

Excavations in St. Ebbe's, Oxford, 1967–1976: Part I: Late Saxon and Medieval Domestic Occupation and Tenements, and the Medieval Greyfriars

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SUMMARY

This report describes the medieval aspects of excavations in St. Ebbe's, Oxford, from 1967 to 1976, prior to the building of the Westgate Centre and associated developments. The background to the excavations is described, followed by details of those sites selected for detailed excavation. At 31–34 Church Street (Site A) the earliest feature was a mid-Saxon ditch. Once the street, which was sectioned in Westgate (Site W), was laid out, a sequence of occupation was recovered which demonstrated how the site became fully utilised by two tenements before its partial abandonment by the 15th century. Fragmentary remains were found of buildings, ovens and hearths, but the site was mainly dominated by rubbish-pits and wells. The detailed evidence from Site A was complemented by two salvage excavations on Selfridges (Site SEL) and the Westgate (Site W). These excavations revealed few structures and many pits, but also provided detailed sections through Castle Street and Church Street which showed how the streets had developed from the early 10th century. No evidence for a contemporary burh defence was found on Littlegate (Site D), where the town wall of the 13th century was excavated together with a possible granary of the Greyfriars. The excavation of the Greyfriars (Site B) mainly concentrated on the development of the church, where eight phases of building could be distinguished. The church developed from a simple rectangular structure until it eventually attained a T-shape with a choir, walking-place, nave, N aisle with a probable chapel, and a large transeptal extension with ten chapels, described by William Worcestre in 1480 as the 'north nave'. There may have been some retrenchment before the building was demolished at the Dissolution, leaving only fragments which were incorporated into post-medieval property boundaries. Although the claustral area was extensively trenched, only a tentative plan could be recovered. Documentary evidence is discussed for each site individually, while the specialist reports group the evidence for all the sites together. The finds described include prehistoric worked flint and pottery; Roman tiles; late Saxon and medieval pottery; coins and jettons; metal objects; slag; bone, ivory and antler objects; vessel-glass; domestic stone objects; painted window-glass; worked stone from the Greyfriars, including a mutilated statue of St. James; daub; painted wall-plaster; tiles; human

remains, medieval animal bones and fish bones. A report on fish-bones from the Hamel, another Oxford site, is also included. The report concludes with a discussion of the archaeology, history and topography of St. Ebbe's from the Late Saxon period to the Dissolution. The post-medieval aspects of the St. Ebbe's excavations have already been discussed separately in Part II.¹

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¹ T.G. Hassall, C.E. Halpin and M. Mellor, 'Excavations in St. Ebbe's, Oxford, 1967-1976: Part II: Post-Medieval Domestic Tenements and the Post-Dissolution Site of the Greyfriars', *Oxoniensia*, xlix (1984), 153-275.

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INTRODUCTION

The redevelopment of the district known as St. Ebbe's in the City of Oxford, between 1967 and 1976, presented the greatest single threat to the City's archaeology up to that time, and at the same time provided the greatest single opportunity to examine Oxford's earliest history. In order to meet this challenge the Oxford Archaeological Excavation Committee was founded in 1967, following the publication by the City and County Museum of a report by D. Benson and J.M. Cook (*City of Oxford Redevelopment: Archaeological Implications*). T.G. Hassall was appointed the Director of Excavations. As excavation progressed a series of Interim Reports were published in advance of the final report, of which Part I (published here) covers the medieval aspects of the excavations, while Part II (already published) covers the post-medieval domestic tenements and the

post-Dissolution site of the Greyfriars.² The preparation of these two final reports was carried out from 1973 under the auspices of the Oxford Archaeological Unit.

The location of St. Ebbe's is shown in Fig. 1 and Pl. 1. In the middle ages the area lay partly in the parish of St. Ebbe's and partly in that of St. Peter-le-Bailey, in what was historically the S.W. ward of the city. This ward was situated away from the main medieval commercial streets, now called the High Street, Queen Street, St. Aldate's and Cornmarket Street. St. Ebbe's was never particularly prosperous, and its inhabitants tended to be associated with the Town rather than the Gown. The relative poverty of St. Ebbe's, and the fact that no founders of colleges took advantage of open spaces there after the Dissolution, meant that the survival-rate of medieval buried remains was high, except on the street frontages where modern cellars had dug away most of the stratification.

The excavations themselves were concentrated in the N. part of St. Ebbe's (Fig. 2). Redevelopment has completely altered the character of this area from a mixed community of domestic buildings, small shops and a few offices in 1967, to a largely commercial area dominated by Selfridges, other large chain-stores and a multi-storey

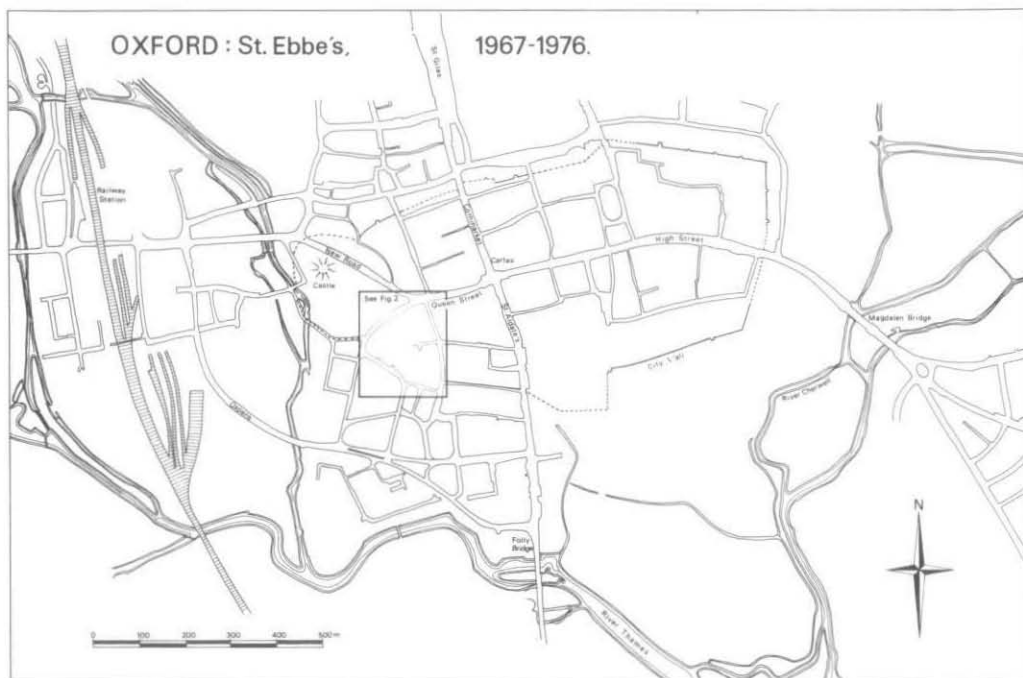


Fig. 1. Location Plan. The box indicates the area of Fig. 2.

² T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1968, First Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxiv (1969), 5-20; T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1969, Second Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxv (1970), 5-18; T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1970, Third Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvi (1971), 1-10; T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1971, Fourth Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii (1972), 137-44; T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1972, Fifth Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii (1973), 274-76; T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1973-74, Sixth and Final Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xl (1975), 59-61; Hassall et al., op. cit. note 1.

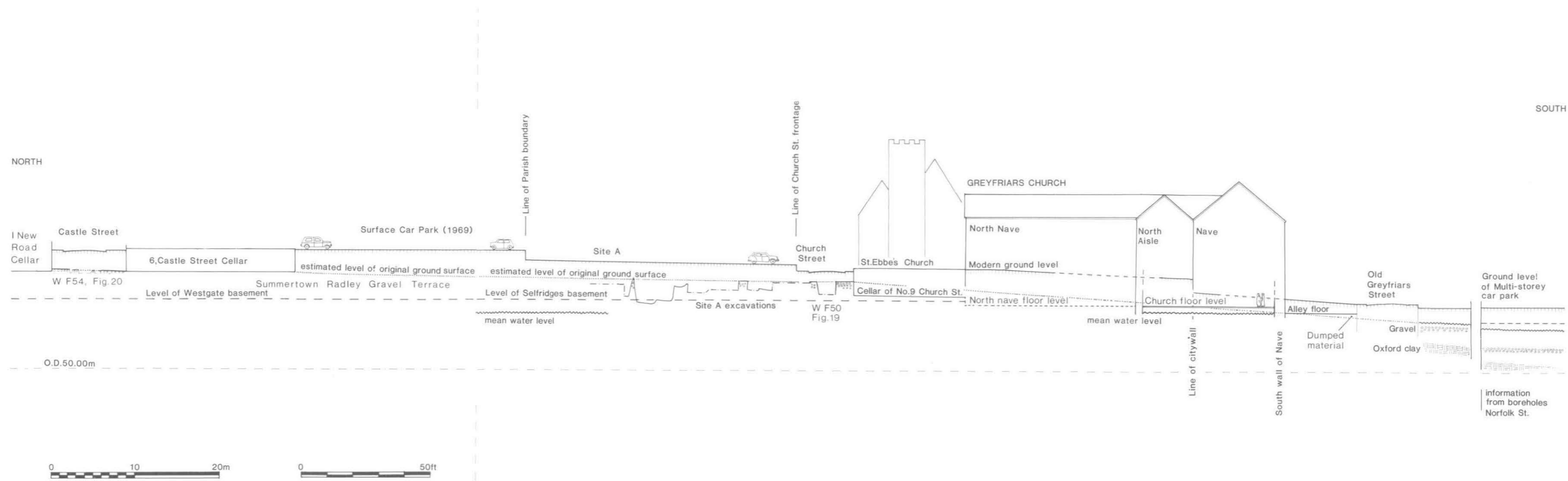


Fig. 3. Diagrammatic section through St. Ebbe's (Sites A, B, and W).

OXFORD: St. Ebbe's, 1967-1976.



Fig. 2. *Left* Location plan of the excavations (Site A, 31-34 Church Street; Site B, Greyfriars and Site D, Littlegate) and the salvage sites (Site SEL, Selfridges, and Site W, Westgate). The plan shows the street pattern prior to the redevelopment of St. Ebbe's, and surviving stretches of the city wall. The buildings which have been retained are shaded. *Right* Plan showing the new buildings and street pattern. A small stretch of the city wall is preserved behind Nos 9-10 Turn Again Lane. Based on the City of Oxford Central Area 1:500 Survey, by permission of the City Engineer.

car-park. The construction of the car-parks over much of the central area of St. Ebbe's has had the effect of drawing Oxford's commercial centre of gravity westwards, from Carfax and Cornmarket Street to Queen Street and Bonn Square. The N. part of St. Ebbe's is now overshadowed by the massive bulk of the new Central Library, the Westgate Centre and Selfridges. These drastic changes can be appreciated by comparing the two plans shown in Fig. 2.

In 1967 the basic topography of St. Ebbe's had not altered since the middle ages. The area is called after St. Ebbe's church, one of the few buildings to survive the development. The church stands at the corner of St. Ebbe's Street and the former Church Street, which has now been reduced to its extreme E. end and only survives as a cul-de-sac, known as Pennyfarthing Place. The curving line of Castle Street defined the area to the W., but this street has been realigned as part of the development. The original purpose of this realignment was to provide a southbound carriage-way of an inner relief road, but the northbound carriage-way was never built and the original plan was abandoned. The N. end of Castle Street has been re-named Bonn Square. At the S. end of Castle Street, at its junction with Paradise Street, was the site of the medieval Westgate, after which the new Shopping Centre is named. From the Westgate the medieval town wall ran eastwards across St. Ebbe's to the site of the Littlegate, which lay at the S. end of St. Ebbe's Street. The line of the medieval wall survived as a property boundary into modern times, and is still perpetuated as the S.W. end of the Westgate Centre. Only a very short rebuilt section of the wall itself survives above ground behind Nos. 9 and 10 Turn Again Lane, formerly called Charles Street. Turn Again Lane was certainly in existence by the 17th century, and in the 19th century it led into a maze of streets which were rationalised during the redevelopment into the so-called Old Greyfriars Street. This street was built to service the Westgate Centre and to provide access to the multi-storey car park.

The development did more than rewrite the topography of St. Ebbe's; it also destroyed virtually all the archaeological stratification of the area. The reason for this can be seen in Fig. 3, a diagrammatic section through St. Ebbe's. The underlying geology of the area is Jurassic Oxford Clay, above which are the Pleistocene gravels of the Summertown-Radley terrace and the flood-plain terraces. The Westgate Centre and Selfridges are built on the Summertown-Radley terrace which was cut away by the river immediately S. of the line of the medieval town wall. The nearest branch of the Thames today in St. Ebbe's is the Trill Mill stream, which runs in a culvert from the Castle Mill stream to the Christ Church Memorial Garden. The N. bank of the Trill Mill stream was found in Site D. At the interface between the gravel and the Oxford Clay is the water-table, whose level (*c.* 56.60 m. O.D.) is shown on Fig. 3. The figure also gives the estimated level of the original ground-surface, based on various sightings of original topsoil which indicate that it sloped gently southwards from Castle Street down to the flood-plain.

The natural profile of the gravel was, however, masked by the build-up of stratified deposits which had accumulated from late Saxon times onwards. This build-up of soil was uneven and the modern ground-surface gave the appearance of a series of terraces (see Pls. 16 and 17), largely caused by the differential accumulation of rubbish deposits against static property boundaries. Thus from Castle Street southwards to the line of the boundary between the parishes of St. Peter-le-Bailey and St. Ebbe, the modern ground-surface was relatively level. The parish boundary, which was also the common rear boundary for the properties fronting Castle Street and Church Street, marked the first step down of the terracing (see Pl. 3). From the parish boundary to Church Street again the surface was level, but the ground stepped down again in modern times to



Plate 1. General view of St. Ebbe's before redevelopment, from the S.W. (*Aerofilms Ltd.*).

Church Street. From Church Street the modern ground-level gradually sloped towards the line of the town wall both E. and W. of the Greyfriars church and the line of the N. wall of its choir, where there was the largest change in level (see Pl. 29). This step-down was only created after the Dissolution: the excavations showed that the floor of the Greyfriars church was cut into the S. edge of the gravel terrace in order to provide a level platform on which to build the so-called 'north nave' of the church.

Figure 3 shows how the cellars of the properties fronting Castle Street had cut through archaeological deposits down to the top of the original ground-surface, thus removing all the remains of earlier buildings. On the S. side of Church Street the cellars had penetrated even deeper, into the natural gravel itself; by contrast, the N. side of Church Street was uncellared. However, the past disturbance of the stratification of St. Ebbe's by cellars was minimal compared with the disturbance caused by the construction of the new service basement for Westgate and Selfridges. This basement, built on a level with Old Greyfriars Street, runs northwards as far as the former line of Castle Street. As a result virtually all the stratification above this level has now been removed, while the bottoms of medieval wells below even this level were also dug out. Some stratification may survive on the site of the Greyfriars, but it will be badly damaged by the piled foundations of the new buildings. The associated developments of Fenwicks (28-31 St. Ebbe's Street), and Littlegate House were equally destructive.

Destruction on this scale meant that the recording of the entire area under threat would have been impossible. It was decided from the outset to excavate selectively. The selection of sites was largely influenced by what was known of the medieval history and topography of St. Ebbe's.³ Key elements in this topography were St. Ebbe's church; the former church of St. Budoc which stood in front of the main entrance of Oxford Castle; the position of the town wall; and the lines of Castle Street, St. Ebbe's Street (known as Little Bailey), and Church Street (known as Friars' Street). By the 13th century all the street-frontages would have been lined with domestic tenements. Major changes took place in the 13th century. St. Budoc's church was destroyed to make way for a barbican to the castle, while the land S. of Church Street running down to the Trill Mill stream was acquired by the Greyfriars for the site of their priory; in the process the line of the town wall was breached. The subsequent history and topography of St. Ebbe's was traced by H.E. Salter,⁴ whose work has now been continued by Dr. H.L. Turner and Mr. A.J. Wood as an aid to interpreting the excavations.⁵

The range of medieval sites to be found in St. Ebbe's represented a good cross-section of Oxford's archaeology: a complete *insula* of tenements with its valuable commercial frontage on Queen Street, the main E.-W. axis of the town, and less valuable frontages on St. Ebbe's Street, Castle Street and Church Street; the church of St. Budoc; the town wall; and, finally, the Greyfriars. All these sites were worthy of study both for their own sakes and for reconstructing the medieval history of St. Ebbe's, which in turn was likely to reflect the history of Oxford as a whole.

The excavations were begun at the end of 1967 and finally completed in 1976. The early work concentrated on a series of medieval and post-medieval tenements at 31-34 Church Street (Site A), which was chosen to be the type site for the tenements in this area. When the streets were realigned, and subsequently the basements for Westgate

³ H.E. Salter, *Map of Medieval Oxford* (1934), Map 4.

⁴ H.E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, eds. W.A. Pantin and W.T. Mitchell (O.H.S. n.s. xx, 1969), 63-76, 120-32.

⁵ A.J. Wood and H.L. Turner, 'St. Ebbe's Documentary and Topographic Survey', unpublished, available for consultation with the site archives.



Plate 2. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. Royal visit to the excavations, 1968. Photo by G.S. Baker.

(Site W) and Selfridges (Site SEL) were dug out, further domestic material was salvaged and sections across Castle Street and Church Street were obtained. As part of these salvage operations the first site of St. Budoc's church was identified and also the plan of the castle barbican. These two sites have been reported on elsewhere.⁶ The town wall was excavated E. of the Westgate (Site B), Trench XI (originally called Site C), and at Littlegate House (Site D). The Greyfriars church was almost completely excavated, as were fragments of the conventual buildings.

The progress of the St. Ebbe's excavations was closely followed by *The Oxford Mail* and *The Oxford Times*, whose reports created a great deal of public interest in the work as it progressed and even inspired a published poem.⁷ The public were encouraged to visit the sites. There were a number of distinguished visitors, including H.M. The Queen who visited 31-34 Church Street (Site A) during her visit to the City and University in 1968 (Pl. 2). Her Majesty, accompanied by Prince Philip, was shown the results of the excavation when she returned to open the Westgate Centre in 1976. Fr. Clementinus Schutijser, the Father-General of the Franciscans, visited the Greyfriars excavations (Site B) in September 1969. A number of temporary exhibitions were held to display finds, culminating in an exhibition entitled 'How Old is Oxford?' open throughout the summer of 1972 in County Hall. This exhibition paved the way for the establishment of the Museum of Oxford.

⁶ T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle, 1965-73', *Oxoniensia*, xli (1976), 232-308.

⁷ Maida Stanier, 'St. Ebbe's', *The New Oxford Spy* (Basil Blackwell, 1969), 79-80.

After the St. Ebbe's work was completed further excavations took place in Oxford, initially in St. Aldates and St. Thomas's. Because of the superior stratification on these sites, it was decided to concentrate initial post-excavation work on them in order to refine Oxford's late Saxon and medieval pottery sequences. Post-excavation was then resumed on the St. Ebbe's sites.

This report is concerned with the late Saxon, medieval and pre-Dissolution aspects of these sites, which are reported on together with their finds. Detailed reports are also given in the accompanying microfiche. The finds and the original site archives will be lodged with the Oxfordshire Department of Museum Services. Part II of the report continues the story of St. Ebbe's from the Dissolution to the end of the 19th century.⁸

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project of this nature carried out over so many years would not have been possible without the assistance of many institutions and individuals. The project was conceived in the first instance by the Oxford Archaeological Excavation Committee. The late Alderman Peter Spokes, the Committee's Chairman, was unfailing in his encouragement and interest. Much of the Committee's inspiration came from the late Dr. W.A. Pantin of Oriol College. The two successive secretaries of the Committee were Miss J.M. Cook, then Director of the Oxford City and County Museum, and Miss C.M. Preston formerly of the Town Clerk's Department. The post-excavation work was organised under the auspices of the Oxfordshire Archaeological Committee and the Oxford Archaeological Unit. Two County Treasurers, Messrs H.C. Bedwell and W.H.P. Davidson, administered the finances, assisted by Messrs J.H.R. Day and A.B. Linsell together with a series of assistants: Messrs H. Davies, M. Neate, M. Petty and A.L. Wilkes. Mr. R. Gould was subsequently the Unit's Treasurer.

The excavations were financed by: The British Academy; The Department of the Environment (formerly Ministry of Public Building and Works, now English Heritage); Oxford City Council; Oxford Preservation Trust; Oxfordshire County Council; The Pilgrim Trust; The Society of Antiquaries; All Souls College; Balliol College; Christ Church; Corpus Christi College; Exeter College; Jesus College; Keble College; Lady Margaret Hall; Lincoln College; Merton College; New College; Nuffield College; Oriol College; Pembroke College; The Queen's College; St Anne's College; St. Antony's College; St. Catherine's College; St. Cross College; St. Hilda's College; St. John's College; St. Peter's College; Somerville College; Trinity College; University College; Wadham College; the former Culham College; B.H. Blackwell Ltd.; Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd.; Blackwell Scientific Publications Ltd.; Coopers (St. Ebbe's) Ltd.; and other private donors. To all these sponsors the Committee was very grateful.

In addition, the following provided the free use of equipment: Ameys Ltd. (now the Amey Roadstone Corporation); British Motor Holdings (now the Rover Group); Cliffplant; Curtis and Horn; J.H.B. (Equipment) Ltd.; Lovell Plant Hire Ltd.; Minns Ltd.; Oxford Plant Hire Ltd.; and the Oxford Fire Service.

The excavations would have been impossible without the active support of Oxford City Council, on whose property most of the work was carried out. A number of Officers were extremely helpful in ensuring that the archaeological work was phased in with the development: The City Architect and his staff, notably Messrs J.H. Ashdown, P.G.

⁸ Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1.

Beresford, K. Hearne, G.F. Spray and the late K. Lichtenstein; the City Engineer's Special Projects Section; and the City Estates Surveyor, especially Mr. L.R. Flint of his staff.

Many people took part in the excavations themselves. It is an especial pleasure to thank the main site supervisors: Mr. B.G. Durham (Littlegate, Site D), the Rev. J.C. Huntriss (31-34 Church Street, Site A), and Mr. J. Haslam (Westgate, Site W). Other supervisors who took part in the excavations were Messrs. T.G. Allen, H. Blake, P.J. Fasham, S. Harris, M.R. Robinson, the late I. Sanders, G. Smyth, T. Ward, H. Woods and Dr. C.J. Young. Surveying was carried out by Messrs. G. Morgan, H. Richmond and P. Sorowka. Photographs were taken by Messrs. G.S. Baker, D. Carpenter, K.W. Sheridan and M.S. Wade. The on-site processing of finds was organised by the Misses J. Cox, E.S. Leedham-Green, K.J. Lucas, J. Smith and J.S. Walker. Conservation was carried out by B.V. Arthur and A. Shishtawi of Oxfordshire Department of Museum Services. Of the volunteer excavators who worked on the site, several generations of the Oxford University Archaeological Society deserve special mention. Accommodation for volunteers was provided by the former Balliol Boys Club and the Governors and Headmaster of Christ Church Cathedral Choir School. Catering was at times organised by the late Miss Z.R. Carson, assisted by Mr. C. McLellan and Crawford Caterers Ltd.

Dr. H.L. Turner inaugurated the parallel programme of documentary research, which was completed by Mr. A.J. Wood. Much of the supporting evidence used in this report is based on their unpublished work which is available with the site archives.

The Rev. J.C. Huntriss carried out much preliminary work on the post-excavation analysis of 31-34 Church Street, Site A. He ordered all the site records and produced preliminary flow diagrams of both the medieval and the post-medieval stratification. Mr. M. Wilcox carried out a similar operation for Greyfriars, Site B. Mr. B.G. Durham produced the report on Littlegate, Site D. It is also a pleasure to thank all the authors of the specialist reports printed below.

The drawings were the work of Mrs. E. Beard. The texts were typed by the Misses J. Wilson and S. Batten.

THE EXCAVATIONS

31-34 CHURCH STREET, SITE A (Figs. 4-14, Pls. 3-15)

Introduction

The area bounded by Castle Street, St. Ebbe's Street and Church Street was occupied by medieval tenements whose history had been traced by Dr. H.E. Salter.⁹ It was clear from the outset that it would be impossible to excavate more than a small proportion of these properties, both because of the large number of tenement sites to be destroyed, and because of a number of other practical constraints. The existence of known cellars precluded the survival of stratification on the Castle Street frontage, and the rear of these properties was used for temporary car-parking. The commercial properties on the St. Ebbe's Street frontage were retained in use until they were required for development.

⁹ Salter *op. cit.* note 4, 63-76, 120-32.

On the other hand, all the former properties on the N. frontage of Church Street had been demolished and the site made into a temporary car-park with a tarmac surface. It was uncertain whether the stratification on the street frontage survived intact, although it was known that the former City of Oxford School of Technology, Art and Commerce was likely to have had deep footings.

Since the Church Street frontage seemed to offer the best possibilities for excavation, the City Council gave permission for the car-park to be closed between 27 and 31 of December 1967 and a trial-trench was dug parallel to the street. The preliminary results were encouraging. Disturbance on the site seemed to be chiefly limited to the very deep footings of the School of Technology, which did not have a basement, and few traces of basements belonging to other buildings were encountered. Undisturbed levels, producing late medieval pottery, were found at depths ranging from 1 m. to 2 m. The stratification looked particularly promising towards the W., but, since the City was anxious to keep as much of the car-park in use as possible, permission was only granted for the E. end of the trial-trench to be extended so that the W. half of the car-park could remain in operation.

The excavated area covered the greater part of two medieval properties, 31 Church Street (known in the 14th century as Whitehall) and 32-34 Church Street (whose medieval name was *domus* Mirifeld). Church Street itself was known as Friars Street in the later middle ages. The excavation included the street frontages of both tenements and the greater part of the plots behind them. It was not possible to extend right to the N. boundaries of the properties, since the former gardens of the Castle Street tenements in use as car-parks were above the level of the Church Street tenements, creating a terrace at the common boundary (see Fig. 3, Pl. 3). Excavations had to be kept approximately 10 metres from the back boundary, although the area was observed during the contractors' bulk excavation. A small excavation had taken place in this dead ground in 1960 under the direction of Mr. B.K. Davison (Fig. 4) and three medieval pits were recorded.

Full-scale excavation began in March 1968 and the first season lasted until Christmas, with a main season for six months during the summer. During 1969 excavations were resumed for a total of seven months, including a four-week season at Easter followed by a 13-week season during the summer. Work then continued on a part-time basis until Easter 1970, when building work began on the Selfridges site. Observation of the contractors' excavation was continued until June of that year when the site was finally destroyed.

Documentary Evidence

Salter collated the evidence for the two medieval properties on the site of 31-34 Church Street, which are designated SW81 and 82 in his *Survey*.¹⁰ Dr. Turner made a wider search of the evidence, particularly of more recent material, and her survey was in turn completed by Mr. A.J. Wood.¹¹

31 Church Street (SW82) is first mentioned in 1340, when the owner, John Gonwardly, ordered his executors to sell his messuage known as Whitehall.¹² It must have passed into the hands of a family called Ironmonger, possibly an occupational surname, and in 1349 was said to have belonged to the late wife of William the Ironmonger. William left the property in that year to Alice, wife of William of Abingdon, but

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 72-3.

¹¹ Wood and Turner *op. cit.* note 5.

¹² *Liber Albus Civitatis Oxoniensis*, ed. H.E. Salter (1909), No. 56.

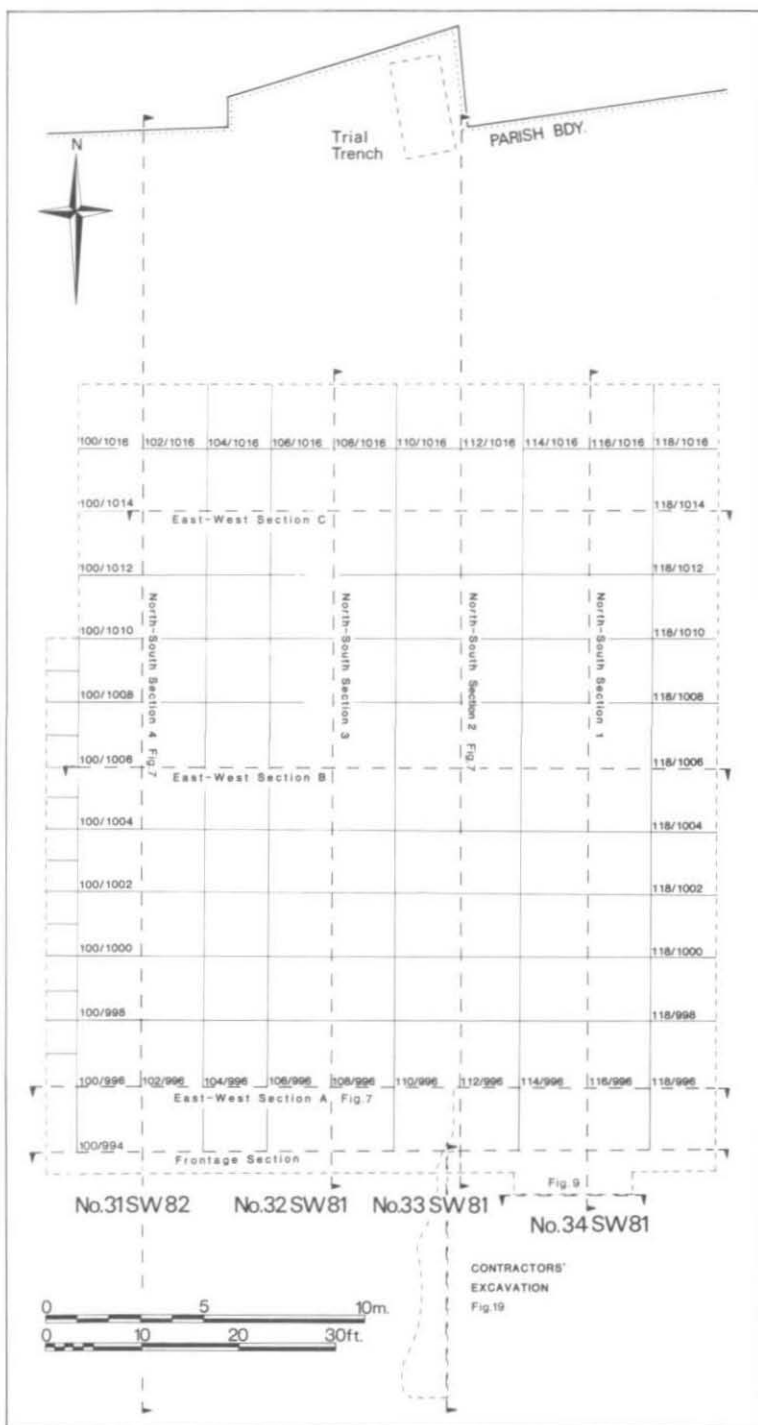


Fig. 4. 31-34 Church Street, Site A: The site grid and recorded sections (see Figs. 7 and 9, and also Fig. 19, Site W).

another Alice, daughter of the late Thomas the Ironmonger, also claimed the messuage.¹³ According to Salter the property was subsequently acquired by Simon of Gritton and Joan his wife, who granted the messuage to William Genge in 1383 or 1384.¹⁴ At that time this property paid 6d. to St. Ebbe's church. By 1496 it was owned by Edward Woodward,¹⁵ a mayor who had accumulated properties in eight Oxfordshire towns and villages.¹⁶ Woodward granted the tenement to *Magister* Robert Slimbridge, who endowed a chantry at Thornbury (Glos.) in 1525 with all his Oxford properties. These must have included Whitehall; in 1526 the wardens of the chantry sold them to Richard Gunter, one of the most successful townsmen of 16th-century Oxford.¹⁷ He was a manciple and brewer, held civic office and acquired the site of the Greyfriars opposite Whitehall. The subsequent history of the property is described in Part II of this report.¹⁸

32-34 Church Street (*domus* Mirifeld, SW81) is first mentioned in 1266 when it paid a quit-rent to Osenev Abbey, which continued to collect 3s. per year until the Dissolution.¹⁹ The first recorded tenant (c. 1260) is John of Coleshill,²⁰ a substantial Oxford merchant who dealt in both cloth and wine;²¹ he is recorded as selling cloth at Northampton fair in 1248, and he sold wine, imported through Southampton, to Henry III at Woodstock in 1242 and at Winchester fair in 1259. He was mayor in 1269, and his family was closely related to the other leading burgesses of Oxford. When he died in 1274 he left property to support St. Mary's mass in St. Peter-le-Bailey church.²² John gave the tenement to William Coleshill.²³ In 1279 it was said to be worth 5s. more than its 3s. rent to Osenev. A second John of Coleshill held the tenement in 1317 and 1324.²⁴ This John, presumably the grandson of Mayor John Coleshill,²⁵ was a bailiff in 1296; in 1298 he was removed from this office together with the other bailiff after a Town and Gown riot when a layman and a clerk were killed during four days' rioting.²⁶ This was the first time that leading burgesses are recorded as taking part in Town and Gown disorders, although this behaviour was to be a feature of the 14th century. John is recorded as having dealings with the elder Despenser, to whom he owed £200.²⁷ John left *domus* Mirifeld to his wife Agnes with a reversion to his son Nicholas in 1325, when it was described as a house with a vacant space adjoining.²⁸ In 1380 Robert son of Robert of Creshale granted the tenement to Robert of Cudlington and his wife Margery,²⁹ presumably Margery of Standlake who left the tenement to her nephew Robert Whitele.³⁰ Whitele granted the property to Richard of Swinford, who is recorded in the Osenev rentals c. 1370.³¹ In 1380 Swinford granted the tenement to Adam of Brackele³² (usually called Adam Slatter), one of the 13 slaters recorded in the 1381 poll tax.³³ In 1390 the ecclesiastical court forced him to pay 20d. a year owing to St. Mary's chapel in the church of St. Michael at the Northgate.³⁴ After Adam's death his wife Agnes married John Holney; on Agnes' death her executors granted the tenement in 1396 to John Carre, a bedell.³⁵ Carre is recorded in 1415 as having not paid the 20d. to St. Mary's chapel for 20 years.³⁶ In 1439 Carre granted the tenement to Lincoln College,³⁷ and in 1479 it was described as a garden.³⁸

¹³ *Ibid.* No. 116.

¹⁴ Salter *op. cit.* note 4, 73.

¹⁵ *Liber Albus* *op. cit.* note 12, No. 281.

¹⁶ *V.C.H., Oxon.* iv, 65, 69.

¹⁷ *Liber Albus* *op. cit.* note 12, No. 100; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 111-12.

¹⁸ Hassall et al. *op. cit.* note 1, 161-70.

¹⁹ *Cartulary of Osenev Abbey*, ed. H.E. Salter, iii (O.H.S. xci, 1929), *passim*.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 110.

²¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 37.

²² *Ibid.* 67, 401.

²³ *Rotul. Hundredorum* (Rec. Comm. 1812-18), ii, 791.

²⁴ *Cart. Osenev* *op. cit.* note 19, 141, 157.

²⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 67.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 15.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 38.

²⁸ *Liber Albus* *op. cit.* note 12, No. 3.

²⁹ Salter *op. cit.* note 4, 72.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*; *Cart. Osenev* *op. cit.* note 19, 179.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 45.

³⁴ *The Churchwarden's Accounts of St. Michael's Church, Oxford*, ed. H.E. Salter, Oxfordshire Archaeological Society, *Transactions* 78 (1933), 5.

³⁵ Salter *op. cit.* note 4, 72.

³⁶ Salter *op. cit.* note 34, 5.

³⁷ Salter *op. cit.* note 4, 72.

³⁸ *Cart. Osenev* *op. cit.* note 19, 265.

Excavation and Recording Methods

The evidence of Mr. Davison's excavation and of the trial-trench suggested that the stratification on the two tenement sites was likely to follow the classic Oxford pattern: houses fronting the street, courtyards and wells (reaching down to the water-table) behind, and a complex of intercutting rubbish-pits at the rear. It was also clear that the site was covered with featureless post-medieval overburden whose top surface sloped from the back boundary wall down to a low retaining wall alongside Church Street. Visible stratified deposits began on a level with Church Street itself, while the natural ground surface lay c. 1 m. below. The medieval pits and wells penetrated the top of the natural gravel.

It was decided to remove the post-medieval overburden by machine down to the Church Street level to create an initial working surface; the site was then trowelled over and the pattern of post-medieval features became clear. The post-medieval features are described in Part II, Fig. 3 (Pl. 3).³⁹ The technique of excavation and recording followed the open area method and the system of metric coordination as developed at Winchester by Martin Biddle, who advised on the setting-out of the Church Street site.⁴⁰

Before excavation began a two-metre grid was established over the available area and the lines of four sections running from N. to S. across the site were fixed (Fig. 4). Each of the sections was positioned to run down the approximate centre line of each of the four properties into which the post-medieval property had been divided. Three sections were also established E. to W. across the site: Section A, across the presumed zone of buildings, to record the relationships of walls and floors (Fig. 7); Section B to record the courtyard areas; and Section C to show other presumed pit areas. The frontage section was also recorded.

Conventional open-area excavation worked well for the post-medieval features, but the medieval stratification was difficult to excavate. Comparatively few structures and floor-levels earlier than the 14th century survived on the frontage, and beneath these were pits and wells which also saturated the rest of the site (Pl. 4). The complexity and density of these pits and the similarity of their fills meant that, apart from stone-lined pits, dimensions and relationships were impossible to detect in a horizontal plane, though they could be better seen in vertical section.

Because of these difficulties it was decided to concentrate excavation and recording by recovering a series of working sections in which the edges of pits and their relationship could be seen. Post-medieval and medieval stone-lined pits and wells were excavated first in a conventional manner. Their stone-linings and their construction-trenches were removed. The sides of the voids thus created were straightened, and the sections were then examined to reveal the pits and their relationship (Pl. 5). Recording was primarily by means of drawn sections across the middle of individual pits where they could be identified; these working sections supplemented the main sections. However, it was frequently difficult to decide where to locate sections within the pits, because their original shapes were so distorted by the subsequent cutting-through them of one or, more often, several later pits. Horizontal planning was difficult, since effective use of the metric coordinate system of recording required a fairly constant level surface. In addition, the excavation of deep pits resulted in a 'lunar landscape' which made it both difficult and unsafe for excavators to move across the site.

Finally a new system of excavating pits was evolved. The site was reduced to the level of the original topsoil, below which no structures were expected. The divisions created by the section lines were then used as the sides of a series of narrow trenches, with the sections retained as 50-cm. wide baulks. The trenches were then excavated down in surveyed spits, with plans drawn at a depth of 50 cm. and 1 m. below the original topsoil level. If the edges of a pit were not clear its dimensions were proved by small cuts dug working outwards from the presumed centre, or inwards from any clear edges cut into natural gravel. Studying the sections of these small cuts revealed many pit edges. If the edges of pits could not be found the site-plan was left blank at that point and any finds were treated as unstratified, although their location was attributed within the appropriate 2 m. square on the site grid. In order to preserve a level working surface any natural gravel was removed together with pit fills (Pl. 6). Sections could be reconstructed within pits, if required, while the main sections provided overall control. Once all the soil had been excavated within the spit its surface was planned. Any mistakes in excavation were rectified in the next spit down. Finally, the narrow standing sections were removed as soon as they could be 'read' and drawn. This method made for full and easy recording; and it proved possible to make use of completely inexperienced volunteers to work on a site whose complexity defied more conventional excavation and recording methods.

The numbering of features and layers also requires explanation. When the excavation began the entire site was under the control of one supervisor. Features and layers were differentiated by unique numbers with two series of numbers: one for features and one for layers. During the first main excavation season in 1968,

³⁹ Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, 160.

⁴⁰ M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1964, Third Interim Report', *Antiquaries Jnl.* xlv (1965), 245.



Plate 3. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. The site has been stripped mechanically and the surface is being cleaned in two-metre squares. The terracing at the rear of the site beyond the boundary wall can be seen. The footings of the City Technical College are on the left. View from the S. *Photo by M. Dudley.*



Plate 4. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. A general view of the excavations. The excavation of medieval features is in progress. Whitehall is on the left hand side of the picture and *Domus Mirifield* is on the right. View from the S. *Photo by G.S. Baker.*

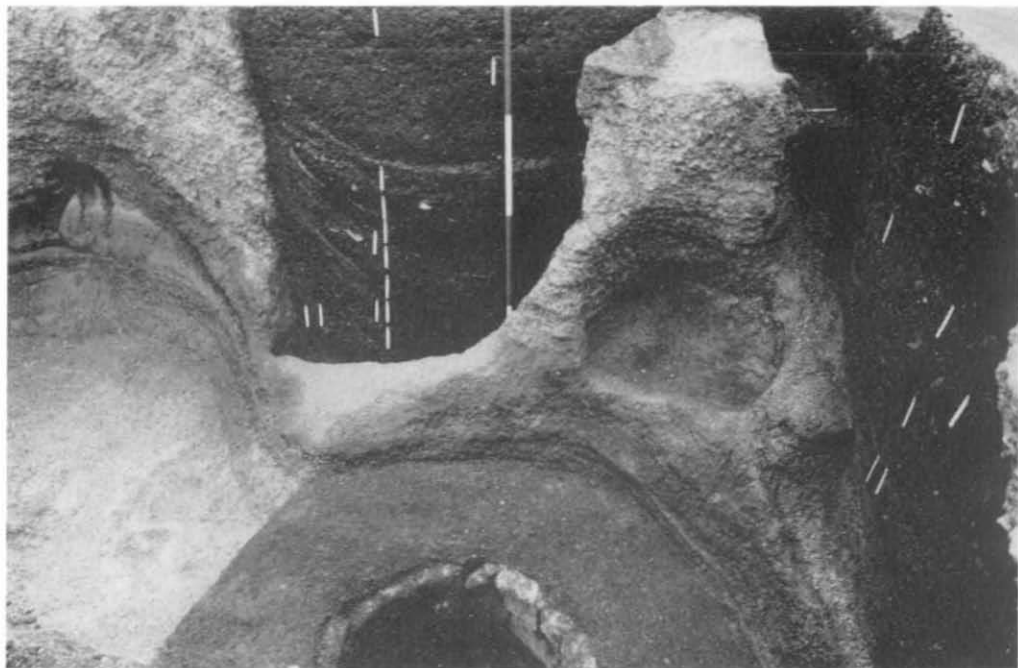


Plate 5. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. Detail of the excavation of medieval pits. A post-medieval well (A F1, foreground) has been excavated down to a point where it is entirely surrounded by natural gravel. The surrounding pits (A F113, behind, and pit A F115, right) have been revealed in section. Pit A F53 (left) has been fully excavated. View from the S. Scale 2 m. *Photo by G.S. Baker.*



Plate 6. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. Pits in the western half of *Domus Mirifeld* showing the method of excavation by spits, with pit-fills and natural removed to retain a level working surface and standing sections. The street frontage is at the top of the photograph. View from the N. Scales 2 m. *Photo by D. Carpenter.*

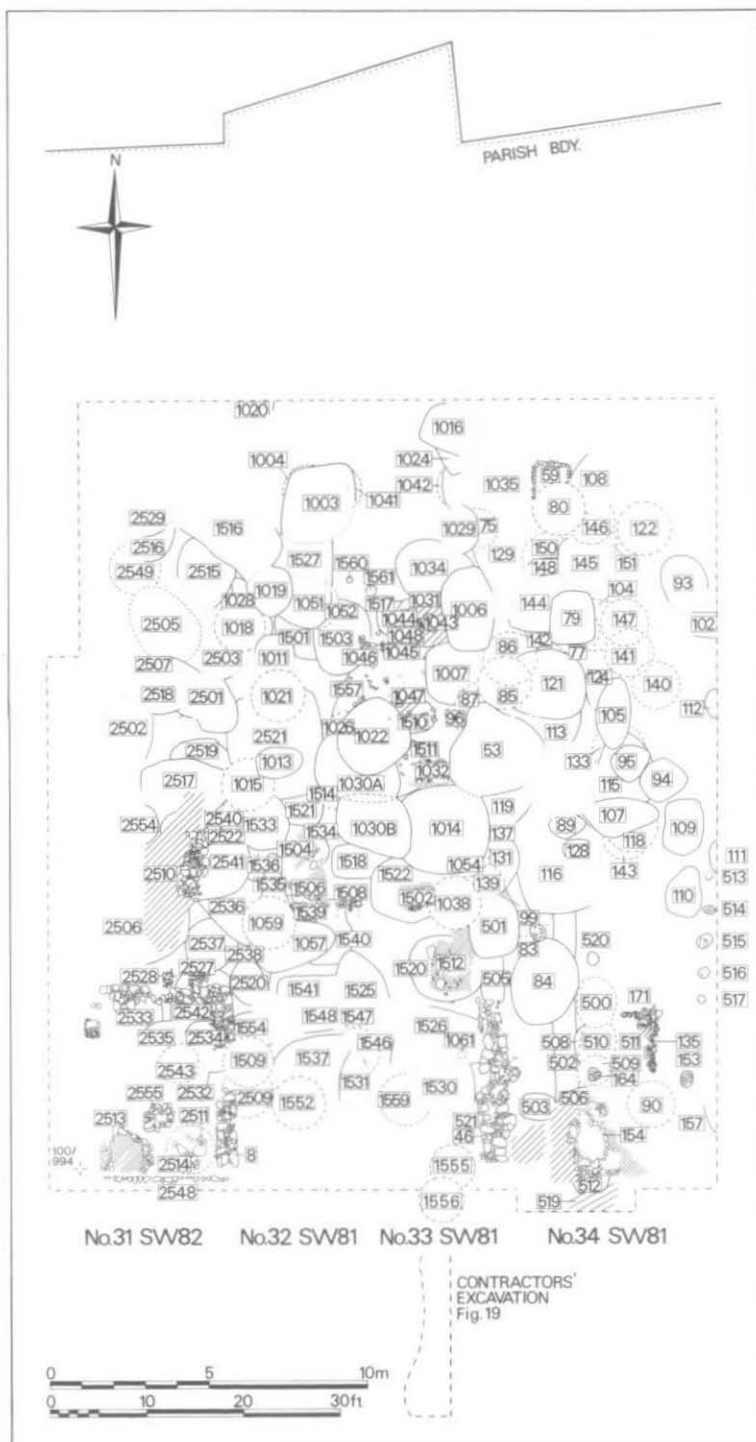


Fig. 5. 31-34 Church Street, Site A: evidence plan showing feature numbers.

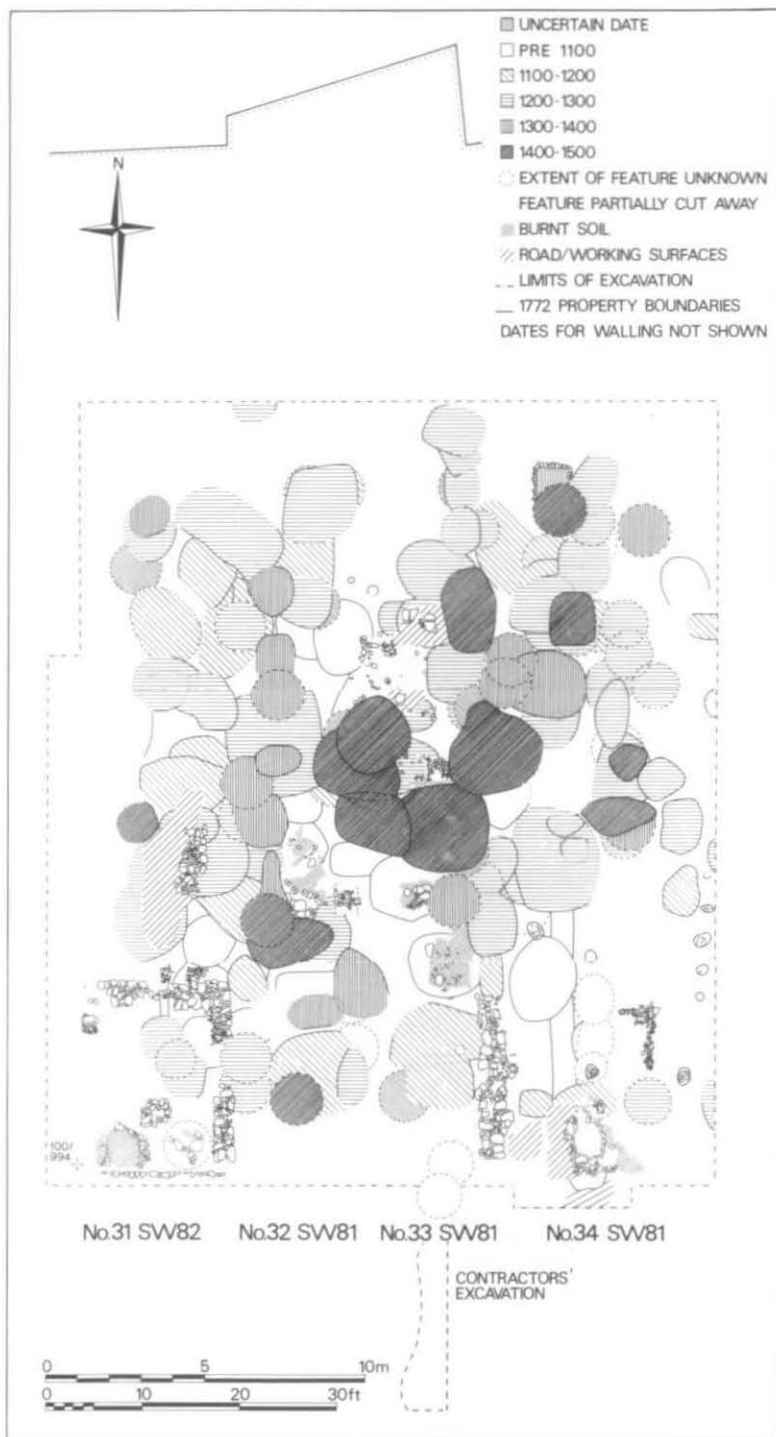


Fig. 6. 31-34 Church Street, Site A: evidence plan showing the dates assigned to features.

when large numbers of volunteers were working on the site, the site was divided into three and three supervisors were employed. The supervisor of the E. part of the site continued the original series of feature and layer numbers; the supervisor of the central area began a new series beginning at F1001 and L1001; while the supervisor excavating the W. part began a series from F2001 and L2001. These different systems caused problems in linking related features and layers, so in the course of 1968 a 'feature-layer' system was begun by which features were given 'F' numbers and layers within those features were given 'L' numbers, consisting of the 'F' number followed by the 'L' number. Where finds could not be attributed to a specific layer within a feature they were, from 1969 onwards, simply given an 'F' number. In 1969 only one supervisor was employed in the excavation of the pits and the demarcation between the three parts of the site was not rigidly maintained. In this report only the 'F' numbers are usually given for features such as pits because, although layers were often differentiated, this has not proved particularly useful in discussing the material from them.

The main work on Site A concluded in December 1969 and the major construction work on Westgate followed immediately, in January 1970. The S.W. corner of Site A was destroyed at this time, but work continued on the remainder of Site A until its destruction by the building of Selfridges (Site SEL) in the spring of 1970.

The Excavation Evidence

The data from the excavation are first presented in an overall manner (Figs. 5 and 6); then, to simplify the discussion, the site is discussed period-by-period (Figs. 8, and 10-14).

Figs. 5 and 6 provide the location and reference numbers of the excavated features together with their dates. Solid lines indicate the definite edges of features, dotted lines inferred edges or edges cut away, while broken lines show conjectural edges where the extent of the feature is not known. Although overall plans were made of the entire site at its early excavation stages, and then at specific surveyed levels below the level of the original topsoil, no attempt has been made to give relative levels on the published plans. No post-medieval features are shown. Both medieval properties extended northwards beyond the limit of the excavation to reach the parish boundary.

Only three sections are published (Fig. 7), but these give a good representative impression of the overall pattern of internal relationships.

Pre-1000 (Figs. 7-9, Pl. 7)

The date of the earliest occupation of the site of 31-34 Church Street (Site A) is difficult to determine because the Late Saxon, medieval and post-medieval pits removed the greater part of the undisturbed natural gravel. The existence of a residual Beaker sherd from L2023 (Fig. 44 No. 1)⁴¹ is not surprising, however, nor are the 10 flint flakes and blades (M II A4). Similarly, the discovery of Roman floor-tiles (*tegulae*, a *pila* and a scored box tile (A F84, Fig. 43 Nos. 1-3) and residual tiles in 12th- and 13th-century assemblages (A F2517 and A F131, Fig. 43, Nos. 4-6)⁴² indicate a Roman site nearby, but not necessarily on Church Street.

The earliest datable feature from the site was a ditch, A F502 (Fig. 7, E.-W. Section A, and Fig. 8). This ditch had been dug into the natural gravel and was about 3 m. wide at its top (Fig. 9, Pls. 7 and 9). There was no trace of upcast on either side of the ditch, although the rapid silts were principally on its W. side. The top fill was very homogeneous and was composed of redeposited original topsoil. The ditch was aligned almost due N.-S. and was therefore at a right-angle to Church Street, which it clearly pre-dated since the earliest surface (A F519) sealed the ditch. The southern line of the ditch beyond Church Street was not discovered, nor was its extension northwards because pits had subsequently dug it away. However, immediately to the N. of Site A, contractors' bulldozing momentarily revealed what could have been its continuation, W F87.

No dating evidence was recovered from the rapid silts of A F502. However, in the top fill were a variety of early Saxon sherds including grass-tempered wares and hard sandy wares; these date from any time between c. 500-700, and since they could be residual they do not date the digging of the ditch. Similar but unassociated sherds were also found nearby (A F53 and F144, Fig. 44 Nos. 2-3). Sherds of St Neot's-type also come from the upper filling; probably it was at this time that the ditch was backfilled, perhaps when the earliest surface of Church Street (A F519) was laid out.

⁴¹ M II A5.

⁴² Roman Tile Report below.

OXFORD:31-34 Church St. (Site A)

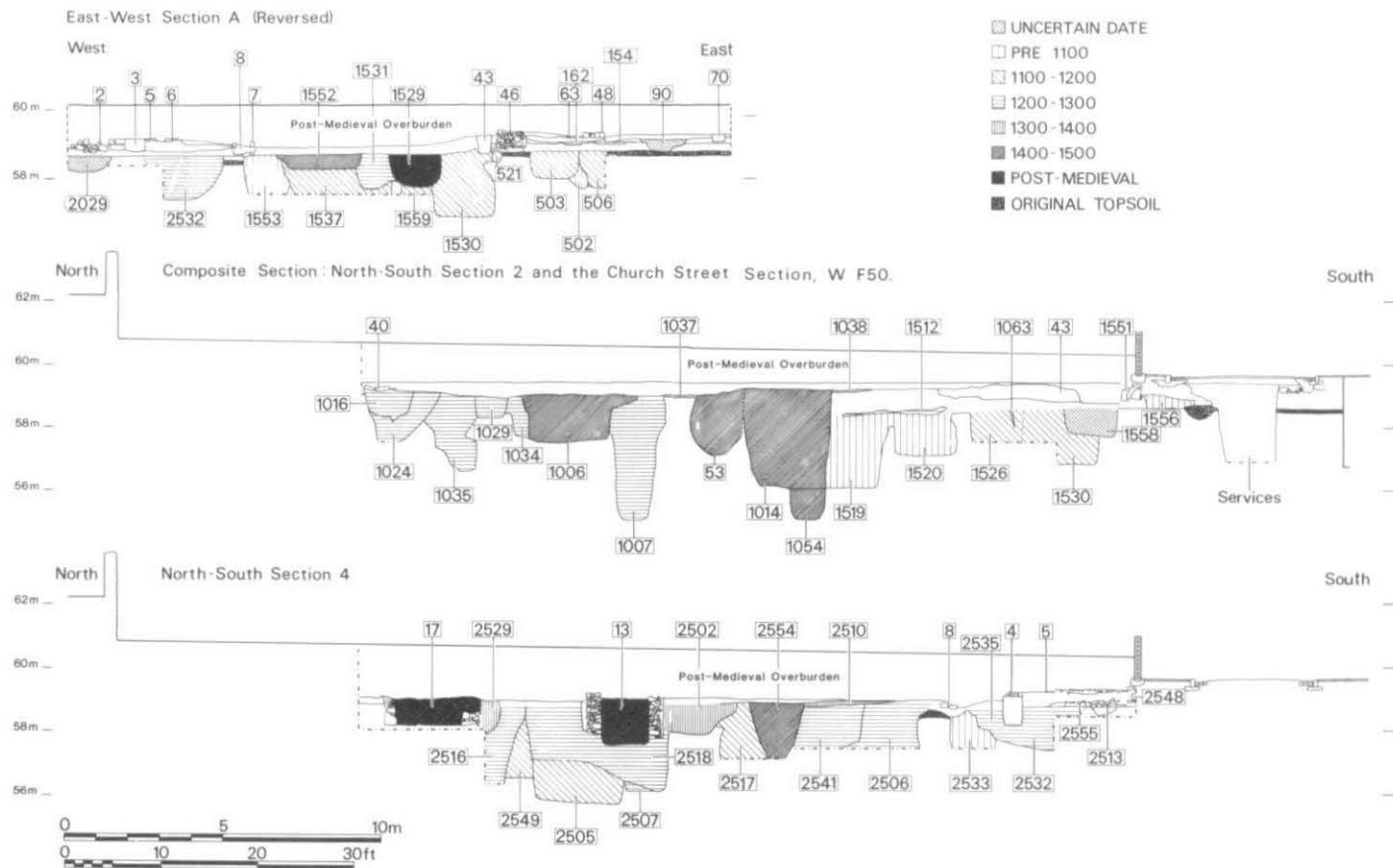


Fig. 7. 31-34 Church Street, Site A: Sections.

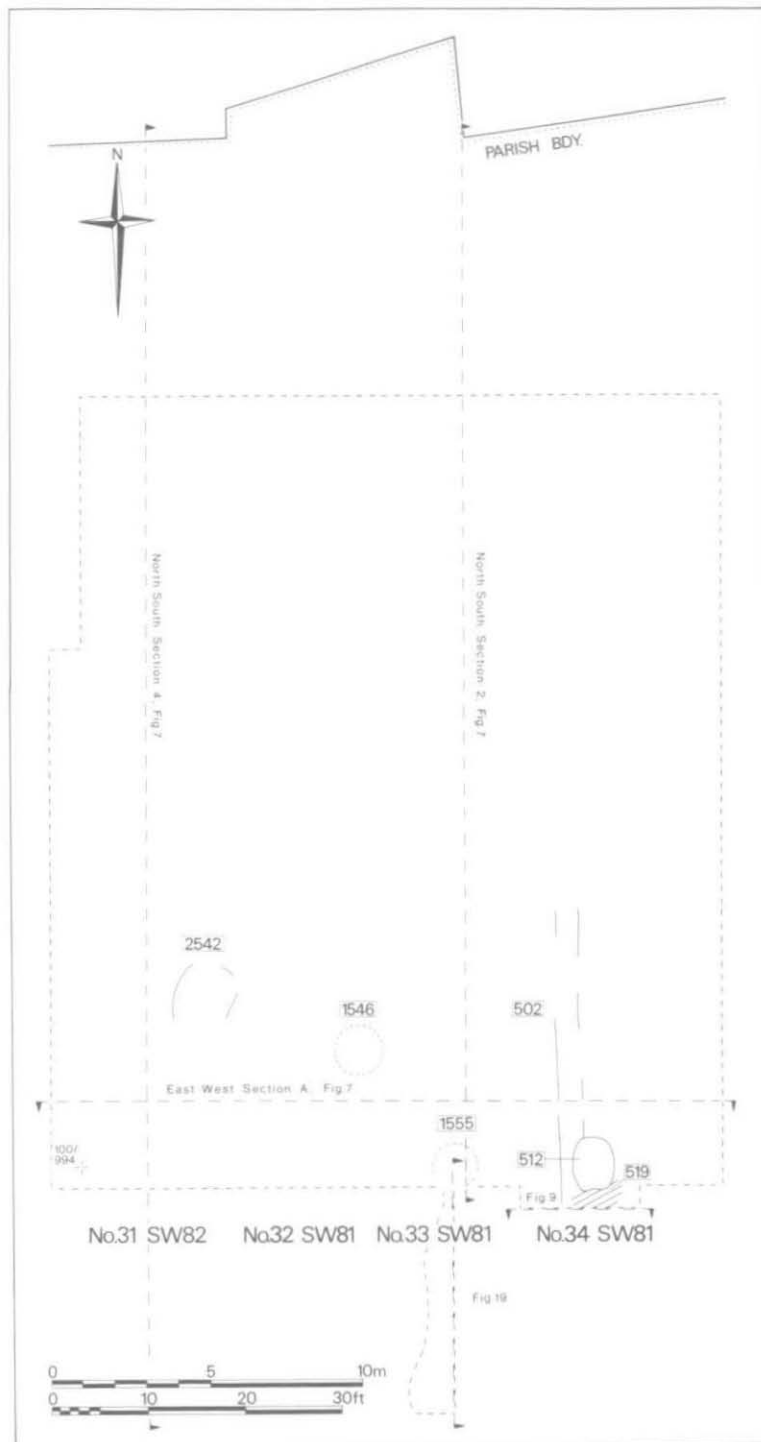


Fig. 8. 31-34 Church Street, Site A: Pre-1000 period plan.

OXFORD: 31-34 Church St. (Site A)

Composite Section : East - West & North -South Frontage Section

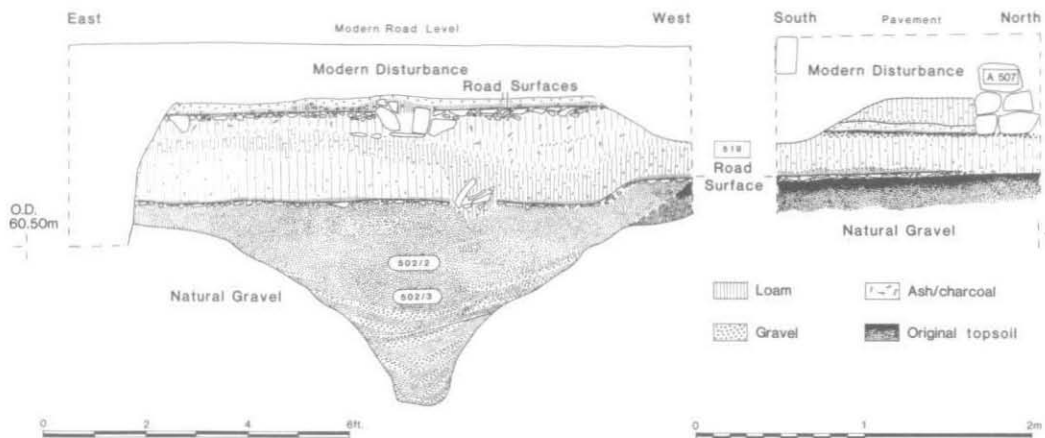


Fig. 9. 31-34 Church Street, Site A: Section of Ditch A F502.

The function of A F502 is impossible to determine. At the time it was suggested that it was part of the 10th-century W defence of the town,⁴³ but this idea now seems unlikely.⁴⁴

The earliest street-surface, A F519 (Fig. 9), which sealed ditch A F502, was composed of flattened limestone cobbles which had been worn smooth on their upper surface. This surface was identical in character to Surface 8 of the Church Street section (Fig. 19, W F50). Embedded in this surface were three sherds of pottery, including an early Stamford-type which provides the dating evidence. There was a thin accumulation of road-silts on the surface, but above this level later surfaces had been destroyed by modern disturbances. A more complete section through Church Street was obtained during the building of Westgate (W F50; Fig. 19), and this is discussed below.

The earliest street-surface A F519 was cut by a pit A F512 which was pre-dated by another pit to its W., A F2542 (Fig. 8).⁴⁵ Two other pits, A F1546 and F1555, are also dated to the 10th century; the original size of these two pits could not be determined. None of the four pits has the characteristic size and shape of 'cellar-pits' and they were more likely to have been simple cess-pits. No structure could be discerned associated with them. Their distribution, confined to the street-frontage, may not be of any real significance since any contemporary pits set further back from the street would have been destroyed by later digging. These pits owed their survival to the fact that the later development of the frontage for houses reduced the extent of disturbance.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the evidence of this period is that development of the division of St. Ebbe's into distinct *insulae* for building purposes had begun in the early 10th century, but that at least at 31-34 Church Street the frontage was as yet not built on.

The finds from this period give little indication of the standard of living, although A F512 contained a continental import, probably from Belgium (Pottery Report, below).

1000-1100 (Figs. 7, 10, Pl. 8)

In the 11th century all but the rear of the site was fully utilised (Fig. 10). The distribution of the pits gives no indication of property boundaries, although with the exception of A F93 they do seem to respect the E.

⁴³ T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1970, Third Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvi (1971), 3-6.

⁴⁴ See below p. 106.

⁴⁵ Pottery Report below.

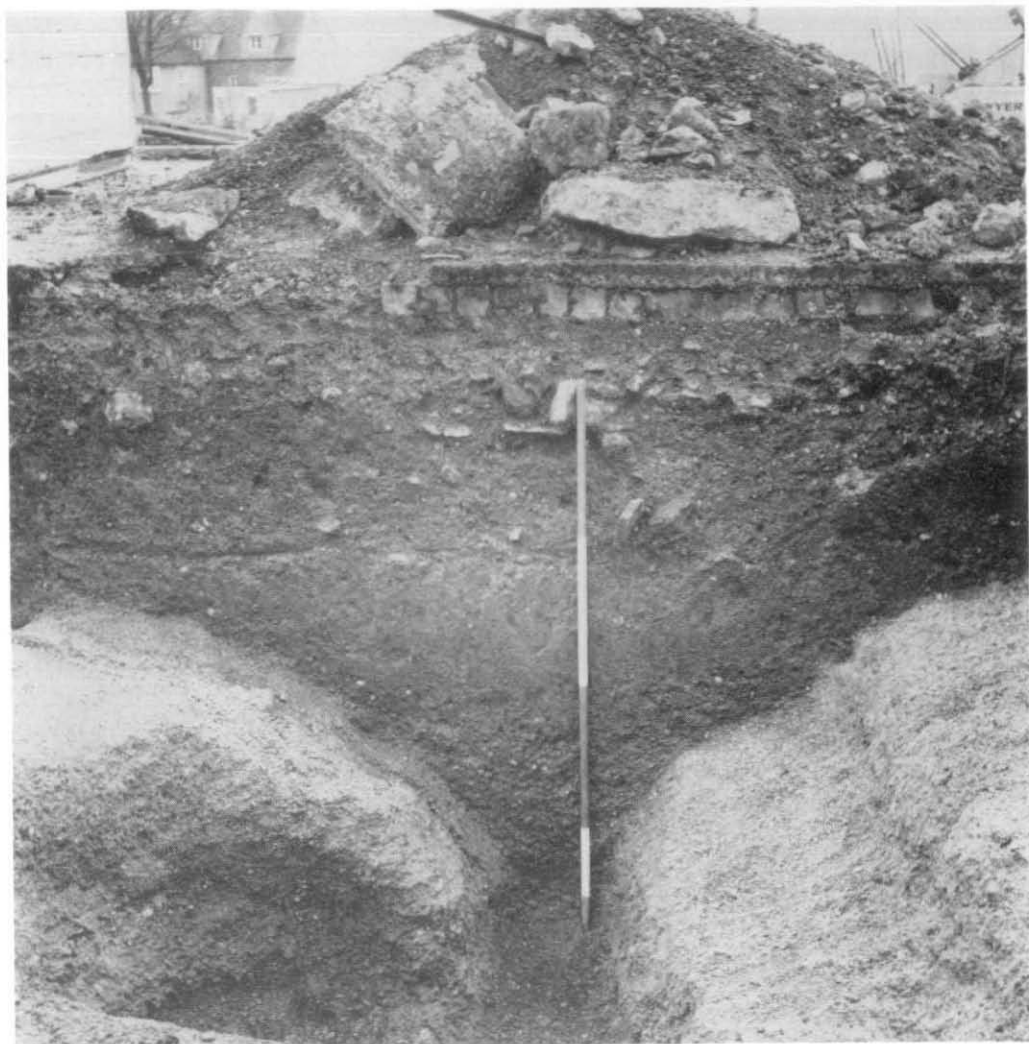


Plate 7. 31–34 Church Street, Site A. Ditch A F502, section under Church Street. View from the N. Scale 2 m.
Photo by K.W. Sheridan.

boundary of No. 34 (SW81). In contrast to the previous century, pits were generally not found immediately N. of the street. The distribution of pits begins to be fairly dense about 3 m. back from the frontage, so that the apparent gap could have been occupied by small buildings; no evidence for these was found, although two padlocks⁴⁶ and a padlock key⁴⁷ could have been associated with doors.

The only structure from this period was A F1539, an oven (Pl. 8). This had been set below ground level into a sloping-sided pit, which was estimated to be 0.60 m. deep. The sides of the pit had been lined with coursed stones. Those that survived formed a curved wall which was presumably the head of the oven; the mouth of the oven must have faced westwards, but this, together with the greater part of the side walling and

⁴⁶ Iron Objects Cat. No. 83 (A F119, M III D2) and 85 (A F1522, M III D2).

⁴⁷ Ibid. No. 87 (A F1519, M III D3).

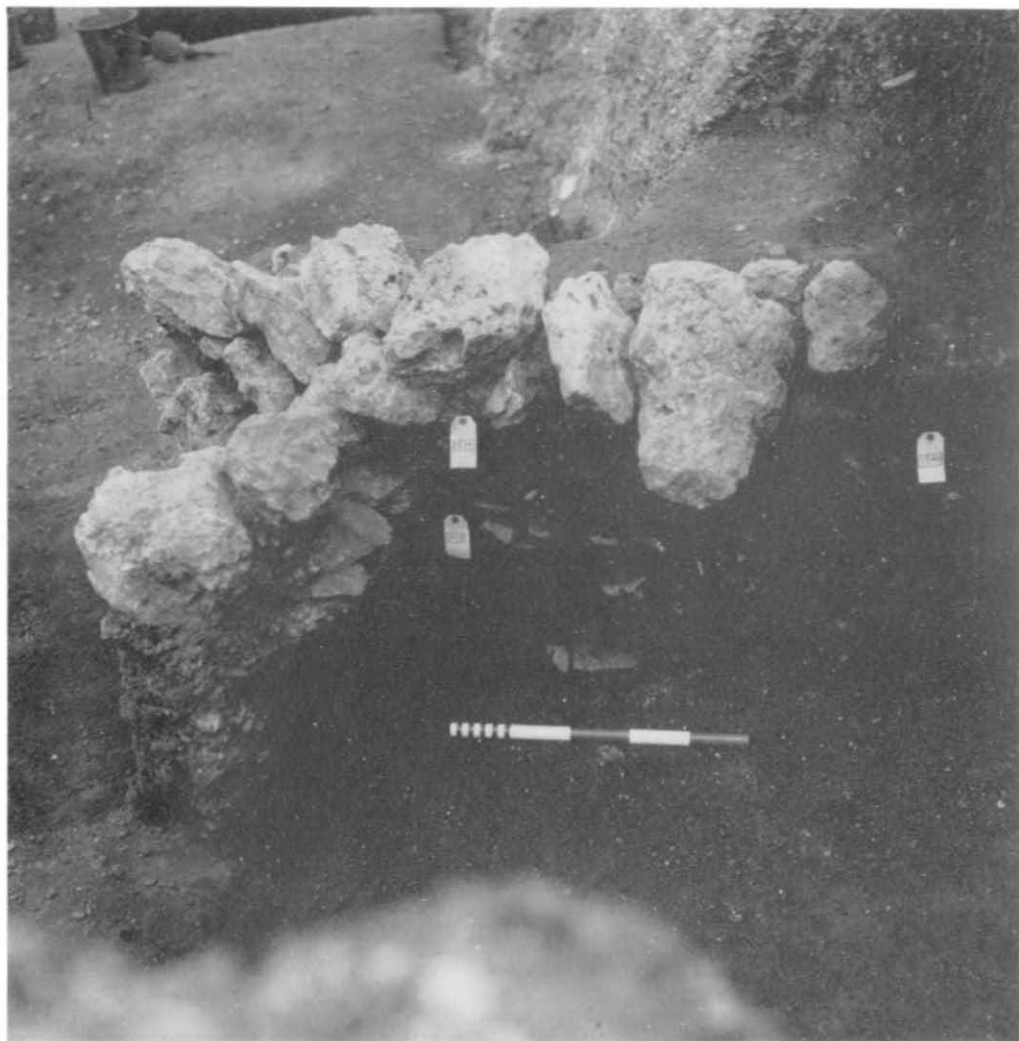


Plate 8. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. Oven A F1539. View from the S. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

any roof construction, had been destroyed by later pits. A thin layer of ash survived against the oven lining, but there was nothing to show what process was carried out in it.

The dominance of cess- and rubbish-pits which characterises Site A begins to become apparent in this period. The majority of surviving 11th-century pits were found in a band across the middle of the site which became the yard area behind the later houses. This distribution probably reflects the subsequent concentration of pits to the rear of the site, which would have destroyed earlier pits. A F1556 (Fig. 7, Composite Section, and Fig. 19) is an anomalous pit sealed beneath Church Street, suggesting either a hazardous encroachment on to the street or that the street was used by relatively little traffic in the third quarter of the 11th century. Among the pits A F84 was quite exceptional in terms of its size and content (Pl. 9; Fig. 45 Nos. 1-11).⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Pottery Report below, M II B4-5.



Plate 9. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. Pit A F84 (left), ditch A F502 (right), both fully excavated. View from the S. Scale 2 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

The pottery from the 11th-century pits produced the usual range of forms and fabrics, but the lack of regional imports implies that Church Street was not a wealthy area. Small-finds, which are also unexceptional, include a penannular ear- or finger-ring,⁴⁹ a fragment of an annular shale bracelet,⁵⁰ whittle-tang knives⁵¹ and two bone skates.⁵²

⁴⁹ Copper-Alloy Objects Cat. No. 6, A F1520, M III A3.

⁵⁰ Stone Objects Cat. No. 59, A F1534, M IV C3.

⁵¹ Iron Objects Cat. Nos. 16-17, 22 and 27, M III C8-9.

⁵² Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. Nos. 50 (A F133) and 51 (A F1503), MIII G1.



Plate 10. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. Post-holes A F513-517. View from the S. Scale 2 m. and 0.50 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

1100-1200 (Figs. 7, 11; Pls. 10-11)

There was still no certain evidence for subdivision of the site during this century, and two features, A F102 and F112, were found lying under the later E. boundary of SW81 (Fig. 11). However, the E. boundary may have been established by this time, for five post-holes, A F513-517, presumed to be contemporary, do seem to respect it (Pl. 10). Whether these post-holes represented part of a boundary fence or part of a building was uncertain; they were cut into the natural gravel, ranged in depth from 0.40 m. to 0.53 m., and all contained stone packing. A further series of post-holes (A F83, F153, F164, F520, F521 and F1063) to the S. and W. of this group could be associated, but it is difficult to produce a convincing plan of a building from these. The only other structural evidence was an oven, A F2511, in the S.W. corner of the site (Pl. 11). This oven was orientated S.E.-N.W. with the remains of its stokehole at its S.E. end. One course of stonework and part of the clay flooring survived. There was no evidence to suggest a manufacturing process.

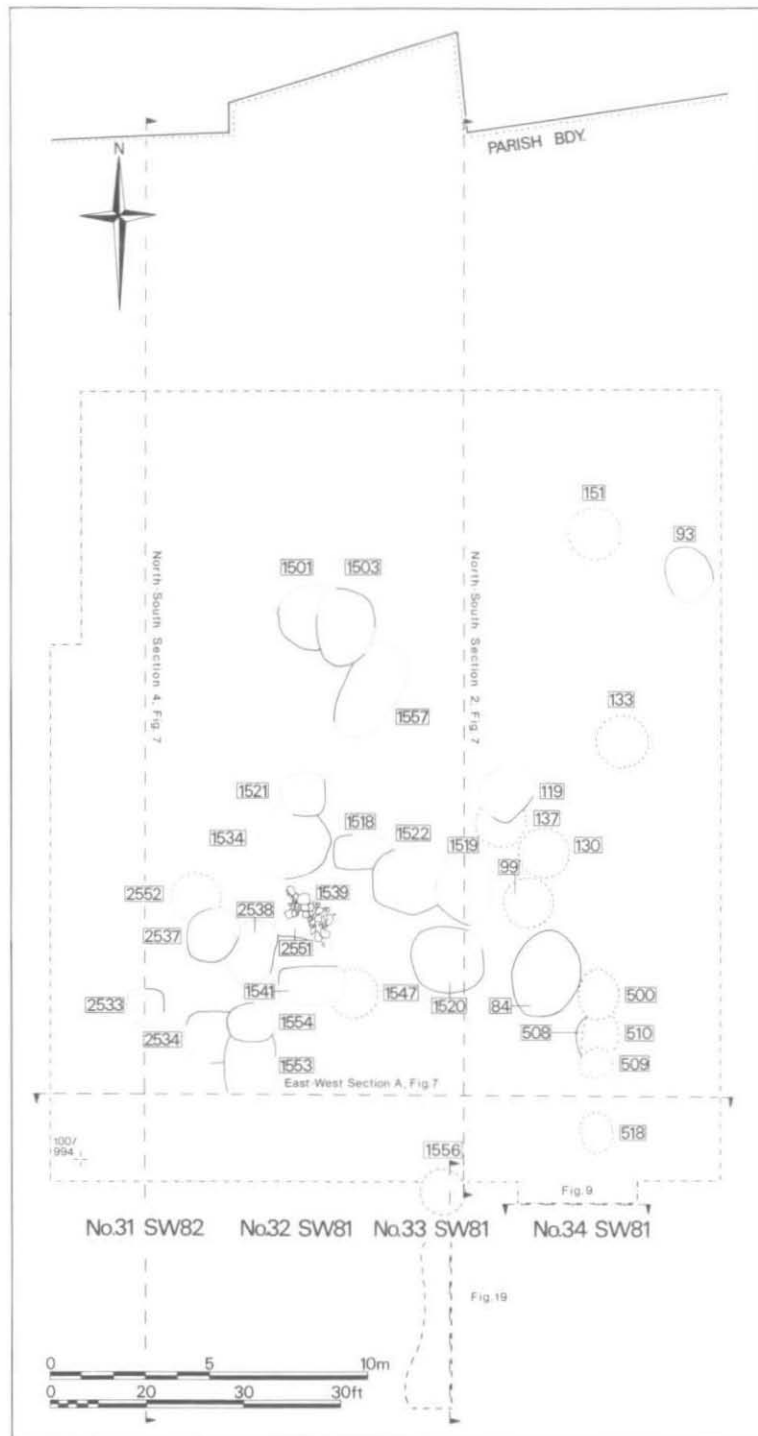


Fig. 10. 31-34 Church Street, Site A: 1000-1100 period plan.

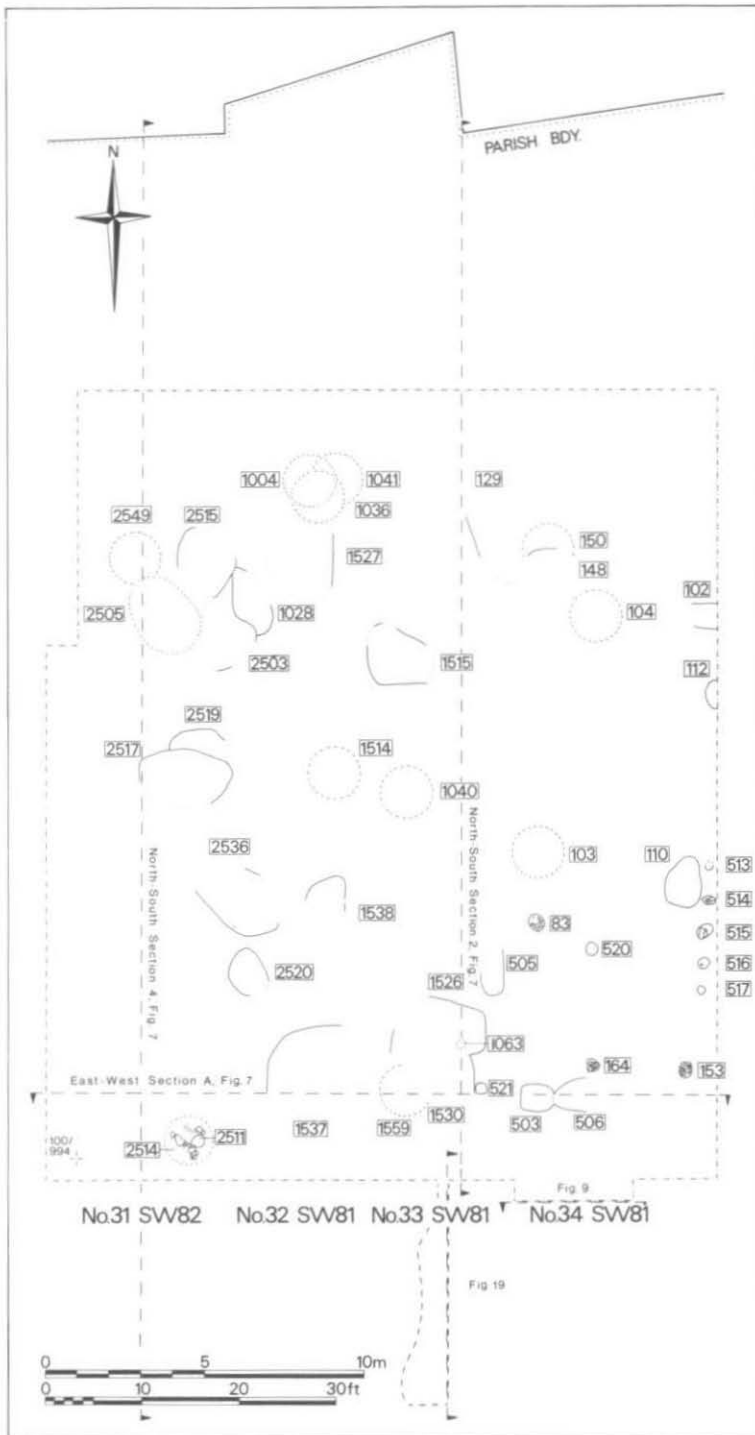


Fig. 11. 31-34 Church Street, Site A: 1100-1200 period plan.

The surviving pits from this century were very fragmentary. They appear fairly evenly distributed around the site, in contrast to those of the preceding and following centuries. Three large pits, A F1526 and A F1530 (Fig. 7, Composite Section, Figs. 11, 19) and A F1537 (Fig. 7, E.-W. Section A and Fig. 11), lay close to the street frontage, suggesting that, with the exception of the possible building on the site of the later No. 34 (SW81), the frontage had still not been reserved for building.

In addition to local pottery, there were a few Rhenish and Belgian imports. The most significant aspect of the finds from this period is the presence of tools connected with textile manufacture: iron heckle-teeth,⁵³ and spindle-whorls of bone⁵⁴ and stone⁵⁵ from undated or unstratified contexts. Once textile manufacture was established on the site it seems to have continued into the 13th century at least (see below, Iron Objects report). Unusual finds include a bone skate roughout⁵⁶ and a bone chessman, probably a pawn,⁵⁷ which can be paralleled from the 12th-century Lewis chess-set. A rare find for this period is an ivory decorative panel from a casket (Pl. 53).⁵⁸

1200-1300 (Figs. 7, 12; Pl. 12)

In this period there was once again a dearth of evidence for buildings (Fig. 12). The only substantial feature was the base of an oven, A F154 (Fig. 7, E.-W. Section A and Fig. 12; Pl. 12) on the E. frontage of the site of the later SW81. A F154 was the best-preserved of the ovens: its circular plan was completely recovered, together with a stokehole to the N.W. and the lower course of its stone walling. Its burnt clay floor was also undisturbed, but as with the other ovens on the site there was no evidence to show whether it was purely domestic or used for industrial process. To the W. of the oven there was an area of hard gravel (A F165), stained greenish-black, which appeared to be a floor-surface associated with A F154. In the yard area behind there were a number of small hearths, A F1502, F1504, F1506, F1508 and F1512. These hearths consisted of flat stones which had been discoloured by burning and were surrounded by charcoal and ash. A F1512 was rather different in character from the other hearths and, although it was interpreted as a hearth or hearths, it consisted of a wider area of scattered stones and charcoal (Fig. 7, Composite Section, and Fig. 12). There were two large and heavily overfired crucibles from pit A F116 (Fig. 47, Nos. 10-11).⁵⁹

Once again the site was dominated by pits. They were still found near the frontage of SW82, although they were mainly concentrated to the middle and rear of the site. In pits A F140 and F1024 (Fig. 7, Composite Section) two sherds of Saintonge polychrome jugs were found in addition to an unstratified sherd of the same ware. This pottery is usually associated with the wine-trade of S.W. France. John of Coleshill, the first-recorded tenant of *c.* 1260, is known to have imported wine through Southampton.

As well as possible metalworking on the site, textile manufacture may have also continued, since there were further heckles,⁶⁰ and spindle-whorls⁶¹ as well as linen-smoothers.⁶² In the third quarter of the century the tenant of SW81, John of Coleshill, was dealing also in cloth. There were two objects associated with leatherworking: an iron slicker,⁶³ used during tanning to force dirt out of hides, and an iron awl.⁶⁴ A number of objects connected with writing came from this period, including styli,⁶⁵ for use with wax tablets or more probably for drawing guidelines on parchments, and possible parchment pricklers⁶⁶ from unstratified contexts.

⁵³ Iron Objects Cat. Nos. 2-5, M III C6.

⁵⁴ Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. Nos. 29-33, M III F10.

⁵⁵ Stone Objects Cat. Nos. 12-14, M IV B5.

⁵⁶ Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. No. 52, A F1538, M III G2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Cat. No. 18, M III F6.

⁵⁸ Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. No. 48, Trial Trench L15, M III F14.

⁵⁹ Pottery Report below; M II C7.

⁶⁰ Iron Objects Cat. Nos. 6-9, M III C6.

⁶¹ Stone Objects Cat. Nos. 15-18, M IV B5-6.

⁶² Vessel-Glass Cat. Nos. 14-17, Vessel-Glass Report below.

⁶³ Iron Objects Cat. No. 11, A F1035, M III C7.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* No. 12, A F 1522, M III C7.

⁶⁵ Lead and Lead-Alloy Objects Cat. Nos. 4-6 and 8, M III B13-14.

⁶⁶ Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. Nos. 22-23, 25-26, M III F8-9.

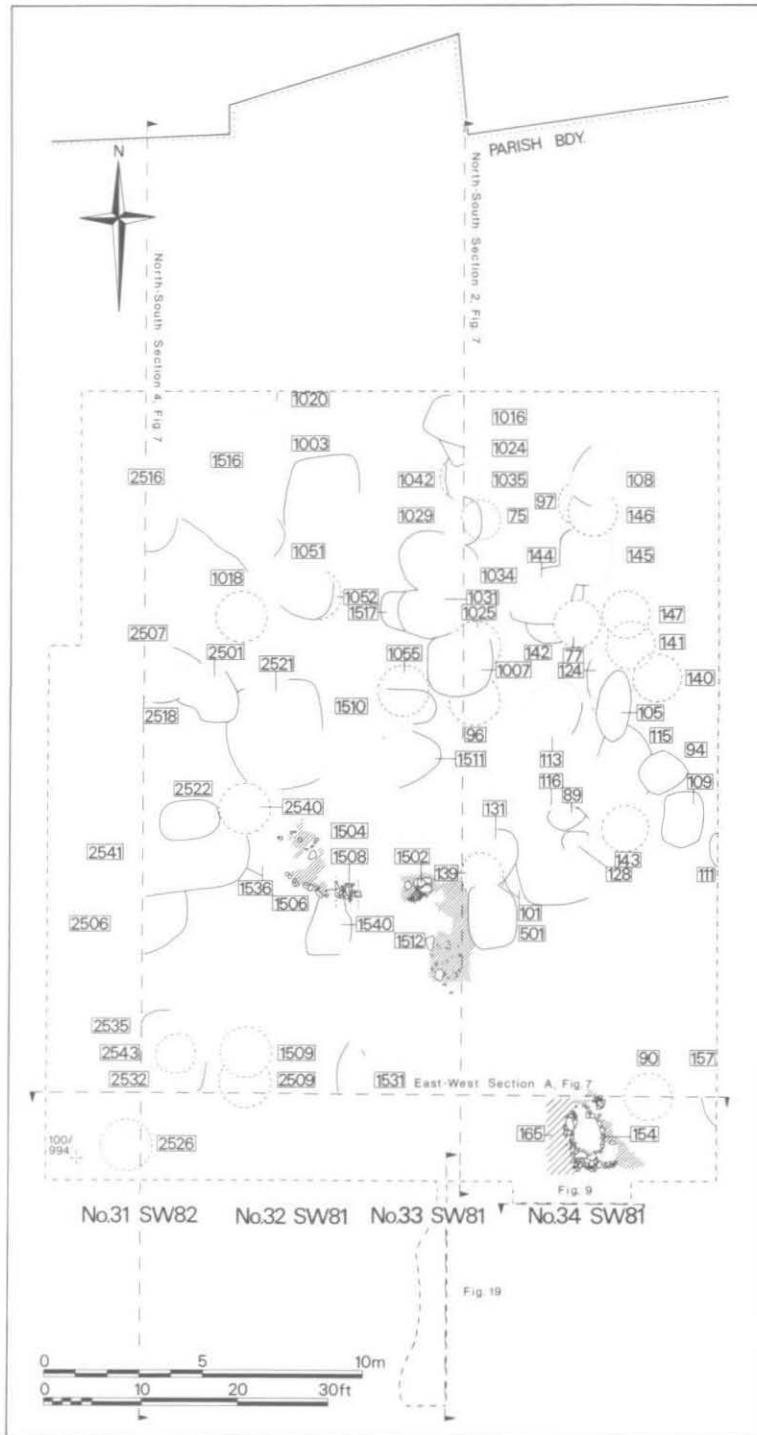


Fig. 12. 31-34 Church Street, Site A: 1200-1300 period plan.



Plate 11. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. Oven A F2511 and hearth A F2555. View from the N.W. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by G.S. Baker.*

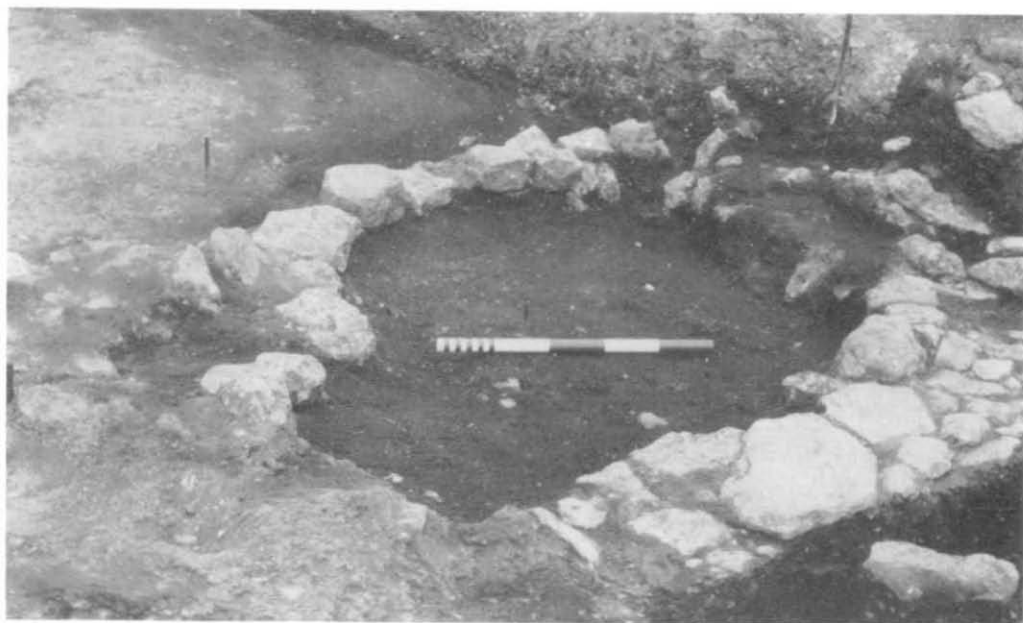


Plate 12. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. Oven A F154. View from the N.W. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by G.S. Baker.*



Plate 13. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. Rear wall of No. 31 (SW82). Whitehall A F8. View from the W. Scale 2 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

1300-1400 (Figs. 7, 13; Pls. 13-14)

In the 14th century Site A was very different in character from the preceding periods (Fig. 13). For the first time there were no pits on the frontage, and there was a building with stone foundations on the site of SW82, presumably the building known as 'Whitehall'. This building was preceded by an oven, A F2513 (Fig. 7, N.-S. Section 4), which had been dug into a pit and had stone walls with a clay floor. The oven was cut through by the front footing of the building (A F2548, Fig. 7, N.-S. Section 4). This footing consisted of well-laid stones; it survived to a height of 0.70 m. and was 0.65 m. wide. The E. and N. footings (A F8) also survived (Fig. 7, N.-S. Section 4; Pl. 13). The building's internal measurements were 3.50 m. by 5 m. Presumably the superstructure was timber-framed. The footings were strengthened at their N.E. corner and at several points on their E. side where they bridged earlier pits, which suggests that the weight of the building itself must have been substantial. The existence of a later central hearth suggests that it contained an open hall. Behind the building



Plate 14. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. Stone-lined pit A F59. View from the N. Scales 2 m. and 0.50 m. *Photo by G.S. Baker.*

was a gravel yard-surface with a hearth (A F2510, Fig. 7, N.-S. Section 4), while behind the yard there were only two pits (A F2502 and F2529, Fig. 7, N.-S. Section 4).

In 1325 SW81 was described as a house with a vacant space adjoining, but although the frontage was undisturbed by pits, no structural evidence for the 14th century was found. At the rear of the site there was a series of hearths, A F1032, F1043-F1047, made of flat stones set in burnt clay. A further marked area of burning (A F1048), which appeared to have been a working-surface or floor overlain by a hearth (A F1043), was recorded. Immediately N.W. of these hearths were two post-holes A F1560 and F1561. One of the pits, A F59, was very different in character from earlier pits, since it was lined with unmortared rubble and a few tiles (Pl. 14). It had a rectangular plan, 1.60 m. by 1.20 m., and was 2.75 m. deep, tapering down from 1.0 m. to 0.60 m. There was no evidence for a structure on top of this pit, which unlike earlier unlined pits could

probably have been cleaned out. Although A F59 had been dug entirely through earlier pits, its stone lining would have given its sides stability.

The pottery evidence from this period suggests less activity on the site than before. There were some fine Brill/Boarstall-type jugs and pitchers, but no continental imports. Small-finds included three copper buckles,⁶⁷ one of uncommon form. There were some unusual animal bone finds, including a white stork and the remains of a cat which, from the evidence of butchery marks, may have been skinned.

1400-1500 (Figs. 7, 14; Pls. 11, 15)

During the final century of medieval occupation on the site, Whitehall, on the site of No. 31 (SW82), seems to have remained in use (Fig. 14). A central hearth A F2555 was dated to this time (Fig. 7, N.-S. Section 4; Pl. 11). There were also two areas of pitched stone (A F2527 and F2528) immediately outside its N. wall, A F8. Their purpose was unclear, although A F2527 might have been a small hard-standing, and A F2528 might have been associated with a threshold. The rear of the site was featureless apart from one pit, A F2554 (Fig. 7, N.-S. Section 4).

The frontages of No. 32 (SW81) and No. 33 (SW81) were known to have been vacant and this fact was reinforced by the existence of pit A F1552. There was, however, some evidence for a building on No. 34 (SW81). Its W. wall was represented by the rubble stone footing A F46, and there was also a possible N.E. corner formed by A F135 and F171; parts of flooring (A F511 and F163) abutted this corner and were adjacent to A F46 (Pl. 15).

Behind Nos. 32-34 there was a series of very large pits, particularly A F53 (Fig. 7, Composite Section); otherwise, unlike earlier phases, there was no sign of any activities in the yard area. This supports the reference in 1479 to the tenement being a garden.⁶⁸

Among the stratified 15th-century finds is a copper hooked clasp (Fig. 62, No. 96),⁶⁹ from A F1014, probably from a book-binding, and a bone tuning-peg from a stringed instrument⁷⁰ from A F53. Two other unstratified bone pegs⁷¹ are probably of 15th-century date. From an unstratified context there is a souvenir badge of Henry VI depicting the king crowned and holding an orb and sceptre against a diaper background (Fig. 63, No. 9).⁷²

Discussion

Although 31-34 Church Street (Site A) was not chosen on strictly archaeological grounds, the excavation fulfilled its purpose of providing a view of the archaeology of typical St. Ebbe's tenements. Nothing discovered by the salvage excavations on the Selfridges (Site SEL) and Westgate (Site W) sites suggests that Site A was exceptional.

The existence of the Beaker sherds and flints, and the residual Roman material, are only to be expected and reflect similar, frequent discoveries in the centre of Oxford. Indeed a Beaker settlement was subsequently found at the Hamel, in the neighbouring St. Thomas's parish.⁷³ The Saxon ditch A F502 (Figs. 8-9), however, is unusual for Oxford and is the most tantalising and enigmatic of the early features on the site. Its date and function are impossible to determine. It certainly pre-dates the first half of the 10th century, but it could be several centuries earlier. In so far as there was evidence for a bank the silt patterns suggested that this was on its W. side, but what is known of the

⁶⁷ Copper-Alloy Objects Cat. Nos. 12-13 and 24, M III A4-5.

⁶⁸ *Cart. Osney* op. cit. note 19, 265.

⁶⁹ Copper-Alloy Objects Cat. No. 96, M III A14.

⁷⁰ Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. No. 21, M III F7.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* Nos. 19-20, M III F7.

⁷² Lead and Lead-Alloy Objects Cat. No. 9, M III C1.

⁷³ N. Palmer, 'A Beaker Burial and Medieval Tenements in the Hamel, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlv (1980), 128-34.

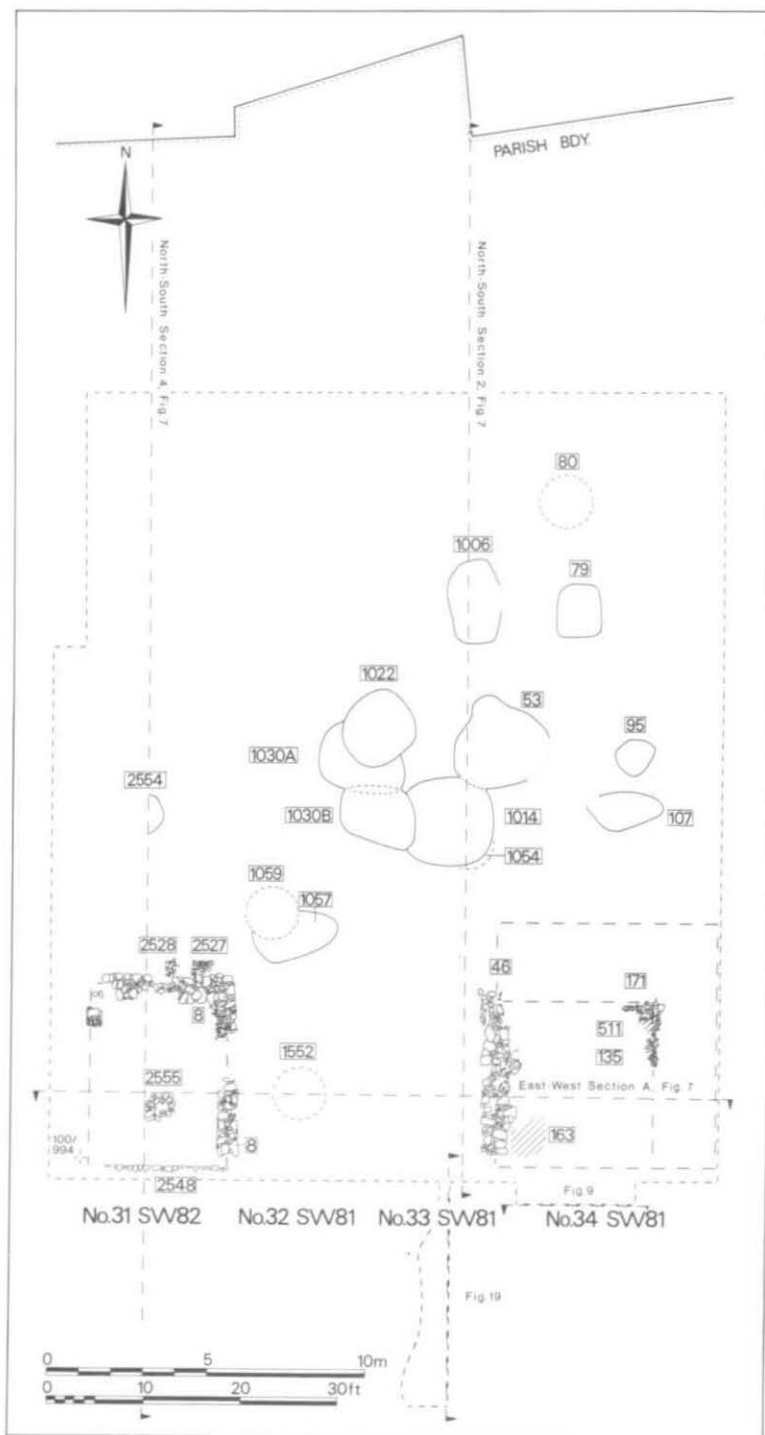


Fig. 14. 31-34 Church Street, Site A: 1400-1500 period plan.



Plate 15. 31–34 Church Street, Site A. The possible N.E. corner of No. 34 (SW81), *Domus Mirifield*, A F171. View from the N.E. Scale 0.50 m. Photo by K.W. Sheridan.

general topography of mid-Saxon Oxford seems to suggest that the bank would have been on the E. side. It is perhaps most likely to have been a field or property boundary, but the possibility that it was associated either with St. Frideswide's or with a contemporary lay settlement cannot be discounted.⁷⁴

The certain occupation of the site begins with the laying-out of Church Street. It is argued below that the metalling of the first street surface (A F519, Fig. 9 and W F50, Fig. 19) is consistent with this being associated with the general laying-out of streets around

⁷⁴ For the suggestion that this ditch may have been the boundary of St. Frideswide's minster precinct see J. Blair, 'St. Frideswide's Monastery: Problems and Possibilities', *Oxoniensia*, liii (1988), 235.

the time of Edward the Elder. However, there was no evidence that the Church Street frontage was developed at that time; indeed, there was a marked lack of cellar-pits, nor was there any sign of internal property boundaries. Presumably late Saxon Site A with its rubbish- and cess-pits formed part of a much larger urban estate, similar to that belonging to Eynsham Abbey recorded on the S. side of the street.⁷⁵ This putative property might have fronted on to St. Ebbe's Street, since the late 11th-century encroachments on Church Street imply that this street cannot have been a main thoroughfare.

By the 11th century the whole site was fully utilised and dominated by rubbish-pits (Fig. 10). It is possible that SW82 had become separated out from the putative larger property; this separation had probably happened by the 12th century when the rear boundary, which was also the parish boundary, may have become fixed. The dating of this boundary is discussed below.

There is no real indication of the occupations of those living on the site until the 12th century when there is the first evidence for textile-working; this seems to have continued until the 13th century. The other trades that are represented are skinning, leather-working and metal-working, although the latter trade cannot be linked with the Ironmonger family who are documented as living on the site.⁷⁶ Apart from Oxford's traditional trades one might expect that the occupants of these two tenements had university connections. Neither *domus* Mirifeld nor Whitehall, in spite of its suggestive name, was a known academic hall, and the plans which have been recovered are of small buildings, perhaps too small to have contained a spare chamber to be hired out to a scholar. However, John Carre, a bedell, who owned *domus* Mirifeld between 1396 and 1439, must have had academic connections in order to leave his property to Lincoln College.⁷⁷ It is perhaps no coincidence that a musical instrument peg, and a hooked clasp probably from a book-binding case, were found within this tenement.

The documentary evidence provides a general context for the excavated evidence and artefacts recovered. Correlation between the two was not achieved except possibly in two instances: first, the recovery, rare for Oxford, of sherds of Saintonge polychrome jugs of the late 13th century from *domus* Mirifeld at a period when John of Coleshill was a wine importer; secondly, the confirmation of the conversion of SW81 (No. 32) to a garden in the late 15th century.⁷⁸

The lack of structural remains, while disappointing, simply reflected the relative stability of the level of the street frontage. The fact that any structural evidence was recovered at all was due to the relatively unusual absence of either medieval or post-medieval cellars on the site. Such structural evidence as there is tends to confirm the idea, first suggested at nearby Seacourt,⁷⁹ that there was a transition from a building with earth-fast posts to a timber-framed one with its sill-beams raised on low stone walls. The ground-plans which can be reconstructed or inferred are all of very small buildings, presumably reflecting both the status of their occupants and the status of St. Ebbe's in general. Buildings of a similar type were subsequently excavated in St. Aldates,⁸⁰ and more substantial remains of them at the Hamel.⁸¹ The existence of

⁷⁵ See below p. 272.

⁷⁶ See above p. 82.

⁷⁷ See above p. 84.

⁷⁸ See above p. 84; Pottery Report, 13th Century, below p. 209.

⁷⁹ M. Biddle, 'The Deserted Medieval Village of Seacourt, Berkshire', *Oxoniensia*, xxvi/xxvii (1961/2), 118.

⁸⁰ B. Durham, 'Archaeological Investigations in St. Aldates, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 83-207.

⁸¹ Palmer op. cit. note 73, 124-5.

large numbers of clay roof-tiles from the 13th century onwards suggest that this was the normal roofing material.⁸² Given the size of the buildings, it is not surprising to find both ovens and hearths outside them. No evidence was found to suggest that there were any roofed structures to form separate kitchens or working areas.

There is a similar lack of evidence for structures on top of the cess-pits, or at least those used as latrines, which presumably privacy would have demanded. This is perhaps not surprising since so little of the ground surface was undisturbed. The pits, as revealed in their plans and sections, were similarly uninformative. All but A F59 appeared to be unlined. There was no evidence for timber linings such as was found subsequently in the large cellar-pits underneath All Saints church,⁸³ nor even of basket-work lining; they must have relied on the stability of the surrounding soil. This would have been satisfactory for the early pits, dug through the natural gravel, but as use of the site intensified, and more of the natural gravel was dug away, many of the sides would have become increasingly unstable. However, the 14th-century pit A F59 overcame this problem with its stone lining (Fig. 13): this pit, although narrow, could have been cleaned out and reused. It is noticeable how few pits there were in the 14th century compared with the preceding century. It is possible that there were other stone-lined pits to the rear of the tenements, N. of the excavated area, although none was found when this area was dug out by the contractors. Otherwise rubbish would have had to have been removed from the site altogether.

The nature of the property boundaries was also a problem. The Saxon ditch A F502 may be the earliest boundary on the site, but this clearly did not relate to the later subdivisions of the properties. The clearest evidence for a boundary comes in the 12th century when the post-holes, A F513-517, formed a boundary as well as perhaps the side of a building which defined the E. side of SW81 (Fig. 11). Otherwise the distribution of pits has to be used to infer the known boundary lines. Without the corroboration of the documentary evidence, combined with later map evidence, it is doubtful if the boundaries would have been identified with any certainty. Again the lack of structural detail can be compared with the evidence of the boundary found beneath All Saints church.⁸⁴ In that case the boundary was a simple wattle fence, which again would have left no trace in the stratigraphic conditions which prevailed in Church Street. No explanation was found for the pronounced dog-leg in the rear boundary between Nos. 33 and 34.

By the 15th century the conversion of Nos. 32 and 33 (SW81) into a garden (Fig. 14) reflects the widespread Oxford phenomenon of the abandonment of tenements away from the main thoroughfares. In the case of this plot the abandonment continued into the following century.⁸⁵

⁸² Tile Report below.

⁸³ T.G. Hassall et al, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1973-74, Sixth and Final Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxix (1975), 54-7.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Hassall et al. *op. cit.* note 1, 162.

SELFRIDGES, SITE SEL, AND WESTGATE, SITE W (Figs. 2, 15-20; Pls. 16-24)

Introduction

The location of Site SEL and Site W is shown in Fig. 2 and Pls. 16-17. Site SEL had a short frontage onto what is now Bonn Square. Its E. edge ran southwards down St. Ebbe's Street as far as No. 35, and then made a dog-leg which skirted behind Nos. 32-35 and 28-31 (Fenwicks) St. Ebbe's Street, and emerged in the former Church Street, now Pennyfarthing Place, almost opposite the W. end of St. Ebbe's church. The S. boundary of the site followed an irregular course behind the new public house, The Pennyfarthing, and two shop units in the main concourse of the Westgate Centre. The W. boundary formed a long, straight line which fronted on to the main covered mall of the Westgate Centre.

Site W formed an irregular L-shape which wrapped around the W. and S. sides of Site SEL. It too had a narrow frontage onto Bonn Square. Its W. side was defined by the realigned Castle Street, and its S. side by the line of Old Greyfriars Street.

It was clear from the start of the development that no detailed excavation would be possible or allowed on either Site SEL or Site W. It was decided therefore to conduct watching briefs with clearly-defined aims: to gain general evidence on the topography of St. Ebbe's, with particular reference to the dating and layout of Church Street and Castle Street; to obtain information on the chronology of the historic development of the area, in particular the layout of property boundaries; to record any information on structures to supplement the excavations at 31-34 Church Street, Site A; and, finally, to recover a generalised distribution of pits and wells. In spite of the limitations of the archaeological work, and the widespread disturbance by cellars, these objectives were largely fulfilled. Unexpected features relating to the castle barbican ditch were also discovered and these have been described elsewhere.⁸⁶

The work on Site SEL was supervised first by Mr. J. Haslam and then, for the main bulk excavation, by Mr. H. Woods. Mr. Haslam also supervised Site W assisted by Messrs. K.W. Sheridan and T. Ward.

Documentary Evidence

As with Site A, Salter's work supplied the documentary evidence which provided both the framework within which the watching briefs were set, and the context for at least the later medieval material recovered from the site. Although the excavation covered part of the site of the Greyfriars (Site B) the core of the work was concentrated on the *insula* of the S.W. ward, comprising the tenements numbered by Salter SW72-85 and 86, known as 'Skulkebooth', and the site of Newmarket, SW151-169.⁸⁷ SW76, which lay in the corner of St. Ebbe's Street and Church Street, is the earliest-recorded tenement, mentioned in 1129; it was to become the first home of the Greyfriars.⁸⁸ By the time of the Hundred Rolls Survey in 1279 Salter could conjecture the positions of all the other tenements. At that time SW72, 74 and 169 were recorded as vacant. From then onwards Salter traced the ownership and occupation of the tenements. Incidental references by him give some indication of the types of buildings and the trades that were carried out.

Some of the larger properties were described as halls. Thus SW166, Karol Hall, an inn built by 1310, later became an academic hall. In 1290 SW78 was known as Cof Hall, later Frideswide's Hall. SW156, known as

⁸⁶ Hassall *op. cit.* note 6, 232-308.

⁸⁷ Salter *op. cit.* note 4, 63-76.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 67-8.



Plate 16. Westgate, Site W and the W. end of the Greyfriars, Site B (bottom right). View from the S. Photo by K.W. Sheridan.

Billing Hall, was notorious as the place where a clerk was reputed to have made the devil appear in 1298. Some of the properties were subdivided: SW76 contained seven shops in 1349, whose numbers were reduced to five by 1367/8; SW79 comprised two shops in 1394; SW167 comprised three shops with solaris in 1406/7. Salter recorded only one reference to the actual plan of a building; in c. 1233 SW73 had a solar and a cellar.

Salter collected various references to occupational surnames and actual tradesmen: in 1279 John Textor (weaver) possibly held SW80; SW158 was occupied by Geoffrey Scriptor (scribe); and Richard le Carpenter may have been the owner of SW160. During the 13th century Geoffrey, Ralph and Geoffrey le Mercer held successively SW76; this property was held by William de Pasie, *sutor* (tailor) in 1317. SW152 was occupied by William Bergeveny, skinner, in 1358/9. SW160 was granted to Thomas de Hethfield, slatter. SW157, the former tenement of Alan le Spicer, was sold to Richard Brayn, dyer, in 1385. In 1407 William Cotton, draper, owned SW154. A William White, baker, owned SW158 in 1456. This is precisely the sort of mix of occupations and trades that one would expect in this area.

By the 15th century the documentary evidence begins to record the depopulation of the area. The Castle Street frontage was still occupied, but in addition to SW81 (Site A), SW87 had also become a garden by 1454.



Plate 17. Selfridges, Site SEL, in the background, Site A (centre left), and the E. end of the Greyfriars, Site B (foreground). View from the S. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

Method of Excavation (Pl. 18)

Site SEL was observed in three stages. In 1970 the S.W. part of the site (the S.E. corner of Site A) was dug out. Since this work took place at the same time as the recording of Westgate, features recorded at this time were given Site W feature numbers (W F96, F97, F99, F103-106). In 1971 a further constricted area immediately E. of Site A was dug out, but recording was virtually impossible: hence the absence of features. In 1972 the main contract began, with the main bulk excavation following immediately after the demolition of the pre-war shop of G.R. Cooper. Much of the site was already covered by the previous shop basement which was lowered to the new formation level comparatively slowly by a hydraulic machine because of the constricted nature of the site. A high recovery rate of features was therefore possible. Observation and salvage work was also carried out in 1972 during the construction of Fenwicks Store on the former premises of F. Cape and Co., 28-31 St. Ebbe's Street. Extensive cellars had destroyed most medieval features, but one stone-lined pit was partially recorded and is shown in this report as SEL F97.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1972, Fifth Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii (1973), 276.



Plate 18. Westgate, Site W. Contractors' bulk excavation. The pits and wells can be seen cutting down through the natural gravel. View from the N. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

On Westgate the bulk excavation was undertaken all at one time in 1970 (Pl. 18). The work was carried out by bulldozers and a drag-line excavator. This method made recording difficult except on the perimeter of the site, and explains the marked concentration of features following approximately the line of its E. boundary (Figs. 17–18). It was, however, possible to record some sections in detail, especially the Church Street section (W F50, Fig. 19) and associated sections (W F6, 8 and 73), and the Castle Street section (W F54, Fig. 20). For the sake of convenience these sections were given single Site W feature numbers. The deepest features also extended below the formation level of the new building and these had to be dug out, and backfilled, by the contractors.

On both sites SEL and W it was not always possible to record the exact position of features, and the positions of some features need to be treated with caution. This is particularly true of the features apparently found under Site A, which were probably further E. than is shown on Figs. 17 and 18.

The Excavation Evidence (Figs. 15–20)

The distribution of all the recorded features for Selfridges and Westgate appear on Figs. 15 and 17. These figures should be read in conjunction with Figs. 16 and 18 which indicate the dates of the features based on the evidence of their associated pottery. The same broad period divisions, as used for 31–34 Church Street (Site A), are presented below. The features are also related to the late medieval property boundaries suggested by Salter.

Pre-1000

There were very few features that could confidently be assigned to this period apart from the lowest levels of Church Street (W F50) and Castle Street (W F54), which are discussed below. Otherwise only one pit, SEL F3, located at the corner of Castle Street and St. Ebbe's Street, is dated to the 10th century or earlier, and this dating is only on the evidence of a single sherd. Features dated by the pottery in them could only be assigned generally to the 10th and 11th centuries, and for features marked on Figs. 16 and 18 the later date has been taken. However, many of these features could well be earlier, particularly W F87 which is discussed below.

1000–1100

As noted above, many of the features of this period could well date from the preceding century. The existence of buildings can be inferred from the daub and roof-tile from SEL F86, F92 and F96.

W F87 was a linear slot or ditch cut into the natural gravel. It was filled with redeposited original topsoil, which is an indication of an early date. 4.67 m. of its length was recorded; its N. end was destroyed by an undated pit, and its S. end was removed by the contractors' work before it could be recorded. Only the bottom 0.30 m. was recorded, at which point it was 0.37 m. wide. At the time of recording it was suggested that it was a slot from a timber building, but it could equally well have been the bottom of a ditch. Subsequently W F87 was interpreted as the continuation of the Saxon ditch found on Site A (A F502).

SEL F49 was a well; all the other datable features shown on the plans were pits. The features extended along, and immediately behind, the Castle Street frontage (SEL F1, F63, F74, F86, F91–92, F95–96) and down the St. Ebbe's Street frontage (SEL F4, F57). There was a single outlier, W F2, on the W. edge of the area. Five pits were found along the line of the parish boundary (SEL F37–38, F45, F58–59). The remaining pits were found to the rear of the later properties fronting Castle Street and St. Ebbe's Street, but not at the W. end of Church Street.

1100–1200 (Pl. 19)

An oven, W F12, was found under the S. side of Church Street (Pl. 19). It was badly damaged, but up to five courses of its stone side wall survived. The stones were packed with clay and the inside of the oven was lined with clay. It had a pitched stone floor, also lined with clay, on which lay burnt clay, presumably from an original dome.

The only other evidence for the existence of buildings comes from tile fragments contained within the filling of some pits. SEL F55 was an unlined well in which was a distorted heckle-tooth.⁹⁰ Pits SEL F2, F66 and F69 lay comparatively close to the frontage of Castle Street and St. Ebbe's Street, but the majority of pits lay further back, particularly at the rear of SW152. The one noteworthy pit was W F83, on the S. side of Church Street, which had a stone lining.

1200–1300 (Pl. 20)

W F42 was an oven located under the N. pavement of Castle Street (Pl. 20). It had a wall of faced stones and a pitched stone floor covered with clay. Within it there was a filling of loose stones and burnt clay, which had presumably collapsed from its superstructure. Many of the pits from this period contained tile fragments.

⁹⁰ Iron Objects Cat. No. 151, M III E5, Fig. 144.

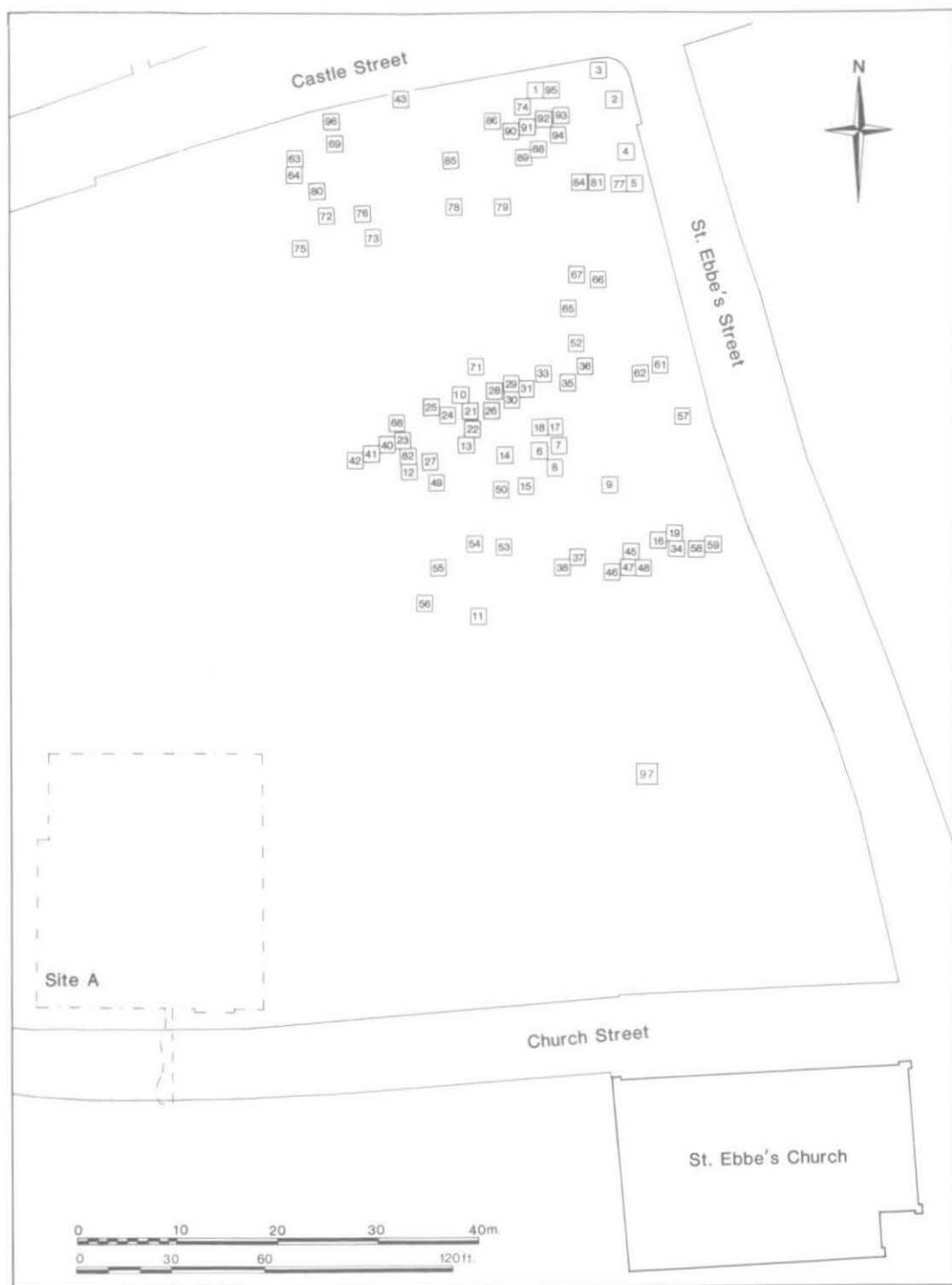


Fig. 15. Selfridges, Site SEL: evidence plan showing feature numbers.



Fig. 16. Selfridges, Site SEL: evidence plan showing the dates assigned to features.

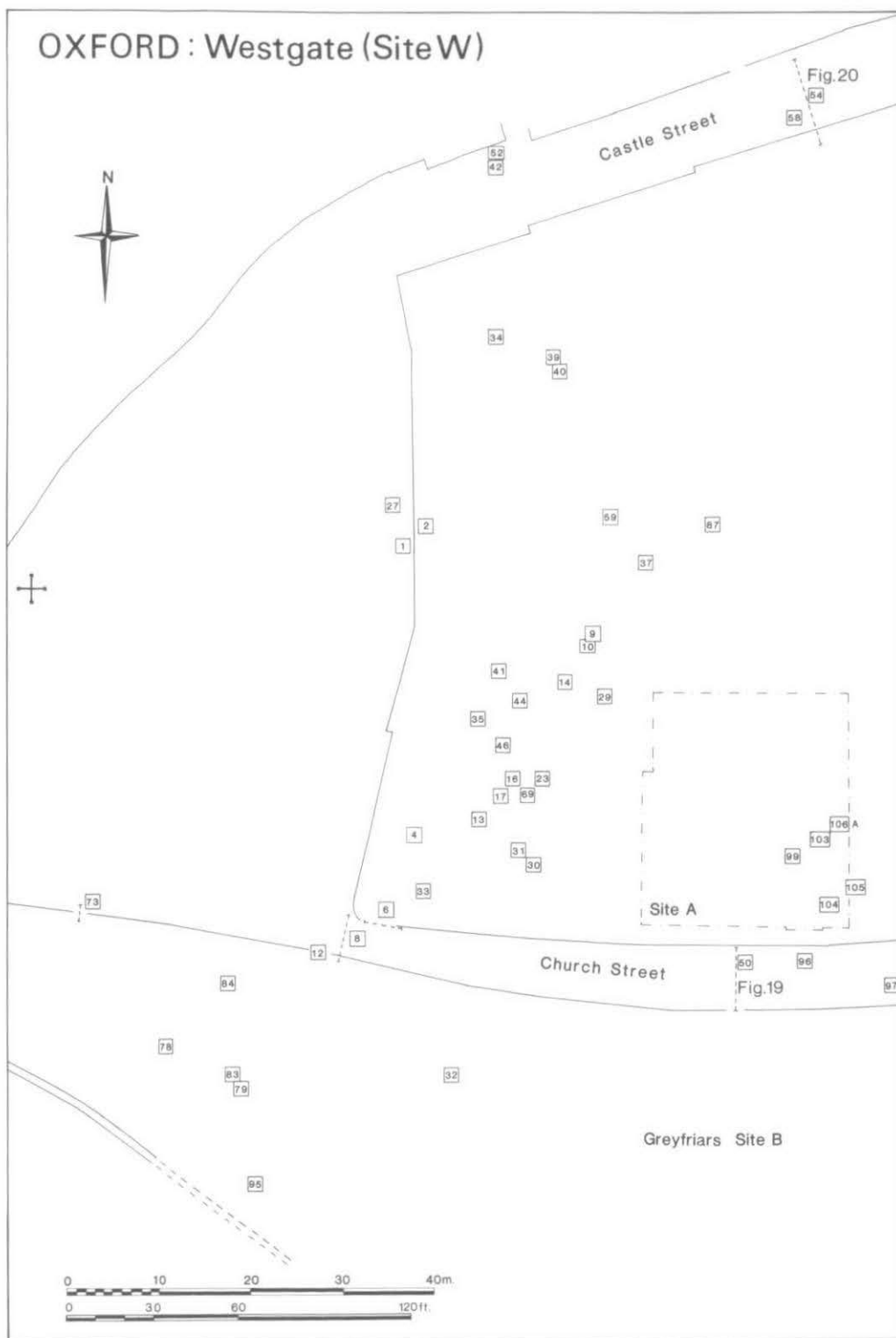


Fig. 17. Westgate, Site W.: evidence plan showing feature numbers and recorded sections (see Figs. 19 and 20).

OXFORD: Westgate (Site W)

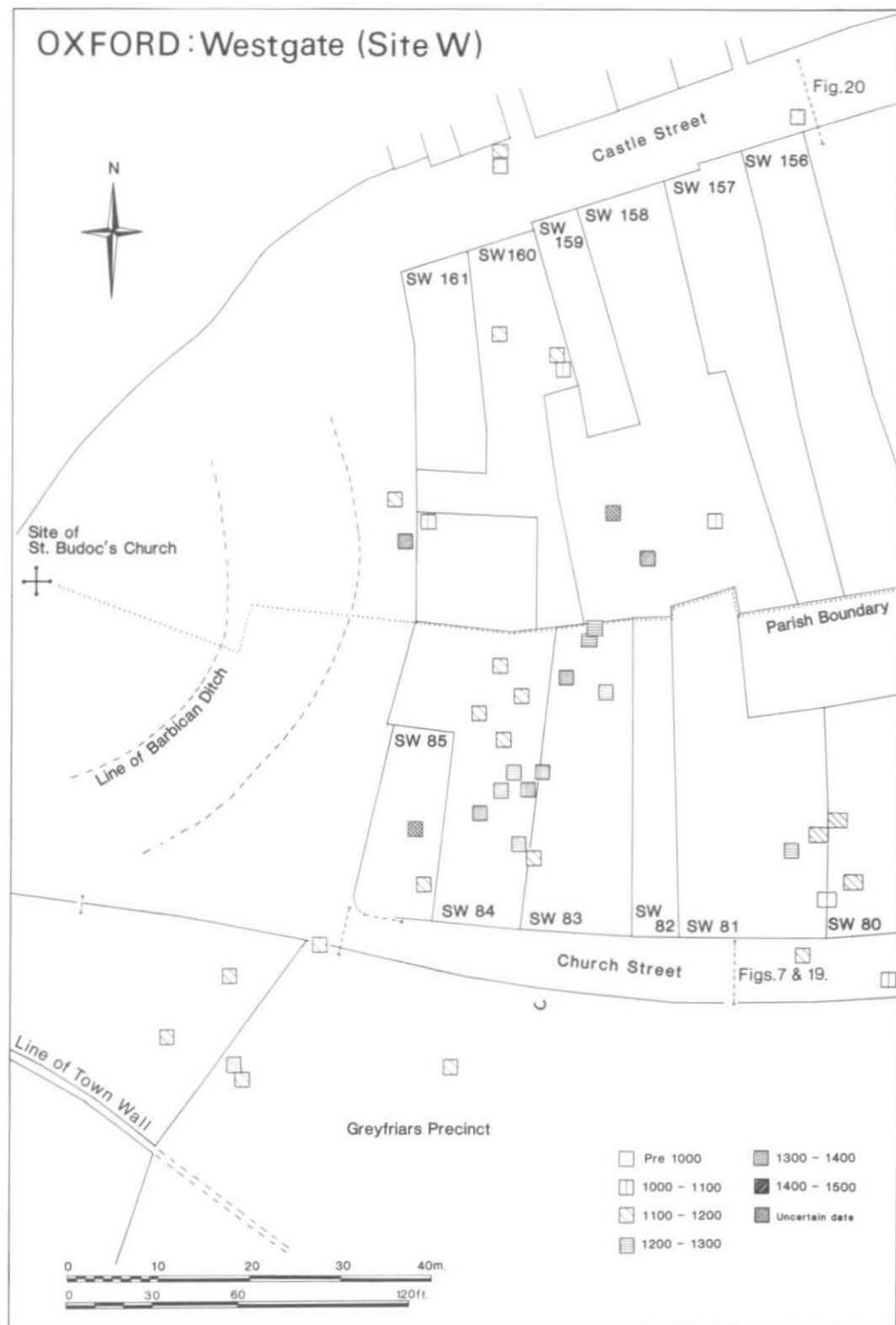


Fig. 18. Westgate, Site W: evidence plan showing the dates assigned to features.



Plate 19. Westgate, Site W. Stone-built oven W F12. View from the E. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

A shallow ditch, W F9, followed the approximate line of the parish boundary and could be a tenement boundary, although to the E. of the ditch other pits lay on, or very close to, the boundary line (SEL F19, F46, and F56). SEL F11 was a stone-lined well. One pit, W F27, dated to the early part of the century, appeared to lie W. of the main block of medieval tenements.

1300-1400

There were no structural features, and only five pits dated to the 14th century were recorded (SEL F29, F62; W F13, F23, F89).

1400-1500

As with the preceding century, no structural features and very few pits (SEL F13, F88, F90; W F1, F14) were identified.

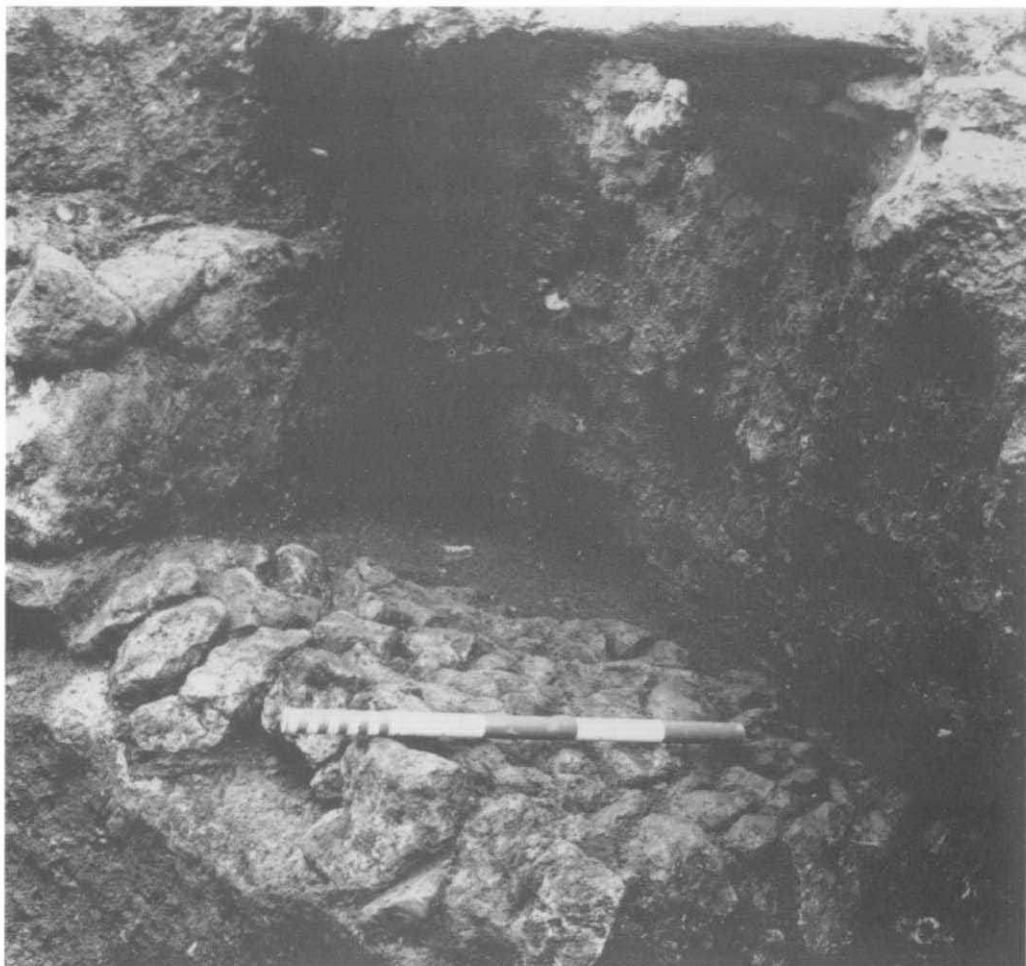


Plate 20. Westgate, Site W. Stone-built oven W F42. View from the E. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

Church Street Sections (Figs. 17, 19; Pls. 21–22)

A complete section (W F50, Fig. 19) across Church Street was recorded which tied in the stratification of Site A with the street itself. Three other sections relating to the same street (W F6, F8 and F73, Fig. 17) were observed and photographed, further to the W, of W F50, in addition to the surface recorded at Site A, 31–34 Church Street (A F519, Fig. 9).

Section W F50 was cut through by modern services and truncated to the S. by the cellar of 9 Church Street (Pl. 21). A hollow filled with original topsoil which lay to the S. of the services appeared to be natural. The early surfaces of the street were best preserved on the S. side of the section. Surface 8, the lowest, was laid directly on a thin layer of original topsoil above the natural gravel. This surface, comparable with A F519, consisted of cobbles and compacted gravel pressed into the underlying topsoil (Pl. 22). The cobbles were flat and angular, and worn smooth on their upper surface. They varied in size between 2–5 cm. and 10–15 cm. square. Towards the centre of the street the cobbles were shattered and very compressed. The surface sealed a post-hole, W F62, which was packed with stones, the top of which were incorporated into the surface itself. Two further post-holes, W F61 and F64, cut through the surface. These three post-holes are not shown on the published section.

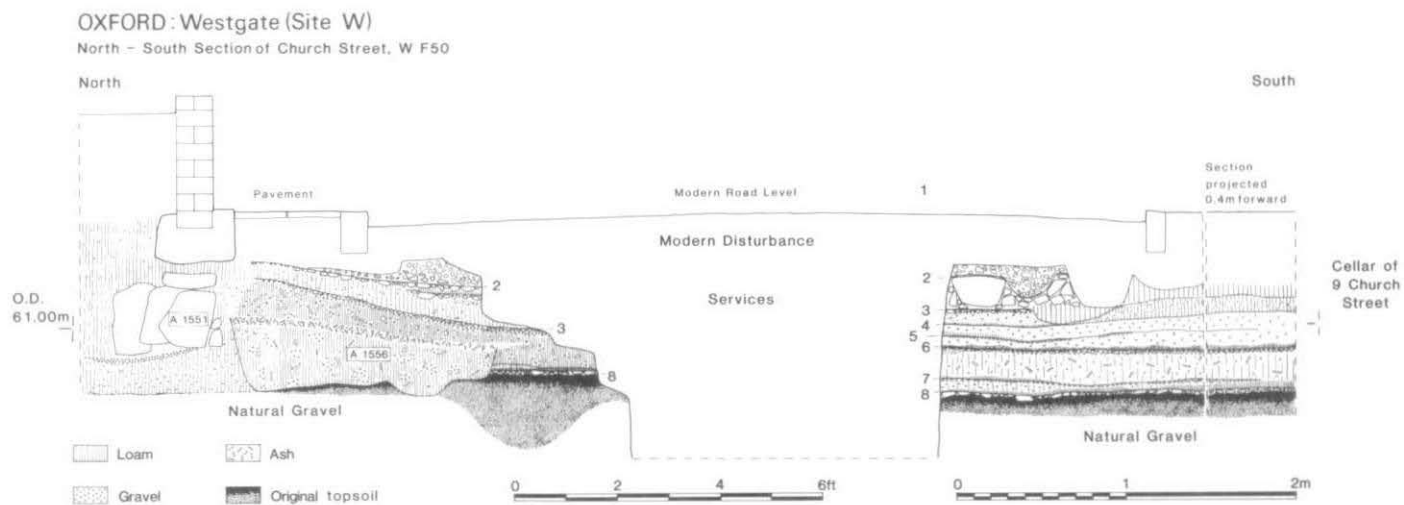


Fig. 19. Westgate, Site W, Church Street Section (W F50).



Plate 21. Westgate, Site W. Church Street section, W F50. View from the W. Scales 2 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

A layer of compacted dark-brown loam overlay Surface 8. Surface 7 was formed of patches of gravel which, although forming a distinct layer, may have only been part of the build-up above Surface 8. It was sealed by compacted earth and gravel. Surface 8, the layer above it, and probably also Surface 7, were cut through by a pit, A F1556, which contained pottery dated to the second half of the 11th century. To the E. of this section another pit, W F97, dated to the 11th or 12th century, was recorded as cutting the lowest four street-surfaces.

In contrast to Surface 7, Surface 6 was a very uneven surface of highly compacted gravel with bones and pottery pressed into it; it was sealed by a spread of dark-brown loam also containing sherds. The sherds from within the surface and on top of it were mainly of St. Neot's-type (Fabric R), and Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fabric AC, Group 1B).

Surfaces 4 and 5 were both poorly constructed of packed gravel, and neither spread across the entire street. However, Surface 3 consisted of another highly compacted surface of gravel and small stones. This surface sealed A F1556, and material above it included 11th-century sherds.

Surface 2, beneath the modern tarmac, was made of large cobbles. There were five sherds of 14th- and 15th-century pottery from on top of it, but this surface was assumed to be of post-medieval date, possibly late 18th- or 19th-century. Its construction must have removed all the later medieval street surfaces.



Plate 22. Westgate, Site W. Church Street section, W F50. The earliest surface, 8. View from the N. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

A transverse, E.-W. section (W F6, Fig. 17) along Church Street was observed and photographed to the west of W F50. Three street-surfaces were seen, but no dating evidence was recovered. Section W F8 was also only seen briefly before it was destroyed, but it appeared similar to section W F50. As with Surface 8 in section W F50, the lowest street-surface of W F8 consisted of flat stones and gravel embedded in the original topsoil, which at this point was thicker than at W F50. On the N. side of the street this was sealed by occupation levels, which were in turn overlain by a further three street-surfaces. On the S. side of the central services there were six superimposed street-surfaces.

The final section, W F73 (Fig. 17), was at the extreme W. end of Church Street. Recording was limited, but the lowest surface was once again formed of a layer of cobble-stones. In this instance the surface was overlain by up to 0.70 m. of clean loose gravel, which might have formed the base of a second surface but could alternatively have been connected with spoil from the construction of the castle barbican ditch in 1216.

Castle Street Sections (Figs. 15-16, 20; Pls. 23-24)

Two sections of Castle Street were observed: first a transverse section, W F54, was recorded in detail; secondly, a section was cleared along the entire Castle Street frontage of Site SEL.

W F54 was a N.-S. section of Castle Street (Fig. 20, Pl. 23). The cellars of 6 Castle Street and 1 New Road

had cut through all the early street surfaces, the accumulations on top of them, and both sides of the street (Fig. 3). Modern services had also been cut into the top of the street-surfaces and through the centre of the street, although a column of stratified surfaces and other features remained intact in the very middle of the street. Because such a wide gap separated the stratified sequence of surfaces on the E. side of the street, certain correlation of the surfaces was impossible, with the exception of the lowest, Surface 18/32. However, from this surface to Surfaces 13 and 26 the successive street-surfaces and accumulated layers appeared to correspond in appearance. They were almost exactly similar in character, composition and consistency.

The original topsoil was very thin, and the earliest surface, 18/32, was compressed into it. The surface was uneven and consisted, like Church Street W F50, of fragments of irregular limestone cobbles, small stones and coarse gravel, heavily compacted. A post-hole, W F53, was cut through the surfaces on the N. side; a second post-hole, W F55, was cut through the accumulation on top of the surface, and also penetrated it. Surface 17/31 was an uneven, compacted surface of coarse gravel, of much poorer quality than its predecessor, and worn towards the centre of the road. Surface 16a existed only on the N. side of the street and was made of clean, lightly compacted gravel. This surface equates to Surface 30 but was composed of much more irregular coarse gravel. Surface 16/29 was made of compacted original topsoil and gravel which was very coarse in places. Surfaces 15/28 and 14/27 consisted only of compacted gravel, but Surface 13/26 had a few pieces of angular limestone mixed with the gravel. In the accumulation above Surface 13 there were a number of large limestone cobbles forming, in effect, a localised surface on the N. side of the street.

From the level of Surface 13/26 the surfaces on the S. side of the street were of different composition from those on the N. side, even though they were presumably contemporary with those at the same level. On the N. side Surfaces 12-10, 8, 3 and 2 included limestone cobbles with gravel, while Surfaces 9 and 7-4 were only of gravel. On the S. side of the street Surfaces 22 and 19 included limestone cobbles while Surfaces 25, 23, 21, and 20 were all made of gravel.

Late Saxon pottery was found in the accumulation on top of Surface 32 and similar sherds were recovered all the way up the section as far as Surfaces 3 and 19. From above Surface 2 there were 14th- and 15th-century sherds.

In the centre of the street there were two features, W F56 and F58. W F56 was cut down from the level of Surfaces 13/26 and contained late 11th-century sherds. W F58 was cut through from the level of Surface 10 and contained 12th-century pottery. These features were recorded as pits, but might more convincingly be connected with a 'kennel' or central drainage channel. However, W F57, shown outlined on the section, was undoubtedly a pit. It was cut down through the accumulation on Surface 26, or possibly Surface 25. A second small, unnumbered pit was cut from Surfaces 25 to 29.

The street-surfaces of Castle Street were observed behind the contractors' sheet-piling for virtually the whole length of the frontages of 1-3 Castle Street (Site SEL, Fig. 15; Pl. 24). The surfaces were continuous along the whole length and only a sample section was drawn. There was a total of 17 surfaces including the modern street, compared with the 18 surfaces of W F54. The lowest surface was laid directly on the original topsoil, but there were no limestone cobbles in it. This lowest surface, like all the surfaces except one, was made of gravel. The exception was the ninth surface, which contained limestone. This might be equivalent to Surfaces 10 or 12, within W F8.

Above the seventh surface was a layer of ash, 5 cm. thick, extending along the greater part of the frontage of SW155 and part of frontage SW154.

Possible Street Adjacent to the City Wall, W F95 (Fig. 17)

During the contractors' excavation for a pile-cap, possible street surfaces were recorded immediately N. of the projected line of the town wall, on the site of the Greyfriars. The primary surface consisted of an uneven layer of very coarse gravel, 4-8 cm. thick, lying immediately over natural gravel. The area uncovered was 1 m. E. to W., and 3 m. N. to S. 25 cm. of silt lay above the primary surface, which was itself overlain by a second possible surface. Three sherds of pottery indicated a 12th- to 13th-century date.

Discussion

Sites SEL and W provided no additional information on the context of the prehistoric and Roman finds from Site A. Possibly the earliest feature was W F87. If this was indeed a continuation of the Saxon ditch, A F502, from Church Street, it would be the earliest

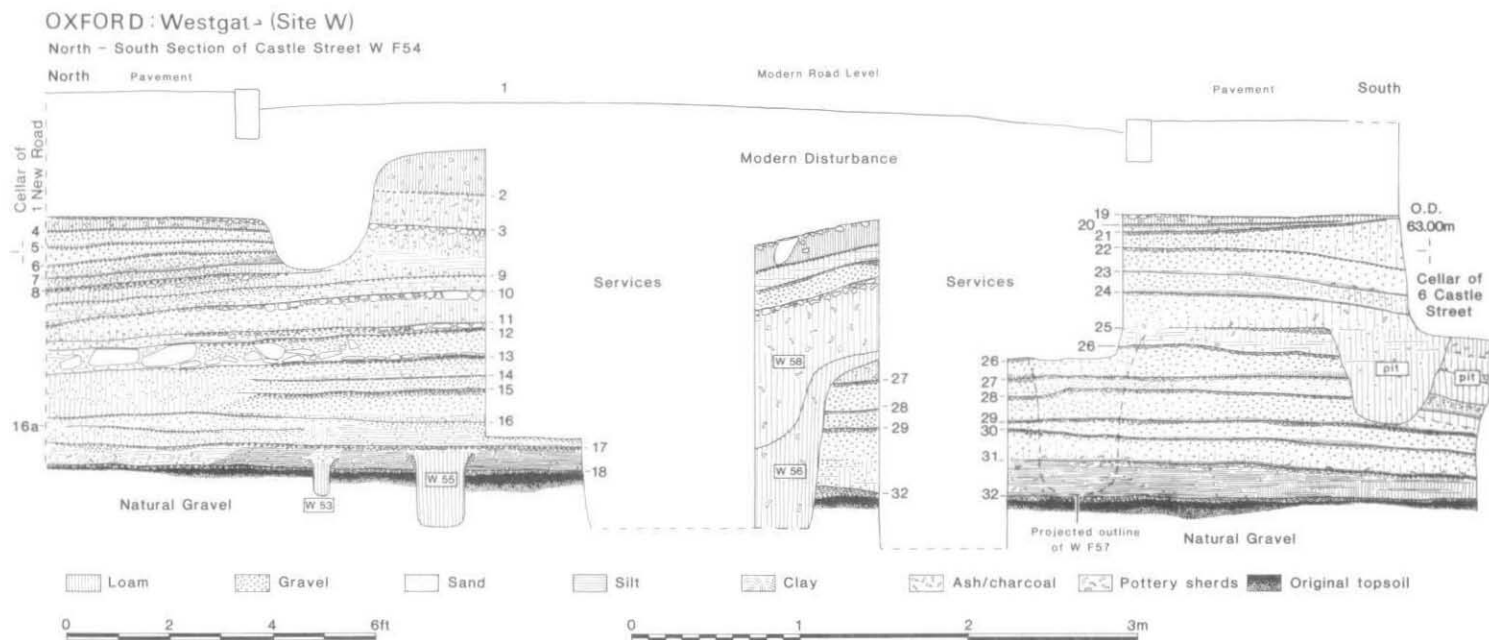


Fig. 20. Westgate, Site W, Castle Street Section (W F54).



Plate 23. Westgate, Site W. Castle Street section, W F54. View from the W. Scale 2 m. Photo by K.W. Sheridan.

clue to the topographical development of the site, suggesting a N.-S. division before the creation of Church Street, and probably therefore earlier than Castle Street as well.

The distinctive construction of the lowest street-surfaces of both Church Street and Castle Street suggest that they are part of a single scheme for the laying-out of the streets of Oxford. Subsequent to these excavations, street-surfaces of a similar character were found in St. Aldates, the High Street, the Turl and New Inn Hall Street.⁹¹ At the latter a penny of Edward the Elder (899-925), found resting on the primary surface, may give a more precise clue to the date of the earliest street surface in St. Ebbe's than does the pottery recovered from the sections and from Site A. Edward took control of Oxford in 911 and this time, or shortly afterwards, would seem the most likely date for the laying-out of the town's basic street-grid.⁹²

Castle Street must have formed part of the main E.-W. axis of the town. It is therefore perhaps surprising that post-holes W F53 and F55 were found, implying that encroachments on to the road were allowed almost as soon as the street was laid out, although such encroachments were certainly known at a later date. No evidence was

⁹¹ B. Durham, 'Oxford: Castle Street, New Inn Hall Street and St. Aldates', *C.B.A. Newsletter*, 11 (1981), 131; B. Durham, 'Oxford: High Street', *C.B.A. Newsletter*, 12 (1982), 158-61.

⁹² T.G. Hassall, 'Archaeology of Oxford City', in G. Briggs, J. Cook and T. Rowley (eds.), *The Archaeology of the Oxford Region* (O.U.D.E.S., 1986), 119-20.



Plate 24. Selfridges, Site SEL. Castle Street section. View from the E. Scale 2 m. *Photo by B. Durham.*

discovered about the W. continuation of the street which must have existed before the castle was built in 1071. A very striking feature of the Castle Street section was the rapid accumulation of road-silts and additional street-surfaces over a very short space of time. Only late Saxon pottery was found from the lowest surface up to the penultimate surface, although presumably some of the pottery in the upper layers might have been introduced in the post-Conquest period if the gravel from the surfaces themselves was dug out from the gardens of the adjacent tenements.

Surface 8, the lowest surface in the Church Street section, W F50, was assumed to equate with the first Castle Street surface because of their similar composition, although the existence of a somewhat inferior gravel and stone surface in Castle Street at Surface 13/26 demonstrated that stone was used in later surfaces. But even if Church Street was not contemporary with Castle Street it was certainly a late Saxon street. There was, however, nothing like the rapid accumulation of surfaces in Castle Street. Since Church Street was a side street this is perhaps not surprising. Church Street seems to have

extended from the outset as far W. as the section W F73. This has implications for the position of the W. late-Saxon defences, since it would seem improbable that the street actually passed through the defences. The later medieval Westgate was presumably built later than the Castle, which closed off the western end of Castle Street. Presumably the late Saxon defences were situated further W. than Section W F73, and they may have coincided with, and have been obliterated by, the Castle moat. It would also follow that there must have been an original N.-S. intra-mural street linking Castle Street and Church Street. If this inference is correct the original *insula* of tenements would have extended as far as this conjectured street, and SW85 and SW161 would not have originally represented the western limit of the *insula*. The existence of pits-W F1 and F27 lend support to this idea. Perhaps St. Budoc's church marks the original W. limit.

The evidence of the late-Saxon pits from Selfridges tends to suggest that the Castle Street frontage was developed earlier than Church Street, and this is what is to be expected. None of the pits was obviously a large cellar-pit of the type that have been found on the other main street frontages.⁹³

The existence of late 11th-century pits in both streets may imply that inconvenient encroachments were tolerated. However, the implications could be even more significant. The building of the castle may have totally disrupted the street-pattern before the W. exit from the town through the medieval Westgate was established. In addition, the fact that much of Oxford was described as 'waste' in 1086 may imply a more general breakdown in the organisation of the town.

Although the basic topography of the *insula* would have been defined as soon as the streets were established, the internal divisions do not seem to have appeared until much later. The string of late Saxon pits beneath the parish boundary indicate that the common rear boundary of all the tenements fronting onto Castle Street and Church Street cannot have been established until the 12th century at the earliest, and the ditch, W F9, may be the actual first boundary. However, Salter's work suggests that the *insula* was fully divided into its basic tenement pattern by the end of the 13th century.

The section W F95 revealed a possible 12th- to 13th-century street which can be interpreted as an intra-mural street. If so, the creation of this street dates the establishment of the town wall in a direct line between Westgate and Littlegate. West of W F95 the line of the wall is certain, but eastwards no sign of either the wall or the street was found on the Greyfriars, Site B. At Site D the wall was dated to the 13th century. This street could be the street, described as 'under the wall', which the Greyfriars were allowed to enclose to build their church. The street would have provided access to the wall and the tenements between the wall and the Trill Mill stream; it could also have serviced properties fronting on to the S. side of Church Street.

The excavations added no information on structures, and it is unlikely that, even if detailed recording had been possible, much would have survived the later cellaring on the street frontage. The only area where stratification of floor-levels was observed was on the frontage of SW166, but it was not possible to record them. The pit distribution can be related to individual tenements from the 13th century onwards, but it adds comparatively little to the detailed understanding of the area compared with the excavation of Site A.

The general decay of the area in the late medieval period, inferred from the documentary evidence, is endorsed by the archaeological evidence. The small number of pits confirms that in the 15th century the area was in general decline.

⁹³ Ibid. 120; D. Sturdy and J. Munby, 'Excavations in Queen Street, 1959-62', *Oxoniensia*, 1 (1985), 92-4.

LITTLE GATE, SITE D by BRIAN DURHAM (Figs. 21–24; Pls. 25–27)

Introduction

Houses along St. Ebbe's Street served their last useful function as site offices for the Greyfriars' excavation team. They were pulled down in the early 1970s to make way for a shop development, Perrings, and this exposed the continuation of the known city wall line in Brewer Street. The purpose of the excavation was to trace the line of the medieval wall, and record any sign of the Little Gate and any previous defence, before it was dug out for a basement across the entire site. To the S. of the excavation was the site of the Greyfriars gate (not excavated), on Turnagain Lane, being the principal access to the buildings to the W.

Documentary Evidence

If there were early properties along St. Ebbe's Street they seem to have been swept away by the enlargement of the Greyfriars' precinct in 1319, when John Culvard granted the land to the friars, with access reserved for repairs etc.⁹⁴ Salter records nothing for this frontage, although it is clear from the archaeology that there had been some domestic occupation.

Method of Excavation

By chance a narrow lane inside the line of the city wall, leading to Circus Yard, had preserved some archaeological deposits. North of this line were recent cellars and to the S. all deposits had suffered from post-medieval disturbance down to the surface of the Oxford Clay.

The Archaeological Evidence

The purpose of the work was to trace the line of the medieval town wall, and any previous defences, prior to the proposed destruction of the entire site. Much of the area was disturbed by recent cellars, and most effort was concentrated on areas immediately inside the supposed wall, and the area of the Little Gate (Fig. 21; Pl. 25).⁹⁵

Trench I

The remains of recent buildings, services and other disturbances were removed (D I F4, F11, F12, F19, F34, F67 and F68) and the line of the town wall was immediately obvious. On the S. side, beneath a clearance layer, D I L3, were various pits, gullies and post-holes (D I F5–F9, F16–F18, F23, F25 and F62), unrelated to each other and all cut into a post-medieval yard surface, D I L24/1, which was strewn with oyster-shells and stone tiles, D I F24. On the N. side of the wall were three solid pier-footings of rubble packed with sandy clay (D I F20, F33 and F47). The easternmost of the three abutted a mortared stone wall, D I F10, on the St. Ebbe's Street frontage. No associated floors were found within the excavated area and it must be assumed that the tapering strip left between the piers and the post-medieval additions to the town wall (D I F1/2) was a narrow

⁹⁴ A.G. Little, *The Greyfriars in Oxford* (O.H.S. xx, 1891), 303–305.

⁹⁵ For a description and discussion of the later levels of this site, see B. Durham in Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, 174.

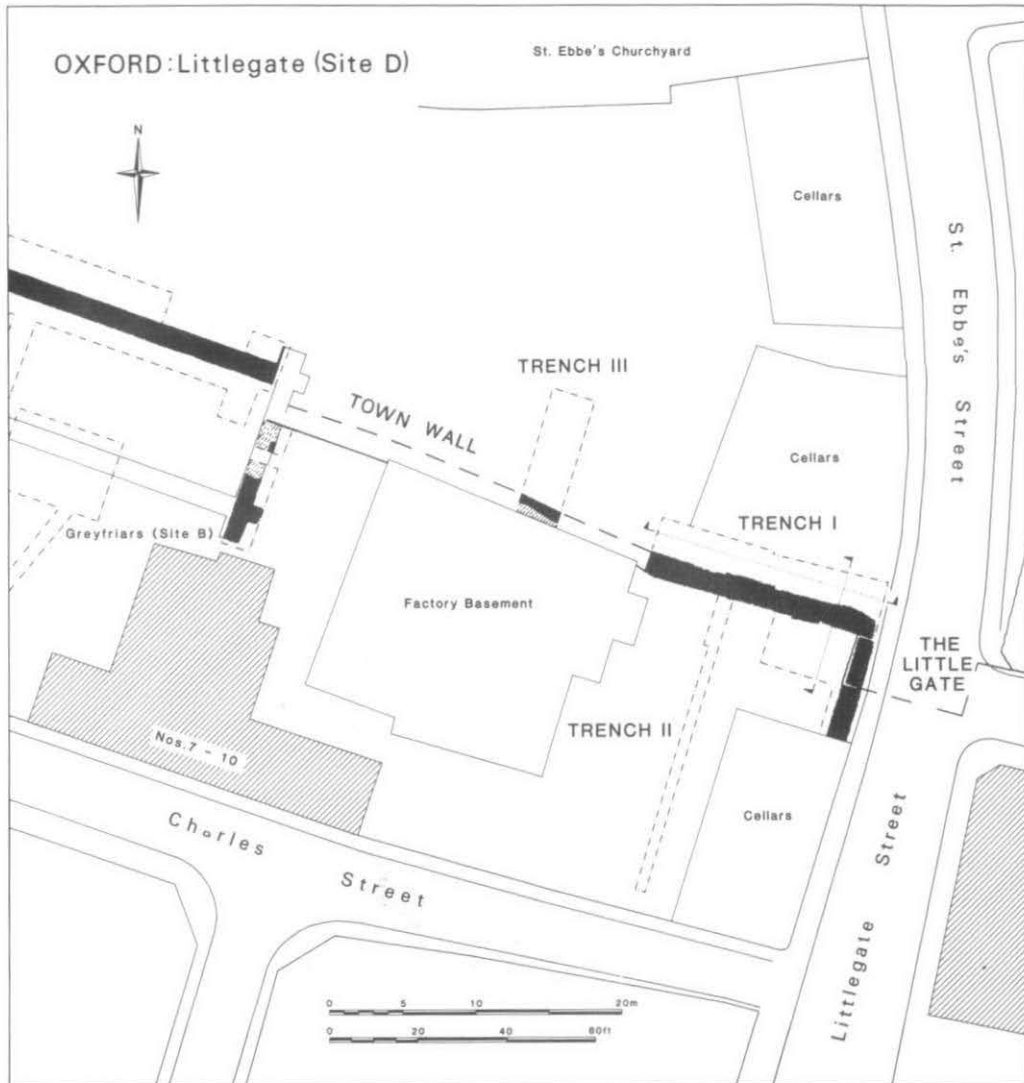


Fig. 21. Littlegate, Site D: location plan of trenches I-III.

lane. Other roughly contemporary features were a robber-trench, D I F46, on the inside face of the town wall, and a post-hole, D I F36.

The uppermost medieval level encountered was homogeneous dark-brown loam, D I F49, behind the town wall at the W. end of the site. Beneath it was a square-shaped, stone-lined chamber, D I F64, with a burnt stone passage to the N.W., assumed to be an 'oven'. To the E. was an area of gravel, D I L14, contiguous with the packing, D I F13, of a loose stone footing, D I F10, on the frontage. D I L14 was thought at the time of excavation to be also continuous with the packing of the town wall, and the ashy layer (D I L15) beneath it to be a pre-wall layer cut by the wall. Pottery from the backfill (D I L37-L41) of a shallow stone-lined chamber (D I F35) beneath these layers seems, however, to be late 13th-century at the earliest,⁹⁶ while the town wall was

⁹⁶ Below, Medieval Pottery Report.



Plate 25. Littlegate, Site D. General view of the excavation from the N.E. *Photo by B. Durham.*

described as 'old' in a charter of 1244.⁹⁷ It will be assumed therefore that all these structures post-date the wall.

The chamber (D I F35), mentioned above, was thought at first to be a shallow domestic cellar, until the discovery of a burnt stone 'flue' (D I F35/2, F48) at the E. end which made comparisons with the 'oven' (D I F64) unavoidable. The chamber, nearly 5 m. long, was floored with layers of ash and burnt stones, but only part of the stone lining showed appreciable burning. Like D I F64 there was nothing to show what it had been used for. Just inside the S.W. corner of the chamber was a small plinth of flat stones, D I F55.

⁹⁷ Little *op. cit.* note 94, 14.

Structures Associated with the Town Wall (Phase III, Figs. 21-24; Pl. 26)

A well-made rubble wall (D I F2) with an offset footing parallel to the road, and apparently butted onto the outer face of the town wall, was assumed to be the base of the Little Gate (Pl. 26). Its solid construction, with a footing set 0.70 m. into natural clay, contrasted with the foundation of the town wall, and suggested that it was a later addition. The S.W. quoin of the gate wall was found, but the footing, D I F2/1, appeared to continue southwards; the intended preservation of the stonework prevented the dismantling of this joint to verify that the footing was continuous.

Of the medieval town wall, D I F1, only the N. or inner face survived due to later robbing and insertions. It was of irregular rubble throughout, packed with clean yellow gravel. The facing was poorest at the Little Gate end; an expanded footing was probably a response to a pre-wall pit, D I F53; the footing seemed elsewhere to rest on the surface of the natural gravel, except at the Little Gate end where a few ashy layers were sealed (see below). A fragment of faced rubble wall, D I F22, with a footing deeper than the wall itself, had been butted against the S. face, and a similar structure, D I F54, to the W. was possibly related to it. They may have been buttresses, or part of an access to a wall-walk. The only remaining feature loosely associated with the wall was a ditch, D I F65, parallel with the wall and 2.5 m. to the S. It was cut by the Little Gate, D I F2, and produced no finds.

Structures Pre-dating the Town Wall (Phases I and II, Figs. 21-24)

A pit, D I F53, lay partly under the N. face of the wall; two others, D I F50 and F51, had very similar pottery assemblages and lay so close to the wall that it is assumed that they must also predate it. To the E., near the

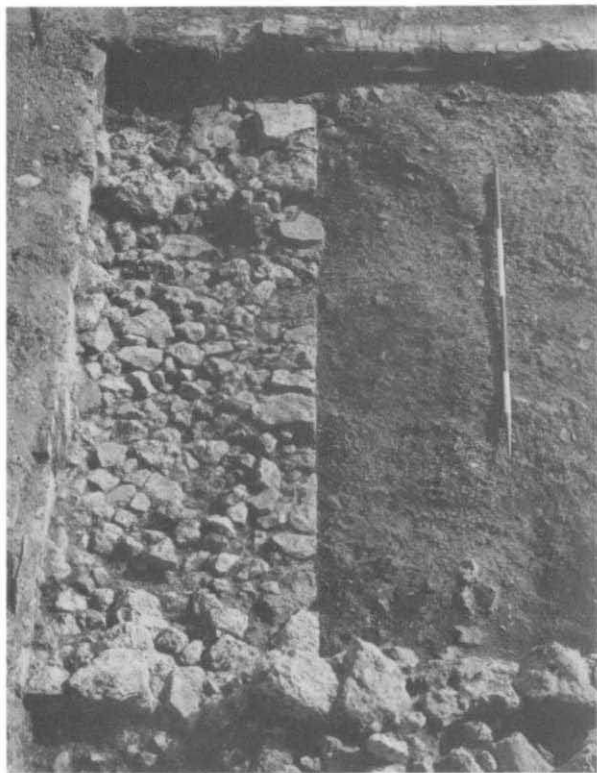


Plate 26. Littlegate, Site D. Trench I, the base of the Little Gate, D I F2. View from the N. Scale 2 m. *Photo by B. Durham.*

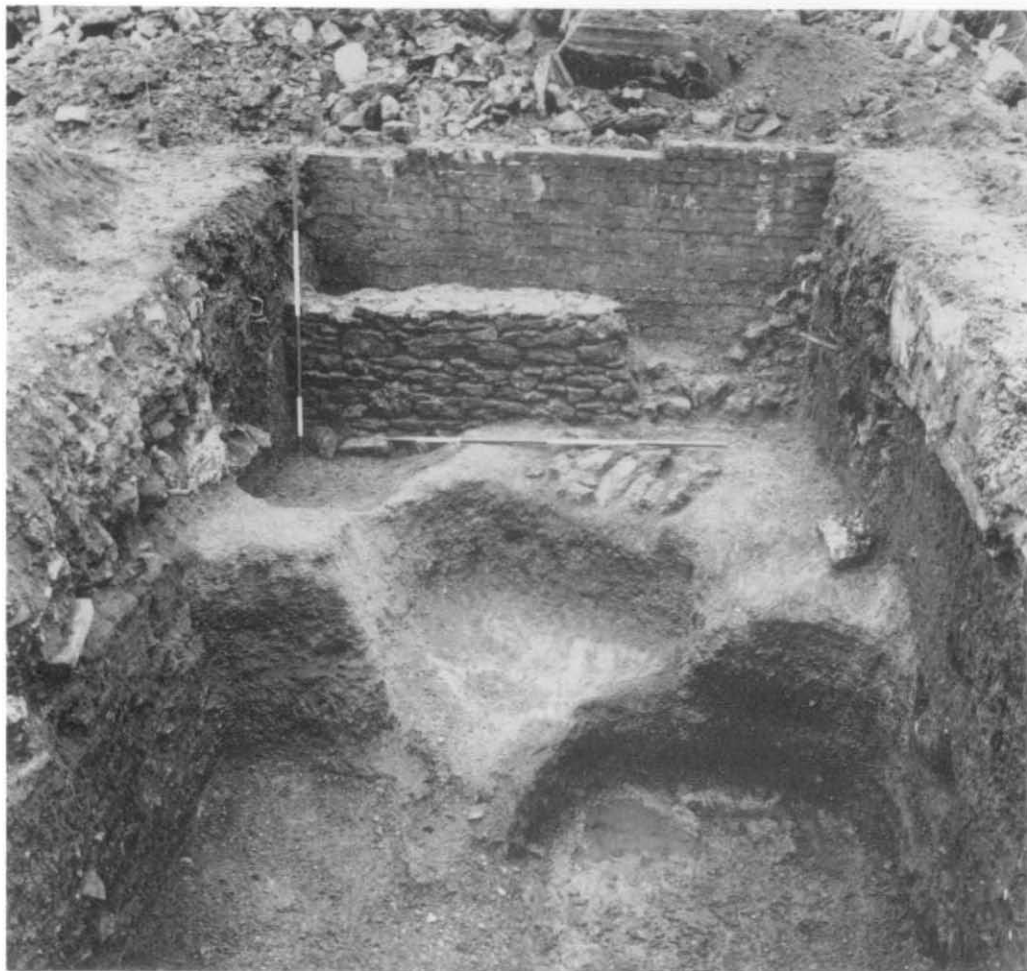


Plate 27. Littlegate, Site D. Trench III, the town wall, D III F1. View from the N. Scales 2 m. *Photo by B. Durham.*

road frontage, were a series of fairly level, well-packed ashy and gravelly layers which could have been floors of a building, but no walls were detected in the limited area available. Two ashy layers, D I L26 and L32, were encountered first, and beneath were successively: gravel with charcoal, D I L29; another ashy layer, D I L30; burnt clay, D I F28; gravel, D I L31; gravel, ash, loam and blue clay, D I L42, with a stone plinth, D I F45; and a gravel layer, D I L42/1. South of the town wall all medieval deposits had been quarried away.

The deepest structures at the E. end of the site were two shallow pits, D I F43 and F44, cut into the natural gravel, filled with clay, ash and gravel. D I F44 was dug only to the top of the natural clay, and was possibly a small quarry for gravel. Two further disturbances, D I F61 and F63, were cut by the pre-wall pit, D I F53, and were possibly also quarries.

Trench II

A machine was used to dig a trench S. from the town wall to the limit of the site (Fig. 21). No defensive ditch was found, although the clay dropped away into ditch D II F60 at the extreme S. end, assumed at the time to be

the bank of the Trill Mill Stream but more likely a roadside ditch along the main access road within the priory. Ditch D II F65 may have continued, but was heavily truncated by post-medieval disturbances. Five pits were recorded in the sections of this trench, D I F56-F60.

Trench III (Pl. 27)

A mechanical trench was dug on the N. side of the town wall to search for a pre-wall rampart (Fig. 21; Pl. 27). The area beyond 3 m. from the wall face was found to be saturated with pits, so it was dug out totally and only the sections recorded. Closer to the wall, however, a post-medieval pit, D III F106, could be identified cutting a medieval pit, D III F107. There was a small pile of stone rubble, D III F104, on the surface of the natural gravel to the S., and beyond this the town wall, D III F1. The wall here was quite different from in Trench I; the construction-trench was dug c. 0.90 m. into the gravel, and well-made coursed facing started from the lowest level, rising in a gently curved batter. To the W. the upper stones had been removed by a robber-trench, D III F103, and replaced by a boundary wall.

Two features are assumed to have predated the city wall here: a pit, D III F108, with an assemblage of late 11th-century pottery, and a shallow depression, D III F105, filled with old alluvial topsoil, from near which were found two flint flakes, D III SF26 and SF26A.

Trench IV

The contractors' bulk excavations were observed by Humphrey Woods and his findings were treated as 'Trench IV'. There were two pits yielding 13th- and 15th-century pottery, D IV F115 and F118, within the town wall line, and two others, D IV F120 cut by D IV F119, outside the wall. There was a further sighting of the ditch-like feature, D IV F121, first recorded in Littlegate Trench II as F60 (see above).

Discussion

The S.W. corner of the Survey Area was investigated in 1971 to trace the line of the medieval town wall and any antecedents. The stone wall was found, but it was built across a site which shows all the signs of having previously been a domestic tenement. The predicted sequence of late Saxon earth rampart giving way in the 13th century to free-standing stone wall therefore does not apply here; this makes the site exceptional for Oxford, and poses the question of how this corner of the town was defended before the stone walls were built.

The most important results of this project therefore relate to the defences. It has added one pit to the distribution of late Saxon features, but apart from proving the absence of an earth rampart this can only be loosely fitted into the late Saxon topography of the area (D III F108).⁹⁸ General statements therefore only become possible with the later 12th-century horizon, but this in itself is remarkable since the only deposits to survive were a 4 m. wide strip running back from St. Ebbe's Street.

One reason for the survival of these deposits is clear: the wall which overlies their S. edges is the town wall, which would initially have been respected as the principal upstanding defence on this side of the medieval town. Thereafter the survival of the deposits must have been more a matter of chance, probably due to a 16th-century decision that there should be an access lane against the property boundary, which precluded further disturbance of the ground. With the medieval horizon stripped to the

⁹⁸ See T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1971, Fourth Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii (1972), 143.

S., and dug away for cellars to the north, it was extremely fortunate that the surviving strip was precisely what was needed to interpret the defences.

Oxford's earlier defences have recently been seen at 24A St. Michael's Street, and conform to Jope's prediction that the strips of 'waste' immediately within the medieval walls are the ground area of the ramparts.⁹⁹ No waste strips are recorded for the St. Ebbe's area, so it is perhaps not surprising that domestic occupation should have been found at Littlegate on the topographically identical counterpart just within the wall. This means that there could not have been a rampart here. The implications for the late Saxon defences can only be assessed in relation to other sites on the S. wall, and this discussion belongs elsewhere.¹⁰⁰

Phase I, The Quarries (Figs. 21–24)

The original ground-surface survived in only one place, which means we have little idea of the original topography where the gravel terrace slopes away to the floodplain. A small topsoil (feature D III F105) and two unstratified flints in one of the few places where topsoil survived could therefore be remnants of prehistoric settlement otherwise quarried away. The suggestion of extensive shallow quarrying in this area is supported by several shallow features with relatively clean infill of which one, D I F44, has pottery typical of the late 12th- to early 13th-century (D I F43, F44, F61 and F63, Fig. 22). This may indicate that the quarrying phase was relatively late, possibly after the demise of whatever property related to the 11th-century pit D III F108.¹⁰¹

Phase II, A Late 12th- to Early 13th-Century Tenement (Figs. 21–24)

The eastern quarry-pits were overlaid by a series of finely laminated layers typical of internal floors (D I L26, L28–L32, Fig. 22). The limited area of surviving deposits means that there were no walls surviving, only a shallow terrace at the western limit. A domestic building of this date could well have been constructed of 'cob', i.e. shuttered mud, but even if it had been a post-built construction the evidence might not have survived in such a congested area. The corroborative evidence for the tenement comes from three pits to the W. (D I F50–F51, F53). These contained far more domestic rubbish than the 'quarries', their pottery shows fabric proportions entirely consistent with those from the laminated floors, and their location is precisely what would be expected of refuse pits associated with the dwelling. It appears therefore that this chance survival represents a slice of a strip tenement fronting St. Ebbe's Street, possibly one of several established on an area newly reclaimed from gravel quarrying. The dating of the tenement relies on the pottery, falling within the range 1175–1250 as established at 79–80 St. Aldates,¹⁰² and agreeing with a range of pit-groups from beneath the Greyfriars church to the W.¹⁰³ A *terminus ante quem* for the Littlegate group should be provided by the building of the town wall.

⁹⁹ B. Durham, 'Oxford 24A St. Michael's St.', *OAU Newsletter*, 12, No. 1 (1985), 4–5; E.M. Jope, 'Saxon Oxford and its Region' in D.B. Harden (ed.), *Dark Age Britain*, (1956), 243.

¹⁰⁰ B. Durham, 'Oxford's Southern Defences', forthcoming; Blair op. cit. note 74, 228–32.

¹⁰¹ Hassall op. cit. note 98, 143.

¹⁰² R. Haldon in Durham op. cit. note 80, 111–39.

¹⁰³ Below, Medieval Pottery Report.

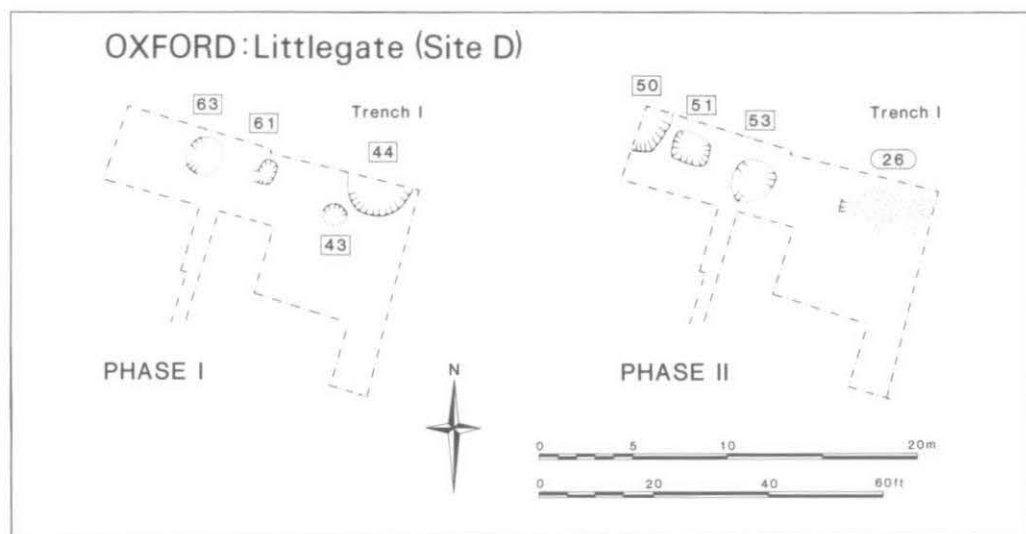


Fig. 22. Littlegate, Site D: phase plan.

Phase III, The Construction of the Town Wall (Figs. 21–24)

The stone walls of Oxford are conventionally dated to 1226, the first murage grant. This is supported by a certain amount of archaeological evidence which need not be repeated here.¹⁰⁴ The recent excavation at 24A St. Michael's Street reminded us that in many places the 13th-century work may have entailed no more than the strengthening of the late Saxon stonework and partial removal of the rampart. The situation at Littlegate was therefore quite different, because irrespective of the alignment or even the existence of any previous defence, the stone wall here was put through an area of old quarries which had been recently rehabilitated as a dwelling. It can be argued that this 'closing of the circuit' was a priority in the early 13th century, and might well have occurred before 1226, the date of the first murage grant. There was certainly a wall here by 1244, when it was described as *vetus* and *antiquus* in a royal charter to the Greyfriars.¹⁰⁵ A combination of archaeological and documentary evidence therefore implies that the wall at Littlegate was built in the first three decades of the 13th century.

Although the original front face of the wall had been lost, perhaps undermined by later quarrying, at its junction with the gate it could not have been wider than 1.5 m. In this area it had no appreciable footings, while to the W. in Trench III it had a 1.3 m. deep construction trench with a gentle batter below ground (Fig. 23). Two stone features adjoined its N. side (D I F22, F54). It is assumed that these were not the remains of a pre-wall stone building, and are therefore most easily explained as the base of a stair giving access to the wall-walk.

The Little Gate itself was butted onto the wall (D I F2) at foundation level, perhaps indicating that there was a simpler gate here previously. The excavated gate may

¹⁰⁴ M. Mellor in B. Durham, C. Halpin and N. Palmer, 'Oxford's Northern Defences', *Oxoniensia*, xlviii (1983), 30.

¹⁰⁵ Little op. cit. note 94, 14.

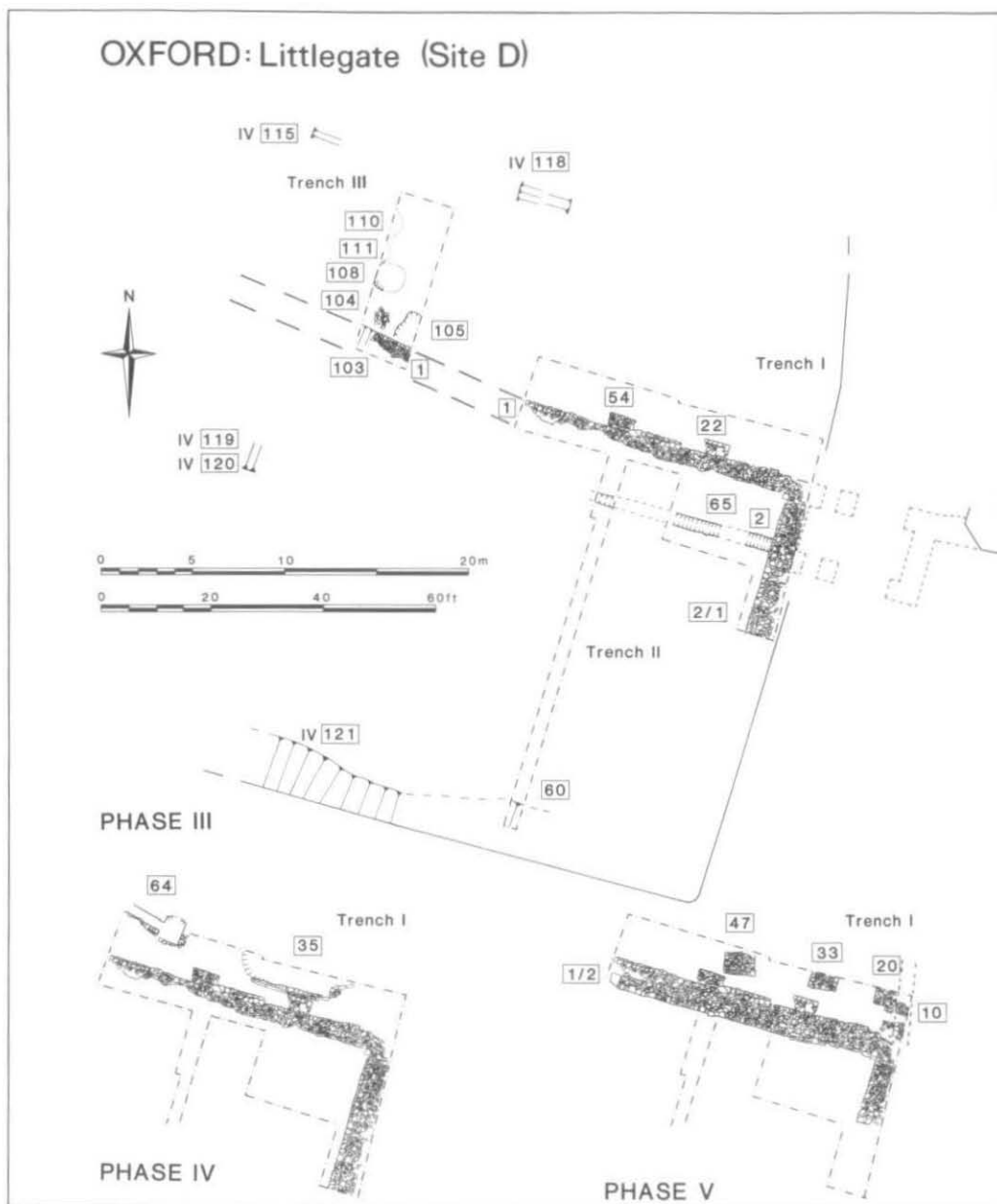


Fig. 23. Littlegate, Site D: phase plan.

OXFORD: Littlegate (Site D)

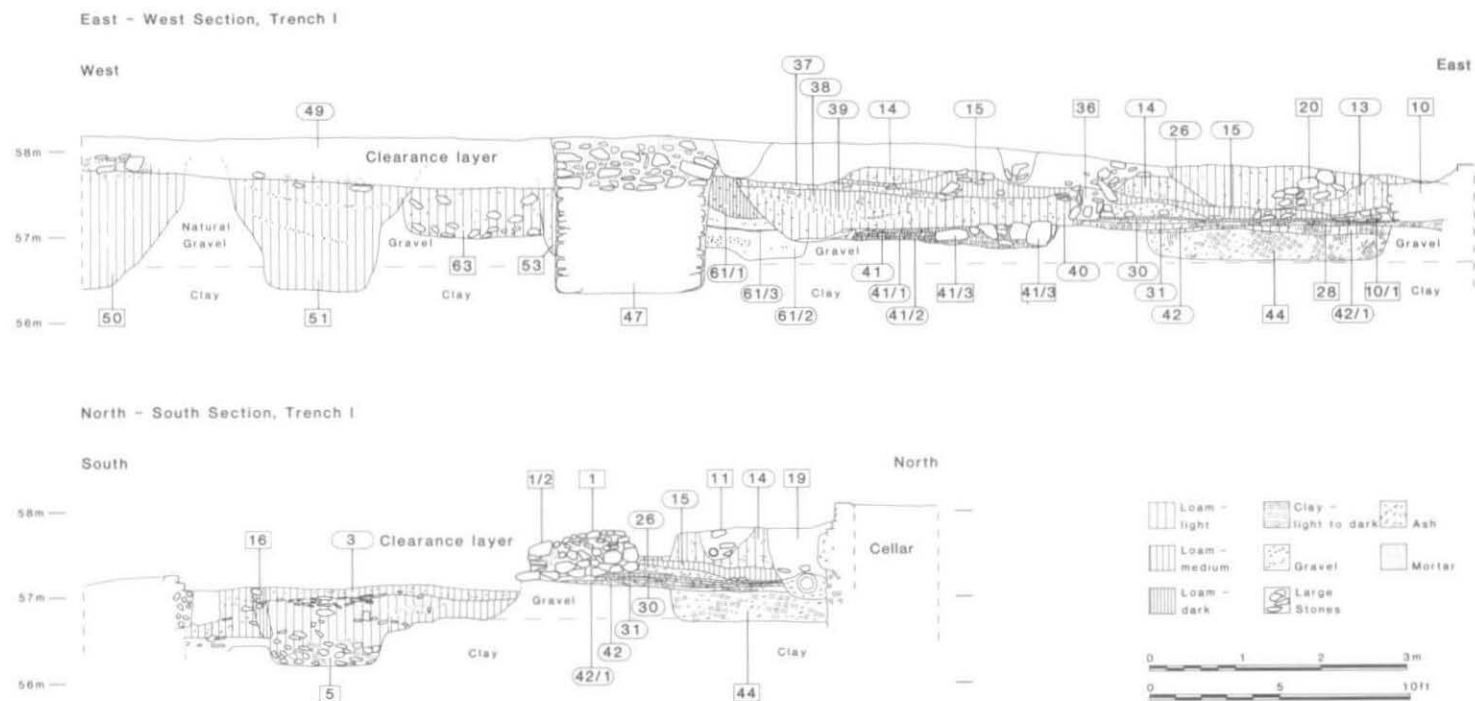


Fig. 24. Littlegate, Site D: sections.

therefore be as late as 1244, if it is accepted that the southward continuation of its footing was the abortive town wall enclosing the Greyfriars, which had been required in the royal grant of that year (D I F2/1).¹⁰⁶ The Royal Commission recorded that the possible precinct wall of the Greyfriars survived in this position up to 1890.¹⁰⁷ The first reference to a chamber above the gate comes in 1279,¹⁰⁸ and the valuation of 10s. suggests that the gate must by then have been enlarged beyond the 5 m. × 8 m. suggested on Fig. 23.

Phase IV, Domestic Activity against the Wall (Figs. 21–24)

It is normally assumed that the area immediately within the medieval town wall was reserved for access purposes, but the Littlegate wall was again exceptional. A furnace-shaped structure was built within 2 m. of the wall to the W. (D I F64), and a second even closer to the E. (D I F35, Fig. 23). The latter had a furnace chamber at least 5 m. long with almost unburnt walls, so is unlikely to have achieved any great temperature. Nothing from the contents was of any help in deciding its function, and it must be assumed to have been the base of a drying oven. The pottery suggested a date in the late 13th or early 14th century.

Phase V, Construction of a Barn or Granary (Figs. 21–24)

The ovens lay on part of the property given to the Greyfriars in 1319 by John Culvard.¹⁰⁹ The friars apparently used it as a utility area, to judge from a 14th-century pit (D III F110) and a 0.5 m. accumulation of loam and rubbish above the smaller oven. Closer to the gate, a row of three clay-packed rubble piers suggest a structure supported on arches and at right-angles to the St. Ebbe's Street frontage, rather than an adjunct to the town wall (D I F20, F33, F47, Fig. 23). In form and construction they are more likely to have been part of the priory rather than post-Dissolution, possibly a barn or granary. Nothing is shown here on Agas's map of 1578, but the building depicted by Hollar (1643) and Loggan (1675) is about the right size and in about the right position. It is therefore tentatively suggested that the friars' granary survived the Dissolution.

The later developments of the site are covered by the discussion in 'St. Ebbe's: Part II'.¹¹⁰

THE FORMER SITE OF THE GREYFRIARS, SITE B (Figs. 25–42; Pls. 28–51)

Introduction

Before the excavations described in this report took place very little was known about the church and buildings of the Oxford Greyfriars. The only detailed contemporary

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *City of Oxford* (1939), 155.

¹⁰⁸ *Rot. Hund.* op. cit. note 23, 791.

¹⁰⁹ Little op. cit. note 94, 20.

¹¹⁰ Durham in Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, 174–6.

account was William Worcestre's description of the church in 1480, but this description has always presented difficulties of interpretation.¹¹¹ What was known of the history of the buildings was brought together by A.G. Little in *The Greyfriars in Oxford* which describes in detail all aspects of the history and achievements of the Oxford Franciscans.¹¹² In 1891, when Little wrote, a section of what appeared to be the city wall survived on the S. side of the former Circus Yard (on whose S. side a plaque commemorating Roger Bacon was placed in 1917), and another old boundary wall was thought to belong to the Greyfriars; otherwise nothing was visible. Little's verdict was that 'Excavations might perhaps yield interesting results, but most of the ground is thickly built over, and the information derived from the records and other sources is rarely precise enough to enable us to identify with any certainty the sites of the various buildings'.¹¹³

In 1939 the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments described the remains which survived as 'very scanty'.¹¹⁴ At that time they included a 70 ft. (21.35 m.) length of rubble walling on the W. side of Littlegate Street, presumably the surviving boundary wall of Littlegate House.¹¹⁵ The Royal Commission recorded that until 1890 this wall continued practically to the site of Littlegate. This is probably to be equated with D I F2/1. There was also a portion of rubble walling which had been 'uncovered by recent demolitions' running N. and S. 'about 20 ft.' (6.10 m.) W. of Penson's Gardens, presumably the boundary wall between the former Church Place and Paradise Place. This wall was interpreted by the Royal Commission as the last surviving remnant of the precinct wall which separated the Greyfriars from Paradise. There was also a 'featureless rubble building' at the W. angle of Wood Street and Charles Street, which the Royal Commission interpreted as a reconstruction with old materials. Finally, the Royal Commission suggested that the culvert of Trill Mill stream might have been partly medieval, but an examination of the present culvert by canoe showed that it is of modern brickwork throughout its entire length.

The Royal Commission interpreted what the excavations revealed to be the N. wall of the choir as the 'city wall' with a recess and doorway. In 1960 David Sturdy dug a small trench at this point¹¹⁶ which threw doubt on the Royal Commission's interpretation, since the footings of the 'city wall' were found to include reused late medieval worked stones. This excavation provided the first clue to the real nature of the site, which was revealed when the St. Ebbe's redevelopment allowed virtually the entire plan of the Greyfriars church to be recovered and also provided some information on the conventual buildings.

The location of the Greyfriars excavation, called Site B, is shown in Fig. 2. The site lay S. of Church Street and W. of Charles Street (now Turn Again Lane). Fig. 3 shows how the site appeared to be terraced, with the ground-surface in Circus Yard on what turned out to be the site of the N. aisle approximately 3 m. higher than the site of the nave. The site is now covered by the Westgate Centre and the multi-storey car-park and is bisected by Old Greyfriars Street.

¹¹¹ *William Worcestre's Itineraries*, ed. J.H. Harvey (1969), 273, 646.

¹¹² Little op. cit. note 94.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 21.

¹¹⁴ *R.C.H.M. Oxford*, 155.

¹¹⁵ Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, 274, Fig. 62.

¹¹⁶ 'Notes and News', *Oxoniensia*, xxv (1960), 135; *R.C.H.M. Oxford*, 161.

Documentary Evidence for the Acquisition by the Greyfriars of their Site

A.G. Little provided a detailed account of how the Greyfriars acquired their site in Oxford and his conclusions are only summarised here.¹¹⁷ The Franciscans came to England in September 1224 and two of the original party of nine travelled to Oxford. At Oxford they were received by the Dominicans, at their first site, but the Franciscans then rented a house from a Robert le Mercer in St. Ebbe's (SW76).¹¹⁸ In the following summer, 1225, the two original friars were joined by others. More space was needed, so they rented the home of a Richard le Muliner which Richard subsequently gave them. This house probably stood on the S. side of Church Street and was to provide the nucleus for the acquisition of two more properties between the street and the wall: the house of William de Wileford between 1227-9 and of Robert Oei in 1236. Oei's house was one of Oxford's 'mural mansions' whose occupiers had had the duty of repairing the town wall since before the Norman Conquest.¹¹⁹ Although the exact position of these tenements cannot be known it is probable that they occupied the greater part of the space between Church Street and the town wall, although the line of the town wall at this time is uncertain.¹²⁰

Between 1244 and 1248 a series of transactions took place which allowed the friars to extend their property as far S. as the Trill Mill stream and also to acquire an island beyond the stream, known as Boteham. At the same time they gained permission to build across the line of the wall. The sequence of events began in December 1244 when the king gave permission to the friars 'for the greater quiet and security of their habitation' to enclose a street 'under' the town wall. This street was said to extend from Watergate (i.e. Littlegate) up to the 'small postern' in the wall 'towards the Castle'. It is suggested above that this street may be that found in section W F95. The king also gave permission for the 'old wall' which 'stretched across their habitation' to be taken down and for the building of a crenellated wall ('like the rest of the wall') around their precinct, beginning from the W. side of Littlegate, down to the Thames (i.e. the Trill Mill stream), along the banks of the stream westwards, and then turning N. again to join up with the wall E. of the small postern already mentioned.

Little believed that the purpose of this grant to the Greyfriars was to prepare the way for their acquisition of properties S. of the wall. This acquisition began the following year (1245). In February Thomas de Valeynes granted eight tenements to the friars in order to increase the area of their property. The holders of two of these tenements, Simon son of Benedict and Leticia his wife, were given a messuage outside the Northgate. These new acquisitions presumably had frontages onto the street under the wall and backed onto the Trill Mill stream. Had the friars' acquisitions stopped at the Trill Mill stream, there would have been some purpose in the construction of the proposed crenellated precinct wall to provide them with 'quiet and security'. However, in April 1245 Henry III gave the friars Boteham island together with permission to bridge the Trill Mill stream and to enclose the island with a wall or in any other way which would insure 'the security of their houses and the tranquillity of their religion'. So far as the friars' privacy was concerned, there was now no need to build a wall along the N. bank of the Trill Mill stream, but the king was still anxious to ensure that the defensive circuit of the town was kept intact. In 1248 he gave permission for the N. side of the chapel 'built and to be built' in the street under the wall to supply the breach in the wall, and for the other breaks in the wall to be repaired, but a small postern was allowed to connect the old and the new sites of the friars.

Three further properties were added to the precinct in 1246, in 1263 and sometime before 1278, but as with previous grants the exact location of these is not known. Acquisition then ceased until the early 14th century when further properties were added both to the W. and the E. Pope Clement V granted them the place of the Friars of the Penance in 1309. These friars had settled outside the Westgate in 1260 and five years later Henry III granted them the second church of St. Budoc together with its cemetery and houses of study. The properties of the Friars of the Penance were also assigned by Edward II in 1310. Edward confirmed the grant of an additional four properties which were probably on the site of their later orchard, known as Paradise. A fifth property described as adjacent to the property of the Penitentiary Friars was acquired in 1319.

In 1319 the friars added a property to their E. within the wall. Since the town claimed a right of access to restore, repair and defend the wall, this property was presumably immediately W. of Littlegate in the area of Site D. Another property was acquired in the suburb of Oxford in 1321; it is not clear whether this was to the W., or part of the rounding-off of the friars' property to the E. Their last definite acquisition was in 1337, when they acquired a further property to their E. within the wall.

¹¹⁷ Little *op. cit.* note 94. The account which follows is summarised from *ibid.* and from A.G. Little, 'The House of Greyfriars', *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 122-5.

¹¹⁸ Salter *op. cit.* note 4, 67.

¹¹⁹ See p. 272.

¹²⁰ See p. 269.

In 1376 the friars petitioned the king to acquire a final property but with unknown results. Leaving this petition on one side, the Greyfriars had completed the acquisition of their site by the middle of the 14th century. They now owned virtually all the land S. of Church Street, except St. Ebbe's church itself, as far as the Thames to the W., St. Ebbe's Street and Littlegate Street in the E. and Boteham island to the S.

The post-Dissolution history of the precinct is discussed in Part II of this report.¹²¹

Documentary Evidence for the Buildings of the Greyfriars

A.G. Little collected all the documentary references to the buildings of the Greyfriars.¹²² Their first buildings must have stood somewhere between Church Street and the town wall. The earliest reference to a chapel is in 1232, when Henry III granted 30 beams from Savernake Forest for the fabric of their chapel then under construction. He also encouraged others to carry up to a further 30 oaks through the same forest free of toll. Whether this chapel was the first chapel on the site, or an enlargement of a smaller one built after 1225, is not clear. According to later tradition the friars worked on the building themselves. There are no early references to living accommodation, but a domestic house already stood on the site. According to tradition there was a low, single-storey infirmary, while the finest of their first buildings was a school. Building was continuing in 1240, when Henry III granted a further ten oaks.

The acquisition of land S. of the wall enabled the Greyfriars to replan their buildings totally and on a grander scale. Their original site would have been gently sloping, but where the town wall and street stood the ground must have been level and comparatively dry, thus offering scope for their expansion. Construction was underway in 1245, when Henry III substituted 60s. instead of six oaks 'for the works of their houses', and Henry gave three more oaks in 1246. In 1248 the chapel, 'built and to be built' in the street adjacent to the town wall, was referred to in the grant which specified that its N. wall was to form a part of the town wall. The next reference to buildings was in 1272, when there was a further grant of six oaks; at the same time the original chapel was demolished.¹²³

There is then no evidence until 1346, when Edward III granted an area of 60 square feet in his quarry near Wheatley for the repair of the church and other buildings.¹²⁴ The next reference to the church is in 1454/5 when William, lord Lovell made provision in his will for the building of a chapel for himself and his wife. The church was described in its entirety by William Worcestre in 1480:¹²⁵

The choir of St. Francis's church at Oxford is 68 paces long and from the door of the choir to the west window is 90 paces, so that the whole church is 150 paces long.

The width of the nave of the church at the east end, including the aisle, is 28 paces.

The length of the nave from the south side to the north door is only 40 paces, and there are 10 chapels in the said north nave; the width of the north nave is 20 paces. The width of each chapel is 6 paces, so that the width of the whole nave of the church on the north side with its 10 chapels is 26 paces. Each chapel is 6 paces long and — paces wide, and each glass window of the said 10 chapels has three glazed lights.

The last reference to the structure of the church was in 1535 when Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph, left £40 'for the building of an aisle joining to the church of the Greyfriars, Oxon'.

Apart from the church there are only a few incidental references to other buildings. In c. 1450 Thomas Gascoigne refers to two libraries: the library of the Convent and the library of the student friars. Leland visited the friary before the dissolution and describes one of the libraries:

At the Franciscans' house there are cobwebs in the library, and moths and bookworms; more than this — whatever others may boast — nothing if you have regard to learned books. For I, in spite of the opposition of all friars, carefully examined all the bookcases in the library.¹²⁶

¹²¹ Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1.

¹²² Little op. cit. note 94, 12–28.

¹²³ Ibid. 21.

¹²⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 125.

¹²⁵ *William Worcestre's Itineraries*, ed. J.H. Harvey (1969), 273.

¹²⁶ Little op. cit. note 94, 62.

In 1538 a Commission led by Dr. John London reported to Thomas Cromwell on the state of the buildings as follows:¹²⁷

The Grey ffryers hathe prayty Ilondes behynde ther howse well woddyde, and the waters be thers also. They haue oon fayre orchard and sondry prayt gardens and lodgings. It ys a great hoge howce conteynnyng moche ruynose bylding. They haue impledged and solde most of ther plate and juellys forcyd by necessitie as they do saye, and that remaynyth ys in the bill. Ther ornamentes of ther church be olde and litill worthe. Ther other stuff of howsholde ys ybill worth x li. They haue taken vppe the pypes of ther condytt lately and haue cast them in sowys to the nombre lxxij, wherof xij be sold for the costes in taking vppe of the pypes, as the warden saith. The residew we haue putt in safe garde. Butt we haue nott yet weyd them. And ther ys yet in the erthe remaynyng moch of the condytt nott taken vppe. In ther groves the wynde hathe blown down many great trees, wich do remayn upon the ground. Thees freers do receyve yerly owt of thexchequer of the Kinges almys l markes. Thys howse ys all coverede wt slatte and no ledde.

In 1544 Richard Andrews of Hales, a speculator in monastic lands, and John Howe, briefly acquired the site of both the Oxford Greyfriars and Blackfriars, before alienating the Greyfriars to Richard Gunter of Oxford. The grant gave all the houses, buildings, stables, granaries, curtilages, yards (*ortos*), orchards, gardens (*gardina*), waters, ponds and vineyards.¹²⁸ But the king reserved 'all the bells and the whole of the lead and glass on the said lands of the friars Minors and Preachers, except the lead and glass in the gutters and windows of the houses or mansions of the same friars: and also in like manner all the buildings and structures of the late churches, cloisters, refectories, dormitories, and chapterhouses of the said friars'.

No account survives of the demolition of the buildings of the Greyfriars. According to Anthony Wood 'the trees were soon cut down, all the grasses trod under foot, the church thrown down, and the stones, with the images and monuments of the greatest value, scattered about'. By 1578 Ralph Agas showed on his map of Oxford only one long N.-S. building running down to the Trill Mill stream. Agas put the words *Graie Friars* on the site of the Black Friars. In the 17th century Anthony Wood wrote that 'the ruins of this, college are gone to ruin and almost lodged in obscurity',¹²⁹ while the antiquary Thomas Hearne could only note 'scanty fragments' as visible in the early 18th century.¹³⁰

Method of Excavation (Fig. 25; Pls. 28-33)

The whole of the Greyfriars site was designated Site B, which was under excavation at intervals between 1968 and 1976 (Pls. 16-17, 28; Fig. 25). The sequence of excavations was complicated by a number of factors: the limited availability of parts of the site during the City Council's demolition programme; the considerable depth of overburden which sealed the N. half of the church; the gradual realisation of the exact location of the church and its exceptional plan; the restrictions on resources available in any one year; and the requirements of the contractors' programme. A further complication was the evolution of the recording system for the Oxford sites generally. This system was developed from a system of numbering features and layers within trenches, to a single number system for each entire site.

Bearing these complications in mind the sequence of excavations was as follows:

Trench I (1968):

This was a mechanical trial-trench dug in the former Circus Yard. It was later extended both eastwards and westwards (Pl. 29). The aims of Trench I were to confirm the findings of David Sturdy's excavations in 1960,¹³¹ to discover the general layout of the church, and to examine the nature of the upstanding wall presumed by the Royal Commission to be the city wall.¹³² The area designated as Trench I was extended again by a further connected system of mechanical trenches at Christmas 1969. Part of this sequence was re-examined in 1976 during the digging of Trench XXXIII.

¹²⁷ Ibid. 117.

¹²⁸ Ibid. 123.

¹²⁹ Ibid. 124.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ 'Notes and News', *Oxoniensia*, xxv (1960), 135.

¹³² *R.C.H.M. Oxford*, 155.

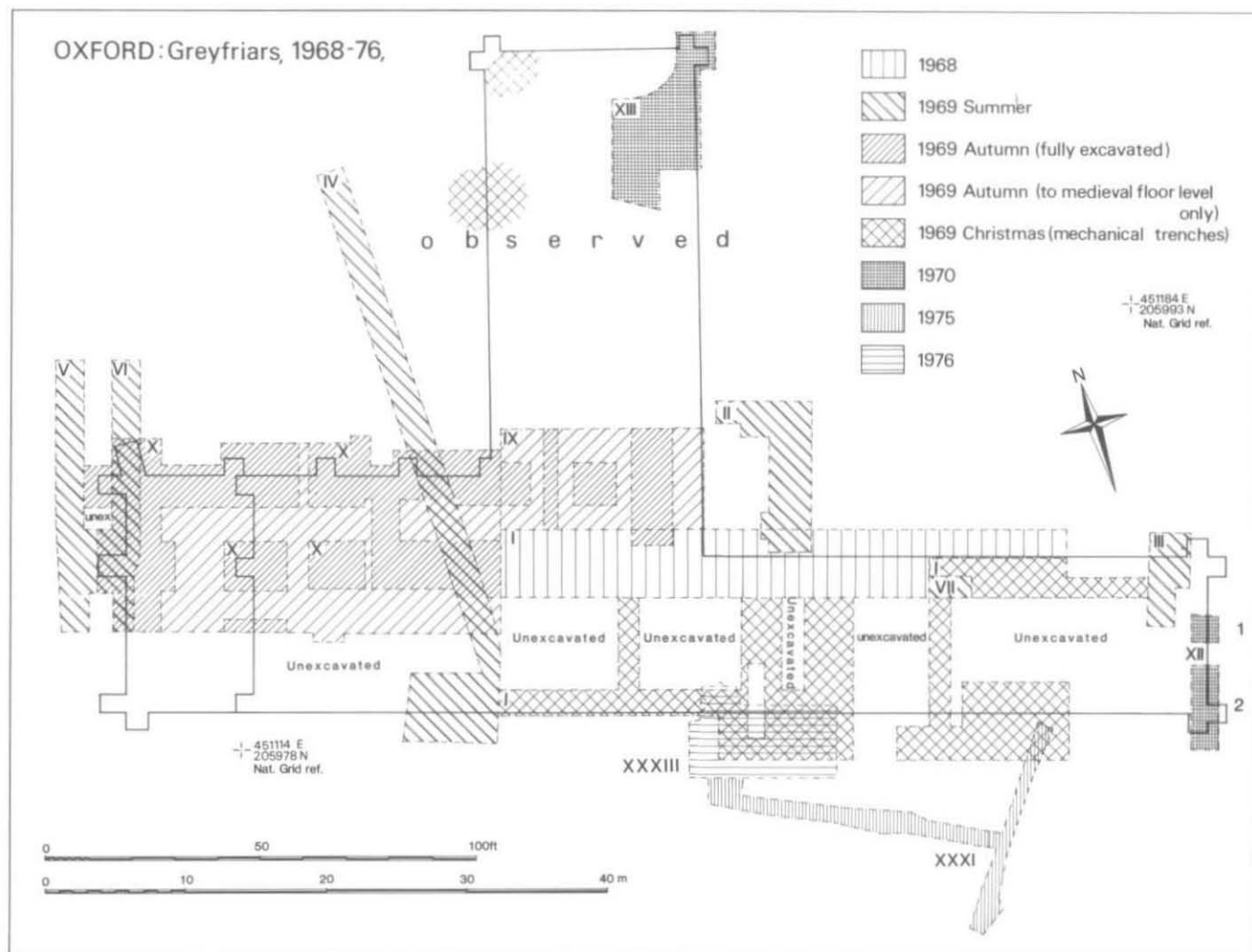


Fig. 25. Greyfriars, Site B: sequences of trenches excavated 1968-1976.



Plate 28. Greyfriars, Site B. The church excavation. View from the W. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

Trench II (1969):

This trench was dug in the summer of 1969 as a N. extension of Trench I, and was laid out to examine a masonry wall discovered in Trench I (B I F20).

Trench III (1969):

This trench abutted the easterly extension of Trench I. It was dug to examine the dog-leg junction between the supposed city wall (B I F1), later shown to be the N. wall of the choir, and a major property boundary S. of the supposed line of the city wall. The excavations showed that this property boundary was actually the line of the city wall itself.

Trench IV (1969):

This trench was aligned to continue the line of N.-S. Section 4 on the excavation of 31-34 Church Street, Site A, thus forming part of a virtually continuous section across the Westgate Centre site (Pl. 30). It extended right across the area then available for excavation on Site B. It was hoped that this trench would provide general information of the location of the church and its graveyard. The trench was extended westwards at its S. end, where the S. wall of the choir was discovered.

Trenches V and VI (1969):

These two parallel trenches were the most westerly trenches on the site of the church, and were later linked by an E.-W. extension. Like Trenches I-IV they were essentially trial-trenches aimed at discovering the limits of the church. Trench V and the northern part of Trench VI were subsequently back-filled, and the remainder of Trench VI became incorporated within Trench X.



Plate 29. Greyfriars, Site B. Trench I. View of the N. wall of the choir (B I F1) from the W. Scale 2 m. *Photo by D. Carpenter.*

Trench VII (1969):

This trench was dug specifically to examine the S. outlet of the culvert (B I F2) found in the N. wall of the choir. Although treated as a separate trench for recording purposes, it was entirely surrounded by the excavated areas designated as Trench I when it was extended.

Trench VIII (1969):

This trench, not related to the main sequence of trenches, was situated in the floor of the basement of one of the former houses fronting Church Street. It is not shown on plan.

Trench IX (1969):

Trench IX was a rectangular area to the N. of the W. end of Trench I; it abutted Trench I to the S. and Trench X to the W. The entire area was cleared down to the medieval floor-level, but only four selected areas were dug deeper.



Plate 30. Greyfriars, Site B. Trench IV. View of the cemetery and post-medieval overburden from the N. Scales 2 m. Photo by D. Carpenter.

Trench X (1969):

Like Trench IX, the designation of this trench covered a substantial rectangular area: first cleaned down to the medieval floor-level, then selectively excavated to a greater depth in a number of key places (Pl. 31). The area extended both E. and W. of Trench IV, and also incorporated the S. three-quarters of Trench VI.

Trench XI (1969):

This trench was a N.-S. section across the city wall and is dealt with elsewhere.¹³³ It is not shown on Fig. 25.

Trench XII (1970):

By 1970 the layout of the church was clear, and two separate trenches (XII 1 and XII 2), were dug to confirm the location of the E. wall and the S.E. corner of the choir.

¹³³ T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1969, Second Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxv (1970), 15-8; B. Durham, 'Oxford's Southern Defences', forthcoming.



Plate 31. Greyfriars, Site B. Trench X. View of the nave and N. aisle (left) from the W. Scales 2 m. *Photo by W. Sheridan.*

Trench XIII (1970):

This designation was given to an area of detailed hand-clearing of a contractors' mechanical excavation (Pl. 32). The area between this trench and Trenches II and IX was also systematically observed.

Trenches XIV–XXXI (1969, 1970, 1973):

Work on the domestic buildings was confined to two excavations (Fig. 37). In 1969 the area immediately S. of the choir was trial-trenched in an attempt to locate the E. range of the cloister. Later disturbances were so concentrated that neither walls nor robber-trenches were recognised. A further rapid mechanical trench was dug in 1970 in the N.W. corner of the site, to be occupied by the St. Ebbe's multi-storey car-park S. of Old Greyfriars Street (Pl. 33). In spite of disturbances caused by 19th-century cellars the heavily-robbed footings of walls were found. These walls were interpreted as the S.W. corner of the main cloister because of their position in relation to the church.

In 1973 it was possible to extend the excavations to the multi-storey car-park before the start of construction. The extent of the excavated area was limited by the necessity to reinstate the site after



Plate 32. Greyfriars, Site B, Trench XIII. View from the W. *Photo by T.E. Ward.*

excavation, but the Corporation undertook to under-write up to £2,000 worth of reinstatement. Since a complete excavation of the site was not possible it was decided to trench it at an approximately 45-degree angle to the presumed building line. By this means it was hoped to find the general position of the domestic buildings S. and W. of the main cloister.

Trench XXXII (1976):

This trench was located on the southern side of Turn Again Lane at its junction with Old Greyfriars Street. It was dug in advance of building to confirm that the claustral buildings extended into this area. H. Woods supervised this excavation.

Trench XXXIII (1976):

This trench was dug to clarify the relationship between the cloisters and the church. It was the largest of the cloister trenches and an area excavation was undertaken. Nonetheless, the trench was only 10.5 m. by 5 m. The archaeological evidence was reasonably well-preserved and a detailed excavation was undertaken. Tim Allen supervised the digging and the Oxford University Archaeological Society provided the labour force.



Plate 33. Greyfriars, Site B, Trenches XIV–XX. The claustral area. View from the N. *Photo by B. Durham.*

The following description of the excavation is not taken trench by trench since this approach would only serve to confuse the reader. The site is instead treated as one, with a trench prefix given before each layer and feature referred to in the text: for example, B X F4 equals Site B, Trench X, Feature 4.

The Excavation Evidence

The Church (Figs. 25–36, 38–42; Trenches I–VII, IX–X, XII–XIII)

Pre-Priory Phase

Features pre-dating the construction of the church in the mid 13th century were found distributed over the entire excavated area. There was little evidence for pre-Conquest occupation. Two penannular ear-



Plate 34. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase I. The N.E. corner buttress of the N. wall of the choir, B I F1. View from the N.W. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

finger-rings found in Trench II are comparable to late Saxon examples from Thetford (Fig. 60, Nos. 135–36),¹³⁴ and a pit, B IV F66, produced twenty 11th- to 12th-century sherds and a bone bobbin or toggle.¹³⁵

The majority of features date from the late 12th and early to mid 13th century; for example, a large group of pits (B XII F8, F11, F12 and F14) was revealed during the excavation of the E. wall of the choir (Fig. 28). A substantial group of 12th- to early 13th-century pottery (32 sherds) was obtained from an ill-defined ashy layer in Trench IV (B IV F61). Two features, B XIII F9 and B X F58, were tentatively identified on site as wells. The former produced a large fragment of an unusual, highly decorated tripod pitcher.

Some of these pre-priory features could be the result of occasional dumping of rubbish, or may be levelling connected with the actual construction of the church; for example, B XIII L9 (Phase VI, below) was a clay layer which formed the under-flooring for the whole extension to the N. nave.

¹³⁴ Copper-Alloy Objects Cat. Nos. 135–6, M III B5.

¹³⁵ Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. No. 66, M III G8.

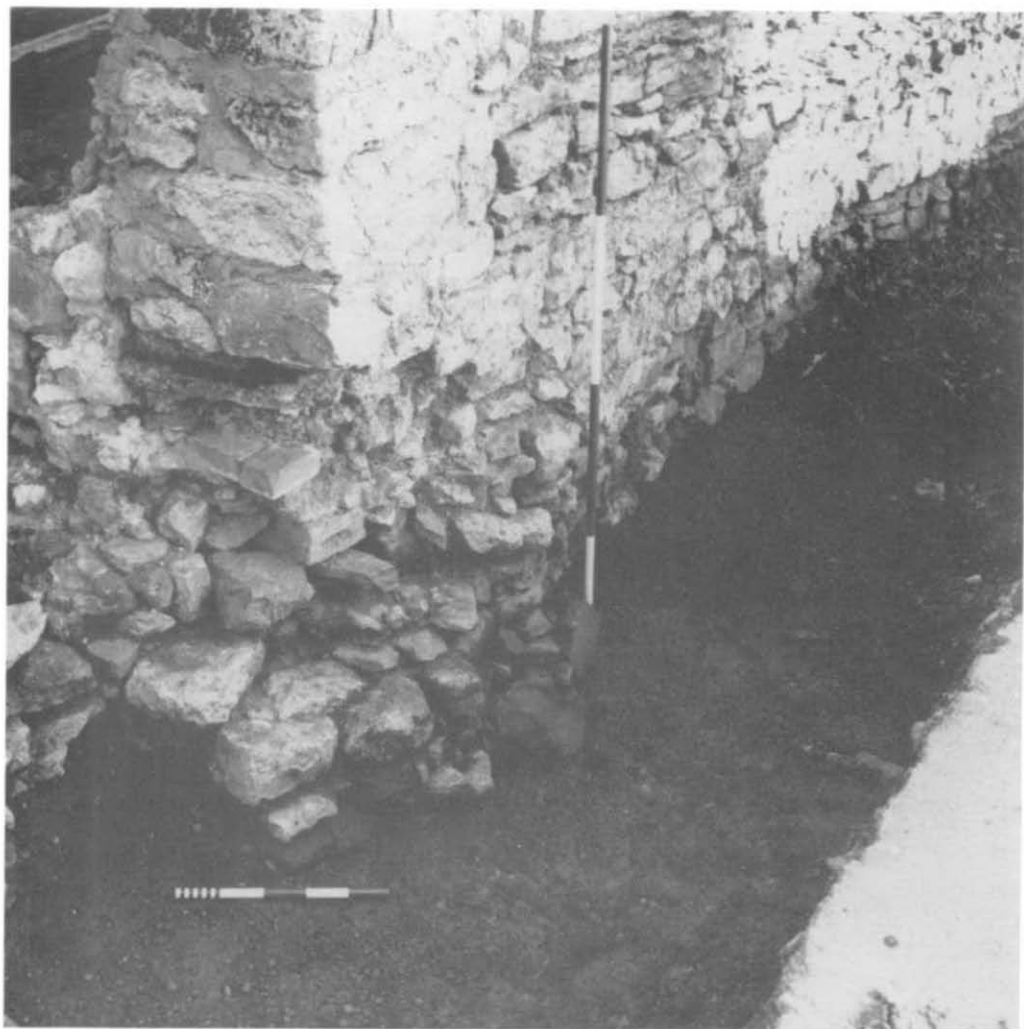


Plate 35. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase I. The N. wall of the choir, B I F1, and the robbed S. return of the sleeper wall dividing the choir from the nave. View from the S.W. Scales 2m. and 0.50m. Photo by K.W. Sheridan.

Phase I (Figs. 25–28, 38–39, 42; Pls. 29, 34–37, Trenches I, III, VII, XII A and B, XXXIII)

Phase I of the excavated church was of very primitive construction, with little use of mortar in its walls compared to the rest of the building. This phase was to form the choir of the completed church, but it is possible that it was originally a free-standing church in its own right. The N. wall (B I F1 (= II F1 and III F1) Pl. 29) coincided with the upstanding stretch of wall previously assumed to be the city wall. Since it was later incorporated within a post-Dissolution property boundary the base of this wall survived intact. It was well-preserved and bonded with a dark-brown, gravelly earth. In the N.W. corner a buttress, extending to the N., had been truncated by wall B I F20 (= II F20, Phase II), which had been built around it (Fig. 27). The N.E. corner of the choir and an external buttress were located in Trench III (Fig. 28; Pl. 34). A small excavation in 1970 uncovered the heavily robbed E. end and S.E. corner in the garden of 9 Charles Street (now Turn Again Lane) (Fig. 28). Only a few foundation stones (B XII A F4) resting on natural gravel were found *in situ* in the bottom of a construction-trench. The stones were bonded with a dark, yellowish-brown, rather soft clayey mortar. Small hard-packed stones, gravel and clay (B XII A L5) may have served as packing material for the wall. B XXXIII F59 was the S. choir wall robber-trench (Fig. 27). The remains of a buttress, B I F30, was



Plate 36. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase I. The N. side of the culvert in the N. wall of the choir, B I F2. Scale 2 m.
Photo by K.W. Sheridan.

located on the S. side of the choir within the area of Trench XXXIII, but this buttress was not subsequently relocated when Trench XXXIII was opened. The choir was divided from the nave by a heavily robbed sleeper-wall (Fig. 27; Pl. 35). Due to constraints on time the remainder of the choir was only excavated rapidly by machine, hence the unsatisfactory nature of the plan.

A culvert (B I F2, Fig. 26; Pl. 36–37) pierced the N. choir wall and was presumably designed to take storm-water. On the S. side of this culvert, i.e. on the church side of the wall, a stone-lined gutter came through the thickness of the wall and was probably used to take water from the roof of the church. The bottom of the culvert was carefully lined with dressed stone, beneath which was clay puddling. The storm-water must have run under the choir and so out to the Trill Mill stream to the S., although its outflow was not subsequently traced. Unlike the rest of the N. wall of the choir the culvert was mortar-bonded, which suggests that it may not have been an original feature. The only other architectural detail recorded was a jamb of an opening at the W. end of the N. wall of the choir (B I F7, Fig. 27).

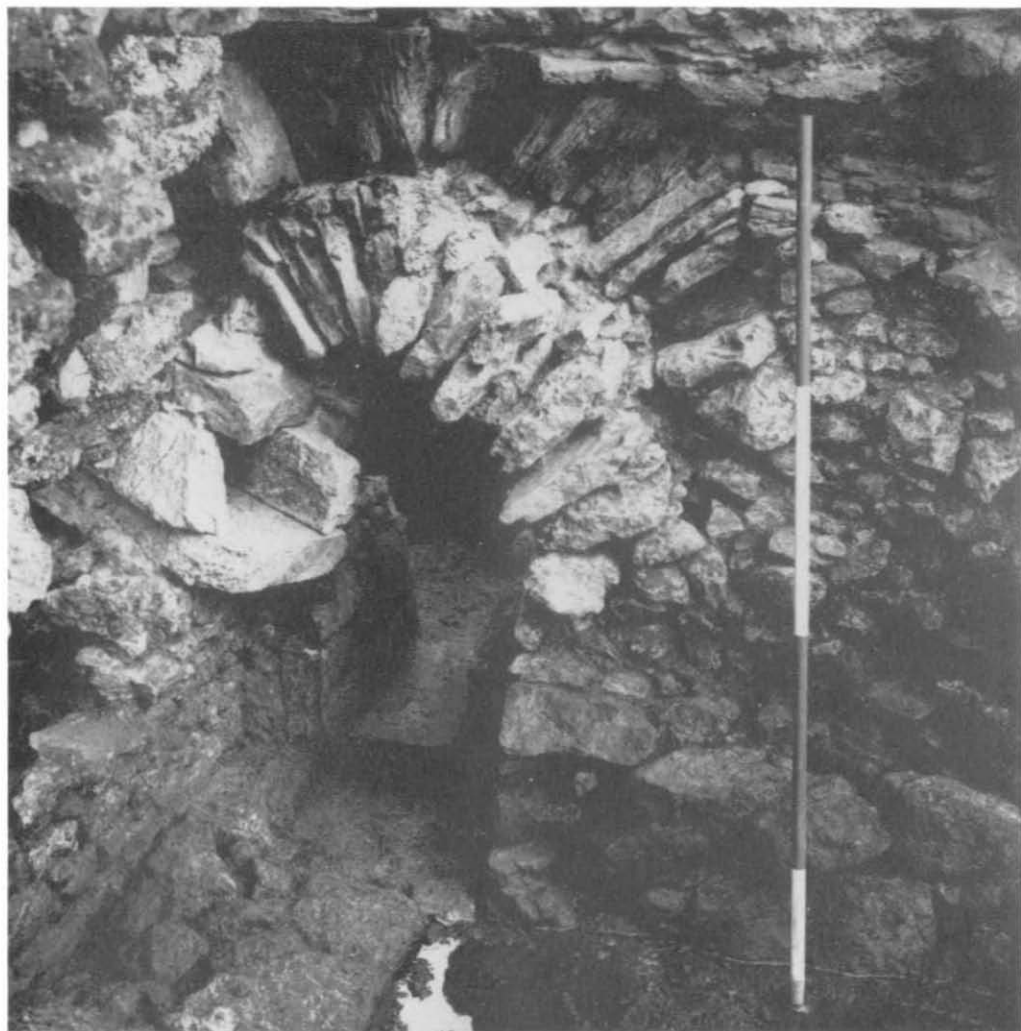


Plate 37. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase I. The S. side of the culvert in the N. wall of the choir, B I F2. Scale 2 m.
Photo by K.W. Sheridan.

The N. wall of the choir (B I F1) formed an integral part of the medieval town wall (Figs. 21, 28 and 84). B XII F1, located at the E. end, represented the continuation eastwards of the town wall, in which the junction of the two walls created a dog-leg. Unfortunately the choir wall (B XII F4) was heavily robbed at its junction with the town wall so that the precise relationship between the two was not clear, but it appeared that the E. wall of the choir abutted the town wall.

Phase II (Figs. 25–26, 29–31, 35–36, 38–39, 42; Pls. 38–42; Trenches I, II, IV, X, XXXIII)

The nave, N. aisle, a possible N. transept (the first N. nave) and a presumed bell-tower or steeple must have been constructed between 1244 (when land was acquired for enlargements) and c. 1270, on the evidence of the mouldings of the assemblage of pier-bases, B I F14 (Figs. 29–30, 72).¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Worked Stone Cat. No. 1 below.

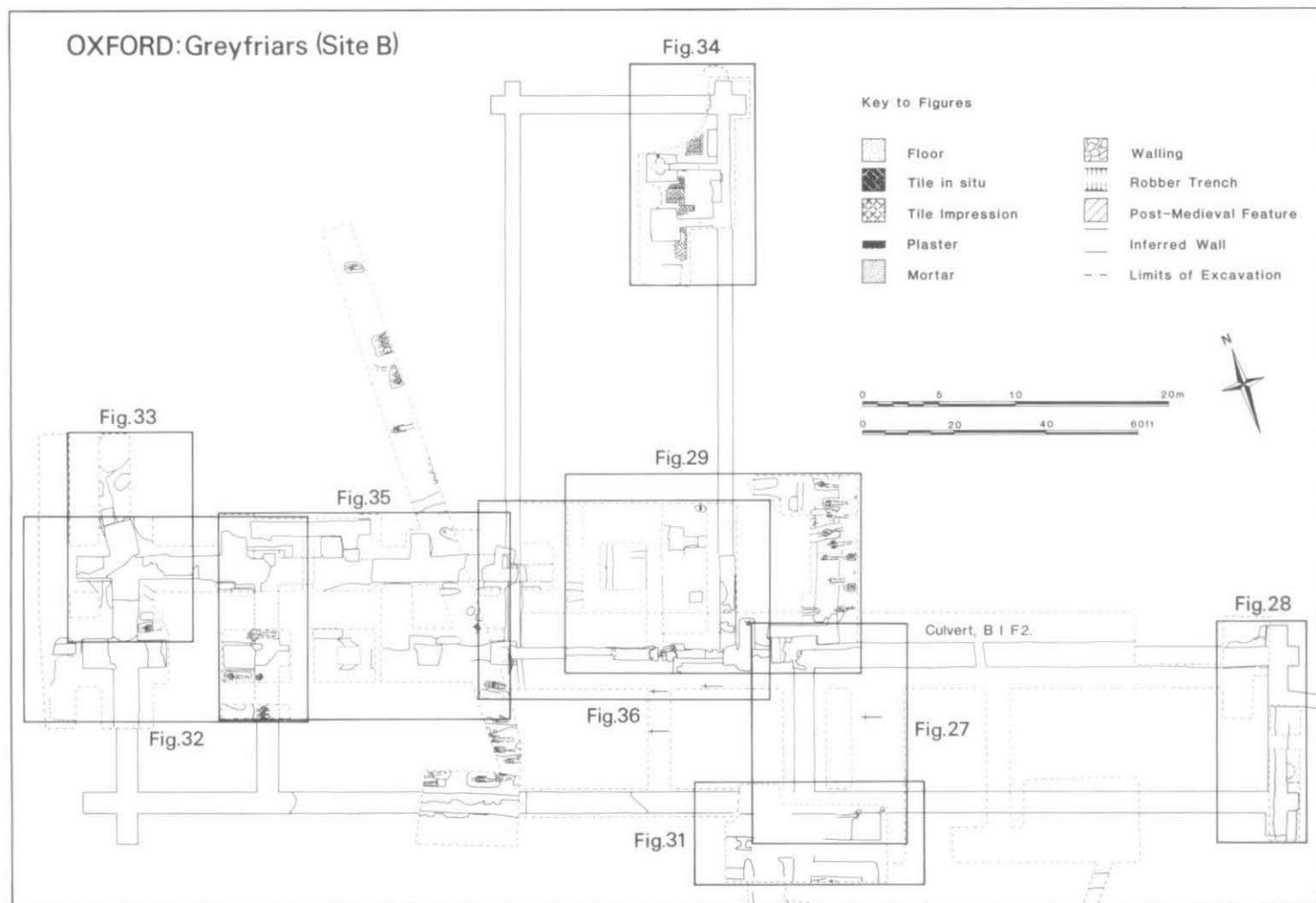
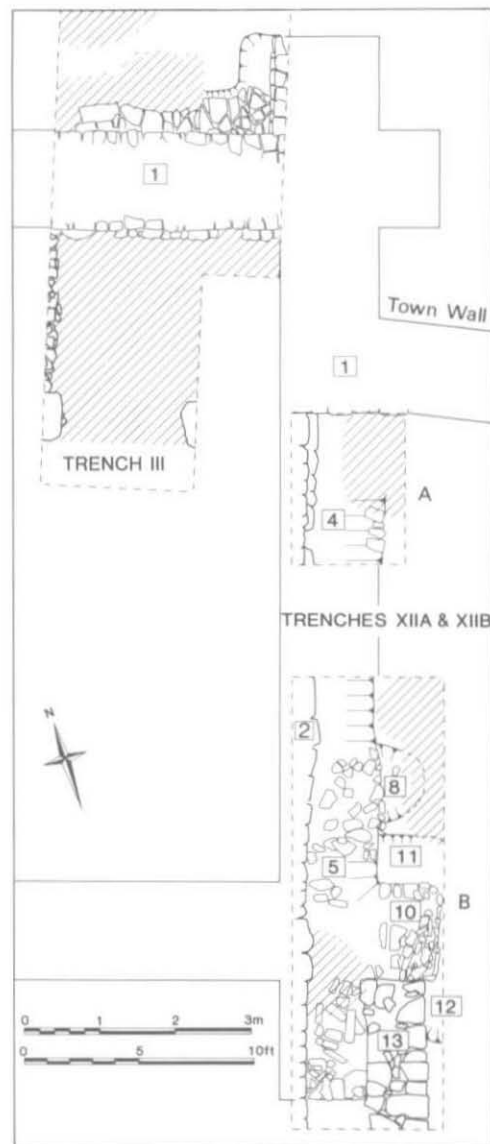
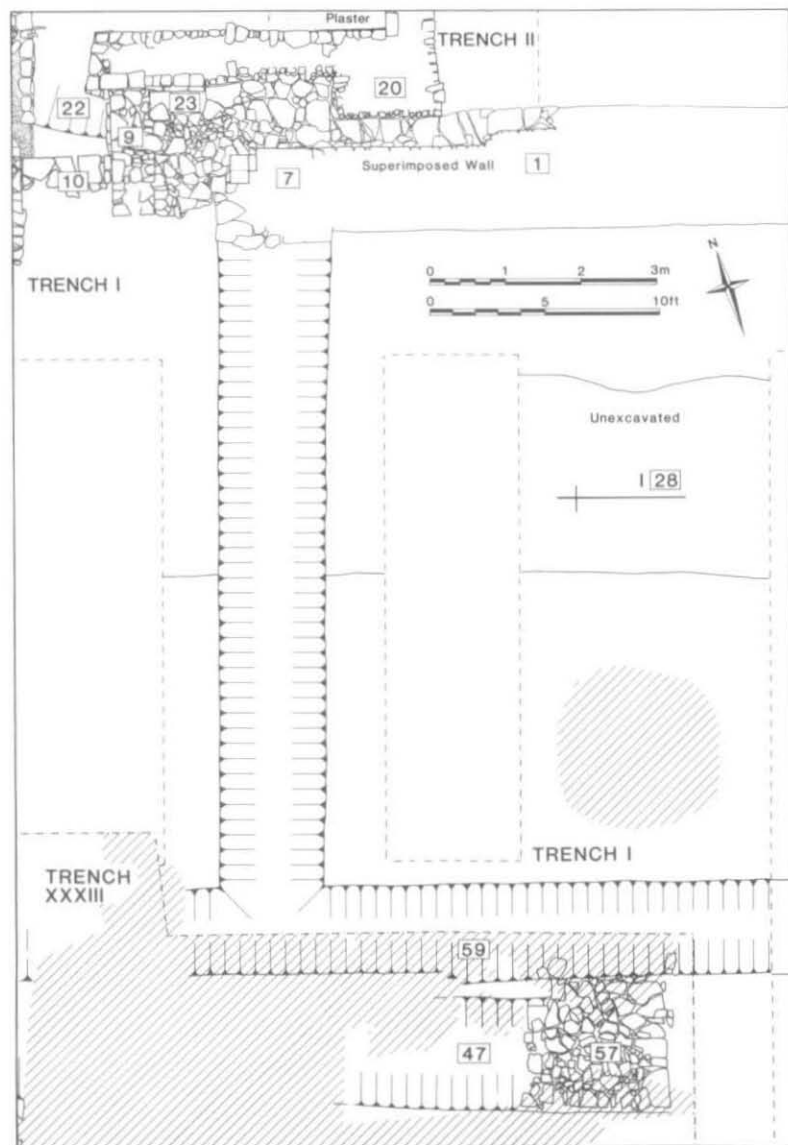


Fig. 26. Greyfriars, Site B: location plan of Figs.27-29, and 31-36, the detailed evidence plans.



Figs. 27–28. Greyfriars, Site B, *Left* Fig. 27. Evidence plan of the W end of the chancel. *Right* Fig. 28. Evidence plan of the E end of the chancel. The hatched areas represent post-medieval features.

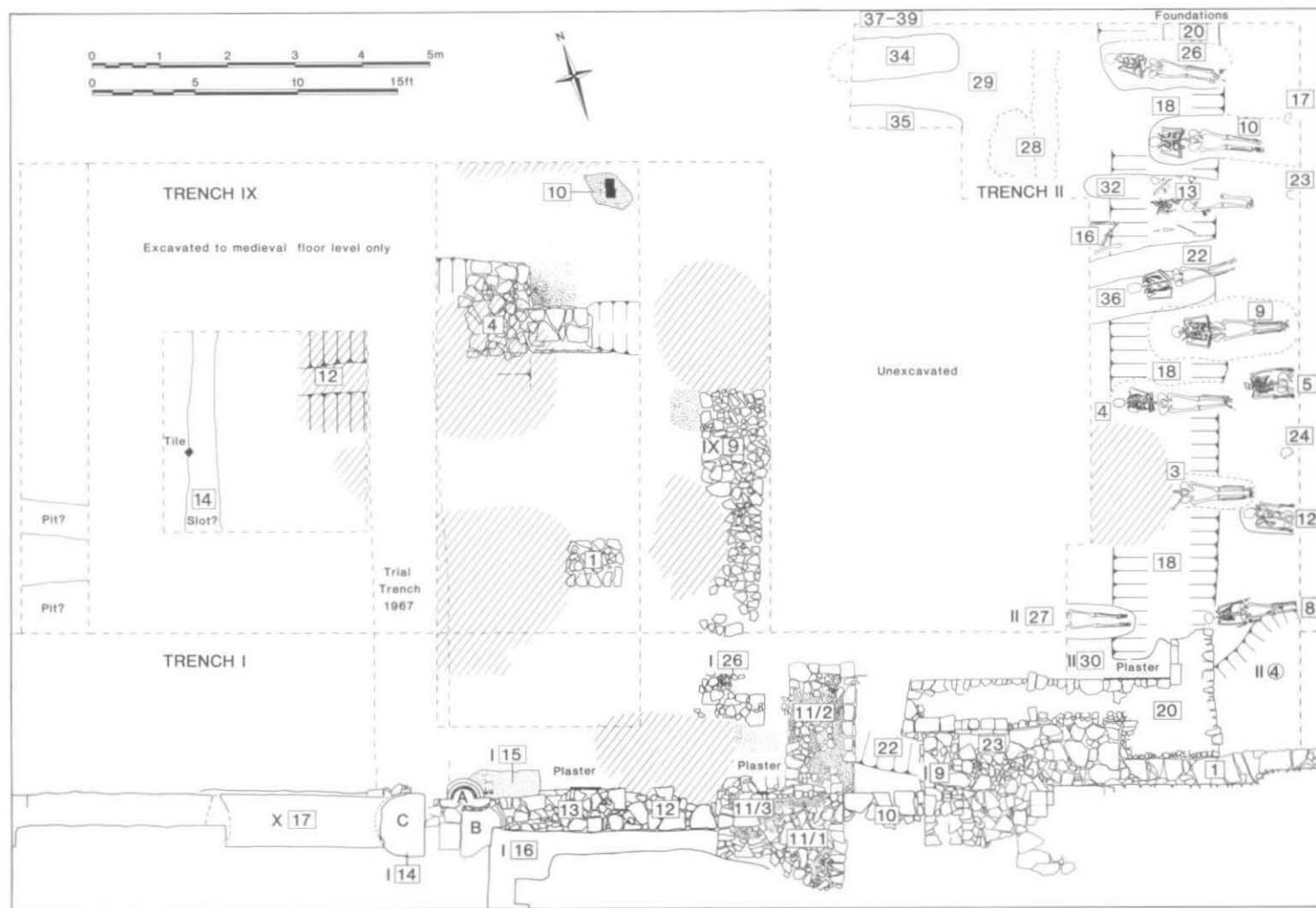


Fig. 29. Greyfriars, Site B: Evidence plan, showing the area of the N. transept and the S. end of the N. nave. The hatched areas represent post-medieval features.

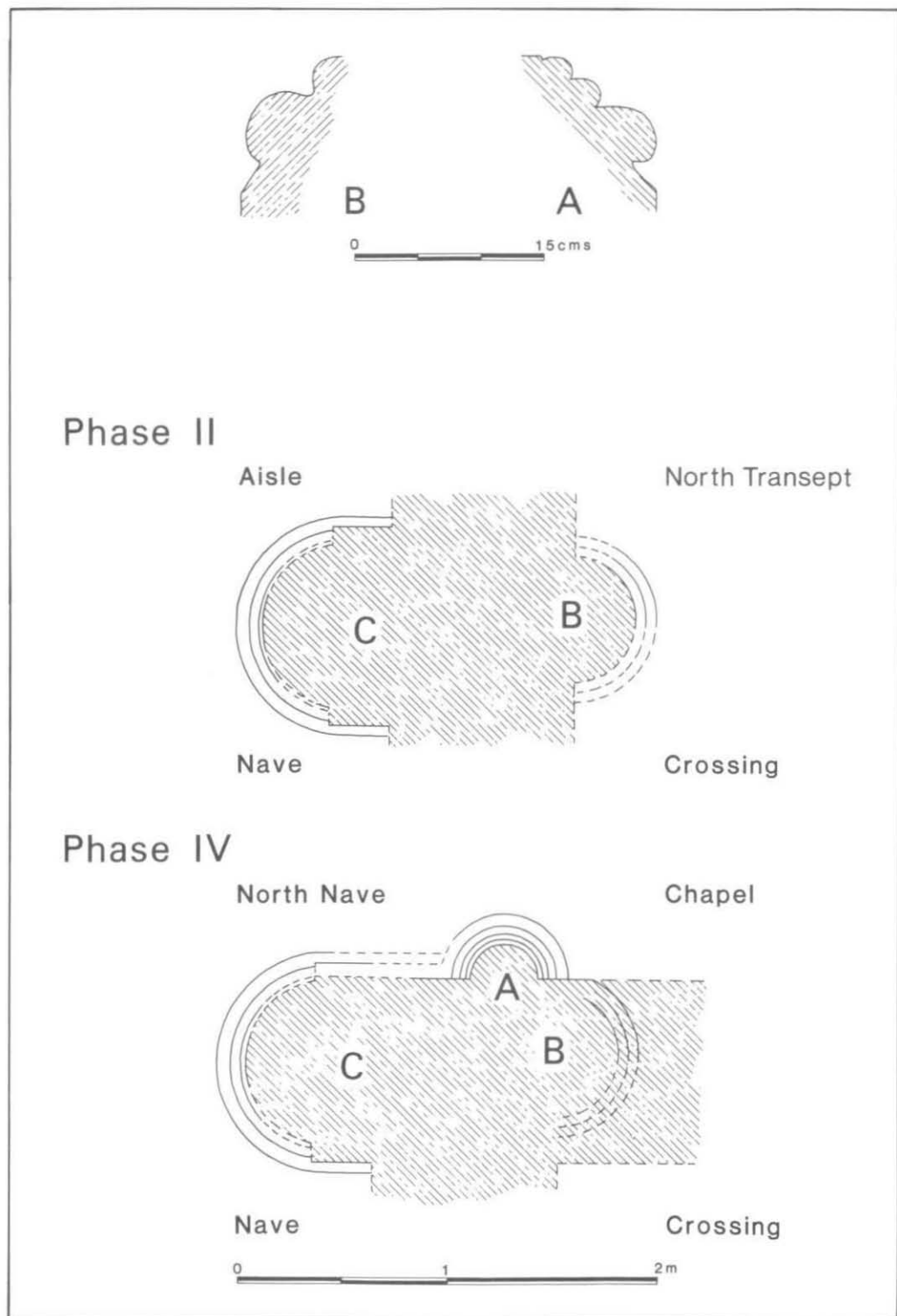


Fig. 30. Greyfriars, Site B: Interpretation plans of the assemblage of bases (A-C) at the junction of the N. arcade with the N. transept and later N. nave (B I F14, Worked Stone Cat. No.1, cf. below, pp. 241-2).



Plate 38. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase II, Trench IV. The S. wall of the nave, B IV F32. View from the S. Scale 2 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

The S. wall of the nave, B IV F32, was revealed in the S. extension of Trench IV (Fig. 26; Pl. 38). The foundation-trench of B IV F32, B IV F33, produced 19 residual, early to mid 13th-century sherds. Remains of a mortar floor, B IV F60, were found flush with the upper side of B IV F32.

The nave was separated from the N. aisle by an arcade of four piers which were built on individual bases and not on a continuous sleeper wall. The aisle must therefore have been an original feature. Base C of the assemblage of bases, B I F14 (Figs. 29–30, 72; Pl. 39),¹³⁷ must represent the eastern respond of this N. arcade. The easternmost free-standing pier can only be inferred (Fig. 39); the next two pier-bases going westwards (B X F5 and B X F15, Figs. 35–36) were fully recorded; the most westerly pier-base was not seen, but its existence was confirmed by the survival of the buttress (B X F16, Fig. 35) which corresponded to it. Pier-base B X F5 (Fig. 36) cut through the natural gravel, and the extent of the former pier plinth was shown by an area

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*



Plate 39. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase II. The assemblage of bases, B I F14. View from the N. Scale 0.50 m. Photo by G.S. Baker.

of flattened mortar on its surface. A hard white mortar surface with tile impressions, B IV F25, may be associated with B X F5. The pier-base was overlain by B X F4 and X F6 (Phase VIII, blocking walls). Westwards, B X F15 (Fig. 35) was robbed to the bottom two or three courses. It occupied a square hole, cut into the natural gravel, with no foundation-trench. Only the robbed foundation of the western respond of the arcade survived, but B X F17 represented the buttressed W. end of the arcade and nave; the remains of the external buttress are indicated by faced stone plinths (Pl. 40).¹³⁸ During the westwards extension of the nave in the following phase the original buttress was removed and replaced by a fifth pier-base (B X F18). A robber-trench, B X F17, continued N. and S., showing clearly the position of the original W. wall of the nave. It was overlain by several burials (B X F30, F33, F43, F44 and F53).

There was no evidence, in the form either of a foundation or of robber-trenches, of how the E. end of the Phase II N. aisle terminated. The N. wall of this aisle was entirely rebuilt in Phase V, although the original Phase II buttresses were kept *in situ* (Fig. 38). Buttress B X F2 formed part of the N. aisle wall (Figs. 35–36); B X F46, a late 12th- to early 13th-century pit, was cut by its footings. A small length of ashlar plinth in two chamfered courses was recorded on the E. side of B X F2, and returned eastwards along the aisle wall (Fig. 73; Pl. 41).¹³⁹ It was incised with three masons' marks, all different, and was identical to the plinth of the western buttress B X F17.¹⁴⁰ Buttress B X F2 survived because the W. wall of the N. nave (B X F1) was built over and around it in Phase IV. It extended eastwards of B X F1 as a truncated but continuous wall, with a clear foundation-trench.

Westwards was a small external buttress, B X F16 (Fig. 35), of the N. aisle wall, abutted to the W. by B X F10 (Phase V, N. aisle wall and buttress), and to the N. by a small structure built outside the aisle (B X F9) in Phase VII. B X F16 was robbed out to the S.

¹³⁸ Ibid. No. 3.

¹³⁹ Ibid. No. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. No. 3.



Plate 40. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase II: The original W. end of the nave with the remains of the faced stone plinth (Worked Stone Cat. No. 3) of the external buttress, B X F17. Phase III: The additional pier-base, B X F18. View from the N.W. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

The base of the external N.W. buttress and part of the W. end of the aisle, B X F49 (Fig. 35), also survived. This stonework was overlain by the Phase III W. extension of the church (B X F11). It was cut and partially removed by two post-medieval pits, B X F26 and F27. The latter had destroyed any clear evidence, above the water level, of the northern external buttress. However, there were indications that the stonework of B X F49 extended beyond the line of the N. edge of the N. aisle wall, forming a possible small buttress, like B X F16. The stonework abutted or was truncated by a possible wall, B X F52.

The remains of a sub-floor (or possibly a destruction layer), comprising a white mortar layer 2–10 cm. thick, was revealed within the N. aisle (B X F21, Fig. 35). It contained fragments of painted window-glass (Fig. 71, Nos. 96–97, 122, 124),¹⁴¹ and floor-tiles, including an uncommon printed tile (Type L.H. CCIX, Fig. 79, No. 8).¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Painted Window-Glass Cat. Nos. 96–7, 122–4, 175; M IV D12–13, M IV E2, M IV E6.

¹⁴² Tile Report below.



Plate 41. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase II. The eastern plinth (Worked Stone Cat. No. 2) of the buttress B X F2, after the removal of the W. wall, B X F1, of the N. nave. View from the N. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

At the N.W. corner of the choir was a substantial stone structure probably forming a N. transept on the site of the later 'N. nave' (B I F20, Fig. 29). The E. wall of this transept was later robbed and its site incorporated within the cemetery. Where this transept abutted the N.W. corner of the choir, the N. side of the choir wall was thickened (B I F9, B I F20 (= II F20), Fig. 29) and two courses of ashlar survived of the jamb (B I F7) at the N.W. corner of the choir (Pl. 42). B II F18, the robber-trench of B I F20, represented the E. wall of the transept. Despite apparently two phases of robbing, a few foundation stones were preserved at the N. end of the trench.

The N. and W. walls of the transept are shown as conjectural (Fig. 39). However, the existence of the W. wall can be inferred from the evidence of the assemblage of bases, B I F14 (Figs. 29–30, and 72), in accordance with an interpretation suggested by Dr. John Blair.¹⁴³ Bases B and C have identical mouldings and are probably of the same build and date (no later than the third quarter of the 13th century). The wall-faces do not line up on either side (Base B being smaller), which implies that these bases were separated by walls running off to the N. and S. The wall running to N. must have been the W. wall of the original N. transept; the wall running S. implies a crossing. Base B represents the W. respond of the arch between the crossing and the N. transept. Base C represents the E. respond of the N. arcade.

Traces of plain plaster were found on the N. face of B II F20, and B II L8, adjacent, contained much fallen plaster. The majority of painted wall-plaster fragments were found in the area of the N. transept.¹⁴⁴ Most of

¹⁴³ Worked Stone Cat. No. 1, pp. 241–2 below.

¹⁴⁴ Painted Wall-Plaster Report below.

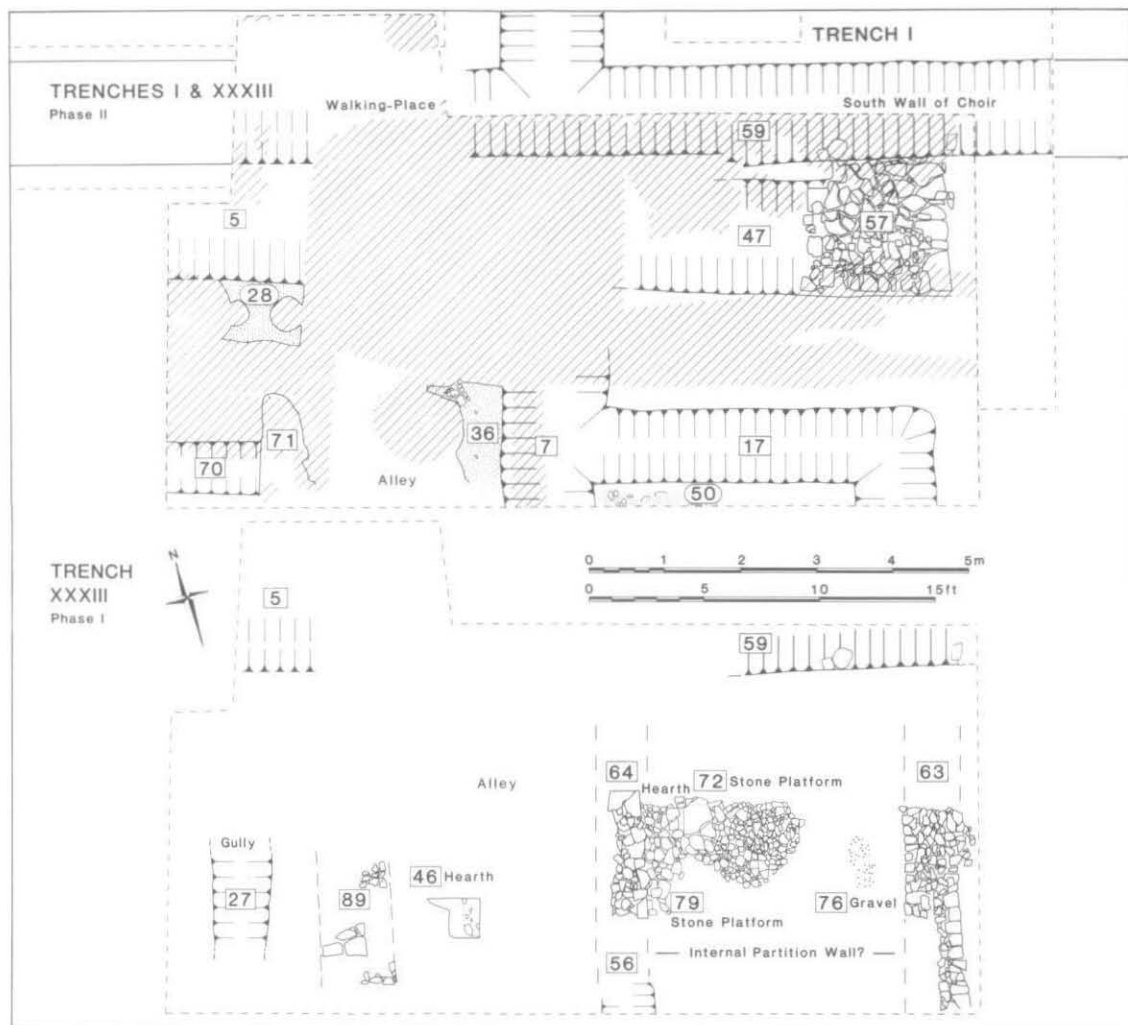


Fig. 31. Greyfriars, Site B: Evidence Plan, Trench XXXIII (Cloister Phases I (below) and II (above)). The hatched areas represented post-medieval feature.

the fragments consisted of cream plaster with red lines representing joints between ashlar blocks, but there were also fragments of yellow plaster with white painted lines, which is a less common combination.

Fragments of mortar floors were found within Trench II: B II F30, adjacent to B II F20; B II F29, at the N. end of the trench and cut through by many burials; and B II F37–F39, superimposed mortar floors which may represent resurfacing.

Finds from the destruction layers of the original N. transept (B II L2, L3, L10, L13 and L15) and robber-trench B II F18 comprised almost exclusively 13th-century pottery, floor- and roof-tiles, mortar and plaster.

A block forming half of a trefoiled arch-head, from wall-arcading, sedilia or a similar feature, was found re-used in the W. wall of the first 'N. nave' (B X F1) (Fig. 74, No. 5).¹⁴⁵ The form and the quarter-hollow

¹⁴⁵ Worked Stone Cat. No. 5 below.

mouldings would be consistent with a date in the second half of the 13th century, so that this block may perhaps have derived from the first 'N. nave'. It had substantial traces of white paint.

The inference of a N.-S. wall running southwards from between Bases B and C suggests that a 'walking-place' was created at the crossing (Fig. 38). Evidence from Trench XXXIII shows that there was a strengthening of the S. choir walls. A large E.-W. wall, B XXXIII F57 (Fig. 31), turned at 90 degrees to join the robber-trench (B XXXIII F59) of the S.E. corner of the choir and ran almost parallel to the robber-trench at a maximum distance of 0.30 m. away. This wall's foundation-trench cut B XXXIII F63, the E. wall of the cloister (Phase I), and appeared to be contemporary with the second phase of cloister building. The walling was well-faced on the E. and S. sides, with a very large quoin. On the opposite side B XXXIII F5 represented the robber-trench of the S. wall of the church, and possibly a strengthening of the wall comparable to B XXXIII F57. It was much truncated by post-medieval features (B XXXIII F2 and F49). The thickening on the N. side of the N.W. corner of the choir has been noted above (B I F9 and F20, Fig. 27); it matches the abutment found in Trench XXXIII on the S. side. This evidence for strengthening strongly suggests that there was a steeple or bell-tower over the crossing.

At the N.W. end of the church were the remains of another structure not obviously connected with the church, surviving in the form of wall B X F52. This wall was revealed during the excavation of a post-medieval pit, B X F27, S. of B X F9. It consisted of an E.-W. line of stones, unmortared but firmly set. This wall turned a corner at its E. end, while its S. end terminated on the line of the N. aisle wall robber-trench (B X F45). It cut natural gravel and lay below the water-level.

Phase III (Figs. 25-26, 32-33, 38-39, 42; Pl. 43; Trenches V, VI, X).

In this phase the church was increased in length by one bay throughout the width of the nave and aisle.

A considerable number of pits were found in the vicinity of this new W. end (Figs. 32-33). Some were left unexcavated, some produced medieval pottery which was not kept, some were ill-defined and poorly excavated. Pit B VI F10 (Fig. 33), N. of the church, contained 119 sherds dating from the 11th and 14th centuries. A bone spindle-whorl (Fig. 67, No. 67)¹⁴⁶ was also found. Pit B VI F14 (Fig. 33), revealed when Trench VI was extended to expose the W. end of the church, produced five 13th-century sherds. B V F30 (Fig. 32) contained ten 14th-century sherds.

Once the Phase III W. end had been built, the earlier Phase II W. end was largely robbed out and overlain by burials. However, part of the original W. end B X F17 (Fig. 32) was retained as a pier-base alongside the new pier, B X F18, which abutted and slightly overlay the earlier stonework. B X F18 had a construction-trench on its N. and S. sides which was recorded as cutting through skeleton B X F31, although this relationship does not appear on the plan.

A buttress and the N. wall of the N. aisle (B X F11, Fig. 32) survived from this extension. The E. end of the wall-footing rested upon the N.W. corner of the Phase II N. aisle (B X F49). The N. edge of the buttress was truncated by a post-medieval pit, B X F29. The line of the S. edge of B X F11 was c. 0.25 m. N. of the S. edge of the Phase II N. wall, although the W. (outside) edges were in line. On the S. edge the top stone courses overhung the bottom courses by c. 0.10-0.15 m., a characteristic shared with other Phase III walling, for example, B X F14 and B X F20 (Fig. 32). A mortar level (B X F38) on the S. side of B X F11 (Fig. 32), was possibly associated with the latter's construction.

The rectangular buttress base of the N.W. corner of the church, B X F14 (= B VI F8), had an irregular orientation, and only the footings are shown on plan (Pl. 43); it joined buttress B X F50 (= B VI F16). Both buttresses and the W. end of the church were robbed (B X F2). The W. end of the N. aisle (B X F20) was a strongly mortared N.-S. wall, also robbed. Sherds of glazed ridge-tile were found in the fabric of the wall.

A large external buttress, B X F19 (= B VI F31), countered the thrust of the arcade. It had a large plinth whose stones showed clear chisel-marks on the N.W. and S.W. corners. There was a respond, B X F48, on the E. side.

To the W. of the church was a narrow and poorly mortared wall, B V F1/2 (Fig. 32). This wall could have preserved the line of the town wall, but its construction was much slighter.¹⁴⁷

Phase IV (Figs. 25-26, 29-30, 36, 38, 40, 42; Pls. 44-45; Trenches I, IX, X)

The N. transept was rebuilt on a larger scale to form the start of what William Worcestre described as the 'N. nave', evidently with space for chapels along its E. side. The walking-place was reduced in size. This building work took place between c. 1270 and c. 1330.¹⁴⁸

The E. wall of the N. nave seems to have been represented by two short sections of unmortared walling, B

¹⁴⁶ Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. No. 67, M III G8, Fig. 166.

¹⁴⁷ Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, Figs. 11 and 60. It is suggested here that B V F1/2 is the town wall.

¹⁴⁸ Worked Stone Cat. No. 1 below.

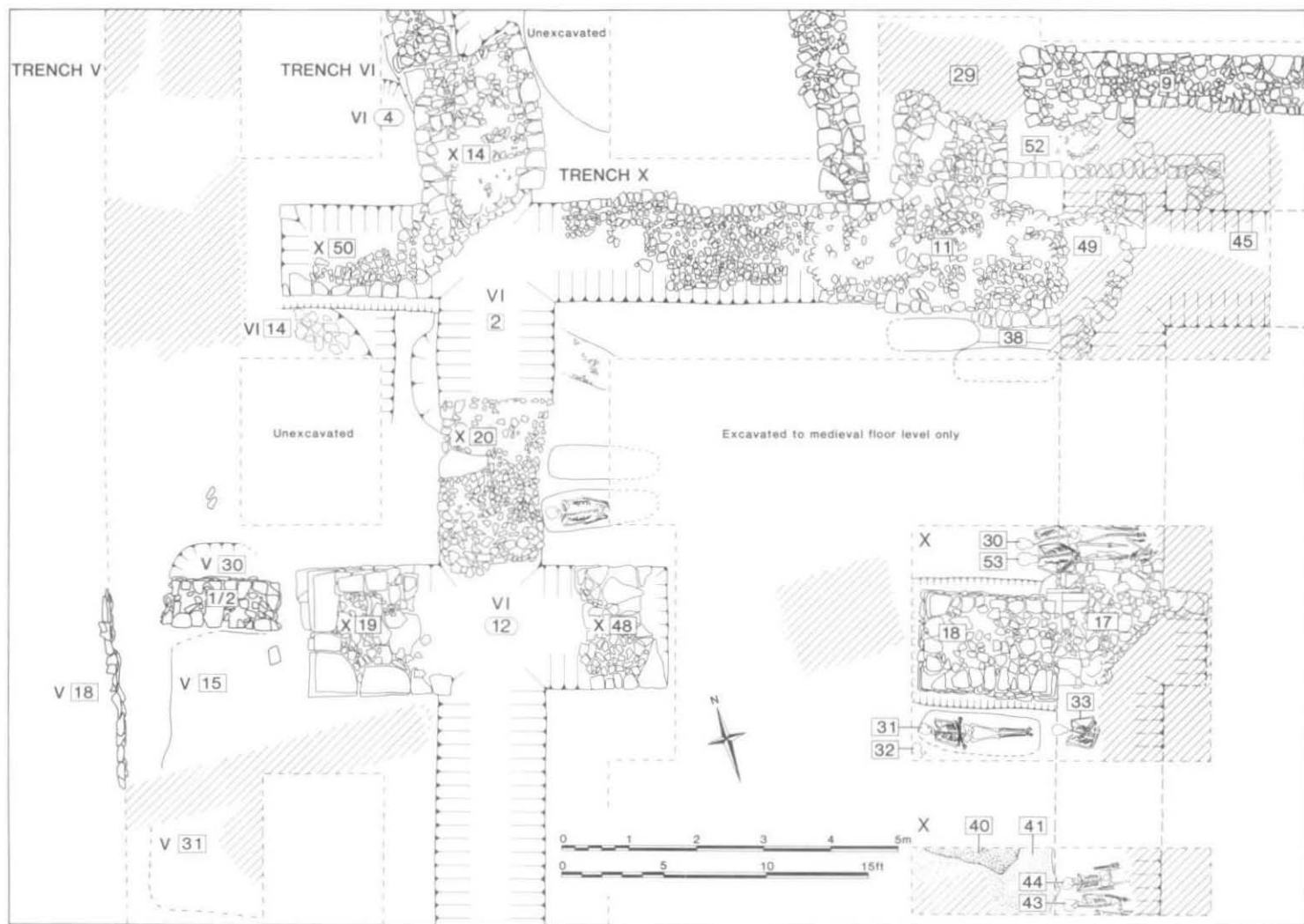
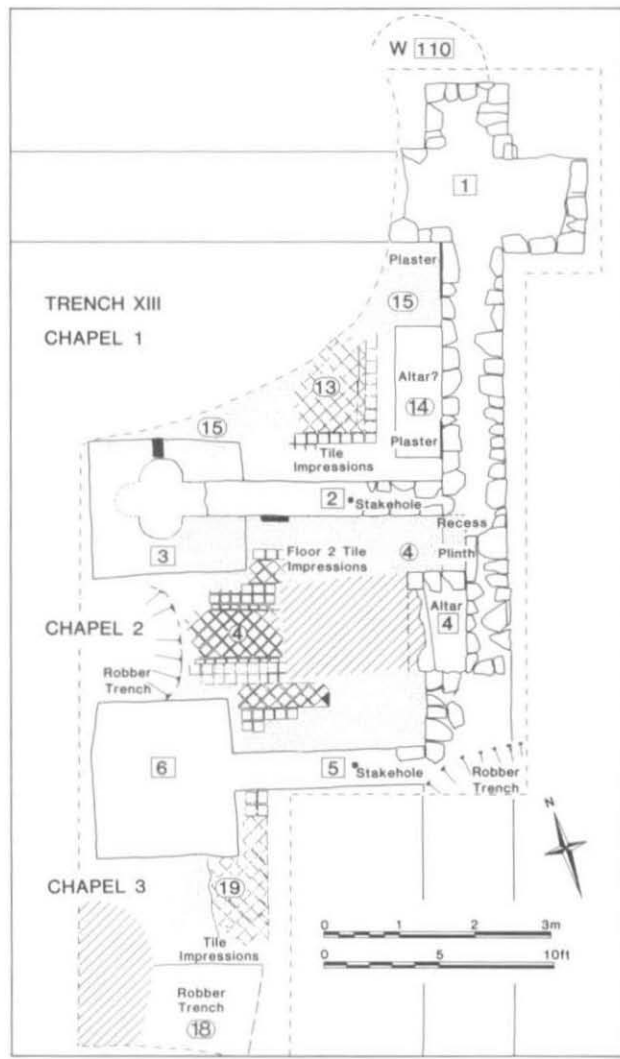
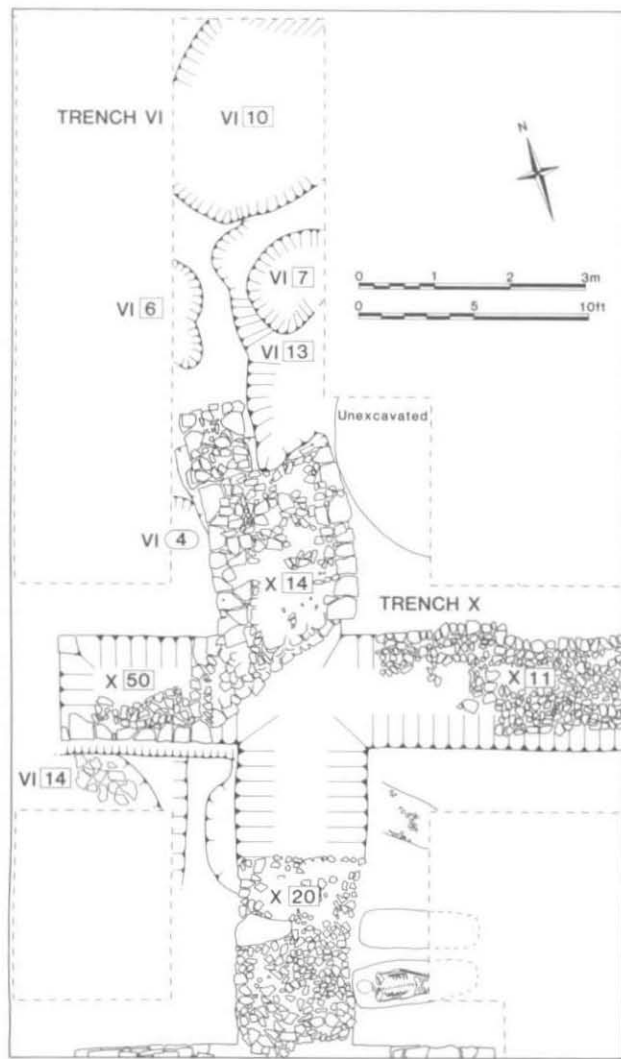


Fig. 32. Greyfriars, Site B: Evidence plan of the western extension of the nave and N. aisle (Phase III). the hatched areas represent post-medieval features.



Figs. 33-34. Greyfriars, Site B. *Left* Fig. 33. Evidence plan showing the pits excavated to the N. of the W. extension of the N. aisle. *Right* Fig. 34. Evidence plan showing the N. extension of the N. nave (Phase VI). The hatched areas represent post-medieval features.

IX F9 and I F26 (Fig. 36). However, these walls were very insubstantial compared with the other walls of the N. nave. Alterations were made to the walking-place: a N.-S. wall, B I F11/1, was superimposed onto a buttress, B I F11/2. The discovery of plaster on the N. face of wall B I F11/3, also superimposed on F11/2, suggests more than one phase of construction. The conjectured W. wall of the original N. transept running northwards between Bases B and C (B I F14) was replaced by Base A, which served as the S. respond of the arcade dividing the N. nave from the row of chapels along its E. side (Figs. 30, 36; Pl. 39). The moulding of Base A suggests a date in the late 13th or early 14th century. A wall, B I F13, running eastwards from Base B, blocked the arch to which it belonged, and was presumably part of the remodelling of the N. transept into the N. nave, and thus contemporary with Base A. A doorway to the E., B I F12, was blocked at a later date (Phase VIII). B IX F1 and F4 (Fig. 36) were the remains of the partition walls between the three southernmost chapels. The latter comprised the remains of a pier-base similar to those well-preserved in the later, more northerly chapels (Phase VI); it was robbed out to the E. and W. To the N. of B IX F4 two tiles within a white mortar floor were found *in situ* (Fig. 78, Nos. 4-5).¹⁴⁹ B IX F1 was a well-mortared, square stone feature, cut into on its W. side by a post-medieval pit (B IX F2).

The W. wall of the new N. nave (B X F1) survived as a standing wall because it was incorporated into a property boundary after the demolition of the church.¹⁵⁰ The S. end of B X F1 was built up against the E. face of B X F2, the free-standing buttress on the original N. wall of the N. aisle. An ashlar pier formed the internal angle between the W. wall of the N. nave and the N. wall of the N. aisle (Figs. 36, 73; Pls. 44-45).¹⁵¹ Like Base A, the chamfer-stop supports a date of c. 1270-1330.

The N.W. corner of the N. nave was only observed in a contractors' pile-hole, and the line of the N. wall has been conjectured (Fig. 40).

A possible timber slot, B X F14 (Fig. 36), whose function has not been interpreted, produced a quantity of tile: 18 fragments of plain, square tiles (representing the majority found in the main church building), and a Stabbed Wessex-type, L.H. XLIX (Fig. 78, No. 6). Tile and tile impressions were recorded in a floor layer, B I F15, abutting the N. side of wall B I F13 and Base A, B I F14 (Fig. 36). Two plain tiles with near-black glazes, found *in situ*, were lost during the contractors' work.

Trench IX produced many decorated floor-tiles, a number of which were either wasters or overfired. It is unlikely that such obvious wasters were carted over long distances to the friary unless they were to be used as floor make-up; it is more likely that they suffered severe secondary burning on the site such as might have occurred if they were close to a bell-foundry pit.¹⁵² A hearth or bell-pit, B IV F62 (not illustrated), was tentatively identified at the W. end of the church. It was poorly excavated, but produced 87 early 13th-century sherds.

Phase V (Figs. 25-26, 35, 38, 40; Trenches IV, X)

A stretch of the N. wall of the N. aisle was entirely rebuilt with a new wall and buttresses (Fig. 35), although the foundations of at least two Phase II buttresses were left *in situ* (B X F2, X F16). The new buttresses now no longer exactly corresponded with the piers of the arcade, which remained in their original positions. The evidence for the wall itself was largely removed by robber-trenches. The new buttresses B X F8 (= IV F10) and B X F10 (Fig. 35; Pl. 49) were larger than those of Phase II. The rebuilt wall, also numbered B X F8, and its construction-trench, B X F14, cut layers B X L21-24, which were interpreted as floors and build-up associated with Phase II (Fig. 35).

Two areas of hard yellow mortar, B IV F26 (Fig. 35), against B X F8 and B IV F27, may have represented the remains of the floor.

Phase VI (Figs. 25-26, 34, 38, 40, 42; Pls. 46-48; Trench XIII)

In this phase the 'N. nave' and the line of chapels on its E. side were extended even further northwards.

The footings of this phase had been deeply buried by post-Dissolution material and remained very well preserved, unlike other parts of the building. The most useful discoveries related to the identification of chapels 1-3 (numbering from the N.) (Fig. 34). Chapel 2 was in an especially fine state of preservation, with the base for its altar intact and with impressions of floor-tiles clearly preserved in the surviving mortar bedding.

Phase VI, which cannot be closely dated, sealed a number of features. A pit, W F110, was cut by the N.E. corner buttress (B XIII F1; Pl. 46) but, despite producing 37 sherds, cannot be closely dated. A possible well,

¹⁴⁹ Loyd Haberly Types II and XVII, Tile Report below. Unfortunately they were stolen during the excavation.

¹⁵⁰ Hassall et al. *op. cit.* note 1, Fig. 11.

¹⁵¹ Worked Stone Cat. No. 4.

¹⁵² Tile Report below.



Plate 42. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase II. The jamb, B I F7, at the N.W. corner of the N. wall of the choir. View from the N. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

B XIII F9, which was overlain by the church building, contained two sherds, while four 12th-century sherds were recovered from an under-floor, B XIII L5.

The N.W. corner of the extended N. nave was observed in a contractors' trench (Fig. 25), and was of the same construction as the N.E. corner buttress. The N., internal face of wall B XIII F1 in chapel 1 was constructed of faced ashlar blocks, giving way to a squared-block construction to the S. The construction was reminiscent of that employed in the building of the W. wall of the N. nave (B X F1, outer face, Fig. 36).

An E.-W. partition wall, B XIII F2 (Fig. 34), divided chapels 1 and 2, abutting the E. wall with a straight-joint. At this junction the partition wall comprised faced ashlar blocks with a rubble core. Elsewhere it was constructed of dressed stone, like B XIII F1. Deep footings were observed on the S. (but not the N.) side. B XIII F2 terminated with a large rectangular pier-base, B XIII F3, on which was the impression of a trefoil-plan pier. Both faces of B XIII F2 bore traces of plaster.

The partition wall dividing chapels 2 and 3, B XIII F5, was partially robbed. The E. end was not faced with ashlar blocks at the corners, as B XIII F2. The footings, which were comparatively irregular, rested on



Plate 43. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase III. The N.W. corner buttress, B X F14, of the N. aisle with its robbed-out W. wall beyond. View from the N. Scale 2 m. Photo by K.W. Sheridan.

natural gravel. Stakeholes were apparent within the rubble core of walls B XIII F2 and F5. B XII F5 terminated with a rectangular pier-base, B XIII F6, which though robbed survived to two or three courses below the floor-levels of chapel 2. The pier-base between chapels 3 and 4 survived only as a robber-trench, B XIII L8.

In the N.E. corner of chapel 2, a three-tiered structure with a carved plinth resting on the upper tier was built into the E. wall of the N. nave (below, pp. 242-3, No. 12). The recess of B XIII F1 was a secondary alteration. A stone altar-base, resting on a thin plaster surface, was preserved against the E. wall of chapel 2 (Pl. 47). It comprised one course of large rubble stones faced with plaster. Faced ashlar blocks embedded in B XIII L4 (chapel 2 Floor 2 below) remained at the N. end. Within chapel 1 the former presence of an altar, positioned as in chapel 2, was indicated by a gap in the wall-plaster of B XIII F1. In addition a dark-brown gravelly earth layer with some stones (B XIII L14) formed a stepped structure against the E. wall of the nave, and appeared to represent an altar emplacement.

A hard yellow-ochre clay layer, B XIII L9 (= L21) (0.8-0.25 m. thick), probably formed the under-flooring for the three chapels and indeed the complete extension. It was seen to extend across the area of chapels 2 and 3,



Plate 44. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase IV. The S. corner of the W. wall of the N. nave, B X F1 (right), resting on the foundation of the Phase II N. wall of the N. aisle, B X F2, before dismantling. The Phase VIII blocking wall, B X F4, is to the left with the post-medieval property wall superimposed across the top of both walls. View from the E. Scale 2 m. Photo by K.W. Sheridan.

abutting B XIII F2, F3, F5 and F6, and into the body of the N. nave. At the S. end of the N. nave a similar clay layer abutted the N.E. corner of B IX F4 (Phase II, Fig. 36) and was overlain by an *in situ* tile floor, B IX F10.

Four mortar floors were recorded within Trench XIII. The earliest, Floor 4, was traced over the entire excavated areas of chapels 2 (B XIII L7) and 3 (B XIII L19, Fig. 34), and into the body of the N. nave immediately W. of pier-base B XIII F3. It rested on a thin layer of brown earth (chapel 2, B XIII L8, chapel 3, B XIII L20), which overlay the clay under-flooring (B XIII L9). In chapel 3, well-marked tile impressions were recorded (Fig. 34). Chapel 2 was excavated rapidly and it is possible that similar impressions were missed. Floor 4 overlay pier-base B XIII F3 and abutted the S. face of B XIII F2. It appeared to be equivalent to B XIII L15 in chapel 1, which also overlay B XIII F3 and contained *in situ* tiles (Figs. 34 and 78, No. 3).¹⁵³

Floor 3 was only recorded in chapel 2 (B XIII L4). It overlay a gravelly earth accumulation (B XIII L5-6) above Floor 4. It consisted of a hard-packed white mortar with fine gravel, 3-4 cm. thick, and abutted B XIII F2 and F5. Fragments of tile remained *in situ* adjacent to B XIII F2 (Fig. 78, No. 2)¹⁵⁴ and southwards a regular

¹⁵³ Tile Report below.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*



Plate 45. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase IV. The corner of the W. wall of the N. nave (B X F1) after partial dismantling. View from the S.E. Scale 2 m. *Photo K.W. Sheridan.*

pattern of clear tile impressions in a mortar bedding were recorded (Pl. 48). The impressions were truncated by a post-medieval pit (B XIII F8) and additional later disturbances.

Floor 2 was represented by a thin mortar layer (B XIII L2) in the N.E. corner of chapel 2. The gravel underlay (B XIII L3) was exactly similar to that recorded beneath Floor 3. Floor 1 (B XIII L13, Fig. 34) was seen to overlie Floor 4 in chapel 1, and itself was overlain by the Trench XIII destruction layer (L1). Indistinct tile impressions, reminiscent of those within chapel 3 (B XIII L19), were observed. The E. edge of the tile floor was clear and terminated 0.22 m. away from the altar emplacement (B XIII L14).

A grey-white mortar demolition layer, B XIII L1, containing many fragments of faced stone, glass, tile and plaster, overlay the entire area of the excavation. It appeared that the site was levelled at the time of its destruction, and this is borne out by the comparatively slight robbing of the stonework.

Phase VII (Figs. 26–26, 35, 38, 40, 42; Pl. 49; Trench X)

A small structure was built outside the N. aisle (Fig. 35).

An E.–W. wall, B X F9 (Pl. 49), abutted buttresses B X F16 (Phase II) and B X F10 (Phase V). The wall was partially cut by a post-medieval pit, B X F27, revealing the footings, which were not mortar-bonded, unlike the top three or four courses. The W. end terminated with a small buttress. Its junction with B X F49



Plate 46. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase VI. The N. wall of the extended N. nave, B XIII F1, with the N.E. corner buttress (left) and the interior of Chapel 1 (top right). View from the W. Scale 2 m. Photo by T.E. Ward.

(Phase II) was robbed out by the post-medieval pit to below the water level, but there were stones below the water level indicating that they joined.

Phase VIII (Figs. 25–26, 36, 38, 41–42; Pl. 50; Trenches I, IX, X)

Blocking walls B X F4, F6, B I F12 and F17 (Fig. 36) are assigned to Phase VIII, the last structural phase.

The N.–S. wall B X F4, between B X F2 and F6, was straight-jointed with B X F2 (Phase II) and built over the pier-base B X F5 (Phase II) (Pls. 44, 50). The E.–W. wall B X F6 was of the same build. It was straight-jointed to, and slightly overlay, B X F5. Incorporated in both of these well-built walls, and B I F17, were many fragments of faced stones (Figs. 74–75, Nos. 6, 8, 11, 14, 25–26).¹⁵⁵ Within B X F4 were the fragments of a statue of St. James the Greater (Pls. 54–55).¹⁵⁶ B X F4 and F6 became post-Dissolution

¹⁵⁵ Worked Stone Cat. Nos. 6–11, 14, 25, 26 below.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* No. 28

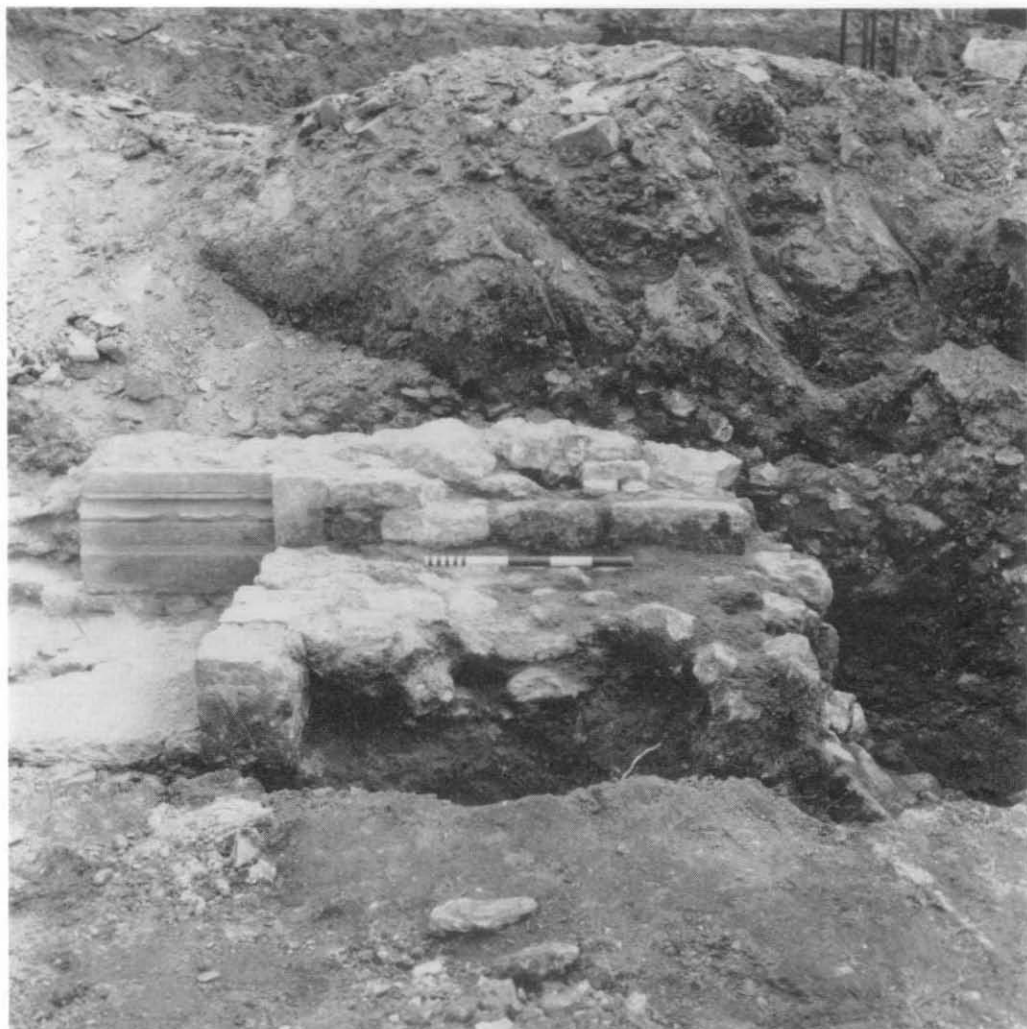


Plate 47. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase VI. Chapel 2, the altar, B XIII F4. View from the W. Scale 0.50 m. *Photo by T.E. Ward.*

boundary walls,¹⁵⁷ but they were of a much higher standard of craftsmanship than any other post-medieval walls on the site, and they had been very carefully fitted around the surviving mouldings (B X F2, F5 and B I F14). The E. face of B X F4 was built exactly in line with the E. face of the W. wall of the N. nave (B X F1), in contrast to post-medieval wall B X F7 (Fig. 36). Further, although more narrow than any of the external walls of the church the footings went to a similar depth, suggesting that they were load-bearing.

The Cloisters (Figs. 25–26, 31, 37, 42; Trenches XIV–XXXIII)

Two phases of building, and evidence for a bell-tower over the walking-place, were excavated in the E. range of the cloister. Elsewhere substantial remains of walls survived and a culvert was recorded.

¹⁵⁷ Hassall et al. *op. cit.* note 1, Fig. 11.



Plate 48. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase VI. Chapel 2, mortar bedding for Floor 3, B XIII L4, with floor tile impressions. View from the W. Scale 0.50 m. Photo by T.E. Ward.

Trench XXXIII (Figs. 25–26, 31, 37, 42) by Tim Allen

Pre-Priory Features

The earliest recorded features were two pits, B XXXIII F85 and F86 (not illustrated), which were dug into the natural gravel and contained four 12th-century sherds and animal bone. These pits were the only evidence of pre-priory activity recorded within the trench.

Phase I (Figs. 25–26, 31)

Overlying B XXXIII F85 and F86 were a series of clay and loam layers, B XXXIII L68–69, L93 and L101–102, which were in turn overlain by the first priory floors (B XXXIII L81, L90). The earliest layers appeared to



Plate 49. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase VII. The possible chapel on the outside of the N. aisle. Its wall, B X F9, is on the right, with a Phase II buttress, B X F16, on the left and a Phase V buttress, B X F10, behind. View from the E. Scale 2 m. Photo by K.W. Sheridan.

represent dump material brought in to level the ground for the building of the cloisters (comparable to B XIII L9 above). Twelfth-century pottery was recovered from these layers.

Two fragmentary N.-S. walls, B XXXIII F63 and F64, and a N.-S. robber-trench, B XXXIII F89, defined the E. range of the cloister and its alley (Fig. 31). The walls were much damaged. The N. end of B XXXIII F63 was cut by B XXXIII F57, the choir extension wall, and the S. end was cut by B XXXIII F17, the robber-trench of the Phase II cloister walls, which also cut B XXXIII F64. B XXXIII F64 was additionally cut by the robber-trench of the choir extension wall, B XXXIII F47, and the W. face and half the wall had been removed by B XXXIII F7 and by a modern excavation trench. B XXXIII F56 probably represented a robbing of the wall southwards.

The outer stones of B XXXIII F63 were roughly dressed on the E. and W. faces, but they were in general irregular; they were smaller and rougher than those of B XXXIII F64. On the E. side a possible E.-W. wall or buttress was represented by B XXXIII F22, a robber-trench (not shown on plan). The E. face of B XXXIII F64

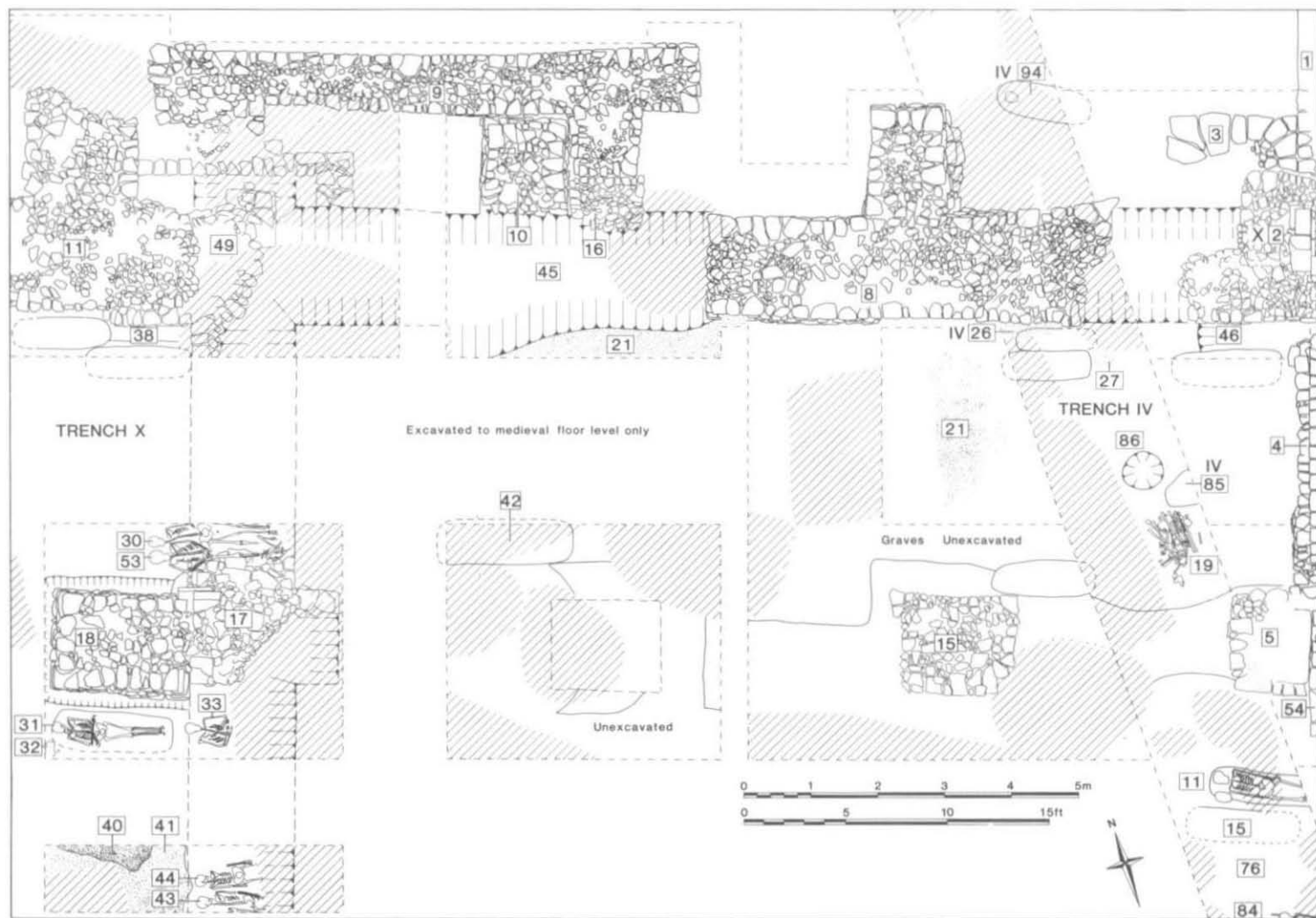


Fig. 35. Greyfriars, Site B: Evidence plan of the N. aisle. The hatched areas represent post-medieval features.

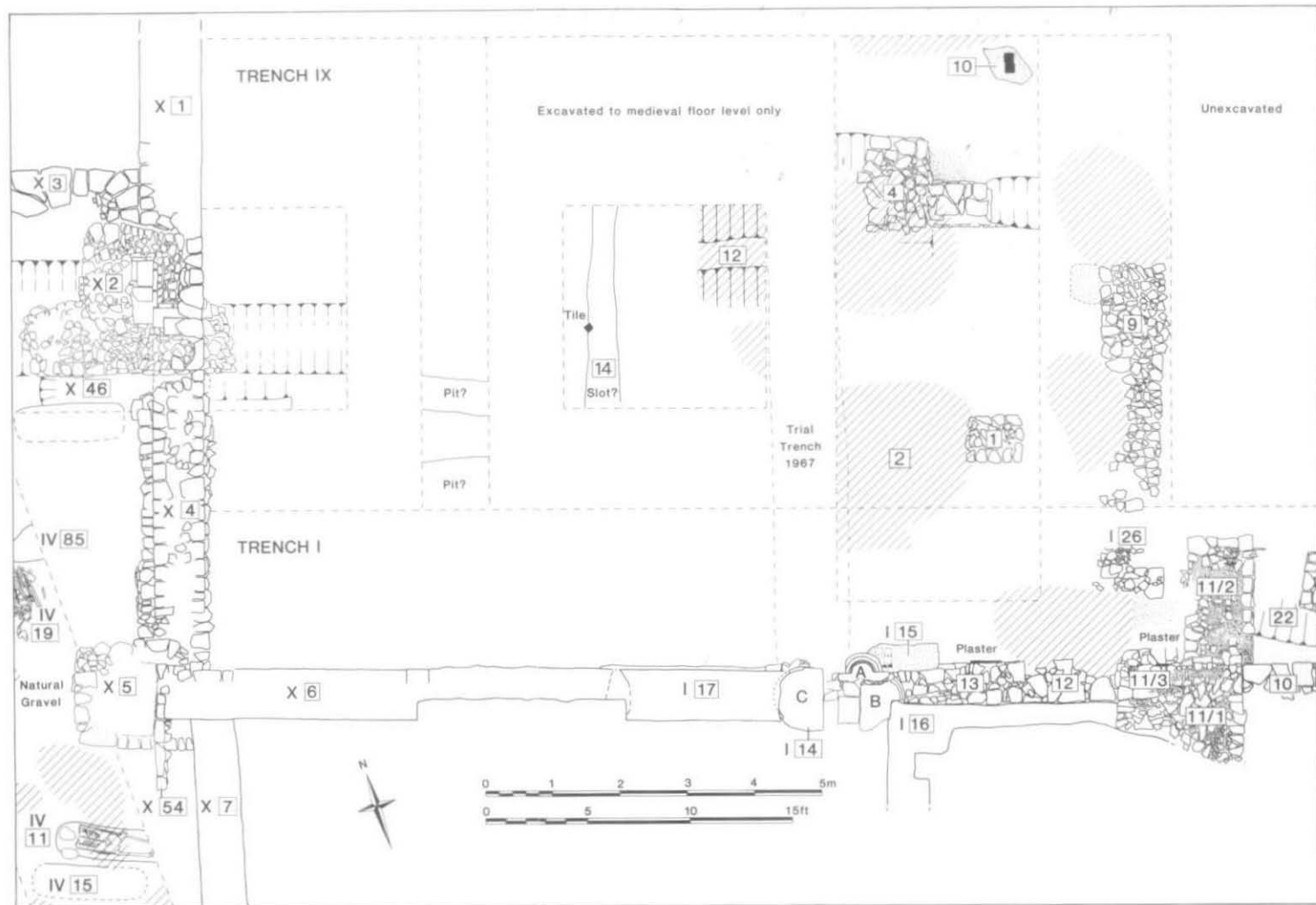


Fig. 36. Greyfriars, Site B: Evidence plan of the S. end of the second N. nave. The hatched areas represent post-medieval features.

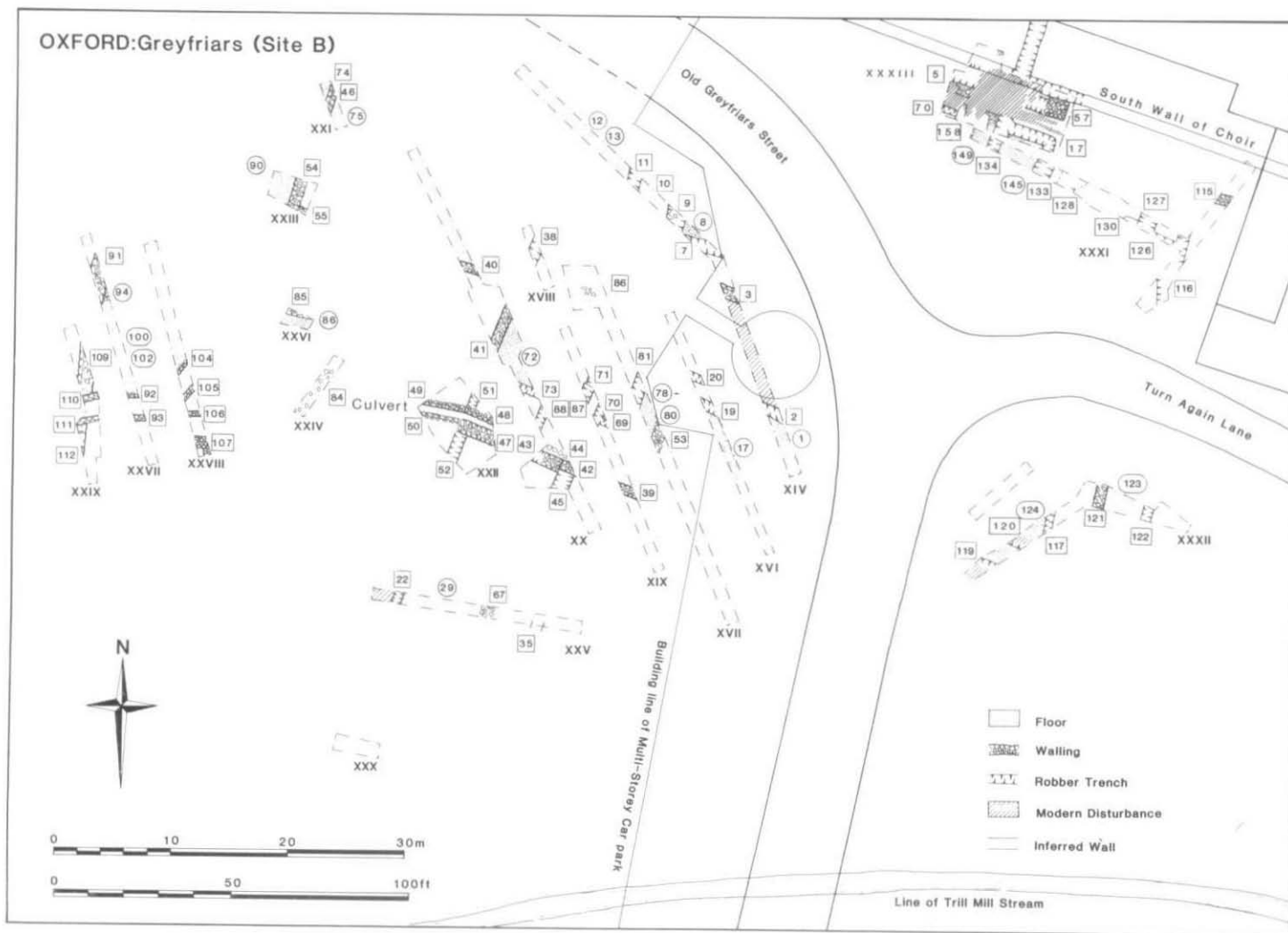


Fig. 37. Greyfriars, Site B: evidence plan of the cloisters.



Plate 50. Greyfriars, Site B. Phase VIII. The blocking wall, B X F4, capped by a concrete footing on the modern property boundary. View from the W. Scales 2 m. *Photo by K.W. Sheridan.*

was fairly regular, and the stones were more squarely shaped than those of B XXXIII F63. It was abutted to the E. by B XXXIII F79, a stone platform. B XXXIII F89 represented a robbed N.-S. wall.

It is probable that the walls of the cloister range originally extended northwards to the S. wall of the church. It is suggested that an internal partition ran across the range, between B XXXIII F63 and F64. This suggestion is based on a difference of stratification observed N. and S. of B XXXIII F17. Northwards the cloister floor was twice renewed and raised (possibly to avoid flooding). B XXXIII L75, a floor(?), was contemporary with the stone platforms B XXXIII F79 and F72, upon which a hearth(?) was built. South of B XXXIII there was no evidence for floors being renewed.

B XXXIII F46 contained burnt stones and traces of a hearth which must have been nearby. It represented temporary occupation of the site subsequent to the levelling in preparation for a major reconstruction of the cloisters (see below, Phase II).

Phase II (Figs. 25-26, 31)

B XXXIII F57 represented an extension or thickening of the S. wall of the choir. Further W., B XXXIII F5 represented the robber-trench of the S. wall of the church, and possibly a strengthening of the wall comparable



Plate 51. Greyfriars, Site B. The cloister. The culvert under the W. range of the cloisters whose S. wall, B XXII F47, is on the left of the photograph. Scales 2 m. View from the E. *Photo by B. Durham.*

to B XXXIII F57. Together they probably represented a strengthening of the wall for the construction of a bell-tower or steeple.¹⁵⁸

The rebuilding of the E. cloister range was represented by B XXXIII F17, a robber-trench. The E. wall of the range evidently turned westwards before reaching B XXXIII F57, but the alley wall, represented by the robber-trench of the W. wall, B XXXIII F7, continued northwards and may have joined the thickened choir wall. The area between B XXXIII F57 and F17 possibly became an external stair-well.

The garth wall of the N. cloister alley was probably represented by a deep E.-W. trench, B XXXIII F70, and the abutting shallow depression, B XXXIII F71, which was probably the foundation of the garth wall of the E. alley. The projection of B XXXIII F71 beyond the return of B XXXIII F70 was possibly a corner column projecting from the two walls. The greater depth of B XXXIII F70, and the fact that it was parallel to the choir extension, indicated that it was used as an additional buttress to take part of the weight of a tower.

¹⁵⁸ Discussed above, *The Excavation Evidence, The Church, Phase II.*

The first alley floor of this phase was probably the tiled floor, B XXXIII F36. Two substantially complete, and three worn and fragmentary tiles were found *in situ* (Fig. 78, Nos. 9–11).¹⁵⁹ B XXXIII F36 was replaced by a second floor of which only the mortar remained (B XXXIII L28 and L35). No trace of the tiling of this second floor was evident, and the hardened surface of the mortar suggested that it may only have been a mortar floor. Inside the cloister two floors appear to have been laid. A fine cream-coloured mortar layer, B XXXIII L52, represented the first floor, possibly originally tiled since the mortar was soft. B XXXIII L52 was replaced by B XXXIII L50. The latter consisted of a light orange mortar and gravel, solid in places, loose elsewhere. It was overlain by a number of tiles and half-tiles, none contiguous, and hard white mortar. The floor was much disturbed.

Before the destruction of the building a layer of clay, B XXXIII I26, was dumped over the cloister floor.

Trenches XIV–XXXII (Figs. 37, 42; Pl. 51)

These trenches located many robbed walls but left considerable problems of interpretation, which could not be solved because of the unsatisfactory method of excavation (Fig. 37). The walls were not all parallel or at right-angles with each other; furthermore, the distribution of mortar levels, which in the previous excavations indicated the presence of internal rather than an external surfaces, did not seem to provide much clarification. Inevitably, therefore, conclusions as to the overall layout of the buildings uncovered must be fairly general.

Although the details of the buildings are impossible to analyse in detail the general layout seems clear (Fig. 42). The excavations in 1976 still support the view that the walls found in 1970 represent the S.W. corner of the cloister (B XIV F3, 7, 9 and 11). If this interpretation is correct then the W. range of the cloister extended southwards as far as a culvert (B XX F43–44, B XXII F47–50. Pl. 51). This culvert, which took water from the Trill Mill stream, must have been used as a drain under the building. The S. range originally stopped immediately S. of the culvert (B XXII F47), but was later extended by a further range (B XX F45; XXII F52; XXV F22) which must have reached the N. bank of the Trill Mill stream itself. This long range of buildings seems to be identical with the range shown by Ralph Agas on his map of Oxford in 1578.

Both E. and W. of this long S. range there were further buildings. To the E. there must have been a small building parallel with, but separated from, the S. range of the cloister (B XXXII F117, F119–122). To the W. a series of walls both parallel and at right-angles to the extended S. range of the cloister (B XVIII F38, XX F40, XXI F46, XXIII F54–55) indicated another range or series of ranges of buildings apparently grouped around an enclosed courtyard or small cloister. Further S. were yet more buildings associated with the culvert, but these were at a slight angle to the main building line.

Discussion

A surprising amount of the plan of the church and cloisters was recovered, despite the massive destruction after the Dissolution, when only those walls which could be re-used as property boundaries were left standing. These surviving fragments comprised primarily the N. wall of the choir (B I F1), the assemblage of pier-bases at the E. end of the aisle (B I F14; Figs. 29–30, 72),¹⁶⁰ and the W. wall of the N. nave (B X F1).¹⁶¹ The remainder of the building was very heavily robbed, many of the footings having been completely removed, while the rest only survived at the medieval ground-level. The basement of the Westgate Centre, particularly its piled foundations, has now destroyed what remained of the building, although in the area of the E. end of the N. aisle a service bay has been built above the medieval level and the assemblage of pier-bases (B I F14) has been retained within its floor.

So far as the pre-priory history of the site is concerned the greatest unsolved problem is the exact position of the line of the town wall and its associated street described as 'under the wall' before the major buildings began after 1244. It has been suggested above that the late Saxon defences originally bounded the W. side of St.

¹⁵⁹ The three *Agnus Dei* tiles (Fig. 78, No.9) possibly represented a set of four: see Tile Report below.

¹⁶⁰ Worked Stone Cat. No. 1.

¹⁶¹ Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, Fig. 11.

OXFORD: Greyfriars Church

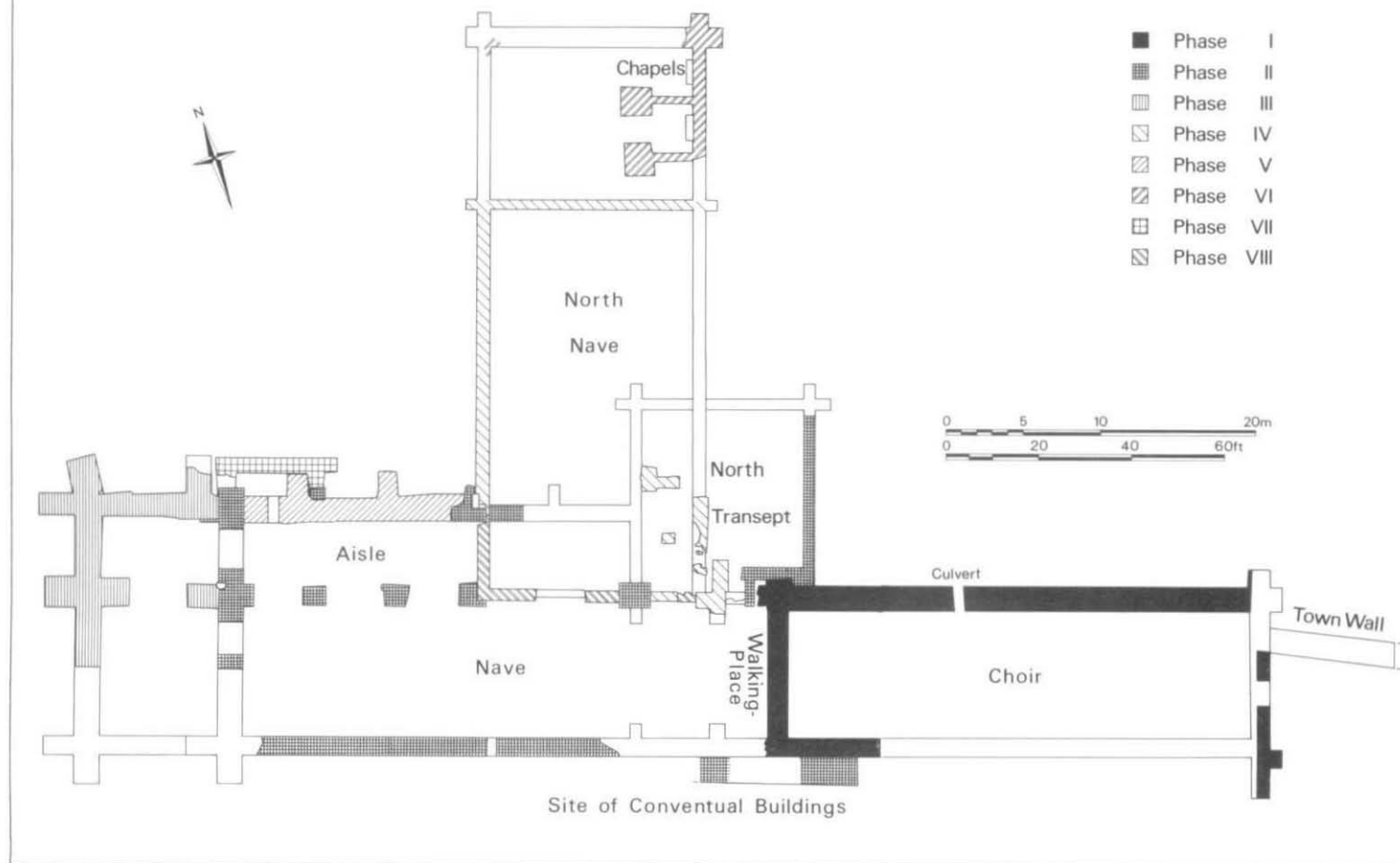


Fig. 38. Greyfriars, Site B: overall phase plan.

Ebbe's on a N.-S. line which would have come down to Trill Mill stream on approximately the line of the later division between the Greyfriars precinct proper and their orchard known as Paradise. But there is neither documentary nor archaeological evidence for the S. defences at this point. The archaeological evidence from Littlegate, Site D, shows that the line of the wall from Littlegate westwards towards Westgate dated only from the early 13th century. The evidence for occupation N. of the wall on Site D confirms that at this point the street must have run S. of the wall, like Brewer Street of which it must have been a continuation. Perhaps originally it ran almost due W. rather than following the line of the wall. Whichever angle it took it must, unless it was a cul-de-sac, have turned northwards to join Church Street, perhaps where the Greyfriars precinct adjoined Paradise, and then have continued through the small postern which is described as 'towards the castle'.¹⁶² This postern might be the Westgate itself; alternatively, it might have been a second small gateway situated E. of the street uncovered in Section W F95, which would have run inside the wall E. of the Westgate.¹⁶³

Whatever the exact line of the street under the wall, it would have provided access to the tenements which were acquired by the Greyfriars for their major building programme. The documentary evidence for these tenements is insufficient to locate them precisely, but their position must have been dictated by the line of the wall, the intra-mural street and the water-logged ground conditions adjacent to the Trill Mill stream. The excavations found neither substantial remains nor property boundaries, but the material from the excavated pits (described above under the pre-church and pre-cloisters phases) showed that the area had only been occupied since the late 12th century, when the town's expanding population presumably created a high demand for building-land within the walls.

No trace was found of the Greyfriars' original chapel, built *c.* 1225, or that referred to in 1232. It is possible that the Phase I of the excavated church is actually this latter building, but this seems unlikely since the first chapel was apparently demolished when the new church was finished.¹⁶⁴

Phase I of the excavated church is presumably to be identified with the church which was in the process of erection in 1246, and was described as lying astride the line of the town wall in 1248. The wall and the church were not directly aligned, the church being on a more W.-E. alignment. The existence of the culvert (B I F2), even if a secondary feature, demonstrates that the disposal of water must always have been a problem on this site, although the church was constructed on relatively level ground just above the water-table. The dumping beneath the floor of the E. cloister range, which was later raised, shows that flooding was a recurring problem. It is in this context that Bishop Grosseteste's warning to the friars against low-lying sites should be read.¹⁶⁵ Grosseteste was the first lecturer to the Oxford Greyfriars and remained their close friend throughout his life.

The first church's relatively simple construction distinguishes it from later phases, and suggests that perhaps it was originally designed as a free-standing rectangular church comprising both choir and nave, whose overall dimensions would have been approximately 100 by 30 ft. (30.5 by 9.15 m.). This would be similar in length to the

¹⁶² See p. 142.

¹⁶³ See the Discussion of the Church Street and Castle Street Sections, above.

¹⁶⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 123; Little *op. cit.* note 94, 21.

¹⁶⁵ A.R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England*, British Society of Franciscan Studies, xviii (Manchester, 1937), 8.

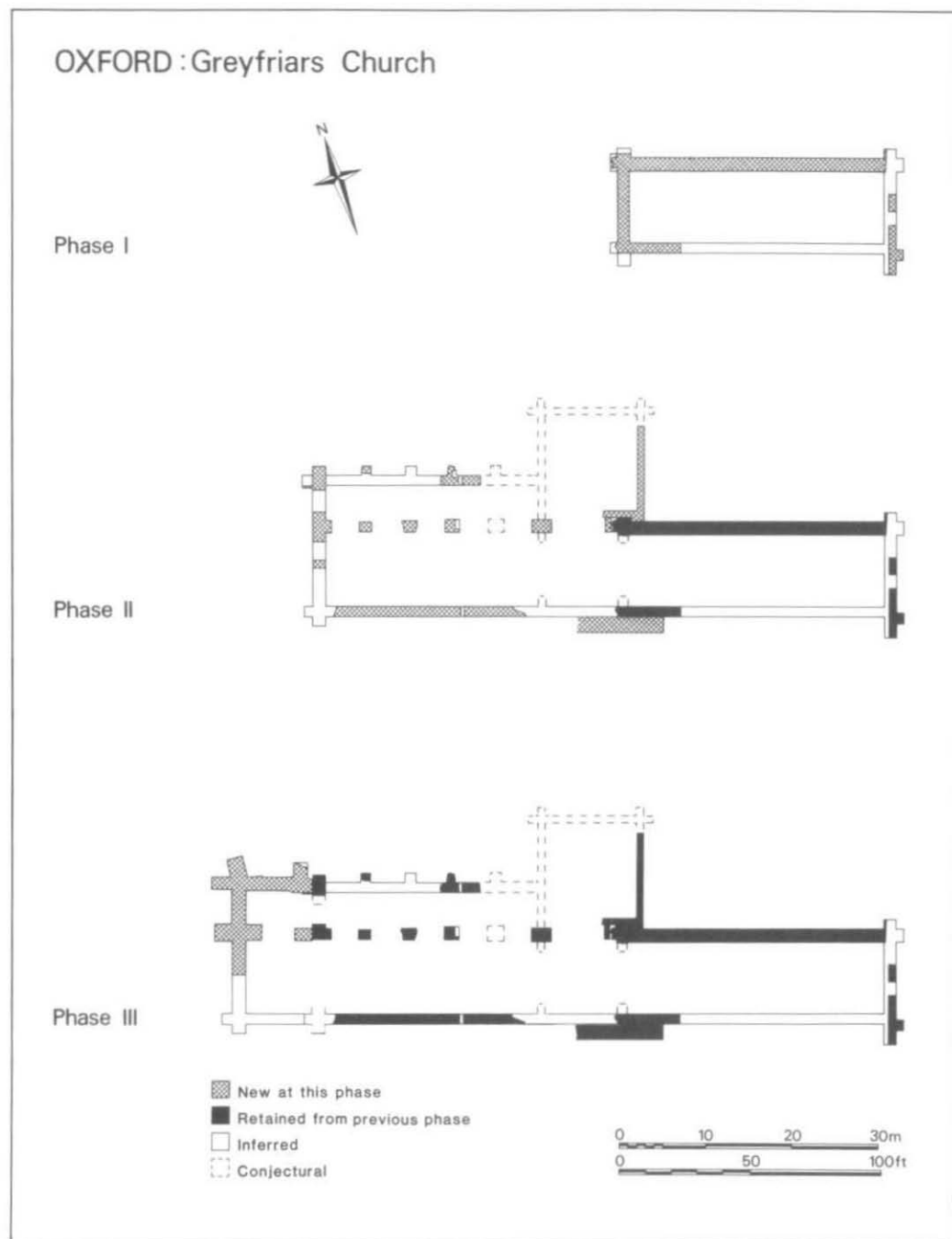


Fig. 39. Greyfriars, Site B: phases I-III.

remains of the Lincoln Greyfriars, though wider.¹⁶⁶ The surviving building at Lincoln was believed by A.R. Martin to be the earliest surviving Franciscan church in England, and is almost exactly contemporary with Oxford. As in other early churches of the mendicant orders, there was no structural division at Lincoln between the nave and the choir, its place presumably being taken by a timber screen. A similar arrangement could have existed at Oxford, even if only for a short while when Phase II was under construction. D.A. Stocker has recently suggested that the surviving Lincoln building is not in fact the Greyfriars church, but rather the infirmary.¹⁶⁷ This reinterpretation would not, however, invalidate the sequence suggested at Oxford.

At Lincoln, Martin adduced evidence that the nave was originally intended to extend further W., and that a N. aisle was planned but never built. At Oxford, on the contrary, a major extension took place in Phase II which provided the church with a nave, separated by an arcade from an integral N. aisle, a N. transept, and a presumed steeple or bell-tower over the crossing and walking-place. The evidence of the mouldings of pier-bases B I F14 suggest that this phase should be dated no later than c. 1270. The original choir and nave would have become simply a choir, of a size comparable to many other friary churches. The evidence for the new nave and N. aisle is unequivocal, but the problem of how the N. aisle terminated at its E. end is still not absolutely certain. The problem is related to the nature of the original N. transept, which later developed into William Worcester's aptly named 'N. nave'. This area was never properly understood at the time of the excavation in spite of the comparatively well-preserved nature of the evidence. The pier-bases B I F14, luckily surviving above foundation level when all other pier-bases were destroyed, provides much of the evidence for both the building sequence and its dating. However, the junction between the N. aisle and the N. transept was only interpreted during the detailed post-excavation analysis of the site records. The interpretation put forward here, which was suggested by Dr. John Blair while studying the mouldings and their relationship, does provide a convincing sequence; but the fact remains that no evidence was seen in the ground for the postulated wall which separated the crossing from the nave and the N. transept from the N. aisle. The existence of such a wall at the crossing would have provided extra support for a steeple or bell-tower, also supported by the certain strengthening of the S. wall of the church at the junction of choir and nave. The Oxford church, in common with all Franciscan churches, certainly had bells; this would have been the natural place for a belfry, and the tiles exposed to secondary burning from a fire in B IX F14 suggest the existence of a bell-pit for casting bells to be hung in the steeple. The narrowing of the walking-place in Phase IV could have been associated with a remodelling of the belfry.

Whatever the precise interpretation of the N. transept, the previous suggestion that this building was the friars' first school cannot be sustained.¹⁶⁸ Transepts are unusual in English Franciscan churches and there is definite evidence for only one other Greyfriars' church with a transept, namely Coventry, although it is possible that Reading had one,¹⁶⁹ and the churches at Llanfaes and Chester had transeptal projections.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. 94-101.

¹⁶⁷ D.A. Stocker, 'The Remains of the Franciscan Friary in Lincoln: A Reassessment', in P.V. Addyman and V.E. Black (eds.), *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to M.W. Barley* (York Archaeological Trust, 1984), 137-44.

¹⁶⁸ T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1969, Second Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxv (1970), 11.

¹⁶⁹ Martin op. cit. note 165, 16, 77-8.

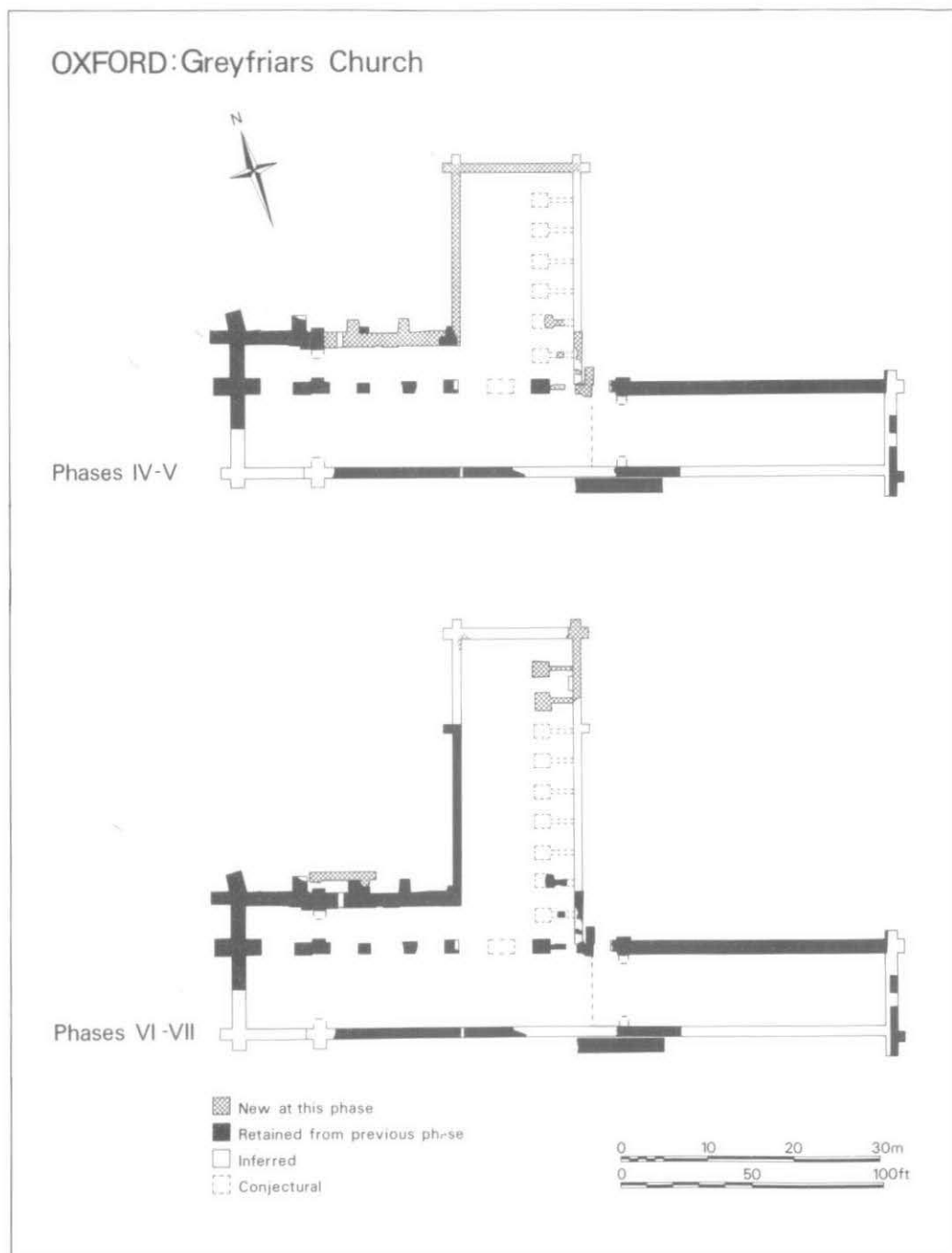


Fig. 40. Greyfriars, Site B: phases IV-VII.

The space created in Phase II was to prove insufficient. Presumably the nave and N. aisle, which were 80 ft. (24.4 m.) long, were extended by one bay before the series of extensions to the N. transept, although there is no dating evidence for the W. extension. Once complete, the length of the nave at 110 ft. (33.55 m.) made the plan very similar to the Gloucester Greyfriars' church, whose surviving nave at 108 ft. (32.94 m.) by 46 ft. (14.03 m.) probably gives a very good idea of the character of Oxford.¹⁷⁰ The first extension to the N. transept, which began to convert it into what became the 'N. nave', must have taken place between c. 1270 and c. 1330, to judge from the evidence of the mouldings of the respond on the pier-base. Although the layout which developed at Oxford is unparalleled amongst English Franciscan churches, in Ireland single transepts forming an annexe to the nave and often equalling or even exceeding its dimensions are extremely common.¹⁷¹ Like Oxford, these Irish transepts sometimes have a chapel or aisle on the E. side. The Irish examples are later than Oxford, so the idea may have originated in Oxford, or at least in England, rather than in Ireland. The completed N. nave at Oxford was larger than any other known Franciscan church.

There was no evidence to show whether Phase V or VI was the earlier. Phase V, the rebuilding of the N. wall of the N. aisle, could represent a major repair of a deteriorating structure or possibly a refenestration. This phase could be connected with the grant in 1346 by Edward III of an area, 60 square feet in extent, of his quarry near Wheatley for the repair of the Greyfriars church and other buildings.¹⁷²

The extension of the N. nave in Phase VI may have involved the friars in cutting into the gravel terrace S. of Church Street to create a level floor throughout the N. nave. The surface of Church Street itself was considerably higher than the floor of the N. nave (Fig. 3). This phase must have been complete when William Worcestre visited Oxford in 1480, and it was probably built before the Black Death in 1348. The church had by now to all intents and purposes reached its greatest extent, after probably an almost continuous period of building spread over perhaps a hundred years. The nave and N. nave together formed a splendid and practical space for preaching and teaching. The L-shaped plan was unconsciously followed by T.G. Jackson five centuries later when he designed the N. and S. Examination Schools, completed in 1888. Such extensive building by the Oxford Greyfriars gives credence to the story, told by Eccleston, of the Oxford friar who upheld the early traditions of the Order and who appeared after death to the custodian and warned him that 'If the friars were not dammed for their excesses in building, they would at any rate be severely punished.'¹⁷³ However, the great extent of the church, which in area rivalled London with its double aisles in both nave and choir, need cause no surprise in view of the early popularity of the Oxford Greyfriars, and the fundamental role that they played in the life of the early University.

Some further details of the church can be inferred. In 1430 Robert Keneyshame, Bedel of the University, willed to be buried in the church 'in the midst between two altars beneath the highest cross in the body of the church'.¹⁷⁴ This reference suggests that by this time there were two chapels at the E. end of the nave where it abutted the walking-place, with perhaps a narrow passage between them leading to a door in the screen giving access to the walking-place.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. 85-9.

¹⁷¹ H.G. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, iii (1960), 89 ff.

¹⁷² *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 125.

¹⁷³ Little *op. cit.* note 94, 22.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. 26

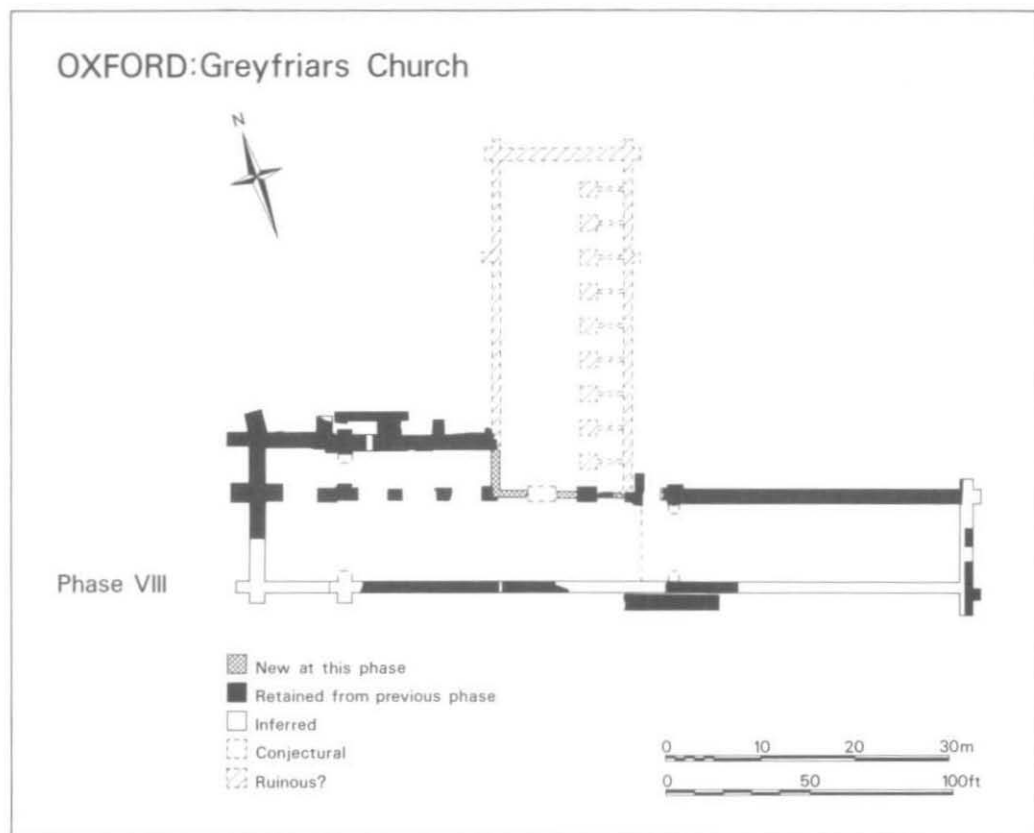


Fig. 41. Greyfriars, Site B: phase VIII.

The excavations uncovered a small structure, built against the N. aisle in Phase VII, whose function is uncertain. It could have been a porch or a side-chapel, but William Worcestre does not specifically identify a chapel in the N. aisle. Dr. Janet Cooper has suggested that these footings may be the remains of the tomb and chantry chapel of William, lord Lovell (d. 1455).¹⁷⁵

William Worcestre's detailed description of the church in 1480 is now intelligible in the light of the excavations. His phrase 'north nave' for the N. extension of the transept is particularly apt. The position of six of Worcestre's ten chapels can now be positively identified, and there is ample space for the remaining four whose positions can be inferred. Only one of Worcestre's dimensions cannot now be securely located on the plan, and that is the length of the N. nave from the S. side to the N. door. It is also possible to work out the length of Worcestre's 'step' by comparing his eight identifiable dimensions in the building with the dimensions actually recovered. The lowest length of step was 18.8 ins. while his highest was 20.4 ins., his average step being 19.83 ins. as compared with 20.43 ins. during his visits elsewhere in 1480.

The date of the Phase VIII walls blocking off the E. end of the N. aisle and the S. end

¹⁷⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 367.

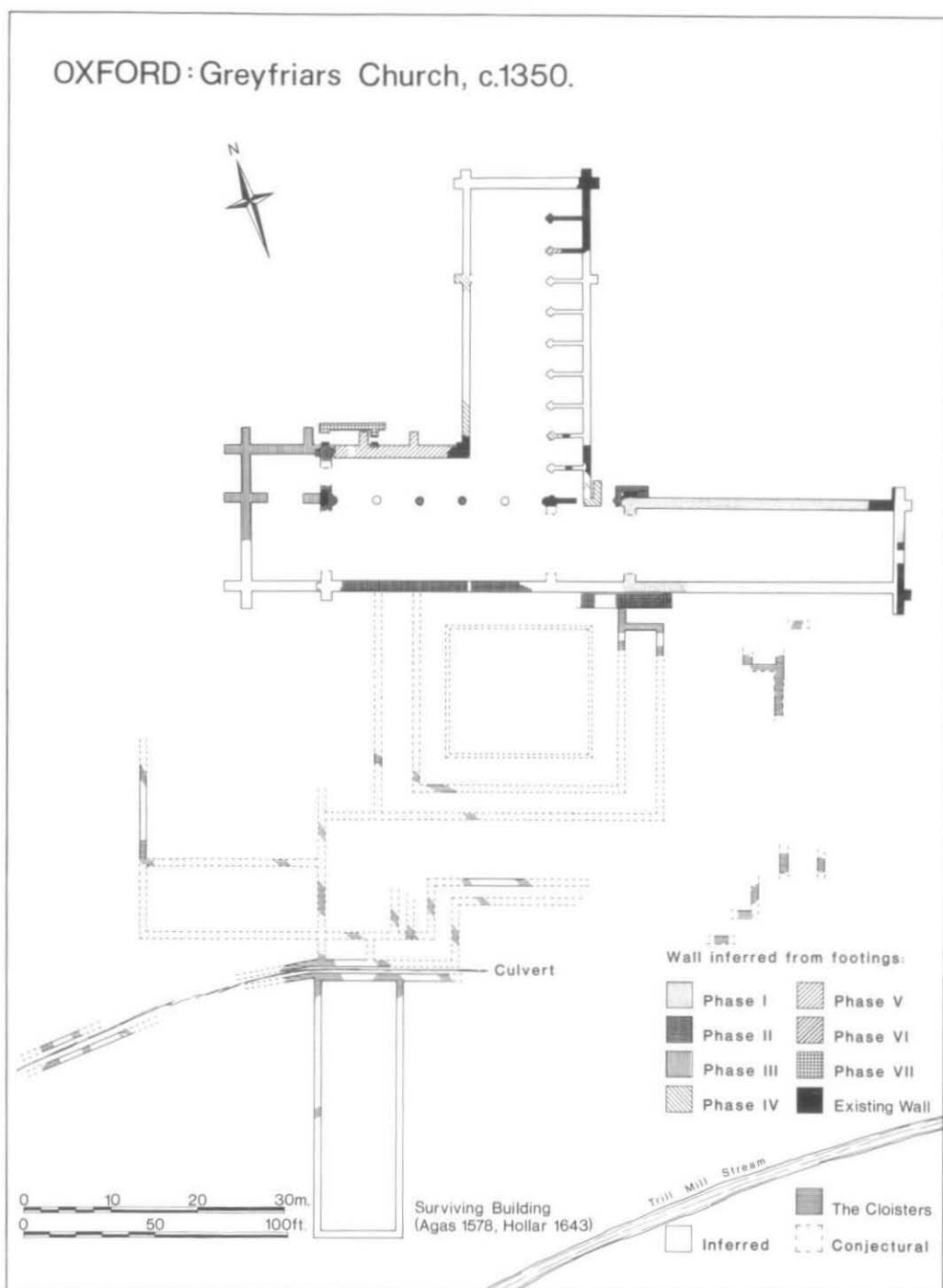


Fig. 42. Greyfriars, Site B, plan showing the maximum extent of the church, c. 1350.

of the N. nave remains a problem. When they were excavated they were assumed to be post-Dissolution, largely because of the medieval statue fragments within them. However, despite this apparent sacrilege it is quite possible, as Robin Emmerson points out, that the statue was broken up before the Dissolution.¹⁷⁶ The careful construction of the walls, preserving existing mouldings intact, also favours a pre-Dissolution date: it would hardly have been necessary had these blockings simply been filling gaps in the walls which were retained as property boundaries after the rest of the church was demolished. A plausible interpretation is that the walls represent a period of retrenchment after William Worcestre's visit in 1480, when either the additional space afforded by the N. nave was no longer required, or the building needed internal reinforcement. Possible support for this interpretation comes from the report of the commission which visited the friary in 1538, which describes the building as a 'great hoge howce conteynyng moche ruinose bylding'. The bequest in 1535 by Friar Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, of £40 for the erection of an aisle should perhaps be seen in the light of this statement.¹⁷⁷ Possibly this money was spent on the eve of the Dissolution not on a new aisle as such, for which there is no evidence, but on the alteration of the E. end of the N. aisle and the walking-place to allow the church to continue to function, but avoid costly maintenance of the N. nave.

The heavy robbing of the church after the Dissolution makes a reconstruction of its internal appearance difficult. The floor was undoubtedly tiled, but few tiles were found *in situ*. The largest area of flooring surviving was in chapels 1, 2 and 3 in the N. nave, where tile impressions survived in their mortar bedding but the tiles themselves had been removed. The distribution of floor-tile fragments was plotted in the hope of reconstructing the decoration and character of individual pavements. The results were inconclusive, however, and reflect the fact that the recovery of tiles from the trenches was uneven and that many were not found in their primary context. Most of the tiles recovered were decorated. Indeed, only 24 plain tiles were found in the church itself; the majority came from the mortar layer within B IX F14 in the nave. Their glazes include yellow over a white slip, mottled-green and dark-brown. No early Wessex-type tiles with a central scoop were recovered. The majority of the decorated tiles were two-colour decorated Stabbed Wessex-type, all of which were made at the same production centre, thought to be located S. of Oxford, near Newbury, in the second half of the 13th century. A wide range of decorated inlaid tiles were found,¹⁷⁸ and the more common designs from the medieval levels have been illustrated (Fig. 79, 1-5). The Greyfriars clearly favoured curvilinear and geometric motifs with various combinations of flora, animals and birds. Floral and animal designs are less common, and human and heraldic designs are absent. A larger variety of designs were present than at the neighbouring Blackfriars,¹⁷⁹ and printed tiles from the Greyfriars include decorative motifs not paralleled at Blackfriars. The total number of printed tiles from the Greyfriars was very small, however, suggesting that no large pavements were laid after the mid 14th century, by which time the Greyfriars church had presumably reached its greatest extent. This is a clear contrast to the Blackfriars, where a much higher percentage of printed tiles must mean much more extensive repaving after c. 1350. It seems, therefore, that in terms of floor decoration the two neighbouring friary churches had little influence on each other,

¹⁷⁶ Worked Stone Cat. No. 28 below.

¹⁷⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 125.

¹⁷⁸ Tile Report below; Table 14, M IV F12-13.

¹⁷⁹ Table 17, M IV G7-12.

and that after the mid 13th century the Greyfriars were either more austere than the Blackfriars or less able to attract patronage.

Evidence for decorated wall-plaster came principally from Trench II. However, the decoration was simple, the most common technique being red lines on a cream plaster to imitate masonry. This standard 13th-century technique can still be seen in Christ Church Cathedral chapter-house. There were also fragments of white-painted lines on yellow, and one unidentifiable fragment of graffito (Fig. 76).¹⁸⁰

The excavations provided little evidence for the fenestration of the church, although William Worcestre recorded that each of the 10 chapels in the N. nave had three glazed lights. Fragments of painted glass were found in the church. Geometric grisaille, foliage, large-scale architectural and drapery designs, were all present.¹⁸¹ It has been suggested that a stained-glass panel now in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, may have come from the church.¹⁸² The panel depicts Beatrice van Valkenburg, third wife of Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, who was probably the chief founder and benefactor of the church. Beatrice is depicted in conventional donor pose, kneeling in prayer; she wears a crown and a mantle decorated with alternate ruby and black bands. On the blue border are a series of roundels charged with the Imperial Eagle, and Beatrice's name and title are inscribed in Lombardic letters.

Even if this stained-glass panel did not come from the Oxford Greyfriars, Beatrice was certainly buried before the high altar there in 1277. Her husband's heart is stated to have been buried in the choir 'under a sumptuous pyramid of admirable workmanship'.¹⁸³ In the 14th century several members of the Golafre family were buried in the church, as well as many other recorded lay-people. Amongst friars buried in the church the most honoured was St. Agnellus of Pisa, who had originally brought the friars to Oxford and was a Provincial Minister. He was buried first in the original chapel, but later his body, miraculously preserved, was translated to the new church where it was buried under a 'fair stone sepulchre'.¹⁸⁴

None of these documented burials was recognised amongst the burials excavated in the church. Only one decorated graveslab was found (Fig. 75, No. 27)¹⁸⁵ and this was only the lower end, with a stepped base of a cross in low relief. The two copper-alloy letters (Fig. 62, Nos. 142-43)¹⁸⁶ must have come from monumental brasses made in the first half of the 14th century. The fragment of small-scale Perpendicular tracery in a fine-grained stone, double sided and unglazed, could have come from the screen of a 15th-century sepulchral chantry or possibly a guild chapel. There was a Guild of St. Mary in the church at the beginning of the 16th century.¹⁸⁷

The chapels would have contained images or shrines of saints. An image of Our Lady of Pity was recorded in 1438.¹⁸⁸ The broken-up statue of St. James the Greater (Pls. 54-55)¹⁸⁹ had almost certainly been placed in an architectural setting like a niche. In

¹⁸⁰ From B IV F50; M IV F3.

¹⁸¹ Painted Window-Glass Report below.

¹⁸² *A Catalogue of the Stained and Painted Heraldic Glass in the Burrell Collection* (The Corporation of the City of Glasgow, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, 1962), 8; *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England*, eds. J. Alexander and P. Binski (Exhibition Catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), 290.

¹⁸³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii 125.

¹⁸⁴ Little op. cit. note 94, 26.

¹⁸⁵ Worked Stone Cat. No. 27 below. From B X F57.

¹⁸⁶ Copper-Alloy Objects Cat. Nos. 142-43, M III B7.

¹⁸⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 125.

¹⁸⁸ Little op. cit. note 94, 26.

¹⁸⁹ Worked Stone Cat. No. 28 below.

1538 the ornaments of the church were described as 'olde and litill worthe'. The only portable object found during the excavations was the base of a glass hanging-lamp of the type which would have been suspended from the rim by cords (Fig. 68, No. 18).¹⁹⁰

The roof of the church was not leaded.¹⁹¹

The only part of the cloister accessible for detailed excavation was the small area at the N.E. corner, Trench XXXIII, where the stratification was well-preserved. The area trenched to the S.W. also contained substantial wall remains, but only open-area excavation could satisfactorily explain the layout of the building. In Fig. 42 the walls of the conventual buildings have been projected and joined up when they aligned. While this has produced a schematic plan, detailed interpretation of function is not possible.

The conventual buildings were more low-lying than the church, and in Trench XXXIII there was definite evidence for dumping to raise the general ground-level before building. A feature found at the London and Walsingham Greyfriars was a small court between the N. side of the cloister and the church, which were joined by a covered alley,¹⁹² this space created room for buttresses and provided a light-well for the church. This arrangement does not seem to have been an original feature at Oxford, but after the rebuilding of the E. range a gap was indeed created between the cloisters and the church. If the whole N. range of the cloister was reconstructed at the same time then the London and Walsingham arrangement could have been followed at Oxford. The E. range presumably housed the chapter-house. The ground floor was tiled. A tile with a design new to Oxford, showing the *Agnus Dei*, was found in the cloisters (Fig. 78, No. 9).¹⁹³ The dormitory would have occupied the first floor of the E. range, presumably oversailing the cloister walk to gain more space. The size of the garth shown in Fig. 42 is entirely conjectural, but the suggested overall dimension of the cloister including the alleys is normal for Franciscan houses.¹⁹⁴ If usual practice was followed, the refectory would have occupied the S. range. The existence of the well-built culvert flowing W. to E. across the site implies the existence of a reredorter S. of this, and possibly also the kitchen. Little suggested that one of the libraries which existed by the 15th century occupied the W. range of the cloister, and a copper-alloy looped strap-end, probably from a book-binding, was found in Trench II (Fig. 62, No. 137).¹⁹⁵ This position was also sometimes reserved for guest lodgings, for which there would presumably have been substantial provision at Oxford.

It seems probable that there was a second cloister. Certainly there was a long building running S. towards the Trill Mill stream, presumably identifiable with the long N.-S. range shown on Agas's map. If a cloister existed as proposed, this would be the usual position for an infirmary. The Warden's or Guardian's lodgings were often placed in this area. The building presumed to be the Warden's lodgings at Canterbury was placed over the River Stour,¹⁹⁶ and there could have been a similar relationship with the culvert at Oxford. At Oxford there was also a school to replace the one originally built by Agnellus. Where this was is uncertain, but amongst the finds from the site was the head of a stylus (Fig. 63, No. 24).¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁰ From B IV L24. Vessel-Glass Cat. No. 18 below; M IV A5.

¹⁹¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 136.

¹⁹² Martin *op. cit.* note 165, 29.

¹⁹³ B XXXI and B XXXIII. Tile Report below.

¹⁹⁴ Martin *op. cit.* note 165, 30.

¹⁹⁵ Copper-Alloy Objects Cat. No. 137 below; M III B5.

¹⁹⁶ Martin *op. cit.* note 165, 49-52.

¹⁹⁷ Lead and Lead-Alloy Objects Cat. No. 24 below; M III C4.

The culvert, which was presumably connected to the Trill Mill stream at both ends, must have drained the site and carried water away. In 1246-7 both the Black and the Greyfriars were accused of appropriating many places on the Thames and making their 'ditches and walls and other things'.¹⁹⁸ The out-flow of the culvert found within the church was not located.

Fresh drinking-water was provided by a lead conduit which was presumably fed from a spring on Hinksey Hill. No sign of this was found during the excavations. In 1538 this conduit was partly taken up and melted down, but some piping still remained in the ground.¹⁹⁹

To the N. of the church, cloister and associated buildings was the graveyard, which extended up to Church Street and was only very partially excavated. The most unusual burials were the multiple grave, B IV F50 (Fig. 26), in which three people were apparently buried together, and grave B IV F41 (Fig. 26), in which the burial had a leg-shackle with a surviving barrel padlock and a link fragment and loop (Fig. 65, No. 143).²⁰⁰ It was buried with the key inserted into the case.

To the S. was the garden on the island called Boteham; to the E. there may have been ancillary buildings. A possible granary was found on Site D and at the sale of the property there is mention of 'all our houses, buildings, stables, granaries, curtileges, yards (*ortos*), orchards, gardens (*gardina*), waters, ponds and vineyards'.²⁰¹ Agas's map shows a small building adjacent to the Trill Mill stream. In 1939 the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments recorded that a 'featureless rubble building at the W. angle of Wood Street and Charles Street' might have been an original building or probably reconstructed from old materials.²⁰² To the W. was the orchard or garden called Paradise.

Much of the site was enclosed within a precinct wall. Part of the E. precinct wall was found on Site D, and its continuation may survive in the surviving boundary wall of Trinity House. There were three gates: one in Church Street, presumably giving access to the church; another in St. Ebbe's Street, opposite the former Beef Lane; and a third in Littlegate Street where it joined Turn Again Lane.²⁰³

In 1540 it was recorded that the King had commanded buildings within the precincts to be 'levelled or taken away'.²⁰⁴ The excavations have, however, enabled much of the plan to be recovered. Although the site of the church must now have been largely destroyed, except for the pier-bases preserved *in situ* within the Westgate Centre, more could still be learnt of the cloisters and associated buildings beneath the multi-storey car-park.

¹⁹⁸ Little *op. cit.* note 94, 28.

¹⁹⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 136.

²⁰⁰ Iron Objects Cat. No. 143 below; M III E2.

²⁰¹ Little *op. cit.* note 94, 123.

²⁰² *R.C.H.M. Oxford*, 155.

²⁰³ Little *op. cit.* note 94, 28.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 122.

THE FINDS

ABBREVIATIONS

Pottery Catalogue

The following abbreviations are used in the Pottery Catalogue (M II A7-E10) and Appendix (M II F1-G6).

alt	alternating	int	internal
bs	body sherd	kw	kitchen ware
cp	cooking pot	lt	light
dbl	double	mot	mottled
deco	decoration	occ	occasional
dk	dark	rect	rectangular
ext	external	reg	regular
horz	horizontal	SF	Small Find
inc	including	th	thickness
irreg	irregular	v	very

Concordance of Finds

The following abbreviations are used in the Concordance of Finds (Tables 5-9, M I A3-G13).

AS	Architectural Stonework	S	Stone
B	Bone Artefact	T	Brick and Tile
D	Daub	VG	Vessel-Glass
HB	Human Bone	WF	Worked Flint
L	Lead	WG	Window-Glass
MED	Medieval	WP	Wall-Plaster
(M)	Mortar (no report, samples lost)	X	See appropriate Finds Report
PM	Post-Medieval	()	Bracketed finds have not been reported on
R	Metalworking Residue (Slag)	(2)	Number of finds, only given when there is more than one

Captions to Pottery and Tile

Examples Pottery A P53/53/21 CP
Tile A T84/4/1 IV

The initial letters refer to the Site Code: A Church Street; B Greyfriars; D Littlegate; SEL Selfridges; W Westgate. Greyfriars and Littlegate references include trench numbers in Roman numerals.

P and T identify Pottery and Tile.

The numbers following refer to feature and layer numbers e.g. F 53 L53 and F84 L4.

The final numbers indicate unique drawing numbers within a context.

The final letters refer to the Fabric Code.

Catalogue Numbers

Example Copper-Alloy Catalogue No. 1
75.25.1, A SF1153A, F1024 L1231, 13th-cent. context

The first number, 75.25.1, is the Oxfordshire County Museum Accession Number. Not all the finds have been given Accession Numbers.

'A' is the Site Code for Church Street.

SF1153A is the Small-Find number.

A F1024 L1231 is the feature reference number followed by the date assigned to the context.

In addition, 'A L2 (2M, 102/1012), unstratified', refers to Site A L2 which was excavated in two-metre grid squares. The site grid is shown on Fig. 4.

N.B. Only selected objects are illustrated in the print sections of the finds reports. Complete sets of drawings accompany the catalogues in fiche.

Oxfordshire County Museum Accession Numbers

The majority of the Museum Accession Numbers are included in the Finds Catalogues, which are in fiche. The exceptions are those assigned to the coins and jettons, which are included in the printed catalogue; and those assigned to the Roman tiles, Church Street medieval tiles and the medieval pottery from all sites, which appear in the footnotes of the printed section of this report.

PREHISTORIC AND ROMAN FINDS

WORKED FLINT AND POTTERY

(Full description M II A4-A5)

Sixteen flint flakes and blades, and a Beaker(?) sherd (A L2023, Fig. 44, No. 1) were found in residual contexts.²⁰⁵

ROMAN TILES FROM CHURCH STREET (SITE A) by MAUREEN MELLOR (Fig. 43)

A Late Saxon pit, A F84, yielded three classes of Roman tile: a *tegula* (floor-tile) with a roughly scored area to ensure that it adhered to plaster more firmly (No. 1); a very hard-fired *pila* (No. 2); and from a layer which had slumped into the pit (A L135) a scored box-tile (No. 3). The latter is a type usually associated with bath-houses. These tiles must have been robbed from a nearby Romano-British villa. Some 12th- and 13th-century assemblages also contained Roman tiles. A flange of a *tegula* was recovered from a 12th-century pit, A F2517 (No. 4). Another very hard-fired *tegula* (No. 5) and a scored box-tile (No. 6) were found in a 13th-century well, A F131.²⁰⁶

MEDIEVAL FINDS

POTTERY by MAUREEN MELLOR

31-34 Church Street (Site A), Selfridges (Site SEL) and Westgate (Site W)

The pottery from the survey area was studied to gain more information about the ceramic vessel forms in use during the medieval period.²⁰⁷ It was also used to date individual contexts (there was a lack of structural or stratigraphic relationships). A prehistoric sherd and some Saxon pottery were recovered from the area, but the bulk of the pottery (c. 29,000 stratified sherds from Church Street) dates from the mid 11th to the 15th century. There are a few continental imports of the later 11th and the 13th and 14th centuries.

The Level III archive of pottery will be deposited with the Oxfordshire Department of Museum Services.

The medieval pottery from Church Street was sorted by century using the

²⁰⁵ Reports on prehistoric material from other sites in Oxford include H.J. Case, 'Utilized Flint', in D. Sturdy, 'Recent Excavations in Christ Church and Nearby', *Oxoniensia*, xxvi/xxvii (1961/62), 33; A. Sherratt, 'Worked Flints', in T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle, 1965-73', *Oxoniensia*, xli (1976), 267; H.J. Case, 'Pottery, Flint and Metalwork' in N. Palmer, 'A Beaker Burial and Medieval Tenements in the Hamel, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlv (1980), 128-34, M I A03-A08; C. Halpin, 'Late Saxon Evidence and Excavation of Hinxey Hall, Queen Street, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlviii (1983), 59, M I A12.

²⁰⁶ The following Museum Accession Numbers have been assigned to the tiles which are illustrated: Fig. 43 1. 75.25.240; 2. 75.25.239; 3. 75.25.241; 4. 75.25.242; 5. 75.25.243; 6. 75.25.244.

²⁰⁷ The pottery from these sites was recorded in the latter part of the 1970's and the report was completed in 1984.

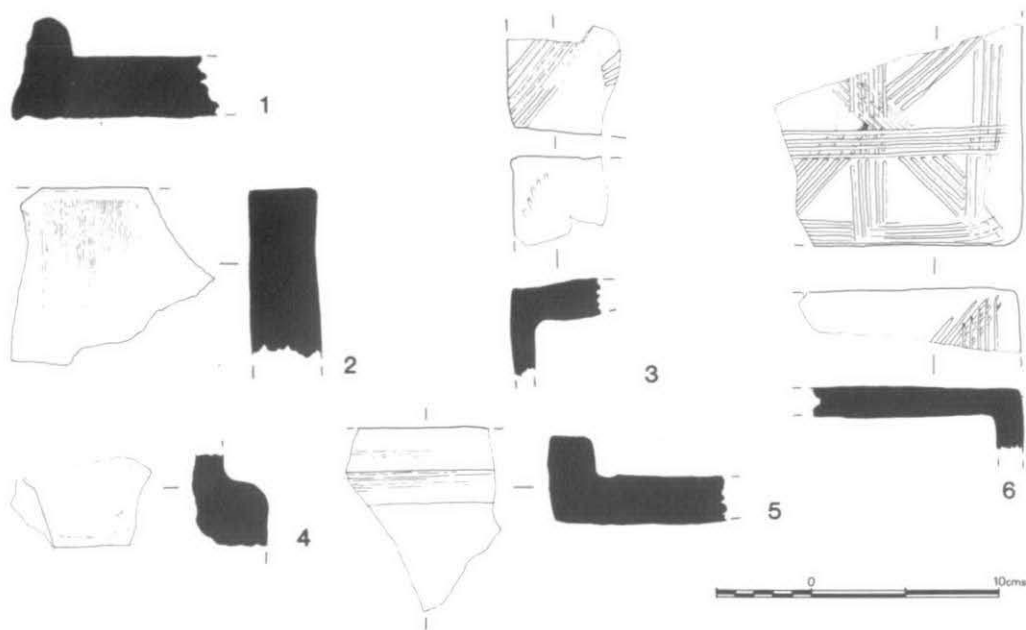


Fig. 43. Roman tiles. Scale 1:4.

1. A T84/4/1 IV;
4. A T2517/1/1 III;

2. A T84/9/1 III;
5. A T131/271/2 III;

3. A T0/135/1 IV;
6. A T131/271/1 IV.

established chronologies from other sites.²⁰⁸ The problems of intrusion and residuality in this densely pitted area meant that closer dating was only possible for the late Saxon period and some selected assemblages. Predictably, the problems of contamination increased throughout the medieval period. The percentages of pottery fabric types, arranged by century, are presented as a histogram (Fig. 58). Where an assemblage spans two centuries it is shown at the later date: for example, a late 13th- to 14th-century assemblage is recorded as 14th-century.

Selected assemblages for each century and some sherds of intrinsic interest are illustrated in print (Figs. 44–57). In addition, histograms showing the fabric types of these selected assemblages (Figs. 85–90) and a detailed catalogue, including a synopsis of the vessels present, are produced in fiche (M II A7–E10).

The pottery from the salvage sites, Selfridges and Westgate, is not catalogued in detail and does not appear in the histogram of fabric types, because the nature of its retrieval invalidates such quantification. Some illustrations of complete vessels from these sites are, however, included with Church Street. The dates of all medieval features from the survey area are given on the Concordance Tables (M I A3–G13).

²⁰⁸ Durham *op. cit.* note 80, 83–203; Palmer *op. cit.* note 73, 124–225.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Francis Cox and Isobel Perry for their help with cataloguing this large body of material; Pat Horsman for her careful indexing and up-dating of the record cards; John Huntriss, Tom Hassall and Claire Halpin for sorting out the stratigraphic anomalies highlighted by the ceramic evidence; Kathy Kilmurry for her work on the Stamford-types, and Eleanor Beard for her superb illustrations and patience in drawing up the histograms.

Early Saxon (Fig. 44, Nos. 2-7)²⁰⁹

A ditch, A F502, yielded a range of pottery: some hard sandy wares (Fabrics *CK*, *CO* and *CP*, Group III, Fig. 85, M II A9), including a sherd with stamped decoration (Fig. 44, No. 4) and a cooking-pot (Fig. 44, No. 5); grass-tempered wares (Fabrics *CJ* and *CH*) which probably date from c. 500 to 700; and later St. Neot's-type pottery (Fabrics *A* and *R*, Group IA) possibly of the late 10th or early 11th century. The pottery may indicate that the ditch was not finally infilled until just before settlement on the site in the 11th century. Other unassociated stamped sherds (Fig. 44, Nos. 2-3) and a bowl (Fig. 44, No. 6) were recovered. A globular cooking-pot with grass impressions on the external surfaces (Fig. 44, No. 7) was found to the E. of the ditch in the salvage area (W F49). This was the first site in central Oxford to yield early Saxon pottery.

Late Saxon (Fig. 44, Nos. 8-24; Fig. 45, Nos. 1-13)²¹⁰

The pottery from Selfridges suggests that 10th- to early 11th-century occupation extended westwards, along the Queen Street alignment, into Castle Street. Seven pits (SEL F1, F3, F74, F86, F91-92 and F95) found in close proximity suggest that one area of the Castle Street frontage (SW 151-152, Figs. 15-16) was not built on but that buildings may have existed on either side. Investigations further W. along Castle Street also revealed pits of a similar date (SEL F63 and F96), and there were more along St. Ebbe's Street (SEL F4, F58 and F59). Occasional, contemporary pits were also found behind the frontage (SEL F9, F22 and F37). Some pits of 10th- to early 11th-century date (W F2 and F40) were found behind the tenements fronting onto Castle Street (SW 160, Figs. 17-18).

No pottery was recovered from the post-holes, W F53 and W F55, under the road section on the N. side of Castle Street (W F54, Fig. 20). The finds from the earliest levels (W F54: L16/1, L13/1, L12/1 and L11) consist of only a few sherds from each layer of St. Neot's-type ware (Fabric *R*, Group IA), possibly late 10th- or early 11th-century. L9 yielded two sherds: one St. Neot's-type ware, the other Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fabric *AC*, Group IB). The succeeding layer yielded two sherds of Oxford Early Medieval ware. W F56, located in mid-section, may be contemporary with the latest occupation recorded under the Castle mound which was built c. 1071, but could also slightly post-date the building of the Castle. The pit included Stamford-types dating from 890 to 1200. It was overlain by W F58, probably of the early 12th century. On the S. side of the section the earliest surface (L32/1, L29/1 and L27/1) again yielded only a few sherds from each layer, but these are of a hand-made, shelly limestone ware (Fabric *B*, Group IA). This ceramic tradition predates the St. Neot's-type as found in the earliest layers of the N. section, but the two traditionally 'co-exist' in the second half of the 10th and early 11th century.

W F57 produced only one sherd of hand-made, shelly limestone ware (Fabric *B*). L20/1, an ashy silt layer, yielded three sherds (Fabric *B*, Group IA; Fabric *D*, Group III) which may date from the 8th to 10th centuries.

²⁰⁹ The following Museum Accession Numbers have been assigned to the pottery which is illustrated: Fig. 44 2. 75.25.282; 4. 75.25.283.

²¹⁰ Ibid. Fig. 44.

8. 75.25.250; 9. 75.25.267; 10. 75.25.268; 11. 75.25.269; 12. 75.25.270; 13. 75.25.271; 14. 75.25.273; 15. 75.25.272; 16. 75.25.274; 17. 75.25.275; 18. 75.25.276; 19. 75.25.277; 20. 75.25.288; 21. 75.25.278; 22. 75.25.279; 23. 75.25.280; 24. 75.25.281.

Fig. 45:

1. 75.25.284; 2. 75.25.262; 3. 75.25.285; 4. No number; 5. 75.25.263; 6. 75.25.286; 7. 75.25.264; 8. 75.25.265; 9. 75.25.286; 10. 75.25.287; 11. 75.25.266; 12. No number; 13. 75.25.289.

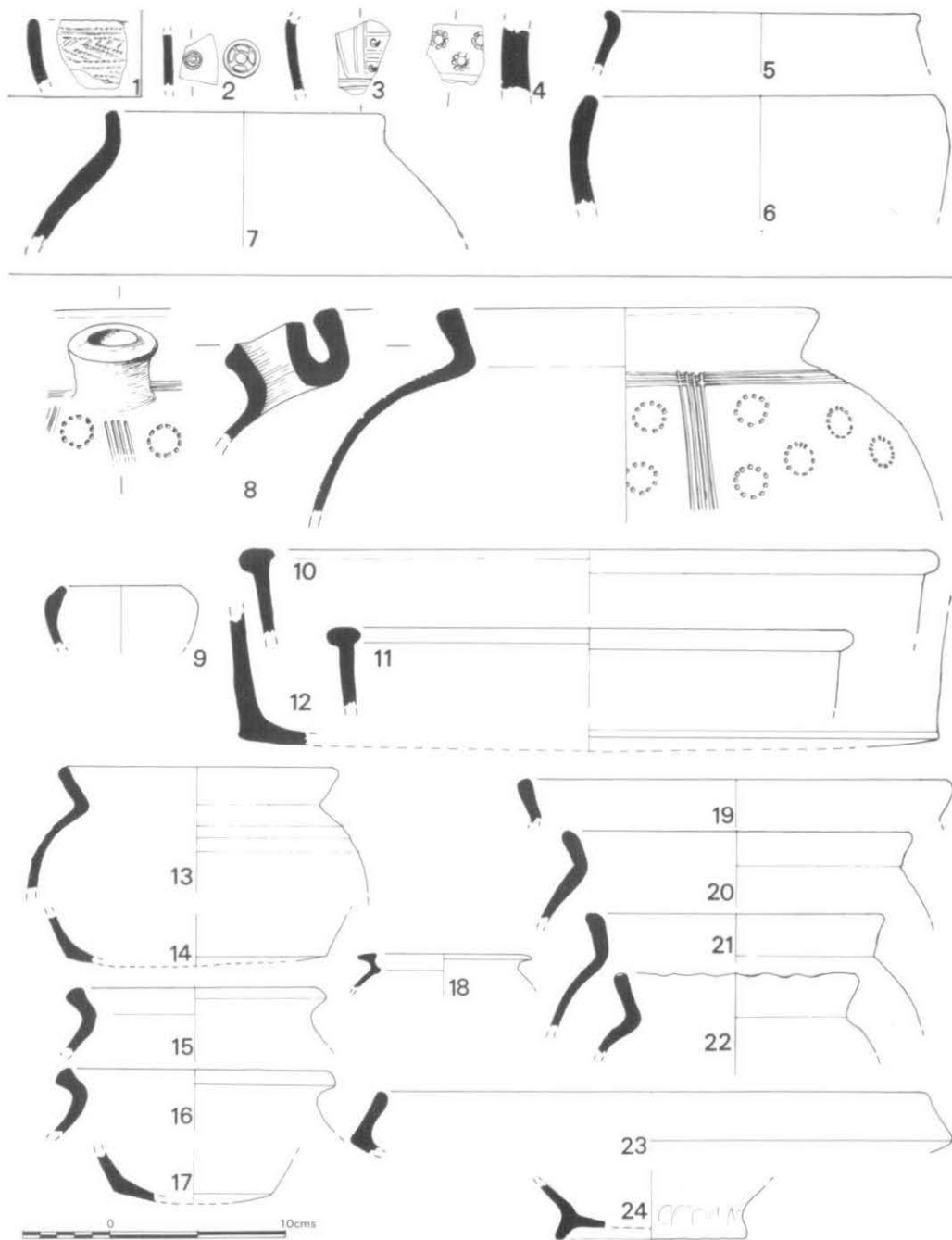


Fig. 44. Beaker No. 1; early to mid Saxon Nos. 2-7; mid 11th century Nos. 8-24. Scale 1:4.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. A PO/2023/1 <i>Bea</i> ; | 2. A P53/53/21 <i>CP</i> ; | 3. A P144/314/1 <i>CR</i> ; | 4. A P502/1/2 <i>CP</i> ; |
| 5. A P502/1/1 <i>CP</i> ; | 6. A P108/184/1 <i>CS</i> ; | 7. W P49/0/1 <i>CS</i> ; | 8. P P1556/0/1 <i>AC</i> ; |
| 9. A P1556/0/11 <i>AG</i> ; | 10. A P1556/0/6 <i>AC</i> ; | 11. A P1556/0/7 <i>AC</i> ; | 12. A P1556/0/8 <i>AC</i> ; |
| 13. A P1556/0/2 <i>BS</i> ; | 14. A P1556/0/16 <i>AT</i> ; | 15. A P1556/0/13 <i>R</i> ; | 16. A P1556/0/9 <i>R</i> ; |
| 17. A P1556/0/14 <i>R</i> ; | 18. A P1556/0/2a <i>Z</i> ; | 19. A P1556/0/10 <i>AC</i> ; | 20. A P1556/0/4 <i>AC</i> ; |
| 21. A P1556/0/3 <i>AC</i> ; | 22. A P1556/0/5 <i>AC</i> ; | 23. A P1556/0/12 <i>R</i> ; | 24. A P1556/0/1a <i>BF</i> . |

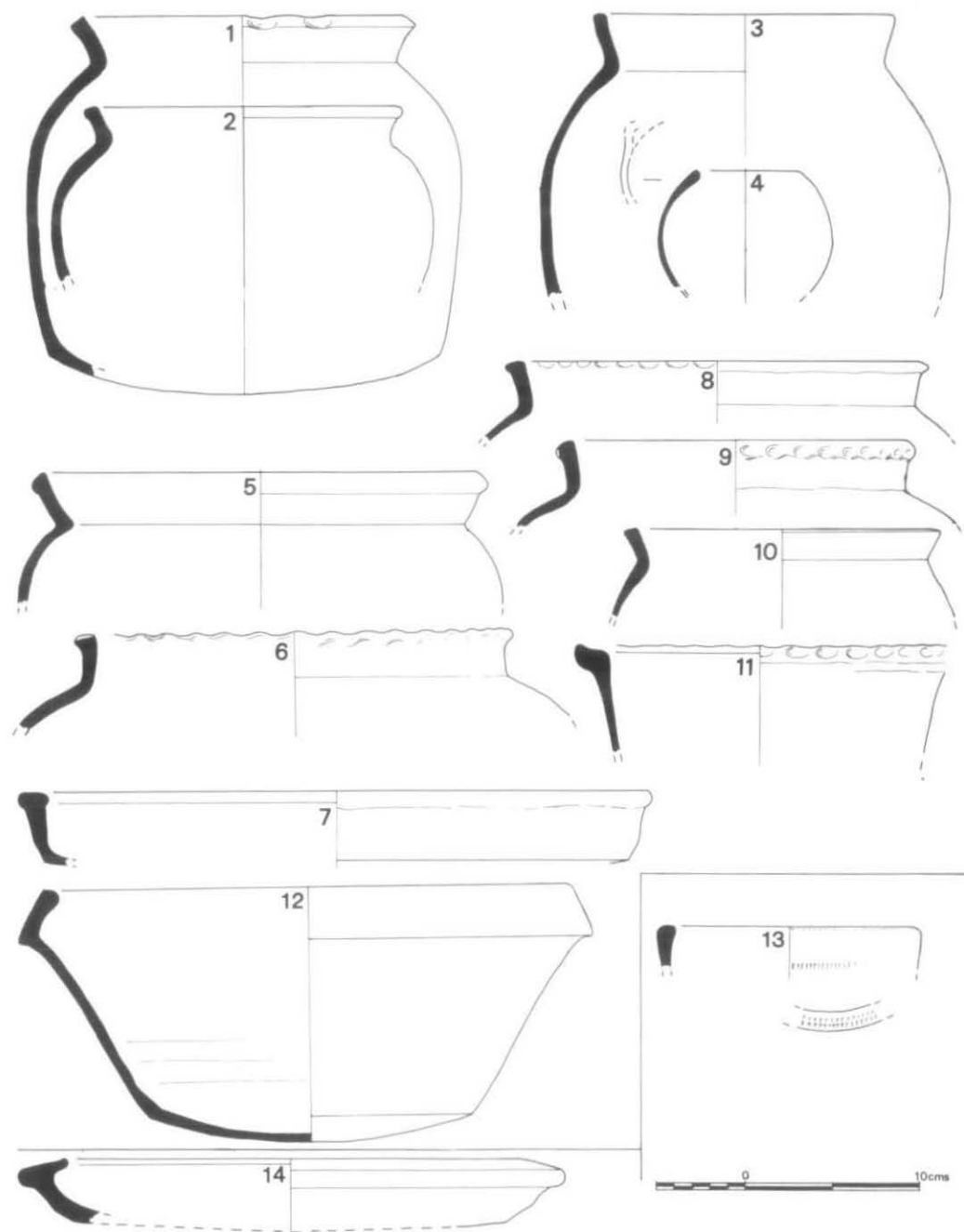


Fig. 45 mid to late 11th century Nos. 1-13. Scale 1:4.

- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. A P84/0/1 BF; | 2. A P84/2/3 AE; | 3. A P84/9/2 AC; |
| 4. A P84/9/1 CY; | 5. A P84/9/1 BS; | 6. A P0/135/1 AE; |
| 7. A P84/1/1 AC; | 8. A P84/2/1 AC; | 9. A P84/12/2 AC; |
| 10. A P84/12/1 AC; | 11. A P84/1/2 AC; | 12. A P0/354/2 CQ; |
| 13. A P0/354/2 CQ; | 14. A P1534/0/1 R. | |

A few features within Church Street probably dated from the second half of the 10th century (Fig. 8). Sherds from A F2542 are predominantly of hand-made, shelly limestone wares (Fabric B, Group IA) and a few sherds of wheel-thrown St. Neot's-type ware (Fabric R, Group IA, Fig. 85, M II A9). These may be paralleled with sherds from 79-80 St. Aldates Phase 4, All Saints Phase 2a or 2b, and possibly New Inn Court Phase 3a,²¹¹ sites within the *insula* adjoining to the E. A F2542 was probably 10th-century. A pit, A F512, which cut the N.-S. ditch, A F502, contained pottery which post-dates that from A F2542. St. Neot's-type ware (Fabric R, Group IA) is dominant, but the earlier hand-made ware (Fabric B) is still present (Fig. 85, M II A9, early to mid Saxon). This assemblage includes a continental import, probably from Belgium (Fabric BQ, Group III), which can be paralleled with a 'cooking-pot' rim from Cornmarket.²¹² A F1546 and F1555 produced very few sherds, but may also be of this period. A F519, a road surface (Fig. 9), was partially overlain by A F512 which yielded two Saxon sherds and an early Stamford-type (Fabric CB, Group III, Stamford-type F). The pottery may be paralleled at All Saints Church Phase 1, which is dated to the half of the 10th century.²¹³

Some salvage pits contained exclusively wheel-thrown wares of St. Neot's-type (Fabric R) (SEL F1, F22, F37, F58, F91 and F96), but very few sherds were recovered. Conversely, only one pit from Church Street (A F93) contained exclusively St. Neot's-type ware (Fig. 86, M II B1-2, 11th century). Similar assemblages were recovered from the suburbs under Oxford Castle and from Logic Lane.²¹⁴ If the dominance of St. Neot's-type pottery is of chronological significance, it would appear that the area under Oxford Castle was inhabited before this *insula* was thoroughly populated. The majority of pits from this phase (A F500, F1522, F1534, F2534, F2537 and F2538, Fig. 10; Fig. 86, M II B1-2, 11th century) produced wheel-thrown, St. Neot's-type ware in association with a hand-made calcareous tempered ware, Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fabric AC, Group IB), with the St. Neot's-type ware proving slightly more popular. This trend was recorded for pottery from the infill of a large cellar-pit at All Saints church (F75). The cellar-pit contained a coin minted 1042-4,²¹⁵ which suggests that the infilling of this site had begun by the mid 11th century.

Sherds from the earliest surfaces (W F50, Fig. 19) within the N.-S. section across Church Street are mainly of St. Neot's-type ware (Fabric R). The ware was found in association with Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fabric AC, Group IB), which suggests that the road was laid out about the same time that this part of the *insula* was infilled.

The larger assemblages of pottery from Church Street (A F84, F119, F1503, F1520, F1521 and F1556, Fig. 10) seem to date from the later 11th century, when Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fabric AC, Group IB) was dominant. Pits of this date and a well (SEL F49) were found dispersed throughout the Selfridges site (Figs. 15-16). Within the Westgate site, behind the Castle Street frontage, a late 11th-century timber slot or ditch was also found (W F87, Figs. 17-18).

Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fabric AC, Group IB) was already well-established by the time that Oxford Castle was built in c. 1071, and continued to dominate the ceramic market until the mid 12th century.²¹⁶

The majority of late Saxon features within the *insula* yielded some Stamford-types (Fabrics Z and AT, Group III) and produced a fabric (Stamford-type D) and vessel types unparalleled in Oxford. As well as the decorated tablewares, spouted pitchers and spouted pots, which are known from other Oxford sites, domestic utilitarian wares were present. These include small cooking-pots, collared cooking-pots (Fig. 44, No. 18), and pots with everted and lid 'seated' rims; a flanged bowl, lamps, cups, crucibles (Fig. 45, No. 4) and crucible or ovoid vessels were also found. None of these types is closely datable, but Stamford-type G (Fig. 44; No. 14) and Oxford-types Z and AT (Fig. 86, M II B1-2) are thought to be in production c. 1020 to 1200.²¹⁷ Continental imports include two Rhenish products, a thumb-footing of a Pingsdorf-type storage jar (Fig. 44, No. 24) and a body-herd with red slip decoration;²¹⁸ and a Badorf-type pitcher rim with rouletted decoration along the top of the rim and around the edge (Fig. 45, No. 13).

Two assemblages were selected for illustration. One pit, A F1556, found sealed beneath the road-surface of Church Street, suggests that the earlier road-surfaces may have fallen into disrepair at some time in the third quarter of the 11th century. This assemblage was dominated by a large group of bulbous cooking-pots, of

²¹¹ Durham op. cit. note 80, 111; B. Durham, 'All Saints Church', forthcoming; Halpin op. cit. note 205, 49.

²¹² T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at 44-46 Cornmarket Street, Oxford, 1970', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvi (1971), 22; Fig. 4, No. 27/1; M. Mellor, 'Late Saxon Pottery from Oxfordshire: Evidence and Speculation!', *Medieval Ceramics*, iv (1980), 17-28.

²¹³ B. Durham, 'All Saints Church', forthcoming.

²¹⁴ Hassall op. cit. note 6, 263; Fabian Radcliffe, O.P., 'Excavations at Logic Lane, Oxford. The Prehistoric and Early Medieval Finds', *Oxoniensia*, xxvi/xxvii (1961-2), 38-69.

²¹⁵ B. Durham, 'All Saints Church', forthcoming.

²¹⁶ Durham op. cit. note 80, 140.

²¹⁷ K. Kilmurry, *The Pottery Industry of Stamford, Lincolnshire, c. A.D. 850-1250*, B.A.R., 84 (1980), 130.

²¹⁸ B. Durham, 'All Saints Church', forthcoming.

varying sizes, with simple everted rims (Fig. 44, Nos. 19–22); straight-sided cooking-pots with clubbed rims (Fig. 44, Nos. 10–12); and decorated spouted cooking-pots (Fig. 44, No. 8) in Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fabric AC, Group IB). The latter was probably used for serving liquid, a 'prototype' jug. Smaller cooking-pots and a deep-sided bowl of St. Neot's-type are also present (Fig. 44, Nos. 15–17, 23), as is a distinctive ovoid vessel possibly used as a lamp (Fig. 44, No. 9). This type of vessel has not been recorded from other sites, but appears frequently on this site in late 11th- and 12th-century assemblages. A F1556 is thought to post-date slightly the infill of the cellar-pit at All Saints church (F75) which was associated with a coin minted 1042–4.

The second selected assemblage, A F84, yielded some 760 stratified sherds, two or three times more than other adjacent late-Saxon pits. The increased proportion of Oxford Early Medieval ware to St. Neot's-type ware (Fig. 44, No. 14; Fig. 86, M II B1–2) suggests that A F84 was probably slightly later than A F1556. A F84 compares ceramically with a large pit (F29) excavated at New Inn Court.²¹⁹ The developing local industry, Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fabric AC, Group IB; Fig. 45, Nos. 3, 7, 10), continued to produce wares similar to those found in the mid 11th-century assemblage, A F1556. The use of thumbing on slightly thickened rims, however, was more popular (Fig. 45, Nos. 8–9, 11), and one pot, a Wessex-type (Fabric BF, Group II), had only two thumb-impressions on the entire rim (Fig. 45, No. 1). Other cooking-pots, probably local but from different sources, were also represented (Fig. 45, Nos. 2, 6, Fabric AE, Group III; Fig. 45, No. 5, Fabric BS, Group IB). A Stamford-type vessel (Fig. 45, No. 4) was present, but neither of the selected assemblages shows the range of regional imports associated with the cellar-pit (F75) at All Saints church.²²⁰ Perhaps this reflects the 'back-street' location of the Church Street site.

12th Century (Fig. 46)²²¹

The pottery suggests fairly dense pit-digging at the back of tenement SW152, with fewer pits behind SW151, SW154 and SW155, which front on to Castle Street, and SW166, SW167 and SW169, which front on to St. Ebbe's Street (Site SEL: F6–7, F14–15, F17, F26–28, F33–34, F40, F52–53, F71–73, F75–76, F79, F82, F84–85 and F93). Close to the frontage of SW155, SEL F69 was excavated (Figs. 15–16).

The pottery from Church Street is very fragmentary and many assemblages contained less than 20 sherds (Site A: F102–F104, F112, F150, F152, F1004, F1040, F1053, F2505 and F2519, Fig. 11. A F152 and F1053 are not shown on plan). There was little evidence that the pits of this period had cut into the earlier late-Saxon features, and residual pottery probably made up less than 5 per cent of the total (Fabrics B and R, Group IA). The earlier 12th-century pits, however, had suffered from the later 12th- and early 13th-century pit-digging. Three large pits (A F1526, A F1530 and A F1537) lying close to Church Street suggest that part of the frontage (SW81, Nos. 32–33) was open ground throughout the 12th century.

Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fabric AC, Group IB) remained the dominant ware for cooking-pots and shallow dishes. Another production centre, however, was also making utilitarian products and glazed tablewares which were gaining in popularity (Fabric Y Group III, Fig. 87, M II B7–8). The established industry essentially produced three sizes of globular cooking-pots: small (12–14 cm.), medium (16–18 cm.) and large (24–26 cm.). The newcomer, Oxford Medieval ware, initially made two sizes: medium (18–20 cm., slightly larger than the older tradition) and large (22–24 cm.). By the second half of the century, however, Oxford Medieval ware also produced smaller cooking-pots (12–14 cms.). Variations nevertheless occur, and there is no evidence that a template was used in manufacture.

Regional imports still include Stamford-types and wares from the S.W. (Fabrics AQ and BE, Group II). Continental imports include a Rhenish vessel (Fig. 46, No. 2) from the region of Pingsdorf (Fabric BV, Group III), and another from Andenne in Belgium (Fabric AD, Group III, Fig. 87, M II B7–8, 12th century).

Two of the larger assemblages (A F2503 and A F2517) were selected for illustration. Both lay in the garden of SW82, No. 31 Church Street. The sherds from each pit are very fragmentary. Within A F2503 the hand-made Oxford Early Medieval ware is dominant, accounting for some 57 per cent of the total. It includes bulbous cooking-pots of a variety of sizes (Fig. 46, Nos. 4–7)²²² and some straight-sided vessels (Fig. 46, No. 3).

²¹⁹ Halpin *op. cit.* note 205.

²²⁰ B. Durham *op. cit.* note 215.

²²¹ The following Museum Accession Numbers have been assigned to the pottery which is illustrated in Fig. 46: 1. 75.25.290; 2. 75.25.295; 3. 75.25.291; 4. 75.25.292; 5. 75.25.293; 6. 75.25.251; 7. 75.25.294; 8. 75.25.296; 9. 75.25.297; 10. 75.25.298; 11. 75.25.299; 12. 75.25.300; 13. No number; 14. 75.25.301; 15. 75.25.252; 16. 75.25.253; 17. 75.25.254; 18. 75.25.302.

²²² E.M. Jope, 'Recent Medieval Finds in the Oxford Region', *Oxoniensia*, xiii (1948), 70, Fig. 16, No. 4 parallels Fig. 46, No. 7 in this report.

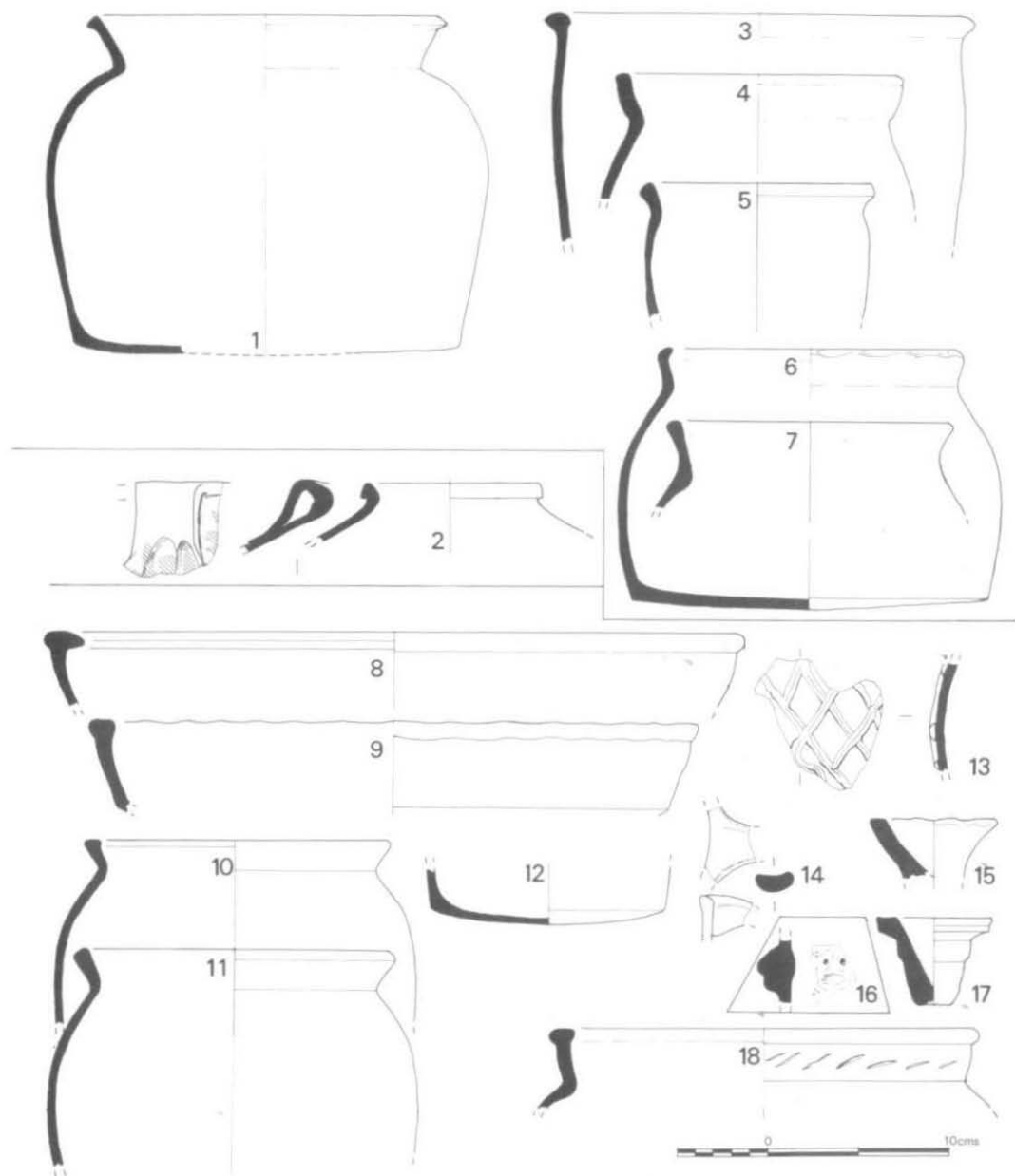


Fig. 46. 12th century Nos. 1-18. Scale 1:4

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. A P2503/3/1 AG; | 2. A P1036/1184/1 BV; | 3. A P2503/1/1 AC; |
| 4. A P2503/1/4 AC; | 5. A P2503/1/5 AC; | 6. A P2503/2/1 AC; |
| 7. A P2503/1/3 AC; | 8. A P2517/1/13 Y; | 9. A P2517/2/2 AC; |
| 10. A P2517/1/3 AC; | 11. A P2517/1/2 AC; | 12. A P2517/2/1 AC; |
| 13. A P2517/1/1 Y; | 14. A P2517/1/4 Y; | 15. A P2517/1/14 AC; |
| 16. A P1007/0/1 AH; | 17. A P2517/1/15 Y; | 18. A P2517/1/5 AC. |

Oxford Medieval ware (Fabric Y, Group III) accounts for 23 per cent of the total and includes cooking-pots and glazed sherds from pitchers. Thumbled decoration on the vessel rims was not such a marked characteristic in either of the 12th-century assemblages in comparison with the later 11th-century groups. Another coarse ware, made to the S. of Oxford and very common in Abingdon, was also present (Fig. 46, No. 1).²²³ Stamford-types include a spouted pitcher with light-green glaze.

The predominance of Oxford Early Medieval ware within A F2503 suggests a date in the first half of the 12th century.²²⁴ A F2517 is of a similar date. Within A F2517, c. 15 per cent of the pottery is intrusive from a late 14th- to 15th-century context.

Cooking-pots in Oxford Early Medieval ware are popular (Fig. 46, Nos. 10-12, 18).²²⁵ Shallow dishes are also popular (Fig. 46, No. 9). A cresset lamp (Fig. 46, No. 15) is a more unusual form. Oxford Medieval ware was making very similar domestic wares: shallow dishes (Fig. 46, No. 8), handled pans (Fig. 46, No. 14),²²⁶ cresset-lamps (Fig. 46, No. 17) and cooking-pots. It was also making decorated and glazed pitchers (Fig. 46, No. 13). This similarity of pottery types between the old and new traditions has been noted elsewhere in late 12th- to early 13th-century contexts,²²⁷ but Church Street suggests that the similarities may have been present almost from the inception of Oxford Medieval ware. Either these industries were closely associated, or there was some regulation by market forces or by administration.

13th Century (Figs. 47-51)²²⁸

The late 12th and 13th centuries were well represented at both Selfridges and Westgate (Figs. 15-18), and several assemblages are illustrated. SEL F23 and SEL F68 were both at the back of tenement SW155, which fronted onto Castle Street. W F35 lay within SW84, which fronted onto Church Street. These assemblages are probably late 12th- or early 13th-century. W F27 (which overlay Seven Deadly Sins Lane), W F30 (SW83) and W F99 (SW81) are early 13th-century. Pit assemblages which are dominated by Oxford Late Medieval wares (Fabric AM, Group III, Brill/Boarstall-type) probably date from the second half of the 13th or possibly the early 14th century, and are discussed with the 14th-century pottery.

A high proportion of the Church Street assemblages are assigned to the late 12th and early 13th centuries (Fig. 12). Eighteen assemblages contain less than 20 sherds; the dating of these assemblages is therefore tenuous. The pit-digging was particularly dense throughout the 13th century in the back of No. 34. The hearth and oven (A F154 and A F1512) are dated to the mid 13th century.

The popularity of Oxford Medieval ware (Fabric Y, Group III) increased, while that of Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fabric AC, Group IB) gradually declined. Evidence from elsewhere shows that Oxford Late Medieval ware (Fabric AM, Group III, Brill/Boarstall-types) were in use in Oxford by the second quarter of the 13th century.²²⁹

Continental imports included Andenne-types (Fabric AD, Group III, Fig. 88, M II C1-4). Regional imports still include Stamford-types, but these may be residual as no 'developed' Stamford-types were

²²³ M. Parrington and C. Balkwill, 'Excavations at Broad Street, Abingdon', *Oxoniensia*, xl (1975), 57, Fabric A.

²²⁴ Durham op. cit. note 80, 140, Phase 6b, dated by an irregular coin of Stephen.

²²⁵ Palmer op. cit. note 73, 163, Fig. 9, No. 8 parallels (form only) Fig. 46, No. 11 in this report.

²²⁶ Ibid. Fig. 9, No. 17, form only, dated to the late 12th century.

²²⁷ Ibid. 161.

²²⁸ The following Museum Accession Numbers have been assigned to the pottery which is illustrated:
Fig. 47.

1. 75.25.303; 2. 75.25.304; 3. 75.25.305; 4. 75.25.312; 5. 75.25.306; 6. 75.25.307; 7. 75.25.308;
8. 75.25.256; 9. 75.25.311; 10. 75.25.309; 11. 75.25.310; 12. 75.25.255.

Fig. 48.

1. 75.25.313; 2. 75.25.314; 3. 75.25.315; 4. 75.25.316; 5. 75.25.317; 6. 75.25.318; 7. 75.25.319;
8. 75.25.320; 9. 75.25.321; 10. 75.25.322; 11. 75.25.323; 12. 75.25.257.

Fig. 49

1. 75.26.4; 2. 75.35.10; 3. 75.35.11; 4. 75.35.12.

Fig. 50

1. 75.35.15; 2. No number.

Fig. 51

1. 75.26.5; 2. 75.26.6; 3. 75.26.7; 4. 75.26.8; 5. No number; 6. 75.26.9; 7. 75.26.10; 8. 75.26.11.

²²⁹ G. Lambrick, 'Further Excavations on the Second Site of the Dominican Priory, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, l (1985), 131-208.

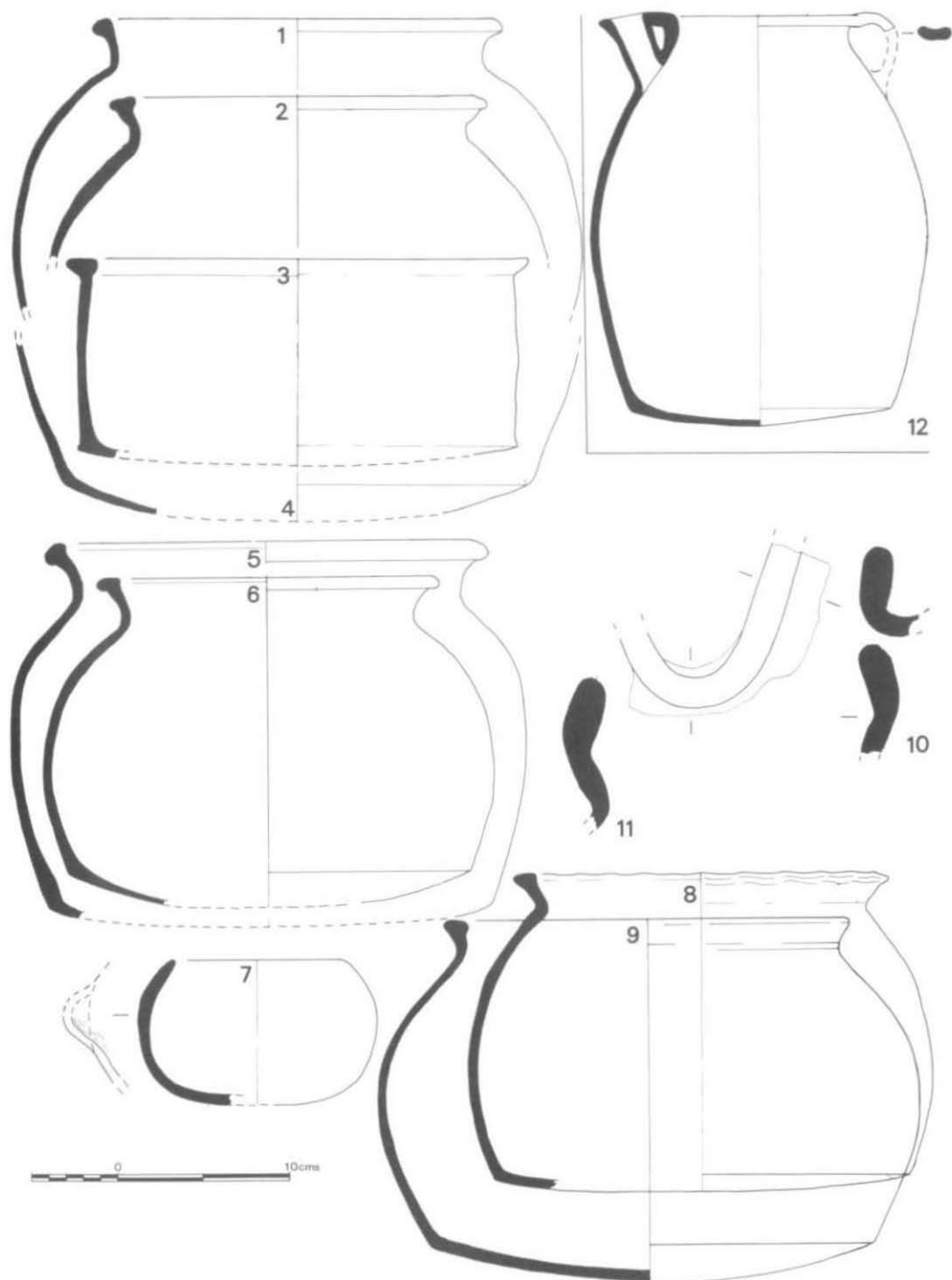


Fig. 47. Late 12th to early 13th century Nos. 1-12. Scale 1:4.

- | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. A P145/309/5 Y; | 2. A P145/309/3 Y; | 3. A P1540/0/1 AC; | 4. A P145/309/4 Y; |
| 5. A P145/309/1 Y; | 6. A P145/142/1 Y; | 7. A P1540/1/1 AG; | 8. A P115/0/1 AC; |
| 9. A P116/0/1 AQ; | 10. A P116/2046/1 BS; | 11. A P116/2046/2 BS; | 12. A P113/208/1 Z. |

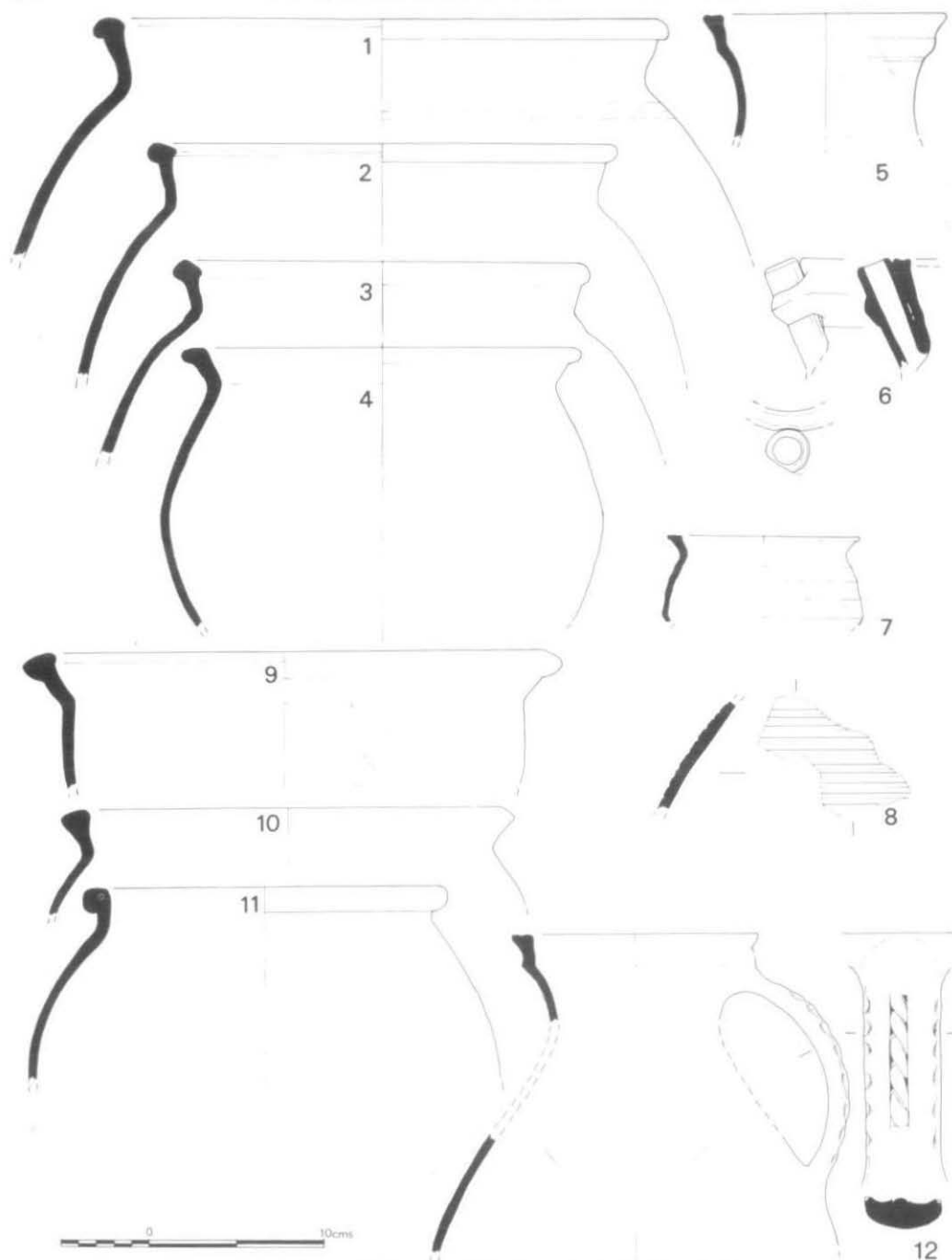


Fig. 48. Late 12th to early 13th century Nos. 1-12. Scale 1:4.

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. A P2522/0/8 Y; | 2. A P2522/0/6 Y; | 3. A P2522/0/4 Y; |
| 4. A P2522/1/4 Y; | 5. A P2522/1/1 AB; | 6. A P2522/1/2 AB; |
| 7. A P2522/0/7 Y; | 8. A P2522/1/3 AB; | 9. A P2522/0/5 AQ; |
| 10. A P2522/0/3 AQ; | 11. A P2522/1/5 BK; | 12. A P2522/0/1 AB. |

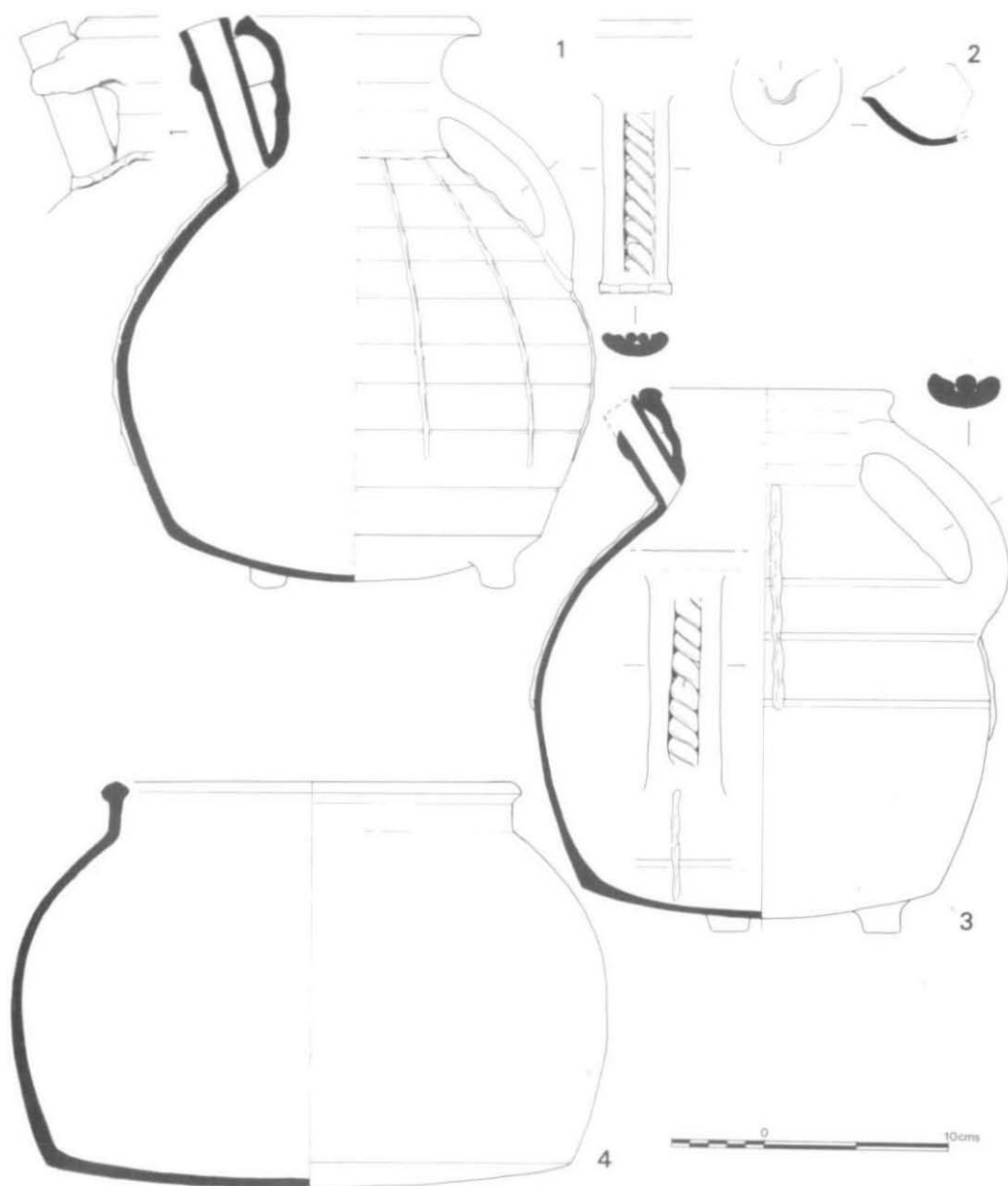


Fig. 49. Late 12th to early 13th century Nos. 1-4. Scale 1:4.

1. W P35/0/1 Y;

2. SEL PU/S 1 Y;

3. SEL P68/0/1 Y;

4. SEL P68/0/2 Y.

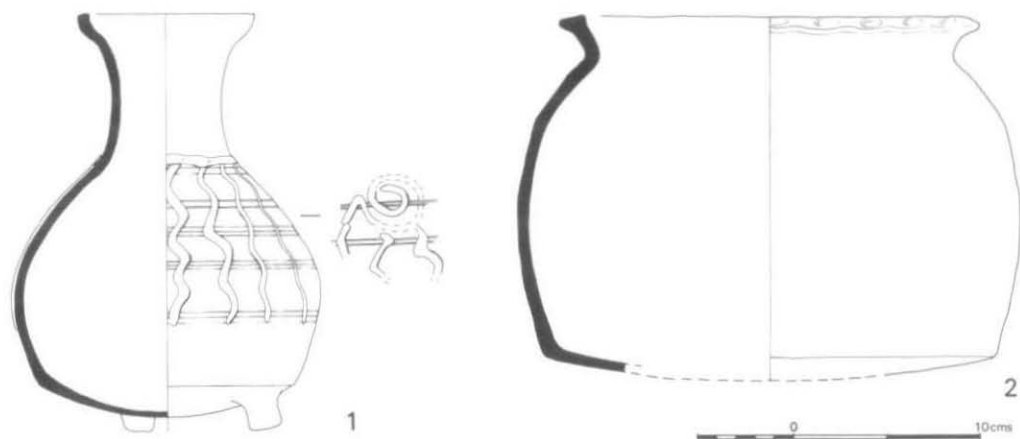


Fig. 50. Late 12th to early 13th century Nos. 1-2. Scale 1:4.
1. SEL P23/32/1 Y; 2. SEL P23/0/2 AC.

present. Several other non-local wares were noted (Fabrics *CG* and *BK*, Group IA; Fabric *CI*, Group IB; Fabric *AQ*, Group II; Fabrics *AG* and *AH*, Group III). These are consistent with trends recorded at the Hamel, in a W. suburb, and 79-80 St. Aldates, on the S. approach to Oxford. One vessel has a face-mask or pad of clay (Fabric *AH*, Group III, Fig. 46, No. 16). This motif is familiar from the Brill/Boarstall industry but in this case the fabric does not seem to be local. One fabric, a developed St. Neot's-type (Fabric *CG*, Group IA), had not been recognised previously and probably originates E. of Oxford.

Three assemblages of the late 12th or early 13th century are illustrated and catalogued in detail (A F116, A F145 and A F2522). In addition some profiles from other groups of similar date are presented (A F113 and A F1540). The earliest assemblage, A F145, derived from a pit behind No. 34 Church Street, is dominated by cooking-pots and large examples in Oxford Medieval ware (Fig. 47, Nos. 1-2, 4-6). Contemporary vessels from other pits include spouted lamps (A F1540, Fig. 47, No. 7), apparently from the same source as the late 11th- and early 12th-century examples (see above). More unusual are the two large and heavily overfired crucibles within a very large assemblage (A F116, Fig. 47, Nos. 10-11). The assemblage was found in a pit in the garden of No. 34 Church Street (SW81). Crucibles of 'calcite' temper may have been used elsewhere on the site during the 12th century.²³⁰ Cooking vessels in Oxford Early Medieval ware remained in use (Fig. 47, Nos. 3, 8), but one example from A F116 had travelled to Oxford from a source in the S.W. (Fig. 47, No. 9). The assemblage from A F116 is particularly large, and the pit seems to have been infilled over a considerable period. The earliest layers are possibly of the mid 12th century, while the later layers include pottery types typical of the early 13th century.

An almost complete Stamford-type spouted pitcher, with a light-yellow glaze, was recovered from A F113 (Fig. 47, No. 12). The absence of typical developed Stamford-types suggests that this pitcher had been treasured for several generations before being discarded.

The third assemblage considered in detail, A F2522 (Fig. 48), is slightly later than A F145. Unlike the majority of pits its outline had not been obliterated by later digging. The assemblage includes a number of regional imports typical of the early 13th century (Fabrics *BK*, Group IA; Fabric *AQ*, Group II; Fabrics *AB*, *AH*, and decorated *AG*, Group III). Oxford Medieval ware was now dominant. Vessels include strikingly large cooking- or storage-pots (Fig. 48, Nos. 1-4), and also smaller cooking-pots (Fig. 48, No. 7); some of the rim forms were becoming increasingly angular (Figs. 48, Nos. 2-3). Pitchers were often decorated with horizontal or wavy grooves as well as being glazed.

Regional imports from the S.W. (Fabric *AQ*, Fabric II) include deep-sided bowls and cooking-pots (Fig. 48, Nos. 9-10). A shelly limestone cooking-pot was probably made to the E. of Oxford (Fabric *BK*, Group IA, Fig. 48, No. 11). There are also spouted and baggy pitchers which are similar to the Oxford Medieval ware types but technically slightly better executed (Fig. 48, Nos. 5-6, 8, 12, Fabric *AB*, Group III).

²³⁰ Slag Report, Group 3, M III E8-E14.

Two salvage pits (SEL F23 and SEL F68) from the back garden of SW155 produced large cooking-pots in both Oxford Early Medieval ware (Fig. 50, No. 2) and Oxford Medieval ware (Fig. 49, No. 4). In addition, an unusual tripod bottle-flask (Fig. 50, No. 1) and a spouted tripod-pitcher (Fig. 49, No. 3) in Oxford Medieval ware were found. The tripod-flask is similar to a handled example, but without the 'pods', from Oxford Town Hall.²³¹ Another spouted tripod-pitcher was recovered from W F35 (Fig. 49, No. 1). A small pinch-spouted crucible or ovoid vessel, similar to the Stamford-types but in fact a local copy, was found unstratified at Selfridges (Fig. 49, No. 2). Four pits from the Westgate salvage excavations, W F16, W F27, W F30 and W F99, were 13th-century. W F99 produced a spouted pitcher and smaller cooking-pot in Oxford Medieval ware (Fig. 51, Nos. 1-2), as well as a developed St. Neot's-type jug (Fabric CG, Group IA; Fig. 51, No. 3), a comparatively rare type in Oxford.²³² In W F30 a small cooking-pot (Fig. 51, No. 4) was found, in association with a Stamford-type vessel (Stamford-type B, Form 22; Fig. 51, No. 5) which is unparalleled from recent excavations in Oxford. Two very well-made cooking-pots with distinctive rims (Fig. 51, Nos. 6-7), probably made by the same potter, were recovered from W F27. A baluster-type jug with thumbled base and decorated with white slip decoration and orange glaze from W F16 is illustrated (Fig. 51, No. 8). This jug was made to the S. of Oxford and is a type commonly found in Abingdon (Fabric AG, Group III). A shallow dish with a large drilled hole (Fig. 53, No. 1) in Oxford Medieval ware is unparalleled, and possibly dates from the mid 13th century or later. It was found in A F2502.

Surprisingly, there were no large assemblages which could be attributed to the second half of the 13th century, though the assemblages containing imports from S.W. France may date from this period. Two stratified sherds of Saintonge polychrome jugs were recovered from A F140 and A F1024 (Fabric CC, Group III, Fig. 88, M II C1-4). An unstratified pitcher rim-sherd, with a horizontal band of green around the neck, was also found at Church Street (Fig. 54, No. 12). These are the only Saintonge-types known from Oxford, but they can be paralleled locally with sherds from Harding's Field, Chalgrove.²³³ No stratified examples of the highly-decorated triple-decker jugs from the Brill/Boarstall kilns were recovered from any assemblages assigned to the later 13th or early 14th century, but this may in part be due to the fragmentary nature of the sherds. Two facemasks associated with highly-decorated jugs were recovered from Church Street, one unstratified (Fig. 54, No. 9) and the other probably residual (Fig. 54, No. 10). No such facemasks were recovered from excavations at the Hamel in the W. suburb.

14th Century (Figs. 52-55)²³⁴

Only five assemblages from Selfridges and Westgate date from the 14th century: SEL F29 (SW152), SEL F62 (SW167), W F13 (SW84), W F23 (SW83/84) and W F89 (not planned). W F89 is illustrated.

Several Church Street assemblages are late 13th or early 14th century (Fig. 13), and one of these, A F1019, is illustrated and recorded in detail (Fig. 52). The remainder of the 14th century is represented by a few large pits; A F121 is published in detail (Fig. 54, Nos. 1-7). The pottery suggests much less activity on the site and within the *insula* during the 14th-century than in the previous period. A hearth (A F2513) within No. 31 Church Street (SW82) yielded a surprising number of sherds, all 14th-century. The gravel area (A F2510), beyond the hearth and the stone building, yielded a large assemblage of pottery dating from the second half of the 13th to the early 14th century. Little pottery was recovered from the area of burning towards the back of No. 33 Church Street (SW81), with the exception of F1048 which yielded 14th-century pottery.

²³¹ R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Archaeology of the Site of the Bodleian Extension in Broad Street, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), Pl. X, No. 7.

²³² E.M. Jope, 'Late Saxon Pits under Oxford Castle Mound: Excavations in 1952', *Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii (1952-3), Pl. 2.

²³³ P. Page, 'Harding's Field', forthcoming.

²³⁴ The following Museum Accession Numbers have been assigned to the pottery which is illustrated:

Fig. 52

1. 75.25.258; 2. 75.25.324; 3. 75.25.325; 4. 75.25.326; 5. 75.25.259; 6. 75.25.327; 7. 75.25.328;
8. 75.25.261; 9. 75.25.329; 10. 75.25.260; 11. 75.25.330.

Fig. 53

1. 75.25.331; 2. 75.25.380; 3. 75.25.381.

Fig. 54

1. 75.25.333; 2. 75.25.334; 3. 75.25.332; 4. 75.25.335; 5. 75.25.336; 6. 75.25.337; 7. No number;
8. 75.35.13; 9. 75.25.338; 10. 75.25.339; 11. 75.35.14.

Fig. 55

1. 75.26.12; 2. 75.26.13; 3. 75.26.14; 4. 75.26.15; 5. 75.26.16; 6. 75.26.17; 7. 75.26.18; 8. 75.26.19.

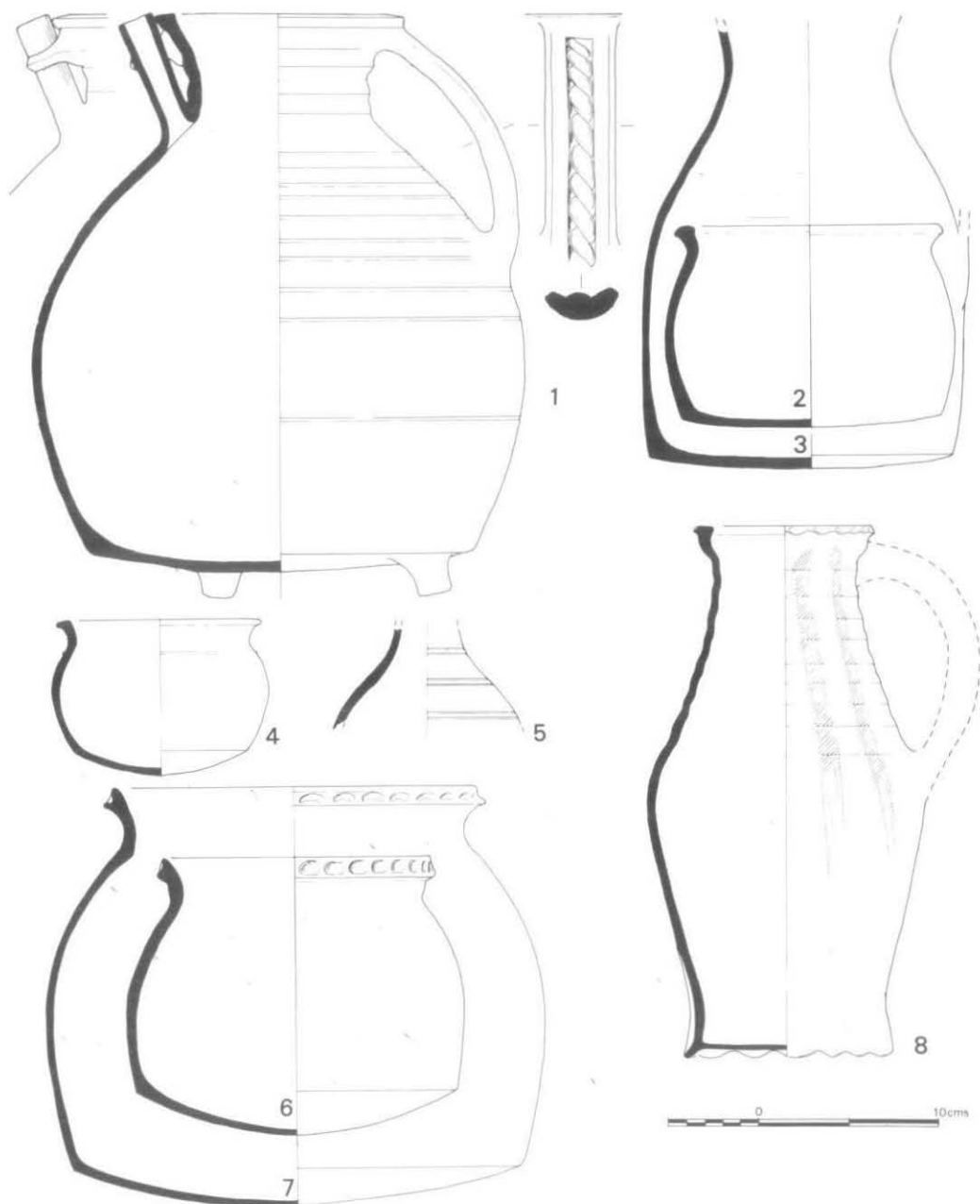


Fig. 51. First half of the 13th century Nos. 1-8. Scale 1:4.

1. W P99/0/1 Y;
4. W P30/0/2 Y;
7. W P27/0/2 Y;

2. W P99/0/3 Y;
5. W P30/0/1 AT;
8. W P16/0/1 AG.

3. W P99/0/1 CG;
6. W P27/0/1 Y;

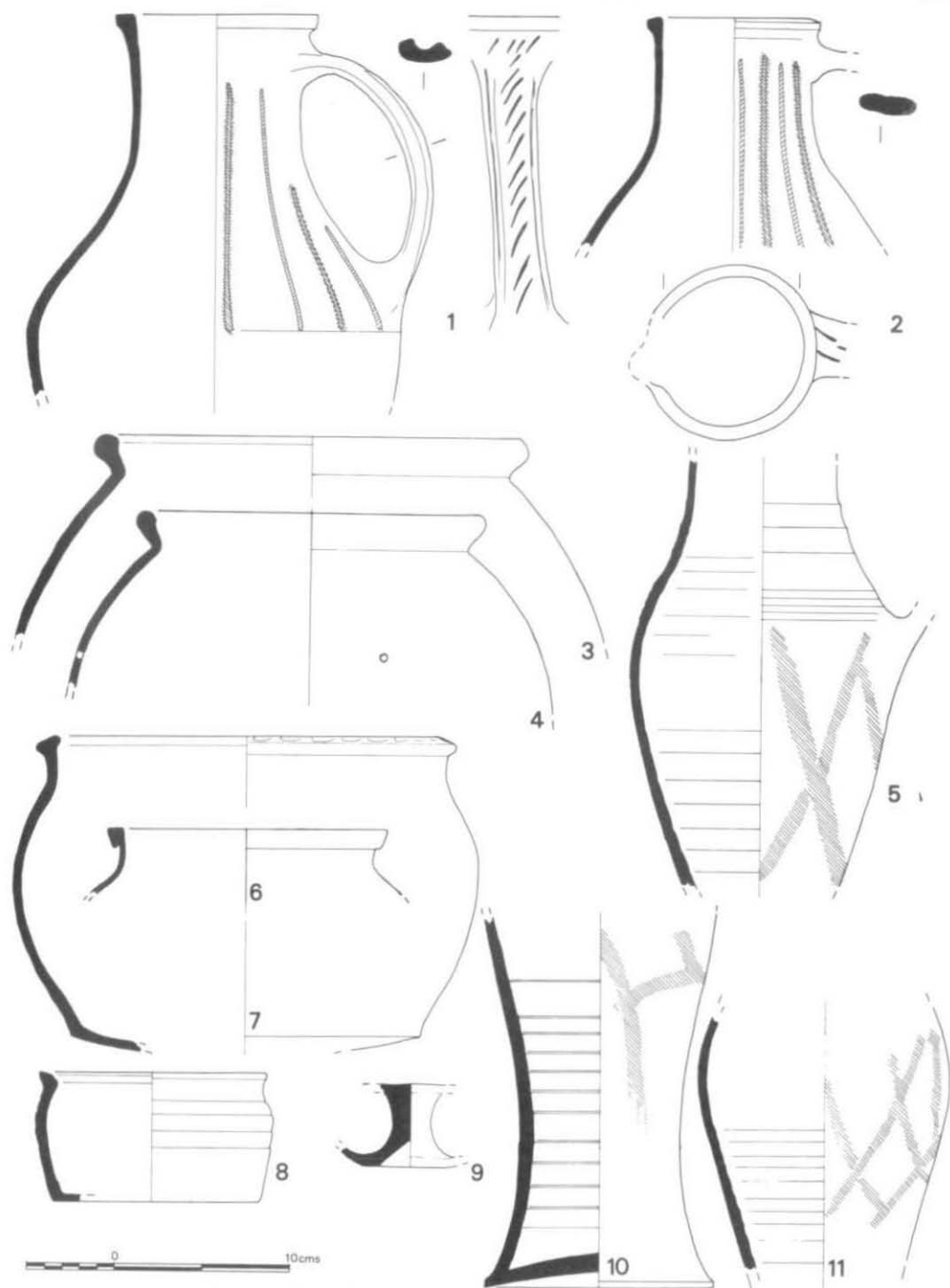


Fig. 52. Late 13th to early 14th century Nos. 1-11. Scale 1:4.

1. A P1019/1229/1 AM; 2. A P1019/1036/3 AM; 3. A P1019/1102/3 AQ; 4. A P1019/1102/5 AQ;
 5. A P1019/1102/4 AM; 6. A P1019/1036/1 AW; 7. A P1019/1229/3 Y; 8. A P1019/1102/2 AM;
 9. A P1019/1036/2 AM; 10. A P1019/1102/1 AM; 11. A P1019/1229/2 AM.

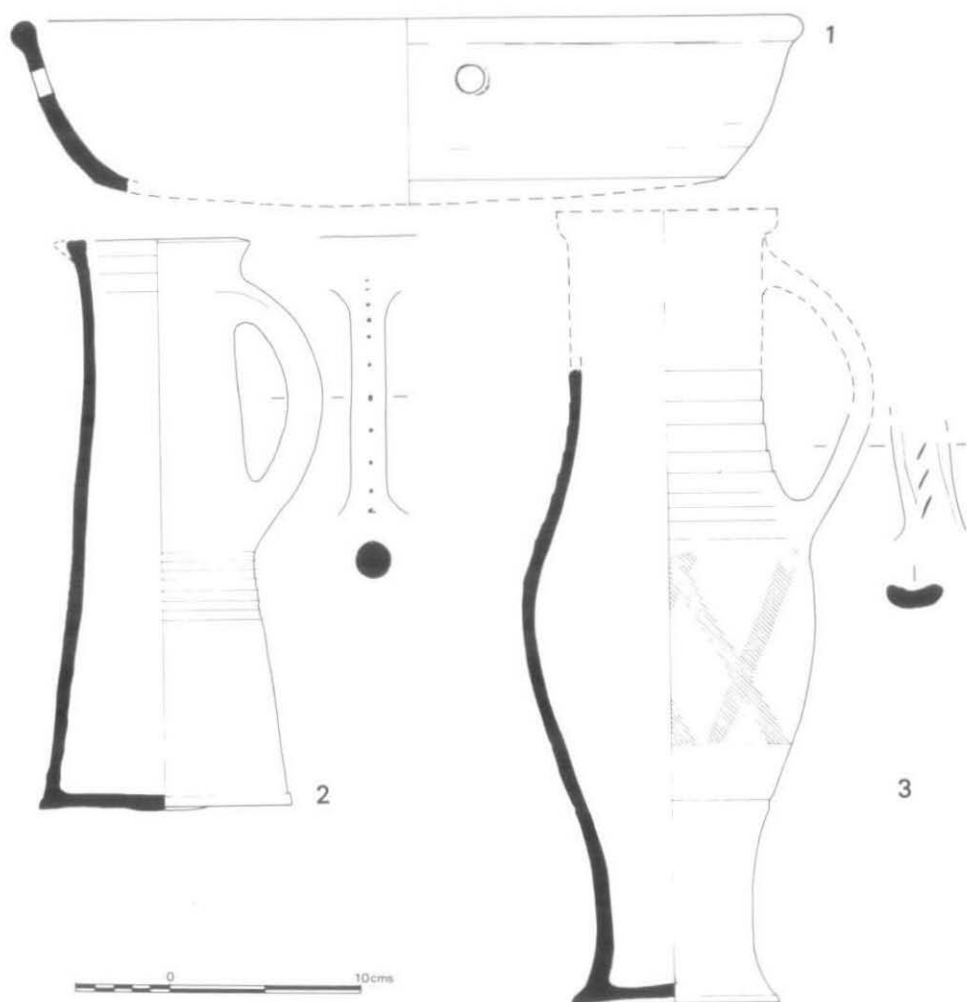


Fig. 53. Late 13th to early 14th century Nos. 1-3. Scale 1:4.

1. A P2502/1/1 Y;

2. A P59/107/48 AM;

3. A P59/0/1 AM.

By the later 13th or early 14th century, Oxford Late Medieval ware (Fabrics *AM*, *AP* and *AW*, Group III, Brill/Boarstall-types) dominated the market, producing jugs and pitchers of varying sizes. By the 14th century the domination is even more marked; sherds of Oxford Early Medieval ware are almost certainly residual, as are probably also sherds of Oxford Medieval ware. The larger domestic cooking- and storage-vessels were being supplied in Fabric *AQ* (Group II), while Oxford Late Medieval ware was supplying smaller domestic vessels. A general layer (A L1282) contained the base of a copy of a metal ecclesiastical ewer (A SF1101) which parallels a complete ceramic example from Frewin Hall.²³⁵ A late 13th-century coin was also found in the layer (Cat. No. 4).

There was a smaller range of regional imports, and by the 14th century no continental imports are present. A F1019, a pit which lay towards the back of No. 32 Church Street (SW81), contained *c.* 17 per cent residual pottery, dating from the late 11th or early 12th century and including a Pingsdorf-type sherd. The

²³⁵ R. Ainslie, 'Frewin Hall, Oxford', typescript with the Oxford Archaeological Unit.

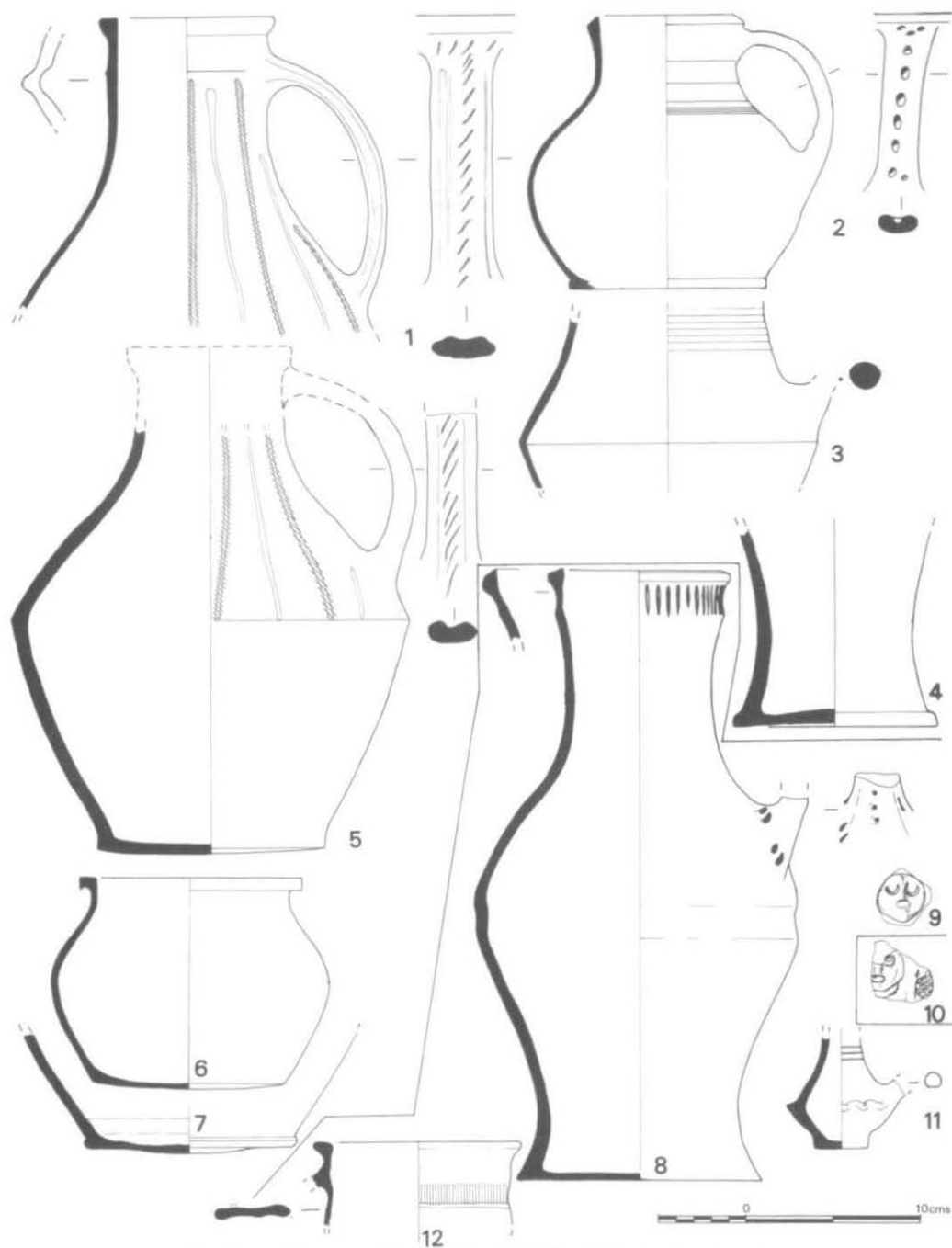


Fig. 54. 14th century Nos. 1-9, 11-12; 15th century No. 10. Scale 1:4.

1. A P121/235/9 AM;
4. A P121/235/5 AM;
7. A P121/235/7 AM;
10. A P1006/0/1 AM;

2. A P121/235/6 AM;
5. A P121/235/3 AM;
8. SEL P97/0/1 AM;
11. SEL P0/0/2 =U/S AM;

3. A P121/235/1 AM;
6. A P121/235/2 AM;
9. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM;
12. A P0/2/1 =U/S CC.

majority of the sherds, however, are of the 13th or early 14th century. The domestic products from this assemblage (Fig. 52, No. 7) are largely derived from two sources: Oxford Medieval ware (Fabric Y, Group III), perhaps from the Woodstock area, N. of Oxford; and from the S.W., Fabric AQ (Group II, Fig. 52, Nos. 3-4). One of the cooking-pots (Fig. 52, No. 4) has a small hole drilled into the body; possibly it was intended for contents which required aeration.²³⁶ A third source supplied the elegant jugs and pitchers from the Brill/Boarstall kilns (Fig. 52, Nos. 1-2, 5, 10-11, Fabrics AM and AW, Group III) and also the smaller domestic vessels (Fig. 52, Nos. 6, 8-9). A F1019 contained at least three baluster-type jugs (Fig. 52, Nos. 5, 10-11), six biconical jugs (Fig. 52, Nos. 1-2) and a few tablewares originating from the S. (Fabric AG, Group III, Fig. 90, M II D1-2).

From a stone-lined pit, A F59 (No. 34 Church Street, SW81) a similar, although very fragmentary, assemblage was recovered; this group is published in an interim report.²³⁷ It is also dominated by a 'hard buff sandy ware', now classified as Oxford Late Medieval ware (Fabrics AM and AW, Brill/Boarstall-types). It includes baluster-type jugs (Fig. 53, No. 3),²³⁸ and a cylindrical jug (Fig. 53, No. 2).²³⁹ The latter is a comparatively rare form and contrasts with contemporary pitchers because it is always well-glazed but with no underglaze decoration. The 'hard grey ware' includes Oxford Medieval ware (Fabric Y, Group III) and the 'painted' and decorated tablewares from the S.²⁴⁰ The coarse wares include a cooking-pot,²⁴¹ a jug, and six decorated sherds with wavy horizontal combing in Fabric AQ (Group II). This fabric was originally believed to have been residual in this context,²⁴² but it is contemporary, and the contamination was derived from the garden soil used to infill the pit. Residual pottery made up c. 15 per cent of the total, half that originally estimated, and rather less than the other non-stone-lined, 14th-century pits. A large pit, A F121, lay in the same property as A F59 and dated from the first half of the 14th century. It contained c. 22 per cent residual pottery and a variety of jug types including biconical-types (Fig. 54, Nos. 1, 3, 5) and baluster-types (No. 4). One jug base (Fig. 54, No. 7) had evidence of sooting on its base and a thick calcium carbonate residue internally. The jug may have been used as an early form of kettle; similar residues on 14th-century jugs were noted at the Hamel.²⁴³ Smaller jugs (Fig. 54, No. 2), smaller cooking-pots (Fig. 54, No. 6) and double-shelled lamps are also present.

Cooking-pots and other domestic vessels were made in a flint- and chalk-tempered fabric (Fabric AQ, Group II) which was now the sole supplier of medium and large cooking-pots and storage vessels. The only other coarse pottery was a fire-cover handle made in a shelly limestone-tempered ware (Fabric BK, Group IA). This assemblage, A F121, and the two earlier groups, A F59 and A F1019, represent typical domestic rubbish belonging to moderately well-to-do inhabitants.

From the adjoining salvage site, Selfridges, another stone-lined pit, SEL F97, contained a large, near-complete, stout baluster jug with a rod handle (Fig. 54, No. 8). The jug is well-glazed with a mottled-green glaze, and probably slightly post-dates the assemblage from A F121. A small cruet (Fig. 54, No. 11) from an unstratified context on the Selfridges site probably dates from the later 13th or early 14th century.²⁴⁴

Another early to mid 14th-century group (W F89, not planned) was salvaged from Westgate. This assemblage was also dominated by well-made jugs and pitchers in Oxford Late Medieval ware, but underglaze decoration was largely absent. The ubiquitous baluster-jug (Fig. 55, No. 3) was still in use. Other tall jugs, possibly baluster-types (Fig. 55, Nos. 4, 6) with both strap and rod handles, are present. Biconical jugs (Fig. 55, Nos. 1-2, 5), similar to those found in A F1019 and A F121 but taller and with the biconical angle less well-defined, are recorded. Smaller jugs (Fig. 55, No. 8) and a small bowl (Fig. 55, No. 7) were also still in use. The bowl was partially glazed internally, and splashes of a mottled-green glaze on the exterior suggested that it had been fired in a kiln with pitchers and jugs decorated with this glaze.

As the 14th century progressed the tradition of glazing a vessel completely diminished, and the pots were less carefully executed and finished. With the decline in workmanship Oxford Late Medieval ware began to lose its monopoly, and regional imports, especially those from Surrey and to a lesser degree from Wiltshire, began to find a market locally.

²³⁶ E.M. Jope and R.I. Threlfall, 'The Twelfth-Century Castle at Ascot Doilly, Oxfordshire', *Antiquaries Journal*, xxxix, 3, 4 (1959), 243.

²³⁷ T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford 1968: First Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxiv (1969), 14-17, Fig. 4.

²³⁸ *Ibid.* Fig. 4, No. 6.

²³⁹ *Ibid.* Fig. 4, No. 11.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Fig. 4, Nos. 4-5, 16.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.* Fig. 4, No. 2.

²⁴² *Ibid.* 14.

²⁴³ Palmer *op. cit.* note 73, M I G08 B113, dated to the mid 14th century; 170, Fig. 16, No. 25.

²⁴⁴ D.A. Hinton, *Medieval Pottery of the Oxford Region* (1973).

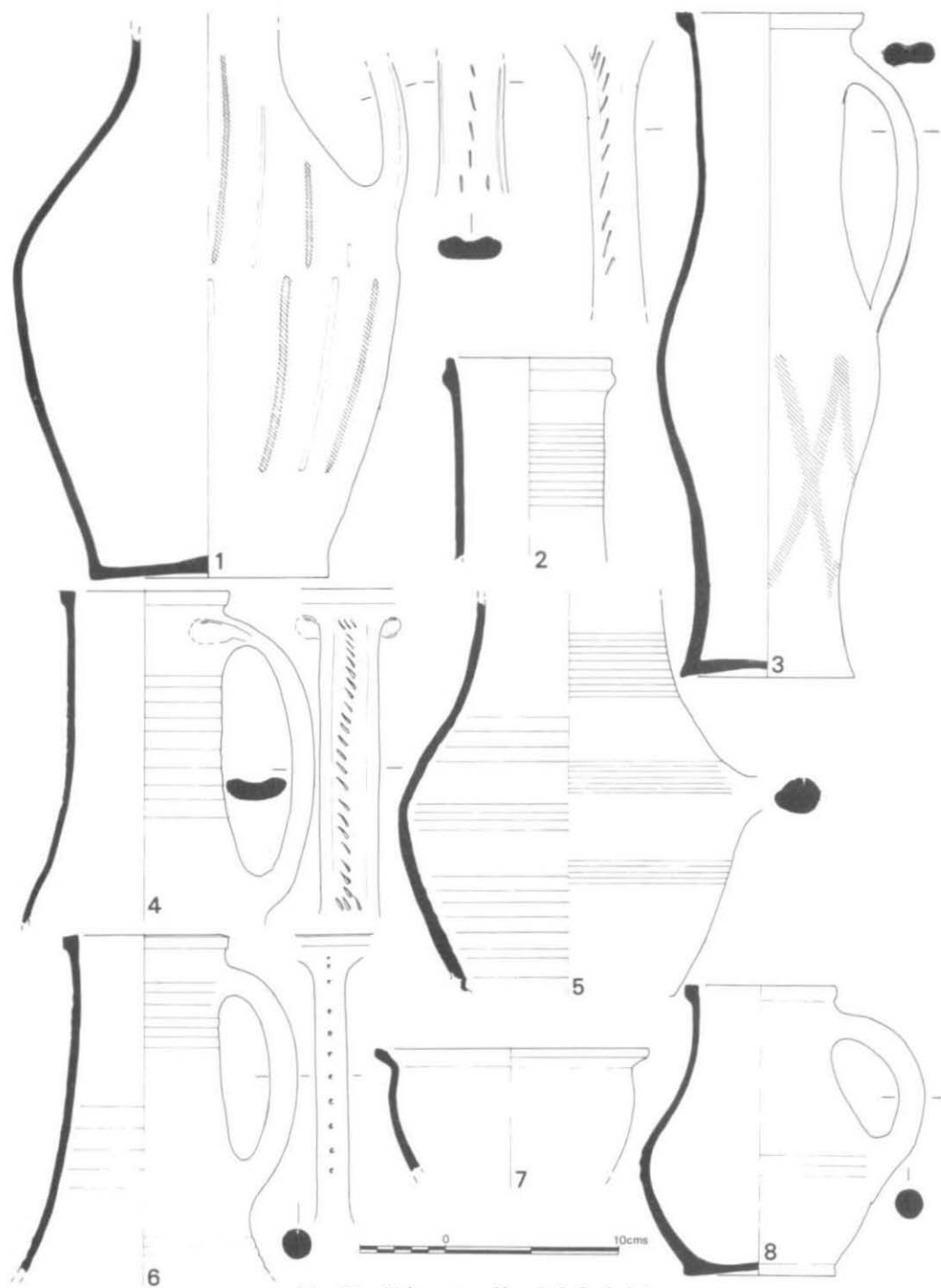


Fig. 55. 14th century Nos. 1-8. Scale 1:4.

1. W P89/0/8 AM;
 4. W P89/0/6 AP;
 7. W P89/0/5 AM;

2. W P89/0/2 AM;
 5. W P89/0/3 AM;
 8. W P89/0/7 AM.

3. W P89/0/1 AM;
 6. W P89/0/4 AM;

*15th to Early 16th Century (Figs. 56–57)*²⁴⁵

A few pits dating from this period were recovered (SEL F13 and SEL F88, SW152, Figs. 15–16). Some isolated pits were excavated in the Westgate area (W F1, W F14 and W F28, Figs. 17–18). The latter date from the late 15th century and cut the infill of the Barbican Ditch.²⁴⁶

The uppermost layers (W F50, Fig. 19) of the road-section across Church Street contained a few sherds of 14th- and 15th-century pottery.

A very large, but fragmentary, assemblage A F53 (No. 34 Church Street, SW81) illustrates pottery trends in the later 14th and early 15th century. It contained c. 23 per cent residual pottery. Oxford Late Medieval ware includes some new fabric-types (Fabrics *AP* and *BX*, Group III). It was still the dominant ware, but was experiencing some competition from other industries producing jugs and pitchers. The jugs and pitchers were now often only partially glazed (Fig. 56, No. 13), and decorated with grooves (Fig. 56, No. 21) rather than plastic decoration. The pottery was also often overfired (Fig. 56, Nos. 11, 18) to a 'proto-stoneware' fabric (Fabric *AP*, Group III). The pitchers lost their rotundity (Fig. 56, No. 20) and were often more angular (Fig. 56, Nos. 10, 12). Decorated sherds, reminiscent of later 13th-century groups, include a fine rouletted sherd (Fig. 56, No. 15), a sherd from the belly of a triple-decker (Fig. 56, No. 16), and the handle of an aquamanile (Fig. 56, No. 17) which may have been discarded several generations after it was made. The domestic products now included new forms: wide pans (Fig. 56, No. 3) and large bowls (Fig. 56, No. 4). Large cooking- or storage-pots (Fig. 56, No. 7) and smaller products (Fig. 56, No. 8) were still evident. A modest number of domestic vessels were still supplied from the S.W. (Fabric *AQ*, Group II, Fig. 56, Nos. 1, 5–6). The regional imports included pitchers (Fig. 56, No. 14), bung-hole jars (Fig. 56, No. 9), and flanged dishes (Fig. 56, No. 2) from Farnborough Hill in Surrey (Fabric *BG*, Group III). Very little Tudor Green from Surrey (Fabric *BN*, Group III) was recovered; the base of a possible cup (Fig. 56, No. 19) from a small pit (A F95) is exceptional. A sherd of Cistercian ware was found, and coarse red earthenwares (Fabric *AZ*, Group III) were occasionally recorded (Fig. 91, M II E1, 15th century).

Post-dating A F53 a variety of new vessel types were recovered, largely from unstratified contexts. We know little of ceramic trends in the later medieval period and it was of particular interest to find considerable quantities of 15th- and possibly early 16th-century pottery at Church Street. The pots from this site were rudely executed, for example the jugs (Fig. 56, Nos. 24, 26) and a chunky costrel (Fig. 56, No. 25). Occasionally a finer vessel is present (Fig. 56, No. 27). Small spouts and angular handles, copying metallic forms, were tantalisingly fragmentary (Fig. 56, Nos. 22–23). Overfired examples of tripod cooking-vessel feet are present (Fig. 57, Nos. 1–2). Oxford Late Medieval ware products include knobbed lids (Fig. 57, Nos. 3–4), costrels (Fig. 57, No. 5), open vessels (Fig. 57, No. 16),²⁴⁷ angular jugs (Fig. 57, No. 15), and poorly-executed bottles (Fig. 57, Nos. 9, 12). Double-shelled lamps (Fig. 57, No. 13) were certainly present in the early 15th century, but it is not clear how long they continued to be made. Farnborough Hill products continued to be found, including wide-bodied jugs with strap handles (Fig. 57, No. 6), flanged bowls (Fig. 57, No. 8), and jars with bifid rims (Fig. 57, No. 7). Overfired vessels include a solid base of a jug or jar (Fig. 57, No. 14). From A F98 a tall, elegant bottle of Oxford Late Medieval ware was recovered (Fig. 57, No. 11). Coarse wares include a deep-sided pan with combed decoration (Fig. 57, No. 10).

Cistercian-type drinking vessels (Fig. 57, Nos. 17–19) were recovered. These types are sometimes present within later 15th- and early 16th-century levels in Oxford²⁴⁸ and these examples probably predate the Reformation. Cistercian-type drinking vessels are often found in association with Rhinish stoneware drinking vessels but no early examples of the latter were recovered from Church Street.

²⁴⁵ The following Museum Accession Numbers have been assigned to the pottery which is illustrated:
Fig. 56

1. 75.25.340; 2. 75.25.357; 3. 75.25.341; 4. 75.25.376; 5. 75.25.342; 6. 75.25.343; 7. 75.25.344;
8. 75.25.345; 9. 75.25.346; 10. 75.25.347; 11. 75.25.348; 12. 75.25.349; 13. 75.25.350; 14. 75.25.351;
15. 75.25.352; 16. No number; 17. 75.25.353; 18. 75.25.354; 19. No number; 20. 75.25.355; 21. 75.25.356;
22. No number; 23. No number; 24. 75.25.358; 25. 75.25.359; 26. No number; 27. No number.

Fig. 57

1. 75.25.360; 2. 75.25.361; 3. No number; 4. 75.25.362; 5. No number; 6. 75.25.363; 7. 75.25.364;
8. 75.25.365; 9. 75.25.366; 10. 75.25.367; 11. 75.25.368; 12. 75.25.369; 13. 75.25.370; 14. 75.25.371;
15. 75.25.372; 16. 75.25.373; 17. 75.25.374; 18. 75.25.375; 19. No number.

²⁴⁶ Hassall *op. cit.* note 6, 252.

²⁴⁷ Palmer *op. cit.* note 73, 175, Fig. 21, No. 14, a finer version.

²⁴⁸ Halpin *op. cit.* note 205, 63, Phase 6.

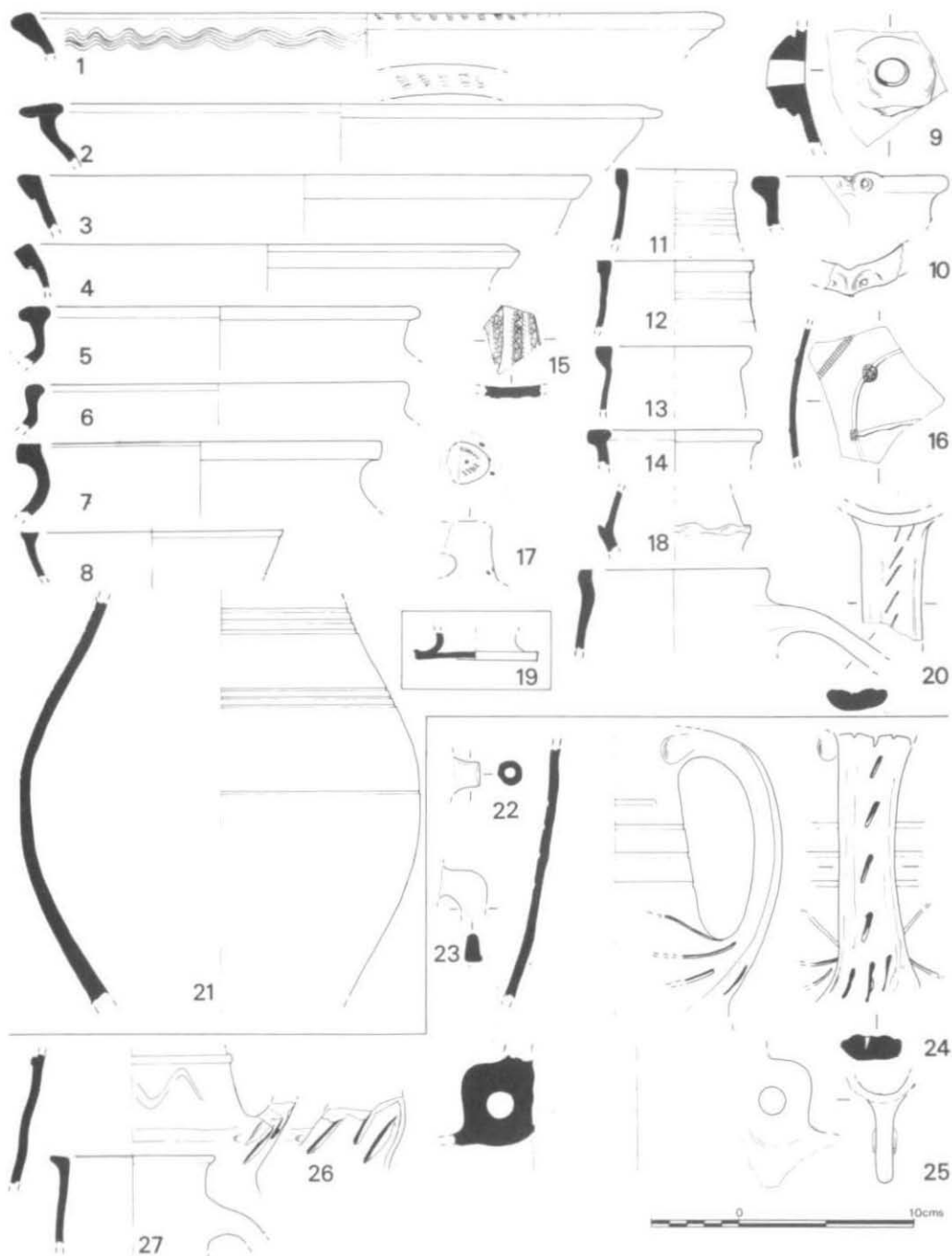


Fig. 56. Late 14th to early 15th century Nos. 1-21; 15th century Nos. 22-27. Scale 1:4.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. A P53/53/15 AQ; | 2. A P53/53/9 BG; | 3. A P53/53/11 AW; | 4. A P53/53/5 AM; |
| 5. A P53/53/20 AQ | 6. A P53/53/3 AQ; | 7. A P53/53/7 AM; | 8. A P53/53/8 AP; |
| 9. A P53/53/4 BG; | 10. A P53/53/13 AW; | 11. A P53/53/19 AP; | 12. A P53/53/18 AM; |
| 13. A P53/53/6 AM; | 14. A P53/53/2 BG; | 15. A P53/53/12 AW; | 16. A P53/137/1 AM; |
| 17. A P53/53/1 AM; | 18. A P53/53/10 AP; | 19. A P95/87/1 BN; | 20. A P53/53/14 AM; |
| 21. A P53/137/2 AM; | 22. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM | 23. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM; | 24. A P0/2/1 =U/S BX; |
| 25. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM; | 26. A P0/2/2 =U/S AM; | 27. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM. | |

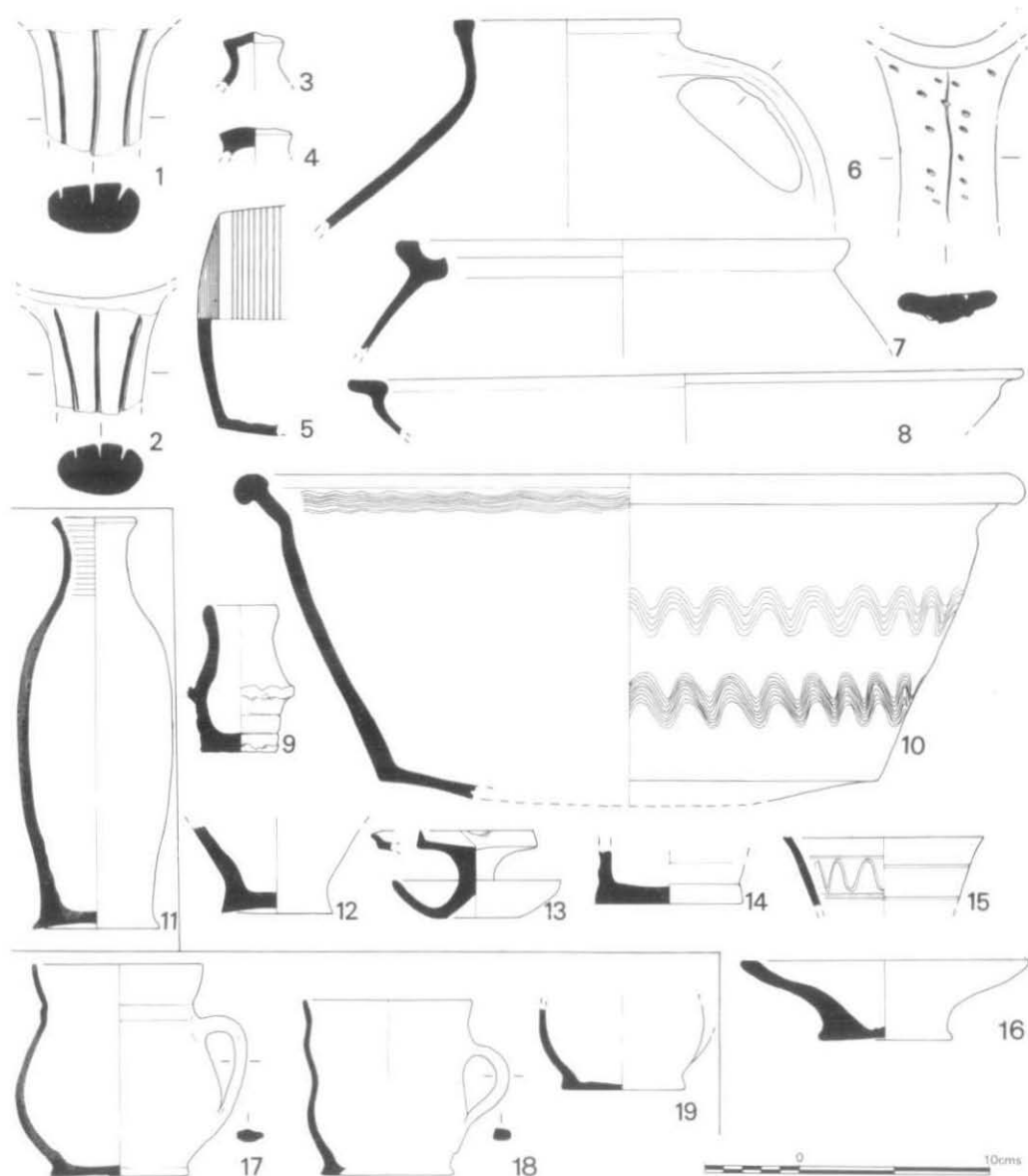


Fig. 57. 15th century Nos. 1-16; 16th century Nos. 17-19. Scale 1:4.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. A P0/2/1 =U/S ZZ; | 2. A P0/2/1 =U/S ZZ; | 3. AP0/2/2 =U/S AM; |
| 4. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM; | 5. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM; | 6. A P0/2/1 =U/S BG; |
| 7. A P0/2/1 =U/S BG; | 8. A P0/2/2 =U/S BG; | 9. A P0/2/1 =U/S AP; |
| 10. A P0/2/1 =U/S AQ; | 11. A P98/90/1 AM; | 12. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM; |
| 13. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM; | 14. A P0/2/1 =U/S ZZ; | 15. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM SF234 AM; |
| 16. A P0/2/1 =U/S AM; | 17. A P0/2/1 =U/S CL; | 18. A P0/1279/2 =L2 U/S CL; |
| 19. A P0/1279/1 =L2 U/S CL. | | |

Conclusion

The dating of individual contexts could only be achieved because ceramic sequences had been recovered elsewhere in Oxford; the problems of residuality encountered on any urban site, together with the anomalies of excavating and recording on this site, meant that closer dating could not be established. In some cases these broad ceramic dates conflict with the numismatic evidence, demonstrating the need for caution on the part of pottery specialists.

This large body of material has, however, yielded some 'new' vessels and some interesting associations of regional imports with local ceramic traditions. In more general terms, it has established a date (the mid 11th century) when the Church Street frontage was developed, and by examining the distribution of pits has provided some evidence of tenement plans.

Greyfriars (Site B) and Littlegate (Site D) Fig. 59

Detailed pottery reports have not been produced. A histogram of the main medieval groups from Littlegate appears in fiche (Fig. 91, M II G9-10), and the pottery from each site is listed on the Concordance of Finds (Greyfriars, Table 5, M I C12-F5; Littlegate, Table 6, M I F6-10). The pottery is discussed within the archaeological sections for each site and details of fabric types within each context are contained in the excavation archives.

Maureen Mellor notes that unlike the neighbouring Blackfriars no highly-decorated vessels were found at Greyfriars. The only sherd of intrinsic interest was a rim and rod-handle with ears (Fig. 59, B IV L1, unstratified), the style of the handle suggesting that the potter was copying a metal ecclesiastical ewer; a similar handle was recovered from Frewin Hall.²⁴⁹ Regional imports from Greyfriars were similar to those found at Blackfriars and include a Potterspury-type (B XXXIII L84). This type has been found at Blackfriars and Oseney Abbey, but not at the neighbouring tenement sites, for example the Hamel and Church Street.

Derek Gadd classified the Littlegate fabric types using the type-series compiled by Regina Haldon and Maureen Mellor for 79-80 St. Aldates.²⁵⁰ The quantitative analysis of the pottery relates to the phasing of that site. Over 700 sherds were found at Littlegate. There are only a small number of complete or even semi-complete profiles, and the majority of forms are cooking-pots; none is illustrated. A catalogue of the pottery from Trench I is included in the excavation archive.

COINS AND JETTONS by MARION ARCHIBALD
ENGLISH JETTON (NO. 23) by THE LATE S.E. RIGOLD

31-34 Church Street (Site A)

1. Stephen, 1135-54.
Penny, BMC Type I.
Rev. +LIFR(ED ON) LVND Mint London, Moneyer Li(e)fred.
Obv. +S(TIE)FNE R: Profile bust to right holding sceptre.
Wt. 0.90 g. (13.9 gr.).
This coin was struck about the middle of the period of issue of Type I. It was probably deposited sometime within the period c. 1138-50.
75.25.219 A SF2064, F2509 L6, 13th-cent. context.
2. Edward I, 1272-1307.
Penny, Fox Class IIIc, Bristol mint, 1281.
Wt. 1.15 g. (17.7 gr.).

²⁴⁹ Ainslie op. cit. not 235.

²⁵⁰ Durham op. cit. note 80, 112.

GROUP	FABRIC	FEATURES									OVERALL	
		1556	84	2503	2517	145	116	2522	1019	121	53	TOTAL
IA	A		+									+
	B			+			+				+	+
	R	■	■	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	3%
	BK							+	+	+		+
IB	AC	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	32%
	BB										+	+
	BS	+	+					+		+	+	+
	CI										+	+
II	AQ		■	+		+	+	+	■	■		5%
	BF	■		+	+		+		+	+	+	+
III	Y	+	+	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	24%
	Z		+	+	+		+		+			+
	AB							+				+
	AD						+				+	+
	AE	+	■			■	+					+
	AK								+			+
	AG	+		■	■	+	■	+	+	+	■	4%
	AH						+	+		+		+
	AM			+	■	+	■	+	■	■	■	19%
	AS						+				+	+
	AT	+	+	■	+		+		+	+		+
	AP									+	+	+
	AW					+	+		■	+	+	+
	AZ										+	+
	BC								+		+	+
	BG										■	+
	BL										+	+
	BN				+							+
	BV	+							+			+
	BX			+					+		■	+
CE									+		+	
CY		+									+	
ZZ		+	+	■	■	■	+	■	■	■	5%	
SHERD TOTAL		191	761	847	427	302	1427	728	719	699	1249	7348

Fig. 58. Medieval types from 31-34 Church Street (Site A), selected assemblages. A histogram showing the number of sherds in each fabric as a percentage of the total in each assemblage. + Indicates 5% or less.

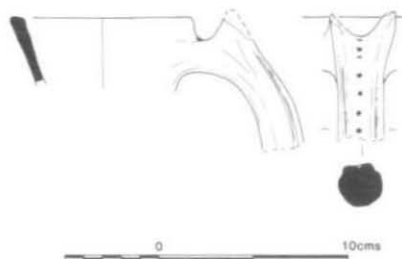


Fig. 59. Jug with a rod handle and 'ears' similar to those recorded for metal ewers. B IV P0/1/1. Scale 1:4.

Although this coin has suffered a little from corrosion, it was unclipped and a little worn before deposition, probably before c. 1300.

75.25.220 A SF108, L2, unstratified.

3. Edward I, 1272-1307.

Farthing, E R ANGLIE/LONDONIENS S Type, Fox Class IIIg, 1281.

Wt. 0.18 g. (2.8 gr.) very corroded, broken and mended.²⁵¹

This coin is now in a very poor state but was apparently little worn when deposited before c. 1300.

75.25.221 A SF1035, F1037 L1060, 14th-cent. context.

4. Edward I, 1272-1307.

Farthing, Fox Class II, 1280.

Wt. 0.18 g. (2.8 gr.).²⁵²

This coin is double-struck and had been a little worn before deposition, in the early 14th century.

75.25.222 A SF1101, L1282 (= F1038 L1188), 14th-cent. context.

5. English sterling jetton.

As penny of Edward I? Fox Class X, c. 1300-10.

Obv. Effigy and 'legend' almost completely obliterated by corrosion.

Rev. Border of pellets in place of legend, cross moline with a pellet in each quarter.

Wt. 0.66 g. (10.2 gr.) corroded into holes. Diameter 19 mm.²⁵³

This jetton is likely to have been deposited shortly after issue and almost certainly by c. 1350.

75.25.223 A SF1107, L2, unstratified.

6. Edward I, 1272-1307.

Penny, Fox Class Xb, Canterbury mint c. 1300.

Wt. 0.91 g. (14.1 gr.) Incomplete, broken and mended.

This coin is unclipped and was a little worn before deposition, possibly c. 1320-30.

75.25.224 A SF1134, F1022, 15th-cent. context.

7. Edward I-II.

Farthing, Fox Class X, London mint c. 1300-10.

Wt. 0.37 g. (5.7 gr.).²⁵⁴

This coin is unclipped and scarcely worn, suggesting a deposition date before c. 1330.

75.25.225 A SF1014, L2, unstratified.

8. Edward I-II.

Penny, Fox Class X, mint uncertain, period c. 1300-10.

Wt. 0.46 g. (7.1 gr.) Corroded, broken and mended.

This coin is clipped and had been considerably worn before deposition, probably in the early 15th century.

75.25.226 A SF1060, L1279 (= L2), unstratified.

²⁵¹ E.J. Harris, P.F. Purvey and P. Woodhead, 'Notes on English Halfpence and Farthings', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1964), 127, No. 032.

²⁵² *Ibid.* 125, No. 021.

²⁵³ F.P. Barnard, *The Casting Counter and Counting Board* (1916), Pl. 1, No. 26 (rev.); G. Berry, *Medieval English Jettons* (1974), Pl. 1, No. 5 (rev.).

²⁵⁴ Harris et al. op. cit. note 251, No. 061.

9. English unofficial sterling jetton.
Based on pennies of Edward I–II, early 14th century.
Obv. Border of strokes between inner and outer circles of small pellets, crude linear crowned head with bifoliate crown.
Rev. Border as obv., normal sterling type of long cross with three pellets in each angle.
Incomplete piercing in the centre from the reverse.
Wt. 1.66 g. (25.6 gr.) Diameter 19 mm.²⁵⁵
The reverses of official jettons, unlike the obverses, were usually differentiated in type from the coinage. This piece has the usual piercing and so was at least ostensibly intended for use as a jetton and not to pass into circulation. Jettons were sometimes silvered over and fraudulently passed into circulation, so the intention of the maker was perhaps ambiguous.
75.25.227 A SF2139, L2013, undated context.
10. Die-duplicate of Cat. No. 9 (A SF2139).
Wt. 1.55 g. (23.9 gr.) Diameter 19 mm.
75.25.228 A SF2143, found adjacent and below F2548.
11. English sterling jetton.
As penny of Edward II, Fox Class XVa, 1320s.
Obv. Border of pellets in place of legend, effigy as XVa coins.
Rev. Border of pellets as obv., long cross with rosette in each angle.
Incomplete piercing in the centre from the obverse.
Wt. 0.72 g. (11.1 gr.) Diameter 18 mm.²⁵⁶
This jetton is likely to have been deposited shortly after issue but almost certainly before c. 1350.
75.25.229 A SF2, L4, undated context.
12. Richard II, 1377–99.
Penny, York mint.
Wt. 0.48 g. (7.4 gr.).
This coin is corroded and had been severely clipped so that almost the entire legends are missing. The size of the area within the inner circle, however, suggests that it belongs to the reign of Edward III or Richard II. Little of the effigy survives but there seems to be a pellet at the one side of the neck visible, and this is a feature on a series of common pennies of Richard II. Although coins of this period disappeared from currency after the 1464 Reform, this coin looks as if it could possibly have been one of the stray survivors for a longer period with a deposition date perhaps as late as c. 1500.
75.25.230 A SF90, F90 L89, 13th-cent. context. Conflicting dating evidence.
13. Richard II, 1377–99.
Farthing, London mint.
Small-head type, normal reverse, end of the obverse legend is illegible.
Wt. 0.23 g. (3.5 gr.).
This coin was imperfectly struck-up and is unclipped and scarcely worn. The small-head group belongs to the earlier half of the reign, so deposition is likely to have been before c. 1400.
75.25.231 A SF1018, F1006 L1063, 15th-cent. context.
14. Fragmentary. 15th-cent. Jetton?
75.25.232 A SF15, L2 (2M, 110/996), unstratified. Two coins, A SF46/1, L70 and A SF1116, L2, have been lost.
15. Jetton of English type, early 14th century.²⁵⁷
75.25.389 A SF2101, F2525 L1, undated context.
- 16–19. Jettons of French type, Moor's Head, 1350–1400.
16. 75.25.383 A SF1012, L2, unstratified.
17. 75.25.385 A SF1108, L2, unstratified.
18. 75.25.387 A SF2065, L2013, undated context.
19. 75.25.388 A SF2100, F2525, L1, undated context.
- 20–22. Jettons of French type, 15th century.
20. 75.25.382 A SF28, L2, unstratified.
21. 75.25.386 A SF2056, L2026, undated context.
22. 75.25.384 A SF1058, L1043, undated context.

²⁵⁵ Berry op. cit. note 253, Pl. 5, No. 6 (rev.). These unofficial jettons are not listed by Barnard and Berry but they are not uncommon.

²⁵⁶ Barnard op. cit. note 253, Pl. 1, No. 6, except that the Oxford piece has pellets instead of crowns in place of legend; Berry op. cit. note 253, Pl. 2, No. 1 (obv.).

²⁵⁷ Nos. 15–22 are discussed in N.J. Palmer and N.J. Mayhew, 'Medieval Coins and Jettons from Oxford Excavations', in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs 1279–1344* (B.A.R. 36, 1977), 81–95.

Greyfriars (Site B) by the late S.E. Rigold

23. English 'sterling' jetton.
Diameter 19 mm.
Pierced from reverse.
Crowned head as Fox Class XV, border of strokes and pellets (Berry Type F). Short cross moline, pellets in quarters, border of pellets (Berry Type D). Berry does not give this border combination for Fox Class XV, rev. 5. Date, not before 1320s, more probably 1330s if obsolete die punches were handed over to jetton-makers.
75.27.222 B XXXIII SF20, L53.

Two coins, B VII SF7, F4 and B X SF19, U/S, are illegible.

Littlegate (Site D)

24. Preliminary identification: Cut half of a Short-cross penny, London, moneyer Davi. Class Ib? (1180-89).
75.25.8 D I SF1, unstratified.

Selfridges (Site SEL)

25. Nuremburg jetton of French type, late 15th century.
Very rough style on very thin flan.
Obv. (AV)E MARIA:GRA (CIA PLENA or contraction). Shield of France modern surrounded by pellets within inner circle.
Rev. Cross fleur-de-lis with, in the centre, four annulets each with a pellet in the centre, all within a quartrefoil with alternate M and A on cusps, an annulet between two pellets in outer spandrels within outer circle. Wt. 1.36g (21.0gr) Diameter 30 mm.
75.35.9 SEL SF17, F48, undated context.

COPPER-ALLOY OBJECTS by ALISON R. GOODALL; SPUR by BLANCHE ELLIS

(Figs. 60-62)(Catalogue and illustrations of 154 objects, Figs. 92-113, M III A3-B11)

No. 1 is an enamelled brooch. There are three annular brooches, Nos. 2-4, and a simple annular buckle or brooch, No. 136. There is also a moulded pin, No. 5, from a similar undecorated buckle or brooch, Nos. 6-9 and 134-135 are penannular ear- or finger-rings with tapering ends: No. 8 is longitudinally faceted (No. 134 is not illustrated). Site A (Church Street) produced 14 buckles (Nos. 10-22, 24); No. 22 is a buckle-frame which was damaged in casting and No. 23 is a belt-slide. No. 25 and No. 152 are also strap-fastenings, although No. 25 may come from a book-binding rather than a belt or harness; other book-fastenings are Nos. 96 and 137. The hook, No. 33, has a decorated plate showing a curly-haired, human face which may be compared with a similar example from Bayham Abbey, Sussex.²⁵⁸

No. 47 is a crescent- or D-shaped mount which is similar to an ornament from Chelmsford, Essex.²⁵⁹ A possible casket mount, No. 97, has zoomorphic decoration and other decorative mounts include a small plate, No. 100, which may be from the arm of a cross.²⁶⁰

Two letters, Nos. 142-143, from monumental brasses may be dated stylistically to the first half of the 14th century (identification by John Blair).

No. 153 is a rowel spur and there are also two scabbard chapes, Nos. 45-46 (not illustrated).

The two padlock parts, Nos. 103-104, may come from the same padlock although found in different contexts.

²⁵⁸ A.R. Goodall, 'Objects of Copper Alloy', in A. Streeten, *Bayham Abbey* (Sussex Arch. Soc. Monograph 2, 1983), 109, Fig. 48, No. 5.

²⁵⁹ C.M. Cunningham and P.J. Drury, *Post-Medieval Sites and their Pottery: Moulsham Street, Chelmsford* (C.B.A. Research Rep. 54, 1985), 45, Fig. 29, No. 48.

²⁶⁰ J.C. Thorn and A.R. Goodall, 'A Crucifix from the Maison Dieu, Ospringe', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xcvi (1980), 372-77.

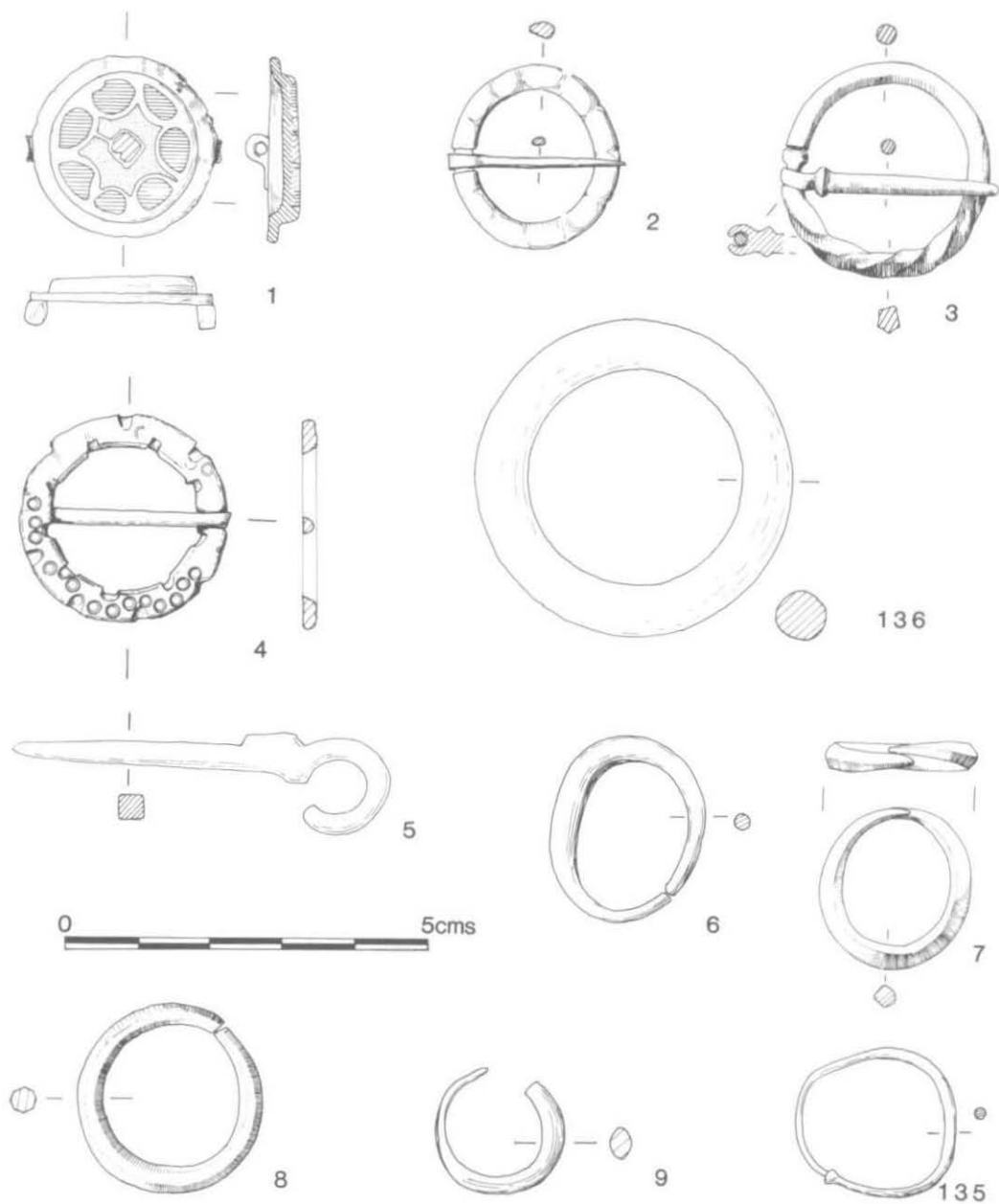


Fig. 60. Copper-alloy objects: 1-4, 136, brooches; 5, brooch pin; 6-9, 135, ear- or finger-rings. Scale 1:1

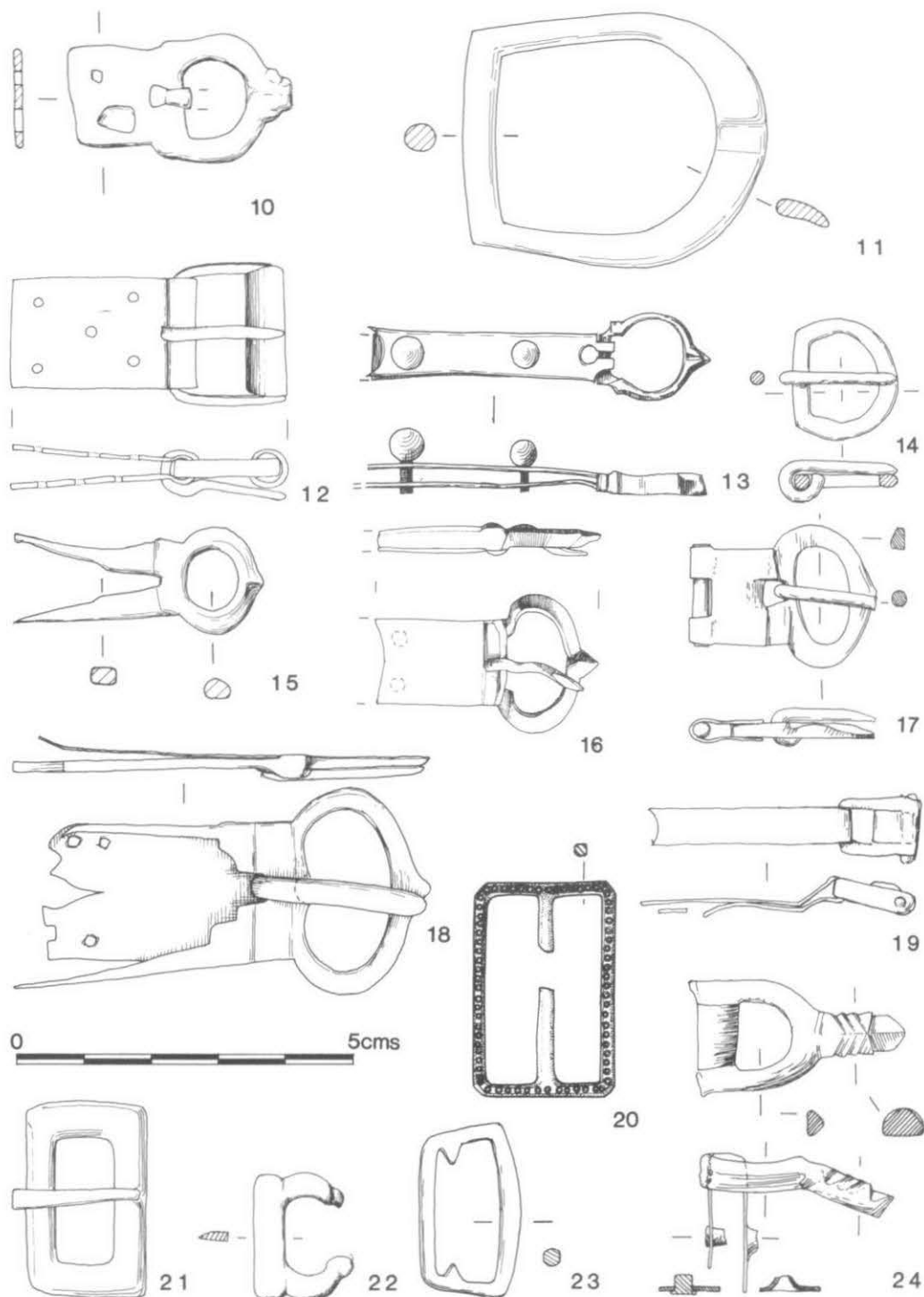


Fig. 61. Copper-alloy objects: 10-24, buckles. Scale 1:1

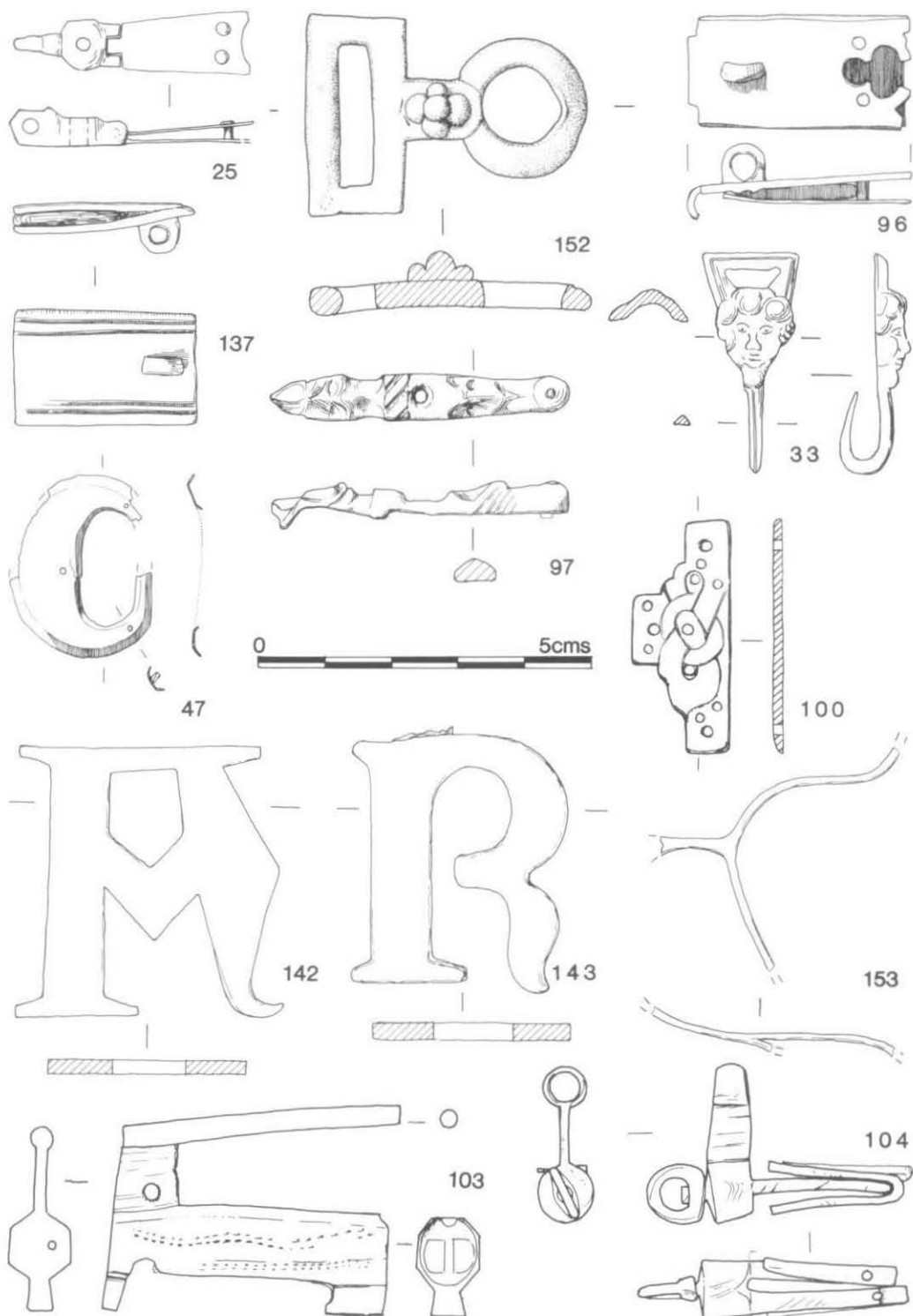


Fig. 62. Copper-alloy objects: 25, 96, 137, 152, fastenings; 33, hook; 47, 97, 100, decorative mounts; 142-143, letters from monumental brasses; 153, rowel spur; 103-104, padlock parts. Scale 1:1. (No. 142 is drawn back-to-front.)

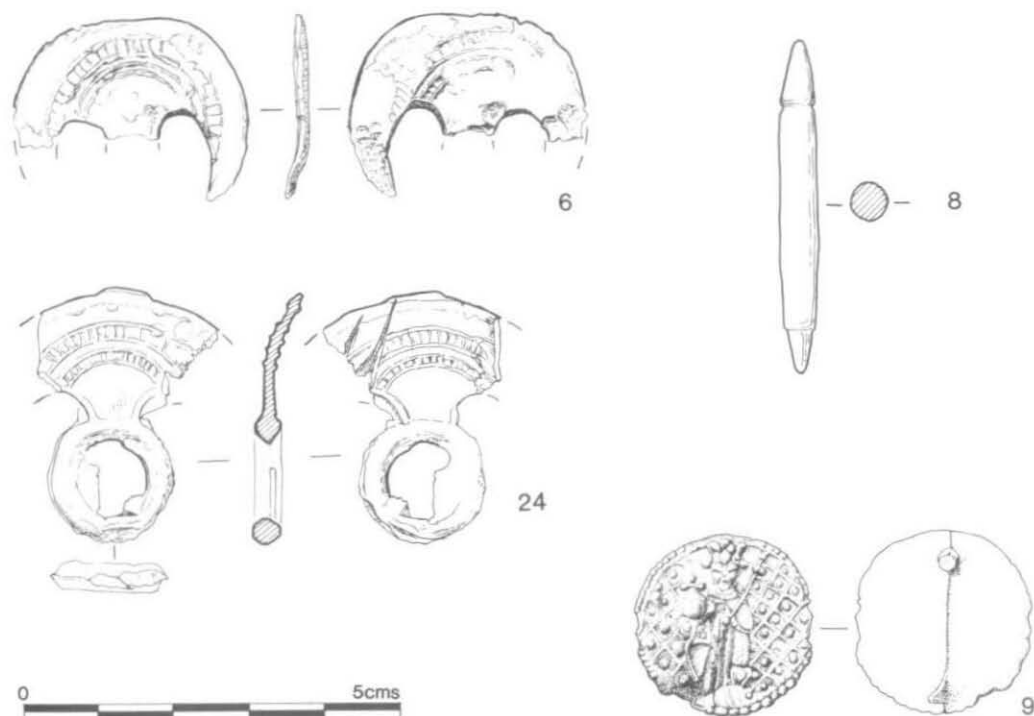


Fig. 63. Lead and lead-alloy objects: 6, 8, 24, styli; 9, souvenir badge. Scale 1:1.

LEAD AND LEAD-ALLOY OBJECTS by GEOFF EGAN (Nos. 1-24) AND ALISON GOODALL (Nos. 25-28)

(Fig. 63) (Catalogue and illustrations of 28 objects, Figs. 114-118, M III B13-C4) Only Cat. Nos. 6, 8-9 and 24 are illustrated in print.

The styli (Nos. 1-8), used with wax tablets or for drawing guidelines on parchment, may be taken with the probable parchment-prickers and possible burnisher²⁶¹ as evidence for the preparation of writing materials, for example for a religious or academic institution. No. 6 may be compared with the head of a stylus found at Greyfriars (No. 24).

The souvenir badge (No. 9) of a visit to the centre of the cult of the murdered Henry VI at Windsor (an easy journey from Oxford) is paralleled by several popular mementoes of similar form found in this country and on the continent.

Apart from the possible railing setting (No. 10), none of the other lead fragments, off-cuts and runnels (Nos. 11-23) are sufficiently diagnostic to warrant further comment.

IRON OBJECTS by IAN H. GOODALL; SPUR by BLANCHE ELLIS

(Figs. 64-65) (Catalogue and illustrations of 160 objects, Figs. 119-146, M III C6-E7; Slag Report M III E8-E14)

The ironwork covers as wide and interesting a range of objects as that from the post-medieval contexts on

²⁶¹ Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. Nos. 22-28.

the various sites,²⁶² and comprises tools, knives, shears, building ironwork, lock furniture, household fittings, buckles, horse equipment, a spur, and various weapons and arrowheads.

The tools (Fig. 64) are mainly associated with textile manufacture and leatherworking, the former including Nos. 1-9 and 151 which are teeth from woolcombs or heckles used respectively to prepare wool or flax fibres for spinning. Since almost all are from 12th- to 13th-century contexts, a period when Oxford was a thriving wool centre, they are probably from woolcombs in which they are likely to have been mounted in rows in a handle made of iron and wood. No. 10 may be a tenter-hook, its shank originally driven into a wooden tenter frame with two opposed rows of such hooks on which cloth was stretched to dry. Leatherworking tools comprise a slicker and an awl. The slicker, No. 11, a near parallel-sided, single-edged blade with tangs at each end, was originally mounted in a wooden handle and used during currying to force dirt out of hides and to rub grease in. Most medieval slickers have plain-edged blades, and the serrated edge of No. 11 is unusual. The awl, No. 12, was used to pierce holes in leather. The slenderness of the needle, No. 13, and the small size of the shears-blade, No. 44 (Fig. 64), make them both suitable as needlework tools.

A surprisingly large number of knives was found (Nos. 15-43, 141-142, 152-153, 158-160), and together they represent something of the range of sizes and types of medieval whittle-tang and scale-tang knives (Fig. 64). It is impossible to be certain whether most had a domestic or an industrial use, although Nos. 22, 30, and perhaps 159, which retain sheet-metal plates from handles which were once interleaved with others of organic material, are obviously of high quality and were probably used for eating. Other knives with similar handles are known from Viking contexts, and from post-Conquest contexts as late as the 13th century.

Items of building ironwork, though not particularly numerous, cover a good range (Fig. 64). They include a masonry cramp, No. 45, which secured stones together, and a series of staples, Nos. 46-54, the rectangular ones capable of binding pieces of wood together and the U-shaped ones ideal for driving into timber or masonry joints to secure fittings and the like. Hinge pivots, Nos. 55, 56, and 154, have tapering shanks which must have been driven into similar positions; they do not have the distinctive shape of those which were set in masonry and run in with lead. The hinges from the site, which could be from fittings such as doors or from items of furniture, are mainly fragments; complete hinges were rarely thrown away, and must instead have been rehung or sent for scrap. Nos. 57-58 have U-shaped eyes for suspension on hinge pivots, and No. 59, perhaps from a stapled hasp rather than a hinge, has an end-looped eye which could have been stapled in place. Nos. 60-61 are pinned hinges, Nos. 62-68 lengths of strap of different length and width. The moulded and plated lengths of binding-strip, Nos. 69-70, more typically of copper-alloy, are probably from caskets, as could be some of the plain pieces Nos. 71-74 and the small handle No. 76. Other items, Nos. 77-82, are nails, a stud, two clench-bolts and a strip of roves awaiting separation. The roves would have required further smithing before use, but they need not imply a forge on this site.

Lock furniture is well represented (Fig. 65). The box padlock, No. 83, plain but for sinuous wire trails down two opposing sides, has a damaged case and has evidently lost its keyhole. A tube down one side holds the free arm of the distorted U-shaped padlock bolt. The padlock is a fine, late example of a type principally of 9th to early 11th-century date which was superseded after the 11th century by one or other of the already existing forms of barrel padlock of which Nos. 84-86, 143 and 155 are examples. Nos. 84 and 155 have the tube for the free arm of the U-shaped padlock bolt attached to the case, but No. 86 is the fin which separated these two parts on another type of barrel padlock. No. 143 is a barrel padlock with shackle and T-shaped bolt, a type principally used to secure or restrain limbs, whether human or animal. It was found, somewhat unusually, with a chain link fragment and a swivel loop and ring, round the leg of a human burial, a circumstance which recalls the shackles found round the ankles of another skeleton at Old Sarum (Wilts.).²⁶³ Nos. 87-90 are padlock keys, their different shapes reflecting the different types of padlock and keyhole with which they were used, and the different spine and spring dispositions of the bolts. No. 87 is the type of padlock key used with padlock No. 143. No fixed locks or parts of their mechanism were found, although keys Nos. 144 and 147 operated them, and the stapled hasps Nos. 93-95 were probably used in conjunction with some of them. Hasps Nos. 91-92, in contrast, were normally used in conjunction with staples and padlocks.

The few household fittings (Fig. 65) include two candleholders, Nos. 96-97, the former a pricket candlestick with decorative side-scrolls, the latter a socketed candleholder. Nos. 102-105 are three D-shaped buckles and a buckle-pin either from dress or from harness; No. 102 with its decorative grooves and overall plating is the most notable.

An unusually large number of horseshoes (Fig. 65) was found, Nos. 106-121, 146 and 148, with countersunk nailholes, being of the type in use from the 10th to the 13th or 14th century. Nos. 122-129 are of the succeeding medieval type with rectangular nailholes. Rowel spur No. 134, typologically of about 1400, has

²⁶² I.H. Goodall in Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, 224-9; M IV D1-E4.

²⁶³ W.H. St. John Hope, 'Report on the Excavation of the Cathedral Church of Old Sarum in 1913', *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxvi (1914), 116; Salisbury Museum Accession No. O.S.C.55.

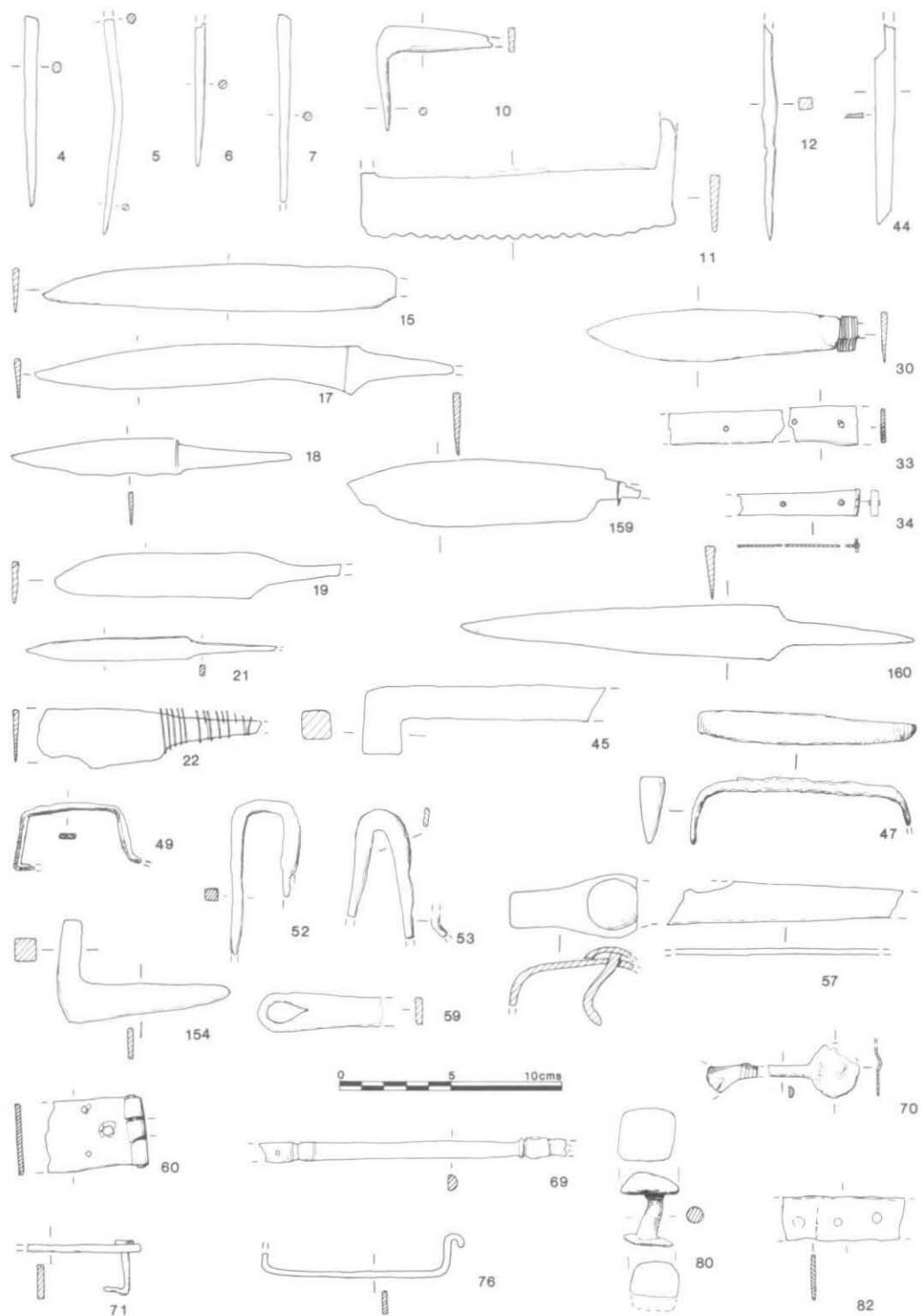


Fig. 64. Iron objects: 4-7, teeth from woolcombs or heckles; 10, tenter-hook(?); 11, slicker; 12, awl; 15, 17-19, 21-22, 30, 33-34, 159-160, knives; 44, shears-blade; 45, masonry cramp; 47, 49, 52-53, staples; 57, 59-60, hinges; 69-71, binding-strip; 76, handle; 80, clench-bolt; 82, strip of flat roves; 154, hinge-pivot. Scale 1:3.

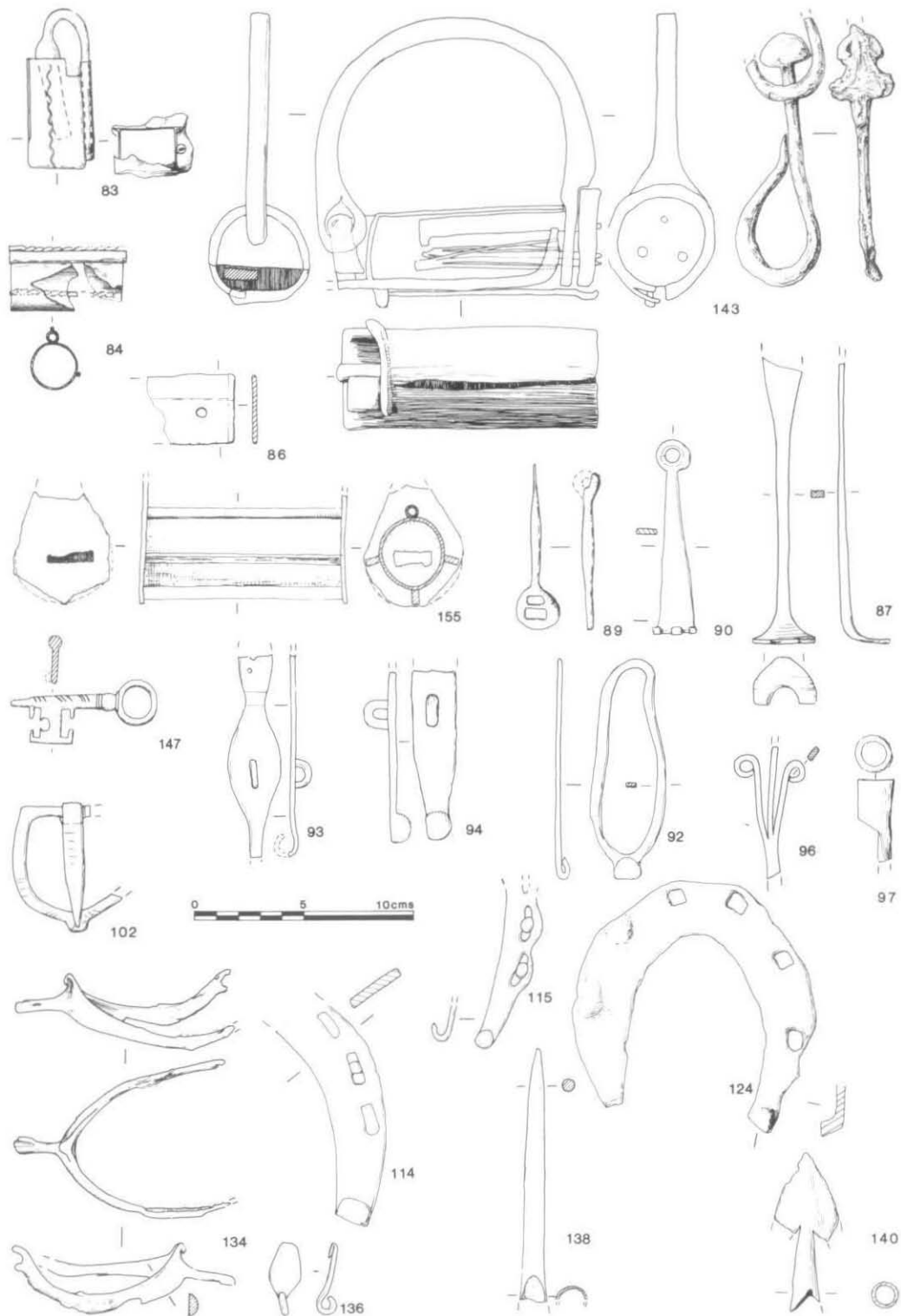


Fig. 65. Iron objects: 83, box padlock; 84, 86, 143 (with associated swivel-loop), 155, barrel padlocks; 87, 89-90, padlock keys; 92, hasp; 93-94, stapled hasps; 96-97, candleholders; 102, buckle; 114-115, 124, horseshoes; 134, rowel spur; 136, hook attachment from spur; 138, spearhead; 140, arrowhead; 147, key. Scale 1:3.

sides which curve only slightly under the wearer's ankle, but which have strongly upward-curving front ends, one of which retains part of the terminal. The junction of the sides is drawn up into a crest which curls over the neck; neither the rowel-box nor the rowel survives. Spur-leathers were often attached to terminals by hook attachments like Nos. 135-136.

Weapons (Fig. 65) include spearheads, No. 138 of simple shape, No. 150 with a slender, incomplete leaf-shaped blade. Both are comparable with examples from London. Nos. 139-140 are both arrowheads, No. 149 a double-edged dagger-blade.

BONE, IVORY AND ANTLER OBJECTS FROM CHURCH STREET (SITE A) by GEOFF EGAN

(Figs. 66-67, Catalogue and illustrations of 64 objects Figs. 147-167, M III F1-G9) Only Cat. Nos. 1, 9, 13, 16, 18-19, 24, 28, 32, 36, 40, 48-49, 51, 57-58, 63-64 are illustrated in print.

The fragmentary double-sided combs of bone (Nos. 1-6) and antler (Nos. 7-8) are from contexts with a wide date-range. The neat removal of the fine teeth of No. 2 presumably indicates continued use after damage. While neither of the antler fragments appears to be unfinished, the crudely worked antler off-cuts (Nos. 62-65) could hint at the manufacture of combs and other objects of this material in the area (cf. No. 18).

The knife etc. handles include both whittle-tang types (Nos. 9, 15 and probably No. 10) and scales (Nos. 12-15). Among the latter, the incomplete love-token (No. 13) with its pointillé decoration stands out as an elaborate (though not expensive) piece of work (Pl. 52).²⁶⁴

The dice (Nos. 16-17), the chess-piece (No. 18), the tuning-pegs for a stringed musical instrument (Nos. 19-21), and the skates (Nos. 50-53) hint at leisure pastimes. The probable parchment-prickers (Nos. 22-27) and the possible burnisher (No. 28) may be evidence of the preparation of parchments for writing,²⁶⁵ for example for a religious or academic institution.

The spindle-whorls (Nos. 29-35), in various states of wear and of diverse weights, were frequent finds on the site; they are presumably evidence of domestic spinning over a period of time. Taken together with the needles or bodkins (Nos. 36-39), the pin-beaters (Nos. 40-42), the thread-twister (No. 58) and some of the various points (Nos. 43-47 and perhaps Nos. 63-65), there is a large body of evidence for the common activities associated with textile manufacture and working.

The decorative panels for caskets etc. are markedly different from each other. There is one notable piece (No. 48), probably of walrus ivory, with carving stylistically of Norman date; this may well be from a religious institution (Pl. 53). By contrast the simple decoration of the other (No. 49) indicates a more commonplace object.

The antler hammerhead (No. 54) is an unusual type of find. Lead sheeting²⁶⁶ could possibly have been worked with such tools, but further more definite associations are needed before their precise use is known.

The remaining objects (Nos. 55-57, 59-61) are a miscellany of indeterminate pieces.

VESSEL-GLASS by JEREMY HASLAM with a contribution by JUSTINE BAYLEY

(Fig. 68) (Catalogue of 30 objects, M IV A3-A7)

The medieval glass from the St. Ebbe's excavations includes many of the types of vessels found on English sites, albeit in rather fragmentary form. There are, however, none of the more exotic S. European imports which have been found so frequently at Southampton.²⁶⁷ With only two exceptions all the finds were of pale-green glass, and therefore belong to the N. European tradition of glass-making. The exceptions, Nos. 2 and 30, are of a pale-blue glass, but there is no reason to suggest that they do not belong to the same glass-making tradition. Since it is not possible to distinguish vessels (especially those only surviving as small fragments) made in N. France or England, it seems reasonable to assume that all the finds from Oxford are of English manufacture, unless it can be demonstrated otherwise.

²⁶⁴ A more complete handle, with parts of both scales, decorated in the same manner and dated to the 13th century or earlier, was found at the medieval village of Seacourt: Biddle *op. cit.* note 79, 172-4, Fig. 29, No. 4; Pl. XIB.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Lead and Lead-Alloy Objects Cat. Nos. 1-8, styli.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Lead and Lead-Alloy Objects Cat. Nos. 11-3, and 15-22.

²⁶⁷ R.J. Charleston, 'The Glass' in C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969. ii: The Finds* (1975), 204-26.

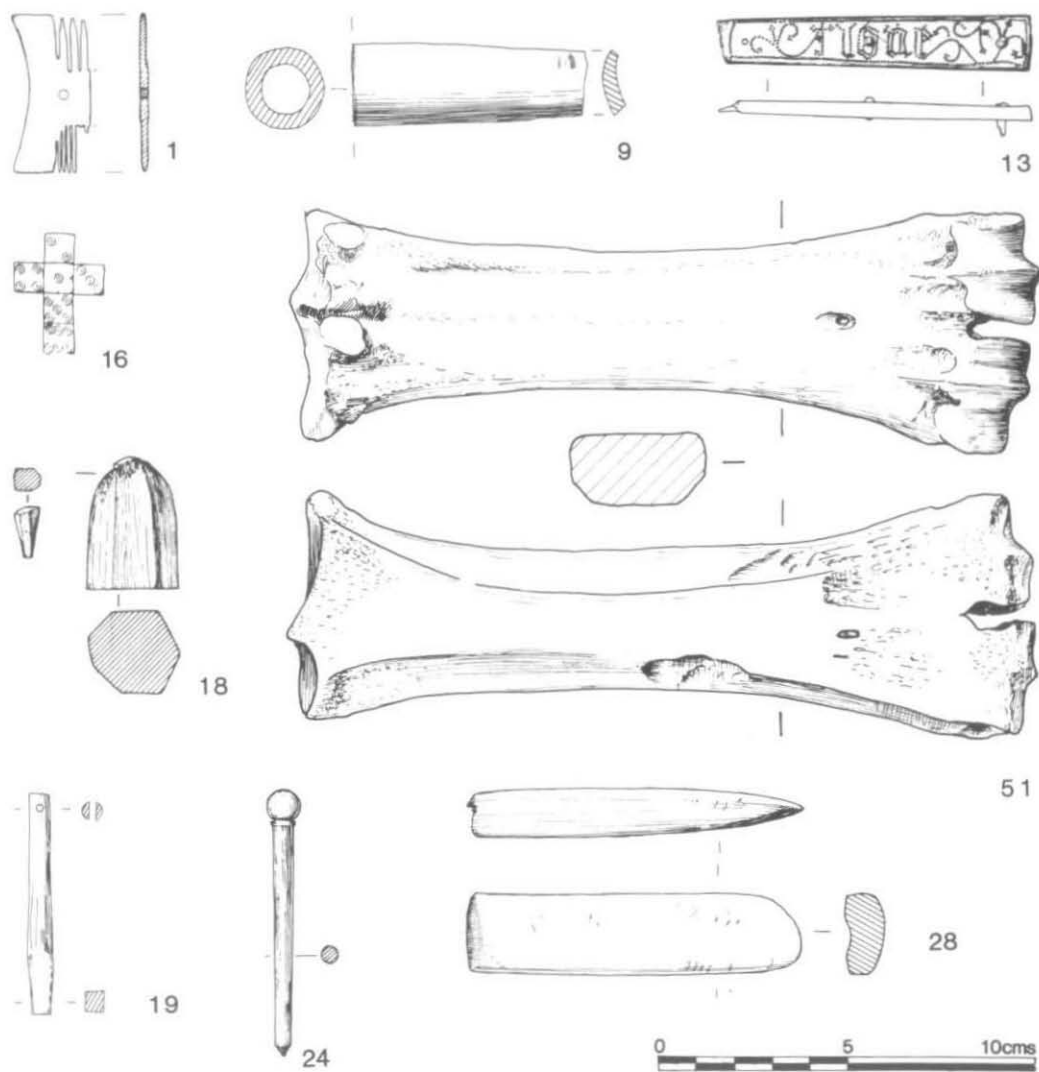
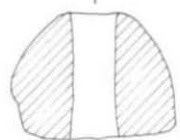


Fig. 66. Bone, ivory and antler objects: 1, comb fragment; 9, 13, knife etc. handles; 16, die; 18, chess-piece; 19, tuning-peg; 24, parchment-pricker; 28, burnisher(?); 51, skate. Scale 1:2.

Opposite

Fig. 67. Bone, ivory and antler objects: 32, 67, spindle-whorls; 36, needle or bodkin; 40, 68, pin-beaters; 48-49, decorative panels; 54, hammerhead; 57, tube; 58, thread-twister; 63-64, points(?). Scale 1:2.



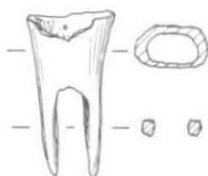
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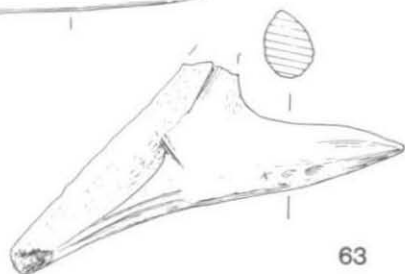
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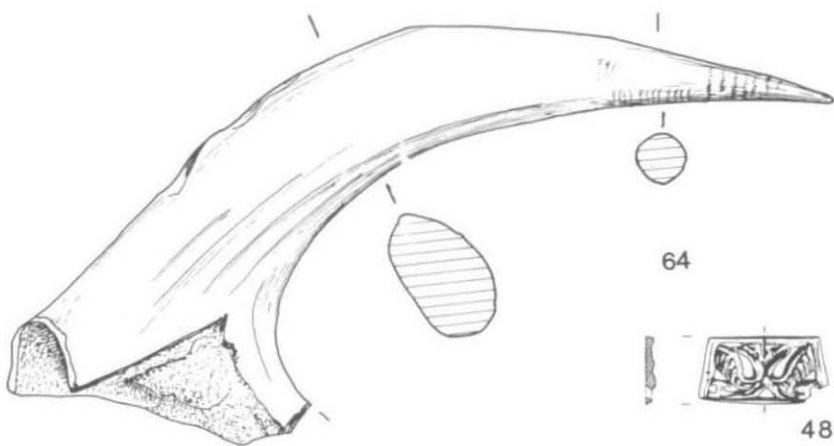
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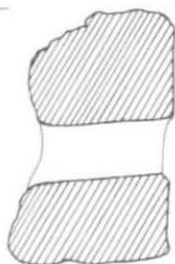
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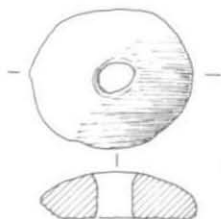
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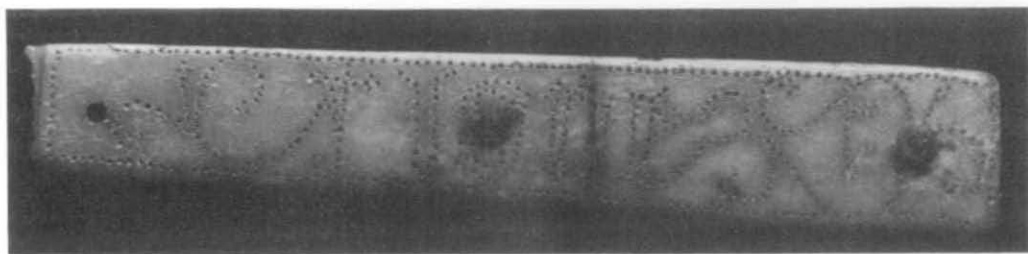


Plate 52. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. A bone knife-handle from a wedding knife or love-token with pointillé decoration. Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. No. 13. Length 8 cms. Photo by Oxfordshire Museum Services.

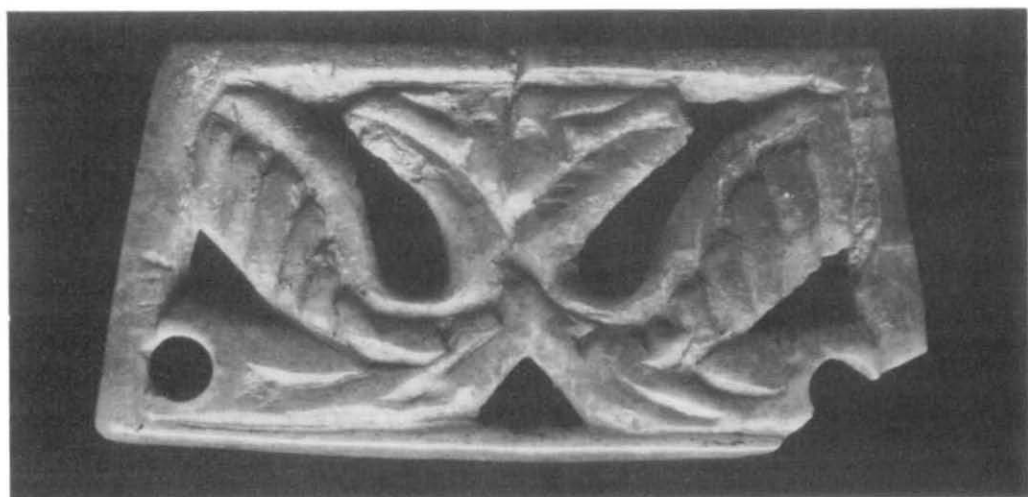


Plate 53. 31-34 Church Street, Site A. A probable walrus ivory box-panel (Bone, Ivory and Antler Objects Cat. No.48). Length c. 3.5 cms. Photo by Oxfordshire Museum Services.

The range of vessel forms comprise the following types (the dates given below and in the Catalogue (M IV A3-A7) are those indicated by associated pottery):

Urinals (Fig. 68, Nos. 4, 8-13, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29; Nos. 10, 29 not illustrated)

These vessels should more properly be described as urine-inspection vessels. The bases of these vessels are rounded, with the pontil mark on the convex exterior side; the rims are wide and nearly flat. Usually only the thicker bases and rims survive in archaeological contexts, though complete examples are known from London (late 15th-century)²⁶⁸ and Ludgershall Castle. Finds of this type range in date from the 13th to the 16th century,²⁶⁹ and are depicted in many medieval manuscripts – particularly in alchemical treatises and those illustrating the Book of Revelations.²⁷⁰ It is however possible that the rims and/or bases could be from one of the various parts of a distilling apparatus (see in particular No. 22).²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ Museum of London Acc. No.18399. Illustrated in D.B. Harden, 'Medieval Glass in the West', *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress on Glass, 1968* (1969), 104, Fig. 11; see also J. Haslam, 'Medieval Glass Finds from London', forthcoming.

²⁶⁹ J. Haslam, 'The Glass Finds' in J. Munby, '126 High Street: the Archaeology and History of an Oxford House', *Oxoniensia*, xi (1975), 306-7.

²⁷⁰ Two such illustrations are shown in Harden op. cit. note 268, 104, Figs. 12-3.

²⁷¹ S. Moorhouse, 'Medieval Distilling Apparatus of Glass and Pottery', *Medieval Arch.* xvi (1972), 70-121, especially Figs. 27-30.

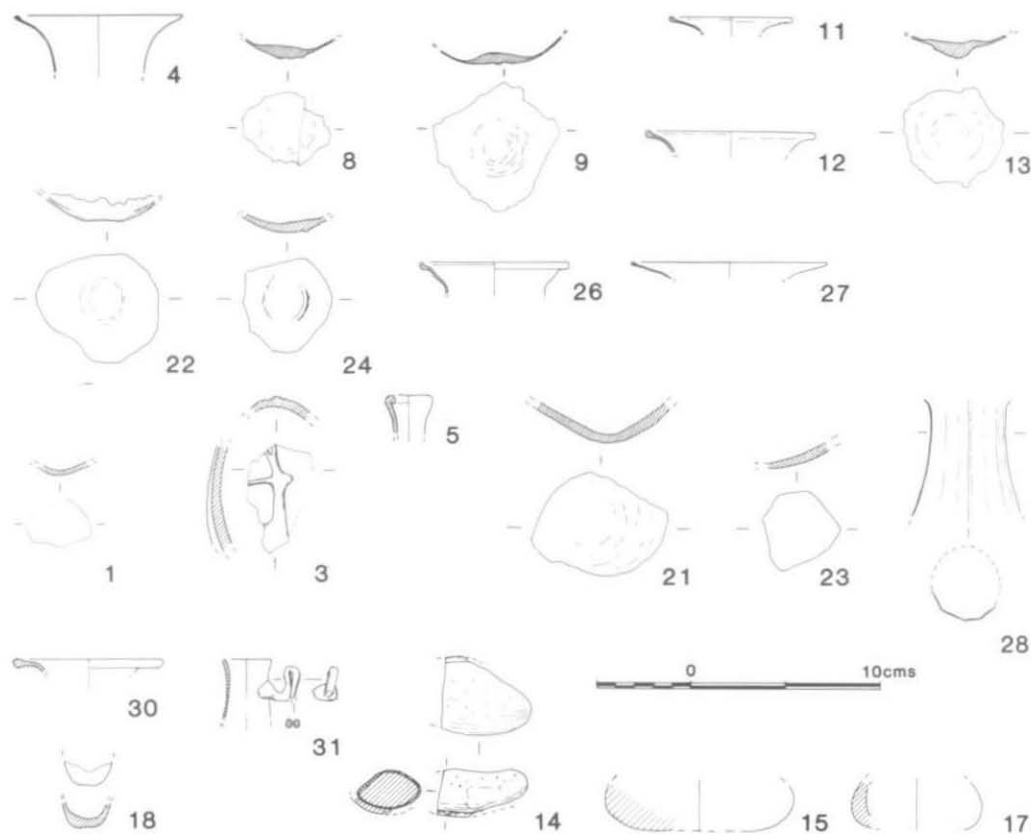


Fig. 68. Vessel glass: 1, 3, 5, 21, 23, 28, 30, flasks; 4, 8-9, 11-13, 22, 24, 26-27, urinals; 14-15, 17, linen-smoothers; 18, hanging lamp; 31, jug. Scale 1:4.

Flasks (Fig. 68, Nos. 1, 3, 5, 21, 23, 28, 30)

Complete profiles of flasks are seldom found, but the variations in rim form shown by Nos. 5 and 30, as well as by other finds, show that these were made in many shapes and sizes. A complete series of such types from English sites has yet to be worked out. The flask-rim No. 5, from an early 12th-century context, has a parallel of similar date from Castle Acre, Norfolk. No. 28 is an unusual flask with vertical mould-blown ribbing.

The flask base No. 3, of the 13th century, has an irregularly-shaped trail of glass applied to the underside of the vessel. Although the surviving fragment is too small to show whether it covered the rest of the vessel, it seems probable that it was originally intended to form a simple spiral from the base around its body. Fragments from similar vessels occur in an immediately pre-Dissolution context at St. Leonard's Priory, Stamford,²⁷² and in a 15th-century context from London.²⁷³ Both of these have a more clearly-defined trail in a spiral form, suggesting the form which the Oxford vessel is likely to have taken.

Alembic or distilling vessel (No. 6, not illustrated)

This vessel is represented by a fragment of the rim only, of the 14th century. The type has been discussed by Moorhouse.²⁷⁴

²⁷² J. Haslam, 'Medieval Glass Finds from Stamford', forthcoming.

²⁷³ Museum of London ER 190A; J. Haslam, 'Medieval Glass Finds from London', forthcoming.

²⁷⁴ Moorhouse *op. cit.* note 271, 79-121.

Hanging lamp (Fig. 68, No. 18)

This object is represented by a base only. This is the strongest part of the vessel and is, therefore, the most commonly found in archaeological contexts. However, several complete profiles are known from London (late 13th- or early 14th-century),²⁷⁵ and Winchester (early 13th-century).²⁷⁶ The same basic form of glass lamp, suspended from the rim by cords, is illustrated in use in many medieval manuscripts from the 12th century onwards; it has an obvious ancestry in pottery cresset lamps of the late Saxon and early medieval periods, and in eastern Mediterranean glass lamps made from the 6th century.²⁷⁷

Jug (Fig. 68, No. 31)

This vessel, from a 13th- or early 14th-century group, is unusual amongst medieval glass finds from English sites, but has parallels amongst finds from Southampton²⁷⁸ and London.²⁷⁹ Both these examples, like the Oxford vessel, have loops to the handles (which possibly acted as a thumb grip), and both are decorated.

Others

Two other types of glass artefact were also present in medieval contexts: linen-smoothers (Fig. 68, Nos. 14–17), and a finger-ring (No. 19, not illustrated). The fragmentary and decayed state of the linen-smoothers makes it difficult to tell whether they were made of black or dark-green glass. The identification of the fragment No. 16 (not illustrated), from an 11th-century context, as a linen-smoother is not unequivocal; it could as well be a lump of raw glass from a furnace. However, its presence in a domestic context makes the latter possibility less likely. Other early examples of linen-smoothers, probably imported, have been found in Danish levels (10th- and 11th-century contexts) in York.²⁸⁰

The glass finger-ring (No. 19) comes from a pre-Dissolution grave on the site of the Greyfriars' cemetery (B X F33). Justine Bayley writes:

The glass of which this ring is made is translucent and yellow in colour. Weathering has produced a thin, almost iridescent surface layer and in places a thicker crusted deposit. The glass has a density of c. 5.7 gm/cc, which corresponds to a lead oxide content of around 75 per cent (for comparison, ordinary alkali glass has a density of c. 2.5 gm/cc). The colour is probably due to small amounts of iron in the glass. This sort of high-lead glass, of which both yellow and green examples are known, is found fairly widely distributed in early medieval England. Theophilus²⁸¹ and Heraclius²⁸² both describe the manufacture of this type of glass and Theophilus also describes the manufacture of glass rings. Objects have been found at Hereford,²⁸³ Gloucester, Lincoln, York, London and Winchester, and crucibles containing this type of glass have been found in Lincoln, Gloucester²⁸⁴ and York.

STONE OBJECTS FROM CHURCH STREET (SITE A) by GEOFF EGAN

(Figs. 69–70) (Catalogue of 82 objects, Figs. 168–185, M IV B1–C10). Only Cat. Nos. 2, 4, 9, 15, 43, 50, 53, 58–59 are illustrated in print.

There is one definite mortar fragment of Purbeck marble (No. 2), and a fragment of Headington stone from a possible second example or a lamp (No. 1, see also Nos. 56, 58).

²⁷⁵ Museum of London ER 524; see also J. Haslam, 'Medieval Glass Finds from London', forthcoming.

²⁷⁶ Illustrated in Harden op. cit. note 268, 101, Fig. 4.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Charleston op. cit. note 267, 216, Cat. No. 1489.

²⁷⁹ Museum of London Accession No. 20568. Illustrated in Harden op. cit. note 268, 107, Fig. 19; see also J. Haslam, 'Medieval Glass Finds from London', forthcoming.

²⁸⁰ J. Radley, 'Economic Aspects of Anglo-Danish York', *Medieval Archaeology*, xv (1971), 50.

²⁸¹ J.G. Hawthorne & C.S. Smith (trans.), *Theophilus: On Divers Arts* (1979).

²⁸² M.P. Merrifield (trans.), 'Heraclius: De Coloribus et Artibus Romanorum' in *Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting* (1967).

²⁸³ R. Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations: iii: The Finds*, (C.B.A. Research Rep. 56, 1985).

²⁸⁴ J. Bayley, 'The Glassworking Residues', in C.M. Heighway, A.P. Garrod and A.G. Vince, 'Excavations at 1 Westgate Street, Gloucester', *Medieval Archaeology*, xxiii (1979), 201–204. The remainder of the finds mentioned are as yet unpublished, but a summary of the overall position is given in J. Bayley, 'Non-ferrous Metal and Glass Working in Anglo-Scandinavian England: An Interim Statement', Proceedings of the Second Nordic Conference on the Application of Scientific Methods in Archaeology, *Journal of the European Study Group on Physical, Chemical and Mathematical Techniques Applied to Archaeology*, vii (1982), 487–96 (Published by the Council of Europe, Strasbourg).

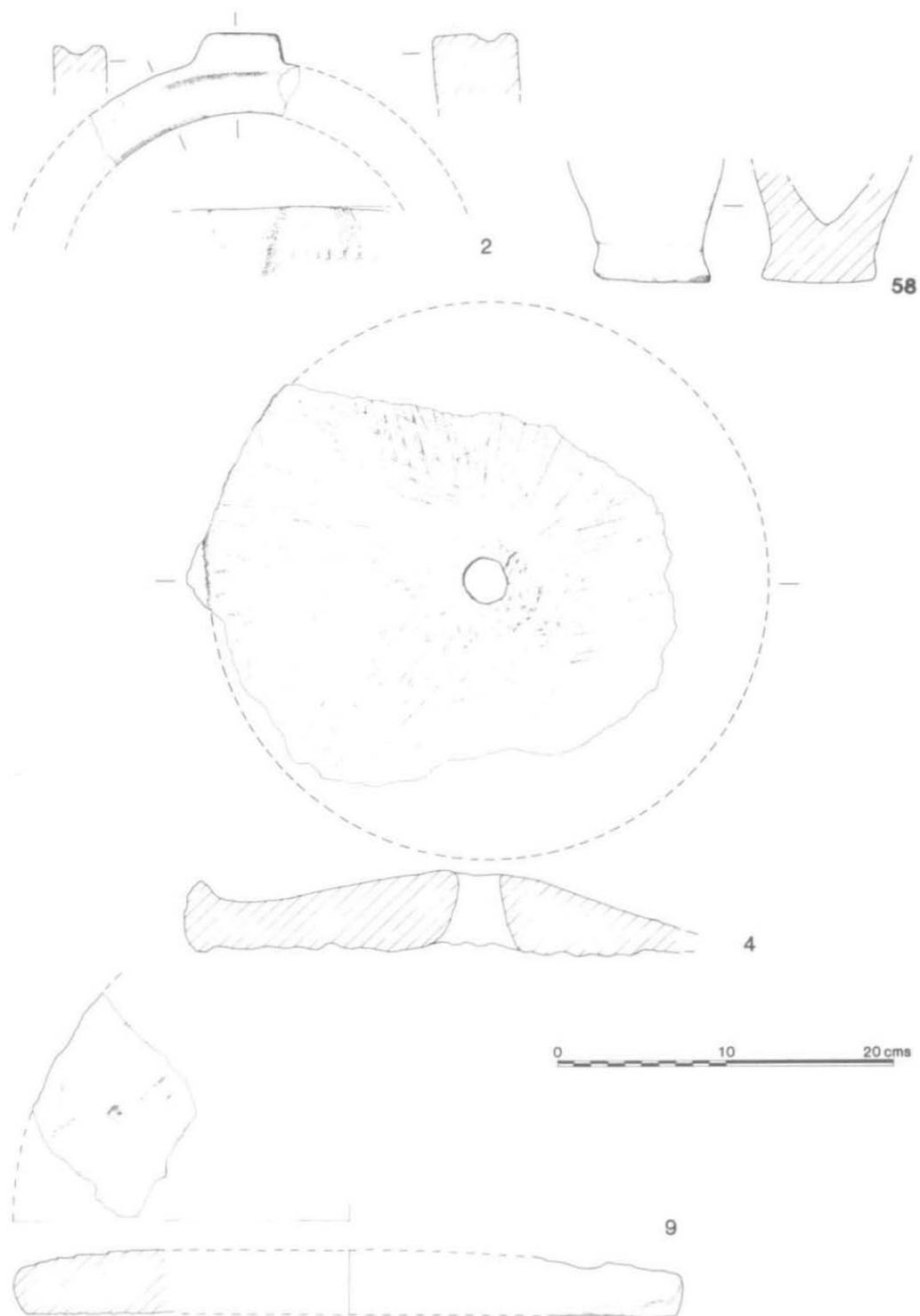


Fig. 69. Stone objects: 2, mortar; 4, 9, mill- or quernstones; 58, mortar or lamp. Scale 1:4.

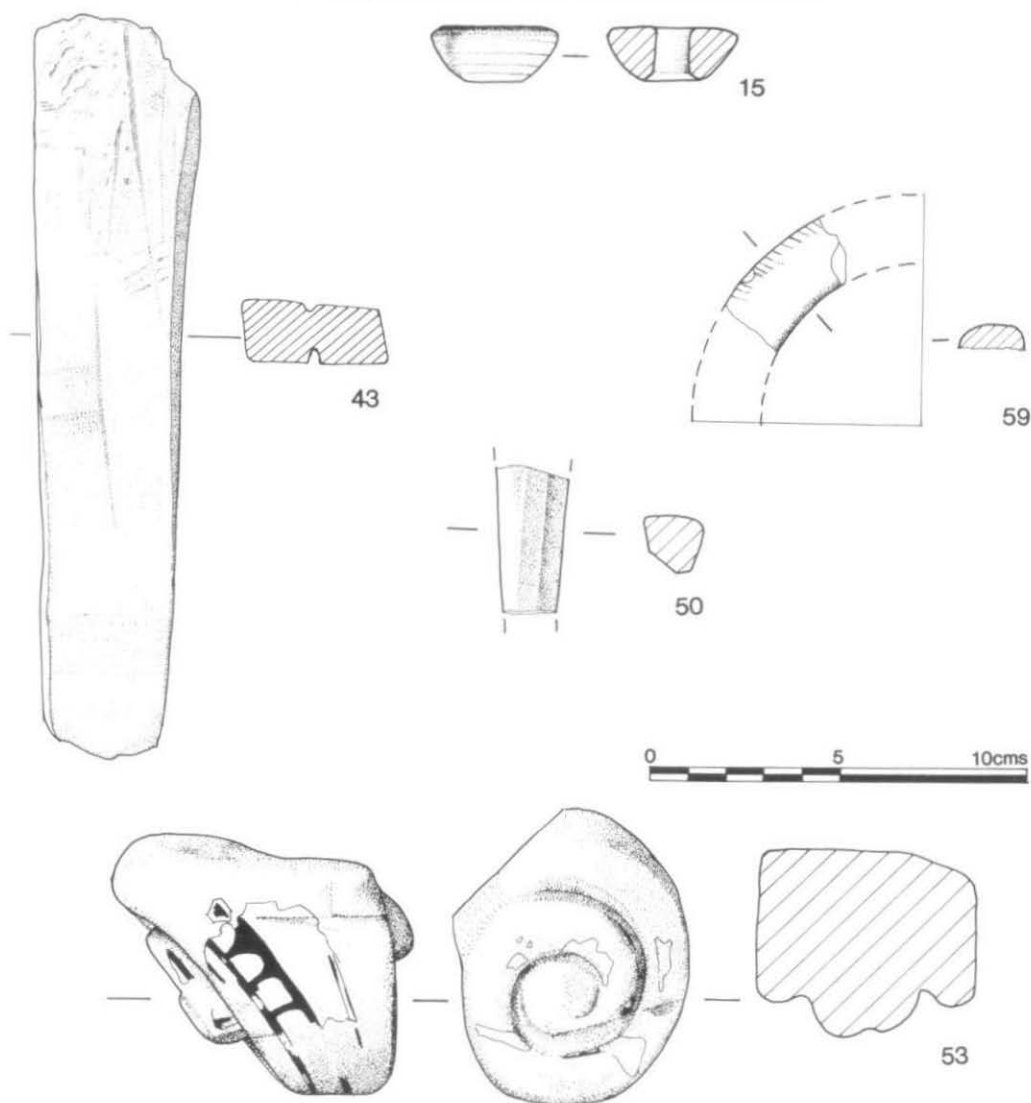


Fig. 70 Stone objects: 15, spindle-whorl; 43, hone; 50, chalk rod; 53, architectural fragment; 59, shale bracelet. Scale 1:2.

Fragments of mill- or quernstones of Niedermendig lava (Nos. 3–11) include parts of upper and lower stones, some being quite worn, and No. 8 has a hole for a handle.

The spindle-whorls (Nos. 12–18), evidence of thread preparation, are made from various stones from the Lower Chalk, mud and clay, and one is an adapted pot-herd (No. 17). The weight-range is wide, No. 18 being particularly heavy (46.3 gm.).²⁸⁵ Those from datable contexts are all of 13th-century deposition.

A large number of hones (Nos. 19–49) were recovered, of which 20 (Nos. 19–38) are mica-schist probably imported from Norway; four, from 15th-century contexts (Nos. 39–42), are of medium-grained micaceous sandstone, and the others are of differing sandstones and of metamorphic rock. Several hones have grooves on

²⁸⁵ Cf. The bone spindle-whorls, Bone, Antler and Ivory Objects Cat. Nos. 29–35.

some surfaces, possibly from sharpening needles. The fragment of a shale bracelet (No. 59) is the sole non-functional stone item, though architectural fragments (No. 53-55, possibly Nos. 56-57) include ornamentation. No. 53 is a fragment of architectural ornament, perhaps a volute from a capital. Traces of paint survive: now coloured brown and gold, apparently with a ladder-pattern in black along the edge of the outer curved surface of the volute. John Blair comments that out of context, this piece would most convincingly be dated to the 12th century, and it is possible that it derives from some source other than the Greyfriars. The tapering, faceted chalk rods (Nos. 50-52) are a distinct group, but their purpose is obscure.

PAINTED WINDOW-GLASS by JILL KERR

(Fig. 71) (Catalogue and illustration of 183 fragments, Fig. 186-203, M IV D1-E6)

31-34 Church St. (Site A)

The majority of the painted window-glass (94 fragments) from Church Street was recovered from two intersecting post-medieval pits (A F54, an early to mid 19th-century pit, which cut A F82, an early to mid 17th-century pit). The pits were located in the back garden of No. 34 Church Street.²⁸⁶ The majority of the remaining glass was unstratified. The glass dates from the 13th to the 15th century.

Clear, red, green and blue glass was found. Rare fragments of ochre (No. 42) and yellow-stained glass (No. 32) were also recovered. Varying shades of paint were used, but brown is predominant. One unusual fragment with grey wash is present (No. 29). The glass is not very durable, grozed edges are rare and no one complete piece was found.

The 13th-century glass is decorated with geometric grisaille designs. The overall designs are uncertain, but appear to be associated with coloured bosses. Two separate scales of design are apparent: a small scale which is precise and consists of fine designs (Nos. 1-3), and a larger scale with elaborate foliage and wide cross-hatching (Nos. 5-13, 15-16 and 18-21). Very high-quality painting is present.

A variety of 14th-century designs are represented. There are two types of foliage designs which formed backgrounds, arabesque (No. 33) and broad leaf (No. 27). No architectural fragments were found. Drapery designs include one fragment possibly representing an ecclesiastical vestment (No. 40) and two fragments of ermine border (one illustrated, No. 43). The scale of the designs is difficult to determine from so few fragments. Border designs include beading (No. 30) and a serpentine stem with dots which could be from a hem design or represent a foliage stem centre (No. 37). A fragment of hair is present (No. 34).

Greyfriars (Site B)

About 90 fragments of painted window-glass was found during the excavation of the Greyfriars church. The majority occurred within the post-medieval robber-trenches and demolition layers, in particular in Trench IV. The exception was that from B X F21 (Nos. 96-97, 122-24, 175), a floor make-up layer. Insufficient of the church and cloisters were excavated to be able to establish distribution patterns.

Blue, clear and a little red glass was found. The glass is very fragmentary, with few grozed edges. The glass from Trench IV includes large figures with architectural designs and blue backgrounds.

Glass dating from the 13th to the 15th century was found. The 13th-century glass consists of geometric grisaille designs comparable to that from Church Street and Blackfriars (Nos. 94-95).²⁸⁷ The 14th-century glass consists of foliage designs (Nos. 107-108), an architectural fragment with a cusp (No. 97, not illustrated) and a hand (No. 96). Large-scale architectural designs with canopies or a side-shaft are recorded for the 15th-century glass (Nos. 105-106). One architectural fragment (No. 97) has a yellow stain. Drapery designs from figures are also present. A variety of techniques were used, including stippling and cross-hatching.

The glass from Greyfriars is fragmentary: small details are recoverable, but little can be said of overall designs. The Burrell Collection at Glasgow has a complete late 13th-century window-glass panel which is believed to have come from Greyfriars (above, p. 192).²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, 160, Fig. 3.

²⁸⁷ Lambrick op. cit. note 229, 131-208.

²⁸⁸ Burrell Coll. Cat. op. cit. note 182, 8.



Fig. 71. Painted window-glass. Above: 31-34 Church St. (Site A); Below: Greyfriars (Site B). Scale 1:4.

THE WORKED STONE FROM GREYFRIARS (SITE B) by JOHN BLAIR, with a note by ROBIN EMMERSON²⁸⁹

(Figs. 30, 72–75, Pls. 39–41, 54–55)

Introduction

Post-Dissolution contexts produced quantities of plain worked and chamfered blocks, and large but undiagnostic architectural components. By contrast, very little worked stone was stratified in contexts which make it useful as evidence for the priory phases. This report is therefore selective. The four *in situ* masonry structures (Figs. 72–73, Nos. 1–4; No. 3 is not illustrated), and the one significant stratified fragment (Fig. 74, No. 5), are described fully. From the remainder are selected only those pieces which have sufficiently complete moulding profiles to be useful for comparative purposes, or which are of intrinsic interest. A complete set of full-size profiles is deposited with the site records.²⁹⁰

The Royal Commission recorded that in 1939 a 13th-century, two-light window-head carved with anthemion ornament was preserved in the basement of the City Library.²⁹¹ According to the Royal Commission's notes H.W. Taunt, who was born in Penson's Gardens, is recorded as saying that this window 'most probably was that in the east wall of the tower and in our young days used to be *in situ* in a thick wall until it was removed to its present position'.

Features In Situ

1. Assemblage of bases at the junction of the original N. transept (later remodelled into the N. nave) with the N. arcade (Figs. 29–30, 72; Pl. 39)

This structure (B I F14) consists of three bases: for the W. respond of the arch between the crossing and the original N. transept (B); for the E. respond of the N. arcade (C); and for the S. respond of the arcade dividing the N. nave from the row of chapels along its E. side (A) (Figs. 39–40). Bases B and C were probably of the same build though separated by the inferred W. crossing wall, running S., and the conjectured W. wall of the original transept, running N. (Fig. 30); Base A was secondary, replacing the second of these two walls. Base B is moulded with a lower roll and a much smaller upper roll separated by a slight water-holding hollow, suggesting a date no later than the third quarter of the 13th century. No profile is available for Base C, but a photograph taken from the N. side (Pl. 39) shows a moulding apparently identical to Base B. Base A, which has a lower roll and much smaller upper rolls with no hollow, should probably be dated to the late 13th or early 14th century. The wall (Fig. 29, B I F13) running eastwards from Base B, blocking the arch to which it belonged, was probably part of the remodelling of the N. transept into the N. nave, and thus contemporary with Base A. The importance of this feature is that it suggests dates for two main phases of the friary church: (i) the N. arcade, crossing and original N. transept, between the acquisition of land for enlargements in 1244 and *c.* 1270; (ii) the remodelling of the N. transept into the N. nave on a larger scale, between *c.* 1270 and *c.* 1330. B I F14, Phases II and IV.

2. External plinth of aisle N, wall and buttress (Figs. 35–36, 73; Pl. 41)

A small length of ashlar plinth in two chamfered courses, on the E. side of a N.-facing buttress and returning eastwards along the aisle wall. Incised with three masons' marks, all different. Integral with the N. aisle. WS 37–44, B X F2, Phase II.

3. External plinth of original W. wall of nave and N. aisle (Pl. 40, otherwise not illustrated)

A small fragment of a plinth identical to No. 2, on the external (W.) face of the original W. wall, and integral with the nave and aisle (Figs. 32, 35). B X F17, Phase II.

4. Ashlar pier forming the internal angle of the N. aisle wall with the N. nave (Figs. 36, 73)

²⁸⁹ See also the Stone Objects Cat. Nos. 53–57, architectural fragments from Church Street (Site A) (Fig. 70, No. 53; M IV C1–C2).

²⁹⁰ References 'WS' which prefix the context numbers eg. WS37–44, B X F2, relate to the site records of worked stone fragments.

²⁹¹ *R.C.H.M. Oxford*, 155. There is a photograph in the National Monuments Record.

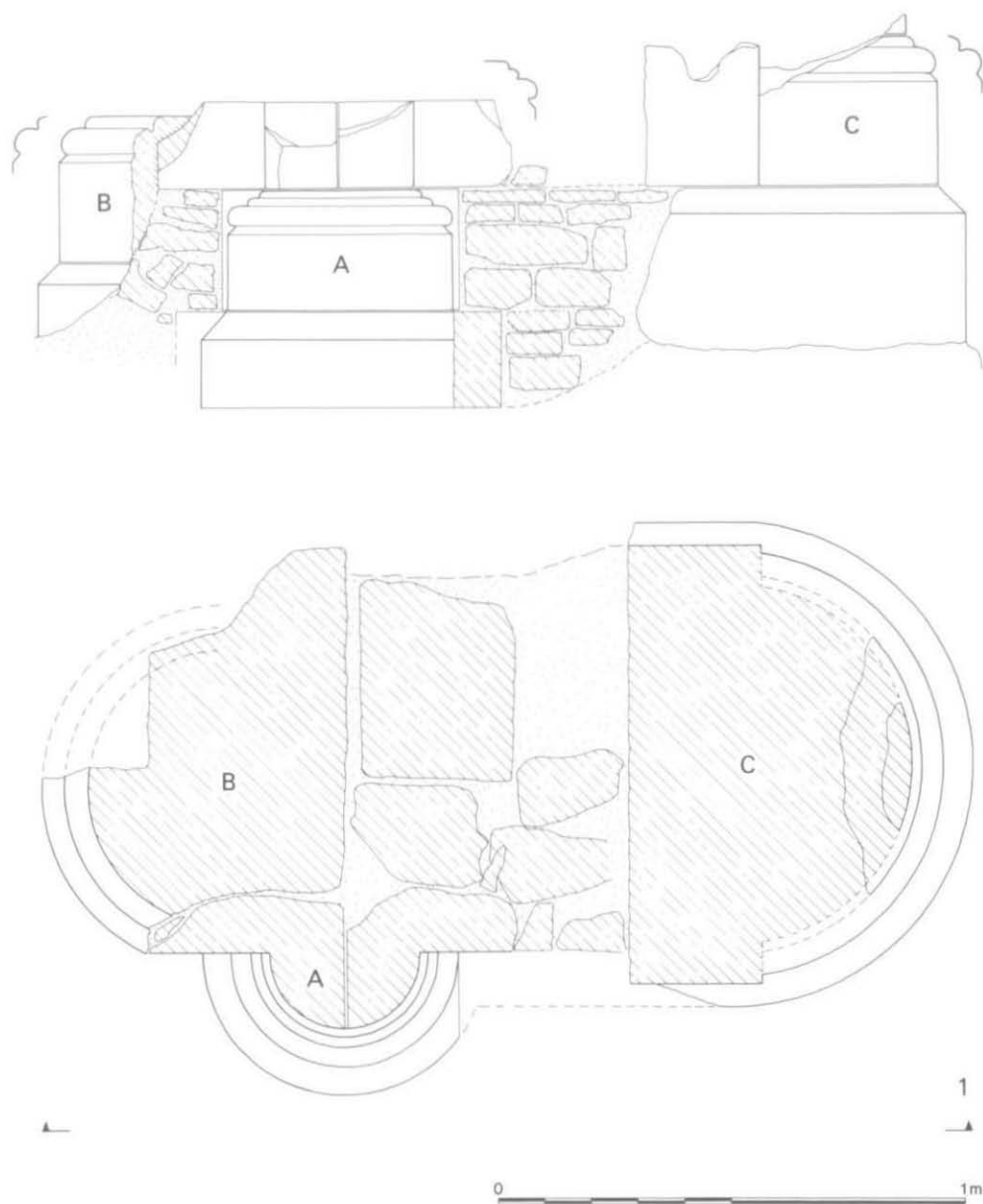


Fig. 72. Worked stone: 1, plan and N. elevation of the assemblage of bases (A-C) at the junction of the N. arcade with the N. transept and the later N. nave (B I F14). Scale 1:16.

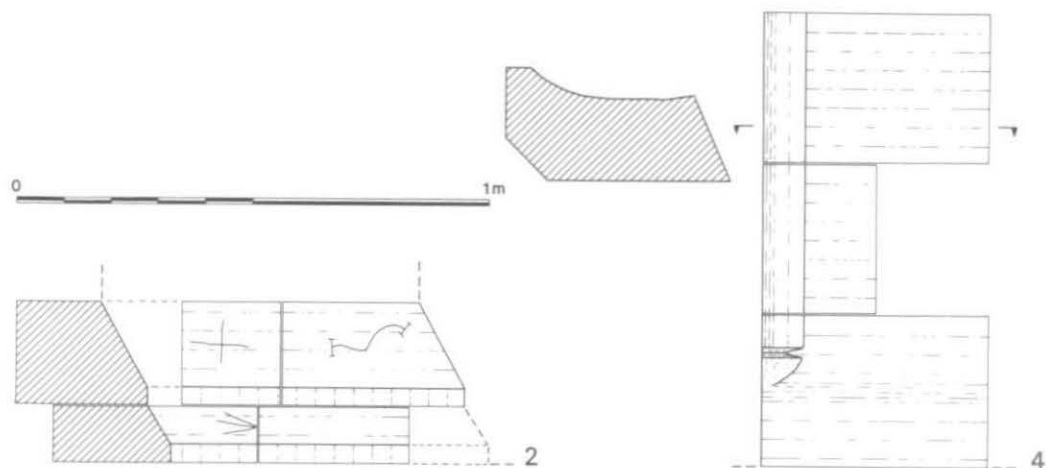


Fig. 73. Worked stone: 2, E. elevation and section of the external plinth of the aisle N. wall and buttress; 4, E. elevation and section of the ashlar pier forming the internal angle of the N. aisle with the N. nave. Scale 1:16.

The three lowest blocks, of plain square section with a bar-stopped chamfer on the salient arris. Built up against No. 2, the E. face of a previously free-standing buttress on the N. wall of the aisle, and presumably integral with the N. nave: like No. 1 Base A, the chamfer-stop supports a date of *c.* 1270–1330. WS 34–36, Part of B X F1, Phase IV.

12. Moulded slab (Fig. 74 No. 12) from structure in chapel 2 of N. nave (see p. 170 above). B XIII SF6.

Features Ex Situ but Stratified in Pre-Dissolution Contexts

5. Block forming half of a trefoiled arch-head, from wall-arcading, sedilia or similar feature (Fig. 74). There are substantial traces of white paint. The form and quarter-hollow mouldings would be consistent with a date in the second half of the 13th century, and the feature perhaps derives from the original N. transept. Re-used in the W. wall of the N. nave. WS 69, B X F1, Phase IV.

Features Ex Situ and in Post-Dissolution Contexts

- 6–11. Seven fragments (only three drawn, Fig. 74, Nos. 6, 8 and 11) of window-tracery, of plain chamfered section. Two pieces bear the remains of cusping. Apparently from one or more large Curvilinear windows, probably first half of the 14th century. WS 6–10, B I F17, Phase VIII. WS 57–58, B X F6, Phase VIII.
13. Fragment of small-scale Perpendicular tracery in a fine-grained stone, double-sided and unglazed (Fig. 74). Probably from a screen. 15th century. B I SF12, unstratified.
14. Fragment of a simple column-base; diameter 60 cm. at the widest point, probable diameter of the drum 36 cm. (Fig. 75). WS 5, B I F17, Phase VIII.
15. Fragment of a string-course with filleted roll (Fig. 75). B SF8, unstratified.
16. Fragment of a string-course with irregular roll (Fig. 75). B SF3, unstratified.
17. Short length of a roll string-course (Fig. 75). WS 7, B XIII F3, Phase VI.
18. Small fragment of a filleted roll, possibly from a column-base (Fig. 75). B SF16, unstratified.
19. Short straight length, fillet flanked by rolls and quarter-hollows (Fig. 75). WS 18, B, unstratified.
20. Slightly curved 28 cm. length, broad filleted roll (Fig. 75). WS 93, B IV L2, destruction layer.
21. Three lengths of small-scale plinth moulding (Fig. 75). B SF19, unstratified.
22. Short straight length of plinth moulding (Fig. 75). B SF20, unstratified.

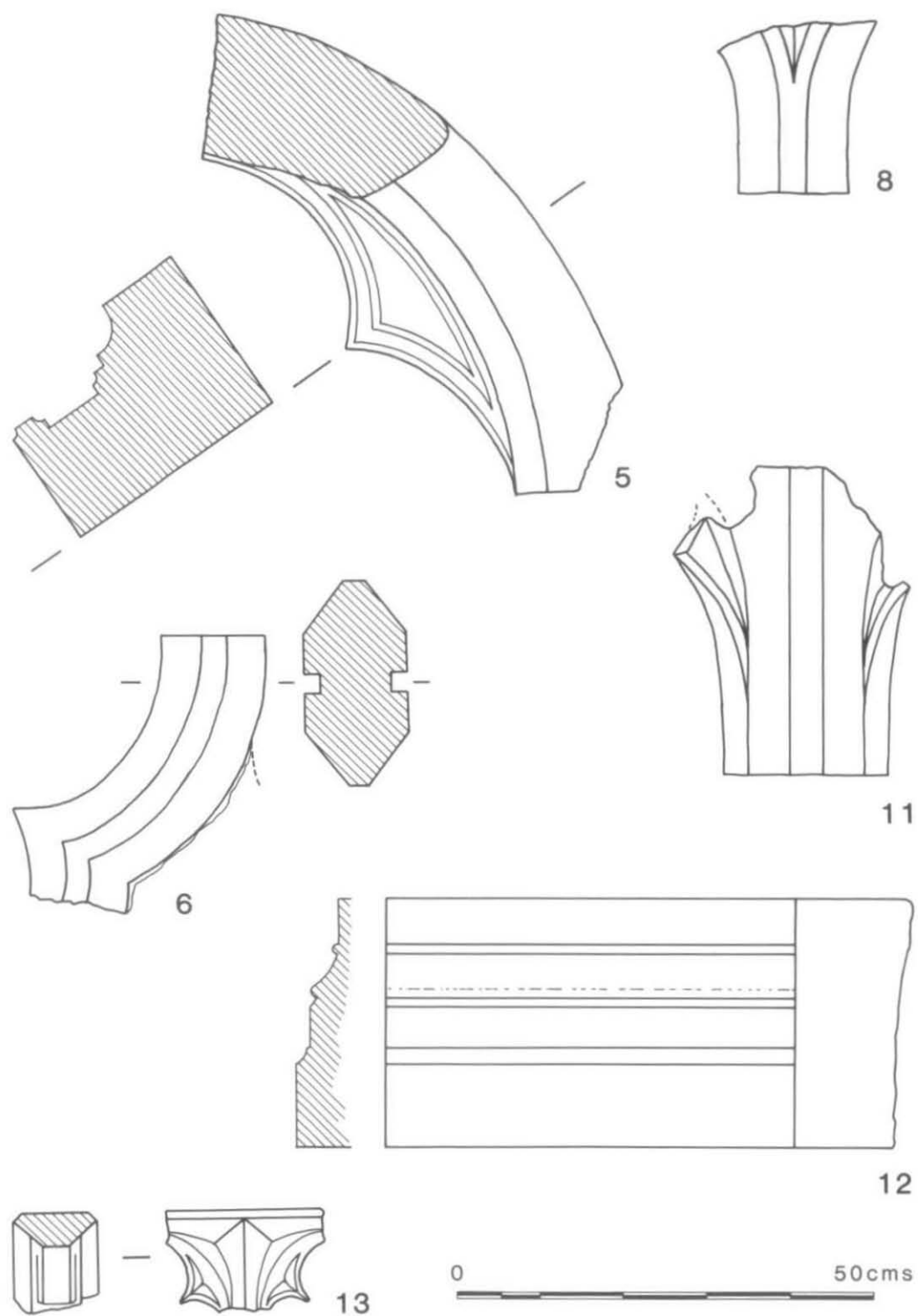


Fig. 74. Worked stone: 5, block from wall-arcading or sedila(?); 6, 8, 11, window tracery; 12, slab from chapel 2 of N. nave (cf. Plate 47); 13, tracery from a screen(?). Scale 1:8.

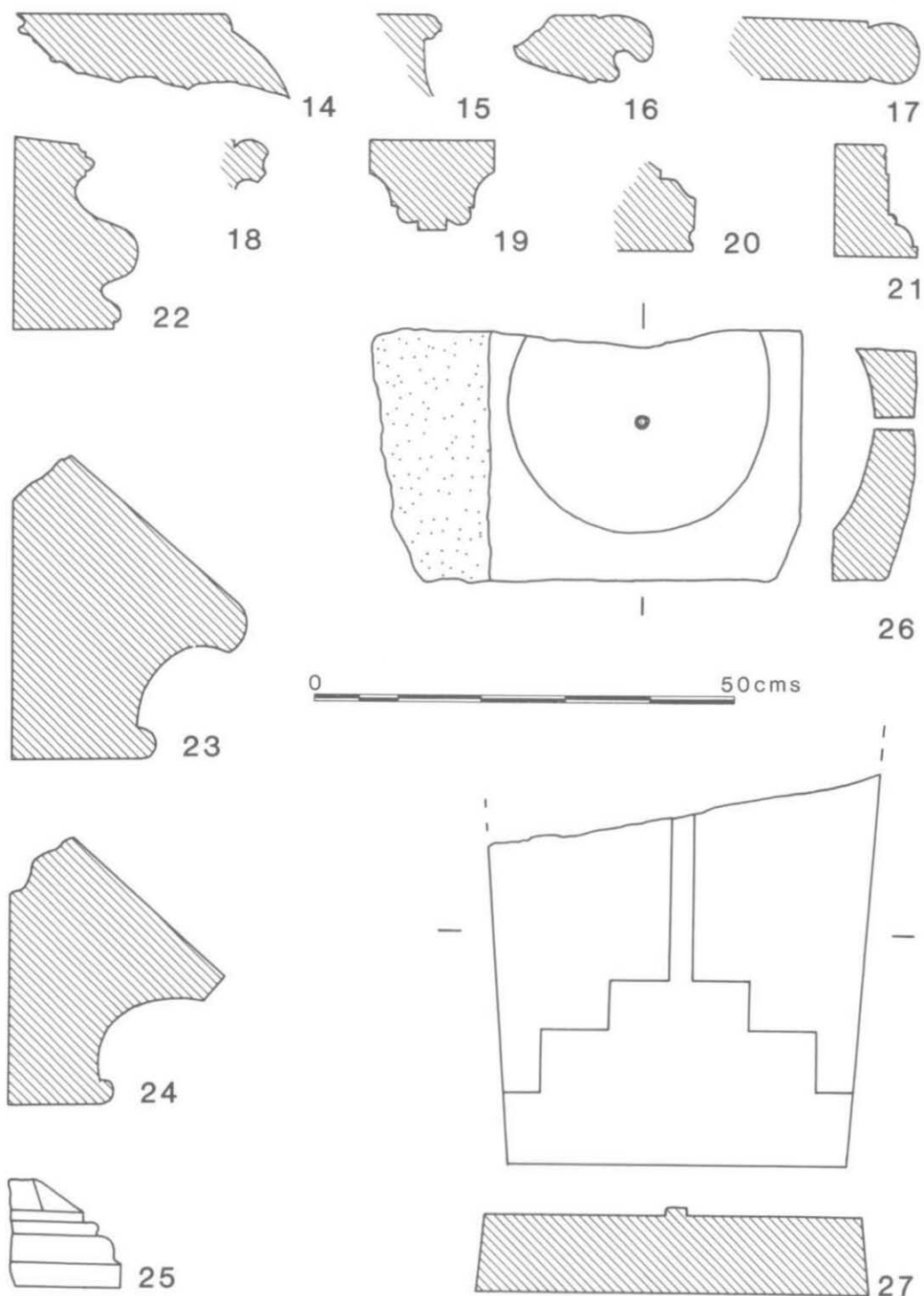


Fig. 75. Worked stone: 14, column-base; 15-17, string courses; 18, filleted roll, column-base(?); 19-20, fillets; 21-24, plinth fragments; 25, base of half-column; 26, piscina bowl; 27, graveslab. Scale 1:8.



Plate 54. Greyfriars, Site B. The broken-up statue of St. James the Greater, front view (Worked Stone Cat. No. 28). *Photo by Oxfordshire County Museum.*



Plate 55. Greyfriars, Site B. The broken-up statue of St. James the Greater, left hand side, showing a scrip with radiating lines of a scallop (Worked Stone Cat. No. 28). *Photo by Oxfordshire County Museum.*

23. Two straight lengths (45 cm. average) of Perpendicular plinth (Fig. 75). WS 88-89, B IV F48.
24. Two straight lengths (45 cm. average) of Perpendicular plinth (Fig. 75). WS 87, 90, B IV F48, post-medieval wall.
25. Base of a small half-column, with pentagonal upper face and flat back (Fig. 75). Original width across back 20 cm. at the base. Probably 15th century. WS 61, B X F6, Phase VIII.
26. Piscina bowl (Fig. 75). WS 48, B X F6, Phase VIII.
27. Lower end of a coffin-shaped graveslab, with stepped base of cross in low relief (Fig. 75). Probably 13th or 14th century. Found with the remains of the stone coffin of which it formed the lid. WS 70, B X F57, coffin salvaged.
28. Broken-up statue of St. James the Greater (Pls. 54-55). Robin Emmerson writes:

The statue, which was broken up and reused as building material, lacks its head and most of both arms. It is carved from a piece of oolitic limestone probably of local origin. The smoothness of the back suggests that it was placed in an architectural setting like a niche, rather than being a free-standing cult image.

A strap passed diagonally across the body and over the right shoulder. From it hangs a scrip on which can be seen the radiating lines of a scallop, the badge of St. James the Greater. Originally the figure probably carried a pilgrim's staff. Both scrip and staff were blessed by the Church before a pilgrim set out for Santiago.²⁹² The figure is barefoot, as is usual for the Apostles, and apparently wears a cassock. This was not thought inconsistent with the attributes of the pilgrimage in representations of St. James.

The mutilated condition of the statue makes judgments about style and dating difficult. The elementary drapery falls in stiff vertical pleats with pronounced ridges and hollows, which might date from any time in the later 14th or 15th century. It would not have taxed the skill of any mason accustomed to carving mouldings.

Unwanted imagery was often covered or destroyed in the Middle Ages, evidently without any feeling of sacrilege, as long as it was merely part of the decoration of a building. Cult images on altars were a different matter. It therefore remains quite possible that the statue may have been broken up for rubble before the Dissolution.

There are considerable traces of red paint all over the statue, including the plinth. Red was a common colour for undercoats, but no remains of over-painting have survived. 75.27.24 B X SF14, F4 and F6, Phase VIII.

DAUB by JULIAN MUNBY

(List of contexts, by century, with daub. All sites, M IV E8-E10).

The samples of daub, mostly from Church Street, consist of a few small fragments from over 30 contexts dating from the 10th to late 17th century. It is not felt that any useful study could be carried out.

While the majority of the contexts represented date from the 11th to 13th centuries, by far the largest sample (over 10.5 kg.) came from A F44, a late 17th-century pit. The daub consists of pebbly river mud, perhaps with sand added, and has been fired. Twig and straw impressions are visible, and woven wattle marks up to 2 cm. in diameter are present. The thickness of the daub suggests a covering of 3-4 cm., and if used on both sides of a wall would have created a sizable structure. The pit lay in a back garden area on the boundary of Nos. 33-34 Church Street (SW81).²⁹³ It is suggested that the daub might be derived from a shed or building covering one of the adjacent stone-lined cess pits, and was possibly destroyed by burning.

Although the date of this material is not in question, it is somewhat similar to examples published from Late Saxon sites in Cornmarket.²⁹⁴

PAINTED WALL-PLASTER by JULIAN MUNBY

(Fig. 76. List of contexts with wall plaster, all sites, M IV F1-5)

The majority of the painted wall-plaster was found in Trench II of Greyfriars and consists of a few small fragments from several contexts. Red lines on cream is the most common technique. This represented painted

²⁹² Cf. C. Hohler, 'The Badge of St. James', in I. Cox (ed.), *The Scallop - Studies of a Shell and its Influence on Mankind* (1957).

²⁹³ Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, 164, Fig. 6.

²⁹⁴ E.M. Jope & W.A. Pantin, 'The Clarendon Hotel, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xxiii (1958), 75-8, Fig. 23a; Hassall op. cit. note 212, 31, Pl. VIb; Sturdy and Munby op. cit. note 93, 13-4, Fig. 12.

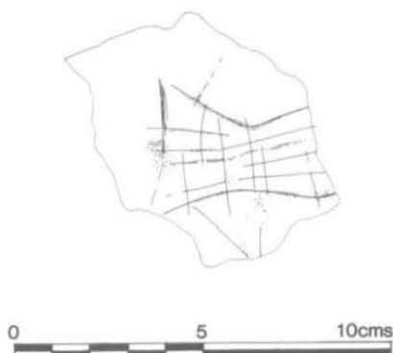


Fig. 76. Painted wall-plaster with graffito. Scale 1:2.

masonry lines, a standard 13th-century form of decoration which may still be seen in Christ Church Cathedral chapter-house. The fragments also include white painted lines on yellow, which is a less common combination. Graffito, not identifiable, is present on one fragment (B IV F50, SF28, Fig. 76).

TILES by MAUREEN MELLOR

31-34 Church Street (Site A) (Fig. 77)

Over 3,000 stratified ceramic tiles were recovered from the site; 73 per cent are roof-tiles, less than 0.5 per cent are floor-tiles and 27 per cent are too fragmentary to assign to either category. The tiles were not sub-divided into fabric types as the problems of residuality and contamination could not be readily recognised.²⁹⁵

11th Century

Only one tile fragment (from A F502) was recovered from the pre-11th-century assemblages, but the 11th-century assemblages include some 71 tile fragments. 75 per cent are roof-tiles and many were probably intrusive.

12th Century

The 12th-century assemblages contain more tiles (135 fragments) and include two ridge-tiles (from A F1527 and A F1530), and one floor-tile(?) (from A F2520).

13th Century

Associated with the 13th-century assemblage are 1,442 tiles; two are ridge-tiles from A F116 and six are probably floor-tiles. The latter include one decorated with a white slip covered with a transparent glaze. A few assemblages have more than 50 fragments of tile (A F1007, A F1031, A F2521 and A F2535) and one pit, A F1516, contained 205 fragments. This high number of tiles may indicate some refurbishment of nearby buildings.

²⁹⁵ The following Museum Accession Numbers have been assigned to the tiles which are illustrated: Fig. 77: 1. 75.25.245; 2. 75.25.246; 3. 75.25.247; 4. 75.25.248.

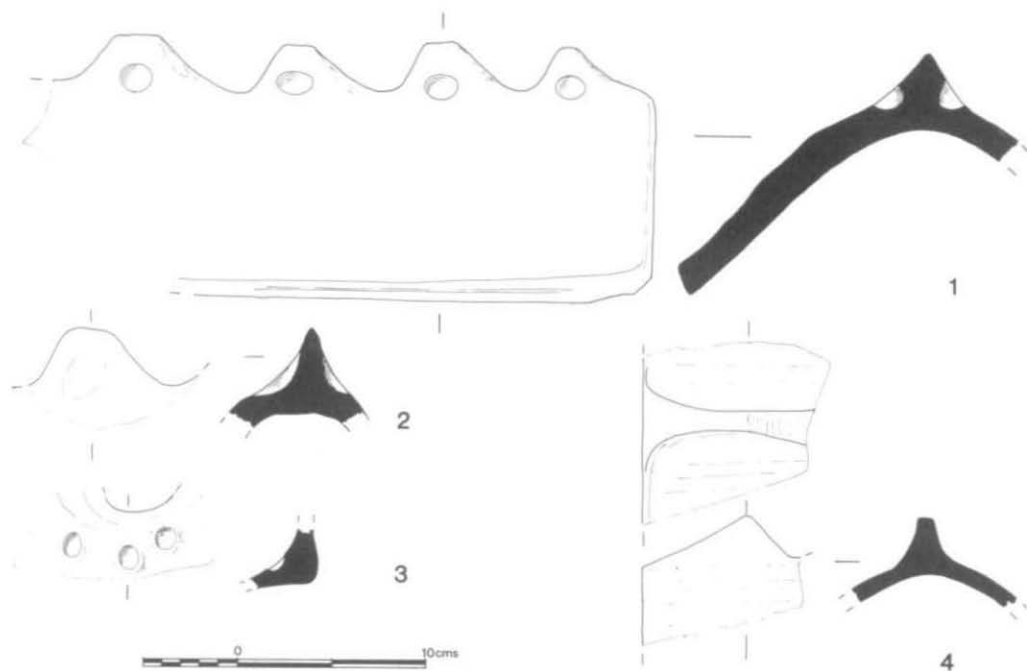


Fig. 77. Tiles. Scale 1:4.

1. A T121/235/1 IB;

2. A T0/0/1 IB =U/S;

3. A T53/137/1 IIID;

4. A T0/2037/1 III =U/S.

14th Century

The 14th-century assemblages contain 915 tiles, including 10 ridge-tiles and only one floor-tile (from A F1548). Again some assemblages have a high number of discarded roof-tiles (A F121 and A F1019). An almost complete ridge-tile was recovered from A F121. The spurs were knife-cut and thumbed, and partially glazed light-green (Fig. 77, No. 1). The clay contains inclusions of calcareous gravel (Fabric IB) which suggests a source to the N.W. of Oxford. A ridge-tile with thumbed, hand-made spurs was recovered (Fig. 77, No. 2) and is possibly from the same source. The tile was also partially glazed light-green and parallels one from the Hamel which is dated to the 13th century.²⁹⁶

15th Century

Fifteenth-century contexts produced 514 fragments, including 10 ridge-tiles. A fragment of a roof finial with finger-pressed decoration around the aperture and glazed mottled-green was found in A F53 (Fig. 77, No. 3). This same assemblage contains 126 roof-tiles and a further 56 miscellaneous fragments. A F1030A also contains more than 50 tile fragments. Together these assemblages may indicate some building-work in this period. From pit A F53 an inlaid floor-tile (Lloyd Haberly type XXVIII)²⁹⁷ was recovered. This design can be paralleled on the neighbouring Greyfriars site and it seems likely that this tile, and two other inlaid tiles from

²⁹⁶ Palmer op. cit. note 73, Fig. 36, No. 1, M 2 D12.

²⁹⁷ Lloyd Haberly, *Medieval English Pavingtiles* (1937).

unstratified contexts (LH XXXI and LH XXVI from A L1 and A L2013, respectively), originated from Greyfriars.²⁹⁸

From A L2037 a fragment of ridge-tile with cut spurs and thick brown glaze was found. It is made in a sandy fabric similar to the roof-finial from A F53 (Fig. 77, No. 4), but the source is unknown. Roof-finials and roof-furniture other than ridge-tiles are comparatively rare from local excavations.

Roof-tiles were recovered from most of the pits, suggesting that the buildings on the site had tile roofs rather than thatch. The high proportion of roof-tiles from some contexts suggests that the tiles were replaced fairly regularly between the 13th and 15th centuries.

Greyfriars (Site B)

(Figs. 78–79) (Table 13, List of Floor- and Roof-Tiles; Tables 14–15, Lists of Decorative Tiles; Table 16, Decorative Tiles as Found in Different Areas of the Main Church Building and Cloisters; Table 17, A Comparison of Decorative Tiles from Greyfriars and Blackfriars, M IV F8–G12).

Introduction

The Greyfriars excavations yielded 1,616 tiles. Excavation by trenches resulted in an uneven distribution of tile and, furthermore, not all contexts were totally excavated. The tiles were assigned to two phases: medieval (26 per cent) and post-medieval (56 per cent); the remainder (18 per cent) were unstratified.²⁹⁹ Medieval contexts produced 196 roof- and 216 floor-tiles. Only five fragments are too small to be assigned to either category (Table 13, M IV F8–F11).

The floor-tiles from the earliest excavations were originally recorded by David Ganz. Maureen Mellor re-examined these tiles and recorded those from recent excavations.

Production Centres

The tiles were divided into fabric types based on a series established at other nearby Oxford sites.³⁰⁰ The only stratified tile sequence recorded at Greyfriars was found in the cloister area (B XXXIII). Here the earliest phase of cloister building, Phase I, produced roof-tiles only: in Fabrics III, VIIA and VIIB, in almost equal quantities. These proportions are similar to those recorded in the earlier phases of 65 St. Aldates³⁰¹ which are dated to the later 12th or early 13th century.

XXXIII Phase IIa (the second phase of cloister building) at Greyfriars suggests that although roof-tiles were still made in Fabrics VIIA and VIIB, Fabric III was now dominant with Fabric IIIB being the main source for the mass-produced, two-colour decorated, Stabbed Wessex, floor-tiles. The production centre is thought to be located S. of Oxford, towards Newbury. The glazed roof-tiles (Fabric IIIA) in Phase IIa may represent ridge-tiles made in the vicinity of Brill (Bucks.).

In Phase IIb (the robbing of the second phase of cloister building) Fabrics III and IIIB, for roof- and floor-tiles respectively, were still dominant, but a few plain, rectangular-shaped border tiles in Fabric IVA are also present (Fig. 78, No. 1; B XXXIII F17). Fabric IVA does not occur within the medieval contexts of the main church building, with the possible exception of a fragment from the nave (B X F42). At the neighbouring Blackfriars site Fabric IVA, which is thought to originate from S.E. Oxfordshire, was associated with many of the printed tiles, suggesting a date of c. 1330–50 at the earliest.³⁰² It follows therefore that the rectangular-shaped border tiles may also date after the mid 14th century.

²⁹⁸ See the tiles from Greyfriars (Site B) under, Two-Colour decorated, Stabbed Wessex Tiles, below.

²⁹⁹ See also S. Robinson, 'Tiles' in Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, 263–5; M V D1–D9.

³⁰⁰ Robinson op. cit. note 299; S. Robinson, 'Tiles' in Palmer op. cit. note 73, 196; M 2 D90; M. Mellor, 'Tile' in B. Durham, 'The Thames Crossing at Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlix (1984), M 1 E12; M. Mellor and Lambrick, 'The Tile' in Lambrick op. cit. note 229.

³⁰¹ B. Durham op. cit. note 80.

³⁰² Lambrick op. cit. note 229.



1 Border tile



2 LH LV



3 Blackfriars No.13



4 LH II



5 LH XVII



6 LH XLIX



7 LH XXXVI 8 LH XXXVII



9 Agnus Dei



10 LH XL 11 LH XLI

Fig. 78. Tiles: 1, border tile; 2-11, tiles found *in situ*. Scale c. 1:4.

Plain Floor-Tiles

A few small tiles were recovered from the medieval levels. A small triangular piece, with a bright-yellow glaze overlying a white slip, was found (B II L3); and a scored tile fragment with a similar glaze and slip was recovered from B IX F14.

Only 24 square, plain tiles were found in the main church building, and a further five came from the cloisters. The latter are the rectangular border tiles referred to above (Fig. 78, No. 1; B XXXIII F17). They are decorated with a white slip coating and a rich mottled-green glaze (measuring 120 mm. by 30 mm., and 28 mm. thick). Eighteen fragments of plain, square tiles were found in the mortar layer within B IX F14 in the N. nave. The glazes include yellow over a white slip, mottled-green and dark-brown. Many of these tiles had been exposed to secondary burning and their fabrics were obscured.

Another plain tile was recovered from B X F6. Two plain tiles were found in a grave (B X F42, not fully excavated); one has a near-black glaze, the other a dark-green glaze. Two more plain tiles with near-black glazes were found *in situ* (B I F15), but these were lost during modern construction work. Two plain tiles with a deep mottled-green glaze (measuring 130 mm. in length, and 32 mm. thick) were recovered from B XIII F7 (an undefined feature) and B XXXIII L32 (a loam layer associated with Phase II of the cloister building). These tiles have very fine deep stabbed keys and were made in the area of Brill (Fabric IIIA); they are the only floor-tiles recovered from the site which are thought to have originated at this production centre. Nearby Blackfriars also had floor-tiles from this source, but they are lozenge-shaped, with clear glazes.

*Two-Colour Decorated, Stabbed Wessex Tiles*³⁰³

Stabbed Wessex-type tiles (Fabric IIIB) were all made at the same production centre, which also supplied the majority of inlaid tiles to the neighbouring Blackfriars.

A wide range of inlaid tile designs was noted (Table 14, M IV F12-F14); the more common designs from the medieval levels are illustrated (Fig. 79, Nos. 1-5), and all but one can be paralleled locally. The *Agnus Dei* design is new to Oxford and was recovered from the cloisters (B XXXI and B XXXIII, Fig. 78, No. 9).

The decorative motifs on these tiles were grouped into broad location categories (e.g. N. nave, nave, aisle etc.), following George Lambrick's scheme for Blackfriars,³⁰⁴ in order to determine the patterns of individual pavements within the church (Tables 15 and 16, M IV G1-G6). The results are inconclusive, but the overall impression gained suggests that the Greyfriars favoured curvilinear and geometric motifs with various combinations of flora, animals and birds. Floral and animal designs are less common, and human and heraldic designs are absent.

In the chapels of the extension to the N. nave (B XIII) three Stabbed Wessex tiles were found *in situ*. They consist of two Loyd Haberly types,³⁰⁵ one a half-tile (LH LV, B XIII L4, SF2, Fig. 78, No. 2) and one a variant first recognised at Blackfriars (B XIII L15, SF4, Fig. 78, No. 3).³⁰⁶ The three chapels of the N. nave also produced good evidence of square tile impressions (Fig. 34). In chapel 2 the tiles in the central walkway were set diagonally, while the border tiles were set square.

In the area of the N. nave adjacent to the nave (B IX), three tiles were found *in situ*. From B IX F10 (a white mortar floor-surface) Loyd Haberly types II and XVII were found (Fig. 78, Nos. 4-5), but both were stolen during the excavation. From a layer of mortar adjacent to B IX F14 another Stabbed Wessex-type was recovered (LH XLIX, Fig. 78, No. 6).

From the cloisters (B XXXI L149, a tiled floor with white mortar bedding recorded in the trench section) tiles of Stabbed Wessex-type were found, and include three tiles of LH XXXVII, one of LH XLIX and one tile of either LH XXXVI or XXXVII (Fig. 78, Nos. 6-8). Within B XXXIII F36 (an alley floor laid on fine white mortar) three *Agnus Dei* tiles (Fig. 78, No. 9) possibly represented a set of four. These tiles are extremely worn and this is in marked contrast to other inlaid tiles from the site. A further three decorated tiles were found within B XXXIII F36 (LH XXXVII, LH XL and LH XL/XLI, Fig. 78, Nos. 8, 10-11).

Two fragments of inlaid tiles were found at 31-34 Church Street (LH XXXI and LH XXVI) and probably originated from Greyfriars.

³⁰³ E. Eames, *English Medieval Tiles* (British Museum, 1985), 54.

³⁰⁴ Lambrick *op. cit.* note 229.

³⁰⁵ Haberly *op. cit.* note 297.

³⁰⁶ Lambrick *op. cit.* note 229, No. 13.

Printed Tiles

The medieval and post-medieval levels produced only ten printed tiles. Two have identical designs (LH CXVI/CXVII, B I F13 and B VII F7 L1, Fig. 79, Nos. 6-7) and these tiles may indicate repairs to existing pavements in the mid 14th century or later (see below under Dating). A third fragment (B IV L21, a sub-floor or a destruction layer?) was too small to identify the decorative motif. Three fragments (from B IX F12, B XIII L1 and B XIV F2) are also too small to identify the motifs, but one (LH CCIX, Fig. 79, No. 8) was found in B X F21 (a floor layer in the N. aisle), and two tiles from B XXXIII F8 and L48 are identified as LH CXVII and a fragment from either LH CXXXIII or LH CXLVIII (Fig. 79, Nos. 9-10). From unstratified contexts a further three tiles of LH CXVII and an example of LH CXCII were found (Fig. 79, Nos. 7, 11).

Roof-Tiles

The decorative tiles (Fabric IIIA), which were probably ridge-tiles, all originated from Brill. The plain roof-tiles (Fabric III), some with peg-holes, were made at a different centre from the decorated floor-tiles.

Some areas of the church and cloisters show slightly higher concentrations of tiles (Table 13, M IV F8-F11). This included the cloisters (B XIV) which also produced ridge-tile; the extension to the N. nave (B XIII F5 L1) with four glazed tiles; the N. aisle (B X F42); outside the W. extension to the nave (B V F15) and outside the nave (B IV L21), the latter also including two ridge-tiles; and in the cloisters (B XXXIII L32 and L35, Phases I and II) which also included ridge-tiles.

Conclusion

The distribution of floor-tiles and their decorative motifs does not indicate the characteristics of individual pavements. This may be due to the fact that recovery from the trenches was uneven and that much of the material was not in its primary context.

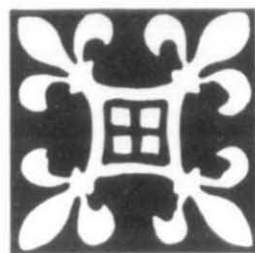
The wide range of decorative motifs on the Stabbed Wessex tiles were compared with those recovered from Blackfriars with interesting results (Table 17, M IV G7-G12). While many of the inlaid tiles were common to both sites, 14 motifs were not recovered from Blackfriars. One of these (*Agnus Dei*) was also new to Oxford. These motifs were floral and curvilinear types (LH XXXIX, LH LXXII); curvilinear and geometric (LH IX, LH XII, LH XIII); curvilinear with animals and birds (LH XXI, LH XXXIII); floral (LH XXII, LH LIII, and Bicester Type A);³⁰⁷ and geometric and floral (LH XXIV, LH XXXV, LH XXXVI). The printed tiles on the site also include four decorative motifs not paralleled at Blackfriars: floral and curvilinear (LH CXXXIII/CXLVIII, LH CXCII), and geometric and floral (LH CXVI/CXVII, LH CCIX). It would seem that the friars were not greatly influenced by the neighbouring Blackfriars in their choice of decorative motifs, and vice versa.

The N. nave (B IX) is noteworthy because it produced many decorated floor-tiles, a number of which were either wasters or overfired. It is unlikely that such obvious wasters were carted over long distances to the friary, unless they were to be used as floor makeup. It is more probable that they suffered severe secondary burning on the site such as might have occurred if they were close to a bell-founding pit.

³⁰⁷ D.A. Hinton, 'Bicester Priory', *Oxoniensia*, xxxiii (1968), 45.



1 LH XXVIII (6 tiles)



2 LH LV (6 tiles)



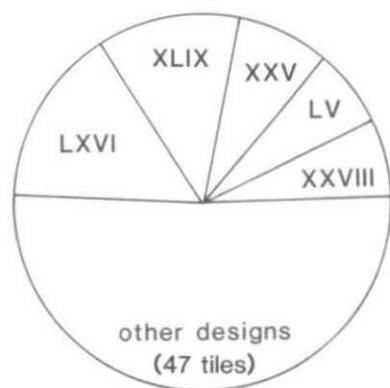
3 LH XXV (7 tiles)



4 LH XLIX (11 tiles)



5 LH LXVI (14 tiles)



6 LH CXVI



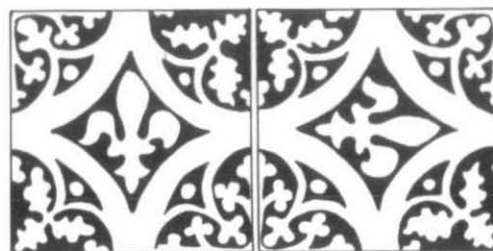
7 LH CXVII



8 LH CCIX



9 LH CXXXIII



10

LH CXLVIII



11

LH CXCII

Fig. 79. Tiles: 1-5, popular inlaid tile designs from medieval layers; pie diagram showing the percentages of each design; 6-11, printed tiles. Scale c. 1:4.

Dating

No early Wessex-type tiles with a central scoop were recovered from the site. The majority are two-coloured, Stabbed Wessex-types which were probably laid in the second half of the 13th century.

The presence of rectangular border tiles in the cloister, in a fabric often associated with printed tiles, may suggest that this area was paved or repaired rather later than the main church. The small number of printed tiles from Greyfriars suggests, however, that no large pavements were laid after the mid 14th century, and the occasional printed tile found on the site probably represents a replacement. This is in sharp contrast with nearby Blackfriars, where the higher percentage of printed tiles can only mean much more extensive repaving after c. 1350. Perhaps this is a reflection of general austerity or an indication of the start of the decline at Greyfriars, which in 1536 is recorded as containing 'much ruinous building'.

Selfridges (Site SEL)

Roof tiles only were recovered from SEL F80, SEL F88 and SEL F96.

Westgate (Site W)

Few roof, and no floor tiles were found.

HUMAN REMAINS FROM GREYFRIARS (SITE B) by ERIC EDWARDS and MARY HARMAN (Table 18, M V B7-C6)

The bones were examined by Eric Edwards, who made notes on the remains from each burial. For those which he saw in 1974 there are both notes and a prose report, while for those which he saw in 1977 there are only notes. This report has been compiled by Mary Harman on the basis of the notes without further reference to the skeletons. For the sake of brevity the essential information has been extracted from Edwards's work and a table of individual burials compiled (Table 18). The full information is stored in the Excavation Archive.

It is clear from the individual skeleton reports that the criteria for establishing the sex of individuals were the angle of the sciatic notch, features of the skull, and the size and robustness of the bones; the first being given most importance. Age was estimated by the state of tooth eruption and attrition, and the degree of epiphyseal fusion, using the figures published by Brothwell.³⁰⁸ Stature was calculated from the length of the long bones using the formulae of Trotter and Gleser.³⁰⁹

It is not always clear from Edwards's records how much of the skeleton was present; he notes that many were incomplete, and some were represented only by a skull or by limbs. Reference to the site plans and notes indicates the amount of the skeleton present and this information is recorded on the Concordance Table for Greyfriars (M I C12-F5). While he obviously distinguished between tooth loss before and after death, this distinction is not recorded consistently in the notes.

Table 18 shows the summary of information about each individual. Table 1 summarises the information on dental health for different age-groups. This shows deterioration with increasing age. The figures are broadly comparable with those from the contemporary medieval burials at Blackfriars.³¹⁰

The average height of 25 men was 5' 7" (1.72 m.).

³⁰⁸ D.R. Brothwell, *Digging Up Bones* (British Museum Natural History, 1981), 59-63, 69.

³⁰⁹ M. Trotter and G.C. Gleser, 'A Re-evaluation of Estimation of Stature Based on Measurements of Stature Taken During Life and Long Bones After Death', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, xvi (1958), 79-123.

³¹⁰ Lambrick op. cit. note 229.

Apparently most of the skull was present in 48 burials, and of these people seven or probably eight had wormian bones, while four had retained an open metopic suture. Both these features are normal, but unusual, variations. Several people exhibited dental anomalies: B II F9, F21 and F22 had shovel-shaped incisors, the last also having extra cusps on the first molars. Burial B II F12 has a microdont upper second left incisor. B IV F43 has an unerupted upper right canine; B IV F52 has a small odontome between the lower right second premolar and first molar, and burial B IV F55 has a supernumerary tooth behind the last molar in the left maxilla; though this does occur it is an uncommon feature.

A number of people showed evidence of back disease usually associated with age: osteophytes on the vertebrae were seen in nearly all individuals over 35 and in a few younger; those older people who were not recorded as affected are more likely to have been represented by skeletons lacking the vertebrae or in very poor condition than to have been unaffected, though this is possible. The degree of severity varied: the younger man in B IV F51 was only mildly affected, and so was the older man in B X F53, but the man in B X F30 was much worse and the hip-joint was also affected. The men in B II F4 and F24 also had extra bony growth in the hip-joint.

Two men, in B IV F11 and F54, had joined cervical vertebrae; while this could be due to osteo-arthritis in the first, it is unlikely to be so in the second, a young man, particularly as the other cervical vertebrae are normal, and a growth anomaly is more likely.

Other individuals showed some abnormal conditions; in B IV F55 the young man had a laterally-curved spine in the thoracic region; the man in B X F55 had orbital osteoporosis which suggests that he was anaemic; the men in B II F3 and F9 may both have had a fistula in the right mastoid process, resulting from infection, though this could also be 'pseudopathology' due to *post mortem* erosion, and the same is true of the man in B IV F35 who has erosion on the femoral shaft, possibly the result of periostitis or some other inflammation, though it could have been caused after death by soil conditions.

The mean cranial index of 13 people is 76.2 (mesocephalic) with a range from 70.2 to 82.6. One of the unstratified skulls, in F5A, has a cranial index of 93.0, and Edwards suggests that this might be due to hydrocephaly or achondroplasia. This person also had an open metopic suture. Edwards comments, 'The abnormal cranial dimensions are outside the normal range for cephalic indices. The features of the skull (hyperbrachycephaly, thinness of the bones and wormian bones) suggest either a hydrocephalic individual (intelligence range from idiot to normal) or an achondroplastic dwarf. However, without the diagnostic facial skeleton it is not possible to state. On the evidence available it can be tentatively assumed that the individual was not hydrocephalic but normal enough to permit possible membership of a religious sect. If he was hydrocephalic, it was not of a type that prevented survival until adulthood'.

The numbers of burials according to age, sex and location are shown in Table 2, in which figures are also given for other medieval sites in Oxford.³¹¹ This table shows clearly that the burials found were almost exclusively male. One adult, possibly female, was buried in the nave (B IV F67). There is also half a pelvis possibly from a female of 16-23 years from B IV F70 in the aisle; this is probably from a disturbed grave, and does show that there may have been at least one other female buried inside the church. Females were buried within friary churches; Beatrice van Valkenburg (died 1277) was buried at Greyfriars (see above, p. 192). Another striking feature of this group is the absence of young children and infants; most of the youths found were buried outside the church. This group of burials is clearly not that of a normal civil population and it would seem that burial within the precincts of the friary was probably reserved for the friars themselves and possibly scholars, some exceptions being made for patrons.

Since this group is not typical of the population it follows that any other conclusions concerning health and longevity cannot be regarded as entirely relevant to the civil population generally.

About a fifth of the burials were of youths of less than 20 years, most of whom were buried outside the church. Over a quarter of the burials were of people between 20 and 30 years; this is true also at Blackfriars, but here more people survived to beyond 40 years - about a fifth of the total.

TABLE 1: INCIDENCE OF CARIES, ABSCESSSES AND TEETH LOST BEFORE DEATH IN NUMBER OF TEETH AND TOOTH SOCKETS

Number of People	Present in Different Age Groups						
	Age	Caries		Abscess		Loss	
10	20-30	5/202	2.5%	2/168	1.2%	1/196	0.5%
12	30-40	8/209	3.8%	7/294	2.4%	8/270	3%
11	40+	31/194	16%	11/230	4.8%	34/253	13.4%

³¹¹ *Ibid.*; B. Durham, 'All Saints Church', forthcoming.

TABLE 2: NUMBERS OF BURIALS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX AND LOCATION, WITH COMPARABLE FIGURES FROM OTHER MEDIEVAL SITES IN OXFORD

Site	Sex	Age in Years						Total Adult	
		0	10	20	30	40	+		
<i>Greyfriars</i> Nave & Aisle	M			2	6	2	6	2	18
	F?							1	1
	?			1					1
Choir	M						1		1
	F								
	?								
Outside, N. of Nave	M			1	3	6	2	1	13
	F								
	?								
Outside, N. of Choir	M			7	6	3	2	2	20
	F								
	?			1					1
Unlocated and unstratified	M				1		1	1	3
	F								
	?								
Total all areas	M			10	16	11	12	6	55
	F?							1	1
	?			2					2
Total			12	16	11	12	7		58
<i>Blackfriars</i> Inside	M			2	7	2	2	9	22
	F			1	1		2	2	6
	?			1		1		7	9
Cloister Alley	M				5	2	2		9
	F				1			1	2
	?								
Outside	M			2	11	1	2	1	17
	F				2				2
	?							3	3
<i>All Saints</i> Inside	M			3	3	5	9	2	22
	F				1		1	1	3
	?		1	2	1			1	5
Outside	M			1	4	3	2		10
	F			1	1		1		3
	?		3						3

MEDIEVAL ANIMAL BONES AND MARINE SHELLS FROM CHURCH STREET AND OTHER SITES IN ST. EBBE'S, OXFORD by BOB WILSON with ALISON LOCKER and PROFESSOR B. MARPLES.³¹²

<i>Section Headings of Fiche</i>	<i>Fiche</i>
Aims of the report.	M V B7
Usefulness of the bones.	M V B7
Retrieval of the bones and shells.	M V B7
Archaeological difficulties and approaches to analysis.	M V B8
Contaminated deposits.	M V B8
Interpretation of less well-dated data.	M V B9
General composition of the bone and shell debris.	M V B9
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³¹² Based on extensive Level III fiche reports including those on the bird and fish bones by Alison Locker. The printed report here summarises findings and discusses them further. Footnotes are mainly given where new evidence is considered. This work was financed by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory and English Heritage, London, and further facilitated by the Oxford University Museum and the Oxford Archaeological Unit. The reports were typed by Cathy Brocklehurst and Debbie Monas.

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With the post-medieval bones, the sequence of bone deposition at Church Street stretches between the 10th and the 19th centuries. These bones are the largest urban collection ever excavated in Oxfordshire. To some extent their utility was rendered uncertain by intrusive or residual material, especially for the 14th- and 15th-century groups whose possible rejection from analysis would have disrupted the desirable examination of the long sequence of deposits. Nevertheless, although results are questionable in some details, important trends of site debris were detected, their validity was argued for, and the overall sense of their interpretation adds substantially to our knowledge of the medieval period in Oxford. The 14th- and 15th-century groups showed the real beginning of significant urban change already noted in the post-medieval section of the site report.³¹³

Abundance and distribution of bones

In the fiche report the characteristics are described of over 28,000 bones of mammals, 1602 of bird, 293 of fish and 1200 oyster shells from the late Saxon and medieval site debris. A further comparable report on previously unpublished fish-bones from the Hamel, Oxford, is appended.³¹⁴

Many of the bones and shells are in a good state of preservation. Some 48 per cent of the mammal-bones, excluding part skeletons, were identified. All of the common domestic medieval species are represented in the collection. Wild mammals include three species of deer as well as fox, badger, hare, black rat and hedgehog.

³¹³ R. Wilson in Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, 265-8, M VI A3-F4.

³¹⁴ See below, pp. 409-10.

TABLE 3: PERCENTAGE REPRESENTATION OF MAMMALS, BIRDS, FISH AND OYSTERS IN THE OVERALL PERIOD GROUPS AT CHURCH STREET

Century	10th & 11th	12th	13th	14th & 15th	16th to 19th
Contamination	+			+	+
n	2235	2945	4463	2144	1645
Cattle	24	21	27	35	32
Sheep/goat	56	57	56	46	52
Pig	17	20 ^a	13	19	12
Horse	1.4	0.5	1.6	0.3	0.2
Dog	0.2	0.3	0.1 ^a	0.1	0.5
Cat	0.8 ^a	1.1	1.2 ^a	0.4 ^a	0.3 ^a
Red deer	-	0.1	0.1	+	-
Fallow	+	-	0.1	0.2	0.3
Roe	0.4	0.2	0.1	-	-
Hare	0.2	0.3	0.1	+	0.4
Rabbit	-	-	+	0.4	2.4
Fox	0.1	0.1	+ ^a	0.1	-
Badger	-	-	+	+	-
Black rat	-	-	+	0.1	0.4
Hedgehog	-	-	-	+ ^a	- ^a
% identified mammal bones	49	48	49	43	38
% indices of n					
Domestic fowl	17.0 ^b	5.7	5.5	9.8	28.1
Domestic goose	1.7 ^b	1.4	2.5	4.1	6.0
Duck	1.1 ^b	0.3	0.3	0.6	2.1
Oyster	27 ^b	5	3	12	36
Fish	0.9 ^b	0.3	1.5	2.8	4.6

^a Excluding skeletons

^b indices may be up to a third smaller than given (fiche).

Birds identified by Alison Locker include unusual species records of 11th- and 12th-century crane and c. 14th-century white stork. Swan, teal, woodcock, pigeon *Columba* sp., crow, jackdaw and raven are also present.

Freshwater or migratory fish include eel, pike, trout/salmon, chub and roach; marine fish include spurdog, conger eel, herring, cod, haddock, ling, gurnard, plaice and flounder. Some supplementary records of post-medieval fish include c. 16th-century hake and 18th-century bream – both species not recorded for earlier deposits in Oxfordshire at the time of writing.

Thirteenth-century bones are the most abundant, followed in decreasing order by those of the 12th, 11th, 14th, 15th and 10th centuries. Nearly all of these bones were excavated from the large number of Church Street pits.

These pit deposits are characterised by the abundant bones of medium-sized mammals, especially of sheep and pig. Most of these bones had been disarticulated and greatly fragmented. The concentrations and scatters of this debris were interspersed by more articulated skeletal remains from 5–7 cats of different date, 4 foxes in a 13th-century pit (A F1540), a puppy, hedgehog, piglet, 5 domestic fowls and a pigeon, as well as part backbones of horse and sheep and variously articulated joints including hooves or trotters of cattle, sheep and pig. The articulated vertebrae of horse appear associated with other bones of an immature individual in another 13th-century pit, A F145.

Trends among the skeletal elements indicate an increasing representation of the main meat carcass of sheep and corresponding decreases of cranial and foot elements from the 10th- to the 14th-century groups; thereafter the pattern is more variable.³¹⁵ Trends for other species were not obvious from overall percentages of skeletal elements. It was found, however, that although most limb-bones of the beef carcass had fused

³¹⁵ R. Wilson in Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, footnote 313.

epiphyses and clearly originated from cattle of intermediate and late stages of skeletal development, mandibles of calves outnumbered those of older cattle in the 14th- and 15th-century and post-medieval groups. Similar late medieval or post-medieval increases in the abundance of calf mandibles appear detectable at Exeter, Lincoln, and Northampton.³¹⁶

Household and adjacent tenement activity

From the comparisons of species frequency percentages, as indices of coarse and fine debris in deposits of different type at more complete excavations (particularly the medieval moated manor of Harding's Field, Chalgrove, Oxon.), most bones found at Church Street appear to be the rubbish from tables and floors of halls, kitchens and other service rooms of medieval houses adjacent to the excavation. Rubbish disposal removed most household debris and dumped it outside, often directly into the rubbish-pits. Noticeably, pits are rare on medieval farm sites and common on urban ones.

Eleventh- to 13th-century bone groups indicate a closer affinity to such domestic activity than do two small 13th-century subgroups and the 14th-century and later deposits. Thus the abundant early medieval bones indicate both a relatively intensive occupation of the area surrounding the pits, and a relatively organised and efficient disposal of waste.

Smaller quantities of later-period debris and its somewhat greater coarseness indicate less intensive occupation, and perhaps less organised rubbish-dumping and more disturbed dumps of bones. These indications would be consistent with site quiescence, partial abandonment, and more distant sources of domestic rubbish, but it is uncertain if other late-period factors stimulate such effects of coarseness in the bone distribution. Late-period bones do not appear more degraded than early-period ones, but they may not be typical of more rapidly buried bones.

Butchery and related activities

Butchery in the kitchen and at the meal-table left no distinctive refuse apart from the late medieval and post-medieval calf-head debris, and medieval evidence for the removal of the lower legs of domestic fowl. The calf mandibles, and the increasing proportion of bones from the main meat carcass of sheep during medieval times, indicate that the butchery of large and medium-sized carcasses became more specialised and that it occurred at some distance from Church Street. Bones of the head and feet of sheep seem increasingly to have been dumped elsewhere. During the 14th to 19th centuries the heads of older cattle were disposed of somewhere else too, presumably adjacent to butchers' stalls, slaughterhouses, or places of related trades.

Documentary evidence confirms the 14th- or 15th-century date of the commencement of the significant change in site refuse from cattle and sheep, and indicates that it is related to the cessation of slaughtering in the vicinity of the High Street and the establishment of slaughterhouses in Brewer Street or 'Slaying Lane' outside the city wall.³¹⁷ Butchery of the head there, including the probable removal of horn-cores with the cattle-hide as well as removal of cheekmeats and tongue, would have meant only a short distance for the convenient disposal of rubbish on the town periphery. Otherwise the heavy waste-bearing heads would have been carried into the town centre for meat removal and presented greater problems of rubbish disposal, a cause of medieval complaint.

It is possible that cranial debris was put aside for further processing, for example for fat and glue, before dumping, but on any industrial scale these noisome processes were prone to be directed by law toward the town periphery. Riverside locations may have been an advantage in waste disposal.

Cranial debris and horn-cores of cattle are associated with the medieval and post-medieval tanneries in Northampton and with other related trade waste in Oxfordshire.³¹⁸ Interestingly, the horn-cores at the Greyfriars site and the presence of sheep cranial debris at Church Street and the Westgate indicate a greater

³¹⁶ M. Maltby, *The Animal Bones from Exeter, 1971-1975* (Exeter Archaeological Reports, 2, 1979), 31-32; T. O'Connor, 'Animal Bones from Flaxengate, Lincoln', in *The Archaeology of Lincoln*, xviii (1982); and M. Harman in J.H. Williams, *St. Peter's Street, Northampton; Excavations 1973-76* (1979), 328-32.

³¹⁷ Medieval fiche report.

³¹⁸ Williams op. cit. note 316; P. Armitage in Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, M VI B2; R. Wilson, unpublished report for The Causeway, Bicester, held by the Oxford Archaeological Unit.

proximity of post-medieval tanneries and the butchery trade to these sites in St. Ebbe's. The latter is consistent with the relocation of most butchers' stalls from the High Street into Queen Street (Butcher Row) from 1556 until their removal into the present-day covered market in c. 1773.³¹⁹ Regardless of where the market was located, sometimes sheep and calf heads were sometimes sold whole or halved, even as today, from the stalls and shops; this must explain how a proportion of the cranial elements, and presumably the brains and other edibles, regularly reached Church Street.

The preparation of the smallest carcasses, namely domestic fowl, rabbits, hares, other small game, and perhaps whole fish or fillets, probably took place in household kitchens or in tenement yards as much as, or more than, at the butchers or fishmongers. Butchery marks show that at least one 14th-century cat carcass was cut up around the hind quarters, as opposed to around the paws or head (see below), and imply that the meat was cooked and perhaps was eaten. The remains were thrown into one of the stone-lined pits, A F59.

Exceptionally, butchery of large animals may have taken place on site. Pigs and calves are possible examples, and probably the immature horse in A F145. The youth of the horse, however, suggests a demise hastened by disease or injury. Since the consumption of horse-meat appears unusual, the disarticulation of the skeleton either indicates purposes such as knacker for dog-meat and other carcass products, or indicates conditions of starvation or less discriminate human consumption of horse-meat. Either possibility could be confirmed by the butchery of the cat.

It is noticeable that the horse-bones are more abundant in some deposits just before the 14th- or 15th-century reorganisation of slaughtering processes. However, these bones only suggest the disposal of refuse from the occasional slaughter of a horse in the vicinity. At a later date butchered horse- and dog-bones were deposited separately from ordinary domestic refuse, as was demonstrated recently by an 18th-century deposit discovered at Witney.³²⁰ Thus industrial uses of such carcasses intensified after the 13th century, even though this is not directly detectable at Church Street. Perhaps such refuse could be termed semi-industrial.

Other skinning and butchery

Somewhat different butchery is shown by three 12th- and 13th-century crania and one 11th-century distal radius of cat, which indicate skinning but not necessarily any further butchery of the carcasses. Around half of the cat-bones found are from immature individuals and indicate premature deaths caused by their killing, it appears, mainly for the furs.

These conclusions are supported by certain skinning cuts around the snouts of four 13th-century fox skeletons from pit A F1540 which were also associated with the bones of a cat – the latter not obviously marked. Other scattered bones of fox and badger probably originate from similar activity. Other sources of fur could have been rabbits and hares.

Fur skinning also occurred at the late Saxon New Inn Court site and perhaps at All Saints, Oxford, where cat and fox bones were found also.³²¹ At present the site evidence for the fur-trade appears to be of opportunist and part-time hunting rather than of a full-time intensive occupation, although commerce in exotic furs would not necessarily leave any bones. Significantly, the sellers of furs appear to have been located in High and Cornmarket Streets,³²² so that people in Church Street appear only to have supplied the furs of the commonest species.

This skinning for fur appears largely unrelated to skin removal and other butchery of cattle, sheep and pigs elsewhere. It does appear to be related to the greater abundance of horse-bones in some of the 13th-century deposits and indicates a wide-ranging trade use of animal products.

The morphology of slaughtered animals

Medieval bones from Church Street show that the domestic animals were usually of small stature. Good estimates of the height of cattle are not easy to calculate, but sexable bones indicated that the cows stood 1.05–1.08 m. at the shoulder and were as small as those of Iron Age date. They were substantially smaller than

³¹⁹ R. Wilson in Hassall et al. op cit. note 1.

³²⁰ R. Wilson in B. Durham, 'Mount House Witney', forthcoming.

³²¹ R. Wilson in Halpin op. cit. note 205, 68–9; R. Wilson in B. Durham, 'All Saints Church', forthcoming.

³²² A. Crossley, C. Day and J. Cooper, *Shopping in Oxford* (Oxford Preservation Trust Occasional Papers, iv, 1983), 10–11.

Romano-British and early Saxon cows in the region. Size variation among the cattle-bones of the 11th to 16th centuries has no obvious trend, but a dramatic increase in the size of most post-medieval cattle-bones was observed, especially with the 18th-century measurements, though it is not possible to give estimates of shoulder height.

About 5 per cent of the sheep/goat bones appear to be of goat. Around 85 per cent of late Saxon and medieval sheep crania are of two-horned sheep, 4 per cent of four-horned and 10 per cent of polled, although the last category may be under-represented. Nonetheless, post-medieval percentages are the reverse: 76 per cent of crania are of polled sheep and 24 per cent from two-horned. The main changeover appears to have happened during the 15th and 16th centuries.

There appears to have been a decline in the size of sheep from late Saxon and early medieval times (shoulder heights *c.* 0.60 m.) to the late medieval (0.56 m.) and then an increase, especially during the 18th century (*c.* 0.63 m.). Such height estimates are based on the metapodials, which survived quite well compared to other skeletal elements. It is uncertain whether the representation of different elements affects these estimates; they may also be distorted by an alteration in the representation of the different sized sexes and even by the occasional presence of goat among the metapodial measurements.

While it is possible that the medieval size-change is due to the keeping of increased numbers of the smaller-sized ewes, other data show an increase in the ages at which sheep were slaughtered and indicate a probable increase in the numbers of the larger-sized wethers that were kept. This suggests that the evidence for an overall decline in the height of sheep is acceptable. It is associated with the changes of phenotypic morphology such as the decreased representation of horned sheep, but the contribution of breed changes to change of body size is uncertain. Any preferential selection of sheep ought to have been directed at size improvement, as occurred during the post-medieval period, but perhaps other breed factors such as wool quality may have been more important.

The size of pig-bones increases from the Saxo-medieval period into the post-medieval era. A slight similar change appears detectable in cat-bones, but noticeably these are smaller than those of the Iron Age and Romano-British period which could, however, be of wild rather than domesticated cats. Eighteenth-century fowl-bones appear larger than the medieval, and the metatarsals indicate that the size difference does not result from a biased representation of the sexes.

The marketing of slaughtered animals

The ages and the sex ratios of sheep, cattle, and possibly pigs which were slaughtered in Oxford appear different from those killed at rural sites such as Harding's Field manor-house and Middleton Stoney castle, which may (based on small sample sizes) be typical of the farms which contributed to the town meat supply. Animals retained for breeding and other purposes at the manor tended to be older than those consumed at Church Street, and especially older than the late Saxon sheep.

Pelvic bones of sheep from Church Street indicate that wethers were more abundant than ewes in the town slaughtering pattern, a finding which would be consistent with the marketing of younger and presumably surplus sheep for town consumption. Yet frequency graphs of the measurements of late-fusing skeletal elements indicate that the older sheep represented were predominantly female.

A comparable abundance of immature steers among the town cattle-bones is less evident than of wethers among the sheep, and is even less apparent at sites in Northampton and Lincoln.³²³ A high proportion of the slaughtered cattle were cows, although determinations of sex from the metapodials do not include the youngest, presumably male, cattle slaughtered. The Church Street kill-off pattern appears to lie between those of the supposed subsistence dairying of Iron Age sites and the more obvious 'consumer' economy of the Romano-British farmstead or villa at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon,³²⁴ where steers and bulls appear prominently represented among the metapodials – although the farmstead is expected to have been largely self-sufficient.

Thus, although the medieval marketing of sheep and cattle for meat is evident in the Oxford region, most of it was probably subsidiary to other husbandry and economic factors, especially the dairying of cattle and the use of draught oxen in arable farming. Even with sheep the medieval and post-medieval economy appears predominantly related to wool production – certainly where compared to bone evidence for age from sites of Iron Age, Romano-British and early Saxon date.

The origin of pig-bones at Church Street is more difficult to ascertain. Presumably some pigs were marketed from manors like Harding's Field, where the species was abundantly found. A limited urban-rural contrast of evidence indicates that piglets, possibly males, are the most probable age-group that was marketed.

³²³ O'Connor and Harman *opp. cit.* note 316.

³²⁴ R. Wilson in D. Miles, *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm* (C.B.A. Research Rep. 50, 1986), Fiche VI.

Local medieval economy and town organisation

The predominance of cows in the town slaughtering pattern points to a contrast with the pattern of animal husbandry on possible sites contributing cattle for slaughter, such as Harding's Field, which had an arable farming economy. This economic context, the bone evidence itself, and documentation from a similar arable manor at Cuxham nearby,³²⁵ combine to suggest that oxen outnumbered cows in the cattle kept at Chalgrove.

It is possible that aged, unproductive cows were marketed from such manors in a disproportionate ratio to spent draught oxen, the oxen perhaps being retained longer than the cows, but it seems improbable that the ratio would be sufficiently high to produce the predominance of cow-bones evident at Church Street. In addition, the small numbers of cattle kept and the meat requirements of high-status rural sites would suggest that not many cattle were marketed from arable farms.

This general reasoning suggests that some of the slaughtered town cows came from sites and economies of a different kind. Manors specialising in dairying, arable, and other farming are documented elsewhere,³²⁶ and manorial demesnes will not be the only establishments which kept cattle. The implication from the bone evidence is that dairying husbandry tended to supply most of the cattle killed in Oxford. In turn, this implies that arable husbandry was less prominent than dairying in the vicinity of Oxford, though some oxen appear represented in the urban kill-off.

The abundance of cows slaughtered in Oxford is consistent with the wide spread of meadows along the nearby Thames and Cherwell rivers. Cows may have been kept at manors or lesser farms, but it is also known that town people had grazing and other rights, in particular on Port Meadow, and that cattle, horses, and sheep were pastured there.³²⁷

It therefore appears that the kill-off pattern at Church Street represents in part a town economy which involved 'farm' production as well as consumption. This type of economy contrasts with the tenor of discussion for medieval Lincoln³²⁸ and with the economic distinctions which can be made between most modern farms and urban settlement. A substantial part of local medieval and some post-medieval pastoralism of cattle appears to be a town subsistence economy based on dairying. Port Meadow amounted to 342 acres in 1970 and probably 600 acres in 1086.³²⁹ For comparison, this is ten times greater than the acreage of meadow and 'pasture' listed for the manor at Chalgrove in 1234.³³⁰

Presumably town cattle joined others that were driven into Oxford for sale, or were sold by prior arrangement to butchers. Possibly calves were slaughtered on the tenements.

Another related economic pattern is that, at least around 1640, butchers of Oxford owned or rented much grazing land for stock, particularly cattle bought from elsewhere and fattened or pastured until required, though often for sale outside Oxford in London. Significantly, most butchers claimed to be running dairies on their lands rather than fattening cattle,³³¹ and this might be confirmed by some post-medieval bone measurements indicative of cows. This extended organisation of post-medieval butchery began during the medieval period. In 1403 and later butchers held land in Holywell and at Godstow.³³² These data again support the evidence of trade reorganisation during the late medieval period.

Limited availability of local pasture must largely have contributed to the small size of medieval cattle, and some of the difference in size between the medieval and post-medieval cattle-bones may be related to the increased droving of large cattle from further afield – as well as to breeding and husbandry improvements.

Some immature cattle, presumably one- to three-year-old steers, are part of the earlier medieval kill-off, and the marketing of bullocks from Holywell has been argued.³³³ These younger cattle are characteristic of Church Street and central Oxford but are less obvious for the 12th- and 13th-century kill-off patterns at the Hamel, and at Northampton and Lincoln, and may point to the prosperity of Oxford within the city walls.

The full economic significance of the calf-bones in the later period is uncertain, since they are part of an incompletely observed slaughtering pattern. Although eaten as veal, brawn etc., their presence may still

³²⁵ R. Wilson in P. Page, 'Harding's Field, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire', forthcoming; P.D.A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham 1240-1400 A.D.* (1965).

³²⁶ K. Biddick, Paper on Medieval Livestock Accounts (1978) in *Archaeozoological Studies*, i, ed. M. Kubasiewica, forthcoming.

³²⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi, 279-80.

³²⁸ O'Connor op. cit. note 316.

³²⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi, 279-80.

³³⁰ R. Wilson op. cit. note 325.

³³¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* vi, 113-14.

³³² *Ibid.* 272-3 and 276.

³³³ *Ibid.* 273.

largely reflect the dairying economy which perhaps was altered by pasture availability or enhanced by greater demands for dairy products.

In the Saxon period and less in the post-Conquest, a sizeable proportion of younger sheep, arguably wethers, is present, but may be regarded as a by-product of the growing wool economy and the decline of dairying from sheep. This large fraction suggests the marketing of surplus animals which could not be kept in fodder. It is possible that many of them were marketed from further away and from upland areas better-suited to the keeping of sheep, especially during the later period when there were changes in the breeds of sheep.

As well as the marketing of pigs to Oxford from rural manors, it is probable that they were kept on the tenements; they were certainly reared outside the walls in Holywell by townspeople,³³⁴ but could have been sold for meat or consumed at home in Oxford. The percentage abundance of bones do not suggest an unusual contribution of pig-meat either to Church Street or to the overall town economy. However, if most of the pork, bacon or ham eaten on the tenements originated from pigs reared at home, the contribution to household economy would be of much greater importance when other meat had to be purchased. If pigs were kept, as argued, the abundance of their bones is substantially less than those from the Late Saxon phase of New Inn Court, Oxford, or from the manorial site at Harding's Field, Chalgrove.³³⁵

Site environment and animal habits and habitats

The tenements probably always had a superficial scatter of bone debris about them, but need not necessarily have been odious places since many of the bones seem deliberately dumped in the pits and may have been quickly covered with soil. If human diet was predominantly vegetarian, bone rubbish would not accumulate very fast unless rubbish-pits were used by a wider community. Vegetable and some carcass wastes were probably fed to domestic animals, for example pigs and domestic fowls. In addition, bone data and the dog coprolite examined by James Greig³³⁶ show that other species, especially cats and rats, scavenged exposed remains including bones and cereal debris. Other opportunist feeders probably included foxes, hedgehogs, ravens and crows.

Domestic animals kept on or near the site could have included horses in stables, particularly around the 13th century, though the horse-bones primarily reflect the activity of a horse-knacker. It is possible that one or two cows were kept there too, which could help to explain the presence of the calf-bones, but only if fodder was brought to the site. It is assumed that most town cattle were pastured at least semi-permanently on the meadows, especially Port Meadow about a mile away.

Post-medieval pig-keeping in sites at Church Street is established,³³⁷ and implied above for the medieval period; but it is not readily detectable in the normal bone record, nor is it conclusively proved by a 12th-century skeleton of a piglet. If in the later medieval period some property fell into disuse, the opportunities for pig-keeping would be greater than previously.

Rearing of domestic fowls on the tenements was probably important, but is hard to demonstrate convincingly despite the numerous bones and presence of part skeletons: the latter could still be from purchased carcasses. Alison Locker suggests that most of the bones are from hens and few are of capons and cocks. This suggests a husbandry of egg-laying and possibly the sale of capons.

Domestic geese and ducks might have been kept at Church Street, but this is less probable, since the percentage index of goose indicates that the species was less common than at low-lying sites like the Hamel where waterside and meadowland would suit them and ducks better.³³⁸ A low incidence of pigeon, whether domestic, feral or wild, indicates that these birds were not commonly eaten on the tenements, and that there was no dovecote as at medieval manor-houses like Harding's Field, although one of late Saxon date may have existed at New Inn Hall.³³⁹

Other birds which probably roosted in or near the town include jackdaws, crows and ravens. It is doubtful that storks nested on the houses as large birds were hunted, being in demand for banquets.

In general, feeding, housing or other conditions of domesticated animals appear to have been poor, as indicated by the small size of their bones during the medieval period. Although genetic and other breeding

³³⁴ *Ibid.* 272.

³³⁵ R. Wilson in Halpin *op. cit.* note 205, 68-9; Wilson in Durham *op. cit.* note 321 and in P. Page *op. cit.* note 325.

³³⁶ Medieval fiche report.

³³⁷ R. Wilson in Hassall *et al. op. cit.* note 1, 265-8, M VI A3-F4.

³³⁸ R. Wilson in Palmer *op. cit.* note 73, M 2 F08-F11.

³³⁹ Wilson *op. cit.* note 335.

factors may have contributed to some minor size variability in some species during the medieval period, it is probable that limited fodder is a major cause of the generally small size of animals.

Nevertheless, animal husbandry was probably careful: the incidence of periosteitis does not appear to be as great as at some Iron Age and Roman sites, and most other pathology observed seems minor.

Late Saxon and medieval occupations

The trades of site occupants appear unconnected with the work of normal butchers until around the post-medieval period. Possibly a horse-slaughterer is indicated for the 13th century. The presence of tanners and other users of by-products of the early stages of cattle butchery appears unlikely; in retrospect they appear indicated at the Hamel, Oxford, by 13th-century horn-core groups. Lack of obvious waste from intensive processing of sheep metapodials appears to eliminate the presence of other users or purveyors of animal products such as tallow, candles, soap and glue.

There were at least part-time interests in furs and perhaps other skins provided by hunting and horse slaughtering, but probably not in cattle and sheep hides. A connection with the wool-clip brought to Oxford is neither in evidence nor ruled out.

Townsppeople were involved in the rearing of the larger domestic animals but this may not often apply to Church Street occupants, though self-sufficient activity such as keeping of fowls was probably part of household life. These considerations leave the impression that there were other, possibly substantial, occupational concerns at different levels or sectors of social productivity and different from those at the Hamel.

Diet

The meat eaten on the site appears generally typical of medieval town diet in terms of species presence and availability. Some greater abundance of meat from younger cattle is evident. Eating of venison, other wild game, and pigeon squabs was infrequent though some large, less common and sometimes expensive birds such as swan, crane and stork appear to have been consumed.

The slightly greater presence of deer-bones and the greater abundance of younger sheep in the late Saxon debris could suggest a varied and marginally better diet. Crane was eaten around this time. During the 12th and 13th centuries the relative abundance of beef from younger cattle is more noticeable, but a less discriminating diet for some people, or at certain times, is indicated by at least the possible consumption of cat and horse. In the 14th- and 15th-century groups the percentage of pig is slightly higher than during the 13th century, goose is relatively more abundant, and swan and stork are occasionally present. An improvement in the quality of food is indicated.

More generally, the consumption of birds, fish and oysters appears to decrease during the 12th and 13th centuries and then increase, even into the post-medieval period. Increased exploitation of smaller species, and the killing-off of other species such as deer, crane and stork may indicate a declining level of subsistence.

Site prosperity and social status

In general the bone debris at Church Street is not very similar to that at sites which were occupied by people of high status, political power or wealth. At Ascot Doilly near Wychwood, Middleton Stoney, Deddington Castle, and Harding's Field, the detritus of such people appears often characterised by a noticeable presence of red and fallow deer, an abundance of pig, and the occurrence of birds used of falconry. Pigeon/dove and some of the largest bird species such as peafowl, swan, and crane may also be indicative.³⁴⁰ The incidence of the above species may, however, be partly due to other factors such as how rural resources were managed, and thus rigorous comparisons between town and rural data are difficult to make. Nonetheless there is little bone evidence for people of high social rank at Church Street.

³⁴⁰ M. Jope in E.M. Jope and R.I. Threlfall, 'The Twelfth-Century Castle at Ascot Doilly, Oxfordshire', *Antiquaries Jnl.* xxxiv (1959), 269-70; E.M. Jope and R.I. Threlfall, 'Excavations at Deddington Castle, Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia*, x/xi (1947), 167-96; B. Levitan in S. Rahtz and T. Rowley, *Middleton Stoney, 1970-72* (1984), 108-24.

The scanty presence of species which indicate status or prosperity does not appear unusual among the medieval town sites of Oxford, although there is a greater abundance of pig- and pigeon-bones in the moderate-sized late Saxon sample from New Inn Court. The pattern of slaughtering the cattle may, however, indicate a moderate social level or prosperity for Church Street and other central Oxford sites, as opposed to sites in other towns already mentioned and to peripheral sites in Oxford; the Hamel, and sites in the St. Aldates-Greyfriars area,³⁴¹ which in part appear more directly connected with the processing of cattle and sheep carcasses. Besides the prosperity and status of individuals/households, and the overall organisation of the town, other social factors may be involved such as the independence of the central parts of the town from monastic, manorial or other hierarchical control.

While it appears that some modest prosperity was enjoyed, there were indications of an economic decline into the medieval period at New Inn Court. This is less apparent at Church Street, and the dietary evidence has suggested a fluctuation of better and poorer diet over the 11th to 16th centuries, albeit perhaps at the lower level. With the evidence for fur-processing and perhaps slaughtering of horses, the lowest status and subsistence may have been endured during the 13th century.

Conversely, the 11th and 12th centuries and the 14th and 15th centuries may have been periods of improved prosperity. A further economic decline locally, however, is indicated at the beginning of the post-medieval period by the closer proximity of butchers to Church Street and of tanners to the nearby Greyfriars.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF ST. EBBE'S FROM THE PREHISTORIC PERIODS TO THE DISSOLUTION (Figs. 80-84)

The sparse hints of the earliest history of St. Ebbe's show that the area conformed to the general pattern of prehistoric and Roman settlement on the Summertown-Radley gravel terrace at Oxford. The Beaker sherds and flint flakes and blades from Site A, further unstratified flints from Site D and a small topsoil feature, D III F105, confirm that there was some prehistoric settlement in the area. However, St. Ebbe's lies W. of the concentration of Neolithic material from the area around the present Christ Church,³⁴² E. of the Beaker-period settlement and burial found at The Hamel in St. Thomas' Street,³⁴³ and well to the S. of the linear barrow-cemetery at the University Parks.³⁴⁴ If there was a permanent prehistoric community in St. Ebbe's it would have been able to enjoy the classic resources of the Upper Thames Valley of south-facing, well-drained, and light soils sloping down to the Trill Mill stream, and the meadow-land and pasture on the islands on the flood-plains of the Thames. The situation would have been comparable to the prehistoric site excavated at Farmoor.³⁴⁵

In the Roman period there is again no evidence for actual settlement in St. Ebbe's. The Roman building materials from Site A indicate the presence of Roman occupation nearby, but the nearest presumed road, which would have linked the known settlements in N. Oxford to the ford at North Hinksey, must have passed to the N. of St. Ebbe's.³⁴⁶

The grass-tempered and hard sandy wares from A F53 and F144 (although residual), and the ditch F502, indicate some occupation in St. Ebbe's in the period

³⁴¹ R. Wilson in Hassall et al. op. cit. note 1, 265-8, M VI A3-F4; R. Wilson in Durham op. cit. note 300, 77, M I F02; R. Wilson in Palmer op. cit. note 73, M 2 F08-F11.

³⁴² D. Sturdy, 'Recent Excavations in Christ Church and Nearby', *Oxoniensia*, xxvi-xxvii (1961-2), 19-37.

³⁴³ Palmer op. cit. note 73, 128-34.

³⁴⁴ Hassall op. cit. note 92, 117; D.R. Wilson, *Air Photo Interpretation for Archaeologists* (1982), 62-3.

³⁴⁵ G. Lambrick and M. Robinson, *Iron Age and Roman Riverside Settlements at Farmoor, Oxfordshire* (C.B.A. Research Rep.32, 1979).

³⁴⁶ T.G. Hassall, 'Roman Finds from the Radcliffe Science Library Extension, Oxford, 1970-71', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii (1972), 46-7.

500-700. By the 8th century St. Ebbe's would have formed a distant corner of a Mercian royal estate whose centre may already have been to the E. across the Cherwell, at Headington. Early in the 8th century the Mercian princess Frideswide established a monastic church on the site of the later Oxford Cathedral, whose 9th-century graveyard has been found.³⁴⁷ The line of St. Aldates, the street which ran down to the series of Thames crossings, was established forming a bridgehead between Mercia and Wess-
ex.³⁴⁸

It is conceivable that the N.-S. ditch from Site A, A F502, and its possible N. continuation in Westgate, W F87, could be associated either with St. Frideswide's monastery or with the mid-Saxon settlement that presumably developed at its gate. It has been suggested elsewhere that A F502 was the W. defence of a Mercian *burh* laid out to defend the bridgehead associated with the development of the Thames crossing,³⁴⁹ but on present evidence the suggestion, however attractive, can only remain as speculation.

With the establishment of the Late Saxon *burh* at Oxford the story of St. Ebbe's becomes an integral part of the development of the town, and the area of the excavations can be seen more closely in the wider context of the development of Oxford as a whole (Figs. 80-81). The most tantalising question relates to the position of the W. and S. defences of the town. The St. Ebbe's excavations could reasonably have been expected to provide the answers, and it was in the context of the search for the W. defences that ditch A F502 was first interpreted as the 10th-century defensive line.³⁵⁰ This suggestion could only be supported if Church Street was not, as is argued above, part of the original street-grid and thus contemporary with the defences. But the St. Ebbe's evidence now points to the original defences lying W. of the Section W F73. This suggestion is supported by the evidence both from 39-40 George Street, where examination between 1977 and 1982 located the position of the N.W. corner of the *burh*, and from Bulwarks Lane, which points strongly to the line of the *burh* defence following the line of the later castle moat:³⁵¹ the digging of the moat c. 1071 would have incorporated the *burh* ditch. In the 14th century, tenements (SW86 and 162) in the area between the castle moat and the main *insula* of St. Ebbe's properties are described as lying on 'le montes'.³⁵² It is tempting to suppose that 'le montes' were the last remnants of the *burh* rampart, but they are more plausibly associated with either the earthworks of the castle or its barbican.

There is even less direct evidence for the S. defences at this point. It is now known that the N. rampart definitely consisted of a gravel bank, laced with timbers, with a timber palisade at the front, which was subsequently replaced in stone.³⁵³ No trace of any feature fitting this description was discovered on the line of the later 13th-century wall. Indeed, the evidence from Site D shows clearly that the early defence was not on this line, even though traces of what appeared to be the original rampart have been

³⁴⁷ T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1972, Fifth Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii (1973), 270-4; T.G. Hassall, *Oxford the Buried City*, (1987), 13; C. Scull et al., 'Excavations in the Cloister of St. Frideswide's Priory', *Oxoniensia*, liii (1988), 60-2; Blair op. cit. note 74, 233.

³⁴⁸ Durham op. cit. note 80, 43-203.

³⁴⁹ J. Haslam, *Early Medieval Towns in Britain c. 700 to 1140* (Shire, 1985), 20, 46.

³⁵⁰ T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1970, Third Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvi (1971), 3-6.

³⁵¹ B. Durham, C. Halpin and N. Palmer, 'Oxford's Northern Defences: Archaeological Studies, 1971-1982', *Oxoniensia*, xlviii (1983), 18-23, 29-30.

³⁵² Salter op. cit. note 4, 75-6.

³⁵³ Durham, Halpin and Palmer op. cit. note 351, 14-8; T.G. Hassall, *Oxford: the Buried City* (1987), 17.

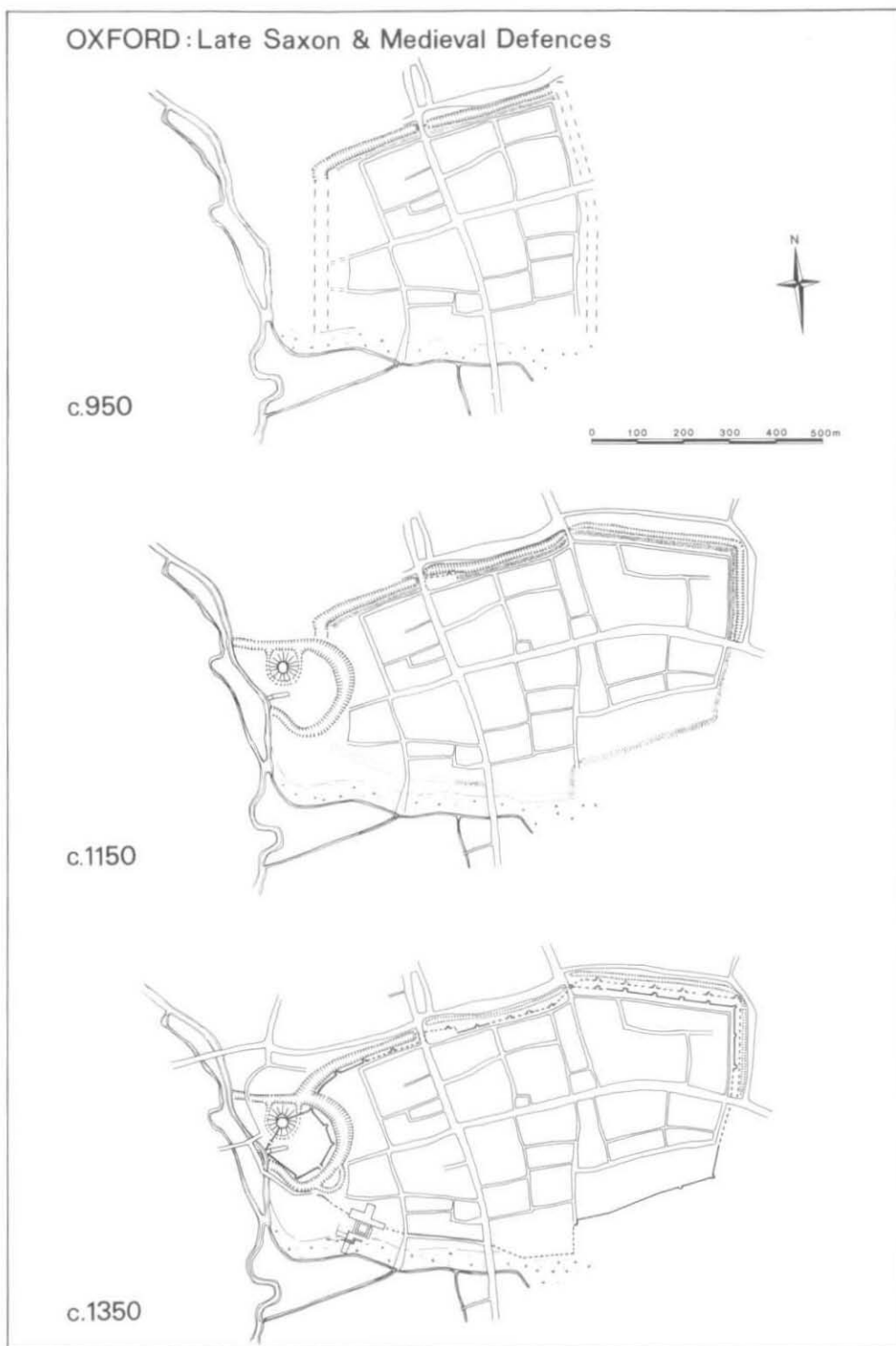


Fig. 80. Oxford, Late Saxon and Medieval Defences.

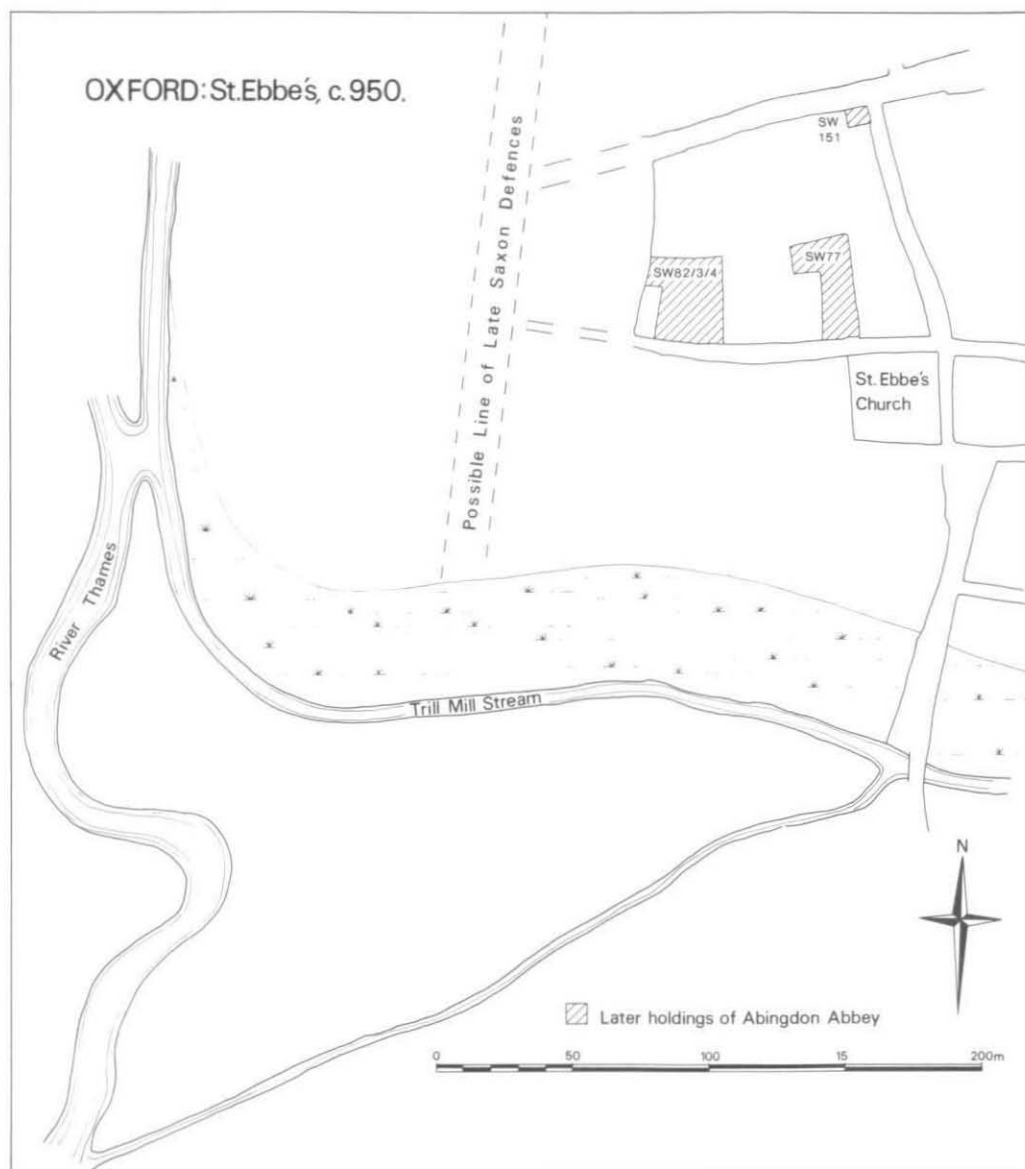


Fig. 81. St. Ebbes c. 950.

found on the later line further to the E., in Pembroke College.³⁵⁴ Either there was no S. rampart in St. Ebbe's and the Trill Mill stream was considered a sufficient obstacle, or alternatively the rampart followed the N. bank of the stream and was simply not seen in the excavations.

The street-pattern of St. Ebbe's is more certain. Castle Street with its impressive early metalling formed part of the E.-W. axis of the *burh* which was laid out c. 911 (Figs. 80-81). Presumably it extended further to the W. and passed through the defences at an original Westgate. If the line of the street did not deviate it would have crossed the Castle Mill stream at the site of the later Castle Bridge. A W. projection of this line would have joined the Hamel rather than St. Thomas' Street. However, it is presumed that Castle Bridge was built after the construction of the castle, and that the original W. crossing was at Quaking Bridge.

It seems probable that an intra-mural street followed the inside line of the W. rampart from Castle Street at least as far as Church Street. A N. continuation of this street is suggested by the later Saxon occupation subsequently found in Bulwarks Lane.³⁵⁵ The putative intra-mural street could have continued down towards Trill Mill stream and then turned eastwards to join up with Brewer Street. This must remain pure speculation since no street-surfaces were found.

The lowest metalling of Church Street suggests that it was also laid out at the same time as Castle Street. If this inference is correct, then from the early 10th century St. Ebbe's would have been divided into two rectangular *insulae* (Figs. 80-81).

The excavations show that the northern *insula* was more densely occupied at first, with a marked concentration of Late Saxon pits along the Castle Street frontage which was presumably occupied before the Church Street frontage. No internal boundaries were recovered and indeed it is more likely that the *insula* would have formed part of one, or perhaps two, very large urban estates which were only later sub-divided. This suggestion is supported by a reference to the *curia* ('court') containing St. Ebbe's church in the southern *insula* which was given to Eynsham Abbey c. 1005.³⁵⁶ Apart from pit D III F108 on Site D, no archaeological evidence survived of this 'court', which was one of the identifiable *mansiones murales* of Domesday Book. The dedication of the church to the little-known 7th-century Northumbrian saint Æbba is itself curious and has been connected with the 10th-century translation of St. Oswald, Æbba's brother, to Gloucester.³⁵⁷

It is possible that Abingdon Abbey's property-interests in SW78, 84 and 151 may reflect something of the original land-holding in the N. *insula*.³⁵⁸ No trace of any late Saxon buildings was found in St. Ebbe's, but the rapid build-up of Castle Street implies not only heavy use of the street itself, but much activity in the neighbourhood, not least caused by the excavation of gravel for the street surfaces. Church Street by contrast was a backwater.

Major changes were brought about by the building of the castle in 1071 (Figs. 80, 82). As suggested above, the presumed W. *burh* rampart would have been dug away by the castle moat, and the castle itself would have supplied the gap left in the W. defences. Presumably the S. end of the rampart towards Trill Mill stream would have survived, as

³⁵⁴ T.G. Hassall, 'Pembroke College', *C.B.A. Group 9 Newsletter*, 4 (1974), 23.

³⁵⁵ Durham, Halpin and Palmer op. cit. note 351, 29-30.

³⁵⁶ *Eynsham Cartulary*, ed. H.E. Salter, (O.H.S., xlix, 1906-7), p. viii, 36.

³⁵⁷ F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, ii (1899), 395.

³⁵⁸ C.J. Bond, 'The Reconstruction of the Medieval Landscape: The Estates of Abingdon Abbey', *Landscape History*, i (1979), 59-75.

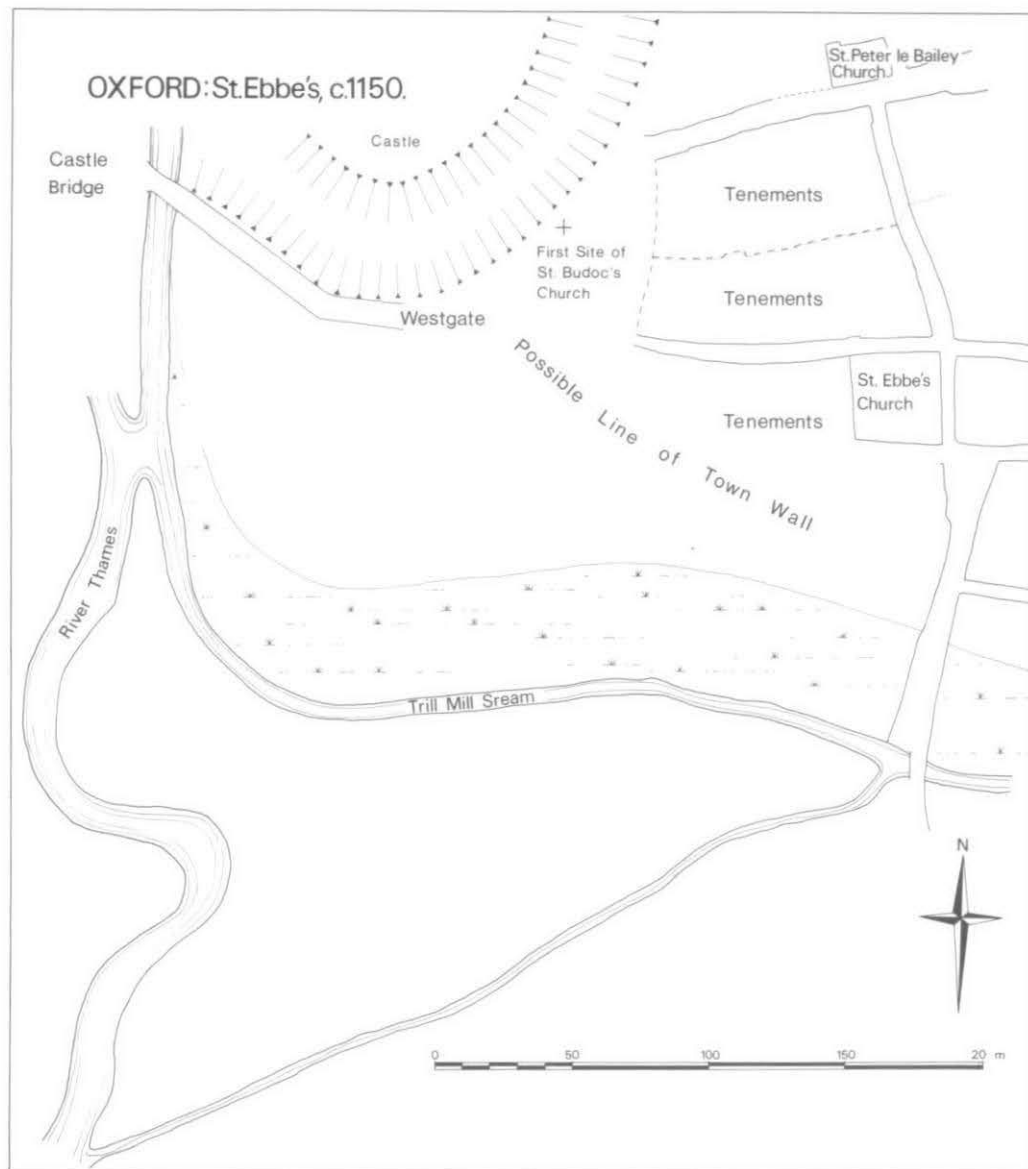


Fig. 82. St. Ebbe's c. 1150.

well as whatever arrangements existed for the southern line of the defences. The original entrance to the town was presumably moved to the medieval position of the Westgate, although this gate may have been moved again in 1215/16 when the barbican was built.³⁵⁹ If the gate is in its original 11th-century location, it is possible that this marked the position of the W. rampart. The street-pattern was presumably altered after 1071, although in part using the W. intra-mural street, to retain a link between Castle Street, Church Street and the new western exit of the town over Castle Bridge. The pits in Castle Street and Church Street may reflect the general disruption experienced by St. Ebbe's at this time.

In the 12th century St. Ebbe's shows every sign of prosperity. Finds from Site A indicate that, in common with the rest of Oxford, the textile trade and leather-working were very important. There are the faint indications that the N. *insula* was being sub-divided. The main E.-W. property boundary, which was also to be the parish boundary between St. Ebbe's and St. Peter-le-Bailey, may already have been in existence (Fig. 82);³⁶⁰ it certainly was by the early 13th century.³⁶¹ The church of St. Peter-le-Bailey itself was in existence by 1122,³⁶² while the church of St. Budoc is recorded by 1166.³⁶³ The Breton dedication of this church, combined with the archaeological evidence, implies that this church was a post-Conquest and possibly an early 12th-century foundation. It is not known where its parish boundary ran, but Salter suggested that it reached as far east as SW161.³⁶⁴

During the early years of the 13th century there were further major upheavals. In 1215/16 the W. end of the N. *insula* together with St. Budoc's church was cleared away to make way for the barbican built by Faukes de Breauté.³⁶⁵ The church was then rebuilt outside the Westgate. The W. end of the N. *insula* was presumably finally defined at this time, although Salter identified the two tenements described as on 'le Montes' (SW86 and 162) as being in the open space adjacent to the barbican.

The S. *insula* was now occupied by tenements. At Site D buildings appeared on the street-frontage after a period of gravel quarrying. However, these tenements were interrupted by the building of the free-standing stone town wall adjacent to both the Westgate and Littlegate. This wall was presumably intended to provide a defence extending continuously between both gates, although its foundations were not found under the Greyfriars church. At its W. end there may have been a street (W F95) inside the wall but there was certainly no evidence for the street 'under the wall' by Littlegate.

The coming of the Greyfriars in 1224 introduced another major upheaval in the topography of St. Ebbe's. From their modest beginnings they gradually acquired tenements S. of Church Street. The first excavated church was built across the line of the wall (Fig. 83), and the excavations amply demonstrated how the church was consistently added to (Fig. 84). The presence of the Greyfriars not only added an important new element to the permanent residents of St. Ebbe's, but also would have generated a stream of students and visitors. The Penitentiary Friars were established outside the Westgate by 1262, and acquired the second church of St. Budoc in 1265.³⁶⁶

³⁵⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1227-31*, 350; *Ibid. 1234-7*, 71.

³⁶⁰ See p. 129.

³⁶¹ See p. 120.

³⁶² *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 401.

³⁶³ *Ibid.* 376.

³⁶⁴ Salter *op. cit.* note 4, 127.

³⁶⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls* *opp. cit.* note 359.

³⁶⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 149-50.

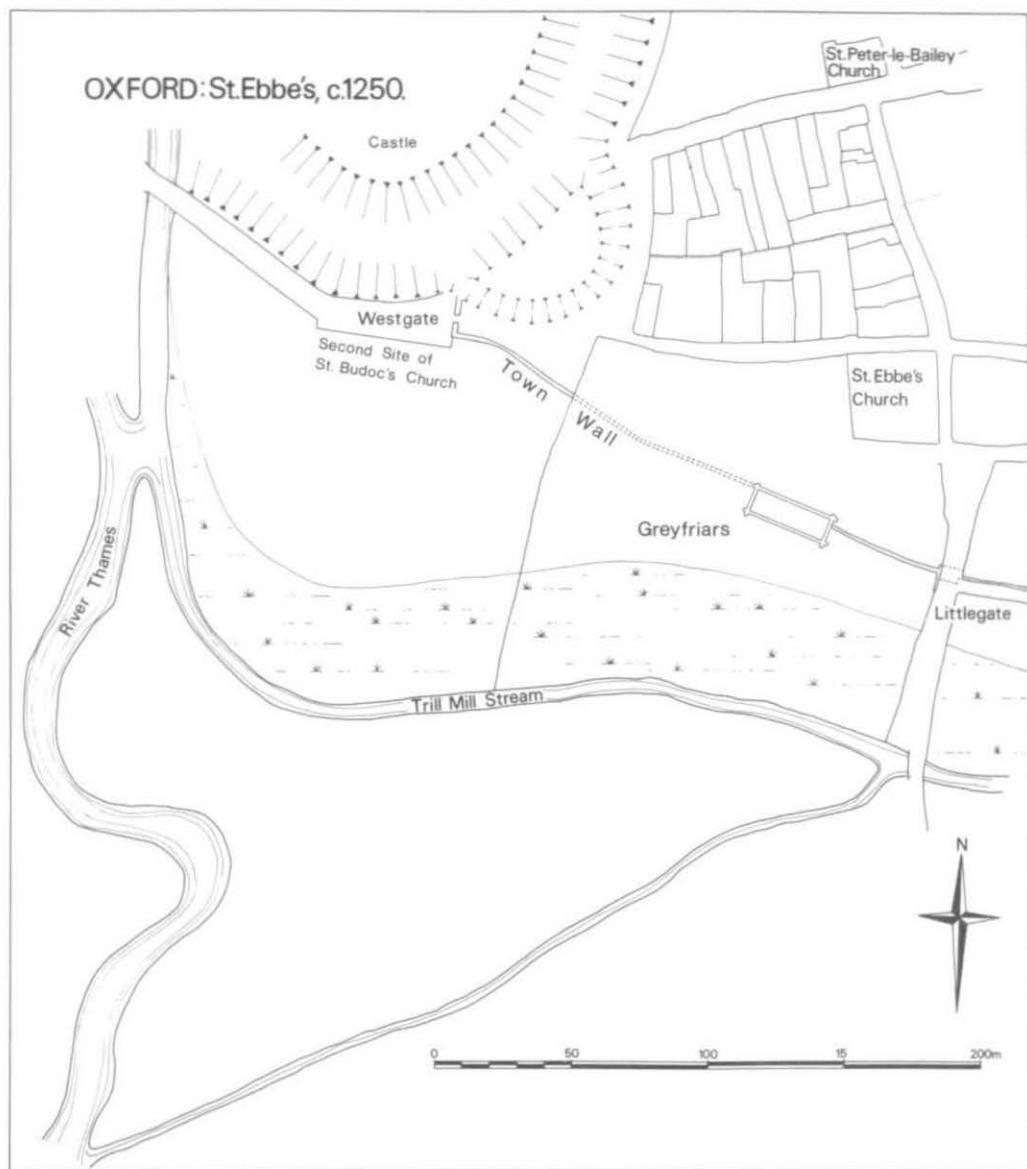


Fig. 83. St. Ebbe's c. 1250.

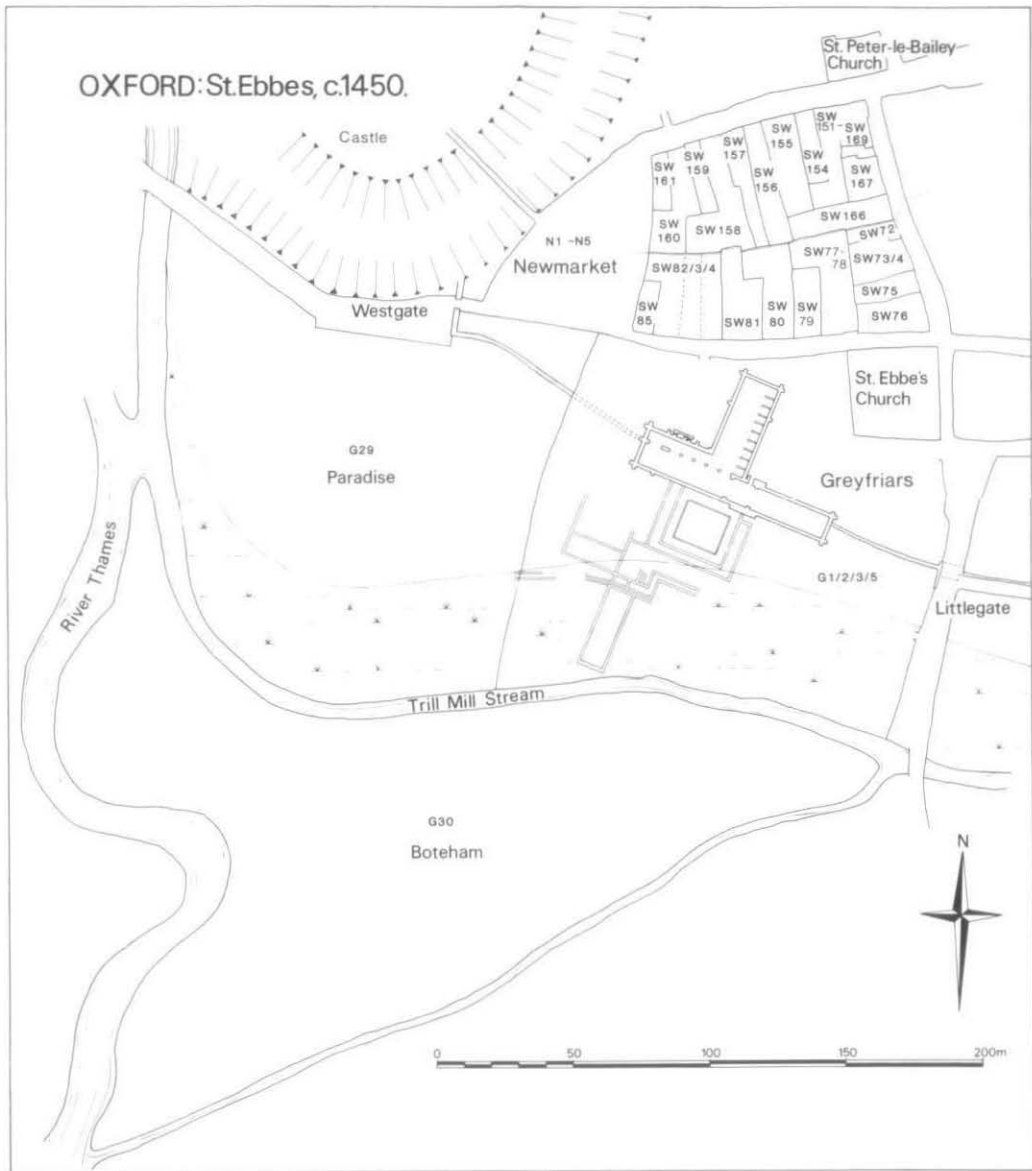


Fig. 84. St. Ebbe's c. 1450.

By the second half of the 13th century the tenement pattern in the N. *insula* was complete (Fig. 83). Timber-framed buildings with clay roof-tiles were probably now the norm. Their owners and occupiers were involved in service industries, including providing accommodation for small numbers of students in a few academic halls.

By the 14th century St. Ebbe's would have been dominated by the Greyfriars, whose conventual buildings had now spread N. and S. of the wall, and also included a possible granary or barn on St. Ebbe's Street.³⁶⁷ The expansion of the church, reflecting both the popularity of the Greyfriars and their important role within the University, presumably continued up until the Black Death in 1348. St. Ebbe's would have suffered like the rest of Oxford, but although there is evidence of the late medieval desertion of properties there was no total abandonment. However, the number of rubbish- and cess-pits declines and the few stone-lined, reusable pits, for example A F59, suggest both a higher standard of living and a concern for hygiene not apparent in earlier periods.

By the 15th century the castle was of little significance, and the area once occupied by the barbican became available for use as a market-place, Newmarket (N 162/3).³⁶⁸ This market is first recorded in 1420 and its establishment is really the only indication of prosperity in St. Ebbe's at this time. The Newmarket was no longer used by 1532.

By the 16th century St. Ebbe's would have presented a run-down appearance. Apart from the Castle Street frontage the back land would have only contained scattered houses and open gardens, 31-34 Church Street, Site A, having scarcely a third of its frontage developed. South of Church Street the Greyfriars church was already in a state of disrepair. Just as in the 1960s, pre-Dissolution St. Ebbe's was ripe for development. The Dissolution and the upsurge of the economy of the area in the 17th century were to transform St. Ebbe's, a process which is described in Part II of this report.³⁶⁹

The Society is grateful to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission and the W.A. Pantin Trust for grants towards the publication of this paper.

³⁶⁷ See p. 140.

³⁶⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 307.

³⁶⁹ Hassall et al. *op. cit.* note 1.