

A Tenement of Roger of Cumnor and Other Archaeological Investigations in Medieval North Oseney, Oxford

By M.R. ROBERTS

with contributions by B. DURHAM, M. MELLOR, J.T. MUNBY, L. ALLEN and BOB WILSON

SUMMARY

An excavation by the Oxford Archaeological Unit in 1989–90 exposed medieval and post-medieval buildings on two frontages, on Hollybush Row and on St. Thomas's Street, in the low-lying western suburb of St. Thomas's.¹

One medieval house and parts of two others were discovered fronting onto Hollybush Row. A range of personal medieval metalwork and coins came from these buildings. A stone-lined water channel between two properties may represent an early land boundary forming the north side of property given by Roger of Cumnor to Oseney Abbey. The water channel produced a lead seal matrix inscribed S^r. Rogeri. de. Comenore Cl'ici+.² A major reconstruction of the buildings was carried out in the 17th century.

On the St. Thomas's Street frontage three 14th-century buildings were discovered, which were rebuilt in the 15th century.

INTRODUCTION

The site (National Grid Reference SP 507062) lies on the Thames floodplain on the west side of Oxford (Fig. 1), in the medieval suburb of St. Thomas's. The street plan is essentially medieval, although it has been much altered by subsequent development. St. Thomas's Street (formerly High Street St. Thomas) ran from Oxford Castle in the east to St. Thomas's Church in the west. Towards the west end of the street, Rewley Lane ran north to the site of Rewley Abbey, with the Botley Causeway leading off it to the west and Hythe Bridge Street to the east. Eastwards along St. Thomas's Street, a back lane known as The Hamel led off to the south, to Oseney Lane and Oseney Abbey. Rewley Lane was bisected c. 1769/70 when New Road/Park End Street was constructed;³ the north part of the lane between Park End Street and Rewley Abbey survives today as Rewley Road, and the south part of the lane,

¹ Previously noted in R.H. Gannister et al., 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1989', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 34 (1990), 207–8.

² This corrects the reading published in Gannister et al., op. cit. note 1.

³ J. Munby and H. Walton, 'The building of New Road', *Oxoniensia*, lv (1990), 123–30.

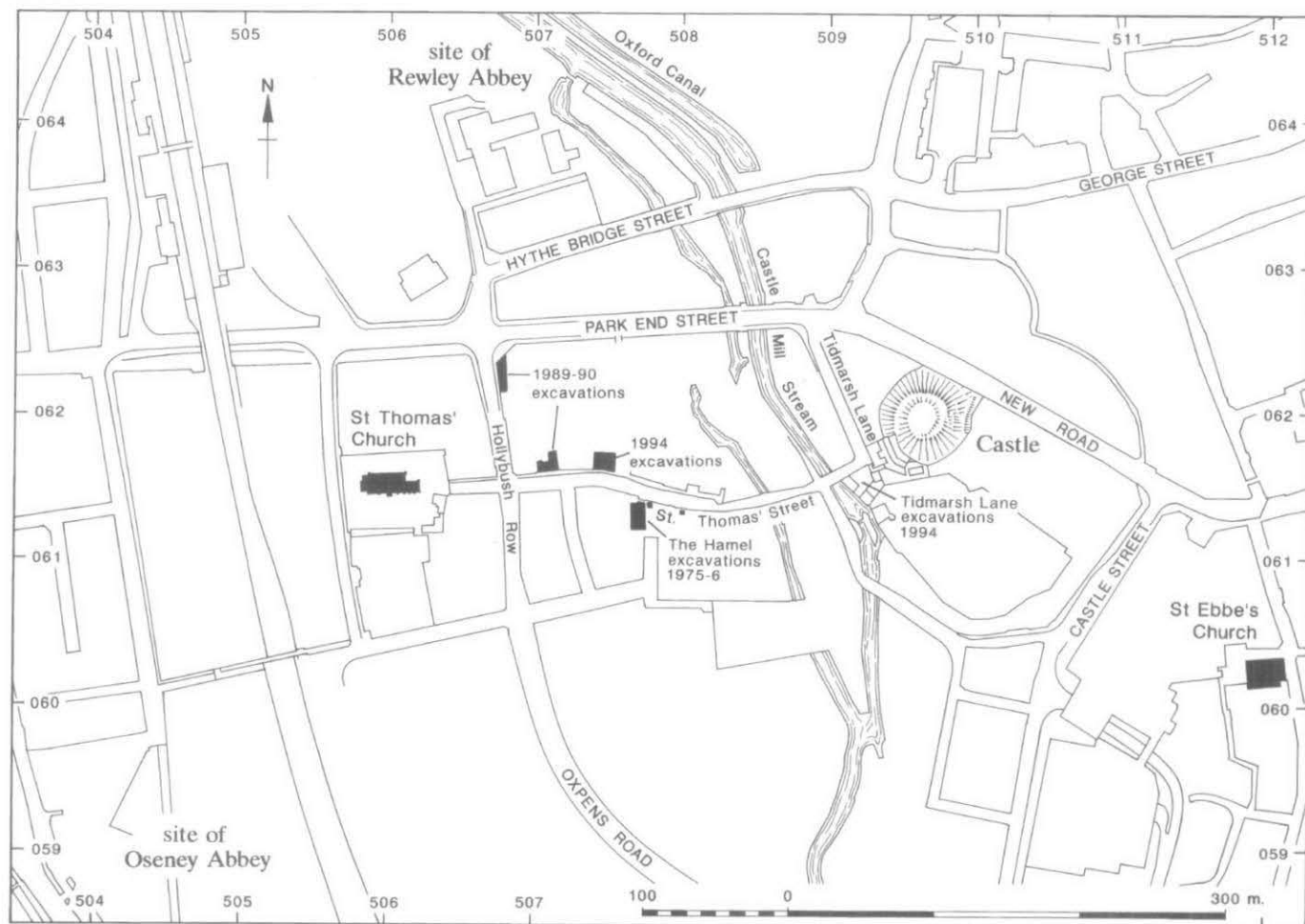


Fig. 1. Site locations.

between Park End Street and St. Thomas's Street, is today Hollybush Row. The origins and development of the suburb have been fully discussed and illustrated in a recent account⁴ and are considered further below.

At the time of the excavations, the site had been occupied by Hall's Brewery for about 40 years, and had recently been in use as a bottling plant; however, by 1989 the brewery was to be relocated outside the city centre and its land was scheduled for redevelopment. The redevelopment area comprised the greater part of the block of land bounded by Park End Street, Park End Place, Hollybush Row and St. Thomas's Street. An archaeological evaluation was carried out on the Hollybush Row and St. Thomas's Street frontages during the autumn of 1989, and located ditches and medieval buildings.⁵ Subsequently a full-scale excavation was carried out on these frontages during the winter of 1989-90, with the important discovery of a seal matrix in the name of a 13th-century owner of the Hollybush Row site.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Previous excavations have revealed part of a suburb of weavers and tanners relying on the abbeys to the north and west. In 1976-7 during excavations at The Hamel, four phases of domestic buildings from AD 1205 to the 16th century were discovered.⁶ These were a mixture of peasant or artisan dwellings alongside larger properties such as the Hall of St. Helen. Other early buildings in St. Thomas's are known from 19th-century illustrations⁷ and from the work of S.E. Rigold in 1947-8 on the north side of St. Thomas's Street, where a 13th-century house some 18 ft. by 9 ft. was found, aligned obliquely to the road.⁸

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND by J.T. MUNBY

The island of Oseney, lying west of the castle, was held as two manors by the Norman lords of Oxfordshire, Robert d'Oilly and Roger d'Ivri. South Oseney, which had passed from Robert d'Oilly II to his foundation of Oseney Abbey (and eventually came to Christ Church), included the southern half of the new suburb of St. Thomas's. North Oseney became part of the Honour of St. Valery, and passed to the Cistercian abbey of Rewley in 1281, through the benefaction of the abbey's founder, the Earl of Cornwall. While the Oseney/Christ Church land is well documented from the 13th century, there are few medieval records for the Rewley estate, which came after the Dissolution to the Dutton family, and in 1544 consisted of 19 houses in Hollybush Row and on the north of High Street St. Thomas.⁹ The Earl of Cornwall's rents can be traced in the 1279 Hundred Rolls for St. Thomas's, and the remaining portions continued to be called 'Duttons Holdings' until the 19th century.¹⁰

⁴ N. Palmer, 'A Beaker Burial and Medieval Tenements in The Hamel, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlv (1980), 124-225; hereafter Palmer, 'The Hamel'.

⁵ B. Durham, 'Oxford: Park End Street, former Halls Brewery' (OAU TS. Archaeological Assessment report, October 1989).

⁶ Palmer, 'The Hamel'.

⁷ J. Munby, 'A Fifteenth-century Wealden House in Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xxxix (1974), 73-6.

⁸ 'Notes and News: Oxford (Hall's Brewery, St. Thomas's)', *Oxoniensia*, xvi (1951), 83.

⁹ *Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, iv (1979), 278-9.

¹⁰ J. Cooper, 'The Hundred Rolls for the Parish of St. Thomas', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii (1972), 165-76, esp. 169; Hearth Tax in H.E. Salter, *Surveys and Tokens* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. lxxv, 1920), 211; Badcock's 1829 Survey, in H.E. Salter (ed.), *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey* (hereafter *Cart. Osen.*), i (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xc-xci 1928-9), 617.



Fig. 2. The site in relation to the 19th-century topography of the area (from OS 1:500 plan, 1876) with detail of property boundaries and excavated features.

The origins and growth of St. Thomas's suburb have been discussed and illustrated in a recent account, and need only be repeated in outline here.¹¹ The suburban settlement in west Oxford had grown along the road from the castle to Oseney; the church of St. Thomas had been founded c. 1190, and a new road, perhaps Botley Road, laid out in c. 1210.¹² The area was low-lying, and along several of the street fronts were streams constrained in conduits, some of which survived until the 19th century. Although the evidence for the new suburb comes largely from the Oseney side, the street survey preserved in the 1279 Hundred Rolls shows that development had also taken place in the other manor.¹³

There was a decline in the parish from the late 13th century until the mid 15th century, during which many parts of the parish were unoccupied. Oseney Abbey employed around 40% of the parish's wage earners in the early 16th century and the dissolution of the monasteries hit the area hard. Attempts to alleviate the economic hardship did not succeed. Areas of houses may have been demolished in the Civil War to make way for defensive works which ran south from Rewley Abbey moat and included St. Thomas's Church within a bastion. Rebuilding after the Civil War resulted in economic resurgence in the parish in the late 17th century with a stagnation in the 18th century and further development in the 19th century.¹⁴ The parish was always a poor one; although the large numbers of taxpayers indicate wealth, the concentration of taxpayers in such a small area suggests otherwise.

Both the areas of excavation were in the manor of North Oseney. In the case of the site on St. Thomas's Street no medieval documentation can be identified, and it had become Ayers Yard by the late 19th century, one of the many tenements whose back yard had been built on to provide a row of cottages.¹⁵ (Figure 2 shows the location of the excavations in relation to the 19th-century topography of the area, with property boundaries and probable roadside ditches.) A 19th-century drawing by Buckler of St. Thomas's Street shows the front of these properties (Fig. 3).

The second site, on Hollybush Row, was one of a number of properties of Oseney Abbey in North Oseney, and is thus reasonably well documented; a small part at the north end of the present frontage was not held by Oseney. Salter identified the main part with a message obtained by Oseney in 1284/5, which Roger of Cumnor had previously bought from Henry Wirle.¹⁶ (Figure 2 shows the extent of this property.) This was the latest of three grants to Oseney from Roger in what was then Rewley Lane, the two other donations (in 1265/6) being situated further north.¹⁷ Roger's southernmost holding was half an acre in size; the earliest maps show it with water on three sides, and in 1829 it still had a stream on the southern side, by which time it was 3 leasehold properties with 8 dwelling houses held by numerous sub-tenants.¹⁸ It was from the northern boundary stream that Roger's seal was recovered (see below, discussion).

From the medieval rentals of Oseney we can perhaps learn something of the later history of Roger's properties, though the precise location of individual parts of his land is not known.

¹¹ Palmer, 'The Hamel', 124-55.

¹² *Cart. Osen.* ii, 434, 442, 449.

¹³ Cooper, *op. cit.* note 10, nos. 168-70.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 135-44.

¹⁵ W.T. Squires, *In West Oxford* (1928), pl. CXV.

¹⁶ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 445 (1047); not identifiable in 1279. If Henry Wirle is identical with Henry de Crokesford (see Janet Cooper, *Oxoniensia* xxxvii (1972), 174 n. 35), then Roger may have obtained the land in the 1260s; see list of documents below.

¹⁷ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 446-8; Cooper, *op. cit.* note 10, nos. 22-7.

¹⁸ e.g. Loggan's bird's-eye view (1675); Badcock's plan of 1829 in *Cart. Osen.* ii, 617.



Fig. 3. Buckler's drawing of St. Thomas's Street in 1825 (Bodleian Library, MS. Don. a. 3, 105, reproduced by courtesy of the Curators).

The Oseney rent collector went northwards up Rewley Lane, and in the 1277/8 rental there are two houses on the 'land of Roger of Cumnor', probably on the land nearer Hythe Bridge Street that Roger had donated to Oseney in 1265/6.¹⁹ By 1317 a 'new house' with a meadow has appeared in the list before these, together with two cottages, and these are perhaps on the land Oseney acquired in the 1280s, on what seems likely to be the site of the excavations on Hollybush Row.²⁰ In 1387 three more cottages appear on the rental before the house (now a cottage) with the meadow. They are called the first cottage of Roger of Cumnor (with a second and third cottage), the older ones are now the second cottage of Roger (with a third and fourth), and the original ones (on the property donated in 1265/6) are the fourth cottage of Roger (together with a fifth).²¹ This somewhat bizarre numbering system, which must reflect the appearance of divisions within the primary tenements, had given way to a single numbering of one to eight in the rental of 1449, while to add to the confusion the post-medieval leases were numbered one to nine in the opposite direction, going from north to south!²² The most that can be said from this is that there was perhaps some rebuilding and rearrangement between the rentals of 1324 and 1387, and also between the rentals of 1428 and 1449, when the rents increased and the first three 'cottages' had become 'tenements'.²³ In the rental book for the years 1453-79 the first cottage is noted as being thatched, in distinction from the second tenement which was tiled,²⁴ while between 1387 and 1428 the third cottage is always let 'cum Workeheys', perhaps an enclosure behind the house. A 1538 lease of the sixth tenement allows the lessee 'all manner of topps and lopps of all trees pertenynge to the close and garden yarde . . . except appull tries and plume treis'.²⁵ But despite the names of over fifty tenants occurring in these and later rentals, most of them do not occur elsewhere, and there is little indication of their social status or occupations; the few hints there are suggest artisans, in line with what we know of the rest of St. Thomas's.²⁶ In the 1380 Poll tax we find three tenants and their wives who also occur in the 1387 rental being assessed at 2s. each, and from these sources we know that the tenants included a tiler, a cook and a scrivener.²⁷

With the post-medieval Christ Church leases of North Oseney we are on more certain ground, and the Hollybush Row site can be identified as being on the fifth and sixth tenements in 'Rewley Lane'. The fifth was leased with a garden and orchard behind it, and meadow in Botley Mead, and the lease of 1702 notes that the tenant Whitfield Millar, yeoman, had built 'a new freestone house'. The lessees were not necessarily the occupants, who are themselves rarely mentioned, and in the 1829 survey when William Rowland, mealman, was lessee, there were five tenants in the two dwelling houses at the front and three cottages in the yard; the northernmost tenant was a baker.²⁸ The sixth and seventh tenements were leased together as two tenements, described as such until 1756, and as five tenements in 1796; in the 1829 survey the sixth tenement was one dwelling, and the seventh was divided between four households, two of which were in the yard behind.²⁹

Something is known of the buildings on the site, which were recorded by RCHM prior to

¹⁹ *Cart. Osen.* iii, 118.

²⁰ *Cart. Osen.* iii, 145.

²¹ *Cart. Osen.* iii, 182-3.

²² *Cart. Osen.* iii, 245; ii, 505ff.

²³ *Cart. Osen.* iii, 235 and 245.

²⁴ *Cart. Osen.* iii, 274-5.

²⁵ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 449.

²⁶ Palmer, 'The Hamel', 135-44.

²⁷ J. Thorold Rogers, *Oxford City Documents* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xviii, 1891), 33 (Walton, Oseney and Carter).

²⁸ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 546, 617.

²⁹ *Cart. Osen.* ii, 547, 617.

demolition (see below). Although on the corner of Park End Street, they had not been affected by the making of the new road in 1769 and survived until the present century;³⁰ they consisted of a pair of houses, the corner one on part of the 'Duttons Holdings' (House 1), and the next must be that built on the fifth tenement in 1702 (House 2), under which the majority of the excavations took place. As shown in photographs taken before their demolition in about 1960 (see, for example, Fig. 4) they do appear to be stone built, a pair of two-storey houses with



Fig. 4. The site at Hollybush Row showing No. 31 Park End Street and Nos. 1-3 Hollybush Row before their demolition in around 1960 (Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. d. 505, no. 119, reproduced by courtesy of the Curators).

their long sides and roof lying parallel to the street, attic dormers and near-central chimney stacks.³¹ They correspond with the first three houses given in the 1772 survey of the Paving Commissioners, with frontages of 45 feet, 24 and 17 feet respectively.³² The last two measurements agree with the uneven division of the fifth tenement as shown on the 1829 survey, and the second house in the photograph consists of a double-fronted northern half of three windows, and a single southern half with two windows. The similarity of appearance between this and the corner house may imply that they were built at about the same time, although they belonged to different landlords.

³⁰ Munby and Walton, *op. cit.* note 3, 128.

³¹ Centre for Oxfordshire Studies photographic collection, Hollybush Row.

³² H.E. Salter (ed.), *Surveys and Tokens* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. lxxv, 1920), 38 (Shirley, Compton and King).

As described by the RCHM in the 1930s,³³ nos. 2 and 3 Hollybush Row were

two cottages built as one dwelling. The main block has walls of dressed stone and steep pitched roof part of which retains old stone tiles. Sliding sashes have been put in two of the windows; the others have wooden mullions and transoms, some with old iron casements. Three first floor windows to No. 2 have been blocked up. The chimney is of stone with a brick top. The projection at the back of No. 3 has stone ground floor and timber framing to 1st floor and stone tile roof and old iron casements. No. 2 is said to have had a knuckle bone floor in the north ground floor room. There are stop-chamfered ceiling beams and in the attics exposed roof timbers. No. 3 had bolection mould stone fire surrounds in ground floor room. Condition: Good except for extension at back of No. 3 which is bad.

The description of the adjacent 31 Park End Street suggests the similarities between the buildings:

No. 31 Park End Street has absorbed No. 1 Hollybush Row which is an old house. The north wall of 1 Hollybush Row has been taken away on the ground floor. Part of the ground floor is thus thrown out into the shop (No. 31 Park End Street) and part is used as a store. The upper floors are not used and are not accessible. The front to Hollybush Row is of dressed stone, with sliding sash windows on the ground floor, and casements with mullions & transoms of unmodelled wood on the first floor. There is a small dormer window. Part of the front is concealed by a hoarding. The chimney is of stone with a brick top. The pitch of the roof is steep. On the ground floor is an exposed chamfered ceiling beam. Condition: Where accessible moderate, probably bad upstairs.

If they were indeed built in about 1700, these are interesting examples of dated buildings of the period, having contemporary features such as bolection-moulded fireplaces, but casement windows with timber transoms rather than sashes, and exposed ceiling beams.

Roger of Cumnor

The discovery on this site of the seal of the man who had previously owned the land is of particular interest. His career as known from surviving charters is outlined below. Roger of Cumnor, described as a clerk, *clericus*, was alive in the 1260s and possibly also 1210 × 20, but perhaps not in 1279, and he had a son Henry. The earliest reference may of course be to another individual with the same name, but the buying and selling of land in the 1260s may have been disposal of his property towards the end of a long life. He must have been moderately wealthy, and his series of benefactions to Oseney Abbey may suggest that he ended his life there. One of the Oseney canons in 1280 was a J. of Cumnor, possibly a relative.³⁴ Roger may have been a scribe, and it is possible that he wrote some of the deeds on which his name occurs as last witness (see list below). In addition to the discovery of his seal in the course of this excavation (see below in Small Finds report), two further seals are found on other charters listed below. In 1260/70 Roger was using a round seal with two hawks, and in 1265/6 an oval star and crescent device; none of these documents displays the lion rampant of the seal found here. This variety of devices and forms, which seems to display a casual attitude to the nature of a personal seal, was not in fact particularly unusual, and may partly be due to changing fashions in the course of the 13th century; what is more remarkable is finding the matrix on a property where its owner may actually have lived.³⁵

³³ R.C.H.M.E. files in National Buildings Record (Oxford 173-4), with sketch plan and photo (Ref. OM 90 & 91) investigated by R.W. McD[owall], 21.x.37.

³⁴ *Cart. Osen.* vi, 207.

³⁵ P.D.A. Harvey, 'Personal Seals in Thirteenth-Century England', in I. Wood and G.A. Loud (eds.), *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: essays presented to John Taylor* (1991), esp. 124-7; see also T.A. Heslop, 'English Seals in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in J. Alexander and P. Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (1981), 114-17. Another example of a personal link with a lost seal is reported by Platt in Southampton: C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969* (1975), 32.

*Oxford references to Roger of Cunnor*³⁶

- c.1210–20 Roger de C. is last witness to land grant in St. Peter in the East. *CHSJ* i 357–8 (359).
- c.1230^{*} Roger de C. grants to Marjory, widow of Gilbert le Pechere, a rent ?in St. Thomas' (date probably in 1260s or 1270s judging from witness list). *CHSJ* ii 391 (919).
- 1260/70 Roger de C. grants to his son Henry all his tenements in St. Thomas' and St. Mary Magdalene. Seal: S'-ROG'I-D'-COMENORA-CL'ICI Two hawks on perches ($\frac{2}{3}$ " *CSF* i, 369 (508); *D-I* 36 (F91/W508); H.E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford* ii, (Oxf. Hist. Soc. n.s. xx 1969), 228, N(120).
- 1261 Hen. de Crokesford grant of land in St. Thomas to Roger de C. clericus. *CO* ii, 448 (1052).
- 1261/2 Wm. le Waus (de Vallibus) grants house and tenement, SW(164), in St. Peter le Bailey to Roger de C. clericus. *CO* ii, 77 (601).
- 1261/2 Thomas le Lingdraper grants land in St. Thomas to Roger de C. clericus. *CO* ii, 446 (1049).
- 1264/5 Roger de C. last witness to grant in All Saints. *OR* 315 (370).
- 1265/6 Roger de C. grants tenement, SW(164), in St. Peter le Bailey to Oseney. Seal: S' ROG' DE CVMENOR Star above a crescent ($1\frac{2}{3}$ " \times $\frac{2}{3}$ "). *CO* ii, 77 (602).
- 1265/6 Roger de C. clericus grants tenement of Thomas le Lingdraper in St. Thomas to Oseney (sealing clause but no seal). *CO* ii, 447 (1050).
- 1265/6 Roger de C. clericus grants land of Henry of Crokesford in St. Thomas to Oseney (sealing clause but no seal). *CO* ii, 448 (1053).
- 1267 Roger de C. clericus witness to grant of land in St. Mary the Virgin. *CHSJ* i, 427 (428).
- before 1268 Roger le clerc de C. had given the site for the Augustinian Friars. *Wood City* ii, 447.
- 1279 Roger de C. had given his son Henry a messuage in St. Mary Magdalene, N(120), and Henry granted it to Gilbert le Woreman (Hundred Rolls). *Rot.Hund.* ii, 805; *Collect.* 76 (916).
- 1279 Oseney has one empty place and one cottage in St. Thomas, from Roger de C. Hundred Rolls: *Cooper*, 169 (22, 27).
- 1279 Henry de C. has one cot from his father Rog. in St. Thomas. Hundred Rolls: *Cooper*, 171 (83).
- 1284/5 Claremunda widow of Henry Wirle quitclaims to Oseney her rights of dower in the messuage which Roger de C. had from her husband in North Oseney. *CO* ii, 445 (1047). (See note 16 above for the possibility that Wirle was an alias for Crokesford.)

³⁶ Deeds in which he occurs, and abbreviations in the text, are as follows. *CHSJ*: H.E. Salter (ed.), *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. lxvi, lxviii, 1914–15), i, 357, 427; ii, 391. *CSF*: S.R. Wigram (ed.), *Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide*, i (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxviii, 1894); *D-I*: N. Denholm-Young, *Medieval Deeds of Christ Church* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xcii, 1931), 36 (seal). *CO*: *Cart. Osen.* ii, 77–8 (seal), 444–8. *OR*: C.L. Shadwell and H.E. Salter, *Oriel Records* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. lxxxv, 1926), 315. *Cooper*: Cooper, op. cit. note 10, 169 (22, 27), 172 (83). *Rot. Hund.*: *Rotuli Hundredorum*, Rec. Comm. (1818), ii, 805. *Collect.*: *Collectanea IV* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xlvii, 1905), 76 (916). *Wood City* ii: A. Clark (ed.), *Wood's City of Oxford* ii (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xvii, 1889–90), 447.

HOLLYBUSH ROW EXCAVATIONS by M.R. ROBERTS (Figs. 5 and 6)

Three medieval houses with stone walls were discovered, with a sequence of floors. These postdated 13th-century ditches and pits. The houses were demolished between the 15th and 17th centuries and rebuilt by 1702 (a date provided by the documentary evidence, see above). These new houses were demolished after 1960.

The continuous cleaning-out and relaying of floors which had taken place over the lifetime of the houses meant that there was no certain correspondence between the dating of the walls, and of the floors and occupation layers. In the following account they are described separately; episodes of construction involving changes to walls are described first, followed by the sequence of floors and make-up layers. The sequence of deposits and features is given in detail on the stratigraphic matrix (available in archive); the section (Fig. 6) shows floor and make-up layers in phase groups, with only the major features individually labelled by context number.

Phase 1. Early to mid 13th century

The first signs of activity on the site were ditches and pits which were cut into the old ground surface. The ditches (135 and 137) were aligned at right-angles to Hollybush Row. There was one pit (133, not illustrated), and a linear feature (136) which was cut away by later deposits. The larger ditch (135) was in excess of 4.5 m. wide and was undated, but it was superseded by a stone-lined channel (92, see below) on the same alignment which contained 13th-century pottery in its lower fills. The other features were dated by pottery to the mid 13th century.

Phase 2. Mid 13th to 15th century

This phase includes the construction of three houses which are numbered 1 to 3 from N. to S., and the revetment of the large ditch (135). Only the backs of the houses were recovered in the excavations, the fronts of the houses being inaccessible under the modern street frontage and pavement.

Phase 2a: levelling layers. The first element of the second phase (2a) was a sequence of dumped material, levelling the site (layers 20, 123, 124, 132 and 134). These layers overlay the fills of the earlier features and contained early to mid 13th-century pottery. The walls of houses 1 to 3 were built on top of this layer.

Phase 2b: walls of houses 1 to 3, and the channel. A silt-filled channel (92) ran E.-W. along the S. side of the line of ditch 135. It was c. 1.25 m. wide, and was revetted by battered stone walls on its N. and S. sides. The S. wall of house 1 (wall 53) had been integrated into the top of the N. channel revetment; it was constructed of well-faced stone, and was 1 m. wide. The E. wall of house 1 (wall 38) was also of stone, but was rather narrower, with a width of 0.75 m. The N. wall of house 2 (wall 8) was of stone, c. 0.75 m. wide, and was built on top of the S. channel revetment. The walls of houses 2 and 3 appeared to be of one build. They had a shared E. wall (wall 8/59), 0.75 m. wide and built of stone, and were divided by a stone partition wall (wall 127), 0.50 m. wide, which had been keyed into wall 59. House 3 had the traces of an earlier stone wall (wall 108) on the same alignment as wall 59.

The fills of the channel (92/1, 92/2, 92/3, 92/4) were silts. The lower fills (92/3 and 92/4) contained 13th-century pottery, and the upper fills (92/1 and 92/2) contained 14th-century pottery (see Mellor, below). The lowest layer of the channel fill contained the seal matrix of Roger of Cumnor, *clericus* (Fig. 13 No. 1). It is possible that house 1 is later than house 2. The S. wall of house 1 (wall 53) lay in the middle of the early ditch (135). This may be because the wall was put in later when the ditch was silted up, possibly as late as the 15th century. However, it seems unlikely that the ditch would have had a retaining wall on one side only; in addition, the silts were not disturbed and contained finds datable to the 13th and 14th centuries.

Phase 2c: house 3, occupation. The earliest dated pottery from the house sequence came from the floors of house 3 at the S. of the trench. A compacted gravel floor layer (120) with burnt patches was overlain by a grey-black silty floor layer with charcoal and areas of burning (119). These floor layers and the overlying make-up layers (117 and 116) were undated. Overlying 117 was a grey/black silty loam floor layer with some ash (115) which contained pottery dated to the 13th century. 115 was overlain by floor 112. This was sealed by a make-up layer 111 containing 13th-century pottery which abutted hearth 110 on the W side of the trench. Hearth 110 was rectangular and measured 1.2 m. N.-S. by 0.64 m. E.-W. and was made of yellow clay and limestone blocks. The hearth and make-up layer

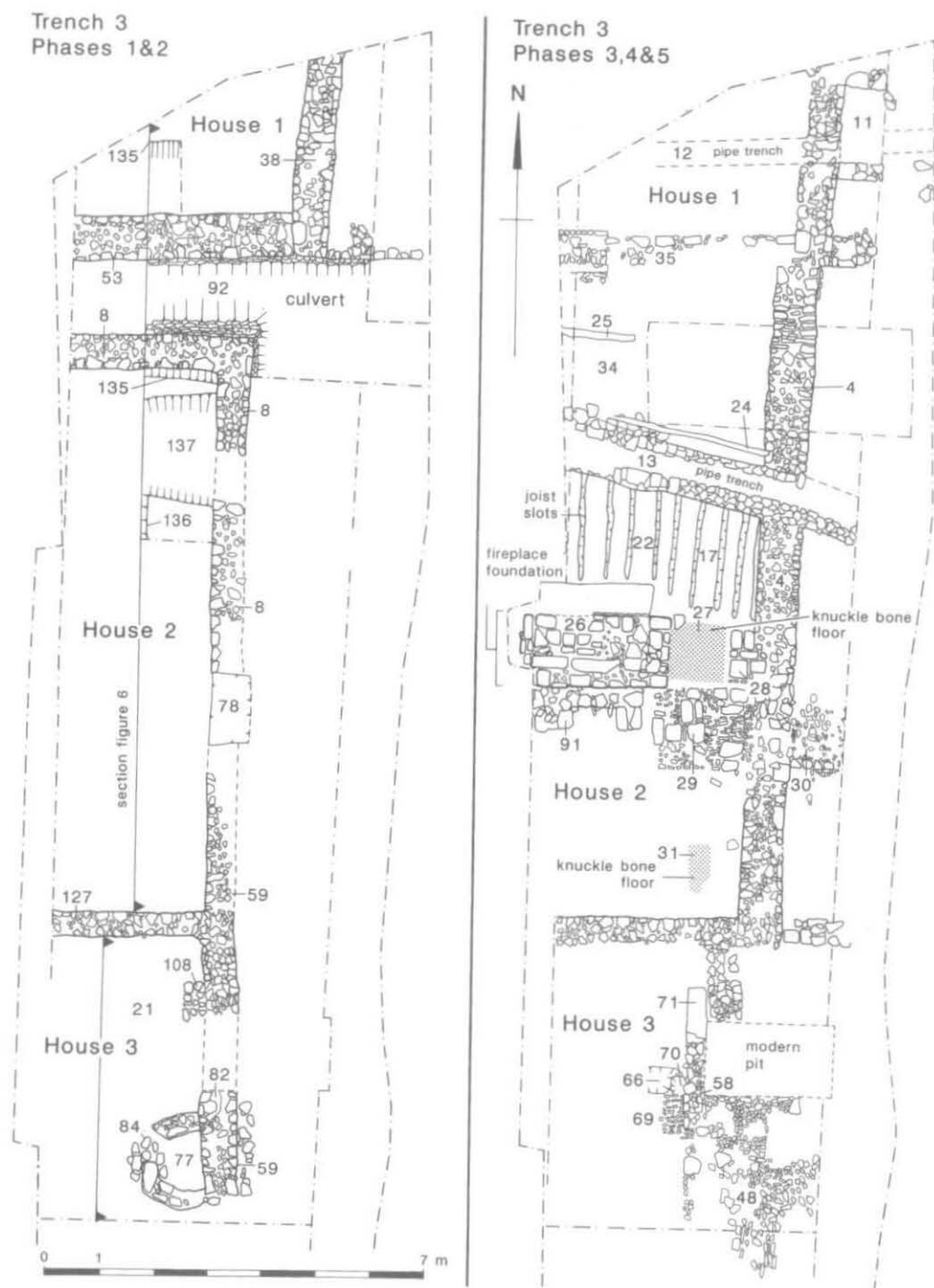


Fig. 5. Hollybush Row: plans of excavated features.

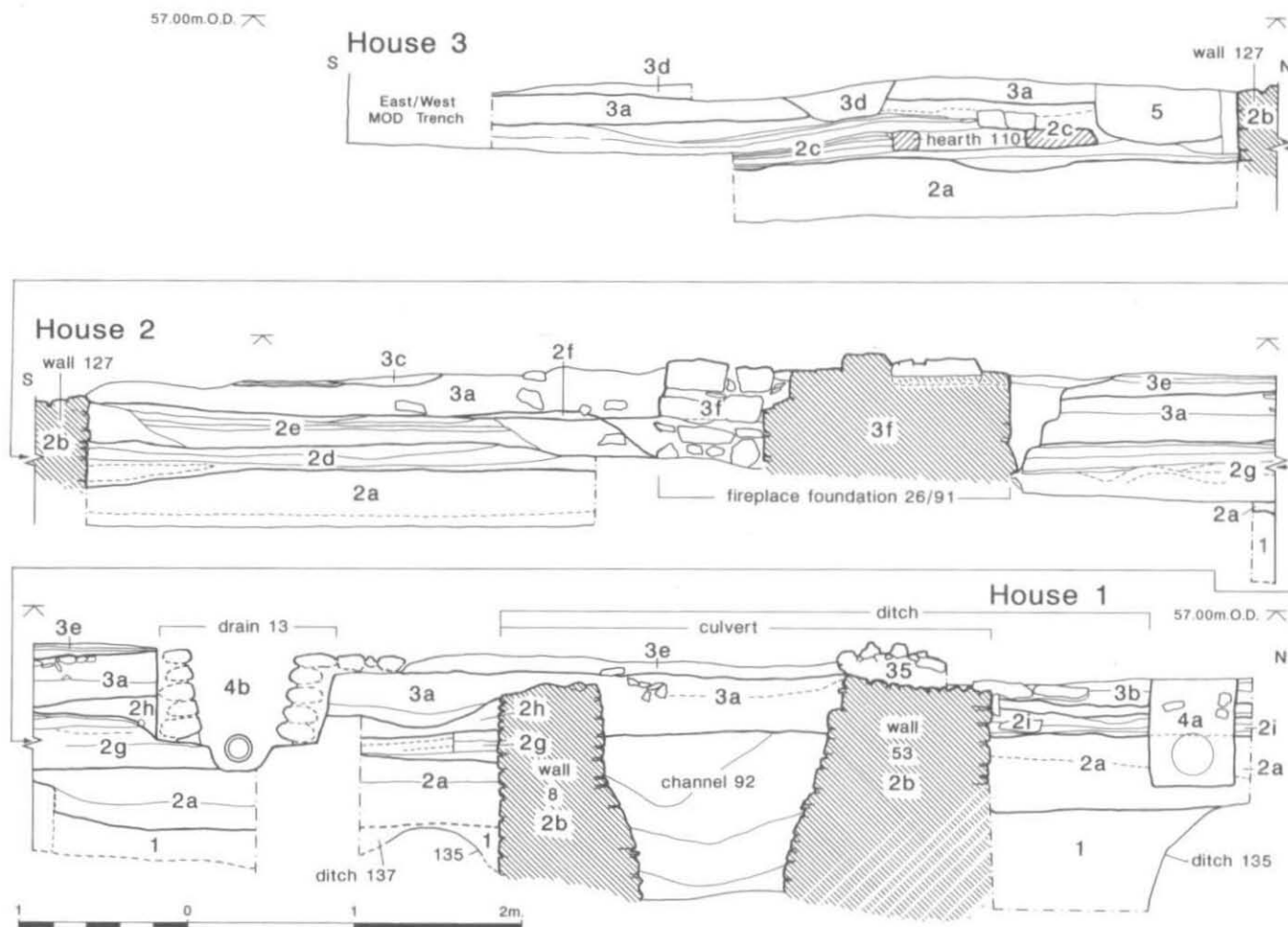


Fig. 6. Hollybush Row: N-S section.

were sealed by floor layer 100 which was underneath make-up layer 138. All the floor layers underneath 100 abutted the fragment of N.-S. wall 108. A recess in N.-S. wall 59 was filled by 82, a layer of limestone blocks which spread slightly to the W. over 138. Floor layers 97 and 89 overlay 138. There were two abutting hearths or ovens cut into 97 and 89. A semicircular oven (77) on a flat stone base (84) had the E. wall of house 3 (wall 59) as a back wall. Immediately N. of oven 77 was a shallow scoop (90=83, not illustrated), partly filled with stones pitched on end.

Phases 2d, e, f, g and h: house 2, occupation. In the middle of house 2, post-medieval chimney stacks had destroyed the medieval layers. To the N. of the chimney stacks, make-up layer 134 was overlain by further layers dumped to raise the ground level (106). To the S. of the chimney stacks, the original levelling layer (132) was overlain by make-up layer 130. 106 and 130 did not contain pottery and so the initial deposits for levelling the floors were not dated. Layer 106 had been cut by a robber trench (128) adjacent to wall 8.

To the S. of the chimney stacks were a sequence of floor and make-up layers (phase 2d; 130, 129 and 125), which abutted wall 127. Pit 126 (not illustrated) cut layer 125. Floor layer 125 was overlain by a patched sand floor layer (113) which produced 13th- to 14th-century pottery, and this was in turn overlain by a further sequence of scorched and ashy floors (103, 95 and hearth 74). Towards the intrusive chimney stack all these layers were cut by a stone filled depression (118) which contained 13th- to 14th-century pottery (phase 2e). A portion of the E. wall of the house 8 had been robbed out, and the fill of the robber trench (78) contained 14th- to 15th-century pottery. A dark brown sandy floor layer (75) containing late 14th-century pottery sealed the robber trench (phase 2f).

The floor layers in house 2 to the N. of the chimney stack were similar to those S. of it, but two vertical-sided flat-bottomed pits (101 and 102, not illustrated) had been cut into the make-up layer 106 in the E. of the house (phase 2g). The pits were sealed by make-up layer 98 under sandy floor layer (87) and floor layer 86, which contained 13th- to 14th-century pottery. Floor 86 had a hearth set in it, constructed of burnt limestone and ash (85, not illustrated). This was overlain by sandy floor layer (67) and dump 63, phase 2h, with 14th-century pottery.

Phase 2i: house 1, occupation. The lowest layer above the general build-up layer in house 1 was a gravel make-up layer (114); this had a circular burnt area (107) within it. Above 114 was a dark grey sandy clay floor (88) with charcoal flecks. Layer 88 contained pottery of 14th- to 15th-century date, but Mellor (below) notes that it is fragmentary and contains residual sherds in fabric AC, which may be contemporary with the residual short cross penny minted in 1205-10. In this layer was a circular patch of burning (93) with a stakehole (104) in the centre. Over 88 was a mid-brown sandy clay (64) with olive-coloured staining (73) containing 14th- to 15th-century pottery.

Phase 3: 17th to 19th century

This phase of activity comprises the demolition and levelling of houses 1 to 3 (phase 3a), and their subsequent reconstruction and occupation (phases 3b to 3g). The reconstructed properties lasted until demolition in the 1960s, with the addition of chimney stacks (phase 3f) and knucklebone floors (phase 3g) in house 2.

Phase 3a: demolition and levelling. In house 3, build-up layers 72 and 79 overlay floor 89. Layer 72 contained 15th-century pottery and a late 16th- to early 17th-century token.

In house 2 a succession of dumped layers overlay the last floor of phase 2 (63) to the N. of the chimney stacks. Within the lowest layer of dumping (57) was a burnt deposit of roof slates (55). Over this was another layer of dumping (46) with 15th-century pottery, containing an area of dumped stone (52). Layer 46 abutted wall 8. To the S. of the chimney stacks, these dumped layers were identified as 65, which contained late 14th-century pottery. In house 1, dumped layer 64 was under dumped layer 56, which contained 14th- to 15th-century pottery.

The stone-revetted channel (92) had been filled in with loam (5), which also overlay wall 8.

As these dumped layers contain residual pottery, the dating of the demolition and levelling is part numismatic and part stratigraphic. The coins from the overlying layers (phase 3c on) suggest the 17th-century construction of the buildings. The latest layers that are sealed by the dumped layers are 15th-century (phase 2i). A late 16th- to early 17th-century token was recovered from layer 72.

Phase 3b: Walls. House 2 was extended northwards across the infilled channel (92). A new E. wall (wall 4) was constructed immediately E. of the earlier wall (8/59). Wall 4 was built of small, hard limestone rubble, 0.75 m. wide, set on a footing 0.90 m. wide. The new wall (4) was carried over the old channel by a relieving arch (109). A new, thinner wall (35) was built on the line of wall 53 as the new party wall between houses 1 and 2. This wall was seen to continue beyond wall 4, to the E. The rear wall of house 3 remained the same.

Phase 3b; house 1, occupation. The dumped layers of phases 2i and 3a (64, 56) were overlain by a small area of green/brown sandy clay floor (50) with 14th- to 15th-century pottery and a circular hearth (54, not illustrated), constructed of stone slabs surrounded by burnt clay and charcoal. This hearth overlay the top of wall 53 and abutted the new thinner wall (35). The floor (50) and the hearth were overlain by a dumped layer (49).

Phases 3c, 3e, 3f and 3g: house 2, occupation. To the S. of the chimney, dumped layer 65 (phase 3a) was overlain by a sequence of floor layers: mid-brown/olive floor layer (62) under a dark brown floor layer (47), both overlain by layer 45 of mortar and clay (phase 3c). To the N. of the chimneys, floor layer 44 was overlain by floor layer 43 (phase 3e), with ash and mortar make-up, which contained a Charles I rose farthing. Floor 43 was cut by four shallow postholes (39-42, not illustrated) in a rectangular arrangement. Over the postholes and layer 43 was a brown sandy loam floor (36) with 15th- to 16th-century pottery. This was under a brown sandy loam with cream mortar, forming floor 22. (A later drain, 13, cut through the N. part of house 2; the layers just described were to the S. of the drain, and corresponded to the layers to the N. of the drain, 81 and 34). Layer 34, which corresponded to layer 22, ran up to the S. face of wall 35.

Floors 22 and 36 were cut by the construction trench (122) for a hearth and chimney stack base (26, phase 3f). The hearth was constructed of clay hearth tiles, which were burnt and patched in places. The hearth and chimney stack had evidently been altered on numerous occasions, and were extended southwards. The S. extension was recorded as 91; it was set over a make-up layer of sand and gravel (96), and was constructed of large, rounded blocks of soft limestone with a recess for the fireplace. Immediately E. of the chimney stacks was a patch of knucklebone floor (27, phase 3g), of which an area c. 1.0 x 1.0 m. survived; a trade token of 1657 was recovered from this floor. The knucklebone floor overlay floor 22. Between the knucklebone floor and wall 4 was an area of limestone flags (28), c. 1.0 m. N.-S. and 0.5 m. E.-W. A second patch of stone flooring (29) survived immediately S. of the knucklebone floor; this floor consisted of flagstones and cobbles, and survived over an area of c. 1.5 x 1.5 m. A second small patch of knucklebone floor (31), measuring c. 0.90 x 0.40 m., survived towards the S. wall of house 2. To the N. of the chimney stacks were nine joist slots (17), aligned N.-S. and spaced c. 0.45 m. apart; the N. edges of the joist slots had been destroyed by the insertion of drain 13 (see below). The joist slots were cut into floor 22.

Phase 3d. House 3: occupation. Dumped layer 72 (phase 3a) was overlain by two hearths (69 and 70). 70 was a small pit with layers of burnt clay and ash. It was cut by 69, which was a limestone hearth covered with ash. A layer of ash and burnt clay (60) covered part of hearth 69 and layer 72. Hearth 69 was also covered by orange-red sandy floor 68. A pit (66) cut layer 72 and the two hearths (69 and 70).

Phase 4. Modern deposits

The last phase of activity within the houses was vestigial, having been truncated by the later demolition. It included drains across the buildings, a wooden floor across one of the drains and pits dug into the earlier layers.

Phase 4a. House 1. Floor 16 overlay dump layer 49 (phase 3b) and contained residual medieval pottery and a Charles I rose farthing. A pipe trench (12) ran W.-E. across the building, leading into a pit (11) which contained fragments of coal and coke in its fills.

Phase 4b. House 2. A stone-lined drain trench (13/2) cut the joist slots (17). A pipe (13) had been inserted into the drain trench at a later date; a forged George III halfcrown, dated 1817, was recovered from the fill around the pipe. Two joist slots aligned W.-E. (24 and 25) lay to the N. of the drain trench; joist 24 appeared to cut the edge of the stone lining.

At the rear of the property was a cobbled yard surface (30), which was overlain by a layer of loam and gravel (19); layer 19 was covered by garden soil (18) which contained early post-medieval pottery.

Phase 4b and 4c. House 3. The E. wall of house 3 (59) appeared to have been strengthened by the addition of an internal thickening, represented by wall 58. The thickening contained a fragment of Victorian yellow brick, and had been robbed out at its N. end (robber trench 71). Wall 58 was overlain by a build-up layer (33), equivalent to layer 23 outside the house to the E.

Phase 5. Modern deposits

This phase comprised demolition layers and tarmac over all of the trench. Modern dumping (10=2), sealed by tarmac (1), overlay houses 1 and 2. Above house 3, modern brick footings (21 and 15) and a large brick-lined pit (14) cut through build-up layer 33 into the medieval layers; these deposits were sealed by the tarmac (1).

ST. THOMAS'S STREET EXCAVATIONS (Figs. 7, 8 and 9)

Fragmentary remains of three 14th-century cob-walled houses were discovered (houses 4, 5 and 7), which were later replaced by three stone houses. Another stone house (house 6) was built at the rear of these

St Thomas Street
Phase 1

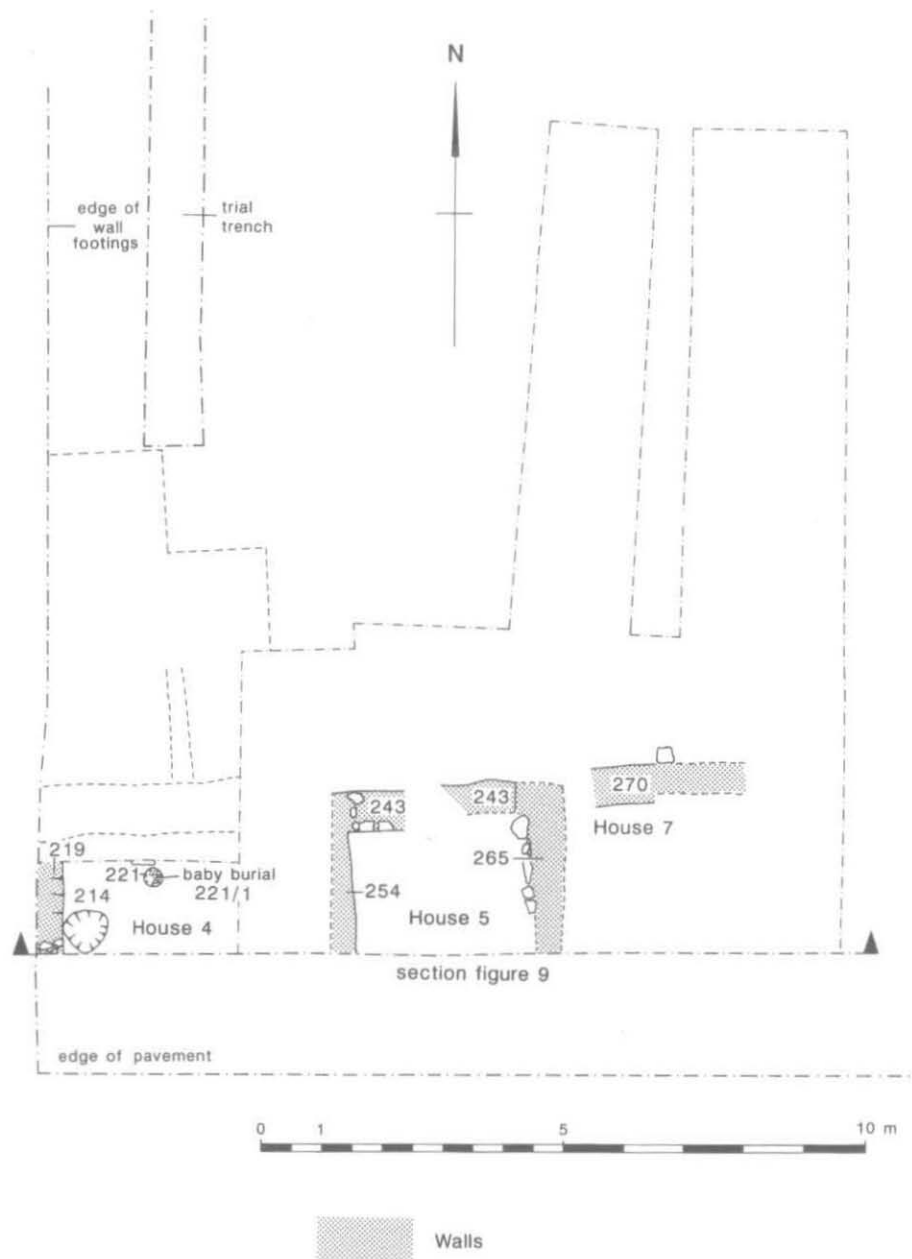


Fig. 7. St. Thomas's Street: plan of excavated features, phase 1.

St Thomas Street
Phase 2

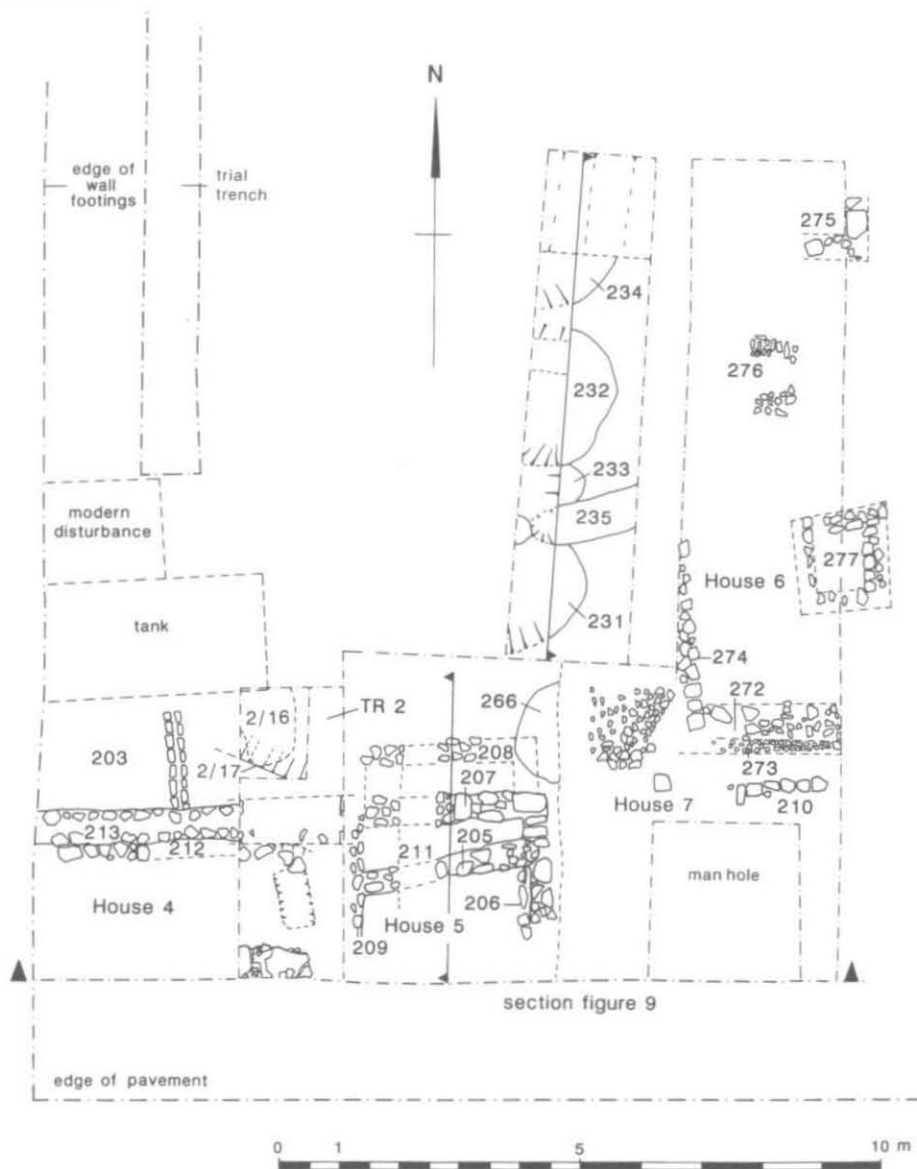


Fig. 8. St. Thomas's Street: plan of excavated features, phase 2.

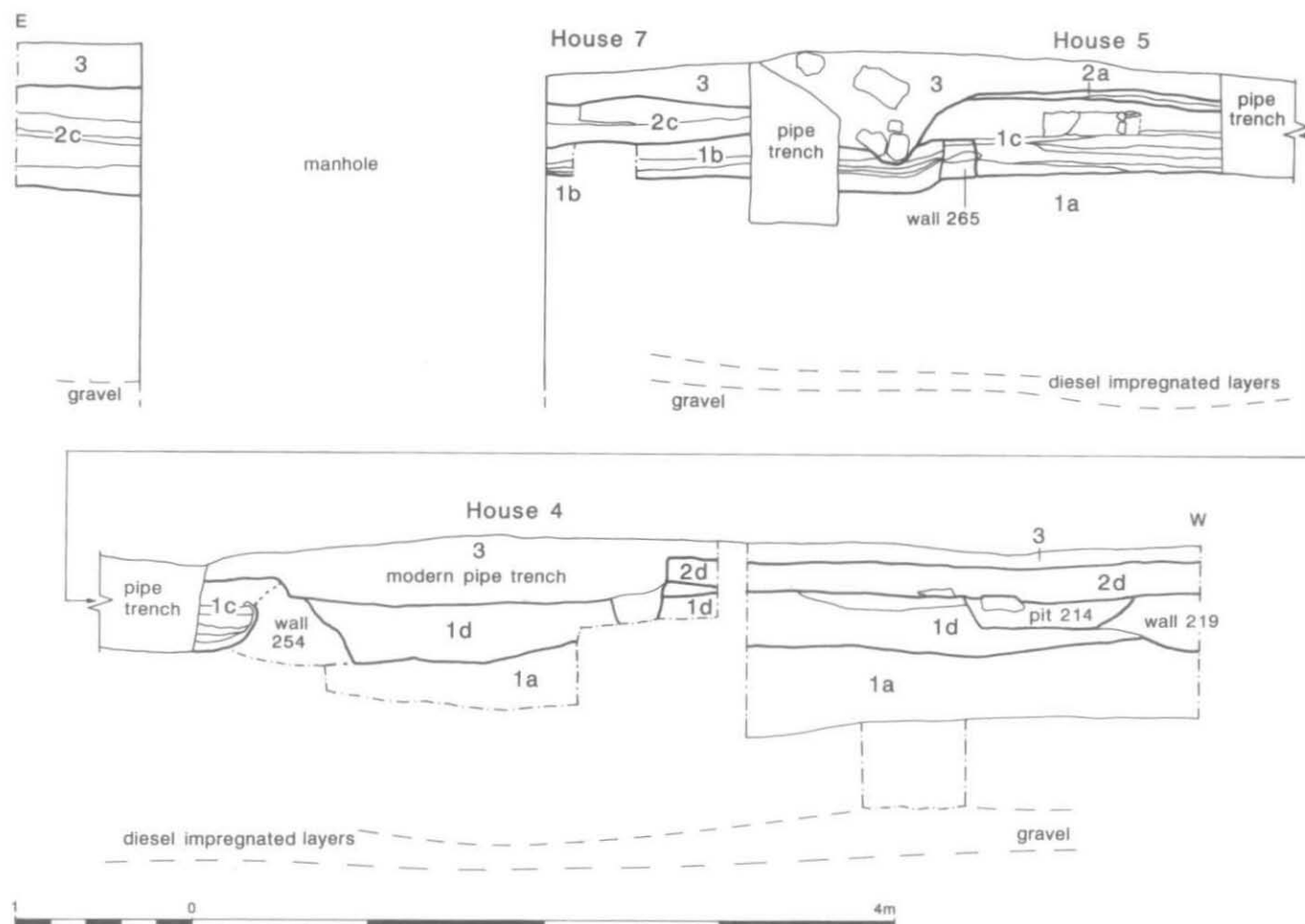


Fig. 9. St. Thomas's Street: E-W section.

properties. There were traces of post-medieval properties of which drawings and photographs survive (see Figs. 3 and 4).

The excavations on this site were severely hampered by the presence of later drains, a manhole and diesel tanks. The latter had leaked and impregnated permeable layers down to the gravel, which prevented the recording of the affected deposits. In addition, the high water table prevented recording in the area of the W. trial trench. The area available for controlled excavation was effectively restricted to the E. half of the site, and to its S. edge, where access was further constrained by proximity to the modern street frontage. As a consequence, the excavated evidence inevitably represents an incomplete picture of the sequence of development, both of the individual buildings and of the site as a whole. The following account identifies and describes the clearest and most significant archaeological remains encountered, but the interpretation of the evidence has been limited by the effect of the restrictions outlined above. The sequence of deposits and features is given in detail on the stratigraphic matrix (available in archive); the section (Fig. 9) shows floor and make-up layers in phase groups, with only the major features individually labelled by context number.

Phase 1: 14th century

Phase 1a: dumping. The earliest activity on the site was layers of dumping (253, 255 and 268, phase 1a). The earliest layer of dumping in the stratigraphic sequence was layer 268, which was heavily impregnated by diesel fuel. This was under layer 255, of loam with charcoal flecks. On the W. side of the trench was dump layer 253, also of loam with charcoal flecks, which contained 14th-century pottery. From observations on the last day of the excavation it appeared that this dump layer may have been the fill of a roadside ditch. This sighting was not well substantiated and conditions did not allow further investigation, but the presence of a roadside ditch would not be exceptional in the parish.

Phase 1b: construction and occupation of house 7. House 7 was represented by two walls, and a sequence of floor layers. An E.-W. cob wall (270) appeared to represent the N. wall of the building. It was of the same build as the cob walls of houses 4 and 5, consisting of very compact mid-brown clay with 30% gravel. The W. wall of the house (265) formed a party wall with house 4, and was represented by a line of stones running N.-S.

Abutting wall 265 to the E. was a sequence of clay floors (260, 259 and 258) which contained late 13th-century pottery. In the N. of house 7, the E.-W. cob wall (270) was abutted by floor layers containing charcoal and ash, which were overlain by yellow gravel and sandy floors (263 and 262) which contained 14th-century pottery. Over both floors 258 and 262 was a make-up layer (256).

Phase 1c: construction and occupation of house 5. House 5 was the best preserved of the early buildings, and was represented by three walls and a sequence of floor layers. The E. wall of the house was the W. wall of house 7 (265). The N. and W. walls (wall 243 and wall 254) were of cob, constructed of compacted brown clay loam with 30% gravel, and were set into a burnt layer (280) which overlay the primary dump layer (253). Large stones lying flat had been set into wall 243, at its W. end; these could represent a stage of rebuilding, or possibly strengthening for the corner.

The floor layers of house 5 abutted walls 265 and 254, but there was no relationship with wall 243 as a later wall (205) cut into the floors. The lowest floor layer (249) was over make-up layer 281 and contained 14th-century pottery. Over 249 was a floor of buff/yellow sandy clay mixed with mid-brown silt (247) which also contained 14th-century pottery. Over floor 247 was layer 251 (dark brown sandy silt with flecks of charcoal), beneath 250 (loam with clay and charcoal patches, containing 14th-century pottery), beneath 248 (burnt loam with charcoal). There was a stone platform (264) at the N. end of house 5, which cut into floor 247 and wall 243 and was set into layers 251, 250, and 248.

Floor 248 was cut by a square limestone-packed posthole (244), which was 0.30 m. wide and 0.25 m. deep, and by a hollow (279) which was filled with limestone in a light brown silt matrix. Floor 248 ran over the top of the truncated E. wall of the building (265). The posthole, hollow, floor 248 and the stone platform (264) were covered by a make-up layer (242) which contained 14th-century pottery.

Phase 1d: construction and occupation of house 4. House 4 was the least well-preserved of the early buildings. It lay in the SW. corner of the trench, where the earliest activity was represented by dumping (253, phase 1a above) overlain by a burnt layer (280) into which walls 243 and 254 of house 5 had been set (phase 1c). Over 280 was a thick dump layer (227) which contained residual 13th-century pottery. A baby burial in a pit (221) which contained 14th-century pottery was cut into the dumped layer. This was overlain by a layer of loam (215).

The W. wall of house 4 was represented by a robber trench (219), which cut dump layers 227 and 253, and was filled with dark loam with charcoal flecks and a few remaining stones. The robber trench contained 14th-century

pottery. A pit (214) cut robber trench 219 and layer 215; the pit was filled with limestone boulders and quartzite pebbles in a loose dark brown loam.

To the N. of house 4 was a deep pit (2/16), which had been found in the assessment trench; it contained 13th- to 14th-century pottery. A roughly E.-W. aligned ditch 2/17 which was undated was cut by the pit.

Phase 2: 14th to 15th centuries

This phase consisted of floor layers and new walls in house 5 and dumping N. of house 5 and house 7. House 4 was also rebuilt but the later version of the house was cut away by a later cellar. House 6 was constructed to the N.

Phase 2a: house 5, reconstruction and occupation. The three walls of house 5 (254, 243 and 265, phase 1c) were rebuilt in stone (walls 209, 207 and 206), but subsequent alterations meant that very little of the original stonework survived, and the relationship of floor layers to walls was not clear. Wall 209 was built on top of wall 254 and formed the W. wall. The original N. wall (243) was overlain by a layer of dump (224, of mortar and clay with sand and gravel), and wall 207 was constructed on top of this dump, slightly to the N. of 243. On the E. of the house, wall 206 was built on top of, and slightly to the E. of, wall 265.

Two further E.-W. walls were located on either side of wall 207. Wall 205 lay immediately S. of wall 207, on an oblique SE.-NW. alignment; the function of this wall is unclear, but appeared to be a later insertion, since it was cut into wall 206. Wall 208 was constructed N. of, and parallel to, wall 207. It is possible that wall 208 may date from the 17th century and is contemporary with the cellar 213/203 (phase 2d, below); however, as the site was heavily disturbed by later activity this remains unclear.

No internal floor or occupation layers survived within house 5 to the N. of wall 205. S. of wall 205, a make-up layer of yellow/buff clay (241) overlay the deposits of phase 1c (see above). This was overlain by make-up layer 220, which contained 14th-century pottery; a deposit of mortar and some stone (223) was interleaved with layer 220 and may represent the remains of rendering from a demolished wall. Over make-up layer 220 was make-up layer 218, which was overlain by two floors (217 and 222) which did not join. Floor 217 was of black silt and ash, and was S. of, and abutting, wall 205. Floor 222 was of dark brown silt loam; it lay to the S. of 243 and contained 15th-century pottery. Floor 217 was under make-up layer 216.

Phase 2b: Exterior of Houses 5 and 7. To the N. of houses 5 and 7 was an area with two pits and a small ditch. Pit 231 contained 15th-century pottery and was cut by pit 233. These pits were cut by a small ditch (235), oriented ENE.-WSW., and were overlain by a layer of loam with charcoal (240) under a thick dumped layer 239.

Phase 2c: Dumping. The E. side of house 7 had been destroyed by a 20th-century manhole. Within the manhole was a possible well (271), but diesel contamination made it impossible to investigate this feature further. No floor layers survived to the E. of the manhole, but a series of dump layers were recorded across the area of house 7 (261, 257, 287, 286). Layer 257 contained 14th-century pottery. Overlying these layers were more dumped layers which extended W. over house 5. Layer 284 overlay dumped layer 286 and layer 285 which had been dumped inside house 7.

Phase 2d: house 4. Over layers 278, 214 and 215 (phase 1d, see above) was a layer of dumping (204) which contained 14th- to 15th-century and 16th- to 17th-century pottery. A wall (212), aligned E.-W., was cut into this layer and may have been the N. wall of house 4. The rest of the house was cut away by 17th- to 19th-century cellar 203. A wall (213) immediately N. of wall 212 probably represented the S. wall of this cellar. The cellar fills (203/1-13) appeared to have accumulated slowly, and the lower fills had been sealed by a brick floor.

Phase 2e: Exterior of houses 5 and 7. To the N. of houses 5 and 7 were dumped layers. The deposits of phase 2b were overlain by loam (237), which contained early 15th-century pottery; layer 237 was cut by a pit (266), also containing 15th-century pottery. Overlying these deposits was a layer of garden soil with some mortar flecks and charcoal and containing 16th- to 17th-century pottery (226). A make-up layer (225) with residual medieval pottery overlay the garden soil. A vestigial wall (210) was recorded on the E. of the trench, within the area of house 7 and on the same alignment as wall 207. The function of this wall could not be determined, but its alignment suggests that it could have formed part of the N. wall of the house.

Phase 2f: house 6. House 6 was constructed in the NE. of the trench, with wall 273 forming its S. side. Wall 274 formed the W. side, and there was a vestigial wall next to 273 aligned E.-W. (272). Within house 6 build-up layer 246, containing medieval pottery and a seal (Fig. 13 No. 2), was overlain by a floor of mid brown clay loam with charcoal flecks (245) with 14th-century pottery. This had a patch of cobbles (276) and two stone-lined pits (275 and 277) cut into it. Medieval and 16th- and 17th-century pottery was obtained from the cleaning of the interior of the house.

Phase 3: modern

Several modern drains ran N.-S. through houses 4, 5 and 7, with a manhole constructed in house 7. There were also two pits N. of house 5 (232 and 234), one of which (232) contained 19th-century pottery and a tin-opener. The entire trench had been levelled for the brewery buildings (200).

POTTERY by MAUREEN MELLOR*Summary*

Some 1,461 sherds were recorded as part of an assessment for Hollybush Row and a further 945 were recovered from St. Thomas's Street. Two major ceramic traditions (AM and AQ) dominated throughout the temporal span of the site (see Tables 1 and 2). The few regional imports contrasted with sites closer to the commercial hub of the town, where a wider range of sources are represented, but the presence of one jug from Saintonge in south-west France, in association with much metalwork, may suggest that an occupant c. 1300 had a slightly higher standard of living, and enjoyed French wines. A fragment of niche type stove tile from the Cologne area in Germany was recovered from Hollybush Row, the first time stove tiles have been recognised from the archaeological record in Oxford.

Methodology

The ceramics from these sites were assessed at a low level in 1989 to establish the objectives set out below. The basic recording unit adopted was a single sherd, or alternatively a group of sherds with effectively identical characteristics, and used sherd-number to facilitate rapid recording.³⁷ The abbreviations and the classification follow those set out elsewhere.³⁸

Sherds classified as miscellaneous were too small to be assigned to a fabric type, or their fabrics were obscured through secondary burning, or are residual medieval sherds in a post-medieval context e.g. phase 3a.

Objectives

The pottery was assessed to establish the date range of specific contexts within stratigraphic sequences relating to each house, and to assess the potential of these stratified sequences concerning:

- (a) the status of the inhabitants of the properties;
- (b) the comparison of pottery assemblages with those from the tenements of the Hamel;
- (c) the processes of deposit formation and in particular residuality.³⁹

The results are set out house-by-house in stratigraphic order, but the results from individual sequences are combined into Tables 1 and 2 to demonstrate general trends. Although this amalgamation leads to a loss of information, particularly in regard to the site formation processes, the number of sherds from some floor levels were regarded as

³⁷ H. Blake and P. Davey, *Guidelines for the Processing and Publication of Medieval Pottery from Excavations* (Dept. of the Environment Occasional Paper 5, 1983), 50.

³⁸ R. Haldon with M. Mellor, 'Late Saxon and Medieval pottery', in B.G. Durham, 'Archaeological Investigations in St. Aldate's, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 110-39; qualified in M. Mellor, 'Pottery', in Palmer, 'The Hamel'; and in M. Mellor, 'The Pottery', in B.G. Durham, 'The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, lvi (1991), 54, for the medieval period; and M. Mellor, 'The Pottery', in T.G. Hassall, C.E. Halpin and M. Mellor, 'Excavations in St. Ebbe's Oxford, 1967-76: Part II', *Oxoniensia*, xlix (1984), 176-219, Fiche M1 G5-111 G2, for the post-medieval period.

³⁹ J. Evans and M. Millett, 'Residuality Revisited', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 11 (2) (1992), 225-40.

TABLE 1. HOLLYBUSH ROW POTTERY BY NUMBER. THE NUMBER IN BRACKETS IS THE PERCENTAGE

<i>Gp/Code</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2a</i>	<i>2b</i>	<i>2c</i>	<i>2d</i>	<i>2e</i>	<i>2f</i>	<i>2g</i>	<i>2h</i>	<i>2i</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3a</i>	<i>3b</i>	<i>3c</i>	<i>3d</i>	<i>3e</i>	<i>3f</i>	<i>3g</i>	<i>4a</i>	<i>Tot</i>	<i>%</i>
Gp IA:																					
CG			2(5)																	2	0.14
Gp IB:																					
AC	2(10)	9(8)								2(2)		13(3)							1(0.6)	27	1.85
BB												8(2)	1(8)						1(0.6)	10	0.68
Gp II:																					
AQ	3(15)	10(9)	4(11)	1(13)	16(26)		7(27)	33(26)	14(20)	20(22)	54(20)	51(13)	3(25)	1(14)	1(17)	4(19)	2(20)		10(5.9)	234	16
Gp III:																					
Y		32(29)			1(2)			2(2)	1(1)		1(0.4)								1(0.6)	38	3
Y/AW		24(22)							4(4)										5(3)	33	2.3
AG												1(0.2)								1	0.1
AH	1(5)																			1	0.1
AM	5(25)	4(4)	3(8)	7(88)	35(56)	1(100)	17(65)	70(55)	55(77)	65(71)	204(74)	253(63)	6(50)	3(43)	5(83)	8(38)	5(50)	3(60)	129(76)	878	60.1
AW	9(45)	24(22)	14(38)		2(3)			9(7)			8(3)	2(0.5)	2(17)							70	4.8
BG		1(0.9)			1(2)		1(4)					1(0.2)								4	0.3
BX		1(0.9)						1(0.8)				3(0.7)				4(19)			6(4)	14	0.96
CC																	1(10)			2	0.2
ABA		2(2)	1(3)		1(2)			2(2)	1(1)	1(1)	3(1)	2(0.5)							1(0.6)	14	0.96
MISC		3(3)	13(35)		6(10)		1(4)	10(8)			4(1.5)	70(17)				4(19)	2(20)	2(40)	5(3)	120	8.2
REW																1(5)			4(2)	7	0.5
RST															2(29)				4(2)	4	0.3
WHW																			2(1)	2	0.14
Total	20	110	37	8	62	1	26	127	71	92	274	404	12	6	6	21	10	5	169	1461	

too small to be reliable to test the quality of the evidence. However, some floor levels and the dump levels contained a greater quantity of ceramics and further quantification of the individual pottery assemblages may be valid in future (see Discussion).

Hollybush Row

Phase 1: A sequence of ditches probably define property boundaries around the houses; only 2 sherds of Early Medieval Oxford Ware (Fabric AC, Group IB) were found (137) and may be associated with primary fill. The few ceramics (20 sherds) from the earliest features (133, 136) include 2 cooking pot/storage vessels (Fabric AQ, Group II, see Table 1), fragments of coarsewares from the vicinity of Brill/Boarstall (Fabric AW1, Group III) and a regional import possibly from Nuneaton, Warwickshire (Fabric AH, Group III). This ceramic material is similar to that found from the pre-hospital dumping at the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Oxford (Phase 2), in that coarsewares from Buckinghamshire and a probable East Wiltshire source were present; this small assemblage may suggest a date contemporary with the pottery from the beginning of the Hospital levels (Phase 3a) dated to the second quarter of the 13th century – perhaps in the 1230s.⁴⁰

Phase 2a: The subsequent phase, interpreted as levelling and dumping levels, contained 110 sherds (20, 123, 124, 132 and 134) some of which may have been brought from elsewhere in the town (123). The latter included more residual material (coarsewares in Fabric T, Group III which were not present in any quantity in the floor levels of the properties). As in Phase 1 the majority of coarsewares were supplied by two sources and the fineware jugs, often decorated with mottled green or dark green glaze, were supplied by the Brill/Boarstall kilns. A Surrey Whiteware from the Surrey/Hampshire border (Fabric BG, Group III)⁴¹ was present and, although synonymous in Oxford with late 14th- to 15th-century contexts, had been found in 13th-century contexts on some nearby rural sites e.g. Dean Court, Cumnor.⁴² Small amounts of Medieval Abingdon Ware (Fabric AG, and Abingdon Type A) were also present. This phase is broadly dated to the second quarter of the 13th century, as Phase 1, with one or two intrusive sherds of the later medieval period (123, 134).

Phase 2b – all houses: The walls relating to the three houses yielded only 2 sherds from House 3 (108), the remaining pottery being associated with make-up levels (121 and 131) which included regional imports from Olney Hyde in Northamptonshire (Fabric CG, Group IB, see Table 1).⁴³

Phase 2c – house 3: In contrast to the above, the earliest floor levels associated with house 3 yielded only 2 sherds, many of the floors being devoid of sherds (89, 97, 100, 119 and 120). Again the coarsewares were supplied by the same two sources as in Phase 1 and in the adjoining houses, but jugs from Brill/Boarstall included rouletted applied decoration with mottled green glaze, a style of decoration first recognised at the nearby Hamel as first occurring in Phase BIOa, dated early to mid 13th century⁴⁴ but which carries over into the second half of the 13th century.

Phase 2d – house 2: The earliest sequence of floor levels associated with house 2 (99, 103, 105, 113, 125) divided by a later intrusion (chimney stack 26) contained 55 sherds, the remainder being from a small pit (126). Pitchers, where decorated, favoured red slip rather than applied strips and one jug with carbon deposits on the exterior of the pot had clearly been used over an open fire, a phenomenon noted on jugs locally in 14th-century contexts.⁴⁵

Phase 2e – house 2: The dump level in house 2 contained few sherds but included another jug with red slip, mottled green glaze and a carbon deposit externally (see above).

⁴⁰ M. Mellor, 'The Pottery', in B.G. Durham, 'The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, lvi (1991), 50.

⁴¹ R. Haldon with M. Mellor, 'Late Saxon and Medieval pottery', in B.G. Durham, 'Archaeological Investigations in St. Aldate's, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 119.

⁴² T. Allen, 'A Medieval Grange of Abingdon Abbey at Dean Court Farm, Cumnor, Oxon.', *Oxoniensia*, lix (1994), 219–447.

⁴³ M. Mellor, 'Pottery from the excavations at 89–91 St. Aldate's', in *Oxford before the University*, Oxford Archaeological Unit, Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph, in prep.

⁴⁴ M. Mellor, 'Pottery', in Palmer, 'The Hamel', fig. 13 no. 28.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 160–82, Fiche.

Phase 2f – house 2: The levelling of house 2 (Phase 2f) included a few more sherds (see Table 1) but with few diagnostic features to clarify the dating. Another example of Surrey Whiteware was present and probably dated to the later 14th century.

Phase 2g – house 2: A surprising number of sherds from floor levels were associated with the north side of house 2 (127 sherds). These may have built up between the mid 13th to the early 14th century and so the dating overlaps with that of phase 2d to the south. One fragment of a Saintonge pear-shaped jug from south-west France (Fig. 10, 2) was in the standard fabric and decorated with vertical running foliate scroll and a wash of colourless glaze; dated c. 1280–1300, cross-joins with phase 3f (122). Saintonge vessels can only be paralleled locally in Oxford at 31–34 Church Street⁴⁶ and from Hardings Field, Chalgrove, in south-east Oxfordshire⁴⁷ although the pear-shaped vessels are known in Southampton, Hull and London.⁴⁸ The presence of such a rare continental import to the region might indicate wider contacts giving rise to more wealth, and supports the evidence of the metalwork in that the material culture from this phase was richer than from other adjoining properties. There was also a green glazed sherd with a diamond roulette decoration from the Brill/Boarstall kilns (Fig. 10, 1).

Phase 2h – house 2: The north end of house 2 contained more dumping (see Table 1), the one floor layer (67) with 35 sherds having fewer East Wiltshire coarsewares but probably still dated to the 14th century; the dump level (63) appeared to be contemporary too.

Phase 2i – house 1: The only surviving floor level in house 1 (88 with 55 sherds) contains much that is fragmentary and dates to the 14th to 15th century (2 obviously residual sherds in Fabric AC may be contemporary with the coin of c. 1205–10). The remaining build-up level (64) appears to contain ceramic material contemporary with the floor level.

Phase 2 – channel: The fill of the stone-lined water channel (92), with 274 sherds, contained rubbish like that accumulated during the life of houses 1, 2 and 3, dating from the second quarter of the 13th to the later 14th or possibly even early 15th century. Vessels included further jugs with carbon deposits on the external surfaces, but no obvious internal deposits of calcium carbonate as might be expected if water had been heated. A chafing dish support was found (Fig. 10, 4), partially glazed externally with light green and a wash of white slip on the upper part of the interior, and a sherd with orange glaze internally and a hole drilled prior to firing probably belonged to another chafing dish. Such dishes would have been in use as food warmers at table and might be indicative of a more leisurely standard of living. This phase also included the upper half of a triple decker jug with leaf motif decoration (Fig. 10, 3), perhaps inspired by the foliage in the forest; all these vessels were made at the Brill/Boarstall kilns, situated close to Stowood.

Phase 3a: The demolition and dumping layers with 404 sherds contained some residual material from the 13th century but largely it dated to the later medieval period. Thus it included a fabric type from the Brill/Boarstall kilns common in Oxford in 15th- and 16th-century contexts (Fabric BX, Group III), more Minety types (Fabric BB, Group IB) from another source in Wiltshire but further north, as well as the coarse and finewares typical of the 13th and 14th centuries. There was little evidence of 16th- and early 17th-century ceramics, although coins and tokens of this period were recovered (see Small Finds report). One product of particular interest was a lid (Fig. 10, 6), glazed in mottled green with possibly a merchant's mark or potter's batch mark; such marks have been found at Peckwater Quad, Oxford in a late medieval context⁴⁹ but are rare amongst the Oxford ceramic assemblage and no two are identical. There was also an arm from an anthropomorphic jug (Fig. 10, 5).

Phase 3b – houses 1 and 2: Only 12 sherds were associated with the walls and floors of houses 1 and 2 and the subsequent phases contained very few sherds (see Table 1), much being derived from earlier levels. A fragment of tile belonging to a stove designed to sit in a niche had been made in the region of Cologne, north Germany, but is unstratified in a floor level post-dating the 17th-century re-building. The iron-free fabric and exceptional quality of mottled green glaze stood out clearly from the local assemblage, and a complete stove decorated with these tiles would have been

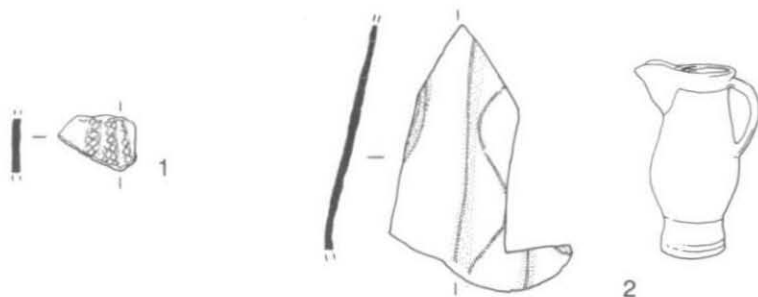
⁴⁶ M. Mellor, 'The Pottery', in T.G. Hassall, C.E. Halpin and M. Mellor, 'Excavations in St. Ebbe's, Oxford, 1967–76: Part I', *Oxoniensia*, liv (1989), fig. 54 no. 12, 209.

⁴⁷ P. Page, forthcoming, Excavations at the site of the medieval moated manor at Hardings Field, Chalgrove, Oxon; currently unpubl. TS. report held by Oxford Archaeological Unit.

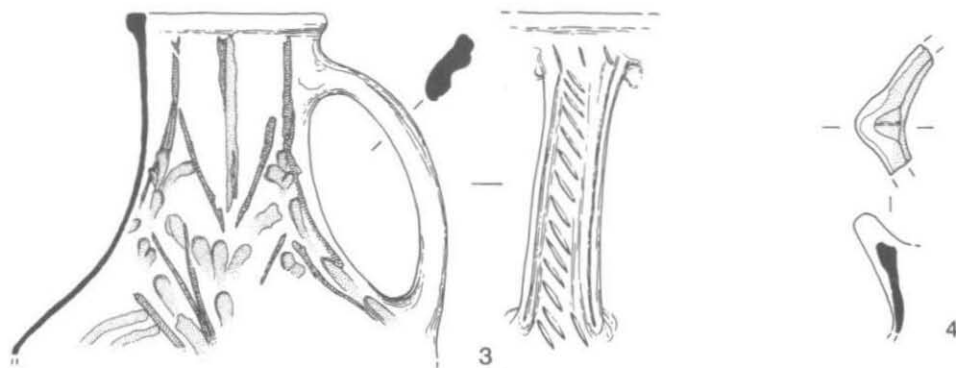
⁴⁸ I am grateful to Bob Thomson for his identification and for this information.

⁴⁹ B.G. Durham and M. Mellor, 'Pottery from Peckwater Quadrangle, Christ Church, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlii (1977), 265–7.

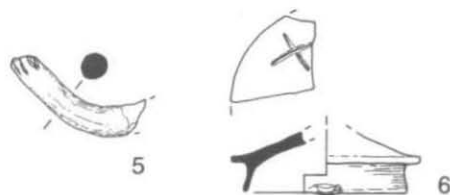
2g



2



3a



0 100 200 mm

2b

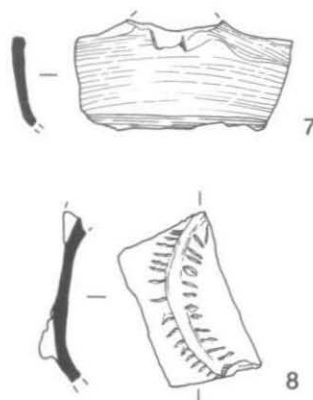


Fig. 10. Pottery: Hollybush Row. 1.P106/0/1AW; 2. P87/0/1CC; 3.P6/2/1AM; 4.P92/2/1BX; 5.P65/0/1BB; 6.P72/0/1AM. St. Thomas's St. 7.P231/0/1AM; 8.P231/0/2AM.

a visually very impressive feature in any late medieval house: it would be indicative of considerable economic standing in the community.

Phases 3c, 3d and 3g: The remaining phases contained few sherds but phase 3d included a fragment of 19th-century stoneware sanitary drain. Phase 3g included some 18th- and 19th-century wares.

Phase 4: Contexts from the final phase, with deposits from outside the houses, were medieval in date with the exception of some build-up (18) which contained the only early post-medieval assemblage. These included products from Brill/Boarstall, Surrey Whitewares including a Tudor Green type, and stoneware flagons from Frechen in the Rhineland dating to the early to mid 17th century. A floor level (16) included a Charles I Rose farthing, but the pottery was residual.

St. Thomas's Street

Some 945 sherds were recovered from the site. The dumping levels (Phase 1a 253) contained a few sherds (21) dating to the 14th century (see Table 2).

Phase 1b – house 7: In cob-walled house 7, few sherds were associated with the dumping, but they included an anthropomorphic piece (256). Two sequences of floor levels (258, 259 and 262 and 263) with only 23 sherds included some East Wiltshire coarsewares but were dominated by Brill/Boarstall coarsewares and finewares (Table 2). Amongst the range of vessels was a pinch-spouted bowl with carbon deposits on the exterior surfaces. The first sequence (258 and 259) slightly pre-dated the second sequence (262 and 263), the latter being dated to the 14th century.

Phase 1c – house 5: The earliest assemblages in the adjacent cob-built house 5 include 12 sherds from the cob walls themselves (243 and 254), while a sequence of floor levels (247, 248, 249 and 250) with only 14 sherds would appear to be contemporary with the material from the cob walls.

Phase 1d – house 4: The adjoining cob-built house 4 included 130 sherds which were associated with a variety of features including a pit (214), a robber trench (219), a baby burial (221) and a dumping level (227, 87 sherds). The latter is residual from the 13th century, but the remainder appears similar to the 14th-century levels in house 5.

Phase 2a – house 5: Twenty seven sherds were recovered from the stone-built house 5, of which only seven were associated with a floor level (222) and indicate a 15th-century date.

Phase 2b – To the rear of house 5: a 15th-century date was also attributed to the pit 231 outside house 5. The latter continued to include Brill/Boarstall products (Fabric AM, Group III): a dripping pan, partially glazed internally with light green glaze (Fig. 10, 7) with a residue of carbon, suggesting that the final contents had burnt! A wheel-thrown costrel, possibly barrel-shaped, is unparalleled amongst the excavated material from Oxford (Fig. 10, 8); an unstratified rare chunky example was recovered from excavations at St. Ebbe's.^{49a} An applied strip added to strengthen this vessel was decorated with incised slashes to ensure even firing, and then poorly glazed with mottled green.

Phase 2c: The few sherds in phase 2c (see Table 2) were mainly associated with a level of dumping containing pottery dated to the 14th century.

Phase 2d – house 4: The dumping level (204) contained 14th- to 15th-century material with one Rhenish Stoneware vessel of 16th- to 17th-century date, while the cellar wall (212) contained a medieval sherd only. The earliest levels within the cellar (203/7) included products from East Wiltshire, Minety in North Wiltshire and from Brill in central Buckinghamshire dating to the later 14th to 15th century. The subsequent layers (203/3 and 203/2) with hand-painted tinglaze earthenwares, buff earthenware slipware possibly originating from Staffordshire, local red earthenwares, local slipwares and Rhenish stoneware from Westerwald in Germany all belonged to the mid to late 17th century. The uppermost level (203/1) contained a white earthenware bowl dating to the 19th century.

Phase 2e – To the rear of house 5: A very substantial amount of pottery was brought in with the dump levels (239 and 226) dating to the mid to late 14th and 15th century with some possibly intrusive 17th-century material. Of intrinsic

^{49a} M. Mellor, op. cit. note 46, fig. 56 no. 25, 216.

TABLE 2. ST. THOMAS'S STREET POTTERY. THE NUMBER IN BRACKETS IS THE PERCENTAGE

GP/Code	1a	1b	1c	1d	2a	2b	2c	2d	2e	2f	Total
GP IB:											
AC				2(2)							2(0.2)
BB								2(1)		2(7)	4(0.4)
GP II:											
AQ	6(29)	8(31)	9(33)	24(18)	7(26)		5(45)	37(26)	73(14)	3(10)	172(18)
Y				23(18)							23(2)
AG										1(3)	1(0.1)
AM	15(71)	18(69)	16(59)	63(48)	18(67)	13(100)	5(45)	76(54)	399(77)	20(69)	643(68)
AP				1(0.8)					1(0.2)		2(0.2)
AW				3(2)	1(4)		1(9)	2(1)	6(1)		13(1)
BG									3(0.6)		3(0.3)
BH									3(0.6)		3(0.3)
CZ									1(0.2)		1(0.1)
ABA				2(2)					22(4)		24(3)
MISC			2(7)	12(9)	1(4)			1(0.7)	2(0.4)		18(2)
REW								10(7)	4(0.7)	1(3)	15(2)
RST								3(2)	3(0.6)	1(3)	7(0.7)
WHW									1(0.2)		1(0.1)
TN								4(3)			4(0.4)
REWSC								1(0.7)	1(0.2)		2(0.2)
BEWSC								6(4)		1(3)	7(0.7)
Total	21	26	27	130	27	13	11	142	519	29	945

interest is a near-complete squat drinking jug with rod handle but no spout (Fig. 11, 9), with bands of rilling on the neck and the belly, between which was a thin mottled orange glaze. Also from the Brill/Boarstall kilns was a highly decorated sherd with stamped pads, in a style unique in the local archaeological record (Fig. 11, 11); also a baluster jug, with carbon still adhering to the base, which joined a sherd from 266/1, a pit in the same area. Another product, rare amongst these assemblages, was a firecover (curfew – *couver de feu*), much blackened inside and out, from a source which is unknown (Fabric BH, Group III) but which might fall within the East Midlands Reduced Ware tradition (Fig. 11, 10).³⁰ This circular firecover with scored lines around the central vent and incised decoration on the upper part would have been used to cover the embers to contain sparks or to keep the embers alight overnight. This example was designed for a fireplace that was central to the room, rather than close to a wall or niche, which would have necessitated a rectangular firecover with one flattened side.

The only layer (237 with 52 sherds) contained regional imports from Surrey, others from Potterspurty in Northamptonshire and local Tudor types which parallel those from the demolition level at Chalgrove Moated Manor in south-east Oxfordshire and include a fine tableware, well glazed with mottled green both internally and externally (Fig. 11, 12) and also local Tudor types from the nearby Hamel³¹ dated to the first half of the 15th century. A similar date was attributed to the pit (266/1, 266/2), which contained a baluster jug with carbon on the base. The increase in regional types at this period is also mirrored at the Hamel, and reinforces the idea that the central Buckinghamshire potteries centred on Brill were losing their monopoly in the town.³²

Phase 2f – house 6: The final phase of house 6 contained a floor with only two sherds (245), the remainder being associated with cleaning and make-up levels (228, 246 and 252). These included a fragment of embossed 'jewel' decorated moulded Staffordshire slipware³³ and Rhenish stoneware dating to the mid 17th century.

³⁰ Mellor, *op. cit.* note 43.

³¹ *Op. cit.* note 44, phase ST3 and E4(1).

³² *Ibid.* 176.

³³ M. Mellor, 'The Pottery', in T.G. Hassall, C.E. Halpin and M. Mellor, 'Excavations in St. Ebbe's Oxford, 1967–76: Part II', *Oxoniensia*, xlix (1984), Fiche 11 F6, fig. 85 No. 2.

2e

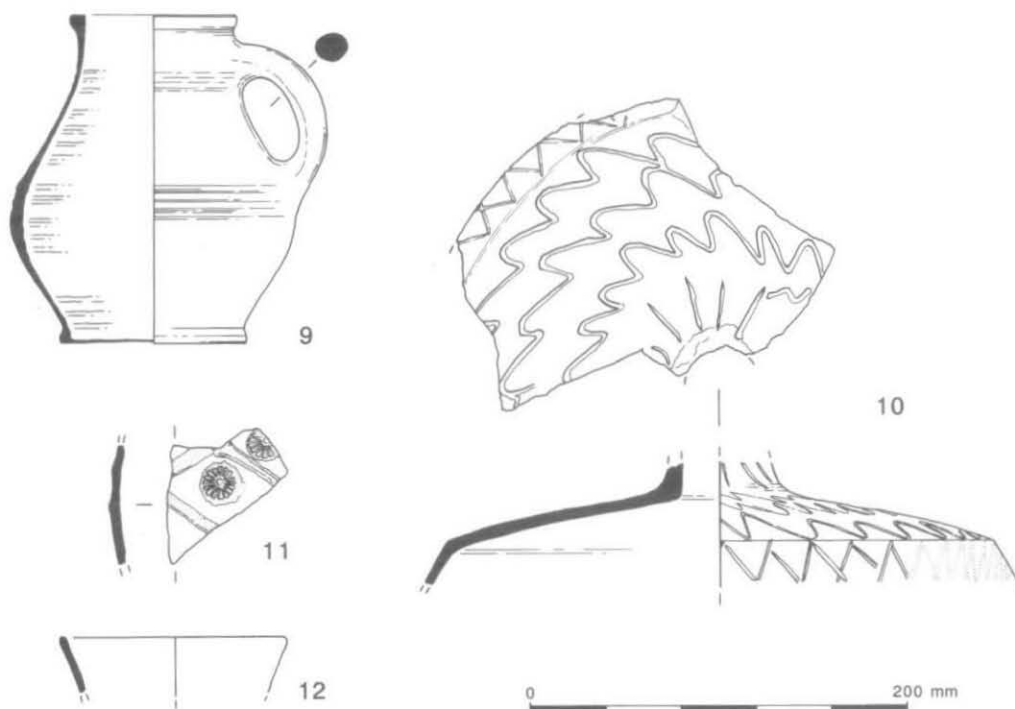


Fig. 11. Pottery: St Thomas's St. 9.P239/0/3AM; 10.P239/0/1BH; 11.P239/0/2AM; 12.P237/0/1BC.

Discussion of pottery

This assessment shows that the ceramics very much reflect the pottery of the period and there is little in the ceramic products to indicate differences in consumer choice, or that any one household enjoyed a higher standard of living during the medieval period. The Hollybush Row houses would seem to have been built some two or three generations later than those at The Hamel, while those at St. Thomas's Street were perhaps inhabited some 2–3 generations later than Hollybush Row, or the earliest levels had been removed in the medieval period.

The lack of regional imports suggests, if anything, a certain conservatism in 13th-century contexts. Overall little Medieval Abingdon Ware (Fabric AG, Group III) was present, and the absence of imported finewares into the town during the 14th century was originally recognised in the same parish at The Hamel, where it was attributed to the monopoly of the Brill/Boarstall type products (see above).

Documentary evidence shows that wine from France via Southampton was brought to Oxford in the 13th century³⁴ and the Saintonge vessel found on this site may have accompanied the wooden tuns and been used as a decanter from which to sample the wine. The lack of other continental imports again

³⁴ M. Farley, 'A Medieval Pottery Industry at Boarstall, Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, xxiv (1982), 117.

follows the pattern evident at the Hamel, in contrast to the sites south of the town along the line of St. Aldate's, where a wider range of continental and regional imports are evident.⁵⁵ The presence of the late-medieval or early post-medieval German stove tile (which was unfortunately unstratified in a post-medieval layer) does however indicate quality household furnishing, and implies considerable status at that period. The presence of food warmers (chafing dishes) in the culvert (Phase 2) may reflect changing etiquette or new methods of food preparation.

A variety of vessel types were apparently used over the fire besides the ubiquitous cooking pot, because bowls and in particular jugs were used to heat liquids as shown by the presence of carbon deposits; this suggests that the mechanism for heating was not very efficient, since the carbon would have burnt off (oxidised) if a higher temperature had been achieved. The fragmentary nature of the vessels does not allow the overall sooting patterns to be studied.

The absence of certain major ceramic traditions on this site (Fabric AC, Group IB, Fabric Y, Group III) is a useful monitor to the amount of residual pottery that may be appearing in 13th-century and later levels on other major sites with long sequences in Oxford: in particular the Hamel, where Medieval Oxford Ware was apparently still in use in the mid 13th century (BIOB) and continued in a limited manner into the 14th century. This site and that at St. John's Hospital indicate that the production workshops for both AC and Y were probably no longer producing vessels by the second quarter of the 13th century and that the *floruit* of the latter was probably confined to the second half of the 12th and very early 13th century.

The comparison of the floor levels from the adjoining houses was difficult where fewer than 30 sherds were present; the surviving evidence suggests the stone-walled house 3 could be earlier than houses 1 or 2, or that the earliest levels from the latter two properties may have been removed. It would appear that house 3 (phase 2c) kept its floors much cleaner than the inhabitants of houses 1 and 2 at the same period.

The floor levels of the cob-walled houses were apparently swept cleaner than those of the stone-walled houses, or they may have had fewer vessels overall to break and discard, but without knowledge of the volume of earth removed from each house this may be difficult to substantiate.

Further quantification of pottery assemblages from this site and other late medieval sites may help to clarify the ceramic trends of the two major sources and thereby establish the fluctuations and changing patterns of contemporary supply that must have occurred over the long span of time that these two production centres were in operation. Did the supply diminish after the Black Death? At what date was the monopoly of Brill products to the town broken? Did it occur rapidly or more gradually?

SMALL FINDS by LEIGH ALLEN

Hollybush Row

There were 307 objects recovered from Hollybush Row, of which 153 were nails, and 105 others were identifiable. Only 26 were from medieval features, the remaining 79 identifiable objects being from post-medieval or modern contexts. The assemblage included the following material categories with the number of objects noted in brackets: silver (1), copper alloy (95), iron (184) including 153 nails, lead (11), bone (5), stone (8), slate (1), flint (2) and jet (1). The objects are catalogued by material and object type. A discussion of the objects by phase follows the catalogue for St. Thomas's Street, below.

Catalogue

Coins, jettons and tokens identified by Dr. N. Mayhew.

Short cross penny, silver, complete. Class III, date of striking c. 1190–1194 in circulation until c. 1247. Inscription – WILLEMONLVN (1205–10). D:21 mm. (SF 102 CTX 88 PH HO 2i)

⁵⁵ Op. cit. note 43.

- Token*, lead, incomplete. Cross hatching (14th C.– early modern) D:20 mm. (SF 71 CTX 5 PH HO 3a)
- Nuremberg Jetton*, copper alloy, complete. Hanns Krauwinckel (1580s–1635). D:21 mm. (SF 137 CTX 79 PH HO 3a)
- Charles I Rose farthing*, copper alloy, complete. Crescent mark, (1636–44). D:12 mm. (SF 28 CTX 2 PH HO 5)
- Charles I Rose farthing* (1636–44), copper alloy, complete. D:12 mm. (SF 43 CTX 16 PH HO 3h)
- Charles I Rose farthing* (1636–44), copper alloy, complete. D:12 mm. (SF 48 CTX 43 PH HO 3e)
- City of Oxford farthing token* (1652), copper alloy, complete. D:15 mm. (SF 36 CTX 13/2 PH HO 4b)
- Token*, copper alloy, complete. OXFORD 1657; ANN TVRTON with coat of arms. D:16 mm. (SF 209 CTX 27/1 PH HO 3g)
- George III half-crown* (1819), copper alloy, complete. Forgery D:33 mm. (SF 204 CTX 13 PH HO 4b)
- Edward VII halfpenny* (1908), copper alloy, complete. D: 26 mm. (SF 6 CTX 4/1 PH HO 3h)
- Token*, lead, incomplete, v. wheel, Rev. (NE). D:21 mm. (SF 15 CTX 2 PH HO 5)
- Coin*, copper alloy, complete. Unidentified. D:10 mm. (SF 112 CTX 87 PH HO 2h)

Seal Matrices

Seal matrix, lead, complete. Pointed oval in shape with a perforated lug on the reverse.⁵⁶ The inscription reads *S^r. Rogeri. de. Comenore Cl*ic*i+* surrounding a lion rampant. L:39 mm. (SF 89 CTX 92/ 4 PH HO 2). Figure 13 No. 1

Copper alloy

Personal ornaments

Finger ring, copper alloy, incomplete. Stirrup shaped ring, a slender hoop rising to a pointed bezel; the setting is missing.⁵⁷ D: 26 mm. (SF 135 CTX 92/4 PH HO 2). Figure 12 No. 1

Buckle frame (circular), copper alloy, complete. Plain circular buckle frame and pin. The frame is uninterrupted by a constriction and is therefore classified as a buckle rather than a brooch.⁵⁸ D: 42 mm. (SF 24 CTX 16 PH HO 3b)

Buckle frame (oval), copper alloy, incomplete. Oval buckle frame with composite rigid plates; the frame is bevelled and lipped for the pin, the plates are incomplete.⁵⁹ L: 31 mm. (SF 61 CTX 5 PH HO 3a). Figure 12 No. 2

Buckle frame (oval), copper alloy, incomplete. Oval buckle frame with ornate outside edges and sheet roller. The plates are incomplete but are recessed for the frame and have two rivets. The pin is missing.⁶⁰ L: 37 mm. (SF 129 CTX 6/ 2 PH HO 2). Figure 12 No. 3

Buckle frame (D-shaped), copper alloy and iron, complete. D-shaped buckle frame with central bar and corroded iron pin. L: 24 mm. (SF 202 CTX 13 PH HO 4b).⁶¹

⁵⁶ Cf. A.R. Goodall, 'Copper alloy and lead objects', in Palmer, 'The Hamel', fiche 2 B13, fig. 23, No. 1.

⁵⁷ A gold example of similar design was found during excavations at the Blackfriars, Oxford; cf. M. Henig, 'The Small Finds', in G. Lambrick and H. Woods, 'Excavations at the Dominican Priory, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xli (1976), 214, fig. 11, No. 1; cf. also G. Egan and F. Pritchard, *Medieval finds from excavations in London Volume 3: Dress Accessories c. 1150–1450* (1991), 326, pl 215, 1609.

⁵⁸ Cf. Egan and Pritchard, op. cit. note 57, 57–65, fig.36, nos. 31–2.

⁵⁹ Cf. *ibid.* 78–9, fig. 48, No. 322.

⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.* 76–8, fig. 46, No. 315.

⁶¹ Cf. *ibid.* 94, fig. 59, No. 424.

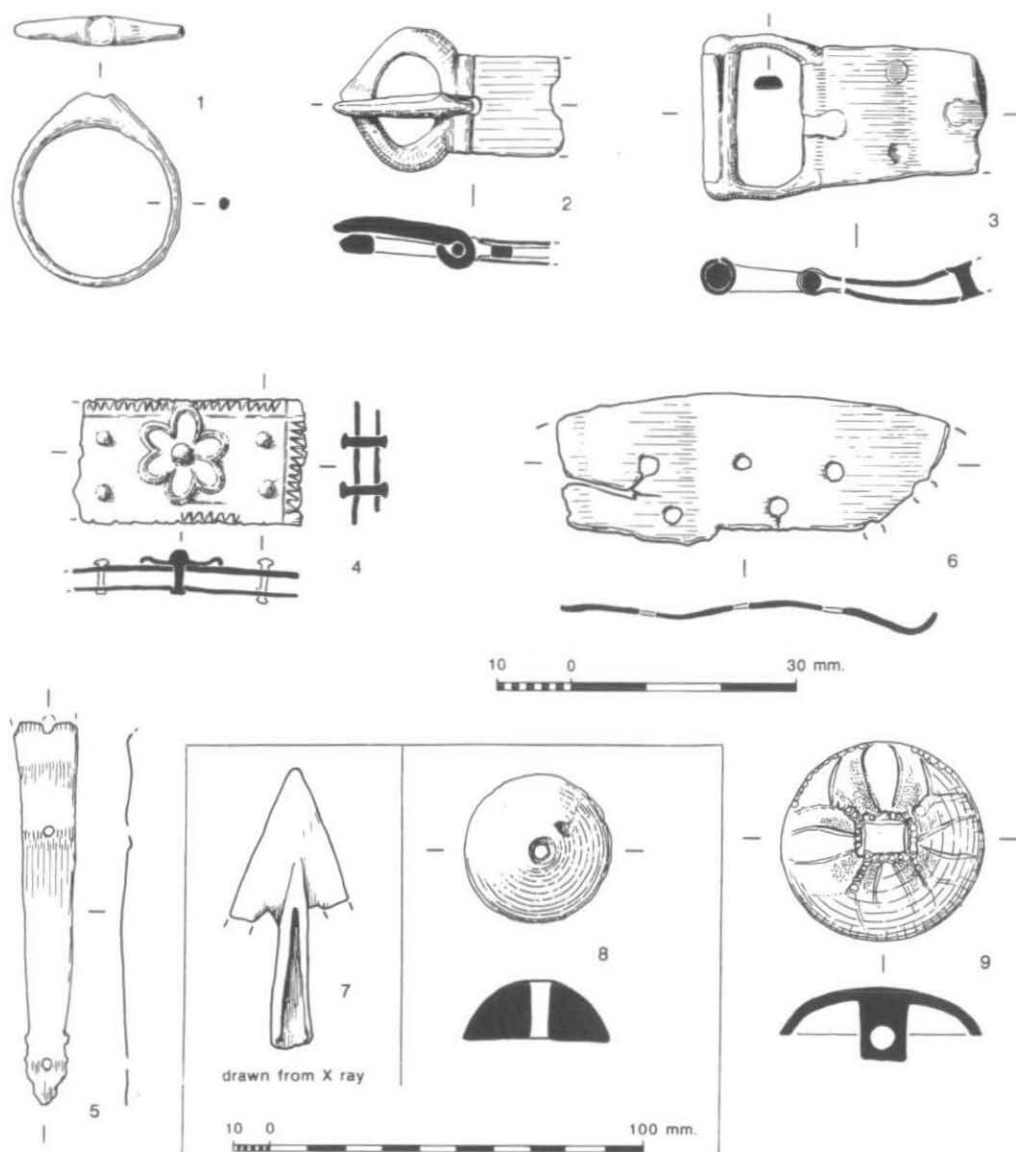


Fig. 12. Small Finds.

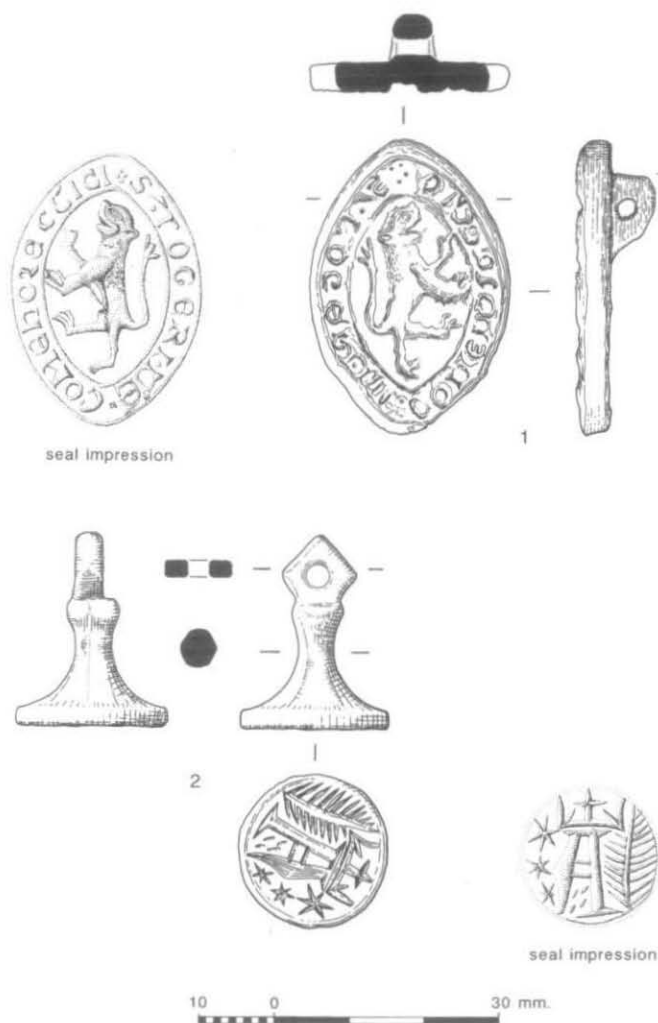


Fig. 13. Seals.

Buckle pin, copper alloy, incomplete. L: 23 mm. (SF 114 CTX 88 PH HO 2i)

Buckle plate, copper alloy, incomplete. Two rectangular buckle plates broken off at the fold, joined by four plain rivets and a central sexfoil mount with concave lobes around the edge; there is a single band of incised zig zag decoration.⁶² L: 30 mm. (SF 64 CTX 46 PH HO 3a). Figure 12 No. 4.

⁶² Cf. Egan and Pritchard, *op. cit.* note 57, 113, fig. 73, No. 520.

Buckle plate, copper alloy, incomplete. Buckle plate fragment broken off at fold, recessed for the buckle frame with a slot for the pin, one rivet hole remaining.⁶³ L: 22 mm. (SF 144 CTX u/s)

Strap end, copper alloy, incomplete. Plate from a long narrow strap end with a lobed terminal with a rivet through the centre and two further rivets at the upper end of the plate to secure the strap itself. Common in the 14th century.⁶⁴ L: 52 mm. (SF 103 CTX 88 PH HO 2i). Figure 12 No. 5

Strap loop, copper alloy, incomplete. Oval strap loop with integral rivet.⁶⁵ L: 15 mm. (SF 138 CTX 100 PH HO 2c)

Bar mount, copper alloy, incomplete. Solid bar mount with terminal and central lobes; the bar tapers from the centre, the central hole has a raised bevelled surround; the terminal lobes are also raised.⁶⁶ L: 37 mm. (SF 70 CTX 64 PH HO 2i)

Bar mount, copper alloy, complete. Simple rectangular bar mount, solid D-shaped section with chamfered ends and edges decorated with incised notches. There are two rivet holes, one with a rivet present.⁶⁷ L: 22 mm. (SF 118 CTX 86 PH HO 2h)

Bar mount, copper alloy, complete. Simple rectangular bar mount, constructed out of copper alloy sheet with a central ridge and edges that curve towards the back. Two rivet holes.⁶⁸ L: 23 mm. (SF 119 CTX 87 PH HO 2h)

Bar mount, copper alloy, complete. Simple plain rectangular bar mount, D-shaped section with two rivets present.⁶⁹ L: 17 mm. (SF 122 CTX 106 PH HO 2g)

Bar mount, copper alloy, incomplete. Simple rectangular bar mount, D-shaped section, raised edges decorated with incised notches. Two rivets remain either side of a large central perforation possibly for a central decorative boss. L: 16 mm. (SF 145 CTX 89 PH HO 2c)

Fitting, copper alloy, incomplete. D-shaped fragment of copper alloy sheet, with rectangular bar mount attached with a single rivet through it. Possible folding end from a strap clasp, broken off at the fold.⁷⁰ L: 28 mm. (SF 87 CTX 5 PH HO 3a)

Button, copper alloy, incomplete. Biconvex button made of stamped sheet metal with a separate shank that passes through a central hole in the back.⁷¹ L: 4 mm. (SF 14 CTX 2 PH HO 5)

Button, copper alloy, incomplete. Fragment from a biconvex button made of stamped sheet metal; the attachment loop is missing.⁷² D: 13 mm. (SF 76 CTX 65 PH HO 3a)

Buttons. Circular disc buttons: SF17 CTX2; SF31 CTX2; SF210 CTX13. SF31 was decorated with mother of pearl; SF201 was slightly domed, with a dished edge.

Lace tags (copper alloy). All the lace tags recovered from the site were cylindrical in form, with the edges of the tag meeting to secure the lace. This type of lace tag was in use in the 14th century but more common in the 16th

⁶³ Cf. *ibid.* 110–14, fig. 72, No. 516.

⁶⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 130–1, fig. 85, Nos. 605–6; S. Margeson with I.H. Goodall, 'Beltfittings and accessories', in S. Margeson (ed.), *Norwich Households: the medieval and post-medieval finds from Norwich survey excavations 1971–78* (East Anglian Archaeology 58, 1993), 34–6, fig. 35, Nos. 232–4.

⁶⁵ Cf. Egan and Pritchard, *op. cit.* note 57, 230, fig. 145, No. 1231.

⁶⁶ Cf. *ibid.* 214, fig. 134, No. 1158; D.A. Hinton, 'Belt and Strap mounts', in M. Biddle (ed.), *Object and economy in medieval Winchester* (Winchester Studies 7.ii, 1990), 543–4, Fig. 144, No. 1371.

⁶⁷ Cf. Egan and Pritchard, *op. cit.* note 57, 211–13, fig. 133, Nos. 1137–1138.

⁶⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 211–13, fig. 133, Nos. 1137–1138.

⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.* 211–13, fig. 133, Nos. 1138; A. Goodall, *op. cit.* note 56, fiche 2.C01, fig. 24, No. 31.

⁷⁰ Cf. Egan and Pritchard, *op. cit.* note 57, 116, fig. 77, No. 555.

⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.* 276, fig. 179, No. 1398; A. Goodall, *op. cit.* note 56, fiche 2.C01, fig. 24, No. 47.

⁷² Cf. Egan and Pritchard, *op. cit.* note 57, 276, fig. 179, No. 1398.

and 17th centuries.⁷³ SF13 CTX10 PH HO5; SF21 CTX2 PH HO 5; SF26 CTX18 PH HO4b; SF203 CTX10 PH HO5

Pins Three types of pins were recovered. The first group consists of large pins with globular heads, of a type dated at The Hamel to the 15th century.⁷⁴ At Hollybush Row: SF24 CTX18 PH HO 4b; SF38 CTX 13/2 PH HO 4b. The second group consists of pins with flat heads, dated at the Hamel to the 16th to 19th centuries.⁷⁵ At Hollybush Row: SF7 CTX10 PH HO 5; SF8 CTX10 PH HO 5; SF16 CTX2 PH HO 5; SF22 CTX2 PH HO 5; SF 35 CTX 5 PH HO 3a; SF37 CTX 13/2 PH HO 4b; SF207 CTX27 PH HO 3g. Traces of non-ferrous plating were detected on SF7, SF16, SF37, SF207. The third group consists of pins with wire wound heads; drawn pins are known as early as the medieval period, but smaller finer pins such as these are more common in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁷⁶ At Hollybush Row: SF18 CTX 2 PH HO 5; SF9 CTX10 PH HO 5; SF25 CTX 18 PH HO 4b; SF29 CTX 18 PH HO 4b; SF35 CTX5 PH HO 3a; SF39 CTX22 PH HO 3e; SF42 CTX43 PH HO 3e; SF60 CTX46 PH HO 3a; SF 207 CTX27 PH HO 3g. A number of pins with small, spherical heads were also found in these contexts and also SF27 CTX 17 PH HO 4b; SF206 CTX2 PH HO 5. Two *points* were also recovered: SF80 CTX65 PH HO 3a; SF10 CTX10 PH HO5.

Bead jet, complete. Globular jet bead. D: 14 mm. (SF 50 CTX 34 PH HO 3)

Domestic utensils

Skimmer, copper alloy, incomplete. Fragment from a perforated skimmer bowl, one curved edge and seven perforations visible.⁷⁷ L: 52 mm. (SF 58 CTX 48 PH HO 4a). Figure 12 No. 6

Thimble, copper alloy, complete. Straight sided thimble with machine applied indentations above a narrow plain band. L: 18 mm. (SF 205 CTX 2 PH HO 5)

Other

Other objects recovered were a copper alloy *ferrule*, SF56 CTX48 PH HO 4a, and two small *rings*, possibly chain-links, SF 19 CTX2 PHHO5, SF57 CTX48 PH HO 4a. There were 31 unidentified copper alloy objects recovered from site which include strip, sheet and miscellaneous fragments; a full list of these is available in the archive.

Iron

Personal ornaments

Button, iron, incomplete. Circular disc button, the attachment loop is missing. (SF 106 CTX 89 PH HO 2c)

Domestic utensils

Whittle tang knife, iron, incomplete. Knife with triangular blade; the tang is central to the blade, the shoulders are straight.⁷⁸ L: 88 mm. (SF 127 CTX 113 PH HO 2d)

Whittle tang knife, iron, incomplete. The tang is central to the blade, the shoulders are straight, the back and blade edge are straight.⁷⁹ L: 56 mm. (SF 83 CTX 77 PH HO 2c)

Scale tang knife, iron and NFP, incomplete. Fragment of the blade and scale tang, non ferrous shoulder plate and single rivet. L: 124 mm. (SF 115 CTX 88 PH HO 2i)

⁷³ Cf. M. Biddle and D.A. Hinton, 'Points', in M. Biddle (ed.), op. cit. note 66, 581-9; A. Goodall, op. cit. note 56, fig. 24 No. 65.

⁷⁴ Cf. A. Goodall, op. cit. note 56, fiche 2.C03, fig. 26, No. 93.

⁷⁵ Cf. ibid. fiche 2.C03, fig. 26, No. 95.

⁷⁶ Cf. ibid. fiche 2.C03, fig. 26, No. 110.

⁷⁷ Cf. I.H. Goodall, 'Iron kitchen implements', in S. Margeson (ed.), op. cit. note 64, 118-19, fig. 84, Nos. 743-5; A. Goodall, op. cit. note 56, fiche 2.C03, fig. 26, No. 143.

⁷⁸ J. Cowgill, M. de Neergard and N. Griffiths, *Medieval finds from excavations in London Volume 1: Knives and Scabbards* (1987), 88, fig. 69, No. 84.

⁷⁹ Cf. ibid. 86, fig. 58, No. 55.

Weaponry

Arrowhead, iron, incomplete. Socketed and barbed arrowhead, the tips of the barbs are damaged.⁸⁰ L: 77 mm. (SF 100 CTX 88 PH HO 2i). Figure 12 No. 7

Structural fittings

A *hasp*, SF229 CTX 46 PH HO 3a, two *staples*, SF 45 CTX 34, PH HO 3e, SF232 CTX 2 PH HO 5, and a ring/collar, SF 2 CTX 6/2, PH HO 2. *Nails* were recovered from numerous contexts, including floors and hearths of phases 2, 3a, 4 and 5, and a full list is available in archive.

Horse gear

There were two *horseshoes*: SF 111 CTX 9 PH HO 3g was of lobate profile, with three rectangular holes in each arm, narrow webs and heavy calkins (L: 132 mm.). SF 130 CTX 113 PH HO 2d was of plain profile, with four rectangular holes in each arm, wide webs and light calkins (L: 142 mm.). There was also a *fiddle key nail*, SF 5 CTX 4/1, PH HO 3b.

Other objects were two iron *points*, and there were 16 unidentified iron objects recovered (details in archive).

Lead

Writing lead, lead, incomplete. Circular section, flattened at one end, tapering to a point at the other; the tip is missing.⁸¹ L: 61 mm. (SF 55 CTX 48 PH O 4a)

An incomplete *window came* and a *disc* were also recovered, and there were 6 miscellaneous fragments (details in archive).

Bone: Animal bone species were identified where possible by Bob Wilson

Double sided composite comb, flat section tapered at the edges and rounded at the ends. Rectangular shape, rounded corners; the uncut zone is straight with two iron rivets. The fine and coarse teeth are regularly cut. The connecting plate is missing.⁸² L: 58 mm. (SF 20 CTX 2 PH HO 5)

Spindlewhorl, bone (proximal femur epiphysis from cattle or deer), complete. Plano convex spindlewhorl cut from the head of a bovoid humerus or femur.⁸³ D: 41 mm. (SF 113 CTX 101 PH HO 2g) Figure 12 No. 8.

There were also two bone *points*. SF62 CTX46 PH HO3a was a shaft and tip from a pig fibula, and SF116 CTX86 PH HO 2h was a curved shaft and tip from a fish bone. SF225 CTX34 PH HO 3e was unidentified, and consisted of a rectangular fragment with a single shallow notch at one end, possibly a butchery mark.

Stone

Numerous incomplete *whetstones* were recovered: SF33 CTX5 PH HO 3a, SF86 CTX5 PH HO 3a, SF90 CTX46 PHHO 3a, SF91 CTX46 PHHO 3a, SF98 CTX86 PHHO 2h, SF99 CTX86 PHHO 2h, SF110 CTX9 PHHO 3g, SF131 CTX121 PHHO 2g. All are of schist, except SF131 which is of sandstone. The small grain size and fine shaping of these whetstones would have made them most suitable for sharpening smaller blades and craftsmans tools.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Cf. I.H. Goodall, 'Arrowheads', in M. Biddle (ed.), op. cit. note 66, 1070-1074, fig. 344, Nos 4010-4015.

⁸¹ Cf. M. Biddle and D. Brown in *ibid.*, 'Writing equipment', 744, No. 2299, Class II; dated at Winchester to the 13th and 14th centuries.

⁸² Cf. P. Galloway in *ibid.*, 'Combs of bone, antler and ivory', 665-90, fig. 184, No. 2176.

⁸³ Cf. M. Woodland in *ibid.*, 'Spindlewhorls', 216-25, fig. 46, No. 139.

⁸⁴ Cf. S.E. Ellis and D.T. Moore in *ibid.*, 'Hones', 868-81.

Slate pencil, incomplete and broken at both ends. Use of slate pencils was common in the 18th century.⁸⁵ L: 48 mm. (SF 12 CTX 10 PH HO 5)

Flint identified by Philippa Bradley

Flake, flint, incomplete. Utilized flake, distal and right hand side used, broken at the proximal end. L: 50 mm. (SF 32 CTX 24 PH HO 4b)

Flake, flint, incomplete. Broken hard-hammer struck flake, both lateral edges broken, hinge fracture. (SF 226 CTX 48/1 PH HO 3)

St. Thomas's Street

There were 88 objects recovered from the St. Thomas's Street excavations; of these, 47 were nails, and only 28 of the remainder were identifiable. Only 4 objects were from medieval contexts, the remainder being from post-medieval and modern features. The assemblage included the following material categories with the number of objects noted in brackets: copper alloy (23), iron (57) including 47 nails, lead (4), bone (1), stone (2) and glass (1). The objects are catalogued by material and object type, and a discussion of the objects by phase follows the catalogue, below.

Catalogue

Coins, jettons and tokens identified by Dr. N. Mayhew

Jetton?, copper alloy, complete. 15th century? D:30 mm. (SF 167 CTX 200 PH ST 3)

George III farthing (1773), copper alloy, complete. D:22 mm. (SF 154 CTX 200 PH ST 3)

Victorian farthing (1866), copper alloy, complete. D:20 mm. (SF 160 CTX 200 PH ST 3)

Copper alloy

Seal Matrix, copper alloy, complete. Circular with a peaked handle with hexagonal section, pierced at the end.⁸⁶ The seal depicts a crowned flying 'A' with stars. L:27 mm. (SF 192 CTX 246 PH ST 2f) Figure 13 No. 2

Personal ornaments

Buckle frame (double oval), copper alloy, incomplete. Decorated on the remaining one outside edge with five triangular points; the pin is missing.⁸⁷ L:37 mm. (SF 164 CTX 203 PH ST 3)

Buckle plate, copper alloy, incomplete. Fragment of two rectangular plates joined by two rivets at one end. Around the edge of the plate is a double line of opposed punched triangles.⁸⁸ L:24 mm. (SF 180 CTX 219 PH ST 1d)

Mount, copper alloy, complete. Circular domed mount with single separate rivet; the head is decorated with an incised four petal flower outlined in places with punched dots. The rivet is perforated near the base. D: 25 mm. (SF 183 CTX 226 PH ST 2e) Figure 12 No. 9

⁸⁵ Cf. S. Margeson, 'Writing equipment', in S. Margeson (ed.), op. cit. note 64, 71, fig. 38, Nos. 442-4.

⁸⁶ Cf. J. Cherry, 'Seal Matrices', in M. Biddle (ed.), op. cit. note 66, 754, fig. 214, No. 2319.

⁸⁷ Cf. G. Egan and F. Pritchard, op. cit. note 57, 82-4, fig. 51.

⁸⁸ Cf. ibid. 110-14, fig. 72, No. 508; A. Goodall, op. cit. note 56, fiche 2.B14, fig. 24, No. 28.

Other objects recovered included an *eyelet* SF 170 CTX 200 PH ST 3, a decorated *button* with the coat of arms of the University of Oxford SF 159 CTX 200 PH ST 3 and a *screw* with a looped head SF172 CTX200 PH ST 3. *Lace tags* SF 184 CTX 226 PH ST 2e and SF 187 CTX 229 PH ST 2a, *pins* SF150 CTX200 PH ST3, SF155 CTX200 PH ST 3, SF171 CTX200 PH ST 3, SF186 CTX229 PH ST 2a and *points* SF162 CTX200 PH ST 3 and SF174 CTX212 PH ST 3 were of the same forms as those recovered at Hollybush Row (see above). There were five unidentified copper alloy objects (details in archive).

Beads

Bead, glass, complete. Spherical blue glass bead with a slightly raised band around the diameter. D:10 mm. (SF 168 CTX 200 PH ST 3)

Iron

Domestic utensils

Scale tang knife, iron, incomplete. Fragment from the corroded blade and scale tang, single perforation through the tang. L:119 mm. (SF 163 CTX 200 PH ST 3)

Scissors, iron, incomplete. The blades are intact, the handles are damaged and only one loop remains.⁸⁹ L:167 mm. (SF 166 CTX 200 PH ST 3)

Implement, Bone-handled iron implement. The handle is a pistol grip type secured by three iron rivets; the implement has two prongs and is possibly an incomplete fork. L:160 mm. (SF 151 CTX 232 PH ST 2e/3)

Structural fittings and other objects

These comprised a *staple* SF68 CTX228 PH ST 2f and 47 nails (details in archive), together with a *rod* SF156 CTX200 PH ST 3. There were five unidentified iron objects (details in archive).

Lead

Writing lead, lead, incomplete. Writing lead with circular section, flattened at one end, tapering to a point at the other, with the tip missing.⁹⁰

Other items included a complete *rod* SF 181 CTX 227 PH ST 1d, and three unidentified objects (details in archive).

Bone

Handle, bone, complete. Pistol grip type handle from a whistle tang implement.⁹¹ L:82 mm. (SF 165 CTX 203 PH ST 3)

Stone

Two incomplete *whetstones* were recovered, SF 149 CTX 200 PH ST 3 and SF 175 CTX 215 PH ST 1d. Both were of schist, and of the same type as those recovered at Hollybush Row (see above).

⁸⁹ Cf. I.H. Goodall, 'Iron Objects', in Palmer, 'The Hamel', Fiche 2 C07, fig. 29 No. 12.

⁹⁰ As note 81.

⁹¹ Cf. D.A. Hinton, 'Handles', in M. Biddle (ed.), *op. cit.* note 66, 864-8, fig. 261 No. 2902.

Discussion

Hollybush Row: medieval phases

There were no objects recovered from contexts associated with phase 1, but two objects of note were recovered from contexts associated with the silt-filled channel (92, Phase 2). A lead seal matrix (SF89) belonging to Roger of Cumnor was recovered from the lowest fill of the channel (92/4). The seal is of a common type, although its oval shape is more usual among women's seals than men's in the 13th century; the oval shape may have been preferred by clerks, and it is notable that the seal of the clerk Adam of Cirencester, found at The Hamel, was also oval in shape. Adam, like Roger of Cumnor, held land and witnessed documents. Pointed oval seals with animal decoration became increasingly popular during the 13th century, until they were superseded by other forms; the shape and decoration of this seal are therefore consistent with the known mid 13th-century dates of Roger of Cumnor's life.⁹² A copper alloy stirrup-shaped finger ring (SF 135) with a pointed bezel was found in the same channel; finger rings of this form were in use in this country from the middle of the 12th century probably to the first half of the 13th century. A copper alloy strap loop (SF138) and a copper alloy bar mount (SF145) were recovered from occupation levels of house 3 (Phase 2c). Rectangular bar mounts were common throughout the medieval period.⁹³ A whittle tang knife (SF83) dating to the early to mid 14th century⁹⁴ was recovered from context 77, a semicircular oven cut into floor layer 89. There were 12 objects recovered from contexts associated with the occupation of house 2. These included further simple, copper alloy bar mounts (SF122, SF119 and SF118) from layers containing 14th-century pottery. A whittle tang knife (SF127) is datable to the 14th century⁹⁵ and a number of whetstone fragments were also recovered (SF131, SF98 and SF99); SF131 and SF98 had grooves where points had been sharpened. Other objects from house 2 comprised a horseshoe (SF130) of a form that dates from the 14th century to the modern day,⁹⁶ a bone spindlewhorl (SF113) and two bone points (SF94 and 116), and a fragment of lead window came (SF104). There were six objects from contexts associated with the occupation of house 1, including a silver short cross penny (SF102) struck 1190–1194 and in circulation until 1247, a copper alloy buckle pin (SF114), a bar mount (SF70) of a type common throughout the medieval period, and a strap end (SF103) of a type common in the 14th century.⁹⁷ In addition, there was a fragment from the blade and tang of a scale tang knife (SF115), and an incomplete socketed arrowhead (SF100) suitable for either military or hunting use and common throughout the medieval period.

Hollybush Row: post-medieval phases

The objects recovered from contexts associated with the demolition and levelling of the buildings on the site, and the infilling of channel 92, represent a mixture of late medieval and early post-medieval types. Medieval material included fragments from a copper alloy decorated buckle plate (SF64) dated to the 14th–15th centuries,⁹⁸ a copper alloy oval buckle frame with composite rigid plates (SF61), a form which dates from the mid 14th to early 15th century,⁹⁹ and a fragment from a copper alloy folding strap clasp (SF87) which dates from the late 13th to early 15th centuries.¹⁰⁰ Post-medieval material included a Nuremberg jetton (SF137) of Hanns Krauwinkel (1580–1635) and several drawn wire pins of 16th- to 17th-century type.¹⁰¹

Numerous objects were recovered from contexts associated with the post-medieval occupation of house 2. Floor layer 43 contained a Charles I rose farthing (SF48) dated 1636–44, and a knuckle bone floor (context 27) contained a copper alloy token (SF209) bearing the coat of arms of Ann Turton, made in Oxford in 1657. There were numerous drawn wire pins of 16th- to 17th-century type, and two pins with cap heads and non-ferrous plating on the shanks, which are similar to modern dress-making pins.

⁹² S.E. Rigold, 'Two common species of medieval seal matrix', *Antiquaries Journal*, lvii (1977), 324–9; T.A. Heslop, *op. cit.* note 35; P.D.A. Harvey, *op. cit.* note 35.

⁹³ For the ring, cf. G. Egan and F. Pritchard, *op. cit.* note 57, 326–7; for the bar mount, cf. *ibid.* 210.

⁹⁴ J. Cowgill et al., *op. cit.* note 78, 86.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 88.

⁹⁶ I.H. Goodall, in M. Biddle (ed.), *op. cit.* note 66, 1056.

⁹⁷ G. Egan and F. Pritchard, *op. cit.* note 57, 210; *ibid.* 130–1.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 110.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 55.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 116.

¹⁰¹ M. Biddle and K. Barclay, in M. Biddle (ed.), *op. cit.* note 66, 560–1.

Hollybush Row: later post-medieval and modern layers

Objects from contexts of phase 4 were associated with the insertion of drains across the buildings, and with the digging of pits into earlier layers. The small finds are a mixed assemblage of redeposited medieval and early post-medieval material, associated with later post-medieval objects. A Charles I rose farthing (SF43) of 1636–44 and a plain copper alloy circular buckle frame (SF24) came from house 1. There were eight objects from contexts associated with house 2. Two coins, a forged George III half crown (SF204) of 1819, and a city of Oxford farthing token (SF36) of 1652 were recovered from context 13, the fill of a pipe trench. Other finds from context 13 included a plain copper alloy circular disc button (SF201), a copper alloy D-shaped buckle frame (SF202) with an iron pin, and a large copper alloy pin (SF38) with a globular head dated at the Hamel to the 15th century.¹⁰² A similar pin was recovered from the yard surface (context 30) at the rear of the property.

Modern dumping layers (contexts 2 and 10) contained 36 objects, all of post-medieval date. These included a Charles I rose farthing (SF28), a straight-sided copper alloy thimble with machine-applied indentations (SF205), buttons, lace tags, dress-making pins and a slate pencil (SF12) in common use from the 18th century.¹⁰³

St. Thomas's Street: medieval phases, 14th century

There were no finds from contexts associated with the construction and occupation of buildings 5 and 7. Objects from contexts associated with the construction and occupation of house 4, Phase 1d included a buckle plate fragment (SF180) similar to one from a 14th-century context at The Hamel.¹⁰⁴ Dump layer 227 contained a writing lead (SF181) similar to an example from Winchester dated to the 13th to 14th centuries.¹⁰⁵

St Thomas's Street: later medieval and post-medieval, 15th to 17th century

There were no finds recovered from contexts associated with phases 2a, 2b, or 2c. Three objects were recovered from contexts associated with house 4 in this phase. A shaft and tip from a copper alloy pin or needle (SF174) was recovered from an east-west aligned wall, context 212, possibly the north wall of house 4. The rest of the house was cut away by a 17th–19th-century cellar, context 203, which contained a double oval buckle frame (SF164) with an ornate outside edge, and a bone pistol grip handle (SF165) from a whittle tang implement; both finds are post-medieval in date. There were two objects from the exterior of houses 5 and 7: a large circular domed mount or button (SF183) with an upper surface decorated with punched dots in the form of a four petalled flower was recovered from context 226, a layer of garden soil which contained 16th–17th-century pottery, and a fragment of lace tag (SF184). A complete copper alloy seal matrix (SF192) depicting a crowned flying 'A' with three stars was recovered from a built-up layer 246 within house 6. The design when used as a seal is associated with either private or secret letters or as an indication of faith. The A stands for *amor*, love, but the meaning covers a spectrum from trust to love either of an individual or God. The seal has been dated by T.A. Heslop to the last quarter of the 14th century, and a seal of similar form dating from the mid 14th to early 15th century was recovered at Winchester; we are grateful to Martin Henig for drawing our attention to the mention of this design in Chaucer, where a *double entendre* is intended.¹⁰⁶

St. Thomas's Street: modern layers

An unidentifiable implement with a bone pistol grip handle (SF151) was recovered from a pit (232) to the north of house 5, which also contained 19th-century pottery. A further 15 objects of post-medieval date including coins, buttons, a pair of scissors and a scale tang knife were recovered from context 200, a layer associated with the levelling of the entire site for the building of the brewery.

¹⁰² A. Goodall, op. cit. note 56, fiche 2 B13.

¹⁰³ S. Margeson, op. cit. note 85, 71.

¹⁰⁴ A. Goodall, op. cit. note 56, fiche 2 B14.

¹⁰⁵ M. Biddle and D. Brown, op. cit. note 81, 744.

¹⁰⁶ For the Winchester seal, see note 86; for other seals, see references given in note 92; Chaucer, *The Prioress's Tale*.

Conclusions

Hollybush Row

There were 26 objects recovered from medieval contexts. Nine of these were of copper alloy and they were all personal items. They consisted of simple rectangular bar mounts and belt fittings common throughout the medieval period. The majority of these objects were recovered from occupation layers within houses 1-3, along with a silver short cross penny dated to 1190-1194. The items were not of a particularly high status with the exception of the copper alloy finger ring and the lead seal matrix of Roger of Cumnor, a clerk who owned tenements in the parish of St. Thomas's in the mid 13th century. This single find links the excavated archaeological evidence with the documentary evidence for his land-holdings. The remaining objects were of a domestic nature, including knives, an arrowhead, whetstone fragments, a spindlewhorl, window came and a horseshoe. As at the nearby site of 'The Hamel', there were no objects recovered associated with trade or craft, which was evidently taking place elsewhere.¹⁰⁷ Similar objects are represented at nearby excavated sites at 54-55 St. Thomas's Street,¹⁰⁸ 'The Hamel'¹⁰⁹ and St. Ebbe's.¹¹⁰

There were 79 identifiable objects from later contexts, dating from the 17th century to the modern period; they included post-medieval coins and jettons, buttons, belt fittings (some with distinctive post-medieval decoration), drawn wire pins, and larger pins with globular heads which did not appear in the earlier period. Other domestic items include a thimble, and whetstone fragments.

St. Thomas's Street

The medieval objects consisted of a buckle plate, a writing lead, a whetstone fragment and a copper alloy seal matrix depicting a flying 'A' with stars dated to the early 14th century. All these objects except the seal were recovered from contexts associated with the occupation of house 4. The objects dating from the 17th century onwards included two modern coins, buttons, drawn pins, a group of implements with bone pistol grip handles and a pair of scissors. Although the character of the excavated sites in the 13th and 14th centuries is notably different, the finds assemblage from St. Thomas's Street is similar in nature to that from Hollybush Row, albeit rather smaller.

ANIMAL BONES by BOB WILSON

Small collections of bones were examined from medieval and post-medieval urban contexts in two areas of the site. Since sample sizes were mainly small, fragment numbers were amalgamated to obtain an overall impression of bone deposits from this part of town. Identifications are listed in Table 3, but do not include fifteen 17th-century cattle metapodials split from a larger unrecorded number which are preserved as a 'knucklebone' floor in the Museum of Oxford. In the tabulation of results, nearly all bones grouped in phase 1 are from the St. Thomas's Street area, while the majority of bones grouped in later phases are from the Hollybush Row area.

Less than half of the bones were identified to species level. Species identifications and frequencies in the table are typical of town deposits of their period, and also typical in that coarser bone debris came from deposits outside buildings than from deposits within. Besides the cattle metapodials in the floor, foot debris was relatively abundant (see Table 4); notably a rising percentage of sheep foot bones in late medieval and post-medieval deposits at Hollybush Row, although sample sizes again are small.

¹⁰⁷ Palmer, 'The Hamel'.

¹⁰⁸ A. Hardy, 'Excavations at 54-55 St. Thomas's Street', this volume.

¹⁰⁹ Palmer, 'The Hamel'.

¹¹⁰ T.G. Hassall et al., 'Excavations in St. Ebbe's, Oxford, 1967-76: Part 1: late Saxon and medieval domestic occupation and tenements, and the medieval Greyfriars', *Oxoniensia*, liv (1989).

TABLE 3. FRAGMENT NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES IN PHASE GROUPS OF ANIMAL BONES

<i>Phase Century</i>	<i>1^a C13-14</i>	<i>2^a C13-15</i>	<i>3 C14-16</i>	<i>4 C17</i>	<i>5 Modern</i>
Cattle	13 (34)	56 (35)	30 (43)	8	7 (15)
Sheep/goat	17 (45)	66 (42)	29 (42)	6	40 (85)
Pig	8 (21)	30 (19)	7 (10)	2	—
Horse	—	4 (3)	—	—	—
Dog	—	1 (1)	—	—	—
Fallow deer	—	1 (1)	—	—	—
Rabbit	—	—	3 (4)	—	—
Subtotal	38	158	69	16	47
Unidentified	52	171	101	13	19
<i>Total</i>	90	329	170	29	66
Domestic fowl	1	24	6	2	—
Domestic goose	1	3	—	—	—
Unident. fish	—	1	1	—	—
Burnt fragments	2	15	5	—	2

Numbers in brackets are percentages

a — mainly from St. Thomas's Street (Phase 1); b — mainly from Hollybush Row (phase 2 onwards)

TABLE 4. NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF CARCASS ELEMENTS OF CATTLE AND SHEEP

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Cattle</i>		<i>Sheep</i>		
	<i>1 and 2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1 and 2</i>	<i>3 and 4</i>	<i>5</i>
Number	69	38	83	35	40
	%	%	%	%	%
Head	29	11	37	14	20
Foot	32	34	18	34	78
Body	39	55	45	51	2

Apart from the vogue for bone floors in Oxford and other towns,¹¹¹ it appears that other debris from skinning and other fellmongery trades appeared loose on the site at later stages of occupation. This indicates that the trades were located on or near the site.

Overall the remains may also indicate a decline in status of occupants from late medieval times on, although signs of higher status of inhabitants in the earliest phase are scarcely evident — one might expect higher representations of bones of pig, deer and wild birds. Possibly workers engaged in the skinning and fellmongery trades actually lived on the site in later periods.

¹¹¹ P. Armitage, 'The use of animal bones as building material in post-medieval Britain', and 'Gazetteer of sites with animal bones used as building material', in D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds.), *Diet and Craft in Towns* (BAR British Ser. 199, 1989), 147–60 and 201–23.

DISCUSSION

Hollybush Row

The earliest features observed were datable to the mid 13th century. The most interesting of these was a large ditch (135) at right angles to Hollybush Row. The line of this ditch persisted into modern times as a property boundary, and it is visible on Loggan's bird's-eye view of 1675, and on 19th-century surveys and Ordnance maps. It is apparent that this ditch formed the northern boundary of the half-acre property given to Oseney Abbey by Roger of Cumnor. The archaeological dating of this ditch suggests that the development of this site was rather later than the site at The Hamel, where boundary ditches were dated to the late 12th century.

Ditch 135 partly silted up, or was backfilled, and lined with stone to form a channel (92) some 1.25 m. wide. During the mid to late 13th century buildings were constructed, set with their long axes parallel to the street, and with their walls partly founded on the stone lining of the channel. Houses 2 and 3, south of the channel, had a common rear wall of a single build. House 1, north of the channel, was only partly excavated. The houses had at least stone foundations, the walls surviving in places to a height of 0.30 m.; the form of their superstructure could not be determined from the excavated remains. Burnt roof slates were found in the demolition layers of these buildings. The only evidence for use of the houses came from house 3, where a sequence of ovens in the medieval floors, dated to the late 13th century, may suggest baking or brewing. The floors in all the houses were of yellow/white mortar or brown or black ashy beaten earth and open hearths had been set into them. The earliest floor layers were to the south, as early floor layers further north had been removed, presumably for relaying. Houses 2 and 3 showed some signs of internal structural alterations; in house 2 part of the east (rear) wall (8) had been robbed out, and in house 3 the same wall (59) overlay the slight remains of an earlier stone wall (108).

A seal matrix (Fig. 13 No. 1) belonging to the clerk Roger of Cumnor was found in the lowest fill of the channel north of house 2. It is known that Roger of Cumnor bought the half acre property from Henry Wirile, and subsequently gave it to Oseney Abbey before 1284/5. It is possible that he lived on the property, but the archaeological evidence for a wealthy occupant is limited, and need not be contemporary with the known dates of his life. A copper alloy finger ring (Fig. 12 No. 1) was recovered from the same layer as the seal matrix, but is of a common medieval type. A notable number of metal belt ornaments were recovered from the later floors which could indicate a wealthy occupant. A rare fragment of a Saintonge jug dated to 1280–1300 was recovered from the floors of house 2; this vessel would have been imported with barrels of wine, to act as a tasting vessel. Sherds of two chafing dishes for keeping food warm at table were also recovered, and these finds may indicate a comfortable standard of living. Unfortunately, a fragment of German stove tile was unstratified in a floor level postdating the 17th-century rebuilding, but if it indicates an oven decorated with these tiles, this might suggest that the late medieval occupants were of considerable economic standing. Other medieval finds were unexceptional, including knives, whetstones, an arrowhead, a spindlewhorl and a horseshoe as well as belt ornaments and structural ironwork.

The three houses appear to have lasted until at least the end of the 15th century, after which they were demolished; the demolition layers contained residual finds of 14th- and 15th-century pottery and metalwork, and a late 16th- to 17th-century token.

Subsequently, house 2 was rebuilt in an enlarged form, extending across the former channel (92), which had been infilled with loam (5). The rear wall of house 2 (wall 4) lay immediately east of its predecessor, medieval wall (8), and was carried over the former channel by a stone

relieving arch. Its position suggests that it may have been constructed to align with the rear wall of house 1 (38), although no extensive rebuild of house 1 was seen in the excavations, and the post-medieval house may have reused the existing medieval foundations. However, its medieval south wall was replaced by a thinner wall (35) on the same alignment, apparently functioning as a party wall with the extended house 2 to the south. No evidence was recovered for the reconstruction of house 3. Sections of wall were recorded running east behind the backs of the houses, and they may represent walls of cottages and outhouses in the yard. The existence of such buildings is apparent from the documentary records and maps, and a 'projection' was recorded by the RCHM behind no. 3 Hollybush Row (the south end of house 2), having a stone ground floor with timber framing above.

The documentary evidence shows that house 2 was split into two properties (Nos. 2 and 3 Hollybush Row) on a line through the chimney stack. The chimney stack was extended to the south, perhaps when the house was divided. Patches of knucklebone floor were excavated immediately east of the chimney stack, and in the south of house 2. The excavator noted wear on the floor and it is possible that this hardwearing floor had been laid down inside a doorway leading to the yard at the rear of the houses, or in a passage joining the north and south parts of the divided house. The excavated evidence contrasts with the comment recorded by the RCHM, that No. 2 Hollybush Row was said to have had a knucklebone floor in the north ground floor room; here, the excavations revealed evidence of wooden floors on joists overlying a sequence of earlier earth and mortar floors. However, a sheep-bone floor may have existed here, as fragments of sheep feet were disturbed in the initial site clearance (see above, Animal Bone report).

The archaeological evidence, which is consistent for all three houses, suggests that the initial post-medieval reconstruction took place in the 17th century. Several Charles I farthings were recovered, although only one of these is likely to have been *in situ*; this farthing (SF No. 48) was recovered from floor 43 in house 2. Floor 43 predated the insertion of the chimney stack, since it was cut for its construction. A trade token of 1657 (SF No. 209) was found with the knucklebone floor, which itself seems to postdate the construction of the chimney, since it partially overlay the chimney footings. It may be noted that Loggan's bird's-eye view of 1675 shows the street frontage to be completely built up and a house certainly stood on the site by 1702; the description of it as a 'new freestone house' may only mean that it had been built in the preceding 50 years, or possibly that a partly timber-framed building had been reconstructed completely in stone.

St Thomas's Street

An early ditch (2/17) aligned E.-W. ran behind the first houses, parallel to the road. The ditch was cut by a pit (2/16) containing 13th- to 14th-century pottery, and may represent the earliest phase of activity on the site. The presence of a possible roadside ditch was inferred from the character of layer 253, although this could not be fully investigated. Roadside ditches seem to have been common in this low-lying suburb. The only evidence for alignments of property boundaries was a series of pits to the north of house 5, which may be respecting a property boundary; this may suggest that the later boundary followed a medieval line.

The site was levelled with dumped material prior to the construction of cob-walled houses in the 14th century. These houses (houses 4, 5 and 7) are unlikely to have been more than one storey high. At least one cob wall may have been rendered (layer 223). A similar cob-walled house dating from the late 12th or earlier 13th century, with repaired and rendered

walls, was found at Wallingford in 1972,¹¹² and cob-walled structures with no stone foundations, perhaps similar to those on St. Thomas's Street, were found at Chalgrove where they were dated to the late 12th or early 13th century.¹¹³ The rear walls excavated at St. Thomas's Street do not form a single line, and the excavated structures probably represent a row of small cottages rather than rooms of a single building. Both the cob walling and the small size of these buildings suggests that they were humble dwellings, and they may have been infilling between larger and more substantially-built houses such as those excavated at Hollybush Row.

The later stone walls that survived were shallow-founded, and may only have been footings for wooden or cob walls. The width of the walls (0.4 to 0.6 m.) leaves this open to conjecture. The stone houses at St. Thomas's Street did not appear to be significantly larger than the earlier cob-built structures, and were probably still cottages. The later development of the houses could not be reconstructed owing to extensive truncation of deposits, with only the cellar (213/203) and one wall (208) surviving of the later period.

The pottery assemblage from the houses is generally undistinguished, but the pits at the rear of house 5 produced several interesting sherds, including a firecover (*couvre de feu* or curfew).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavations were funded by Grosvenor Square Properties, and were undertaken as a result of a planning agreement with Oxford City Council Planning Authority. Fieldwork was directed by Brian Durham (OAU). The illustrations are by Daniel Hacker, and the text was edited by Anne Dodd (OAU).

¹¹² R. Carr, 'Wallingford Castle', CBA Group 9 *Newsletter* iii (1973), 18; J. Chapelot and R. Fossier (trans. H. Cleere), *The Village and House in the Middle Ages* (1985), 255-6, fig. 84.

¹¹³ As note 47.