

Early Domestic Sites in Oxford: Excavations in Cornmarket and Queen Street, 1959–62¹

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with contributions by MARTIN HENIG and MAUREEN MELLOR

SUMMARY

Three sites on street-frontages in central Oxford were excavated in advance of redevelopment between 1959 and 1962. Late Saxon huts and 'cellar-pits' were revealed; most were fairly small, but one in Cornmarket was some 15 ft. by 30 ft. (4.6 × 9.2 m.). There were also many post-holes from early buildings, and wells and pits of the 10th century and later. The nature of these buildings, and their relevance to the topography of the late Saxon borough, are discussed, as are early medieval links between Oxford tenements and rural manors. No attempt was made to examine the later phases. The pottery is summarily dealt with, only the more important items being described and illustrated, including a group of 16th-century money-boxes.

INTRODUCTION

The excavations described below were rescue operations prior to redevelopment, conducted under the auspices of the Ashmolean Museum and the Oxford Excavations Committee (1959–65). The writing of a report so long after the excavation entails obvious problems. Only for one site (the last) was the material studied and described promptly. For the others we have had to return to original notes, drawings and photographs and ask again questions which may not have been answered at the time. The finds have also suffered over the years, and some have been lost, or can no longer be provenanced; all which survive are now deposited in the Ashmolean Museum.

The excavations were all carried out with limited financial support, with restrictions on the areas that could be investigated. Only a small proportion of the total site area was excavated. As might be expected, it is possible with hindsight to see potential in the examination of features that were given scant attention at the time. Despite all this, the information which these sites provide on the nature of domestic occupation in late-Saxon Oxford is of some importance. Only the early levels were examined, with a view to amplifying the results from the salvage work on the Clarendon Hotel in 1955.² The sites are treated separately, and summaries of each site-history have been included, though this is not the place to treat that aspect in full;³ notes have been included where relevant on the buildings, but again not exhaustively.⁴ The archaeological sequence for each site is described in its simplest form, followed by a more detailed account of individual features,

¹ For abbreviated references in the following footnotes see p. 94 below.

² See *Clarendon Hotel*.

³ For which see further in Salter, *Survey*.

⁴ Photographs taken by P. S. Spokes and W. A. Pantin are held by the National Monuments Record, Fortress House, Savile Row, London.

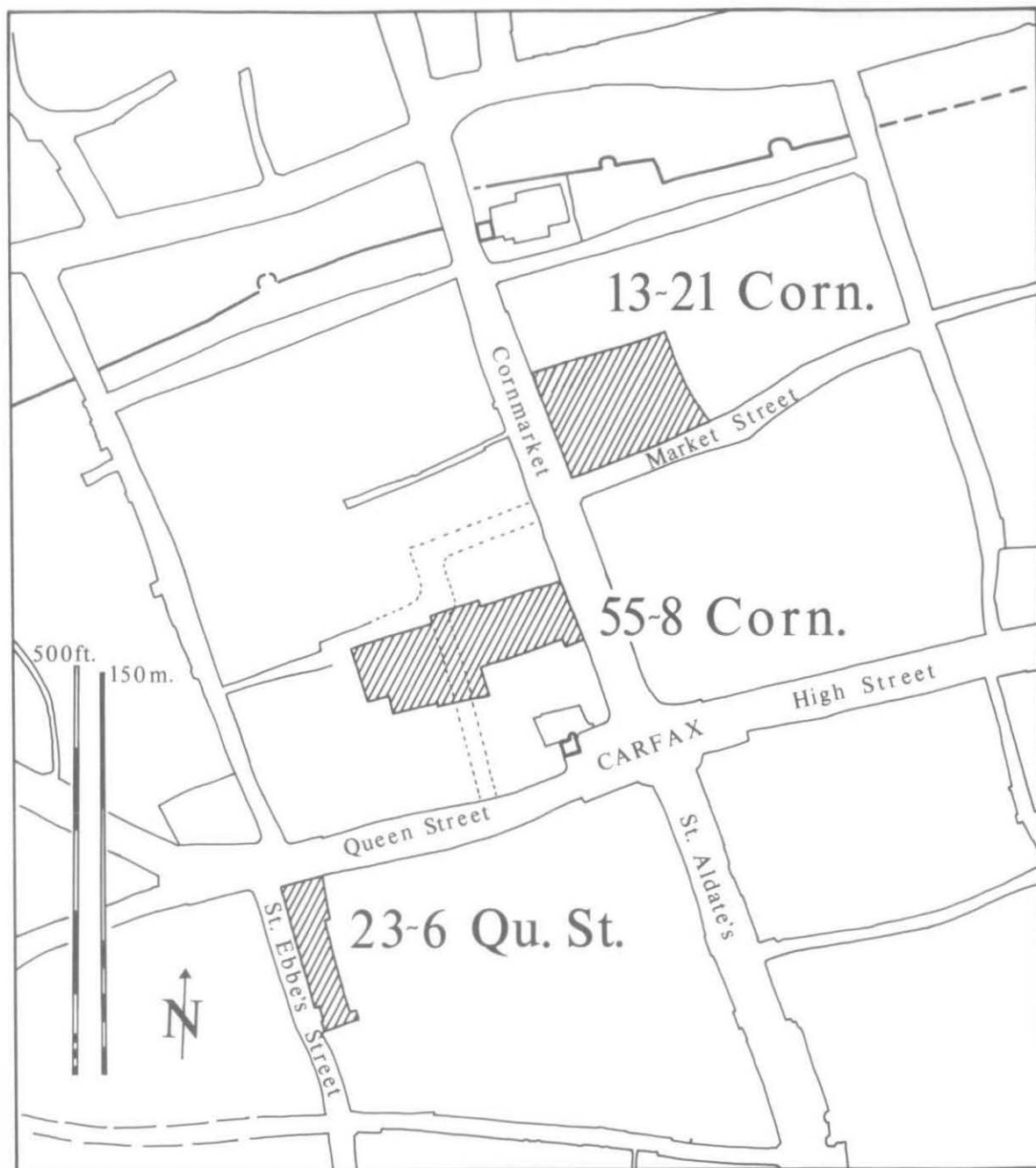


Fig. 1. Location of the three sites in Oxford.

where necessary. Since the early 1960s much more information has become available on the development of Oxford pottery, especially from well-stratified sites, and the concern of the excavators to demonstrate and develop the sequence as then known has largely been overtaken. Consequently, although the pottery has all been examined by Maureen Mellor for incorporation into the corpus of Oxford finds (see note below), the amount described or illustrated here has been kept to a minimum. Small finds have, however, been treated in full by Martin Henig.

Work on the excavation material has been greatly assisted by the kindness of John Cherry and Brian Davison in handing over all their site documentation, which is now deposited with the finds. Through the cooperation of Arthur MacGregor at the Ashmolean Museum and John Rhodes and Judy Caton of the Oxfordshire Department of Museum Services it was possible to assemble all finds at the Botley Museum Store for the purposes of sorting and study. Brian Durham has generously made available the results of unpublished excavations, and discussed these sites with us. At an earlier stage, when the finds were in London, the assistance of Gail Calnin in working on the material is gratefully acknowledged. At that time draft reports were prepared for all three sites by one of us (DS); these have now been edited and prepared for final publication by the other (JM). Grants from the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, later the Department of the Environment and now the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, have assisted the project, from the original excavations down to publication.

Note on the Pottery by Maureen Mellor

The pottery from these three sites was recorded by the writer in 1984, much of it being unmarked, or with illegible marking. An archive of the pottery catalogue will be deposited with the site record in the Ashmolean Museum, together with some documentation concerning the recent history of this pottery. The writer had also seen much of the pottery in 1977, and a proportion of this material has disappeared in the intervening period. There were in turn discrepancies between the original pottery registers and the material seen in 1977. Some of the material illustrated below was thus drawn in 1977 but is not now extant. Eleanor Beard has prepared Figs. 13, 14 and 21.

I. 13-21 CORNMARKEt STREET AND 10-19 MARKEt STREET

The work at 13-21 Cornmarket was necessitated by the enlargement and rebuilding of the Marks and Spencer Store. The firm allowed all possible opportunities for archaeological work, and the late Mr. M. Salaman kept keenly in touch with its progress. The excavation was supervised by David Sturdy, then a temporary Assistant Keeper at the Ashmolean Museum, as part of his official duties. The Museum was acting for the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, which provided a grant for the excavation; four or five labourers were employed for several weeks during the long hot summer of 1959.

The old houses, Nos. 13-17 Cornmarket and Nos. 15-19 Market Street (all apparently of early and mid 19th-century date) had been demolished and the extensive cellars along the street-frontages were filled with demolition rubble; the whole was roughly tarred over. The site of the yards behind the houses was the only area without the deep rubble fill and the excavation accordingly had to be located here. Modern earth-moving machinery was not then available so the excavation sampled all the deposits from the modern surface downwards.

Over the next two years, 1960 and 1961, the whole of this site and the existing Marks and Spencer Store beside it (barely 25 years old) were redeveloped. All the archaeological levels and the upper part of the underlying gravel were bulldozed away to make a deep

basement, and some fairly reliable observations of the greatest interest were made on the ancient street frontage, which the actual excavation had not been able to reach. The store is no longer a Marks and Spencer, but a Co-op with smaller shops above, as the two businesses exchanged their central Oxford sites in 1979.⁵

Site History (Fig. 2)

The southern third of the site, Nos. 13–16, belonged in the 12th century to Oseney Abbey, and seems to have done so from its foundation as a Priory in 1129; but its early years are poorly documented.⁶ The central third, Nos. 18–19, belonged at this time to Eynsham Abbey;⁷ the northern third, Nos. 20–21, to Gloucester Abbey.⁸ Nearby, perhaps represented by No. 22, was a property of Norton Abbey, an Augustinian house in Cheshire.⁹ These lands of Eynsham, Gloucester and Norton were, we may infer, all part of a single large property that was divided up and given away to those monasteries by William fitz Nigel, constable of Chester and lord of Halton Castle in Cheshire (very close to Runcorn, where Norton Abbey was first established as a priory in about 1115). William held the large property as a part of the manor of Pyrton, twelve miles south-east of Oxford.¹⁰ The manorial link between Pyrton and the property at No. 21 Cornmarket persisted until at least the 15th century.

The main central estate of the very large parish of Pyrton was granted, as the lands of the minster church at *Readanoran*, to the Bishopric of Worcester in 887; a century later lands in that area still belonged to the Bishops (then also Archbishops of York), but had fallen by 1066 into the hands of Stigand who was Bishop of Winchester and also, uncanonically, Archbishop of Canterbury.¹¹ In 1070 he was deprived of his bishoprics and estates; by 1086 Pyrton, still a great 40-hide estate, was one of the many outlying possessions of the Earl of Chester, Hugh of Avranches, and was already held of him by William fitz Nigel.¹² The first direct reference to part of the property in Oxford being an integral part of Pyrton manor dates from 1166, when Oseney was granted a part; but William's grants to Eynsham before 1109, and to Gloucester and Runcorn in about 1115, demonstrate fairly conclusively that the connexion had already been made, as it is difficult otherwise to explain how a distant Cheshire under-baron owned several adjacent properties in Oxford.¹³

These large town properties attached to country estates, which are well-attested in every southern and midland county, are often explained as chance commercial ventures made by various lords in the 10th, 11th or 12th centuries, casual purchases of town property that were attached for convenience of administration to a manor. But these links may often be relics of a late 9th- or 10th-century resettlement by royal mandate, village and fortress being formerly organised together for primarily military reasons.¹⁴

⁵ See *Hinxley Hall*.

⁶ Salter, *Survey* i, NE (10); *Cart. Osen.* i, 14–28.

⁷ Salter, *Survey* i, NE (12).

⁸ *Ibid.* NE(13)–(14).

⁹ Ex inf. D. A. Sturdy.

¹⁰ H. E. Salter, 'An Oxford Mural Mansion', in J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and G. F. Jacobs (eds.), *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (1933), 299–303.

¹¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* viii, 147–8.

¹² *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 409; *D.B.Oxon.* 15.2 (f.157b).

¹³ *Cart. Osen.* i, 14 (13); *Cart. Eynsham* i, 37; W. H. Hart, *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Gloucestriae* (Rolls Series 1863–7), i, 105.

¹⁴ A. Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs* (1904), Ch. II; M. Biddle (ed.) *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages* (1976), 383–5; S. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (1977), 31–2; see also the discussion of another Cornmarket site in *Frewin Hall*, 60–64.

Monastic houses may have played an active role in development schemes in the early 12th century, though later restricting their activities to occasional rebuildings and granting of favourable leases to encourage construction. It can be argued that during the 1120s the two newly-founded priories of Oseney and St. Frideswide's, perhaps in collaboration with some merchants of the town, opened up Market Street, which bounds the site on the south. Oseney may have joined with Eynsham to make another lane, now lost, which crossed or at least entered the site somewhere near the junction of their properties. This was known as Mulewards Lane, (perhaps from Philip the Miller, the second Mayor of Oxford who leased land around No. 21), also as Colesburnes Lane (from another tenant) or as the Abbot of Oseney's Lane.¹⁵ Shoe Lane, just across Cornmarket, is the only one of these minor lanes that has kept its ancient name, somewhat altered with time, and still commemorates the Sewy family of merchants who lived beside it on the site of the Clarendon Centre.

The surviving leases, deeds and rentals, and later ratebooks, provide hundreds of names of owners and tenants of parts of the site, although there are quite large gaps in the succession from the 13th century to the present day. But a standard problem with urban sites is that a high proportion of such people were investors who did not live on, but sublet their property. On this site at least 400 names can be found for the 27 different plots into which it was divided; at least half are names of non-residents, and the rest can be scarcely a tenth of all those who actually lived and had their shops and businesses and died here over the centuries.

Three of them should, however, be mentioned, one for historical and two for archaeological reasons. Among the medieval merchant families with an interest in the site was Bartholomew Bishop, sometimes known as Bartholomew the Taverner, who leased or bought a number of plots on and near the site during the forty years after 1370; his son Nicholas Bishop inherited some of the plots and many of the deeds, which he copied out to make a private and most unusual cartulary, which survives in the Cambridge University Library.¹⁶

In the 17th century the glazier William Cole was a tenant on the site somewhere near the excavated cutting, whose Layer 2, with much mid 17th-century pottery and glass, may represent rubbish that he threw out into his yard, or a deliberate raising of his yard (see below, Figs. 6-7), or possibly his transformation of a yard into a garden. He took out his freedom in 1633, served as a City Councillor from 1652 to 1653 and from 1660 to his death in 1683, holding various minor city offices, and was Junior Bailiff in 1666-7.¹⁷ He figures from time to time in the diaries of Anthony Wood: in December 1664 *to Cole the Glazier for a leaden candlestick 1s*, in 1667 as his nephew's godfather, and in 1668 *to Mr Cole the Glazier for a pane of glass 6d*.¹⁸ Other work of his appears in the City Chamberlains' accounts for 1665-7.¹⁹ He was succeeded in the property and in the business by his son Charles, who moved to No. 42 Cornmarket by 1731 and died in 1751.

In the 19th century the confectioner Richard Horn leased a plot around No. 15 from 1814 until 1845, and Badcock's *Survey* of Christ Church property in 1829 shows Horn's bakehouse and kitchen directly overlying the large stone-built cess-pit, Feature 3, which contained a very large mass of pottery of c.1825-45, presumably the breakages in his dining room.²⁰ Trades such as ironmongers and cutlers were often to be found in this part of

¹⁵ Salter, *Survey*, i, NE (11).

¹⁶ C.U.L. MS. Dd.xiv.2 (transcript in Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. d.72).

¹⁷ M. G. Hobson and H. E. Salter, *Oxford Council Acts 1626-1665*, O. H. S. xcv (1933); M. G. Hobson, *Oxford Council Acts 1626-1665*, O.H.S. xcv (1933); M. G. Hobson, *Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701*, O.H.S. ns ii (1939).

¹⁸ A. Clarke (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, O.H.S. xxi (1892), ii, 24 and 127.

¹⁹ Hobson, *op. cit.*, 315 and 318.

²⁰ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 593.

Oxford, from the 14th century until the well-known Knife Shop on the corner (No. 14) closed in 1959; cooks and victuallers too were quite often established here.

Detailed surveys of the old houses on the site are deposited in the Local History Library at the Central Library, Westgate. No. 13 Cornmarket formed, with Nos. 15-19 Market Street, a handsome four-storey stucco terrace rebuilt under a loan of 1847. Nos. 15-19 Cornmarket appeared to be 19th-century. Nos. 18-21 Cornmarket, with 10-14 Market Street, had been rebuilt for Marks & Spencers in the 1930s.

The archaeological sequence

i. The original ground-surface (Plan, Fig. 2)

A large area of the natural red-brown loamy topsoil, directly over the bright yellow Pleistocene gravel, was noted along the western side of the site during mechanical excavation of the deep modern basement. Three brick-lined 19th-century wells were recorded here, but there were no ancient pits in a wide zone along the street frontage for a distance of 20 to 24 feet (6.5 to 7.75 m.) back from the modern frontage. This observation, although it was made piecemeal during 1960-61 as the building works proceeded in stages, outside the controlled excavation of 1959, was the most important made on the site. This whole zone probably lay within the street during the town's first centuries and the street frontage must have been brought forward to include it at some time in the 12th century. Directly across the road, on the Clarendon Hotel site, ancient wells and cellar-pits projecting up to about 10 feet (3 m.) beyond the present street-frontage showed that on that side the frontage was moved back in the 12th century.²¹ Alternatively, this sterile zone may have been included in the tenement, but free from buildings on the street-frontage.

Over the rest of the site, a great number of pits, normal on medieval urban sites, was observed. Some 80 to 90 per cent of the natural ground-surface had been dug away in Saxon and later medieval times and only four small areas of the red-brown topsoil were recorded, one of them within the 1959 excavation. Here most of the topsoil had been removed when fifteen pits or wells were dug out.

ii. Earliest features, perhaps 10th or 11th century (Plan, Fig. 3d, Section, Fig. 4)

Stratigraphically the two earliest features in the excavation were Pits S and T; both had been partly dug away for other pits. Neither contained any finds and neither was deep enough to have been a well. Large halls or defensive stockades would require post-holes of about the size of these pits, although none have been interpreted as such in Oxford, and it seems unlikely that these were. They were probably small larder- or storage-pits. Pit T was sealed by Layer 9, containing a few sherds of pottery of about the early 12th century. It was not possible to tell whether Pit S had been sealed by this layer, as Pits P, Q and R cut into its upper levels. No early cellar-pits, beam-slots or small post-holes and stake-holes were discovered on this site, as the main street-frontage was not excavated scientifically.

iii. Features of the 12th century (Plan, Fig. 3d, Section, Fig. 4)

Roughly contemporary with Layer 9 were several pits: Pit P, a shallow basket-lined larder-pit, at least in its two earlier phases iv and iii, Pits Q (which cut through S); Y (which cut through T); U; and W (which cut through U). These may be dated to about the early- or mid-12th century. These earlier phases of Pit P and Pit Q were sealed by Layer 8, a thin gravel yard-surface that lay above Layer 9, but the gravel was so uneven and sparse that it was not possible to see if it had sealed the other pits. Of about the mid or late 12th century, and rather later stratigraphically, were the later basket-lined phases ii and i of Pit

²¹ *Clarendon Hotel*, 5-7.

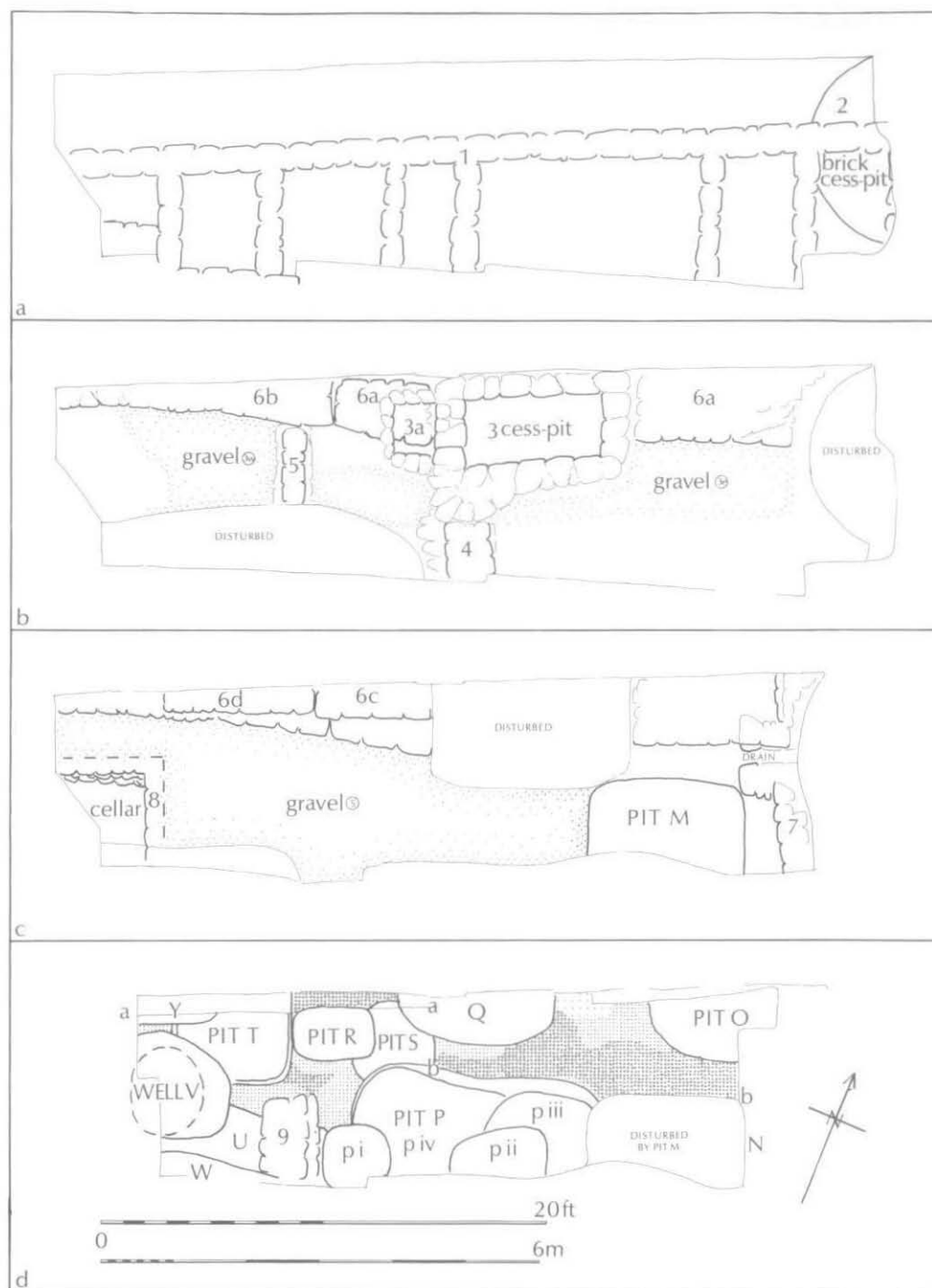


Fig. 3. 13-21 Cornmarket: Phase plans of area excavated in 1959. A. Back yard walls etc. of 1845-7 (Phase v). B. Walls etc. of 16th to 18th century (Phase v). C. Walls etc. of 13th to 15th century (Phase iv). D. Pits etc. of 10th to 12th century (Phases ii-iii).

P, the larder-pit; Pit R, a very small and shallow pit that showed no obvious signs of being a post-hole; Pit V (at 18 ft. (5.5 m.) deep enough to have been a well); and Feature 9, a short length of rubble wall which lay above the filling of Pit U. A far larger area would have had to be exposed at this level for these features to be interpreted in social terms as the appurtenances of various working households.

There was a great mass of burnt debris around the wall (Feature 9) which appeared to have collapsed during a fierce fire; there was burnt material in Layer 7 beside the wall and also in the top of Pit R and the latest phase of Pit P (where the basketwork-lined phase i was carbonised). A great blaze had obviously swept the site towards the end of the 12th century, either the documented burning of Oxford in 1190 or another localized fire about the same date.

iv. Later Medieval Features (Plan, Fig. 3c, Section, Fig. 4)

Two superimposed gravel yard-levels (Layer 5 ii-iii) lay above the burnt deposits in Layer 7 west of and up to the burnt wall, Feature 9. The lower, Layer 5 iii, must represent an immediate surfacing above the fire debris after the rebuilding, and contemporary with it was Feature 6d, the earliest phase of an east-west wall; the higher, Layer 5 ii, indicates the continuing use of the yard probably early in the 13th century. It seems, however, that enough of the burnt wall remained to form a barrier (or else a slight fence was constructed above it) and the ground to the east remained, for a generation or more, as a garden. Here Layer 6, containing 12th- and 13th-century pottery, seemed to indicate levelling-up with casual dumping and garden soil. Layer 6 (and the garden that it comprised) was bounded to the east by a north-south wall, Feature 7, which had a crude stone-built drain at the level of the garden soil. While the garden was in use, Pit O was dug, as a rubbish- or latrine-pit, and filled again; it contained pottery of the 12th and 13th centuries. Eventually the garden indicated by Layer 6 was thrown into the yard to its west and a gravel yard-surface, Layer 5 i, sealed both, perhaps late in the 13th century. There was very little pottery in these deposits and no precise dates can be given.

Wall 6 was reconstructed, widened or lengthened on three occasions between the 13th and 16th centuries. In about the 13th or 14th century the short east-west wall was lengthened to the east (6c), and later, probably in the 15th century, it was rebuilt and thickened, again in two stages (6b & a) and extended further to the east, completely replacing the north-south wall (7). Probably also in the 15th century a deep stone-lined cellar, Feature 8, was also dug through Layer 6, and Pit M, containing 15th- and early 16th-century pottery, was dug through the yard level (5). These fragmentary sections of house and garden walls and yard floors allow a number of different reconstructions of the sequence of sub-division and change within the property, whose nature cannot be defined any more precisely by documentary sources.

v. Tudor and later features (Plan, Fig. 3a-b, Section, Fig. 4)

Above the medieval yard-surfaces (Layer 5) was a thick deposit of dark gravelly loam that was either garden soil or simple dumping to raise the level (Layer 4). There was very little pottery in it, enough to indicate a date of about the 16th century. A larger group of pottery, of early 16th-century date, was in the loam and ash filling of the cellar (Feature 8). This had obviously been filled in at that time and it seems likely that the building above the cellar had been pulled down, or possibly burnt down; the east-west wall (Feature 6) remained unaffected, and continued as a yard-wall.

A narrow footing wall, Feature 5, with spreads of gravel to the west, Layer 3w, and to the east, Layer 3e, were next in date and possibly all contemporary, but this could not be established for certain. It is possible that Layer 3w was a house floor and Feature 5 the back wall of a timber-framed house, whose back-yard was Layer 3e. All the layers and features of the last two paragraphs may thus represent the rebuilding, say in about 1525, of a medieval

stone hall-house with a cellar as a larger and more elaborate, but uncellared, Tudor timber-framed house.

A thicker stone wall, Feature 4, was later built above Layer 3c. It contained some 17th-century sherds and must represent either the extension slightly eastward of the Tudor house, or, perhaps more likely, the subdivision of its yard which may have been added to another house on the property. A thick loamy deposit, Layer 2, lay above this wall and Layer 3e and contained a group of pottery dating up to the middle of the 17th century, containing several reasonably complete vessels and a quantity of window glass (see below). It is possible that this section of the site was occupied at this time by William Cole the glazier and that this deposit represents his garden.

The latest structures excavated within the cutting were a great stone-lined cess-pit, Feature 3, with its subsidiary chamber, Feature 3a, which cut through both the medieval garden wall, Feature 6, and the 17th-century wall, Feature 4, and dated from the late 17th, or perhaps more likely the 18th century. The filling of this cess-pit included a huge quantity of pottery dating from c.1825–1845. The latest features (plan 3a) are the rubble backyard-wall footings, Feature 1, and the associated brick-domed and brick-lined cess-pit, Feature 2, which dated from the rebuilding of the entire site in 1845–47. Later still, but not recorded in detail, was a line of water-closets located in the backyards of 1845 which had been installed in this century (about 1908 to judge from numismatic evidence) to replace the early Victorian arrangements, whatever they were.

Layer descriptions (Section, Fig. 4)

Layer 1. c.1847 Walls of outbuildings.

Layer 2. Thick deposits of gravelly loam. Pottery of mid-17th century (see Figs. 6–7).

Layer 3. Gravelled yard-surface over layer 4, at different levels on either side of wall 5 (probably a yard – 3e and floor – 3w).

Layer 4. Dark gravelly loam dump over layer 5, up to 2 ft 3 in (70 cm.) deep. A small amount of 16th-century and earlier pottery.

Layer 5. Overall gravel yard surface; several phases west of wall 9, but only one east of it; cut by pit M.

Layer 6. General dumping of loam and gravel to east of wall 9, up to 2 ft (60 cm.) deep; cut by pit O. Pottery of 12th and 13th century.

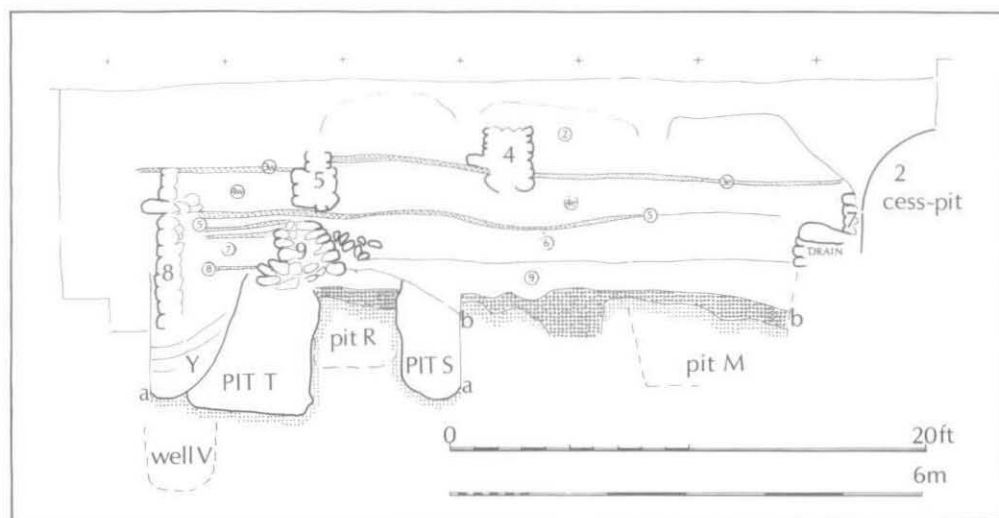


Fig. 4. 13–21 Cornmarket: Composite section of excavation, with north face of excavation at a–a, north face of Pits P and M at b–b. The section runs across the centre of Wall 9, south of Wall 5 and north of Wall 4.

- Layer 7. Burnt stones, charcoal, burnt clay and ash around wall 9.
 Layer 8. Thin gravel yard surface; sealed pit Q and some phases of pit P; at the western end of the trench it sealed pit T, and seemed probably to have sunk into the loosely consolidated fillings of pits U, W and Y.
 Layer 9. Layers of gravel, gravelly loam, red-brown loam and ash, 1ft 3in (38 cm.) thick; sealing pit T, and by inference pit S. A few sherds of 12th-century and earlier pottery.

Small Finds (Fig. 5) By Martin Henig

1. Cresset lamp of coarse white limestone: height 12.5 cm., width c.12 cm. From Pit P/Layer 9, probably 12th century. Simple cup on short stem, base also cup-shaped. Although stone cressets are relatively common,²² and another more ornate example is extant from the Town Hall,²³ the best parallels are the double-shelled pottery lamps discussed by Jope,²⁴ of which a further example is described below. Not seen 1985.
2. Chalk block with faceted sides: height 4 cm. From Pit P/Layer 9, probably 12th century. Probably used for polishing, cf. example from Clarendon Hotel.²⁵
3. Strap-end of copper-alloy, with open ovoid frame and hook attached to lower strip of metal: length 6.6 cm. From undefined Pit N, at east end of trench, 12th-13th cent. Probably a belt fitting; compare 15th-century examples from London and elsewhere.²⁶
4. Hinge pivot, iron: length 7 cm. From undefined Pit N, 12th-13th century. Standard type, as example from St. Aldate's.²⁷
5. Winged axe?, iron: length 18 cm. Layer 2, mid 17th century. Ashmolean Museum acc. no. 1959.170. If an axe, type with wings and lugs originally on top and bottom on each side of shaft hole (which is missing), and broad, bearded blade. Similar in form to cooper's axe.²⁸

Mid 17th-century Pottery from Layer 2 (Fig. 6-7)

The general vessel types from this group can be paralleled with pits from St. Ebbe's²⁹ with the exception of the drug jar (Fig. 6.5) in tin-glaze earthenware, the wide-mouthed vessel (Fig. 7.1), the jug (Fig. 7.11) and the straight-sided tripod pipkin (Fig. 7.9). The predominance of Surrey white wares suggests a mid 17th-century date, and the clay pipe confirms this.

- 6.1 Clay-pipe bowl, Oxford type A, 1630-55. (The illustration differs from the standard Oxford Type A, but the pipe is no longer available for comparison.)
- 6.2 Base of small beaker of whitish glass.
- 6.3 Flagon of hard grey stoneware with mottled brown saltglaze.
- 6.4 Drinking mug or 'tyg' of hard fine red ware with very dark brown glaze overall (Cf. mid 17th-century example from St. Ebbe's).³⁰
- 6.5 Drug-jar of tinglazed earthenware with polychrome decoration, perhaps early 17th century. Not paralleled from St. Ebbe's.
- 6.6 Pan, in hard coarse redware, with dark speckled olive-brown glaze inside and sparse traces outside.
- 7.1-12 Vessels of Surrey white wares.
- 7.1 Wide-mouthed vessel, green-glazed inside. Not paralleled at St. Ebbe's.
- 7.2 Bowl, possibly colander, yellow-glazed inside.
- 7.3-5 Deep-sided dishes, green-glazed inside.
- 7.6 Dish with dull yellow glaze inside.
- 7.7 Chafing dish with dull yellow glaze inside.
- 7.8 Small porringer with horizontal loop handle, with streaky spotted brown glaze inside.
- 7.9 Small pipkin with dull yellow glaze inside. Not paralleled at St. Ebbe's.
- 7.10a Small globular cup with patches of rough rolled pellets, mottled brown glaze overall.
- 7.10b Base of another similar vessel.
- 7.11 Round-bodied jug with green glaze outside. Not paralleled at St. Ebbe's.
- 7.12 Tripod pipkin with dull yellow glaze.

²² Cf. *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.* cvii (1969), 79-84; B. Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations 1949-1960: I* (1964), 152, Fig. 51.4-6; *Medieval Archaeol.* xvi (1972), 130-3, Figs. 38-39, pl. xii; *London Mus. Medieval Cat.* (1940), 175, Fig. 54.1-2.

²³ Now in the Museum of Oxford.

²⁴ *Oxoniensis*, xv (1950), 57-60; cf. Fig. 21.2 (Town Hall) and 21.3 (St. Mary's Entry).

²⁵ *Clarendon Hotel*, 74-5, Fig. 23b.

²⁶ Cf. I. Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1971), 139, Figs. 228 and 230.

²⁷ *St. Aldate's*, 142, Fig. 27.32-6.

²⁸ R. A. Salaman, *Dictionary of Tools used in Woodworking and Allied Trades c.1700-1970* (1975), 51-2, Fig. 62c; cf. *London Mus. Medieval Cat.* (1940) 64-5, inv. 32.55, Fig. 15.3 ('battle axe').

²⁹ *St. Ebbe's*.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Fig. 103.2 (III E14).

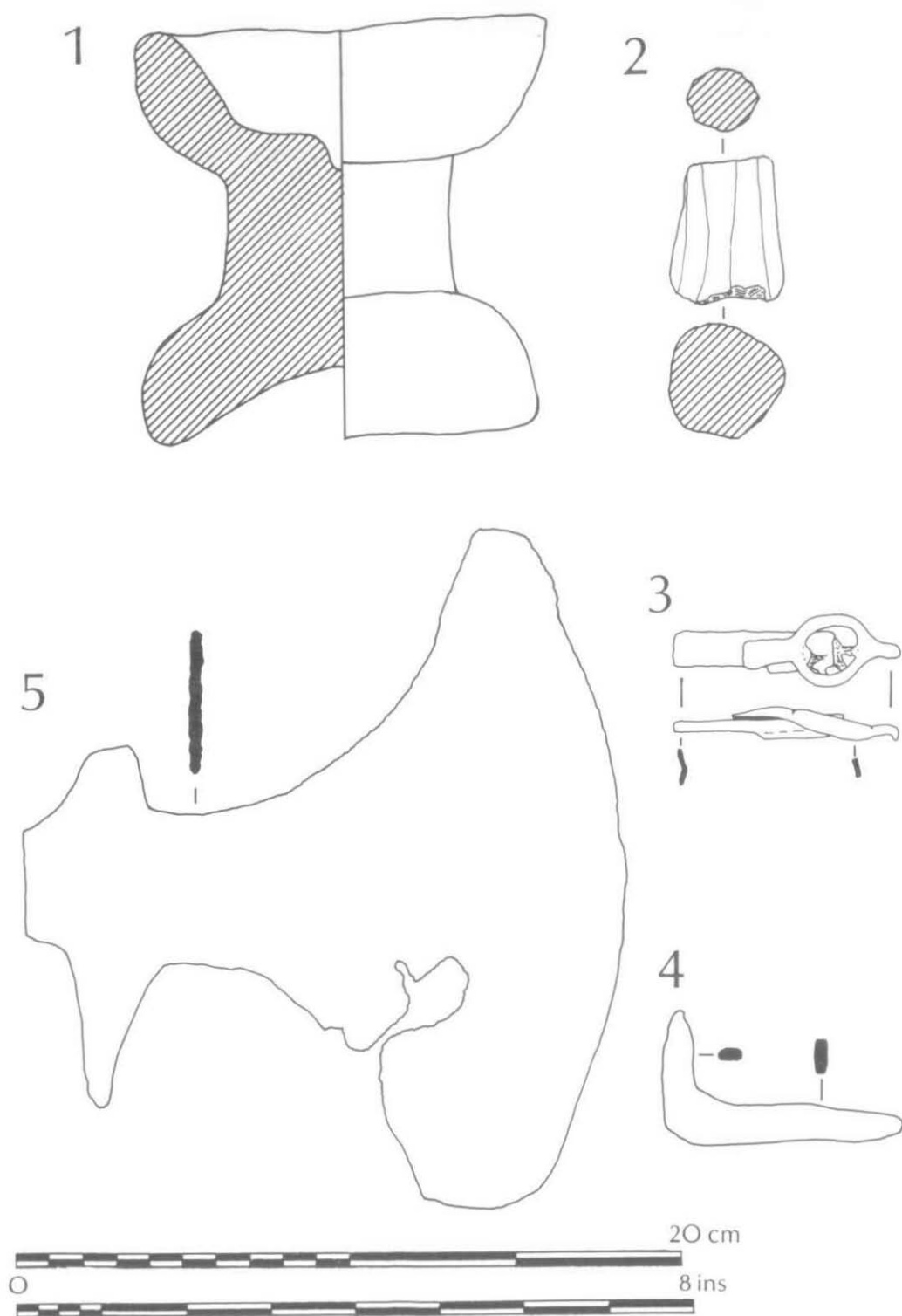


Fig. 5. 13-21 Cornmarket: Small finds (Scale 1:2)

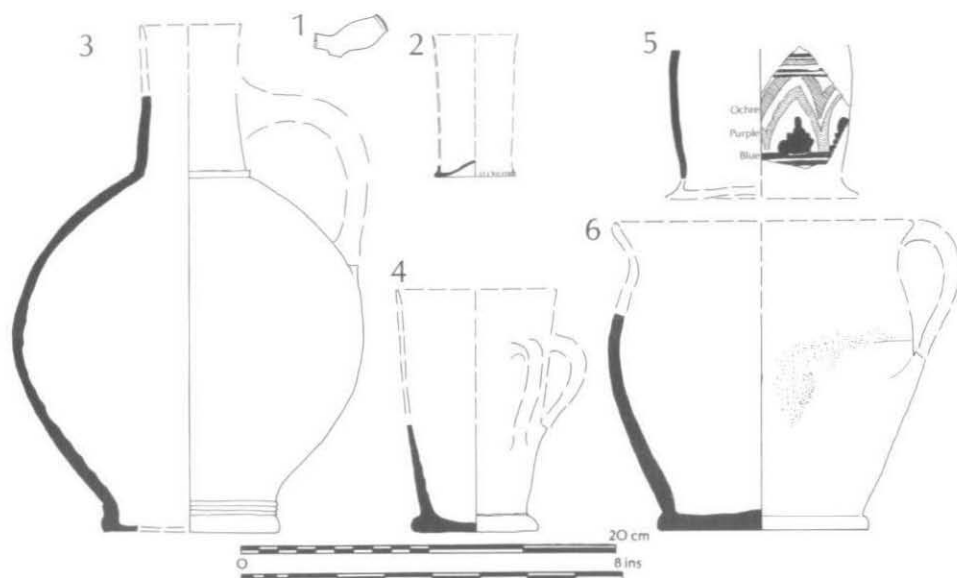


Fig. 6. 13-21 Cornmarket: Clay pipe, glass and pottery of assorted wares from Layer 2, of c.1650. (Scale 1:4).

II. 55-58 CORNMARKEt STREET (NOW MACDONALD'S HAMBURGER BAR)

The excavations at 55-58 Cornmarket were carried out in January to April 1962 ahead of the rebuilding of the large mid-Victorian grocers' store, Grimby Hughes, for Littlewoods, who provided all opportunities for research. Under the supervision of John Cherry, then an undergraduate, the labour was provided by undergraduate members of the Oxford University Archaeological Society, digging voluntarily on several afternoons a week during term and working full-time during the Easter Vacation. The Ministry of Public Buildings and Works provided the bulk of the cost to the Oxford Excavations Committee, with various other subscriptions. The Committee had no executive arm and all arrangements were made, as before, by the Ashmolean Museum, whose equipment and facilities were used. The University Surveyor provided floodlights and advice on stability: very necessary in this case, as the work was done before the demolition of the massive Victorian shop, by artificial light in the cellars. Under the main shop these were Victorian; to the south they were linked to some partly medieval or Tudor cellars; to the rear there were deep Edwardian storage-cellars, whose ground-storey cover buildings had been demolished. But in this part all the archaeological levels had been removed, leaving only the lower parts of the pits. Preliminary clearance of the dark recesses produced, and unfortunately broke, a full 19th-century bottle of brandy, whose odour lingered for many weeks.

As at 23-26 Queen Street, the front cellars allowed early deposits to be examined easily and cheaply, though caution was needed to avoid collapse of the building. After demolition, piles for the new building were drilled through the loose rubble filling of the cellars and no site-watching was possible. There is no basement, and the remaining archaeological deposits still survive on the site, little disturbed in 1983 when Arrowcroft Developments remodelled the former store to make several new shops. The street-frontage is now occupied by Macdonalds.

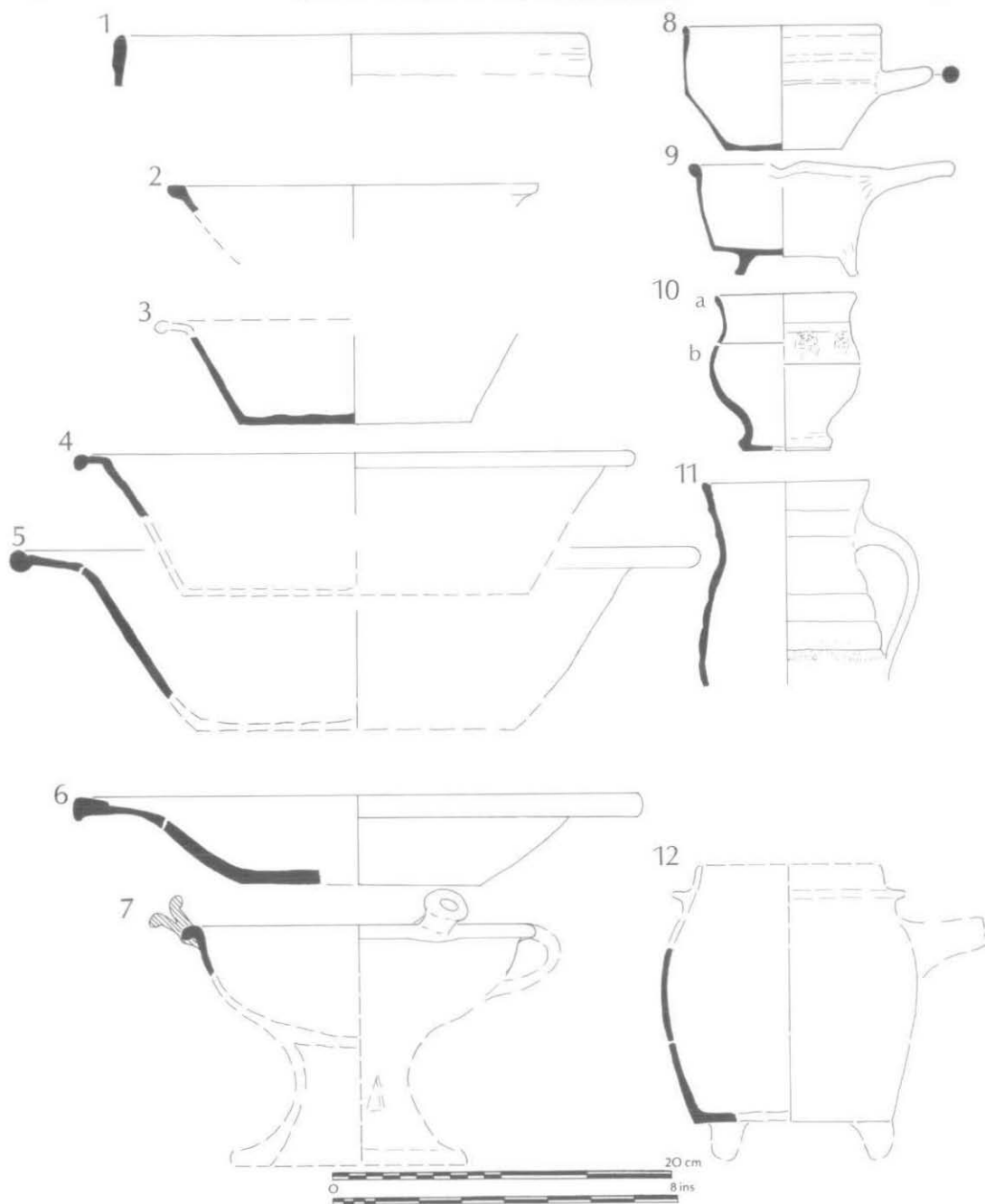


Fig. 7. 13-21 Cornmarket: Pottery of Surrey White Wares from Layer 2, of c.1650. (Scale 1:4)

Site History (Fig. 8)

Only two surviving land-grants of Oxford properties are Pre-Conquest. Both concern large properties which belonged to substantial landowners and included churches, later parochial, which must have originated as the landowners' private chapels. The earlier dates from 1005, when Æthelmær, *ealdorman* of the south-west counties, refounded Eynsham Abbey, five miles west of Oxford. Among his initial endowments was his *curia in Oxonia* (which means court, either in the sense of courtyard house or in the sense of legal jurisdiction, but possibly both) in which was sited the church of St. Ebbe, together with certain other rents belonging to that court. Another Eynsham record refers to the church of St. Ebbe 'with the little piece of land which belongs to (or adjoins) it' (*cum adiacente ei terrula*).³¹

The later grant concerns our Cornmarket site, with nearby plots including St. Martin's church. In 1032 Cnut, who had been accepted as King of England at a great assembly in Oxford fourteen years before, granted (or perhaps rather confirmed) to Abingdon Abbey 'the little minster consecrated in honour of St. Martin the Bishop with the adjacent small estate' (*monasteriolum in honore Sancti Martini praesulis consecratum cum adiacente praediolo*). An additional note in Old English, referring to it as the actual gift of one Æthelwine, calls it 'the enclosure in Oxford where he himself used to live' (*þone hagan on Oxnaforda þe he sylf onsaet*).³² Later at least the monks believed that Æthelwine was the abbot of that name who died at about this time. The Oxford property appears in the grant as an appendix to the village of Lyford, which was in the main part of the gift: another example of the linking of large town properties to rural manors.

The Domesday Survey of 1086 enumerates over a thousand dwellings or house-plots in Oxford under various categories; three-fifths of them were 'waste' and unable to pay tax.³³ It would be unwise to seek to identify any of these dwellings precisely with any of the thousand or more house-properties whose history from the 13th century is quite often closely documented. There are many hints that the town was very extensively changed or replanned in the 11th and 12th centuries. Drastic changes of street-frontages and of property boundaries are clearly attested by this and nearby excavations.

Returning to modern times, the site of 55-58 Cornmarket, where Littlewoods store was built in 1962, was largely put together in the mid 19th century by the Grimby Hughes grocery business (Fig. 8). The southern half of the site was a segment of the Crown Inn, acquired by University College in 1570, and which had previously been known as Drapery Hall and belonged to Abingdon Abbey.³⁴ The northern half of the site was most of a similar large property that belonged to New College from the end of the 14th century.³⁵

The Crown Inn

This property may have been the nucleus of the estate granted to Abingdon in 1032, but it is certain that over the centuries portions of the estate had been alienated and become separate holdings, while other pieces of land had been acquired by the owners and lessees. It seems to have been the residence of Henry son of Simeon, a very wealthy merchant who was bailiff of the town in 1181. He married the widow of John Kepeharm, another Oxford merchant of great wealth, and survived being fined £2,000 by King John. His son, who followed him here, was known as Henry son of Simeon or simply (as surnames were

³¹ *Cart. Eynsham*, i, viii.

³² J. Stevenson (ed.), *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon* (Rolls Series 1858), i, 439-40 and 443-4.

³³ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 396-8; *D.B. Oxon.* B4-9 (f.154a).

³⁴ Salter, *Survey*, ii, NW(22).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, NW(41)-(42).

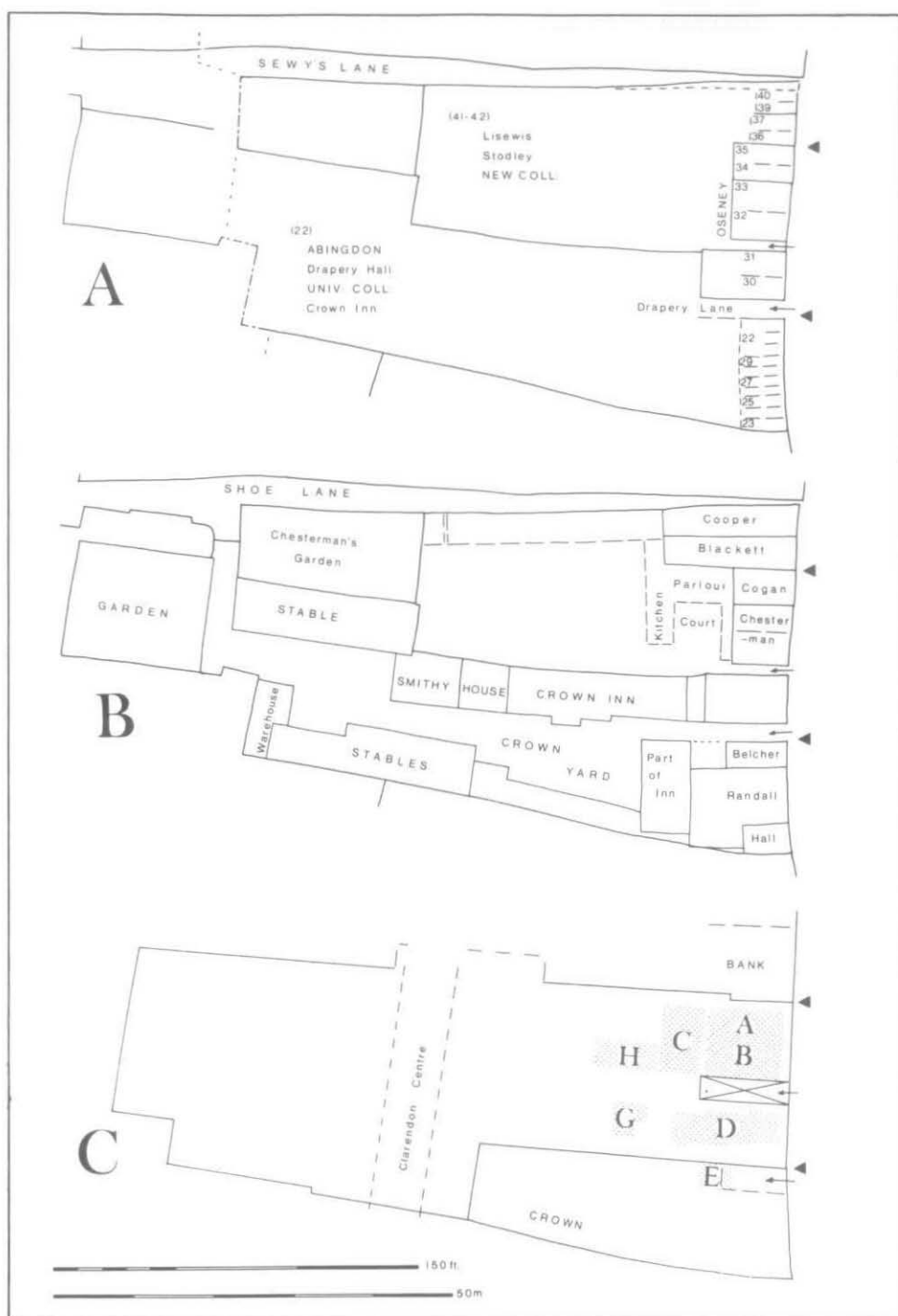


Fig. 8. 55-58 Cornmarket: Plan of site: A. Medieval tenements, with references to Salter's *Survey* of North-East Ward. B. Post-medieval buildings: north part from plan of 1627 at New College; south part from plan of c.1840 at University College. C. Areas of 1962 excavation in cellars, with outline of new store superimposed. (Note that the triangular markings are at the same points on each.)

coming in) as Henry Simeon. He was such a notable opponent of the early University that for the next six centuries all Masters of Arts had to swear never to be reconciled to him. His son Stephen married an heiress of the barony of Cogges and may have ranked as a baron, the only Oxford merchant to have risen into the aristocracy.³⁶ Another merchant family, the Feteplaces, were here from the 1230s to the 1330s; Adam, the first of them, was Mayor fourteen times between 1244 and 1267.³⁷ There must have been a great stone residence here, stretching to the full width of the property, more than 60 feet (18 m.). But all that emerged from the excavations was a group of pottery from the pit G1b, which may indicate the site of the kitchen.

Along the frontage was a line of small shops 6-9 feet (2-3 m. wide) by about 15 feet (5 m.) deep. They were supposed by Salter to have run down a lane leading to the middle of the property, but this is an unnecessary complication, as all the shops fit comfortably (on paper) along the frontage with room for a narrow way through to the back (possibly just north of the present entry to the Crown yard). These shops, then as now at the very commercial heart of the town, attracted investors and were avidly bought and sold; a great number of their title deeds survives. From at least as early as the end of the 12th century they were built up continuously with upper rooms or 'solars' and sometimes with stone or even stone-vaulted cellars. The excavations failed to establish anything about the origin of these shops, a crucial problem which (we see in retrospect) should have had priority over the clearance of pits at the rear of the site.

The later buildings of the Crown Inn (not to be confused with the Crown Tavern at 3 Cornmarket, across the road) are recorded on a plan of c.1840 at University College (Fig. 8B).³⁸ A small portion of the front part of the yard still survives. Until 1890 a fine early 17th-century building with jetties and decorated plasterwork stood on Cornmarket. This was then part of Falkner's store (Randall and Hall in c.1840), recorded in early views and photographs.³⁹ To the north of this, and over the entrance to the yard, stood a plain Georgian-fronted building, burnt down in 1863; it was rebuilt with an Italianate front, later extended, which survived until 1962. The cellar of this portion of the Crown formed area D of the excavation, whilst area G was further west under the main building of the Crown. Area E lay south of D, beneath the carriageway of the present broad entrance to the Crown Yard.

The New College and Oseney holding

The main northern property was probably the principal residence of the Sewys, a wealthy Oxford merchant family, who gave their name to Sewy's Lane, corrupted into Shoe Lane, which ran along the northern edge of the tenement; the east end of the lane was partially blocked as long ago as 1379,⁴⁰ but the rest of it has long provided a convenient rear access to a number of properties in its length. John Sewy was a bailiff of the town in 1279 and his son Thomas was bailiff in 1281, 1284, 1287 and 1292, mayor in 1294 and from 1301 to 1303.⁴¹ The property was also fronted with shops, two of which belonged to Oseney Abbey (over area B of the excavation), part of Chesterman's freehold in the early 17th century (Fig. 8B).⁴²

³⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 65 and 67; S. Gibson, *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (1931), xcvi and 36.

³⁷ *Cart. Osen.* iii, xiv-xvii; *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 65.

³⁸ *Oxford City Prop.* plan opp. p.163.

³⁹ Drawings by Herbert Hurst in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c.312, 38-49.

⁴⁰ Salter, *Survey*, ii, 160.

⁴¹ See Oxford cartularies passim, and A. Clarke (ed.) *Wood's City of Oxford*, iii, O.H.S. xxxvii (1899), 11-13.

⁴² Salter, *Survey*, ii NW(32)-(33).

In the mid 14th century the property belonged to John Stodley, whose estate survived intact and passed to New College.⁴³ The college muniments record the various occupiers and lessees of this tenement, and the changing ownership of the shops in front of it, some of which passed into college hands. A rough plan of the site was made in 1627 (here redrawn on Fig. 8B), though the arrangement of the main building behind the frontage is not clear.⁴⁴

Until the great Grimby Hughes fire of 1863 a fine 17th-century house stood on the site of the Oseney shops (area B); it was drawn by Buckler in 1820, with two curved bays rising to the full height of the building, with 'Ipswich windows', a type once common in Oxford and still to be seen at 126 High Street.⁴⁵ To the north of this was a single-gabled frontage over one of the New College shops (area A). After the fire the whole frontage of these was rebuilt as a huge Venetian Gothic brick pile, designed by William Wilkinson, which survived until 1962,⁴⁶ and beneath which areas A, B and D of the excavation were located. The entrance way between areas B and D, which was not excavated, and which may preserve important stratification, was the survivor of the ancient entry beside the Oseney shops which led to the rear of the tenement.

The northernmost part of the New College holding was a plain 4-bay Georgian-fronted building at the time of the fire, which it survived, though it was later rebuilt as a 2-bay plain classical front with bay windows. This now survives as part of the present Barclays Bank, though the two matching bays to the north of this were only built in 1921 after the demolition of the King's Head, on the other side of Shoe Lane.⁴⁷

As first built the Littlewoods store had a recessed front at ground level, with cantilevered supports for the upper floors. During re-fitting in 1984 the ground floor was again moved forwards to the street frontage, and the store was divided, and also truncated at the rear by the north-south arcade of the Clarendon Centre (Fig. 8C).

The Archaeological Sequence

i. Primary Features (?10th century) (Plan, Fig. 9 & 10A; Section, Fig. 11 C-D)

Very little could definitely be assigned to the 10th century, but some of the early features were stratigraphically earlier than others, and can tentatively be placed together. In the north-east corner of the site a large and not completely defined pit, A1, contained much burnt material and pottery of about the 10th century; it cut the smaller A2. Beneath the later cellar-pit B1, a group of pits (B4-9) had been truncated by the construction of B1, and one of them (B6b) produced 4 sherds of the 10th or early 11th century. To the south of B1, part of a cellar-pit B16 was excavated against the cellar wall, which may belong to the first phase, but contained no pottery and only one find, a fragment of a comb (Fig. 12.3)

The southern cellar contained important evidence. Beneath the present pavement a projecting part of cellar D allowed the early deposits to be examined in front of the medieval and modern frontage. Levels of brown and grey loams and charcoal were revealed above the natural red-brown loam. The absence of early gravelled road-surfaces here is most significant, and shows that the road lay still further forward, confirming the evidence

⁴³ See A. F. Butcher, 'Rent and the Urban Economy: Oxford and Canterbury in the Later Middle Ages', *Southern History*, i (1979), 15-16.

⁴⁴ New College Archives 12365, F. W. Steer, *The Archives of New College Oxford* (1974), 391; Salter's tracing is Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon b.230(R).

⁴⁵ Bodl. MS. Don. a.2 f.25; 126 High Street, 291.

⁴⁶ A. Saint, 'Three Oxford Architects', *Oxoniensia*, xxxv (1970), 72.

⁴⁷ *Clarendon Hotel*, 114.

CORNMARKE STREET

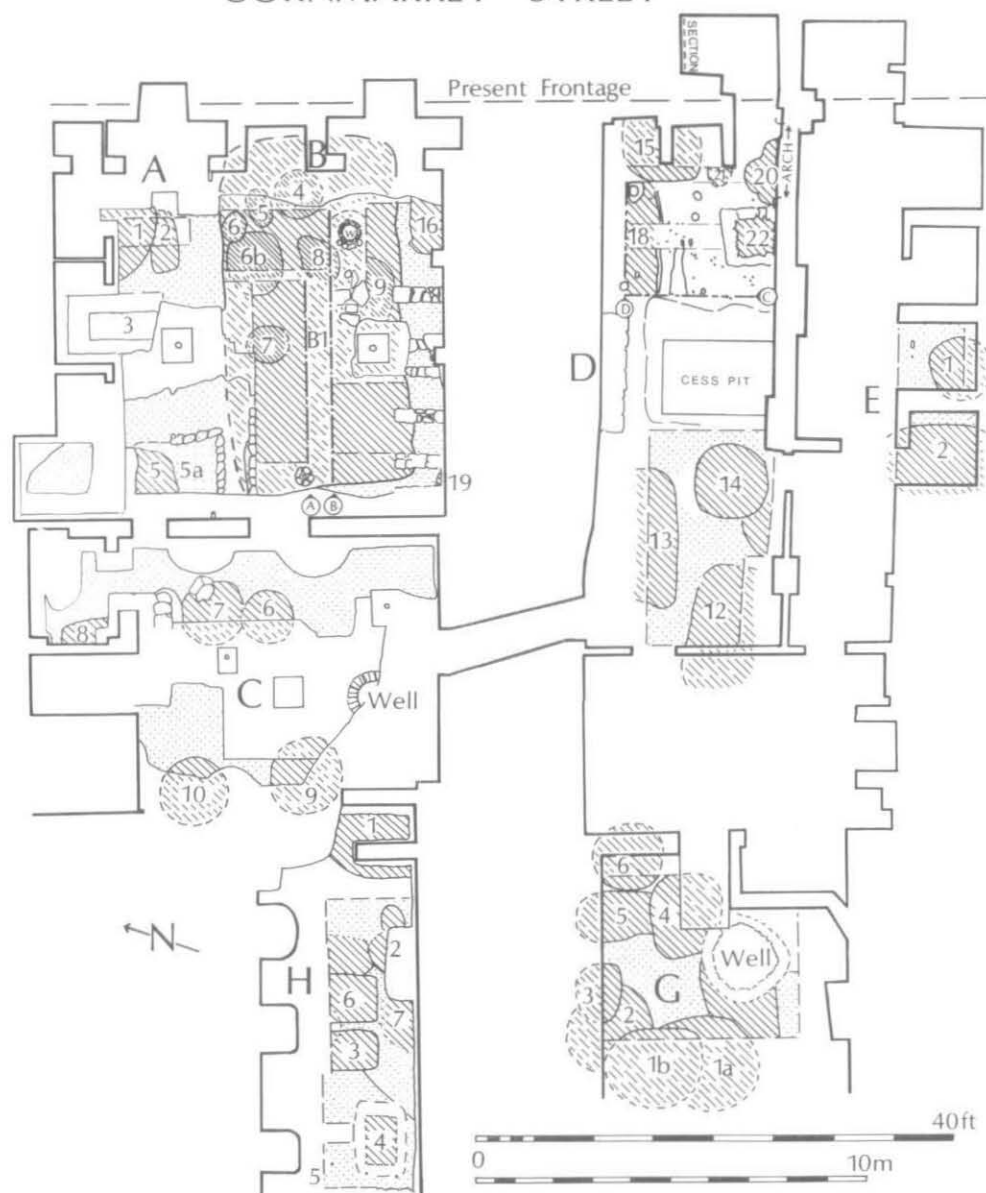


Fig. 9. 55-58 Cornmarket: General plan of cellars, showing all features excavated in 1962.

from the Clarendon Hotel site, along Cornmarket to the north. A depth of 1 ft. 3 in. (38 cm.) of occupation levels was exposed beneath the cellar-footings, but the section could not be extended 9 ft. (2.75 m.) upwards right through the busy modern pavement.

Towards the front of cellar D was a shallow sunken hut (D18), which produced no finds, but of which one side and part of an end remained; a substantial post-hole was found



Fig. 10. 55-58 Cornmarket: Phase-plans of excavations. A. The earliest features, perhaps of the 10th century (Phase i). B. Features of about the 11th century, with Cellar-pit B1 (Phase ii). C. Later medieval features (Phase iii). D. Post-medieval features (Phase iv).

in what was left of the end. The hut may have had a post-hole in the centre of each end, and have measured about 10 ft. 6 in. by 5 ft. (3.2×1.5 m.), with no internal features except possible traces of a wooden or wattle floor (Section: Fig. 11 C-D). Adjoining the hut on the south was an area preserving several features which may have been associated with it. A pair of stake-holes with a wood-stain between may represent a bench or timber lining, whilst a broad gully filled with grey loam and over 1 ft. (30 cm.) deep outside this may have provided drainage for a thatched roof; the top of the gully was filled with ash and charcoal, suggesting the hut may have burned down (see sections). Close by, seven post-holes and 23 stake-holes were recorded without any clear pattern. A shallow pit or hollow (D21) was also revealed, overlain by early occupation levels which were cut by a possible cellar-pit (D15) of the next phase. Another pit (D20) may well have been a store-pit of this phase.

Further back on the site, only pit G6 produced early pottery and can be assigned to this phase.

ii. *11th-century occupation* (Plans Figs. 9 and 10B; Sections Fig. 11 A-B)

The major structure of this phase was the large cellar-pit B1, some 15 ft. by 30 ft. (4.6×9.2 m.) and surviving to a maximum depth of 4 ft. 9 in. (1.45 m.), though it was no doubt cut from a slightly higher level. Natural loam survived along the south edge, but none of the primary levels above that, which must have been present when the cellar-pit was in use. It had near-vertical sides, with a collapsed timber wall or lining surviving as impressions both *in situ* and leaning out in all directions; the floor was earth or timber, and was not completely cleared. Presumably a complete timber structure stood around and above it, with at least one floor at about ground level, and the cellar being used for cool storage, as the earlier pits in the same position may also have been.

The cellar-pit projected about 2 ft. (60 cm.) beyond the set-back shop-frontage, which at the time of the excavation was marked by the foundations of 1863. Encroachments beyond the medieval building line were commonplace in the 17th and 18th centuries, though strictly regulated by the Corporation, and one of 9 in. (23 cm.) is documented for the southern part of the site.⁴⁰ No structural or archaeological evidence for the medieval frontage survived the building of the cellars, but it is likely that the cellar-pit may have stood 5-6 ft. (1.5-1.8 m.) beyond the medieval line. Even this does not seem to have reached the Saxon street-line, since the early occupation levels found in area D beneath the pavement were over 7 ft. (2.1 m.) beyond the 1863 frontage, and thus perhaps 10-11 ft. (3-3.3 m.) beyond the medieval line. Thus the Saxon street-frontage may have been as much as 10 ft. (3 m.) beyond the modern frontage, and 15 ft. (4.6 m.) beyond the medieval one, at least in this part of the street.

The cellar was filled with a series of dumped deposits containing much burnt debris (including daub), a quantity of pottery, a lamp, a coin of A.D. 979×85 (see below) and various small finds (Fig. 12.2, 5-8 & 11). Whilst this is unlikely to be a primary deposit of household rubbish, it was probably shovelled into the cellar-pit at the time it was abandoned, from adjacent occupation levels. The pottery, discussed further below, was mostly of early to mid 11th-century date: the cellar may have passed out of use some time in the middle of the 11th century.

Other features of this phase add little to our understanding of the nature of occupation. Another well or pit (D15) seemed by auguring to project over a foot (30 cm.) beyond the 1863 frontage; it was only partially excavated and its character was not fully established. Several other pits on the site produced 11th-century pottery, and the larger ones (as D12b) may have been cellar-pits. Three possible wells (C7, C10 and D14), none of which could be

⁴⁰ *Oxford City Prop.*, 163-4.

cleared out, and five rubbish pits (C9, D12a, G2, G5 and H2) seem to be of this phase. The possible wells were cleared out to the lowest safe level, but only two of the other pits (D12a and G5) were able to be dug out to their full profile.

iii. Later medieval occupation (Plans, Figs. 9 and 10C)

Apart from the evidence for the destruction of the cellar-pit B1, a single post-hole with stone packing lying over it, and a rubble relieving-arch in the south wall of area D, there was no trace at the front of the site of the shops and buildings whose existence is well-documented from the 12th century. However, the absence of medieval pits and wells from this part was marked, and they were only to be found towards the rear of the site as excavated, in areas E, G and H. Pottery of the 12th century came from pits E2, G1a-b, and G3, of the 13th century from pits H4, H6 and H7, and of the 14th century from pit H3.

Only one late-medieval find of any importance was made, the remarkable hoard of 16th-century money-boxes from pit G4 (below p. 29-30; Fig. 14). This extraordinary find may possibly indicate the activities of a benefit club or small gild.

iv. Post-medieval occupation (Plans, Figs. 9 and 10D)

Later activity on the site demonstrates the typical movement back to the built-up part of the site of activities kept to the rear portion of medieval tenements. A cess-pit (D22) and one other pit (A3), both filled in the 17th century, lay underneath the houses they served. Large 18th to 19th-century cess-pits (A5, and that in the centre of area D) were similarly sited, and the 19th-century wells lay one at the front of the site (cut through B1) and two in the back yard (in areas C and G).

Site Descriptions

Possible Cellar-pit A1: (i) Depth 6 ft. 8 in. (2.03 m.); filled with tips of burnt clay or daub with streaks and tips of charcoal, gravel and gravelly loam; auguring sideways showed the pit to be at least 6 ft. (1.83 m.) wide. Pottery: 10th century. Small finds: Daub, Fig. 12. 13-14.

Pit A2: (i) Depth 7 ft. 5 in. (2.26 m.); filled with brown gravelly loam with tips of gravel, lower part with clay lining; cut by A1. No finds.

Pit A3: (iv) Depth 1 ft. 8 in. (51 cm.); filled with loam and stones. Pottery: first half of 17th century.

Pit A5: (iv) Depth 3 ft. 2 in. (92 cm.); stone-lined cess-pit, filled with building debris and domestic rubbish early in the 19th century.

Pit A5a: (iv) Large stone-filled construction pit, probably of 18th-century date. No finds.

Cellar-pit B1: (ii) Depth 3 ft. 3 in. (99 cm.) at east, dropping to 4 ft. 9 in. (1.45 m.) at west end; filled with layers (section, Fig. 11):

1. Dark-brown gravelly loam with lumps of burnt clay and charcoal.
2. Hard-packed red burnt clay or daub, up to 2 ft. (61 cm.) thick.
3. Dark-brown loam and charcoal, in thin streak towards west end.
4. Uneven dumps of white and grey ash and clay, with streaks of charcoal and dark-brown gravelly loam.
5. Brown gravelly loam, up to 1 ft. (30 cm.) thick.
6. Lumps of red burnt clay or daub, in thick tip at west end.
7. Red burnt clay and gravel, also in thick tip at west end.
8. Dark-brown loam and charcoal, thin streak at west end.
9. Red loam, thick tip against west end.
10. Brown gravelly loam with streaks of charcoal and many lumps of red burnt daub, a fill up to 2 ft. 4 in. (71 cm.) thick.
11. Loamy gravel.
12. Dark-brown loam.

Timber impressions of collapsed lining were found at the west on the south side and at the east on the north side; the collapse was more evident in the section up to the south wall (not illustrated), where the timber lining had fallen in and subsequent tipping had made up the hollows. The cellar-pit truncated pits B4-9. The surfaces around the pit were much disturbed, with red natural loam but no associated levels through which it had been dug, though to the south-west the hollow B19 could possibly represent the base of a post-hole related to the cellar-pit, if it was not of an earlier date.

The cellar-pit was also cut by a possibly late-medieval wall along its western edge, by an 18th- or 19th-century wall in the north-west corner, and by a pillar and the main front wall of the 1863 shop. Beneath the

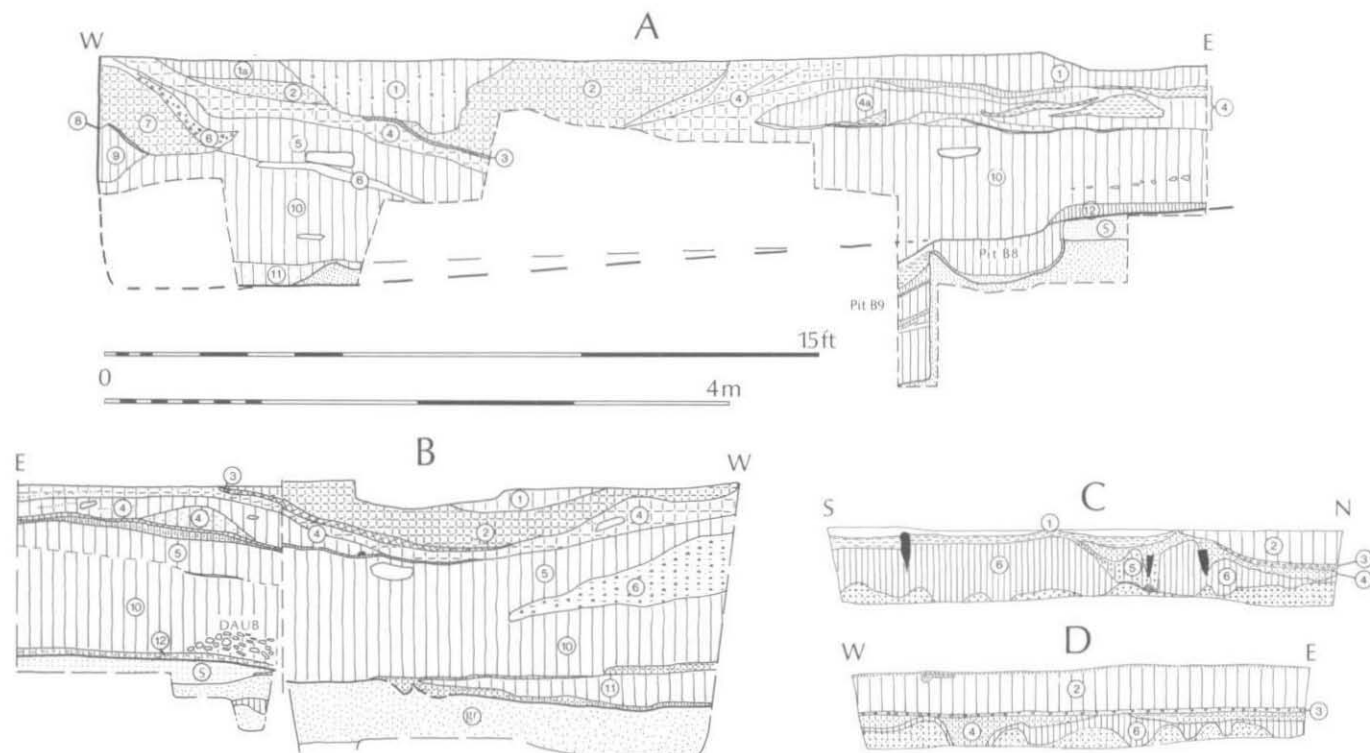


Fig. 11. 55-58 Cornmarket: Sections: A. Cellar-pit B1, part of long section, including west end. B. Cellar-pit B1, part of long section (location 70 cm. to North of Section A.) C. Sunken Hut D18, section across hut and adjacent gully (West section of trenches in area D). D. Sunken Hut D18, section along length of hut (North section of trenches in area D).

front wall, auguring seemed to hit the east end of the cellar-pit some 6 ft. 5 in. (1.91 m.) beyond the excavation, making its full dimensions some 15 ft. by 30 ft. (4.6 × 9.2 m.).

Pottery: Layer 1, 11th to 12th century; Layer 2, no finds; Layers 4–10, early to mid-11th century (discussed further below, Fig. 13.1–8).

Small finds: Silver penny of Æthelred II (A.D. 979–985), apparently from Layer 4 (see below); spindle whorl, probably from Layer 10 (Fig. 12.2); nail, from Layer 10 (Fig. 12.5); knives, mostly from Layers 5–11 (Fig. 12.6–8 & 11); splashes of molten lead from 'upper layers' (not illustrated – Bag 213)

Pit B4: (i) Depth 1 ft. 4 in. (41 cm.) below B1, which cuts it; filled with brown loam, daub and burnt limestone. No finds.

Pit B5: (i) Depth 2 in. (5 cm.) below B1, which cuts it; filled with brown gravelly loam, but mostly removed by B1. No finds.

Pit B6a: (i) Depth 1 ft. 8 in. (51 cm.) below B1, which cuts it; filled with brown gravelly loam; cuts pit B6b. No finds.

Pit B6b: (i) Depth 1 ft. 11 in. (58 cm.) below B1, which cuts it; filled with loamy gravel; cut by pit B6a. Pottery: 4 sherds, 10th to early 11th century. Small finds: nail (Fig. 12.4)

Pit B7: (i) Depth not found; filled with brown gravelly loam; cut by B1. No finds.

Pit B8: (i) Depth 1 ft. (30 cm.) below B1, which cuts it; filled with brown gravelly loam and thin layer of red gravel at base. Pottery: one sherd (lost).

Pit B9: (i) Depth 3 ft. (91 cm.) below B1, which cuts it; filled with layers of loam, ash, gravel and white powdered limestone. No finds.

Cellar-pit B16: (i) Depth 4 ft. 2 in. (1.27 m.); filled with layers of charcoal, clay and loam, with much bone. Small finds: comb (Fig. 12.3) and daub.

Hollow or post-hole B19: (ii) Depth 1 ft. 3 in. (38 cm.); filled with red and brown loam and stones; possibly the disturbed base of a large post-hole of the building over the B1 cellar-pit. No finds.

Well B-: (iv) Brick-lined well of 19th century.

Pit C6: (ii) Depth 4 ft. 6 in. (1.37 m.), probably cutting pit C7. Pottery: two sherds of unknown date.

Well or Pit C7: (ii) Depth unknown, dug to 6 ft. 6 in. (1.98 m.) and augured to gravel or gravel layer at 8 ft. 6 in. (2.59 m.); steep-sided, filled with layers of loam, gravel and clay; apparently cut by pit C6. Pottery: 10th to early 11th century (see below, and Fig. 13.9–11). Small finds: burnt daub and nail (not illustrated).

Pit C8: (iv) Not excavated, possibly associated with building of 19th-century cellar.

Pit C9: (ii) Depth 4 ft. 7 in. (1.4 m.); filled with brown loam. Pottery: 10th to early 11th century.

Well C10: (ii) Depth unknown, dug to 8 ft. 6 in. (2.59 m.); filled with layers of soggy brown gravelly loam, charcoal and burnt limestone, and a thin layer of much-perished wood; no lining observed. Pottery: 10th to early 11th century.

Well C-: (iv) Stone-lined well, open to water at 11 ft. 6 in. (3.51 m.), with three courses of brick and stone capping.

Pit D12a: (ii) Depth about 3 ft. (91 cm.); filled with red burnt clay, charcoal and ash; cuts D12b. Pottery: 10th to 11th century.

Possible cellar-pit D12b: (ii) Depth 6 ft. 1 in. (1.85 m.); filled with gravel and a streak of carbonised wood; lined with soft brown clay; cut by D12a. Pottery: mixed with finds from D12a.

Pit D13: (?) Not excavated.

Well D14: (ii) Beneath brick ash-pit; depth unknown, dug to 6 ft. (1.83 m.), augured to 11 ft. (3.35 m.) with no bottom; filled with dark-brown gravelly loam with layers of charcoal and lumps of clay or daub. Pottery: 10th to 11th century. Small finds: Buckle (Fig. 12.12).

Well or Pit D15: (ii) Depth unknown, dug to 4 ft. 7 in. (1.4 m.) and augured to 8 ft. 6 in. (2.59 m.); filled with layers of brown gravelly loam with lumps of whitish yellow clay or daub. Pottery: 10th to early 11th century.

Hollow D17: (?) Hearth-pit or hollow, depth 6 in. (15 cm.), filled with ash; cut and largely destroyed by cess-pit D22 (Not on plan).

Sunken Hut D18: (i) (See sections, Fig. 11 C & D) Depth between 1 in. and 11 in. (2–28 cm.) into the natural loam (6), not cut into gravel; filled with red-brown loam (2) above a floor of gravel-pebbles (3) and wood fragments, perhaps from wattle-matting, and a thin layer of grey loamy clay (4); at the east a post-impression 7 in. by 10 in. (18 × 25 cm.) in a post-hole 1 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 10 in. (38 × 56 cm.), and along the south side a wood-stain along the edge of the gravel floor with two stake holes (one with the pointed end of a timber stake poorly preserved). One foot (30 cm.) south of the stake holes was a gully 1 ft. 6 in. (46 cm.) wide and up to 1 ft. 3 in. (38 cm.) deep (see section, Fig. 11c) filled with grey loam (4) and gravelly clay (5) with the poorly-preserved end of a vertical stake; spreads of ash (1), charcoal and loam covered the top of the gully. Of the five post-holes and 23 stake-holes recorded beside the hut, most of the post-holes and perhaps five of the stake-holes may have belonged to the walls of the hut, but formed no clear pattern. (This area was excavated in two trenches, and the records do not make explicit how the features in each were found to be related when the baulk between them was removed.) No finds.

Pit D20: (i) Depth unknown, dug to 1 ft. 6 in. (46 cm.) and augured to 6 ft. 6 in. (1.98 m.); filled with dark-brown loam. No finds.

Hollow or Post-hole D21: (i) depth 6 in. (15 cm.) into natural loam, not cut into gravel; filled with dark-brown loam and covered by later occupation layers. No finds.

Pit D22: (iv) Stone-lined cess-pit. Pottery: mid-17th century.

Cess-pit D-: (iv) Large stone cellar or cess-pit in the centre of area D, with a brick vault, 19th-century.

Pit E1: (?) Depth 1 ft. 9 in. (53 cm.); filled with layers of loam and charcoal, with charcoal down sides and over bottom, perhaps from lining. Nearby were a post-hole and a stake-hole. Small finds: nail (not illustrated).

Pit E2: (iii) Depth 3 ft. 6 in. (1.07 m.); filled with dark-brown gravelly loam and charcoal. Pottery: mid-12th century.

Pit G1a: (iii) Depth unknown, filled with brown gravelly loam with small stones, possibly lined; cut by G1b. Pottery: 12th century.

Pit G1b: (iii) Depth unknown, dug to 3 ft. 6 in. (1.07 m.); filled with dark slimy loam and charcoal; cuts G1a and G2. Pottery: late 12th century (see below, and Fig. 13.13-14). Small finds: knife (Fig. 12.10).

Pit G2: (ii) Depth unknown, dug to 3 ft. (91 cm.); filled with layers of brown gravelly loam, cut by G1b and G3. Pottery mid-11th century (see below, and Fig. 13.12).

Pit G3: (iii) Depth unknown; filled with dark brown loam; cuts G2. Pottery: late 12th century.

Pit G4: (iii) Depth 2 ft. 9 in. (84 cm.); filled with stones and loam, containing tile and a group of money-boxes of the late 15th or early 16th century (see below for description, and Fig. 14.1-9).

Pit G5: (ii) Depth 6 ft. 8 in. (2.03 m.); filled with dark greenish-brown slightly gravelly loam; elongated in plan and with curved bottom; cut by G4. Pottery: 11th to 12th century. Small finds: nail (Fig. 12.9)

Pit G6: (i) Depth unknown, dug to 1 ft. 4 in. (41 cm.); filled with dark-brown loam with charcoal. Pottery: 9th to early 11th century.

Well G-: (iv) Stone-lined well, full of earth and stones, with much early 19th-century pottery.

Pit H1: not investigated.

Pits H2: (ii) Several intersecting pits, not fully investigated. Pottery: early to mid-11th century.

Pit H3: (iii) Dug to 4 ft. 4 in. (1.33 m.). Pottery: 13th to 14th century.

Pit H4: (iii) Stone-lined cess-pit, depth 9 ft. 6 in. (2.9 m.); filled with brown gravelly loam. Pottery: early 13th century.

Pit H5: (ii) Not fully investigated. Pottery: early to mid 11th century.

Pit H6: (iii) Depth 9 ft. 6 in. (2.9 m.), dug to 7 ft. 6 in. (2.29 m.); filled with brown gravelly loam; cuts several pits in H7 complex. Pottery: late 12th to early 13th century.

Pits H7: (iii) Several intersecting pits, not fully investigated. Pottery: late 12th to early 13th century.

Small finds (Fig. 12) By Martin Henig

Flint (1, not illustrated)

Broken fragment of a struck flake, from red loam topsoil in baulk between trenches at front of area D. (Bag 192).

Spindle whorl (2)

Fine-grained dark stone: diameter 35 mm., height 17 mm. From cellar pit B1, probably Layer 10, mid-11th century. (Bag 190.). A common type, compare examples from St. Aldate's and one of 'fine white clay' from 126 High Street.⁴⁹

Comb (3)

Tooth-plate of antler from a double-sided composite comb, with coarse teeth on one side and fine on the other. Half a rivet-hole on one edge. Cellar-pit B16, possibly 11th century (Bag 179). Double-sided composite combs were current from the Roman period until the early middle ages, and precise dating on the tooth-plates alone is impossible.⁵⁰

Iron nails (4, 5 & 9)

4.: Pit B6b, below cellar pit B1, 10th to 11th century. (Bag 181A).

5: Cellar pit B1, Layer 10, mid-11th century (Bag 38A).

9: Pit G5, 11th to 12th century (Bag 111).

Iron knives (6-8, 10 & 11)

6: Cellar pit B1, Layer 11, mid-11th century (Bag 44A).

7: Cellar pit B1, probably Layer 10 (with 11th-century pottery).

8: Cellar pit B1, upper layers, probably mid-11th century (Bag 213).

10: Pit G1, probably 12th century (Bag 143).

11: Cellar pit B1, Layers 5-10, mid-11th century (Bag 90).

⁴⁹ St. Aldate's, 152, Fig. 33.6; 126 High Street, 303, Fig. 21.3.

⁵⁰ A. MacGregor, *Bone Antler Ivory & Horn* (1985), 81-2.

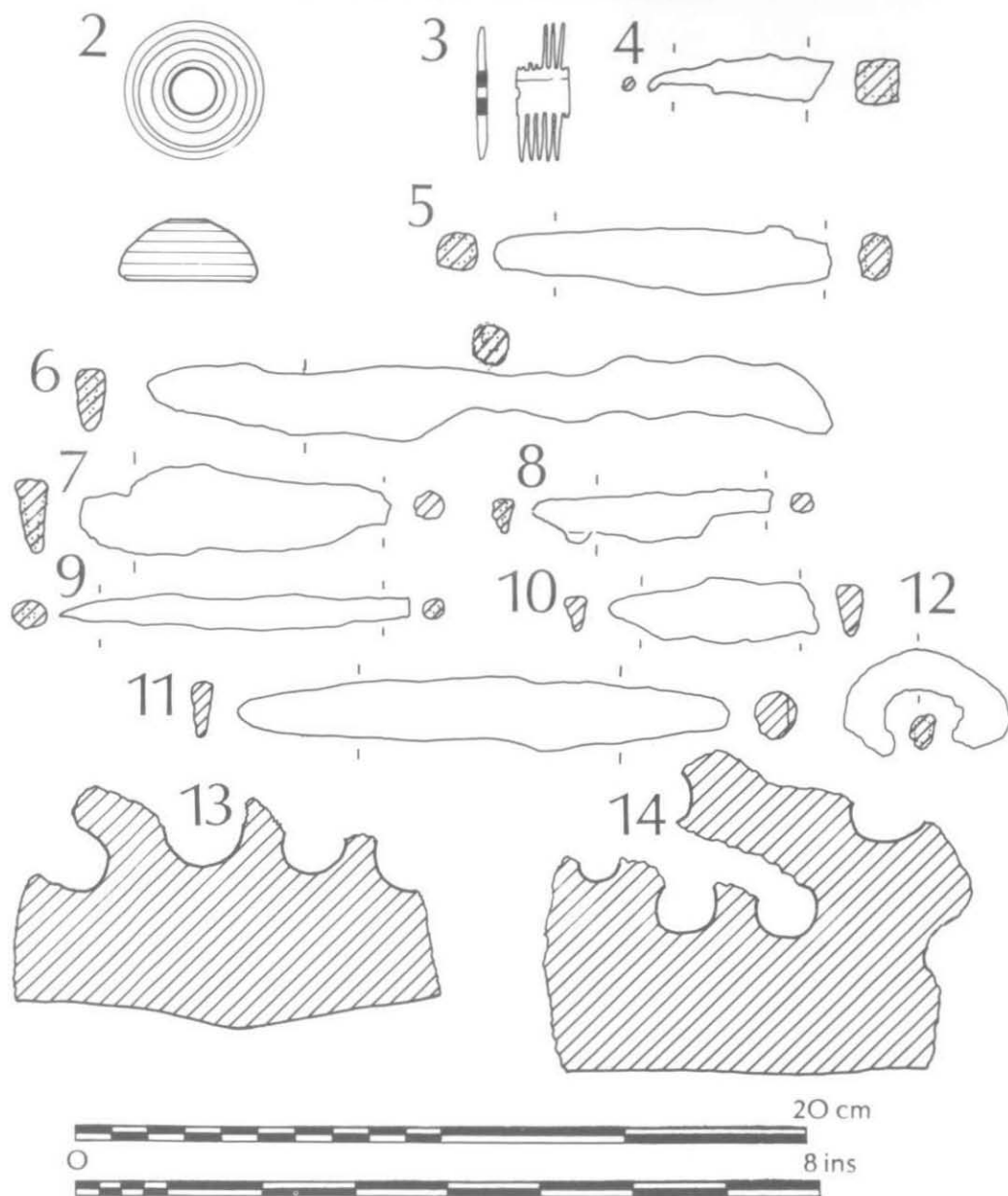


Fig. 12. 55-58 Cornmarket: Small finds (Scale 1:2)

Iron Buckle (12)

From Pit D14, 10th to 11th century (Bag 178).

The iron finds are poorly preserved, but for similar types, see examples from Logic Lane.⁵¹

Daub (13-14)

A large quantity of burnt daub came from Pit A1, with 10th-century pottery. Two representative pieces are illustrated here, with wattles of $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (13-20 mm.) diameter, often placed at angle as if in woven frame. The daub is up to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (83 mm.) thick, with smooth surface on one side. Probably from a building, but possibly from an oven or chimney lining.⁵²

The Coin (not illustrated)

Penny of Æthelred II, first hand type (c.979×985), corroded and fragmentary mint uncertain. Most likely to have been lost before c.991 A.D.⁵³ From upper levels of cellar-pit B1, apparently Layer 4.

Pottery (Figs. 13 & 14) By Maureen Mellor.

Of particular interest was the ceramic assemblage from the cellar-pit B1. Sherds from other features, notably C7, G2 and residual sherds in G1 suggest that the site was at the hub of commercial activity during the first half of the 11th century. A spouted bowl from G1b (Fig. 13 No. 13) is unparalleled from recent excavations.

The main fill of cellar-pit B1

The surviving pottery from this assemblage only includes rimsherds, base sherds and distinctive decorative bodysherds, the remaining bodysherds having apparently been discarded at some time prior to the writers' analysis. The available pottery indicates that wheel-thrown St. Neots-type ware (Fabric R, Group IA)⁵⁴ was the dominant fabric type, and includes a lamp (Fig. 13 No. 3) whose style is rare in Oxford. Local hand-made types were also Oxford Early Medieval Ware (Fabric AC, Group IB) which includes the earliest occurrence of spouted cooking pots (Fig. 13 No. 4), other calcareous-tempered types (Fabric BR & BS) and flint-tempered types (Fabric BF, Group II). These can be paralleled at the All Saints' Church cellar-pit (F75)⁵⁵ and are not found earlier in the ceramic sequence at that site.

The regional and continental imports from this site are now missing, but some were drawn in 1977 and these include some which parallel those from the same cellar-pit at All Saints' Church, namely Pingsdorf (Fig. 13 No. 2) and Pas de Calais (Fig. 13 Nos. 7, 8 & 14) types (Fabrics BV & T, Group III).⁵⁶ The dense sandy bodysherds with applied thumb-pressed strips (Fig. 13 Nos. 11 & 12) from C7 and G1 cannot be paralleled from recent excavations and may represent regional imports from East Anglia, or possibly continental imports.

The dating of the infill of the cellar-pit at All Saints' Church, from which the date of the infill of cellar-pit B1 on the present site is inferred, is broadly based on three groups from All Saints' Church:

- a radio-carbon date 993 ± 77 A.D. (HAR 419) which pre-dates the cellar-pit F75.
- a coin of Edward the Confessor, minted 1042-1044 A.D.
- the building of the church by at least 1122 A.D.

One other externally dated group is also relevant to the dating of the pottery from the cellar-pit B1, that from Oxford Castle, where the pottery assemblages included Oxford Early Medieval Ware (Fabric AC, Group IB) and were sealed beneath the castle mound dating to c.1070 A.D.⁵⁷ The present site adds yet another date, with the coin of Æthelred II (of c.979×85, see above), which is likely to have been lost soon after then.

The variety and range of pottery from the cellar-pits on both sites lends some support to the idea that these features were in use for a comparatively short period and that their demise occurred at about the same time, in the middle of the 11th century. The uppermost fill of the cellar-pit must represent a subsidence some four or five generations after the cellar was infilled.

Descriptions (Fig. 13)*From Cellar-pit B1*

- Cooking-pot rim (Fabric ZZ, Group III, possibly continental import). B1, Layer 4. Missing 1984.
- Red-painted sherd, probably from a pitcher (Fabric BV, Group III - Pingsdorf type), as sherds from All Saints' Church (F75) and 31-34 Church Street.⁵⁸ B1, Layer 4. Missing 1984.

⁵¹ F. Radcliffe, 'Excavations at Logic Lane', *Oxoniensia*, xxvi-vii (1961-2), 62 Fig. 15.

⁵² See *Clarendon Hotel*, 75-8, Fig. 23a, and similar pieces from 44-46 Cornmarket, *Oxoniensia*, xxxvi (1971), pl. vib.

⁵³ J. D. A. Thompson, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Anglo-Saxon Pennies* (1976), pl. xviii No. 453; information Dr. Michael Metcalf.

⁵⁴ Descriptions use the classification set out in previous reports: *St. Aldate's*, 111-12; *The Hamel*, 160-1 (1 E06) and *St. Ebbe's*.

⁵⁵ M. Mellor in *All Saints'*.

⁵⁶ M. Mellor, 'Late Saxon Pottery from Oxfordshire - Evidence and Speculation!', *Medieval Ceramics* 4 (1980), 25.

⁵⁷ T. G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle, 1965-73', *Oxoniensia*, xli (1976), 255-66.

⁵⁸ 'Excavations in St. Ebbe's, Oxford 1967-76, Part I', *Oxoniensia*, forthcoming.

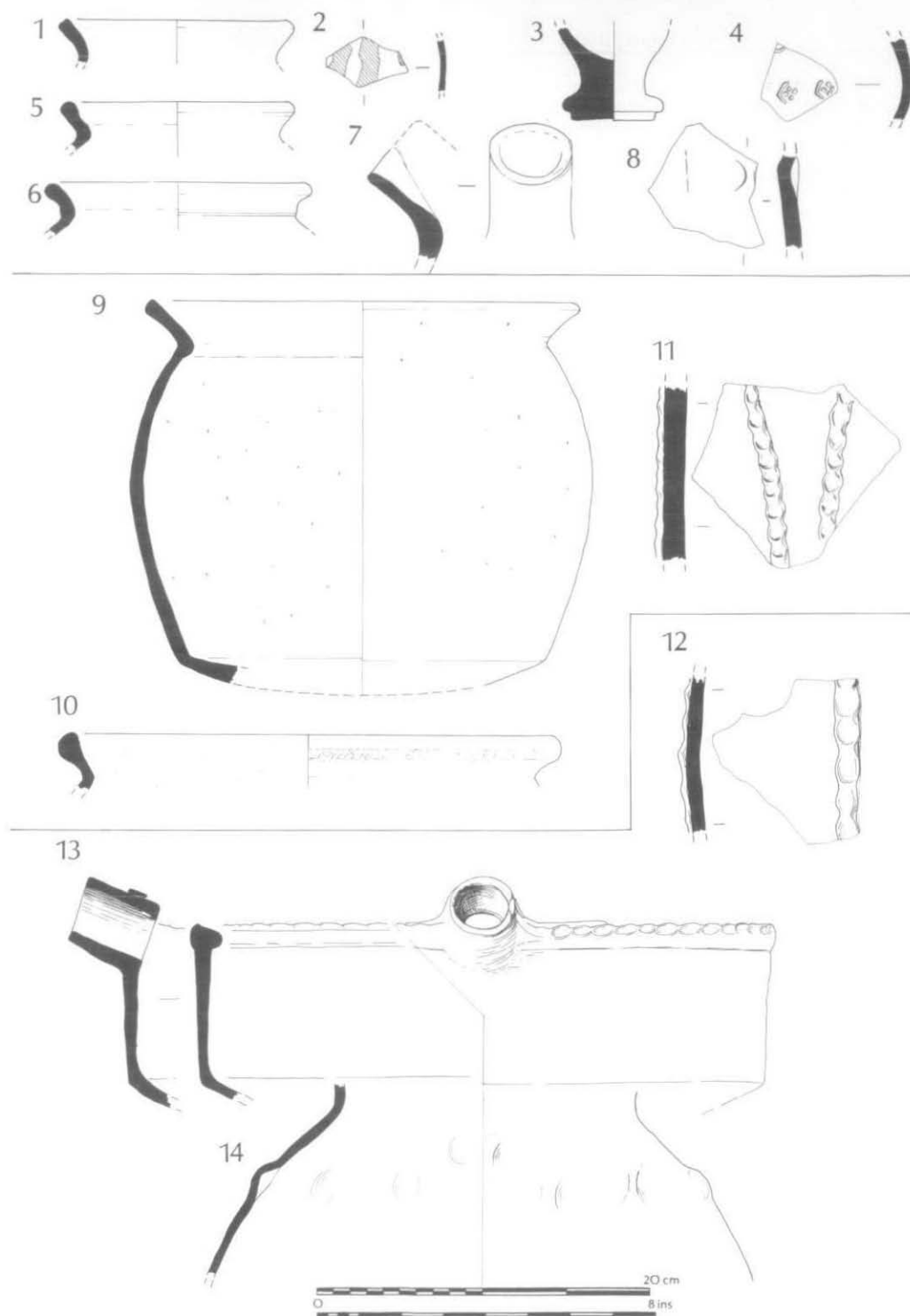


Fig. 13. 55-58 Cornmarket: Late Saxon and Medieval Pottery. 1. PB1/4/ZZ; 2. PB1/4/BV; 3. PB1/5-12/R; 4. PB1/5-12/AC; 5. PB1/5-12/ZZ; 6. PB1/5-12/ZZ; 7. PB1/5-12/T; 8. PB1/5-12/T; 9. PC7/0/B; 10. PC7/0/B; 11. PC7/0/ZZ; 12. PG2/0/ZZ; 13. PG1b/0/Y; 14. PG1/0/T. (Scale 1:4)

3. Lamp (Fabric R, Group IA, St Neots type). B1, Layers 5-12. Surviving height 55 mm. (originally c.70 mm.). Lamps of this type are discussed by Jope, and this specimen is intermediate between one with a tall pedestal, from the Town Hall, and a simple bowl on a low base, as from St. Mary's Entry.³⁹
4. Stamped sherd, probably from a spouted cooking pot (Fabric AC, Group IB, Oxford Early Medieval Ware). B1, Layers 5-12.
5. Cooking-pot rim (Fabric ZZ, Group III, possibly a continental import). B1, Layers 5-12. Missing 1984.
6. Cooking-pot rim (Fabric ZZ, Group III, possibly a continental import). B1, Layers 5-12. Missing 1984.
7. Tubular spout, probably from a pitcher (Fabric T, Group III, Pas de Calais type), as examples from All Saints' Church (F75). B1, Layers 5-12. Missing 1984.
8. Boss decorated sherd, probably from similar pitcher as No. 7 (Fabric T, Group III, Pas de Calais). B1, Layers 5-12. Missing 1984.

From Well or Pit C7

9. Cooking-pot (Fabric B, Group IA, Oxford Late Saxon Ware). C7.
10. Cooking-pot decorated with triangular rouletting (Fabric B, Group IA, Oxford Late Saxon Ware). Parallels for the style of decoration on this fabric came from All Saints' Church (Fig. xi no. 16),⁴⁵ in phase 2b, dated to early in the 11th century. C7.
11. Sherd with applied finger-pressed decoration (Fabric ZZ, Group III, possible continental import or East Anglian type). C7. Missing 1984.

From Pit G2

12. Sherd with applied thumb-pressed decoration (Fabric ZZ, Group III, possible continental import or East Anglian type). G2.

From Pits G1a-b

13. Bowl with tubular spout, and thumb-pressed decoration on the rim, partially glazed light green internally (Fabric Y, Group III, Oxford Medieval Ware). G1b.
14. Body sherd with bossed decoration, probably from a pitcher (Fabric T, Group III, Pas de Calais type); see No. 7 and parallels from All Saints' Church (F75). Residual mid 11th-century type, G1. Missing 1984.

Money Boxes from Pit G4 (Fig. 14)

Such an assemblage is unparalleled from recent excavations in Oxford, and indeed individual money boxes from recent local excavations are very rare. These money boxes were made in at least two distinct production centres, Brill in Buckinghamshire (Fig. 14 Nos 1-6) and Surrey (Fig. 14 Nos. 7-9). The latter include two fabric types which may indicate two different sources. Surrey-type pottery in Oxford usually indicates a 15th- to 16th-century date, but these are more likely to belong to the 16th century.⁶⁰

1. Small money box, conical in shape, upper part partially glazed mottled green (Fabric AP, Group III, a Brill type).
2. Small money box with flat-topped knob, glazed mottled green (Fabric AM, Group III, Oxford Late Medieval Ware, a Brill type).
3. Money box with flat-topped knob, upper part partially glazed mottled green (Fabric AM, Group III, Oxford Late Medieval Ware, a Brill type).
4. Large money box with flat topped knob, partially glazed mottled green (Fabric AM, Group III, Oxford Late Medieval Ware, a Brill type).
5. Money box with sculptured knob, upper part partially glazed mottled green (Fabric AM, Group III, Oxford Late Medieval Ware, a Brill type).
6. Small money box with knob, upper part partially glazed light green (Fabric ZZ, Group III, possibly over-fired Brill type).
7. Money box with 'acorn' knob, upper part partially glazed rich mottled green (Fabric BN, a Tudor Green type from Surrey).
8. Money box with an elegant knob, glazed rich mottled green (Fabric ZZ, a probable Surrey type).
9. Money box base glazed rich mottled green (Fabric ZZ, as No. 8, a probable Surrey type).

³⁹ E. M. Jope et al., 'Pottery from a late 12th-Century Well-filling and other Medieval Finds from St. John's College, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xv (1950), 58-9, Fig. 21, Nos. 2-3; *Castle Mound*, 105 and Fig. 35.55-7.

⁶⁰ For the type, see F. W. Holling, 'A Preliminary Note on the Pottery Industry of the Hampshire-Surrey Border', *Surrey Archaeol. Coll.* lxxviii (1971), 81-2, Fig. 5, Q (similar, though not identical to Fig. 14.9); for the date of the kilns producing them see *idem.*, 'Reflections on Tudor Green', *Post-Medieval Archaeol.* xi (1977), 61-6, Fig. 1.9. Two examples in the Ashmolean Museum, from the Civet Cat, 7 Cornmarket (1909.1177) and Brasenose New Building (1887.3035) are of Surrey and Brill types respectively. We are grateful to John Ashdown for commenting on the date of the Surrey examples.

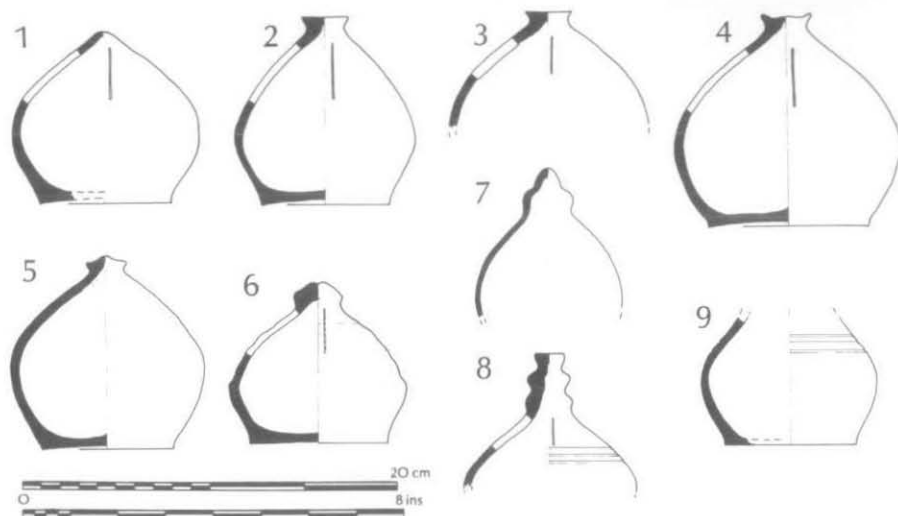


Fig. 14. 55-58 Cornmarket: 16th-century money-boxes from Pit G4. 1. PG4/0/AP; 2. PG4/0/AM; 3. PG4/0/AM; 4. PG4/0/AM; 5. PG4/0/AM; 6. PG4/0/ZZ; 7. PG4/0/BN; 8. PG4/0/ZZ; 9. PG4/0/ZZ. (Scale 1:4)

III. 23-26 QUEEN STREET AND 1-8 ST. EBBE'S STREET (CITY CHAMBERS)

The excavation preceded development by Oxford City Council to build a large new office block beside the existing City Chambers, with shops on the ground floor. The supervisor was Brian K. Davison, then a research student in Belfast. He was engaged, with four or five paid labourers, from March to May 1960 by the newly established Oxford Excavation Committee, although all the arrangements were made, as before, by the Ashmolean Museum. Funds were provided by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, with additional contributions from Oxford City Council, colleges and local firms.

The old houses, mostly 17th- and 18th-century, had been demolished, leaving several shallow cellars, mostly along the Queen Street frontage. These were cleaned out and used as excavation areas A to E, so that as large an area as possible of early deposit could be examined very cheaply. Areas A and B were below Nos. 24-5 Queen Street, area C below No. 23, and areas D and E below Nos. 2 and 6 St. Ebbe's Street. In retrospect, we may regret that we did not take the opportunity to remove one of the cellar side-walls to expose the medieval and later levels between the early deposits and the surface to discover, or at least investigate, the date of the earliest stone walls on the site. Similarly, for reasons of safety, it was not possible to dig too close to the north end and investigate the relationship of the earliest features to the street levels.

The new building was constructed without a basement above a series of east-west trench footings. Mr. Davison returned from Belfast in September 1960 to watch these trenches being dug and to work on the finds from his excavation. This watching-brief was meticulously carried out but produced, in practice, almost no worthwhile information. The bulk of the ancient pits and archaeological levels on this site still remain below the City Offices.

Site History (Fig. 15)

The site is first recorded in the hands of a wealthy burgess, Geoffrey son of Durand, who gave it to Oseney Abbey on his deathbed in 1185×7; the charter calls it 'my bakehouse or

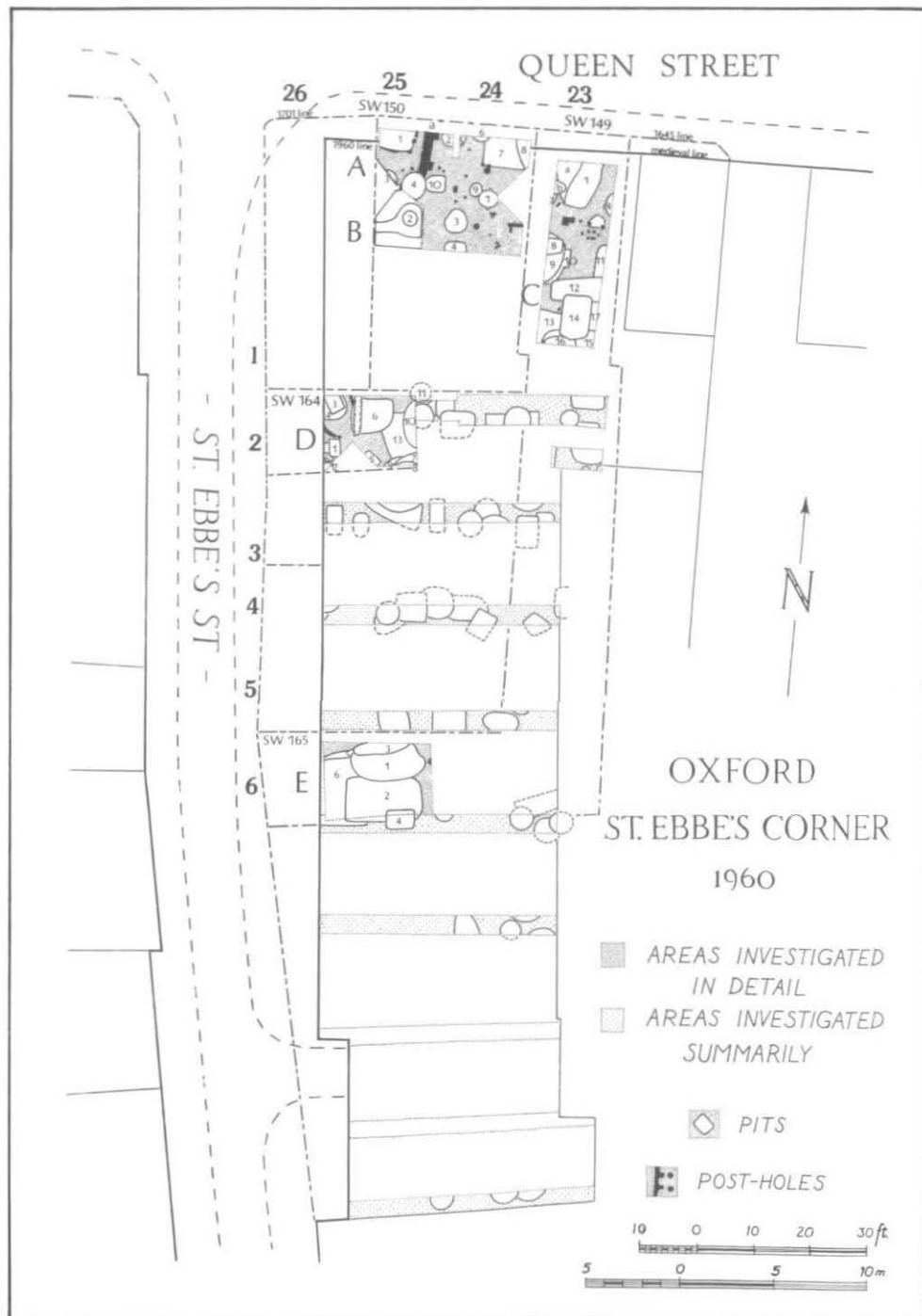


Fig. 15. 23-26 Queen Street/1-8 St. Ebbe's: Plan of site, with principal tenements (and references to Salter's *Survey of South-West Ward*), and features excavated and observed in 1960. Bold numbers refer to modern street numbering.

forge (*furnum*) which is in the town of Oxford, in front of St. Peter's Church, with five messuages that belong to it.⁶¹ Geoffrey was the head of a leading and long-established Oxford family who seem to have lived in a great town-house (now Frewin Hall) a hundred yards from the Queen Street site, where a large Norman vaulted basement has lately been recognised.⁶²

The tenurial origins of the site are revealed by a clause in Geoffrey's charter reserving service to the lord of *Edintone*, namely 10d. yearly. An accompanying 'grant' of the site by Ralph Murdac to Geoffrey's son Peter, which describes it as 'all my land in Oxford which is opposite the church of St. Peter at the Castle with the *furnum* and all appurtenances which his father held of my predecessors',⁶³ must post-date the grant to Oseney and was seemingly issued to alter the chief rent from 10d. to 1 lb. of cumin. Murdac held the very large manor of Deddington, 16 miles to the north of Oxford, which he had successfully claimed between about 1176 and 1186 as nephew and heir of William de Chesney;⁶⁴ it is thus clear that *Edintone* in Geoffrey's charter is a corruption of 'Deddington', and that the St. Peter's tenement had long been held of Deddington. This may be yet another link between an Oxford tenement and a rural manor, perhaps extending back before the Conquest. In 1086 Odo of Bayeux, lord of Deddington, also had 18 houses in Oxford.⁶⁵

Soon after acquiring the site Oseney leased it, with several others, to John Kepeharm, father-in-law of Peter son of Geoffrey.⁶⁶ Identifying the precise boundaries of such early gifts to monasteries is seldom easy. In some cases the donor was splitting up a property among several beneficiaries; in others the beneficiary divided up and alienated plots from the original site. And in some cases the monastic house acquired or already owned adjoining plots and threw them together. The late medieval officials of Oseney believed that the gift of 1185×7 consisted only of Nos. 24–26 Queen Street, and that the Abbey acquired the rest of the site in St. Ebbe's Street later; it is just as likely that the Abbey acquired and later developed a large site, perhaps laying out St. Ebbe's Street across it, and then sold off most of the plots, acquiring some of them again later by the chances of urban property-investment or bequest.

As well as the main Oseney holding, SW (150) and (164), the site comprised several smaller properties.⁶⁷ On the east was a narrow plot (23 Queen Street: SW (149)) which paid rent to Geoffrey's heirs in the 14th century and may once have been part of the larger plot, though the excavated pits (such as C9) seem to ignore this division. From at least the late 14th century this eastern tenement was connected with the tenement to the south of the Oseney holding (6 St. Ebbe's: SW (165)); the two were usually held together, and in 1665 the Queen Street end was an Inn and the St. Ebbe's part its back gate.⁶⁸ To the south of this, in St. Ebbe's parish, was another property (7 & 8 St. Ebbe's: SW (59)) of which little is known.

For the Oseney holding, rentals and leases provide a wealth of detailed information about the site. The southern part (2–5 St. Ebbe's: SW (164)) was given to Oseney in 1265/6

⁶¹ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 81 (606).

⁶² For this family and its house, see *Frewin Hall*, 48–64.

⁶³ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 81 (607).

⁶⁴ *V.C.H. Oxon.* xi, 91; R. J. Ivens, 'Deddington Castle, Oxfordshire, and the English Honour of Odo of Bayeux', *Oxoniensia* xlix (1984). Murdac's ancestors had also held Broughton Poggs (Oxon.) and another estate near Andover (Hants.): *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 386, 42; *D.B.Oxon.* 50.1 (f.160b); *ibid.*, *Hampshire*, 68.10 (f.49c).

⁶⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* i, 404, 396.

⁶⁶ *Cart. Osen.* i, 377 (436).

⁶⁷ See Salter, *Survey* ii for these tenements.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, and *Cart. Osen.* iii, 304.

by Roger of Cumnor,⁶⁹ and was treated separately in the rentals. It was empty by 1378 when it was let, on a building lease, as a plot 57 ft. by 44 ft. (17.4 × 13.4 m.) to be rebuilt as three shops and an entry; after this it was held by between two and four tenants. Geoffrey son of Durand's tenement (24-26 Queen Street & 1 St. Ebbe's: SW (150)) was variously divided. In c.1300 it was a corner house with another house to its south. By 1317 there was a solar in the corner house, and by 1387 a cellar. Rebuilding had probably taken place by 1449 when there were two cottages, a tenement with a cellar, and a solar (described as being 'on the corner' in 1498). On Queen Street there were two selds in c.1300, with a solar by 1317, becoming two cellars and a solar in 1387, and two cottages with solars in 1449.⁷⁰

The rentals give many names of tenants in the 14th and 15th centuries, indicating a rapid turnover of tenancies, though it is never possible to be sure whether investors or occupiers are being named. However, the frequent mention of bakers and cooks fits with what is known of Queen Street from other sources, with its brewhouses and cookshops; retrospectively, it may also suggest that Geoffrey son of Durand's *furnum* was a bread-oven rather than a forge.

After 1546, when the Oseney land passed to Christ Church, the college usually leased it to an investor to sublet as six cottages, or a tenement with five cottages.⁷¹ It was probably rebuilt in 1645 after the great fire of 1644, for the City leasebooks record an encroachment of 2 ft. 9 ins. into Queen Street.⁷² Whilst the college leases incidentally record the usual turnover of subtenants, the leaseholders were more stable, with one family holding the lease from the 1630s to the 1730s. Tenants on the site in 1714 comprised two cordwainers, two smiths, a labourer, a musician and two widows.⁷³ By the 1760s the cornermost house (26 Queen Street) was the Hind's Head and most of the houses in the street seem to have been beer-houses at some time in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁷⁴ The same pattern of leases and subletting continued into the 19th century, and no doubt some rebuilding took place between 1801 and 1826 when the lessee was the well-known local builder William Fisher, who rebuilt St. Ebbe's church and developed property in the area to the south.⁷⁵

The buildings on the site were investigated by R. W. McDowall for the R.C.H.M. in 1937.⁷⁶ No. 23 Queen Street, the Balloon Inn in the 19th century, was probably of 18th-century date, with a single bay window rising the full height of the 3-storey elevation. Nos. 24-26, together with Nos. 1-2 St. Ebbe's Street, were timber-framed. They were rebuilt in 1645 after the fire, and completely rebuilt again in the early 18th century with the characteristic large diagonally-set stacks of that period; the 17th-century framing was perhaps re-used. Nos. 3-5 St. Ebbe's, probably mid-17th century, were timber-framed in two storeys, with attics lit by large dormers; No. 5 was originally jettied at first-floor level. The shop-fronts were all modern, and sash windows had been inserted on the upper floors. The corner house (No. 26 Queen Street) was demolished in about 1939, and the remainder early in 1960 after further survey by W. A. Pantin.

⁶⁹ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 77 (602).

⁷⁰ *Cart. Osen.* iii, rentals *passim*; the tenements may easily be identified, being the first in the parish of St. Peter in the Bailey, the rent-collector passing up St. Ebbe's and then eastwards along Queen Street.

⁷¹ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 32-3, 86-8.

⁷² *Oxford City Prop.*, 204.

⁷³ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 87.

⁷⁴ Salter, *Survey* ii, 110-20, 136-44.

⁷⁵ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 88 and plan of site in 1829 at 598; H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (1978), 308; R. J. Morris 'The Friars and Paradise', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvi (1971) esp. 82-7.

⁷⁶ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Oxford* (1939), Nos. 130-35, and survey files held in the National Monuments Record.

*The Archaeological Sequence**i. Primary features, 10th to 11th centuries. (Figs. 16a, 17-19)*

The earliest occupation on the site consisted of a small number of domestic structures and associated features which had mostly been removed by later phases. The most significant part, on the street front, could not be fully investigated for reasons of safety. Prior removal of all layers down to the red-brown natural topsoil meant that no levels survived from which the features had been cut, and there were no floor or occupation layers.

In areas A-B the earliest features may be pit B3, with a wattle matting near its base and 10th-century pottery (also loomweights and a quern fragment). One cellar-pit, A1 in the north-west corner, was revealed by auguring to be 8 ft. 6 in. by 6 ft. 6 in. (2.6×2 m.) and at least 5 ft. (1.52 m.) deep, but only part was excavated. It was lined with timber, as indicated by slots and recesses round the south and east sides (no timbers remained), and possibly lined with clay. Pottery suggests that it was filled in the early to mid 11th century; a whetstone was also found in it. Nearby, and perhaps related to it, was a slightly curved sleeper-trench, with post impressions on its east side. No remnants of timber or other finds were made in it, and it was filled with clean red loam topsoil. It may not have extended much beyond the trench to the north, and at the south it was cut by pit A4.

A number of post-holes, of varied size (mostly 9 in. by 5 in. (23×13 cm.) and 10 in. (25 cm.) deep, and a few larger ones) and forming no clear pattern, may belong to this phase, along with undated pits A3, A5, A9 and B1. The latter, possibly an unfinished well, had two shallow post-impressions on opposite sides. The well A4 was a secondary feature, filled probably on a single occasion and containing pottery of the early to mid-11th century, an iron hook and daub. Other features, towards the street front, include the possible well A2 (with mid 11th-century pottery) and a possible sunken hut A7. This had rectangular sides and was about 1 ft (30 cm.) deep (but with a deeper part in the centre - see section Fig. 17), some 7 ft. (2.13 m.) north-south and at least 8 ft. (2.44 m.) east-west, and with one or more post-holes probably associated with its south-west corner. One sherd (now lost) was of 11th-century date.

In cellar C towards the north end was a large, shallow pit Ca, which could not be properly investigated but may have been a hut (it produced no finds). Cutting this was a large irregular rectangle, pit C1, at least 10 ft. (3.05 m.) deep, either a well or cess-pit, unlined and with slumped sides. It contained mid 11th-century pottery, a quern fragment and some daub. Perhaps slightly earlier was the possible well C4, with a post impression at the side (like those of B4), and with pottery of the 10th to early 11th centuries. Three large post-holes, up to 10 in. (25 cm.) in diameter, and of varied depth (two having adjacent hollows) stood in line, perhaps marking a division. To the south of this was a group of stake holes arranged in formation. The stakes were 4 in. (10 cm.) in diameter, with squared points driven some 2 ft. (61 cm.) into the gravel.

Further south were two pits with pottery of the mid-11th century: C10, a deep shaft (?well) with a shallow extension, cut by a rubbish pit C9. The latter also produced a nail, a fragment of Roman brick, and daub. Beyond this again was a large unlined pit C13, at least 6 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in. (1.83×1.12 m.) and 8 ft. 6 in. (2.6 m.) deep, with a post-hole or slot in its north side (see section Fig. 18). Pottery in it was of mid to late 11th-century date, and it was probably a rubbish pit (it contained burnt material, probably from a hearth). To its east, the fragmentary pit C17, cut by all adjacent features, may belong to this phase.

In cellar D three rubbish pits, D2, D3 and D4, contained pottery of the 10th to mid 11th century, and pit D1 of the early to mid 11th century, whilst the large rectilinear (?cess) pit D13 was filled in the late 11th century. Cellar E had two early pits, E5 with no finds, cut by E6, a possible cellar-pit, at least 11 ft. by 5 ft. (3.35×1.52 m.) and 5 ft. 9 in. (1.75 m.) deep, but incompletely defined, and with 11th-century pottery.

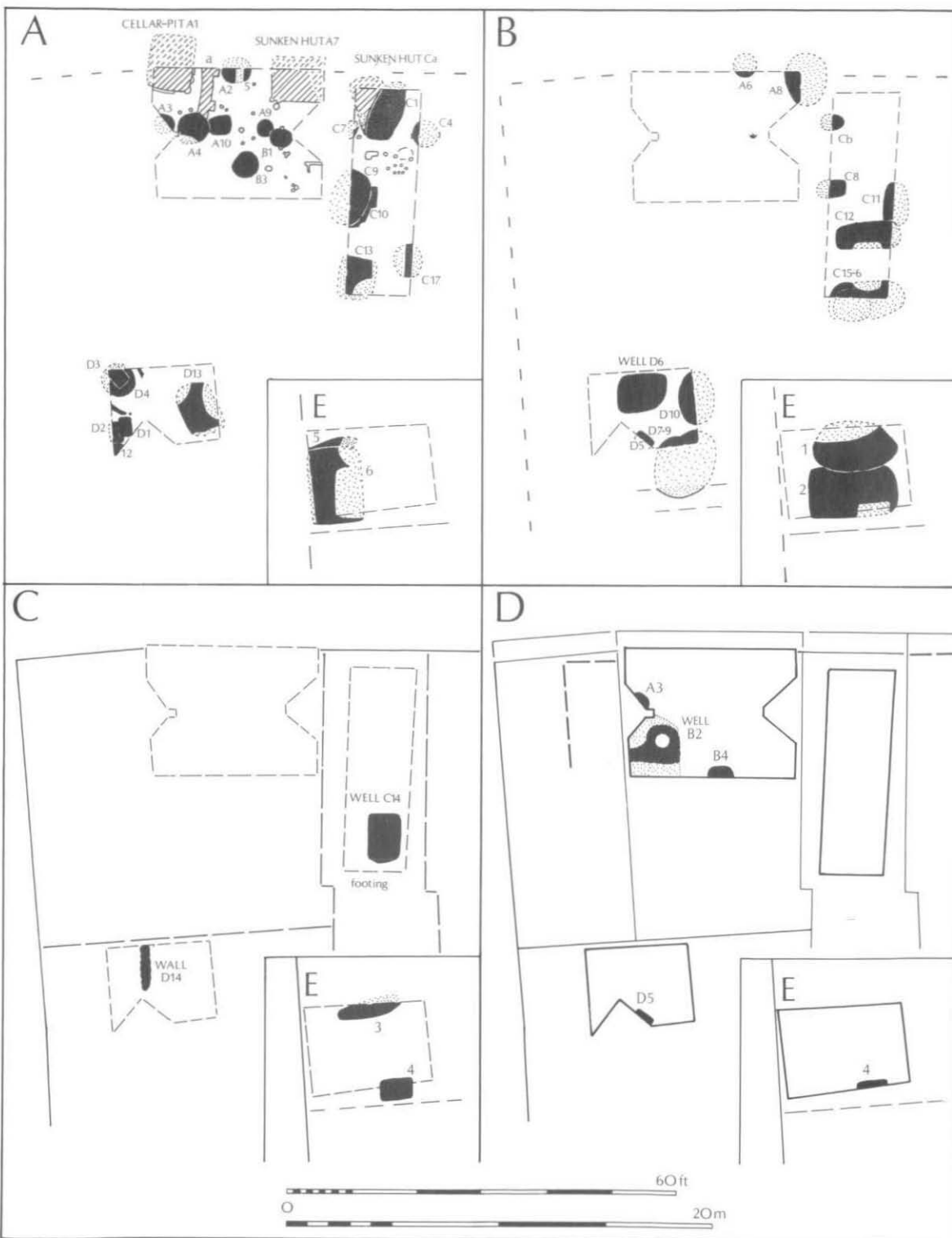


Fig. 16. 23-26 Queen Street/1-8 St. Ebbe's: Phase plans of excavated areas: A. Primary features, 10th to 11th century (Phase i). B. Features of late-11th to 12th century (Phase ii). C. Later medieval features (Phase iii). D. Post-medieval features (Phase iv).

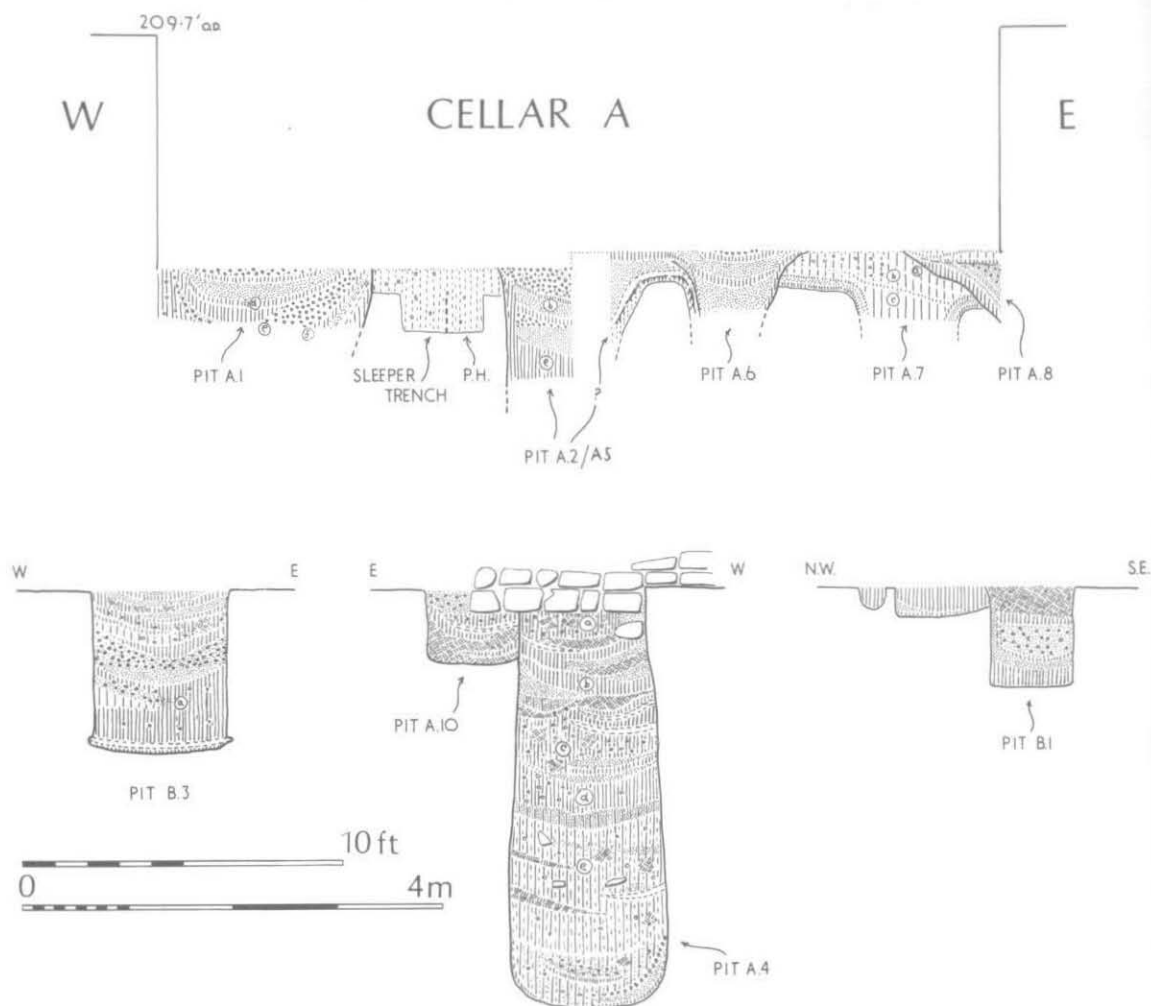


Fig. 17. 23-26 Queen Street/1-8 St. Ebbe's: Sections of features in Cellar A-B.

Although the evidence of association is meagre, it is possible that the structure of this first phase represent three separate domestic units ranged along the street frontage, with their ancillary wells, storage and rubbish pits behind. This might be taken to represent a fairly high density of occupation on the street alone, but against this must be put the possibility that all the structures were themselves ancillary to some much larger building further back on the site. Again, as in Cornmarket, the features extended beyond the medieval frontage to the north, and unless they actually stood in the middle of the street (as market stalls or the later Butchers' Row), the width or alignment of Queen Street must have originally been different at this point.

ii. Late 11th to 12th centuries (Fig. 16b, 17-19)

In cellar A-B two pits, A6 and A8, whilst producing no pottery, cut through pit A7, and thus may be of the 11th or 12th century. Apart from these two, area A-B must have been covered with occupation layers which were not disturbed by pit-digging. Similarly in cellar

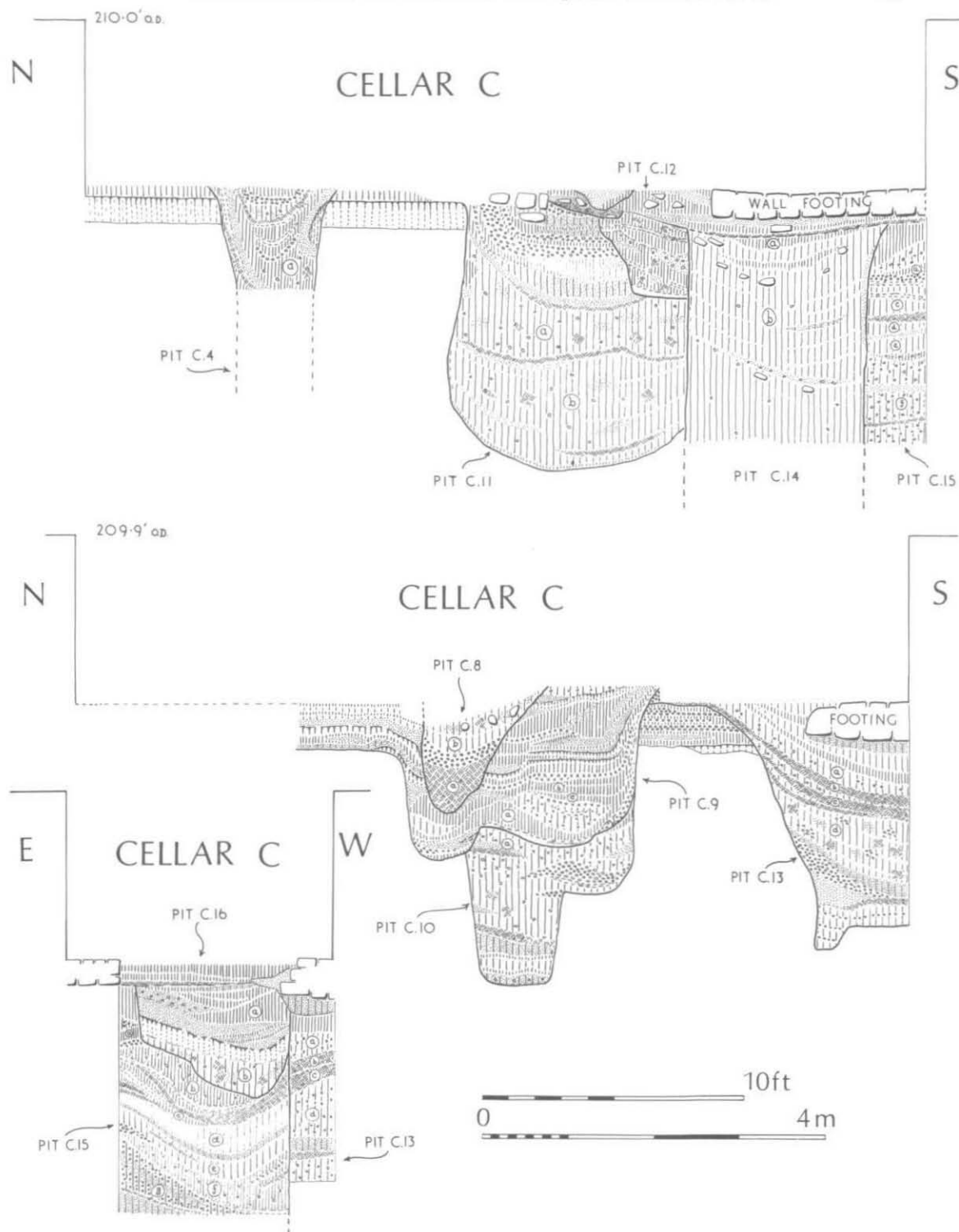


Fig. 18. 23-26 Queen Street/1-8 St. Ebbe's: Sections of features in Cellar C.

C, the small pit Cb cut feature Ca of the previous phase (and could not be dated), but otherwise there was no disturbance at the front of the site. Further back, one small and two larger pits, C8, C11 and C12, were dug and filled during the 12th century, and likewise two rubbish pits C15 and C16 at the south end.

Cellar D contained a complex of pits D7–9, and two large pits D6 and D10, all with 12th-century pottery. Two rubbish pits in cellar E, E1 and E2, occupied most of the trench; in E1 were the corroded fragments of a padlock and key, and a possible crucible (Fabric BW, Group III) was found in E2, with pottery of the mid 11th to mid 12th centuries.

In this phase the exclusion of pit-digging from the front of the site may indicate the first appearance of a continuously built-up street frontage, all positive evidence for which was lacking. Only one of the pits which may belong to this phase (the undated A8) seems to have projected much beyond the street frontage, and it was probably also at this time that the present street line was established. That three pits, A8, C8 and the earlier C9, lay under the property-boundary between two medieval holdings suggests that they may have been separated only in the 12th century or later. A more detailed investigation of the boundary and the systematic dismantling of its stonework was not attempted.

iii. *Later medieval* (Fig. 16c, 17–19)

For this phase the documentary history of the site is more informative than its archaeology. The houses, cellars and shops described in deeds were absent from the excavation, except as areas where no rubbish pits were dug, which now included the frontage along St. Ebbe's Street. In cellar C, wall-footings in the south-east and south-west corners lay below the cellar floor and may have been medieval. They were built of rubble and larger stones, in all some 1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 in. (30–46 cm.) high. A wall-footing in cellar D was perhaps later medieval, and was of irregular construction, with an aligned east face.

Rubbish pits of this phase were few, though many of the finds recovered from salvage work on the contractors' excavations were of the 12th century and later. The large rectangular pit C14, a well or cess-pit, at least 13 ft. (3.96 m.) deep, contained more pottery than all the other features on the site, dating to early in the 13th century. Other finds included a knife-blade, horse-shoe, bronze strap-hook, and much tile — suggesting a builder's tip shot into a disused well. Two rubbish pits without pottery, E3 and E4, were possibly medieval.

iv. *Post-medieval* (Fig. 16d)

The principal feature of this period was the stone walling of the early 18th-century cellars and chimney-stacks, forming the edge of the trenches. A number of pits, A3, D5 and E4, were filled or packed to consolidate the foundations, and pit B4 contained 17th-century pottery. One other feature, the large stone-lined well and stone well-head, B2, seems to have pre-dated the walls of the cellar. It was filled in the 19th century, and finds included an 1860 penny.

Site descriptions

Cellar-pit A1 (Fig. 17) (i) Dug to 2 ft. (61 cm.), augured to 4 ft. 6 in. (1.37 m.); size at least 8 ft. 6 in. by 6 ft. 6 in. (2.6 × 2 m.). Fill of dark-brown loam and gravel; lined with grey loamy clay; corner post-hole and slot in S. side cut 1 ft. (30 cm.) into gravel; square post-hole on E. side slopes sharply out. Pottery: Early to mid 11th century. Small finds: Hone (Fig. 20.1)

Sleeper trench Aa (Fig. 17) (i) Dug 1 ft. (30 cm.) into gravel; vertical sides and flat bottom; two post-holes 1 ft. by 1 ft. 3 in. (30 × 38 cm.) on east side cut to same depth. Fill of clean red loam. No finds.

Well A2 (Fig. 17) (i) Depth min. 5 ft. (1.52 m.). Fill of sand and dark loam. Pottery: Mid 11th century (See Fig. 21.1).

Pit A3 (?i/iv) Depth 2 ft. (61 cm.); vertical sides. Fill of clay and charcoal with packing of mortared stone and brick over. No finds.

Well A4 (Fig. 17) (i) Depth 13 ft. 6 in. (4.11 m.); undercut round bottom. Fill of dark loam with gravel, clay and sand. Cuts Aa and A10. Pottery: Early to mid-11th century (see Fig. 21.2-6). Small finds: Iron hook (Fig. 20.8).

Pit A5 (Fig. 17) (i) Dug to 2 ft. 6 in. (76 cm.), depth unknown; possibly lined. No finds. Presumed part of A2.

Pit A6 (Fig. 17) (ii) Depth unknown. Fill of gravel and dark loam. Pottery: 1 sherd, lost.

Sunken Hut A7 (Fig. 17) (i) Depth c. 1 ft. (30 cm.) into gravel, but centre augured to 4 ft. (1.22 m.); size approx. 7 ft. (2.13 m.) N.-S. and 8 ft. (2.44 m.) E.-W. Fill of sand and gravel; post-hole at S.W. corner filled with dark-brown loam. Pottery: 1 sherd, 11th century (Fig. 21.7).

Pit A8 (Fig. 17) (ii) Dug to 3 ft. (91 cm.), depth and size unknown. Fill of gravel and sand; possible lining of sticky green clay. No finds.

Pit A9 (Fig. 17) (i) Depth 1 ft. (30 cm.). Flat-bottomed. Fill of dark-brown loam and sand. No finds. Cut by B1.

Pit A10 (Fig. 17) (i) Depth 2 ft. (61 cm.); vertical sides, dished bottom. Fill of gravel, dark loam and sticky white clay. No finds. Cut by A4.

Pit B1 (Fig. 17) (i) Depth 3 ft. 3 in. (99 cm.) into gravel; vertical sides, flat bottom; post-holes at N. and S. sides cut 6 in. (15 cm.) into gravel. Fill of burnt red clay, dark loam with charcoal, gravel and sand, sticky dark-brown loam. No finds.

Well B2 (iv) Depth over 14 ft. (4.27 m.); built and lined with stone. Fill of black loam, brown loam and stones. Pottery: lost (see text).

Pit B3 (Fig. 17) (i) Depth 5 ft. 6 in. (1.68 m.). Fill of sticky purple-brown loam; carbonised wattle mat just above bottom, with 2 in. (5 cm.) of fine silty loam beneath. Sides stained green. Pottery: 10th century. Small finds: Quernstone (Fig. 20.2); Loomweights (Fig. 20.4-5).

Pit B4 (iv) Depth 1 ft. 7 in.; shallow sloping sides. Fill of black loam. Pottery: 17th century.

Sunken Hut Ca (i) Depth 6 to 12 in. (15-30 cm.) into gravel. Size unknown. Fill of red sand and dark loam. No finds.

Hollow Cb (ii) Dug 9 in. (23 cm.) into natural loam above gravel, with sloping sides. Fill of grey-green gritty loam. Cut by C6. No finds.

Well C1 (i) Dug to 10 ft. (3.05 m.), depth unknown; weathered sides, possible lining. Filled to 6 ft. (1.83 m.) with dark-brown gravelly loam with clay and sand, and to 10 ft. (3.05 m.) with brown loam with white clay, yellow and red sand and charcoal. Pottery: Mid 11th century. Small finds: Quernstone fragment, not illustrated.

Pit C3 (?) Shallow depression cut 6 in. (15 cm.) into red loam between C1 and C8, truncating the larger post-holes, but cut by the grouped stake-holes. Not on plan. Pottery: Mid 11th to 12th century.

Well C4 (Fig. 18) (i) Dug to 3 ft. (91 cm.) and augured to 6 ft. 6 in. (1.98 m.); vertical sided, possible lining; Post-hole at W. side cut 4 in. (10 cm.) into gravel. Fill of tips of loam, clay and gravel. Pottery: 1 sherd, 10th to early 11th century.

Pit C6 (ii) Shallow scoop cut into gravel at N. end of W. section, cutting Cb. No finds. Not on plan.

Pit C7 (i) Cut 8 in. (20 cm.) into gravel at N. end of W. section; sloping sides; cut by Ca and Cb; filled before C6 dug. Fill of brown gravelly loam. No finds.

Pit C8 (Fig. 18) (ii) Depth c. 2 ft. (61 cm.). Fill of brown gravelly loam with burnt red clay, sand stones and charcoal, brown loam and pebbles, and dark purplish clay. Pottery: Early to mid 12th century.

Pit C9 (Fig. 18) (i) Depth 6 ft. (1.83 m.), size 9 ft. by 3 ft. (2.74 x .92 m.). Fill of laminae of grey ash, charcoal and loam; ash and dark loam. Cuts C10. Pottery: Mid 11th century (see Fig. 21.8-9). Small finds: Iron nail fragment, not illustrated.

Pit C10 (Fig. 18) (i) Depth at least 9 ft. 6 in. (2.9 m.), with ledge at 5 ft. 6 in. (1.68 m.), size at least 6 ft. 6 in. by 4 ft. (1.93 x 1.22 m.). Fill of ash, charcoal and black loam. Pottery: Mid 11th century to early 12th century (probably contaminated from pits C8 and C9).

Pit C11 (Fig. 18) (ii) Depth at least 9 ft. (2.74 m.); sides weathered and undercut. Fill of gravel and loam, clay-loam with ash and charcoal, red-brown loam with sand and red and yellow clay, red-brown loam with tip of sand, purple clay-loam with ash and charcoal. Cut by C12. Pottery: 11th to 12th century.

Pit C12 (Fig. 18) (ii) Depth 3 ft. (92 cm.). Fill of tips of grey loam, burnt clay, gravel and pebbles. Pottery: Second half of 12th century. Small finds: Iron nail fragment, not illustrated.

Pit C13 (Fig. 18) (i) Depth 8 ft. 6 in. (2.59 m.), size at least 6 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in. (1.83 x 1.12 m.). Fill of layers of green-brown loam, grey clay-loam and brown loam, with charcoal, sands and gravel. Pottery: Mid to late 11th century.

Well C14 (Fig. 18) (iii) Dug to 9 ft. (2.74 m.), augured to 13 ft. (3.96 m.), depth unknown. Fill of dark brown loam with thin tips of sand. Pottery: Early 13th century. Small finds: Copper-alloy strap-distributor (Fig. 20.7); iron knife (Fig. 20.10), hasp and possible horse-shoe, not illustrated.

Pit C15 (Fig. 18) (ii) Dug to 8 ft. (2.44 m.), depth unknown. Fill of thin tips of sand, clay, charcoal and loam. Cut by C16. Pottery: Early 12th century.

Pit C16 (Fig. 18) (ii) Dug 3 ft. 6 in. (1.07 m.) into fill of C15. Fill of tips of gravel and dark loam; yellow-brown loam with red clay and charcoal. Pottery: Partly mixed with C15; same date. Small finds: possible spur-fragment, not illustrated.

Pit C17 (i) Cut by pits C12, C14 and C15. Not excavated.

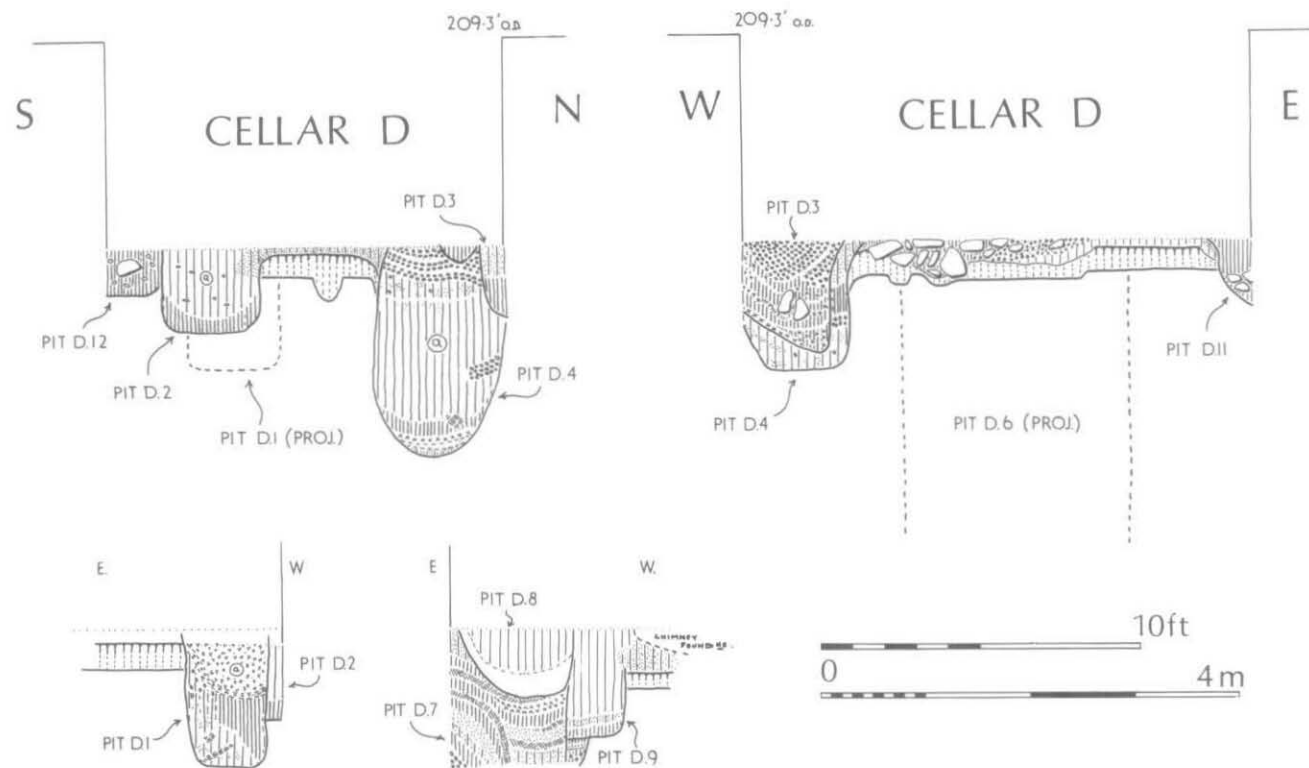


Fig. 19. 23-26 Queen Street/1-8 St. Ebbe's: Sections of features in Cellar D.

Pit D1 (Fig. 19) (i) Depth 3 ft. (91 cm.) into gravel. Fill of ash and brown loam, stained green, and burnt clay. Pottery: Early to mid 11th century.

Pit D2 (Fig. 19) (i) Depth 1 ft. (30 cm.) into gravel; size similar to D1. Fill of brown loam with soft dark loam below. Pottery: 10th to early 11th century.

Pit D3 (Fig. 19) (i) Depth 3 ft. 6 in. (1.07 m.), with pointed bottom. Fill of gravel and layers of ash. Pottery: Mid 11th century.

Pit D4 (Fig. 19) (i) Depth probably 6 ft. (1.83 m.). Fill of red and yellow gravel, dark-grey sandy loam, ash and charcoal. Pottery: 10th to early 11th century.

Pit D5 (ii/iv) Depth 9 in. (23 cm.) into gravel; packed with limestone fragments for foundations. Pottery: Mid 12th century.

Well D6 (Fig. 19) (ii) Dug to 5 ft. (1.52 m.), augured to 9 ft. (2.74 m.); vertical, unlined sides. Fill of dark-brown gravelly loam. Pottery: Late 11th to early 12th century.

Pit D7 (Fig. 19) (ii) Dug to 4 ft. (1.22 m.), size unknown. Fill of loam, ash and clay-loam. Pottery: 12th century.

Pit D8 (Fig. 19) (ii) Small rounded pit dug into top 2 ft. (61 cm.) of D7. Fill of thick layers of pure charcoal. Pottery: mixed with D7.

Pit D9 (Fig. 19) (ii) Not fully investigated, but either a pit with a 1 ft. (30 cm.) ledge in it, or two pits. Fill of loam, with lower tips of sand and gravel. No finds.

Pit D10 (ii) Dug to 3 ft. (91 cm.), augured to 7 ft. (2.13 m.); vertical sides. Fill of black loam. Pottery: 12th century.

Pit D11 (Fig. 19) (?) Pit of unknown size, in N. E. corner. No finds.

Pit D12 (Fig. 19) (i) Dug 6 in. (15 cm.) into gravel, of unknown extent. No finds.

Pit D13 (i) Depth at least 5 ft. (1.52 m.) into gravel; size at least 5 by 8 ft. (1.52 × 2.44 m.); vertical sides. Fill of green and red-stained gravel, sides stained red. Pottery: Late 11th century.

Wall D14 (Fig. 19) (iii) Pitched limestone blocks set into dark-brown loam, with marked face on east side. No finds.

Pit E1 (ii) Depth 4 ft. 3 in. (1.3 m.) into gravel; vertical sides. Fill of dark loam and clay lumps. Cuts E2. Pottery: Mid 11th century. Small finds: Bone skate (Fig. 20.6), padlock key (Fig. 20.9).

Pit E2 (ii) Depth 4 ft. 3 in. (1.3 m.) into gravel; cut 7 ft. 4 in. (2.23 m.) deep at N. E. corner; vertical unlined sides, sloping on S. Not fully excavated. Fill to 3 ft. (91 cm.) of dark gritty loam with laminae of purple loam. Western edge not defined; size at least 7 by 13 ft. (2.13 × 3.96 m.). Pottery: Mid 11th to mid 12th century.

Pit E3 (iii) Small, irregular shape, of unknown depth. Fill of dark gravel. No finds.

Pit E4 (iii) Hollow, 5 ft. (1.52 m.) in diameter, 2 ft. (61 cm.) deep; irregular bottom. Fill of loam and ashy clay with limestone blocks in upper fill. No finds.

Pit E5 (i) Depth 4 ft. (1.22 m.), size probably at least 5 by 2 ft. (1.52 × .61 m.); vertical N. side. Fill of dark earth. No finds. Cut by E6.

Pit E6 (i) Not fully excavated, probably rectilinear pit at least 11 by 7 ft. (3.35 × 2.13 m.) and some 5 ft. 9 in. (1.75 m.) deep; sloping N. side, possibly lined. Fill of dark earth and decayed daub. Pottery: 11th century.

Small finds (Fig. 20) By Martin Henig

Stone

1. Hone of mica schist, snapped across suspension hole, the other end worn and chipped: 101 × 26 × 10 mm. From Cellar-pit A1, early to mid 11th century. As examples from Clarendon Hotel and from beneath the Castle Mound.⁷⁷
2. Quernstone of imported volcanic lava: length 115 mm, thickness between 26 mm and 48 mm. From Pit B3, 10th century.
3. (Not illustrated). Small fragment of quernstone of imported volcanic lava: length 74 mm. From ?Well C1, mid 11th century. (Bag 34). Pieces of Rhineland lava have been found at the Castle, Nuffield College and Deddington Castle.⁷⁸

Clay

- 4-5. Bun-shaped loom-weights of pebbly clay; fragments of at least three, but two that can be reconstructed are illustrated here; diameter 116 mm. From Pit B3, 10th century. Examples have been found at the Clarendon Hotel and at 126 High Street.⁷⁹

Bone

6. Skate; length 255 mm. From Pit E1, probably 12th century. (Bag 124). Arthur MacGregor writes: It was made from a horse metatarsal. The toe has been trimmed roughly to a point and perforated transversely; the heel is perforated axially. The upper surface has been cut flat with a few strokes and the lower (contact) surface is polished from wear.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ *Clarendon Hotel*, 74, Fig. 22b; *Castle Mound*, 98, Fig. 38a.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* (not illustrated).

⁷⁹ *Clarendon Hotel*, 73, Fig. 23, c-e; *126 High Street*, 303, Fig. 21.2.

⁸⁰ See A. MacGregor, 'Bone Skates: a Review of the Evidence', *Archaeol. Jnl.* cxxxiii (1976), 57-74, and *op. cit.* in n.50, 141-4; example also from *St Aldate's*, 160-3, Fig. 37.1.

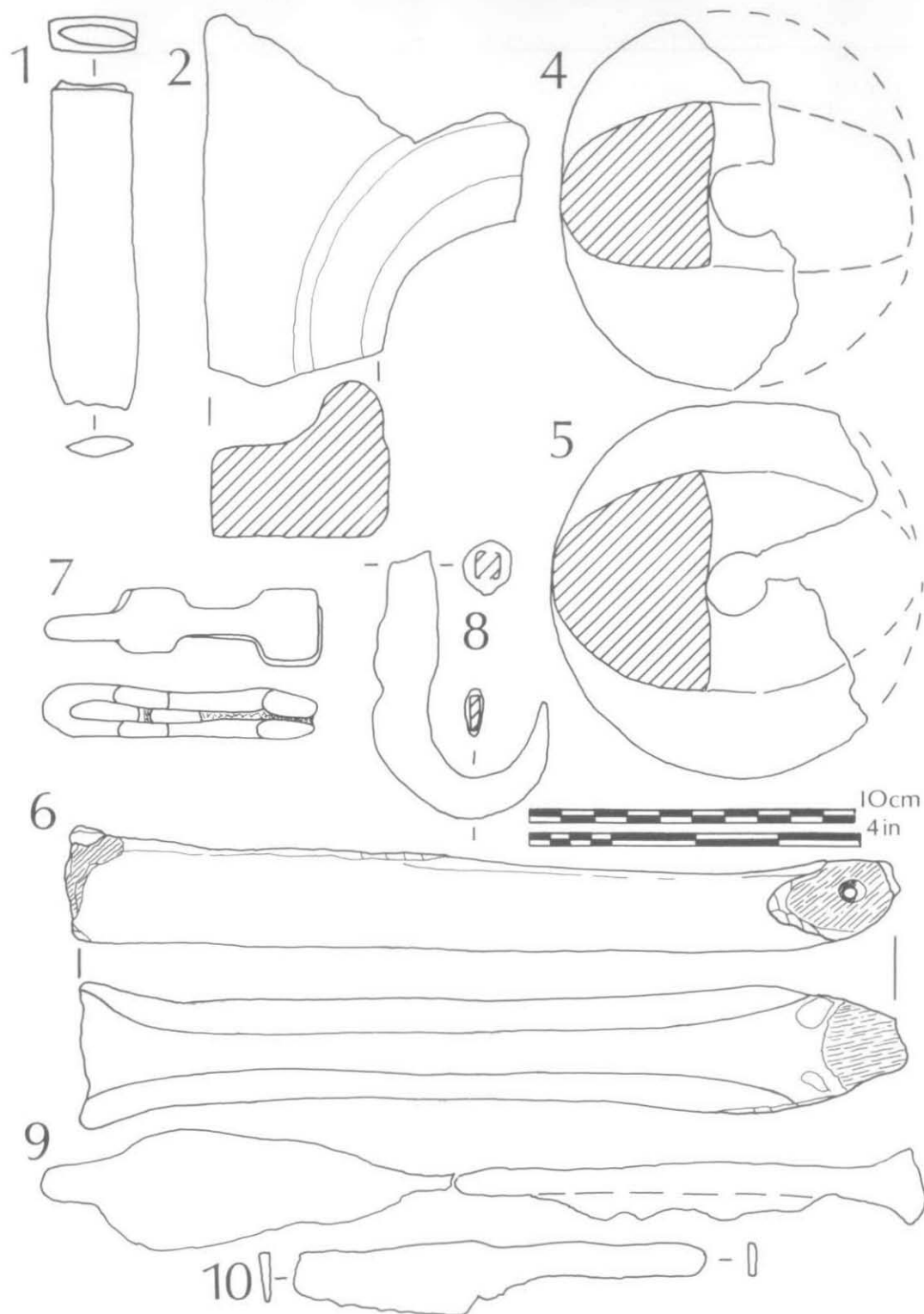


Fig. 20. 23-26 Queen Street/1-8 St. Ebbe's: Small finds (Scale 1:2 except No. 7, at scale 1:1).

Copper alloy

7. Strap-distributor, possibly from horse-harness; a bar with a rectangular expansion at each end and two others along its length. The bar was looped and the two sides fastened together with rivets through the expansions which also held a leather strap. The loop allowed a chain to be fastened to the strap with a ring: length 41 mm.⁸¹ From Well C14, early 13th century. (Bag 67).

Iron

8. Hook, corroded, possibly with shank of rectangular section and flatter section to hook: length 80 mm. From Well A4, early to mid-11th century.
9. Padlock key with expanded shank and hooded terminal at one end and expansion, marking the beginning of the bit, at the other: length 220 mm. From Pit E1, probably 12th century. (Bag 121). A similar example has been found in St. Aldate's.⁸²
10. Knife-blade: length 126 mm. From Well C14, early 13th century (Bag 71).
(Not illustrated) Corroded fragments of nails from C9 and C12, possible horse-shoe and hasp from C14, and possible spur-fragment from C16.

Pottery (Fig. 21) by Maureen Mellor

The density of late Saxon features on this site was particularly striking, with the now familiar ceramic sequence: Oxford late Saxon Ware (Fabric B, Group IA) dominating during the 10th century, to be superseded by St Neots type (Fabric R, Group IA) in the first half of the 11th century, and culminating with the dominance of Oxford Early Medieval Ware (Fabric AC, Group IB), by the mid to late 11th century.

The St Neots type wares included a bodysherd with an applied finger-pressed strip which probably originated from a storage vessel (Fig. 21.8), a vessel type rare amongst the St Neots repertoire in Oxford.

Small quantities of glazed Stamford tableware are found on all late Saxon sites in Oxford, and this site was no exception, but two features (A2 and A4) contained a number of probable Stamford cooking/storage vessels of various sizes (Fig. 21.1-7).⁸³ Other features also yielded individual Stamford coarsewares, including a small ovoid vessel which may have served either as a lamp or a crucible (from D6, not illustrated), all 11th century. Only one other site, on a lesser frontage at 31-34 Church Street,⁸⁴ has produced such a wide range of Stamford coarsewares, although no individual features there contained as many vessels as the ?Well A2 on this site.

These Stamford coarsewares were probably traded for their contents, although the hard sandy fabrics contrasted with the dominant soft St Neots types and may have proved themselves as superior cooking pots. Whatever their function, the concentration of vessels in this part of Oxford may suggest some stronger cultural affinities with the region to the north-east of Oxford during the 11th century.

The only other recognisable regional import of the 11th century was a cooking pot/storage jar (Fabric ?K, Group III (Fig. 21.9)) which can be paralleled with sherds from the cellar-pit at All Saint's Church.

The 12th-century assemblages added nothing to the established ceramic sequence, but Pit E2 contained an ovoid vessel, reminiscent in form to the early Stamford ovoid vessels, but considerably larger and made in a local Oxfordshire fabric (Fabric BW, Group III - not illustrated). This vessel type can be paralleled with several examples from 31-34 Church Street but has not been recognised amongst other assemblages from Oxford.

The large early 13th-century context (Well C14) yielded regional imports which included a fragment from Olney Hyde, Buckinghamshire (Fabric CG, Group IA), fine glazed table wares (Fabric AH, Group III) which can be paralleled with pottery from Brackley, Northamptonshire⁸⁵ and may possibly originate from Nuneaton. It also included wares from another source producing spouted tripod pitchers but with mottled green glaze (Fabric AK, Group III), whereas the dominant local type (Oxford Medieval Ware - Fabric Y, Group III) used only clear glazes. Further fragments of this fabric type (AK) were recovered from 79-80 St Aldate's and the Hamel,⁸⁶ but the exact jug or pitcher styles have remained elusive until now.

Descriptions (Fig. 21)

1. Base of probable cooking pot (Fabric ZZ, Group III, Stamford-type Ware), A2.5, mid 11th century. Missing 1985.
2. Cooking pot (Fabric AL, Group III, Stamford-type Ware). A4.7, early to mid 11th century. Missing 1985.
3. Base of cooking pot, knife trimmed (Fabric AL, Group III, Stamford-type Ware). A4.11, early to mid 11th century. Missing 1985.
4. Cooking pot (Fabric AL, Group III, Stamford-type Ware). A4.9 (Bag 18) joins A4.7 (Bag 16), early to mid 11th century. Missing 1985.

⁸¹ See A. R. Goodall in P. Mayes and L. Butler, *Sandal Castle Excavations 1964-1973* (Wakefield, 1983), 231-2, Fig. 1.37-8 - the latter dated to 1270-1400.

⁸² St. Aldate's, 142 Fig. 25.2; see *London Mus. Medieval Cat.* (1940), 146-8, Fig. 44.

⁸³ K. Kilmer, *The Pottery Industry of Stamford*, B. A. R. 84 (1980), Fig. 3.13-14.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.* in n.58 above.

⁸⁵ R. Barcham, 'Castle Lane Tenements', *Northants. Archaeol.*, forthcoming.

⁸⁶ St. Aldate's, 114; *The Hamel*, 162, Fig. 8.

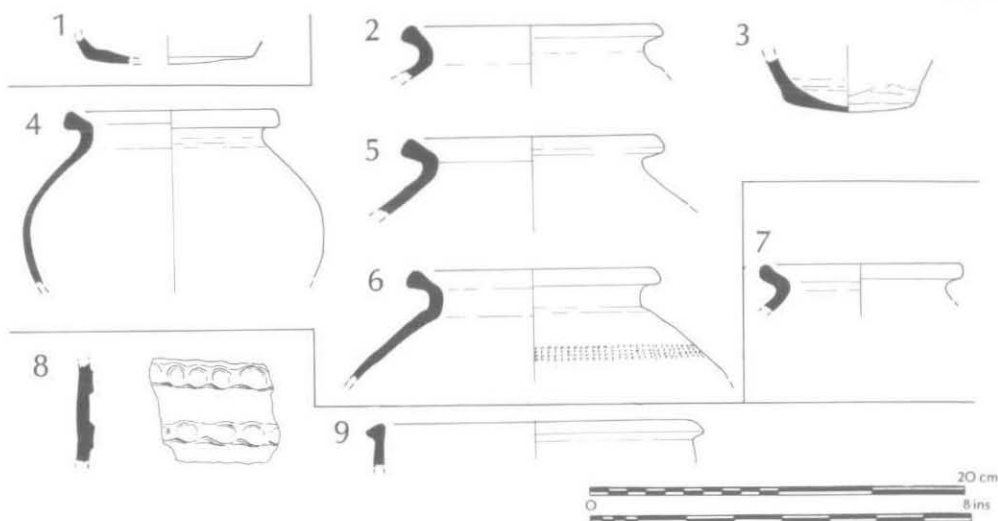


Fig. 21. 23–26 Queen Street/1–8 St. Ebbe's: Late Saxon Pottery. 1. PA2.5/0/ZZ; 2. PA4.7/0/AL; 3. PA4.11/0/AL; 4. PA4.9/0/AL; 5. PA4.11/0/AL; 6. PA4.7/0/AL; 7. PA7.1/0/ZZ; 8. PC9.3/0/R; 9. PC9.2/0/K.

5. Cooking pot (Fabric AL, Group III, Stamford-type Ware). A4.11, early to mid 11th century. Missing 1985.
6. Cooking pot, with rectangular rouletted decoration (Fabric AL, Group III, Stamford-type Ware). A4.7 (Bag 16), early to mid 11th century. Missing 1985.
7. Small cooking pot (Fabric ZZ, Group III, probable Stamford-type Ware). A7.1 (Bag 8), 11th century. Missing 1985.
8. Body sherd with applied finger-pressed strips (Fabric R, Group IA, St Neots-type Ware). C9.3, mid 11th century.
9. Cooking pot/storage jar (Fabric ?K, Group III, a regional import). C9.2, mid 11th century. Missing 1985.

DISCUSSION

The Archaeology of late Anglo-Saxon Oxford

In the thirty years since the publication of E. M. Jope's account of Saxon Oxford,⁸⁷ archaeological discoveries here and the general historical reappraisal of pre-Conquest towns have transformed our understanding of Oxford's first centuries. The relationship between river and town has been explored in several places, with growing emphasis on the southern approach to Oxford and the appearance of suburban settlement on the banks of the innermost streams of the Thames and around the great southern causeway (Grandpont).⁸⁸ The earliest defences of the borough have at last been firmly identified on the north (beneath the later walls), established in outline on the west (inside the medieval line), and tentatively located on the east as a primary line, running west of Catte Street and Magpie Lane, which only later was moved eastwards to include the larger area of the familiar medieval circuit.⁸⁹ The planned street layout of the first town, recognised by Salter

⁸⁷ E. M. Jope, 'Saxon Oxford and its Region', *Dark Age Britain*, ed. D. B. Harden (1956), 234–58.

⁸⁸ *St. Aldate's*, and B. G. Durham, 'The Thames Crossing at Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlix (1984), 57–100.

⁸⁹ T. G. Hassall, 'The Topography of Pre-University Oxford in the light of Recent Archaeological Excavations', *Oxford and its Region*, ed. C. G. Smith and D. I. Scargill (1975), 29–36; B. G. Durham, C. Halpin and N. Palmer, 'Oxford's Northern Defences: Archaeological Studies 1971–1982', *Oxoniensia*, xlviii (1983), 13–40; excavations in St. Michael's Street in 1985 have located the primary earth rampart.

in 1914 (but viewed sceptically by Jope in 1956) is now not only accepted for Oxford, but represents the orthodox view of the origin of many Saxon towns, especially those of the 'burghal hidage' listing of the late 9th century.⁹⁰ Archaeological sections through roads in Oxford have revealed gravel surfaces at the lowest levels and confirmed the view of a regular primary layout, albeit subject to later modification.⁹¹ The careful examination of long sequences of domestic occupation, e. g. in St. Aldates, have produced (with much else besides) a clear view of local ceramic development and established a firm chronology,⁹² which has enabled sites such as the ones described here to be better understood, lacking as they do significant amounts of vertical stratification. Elsewhere, notably on sites in the environs of the Norman castle, and below the church of All Saints, house plans and other evidence of domestic life have been discovered.⁹³

Most of this work has been undertaken by the Oxford Archaeological Unit since 1967, but the sites reported on here were investigated before then, by the Ashmolean Museum and for the Oxford Excavations Committee, inaugurated in 1959 to deal with development threats.⁹⁴ Oxford plays no small part in the history of urban rescue excavation, with the pioneering work on the New Bodleian site in the 1930s which combined building investigation with archaeology.⁹⁵ The same was done for the Clarendon Hotel site in 1955-7, when salvage work on a substantial part of Cornmarket revealed extensive remains of Saxon occupation.⁹⁶ Discoveries on that site underlined the importance of more careful excavation in advance of destruction; consequently the redevelopment of these three sites on frontages in the commercial heart of the medieval town was preceded by the excavations reported on here. Unfortunately, the delay in publication has perhaps obscured the importance of these sites in the central area. Whilst the trends of subsequent redevelopment have naturally led to an emphasis on other parts of the town, there is now a renewed threat to these principal frontages. In the meanwhile, one other site in Cornmarket and one in High Street have been investigated and reported on,⁹⁷ but the major site at 13-18 Queen Street was unfortunately destroyed so extensively between 1968 and 1976 that no significant evidence could be recovered on the Queen Street frontage. The less destructive rebuilding of 11-12 Queen Street in 1980 allowed some important features to be revealed.⁹⁸ More recently, early features have been excavated at 7-8 Queen Street prior to demolition.

⁹⁰ H. E. Salter, *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John*, i, O.H.S. lxvi (1914), 483-90; M. Biddle, 'Towns', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Wilson (1976), 124-37. For a recent re-dating of the Burghal Hidage see R. H. C. Davis 'Alfred and Guthrum's Frontier', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xcvi (1982), 803-10.

⁹¹ Beneath Carfax: H. Hurst, *Oxford Topography*, O.H.S. xxxix (1899), 58; Castle Street & Church Street: T. G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford 1970, Third Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvi (1971), 8-9, Figs. 5-6; Queen Street: *Hinxey Hall*, 48, Fig. 3.

⁹² *St. Aldate's*, 137-9, and see n.54 above.

⁹³ T. G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle, 1965-1973', *Oxoniensia*, xli (1976), 232-308; *All Saints*, for which see also T. G. Hassall et al. 'Excavations at Oxford 1973-4, Sixth and Final Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxix (1974), 54-7.

⁹⁴ Records of this Committee are kept by the Ashmolean Museum.

⁹⁵ W. A. Pantin 'The Recently Demolished Houses in Broad Street, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, ii (1937), 171-200; R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Archaeology of the Site of the Bodleian Extension in Broad Street, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 89-146.

⁹⁶ *Clarendon Hotel*.

⁹⁷ T. G. Hassall et al. 'Excavations at 44-46 Cornmarket Street, Oxford, 1970', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvi (1971), 15-33; T. G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford, 1972: Fifth Interim Report', *Oxoniensia*, xxxviii (1973), 276-80 (13 High Street).

⁹⁸ *Hinxey Hall*, 43-9, Fig. 2.

The Street Fronts

As was apparent from the excavations beneath the Clarendon Hotel, the earliest features extended further forward than the medieval building line,⁹⁹ and this was also the case at 55–58 Cornmarket and 23–26 Queen Street. By contrast, on the east side of Cornmarket, at Nos. 13–21, the natural ground-surface was undisturbed by deep features at the front of the site, whilst at 11–12 and 7–8 Queen Street gravelled surfaces were either close to or behind the medieval building line.¹⁰⁰ Clearly the streets did not conform to their modern routes, and were either of different widths, or on different alignments (or less regular). Whilst the general pattern seems to be one of early 11th-century buildings concentrated along the frontages, these may have been ancillary to larger buildings set back from the road, and fringing the large enclosures which, it has been suggested, disappeared with the complex tenement divisions of the 12th century.¹⁰¹ Areas of undisturbed ground, such as were found at 13–21 Cornmarket, could well have been open spaces within such enclosures, rather than being part of the road. Alternatively, almost all the excavated cellar-pits could have been below market stalls along the edges of a broad market-place.

The Sequence of Occupation

The lack of stratified floor-levels and features with early pottery on these three sites leaves little to be said about the earliest phase of the Saxon borough. It may well be that some of the undated structures, perhaps the shallow huts, belong to the 10th century, but this is no more than surmise. By contrast, the preservation of early levels below All Saints' church has for the first time provided an extensive sequence of occupation on an intramural site.¹⁰² The current picture is a concentration of activity in the late 10th and early 11th century, with the digging of 'cellar-pits', not themselves dated but often filled with dumped deposits containing pottery of the mid 11th century. The nature of these buildings is discussed further below; they may represent a distinct phase of urban growth, or a change in the use of land in the borough. Following the abandonment of these buildings there is a marked lack of excavated archaeological features towards the front of the sites, no doubt as larger buildings occupied the frontages of the post-Conquest town, and the ancillary pits and wells moved further to the rear. These buildings do not themselves survive, being dug away for later buildings and their cellars, but they are amply recorded in the growing amount of documentation. Later medieval pits are poorly represented on these sites (except at the back of the Queen Street site) though post-medieval cess-pits and wells once more appear nearer the street.

The Saxon Buildings

The most important discoveries on these sites were the traces of late Saxon houses, which, with the structures found at the Clarendon Hotel and more recent finds in Oxford, now provide a considerable body of evidence for comparison with other towns. Nearly all are 'sunken featured structures', like so many Saxon buildings, and the simplest type, the three huts described above (D18 at 55–58 Cornmarket; A7 and Ca at 23–26 Queen Street) are

⁹⁹ *Clarendon Hotel*, 7–9, Figs. 1 & 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Hinxey Hall*, 48, Fig. 3; ex inf. Brian Durham.

¹⁰¹ D. Sturdy, *The Topography of Medieval Oxford*, unpublished thesis Bodl. MS. B. Litt. d. 1059–60*, app. 6; for similar large divisions in Winchester, see M. Biddle (ed.), *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, (1976), 453.

¹⁰² See above, n. 93.

most like the sunken huts known from rural sites at a somewhat earlier period.¹⁰³ The many post-holes indicated that there were also ground-level buildings.

The other structures are described, not altogether appropriately, as 'cellar-pits', and it is proposed to divide these into two groups on the basis of size. Cellar-pits were first identified at the Clarendon Hotel, being rectangular pits with nearly vertical sides and often with rounded corners, dug to between 4 ft. 2 in. and 7 ft. deep (1.27 m.-2.13 m.), or deeper if allowance is made for contemporary ground-surface. Most are roughly square, around 8 ft. by 6 ft. 6 in. (2.44 × 1.97 m.), whilst a second group are much larger, twice as long as they are wide (Clarendon Hotel D6A, 55-58 Cornmarket B1, All Saints', and also the example at the Castle/County Hall).¹⁰⁴ The smaller cellar-pits are probably aptly named, and despite the lack of positive evidence, it makes most sense to assume that they were cellars inside larger buildings, cut into the gravel and sometimes lined with clay or wattle, but not containing structural timbers. In this class are B16 at 55-58 Cornmarket and A1 at 23-26 Queen Street. In the latter case, the nearby sleeper trench (Aa) may possibly have been associated with the superstructure: a few post-holes may be associated with cellar-pits. The small size of the cellars (less than half the area of the smaller medieval shop units known from documents) is the most compelling reason for assuming that their superstructures were of larger proportions. They are likely to have been used for storage, perhaps providing a cool environment for meat, dairy products or beverages. Use as cess-pits has been suggested,¹⁰⁵ but it is hard to believe this was the primary function, when undoubted cess-pits of a rounder and deeper profile were being dug nearby at about the same time.

The second group, of larger buildings, should probably be regarded as cellared houses, with the superstructure taken up on the same plan area. The cellar beneath All Saints' church, the similar structure excavated at Wallingford,¹⁰⁶ and B1 at 55-58 Cornmarket can bear comparison with the larger buildings found in London,¹⁰⁷ Thetford¹⁰⁸ and those found in a remarkable state of preservation at Coppergate in York, which have been the subject of a recent discussion.¹⁰⁹ There, 10th-century wattle buildings (some with pits inside them) were replaced in c.970-80 by timber buildings with semi-basements up to 5 ft. (1.5 m.) deep, whose post-and-plank walls survived up to a height of 5 ft. 11 in. (1.8 m.). At All Saints' was a cellar with posts holding a timber lining, whilst at 9-11 St. Martin's Street, Wallingford, there were in addition floor-joists similar to ones found at York; cellar B1 at 55-58 Cornmarket certainly had a timber lining, though the presence of post-holes could not be ascertained in the small amount of floor-area cleared at the base of the walls. On this point, however, the important evidence from Coppergate is that the posts stood on a sill-beam to prevent decay, and this might leave less of an imprint than an earth-fast post.

¹⁰³ P. Rahtz, 'Buildings and Rural Settlement', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Wilson (1976), 49-98, and app., 405-52.

¹⁰⁴ Hassall, *op. cit.* n. 93, 248-50, Fig. 9.

¹⁰⁵ *Clarendon Hotel*, 19-20.

¹⁰⁶ *Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit Annual Report 1980* (C.B.A. Group 9 Newsletter, 11, (1981), 44-7, Fig. 15).

¹⁰⁷ J. Schofield, *The Building of London from the Conquest to the Great Fire* (1984), 28, Fig. 19; W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (1968), 155-60, Figs. 34-5.

¹⁰⁸ B. K. Davison, 'The late Saxon Town of Thetford: an Interim Report on the 1964-6 Excavations', *Medieval Archaeol.* xi (1967), 189-208.

¹⁰⁹ R. A. Hall, 'A Late Pre-Conquest Urban Building Tradition', *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to Maurice Barley*, ed. P. V. Addyman and V. E. Black (York Archaeol. Trust 1984), 71-7; R. A. Hall, *The Viking Dig* (1984), 51-5 and 67-80, with pls.

The roofing of this type of building remains a puzzle, despite the excellent state of preservation of the York houses, where the posts end in tenons that could have carried a variety of different members (most likely a wall-plate). Although a single-storey reconstruction has been suggested at York, it seems not improbable that buildings of this substance would have carried a first floor, as has been proposed at Wallingford and All Saints'. The available timber technology would certainly have allowed quite large superstructures; the stone undercroft house of the 11th and 12th centuries may be a direct successor.¹¹⁰

It would appear then that the buildings in York are not so much 'Viking' houses, but conform to a widespread urban building pattern of the late 10th and early 11th centuries, and the differences lie more in the state of preservation between the Oxford gravel and the waterlogged conditions of Coppergate. The central area of Oxford may yet produce some more complete examples of Saxon houses, with more complete evidence for their full plan, but it is not so unlikely that something more like the York finds may be made on a well-preserved site nearer the Thames. It is to be hoped that the present publication will encourage further work in the centre of the town, and that we may be able to extend the area of exploration right up to and under the pavement, where the actual Saxon street fronts lie.

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

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| <i>All Saints</i> | B. G. Durham, 'All Saints' Church', <i>Oxoniensia</i> forthcoming. |
| <i>Cart. Eynsham</i> | H. E. Salter, <i>Cartulary of Eynsham Abbey</i> , i, O.H.S. xlix (1907). |
| <i>Cart. Osen.</i> | H. E. Salter, <i>Cartulary of Oseney Abbey</i> , i-vi, O.H.S. lxxxix-xci (1929-31). |
| <i>Castle Mound</i> | E. M. Jope, 'Late Saxon Pits under Oxford Castle Mound', <i>Oxoniensia</i> , xvii-xviii (1952-3), 77-111. |
| <i>Clarendon Hotel</i> | E. M. Jope and W. A. Pantin, 'The Clarendon Hotel, Oxford', <i>Oxoniensia</i> , xxiii (1958), 1-129. |
| <i>D.B. Oxon.</i> | J. Morris (ed.), <i>Domesday Book: Oxfordshire</i> (Chichester, 1978) |
| <i>Frewin Hall</i> | W. J. Blair et al., 'Frewin Hall, Oxford: A Norman Mansion and a Monastic College', <i>Oxoniensia</i> , xliii (1978), 48-99. |
| <i>The Hamel</i> | N. Palmer et al., 'A Beaker Burial and Medieval Tenements in the Hamel, Oxford', <i>Oxoniensia</i> , xlv (1980), 124-225. |
| <i>Hinxey Hall</i> | C. Halpin et al., 'Late Saxon Evidence and Excavation of Hinxey Hall, Queen Street, Oxford', <i>Oxoniensia</i> , xlviii (1983), 41-69. |
| <i>Oxford City Prop.</i> | H. E. Salter, <i>Oxford City Properties</i> , O. H. S. lxxiii (1925). |
| <i>St. Aldate's</i> | B. G. Durham et al., 'Archaeological Investigations in St. Aldate's, Oxford', <i>Oxoniensia</i> , xlii (1977), 83-203. |
| <i>St. Ebbe's</i> | T. G. Hassall, C. Halpin and M. Mellor, 'Excavations in St. Ebbe's, Oxford, 1967-76: Part II', <i>Oxoniensia</i> , xlix (1984), 153-275. |
| <i>Salter, Survey</i> | W. A. Pantin (ed.), H. E. Salter, <i>Survey of Oxford</i> , O.H.S. ns xiv (1960) and xx (1969). |
| <i>126 High Street</i> | J. T. Munby et al., '126 High Street: The Archaeology and History of an Oxford House', <i>Oxoniensia</i> , xl (1975), 254-308. |

The Society is grateful to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for a grant towards the publication of this paper.

¹¹⁰ As suggested by Brian Durham, *All Saints*'.