Excavations on the Second Site of the Dominican Priory, Oxford

By George Lambrick and Humphrey Woods

With contributions by John Blair, Martin Henig, Maureen Mellor, Stuart Rigold, and Mark Robinson

This report is dedicated to the memory of William Abel Pantin whose interest and encouragement were a constant inspiration.

SUMMARY

Excavations have shown that the buildings on the second site of the Oxford Blackfriars, begun in 1236, were of exceptional size and extent. The outline plan of the main conventual buildings has been established and evidence for numerous subsidiary buildings has been recovered, mostly well south of the main claustral area. Only the nave was shown to have had more than one phase of building. Apart from the size of the priory, unusual features included a long slype south of the choir, a chapter house attached to the back wall of the cloisters, and a galilee and possible 'north nave' added to the nave of the church.

METHODS AND PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

THIS report brings together the results of a series of excavations (1961–75) on the second site of the Oxford Dominican priory. The area concerned lies outside and south-west of the walled town, west of St. Aldates between the Trill Mill Stream and the Thames (fig. 1). The excavations were concentrated in three main areas : the western part of the main priory buildings (directed by J. W. Banks in 1961, Fr. Fabian Radcliffe O.P. in 1966, Neil Jackson in 1969 and Humphrey Woods in 1974–5) ; the eastern part (by Derek Keene in 1967 and George Lambrick in 1972) ; and an area south of the main buildings (salvage work by Humphrey Woods in 1973–4 and one trial trench by George Lambrick in 1974). The overall results have thus been pieced together from many small excavations carried out during a long period of time.

Except in 1961 and 1966 the trenches were normally dug by machine more or less down to the top of medieval levels, and then continued by hand. Trenches IV and VIII in the eastern area and Trench III and parts of Trenches II and IV in the western area were excavated by machine down to natural, as were the trenches in the southern area where all but one were dug by the contractors. The shortage of resources, especially for reinstatement, has always precluded any large scale area excavation. Most of the work was thus more a series of *ad hoc* trial trenches than a full scale excavation, and the more drastic methods sometimes used were justified, if at all, only in these terms. Such methods could not be justified either on a larger scale or in areas where the basic plan has already been established. Further small

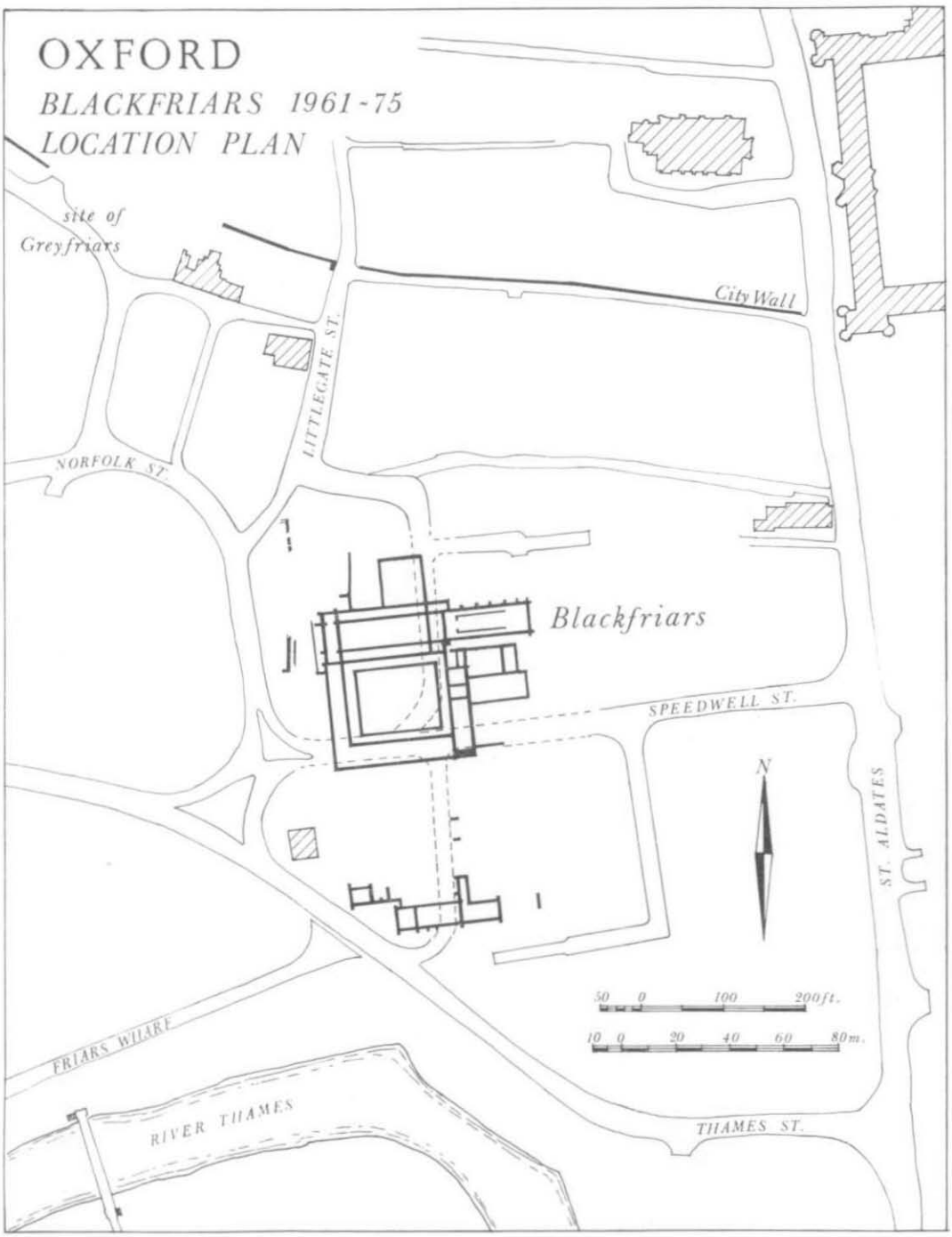

OXFORD
BLACKFRIARS 1961-75
LOCATION PLAN
site of
Greyfriars
City Wall
LITTLEGATE ST.
NORFOLK ST.
Blackfriars
SPEEDWELL ST.
N
ST. ALDATES
50 0 100 200ft.
10 0 20 40 60 80m.
FRIARS WILARE
RIVER THAMES
THAMES ST.

FIG. 1

excavations would still be useful in filling gaps in the basic plan, and undoubtedly much more detailed information could be obtained by large-scale area excavation in almost any part of the site.

Once the east and west ends of the church had been located in 1967 and 1969 respectively, it became possible to site trenches specifically to fill in parts of the plan by working outwards from the known areas to locate particular points from which wider inferences could be made. The policy of working out from known areas meant that, despite the spidery trench plans, all the main excavations were concentrated either in the eastern area centred on the choir, or in the western area centred on the west end of the nave. The nature of the construction work in the southern area also was such that the excavations there were grouped separately from those to the north.

It was decided that the descriptive and interpretative part of this report should follow these divisions, dealing with each area in turn, especially as this part of the report concerns only the description and interpretation of individual features and specific elements in the plan of the priory, not the overall plan as a whole. The various excavations within each area, however, have not been dealt with separately as this would only make the descriptions difficult to follow and the interpretations obscure. The parts of the site dealt with under each main section are as follows (see interpretation plan, FIG. 9) :

Eastern Area
The Pre-Priory Levels

The Choir

The Cemetery

The ? Chantry Chapel, Walking Place, and South Aisle

The ? ' North Nave '

The Slype and ? Prior's Lodging

The East Range of the Cloisters

The Chapter House

The ' Yard '

The Post-Reformation Levels

Western Area
The original West End of the Church and the South Aisle

The North Aisle

The Extended West End of the Church

The Galilee

The West Range of the Cloisters

The Western Cloister Alley

The Northern Cloister Alley

The Building West of the the Galilee

The Garden

The ? Anchor House

Southern Area
The South Cloister Range

The South End of the East Cloister Range

The Domestic Buildings South of the Cloister

The detailed plans of the eastern and western areas show only excavated information, interpretation being reserved for the overall interpretation plan (FIG. 9). The parts of the report dealing with these areas should thus be read using both the detailed plans and the interpretation plan.

The systems of numbering trenches and features are separate for each area, but within each area feature numbers have usually been prefixed with their trench numbers to avoid confusion. References to feature and layer numbers in the text do not necessarily imply that they are visible on the plans and sections published. For the finds reports the numbers have been prefixed ' E ', ' W ' or ' S ' to indicate the area to which they refer. Small-find (SF) numbers have also been prefixed with trench numbers. The only major exception is Trench I in the eastern area for which no prefixes have been added, either to feature or small-find numbers. The original site data is at present held by the Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit, but is shortly to be deposited with Oxfordshire County Council Department of Museum Services, Woodstock.

Discussion of the results of the excavations has been kept in a separate section, and deals with the site as a whole. It is hoped that this will draw together the separate descriptive and interpretative sections putting them in perspective and making them more intelligible, as well as drawing attention to the wider aspects of the site as a whole, and its general significance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavation and publication of the Blackfriars site has been the joint effort of many people over several years. We are particularly grateful to the directors of earlier excavations, J. W. Banks, Fr. Fabian Radcliffe O.P., Neil Jackson and Derek Keene for their assistance in providing their site records and in preparing this report. Thanks are also due to Mr. J. Haldon, Dr. H. Turner and Mr. C. Whittick for their help in the various excavations, and to members of the Oxford University Archaeological Society who did much of the work in all the excavations. The work would have been impossible without the co-operation of the owners and contractors on different parts of the site, the City Corporation, especially the City Engineer's Department ; Messrs. Norwest-Holst and Messrs. Percy Bilton for the new Telephone Exchange ; and Mrs. Bacon of the New Centre for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing.

For the report we are particularly grateful to Eleanor Beard for collating and drawing up the plans and sections for publication and to Rachel Askew and Tricia Roberts for drawing the small finds and pottery. We are also most grateful to John Blair for his report on the brass letters and stone mouldings, Martin Henig for the small finds report, and Maureen Mellor, Stuart Rigold and Mark Robinson for their respective reports on the pottery, the coins and jettons, and the clay deposits. Thanks are also due to Eric Edwards for his work on the human remains. Reports on the glass and floor tiles are in preparation and will be published in a later volume. We owe much to the published work of Dr. William Hinnebusch O.P.[1] on which we have relied almost entirely for documentary evidence to assist in the interpretation of the site. There is thus no documentary report as such since the material has already been covered thoroughly by Hinnebusch's article. We should also like to thank Annie Lipson for typing the report and David Hinton and Derek Keene for many helpful suggestions for its improvement.

[1] W. A. Hinnebusch O.P., ' The Pre-Reformation Sites of the Oxford Blackfriars ', *Oxoniensia*, III (1938), 57–82. W. A. Hinnebusch O.P., *The Early English Friars Preachers* Santa Sabina Roma (1951).

We are particularly grateful to Tom Hassall for his constant help and advice both during the more recent excavations and during the preparation of this report.

The excavations in 1966–7 were sponsored by the Oxford Excavation Committee and those of 1969 by the Oxford City and County Museum. Since 1967 the excavations have formed part of the Oxford Archaeological Excavation Committee's programme for the city under the overall direction of Tom Hassall. We are most grateful to the William Abel Pantin Trust for its generous financial assistance in the preparation of this report.

THE EASTERN AREA

By George Lambrick

(Plans, figs. 2 and 9 ; Sections, figs. 3 and 4)

Introduction

Two north-south trenches were excavated by Derek Keene in 1967. Trench X located the cemetery north of the choir, the north choir wall (F1002) and the choir stall footings (F22). Trench XI also exposed the north choir wall (F1120) and in an extension followed it eastwards to the east end of the choir (F1121). The south choir wall (F1119), the slype wall (F205) and the east and west walls (F1122 and 206) of the ?prior's lodging were located in the southern part of the trench. Between them these trenches also established the spacing of the buttresses on the north choir wall (F1065 and 1126).

In 1972 Trench I was a southward extension of Trench X relocating the north and south choir walls (F1002 and 14), the choir stall support (F22) and the slype wall (F208). The north and south walls of the chapter house (F30 and 43) were also found where they joined the back wall of the east cloister range (F507). A ' yard ' was found between the chapter house and the slype. A number of subsidiary trenches were excavated to clarify the plan. Trench III followed the south choir wall (F382) westwards and Trench VI relocated the north choir wall (F604) as well as exposing a further buttress (F618) and the east end of the north aisle (F613 and 614) where it overlapped the west end of the choir, possibly to form a chantry chapel. Trenches VI and VII located the west end of the choir (F615 and 703). A manhole excavation in Albert Street (North) revealed a footing which was probably the south aisle wall.

South of the choir, Trench II exposed a greater length of the slype and also located a curious open area at the north end of the east range, which contained footings (F207 and 223), probably for the night stair. Trench IV was excavated to examine the interior of the east range and to locate the wall (F415) assumed to be buttressed by F26 in Trench I. Trench V showed that the south chapter house wall did not continue through the east range. It also located the middle wall of the range (F506) and provided another section across the interior of the range. Trench VIII ran north-south along the middle of the range and located the vestibule of the chapter house bounded on the south by Robber Trench 804.

OXFORD *BLACKFRIARS 1961-75* *NORTH-SOUTH SECTION EASTERN AREA*

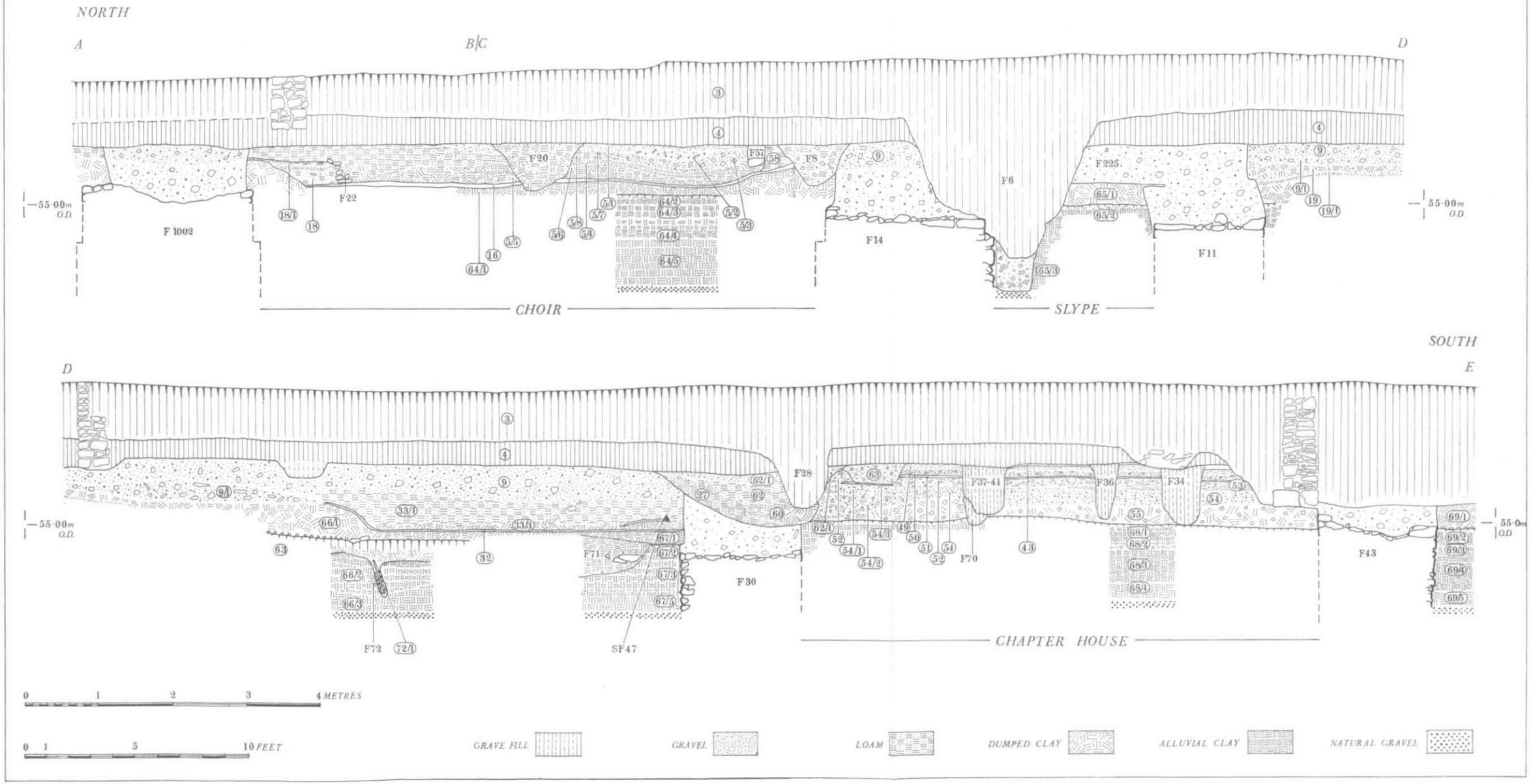


FIG. 3

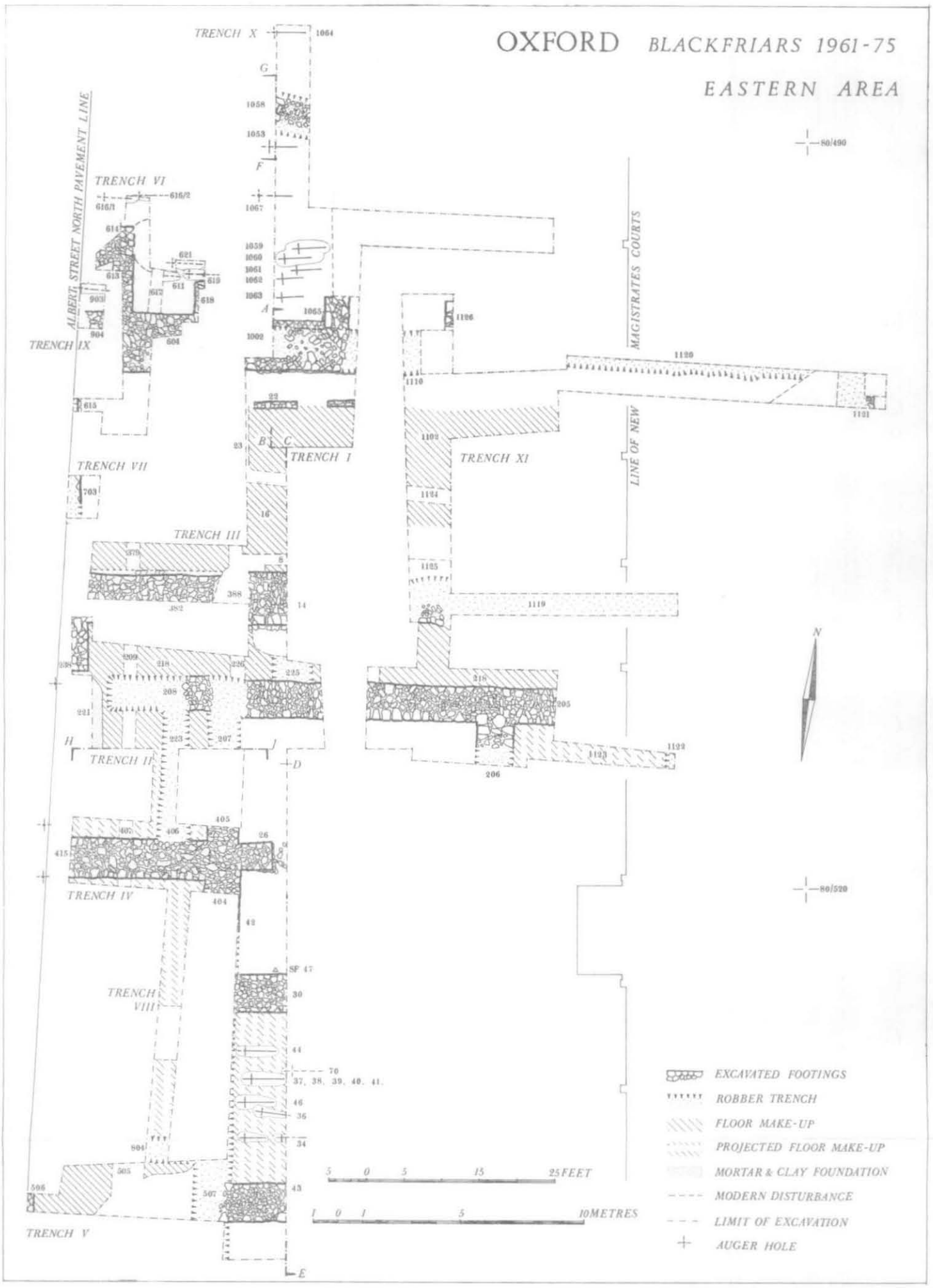


FIG. 2

[face page 172

The Pre-Priory Levels

In Trench I (1972) six small *sondages* were dug through the pre-priory levels down to natural gravel. A similar exercise in 1961 near the west end of the church (as now interpreted) had revealed a substantial build-up of clay resting on the gravel which was then interpreted as artificial.[2] The 1972 *sondages* showed that most of this build-up (0·90–1·20 m. thick) was in fact natural alluvium, an interpretation confirmed by analysis of the deposit in the western area in 1974 (see Appendix) (Layers 64/2–/5 ; 65/2–/3 ; 66/2–/3 ; 67/2, /3 and /5 ; 68/1–/4 and 69/2–/5, Section AE, FIG. 3). This agrees with documentary evidence that the land given to the friars was meadow land[3] which frequently flooded : repairs to the buildings were necessary in 1304 and 1323 and a floodbank had to be constructed in 1367.[4] At the time of the excavations the natural water table still rose almost to the pre-priory ground surface. This surface was a thin layer of orange-red stained clay overlain by a thin dark purple-brown band, possibly a turf-line (Layer 74).

The only definitely pre-priory features were a shallow ditch (F71) cut 0·50 m. into the alluvium running north-south, and a small wattle fence (F72) running at right angles, cut by Buttress 26 (Section AE, FIG. 3). The ditch contained mixed layers of silty gravelly clay with dark organic silt (Layer 71/1). The fence was sunk in a slot and was surrounded by wet grey silt (Layer 72/1). It consisted of four pointed stakes with eight wattle strands woven round them. The relationship between the two features had been destroyed by Buttress 26, but unlike the ditch there was no obvious cut through the old ground surface for the fence, suggesting that it may already have been silted over when the ditch was dug. A Carbon 14 dating for one of the stakes of the fence gave a result of A.D. 1198±100 years.[5] The fence and ditch may well have been dug to divide up and drain the meadow for agricultural purposes. If the ditch was later than the fence, the ditch could indicate an attempt by the friars themselves to drain the site before building work began.

The Choir

It is recorded that building began in about 1236, probably simultaneously on both the church and the cloister.[6] This is borne out by the excavated features. The top of the massive wall foundations of the choir was excavated in several places both in 1967 and 1972, and in Trench I (1972) a small trench was dug down to natural gravel to inspect the south choir wall footings (F14) more carefully (Section AE, FIG. 3 and PL. VI, A). The foundations were laid in a trench externally 0·50 m. wider than the footing, which had been dug to gravel to provide a firm bedding. At the bottom the footings were inferred to be 2·50 m. wide and up to the first offset (*c.* 0·70 m.) they consisted of large pieces of limestone very roughly laid and packed with sticky grey-green clay. This clay was probably a form of damp-proofing to control the flow of water during construction. It could not have made a proper

[2] Notes and News, *Oxoniensia*, XXVI/XXVII (1961–2), 337–8.
[3] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 66.
[4] *Ibid.*, 73.
[5] This date is based on the new half-life ; the Libby half-life would give A.D. 1220±100 years. Harwell ref. S191.
[6] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 68.

damp-course as it was confined to the lowest footings below ground level. Above this part of the footing the stones were more carefully laid making a rough face on the southern side and were packed with reddish orange-brown mortary gravel. Another offset was found at the old ground level *c.* 0·50 m. above the lower one. Above this the wall was 1·75 m. wide. This offset, like the lower ones, was 0·10 m. wide internally, but unlike them, at least on the north wall (F1002), was 0·40 m. wide externally. Possibly the wider external footings were intended to strengthen the wall against any lateral thrust, though on the north this should have been achieved by the buttresses. The construction trench of the south wall (F14) was backfilled with dirty grey-brown clay mixed with loam, gravel and stones (Layer 14/3). In all more than half the length of each side of the choir was located, mostly as robber trenches (*e.g.* in the eastward extensions of Trenches XI, F1119 and F1120).

On the north side the choir wall was buttressed at *c.* 5·00 m. (16 ft.) centres, which must represent the bay width for the windows. The spacing was given by the three buttresses excavated (F618, F1065 and F1126). F1126 had been disturbed, the other two were keyed to the wall of the choir. F618 projected 1·75 m. from the top of the choir wall footings, the other two projected 1·25 m. No buttresses were found on the south choir wall in Trenches I and XI, nor did augering under the north section of Trench II encounter any buttress footings. A bulge in the outer edge of the south choir wall robber trench (F1119 in Trench XI) is explicable as untidy robbing. The evidence suggests that there were no buttresses on the south side of the choir.[7]

The east end of the choir was exposed at the easternmost end of Trench XI. The wall (F1121) was badly disturbed on both faces, only the middle of its robber trench and a tiny stretch of its east face surviving. Across the west end of the choir the eastern edge of a substantial footing was exposed (F615 and F703) which was probably the east wall of the walking place separating the choir from the nave. The footing appeared to be load-bearing and may have supported a tower over the walking place. A similar footing was found at the Oxford Greyfriars.[8] At ground level the wall would probably have been pierced only by a doorway, but above this there was probably a rood loft to accommodate the rood screen known from documentary evidence.[9] The location of the ends of the choir established that its internal dimensions were *c.* 31·00 m. (102 ft.) by *c.* 8·00 m. (26 ft.), larger than most of the large Dominican churches known.[10]

When the walls of the priory had been built to above ground level the ground surface was raised by dumping a layer of brownish-yellow clay over the whole site sealing the offsets of the footings. The clay was mostly fairly pure but contained some gravel and stone, and it varied in thickness between 0·20 m. and 0·40 m. (Layers 64/1 ; 65/1 ; 66/1 ; 67/1 ; 55 ; and 69/1, Section AE, FIG. 3).

Occasionally there was a layer sealed beneath this clay : north of the choir a layer of sand and charcoal (Layer 1066, Section FG, FIG. 4) ; between the slype and chapter house a layer of mortar and stone (Layer 63, Section AE, FIG. 3) ; and just

[7] See below, p. 180, for further discussion of this.

[8] T. G. Hassall, ' Excavations in Oxford 1969 ', *Oxoniensia*, XXXV (1970), 12 and Fig. 4.

[9] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 79.

[10] For comparisons see Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, Figs. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 20, and Appendix VI, 502–504.

south of the chapter house a layer of cobblestones (the bottom of Layer 69/1, Section AE, FIG. 3). The first might have been associated with the construction of Wall 1058, but the stratigraphy was not clear, and similar layers elsewhere are more likely to have been spreads of material dropped during the laying of the footings, or possibly deliberately laid in particularly muddy areas. It is unlikely that the walls were standing to any height when the clay was dumped. The mortary layers beneath the clay were patchy and thin such as would accumulate during the laying of foundations when most mortar and stone droppings would fall down the construction trenches. Above the clay, also in patches, there were thicker layers of mortar and stone fragments (such as Layer 32) banked up round the walls, such as would accumulate during the building of the walls above ground level.

The source of the clay was obviously the massive construction trenches dug for the footings. Once these were laid it would have been desirable to level out the spoil heaps so that they would not impede work. By doing this the friars not only disposed of unwanted spoil but also raised the ground level to diminish the threat of flooding. A calculation of the volume involved shows that the material from the four choir wall footings (*c.* 320 cubic metres including topsoil) could be spread out 0·30 m. thick over 1067 square metres. The interior of the choir was only about 250 square metres, so much would have been left to spread out elsewhere—such as in the cemetery to the north where dumped clay was indeed also found (Layer 1052, Section FG, FIG. 4). Once the spoil was disposed of construction would have proceeded.

For the internal arrangements of the choir there is only slight evidence. All that remained of the floor was a bedding of mortar and stones or gravel up to 0·08 m. thick (Layer 16, Section AE, FIG. 3 ; Layer 1102). In places this had been cut by post-medieval features, but it was not cut by any burials, nor (in Trench I) were any burials found beneath it. It is clear that stalls were arranged along each side of the choir. On the north a low (0·40 m.), narrow (0·30 m.) unmortared wall (F22) ran parallel 1·40 m. inside the main choir wall. It rested on the edge of the floor bedding, and though only *c.* 4·00 m. of the wall survived, the continued edge of the floor bedding eastwards suggested that it had existed at least up to the second bay from the east end. On the south side a similar edge to the floor bedding suggested the same arrangement there. At the west end on this side, however, the bedding ran up to the choir wall. Possibly the stalls stopped short of the west end of the choir so as to allow access through the south wall to a newel stair to the tower and to the slype and dormitory (see below, p. 179 and p. 181). This is not certain, however, and a slight variation in the level of the floor bedding sloping up against the choir wall may suggest that the stalls did continue.

Wall 22 was broken by a gap *c.* 1·00 m. wide half-way along the excavated portion, which was possibly for wooden steps giving access to the stalls, but is more likely to have been created by robbing. The stalls probably consisted of a wooden superstructure supported at the front by Wall 22. A very similar footing for choir stalls has been excavated at Guildford Blackfriars by Mr. Woods, and there is an excellent surviving example in the University Church. Behind Wall 22 the dumped clay was banked up against the choir wall above the level of the floor bedding (Layer 64/1, Section AE, FIG. 3) suggesting that the stalls were an original feature of the

choir (unless the floor bedding excavated was not original and was sunk below the original floor level). Overlying the clay between the choir stall support and the choir wall were two layers of fine greenish grey-brown sandy loam (Layers 18 and 18/1, Section AE, FIG. 3) separated by a lens of sandy loam. Layers 18 and 18/1 were probably an accumulation of dust which formed under the stalls, the sandy layer perhaps deposited during a reconstruction of the stalls : there is documentary evidence of a royal grant for repairing them in 1290.[11] These layers, particularly 18, produced many small bronze and other artifacts, including tokens datable to the 15th and 16th centuries, which presumably had been lost irretrievably through cracks between the floor boards of the stalls. On the south side there was a similar dusty layer (Layer 58, Section AE, FIG. 3) which had been disturbed by later features and so could not be demonstrated to have accumulated in the same way.

From documentary sources it is known that the choir was rebuilt in the early 16th century : a gift of 200 marks was made for rebuilding the choir and dormitory in 1505, and in 1538 Dr. London in his report on the condition of the priory stated that the choir ' was lately newly builded '.[12] No direct evidence of this was recovered from the excavations. Some late 15th- or 16th-century pottery was found on and partly embedded in part of the north choir wall above the footings, but this could easily have been deposited during robbing after the priory had been dissolved. Certainly no secondary foundations were laid and it is most unlikely that the existing immense footings would not have been re-used. No late mouldings were found in choir wall robber trenches as might have been expected, and it may be that the rebuilding consisted of little more than re-roofing and refacing.

The Cemetery

A cemetery, possibly the main priory cemetery, lay to the north of the choir. Eight burials were found in 1967 (F1053, 1059–1064, 1067) and a further five, mostly fragmentary, were found in 1972 (F611, 619, 616/1, 616/2 and 621). None was lifted and no anatomical details are available. In addition to these, many burials have been found in the general area north of the choir and the nave.[13] The graves were dug through the dumped clay (Layer 1052, Section FG, FIG. 4), and near the choir in Trench X through a layer of sandy mortar, which was probably the spillings from construction work and overlay the clay. The burials were backfilled with brown gravelly loam similar to the soil generally overlying the dumped clay. This layer (1057, Section FG, FIG. 4) contained 17th- and 18th-century pottery which presumably accumulated when the area became gardens after the Dissolution.

The cemetery also contained a wall (F1058) running east-west at a slight angle to the line of the choir. It had been robbed to water level and its relationship to the dumped clay (Layer 1052) was not clear (Section FG, FIG. 4). If it was associated with the sand and charcoal beneath the clay (Layer 1066) it would pre-date the main priory buildings, but this is unlikely to have been the case. Although pre-monastic buildings have been found elsewhere associated with the construction of priories (*e.g.* at Guildford Blackfriars), here the friars already possessed buildings in the town

[11] *Ibid.*, 15.
[12] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 80.
[13] *Ibid.*, 78.

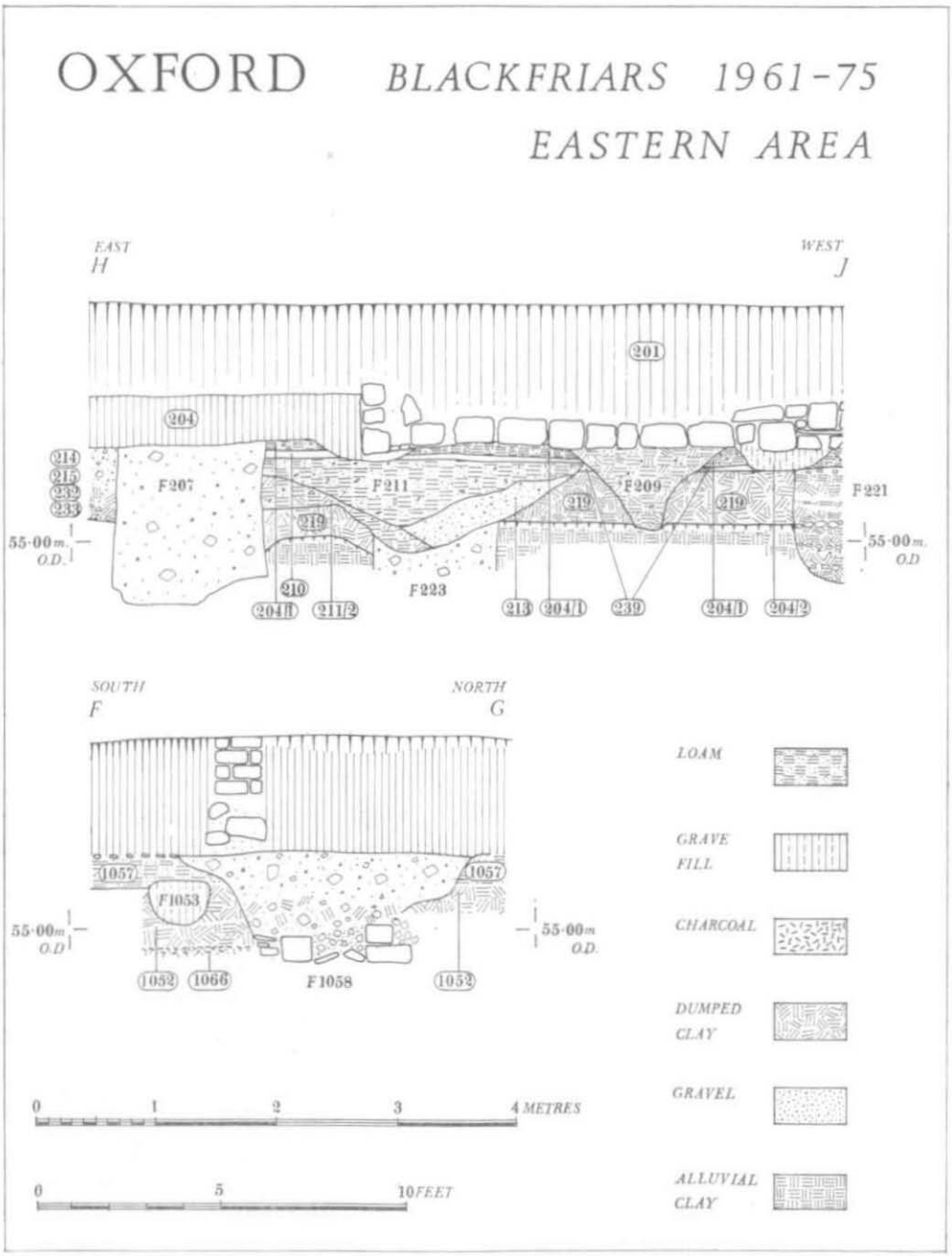

OXFORD BLACKFRIARS 1961-75
EASTERN AREA
EAST
H
WEST
J
201
204
214
215
233
233
F207
F211
F209
F221
219
219
219
55·00m. O.D.
55·00m. O.D
210
204/1
211/2
F223
213
204/1
239
204/1
204/2
SOUTH
F
NORTH
G
1057
1057
F1053
55·00m O.D
55·00m O.D.
1052
1066
F1058
1052
0 1 2 3 4 METRES
0 5 10 FEET
LOAM
GRAVE FILL
CHARCOAL
DUMPED CLAY
GRAVEL
ALLUVIAL CLAY

FIG. 4

and would certainly not have needed a temporary stone building on their new site. It is even less likely that a stone building would have stood in the meadow before the friars arrived. Nor is it probable that either would have survived until the 17th century, the date of the robbing. The wall contained two reused chamfered blocks, but they were not securely stratified and do not assist the dating. The most likely explanation of the feature is that it was part of a free standing priory wall or building in the churchyard, but its full interpretation must await further excavation.

The ?Chantry Chapel, Walking Place, and South Aisle

Attached to the north side of the choir near its west end was a narrow (0·80 m.) wall (F613) which ran 3·50 m. north before returning westwards (as F614) widening out to 1·75 m. This wall was keyed to the north choir wall (F604) and was of similar construction. Wall 613 was over 1·00 m. east of the line of the east wall of the walking place (F615). Augering under the back edge of the Albert Street pavement indicated that neither the walking place wall nor its robber trench continued north of the choir wall. In the area within these walls was one fragmentary skeleton (F903) badly disturbed by post-medieval features. It overlay a thick layer of mortary gravel (Layer 906) overlying the dumped clay and which was confined between Walls 613, 614 and 604. This was probably floor make-up. The skeleton could have been redeposited. The building represented by these walls appears to be the east end of the north aisle. Its north wall (F614) was of similar build and dimensions to the north aisle wall excavated in the western area (F403, Trench IV),[14] and was exactly the same distance from the choir wall as that was from the nave arcade. If this was the east end of the aisle its relationship to the walking place is curious. Normally the aisle would end on the line of the west side of the walking place, the choir wall running through to form the north wall of the walking place, pierced by a door to allow passage between the cloister and the cemetery. Here it is likely that there was a wall between the north aisle proper and the north end of the walking place with the eastward extension being separate, perhaps acting as a chantry chapel. There is a close parallel to this at Brecon Blackfriars, though there the aisle and chapel were added in the 14th century rather than being an original feature.[15] The fact that the chapel was of one build with the choir and that it was of similar build to the rest of the north aisle suggests that the aisle itself was an original part of the church.[16]

The removal of a manhole from Albert Street (North) in *c.* 1969 uncovered a short east-west length of wall which was almost certainly part of the south aisle wall, though its precise position was not fixed. It was of similar build to other original parts of the buildings (see interpretation plan, FIG. 9).

The ?'North Nave'

Further north in Albert Street a large footing had been discovered in *c.* 1870.[17]

[14] See below p. 189.
[15] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, 136, 139–40.
[16] See also below, p. 189.
[17] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 78.

The description of this wall does not include measurements though it implies that it stretched between Nos. 36 and 40, Albert Street, a length of about 9·00 m., and turned west under No. 40 (see interpretation plan, FIG. 9). A coffin was found on the inside of the corner and four others in a row were found in No. 40 in *c.* 1845, but it is not clear how these related to the footing. Hinnebusch, writing before the position of the church was known, suggested because of its apparent north-south length that the wall was the east end of the church. We now know that this was not so, but if the length of the footing is to be relied upon the most likely explanation is that it was the north-east corner of a ' north nave ' attached to the east end of the main nave of the church, like the one at the Oxford Greyfriars.[18] The only other English Dominican church with this feature was Chelmsford.[19] In Ireland they were quite common for both Franciscan and Dominican houses.[20]

If there was a north nave at Oxford it was almost certainly an addition of the 15th century. Sir Peter Bessels left money for the building of six windows in the north aisle in 1426,[21] so assuming the north nave to have been the normal three bays east-west[22] it cannot have been built before the refenestration of the aisle, even if the porch or anchorite's cell (see below, p. 195) had not already been built and one of the windows was placed in the side of the chapel at the east end of the aisle.

The Slype and ?Prior's Lodging

Immediately south of the choir was a long narrow (2·50 m.) passage or slype bounded on the south by a 1·50 m. wide footing (F205 and F208). This ran to within at least 13·00 m. of the east end of the choir and on the west stopped just short of the back wall of the cloister alley opposite the west end of the choir (thereby ruling out the possibility of it being an aisle). The footing was the same size as the structural walls of the main cloister buildings and like them was similar in construction to the choir walls. Only the lower foundations survived, consisting of fairly large stones making a rough face with smaller stone infilling and soft clay packing. Within the slype, overlying the dumped clay (Layer 219), was a layer of gravelly mortar with some stone (Layer 218), *c.* 0·10 m. thick, which was probably the bedding for the floor. At the east end this was overlain by more clay and a thin mortar layer (Layer 224), possibly a later reflooring. The slype had been blocked *c.* 8·00 m. from its west end by a wall represented by a shallow, 1·75 m. wide robber trench (F225) which partly cut but also partly overlay Layer 218 showing that the wall had been a later insertion.

The slype was different from the more normal type, such as at Oxford Cathedral, in that it ran along much of the side of the choir rather than just being a passage through the north end of the east cloister range. It seems to have provided a covered passage between the church, the ' prior's lodging ' (see below, p. 180) and the cloister range, though its relationship with the range is curious and is more fully

[18] Hassall, *op. cit.* note 8, 14 and Fig. 4. In describing this feature of the Greyfriars in 1480, William Worcestre used the term ' navis borialis ' (William Worcestre *Itineraries* (1969), ed. J. H. Harvey, 272).

[19] For the plan see *Current Archaeology*, 41, 176.

[20] H. G. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, III (1960), 92–3 and Figs. 34–5, 37–42, 70 ; Pls. 5, 12b, 13.

[21] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 77.

[22] As in most of the examples in notes 18–20.

discussed below (p. 181). There are parallels for this type of arrangement possibly at the Ludgate Blackfriars[23] and at London Greyfriars where a 17th-century plan shows ' A yarde as ye other ' in the corresponding position (' the other ' being a passage between the nave and cloister).[24] In neither case however is there any evidence for them being covered and the Greyfriars plan clearly indicates that the ' yardes ' were open. The Oxford slype on the other hand was almost certainly covered throughout its length : its south wall was continuous despite the presence of an open yard to the south (see below, p. 184) and moreover the wall was of load-bearing dimensions suggesting that it was not merely a dividing wall between two open spaces.

This may also indicate that it was more than a simple covered walk : the cloister alley which performed that function had a wall of much smaller dimensions, *c.* 1·00 m. wide, resting on the top of the alluvial clay (see below, p. 193). The size of the footing and the absence of buttresses on the south choir wall suggest that the slype might have been vaulted to act almost as a continuous flying buttress to the choir as well as being a covered passage. There were however no obvious points of strengthening opposite the bay divisions of the choir as might be expected for any sort of buttressing.

Attached to the slype at its eastern end on the south side was another building of which only the west wall (F206) and the inner edge of the east wall robber trench (F1122) were excavated. Between these and above the natural clay were layers of dumped clay (Layer 219), mortar and stone (Layer 218/1), dumped clay (Layer 237), and gravelly mortar (Layers 236 and 1123). Layer 218/1 was probably construction debris covered by additional clay (Layer 237) before a floor-bedding (Layers 236 and 1123) was laid. This floor level was 0·20 m. higher than that of the slype. The extent of this building is not known, but its footings (F206) were of the same size and build as the slype wall, and with these load bearing foundations, like the cloister ranges, the building is likely to have been of more than one storey. Possibly it extended as far south as the projected north wall of the chapter house. It is possible that this building was the prior's lodging : it was a suitably substantial building with easy access to the choir, chapter house and, along the slype, the cloisters. Documentary evidence shows that at Ludgate the prior's lodging was in a similar position, though probably closer to or abutting the east cloister range.[25]

The East Range of the Cloisters

The plan of the north end of the east range was unusual : the slype wall (F208) stopped *c.* 2·00 m. short of the back wall of the alley, the face of which was located by augering under the pavement, and the back wall of the range (F207 and F405) stopped at the slype wall rather than running through to the church. Only 0·75 m. west of this wall was a robber trench (F223 and F406) running parallel to it, between the slype wall (F208) and a cross wall to the south (F415). Keyed into the corner made by the back wall of the alley and the south choir wall (F382) was a large

[23] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, 43, 49 and Figs. 4 and 5.
[24] Reproduced in A. R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England*, Brit. Soc. Franciscan Studies, XVIII (1937), facing 110.
[25] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, 47.

rectangular footing (F238). This was probably for a newel stair to a tower above the walking-place, as in several Franciscan examples,[26] and was perhaps the only normal part of the arrangement in this area.

The footings for the back wall of the range (F405) north of Wall 415 were 0·25 m. narrower (at 1·25 m.) than its continuation to the south (F404) and other main footings for the cloisters, and at its northern end (F207) had been founded on clay (Section HJ, FIG. 4), rather than on gravel like the chapter house walls (see below, p. 184). At its south end it was keyed to Wall 415, indicating that there at least it was of the original build. Its junction with the slype wall (F208) had been disturbed by robbing and later features, but it was noticeable that there was a slight deviation in Robber Trench 208 at that point. The robber trench of the wall to the west (F223 and F406) was not bottomed. Above the robbing was a wide V-shaped depression filled with yellow mortary gravel (Layers 213 and 211/2) and brown loam (Layer 211/1), sealed by a layer of mortar (Layer 210, Section HJ, FIG. 4) all of which ran through to Trench IV. The yellow gravel (Layer 213) spread out and overlay the robbing of the slype wall (F208) west of its junction with Robber Trench 207. The loam (Layer 211/1) above this contained late 13th- to 14th-century pottery. The robbing cut an earlier mortar layer (Layer 239), perhaps floor bedding or construction spillage, overlying the dumped clay (Layer 209, Section HJ, FIG. 4).

At the west end of Trench II was a feature (F221) cut 1·00 m. into the dumped clay and alluvium (Section HJ, FIG. 4 and PL. VI, B). Only its eastern side was found, where its profile was a vertical side rounding out at the bottom. It became shallower towards the north, petering out between the butt end of Robber Trench 208 and the stair footing (F238). It was not found in Trench IV, but could have been destroyed by later disturbances. It contained fifteen layers of mixed mortar, clay, stone and tile (Layers 221/1–221/15). The only dating evidence was a sherd of 'Tudor Green' of the late 14th to 16th centuries, from Layer 221/8, indicating that it was a late insertion.

Wall 415 probably defined the original north end of the east range leaving an open space between it and the slype and church. Wall 415 was of the same construction and size as other main structural walls in the cloisters (such as F404), and the chapter house walls (F30 and F43) which were very consistent in width (1·50 m.) and in construction. It was thus noticeably different from the small partition walls such as F804 or F124 in Trench I in the western area. By contrast the continuation of the back wall of the cloister northwards (F405 and F207) was narrower and founded only on clay. Furthermore the back wall stopped short of the church at the slype wall, which itself could not originally have formed the gable end of the range as it stopped short of the back wall of the alley. If the slype wall had existed inside the range (despite its load-bearing dimensions) the back wall of the range would have had to be carried over the slype on an arch with no sleeper wall, presumably leaving a doorway the full width of the slype as there was no jamb on the south side. The west end of the slype wall and the wall running south from it (F223 and F406) might have been added (possibly suggested by the deviation in the slype wall), but if so it is even less likely that the back wall would not have continued through to the church. The original gable end of the range therefore must have been Wall

[26] Martin, *op. cit.* note 24, Fig. facing 22, Pls. 1 and 13.

415, and the space left north of it was presumably at least partly open as it had no continuous wall round it to support the roof. To leave such an open space was not usual, though at Walsingham Greyfriars there appears to have been no east range at all north of the chapter house, and at Coventry Whitefriars there was a similar space between the range and the choir.[27]

It is not clear whether the west end of the slype wall (F208) and the wall (F223 and F406) parallel to Wall 207 and 405 were original ; but they were probably standing simultaneously at some point as Robber Trench 223 was cut by F207. These two robbed walls probably supported the night stair giving direct access from the dormitory on the first floor of the east range to the church. Such a stair would probably have been roofed even if the rest of the area was not. It is possible that the stair was added since it is not clear that F207 had been an original wall rather than merely an addition to an existing buttress (F405) at the original north-east corner of the range. A covered staircase seems to have existed in a similar position at the Ludgate Blackfriars.[28] The continuation of the slype wall west of this may either have been for a buttress or to provide cover as far as a door into the choir near the stair to the tower.

The pottery from above Robber Trench 223 showed that the stairs were demolished in the late 13th or early 14th century along with the west end of the slype wall. A mortar layer (Layer 210) was spread over the area and it is possible that it then became part of the range with the back wall extended over an arch to the choir wall. The absence of a sleeper wall would be less difficult to understand in the case of such an alteration than if it were part of the original plan. The objection that the opening was too wide for this may be overcome by the possibility that the slype was blocked at the same time by the robbed Wall 225 just east of the suggested extended range. This extra space could have contained a new night stair.

Another alteration was the insertion of the trench filled with mortar, stones and clay (F221). Not enough of this was excavated to define its exact purpose, but by analogy with a similar feature (F243) in the western area (see below, p. 191) it would seem that this was a wall foundation. The sherd of ' Tudor Green ' suggests that it was a late alteration, possibly connected with the rebuilding of the dormitory in the early 16th century.[29]

South of this complex was the cloister range proper. All its external footings where excavated (F404, F415, F506) were of the standard phase one type, *i.e.* 1·50 m. wide, roughly faced and packed with orange-brown mortary gravel with clay packing below water level. The north gable end (F415) was buttressed to the east by F26 which had slightly battered faces below ground level, and possibly by F405 to the north (see above, p. 182). The northernmost room in the range measured *c.* 6·00 m. (19½ ft.) north-south by the width of the range (6·50 m., 21 ft.) east-west. A large modern pit had been dug where the south wall of this room was expected in Trench VIII, but its existence was demonstrated by the difference of the layers on either

[27] *Ibid.*, Fig. Facing 136 ; C. Woodfield, ' Whitefriars Coventry ', *Arch. Jn.*, CXXVIII (1971), Fig. facing 251.

[28] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, 47.

[29] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 80.

side of the pit. As elsewhere there were layers of mortar and stone (Layer 414 and 824) on the old ground surface resulting from construction work. These were covered by the dumped clay (Layer 413 and 823) which was overlain by three layers of mortar (Layers 412 and 822 ; 410 and 820 ; 408/1 and 818) separated respectively by a thin layer of brown gravelly loam (Layer 411 and 821) and a black ' occupation ' layer (Layer 409 and 809). These interleaving layers suggested that the mortar layers were actual floors rather than bedding for some sort of paving, since it is unlikely that such material would accumulate during the relaying of a paved floor. The purpose of the room is unknown.

The different layers south of the pit in Trench VIII were bounded to the south by the robber trench of a shallow east-west wall (F804). This wall had rested on the old ground surface and had clearly been much narrower (1·10 m.) than any of the external walls, but was similar in width to a partition wall (F124) in the west range (see below, p. 191). The room between the partition destroyed by the modern pit and F804 was 3·50 m. (12 ft.) north-south. Unlike the rooms to the north and south there was no dumped clay within it, but a layer of dirty mortary gravel and stones with some clay (Layer 813), a difference which implies that the division of the rooms was made in the original phase of construction. Above Layer 813 were thin mortar (Layer 812) ; red gravelly loam with charcoal flecks (Layer 811) ; thin mortar (Layer 810) ; green-grey clay (Layer 809) ; orange-brown gravelly loam with charcoal flecks (Layer 808) ; and green-grey sandy loam (Layer 807). All were 0·03 m. to 0·05 m. thick except the thinner mortar layers. The lower layers (Layers 810–812) were directly comparable to those in the chapter house immediately to the east (Layers 51–53, Section AE, FIG. 3) for which the room presumably served as a vestibule. It was narrower than the chapter house, and if its northern wall was destroyed by the modern pit, it was symmetrically aligned on the centre of the chapter house. The absence of any obvious occupation material in the lower layers suggests that the floors were paved, as is likely in the chapter house itself.

To the south of the vestibule was another room of which only the northern part was excavated. Its north-south length was thus not established, but a tiny cutting at the west end of Trench V confirmed the position of the back wall of the alley already located by augering elsewhere. The floors in this room were badly disturbed by post-medieval features. The dumped clay (Layer 519) was overlain by mortary clay (Layer 518), possibly the result of construction activity, above which was an alternating series of mortar and occupation layers (Layers 509–515) similar to those in the room north of the vestibule. This again suggested that the mortar layers were floors on which occupation debris accumulated before their replacement. This seems to be supported by the hard smooth surface of the lowest mortar layer (Layer 515) which showed no sign of having had either paving slabs or tiles set into it.

The south end of the east range was observed during salvage work in 1974, and is described below (p. 196).

The Chapter House

The chapter house extended eastwards from the back wall of the east range. Its walls (F30 and 43) had substantial footings of the usual first phase type. *Sondages*

dug down their outside faces showed that they were founded on natural gravel and were constructed in the same way as the choir walls (Section AE, FIG. 3). Its width internally was 7·00 m. (22½ ft.) but its length is unknown. The build-up of layers inside was more considerable than in the vestibule, though their composition was directly comparable. A fairly thick layer of gravel (Layer 54, like 813) overlay the dumped clay (Layer 55) which here did exist. Above this were lenses of brown gravel (Layer 53) covered by red gravelly loam with charcoal flecks (Layer 52, exactly similar to 811) overlain by a thin mortar spread (Layer 51 like 810). Above this was grey, slightly clayey loam (Layer 50 like 809) overlain by grey-buff sandy loam (Layer 47) and another thin mortar layer (Layer 48). All these layers were cut by Burials 34, 36, 37–41 and 70. The stratigraphical positions of Burials 35, 44 and 46 were not established. Of the 10 skeletons studied all but one were of children of both sexes below the age of 13, the exception being a young man of 17 to 25. Clearly the child burials must have been the children of lay people, and this may also apply to the young man. Their concentration at the west end of the chapter house suggests that this part of the priory was set aside for the burial of children, probably of lay benefactors. One late 14th-century token was recovered from Grave 38, and their stratigraphical relationship to the build-up in the chapter house suggests that all the graves belong to a late phase of its use.

No graves were within 1·25 m. of the side walls of the building, all being packed quite close together in the centre, suggesting that there were seats along each side—a normal arrangement in any chapter house. Slight variations in the stratigraphy (such as Layers 54/1 and 54/2 on the north and Layers 52 and 53 on the south) occurred in the same area suggesting that reflooring were impeded by the presence of the seats. Like the vestibule the chapter house was probably paved.

Until further excavations are carried out the eastward extent of the chapter house cannot be established, but by analogy with other large priories such as London and Canterbury[30] it is likely to have been at least 12·00 m. (40 ft.) long. Its northern wall thus would have formed the southern boundary of the suggested yard to the north (see below, p. 185) and possibly the south wall of the suggested prior's lodging (see above, p. 180), a length of *c.* 14·00 m. (55 ft.).

The 'Yard'

Between the chapter house, the back of the east range, the slype and the ?prior's lodging was an almost square space *c.* 10·50 m. north-south by *c.* 9·75 m. east-west. The stratification in this was varied with no obvious floors. On top of the old ground surface were lenses of mortar and stone covered by the dumped clay (Layer 66/1, Section AE, FIG. 3) which varied in thickness, dropping sharply southwards by Buttress 26. South of Buttress 26 was a mortar spread (Layer 32) banked up against the back wall of the cloister range (F42), sloping away to become very thin at Section AE (FIG. 3). To the north it spread in a thin layer up the slope of the dumped clay round Buttress 26. Above this was more dumped clay (Layer 33/3) and a small mortary spread (Layer 33/2). Possibly these two layers were deposited as a means

[30] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, 47; L. Millard, 'The Blackfriars, Canterbury', *Arch. Cant.*, LXXXVI (1971), 271.

of levelling out the area, though no definite surface survived on top of them, possibly through disturbance during post-Dissolution demolition work. A medieval gold and sapphire ring (SF47, FIG. 11, 1) was found in Layer 33/2. This must have been lost accidentally at an uncertain date. The layers above these (Layers 9/1, 9/2 and 33/1) were varied, consisting largely of mortary rubble and gravel, probably demolition rubble, though they contained no pottery later than the 14th century. This date is not entirely reliable as most of the demolition layers on the site contained a high proportion of medieval pottery, and while it is possible that this material also was used to level out the yard, there was no surface between it and the definitely post-medieval demolition material above (Layer 9 and 214).

The lack of any form of surface in the area and the presence of roofed buildings on at least two and probably three sides strongly suggests that the area was open, thus implying that the slype too was roofed on the fourth side (see above, p. 180). Possibly it was no more than a light well for the surrounding buildings ; it was certainly not a proper cloister as it had no alley and the absence of loamy layers suggests that it was not a garden. There appears to be no parallel for this type of feature among Dominican houses, but a number of Franciscan priories had cloisters attached to their choirs[31] and the London Greyfriars had two ' Courtes ' in the corresponding position which were clearly not cloisters but open courtyards.[32]

The Post-Reformation Levels

In the east range of the cloisters and in the yard to the east, demolition material in the form of dirty grey brown mortary gravel and stones (Layer 9 and 214, Sections AE and HJ, FIGS. 3 and 4) was found immediately on top of the pre-Dissolution layers. In the choir and slype, however, there was a build-up of clay and loam between these levels (Layers 5/5 to 5/8, Section AE, FIG. 3 ; Layers 212 and 217). These loamy layers contained a high proportion of medieval pottery with only one or two post-medieval sherds, suggesting possibly that the soil had been dug up and brought to the site, perhaps from elsewhere in the town. The lack of demolition material below these layers suggests that the walls of the choir and slype were left more or less standing for some time. The documentary evidence supports this : it is likely that the Dissolution involved no demolition as Dr. London's stated purpose was not to destroy monastic buildings but to deface them so that they could not be used as religious houses again.[33] The buildings at Oxford were not sold until 1544, having been specifically excluded from a national sale of monastic property in the previous year.[34] Not until 1557 is there documentary evidence for the purchase of stone from the site, though demolition may well have begun soon after 1544. It is not clear why soil was dumped in the choir and slype before demolition as it is unlikely that they would have been used for gardening (for which topsoil might be required) while other uses of the buildings (*e.g.* as a cattle byre) would probably not have required the dumping of soil. The presence of demolition material above this soil in Trenches I, II and III confirms that demolition took place after its accumulation. Further

[31] Martin, *op. cit.* note 23, Fig. 11 and Figs. facing 152 and 172.
[32] *Ibid.*, facing 190.
[33] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 82.
[34] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XIX, ii, g 166 (82).

build-up did not survive the levelling of the site for 19th-century gardens and houses (the gardens represented by Layer 4, 204 etc.). It is possible that much demolition rubble was removed from the site in preparation for the gardens of the 17th to 19th centuries.[35]

The robbing of the priory buildings was thorough, normally stopping only at water level. The only standing wall now is part of the gateway (see report below, p. 200) ; the rest seems to have been cleared by the mid 17th century, for in 1661 Anthony Wood commented that no trace of the buildings was left.[36] Many of the robber trenches were excavated. Their fill was much more obviously demolition material than the demolition layers themselves, consisting of mortary gravel with much more rubble as well as more finds clearly associated with the buildings. Little pottery was found and it included both medieval and post-medieval sherds, but other finds were more interesting because they threw some light on the architectural details of the buildings : they included mouldings and plaster, often painted, floor and roof tiles, roof and window lead, painted glass, fragments of elaborate tombs and brass letters from their inscriptions (see finds reports below). All were of course residual, however, and their positions were of little significance.

The only structures dating from the post-Dissolution, pre-19th-century period were some small walls in the area of the choir. The scanty remains of two ran parallel to and just inside the north and south choir walls. Both were constructed of rubble with no clear facing. Along the north edge of the northern one was a row of stone pads *c.* 0·30 m. square spaced *c.* 2·10 m. apart. About 10·00 m. of the northern wall was excavated, but only small fragments of the southern one were found, in some cases consisting of no more than a single line of stones. In Trench VI a band of small stones, possibly the footing for a wall, ran north-south just outside the east end of the north aisle. The evidence of these walls however is too scanty to permit any coherent or definite interpretation of their purpose : possibly they were the footings for a large building such as a barn largely built of timber ; alternatively they may have been free standing walls connected with the gardens laid out on the site after the priory was demolished.

Post-dating these walls was a rectilinear grid of gullies dug down to the dumped clay and filled with gravelly or stoney grey-brown loam containing 18th-century pottery as well as residual medieval material (F20 and F8, Section AE, FIG. 3 ; F209, Section HJ, FIG. 4). In Trench III one of these gullies cut the more southerly of the post-medieval walls discussed above. The layout of the gullies is indicated by some of the modern disturbances marked on the plan of the excavated features (F8 and 1125 ; F20 and 1124 ; F23, 388 and 226 ; F617, 379, 209, 407 and 505, FIG. 2). These make two pairs of parallel ditches, the east-west ones running up to and joining the eastern edge of the north-south ones. The layout is consistent, but not directly comparable with the layouts of the gardens shown on the early maps of the city.

The gardens survived until the 1840s when the area was developed with terrace housing.[37] Many of the cellars, back gardens, pits and garden walls associated with

[35] These are marked on maps of Oxford by Agas (1578), Loggan (1675), and Davis (1797).

[36] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 82.

[37] For a discussion of the general area in this period see R. J. Morris, ' The Friars and Paradise ', *Oxoniensia*, XXXVI (1971), 72–98.

those houses were observed, often disturbing earlier levels. The demolition of these houses in 1967 raised the ground surface to its present level, *c.* 2·00 m. above the surface of the meadow on which the friars built their priory.

THE WESTERN AREA

By Humphrey Woods

(Plans, figs. 5 and 9)

INTRODUCTION

Excavations in 1966 by Fr. F. Radcliffe O.P., and in 1969 by N. Jackson identified F401, the partition between the nave and north aisle, and clipped a footing (F411) which was interpreted as being the north wall of the north aisle. These excavations also exposed a long stretch of Wall 412 which formed the western boundary of the cemetery to the north of the church. Also revealed were Walls 406 and 413, forming the corner of a structure tacked onto the north aisle (see below, p. 195). The 1969 excavations also exposed the original west end of the church (F414) and the northern face of a pier base (F303) of the extension. F414 survived only as a robber trench, F303 partly as a robber trench and partly as masonry.

A season of rescue excavation was undertaken from January to March, 1974, in advance of the building of the Church Army hostel on the east side of Norfolk Street. Two trenches were dug initially. Trench I was intended to find the western range of the great cloister and its size, and to establish whether the south aisle, sighted in 1969, was contemporary with the nave. Trench II was intended to establish the nature of the footings west of the church observed in contractors' pilot trenches in 1973.

Trench I showed that the wall of the south aisle (F103) was keyed into the wall of the west end of the church (F101) and the middle wall of the cloister range (F102). It also exposed the front wall of the cloister (F123) and a small part of the garth (F126).

Trench II showed that the west end of the church had been extended by one bay, and also exposed a free-standing building, partly sealed under Norfolk Street, which had seven burials (F212–218) under a path or alley impinging on its eastern wall (F209).

It was then decided to strip the area containing the extension of the church and the northern end of the cloister. A machine was used to remove the build-up sealing the medieval material, and the remainder was dug by hand. This excavation showed that the extended west end of the church (F203) lined up with the back wall of the cloister (F249). It also exposed a wall returning west from F249. This survived partly as a robber trench and partly as footings (F234/1, F234/2, F240 and F243).

A considerable delay in the building of the Church Army hostel made it possible to conduct further excavations in June 1975 with the aim of clarifying one or two details of the relationships between the footings encountered during the 1966 and 1969 excavations and those exposed in 1974.

Two trenches were dug mechanically. Trench III was aligned east-west from Buttress 301 through and beyond the robber trench of the galilee wall (F308). Its main purpose was to pick up the point of junction of the extended west end (F203 and 306) and Pier Base 303.

Trench IV was sited north of the original west end of the nave. Its purpose was to establish the position of the north wall of the north aisle and look further at the building formed by Walls 406 and 413.

The Original West End of the Church and the South Aisle

Wall 101, the original west end of the church, had been robbed to just below the water table. On the other hand, Wall 103, the southern wall of the south aisle, survived above water as a rubble footing packed with orange gravelly sandy mortar. At the junction of these two walls was a small internal buttress or corner strengthening (F104) surviving to the same height as F101. Its eastern face was almost in line with the eastern face of Wall 102, so it was probably intended to take the stress from it. There was no sleeper wall for the south arcade of the extended west end of the church (between Buttresses 204 and 229) and this also appears to have been the case for the original nave and south aisle, between Footings 118 and 106, the latter presumably being part of the westernmost pier of the original arcade. The north aisle of the Oxford Greyfriars was constructed in the same way.[38]

Three graves were exposed in section in the original south aisle. F107 and F108 were dug into the alluvial clay and back-filled with it. F109 was comparatively shallow and its fill was of dirty earth mixed with stones and pebbles.

The graves were adjacent to Pier Base 106. Both this pier, and that formed by F118 and F229 straddling the original west end, had been heavily robbed. In the case of F106, masonry survived just above water level, and in the case of F118 and F229, just below.

The North Aisle

F401, the partition between the nave and the north aisle, was of large blocks of limestone packed with orange gravelly mortar, as were F301, a buttress to the west, and F415, presumably part of the original west end of the aisle.

The north wall of the aisle (F403) was found not to line up with F411 to the east. F411 therefore probably represents either part of an expanded footing or an internal buttress. F403 survived as a rubble footing, bonded with orange sandy gravelly mortar. It had been partly cut by a modern pit (F405). Butted onto the south face of Wall 403 was a small buttress (F404), the south face of which lined up with F411, which lends support to the idea that F411 was a buttress.

An insufficient length of the partition between the nave and the north aisle was excavated to be sure whether it had a continuous footing or consisted of a series of large piers as for the south aisle. The stones under the southern side of Trench IV (F401) could have been part of a sleeper wall disturbed by burials, or merely loose rubble. If there was a continuous footing it might indicate that the north aisle was added, whereas the south aisle with its separate piers was original. If so,

[38] Hassall, *op. cit.* note 8, 12 and Fig. 4 facing 11.

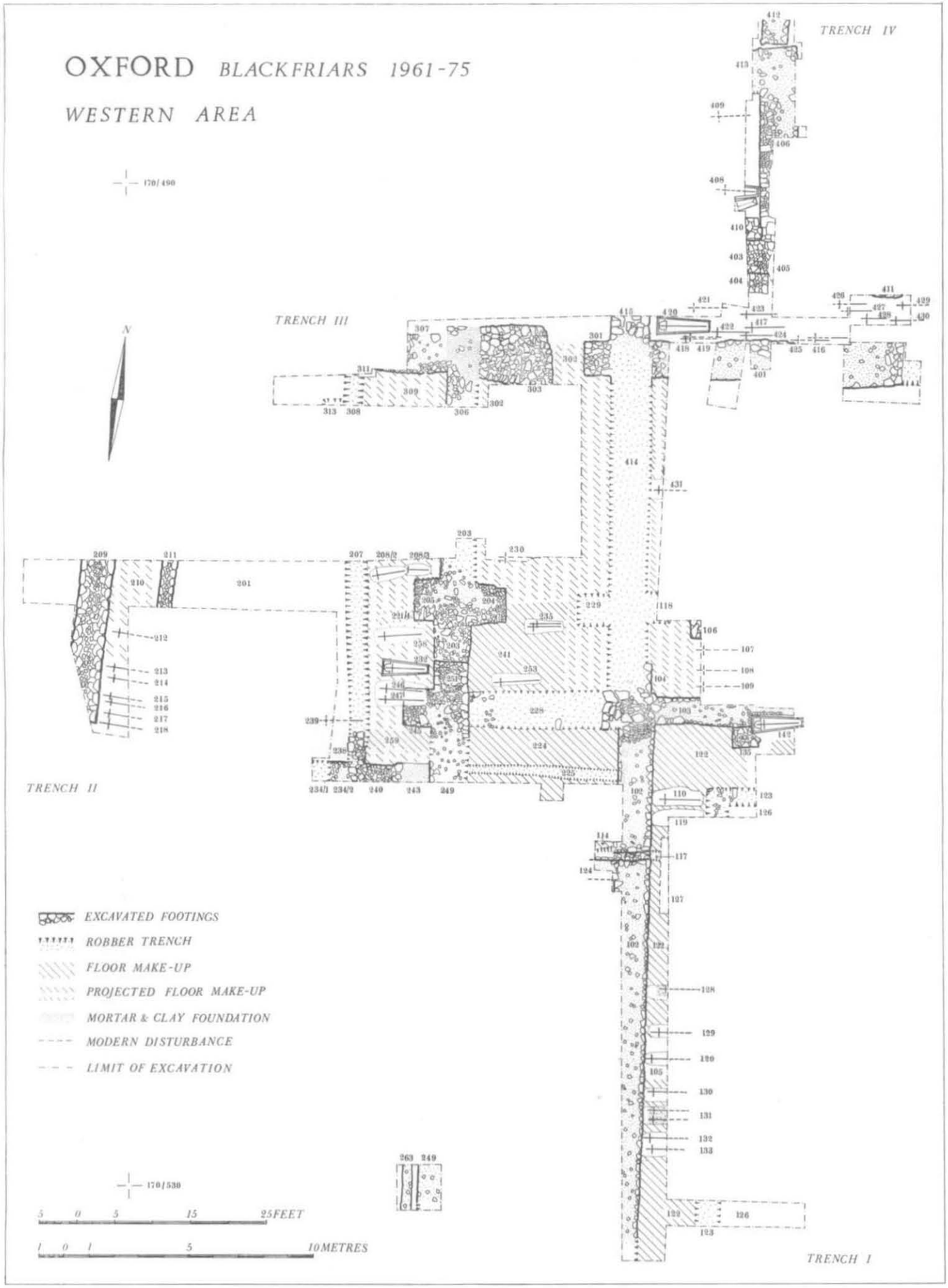


FIG. 5

[face page 188

the north aisle may have dated from around 1426 when Sir Peter Bessels left in his will £120 ' pour faire vj fenetres . . . en le northile en maner comme est commence '.[39]

Nevertheless there are also reasons to suggest that the north aisle was original. The size and composition of its north wall (F403) was characteristic of phase one footings elsewhere on the site, notably the east end of the aisle (in Trench VI in the eastern area, see above, p. 178) which was keyed to the choir footings and with which Wall 403 was in line. Furthermore it is unlikely that an original one-aisled church would have had its aisle on the cloister side rather than in the free space to the north, where it was for example in the case of the Oxford Greyfriars.[40] The Bessels will may refer only to refenestration of the aisle rather than its construction, and even if building work was involved it could have used existing foundations. Only further excavations can finally settle the point, though at present the probability is that the north aisle was an original feature of the church.

Fourteen burials were found in the north aisle during the 1966 and 1969 excavations. Only five of the skeletons were in a sufficiently complete state to allow analysis. Burials 416 and 417 were of males aged between 19 and 21 ; 418 was a middle-aged female ; 419 probably a male, aged 16 to 18 ; and 420 a female of 40 plus. The last was contained in a stone coffin.

The Extended West End of the Church (PL. VII, A)

The new west end of the nave (F203) had been butt-jointed onto the north end of the west cloister range (F251). Except for this joint, Wall 203 had been heavily robbed, almost to water level. Masonry survived at the bottom of the robber trench, however, and was distinctly different in character from the surviving masonry of the cloister range (F249 and F251). Whereas Walls 249 and 251 were bonded with good quality hard yellow mortar, Wall 203 was bonded with a shoddy loose white mortar mixed with clay and greenish loam. Clearly the building standards of the friars had deteriorated sharply by the time the extension of the church was made. Wall 203 had a construction trench (F252) along its eastern face only. This was sealed by the floor of the extended south aisle (Layer 241), as was the expanded footing of Buttress 204. Layer 241 consisted of a layer of hard white mortar, varying in thickness from four to eight centimetres.

A double burial (F235) was cut through Layer 241 between F204 and F229. The lower burial was properly articulated, but the upper one was badly disturbed, suggesting that it had been rifled like Burial 232. A third burial (F253) was contained within the stripped area of the extended south aisle. This also cut Layer 241, and was articulated with the arms laid out straight. A fourth burial, F230, was visible in the northern section of Trench II.

In Trench III to the north, Buttress 301 was constructed of roughly faced limestone blocks with a rubble core, bonded with yellow gravelly mortar. Layer 302 was a mortar floor equivalent to Layer 241. It was cut by F303/1, the robber trench of Footing 303, which with F307 constituted buttresses straddling Wall 306. The top of F303 had been robbed, but the footing itself consisted of large blocks of limestone packed with loose orange gravelly mortar. It was butt-jointed onto F306.

[39] *Reg. Chichele*, i, 393.
[40] Hassall, *op. cit.* note 8, Fig. 4 facing 11.

Wall 306, the new west end of the church, had been deeply robbed, but some masonry (F306/2) survived, laid in a foundation trench (F306/3) filled with alternating layers of white limestone mortar and red-blue clay. A similar series of layers occurred under Wall 240 and Trench II, which might indicate that the galilee was contemporary with the extension of the west end, though there are also reasons to think that it was later (see below, p. 191). F307, the external buttress, was built of limestone blocks bonded with yellow gravelly mortar. Like F303 it was butt-jointed onto Wall 306. At its western extremity it had been partly destroyed by a post-medieval pit (F311).

The pottery from the soil of the original graveyard (Layer 238) sealed under Floor 241 of the extended south aisle, was dated to the late 13th or early 14th century (see Pottery report below). This probably represents the date of the extension of the church.

The Galilee

Returning north from Footings 234/2 and 240 was a narrow wall, again surviving partly as robber trench (F207) and partly as footing (F207/2). With F203 and F249 this wall formed a galilee attached to the extended west end of the church. At the time of writing this report the only parallel for such a galilee on a Dominican church comes from the recent excavations at the Dunstable Blackfriars.[41]

The corridor of the galilee contained seven burials. Two of these (F246 and F247) were dug into the footing of the buttress (F245) for Wall 228, which formed the gable end of the west range of the cloisters. Presumably the buttress had been removed when the galilee was built. The west wall of the galilee (F207) had in turn partly destroyed a burial (F239) which lay in the graveyard (Layer 238) to the west of the original west end of the church.

One of the burials in the galilee (F232) was in a stone coffin. This coffin would have been directly under the floor of the galilee, part of which survived in the form of mortar bedding (Layers 259 and 221/4). The lid of the coffin had been removed at the time of the destruction of the priory, the contents rifled, and the bones thrown back in a jumbled heap. Probably the robbers hoped that there would be grave goods in the coffin.

Skeletons 246, 247 and 258 were undisturbed. F247 partially overlay F246. Both skeletons were arranged with the arms laid out straight. Grave 247 contained a complete porringer of the early 14th century (see Pottery report below). The vessel was upside down, and a quantity of charcoal, apparently spilled from it, lay under and around it. The right ulna and radius of Burial 258 were laid over the pelvic area, but the left arm was straight. The remaining three burials were in a close group. Grave 208/1 overlay 208/2 and 208/3. F208/2 was overlain by 208/1 but cut 208/3. A pewter paten and iron coffin nails were found with it. A pewter chalice and coffin nails were found with Burial 208/3. Only the final burial (F208/1) was found properly articulated. F208/2 and F208/3 were so disturbed that it is impossible to be sure to which one the nails and the chalice and paten had belonged.

[41] I am indebted to Adrian Havercroft, the director of the excavations, for allowing me to use this information.

The chalice was badly damaged and the paten was twisted and had a fork hole through it.

The stratigraphical relationship between Burials 208, 246, and 247 and the galilee floor and walls was not clear. It is possible that these graves were earlier, like F239, and had been dug outside the extended west end of the church.

The west wall of the galilee (F207) was much narrower than its eastern counterpart (F203) which suggests that F207 supported only a pentice roof. The wall had been robbed along most of its excavated length, and the robber trench yielded fragments of ashlar, moulded and faced stone, part of a small column, painted window glass, and broken-up floor tiles.

The wall formed by Robber Trench 234/1 and Footing 234/2 returned west from F207, indicating a building attached to the back of the main range of apartments in the west range of the cloister, an arrangement similar to the western range of the Greyfriars in Oxford.[42] It seems probable that one of the entrances to the galilee would have been from this building, through F240 and F243, but no doorway survived. A corresponding entrance can be inferred at the northern end of the galilee.

In Trench III the galilee wall (F308) survived only as a robber trench, and had also been cut by Pit 311. Layer 309 was a mortar floor equivalent to Layer 221/4. It had been cut by Robber Trench 306 and by F308. Returning west from Robber Trench 308 was a very shallow robber trench (F313). This appears to represent a buttress, though no buttresses for F207 were observed in Trench II. Possibly the galilee wall developed a weakness at this point only.

The presence of a late moulding in the southern wall of the galilee (F240) suggests that the addition was made in the late 14th or 15th century (see Worked Stone report below). It also reinforces the suggestion that some of the burials in the galilee, notably F247 containing the late 13th- or early 14th-century porringer, predated its construction. The pottery from Layer 238 beneath the floor of the galilee was slightly later than that from beneath the extended west end, again suggesting a later addition.

The West Range of the Cloisters

In the northern part of the west cloister range two partitions were exposed, one (F124) of stone, and the other (F225) of timber. Wall 124 had been butt-jointed onto the middle wall of the range (F102). A stone-lined drain (F117) ran flush with its northern face. F124/1, the upper course of the partition wall, had been mortared into Wall 102 above footing level with a hard yellow mortar very similar to that of the Wall (F102/2). Below the top course of the partition was a loose rubble footing packed with dirty grey-blue clay (F124/2). The stones were blackened—as were those of the lower courses of the main wall (F102/3) at this point. This was probably the result of seepage from Drain 117. The removal of F124/2 exposed the straight face of the footings of Wall 102. The fact that Wall 124 was butt-jointed onto Wall 102 may argue that the partition was a later insertion, despite the fact that the upper courses were bonded together.

Drain 117 was built through F102. Its backfill was of greenish damp clayey

[42] T. G. Hassall, ' Excavations at Oxford 1973–4 ', *Oxoniensia*, xxxix (1974), 59, 61 and Fig. 2.

loam containing animal bone, pottery, fragments of floor tile, limestone roof tile and a token of *c.* 1510. The line of the drain through the floor of the western cloister alley was indicated by a cut through the surviving layers of floor bedding (Layers 122/1 and 122/2) but no stonework survived in the alley. It was probably robbed out at the same time as the flooring. To the west of Wall 102, only the southern lining of the drain survived, contiguous with the northern face of Partition Wall 124. The northern lining had been robbed out, and Floor 114 in the room north of the partition had been partly dug away by this robbing. Presumably the drain would have run through the front wall of the range (F123) into the garth. It can also reasonably be assumed that the drain would have continued westwards along the unexcavated stretch of the partition wall and through Wall 249, the back wall of the range. In one of the 1973 contractors' pilot trenches a small stretch of Wall 249 was observed with a narrow linear stone structure (F263) parallel with its western face. Presumably this was the return of Drain 117 southwards towards the Thames, where it would have debouched.

The other partition (F225) was represented by a beam-slot stretching from Wall 102 to Wall 249. It cut Floor 224, which survived as a hard-packed bedding layer of gravel and pebbles mixed with white mortar between the partition and the north wall of the range. Floor 114, to the south of the partition, consisted of the same material. Partition 225 must have been used to form a screened passage between the northern alley of the great cloister and a doorway through Wall 249.

The room between Partitions 124 and 225 was clearly one of the apartments within the western range, albeit a rather narrow one. In the absence of any surviving fittings, however, its identity cannot be conjectured.

Most of Wall 228, the north wall of the cloister range, had been robbed to water level, and backfilled with destruction material, which included wall plaster, some with a painted pattern, some with plain white paint, and some with plain red paint ; several pieces of small column, some with white paint ; moulded stone, some with white paint ; carved stone with white paint; faced stone ; mortar with masonry impressions ; painted window glass, and floor tiles.

Wall 249, the west wall of the range, had been robbed along part of its excavated length, but at the junction with Wall 228 enough masonry survived to show that F228 was butt-jointed onto F249. The most likely explanation for this is that Wall 228 was rebuilt when the west end of the church was extended and F228 came to serve a double function as the northern wall of the west range and the southern wall of the extended south aisle. Probably its original load-bearing capacity was not great enough to take the extra stress involved, especially as its buttress (F245), as has been seen, was demolished to make way for the galilee. Buttress 251, taking the thrust from Wall 249, survived.

The junction of Walls 102 and 228 at the north-east corner of the range had been destroyed by robbing, but it seems obvious that Wall 228 would have been butt-jointed onto Wall 102, as it was onto Wall 249 at its west end, when it was rebuilt. F101, F102, F103 and F104, comprising the south-west corner of the original church and the middle wall of the west cloister range, were all keyed into one another, and must all have been of contemporary build.

Wall 102, the middle wall of the west range, survived to a slightly greater height

than Wall 103. Its rubble footing, F102/3, was packed with a quite loose orange gravelly sandy mortar, as in F103. The ghost of *c.* 1·40 m. of the wall proper survived in the form of impressions of faced stones in the course bonded with very hard yellow-white mortar (F102/2). This showed the width of the wall above the footing to have been 1·20 m., as opposed to the 1·50 m. width of the footing.

The Western Cloister Alley

The western cloister alley was punctuated along most of its length by nine graves. All were cut through Layers 122/1 and 122/2. Burials 128 and 131/2 were charcoal burials. Skeleton 128 was lying on a bed of charcoal 0·08 m. thick and was partly covered by it. Grave 131 contained two burials. The upper skeleton, 131/1 was articulated with the arms laid out straight. Iron coffin nails were found with it. Skeleton 131/2 lay on a bed of charcoal 0·07 m. thick and was partly covered by it. Under the charcoal was a plank with a single nail in it, presumably the bottom of a coffin. Burials 132 and 133 were immediately adjacent to one another. Skeleton 132 was laid out with the arms straight. The grave yielded coffin nails and iron coffin plates. Skeleton 133 was arranged with the radii and ulnae laid across the pelvic region. The grave contained coffin nails. Skeleton 130 had the arms folded across the chest, and the grave contained nails.

Burial 120 differed from the rest in that it lay in a cut in the clay (F105) 0·70 m. in width and containing five layers of beddings, presumably for a sepulchral slab. Layer 105/1 was a layer of dirty mortar, Layer 105/2 dirty gravel, Layer 105/3 dirty mortar, Layer 105/4 a hard layer of cleaner yellow gravel, and Layer 105/5 dirty mortar mixed with grit. The grave was dug into alluvium and backfilled with it, and the skeleton had its arms folded across the chest. The slab itself had gone. Grave 129 yielded coffin nails. In Grave 110 the skeleton was arranged with the arms laid out straight. Next to this grave was a grave-shaped cut (F119) in the clay. Presumably a grave had been begun here but for some reason abandoned.

Of the ten burials found in the cloister alleys eight were male adults, which contrasts with those in the chapter house, and in the church and galilee. Further details are in the Human Remains report.

The front wall of the west cloister range, F123, was picked up at two points, one of which was the north-west corner of the cloister. Only the robber trench survived, which was cut through Floor Layers 122/1 and 122/2. Its fill was of masonry fragments, including moulded stone and several pieces of small column, floor tile fragments and whitish mortar debris. One or two stones survived *in situ* round the edges of the trench. The narrowness and shallowness of the robber trench show that the front wall can have supported nothing heavier than a lean-to roof. It is likely therefore that there was a pentice alley of the Benedictine type, rather than the undershot cloister alley sometimes found in mendicant houses.

The floor of the alley (Layer 122/1) consisted of yellow mortar bedding varying in thickness between 0·02 m. and 0·04 m. depending on how worn it was. Layer 122/2 was of dirty brown gritty loam mixed with stones, 0·08 m. thick. Between Layer 122/2 and the alluvial clay was a layer of pebbles (Layer 122/3).

The Cloister Garth

No burials were observed in the small area of garth which was excavated. This tallies with the situation at the Guildford Blackfriars, where the garth was stripped during the 1974 excavations and was found to contain no burials.

The Northern Cloister Alley

The southern face of Wall 103, the south aisle wall, was exposed for a stretch of some 6·60 m., revealing a tomb (F142) in the northern alley of the great cloister. This had been cut into Wall 103. The western footing (F135) for the canopy of the tomb was exposed, but the corresponding footing to the east was impossible to reach. It was necessary to tunnel for 0·40 m. to reach the eastern end of the stone coffin, but it was not feasible to tunnel further. The coffin had been recessed 0·50 m. into Wall 103, and the base of the canopy was butt-jointed onto F103. It is possible that a local buttress ran up from this base as an integral part of the canopy, with a corresponding buttress at the other end, to give support to the wall, which must have been considerably weakened by such a deep recess. The yellow mortar in the canopy base and the bonding of the coffin contrasted with the orangey mortar of Wall 103. The skeleton was articulated with the arms laid across the chest. The head piece of the coffin included a ' pillow ' for the skull. The elaboration of this tomb suggests that its occupant, a male of between 35 and 45, was of some status.

The Building West of the Galilee

Eight further burials were exposed in section by the mechanical excavation of Wall 209. They lay within an alley between F209 and a shallow wall (F211) which bounded the alley. Wall 209 survived as a rubble footing of limestone packed with gravel. At its southern end the outside corner of a return wall westwards towards Norfolk Street was excavated, but the inside corner was beyond the limit of excavation. Most of this building is sealed under Norfolk Street. The alleyway had two bedding layers for paving. Layer 210/1 was of yellow mortar, 0·02 m. thick. Layer 210/2 was of rough cobbles mixed with dirty yellow-brown mortar, 0·14 m. thick. Wall 211 was of faced limestone bonded with yellow mortar.

The eight burials were in a very close group. Only F212 was isolated. Burials 212, 213, 214 and 215 cut 210/1 and 210/2. Burials 216, 217 and 218 were so close together that they had destroyed all trace of the bedding layers. Grave 213 cut Grave 214 which was a double grave. Burial 215 was cut by Burial 216 and Burial 217 cut Burials 216 and 218. As burials had not been expected so far west of the church, the skeletons were unfortunately destroyed by the machine, so no skeletal analysis could be undertaken. The purpose of this building therefore remains a mystery. It might have been conjectured to be the infirmary were it not for the fact that there is strong evidence for a subsidiary cloister which might have incorporated the infirmary to the south of the great cloister (see below, p. 200). There is no parallel for this western building on any excavated Dominican site.

The Garden

The area between this building (F211) and the galilee (F207) seems to have been a garden as it consisted of only two layers (L223 and L201) sealed by a 19th-century cellar.

Layer 223 was a demolition layer containing quantities of limestone roof tile and fragments of floor tiles. Layer 201 was a layer of dark brown loam yielding a considerable amount of pottery, which must have been tilled in. Two outstanding pieces were an anthropomorphic jug spout (FIG. 10, No. P/201/0/1) and a rim with a face mask (FIG. 10, No. P/201/0/2).

The ?Anchor House

Running north from the north aisle, Wall 406 survived as a rubble footing (406/2) bonded with yellow-orange gravelly mortar, with in places a single course of laid stones (F406/1) surviving above the footing. At the point of junction with the north aisle wall (F403) there had been a subsidence suggesting a collapse. A large block of well-mortared masonry inserted to strengthen the joint had also canted over towards F403 at a sharp angle. At the junction of Walls 406 and 403 was a footing (F410) which appeared to be a corner strengthening. Presumably this was inserted after the collapse just mentioned. The strengthening itself was poorly built, there being a gap of 10 cm. between it and 403. None of this masonry was keyed into the north aisle wall indicating that the structure must have been an addition.

The building formed by Walls 406 and 413 could either be a porch or the anchorite's cell. We know that an anchor house stood in the priory grounds,[43] and Hinnebusch suggested that it was ' probably in the cemetery just below Preacher's Bridge, so that the inmate might have an opportunity of drawing on the generosity of callers at the church '.[44] The location of the structure in question would answer this description exactly. It is worth noting that the Ludgate Blackfriars in London had a porch and an anchor house side by side in this position.[45]

No floors survived within the structure, the earliest deposit above the alluvial clay being a layer of demolition material, which covered two burials (F408 and F409).

One of these (F408) was in a stone coffin. The lid had been moved to one side and the coffin rifled, the skull being found near the feet. The coffin was of a fine cream-coloured limestone and part of the lid was recovered. This bore the shaft of a cross in slight relief, semi-circular in section, standing on a calvary of five steps (FIG. 14, No. 8).

THE SOUTHERN AREA

(Plans, FIGS. 6 and 9)

THE 1973–4 SALVAGE WORK. By HUMPHREY WOODS

Between July 1973 and March 1974 the building of a southern extension to the Telephone Exchange and the laying of a new telephone cable from the Exchange under the river to Marlborough Road, Grandpont, made it possible to record more of the east range of the great cloister, part of the south range and a complex of footings to the south of the cloister.

[43] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 80.
[44] Hinnebusch, *Ibid.*, 80.
[45] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, Fig. 4 facing 38.

The South Cloister Range

The excavation of a manhole in the pavement of Speedwell Street exposed the back wall of the south range (F1) and a floor bedding (Layer 2) inside it. Wall 1 had been robbed to water level but survived as masonry from the water table down to natural gravel. Layer 2 was a layer of yellow mortar varying in thickness around the manhole from 0·03 to 0·04 m.

The South End of the East Cloister Range

The excavation of a pilot trench to locate a foul water sewer revealed the junction of two footings (F3 and F4). F3 represents the continuation of F506 in Trench V in the eastern area, the middle wall of the east range. The pilot trench revealed the eastern face only of F3 and the northern face only of F4. More of both Footings 3 and 4 was seen when a trench was excavated from the manhole eastwards along Speedwell Street. The full width of Wall 3 was exposed and some 2·50 m. more of the northern face of Wall 4. Its junction with the back wall of the east range (F5, the continuation of F507, Trench V in the eastern area, see above, p. 182) also became visible.

Wall 4 represents the southern limit of the east range. In order to make structural sense the southern face of this footing would have to line up with the south face of F1. The unusual size of the footing can be explained in two ways. Either it could be part of the reredorter, with the reredorter in its conventional position at the end of the dorter, which occupied the upper storey of the east range, or it could be the base of a stair up to the dorter.

Returning east from Wall 5 was another footing (F6). Some 4·50 m. of its southern face could be seen. This must have formed part of a building to the south of the chapter house, and it seems possible that the tiled floor mentioned by Hinnebusch[46] belonged to this building. If so it would have been a large structure, possibly the School—Oxford was a *studium generale* of the Dominican Order in addition to being the *studium* of the English province of the Order.

The Domestic Buildings South of the Cloister

A trench down Albert Street (South) and two manholes at its southern end exposed nine footings (F7–F15). F7 and F8 were parallel to one another. The masonry of F7 was founded on the natural gravel, and was bonded with a yellow gravelly mortar. A series of post-medieval pits had destroyed the stratigraphy between Footings 7 and 8 so that it was impossible to determine their relationship. Like F7, Footing 8 was founded on gravel, and the same applies to F9, the masonry of which was packed with gravel and blue clay. Returning south from F9, F10 continued as far as the manholes. The northernmost manhole exposed the eastern face only of Footing 10, and returning east from it another footing (F11). Between F10 and the north face of F11 a layer of white mortar floor bedding (Layer 16), 0·04 m. thick, overlay the alluvial clay. More of this floor was exposed in the pile group 12–16 in the Telephone Exchange and a further five metres of the northern face of F11 was seen in the same pile group. In the manholes Buttress 12, taking the

[46] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 78n.

thrust from F10, was exposed, its eastern face in the northern manhole, and its western and southern faces in the southern. In the Albert Street (South) trench a narrow footing (F13) returned west from F10 and F14 and F15 returned west and east. In the Telephone Exchange a footing (F30) on the same axis as F15 but not in line with it was seen in pile groups 6–11 and 28–36, both of which exposed stretches of its northern face. Pile groups 6–11 and 1–5 revealed F17, a footing returning north from F30 parallel with F10. Pile groups 6–11 and the ground beam between this group and group 1–5 exposed the east face of F17 and the eastern corner junction with F30. The full width of Footing 17 was visible in group 1–5. Between F10 and F17 was a layer of white mortar floor bedding (Layer 18). One end buttress (F19) of the building formed by Walls 10, 11 and 30 was seen in pile group 28–36. The corresponding buttress to the south (F20) together with part of the south face of Wall 11, appeared in pile group 37–45 and a ground beam between this group and group 46–49.

A reception shaft in the car park west of Albert Street (South) revealed the junction of four footings (F21–24) with a thick layer of white mortar floor bedding (Layer 29) in the angle of F21 and F24. All continued into the sections. The eastward continuation of F21 was seen in the two trenches connecting the reception shaft to the two manholes. These trenches also exposed a buttress (F25) equidistant between Buttresses 12 and 22. A further footing (F26) was 1·60 m. to the west of F25. F27 in the trial trench laid across the Albert Street (South) car park in April 1974 (see below, p. 199) must be the continuation of Footing 24 and it can be inferred that F14 would have continued westwards to meet F27. This would give a second apartment.

The buildings stand directly on the medieval riverfront, facing Ailrich's Eyot, and it seems very probable that there would have been a watergate, as at the still extant Aylesford Whitefriars in Kent where a very similar range of buildings fronts onto the Medway. If so, Footings 22 and 26 may represent the gate.

Footings 7 and 8 are in the right position to be part of the little cloister, this position immediately south of the great cloister being conventional.

The only other footing to be recorded during the 1973 salvage work was exposed by pile groups 84–92 and 93–100. The western face of a robber trench (F28) was traced for some 12·0 m. and its north-west corner located. The function of this wall is not clear.

THE 1974 TRIAL TRENCH. By GEORGE LAMBRICK

In 1974, following the 1973 salvage work, a trial trench *c.* 47·0 m. long was dug in the Albert Street (South) car park to establish the extent of buildings to the west of those already discovered. It became clear that an extensive sequence of footings existed in the area but it was not possible to interpret them coherently. Most of the footings had been robbed, but one straight joint and variations of robber trench fill suggested that there was more than one phase of building.

As in the eastern area (see above, p. 174) there was a 0·20 m. thick layer of dumped clay above the natural alluvium. If this layer was deposited in the same manner as in the eastern and western areas it is likely that the buildings were

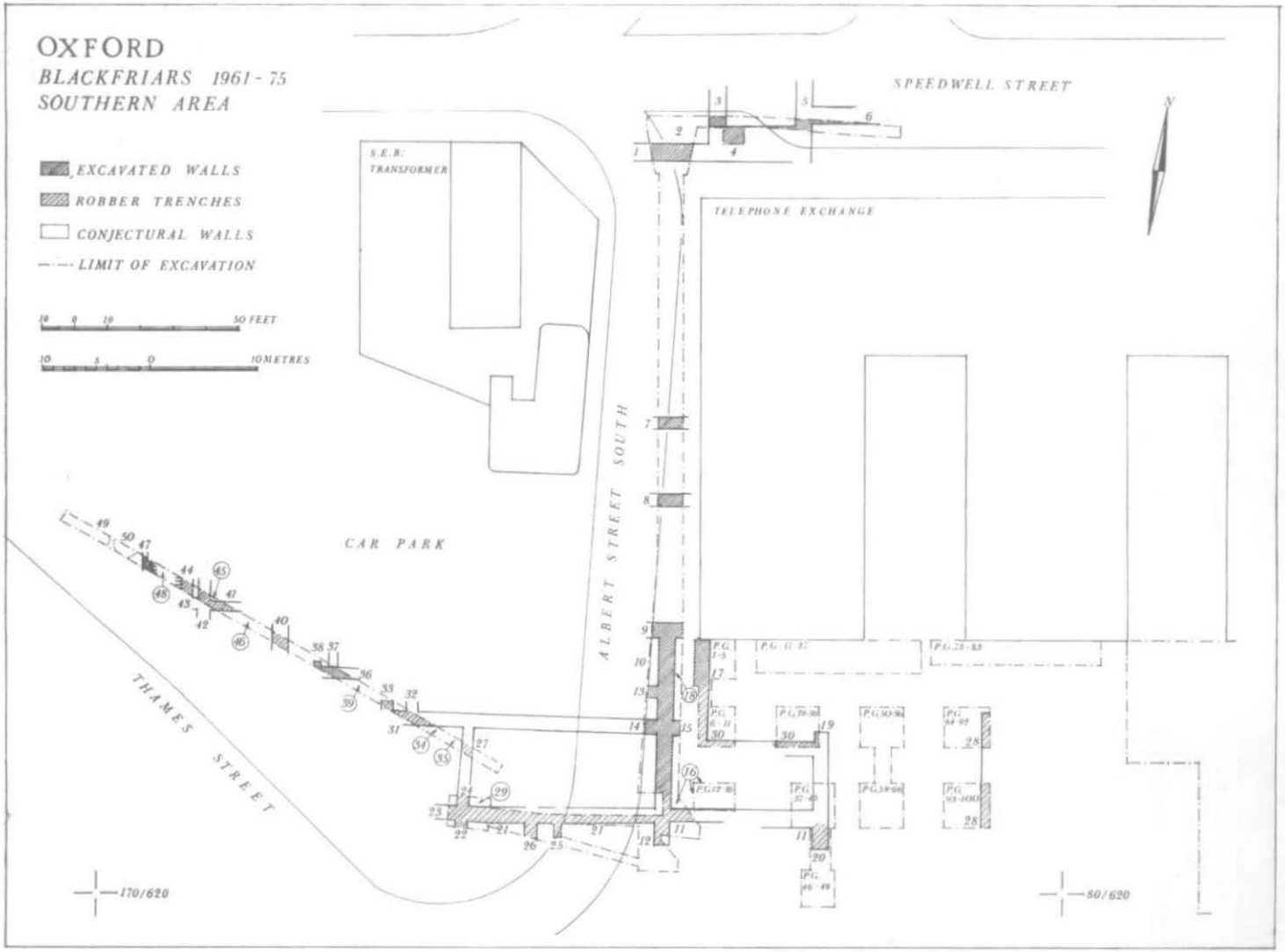

OXFORD
BLACKFRIARS 1961 - 75
SOUTHERN AREA
EXCAVATED WALLS
ROBBER TRENCHES
CONJECTURAL WALLS
LIMIT OF EXCAVATION
50 FEET
10 METRES
S.E.B. TRANSFORMER
SPEEDWELL STREET
TELEPHONE EXCHANGE
ALBERT STREET SOUTH
CAR PARK
THAMES STREET
170/620
50/620

FIG. 6

constructed using the same methods as those for the original buildings and may have been built quite soon after them. This is supported by the pottery evidence (see Pottery report below).

Near the south-east end of the trench was a north-south robber trench (F27), probably a continuation of F24 to the south. Its fill was grey-brown clayey gravel. *c.* 4·0 m. to the north-west another robber trench (F31) with identical fill ran east-west. This was wider (1·20 m.) than F27 (1·00 m.) and corresponded in line and width to Footing 14 to the east. A buttress (F33), also robbed out, was on its northern face. A separate robber trench (F32) just east of this ran north-south cutting Robber Trench 31. Its width (1·20 m.) was inferred from its fill (yellow mortary gravel) where it cut F31. The change of fill in the robbing suggests that this was a wall running north, not merely a buttress. It did not continue to the south where there were layers of mortar (Layers 34 and 35), similar to Layer 29 observed in the G.P.O. hole to the south, which possibly constituted bedding for a floor. Except for F32 these robber trenches and the floor bedding they surrounded probably represent a further bay of the building largely found in the G.P.O. excavations to the east (see above, p. 197). Buttress 33 may mark a cross wall, possibly the gable end of the building.

A further 4·0 m. north-west of this was another group of footings of similar plan. The east-west wall (F36) was narrower (at 1·00 m.) and had only a small buttress (F38). The footings consisted of fairly rough stone packed with clay with good mortar above. The north-south wall (F37), 1·20 m. wide and bonded with yellow mortary gravel, was butted against Wall 36 and was clearly of a later build. Between Wall 36 and the robber trenches to the south-east (F31–33) was a layer of sandy mortary gravel (Layer 39). Wall 36 was the same width and on the same line as Robber Trench 13 in the G.P.O. trench to the east. It is not clear whether these were the same wall, but if so it is possible that they formed the south wall of an east-west range of buildings, with a north wall possibly represented by Footing 9 and its east end by Footing 10, leaving a passage between this and Footing 17 to the east. This must all remain speculation, however, until further work is done.

About 4·5 m. to the north-west was another north-south robber trench (F40), 1·60 m. wide, with yellow mortary gravel fill. Between this and Buttress 38 there had been too much recent disturbance for any floor layers to have survived. Another 5·0 m. north-west was an east-west robber trench (F41) 1·00 m. wide and filled with grey-brown clayey gravel. This was cut by Robber Trench 42, 1·20 m. wide filled with yellow gravelly mortar, which ran through the westward continuation of F41 (F43) and into another north-south robber trench (F44) only 0·50 m. west of F42. It was demonstrated by augering that Robber Trench 42 continued to the south. Between it and F41 were two layers of clayey loam and mixed clay and stone overlain by a mortar spread (Layer 45), possibly a floor bedding. Between F41 and F40 a layer of orange-grey clay and sandy loam (Layer 46) produced many sherds of baluster jug, datable to the late 13th to 14th centuries.

No coherent building plan can be deduced from these robber trenches, though F40 and F42 were aligned with the main walls of the west range of the cloisters, and could represent a very long southward extension of that range.

The wall represented by F44 which ran so close to the west wall of this hypo-

thetical range was the east side of a 3·00 m. wide culvert (F48) of which the other side (F47) survived with its masonry *in situ*. This masonry was the best excavated anywhere on the site, consisting of well laid ashlar blocks. Near the north-east side of the trench the face was chamfered back and the ashlar gave way to coarser masonry (or possibly robbing material). The quality of the masonry suggests that the culvert may have been covered, possibly with buildings. The fill of the culvert itself was purple-brown muddy silt (Layer 48/3) containing a few large stones. On its eastern side the fill of Robber Trench 44 had slid into it. Above these was 17th-century material, possibly a pit (Layer 48/1). The precise course of the culvert and its direction of flow are not known, making it impossible to say which parts of the priory it served.

Beyond the culvert no further footings were found, the only features being two large pits (F49 and 50). The earlier (F49) was not fully excavated but it produced pottery of the early to mid 14th century. It was sealed by a layer of grey-brown sticky loamy clay with charcoal flecks (Layer 51) which produced later 14th-century pottery as did the second pit. The presence of pits and lack of footings in this area suggest that the culvert marked the furthest extent of the buildings.

The footings excavated in the trial trench indicated that there were several large buildings or ranges of buildings in the area. Although it is impossible to interpret them fully, the mere existence of the footings in such profusion so far south of the main cloister implies that much more must remain in between, including possibly an infirmary cloister. Work in the southern area has done more to reveal the large gaps in the known plan of the priory than to fill them, but even so the knowledge of such gaps can at least help to provide a more reliable idea of the scale of the priory.

THE PRIORY GATEWAY

By GEORGE LAMBRICK (FIGS. 7 and 9)

The upstanding remains of the Blackfriars gateway were rediscovered by the late P. S. Spokes and the late W. A. Pantin in 1968 during the restoration of a cottage of *c.* 1647 in the New Centre for the Deaf. The gateway forms the north-south back wall of the cottage and had been visible from the west until the 1840s. This side is shown in a drawing by J. C. Buckler dated 1821 (PL. VII, B).[47] The gateway consisted of two openings, both blocked by the ranges and chimneys of the cottage. The eastern face of the medieval structure was constructed of large well laid ashlar blocks, which had subsequently been chisel-punched to take plaster when it became the back wall of the cottage. To accommodate a fireplace the jambs of the smaller opening had been cut back almost flush with its sides, leaving only the bottom 0·10 m. intact. The inner voussoirs of the small arch have also been lost, and nothing remains of the larger arch.

The smaller gate is 1·20 m. (*c.* 4 ft.) wide between the jambs, with a steep four-centred arch springing from 1·70 m. (5¼ ft.) above the modern floor level, which approximates to the original ground surface. The large gate is 2·69 m. (8¾ ft.)

[47] Bodleian Library, MS. Don. A3, No. 42A.

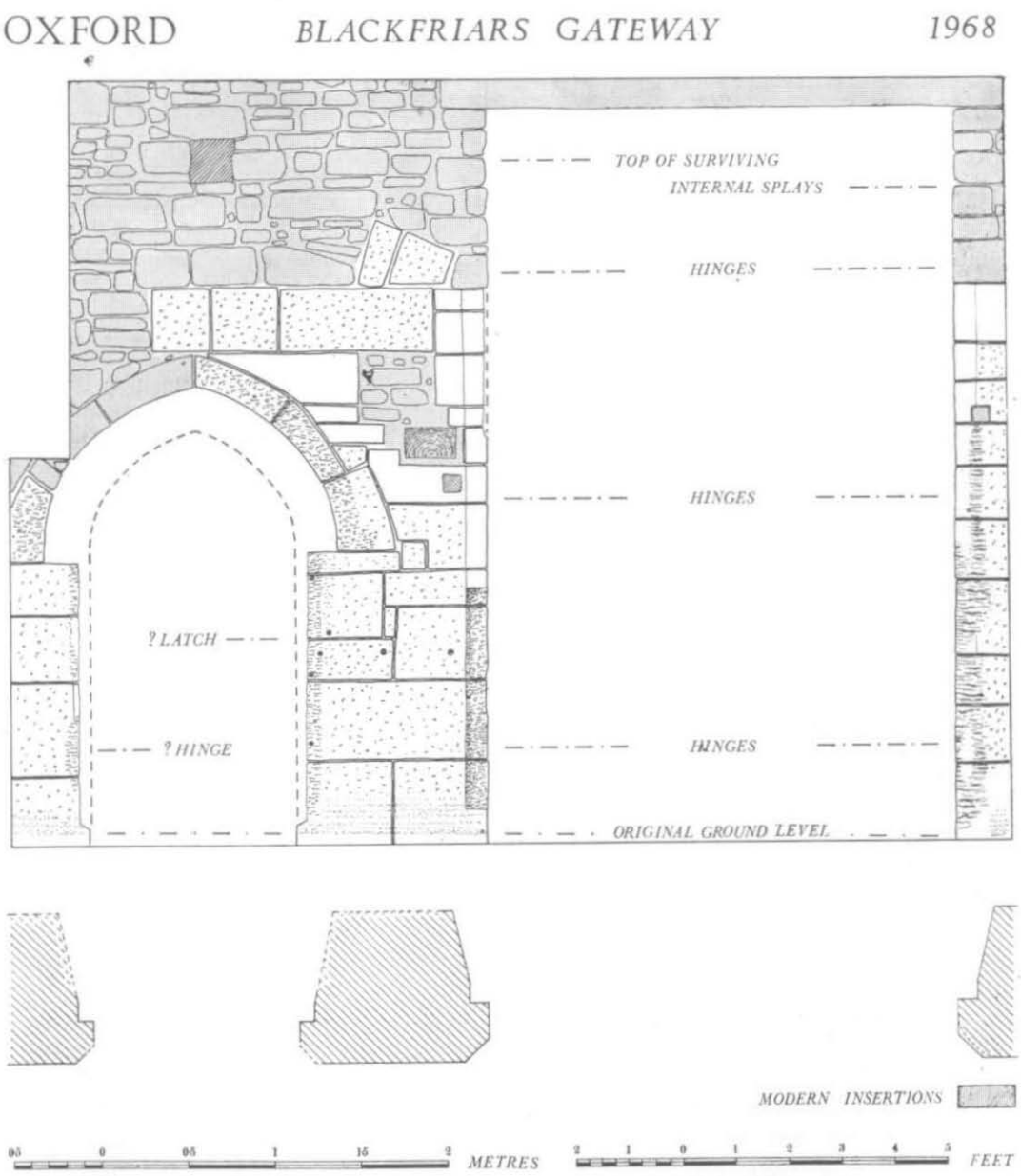


FIG. 7
The Priory Gateway : Plan and External East Elevation.

between the jambs and its arch appears to have sprung from about 3·30 m. (*c.* 11 ft.) above the old ground level. This is suggested by the shape of the two ashlar blocks in the course above the top of the surviving south jamb, and by the position of the topmost hinge holes. The original ground surface is indicated by two large protruding stones, possibly the top of the footing of the gateway, sealed by the south jamb of the larger gate, and by horizontal weathering of the lowest course of ashlar down to the same level.

The jambs of both openings are on the east, indicating that the gateway was approached from that side, the gates opening inwards. The jambs were chamfered from just above ground level at least as far as the springing of the arches. The chamfers survive on the main gate but little remains of them on the small gate. The jambs of both gates were fairly solid and behind them the sides of the openings returned at right angles a short way before splaying out slightly. The lowest 2·00 m. of chamfer on the northern jamb of the large gate had been worn away almost entirely by the passage of traffic. No mouldings other than the chamfers have survived, but there was almost certainly a hood moulding over the little gate, for all four of the surviving voussoirs had had to be cut back to be flush with the rest of the ashlar to take the plaster.

Evidence of the gates themselves is slight, but three large holes spaced evenly down each side of the main opening indicate the position of the hinge pintles, showing that there were double gates. The small gate was presumably a single one and the blocking of one possible hinge hole on the south and a hole possibly for a catch on the north may support this.

The north and south ends of the gateway cannot now be located. Buckler in his drawing shows a straight joint of quoins only about 1·50 m. north of the north jamb of the main gate, but this cannot be shown certainly to be medieval and is not easily explained as part of the original gateway. Buckler's picture on the whole adds little to what still survives : he shows the springing of the main arch which appears to correspond roughly to what can be deduced from surviving evidence, and he also shows a simple chamfer on the small arch. No extra evidence for the dating of the building is apparent. With so few diagnostic features the dating cannot be narrowed down further than the 15th or early 16th centuries.

The gateway seems to have been the main entrance to the priory[48] and as such it was probably a gatehouse rather than a mere gate in the precinct wall, though there is no direct evidence for this. Traffic entering the precinct was clearly forced to turn right through the arch after crossing Preachers Bridge coming south from the Little Gate. The awkward way in which the gate is set at right angles to the approach is interesting. The most likely explanation is that it was not intended for public access to the church, but for access to the private precinct of the priory. Public access to the nave of the church would have been straight across from Preachers Bridge along the west side of the cemetery wall running north from the porch or anchor house. There may have been a corresponding wall to the west between the galilee and the gateway to separate this public approach from the precinct. Thus the west side of the precinct would have had to have been approached at right angles to the line of Littlegate Street and Preachers Bridge.

[48] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 75.

DISCUSSION

By GEORGE LAMBRICK

(FIGS. 8 and 9)

The Friars Precinct (FIG. 8)

The second site of the Dominican priory in Oxford was quite unlike the first.[49] Whereas that was a small cramped site in the Jewish quarter of the town, the new site was extremely spacious (but damp) lying in the meadows by the Thames outside. The gift of this site[50] was opportune, for it must have been clear by 1236 that the community was going to succeed and expand beyond the capacity of the first site, and already various disputes had occurred with the neighbouring St. Frideswide's and others.[51] The boundaries of the new site were the various branches of the Thames which surrounded it,[52] enclosing an area of about 9 hectares (22¼ acres). The priory buildings were situated towards the north-east corner of the precinct, nearest the town. Access to and from the town was gained through the main gate, over Preachers Bridge and through the Little Gate, or through the South Gate from St. Aldates *via* either the Mill and Preachers Lane or by a footpath running along the south bank of the Trill Mill Stream.[53] Certainly the north and probably the east sides of the precinct were enclosed by a wall.[54] The main cemetery seems to have been situated between the church and this wall to the north.

The gardens, orchards and woods mentioned in the Dissolution accounts cannot now be located exactly, but must mostly have been situated to the west of the buildings. In 1541 there were three acres of wood to the east and six to the west, and in 1538 Dr. London had described the 'divers islands' on 'their backside' (probably the west) as 'well wooded'.[55] The priory precinct itself would normally have been private, the only public access being to the nave of the church. The main gate near the bridge was almost certainly for access to the precinct only.

The Burials

The skeletons in the cemetery north of the church were not lifted or examined. The other burials found fall into three clear groups associated with particular parts of the priory. Firstly it appears that the west end of the chapter house was reserved for the burial of children of lay people, probably benefactors : the chapter house was the only building other than the church where burials were allowed, and probably anyone buried in either would have been of some status or a benefactor. No parallel for child burials of this sort has yet been discovered.

Secondly the west cloister alley, and presumably the other alleys, were reserved for the friars themselves : at least eight of the ten excavated burials were of males over the age of 20. Most of them appear to have had coffins, including one stone coffin. In the galilee area also the burials could have been of friars, and also in this

[49] *Ibid.*, 57–65.
[50] *Ibid.*, 66–67.
[51] *Ibid.*, 60–62.
[52] *Ibid.*, 70–73.
[53] *Ibid.*, 75.
[54] *Ibid.*, 74–75.
[55] *Ibid.*, 74.

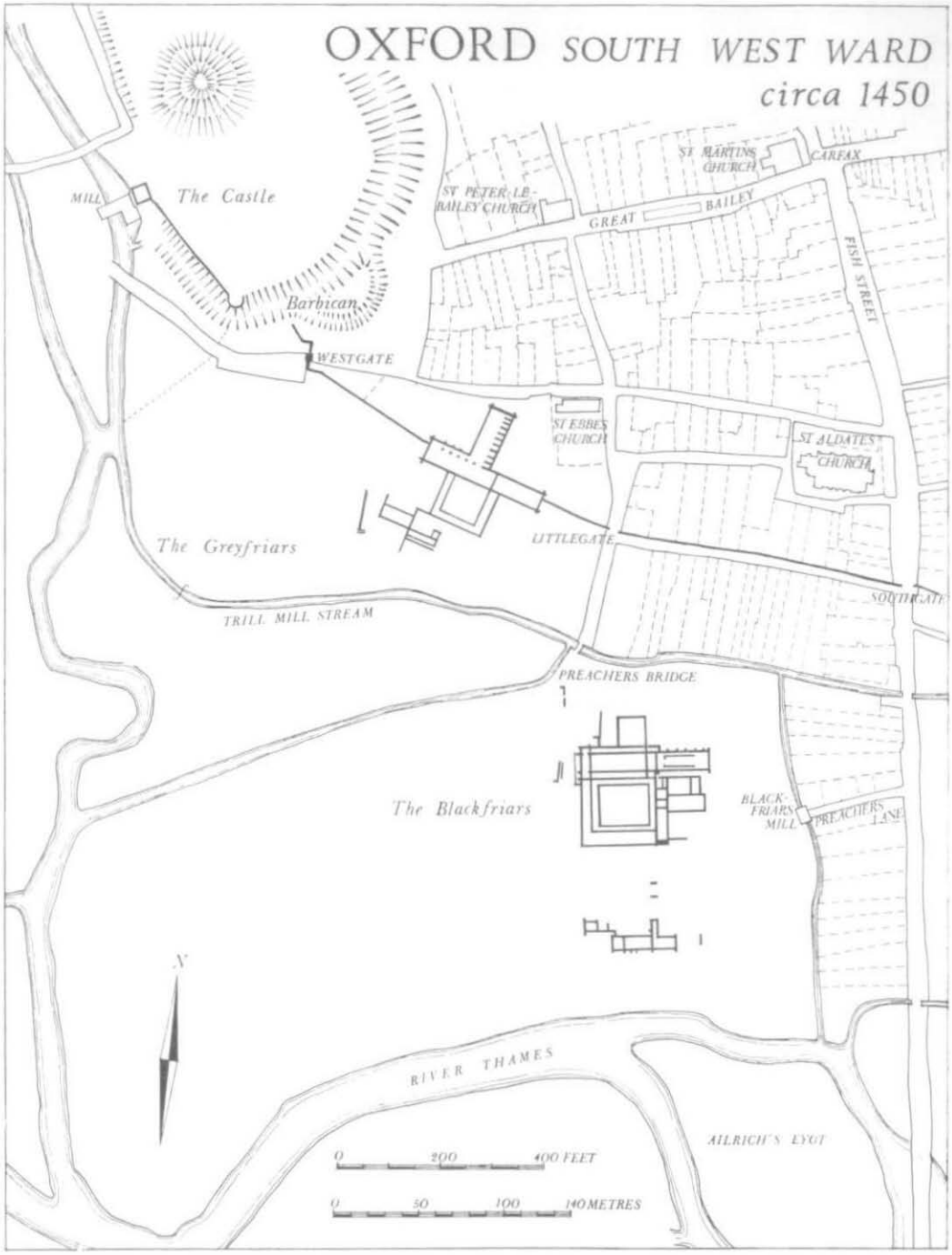

OXFORD SOUTH WEST WARD
circa 1450
The Castle
MILL
Barbican
WESTGATE
ST PETER-LE-BAILEY CHURCH
ST MARTINS CHURCH
CARFAX
GREAT BAILEY
FISH STREET
ST EBBES CHURCH
ST ALDATES CHURCH
The Greyfriars
LITTLEGATE
SOUTHGATE
TRILL MILL STREAM
PREACHERS BRIDGE
The Blackfriars
BLACK-FRIARS MILL
PREACHERS LANE
N
RIVER THAMES
AILRICH'S EYOT
0 200 400 FEET
0 50 100 140 METRES

FIG. 8

case, novices : three were young men of 15 to 18, while the one in a stone coffin was a man of 55 to 65. Of the two remaining burials in this area one at least must have been a priest because of the presence of the chalice and paten. These burials, however, were not definitely associated with the galilee.

It is possible that some of the younger burials were of novices, although the minimum age for entry into the Dominican Order as laid down by its Constitutions was eighteen years.[56] We know, however, that at Oxford these constitutions were honoured as much in the breach as the observance, for in 1358 the University passed a statute forbidding the friars to receive any student under eighteen years of age into the order.[57]

The third group, consisting of burials in the west end of the church, was varied both in age and sex. Presumably some at least of these were lay people. Lay burials in the church were normal practice and are in any case demonstrated by documentary evidence.[58]

The most interesting individual burials were those containing charcoal. Two were found in the cloister alley and were presumably friars. These must post-date the beginning of the construction of the friary in 1236 and can hardly be earlier than 1251 when there was a royal grant of £10 towards building the cloisters.[59] Possibly contemporary with these was the grave containing the upturned porringer and spilt charcoal. The porringer is not earlier than the last quarter of the 13th century and could be mid 14th-century. Other charcoal burials in Oxford include those at St. Frideswides, of which the charcoal was carbon-dated to the second quarter of the 9th century,[60] and one in All Saints Church, almost certainly not pre-conquest and probably dating to the end of the 11th century. Also at All Saints were several burials on a bed of ash dating from the same period up to the 14th century.[61] The Blackfriars examples are sufficient to show that this form of burial is not exclusively Saxon or early medieval, and together with the All Saints evidence it is clear that the practice continued, sometimes in a slightly modified form, at least until the 14th century, and possibly later.

Construction Techniques

One of the points of interest concerning the construction of the priory is the contrast between its original footings and those of later additions. The shallow hardcore foundations of the western extension to the nave were clearly inadequate, requiring the addition of the large buttresses on the line of the north arcade. The footings consisted only of mortar and rubble resting on natural alluvium rather than solid stone founded on natural gravel. While this was adequate for non-structural walls, and small walls such as that of the galilee, it was not for main structural walls and represents a marked lowering in standards of building. Probably the later friars were much less concerned with the quality of their construction work than their predecessors had been when they first started building. It would also

[56] *Die Constitutionen des Predigerordens vom Jahre 1228*, ed. Denifle, ALKG, I, 202.
[57] *Munimenta academica*, I, 207–8.
[58] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, 17.
[59] *Ibid.*, 15.
[60] T. G. Hassall, ' Excavations in Oxford 1972 ', *Oxoniensia*, XXXVIII (1973), 271.
[61] Information from B. G. Durham, see forthcoming publication.

have become more difficult to appreciate the nature of the site than it had been when it was still wet open meadowland.

The original footings are impressive (PL. VI, A). There must have been considerable technical difficulty in building the footings below the water table, and the size of the foundations represents the enormous effort which was expended in digging the construction trenches and bringing in the stone. The problem of the water could have been overcome by leaving a layer of clay on the bottom of the trenches for as long as possible, by never having open at one time a longer section of trench than was necessary, and by packing the lower parts of the footings with clay. This probably entailed digging the trenches and building the footings simultaneously, but this does not seem to have affected the accuracy in the laying out of the buildings or the consistency in the size of the footings, which was the same on both sides of the cloister. It was clearly the low-lying nature of the site which made the friars go to such lengths : the equally important Oxford Greyfriars had very much shallower, narrower foundations for the buildings sited on the firm ground of the second gravel terrace.[62] The size and quality of the walls presumably also reflects the benefits the friars enjoyed from gifts and the sale of their former property. The lack of evidence for rebuilding (as opposed to extensions) is a tribute to the quality of the original work : even though the superstructure may have been refaced or rebuilt, the footings were never replaced.

The Buildings (FIG. 9)

The plan of the buildings is largely conventional : the site posed no limitations of space so it was possible to lay out the buildings in a regular and spacious manner. The plan is essentially that common to most Dominican and Franciscan houses : a simple, fairly long and narrow aisleless choir and a similar nave with north and south aisles (which are slightly unusual as original features in Dominican churches).[63] There were no transepts of the normal monastic type, but the usual walking place provided a passage through the church between the cloister alley and the northern part of the precinct, and also probably supported a tower. The cloister was on the south side of the church with the chapter house at the middle of its east range. The cloister alley was of the normal pentice type rather than being undershot in the main ranges as sometimes occurs in mendicant houses. The cloister was regular, but rectangular rather than square since the west range was set back from the original west end of the nave (which is not particularly unusual). This type of plan for friaries, including the particularly characteristic walking place and lack of transepts, was almost certainly used before the new Oxford priory was started in 1236 ; but the occurrence of this layout in as large and important a house as Oxford at this early date must have helped to establish it as the standard form of mendicant architecture.

One of the most notable aspects of the plan of the Oxford priory is the size of the main buildings. The church even before it was extended was the longest (73·00 m. ; 240 ft.) of all the Dominican churches of which the dimensions are

[62] Hassall, *op. cit.* note 8, 11.
[63] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, 136.

OXFORD *BLACKFRIARS 1961-75*

INTERPRETATION PLAN

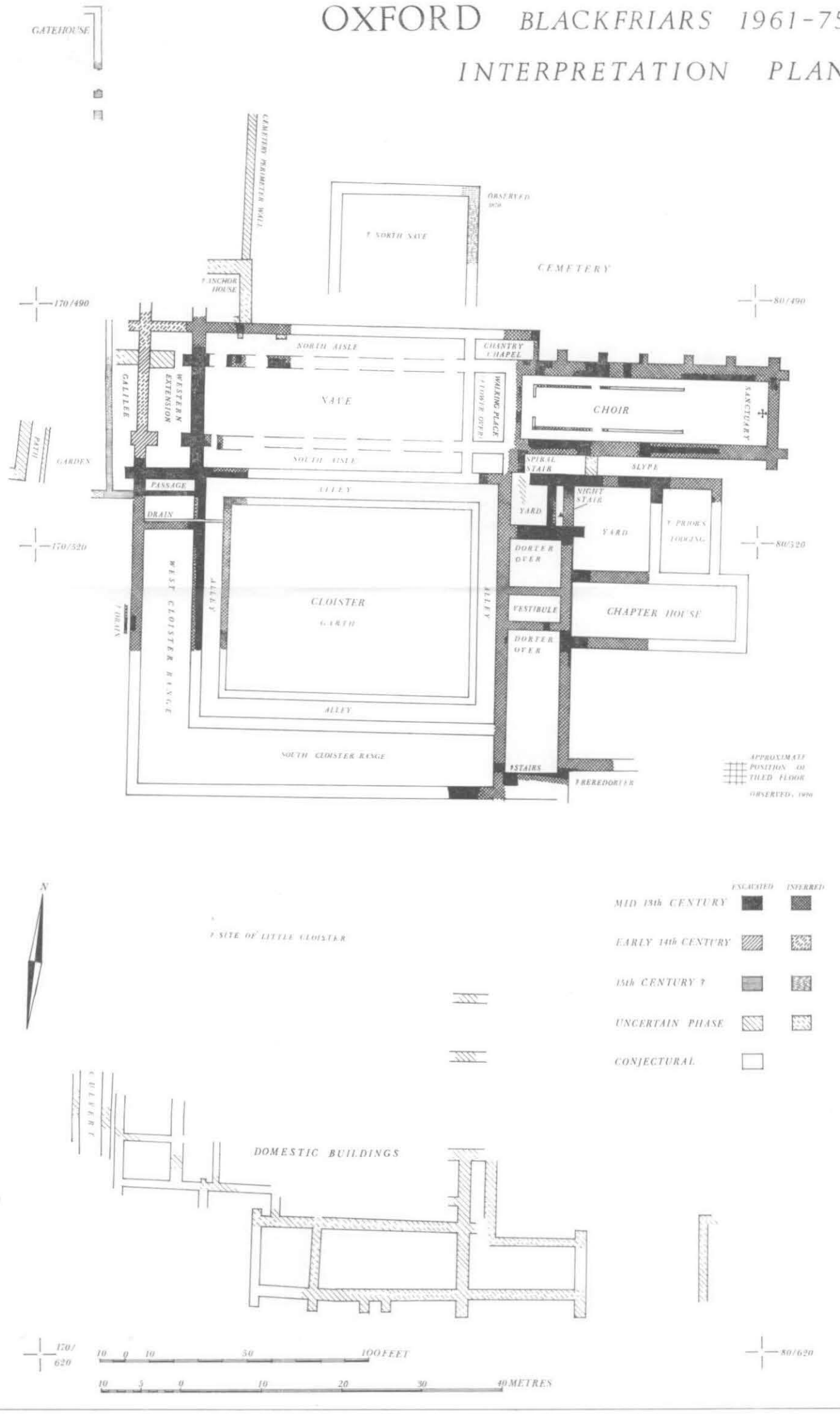


FIG. 9

[face page 206

known.[64] It was also longer than the Oxford Greyfriars[65] and all the other known Franciscan churches except London.[66] The extra length derives from both the nave and the choir. In width the choir was about the standard size (8·50 m. ; 28 ft.), while the nave (17·00 m. ; 56 ft. including the aisles) was narrower than most of the aisled naves in other Dominican churches (such as Bristol, Cardiff and Ludgate). It is thus the choir which was of exceptional size from the beginning, exceeded only by Ludgate which had a large aisle on the north side of the choir.[67] With its western extension and the addition of the possible north nave, however, the nave also would have been unusually large, directly comparable with the Oxford Greyfriars.[68] The main cloister was also of exceptional size, measuring 36·50 m. (118 ft.) east-west by 30·00 m. (100 ft.) north-south. Only Ludgate (110 ft. square) compares with this among Dominican houses, most of the friaries having cloisters of between 80 and 90 ft. square.[69] It is also clear that the priory had very extensive subsidiary buildings, as well as presumably a second cloister, dating from no later than the early 14th century.

The comparison with Ludgate must be put into context : it was built fifty years after Oxford,[70] when the Dominicans were at the height of their success, whereas Oxford was built before their success was even established. Indeed it was from the second Oxford priory that this success was derived under the inspiration and guidance of leading Dominicans such as Robert Bacon, Richard Fishacre, Simon of Hinton, Robert Kilwardby, William Hothum and Richard Knapwell.[71] It is quite likely that the builders of the important new London priory in 1286 were looking directly at the great Oxford priory as a model for their buildings : for fifty years until 1286 Oxford must have remained unparalleled in size and prestige among English Dominican priories.

The reason for this is closely related to the Dominicans' position in the 1220s and 1230s. It is significant that on their arrival in England in 1221 they went straight to Oxford :[72] as preachers and theologians they aimed to establish themselves from the start in the academic and theological centre of the country, and it is the importance of this that is reflected in both the status and the size of the Oxford priory. From the beginning Oxford was the *Studium* of the English province, and from at least 1246, and probably earlier, it was intended to be a *Studium Generale* (one of four) for the whole Dominican Order.[73] Oxford was also the headquarters of one of the four visitations of the English province.[74] In general its importance is reflected in the holding of the first provincial chapter of the province there in 1230[75] and in the meeting of Parliament in the new priory in 1258.[76]

[64] For comparative dimensions see *Ibid.*, Appendix VI, 502–4. More recent excavations on these and other sites seem to confirm this.
[65] Hassall, *op. cit.* note 8, Fig. 4 facing 11.
[66] Martin, *op. cit.* note 24, Fig. facing 22.
[67] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, Appendix VI, 503.
[68] Hassall, *op. cit.* note 8, Fig. 4 facing 11.
[69] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, Appendix VI, 502–4.
[70] *Ibid.*, 495 and 496, ref. note 33.
[71] *Ibid.*, 342–91.
[72] *Ibid.*, 9–10, 60–1, 336 ; and (1938), 64.
[73] Hinnebusch (1938), *op. cit.* note 1, 80 and n.
[74] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, 212–13.
[75] *Ibid.*, 99.
[76] *Ibid.*, 465.

It was its academic status, however, which was the most critical aspect of its importance. The high academic reputation which the Dominicans established attracted not only numerous permanent members of the Order, but also very large numbers of students and lay people attending their lectures and sermons. There was a close connection with the University, the schools of the priory being incorporated into the theological faculty, and the church being used for lectures and examinations.[77] Furthermore, as the official *Studium* of the province and a *Studium Generale* for the Order, the Oxford priory was obliged to house friars from other houses in the Order, both at home and abroad, when they came to study at Oxford.[78] It is interesting that from 1246 to 1261 the provincial chapters refused to carry out the general chapters' directions to make Oxford a *Studium Generale*. Hinnebusch suggests that this was because of the considerable expense of accommodating the extra brethren.[79] It is possible that the royal pension of £50 *per annum* for students granted by Henry III[80] dates from around 1261 and was intended to overcome this difficulty. The only other such pension (one of £25) was granted to Cambridge in 1289, 30 years before its official recognition as a *Studium Generale*, but when it was already a flourishing unofficial house of studies.[81] During their stay at Oxford the visiting friars pursuing their studies followed the same daily routine as the permanent members of the convent. All the buildings of the priory thus had to accommodate more than just its permanent brethren. The choir was certainly unusually large and it seems reasonable to suggest that the chapter house was also large (see above, p. 184). The dimensions of the refectory and dormitories are not known though it has been established that the cloisters as a whole were of an exceptional size. The scale of the priory may thus be explained not only in terms of its status and prestige, but also, deriving from this, the practical need to accommodate a large and fluctuating number of friars.[82] This need was almost certainly predictable in 1236 even though its full realization may not have happened until the official recognition of Oxford as a *Studium Generale* in 1261.

The size of the priory was obviously also dependent on the resources available to build it : the old property was almost certainly sold, but in addition many large gifts, both royal and private, were essential for the project.[83] This generosity again reflects the reputation and prestige which the friars had already established.

An important point connected with the size of the friary is that as far as is yet known the only major building that was extended at a later date was the nave, the only public part of the priory. The rest appears from the present evidence never to have required any radical extension—certainly no aisle was added to the choir for instance, as at Ludgate.[84] In terms of the numbers of friars housed in the priory, Oxford was certainly one of the largest, closely comparable to Ludgate, averaging 77 and 76 respectively from the known figures. Oxford's largest figure of 96 is exceeded only by the one figure for Bristol of 106.[85] This may be exceptional, though, and

[77] *Ibid.*, 341–2.
[78] *Ibid.*, 341, and (1938), 80.
[79] *Ibid.*, 341.
[80] *Ibid.*, 74 and n. ; and (1938), 81 and n.
[81] *Ibid.*, 340.
[82] *Ibid.*, 18 (*cf.* figures for Ludgate, 55) ; and (1938), 81.
[83] *Ibid.*, 11–12, 14–15 ; and (1938), 66–9.
[84] *Ibid.*, 43 and Fig. 5.

certainly the conventual buildings at Bristol were much smaller than Oxford's.[86] The buildings at Oxford thus seem to have been quite large enough, if not larger than necessary, to accommodate the community. Possibly they were originally constructed in expectation of even greater success in recruitment than was actually achieved, or of more visiting students than were ever present at one time. The major extensions to the nave, with the building of the west extension and galilee and possibly the large north nave, contrast strongly with this : the extension of these public areas gives the impression that although Oxford was certainly a successful priory for the Dominicans, its greatest success lay in its achievements outside the confines of the Order itself, particularly in the University.

The size of the priory may also reflect continental influence, since its construction was contemporary with a period of enlargement and expansion, at least among French houses belonging to the Order.[87] This cannot be demonstrated in any precise way, however.

The size both of the footings and of the plan of the buildings implies that they were substantial structures above ground level. Almost certainly the buildings contravened the regulations laid down by the Constitutions of the Order, by which the walls of churches were not to be over thirty feet high and those of the smaller buildings not over twenty feet.[88] Matthew Paris was highly critical of what he considered excessive ostentation and magnificence displayed by the size of friary buildings, which according to him ' rivalled regal palaces in height '. More specific criticism was levelled at the friaries in the University towns :

> Entering Oxford and Cambridge in the guise of mendicants, the Dominicans and Franciscans speedily became possessed of valuable property, and, within fifty years of their first appearance, their magnificent buildings were the envy of the scholars of both universities.[89]

The excavations at Oxford have shown that possibly Matthew Paris was not greatly exaggerating as far as the priories there were concerned : both Blackfriars and Greyfriars were unusually large. Nevertheless, as Hinnebusch points out, most other friaries were relatively small and probably did not much exceed the regulations.[90] Matthew Paris may have based his broad generalization largely on the specific example of Oxford.

The evidence from the destruction material of elaborate tombs, painted glass windows and painted mouldings and walls suggests that the Constitutions may have been overlooked in other ways also. Almost all forms of decoration of this sort were forbidden in the 13th century.[91]

[85] For Oxford, *Ibid.*, 18 ; and (1938) 81. For Ludgate, 55. For Bristol, 273. For a table of comparative averages, 274.

[86] *Ibid.*, Appendix VI, 503.

[87] G. Meersseman, ' L'Architecture dominicaine au XII[e] siècle, législation et pratique ', *Archivum fratrum Praedicatorum*, XVI (1946), 158–64.

[88] Quoted in Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, 126n.

[89] *Ibid.*, 129, 130.

[90] For a general discussion of the question see *Ibid.*, 124–32 (especially 132), and Meerseman, *op. cit.* note 87, *passim*.

[91] Hinnebusch (1951), *op. cit.* note 1, 127.

Unusual Features of Planning

Apart from the exceptional size of the priory there were some other unusual features among the buildings. One was the use of a projecting chapter house rather than one built into the east cloister range. While fairly common in larger monastic houses, this is rare among mendicant houses, and may reflect again the exceptional size and status of the Oxford Blackfriars. It was certainly a sensible way of building a large and spacious chapter house, since it thus neither encroached on the first floor of the east range, nor was restricted in its own height and proportions.

North of the chapter house the slype and yard are unusual but they do have parallels in other friaries, notably at London Greyfriars,[92] though the slype is uncommon in that it was roofed. The apparent open space at the north end of the east range also has few close parallels. It is rare in friaries to find what seems to be such a flagrant waste of space in a carefully planned layout.

Further uncommon features occur in the additions made to the nave. The western extension of the nave is not particularly remarkable and is directly comparable to the Oxford Greyfriars. More unusual is the galilee, but its presence also at Dunstable, a fairly small house, suggests that it cannot simply be explained as another symbol of the prestige of Oxford ; possibly its apparent rarity is misleading, for few sufficiently complete plans of Dominican churches are known. This may also apply to the suggested north nave. At Oxford this apparently exceptional feature might not be surprising since one of its main functions was to provide extra space for preaching (and at Oxford presumably lecturing). The Oxford Greyfriars certainly had a large north nave which was probably used in this way and it is reasonable that the Blackfriars would have had the same arrangement, especially considering its status as a *Studium Generale* and its connection with the University. There is no such explanation, however, at a small priory like Chelmsford or the Franciscan Llanfoes.[93] The extra preaching space may have been quite a common requirement outside the university world, and in addition any priory would benefit from the extra income derived from the chantry chapels normally ranged down the east side of these extensions. As yet there is no adequate explanation of why north or south naves seem to be distinctively Irish ; it is possible that this too is a misleading distinction : possibly they are only particularly known there because more have survived as standing ruins, whereas in England, because of urban pressures, very few Dominican houses have survived. The plans of most friaries are insufficiently complete to be sure of the absence of north or south naves : even where almost complete plans of churches and cloisters exist they often do not cover the critical area at the east end of the nave on the opposite side of the church from the cloister. It is only because of the chance observation of 1870 that there is any reason to suspect the existence of a north nave at Oxford.

Historically the importance of the Oxford Blackfriars is unquestioned. This is reflected in the buildings, and it is now possible to suggest that the priory may have been of some architectural importance for the Order as well. The influence is difficult to assess precisely, but there can be little doubt that as large a house as

[92] Martin, *op. cit.* note 24, Fig. facing 190.
[93] *Ibid.*, 174–5.

Oxford, built near the beginning of the period of expansion of mendicant friaries, did much to establish the trends, if not set a standard of mendicant architecture.

THE FINDS

THE MEDIEVAL POTTERY (FIG. 10). By MAUREEN MELLOR

About 1750 sherds were excavated but only 400 were recovered from medieval contexts. The majority of these range from a mid thirteenth- to a late fourteenth-century date. The small number recovered from most contexts made dating, on ceramic evidence alone, tenuous. The fabric type sequence established at 79/80 St. Aldates[94] was used to assist the dating of the small groups of pottery, as well as published pottery from Oxford.

The wares represented were cooking-pots, jugs and pitchers in Fabric *Y* (Oxford Medieval Ware) ; shallow bowls, a porringer, baluster type jugs, and a chafing dish in Fabric *AM* (Oxford Late Medieval Ware), while a drinking cup and a sherd from a lobed cup in Tudor Green Ware were also found.

The Eastern Area Construction Layers

48 sherds were recovered from the clay dumped in the area of the east cloister range at the time of construction (E I L64/1, L19, L19/2 ; II 219). Wares in Fabric *Y* were predominant, but eleven sherds in Fabric *AM* were recovered from Layer 19 and included a pedestal base of a chafing dish with thick mottled green glaze. The sturdy base was open at the bottom with two sets of three pierced holes at the top of the base (FIG. 10, P119/0/1). A body sherd with an applied grid-stamped clay pad and dark green glaze was also found in Fabric *AM*. Few sherds of Fabric *AM* have been found previously in pre–mid thirteenth-century contexts and the presence of the chafing dish together with the highly decorated sherd in pre-1260 contexts was surprising. It is therefore possible that the pottery from Layer 19 was not well stratified and that the sherds slightly post-dated the actual construction of the priory.

The Choir

Only one rimsherd (Fabric *AC*) was found associated with the floor layer of the choir (E I L16), while the dust behind the choir stall footing (E I L18 and L18/1) contained 17 sherds predominantly in Fabric *Y* and one fine sherd in Fabric *BD* with an internal yellow glaze and an external mottled green glaze. Sherds in this fabric (*BD*) are known as early as the mid to late thirteenth century [95] and continued into the post-medieval period.

The North End of the East Cloister Range

Most of the pottery found in the medieval robbing of the night stair (E L211/1 and L213) was made in Fabrics *Y*, *AC* or *AM*. Fabric *Y* was dominant, with sherds which included thumb pressed bases. One sherd, in Fabric *AW*, had applied rouletted strips in alternating white and red clay (FIG. 10, P211/1/1). This type of decoration, usually associated with late thirteenth-century contexts, continued well into the fourteenth century.[96] Three baluster-type jug bases, and two pitcher rims with strap handles were found in Fabric *AM*. The high proportion of Fabric *AC* together with Fabrics *Y* and *AM* suggested that some of the pottery was residual in these contexts.

The wall foundation layers (E II L221/1–/15) contained a few sherds of residual pottery and a rich mottled green glazed sherd in Tudor Green Ware.[97] This ware was not found at 79/80 St. Aldates[98] or the Barbican Ditch ;[99] thus the wall foundation was unlikely

[94] B. G. Durham, ' Archaeological Investigations in St. Aldate's, Oxford ', *Oxoniensia*, forthcoming.
[95] *Ibid.*, pottery table and histogram, Phase 9.
[96] *Ibid.*, Phases 9 and 10.
[97] J. G. Hurst, ' Tudor Green Ware ' in B. Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations 1949–60*, 140–2.
[98] *Cf.* Durham, *op. cit.* note 94, Phase 11 dated late fourteenth- to mid fifteenth-century. A coin of 1450 was found in association with this Phase.
[99] T. G. Hassall, ' Excavations at Oxford Castle 1965–72 ', this volume.

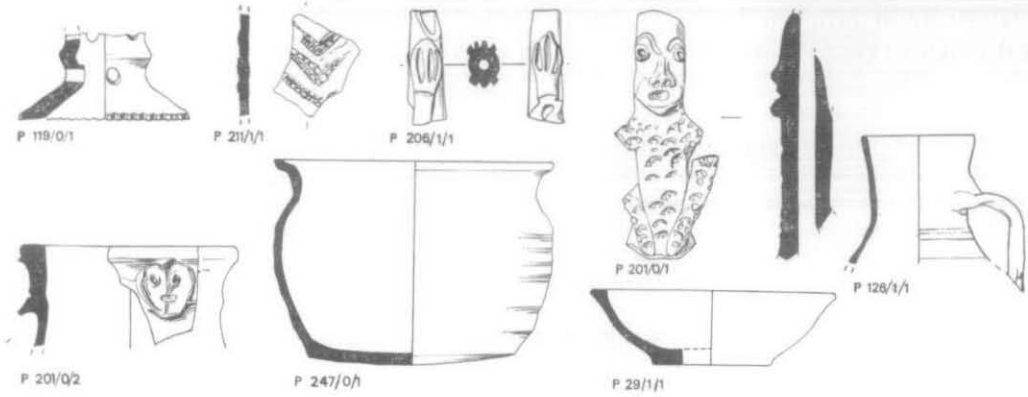


FIG. 10
Medieval Pottery. (Scale ½).

to have been constructed before the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

The burials in the chapter house (E I F36, F37, F38, F41, F44) contained too few sherds to aid their dating.

One sherd, a green glazed pitcher spout with applied ' hands ', was found in Layer 206/1, the robber trench of the west wall of the ? prior's lodging (FIG. 10, P206/1/1).

The Area West of the Original West End of the Church

The soil under and west of the extended west end of the nave (W II L238, L254, L201) contained 135 sherds. The predominant fabric in Layer 254 was Fabric *Y*, represented by a notched rimsherd and thinly glazed body sherds which probably belonged to a baggy pitcher.[100] Another major fabric in this context, Fabric *AC*, comprised cooking-pots and bowls, while the more decorated sherds in Fabric *AM* included two sherds with mottled green glaze, one sherd decorated with an applied iron-rich red clay strip and dark green glaze and three sherds with red iron oxide slip probably from baluster-type jugs.[101] The dominance of Fabric *Y* and the presence of Fabrics *AC* and *AM* suggested a late twelfth-to late thirteenth-century date for Layer 254. Layers 238 and 201 contained a higher proportion of Fabric *AM* and were probably slightly later in date. A dark green glazed pitcher spout with lightly incised decoration (Fabric *AM*) was recovered from Layer 201. This ornate spout may have belonged to a puzzle jug (FIG. 10, P201/0/1). A green glazed rimsherd from a jug with an applied face mask was also found in the same context (FIG. 10, P201/0/2).[102]

Five sherds associated with the galilee wall (W II F240) were similar to the sherds from Layer 238.

A complete porringer in Fabric *AM* was recovered from Grave 247. It was thrown from poorly wedged clay on a fast wheel. Widely spaced grooves were visible on the exterior and it was partly glazed on both surfaces with a thick green lead glaze. An early fourteenth-century date was attributed to it (FIG. 10, P247/0/1).

The West Cloister Range and Garth

The soil under the floor of the north end of the cloister west range (W II L260) produced two unglazed sherds in Fabric *Y*. Both sherds appeared to have been cut, presumably subsequent to their original use, into roughly circular shapes. It was not possible to attribute any specific function to these sherds.

[100] E. M. Jope, ' Pottery from a Late Twelfth-century Well Filling ', *Oxoniensia*, XV (1950), Fig. 16, No. 6.
[101] T. G. Hassall, ' Excavations at Oxford 1968 ', *Oxoniensia*, XXXIV (1969), 16, Fig. 4, No. 6.
[102] E. M. Jope, ' Some Recent Finds of Medieval Pottery ', *Oxoniensia*, VII (1942), 71, Fig. 17, No. 2.

The few sherds from the cloister garth (W I L126/1) included a rim from a drinking cup (P126/1/1) and a sherd from a lobed cup in Tudor Green Ware. These probably date from the late fifteenth to mid sixteenth century.

The Southern Area Domestic Buildings

28 stratified late medieval sherds in Fabric *AM* were recovered from this area (S F50, L51, F49 and L46). Sherds from baluster-type jugs with red iron oxide slip were found in F50 and Layer 46, while a skillet handle with a partial transparent yellow glaze[103] and a shallow bowl partly glazed internally with a green lead glaze were recovered from Layer 51 (FIG. 10, P29/1/1). Only one sherd was found in F49. These sherds were very similar to finely levigated wares in the same fabric found at Woodstock.[104] A 14th-century date for this homogeneous group seemed appropriate.

CONCLUSIONS

The ceramic evidence from the site was of limited use in dating its contexts, but the evidence was consistent with previously dated mid 13th- to late 14th-century groups from other sites.[105] However the dating of late medieval pottery during this period in Oxford is still very imprecise.

The presence of some highly decorated Oxford Late Medieval Wares (Fabric *AM*) was of considerable interest. Few such pitcher spouts in this ware have been found in Oxford and only one with a face mask is known from recent excavations.[106] The pedestal base from a chafing dish, again in a local fabric (Fabric *AM*) was also remarkable and can be paralleled with one from Radcliffe Square.[107] The Oxford Late Medieval Ware from the site was consistently poorly finished and the clay was usually inadequately wedged before throwing.[108] Cooking-pots with undercut rims characteristic of Brill types were absent ; their absence was also noted at Oxford Castle Moat and the Barbican Ditch.[109]

Pitchers with applied face masks in Oxford Medieval Ware (Fabric *Y*), also a comparative rarity, have been found previously in Oxford.[110] Lobed cups in local fabrics (Fabrics *AM* and *BC*) are known in Oxford from the late 13th to mid 15th century.[111] Lobed and drinking cups in Tudor Green Ware are not known from these contexts, but part of a vessel is known from All Souls College, Oxford, dated a little before 1500[112], and this ware was probably imported during the latter part of the 15th or the first half of the 16th century.

The pottery found associated with the priory was predominantly local in origin, but the presence of more decorative wares may reflect its wealth.

THE SMALL FINDS (FIGS. 11–13). By MARTIN HENIG

Abbreviations used in this section :

Addyman and Biddle (1965) P. V. Addyman and M. Biddle, ' Medieval Cambridge. Recent Finds and Excavations ', *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, LVIII, 74–137.

[103] Durham, *op. cit.* note 94, Pot No. P110/2/3.
[104] ' Notes and News ' (Woodstock), this volume.
[105] M. Biddle, ' The Deserted Medieval Village of Seacourt, Berks. ', *Oxoniensia*, XXVI/XXVII (1961–2), 158–63 ; and R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, ' The Archaeology of the Bodleian Extension ', *Oxoniensia*, IV (1939), 96–124.
[106] Hassall, *op. cit.* note 99.
[107] J. Munby, '126 High Street : The Archaeology and History of an Oxford House,' *Oxoniensia*, XL (1975), 305, Fig. 23, H8.
[108] Jope, *op. cit.* note 102, 78.
[109] Hassall, *op. cit.* note 99.
[110] Bruce-Mitford, *op. cit.* note 105, Fig. 24K ; Jope, *op. cit.* note 102, 71.
[111] Durham, *op. cit.* note 94, Pot No. P125/0/1 Phase 9 ; Hassall, *op. cit.* note 99.
[112] E. M. Jope, ' Medieval Pottery in Berkshire ', *Berks. Arch. Jn.*, L (1947), 71.

Beresford (1975) G. Beresford, *The Medieval Clay-Land Village Excavations at Goltho and Barton Blount.*

Bridgewater (1970–2) N. P. Bridgewater, 'The Medieval Homestead of Wallingstones', *Trans. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, XL pt. 1, 75–116.

Bryant and Steane (1971) G. F. Bryant and J. M. Steane, 'Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Settlement at Lyveden, Northants.', *Northampton Museum Journal*, IX, 3–93.

Fingerlin (1971) I. Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, (Berlin).

Groves (1973) S. Groves, *The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories*

Kenyon (1948) K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester.*

L.M.M.C. *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, 1940.

Munby (1975) J. Munby, '126 High Street', *Oxoniensia*, XL, 254–308.

Oman (1974) C. Oman, *British Rings 800–1914.*

Platt and Coleman-Smith (1975) C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953–1969*, II.

Rahtz (1969) P. A. Rahtz, *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex 1955–57.*

Ruggles-Brise (1949) S. Ruggles-Brise, *Sealed Bottles.*

Shortt (1967) H. Shortt, in N. P. Thompson, 'Huish Church', *Wiltshire Archaeol. Mag.*, LXII, 51–66.

Tatton-Brown (1974) T. Tatton-Brown, 'Excavations at the Custom House Site, City of London, 1973', *Trans. London and Middlesex*, XXV, 117–219.

Objects of Gold (FIG. 11, 1)

1 Ring with stirrup-shaped hoop containing an uncut sapphire. D. *c.* 1·8 cm.; Ht. (including bezel) 2·5 cm.; W. of hoop *c.* 0·25 cm.; D. of stone 0·2 cm. 13th- or 14th-century. *cf.* Oman (1974), 93 and Pl. XV c; and a similar example from Oxford (possibly 136 High Street), Ashmolean Museum 1938.328. (Build-up in yard south of choir E I L33/2, SF47).

Objects of Copper Alloy (FIGS. 11 and 12)

2 Thimble ornamented with eleven circles of indentations. Ht. 1·9 cm. Beresford (1975) 93, Fig. 44, No. 31. (Slype wall R/T E II F205, SF221).

3 Piece of large bell with section of rim. D. *c.* 20·0 cm.; Th. 0·4 cm. *cf.* Bridgewater (1970–2), 104 and Fig. 15, Nos. 80–2. (Demolition material in yard south of choir E II L215, SF233).

4 Cast spherical harness or animal bell with cast square suspension loop, and relief band round waist. Ht. 3·5 cm.; D. 2·5 cm. 'Rumbler' bell of perhaps the 15th or 16th century. *cf.* Shortt (1967), 63. A similar example was found in the mound at Magdalen College School, Oxford (information from D. Sturdy). (? 17th-century gully E I F23, SF6).

5 Spectacle buckle ornamented with five groups of incised lines on each side. L. 3·0 cm.; W. 3·0 cm. *cf.* Fingerlin (1971), 394, No. 267 and 463, f. No. 516; Munby (1975), 305f, Fig. 23, No. H8. (Cemetery wall R/T W IV F412, SF402).

6 Plate from strap end engraved with figures of the Virgin and Child. L. 5·2 cm.; W. 1·5 cm. *cf.* Fingerlin (1971), 312 ff. and Figs. 346 f. No. 21; 446, Fig. 518, No. 465; 448, Fig. 524, No. 469; Beresford (1975), 91 and Fig. 43, No. 3. All of these 14th-century. (17th-century wall over choir E XI F1113, SF1128).

7 Belt-end. Two metal plates fastened together by two rivets with remnant of leather between. Rectangular with one concave side. L. 2·0 cm.; W. 1·5 cm.; Th. 0·3 cm. (Post-Dissolution build-up in choir E X L1012, SF1022).

8 Belt-end. Plates fastened by rivets at each of the four corners with central piercing

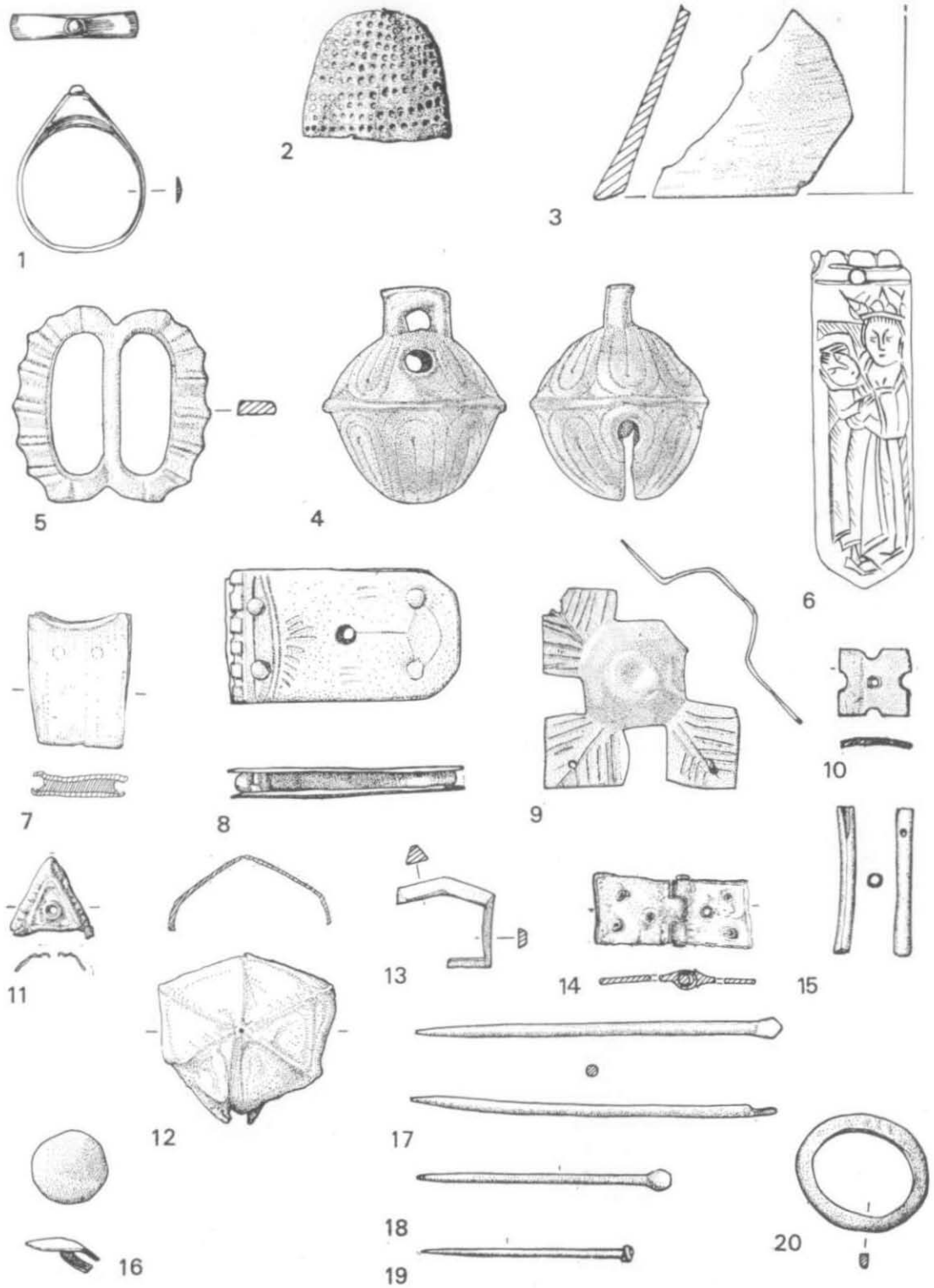


FIG. 11

Objects of Gold and Bronze (1 : 1, except 3, ½).

and remnant of leather between the plates. Rectangular with one side serrated. L. 3·5 cm. ; W. 2·0 cm. ; Th. 0·35 cm. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF17).

9 Belt fitting consisting of domed central boss with four rectangular projections (one missing). L. 3·0 cm. ; Ht. 0·6 cm. *cf.* Rahtz (1969), 87 and Fig. 49 No. 103. (As above, SF16).

10 Plate with central hole and concave cuts at the centre of each side giving the general form of a St. Andrew's Cross. L. *c.* 2·0 cm. (As above, SF34).

11 Fitting of triangular form with central hole and sides ornamented with raised moulding. Sides L. 1·2 cm. (Beneath floor of northern room of west cloister range W II L260, SF2132).

12 Raised boss with hexagonal sides made from a thin sheet of metal. D. 2·9 cm. ; Ht. 1·3 cm. *cf.* Kenyon (1948), 260 f. and Fig. 88 No. 22. (North choir wall R/T E X F1002, SF1021).

13 Swivel fitting or part of buckle with facetted section and triangular end. L. 1·3 cm. ; W. 1·4 cm. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF49).

14 Small hinge, perhaps from a casket. Three rivet holes in each leaf. L. 2·3 cm. ; W. 1·0 cm. *cf.* Bryant and Steane (1971), 51 and Fig. 11, i. (Burial in galilee W II F258, SF2124).

15 Lace tag. Pierced by hole to force a portion of the metal down to anchor the cord, remnants of which survive. L. 2·25 cm. A type commonly found on medieval and early modern sites. *cf.* Groves (1973), 49 and Pl. LIX (the remnant of the tag in the Blackfriars case is an argument against the suggestion here that these are point protectors). (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF96).

Not illustrated : fourteen similar examples, eleven from the same context.

16 Stud with slightly domed head. D. 2·3 cm. (Night stairs R/T E II L211/1, SF206)

17 Pin. Round section with flattened head. L. 5·6 cm. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF9).

Not illustrated : similar pin. L. 5·7 cm. (A above, SF2).

18 Pin with pear-shaped head. L. 3·9 cm. ; D. of head 0·2 cm. (17th-century gully E I F20, SF25).

19 Pin with twisted wire head. L. 3·2 cm. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF11).

Not illustrated : four similar pins, three from medieval contexts

20 Ring of flat section D. 2·0 cm. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF97).

21 Spring of twisted wire. L. *c.* 4·0 cm. *cf.* Bridgewater (1970–2), Fig. 15 No. 35. (As above, SF95).

22 Plaited three strand wire. L. 2·5 cm. (Night stair R/T E II L211/1, SF203).

23–8 Small pieces of sheet bronze, in some cases with rivet holes. Some possibly parts of belt fittings, others may be scrap from metal working. *cf.* Bryant and Steane (1971), 49 and Fig. 11 Nos. a.9 and a.10 (23–5 and 28 from medieval contexts).

Not illustrated : other pieces of bronze sheet similar to the six illustrated.

Objects of Lead (FIG. 12)

29 Pencil, fluted down body, pointed at one end. L. 8·4 cm. ; D. 0·5 cm. *cf.* Addyman and Biddle (1965), 127 and Fig. 21, Nos. 6–7 (13th-century). Four similar objects are in the Glastonbury site museum ; one was found in the Latin Chapel, Christ Church, Oxford (information from D. Sturdy). (Unstratified E II u/s, SF201).

30 Pencil with flattened end, ? for use as an eraser on wax, as well as a pointed end. L. 10·5 cm. (Demolition layer W II L219, SF229).

31 Piece of small lead piping. L. 5·3 cm. ; D. 1·5 cm. ; D. bore 0·7 cm. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF100).

32 Strip of lead with a hole and a rounded groove in one side. L. 6·2 cm. ; W. 0·8 cm. (As above, SF41).

33 ? Counter with cross scratched somewhat roughly on it. D. 2·8 cm. (Post-Dissolution build-up in choir E XI L1117, SF1117).

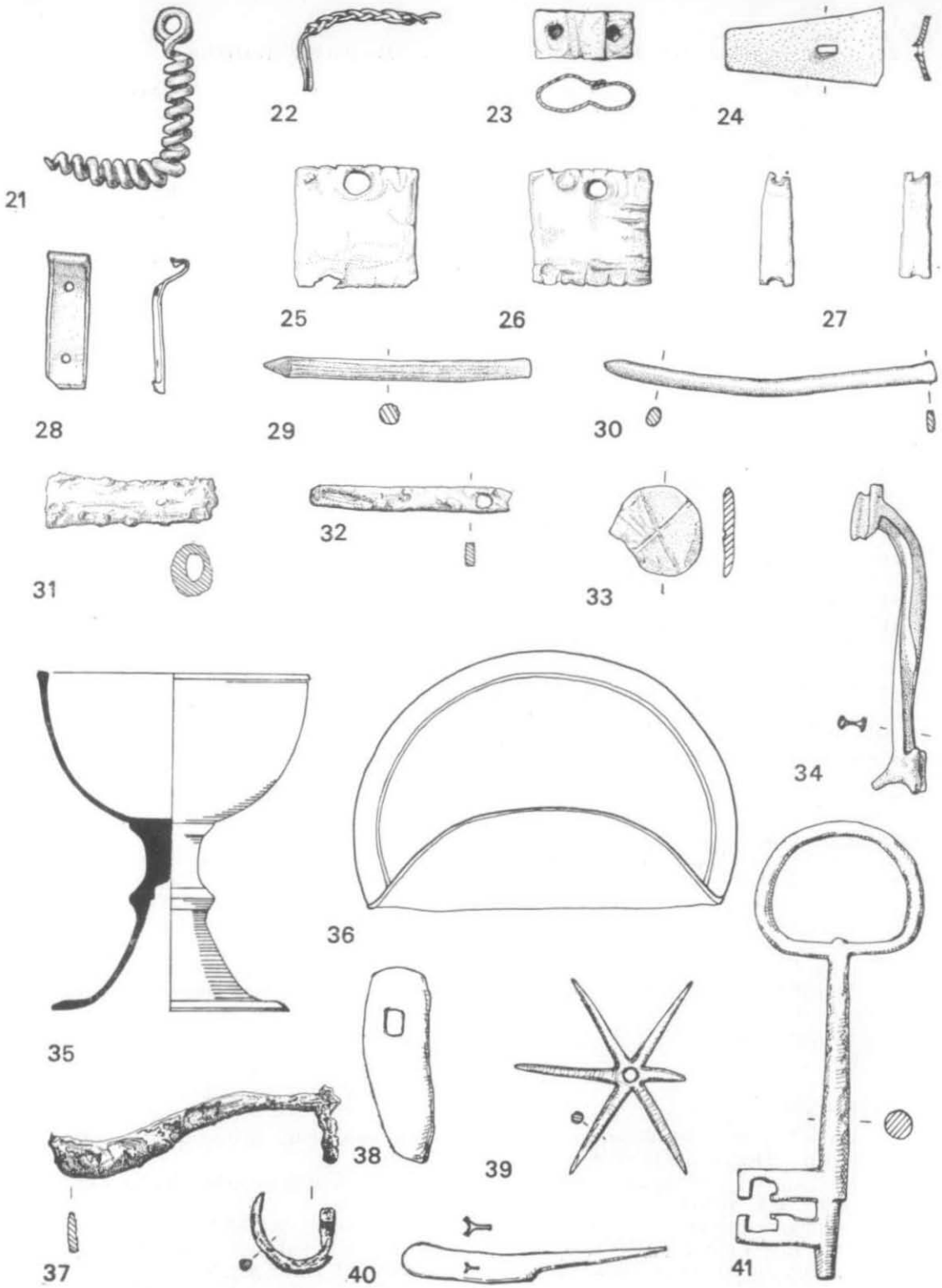


FIG. 12

Objects of Bronze, Lead, Pewter and Iron ($\frac{1}{2}$, except 21–27 and 33, 1 : 1).

34 Window leading. L. 9·5 cm. (17th-century wall over choir E XI, SF1113).
Not illustrated : numerous other fragments of window leading and sheet lead.

Objects of Pewter (FIG. 12)

35 Chalice, badly twisted (original shape reconstructed for illustration). Simple moulding round stem. Ht. 10·5 cm. ; D. of bowl 8·5 cm. (Burial in galilee W II F208/3, SF209).
36 Paten, in good condition though bent. D. *c.* 12·0 cm. (Burial in galilee W II F208/2, SF206 ; probably originally with chalice in one or other burial).

Objects of Iron (FIGS. 12 and 13)

37 Latch-lifter with handle at right-angles to lever. L. 9·3 cm. (S pile group 79 u/s, SF2).
38 One end of a horseshoe, with one nail hole. L. 6·0 cm. (Depression in floor of south aisle extension W II F220, SF211).
Not illustrated : horseshoe fragment with part of one nail hole. L. 7·0 cm. (Extended west end of church R/T W II F203, SF275).
39 Six-pointed rowel from spur. D. of centre 0·75 cm. *cf.* Beresford (1975), 90 and Fig. 42 Nos. 133–4. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF17).
40 Part of a tanged knife with inlaid mark. L. 7·5 cm. *cf.* Beresford (1975), 79 ff. and Fig. 37 No. 20. (Middle wall of west cloister range R/T W I F102, SF115).
Not illustrated : part of two knife blades. L. 9·5 cm. (Choir stall supporting wall E I F22, SF20) ; L. 8·0 cm. (Post-Dissolution build-up in Slype E I L12, SF31).
41 Key with ovoid bow and two wards surrounding a central opening. L. 14·4 cm. *cf.* L.M.M.C., 142 f. and Pl. XXXI Type VII B. (Post-medieval horn pit W II F202, SF289).
42 Length of wrought iron with decorative volute. L. 8·5 cm. *cf.* Henig in Tatton-Brown (1974), 191 and Fig. 38–9 Nos. 69–72 (candlesticks). (Depression in floor of extended south aisle W II F250, SF297).
43 Coffin nail. L. 6·0 cm. (Burial in galilee W II F208/2, SF207).

Objects of Stone (FIG. 13)

44 Two rosary beads of jet, one broken, D. 1·1 cm. ; D. of bore 0·2 cm. *cf.* Bridgewater (1970–2), 104 and Fig. 15 No. 58. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF101).
45 Hone of micaceous schist. Rectangular in section with remains of boring at one end. L. 2·8 cm. ; W. 1·2 cm. ; Th. 0·9 cm. (Burial in galilee W II F246, SF2111).
Not illustrated : Two other small hones of micaceous schist. L. 3·5 cm. and 6·0 cm.
46 Spindle-whorl of limestone, elliptical section. D. 3·5 cm. ; D. of bore 1·3 cm. (17th-century gully W II F257, SF2119).
47 Spindle-whorl, one side flat the other a low dome. Marked by striations caused by turning. D. 4·0 cm. ; Ht. 2·0 cm. ; D. of bore 1·1 cm. at bottom, 0·9 cm. at top. *cf.* Munby (1975), 303f, Fig. 21, No. 3 (white clay). (Build-up in yard south of slype E I L31, SF69).

Objects of Bone (FIG. 13)

48 Knife-handle. Cruciform head, hexagonal body with part of iron tang in socket. L. 8·4 cm. (Demolition layer W I L134, SF128).
49 Pin with elliptical head on baluster moulding. L. 6·6 cm. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF102).
50 Domino with values 1 and 0. From context not later than 16th- or early 17th-century. L. 3·1 cm. ; W. 1·5 cm. ; Th. 0·15 cm. *cf.* Platt and Coleman-Smith (1975), 274 and Fig. 249 No. 1950 (18th-century). (Slype wall R/T E II F205, SF216).
Not illustrated : Similar domino with values 5 and 0. (Unstratified E II, SF 228).

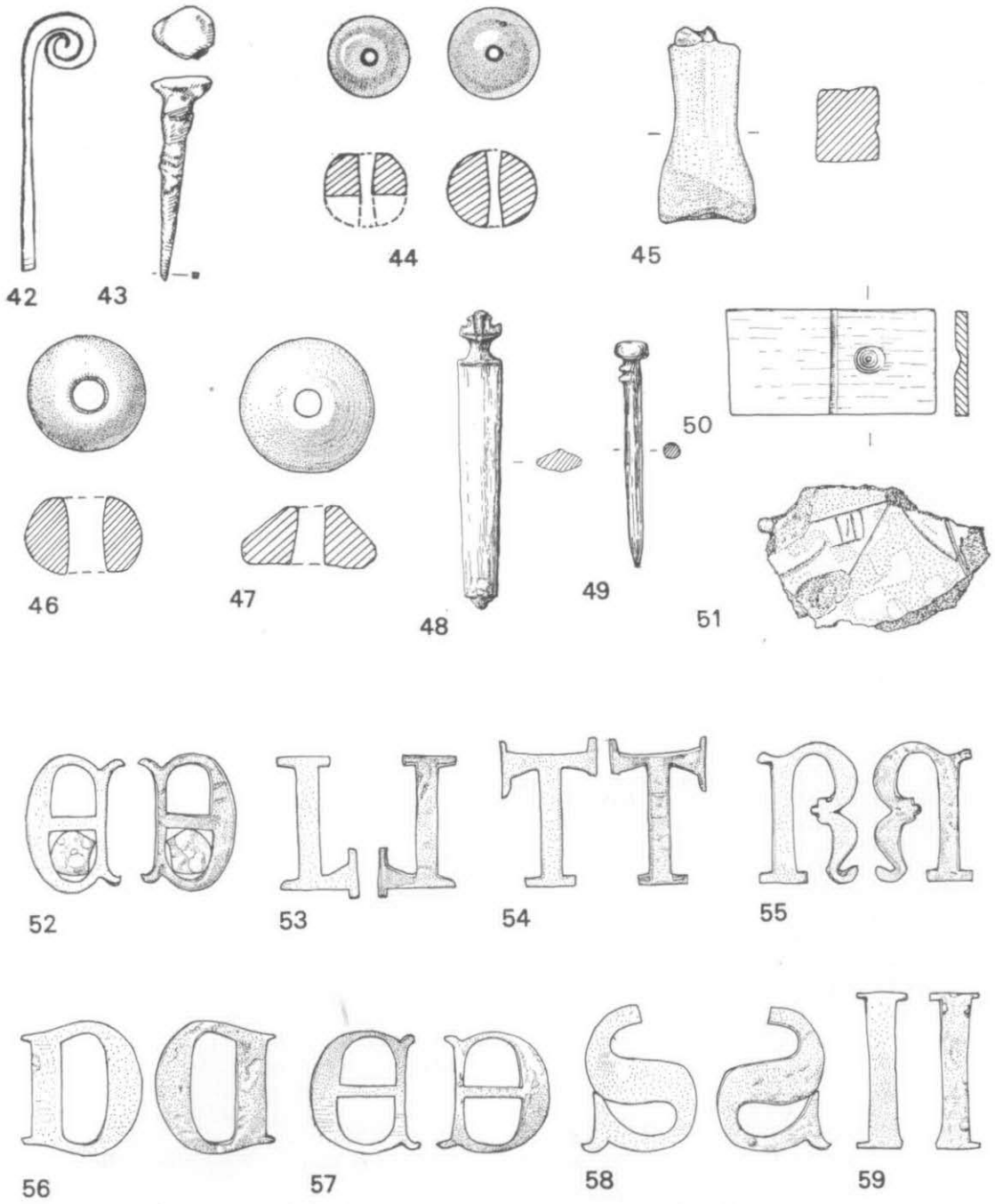


FIG. 13

Objects of Iron, Stone, Bone and Plaster ; the Brass Letters ($\frac{1}{2}$, except 44, 45 and 50, 1 : 1).

Miscellaneous Objects (FIG. 13)

51 Piece of plaster with graffito scratched on it painted over with white paint. L. 6·0 cm. (West cloister range north gable end R/T W II F228, SF281).

Not illustrated : Wine bottle seal, olive green glass, with legend ' Trin. Coll. / C.R. ' D. 4·6 cm. *cf.* Ruggles-Brise (1949), 35 and 144. (Post-medieval build-up W I L113, SF113).
Small bead of green glass. D. 0·35 cm. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF55).

Dating Evidence

Very few small finds were in securely stratified medieval contexts. Most were from robber trenches and demolition layers of post-Dissolution date. Most of the stratified finds came from the dust beneath the choir stalls (E I L18/1). This layer also produced coins and tokens ranging in date from the late 14th century to *c.* 1520, and could also have accumulated some material during the removal of the stalls.

The few finds from graves are also difficult to date ; F232 in the galilee was probably late 14th-century or later, as probably was F34 in the chapter house. The other graves cannot even be put within this wide range.

The only reasonably well stratified finds of interest were those from the night stairs robber trench (Nos. 16 and 22) and from beneath the floor of the west cloister range (No. 11), probably late 13th- or early 14th-century.

THE COINS AND JETTONS. By STUART RIGOLD

Coins

1 Cut farthing of Henry III long-cross penny, Class 3c (1248–50), mint unclear (. .NO . . is legible). Some wear before cutting. (North choir wall R/T E X F1002, SF1002).
2 Broken half of base AR blanc au K (or aux fleurs-de-lis) of Charles V of France (1365–*c.* 1384),[113] not a cut coin, as No. 1, but was destroyed to prevent its passing as a half-groat. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF23).

Jettons

1 French official, diam. 20 mm. Moor's head, largish lettering, star stop, +AVE MARIA. GRACI / quadrilateral cross flory (of four arcs), lys in centre, annulets in quarters, annulet stops, +A/VE/M/AR. The commonest of the smaller French official types in England, issued 1360s to, perhaps, 1380s ; this may be one of the later ones. (Burial in chapter house E I F38, SF52).
2 French official, diam. 21 mm. Types as No. 1, but more delicate lettering, double crosslet stops (obv.), single crosslet stops (rev.), six-pointed pierced mullets in quarters, AVE MARIA :GRACIA :PLENA / rev. legend unclear. (Post-medieval build-up W I L113, SF101).
3 French official, diam. 25 mm. Crown, voided trefoils on band, double crosslet stops, +AVE MARIA : GRACIA : P / elaborate cross flory in quadrilobe, A V E G between crosslet stops in spandrels. Neat and typical of the commonest larger French official series of the last quarter of 14th century. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF103).
4 Late ' French derivative ', diam. 30 mm., thickish (over 1 mm.) fabric. Shield of France modern, clumsy Lombardic letter, Maltese cross i.m., pierced sixfoil stop at end of legend only, AVEMARIAGRACIA. / three-strand cross flory in quadrilobe, A M on cusps, pierced sixfoils between pellets in spandrels. Battered and somewhat worn, approaching the end of the series—late 15th century or *c.* 1500. (West alley wall R/T W I F123, SF146).
5 Late ' French derivative ', diam. 27 mm., thick (2 mm.) fabric. Four lys and four six-pointed stars in field. Quatrefoil of annulets i.m. (at dexter side), star stops, garbled

[113] J. Lafaurie, *Les Monnaies des rois de France*, Paris (1956), 374.

AVE legend / rev. as previous but AA on cusps, stars (?) in spandrels. Dreadfully struck, but little worn. The fabric and I.M. tie it to the end of the series (*c.* 1510 ?). (Drain through west cloister range W I F117, SF102).

6 Nuremberg, diam. 29 mm. Lozenge of four lys, nothing at sides / ship, neat but garbled Lombardic legend and generally neat fabric, no. i.m.s. On the earliest of this type the legends usually make sense, but this, with its almost Tournai-like lettering cannot be far off them—*c.* 1510 ? Slightly scyphate but hardly worn. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF104).

7 Nuremberg, diam. 27 mm. Types as previous but quatrefoil between annulets at sides, smaller, coarser garbled lettering and generally worse execution. *c.* 1530. (? 17th-century gully E I F23, SF7).

8 Early-middle Nuremberg, diam. 22 cm. 'Normal' types (Reichsapfel in trilobe / three crowns and three lys) ; nothing in spandrels, annulets on crowns ; largish orb, therefore *c.* 1520 ? (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L19/1, SF105).

9 Late Nuremberg, diam. 21 mm. 'Normal' types. Hanns Krauwinckel's commonest product : rev. legend GOTES REICH BLEIBT EWICK. *c.* 1600. (Post-medieval pit W IV F432, SF401).

10 Late Nuremberg, diam. 21 mm. much as previous but very corroded. (19th-century gardens E I L4, SF54).

Mereau in Lead-alloy

1 Diam. 29 mm., about 1 mm. thick, neat fabric and low relief. Compass-pattern of 6 petals (as often found on church walls) cross-hatched between the petals, on both faces, with outer ring. Quite undated, pieces of this kind being private and unprofessional productions, but at least not inconsistent with an early (14th- or even 13th-century) origin. (Dust beneath choir stalls E I L18/1, SF106).

THE BRASS LETTERS FROM GRAVESTONES (FIG. 13, Nos. 52–9). By W. J. BLAIR

A total of eight letters was found, of which the most important are the *E*, *L*, *T* and *R* (ranging from 4·1 to 4·3 cm. high, 3 mm. thick) found in the choir area (Nos. 52–5). In common with most such extant letters, the front surfaces are smooth and the backs rough, suggesting that they were cast in open moulds, but since the edges have been filed, confirmation is impossible. These letters are almost certainly all from the same slab of blueish Purbeck marble, of which a fragment still adheres to the *E*. They do not conform stylistically to the standard patterns of the 'Main Group' series, which comprises the vast majority of extant letters,[114] and no exact parallels are known. Details such as the short, straight serif of the *L* and the trefoil foliation on the *R* suggest some connection with the early letters known only from two cross-brasses and a pavement, all in Westminster Abbey, made in the few years on either side of 1270.[115] It may therefore be suggested that the four Blackfriars letters come from a slab produced either in this workshop or in another operating before the Main Group series commenced in the late 1290s.

The other four, *D* from the choir area, *E*, *S* and *I* from the west end of the church (Nos. 56–59) are orthodox Main Group letters, 2 mm. thick, the fronts smooth, the backs rough from casting, and the edges filed. The *D* and *E* are respectively 3·9 and 3·8 cm. high, and belong to the smallest (size III) of the three standard size-groups in which the Main Group letters appear to have been made. The *S*, the lower terminal of which is broken off, is 4·4 cm. high (size II). The *I*, 4·6 cm. high, probably belongs to size I.

Except in a few cases it is at present impossible to date Main Group letters more accurately than the overall period during which the style occurs. They appear to begin shortly before 1300, and continue in use down to *c.* 1350 with a few slightly later instances.

[114] W. J. Blair, 'Epigraphy as an Aid to the Study of Early Brasses', *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Soc.*, 5 (1975), 6–7. S. Badham, J. Blair, and R. Emmerson, *Specimens of Lettering from English Monumental Brasses* (1976), part I.

[115] *op. cit.* note 114.

Site references for the letters are as follows :

52. *E.* (North choir wall R/T E XI F1110, SF1132).
53. *L.* (As above, SF1131).
54. *T.* (As above, SF1130).
55. *R.* (17th-century build-up over choir E X F1004, SF1033).
56. *D.* (17th-century wall in choir E XI F1013, SF1129).
57. *E.* (17th-century gully W II F257, SF 2117).
58. *S.* (North wall west cloister range R/T W II F228, SF2101).
59. *I.* (Cut in floor of north cloister alley W I F137, SF143).

THE FRAGMENTS OF WORKED STONE (FIGS. 14 and 15). By W. J. BLAIR

A total of 18 Purbeck and 109 freestone fragments was examined, of which 12 Purbeck and 33 freestone have no significant features and are not included.

Purbeck (FIG. 14, 1–4)

1 Springer of two moulded arches. (North choir wall R/T).
2 Base of shaft or buttress. (Choir, unstratified).
3 Tiny moulded fragment. (As above).
4 Two corner fragments from a moulded plinth, square in plan, the underside having a square recession. (North choir wall R/T).
Not illustrated : short length of straight roll moulding, D.1·6 cm. (Choir, unstratified).

Freestone : Miscellaneous (FIG. 14, 5–8 ; FIG. 15, 9–27)

5 Badly damaged head corbel. (West wall west cloister range R/T).
6 Suggested reconstruction of two large sections of arch moulding, probably from a blind arcade of unequal bays. For sections, see FIG. 15, Nos. 12 and 13. (Waterfront outbuilding R/T).
7 Fragment probably of Perpendicular window. For section see FIG. 15, No. 15. (Demolition layer in choir).
8 Lower end of tapered coffin-lid, with stepped base of relief cross. (Anchor House : see plan, FIG. 5).
9 Voussoir with hollow containing dog-tooth ornament. (Extended west end construction trench).
10 Half of small shaft base, split vertically. (Choir unstratified).
11 Straight length (26·0 cm.) of large roll with frontal fillet, probably from a string course. (Waterfront outbuildings unstratified).
12–13 Sections through springer and voussoir of fragments of arcading. For elevation see FIG. 14, No. 7.
14 Straight length (26·0 cm.) of standard chamfered Perpendicular window mullion, probably 15th- or 16th-century. (Built into south wall of galilee).
15 Section through fragment of ?Perpendicular window. For elevation see FIG. 14, No. 7.
16 Perpendicular heptagonal attached shaft-base. (Catholic Chaplaincy site *c.* 60·00 m. east of choir, unstratified).
17 Straight length (10·0 cm.) of string course. (North choir wall R/T).
18 Two short lengths of ? plinth with patches of white paint. (Choir, unstratified).
19–21 Three short straight lengths of fragmentary moulding, with patches of white paint. (North wall of west cloister range R/T).
22 Straight length (7·5 cm.) of shallow hollow cut flat at one end. Parallel with this edge, and 0·6 cm. from it is a painted red line 0·2 cm. wide. (North choir wall R/T).
23 Straight length (13·0 cm.) of ? string course. (Galilee wall R/T).
24 Straight length (10·0 cm.) of ? string course with patches of white paint. (Choir, unstratified).
25 Fragment of unknown purpose. (Front wall of west cloister range R/T).

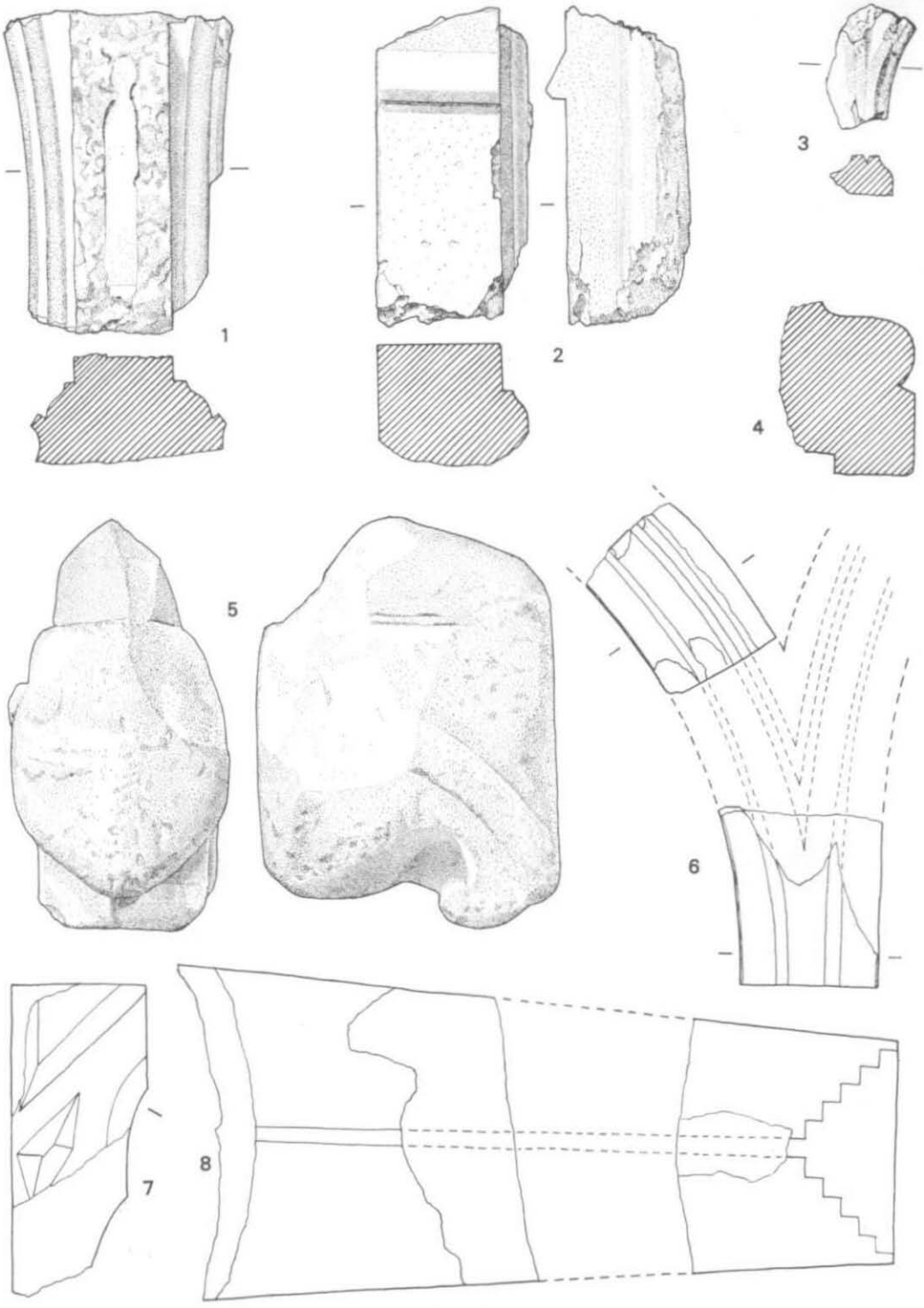


FIG. 14
Fragments of Worked Stone (1–5, $\frac{2}{3}$; 6–8, $\frac{1}{10}$).

26 Fragment of base, apparently hollowed out underneath. (Choir, unstratified).
27 Corner of ?pointed base. (Buttress of north wall of west cloister range R/T).

Freestone : Detached Shaft Fragments (FIG. 15, 28)

It is sometimes impossible to distinguish roll mouldings from fragments of small shafts split vertically ; such doubtful cases have all been included among the plain rolls. The detached shaft fragments vary in length from 5 to 25 cm.

	No. of fragments	*Diam. (cm.)*	*Paint*	*Location*
28	2	4·0	—	N. wall of W. cloister range R/T
(1 with plain band)				
Not illus.	2	12·5	—	N. choir wall R/T
	1	10·0	—	Choir, unstrat.
	1	9·5	—	West end, unstrat.
	1	8·0	White traces	Choir, unstrat.
	1	4·5	—	N. wall of W. cloister range R/T
(1 with plain band)		fragment	—	W. end, unstrat.

Freestone : The Roll Moulding and Variants (FIG. 15, 29–42)

Sections of various lengths, some straight, several slightly curved.

Plain rolls :

	No. of fragments	*Diam. (cm.)*	*Paint*	*Location*
29	1	4·8	—	Choir, unstrat.
Not illus.	1	6·0	—	As above
	1	6·0	—	W. end, unstrat.
	1	5·5	—	As above
	1	5·0	—	Choir, unstrat.
	1	5·0	—	W. end extension R/T
	1	4·8	—	E. wall of E. range R/T
	1	4·5	—	W. end extension R/T
	1	4·3	White traces	Prior's lodging R/T
	2	4·0	White traces	N. wall of W. cloister range R/T
	1	3·0	White traces	As above
	1	3·0	—	Galilee wall R/T
Single-filleted rolls :				
30	1	large	—	N. wall of W. cloister range R/T
Not illus.	4	large	White traces	W. end extension R/T
31	2	small	White traces	N. wall of W. cloister range R/T
Not illus.	2	small	—	W. end extension R/T
Single-filleted half-rolls :				
32	2	large	—	Front wall W. cloister range R/T
33	1	small (wide fillet)	—	W. end, unstrat.
34	2	small (narrow fillet)	—	Front wall W. cloister range R/T

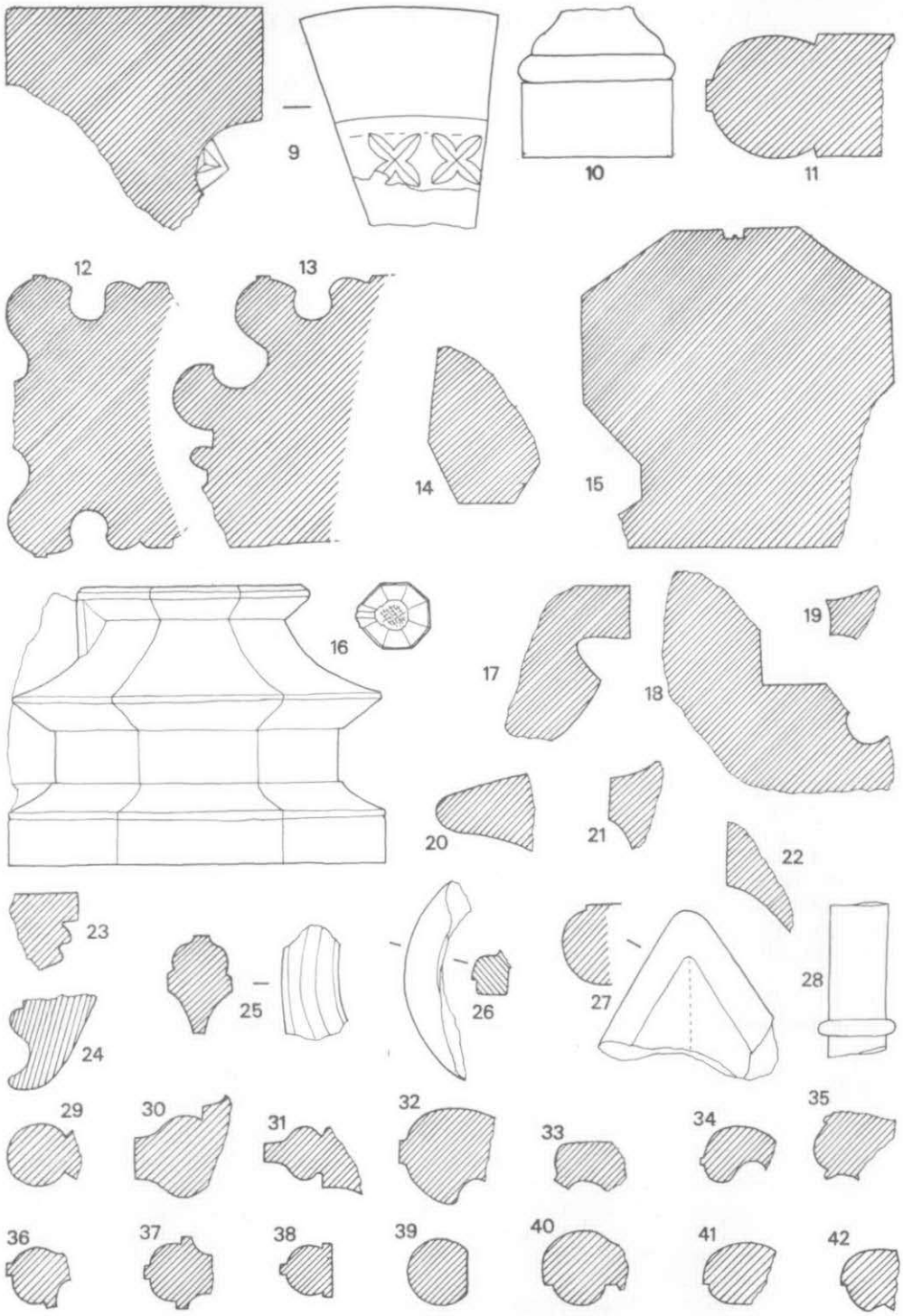


FIG. 15
Fragments of Worked Stone ($\frac{1}{6}$).

Double-filleted rolls :				
35	2	(narrow fillets)	—	Front wall W. cloister range R/T
36	1	4·2 (wide fillets)	red traces	Choir, unstrat.
Triple-filleted rolls :				
37	2	4·2	red traces	Slype wall R/T
Fragments of filleted rolls :				
Not illus.	2	—	red traces on white	N. choir wall R/T
	2	—	white traces	W. cloister range, unstrat.
Flat-backed rolls :				
38	1	3·7 (filleted)	—	W. end extension R/T
39	1	4·8 (unfilleted)	—	Choir unstrat.
Scrolls :				
40	4	5·5 (round-bottomed)	—	W. end extension R/T
41	1	4·3 (flat-bottomed)	—	W. end unstrat.
42	1	4·5 (beaked)	—	As above

The material is of limited value, partly because the fragments are mostly so small that only individual mouldings can be studied, not complete profiles, and partly because, by the nature of the excavation, the quantity is so small. The exercise would be more useful on a site which had been fully stripped and had produced several thousand located fragments, but in this case only very general observations can be made.

The earliest fragments are the mid 13th-century voussoir (No. 9) and possibly the corbel (No. 5) ; the former at least may have been brought from another site. The characteristically Early English detached shafts show a general concentration in the choir area, as do a number of mouldings of Decorated character bearing traces of red paint. The very fine Purbeck fragments all come from the choir ; they are presumably the remains of a sedilia or perhaps an elaborate tomb-canopy of the Decorated period. All the scrolls and the bulk of the filleted rolls however were found in the west end of the church and the west cloister range. No further distribution patterns are discernible.

THE HUMAN REMAINS. By ERIC EDWARDS

Not all the skeletons found were lifted and examined, though some were examined *in situ* to establish their sex and age. Sex was determined from the characteristics of the pelvis and/or skull ; age from the state of the dentition and the degree of epiphyseal fusion. Height was established from the length of the long bones using the formulae of Trotter and Gleser.[116] Table 1 provides the basic details of the burials. Further information concerning the determination of sex, age and detailed cranial and other measurements is deposited with the other site information and is available on request.

[116] M. Trotter and G. C. Gleser, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, N.S. 10, 463–514.

APPENDIX

THE NATURAL ALLUVIUM AND DUMPED CLAY. By MARK ROBINSON

A sequence of six 4 lb samples from the alluvium and dumped clay under the Blackfriars Church were taken, and three were examined for Mollusca in order to determine the nature of the deposits.

The Samples

4 Depth O.D. 54·95–55·05 m.
Grey-brown clay with some iron pan flecks. Corresponds to E I L64/2 etc., at the top of the alluvial clay (see Section AE, FIG. 3).

5 Depth O.D. 55·05–55·12 m.
Very light grey-brown silty clay. Corresponds to E I L74, the old ground surface (see Section AE, FIG. 3).

6 Depth O.D. 55·12–55·25 m.
Mixed grey and brown clay with patches of gravel and dark brown clay. Corresponds to the bottom of E I L64/1 etc., the dumped clay (see Section AE, FIG. 3).

The samples were washed through a series of sieves down to an aperture size of 0·5 mm. and the residues sorted under a binocular microscope.

Results

The number of individuals for each species of mollusc is given in Table 2, the nomenclature following Ellis (1951).[117] In addition a short description of their habitat preference has been given following Sparks (1960)[118] for freshwater species, and Evans (1972)[119] for marsh dwellers.

In addition to the Mollusca a single carbonized grain of wheat (*Triticum* sp.) was found in sample 4 and one seed each of buttercup (*Ranunculus* cf. *repens*), self-heal (*Prunella vulgaris*) and sedge (*Carex* sp.) were recovered from sample 5.

Interpretation

Samples 4 and 5. All the Mollusca from these samples are either freshwater species or can live in a marsh habitat. The nature of the sediment and the presence of aquatic species including clear flowing water species (*e.g. Theodoxus fluviatilis* and *Valvata piscinalis*) suggest that their origin was the River Thames, but the high proportion of non-aquatics probably means that these layers were deposited on land or a marsh by flooding. A comparison between the habitats of the molluscs of these two samples with those from what was interpreted as an aquatic deposit under the St. Aldates clay bank, Oxford,[120] is given in Table 3.

It cannot be shown whether the alluvium under the Blackfriars was deposited on a marsh that was wet all the time. It is possible that the obligate marsh dwellers, along with the aquatics, were deposited by winter flooding on land that was dry for the rest of the year. The habitat was, however, quite open, such as alluvial grassland or a grazed marsh, because *Vallonia pulchella*, which is present in high numbers, does not like shady habitats.[121]

The presence of the single carbonized wheat grain in sample 4 shows that some of the alluvium was deposited during or after the Neolithic.

[117] A. E. Ellis, ' Census of the Distribution of British Non-Marine Mollusca ', *Jn. Conch*, 23 (1951), 171–243.
[118] B. W. Sparks, ' The Ecological Interpretation of Quaternary Non-Marine Mollusca ', *Proc. Linn. Soc. Lond.*, 172 (1959–60), 76.
[119] J. G. Evans, *Land Snails in Archaeology* (1972), 199–200.
[120] M. A. Robinson, ' Molluscan and Insect Remains from St. Aldates, Oxford ', in Durham, *op. cit.* note 94.
[121] Evans, *op. cit.* note 119, 161, 200.

TABLE I

The Burials

Group	F.No.	Sex	Age	Height	Other details	Contents of Grave	Limitations
Eastern Area							
Cemetery north of choir	611 ; 616/1 616/2 ; 619 621 ; 1053 1059–1064; 1067	—	—	—	—	—	none lifted or examined
Chapter house	34	?M	6–7	—	Calculus	—	—
	35	?F	9–10	—	Calculus ; caries ; periodontal disease ; shovel shaped maxillary incisors deciduous teeth much worn	—	—
	36	F	5–6	—	Calculus	—	—
	37	?F	8–9	—	—	nail, token — These burials disturbed each other but seemed to represent five individuals	—
	38	—	—	—	—		not examined
	39	F	12–13	—	Occiput protruding		—
	40	?	9–11	—	Calculus	nail	—
	41	?	6–7	—	—	—	—
	44	M	12–13	—	—	—	—
	46	M	17–25	4′ 11″	Heavy calculus ; caries ; periodontal disease ; wormian bones ; marked wear on right side of jaw ; left third molar in mandible at abnormal angle	—	—
	70	—	—	—	—	—	not lifted or examined
Western Area							
	110	M	60s	—	—	—	examined *in situ*
	120	M	early 20s	—	—	—	examined *in situ*
	128	M	40s	—	—	laid on charcoal bed 8 cm. thick, two nails	examined *in situ*
	129	M	early 20s	—	—	nails	examined *in situ*
Cloister alley	130	M	25–35	—	—	nails	examined *in situ*
	131	—	—	—	—	two burials, the lower on a bed of charcoal *c.* 7 cm. thick above a board with a nail in it.	not examined
	132	M	35–45	—	—	nails and iron object	examined *in situ*
	133	M	early–mid 20s	—	—	nails	examined *in situ*
	142	M	35–45	5′ 10″	Medium calculus ; periodontal disease ; tori maxillares ; first stages of osteophytotic (arthritic) condition at edges of some vertebrae	stone coffin with stone ' pillow ' ; one nail	—

Galliee	208	—	—	—	—	two disturbed burials overlain by a third ; nails and a pewter chalice and paten with lower skeletons	not examined
	232	M	50's	5′ 5″	Calculus ; caries periodontal disease ; tori maxillares ; uneven wear on teeth ; large abscess associated with right maxillary molars also evidenced in right orbit may have been cause of death ; osteophytotic condition of vertebrae indicates arthritis	window glass ; lace tag ; nail ; disturbed	—
	246	M	17–18	5′ 9½″	Calculus ; periodontal disease	small hone ; window glass ; iron object ; nail	—
	247	M	14–16	—	Left maxillary canine rotated probably by overcrowding	upturned porringer with spilled oak charcoal ; nails	—
	258	M	17–18	—	Shovel shaped maxillary incisors	—	—
West end of church	107–109 ; 230 ; 235	—	—	—	—	—	none examined
	253	?F	13–16	—	Slight calculus ; metopism	—	—
	405 ; 409	—	—	—	—	—	not examined
	416	M	19–21	5′ 5″	Calculus ; distortion and malformation of vertebrae and left lateral distortion of sacrum indicates general spinal deformity, possibly congenital	—	—
	417	M	19–23	5′ 7″	Metopism	—	—
	418	F	middle-aged	—	Calculus ; caries ; abscesses ; periodontal disease ; unequal wear ; resorption of mandible ; step-like protrusion of occipital bone at the lambdoid suture (bathrocephaly)	—	—
	419	?M	16–18	—	Calculus ; right mandible canine rotated by overcrowding	—	—
	420	?F	over 40	5′ 1½″	Calculus ; periodontal disease ; unequal wear on teeth	stone coffin	—
Alley of building west of church	421 ; 431	—	—	—	—	—	not examined
	212–218	—	—	—	—	—	none examined

TABLE 2
The Mollusca and their Habitats

Mollusca	Number of Individuals			Habitat
	4	5	6	
GASTROPODA				
Prosobranchia				
Neritidae				
Theodoxus fluviatilis (L)	1	—	—	F
Valvatidae				
Valvata piscinalis (Müll)	—	3	—	F
Valvata sp.	—	—	1	D, F
Hydrobiidae				
Bithynia sp.	2	—	—	F
Pulmonata				
Ellobiidae				
Carychium sp.	2	4	—	(M)
Limnaedae				
Lymnaea truncatula (Müll)	33	16	4	S, M
L. palustris (Müll)	1	—	—	C, M
L. stagnalis (L.)	1	—	—	F
L. peregra (Müll)	2	—	—	C
Planorbidae				
Planorbis planorbis (L.)	—	6	—	C
P. vortex (L.)	—	2	—	D
P. leucostoma Milt.	2	43	3	S
P. crista (L.)	2	—	—	C
Succineidae				
Succinae sp.	1	7	—	M
Cochlicopidae				
Cochlicopa sp.	2	7	—	(M)
Valloniidae				
Vallonia pulchella (Müll)	28	54	1	(M)
Helicidae				
Hygromia hispida (L.)	—	3	—	(M)
Arionidae				
Arion sp.	some	few	—	(M)
Zonitidae				
Zonitoides nitidus (Müll)	1	2	—	M
Limacidae				
Limax or *Agriolimax*	—	6	—	M(M)
BIVALVIA				
Sphaeriidae				
Pisidium sp.	1	—	—	M,S,D,C,F
Total	79	153	9	

F, Flowing water ; D, ' Ditch ' ; C, ' Catholic ' ; S, Freshwater ' slum ' ; M, obligate marsh dweller ; (M), terrestrial species which can live in marshes.

TABLE 3

Percentage of aquatic and non-aquatic molluscs of the total number of individuals in each sample.

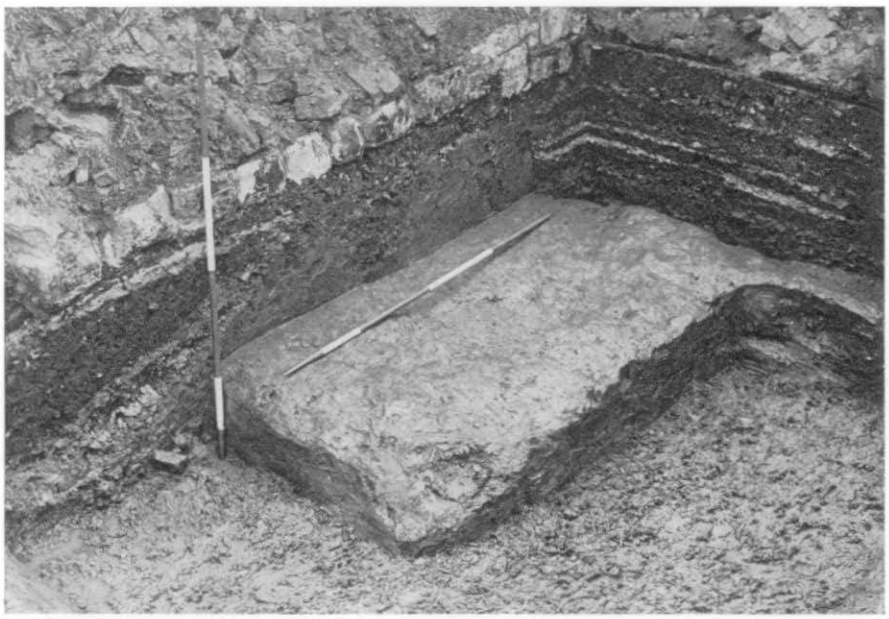
	% Obligate aquatics	% Obligate non-aquatics
St. Aldates 251	70	0
St. Aldates, Linacre	63	2
Blackfriars 4	13	43
Blackfriars 5	35	54

Sample 6. This deposit from its composition was almost certainly dumped by man. The very low number of snails from sample 6 compared with samples 4 and 5 seems to support this idea. However, the few snails are all species that were present in the alluvium which would agree with the excavator's view that the layer of dumped clay partly comprised material dug out of the deep foundation trenches.

The Society acknowledges with gratitude a publication grant received for this paper from the Department of the Environment.

A. The footings of the South Choir Wall (F14).

Ph.: B. Durham



B. The area at the north end of the East Cloister range from the north-east.

Ph.: N. Hawley

A. The extended West End of the Church from the north.

Ph.: B. Durham

B. Buckler's drawing of the Priory Gateway from the south-west.

(By courtesy of the Bodleian Library)