbelifer quite possibly had a culinary or medicinal use but that cannot be established until it has been identified. It would be intriguing to know whether the seeds or petioles of celery (*Apium graveolens*) were eaten. It is a plant which tends towards the coastal in its wild distribution but the inland localities from which it is known include the 10km. national grid square within which the site falls.[256] The moist, presumably nitrogen-rich soil along the water's edge of Ditch 778 resulting from the dumping of refuse would provide a suitable habitat and celery seeds have been identified from wet medieval sites in York.[257] The only waterlogged cereal remain from 778 was a fragment of wheat rachis but a layer of charred material including straw and grain occurred within the ditch. Indirect evidence for the importing of cereal products, be they for consumption or thatching, comes in the form of seeds from two species of weeds which rarely grow away from the cornfield: corncockle (*Agrostemma githago*) and cornflower (*centaurea* cf. *cyanus*). A third species, stinking mayweed (*Anthemis cotula*), may also have been introduced from the arable fields but could also have grown as a weed on the site. It is common from early medieval deposits in York.[258] No grain beetles were found but the beetle *Bruchus* probably *rufimanus* occurred in two, perhaps three of the samples. It is often a pest of stored beans but infestation only occurs while the individual bean is still growing and cannot spread amongst dried beans.[259]

General Conditions on the Site During the Urban Phase

The main impression given by the insects is one of decay: beetles likely to be eating the timbers of the buildings, living in thatch and on organic refuse in various stages of decay. Dung was probably important. *Scopeuma stercorarium*, a dung fly, has larvae which live in fresh dung. *Stomoxys calcitrans*, the stable fly, is particularly common breeding in old straw which has been enriched with urine and faeces. *Musca domestica*, the housefly, will breed in company with stable fly but *M. domestica* is not so fastidious for it occurs in a wide range of decaying plant and animal remains.[260] Most of this organic material would have been brought to the site by man: the timber for the buildings, bracken for bedding and the animal fodder which ultimately became dung. While the insects show the abundance of decaying material, this does not mean that the site was squalid everywhere. A clean yard would have been almost an ecological desert and would have contributed few insects to

[255] L.C. Hector, *Handwriting of English Documents*, (1958), 15.
[256] F.K. Perring and S.M. Walters, eds., *Atlas of the British Flora* (1962), 158.
[257] Information from Dr. A.R. Hall.
[258] Kenward, Williams, Spencer, et al. op. cit. 61.
[259] C.L. Metcalf, W.P. Flint and R.L Metcalf, *Destructive and useful insects* (4th edn. 1962), 935-7.
[260] Colyer and Hammond, *Flies*, 252; Edwards et al., *Blood-sucking Flies*, 116-7; Pont, 'Muscidae', 263, 266; Smart, *Insects of medical importance*, 58, 61.

the waterlogged deposits. Also, even if the inhabitants of the houses kept the rooms in them as clean as possible, thatched timber buildings without damp proofing would still have had large faunas of some species of beetles.

Some of the seeds are likely to have been brought to the site by accident, so it is difficult to decide what form the flora of the site took. However, it is likely that such nitrophilus weeds as *Chenopodium rubrum* and stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*) were present on disturbed ground while waterside plants grew along the margin of the ditches.

Conclusions

The entomological evidence apparently does show a change from rural to urban conditions, the pits were probably not cess pits, the deep features had standing water in them when they were open and the biological remains are broadly similar to those identified from urban medieval sites elsewhere. The first point is important because the archaeological excavation apparently showed that the rural to urban transition occurred one phase later on.

This piece of work shows how helpful it can be to plan an environmental archaeological investigation around particular questions. Had the same amount of time been spent examining samples chosen at random for all the biological remains that they contained, it is unlikely that as much useful information would have been obtained. Such problem-directed investigations do not preclude chance discoveries, indeed the sheep keds from F778 and F769/2 are particularly interesting and were totally unexpected.

The overall impression of the urban phase of the site is one of filth, although clean areas may have remained undetected. It would be interesting to know whether there is evidence of such conditions elsewhere in the town or whether the high class areas were cleaner. Most of medieval Oxford is on the well drained Summertown-Radley gravel terrace; only the suburbs spread onto the floodplain. Therefore, it would be easy to gain a wrong impression about the environment of the town, as extensive waterlogged deposits will probably only be encountered outside the town walls. An effort ought to be made to examine some well bottoms from the town centre even if most of the stratigraphy of the site has been destroyed by later features.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the director of the excavation for his co-operation, which extended to re-opening part of the site to enable the sampling of deposits which had subsequently been realised to be important. Dr. M.W.R. de V. Graham, curator of the Hope Entomological Collections provided working facilities and access to the collections under his care in the University Museum, Oxford, without which this would could not have been undertaken. I would like to thank Dr. J. Ismay for help with the Diptera while I am indebted to Mr. J.R.A. Greig, Dr. A.R. Hall and Mr. H.K. Kenward for several discussions on the interpretation of the evidence.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Mid-late 12th century (Fig. 38, 1-2; Pl. 3)

In the mid 12th century the site[261] lay in the manor of South Oseney, just to the south of

[261] See p. 135.

the manor's northern boundary which ran along the probable road out of Oxford to the west. This road, later to become St. Thomas's Street, was probably only of local significance, most westbound traffic passing along the causeway south from Oxford.

The South Oseney manor was held by Oseney Abbey who had received it as part of its endowments from the D'Oilly family, who had held the land in Domesday, when it was probably meadow. By the mid 12th century the only certain settlement on Oseney Island was the abbey itself in the southwest corner, and a group of houses on Waram Bank around the Castle Mill. The earliest feature[262] on the site (Fig. 38, 1) was a shallow boundary or drainage ditch, later recut, *c.* 1m. wide by 0.2m. deep and running north-south. This ditch was replaced in the later 12th century by another,[263] larger one (Fig. 38, 2; Pl. 3), 2m. wide by 1m. deep, also recut, which partially followed the same line before turning at right angles to the west. This ditch was also for drainage but its size means it could have served as an animal enclosure. Waterlogged material from this ditch tends to support the Domesday evidence that the environment of the site was one of open wet grassland.[264]

Plate 3
Twelfth Century Ditches, D2b, D3a (from NNE, Scales 2m.)

[262] See Fiche 1 A09, D2a.
[263] See Fiche 1 A09, D2b.
[264] See p. 202.

The laying out of St. Thomas's Parish, late 12th to early 13th century (Fig. 38, 3; Pl. 3)

Towards the end of the 12th century Oseney Abbey, probably in partnership with the St. Walerys, the lords of North Oseney, seem to have developed the area as a suburb.[265] This development was successful because it offered space outside a crowded town, as well as water and power from the river, which was especially useful for the cloth industry on which the prosperity of Oxford was based. The development seems to have begun with the building of St. Thomas's Church *c.* 1190 and involved the laying out of long narrow tenement plots along both sides of St. Thomas's Street. The Hamel and Oseney Lane were also probably laid out at this time as a back lane to the tenements on the south side of St. Thomas's Street. The western side of the Hamel was divided between two rectangular plots, the excavation lying across the boundary between these. The tenement plots[266] do not seem to have been a standard size, and at *c.* 1/5 ac. for those along St. Thomas's Street and *c.* 1/3 ac. for the excavated ones, were smaller than the 1 ac. or 1/2 ac. plots in the contemporary suburbs of Southampton.[267] H.E. Salter suggested that the strip tenements here may have reflected the pre-existing fieldstrips, but this is unlikely since the area was probably meadow, although the fact that the boundary between the excavated tenements lay along the line of the earlier ditch shows that pre-existing features did affect the layout of the plots.

The tenement plots were granted to various individuals: the northern excavated one to Juliana daughter of Gilbert, the southern one to Philip Halegod.[268] Although they probably began building on their tenements the area of the excavation remained unbuilt on, the late 12th to early 13th century occupation of the site being represented by a further complex of ditches (Fig. 38, 3).[269] However, the waterlogged insect assemblages from these ditches had a strongly urban character compared with those from the earlier ditches and suggest the presence of buildings within a few metres of the excavation.[270] In the south of the trench was a north-south ditch, 9m. long by 1m. wide and 1m. deep, opening out into a water-hole, 3m. wide at its south end, with a ramp of gravel down to the water. At the north end this was divided from another length of ditch 1.75m. wide by 1m. deep, by a causeway 1.5m. wide, later enlarged to 2.5m. wide. To the east of the northern ditch was another parallel one, apparently contemporary, 2m. wide by *c.* 1m. deep. Along the west side of the ditches was a line of postholes presumably for a fence. Running at right angles from the northern side of the causeway was a fence slot probably with a gate at its east end. To the north of this was a large pit; to the south the earlier ditch, which seems to have been the boundary between the tenements, was still visible.

Some clue to the use of the northern tenement in this period is given by the presence of sheep keds[271] in the pit and the western of the northern ditches, and of two sheep skeletons[272] in the southern ditch. The keds could have come either from the temporary penning of sheep on the site or from the processing there of wool or sheepskins. The

[265] See p. 137.
[266] The measurements can be found in Badcock's survey, H.E. Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, ii, O.H.S. xc (1929), 608-615, (Hereafter *C.O.*).
[267] C.Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, (1973), 48.
[268] See pp. 144, 146.
[269] See Fiche 1 A11, D3a.
[270] See p. 203.
[271] See p. 204.
[272] See Fiche 2 F05

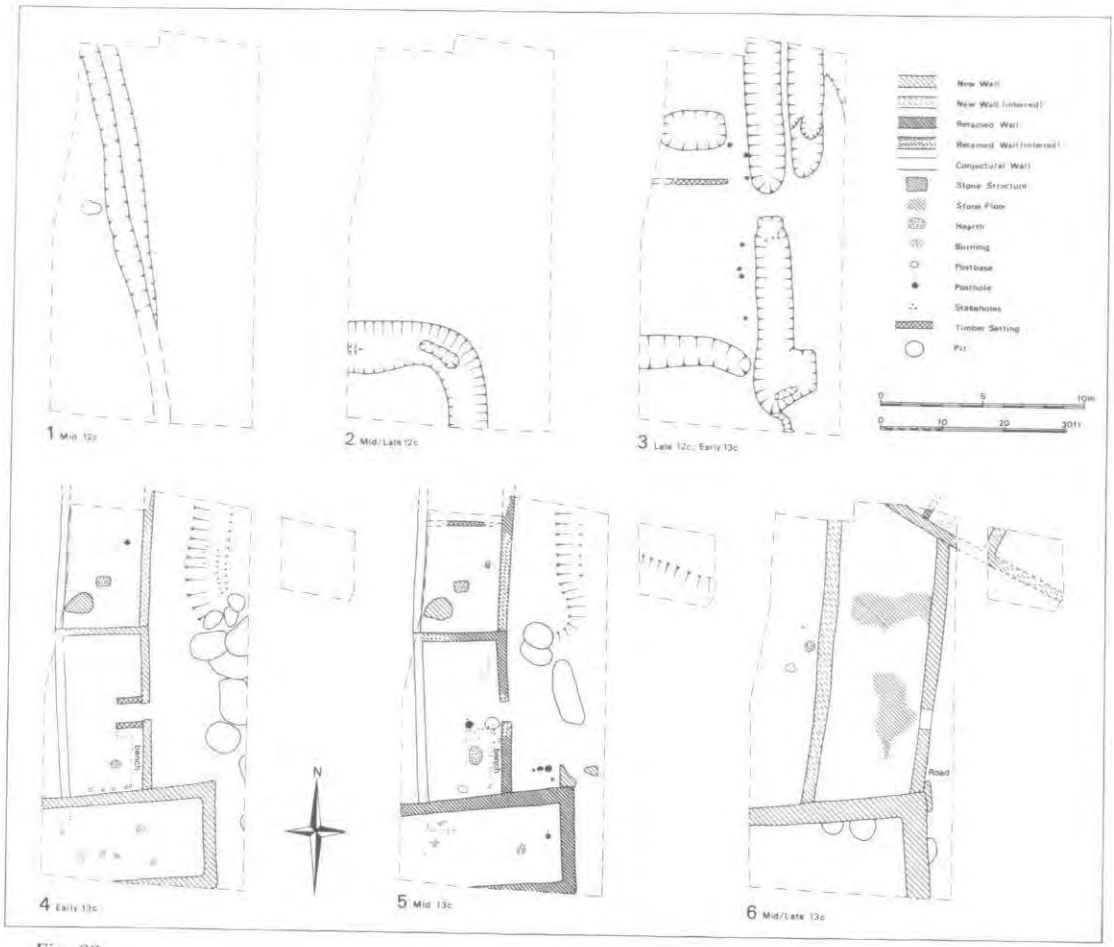


Fig. 38

skeletons suggest the former, since their presence would not be necessary if wool alone was being processed and they showed no signs of butchery or skinning; nor was there any sign of the bone assemblage characteristic of slaughtering or skinning. On the other hand the pits and ditches themselves would suggest washing or soaking. Perhaps live sheep were being washed before sale or shearing. Whatever the exact nature of the activity the presence of sheep supports the historical evidence for the economic base of Oxford at this time.

In the early 13th century the ditches were filled in so that buildings could be constructed over them.[273] The material used for this infilling contained domestic rubbish including bone objects and metal work but presumably originated away from the site.

[273] See Fiche 2 B01, D3b

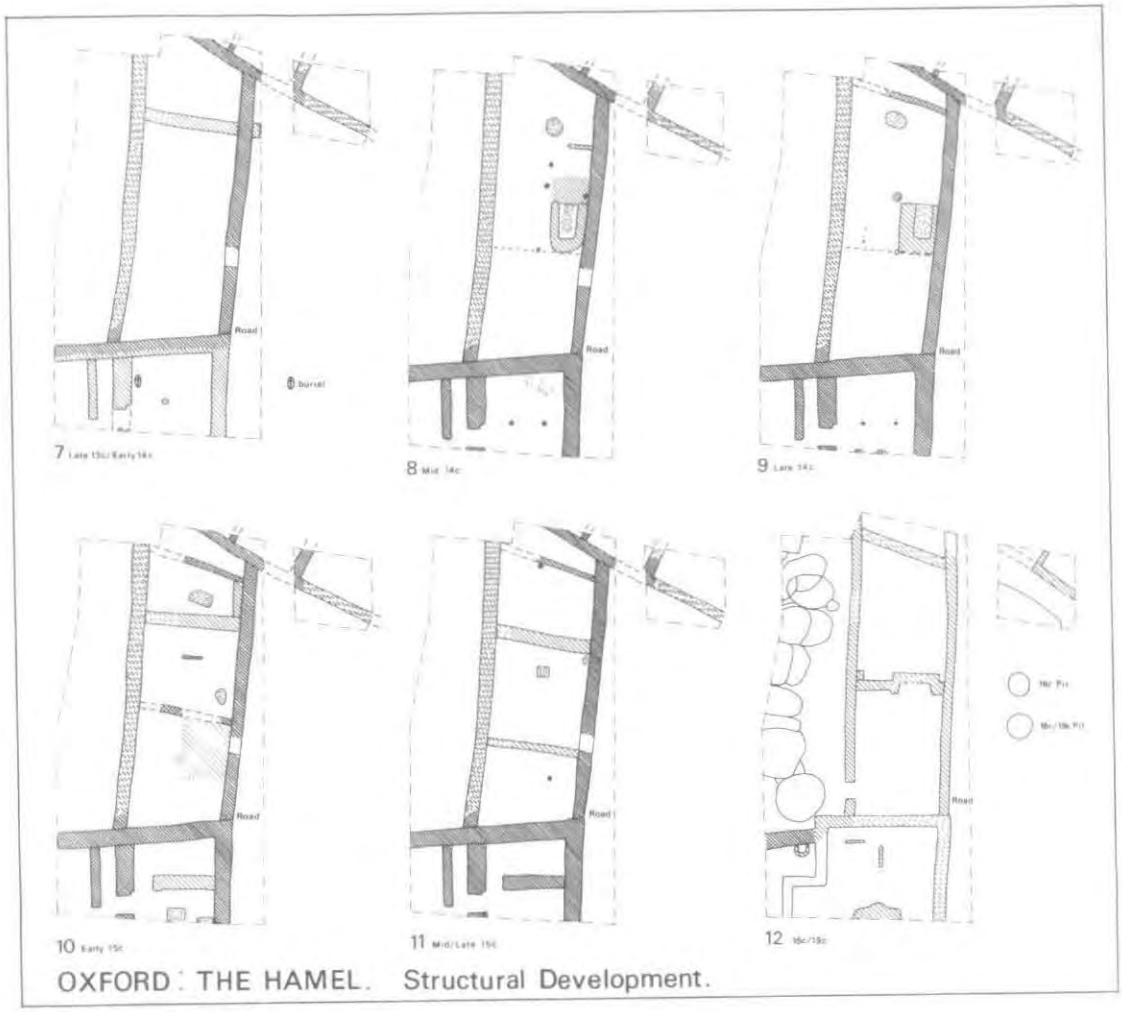


Fig. 39

Building Phase I, early to mid 13th century (Fig. 38, 4-5, Fig. 40, 1; Pl. 4)

The earliest buildings excavated were in use from the early to mid 13th century. They formed a row of three, one on the southern tenement, two on the northern, set back, along the west side of the excavation. To the east was a yard with a ditch and pits.

During this period the southern tenement passed through a number of hands: from Philip Halegod to Andrew Halegod, *c.* 1220 to Philip of St. Helen, and in 1240/4 to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, who will have rented it out.[274] The southern excavated building[275] was on this tenement. It measured internally 4m. by over 8m. The quality of its foundations suggests that it had stone walls but their width precluded it being more than one storey high. It was floored with layers of gravel and clay and probably roofed with

[274] See pp. 144-6.
[275] See Fiche 1 B04, HI.

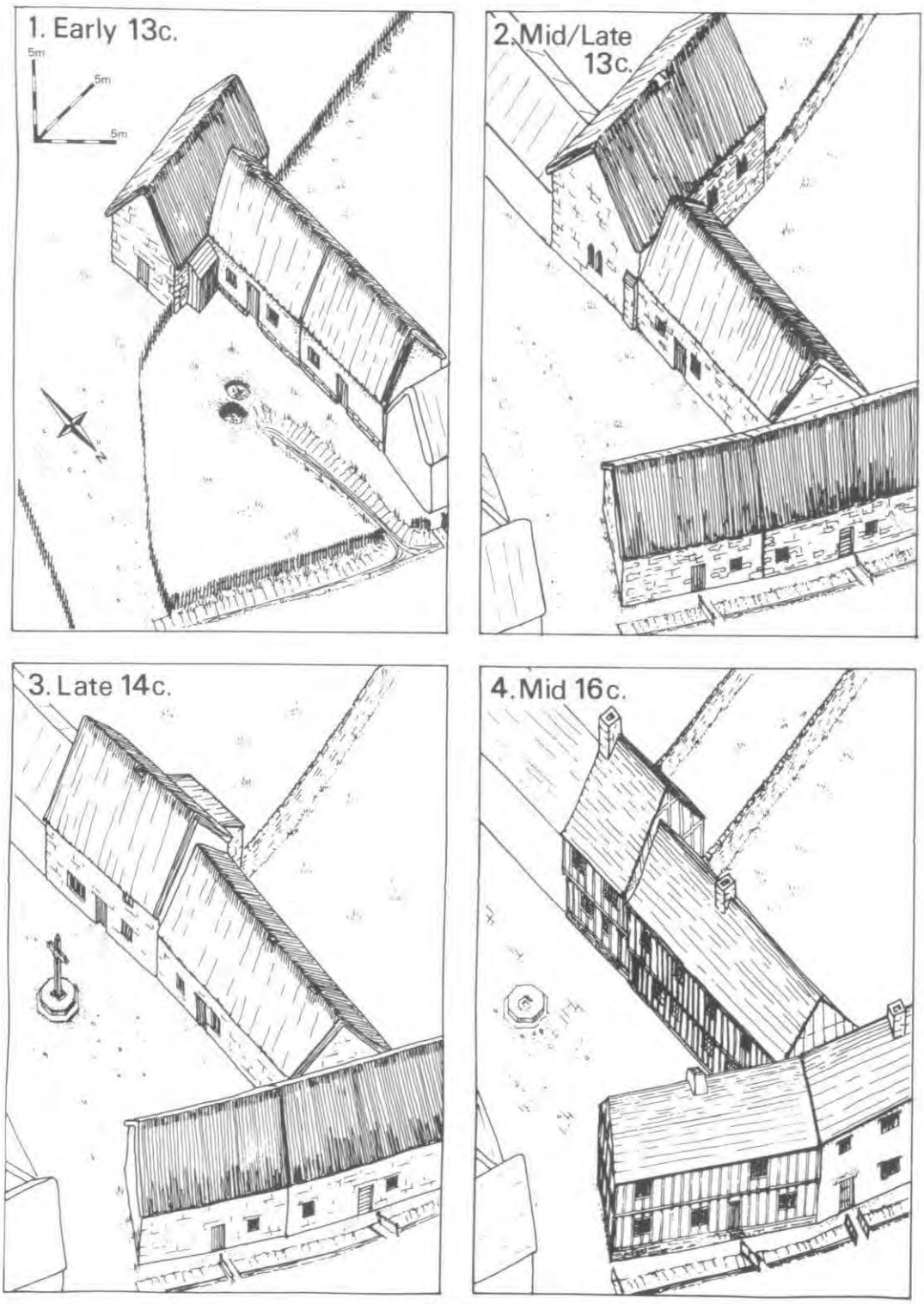


Fig. 40
Conjectural reconstruction of buildings.

Plate 4
Building Phase I, Early-mid thirteenth century (from NNE, Scales 2m.)

thatch. There was no principal hearth, although various scorched patches might suggest heating by brazier, and very little occupation material, which together probably mean that it was not a domestic building. It may have been used for storage or for some commercial or industrial purpose, although if the last, one from which waste products were not preserved.

About 1205 the northern tenement passed from Juliana daughter to Gilbert to John Bretel who probably occupied part of it himself, renting out the rest.[276] Whether the new excavated buildings can be attributed to Bretel is uncertain although he is known to have built elsewhere on the tenement. Bretel seems to have died about 1240 leaving the tenement back to Oseney but reserving some rights to his widow. Between 1254 and 1260 Oseney let the southern part of the tenement including, presumably, the middle excavated building to Walter the Tanner and Dionysia, his wife. We are told that the building to the north was formerly occupied by Walter Carpenter.

The middle building,[277] the house of Walter the Tanner, was built up against the northern one. It measured 7.5m. by over 3m. and was probably of one storey, constructed of timber set on a narrow stone plinth. It is also most likely to have had a thatched roof. There was a doorway in the middle of the east wall. This was probably originally

[276] See p. 146.
[277] See Fiche 1 B06, B11.

screened internally by timber stub partitions resting on sill beams. Later the northern of these was probably removed and the southern one replaced by another supported on posts. In the southern part of the building was a crude open hearth which remained continuously in use and along the east wall was a bench or shelf later perhaps supported on stakes. The floors were mostly gravel but with some clay and at the south end covered with extensive ashy occupation layers which died away to the north.

The house of Walter the Carpenter to the north was more fragmentary.[278] It measured over 3.4m. by over 6m. and was similar to its southern neighbour in that it was probably a one storey timber structure, in this case set on a wide but sketchy stone plinth, was floored with gravel and clay, and had a well made stone open hearth in its southern bay. This hearth remained in use during almost the whole life of the building, as did an adjacent stone shelf or stand. Originally the building seems to have been open, although a posthole might represent a screen, perhaps around a doorway; later, however, a timber partition was inserted across the building.

The yard surfaces[279] to the east of the building were composed of gravel and clay. In the angle between the middle and southern buildings was probably a postbuilt lean-to shed. At the northern end of the site was an open ditch, probably for drainage, since it was connected to flowing water. To the south of the ditch was a group of pits probably mostly having the dual functions of providing gravel for floors and yard surfaces and receptacles for rubbish. They were not cess pits. It is difficult to relate these pits to tenements other than those excavated; the difference in pottery must be fortuitous.[280] One of them, deeper than the rest, although unlined,[281] might have been a well. This period also saw dumping alongside St. Thomas's Street, in the extension and in Trench II,[282] either to enlarge the road causeway, or to provide a raised base for building. The material used for this in Trench II contained residual Late Saxon pottery[283] as well as a quantity of horn cores[284] and some smithing slag[285] but it was probably imported to the site from elsewhere.

Neither Walter the Tanner nor Walter the Carpenter left any tangible trace of their presence, nor was there any other industrial activity evident on the site in this period. There were two spindlewhorls,[286] and a few offcuts of bone, antler[287] and metal[288] but nothing to suggest economic activity on any scale, although the backs of the tenements, outside the excavation, might possibly have revealed more. The pottery from the buildings contained none of the continental pottery and few of the regional imports found at the St. Aldates site; the only continental import at the Hamel in this phase came from the imported dumping in Trench II.[289] The general range of wares was, however, comparable to that at the Bodleian Extension in the north eastern suburb.[290] Within the site the

[278] See Fiche 1 B11, B12
[279] See Fiche 1 B12, B10a.
[280] See p. 177.
[281] Unlined wells were common at the Bodleian Extension, R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 94.
[282] See Fiche 1 B14, E1, Fiche 1 E01, *ST1*.
[283] Fig. 8, Fabric *B*.
[284] See Fiche 2 E10.
[285] Kindly identified by Chris Salter.
[286] See Fiche 2 D05, nos. 2-3.
[287] See Fiche 2 C11, nos. 14-17.
[288] Lead and gilt bronze; see Fiche 2 C06, nos. 8-11; Fiche 2 C02, nos. 77-82, 85.
[289] See Fig. 8, Fabric *BJ*.
[290] R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, 'Archaeology of the Bodleian Extension', *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 96-146.

domestic buildings on the northern tenement had a slightly wider range of wares and regional imports and more of the 'newer' fabrics than the workshop/storehouse on the southern — the contrast being more marked in the northermost building.[291]

It is noticeable that all the walls of the first building were either of stone or on stone plinths. The change from walls supported on earth-fast posts seems to have come by the early 13th century even for poorer buildings. At St. Aldates it was dated to the early 12th century.[292] In other towns[293] this change seems to come rather later, during the 13th century, except for richer buildings where it occurs in the late 12th century. Presumably this is explained by easier availability of stone in Oxford.

The mid 13th century saw the first building in Trench II.[294] The excavation lay across two divisions of a probably stone walled domestic building floored with gravel and clay and with hearths against the wall. Its construction just preceded a major rebuilding on the main area which involved the demolition of the first buildings and the infilling of the pits and ditches with a large quantity of presumably imported material.[295]

Building Phase II — mid/late 13th century to late 15th/early 16th century (Fig. 38, 6, Fig. 39, 7-11, Fig. 40, 2-3; Pl. 5)

A new building was erected on the southern tenement in a similar position to its predecessor, linked, on the northern tenement, by a range parallel to the Hamel, over the filled-in pits and ditches, to a range parallel to St. Thomas's Street which protruded across the end of the Hamel. The Hamel itself was widened up to the new building line and into the excavated area where its gravel and rubble surfaces appear for the first time. Previously it presumably ran further east. This rebuilding, which seems to have been more or less contemporary on both tenements, is dated to *c.* 1265 by a combination of coin and documentary evidence. This date unfortunately conflicts with pottery evidence from the St. Aldates site but it is argued that the Hamel dating is to be preferred.[296]

The southern tenement mid-late 13th century (Fig. 38, 6, Fig. 40, 2)

The new building on the southern tenement[297] was very massive: its walls were *c.* 1m. thick and were almost certainly of stone. Although not enough was excavated to obtain a complete plan, the amount of occupation material on its clay and gravel floors showed that it was domestic, and its size suggests a ground floor hall. It probably ran at right angles to the street and was unaisled. The property was first called the Hall of St. Helen in 1271/2,[298] which would fit with a construction date of *c.* 1265. Later 13th century stone halls at right angles to the street are a relatively common type of urban building but most were set back from the street and fronted by another building. Such examples, however, come

[291] See p. 177.
[292] B. Durham, 'Archaeological Investigations in St. Aldates', *Oxoniensia,* xlii (1977), 188-9.
[293] C. Colyer and M. Jones, 'Excavations at Lincoln, 2nd interim report', *Antiq. J.,* lix (1979), 50-9; H. Clarke and A. Carter, *Excavations in Kings Lynn 1963-70,* (Med. Arch. Monograph 7), 439; C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton,* i (1975), 25; A. Carter *et al.*, 'Excavations in Norwich 1973, *Norfolk Arch.* xxxvi (1974-7), 48; M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1965, 4th interim report', *Antiq. J.,* xlvi (1966), 316; J.H. Williams, *St. Peters Street Northampton, Excavations 1973-6,* 142.
[294] See Fiche 1 E04, *ST* 2a.
[295] See Fiche 1 C01, BIOb.
[296] See p. 158.
[297] See Fiche 2 C03, HII.
[298] Salter, *C.O.,* ii, 414.

from commercial areas of towns where the frontage buildings were shops;[299] in the suburban St. Thomas's parish there were no shops and less pressure on space.

This building was by far the most substantial excavated. Its presence can perhaps be explained by the fact that in 1266/7 (the date again fits well) the property was transferred from the Hospital of St. John to Nicholas de Weston, who was very wealthy and actually lived on the property.[300] A hall such as the one excavated would seem totally appropriate to one of his status. He was a merchant and had property in Little Yarmouth, Suffolk and Adderbury as well as Oxford; his connection with St. Thomas's seems to have been that his wife, Emma, was the daughter of Reginald the Mason of Abingdon who lived on the east side of the Hamel.[301]

The material remains from Nicholas de Weston's hall were not noticeably richer than those from the other tenements although this may be explained by the small area excavated. The pottery was unremarkable and only the presence of a barbed arrowhead, suggesting hunting[302] and the seal of Adam the Chaplain, suggesting a wealthy acquaintance,[303] seem out of the ordinary. Nonetheless the evidence of the documents and the size of the building show the inhabitants of this tenement to be of a higher social status than their predominantly artisan neighbours. This kind of social mix is, of course, a familiar feature of medieval urban life.[304]

In spite of its pretensions Nicholas de Weston's Hall had a short life; the build up of floors and occupation layers within it was not thick. Problems of subsidence caused by a combination of decay of organic material in the ditch beneath and inadequate foundations were its undoing, in spite of buttressing and the digging of inspection pits (Fig. 38, 6). After only about ten years' use it had to be replaced by a smaller building.

The Northern Tenement mid/late 13th to late 15th/early 16th century (Fig. 38, 6, Fig. 39, 7-11, Fig. 40, 2-3)

On the northern tenement the range along St. Thomas's Street, which remained in use from the mid/late 13th century to the late 15th century, was probably also stone built. It was divided into a number of units of which the excavation uncovered parts of two:[305] one immediately to the north of the range along the Hamel protruding a little to the east and a second to the east of that. Both were domestic and floored with gravel and clay. The former had a timber partition dividing off an eastern room, 3m. wide. Between 1277/8 and 1324 there appear from the rentals to have been four holdings on Bretel's Tenement up to the corner of the Hamel:[306] the house of Walter the Tanner (the old name appears to have been transferred to the new building, perhaps because Walter moved into it; he

[299] Cf. Flaxengate, Lincoln, C. Colyer and M. Jones, 'Excavations at Lincoln, 2nd Interim report', *Antiq. J.*, lix (1979), 50-92; Winchester, Brook Street, House III, M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1964, 3rd Interim report', *Antiq J.*, xlv (1965); H. Clarke and A. Carter, *Excavations in Kings Lynn, 1963-70* (Med. Arch. Monograph 7), 85, 162; The type also occurs earlier, M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1962-3, 2nd interim report', *Antiq. J.*, xliv (1964), 196-202, Brook Street, House I, late 12 c and in timber Brook Street, House III, Biddle, *Antiq. J.*, xlv (1965) 243-9.

[300] See p. 146.

[301] Salter, *C.O.*, ii, 564, 406-15.

[302] See Fiche 2 C09, no. 78; cf. *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, ed. J.B. Ward Perkins, 65-7.

[303] See Fiche 2 B13, no. 1: Adam the Chaplain's property on High Street must have been fairly valuable.

[304] Cf. Oak Street, Norwich, M. Aitkin and H. Sutermeister, 'Excavations in Norwich 1977/8', *Norfolk Arch.*, xxxviii (1978), 19-53.

[305] See Fiche 1 C05, BIIa; Fiche 1 C06, E2.

[306] See p. 146.

Plate 5

Building Phase II, Mid/late thirteenth century to late fifteenth/early sixteenth century (from NNE, Scales 2m.)

was alive *c.* 1270), Powick's cottage, the house in the corner and the corner cottage. The corner cottage was probably the easternmost unit of the range along St. Thomas's Street occupied by Matilda de Fullewelle in 1277/8 and since the post medieval tenement 13 on St. Thomas's Street is no. 8 of the late medieval tenements of Nicholas de Weston on the Hamel, the house in the corner, occupied by Widow Bretel up to 1285 would have been its western neighbour. After 1285, and presumably the death of Widow Bretel, these tenements disappear from the rentals probably because the holdings were amalgamated showing that the rapid expansion of the thirteenth century was giving way to the decline of the fourteenth century.

The range parallel to the Hamel[307] was trapezoid between 12.5m. and 16m. long by 4.75m. wide. There was a doorway in its east wall. The width and irregularity of its foundations and the presence of a probable buttress against it mean that the building had stone walls although only one storey high. It also lasted from the mid/late 13th century to the late 15th/early 16th century during which time it underwent six internal rearrangements and floor layers *c.* 0.7m. deep built up within it. In its later phases there was certainly a through passage at its northern end, which might also have existed earlier. The building seems to have been purely domestic and it does not seem to have had a set plan; partition walls seem to have been built and removed as necessary, although its hearths tended to be at the north end.

[307] See Fiche 1 C07, BII1-6.

If the above analysis of the rentals is correct, the range along the Hamel ought to have been divided between the house of Walter the Tanner occupied *c.* 1270 perhaps by Walter himself, and from 1283/1316 to 1324 by William the Quarryman, and Powick's Cottage, occupied by Powick from 1277/8 to 1285, Elias le Couper in 1320 and Hugh Scriptor in 1324. However, in its original[308] mid–late 13th century arrangement (Fig. 38, 6) the building was undivided with a rough stone floor, on which some occupation material built up, and in the late 13th – early 14th[309] (Fig. 39, 7) a partition wall was built at the north end dividing a room with gravel, clay and mortar floors from areas of gravelly floors. However, it is perfectly possible that other flimsier partitions may have gone, along with hearths, leaving no trace. Subsidence into the filled ditch beneath the building seems to have been a problem on this tenement too: the partition wall was buttressed on the outside and after its removal a pit, interpretable as another inspection pit, was dug, possibly to ascertain the cause of the subsidence.

The disappearance of the west side of the Hamel from the rentals from 1387 to 1449 was not because the area was abandoned; domestic occupation certainly continued throughout the period on both tenements. In the mid 14th century[310] (Fig. 39, 8) the range along the Hamel was probably divided into two by a timber partition; the southern room having gravel and cobble surfaces and no occupation material, the northern having clay and gravel floors on which occupation material did accumulate. In the centre of the building on the east side was an oven, perhaps constructed of clay or stone, with an area of flagstones by its stokehole, probably to facilitate sweeping up of ash. Other postholes and a narrow stone foundation may have supported other partitions at the north end where there was also a central open hearth. In the late 14th century[311] (Fig. 39, 9) the oven[312] was replaced by another in stone, *c.* 2m. square, adjacent to which were hearths used probably for the heating of the embers used in the oven (Pl. 6). There was also a new gravelly clay floor, rapidly buried in ashy occupation material and a new hearth replacing the previous one at the northern end. Also at the north end was a timber slot which presumably marked the south side of the through passage. The building was still in domestic use; the presence of one small oven does not seem enough to suggest that it had become a bakehouse.[313]

The early 15th century[314] (Fig. 39, 10) saw the disuse of the oven and the insertion of two partitions, one stone, one timber, dividing the building into three rooms. The northern room contained a well constructed hearth of stone slates and a stone bench running along its east wall; the middle one a hearth, an unexplained slot, and a clay floor, and the southern a cobbled floor. Finally in the mid/late 15th century the final rearrangement[315] involved the enlargement of the northern rooms at the expense of the southern by the building of new partitions further south. The hearth was moved into the middle room, into which the door from the street now opened and the partition dividing off the through passage was strengthened by the insertion of a post. The building may have been reroofed by this date with stone slates.

[308] See Fiche 1 C07, BII1.
[309] See Fiche 1 C07, BII2.
[310] See Fiche 1 C09, BII3.
[311] See Fiche 1 C13, BII4.
[312] Cf. C. Platt, *English Medieval Town* (1976), 77.
[313] A late 14th/early 15th century building at Flaxengate, Lincoln interpreted as a bakehouse had two ovens in it, C. Colyer and M. Jones, 'Excavations at Lincoln, 2nd interim report', *Antiq J.*, lix (1979), 50-92.
[314] See Fiche 1 C14, BII5.
[315] See Fiche 1 C14, BII6.

Plate 6
Oven 185, Hearth 174 (BII4) Late fourteenth century (from E, Scale 2m.)

When the rentals begin again in 1453[316] the west side of the Hamel was divided between the nine tenements of Nicholas de Weston of which the seventh, eighth and ninth probably belonged to Bretel's tenement, representing respectively the range along the Hamel, the house immediately to the north, and the one to the east of that. By this time the range along the Hamel was in the hands of one tenant: Thomas Gardiner in 1449-1479 and Thomas Harold in 1497, while the house to the north was occupied by Oliver Roweland 1449, Thomas Gurdon, 1459-61, Thomas de Infirmaria 1479 and William Cocke 1498 and that to the east by John Manson 1453, Will Carver 1453-8, Johanna Ambresden 1460-77, T. Mattrassmaker 1479 and Thomas Wilcock 1498.

The area to the west of the building[317] had been much disturbed by later pits but a posthole and postbase and two hearths may indicate the presence of a lean-to structure (Fig. 38, 6). No pits were found relating to the building at all, presumably they either lay outside the area of the excavation or had been removed by later ones.

Neither here nor elsewhere on the site in this period was there any trace of major industrial activity. A bone parchment pricker[318] may indicate the presence of a scribe in the early 15th century — a successor perhaps to Hugo Scriptor[319] if his surname denoted

[316] See p. 150.
[317] See Fiche 1 D04, BIIO.
[318] See Fiche 2 C10, No. 9.
[319] See Table II, Ten. 2 for 1324.

his occupation, and a half completed bone knife handle[320] shows small scale bone working continuing. From the road came a possible netting needle, which with a net sinker from a modern layer, provides evidence of fishing, a common occupation within the parish.[321] Although artisans predominate among the tenants whose occupations are known, and there is certainly no-one of the status of Nicholas de Weston on the tenement, its occupants were not the poorest, the widow of John Bretel would have had some means and the possible scribes would have been moderately well off.

Building Phase III Late 13th to late 15th/early 16th century (Fig. 39, 7-11, Fig. 40, 3; Pl. 7)

The replacement building[322] on the southern tenement which was constructed in *c.* 1275 ran parallel to the Hamel. It was *c.* 3.9m. wide internally and probably had stone walls. There was a door in the west wall, opening to the rear of the tenement. Documentary evidence suggests the building was still thatched as late as 1449. There was probably a solar 2.6m. long over its northern bay, supported first by successive posts (Fig. 39, 7-9), later by a stone partition wall (Fig. 39, 10-11). The south of the excavated part was probably an open hall with hearths which was floored with gravel and clay and originally extended at ground floor level into the northern bay. A narrow wall at the rear of the building might have supported either a timber framed outshot with a staircase leading to the solar or the east wall of an outbuilding. If one assumes that the late medieval tenements 5 and 6 were originally the same size and the building covered the whole frontage, it will have been *c.* 8m. long or three bays of *c.* 2.6m. but whether this was a two bay hall with combined solar and service or a one bay hall with service and solar bays at each end is unknown. Both are familiar plans.

The earliest layer within the new building, a thick layer of gravel dumped to fill the subsidence hollow, had buried in it the skeleton of a child not more than a few weeks old. It is not possible to say whether the burial occurred during the rebuilding when the house was empty or when it had been reoccupied. In a period of high child mortality when unbaptised children could not be buried in consecrated ground burials outside churchyards might be expected, but the position of this suggests a desire for concealment.[323] The child may have been illegitimate and the question whether its death was natural must be left open.[324]

Whether Alice de Weston and her husband William de Wodestone or their sons William and Nicholas occupied the rebuilt building between 1271-1325 is unknown. Between 1325 and 1333[325] when the property passed from the de Wodestones through the hands of Stephen de Adyngton and John de Bibury back to Oseney, it would have been rented out.

[320] See Fiche 2 C10, No. 10.

[321] See Fiche 2 C02, No. 92 and Fiche 2 D05, No. 14; Cf. Mary Prior, 'Fisher Row: an Oxford community of Fishermen and Bargemen 1500-1800', Unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis (1976).

[322] See Fiche 1 D06, HIII.

[323] The St. Aldates site also produced a one month premature foetus burial from a gravel make-up layer within a building, Durham, *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 166. See also M. Parrington, 'Excavations at Stert Street, Abingdon', *Oxoniensia*, xliv (1979), 3.

[324] Infanticide is a crime, apparently regarded as less than homicide, for which little evidence comes fron historical sources. See B.A. Kellum, 'Infanticide in England in the Later Middle Ages', *History of Childhood Quarterly*, i (1973-4), 367-88; R.H. Helmholz, 'Infanticide in the Province of Canterbury during the Fifteenth Century', Ibid., ii (1975), 379-90; Carl Hammer Jr., 'Patterns of Homicide in fourteenth century Oxford', *Past and Present*, lxxviii (1978), 13.

[325] See p. 146.

Plate 7
Southern Tenement, Building Phase III, Late thirteenth-early fourteenth century (from W, Scales 2m.)

The plan of this building appears to have remained much more fixed than that of its neighbour. The supports for the solar were periodically replaced, the floors and hearths renewed and, for a period, some erection such as a loom was supported on stakes in the northern bay, but the only major change was the partitioning with a stone wall of the northern bay, in the early 15th century. By the mid 15th century this tenement, identifiable as the sixth of Nicholas Weston, was also occupied by artisans, Thomas Smart, weaver (1477) William Wodcok (1479) and Thomas Kebal (1498).[326] However there are indications that its occupants were slightly better off than their neighbours: the pottery from the tenement exhibited a wider range[327] and considering the area excavated it provides a large preponderance of the coins found on the site.[328]

In fact, the 15th century brought a number of developments suggesting increased prosperity in both tenements: the range of pottery, although greater in the southern, increases in both buildings and the first continental imports from them appear;[329] there are also signs that window glass[330] plaster and stone roofing slates[331] may have been in use; and the physical subdivision of the buildings seems to be designed to allow privacy and specialised use of rooms. Whether this is a general trend or a result of the increased prosperity of St. Thomas's parish in this period it is difficult to say. One area, however, where developments seem to be lacking is sanitation: there were none of the garderobes or stone lined cess pits known on other sites[332] nor were there any stone drains, though the site is low lying and may have suffered from flooding,[333]

Trench II (14th to 15th centuries)

One of the features of the parish known from documents but not in evidence in the main area was an early 15th century rebuilding.[334] However, Trench II did show some evidence of one. The first building in Trench II was replaced in the 14th century by another,[335] probably timber framed, domestic building which was in use up to the early 15th century. Again the trench lay across two divisions, with to the west a through passage to the back of the building, and to the east gravel floors divided by an east-west partition. Most of the buildings of the previous century on the site were of stone. This one seems to mark a change and henceforward they appear to be timber framed. This building was itself replaced in the early 15th century by another,[336] of which only a corner of the wall and a fragment of stoneflagged floor lay within the trench. The Oseney

[326] See p. 150.
[327] See Fiche 2 A04; Fig. 8, HIII.
[328] See Fiche 2 B09, Nos. 1, 2, 6, 11, 12, 14, 16.
[329] See Fig. 8, BII6 and HIII, Fabric *ST* (German stonewares).
[330] See Fiche 2 E02.
[331] See Fiche 2 D08.
[332] C. Platt, *English Medieval Town*, (1976), 70-2 and refs. cited there.
[333] Cf. Lincoln, Flaxengate, Colyer and Jones, 'Excavations at Lincoln, 2nd interim report', *Antiq. J.*, lix (1979), 50-92 or Winchester, Brook Street, M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1962-3' *Antiq. J.* Pl. L; C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton* i, (1975), Pl. 63-4; see references to flooding in T.W. Squires, *In West Oxford* (1928) esp. Pl. CI, CII. The open ditch running along St. Thomas's Street on Loggan (1675) contrasts with that along Lower Brook Street, Winchester already culverted by the twelfth century, M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester (1970)', *Antiq. J.*, lii (1972), 100.
[334] See p. 141.
[335] See Fiche 1 E03, *ST* 2b
[336] See Fiche 1 E04, *ST* 3.

leases[337] record new building on St. Frideswides tenement in the Hamel by Peter Brember between 1407 and 1424; this excavated fragment may represent unrecorded activity by Brember on another part of his holding.

Building Phase IV early 16th century - mid 19th century (Fig. 39, 12; Fig. 40, 4; Pl. 8)

The next rebuilding on the main area took place in the late 15th/early 16th century. Again it involved total redevelopment of both tenements at approximately the same time.[338] Later robbing, however, obscured the order of development. The new buildings which were similar in basic plan to their predecessors lasted until the 19th century.

The Southern Tenement

On the southern tenement there was a small cottage[339] probably timber framed set on a mostly robbed out stone plinth. It was probably two storied and was 5.2m. wide. Only 4.2m. of the length of the building was excavated but the survey of 1772[340] suggested it had a frontage of 15ft. 8ins. (4.8m.) which means that the south wall was just outside the trench and that the excavated stone chimney base rested against it. Agas's and Loggan's maps[341] show the roof parallel to the street and Badcock's survey[342] shows a back extension (*c.* 2m. × 2.5m.) to the building of which no trace survived, so it is impossible to say whether this was original or added to the building. Inside the building, apart from the chimney base, was a layer of gravelly mortar, probably bedding for flagstones or tiles, and a line of stones which may have supported a partition or part of the furniture. Outside the cottage to the west was a small yard which contained only one feature datable to this phase, a stone lined possible soakaway.

This building seems to represent tenement 12 in the Hamel[343] leased from 1574 by Christ Church to various individuals who mostly seem to have sublet it. Two of the known occupiers were artisans. Augustine Bennett, carpenter (1614) and Clement Stiles, tanner (1660). It compares quite closely with early sixteenth century cottages excavated in Norwich, simple two storey structures measuring 4.2-5m. by 5.3-6.2m., which there also were associated with craftsmen.[344]

The Northern Tenement

The range[345] parallel to the Hamel was 12.5m. long by 4.3m. wide internally with a through passage at its northern end. it was probably timber framed, sitting on a narrow stone plinth and although narrower than its predecessor two storied with a stone slate roof. It was divided into two by a crosswall containing a chimney base, probably serving fireplaces on either side. Although this was inserted there seems no reason why this should

[337] See p. 152; Salter, *C.O.*, ii, 408-9.

[338] The total redevelopment of these leased tenements supports observations from Norwich evidence about differences in rebuilding of leased and owner occupied property, M.W. Aitkin and A. Carter, 'Excavations in Norwich 1976-7', *Norfolk Arch.* xxxvi (1974-7), 298.

[339] See Fiche 1 D10, HIV

[340] See p. 155.

[341] R. Agas, *Plan of Oxford* (1578), D. Loggan, *Plan of Oxford* (1675), O.H.S. xxxviii (1899).

[342] Salter, *C.O.*, ii, 609.

[343] See p. 153.

[344] Pottergate buildings C, D and E, A. Carter *et al*, 'Excavations in Norwich 1973', *Norfolk Arch.*, xxxvi (1974-7), 43, 49-50.

[345] See Fiche 1 D10, BIV

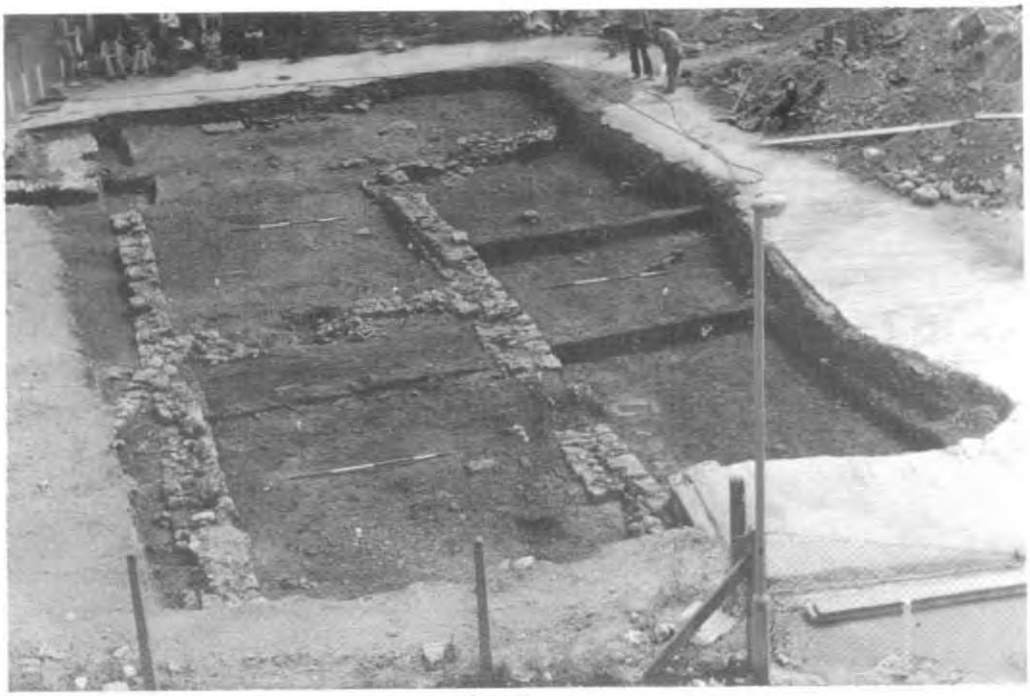


Plate 8
Building Phase IV, Sixteenth to nineteenth century (from NNE, Scales 2m.)

not have happened during its construction. The room to the south, 6m. by 4.3m. had a door at its southern corner and at some stage a flagged or tiled floor. The northern trapezoid room 5-6m. by 4.3m. seems to have had an earth floor.

The range can be identified as tenement 13[346] in the Hamel in the Christ Church leasebooks; it was always let with tenements 11, 12 and 13 in St. Thomas's Street as an investment property. Only rarely are head lessees recorded as occupying even part of the property. Before 1537 the whole range was held by one person, Robert Hewlett, although he may have sublet; by 1616 there were three occupiers, William Clarke, Richard Ford and Agnes Rowneswall, and presumably their dependants. There were only three occupiers throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, but by 1829 the range appears to have had four occupants. How the property was divided between the tenants is unknown. The division of the building into two at ground level probably means that some of the divisions were on the first floor. The indications of gables in the roofs on Loggan may mean that by his time the attic space was also in use. The only occupier whose occupation was recorded was Edward Barker, weaver, in 1622.

To the rear of the building was a yard or garden held in common by the tenants of the houses, which was used for the digging of pits. These fell into two chronological groups, one 16th century and one 18th/19th century. Some 17th century pits must have lain outside the trench. The 16th century pits were in two groups, one to the north, one to

[346] See p. 152.

the south, which may reflect the division of the property. All these pits were unlined; they were probably rubbish pits with the possible exception of the southernmost in the south group which may have been a cess pit. The 18th/19th century pits which covered most of the yard area were also divided between rubbish pits and cess pits. These cess pits seem much less sophisticated than those of 16th century Norwich,[347] which were generally stone-lined and either internal or attached to the rear walls of the buildings. The 17th century development there of having privies in the yards away from the buildings may, however, be paralleled on the site.

The only trace of the buildings along St. Thomas's Street in this phase was found in the extension, where a small part of the house across the end of the Hamel was excavated. This was timber framed on a narrow stone plinth and was probably two storied and originally floored with earth, later with flagstones. It was plastered inside and in the middle of the excavated part was an internal partition with a door, later blocked, at its southern end. This building, which in the 1772 survey measured 22ft. 3ins. by 43ft. 3ins. (6.8m. by 13.2m.), was tenement 14[348] in St. Thomas's Street which in 1728 was occupied by William Hall, boatman, who probably combined that occupation with that of publican since the lessee of the tenement from 1722 was a brewer. By 1829 the building was a public house called the White Horse. To the south of this building, presumably in the road, was a mid 16th century pit containing the only evidence on the site of the dissolution of the monasteries that was so disastrous for the parish. This consisted of a large number of painted window glass fragments,[349] presumably from Oseney, smashed to recover their lead cames. The pottery from the pit[350] contained a large number of drinking vessels which may have come from a rich establishment, perhaps Oseney again, or from a tavern. It may be that this building was a tavern even before the 18th century. Sheep head debris in the pit could be refuse from a nearby butcher. These buildings survived until the mid 19th century when they were replaced on both tenements by the brick houses shown on maps and photographs,[351]

Trench II 16th to 19th century

In trench II the early 15th century building[352] lasted perhaps through the 16th century — there was very little pottery from it — before being replaced by another building, [353] probably of stone with a crosswall containing a chimney base on its eastern side, which survived until the mid 19th century when it also was demolished to make way for a final phase of brick buildings.[354] This building was part of Christ Church's tenement 15[355] in St. Thomas's Street which was occupied in 1619 by Robert Page, plasterer, and which by 1829 had been completely built up with small houses right to the back of the tenement.

[347] Oak Street site, M.W. Aitkin and H. Sutermeister, 'Excavations in Norwich 1977/8', *Norfolk Arch.*, xxxvii (1978), 19-53.
[348] See p. 152.
[349] See Fiche 2 E01.
[350] See Fiche 2 A09.
[351] See p. 155; O.S. 1:500, 1st ed. 1878; Bod. MS. Top. Oxon. d 505, f.41.
[352] See Fiche 1 E04, *ST3*.
[353] See Fiche 1 E04, *ST4*.
[354] See Fiche 1 E04, *ST5*.
[355] See p. 152.

Conclusions

The area of the excavation proved to be quite an effective microcosm of St. Thomas's Parish. Combining documentary, archaeological and environmental evidence it is possible to trace the development of the site from open meadowland to planned suburb. The environmental evidence reinforces the documentary evidence for the economic importance of sheep to the area.

The pattern of building development in the area, rapid in the 13th century stagnating in the 14th century, is reflected in three rapid rebuildings on the site in the 13th century followed by none until the 15th century. These buildings, which were very well preserved compared to other sites, have provided house plans of the early, mid and late 13th, and the early 16th centuries and have given some idea of the living conditions and material wealth of the parish's inhabitants whom the documents enable us to identify as predominantly artisan. One or two richer medieval inhabitants are also revealed, suggesting that the pattern of 1524/5 of the parish containing the wealthier working class as well as a few richer inhabitants may be visible earlier. The pottery from the excavation, except in relation to the dating of late 13th/early 14th century group, confirmed the sequence devised from other sites and extended it into the 16th century.

Compared with other urban excavations one or two aspects of the Hamel stand out. Firstly there is its suburban situation. This seems to be expressed less in different building types than in different arrangements. The street frontages are not taken up with shops, but are occupied by buildings that in town centres would be confined behind the frontage. There is also much less pressure on space on the site: the backs of the tenements were not built up in the medieval period and buildings which on narrower plots would be at right angles to the street here ran parallel. A peculiar feature of the Hamel is that unlike most other sites there was no trace of any significant trade or industry. the buildings seem to have been purely domestic and their inhabitants seem to have worked elsewhere, although it is possible that the backs of the tenements would have revealed traces of industrial activity. The early introduction of stone footings and the prevalence of stone walls in the 13th century buildings is also noteworthy, timber framing only becoming predominant from the 14th century. Presumably this is explained by the easier availability of stone and the prosperity of the site in the earlier period. In spite of this, although the inhabitants of the Hamel were not destitute and none of its buildings were as flimsy as the St. Pancras Lane cottages on the Brook Street site in Winchester [356] with the exception of the Hall of Nicholas de Weston, the buildings do not really compare with the excavated merchant houses of Lincoln, Winchester or Southampton.[357] The best general comparisons seem to be the artisan houses excavated in Northampton and Norwich.[358]

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[356] M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1967', *Antiq. J.*, xlviii (1968), 265-6.

[357] Flaxengate, Lincoln, C. Colyer and M. Jones, 'Excavations at Lincoln 2nd interim report', *Antiq. J.*, lix (1979) 50-92; Winchester, Lower Brook Street, House I or IX, M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1962-70', *Antiq. J.*, xliv-lii (1964-72); Cuckoo Lane, Southampton, C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*, i, (1975), 285-302.

[358] J.H. Williams, *St. Peter's Street, Northampton, Excavations 1975-6*; Norwich, Pottergate buildings C, D and E, A. Carter *et al.*, 'Excavations in Norwich 1973', *Norfolk Arch.*, xxxvi (1974-7), 43-53 and the less substantial of the Oak Street buildings, M. Aitkin and H. Sutermeister, 'Excavations in Norwich 1977/8', *Norfolk Arch.*, xxxvii (1978), 19-53.