

Excavations at 67-69 St Thomas' Street, Oxford

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SUMMARY

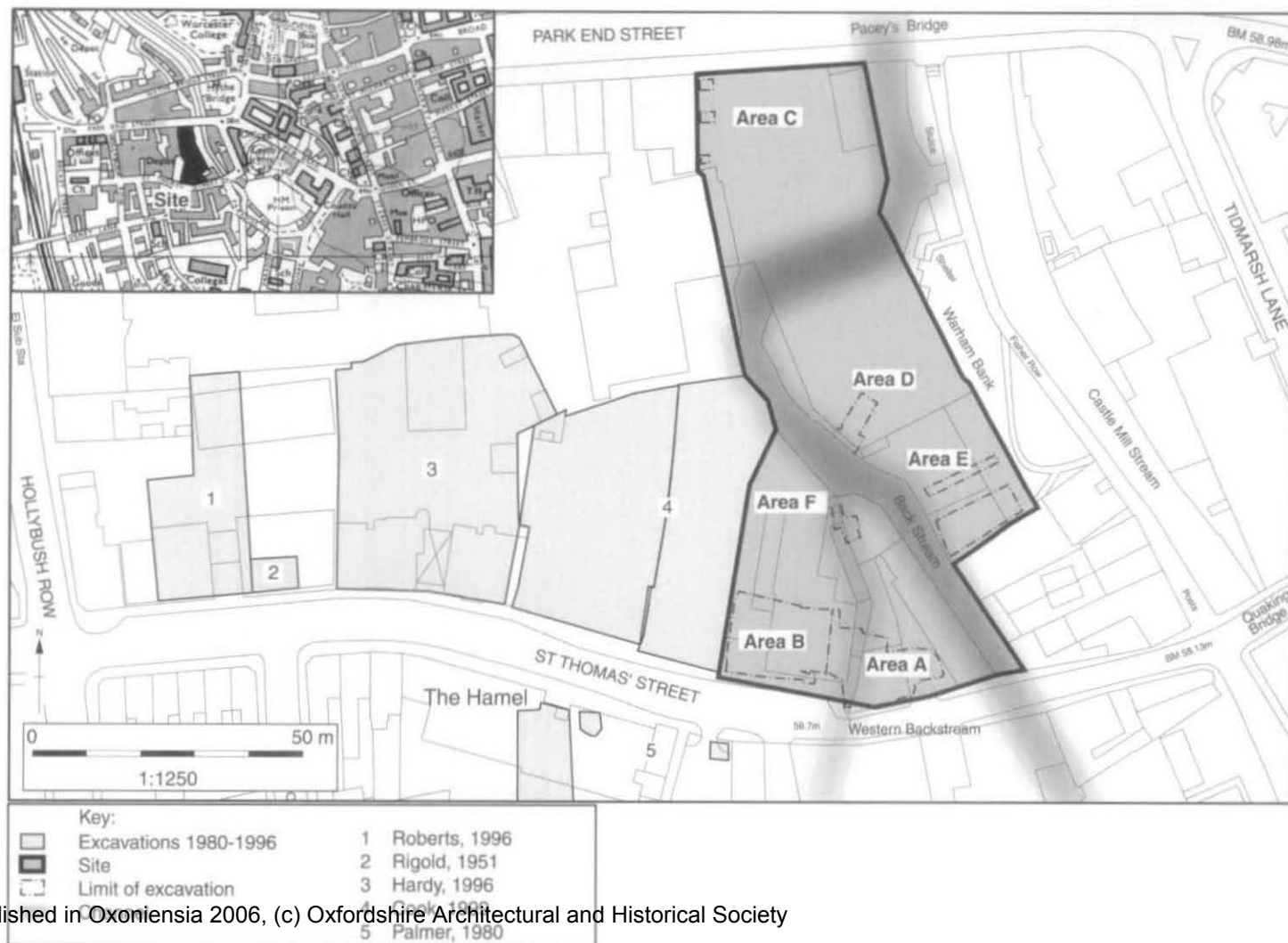
Between August and November 2003 Oxford Archaeology (OA) carried out an excavation on land between 67-69 St Thomas' Street and 40-41 Park End Street, Oxford (NGR SP 5080 0618) in advance of construction of new retail and residential properties, possibly the biggest change in the area since the land was originally reclaimed in the 13th century. The excavations revealed a possible ford and associated ditches. A 13th-century sequence of medieval levelling deposits was revealed on the east of the site, upon which a dwelling was constructed, possibly occupied by a tanner, with a carefully constructed stone sluice gate that may have been needed for this craft with its heavy demand on water. The west of the site was similarly reclaimed in the 15th century and two domestic dwellings constructed, though it is argued that there was no coordinated planning of the St Thomas' Street frontage. Unusually the 15th-century occupation of this site did not use Tudor Green wares or Surrey Whitewares, typical of this period elsewhere. It may be that the site experienced a brief spell of inactivity towards the end of the 15th century and then underwent a process of redevelopment.

Because the engineering design of the development had reduced impact on deeper levels, it was difficult to fully understand the origins of settlement, but it is assumed that this strip of property was conditioned by the construction of a mill at the castle. The water courses would therefore be essential overflow channels, perhaps re-using an existing natural watercourse, but which must have been crossed by the original St Thomas' Street, whether by bridge or by ford. The Western Backstream, an historic watercourse demarcating medieval reclamation to the east from boggy land to the west, was located running through the centre of the site along with associated revetment walls. The stream was infilled in the 19th century and a stone culvert constructed whose line can be matched to a contemporary survey. Most of the surviving structures on the site were subsequently demolished and the area utilised as yard spaces for the Lion Brewery and other businesses.

The development area comprised an askoid-shaped block of c. 0.3 ha. lying on the west side of Oxford City, c. 500 m. from its centre at Carfax, on the south side of Park End Street (NGR SP 5080 0618). It is bounded to the north by Nos 40-41 Park End Street and to the south by Nos 67-69 St Thomas' Street and lies within the medieval limits of St Thomas' parish (Fig.1).

The site lies across two minor river channels, at c. 57 m. OD, with a major watercourse, the Castle Mill Stream, c. 80 m. to the east from the centre of the site. It is situated on the first gravel terrace on the floodplain of the Thames and the solid geology is Oxford Clay.¹ The site lies on land formerly occupied by a warehouse and house on Park End Street, with the yard behind and two adjacent yards on St Thomas' Street. These were slightly lower than the properties on Park End Street, which sloped gently down to the west.

¹ Geological Survey of Great Britain, Sheet 236, 1:50,000.



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Fig. 1. Site location

Archaeological and historical background (Fig. 1)

There is limited evidence for prehistoric and Roman activity in the immediate area of the site. A Late Beaker burial of a child was found c. 170 m. south-east of the site, and other early Bronze Age material was also recovered. The area became waterlogged when the water table rose during the Early Iron Age. Little evidence has been found for Roman activity in general on the west side of Oxford, and none from the site itself.

The Saxon town of Oxford lay c. 500 m. to the east of the site, on the opposite side of the Castle Mill Stream. Various excavations in the vicinity of the St Thomas' Street site have produced no evidence of Saxon activity. The medieval town initially developed within the area of the Saxon defences, but by the 13th century the stimulus provided by Oseney Abbey and Rewley Abbey was encouraging the growth of the extra-mural suburb of St Thomas. By the end of the 13th century tenements had grown up along both sides of St Thomas' Street.²

Two watercourses crossed the site, the largest of which, the Backstream, runs from the north-west to the south-east (Fig. 1). It is possible that the stream was partially canalised in the medieval period, forming Warham Bank, the area between the Castle Mill Stream and the Backstream. Alternatively Warham Bank may have been formed by re-cutting the Castle Mill Stream. The Western Backstream also crossed the site (Fig. 1), but was filled in around 1800 following the development of Morrell's Brewery on the southern side of St Thomas' Street.³

Historic maps of the area show successive building phases during the post-medieval period, during which time development gradually covered the southern part of the site. One 18th-century stone building, now serving as a range of workshops, has survived on St Thomas' Street immediately to the east of the excavation site.

Park End Street, to the north (Fig. 1), was laid out in the late 18th century as a continuation of New Road, to improve access to the western part of the city. An orchard or gardens occupied the northern part of the site, fronting onto Park End Street, until the late 18th or 19th century. In the 20th century the Park End Street frontage was developed as a petrol garage.

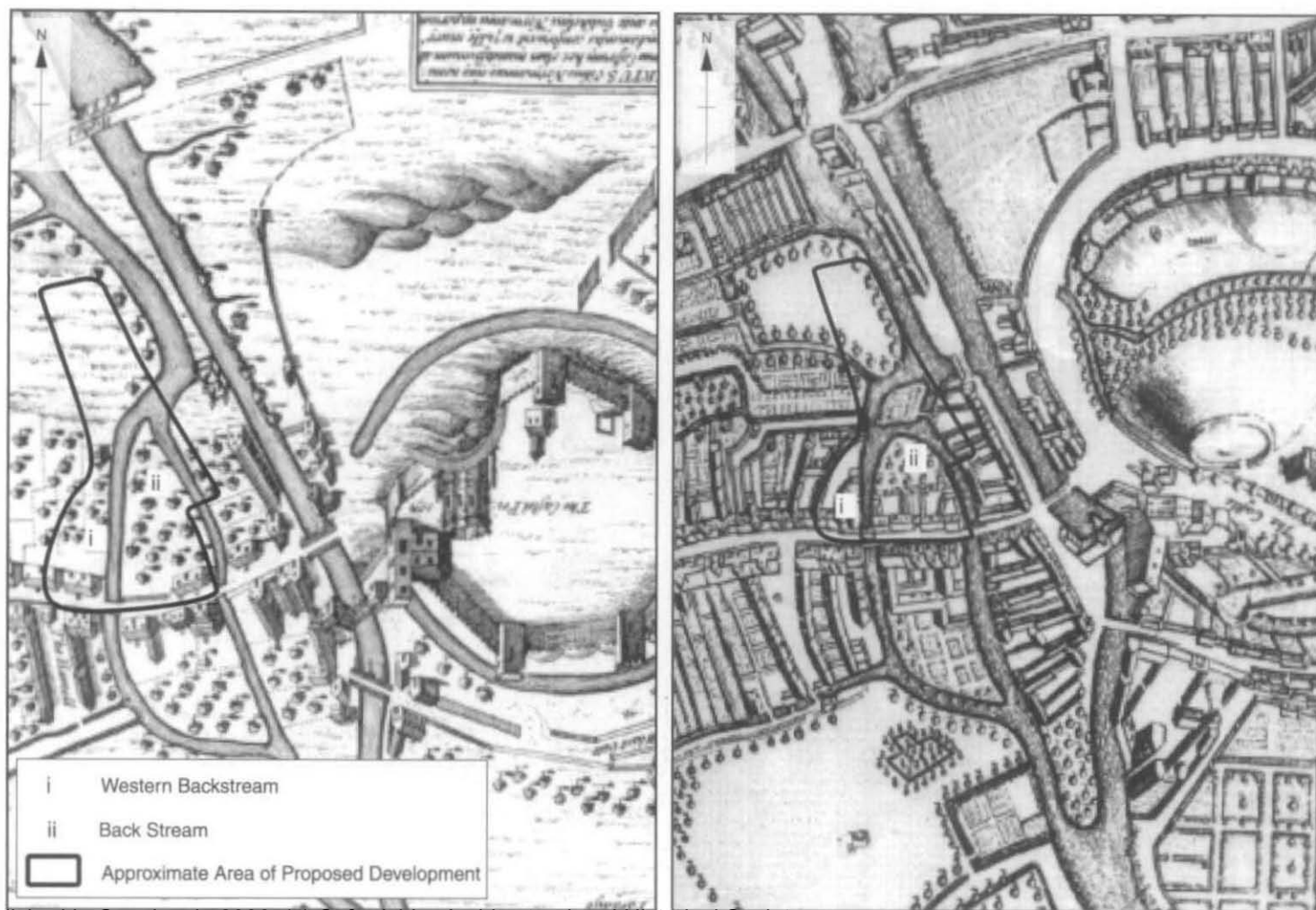
Several archaeological investigations were carried out by OA close to the site during redevelopment in St Thomas' Street, Hollybush Row, and the Hamel.⁴ Evidence of medieval and post-medieval structures was discovered. On the south side of St Thomas' Street an archaeological evaluation and excavation on the site of Morrell's Lion Brewery, by Thames Valley Archaeological Service (TVAS), exposed medieval remains from the 11th century onwards. Evidence for the fragmentary remains of a 13th-century building and garden were revealed. Other structures were also exposed overlain by post-medieval deposits, similar deposits were also revealed on Becket Street that included a 16th-century decorated bone floor.⁵

² N. Palmer, 'A Beaker Burial and Medieval Tenements in the Hamel, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xlv (1980), 136.

³ 'Park End Street/St Thomas's Street Development, Desktop Assessment', (unpubl. OA report, 2002).

⁴ M. Roberts, 'A Tenement of Roger of Cumnor and Other Archaeological Investigations in Medieval North Oseney, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, lxi (1996), 181-224; A. Hardy, 'Archaeological Excavations at 54-55 St Thomas's Street, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, lxi (1996), 225-74; S. Cook, 'Archaeological Excavations at 64-66 St Thomas', Oxford' in *Oxoniensia*, lxiv (1999), 285-96; Roberts, *op. cit.*; Palmer, *op. cit.* 124-225.

⁵ 'Lion Brewery and Yard, St Thomas's Street, Oxford, Archaeological Evaluation', (unpubl. TVAS report 99/73c 1999); H. Moore, 'Medieval buildings and land reclamation at the former Lion Brewery, St Thomas' Street, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, lxxi (2006); J. Moore *pers. com.*



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Fig. 2. Detail from Agas' Map of Oxford 1578 (left); detail from Loggan's Map of Oxford 1675 (right)

Evaluation phase

Preliminary evaluation of the current site by both TVAS and OA exposed the remains of medieval and post-medieval structures and a possible garden plot along the St Thomas' Street frontage. These included a possible medieval revetment wall along the south-western bank of the Backstream, where post-medieval walls and soils were also revealed. Possible 16th- or 17th-century garden paths were identified along the north-eastern bank of the Backstream. In the north of the site a post-medieval orchard soil, a stone culvert and two infilled channels were identified.⁶

Excavation methodology

Following best practice, the engineering design of the development has been adjusted to minimise impact on archaeological deposits, and archaeological investigation was therefore limited to those levels and areas where significant damage was unavoidable. The deeper levels were not revealed, although they are reconstructed from geotechnical data as detailed below. The southern part of the site was excavated in two stages, Area A and Area B (Fig. 1). Non-archaeological deposits were removed using a mechanical excavator with a toothless ditching bucket, to minimise disturbance to archaeological sensitive strata. Following machine excavation the areas were excavated by hand to the formation level of the new development (c. 55 m. OD).

Watching Brief methodology

The watching brief covered all of the areas of archaeological significance that were located outside Areas A and B (Fig. 1). These included;

- stone revetting walls located to the north (Area C), likely to be associated with a channel visible on the 1595 Agas map and the 1675 Loggan map of Oxford (Fig. 2)
- the brick and stone culvert located in the centre of the site (Area D) likely to be associated with another channel visible on the Loggan map
- the structural features found to the east (Area E), likely to be associated with the houses on Warham Bank/Fisher Row
- stone revetting walls located to the south-west (Area F), likely to be associated with the Western Backstream.

In each Area those elements of the structures described above that lay within the anticipated impact level of the proposed foundations were located by mechanical excavation, and sample excavation and recording carried out.

RESULTS

General

The exposure of archaeological deposits was limited in that excavation was restricted to the impact level of development (55 m. OD) and natural geology was not revealed. However, the late medieval/early post-medieval ground level was observed throughout Areas A and B. Much of the archaeology comprised structural remains within shallow foundation cuts or surfaces; relatively few features were deeper than the impact level of development. Despite disturbance to much of the area, from modern development and services, medieval and post-medieval remains were relatively well preserved.

⁶ 'Lion Brewery and Yard, St Thomas's Street, Oxford, Archaeological Evaluation', (unpubl. TVAS report 99/73b 1999); 'Park End Street and St Thomas's Street, Oxford Archaeological Evaluation Report' (unpubl. OA report on behalf of Kingerlee, 2003)

Areas A and B generally comprised dumped layers of silty clays and gravels, cut by the foundations of stone-walled buildings, the footings of which were relatively well-preserved. Hearths and surfaces were also preserved. There was a lack of deep cut features on the site, but where they were observed they were filled with redeposited material, derived from the dumped layers and/or fluvial and alluvial deposits.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

Pre-Phase 1 (pre-1200)

Area A

The earliest deposits encountered in the sequence were layers of fluvial or alluvial silts, clays and gravels (3082 and 3083; Fig. 3). The depth of excavation did not go deeper than c. 55 m. OD so the base of the sequence was not revealed.

Area B

The earliest deposits were fluvial or alluvial in nature and similar to those seen within Area A, and excavation did not go deeper than c. 55 m OD.

Phase 1 (13th-late 15th centuries)

Area A (Figs. 3 and 4)

Dumped deposits

The fluvial/alluvial deposits were overlain by dumped layers of silty soils and general domestic waste to a level of c. 56 m. OD. The made ground contained pottery with a date range from the 13th to the 15th centuries, and a quantity of domestic animal bones.

Structure A1 (Fig. 3; Section 1 and Fig. 4)

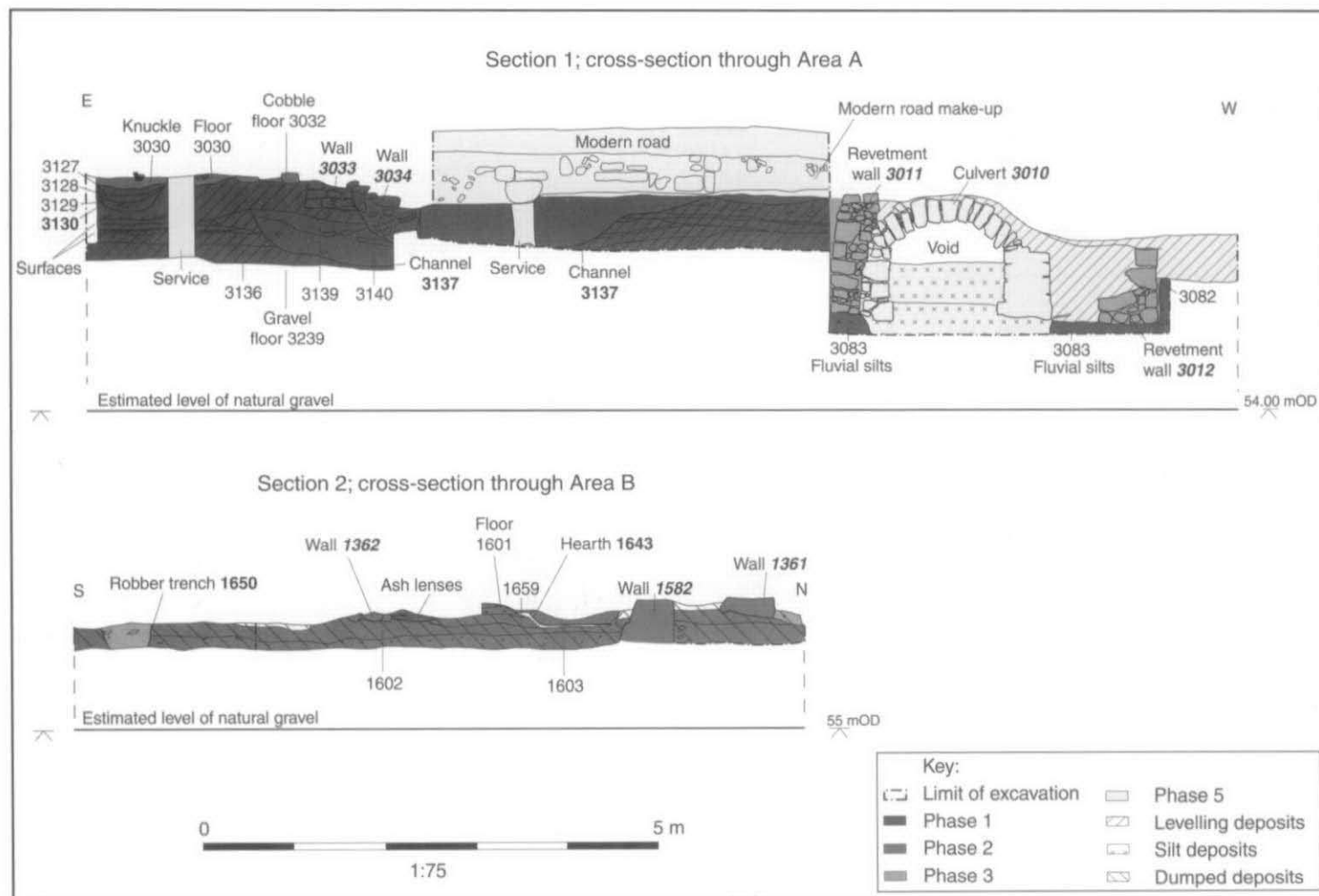
Wall footings and surfaces that probably formed a single structure were observed in the east of the Area. The footprint of the building was disturbed but it appeared to be aligned NW-SE and possibly measured approximately 10 m. by 5 m. A NW-SE aligned limestone wall (3022) defined the western wall of the building. A single course of limestone footings (3294) was observed to the south, and may have defined the southern limits of the structure. However, the wall was heavily disturbed and it may have formed an internal feature. A limestone rubble floor (3243), levelled with gravel, was observed within the southern half of the building. The floor was overlain by trample layers that were truncated by the construction cut for a limestone hearth (3112). The hearth was constructed from limestone slabs, measured 2 m. by 1 m. and was filled with layers of ash that contained pottery dated to the 15th century. These layers were overlain by a layer of compacted clay upon which a limestone floor (3154) and an NE-SW aligned wall (3021) were set. Wall 3021 may have divided the property into two rooms. Floor 3154 was overlain by layers of silty occupation deposits.

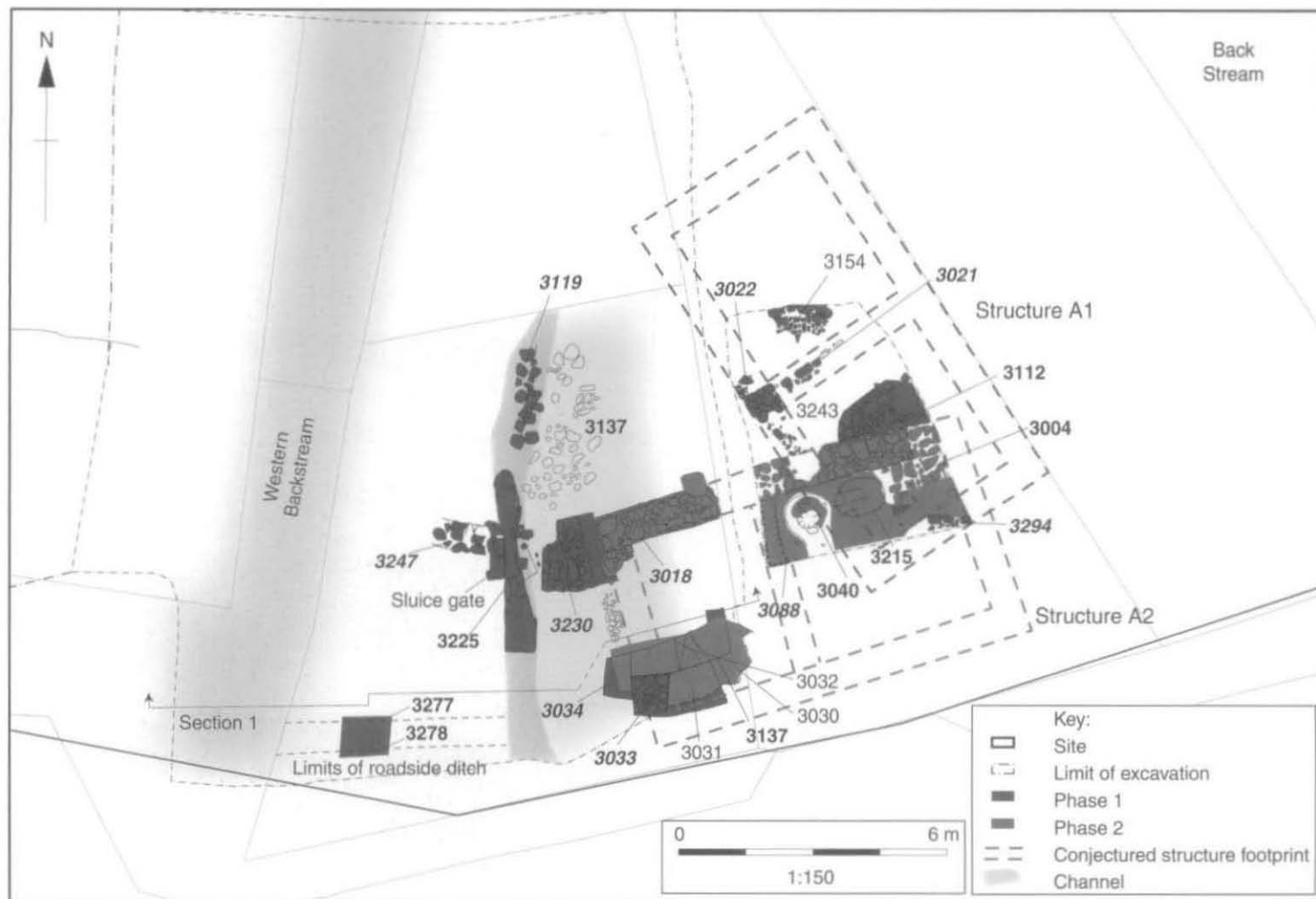
Dumped levelling deposits overlay the surfaces and were themselves cut by a possible wall robber trench (3130) and a channel (3137; see below). The wall robber trench (3130) was 0.8 m. wide and 0.25 m. deep and filled with mortar, gravels and silt (3127-3129).

A watercourse and associated structures

The channel (3137 – Figs. 3 and 4) was aligned N-S, and was 5 m. wide and 0.5 m. deep. It was filled with greeny grey silt deposits (3139 and 3140). The silt deposits were cut by the construction trenches for two limestone walls (3033) and (3034). Wall 3033 was 0.8 m. wide and was abutted by wall 3034, which was 0.5 m. wide. Wall 3034 survived to a height of 0.7 m. while wall 3033 was only 0.3 m. high. Wall 3033 may have formed part of the foundations of a building and was of similar dimensions to robber trench 3130 (Fig. 3 – Section 1). Wall 3034 defined the eastern edge of the partially silted up channel (3137). To the north a loosely bonded limestone wall (3119) defined the channel's western edge.

Two W-E aligned limestone walls, set either side of the channel, were observed to the south of wall 3119. To the west wall 3247 was 0.6 m. wide, whilst wall 3230, to the east, was 1.5 m. wide. Set into wall 3230 was a limestone mortar (Fig. 5), missing its base, which had been re-used as a drainage pipe. The walls could not be associated with any known structure but wall 3230 was similarly constructed to walls





3033 and 3034 to the south. A sluice (3225) had been set between walls 3247 and 3230. The sides of the sluice were formed from large well-squared limestone blocks set 0.3 m. apart. Carved vertical channels, 0.05 m. thick, were cut into the blocks and would have held the sluice gate, probably made of wood. Alternatively, as large pieces of stone slate lined the channel to the north, such material may have also been used as the sluice gates.

St Thomas' Street (Fig. 4)

In the south-west of the area a W-E aligned ditch was revealed (3277). It was 0.6 m. deep, over 1 m. wide and filled with dark silty clays (3272 and 3273) that contained pottery dating from the 13th century. The ditch had been re-cut to the south by ditch 3278 that was over 1.6 m. wide and contained similar deposits (3265). It is likely that these formed consecutive roadside ditches alongside St Thomas' Street.

To the south of the structure a sequence of floor levels was revealed in section (Fig. 3; Section 1). The earliest deposits were a cobbled surface (at c. 56 m. OD) and a gravel surface (3239). Layers of ash and trampled deposits that contained pottery dating from the 13th century overlay the floors. A ceramic fire-cover (curfew), a rim sherd from a dripping dish and a bottle base were recovered from one of the dumped layers (3136). It is possible that the deposits formed a ford, possibly associated with a bridge.

Phase 2 (late 15th-mid 16th centuries)

Area A (Figs. 3 and 4)

The sluice gate

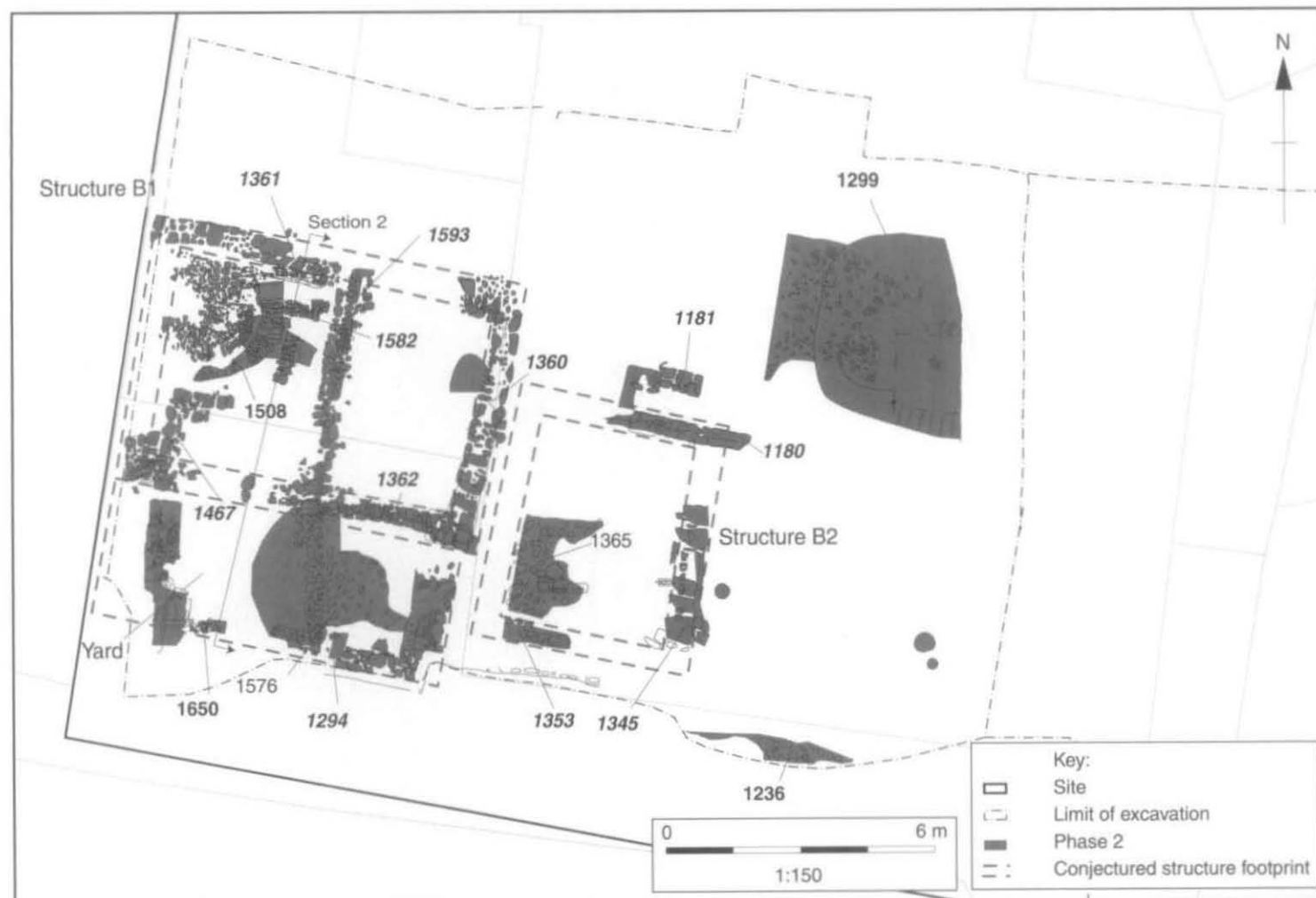
The sluice (3225) was filled with silt deposits that contained pottery dating from the late 15th century to the mid 16th century, and animal bones from domestic fowl, goose, cattle, pig and sheep/goat.

Structure A2

Walls were observed in the south of the area that defined a structure (A2) c. 10 m. W-E by 5 m. N-S. A NE-SW aligned limestone rubble wall (3018), measuring 0.8 m thick and surviving to over 0.2 m. high, formed the northern wall of the structure. To the south was a single course of limestone rubble (3088), the remains of a robbed out NW-SE aligned partition wall. In the SW corner of the building was an area of floor surfaces. Two areas of limestone cobbles (3031 and 3032) lay to the west of a surface constructed from sheep metapodials (3030). Clay pipe stems were recovered from the top of the surfaces and it is possible that the surfaces survived into the 17th century. To the east of the partition wall (3088) was a surface constructed from limestone blocks (3004).



Fig. 5. Stone mortar



A hearth pit (3215) measuring 0.8 m. wide by 1.2 m. long was revealed to the west of surface 3004. It was 0.1 m. deep and filled with ash that contained sherds of ceramic jugs and bowls dated from the late 15th century to the 16th century. The pit was superseded by a limestone oven base (3040) that was 1.5 m. long and 1 m. wide. This too was filled with ash that contained similarly dated pottery. Charred remains from wood such as ash, hazel, maple, elm, birch, crab apple and oak were identified (see Challinor and Sikking below). Postholes were observed on either side of the hearth that were undated but may have been associated with the superstructure of the hearth. There is no evidence to suggest that the hearths were used for anything other than domestic cooking.

Area B

Land reclamation

The fluvial deposits were overlain by dumps of silts and domestic waste that contained pottery dating from the late 15th to the mid 16th century (1602, 1603 and 1659 – Fig. 3 – Section 2). The remains of jugs, jars and bowls were among the assemblage, which also included relatively rare vessels such as a pipkin, dripping dishes and cisterns. The animal bone assemblage was dominated by sheep/goat, pig and cattle head and hoof bones. The deposits were approximately 0.6 m. thick and were cut by the foundations of a building (B1) in the western part of the site.

Structure B1 (Fig. 3 – Section 2 and Fig. 6)

The building (B1) comprised three walls (1360, 1361 and 1362; Fig. 6) constructed from mortared limestone blocks; the western wall had been removed by later development. The walls were 0.6 m. thick and enclosed an area measuring 6 m. north-south by 8.5 m. east-west. Abutting the southern wall (1362) was the base of a dividing wall (1593) that separated the dwelling into two rooms; two sections of similarly constructed wall were seen to the west (1582). They were of uncertain function but it is possible they formed the base of a staircase. The footings of the building varied between 0.2 m. and 0.5 m. deep; the deeper footings may have been located over a particularly soft area.

The walls forming a western room were abutted by a possible clay floor (1601). A sequence of four hearths (including 1643 – Fig. 3 – Section 2) were revealed in the NW corner of the room, the final hearth of which (1508) was 2 m. wide and 2.4 m. long. It comprised a limestone rubble base with limestone blocks forming a surround. The hearths were filled with ash and burnt silt from which fragments of late-15th to mid-16th century ceramic domestic vessels were recovered. In the SW corner of the room was a similar hearth structure (1467) with a base of limestone blocks. The hearths probably would have had a domestic function. Mortar surfaces also survived within the area and were overlain by layers of ash. Pig, rabbit and sheep/goat bones were recovered from these deposits.

To the south of Structure B1 was a right-angled limestone wall (1294) that was 0.6 m. wide. Wall 1294 was slightly offset to wall 1360 and may have been added at a later date. It enclosed a sequence of surfaces and dumped layers that culminated in a surface constructed from re-used limestone roof tiles (1576). The surface measured 3.5 m. by 3.5 m. but it was disturbed by later activity. Pottery dating from the late 15th to the mid 16th century, and bones from domestic fowl, duck, cattle, sheep/goat, pig and rabbit were recovered from the deposits. The area probably formed a yard or possibly a large open room to the front of the building.

Demolition deposits were observed throughout the footprint of the structure that were subsequently cut by robber trenches. Robber trench 1650 (Figs. 3 and 6) was located at the western end of the wall 1294, and was filled with rubble that contained pottery dated from the mid 16th to the 17th century (see Phase 3).

Structure B2 (Fig. 6)

An adjoining building was defined by limestone walls to the east of Structure B1. The northern part of the structure was defined by two W-E aligned walls (1180 and 1181) to the east of the wall 1360. The walls were 0.5 m. wide and were 0.5 m. apart, wall 1181 may have formed part of an outbuilding. However, the stratigraphic sequence was disturbed in this area and it is possible that the walls formed part of a later structure (see Phase 4, Structure B2). A W-E aligned limestone wall (1353), measuring 0.6 m. wide, was revealed c. 5 m. to the south of these walls and defined the southern limit of the structure. Wall 1353 may have been associated with a similarly constructed N-S aligned wall (1345) to the east, forming a building footprint of approximately 5 sq m. A floor constructed from re-used stone roof tiles (1365) was located in the south-western part of the area. It measured 2 m. by 2 m., although it had been disturbed to the north, west and east. It is possible that a W-E aligned limestone wall (1236),

revealed to the south-east, defined the southern extent of a yard area associated with this building. To the north-east of Structure B2 a large pit was partially revealed (1299; Fig. 6). It was over 4 m wide and over 1.1 m. deep although it was not fully excavated. It was backfilled with greenish hued sandy silts and ashy lenses that contained charcoal and pottery dating from the mid 15th century. Cattle, sheep/goat and bird bones were also recovered. The pit may have originated as a gravel extraction pit but appears then to have been utilised as a cess pit. The upper deposits were overlain by loose stones, possibly representing a cobbled yard surface.

Phase 3 (mid 16th-late 17th centuries)

Area A

Western Backstream (Figs 3 and 7)

The Western Backstream divided Areas A and B. The earliest (revealed) archaeological evidence for the stream comprised limestone revetment walls, measuring 0.7 m. wide and over 1.6 m. deep, on either side of the channel (3011 and 3012). A W-E aligned, similarly constructed wall (3264 NI) was seen in section, beneath the existing street frontage, abutting wall 3011. It was abutted by levelling deposits that contained pottery dated from the mid 16th to the 17th century.

Structure A2

Structure A2 continued to be occupied in Phase 3 although a wall robber trench (3042) had removed wall 3088. To the north of the building levelling deposits and a possible outbuilding (A2b) were identified, represented by five postholes in a NE-SW aligned line. The postholes (3106, 3068, 3071, 3148 and 3150) were between 0.4 and 0.6 m. wide and 0.2 m. deep. Pottery dating from the mid 16th century to the 17th century was recovered from the fills of the postholes. The pottery included German Stoneware mugs and red earthenwares.

Structure A3 (early to mid 17th century)

An H-shaped structure (3050; Fig. 7) was constructed over wall 3011. It was built from limestone blocks and measured 3 m. W-E by 2.2 m. N-S. A moulded stone of 13th or 14th-century date, originating from a high status and probably ecclesiastical building, had been re-used in the structure. Pottery dating from the mid 16th to the 17th century was recovered from the backfill of the foundation trench. The structure was likely to have formed the base of a chimney stack within a building, the extent of which was not clear. Two fireplaces, in a northern and southern room, were identified. To the north a disturbed cattle knucklebone floor and a disturbed limestone floor (3047) were revealed and to the south a mortar floor (3050) was seen. The conjectured footprint of the structure is depicted in Fig. 7, determined by the proximity of nearby contemporary structures.

Area B (Figs. 3 and 8)

Demolition of Structure B1

Following the demolition of Structure B1 the site was utilised as a yard space. In the south of the area a cobbled surface (1296) was revealed. A large number of bones were recovered from the surface and its bedding layer, representing cattle, domestic fowl, duck, goose, pig and sheep/goat. Pottery dating from the mid 16th to 17th century was recovered from the surface.

Phase 4 (late 17th-early 19th centuries)

Area B (Fig. 8)

Yard Space B1

A crude structure was erected on the site of the demolished Structure B1. Two limestone block footings were cut into the Phase 3 demolition deposits. Footing 1471 was located to the north of the area and measured 0.5 m. by 0.5 m. To the south of the area a charcoal layer containing a clay pipe bowl dating from 1700-1740 and cattle and sheep/goat bones was overlain by a limestone pad (1293). It measured 2 m. W-E by 1 m. N-S and was three courses high. The base of a possible limestone wall (1266), measuring 3 m. long and 0.5 m. wide, lay in the centre of the area.

To the west of the wall two pits were observed (1372 and 1376), producing pottery dating from the late 17th century to the 18th century. The pits were vertically sided and over 0.25 m. deep, although they were not bottomed. The pits were cut by the foundation cut for a limestone well (1391). The well





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Fig. 8. Area B, Phases 3 and 4

had an internal diameter of 0.9 m. and was backfilled with silty clays containing pottery dating from the late 17th century to the 18th century. The features were overlain by a layer of demolition rubble that was dated, by the pottery recovered, to the 18th century. The assemblage comprised red earthenwares, Border wares and a small quantity of tablewares. A large amount of cattle head and hoof bones were also recovered, as well as pig, sheep and rabbit bones. A short section of limestone wall (1144) was set into this deposit and a robber trench was revealed over the line of wall 1266.

A large pit (1646) was partially revealed within the NW corner of site. It was 3.5 m. wide, over 1.2 m. deep and filled with a silty clay with ashy flecks. An early 18th-century clay pipe bowl and residual 16th-century pottery were recovered from its fill. The pit was overlain by a similarly dated garden soil that contained sherds of German Stoneware mugs (also likely to be residual) and a considerable amount of sheep head and hoof bones.

Structure B2

Four walls averaging 0.8 m. high and forming a sunken room (1415) were revealed to the north of the Phase 2 structure B2. The walls were crudely built and constructed from re-claimed building materials such as limestone blocks, brick and roof tiles and could only have supported a light superstructure. Two stone mouldings of 13th or 14th-century date, most likely originating from the ruins of a high status building were included in the wall fabric. Further limestone footings (1403), possibly for a set of stairs were located in the SE corner of the room. It is possible that the Phase 2 walls 1180 and 1181 formed a corridor at the top of the stairs. A gravel levelling deposit for a brick and tile floor abutted the walls of room 1415.

Structure B2 probably extended to the south although no evidence for any walls survived. However, a hearth structure (1340) abutted the exterior side of the southern wall of room 1415, measuring 2.5 m. W-E and 1.5 m. N-S. It comprised three courses of limestone blocks enclosing a sandy surface. The surface was overlain by burnt silt that contained clay pipes dated to the mid 17th century, and seventeen cattle metapodials and phalanges. The bones did not show signs of wear but it is possible that they were the remnants of a knucklebone surface. A crude surface (1326) formed from bricks and limestone slabs was observed to the south of the hearth. The hearth itself was overlain by a compacted silt floor surface that was cut by later activity from which two coins were recovered, dated to the end of the 17th century.

A yard area was located to the north of the room 1415, and contained a flagstone yard surface (1136) and a limestone well (1320). The well had an internal diameter of 0.8 m. and was infilled with silts that contained pottery and clay pipes dated to the mid to late 17th century. The assemblage comprised wares one would expect from an urban household. A second well (1230) was located to the south-east of Structure B2 and was of a similar construction, and possibly contemporary.

Phase 5 (19th century onwards)

Area A (Figs 3 and 7)

A limestone culvert (3010) was constructed within the Western Backstream. It was over 1.4 m. wide and 1.5 m. deep and 19th-century domestic pottery was recovered from the foundation deposits. To the west of the culvert a square limestone soakaway (3014) was revealed but not excavated. It was possibly associated with later development within Area B.

Area B (Fig. 9)

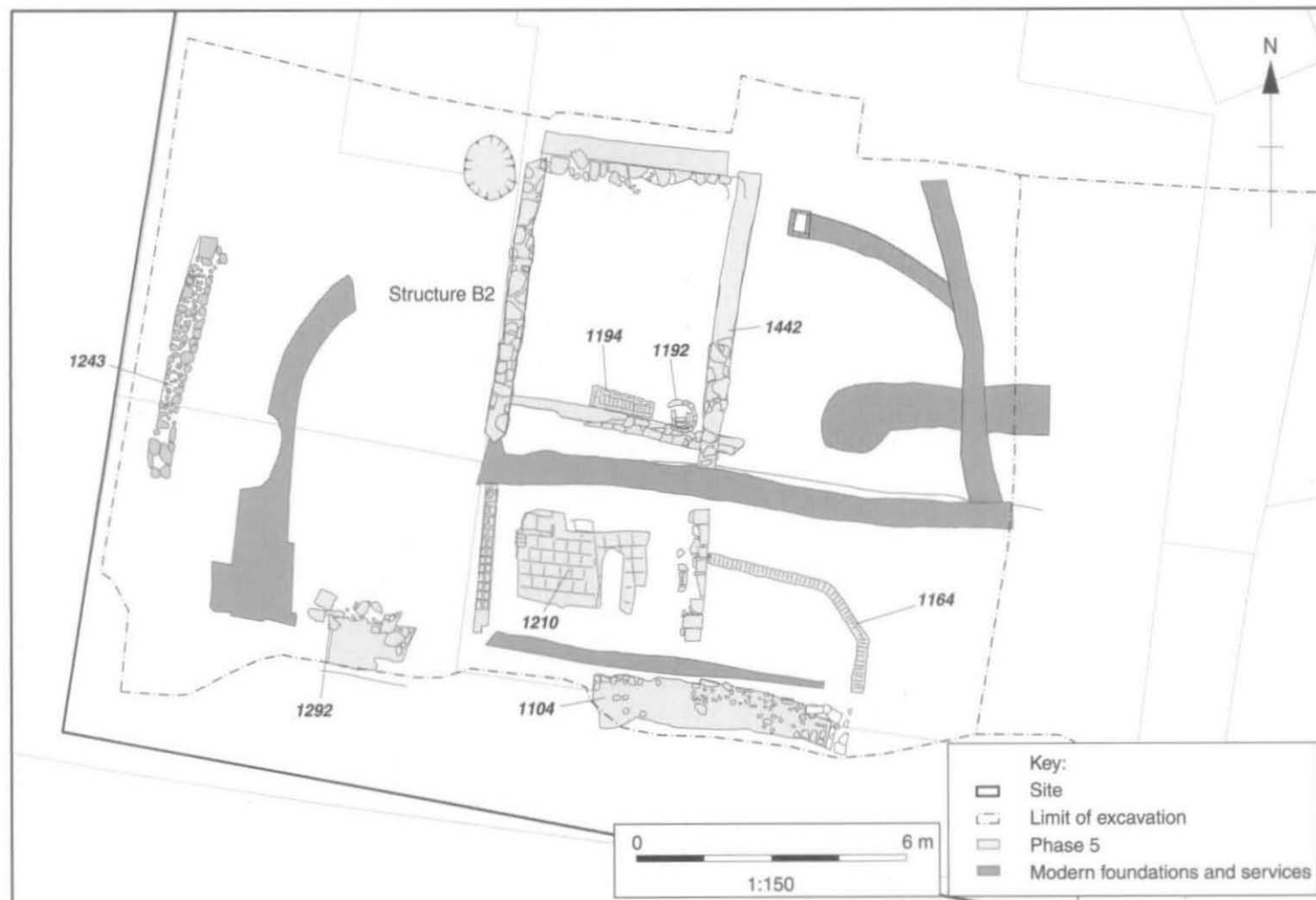
Yard Area B1

The presence of cobbled surfaces (1292 and 1273) in the south of the area suggests that at this time, the western side of Area B still functioned as a yard surface or lane (see below). An isolated brick wall (1243) was located to the west of the area and may have formed part of the boundary to an adjoining property.

Structure B2

The Phase 3 sunken room 1415 was infilled with rubble and silt that contained 19th-century domestic pottery. The limestone foundations for a building (1442) were constructed within this infill. The building comprised a northern and southern room, and a brick and stone wall footing (1104) formed the southern limit of the building and yard.

A brick bread oven (1192), a fireplace (1194) and a flagstone surface were located in the northern room, and later brick and flagstone floors were also revealed. The southern room comprised a tile floor



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Fig. 9. Area B, Phase 5

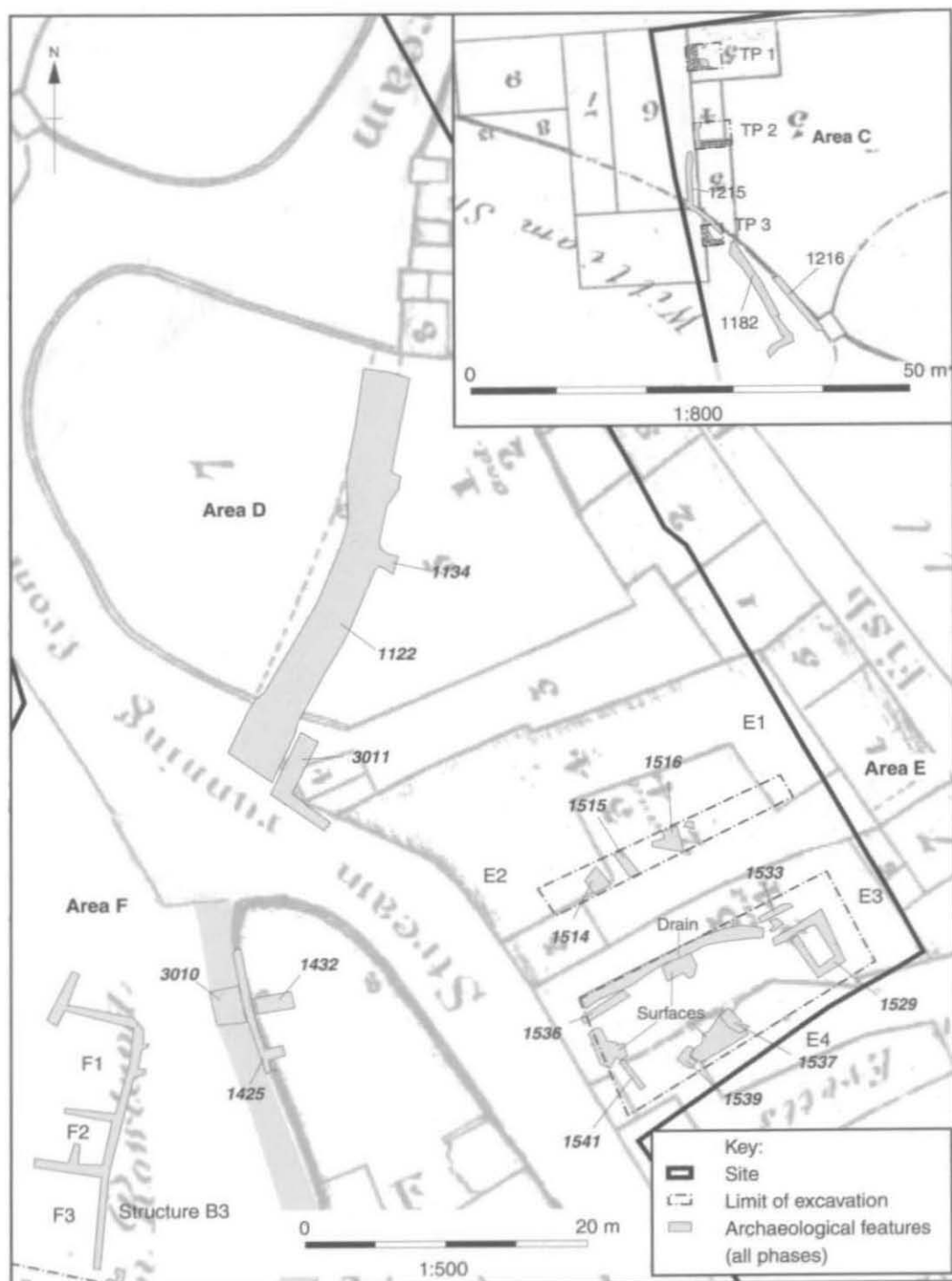


Fig. 10. Badcock's Survey of Christ Church Properties 1829, showing structures from all phases, Areas C-F

(1210) that displayed evidence for episodic repairs. An associated yard was observed to the east, with a brick garden wall (1164) surrounding an area of limestone slabs. The deposits were cut by modern services and the foundations for 20th century structures (Fig. 9).

Watching Brief Areas, Phases 4 and 5 (Fig. 10)

Area C

A NW-SE aligned limestone channel wall was revealed (1182) to the south of Area C. It was 0.9 m. wide and was similar in appearance to wall 3012. A section of the wall appeared to have been repaired where a similarly constructed wall was located. A N-S aligned limestone wall (1215) abutted 1182 to the north, it was one course high and 0.5 m. wide. Associated flagstone floors and later mortar floors were also revealed within Test Pits 1-3. The structures probably dated to Phase 4, as deposits overlying the walls contained 18th-century pottery. A Phase 5 brick culvert (1216) aligned NW-SE, and measuring 0.7 m. wide was revealed to the east of wall 1182.

Area D

Within Area D the Backstream's northern retaining wall and the Western Backstream's eastern retaining wall (3011) were revealed. A NE-SW aligned limestone culvert (1122), measuring over 1.3 m. deep, abutted wall 3011 to the SE. A NW-SE aligned culvert (1134) emptied into culvert 1122. The culverts were overlain by levelling layers and a cultivation soil.

Area E

Backyard features were revealed within Area E, associated with properties fronting either the Backstream or Fisher Row. An area of limestone cobbles (1516) and a N-S aligned limestone wall (1515), forming a property boundary, were seen within Property E1. The wall was 0.5 m wide and separated Properties E1 and E2. A similar cobbled yard surface (1514) was seen within Property E2.

Property E3 may have initially comprised two plots, a limestone wall (1533) running through the centre of the area. Cobbled surfaces and a limestone soakaway (1529) were also revealed. The soakaway was 3 m. long, 2 m. wide and 2 m. deep, a similarly constructed drain was seen abutting the structure at the NW corner. The drain was covered with limestone slabs.

A N-S aligned cobbled path bordered by two limestone walls (1537 and 1539) was seen in the western end of Property E4. Pottery dating to the 17th century was recovered from the foundation backfill. A narrow limestone wall (1541) to the west, 0.23 m. wide, may have defined the western limits of the yard. The structures were overlain by dumped deposits but no dating evidence was recovered.

Area F

On the western side of the Western Backstream a revetting wall was revealed (1425) which was probably part of the 17th- or 18th-century river wall 3011. The wall was abutted by dumped layers of mortar, sand and silt that contained 17th-century pottery. A cobbled path (1432) was seen to the east. The path was cut by a pit that contained 18th-century pottery.

A garden soil was revealed to the west of Area F and was cut by the foundations for three probable properties (F1-3) that may have fronted a yard. Bookbinder's Yard is shown in this location on the OS 1st Edition map of Oxford (1876). The soil contained pottery dated from the mid 16th century to the 17th century. The properties were constructed from limestone and brick walls that were 0.5 m. wide. The properties had footprints of 7.5 m. by 5 m., 5 m. by 5 m. and 7.5 m. by 5 m. respectively.

FINDS

POTTERY by PAUL BLINKHORN

The pottery assemblage comprised 1,765 sherds with a total weight of 37,737g. The estimated vessel equivalent (EVE), by summation of surviving rimsherd circumference was 9.51. All the pottery was medieval or later, with the range of fabrics indicating that there was little significant activity at the site before the beginning of the 13th century.

Generally, the assemblage is somewhat fragmentary, despite there being large quantities of fairly large sherds, suggesting that the bulk of the pottery is a product of secondary deposition. This is illustrated by the relatively high proportions of residual material in the later post-medieval phases, indicating that there was considerable disturbance of the ground during that time.

The range of fabric and vessel types is typical of the city of Oxford, and, overall, is somewhat unremarkable. Although there is a small quantity of the rarer types of cooking pottery in the medieval phases, this material is likely to have originated from elsewhere in Oxford.

Fabric

The pottery was recorded utilizing the coding system and chronology of the Oxfordshire County type-series.⁷ The 'F' prefixed numerical codes are those used in the database, as follows:

- F200: OXAC: Cotswold-type ware, AD975-1350. 75 sherds, 944 g., EVE = 0.46.
 F202: OXBF: North-East Wiltshire Ware, AD1050 - 1400. 60 sherds, 987 g., EVE = 0.54.
 F300: OXY: Medieval Oxford ware, AD1075 - 1350. 89 sherds, 1,136 g., EVE = 0.76.
 F330: OXBK: Medieval Shelly Coarseware, AD1100-1350. 1 sherd, 10 g., EVE = 0.
 F352: OXAM: Brill/Boarstall ware, AD1200 - 1600. 872 sherds, 15,551 g., EVE = 5.60.
 F353: OX68: Potterspury ware, Late 13th - 17th century. 1 sherd, 2g., EVE = 0.03.
 F355: OXBB: Minety ware. Early 12th - 15th century. 1 sherd, 10 g., EVE = 0.
 F356: OXBG: Surrey Whiteware. Mid 13th - mid 15th century. 27 sherds, 511 g., EVE = 0.44.
 F403: OXBN: Tudor Green Ware, 15th - mid 16th century. 53 sherds, 292 g., EVE = 0.84.
 F404: OXCL: Cistercian Ware, 1475-1700. 35 sherds, 396 g., EVE = 0.52.
 F405: OXST: German Stoneware, late 15th century - 1700. 76 sherds, 1,533 g., EVE = 0.10.
 F410: OXAM: Brill 'Tudor Green' type, AD1475 - 1550. 28 sherds, 375 g., EVE = 0.25.
 F425: OXDR: Red Earthenwares, 1550+. 176 sherds, 6,909 g.
 F451: OXFH: Border wares, 1550 - 1700. 62 sherds, 1,859 g.
 F417: OXCE: Tin-glazed Earthenware, 1613 - 1800. 11 sherds, 165 g.
 F416: OXRESWL: Polychrome Slipware, 17th century. 7 sherds, 354 g.
 F426: OXBESWL: Staffordshire slip-trailed earthenwares, 1650 - 1800. 3 sherds, 16 g.
 F414: OXFG: Staffordshire Manganese Glazed ware. late 17th - 18th century. 2 sherds, 10 g.
 F443: OXFM: Staffordshire White-glazed English Stoneware, 1730 - 1800. 9 sherds, 75 g.
 F438: OXEST: English Stoneware, 1680 +. 6 sherds, 115 g.
 F1000: WHEW: Mass-produced white earthenwares, mid 19th - 20th century. 168 sherds, 6,365 g.

The range of fabrics is very typical of sites in Oxford and the surrounding region. They indicate that there has been continuous activity at the site from the medieval period to the present day. This is examined in more detail below.

Chronology

All the pottery assemblages were given seriated ceramic phase dates based on the range of ware and vessel types present, with these dates then adjusted after reference to the stratigraphic matrix. The seriation scheme is shown in Table 1.

The pottery occurrence per ceramic phase is shown in Table 2.

The pottery occurrence per ceramic phase by fabric is shown in Table 3.

The data in Tables 1 - 3 shows that there was little significant activity at the site before the 13th century. Only one sherd may date to before that time, and it is entirely possible that it is from a later context which lacks contemporary pottery. From CP3 onwards, pottery was deposited in fairly large quantities,

⁷ M. Mellor, 'A summary of the key assemblages. A study of pottery, clay pipes, glass and other finds from fourteen pits, dating from the 16th to the 19th century', in T.G. Hassall, C.E. Halpin and M. Mellor, 'Excavations at St Ebbe's' *Oxoniensia*, xlix (1984), 181-219.; M. Mellor, 'Oxford Pottery: A Synthesis of middle and late Saxon, medieval and early post-medieval pottery in the Oxford Region', *Oxoniensia*, lix (1994), 17-217

apart from CP4, which yielded just 322 g. of material. This is somewhat unusual, and may relate to the use of the site (or lack of use) at that time. Alternatively, as the largest group of pottery comes from the following phase, there may have been significant removal of 15th century strata at that time due to building activity, etc. and another possibility may be the pottery supply to Oxford at that time. 'Tudor Green' wares, the defining ware of the period, was imported from kilns in the Surrey/Hampshire region, with the manufactories starting in the later years of the 14th century. Such pottery represented by just one sherd in CP4 groups, but 46 sherds (265g.) were noted in the following CP5 phase, with just six sherds of residual material noted in later phases. This lack of residual 'Tudor Green' ware suggests that if there was disturbance of the 15th century strata, then soil was not being removed from the site, as there was large amounts of medieval pottery of all types (except this one) in post-medieval contexts. It would appear therefore that in this case, Tudor Green wares were not being consumed at the site in any quantity until almost a century after the ware was first made, in the later years of the 15th century. This is supported by the fact that other, broadly contemporary pottery from similar sources, Surrey Whitewares, were being consumed, but again not until CP5, where most of the assemblage occurred. None was present in CP3 assemblages, despite the ware being manufactured from the mid-late 13th century onwards. A total of 3.5% of the CP5 assemblage comprised such pottery, with only four sherds noted in later contexts.

TABLE 1: CERAMIC PHASE CHRONOLOGY AND DEFINING WARES

Phase	Date	Defining Fabric
CP1	?11th C	OXAC
CP2	L11th -12th C	OXY
CP3	13th - 15th C	OXAM, OXBG
CP4	15th - late 15th C	OXBN
CP5	L 15th - M16th	OXCL, OXAM, OXST
CP6	M16th - 17th C	OXDR, OXFH
CP7	17th - L 17th C	OXREWSL, OXCE
CP8	L 17th C - 18th C	OXFM, OXFG
CP9	19thC	WHEW

TABLE 2: CERAMIC PHASING: POTTERY OCCURRENCE PER PHASE BY NUMBER AND WEIGHT OF SHERDS AND EVE, ALL FABRICS (INCLUDING RESIDUAL MATERIAL)

Phase	No Sherds	Wt. Sherds	EVE	Mean Sherd Wt.
CP1	0			
CP2	1	9	0	5.5 g.
CP3	165	3331	1.45	20.3 g.
CP4	12	322	0.38	26.8 g.
CP5	847	13446	6.52	15.9 g.
CP6	78	3105	-	39.8 g.
CP7	192	3657	-	19.0 g.
CP8	124	2257	-	18.2 g.
CP9	346	11610	-	33.6 g.

TABLE 3: POTTERY OCCURRENCE PER CERAMIC PHASE BY FABRIC TYPE, EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL WEIGHT (IN G.) PER PHASE, MAJOR FABRICS ONLY

	CP 3	CP 4	CP 5	CP 6	CP 7	CP 8	CP 9
F200	8.8%	0	4.0%	0	1.0%	0.6%	0.6%
F202	19.3%	1.2%	1.9%	0	0	1.4%	0.5%
F300	15.5%	7.5%	4.3%	0	0	0	0.1%
F352	56.4%	87.9%	77.2%	11.1%	32.9%	12.5%	10.2%
F356	0	0	3.5%	0	0.3%	0	0.4%
F403	–	3.4%	2.0%	0.1%	0.3%	0.1%	0
F404	–	–	1.7%	0	4.0%	0.5%	0.1%
F405	–	–	2.9%	3.1%	14.3%	7.0%	2.3%
F410	–	–	1.8%	0.4%	1.5%	0.4%	0.5%
F425	–	–	–	70.0%	32.8%	53.5%	19.7%
F451	–	–	–	15.1%	2.0%	21.0%	7.0%
F416	–	–	–	–	7.9%	0	0.5%
F417	–	–	–	–	1.9%	0.3%	0.7%
F443	–	–	–	–	–	1.6%	0.3%
F1000	–	–	–	–	–	–	54.8%
Total	3331	322	13446	3105	3657	2257	11610

Shaded cells = residual

Vessel Types

The range and occurrence of medieval vessel types in use at the site is shown in Table 4. Generally, the data are fairly typical of sites of the period in the city, although some rarer vessel types, perhaps indicative of a slightly higher than usual status, were also noted. The earlier medieval groups are almost exclusively jars, bowls and jugs, although a bodysherd of a curfew (fire-cover) was noted in a CP3 context, along with a fragment of a dripping dish. The much greater range of pottery from CP5 contexts is also typical of the period. Many of these vessels types first appear in CP4, but the small assemblage size means that none were noted. The CP5 assemblage appears purely domestic in nature, comprising a range of wares associated with the preparation and consumption of food and drink, such as dripping dishes, cisterns, skillets and mugs.

TABLE 4: VESSEL OCCURRENCE PER PHASE, EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE EVE PER MEDIEVAL PHASE, INCLUDING ALL SUB-PHASES

	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5	Total EVE
Jars	49.0%	21.1%	28.6%	2.91
Bowls	4.1%	0	3.6%	0.33
Jugs	46.9%	78.9%	35.3%	5.60
Skillet/Pipkin	0	0	10.8%	0.80
Lids	0	0	1.5%	0.11
Mugs/Cups	0	0	8.1%	0.60
Other*	Curfew, DDx1, bottle base	–	DD x3, cistern bunghole x2	–
Phase Total	1.45	0.38	7.42	9.35

*DD = Published in Oxoniensia 2006, (c) Oxfordshire Architectural and Historical Society

Other vessels are bodysherds of vessels other than jars, bowls and jugs.

Cross-fits

The following cross-fits were noted:

1385 = 1392, OXAM, large pipkin, both CP5.

1296 = 1303, OXBN, jug, both CP5.

The number of cross-fits is rather small considering the size of the assemblage, and this despite the fact that selected groups of pottery were examined at this stage. This suggests that the pottery recovered at the site comprises only a small proportion of the material deposited at the site.

The Pottery

TABLE 5: TABLE SHOWING CERAMIC PHASES IN RELATION TO STRATIGRAPHIC PHASES

Ceramic Phase	Pottery Date	Stratigraphic Phase	Phase Date Range
CP9	19th C	Phase 5	19th C onwards
CP8	L 17th C – 18th C	Phase 4	L 17th – E 19th C
CP7	17th – L 17th C	Phase 4	L 17th – E 19th C
CP6	M 16th – 17th C	Phase 3	M 16th – L 17th C
CP5	L 15th – M 16th	Phase 2	L 15th – M 16th
CP4	15th – L 15th C	Phase 1	13th – L 15th C
CP3	13th – 15th C	Phase 1	13th – L 15th C
CP2	L 11th – 12th C	Phase 1	13th – L 15th C

Ceramic Phase 2, Late 11th – 12th century. 1 sherd, 9g, EVE = 0.

This comprised a single sherd of OXY (9g.), from context 1607. This is from a later deposit lacking the defining wares.

Ceramic Phase 3, 13th – 15th century. 165 sherds, 3,331 g., EVE = 1.45.

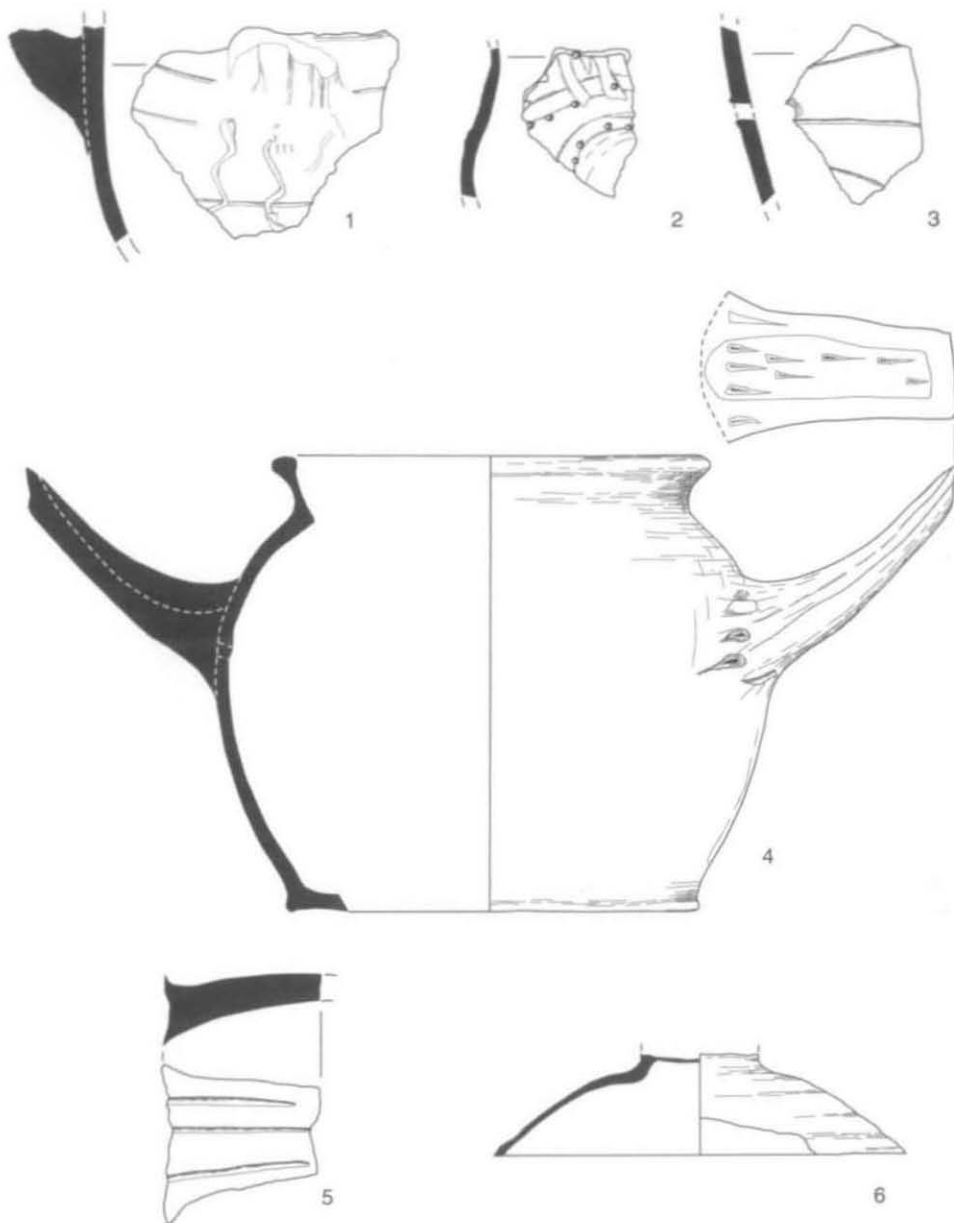
The assemblage from this Ceramic Phase, as is typical with assemblages from the city of Oxford, is dominated by Brill/Boarstall wares (OXAM), which made up 56.4% of the assemblage. The rest of the group comprised OXAC, OXBF, and OXY, which is again typical, along with a single small rim sherd from a Potterspury ware jug. The range of vessel types was dominated by jars (49.0%) and jugs (46.3%), with a small number of bowls (4.1%). The jugs were mainly Brill/Boarstall types, but a few OXY examples were also present, usually highly decorated balusters as typical of the later part of the industry (Fig. 11;1), but fragments of tripod pitchers were also present (Fig. 11;2).

A few other vessel types were present in the form of body and base sherds. A fragment of an OXAC fire-cover (curfew) was noted (Fig. 11;3), along with a single, small dripping dish rim sherd and a base from a bottle, both in Brill/Boarstall ware. These vessel types are all known from previous excavations in the city, although curfews are very rare finds. For example, a curfew in the same fabric as this one was noted at Church Street in Oxford, in an unstratified context.⁸ Further afield, two others occurred at the Bishop's Palace in Witney.⁹ One of the latter was of late 12th – 13th century date, the other redeposited in a late medieval context. Bottles are considerably more common, and are often found at medieval sites in the city from the 13th century onwards. They occurred in quantity at Eynsham Abbey, and were probably used for condiments or sauces in the refectory.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid. Fig. 13, No. 13.

⁹ Ibid. Fig. 12, No. 13 and Fig. 13, No. 12.

¹⁰ P.W. Blinkhorn, 'The Pottery', in A. Hardy, A. Dodd and G.D. Keevil 'Aelfric's Abbey. Excavations at Eynsham Abbey, Oxfordshire, 1989-92' (Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscapes 16, 2003), 197-8, Fig. 7.18



0 100 mm
1:3

Fig. 11. Medieval pottery

Dripping dishes are less common. They were used to catch the fat from spit-roasting meat for making sauces etc., and can be a sign of a higher level of sophistication. For example, recent excavation at Merton College in Oxford has produced a large assemblage of pottery from the medieval kitchens, and a relatively large number of dripping dishes were noted.¹¹ However, the vessels of higher status were of uncertain provenance and may have originated from elsewhere in Oxford.

Ceramic Phase 4, 15th – late 15th century. 12 sherds, 322 g., EVE = 0.38.

The assemblage from this phase was relatively small, comprising just 322g. of pottery. Brill/Boarstall wares made up the majority (87.9%) of the group. The only vessel types present were bowls and jugs. It is difficult to say if the lack of cooking pottery reflects a downturn in the fortunes of the occupants of the site, as the small assemblage size is likely to mean that unusual pottery types are not represented. Very little residual pottery was present in contexts of this date.

Ceramic Phase 5, late 15th – mid 16th century. 847 sherds, 13,446 g., EVE = 6.52.

This phase produced by far the largest group of pottery from the site (13,446g.). It again comprised mainly Brill/Boarstall wares (79%), but small quantities of imported wares such as 'Tudor Green' wares, Cistercian wares, Surrey Whitewares (3.5%) and German Stonewares were also present. Such pottery is known from other contemporary sites in Oxford, and with a similar representation. A total of 10.2% of the assemblage consisted of residual earlier medieval wares.

An even wider range of pottery types were present, with vessels associated with the preparation and consumption of food well-represented. Jars (28.6%) and jugs (35.3%) still made up the bulk of the assemblage, but a near complete pipkin (Fig. 11:4), dripping dishes (3 small rim sherds) and fragments of at least two cisterns, represented by the bungholes, were also noted, along with mugs/cups (8.1%). All were Brill/Boarstall wares, apart from a single rim from a skillet in Surrey Whiteware and two dripping dish handles, probably from the same vessel, in the same fabric (Fig. 11:5). A fragment of an OXAM lid was also noted (Fig. 11:6). Lids are rare finds in Oxford, but a few have been noted, usually in 15th century contexts.¹² Similar comments apply to skillets, although a single 14th century example is known.¹³

Pottery associated with the preparation and consumption of food and drink is generally more common in the later medieval period, although, the varied range of types from this phase are of uncertain provenance.

Ceramic Phase 6, mid 16th – 17th century. 78 sherds, 3,105 g.

This phase sees the transition from Brill/Boarstall medieval type wares to the classic early post-medieval red earthenwares, with the latter dominating the assemblage (70.0%). As is usually the case, the latter assemblage comprises entirely utilitarian wares, such as bowls, cauldrons and dishes. OXAM vessels make up only a small part of the assemblage (11.1%), with Border wares, from the Surrey/Hampshire area, being more common (15.1%). The latter possesses a similar range of vessel forms to the red earthenwares. The rest of the assemblage is made up of German Stoneware mugs. There is no residual material from this phase, other than perhaps some of the Brill/Boarstall assemblage, suggesting that there was very little disturbance of the ground during this phase. The assemblage overall is very typical of the period, and there are no grounds for suggesting that the people who occupied the site at that time were of exceptional status.

Ceramic phase 7, 17th – late 17th century. 192 sherds, 3,657 g.

This phase has an extremely high proportion of residual pottery, with 36% of the assemblage comprising medieval wares, mainly in the form of OXAM (32.9%). The contemporary assemblage is dominated by red earthenwares (32.8%), but Border wares are much less common (2%), with the second largest group of material being German Stoneware mugs (14.3%). Cistercian ware, in the form of cups, represents 4% of the assemblage, with tablewares such as Tin-glazed and polychrome slipwares also present in notable quantities (total = 9.8%). Such an assemblage would not be out of place from an inn or public house.

¹¹ P.W. Blinkhorn, 'Pottery' in D. Poore, D. Score and A. Dodd, 'Excavations at No. 4A Merton St., Merton College, Oxford: the Evolution of a Medieval Stone House and Tenement and an Early College Property', *Oxoniensia*, lxxi (2006) 258-278.

¹² Mellor, op. cit. Fig. 53.

¹³ Ibid. Fig. 54, No. 11.

Ceramic Phase 8, late 17th – 18th century. 124 sherds, 2,257 g.

The amount of residual medieval material from this phase was fairly large, comprising 15.5% of the assemblage. The contemporary pottery was again mainly red earthenwares (53.5%) and Border wares (21.0%), with the only other pottery being small quantities of tablewares, such as German Stoneware mugs (7.0%), English White Salt-Glazed Stonewares tea bowls and mugs (1.6%), and a single sherd each of Staffordshire slipware and English brown stoneware. This is perhaps more the sort of assemblage one would expect from an urban household of the period, as drinking pottery is not quite so dominant as in the previous phase.

Ceramic Phase 9, 19th century. 346 sherds, 11,610 g.

The phase assemblage is, as is typical for sites in the city, dominated by utilitarian red earthenwares (19.7%) and mass-produced white earthenwares (54.8%), many of which had the traditional blue transfer printed decoration. Small quantities of late English Stonewares were also noted. Residuality is again quite high (23.2%). Overall, the assemblage appears to be entirely domestic in nature.

Illustrations

- Fig. 11;1: Context 3284, fabric OXY, CP3. Bodysherd and handle from tripod pitcher. Light grey fabric with glossy, apple-green glaze.
- Fig. 11;2: Context 3261, fabric OXY, CP3. Bodysherd of highly-decorated baluster jug. Orange fabric with grey inner surface. White slip decoration which appears pale green under the glaze, which is darker on the body clay.
- Fig. 11;3: Context 3136, OXAC, CP3. Sherd from upper part of a curfew. Grey fabric with orange-brown surfaces, inner surface heavily smoke-blackened. Incised decoration on the outer surface.
- Fig. 11;4: Context 1385, CP5, OXAM. Partially complete side-handle pipkin. Orange-buff fabric with darker surfaces. Thin green glaze on the inner base and lower body, single run of glossy green glaze on the outer surface. Outer surface of base and lower body evenly sooted.
- Fig. 11;5: Context 1247, CP5, OXBG. Dripping dish handle. Pink-buff fabric with pale grey surfaces. The side of the handle with the incised lines have the thickest sooting, indicating that it was the lower side, so presumably the incisions were to facilitate the firing of the vessel rather than intended as decoration.
- Fig. 11;6: Context 1247, CP5, OXAM. Full profile of a lid. Pale orange fabric with buff surfaces. Very thin, clear glaze on outer surface.

CLAY PIPE by ANDREW NORTON

The excavation produced a total of 237 fragments of clay tobacco pipes. Although there was a general background spread of material, across the site, the larger assemblages were found in dumped Phase 4 and 5 deposits. These included the Phase 4 fills of well 1230 and hearth 1340 (Fig. 8), and also levelling deposits associated with the Phase 5 Structure B2.

All fragments were examined for evidence of markings, decoration and name stamps. Unmarked bowls have been dated by reference to Oswald's general typology.¹⁴ No attempt has been made to consider the bowl shape in terms of regional variations. Plain stems have been counted. Sufficient dating information has been obtained from bowl shape typology so no attempt has been made to assess their dates on stem bore analysis. Other diagnostic pipe fragments have been briefly described and recorded where relevant.

Of the total 237 fragments of clay tobacco pipes 206 were stem fragments. The majority of the 31 bowl fragments were whole or partially whole, all but two could be dated. The majority of bowls were spurred, of which most were comparable to London types 17G or 18G, dating from 1640-1670 or 1660-1680. However, a number of the bowls appeared to be transitional types. The heeled bowls were broadly similar in date. The majority of the pipes were dated to the 17th century although 4 bowls were dated to the early 18th century and one to the 19th century. The 19th-century bowl was of note and

¹⁴ A. Oswald, *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist* (BAR 14, 1975), 37-41.

was comparable a London type 24G. It was spurred and was highly decorated with a grape motif. It was dated between 1810 and 1840 and was recovered from silt within a 19th-century culvert. None of the bowls displayed makers' marks or stamps and no decorated stems were present.

Although the date ranges given are for London types it can be assumed that examples from Oxford will have been made at a broadly similar time.

GLASS by DR HUGH WILLMOTT

A reasonable sized assemblage of glass, consisting of ninety-two fragments representing a minimum number of sixty vessels and windows, was recovered. The assemblage is typical in some ways for one recovered from an urban excavation. With the exception of a single fragment of medieval urinal base from the foundations of the Phase 3 Structure A3, and a hanging lamp base from a Phase 2 yard, all is post-medieval. The majority of the assemblage can be dated to between the 18th and 20th centuries.

Earlier forms present include an early 17th-century handled flask, a case bottle, two 17th-century phials and fragments of 17th-century window glass. Later tablewares are almost completely absent, with the exception of a 19th-century lead crystal wine glass from the silting up of the Phase 5 Western Backstream culvert.

All the other vessel fragments are from containers, and as might be expected by far the most numerous are wine bottles. The earliest of these, again from the silting up of the culvert, dates from the 17th century. The remaining bottles are late 19th and 20th century in date, being ordinary domestic containers. All the other glass is from windows, and spans the same timescale as the wine bottles.

Discussion

Although the assemblage is of a reasonable size and from a potentially interesting area, it is disappointing archaeologically, for two reasons. First, with the exception of the urinal and lamp base, which are the most common of medieval forms, there are no individual vessels of particular merit in the assemblage. The virtual absence of post-medieval tablewares (of any status) is unfortunate. Second, as a whole the assemblage has little potential to bring a wider contextual understanding to the site. The vast majority of the glass takes the form of wine bottles and window glass, and this homogeneous pattern is standard for any urban assemblage.

SLAG by LYNNE KEYS

A very small slag assemblage (1,051g.) was recovered from the site. A single smithing hearth bottom, the most characteristic bulk slag produced by smithing, was recovered from a Phase 4 (17th century) posthole and a tiny hammerscale flake was recovered from the fill of a hearth of the same phase. The assemblage does not indicate metalworking took place on the site.

WORKED ANIMAL BONE by LEIGH ALLEN

A total of 2 worked bone objects and one worked antler object were recovered from the archaeological investigations. The worked antler object recovered from context 507, a 17th-century garden soil, is a handle for a whittle tang implement. The handle is plain with a circular cross section and tapers along its length; the surface is polished through wear. This simple form of handle is common in the late medieval and post-medieval periods.

The bone objects comprise a spoon and a perforated fragment. The spoon recovered from the matrix of a Phase 5 wall, has an elegant elongated oval shaped bowl and a rectangular sectioned handle that is incomplete. This form of spoon proliferated in the late medieval and post-medieval period, and many types are developed for specialised functions; this spoon could have been used for cosmetic or domestic purposes.

The second bone object is a curved spatulate shaped fragment, rounded at one end and with a circular perforation through it, and is probably a handle of some sort. It was recovered from the matrix of a Phase 2 wall.

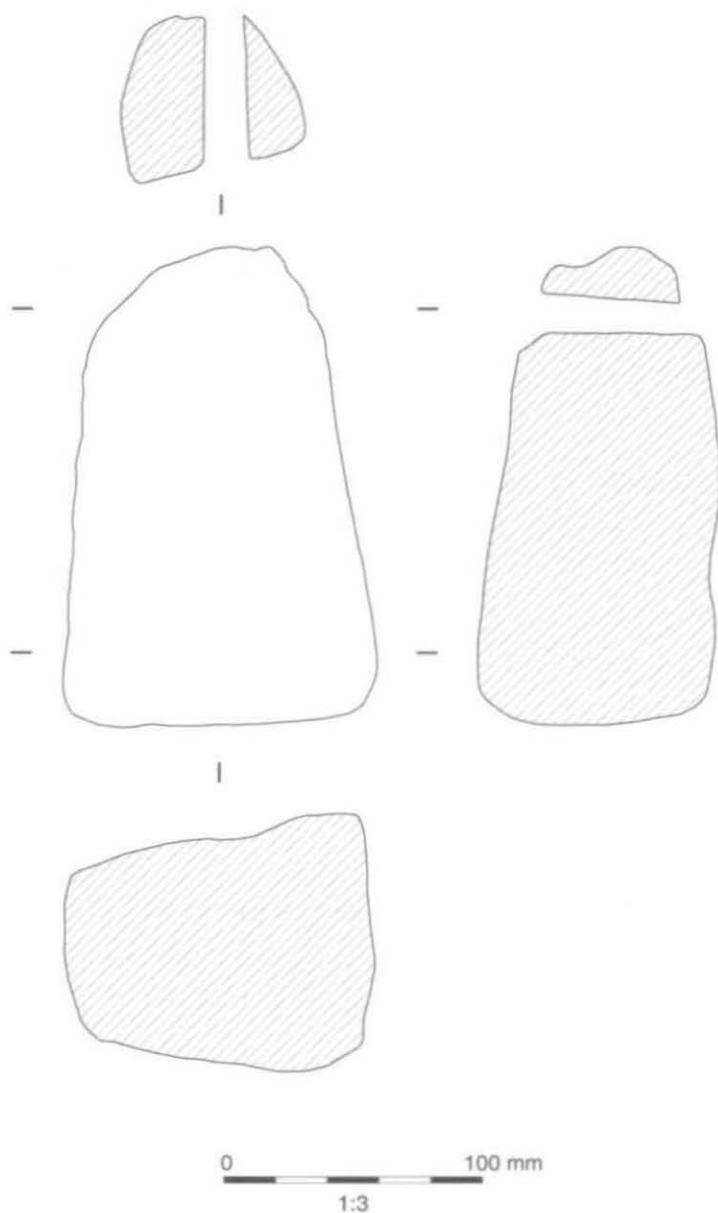


Fig. 12. Oolitic limestone weight SF54

THE WORKED STONE (Figs. 5 and 12) by RUTH SHAFFREY and ROSE GRANT

The assemblage of worked stone comprises five pieces, of which three are stone roof tiles recovered from Phase 2, 3 and 5 dumped deposits, all made of shelly oolitic limestone. There is also a single spindle whorl from a 19th-century flagstone surface. The remaining item is a heavy oolitic limestone weight (SF54), recovered from a 13th-century dumped layer. The function of this weight is not entirely clear. Although it could be a loom weight, it does not appear to have been suspended on a rope and on

one side of the perforation there is evidence for at least a three-pronged fitting (Fig. 12). In this respect it is similar to a weight from a late 14th-/early 15th-century context at Reading Oracle, which appeared to have been suspended from the end of a pole.¹⁵ It was suggested that the weight from Reading may have been used to weigh down animal skins while they were being stretched but of course, weights such as these may have been used for any purpose requiring a weight attached to a pole. Other possibilities include use as a thatch weight, although these tend to be hung from ropes.

A stone mortar (Fig. 5) was recovered from part of a Phase 1 sluice channel. The mortar is carved from limestone and the outer surface is concave with no decoration. The base is missing which suggests that the mortar was used with a pounding motion which tends to wear away the base. There are four rounded lugs, two of which are flat topped and two have shallow grooves or runnels which taper into the bowl. There are two ribs present which run from rim to base under the two flat topped lugs. This example has no handles.

ARCHITECTURAL STONE by JULIAN MUNBY

Most of the building stone recovered consisted of squared or roughly squared building blocks of limestone. These have been catalogued and form part of the archive. A number forming the sides of the sluice gate, with channels for holding the sluice gate, were formed of large well-squared stones. Large sheets of stone slate may have formed the sluice gates, or lined the channel.

Three medieval moulded stones of 13th- or 14th-century date, and found re-used in post-medieval contexts are most likely to be spoils from the ruins of Osney Abbey or some other major building. They include a possible door or window jamb comprising a squared block with one roll moulding and broken area for others, with large chamfer behind; a squared block with one roll moulding and broken stub of two others, with rebate behind; a probable wall shaft or door jamb comprising a large slab with roll and hollow mouldings on one corner.

CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL by CYNTHIA POOLE

The assemblage comprised 370 fragments of mostly medieval and early post-medieval building material, recovered from 86 contexts. The assemblage was dominated by flat and ridge roofing tiles. The medieval material was generally redeposited in dumped reclamation deposits and was of uncertain provenance, although roof tiles were recovered from late medieval pits and a ditch. Much of the material was also recovered from later features such as robber trenches or make-up layers. Of note were late medieval glazed ridge tiles, glazed floor tiles and stone peg tiles. The ridge types could be divided into four types, see Fig. 13 opposite.

The majority of the material was recovered from contexts dated between the 15th and 17th centuries although material was also recovered from 18th and 19th century contexts. Among the later material were large unglazed floor tiles dated to between the 17th or 18th centuries, resembling those seen in properties in Reading.¹⁶

In general the assemblage formed a background scatter, comprised of redeposited material discarded within bulk deposits. The full catalogue of the assemblage is included in the archive.

METALWORK by LEIGH ALLEN

A total of 297 metal objects were recovered comprising 93 copper alloy objects (including 19 coins and jettons which have been reported on separately), 198 iron objects (of which 167 are nails) and 6 lead objects. The notable objects are discussed below by phase, and a detailed list of all the objects recovered from the archaeological investigations will be deposited with the archive.

¹⁵ R. Shaffrey, 'The worked Stone', in B. Ford, D. Poore, R. Shaffrey and D. Wilkinson, 'Excavations at Reading Oracle' (OA Monograph in prep.).

¹⁶ A. Norton and D. Poore, 'Excavations of medieval and early post-medieval features at 90-93 Broad St, Reading' (OA Monograph in prep.).

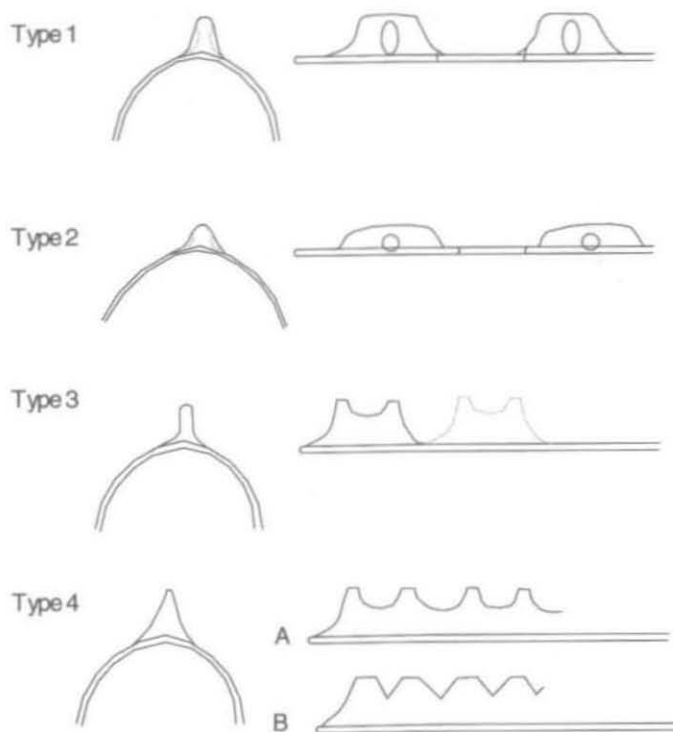


Fig. 13. Typology of ridge tiles

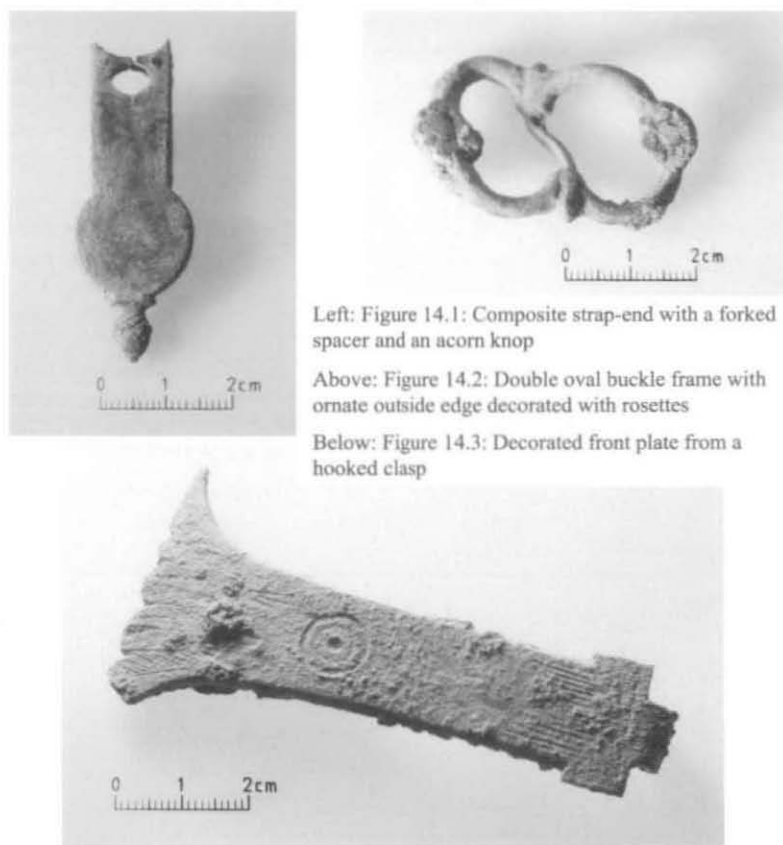
Phase 1 (1200-1485)

A total of 6 objects were dated to Phase 1, of which a fragment from a strap hinge from the backfill of a modern sewer pipe is the only notable object. The hinge with its nailed U-shaped eye would have been used on a door in conjunction with a hinge pivot. The remaining objects from this phase are 3 nails from a Phase 1 hearth and a wall robber trench fill, and two miscellaneous fragments from alluvial deposits pre-dating Phase 1.

Phase 2 (1485-1550)

A total of 72 objects were recovered from Phase 2 contexts; personal, domestic and structural items are all represented. Notable amongst the personal items are two strap-ends of a distinctive type. Both recovered from reclamation deposits, they are composite strap-ends with forked spacers but of different forms, one circular and the other tongue shaped (Fig. 14;1 SF31). This type of strap-end does not appear to have been introduced until the late 13th, or more probably the early 14th century, and its numbers diminish in the early 15th century.¹⁷ The other personal items comprise pins, a button and a mount. The majority of the pins are small drawn pins with wire wound heads. This type of pin is

¹⁷ G. Egan and F. Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3 Dress Accessories c.1150-c.1450* (1991), 140-1, Fig. 92.



Left: Figure 14.1: Composite strap-end with a forked spacer and an acorn knob

Above: Figure 14.2: Double oval buckle frame with ornate outside edge decorated with rosettes

Below: Figure 14.3: Decorated front plate from a hooked clasp

Fig. 14. Metalwork

14.1 Composite strap-end with a forked spacer and an acorn knob SF31

14.2 Double oval buckle frame with ornate outside edge decorated with rosettes SF11

14.3 Decorated front plate from a hooked clasp SF21

generally associated with dress, used to secure light garments, and head-dress; it is commonly found in large numbers in medieval and post-medieval contexts. The button, found within the matrix for a Phase 2 wall, is a plain circular discoidal button with an integral attachment loop. It is plated with a white metal coating (probably tin) and has knurling around the edge. The mount, recovered from a layer of ash, is circular and is decorated with fine incised grooves radiating from the centre. There is a domed central rivet for attachment. Simple mounts were used individually or in groups to decorate belts and straps.

The domestic items recovered from this phase comprise a drape ring, vessel fragments and a weight. The drape ring, from a reclamation deposit, has a flattened hexagonal section and would have been used to suspend tapestries or curtains. The vessel fragments (from a dumped layer) are from a sheet metal vessel. There appear to be two layers of sheet joined together by rivets possibly indicating a vessel repair. The lead weight is a possible pan weight, recovered from a mortar dump and is circular, slightly domed and with a flattened back (136g., 4.8 ounces).

The majority of the structural items from this phase are nails (46), although a hinge pivot was also recovered from a buried garden soil. The remaining objects from this phase comprise 12 miscellaneous fragments

Phase 3 (1550-1675)

A total of 72 objects were recovered from Phase 3 contexts; personal, domestic and structural items are all represented. The personal objects are unremarkable and comprise pins, a lace tag, a button and a possible swivel ring. There are 4 pins and two of these are examples of drawn pins with wire wound heads (see above). However one pin has a particularly long shank (50mm) and a second one has a long shank and a cap-like head. The pins were recovered from dumped deposits and similar examples were recovered from 12th-16th/early 17th century contexts at Winchester, but their function is not clear.¹⁸ The lace tag, recovered from a gravel yard, is cylindrical and has edges that meet and turn in on themselves to secure the tag to the lace; this type of tag dates mainly to the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁹ The button, recovered from a charcoal spread, is another example of a plain, circular discoidal button (see Phase 2), with an integral attachment loop. The small swivel ring (from a dumped layer) is circular with a shank that has an expanded domed terminal.

The domestic items include a drape ring from a dumped layer; a dome headed rivet probably used in upholstery from a gravel yard surface; and a small fragment of a cast metal vessel from a charcoal spread. The scale-tang handle from a knife was recovered from a levelling deposit, and has a copper alloy end-plate and 4 rivets through the handle to attach the scales; the blade does not survive. Scale tang knives are believed to have first appeared in the 13th-14th centuries and continued in use through out the medieval and post-medieval periods.²⁰ All the structural items are nails (51), and the remaining 10 objects are all miscellaneous fragments.

Phase 4 (1675-1800)

A total of 73 objects were recovered from Phase 4 contexts, and as in previous phases a small number of personal, domestic and structural items are represented. In addition there are two items associated with books and several fragments from horseshoes. The personal items include drawn wire pins (see above) and buckles. The buckle (Fig. 14;2 SF11) from context 1128 is a cast double-looped buckle frame with an ornate outside edge (decorated with rosettes), and there are lobes at the junction of the bar and the frame. An identical example was recovered from a post-medieval context at Norwich.²¹ A plain circular shoe buckle was recovered from wall robbing debris. All the pins are drawn pins with wire wound heads (see above).

The domestic items comprise two very fragmentary knives, recovered from a wall robber trench. One is a blade fragment and the other is a fragment from a scale tang knife handle with a copper alloy rivet at the butt end.

There are three fragments from horseshoes recovered from dumped deposits. Two of the fragments each have a single sub rectangular nail hole through them.

The hooked copper alloy clasp (from a pit fill) consists of the front plate only (Fig. 14;3 SF21); the expanded end has a rivet for attachment and traces of herringbone decoration. There is a concentric circle design in the centre and the other end is hooked. These clasps were used to keep books closed; the hooked end would have attached to a bar on the opposite cover of the book. This form of locking device is a 13th-century innovation but continues in use throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods.²² All 47 structural items are nails and the remaining 10 objects recovered from Phase 4 contexts are miscellaneous fragments.

¹⁸ M. Biddle, 'Dress and Hair Pins', in M. Biddle, *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester* (1990), 554, Fig 151, No. 1448.

¹⁹ S. Margeson, 'Norwich Households: The Medieval and Post Medieval Finds from Norwich Survey Excavations 1971-1978', *East Anglian Archaeology*, 58 (1993), 22.

²⁰ I. H. Goodall, 'Knives', in Biddle, *op. cit.* 838-9.

²¹ Margeson, *op. cit.* 28, Fig. 17, No. 174.

²² M. Biddle and D.A. Hinton 'Book-clasps and page holder', in Biddle, *op. cit.* 755-8, Fig. 215, No. 2326.

Phase 5 (1800 onwards)

A total of 43 objects were recovered from Phase 5 contexts; personal, domestic and structural items are all represented. The personal objects comprise a shoe buckle, buttons and pins. The buckle from the backfill of a 19th century culvert is a shoe buckle. The two buttons are both plain, circular discoidal buttons with integral attachment loops, the 3 pins are all drawn pins with wire wound heads.

The domestic items include a drape ring, a handle, the blade from a pair shears, vessel fragments and two thimbles. The drape ring from a dumped deposit is identical to those found in earlier phases (see above). The handle (from the infilling of a sunken room) is a heart shaped drop handle, possibly used on a door or a cupboard, but identical in form to those used on 15th-16th century chafing dishes.²³ Shears are common in the medieval and post-medieval periods;²⁴ the shear blade from a robber trench backfill is very corroded and broken across the start of the loop. This blade appears to be from a relatively small pair of shears, probably used for needlework or other household tasks. The vessel fragments from a wall foundation trench are body fragments from a cast metal vessel. A small straight sided thimble with hand applied indentations was recovered from a dumped deposit. A second thimble (from the infilling of a sunken room) has a border below the indentations, decorated with roundels containing leaves and fleur-de-lis; it dates to the 17th century or later. All the structural objects are nails (16) and the remaining 15 items are miscellaneous fragments.

Unstratified

A further ten objects were recovered from unstratified contexts and the majority of them are nails and miscellaneous fragments. The only notable object is a hooked clasp identical to the one recovered from the Phase 4 pit fill, but smaller.

Discussion

The assemblage recovered from this site is almost identical in size and character to those recovered from the neighbouring sites of 54-55 St. Thomas' Street, and Hollybush Row.²⁵ The assemblage further emphasises the relatively low status of this parish during the medieval and post-medieval period. The assemblage includes very few high status items and even the more mundane utilitarian objects are poorly represented; pins and lace tags normally found in large numbers on sites of this date are barely represented. The majority of the assemblage is post-medieval in date and associated with the redevelopment of the area in the 15th-17th centuries. However, there are no objects that are closely associated with any specific trade or industry.

COINS AND JETTONS by EDMUND SIMONS

It has only been possible to date 10 of the 19 coins/jettons as the remaining objects are too corroded. The majority of the assemblage comprises jettons dating from the 16th century and include Rose and Orb type Nuremberg jettons and Rose and Orb types made by Hans Krauwinkel II. A Charles II penny, a William and Mary penny and a George II penny were also recovered. The assemblage was predominantly redeposited within later contexts.

ENVIRONMENTAL SUMMARIES

ANIMAL BONE by KRISTOPHER POOLE

The animal bones recovered comprised 3,852 refitted fragments, weighing 58,815g., from contexts dating from the end of the 12th century to the 20th century. A substantial amount of this material (1,834 fragments) came from a Phase 2 sheep knucklebone floor and Phase 3 cattle knucklebone floor (56 fragments). For the purposes of analysis, this material is considered separately from the main assemblage in the discussions which follow.

²³ Margeson, *op. cit.* 78, Fig. 80, No. 49.

²⁴ Margeson, *op. cit.* 133.

²⁵ Hardy, *op. cit.*; Roberts, *op. cit.*

Methods

The material was analysed in accordance with OA's standard procedures. Details can be found in the archive.

Results

Bone condition ranged from very good to fair, with the majority being good, enabling 46% of the assemblage to be identified to species (Table 6). In each phase, the material is almost entirely composed of domestic species, with sheep/goat and cattle by far the best represented, as is generally the case on sites throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods. In contrast, pig is found infrequently, while deer is only represented by six small antler fragments, which could not be identified to species. Apart from deer, the only other non-domesticated animal is rabbit. Species represented, and their frequencies, are similar to other sites in Oxford, including 54-55 St Thomas' Street and the Hamel.²⁶ In the late medieval period, high status in faunal assemblages (especially at castle sites) is generally indicated by a relatively diverse diet, with greater proportions of wild resources, and higher proportions of pig, than exploited elsewhere.²⁷ Accordingly, the bones from these sites are suggestive of relatively low status.

When the body-part patterns are considered, although based on a fairly limited number of fragments without the bones from the knuckle-bone floors, it is evident that very few of the main meat-bearing elements are present. For Phase 2, around 62% of cattle bones derive from the feet (metapodials, phalanges and tarsals), with another 13% from the head (mandibles, loose teeth and skull fragments). Similarly, for sheep, 68% are head bones, and 27% are from the feet. This bias towards head and foot bones is also evident in Phases 3 and 4, and it would seem that this assemblage does not generally derive from table or kitchen waste. These elements provide little meat, and it is likely that the bone represents primary butchery waste or some industrial process, such as tanning. A range of evidence indicates that when hides were supplied to tanners, certain elements, particularly horncores and metapodials were left attached.²⁸ However, it has been suggested that we only confidently attribute bone assemblages to the leather industry when horncores and foot bones are found in the same context, and very few of the former were present here.²⁹ Whatever the case, rubbish disposal practices in the late medieval/post-medieval period mean that this material need not necessarily derive from the occupants of these properties, but could result from a tannery in the vicinity of the site. Certainly, the body-part patterns observed here are similar to 54-55 St Thomas' St., for which such a suggestion was put forward.³⁰

Ageing data for all periods indicates that a substantial number of animals were kept alive into adulthood. There is insufficient epiphyseal fusion and dental ageing data for Phases 3-4, but fusion data for Phase 2 suggests 71% of cattle were alive at 42 months. Similarly, sheep dental ageing for Phases 2-4 (Table 7) indicates that most animals were killed from 3-4 years onwards, and epiphyseal fusion data for Phase 2 largely agrees with this; 62% of sheep were kept beyond 42 months. Urban centres did not exist divorced from the agricultural economy, and these mortality patterns could be said to reflect a concern with secondary products, such as milk, traction and wool, before animals were brought into Oxford for slaughter. Certainly, this pattern of culling older animals is also evident at contemporary

²⁶ B. Wilson, 'The Animal Bones', in Hardy, op. cit. 258-60; B. Wilson and D. Bramwell, 'Animal bone and shell', in Palmer, op. cit. 198 & Fiche.

²⁷ U. Albarella and S.J.M. Davis, 'Mammals and birds from Launceston Castle, Cornwall: decline in status and the rise of agriculture', *Circaea, The Journal of the Association of Environmental Archaeology*, 12 (1994); N.J. Sykes, 'The Dynamics of Status Symbols: Wildfowl Exploitation in England AD 410-1550', *Archaeological Journal*, 161 (2004), 75-83.

²⁸ D. Serjeantson, 'Animal remains and the tanning trade', in D. Serjeantson (ed.), *Diet and crafts in towns: the evidence of animal remains from the Roman to the Post-Medieval periods* (BAR 199, 1989), 136-9.

²⁹ U. Albarella, 'Tawyers, tanners, horn trade and the mystery of the missing goat', in P. Murphy and E.J. Wiltshire (eds.), *The Environmental Archaeology of Industry* (2003), 77.

³⁰ Wilson, op. cit. 260.

sites such as Lincoln, Leicester St Peter's Lane and Norwich, Castle Mall.³¹ Yet, given the likely industrial origin of the assemblage, it is possible that it reflects the selection of older cattle and sheep for craftworking, and is therefore not necessarily indicative of the wider economy or diet.

The knucklebone floors

Perhaps the most interesting features of this assemblage are the knucklebone floors. The earliest of these, from Phase 2, was excavated *in situ*, and consists overwhelmingly of sheep distal metacarpals and metatarsals, placed vertically with distal ends making up the floor surface. Other bones used were 1 proximal sheep/goat metatarsal, 1 complete sheep metacarpal and 15 cattle distal metapodials. Time allowance meant that only around one-third of the bones could be recorded in detail. Nearly all of these had some signs of wear upon them, although the level of wear varied in degree and location. Most were evenly worn on both condyles, some transversely, but others obliquely, towards the posterior or anterior side, suggesting that some bones were laid at an angle, or had slipped from their original position. This may explain why some elements had substantially greater wear on one condyle than the other. All metapodials had been separated from the proximal end somewhere between mid-diaphysis and the distal articulation; this had been achieved either by roughly chopping the bone, or chopping part way through before snapping it by force. The metacarpals and metatarsals were all fused, thus coming from animals at least 2 years old at death. A continued use of animal bone floors is suggested by a group of cattle metacarpals and metatarsals (mostly proximal ends) recovered from Phase 3 contexts 3047 and 3202. Although not found in position when excavated, the bones exhibited wear consistent with use as a floor surface, and were butchered in similar ways to the sheep metacarpals and metatarsals.

The sheep knucklebone floor also provided the opportunity for a number of measurements to be taken, the results of which are displayed in Table 8. The wide range for each measurement suggests little selection for bone size for the floor, but also that the economic pull of Oxford was sufficient to draw in resources from a number of different sources. A comparison with other contemporary sites, namely Exeter, Lincoln and Winchester, shows that the mean sizes for Park End Street are somewhat larger.³² It is tempting to suggest that the sheep found in Oxford are more robust than in other urban centres, but lack of greatest length measurements make it difficult to fully assess differences in size and shape.

Despite the considerable number of metapodials involved in the construction of the Phase 2 floor (MNI indicates at least 99 sheep would have been required), these need not have been of any great cost to the owner. The majority of beef and mutton consumed in towns would have been sent on the hoof from the rural hinterland, and butchery of these animals would create large quantities of waste, such as metapodials.³³ As noted earlier, these could either have been separated by the butcher, or left attached to hides when sent to the tanner, who would then have to dispose of them. Accordingly, it is possible that they would have been willing to part with the remains for very little or no cost.³⁴ Indeed, as the rest of this assemblage, and the material from 54-55 St Thomas' suggests, a butcher/tanner worked very close by.

³¹ K.M. Dobney, S.D. Jaques and B.G. Irving, 'Of butchers and breeds. Report on vertebrate remains from various sites in the City of Lincoln', *Lincoln Archaeological Studies*, 5 (1996); L. Gidney, *Leicester, the Shires, 1988 excavations: the animal bones from the Medieval deposits at St Peter's Lane* (Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 116/91); L. Gidney, *The animal bones from the post-medieval deposits at St Peter's Lane* (Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 131/91); U. Albarella, M. Beech and J. Mulville, 'The Saxon, Medieval and Post-medieval mammal and bird bones excavated 1989-1991 from Castle Mall, Norwich (Norfolk)' (English Heritage Ancient Monuments Report 72/97, 1997).

³² M. Maltby, 'The animal bones from Exeter 1971-1975', *Exeter Archaeological Reports* 2 (1979); Dobney, Jaques, and Irving, *op. cit.*; P. Smith and D. Serjeantson, 'Medieval and Post-Medieval Animal Bone from the Northern and Eastern Suburbs and the City Defences' in D. Serjeantson and H. Rees (eds.), 'Food, Craft and Status in Medieval Winchester: the plant and animal remains from the suburbs and city defences', Winchester: Winchester City Council in prep.

³³ N.J. Sykes, 'From *Cu* and *Sceap* to *Beffe* and *Motton*: the management, distribution and consumption of cattle and sheep AD 410-1550', in C. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds.), *Food in Medieval England: History and Archaeology* (2006).

³⁴ P.L. Armitage, 'The use of animal bones as building material in post-medieval Britain', in D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds.), *Diet and Crafts in Towns. The evidence of animal remains from the Roman to the Post-Medieval period* (BAR 199, 1989), 155.

However, the floor's construction would have required a great deal of time and effort, suggesting there were more than practical concerns at play. During the post-medieval period, knucklebone floors seem to have become fashionable, particularly in Oxford, where a number are known to have existed.³⁵ This may explain the presence of the floor, as does the fact that it likely formed an entranceway, being the only room that all visitors to the house would see. What was important was not simply that the property's owners could possess a knucklebone floor, but that they could be seen to possess such a thing.³⁶ The floor can therefore be viewed as an attempt by the property's owner to make a statement about their place, real or aspired to, within society. It could even be that the butcher/tanner actually did live at this property, and used the floor as a way of advertising their profession/social standing. Therefore, as well as being an interesting find, this floor also provides valuable insight into how the house's occupant(s) viewed themselves, or wished to be viewed by others.

TABLE 6: NUMBER OF IDENTIFIED SPECIES (NISP), PER PHASE

Species	Phase				Total
	1	2	3	4	
Sheep/goat	14	130	45	79	268
Cattle	11	91	68	53	223
Pig	5	18	5	23	50
Horse	—	1	1	—	2
Dog	—	—	—	1	1
Deer	—	6	—	—	6
Rabbit	—	4	1	2	7
Domestic fowl	2	8	7	5	22
Goose	—	4	1	1	6
Duck	—	7	1	1	9
Ling	—	1	—	—	1
Large mammal	10	95	9	11	125
Medium mammal	5	114	70	88	277
Bird	—	3	4	12	19
Fish	—	1	—	—	1
Unidentifiable	2	91	105	83	281
Total	50	574	370	359	1298

³⁵ Ibid. 157; H. Moore, *op cit.*

³⁶ A. Appadurai, 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value', in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1986), 31.

TABLE 7: SHEEP DENTAL WEAR STAGES PER PHASE, AFTER PAYNE (1973, 1987)

STAGE	2	3	4
A	—	—	—
B	—	—	—
C	—	—	—
D	2	—	—
E	—	—	2
F	7	2	2
G	2	1	—
H	2	5	—
I	—	—	3
Total	13	8	7

TABLE 8: SHEEP METAPODIAL MEASUREMENTS FROM PHASE 2 KNUCKLEBONE FLOOR

Metatarsal	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
SD	40	14.1	17.2	15.2
BaF	126	23.4	33.8	27.5
Bd	116	23.3	33.3	27.8
Dd	126	15	22	16.8

Metacarpal	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
SD	21	14.2	21.1	17.2
BaF	96	24.2	34.7	29.5
Bd	92	24.8	34.4	29.4
Dd	92	14.1	22.6	18.4

ENVIRONMENTAL DATA by DANA CHALLINOR and LAILA SIKKING

A total of 13 samples were taken, all of which date to the early post-medieval period (c. 16th century), and came from a range of features, including a hearth and kiln. These features were situated in a small area in the corner of a possible domestic structure. Several different layers within the hearth were sampled separately.

Nine of the flots contained molluscs, and small fish bones were noted in three samples. Wood charcoal was abundant with a range of taxa present, including *Quercus* (oak), *Ulmus* (elm), *Fagus* (beech), *Fraxinus* (ash), *Prunus* (cherry, sloe etc) and *Maloideae* (hawthorn type). In addition several of the flots contained coal.

Eight flots produced cereal grains, including *Triticum* sp. (wheat), hulled *Hordeum* sp. (barley) and *Avena* sp. (oat), but no chaff was noted in any of the samples. One sample (context 1645) produced a possible *Secale cereale* (rye) grain. Weed seeds were present in 9 flots, including *Chenopodium* (goosefoots), *Rumex* (dock) and cf. *Myosotis* (forget-me-nots). One sample (sample 1105, context 1546) contained a large amount of uncharred *Sambucus* (elder) seeds. Seeds from elder generally preserve

TABLE 9: QUANTIFICATION OF THE CHARRED PLANT REMAINS AND CHARCOAL

Type of context	Sample no.	Context no.	Charcoal		Cereal Grain		Other charred remains		Potential
			Quantity	Identification	Quantity	Identification	Quantity	Identification	
burnt layer below hearth	1101	1591	++	<i>Quercus</i> , Maloideae Mixed diffuse	+	<i>Hordeum</i> cf. <i>Triticum</i>			Low
pit or kiln fill	1105	1546	++++	<i>Quercus</i> Maloideae cf. <i>Fagus</i>	++	<i>Triticum</i> cf. <i>Avena</i>	+	<i>Vicia/Pisum</i> , thorns	Medium
L15-16 land infilling	1109	1645	+++	<i>Quercus</i> , <i>Fagus</i>	+	<i>Triticum Hordeum</i> cf. <i>Secale</i>	++	<i>Chenopodium</i> <i>Myosotis?</i>	Low
kiln fill over 3040	1112	3001	++++	<i>Quercus</i> r/w Maloideae r/w, Twigs	+		++	<i>Prunus</i> stone, Thorns, Pulses	Medium
hearth	1113	3066	++	<i>Prunus</i>	+				Low
	1114	3155 3040	++++	Maloideae, Mixed taxa <i>Corylus/Alnus</i>	+	<i>Triticum</i>	+++	cf. <i>Pisum</i> <i>sativum</i> , cf. <i>Vicia faba</i> <i>Rumex</i>	High
	1117	3113	++	<i>Corylus/Alnus</i>	+	<i>Hordeum</i>	+	<i>Pisum/Vicia</i>	Low
	1118	3111	++++	<i>Ulmus</i> Mixed taxa			++	<i>Pisum/Vicia</i>	High
	1121	3105	++	Maloideae			+	<i>Lolium</i>	None
	1122	3102	+++	<i>Prunus</i> Maloideae Mixed taxa	+		+	cf. <i>Prunus</i> stone	Low
	1123	3107	+				+	<i>Rumex</i>	None
	1124	3101	++	<i>Fraxinus</i> Maloideae <i>Prunus</i>					Low
undated pit fill	1116	3143	+++	<i>Quercus</i> , <i>Ulmus</i> r/w Mixed taxa, Twigs	++	<i>Triticum</i>	++	<i>Pisum/Vicia</i>	Medium – if dated

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+ = present (up to 5 items), ++ = frequent (5-25), +++ = common (25-100), ++++ = abundant (>100)

very well and it is possible that the seeds in this sample are from the same period as the charred remains. Five of the flots contained charred remains of pulses (Fabaceae family), including *Pisum* sp. (pea) and *Vicia* sp. (bean).

In sample 1112 (context 3001) a complete stone of *Prunus*-type (cherry) was identified and in sample 1122 (context 3102) a fragment of a similar stone was recovered. This sample also produced *Prunus* charcoal. It is possible that these stones entered the archaeobotanical record as accidental inclusions with the fuel wood, rather than as food debris, particularly since there were few other edible charred remains present.

The results suggest that the sampled layers, hearths and kiln fills contained discarded or *in situ* domestic refuse, including fuelwood and foodstuffs. The range of identified taxa in the samples is generally what could be expected in domestic features dating from the 15th to the late 18th centuries. The staples of the diet would have been cereals and pulses, which is indicated in the assemblages, albeit in low quantities. There were no unusual or exotic remains noted in the assessment; this might relate to the status of the dwelling, but it is most likely to relate to the types of contexts examined. The main feature (hearth 3040), to which most of the samples relate, was chiefly composed of fuelwood, as might be expected. The usual firewood, from the medieval period onwards, was underwood from managed woodlands, bound into faggots.³⁷ Although this practice began to change from the 16th century as timber supplies became low and coal played an increasing role in domestic fuel, the range of taxa identified at St Thomas' Street is consistent with underwood species – ash, hazel, maple, elm, birch, crab apple, oak etc.

SHELL by LEIGH ALLEN

A total of 190 fragments of shell weighing 2,588g. were recovered. The majority of the assemblage consists of fragments of oyster shell with a few fragments of mussel shell and a single terrestrial snail shell. No significant assemblages from secure contexts were identified.

DISCUSSION

The topography of St Thomas' Street

Despite natural geology not being revealed in the present excavation it was possible to create a hypothetical section through the area based on the results of recent nearby excavations. This indicates that natural gravel would have been found between 54 m. OD and 55 m. OD; work at 54-55 St Thomas' (Fig. 15, points 1 and 2) exposed gravel at c. 55 m. OD, and work at the Hamel revealed the top of overlying alluvial deposits at c. 55.4 m. OD.³⁸ Borehole information across 67-69 St Thomas' (Fig. 15, points 3 and 4) located natural gravel at c. 54 m. OD to the east of the site and at c. 55 m to the west. Work at the brewery, opposite the site, also exposed gravel at c. 54 m. OD.³⁹ It is suggested, therefore, that 67-69 St Thomas' Street is located on the line of a palaeochannel, which was also seen during the brewery excavations, though shallower than the Devensian channel at St Aldates.⁴⁰ Work at St George's Gate, Tidmarsh Lane located natural gravel at c. 56.5 m. OD (Fig. 15, point 5 – the foot of the gravel terrace) and the palaeochannel may have extended as far as the Castle Mill Stream.⁴¹ The Western Backstream, Backstream and Castle Mill Stream are probably the result of this channel silting up and water courses meandering or being canalised within its limits. By including

³⁷ O. Rackham, *Trees and woodland in the British landscape*, 2nd edition (1990), 65.

³⁸ Hardy, op. cit. 229; Palmer, op. cit. 128.

³⁹ TVAS, op. cit. Fig. 6

⁴⁰ H. Moore, op cit.; M. Robinson in A. Dodd, *Oxford Before the University* (OA Monograph, 2003), 69, Fig 3.3

⁴¹ P. Booth, 'The West Gate of Oxford Castle: Excavations at Boreham's Yard, Tidmarsh Lane, Oxford, 1994-1995' in *Oxoniensia*, lxxviii (2003), 376.

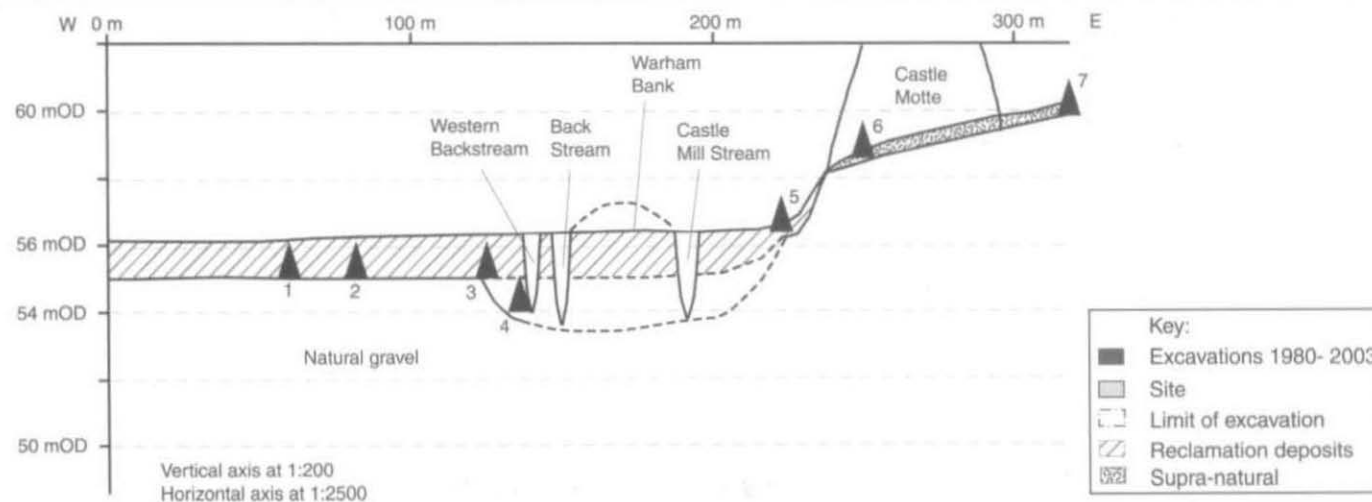


Fig. 15. Projected section through the suburb of St Thomas, showing levels of natural ground

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the upper levels of the gravel terrace (Fig. 15, points 6 and 7), seen during the recent Castle excavations, it is possible to plot the natural topography for over 300 m. from New Road to Hollybush Row (Figure 15).⁴²

It is clear that the site under investigation lay within the western limits of the palaeochannel, an area of meandering watercourses. Without the reclamation of the area, settlement would have been impracticable. It has been suggested that the Backstream or Castle Mill Stream were re-cut, or even manmade, to provide material for the Warham Bank, situated to the east of the site between the Backstream and the Castle Mill Stream.⁴³ Of the two streams the Castle Mill Stream is the better candidate for a man-made watercourse. It meanders less than the Backstream and would also have diverted water into the castle moat. The bank was presumably therefore constructed to create a head of water at the mill before the late 11th century/early 12th century when the Castle Mill is first documented.

The medieval development

The evidence suggests that the reclamation of this area (by building up the ground level with imported material) was a response to the stimuli for development provided by – from the west, Osney Abbey and Rewley Abbey – and from the east, expansion out from the Castle and the Mill Stream. The reclamation material almost certainly came from nearby, possibly one of the episodes of dredging and canalising of the Castle Mill Stream or the Backstream. The site of the investigation arguably represented the point where the two development trends met, the Western Backstream forming a *de facto* boundary between an area of higher reclaimed ground (Area A) to the east and a boggy lower-lying area (Area B) to the west.

St Thomas' Street

Before the medieval development, any W-E access through to the castle was likely to have wandered through the area, and the medieval development would undoubtedly encourage a more formal definition of a through route.⁴⁴ Evidence for the two drainage ditches situated along the southern edge of site, is consistent with the evidence from the western end of St Thomas' Street for the early definition of the road.⁴⁵ The early cobbled and gravelled surfaces may be indicative of a ford on the upstream of a bridge.

The line of St Thomas' Street is currently staggered along the frontage of Nos 67-69, and the archaeological evidence indicates that this was also true historically. The lack of uniformity between the different property frontages also suggests the contention that the definition of tenement boundaries along the northern frontage of St Thomas' Street was not the result of a single co-ordinated programme.

The character of the medieval settlement

The building remains are fragmentary at best, indicative of their generally perishable structure. Most appear to have been timber-framed superstructures over dwarf stone walls. Only well-built hearths seem to have survived intact.

There is no reason to conclude from the archaeological evidence that the character of the tenements, or the likely occupations and social status of their occupants, were any different from those excavated at other points along the road outside the reclaimed palaeochannel.

⁴² A. Norton and D. Poore, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle', OA Monograph, in prep.

⁴³ Brian Durham pers. comm.

⁴⁴ Hardy, op. cit. 267.

⁴⁵ Roberts, op. cit. 223.

Tanning seems to have been a popular craft in the area, no doubt facilitated by the abundance of water. It is known that tanners lived and worked in the area in the 17th century and Walter the Tanner owned a property in the Hamel in the 13th century.⁴⁶ Although there was no direct evidence for tanning at Walter the Tanner's property in the Hamel or at 67-69 St Thomas' Street, the bone assemblage from the latter comprised a high proportion of head and hoof bones, often indicative of tanning.⁴⁷ The control of the channelled water running through the site is demonstrated by the elaborately built late-medieval sluice in the western part of Area A. Water flowing from the north, along the Western Backstream, would be pooled at the sluice gate and released when needed, possibly at force. Industry such as tanning would require a high energy water supply. At Clairvaux, France, a 12th-century description of tanning describes water entering a tannery to prepare the leather for shoes, 'it exercises as much exertion as diligence'.⁴⁸ It is possible that the sluice was constructed for another industry such as clothes washing. In 15th-century Norwich a carpenter (and others) were licensed to make and dam a straith for washing linen clothes.⁴⁹

The decline of the settlement

The 14th century was a period of decline for St Thomas' parish and it may be that Area A became briefly unoccupied, suggested by a relative absence of 15th-century pottery.⁵⁰ However, the work at 54-55 St Thomas' Street suggested a marked decline, part of the site lay undeveloped between the mid 14th century and the 17th century.⁵¹ If the period of decline is less noticeable at 67-69 St Thomas' Street, this may be because much of site (Area B) lay unclaimed until the late 15th century, while in the 14th century there had been very little settlement to fall into decline.

The post-medieval development

The Character

There was a revival in the parish's fortunes in the 15th and 16th centuries, and this was evident on the site with the reclamation of Area B. Existing structures were demolished and new properties erected, of similar construction to the previous properties. The pottery assemblage from the site was typical of the period and St Thomas' Street in general. It would appear that the regeneration of the area did improve the status of the occupants. Similarly trades and industries were unlikely to have changed considerably from the medieval period. A large proportion of head and hoof bones were represented within the animal bone assemblage and tanners may have continued to work in the area. Another possible pointer towards the emphasis on trades that made use of animal carcasses is the occurrence of at least two – and possibly three – 'knucklebone' floors (see K. Poole above).

A large number of 17th-century drinking vessels were recovered from the site and it is possible that one of the structures on the site (most probably Structure B2, Phase 4 – Fig. 8) functioned as part of a tavern, although it had gone by the 18th century. The largest

⁴⁶ OA. 2002, op. cit.; Palmer, op. cit. 212.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 213.

⁴⁸ J. Cherry, 'Leather', in J. Blair and N. Ramsey (eds.), *English Medieval Industries* (1991), 300.

⁴⁹ B. S. Ayers, 'From cloth to creel - riverside industries in Norwich', in G.L. Good, R.H. Jones and M.W. Ponsford (eds.), 'Waterfront Archaeology, Proceedings of the third International conference, Bristol, 1988', *CBA Research Report* No. 74 (1991), 5.

⁵⁰ Palmer, op. cit. 139.

⁵¹ Hardy, op. cit. 270.

assemblages of 17th-century clay tobacco pipes were also associated with this property. Hunt and Cos Oxford Directory of 1846 lists six inns on St Thomas', the Chequers, the Lamb and Flag, the Shoulder of Mutton, the Turks Head, the White Horse and the Windsor Castle (two of which survive today). It is likely that all these inns (and perhaps others) existed in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Cartographic evidence

Properties

Corroboration of the excavation findings has been sought from historic maps. The site is depicted on Agas' map of 1578 and Loggan's map of 1675 (Fig. 2). The cartographic accuracy of both maps may be variable, but they do show a large increase in development between 1578 and 1675 mirrored in the archaeological record. Structures A1 and B1 are probably depicted on Agas which shows single properties within Area A and Area B. Loggan depicts four structures within Area A, of which Structures A2 and A3 may have represented the two western properties. Three properties are shown within Area B which may include structures B1 and B2. Possible development is also shown to the rear of the properties within Area B, and is also depicted on the OS 1st Edition map of Oxford (1876), which shows Bookbinder's Yard to the rear of Area B. The demolition of Structure B1 may have provided access to Structures F1-3, which formed a row of three cottages to the north of structure B2, fronting Bookbinder's Yard.

Badcock's Survey of Christ Church Properties (1829) and the 1st Edition OS map (1876) demonstrate that the site was divided into a number of irregularly shaped tenements in the 19th century. These property divisions can be seen in the archaeological record for Phases 3-5 although the divisions are less clear within Phases 1 and 2. The Parish of St Thomas was extensively rebuilt in the 16th and 17th centuries when development of brewing, tanning and the building trade led to an increase in prosperity and population.⁵² It is likely that the subdivision of the plots forming 67-69 St Thomas' occurred towards the end of this period.

The archaeology within Area E is also shown on Badcock's Survey of 1829 (Fig. 10). It is clear that the walls and surfaces form property divisions and yards behind properties fronting the Backstream. Of note is property E4; on Badcock's survey this is a property fronting Fisher Row and owned by John Evetts. The garden path revealed in the watching brief may link this property to E3 to the north.

Watercourses

The Western Backstream is depicted on Agas' 1595 Map of Oxford (Fig. 2), and is attested in documents of the 14th century (see 'Documentary evidence' below). Loggan's 1675 map also shows the Stream, although by this time an island has been created at the point where the Backstream forks and forms the Western Backstream. One would imagine that the canalisation revealed in the excavations helped facilitate land reclamation; the island shown on Loggan (Area D), could have been utilised as an orchard or for other small scale agricultural use. It is only after 1769 that this area was developed, following the construction of Park End Street.

A stone culvert (3010) dating to the 19th century was exposed within the revetting walls of the Western Backstream. The 1st Edition OS map 1878 shows a narrow strip of land in this location. The culvert was built by the brewery in 1800 so that the Western Backstream

⁵² '64-66 St Thomas's Street, Oxford, Post Office Car Park Redevelopment: Archaeological Desktop Study', (unpubl. OAU report, 1997).

could be reclaimed.⁵³ It is possible that the culvert was intended to adjoin the recently culverted section of the Backstream to the north, however, no evidence for this was found in the current investigation.

Documentary evidence

The island that lies between the Backstream and the western Backstream is divided by St Thomas' Street into a northern and a southern part. Each was an Oseney property. The northern part is called Bookbinder's in the records; the southern Hosar's. Bookbinder's corresponds approximately to Area A in this report. This section summarises the evidence for Bookbinder's in Oseney and Christ Church records. The deeds marked with asterisks are of doubtful reference. References are to *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, ed. H. E. Salter (1928-1930).

There is no evidence of how the land came to Oseney in the first place. If (2) is believed it was purchased from Edmundus Medicus.

*1. O983 may be of interest: dated between Michaelmas 1182 and December 1184 it is a quitclaim by Eadmundus medicus of land *inter duos pontes iuxta castellum de Oxenefordia*. Pace Salter, the term *inter duos pontes* in Oseney records generally refers to land between Bookbinder's and Knowles' bridges.

If this attribution is accepted then we should also cite O984 and O985.

*2. (O984) 1184-1205. Grant to Walter the jailor and Alice his wife and their heirs of three messuages of the land the Abbey bought of Edmundus medicus between the two bridges, that is, the three that are closer to the church of St George; rent 6s; 2s in recognition.

*3. (O985) 1184-1205. Grant to Lucas de Wurth and his heirs of the land that Lewin Buf held of the Abbey between two bridges closer to Oxford castle; 32d rent; four sextaries of wine in recognition.

In O181 Lucas returns the land; it is described as *inter duos pontes cum edificiis versus aquilonem*. But this could as well refer to Hosar's.

*4. Another possible reference occurs in O1078, a grant dated 1245-5 to Peter Faber and his wife of a corrody including *domum tegulatam iuxta pontem versus castellum ex opposito terre que fuit Willelmi Hosarii* (Salter's reconstruction of the damaged portion of O995, reading *infra terram* and thus moving the tenement across the road, is hard to sustain). If the house was regularly assigned to corrodists that might explain its absence from the earlier rentals.

At this point the tenement appears briefly in the rentals: in the rentals of 1277 or 8 (Osney Roll 54) and 1280 (Osney Roll 55) *domus Thomae Tinctoris* is listed after Hosar's with no rent given.

In 1377 a verdict of the Bishop of Lincoln about the extent of the manor of Oseney makes first use of the name Bookbinders. The abbey enjoys rights 'en tutte labbe Doseneye, et en tut le remenant del par les ditz abbe et convent del dite Isle Doseneye tanque al pont et en tut le pont appelle le Bookbynderbrugge, et en tut lewe que court desouz mesme le pont tanque al ryver de Thamese vers le south et devers le north tanque al fyn de lour frank tenement, issint que nul molyn illoeqes soit leve; et par altercacione del non' du dit pont, a cause que illoques sont deux pontz pres ensemblement, si est declare par le dit evesque que

⁵³ OA. 2002, op. cit.

le pont que se extent outre le russelle current plus pres a lestant des molyns de Chastel Doxenford en la west partie de dit estank est le dit pont appelle le Bookbynderbrugge'.

5. Rental of c. 1389 (Osney roll 66)

A XIIIs. Tenementum primum inter duos pontes

A. IIs. Cotagium secundum ibidem.

A. VIIs. Cotagium inter illa tenementa.

All marked 'per Rad. Scatler'.

6. Rental of 1406 (Osney rolls 64 and 70)

A XIIIs. Cotagium primum inter duos pontes

A. IIs. Cotagium secundum ibidem.

A. Vs. Cotagium inter illa tenementa.

7. Rental of 1410 or 1411 (Osney roll 67)

A XIIIs. Cotagium primum inter duos pontes

A. IIs. Cotagium secundum ibidem.

A. Vs. Cotagium inter illa tenementa.

All marked 'per Agnetem Scattere'.

8. Rental of 1417 (Osney roll 79)

A IVs. Cotagium primum inter duos pontes

A. IIs. Cotagium secundum.

A. Vs. Cotagium inter illa tenementa.

All marked 'per Agnetem Scattere'.

9. (O979) Sept. 21 1420. Lease by the Abbot and Convent to Peter Brember, Matilda his wife and Marcel her brother of a tenement called Bokebynders in the parish of St Thomas the martyr; for them to hold for the life of whichever of them shall live longest at a rent of 26s 8d at the usual terms. They will keep in repair a house they built 20ft long and 12 ft wide, maintaining also the adjacent walls and hedges as necessary.

10. (O980) May 10 1423. As number 9 except that the house has become two houses with a horse mill.

11. Rental of 1428 (Christ Church roll)

An. Cotagium primum inter duos pontes XIIIs.

An. Cotagium secundum. IIs.

An. Cotagium inter illa tenementa. Vs.

All marked 'per Nicholaum Bysschoppe'.

No such property is noted in Bishop's *Collectanea*. But Brember was an associate of Bishop's; on one occasion he acts as pledge for a prosecution by Bishop in the mayor's court.

12. (O981) Sept. 21 1436. Lease by the Abbot and Convent to Robert Attewode, Iohanna his wife, William their son, and Iuliana and Alicia their daughters of a tenement called Bokebynders in the parish of St Thomas the martyr; for them or the survivors to hold for 98 years at a rent of 26s 8d at the four terms. They will keep in repair as necessary the three houses newly built there with horse mill, of which one is tiled and lies between two ways (*caminos*), maintaining also the adjacent walls and hedges as necessary.

13. Rental of 1449 (Osney roll 81)

An. Cotagium primum, secundum, tercium et quartum iuxta Bokbyndersbrygge XIIIIs. IVd.

An. Cotagium inter duos pontes cum gardino per Edytham Dyar. XIIIIs IVd.

14. Rentals of 1453-1479 (MS Wood F. 10)

An. Cotagium primum, secundum, tercium, quartum et quintum iuxta Bokebynders bryge XIII^s. IV^d.

Nic. Webbe (1453, 4), Nic. Webbe and Ienyn Fuller (1455,6), Ioh. Taylor and Will. Cokke (1458-67), Will. Bonefant (1477-9).

An. Cotagium inter duos pontes cum gardino. XIII^s IV^d.

Edytha Dyar (1453-61), Edytha Dyar and Rob. Stubber (1462), Rob. Stubber (1463-7, 1477-9).

15. (O982) Jan 12 1462. Lease by the Abbot and Convent to Robert Stubber, Margareta his wife and Agnes their daughter of a messuage in the parish of St Thomas the martyr opposite the tenement where William Sprygge now dwells between the two bridges, for them or the survivors to hold for 80 years at a rent of 13s 4d at the four terms. They will keep the messuage in repair as necessary including roofing, and moreover the stable and the garden, as regards walls and hedges and pyling. They and their executors are to have free access for removing all the vessels they have placed in the messuage, and likewise the wooden bridge that they built over the water, provided compensation is paid for any resulting damage to the messuage or the walls.

It is interesting to note that Rob. Stubber is also found at the southernmost tenement on Warham Bank (described as *mansura septima cum via ad aquam modo latrina*) in the rentals between 1462 and 1479. Presumably he built the wooden bridge over the Backstream to connect the two tenements.

The remaining entries are from the Christ Church rent books.

16. Rental of 1498 (MS Wood F. 15))

A XIII^s IV^d. Tenementum primum, secundum, tercium, quartum, quintum iuxta Bokbynderes brygge per Will. Bonefant,

A XX^s. Cotagium inter duos pontes cum gardino per Thomam Kynkam.

17. (III.740) July 17, 1628: a lease to Henry Bosworth, brewer, and other feoffees, of a huse called the Church Howse; the water flowing to Bookbinder's Bridge E.; the water flowing to Knowles' bridge W.; the river N.; 40 years; rent 4s. It was late in the occupation of Philip Dodwell, dyer, and was a dye house.

18. (IV.232) Feb 1, 1649/50; a lease to William Chillingworth, brewer, and others; it is now two houses; 40 years; same rent.

19. (V.436) Nov 10, 1671; a lease to Anthony Kendall, fellmonger, and others; 40 years; rent 4s.

20. (VII.315) April 11, 1687; the lease is renewed to him and others.

21. (XI.196) March 20, 1713/4; a lease to Thomas Gadney, tobacco-pipe maker, and others.

22. (XIV.7) Oct 17, 1734; the lease is renewed to him and others.

23. In 1756-7 the house is being rented by the overseers of the poor. Entries in the churchwardens' accounts occur as follows:

Pd. the Quit Rent for ye Church House to Ch. Ch. Coll., 4s. 6d.

Received of ye Overseers Rent for ye Church House, £20.

Pd. Bread and Beer to ye Church House, 3s. 4d

Pd. Nathl. Hanks a Bill for Slatting to the Church House, £3. 3s. 0d.

Pd. Mrs. Weston for Glazing Work to ye Church House, £1 7s. 8d.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Squires, *In West Oxford*, 127.

24. (XVI.124) March 13, 1759; a lease to George Harris, tailor, and other trustees. There are six further leases to the parish trustees, in each case without a fine, the last being dated March 8 1843.

25. (XXXVIII.495) July 12, 1864; a lease to the Rev. Thomas Chamberlain and other trustees; 40 years; free of rent; they are to pay all taxes and expenses of repairs, and the surplus is to be paid to the incumbent and churchwardens for the maintenance of the parish church.

Conclusions

The results from 67-69 St Thomas' Street have provided an insight into the development of the site. However, if we look at the site in conjunction with previous work in the area we gain a unique understanding of an Oxford suburb. It can be seen that the development along the road progressed simultaneously from the east and west, coinciding at 67 St Thomas' Street in the late 15th century. The occupants of the street were of similar status and left limited evidence for their occupations, although we know that brewing and tanning occurred in the street. St Thomas' Street has changed very little in character, it is still home to two public houses, and it can be concluded that the recent and current development is probably the biggest change in the area since the land was initially reclaimed.

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