The Clarendon Hotel, Oxford

PART I. THE SITE

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In 1954-5 the Clarendon Hotel in Cornmarket was pulled down, and during the process Mr. W. A. Pantin was able to recover much evidence of the structural history of the medieval and later inns on the site, which he describes below (pp. 84ff). The Clarendon Hotel wine-cellar was recognized as a 12th century and medieval vaulted structure, emphasizing the need for precise investigation of the underground aspects of this site near the heart of Saxon and medieval Oxford, and this was pursued, as far as opportunity allowed, through-out the work on foundation digging into 1957. The work suffers from many limitations, though due to the efforts of a number of people as they happened to be available, some valuable data were obtained on the earlier history of Oxford, especially of the 11th and 12th centuries.

The site was prepared for the new building by sinking a grid of pits mostly 15 ft. square or larger, and virtually no work was possible in the areas between. These squares are indicated on the site plan, Fig. 1, and referred to throughout by ciphers A1, A2, etc. They were dug by labourers, the spoil being removed by crane and bucket, and many were sunk far below the surface of the natural gravel to remove the soft fillings of ancient features such as pits and wells. The natural subsoil here and under much of central Oxford is gravel of the Summertown-Radley terrace.

A little planned archaeological work proved possible: this was supervised

1 We are grateful to Messrs. Woolworth & Co., Ltd., and their employees for the help they gave us in our investigations. They have also generously contributed to the cost of publishing this report. The Ministry of Works bore by far the greater part of the cost of the archaeological excavations, and made a substantial contribution towards publication. All concerned express their appreciation to Mr. P. K. Baillie Reynolds, Chief Inspector, Mr. J. R. C. Hamilton and other officials of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings, and to Mr. D. B. Harden, then Keeper of Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum. I should like also to express my thanks to his successor, Mr. R. W. Hamilton, for allowing free use of the facilities of the Department during the preparation of the report and particularly for allowing Mrs. M. E. Cox to make for it a number of her fine drawings; and to my colleague Mr. D. M. Waterman for reading the proof and his valued comments.
by Mr. Brian Hope-Taylor (sections under 12th century vault), Mr. John Alexander (D1), and Mr. Kenneth Marshall (D1 west and D2). I excavated what was possible in A1 and B1 during the Easter vacation 1955, removal of the bottom filling of the well B1 being finally watched by Mr. David Sturdy, who performed invaluable service over the rest of the site, the recovering of the data from which being largely due to his efforts. The descriptions of squares A3-5, C1-3 and D6 are based on his notes, and he was able to make partial records on other squares. Mr. H. J. Case and Miss J. R. Kirk (Mrs. David Clarke) also recovered a considerable amount of data from the site, amid their many other duties.

It was felt that the main interest of the site lay in its Late Saxon and 12th century structures, and the available effort was largely concentrated on these features, to present a sample area of buildings with their yards and gardens near the heart of the early town, which might clarify some aspects of Saxon and Domesday topography. The work showed that the Late Saxon structures extended at least some 8-10 ft. eastwards under the modern street, and that Saxon Cornmarket was thus much narrower. The buildings may have been arranged irregularly, perhaps detached, some not even precisely aligned to the street. Almost nothing has been directly learnt of the earlier structures above ground however, though they must have been of timber and daub. They can only be traced through their cellars and pits, and these are not always necessarily aligned with the buildings; moreover, it is rarely possible to show what among these pits and cellars were exactly contemporary.

About the mid-12th century a vaulted stone structure was built and this seems to have been the beginning of the medieval large tenements, with the continuous street frontage maintained with little alteration through the middle ages to the present day. This left the wide open street space which came to be used at least by the 13th century for regularized marketing.

By levelling and preparing new surfaces the general ground level had by the later middle ages been raised to nearly the present road level, and it has been cut into by later pits, wells, basements and foundation trenches.

The stratified sequences of pottery from the pits, cellars and wells, especially in B1, are valuable, and strengthen the dating significance of certain well-known local types such as glazed tripod pitchers (introduced c. A.D. 1120). There is also a wider range than before suspected of pottery imported from the country some 50-100 miles away to the north-east. The 12th century leather shoes are of outstanding interest.

\^ The term 'Late Saxon' is used here to cover roughly the 10th and 11th centuries. It can thus include material perhaps made in the decades after 1066 which is nevertheless indistinguishable from the Saxon tradition.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

The limitations of the present work are serious, largely due to inadequate previous planning and site supervision. Hardly anywhere was it possible to do any horizontal clearing of significant levels or to reconstruct details of the cellars, wells and pits in three dimensions. Thus we still know little of the 11th and 12th century structures above ground, nor as much as could have been learnt about the 11th century topography of this important site.

These problems of structure and topography seem to be the most vital ones which still require serious investigation; but we also need more information about 10th century Oxford. The latter must come initially through an ability to recognize material of that period, which may then make identification of structures possible. Concerning the 11th and 12th century structures, the sections in some squares show to what a surprising extent the original gravel surface and even some layers above it have been left unmolested by medieval and later basement digging, so that an opportunity for horizontal clearance should yield data on vertical timbers. This is by contrast with London, where these layers between the Roman and 17th century seem no longer to exist except as fragments. Oxford could thus have provided a picture complementary to that from London.

This was one of the larger digging operations into the accumulation of intensively occupied soil in the heart of Saxon Oxford, and it was most unfortunate that research on the site was not carefully planned and arranged with the owners well before demolition was started. Much forethought must be given to the planning of research on such sites within or near the medieval walls, otherwise evidence of great value to the early history of Oxford (then one of the major towns of England) will be lost; this is a serious matter as there are now few sites remaining where such an opportunity might be repeated. It is thus essential that excavations shall in future be conducted archaeologically in conjunction with any new constructional work within or near the walled area, even if this costs money. It is evident that such work requires supervision by one person who is responsible for the whole operation, including working out of details, the study of the material, and the writing of the final report. It is most gratifying to be able to record that these requirements were

3 This Oxford work thus compares rather unfavourably with work on some other town areas, such as that at Canterbury (Archaeologia Cantiana, lxxi (1947), 1-45; lxxvii (1954), 101-143), or particularly on the Roman levels in London (W. F. Grimes, Chap. vi in Recent Archaeological Excavations (ed. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 1956).

4 W. F. Grimes, in Recent Archaeological Excavations (1956), 113.


It seems that a similarly interesting picture was presented by the preparation of the ground for the Examination Schools in High St. in 1876, though no details, plans or sections have been preserved. Archaeologia Oxoniensis (1892-3), 7-14; 269.
General site plan, showing squares excavated, and differentiating Late Saxon and 12th century features
amply met in the arrangements for work at Seacourt on the site of the western by-pass, carried out at Easter 1958 by Mr. Martin Biddle, of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

**Late Saxon Topography** (General site plan, FIG. 1 ; Section and plan of street-front, FIGS. 2-3 ; plan and section of 12th century vault, FIG. 4)

The Late Saxon occupation of the site, as evidenced by cellars, pits and wells, was fairly intensive in a broad strip along the Cornmarket front. The site gave an opportunity, rarely afforded, of exploring in under the street beyond the present building line, excavation data being supplemented by a long auger used horizontally. This work showed that the Late Saxon square cellar-pits of the 11th century extended at least 8-10 ft. east beyond the present building front into what is now the street. If the same were true on the other side (and there is a hint that it was, see below, p. 74), then the 11th century street must have been only about 20 ft. broad as compared with the present 40 ft. This may be compared with a stretch of road surface 14 ft. wide excavated by Group-Capt. G. M. Knocker at Thetford; otherwise little seems known of Saxon town street widths.

About the middle of the 12th century the building line, at any rate where the vault was built, seems to have been taken back to about 4 ft. behind the present position (which is the result of building down from upper oversailing storeys; see p. 111ff.). We do not know how uniform a process was this 12th century retraction of the building line, nor indeed that it really meant a widening of the thoroughfare, though in the 12th century Cornmarket was known as 'magnus vicus Oxen'. Some tenements may have had enclosures in front of them, much as some colleges had in later times (e.g. St. John's still, and once Balliol), and owners were allowed to set up stalls in front of their houses. By the later 13th century Cornmarket, Queen Street and High Street were assigned in detail for the selling of various merchandise, and as Cornmarket had the stalls for selling Corn down the centre, as well as for other goods along the sides, considerable breadth would by then have been needed. Although in medieval times encroachments on the street were dealt with seriously, the division between properties on opposite sides of the street was considered for

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5a Mr. Brian Hope-Taylor argues below (p. 19), from a wealth of experience, that the pits he excavated below the vault were latrine pits. But this is not necessarily the function of all the rectilinear pits on the site. Some pits, especially those with clay lining or with small shallower extensions, were probably storage cellars; similar structures elsewhere have been shown to be such, even without timber lining (e.g. Southampton, *Proc. Hants. F.C.*, xix (1955), 68-9, and information from Mr. D. M. Waterman : Pevensey, *Antig. J.*, xxxviii (1958), 205-7; at Norwich and Thetford, *Norfolk Archael.*, xxxi (1952), 16; cf. *Köln. Jahrb.* ii (1956) 62, for timbered structures).


some purposes as the gutter down the centre, and setting back the building line must have been largely at the will of individual owners, possibly with a lead from the more influential ones such as Oseney Abbey. How the change came about such that the full width of the street became considered as the property of the town is not clear.

These pits and cellars of the 11th century are roughly aligned with the direction of Cornmarket, though some are set slightly skew, and the street front was probably irregular, even more so than in later times. They were set two or three deep extending to about 70 ft. back from the estimated Saxon street front (rows 1 and 2), and were not arranged regularly along E-W lines, but staggered. This suggests detached buildings over each cellar rather than a long range extending back from the street, though we know nothing from the excavation to confirm this conjecture about the plans of these houses.

In row 3, up to 100 ft. back from the estimated Saxon street front, the only Late Saxon structures were unlined wells, which were probably in open backyards, though they must have had well-head shelters.

No Late Saxon cellars, pits or wells were identified to the west of the squares of row 3, and the few sporadic finds of Late Saxon types of pottery from this area need be no more than stray sherds littered about the site generally. Possible exceptions were in the well in A4 and the rectangular pit in D6 (both filled c. 1100), and perhaps features in Z. Very incomplete records were obtained for Z, but it produced much pottery, among which only three pieces of St. Neot’s ware were noted (Z1), though there were a number of large pieces of vessels (hardly stray sherds: e.g. Z4, Z5; cp. Z2) reminiscent of many among the pre-1071 material from under the Oxford castle mound especially in their simple rim-flanges with slanting working-lines on the outside, and faint finger-tip impressions. Thus it seems possible that there were habitations on the back part of this site before the end of the 11th century, though we do not yet know how long these features of the late Saxon pottery tradition remained current (but see p. 45).

H. E. Salter suggested that in the late 12th century the blind alley Bodin’s Lane (now Frewin Court, then Venella abbatis de Oseney) was made to open up this space for buildings. But the evidence of the pottery from Z, and even more of the wells and pits (hardly cellars) in A4, A5, B7, D6 and D7 suggest that it was already being developed for building in the late 11th and early 12th centuries.

8 Ibid., 86-7.
9 Oxoniensia, xvii/xviii (1952/3), 77-111.
10 Cart. Oseney, i (1929), 51, cp. 71.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

Thus, Late Saxon structures appear to have been built on a strip about 70 ft. wide along the Cornmarket front. Behind them, for a space of at least 150 ft., there were no structures, and the land must have been open plots. Building was probably begun on this space during the later 11th century.

This is the first time we have evidence concerning the layout and density of 11th century structures over a fair-sized area in Oxford. It was an important quarter near the centre of the Saxon town, yet the properties along the Cornmarket seem to have had a fair open area of yard or garden each some 150 ft. long, at the back, behind buildings extending some 70 ft. away from the street. Street-frontages of property holdings in 11th-12th century Oxford seem to vary between at least 20 ft. to 50 ft. On the basis of plots about 200 ft. deep with an average street frontage of 25 ft., it would be possible to include within the area of the town the 1000-odd tenements of the Domesday record (951 or 1023), giving each one roughly the proportions of open yard or garden as seen on the Clarendon Hotel site. These tenements could have been accommodated along twelve north-south building lines and four east-west lines, which late Saxon Oxford might reasonably have had, though not arranged quite with simple regularity.

As the 11th century cellar lines do not seem to coincide with those of the 12th century vault (see below, page 8), a reorganization of individual building divisions was probably carried out when Osney developed its newly acquired property here during the second half of the 12th century. This warns us that the earlier tenement divisions may not always be derivable in detail by arguing back from medieval or later documents and plans. Excavation data of the kind provided here are clearly necessary.

Original Gravel Surface and Early Street and Forecourt Levels (Section along street-front, FIG. 2; section of C1, FIG. 6)

Near Cornmarket undisturbed gravel lay about 8 ft. below the present street level. Mr. Alexander’s observations on D1 have shown that over the top of the bedded gravel lay about 1 ft. of weathered gravel, and that from this level the Late Saxon cellars and wells had been dug. By the 12th century the occupation level had been made up about 1 ½ ft. (e.g. in B1). While the top of the natural gravel was 2 ft. lower in D1, this may be a local hollow, as it was the normal 8 ft. down in D1 west and D2.

Probably Cornmarket once sloped steadily down towards Carfax; although it is difficult to believe that the original surface was there as deep as 14 ft. ; the
PLAN OF A1 AND B1

Fig. 3 Plan of squares A1, B1 and pits under vault
We have no data on the level of the narrow Saxon street surface. It may have stood above the level of the house floors. The street level implied by St. Michael's Church 11th century tower is only about 2 ft. below the present street level, though this might reflect the natural slope of the gravel terrace, over which the medieval levels became raised southwards towards Carfax.

Evidence is available only for the forecourt levels in front of the medieval buildings. In B1 the forecourt must have been as high as 4 ft. 3 ins. below the level of the modern pavement by c. 1150-70, when the stone vault was built (see fig. 2). The evidence from C1 suggests that by about the 16th century the level corresponding to the forecourt had reached about 1 ft. 6 ins. below the level of the modern pavement (see below, pages 23, 4) and this was probably so in B1. More data is needed on these earlier forecourt and street levels.

Late Saxon Cellars (General site plan, fig. 1; Section and plans along street-front, figs. 2 and 3; Sections of pit under vault, fig. 4; pls. i and iv)

Remains of nine Late Saxon cellars were observed, dug about 6 ft. down from the natural gravel surface. These were roughly square or rectangular in plan, with rounded corners. They had vertical sides, which were in some cases seen to be smeared with grey sandy clay, the finger marks being still visible. No traces of timber lining were observed; these cellars were dug into a fairly

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hard bedded gravel and the sides do not seem to have needed shoring, though veins and lenses of sand as in A1 must have been weak points.

In B1A a small shallow extension probably represents the way down. Cut steps were noted in what were evidently comparable cellars on the Examination Schools site in High Street in 1876. The rotten remnant of possibly a wooden ladder was found in A1.

No clue as to the purpose of these cellars came from the excavation of their filling, which was often soft with much ash and black slime, and burnt daub with wattle marks, the remains of the houses raised above them. They were presumably cellars for storage, and evidence for this comes from comparable cellars at Hamwih, Southampton. Other comparable Late Saxon or medieval pits which were perhaps cellars have been observed at Thetford and Canterbury.

The sides of these Oxford cellars were unweathered and they must have been covered. No clues were found of the house superstructures or ground plans, except the holes for three 5 inch circular posts beside B1A about 1 foot from the cellar side, and the daub with wattle marks which was probably from their walls. At Old Windsor the relation of such pits to the walls of the buildings above has been shown in much greater detail.

Wells (General site plan, FIG. 1; plan and section along street-front, FIGS. 2 and 3; plan and section of D1 west and D2, FIG. 7; PL. 1)

About five wells on this site appear to have been of Late Saxon date. They were all more or less circular without stone or timber lining. B1B had its sides carefully smeared with grey sandy clay, as the cellar A1B, and must have had a well-head shelter or timber retaining at the top. In none, except possibly B1B, was any evidence of a drop-board found at the bottom; in several (D2) the very shape of the bottom, with a hollow in the centre, suggested that there had been no drop-board. These wells appear to have been filled in deliberately and were perhaps used for a while as rubbish pits when partly filled. The life of such unlined wells in the gravel could hardly have been more than about 30 to 40 years.

The later wells, 12th and 13th century, were similar and unlined.

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W. A. PANTIN

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14 Archaeologia Oxoniensis (1892-5), 7-14; cp. 269-72.
15 Cp. one in a pit at Lewes, Sussex; Antig. J., xxxviii (1958), 205-7, 211-13; see p. 11 below.
18 Contrast the elaborately timber-lined medieval wells at Lund (R. Blomquist, in Kulturen (1935), 173-210), or Haedebu (H. Jankuhn, Haithabu 1937-9 (1943), 43ff.).
19 These wells are comparable with those described by Mr. Bruce Mitford on the New Bodleian site, where he suggests 30 years: Oxoniensis, iv (1939), 93-5.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

DESCRIPTIONS OF SQUARES DUG OUT

Al (General site plan, fig. 1; plan and section along street-front, figs. 2-3; pl. 1)

Remains of four pits (A1A-D) were seen, late one evening after the contractor's workmen had finished. These were excavated against time in failing light, and completed by artificial lighting and at sunrise next morning. It is sad to have to record that in the absence of any planned programme of research, almost the whole of these interesting structures had been dug out without any archaeological observation. A little hint of the extent of soft fillings was obtained from the workmen.

A1A (Finds: pottery, p. 61) was revealed at its S.W. corner where the gravel side of Al had fallen away. It extended out under the road and was therefore of vital importance as showing the narrower street width of Cornmarket in Saxon Oxford. Sufficient of it was excavated (undercutting the pavement) to show its character—evidently a rectangular cellar with the usual rounded corners and vertical sides. It had a soft ashy and black slimy filling similar to A1B but with more stone rubble, and produced some sherds of St. Neot's type and ordinary cooking pot at random through the lower 4 ft. of the filling.

A1B (Finds: pottery, pp. 39, 61, fig. 10; bone, fig. 25; animal bones, pp. 79-80; building materials, p. 78). The southern 2 ft. of this cellar was seen in section (pl. iv) at the end of a working day and excavated that evening. Fortunately sufficient remained of the bottom of the N.E. corner of A1B to give its shape, presumably a cellar about 8 ft. square with vertical sides, dug 7 ft. into the natural gravel, its bottom about 15 ft. below the level of the modern pavement. The filling was soft and surprisingly loose, a jumble of black slimy material interspersed with red remains of soft burnt daub, and much ash. It contained little gravel or clay and had little structure except a general tendency to follow natural filling lines. Above this filling came a fine loose clean gravel, and then a modern concrete basement floor, 8 ft. below the modern pavement. The sides seemed to have been luted with sandy grey clay as in the well B1B, and finger smearing-marks were observed on it. There was no sound evidence of any timber lining to this cellar, though the filling had through it a fair amount of decayed woody material; one length of about 3 ft. sloping down at a steep angle towards the W. may perhaps have been part of a ladder.20

20 Cp. Lewes, *Antiq.,* 7, xxxviii (1958). Dr. G. W. Dimbleby has kindly reported to me that the rotten state of the wood has disorganized the tissues, which makes identification of the species most difficult, but that the wood structure authorities at the Imperial Forestry Institute incline to the view that it is probably willow or poplar. These are not very suitable for a ladder, though not impossible.
The finds occurred at random through the lower 2½ ft. of this filling. They included 15 large pieces of St. Neot's type pottery (A1B 1, 2), some bearing in places a tenacious black tarry resinous coating, as on some lamps. One body-sherd (A1B 3) was of a very hard fired slightly clayey grey ware with pronounced rilling, perhaps a grey version of the red-brown imported wares (cp. BrB 1, 3, 4; NC.1). There was also a bone spindle-whorl made from the great trochanter of a femur, probably of an ox, a polished bone thread-picker (FIG. 25 b, c), and two pieces of what seemed to be the slightly fired limey clay filling of some object of pliable material which had been burnt away; one was perhaps the filling of a handle made of leather (the latter now decayed), showing the impressions of rucking at the fold. Egg-shell (c. 0·4 mm. thick, probably chicken) was plentiful.

A1C (Finds; pottery, pp. 39, 44-5, 61, FIG. 10; bone, p. 73, FIG. 25; animal bones, p. 80). Unsupervised foundation digging had left only the E. side of the very bottom of this apparently vertical sided cellar. It had a slightly concave floor 5 ft. down into the gravel to the south, and on the north a narrow hollow perhaps a sump, 2 ft. deeper. The higher part yielded a fair amount of pottery of white-flecked blackish wares (A1C 1-3), from a black layer with much charcoal of which less than 1 foot remained at the deepest point. The deeper part produced part of a small bone comb-handle with iron rivets (FIG. 25 a) and six sherds of a cooking-pot (A1C 4). This was of hard harsh-surfaced sandy fabric with almost white core and grey surfaces smoke-blackened on the outside (the smoke here having penetrated 1 mm. or more into the core). In the leather-hard state the body and angle of the base had been trimmed with a tool; the modelling of the inside of the base angle is much neater than on most medieval cooking pots. There is no evidence for the rim and the simplest possible form has been shown in the drawing. These harsh sandy wares are not very common in Late Saxon contexts in Oxford, sandy wares forming some 5 per cent. of the pottery from the pre-Castle Mound pits21 (see FIG. 20).

A1D. The edges of two small pits dug 7 ft. down into the gravel (15 ft. below pavement) were touched in the west face of this square. That in the south-west corner contained nondescript fragments of St. Neot’s type pottery amongst its dirty earth filling; that just to the north, less than 2 ft. wide, contained ash and burnt daub.

B1 (General site plan, FIG. 1; plan and section along street-front, FIGS. 2–3; plan and section of 12th century vault, FIG. 5)

This square was of great value archaeologically. It contained a sequence of deposits—a cellar-pit, two wells and two floors, finally sealed by the construc-

21 Oxoniensia, xvii-xviii (1952-3), 89.
tion of a stone-vaulted cellar about 1150-70. The latter was itself rebuilt during the middle ages.

This square was investigated mostly by E. M. Jope, and, at the end by D. Sturdy, while the contractor's work was in progress. Although sections of the sides were not clearly seen after the shuttering had been inserted, the material from the sequence of deposits is of considerable value for dating.

*Summary of sequence in B1* (Plan and section along street-front, Figs. 2 and 3; plan and section of 12th century vault, Fig. 5). The cellar B1A and the well B1B can hardly have been exactly contemporary (in spite of the similarity of the pottery they yielded) as the gravel wall between them was too thin for them to have been open simultaneously. The well B1B seems later than the cellar B1A. The filling of B1A had consolidated when the brown loamy clay (between layers 5 and 11) was laid over it. On the other hand, the well, B1B was probably filled at this time, the rapid sinking of the fill, carrying with it some brown loam, being traceable in the section at its top. Thus the well was presumably filled at the same time as this loamy clay was laid, and its use was earlier than the occupation on the loamy clay.

Two main phases of the 12th century could be distinguished in the occupation material on the brown loamy clay, the lower without glazed tripod pitchers and the upper with them. The second well B1C was during the earlier of these phases. These phases of occupation ended with the building of a stone vaulted cellar in probably about 1150-70, the footings of which were clearly let into the brown loamy clay. The layer of occupation with glazed tripod-pitchers surviving to the east of the vault was then covered by the building debris (daub, etc., containing a fair amount of earlier pottery) presumably resulting from clearance of the site for the vault. To the south of the vault a timber floor seems to have been inserted above an air-space over the 12th century layer of occupation, giving a looser accumulation with a little 13th-14th century material.

The sequence may thus be tabulated:

| Stone vault | by c. 1150-70. |
| 12th century floor II | c. 1120—1150-70. |
| 12th century floor I and Well B1C | Late 11th century—c. 1120. |
| Well B1B | In use mid- to later-11th century. |
| Cellar B1A | Earlier to mid-11th century. |

*B1A* (Finds: Pottery, Fig. 8; metal-working, p. 72; querns, p. 74; hone, p. 74; animal bones, p. 81). The west half of a rectangular cellar with rounded corners was revealed on the east side of B1, dug 7 ft. into the natural gravel. The hard gravel of its east side could not be reached with
E. M. JOPE AND W. A. PANTIN

a 4 ft. auger used horizontally. It had a narrow extension at its south-west corner, dug only 3 ft. into the gravel, probably the way down into the cellar. The filling of this extension was continuous with that of the cellar itself, mostly dirty gravel. The sides were clean-cut and showed no signs of having fallen in; the regular fall lines in the filling, \( \text{2, 3, 4} \), must be interpreted as material pushed in rather than slipped. At the bottom was a layer about 9 inches thick of dark brown dirty soil with some charcoal, but as contiguous parts of the pot B1A 1 came from layers \( \text{1, 2 and 3} \), these layers probably represented merely stages in the filling of a clean cellar. Fairly large unabraded pieces of charcoal in layers \( \text{2, 3 and 4} \) suggest that the material of the filling had not been moved about much, and perhaps came from the footings of house walls.

The filling of this cellar seems to have been allowed to consolidate and sink, and was made good with extra filling, layer \( \text{5} \), before a layer of brown loamy clay was laid over it. The 12th century layers of occupation were on this clay; they do not seem to have sunk much over B1A.

In the natural gravel round the top of this cellar were detected three dark-filled sockets for round posts of about 5 ins. diameter, set about a foot from the sides of the cellar, with a small cluster of stake-holes beside the one on the south. This, apart from that obtained by Mr. Hope-Taylor under the vaulted cellar (pp. 17-19), was the only evidence recovered from the site which might possibly relate to the 11th century house superstructures. These posts could hardly have been the main vertical timbers of a house, however, and may have been auxiliary supports for the timbers which must have covered the cellar. There was most unfortunately no opportunity to carry out a horizontal skinning of this level over a larger area round B1A. Comparatively little burnt daub came from the filling of B1A, but small pieces of mortar and burnt stone bearing mortar occurred in layers \( \text{3 and 4} \).

The pottery from this cellar, the St. Neot’s ware rim (B1A 2) and body fragments, and wares gritted with coarser shell or limestone detritus (e.g. B1A 3), may be compared with the pre-c. 1070 material from Oxford Castle; the imported fine ware jar with flat base (B1A 1) being the unglazed counterpart of the fine glazed wares in use in Late Saxon times, is in place in such a context (see below, p. 35, for dating discussion). Thus, when considered with the sequence which post-dates it, the cellar B1A was probably in use at some time during the earlier half of the 11th century.

From layers \( \text{2, 3 and 4} \) came small fragments of crucibles with slag from bronze-working, and a small piece of quern 1 inch thick of Mayen lava.

BIB Well, 11th century (Finds: Pottery, pp. 36, 56-7, 61-4, FIGS. 8, 14, 16); loom weights, p. 73, FIG. 23; animal bones, p. 82).
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

This was roughly oval at the top (about 4 ft. 3 ins. by 3 ft. 9 ins.) and had been dug to a depth of 22 ft. below the present pavement level (14 ft. below apparent Saxon ground surface). It was excavated archaeologically by E. M. Jope to within 5 ft. 6 ins. of the bottom. Its vertical sides seem to have been luted with a sandy grey clay, at least on the upper part, and the finger marks were still visible in places. The upper filling of the well was jumbled and difficult to interpret, due to sinking. The well was not securely sealed by the brown loamy clay covering the cellar, though it was surrounded by it. It was probably filled when this clay was laid, and the first layer of brown loamy clay placed over the filling was seen to be mixed with other material sunk down to layer (7). Layers (8) and (9) appear to represent attempts to make good the hollow as the filling sank. This subsidence has the effect of expanding the stratification, and enables us to differentiate better the 12th century occupation layers on the brown clay.

The well filling was mostly fairly clean yellow gravel. Layer (6), a deposit of black slime nearly 1 ft. thick, containing sherds, lying at 15 ft. below pavement, may represent a particular load in the filling. However, it appeared to have been washed in; if this were so, the well stood open for a while.

Testing with an auger below 16½ ft. showed that thick black slime began at 20 ft. below pavement. Final clearance of this square by the contractor's workmen was watched by D. Sturdy. The well-bottom was noted at a depth of 22 ft.; the only find noted from the bottom deposit was a piece of oak, which may have been part of a light ladder.

The pottery from layer (6) included a St. Neot's type rim (B1B 2) and body sherds, a rim of an unglazed jar of fine ware (B1B 1, an import from the north-east), and a sherd of fine wheel-thrown hard-fired grey ware. In the same layer, 6 ins. higher, was a bun-shaped loom-weight (fig. 23). From layer (7) comes pottery of similar character—St. Neot's ware body sherds, a simple rim (B1B 4), a spiked cresset (B1B 5) and a jar fragment with stamp ornament on applied strip (B1B 3).

All these finds, representing the initial filling of the well B1B, are consistent with a date similar to that of the cellar B1A (in the decades before 1070 rather than after), though structurally B1B must have been dug and used after B1A was filled. This well was evidently superseded by B1C in the late 11th century.

After the well B1B had been filled, about 1 ft. of brown loamy clay was laid over this area as a basis for a floor of the early 12th century, on which was much pottery. This floor was traced continuously to the south-east and south of the position occupied by the later vault. Two phases were observed in the occupation material on this floor wherever there were hollows. This was best seen over the well B1B where its unconsolidated filling had continued to sink
and the subsidence had been made good in successive stages, layers 8-11. However, one cannot interpret this sequence in detail, as the layers had been jumbled and rammed. Layer 7 contained lumps of the brown loamy clay and probably represented the stage at which the first filling of the well was made. Layers 8 to 10 are successive fillings of the hollow, being equivalent together to 11 over the brown loam. To the south of the vault was a well, BrC, evidently dug and filled during the accumulation of layers 8-11, as its filling contained no glazed tripod-pitchers, which first appear in layer 12.

Layers 11 and 12 and the brown loamy clay were cut through by the footings of the mid-12th century vault in c. 1150-70. To the east of the vault, layer 12 was effectively sealed by the debris of wattle-and-daub buildings cleared to make space for the vaulted cellar, the floor of which was about 2 ft. below layer 11. To the south of the vault layer 12 was not so sealed; over it was a rather loose accumulation of ash with a few 13th century sherds on the top as well as some 12th century ones, a few bits of plain paving-tile with brick keying, probably late 13th or 14th century, and a lead weight. It is most likely that whatever building stood here (see below, p. 23) had a timber floor, and that this loose deposit accumulated in an air-space beneath it. Thus the sealed pottery BrB 23-35 is of the greatest value for dating. In the group BrB 36-42 care has been taken to include only those sherds which in fact seemed to belong to the continuation of 12.

BrC (Finds : Pottery, p. 64, FIG. 16). Well : late 11th-early 12th century. One quarter of this was revealed in the south-west corner of Br. It was excavated to 15 ft. below pavement, in part archaeologically, but there is no record of any finds from its bottom layers. It was cut in the natural gravel, and its sides were unlined. The filling was mostly clean gravel, and yielded pottery from 10 to 15 ft. down (BrC 1-5). No glazed tripod pitchers were found; in this and other ways the pottery resembled that from layer 11, the lower of the 12th century floors; the well and floor were evidently in contemporary use. The filling also contained burnt daub with crossing wattle-marks, and burnt limestone probably from hearth bases. There was a small part of a thick unused crucible (BrC 5) with slag from bronze working, and some bones at 15 ft. down, the left humerus of a young sheep, and right humerus of a cat.

The filling had sunk on consolidation, as with BrB, and 12th century rubbish had been put in to level up the hollow.

The well cannot have had a long life, and some of the clean gravel of its filling had probably fallen from its sides. It was probably dug in the late 11th century and filled and sealed with a floor by about the second quarter of the 12th century.
FIG. 4
Sections across pits under floor of 12th century vault (see plan fig. 3). Top, section across pit I, and key. Bottom, section across pit II.
BiD (Plan, fig. 3). The east side of a pit producing sherds of St. Neot’s ware was hurriedly explored just outside the east walls of the vault, sealed by the brown loamy clay; this was probably the same as Mr. Hope-Taylor’s pit III (see below, pp. 18-20). This east face sloped down at a steep angle, turning over to vertical, and in its side two 3 inch stake impressions were traced (there were probably more); these were possibly part of a timber lining to a cellar. About 1 foot to the east of the edge of this pit a 4 inch stake hole was found (cp. B1A) (cp. Kölner Jahrb. ii (1956) 62).

Excavations under the floor of the medieval stone-vaulted cellar (Plan, fig. 3; sections, fig. 4), by Brian Hope-Taylor.

In February 1955 the writer directed emergency excavations, on behalf of the Ministry of Works, in the floor of the twelfth-century stone vaulted cellar beneath the Clarendon Hotel. Demolition of the hotel had by then reached an advanced stage and the interior of the cellar was obstructed by several tons of debris, removal of which to the considerably higher ground outside would have taken up at least half of the available time. It was decided, therefore, to make a series of partial clearances which would allow the main inquiries to be pursued. Those inquiries were concerned with the date of the cellar and the pre-Norman use of its site.

Trench I disclosed two Late Saxon pits. The main filling of each consisted of dark, gravelly earth, containing characteristic forms of St. Neot’s ware and bones of ox, sheep/goat, deer, pig, domestic fowl and duck. The period, of unknown duration, represented by these deposits may be called phase A.

Pit I was later than pit II, and was not completely filled when it was abandoned. The clean profile of its upper section suggests that no great lapse of time occurred between its abandonment and the levelling of the ground for the building of phase B.

Phase B, to which presumably the building of the stone cellar belongs, is represented clearly by tips of clean earth and gravel (with occasional fragments of chalk) and an overlying tip of building debris, with which the pits were topped up. The tips are dated by contained sherds of an early twelfth-century pie-dish. At this stage both pits were sealed by a thin floor of hard, reddish-brown clay which indicated the original level of the cellar interior. This may conveniently be taken to mark phase C, the time when the stone cellar was first used.

The unconsolidated filling of the pits later caused considerable subsidence, and further levelling-material was added in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. This consisted chiefly of gravel and mortar, and appeared to
represent some alteration or addition to the building in phase D (cp. p. 21).

Further levelling was found necessary in phase E (fifteenth-sixteenth century), and again mortar bulked large in the added material.

The same sequence of events was shown by pit III, in the south-east corner of the cellar. Smaller pits in the north-west quarter were of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The main outlines of the site history are clear: Late Saxon occupation, clearance and levelling for twelfth-century building, further internal levelling and some rebuilding during the middle ages. But one important question remains unresolved. What was the function of the Late Saxon pits?

To dismiss them as simple rubbish-pits is to ignore some pertinent evidence, which is summarized below:

(1) Their profiles were clean and sharp; yet they were cut in fairly loose gravel and there was no sign of any kind of lining.

(2) They were of remarkable depth (probably about 10 feet, but lack of lighting, equipment and labour prevented us from excavating them completely).

(3) Post-holes occurred at their edges.

(4) Their fillings contained a high proportion of gravel, demonstrably not derived from the pit sides, and were made up of groups of thin, dark layers with occasional tips of cleaner material.

(5) The fillings were not consolidated when the cellar was built over them.

The sharpness of profile indicates that the pits were protected from the weather, and the post-holes are evidence of superstructure. These features have been observed in similar pits at the Saxon town of Old Windsor. There, each pit marked the focus of a dwelling area. It is surely reasonable to interpret such pits as having been, in the loosest sense, cellars below the wooden floors of huts.

If this hypothesis be accepted, it remains to consider their precise function. They were clearly not wells. The notion that they were used for storage of food and drink is counter-indicated by their great depth, the lack of lining, and the steady process of filling which seems to have taken a number of years. Further, the sometimes poor consolidation of their fillings is inconsistent with the trampling to which the floor of a storage-place would be subjected.

It would not be easy to maintain that these were ordinary domestic rubbish-pits beneath house-floors, but taking all the factors into account, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they were latrine-pits. This would explain their

\[21A\] But cp. A1B for a smearing of grey sandy clay on the inside.
Plan and section of 12th century and medieval vaulted cellar (in B1 and B2 c.f. also pl. x A).

great depth and the small degree of consolidation. They would have been kept within Late Saxon standards of wholesomeness by successive thin tips of household rubbish and, in summer, by the thicker tips of gravel. A cess-pit under the floor is admittedly not a pleasant thing, but one does not have to look far for more modern parallels. It is at least preferable to having no latrines at all, and to assume that Late Saxon towns had no sanitary arrangements whatsoever is to fly in the face of probability.\footnote{For arrangements in medieval London, see Speculum \textit{xii} (1937), 20-5.} This delicate matter is not unworthy of the future attention of the specialist.

\textbf{The Stone Vault.} This vaulted cellar, the earliest so far recorded in Oxford, had been used as the Clarendon Hotel wine-cellar, and had thus hitherto remained unsuspected. It had been built in the 12th century and an arch of this period still stood intact towards the west end. The precise dating of this
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

vault is important not only on its own account, but because it provides the later limit for the sequence of four deposits containing pottery sealed off by its construction.

The 12th century arch and jambs were of ashlar throughout, of a somewhat ferruginous comminuted-shell limestone of Wheatley type, resembling that used for the pillars of St. George's Chapel in the Castle. This arch was removed to the Ashmolean Museum. The square jambs rise from a plain chamfered base, and the impost have a plain chamfer with V-groove above, of a pattern common in the late 11th-early 12th century; but this simple form is often found surmounting capitals in the later 12th century, although by then the chamfer is more usually a little hollowed.

The surviving vault was eccentrically placed in relation to this arch, and detailed examination revealed that during the middle ages, probably in the later 13th century (cp. pp. 18, 19), the vault had been reconstructed and the cellar to the east of the arch widened by 1 ft. 3 ins. towards the south. The interior footings of the original 12th century south wall were found by excavation, and the lowest quoin-stone of its S.E. angle was found during demolition. The raw edge of the 12th century vault could still be traced as tuskers projecting from above the ashlar arch during demolition of the later vault. This 13th century vault was well constructed of rubble slabs fitted arch-wise, and showed considerable springy resilience in the face of powerful destructive treatment.

The earlier, 12th century, occupation layers and the brown loamy clay on which they rested had been cut through to bed the 12th century vault footings, but the footings of the later reconstructed south wall of the 13th century vault slightly to the south had been laid on this brown loamy clay and also sealed a little overlying occupation material. This material was almost entirely of 12th century date, but one mid-13th century glazed sherd was in it.

At the west, later excavation showed that the 12th century building had continued westwards for 12 ft. beyond the arch. Along the south the lowest courses of its wall had been built over by later walling, probably of the 18th century. Along the north, the 12th century wall-footings to the west of the arch were found below the floor of the 17th century cellar.

The 12th century vault seems to have been built as a free-standing structure, except on the north, where the wall east of the arch was only 1 ft. 5 ins. thick; this part may have been built against an already existing wall. The wall found built against it at the demolition was however much later, probably of the 16th century. On the south the 12th century wall was 1 ft. 8 ins. thick with a loose rubble wall, again probably 16th century, against it, containing worked and painted stone. The 12th century east wall, 1 ft. 10 ins. thick, was originally free-standing, but it had an added medieval skin in which a 13th-14th century
door-surround was built, and a later skin, which was a continuation of the loose rubble wall on the south.

At the east end little evidence could be found about the 12th century wall, except that the lowest south-east quoin-stone gave its east line. It had been largely reconstructed at the rebuilding of the vault; subsequently a skin had been added and in this skin a door, with an apparently two-centred head (of which one springer remained) had been placed almost centrally on the axis of the new vault, with steps leading up to the street. This doorway remained in use until the 18th or 19th century. The rebuilding of the vault occurred evidently after about the mid-13th century, on the evidence of the sherd under its south wall; and the apparently two-centred arch for the door in the added skin suggests a date not after the later 14th century.

**Dating of the Vault.** Oseney Abbey acquired this property between about 1140 and 1166, and evidently began rebuilding on it soon after. In a significant document of c. 1184-98, abbot Hugh writes of 'unam seldarum nostrarum quas edificavimus super terram quam Ricardus Brito de nobis tenuit in magno vico Oxen', scilicet illam seldam que propinquior est ecclesie Sancti Martini'. In another document of c. 1170-84 Oseney Abbey confirmed to Oni and Robert, sons of Burewold, a shop and two cellars on the site of Marshall's Inn, or the Star, the site beginning some 20 ft. to the south of the vault. No 12th century structure of stone was found to correspond. All we can say from the documents is that the stone vault was probably built by Oseney in developing its property here some time between about 1140 and 1180.

The plain simple style of the vault arch, with its V-groove and chamfered impost, and chamfered plinth, gives little clue to dating. Such impost are common on early Norman work, but can be seen surmounting capitals in the later 12th century, though in later work the chamfer is often slightly hollowed. There is no other detail. Perhaps a date in the 1150's or 1160's is most reasonable for this vault, with c. 1140-80 as outside limits.

To the south of the vault the line of the later east wall was continued by a wattle-and-daub wall 2 ft. thick. This wall was built on a footing of 9 ins. of clean yellow gravel laid directly over the laminated clay floors which corresponded with the 12th century tripod-pitcher and pre-tripod-pitcher occupation.

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22 *Cart. Oseney*, i (1929), 6, 50-1.
23 *Cart. Oseney*, i (1929), no. 42, pp. 52-3.
24 I am most grateful to Mrs. Kaines-Thomas (Dr. M. E. Wood) for her comments. She would prefer the earliest reasonable date in the period 1140-80, and quotes as parallels for the impost moulding that of the entrance arch of a 12th century house (so-called 'Postern gate') at Stamford, Lincs., and a window of the manor house at Saltford, near Bath (*Archaeol. J.*, xci (1933), 200, 203, pl. ix, D) both of which Sir Alfred Clapham held to be c. 1150.
layers (11 and 12) further east and north. This wall had been plastered and painted grey-black on the inner face, and was not superseded until the 16th century. No sockets for verticals of a timber frame were found. There was a gap for a door 5 ft. south of the vault. The floor of this building, some 6 ft. 6 ins. below the present pavement, had probably been covered by a timber floor over an air-space, since there was a loose accumulation of a little 13th-14th century pottery, a few fragments of paving tiles, and a lead weight bearing the royal arms (three leopards passant guardant) used after 1198, loosely spread over the 12th century levels with little consolidation. Over the whole, rising also over the wall-footing in places, was a layer of ash, perhaps from the burning of a timber floor.

CI (General site plan, FIG. 1; section along street front, FIG. 2; section of CI, FIG. 6)

Before the shuttering was put in, the south face of this square showed a sequence of gravel layers representing road or forecourt remetalling. They were probably forecourt surfaces as they did not appear in D1. The earliest was about 6 ft. down and they gradually expanded westwards up to 1 ft. 6 ins. from the surface. Above this level the building-line advanced abruptly to its present position. As they were seen only in section, virtually no pottery was
obtained from these levels; one piece of St. Neot's ware was found at 4 ft. below the surface.

The natural gravel surface lay here 7 ft. 6 ins. to 8 ft. down; three pits were seen to have been dug into it along the east face of the square. Of these, C1B and C1C seemed to have been dug through the natural gravel only, but C1A seemed to have been dug down from the brown loam layer over the gravel, and was thus probably of the late 11th or early 12th century (cp. B1, see pp. 12ff.). The filling of C1A yielded many bones but only one sherd of thick St. Neot's ware, probably a stray, at the bottom 10 ft. down.

\[\text{Diagram section across D1 west (left) and D2 (right)}\]

\[C1B\] (Finds: Pottery, pp. 40, 64, FIG. 11; animal bones, p. 82) about 3 ft. across, was narrow for a cellar, and its function was not clear, although, judging from the three pots \((C1B 1, 2, 3)\) at its bottom 11 ft. down, it was evidently Late Saxon.

\[C1C\], another pit below the pavement, yielded no finds from its filling.

\[D1\] (General site plan, FIG. 1; section along street front, FIG. 2), by J. Alexander.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

The square was dug to a depth of 21 ft., passing through all the humanly deposited strata and 11 ft. of the natural gravel terrace.

The Surface of the Gravel Terrace (Section along street front, FIG. 2). This was exposed about 9 ft. below the present surface and could be studied in section, most clearly to the west. Here the unweathered gravel (layer a) at a depth of 11 ft. was buff coloured and horizontally bedded with occasional lenses of larger pebbles and sand, and occasional contortions but no evidence of a general slope.

Above the buff gravels lay red gravel (layer b) which, in its upper levels, was not bedded; many of the pebbles were upended. The reddening was due to weathering and on the red gravels lay a stoneless soil (layer c) with organic staining, and containing charcoal, burnt clay, and animal bones. From this or layer d above pit D1B had been dug (note that in FIG. 2 the W.E. section has been drawn across D1, not the N.S.).

The Earliest Occupation. Above this lay loam and gravel (layer d). Its thickness, over 1 ft. and the presence in it of yellow gravel, which must have come from the unweathered levels, suggest that pits were being dug (e.g. D1B). The small size of the fragments of charcoal and burnt clay and the level surface of the layer might also mean that it had been well trampled. A few bones of domestic animals were the only finds from this layer.

Above this layer came gravel make-up (layer e), from the surface of which two pits containing pottery of Late Saxon type were dug. Pit D1A was dug after nearly 2 ft. of red and yellow gravel had accumulated on top of the earliest surface. This layer of gravel may have been the spoil of other pits dug nearby; it had lain uncovered long enough for its surface to become level and trampled to a depth of several inches.

Although our excavation probably extended into the medieval roadway, there was no sign of metalling on the earliest surface and the spoil-heaps continued on the roadward side of the trench. This could be taken to show either that the road was much narrower or that its line was further to the east.

Two Late Saxon Pits. The two pits belonging to the earlier occupation may be considered together. They were both parallel to the line of Cornmarket Street. Pit D1A (probably a storage cellar) could not be cleared for it extended under the present road, but its limits were established by probing. It was 7 ft. by 5 ft. and about 6 ft. deep. Its sides were nearly vertical and its bottom flat. There were no signs of a clay lining or of any wooden framework, although from its shape it was presumably a storage cellar. Only the bottom foot of the filling showed any signs of stratification; it contained animal bones and a sherd of the convex base of a large cooking pot. The rest of the pit was
full of mixed gravel and humus with a considerable amount of organic matter. It suggests that the pit was deliberately filled, perhaps with rubbish.

Pit DTB (Finds: Pottery, pp. 64-5, FIG. 11) had been cut into by a sewage inspection tower but its top seemed to have survived at its north-west corner. It was older than Pit DI A. Very little of it could be excavated; it contained sherds of St. Neot’s ware, and a number of animal bones. Like Pit DI A only the bottom of the pit showed any signs of stratification; the upper filling was homogeneous.

The Surface from which DI A was dug. This could be seen as a thick discoloured layer round the mouth of the pit. It contained bones, sherds of Late Saxon type, and fragments of burnt clay, possibly daub.

Mediaeval and Later Occupation. This can be subdivided into the recognizable remains of the inns and the strata beneath them.

Two separate strata of gravelly soil (the upper parts of layer g) seemed to date before the 16th century. Both had smoothed and stained surfaces but little pottery came from them.

The foundations of one of the inns were found in two places. Thirty inches from the present pavement near the 16th century building-line a rectangular trench, DT C, was found running parallel to the road. It was filled with shaped sandstone blocks set in humus and gravel. Foundations of two southerly walls were found built side by side at right angles to the road. The more southerly wall seemed the older and was much rougher and looser in construction. It was built of angular fragments of stone, some of which were squared, one being a fragment of a mullioned window. There were also fragments of red brick. The upper levels were set in mud mortar. An eight foot length of this wall was exposed to its end on the modern street line. Its depth and its extension beyond the earlier street lines are unusual features but it may have played some part in supporting the overhanging storeys. The use of cut stone as rubble, which also occurred above ground, and the presence of a brown glazed sherd, suggest that this wall belonged to the 16th or 17th century rebuilding of the inn.

Built against its north face was another better made wall which was mortared on its face and composed of smaller flatter stones. It was 1 ft. thick. Both walls might be older than a chimney-foundation of looser stone and rubble which over-lay them, but no stratigraphical distinction could be made.

J.A.

A2

No early features cut into the gravel were recorded. This leaves a serious gap in the early topography of the site. The area had been seriously disturbed down to 9 ft., 18th century pottery and wine bottles being found at this depth.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

towards the west, and a stone-built sump, of 17th or 18th century date, was
found built under the north wall of the Star Inn. It contained Grenzhausen
ware.

B2 (General site plan, fig. 1. Plan and section of 12th century vault, fig. 5.
Finds: Pottery, p. 65, fig. 13)

No records were made of deposits against the south side of the vault. A
northward extension of B2 revealed layers of gravel and occupation debris,
much of it 12th century, against the outer face of the north wall of the vault,
These layers lay above Late Saxon type pottery (B2 1, 2) apparently on the
gravel surface 8 ft. down.

C2 (General site plan, fig. 1)

The medieval occupation layers in the southern half of this square had
been completely removed down to the natural gravel at 8 ft. 6 ins., to form a
17th century cellar. Over the rest of the square, however, a good sequence
was observed. The loose fill immediately overlying the occupation levels, at
about 2 ft. below the surface, contained cooking pots and jugs of the later
13th-early 14th centuries. Occupation levels at 3-4 ft. down yielded only
12th-13th century pottery (and earlier strays), and at 5-6 ft. down only 12th
century pottery, with fragments of glazed tripod-pitchers.

There had been several diggings into the natural gravel below, reached
at 8 ft. 6 ins. down.

C2A (Finds: Pottery, p. 65, fig. 12; daub, fig. 23 a; loom-weight,
p. 73, fig. 23; animal bone, p. 82). Further east was a small pit (C2A) dug
only 2 ft. into the gravel, the filling of which contained burnt daub with wattle
impressions, a bun-shaped loom-weight, pottery of 11th century character
(C2A 1-3), and a horn-core of a goat.

C2B (Finds: Pottery, pp. 65-6, fig. 12; spindle-whorl, p. 73, fig. 25 b). Across
the whole north side of the square was apparently a rectangular vertical-
sided cellar dug 4 ft. 6 ins. into the natural gravel, into the bottom of which
the south-east corner what was probably a small drainage sump had
been dug, going down a further 1 ft. 6 ins. The fill of this sump was indistinquishable from that of the cellar, and they were evidently in simultaneous
use. Little was found in the dark brown loamy gravel fill of the cellar, except
a large part of the side of a rather coarse St. Neot's type pot (C2B 1) and a few
fire-cracked brittle sherds (C2B 2) about 11 ft. down over the drainage sump.
A group found at 9 ft. down (C2B 3-5), probably of the late 11th-early 12th
centuries, must represent the sinkage of one of earlier floors to be laid over the
unconsolidated fill of the cellar.

C2C (Finds: Pottery, p. 66, figs. 12, 14; stone mould, p. 72, fig. 22 a;
chalk, p. 74, fig. 23 b). A well had been dug through the filling of C2B, going 
down a further 7 ft. 6 ins. into the natural gravel to a total depth of 20 ft. 6 ins. 
below the level of the modern pavement, the bottom being almost 2 ft. above the 
water level of May 1955. Over the top of this well, but sunk about 1 ft. into it 
due to subsidence of the filling, was a charcoal layer. This layer sealed the 
upper filling of the well; it contained pottery of later 11th century character 
(C2C 1-8), by comparison with the assemblages from the pits under Oxford 
Castle Mound. In the bottom filling of the well was a large piece of faceted 
chalk and a small mould of fine oolite limestone, for casting ingots, apparently 
of silver. A charcoal layer about 9 ins. up from the bottom spread over the 
whole well.

Two pits were found under the 17th century cellar towards the south.

C2D. This pit had a rounded section, was cut down 4 ft. into the gravel, 
and yielded no finds from its dark brown loamy fill.

Summary of C2. A cellar (C2B) had been dug in late Saxon times in the 
north part of this square, and a small pit (C2D) in the south part was perhaps 
contemporary. The cellar had been filled apparently in the later 11th century, 
and a well had been dug through the filling. The filling of the well contained 
only late 11th-early 12th century pottery, with no sherds of glazed tripod­
pitchers, and was sealed by mid-12th century occupation. The date of the 
cellar could thus be carried back into the 11th century.

D1 west and D2 (General site plan, fig. 1; sections of D1 west and D2, 
fig. 7). The digging of these squares was watched continuously by K. H. 

D1 west. In the southern half of the square the medieval occupation-layers 
had been removed to 1 ft. above natural gravel by the digging of a 17th century 
cellar, which was 7 ft. deep. Between the floor of the cellar and the gravel 
was a layer of tightly-packed brown loam. Beneath, in the west face was a 
circular unlined well. Its filling contained a few sherds of fine imported pottery 
of the 11th century.

D2 (Finds: Pottery, p. 36, fig. 8). This square showed made-ground 
to a depth of 8 ft. Below, the surface of the gravel was uncovered at about 
8 ft. Two wells (D2A and D2E) were found, D2E being slightly undercut at 
its base as though by the action of water; both had been deliberately filled. 
D2E is shown projected on fig. 7. These wells contained fine imported 
pottery of the 11th century; a complete profile of a tall pot came from the 
bottom of D2E. A third pit was found of irregular shape and with sloping 
sides; it had probably been a cess-pit.

15 Oxoniensia, xvii-xviii (1952-3), 86.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

A3 (Finds: Pottery, p. 66, fig. 11; animal bones, p. 83)

This square was watched after natural gravel had been reached below 8 ft. Three ancient pits had been dug into the gravel. A3A, 17 ft. below pavement, contained one rim of 11th or early 12th century type (cp. fig. 12, C2C 5) and bones of sheep, an ox and pig. A3B, also 17 ft. below the modern pavement, contained bones of sheep and oxen only. A3C was evidently a well, going down to 21 ft. 6 ins. From its bottom came the large part of a cooking pot of Late Saxon type (A3C 1), some other sherds (A3C 2), and bones of sheep, oxen, pig and birds.

B3

No records were made of this square.

C3 (Finds: Pottery, pp. 66-8, figs. 9, 15)

At about 5 ft. 6 ins. down in the north-east corner was a gravel floor 5 ins. thick, with about 1 in. of charcoal over it; immediately below it came sandy brown earth in which was sealed 12th century pottery with fragments of tripod-pitchers (C3 25, 26); among the coarse cooking-pottery (C3 13-24) some seems derived possibly from piled-up debris from earlier cleared house sites (cp. B1, see above, p. 13). Below, in a distinct sandy layer, further 12th century pottery (C3 7-12) occurred with glazed pitchers of sandy ware and with less of the apparently early material.

At 10 ft., 11th century pottery (C3 1-6) was found in a layer 1 ft. 6 ins. thick over natural ground. The pottery included St. Neot’s wares, and should be compared with that from the pits under the Castle Mound.26

It is possible that we have at the north-west of C3 the remains of a shallow 11th century cellar.

D3. No observations were made on this square.

E3 (Finds: Pottery, fig. 13)

No detailed records were obtained for this square; it yielded some 12th century pottery and one rim of a St. Neot’s type cooking-pot of smooth shelly ware (E3 1).

A4 (Finds: Pottery, p. 70, fig. 18; hone, p. 74)

The only feature was an unlined well on the east side. From its filling at 18 ft. below the level of the modern pavement came a hone and towards its bottom were found bones and pottery. Water stood at 22 ft. down and the

26 Oxoniensis xvi-xviii (1953-4), 84.
well bottom lay some 9-10 ins. below. The pottery (A4 1, 2) was of early 12th century types—cooking pots and a shallow pan (one of the few from the site); there was also some chalk worked into facets (cp. FIG. 23) and burnt daub. The well was presumably dug in the late 11th-early 12th century.

B4
No records were obtained for this square. At about 8 ft. down, came a St. Neot's type cooking-pot rim.

C4
Only scanty records of this square were obtained. From 6 ft. down came 12th century pottery; from about 7 ft. down came a spiked cresset lamp and the major part of a cooking pot, both in hard harsh sandy ware, and lower still came a rim of a cooking-pot of St. Neot's type.

D4
No records were obtained; it produced pottery from the 11th to the 14th centuries.

E4
No records were obtained; the square yielded a fair amount of 12th century pottery including tripod-pitchers, but no Late Saxon types.

A5 (Finds: Pottery, PL. IV)
The upper layers down to about 8 ft. were badly disturbed. Four pits were dug into the natural gravel down to about 12 ft. below the level of the modern pavement. A5A in the north-east corner contained parts of a 12th century glazed tripod-pitcher which had been in a fire. A5B, in the centre, contained 12th-13th century pottery, a stone roofing-slate and a piece of clay roof-tile, and numerous bones of oxen, horse, pig, sheep, cat, dog, goose and fowl. A5C, a long oval pit in the S.E. corner, contained 12th-13th century pottery including an inturned-rim bowl and part of a glazed jug with white under-glaze painting (PL. IV), and parts of two clay roof-tiles. A5D, only one corner of which was dug in the north-west angle of the square, contained only the jaw-bone of a horse; it was sealed by layers with 12th-13th century pottery and an inlaid floor-tile with prodded keying.

B5; C5
No records were obtained.

D5
A few pieces of pottery of 11th-early 12th century types were collected about 10 ft. down; otherwise no record was obtained.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

E5

No records were obtained, but the square yielded some 12th century pottery including tripod-pitchers, but no Late Saxon pottery.

A6 (Finds: Pottery, p. 68, FIGS. 13, 18)

This square showed much modern disturbance down to 10 ft., but towards the south a charcoal-covered gravel floor was seen at 8 ft. 6 ins. containing 12th century pottery; below it was found other 12th century pottery (A6 2) and a rim of a bowl of St. Neot's type (A6 1). The natural gravel surface lay at 12 ft. 6 in. down, and some pits in it yielded 11th-12th century pottery. No complete records were obtained.

B6

No records were obtained.

C6

No record was obtained until near the bottom. From about 6 ft. to about 15 ft. down thick black foul-smelling slime occurred, probably the filling of a cess-pit. 12th century pottery was found—sherds of tripod-pitchers, cooking pots and a bowl with inturned rim.

D6, by D. Sturdy (Finds: Loom-weight, p. 73, FIG. 23; shoes, pp. 75-7.

This square was dug into a large late-12th century cess-pit (D6B) which produced much pottery and leatherwork (p. 75). The cess-pit was perhaps as much as 30 ft. across at the top; it was bowl-shaped in section, and dug to 17 ft. 8 ins. at its deepest. The filling of this pit was overlain by a gravel floor, possibly medieval. This cess-pit had cut into and removed all but the bottom few feet of a Late Saxon cellar (D6A) 9 ft. 6 ins. wide and probably 20 ft. long. The cellar bottom was 19 ft. below the surface at the north end and 19 ft. 8 ins. at the south, dug, that is to say, about 10 ft. into natural gravel. The sides were clean-cut. It was filled with loose brown loam and gravel, and contained pottery of the 11th-early 12th centuries and a bun-shaped loom weight. A well (D6C) had been sunk to 22 ft. though both the cess-pit and the underlying cellar-bottom and contained 13th century glazed sherds mixed with some fragments of tripod-pitchers, here perhaps in a subsidiary capacity as chamber pots. Two more pits (D6D) and D6E) had been sunk through the cess-pit into natural gravel, both to a depth of 16 ft. from the surface. D6D gave no evidence of date. D6E was a stone-lined cess-pit, with gravel packed behind the lining; it contained the base of a wine-bottle of early 18th century date.
Fine unglazed vessels of the 11th century, imported into Oxford, and associated pottery, pp. 35-7. (× ¼)
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

E6
No detailed records were obtained; a few pieces of 12th century pottery were collected.

A7
Two pits were seen through the timber shuttering in the north-east and south-west corners of this square going down 15 ft. and more. A fair amount of 12th-14th century pottery occurred at all depths.

B7 (Finds: Pottery, pp. 68-9, FIG. 13)
Natural gravel at 10 ft. below the surface. The layers above the gravel produced mainly 13th-14th century pottery. There were two pits dug into the gravel on the north side. One going down about 18 ft. may have been a well, the other only 15 ft. deep, a plain pit. Both apparently contained 12th century pottery, including tripod pitchers. A few possibly early sherds come from B7, notably the rim of the storage-jar, B7 2.

C7
No records were obtained; a few sherds of tripod-pitchers and cooking pots were collected.

D7
Occupation layers 5-7 ft. below the surface produced 12th-14th century pottery. One pit had been dug into the natural gravel but its contents became mixed with the general finds from 10-15 ft. down; this mixture contained 12th-13th century pottery as well as a few sherds of St. Neot’s type fabric.

E7
No records were obtained, but a fair amount of 12th century pottery was collected, as well as some of 15th century types.

E8
No records were obtained. 12th-14th century pottery was found, but no recognizably Late Saxon types.

Z (Finds: Pottery, pp. 59, 70-2, pls. II, III, IV, Figs. 13, 14, 18, 21), by D. Sturdy.
Many sherds of Late Saxon and 12th century wares were found. A group was collected from a large well or pit in the south-east corner, one of a large number of pits which honeycombed the natural gravel. The wares cover the 13th century.
E. M. JOPE AND W. A. PANTIN

A mass of unassociated 13th-14th century pottery was also found, together with many sherds of fine buff ware of the 15th century of a type defined for the first time in Oxford on sites at All Souls and in the Bodleian quadrangle.26a

D.S.

Pottery

The chief interest lies in the associated groups and sequences of the 11th-12th centuries, and in the wares imported into the region at this period. Very little of the later pottery recovered had any recorded context, although there is a good series of late medieval wares.

Pottery Imported into the Oxford Region : 11th century

Earlier levels on this site in B1 and D2 have produced several vessels of a character not before encountered in Oxford, and which were imports into the Oxford region in the 11th century. These are in fact the unglazed counterparts of the hard fine glazed wares through which we have hitherto known the 11th-12th century trade in pottery from the east Midland area 50-80 miles to the north-east.27 It is this pottery, glazed and unglazed, to which Mr. J. G. Hurst has given the name ‘Stamford Ware’ as a class of the 9th-12th centuries.28 Long-distance trade involving these unglazed fine wares has not been recorded previously, but they are often mistaken for later medieval wares. Glazed wares perhaps bulked larger in trading, but in the production area they make up only a small proportion of the class.29

These jars belong to a general style current in the east Midlands and eastwards to Thetford and beyond in the 11th and early 12th centuries. Particularly characteristic are the basic technical features of throwing on a fast wheel, and the use of fine plastic clays as shown by the slanting compression-ripples formed as the shoulder is forced inwards during fast rotation; and the plastic flow round more prominent lumps of stone, occasionally but surprisingly included in the fine fabric. These clays are sometimes very light coloured and in the fabric are varying amounts of very fine sand. Probably they were mostly dug from the Upper Estuarine Clays of the Great Oolite extending from Northamptonshire northwards through Lincolnshire, though more detailed work is still required on the range of possible sources for these fabrics. Mica has been noted in several of these Oxford examples and micaceous sandy clays and sands

26a Oxoniensia vii (1942), 76-9.
27 Dark Age Britain : Essays presented to E. T. Leeds (1956), 254-5. It is now known that this trade continued into the 12th century (see below, p. 38).
29 e.g. 10 per cent. at Alstoe, Rutland; Antiq. J., xvi (1936), 396-411.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

are known in the Middle Lias from Dorset to Lincolnshire and also in the Upper Estuarine series of the Great Oolite. The present state of our knowledge of these fine wares, glazed or unglazed, in the production area of the east Midlands, does not yet allow of precise dating. Useful parallels may, however, be cited from Thetford and Northampton. The evidence from the Clarendon site, especially the stratified sequence in B1, shows that these unglazed wares were being brought in to Oxford during the 11th century. But because of their wider range in time in the production area, their presence cannot in itself be used to indicate such a date. The Oxford jars are larger than the majority of unglazed pots from in and around the production area. A useful parallel may, however, be cited from Northampton Castle (Fig. 8, NC1), which is really a jar of this class made from a plastic clay showing compression-ripples under the shoulder. This pot and another from Northampton Castle have the flat base of the Oxford examples. This is one of the pots assumed to be from the pits pre-dating the building of Northampton Castle in 1095, but in no case is the precise position of a find recorded and the criteria by which R. C. Scriven and S. Sharp accepted material as pre-castle are not very clear. In fact Sharp says: '... these periods are so blended in the transition, that no hard line can be drawn', and they included arrowheads of types more usual in the 12th-13th centuries.

Imported fine glazed wares of the 11th century type were by contrast rare from the Clarendon site, there being only three pieces recorded; the small volume of pit contents cleared under the Castle mound in 1952 yielded 8 pieces representing 6 vessels. There is one spout of the developed type (B1B 52), probably from the late 12th-early 13th centuries.

There are also a few pieces of hard sandy wares which may have been imports, though this is not certain.

Unglazed Imported Wares and associated pottery: descriptions (Fig. 8)

B1A 1. 11th century cellar

B1A 1. From layers 2, 3, and 4 came a fair proportion of a jar of very fine slightly harsh sandy ware, with dark grey core and buff surface layer about 2 mm. thick, with a mauve tinge. The base is entirely blackened through the whole section, suggesting prolonged use in the fire. It has occasional white, brown or black grits up to 2 mm., and a few specks of mica. This very fine plastic clay matrix shows compression-ripples on the inside under the shoulder


32 Assoc. Archit. Soc Refs, xvi (1881), 243-51; pl. 1, no. 1.
E. M. JOPE AND W. A. PANTIN

and outside under the rim, the result of forcing the clay inwards and out again while rotating, to form the neck and rim.

The jar has been thrown on a fast wheel, the interior being strongly rilled. The flat base has been cut off the wheel or bat, and the base angle has been slightly trimmed with a tool round its outer edge. In spite of the profile the cross-sections of this rim seem to show that the thickening was formed by an inward fold.

Also in B1A was a St. Neot's type rim B1A 2 (layer 2) of smooth shelly ware with black to reddish surfaces, and the rim of a small rougher cooking pot B1A 3 (layer 3) of coarser shelly fabric with blackish white-flecked core and purple-brown to black surfaces. Also from layer 3 (not illustrated) are fragments of hard sandy harsh surfaced buff and grey wares, tool-trimmed on the outside when leather-hard. There were also bits of thin hard crucible bearing signs of bronze working, and small pieces of bronze, and a lump of soft lime-mortar.

From B1B. Late 11th century well

B1B 1. 15 ft. down in filling, layer 6. Part of rim of jar of fine hard-fired close-textured buff fabric with grey core, and a mauve tinge to the outer surface, with some blackening. This tough fine fabric is quite unusual for the Oxford region. It has some white grits up to about 1 mm. (some are exfoliating and some have caused denting of the surface), and some larger hard angular pieces. The jar has been thrown on a fast wheel. This fine plastic clay shows slanting compression-ripples on the inside under the shoulder, caused when the clay was turned inwards during throwing to form the shoulder and neck. The appearance of such compression-ripples on the concave surface slanting to the axis of rotation is characteristic of fine plastic clays. With it was a small piece (not illustrated) of hard fine grey ware also thrown on a fast wheel, and 6 ins. higher a bun-shaped loom weight (Fig. 23).

B1B 3. 7 ft. 6 ins. down in filling, layer 7. Part of body of a wheel-thrown fair-sized vessel, perhaps a storage-jar, of hard fine sandy brown fabric; it has applied vertical strips lightly frilled in low relief with individual stamp ornament. This plain cross stamp so used is found at Thetford on Late Saxon material, and on the continent, but may be seen in other positions on later pottery in England; it is really too simple and widespread a feature to be given much significance for dating.

B1B 4. 7 ft. 6 ins. down in filling, layer 7. Parts of flat base, body and shoulder of very fine hard fabric slightly harsher (with more fine sand) than B1B 1. It contains also some finely divided mica. It has a grey core and rich light red surface layer about 2 mm. thick; blackened towards the base. The jar has been thrown on a fast wheel and has marked internal rilling.

D2E. Well.

D2E 1. From 21 ft. down the well D2E, many pieces giving complete profile

33 Cp. Norfolk Archaeol., xxx (1952), 304, fig. 10.1, 2, 3.
34 Cp. Z.9, and under the Castle Mound, Osniensia, xvii-xviii (1952-3), pl. viii, B.5.
35 e.g. on Rhineland Stonewares, Hist. Technol., ii (1956), 290, and also seen on the pottery horn Osniensia, xvii-xviii (1952-3), 220, fig. 45.1.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

of a tall jar with narrow convex base tool-trimmed on the outside, and roll-rim. Marked slanting compression-ripples are seen inside under the top of the shoulder. The fabric has a dark grey core and buff surface layers about 1-2 mm. thick with a rich light red surface colour, smoke-blackened in places. The clay used was very plastic, and the fabric contains some very fine sand (particle size up to about 0.04 mm., with occasional large lumps tearing the surface). Tiny flecks of mica can be seen in the surface.

At 8-10 ft. down in the filling of this well (D2E) was a rim of a locally-made cooking pot (D2E 2) of hard blackish fabric filled with grains of limestone detritus; there were also several rather square-angled bases of similar fabric. None of these local pieces would be out of place in the material from under the Castle Mound.

D2A. Well.

D2A 1. 8-10 ft. down in the filling of well D2A was the sharply moulded rim of a jar, thickened by folding outwards and under; of hard fine somewhat harsh fabric with pale grey core and cream surface layer, smoke blackened in places. It shows slanting compression-ripples under the inside of the shoulder.36

Two rims of jars of St. Neot's ware, D2A 2, D2A 3, were associated with D2A 1 in the well filling.

Comparanda

NC1. Tall jar from Northampton Castle.37 Of rather thick hard fine fairly sandy fabric, pale buff throughout, but blackened in places, and with a faint purplish bloom. It has faint compression-ripples under the shoulder inside, and the plastic clay has made a characteristic lumpiness over larger pieces of stone in the fabric. The rim has probably been thickened by folding over inwards before flaring it out. The flat base is rough underneath, and the angle has been tool-trimmed. In Northampton Museum.

Another tall jar from Northampton Castle has a narrow flat base, but the rim is missing. It is of a hard-fired fine sandy light grey fabric, brown on inside, and with a whitish surface layer on the shoulder. The fabric is comparable with some of the Oxford material (e.g. A1B 3).

Glazed Wares. Only three pieces of Late Saxon fine glazed ware were found on the site (not illustrated).

(a) a small buff piece with pale orange glaze, from the upper filling of the 11th century well B1B. It may be compared with a piece from the pits under the Castle Mound.

(b) A larger shoulder fragment of fine white fabric with sparse pale lemon glaze, from D1. It may be compared with pottery from Lincoln, and a piece in Northampton Museum from the deserted village site of Thrupp in Norton, Northants (mentioned in Domesday survey of 1086).

(c) a piece from the upper filling of C2C (10-12 ft. down, context probably late

11th century), of fine hard ware with a red-ochre colour all through, perhaps caused by a secondary fire. Patch of very thin glaze.

Even these fine fabrics contain some fine sand grains, sub-angular usually about 0.1 mm. or less in diameter, and always less than 0.2 mm., and thus a fine sand and far outside the normal content of a silt.

In the Oxford region there is an interval between our records of this fine imported glazed ware and the first use, apparently about 1120, of the locally made glazed tripod-pitchers of a coarser sandy fabric. This is seen at Deddington Castle and in the B1 sequence on this site (Fig. 20, p. 59). In the production area, however, these fine glazed wares continued into the 12th century and were gradually developed into a further distinct style in the later 12th and early 13th centuries. In the region around Oxford there is a hint that these wares were sometimes coming in during the 12th century; compare for instance the piece from Swerford Castle, and even more the fine vessel handle from Notley Abbey (Bucks.) near Thame, a foundation on a virgin site about 1160. Among the later 12th-13th century material lying loosely covered with ash over the 12th century floors in B1 south of the vault, came a tubular spout (B1B 52, Fig. 14) in fine hard white fabric with a faint blue-grey tinge, and a pale buff surface over which is a thin even transparent glaze, freckled green due to the sprinkling of copper filings; it has been knife-trimmed, and was tied to the neck by a bar with twisted strand down the centre. This may be compared with wares from Cambridge, Stamford and Lincoln, and must be an import to Oxford,

Late Saxon pottery of St. Neot's type. AIC.4 is of very hard sandy fabric. p. 61. (× ¼)
E. M. JOPE AND W. A. PANTIN

FIG. 11
Pottery of St. Neot's and related types, and associated pottery. pp. 64-6. (x 1/4)
Those pieces from D1 should be labelled D1B 1, 2, 3, 4

Evidence of this trade continuing into the late 12th or 13th century. By then pottery was also going in the other direction, Brill wares being found at Northampton and Bedford, for instance.39

Imported sandy grey and whitish wares (FIG. 9)

From the Clarendon site came parts of a number of vessels of characteristic almost white fabric, with dark grey or black surface, a 'monolayer' of smoking not penetrating to any depth. In most there is a large amount of harsh sand, so that the texture resembles much local cooking pottery and the tripod pitcher


40
FIG. 12
Pottery of the 11th and early 12th centuries. pp. 65-6. (×4)
E. M. JOPE AND W. A. PANTIN

FIG. 13
St. Neot’s and other wares of Late Saxon types. pp. 68-9. (× ½)

FIG. 14
Ornamented coarse pottery of the 11th-early 12th centuries: fine glazed jug spout of the late 12th-13th century, imported from eastern England (BrB 52); complete cooking pot from Radcliffe Square, Oxford (AM.1915.15). pp. 35, 48, 66, 71. (× ½)
St. Neot's ware (C3.1, C3.2), and late 11th-early 12th century pottery. pp. 66-8. (×4)
considered to have been made in this region in the 11th and 12th centuries. But there is also a less harsh sandy version of the white-cored ware, and two fragments among the 11th-12th century pottery from C2 suggest a small handled, pipkin with curled-over handle (C3 12), a more complete example of which (QSt1) came from no. 41 Queen Street in 1938 from a large pit containing 12th-13th century pottery, but a little of which might be 11th century. Sherds of this ware also came from the pits under the Castle Mound.

This type of vessel was current on the continent in the 11th and 12th centuries, and they have been considered imports when found on other sites in the British Isles. Further work is needed to be sure whether these Oxford examples are foreign imports, but the rim and handle shape and the ware set them apart from the general Oxford region products.

The top part of another vessel (Fig. 9, C3 26) from the same deposits in C3, though of the more sandy white fabric, with grey surface, is also an unusual shape, and it is possible that some of the more sandy wares of this class may represent imports.

From C3 came a thin strap handle (C3 11, Fig. 9) of sandy ware, grey throughout, which was probably not made in this region, but further north-east, perhaps in the Thetford area.

11th and 12th century Wares

St. Neot's Pottery (Figs. 8 and 10-12). Much St. Neot's type pottery of the Oxford Region is closely comparable with that of the type area further east (Bedford–Northampton–St. Neot's–Cambridge) both in shape and in having a fine soapy-surfaced fabric containing much crushed thin shell. The Clarendon site has however produced a considerable amount of pottery of related shapes but of fabrics which though similar in composition, have a rougher surface finish. This is probably due to more peremptory treatment of the pot in the wet state (though there may be some differences of clay composition), but in fact these rougher fabrics and the shapes of some of these Oxford vessels are not easy to parallel exactly among eastern English material, and the conclusion must be that we are here dealing with our local Oxford region version of St. Neot's type

40 This statement corrects that of Oxoniensis, iii (1937), 172.
41 Oxoniensis, xvii-xviii (1952-3), 89.
42 Ulster J. Archaeol., xxi (1958), 47. A. Hermbrodt, Der Husterknupp (1958), 90, 108, 110; pl. 16, 169, for examples of 'Blaugraue' ware datable to the 12th century. For C3 26 cp. also ibid., pl. 13, 139, 146; pl. 14, 158, etc.; Ber. Rijksdienst Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek vii (1956), 62.
Late Saxon pottery. Whether indeed any appreciable quantity of true St. Neot's type pottery was imported into the Oxford Region must remain doubtful, as it is soft fragile ware easily made from locally available materials.

Detailed study of the pottery from this site has given a fair number of virtually complete profiles of this type of pottery (though the larger deep pans are not so well represented), by contrast with the small number so far available for the parent-areas round Bedford, Cambridge and St. Neot's.44

**Dating.** It is not yet possible to date the earliest use of St. Neot's wares in the Oxford region; in the parent-area (Cambridge-Bedford-St. Neot's) this is still somewhat tentatively set in the 9th century.45 Dating evidence in this period is difficult to obtain. The sequences on the Clarendon site (e.g. B1) do suggest that St. Neot's ware was out of use by the late 11th century. This is suggested also by the pits under Oxford castle and perhaps by evidence from Deddington Castle, and the concurrence of three sites goes far to eliminate the risks of specialized deposits. But the ware had a continuously developing tradition into the 12th century in the parent-area, and there are hints of that in our area also.

**11th century coarse pottery (FIGS. 11 and 12).** Apart from the pottery reflecting St. Neot's wares, a deeply-rooted Saxon tradition is seen in such vessels as C2A 1, C2C 1, and perhaps C1B 2, 3. It is also evident that the whole series of cooking and other coarse pottery of the 12th century and onwards is a natural development from that of the 11th century. What lies behind this latest Saxon tradition cannot yet be demonstrated (although Mr. Brian Hope-Taylor's work at Old Windsor will perhaps teach us what to seek out). A large scale excavation of a site yielding datable 9th-10th century pottery is now most needed, though such a site may be hard to find.

In dealing with the pottery from the Clarendon site without recorded context there is a temptation to regard much of it as early in date, and use it in tentative arguments about the development of the area. But caution is necessary. Similar early looking pottery occurs in quite large pieces in the 12th century layers, and FIG. 2o shows how few stray sherds of St. Neot's ware occur in these layers (similarly in the Deddington floor sequence). Hence we must accept the possibility that many of these early-looking cooking pots were still being made and used during the earlier 12th century.

**12th century cooking pottery (FIGS. 15, 16, 17).** These vessels show a considerable variety in shape and size. The small pots B1B 19, 24, 34, are a form not before

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FIG. 16
Late 11th-early 12th century pottery from the floors (layers (1)-(11)) sealed by the 12th century vault.
pp. 52, 61-4. (× 4)
Fig. 17
Early 12th century pottery from the floor (layer 12) sealed by the 12th century vault. pp. 52, 63-4. (× 4)

47
noted, and attention may be drawn to the extreme thinness of body (1·5 mm. in places), sometimes produced by tool-trimming in leather-hard state downwards from the shoulder. This type appears in layer (†), just before the tripod-pitchers in layer (@). The pot from Radcliffe Square (A.M. 1915 15, FIG. 14) illustrated by comparison that similar rim-forms may appear on entirely different shapes of pots.

It seems that the cooking pots with more deeply impressed finger ornament round the top of the rim flange, a very characteristic type, began to be made c. 1100 (as also the small pots discussed above), for they also occur first in B1 layer (‡). These are nearly always in harsh sandy ware, and nothing so deeply impressed comes from the pre-c. 1070 pits under Oxford Castle mound.

There is a general tendency for more modelling and thicker moulding on the rims in the 12th century, the result of folding excess clay over inwards or outwards at the edge.

The cooking pot with no rim flange but only a clubbing and almost vertical sides with no shoulder, and wider at the base than the top, is now a well recognized type in this region. It has sometimes been thought to be part of the Saxon tradition, though without adequate evidence. On this site the type with all these characteristics does not appear before late 11th century levels (B1C 1; C3 5, 13); it did not appear in the pits under Oxford Castle mound, although seen in the pits on Canal Wharf site under the line which the town rampart or wall must have occupied after the castle was built—thus pre-late 11th century. Thus (in spite of the fabric of C3 5), it would appear that in Oxford itself this type with no shoulder was first used in the later 11th century; it was much used during the 12th century, but was probably no longer in use well before the end.

Bowls and Dishes: 12th century types (FIG. 18). Wide shallow dishes with inturned rim flange of well-recognized 12th century type were not common on this site; examples come from A4 and from Z, the former associated with a cooking pot having a deeply thumb-pressed rim, common in the 12th century. A less wide one comes from B1 associated with tripod-pitchers, and a similar association is recorded at Ascot Doilly castle.

Z10 has a modelled profile more common in the chalk country to the southwest than in Oxford, although a parallel comes from Godstow Nunnery. The fabric of Z10 significantly contains crushed flint.

These dishes and bowls all bear a channel, appearing on the outside just

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46 Oxoniensia, xi-xii (1946-7), 169; xiii (1948), 71-2.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

below the widest girth, which shows the way the rim flange has been turned inwards. In Z10 the fracture clearly shows how the potter first turned the clay sharply in at the rim and then folded back all his surplus clay on top of this flange, so forming the bulky rim. Differences in modelling of these rims probably depended as much as anything on the clay used.

Fabrics in the 11th and 12th centuries

These may now be summarized for Oxford and its immediate region for the 11th-12th century.

1. St. Neot's type pottery. All these vessels are thrown on a fairly fast wheel, which requires a well prepared clay.

(a) The smooth soapy-surfaced pottery with white-flecked blackish core seems to have been made by mixing with the clay broken fine shell such as can be got from streams (e.g. fresh water mussels), though rarely can any species be identified among the fragments. Valley-bottom shell-marls could have been a natural source of this mixture. The thin platelets of shell tend to line up parallel to the pot surfaces and give a laminated structure, sometimes weakened on firing and weathering, and tending to disintegrate characteristicly by flaking along these planes. The soapy feel is probably produced by fine platelet particles from the shells becoming detached on rubbing. This ware was usually fired under reducing conditions, the black core being due to carbon; sometimes air has been allowed access for a while before the vessel has cooled below about 700°C, resulting in a reddish surface layer of 1 mm. or so.

The term 'St. Neot's ware' should strictly be reserved for this fabric in the typical shapes.

(b) St. Neot's types, or closely related shapes, wheel-thrown, also appear in harder or rougher fabrics. Sometimes these are harder fired versions of (a) above, but there are also fabrics with rougher surfaces. These may be caused by more peremptory treatment in the wet state; more examples seem made up with limestone detritus rather than broken shell (although fragments of shell, probably fossil, are occasionally seen). This filling gives a white flecked appearance to a dark core, its nature being distinguishable with a hand lens. These fabrics do not show the laminated structure; their surfaces are usually pimply, but can sometimes be fairly smooth although not soapy. The limestone detritus is usually rounded and each particle may be up to 1 mm. in diameter, occasionally more (see further, 2, below). These wares should not really be described as 'shell-gritted' .

2. A fair proportion of the 11th-12th century coarse pottery in the region,
Fig. 18
Unglazed pottery of the 12th and early 13th centuries. pp. 48-9, 70-1, pl. 11 c. (×\(\frac{1}{3}\))
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

from the earliest deposits onwards, is of clayey fabric also containing limestone detritus as gritting, but modelled on a slow and jerky wheel. Such detritus is contained naturally in many clays in valley-bottoms, of the district and such were widely available; it is doubtful whether any extra tempering material was needed.\(^{49}\) These fabrics are often loosely described as ‘shell-filled’, but this term should be reserved for those with deliberately added shell.

Firing of these wares was again largely under reducing conditions (with variable air access during cooling), but at temperatures apparently often higher than for St. Neot’s wares.

3. Sandy Wares. Already in the earliest deposits on the Clarendon site are wares with a harsh gritty surface. These are made from a clay with a large proportion of sand (of the order 70 per cent. or more) composed of sub-angular quartz grains (with rounded angles) of fairly uniform size $\sim 0.5 \text{ mm}$. These in fact have a better binding effect than more fully rounded grains, and this mixture enables a high proportion of refractory material (quartz) to be included in the fabric, as well as facilitating drying and eliminating some firing faults (e.g. ‘dunting’ or ‘spalling’). This ware became more commonly used in the late 11th-early 12th century (FIG. 20), and formed the basis of the first locally made glazed ware in the region, the tripod-pitchers.

4. Glazed Wares (see pp. 54ff.). There are three main classes in use during this period:

(a) Fine glazed wares of Late Saxon type imported from the eastern Midlands to the north-east. Even these more clayey fabrics contain some small quartz particles, usually about $0.1 \text{ mm.}$ or less in diameter, and always less than $0.2 \text{ mm.}$ The lead-glazes are mostly thin and transparent, sometimes covering the surface, though they may be fairly thick and often crackled.

(b) The tripod-pitchers are usually of sandy fabric similar to (3) above, but to the west of Oxford some are made of the fabric with limestone detritus (type 2). Glazes are usually brown, yellow or olive-green, all colours being due to iron from the fabric in varying states of oxidation. Very rarely a green freckled glaze may be seen on an orange fabric: this is produced by sprinkling the surface with copper filings as well as with the lead compound before glaze-firing, which under oxidizing conditions yields the orange fabric as a result of its iron content.

(c) In the early 13th century less harsh fabrics began to be used for glazed wares. These may contain finer sands and sometimes a higher proportion of fine plastic clay, or even a mixture with more rounded sand grains.

Technical considerations in 11th-12th century pot making

Attention may be drawn to certain technical features in the making of Oxford pottery in the 11th and 12th centuries.

Rim thickening by folding over (inwards or outwards) is frequently noted in the descriptions. It seems to have been more widely practised from the 12th century onwards. Grooves repeatedly seen in certain characteristic positions in fact are often the marks of the end of the fold, and thus are structural features requiring to be carefully indicated in drawings.

The slanting marks now frequently noted on the outside of many 11th-early 12th century cooking pot rims (e.g. FIG. 16, B1B 4, 8; FIG. 17, B1B 35, 36, 40; FIG. 12, C2C 2, 5, 7; PL. II d, Z 4, 5) would seem to result from finger pressure, when folding the clay and smoothing it down with a skewing motion during the forming of the neck and rim, the marks being often caused by the nail; the rare appearance of knife-slashes in their place suggests that they were considered ornamental and therefore left comparatively unobscured.

Tool-trimming of the outside of cooking-pots downwards from the shoulder, in leather-hard state, seems to have been widespread among the sandy wares of the 11th-early 12th centuries. The characteristic marks can be seen left by grits which have been dragged along the surface of a clay which has ceased to flow (PL. II c). Base angles were also often tool trimmed.

The convex bases almost universal at this period are, as M. L. Soloan pointed out long ago, merely the result of lifting the pot off the table or bat. A base of this kind seems to be the result of the removal of a large area of clay from a flat surface; this was evidently done by easing it away from the outer edge, working it gradually away, sometimes perhaps with a tool. The convex base was thus inevitable, and could hardly have been restored to a flat shape. It was then trimmed off with a tool, and finally worked over with the hands, the burr on the base angle often remaining (e.g. C2A 2, C2A 3, B1G 1, B1B 23). Other methods of removal, by sliding a knife under (B1A 1, B1B 4) or by means of a string, yielding a flat base, are sometimes seen at this period in Britain.

The addition of separately made necks to tripod-pitchers has been noted in the description of their manufacture, and also the beginnings of the use of copper filings to produce green freckled glazes which became so characteristic of the 13th and 14th centuries in England, although rare in the north.

50 This has also been observed in rural settlements in Devon in the 12th-13th centuries (Medieval Archaeology, II (1958)), 128, 135, 135.
52 None have been found in Oxford, but see Norwich, Norfolk Archaeol., xxxi (1955), 58; and cp. Antiq. J., xxxvii (1957), 50. This method may be seen as early as Minoan times, see Hist. Technol. n (ed. C. J. Singer, 1958), 263, fig. 230; 290.
Glazed tripod-pitchers of the 12th century. pp. 54-9. (×½)
Glazed tripod-pitchers

Glazed tripod-pitchers can now provide a useful dating-index for the Oxford region. Here on the Clarendon site their introduction may be ascribed to the earlier 12th century, being found only in the uppermost layer (f2) of the four deposits in B1 sealed by the vault of c. 1150-70 (see above, p. 22). At Deddington Castle, N. Oxfordshire, their introduction may be defined more closely to c. 1120, for their earliest occurrence is in the top two of seven floor layers sealed by the building of the hall c. 1150.53 At Old Sarum a foot of one of these tripod-pitchers was found in a pit containing a coin of William I.54 They were in use at the castle of Ascot Doilly, c. 1135 to 1170,55 and were still current in the region in the late 12th century,56 and lasted into the early 13th century, when some later features such as pinched bases were incorporated.57 The Clarendon site produced fragments of a fine pitcher (Z21) at the end of the tripod series, with a thumb-and-finger pinch-mark on the base angle between each foot. This pinching of the base is in general an early 13th century feature, and this vessel has applied brick-red strips of triangular section, as seen on some early 13th century Oxford jugs.58 It still has the separately added neck. From the Clarendon site came the impressive large two-handled vessel Z22. Had only a handle fragment survived, it would have been taken for a tripod-pitcher. It thus provides a warning, for it must be at the end of the series with twisted rope handles, dating to the early 13th century. Once again, it still has the separate added neck.

It has not yet proved possible to work out in detail the development of the various features of tripod-pitchers through the 12th century.

From the Clarendon site they show the usual range of style, most with tubular spouts, and strap handles with twisted clay inserted down the back, and the usual repertoire of girth groove, wavy line and applied strips with a variety of pinched ornament (PL. iii).

No other types of glazed vessels seem to be represented among the sherds from B1 layer (f2), nor in the building debris immediately overlying it. This confirms the impression that these pitchers were the main glazed pottery of the region in the 12th century, although different glazed pitchers were in use in

53 The earliest carved stonework from this hall Dr. Zannecki considers as of about the mid-12th century, though most of the carved work, of better quality, he would consider somewhat later, probably not before c. 1170. I am most grateful to him for his comments, which I should stress are at present only from photographs.
55 *Antiq. J.*, xxxix (1959) in press,
57 *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 98.
58 *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 106, fig. 25, B, E ; pl. X.9.
other areas. Early 13th century pottery was not common on the whole site; part of a neck of a large ovoid jug of a type argued by Mr. Bruce Mitford to be c. 1210\(^5\) came (without context) from Z. This dating receives some confirmation from their absence from layer 12, and also from the late 12th century well-filling at St. John’s College.\(^6\)

The making of Tripod-pitchers

In the Oxford region these are usually made of a rather friable sandy fabric, the sand grains being of the order 0·2 mm. across. In some cases

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\(^{5}\) Oxoniensia, iv (1939), 98, fig. 22 A, C.

\(^{6}\) Oxoniensia, xv (1950), 48-50.
E. M. JOPE AND W. A. PANTIN

there is clear evidence that the large baggy body has been made first by throwing on a wheel, and the tall neck then added by fitting in one, two or even three rings of clay, the junctions being often clearly visible (PL. II A; cp. also the storage vessel Z 7, FIG. 21). Any rotational ornament (e.g. girth-grooves) was done next and the handle (and tubular spout if any) then put on, usually by dowelling at the top and pressing on at the bottom. The pitcher must at this stage have been removed from the wheel-head, the convex base being formed in the lifting. The three feet must have now been put on to the base while the clay was still soft, and finally the lower part of the body and the base angle were trimmed with a tool before the clay had dried much. Contrast the unfilled drag-marks of grits when this sandy clay is tool trimmed in leather hard state (PL. II c).

Finally, strip-ornament was applied. This was often used functionally to strengthen the handle and joints at the spout (PL. III B), and even those joining the neck to the body (FIG. 19).

These seem the earliest large baggy pitchers with comparatively long narrow necks to be made in the Oxford region, and it looks as though the potters had to experiment in their manufacture. Building of the necks in separate sections was probably dictated by the difficulty of turning the neck in, when these sandy fabrics with a rather low proportion of plastic clay to sand, were used, and of building up sufficient clay for this purpose.

The origins of this technique of making the neck are still to be traced. The general principle of adding a separate neck is of great antiquity, to be found in the Greek and Roman world; and on prehistoric pottery it is part of the ring-building principle. In England the possible predecessors for the baggy shape with narrow neck are the baggy pitchers of eastern England, of hard St. Neot’s ware;

The origins of this technique of making the neck are still to be traced. The general principle of adding a separate neck is of great antiquity, to be found in the Greek and Roman world; and on prehistoric pottery it is part of the ring-building principle. In England the possible predecessors for the baggy shape with narrow neck are the baggy pitchers of eastern England, of hard St. Neot’s ware; here the more plastic clay made it easier for the potter to obscure the earlier stages in forming the vessel, and their detection requires a more careful examination. This type of large pitcher in hard shelly ware was current in the 12th century in the Oxford region and does not seem to pre-date the glazed tripod-pitchers. There is a hint that tripod-pitchers were perhaps in use a little earlier to the south at Old Sarum, so possible origins might also be sought in that area.

**Tripod-pitchers (FIG. 19)**

(a) B1 (2); *upper floor layer sealing well B1B*. This produced fragments of at least 14 tripod-pitchers, of which a representative series is described below.

65 *Oxoniensia*, xv (1950), 50-2.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

BIB 44. Numerous fragments of a pitcher of sandy grey fabric with buff surfaces, with a rough uneven brown to olive glaze. It has girth grooves which were incised during rotation, and over them were applied vertical wavy strips, with a plain strip collar round the neck. No rim or handle fragments were found, and owing to poor fits in the upper part of the profile here is reconstructed from the numerous similar pitchers from Oxford sites. From floor S. of 12th century vault. Parts of two others with similar wavy vertical strips.

BIB 45. Fragments of a pitcher with vertical finger-tipped strips applied over girth grooves; pale greenish glaze. From directly over well. Others of this type occurred in this floor south of vault and south-east of vault.

BIB 46. Parts of rim, and handle of pitcher of grey fabric with greenish glaze (not illustrated); the handle has typical twisted clay insertion down back; from area east of vault. A body fragment, with pinched applied strip from this floor over the well, probably comes from this pot.

BIB 47. Pitcher rim, of grey sandy fabric with rich brown surfaces and glaze. From over well. Body fragments from this floor south of the vault, bearing girth grooves only, are probably from the same pot.

BIB 48. Parts of base and body of sandy grey fabric with buff surfaces and olive glaze, with coarse girth grooves. From floor south of vault (not illustrated).

BIB 49. Neck fragment of grey fabric and buff surface with dirty greenish-brown glaze on interior, and applied finger-tipped strip collar round neck. This piece illustrates the addition of the neck as a separate ring, a not unusual procedure in building up these pitchers. From over well.

BIB 50. Base and body parts of a baggy pitcher of reddish sandy fabric with pale grey surface layer, dark grey interior, and a patchy olive glaze on the outside. Ornament on the body seems confined to incised girth grooves and rough vertical lines in horizontal zones. From floor south of vault. Compare also a fragment associated with C3 7-10.

BIB 51. Part of handle with inserted twisted-clay; light reddish sandy fabric throughout and good even glaze, speckled green. This illustrates the early use of copper filings to achieve a speckled green effect on the orange ground resulting from applying a glaze to an oxydized surface, an appearance more characteristic of 13th than of 12th century pottery. From upper material on 12th century floor, south-east of vault (not illustrated).

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64 e.g., pl. iii A, and Oxoniensia, iv (1939), 98, fig. 228; xv (1950), 48, fig. 16.1; xvi (1951), 36, fig. 14.7; Oriel Record, viii, no. 5 (Jan. 1942), 177, no. 2.
Glazed and unglazed (Z.7, Z.8) pottery of the early 13th century. pp. 54, 59-60, 71-2. (×1)
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

Z 18 Many pieces of a tripod-pitcher of friable harsh sandy fabric with grey core and ochreous surface layer; uneven patchy orange to olive-green glaze on outside. It has twisted clay inserted in the back of the handle, and no tubular spout. On the body it has five zones marked off by girth-grooves, each containing an incised wavy line. The neck has been built up by adding a succession of three separate rings to the body itself, and little attempt has been made to obscure the joints on the inside (PL. II A). The handle joints have been strengthened by applying strips of clay (as also seen on the handles Z 29 and 20); this illustrates the process of manufacture described above.

Pottery Frequency Diagram (FIG. 20)

The incidences of certain characteristic 11th-12th century types of pottery from the sequence in B1 are set out in FIG. 20. Beside this data are set the corresponding data for the pits under Oxford Castle mound and for the sequence of seven floors underlying the mid-12th century hall at Deddington Castle.

We can see from such a table the nature and rapidity or sharpness of the changes we may expect in coarse and in finer pottery during the 11th and 12th centuries in and around Oxford. Such a table makes a most essential background to the use of such pottery for dating; this is a subject on which for British medieval pottery in general we seem as yet to know little.

St. Neot’s wares are seen to pass out of use here fairly early (at least during the second half of the 11th century) and there are not many stray sherds in higher layers. The same applies to unglazed and glazed imports.

The rise in popularity of harsh sandy wares about the beginning of the 12th century is clearly seen, although they occur too frequently in earlier deposits for occasional sherds to give any indication of dating. At Deddington the appearance of this fabric is much more dramatic, and on that particular site at least, this fabric can be used for dating. The introduction of glazed tripod-pitchers in this ware is seen to be a useful general dating criterion for the area.

13th-14th century Pottery (FIG. 21)

The Clarendon site yielded little useful data about the associations of 13th century or later medieval pottery, the upper levels being for the most part too disturbed. Much pottery came from what was apparently in a pit in Z,

67 The Deddington and Oxford Castle data were prepared for my Munro lectures at Edinburgh in 1954. For dating of the Deddington hall, see note 53.

68 Cp. for Hedeby, W. Hübener in Archaeol. Geographica, ii (1951), 105; Germania, xxx (1952), 79.
but the associations are of little value as the pottery seems to range from early 13th century to late 13th or even into the 14th century, including some wares from the kilns in massive production at Brill. Information is much needed on the sequence of development from the later 13th century through the 14th century. A few vessels are figured for their intrinsic interest.

Some vessels illustrate the styles current in the first decades of the 13th century, showing the latest phase of the tripod-pitchers. It is useful to see a complete profile (Z 21) of a tripod-pitcher with thumb-and-finger pinches on the base angle, a feature introduced about the beginning of the 13th century. A similar base was found in well 2 on the New Bodleian site. Z 21 has red triangular-sectioned applied strips, seen on a number of 13th century Oxford pitchers. The large two-handled vessel (Z 22) shows its relation with the tripod-pitcher style in its handles with twisted rope insertions. Both these two vessels have their necks made separately and inserted, as with the tripod Z 18, so that this feature cannot be regarded as specifically early. There is also from Z part of a jug with girth groove ornament, a large version of the ovoid jugs from New Bodleian well 2. This has a pale yellow glaze and is of a creamy fabric, the sand being similar to that used for tripod-pitchers (though slightly coarser, up to 0.3 mm. in diameter), being held in a matrix of finer whitish clay.

Of the earlier half of the 13th century are the jugs with white painting under the glaze (pl. iv, top row). There are also jugs with broad red painted stripes and little or no glaze.

There are the usual examples of pitchers with much plastic ornament (e.g. pl. iii and iv), a style characteristic of the 13th century which on evidence elsewhere seems to have been less common in the 14th, when styles were less exuberant; the extra work involved may have been the cause of the change. Outstanding for its plastic ornament is the aquamanile, pl. iii.

For the later 13th-early 14th centuries there are a few of the usual baluster-jugs, tall straight-sided jugs, freckled green glazed jugs, and a certain number of vessels which seem to be products of the kilns in massive production at Brill, Bucks.

70 Oxoniensia, iv (1939), 98, fig. 22D.
71 Ibid., fig. 25 b, e, pl. X.9.
72 Oxoniensia, iv (1939), 98, fig. 22 a, c.
73 Cp. Oxoniensia, iv, 119, pl. X.8, 114, pl. XII.2.
74 Oxoniensia, iv (1939), fig. 23 b, c, g; also the cooking pot from this well compares with one from Z.
75 Oxoniensia, iv, pl. XII.6.
THE CLARENDO HOTEL, OXFORD

Associated Groups of Pottery and Sequences

A1A. Late Saxon cellar (not illustrated)
A1A 2. Cooking-pot rim of brown fairly hard fabric with limestone detritus.\(^7\)

A1B. Late Saxon cellar from lower filling (FIG. 10)
A1B 1. Numerous fragments giving by overlapping a nearly complete profile of a jar with convex base; St. Neot's ware of fairly soft shelly brown to black black resinous material in places on outside.
A1B 2. Rim of soft fairly smooth shelly St. Neot's ware, with surfaces brown to black outside and light red inside. There were also a number of fragments of another St. Neot's ware jug, soft and flaking badly in laminae.
A1B 3. Body fragment of a very hard fired brown and greyish ware, close textured, with very fine sand, gritty in fracture but less so on surface; also a little calcium carbonate material. In ware this may be compared with another jar from Northampton Castle, with rim missing, of very hard fired fine sandy ware light grey on outside and brownish inside.

A1C. Late Saxon cellar; from filling of main cellar (FIG. 10)
A1C 1. Reconstructed profile from three overlapping sections, of a large jar, of fairly hard fine St. Neot's ware with dark grey white-flecked core and mauve-reddish surfaces much blackened inside and out; surface smooth when rubbed.
A1C 2. Fragments of a jar of fairly hard smooth shelly St. Neot's ware, with grey core and mauve-tinged light red surfaces, blackened round rim; greyish outside towards the base.
A1C 3. Fragments of a tall jar, of black shelly St. Neot's ware, not very smooth, and flaking in places.

From filling of deeper pit at north (FIG. 10)
A1C 4. Fragments of a small cooking-pot of very hard harsh surfaced ware with an almost metallic dark blue-grey sheen on the surface. It has a whitish or pale grey core. There is much tool-trimming on the outside of the body and base angles. The modelling of the interior of the base-angle is much neater than on most medieval pots. There is no evidence for the rim, the simplest being used in reconstruction. With these sherds was found the small two-edged comb (FIG. 25a).

B1B. For B1B 1-3 see Imported wares.
B1B 4-7; layer (7) (FIG. 16).
B1B 4. Parts of a rim in a small pocket of black slime against the clay luting of the well side 7 ft. 6 in. down (layer (7)), with a small piece of Late Saxon type glazed ware (see above, pp. 37-8). Poor pottery, a very friable fabric with rounded limestone pebbles up to 1-1.5 mm. in diameter and some crushed shell; brown core reddened for 2 mm. on outer side; both surfaces black. Slanting working marks are seen on outer side of rim.

\(^7\) Cp. under Oxford Castle Mound, Oxoniensia, xvii-xviii (1953-4), 84, no. 20.
Part of a spiked cresset lamp 7 ft. 6 ins. down against the side of the well (layer 7). Of friable black fabric with limestone detritus; close textured black resinous deposit left on parts of surface, from use as lamp. The stem has been tool-trimmed.

Rim of St. Neot's ware, black white-flecked with shell.

Rim fragment, of ware as B1B 4, flaking badly in laminae. In this layer is also a thick base of St. Neot's ware.

Cooking pot rim of hard clayey fabric with some sand and a little shell; grey core and light red-brown 1-2 mm. surface layer. Faint trace of slanting working marks on outside.

Rim with light finger-tip impressions, of fabric as B1B 4.

Rough pimply fairly hard grey fabric with black surfaces; flat ledge at top of shoulder.

Hard harsh sandy fabric, grey core and buff surfaces; flat tool-trimmed ledge at top of shoulder, and tool trimming in leather-hard state down side.

Rim fragment, friable shelly ware, grey core and reddish surfaces.

Cooking pot rim with light finger-tipping on top; of fairly hard pimply fabric with some shell and limestone detritus; grey core and light red surfaces.

Smoothly profiled rim in soft flaking fabric with shell and limestone detritus; dark core and reddish surfaces blackened.

Small rim of developed St. Neot's type, in hard fine shelly fabric, grey core and light red fairly smooth surfaces.

Cooking-pot rim with fairly deep thumb impressions on the top; of hard sandy fabric, having many rounded quartz grains up to about 0.3 mm. set in a greyish-white clay matrix. The outside grains have retained a thin coating of clay and the buff surface is not very rasping. Occasional black impressions indicating vegetable matter can be seen in fracture. This type of pot with deep impressions in sandy ware does not occur in earlier levels; there are four body sherds and a base in similar fabric from this deposit.

Layer 10: over upper fill of well (fig. 16)

Lightly finger-tipped rim of hard harsh sandy fabric with pale grey core and buff surfaces.

Very lightly finger-tipped rim of sandy fabric slightly coarser than B1B 17, containing a few fragments of shattered flint and other stone.

Layer 11: from ash over brown loam; pre-tripod-pitcher layer (fig. 16)

Small pot of harsh sandy fabric with whitish to dark grey core and buff surfaces; the body was tool-trimmed below the shoulder and round angle of the base in the leather-hard state (see p. 50; cp. B1B 24, 34).

Cp. under Castle Mound, Oxoniensia, xvn-xviii, nos. 11, 32, 33, 39; also Chichester, Sussex Archaeol. Coll., xci (1955), fig. 5.

This type of rim in this ware is not common in Oxford (cp. Seacourt, Berks. Archaeol. J., l. (1947), 53, fig. 2.7), but is more so 30 miles to the east, e.g. Lavendon Castle, Bucks. (unpubd.).

62
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

BIB 22. Cooking-pot rim with light finger tipping on top and round outer edge; of red clayey fabric with some crushed shell.

Layer 12; occupation material with tripod-pitchers (FIG. 17)
BIB 23-32. Sealing well east of vault.
BIB 23. Cooking-pot of sandy harsh rather friable fabric, with whitish core and buff surfaces a little blackened, and with a slightly smoothed finish. There is some tool-trimming on the shoulder but not on the base angle; the rim is thickened by an outward fold.
BIB 24. Small pot (cp. BIB 19, see above) of hard sandy slightly friable fabric with greyish-white core and harsh blackened exterior and buff interior surfaces.
BIB 26. Hard harsh sandy fabric, light grey core and surfaces varying from orange to blackened grey-brown; rim thickened by outward fold.
BIB 27. Fabric as BIB 26; surfaces have a mauve tinge; tool trimming on shoulder.
BIB 28. Clayey fabric with some crushed shell and a little sand; light grey core and buff surfaces, smoke blackened on outside.
BIB 29. Dish (one of few from the site), of fairly hard grey-cored fabric filled with limestone detritus, light red surface layer blackened outside.
BIB 30. Rim of rather soft shelly fabric with grey core and light red surface layer 1 mm. thick. This was probably a deep almost vertical sided pot with flared-out rim flange, the first example recognized in Oxford of a type known from 12th century levels at Grosmont and White Castles in S. Wales and also from Northampton and Leicester.
BIB 32. Hard fine sandy dark grey fabric; neatly thrown on a rapid wheel.

The glazed tripod-pitchers (Nos. BIB 45, 46, 49, FIG. 19) came from this layer.

Layer 12, floor S.E. of vault; BIB 33-37 (FIG. 17)
BIB 33. Cooking-pot with fairly lightly finger-tipped rim, of harsh hard sandy dark grey ware with blackened surfaces.
BIB 34. Small pot of hard harsh buff fabric, blackened in places on lower part (reconstruction according to BIB 19). Tool-trimming when leather-hard below shoulder resulted in a body wall only 1·5 mm. thick.
BIB 35. Fairly hard fabric filled with limestone detritus and a little sand; black core and light red surfaces; slanting working marks on outside of flange.
BIB 36. As above, but without sand.
BIB 37. Fine sandy fabric with grey core and brown to black surfaces; rim thickened by outward fold. One piece from south-east of vault fits one from south.

Tripod-pitcher No. BIB 51, comes from this layer.

Layer (B) : BIB 38-43, from floor S. of vault (Fig. 17)

BIB 39. Upper part of cooking-pot, of pimply lumpy brown fabric with blackened slightly soapy surfaces, filled with limestone detritus and apparently some shell.
BIB 40. As BIB 36. Slanting working marks on outside of rim.
BIB 41. Moderately hard pimply fabric with reddish-brown surfaces and black core flecked with limestone detritus and shell.
BIB 42. Fairly hard ware with brownish surfaces and dark grey core flecked white with limestone detritus.
BIB 43. As BIB 41.

Tripod-pitchers Nos. BIB 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, Fig. 19, come from this layer.

BIC. Later 11th-early 12th century well filling, equivalent to layer (B) (Fig. 16)

BIC 1. Rim and base of vertical sided cooking-pot with clubbed rim; of hard clayey ware with limestone particles, 10-12 ft. down.
BIC 2. Cooking-pot rim with finger-tip ornament on top; of friable fabric with limestone and shell particles, grey core and reddish-brown surfaces, 10-12 ft. down.
BIC 3. Cooking-pot rim of fairly fine hard sandy ware, grey core and brownish surfaces, somewhat blackened, 10-12 ft. down.
BIC 4. Cooking-pot rim of rather rough fabric with some crushed shell and flint and a little sand; dark grey core and brownish surfaces, 12-14 ft. down.
BIC 5. Part of a small thick walled crucible in almost vitrified pale greyish fabric; apparently unused, 12-14 ft. down (see above, p. 16, and below, p. 72).

CIB. Late Saxon pit : group from bottom filling.

CIB 1. A large portion of a small heavy-sided pot, of black not very fine ware with shell fragments up to 2 mm., though the surface is not smooth or soapy. The rillings have rather broad intervals and appear to rise spirally.
CIB 2. Simple flange-rim of a large pot of black but not very smooth ware, with occasional crushed shell and flint and limestone detritus.

DIB (Fig. 11)

DIB 1. Part of a shallow dish, St. Neot's ware, from filling of pit DIB. Late Saxon. Soft fabric with black core flecked white with crushed thin shell; tending to flake in laminae parallel to the surface, which is smooth fine clayey pale buff, probably much worked over with a wet tool (self-slipped), as little shell and no leached out cavities show in the coherent surface. The outside of the body has been tool-finished. This shallow dish seems very wide, 11 1/8 ins. across; but 3 1/2 ins. of rim survives, and similarly wide dishes are known from the Cambridge region. Part of a comparable dish of this


64
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

fabric came from the primary silt of the Oxford Castle ditch at Nuffield College, presumably deposited soon after 1071.82

D1B 2. Rim of a St. Neot's ware jar; Late Saxon. From filling of pit D1B Moderately soapy St. Neot's fabric with black shell-flecked core and dark purple to black surfaces changing to grey and not so soapy down the outside.


D1B 4. Rim and shoulder of cooking-pot, probably later 11th century. Of slightly friable fabric filled with limestone and quartz particles up to about 0.5 mm. diameter (a few larger); black core and buff surface-layers. Shows the characteristic slantwise working on the outside of the rim flange.

B2. Pottery disturbed by building of the vault (fig. 13).


C2A. Small pit (fig. 12)

C2A 1. Top part of cooking-pot of hard-fired smooth clayey light red to grey fabric with a little limestone fragment filling; no tool-trimming. This shape has an early appearance paralleled among the Saxon material from Old Windsor (but not the fabric), and this rim may be compared with those of round-bottomed pots as found at Old Sarum (Antiq. J., xv (1935), 174), Winchester, Pevensey, or Southampton (cp. Archaeol. J. cvii (1952) 34-5).


C2A 3. Part of a square-angled base of a wide cooking-pot: harder, finer and more even-surfaced than C2A 2, but of similar material.

C2B. Rectangular cellar (fig. 12)

C2B 1-2. 11 ft. down over drainage sump.

C2B 1. Body of cooking-pot, of dark grey to black soft crumbling fabric with a few small pebbles and crushed shell fragments up to 2.5 mm. across, emphasizing the laminated structure. The surface is not pimply, but not soapy either.

C2B 2. Cooking-pot rim, almost vertical, brittle coarse ware, much heat-crackled, with small stone and crushed flint up to 3.0 mm. in diameter, in a black core, with grey surfaces.

C2B 3-5. Upper filling of rectangular cellar.

C2B 3. Small cooking-pot of black coarse lumpy fairly brittle fabric with including many limestone fragments up to 1 mm. in diameter, and some crushed shell: a very unevenly formed vessel, made with very slow and jerky rotary motion.

C2B 4. Cooking-pot rim with shallow finger-tip impressions; of hard dark grey fabric with pimply surface, containing crushed shell and flint and small water-rounded sand grains, some to 2 mm. diameter.

82 Unpublished.
E. M. JOPE AND W. A. PANTIN

C2B 5. Spindle-whorl made by perforating the base of a small Romano-British olla, of fine hard grey fabric. Large part of body of very fine hard sandy black fabric, 4 mm. thick; a base of fine hard shelly fabric; part of a body of coarse fabric, 9 mm. thick, with crushed flint in grey core with brown surface layer. All not illustrated.

C2C. Well, late 11th or early 12th century (Fig. 12)

C2C 1. In filling 14 ft. down, top of small cooking-pot formed by slow and irregular rotary motion; the rim slightly frilled; fairly hard, shell and limestone-fragment filled, black to brown fabric.

C2C 2. Position and fabric as above: this rim shows slanting working-marks round the outside of the rim.

In filling 10-12 ft. down:

C2C 3. Part of a cooking-pot of hard harsh-surfaced with pale grey to buff interior and core and brown exterior surface, which has been largely tool-trimmed when leather-hard. There are three lines of rouletted squares on the shoulder.

C2C 4. Top of cooking-pot, in hard fine sandy buff fabric with pale greyish core. The outside surface was tool-trimmed from the neck down when leather-hard, and there is light finger-tipping on the top of the rim.

C2C 5. Rim of cooking-pot of fairly hard shelly ware with grey core and brown to black surfaces: slanting working marks on outside of rim.


C2C 7. Large proportion of a cooking-pot of fairly hard slightly gritty fabric with grey core and light red surface layers, white flecked with some crushed shell; slanting working marks on outside of rim flange.


This deposit contained also a piece of fine imported glazed ware (see above, p. 37).

C2C 9. Cooking-pot rim in hard buff to grey fabric with limestone detritus filling; light finger-tipping round outer edge; from immediately above well filling.

C2C 10. (Fig. 14), top part of cooking pot, in fine hard shelly fabric, with incised concentric circles.

A3C. Pottery from bottom of well (Fig. 11)

A3C 1. Large proportion of a cooking-pot of black rather soft shell-filled fabric with a fairly smooth surface. There is no rilling on the inside. The pot was presumably thrown on a slow wheel. The fabric but not so much the shape is presumably related to St. Neot's ware.

A3C 2. Simple rim-flange of a cooking-pot of soft friable brownish fabric, with limestone detritus. It has horizontal working marks on the outside of the rim, but none slanting.

8) For square rouletting on similar fabric cp. from the pits under Oxford Castle Mound (Oxoniensia, xvii-xviii (1952-3), 86, no. 34.).
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

C3. Deposits from north side, perhaps once a cellar (FIG. 15).
C3 1-7. Lowest deposit, 10-12 ft.: later 11th century.
C3 1. Inturned rim of bowl of St. Neot's type, black cored shelly fabric with light red soapy surface smoked in places; drawing completed as a deep bowl, by analogy with one from Northampton Castle.
C3 2. Large St. Neot's ware jar rim of dark grey fabric white-flecked with crushed shell, and pinkish red surfaces which, while not soapy, can be made so by rubbing. The outer edge of the rim has been smoothed upwards and burred over inwards a little.
C3 3. Cooking-pot rim of crumbly rather coarse black fabric with rolled limestone detritus up to 2 mm. across, and some shell.
C3 4. Vertical-sided cooking-pot with clubbed rim formed by folding over outwards; hard clayey fabric with fine limestone detritus; light reddish-brown smoked black in patches.
C3 5. Vertical-sided cooking-pot with simple short rim flange, strengthened under angle by pushing in of a little clay; black fabric resembling coarse St. Neot's, but more lumpy and gritted, in fact with fine rolled limestone particles. The square-angled base of similar ware perhaps belongs.
C3 6. Rim of large cooking-pot, of hard pimply-surfaced fabric with grey core and red-brown surface layer, filled with finely crushed thin shell and limestone fragments up to 1 mm. in diameter, but mostly smaller.\footnote{\textit{Cp. from pits under Oxford Castle Mound, Osuniensia, xvii-xviii (1952-3), no. 27.}}
C3 7-12, middle deposit, 8-9 ft.: early 12th century.
C3 7. Rim of cooking-pot of harsh sandy fabric, buff surface and grey core; strongly frilled with finger impressions, the thickening at the top being produced by an outward fold.
C3 9. Top part of cooking-pot of fine sandy ware with buff to black surfaces; neatly rilled on shoulder both inside and out; rim thickening produced by an inward fold.
C3 10. Rim of heavy cooking-pot of hard harsh sandy ware with grey core and buff surfaces; rim thickened by an outward fold smoothed down the outside.

For C3 11, 12, see under \textit{Imported wares}.
C3 13, 14, 15. Upper parts and base of vertical-sided cooking-pots with clubbed rims, in fairly fine-surfaced ware with limestone detritus filling. C3 14 has the modelling of the St. Neot's type inturned rim bowl round the inner part of the rim. The ridge round the base angle of C3 15 is caused by a final hand-smoothing of the base, burring over the soft clay a little.
C3 16. Upper part of cooking-pot, in rather friable shelly fabric with rough slightly harsh surface; grey core and light red surface layer.
C3 17. Upper part of cooking-pot, of black friable fabric with moderate amount of sand. There is a whole variety of these simple rim-flanges.
C3 18. Hard fine sandy black ware.
C3 19. Similar ware, light finger-tipping round outer edge.

\footnote{\textit{Cp. from pits under Oxford Castle Mound, Osuniensia, xvii-xviii (1952-3), no. 27.}}

C3 21. Similar ware.

C3 22. One of a group in fine sandy fabric, of various sizes: occasional spots of glaze show that glazed pottery was being fired nearby.


C3 24. Upper part of small cooking-pot in hard rough sandy fabric but only moderately harsh; grey core and buff surface layer: characteristic shoulder form with tool-trimming in leather hard state below it.

C3 25. Handle of tripod-pitcher with usual twisted clay in channel down back; dull green glaze.

For C3 26, see Imported wares.

Early pottery from other parts of the site (FIGS. 13, 15 and 18).

A6 1. Heavy rim of large pan of good smooth St. Neot’s ware, grey core and light red surface.85

B7 1. 8-10 ft. down. Rim of small pot, of black fine sandy fabric, but surface not harsh as finished off with wet hand, leaving sand grains coated with clay; faint finger-tip impressions under outer edge of rim.

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

B7 2. 8-10 ft. down. Top part of large heavy storage jar, of crumbly rather crudely mixed clayey fabric, poorly fired, with a little crushed shell and small rounded limestone grains up to 0.7 mm. in diameter: blackened surface and reddish brown core. The outside is slightly marked with vertical facets, probably finger work on the soft clay, and the massive rim has been strengthened by pushing clay in under the angle after turning the rim outwards. Although this is of much rougher poorer ware, it may perhaps be compared with the thick-rimmed storage jars of hard grey, wares found in East Anglia but not outside. 66

FIG. 23
Burnt daub with crossing wattle-marks (a), faceted chalk (b), and bun-shaped loom-weights of coarse baked clay (c, d, e). pp. 73-8. (× 3)

Part of large dish with slightly inturned rim and convex base: of hard coarse rather gritty fabric with limestone detritus grains, some leached out to leave small holes in surface; grey core and reddish brown surface layer, blackened outside and smoked grey inside. The rim has been thickened by turning in then folding outwards over the top, the characteristic exterior groove below the top being the end of the fold. Tool trimmed round the base angle. This is a 12th century derivative of the Late Saxon St. Neot's type of inturned rim bowl. Few examples of this type were found on this site (in B1, B7 and Z).

Iron objects, from AC1 (b), from B1 layer (a, c). (×4)

Bone comb and polished bone thread-picker from A1C (a, c), and bone spindle-whorl from A1B (b). (×4)

Cooking-pot of hard very pale grey harsh sandy fabric with smoke blackened surface (a ‘monolayer’ of black, not penetrating the surface). It has strong thumb impressions on the rim, and the base angle is tool-trimmed: there is a series of regular shallow grooves round the shoulder, and it must have been thrown on a fairly rapid wheel. The dish type A4 1 is characteristically associated with this class of pot and also with tripod-pitchers.

St. Neot's ware.

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

Z 2. Large handle socket of a deep pan, of brown fabric with limestone detritus; the end of the handle has a series of small hexagonal stamp impressions.

Z 3. Rim of cooking-pot in clayey close textured black fabric; it has channelled lines worked in the soft clay probably with a stick.

Z 4. Upper part of a cooking-pot, showing how the rim has been worked into shape with the fingers, in progressive movements (pl. II D upper).

Z 5. Shows a similar process revealed by slanting finger-nail marks on the outside of the rim (pl. II D lower).

Z 6. Upper part of cooking-pot in somewhat harsh sandy ware, with black core and surfaces. Decorated with grooves on shoulder made with a comb with square-ended teeth. Rim made by folding the surplus clay inwards and smoothing it down.

Z 7. Upper part of a large storage jar in hard dark sandy fabric. It has vertical applied strips of triangular section, and the beginning of a handle is preserved, probably one of two going up to the rim. The break at the neck shows that the rim had been added as a separate piece (fig. 21).

Z 8. Upper part of small pot in fine hard sandy fabric (cp. Z 7), with rib round between shoulder and neck (fig. 21).

Vessels illustrated to show points of technique (figs. 18 and 21).

Z 9. See pl. II C. Upper part of cooking-pot of harsh hard-surfaced sandy fabric with greyish core and buff surfaces. Included to show the characteristic tool-trimming in the leather-hard state below the shoulder, a widespread procedure on these 12th century cooking-pots in Oxford.


Z 11. Rim of vertical-sided pot with no shoulder, of hard fired clayey fabric with mottled reddish surface and grey core flecked white with limestone particles. 12th century. This shows the rim thickening formed by an outward fold, and thumb-pressing on top.

Z 12. Rim of large deep pan; probably later 12th or early 13th century. Hard clayey fabric with limestone particles, grey core and light red rough pimply surface. This is of interest as showing the rim-forming process of typical large shallow dishes with inturned rim, here transferred to a large deep pan.

Z 13-16. shows a range of shapes in use in the later 12th-earlier 13th centuries, in hard fired fabric with close-textured clayey matrix gritted with fine limestone detritus or shell, but little sand. The large pot Z 13 is less hard. All have a grey core and light red surfaces smoked in occasional small patches. None from this site seem to show the thin wash of poorly fired glaze round the rim, so typical of the earlier 13th century to the west of Oxford and occasionally found in the city. There are also fragments of a number of unglazed pitchers of this fabric from Z, of a type in use during the 12th century.

88 Oxoniensia, xiii (1948), 73 ; 68, fig. 14-17.
E. M. JOPE AND W. A. PANTIN

Z 21. A wide pitcher with waisted base having three feet and three thumb-and-finger pinches on the base angle equally spaced between them. The fabric is creamy-buff with a reddish tinge in fracture; a moderate amount of sand of grain size c. 0.2 mm. in diameter has been mixed with a fine clay, and the surface is slightly powdery. It has a patchy transparent glaze, in one part contaminated with earth and small pebbles which are fused in. The handle has twisted clay inserted down the back, and has frilled edges. The body has incised girth grooves, and triangular-sectioned strips of friable orange-red sandy clay applied almost vertically over them. The lower part of the body seems to have been tool-trimmed on the outside when leather-hard. The neck appears to have been separately made and added to the body, though in this plastic clay the junction has been fairly well obscured.

Z 22. Top part of large two-handled vessel, body evidently wide, but neck narrow. Hard sandy even fabric, with light grey core and buff surface layer 0.5-1 mm. thick with faint mauve tinge in surface. It has a patchy wash of blotchy yellow to dull green glaze over handles and shoulder, but virtually none on rim. Even on this well-made vessel the narrow neck has been added as a separate piece, the joint still being visible on the inside.

LATE SAXON AND 12TH CENTURY INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

Metal-working

Bronze. From the east part of the site came evidence of small scale bronze-working, mostly in the form of fragments of small crucibles with slag on the outside made red with opaque cuprous oxide in suspension, and a small amount of slag and fragmentary corroded bronze from B1B 6. Otherwise little bronze was found; perhaps this was the result of corrosion.

A stone mould for casting silver ingots (fig. 22) came from the bottom of the Late Saxon well, C2C. It was of an even textured fine-grain oolitic limestone, and remains of silver with a little lead were traceable spectrographically in the hollow. It had been broken from a larger mould which had also a hollow for casting larger ingots. The smaller ingots would have been 9.9 cms. long (when molten), with rounded ends, and of D-section. Such ingots are well known among Viking Age hoards.90

Spinning and Weaving

Spindle whorls of pottery (C2B 5) and of bone of common types came from Late Saxon deposits on the site. That from A1B (fig. 25 b) is made from the great trochanter of a femur (probably of an ox), a very common type from the Iron Age onwards.

90 Viking Antiq. Great Britain and Ireland, ii, 120; iii, 106.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

Large bun-shaped loom-weights of well-known later Saxon type (FIG. 23) came from Late Saxon contexts in square B1 and C2 and from an earlier 12th century deposit in D6. These are of coarse clay with much gravel, and weigh about 2-3 lbs. By the shape of the hole in that from D6, these were simply made up round the thumb from a lump of clay.

From the filling of the Late Saxon cellar A1C came a well-polished double-pointed bone implement, of a type now identified by Miss Elizabeth Crowfoot as a thread-picker, and found on pagan Saxon sites (FIG. 25 c). It is evident that cloth was being made on the west side of Cornmarket in the 11th and perhaps early 12th centuries. Bun-shaped loom-weights of this type are usually found in later Saxon contexts, and even the one in an early 12th century deposit (D6) is unusual. These weights were in use with vertical looms, which were apparently superseded by horizontal looms by the 13th century. This probably explains why they are not found in later contexts.

Although a gild of weavers was established in Oxford by about 1120 weaving never really flourished in the town.

Iron objects (FIG. 24) on this site were scanty and ill-preserved. From A1C (Late Saxon) came a rectangular-sectioned loop, perhaps a buckle, the tapering ends overlapping but not joined. From B1 44, in 11th-12th century debris, occurred a small corroded knife, and an iron bar 6½ ins. long, with tapering rectangular section, with a short tang-taper for a handle at the top; a similar implement comes from Deddington Castle.

Bone objects (FIG. 25) were also scarce. From A1C (in a drainage pit, with pot A1C 4) is a small double-sided comb; the teeth are missing but the traces of cuts on the binding-plates imply finer teeth on one side than on the other. The plates are held with iron rivets. This type is known from Roman times onwards.

From A1C came a polished bone implement of type common on Saxon and some later sites, now identified by Miss Elizabeth Crowfoot as a Thread-picker.

From A1B comes a spindle whorl of a type very common from the Iron Age onwards, made from the great trochanter of a femur probably of an ox.

Stone objects

Querns and Millstones. Small fragments of Mayen lava querns about 1 inch

93 Cp. one from Carfax in 1931, Oxoniensia, v (1940), 49.
97 Bushe-Fox, Richborough, iv (1949), pl. liv, lvi. For their manufacture, see R. Blomquist, in Kulturten (Lund; vol. for 1942), 160-1.
99 Germania, xxxi (1953), 24-7; xxxiv (1956), 248 ff.
thick were found in the lower filling of B1A (layers 2, 3 and 4). A larger piece of a Mayen lava millstone 2 ins. thick and of diameter about 1 1/2 ft. was found built into the base of the 12th century vault wall near its south-east corner. This is the first time one of these millstones of Mayen lava (or indeed of any stone) has been recorded from Oxford, though part of one of Mayen lava comes from the later 13th century pottery kiln site at Brill, Bucks. An 'Andernach lava Quern' was noted from the site of the meadow Buildings at Christ Church, and examples of the thin ones come from the pits under Oxford Castle Mound and from Nuffield College site, and from the later 11th century levels at Deddington Castle, Oxon. I am most indebted to Dr. P. A. Sabine (Chief Petrologist, Geological Survey) for his comments on these lava querns.

From the filling of the 11th century well B1B, 7 ft. 6 ins. down, came part of a conglomerate quernstone. Mrs. J. E. Morey (Petrological Department, Geological Survey) reports on it as follows:

'It is a conglomerate composed of pebbles of quartz, quartzite, red mudstone, amphibolite, and a quartz-amphibole rock, in a pink gritty quartzitic matrix.'

'The specimen has not been matched exactly, but it resembles in general appearance the conglomerates from the Old Red Sandstone Series (Devonian) of the mid- and South Wales and Gloucestershire regions. In the latter the conglomerate forms quite a well-marked feature of the district (Bristol and Gloucester District (Brit. Regional Geol., Geol. Survey, ed. 1948), 15-17).

'The presence of quartz-amphibole pebbles would seem unusual, but a similar pebble was found in one of the Gloucestershire specimens (M.R. 13011).'

Sharpening-stones. Two hones of dark grey mica-schist were found, in B1A and A4. Another fine specimen (fig. 22 b) in this widely used material was found with an iron knife and a few body sherds of St. Neot's ware, about 8 ft. deep or more in a trench opened down the east side of the roadway in Cornmarket, between the Golden Cross Hotel and Carfax. This is the only hint we have so far that in the 11th century the habitations may have extended also into the east side of the present width of Cornmarket.

Chalk. Several of the Late Saxon structures produced pieces of facetted chalk, as also did the pits under Oxford Castle Mound. Most pieces are small, but one from the bottom of the well C2C was large (fig. 23 b). All the facets run more or less parallel, and it is possible that they result from the use of the chalk for fine grade polishing, although the parallel striations in that case would suggest some lack of success. Possibly chalk was brought into Oxford for this

98 Archaeol. Oxoniensis (1892), 111.
99 Oxoniensia, xiii (1948), 72; xvii-xviii (1952-3); Dark Age Britain (1956), 297.
THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

purpose. One such piece of facetted chalk from Putney, Surrey, however, is a small stamp, perhaps for pottery.

Shoe-making, by D. Sturdy. The position of the site in the medieval Cord­
wainery, predominantly the shoe-makers’ quarter, was amply confirmed: the large cess-pit into which D6 was sunk (p. 31) preserved in its sludge a small section of wattle and daub and much leatherwork, together with sherds of tripod-pitchers and cooking-pots of c. 1120-1220.

Many shoes, a few complete, most fragmentary, and all badly worn and patched and clearly discarded by the shoemaker as beyond repair, were found together with scraps and cuttings. The shoes form a group which can be compared with the contemporary shoes from the series at Lund in Sweden. The majority are round-ended, but a few are slightly pointed; both kinds are unlike either the much commoner pointed shoe of the 15th century or the blunt-toed shoe of the 16th century.

In technique, however, they are closely similar: a single black-tanned cow’s hide sole, 4-6 mm. thick, flesh-side up, was sewn to the upper which was hair-side up and shaved down to 2-3 mm. on the flesh-side. It was sewn with coarse brown pack-thread, on a curved needle 1 mm. thick, in loose stitches. The thread was drawn together when the job was finished to make the stitches invisible (p. 76, no. 1). On some examples a welt (4 mm. by 6 mm.) was added between sole and upper (p. 77, no. 7).

The upper, cut in either one piece or two, was joined at the heel or sides (p. 76, nos. 1, 2; p. 77, nos. 4, 5), the butt-join being oversewn on the inside with finer needles to make the join similarly invisible. The unsewn edges of the upper were mostly pierced decoratively, as if for sewing, and occasionally a decorative double-join was made down the front of the upper (p. 76, no. 2). When the shoes were worn the high flaps were folded together; the thongs were knotted on these flaps. The knot thus came on the same position on the foot as with a modern shoe.

Many shoes, even the elegant pumps (p. 77, no. 7) had been soled and heeled. They were only light slippers, and medieval roads probably wrecked them in a matter of months. The new pieces were sewn on with in-and-out stitching, half through the original sole and right through the new piece—an insecure but waterproof join.

Building Materials

Walling. In the earliest deposits on the site the commonest evidence of the buildings which once stood above the cellars is burnt daub with wattle-marks.

100 Oxoniensia, xvii-xviii (1952-3), 98.
DESCRIPTIONS OF SHOES ILLUSTRATED

1. Man's shoe, size 4½, right foot, soled and heeled.
2. Man's shoe, size 6, right foot.
3. Sole of man's shoe, size 6, upside down to show stitches of soling and heeling.
4. Woman's shoe, size 2, right foot, soled and heeled, upper shown upside down.
5. Child's shoe, size 10½, left foot, heel piece of upper missing.
6. Sole of woman's shoe, about size 3½, narrowed at instep and heel.
7. Front half of woman's shoe, about size 4, with welt, soled.
In the filling of the late Saxon cellar A1B and of the 11th century well B1B, some of this daub had the charred wattles still in place in the daub. These were mostly \( \frac{1}{2} \) in. thick, and a few \( \frac{3}{4} \) in. thick. I am most grateful to Dr. G. W. Dimbleby (Department of Forestry, Oxford) for identifying these: he reports that they are mostly hazel and ash, with one piece each of oak and field maple. Some of this burnt daub may have been from chimneys or ovens, but some probably came from walls as it had a smooth outer surface, some with grey paint. A wattle-and-daub wall (with a grey wash over the inside surface) had been used through the middle ages along the street front to the south of the 12th century vault (B1).

The walls of the 12th century vault were of roughly coursed coral rag obtained locally, probably from Wytham or Hinksey. The dressings, including the arch, were of a fine comminuted shell limestone, probably from Wheatley, with rounded particles, the interstices being much iron-stained.\(^{103}\)

The dressings of the east doorway of the rebuilt vault were of good fine cream oolite, probably from the Burford-Taynton area. Among the medieval carved stonework from the site there is much stone from the Great Oolite, of Taynton type, as well as from the Corallian, of Wheatley type. No other stone types were seen.

**Roofing.** Documentary sources show us that stone buildings were being thatched in Oxford not merely during the later 12th century but on through the middle ages.\(^{104}\) Another document of 1184-98\(^{105}\) concerning the northernmost building on our present site, speaks of a ‘...seldam [cum solario] tegulato...’ This probably means stone slates, and is a most valuable reference to the late 12th century. They were certainly in full use during the earlier 13th century,\(^{106}\) and were probably covered along the ridge with stone or clay ridge tiles. These clay ridge tiles\(^{107}\) could perhaps have been in use by the late 12th century, judging from their shelly fabric and patchy ill-fired glaze. This type was used on the hall at Deddington Castle, some more angular ones being used in repair work; the hall was built in the mid-12th century and fell out of use in the later 13th. But this type has more recently been found on the debris overlying a floor of a house on Hall’s Brewery site in St. Ebbe’s, probably built in the later 12th century and burnt down during the 13th;\(^{108}\) at Ascot Doilly some have been found associated in occupation layers with late 12th-early 13th century pottery.\(^{109}\)

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\(^{104}\) *Cart. Oseney*, i (1929), 61, no. 54, 62; no. 55 (1190-8), house to the N. of Clarendon site.

\(^{105}\) *Cart. Oseney*, i (1929), 59, no. 51.

\(^{106}\) *Oxoniensia*, xiv (1949), 94.

\(^{107}\) For type, see *Oxoniensia*, xvi (1951), 87, nos. 1-4.

\(^{108}\) *Oxoniensia*, xvi (1951), 83, 86.

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

APPENDIX

THE ANIMAL REMAINS

By MARGARET JOPE

The bones from the fillings of the Late Saxon cellars, pits and wells are those of domestic animals with proportions in the ranges: ox, 40 per cent. to 60 per cent.; sheep/goat, 25 per cent. to 40 per cent.; pig, 5 per cent. to 20 per cent. The only exception was the cellar filling in A1C, where pig was the most plentiful: pig, 37 per cent.; sheep, 31 per cent. and ox, 26 per cent. There were practically no small bones, only a few goose and domestic fowl and an occasional bone of cat and dog. No fish bones were recorded. This applies also to the medieval levels. Some deposits, Saxon and Medieval, e.g. in A1, B1, D1, D2, were excavated carefully enough to detect small bones had they been present. No deer bones were observed at all, either in Saxon or Medieval levels. Thus the bones are overwhelmingly of domestic food animals. Only the Saxon levels are reported in detail; the picture of domestic animals is the same in the 12th and 13th century deposits.

AtB. LATE SAXON CELLAR FILLING

**Animal Bones**

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<th>Horse R</th>
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E. M. JOPE AND W. A. PANTIN

Domestic Fowl:

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<td>Femur</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tibiotarsus</td>
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<tr>
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No. of Bones: 20

Approx. No. of Birds: 2

Goose:

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AIC. LATE SAXON CELLAR FILLING

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No. of Bones: 22 (+39) = 84 (+112)

Total No. Bones: 26 (+71) = 31 (+71)

Percentage No. Bones: 26 31 37 2 4

Approx. No. Animals: 4 4 4

Mollusca: Ostrea edulis 2

80
## THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

### B1.A. LATE SAXON CELLAR FILLING

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| No. Bones            | 32 (+11) | 17 (+13) | 13 (+12) | 5 |
| Total No. Bones      | =67 (+24) |           |          |   |
| Percentage No. Bones | 48       | 26        | 19       | 8 |
| Approx. No. Animals  | 4        | 2         | 3        | 1 |
### B1B. Late Saxon Well Filling

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### C2A. Late Saxon Pit Filling

Goat Horn Core 1

### C1B. Late Saxon well filling

Ox mandibles 2 (L and R)
### THE CLarendon HOTEL, OXFORD

#### A3C. Late SAXON Well FILLING

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<tr>
<td>Radius</td>
<td>1 (R)</td>
<td>Pelvis 1 (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femur</td>
<td>2 (R)</td>
<td>Tibia 1 (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patella</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Metatarsal 1 (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalanx</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ribs 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Axis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No. Bones 10 (+4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertebrae</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pig: Tibia 2 (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Metatarsal 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canine 1 (large)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Bones</td>
<td>11 (+5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Domestic Fowl

|       |       | Sacrum 1 | Ostrea edulis 1 |

#### Summary Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ox</th>
<th>Sheep/Goat</th>
<th>Pig</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total No. Bones</td>
<td></td>
<td>=25 (+9)</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage No. Bones</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. No. Animals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two views of the 11th century well (round) and cellar in B1, in course of excavation. The shuttering is along the street-front.

OXONIENSIA, VOL. XXIII (1938)

Ph.: E. M. Jope

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD
Illustrating technical aspects of potting. A. Inside view of neck of tripod pitcher 18, showing ring construction. B. Inside view under shoulder of D2E 1, showing compression ripples. C. Z 9, showing tool-trimming on shoulder. D. Showing the slanting marks resulting from working the rim in jerky turns; upper, Z 4; lower, Z 5.
A. Tripod pitcher from Radcliffe Square, Oxford, A.M. 1915. 70. (× 1)  B. Tripod pitcher handles (from Z) showing applied strips of clay round the handle junction.

C. 13th century aquamanile, from Z

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Top: section E-W across the late Saxon cellar A1B
Bottom: parts of 13th century glazed pitchers, from A 5 and Z.  (pp. 30, 59, 50)

PHOTO: E. M. Jope and Ashmolean Museum

OXONIENSIA, VOL. XXIII (1958)

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