

MEDIEVAL BUILDINGS AND PROPERTY DEVELOPMENT IN THE AREA OF CHEAPSIDE

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SUMMARY

This report presents the results of four archaeological excavations in 1976–80 in the streets leading off Cheapside, the main commercial street of Saxon and medieval London, together with documentary research on the sites and on the surrounding area. This study considers evidence of the period 850–1700.

The outlines of the street system in this area were probably established about 886, when King Alfred restored the City. The Well Court excavation showed that Bow Lane probably originated in the late 9th century, and this suggests that Cheapside itself was laid out by this time. North of Cheapside, Milk Street and Ironmonger Lane seem to have been laid out somewhat later; the former perhaps in stages during the 11th century, the latter by 1100. Alleys led through properties by the 14th century, and were common thoroughfares by 1600.

By the 12th century, it is possible to identify several blocks of land in the Cheapside area which may represent earlier properties. The archaeological work suggests that these blocks may have comprised several buildings, with small units along the street and larger buildings behind in courtyards. Between about 1100 and 1300 plots of land were progressively subdivided and density of building increased, while some plots were at the same time increasing as landlords acquired properties. About 1320 the trend towards greater density ceased, and the archaeological and documentary evidence suggests decay or a fall in intensity of settlement along street frontages. Along Milk Street were several large houses with stone foundations, a quiet backwater off the commercial thoroughfare of Cheapside.

The main evidence from these four sites concerns the period before 1300, and shows how properties comprised buildings, open areas and rubbish pits. In the late 9th or 10th century timber buildings are inferred along the Bow Lane frontage, from the spaces without pits dug in them. By 1100 large timber cellars were found behind the frontages on both sides of Bow Lane, and from the early 12th century stone buildings appeared on three of the four excavated sites. Most of them were cellars, all but one sited next to the street, and were no doubt intended for storage of merchandise. These stone buildings stabilised the street frontage next to them. Documentary evidence fills out the picture of the plots of which they formed part, but archaeological evidence shrinks markedly after about 1300 due to truncation by later buildings, particularly of the 19th century.

The social and economic character of the area was demonstrated in the character of the buildings on sites which included the residences of some of the wealthiest and most important medieval citizens of London, but the evidence was fragmentary and the associated artefacts, found

mainly in rubbish and cesspits, displayed no special social or industrial characteristics. This is a common experience with densely-settled town-centre sites, reflecting the complex intermixture on the ground of rich and poor and of urban rules by which, after about 1200, rubbish was carted away.

1: INTRODUCTION

John Schofield

This report brings together the results of four excavations of 1976–1980 in the streets leading off Cheapside, the main commercial street of medieval London: two sites to the south, Watling Court (47–51 Cannon Street, 14–16 Bow Lane), excavated in 1978, and Well Court (44–8 Bow Lane), excavated in 1979; and two to the north, 1–6 Milk Street, excavated in 1976–7, and 25 Ironmonger Lane, excavated in 1980 (Figs 1–2). In addition observations made by the City of London Archaeological Society in 1972 at 7–10 Milk Street are included as an extension of the 1–6 Milk Street site.

Before 1972, archaeological study in the Cheapside area had been confined to small trenches. Professor W F Grimes had demonstrated the depth of archaeological deposits north of Cheapside, somewhat to the west of Milk Street at Gutter Lane in 1946, when he encountered deep medieval pits cutting into Roman strata.¹ In 1955 he excavated in Lawrence Lane at Blossoms Inn, immediately east of the future Milk Street site, and found natural brickearth 14–16 feet (4.3m–4.9m) below cellar level; in 1954–5, nearby on the east side of Honey Lane, part of the graveyard of All Hallows Honey Lane was recorded above Roman buildings.² In 1965 Grimes also recorded a medieval undercroft beneath and immediately west of the tower of St Mary le Bow church,³ but little in the area immediately south of Cheapside, except on the Financial Times site west of Friday Street where two sunken-floored huts, perhaps of the 11th century, were recorded in 1955.⁴

It was clear that large-scale archaeological excavations in the area would be profitable for the late Saxon and medieval periods, despite the widespread destruction caused by 19th-century cellars. The four excavations of 1976–80 were conducted by the Department of Urban

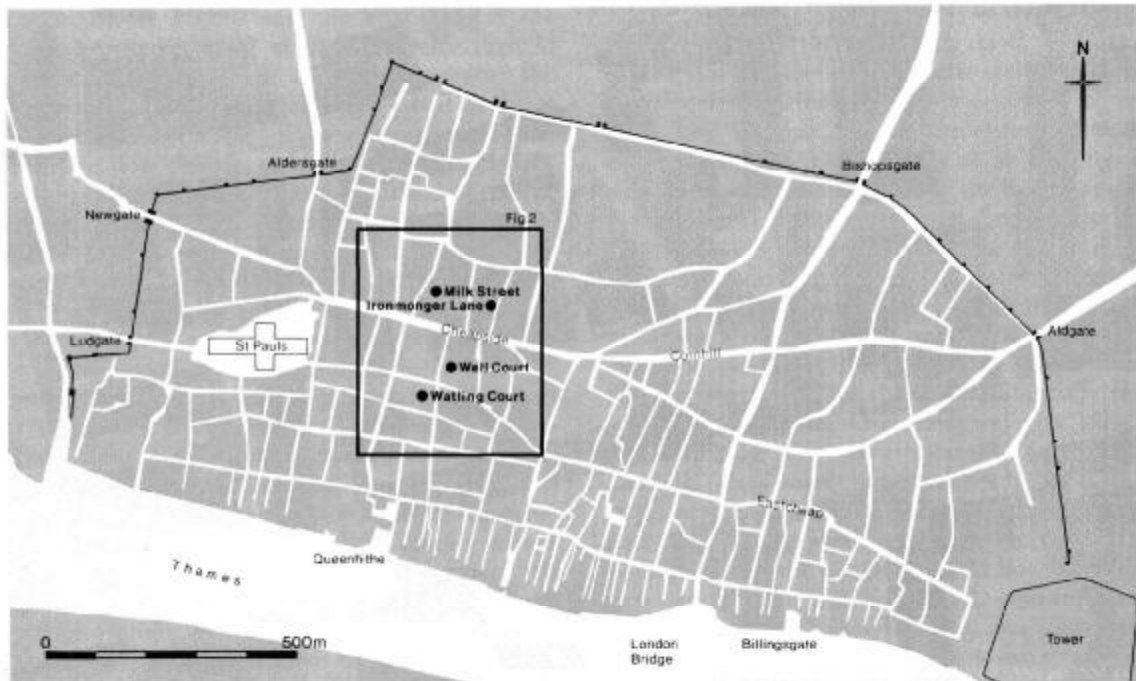


Fig 1. The medieval City of London, showing the study area around Cheapside.

Archaeology of the Museum of London,⁵ with funds from the Department of Environment and, during the latter part of the post-excavation analysis, the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission. The Roman levels from these sites are reported separately⁶ and the timber buildings of the 9th–12th centuries are the subject of a published study.⁷ In this report the evidence of the period *c.* 850–1700 is considered; it relates chiefly to property development and building form from the 11th to the 16th century.

Previous historical work on the development of Cheapside and its surrounding streets had also made limited progress.⁸ A grid of medieval streets clearly lay between Cheapside and the river, but their names, with the exception of Cheap itself, are recorded only from the mid 12th century.⁹ During the programme of excavations the suggestion was made that the streets forming one of the grid-squares, next to Queenhithe, were laid out in the late 9th century.¹⁰

The Social and Economic Study of Medieval London (SESM), which started its research in 1979, chose to study five central parishes in the Cheapside area: All Hallows Honey Lane, St Martin Pomary, St Mary le Bow, St Mary

Colechurch and St Pancras Soper Lane.¹¹ Two of the excavation sites, those at Well Court (44–8 Bow Lane), and 25 Ironmonger Lane, fall within this study area; the Milk Street excavation sites (both nos 1–6 and nos 7–10) lie immediately north-west of the study area and the Watling Court site lies immediately to the south-west. Thus it was appropriate for the Study's director, Derek Keene, to provide both the detailed documentary history of the Well Court site in the medieval period and an overview of the contribution of the findings on the present sites to the history of the Cheapside area in the medieval period.

The study is in four parts. After this introduction, Part 2 comprises archaeological and documentary summaries of the four component sites. Detailed documentary evidence is presented for three of the sites: Watling Court, Well Court and 1–6 Milk Street. The first and third (by Colin Taylor) were undertaken to a slightly different brief from the second (by Derek Keene, drawing on his previously published work), and this results in a difference in emphasis and in coverage of the post medieval period. The documentary history of the Ironmonger Lane

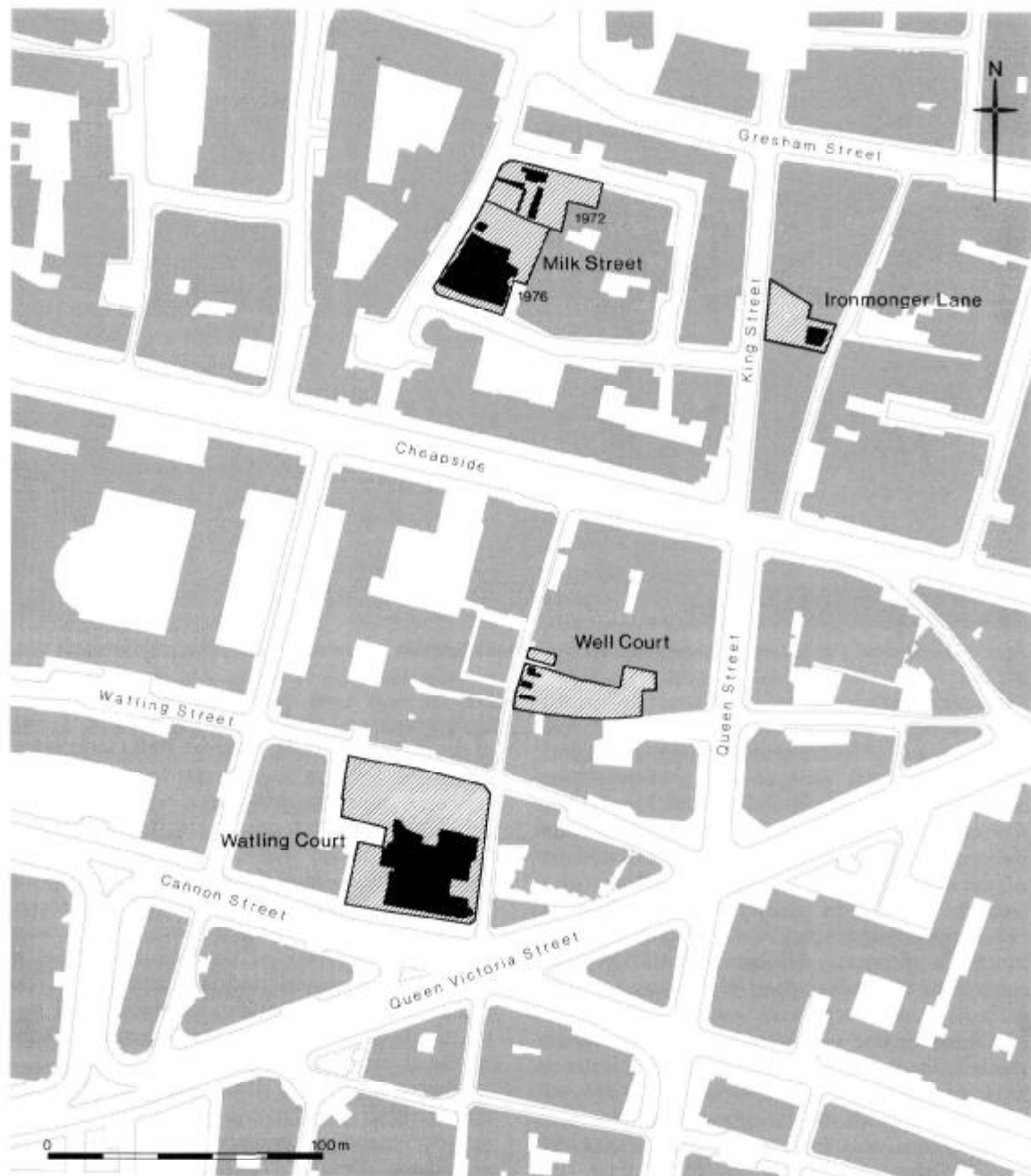


Fig 2. Modern streets in the study area, with the main sites and their areas of excavation (in black).

site has been published in full elsewhere, but since there were no significant archaeological remains from the period covered by the written records, and the earlier evidence displayed no patterns relevant to the later occupation of the

site, its history is only given here in bare outline.¹²

Part 3 comprises a synthesis of the archaeological and documentary evidence. It has five main sections. The first two discuss the establishment

of the street system and the character of the earliest property plots in the Cheapside area in the late 9th or 10th centuries; and thereafter the development of stone buildings, particularly of undercrofts, on some of those properties. The third section describes the construction details, structural developments and evidence of use of building materials exhibited by the stone buildings of c. 1100–1500 on the present sites, and places them briefly in the context of medieval building construction techniques. The present study in effect begins where the study of late Saxon and early medieval timber buildings in London¹³ ends, that study having analysed the 10th- and 11th-century buildings from the Cheapside area sites. Despite widespread truncation of deposits and medieval structures by later foundations, evidence could be recorded for building construction (foundations, walls, vaults), interior details (doors and stairs), roof coverings, cesspits and wells. Particular emphasis is laid in a fourth section upon the 310 pits, some lined with timber, stone or brick, from the two larger sites, Watling Court and Milk Street; and Part 3 concludes with a consideration of the light thrown upon the use of these properties by the objects and ceramics recovered, particularly during the 9th–13th centuries represented by the majority of the archaeological features.

The concluding Part 4 is an overview of the significance of the investigations on the present sites to the history of Cheapside in the medieval period. Thereafter appendices present tabulated details of site phasing (mostly medieval pits) from all four sites (Appendix 1), the finds dating evidence from those features (Appendix 2); and specialist reports on the building materials (Appendix 3), parasites from some of the cesspits (Appendix 4) and on plant remains from a medieval cesspit at Milk Street (Appendix 5).

The strata, and especially the pits which form the bulk of the archaeological evidence, were dated by reference to *Ceramic Phases* (abbreviated CP in the following text), a dating framework being developed for the whole post-Roman City, which is explained in Appendix 2. The part of this framework relevant to the present study stretches from Ceramic Phase 1 in the 9th century to Ceramic Phase 22 in the 18th century. The development of the ceramic framework, dated by a combination of dendrochronology, coins and documentary references, can be found in several reports by Alan Vince and others.¹⁴

The use of Ceramic Phases as the basis for phasing the sites should be explained. The great majority of features on these sites were truncated by modern basements, and apart from a few cases (for instance, small sequences of inter-cutting pits), there was virtually no archaeological sequence within the remains of the late Saxon to post-medieval periods reported here. Thus an approach akin to that employed in the study of cemeteries was employed; the analysis is forced to rely on artefactual dating of the features, in the absence of sufficient stratigraphic links (other than the clear fact that all features post-dated Roman deposits). This study is substantially one of cut features, whether buildings or pits. Where one building is stratigraphically later than another, this is noted, but it has not been possible to phase these features on stratigraphic grounds, and this inherent weakness in the evidence must be admitted at the beginning. It is however clear that (i) Saxon, medieval and post-medieval evidence in the City of London, and sometimes elsewhere, is likely to be of this form, and (ii) much useful information and viable conclusions have been derived from the analysis employed.

In this outline, the relation of the present study to those recently published and to some others in preparation should also be summarised. This report deals only with four sites excavated in the area around Cheapside, put into a wider historical context by Dr Keene. Evidence for Saxo-Norman buildings, properties and streets has already been considered in detail separately in *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London, I: building and street development* (1988), which considered both this Cheapside group of sites and a second group around the bridgehead and Billingsgate. Some duplication and reconsideration of the Cheapside evidence is necessary here as the present sites are considered for the period c. 1000 to 1666. This involves a substantial contribution from detailed documentary evidence, which was naturally lacking from the volume dealing with the sites in the Saxon period.

The pottery and other artefacts from the layers of the 9th–12th centuries on the Cheapside sites are published in several studies, notably the compilation *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London, II: the finds and environmental evidence* (1991).¹⁵ Appendix 2 of this report is a summary of more detailed finds research which will be found in that volume. The medieval and post-medieval finds are being published or will be in due course.¹⁶

In the meantime the appendices should, we hope, be sufficient to enable the student to check the conclusions from the evidence of the archive held in the Museum of London (for titles of relevant archive reports, see the site summaries in Part 2 and the bibliography).

Notes appear at the end of each section, rather than together at the end of the paper.

Two further volumes fit into this overall publication scheme. The major excavation at Billingsgate Lorry Park in 1982–3 took place during the post-excavation writing period for the other bridgehead sites, and had to be excluded from detailed consideration in *Aspects I*. The waterfront constructions were also different in character from the buildings studied in that report, and a third volume was necessary, which has now appeared: *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London, III: the Bridgehead and Billingsgate to 1200* (1992).¹⁷ This report deals mainly with installations, including a jetty and public and private embankments, of the period 1000–1200 on the waterfront between the rebuilt bridge and Billingsgate. Secondly, a report on the medieval and post-medieval buildings on waterfront sites around the bridge and Billingsgate is in preparation (*Medieval waterfront tenements*, by J Schofield and T Dyson). This will be in many ways an equivalent to the present study, and will provide parallels, from ground conditions where more archaeological remains survived, for the chronological span of 1200–1700 dealt with here. This latter study will also comprise a sizable documentary study of a number of medieval properties in Thames Street; so that it is hoped that the Cheapside volume and the waterfront tenement report will together furnish a body of archaeological and documentary evidence for a good number of medieval tenements in the City, contrasting both the degree of survival in the two areas, and comparing their developmental and social histories.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

¹ Grimes 1968, 9.

² *Ibid.*, 135–8. See further discussion in *Historical Gazetteer*, 11/0. All references to *Historical Gazetteer* in this study are to Volume 1 (1986)

³ *Ibid.*, 168–70. See further discussion in *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 155–9.

⁵ Negotiations for access to the sites were conducted

by Brian Hobley and John Schofield; the latter also organised the excavations at Watling Court, 1–6 Milk Street and Ironmonger Lane. Dominic Perring organised the excavations at Well Court.

⁶ Perring & Roskams 1991.

⁷ Horsman *et al* 1988.

⁸ Brooke & Keir 1975, 171–7.

⁹ Ekwall 1954, 72–6, 81–2, 115, 182–5. For discussion of the earliest references to streets in the area, see pp 178 below.

¹⁰ Dyson 1978.

¹¹ Keene 1984.

¹² *Historical Gazetteer*, site 95/3–4.

¹³ Horsman *et al* 1988, especially parts 4–7.

¹⁴ Vince 1985, 1991.

¹⁵ Pritchard 1984 for evidence of textiles and cloth-making; Vince 1991 for studies of the pottery (A Jenner and A Vince), the small finds (F Pritchard), coins (P Stott and M Archibald) and environmental evidence (G Jones, V Straker and A Davis).

¹⁶ Eg Egan in prep.

¹⁷ Steedman *et al* 1992.

2: THE SITES: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

This part presents summaries of the archaeological and documentary evidence for the four study sites. In each case the archaeological evidence is presented first, then the documentary; and a third section for each site suggests links between the documentary evidence and the excavated buildings.

In the following site summaries the strata are arranged by post-Roman Ceramic Phases (CP), some of which overlap in date-range, as follows:

	Likely range	New types
CP 1	850–1020	LSS
2	1000–1020	EMS
3	1020–1050	EMSS
4	1050–1100	ESUR, EMCH, ANDE
5	1100–1150	LCOAR, LOND
6	1150–1180	SSW
7	1180–1240	LOND-ROU, LOND-NFR
8	1240–1270	KING
9	1270–1350	MG
10	1340–1360	CBW in quantity
11	1360–1400	CHEA
12	1400–1480	Bifid rims
13	1480–1520	RAER
14	1520–1550	TUDB, KOLN

15	1550–1600	FREC, BORD
16	1600–1640	METS + clay pipes
17	1640–1660	clay pipes
18	1660–1680	clay pipes
19	1680–1700	clay pipes
20	1700–1720	clay pipes
21	1720–1740	SWSG, bottles, clay pipes
22	1740–1770	SWSG, bottles, clay pipes

(for explanation of pottery codes, see introduction to Appendix 2)

Certain conventions have been used in the reporting of the pits on all four sites. Where a pit can be dated only broadly to several phases rather than a single phase, it is shown shaded on all relevant figures and its number preceded by a question-mark in the text. Pits which, though post-Roman, were otherwise undated (*ie* usually cutting through Roman stratigraphy, and sealed only by the 19th-century basement slab on the site) are not shown on the site plans in this report, but are listed in Appendix 1 and are shown on plans in the relevant archive report. On Figs 3–5, which deal with early phases at Watling Court, a small + is used to show the deepest recorded point of certain pits seen only in section.

The excavations are reported with metric measurements (metres). The documentary evidence is reported with imperial measurements (feet and inches). The discussion sections use either system, as appropriate, with conversions into the other system after each measurement (1ft = 0.305m).

Watling Court, 39–53 Cannon Street, 11–14 Bow Lane (WAT78)

(Figs 2–14)

This site (Fig 2) was situated on the north side of Cannon Street, bounded on the east by Bow Lane, on the west by Watling Court, and on the north by Watling Street. The 19th-century buildings along Watling Street largely remained intact during the redevelopment, and only occasional trial and pile holes were observed along the north side. Excavations in advance of the redevelopment began in June 1978 and were completed in February 1979; further watching brief observations during building work continued until March 1980. The excavations were funded by the Department of the Environment and were

greatly assisted by the site owners, Electricity Supply Nominees, and various companies involved in the development of the site, notably Richard Ellis and Higgs and Hill Ltd. The excavation was supervised by Dominic Perring.

The excavations were conducted over an area of 32m × 30m in the south-east part of the overall development, against the frontages of Bow Lane and Cannon Street (this part of the latter being a westward extension to St Paul's formed by the widening of Basing Lane in 1852). The watching brief observations, which in terms of the present report were almost exclusively of stone foundations and other strata of the medieval period (CP6 (1150–1200) onwards) were made over a wider area of about 40m square. Thus detailed records of site development in CP1–5 (850–1180) were made only in the controlled excavation. Here, as over the whole site, modern cellars had largely destroyed later stratigraphy to about 3m below modern street level; but an island of stratigraphy 16m × 14m survived to modern ground-level in the north-west part of the controlled excavation. This is referred to as the 'centre-west' part of the site.

The natural stratigraphy consisted of brick-earth, up to 1m thick, overlying the gravels of the upper flood plain of the Thames. Seven successive periods of Roman activity (archive Periods I–VII) were identified above this; they are reported elsewhere.¹

Because of the widespread truncation down to Roman levels across the main part of the site, structural evidence for all phases was limited to sunken-floored and cellared buildings or those with deep foundations;² the site's overall development can however be deduced from a series of pit alignments, present from Phase 1 onwards. It should also be noted that the first four buildings reported here (Buildings 1–4) have retained the numbers given to them early in post-excavation analysis, though Building 4 may have been constructed before Buildings 1–3. This is because the extensive finds and site archive contains the original numbering.

Ceramic Phase 1 (850–1020)

(Fig 3)

In this phase a line of pits (from north to south, Pits 33, 32, 23, ?21, 20, 12) could be discerned



Fig. 3. Watling Court (WAT76): Ceramic Phase 1 (850-1020) (1:300). In Fig. 3 8 pits shown in colour are dated only broadly and are therefore possibly of the phase in question.

running parallel to Bow Lane and about 12m to the west of it. Other pits were found at comparable distances from the Basing Lane frontage to the south (Pits 16-17, 218), and a group of intercutting pits lay at a similar distance from the south-east corner of the site where the two lanes joined. Several of these pits, including a small number both further away from and closer to the street frontages, were identifiably cesspits (eg Pits 37, 23-4, 12, 14-15, 11, 9, 16). The alignments of the pits and the generally unpitted nature of the space between the lines or groups of pits and the street frontages suggest the existence of buildings which would have lain at contemporary ground level, but which were

subsequently truncated, certainly along Bow Lane and possibly along Basing Lane.

Building 4³ comprised a fragment of a sunken-floored building with a beaten earth floor, at least 4.5m east-west by at least 4.9m north-south, surviving 0.2m deep but originally up to 1.2m deep. No evidence of walls survived, but three posts along its south side are likely to have been supports. Building 4 cut Roman stratigraphy and Pit 24, which contained material datable to any time in the wider range CP1-3 (850-1050) in its backfill; the building may have been constructed within this time-range, but was disused during CP3 (1020-1050). It is therefore placed tentatively in CP1-2 (850-1030).

Ceramic Phase 2 (1000–1030)

Building 4 may have been constructed in this phase; or if already standing, continued in use. No pits directly datable to this phase were recorded, even in the area of higher stratigraphy. This perhaps argues for a general lack of pit-digging during this phase, which is however short and overlaps with the next phase.

Ceramic Phase 3 (1020–1050)
(Fig 4)

In Phase 3, Building 4 fell into disuse; its sunken area was backfilled with humic silts and burnt

daub. A number of pits were dug over the other parts of the site (Pits 31, 42, 45, 55–7, 70, 76–7, 107); in all cases they were close to the Phase 1 pits already dug but did not cut them.

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100)
(Fig 5)

This phase, on the available dating evidence, saw much activity on the site; the construction, use and disuse of four buildings and further pit digging. In the north of the excavated area, at right angles to Bow Lane to the east, two successive sunken buildings on the same alignment were excavated: Building 1⁴ comprised a

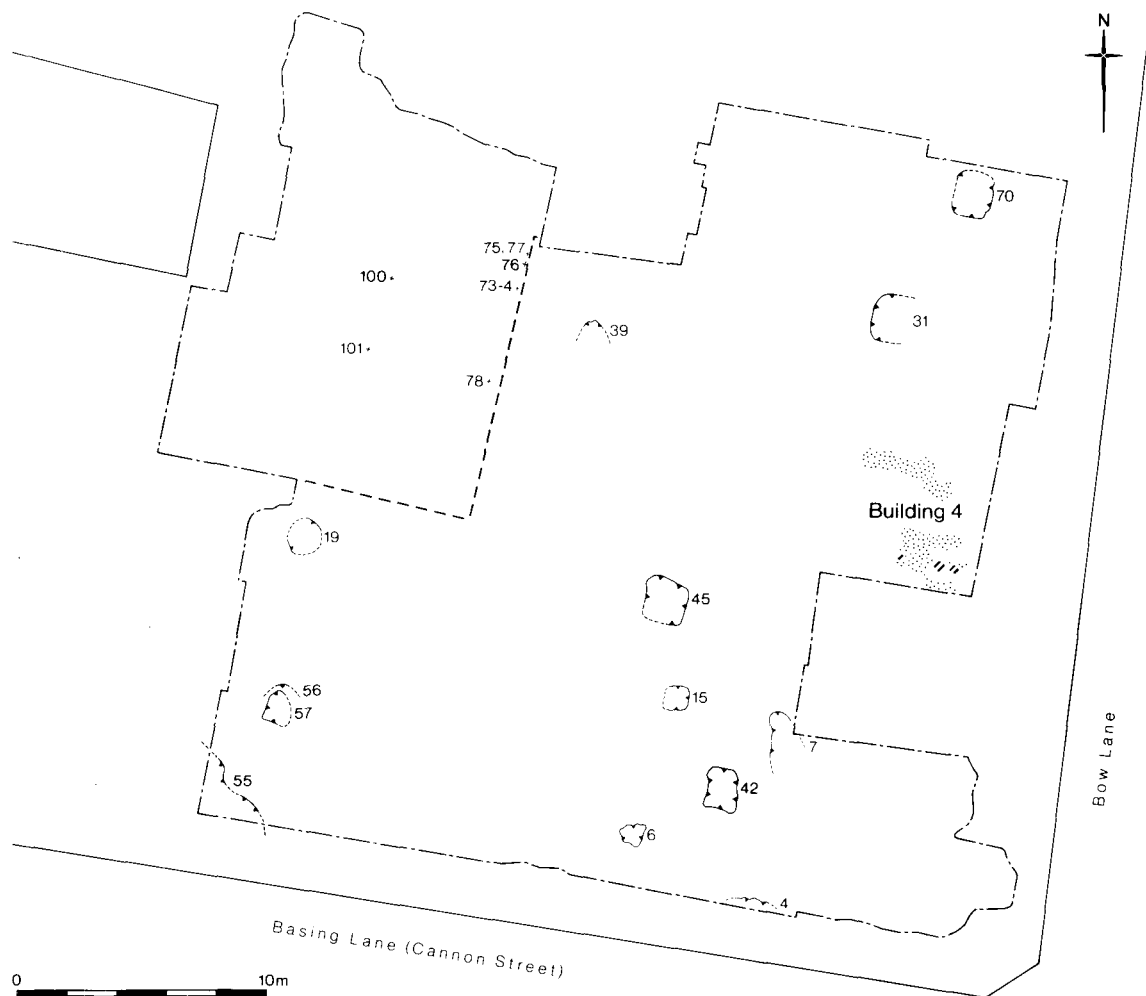


Fig 4. Watling Court: Ceramic Phase 3 (1020–1050) (1:300).

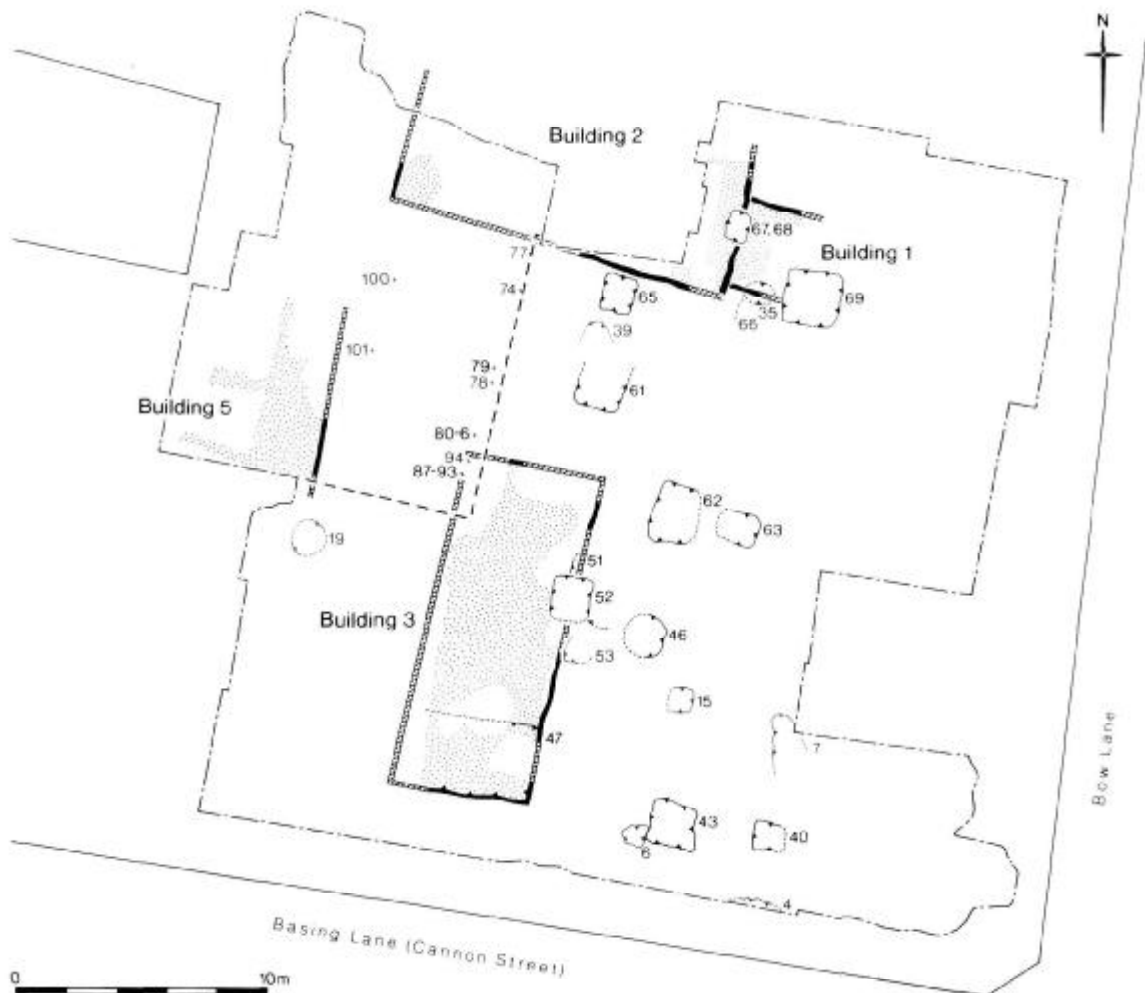


Fig 5. Watling Court: Ceramic Phase 4 (1050-1100) (1:300).

fragment of a sunken building at least 2.2m east-west by 3.6m wide north-south and up to 1.2m deep. This was cut at its west end by a larger sunken building (Building 2)⁵ 12.7m east-west by at least 5.6m north-south and at least 0.7m deep. The south wall of this cellar comprised a double wall of planks separated by regular posts, the cavity being filled with clay and silt. The east wall was of only one thickness of planks. Both buildings were constructed, used and fell into disuse within CP4. It is possible that both functioned, successively, with ground-level buildings along Bow Lane.

A large sunken-floored building (Building 3),⁶ 13.4m north-south by *c.* 5.4m east-west and originally at least 2.3m deep (though surviving

only 1m deep) lay 5m north of the present Cannon Street (Basing Lane) frontage, where the absence of pits again suggests that the frontage might have been built up at contemporary ground level. The surviving long side of Building 3, like that of Building 2, was constructed of a double-wall of planks with the cavity filled with clay and silt, and its two ends were formed only by single thicknesses of planks. A succession of floorings, including iron slag, beaten carth and fragmentary evidence of joists, were found inside the building. A possible sunken-floored building (Building 5) almost 6m to the west of Building 3, and parallel to it, was extensively cut away by later pits, and was not recorded in detail. It is undated, but was sealed by a ground surface

(Levelling 1) which also sealed Buildings 2, 3, and dark earth; the material in this levelling was of CP4 date. Since the internal floors of these buildings were up to 2.3m (in the case of Building 3) below contemporary ground level, they may have been cellars for timber buildings which had one further storey above, at or slightly below ground level.

Pits of this phase alone formed a band about 6m wide running north-south about 12m west of Bow Lane. One pit (46) was lined with a barrel and may have been a well. Several others are demonstrably cesspits. One cesspit (65) was immediately south of, and aligned, with the sunken-floored Building 2, suggesting that it functioned with that building. This phase marks the appearance on this site of wattle-lined pits (Pits 43, 65), in both cases thought, from the presence of parasites, to be cesspits, and one pit, probably a well, which was lined with staves set in the ground, was possibly a wine cask (Pit 46). About half of the pits attributed to this phase were probably cesspits. Their frequency and distribution suggests that Bow Lane was the dominant frontage, with the large sunken-floored buildings behind, though it remains a possibility that the large Building 3 lay along the side of a plot running back at right angles from Basing Lane rather than at the back of a yard entered from Bow Lane (see discussion, p 160).

Along with Levelling 1, several pits mark the abandonment of Buildings 1-3 during this phase. Pits 67 and 69 were cut through Buildings 2 and 1 respectively. A large rectangular pit (47) cut down into the south end of the backfilled cellar of Building 3, perhaps for the removal of timbers; other pits (51, 52) were dug into the east wall. The backfill of these pits contained material datable to CP4. These pits are shown on Fig 5 to demonstrate their relationship to the buildings.

Ceramic Phases 5-6 (1100-1180)
(Figs 6-7)

During the 12th century, foundations of stone buildings appear on the site. Dating evidence is scarce, and the main reason for grouping them here and assigning a 12th-century date is the manner of construction of the foundations, which is discussed in detail in Part 3 below. For clarity, Buildings 6-9 are shown on the phase plan for Ceramic Phase 6 (Fig 7), though one at least

(Building 6) might be of CP5. The pits dug in the 12th century can however be divided into two Ceramic Phases, 5 (1100-1150) and 6 (1150-1180) (Figs 6-7).

During CP5 in the centre-west of the site, two successive dumps (Levellings 2 and 3) raised the ground surface substantially, by between 0.3 and 0.6m. Brickearth surfaces were laid above each make-up, and in the north of the area there was possible evidence of a light timber structure built from the later of these horizons (Fig 6). Surfaces of humic silt beneath a layer of yellow brickearth were traced in two adjacent areas, about 11m apart in the north-west of the excavated area. The south fragment was recorded in section only, 1.5m long east-west; the north fragment survived 5.12m east-west by 2.6m north-south. One large or possibly two separate structures are suggested.

From this phase, large cesspits (Pits 95, 99, 121-4) and a barrel-lined well (Pit 60) also survived in the area of higher stratigraphy in the centre-west of the site. The careful placing of the pits in this area suggests that it was open space and that the pits were positioned to avoid previous ones.

Pits were also dug along the southern side of the site. Three pits in a row at the same distance from the Basing Lane frontage possibly also indicate separate properties (Pits 48 (a cesspit), 44 and 41). No pits certainly attributable to this phase were found along the Bow Lane frontage.

During CP6, in the centre-west area, a massive dump (Levelling 4) made up the ground surface by between 0.9 and 1.1m.

In CP6 a small number of further pits were dug, several of them cutting through Levelling 4 of CP5 (Fig 7). They were almost all situated in the area of higher stratigraphy in the centre-west part of the site, and therefore indicate that any similar pits over the truncated part of the site (*ie* most of the available area) would have been lost.

On the south side of the site, the north end of a stone building (Building 6) which fronted off the site to the south, presumably to the medieval Basing Lane, was recorded. Foundations of the north and east walls survived to give an area of 6.3m east-west by at least 3.2m north-south internally. If, as seems likely, the building adjoined Basing Lane immediately to the south, then it would have been roughly square in plan. A foundation pier immediately to the east of the building may have supported some additional structure, possibly an entrance or stair, alongside



Fig 6. *Watling Court: Ceramic Phase 5 (c. 1100–1150) (c. 309).*

it. Contemporary ground level could not be estimated. The trench-built foundations were 1.3m wide and constructed of chalk interleaved with gravel; the north wall was supported on piles, the majority of which were recorded as voids. Building 6 cut Pits 43 (CP4), 44 and 48 (both CP5); the construction technique of the foundations is broadly datable to the period 1100–1250 (p 165).

Other stone buildings on the northern perimeter of the site, largely recorded in the watching brief, are not dated, but were of similar construction to Building 6, and were probably broadly contemporary with it on the basis of construction technique. The east end of Building 7 lay in the north-west corner of the excavated

area; it measured at least 3.1m east-west by 4m north-south externally. Its trench-built foundations were 0.9m wide and constructed of chalk blocks alternating with gravel, surviving at least 1m deep. The walls had been removed. The foundation trench cut Levelling 4 of CP5. A set of walls to the north of Building 7 did not form any recognisable ground plan, but presumably belonged to one or more buildings fronting onto Watling Street (Building 8). In the north-east of the site, a third building (Building 9) was recorded on the Watling Street frontage. It comprised three walls of similar construction which may represent one or two medieval buildings. A north-south wall 5.9m long ran south from the present frontage of Watling Street. At the north

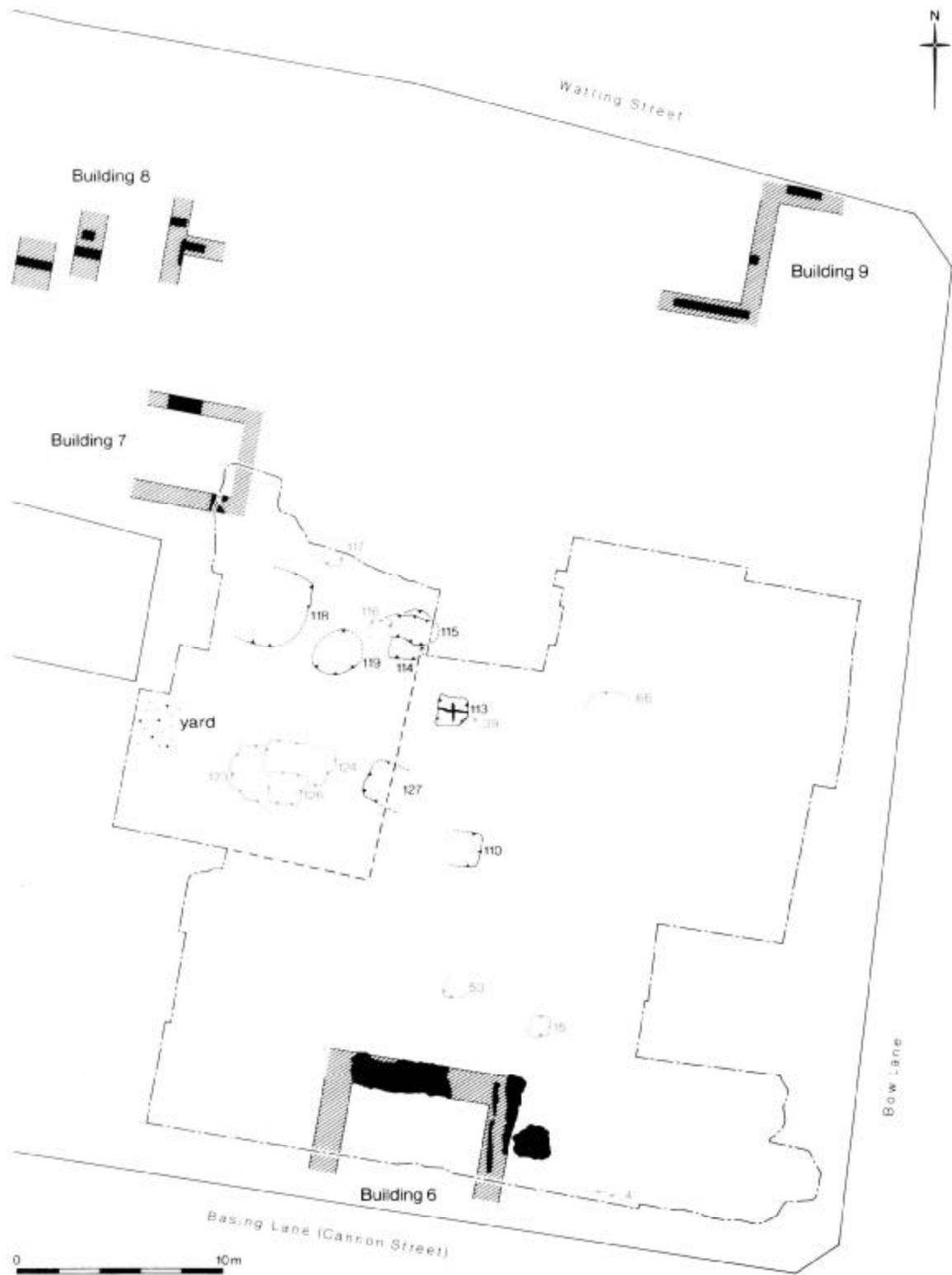


Fig 7. Watling Court: Ceramic Phase 6 (1150-1180) (1:300).

end a wall running east was traced along the present frontage for 1.65m; at its south end a wall running west was traced for 3.5m. Trench-built foundations of chalk with some flint and ragstone, alternating with river-worn pebbles and sand, were 0.9m wide and survived 0.6m deep. Any medieval walling above these foundations was not recorded.

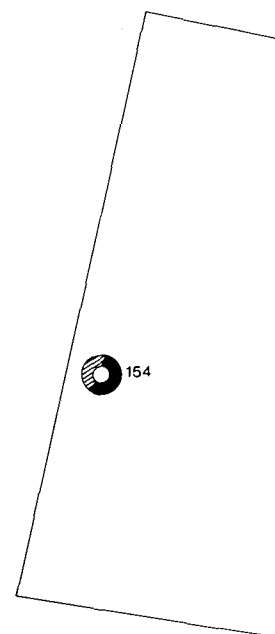
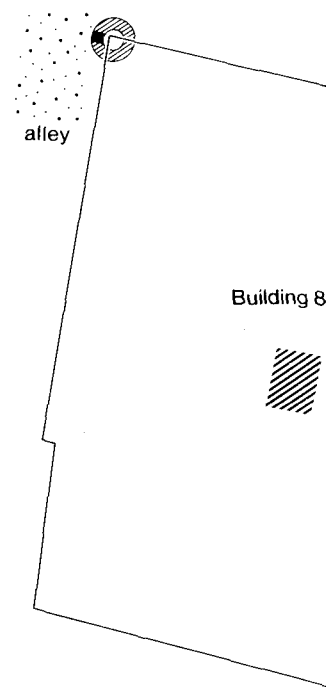
Buildings were therefore recorded which seem to have fronted on both the Basing Lane and Watling Street frontages in the 12th century (CP5-6), but the widespread truncation across the site means that only the deepest building foundations would have survived, and other buildings of slighter construction may have existed along those frontages and along that of Bow Lane to the east.

Ceramic Phases 7-11 (1180-1400)
(Figs 8-11)

Traces of three medieval buildings (Buildings 10-12) are grouped here; they were lacking in accurate dating evidence.

Two parallel north-south foundations suggest a long narrow stone building with its gable to Basing Lane, on the east side of Building 6 and using the latter's east wall as a party wall for some of its own length (Building 10). The north end had been removed by a modern foundation. If the building fronted on to Basing Lane to the south, as is likely, the area of building within the excavation would have measured internally about 4.5m east-west by at least 14m north-south. Trench-built foundations of chalk bonded with mortar (on the west wall only; bonding material of the east wall not recorded) were 1.2m wide and up to 0.5m deep. The construction technique suggests a date later than the 12th century. The west wall was cut by Pit 150, a stone-lined cesspit which produced dating material of the mid 17th century (CP17).

To the west, a wall continuing the presumed line of the west wall of Building 6 may have been part of a second building, although in the absence of evidence for any further walls it is difficult to reconstruct the plan. The surviving wall may either have formed the east wall of a building to the west of Building 6, as with Building 10 on the east side; or, since the new wall of Building 11 was structurally incorporated within Building 6 rather than merely butting



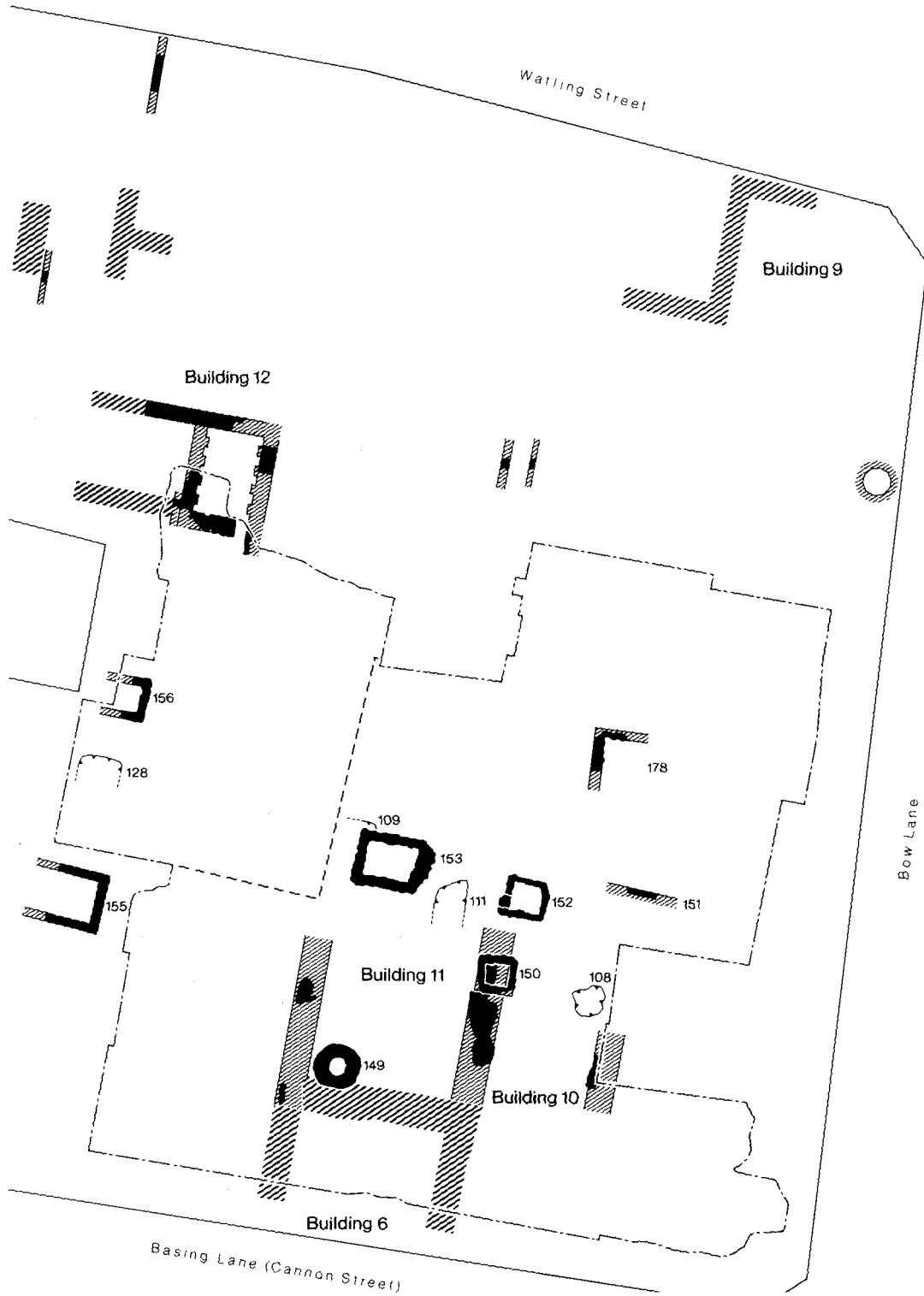


Fig 8. Watling Court: Ceramic Phase 7-11 (1180-1400) (1:300).

onto it, the new wall possibly formed the west wall of a northern extension of Building 6 itself. A stone-lined well (Pit 149; below, Figs 57a–b) constructed in CP9 (1270–1350) was inserted against the back wall of Building 6, within the area of this suggested extension; but this does not necessarily imply that the area was external.

Documentary evidence and Fig 15 shows that by 1280 Buildings 10 and 11 both lay within a corner property, Tenement 4, which comprised two houses in Basing Lane (?Buildings 10 and 11) and four shops in Cordwainer Street (Bow Lane).

In the west of the site, Building 7, in use from CP6, was extended to the east (Building 12), over a new small vaulted stone chamber 4m by 2.5m. Low arches of greensand formed a north-south vault which would only have been 1.4m high. Building 12 can only be dated roughly by the character of the vaulting (p 162) to 1230–1400 (CP8–11). In the watching brief, surfaces of an alley preceding the modern Red Lion Court and running south from Watling Street in the extreme north-west of the site, were recorded as a series of mortared flint, ragstone and gravel alley surfaces sealing make-ups dated to the late 13th–14th century (Fig 8).

Two pits, one interpreted as a cesspit, are dated to CP7 (1180–1240; Pits 108, 128); none to CP8 (1240–1270) and a number of stone-lined cesspits to the late 13th and 14th century (CP9–11, 1270–1400). Four of the stone-lined cesspits (Fig 8, Pits 155, 153, 152, 151; for details see Figs 10–11) lay directly behind the buildings on Basing Lane, and appeared during excavation to be related to them; but documentary evidence for property boundaries suggests that the eastern three lay instead within a property entered from Bow Lane. The construction of these pits could not be accurately dated, but some had datable fills: Pit 155 can be assigned to CP9 (1270–1350), Pit 153 to CP9+ (1270 or later) and Pit 152 had two separate fills of different dates, CP10+ (1340–1360 or later) and CP15 (1550–1600), which also marked its destruction. A further chalk-lined pit which is interpreted as a garden soakaway (Pit 156; for discussion, see p 175) cut Levelling 4 and was dated to CP8+ (1240–1270 or later). One stone-lined pit, later relined or

repaired with brick, is shown both on Figs 8 and 12 (Pit 178); its latest fills were not datable.

Later medieval and post-medieval development (Ceramic Phases 12–21; 1400–1740)
(Figs 9, 12–13)

Presumably most of the substantial boundary walls of buildings of CP5–6 remained in use throughout the medieval and post-medieval period. Buildings 8 and 9 on Watling Street were subsequently incorporated in the footings of the 19th-century buildings along Watling Street.

The medieval foundations forming Building 12 were modified and probably rebuilt during this period, but archaeological recording of these features was not carried out in detail, and accurate dating evidence is lacking; the interpretation offered here is only one of several possibilities. The east end of Building 12 was rebuilt as Building 13 (Fig 12): fragments of north, east and south walls of brick were sketchily recorded. A brick floor probably functioned with them. The construction technique and the correspondence of the walls with the map of properties on the site *c.* 1850 (Fig 12) suggests that Building 13 was of post-Fire, late 17th century date. Probably within this structure (though also possibly from an immediately previous phase) two walls of mortared chalk blocks formed the north and west sides of a cesspit (Pit 157; its function suggested by staining) at least 1.5m by 0.8m (plan, Fig 12). It was not dated. In the absence of the vault at this point, it is possible that the chute for this cesspit was broken through the vault.

A small number of other brick, or brick and rubble, foundations assigned to this period were recorded, but they were extremely fragmentary and have been omitted from Fig 12. They presumably represent tiny portions of post-Fire foundations. The only exception, shown on Fig 12, was a wall at least 4m long, running west from the Bow Lane frontage and forming the boundary between the 19th-century buildings of 11 and 12/13 Bow Lane. It was built of early post-Fire bricks and reused greensand blocks (not

Fig 9. Watling Court: the site during excavation, looking east. Various stone and brick cesspits are shown (compare Figs 10–13). Scale is 10 × 100mm units.





Fig 10. Watling Court: stone-lined cesspit Pit 153, looking east; scale is 5 × 100mm units.

retrieved) in a light grey charcoal-flecked mortar which is characteristic of post-Fire buildings. This wall was recorded during the watching brief during demolition which preceded the excavation, and evidently formed an immediately post-Fire boundary which was retained until 1978. Walls of similar character were recorded, during underpinning work in the refurbishment of standing buildings, between 21 and 22 Watling Street, and between 23 and 24 Watling Street. There were also four pits of this phase on the south side of Building 12/13 (Pits 157–60).

A number of pits were assigned to this general period by the excavator; they lay immediately beneath the basement slab, and therefore represent a wide range of dates from otherwise truncated periods of occupation. They included unlined pits, but were mainly brick-lined (Fig 12). Some of these were round, but the majority were rectangular in plan, and were

mainly cesspits. Of the 13 cesspits, Pit 173, lined with both brick and stone, was backfilled by a date in CP15 or later (after 1550); Pit 175 was in use in CP17 (1640–1660) but backfilled in CP19 (1680–1700); Pit 176 was backfilled in CP19 (1680–1700); Pit 174 was in use in CP19 or later (1680–1700 or later); Pit 172 was constructed in CP19 (1680–1700) and in use in CP19–21 (1700–1740); Pit 177 was constructed and used in CP21 (1720–1740). Pits 184–7 were seen in the watching brief (not shown on Fig 12); of these, Pit 182 could be dated to CP17 or later (after 1640–1660). The significance of these pits is limited, but it is possible to see the effect of the Great Fire in Bow Lane, with two cesspits (Pits 175, 176) put out of action, and two others in use during the post-Fire period 1666–1720 (Pits 172 (Fig 13), 174). Whereas it is difficult to assert that the two later pits were new constructions of the post-Fire years, in that they



Fig 11. Watling Court: stone-lined cesspit Pit 152, looking south-west; scale is 5 × 100mm units. The base of the chute from above can be seen in the far corner.

may have been originally pre-Fire and cleaned out after the Fire, the demise of two pre-Fire cesspits does suggest that certain buildings on the site after the Fire were different in plan from their predecessors.

The correspondence of the excavated features with the 1858 ward map, admittedly arranged to give the 'best fit' (Fig 12), suggests that Building 13 formed the lower part of a building in Red Lion Court, behind nos 21–2 Watling Street. At the corner of Bow Lane and Basing Lane (where presumably the extension of Cannon Street in 1852 affected buildings only on the south side of the street), the division between nos 21 and 20 Basing Lane is seen to be based on a medieval (originally probably 12th-century) boundary, the west side of Building 6, whereas other medieval foundations were not retained.

Along Bow Lane, cesspits correspond to numbered properties as follows: Pits 172–4 (material of 1680–1700) in no. 14, Pits 175–8 (material of 1680–1740) in no. 13, and Pit 179 (no datable material) astride the boundary between nos 12 and 13.

Finds assemblages

The detailed grouping of features phase by phase is listed in Appendix 1, and the finds assemblages and dating evidence from the strata comprising features of CP1–6 is described in detail in Appendix 2. Only a moderate number of non-ceramic finds survived to be recovered, and for most periods these are not sufficiently numerous to be diagnostic of activities on the site. Perhaps the best group of finds came from the brief CP4 (1050–1100), where, as a test, the features north and south of a major medieval boundary were considered as potentially separate properties: to the north, Buildings 1–2 and Pits 35, 61, 65, 67, 69, 79 and 93; to the south, Building 3 and Pits 40, 43, 46–7, 51–2, and 62–3. Full details are given in Appendix 2. No significant differences could be observed between the ceramic and finds assemblages of these two potential 'properties'. They both shared the same range of native and foreign pottery types (EMS, ESUR, LSS, STAM, THET; ANDE, BLGR, REDP) and of accessioned finds (stone hones; window glass;

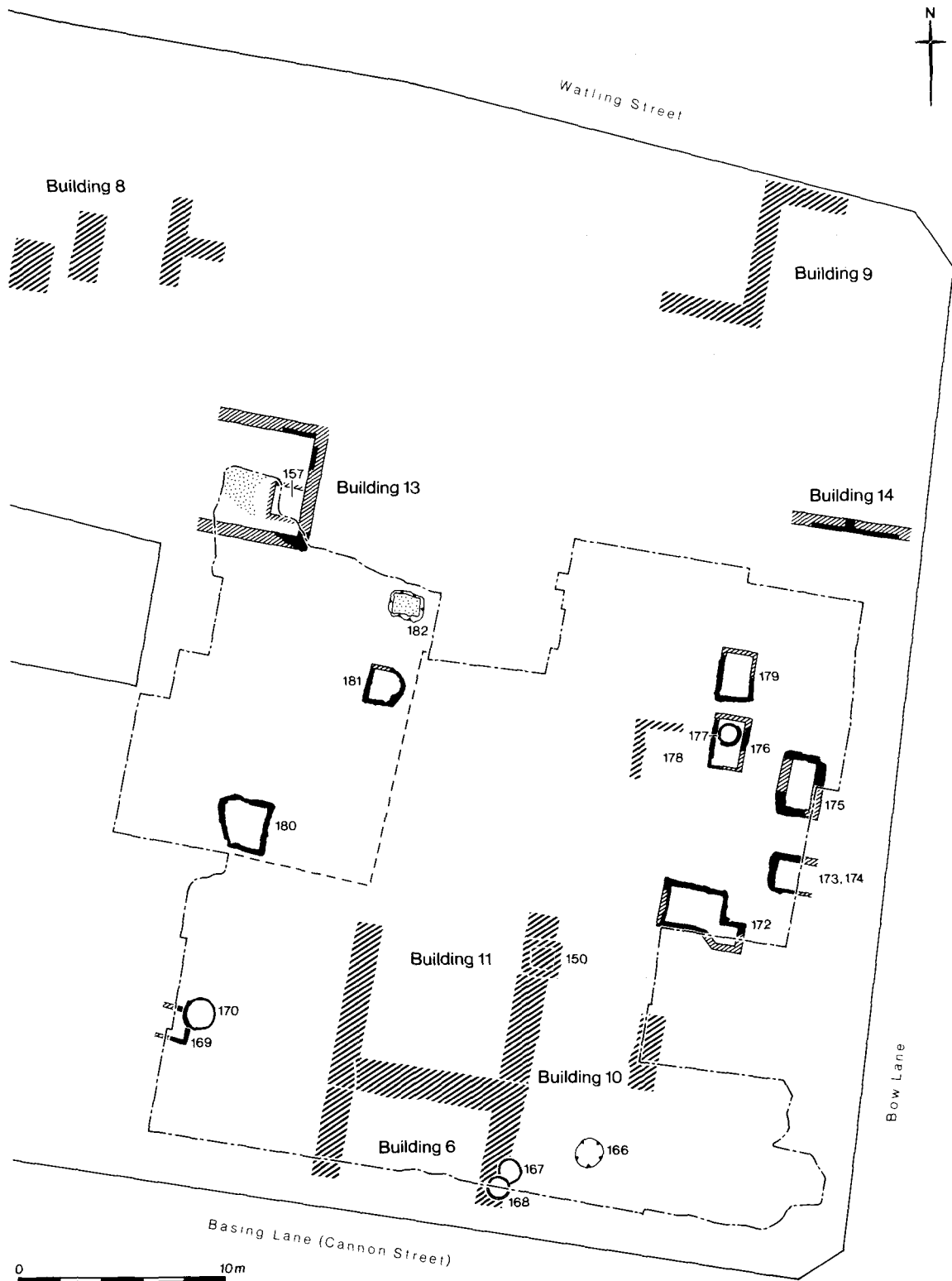


Fig 12a. Watling Court: late medieval and post-medieval features (1400–1700; 1:300).

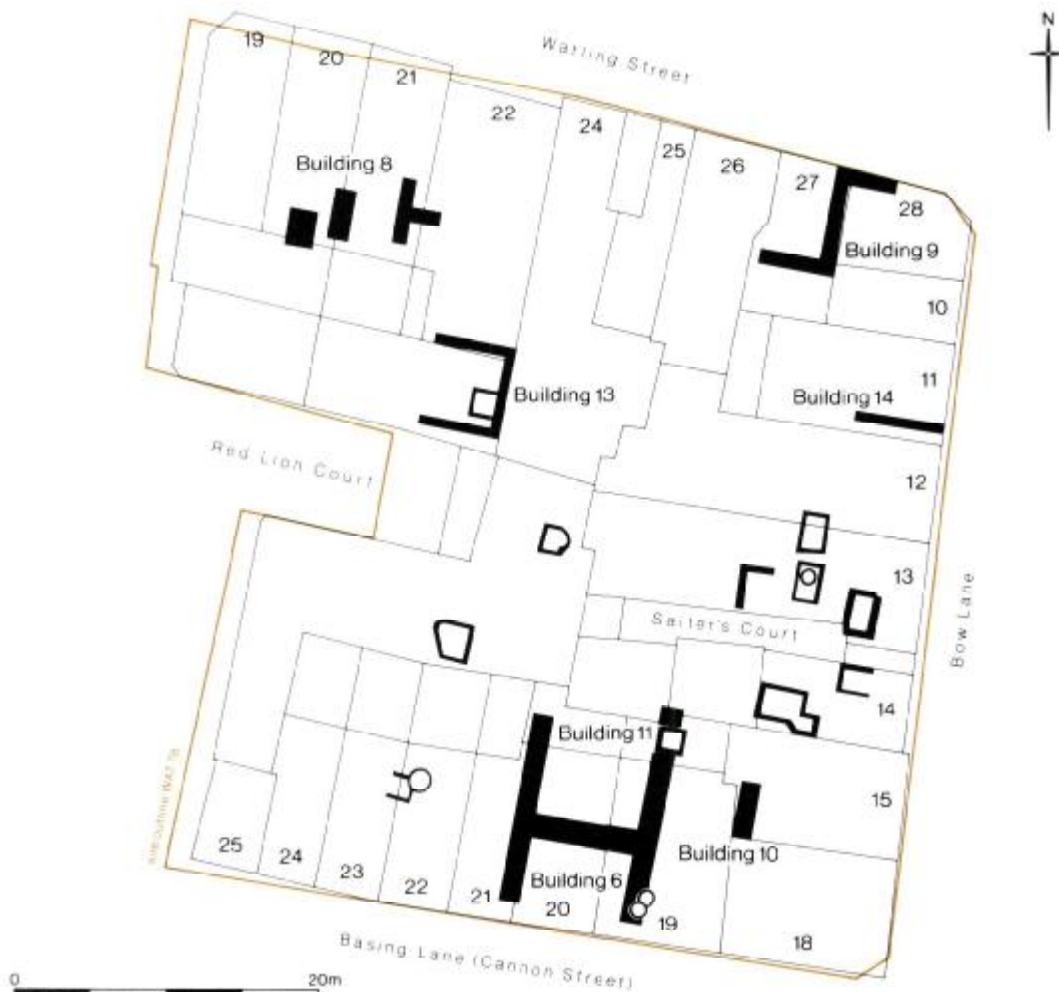


Fig 12b. Watling Court: property boundaries of 1850 (1:500).

pigment samples on oyster shells; wool cloth; and bone objects).

The Watling Court archaeological sequence is summarised in Fig 14.

**NOTES TO WATLING COURT
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY**

- ¹ Perring & Roskams 1991.
- ² Hereman *et al* 1988; for the finds and environmental evidence on these and other Saxon sites, including those in the present study, see Vince 1991.
- ³ *Ibid.* 61 (building WAT 4).
- ⁴ *Ibid.* 56 (building WAT 1).
- ⁵ *Ibid.* 56-7 (building WAT 2).
- ⁶ *Ibid.* 57-61 (building WAT 3).

Watling Court documentary evidence

Colin Taylor

Introduction
(Figs 15-16)

The Watling Court site lay within the area bounded by Watling Street on the north, Cannon Street (formerly Basing Lane) on the south, Bow Lane (formerly Cordwainer Street) on the east and Bread Street on the west. The excavated site lay to the east of Watling Court (formerly Red Lion Court) mainly on the south side (see Fig 13). In the medieval period an extensive and complex



Fig 13. Watling Court: brick-lined cesspit Pit 172, which replaced stone-lined Pit 151, looking east; the earlier pit survived only as a fragment of walling on the left. Scale is 10 × 100mm units.

central tenement (1, known as *la Rouge Sale* by the end of the 13th century) formed a striking feature of the topography of this area to the east of Watling Court. By the early 14th century three tenements (9–11) lay to the north of the *Rouge Sale* along Watling Street, immediately to the east of the entry to the property. To the east of these lay a tenement (8) which extended to the corner with Cordwainer Street. Between this tenement on the north and the corner tenement of Cordwainer Street and Basing Lane on the south (4), there were three tenements (5–7). The *Rouge Sale* abutted east on the largest and most southerly of these (5), as well as on 8b. Three tenements (2, 3 and 4) lay to the south of the *Rouge Sale* in Basing Lane, one (2) in the parish of St Mildred Bread Street, and the other two (3) and (4) in the parish of St Mary Aldermary.

To the west of this area, at the corner of Bread Street and Watling Street, lay the church of All Hallows Bread Street, to the south of which were two large tenements abutting west on the street and east on the *Rouge Sale*. Both of these properties were to be acquired by the Salters' Company. The more northerly (known as *le Cardynaleshat* in the 14th century and as *le Chastell* by the early 15th century) was rebuilt c. 1455; it comprised six dwelling-houses (*mansiones*) and the

Ceramic Phase	Watling Court
1	850–1020 pits including cesspits on Bow Lane; existence of Basing Lane not certain ?Building 4 of this phase
2	1000–1030 ?Building 4 of this phase no pits recorded
3	1020–1050 disuse of Building 4 pits
4	1050–1100 Buildings 1–3, 25 pits including cesspits and wattle-lined pits: ?barrel-well Buildings 1–3, 5 abandoned by end of phase Basing Lane more likely in this phase
5	1100–1150 cesspits, timber-lined well and possible ground-level structure; possibly Building 6
6	1150–1180 stone Building 6 on Basing Lane stone Building 7 in centre of site stone Buildings 8–9 on Watling St pits
7–11	1180–1400 stone Building 10 on Basing Lane stone Building 11 on Basing Lane Building 7 extended as Building 12 stone lined cesspits, soakaway
12–21	1400–1740 Building 13 brick-lined cesspits, wells Great Fire of 1666; detectable post-Fire boundaries on medieval ones

Fig 14. Watling Court: archaeological sequence summary.

company hall (*una aula vocatur Saltershalle*). The property adjoining south was known by the later 14th century as *le Ledeneporche* and by the early 15th century as the tenement or inn (*hospicium*) called *le George on the Hoop*. To the south of this lay another property which extended to the corner with Basing Lane; this corner property was acquired by the cathedral church of St Paul in the early 14th century. Finally, one further tenement was situated between this corner tenement and tenement 2 in Basing Lane.

Before c. 1270 about half of this entire area was in the possession of Robert de Ware and Agnes, his wife. This large block of property comprised two tenements in Bread Street, *ie* the brewhouse later known as *le Ledeneporche* and the tenement adjoining it on the south side, a large garden area (corresponding to 1 as later established) to the east of the brewhouse, and a tenement in Watling Street (corresponding to

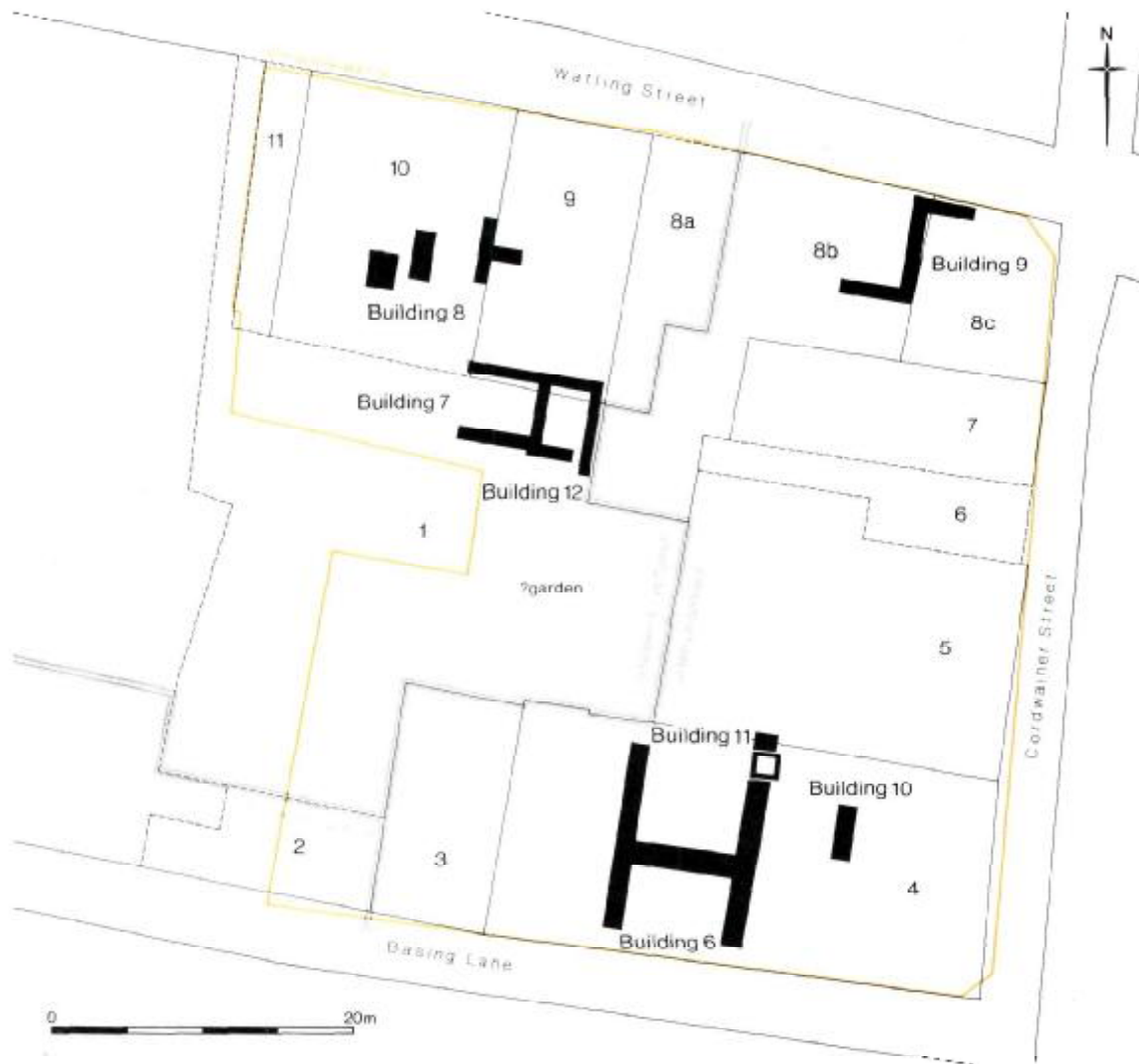


Fig. 15. *Watling Court: property boundaries c. 1300 from documentary evidence, with Buildings 6–12 shown in outline (c. 1500).*

9–11). After c. 1272 as this estate was disposed of, smaller freehold units came to be established. Thus the bulk of the de Ware property, which was conveyed to William de Kauce in c. 1272 and by 1298 held as two distinct tenements (the brewhouse in Bread Street and 1, *la Rouge Sole*). Similarly the property belonging to Robert and Agnes in Watling Street was, between c. 1272 and 1281, established as three separate freehold units (9, 10, and 11). The creation of smaller freeholds can be identified elsewhere in this area. In c. 1270 Hugh Moton was probably in

possession of all of the property in Cordwainer Street between tenement 8 and tenement 4; before 1290, three separate units (5, 6 and 7) had been established. And in 1298 tenements 2 and 3, which since c. 1270 had been associated in the successive ownership of William de Waltham and Alar, the little, were formally divided and subsequently descended independently. By c. 1300, then, the pattern of tenements 2–11 ranged around the *Rouge Sole*, 1, was established (see Fig. 15). Further changes were made in the course of the 14th century and later. In the mid 14th

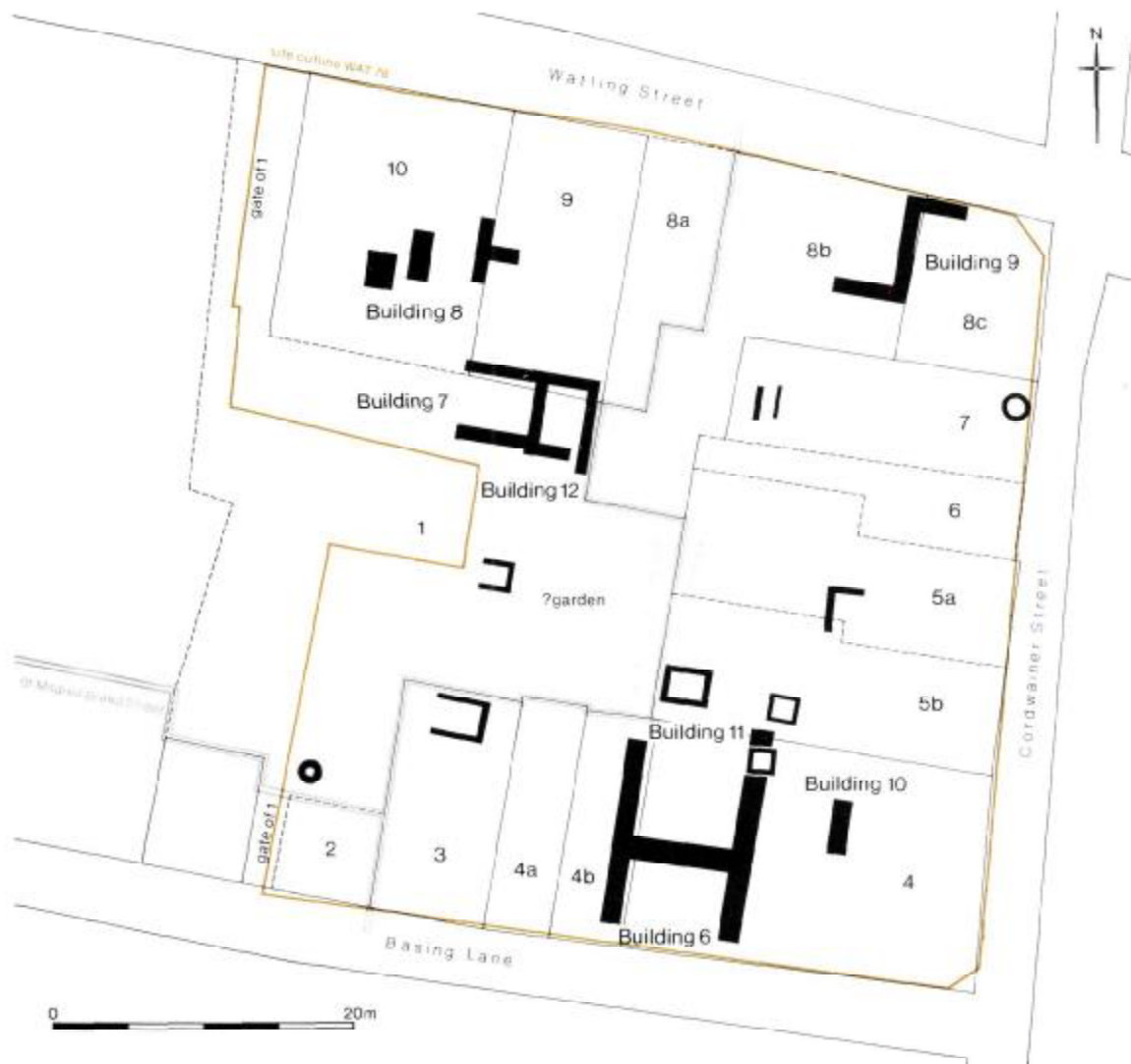


Fig. 16. Wailing Court: property boundaries c. 1450 from documentary evidence, with Buildings 6–12 shown in outlines (1:500).

century tenement 5 was divided to make two properties of equal size, and in the early 1370s the tenement in the parish of St Mary Aldermary forming the central part of 8 (ie 8b) was conveyed as a separate entity. Finally, in the century following 1413, 4a was held as a separate property. The layout of properties c. 1450 is shown in Fig 16.

From the detailed description of the premises given in the mid 15th century, it is clear that the central tenement, *la Rouge Saie*, was of impressive size and elaborate layout. Evidently the buildings

(a great parlour, a great chamber with chapel, a great hall, etc) were ranged around the inner and outer courtyards, and it is clear that the garden lay in the south-east part of the property. For how long this arrangement had been established is not known, but it is clear that from the early 14th century the *Rouge Saie* attracted a succession of residents of some distinction, many of whom were civic office-holders, including Richard de Retoigne, Nicholas Crane and Thomas Dolvaly. Clearly the property afforded these and others the space and relative seclusion which they

desired, at a convenient distance from the more confined conditions of Cheapside. It seems, however, that the *Rouge Sale* was untypical of the properties that surrounded it, which were more modest establishments. A number of these properties were associated with the provision of basic services. Tenement **3** evidently functioned as a bakehouse from the end of the 13th century onwards, while **8b** (*le Holceler*) and tenement **10** (as well as *le Ledeneporche* in Bread Street) are all identified as brewhouses in the early 14th century; part of **4**, *le Keye on the Hope*, was also functioning as a brewhouse in the 1430s. By the mid 14th century, and perhaps earlier, part of **2** was probably operating as a forge. Other properties are more difficult to characterise but of the tenements on Cordwainer Street all but one are recorded as having shops; it is very likely that there was a continuous row of shops along the street front. We know the occupations of only a few of the residents of these and the other properties ranged around the *Rouge Sale*, but a variety of trades is represented. On the basis of rather limited evidence, it does not appear that this area was distinctively associated with particular trades or crafts. By the mid 14th century the brewhouse and shops comprising most of tenement **8** were in a ruinous state, and tenement **5b** was probably also dilapidated by this date. Both **8b** and **5b** were rebuilt in the 1370s. In the mid 1450s tenement **4a** was ruinous as also perhaps its neighbour, **4**.

By the early 16th century much of the property in this area had passed into corporate ownership. The Salters' Company acquired **1** (as well as the tenements adjoining it on the west side); the Skinners' Company was in possession of the whole of **4** in Basing Lane and Cordwainer Street, as well as of **10** in Watling Street; while the Drapers' Company was in possession of **5a**. The hospital of St Thomas of Acre acquired **2** by the end of the 15th century, while **6** had been in the possession of the church of St Mary Aldermary from 1361.

Tenement **1**

In *c.* 1270 this property in the parish of All Hallows Bread Street (later identified as *la Rouge Sale*) was associated with, or was part of, the property adjoining it on the west side which extended to the frontage of Bread Street. By the

end of the 13th century, however, two clearly defined properties can be identified, which subsequently descended independently.

Before 1272 the joint property was in the possession of Robert de Ware and Agnes, his wife; it had previously belonged to Gervase Barn, tawyer, citizen of London. Robert and Agnes granted the property to William de Kancia, mercer; the premises comprised their messuage and tenement in the parish of All Hallows in *Bredstrate*, the gate (and solar above) on the north side of the premises giving access to Watling Street, and a garden and chapel situated towards the east of the property.¹ In his will enrolled in February 1272 William de Kancia assigned his house in *Bredstrate* to be sold by his executors for the payment of his creditors.² Accordingly the property, viz all that capital messuage with appurtenances in *Bredstrate*, was sold to Henry le Waleys, citizen of London.³ Henry disposed of the property as two separate units (*ie* the Bread Street tenement and the *Rouge Sale*) both of which he appears to have let. Before 1298, and possibly soon after 1272, Walter le Waleys, citizen of London, Henry's father, was in possession of the Bread Street property; presumably Henry had demised it to him.⁴ In March 1289 Simon Trenchant, William de Knaresbourk, Henry de Ware and Robert the tailor, of the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate, recognised that they were held to Henry le Galeys [Waleys] in 8½ marks (£5 13s 4d) 'for the hiring (*conduccion*) of the house called *Redehalle*'; payment was to be made in quarterly instalments of 28s 4d.⁵ Whether Henry had leased **1** prior to this date is not known. In addition to **1**, which Henry le Waleys held between *c.* 1272 and 1298, by 1273 he acquired **9** in Watling Street, abutting south in **1**.⁶ By 1281 le Waleys had disposed of **9**⁷ but by the same date was in possession of **11** in Watling Street, which likewise abutted south on **1**.⁸ He may have acquired **11** to facilitate access to **1**. Though le Waleys appears to have disposed of **11** (by 1298 it is described as the tenement of Ralph Scot),⁹ its later descent is consistently associated with that of **1** and by the early 14th century may be regarded as an annexe of it.

In April 1298 Henry le Waleys granted **1**, as the tenement called *la Rouge Sale* with the gate on the north side and whatever the grantor had in lands, buildings, gardens, enclosures, *etc.*, to Lady Gertrude de Colon' (of Cologne) and to Peter and Herman, her sons, citizens of London.

The grantees paid Henry 200 marks sterling (£133 6s 8d).¹⁰ In 1302 and again in 1311 the property is described as the tenement of Manekyn (alias Herman) le Heaumer (*ie* helmet-maker, armourer).¹¹ In April 1316 Herman le Heaumer, citizen of London (*ie* Herman son of Gertrude), granted the *Rouge Sale* with the gate on the north side to Richard de Betoigne, pepperer and citizen of London.¹² In June 1322 Herman quitclaimed to Richard all his right in the same property.¹³ It is possible that during the period 1298 to 1316 when the *Rouge Sale* was in the possession of Gertrude de Colon' and her sons, the family practised the trade of arms making on or near the premises. One of the properties adjoining on the south side (2) was known from the later 14th century as *le Forge* (a farrier is associated with the property in the 1380s). Whether 2 had functioned as a forge in the earlier period, however, is not known, nor whether the Colon' family acquired any interest in the property.

In January 1323 Richard de Betoigne acquired 2,¹⁴ and by 1327 was in possession of 1.¹⁵ He thus possessed three adjoining properties extending from Watling Street on the north to Basing Lane on the south. Richard de Betoigne was probably resident in the *Rouge Sale*. He was alderman of the ward of Vintry between 1322 and 1326 and of Bread Street between 1326 and 1333. He served as mayor in 1326–7 and was appointed joint constable of the Tower in the same year. He was one of the MPs for the City in 1328. Betoigne played a prominent part in civic and national affairs in the closing year of the reign of Edward II. With John de Gisors, he was a leading supporter of Queen Isabel.¹⁶ In May 1338 Richard granted the *Rouge Sale* to Nicholas Crane, citizen and merchant of London.¹⁷ Crane acquired 2 in May 1341.¹⁸ In his testament dated 15 April 1342, Nicholas bequeathed 1 and 2 to Katherine, his wife, for the term of her life; thereafter they were to be sold by his executors. Nicholas was resident in 1 at the time he made his will.¹⁹ He was alderman of the ward of Aldersgate between 1336 and 1342, and served as sheriff in 1337–8. Crane was a butcher, admitted to the freedom in 1312 and in 1319 sworn to survey meat at Cheapside; the bulk of his property lay in the parish of St Nicholas in the Shambles.²⁰ In March 1351 Crane's executors, together with Nicholas Poure, Katherine's (?) second husband, sold the *Rouge Sale* and tenement 2 to Thomas Dolsaly, citizen

and pepperer of London, and to Joan, his wife, for a certain large sum of money.²¹ Shortly afterwards, in December 1352, Thomas and Joan acquired 10 in Watling Street abutting south and west on 1/11.²² By the early 1350s, then, Dolsaly was in possession of 1/11, 2, and 10. It seems likely that about this date the entry to 1 from Basing Lane through tenement 2 was established. The gate (or great gate) in Basing Lane is first mentioned in Dolsaly's charter of 1362; the same deed takes proper account of this addition by describing 1 as lying in the parish of All Hallows Bread Street and St Mildred. Thomas Dolsaly, merchant of London, was alderman of Cordwainer ward between 1355 and c. 1360 and was sheriff in 1356–7. He was a Member of Parliament for London in 1350, 1353, 1354 and 1358. Dolsaly was a pepperer and in 1353–4 served as first warden of the Fraternity of St Antonin. Later, however, he is on occasion recorded as a wool-merchant (*lanarius*).²³

In December 1362 Thomas Dolsaly, merchant of London, granted 1, here called *la Redehalle*, to William de Glendale, citizen and *brouderer* (embroiderer) of London, which property William then occupied and the grantor had formerly dwelt in. Tenement 2 was specifically excepted from the grant.²⁴ For a little over the next century, the *Redehalle* passed to the descendants of William de Glendale.

In his testament dated 24 August 1368 William de Glendale bequeathed all his lands and tenements in London to his wife Agnes for life, with remainder to his children.²⁵ In March 1374 Robert Litle, citizen and fishmonger of London, and Joan, his wife, formerly wife of the late Thomas Dolsaly, quitclaimed to Roger atte Chaumbre and Agnes, his wife, formerly wife of the late William de Glendale, all their right in 1.²⁶ By December 1392 Sir John Chaumbre, knight, husband of Joan daughter of William de Glendale, was in possession of 1 (evidently by right of his wife).²⁷ Before 1405 Sir John Chaumbre of Lillingstone Lovell, Oxfordshire, and his wife Joan leased 1 to Robert Harengy, citizen and mercer of London; he was resident in the property. Thereafter they demised it to Christopher Tildeslee, citizen and goldsmith of London, who likewise lived there. In June 1405 the same John and Joan granted the property to Tildeslee, on the surrender of his former lease; for the first four years of his possession Tildeslee was to pay the grantors, their heirs and assigns,

a rose at Midsummer, for the next 21 years 12 marks sterling (£8) *pa*, and thereafter, for ever, 20 marks sterling (£13 6s 8d) *pa*.²⁸ It appears, however, that Tildeslee either did not acquire or subsequently surrendered the freehold to 1. Thus in 1407 and 1410 the property is described as of Sir John Chaumbre, knight, and again in 1410 as 'the tenement which Christopher Tildisley goldsmith now holds'.²⁹ By June 1413 the property was in the possession of William Chaumbre, esquire (William was evidently a kinsman of Sir John Chaumbre; Sir John's son and heir was Roger Chaumbre).³⁰ In 1427 the property is described as the tenement lately of William Glendale, now of the heirs of Roger Chaumbre.³¹ By 1438 Ralph Holand, citizen and tailor of London, was tenant and occupant of 1; he may well have held the property until his death in 1452.³² Holand was alderman of the ward of Bread Street between *c.* 1435 and 1444 and served as sheriff in 1429–30. He was an auditor of the City in 1434–5 and was master of the tailors in 1419–20.³³ Holand was succeeded by Thomas Loughton, citizen and tailor of London, who is mentioned as occupant in 1456 and again in 1460.³⁴

By March 1439 1 was in the joint possession of John fitz Symond, knight, and John Nudgate, gentleman;³⁵ the former was the husband of Mary, one of the daughters and heirs of Roger Chaumbre, esquire, and the latter the husband of Katherine, the other of the daughters and heirs of Roger. In 1453–54 the property was formally divided between John fitz Symond, knight, and Richard Nudgate, esquire, the son and heir of Katherine (as above). Richard was assigned the whole outer *sporta* (? courtyard), with the gate and the chambers above, abutting on Watling Street on the north side, together with the inner *sporta* abutting on the inner gate, and half of the inner *sporta* along its whole length. He was also to have a certain great parlour with all the houses, butteries, chambers above and passages (*tresanciis*) belonging to the parlour. Finally, he was assigned a great chamber with a chapel therein, with a cellar beneath and a lower chamber, just as they were situated in length on the east and west sides, together with all the gutters, lights, watercourses and all other easements belonging to his part. Sir John was assigned all the entrance with the great gate abutting on Basing Lane on the south, also the great hall with the cellar beneath and the buttry

and kitchen pertaining to it, together with all the chambers and houses situated on the south side of the property. In addition Sir John was to have half of the inner *sporta*, two parlours (one upper, one lower) with the chambers above situated on the south side together with all the garden belonging to the property and the gutters, lights, *etc* belonging to his part. This partition was ratified by John fitz Symond, knight, and Robert fitz Symond, esquire, his son and heir, on the one party and Richard Nudgate, esquire, on the other, in August 1458.³⁶

By 1466 it appears that Robert Basset (salter), citizen and alderman of London, had acquired both parts of the tenement lately comprising 1. In May of that year Robert fitz Symond, esquire, quitclaimed to Basset, then in full possession of the property, all his right in the premises.³⁷ Subsequently Robert Basset and John Aleyn, citizen and goldsmith of London, enfeoffed John Dorne, chaplain, of the northern tenement (as determined in 1453/4) who in turn leased the same to Elizabeth Nayler, widow, John Petyt of the Isle of Thanet, Kent, gentleman, Hugh Pemberton, citizen and tailor of London, and John Nethersole, gentleman. The lease was made for the term of Elizabeth's life with remainder to Robert Basset, William Horne, Richard Chawry and Robert Forster, gentleman, to the use of Basset and his heirs.³⁸ Following the grant of this lease, Robert Basset married Elizabeth Nayler; Robert died in 1484.³⁹ Already having a life interest in the northern tenement, Elizabeth was evidently to acquire the same in the southern tenement, and thus an interest in the entire property as formerly constituted.

In July 1487 Robert Basset, citizen of London, son and heir of Robert Basset, citizen and alderman of London, deceased, sold 1 to William Horne (salter), citizen and alderman of London. The property is described as all the lands, tenements and rents which belong to Robert Basset, the son, or to any other to his use in demesne or remainder, in the parish of All Hallows in the ward of Cordwainer Street and in the parish of St Mildred in the ward of Bread Street, between Watlyngstrete on the north and Basyngstreet on the south.⁴⁰ In August of the same year Robert granted the property, with another tenement in the parish of St Mildred, to the same William Horne and to others.⁴¹ Though not specifically mentioned, these transactions

evidently respected Elizabeth Basset's life interest in the premises.

A decade later, in September 1497, the same Elizabeth, now styled Lady Elizabeth Neville, Lady Bergavenny, widow, John Petyt, Hugh Pembertone and John Nethersole leased **1** for the term of Elizabeth's life to John Bretone, William Smyth, William Maryner, Richard Gaunt, John Templeman, William Hawkyns, Reginald Hawkyns, Richard Marsham and Nicholas Waryng (salters). The property is described as 'a great plot with appurtenances formerly two tenements'. It had a great alley and a great gate opening onto Watling Street; over the gate was a house with a hall, kitchen, chamber and garret. The gate and alley measured 16½ in breadth. Evidently tenement **11**, long associated with **1**, had been utilised to create this broad entry. At the time when the lease was made, William Purches, mercer and alderman of London, had recently held and occupied tenement **1**; before Purches, Robert Colwyche, alderman of London, had been resident.⁴² Robert Colwyche, tailor, was alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without between 1474 and 1476 and of Coleman Street between 1476 and 1480. He served as sheriff in 1475–6 and was chamberlain of the City between 1463 and 1474. He was an auditor of the City between 1477 and 1479 and had been master of the tailors in 1460–61.⁴³ Robert died in 1480. His successor as occupant of **1**, William Purches, was alderman of the ward of Dowgate between 1492 and 1498 and of the ward of Cheap between 1498 and 1502; he served as sheriff in 1492–3 and was mayor in 1497–8. Purches was an auditor of the City between 1483 and 1485, was chamberlain of the City between 1484 and 1492 and master of the mercers in 1494.⁴⁴

In February 1505, at the request of the executors of William Horne, knight, Richard Chawry, alderman, citizen of London, made a testament concerning the disposition of properties, including **1**, formerly belonging to Horne. Accordingly, he bequeathed **1**, now called *le Rede Lyon*, to the Salters' Company.⁴⁵

Tenement **2**

Before 1272 this property situated in Basing Lane in the parish of St Mildred Bread Street was probably associated with tenement **3** in the parish of St Mary Aldermary; it was in the possession

of William de Waltham.⁴⁶ Before 1281 Lady Ducea de Beverle, formerly William's widow, held it in her name⁴⁷. By 1295 Alan the little, baker, had acquired the property, having bought **3** before 1281.⁴⁸ In his testament enrolled in March 1295 Alan bequeathed three messuages, viz **2**, **3** and the property adjoining **2** on the west side, to his wife Katherine for the term of her life, with remainder to his daughters. **3** was charged with an annual payment of 29s 5½d, and the two properties in the parish of St Mildred with payments of 29s 5½d and 29s 5¼d, making a total of £4 8s 4¼d. Out of this sum Katherine was to pay 5 marks and 20d (£3 8s 4d) yearly to the rector and four parishioners of the church of St Mildred, and 20s to John de Gisorz.⁴⁹

In November 1298 tenements **2** and **3** were divided between Agnes and Joan, daughters of Alan the little, and their respective husbands Adam de Gatesdene (alias Silves), citizen and corn-dealer of London, and Henry de Wayvdone (alias le Coupere) citizen and baker of London. Adam and Agnes were assigned **2** in the parish of St Mildred Bread Street. The property measured 50ft 7½in on the street side, 21ft in breadth on the east side, 21ft 9in by the post of the entrance of the said Adam and Agnes (?on the west side) and 34ft along the north side. Henry and Joan were assigned tenement **3** in the parish of St Mary Aldermary. They were made solely responsible for performing the yearly services due to the chief lords and in addition were to pay 22s 9¼d to the church of St Mildred from every of the tenements in Basing Lane formerly belonging to Alan the little 'according to the tenor of seisin which the said church had prior to the making of these presents'. Further, since tenement **3** was deemed to be worth more than tenement **2**, the difference being assessed at 1 mark (13s 4d) annual quit-rent, Henry and Joan and their heirs were bound to pay Adam and Agnes and their heirs the said yearly rent.⁵⁰

Immediately after the division of the tenements, Adam and Agnes granted to Richard le Barber, citizen and corn-dealer of London, the one mark annual quit rent due to them from **3**.⁵¹ Before 1303 Adam and Agnes demised **2** to John de Wavendone and Margaret, his wife. In February 1303 Adam and Agnes conceded to Lady Margery de Basingges, widow of Sir Robert de Basingges, knight, and to Reginald, their son, 4 marks (53s 4d) annual quit-rent issuing to the grantors from **2**. The concession was made for a

term of 12 years, for the 48 marks (£32) which Margaret and Reginald paid Adam and Agnes for their use.⁵²

In January 1323 Adam de Gatesdene and Agnes his wife granted **2** to Richard de Betoigne, citizen of London (the latter having already acquired **1** in 1316).⁵³ Betoigne was in possession of **2** until his death in 1341. In his testament of February 1341 Richard de Betoigne bequeathed to Henry de Rokyngham for the term of his life a certain shop, with solar above, belonging to tenement **2**. The shop with solar was situated next to the tenement of William de Bradburne, baker, *ie* **3**, to the east and the testator's other shop with solar, to the west. Henry was to pay 12s yearly to a chantry in the church of St Mildred, of the 22s 4d yearly payment with which the whole of **2** was charged. Further, Richard bequeathed to Henry a solar above a stable situated behind the said two shops and solars. Finally, Betoigne instructed that the whole of **2** (together with the reversion of the shop and solars bequeathed to Rokyngham) should be sold by his executors within a year of his death.⁵⁴ Thus in May 1341 the said executors granted **2** to Nicholas Crane, citizen and alderman of London, and to Katherine, his wife (Nicholas had already acquired **1** from Betoigne in 1338).⁵⁵

In his testament of April 1342 Crane made provision that **2** should be sold by his executors, following the death of his wife.⁵⁶ In March 1351 Nicholas Poure, Katherine's (?) second husband, with Crane's executors, sold **2** (together with **1**) to Thomas Dolsaly, citizen and pepperer of London, and to Joan, his wife.⁵⁷ Before June 1366 Thomas Dolsaly, citizen and wool-merchant of London, granted **2** to Henry de Yerdele, citizen and fellmonger of London. By this date the property evidently lay in two parts, separated by the entry to tenement **1** from Basing Lane, so that the tenement called *le Forge* lay to the west of the gate (*porta*) of William Glendale, and the two shops to the east.⁵⁸ It is not known for how long prior to this date **2** had operated as a forge (see above under **1**).

In his testament of May 1368 Henry de Yerdele bequeathed properties, including **2**, to Sabina, his wife, for the term of her life; thereafter they were to be sold by his executors.⁵⁹ In March 1380 William Brycles and Robert Corn, Henry's executors, duly sold to John Clerk, poulterer, and Thomas Pathorn the tenement called *le Forge* with the two shops belonging to it.

Clerk and Pathorn were granted seisin of the property, though the purchase was made to the use of William Braynte, citizen and farrier (*ferroure*) of London. In May 1380 Pathorn quitclaimed to Clerk all his right in **2**. Shortly afterwards, in July 1381, John Clerk granted the property to William Braynte but no seisin was delivered, which continued in the hands of Clerk. Subsequently, in May 1386, Braynte quitclaimed to Clerk all his right in **2**.⁶⁰ In his testament of August 1397 John Clerk, citizen and poulterer, bequeathed **2** to Agnes, his daughter, the wife of Robert de Beteyn, goldsmith, (a descendant of Richard de Betoigne) and to her heirs. The testament specified that if Agnes died without heirs the property was to pass to the testator's son, Richard Clerk, grocer, and his heirs, and that if he died without heirs, to the rector and four parishioners of the church of St Mildred Bread Street, who were to sell the premises and use the proceeds for pious uses.⁶¹ It appears that **2** passed to Agnes's descendants for the greater part of the following century.

In 1460 Thomas Loughtone, citizen and tailor of London (then occupant of **1**), was in possession of **2**.⁶² In April 1492 William Langford, esquire, and Margaret, his wife, daughter and heir of John Beteigne and kinswoman and heir of Thomas Beteigne alias Melton, quitclaimed all their right and interest in **2** (described as three messuages in Basing Lane) and in five other messuages in Cheap ward, to Richard Hyll of London, gentleman, William Martyn, Richard Heigham, Thomas Frowyke, Thomas Wyndowte, John Shaa and John Storke, for the sum of £269; the release was made to the use of Richard Hyll for fulfilling his last will.⁶³ The three messuages clearly relate to the three parts, the tenement and two shops, which comprised tenement **2** in the earlier period. In November 1501 Frowyke, Storke and Shaa quitclaimed their right in the eight messuages to William Martyn.⁶⁴ In his testament of August 1505 William Martyn, citizen and alderman, bequeathed the eight messuages to the master and brothers of the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre in fulfilment of the last will of Richard Hyll. Of the three messuages in Basing Lane, two were held and occupied by John Sympson, pewterer, and lay to the east of the entry to **1**; the third messuage lay to the west of the entry.⁶⁵ In October 1514 William Langford of London, gentleman, son and heir of William Langford, esquire, and of

Margaret, his wife, quitclaimed to the master and brothers of the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre all right which he had in the eight messuages as above, including the three messuages in Basing Lane comprising tenement 2.⁶⁶ In a deed of April 1516, 2 is described as the tenement with appurtenances belonging to the master and brothers of the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre.⁶⁷ The property remained in the possession of the hospital until its dissolution in 1538; in the *valor* of the hospital's estate, dated October 1538, the property in Basing Lane was valued at 63s 4d *pa.*⁶⁸

Tenement 3

Before 1272 this property in Basing Lane in the parish of St Mary Aldermary was in the possession of William de Waltham.⁶⁹ Subsequently William sold it to Alan the little, baker. Before May 1281 Thomas de Estchep and Joan, his wife, daughter of William de Waltham, granted and quitclaimed to William de Dunolm' all their right in 3, described as a certain plot of land in *Basingelane*. The plot measured 25ft 6in along the street side, 25ft 11in along the north side and 51ft along the east and west sides.⁷⁰ Alan the baker is recorded as in possession of 3 in 1283, when he acquired a leasehold interest in part of 4.⁷¹ He disposed of property 3 *inter alia* in his testament enrolled in March 1295.⁷² (For the terms of his testament and the subsequent division of tenements 2 and 3, see the account above under 2.)

Before February 1302 Henry le Coupere, baker of London, and Joan, his wife, leased tenement 3, described as all their bakehouses with the utensils ... and other appurtenances (*totes leur mesouns de Pestrine ove les ustilemez ... e ove les altres apertenances*) to Roger le Paulmer, corn-dealer of London; he was to hold the premises for 13 years, the term beginning at Easter 1302. For this lease Roger gave Henry and Joan a certain sum of money.⁷³ Before 1323 Henry le Coupere, citizen and baker of London, and Joan his wife, daughter of Alan the little, granted 3 to Simon de Paris, citizen and mercer of London.⁷⁴ In his testament of April 1324 Simon bequeathed 3, viz the tenement with the houses built above ... in *Basingeslane* in the parish of St Mary Aldermary, to be sold by his executors.⁷⁵ In January 1325 Simon's executors sold 3 to John de Grantham,

citizen and pepperer of London.⁷⁶ In June 1332 Giles le Coupere, son of Henry le Coupere and Joan his late wife, daughter of Alan the little, quitclaimed to John de Grantham all his right in 3.⁷⁷ In July 1333 John de Grantham granted 3 to John Brabourne (Bradbourne), citizen and baker of London.⁷⁸ In February 1341, 3 is described as the tenement of William de Bradburne, baker (presumably a kinsman of John and perhaps a tenant).⁷⁹ In January 1343 John de Brabourne granted 3 to Edmund de Wyke, citizen and tailor of London.⁸⁰ Subsequently Edmund granted 3 to Geoffrey de Northampton, citizen and lawyer of London, who in November 1345 granted it to John Not, citizen and pepperer of London, and to Juliana his mother.⁸¹ In his testament of March 1370 John instructed that 3 should be sold by his executors.⁸² Accordingly, in October 1372, they sold the property to John Aubrey and William le Venour, citizens of London, and to William Wynde.⁸³

In June 1373 John Aubrey granted to John Wrothe, junior, William Newerke, chaplain, and Robert Pepir all his lands, tenements and rents which he had in the parishes of St Antonin, St Mary Aldermary (evidently including 3), All Hallows Bread Street, St Mildred, St Thomas the Apostle and St Lawrence Jewry.⁸⁴ Shortly afterwards, in January 1374, Wrothe, Newerke and Pepir granted the same lands, tenements and rents to John Aubrey and to Matilda, his wife.⁸⁵ In May 1375 William le Venour and William Wynde quitclaimed to John Aubrey all their right in 3.⁸⁶ In August 1375 John Aubrey sold 3, described as a bakehouse (*domus pistrine*), to William Haldene, John Philpot, John Fyfyhyde, John Middeltone, Robert Warbultone, John Fourneux, John Ussher, William Waddesworthe, Robert Peper and Nicholas Laurence.⁸⁷ Subsequently (after 1381) Aubrey's widow, Matilda, recovered 3 (and other property) against Haldene *et al* by claiming to hold by virtue of the demise of John Wrothe, junior, and others (see above). In December 1388 John Fyfyhyde, John Furneux, William Waddesworth and Robert Peper (Haldene, Philipot, Middeltone, Warbultone, Ussher and Laurence having died) quitclaimed to John de Monte Acuto, junior, knight (then Matilda's husband) all their right in 3.⁸⁸

In December 1392 John de Monte Acuto, knight, and Matilda, his wife, granted 3, together with other property, to William Dalby of Exton, Thomas Walpole, citizen and salter of London,

John Clerke of Wyssendene, William Walpole, citizen and pepperer of London, Robert Waryn of Exton, John Brokeman and John Walpole, citizen and salter.⁸⁹ In February 1399 Dalby, Clerke, Waryn and Brokeman (Thomas and William Walpole having died) quitclaimed to John Walpole all their right in **3**. Nine years later, in February 1408, John granted the property to Roger Jaket (baker) William Kingescote, Stephen Sedar, fletcher, John Clement, grocer, and Philip Phelipe, fishmonger, citizens of London. In March 1411 Kingescote, Sedar, Clement and Phelipe quitclaimed to Roger Jaket all their right in **3** which, very shortly afterwards, Jaket bequeathed to be sold by his executors. Accordingly, in December 1411, Jaket's executors sold the property to John Hobelle, citizen and baker of London, and to Agnes, his wife.⁹⁰

By June 1453, **3** had come into the possession of John Bythewater, citizen and baker of London.⁹¹ Between 1456 and 1460 John granted the property to Robert Ellesmere, goldsmith, and John Shelley, grocer, citizens of London. In August 1460 Ellesmere and Shelley leased it to Joan, widow of John Bythewater, for the term of her life with remainder to William Chestre, citizen and baker of London.⁹² In 1497 the property belonged to Richard Scopeham, valet of the crown (*valetto corone domini regis*); Thomas Ingram of London, grocer, dwelt there.⁹³ In August 1505 **3** is described as the messuage lately of Richard Scopeham.⁹⁴ In 1516 John Taillour, citizen and fuller of London, held it on lease from William Holys, citizen and mercer of London.⁹⁵ The property was evidently known as the *Three Legs* from the late 15th century.⁹⁶

Tenement 4

Before 1272 this large corner property, situated at the junction of Basing Lane and Cordwainer Street, was in the possession of Stephen, son of Constantine de Derteford alias Stephen Costentin.⁹⁷ In his testament enrolled in March 1280, Stephen bequeathed **4** to his wife Juliana. The property appears to have comprised two houses in Basing Lane (Thomas de Waletone dwelt in one of them) and four shops in Cordwainer Street. Juliana was to have the house occupied by de Waletone and the four shops for the term of her life. Thereafter, they were to

descend to Stephen's daughters Emma, Margery, Sarah, Isabel and Katherine, as Juliana would provide in her will. Juliana was to hold the other house in Basing Lane until Stephen's son, John, reached his majority, and if he died before then she was to hold the house for life and dispose of it among the testator's daughters, as above.⁹⁸ Before November 1283 Peter de Aldham and Sarah, his wife, the daughter of Stephen Costentin, demised to Alan the baker a quarter part of **4**, for a term of 10 years. Alan paid the grantors 14 marks (£9 6s 8d) for the whole of the first eight years of the term and undertook to pay 4 marks (£2 13s 4d) 2 marks yearly, for the last two years.⁹⁹

By 1298 Stephen's daughter, Margery la Veylle alias de Bikenore, was in possession of one or both of the houses in Basing Lane;¹⁰⁰ her sister, Sarah, was probably in possession of the shops in Cordwainer Street. In 1308–9 Margery granted her property in Basing Lane (with other rents and tenements elsewhere) to Peter de Audham and Sarah, his wife, the grantor's sister, in exchange for all their lands, rents and tenements in the vill of Dartford.¹⁰¹ Subsequently, in 1308–9, Sarah widow of Peter de Audham, granted the whole of **4** (with other rents and tenements elsewhere) to Robert de Keleseye, citizen of London; the property is described as all those rents in Cordwainer Street and Basing Lane on each side of the corner between the said lanes in the parish of St Mary Aldermary. Robert was to pay Sarah 16 marks of silver (£10 13s 4d) annual rent for the term of her life and thereafter 100s yearly to Stephen, her grandson, for the term of his life.¹⁰² Robert de Keleseye was in possession of **4** until his death in 1336; he was Recorder of the City.

In his testament of May 1336 Robert bequeathed **4** (all those tenements and rents in Basing Lane and Cordwainer Street) to his wife, Juliana, for the term of her life. From the revenues of the property Juliana was to find sufficient means to enable the testator's son, Peter, to study grammar (*ad vacandum studio gramaticali*); when he was proficient, Juliana was to place him in honest employment. On Juliana's death, the property was to remain to Peter, and if he died without issue thence to the testator's son, John.¹⁰³ In January 1343, **4** was in the possession of Juliana widow of Robert de Kelseye;¹⁰⁴ by 1348 it had passed to Robert's son, John. In his testament of November 1348

John de Kelsey, citizen and goldsmith, bequeathed all his lands, tenements and rents to his wife Roesia for life. On Roesia's death, **4** was to pass to the testator's daughter, Agnes, and if she died without issue it was to revert to his son, John; if both Agnes and John died childless, all the properties bequeathed to them were to revert to the testator's brother, Sir Thomas de Kelesye.¹⁰⁵ By July 1372, **4** was in the possession of Sir Thomas Kelsey, clerk.¹⁰⁶

In his testament of July 1375 Thomas bequeathed lands, tenements and rents in London (evidently including **4**) to be sold by his executors.¹⁰⁷ Accordingly, in October of the same year, the executors sold **4**, all those lands and tenements in Basing lane and Cordwainer Street, to William de Walleworthe, citizen and alderman of London, Simon de Mordone and Henry Yevele, citizens of London.¹⁰⁸ In April 1376 William de Walleworth and Simon de Mordone, citizens and aldermen of London, quitclaimed to Henry Yevele, citizen and mason of London, all their right in **4**.¹⁰⁹ Henry appears to have held **4** until his death in 1400. In his testament of May 1400 Henry Yevele, mason, citizen and freeman of London, bequeathed **4** to his wife Katharine for life; the reversion was to be sold by his executors.¹¹⁰ Before July 1403 Martin Seman, one of Henry's executors, duly sold the reversion to Richard Wynter and John Michelle, citizens and stockfishmongers of London, and the sale was subsequently ratified by Henry's other executors. Later Michelle quitclaimed to Wynter all his right in **4**. On Katharine Yevele's death the property fell to Richard Wynter, who was in possession of the property before June 1410. In June 1410 Wynter granted **4** to John Gay, citizen and joiner of London, to Isabel, his wife, and to Simon Bolde, citizen and joiner of London.¹¹¹ Very soon afterwards, John, Isabel and Simon granted Richard Wynter and Elizabeth, his wife, 12 marks sterling (£8) annual rent from the lands and tenements comprising **4**, to hold during their lifetime.¹¹² Subsequently Simon quitclaimed to John and Isabel all his right in **4**.¹¹³

In June 1413 John and Isabel Gay granted a part of **4** (*ie* a tenement in Basing Lane at the western end of the property) to William Jankyn, citizen and tailor of London, and to Joan, his wife. At the time of the grant, William and Joan already held and occupied the tenement by lease of John Gay. The tenement measured 52ft in length by 14ft in breadth and within it, in a

certain corner on the east side (? north-east) was a small plot of land measuring 5ft 3in (? square) in which there was a privy (*in domo cum latrina*). William and Joan were to pay the grantors 40s sterling annual rent for a period of 19 years following the date of the grant, and 26s 8d sterling in the twentieth year, as well as a customary payment in perpetuity, yearly at All Saints, of fifty pears called *Wardonperes*, for certain quit rents issuing from the property and other of the grantors' tenements.¹¹⁴ After 1413 this tenement descended independently from the rest of **4** (see account under **4a**).

In January 1438 John and Isabel Gay granted another part of **4**, *ie* a tenement in Basing Lane adjoining east on **4a**, to William Hore of Arlington, Sussex, and to Isabel Gay, the grantors' daughter. The property, **4b**, measured 16ft in breadth on Basing Lane by 51ft in length.¹¹⁵ In May 1441 John and Isabel Gay granted to David Overtone, chaplain, and William Bramptone, citizen of London, all their lands and tenements, formerly of Thomas de Kelsey, in Basing Lane and Cordwainer Street.¹¹⁶ Though the terms of this grant are general, we should assume that it applied only to the parts of **4** not already granted, *ie* the brewhouse called *le Keye on the Hope* in Basing Lane and the premises in Cordwainer Street (*ie* tenement **4** on *c.* 1450 plan; see Fig 16). Very shortly afterwards, by a lease made in the same general terms, Overtone and Bramptone restored the lands and tenements to John and Isabel Gay for life. Following their deaths, the premises were to remain to their son-in-law, William Hore, and their daughter, Isabel.¹¹⁷ William and Isabel would thus come into possession of the whole of tenement **4** as comprised after 1413, *ie* all save **4a**.

In July 1452 Isabel, widow of John Gay, granted her lands and tenements in Basing Lane and Cordwainer Street to William and Isabel and surrendered all her interest in the same.¹¹⁸ Very shortly afterwards William Hore and Isabel granted **4** to Joan Creke of London, widow, John Clyff, Thomas Prees and John Bavyne.¹¹⁹ In June 1455 Creke, Prees and Bavyne quitclaimed to John Clyff all their right in **4**, as all those lands and tenements which they had next Basing Lane and Cordwainer Street.¹²⁰ In his testament of July 1455 John Clyff, citizen and Skinner of London, bequeathed **4** to the Skinners' Company.¹²¹ In 1497 it is recorded that tenement **1** abutted south on two tenements pertaining to

the Skinners, then occupied by John Heyward, skinner, and Thomas Baile, mercer; these tenements very probably correspond to those parts of **4** identified above as **4b** and *le Keye on the Hope*.¹²² Before October 1512 tenement **4** was measured by the four masters of the freemasons and carpenters of the City. The property was 'in variance' between the Skinners and Ralph Wylson, citizen and blacksmith of London, then (apparently) in possession of **4a**. The corner property measured 95ft along Basing Lane and 47ft 11in along Cordwainer Street.¹²³

Tenement **4a**

In his testament of April 1437 William Jankyn I, citizen and tailor of London, bequeathed **4a**, to William Jankyn, his son.¹²⁴ In June 1453 William Jankyn II of London, citizen and skinner of London, granted to Thomas Prees, citizen and skinner of London, an annual rent of 34s issuing from **4a**; the property is described as two tenements in Basing Lane.¹²⁵ Subsequently William Jankyn II sold **4a** to Richard Flemmyng, citizen and ironmonger of London; the premises were ruinous (*debilia et ruinosia*) and Jankyn was without means to maintain them.¹²⁶ In May 1456, in completion of the sale, Jankyn granted the property, as all that tenement with the shop, cellars and solars together with a certain small plot of land, to the said Richard Flemmyng, ironmonger, and to Nicholas Marchall, ironmonger, and William Beaufitz, fishmonger, citizens of London.¹²⁷

In March 1473 Nicholas Marchall of London, ironmonger, granted **4a** to Thomas Flemmyng, esquire, son of Richard Flemmyng.¹²⁸ In the same month Thomas granted the property to Sir John Don and Morgan Kydwelly¹²⁹ who, before December 1473, granted it to John Adam, draper, and John Hole, tailor.¹³⁰ In August 1474 Hole quitclaimed to Adam all his right in the property.¹³¹ In February 1479 John Adam, citizen and draper of London, granted **4a** to John Whorton and John Crochard, blacksmiths, to John Clerk, grocer, and Richard Vertycaas, tailor, citizens of London; as a condition of the grant, Whorton was to pay Adam £22, by yearly instalments of 40s.¹³² The subsequent descent of the property is somewhat uncertain. On the one hand it would appear that John Whorton acquired the sole interest. Thus in his testament

of February 1488, Whorton bequeathed the property, as the house in Basing Lane in which he dwells, to his daughter, Alice, wife of Ralph Wylson, for the term of her life with remainder to her son, John, for life and thence to the testator's sister, Elizabeth, for life; thereafter the property was to remain to the fellowship of the blacksmiths of London. Whorton's testament was not proved until 1513, a quarter of a century after it was made.¹³³ In 1497 **4a** is described as the tenement pertaining to John Wartone (Whorton) of London, blacksmith, in which he dwells,¹³⁴ and before October 1512 it was in the possession of his son-in-law Ralph Wylson, citizen and blacksmith of London.¹³⁵ It appears, however, that John Crochard had not entirely relinquished his interest in the property; in fact, in a deed of 1519, it is asserted that following the deaths of John Whorton, John Clerk and Richard Vertycaas, **4a** passed to him. By 1519, however, the parties having an interest in the premises were in agreement regarding the disposal of the property. In May 1519 Crochard's niece and direct heir, Agnes Symson of London, widow, at the request of Ralph, Alice and John Wylson, feoffed John Russell, citizen and skinner of London, of the property.¹³⁶ In June 1519 Ralph, Alice and John quitclaimed to John Russell all their right in the same.¹³⁷ In his testament of October 1519 Russell bequeathed the property to the Skinners' Company.¹³⁸ Tenement **4a** was thus rejoined to **4** under the corporate ownership of the Skinners. The formalities of 1519 appear in fact to have post-dated the acquisition of the property by the Skinners; already, in a deed of April 1516, **4a** is described as 'the tenement lately of John Whorton, formerly citizen and blacksmith of London, deceased, now pertaining to the mystery of the Skinners'.¹³⁹

Tenements **5-7** (Introductory note)

In *c.* 1270 all of the property between **8** on the north and **4** on the south may have been in the possession of one owner, Hugh Moton, though whether the property was held as a single block or as a number of tenements is unclear. By *c.* 1305 three separate properties *ie* **5**, **6** and **7** can be identified.¹⁴⁰ The latter two owed quit rents of 9s and 5s, respectively, to the owner of **5**,¹⁴¹ and it is recorded that Hugh Moton was in

receipt of the rent of 9s during his lifetime.¹⁴² It seems most likely, then, that the separation of the property into three independent units was made by Moton prior to his death *ante* 1290; the most southerly property, **5**, he retained as his dwelling-house.

Tenement **5**

In his testament enrolled in May 1290, Hugh Moton (citizen and pepperer of London) bequeathed **5**, as all that house in which he dwelt, to his son-in-law Simon Godard and his children.¹⁴³ Hugh was chamberlain of the City between *c.* 1277 and 1285, having previously served as joint chamberlain with Stephen de Mundene between *c.* 1274 and 1277. Moton had a shop (presumably in Cordwainer Street) and is known to have dealt in a variety of products including painters' colours, varnish, alum, canvas and basan.¹⁴⁴ In 1333 the property is described as the tenement formerly of William de Bidyk; how and what interest William had acquired in **5** is unclear.¹⁴⁵ In 1336 the property was in the joint possession of John Box I of Pontefract, son of Hamo Box, formerly citizen of London (Hamo had married Hugh Moton's daughter Benedicta) and the heirs of Simon Godard, senior. In July 1336 John Box granted to Stephen de Waltham, son of Hugh de Waltham, formerly citizen of London, and to Joan, the grantor's daughter, Stephen's wife, in free marriage, all his part of **5**, viz a tenement with the houses and shops built above. In addition, John granted to Stephen and Joan 25s 4d annual quitrent to be received from various tenements, including 9s from **6** and 5s from **7**. If Stephen and Joan died without heirs, the property and rents were to revert to the grantor or his heirs.¹⁴⁶

In 1352 **5** was in the joint possession of Stephen de Waltham, citizen of London, and Joan, his wife, and of Simon Bonde, citizen of London, and Joan, his wife. In February 1352 the property was equally divided between the two parties. The northern moiety, **5a**, abutting on **6** along its whole length, was assigned to Stephen and Joan de Waltham; it measured 76ft in length, by 24ft in breadth along the street front, broadening to 28ft in the middle of the property. The southern moiety, **5b**, abutting on **4** along its whole length was assigned to Simon and Joan Bonde; it was the same size as the northern

moiety.¹⁴⁷ Thereafter Stephen de Waltham and Simon Bonde each demised the parts of **5** assigned to them to Roger Rotour and Thomas Bowode, citizens and pepperers of London, for a term of years.¹⁴⁸ The subsequent descent of **5a** and **5b** is treated separately.

Tenement **5a**

In 1372 **5a** was in the possession of Joan Waltham; Robert Walsingham, joiner, was tenant.¹⁴⁹ Stephen and Joan de Waltham died without issue and by 1397 all that part of tenement **5** formerly belonging to John Box I of Pontefract (subsequently established as **5a**) had reverted to John Box III of Pontefract, grandson of John Box I. In June 1397 John Box III granted **5a** with the 9s annual rent due from tenement **6**, to John Siltone, citizen and tailor of London.¹⁵⁰ In November 1398 Siltone granted **5a** with the rent of 9s due from **6** to Robert de Louthe, junior.¹⁵¹ In his testament of August 1419, enrolled in the Court of Husting in May 1439, Robert Louthe, junior, bequeathed **5a** to his wife Isabel for life with remainder to his son Robert; if his son died without issue, the property was to be sold by the testator's executors, if surviving, or else by the mayor and recorder of London and the proceeds were to be put to pious uses. At the time Louthe made his testament, John Gay was tenant of the property.¹⁵² By 1440 Louthe's executors were dead and his son Robert had died leaving no heir. Accordingly, in October 1440, the mayor and recorder sold **5a** to Thomas Walsingham, vintner, William Huntyngdone, rector of St James Garlickhithe, Thomas Stauntone and John Chirche, citizens and mercers of London.¹⁵³

In March 1451 Walsingham, Huntyngdone, Stauntone and Chirche granted **5a** to John West, citizen and plumber of London, and to Margery, his wife.¹⁵⁴ Subsequently John West granted the property to John Syro, tallow-chandler, William Lettres, writer of court hand (*scriptor littere curialis*), Lambert May, citizen and plumber of London, and Robert Colwyche, citizen and alderman and tailor of London. In January 1483, Colwyche having died, John Syro and Williams Lettres demised **5a** to Lambert May (he had previously quitclaimed his right in the property to Syro and Lettres) to Clemencia, lately the wife of Robert Abram, formerly citizen and salter of London,

William Turtille, cooper, William Maryner, salter, John atte Wode, grocer, William Hychecok, Thomas Maset and William Martyn, skinnners, citizens of London. The demise was made for the term of Clemencia's life and thereafter the property was to remain to Lambert's direct heirs.¹⁵⁵ In December 1491 Maryner, Maset and Martyn (Turtille, atte Wode and Hychecok having died) quitclaimed all their right in the property to Lambert May and Clemencia, his wife, formerly the wife of Robert Abram, and to their heirs.¹⁵⁶

In December 1494, by a series of deeds, Clemencia May, widow, conveyed **5a** to Thomas Nutstone, citizen and draper of London, to Joan, his wife, and to others named.⁵⁷ As part of this process, Anne May, daughter and heir of Lambert, quitclaimed all her right in the property to Clemencia. The whole process was repeated five years later in a series of deeds of May 1499.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, it appears that Thomas secured only the leasehold of **5a** and that Anne retained her interest in the property as daughter and heir of Lambert May. Thus in November 1505, Anne May, spinster, sold **5a**, now described as two tenements 'the which one Thomas Nutstone late held and occupied', to William Masyn, yeoman, for the sum of £15.¹⁵⁹ In March 1506 Anne May sold the property to Robert Pauntley, citizen and goldsmith of London, for £32 sterling;¹⁶⁰ William Masyn did likewise for the sum of 26s 8d sterling¹⁶¹ and so also a certain William Chalk of the town of Southampton, for 20 marks sterling (£13 6s 8d).¹⁶² In a grant made a few days after her sale, Anne May conveyed **5a** to the said Robert Pauntley and to John Cowper, clerk, Nicholas Warley, citizen and goldsmith of London, and to Richard Halle, citizen and merchant tailor of London. The premises are described as two messuages or tenements.¹⁶³ In June 1506 Clemencia May, widow, quitclaimed all her right in the property to Robert Pauntley *et al* as above.¹⁶⁴

In July 1507 Robert Pauntley sold **5a** to John Chester, merchant of the Staple of Calais, for the sum of £40 sterling.¹⁶⁵ In January 1514 (after a succession of intermediate transactions) the property was granted to Joan Chester, widow, Thomas More, gentleman, Thomas Sepam, Robert Cressy, gentleman, and John Colyns of London, linen draper.¹⁶⁶ It appears that Joan subsequently acquired the sole interest in the property. In January 1535 Sir John Mylbourne,

knight, alderman of London, and Joan, his wife, formerly the wife of John Chester, together with Nicholas Chester and William Chester, John's sons, sold **5a** to William Dolphyn, citizen and draper of London.¹⁶⁷ In March of the same year they granted the property and quitclaimed their right to the same William Dolphyn.¹⁶⁸ In the grant of March 1535, **5a** is described as comprising two messuages or tenements, with the gardens, shops, cellars, solars, rents, reversions, services and other hereditaments. Dolphyn was in fact acting merely as trustee of this and other properties on behalf of the Drapers' Company, and in a testament of March 1535 he bequeathed **5a**, with other properties in London, to the Drapers' Company.¹⁶⁹

Tenement 5b

By 1372 **5b** had come into the possession of Peter de Mildenhale, citizen and skinner of London (possibly by grant of Simon Bonde). In July 1372 Juliana Bonde, daughter of Simon Bonde, quitclaimed to Peter all her right in **5b**; the property, viz all that tenement with the houses built above, is described as 'now new built by the same Peter'.¹⁷⁰ By 1397 **5b** had passed to William Mildenhale (cordwainer),¹⁷¹ by 1410 to Robert Mildenhale (skinner)¹⁷² and by 1438 to William Chesse, citizen and skinner of London, husband of Helen, daughter of William Mildenhale.¹⁷³ By 1451 **5b** was in the possession of James Garnoun, schoolmaster.¹⁷⁴ In 1483 it is described as the tenement lately of James Garnoun.¹⁷⁵ By 1497 Richard Chawry, citizen and alderman of London, was in possession of the property.¹⁷⁶ Subsequently the property passed to Richard's daughter, Margaret. In April 1535 Robert Ravening of Odington, Oxfordshire, and Margaret, his wife, daughter of Richard Chawry, granted **5b**, as all that tenement containing two dwelling-houses with the shops, cellars and solars, to Robert Dawbeney, citizen and merchant tailor of London.¹⁷⁷

Tenement 6

By 1307 Alice Sackere was in possession of this property.¹⁷⁸ In 1330 it is described as the tenement formerly of Robert le Sackere and Avicia, his wife.¹⁷⁹ By 1333 the property was in

the possession of John le Sackere, son and heir of Robert de Kydemistre, *sacker*' (ie maker of coarse cloth). In February 1333 John granted 6, as all that tenement with the houses and shops built above, to William de Derby, citizen and tailor of London.¹⁸⁰ Derby probably resided here; he is sometimes described as a glover.¹⁸¹ Derby is mentioned as owner of the property in a deed of 1352.¹⁸²

By 1361 6 had come into the possession of William de Bukkeby, rector of the church of St Mary Aldermary, and Henry de Idebury, chaplain. They granted the property to Roger de Baltone, John de Evenfelde, Roger Rotour, Walter Brett, Roger Herkstede and William Samkyn, citizens of London. In September 1361 the latter five grantees quitclaimed to Roger de Baltone, citizen and pepperer of London, all their right in 6.¹⁸³ In his testament of October 1361 Roger bequeathed the property in perpetual alms to the church of St Mary Aldermary for the maintenance of the fabric and for the repair and maintenance of the ornaments (*ornamenta*) of the church.¹⁸⁴ In November 1361 William de Bukkeby, rector, and John de Enefelde and Roger Rotour, churchwardens of St Mary Aldermary, leased 6 to Robert de Louthe (senior) joiner, for a term of 30 years at a yearly rent of 4 marks sterling (£2 13s 4d).¹⁸⁵ In August 1382, when Louthe's lease still had nine years to run, the rector and churchwardens of St Mary Aldermary conceded the reversion of the property, on completion of the original term, to John Spicer; he was granted a lease of 40 years at the annual rent of £2 13s 4d.¹⁸⁶ It does not appear, however, that Spicer ever held 6. Robert de Louthe, senior, evidently continued as tenant until his death in 1401, presumably holding under a new lease;¹⁸⁷ in 1419 Robert's widow, Joan, held the property.¹⁸⁸ In 1451 Thomas Phelyp', mercer, was resident at 6.¹⁸⁹ John Stok, skinner, dwelt there in 1466.¹⁹⁰ By 1483 John Syro, tallow-chandler, dwelt there.¹⁹¹ By 1506 Thomas Lynthrope, tallow-chandler, was resident.¹⁹² In a deed of December 1513, the property is described as the tenement pertaining to the church of St Mary Aldermary in which Thomas Lynthrope, tallow-chandler, lately dwelt.¹⁹³

Tenements 7 to 11

Tenement 7, tenement 8 (the corner property at the junction of Cordwainer Street and Watling

Street) and tenements 9-10, north of 1, lie almost wholly outside the area of the excavation; only a summary account of their descent is given here.

Tenement 7

Before 1307 this property was in the possession of John de Cantuar'. He conceded it to Bartholomew de Kancia, tailor of London, and to his wife, Matilda, John's daughter. Before November 1307 Bartholomew and Matilda granted 7, viz all that house, to Robert de Keleseye; Robert was to pay the grantors an annual rent of 2 marks of silver (£1 6s 8d) for the term of their lives.¹⁹⁴ In December 1308 Robert granted 7 to Richard de Welleforde, citizen and draper of London.¹⁹⁵ Shortly afterwards Richard granted it to Alexander le Sewour (or le Settere, *ie* embroiderer).¹⁹⁶ Subsequently the property came into the possession of Roger le Cartere of Wodhulle, wax-chandler (*cergier*), who granted it to Adam de Salesbury. In his testament enrolled in November 1330, Adam de Salesbury, citizen and pepperer of London, bequeathed 7 to his wife, Agnes, for life, with remainder to his daughter, Alice, and her heirs.¹⁹⁷ In November 1337 Juliana widow of Robert de Kelleseye quitclaimed to John Hamond, citizen and pepperer of London, and to Agnes, his wife, formerly wife of Adam de Salesbury, and to Simon Dolsaly, citizen and pepperer of London, and to Alice, his wife, Adam's daughter, and to her heirs, all her right in 7, viz all that tenement with the houses built above; at the time of the release John and Agnes held the property.¹⁹⁸ Presumably, on Agnes's death, the property passed to Alice Dolsaly. In May 1356 Thomas son of Simon Dolsaly acquired a rent of 5s issuing from 7; possibly he had already acquired the property by this date.¹⁹⁹ By 1371, 7 was in the possession of Thomas de Hanhampstede, citizen of London.²⁰⁰ Thomas was the first husband of Joan, the grand-daughter of Simon Dolsaly; presumably the property had descended to her by inheritance.²⁰¹ In 1378 7 is described as the tenement formerly of Thomas de Hanhampstede.²⁰² Joan subsequently married Hugh Fastolf; in 1419 the property is described as the tenements formerly of Joan Fastolf.²⁰³

Tenement 8

In the century between *c.* 1270 and *c.* 1370 the corner tenement, **8**, was in the possession of John Pas *marescallus* (*ie* farrier, smith) and his descendants.²⁰⁴ The property straddled the parish boundary between St Mary Aldermary and All Hallows Bread Street. In the early 14th century the property appears to have comprised; **(8a)** one tenement in the parish of All Hallows, which John Pas II's father-in-law, Denis de Cantebrigg, gold-beater (*aurimalleator*), and Agnes, his wife, held for life; **(8b)** a cellar or tenement (probably a brewhouse) adjoining east in the parish of St Mary Aldermary known as *le Holceler* (the cellar is described as a deep cellar... with cistern and well, viz *unum celarium profundum ... cum cisterna et fonte*) and **(8c)** three shops in Cordwainer Street.²⁰⁵ An extent of the premises made in 1343 indicated that both the brewhouse and the three shops were then ruinous. The brewhouse was estimated to be worth 40s yearly, but with allowances for socage, 4d, and necessary repairs, 19s 8d, was valued at only 20s. Similarly, the shops were valued at 72s *pa*, but with 13s 4d subtracted for a quit-rent due to the church of St Mary Aldermary and 20s for repairs, were worth only 38s 8d.²⁰⁶ In 1371 William Stameldene, citizen and goldsmith of London, and Alice, his wife, daughter of John Paas, citizen of London, granted **8b**, to John de Cavendisshe, serjeant, of Suffolk, John de Bures and William Kyng, citizens and drapers of London. The property (perhaps now derelict) is described as all that empty plot of land with appurtenances called *le Holceler*; it measured 289ft 1½in along its perimeter.²⁰⁷ Following the grant, the plot was developed. In 1378 the property is described as all those tenements with the houses built above, with the shops, solars, cellars and appurtenances newly constructed upon a certain plot of land, formerly empty, previously called *le Holceler*.²⁰⁸

Tenement 9

In the late 13th and early 14th century tenement **9** in the parish of All Hallows Bread Street belonged successively to John le Settere (le Asseur, le Asseyur, le Seour, *ie* embroiderer), citizen of London, and to William le Settere, citizen of London, his son.²⁰⁹ In 1327 William granted the property to Hamo Godchep, citizen

and mercer of London, and to Isabel, his wife; it measured 60ft in length and 30ft in breadth.²¹⁰ The property was subsequently in the possession of John de Briklesworth, citizen, between *c.* 1360 and 1368;²¹¹ Lady de Kyrielle by 1407;²¹² and William Markeby, gentleman, in 1439.²¹³

Tenement 10

Between *c.* 1280 and *c.* 1340 tenement **10** in the parish of All Hallows Bread Street was in the possession of Walter de Bredstrete, tawyer, and his descendants.²¹⁴ In 1327 the property (then in the possession of John de Bredestrete, citizen of London, Walter's grandson) is described as a brewhouse and likewise in 1341.²¹⁵ Both Walter and John were resident in the property. By the early 15th century **10** was in the possession of Henry Barton, citizen and skinner of London,²¹⁶ who in his testament of 1434 granted it to the Skinners' Company.²¹⁷

*Identifying the excavated pre-Fire structures**John Schofield*

The proposed correspondence of excavated building foundations in *c.* 1300 is shown in Fig 15, and *c.* 1450 in Fig 16; because of uncertainties over dating of most of the foundations, the two figures should be considered together.

Within the area of Tenement **1**, *la Rouge Sale*, fragments of three stone structures were recorded. Building 7, constructed in CP5–6 (1100–1180) comprised the east end of an east-west range in the north-east part of the central area of the tenement, behind Tenements **9–10** which lay between Tenement **1** and Watling Street on the north. This building at least post-dated a largescale raising of the ground-surface in the immediate area (Levelling 4). It was extended to the east as Building 12 sometime during CP7–11 (1200–1400), on a small undercroft whose vaulting is generally datable to 1230–1400. In the middle of the property, its east side in alignment with the east end of Building 7, was a stone pit (Pit 156) which on grounds of its construction (discussed in detail on p 175) is thought to have been a soakaway for rainwater

from adjacent buildings; its silty fills contained pottery of CP8-11 (1230-1400).

In 1453-4 the property was divided. Richard Nudegate received the northern courtyard, the gate, and half the inner courtyard. The inner gate may have been placed at the southern end of the widened entry formed by the acquisition of Tenement 11 by 1327. Nudegate was also assigned a range of buildings which, while not accurately located, were (to make best sense of the division) probably along the north side of the inner court, where Buildings 7/12 were found. The documented buildings comprised the great parlour, with its butteries, chambers and passages, and a great chamber with a chapel within, 'with a cellar beneath and a lower chamber'. It is possible that Building 12, with its separate small undercroft, formed the chapel at the east end of the range. Sir John fitz Symonds, assigned the other part of the tenement, received the great gate to Basing Lane, first mentioned in 1362, the great hall and its cellar, buttery and kitchen, and chambers on the south side of the property, half the inner court, two parlours and all the garden. The configuration of these buildings is not known, but it is clear that the garden was situated on the south-east side of the property; this was the site of many rubbish pits during the 12th and early 13th centuries (Figs 7-8).

Building 6, of CP5-6 (1100-1180), comprised a square or slightly rectangular structure adjacent to Basing Lane, within Tenement 4. It was extended to the north in the period CP7-11 (1180-1400) as Building 11, and the stone well Pit 149 constructed within the extension during CP9 (1270-1350). A portion of north-south foundation, Building 10, indicates some form of subdivision within Tenement 4 parallel to and east of Buildings 6/11, also in the period 1200-1400. In 1280 the property seems to have comprised two houses in Basing Lane and four shops in Cordwainer Street. In 1413 the property was divided by granting away part at the western end (4a). In 1456 4a comprised a tenement with shop, solar and cellar and a small plot of land; the privy mentioned in the 1413 grant apparently did not survive to be recorded (a large 19th-century foundation, which was not removed during the excavation, ran along the north side of the property).

In tenement 5 no medieval walls were recorded, but there were remains of four stone cesspits (Pits 151-3, 178). The property comprised

houses and shops in 1336, and was divided into 5a and 5b in 1352. The construction of the cesspits cannot be accurately dated, the use of stone and absence of brick indicates a medieval date; Pit 151 was cut by Pit 172 of CP19-21, Pit 152 had two separate fills of 1330-1380 or later and 1550-1600 (the latter marking its destruction), Pit 153 had fills of 1270 or later, and Pit 178 was otherwise undated. The occurrence of three broadly contemporary stone cesspits along the southern side of 5b (Pits 151-3) may indicate several contiguous dwellings within the tenement, possibly even before the division of 1352. Tenement 5b certainly comprised two dwelling houses and shops in 1535.

Tenements 8, 9, and 10 lay beneath 19th-century buildings along Watling Street which were only refurbished during the redevelopment of the site, and observation of medieval foundations was therefore extremely limited. Although grouped together as Building 8, foundations in the west part of the 19th century buildings seem to have lain within Tenements 9 and 10; further foundations were observed in Tenement 8, forming the division between 8b and 8c. 8b included a cellar called *le Holceler* in the early 14th century; the archaeological observation suggests that its boundary with 8c was at least as old as the 12th century (CP5-6).

Though post-Fire features were identified (Fig 12), including part of Building 13, no documentary survey after about 1500 has been undertaken for this site in the present study.

NOTES TO WATLING COURT DOCUMENTARY SUMMARY

¹ HR 4 (157).

² HR 4 (147).

³ HR 4 (159).

⁴ HR 27 (96), and see also 49 (13) (14), 52 (53).

⁵ *Cal LB A*, 112 (f. 49v).

⁶ HR 5 (54).

⁷ HR 12 (28).

⁸ HR 13 (16).

⁹ HR 27 (96).

¹⁰ HR 27 (96).

¹¹ HR 31 (4), 39 (90).

¹² HR 50 (133); *Cal LB F*, 20.

¹³ HR 50 (134).

¹⁴ HR 51 (93).

¹⁵ SkC, Deeds 170.

¹⁶ *Beaven* 1908, i, 382; *Sharpe* 1894, i, *passim*.

¹⁷ HR 65 (72).

- ¹⁸ HR 68 (17).
¹⁹ HR 69 (52).
²⁰ Beaven, i, 385; Williams, 161 and note.
²¹ HR 79 (8), (9).
²² HR 80 (180).
²³ Beaven 1908, i, 387; SkC, Deeds 173 174.
²⁴ HR 91 (34).
²⁵ HR 97 (7).
²⁶ HR 102 (57).
²⁷ HR 121 (130).
²⁸ HR 133 (53) (102).
²⁹ HR 135 (11); SkC, Deeds 186; HR 139 (4), 137 (90).
³⁰ HR 153 (57), 133 (53).
³¹ HR 156 (19).
³² HR 166 (28), 183 (14), 196 (16).
³³ Beaven 1908, ii, 8.
³⁴ SkC, Deeds 274; HR 189 (10).
³⁵ HR 167 (37).
³⁶ HR 187 (4).
³⁷ HR 196 (16). Indeed, already by 1460, Basset appears to have acquired all or part of **1** when he recovered one messuage in the parish of All Hallows Bread Street against Richard Nudygate, gentleman. See CLRO, Husting Pleas of land 167, m.9.
³⁸ SaC, Deeds H1/23/8; HR 217 (9).
³⁹ HR 217 (9); Beaven 1908, ii, 12.
⁴⁰ SaC, Deeds H1/4/3/1.
⁴¹ SaC, Deeds H1/4/3/2.
⁴² SaC, Deeds H1/4/2/5.
⁴³ Beaven 1908, ii, 15.
⁴⁴ Beaven 1908, ii, 18.
⁴⁵ SaC, Deeds H1/4/5A.
⁴⁶ HR 4 (157). A William de Waltham, cordwainer, is recorded in the late 1270s and early 1280s see, for example, *Cal LB A*, 229, 39. In a deed of 1340, however, a William de Waltham, baker, is mentioned as the former owner of a messuage in the parish of St Mildred on the south side of Basing Lane, HR 67 (100). Here, the association with the neighbouring bakehouse (3), would suggest that **2** and **3** were owned by William de Waltham the baker.
⁴⁷ HR 12 (53).
⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
⁴⁹ HR 24 (46).
⁵⁰ HR 27 (74).
⁵¹ HR 27 (78).
⁵² *Cal LB C*, 191 (f. 121).
⁵³ HR 51 (93).
⁵⁴ HR 68 (37).
⁵⁵ HR 68 (17).
⁵⁶ HR 69 (52).
⁵⁷ HR 79 (8) (9).
⁵⁸ SkC, Deeds 174.
⁵⁹ HR 97 (146).
⁶⁰ HR 116 (55).
⁶¹ HR 126 (137).
⁶² HR 189 (10).
⁶³ PRO E135/2/57, f. 13.
⁶⁴ *Ibid* f. 14.
⁶⁵ *Ibid* f. 14v-16v and HR 232 (6).
⁶⁶ HR 237 (34).
⁶⁷ HR 238 (29).
⁶⁸ Watney 1892, 123.
⁶⁹ HR 4 (157).
⁷⁰ HR 12 (53).
⁷¹ *Cal LB A*, 155 (f. 70).
⁷² HR 24 (46).
⁷³ *Cal LB B*, 114 (f. 52).
⁷⁴ HR 51 (93).
⁷⁵ HR 53 (25).
⁷⁶ HR 53 (63).
⁷⁷ HR 60 (67).
⁷⁸ HR 62 (31).
⁷⁹ HR 68 (37).
⁸⁰ HR 70 (93).
⁸¹ HR 72 (116).
⁸² HR 100 (66).
⁸³ HR 103 (238).
⁸⁴ HR 101 (81).
⁸⁵ HR 102 (97).
⁸⁶ HR 103 (177).
⁸⁷ HR 103 (180).
⁸⁸ HR 117 (75).
⁸⁹ HR 121 (130).
⁹⁰ HR 139 (33).
⁹¹ SkC, Deeds 270.
⁹² HR 189 (10).
⁹³ SaC, Deeds H1/4/2/5.
⁹⁴ PRO E135/2/57, f. 14v-16v and HR 232 (6).
⁹⁵ HR 238 (29).
⁹⁶ HR 219 (9), 238 (29).
⁹⁷ HR 4 (157).
⁹⁸ HR 11 (31).
⁹⁹ *Cal LB A*, 155 (f. 70).
¹⁰⁰ HR 27 (74), (78).
¹⁰¹ HR 37 (71).
¹⁰² HR 37 (108), (90).
¹⁰³ HR 63 (194).
¹⁰⁴ HR 70 (93).
¹⁰⁵ HR 76 (39).
¹⁰⁶ HR 100 (96).
¹⁰⁷ HR 103 (186).
¹⁰⁸ HR 103 (257).
¹⁰⁹ HR 111 (83).
¹¹⁰ HR 129 (7).
¹¹¹ HR 137 (90).
¹¹² HR 137 (100).
¹¹³ HR 166 (28).
¹¹⁴ HR 153 (57).
¹¹⁵ HR 166 (28).
¹¹⁶ HR 170 (28).
¹¹⁷ HR 170 (29).
¹¹⁸ HR 181 (10).
¹¹⁹ HR 181 (11).
¹²⁰ SkC, Deeds 272.
¹²¹ SkC, Deeds 273.
¹²² SaC, Deeds H1/4/2/5.

- ¹²³ CLRO, Viewers' Reports 1509-46, no. 15.
¹²⁴ SkC, Deeds 269.
¹²⁵ SkC, Deeds 270.
¹²⁶ SkC, Deeds 275.
¹²⁷ SkC, Deeds 274.
¹²⁸ SkC, Deeds 276.
¹²⁹ SkC, Deeds 278.
¹³⁰ SkC, Deeds 279.
¹³¹ SkC, Deeds 280.
¹³² SkC, Deeds 281.
¹³³ SkC, Deeds 283.
¹³⁴ SaC, Deeds H1/4/2/5.
¹³⁵ CLRO, Viewers' Reports 1509-46, no. 15.
¹³⁶ SkC, Deeds 284.
¹³⁷ SkC, Deeds 285 and HR 238 (74).
¹³⁸ SkC, Deeds 286.
¹³⁹ HR 238 (29).
¹⁴⁰ HR 36 (34).
¹⁴¹ HR 64 (51).
¹⁴² HR 126 (14).
¹⁴³ HR 19 (31).
¹⁴⁴ Masters 1988, 5-6, 105; *Cal LB A*, 4, 6, 21, 28, 84, 85 and *passim*; Riley 1868, 23.
¹⁴⁵ HR 63 (16).
¹⁴⁶ HR 64 (51).
¹⁴⁷ HR 80 (40).
¹⁴⁸ HR 82 (95).
¹⁴⁹ HR 100 (96).
¹⁵⁰ HR 126 (14).
¹⁵¹ HR 127 (26).
¹⁵² HR 167 (42).
¹⁵³ HR 169 (24).
¹⁵⁴ DC, Deeds A. VI. 186.
¹⁵⁵ HR 212 (28), DC, Deeds A. VI. 75.
¹⁵⁶ DC, Deeds A. III. 89.
¹⁵⁷ DC, Deeds A. VI. 191, A. VI. 188, A. III. 90, A. VI. 189.
¹⁵⁸ DC, Deeds A. VI. 190, A. III. 91, A. VI. 187.
¹⁵⁹ DC, Deeds A. III. 95.
¹⁶⁰ DC, Deeds A. III. 88, HR 232 (18).
¹⁶¹ DC, Deeds A. VI. 221.
¹⁶² DC, Deeds A. VI. 193.
¹⁶³ HR 232 (19).
¹⁶⁴ DC, Deeds A. III. 92.
¹⁶⁵ DC, Deeds A. III. 96.
¹⁶⁶ DC, Deeds A. III. 99 and also A. III. 97, A. VI. 82, A. VI. 194, A. VI. 83, A. III. 94, A. VI. 195.
¹⁶⁷ DC, Deeds A. VI. 84.
¹⁶⁸ DC, Deeds A. VI. 76, and HR 241 (34), DC, Deeds A. III. 93.
¹⁶⁹ DC, Deeds A. VI. 160. For the complex and protracted process by which 5a and the other properties were vested in the company, see Thompson 1939-40, sections 17 and 18, p 102-135.
¹⁷⁰ HR 100 (96).
¹⁷¹ HR 126 (14).
¹⁷² HR 137 (90).
¹⁷³ HR 167 (11).
¹⁷⁴ DC, Deeds A. VI. 186; Garnoun is described as *scolemaister* in SkC, Deeds 272, dated 1455.
¹⁷⁵ HR 212 (28).
¹⁷⁶ SaC, Deeds H1/4/2/5.
¹⁷⁷ HR 241 (38).
¹⁷⁸ HR 36 (34).
¹⁷⁹ HR 58 (108).
¹⁸⁰ HR 63 (16).
¹⁸¹ *Cal LB F*, 87, 180, 200.
¹⁸² HR 80 (40).
¹⁸³ HR 90 (16).
¹⁸⁴ HR 89 (241).
¹⁸⁵ HR 90 (12).
¹⁸⁶ HR 111 (147).
¹⁸⁷ HR 126 (14), 127 (26), 128 (85), 130 (3).
¹⁸⁸ HR 167 (42).
¹⁸⁹ DC, Deeds A. VI. 186.
¹⁹⁰ HR 196 (16).
¹⁹¹ DC, Deeds A. VI. 75, HR 212 (28).
¹⁹² HR 232 (19).
¹⁹³ DC, Deeds A. VI. 194.
¹⁹⁴ HR 36 (34).
¹⁹⁵ HR 37 (69).
¹⁹⁶ HR 37 (69).
¹⁹⁷ HR 58 (113).
¹⁹⁸ HR 64 (143).
¹⁹⁹ HR 84 (50).
²⁰⁰ HR 99 (50).
²⁰¹ In her testament of September 1417 Joan describes Simon Dolsaly as *nuper avi mei, ie lately my grandfather* or (more generally) ancestor, HR 147 (60); HR 116 (35).
²⁰² HR 107 (17).
²⁰³ HR 167 (42), 116 (35).
²⁰⁴ HR 4 (157), 5 (54), 39 (90), 99 (50).
²⁰⁵ HR 39 (90), 44 (63).
²⁰⁶ *Cal LB F*, 76 (f. 62).
²⁰⁷ HR 99 (50).
²⁰⁸ HR 107 (17).
²⁰⁹ HR 12 (28) (33), 13 (16), 27 (96), 31 (4).
²¹⁰ HR 55 (32).
²¹¹ SkC, Deeds 173; HR 92 (59), 96 (210).
²¹² SkC, Deeds 186; HR 135 (11).
²¹³ HR 167 (37).
²¹⁴ HR 12 (28) (33), 13 (16), 31 (4), 68 (129). 215. SkC, Deeds 170; HR 68 (129).
²¹⁶ HR 135 (11); SkC, Deeds 186.
²¹⁷ HR 164 (46); SkC, Deeds 189.

Well Court, 44-8 Bow Lane (WEL79)
(Figs 2, 17-22)

This site (Fig 2) lies on the east side of Bow Lane, and extends back from that frontage on either side of the modern alley of Well Court almost as far as Queen Street, measuring 51m x 22m overall. Excavations in advance of redevelopment, funded by the Department of the Environment

and Watling Street Properties Ltd, took place between October 1979 and February 1980, with further recording of the site during contractors' work. The excavation was supervised by Dominic Perring, and the subsequent watching brief was conducted chiefly by Peter Rowsome. The main objective was to investigate the line of a suspected Roman street, but it was also considered important to investigate Saxon and medieval activity alongside Bow Lane, since late Saxon and medieval buildings had recently been excavated at the Watling Court site only 50m to the south-west. Three small areas were excavated in plan, and a substantial amount of information was recovered from the recording of pile holes and test pits against the foundations of standing buildings which were retained in the new development.

Natural stratigraphy consisted of sandy gravels of the upper flood plain of the Thames, beginning to slope down into the Walbrook valley on the east. Seven successive periods of Roman activity (archaeological periods I–VII) were identified, and are reported elsewhere.¹

Ceramic Phase 1 (850–1020)
(Fig 17a)

Building 1,² a sunken-floored timber structure at least 0.2m deep, was cut into Roman strata. Only a fragment of its east wall was recorded, and it was almost completely truncated by the later Building 8. As a result, the detailed stratigraphic relationships of Building 1 have not survived, but its position in plan implies that it would have been sealed by a later north-south street, which remained in continuous use from CP1 onwards. It is assumed that the building represents a phase of activity preceding the street development.

The initial street surface (Street 1) was made up of re-used Roman building rubble laid directly on the dark earth, and its surviving eastern edge ran parallel to Bow Lane. There was, however, no evidence of structures alongside Street 1. This initial street was replaced by a well-surfaced cobbled street (Street 2), and a fragment of a surface-laid timber building to its east (Building 2)³ represents the first evidence of street-side activity. The probable south-west corner of the building was recorded, with its floor make-up laid up to the street edge.

The absence of dating evidence means that this sequence is dated solely by its relationship with the successor to Building 2, Building 3, securely dated within CP2–3. Since the latest use of Street 2 was contemporary with Building 3, Street 2 and Building 2 were probably laid out towards the end of CP1, and perhaps as late as the overlap of CPs1 and 2. This suggests a date in the late 10th or very beginning of the 11th century. However, the laying out of the initial Street 1 probably occurred much earlier in CP1, at some time during the late 9th or early 10th century. Building 1, which is thought to have preceded the street, could have been as early as the 9th century.

Ceramic Phases 2–3 (1000–1050)
(Fig 17b)

CPs2–3 could not be distinguished on ceramic grounds, and strata of these phases have therefore been amalgamated here.

Building 2 was replaced by a timber building with wattle-and-daub walls (Building 3),⁴ dated to CP2–3. The south-west corner of the building was recorded, fronting on to Street 2 to the west, and incorporating a bread oven dated archaeomagnetically to 950–1000.⁵ Immediately to the south of Building 3 lay the north-west corner of a shallow sunken-floored structure (Building 4),⁶ 0.3m deep and unlined, with a group of posts at the corner. This gradually filled up with layers of ash with burnt twigs and carbonised grain, which overlapped the north and west sides of the sunken area, suggesting that the structure was open-sided and that it functioned with the adjacent oven in Building 3. A major resurfacing of the street (Street 3) took place during the life of Buildings 3 and 4.

A fragment of a sunken-floored building (Building 7)⁷ 11m to the east of the street is tentatively dated to CP2. It was at least 1.0m deep; its east wall, which was probably timber lined, was recorded, together with part of an entrance porch giving access from the east, on the side farthest from the street.

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100)
(Fig 18a–b)

Buildings 3 and 4 were sealed by levelled destruction debris in CP4, and a replacement of

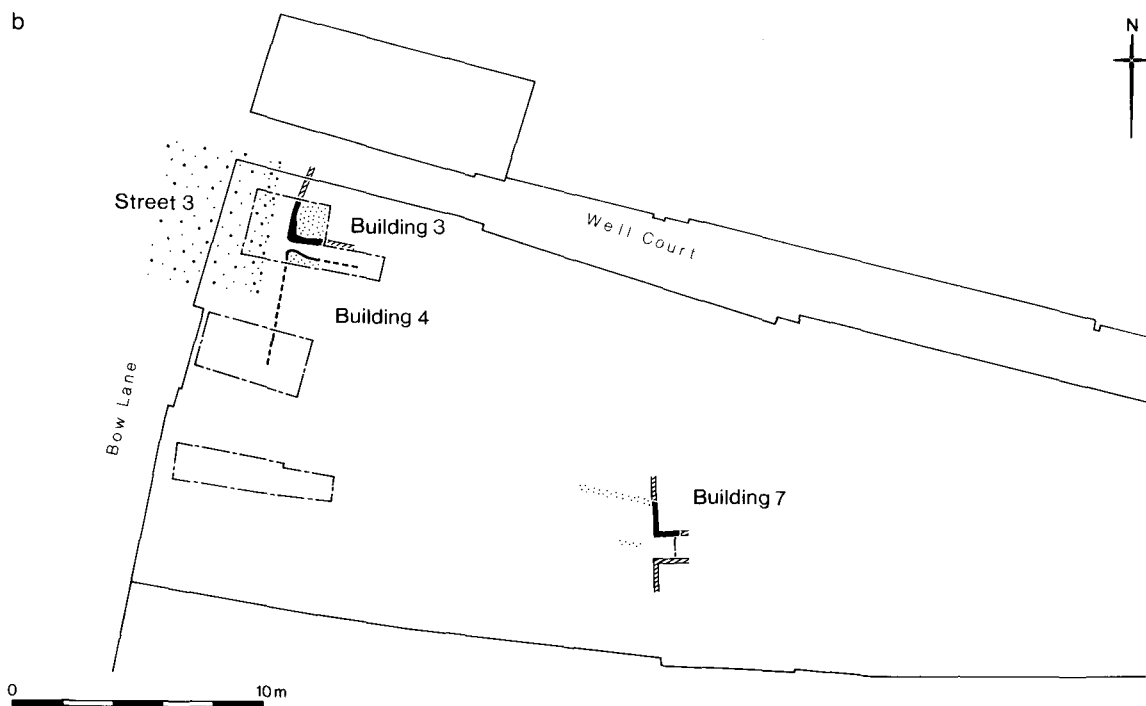
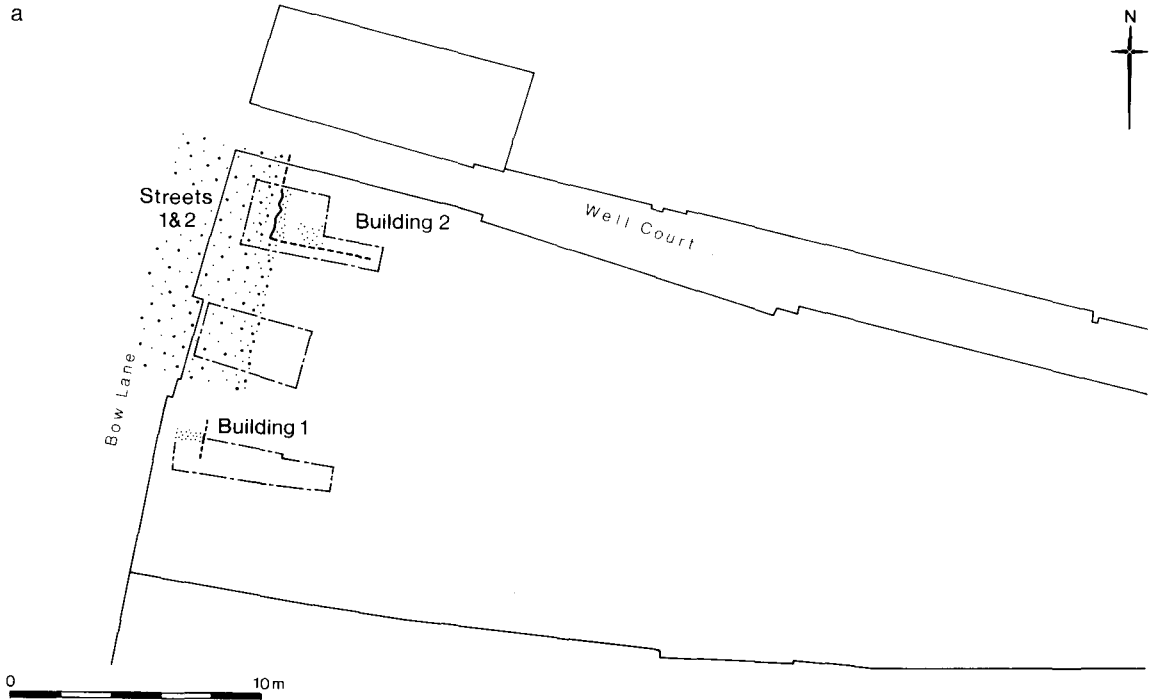
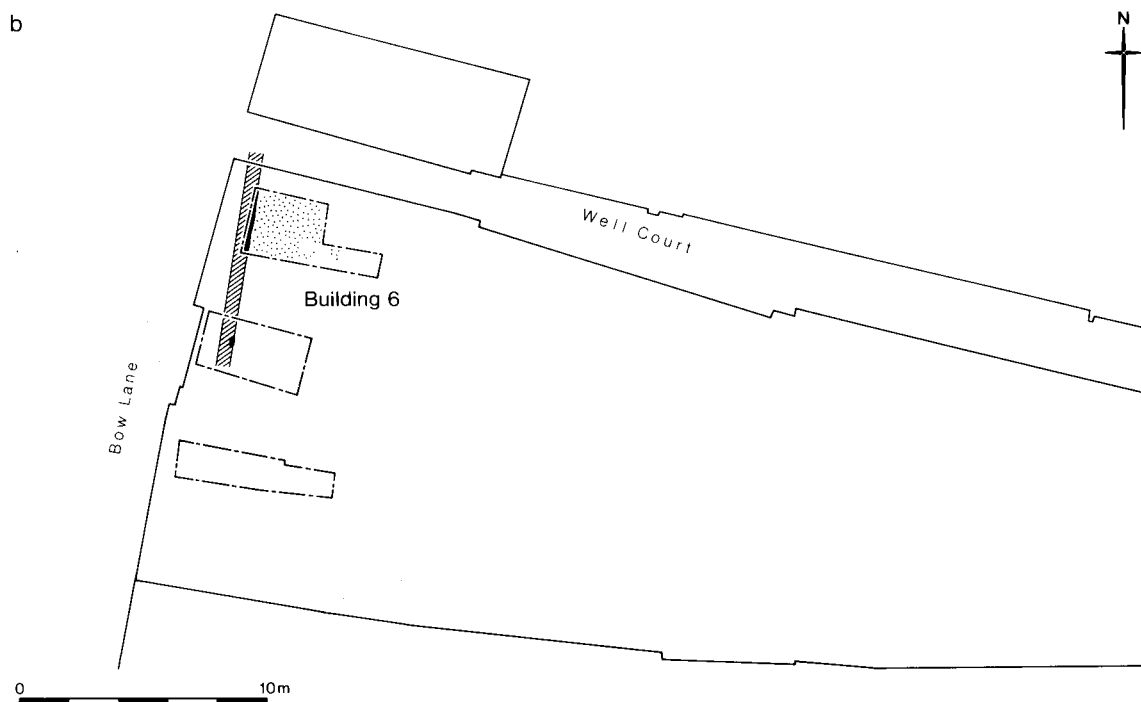
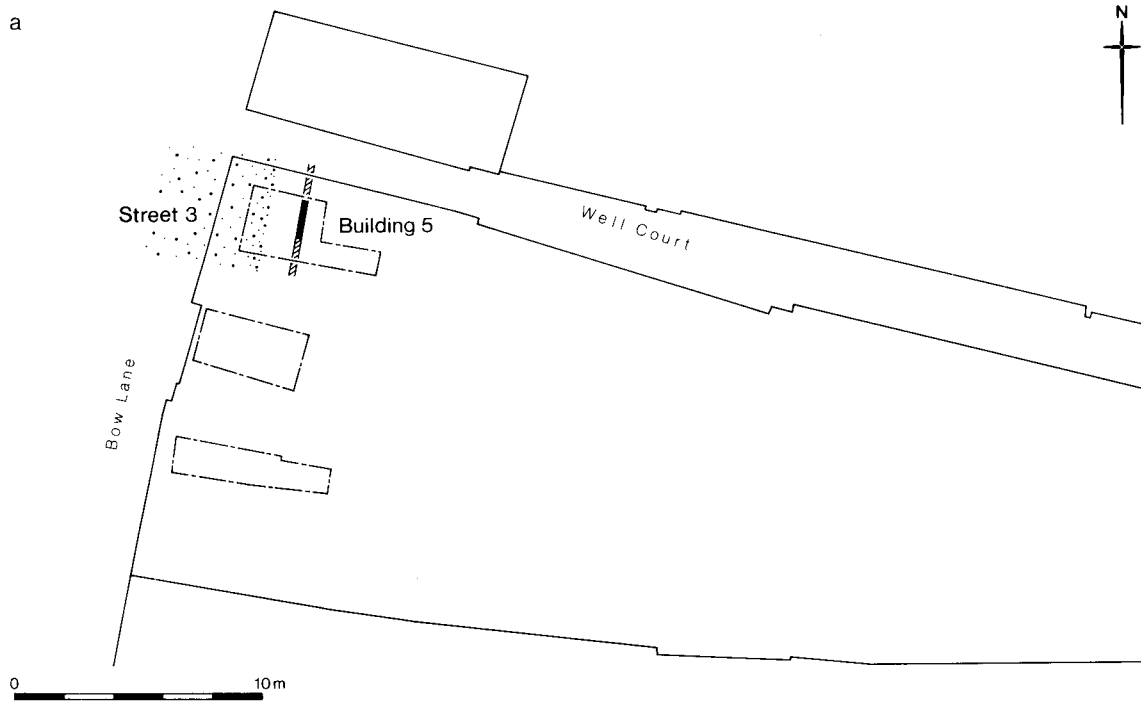


Fig 17. Well Court (WEL79). (a) Ceramic Phase 1 (850-1020); (b) Ceramic Phases 2-3 (1000-1050) (1:300).



Figs 18a and 18b. Well Court: two stages of Ceramic Phase 4 (1050-1100) (1:300).

both buildings was represented by a new west wall parallel to Street 3, but set back slightly from the previous frontage (Building 5, Fig 18a).⁸ The use and disuse of Building 5 is also dated to CP4.

Building 5 was replaced by a timber building with wattle-and-daub walls (Building 6),⁹ whose west wall encroached upon Street 3, forming a new frontage 2m further to the west than the previous one (Fig 18b). The building contained a small sunken oven in the east.

Ceramic Phases 5–7 (1100–1240)
(Fig 19a)

A large stone cellared building (Building 8) in the south of the site fronted on to Bow Lane. The building incorporated two cellars, one behind the other, and possibly a stair at its rear. The front wall had been truncated by the footings of the 19th century basement, but can be inferred from a surviving length of foundation trench; the south wall was not located, but it is possible that, as with the later Building 9 (CPs8–11), it would have broadly coincided with the southern boundary of the site (the possibility that the building continued further to the south is broached on p 111). As reconstructed, Building 8 would have formed a frontage at least *c.* 10m wide and would have extended 19.4m back from the street. The building did not respect the previous frontage line, represented by Building 6 of CP4, but instead corresponded with the modern alignment of this part of Bow Lane. It cut Buildings 6 and 7 and a pit of CP4, while a very little pottery of CP5 was found in the robber trench of its north wall.

The foundations of Building 8 were 1.4–1.6m thick and constructed of coursed chalk rubble alternating with bonding courses of dirty sandy gravel capped with skims of mortar. The foundations were trench-built, sunk between 1.1m and 2.8m below the cellar floor, and were deepest in the south and east where they consolidated earlier pits. A single course faced with squared chalk blocks survived above cellar floor level, and on the inside face of the main west and east walls there was a foundation offset. A further wall extending from the back of the building was of identical construction, but was only 0.70m thick and cut to only 0.50m below cellar level.

In the western cellar three successive brickearth floors were laid to an overall thickness of 0.20m; the initial floor in the eastern cellar was also of thinly laid brickearth, re-inforced with mortar patches, sealed by a 0.10m thick accumulation of silt, capped by trodden charcoal.

The area to the north of Building 8, previously occupied by Building 6, could have been occupied by ground level buildings subsequently truncated; certainly there was no equivalent of Building 8 here. A group of pits (1–7) cutting Building 6 was dug only 5m back from the street frontage and, although not closely dated, they suggest the demolition of Building 6, or its replacement by a thinner north-south structure, either at the end of CP4 or in CP5. Alternatively, the site of Building 6 may have become a yard in use with Building 8.

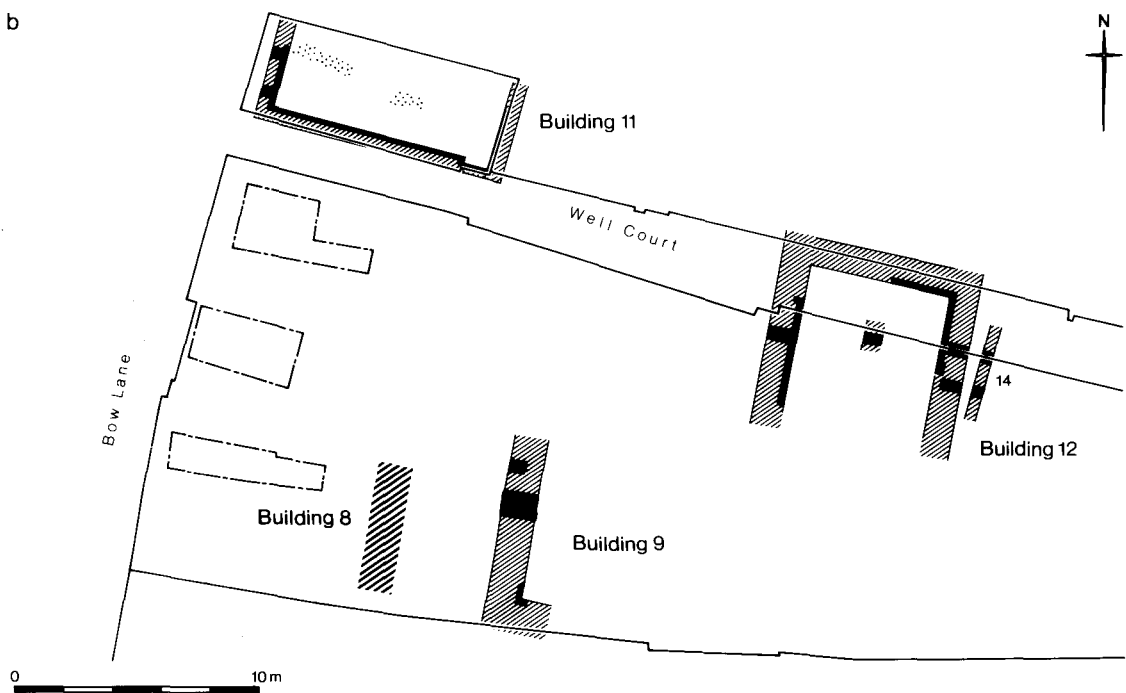
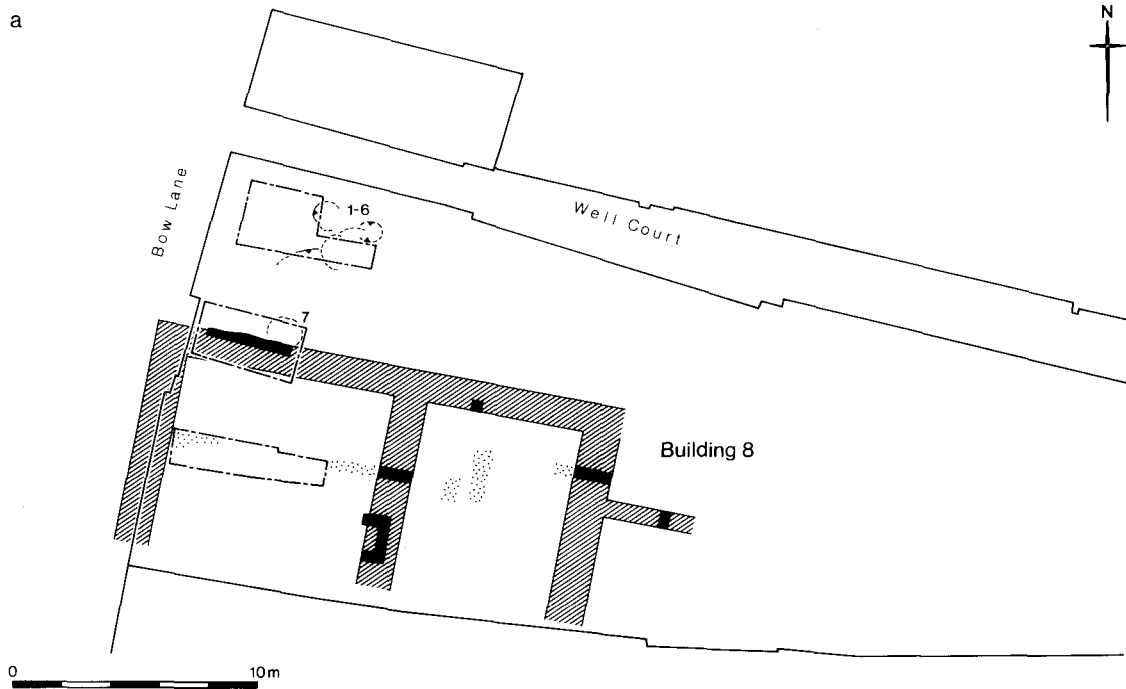
Building 8 is possibly to be placed within CP5 as this is the earliest possible date for its construction, but its phasing is uncertain, as it could have been constructed at a later date, in CP6 or 7. The character of its foundations is consistent with a date from about 1100 to the mid 13th century (p 165).

Strata of CP6–7 were not definitely identified, though Building 8 would almost certainly have been in use, and some of the developments of CPs8–11 (such as the construction of Buildings 9, 10 and 11) may have taken place in CP7.

Ceramic Phases 8–11 (1240–1400)
(Figs 19b, 20–1)

The rear cellar of Building 8 was cut by a large pit (Pit 13, undated), and then by the south-west corner of a stone cellared building with arched foundations (Building 9). The full extent of this building is not known, but the line of its south wall coincides with the southern boundary of the site (represented by the party wall between the modern 43 and 44 Bow Lane), while its west wall lay 15m back from the frontage on to Bow Lane. The building must have occupied an area in the centre of the site. It is not certain whether the front cellar of Building 8 was retained within a new building at the street frontage, or was disused; it is shown as retained on Fig 19b.

Only the foundations of Building 9 survived; they were 1.4m wide, and at least 0.9m deep below cellar level at their deepest points. They consisted of a series of mortared ragstone



Figs 19a and 19b. Well Court: (a) Ceramic Phases 5-7 (1100-1240), (b) Ceramic Phases 8-11 (1240-1400; 1:300).

relieving arches, formed of roughly squared vertically and near-vertically pitched stones. The arches were built up from more deeply set, irregular bases, resting on a concentration of timber piles driven through the base of the foundation trench to stabilise it.

All evidence of floors was truncated by the 19th-century cellar. The level of the top of the relieving arches suggests that medieval floor level would have been very similar to that of the later cellar which truncated it.

The construction of Building 9 is undated, but was later than Building 8 (CPs5-7, 1100-1240), and the character of its foundations (p 166) suggests that it was built after the mid 13th century. It is therefore tentatively placed within CPs8-11 (1240-1400).

The fragmentary and undated remains of mortared stone foundations may represent part of another building in the north-west, adjacent to Bow Lane (Building 10, not illustrated). Two foundations were trench-built and consisted of mortared chalk and flint rubble, sunk to a depth of at least 1m. The limited extent and oblique angles of the sections through the foundations makes it difficult to be certain of their precise width and profile. The east fragment was around 1.0m wide, but the south fragment may have been no more than 0.4-0.5m wide. The foundation trench of the latter was overlapped by a series of very thin mortar, silt and sand surfaces. These may represent construction spreads or floors related to the south wall of Building 10 itself, or instead represent surfaces related to the construction or use of the overlying Building 11.

The fragments comprising Building 10 were apparently sealed by a stone cellar, probably vaulted and on arched foundations (Building 11), which fronted on to Bow Lane and extended 10m back from the frontage along the north side of the modern alley of Well Court (Fig 20); if, as is likely, the north side coincided with the later property boundary, the medieval building would have been 3.4m wide. A doorway at its south-east corner, and presumably a stair within the body of the wall, would have opened on to a medieval forerunner of the alley. Three phases of construction were observed, of which the first was medieval.

Sections through the west wall showed that it was 0.6m thick, and in reconstructing the plan of the building it is assumed that the other walls

were of the same thickness. The foundations were exposed only along the south wall, and consisted of a series of mortared ragstone relieving arches (Fig 20), formed of roughly squared ragstones fragments, pitched between the vertical and an angle of *c.* 45 degrees. The bases on which the arches rested were on average 1.4m below cellar floor level, but the base in the south-east corner was sunk deeper, to an overall depth of 1.9m. The foundation was levelled off above the relieving arches using randomly coursed mortared ragstone rubble.

Above this, the cellar wall survived to a height of 1.2m and was constructed of a randomly coursed mix of undressed mortared ragstone and very large roughly squared chalk blocks. At the east end of the south wall was a recess 0.9m wide and set back at least 0.3m (full depth obscured by later blocking), interpreted as the entrance to a stair out of the cellar. The proposed entrance had its base at cellar floor level, and the corner which it formed with the wall face to its west was picked out in carved greensand blocks forming a chamfered moulding typical of a door surround. There was no moulding on the east side of the doorway, but this would not have been necessary, since on this side the recess formed by the entrance would have been continuous with the face of the east wall, which included three courses of tile cladding adjacent to the entrance immediately above floor level.

The elevation of the south wall suggests that the original fabric of the cellar wall survived much higher in the south-west corner, to *c.* 2.2m above the cellar floor level. Several large squared ragstone blocks at the corner imply a more regular construction than at the higher level. The curved profile of the stonework immediately above them is suggestive of a vault, but the blocks forming the curved profile were disturbed or even inserted during the post-medieval period. The vaulting would more probably have been sprung from *c.* 2m above the level of the floor of the medieval cellar; its form is unknown.

In the west of the cellar the sequence of thin trampled surfaces described for Building 10 (see above) could equally have been in use within Building 11, as construction levels or as floors, or perhaps as both. In the south-east of the cellar, an underlying pit was capped by successive clay floors, incorporating lenses of silt, ash and charcoal. A thin layer of silt with daub and charcoal probably represents the equivalent of

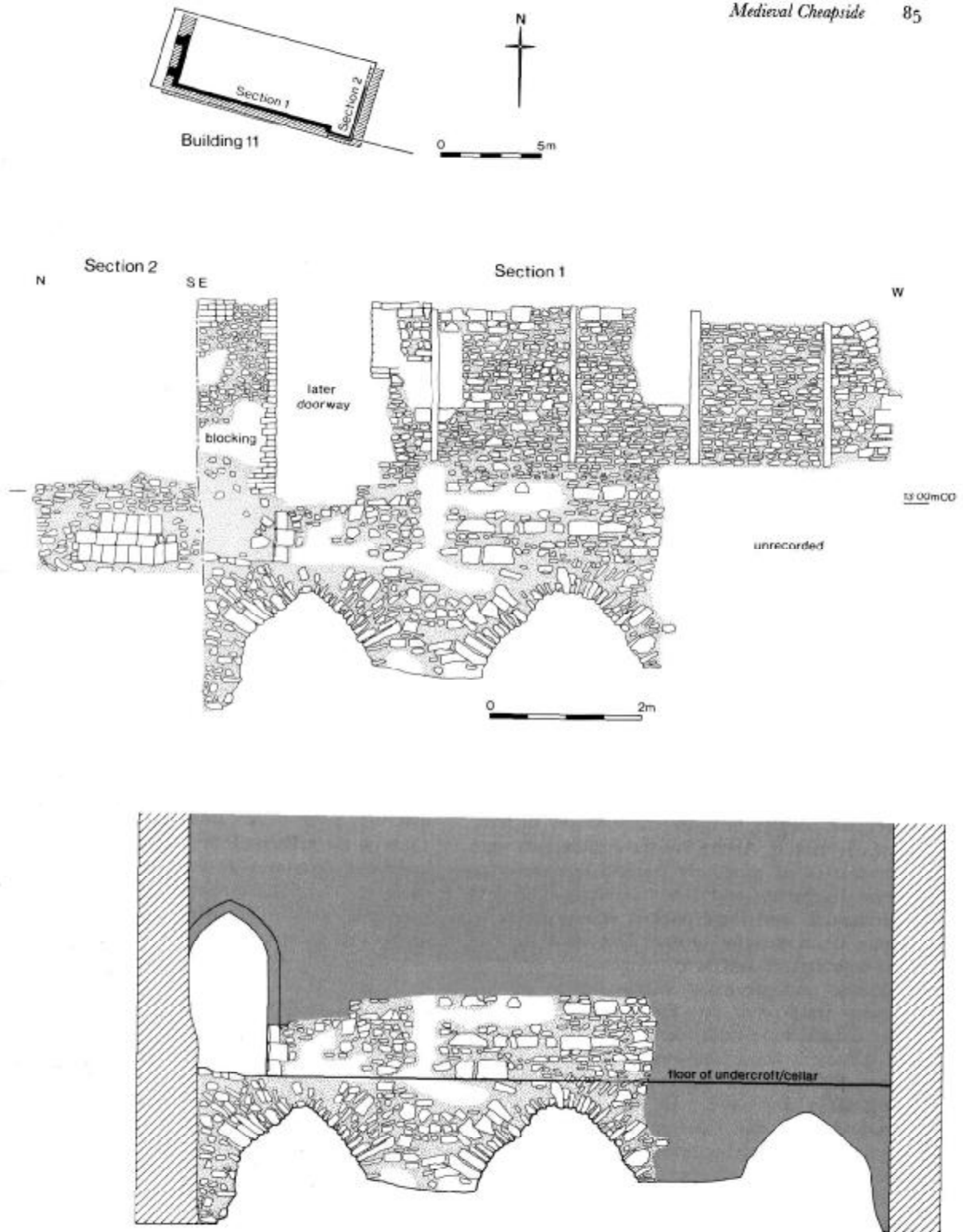


Fig 20. Well Court: Building 11, elevation of south wall with arched foundations (1:80). In this and Fig 21, the tone indicates medieval masonry removed by later modifications.

these floors in the west of the cellar. Both sets of surfaces were at broadly the same level as the change in construction from foundations to cellar walls proper, and the base of the entrance stair in the south-east.

The Phase 1 floor surfaces were sealed by loose pebbly silt up to 0.6–0.7m thick.

As with Building 9, the character of the foundations of Building 11 are of a kind dated after about the mid 13th century; archaeologically the construction is therefore placed within CPs8–11 (1240–1400). The building is probably the vault mentioned in this part of the site in 1269, and its construction can therefore be placed in the decades 1240–70.

Further east was an undercroft (Building 12; Fig 21) with details of the original vaulting still surviving. Although its south wall did not survive, the undercroft, or this part of it, was probably almost square, with a 2×2 bay vault; it is unlikely to have extended further south, since that part of the site was probably occupied by Building 9. The south wall probably coincided with the limit of the modern 9 Well Court. It covered 8.1m east-west by at least 5.2m (probably c. 8m) north-south. Two phases of construction were evident, of which the first was medieval.

The walls were constructed from a reduced ground level at least 2.0m below the contemporary ground surface, and up to 1.1m below future cellar floor level. On the evidence of the west and east walls, the walls were 1.1–1.2m thick. The foundations were constructed initially of irregular courses of large chalk blocks in hard gravelly mortar. Above this the foundations were constructed of randomly coursed medium ragstone fragments and flint nodules, some laid horizontally and some pitched nearly vertically, again set in gravelly mortar. This upper part of the foundations was faced externally with large ragstone and greensand blocks but no similar facing was seen on the inner face. The foundations were built free-standing to a height of 0.8–0.9m above the initial footings, and the large facing stones presumably served as an external reinforcement. To the east, spreads of crushed chalk and hard gravelly mortar which lay up against the bottom of the foundations on their external face represent construction spreads.

Inside the cellar, a foundation measuring at least 0.9m east-west was constructed from the same level as the main foundations. It was at least 0.5m deep, was trench built, and was

constructed of uncoursed large chalk with some medium ragstone fragments in sandy silt with ragstone chips. It was partially mortared across the top and was sealed by a series of thin spreads of silt and mortar, probably the same construction spreads as those related to the main foundations. This relationship would suggest that the foundation was earlier than the remainder of Building 12, but it is not untypical of the other foundations, and a reconstruction of the upper part of the cellar would strongly suggest that it might actually have been an integral part of it.

The cellar walls were distinguished from the foundations by their more regular construction, especially in the west and east walls which were recorded in most detail. Both walls were initially constructed of randomly coursed large and medium ragstone and chalk fragments in hard gravelly mortar, to a height of 1m. The largest stones were roughly squared blocks, some of which formed a levelling course at the top of this lower section of the cellar walls. Responds for a vault were constructed of very large dressed greensand and ragstone blocks at the centre point of both the west and east walls, and also in the north-east corner. The top of the responds, and the level from which the vaulting was sprung, was 1.5m above the cellar floor level. The responds were 0.3m wide (0.15m along each wall face at the corner) and were flush with the face of the walls, except for the corner respond, which incorporated a fluted offset moulding. The bases of the responds were not recorded; it is possible that they were begun from the levelling course 1.0m up the cellar wall (see above). The vaulting had been destroyed by the insertion of a later vault in Phase 2, but evidence of wall ribs, surviving both *in situ* and as robbed 'ghosts', makes it possible to reconstruct the vault. Along the east wall several carved greensand blocks projected up to 80mm and formed part of a chamfered wall rib describing a semi-circular arch between the respond at the centre point of the wall and that at the cellar's north-east corner. The robbed outline of an identical semi-circular wall rib survived along the west wall, between the respond at its centre point and the suggested south-west corner of the cellar. The top of the vaulting was 1.65m above the level from which it was sprung, and 3.1m above the level of the cellar floor.

Along the west wall, immediately to the north of the central respond, was a small niche 0.4m

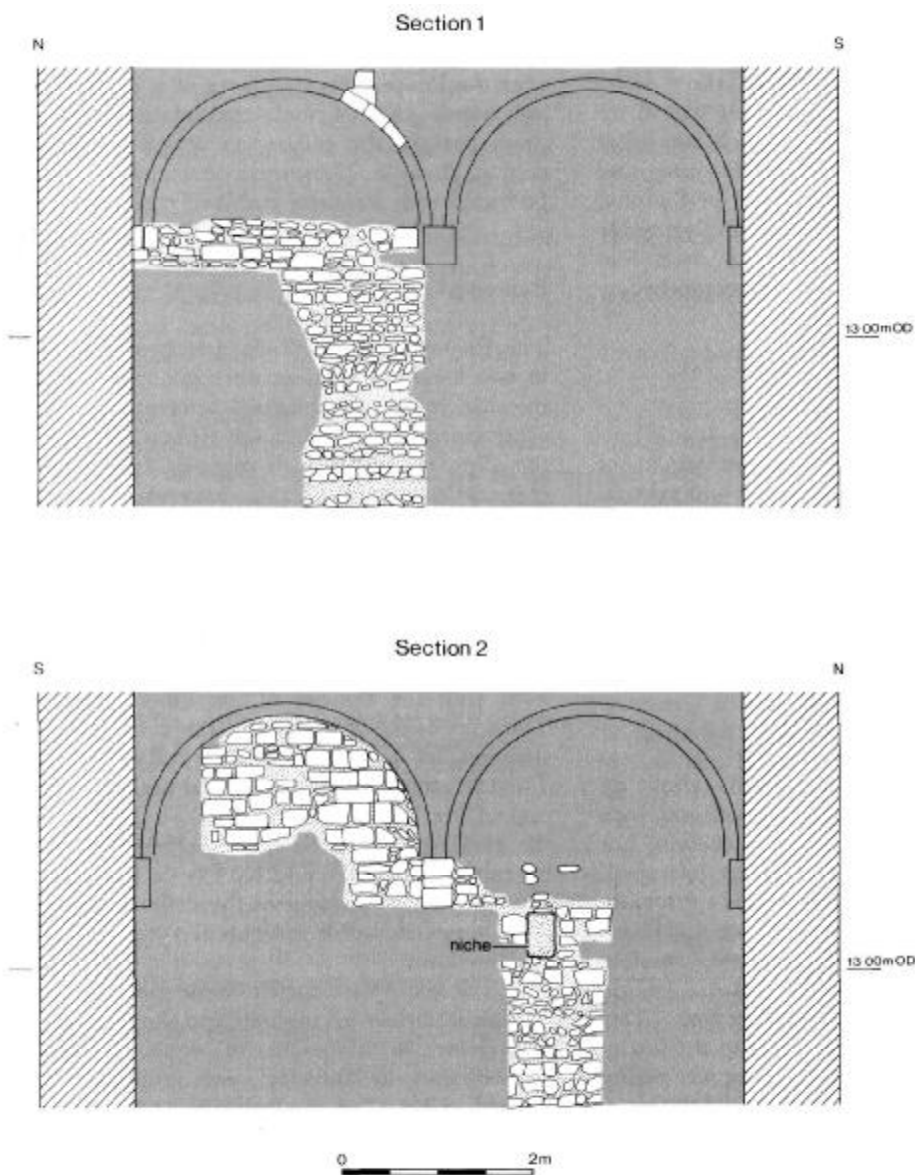
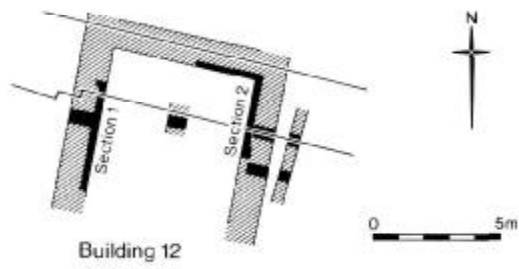


Fig 21. Well Court: Building 12, elevations of interior (1:80).

above the suggested level of the cellar floor. At least 0.4m wide and 0.5m high, lined at the sides with dressed ragstone blocks and with a tile base and top, it was recessed 0.25m into the cellar wall. No floor surfaces survived. A stone-lined garderobe immediately to the east of Building 12 (Pit 14) probably functioned with it.

Building 12 could not be dated accurately, although the character of its vaulting suggests a date in the second half of the 13th or the 14th centuries (see discussion p 162). It is therefore provisionally placed within CPs8-11 (1240-1400).

Thus, by 1400, it may be suggested (Fig 19b) that the Well Court site contained three stone cellars (Buildings 9, 11 and 12), and that these formed parts of buildings for which no other evidence survived. In addition, documentary evidence suggests that the back wall of Building 8 was used as a boundary and therefore probably a building line though Building 8 itself had probably been radically altered or demolished.

Post-Medieval Developments

(not illustrated in plan; see Fig 20)

During a later period, the stone vaults of Buildings 11 and 12 were removed and rebuilt. Building 11 was rebuilt first in stone (Phase 2) and later in brick (Phase 3); Building 12 received a barrel vault of brick at its north end (Phase 2). These developments are not dated, but seem most likely to be post-Fire, *ie* after 1666.

Building 11 Phase 2

The upper part of the cellar was rebuilt in mortared ragstone, randomly coursed and with similar mortar to the Phase 1 construction, but more evenly laid. Several courses of small ragstone fragments at the base of the rebuilding represent a deliberate levelling above the Phase 1 walling, while a course of large, roughly squared chalk blocks capped the Phase 2 walling immediately below the modern ceiling. This probably represents a strengthening of the top of the wall, and suggests that the ceiling was at the same level in Phase 2 as in modern times, but *c.* 0.4m lower than in Phase 1.

In the south-east corner, the rebuilding of the cellar involved the blocking of the Phase 1

entrance. However, a brick-lined recess immediately to the west, 1.2m wide and set back 1.0m, probably marks the position of a new entrance. The line of the later brick lining seems to correspond with a break in the Phase 2 fabric at the base of the feature, suggesting that the new entrance was originally constructed in Phase 2. Its base was 0.8m higher than that of its Phase 1 predecessor, and there must have been an intervening rise in the floor level. The new floor level gave an overall depth for the Phase 2 cellar of 2.6m.

The base of the new entrance was overlapped by a loose silt, similar to that which accumulated over the Phase 1 floor surfaces; it is possible that the upper part of the accumulation over the main part of the cellar was actually deposited during Phase 2. The entrance was subsequently provided with a mortar surface.

Building 11 Phase 3

The Phase 2 cellar wall was patched with bricks in two local areas; these were not excavated, so the nature of the blocked apertures was not ascertained. They could have been windows to the alley, chutes or even recesses. In the south-east corner, the Phase 2 entrance was re-lined in brick, and there was further brick patching along the top of the wall where it met the ceiling. Somewhat later, four vertical timbers, spaced at regular intervals of 1.7-1.8m, were inserted into channels cut into the masonry so that their faces were flush with the wall, and their bases were level with the bottom of the Phase 2 rebuild. They probably provided a frame for racks or shelving, set in the fabric of the cellar wall itself. The easternmost of these vertical timbers crossed one of the bricked-up apertures, indicating that the racking post-dated the blockings, as would be expected. They could have been two parts of the same refurbishment of the cellar. The cellar walls survived in this form until 1979, as part of 48 Bow Lane.

In the south-east corner, loose silt containing occasional bricks accumulated in the entrance to the cellar to a height of 0.3m. This was consolidated at the top with rubble, which formed a base for the modern concrete floor. The modern floor was laid more more thickly over the main area of the cellar, and all the later surfaces there would have been truncated by it.

Building 12 Phase 3

The Phase 1 vaulting was completely dismantled, and a double barrel vault was then inserted across the north part of the cellar. The new vault was aligned north-south and was supported in the centre on a brick plinth directly overlying the stone raft which supported the central column of the Phase 1 vault. Across the south of the cellar the ceiling was carried at a higher level than the brick vault. The Phase 1 walls were all retained substantially intact, but the upper part of the walls were rebuilt in brick. The cellar survived intact in this form until 1979, as part of 8 Well Court. The vaulted north part of the cellar coincided with the line of the modern alley, Well Court, and it is possible that the Phase 2 vaulting supported an earlier version of the alley.

A brick floor was laid over a thick make-up of silty rubble, raising the floor level by 0.7m. Loose occupational silt accumulated over the floor to a depth of 0.2m, before the modern concrete slab was laid 1.0m above the original Phase 1 floor level.

The detailed grouping of features phase by phase is listed in Appendix 1, and the finds assemblages and dating evidence from the strata comprising these features is described in detail in Appendix 2. A very small number of non-ceramic finds were produced from this site, and they are not numerous enough to be diagnostic of site use.

Ceramic Phase	Well Court
1	850-1020 Building 1 not dated but before Building 8 and by implication Street 1 (which overlay dark earth); then Street 2 and Building 2, not dated
2	1000-1020 Buildings 3 and 4, Street 3 Building 7 to rear
3	1020-1050 disuse of Buildings 3 and 4; disuse of Building 7
4	1050-1100 Building 5, then Building 6 on frontage
5-7	1100-1230 stone Building 8
8-11	1230-1400 stone Buildings 9-12
12+	1400-1700 Buildings 11, 12 rebuilt (probably after 1666)

Fig 22. Well Court: archaeological sequence summary.

The archaeological sequence at Well Court is summarised in Fig 22.

NOTES TO WELL COURT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- ¹ Perring & Roskams 1991.
- ² Horsman *et al* 1988, 61 (WEL1).
- ³ *Ibid* (WEL2).
- ⁴ *Ibid*, 61-2 (WEL3).
- ⁵ AM Lab report 854791.
- ⁶ Horsman *et al* 1988, 62 (WEL4).
- ⁷ *Ibid* 63-4 (WEL7).
- ⁸ *Ibid* (WEL5).
- ⁹ *Ibid*, 62-3 (WEL6).

Well Court documentary evidence

(Figs 23-29)

Derek Keene

The documentary background

Introduction

The Well Court excavations lay within a site which between the mid 13th century and the mid 16th century was a single freehold unit comprising several separate houses (Figs 24-7). This property measured 77ft in width next to Bow Lane and about 170ft in depth from front to back. On its south side it had an irregular outline, so that towards the rear it had a maximum width of about 130ft. At the back there was a gate, in existence by the 13th century, which opened into an alley leading towards Soper Lane (replaced by Queen Street, which was laid out after the Great Fire). This alley now forms part of Well Court. The western part of Well Court, towards Bow Lane, originated as a yard and passage within the two large houses occupying the rear part of the property. From at least as early as the 13th century onwards, the Bow Lane frontage was occupied by a row of smaller houses. Within this row were two gates leading to the houses behind. The site of the more northerly of these is represented by the entry off Bow Lane into the modern Well Court, while the other, of which no relic survives, was at the southern edge of the property. Between the 13th and the 16th century the site included the residences of some of the wealthiest and most prominent citizens of London.

Before *c.* 1250 the site appears to have been occupied by three separate freehold properties, adjacent from north to south. The boundaries of these are uncertain, although they may have been reflected in later arrangements. At this or an earlier date the two outer properties may have extended beyond the later limits of the site to the north and south. After the mid 16th century the property, and in particular the site of the two large houses at the rear, was progressively subdivided into smaller freehold units, several of which contained more than one house. Some of these houses were ranged along that part of the modern Well Court which leads off Bow Lane. In the 17th century that alley was known as George Yard, a name which continued in use into the mid 19th century. At the rear of the site, near the back gate, was a yard which was known in the 17th century as Well Yard and later as Well Court. The houses grouped around the yard shared the use of the well there. In the 17th century both George Yard and Well Yard were still gated off from the public highway. During the 14th century the alley leading from the back gate to Soper Lane was known as *Wendeazeinlane*, presumably because it was not a public way through to Bow Lane, and because those who entered it from Soper Lane had to turn back in order to get out again. This alley was later known as Needlers Lane, a name which in the 17th century was transferred for a while to the modern Pancras Lane, on the opposite side of Soper Lane. Eventually, by the late 19th century, the name Well Court was applied to the whole length of the alley running from Bow Lane to Queen Street.

The site lies entirely within the parish of St Mary le Bow and within Cordwainer Ward. Parts of its eastern and southern boundaries were coincident with the parish boundary.

Bow Lane has been known by a succession of names. By the late 12th century it was known as 'Cordwainer Street' or as 'Corveser Street'. In, or by, the early 14th century the name 'Hosier Lane' was adopted, reflecting a dominant local trade. This was replaced in the 16th century by 'Bow Lane', taken from the parish church of St Mary le Bow.

The account that follows is a shortened and

adapted version of one prepared as part of a full study of the history, up to *c.* 1670, of all the properties in the parish of St Mary le Bow and in four adjacent Cheapside parishes.¹ It is thus possible to set the site within a wider context. This study area did not include the parish of St Mary Aldermary, in which lay the properties between the southern edge of the Well Court site and Watling Street. For this reason there is some uncertainty about the exact form of the irregular southern boundary of the site during the Middle Ages. In the detailed publication arising from this study the property within which the Well Court excavation lay is identified as **104/23**, where **104** denotes the parish St Mary le Bow and **23** the property itself. Readers should refer to this publication for a full citation of the documentary sources on which the following account is based, and only additional sources used, or records of special interest, are cited here. The four principal parts of the property during the first half of the 16th century are identified as **23A–D** (see Fig 27). This system of reference is used in the present account, and where possible is applied to the separate parts of the property identifiable before the 16th century.

The boundaries of the site have been reconstructed using measurements and plans from 16th- and 17th-century sources, plotted on to the large-scale (1/528) City ward map of 1858. Earlier sources record the relative position of adjacent properties rather than their exact shape and dimensions. The boundaries reconstructed for this site match in detail those for the adjacent properties to the north and east, and are in broad agreement with the smaller quantity of evidence examined for the properties to the south in St Mary Aldermary parish. The irregular south boundary is identifiable on the Ordnance Survey map published in 1878, but was altered during later rebuilding. One consequence of this change was that the area exposed for archaeological investigation during the redevelopment of the site in 1979 was smaller in its extent towards the south than the medieval property.

The north boundary of the site in Bow Lane lay some 200ft back from Cheapside, the City's principal commercial street (see Fig 59). At this distance from Cheapside during the Middle Ages

Fig 23. Setting of the medieval Well Court site, showing encroachments known and fronts of excavated Buildings 6, 8 and 11. The base map is adapted from those in Historical Gazetteer 1.



there was room for properties of a substantial character. To the north the site was adjoined by another large property fronting on to Bow Lane (24) and by one, and later two, narrow properties extending back from Cheapside (32, 34; see Fig 23). The adjacent properties to the east fronted on to Soper Lane, and those to the south on to Bow Lane and Watling Street. Immediately opposite, on the west side of Bow Lane, the land was more intensively occupied during the Middle Ages. This was presumably because the churchyard of St Mary le Bow provided a means of public access to the land set back from the street. For these sites, and for property boundaries in the Cheapside area *c.* 1300, see Fig 58.

The history of the site

Cheapside and Bow Lane form part of a grid of streets which was probably laid out at the end of the 9th century. Excavation on the Well Court site revealed that the earliest identifiable street surface of this part of Bow Lane was laid at this time or early in the 10th century. Later the area was dominated by the church of St Mary le Bow. The exceptional status of this church, and its surviving late 11th-century crypt, suggest that it was built, perhaps specifically for Archbishop Lanfranc (d 1089), as London headquarters for the cathedral church of Canterbury and its priory. There may have been an earlier church on the site, but this is not certain. A record of 1098 × 1108 states that this church of St Mary, with the lands, houses and churches belonging to it, worth £40 a year in all, had been given to the church of Canterbury by Living the priest when he became a monk there. The late 12th-century rentals at Canterbury show that at that time the priory had rents from a cluster of properties in this part of London, close to the church of St Mary le Bow. They include two rents from properties occupying part of the Well Court site, which therefore may have been among the houses which Living had given to the church at Canterbury.²

At the end of the 12th century the annual rents due to Canterbury Cathedral Priory from the Well Court property were one of 39s paid by John, son of Baldwin, and one of 11s paid by William Pimund. John held other property in the neighbourhood. He died before 1222,³ and by that date his land here had passed into the

possession of the canons of the priory of St Bartholomew in Smithfield, from whom the 39s rent was due. In the rental recording this, which probably dates from *c.* 1220, the 11s rent formerly due from William Pimund was said now to be due from William's heirs. This rental, which also lists the rents due to Canterbury Cathedral priory from the adjoining properties to the north, names the neighbours of each piece of land, so that it is possible to identify John son of Baldwin's land as the northernmost part of the Well Court site (approximately equivalent to 23B and D at a later date; Figs 24, 27) and William Pimund's land as adjacent to the south. Both pieces of land were said to lie *in corueseria*, one of the earliest references to the first known name of Bow Lane, as 'Corveser Street' or 'Cordwainer Street', meaning 'the street of the shoemakers'.

To the south of William Pimund's land was a piece of land which *c.* 1220 was said to have belonged to William son of Isabel. William, a former sheriff of London and Middlesex who owned an extensive estate in the City, died in 1197–8.⁴ After *c.* 1220 this land was in the possession of Andrew Trentemars, who had died by 1244.⁵ Later in the 13th century members of the Trentemars family had an interest in a part of the Well Court site (see below), and so it is likely that the land which had belonged to William son of Isabel was a part of the same property, although the extent of that land towards the south is not known.

During the later 12th and early 13th centuries the Well Court site thus seems to have contained at least three properties adjacent from north to south (Fig 24). The rents due to Canterbury Cathedral Priory from the two more northerly properties totalled 50s. The roundness of this sum suggests that formerly it had been due as a single rent from one property, which by *c.* 1200 had been divided into two. Before that date the Well Court site may thus have been occupied by two properties, the more northerly being charged with rent to Canterbury cathedral, and the more southerly belonging to William son of Isabel or his predecessors. In the mid 13th century these separate holdings all came into the possession of the leading citizen William son of Richard, who died in or shortly before April 1269. This block of property is identifiable as 23. William's first acquisition within it was probably the middle part, which he seems to have inherited from his father, Richard le Prestre, draper.

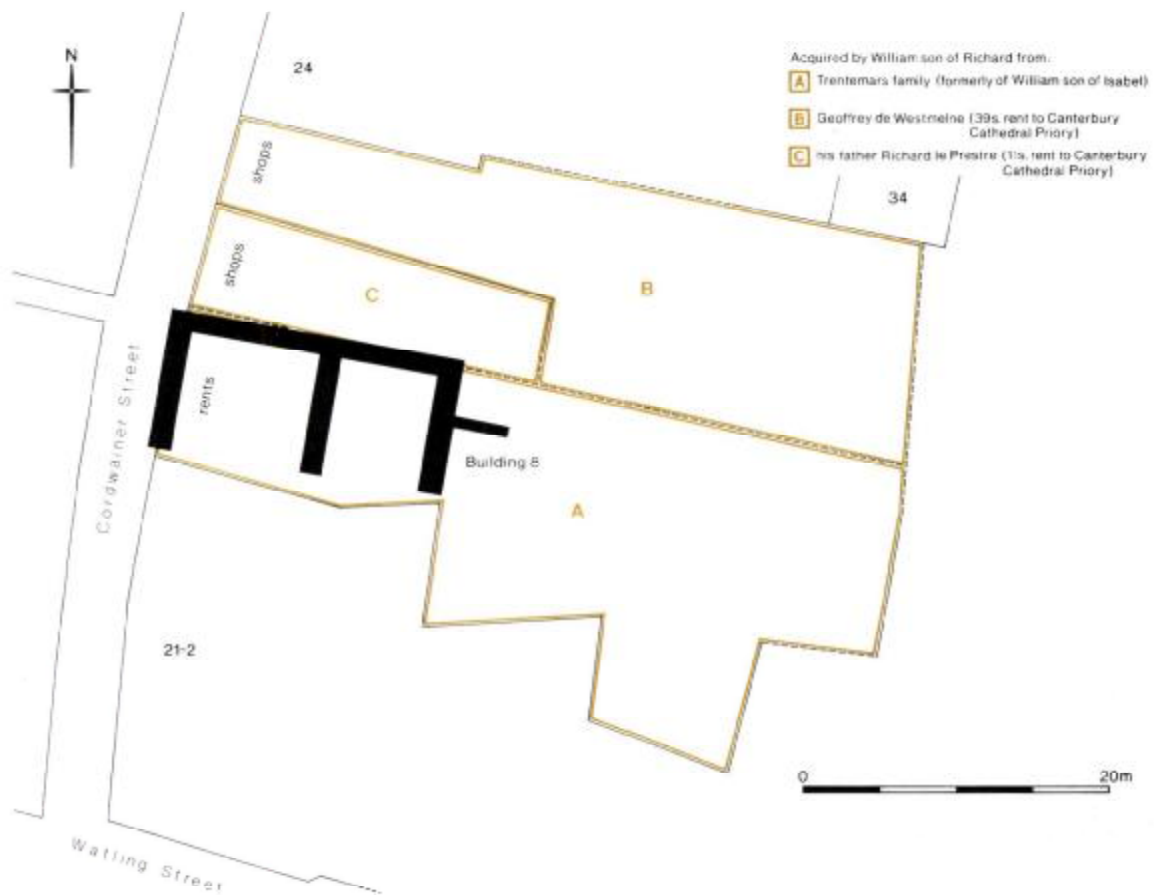
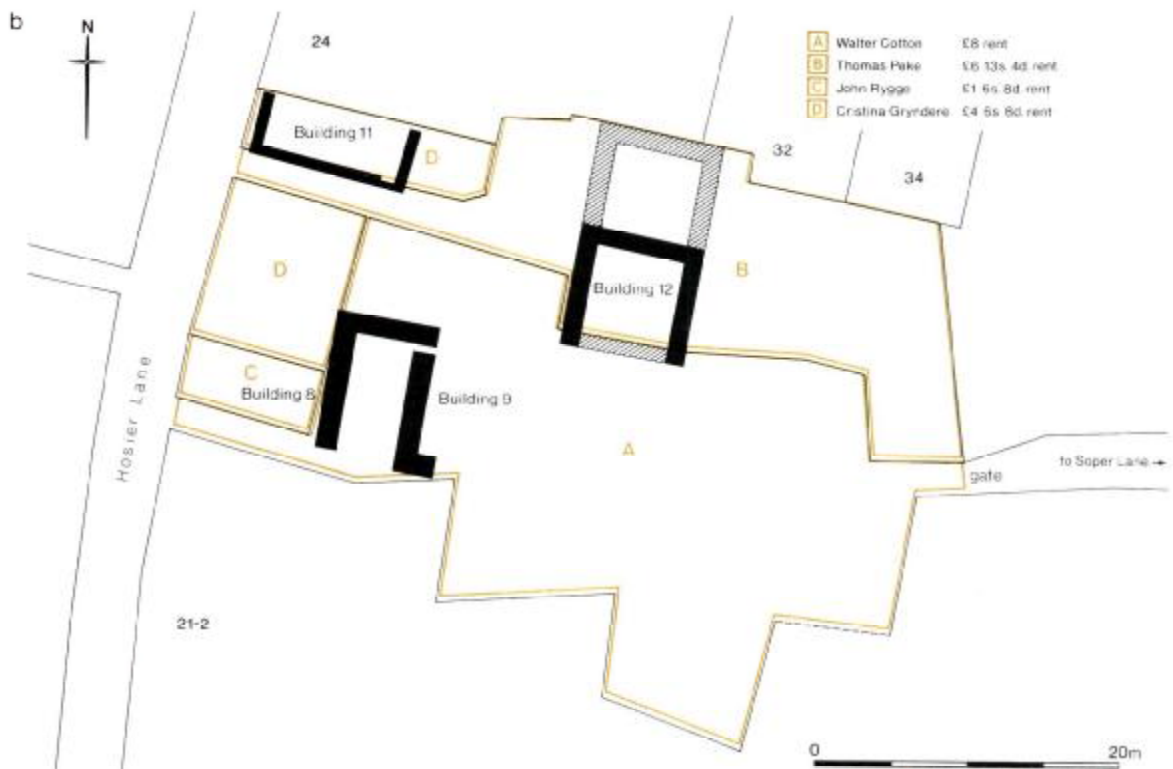
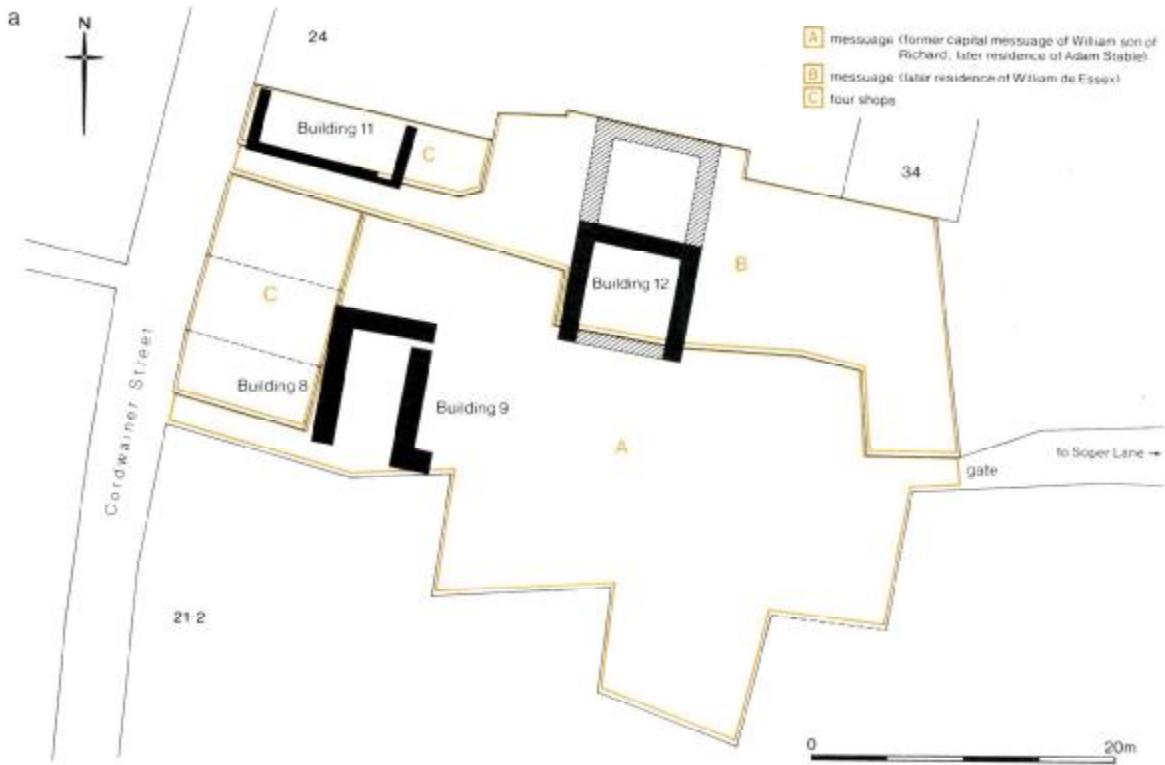


Fig 24. Well Court: conjectural arrangement of Tenement 23 in the early and mid 13th century, with Building 8 in outline (1:500).

After c. 1220 the most northerly of these properties (Fig 24) passed to Thomas Lambert, who held a house there of St Bartholomew's Priory. He was perhaps the Thomas Lambert who in 1227 supplied wine to the king in London, and may have been related to the Peter Lambert who was involved in the events which led to the murder of Ralph Eswy (probably another resident of the Cheapside area) in 1228.⁶ He also owned the property (part of 24) which was immediately adjacent to the north. Thomas Lambert gave that property to his daughter Joan when she married Abel the goldsmith. In 1250-1, when Joan and Abel disposed of their acquisition, the north part of 23 which adjoined it was described as a messuage of Richard de Wrotham, who had ceased to hold it by 1269-70. By the latter date, however, this part of 23 had passed to Geoffrey de Westmeine, who had sold it to William son of

Richard. Richard de Wrotham was perhaps an undertenam of one of these men.

The next part of 23 to the south (Fig 24) had passed to William Pimund's heirs by c. 1230. In a transaction which probably dates from c. 1230 William's daughter Agnes gave the property to Richard le Prestre, draper. In the charter recording the grant, Agnes described her father as having been the brother of Stephen Blund. A Stephen Blund held land in various parts of London in the late 12th century and had financial relations with the Crown.⁷ Agnes's reference to him suggests that this property may once have been part of his family's patrimony, but Stephen's relationship, if any, with the powerful London aldermanic Blunt family is not known. Among the witnesses to Agnes's grant⁸ were Roger Blund, as alderman, and Thomas Lambert, the owner of the adjacent part of 23. Agnes described



her property as the land with houses and shops in front (*ante*) which had belonged to her father in *Corveysterstrete*. Agnes reserved to herself and her heirs and assigns an annual rent of 40s, out of which Richard le Prestre and his heirs and assigns were to pay the 11s rent to the lords of the fee (*ie* Canterbury Cathedral Priory). Should Agnes or her successors sell the 40s rent, Richard and his successors were to be given preference over other purchasers by one gold bezant. In return for this grant Richard paid Agnes the sum of one mark. A reference in a Canterbury rental, probably dating from shortly before 1250, states that this property was then held by William son of Richard Prest.

The southernmost part of 23 (Fig 24), held in the late 12th century by William son of Isabel and in the early 13th by Andrew Trentemars, probably then passed successively into the possession of Geoffrey Trentemars and into that of Geoffrey's daughter Rose. Rose and her husband John Trentemars, goldsmith, granted the property to William son of Richard and his heirs and assigns, reserving a rent of 26s to themselves and their heirs, together with other services (not now on record) to the chief lords of the fee. By a charter witnessed by Edward Blund as alderman, and therefore probably dating from 1266 or after, John Trentemars and Rose granted 6s of this rent to William son of Richard in return for a payment of £3 13s 4d. In July 1269, soon after William's death, his son and heir had this charter enrolled in the Court of Husting, together with another one by which John and Rose had granted the remaining 20s rent to William.⁹ These rents were due from William's capital messuage (*managium*) and from the rents (*redditus*) in front of it towards the street on the west.

During the 1250s and 1260s William son of Richard was one of the most powerful citizens of London. He had been a sheriff in 1250–1 and then became alderman of Tower Ward. In 1258, when the City was in the king's hands, he was one of the collectors of the royal tallage there, and at the end of this period of direct royal rule was made mayor. He was made mayor again in 1259. Between 1263 and 1266 he was one of the keepers of the exchanges in London and

Canterbury. In May 1266, in the face of opposition from the lesser citizens (*minutus populus*) he was elected sheriff of Middlesex and keeper of the city on behalf of the king, an office which he held until the following November.¹⁰ He was clearly close to the king in political and financial affairs relating to London, and received royal exemption from tallages in 1262 and from all types of customs and exactions in 1267. He probably followed his father's trade of draper, although he was not normally described as such. He certainly supplied woollen cloth on a large scale to the king and to the aristocracy, and purchased cloths, furs, linen, and other goods on behalf of the Crown.¹¹

The London residence of such a man would have been a spacious and substantial structure, and it is certain that during William's later years at least the capital messuage which occupied the south part of the Bow Lane property (approximately 23A) was his residence (Figs 24, 27). The middle part of the property, which had belonged to William's father Richard and may have been Richard's residence, was perhaps incorporated by William into his own capital messuage, but this is not certain. William's residence occupied a large part or all of the rear of 23, and the gate at the back which opened into the alley leading to Soper Lane was later said to have been his.¹² Between his house and Bow Lane was a row of smaller houses, described as shops or rents, which William presumably let out to tenants. The northernmost part of 23 (approximately 23B and 23D), which William had purchased from Geoffrey de Westmelne, may have been incorporated in the capital messuage, or it too may have been let out for rent.

From his will, proved in 1269, it is clear that William was a parishioner of the church of St Mary le Bow, where he wished to be buried in his marble tomb (*in lapido meo de marbre*). He provided his wife Avicia with an annual income of £10 during the remainder of her life from all his houses and rents in London. After her death this was to be distributed between his children. To his son Thomas he left the capital messuage in the parish of St Mary le Bow (Figs 24, 25a), together with two houses in the parish of St Mary Aldermary. The location of the two latter

Figs 25a and 25b. *Well Court, Tenement 23*: (a) possible arrangement of tenancies in the early 14th century; (b) possible arrangement of tenancies in 1403–4 (1:500).

houses is not known, although it is possible that they adjoined the capital messuage to the south. To his daughter Margery, William left the messuage in St Mary le Bow parish which he had bought from Geoffrey de Westmelne, together with its shops and cellars, except for the cellar up to the vault (*ad voursura*) which he had appropriated to his capital messuage (Fig 24). A later description of the messuage left to Margery, made in or before 1280, described it as being bounded by *Corduanerstrate* to the west, a tenement which we know fronted on to Soper Lane to the east, a tenement identifiable as **104/24** on the north, and by the tenement then belonging to William's widow Avicia (probably identical with William's former residence) on the south. This description suggests that Margery's tenement was approximately equivalent to **23B** and **D** (Fig 27). In addition, William left sums of money to his son William, to his son John, who was secular clergyman,¹³ and to his daughter Avicia, who was a nun at Haliwell Priory.

The arrangement of **23** at this time appears to have been very similar to that in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries (Fig 25). There were two large houses to the rear, and part of the northern one had recently been transferred to the other, in which William son of Richard had lived. The smaller houses by the street presumably pertained to the larger ones which adjoined them to the rear. The descent of the two houses described in William's will was a complex one. His daughter Margery married Robert de Westmelne, a citizen and pepperer of London, who was probably related to the former owner of Margery's tenement, Geoffrey de Westmelne. It seems to have been envisaged that the messuage left to her was to pass only to the heirs of William son of Richard, although William's will is not clear on this matter. By a deed enrolled in 1280, William's son Thomas quitclaimed to Robert de Westmelne in this property for the term of Robert's life only. On Robert's death the tenement was to remain to Thomas or his heirs or assigns, unless Margery was still alive or had heirs of her body. Robert's tenure of the property had ceased by 1294.¹⁴ Thomas was not a citizen of London and seems not to have been active there. He probably left his father's capital messuage, occupying the south part of **23**, to be occupied by his mother Avicia. She was still alive in 1277, when her son William was released from the bonds of his apprenticeship to a pepperer in

return for a loan.¹⁵ Thomas was probably dead by 1299, when a will was enrolled by which John Sayer left to Idonea daughter of John de Armenters an annual quit-rent of 14s 4d from the tenement which had formerly belonged to 'Thomas son of Richard' in *Cordewanerstrete*.

Thomas seems to have had no children, and the greater part, or the whole, of his father's former property here is next known to have been in the possession of his sister Avicia, from whom it passed to Matthew de Essex, citizen and apothecary of London. A deed of 1314 concerning the adjacent property to the south,¹⁶ which occupied the site in the corner of Bow Lane and Watling Street, described it as being bounded by Matthew's tenement to the north and east. This description is consistent with the boundary of **23** as it can be reconstructed from 16th- and 17th-century records. This corner property, however, was also bounded on the east by a tenement of Avicia Fitzrichard, which presumably fronted on to Watling Street. This Avicia was probably either the widow or the daughter of William son of Richard, but there is no other evidence to indicate that William's property ever extended so far to the south. Matthew de Essex also acquired the northern part of William's former property, since in 1321–2 the 50s rent to Canterbury Cathedral Priory which was charged on it was due from him, and in 1323 his tenement was said to adjoin the rear of one of those in Cheapside.¹⁷ At this time the rent due to the priory was falling into arrears. In his will, enrolled in Husting in 1325, Matthew stated that he had acquired the tenements representing **23** by the gift and feoffment of Avicia daughter of William son of Richard. He left the tenements to his wife Margaret for the term of her life, and to his brother John after her death, and charged them with a quit-rent of £3 6s 8d for the maintenance of a chantry chaplain in the church of St Mary le Bow. Avicia, however, disputed this legacy and put in a claim on the occasion of the enrolment of the will.

In 1319 Matthew de Essex was taxed under Cripplegate ward, and probably lived in his property in the parish of St Michael there.¹⁸ But since Matthew left the tenements in St Michael parish to be sold by his executors, his widow Margaret may have lived in the Bow Lane property. In 1292 a Roger de Essex, probably a pepperer, was taxed under Cordwainer ward and so may have inhabited this property. Like

Matthew, he too endowed a chantry in St Mary le Bow.¹⁹ Several members of the de Essex family, with common interests in the spice trade and in the church of St Mary le Bow may thus have inhabited the property in the late 13th and early 14th century, at first, presumably, as tenants of the heirs of William son of Richard, and later as freeholders, or pretended freeholders.

After the death of Matthew de Essex the property was seized on behalf of the Crown, presumably on account of Matthew's bequest for the maintenance of a chantry. But in 1326 the trespass was pardoned and the endowment was allowed to stand. By December 1327 Matthew's widow Margaret had married Geoffrey de la Lee, and Avicia daughter of William son of Richard was prosecuting her claim against them in the Court of Husting. The property was now described as two messuages and four shops. The latter presumably lay between the messuages and the street. The defendants claimed that Avicia did not have a father called William. Avicia pressed her suit and in February 1332 a jury considered that she should recover seisin against Margaret and against a certain Matthew, son of the John de Essex (now dead) who under Matthew de Essex's will had acquired a reversionary interest in the property after Margaret's death.

The parties to this dispute may have been acting collusively with a view to providing an undisputed title for the benefit of a prospective purchaser of the property, for now no time was lost disposing of it. On 23 February 1332 Avicia daughter of William son of Richard granted it to Henry Darci, citizen and draper, and on 2 March quitclaimed to him all her right in the property. Darci was no more than an intermediary, and on 12 March 1332 granted the property to Richard Feuerer of Elsing (Norfolk), citizen and mercer of London. On 15 March Richard, who was also known as Richard de Elsing, drew up his will, leaving this property to be sold by his executors. Darci quitclaimed to Richard on 25 March, and by 27 July 1332, when his will was enrolled, Richard was dead. In the grants and quitclaims of 1332 the property was described as tenements in *Cordewanerstrete* in the parish of St Mary le Bow, having right of entry and exit both towards *Cordewanerstrete* and towards *Wendayeneslane*, which led to Soper Lane. These tenements were bounded on the north by 24 and by two tenements extending back from the

Cheapside frontage (32, 34), and on the south by two tenements, of which one (21-2) occupied the corner of Bow Lane and Watling Street, and the other probably lay further to the east along Watling Street.

Richard de Elsing was the brother of William de Elsing, also a citizen and mercer, who in 1331 had founded near Cripplegate the hospital for the blind and for priests which was later known as Elsing Spital. In his will Richard directed that William was to be favoured by £60 if he wished to buy the Bow Lane property, and that in return he or the warden and priests of the hospital were to maintain a priest there for ten years celebrating mass for the benefit of the souls of Richard and his family. In October 1333 Richard's executors sold the property to William de Elsing, who in April 1334, having obtained a royal licence to alienate, granted it to the hospital, its warden, and its chaplains. Under the terms of this grant the warden and chaplains were to maintain a chaplain celebrating for the souls of Master Thomas de Kynnyngham and William de Carleton, but there is no mention of a chantry priest for Richard de Elsing. Several measures were then taken further to secure the hospital's title to the property, which at this time was usually described as two messuages. In 1338 John de Essex, son of John de Essex, formerly citizen and apothecary, quitclaimed to William de Elsing, thereby eliminating any claim he may have had to the reversionary right which his father had acquired under the will of Matthew de Essex. William obtained an exemplification of the royal licence in 1343. The 14s 4d quit-rent mentioned in the will enrolled in 1299 was evidently still due from the property, but was eliminated in 1343 when John son of Idonea daughter of John Armenters quitclaimed his right in it to William de Elsing. Finally, the constitution of the hospital having been changed so that it was now a house of Augustinian canons, William de Elsing left this and other properties to the hospital by his will, drawn up and proved in 1349.

The priory of Elsing Spital remained in possession of the site until it was suppressed in 1536. Throughout this period Canterbury Cathedral Priory received its rent of 50s from the property. This quit-rent, which at times was described as being due only from the northern part of the site, was then extinguished as a result of the general dissolution of the religious houses. There is no evidence that in this period the rent

of £3 6s 8d, which had been charged on the property by Matthew de Essex, was ever paid: it may have lapsed as a result of the arrangement which was presumably made between Matthew's widow and Avicia daughter of William son of Richard in 1332. By 1487–8 Elsing Spital, as landlord of this property, was paying an additional annual quit-rent of 2s 6½d to the convent of Minoreesses outside Aldgate, as landlord of the adjacent property, **24**. The Minoreesses themselves paid a rent of 8s 8d to Elsing Spital in respect of **24**. These rents perhaps arose from an adjustment of boundaries between the two properties, possibly made as a result of pleas of intrusion concerning a tenement in this parish brought by Elsing Spital against the Minoreesses in 1418, 1422 and 1430. The two rents were extinguished during the 1530s when the two houses were dissolved.

During the second half of the 14th century Elsing Spital let **23** as two tenements which perhaps corresponded approximately to **23A** and **23B** (Figs 25a, 27). The more southerly of these (**23A**) was probably equivalent to the capital messuage formerly occupied by William son of Richard, while the more northerly (**23B**) appears to have been charged with the entire 50s rent due to Canterbury Cathedral Priory. The incidence of this rent suggests that the more northerly tenement occupied the site both of the one which William had inherited from his father and of the one which he had purchased from Geoffrey de Westmelne. This correspondence is not certain, however. It was not uncommon for mistakes to be made in identifying the exact plots of land from which long-established quit-rents were due, and during William son of Richard's time the arrangement of the earlier properties there may have been altered. The two tenants of Elsing Spital presumably let to undertenants the smaller houses or shops which lay between their houses and the street.

The more northerly of the two tenements (approximately **23B**) had been let to William de Essex by 1353, when he owed the 50s rent to Canterbury Cathedral Priory. To the east, his holding adjoined the rear of a property in Soper Lane, and its northern boundary can be identified as lying 53 yards and 2½ft to the south of Cheapside. In an undated Canterbury rental, probably of 1386–7 or a few years earlier, William de Essex was said to dwell in the tenement, but by 1389, when he was described

as a draper, he had ceased to hold it. William de Essex may have been related to Matthew de Essex and to the John de Essex to whom Matthew had left a reversionary interest in this property. This suggests that although members of this family had lost possession of the property in 1332, they may have continued to be associated with it as tenants, and possibly also as residents. Between the 1350s and the 1380s there were probably two men known as William de Essex who held the property in succession. Both were leading commoners who represented the City in parliament. Both were residents of Cordwainer Ward, and so probably both lived on this site. They may have been father and son. The former was a mercer, and was last described as such in 1362. A William de Essex is mentioned in 1363, but without any craft designation, and from 1364 onwards there are references to a William de Essex, draper. A single man may have changed crafts, but it seems more likely that the mercer died, perhaps during the pestilence of 1361–2, and was succeeded by the draper. The draper was one of the principal supporters of John of Northampton, also a resident of Bow Lane, during the internal conflicts which prevailed in the City during the 1370s and 1380s. He fled from the City and was deprived of the freedom in 1384, when John of Northampton fell.²⁰

In 1351 Elsing Spital let the south part of the property (approximately **23A**) to John de Kelyngworth, citizen and draper, and his wife Alice for the term of their lives and two years afterwards at £6 a year rent, the tenants being responsible for repairs. This holding comprised a tenement lying between Soper Lane and Cordwainer Street in which Ralph de Coventr', tawyer, had lived, together with a shop and a solar built above it on the north side of and adjacent to the gate of the tenement. This gate probably opened on to Cordwainer Street (Bow Lane), and the arrangement of this part of the property **23A** seems to have been very much as it was in the 17th century. John de Kelyngworth, at that time a hosier, had inhabited Cordwainer Ward in 1319, although perhaps not in this property. He was still living in the ward in 1332, when his name was entered in the tax list next to that of Ralph de Coventre, who was assessed at a higher sum. Ralph, who was presumably identical with de Kelyngworth's predecessor as tenant of this property and seems also to have

been described as a cordwainer, was probably dead by June 1338.²¹ John de Kelyngworth had a more prominent career as a commoner and as warden of the drapers' craft. He continued to live in Cordwainer Ward.²² In 1355, when he drew up his will (proved in 1357), he wished to be buried near his former wife in the church of St Mary le Bow, of which he was a parishioner. It seems likely that at this time he was living in this property, the former residence of William son of Richard (Fig. 25a). His will is remarkable for its small cash legacies, including sums to three named servants, to a former servant, and to three widows who lived next to his gate in Soper Lane. This gate was clearly that at the rear of **23**. The widows may have lived in Soper Lane itself, but the reference could mean that there was a group of small houses at the back of **23A** and forming part of that property, just as there was in the 17th century.

A later resident of **23A** was Adam Stable, mercer, an alderman from 1372 and mayor in 1376–7.²³ He died in 1383–4 and in the Canterbury rental of 1386–7 or earlier was said to be dwelling here as a tenant of Elsing Spital. He probably moved to this house from his former residence in Ironmonger Lane²⁴ in 1366, when his tenure there came to an end and when the prior of Elsing Spital brought a plea of intrusion against him concerning a tenement in St Mary le Bow parish. Stable's alignment, if any, during the City's internal conflicts is unclear, but he was deposed from his mayoralty by the king and there is some indication that he had been associated with John of Northampton²⁵. He may thus have had a common political interest with his neighbour William de Essex, draper. After his death Adam's widow, Katharine, left the parish and married again, although in 1403, when she died, she wished to be buried in the church of St Mary le Bow, where the body of Adam himself may have rested.²⁶

There is a reference to a part of **23** in January 1387, when the prior of Elsing Spital complained that he had let a tenement with solars to John Bradlee and his servant Janyn for a year from Christmas to Christmas and that the tenants had just before Michaelmas (presumably in 1386) cut down and carried away a counter (*couche*) in a shop for drapery, a pavement of Flanders tiles in a large chamber, a screen or partition (*parclos*) of Eastland board 13ft long in another chamber, three locks and four bolts, another partition in

an entry (*huys*) 24ft long standing in the said large chamber, a cupboard of Eastland board in the parlour, a crest of Eastland board over the screen (*speer*) in the same parlour, and a *rierdos* (perhaps a screen or piece of panelling) of Eastland board. These items had all been fixtures in the house. In addition the tenants removed a great quantity of Maidstone stone. Bradlee was already in prison for another offence, and the case was found against Janyn, who was to replace the tiles and clean the filth out of the house. This tenement, which contained at least three rooms in addition to the drapery shop, was probably one of the smaller houses on the Bow Lane frontage. Bradlee may have been the leatherseller of that name who was imprisoned for debt in November 1386 and released on Good Friday 1387.²⁷

In 1403–4 the whole property **23** consisted of four tenements, from which an annual total of £20 6s 8d rent was due to Elsing Spital (Fig 25b). The two most valuable tenements probably occupied the rear part of the property. These were a tenement (probably **23B**) which Thomas Peke, draper, held for £6 13s 4d rent, and a tenement (probably **23A**) which Walter Cotton, mercer, held for £8 rent. Cotton still held this property in 1409 when it was described as a great tenement next to Soper Lane, above (*ultra*) the entry of which was a house belonging to Elsing Spital. On the south side of that house, which was presumably the gatehouse itself, was a timber which rested on a corbel in a stone wall forming part of a house in Soper Lane and in St Antonin parish. This stone wall must have been to the south of the passage leading from the back gate of **23** towards Soper Lane. By his will, dated 1409, the owner of the wall left to Elsing Spital the right to rest that timber on his wall. The other two tenements in 1403–4 probably occupied the Bow Lane frontage, approximately on the sites identifiable as **23C** and **23D**. Cristina Gryndere owed £4 6s 8d rent for one (perhaps the more northerly one incorporating **23D**) and John Rygge, tailor, £1 6s 8d for the other (possibly part **23A** or part of **23C**). All four tenants may have inhabited the property. Cotton, alderman, c. 1409–16, and master of the Mercers' Company in 1415, was in 1417 among the wealthiest of the citizens of London. He was still alive in 1421. Thomas Peke was an alderman between 1409 and 1420, although the draper of

that name active in 1377 was presumably not the same man.²⁸

In 1445, following a dispute between Elsing Spital and Canterbury Cathedral Priory over the 50s rent due to the latter, it was found that this sum was charged on two houses belonging to Elsing Spital and then inhabited by John Parker, Cristina Grynder and Geoffrey Boleyn (Fig 26a). These houses occupied the northern part of **23**. Cristina had presumably been living there since 1403, perhaps on the site later identifiable as **23D**. Parker may have occupied a house on the site of **23C**. Boleyn probably occupied the large house to the rear (**23B**). The south part of **23** at this time consisted of a tenement (**23A**) inhabited by Thomas Stele, mercer. Boleyn (**23B**) and Stele (or Style: **23A**) were still tenants in 1448, when each paid £6 13s 4d rent (Fig 26b). Margaret Grynder (**23D**) had presumably succeeded Cristina. She paid £1 6s 8d rent, and perhaps therefore occupied a smaller house than the one occupied by Cristina. There were two other tenants, Thomas Cursom and John Boyles, who paid rents of £1 13s 4d and £1 6s 8d, respectively, perhaps for houses on the site identifiable as **23C**. The total annual rent due at this time, £17 13s 4d, was less than in 1403–4, and the way in which the buildings were occupied had probably changed since then. At least one of the occupants of the two large houses to the rear was of a standing equivalent to that of his predecessors. Boleyn, alderman from 1452 until his death in 1463, and mayor in 1457–8, was a wealthy mercer and master of his company in 1454.²⁹ It is not known how long Boleyn lived in the property after 1445. By 1463, however, his London house was in the parish of St Lawrence Jewry.³⁰ Thomas Stele is less well known, and did not attain the rank of alderman. John Boyles, who held one of the smaller houses, may have been the grocer of that name who was alive in 1453.³¹

The next known tenant of a part of the property was the wealthy mercer John Stokton, who in his will, drawn up in 1471, left to his wife Elizabeth the tenement where he lived in St Mary le Bow parish which he held on lease from Elsing Spital. Stokton probably lived in **23A**, the former residence of William son of Richard. He

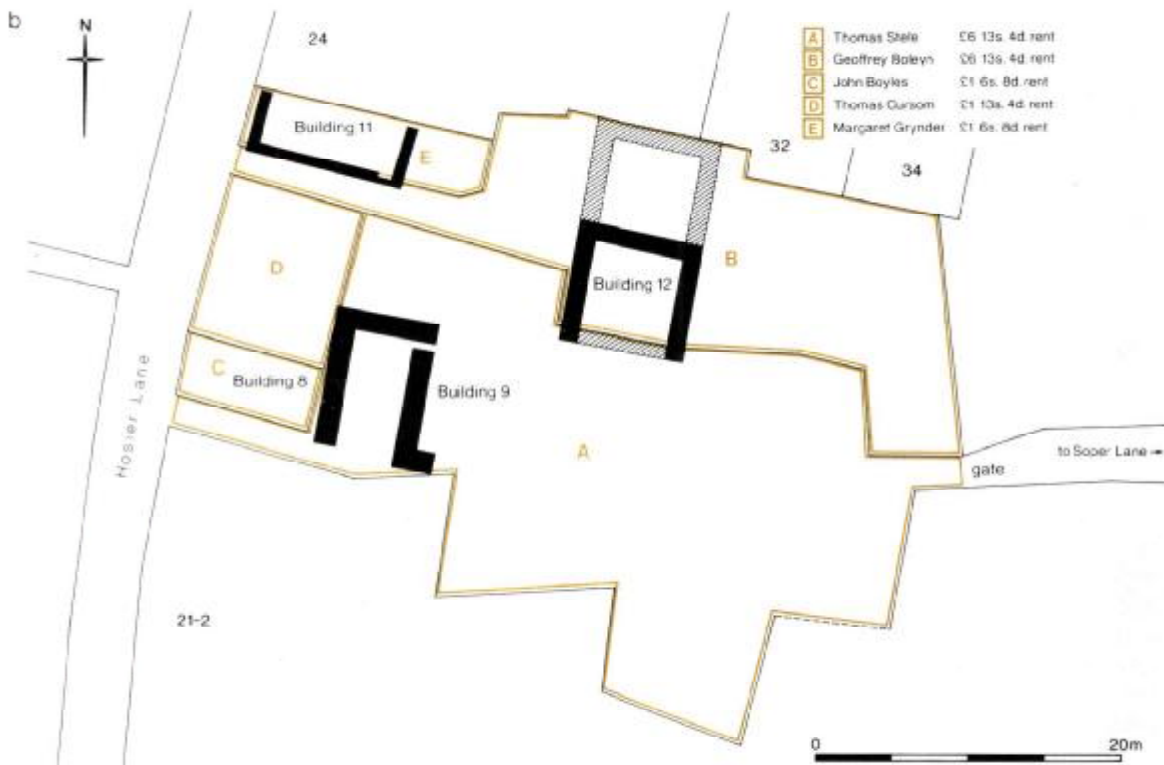
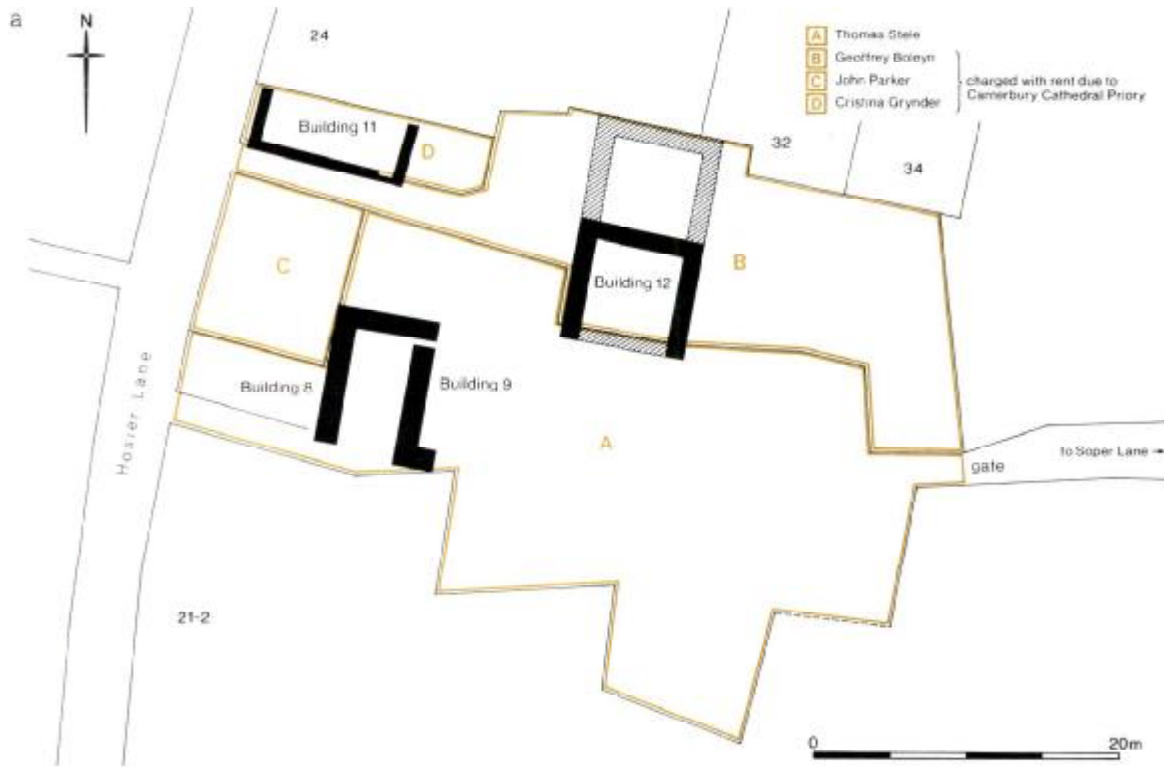
had been an alderman since 1462, master of his company in 1463 and 1469, and was knighted during his mayoralty in 1470–1. He was a benefactor of his parish church of St Mary le Bow, where he wished to be buried, and left money and instructions for the remodelling of its south aisle.³²

During the early 16th century (Fig 27) Elsing Spital let **23** in four parts, identified as **A–D**. In 1536 those properties passed to the Crown, which sold them soon afterwards. **23B**, **23C** and **23D** then came into the same ownership as the block of properties which adjoined them on the north side (**24** and **26–8**), while **23A** was acquired by another landlord.

For a short period during the 16th century an additional quit-rent of £1 6s 8d was charged on the whole of **23**. This was intended to contribute towards the cost of an obit of William Browne, mercer, celebrated in the church of St Mary Aldermanbury. Browne's son, William Browne, mercer, and his executor, Thomas Hynde, mercer, who was tenant of part of **23**, caused certain lands in Essex to be conveyed by Waltham Abbey to Elsing Spital for this purpose. Subsequently, in 1520, Elsing Spital agreed with the Mercers' Company that the hospital should convey a rent of £1 6s 8d due out of **23** to Richard Felding, who was then to bequeath it to the hospital in order to increase the endowment of the obit. After the dissolution of Elsing Spital the rent was supposed to have been received by the Mercers' Company, but nothing seems actually to have been paid, and the liability ceased when the chantries were suppressed in 1547. Elsing Spital also made an annual payment of £1 2s for the anniversary of Thomas Hynde celebrated in the church of St Mary le Bow, but this seems to have been charged on its estate as a whole.

23A, or a part of it which adjoined the next property to the south in Bow Lane, was a tenement of Elsing Spital where between 4 July and 28 July 1506 Roger Grene, mercer, ceased to dwell.³³ Grene was not a prominent figure and may have inhabited one of the smaller houses on the street frontage. In 1515 Thomas Baldry took a lease of the tenement representing the whole of **23A** for a term of 36 years at

Figs 26a and 26b. Well Court, Tenement 23: (a) possible arrangement of tenancies in 1445; (b) possible arrangement of tenancies in 1448 (1:500).



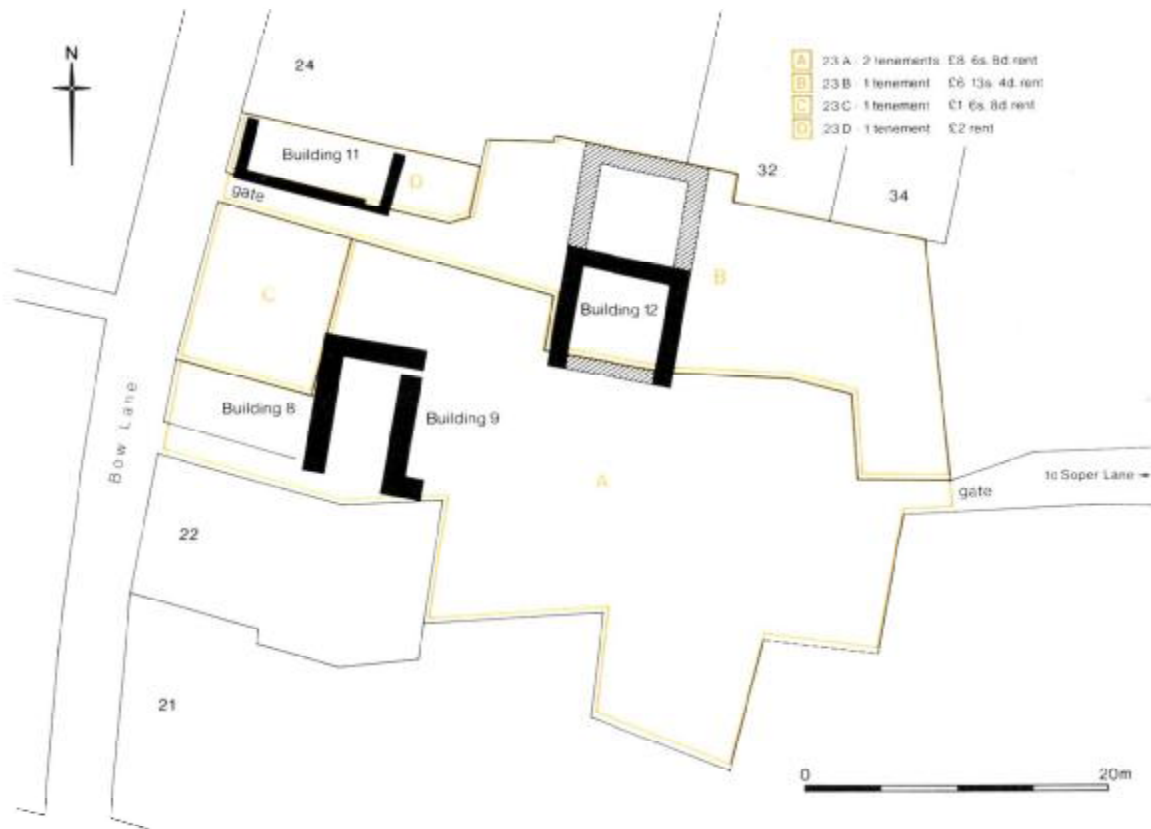


Fig 27. Well Court, Tenement 23: tenancies c. 1530 (1:500).

£8 6s 8d rent. Baldry was a wealthy mercer, alderman from 1514 onwards, master of his company in 1515 and 1524, and mayor in 1523–4, when he was knighted. In a description of an adjoining property dating from 1525, he was said still to hold this one. He was almost certainly living in the large house on this site in 1522, when his goods were valued at 5000 marks (£3,333 6s 8d). In wealth, Baldry was exceptionally pre-eminent among the inhabitants of this part of London, one of the most prosperous districts of the City, for this valuation was more than twice that of the next largest for the inhabitants of the five parishes of the Cheapside study area. Baldry died in 1534, but it is not certain that he continued to live in this house until the end of his life.²⁴

By 1535–6 Baldry's lease of 23A had been assigned to another mercer, Richard Gerveys, who was said to hold two tenements. These were probably the large house to the rear and the smaller house next to Bow Lane. In 1537 the

Crown granted this property, together with 23C, and some other former possessions of Elsing Spital to William Smyth of London, gentleman. At this time the smaller house forming part of 23A was probably occupied by William Croks, tallow chandler. Smyth sold the property to Gerveys in 1538, when it consisted of a capital messuage with cellars and solars inhabited by Gerveys and a little tenement, now inhabited by Walter Campyon, grocer, on the north side of the gate of the capital messuage. Both were said to be in 'Hosyerlane alias Bowlane'. Christopher Campyon, a mercer, probably held the little tenement in 1540. Richard Gerveys continued to use the capital messuage as his London residence until he died in 1557. By his will, drawn up in 1552, he left this messuage, together with lands in Wiltshire, to his wife Winifred during her life, and then to his younger son Richard Gerveys and heirs, with remainder to his elder son Thomas Gerveys and heirs, and thence to John Statham son of his wife Winifred. Soon after this

date the capital messuage was divided into several smaller houses (see below).

Richard Gerveys was probably the last of the residents on the site of **23A** to enjoy exceptional wealth. He was an alderman between 1543 and 1553, and master of the Mercers' Company in 1544 and 1551. In 1541, when his goods were valued at £3,000, he was exceeded in wealth among the inhabitants of this area only by Sir Ralph Warren, who was further advanced in his career. By 1544, when his goods were again valued at £3,000, Gerveys had overtaken Warren, who with goods valued at 4,000 marks came second to him in the area. The valuations of this period reveal a striking contrast in the wealth between the residents of the street frontage houses and those of the larger establishments behind. Christopher Campyon's goods were valued at £100 in 1541 and £200 in 1544, 3.3% and 6.6%, respectively, of Richard Gerveys's valuations. In the later of these taxation lists Christopher Campyon's name is followed by that of Walter Campyon, with a valuation of £5. Walter was perhaps a relative of Christopher, and they may have been sharing the house.³⁵

The high standing which this large house (**23A**) enjoyed over a long period is revealed by the similar roles which it played in the careers of Adam Stable in the 14th century and Richard Gerveys in the 16th. Both men moved to this site from the same house (**95/2**) a few minutes walk away in Ironmonger Lane where they had lived previously. This move appears to have marked a similar stage in each man's advancement, and was made six to eight years before the rank of alderman was attained. Over a long period, from at least as early as *c.* 1250 to the middle of the 16th century, this house had a clear association with men of exceptional wealth and standing, and to take up residence there was a mark of a successful career.

In 1525 **23B**, the more northerly of the two large houses (Fig 27), was described as a tenement with shops, cellars and solars, comprising two tenements united and built into one principal tenement which Thomas Hynde, mercer, had lately held, and which William Lock, mercer, now held. This property was said to be between **23D**, **24** and **33** (in Cheapside) on the north, **23A** and **23C** on the south, Hosyer Lane on the west, and the rear of a property in Soper Lane on the east. In this year Elsing Spital let the property to William Lock for a term of 30 years

at £6 13s 4d rent, reserving to itself, presumably for the use of another tenant, a part of a cellar which lay under a part of this tenement near (*prope*) Hosyer Lane (Bow Lane). The landlord was to be responsible for repairs and quit-rents, and any buildings erected by the lessee were to be left for the landlord's profit. Lock continued to hold the property under this lease, and in 1537 purchased the freehold from the Crown. He was living there at that time and continued to do so until his death in 1550. Lock also acquired **24** immediately to the north and a number of other properties in the neighbourhood, including **27** and **28** in Cheapside (Fig 23). He was on one occasion said to be dwelling at **27**, but he perhaps used that property mainly as a warehouse and retail outlet. In his will, drawn up in 1550, he left to his five sons his dwelling house in Bow Lane (**23B**), together with his house at 'the Lock' (**27**) and his house at the Bell (**28**) with the shops and appurtenances, to the intent that his sons should dwell in them and continue to keep the retail shop there in his name.

Thomas Hynde was probably living in this house (**23B**) in 1522, when his goods were valued at 2,000 marks, a substantial sum for the area, but much less than that of his neighbour Thomas Baldry (**23A**). He was a prominent mercer and merchant venturer from about 1502 onwards, but did not attain aldermanic rank.³⁶ William Lock was far more important. He was a major supplier of expensive textiles to King Henry VIII, in whose household he was a gentleman usher of the chamber. He was an alderman from 1545, and master of his company in 1548. His goods were valued at £1,600 in 1541 and at £1,200 in 1544.³⁷ These valuations were 40% and 46%, respectively, of those for Lock's neighbour in **23A**.

23C was a much smaller tenement on the Bow Lane frontage (Fig 27). In 1525 it was held by John Roos, barber-surgeon, and in 1535–6 by Henry Adams, barber-surgeon, who paid £1 6s 8d rent. William Smyth purchased the property from the Crown in 1537, and in 1538 sold it to William Lock. At this time Adams still held the property, which was described as a tenement with a shop, cellar(s), and a solar(s), bounded by a messuage belonging to Lock (**23B**) on the east and north, and by **23A** on the south. In 1550 this was probably the house occupied by Thomas Bren which William Lock left to his son Michael for the term of his life, with remainder to

William's son Thomas. In 1561 the house occupied by Bren was said to be worth £3 17s 4d a year after outgoings. Roos, Adams and Bren do not appear in the taxation lists for 1522–4, 1541 and 1544, presumably because they were not wealthy enough to be assessed. It is possible, however, that none of them were resident at those dates.

23D was also on the Bow Lane frontage (Fig 27). In 1525 it was a tenement on the north side of **23B** which William Gresham, mercer, held by indenture for a rent of £2. In 1538 the Crown granted to John Edwards, citizen and grocer, a lease of this tenement with the houses and buildings belonging to it, then in the tenure of William Gresham, for a term of 21 years at £2 rent. Gresham also held the tenement immediately adjacent to the north (part of **24**), for which he paid £5 rent to the Minoresses. In November 1538, on the eve of their surrender to the Crown, the Minoresses granted a lease of this tenement, with its shops, cellars, warehouses and appurtenances, where Gresham was said to live, to John Edwards (described as citizen and haberdasher in the surviving copy of the lease), for a term of 99 years at £5 rent. In 1540 the Crown sold these two tenements and other properties to William Lock, mercer. The particulars for sale refer to the Crown lease of **23D** to John Edwards, grocer, and that of part of **24** to John Edwards, mercer. It seems likely that these two lessees were the same person, and that the description of him as a mercer was wrong. Edwards was dead by 1554, and a reference to him in 1559 suggests that he had transferred from the Grocers' Company to that of the Haberdashers. In William Lock's will of 1550 these two properties (**23D** and part of **24**) were described as the house where John Edwards dwelled and which Lock bequeathed to his son Henry Lock.

The house of which **23D** formed part at this time was a substantial one, worth £7 a year rent. William Gresham was probably the merchant adventurer with interests in the Levant trade, who was the eldest brother of Sir Richard Gresham and of Sir John Gresham, and a partner in some of their enterprises. He was assessed as a resident of this property in 1522 (with goods valued at 500 marks), 1541 (goods valued at £1,000), and 1544 (goods valued at £800). He died in 1548, wishing to be buried in the parish church of St Pancras Soper Lane. He

had inherited the mansion at Holt (Norfolk) where he and his brothers had been born, and in 1546 sold it to his brother John. During the latter part of his residence in Bow Lane, Gresham was presumably an undertenant of John Edwards. In 1544 Edwards himself was listed as a resident of this part of Bow Lane, probably in part of **23D** or **24**, with goods valued at £25, a striking contrast with the valuation for his wealthy tenant. Edwards may subsequently have occupied the whole house.³⁸

After Edwards's death his widow Margaret married John Bambridge, citizen and mercer. In 1554 Henry Lock, who was at that time in possession of the property, leased a part of it to Bambridge for a term of 25 years from 1560 at £2 rent. This part almost certainly corresponded to **23D**, since the term was to begin immediately after the former lease of **23D** to Edwards was due to expire, and the rent under the two leases was the same. The property leased was described as certain rooms 'parcel of the mansion house' of John Bambridge in Bow Lane, and comprised a great cellar or vault, the great warehouse over it, a great parlour and buttery over the warehouse, and a great chamber over the parlour. In 1559 Bambridge assigned this lease and the two earlier leases granted to Edwards to Peter Baker, citizen and scrivener. Baker is the next known occupant of the property, and probably lived there until his death in 1592. He seems already to have held the house in 1558, when he was in dispute with Sir Thomas White (at that time owner of **23A**) over a watercourse which ran from a yard in Baker's tenure into a yard and entry belonging to White.

The total annual rental value of **23** in about 1530 was £18 6s 8d. This was probably also its true annual value, since fines were not usually paid for leases at this period. The property thus appears to have been worth less than it had been in 1403–4, but more than it had been in 1448. The rise in money value since 1448, contrary to the general trend for properties in this area, may reflect a recent investment in new building on the site, possibly associated with the unification of two tenements to make one principal tenement (**23B**), or more likely, by Sir John Stokton at his house (**23A**). Throughout the 15th and early 16th centuries there appear to have been four or five houses on the site. Thus there were four tenants in 1403–4, four about 1445 (when three of them were said to inhabit two of the houses), five in

1448, and four *c.* 1530. At this last date, one of the larger tenements (**23B**) was said previously to have been two: one of the smaller houses listed in 1448 may have been taken into one of the larger houses behind. By 1535 the other larger tenement (**23A**) had been divided in two. However we choose to interpret these figures, the site appears to have been more intensively occupied in the early 14th century, when it contained six houses (two messuages and four shops), than 200 years later.

Changes in the rental value of the different parts of the property between 1403 and *c.* 1530 suggest that some parts of **23** may have undergone marked changes in size and shape over the same period. It is not easy to determine the form these changes may have taken since some of alterations in rental value could reflect changes in the physical condition rather than in the size of the houses. The two most valuable houses, presumably those occupying the rear part of the plot, were subject to least change in value. The major change concerns the property held in 1403–4 by Cristina Gryndere for £4 6s 8d rent and probably situated next to Bow Lane in the north part of the property. No later part of **23** on this street frontage was worth as much as half that rent. Cristina's houses may thus have been substantially larger than other houses on the frontage, both then and in other periods. Part of her holding may later have been taken into other parts of the property, including the larger house behind.

The later 16th and the 17th century

A great deal of information on the history and arrangement of these properties in this period will be found in the *Historical Gazetteer*, but is here summarised only in bare outline, with special reference to the progressive subdivision of the houses and to the character of their occupants.

Soon after the death of Richard Gerveys **23A** (Fig 27) seems to have come into the possession of Sir Thomas White, who certainly held on lease the adjacent property extending south as far as Watling Street (**21–2**). White appears to have divided the property which he owned in Bow Lane (probably **23A**) into smaller houses to be let to tenants. In 1568 this holding, which was held by five tenants, consisted of five messuages, a warehouse, two shops, and some minor

structures. The two shops were presumably on the Bow Lane frontage. In the 1630s there appear to have been five tithe-paying households within **23A**. One of them occupied a house substantially more valuable than the others, which in other records of that time was described as a great messuage. This appears to have been located in the central and southern part of **23A**. There seem in addition to have been one house on the Bow Lane frontage, and a group of three houses around Well Yard at the rear of the property. By 1666 **23A** probably contained eight houses in all, ranging in size from two to eight hearths each. These comprised four houses in Well Yard, one on the site of the great messuage, and three others which were probably between the great messuage and the Bow Lane frontage. After the Great Fire the site of **23A** appears to have been held in two freehold or tenurial units.

The capital messuage representing **23B** (Fig 27) was still undivided in 1599, although two rooms one above another and above a warehouse forming part of the capital messuage had recently been occupied by Peter Baker, and the cellar beneath the warehouse had been occupied by another tenant. This subsidiary structure with a cellar, warehouse, and two more rooms above was very similar to **23D** as described in 1559, when the lease of it was assigned to Peter Baker. At this time **23B** and **23D** belonged to the same landlord. Baker's lease would have expired in 1585, and so it seems likely that at that time the warehouse in **23D** was taken into the capital messuage represented by **23B**, while the rooms above it and the cellar below were let out to tenants at will, including Baker. A schedule of fixtures in the capital messuage in 1599 lists several of the rooms there. These were the hall, the parlour, the buttery, the great chamber, the 'matted chamber' which included a window towards the street gate (presumably in Bow Lane), the kitchen, and the yard (perhaps equivalent to the later George Yard) where there was a lead cistern, a pump, two stills, and a frame of glass lighting the stairs which led from the hall up to the chambers.³⁹ By 1618 this capital messuage had been divided into several separate parts, and in 1637 consisted of five messuages. In 1651 **23B** was represented by the group of messuages 'commonly called the George Yard' where there were seven tenants. In 1666, on the eve of the Great Fire, the assessors of Hearth Tax listed eight houses in George Yard,

ranging in size from two to seven hearths each. One of these houses was probably part of **23A**, and the others probably represented **23B**. Only five of these eight houses were listed as having been destroyed by the Great Fire. This suggests that there were five separate house structures in **23B** at that time, and that parts of some of them were occupied by three additional households. The surveys drawn up in connection with rebuilding these and adjacent sites after the Great Fire (Fig 29) show that at that time **23B** included a gate and passage leading off Bow Lane between **23C** and **23D** into George Yard behind. The buildings comprising **23B** lay on the north and south sides of George Yard, and the yard itself was regarded as part of the same property. At the rear **23B** extended south as far as the gate leading towards Soper Lane. Immediately behind **23C**, **23A** projected north so that it adjoined the south side of George Yard.

By 1598 **23C** (Fig 27) had been divided into two houses, both fronting on to Bow Lane. The two houses were described in some detail in 1647, when the more southerly one contained two storeys plus garrets over a cellar, and the more northerly one contained four storeys plus garrets over a cellar (Fig 28). The more northerly

house included a building erected by a tenant who had died in 1599. This contained several rooms built over the rear part of the great gate or passage leading from Bow Lane into **23B**. The hall of this house appears to have extended over the gate or passage next to Bow Lane, and included at its north end a recent addition of about 3½ft which presumably had been taken out of **23D**. There are grounds for believing that a small shop (formerly of Thomas Munk, cf Fig 28) below the hall and on the north side of the gate was also part of **23C** at this date. The cellar beneath the more northerly house was held by a separate tenant from the building above, and opened into the passage. By 1666 the more southerly of the two houses appears itself to have been divided, so that there were three houses on the site of **23C**, one with two, one with four, and one with five hearths. The Hearth Tax assessments reveal that the great contrast in size and wealth between houses on the different parts of **23** which had characterised the period before 1550 had by now been much diminished.

During the later 16th and the 17th centuries the house on the site of **23D** appears to have been subject to a complex and continually changing pattern of occupation. In 1600 the then

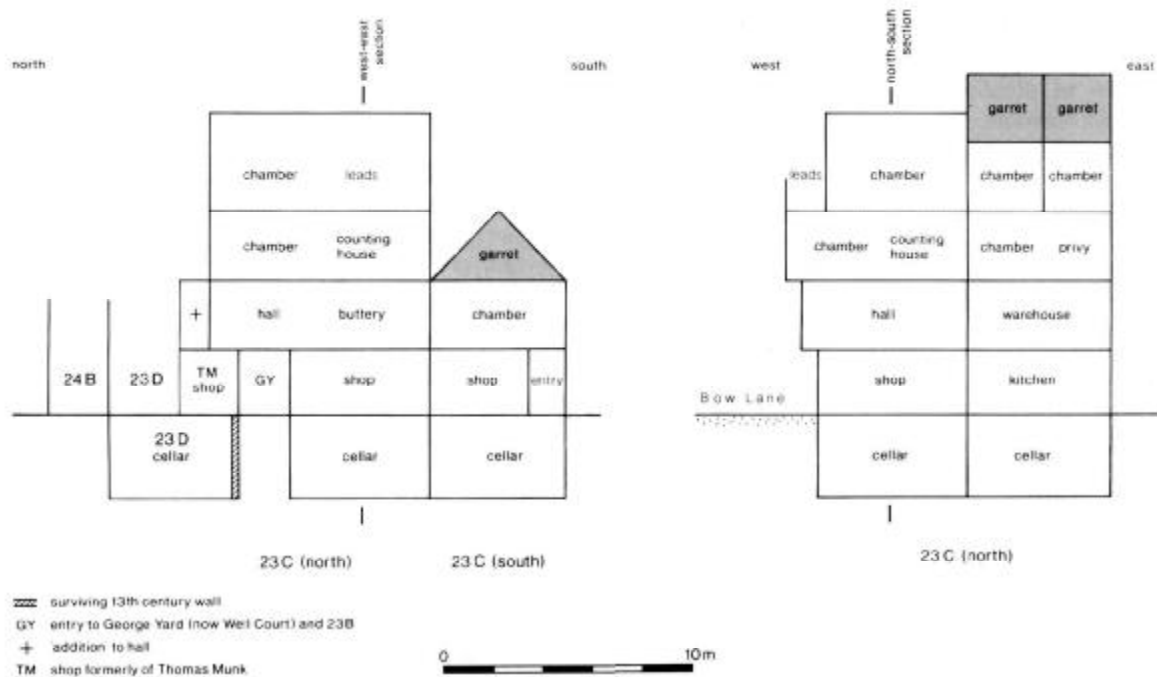


Fig 28. Well Court: section through the buildings, first half of 17th century (from Historical Gazetteer).

lessee of **23B**, and of the cellar, warehouse, and upper rooms which appear to have corresponded to **23D**, leased a messuage in Bow Lane which was probably part of **23D** to the then lessee and occupant of the large house to the north (part of **24**). The rear part of **23D** at this time included a workhouse held by another tenant. The occupant of the large house (part of **24**) purchased the freehold of these properties in 1618. At this time **23D** included a great vault or arched cellar which on its south side adjoined the great gate and entry leading from Bow Lane into **23B**. The south part of the ground floor over this cellar was occupied by a shop held by the tenant of the next house to the south (perhaps part of **23C** or part of **23A**). The remainder of the ground floor was used by the tenant who held the cellar below and the rooms above. These upper rooms oversailed the shop by 3ft 2in along a length of 18ft. The most likely interpretation of those arrangements and of **23C** at this time is shown in Fig 28. Shortly before this, the occupant of the large house to the north (part of **24**) had enclosed with brick walls a strip of ground 4ft wide between **23D** and **23B** and extending from his yard to the yard later known as George Yard on the south: this later served as an entry from the north into George Yard. There are also references at this time to a channel or watercourse which carried both household water and rain-water out of **23D** and through the next house to the south into Bow Lane. This was probably the watercourse which had been subject to a dispute in 1558 (see above). The survey of **23D** drawn up after the Great Fire (*cf* Fig 29) shows that the cellar there once again was occupied by the holder of the house to the north.

The social and occupational character of the site

The name 'Cordwainer Street' or 'Corveser Street' indicates that in the 12th century or earlier Bow Lane was a place where leather workers, and in particular shoemakers, congregated. About 1220 parts of **23** were said to be 'in Corvesers' Row' (*in corueiseria*), a phrase which suggests that at that time there were still shoemakers in the vicinity and that they may have been associated with the small houses or shops on the street frontage. In the 13th century the part of Cheapside near Bow Lane was already a focus for the leather trades, since the

City's tanners had their main retail outlet there, and there was a group of saddlers near by.⁴⁰ The more humble shoemakers perhaps gathered in Bow Lane itself, a short distance away from the City's principal market place. Leather-related trades persisted in the area, but by the mid 13th century it is clear that the economic life of the upper end of Bow Lane and the adjacent parts of Cheapside was dominated by the drapers, who dealt in woollen cloth, and by the mercers whose business was based on the trade in linen, silks, and other expensive textiles. At this time Drapers' Row extended west from Bow Lane along the south side of Cheapside, and Mercers' Row began just east of Bow Lane. Another important trade of the area, although its practitioners were less numerous than the drapers and mercers, was that of vintner. Bow Lane was probably the principal route by which wine was brought from its riverside landing place in Vintry to the taverns in Cheapside, several of the most important of which were situated close to Bow Lane. In the late 13th century a wealthy vintner, Osbert of Suffolk, lived in Bow Lane opposite **23**, and the cellar beneath the great stone house which occupied the space between St Mary le Bow church and Cheapside, at the corner of Bow Lane, was almost certainly used as a tavern.⁴¹ It is just possible that the resident of the northermost part of **23** during the 1220s was a vintner. The house of such a man would almost certainly include a large cellar.

Between the mid 13th and the early 15th century the residents of the large houses at the rear of **23** included several leading drapers, of whom the most prominent was William son of Richard. The local focus of the religious and social lives of these men was the parish church of St Mary le Bow, which during the later 14th century and the 15th was the meeting-place of the drapers' fraternity.⁴² A common trade in this part of Bow Lane around 1300 was that of hosier (*caligarius*, *chaucer*), commemorated in the later name Hosier Lane. Hosiers presumably made their wares out of cloth, but it is possible that their trade in this neighbourhood evolved out of that of the earlier shoemakers, and that originally they made boots or hose of leather. One of the drapers who inhabited **23A** in the 14th century appears to have started his working life as a hosier. This transition may represent a move from relatively small-scale activity as a manufacturer and retailer of hose, to a larger-scale trade

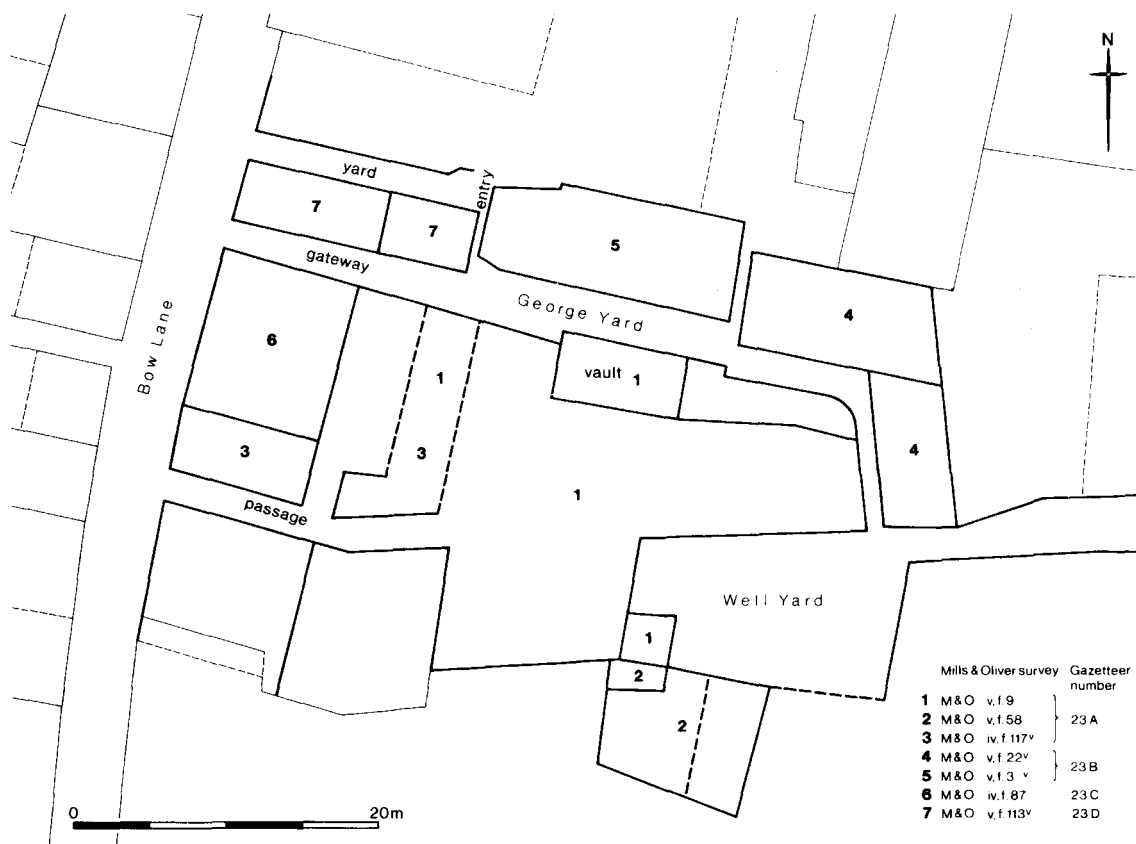


Fig 29. Well Court: features named in the Fire Surveys of Mills and Oliver after the Great Fire of 1666 (1 : 500).

as a distributor of cloth. One of William son of Richard's daughters married a pepperer, and apothecaries may have inhabited parts of **23** during the 1290s and the 1320s. Pepperers and apothecaries dealt in spices, and their shops were concentrated both in Soper Lane and in Cheapside almost opposite St Mary le Bow. A residence in the site of **23** would have been convenient for both these locations. The first mercer known to have inhabited **23** lived there during the 1350s. Drapers soon gave way to mercers, and between the early 15th century and the mid 16th every identifiable resident of the two large houses at the rear of **23** was a mercer.

The inhabitants of these two houses included some of the wealthiest merchants in London, whose commercial interests presumably extended throughout England and overseas. Between *c.* 1300 and *c.* 1650 it was common for men like these, who inhabited large houses on secluded sites near Cheapside, also to have retail outlets

in Cheapside itself detached from their residence. William Lock, living in **23B** during the first half of the 16th century, provides a good example of this. The houses of such men, however, would almost certainly have included extensive provision for storing their stock in trade. The cellars, including at least one vaulted cellar, which are recorded in **23** from the mid 13th century onwards presumably served this purpose, as did the warehouses recorded there in the 16th century. While merchants of this standing generally specialised in the range of commodities associated with craft designation by which they were known, or with the livery company to which they belonged, it was probably common, even in the 13th century, for them to deal also in other types of goods. The physical arrangements of any one of their houses may have reflected a diversity of storage and trading requirements. A draper's cellar might thus be used for storing wine rather than woollen cloth.

The occupants of these large houses may sometimes have used the smaller houses or shops on the Bow Lane frontage as retail outlets. It is more likely, however, that in the 13th and 14th centuries, as we know was the case after 1400, these smaller houses were let out as self-contained domestic and commercial units to people who are best described as 'artisan retailers'. The trade of such people was probably relatively small-scale and localised in character, especially by contrast with that of the distributive merchants who were their neighbours to the rear, and on whom they may frequently have depended for supplies of their stock in trade. The ground floors of these houses were probably occupied by shops (in 1387 one of them contained a draper's shop), while the living rooms were upstairs. Their occupants played a part in the manufacturing or finishing of the goods they sold. So far as we can tell, their trades were more heterogeneous in character than those of the occupants of the large houses to the rear. They included a tallow chandler, perhaps two grocers, and a leather seller. The lawyer or cordwainer who lived in **23A** before 1338 may have lived in one of these smaller houses rather than to the rear. It was probably the occupants of these small houses and shops, with their distinctive and visible activities, rather than their wealthier neighbours, who gave the street a character recognisable to passers-by and reflected in the name by which it was known.

Even in 1666, on the eve of the Great Fire and following the extensive subdivision of the site, the earlier social pattern persisted to some degree. The ground occupied by **23** now contained 20 houses, 18% of the total for the whole parish of St Mary le Bow. The mean Hearth Tax assessment for these houses, at five hearths, was identical with that for the parish as a whole. Two houses were empty, two were occupied by men whose trade is not known, and two more occupied by women described simply as widows, but the trades of the other householders are known. Well Yard, at the back of the property, was the most select part of the site. Here were three houses occupied by merchants, with a mean of seven hearths, and a fourth, much smaller (two hearths), occupied by a packer who may have worked for one of the merchants. Nearby, but accessible directly from Bow Lane, was a fourth house occupied by a merchant (nine hearths). These merchants' houses were among the largest in the parish. The

contrast between these houses and their neighbours does not seem to have been as great as in the period before 1550, but the earlier principle which caused the wealthiest residents of the area to seek out the more secluded sites for their residences seems still to have applied. Most of the houses in George Yard and on the Bow Lane frontage (both groups with means of 4.5 hearths) were occupied by craftsmen. In Bow Lane these were a barber, a bodice-maker, a victualler, and a calenderer; in George Yard a plasterer, a tailor, a hosier, and another victualler. The rector of the parish (six hearths) also lived in George Yard. Again, as in the earlier period, the inhabitants of the smaller houses seem to have been a more heterogeneous occupational group than those of the large ones. Other houses fronting on to this part of Bow Lane were inhabited by similar groups of craftsmen, many of them associated with the clothing trade. This community of craftsmen and small-scale manufacturers or finishers may be contrasted with the distributive traders and retailers, who in 1666 occupied houses on the Cheapside frontage in the parish. Some of this latter group, who included drapers, mercers and a distinctive cluster of bodice-sellers, were evidently selling products which had been made or processed in the side streets near by.

Identifying the excavated structures

The walls and other features of which archaeological records were made represent only a small portion of the structures of which they once formed part. On the archaeological evidence alone it is impossible to determine how these structures were used in relation to one another. There are difficulties, too, with the documentary evidence, for while we can be reasonably certain of the number of separate properties or houses on the site from the late 12th century onwards, and of their approximate size and position in relation to one another, there is very little direct evidence earlier than *c.* 1670 concerning the exact position of the boundaries of the house plots. Furthermore, it is clear that these boundaries made a highly complex pattern, and that there were changes in the extent of the individual houses on the site. There may have been a major change in the arrangement of the site in the mid 13th century under William son of Richard, and several minor changes of a later

date are documented. The latter includes the assignment of **23D** for the use of the occupants of the houses which adjoined it. On the other hand, both the evidence of the excavated buildings on the site itself and the exercise of reconstructing the history and topography of the whole of the Cheapside area demonstrate that in this area of London between the 13th and the 17th century there was a good deal of continuity in plot boundaries, or at least in the physical features which defined them. The stability of the physical pattern may be contrasted with the fluidity which characterised patterns of tenure and occupation. Parts of the site and of the buildings on it were successively combined in different ways to meet the needs of the occupants. For the purposes of the following discussion, one major assumption has been made. This is that, unless there is specific evidence to the contrary, the 17th-century boundaries of the various parts of the site give a good indication of its arrangement from the mid 13th century onwards, and provide some clues as to its arrangement before then. Figs 24–7 illustrate what appears to be the most likely arrangement of properties in relation to excavated features at successive dates from the late 12th century onwards.

The most distinctive characteristic of the arrangement of the site was the contrast between the smaller houses on the Bow Lane frontage and the larger houses behind. This feature may have emerged by the first half of the 11th century, to which period a sunken-floored building (Building 7) in the area behind one of the houses on the street frontage is attributed (Fig 17b). The stratigraphical and dating evidence is so slender, however, that the reverse sequence is possible, in which the houses on the frontage would have succeeded earlier buildings to the rear of the plot.

The contrast between the buildings on the frontage and those behind is certainly clear from the 13th century onwards, when the documentary sources distinguish the ‘rents’ or ‘shops’ next to the street from the larger messuages behind. In this context, the terms rent and shop probably denote a small house of more than one storey, in which the ground-floor room next to the street was used as a workshop, for retail trading, or for both. Up to the mid 16th century these shops were part of the same units of freehold ownership as the messuages behind. They may also have been part of the same structures, erected and

repaired by the same landlord. When the landlord resided in one of the messuages, as was the case in at least one instance before the property was acquired by Elsing Spital in 1334, he was presumably able to exercise a close supervision over his tenants next to the street. Two of these small houses, occupying the part of the site identified as **23C** and with a ground floor area of about 600 sq ft each, were described in detail in 1647 (Fig 28). Both had cellars beneath, and the ground floor of each of them was occupied by a shop with a kitchen and privy behind. One of the houses had a single storey above this, containing a hall, buttery and chamber, plus a garret. This house almost certainly was a little smaller than one which seems to have occupied a similar position within **23** and was described in 1387 (see above). It was probably typical of many street-frontage houses in the later medieval city. The other house described in 1647 was two storeys higher and had recently been enlarged. Neither then nor in a less detailed description of 1598 was there any mention of yards at these two houses, which thus may have directly adjoined the larger buildings behind. This arrangement may have originated in the large stone building (Building 8) erected on the south part of the site during the 12th or early 13th century (Figs 19a, 24). This was a cellared structure, and the position of the north-south wall dividing the front and rear compartments of the cellar corresponds exactly with that of the rear wall of the 17th-century houses. Whether this stone wall remained continuously in use up to the time of the Great Fire is uncertain, but it seems possible that the two compartments of this structure corresponded from the beginning to a functional distinction between shops or small houses on the frontage and a larger residence behind. The north wall of the stone building was robbed out and does not appear to correspond with any known feature of the two 17th century houses (*cf* Figs 25–7). The greater part of the site occupied by the two houses lay to the north of the stone building, in an area which was not cellared in the 12th or early 13th century. The cellars below **23C** thus may have originated, in part at least, later than the 13th century, possibly even in the later 16th century, when the cellars of other small houses in Bow Lane are known to have been enlarged.⁴³

The north wall of Building 8 may correspond to the line of the boundary between properties

representing the north and south parts of **23**, which the documentary sources suggest existed in the 12th century and earlier (*cf* Fig 24). North of this line was property owing rent to Canterbury Cathedral Priory, while to the south of it was land belonging to William son of Isabel. Building 8 itself almost certainly lay within the area under William's control and could have been erected during William's time as landlord. It appears to have projected further forward into the street than the timber structure of the preceding phase which adjoined it to the north (Building 6): its construction probably played an important part in determining the final stage of the evolution of this part of the Bow Lane frontage (see below). It is not clear how far Building 8 originally extended towards the south. The property immediately south of **23** is not recorded in documentary sources before the late 13th century. One hundred years earlier it could have been part of **23**, and the irregular line of the later south boundary of **23** (Fig 24) suggests that this may have been the case. If so, Building 8 could have extended a further 30ft beyond the limit of **23** to include the site later identifiable as **22** (Fig 27). This would have made a building measuring 60ft square. It is possible, however, that the building measured an even greater distance from north to south.

In the next identifiable building stage (ignoring the fragments described as Building 10), two stone celled buildings were recorded, both datable on archaeological grounds to the 13th century or later. One of them (Building 9) lay within the area occupied by the capital message of William son of Richard, who died in or shortly before 1269. This building may have been erected as part of William's capital message, although this is far from certain. What is certain, however, is that between the 14th and the 16th century this building, if it continued in use, would have been part of a substantial, high-status residence the greater part of which may have lain further to the east in an area where no archaeological observations were made (**23A**; Fig 25). Even in the 17th century there was a large house in this area on the site which may have incorporated surviving parts of Building 9. The west wall of the house built on the site of this large house after the Great Fire, as shown on Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676, appears to correspond with the west wall of Building 9, which perhaps continued to serve as a footing

for the post-Fire buildings. Building 9 apparently replaced the east wall of Building 8, but it is possible that the remainder of Building 8 continued in use as part of a larger structural complex.

The other stone building of the 13th century or later, occupied the north-western corner of the site (Building 11). Its cellar probably had a three-bay vaulted roof, and it lay within that part of the property later identifiable as **23D**. There are several references to this structure in the documentary sources. The earliest may be in the will of William son of Richard, proved in 1269. This mentions a cellar with a vault which was part of the tenement occupying the northernmost part of the site, and which William had appropriated to his capital message adjoining that tenement to the south. On the other hand, Building 11 may have been later than this in date, or the cellar mentioned by William may have occupied some other part of the site (possibly Building 12, see below). There are, however, two clues which strengthen the possibility that Building 11 was the cellar mentioned by William. The first is that on several later occasions the cellar within Building 11 can be identified in the records as being occupied separately from the rooms above it, a type of arrangement which is clearly described in William's will. Secondly, the 17th-century boundaries between the different parts of **23** suggest that the cellar within Building 11 would have been readily accessible from **23A**, which approximately represented the site of William's capital message. Thus, the western part of **23A** extended north up to the passage now represented by Well Court at a point directly opposite the door recorded in the south wall of the cellar (*cf* Fig 27). It is possible that the complex pattern of boundaries in this part of the site arose as a result of a rebuilding and a reorganisation of space undertaken for William son of Richard, but this can only be conjecture. There is a certain reference to Building 11 in 1554, when it was described as a great cellar or vault with rooms on three storeys above it, including a great warehouse on the ground floor. In 1599 this cellar was occupied separately from the rooms above, and in 1618 was described as a great vault or arched cellar.

Building 12, a stone vaulted cellar, is of a constructional technique which differs from that employed in Building 9 and 11. It could be of

the same date as those buildings or later. Building 12, if it existed at the time, would have adjoined the capital messuage of William son of Richard, and could have included the cellar with a vault mentioned in William's will, although the cellar within Building 11 is a stronger candidate for that identification. Building 12 lay within that part of the property which can be identified as **23B**, and therefore was part of the more northerly of the two large houses occupying the rear of the property. One of the surveys drawn up soon after the Great Fire shows a 'vault under Mrs. Hamond' which is clearly identical with the southern part of Building 12 (see Fig 29, where the position of the vault is marked within the area covered adjoining survey number 1). Mrs Hamond was the freeholder of **23B** at the time. It should be noted that the south wall of Building 12 was not observed in excavation, and that we depend upon this 17th century record for our knowledge of its likely position. By the 17th century the passage now known as Well Court (and then known as George Yard) ran across the northern part of the cellar, the north wall of which in 1979 supported the front of the buildings on the north side of the passage. It is not known when this arrangement originated. Building 12 was erected in the middle of **23B**. Access to it from Bow Lane was by a gate which presumably led into a yard or alley. To the east there was probably a yard or alley which led to the gate opening towards Soper Lane. The way between these two yards or alleys may have been around the north side of Building 12. Alternatively, Building 12, as observed, may have been the southern part of a larger structure which extended across the full width of the property. Such a structure would have measured externally about 45ft from north to south by about 27ft from east to west. A clue that such a building may once have existed is provided by the later topography of the site, since the north wall of the house on the north side of Well Court adjoining Building 12 includes a break or dog-leg of about 2ft at a point directly in line with the west wall of Building 12 (Figs 25-7). This break, shown on the post-Fire survey of the site and on the modern Ordnance Survey map at 1/1250 scale, could have represented the north-west corner of a structure of which Building 12 formed part. George Yard might then have originated as a passage, in a typical 'screens passage' position, through the ground floor of

this structure. This passage could have divided a hall from service rooms, or there could have been a hall at first floor level. When the large house on the site was divided into smaller ones, in the mid 16th century and later, this structure was presumably rebuilt or drastically modified, creating a through passage which was open to the sky and lined by smaller houses on either side. Even if Building 12 was originally no greater in extent than the observed remains indicate, part of its superstructure was presumably removed when Well Court (George Yard) was created in its present form. Whatever the original arrangement may have been, it seems likely that the structure, or a part of it, included some or all of the rooms in **23B** listed in 1599 (see above). In particular, the 'matted chamber' with a window looking towards the street gate, seems likely to have occupied an upper storey of this building.

NOTES TO WELL COURT DOCUMENTARY SUMMARY

¹ *Historical Gazetteer*.

² *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/0, 23, 24.

³ *Clerkenwell Cartulary*, no. 264.

⁴ For William see Reynolds 1972, esp p 355. For the date of his death, see *Pipe Roll 9 Richard I*, 161 and *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, 171.

⁵ For Andrew's death, see *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/6.

⁶ *Cal Close R 1227-31*, 92; *Cal Lib R 1226-40*, 57. For Eswy's house, see *Historical Gazetteer*, 95/13-15.

⁷ Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Lit MS 13, 14, ff 16, 18. *Pipe Rolls: 2 Richard I*, 156; 3 and 4 *Richard I*, 139; 5 *Richard I*, 159; 6 *Richard I*, 177; 7 *Richard I*, 114; 9 *Richard I*, 160; 10 *Richard I*, 167; 2 *John*, 150, 154; 3 *John*, 259. For a possible reference to this Stephen, see *SBH Cartulary*, no 550. For the aldermanic family, which had its base near Cheapside in Poultry, see *Historical Gazetteer*, 132/12 (forthcoming section dealing with St Mildred Poultry parish).

⁸ PRO, LR 14/386.

⁹ PRO, LR 14/230; HR 4(36).

¹⁰ *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, 17, 33, 36, 42, 86; *Cal Pat R 1258-66*, 249, 457; *Cal Lib R 1260-7*, 234, 254; *Eyre 1276*; nos 4, 22.

¹¹ *Cal Pat R 1266-72*, 28, 733; cf Williams 1963, 61, where the account of his supplying goods in 1263 is confused, and where several of the references cited do not concern this William son of Richard.

¹² HR 12(102).

¹³ *Cal Pat R 1258-66*, 166.

¹⁴ PRO, LR 14/285.

- ¹⁵ *Cal LB A*, 13.
¹⁶ HR 42 (85).
¹⁷ HR 52(2); Canterbury, Register B, ff 264-5.
¹⁸ Ekwall 1951, 276.
¹⁹ *Ibid*, 179; HR 27(23).
²⁰ Bird 1949, 70-3, 114, 134-5. For the two Williams, see *Cal LB G*, 59, 82, 94, 125, 132, 161-2, 191, 205, 240, 247, 267, 275, 281, 304, 316, 331; *Cal Plea & Mem R 1323-64*, 262, 267.
²¹ Ekwall 1951, 263; Unwin 1918, 70; *Cal LB E*, 292; *Cal Lib Plea & Mem R 1323-64*, 169.
²² *Cal LB F*, 21, 54, 122, 144, 154, 213, 238.
²³ Thrupp 1948, 367.
²⁴ *Historical Gazetteer*, 95/2.
²⁵ Bird 1949, 24.
²⁶ GL, MS 9051/1, f 108; *Historical Gazetteer*, 95/4-5.
²⁷ *Cal Plea & Mem R 1381-1412*, 129-30, 126.
²⁸ Beaven 1908, ii, 4; *Cal LB I*, 203; *Cal LB H*, 76; *Cal Plea & Mem R 1431-7*, II.
²⁹ Thrupp 1948, 325; Beaven 1908, ii, 10.
³⁰ Nicolas 1826, i, 299-300.
³¹ *Cal Plea & Mem R 1437-57*, 179.
³² Thrupp 1948, 368; Beaven 1908, ii, 12; PRO, PROB 11/6, ff 71-75.
³³ Goldsmiths' Company, Great Register, ff 275, 277, 278.
³⁴ Beaven 1908, ii, 23; PRO, E179/251/15b.
³⁵ Beaven 1908, ii, 31; PRO, E179/144/120, E179/144/123.
³⁶ PRO, E179/251/15b; Lyell and Watney 1936, *passim*.
³⁷ Beaven 1908, ii, 31; *Historical Gazetteer*, s.n.; Nicolas 1827, 14, 45, 74, 78, 87, 128, 163, 261, 282.
³⁸ Burgon 1834, i, 8, 14; Leveson Gower 1883, 6; PRO, E179/251/15b, E179/144/120, E179/144/123.
³⁹ HR 278 (1).
⁴⁰ *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/37-42.
⁴¹ *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/6, 20.
⁴² *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/0.
⁴³ *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/17-1.

**Milk Street (1-6 Milk Street, 1976: MLK76)
 and 7-10 Milk Street, 1972: MIL72))**
 (Figs 2, 30-47)

The site at 1-6 Milk Street (Fig 2) lay on the east side of modern Milk Street, bounded on the south by Russia Row, known on documentary grounds to have been formed after the Great Fire of 1666 as the northern edge of the new Honey Lane market. Excavation in advance of redevelopment, funded by the Department of the Environment and Wates Developments Ltd, took place between the end of 1976 and September 1977, with further recording during contractors'

operations until the end of 1977 and again in the summer of 1978. The work was supervised initially by Andrew Boddington, and later by S P Roskams and John Schofield; the watching brief was conducted by Patrick Allen. The length of the site is about 40m along Milk Street, and about 29m east-west at its widest.

Natural stratigraphy consisted of brickearth overlying upper flood plain gravels of the Thames. Above the natural surface seven successive periods of Roman activity were recorded, corresponding to a sequence of surfaces and associated ditches of a Roman street running north-south along the east boundary of the site. The strata of the Roman period are reported elsewhere.¹

In the published reports on both the Roman and post-Roman levels, the site excavated in 1972 immediately to the north at 7-10 Milk Street has been added, though information from the site is fragmentary. 7-10 Milk Street was excavated in advance of redevelopment by N Farrant and the City of London Archaeological Society in the summer of 1972. Because of time limitations on the site, only the latest Roman and medieval stratigraphy could be excavated in plan, with other periods recorded in a series of sections.² In the following summary both sites are described together, though the bulk of description deals with the larger 1-6 Milk Street site and the observations at 7-10 Milk Street are mentioned only when appropriate.

Survival of non-ceramic objects was much greater at 1-6 Milk Street than at the other main sites in this study, and some indication will be given here of the character of the finds for each phase, though the frequency and distribution of finds make detailed scrutiny only worthwhile in the case of CP4.

Ceramic Phase 1 (850-1020)
 (Figs 30-1)

The 2nd-century Roman buildings on the site were overlain by a stratum of dark earth, up to 1m thick, which was recorded at several points on the site and which must have covered the entire area. Comparison of levels suggests however that in the immediate post-Roman centuries the Roman street running north-south along the eastern edge of the site, though partially obscured by silt, was visible as a slight

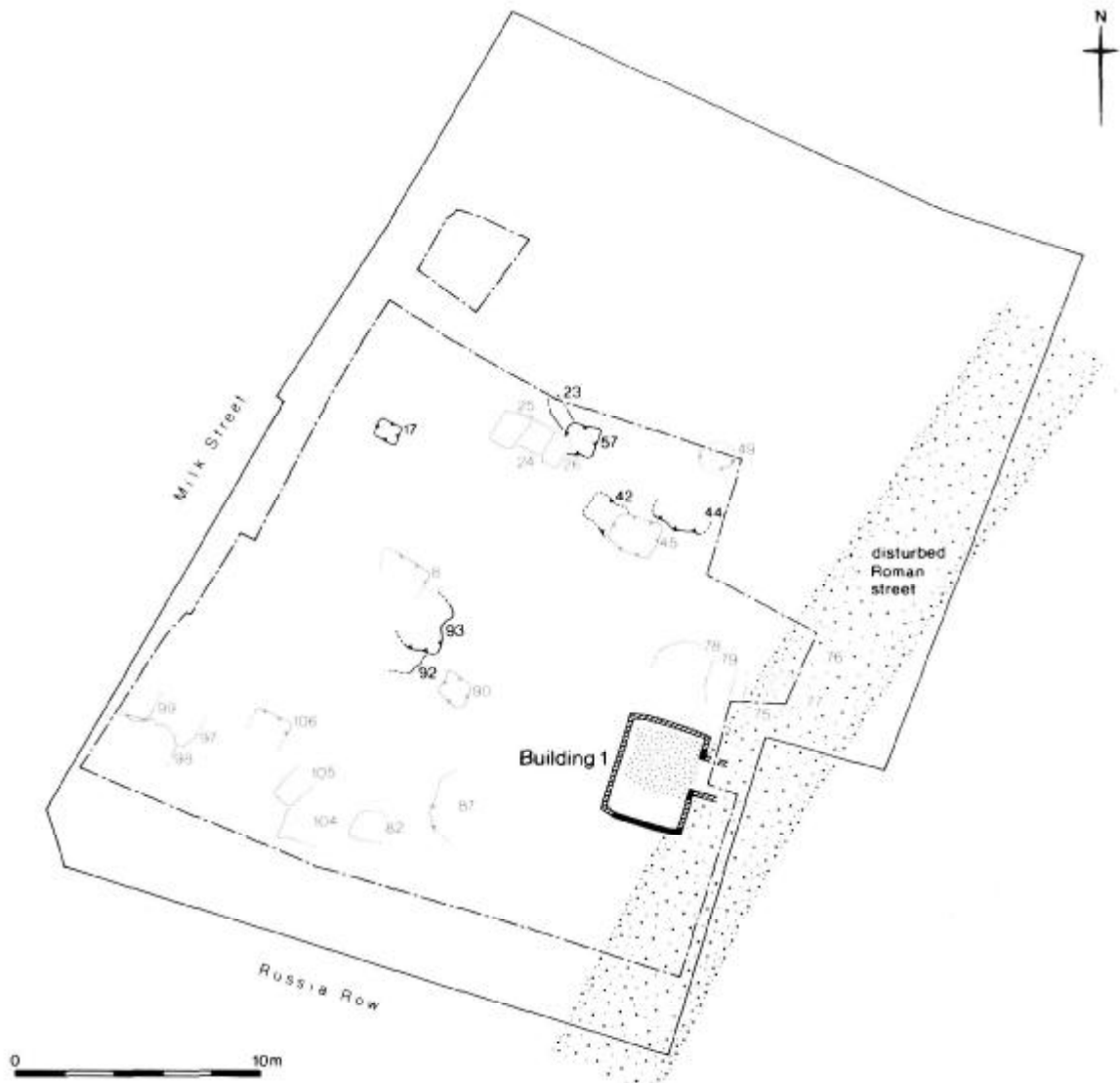


Fig 30. Milk Street (MLK76): Ceramic Phase 1 (850–1020; 1:300). In Figs 30, 33–7 pits shown in colour are dated only broadly and are therefore not certainly of the phase in question.

prominence. Building activity during the accumulation of the 'dark earth' was difficult to identify, as cut features dug into the stratum were also backfilled with it. In the south-east corner of the site, a sunken-floored timber building (Building 1)³ at least 4.2m north-south by 3m east-west and at least 1.5m deep was constructed from within the dark earth, and may have been entered from the edge of the north-south Roman street to the east, with which it was aligned. The

street perhaps still functioned as a track leading north from Cheapside, whose Roman predecessor roughly coincided with its medieval alignment.

Three of the CP1 pits (42, 44 and 45) were cut through and sealed by dark earth; this deposit was being disturbed and redistributed on the site as late as CP3 (1020–1050). Five timbers from Pit 45 were sampled for dendrochronology.⁴ Three timbers formed a relative chronology of 61 years which could not be dated; two other



Fig 31. Milk Street: selected objects from the pits of CP1-4. (a) two 10th-century shoes, from (left) Pit 42 (<272>, CP1) and (right) Pit 57 (<274>, CP1); (b) a horn double-sided comb with bone side-plates from Pit 57 (<219>, CP1); (c) early 11th century bone motif piece from Pit 60 (<199>, CP3); (d) mid 11th century carpenter's axe from Pit 55 (<26>, CP4).

timbers formed a second chronology covering the period 708-904, with felling dates at least 10 years after the latter date.

A small selection of notable finds from the Milk Street pits are shown in Fig 31, a-d; like the finds from levels of CP1-6 from the other sites in this study, they are fully published elsewhere.⁵ Finds from pits in CP1 include a wooden cup (Pit 17), a number of leather shoes (Pits 17, 42 (Fig 31a), 45), combs (Pit 57, Fig 31b), bone and wood waste (Pit 17), many fragments of woollen cloth (Pits 42, 45, 57), and some of silk (Pits 42, 47, Appendix 2).

Though the pits of this phase, like those of the succeeding ones, were individually small and often irregular in shape, the grouping of pits with solely CP1 dating from their fills seems to indicate an alignment with or at right-angles to the medieval and modern line of Milk Street to the west, which diverges from the line of the Roman

street to the east (eg Pits 17, 44-5, 92, 93). They give an indication, but no more, that this part of Milk Street might have been formed at this time. Some of the pits with broader dates which might be of CP1 also show this alignment.

Ceramic Phase 2 (1000-1030) (Fig 32)

Building 1 was cleared out and re-occupied, and eventually became disused within this phase. It was cut by sunken-floored Building 2,⁶ at least 3.2m north-south by 2.1m east-west, and at least 0.75m deep, of which only the north-west and south-west corners were recorded. A fragment of a north wall of a third possible sunken-floored building (Building 3)⁷ at least 1.9m north-south, was also recorded in section in the south of the site. This third building may have been sealed

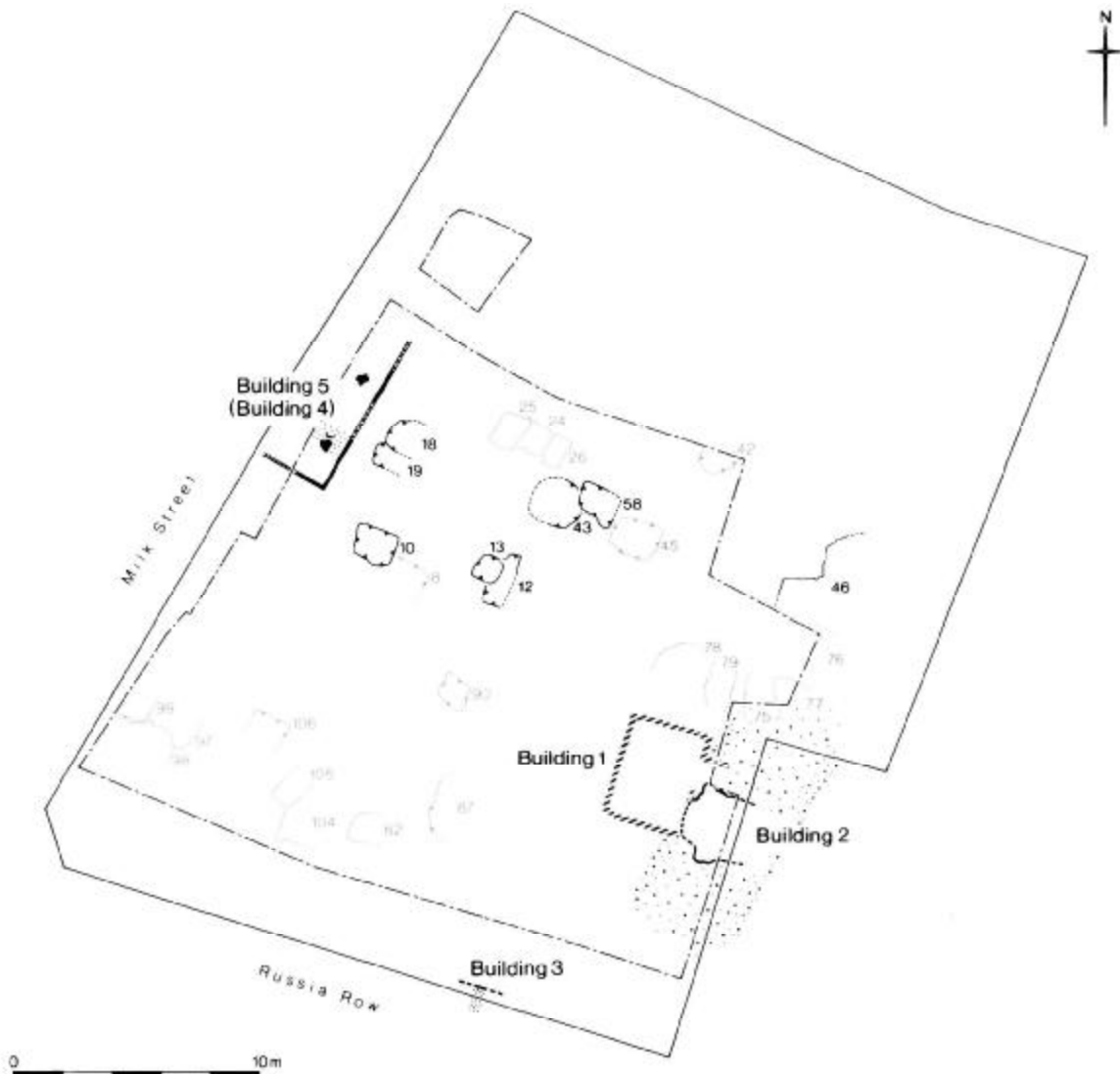


Fig 32. Milk Street: Ceramic Phase 2 (1000-1030; 1:300).

by dark earth levels, which were still being formed.

In the north-west of the excavated area at least two successive ground-level buildings (Buildings 4 and 5)⁸ against the Milk Street frontage were in use in CP2, confirming that Milk Street was certainly in use by this second phase. The dark earth in this area was sealed by horizontal deposits at between 12.8m OD and 13m OD. The two buildings were insubstantial wooden structures with brickearth floors, and had the same eastern limit. Building 4, which

survived to a greater extent, was at least 5.5m north-south along the street and at least 1.7m wide. Internal features were confined to silt surfaces and one post impression. Building 5, on the same site, was signified by a post cutting into destruction debris of burnt daub from Building 4, a second post-hole to its north, and an east-west slot terminated at its west end by a further post position. The limits of Building 5's floor of sandy brickearth in the south and east corresponded to the limit of Building 4.

There were only six pits datable solely to this

phase (with two more probably of this phase but contaminated); all lay immediately behind Buildings 4–5 in the northern part of the excavated site and away from the sites of Buildings 1–3 (Fig 32). Pit 43 was dug into and sealed by dark earth. Of these pits, Pit 12 produced a small number of finds: shoes, a scabbard, a fragment of a wooden shingle and a piece of silk.

In this phase, of 1000–1030 on ceramic dating, Milk Street was clearly in existence as a means of access to successive Buildings 4 and 5 and, in view of the pit alignments in the previous phase, very probably influenced their location in the first phase. Although the pits survived fragmentarily because of later pit-digging, they seem to group into separate inter-cutting pairs. If this configuration has any significance, it may be that the siting of the pits, and presumably their functions, were deliberately localised within the tenement.

Buildings 1–2 were evidently successive buildings in roughly the same spot in the south-east corner of the site, and Building 1 at least had a direct relationship to the underlying gravels of a north-south Roman street or lane; the entrance into the sunken building coincided with the side of the street. It is not clear from the present evidence whether Buildings 1–2 and the fragment of Building 3 had any significant relationship to the formation of Milk Street, or whether they should be seen rather as the north end of development on properties to the south, fronting onto Cheapside, which included the church of All Hallows Honey Lane about 20m to the south of them.

Ceramic Phase 3 (1020–1050)
(Fig 33)

A small number of pits was dug, but they include two in the same place (Pits 20, 21) behind Building 5, which may or may not have been still in use. Building 1 was by now certainly out of use, as shown by the digging of Pit 31 through it. The digging of Pits 31 and 32 probably also signifies the final disuse of the Roman street.

The earliest ceramic crucible from the Milk Street site came from Pit 32, and the disuse of Pit 45 in this phase (though the deposit was contaminated with later material) included three

pigment samples on pots, which probably contained madder, the purple dye.

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100)
(Fig 34)

The comparative absence of pits along the frontage suggests that buildings or at least reserved areas lay along most of the street; though one (Pit 2) may, like its predecessor in the same spot (Pit 1), have lain in this zone. In the south-west of the site, in particular, evidence for timber buildings would have been destroyed by stone foundations of Building 6. These foundations contained a small amount of material datable to CP4, but one pit (91) of CP5 predated its rear wall, and Building 6 is therefore placed in CP5 or later (on constructional grounds, CP5–7).

The centre and east of the main excavation area by contrast were densely pitted during CP4. The pits solely of CP4 date split into two broad east-west bands with a space between them which roughly coincides with the alignment of a stone building (Building 6) to the west in the succeeding phase, and a property boundary which coincided with the north side of Building 6 is proposed on documentary grounds by the late 13th century. A line of pits during CP4 here (Pits 11, 6, 7 and possibly 4) suggests a linear boundary, though it is not certain whether it lay to the north or south of them. The continuity of boundaries through the next phase suggests that ground-level buildings occupied the street-frontage south of this line.

For the first time on this site timber-lined cesspits can be identified (Pits 6–7; Pit 7 was a plank-lined well later used as a cesspit). A penny of Cnut dating to 1018–24 was found in Pit 55, and a penny of William I of 1074–7 in Pit 41 (Appendix 2).

The finds in the pits of this phase comprise the richest and most varied assemblage from the study sites; there were only small differences between the contents of the northern and southern 'properties'. Finds included ceramic crucibles (Pits 6, 53, 61 in the northern group (and Pit 30 off the excavated site to the north), Pit 36 in the southern); bone mounts, motif-pieces and waste (Pits 51, 60 (Fig 31c) on the north, 89 on the south); leather waste (Pit 15 on the north); and pigment samples (Pit 59 on the

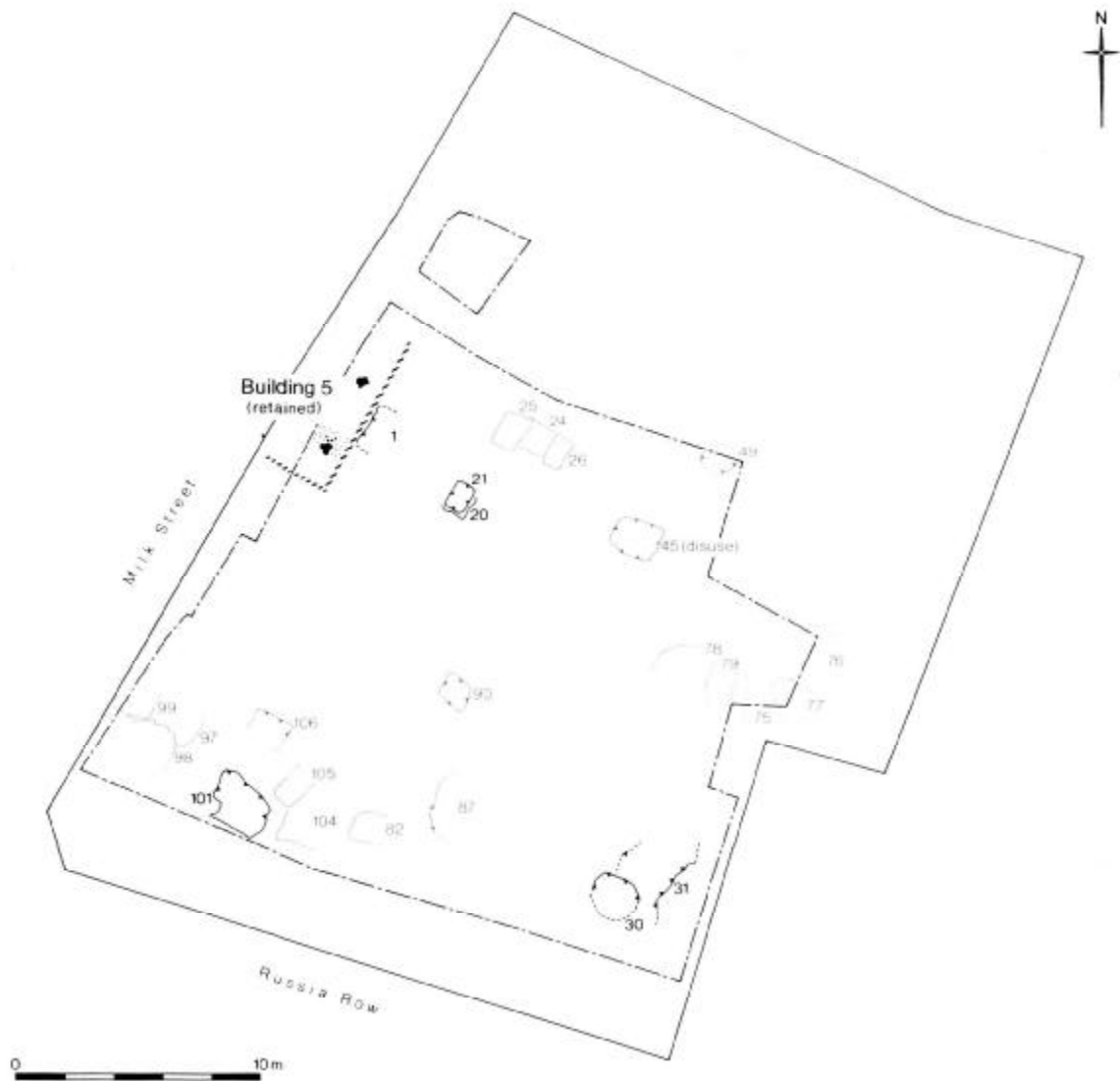


Fig 33. *Milk Street: Ceramic Phase 3 (1020-1050; 1:300).*

north; Pits 88 and 94 on the south), again probably of madder or its component colorant. Other objects of note included an axe (Pit 55; Fig 31d).

This phase therefore produced evidence for tenement use which might be characterised as 'small artisan'; and there are no substantial differences between what might be two separate tenements, divided from each other by the line of Pits 4, 11, 6 and 7. The possible 11th-century boundary is shown on Fig 34; it coincides with

that established, on documentary grounds, by 1300 (Fig 46).

Ceramic Phases 5-7 (1100-1240)
(Figs 35-43)

Although some of the pits could be assigned to individual ceramic phases in the range CP5-7, the buildings (Buildings 6-8, Fig 35) of this general period could not readily be so attributed,



Fig 34. Milk Street: Ceramic Phase 4 (1050-1100; 1:300).

and have therefore been assigned on the basis of construction technique. For convenience they have been shown as built on the plan for CP5 (Fig 35), but Buildings 7 and 8 may be of later date, *ie* CP6-7 (Fig 37).

In the south-west of the site, a stone building was recorded, at right angles to the street (Building 6; Figs 35, 38-9; below, Figs 53-6). The front (west) wall of the building was not recorded; presumably it lay an undefined distance to the west of the modern frontage of Milk Street (the probable position is specified on documentary

grounds). The proximity of the north wall of Building 6, which lay beneath a 19th-century foundation running back from Milk Street, to an alignment of pits in CP4 implies that Building 6 either replaced a ground-level building of slighter construction which had respected those pits; or that a constraint such as a property boundary lay close to the pits, presumably to the south of them, to be followed by the new stone building.

The building's area was about 10m x 7m, with two integral stub-walls protruding 3m further east from the east wall near the south-east corner

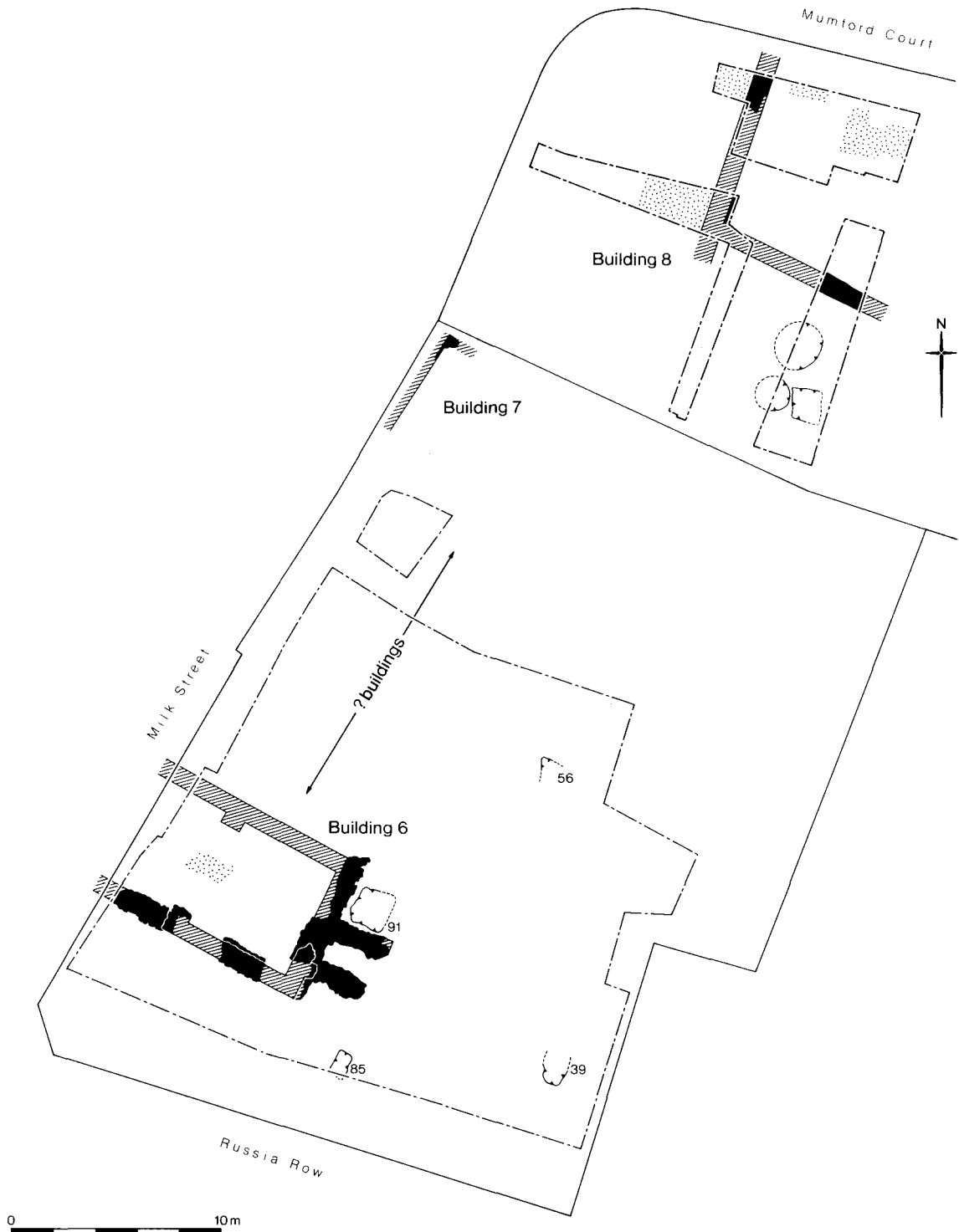


Fig 35. Milk Street (MLK76 and MIL72 sites): Ceramic Phase 5 (1100–1150; 1:300). In the plans showing 7–10 Milk Street, only broad indications of land-use at that site are shown, without supporting detail.



Fig 36. Milk Street: Pit 81, looking east; scale 5 × 100mm units.

(Figs 38–9). These stubs probably supported the sides of an entrance at basement level into the east end of the building. Previous stratigraphy survived highest on the south side of the building, to a height of 12.50OD, but was then truncated both by 19th-century basements and machine clearance. Comparison with the levels of floors within the earlier ground-level Buildings 4 and 5 to the north, at 13.10m OD, suggests that Building 6 was also originally built with its interior about 0.5m below contemporary ground level, as indicated by the floor levels of adjacent buildings.

Six lengths of foundation survived, generally 1.3m wide and up to 1.1m deep. Driven into the bottom of the foundation trench were 262 split timber piles from trees 0.16–0.3m in diameter (Figs 53–4). The foundations comprised a base course of large undressed blocks of ragstone laid on the piles, followed by courses of large undressed chalk blocks with occasional pieces of Roman tile and flint alternating with layers of gravel (Fig 55). Fragments of walling survived at the south-east corner and along part of the south wall; these comprised facings of rag blocks on both sides with a filling of chalk, flint and Roman tile, about 1.1m wide and surviving 0.46m high (Figs 55–6). A number of hard silt floors were recorded within the building at a height of 12.60m OD, though much of the interior was

destroyed by later activity. A post-hole on the inside of the east wall may have been part of a door frame for a door in the wall, between the two exterior wall-stubs.

Elsewhere on the site contemporary levels did not survive, with the sole exception of a probable hearth which had subsided into an underlying cesspit immediately north of Building 6 (Pit 5, Fig 37). It is likely that ground level buildings stretched along Milk Street north of Building 6, probably having replaced Building 5 of CP2; but the 19th-century basement had removed them.

In the north-west corner of the 1–6 Milk Street site, a small area of chalk and gravel foundations recorded during the watching brief was very similar in construction to the foundations of Building 6; it is undated, but may have been broadly contemporary. It formed the corner of a building at the Milk Street frontage (Building 7) which would have occupied a similar position to its better preserved successor, Building 11 (see below). The relative shallowness of this foundation in comparison to nearby medieval ground-levels suggests that this building was not cellared at the time of construction.

Further to the north, in the area of the 1972 excavation, a large cellared stone building (Building 8), like Building 6 to the south, cut several CP4 pits, but on constructional grounds is likely to be of CP5 or CP6 (see discussion

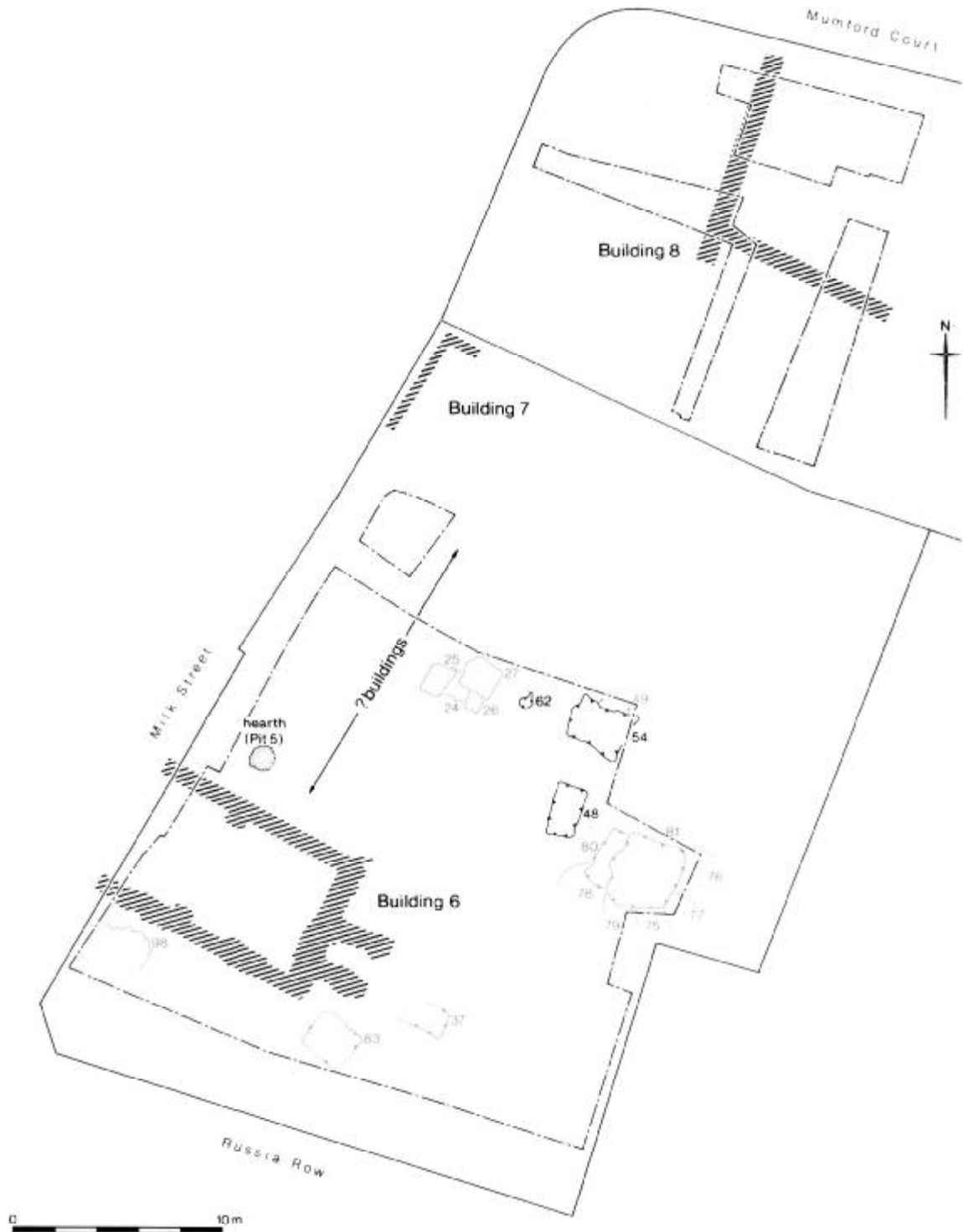


Fig 37. Milk Street: Ceramic Phases 6-7 (1150-1240; 1300).



Fig 38. Milk Street: Building 6, looking south; scale 10 × 100mm units. The view is along the back, east wall, showing the two stub-walls. Modern foundations punctuate the south wall and totally replace the north wall (bottom right). The foundation in the top right of the picture is the post-medieval Building 13.

p 165). The character, levels and positions of floors around its walls combine to suggest two large chambers, their floors below contemporary external ground level by a depth of 0.5–0.6m. Surfaces on the west side suggest that Building 8 incorporated two cellars and would have extended right up to the Milk Street frontage. The western cellar would have been wider than the eastern cellar, since its floors overlapped the line of the south wall as seen further east. The surviving walls of the building reflect two different alignments: the south wall was aligned on Milk Street, but the wall dividing the two cellars ran perpendicular to the modern alley, Mumford Court.

The foundation running east-west was constructed of chalk and flint bedded in gravel, although at its top the chalk was described as having been mortared. It was between 0.77 and 0.97m wide and survived to 11.95m OD. To the east of the north-south wall were successive surfaces of grey silt and trodden charcoal forming

occupation surfaces at 12.20m OD, laid on the comparatively firm surface of underlying Roman road gravels which had been cleared of the overlying dark earth. Similar surfaces lay to the west of the wall, sealed by a 0.1m thick layer of plaster or mortar and yellow-orange clay/brick-earth which formed an undulating floor surface at 11.99m OD. The level of the floor exactly coincided with the change in the foundation's construction from chalk to ragstone, suggesting that the ragstone upper part represented a faced cellar wall.

An equivalent sequence was recorded across the east half of the trench 5m to the south. Here, the uppermost of a group of layers of orange-brown and brown clay-silt incorporated floor tiles, and a patch of charcoal at its north-west corner. Further dumps formed a floor surface at 11.84–11.87m OD, almost certainly equivalent to the floors to the north. The north-south wall would have formed a division between two rooms, the western presumably fronting onto

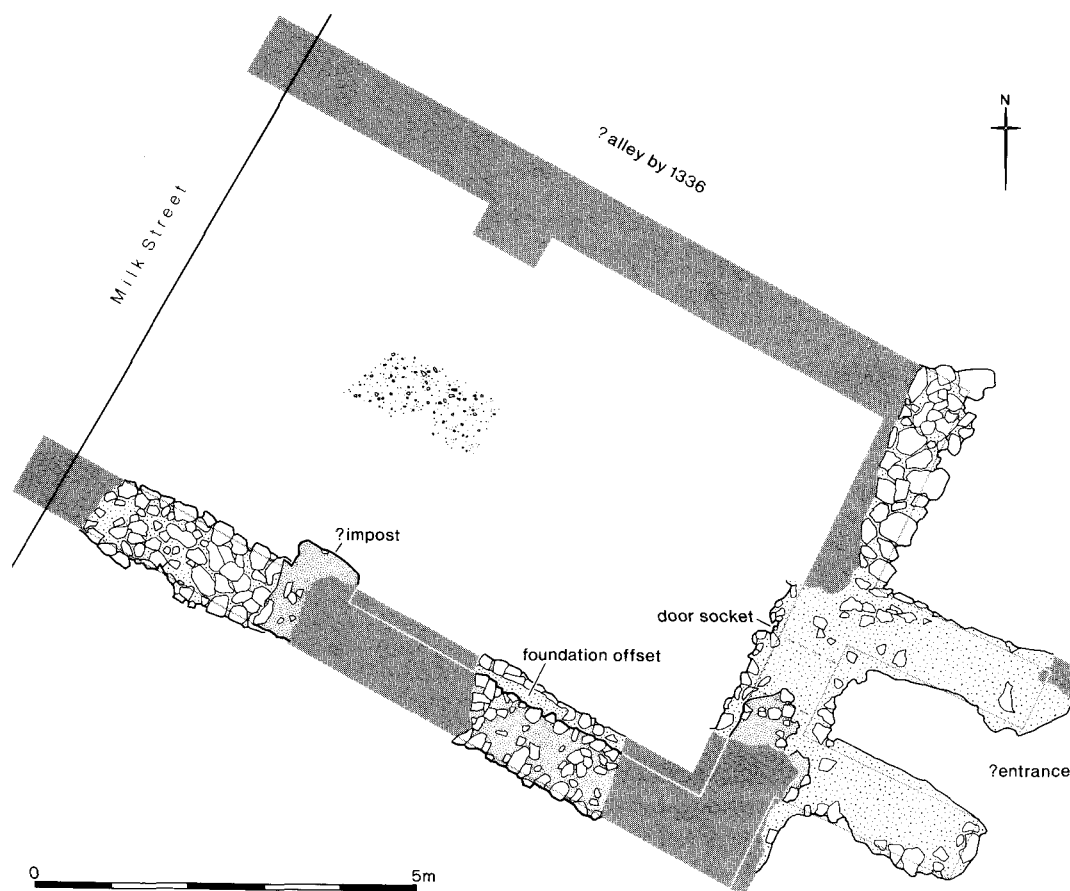


Fig 39. Milk Street: Building 6, plan of foundations and walling (1 : 100).

Milk Street. The western chamber must have extended further to the south than the eastern, since the floor in the west chamber overlapped the projected line of the latter's south wall.

On the 1976 site to the south, few pits were recorded for CP5–7, and this may represent a lessening in the density of pitting, although it is possible that pits dug from comparatively higher ground levels may have been lost through later removal of strata (especially by the construction of the 19th-century basements on the site). Only three pits containing material solely of CP5 were recorded; the three pits assigned to CP6 (Fig 37) are so interpreted on stratigraphic grounds, and lacked dating evidence. Only one pit (62) was recorded as probably of CP7 from its fills (shown on Fig 37).

The pits of CP5–6 contained more ceramic crucibles, this time along with a piece of gold wire (Pit 37), bone waste (Pit 91), and the

exceptional group of finds from wattle-lined Pit 81 (Fig 36), which might have lain to the rear of the property occupying the northern part of the excavated area (*ie* immediately north of Building 6). The assemblage from this pit included crucibles, leather shoes, silk braid and thread, pigments, vessels in wood and glass, a bone needlecase, an iron padlock bolt and other objects. The construction of the pit (Fig 36) was also an exceptionally fine example of its type.

Ceramic Phases 8–11 + (1240–1400 and later)
(Figs 40–3)

In the main excavation area the later floors within Building 6 were truncated, and the period of use could not therefore be established; but the north wall apparently remained a boundary of significance, in that it marked the south side of

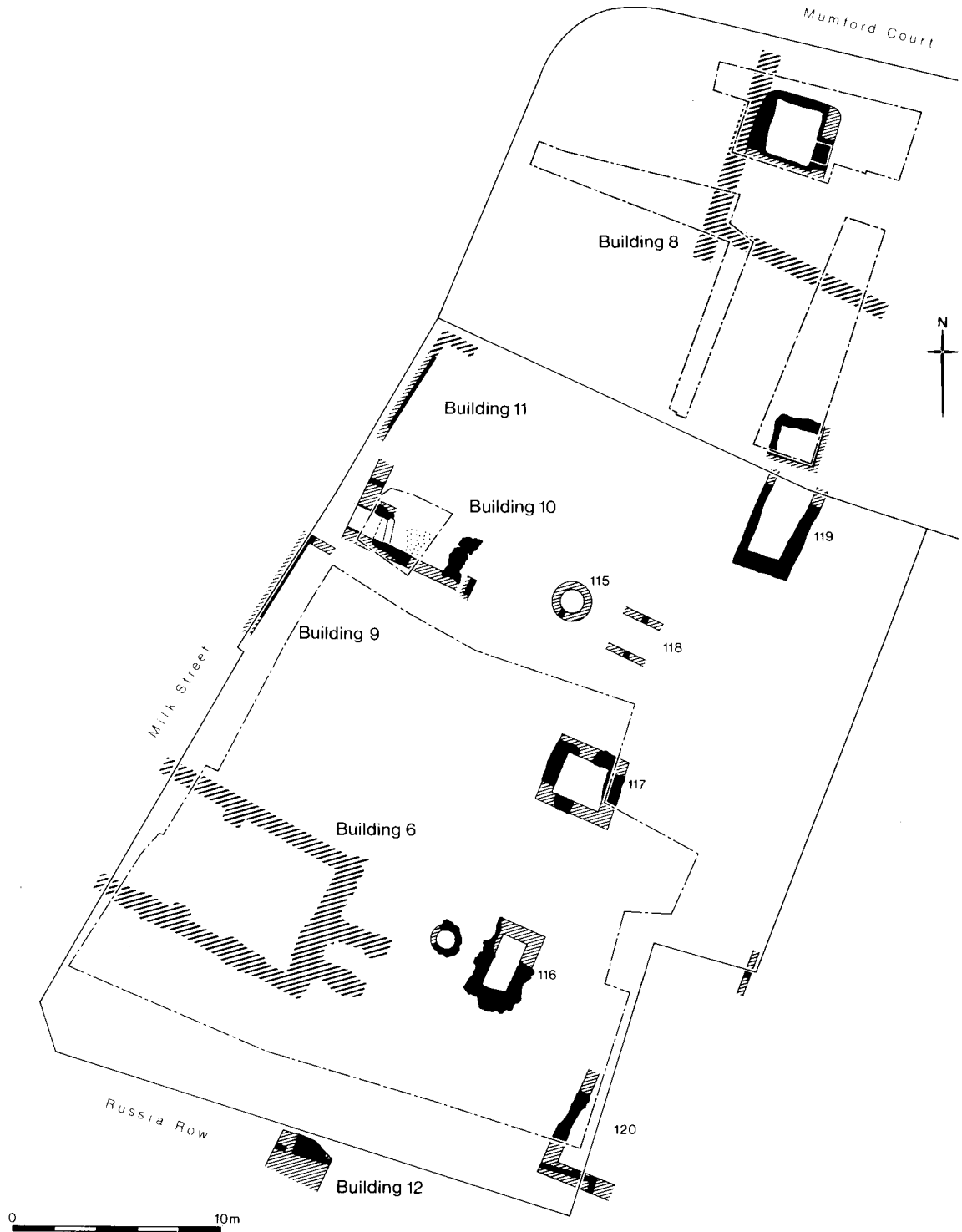


Fig 40. Milk Street: Ceramic Phases 8-11 (1240-1400) and later (1:300).



Fig 41. Milk Street: Building 10, its stair base and the adjacent wall, looking south-east; scale is 5 × 100mm.

the alley of Robinson's Court (first documented on Ogilby and Morgan's map, 1676) which survived until the present redevelopment in 1976.

The remains of other buildings were recorded around the limits of the site during the watching brief, but none of them was intrinsically dated or related to the main site sequence, and they can only be dated very broadly in terms of constructional characteristics. Most of them survived in modified form into the post-medieval period, as shown by brick repairs and their positions on the post-Fire site boundaries.

To the north of Building 6 the front wall and the north-west corner of a stone building fronting onto Milk Street (Building 9) was recorded in the fabric of the 19th-century basement. No evidence of this building survived in the excavated area to the east because of truncation, but it would presumably have occupied the area to the north of Building 6. As originally built, Building 9 would not have been cellared, but it eventually became so as a result of the rise in the level of the street and other external surfaces during its

life. The survival of the front wall of Building 9 in the modern frontage shows that the frontage line must have remained unchanged from the medieval period, while its north wall was later followed by the party wall between the modern 4 and 5 Milk Street. Documentary evidence confirms that a medieval property boundary lay along this division (Tenement 4).

Immediately to the north of Building 9 was the cellar of a further stone building fronting onto Milk Street (Building 10), although on a slightly different alignment to buildings on the other side of it. The cellar, at least 4m north-south by 3m east-west, was entered by a stair leading down from the street itself at the south-west corner (Fig 41). A foundation pier inserted against its back wall suggests that Building 10 was either rebuilt or extended to the east on a set of arched foundations. It cut dark earth, but was otherwise undated. The south wall of the building coincided with the south wall of the modern 5 Milk Street.

The ground had been reduced over a wide



Fig 42. Milk Street: stone-lined cesspit Pit 116, looking north. Scale is $5 \times 100\text{mm}$ units.

area up to 1.5m deep, and the foundation trench cut deeper at the south-west corner where the stone stair was located. The south and west walls were constructed from the base of this foundation trench, of roughly squared chalk and ragstone 0.6m wide and surviving 1m high, to 12.49m OD. A fragment of a similar east wall was recorded approximately 3m to the east. A fragment of a foundation pier to the east, recorded in the watching brief, may be part of the same building. At the south-west corner lay the lowest step of a stair, built against greensand and chalk packing for the base of the other steps. No archaeological dating evidence was recovered. The structure has parallels with undercrofts elsewhere in the City of 13th-century date (see discussion in Part 3); and this structure may be a vault mentioned in 1292. Again to the north, Building 7, in use perhaps from CP5 onwards, was replaced by a new stone building on the Milk Street frontage (Building 11) on arched foundations, the lower parts of chalk and mortar

and the arches predominantly of ragstone with some chalk. Above the arches the wall construction was carefully brought to courses, surviving to a height of 12.97m OD, with a depth of up to 1.4m. The front wall and the north-west corner of the building survived, and incorporated the corner of the earlier Building 7, suggesting direct continuity between them. Building 11 remained in use into the post-medieval period and, as with Building 9 to the south, the frontage line remained unchanged from the medieval period until modern times. The north wall of the building was reflected in the party wall between the modern 6 and 7 Milk Street.

In the extreme north, in the area of the 1972 excavation, Building 8 of CP5-7 remained in use. Part of an early 13th century floor was recorded in the eastern cellar. Two chalk cesspits were recorded, and are probably of medieval date; one lay within the western room of the northern range, and another on the southern boundary of the property. This may indicate a building in the former yard.

A further building (Building 12) lay mainly beyond the south limit of the 1976 site. Structural remains were limited to a large pier base which carried its north wall, but the area covered by the building can be estimated from the extent of its broad construction trench (only the pier base is shown in Fig 40). This suggested that Building 12 would have extended east-west along most of the south edge of the site and south beyond the modern frontage onto Russia Row, confirming documentary evidence that this street had no medieval forerunner. Building 12 was not closely dated, but cut two undated pits of early medieval character (Pits 102, 103).

Two wells (Pits 114 and 115) were recorded in the middle of the site, presumably in yards behind medieval buildings fronting onto the street. The southern of the two (Pit 114) was built of mortared ragstone, internally 0.9m wide, and it was recorded for a depth of 1.7m to 10.3m OD. It was backfilled in the 18th century. The northern well (Pit 115) was built of chalk, internally 1.1m wide. Although neither contained datable material they are placed in the medieval period on constructional grounds.

Four stone-lined cesspits (Pits 116-119) were ranged north-south behind the buildings on the 7-10 Milk Street frontage, and their layout might suggest that each individual pit was related to a building, occupying a position at the rear of the

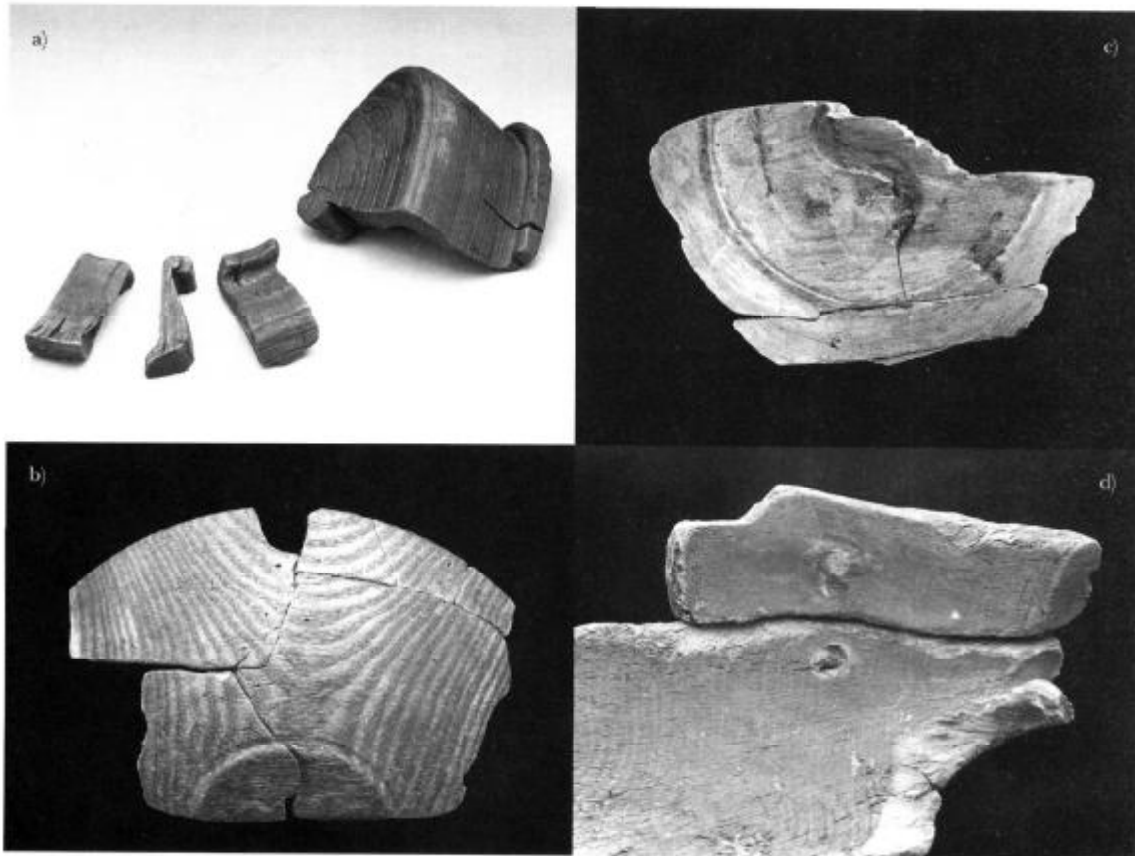


Fig 43. Milk Street: selection of wooden bowls from the cesspit Pit 116: (a) <320>, (b) <487> with a sown repair, (c) <496>, (d) <989> with a rivet repair.

building plot. The southernmost pit (116; Fig 42), behind Building 6, was in use in the mid 13th century (CP8, 1240–70); the pit to its immediate north (117), behind Building 9, cut pits of Phase 6 and contained pottery of CP11 (1360–1400). Behind Building 10 lay fragments of a pit (118) which could not be dated. At the end of the 14th century a stone-lined garderobe (Pit 119) was inserted within the north-west corner of Building 8. It became disused in the early 16th century.

Of these, Pits 116 and 117 contained significant finds. Pit 116 contained an assemblage of wooden tableware (Fig 43; Appendix 2) and a range of fruitstones (Appendix 5); Pit 117 (1360–1400) contained a fragment of a lead papal bulla of 1378–9.

A fifth chalk-lined pit (120), of which parts of the south and west faces were seen, was recorded in the extreme south-east corner of the site,

partly during the watching brief which followed excavation. It is placed in the 13th or 14th centuries on constructional grounds; its backfill contained Penn floor tiles of 1350–80 (*ie* CP10 or CP11) and pottery of CP15 (1550–1600).

Later medieval and post-medieval development (CP12 and later; after 1400)
(Fig 44)

Fragments of seven further buildings (Buildings 13–19) were recorded; they were generally not dated but are attributed, from the character of their masonry or their position in relation to site boundaries, to a late or post-medieval date. They divide into two groups, relating respectively to the Milk Street frontage in the west (Buildings 13–15) and to the establishment of the Honey

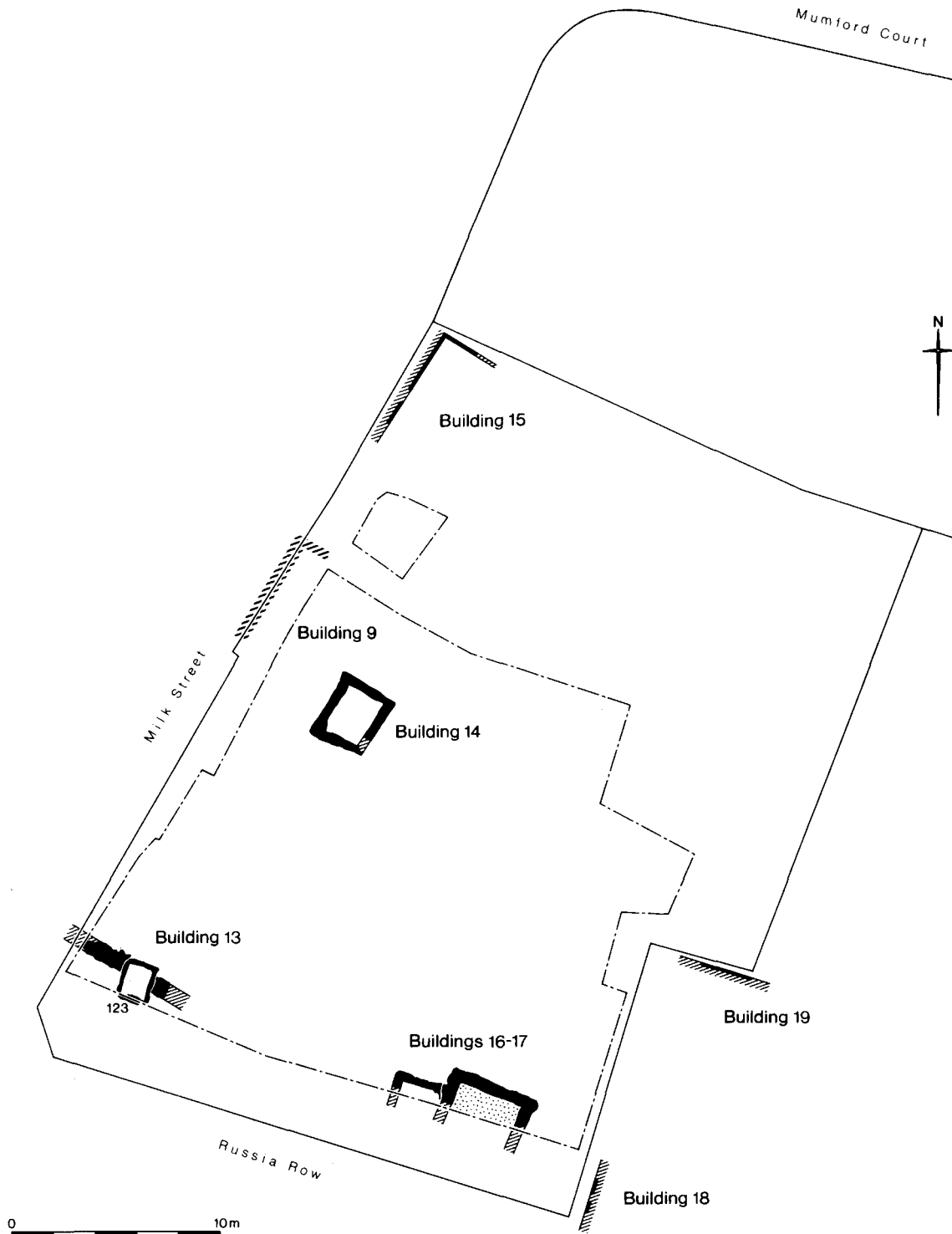


Fig 44a. Milk Street: Ceramic Phases 12+ (1400+; 1:300).



Fig 44b. Milk Street: Ceramic Phases (2+ (1450+)) with property boundaries of 1858 (1:350).

Lane market area to the south after the Great Fire of 1666 (Buildings 16–19).

Building 13 in the south-west corner of the site was formed by a fragmentary masonry foundation aligned at right angles to Milk Street, broken through by a brick cesspit which aligned with the southern site boundary (shown in background of Fig 38). This boundary was created after the Great Fire as the northern edge of Honey Lane market,⁹ by acquisition of part of the previously domestic property in this location. Other post-medieval, and probably post-Fire, rebuildings along Milk Street produced the fragments of Building 14, a small brick chamber which was probably only a cesspit, and Building 15 (a portion of the Milk Street frontage and a north-west corner) in the north-west corner of

the site which formed part of a rebuild of Building 7. The west wall, along the street, was of well-faced blocks of ragstone and greensand with some chalk, beneath several courses of dark red brick laid mainly in stretcher bond; the north wall in contrast comprised arched foundations of brick. No dating evidence was recovered. The use of brick suggests a late medieval, even post-medieval date. Two periods of construction may be present here, with the brick parts even postdating the Great Fire in 1666.

Buildings 16 and 17 lay against and under the south boundary of the site. Building 16 comprised north and west walls of coursed rag rubble in orange/yellow mortar, 0.35–0.4m wide, and the top surface (beneath modern basement) was at 13.04m OD. The inside (south) of the structure

was not excavated. Contiguous to Building 16 on its east side was a similar but larger cellar also fronting southwards (Building 17). The wall jutted into the excavated area for 1.8m at its west side, where it apparently cut through Building 16; it was 4m long east-west, and was built of ragstone and chalk blocks, rough hewn and unfaced, with occasional flint and brick fragments, averaging 0.5m in width and survived 3.4m high. This cellar was filled with a succession of dump layers. Buildings 16 and 17 were similar and may have functioned together, since although Building 17 may have cut Building 16, it is also possible that Building 17 was constructed first, and Building 16 then (in the same operation) attached to its west side. Whatever the sequence, they both formed small cellars of buildings which lay partly off the site to the south. If they fronted to the south, they would date to after the Great Fire, when Honey Lane market was formed to the south of the site and the south perimeter of the 1976 site established as a frontage for the first time.

Fragmentary foundation of chalk blocks noted as Building 18, which post-dated the backfilling of the masonry Pit 120 (undated), may be post-medieval, even post-Fire date.

On the east side of the site, at the north end of Russia Court, a length of walling (Building 19) ran east-west beneath the early modern perimeter wall. It suggests a medieval origin for the building alignment which was preserved in the post-Fire house recorded on this part of the site,¹⁰ and which closed off the north end of the alley. The wall was 2.3m long and survived 1.8m high, to 16.35m OD. Only the north side was exposed and its thickness could not be determined. It was constructed of ragstone with some chalk and occasional fragments of roof-tile, flint and sandstone, randomly coursed and many of the blocks roughly squared. A number of bricks were present and may have been either original or later patchings and repairs. Unlike the other medieval walls on site this one reached modern pavement level. No dating evidence was recovered, but the varied construction materials may indicate a generally late date. The fact that it supported the south wall of a post-Fire building recorded prior to demolition in 1974 suggests that it might date either from the post-medieval period, being re-used after 1666, or that it was constructed in the late 17th century immediately after the Fire.

A brick-lined well (Pit 122; not illustrated) and a brick-lined cesspit (Pit 123) probably also date from the post-medieval period; they were not dated archaeologically.

Fig 44 shows the correspondence of the excavated post medieval or post-Fire features with property boundaries derived from the ward map of 1858. This suggests that the boundary between nos 4 and 5 Milk Street was based on the medieval Building 9; and that the fragments labelled Buildings 13-18 may be located within the areas of buildings delineated in 1858, though there is no evidence that they functioned with the buildings then standing. It is also clear that Building 6, originally a 12th-century stone structure, was forgotten and its internal area crossed by several property boundaries; only its north wall retained significance in having contributed to the fixing of the south side of the alley, Robinson's Court, along its north side.

The Milk Street archaeological sequence is summarised in Fig. 45.

NOTES TO MILK STREET ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

¹ Roskams 1978; Perring & Roskams 1991. The archive report on the site is by S P Roskams (Roman and Saxon periods) and John Schofield and Patrick Allen (medieval and later periods) (Museum of London).

² Farrant 1975; Perring & Roskams 1991.

³ Horsman *et al* 1988, 52-4 (building MLK1).

⁴ J Hillam & C Groves, 'Tree-ring analysis of oak timbers from Milk Street', AM Lab Report (1985); archive report, Museum of London.

⁵ Pritchard 1991, 120-278.

⁶ *Ibid*, 55 (building MLK2).

⁷ *Ibid* (building MLK3).

⁸ *Ibid* (building MLK4-5).

⁹ Masters 1974.

¹⁰ *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 9 (1975), 246; recording by A F Kelsall and R W Weston for the GLC Historic Buildings Division.

Milk Street documentary evidence

Colin Taylor

Introduction
(Figs 46-7)

This documentary survey relates to the major Milk Street site (MLK76), excavated in 1976,

Ceramic phase	1–6 Milk Street	7–8 Milk Street
1	850–1020 Building 1 pit on alignment with Milk Street; street probably in use, perhaps with buildings 2–3	
2	1000–1030 Buildings 1–3 in use; Buildings 4–5 on Milk Street	
3	1020–1050 Building 5 perhaps still in use; pits	
4	1050–1100 timber buildings on street; cesspits identifiable; wattle-lined pits; two 'properties' visible?	
5–7	1100–1240 stone Buildings 6, 7; few pits	stone Building 8
late medieval (1249–1400+)	stone cesspits behind buildings Building 9; Building 10 cellar & stair; Building 11 arched foundations replaces Building 7; Building 12 to south of site	stone cesspit
post-medieval and post-Fire	Buildings 13–19, brick cesspit, well	

Fig 45. Milk Street: archaeological sequence summary.

and gives an account of the five properties (2 to 5 on the street frontage and 1 behind) which lay within it. Tenement 6, to the north, lay outside this site, within the area excavated in 1972 (MIL72); its history is included here since the property was linked in tenure to the cellar under 5.

In the early 14th century seven properties lay on the east side of Milk Street between the church of St Mary Magdalen on the south and the parish boundary on the north. In the medieval period we know the measurement of only one of these properties, Tenement 5: in 1455 its frontage on Milk Street extended 39ft 9in. Lying immediately to the south of the property later to be acquired by the mayor and commonalty of the City, its position can be securely placed on the detailed map of Cripplegate Ward Within of 1858. The frontage of Tenement 6 is noted in a lease of 1652; it too measured 39ft and this may well have represented its extent at a much earlier date. Of the properties to the south, dimensions are more difficult to extrapolate for the medieval period. In 1584 the street frontage of the property to the north of Tenement 1 measured 61ft; while this evidently represented the extent of two earlier properties, their separate lengths are not known.

Nevertheless, from a range of materials (particularly the surveys made by Mills and Oliver shortly after the Fire and using the 1858 ward map as a base) it has been possible to

construct a plan of the layout of this range of properties in the period immediately before the Fire (Fig 47). Further, using this plan in conjunction with the topographical details given in deeds relating to individual properties, it has been possible to plot the arrangement of tenements *c.* 1350 (Fig 46).

The extent of the excavated area within the site is shown on Fig 46. The site itself was bounded on the south side by Russia Row and on part of the east side by Russia Court. These modern frontages closely followed boundaries laid out shortly after the Fire when the Honey Lane market area was established; this major development involving the demolition of the churches of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street and All Hallows Honey Lane radically altered the topography of this southern part of Milk Street. The bounds of the tenement on the north-west corner of the market, then in the tenure of Sir John Robinson (see account under 2), were adjusted in the course of this development, two plots on the south and east sides of the property being taken into the market. The southern limit of the post-Fire property lay significantly to the north of the southern edge of its predecessor. Somewhat later, it appears that the Milk Street frontage of the property, which before the Fire had projected prominently into the street, was re-aligned and the corner laid into the street. The eastern limit of the site, further to the north, for the most part followed the line of the parish

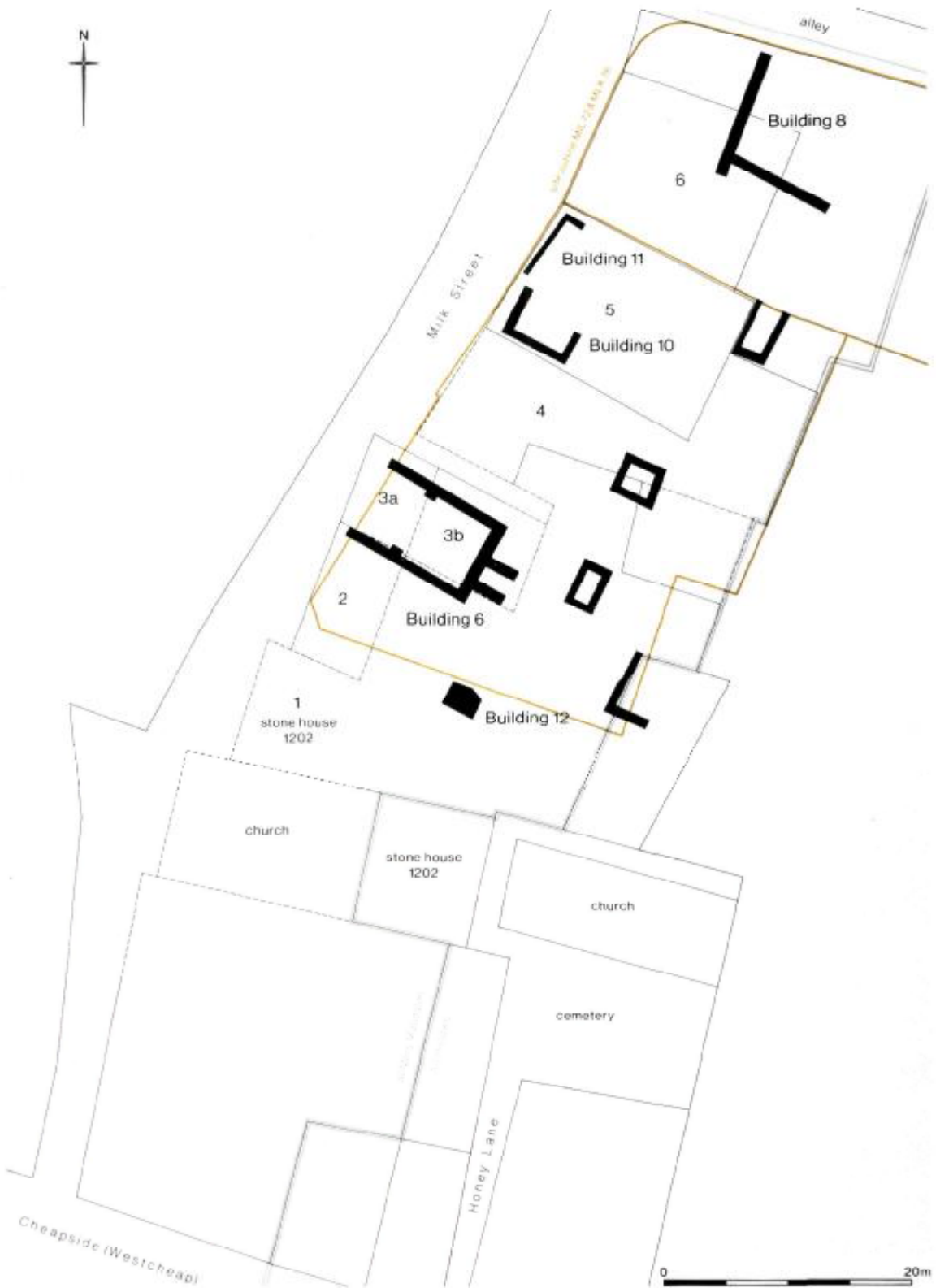


Fig. 36. Milk Street: property boundaries c. 1350 from documentary evidence, with Buildings 6, 8, 10-12 shown in outline (1:500).



Fig 47. Milk Street property: boundaries c. 1660 from documentary evidence, with Buildings 9, 13, 15 16 shown in outline (1:500).

boundary. The western edge of the site ran along Milk Street, extending northward from the corner with Russia Row some 125ft. The documentary evidence shows that four medieval properties with frontages on Milk Street, Tenements 2, 3, 4, and 5, lay within the site, and in addition that part of 1 lying to the east of Tenements 2, 3 and 4.

The documentary sources furnish some details of the fabric and physical structure of the properties in the medieval period. In the early 13th century Tenement 1 (in Milk Street) is distinctively described as a stone house (*domus lapidea*). The owner of the property, Herbert de Antiochia alias the mercer, may well have required a secure establishment for the storage of his goods. At various times in the 13th century the owners of Tenements 2, 3 and 4 were Jews, who may likewise have sought stone houses to provide for their personal safety and the safe storage of their goods. By c. 1290 Tenement 5 is known to have had a vaulted cellar (apparently an appurtenance of the tenement adjoining on the north side, *ie* 6) and in the mid 14th century (and later) cellars are mentioned in connection with 2. Only in one instance do we find a specific reference to a garden; this is in connection with Tenement 3, early in the 14th century. Later described as a tenement, it appears to have been absorbed into Tenement 1 by c. 1360. We know that Tenement 3 was rebuilt in about 1317 and that extensive repairs were proposed for Tenement 4 shortly afterwards. In 1455 Tenement 5 is described as 'newly built' and by 1490 the rebuilding of Henry Cantelowe's property (very probably 2/3a) was approaching completion. In 1541 Thomas Kytson's residence in Milk Street (again, very probably to be identified as 2/3a) is recorded as having a chapel.

It is striking that throughout the medieval period documented here, there are few references to shops in connection with the properties in this part of Milk Street (though they are mentioned frequently enough in that part of the street further south towards Cheapside and some are recorded on the west side of the street). Shops are mentioned in connection with Tenements 4 c. 1250 and very much later, viz in 1525 in connection with 2. It may be that in the medieval period this range of properties to the north of the church of St Mary Magdalen was characterised more as a residential area than as a busy commercial street. And it appears that in the 15th century two of the properties were

considered imposing. In 1455 Tenement 5 is described as a 'great place or tenement ... newly built', while towards the end of the century Henry Cantelowe lavished £100 'towards the fynysshing and garnysshing of my new place in Mylkestrete', very probably his property 2/3a; it is equally likely that it is this same property which in 1505 is described as 'the great newe place in Milkestrete late Henry Cantlowes'. Further, it is possible that the extensive Frowyk property (1) had retained something of its earlier distinction; while the Frowyks were mostly absentee landlords, they evidently regarded their property in Milk Street as sufficient of an asset for them to retain it in their possession for almost 250 years. Moreover, it is clear that throughout the medieval period this range of properties attracted landlords (and residents where they are known) from the wealthier and more prestigious trades. Mercers were particularly numerous but there were also drapers, tailors, pepperers, grocers and goldsmiths and of these a very significant number were civic office-holders. These factors tend to suggest that the area enjoyed a distinctive social cachet.

Tenement 1

From the end of the 12th century Tenement 1 in the parish of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, lying immediately to the north of the church, was associated with an adjoining tenement in the parish of All Hallows Honey Lane, which lay to the east of the same church of St Mary.¹ In the early 13th century the Milk Street property extended from Milk Street on the west as far as Honey Lane on the east. And by the mid 14th century it is clear that Tenement 1 extended behind Tenements 2, 3 and the south part of 4 (though the tenemental boundaries regarding 1 take no account of this). In the later 12th century this property was in the possession of Edwin le Turch. He granted it, viz *terram meam que est in Melecstrata iuxta monasterium sancte marie magdalene* to William Parvus, who was to pay the grantor and his heirs 10s yearly.² It would appear that Edwin granted the same property, presumably at a later date, to the Hospital of St Giles, Holborn, which subsequently granted it, viz *terram in Melcstrata* to Herbert the mercer (*mercerius*).³ About 1202-4 Herbert de Antiochia (presumably to be identified with Herbert the mercer) sold

the property, viz all his messuage (*managium*) in Milk Street in the parish of St Mary Magdalen *iuxta ipsam ecclesiam versus aquilonem*, together with the property in All Hallows Honey Lane, to Alard the dean and the chapter of St Paul's for the sum of 80 marks (£53 6s 8d).⁴ In a deed of roughly similar date (apparently duplicating Herbert's sale) Master Roger, canon of St Paul's, granted the stone houses which he had bought from Herbert de Antiochia to the dean and chapter of St Paul's, viz *domos meas lapideas quas emi de Hereberto de Antiochia pro octoginta marcis et una quarum una est in Melcstret' iuxta ecclesiam beate Marie Magdalene versus North' et altera in Humilane ex parte orientali eiusdem ipsi ecclesie iuncta*. The dean and chapter were to receive £4 6s 8d yearly from the said houses, to be expended on various pious uses.⁵

Probably before 1212 Alard the dean and the chapter of St Paul's granted the two properties to Richard de Corilis at a yearly rent to the grantors of £4 6s 8d.⁶ In 1212 or 1213 Alard the dean and the chapter of St Paul's granted the Milk Street property, viz *totam domum lapideam* to William Joiner at a yearly rent of 50s sterling; the stone house is described as situated between the church of St Mary Magdalen to the south and the land and house which was of Pentecost the parmenter (*parmentarius*), ie Tenement 2, to the north, extending from Milk Street as far as Honey Lane.⁷

In 1243–44 Henry the dean and the chapter of St Paul's granted the property to William Joiner at a yearly rent to the grantors of 30s.⁸ In 1244–45 William granted the same property, together with all the property he had in the parish of All Hallows Honey Lane, in perpetual alms to Henry the dean and the chapter of St Paul's, who were to make an annual and perpetual memorial for the grantor's soul.⁹ In 1247–48 the dean and chapter granted the two properties to Elias de Cantuaria, draper, at a yearly rent to the grantors of 40s.¹⁰ Before November 1248 the executors of Elias sold the two properties to Andrew son of Robert de Karlton, citizen. In November 1248 the dean and chapter confirmed the sale made to Andrew, who was to pay them the yearly rent of 40s.¹¹

By c. 1284 the two properties had passed into the possession of Henry de Frowyk (I), citizen; they were to remain in the possession of the Frowyk family for about 250 years.¹² In his will of 1284 Henry de Frowyk bequeathed the

properties, viz *domos meas de Milkstrete et Hunylane* to his son Reginald.¹³ Before March 1332 Agnes widow of Reginald de Frowyk and Henry de Frowyk (II), their son, leased the properties to John de Charleton, citizen, for the term of his life.¹⁴ In 1353 Henry de Frowyk's son, Thomas, was in possession of the properties, when the dean and chapter of St Paul's complained of an intrusion against him.¹⁵ Henry de Frowyk (II) (d 1377–8)¹⁶ survived his son Thomas de Frowyk (d 1374–5);¹⁷ following their deaths the properties passed to Thomas's son Henry Frowyk (III). In his will of October 1384 Henry Frowyk of Middlesex bequeathed all his rents in the parishes of Milk Street and Honey Lane to his wife Alice for the term of her life, with remainders to his sons Henry Frowyk (IV) and Robert Frowyk.¹⁸ Between 1391 and 1412 Thomas Charlton paid the rent of 40s due to St Paul's cathedral from Tenement 1, as did likewise his widow (jointly with Thomas Frowyk) between 1413 and 1417; presumably Charlton held the property by demise of the Frowyks.¹⁹

In January 1438 Thomas Frowyk of Middlesex, esquire, granted the two properties to his brother, Henry Frowyk, citizen and mercer and alderman of London. The Milk Street tenement is described as situated between the church of St Mary Magdalen to the south and the tenement in which Richard Lovelas, mercer, dwells (ie 2) to the north, and the Honey Lane tenement as between the cemetery of the church of All Hallows to the east and the church of St Mary Magdalen to the west.²⁰ Henry Frowyk was in possession of the Milk Street property in 1452 and 1454.²¹ Henry died before 1460 and his son Sir Thomas de Frowyk before 1485.²² In November 1492 Sir Thomas's widow Dame Jane Frowyk and his son and heir Henry Frowyk, esquire, leased the property in Honey Lane to John Hawe, mercer, for a term of 30 years at a yearly rent of £3.²³ In 1503 the Milk Street property is described as the tenement of Henry Frowyk, knight, in which Ralph Potter, deceased, lately dwelt.²⁴ Henry Frowyk died in 1505; his son and heir, Thomas, was a minor at the time of his father's death.²⁵

By 1518 the two properties had passed to Henry Frowyk, esquire, son and heir of Sir Henry Frowyk. In 1518–19 Frowyk sold them to Sir Thomas Exmewe, knight, for the use of the parish church of St Mary Magdalen for the sum of £140 (paid by the parish).²⁶ In 1525 the Milk

Street property is described as 'the tenement formerly of Henry Frowyk, knight, now an empty plot belonging to the church of St Mary Magdalen'.²⁷ By 1527 part of the land to the north of the church was evidently being used as a churchyard. In 1527–28 the parish sold a parcel of the land lately purchased of Sir Henry Frowyk, to Thomas Kytson, mercer, then the owner of **2/3a** (see account under **2**); the plot is described as 'lying at the north end of the tenement of the Drapers', evidently at the back of **1**. The plot was sold to raise money to build a mansion on the west side of the churchyard, between the church of St Mary Magdalen (on the south) and the messuage that Sir Thomas Exmew, knight, lately dwelt in, *ie* Tenement **2/3a** (on the north).²⁸ From 1530 until the Fire, the house was let to a succession of tenants.²⁹ Thereafter, the site of the house together with those of the church and the churchyard were absorbed in the development of Honey Lane market.³⁰

Tenement 2

Prior to 1212/1213 this property (*terram et domum*) belonged to Pentecost the parmenter (*parmentarius*, *ie* robe-trimmer, furrier).³¹ Before 1276 the premises had been in the possession of Master Moses, Jew of London. By 1276 the property had passed to the Crown. In January 1276 Edward I granted it, *viz* a messuage in Milk Street, to Eleanor, his consort; the property was in the hands of Cresseus son of Elias, Jew of London, at the time of the grant.³² Subsequently the queen granted the property to Stephen Cheynduyt and in April 1276 Edward confirmed the grant.³³ Notwithstanding these grants, Cresseus son of Master Moses (see above) asserted his right in the property and in June 1276 an inquisition was ordered to assess the value of the premises, and to deliver to him the value of his portion.³⁴ Between April and July 1276 Stephen de Chendut, knight, granted the premises, *viz* the tenement with all its houses, buildings, easements, liberties and all other appurtenances, to Cresseus son of Master Elias, Jew of London, for which grant he paid Stephen the considerable sum of 220 marks of silver (£146 13s 4d). The tenement is described as situated between the tenement of Henry de Frowyk, *ie* **1**, on the south and the tenement of Bonamicus Jew of York, *ie*

3, on the north. Edward inspected and confirmed the grant in July 1276.³⁵

Sir John de Enefeld, knight, was in possession of the tenement in 1315.³⁶ He had acquired the property from Sir Henry de Enefeld, knight, his father. In 1336 John bequeathed the property to Richard de Enefeld, his son.³⁷ In November 1342 Richard granted the tenement to John Coterel, citizen and mercer of London, and to Nichola, his (? first) wife; it is described as situated between the tenement of Henry de Frowyk, *ie* **1**, on the north and east and the tenement of Richard Martok, *ie* **3a**, on the north, abutting west Milk Street.³⁸ In October 1348 John Coterel granted the property, *viz* the tenements with the houses built above, the cellars, solars and all other appurtenances, to Sir Thomas Horn, chaplain, and to Thomas Coterel, John's brother.³⁹ In January 1349 Horn and Thomas Coterel granted the premises to John Coterel, mercer, and to Alice, his (? second) wife.⁴⁰ At precisely the same date **2** is described as the tenement of John de Colewalle, citizen and mercer of London, formerly of Sir John de Enefeld, knight; presumably Colewalle was a tenant (see account under **3a**). In April 1349 John Coterel bequeathed the property, after the decease of his wife Alice, to his daughter Joan and to her heirs; if Joan died without issue the property was to remain to his son Thomas and then to his son John.⁴¹

For a little over the next 80 years, the property passed to the descendants of John Coterel, through three generations. On John's death his wife Alice succeeded him and thereafter his daughter Joan, the wife of John Body, mercer. Coterel's sons Thomas and John died without heirs and the property descended to Joan's son John Body, citizen and *upholder* (*ie* upholsterer) of London. In 1420 the latter bequeathed the premises, *viz* all those tenements with the houses built above, the cellars, solars and all other appurtenances in the street and parish of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, to his wife Agnes for life with reversion to his daughter Helen. Helen succeeded and on her death the property descended to her aunt, Margaret, wife of Elias Blode of the parish of Upchurch, Kent.⁴²

In March 1433 Elias Blode and Margaret, his wife, granted the property to John Aleyn, citizen and leatherseller of London, and to Agnes, his wife.⁴³ Two years later, in March 1435, Margaret Blode, now widow of Elias, granted it, *viz* one

messuage situated in Milkestrete, to Richard Spenser, goldsmith, and to William Gregory, skinner, citizens of London,⁴⁴ who in December 1436 granted the property to the following: Thomas Lesers and Richard Grauger, clerks, Clement Lyffyn, draper, Saierus Akre and John Maldon, grocers, Thomas Onehand, mercer, John Lufkyn, pastrycook (*pastiller*) and John Walpole, brazier, citizens of London. In January 1437 Margaret Blode quitclaimed all her right in the tenement to the above grantees.⁴⁵ In January 1438 Richard Lovelas, mercer, was dwelling in the property; Lovelas was one of the wardens of London Bridge in 1438 and 1439.⁴⁶ In May 1452 Richard Fygge, citizen and spurrier of London, and Agnes, his wife, formerly the wife of John Aleyn, quitclaimed all their right in the property to John Maldon, who by this date had evidently acquired the sole interest therein. In the quitclaim, the property is described as situated between the tenement of Henry Frowyk, *ie* 1, on the west and south and the tenement of John Padyngton, esquire, *ie* 3a, on the north, abutting west on Milk Street.⁴⁷ In January 1454 John Maldon, citizen and grocer of London, granted the tenement to the following: John Prysot, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Thomas Billyng, Geoffrey Fildyng, Robert Ingleton, John Aleyn *decretorum doctor*, John Middleton, Thomas Burgoyne, John Harowe, Thomas Swan, Robert Longford and William Cantelowe.⁴⁸

Evidently William Cantelowe acquired the sole interest in the property. In his testament of February 1463 William Cantelowe, knight, citizen and mercer of London, bequeathed his dwelling house (*totum ... mesuagium habitacionis sue*) situated in the parish of St Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, and 'one tenement with its appurtenances next annexed in which William Cogan, mercer, lately dwelt' to the lady Elizabeth, the testator's wife, for the term of her life, with remainders to William and Henry, his sons, thence to Anne, Joan and Katharine, his daughters, and finally to Thomas, his son.⁴⁹ It is clear from the abutments given in later descriptions (see below) that Cantelowe's dwelling house and the tenement annexed to it can be identified as Tenements 2 and 3a. In 1584 the frontage of this combined property extended 61ft; this measurement evidently represented the joint widths of the two earlier street-side properties.⁵⁰ It is probable that this property was for some time the principal residence of the Cantelowe family. William

Cantelowe served as alderman of the ward of Cripplegate between 1446 and 1461. He was sheriff in 1448–9, one of the MPs for the City in 1453 and 1455, a City auditor between 1450 and 1452 and master of the mercers in 1450, 1456 and 1462. In 1456 he was arrested by Henry VI, then at Coventry, and held at Dudley Castle; this was in connection with disturbances which had broken out in the City of London between the young mercers and the Lombard merchants. At the coronation of Edward IV in June 1461, Cantelowe was made a Knight of the Bath.⁵¹

It appears that the property passed by inheritance to William's son, Henry Cantelowe. In his testament of November 1490 Henry Cantelowe, citizen and mercer of London, set aside £100 sterling 'towards the fynysshing and garnysshing of my new place in Mylkestrete', (presumably this was for work on 2/3a).⁵² From the mid 1470s Henry was active in the affairs of the Mercers' Company, serving as one of the wardens in 1487.⁵³ Henry Cantelowe died 19 November 1490; his son and heir was Richard Cantelowe, then aged eleven years.⁵⁴ In November 1503 Richard granted the property (with another in the same parish on the west side of Milk Street) to Ralph Atkynson and Hugh Elynden⁵⁵ and in December of the same year Richard Cantelowe and Helen, his wife, quitclaimed all their right in the premises to the said Ralph and Hugh.⁵⁶ In that quitclaim property 2/3a is described as situated between the tenement of Henry Frowyk, knight (in which Ralph Potter, deceased, lately used to dwell) *ie* 1, on the south side and the tenement of Nicholas Alwyn, citizen and alderman of London, (in which Richard, John and Michael Englissh now dwell) *ie* 4, on the north side and between Milk Street on the west and the tenement of the said Henry Frowyk on the east. In his testament of February 1505, Nicholas Alwyn, citizen and alderman of London, made provisions regarding 'the great newe place in Milkestrete late Henry Cantelowe' in which property he had an interest (again, it is likely that the property mentioned was 2/3a).⁵⁷

At some point after the grant by Richard Cantelowe in 1503, it appears that he or his kinsman recovered an interest in the property. In his testament of 1521 Richard's brother-in-law, Oliver Wode, esquire, made provisions regarding the rent issuing from the tenement in Milk Street in which Thomas Exmewe, knight,

then dwelt.⁵⁸ It appears that the tenement descended by inheritance to Wode's daughter Margaret. In May 1525 Walter Mawntell of Heyford, Northamptonshire, knight, and Margaret, his wife, the kinswoman (great-granddaughter) and heir of William Cantelowe, knight, sold the property to Thomas Kytson, citizen and mercer of London.⁵⁹ In November of the same year, Walter and Margaret granted the property to Thomas Hereford, citizen and mercer of London, to hold to him and his heirs to the use of Thomas Kytson, citizen and mercer of London, and of his heirs. The grant describes the property, viz all that capital messuage or tenement with the shops, cellar(s), solar(s) and other appurtenances whatsoever, as situated between the tenement formerly of Henry Frowyk, knight, now an empty plot belonging to the church of St Mary Magdalen, *ie* 1, on the south and east sides, the tenement formerly of Nicholas Alwyn, citizen and alderman of London, now of John Gresham, *ie* 4, on the north, and Milk Street on the west. Thomas Exmewe, knight, citizen and alderman of London, was then dwelling in the property.⁶⁰ Thomas Exmewe, citizen and goldsmith of London, served as alderman of the ward of Cripplegate between 1508 and 1529, was sheriff in 1508–9 and mayor in 1517–18, in which year he was knighted. He was a City auditor between 1503 and 1505, 1515 and 17, and was prime warden of the goldsmiths in 1514 and 1520. He died early in 1529.⁶¹

In 1527–28 Thomas Kytson bought from the parish of St Mary Magdalen a parcel of the land which it had purchased from Henry Frowyk, esquire, in 1518–19 (see account under 1); the land lay to the north of the tenement of the Drapers.⁶² The plot purchased evidently marked a considerable extension eastward of Kytson's property and it seems likely that some rebuilding and improvements would have been made following the extension. The newly enlarged property may well have been the principal London residence of the immensely wealthy Thomas Kytson. In an inventory of his effects made in January 1541, shortly after his death, mention is made of his dwelling house in Milk Street (very probably to be identified as the recently enlarged 2/3a). The house contained 'implements' valued at £153 8s 3½d and there was also a chapel, modestly fitted out. We learn further that Kytson's warehouses in London (no location given) contained goods worth £1,181

15s 1d consisting of cloth of gold, satins, tapestry, velvets, furs, fustians, bags of pepper, cloves, madder etc.⁶³ Kytson served as alderman of the ward of Castle Baynard between 1534 and 1540, was sheriff in 1533–4 and master of the mercers in 1535; he was knighted in May 1533.⁶⁴

The property evidently passed by inheritance to Kytson's son. In June 1575 Thomas Kytson of Hengrave, Suffolk, esquire, son of Sir Thomas Kytson, formerly citizen and alderman of London, sold the property to Richard Marten, citizen and goldsmith of London.⁶⁵ Richard Marten, citizen and goldsmith of London, was successively alderman of the ward of Farringdon Within between 1578 and 1598 and of Bread Street between 1598 and 1602; he was sheriff in 1581–2, mayor in 1589 (in which year he was knighted) and again in 1594. Marten was a City auditor between 1573 and 1575 and master of the mint from 1581 until his death in 1617. He was president of Christ's Hospital between 1594 and 1602 and comptroller-general of Hospitals during the same period; he was prime warden of the goldsmiths in 1592–3.⁶⁶

In December 1584 Richard Marten sold the property, viz all that his capital messuage or tenement with appurtenances (including shops, cellars, solars, yards, backsides, rooms and warehouses) to Christ's Hospital for the sum of £600. The property had formerly been in the occupation of Marten but at the time of the sale was in the occupation of Stephen Slanye, citizen and alderman of London, one of the sheriffs. The tenement is described as situated between a tenement now in the occupation of Bartholomew Coyne and the churchyard of St Mary Magdalen to the south and a tenement now in the occupation of Leonard Hallydaye to the north; it abutted west on Milk Street and east partly on a warehouse in Honey Lane belonging to the Drapers' Company, partly on the dwelling house of Richard Barnes, mercer, in Honey Lane, and partly on *Bosoms Inne* (Blossoms Inn) and other tenements in St Lawrence Lane. The frontage of the property on Milk Street measured 61ft, and the rest of the property measured 299ft 8in.⁶⁷ These measurements accord exactly with those given on a plan of the property drawn in 1669 but evidently intended to show the property as it had existed at the time of the purchase from Marten.⁶⁸ Stephen Slanye, citizen and skinner of London, served successively as alderman of the ward of Portsoken between 1584 and 86, of

Coleman Street between 1596 and 1608; he was sheriff in 1584–5 and mayor in 1595–6, in which year he was knighted. He was a City auditor between 1576 and 1578, and 1581 and 1583. In his later career, Slanye was president of Bethlem and Bridewell in 1599–1600, president of Christ's Hospital between 1602 and 1608, and surveyor-general of Hospitals between 1604 and 1608. He was master of the skinners in 1585, 1587, 1591 and 1598.⁶⁹

In January 1585 the governors of Christ's Hospital demised the property to Richard Marten, citizen and alderman of London, for a term of 80 years beginning at Michaelmas 1584, at an annual rent of £10 in addition to a yearly payment of £20, making a total of £30.⁷⁰ Marten paid rent 'for the great house standing in Milkstreete' until 1589, when he was succeeded as tenant by Alderman (later Sir) Nicholas Moseley. By Michaelmas 1605 the Company of Stationers had acquired the tenancy and paid rent for the property until Michaelmas 1612. Between January 1615 until March 1651 Mr Thomas Marsham was tenant.⁷¹ In 1625 the hospital authorities noted that the property was 'very much ruined' and a view of the premises taken in December 1648 found similar dilapidation.⁷² Mr (later Sir) John Robinson was tenant from March 1651.⁷³ In a view of the premises taken in February 1657 the property (which Robinson then occupied) comprised; (3rd floor) three garrets, (2nd floor) nine chambers, (1st floor) six rooms and a kitchen, and (ground floor) two warehouses, one on each side of the door (opening into the street). There was a yard paved with freestone with a counting house on the south side, another warehouse east of the yard and beyond that another yard, at the east end of which was a stable with hayloft over; west of that yard was a washhouse with a room to lay coals in. There was a cellar all along the front and several other little cellars round the yard.⁷⁴ In April 1657 Alderman Robinson petitioned the court of Christ's Hospital for the renewal of his lease (the old lease ending at Michaelmas 1664). He was at pains to point out that the property had suffered much damage 'being formerly a garrison for soldiers', that he had already spent £500 in repairs, and that much remained to be done 'especially in regard the back part had need to be new built, some of the timber being sunk out of its place and the best part of the house being dark and not one good pair of stairs

belonging thereunto'.⁷⁵ After a series of protracted discussions regarding terms and payments, in March 1658 the court finally agreed to grant Robinson a new lease of the premises for a term of 34 years beginning at Michaelmas 1664 with an understanding that he should rebuild the back part of the house within seven years of that date (Robinson had already agreed to pay a fine of £600 and the yearly rent of £30).⁷⁶

After the Fire, in October 1669 the hospital authorities agreed that Robinson (surrendering his old lease to be cancelled) should have a new lease of the premises, which he undertook to rebuild.⁷⁷ In November 1669, the governors of Christ's Hospital demised the property to the Rt Hon Sir John Robinson, knight and baronet, Lieutenant of the Tower and alderman of the City, for a term of 81 years at the yearly rent of £30.⁷⁸ The plan attached to the 1669 lease shows significant differences in the shape and extent of the pre- and post-Fire properties. In particular, at the staking out of the Honey Lane/Milk Street market, the City cut off a large plot of Robinson's ground on the south side and a smaller plot on the east side. The larger plot measured in breadth 12½ft on the west (street) side, 20ft on the east side and 81ft in length, an area of 1316¼ square feet. In September 1669 the City authorities paid Robinson £329 in compensation 'for 1316 feet of his ground cut off in Milkstreet for enlargement of the new intended market there'.⁷⁹ Immediately afterwards the hospital took steps to secure payment from its tenant.⁸⁰

Tenement 3

In 1276 this property belonged to Bonamicus, Jew of York.⁸¹ In the early 14th century 3 comprised a street-side tenement and a garden adjoining on the east side. The premises were in the possession of Sir John de Enefeld, knight, in 1315. In June of that year he granted the tenement to Jordan Peyntour of London and to Joan, his wife; it is described as situated between the tenement which David Skot, tailor, held of the grantor for life, *ie* 4, on the north and the grantor's tenement, *ie* 2, on the south, extending from the high street on the west as far as the grantor's garden on the east. A yearly rent of 40s was to be paid to Enefeld and his heirs, who undertook to warrant the tenement with all the easements of the same now constructed on the

east side and any other side, adding that they would not disturb the light of the windows of the tenement on the east side (*lumen fenestrarum eiusdem tenementi in parte orientali per nos non perturbabitur in aliquo*).⁸²

In September 1317 Joan, widow of Jordan le Payntur, granted the tenement, described as 'newly built', to Robert de Kelseye, citizen, and Juliana, his wife. The property is described as situated between the tenement of Sir John de Enefeld, *ie* 2, on the south and the tenement of David Scot, *ie* 4, on the north, extending from Milk Street on the west as far as the land of the said Sir John on the east.⁸³

By 1334 Sir John de Enefeld was again in possession of the property. In a deed of May 1334 Enefeld granted tenement 4 to the widow of Adam de Draytone; the abutments to the south are given as the grantor's tenement, *ie* tenement 3, and the tenement of Henry de Frouwyk.⁸⁴ Presumably 3 included the garden or land to the east of the tenement proper, which land Enefeld had retained in his possession in 1315. In his testament of January 1336 Sir John made provision for the apportionment of the annual rent issuing from this tenement (see above). His daughter Juliana was to receive 20s yearly for her clothing (*ad vesturam suam*) for the term of her life with reversion to the testator's son, Richard de Enefeld, who was to receive all the rent except Juliana's 20s to hold to himself and his heirs for ever.⁸⁵ Presumably Sir John had disposed of the property itself prior to making his will.

In April 1336 Sir John de Enefeld's executors sold a quit rent of 48s 4d issuing from tenement 4; the abutments to the south are given as the tenement of John Galeys, the tenement of Richard de Enefeld, son of Sir John de Enefeld, and the tenement of Henry de Frouwyk.⁸⁶ Evidently between 1334 and 1336 tenement 3 had been divided, presumably following the bounds of the tenement and garden/land existing formerly. The tenorial descent of the street-side tenement (3a) can be described in some detail, that of the tenement adjoining east (3b) is more uncertain.

Tenement 3a

Durandus Terrade of Gascony was in possession of 3a prior to John Galeys.⁸⁷ Presumably Sir John de Enefeld had granted the property to Durandus shortly after May 1334 and it was

from him that John Galeys acquired it before April 1336. Before November 1342⁸⁸ Galeys granted the tenement to Richard Mertok, tailor, citizen of London, and to Alleysia his (? first) wife.⁸⁹ Richard was in possession of the tenement in October 1348.⁹⁰ Subsequently Mertok granted the property to John Botoner, rector of the church of Newton super Weldam in the diocese of Worcester, the brother of his (? second) wife, Joan. By his grant of January 1349, Botoner restored the tenement to Mertok and his wife; the property is described as situated between the tenement of John de Colewelle, citizen and mercer of London, formerly of Sir John de Enefeld, *ie* 2, on the south and the tenement of William de Stratton, tailor, *ie* 4, on the north, extending from Milk Street to the west as far as the tenement of the said John de Colewelle to the east (?) 3b.⁹¹

In May 1361 Richard Mertok granted the tenement, together with tenement 4 adjoining northward, to John de Mitforde, citizen and draper (*pannarius*) of London, and to Joan, his wife. The two properties are described as situated between the tenement formerly of John de Colewelle, *ie* 2, on the south and the tenement formerly of Richard de Basynstoke, *ie* 5, on the north, extending from Milk Street to the west as far as the tenement of Thomas de Frouwyk, *ie* 1, and the tenement formerly of Sir John de Staunton' (which formerly was of John de Oxoneford, vintner) to the east.⁹² The fact that the eastern abutment on the more southerly of the two tenements is now given as the tenement of Thomas de Frouwyk would indicate that between 1349 and 1361 the Frouwyks had acquired 3b, extending their property westward so that it was contiguous with 3a.

Tenement 3b

It is suggested that between May 1334 and January 1336 Sir John de Enefeld granted this property to his son Richard de Enefeld, who is mentioned as landlord in 1336 and 1337.⁹³ John de Colewelle was in possession of the tenement in 1349 from whom, presumably, the Frouwyks acquired it.

In 1361, then, tenements 3 (*ie* the street side property 3a) and 4 were again in the possession of the same landlord, *ie* John de Mitforde; Richard Mertok had previously held both

properties and before that Sir John de Enefeld.⁹⁴ It is possible (though the evidence is exiguous) that after 1361, for the following century, the tenurial descent of tenement **3a** continued to be linked with that of tenement **4**. By the middle of the 15th century tenement **3a** was in the possession of John Padyngton, esquire;⁹⁵ he is known to have held tenement **4** at about the same date.⁹⁶ It has been suggested that tenement **3a** was annexed to **2 c.** 1460 (see above under **2**).

Tenement **4**

In the early 13th century this property belonged to Martin de Virly, citizen of Rouen. King John took the property into his hands as his escheat when Martin abandoned the king's fealty (*cum a fide domini regis discesserit*). Subsequently John granted it to Bernerius of Rouen (de Rotomago), his servant (*servienti suo*). Thereafter Bernerius sold the property to Leo the Jew (alias Leo le Bland, the Jew). In 1226 Henry III took this property into his hands; it was worth 40s yearly. Leo made a fine and retained the property. In 1244 and 1245–56 Leo the Jew held the property; it was valued (variously) at 5 marks (£3 6s 8d) and 40s *pa*. In the Pipe Roll of 1246/7 the property is listed among the king's escheats; it was farmed to the City of London for 5 marks *pa*. Apparently this payment continued to be exacted despite the subsequent grant of the property to Martin Senche (see below); in 1312/3 the City brought legal proceedings to secure redress.⁹⁷ An inquisition of May 1249 recorded that Leo le Bland, the Jew, held the property and that it was worth 5 marks *pa*.⁹⁸ After Leo's death the property came into the hands of Jocus, Diaya, Isaac and Samuel, Jews, the sons of Abraham the Jew of London, who each held a quarter part. Shortly afterwards, on the death of Isaac, his quarter part escheated to the crown. Subsequently the king bought the remaining three parts of the property from Jocus, Diaya and Samuel for 60 marks of silver (£40). In October 1251 Henry III granted **4**, viz *totam domum illam ... in Melkestrat*, to Martin Senche (Shenche) his crossbowman (*balistario nostro*), to be held by rendering 12d yearly at the Exchequer.⁹⁹

In 1313 an inquisition drawn from the neighbourhood of Milk Street and thereabouts established that on the death of Martin Shenche (I), the property descended to his son and heir,

Martin Shenche (II) who bequeathed the property to his wife, Claricia, for the term of her life; Claricia was holding the property in 1313.¹⁰⁰ In 1293 Martin Schen (presumably to be identified with Martin Senche/Shenche II) was in possession of the property (*mesuagium*).¹⁰¹ Shortly afterwards the property is described as the messuage of Sir Henry de Enefeud, knight.¹⁰² Henry is known to have died before November 1290, and it is uncertain what interest he had had in the property.¹⁰³ It would appear that Claricia disposed of her interest in **4**, not long after 1313.

In 1315 David Skot, tailor, held the tenement for the term of his life of Sir John de Enefeld, knight.¹⁰⁴ Before October 1318 Sir John de Enefeld granted the tenement to Adam de Draytone, citizen of London, and to Agatha, his wife; it is described as the tenement which David le Escot, tailor, and Joan, his wife, formerly held of Sir John. An annual rent of 4 marks of silver was to be paid by Adam and Agatha, viz 5s to the cathedral church of St Paul's and 48s 4d to Sir John de Enefeld, his heirs or assigns. Following this grant, in October 1318 Adam and Agatha undertook to repair the houses and buildings existing in the tenement within three years, failing which they pledged themselves to pay Enefeld £20 sterling.¹⁰⁵ Adam de Draytone was in possession of the property in 1323.¹⁰⁶

It would appear that before May 1334 Sir John de Enefeld had recovered the property, when he granted it to Agatha now widow of Adam de Draytone. The tenement is described as situated between the tenements formerly of Lucy de Northampton (*ie 5*) and the tenement formerly of Stephen Asschewy on the north and Sir John's tenement (*ie 3*) and the tenement of Henry de Frouwyk (*ie 1*) on the south, extending from the tenement formerly of the said Stephen Asschewy and the tenement of the said Henry de Frouwik to the east as far as Milk Street to the west. Again the property is described as that which David le Escot, tailor, and Joan, his wife, formerly held of Sir John. The rents payable by the grantee are as in the grant of *ante* October 1318.¹⁰⁷ In a rental of St Paul's cathedral of 1336, **4** is noted as the tenement formerly of Adam de Draytone now of William de Strettone (see below) from which tenement the rent of 5s was due.¹⁰⁸ While it is clear that in the following decade Strettone did become the owner of the

property, in 1336 he may simply have been the tenant.

In his testament of January 1336 Sir John de Enefeld made provision for the sale of the rent of 48s 4d from tenement 4, viz the house which Agatha, widow of Adam de Draytone, acquired from him.¹⁰⁹ Accordingly, in April 1336, Sir John's executors sold the rent to William de Hoghton, citizen and tailor of London. The tenement from which the rent issued is described as that which Agatha, widow of Adam de Draytone, has by the gift and feoffment of Sir John de Enefeld situated between the tenements of Master Peter Ferrandus, clerk, (*ie* 5) and the tenements of John de Oxenford (which formerly was of Sir Stephen Asschewy, Knight) on the north, and the tenement of John Galeys (*ie* 3a), the tenement of Richard de Enefeld, son of Sir John de Enefeld (*ie* 3b) and the tenement of Henry de Frowyk (*ie* 1) on the south, extending from Milk Street to the west as far as the tenement of the said Henry de Frowyk and the tenement of the said John de Oxenford to the east.¹¹⁰

In May 1337 Agatha de Draytone granted the tenement to William de Hoghton, citizen and tailor of London, and to Margaret, his wife.¹¹¹ The property is described as in the deed of April 1336, by which Hoghton had acquired the rent of 48s 4d (see above). In July 1339 4 is described as the tenement formerly of William de Houghton.¹¹² Subsequently the tenement passed to John atte Halle¹¹³ and thence to William de Strettone (Stratton), tailor, (probably by 1342) when he is mentioned in a St Paul's account roll as owing rent 'for the tenement formerly of Agatha de Draitone'¹¹⁴ and certainly before January 1349¹¹⁵ (see under 3). Thereafter Strettone granted the tenement to Richard Mertok, tailor, citizen of London, who in May 1361 granted it (together with tenement 3) to John de Mitforde, citizen and draper (*pannarius*) of London and to Joan, his wife.¹¹⁶

In his testament of July 1375 John de Mitforde bequeathed all his lands and tenements to his wife Joan to hold for life with remainder to his daughter Juliana and her heirs. If Juliana died without issue, all the property was to remain to the rector and parishioners of the church of St Mary Magdalen in Milk Street for the maintenance of two chaplains, or should that bequest be unlawful, to the testator's direct heirs with the

obligation to support one chaplain.¹¹⁷ Mitforde's will does not mention that his daughter Juliana was at that time the wife of Henry de Padynton, citizen and common clerk of the City;¹¹⁸ he was appointed one of Mitforde's executors and was the recipient of a personal bequest, as was his son, John de Padynton. As part of the estate bequeathed in Mitforde's will, it is clear that tenement 4 duly passed to Juliana and thence to her descendants by Henry de Padynton, her first husband. Henry de Padynton's will is dated two days after Mitforde's and it is clear that the two men died at about the same time. Subsequently (by 1382) Juliana married Robert Louthe, esquire, of Hertford.¹¹⁹

In a deed of May 1401 concerning an adjoining property in Lawrence Lane, Juliana Louthe is mentioned as the landlord of tenement 4; Thomas Dyster, mercer, dwelt there.¹²⁰ During the previous decade *ie* from 1391 and up to c. 1408 Juliana's husband, Robert Louthe, esquire, is noted in the St Paul's account rolls as liable to pay the rent of 5s due to the cathedral from the property.¹²¹ Thomas Dyster, citizen and mercer of London, died c. 1411; he was evidently a man of great wealth. In an inventory made in November 1411, his goods amounted to £4,336 9s 3d.¹²²

Between 1409 and 1425 Robert Tenderden, citizen and ironmonger, appears in the St Paul's account rolls in connection with the rent (now reduced to 3s 4d) due from tenement 4; how Robert acquired an interest in the property is not known (he may have been a tenant).¹²³ By 1448–49 John Padynton is noted in the accounts as liable to pay the rent due from 4.¹²⁴ This John, identified elsewhere as John Padynton, esquire, was the son of John Padynton, gentleman, the son of Henry de Padynton, Juliana's husband; presumably he had acquired the property by inheritance. John died before March 1453.¹²⁵ In a deed of August 1455 relating to tenement 5, 4 is described as the tenement lately of John Padynton, esquire; at this date the property is recorded as extending to the south and east of 5.¹²⁶ On John's death the property evidently passed by inheritance to his brother, Thomas Padynton, citizen and fishmonger of London. Thus in the St Paul's account roll of 1453–54, Thomas Padynton is noted as liable to pay the rent due to the cathedral from tenement 4.¹²⁷ Thereafter, viz between 1454–55

and 1474–75 Thomas Padyngton, junior, is mentioned in connection with the rent due from 4 (Thomas, junior, may have been the son of the elder Thomas's brother William).¹²⁸ How and when Thomas Padyngton, junior, disposed of the property is not known.

In 1503 tenement 4 was in the possession of Nicholas Alwyn, citizen and alderman of London; Richard, John and Michael Englissh dwelt there.¹²⁹ In his testament of February 1505 Nicholas made provisions regarding his two messuages (presumably comprising 4) in the parish of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street. His executors were to receive the revenues issuing from the properties until Nicholas's son, Francis, attained the age of 26 years or, if he died before then, until Nicholas Alwyn, son of Richard Alwyn, attained the same age. When Francis came of age, the premises were to remain to him and his heirs, otherwise they were to revert to Nicholas son of Richard Alwyn. Nicholas Alwyn, citizen and alderman, died in 1506 and it appears that in due course the property descended to Francis.¹³⁰ In November 1516 Francis Alwyn, citizen and mercer of London, and Bridget, his wife, granted the property to Richard Fermer, citizen and grocer of London and merchant of the Staple of Calais, to William Fermer, gentleman, Thomas Hynde, William Browne and George Medley, citizen and mercers of London. The grantees were to hold the property to the use of Richard Fermer until Richard had received from the rents and issues £53 6s 8d sterling, in cash, which sum Francis Alwyn owed him; the money was to be received from the tenants, farmers and occupants of the property. A memorandum accompanying the grant specified how the sum of £53 6s 8d was to be realised; a yearly rent of 5 marks (£3 6s 8d) was to be levied from the tenement in which John Sturgeon dwelt, and from no other tenement. (At this rate the debt would have been repaid in 16 years.) Once the debt had been paid, Richard Fermer *et al* were to remain seised of the property to the use of Francis Alwyn and Bridget and of Francis's heirs.¹³¹ John Sturgeon, haberdasher, was a City auditor between 1537 and 1538, 1542 and 1544, and one of the bridgemasters in 1547–48. He served as one of the MPs for the City in 1542 and 1545, and was chamberlain of the City between 1550 and 1563.¹³²

By 1525 John Gresham was in possession of tenement 4.¹³³ In his testament of February 1552,

Sir John Gresham, knight, citizen and alderman of London, disposed of his property in the parish of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street. He gave to Dame Katherine, his wife, as part of her dower, his messuage or tenement in Milkstrete, then in the tenure of Nicholas Bingham, haberdasher; after Katherine's death the property was to remain to William Gresham, Sir John's eldest son and to his heirs.¹³⁴ By 1589 the property had come into the possession of William Style. In May 1589 William Style, citizen and merchant tailor of London, then resident in Kingston on Thames, Surrey, and Jane, his wife, sold the property, viz all the messuage or tenement and also all shops, taverns (*tabernas*) cellars, solars, houses *etc* belonging to the same, to Cuthbert Brande, citizen and clothmaker, for the sum of £280. After Nicholas Bingham, the property had been in the tenure or occupation of Ralph Carter or his assigns and at the same time as the sale was in the tenure or occupation of Hugh Morrell or his assigns. The property is described as situated between a certain messuage or tenement now or lately in the tenure or occupation of Michael Boile, *ie* 5, on the north and another messuage or tenement now in the tenure or occupation of Samuel Hare, *ie* 2/3a, on the south; it abutted west upon Milk Street and towards the east on certain parcels of the messuage or inn called *Bossoms Inne* in St Lawrence Lane. The premises are further identified as having been part of the possessions of the late John Gresham, knight and alderman.¹³⁵

By 1605 the property was in the possession of Nathaniel Martyn. In May 1605 Martyn leased it to George Maye for a term of 21 years at a yearly rent of £10 and an additional yearly sum of £26. In December 1606 Nathaniel Martyn, citizen and goldsmith of London, and Cecily, his wife, sold the property to James Askewe of London, merchant, for the sum of £413 6s 8d (the yearly rent and payment agreed in the lease to Maye being assigned to Askewe for the duration of the term). The sale was made conditionally, viz that if Nathaniel and Cecily should pay Askewe the full sum of £413 6s 8d on 20 April 1607, that then the sale would be void.¹³⁶ No such payment was made and in March 1608, in consideration of a further sum of 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) paid to them by Askewe, Nathaniel and Cecily quitclaimed to the same James Askewe all their right in the property.¹³⁷

Tenement 5

In 1293 Martin Ferawd (Ferant/Feraund) granted this property (*mesuagium*) to Sir Guy Ferre, junior; it is described as situated between the messuage of the said Sir Guy, *ie* 6, on one side (the north) and the messuage of Martin Schen, *ie* 4, on the other (the south).¹³⁸ Before August 1293 Sir Guy Ferre, junior, feoffed Martin Feraund of the property; it is described as lying between the messuage of the said Sir Guy, *ie* 6, on one side (the north) and the messuage of Sir Henry de Enefeud, knight, *ie* 4, on the other (south). In August 1293 Martin recognised that he had no right in the cellar which was situated under the vault and built under the messuage, viz *solarium* (*rectius selarium/celarium*) *sub volta situm fuerit et erectum sub mesuagio predicto* nor had ever had any right in the same by the feoffment of Sir Guy Ferre.¹³⁹ Presumably the cellar under 5 was retained as an integral part of 6 and descended with that property (see account under 6).

It seems likely that 5 passed by inheritance to the descendants of Martin Feraund. Thus in May 1323 the property is described as the tenement of Sir Peter Ferraunt, rector, and in April 1336 and May 1337 as the tenement of Master Peter Ferrandus, clerk.¹⁴⁰ In May 1334, however, 5 is described as the tenement formerly of Lucy de Norhampton; what interest Lucy had had in the property is uncertain (possibly she had been a tenant of Master Peter).¹⁴¹ In his testament of February 1339, dated in the hall of his rectory, Peter Ferraund of London, rector of the church of Hatewolden, bequeathed the property to his executors, who were to sell the same within a year of the testator's death; Peter's father had held the property before him.¹⁴² Accordingly, in July 1339, Peter's executors sold the property to Richard de Basyngstoke, citizen and goldsmith of London, and to Edith, his wife; it is described as situated between the tenement of William de Leyre, *ie* 6, to the north and the tenement formerly of William de Houghton, *ie* 4, to the south.¹⁴³ In his testament of May 1349 Richard de Basyngstoke bequeathed the tenement *inter alia* to his son, Thomas.¹⁴⁴ Thomas de Basyngstoke, citizen and goldsmith of London, in his testament of January 1350, instructed his executors to sell all his tenements in London (presumably including 5) immediately after the death of Sarah, his wife, should she die without issue of the testator.¹⁴⁵ More than a quarter of a

century later, in August 1376, the executors of Thomas de Basyngstoke sold his property in the parish of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street (with properties in other parishes) to Sir Thomas Peytevyn, knight. Sarah was still living at the time of the sale but had no heir of Thomas de Basyngstoke; Sir Thomas was to have the premises on Sarah's death.¹⁴⁶ For how long 5 remained in the possession of Sir Thomas Peytevyn is not known.

In 1417 5 is described as the tenement formerly of John Shadworth (mercier); at what date and from whom Shadworth had acquired an interest in the property is not known.¹⁴⁷ Subsequently (after 1436) the property was in the hands of John Fray, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, John Olney citizen and alderman of London (mercier), Richard Chestre, clerk, Eborard Flete (mercier), Roger Roos, John Horn and William Henage. The above demised the tenement to John Courtenay, Robert Baron, citizen and mercer of London, John Middleton, citizen and mercer of London, Walter Muschamp, chaplain, William Stanlowe, William Blyton, Thomas Muschamp, citizen and mercer of London, and Maud, his wife. Thereafter Stanlowe, Blyton, Thomas Muschamp and Maud quitclaimed all their right in the property to John Middleton and Walter Muschamp. In August 1455 the same John and Walter granted the tenement to the same Thomas Muschamp and Maud, and to John Harowe, Thomas Steell, Ralph Verney, John Lokke and Thomas Rykes, citizens and mercers of London. The property is described as 'all that their [the grantors'] great place or tenement with its appurtenances newly built' situated next (*proxime*) between the tenement of the commonalty of the City of London, in which John Roo dwells, *ie* 6, on the north and the tenement lately of John Padyngton, esquire, *ie* 4, on the south abutting on a certain tenement called *Bosom Ynne* (Blossoms Inn) and a certain tenement lately of the said John Padyngton to the east and on Milk Street to the west.¹⁴⁸

Subsequently it would appear that Thomas Muschamp acquired the sole interest in the property. Thomas Muschamp, citizen and mercer of London and sheriff of the City in 1463/4, died before April 1498. Apparently Thomas bequeathed the property to his son, Stephen, to hold after the death of the testator's wife, Maud. This provision is mentioned in Maud's testament of April 1498.¹⁴⁹

Tenement 6

This tenement was in the possession of Sir Guy Ferre, junior, in 1293.¹⁵⁰ In 1322 Massenta (Maysenta, Maissenta) widow of William de Wynton, citizen of London, held the property for the term of her life, of William de Leyre. In his testament of November 1322 William de Leyre (I) bequeathed to his son, William, the 8 marks (£5 6s 8d), annual quit rent which Messenta was held to pay for the tenement together with the reversion of the same tenement following Massenta's death.¹⁵¹ In his testament of June 1366 William de Leyre (II), citizen of London, bequeathed the property to his wife, Anne, to hold for the term of her life, the reversion of which property he granted to his executors, to be sold within two years of his death; the proceeds were to be assigned to pious uses.¹⁵² Accordingly, in May 1368, the executors of William de Leyre (II) sold the reversion of the tenement to Adam Fraunceys and John Oskyn, citizens of London.¹⁵³ Very shortly afterwards, Anne, widow of William de Leyre (II), granted the same Adam and John all her interest in the tenement.¹⁵⁴

It appears that Adam Fraunceys acquired the sole interest in 6. In his testament of August 1374 Adam Fraunceys, citizen and mercer of London, bequeathed it (with other properties in the City) to his executors, who were to sell the same and use the proceeds for pious works.¹⁵⁵ In September 1376 Adam's executors duly sold the property to Adam's son, Adam Fraunceys (II).¹⁵⁶ Subsequently John Shadworthe held the property (with other tenements in the parish of St Lawrence Jewry) for a term of years, presumably by the demise of Adam Fraunceys (II). In September 1397 Adam Fraunceys, knight, (*ie* Adam Fraunceys II) granted to Godfrey Dene, citizen and brewer of London, an annual rent of £10 sterling, to be received from the tenements which John Shadworthe then held for a term of years in the parishes of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street (*ie* 6) and St Lawrence Jewry; the rent was to be received quarterly and for a term of 60 years. In January 1406 Godfrey granted to John Chirche all his interest and term to come in the annual rent of £10.¹⁵⁷ Having acquired an interest in the rent issuing partly from tenement 6, it appears that John Chirche subsequently acquired the property itself.

In December 1417 John Chirche, citizen and

grocer of London, demised the property, *viz* the tenements with appurtenances in the parish of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street (with other tenements in the parish of St Lawrence Jewry) to John Abbot, citizen and mercer of London, for a term of 20 years at a yearly rent of £20 sterling. The tenements in the parish of St Mary Magdalen are described as situated together between the tenements formerly of Simon Wynchcombe and the tenement of the dean and chapter of St Martin le Grand on the north and the tenement formerly of John Shadworthe, on the south. In addition, John Chirche demised to Abbot a stone cellar in Milk Street under Shadworthe's tenement, *ie* 5, *viz simul cum uno celario lapideo in Milkstrete predicta subtus idem tenementum quondam dicti Johannis Shadworthe*. The unit of property comprising tenement 6 and the cellar under 5, identified in the late 13th century (see under 5) was evidently intact in the early 15th century. In his testament of May 1418 John Chirche bequeathed the rent of £20 to be received from his tenements in the parishes of St Lawrence Jewry and St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, together with the reversion of the same tenements, after the completion of the term of 20 years, to the mayor and commonalty of the City of London.¹⁵⁸ By July 1431 the mayor and commonalty of the City were in possession of the Milk Street property, *viz* the tenement formerly of Adam Fraunceys.¹⁵⁹ In August 1455 the property is described as the tenement of the commonalty of the City of London in which John Roo dwells.¹⁶⁰ John Roo, mercer, died before 1460; he was evidently a man of considerable wealth, as is indicated by the generous financial provisions made for his children following his death.¹⁶¹

By 1528 Mr John Hardy was dwelling in the property, *viz* the house in Mylkestrete. In April 1528 it was agreed that the chamberlain should make a lease of the premises to Mr Hardy for a term of 30 years, paying the old rent (probably £4 13s 4d *pa*).¹⁶² John Hardy, haberdasher, was alderman of the ward of Aldersgate between 1524–8, of Farringdon Within between 1528–34, and was sheriff in 1527–8; he died in 1540.¹⁶³ In October 1540 it was agreed that the chamberlain should make a lease of the house to John Wyseman, gentleman, for a term of 21 years at the old rent.¹⁶⁴ By 1569 the property was in the tenure of Mr Alderman Lionel Duckett. In July 1569 it was agreed that Duckett

should have a lease of the property for a term of 30 years at the accustomed rent; he was to pay the chamberlain 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) as a fine.¹⁶⁵ In October 1573, at the end of his mayoralty, it was agreed that Sir Lionel Duckett should have a new lease of the premises for a term of 30 years, beginning at Michaelmas 1573, at the accustomed rent.¹⁶⁶ A rental of City properties of 1584-5 states that the lease ran from Michaelmas 1574; the rent is recorded as £4 13s 4d.¹⁶⁷ Sir Lionel Duckett died in July 1587.¹⁶⁸ By 1604 the property was in the tenure of Mr Gerrard Gore, merchant tailor. In July 1604 the City authorities agreed that Gore should have a lease of his dwelling house for a term of 21 years, at the rent of £4 13s 4d; he was to pay a fine of £180.¹⁶⁹ Gerrard Gore had been master of the Merchant Tailors Company in 1567-8, and alderman of the ward of Bridge Without in 1574; he died in December 1607.¹⁷⁰ By 1623 Mr Ralph Gore, citizen and merchant tailor, was lessee and occupant of the premises. In February 1623 Gore surrendered his former lease and the City agreed to grant him a new lease for 21 years, besides his former term; he was to pay a fine of £170 and the annual rent of £4 13s 4d.¹⁷¹

By 1644 the tenement was in the tenure of William Williams, citizen and mercer of London. In May 1644 Williams surrendered his lease and the City authorities agreed that he should have a new lease for 33¼ years 'in respect of his newe making the chymneys and new building a brick wall over the north side of the said tenement'; he was to pay a fine of £360 and the accustomed rent.¹⁷² In April 1652 Williams surrendered this lease and the City agreed to grant him another new lease of the tenement for a term of 61 years, paying a fine of £200 and the rent of £4 13s 4d.¹⁷³ The indenture of lease dated 1 July 1652, gives the dimensions of the tenement as follows: from north to south towards the street 39ft and from east to west 48ft and from north to south at the east end 40ft and from east to west 'about the middle' 40ft. There was a yard in the middle of the tenement (14ft from north to south and 11ft from east to west) around which were ranged the following rooms, viz one cellar lying west towards the street (39ft from north to south, 17ft 5in from east to west at the south end and 18ft at the north end) and another cellar to the north (30ft from east to west, 12ft from north to south at the east end and 9ft at the west end). There

was a vault lying partly under the yard (16ft from north to south and 9ft from east to west).¹⁷⁴ After the Fire, in March 1668, Williams was granted a lease of the property, now described as two tenements newly built, for a term of 81 years at the accustomed rent of £4 13s 4d. The dimensions of the property are given as: 38ft 4in from north to south on the street side and 43ft 4in at the east end, 51ft 4in from east to west on the south side and 48ft 6in on the north side.¹⁷⁵

Identifying the excavated pre-Fire structures (Figs 46-7)

John Schofield

The proposed correspondence of excavated building foundations with property boundaries in *c.* 1350 is shown in Fig 46, and *c.* 1660 in Fig 47. The main excavation area of 1976 comprised four medieval properties on the east side of Milk Street, Tenements 2 to 5, along with part of 1 behind 2, 3 and 4; the excavation of 1972 to the north lay in Tenement 6.

Tenement 1 was a large property, extending in the early 13th century from Milk Street to Honey Lane, and by the mid 14th century stretching north behind tenements 2-4 which also fronted onto Milk Street. In the later 12th century it was described as next to the *monasterium* of St Mary Magdalen; by this time there were two associated tenements, one north of the church (1) and one east of it reached by Honey Lane. About 1202-4 each tenement was described as a stone house. In 1212 or 1213 the Milk Street house extended between the church and Tenement 2 to the north.

The sites of the two stone buildings adjacent to the church of St Mary Magdalen, are shown on Fig 46. The church and these stone buildings, as a group, must have formed a notable local landmark in the late 12th and 13th centuries.

Some recorded structures are relevant to the subsequent history of Tenement 1. Within the northern part of this property, east of Tenement 3, a stone-lined cesspit (Pit 116) had fills dated to 1230-1270, and the contents included several wooden items (Fig 43) and food remains (see Appendix 5). In the post-medieval period (Fig 47), Buildings 13 and 16-17 were constructed in what by then must have been Christ's Hospital property. It is not clear whether any of them

were pre- or post-Fire in date. The single recorded wall of Building 18 lay in a property north of All Hallows Honey Lane which was not considered in the present study, but is published elsewhere.¹⁷⁶

Tenement 3 was the site of Building 6, dating from the 12th century (CP5). This property belonged in 1276 to Bonamicus the Jew, and in 1315 to Sir John de Enefeld, who held the adjacent Tenements 2 and 4. Enefeld undertook not to disturb the light of the windows on the east side of the streetside tenement. In 1317 the tenement was described as rebuilt, but evidently without alteration to the excavated portion of the Building 6 basement. It is not possible to say for certain how long Building 6 retained its 12th-century integrity, but two circumstances suggest that as a structure it may have contributed to property divisions around it for several centuries: the development of the alley, Robinson's Court, along its north side by 1677, and the fact that its south and east walls were followed by stanchion bases marking 19th century property boundaries of buildings along modern Milk Street, with no evident periods of construction between the 12th century and the 19th along these boundaries. It is also likely that an alley, presumably on the line of Robinson's Court, would have been required to allow access to 3b from Milk Street in the mid 14th century.

This is at odds with the shifting patterns of tenements emerging from the documentary survey: 3 was divided in 1334–6, 3b was probably absorbed by 1 in c. 1360, 3a was associated with 4 c. 1360–c. 1460, and 3a was joined to 2 by c. 1460.

The only feature of note on Tenement 4 was a stone-lined cesspit (Pit 117) which contained material of the late 14th century and a fragment of a papal bull of 1378–89 (see Appendix 1); and the foundation of a rebuilt west wall of the property along the street (Building 9), of unknown but medieval date.

Tenement 5, next to the north, contained fragments of three buildings on or near the Milk Street frontage. Building 7 comprised the north-west corner of a building on chalk and gravel foundations, broadly datable to the 12th or early 13th centuries. Though there was no direct stratigraphic link, Building 7 must have been replaced by or substantially rebuilt into Building 10, which lay across the property, forming a basement chamber. This can be identified as the vault mentioned in 1293, which was associated

with the adjacent Tenement 6 to the north. The cellar was evidently still attached to 6 in the 15th century. The evidence, in the form of the stair, for access from the street to the west is unique on the Milk Street site and indeed the only direct evidence for such an entrance from the study sites. During the late medieval period the north-west corner of the tenement was again rebuilt as Building 11; this was undated archaeologically, but the foundation arches are broadly datable to the period 1300–1500. The arches were of the kind which were usually found below ground-level and not forming the walls of cellars. It is not clear what effect this rebuilding had on the adjacent Building 10.

Tenement 6 was the site of the large early medieval Building 8, which was only summarily recorded in 1972. This building, undated archaeologically but from the construction technique of its foundations probably of the 12th or early 13th century, was clearly a structure of some prominence and distinction. Along the street side lay a large cellar, measuring 39ft by 17ft 5in in 1652; this was probably the west range of Building 8, which could have been even larger within the confines of the 1972 site. At this date the building(s) formed two wings on the west and north sides of an internal yard, as is suggested by the archaeological findings (Fig 35).

NOTES TO MILK STREET DOCUMENTARY SUMMARY

¹ For a fuller account of these properties, see *Historical Gazetteer*, 11/4.

² GL, MS 25121/105.

³ GL, MS 25121/104.

⁴ GL, MS 25121/103, pr. *Early charters*, no. 121.

⁵ GL, MS 25121/1272, pr. *Early charters*, no. 240.

⁶ GL, MS 25121/1270, pr. *Early charters*, no. 168.

⁷ GL, MS 25121/108, pr. *Early charters*, no. 263.

⁸ GL, MSS 25121/107, 1271.

⁹ GL, MS 25121/542.

¹⁰ GL, MS 25121/102.

¹¹ GL, MS 25121/541.

¹² In fact Henry de Frowyk is known to have been in possession of the Milk Street property by 1276, *Cal Pat R 1272–81*, 156–7.

¹³ GL, MS 25271/8; HR 16 (80).

¹⁴ DC, Deeds A. VII. 160.

¹⁵ CLRO, Husting Common Pleas 77, m.5.

¹⁶ *Cal Wills* ii, 169–70.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 201.

¹⁸ HR 114 (102).

- ¹⁹ GL, MSS 25125/27-53 and 54-58.
²⁰ HR 166 (24).
²¹ HR 181 (17), 182 (14).
²² Cass 1887, 70.
²³ BL, Add. Ch. 15633.
²⁴ HR 230 (4).
²⁵ *Abs Inq PM*, 1, 24-5.
²⁶ GL, MS 2596/1.
²⁷ HR 239 (51).
²⁸ GL, MS 2596/1 f. 31. For the Drapers' tenement see *Historical Gazetteer*, 115.
²⁹ GL, MSS 2596/1 and 2.
³⁰ Masters 1974, 37.
³¹ GL, MS 25121/108, pr. *Early Charters*, no. 263.
³² *Cal Pat R 1272-81*, 131.
³³ *Cal Pat R 1272-81*, 137.
³⁴ *Cal Close R 1272-79*, 297.
³⁵ *Cal Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, vol 2, 206. The *inspeximus* in *Cal Pat R 1272-81*, 156-7 gives the purchase price as 240 marks of silver (£160).
³⁶ HR 43 (113).
³⁷ HR 63 (171).
³⁸ HR 69 (138).
³⁹ HR 75 (191).
⁴⁰ GL, MS 12815/1, f.64.
⁴¹ HR 77 (106).
⁴² HR 163 (38), 148 (3).
⁴³ GL, MS 12815/1, f.64v.
⁴⁴ HR 163 (38).
⁴⁵ GL, MS 12815/1, f.64v.
⁴⁶ HR 166 (24); *Cal LB K*, 219 and 229-30.
⁴⁷ HR 181 (17).
⁴⁸ HR 182 (14).
⁴⁹ PRO, Prob. 11/5/Q4.
⁵⁰ HR 266 (77).
⁵¹ Beaven 1908, ii, 9, 164.
⁵² PRO, Prob. 11/8/Q26.
⁵³ Lyell & Watney 1936, 297-306 and *passim*.
⁵⁴ *Cal Inq P M Hen VII*, I, no. 629, 257.
⁵⁵ GL, MS 12815/1, f.64v.
⁵⁶ HR 230 (4).
⁵⁷ HR 238 (36).
⁵⁸ GL, MS 13361 A.
⁵⁹ GL, MS 12815/1, f.65.
⁶⁰ HR 239 (51).
⁶¹ Beaven 1908, ii, 22.
⁶² GL, MS 2596/1, f.31.
⁶³ Gage 1822, 115-119.
⁶⁴ Beaven 1908, ii, 28.
⁶⁵ GL, MS 12815/1, f.65v.
⁶⁶ Beaven 1908, ii, 40.
⁶⁷ HR 266 (77); GL, MS 12879/1, ff. 25v/26.
⁶⁸ GL, MS 13361.
⁶⁹ Beaven 1908, ii, 42.
⁷⁰ GL, MS 13361.
⁷¹ GL, MSS 12819/2 and 3.
⁷² GL, MS 12834/1, 44, 189.
⁷³ GL, MS 12819/3.
⁷⁴ GL, MS 12834/2, f. 52.
⁷⁵ GL, MS 12806/5, 498-9.
⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 531-2, 540, 566.
⁷⁷ GL, MS 12806/6, 407.
⁷⁸ GL, MS 13361.
⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
⁸⁰ GL, MS 12806/6, 408, 416.
⁸¹ *Cal Pat R 1272-1281*, 156-7.
⁸² HR 43 (113).
⁸³ HR 46 (38). Kelsey already owned properties in Milk Street prior to his acquisition of 3. His residence was very probably on the west side of the street. See HR 31 (8), 43 (30); Ekwall 1951, 275. He also held a substantial property in Cheapside which in about 1315 he rebuilt with a battlemented frontage: *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/43).
⁸⁴ GL, MS 25121/1279.
⁸⁵ HR 63 (171).
⁸⁶ HR 63 (189).
⁸⁷ HR 89 (46).
⁸⁸ HR 69 (138).
⁸⁹ HR 89 (46).
⁹⁰ HR 75 (191).
⁹¹ HR 75 (200).
⁹² HR 89 (46).
⁹³ HR 63 (189), 64 (41).
⁹⁴ HR 75 (200).
⁹⁵ HR 181 (17).
⁹⁶ GL, MS 25125/75; HR 184 (17).
⁹⁷ *Eyre 1244*, items 208, 280 and 303; xviii-xix, xxix.
⁹⁸ *Cal Inq Misc*, I, 19, no. 63.
⁹⁹ *Liber Custumarum*, 139-142; *Cal Chart R*, I, 354, 367-8; PRO, C146/9855.
¹⁰⁰ *Liber Custumarum*, 142 and cf details given in *Cal LB E*, f.10v.
¹⁰¹ HR 22 (35).
¹⁰² HR 22 (40).
¹⁰³ *Clerkenwell Cartulary*, 256-7.
¹⁰⁴ HR 43 (113).
¹⁰⁵ GL, MS 25121/1274.
¹⁰⁶ HR 51 (135).
¹⁰⁷ GL, MS 25121/1279.
¹⁰⁸ GL, MS 25127.
¹⁰⁹ HR 63 (171).
¹¹⁰ HR 63 (189).
¹¹¹ HR 64 (41).
¹¹² HR 66 (85).
¹¹³ HR 89 (46).
¹¹⁴ GL, MS 25125/10.
¹¹⁵ HR 75 (200).
¹¹⁶ HR 89 (46).
¹¹⁷ HR 103 (216).
¹¹⁸ HR 103 (217), 111 (164), (126).
¹¹⁹ HR 111(164), (126).
¹²⁰ GL, MSS 25125/27-50.
¹²¹ HR 129 (111).
¹²² *Cal Plea & Mem R 1413-37*, 21-24.
¹²³ GL, MSS 25125/51-63.

- ¹²⁴ GL, MS 25125/75.
¹²⁵ HR 181 (21).
¹²⁶ HR 184 (17).
¹²⁷ GL, MS 25125/79.
¹²⁸ GL, MSS 25125/8-0-92; HR 216(5).
¹²⁹ HR 230 (4).
¹³⁰ HR 238 (36), Beaven 1908, ii, 19.
¹³¹ HR 238 (11).
¹³² Beaven 1908, i, 289.
¹³³ HR 239 (51).
¹³⁴ Testament printed in Leveson Gower 1883, 30-35.
¹³⁵ HR 269 (68).
¹³⁶ HR 284 (56).
¹³⁷ HR 285 (12).
¹³⁸ HR 22 (35).
¹³⁹ HR 22 (40).
¹⁴⁰ HR 51 (135), 63 (189), 64 (41).
¹⁴¹ GL, MS 25121/1279.
¹⁴² HR 66 (70).
¹⁴³ HR 66 (85).
¹⁴⁴ HR 76 (262).
¹⁴⁵ HR 78 (146).
¹⁴⁶ HR 106 (114).
¹⁴⁷ HR 154 (6).
¹⁴⁸ HR 184 (17).
¹⁴⁹ *Cal LB L*, 34-5; PRO Prob. 11/11/Q20.
¹⁵⁰ HR 22 (35), (40).
¹⁵¹ HR 51 (98).
¹⁵² HR 94 (92).
¹⁵³ HR 96 (67).
¹⁵⁴ HR 96 (69).
¹⁵⁵ HR 103 (79).
¹⁵⁶ HR 104 (167).
¹⁵⁷ HR 133 (3).
¹⁵⁸ HR 154 (6).
¹⁵⁹ HR 159 (88).
¹⁶⁰ HR 184 (17).
¹⁶¹ *Cal LB K*, 398-9.
¹⁶² Rep 7, f.255.
¹⁶³ Beaven 1908, ii, 25.
¹⁶⁴ Rep 10, f.178.
¹⁶⁵ Rep 16, f.490v.
¹⁶⁶ Rep 18, f.92.
¹⁶⁷ CLRO, Chamber Accounts, 2, f. 197v.
¹⁶⁸ Beaven 1908, ii, 37.
¹⁶⁹ CLRO, City Lands Grant Book 1, ff.69 and 72.
¹⁷⁰ Beaven 1908, ii, 39.
¹⁷¹ CLRO, City Lands Grant Book 2, f.31.
¹⁷² *Ibid*, f.94.
¹⁷³ CLRO, City Lands Grant Book 3, f. 16v.
¹⁷⁴ CLRO, Comptroller's Deeds, Box C, no. 29.
¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, no. 39.
¹⁷⁶ *Historical Gazetteer*, 11/5.

24-5 Ironmonger Lane (IRO80)
(Figs 2, 48)

This site (Fig 2) is situated on the west side of Ironmonger Lane, bounded on the south side by

Provident Passage. Excavation in advance of redevelopment, funded by Guardian Royal Exchange Assurance Ltd, took place in July-December 1980 in an area 8m square. The excavation was supervised by Jenny Norton.

Natural stratigraphy consisted of upper flood plain gravels of the Thames. Three successive periods of Roman activity were identified, and these are reported elsewhere.¹

Ceramic Phase 1 (850-1020)
(Fig 48a)

The latest Roman occupation in the north of the site was sealed by dark earth, containing only Roman material, to a thickness of 0.5m. However, a stone boundary wall which ran east-west across the centre of the site seemed to have survived from the Roman period, since the dark earth apparently lay up against its north face, and the wall itself was not fully demolished until it was finally robbed in CP2 (see below). No dark earth was recorded above an east-west Roman street immediately to the south of the wall, and instead the street was sealed by dirty mixed gravels, representing the disturbance of its latest surfaces. Like the dark earth in the north, the gravels contained only Roman material.

Two sunken-floored buildings (Buildings 1 and 2) dating to CP1 were cut from the surface of these gravels into the metallings of the Roman street, possibly after some minor reduction of the ground surface. Both buildings were aligned on the Roman wall to their north, but Building 1 in the east lay perpendicular to it, across the line of the Roman street, while Building 2 immediately to the west lay directly alongside it, occupying the north half of the street only. Superficially, the layout of the two buildings suggests that they were in use together, but Building 2 cut the main occupation surfaces within Building 1, and must therefore have succeeded it. It is possible, however, that Building 2 was contemporary with Building 1 during its latest phase of occupation, when the latter had largely become filled up with occupational debris.

One pit (Pit 1) may have been dug in this phase north of the Roman wall, but it contained no contemporary ceramics and is phased only on stratigraphy, being cut by Pit 2. Pit 1 could equally have been dug in CP2, like the following group of pits.

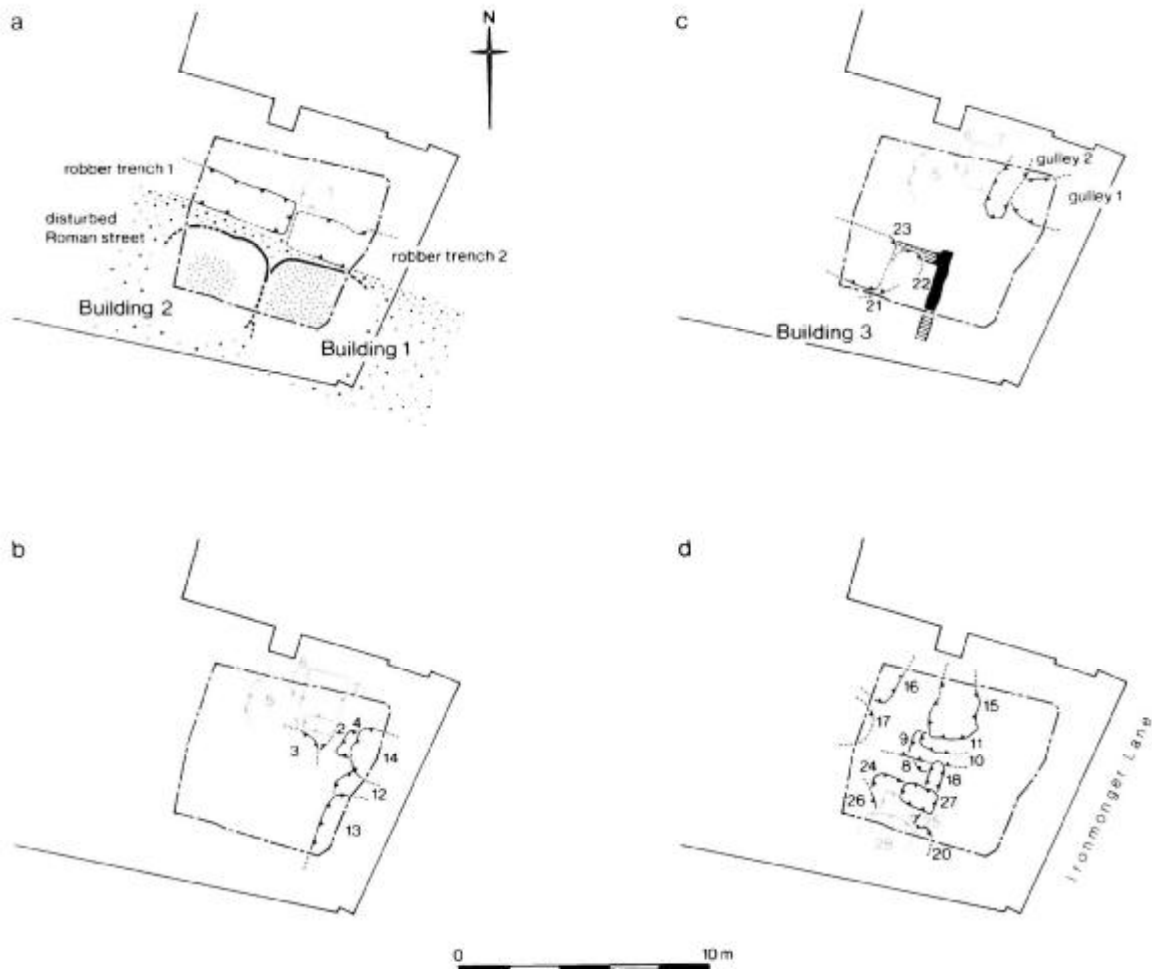


Fig 48. Ironmonger Lane (IRO80): (a) Ceramic Phases 1-2 (850-1030); (b) Ceramic Phase 2 continued; (c) Ceramic Phase 3 (1020-1050); (d) Ceramic Phase 4-5 (1050-1180) (1:300).

Ceramic Phase 2 (1000-1030)
(Fig 48a,b)

Buildings 1 and 2 of CP1 were backfilled, and at the same time the east-west Roman wall on their north side was robbed (robber trenches 1-2) (Fig 48a). Several pits in the north and east of the site were cut through the robber trench and Building 1 (Pits ?1, 2-4, 12-14; Pits 5-7 could be CP2 or CP3) (Fig 48b). Most parts of the site were levelled off towards the end of CP2, providing a more consistent ground surface than before.

Ceramic Phase 3 (1020-1050)
(Fig 48c)

At the beginning of CP3 a surface-laid building (Building 3) was constructed from the levelled surface sealing Buildings 1 and 2, disused in CP2. The building occupied exactly the same position as the earlier Building 2, and lay 5m to the west of the frontage onto Ironmonger Lane. The ends of two gulleys (gulleys 1-2) occupied the north-east corner of the excavation, but the area to the east of the building, between it and Ironmonger Lane, to which it lay parallel, was

free of pits. This may be coincidental, but could mean that Ironmonger Lane had been laid out by CP₃, and that the frontage area was deliberately kept clear to allow access to the building from the street.² Three pits containing CP₃ material (Pits 21–3) were cut into the floor of Building 3, and signify its disuse, perhaps within or at least shortly after CP₃ (*ie* in the mid 11th century).

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100)
(Fig 48d)

An area of levelled ground in the east side, adjacent to Ironmonger Lane, probably represents the site of a building fronting onto the lane. No structural remains survived, but, significantly, the area remained completely free of pits, even though the remainder of the site was densely pitted (Pits 8–11, 18, 20, 24–6, ?28). This suggests that the street had definitely been laid out by CP₄, and that a narrow building lay along it.

Ceramic Phase 5 and later (after 1100)
(Fig 48d for CP₅)

All ground surfaces later than those of CP₄ were truncated by post-medieval cellars. The frontage onto Ironmonger Lane also remained unpitted, suggesting that it was now completely built up and remained so throughout the medieval period. Pit 7 (shown under CP₂, Fig 48b) was capped, and four pits can be assigned to CP₅: nos 15–17 and 27 (shown in Fig 48d).

The detailed grouping of features phase by phase is listed in Appendix 1, and the finds assemblages and dating evidence from the strata comprising these features is described in detail in Appendix 2. The small number of pits did not produce many post-Roman finds or post-Roman ceramics. It should however be noted that Pit 27, of CP₅, produced two further fragments of ceramic crucibles (as were found more frequently on the nearby Milk Street site).

The Ironmonger Lane archaeological sequence is summarised in Fig. 49.

Ceramic Phase	Ironmonger Lane
1 850–1020	Roman wall standing Buildings 1 and 2 cutting Roman street
2 1000–1030	disuse of Buildings 1, 2; robbing of Roman wall and levelling
3 1020–1050	surface-laid Building 3 5m west of medieval street; ?perhaps street laid out
4 1050–1100	area by the medieval street left free of pits, indicating building; street probably established by this time
5 1100 and later	pits; truncation of levels thereafter

Fig 49. *Ironmonger Lane: archaeological sequence summary.*

Ironmonger Lane documentary evidence

Derek Keene

Properties on the site are extensively documented from the 12th century onwards,³ but no features described in the written records correspond with any of the earlier features revealed by excavation. During the 12th century, the excavated area lay within a large property with a frontage of about 80ft next to Ironmonger Lane and extending as far as St Laurence Lane to the west.

NOTES TO IRONMONGER LANE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND DOCUMENTARY SUMMARIES

¹ Norton 1982; Perring & Roskams 1991.

² This interpretation differs from that put forward by Milne (Horsman *et al* 1988, 32, 114–5) who suggests that the Ironmonger Lane frontage was developed in the post-Conquest period or by the 12th century. The present study suggests that the Lane may have existed in the early 11th century.

³ *Historical Gazetteer*, 95/3–4.

3: STREETS, PROPERTIES AND BUILDINGS 850–1700

John Schofield

Introduction

In this discussion of the archaeological evidence and its links with the documentary evidence for

the four sites in the study, several topics of special interest are identified: archaeological evidence for the development of the street system and property boundaries in the Cheapside area in the period between 850 and 1700, largely in the early part of that period; the emergence in the 12th century of stone buildings, their character and their effects on the street frontages and on the properties to which they belonged; medieval construction techniques, details and building materials; wells; pits lined with timber, stone and brick; and indications of property use from the objects recovered. The topographical discussion amends some of the earlier suggestions and statements in Horsman *et al Aspects of Saxo-Norman London*, I (1988).

Some of the research questions to be asked of this material concern whether there was a stage at which increasing trade brought about a reorientation of buildings towards the street; if so, what the previous arrangements of properties had as their social or economic focus; and the date of emergence of the pattern, evident by the 13th century, of large mercantile residences behind street frontages.

At the outset, it must be borne in mind that the great majority of features reported here were not in stratigraphic sequences, except that they cut underlying Roman stratigraphy. This was the main reason for using the Ceramic Phases as the dating framework for presenting the evidence and studying the topographical development of the sites. The Ceramic Phases are a useful but blunt instrument, and we must be aware that where short sequences do exist, as when one late Saxon or medieval building overlay another, the reliance upon Ceramic Phases may have the effect of compressing events which deserve more detailed individual scrutiny.

The development of streets and property boundaries in the Cheapside area

(Figs 50–2)

Figure 50 summarises the development, phase by phase, of the four excavated sites in the earlier part of the period, 850–1200.

The mid 9th century to the early 11th century saw the final abandonment of the Roman street alignments, some of which may still have been visible even towards the end of the accumulation of dark earth on these central sites.

The abandonment of Roman alignments for new ones, but within a defensive circuit inherited from the former Roman City, is a feature of contemporary ex-Roman towns such as Winchester and Exeter. At Winchester replanning of the High Street and a network of streets at right angles took place before the mid 10th century, and most probably as part of an Alfredian policy of urban renewal.¹ In London, as in Exeter,² the Roman gates continued to be the main access points through the walls but, where not directly opposed, they were now linked by new main streets whose courses crossed former *insulae*. Presumably much of the lesser urban network of Roman streets and lanes had long disappeared, though the Ironmonger Lane and Milk Street sites show that Roman road surfaces may have been favoured, when located, as providing a solid basis (in the former case) or a probable access route (in the latter) for sunken buildings. On the Ironmonger Lane site a late Roman wall may still have been standing, marking the north side of the former street, and was perhaps a factor in the siting and construction of Saxon buildings. It is suggested, in the Milk Street case, that the Roman street formed a causeway above the level of the surrounding dark earth, and may have been used for access to Building 1 of the 9th or 10th century (CP1).

During this period (CP1, 850–1020) Bow Lane was being established, though its first metallings crossed the site of a previous small building (Well Court Building 1). The street was discovered at Well Court, and possibly to begin with it had no buildings along it at this point; Building 2 stood next to a resurfacing, Street 2. Unlike the case at Milk Street, there was no sign that the Roman street a few metres east of Bow Lane was recognised as a thoroughfare; it was totally covered with dark earth, at least on the Well Court site.

Here, also, because the Saxon street was recorded, the movement of the street-edge as defined by successive buildings could be noted; it was apparently not fixed but moved first to the east (Buildings 3–4) and then west (Buildings 5–6). At Watling Court, to the south, the regularity of position of pits on the site's east frontage suggests that properties had been formed, also in CP1, along another stretch of Bow Lane; areas devoid of pits suggest the sites of ground-level buildings by the lane, though traces of such buildings were not recorded due

Watling Court	Well Court	Milk St	Ironmonger Lane	Topography and building forms
<i>Ceramic Phase 1 (850–1020)</i>				
?Building 4 on Bow Lane; buildings on Bow & Basing Lanes deduced from pit alignments cesspits	Building 1; Building 2 on Bow Lane	Building 1 pits aligned with Milk St	Roman wall standing; Buildings 1, 2 cutting Roman street	adaptation of Roman topography ground-level buildings on both sides of Bow Lane sunken-floored building at right-angles behind street-range ? of this date
<i>Ceramic Phase 2 (1000–1030)</i>				
?Building 4 no pits recorded	Building 3 on Bow Lane	Buildings 1–3 in use; Buildings 4, 5 on Milk St	disuse of ?B1, B2; robbing of Roman wall and levelling	further robbing of Roman structures possible date of Milk Street north of St Mary Magdalen
<i>Ceramic Phase 3 (1020–1050)</i>				
disuse of Building 4; pits	Building 4 Street 3	Building 5 perhaps still in use; pits	?Ironmonger Lane laid out; Building 3	?Ironmonger Lane laid out
<i>Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100)</i>				
Buildings 1–3; possibly Building 5, cesspits and wattle-lined pits; barrel-lined well ?Basing Lane in use with Building 3	Buildings 5–7 Buildings 5–6 become disused	wattle-lined cesspits ?Building 6 in stone at end of phase	building on Ironmonger Lane	Ironmonger Lane more certain; Basing Lane inferred several sunken-floored buildings at right-angles to streets south of Cheapside stone buildings appear by end of phase
<i>Ceramic Phase 5 (1100–1150)</i>				
Pits and possible building	Building 8 in stone	Buildings 6–8 in stone	pits	stone buildings on several sites
<i>Ceramic Phase 6 (1150–1180)</i>				
Building 6 in stone on Basing Lane Building 7 in stone in centre of site	not identified	Buildings 6–8	truncated	development of stone buildings

Fig 50. *The four sites: overall archaeological sequence summary, CP1–6 (850–1180).*

to later truncation. It is possible that the sunken Building 4 was constructed behind the Bow Lane frontage as early as this phase, since it overlay a cesspit (Pit 24) presumably associated with a previous habitation. Building 4 was in turn disused by the mid 11th century. It lay near the street but behind the void strip along the frontage which may have been the site of street-side buildings; a comparable position was occupied by a similar sunken cellar of CP1 date at a site recently excavated in Fish Street Hill, on a major street which was later the approach to the medieval bridge.³ Thus the building pattern of a sunken-floored building behind a ground level

street-range, and at right angles to the range (probably in the case of Building 4, and certainly in the Fish Street Hill case), can be suggested on two sites in London from CP1–2 (850–1030).

The evidence of these two sites on Bow Lane for the formation of streets in the late 9th and 10th centuries should be seen in the broader perspective of the Cheapside area as a whole (Fig 51). Most of the medieval streets around Cheapside are mentioned in documents by the 13th century. A historical context for the establishment of at least one of the grid-squares near the river and Queenhithe is suggested by land grants of 889 and 898 or 899, which can be

identified with an area formed of two plots, one on either side of Bread Street. Both were bounded by Trinity Lane to the north and the river to the south, and Little Trinity Lane formed the outer limit of the eastern plot. The fact that the north-south streets were available to define the limits of the properties in the later document, where the earlier one relied instead upon measurement, suggests that they had only appeared in the interval. Bread Street extended in an unbroken line direct to Cheapside from the west side of Queenhithe, as indeed does Garlick Hill/Bow Lane from the east side; and the earliest levels of Bow Lane at Well Court are also compatible, as has already been seen, with a late 9th-century date. Both streets could therefore be seen as a direct consequence of the establishment of the new hithe and as representing the earliest replanning of the area south of Cheapside, to maximise its accessibility and perhaps to serve as a nucleus of commercial settlement in the newly restored City.⁴ We can suggest that Bow Lane was established along its southern section in the late 9th century, and that this might also be the date of the northern section, by the Watling Court and Well Court sites, which connected at right angles with Cheapside (Fig 51).

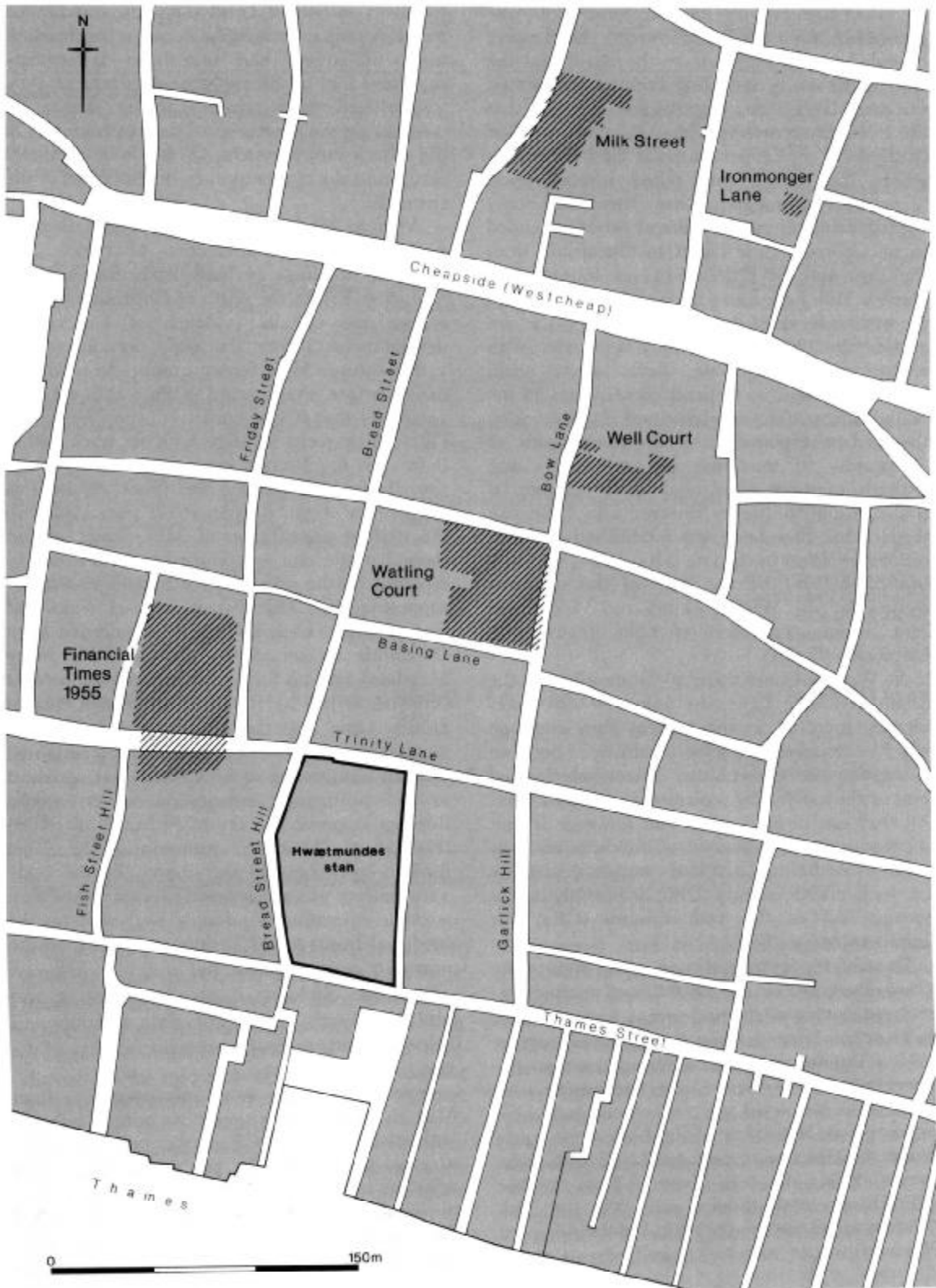
At Watling Court there is the question of the origin of Basing Lane, the only east-west street directly involved in the present sites and one which, located exactly halfway between Cheapside and Queenhithe, conceivably formed part of the early local replanning suggested here. All that can be said at present however is that the position and alignment of buildings and pits suggest that Basing Lane had come into existence by the late 12th century (CP6) or possibly by the second half of the 11th century (CP4) (for comment, see p 180).⁵

Detailed topographical study of an area in the City with similar origins has followed comprehensive excavation of the waterfront area north of Billingsgate. Lanes leading from the major street axis of Cannon Street—Eastcheap down to the riverfront can be dated to the late 9th or 10th centuries at Botolph Lane and west of the bridge approach at Miles Lane.⁶ In both these cases timber buildings were soon built beside the new streets, during the 10th century. Thus the late 9th century, and perhaps especially the 10th century, appears to be the period of development of new streets and their associated properties and

buildings in two of London's main commercial zones. A similar connection between the development of streets and waterfront is strongly suggested for the Billingsgate—bridgehead area, and indeed good reason can be shown for considering the formation of the southern half of the City's street system as a whole in direct relation to the contemporary development of the riverside.⁷

Whereas to the south of Cheapside there is evidence for the emergence of streets and adjacent buildings perhaps from the late 9th century (CP1), to the north of Cheapside there is as yet no certain evidence of comparable developments before the early decades of the 11th century. Milk Street cannot definitely be dated before that period (CP2), although the possibility that it was earlier is raised by pits of CP1 which seem to align with its track rather than with the Roman street on the east of the site. It may be that the last phase of use and occupation of the Roman street coincided with the earliest appearance of Milk Street, rather than that the one was immediately and wholly replaced by the other. There is some reason for supposing that Milk Street in part developed from a short cul-de-sac which initially led from Cheapside as far as the church of St Mary Magdalen and no further. Such an arrangement survived as late as 1666 in the parallel case of Honey Lane and the church of All Hallows, almost immediately to the east, and this proposed original termination of Milk Street was apparent in the conspicuous indentation on its western frontage opposite the site of St Mary Magdalen (Figs 46–7). That the extension of the street further north beyond the church by the early 11th century was a piecemeal process rather than a single operation is strongly suggested by the medieval frontages of Tenements 1 to 3, whose northern corners jutted out into the highway. The stone Building 6 on Tenement 3 was probably of early 12th-century date, and doubtless helped to perpetuate the irregular frontage of the east side of the street.

Ironmonger Lane is of still later date than Milk Street, and its existence can only be inferred with confidence from CP4 (1050–1100) when the site was densely cut by pits except for a strip adjacent to the present street side. Here again, however, there is a measure of ambivalence, for the space left between the medieval (and modern) street alignment and Building 3 also suggests that



the street may have been laid out in or by the preceding CP3 (1020–50).

It would therefore be premature to conclude from the evidence of these sites that development to the north of Cheapside as a whole was later than that to the south, though the possibility is clearly admitted and it is a reasonable hypothesis that the area between the river (especially the Queenhithe district) and Cheapside was the first to be built up.

The evidence for plots along these streets is varied and uneven. Archaeological evidence of structures from which plots might be reconstructed is scattered and sparse, and is largely confined to the distribution of deep foundations such as sunken timber cellars, the foundations of stone buildings and the bases of cesspits and wells. At Milk Street in the late 11th century (CP4), two separate groups of pits may indicate two properties (Fig 52). The other main source is reconstruction from documentary evidence; for direct comparison this depends on density of information over a long period, and in particular sufficient information of the right type (*eg* measured dimensions) from the 12th and 13th centuries.

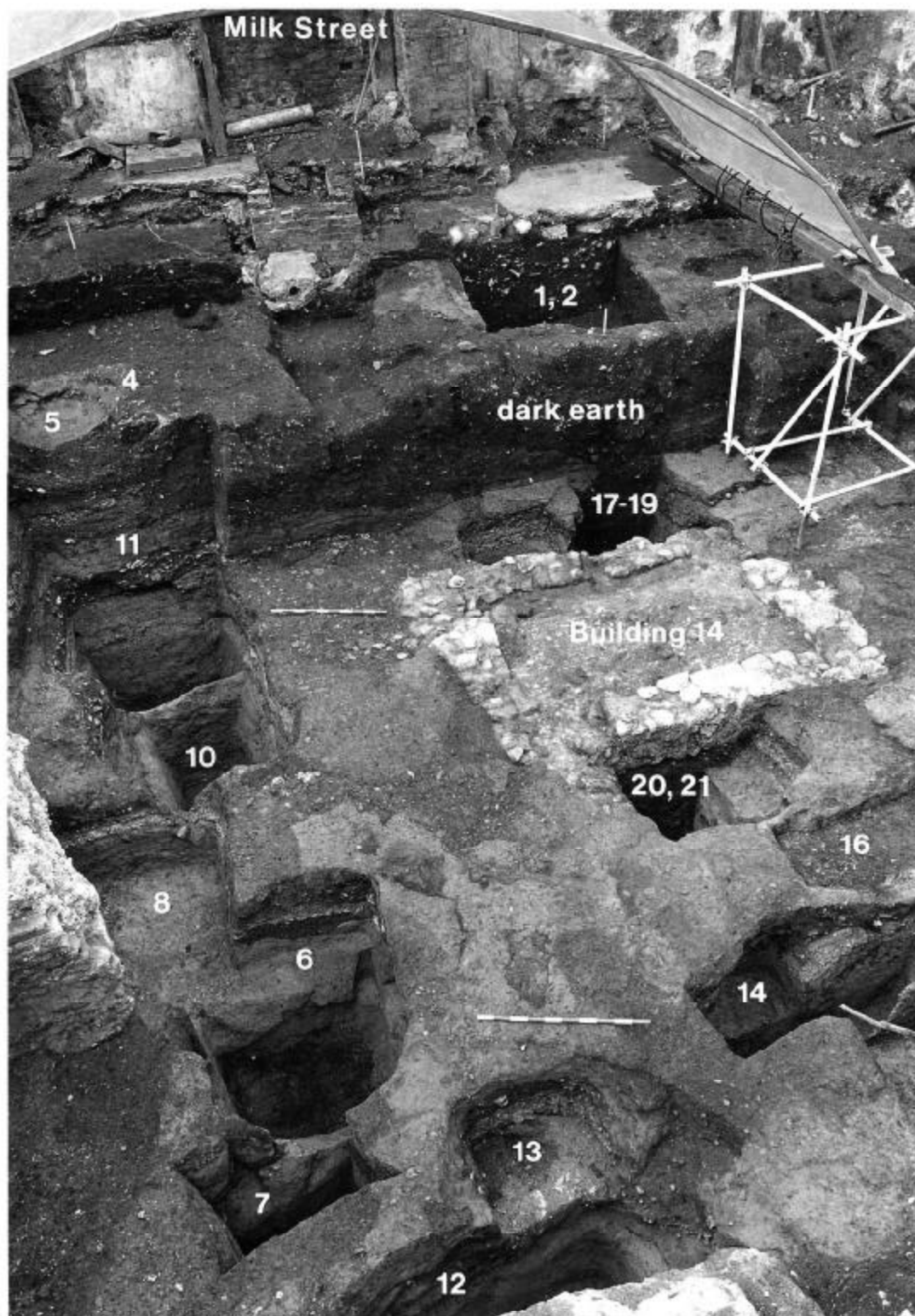
The best candidate for such a comparison is Watling Court; it comprised the most clearly defined area, since it was bounded by streets on three sides, and is also one for which a fairly accurate plan of the constituent tenements can be reconstituted from the documentary sources. There are obvious hazards in comparing the historical evidence of the late 13th century with archaeological evidence up to three centuries earlier; but study may begin with those phases (CP7–11, 1180–1400) which are illustrated by both archaeological and documentary sources. At this period there is fundamental agreement: a large central tenement (1) was enclosed by numerous smaller properties which fronted onto the surrounding streets (Fig 15). The archaeological evidence showed that parts of the central tenement probably contained at least one stone building (Building 7) in the 12th century (though the main part of the tenement at this time would have lain to the west, off the excavation site and adjacent to Bread Street). An area in the eastern half of the tenement was open in the 12th and

13th centuries, and contained cesspits; by *c.* 1270 it was the site of a garden and a chapel. In the earliest phase, CP1 (850–1020) the outer properties were perhaps physically separate entities, as suggested by the regular spacing of pits (many of them cesspits) in a consistent line parallel with Bow Lane (Fig 3); evidence for such divisions is not as good for succeeding periods.

Lack of evidence for property boundaries earlier than those indicated by documentary evidence for the late 13th century means however that the excavated buildings (Buildings 1–4) could either lie within small individual properties or within much larger tenurial units containing several structures. The evidence leaves unclear the question whether the central *Rouge Sale* property of the documentary records represents the attenuated remains of a single 'original' tenurial unit which comprised the whole area between Bread Street, Watling Street and Bow Lane, and perhaps south to Basing Lane, and which lost control over the peripheral street-frontage properties originally leased out to others; or whether it represents a relatively late acquisition of an area remote from the commercially more valuable frontages but still suitable for a more ambitious dwelling.

Archaeological evidence for the outlines of properties in the medieval and post-medieval periods may be supplied by the positions of privies in stone and later in brick. Stone-lined privies were often located deep within properties; where relationships to recorded or vanished buildings could be suggested, the privies lay behind the buildings fronting onto the streets (see especially Watling Court, Figs 8, 12; here the pits are to the rear, or at the sides towards the back, of the properties whose outlines are known from documentary evidence). The regularity of complaint by one neighbour against another about leaking cesspits in the surviving rolls of *Assize of Nuisance* in the period 1301–1437 demonstrates that cesspits were dug close to property boundaries; when a privy was used by more than one tenement, as is recorded in London from at least *c.* 1160, the privy would presumably be sited on the tenement boundary.⁸ In other medieval towns privies were similarly towards the back of buildings with gable to the street,

Fig 51. Map of Cheapside area with medieval streets, showing sites of excavations in the present study and that on the *Financial Times* site in 1955. Also shown is the piece of land identified in a charter of 889.



either inside or immediately outside the building, as in 13th or 14th-century Stamford or Southampton, or across small yards behind buildings in 12th–14th century tenements at Worcester.⁹ The Treswell surveys of 1607–12 show privies across small yards behind London houses, in the same block as the separate kitchen, an arrangement which may date from at least the 14th century.¹⁰ Thus medieval and later cesspits were usually near or on property boundaries.

Further, documentary evidence such as the cases of *Assize of Nuisance*, backed up by archaeological examples (from the present sites), suggest that stone privies often replaced timber predecessors in the same locations. A probable case of replacement of a timber cesspit by one lined with stone was observed in a group of pits on Watling Court, in the centre of the site; though this proposed succession is only partly based on stratigraphic grounds (the first pit was cut by the third, but not by the second). Here a wattle-lined cesspit (Pit 110) contained several cess fills dating to 1150–1180 (CP6). Nearby to the east was a second cesspit consisting of a barrel let 1.2m into the ground (Pit 111), with fills dating to 1270–1350 (CP9). This barrel-lined pit lay immediately west of and was largely destroyed by the chalk-lined cesspit Pit 153 (whose construction is placed also in CP9). It seems possible that the cesspits indicate a progression of wattle-lined pit (late 12th century), barrel-lined pit (late 13th or early 14th century) and stone cesspit (also constructed in the late 13th or early 14th century). In addition, timber-lined cesspits of 10th-century and later date were found near a boundary which was documented by 1300 at Milk Street (Figs 32–5, 46). It therefore seems possible that 10th-century cesspits were also sited near *contemporary* property boundaries which, in this case at least, were to survive intact into the period covered by the documents.

Clear evidence of property subdivision was confined to the late medieval period on these sites, and, as might be expected, was provided only by documentary evidence. After 1400 the archaeological evidence begins to shrink rapidly

in quantity, due largely to truncation by later building works (especially 19th-century basements) on all the excavated sites. On documentary grounds it is known that Tenement 5 at Watling Court was divided into two equal parts in 1352 and 8b conveyed as a separate entity in 1371; Tenement 4 shed two adjoining parts of its west end successively in 1413 and 1438, and Tenement 1 was divided for a short period into two lesser, but still commodious, tenements in 1453/4. Again the pattern was somewhat different at Milk Street; in 1463 Sir William Cantelowe's house annexed the adjacent Tenement 3a, though it was still separately occupied.

Development of buildings on the plots

Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

By the 11th century, it is suggested, a major street like Bow Lane may have had continuous frontages of buildings on both sides, with properties (such as that at Well Court in CP2 and the property containing Building 2 at Watling Court in CP4) having a range at right angles behind the frontage, the timber cellar of which was the portion recorded (Figs 17b and 5 respectively). In London, as suggested above, this building-form may have originated in CP1 (late 9th or 10th century). A similar degree of rectilinearity and internal organisation of properties is also found at this period in other towns. At Northampton, the St Peter's Street site demonstrated how a rectilinear arrangement of street and buildings replaced the former loose configuration, in the late 11th century. The same period saw a denser level of occupation at Flaxengate, Lincoln, and the appearance of an L-shaped range of buildings bordering the street and running back from it. At Durham the late 11th century saw the establishment of fences towards the rear of late Saxon properties, presumably parcelling out a backland which was previously common and the site of large middens.¹¹

Good evidence of buildings, as an indication

Fig 52. Pits on the Milk Street site, looking west; showing the clear band of undug territory between the pits of several phases under excavation; compare with Fig 33. Pits of CP4 only are numbered. It is not however clear whether the boundary should be along this empty strip, or along the medieval boundary marked by the Victorian foundation to the left. The rectangular masonry structure is the post-Fire Building 14. Scales are 10 × 100mm units.

of the arrangement of structures on the plots, does not however occur until the 11th century (CP4) at Watling Court; and on this site there is some semblance of the configuration two centuries later (compare Figs 5 and 15). Building 3 in CP4 lay in the same position as the later Buildings 6 and 11 within Tenement 4, and Buildings 1 and 2 in the south-west corner of the rectangular block formed by Tenements 8a-c, 6 and 7. Building 5 would appear to have formed part of the large central tenement, 1. Alternative interpretations are possible, particularly where plots lay towards street corners: Building 3 may have lain towards the rear of a plot which fronted east onto Bow Lane (the whole of which corner plot comprised a single unit in the late 13th century), or, from its similarity of position to its successors Buildings 6 and 11 and its proximity to Basing Lane to the south, Building 3 may have occupied a plot which, as in the later period, fronted to the south. It is also however possible that the tenement had entrances to both streets, as did other major medieval tenements in the City. Similar and contemporary sequences of buildings adjacent to streets have been recorded in other English towns, though rarely on major streets; the two best parallel sequences, from St Peter's Street Northampton, and Flaxengate, Lincoln, were adjacent to minor or side-streets in their respective towns.¹²

The timber cellars which lay behind some of the 11th-century frontages cannot be associated with any particular trade (unless, like their 14th-century successors, they were used for the storage and distribution of wine), but they certainly had large storage capacities. The largest recorded, Building 3 at Watling Court (Fig 5) measured 13.4m by about 5.4m and at least 2m deep. The occurrence of such large timber cellars in the zone between Cheapside and Knighttrider Street point to the above average quality of buildings in the area, and possibly to its particular function. Several timber cellars have been excavated south of Cheapside: those in the present report (Watling Court Buildings 1-3, 5; Well Court Building 7), and a further example, also of 11th century date, was excavated on the Financial Times site west of Friday Street and north of Knighttrider Street by Professor Grimes in 1955.¹³ Though such large cellars were not found on the Milk Street site, at least one large cellar of 10th- or 11th-century date north of Cheapside has also recently been recorded nearby to the east at King Street,

in excavations of 1985.¹⁴ These buildings lay on both sides of the main street of Cheapside, but especially in the area between Cheapside and the riverfront.

At this period, as shown by pottery, London was trading with a wide inland zone; the identifiable foreign pottery comes from northern France, and to a lesser extent the Rhineland and Meuse valley.¹⁵ The list of tolls at Billingsgate of c. 1000 mentions merchants from Flanders, Normandy, Rouen, the Isle of France, Huy, Liege, and Nivelles.¹⁶ London was evidently a trading settlement of some consequence, and the large sunken cellars may be a feature of this period of increased trade. Similar large timber cellars of 11th century date have been found on several sites in the High Street and Queen Street, Oxford and at the Butter Market, Ipswich.¹⁷ Inferences about the use of properties on the two major sites from artefacts found on them, particularly in the many pits, is considered for all the periods together in one section below (p 176).

Beginning to appear around 1100, and increasingly frequent during the 12th century, stone buildings can be traced on the sites in the streets around Cheapside. Four different forms were recorded on the study sites: (i) a rectangular stone building of one or two chambers at basement level, at right angles to the street and adjacent to it (Milk Street Building 6); (ii) Well Court Building 8, which might be of the same type but could be considerably larger; (iii) a smaller, square stone building, either free-standing (*ie* a tower) or a subterranean part of a larger ground level structure (Watling Court Building 6); and (iv) a stone building notably further away from the street (Watling Court Building 7).

Of these, the stone building at right angles to the street and adjacent to it was a construction seen on several London streets in the 12th century. Foundations of stone buildings of this date on narrow waterfront properties have been recorded immediately downstream of the medieval bridge site at New Fresh Wharf, where at least three different variations were recorded: a large single roomed building, possibly vaulted, filling the width of the plot and with rear access to the adjacent quay (Building C); a narrower building along the side of the plot (Building D) and a long two-roomed building along one side of a double plot, leaving a large area or yard

between it and a major alley which ran outside the property to reach the river (Building B).¹⁸ Outside London, stone houses at right angles to the street and of two chambers in ground floor or basement plan, the rear chamber smaller than the front one—as possibly in Well Court Building 8—have been recorded at the High Street, Southampton, in the 13th century. The building at Well Court extended 19.4m back from the street; Houses 1 and 2 at the Southampton site were nearly 23m deep. Further analogies can be supplied from surviving English examples from Lincoln, Norwich, Canterbury and Southampton dating from the second half of the 12th century, and elsewhere throughout Europe.¹⁹

It should however be noted that the documentary evidence for Well Court suggests that the two cellars of Building 8 may have corresponded to a division, from the start, between shops or smaller houses at the front and a larger residence behind; and, further, Building 8 may have extended some way to the south of the excavated portion, up to 60ft square, and comparable to some of the documented structures in 12th-century Canterbury. Thus the configuration of buildings may have been different when, as in the Well Court case, the property might have been wider than usual.

Did the new stone buildings maintain any similarities of appearance, function or specific position and layout to the previous timber-celled buildings? Examples of the two types may have shared the feature of a stone-revetted entrance passage to the basement storey at the end of the building away from the frontage (Well Court Building 7; Milk Street Building 6), as also in the cases of the 11th-century timber cellar at Fish Street Hill; a detail also probably present in three sunken timber cellars of 10th-century date at Coppergate, York.²⁰

Building 6 at Watling Court is notable in that its foundations intruded into the site of the previous timber-celled Building 3 (compare Figs 5 and 7). It is possible that very little time separated the demolition of Building 3 from the construction of Building 6. The near coincidence of siting of a large building of timber in the second half of the 11th century (CP₄) and one of stone sometime in the 12th century (CP₅₋₆), is probably significant; it suggests that the property on the corner of Bow Lane and Basing Lane, later Tenement 4, was a superior residence in both the 11th and 12th centuries.

Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries

By the middle of the 13th century a wider range of building types on the study sites becomes apparent. Documentary evidence for the Well Court site shows that rents and shops lay along Bow Lane in the early and mid 13th century; while archaeological recording shows that on two properties, major stone buildings, one with a vaulted undercroft, stood back from the street and across the plot by the 14th century. The vaults are discussed here as a single group.

The term *undercroft* is confined in the present discussion to a vaulted stone structure, forming a cellar which protruded usually between two and six feet above the ground. In three cases the vaulting arrangements in stone for buildings on the present sites was recorded or could be inferred archaeologically; in two further cases it is probable that the building recorded on site corresponded to what was called a vault in the documentary record, though no archaeological evidence for vaulting survived. The five examples are described in proposed chronological order, though detailed dating evidence is lacking.

In Milk Street Building 6 (Figs 38–9) an inward protuberance of the upper layers of the foundation of the south wall, though damaged by machine clearance, may indicate the base of an impost. This would possibly be at the mid-point along the south wall, dividing the basement or ground storey into two bays; but the nature of vaulting above cannot be reconstructed from this one detail. It is equally possible that this stone building had a ground or basement storey ceiled with horizontal beams, as in the larger 12th-century building excavated at St Martin at Palace Plain, Norwich.²¹

At Well Court two buildings, one with evidence of vaulting and one possibly so, were recorded. Building 11 lay at the north-west corner of the property, with one end against Bow Lane, stretching back 10.3m. In its first phase traces of a door-jamb in the south wall near the east end suggest a door and internal stair to the alley or courtyard later known as Well Court (Fig 20). The cellar floor lay at 12.00m OD, at least 0.5m (and by comparison with known street levels in the area, probably about 1.5m) below the likely medieval street level. The first phase is dated archaeologically to CP₈₋₁₁ (1240–1400); a vault probably in this part of the site is mentioned in 1269 and, more probably, in 1554 (p 111). Its

construction date is placed therefore in the first half of the 13th century.

Building 12 comprised part of an undercroft lying north-south across the line of the later Well Court and about 25m east of the Bow Lane frontage (Fig 19a–b). In its first phase, two bays of a vault two bays wide could be inferred; the documentary evidence for later property boundaries indicates the position of the south wall of the building, and further suggests its northernmost extent (p 94 and Figs 25–7). The vaulting consisted of wall-ribs forming semi-circular arches rising from inset, rectangular responds (Fig 21). A vaulting arrangement involving a central pillar, probably also rectangular in section, is implied, but the vault was later removed. The top of the reconstructed first phase vault lay at 15.7m OD, about 2.2m above medieval ground surface; the internal height of the vault was 3.1m. The building is datable archaeologically only to CP8–11 (1240–1400); there is no direct documentary dating, but the reference to a vault in 1269 may concern this building rather than Building 11.

The fourth example of vaulting was the small low-arched vault which comprised Building 12, an extension to the east of Building 7 at Watling Court (Fig 9). This vault is notable for its small size, alignment (north-south, across the range) and position deep within the tenement. The vaulting can only be dated generally to the 13th or 14th centuries. The vault's small size and position at the east end of a range suggests that it may have supported the chapel of *la Rouge Sale*, mentioned in 1453–4; it could be the chapel referred to before 1272 as lying on the east side of the property.

The fifth case, Milk Street Building 10, was a stone cellar with a stair to the street at its south-west corner (Figs 40–1). The walls forming the cellar were observed in several fragments and it appears to have lain across the property rather than at right angles to the street. The building is dated archaeologically to CP8–11 (1240–1400), and is probably the vault mentioned in documents in 1293.

Discussion of the plan and details of these structures is limited because of the fragmentary survival; but they can be compared with better examples recorded in the past. Building 6 at Milk Street, if it were vaulted, would be comparable in size to the basement of the 12th-century house recorded in Southwark in 1839.²²

Three undercrofts from the latter part of the 13th century have been recorded in the City: that below the Cheapside frontage of a property belonging to Christchurch, Canterbury (1272–9),²³ the western undercroft of Guildhall (c. 1280)²⁴ and the undercroft at Gerard's (Gisor's) Inn, Basing Lane (c. 1290).²⁵ Two other undercrofts immediately inside Aldgate, at the junction of Leadenhall Street and Fenchurch Street and at the corner of Aldgate [Street] with Jewry Street, probably date from around 1300.²⁶

The four domestic examples (*ie* all those just cited except Guildhall) were vaulted in ribbed quadripartite bays, but were of differing sizes. The Cheapside undercroft was one bay or aisle wide, as was the Jewry Street undercroft; these may be a parallel for Milk Street Building 10. The position of the undercroft within the property seems often to reflect a need for easy access to the street; and here the expense laid out on vaulting may have been intended to encourage business in or off the street, a process found in Lübeck from the early 13th century.²⁷

Such a date, and possibly earlier, for a reorientation of buildings towards the commercial possibilities of the street is suggested by the London evidence. A stone building with one end against the street had been established by the 12th century on the Milk Street and New Fresh Wharf sites, and the tradition was to continue into the 15th century, as shown by the recording and partial survival of a long undercroft south of Watling Street, a few metres east of Bow Lane.²⁸ A further site was beneath the hall of the property, usually towards the rear of a wide tenement, as in the case of Well Court Building 12, but cellars in this position may have been vaulted less often.²⁹

Many undercrofts lay below ground level shops, and may have functioned with them; some undercrofts were in addition associated with the storage and distribution of wine. Early wine merchants were Germans or Norman French; cellars involved in the wine trade are known at Dowgate in the early 12th century and in the Vintry from the late 12th century.³⁰ Later, cellars or warehouses were in demand by Gascon wine merchants, who came at the beginning of a vintage season for a few weeks each year. In 1299 they complained to the king about the lack of cellars around the Vintry, and according to Stow³¹ several stone houses in the locality were built shortly thereafter. The undercroft at

Gerard's (Gisor's) Inn in Basing Lane, datable to *c.* 1290, was probably built by a wine merchant;³² cellars in Cheapside itself, including at least one undercroft, that by St Mary-le-Bow already noted, were in use as taverns in the early 14th century.³³ The increased traffic with south-west France is also shown in the ceramic evidence of the period, for during the late 13th century pottery from northern France rapidly fell out of use in the City, to be replaced by wares from Saintonge and other centres in south-west France.³⁴

The undercrofts recorded on the present sites were all in position by the end of the 13th century. By this time the two sites south of Cheapside exhibited similar patterns of large and smaller properties. At Watling Court *la Rouge Sale*, a large tenement, lay away from the street; smaller but independent properties lay between it and Watling Street to the north, Basing Lane to the south and Bow Lane to the east. Shops are recorded on all these frontages by the 14th century: in Bow Lane there was probably a continuous row of shops. At Well Court (Figs 24–5), the site of the excavations was by 1269 composed of two properties in a single ownership, each property comprising a house to the rear and shops, rented out separately, to the front. The northern property included Building 11, a vault at right angles to the street and a stone building across the middle of the property behind it (Building 12); in the southern property the previous Building 8 had been radically modified to allow a street-range to cross it, and another stone building lay at right angles behind (Building 9). The character of the buildings fronting the streets before the 17th century is not well known, but the frontage at Well Court, which included shops around 1230, contained at least two storeys by 1351. The gatehouse of Watling Court Tenement 1 to Watling Street was $2\frac{1}{2}$ storeys high in 1497.

North of Cheapside in Milk Street there seem to have been fewer shops. In the 14th century, prominent secular buildings stood along the street (Fig 46). By 1400, four contiguous tenements had buildings with stone basements or foundations on the street frontage: from south to north, Buildings 6, 9, 10, 7/11, and 8. Just as there had been few large timber cellars north of Cheapside in the pre-Conquest period, so Milk Street perhaps retained its own character,

different from the streets south of Cheapside, through the medieval period.

The development of buildings on these properties during the later 15th, 16th and 17th centuries was not deducible from the archaeological findings. The reconstruction of a frontage on the Milk Street site (Building 11) perhaps represented the rebuilding of the 'great place' in 1455. By about 1490, the rebuilding of Henry Cantelow's house (probably **2/3a**) was nearing completion; and in 1527–8, **2/3a** was considerably extended eastwards. Neither of these substantial rebuilds figures in the archaeological record. At Well Court documentary sources indicate that in the first half of the 17th century the Bow Lane frontage was occupied by small houses of between two and four storeys high, with garrets above and cellars beneath (Fig 28). The cellars incorporated the remains of 13th-century and possibly earlier structures. As was common with street-frontage houses at this period, one of these houses had its hall at first-floor level, and a flat area of roof known as the 'leads' which served as a balcony from which to take the air.³⁵

Masonry construction techniques, details and building materials

(Figs 53–8)

The structural character of domestic buildings in the 10th to 12th centuries in London has recently been examined in detail, in the light of excavations of 1976–85, both in the area around the northern end of London Bridge and around Cheapside.³⁶ The buildings from these two areas (including, from the present sites, Watling Court Buildings 1–4, Well Court Buildings 1–7, Milk Street Buildings 1–5 and Ironmonger Lane Buildings 1–3) exhibited a range of construction techniques; they comprised both structures ranged along a street, probably forming a continuous facade (Botolph Lane) and sunken-floored buildings of a variety of sizes. In one sunken-floored cellar of 11th-century date at Fish Street Hill, parts of the lining of the otherwise timbered cellar were of mortared masonry.³⁷ It is into this structurally varied setting that buildings with foundations of masonry were introduced in the 12th century. The following sections deal with details of construction and appearance (foundations, walls, vaults), interior or plan details (doors and stairs, windows, floors),

roofs, cesspits and wells; ending with a short note on building materials (stone, brick and tile). The period discussed is from about 1100 to about 1500; thereafter the evidence from the present sites is too fragmentary.

Foundations

Domestic buildings of the late 9th to 12th centuries in London, as shown on the present sites and on those excavated recently in the bridgehead area, were almost wholly constructed of timber. Horsman's study³⁸ classifies the traces of foundations of 28 such timber buildings from the Cheapside and bridgehead areas into three main types: (i) earthfast; (ii) ground-level; and (iii) foundation-bed (pad-stones, rubble platforms or mortar-capped rubble or gravel-filled trenches).

The stone buildings introduced on the present sites from the 12th century (CP5-6) were sometimes greater in area than the largest timber cellars (*eg* Milk Street Building 8, Well Court Building 8), and in every case much heavier. New foundation techniques were employed: the use of piles and, from perhaps the mid 13th century, arches in stone. Three different types of foundations could be seen in the stone buildings on the present sites: (i) chalk and gravel foundations without mortar, sometimes with piles; (ii) arched and mortared foundations; and (iii) mortared foundations without arches.

Chalk and gravel foundations, without mortar (in use before the 11th century, to sometime in 13th century)

This technique was observed in Milk Street Building 6, Watling Court Building 6 and more fragmentarily in six others.

The foundation trench for all the observed parts of the walls of Milk Street Building 6—the south and east sides, and the foundations of two short spur-walls projecting east from the east end—was evidently dug in one operation. The trench was vertical-sided, at least 1.1m deep, and unshuttered; the foundation filled the width of the trench.

Driven into the bottom of the trench were timber piles, of which 262 were recorded. For the most part they had decayed into voids retaining the shape of the timber, which in the

11 surviving and sampled cases was beech. Occasionally, perhaps due to the variable soil conditions through which they had been driven, whole piles survived intact (Fig 53). Of the 262 piles, the manner of dressing of 217 could be established, largely by the shape of the void left by the decayed pile. Of these, 141 (65%) had been radially split, and the remaining 76 (35%) had been split and then trimmed by splitting off the narrow end to make a quadrilateral section, often with a curved outer edge. Bark was present on surviving timbers. The great majority of piles had been driven in vertically, but a small number were driven in at angles. Some of the surviving piles protruded about 0.1m above the floor of the trench, and the lowest course of the foundation was packed around them. The piles were generally between 0.7m and 1.0m in length, though a few were over 1.1m long, and they came for the most part from trees up to 0.5m in diameter.

Large undressed blocks of ragstone were then laid on the beds of piles, with alternating layers of gravel and large undressed blocks of chalk forming the foundation thereafter (Figs 38, 54). Efforts were clearly made to keep the courses level, but at least one subsidiary course of chalk began in the middle of the south wall and ran to the south-east corner of the building. The main wall foundations were uniformly about 1.2m (4ft) wide. The construction of Building 6 is placed in CP5-7 (1100-1230).

The lower courses of the foundations of the north and east walls of a stone building (Building 6) at Watling Court, probably fronting south on to the former Basing Lane (Fig 7), also followed this technique. Here again piles were used to support the foundation over the backfilled timber cellar Building 3. The construction of the building is placed in CP5-6 (12th century); it cut three pits, one of CP4 and two of CP5 date, and could therefore possibly be as early as CP5 (1100-1150) (details in Appendix 1).

The technique of layered chalk and gravel was also employed in a small length of foundation observed at the north end of the Milk Street 1976 site (Building 7, Fig 35), in the large building on the 1972 Milk Street site (Building 8, Fig 35) and at Well Court (Building 8, Fig 19a). Buildings 7-9 at Watling Court, recorded in a fragmentary state, were also built in this way (Fig 7). None of these buildings were datable archaeologically with any degree of certainty,



Fig 53. Milk Street: Building 6, detail of a surviving beech pile. Scale is 10 × 100mm units.

though Building 8 at Well Court preceded Building 9 which had arched foundations, a technique which first appears in the 13th century.

The technique of layered unmortared foundations, sometimes supplemented by piles, is found throughout the City and its environs in religious structures in the Saxon and early medieval period, and on secular sites from the 12th century. On religious sites, it is used in the first, probably 11th-century, church of St Nicholas Shambles;³⁹ the first (?11th-century) church at St Bride's, Fleet Street,⁴⁰ St Nicholas Acon⁴¹ and larger conventual churches (eg Bermondsey Priory, ?late 11th or early 12th century)⁴² and their associated buildings (as at Holy Trinity Priory, early 12th century)⁴³ Secular analogies include buildings on the waterfront, at Seal House, Upper Thames Street (Building A, early-mid 12th century) and New Fresh Wharf, Lower Thames Street (Buildings A–D, mid 12th-early 13th century).⁴⁴ The technique is also found in undated but probably early medieval contexts on a number of other secular sites. Documentary

references suggest that the technique was used at Westminster in 1292;⁴⁵ it is also recorded on boggy ground in the 14th century in excavations at Austin Friars, Leicester.⁴⁶ In the City of London however there are no examples independently dated to later than the early 13th century; the duration of the technique is placed on present evidence in the 11th-early 13th centuries, though instances in Saxon churches outside London would suggest that the technique is as old as the 8th century.⁴⁷ A date range from the early 12th to the early 13th century seems appropriate for all the secular examples so far excavated in London. The use of a hard stone for the base course in the foundation of Milk Street Building 6 has a parallel in a contract for wall around the royal manor at Eltham in 1315.⁴⁸

Arched foundations of stone in mortar
(from mid 13th century, rare by 16th century)

Several further stone buildings featured arched foundations; pits had been dug in the bottom of



Fig 54. Milk Street: Building 6, detail of the south stub-wall at the east end, looking west. Shown here are pile voids, the first layer of harder ragstone, and the first layer of chalk blocks above it. Scale is 5 × 100mm units.

the foundation trench at regular intervals and the foundation constructed as piers of stone linked by arches, brought to a level surface at or slightly below cellar level or ground level (where no cellar was intended). This technique was demonstrated by Building 11 at Well Court and by three other more fragmentary examples (Building 9 at Well Court and Buildings 11 and 12 at Milk Street).

In Building 11 at Well Court (Figs 19b, 20), parts of three arches comprising a foundation at least 6m long were recorded; walls built above imply that the foundation supported the south side of a medieval stone cellar 10m long, at right angles to Bow Lane. The arches were made of ragstone. About 0.4m above the crown of the arches the coursing became horizontal and large squared blocks of chalk were mixed with the ragstone. No intrinsic dating evidence was

recovered, but the building was probably the vault mentioned in 1269.

The technique was also observed on three other buildings, but not in detail. At Milk Street, the arched foundation of the west wall of Building 11 (Fig 39) comprised one and a half trench-built relieving arches of ragstone with some chalk and infrequent greensand fragments laid as voussoirs, all mortared (though sometimes sparingly). Above the arches the coursed masonry was of ragstone. This rebuild comprised only the street frontage of the previous Building 7; the party wall to the north retained its older form of layered foundation. The survival of previous stratigraphy around the foundation suggests that this was to support a ground-level building without a cellar. Other fragments of walling probably from Building 11 observed during the site watching brief were not on arched foundations. This would suggest that arches might be used for local repairs, in this case to a street facade, and that arched foundations did not necessarily imply cellars. No dating evidence was recovered. Other arched foundations lay below part of the west wall and the south-west corner of Building 9 at Well Court, and beneath the southern perimeter of the Milk Street site a pier of mortared chalk rubble (Building 12) was recorded.

Where stratigraphic links existed, the arched foundations can only be placed in a period post dating the 12th century. Prior to this study, the earliest datable examples of stone foundations with relieving arches in the London area were those supporting the garth walls of the cloister at the Dominican Friary, Guildford, dating to the decade after 1275.⁴⁹ The earliest accurately datable example in London itself would seem to be the crypt of the chapel of the bishop of Ely at his mansion in Holborn, built 1286–90;⁵⁰ shortly afterwards arches were employed beneath the south wall of the choir of the Greyfriars' church, begun in 1306 and finished in 1337.⁵¹ Building 11 at Well Court, however, is probably the vault mentioned on the site in 1269. What may be a second dated example from a secular context comes from a building at New Fresh Wharf in Thames Street, where the excavated Building F had walls on arches, supported by timber piles through reclaimed land, and may have comprised part of a rebuilding of the tenement known from documents to have taken place in 1293.⁵² Thereafter the technique was widely employed for stone buildings in the 14th and first half of

15th centuries, for church extensions, company halls and the better-built private houses.⁵³ Foundation arches in stone are found in buildings in other medieval towns, *eg* York and King's Lynn, in the 14th and 15th centuries.⁵⁴

The technique therefore broadly dates from the middle of the 13th century; in the mid 15th century brick began to be widely used for cellar vaulting and foundation arches in London,⁵⁵ and foundation arches in stone are thereafter rare.

Mortared foundations, without arches
(from the 12th century onwards)

Foundations of chalk bonded with mortar, as opposed to pounded gravel, but without occasional arches, were the less ambitious complement to arched and mortared foundations. They were often not carefully layered, but the chalk was evidently poured with the mortar.

Mortared foundations without arches are occasionally found or documented on prestigious Saxon religious sites (*eg* Ramsey Abbey) but so far not on Saxon sites in the City of London, with the sole exception of one 11th-century sunken cellar at Fish Street Hill, where the three recorded sides were of rough masonry, rendered on its internal face.⁵⁶ Layered foundations in mortar without arches are recorded below medieval secular and religious buildings in London in the 13th and 14th centuries⁵⁷ though in larger buildings arched foundations were often preferred. From the 13th century thinner mortared foundations or walls with no foundations at all are recorded in situations where the subterranean feature did not support very heavy loads, *eg* cesspit walls or inner walls of cellars within the area covered by buildings. Mortared foundations were found in Watling Court Buildings 10 and 11, and Well Court Building 12. Examples of walls with little or no foundations include Watling Court Building 12 and Milk Street Building 10; the former was a small vault, and the latter, if correctly interpreted as running across the property, would probably have been comparatively narrow. The post-medieval or post-Fire cellars on the Milk Street site (Buildings 16–17) were built with no perceptible foundations.

Walling

The main techniques of wall construction in the timber buildings of the late 9th–12th centuries were stave-building; walls of mud laced with timber; planks or wattles supported by posts; and plank revetting of sunken areas, sometimes using a double cladding of planks, or earth walls.⁵⁸ The majority of the buildings would have had daubed or horizontally-planked exteriors. Double cladding is at present only recorded for the long sides of the large sunken cellars, Watling Court Buildings 3 and 4 and possibly Well Court Building 5, and not in the bridgehead area; analogies include the probably contemporary timber cellar on the Financial Times site in Cannon Street⁵⁹ in the next grid-square of medieval (probably late Saxon) streets to the south-west of Watling Court. Horsman points to parallels in York and Dublin.⁶⁰

The stone buildings on the present sites had been damaged or altered to the extent that little of their walling survived. Brief notes can be made about the technique of wall-building in certain of the buildings and about their internal and external appearance.

The method of building a stone wall above its foundation in the early medieval period was demonstrated by the surviving fragment of the south wall of the 12th-century Building 6 at Milk Street (Figs 37–9, 55). The wall was flush with the foundation on the south (exterior) side but stepped in by about 0.2m on the north (interior), to form a wall 0.95m (3ft) wide. It was common medieval practice to build the foundation wider than the wall by 0.1–0.15m on one or both sides; there does not seem to have been any consistency about whether, when only one side was stepped in, it was on the inside or the outside of the structure.⁶¹

The construction of the wall proceeded as follows. Large ragstone blocks up to 0.4m × 0.2m in plan were laid to form the outside edges, the space between them being then filled with smaller chalk blocks (up to 0.2m square in plan), occasional flint and fragments of Roman tile, all mortared together. The sides, which survived 0.46m high at one end, presented a roughly coursed appearance with wide joints occasionally filled with small stones (Fig 56).

Though only a small amount of the south wall of Milk Street Building 6 survived, it was probably faced both inside and outside with



Fig 55. Milk Street: Building 6, details of the construction of the south wall, looking west. (a) large boulders of ragstone were laid to form the outer skins of the wall, on the chalk foundation; (b) the core was infilled with chalk, flint, and fragments of Roman tile, all mortared. Scale is 5 × 100mm.

ragstone, some of it clearly robbed from Roman buildings (Fig 56). The ground floor storeys of 12th-century buildings at New Fresh Wharf also seem to have been faced with ragstone both inside and out.⁶² There is no evidence at present to suggest that 12th-century stone houses in London had ashlar exteriors, as at, for example, the Jew's House in The Strait, Lincoln, of c. 1170–80.⁶³ A 12th-century town house recorded in Southwark in 1839 had a first-floor doorway edged in Caen stone, but the engravings illustrating the report show that the interior wall faces of this building were of coursed stone.⁶⁴ The bottom course of the inner face of a wall of Well Court Building 8 consisted of squared chalk blocks.

Later medieval basement construction using mortared foundations and walls was illustrated by Building 10 (? second half of 13th century) on Milk Street (Fig 41). This marks a difference in building technique from the previous buildings on the site (Buildings 6 and 7), both in clearance of the initial area for the basement and in construction of the foundations. Instead of

individual foundation trenches for the walls, a construction trench at least 1.5m deep reduced the ground level over a wide area; the trench was cut deeper by 0.1–0.35m in the south-west corner to take the foundations of a stair. In this undercroft the foundations and walls were hardly differentiated; the masonry of the foundation was brought up from slightly below the excavated trench and continued without a break or offset as the cellar wall.

Later buildings demonstrate a variety of stone types on the inner faces of basement or cellar walls, even in prestigious situations. Building 10 at Milk Street had ragstone on the interior of a chalk wall which would have formed the underground wall of a cellar (Fig 41). The south wall of Well Court Building 11 and the walls of Well Court Building 12 were of roughly coursed ragstone with some chalk; in the former case, rough layers of large chalk blocks at intervals (Fig 20), surviving 1.2m high. The undercroft recorded beneath the tower of St Mary-le-Bow in 1965⁶⁵ and dated on documentary grounds to 1272–9⁶⁶ had walls apparently of ragstone

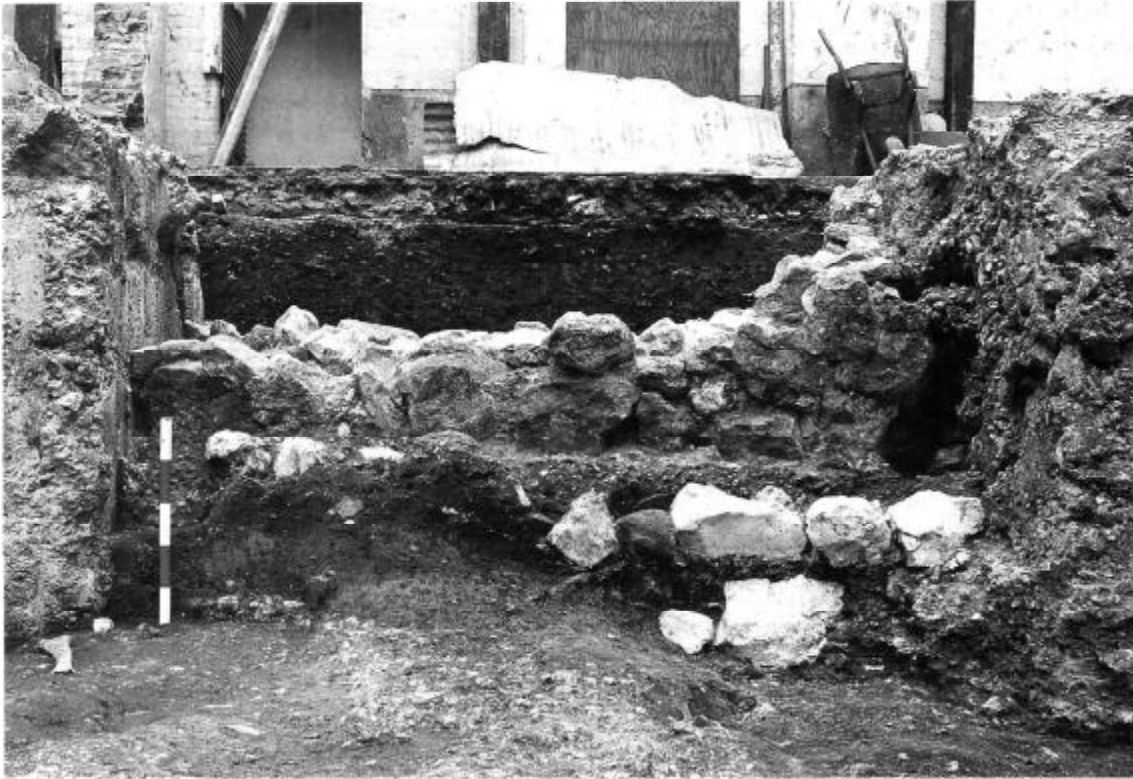


Fig 56. Milk Street: Building 6, elevation of interior of the south wall, looking south. The two lower courses are the chalk foundation, not fully exposed to the left. The wall was cut by modern stanchions to left and right. Scale is 5 × 100mm units.

throughout (though as they were not dismantled it seems possible that they were rag-fronted chalk, as in the earlier examples on the waterfront). Further economies are found in 14th-century undercrofts, where the whole wall below medieval ground level was often of chalk, though the interior face was often carefully composed of coursed, squared blocks⁶⁷ or could incorporate a colourful chequerwork of chalk and knapped flint (as at New Fresh Wharf Building H).⁶⁸ A rough layering of ragstone and chalk, and a partial attempt at chequerwork in those types of stone, is seen in the walling of the east undercroft of Guildhall (c. 1430). By the late 15th century undercrofts were built in a mixture of chalk, rag and brick (as at 7–8 Philpot Lane).⁶⁹

Details: Doors, Stairs, Windows and Floors

The evidence for doors, windows and floors in the earlier timber buildings on these sites has

been reviewed by Horsman.⁷⁰ It has already been noted that the largest sunken-floored pre-Conquest buildings were to be found in the Cheapside area, on the Watling Court, Well Court and Financial Times sites; and that the basement areas of these larger buildings had double-cladded walls. The above-ground parts of some of these buildings may have had glazed windows, as suggested by the finding of glass fragments in contemporary strata.⁷¹

Few details of internal features survived from the succeeding stone buildings. Part of a doorway from an undercroft, perhaps up to the adjacent alley, was recorded at Well Court Building 11 (Fig 20); a doorway out of the ground floor of Milk Street Building 6 was inferred from the presence of a post-hole made within the foundation of the east wall (Fig 39).

The foot of a stone stair within a cellar, communicating very probably with the adjacent street, was found in Milk Street Building 10. The bottom step of the stair to the street survived, as

did the chalk packing for the base of the other steps (Fig 41). The stair, which lay against the south wall of the building, had a retaining wall on its inside. The stair up one side of an undercroft to the street is known elsewhere in 13th-century London undercrofts, *eg* that below Gerard's (Gisors') Hall, on the other side of Basing Lane immediately south of the Watling Court site, built *c.* 1290. Stairs from cellars encroaching into the street are mentioned many times in a survey of London streets in 1246, and examples are shown in the Treswell surveys of 1607–12.⁷²

No direct evidence for windows survived in any of these structures. A contract of 1342 for the building of the Peter and Paul tavern in Paternoster Row, for instance, specified that the walls of the future cellar should rise 2ft above the ground level, to be pierced by four windows;⁷³ analogies drawn from recorded medieval cellars in the City would suggest that they conventionally protruded 2–4ft out of the ground, with only exceptional structures such as the hall of Gisors' large tenement being raised as much as 6ft above ground level.

The internal floor levels of the cellars, of which small areas were recorded, were of earth. Medieval floor tiles, presumably from the floors of the ground and higher storeys, were found in redeposited contexts on both Milk Street sites, at Ironmonger Lane, and at Watling Court; both decorated English (Penn) and plain Flemish tiles were present. Documentary records speak of a pavement of Flanders tiles removed from one of the houses at Well Court by a tenant in 1387. Single examples of post-medieval tin-glazed floor tiles were recovered from Watling Court and Well Court. Further details are given in the detailed building materials report.

Roof Covering (Figs 61–2)

In the absence of alternative evidence it has been suggested that thatch was the main covering medium for Saxo-Norman buildings in London.⁷⁴ Other possibilities are shingles and boards. A single example of a wooden shingle was recovered from Pit 12 of CP2 (1000–1030) at Milk Street, and boards were an acceptable alternative to ceramic tiles in the regulations of the early 13th century.⁷⁵ The following summary is based on

the specialist report on building materials by Ian Betts in Appendix 3.

Two different ways of roofing buildings with ceramic tiles were evident in London during the 12th century (CP5). One involved the use of flanged and curved tiles together in the same manner as Roman *tegulae* and *imbrices*. Flanged tiles of this sort were recovered from Watling Court and 1–6 Milk Street; the latter site produced an almost complete example of a curved tile from a context in the second half of the century (CP6). The second system, introduced at around the same time (CP5), involved the use of pegtiles with 'shoulders'.⁷⁶ In both systems the crest of the roof was covered by either curved tiles or specially-manufactured decorated ridge tiles.

Both the flanged/curved and the shouldered peg tile systems seem to have fallen out of use in the late 12th and early 13th centuries when standard medieval pegtiles were introduced. The civic regulations of 1212 banned reeds, rushes, straw or stubble and required roofs to be covered with tiles, shingles, plastered reeds or boards,⁷⁷ and it therefore seems likely that tiled roofs became more common during the 13th century.

The occurrence of the flanged and curved tile roofing system in the 12th century, distinctly resembling the Roman manner of roofing but with tiles made in a medieval fabric, calls for further comment. The Roman roof was at a much lower pitch than its 13th-century successor (the latter illustrated, for instance, by aisled halls) in the regions of northern France and lowland Britain. The regional variations within present-day France, with steeper flat-tiled roofs generally to the north and less steep flanged and curved tile roofs to the south, can be traced back to at least the 14th century.⁷⁸ The flanged and curved tile system is one employed exclusively on low-pitched roofs. It therefore seems likely that certain stone buildings in 12th century London⁷⁹ had roofs of low pitch; the source of this technology could be the Mediterranean areas of France or the region around Bordeaux, in which low-pitched tiled roofs predominate.⁸⁰ It is an attractive hypothesis, but at present without foundation, that such roofs could also have been modelled on those of ruinous Roman buildings.

Building materials

What was perhaps the earliest stone structure to be examined in detail, Building 6 on Milk Street,

was carefully built. The Kentish ragstone⁸¹ and chalk for its foundation were evidently freshly quarried: no mortar from previous usage adhered to the blocks. By contrast, the mortared walls above used smaller ragstone and chalk blocks with Roman mortar still adhering, and fragments of Roman tile.

The re-use of Roman building material is a feature of construction of several early medieval stone buildings in London. The 11th-century foundations of the first nave and chancel of St Nicholas Shambles included large amounts of Roman building material in their layered foundations—though not from the Roman buildings on the immediate site, which were slighter structures of timber and clay. Roman building material was similarly employed in the foundations of the 11th-century church at St Bride's, Fleet Street.⁸² But in the slightly later second phase at St Nicholas, when the chancel was extended in the early 12th century, the foundations were of fresh chalk and gravel;⁸³ the same can be seen in an admittedly more prestigious situation at the west cloistral range of Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate (probably constructed in the first half-century after its foundation in 1108).⁸⁴ These two religious examples would form a parallel for Watling Court Building 6 (CP6, 1150–1200). A tentative conclusion may be that chalk quarries began serving London during CP5 (1100–1150) and were more widely exploited by CP6 (1150–1180). The Milk Street evidence would suggest that freshly-quarried Kentish ragstone was available by 1100; the 12th-century boom in the building of religious houses would be a further stimulus for the re-opening of quarries, which appear in documents in the later 13th century.⁸⁵ A commensurate decline in the availability of Roman building material is a feature of the 12th century; it is probably significant that there is little re-used Roman building material, either stone or tile, in the majority of the arched foundations of the 13th and 14th centuries.

It is however also evident that stone was a rare or expensive commodity for ordinary houses in the 12th and even 13th centuries; as shown in the Milk Street documentary report a stone house or *domus lapidea* was evidently a distinctive feature of streets in the 13th century. Though the earliest datable stone cesspit from the present sites had fills of 1240–70 (Pit 116 at Milk Street), and most of the others seem to have been of

14th-century date or later, it is evident that local regulations requiring cesspits near boundaries to be lined with stone probably represent a regulation in existence by 1200.⁸⁶ By this time chalk alone (*ie* not mixed with ragstone) was the preferred stone for this purpose. Thirteenth-century building accounts show that ragstone was considerably more expensive than chalk.⁸⁷

From the late 12th century, ceramic roofing tiles in three styles and five fabrics (as yet unprovenanced, but probably local) were available (Figs 61–2). Floortiles in these secular buildings may also have come from local kilns in the late 13th century; they were also imported from Penn in Buckinghamshire and from Flanders. Bricks appear in the archaeological record in the late medieval or post-medieval period on the present sites, in contexts dated too broadly to assist greatly in any study of their use.

Wells

(Figs 6, 34, 57)

Two examples of timber-lined wells were recorded at Milk Street on the evidence of their comparatively small area in plan (about 1m by 1.5m), vertical sides and sharp corners; Pit 7 dated to CP4 (1050–1100) and Pit 4 to CP 4–5 (1050–1150) (Fig 34). Better surviving examples, with timber linings, have been excavated on waterfront sites, for instance two on the Pudding Lane site. The surviving lower part of one well on the east side of Botolph Lane, which was backfilled in the 11th or 12th centuries, was square in plan, the sides composed of overlapping planks slotted into corner posts.⁸⁸

A barrel-well at Watling Court (Pit 60) consisted of a lining of staves, arranged in probably three tiers to a total depth of 3m (Fig 6). The shaft for the well, behind the lining, was packed with brickearth. The well's lower fills were of silts, the upper fills of Victorian date from a much later period of demolition. The silts probably derive from a period of use rather than of backfilling, and were dated to CP5 (1100–1150). Barrel-lined and chalk-lined wells of medieval date have also been recorded immediately to the south of Well Court, during post-War rebuilding on the Aldermary House site, Queen Street;⁸⁹ here land adjacent to the stream had been the site of many wells since the Roman period.

Documentary evidence of the late 13th century shows that some wells were then made of casks, up to six deep,⁹⁰ but stone-lined wells seem to have become standard after about 1300.

A fine example of a chalk well (Pit 149) was recorded at Watling Court (Figs 57a–b). The lining of chalk was dressed on the interior to form a curved ashlar face; some scored parallel lines on the faces of the blocks may have been mason's marks. The well was about 0.85m in diameter internally, and survived at least 3.1m deep. Eight putlog holes were recorded, in two vertical groups of four about 1.7m apart. Each set of putlogs was angled so that two parallel timbers could be set into them (demonstrated in

Fig 57b). The hole for one end of the timber was 0.1–0.15m deep, whereas the other hole was 0.25–0.35m deep. This extra depth meant that the timber could be pushed back into the larger hole and extracted from the smaller. This device was presumably intended to facilitate climbing down the well during use rather than as part of its construction.⁹¹ The chalk lining included pottery provisionally dated to the early 14th century; the destruction fills contained pottery of CP21 (1700–1720), indicating a long period of use.

Other stone-lined wells were recorded on the Milk Street site, but they are not datable more narrowly than the medieval or post-medieval



Fig 57a. Watling Court: well pit 149, as found, against the north foundation of Building 6.



Fig 57b. Watling Court: well pit 149, detail of putlog holes in lower part. Scale is 5 × 100mm units.

period. One brick-lined well was recorded at Watling Court and another at Milk Street; both contained no dating evidence, though in the Watling Court case frogged bricks indicate a modern date. Wells of brick, at least in their above-ground parts, were ubiquitous in London properties by 1600, as shown in the Treswell surveys.⁹²

Pits lined with timber, stone and brick

The pits dug on all four sites may be studied to illustrate their variety of form and uses as wells, cesspits and perhaps for industrial purposes, which is covered in this section; and to illuminate the layout of properties, which has been considered in the discussion of property development above. The pits have been numbered within each site, and their details are tabulated in Appendix 1. They are dated from CP1 (850–1020) to CP21 (1720–1740); they were lined variously with timber, wattle, stone and brick. For most purposes the two larger groups, of 187 pits at Watling Court and 123 pits at 1–6 Milk Street, form the basis of the analyses which follow.

Pits which retained traces of wattle linings, or whose angular shape suggested sides originally revetted with planks, were found in quantity on the Milk Street and Watling Court sites. They dated especially to CP4–6 (1050–1180). A detailed study of the pre-13th century Milk Street pits (those which were not stone-or brick-lined) failed to distinguish correlations between particular forms and functions, partly because the pits, although numbering over 100, were frequently cut by others and therefore not complete in their measurements, or not completely excavated, and partly because many seem to have been used for several different functions at various points in their existence.⁹³ Certain of the better-built wattle-lined pits retained evidence of cross-beams holding the sides apart about 1m above the bottom of the pit (Fig 36; the upper beams originally lay across each other at right-angles like those at the lower level); but it is not at present known what structural or functional intentions lay behind this.

In several cases a pit had been partially re-dug and possibly relined. This was deduced from the close coincidence of successive pits; but unintentional redigging in the same spot or close by must also have been common. In the centre-west

area of the Watling Court site, where survival was exceptional and the area seems to have been open space for much of the medieval period, 13 generations of pits could be observed, in this case providing some broad dates for a number of intrinsically undated pits in the series:

Pit	126	CP5–6	1100–1180
	95	CP5	1100–1150
	94	[CP4–5 on stratigraphic position]	
	86	[CP4–5 on stratigraphic position]	
	85	[CP4–5 on stratigraphic position]	
	84	[CP4–5 on stratigraphic position]	
	83	[CP4–5 on stratigraphic position]	
	82	[CP4–5 on stratigraphic position]	
	79	CP4	1050–1100
	77	[CP3–4 on stratigraphic position]	
	76	CP3	1020–1050
	75	[CP1–3 on stratigraphic position]	
	73	[CP1–3 on stratigraphic position]	
		Roman	
		stratigraphy	

This suggests (a) that at least 11 pits were dug in roughly the same place in the period 1020–1200, or an average of one every 16 years; and (b) since this sequence was recorded in an area of exceptionally high survival of strata, it is likely that similar pit sequences had existed in many other similar areas (*ie* the backs or remote parts of properties) but have been truncated by later activity.

The pits may be examined for evidence of function: as cesspits (*ie* primarily for human waste), or as domestic or industrial rubbish-pits. The function of *cesspit* relies on the identification on site of a primary fill of sewage,⁹⁴ or on analysis of samples taken from the fills to search for parasite remains (see Appendix 4).

As shown on the site phase plans, cesspits are

found in CP1 (850–1020) a short distance behind the Bow Lane frontage at Watling Court. Thereafter cesspits are found in nearly every ceramic phase. There is no evidence to determine whether these early cesspits were to be found inside or outside the buildings which were contemporary with them, but later medieval practice suggests that they were outside. The buildings themselves were not recorded but are inferred to have stood in areas devoid of pits, in the strips against the streets.

Unlined and timber-lined pits, some of which were demonstrably cesspits, have been found on numerous other London sites. They generally date to the 11th–13th centuries; thereafter stone cesspits become common, though not as numerous as the unlined or timber-lined types which preceded them. Dated examples of the earlier two types are then much fewer. Such a pattern is confirmed on the present sites, though there was a fairly high proportion of undated pits. From the mid 12th century there may have been changes in the pattern of disposal of household and industrial waste. Reclamation in the waterfront zone south of Thames Street used great quantities of urban rubbish from the middle of the 12th century until the late 15th century, and during this period fewer rubbish pits are found on inland excavation sites; a similar pattern has also been observed in medieval Southampton.⁹⁵

Stone-lined cesspits were found on all three of the major sites, providing details of construction, the time-span and nature of their use, of their cleaning and sometimes deliberate backfilling.

Three examples show the limited range of construction methods. Pit 116 at Milk Street (Fig 42) measured 3.1m by 1.6m internally at its surviving top, and was probably rectangular in plan, aligned north-south. Its tapering sides were at least 2.3m high, of chalk with occasional fragments of ragstone and glazed roof tile; the upper internal faces of the chalk lining were of roughly squared blocks. One end of a horizontal wooden beam was lodged in the south side; this may have formed the base of some kind of internal structure, though no joints were present on the exposed portion. Pottery of CP8 (1240–1270) was recovered from one of the fills.

Remains of at least seven stone cesspits on the Watling Court site provide both corroborative details of construction and further features of note. The cesspits were all truncated by the 19th-century basement slab and only their lower parts

survived. Two examples are given here. Pit 153 in the centre east of the site measured about 3m by 2.4m, and survived 1.25m deep (Fig 10); its construction was dated to CP9 (1270–1350). Pit 152 to its east measured 2.5m by 1.9m, and retained evidence of a sloping chute entering the stone lining from the west side towards the southern corner (Fig 11); its construction was dated to CP10 or later (after about 1340; the absence of brick in its construction suggests a date before about 1450).

The stone cesspits on the present sites were either roughly square or rectangular in plan, and up to 2.3m (7ft 6in) deep. Documentary and plan evidence of the 14th to early 17th centuries combines to suggest that the privy as a structure comprised three parts; the seat, usually built over joists; the garderobe chute, often lined with boards, which was called a *pipe*; and the means of collection or disposal of the sewage below. The superstructure was usually of timber,⁹⁶ though it is possible that the small vaulted extension to Watling Court Building 12 was also a cesspit.

The dating of stone cesspits suffers in two common respects, as noted on the present sites: the medieval ground level from which they were cut is almost always absent, and their fills were often dug out during their period of use. The Milk Street example, Pit 116, appears to be among the earliest datable examples since the remaining cess fill within it contained material of c. 1240–1270. Documentary references are available to suggest that several properties close to Cheapside had large cesspits, probably of stone, in the early 13th century.⁹⁷

In two legal cases of 1301 and 1304, the defendants argued that their stone privies were already old;⁹⁸ in the latter instance that the cesspit was built 'long before they were born'. The early or middle decades of the 13th century therefore seems a likely date for the introduction of stone cesspits to London; they were accepted as a superior variant by the time of the surviving rolls of *Assize of Nuisance* which begin in 1301, and the first half of the 14th century probably saw their widespread adoption. Such amenities must have been considered basic, since in 1422 the wardmote of Bassishaw could complain that the little rents of Richard Clerk at the Swan were defective because none of them had privies.⁹⁹ Stone cesspits are found on medieval house sites in Southampton from the early 13th

century, though timber-lined cesspits continued in use throughout the century.¹⁰⁰

The total period of use of these individual cesspits could generally not be accurately calculated because of the known medieval practice of cleaning them out when required; a task which may have been undertaken several times during the lifetime of the comparatively durable stone-lined pit. This process was illustrated by the cesspit Pit 152 at Watling Court which had two periods of cess fill, separated by a layer of building rubble, and capped by a further, thicker layer of building material. These layers may indicate two periods of use separated by the rubble associated with the cleaning out of the pit, which documentary references suggest occasioned some disturbance to the upper fabric.¹⁰¹ The lower fills, which survived only 0.2m deep, contained pottery of CP10 or later date (after about 1340); the later, upper fills survived 0.48m thick and contained material exclusively of CP15 (1550–1600). Finally, the second layer of building debris was datable also to CP15. The longevity of the chalk-lined pit is also illustrated by Pit 150 at Watling Court which had no fills and, having no brick in its structure, was probably 14th-century or early 15th century in origin, but which had a piece of 16th/17th-century clay tobacco pipe stem jammed into its walling.

Few of the stone-lined pits (as opposed to the earlier timber-lined pits) were sampled environmentally during excavation, and therefore the presence or absence of parasites in cess deposits from these pits was not determined. The only sample reported here is an extremely rich one from Pit 116 at Milk Street (Appendix 5). Here the layer datable to 1240–1270 contained hundreds of fruitstones or seeds: plum, cherry, blackberry or raspberry and strawberry.

Brick-lined cesspits are first found on the present sites during CP17 (1640–1660) at Watling Court (Pits 175, ?182), though some stone cesspits continued to be used up to this time (eg Watling Court Pit 150, see Appendix 1 and Fig 12). Several brick cesspits were backfilled with debris probably of the Great Fire (eg Watling Court Pits 175, 176). Brick cesspits were standard after the Fire (eg Watling Court Pits 172, 174).

A further medieval square or rectangular chalk-lined structure recorded at Watling Court deserves comment by itself. In the middle of the west boundary of the site, the east side and the



Fig 58. Watling Court: stone-lined soakaway Pit 156, looking south, with its peculiar arches in the sides. Scale is 5 × 100mm units.

beginnings of the north and south walls of a chalk-lined pit (Pit 156) measured 2.2m north-south and at least 1.15m east-west, and survived 1.4m deep. All three recorded sides contained simple arches through the thickness of the chalk lining (Fig 58). The feature was filled with a succession of light grey/brown silty clays and orange sands containing material dating to CP8–11 (1240–1400). This structure was probably not a cesspit for two reasons: the absence of sewage strata, and more importantly, the unusual arches in its sides. Although some late medieval brick-lined cesspits outside London appear to have had small holes in their sides which would have allowed seepage, this was expressly forbidden by the regulations embodied in the *Assize of Nuisance* in London from the late 13th century. Cases in the *Assize* sometimes mention a soakaway in a private garden, usually the destination of rainwater from adjacent buildings from at least 1315.¹⁰² The silty fills of the pit would be

consistent with a function as a soakaway or sink. If such a function is allowed, the pit must have lain in an open area (which has already been suggested by the amount of pit-digging in previous phases) and served adjacent buildings. Documentary evidence would place the structure on the east side of the prominent tenement called *la Rouge Sale*, quite possibly in the garden.

Property use from objects

To a limited extent the lifestyle of the inhabitants of these buildings is illustrated by the objects left in the many pits dug on the properties. The pits of 850–1200 (CP1–6) at Watling Court did not produce a great number or variety of artefacts, possibly due to the soil conditions. At Milk Street, however, where conditions were apparently more favourable for the survival of organic materials, such objects were relatively plentiful. The finds from the pits appear to be a mixture of domestic and light industrial waste (mainly pieces of bone waste with inscribed motifs and crucibles), with occasional notably rich elements such as pieces of silk dress and embroidered shoes. No distinctions were evident between areas of the site, suggesting that the properties excavated were similar in character. A number of bone motif-pieces, with practice designs inscribed on the bone fragments, suggests production of metal ornaments such as brooches, though no metal waste was found.¹⁰³ It may be relevant that of the several crucibles found in the Milk Street pits, at least two bore traces of silver.¹⁰⁴

The possible light industrial tone of the area is also suggested by the 11th-century hoard of unfinished lead brooches, beads and finger rings which were probably debris of a metalworker, found on the north side of Cheapside, between Milk Street and Honey Lane, in 1838.¹⁰⁵ The comparative absence here of large timber cellars, which may indicate a different form of property use, may in addition be relevant. By about 1200, however, the southern end of the street near St Mary Magdalen was the site of several stone buildings, and by the 14th century the street was rather more select.

A recent survey of Saxo-Norman artefacts from the City suggests that there were numerous trades and industries of late Saxon date, but that they were all small-scale: clothworking, dyeing of

wool, ironworking, workers in lead and copper (presumably the users of the crucibles), and bone-working.¹⁰⁶ The population of London at this time, it is suggested,¹⁰⁷ partly earned their living by providing services for the ecclesiastical community. In the absence of detailed evidence from other late Saxon sites of similar size, we cannot however at present say if the industries recorded at Milk Street were localised or were a general and widespread phenomenon.

Two medieval cesspits, also at Milk Street, produced objects which might illuminate the lifestyles of the later inhabitants. The fills of use in Pit 116, towards the southern end of the site, contained a piece of worked antler, probably intended to be a knife handle; a piece of linen; a lead seal-matrix (unfortunately too eroded to be deciphered); eight fairly complete but distorted wooden bowls (some shown in Fig 43), when identifiable of ash or maple; a wooden box; a wooden talley-stick; a wooden counter; the handle of a knife; and other wooden fragments. Pit 116 probably lay within Tenement 1, which was in possession of William Joiner between *c.* 1212 and *c.* 1245. A short distance to the north within Tenement 4, fills dated to 1360–1400 or later in Pit 117 contained nine fragments of wool cloth, one of high quality, tiny fragments of fine vessel glass (which may be Roman) and a lead bulla of Pope Urban VI (1378–89). It is tempting to associate this relatively luxurious assemblage with Thomas Dyster, the very rich mercer who dwelt here in 1401; though between 1409 and 1425 the tenant was Robert Tenterden, ironmonger. Though it is not even certain that Tenterden lived on the site, these finds give a tantalising glimpse of the lifestyles of the occupants.

NOTES TO PART 3

¹ Biddle 1976, 272–9.

² C G Henderson, 'Exeter' in Schofield & Palliser 1981, 37.

³ Horsman *et al* 1988, 21, 49–50.

⁴ Dyson 1978.

⁵ This conclusion about the date of formation of Basing Lane differs from that put forward tentatively by Horsman *et al* 1988, 28.

⁶ Miller 1977; Horsman *et al* 1988, 110–16; L Miller, Excavations at Miles Lane (ILA79), archive report, Group 124 (MoL).

⁷ Steedman *et al* 1992, 122–31.

- ⁸ Godfrey 1942, 8.
- ⁹ RCHM *Stamford*, lii; Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975, 235; Carver 1980, 167.
- ¹⁰ Schofield 1987, 16, fig 3.
- ¹¹ Williams 1979, 143; Perring 1981, fig 34; Carver 1979, 71.
- ¹² Williams 1979, 140–1; Perring 1981.
- ¹³ Grimes 1968, 155–60.
- ¹⁴ Excavations at King Street (KNG85; MoL archive); information from Peter Rowsome.
- ¹⁵ Sturdy *et al* 1986, 120; *Medieval Archaeol* 23 (1989), 209.
- ¹⁶ Vince 1985, 38–42, 79.
- ¹⁷ Brooke & Keir 1975, 265–70; Stott 1991. For the late 10th or 11th-century embankments between Billingsgate and the bridge, recorded in excavations of 1974–82, see Steedman *et al* 1992.
- ¹⁸ Schofield 1981; Steedman *et al* 1992.
- ¹⁹ Wood 1965, 1–15; Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975, 83–5, 233, fig 68. It is likely that stone houses in Winchester were only remarked on in property records if they were identifiable from the street (Keene 1985b, 169). The known stone houses in Colchester were nearly all at right angles to the street, either against the street or within the property; only one exceptional building which became the Moot Hall, lay side-on to the High Street (Crummy 1981). For continental houses of this period see *eg* Strobel 1976 (Regensburg); Andrews 1982 (Viterbo); Wiedenau 1983 (W German small towns).
- ²⁰ Hall 1984, 758–6.
- ²¹ Ayers 1987, 156.
- ²² Corner 1860.
- ²³ Grimes 1968, 1688–70; *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/20.
- ²⁴ Barron 1974, 20–1.
- ²⁵ White 1853.
- ²⁶ The Leadenhall Street/Fenchurch Street undercroft is illustrated in Schofield 1984, 8, fig 5. For Jewry Street, Loftus-Brock 1877.
- ²⁷ Holst 1986, 95–6.
- ²⁸ Samuel 1987.
- ²⁹ There are few records of vaulted structures at the back of courtyards in medieval London, but this may be misleading.
- ³⁰ Williams 1963, 50–1, 329–30; *Holy Trinity Cartulary*, 430.
- ³¹ Stow i, 238.
- ³² Kingsford 1910, 127.
- ³³ According to the ordinances of the Taverners in 1370, the doors of cellars of a tavern where wine was laid down for sale were to be kept open so that one member of any drinking party could enter to see the wine drawn from the barrels (Riley 1868, 342).
- ³⁴ Vince 1985, 59.
- ³⁵ Schofield 1987, 17–18, 25–6.
- ³⁶ Horsman *et al* 1988.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 51–2.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 71–4.
- ³⁹ Schofield, in prep.
- ⁴⁰ Grimes 1968, 185.
- ⁴¹ Marsden 1967, 217–20.
- ⁴² Grimes 1968, pl100–101.
- ⁴³ Schofield & Lea, in prep.
- ⁴⁴ Schofield 1975; 1977.
- ⁴⁵ Salzman 1952, 83.
- ⁴⁶ Mellor & Pearce 1981, 23.
- ⁴⁷ Rodwell 1981, 112.
- ⁴⁸ Salzman 1952, 422.
- ⁴⁹ Poulton & Woods 1984, 26.
- ⁵⁰ *Cal Wills* i, 90–1; Williams 1927, i, 386–9.
- ⁵¹ Stow i, 317–8; the south wall was observed in 1976 (Herbert 1979).
- ⁵² Schofield 1981; also documentary survey of New Fresh Wharf site, preliminary archive report by T Dyson (1981).
- ⁵³ St Alban Wood St, St Swithun and St Bride's (Grimes 1968, 205); St Margaret Lothbury, 1976 (notes in DUA archive); Merchant Taylors' Hall, before *c.* 1375; Schofield 1984, 99, fig 78. For another example of a domestic site in Thames Street, see Williams 1982.
- ⁵⁴ Clarke & Carter 1977, 10; the example included horizontal planking, which is also known in London examples (Schofield 1977).
- ⁵⁵ Schofield 1984, 129. Brick was used for wall foundation arches in Hull, where brick was commonplace, in the early 14th century (Armstrong & Ayers 1987, 28 and fig 15).
- ⁵⁶ *Eg* at Ramsey Abbey in the 10th century: Salzman 1952, 85–6.
- ⁵⁷ On many sites, see DUA archive (MoL). These foundations are often difficult to date, except broadly to the 13th or 14th centuries.
- ⁵⁸ Horsman *et al* 1988, 75–83.
- ⁵⁹ Grimes 1968, 157.
- ⁶⁰ *Op cit.*, 75–82.
- ⁶¹ For examples see Miller & Schofield, New Fresh Wharf (NFW74) archive report, Buildings C, D (MoL); Salzman 1952, 83; Ayers 1987, fig 32.
- ⁶² Wood 1965, Pl. IA. Availability of materials was probably an important consideration. The recently-excavated stone building of *c.* 1175 in Norwich had a flint rubble exterior (with ashlar dressings) and probably a rendered interior (Ayers 1987, 157).
- ⁶³ Schofield 1977; 1981.
- ⁶⁴ Schofield 1984, figs 37–8; Wood 1965, 3–5.
- ⁶⁵ Grimes 1968, 168–170.
- ⁶⁶ *Historical Gazetteer*, site 104/20.
- ⁶⁷ A site in Lovat Lane: Gadd 1982.
- ⁶⁸ Schofield 1977.
- ⁶⁹ Lea 1985.
- ⁷⁰ Horsman *et al* 1988, 85–91.
- ⁷¹ Three fragments (Pritchard 1991, catalogue nos 192–4) were found within the sunken Building 3,

in two cases within layers indicative of use. The clear implication is that the two largest timber cellars, Buildings 2 and 3, had glass windows, presumably in the superstructure (Horsman *et al* 1988, 91–3).

⁷² *Eyre 1244, passim* (judges' perambulation of 1246); Schofield 1987, *passim*.

⁷³ Salzman 1952, 432–4.

⁷⁴ Horsman *et al* 1988, 101.

⁷⁵ *Assize of Nuisance*, xi.

⁷⁶ Armitage *et al* 1981. A similar date for the adoption of tiled roofs is noted in Canterbury (Urry 1967, 192–4) and Southampton (Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975, 24).

⁷⁷ *Assize of Nuisance*, xi.

⁷⁸ Chapelot & Fossier 1985, 318–9.

⁷⁹ As in contemporary Southampton (Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975).

⁸⁰ The Italian Romanesque houses used as general parallels above of Andrews 1982 also have low-pitched roofs.

⁸¹ Identified by Mr F Dimes, Geological Museum.

⁸² Grimes 1968, 185; Thompson 1979.

⁸³ Thompson 1979.

⁸⁴ Schofield 1985.

⁸⁵ Salzman 1952, 128–9; the earliest medieval reference to use of Kentish rag cited there is 1278 at the Tower, though quarries around Folkstone were supplying 'small stones' for Dover Castle in 1220 and freestone cut in the quarry on a large scale from at least 1227 (Colvin 1971, 12, 33, 76–80). Opening of quarries must also have been stimulated by a similar building period in Canterbury from the late 11th century (Tatton-Brown 1990).

⁸⁶ *Assize of Nuisance*, xxv.

⁸⁷ *Eg Colvin* 1971, *passim*.

⁸⁸ Jones & Rhodes 1980, 14–16.

⁸⁹ Wilmott 1982, figs 6, 16.

⁹⁰ *Cal LB B*, 276–7.

⁹¹ More numerous and 'normal' putlogs were recorded in a square well at Cuckoo Lane, Southampton, dating to the 13th or early 14th century (Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975, 301, fig 102).

⁹² Schofield 1987, 27.

⁹³ Study by V de Hoog and C Orton, MS in archaeological archive, Museum of London.

⁹⁴ There may be some observer and sampling bias here, since the supervisor at 1–6 Milk Street did not generally give the interpretation 'cesspit' to many pits, and virtually no samples have survived for analysis; the supervisor at Watling Court commonly made the interpretation 'cesspit', and in most cases this has been confirmed by environmental analysis (Appendix 4).

⁹⁵ Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975, 34.

⁹⁶ *Coroners Rolls*, 167–8 1326; *Assize of Nuisance*, 325 (1333); *Historical Gazetteer* 95/4, 5.

⁹⁷ *Historical Gazetteer* sites 105/13–15, 19.

⁹⁸ The cases of leaking sewage in the *Assize of Nuisance* were presumably, in the main, from timber-lined privies rather than stone-lined ones. Often the judgement gives the option of rebuilding in timber or stone, implying that the previous structure was not substantial and therefore of timber.

⁹⁹ *Cal Plea & Mem R* 1413–37, 118.

¹⁰⁰ Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975, 34, 206, 209–10, 238–9.

¹⁰¹ *Eg Records of Carpenters' Company* ii, 25. For a major cleansing operation at Ironmonger Lane in 1426–7, *Historical Gazetteer* 95/4B.

¹⁰² *Assize of Nuisance*, 222, 277, 572, 584.

¹⁰³ Pritchard 1991, 180–93.

¹⁰⁴ Bayley *et al* 1991, 403, fig 6.17.

¹⁰⁵ *VCH London* i, 160.

¹⁰⁶ Vince 1991, 430–5.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

4: THE CHARACTER AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHEAPSIDE AREA; AN OVERVIEW

Derek Keene

In this section, the opportunity is taken of reviewing the conclusions arising from the excavations, and from the written records concerning those sites, in the light of the picture for the Cheapside area as a whole which has emerged from the recent intensive documentary study.¹ This study concerned the five parishes which covered the eastern half of Cheapside (Fig 59). Only two of the excavated sites lay within the study area, and of these only one, Well Court, contained significant remains from the period in question. Nevertheless, some of the conclusions concerning the broad pattern of development around Cheapside within the period *c.* 900–*c.* 1670, enhanced by the documentary research undertaken into the Milk Street and the Watling Court sites, provide a useful context in which to set the archaeological evidence. The discussion focuses on topics where the archaeological evidence might be expected to make a contribution, and on the period before 1300.

Streets, lanes and alleys

The three main sites each have implications for our understanding of the evolution of the City's street system. The outlines of the system in this



Fig 39 The Cheapside study area (15 parishes), showing the excavation sites.

part of the City were probably established at about the time, in 886, when King Alfred, according to a contemporary account, 'restored the City of London and made it habitable again'.² This initiative probably included the laying out of a grid of streets. Among the principal elements of this grid may have been the wide, axial market street of Cheapside and a group of secondary streets at right angles to it, including at least two streets which led directly down to the river. This pattern can be identified in London by analogy with Winchester and

elsewhere, but in addition there is direct evidence that two of the streets leading to the river, those now known as Bread Street and as Bow Lane, were in existence by the end of the 9th century. The Well Court excavation has demonstrated that Bow Lane (first recorded in documentary sources as *Crutchestrate*, shortly before 1200)³ probably originated in that period, and this lends force to the suggestion that Cheapside (not certainly recorded in written sources before the 12th century)⁴ itself was laid out at that time. The southern end of Bread Street (otherwise first

recorded as *Bredstrate* in 1163–70 or a little earlier, and perhaps as *Lafullestrete* in 1179⁵ is almost certainly one of the streets mentioned in a late 9th-century land grant, which also records an east-west street between Cheapside and the river, probably to be identified as Great Trinity Lane.⁶ It has been suggested that Basing Lane, which was close to the southern edge of the Watling Court site, might have originated in the same period.⁷ However, no part of Basing Lane was observed during excavation, and the arguments concerning its origin depend upon the position and alignment of buildings and other features presumed to have fronted on to it. Those arguments strongly suggest that Basing Lane had come into existence by the late 12th century, when Building 6 might have adjoined it (Fig 7), and less clearly indicate that the lane was there in the second half of the 11th century, when Building 3 might have been aligned on it (Fig 5). Yet had we not known, from documentary sources, that the lane existed by about 1270 (see p 66), the alignment and position of those buildings could reasonably have been attributed solely to Bow Lane.

While the direct evidence concerning Basing Lane remains inconclusive, some possibilities for the early (or original) form of the street layout in this neighbourhood are suggested by the overall topographical pattern. This includes some regular features which may themselves indicate an early, planned origin. Basing Lane lies almost halfway between Thames Street (which developed along the river frontage) and Cheapside, and exactly halfway between Great Trinity Lane (almost certainly in existence by 900) on the south and Watling Street on the north. All three of those streets running between Bread Street on the west and Bow Lane on the east, may therefore be part of a planned layout. Whether any of them may at that stage have extended further to the east and to the west, thus forming part of a more extensive grid of streets, is a separate question. The earliest available evidence on this point is provided by the street map surveyed at the time of the Great Fire of 1666.⁸ This reveals both Great Trinity Lane and Watling Street to have been part of continuous streets on an east/west axis. The streets to east and west of Basing Lane, by contrast, were not continuous with it, and so may have originated block by block, on an *ad hoc* basis. This line of argument suggests the possibility that Watling Street⁹ and the street on

the line of Great Trinity Lane may have been part of a planned street grid. A recent suggestion¹⁰ that in its early form the eastern part of Watling Street swung north along the line of Pancras Lane to form a continuous route leading towards Bishopsgate or Aldgate, should be rejected, at least until further evidence is forthcoming, since Pancras Lane was, as we shall see, of 12th- or 13th-century origin. Watling Street may have had a particular role as a through street at an early date, since it is aligned directly on the medieval City gate at Ludgate and on its Roman predecessor. However, any such direct connection would have been broken soon after the Norman Conquest with the rebuilding of St Paul's cathedral, and no evidence has yet been found of a Roman street on the line of Watling Street.

Elsewhere in the neighbourhood there were at least two streets which came into existence much later than Bow Lane. One was Soper Lane (on the site of the modern Queen Street), first recorded in the early 13th century as a 'new street'. There are also references later in the 13th century to what is now Pancras Lane, leading off Soper Lane, as a 'new street'.¹¹ The network of minor streets near Soper Lane (see Fig 59) presumably came into existence during the 12th and early 13th century as the City grew. In particular, it may be seen as a response to an increased demand for trading space in and near Cheapside, since the name Soper Lane means 'lane of the shopkeepers'. There are two notable features in the topography of Soper Lane. It did not extend to the south of Watling Street, in relation to which it was presumably secondary. It also followed an irregular line (Fig 59), suggesting that it had been created, possibly piecemeal, within an established and complex pattern of property boundaries and buildings. At least one of the lesser lanes in the network around Soper Lane faded away in the late Middle Ages, as size and density of settlement in the City diminished.

North of Cheapside, Milk Street was also distinctly irregular in plan, especially as depicted on the map of 1666. This suggests that the street may have had a similar type of origin to Soper Lane. Minor lanes in medieval towns frequently originated as a means of access to a parish church, or as a right of way established by common usage across a cemetery.¹² Church Passage, between Ironmonger Lane and Old Jewry certainly originated in this way within two

adjoining cemeteries.¹³ Honey Lane, a few yards along Cheapside from Milk Street, led to the church and cemetery of All Hallows.¹⁴ The Cheapside end of Milk Street was perhaps established for a similar purpose, giving access to the church of St Mary Magdalen, which adjoined that of All Hallows. The church and parish of St Mary Magdalen existed by 1135, but may have been established much earlier. The church lacked a cemetery in the late 12th century, and probably did not acquire one until the early 16th century. The name Milk Street itself is first recorded *c.* 1140.¹⁵

North of the church, Milk Street changed its alignment, and the evidence of the excavated buildings and of the reconstructed property boundaries indicates that in the 14th century the east side of the street had a very irregular frontage (Fig 44). Further north still, Milk Street changed its alignment again. These characteristics suggest that Milk Street might have emerged by stages, perhaps in the form initially of two separate lanes, leading off Cheapside to the south and off what is now Gresham Street to the north, which subsequently came to be connected. The alignment of each part of the street was presumably determined by pre-existing buildings or property boundaries. The origin of that part of Milk Street which adjoined the excavated area is far from clear. It seems that in the 10th century the area may have been served by some means of access on the line of a Roman street leading north from Cheapside across the eastern edge of the site. It is perhaps no more than a coincidence that the Roman street appears to be on the same line as Honey Lane, although this suggests the possibility that, at some date before the church of All Hallows blocked it off, Honey Lane had served the area to the north of the church (compare Figs 32 and 46). Building 1, in the south-east corner of the Milk Street site and continuing in use into the 11th century, appears to have fronted on to that street or lane. As Building 1 went out of use the focus of activity on the site shifted to its western edge, where Buildings 4 and 5 were erected on a different alignment, which can later be recognised as that of Milk Street. Whether that alignment was originally determined by Milk Street itself, or by some other feature, is not clear, but it seems likely that this part of Milk Street had come into existence, at least as an informal route, by the time that Building 4 was erected in the period

1000–1030. If Milk Street did indeed emerge in stages, as suggested above, this would presumably mean that the southern end of the street, leading off Cheapside, came into existence in the same period or earlier.

By contrast with Milk Street, several streets to the north of Cheapside have a regular and evenly spaced appearance. Of these, Wood Street, leading into the area of the former Roman fort and on to Cripplegate, may be the one most likely to have had an early origin, perhaps at the same time as Cheapside. Other streets in this group may have originated at the same time, but in the case of one of them, Ironmonger Lane (first recorded *c.* 1190),¹⁶ archaeological evidence for the pattern of land use on a site next to the street suggests that the street may not have come into existence until shortly before 1100.

Knowledge of the development of the street pattern makes an important contribution to our understanding of a town's growth, size, and shape at different periods, and of its economic and social organisation. Topographical patterns can suggest stages, and even dates, in the development, but they can rarely provide proof of these without supporting evidence. Documentary evidence for London's streets is sparse before the 12th century, long after many of them may be presumed to have come into existence. Written records, however, give us a valuable insight into the further extension of the street network which took place around 1200. We remain remarkably ignorant of the earlier history of the streets in most parts of medieval London. As sites near Cheapside and elsewhere in the City show, archaeological discoveries can provide crucial evidence. We can now identify some early elements in the street network of medieval London, and some secondary developments. Direct observations of early streets, however, are very small in number. All too often an archaeological site provides no more than evidence for a topographical pattern from which it may be inferred (by no means certainly) that a street near the site existed. Such inferences are an inadequate basis for analysing the relationship between the different elements in the street plan and for charting its evolution over the period of at least 300 years up to 1200. Direct observations of early streets thus remain high on the archaeological agenda for London.

Nevertheless, topographical arguments and archaeological evidence can be deployed to

suggest that several areas of the City within the walls experienced episodes of street planning and subsequent evolution very similar to those which occurred in the Cheapside neighbourhood. Fish Street Hill and Botolph Lane can be shown probably to have originated in the late 9th or early 10th century.¹⁷ With St Mary at Hill, they seem to form a group of regular, fairly evenly-spaced streets running up from the river in much the same way as Bread Street and Bow Lane ran up to Cheapside. Fish Street Hill continued north to Bishopsgate, but Botolph Lane and St Mary at Hill terminated at Fenchurch Street, which may have been associated or an earlier feature. Subsequently, perhaps by 1100, Pudding Lane emerged within the block between Fish Street Hill and Botolph Lane. The narrow, irregular street known as Little Eastcheap (now Eastcheap), perhaps also emerged in the same phase, and with a similar function.¹⁸ West of Fish Street Hill another regular group of streets can be identified between Lombard Street on the north and Thames Street on the south. Candlewick (now Cannon Street) and Great Eastcheap formed the spine of this system. Some apparently regular streets run off it to the north and south, but not one of those streets runs directly from the river to Lombard Street, a plan feature which distinguishes this group from the early groups of streets to the south of Cheapside and to the east of Fish Street Hill. The Candlewick Street system may therefore have been later in origin than the other groups, but had probably been established by 1100. North of Lombard Street and Fenchurch Street the topographical pattern, dominated by streets radiating both from and towards the City gates, suggests a much less regulated and intensive stage of development.

It is thus possible to identify several coherent groupings of early medieval streets within the walls, in relation to which many streets are clearly secondary. The dates, and sometimes even the succession, of some of the groupings are not always clear, and there are many streets which cannot yet be placed within the pattern, yet that pattern provides a framework of hypothesis to which future archaeological observations can be addressed.

By contrast, the archaeological and the documentary evidence from the Cheapside area have now put us in a good position to understand the ways in which streets evolved once they had been established. Generally, this was by the

encroachment of private buildings on to the private ground which constituted the street.

The way in which this process seems to have operated in Bow Lane is illustrated in Fig 23. By the 17th century the northern end of the lane narrowed to a width of about 6ft (1.8m) where the street met Cheapside. This was presumably a result of successive encroachments, the most extensive of which had probably taken place by about 1100. Thus, on the west side of the street, the late 11th-century church of St Mary le Bow appears to have encroached onto the public street by at least 8ft (2.4m). The line of the pre-Fire frontage on the east side of the street opposite the church indicates a more piecemeal pattern of encroachment, including, perhaps as a final stage, the creation before *c.* 1250 of a row of small shops about 5ft (1.5m) deep against the boundary wall of a property fronting on to Cheapside.¹⁹ Further south, near Well Court, the 10th-century frontage on the east side of the street appears to have been as much as 14ft (4.3m) to the east of the later medieval and modern frontage (Fig 17a). In a subsequent rebuilding, the frontage was set back just over 2ft (0.6m). In the second half of the 11th century a new timber building (Building 6) encroached about 6ft (1.8m) to the west, establishing a frontage which seems to have lined up with the boundary wall extending back from Cheapside mentioned above (Fig 18b). During the 12th century a large stone building (Building 8), erected immediately to the south of the timber one, encroached a further 7 or 8ft (2.1–2.4m) on the street up to and even beyond the modern frontage line (Figs 19a, 24). When the owners of the houses adjoining this structure came to rebuild them, they presumably moved them up to the new line where they adjoined the stone house, while respecting the earlier frontage to the north and south. This probably accounts for the curving frontage which is a feature of this part of Bow Lane. Stone buildings, including the church of St Mary le Bow, clearly played an important part in defining the final form of the street frontage.

This evidence for Bow Lane suggests that the early 10th century street may have been about 30ft (9.2m) wide, and that by the end of the 12th century, when encroachment ceased, it had been narrowed to about 16ft (4.9m) in some places and to 6ft (1.8m) in others. In less crowded areas encroachment was permitted to continue after

1200. Thus it is possible to trace the successive stages by which a house in the angle between Poultry and Bucklersbury encroached westwards on to Cheapside during the 13th century, despite the evident public concern at the nuisance caused by householders who erected stalls, steps, or overhanging projections in front of their houses.²⁰

The archaeological evidence on its own makes little contribution to our understanding of the evolution of the alleys or courts which have been a distinctive feature of the Cheapside area since at least as early as the 17th century. Documentary evidence for both Watling Court and Well Court, however, indicate that on sites away from the Cheapside frontage, alleys emerged as a result of the subdivision of large houses from *c.* 1550 onwards. The alleys themselves were the direct descendants of the courtyards and entrance passages of the earlier houses, the street gates of which marked the sites of the later entries to the alleys. At both Watling Court and Well Court gates of this type are recorded in the 13th century. At Well Court the part of the alley once known as George Yard may have originated as a passage, possibly a screens passage, within the structure of the house and directly in line with a gate in Bow Lane. Another part, first known as Well Yard, originated as the rear yard of the large house next door, where there was a well. As late as the time of the Great Fire, alleys such as these seem to have been private rather than public thoroughfares and were still gated off from the street. Nearer Cheapside, where the density of land usage was greater, alleys, providing access to dwellings or to retail establishments set back from the frontage, acquired a distinctive identity at an earlier date, although they are rarely described as 'alley' or 'entry' before the 16th century. The proliferation of alleys, as of streets in an earlier period, is a clear indication of the rapid growth of the City from the mid 16th century onwards.

These findings for the Cheapside area define a process of evolution in the form of streets and lanes which is probably applicable to the City as a whole.

Land units

Another important indicator of change in the size and density of the settlement is the subdivision and amalgamation of plots of land.

Documentary evidence provides a very clear indication of these processes from *c.* 1200 onwards, and can also suggest some possible earlier arrangements. Occasionally there is direct evidence of one of the earlier properties, but more often their existence is presumed from records of a single landlord's interest in a group of adjoining holdings. By this means, using 12th and 13th century records, it is possible to identify several blocks of land in the Cheapside area which may represent the sites of earlier properties (Fig 60). These large land units provide a possible context in which to set the physical remains from the area, although the remains themselves are too fragmentary to provide any clear indication of how the space within the plots was organized in the first instance. Moreover, simply to identify units of land ownership will not necessarily provide clues as to the arrangement and occupation of buildings which stood within them. Thus the distribution of pits in CP1 of the Watling Court site (Fig 3) suggests that there was a row of small houses along the Bow Lane frontage, while the earliest documentary evidence (from the later 13th century) indicates that that part of the frontage was a single property.

One of the most prominent of the presumed early property units (Fig 60) is represented by the church and cemetery of St Mary le Bow with adjoining houses.²¹ A similar block of property can be associated with the church of All Hallows Honey Lane.²² Both these blocks appear originally to have measured about 100ft (30.5m) against Cheapside and about 120ft (36.6m) in depth. Further east in Cheapside there is evidence that in the 12th century blocks of property were about 150ft (45.8m) in depth.²³ Both the Milk Street and the Well Court sites lay further back from Cheapside than this, and so would not have included buildings which were ever part of these postulated large properties, although there is a possibility that the alignment of some features on the Milk Street site was determined by that of Cheapside rather than Milk Street properties. There is some positive evidence, however, that the church of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street lay within and towards the rear boundary of one of the large Cheapside properties: both the land on which the church stood and the land to the south of the church at one time owed rent to Canterbury Cathedral Priory, which did not, however, have any interest in the land on the north side of the church.²⁴ Neither the archaeol-



Fig 60. Possible 11th-century territorial units in the Cheapside area.

logical nor the documentary record provides any clear picture of the early property layout immediately to the north of the church of St Mary Magdalen. By the end of the 12th century the pattern of land ownership around the nearby church of All Hallows appears to have been an exceptionally fragmented one, presumably because the area, which was readily accessible from Cheapside by means of the cemetery of All Hallows, had been divided into separate house plots. Some of the earliest records of the area reveal that Herbert of Antioch, owner of the land in Milk Street on the north side of the church of St Mary Magdalen, incorporated at least one of these small house plots in All Hallows parish into his holding.²⁵ Herbert's earlier holding may have measured up to 100ft (30.5m) along Milk Street, but this is by no means certain.

The early pattern of land ownership in Bow Lane in the neighbourhood of the Well Court site is a little clearer. The large, irregularly-shaped block of land within which the site lay did not become a single freehold until the mid-13th century, when three holdings there were acquired by William son of Richard (Fig 24). At some date before c. 1200 the northern part of this block appears to have been part of a larger property from which Canterbury Cathedral Priory received rent. This larger property²⁶ may have measured about 70ft (21.4m) against Bow Lane by about 150ft (45.8m) in depth. To the north, it probably adjoined one or more large properties fronting on to Cheapside, since its postulated northern boundary lined up with the southern edge of the block of property associated with the church of St Mary le Bow on the

opposite side of Bow Lane. At least one of the narrower properties which occupied the Cheapside frontage by *c.* 1200 extended south to adjoin the Canterbury property in Bow Lane (Fig 60).

Whatever the date at which these early units of land ownership were established, it seems clear that they were much smaller than one property which is recorded in the late 9th century on the waterfront near Queenhithe; if correctly identified, that property measured about 165ft by 330ft (50.3m by 100.7m), and there may have been others of similar size nearby.²⁷

One conclusion to emerge from all three sites is that neither the excavated buildings nor later topographical features, such as alleys and entries, provide reliable clues as to the size and arrangement of the properties of which they had formed part during the central and later Middle Ages. Given the fragmentary survival of the buildings, and the exceptionally complex pattern of land use in central urban areas, only documentary evidence, when it exists, can do this. There is an even greater degree of uncertainty when it comes to reconstructing, from both documentary and material evidence, the possible arrangement of property boundaries in the 12th century and earlier. The case of the Well Court property shows that even a well-recorded land holding of the mid or later 13th century, such as that of William son of Richard, will not necessarily provide a clue as to earlier arrangements. For this reason alone, we need to keep in mind the possibility that even the early blocks of land which have been identified in this discussion may themselves have been formed by amalgamating earlier, smaller holdings.

Patterns of building

The excavated structures, however, can be used as evidence for building patterns and, to a lesser extent, for building densities, even though we can rarely determine from this evidence alone how the structures and the plots of land which adjoined them may have been combined to form units of ownership or use. The material remains tell us far more than the documentary sources about the position and form of individual buildings.

The overall picture to have emerged from documentary study of the Cheapside area is that

between *c.* 1100 and *c.* 1300 plots of land were progressively subdivided and that the density of building increased. While this was going on some landlords could be acquiring properties to form new large freehold units, although these may have been no less densely built up than the smaller properties which preceded them. As part of this process new lanes and alleys were created, and houses and commercial buildings were erected on hitherto open land set back from the street. About 1320 this trend ceased. The demand for houses, building densities, and rental values then fell. In the 15th century several sites in Cheapside area which had once been densely built up became derelict, and were used as gardens or taken into the street. The documentary evidence for the decay of buildings in Milk Street, and for the fall in the intensity of settlement along the Bow Lane frontage of the Well Court site seems to accord with this wider picture. At some of the street frontage properties near Watling Court the process of subdivision continued through the 14th century and later. This was contrary to the general trend and may reflect a pattern of inheritance and changes in the status of the site rather than any more fundamental economic or demographic change. Overall, in this part of the City, there was no sustained renewal in the demand for property or any marked increase in the density of settlement until about 1550.²⁸

The archaeological evidence, heavily truncated by later building activity, adds little to this picture for the period after 1300. What can it tell us of the earlier period, in which the density of settlement was increasing? The most valuable contribution concerns the period before 1100, about which the written sources say little. At the Well Court site in Bow Lane there are some signs that during the 11th century the extent of building increased. The evidence concerning the early occupation of the Bow Lane frontage at the Watling Court site is less clear: certainly by the mid 11th century (Fig 3) there were buildings set back 20ft (6.1m) or more from the frontage, and by the end of the century there was a group of buildings occupying the zone which lay between 50 and 100ft (15.3–30.5m) back from the frontage, although whether the frontage itself was built up at this time remains uncertain (Fig 5). Both the Bow Lane sites seem to indicate that over the period *c.* 900–*c.* 1100 the overall density of building increased. The probable

emergence of Milk Street (to the north of the church of St Mary Magdalen) as a thoroughfare, or as a focus for settlement, during the first half of this period, suggests the widespread character of this development, and perhaps also a tendency for buildings to be attracted towards the street frontages. It is noteworthy in this connection that at the Watling Court site by the end of the 11th century buildings were occupying an area well back from the street, which in the immediately subsequent period was vacant or was used for rubbish pits (*cf* Fig 6). By the late 12th century, when archaeological traces of structures were again apparent, the houses on the site appear to have been ranged along street frontages, although evidence concerning the principal frontage, on Bow Lane, is lacking, and there were also buildings well back from this street. There was then a phase in which these structures were enlarged and building density increased. By the 1270s the land behind these buildings was occupied by the large house later known as *la Rouge Sale*, although only the yard or garden of that house, occupying land where there had been buildings *c.* 1100, seems to have been within the excavated area. It is possible that the overall building density which prevailed on the site *c.* 1100 was not very different from that apparent in *c.* 1200, and that between these two dates there was a radical change in the disposition of buildings in relation to the street frontages. This possible migration of buildings towards the frontages, if it occurred at all, would have taken place at a much later date than the apparently comparable development in relation to Milk Street, perhaps because the latter site was closer to Cheapside and subject earlier to the commercial forces which made building on the street frontage desirable.

At Well Court, building first took place, so far as we can tell, on the street frontage and then gradually came to occupy more land behind. In the 12th century a stone house was erected which extended some 60ft (18.3m) back from the frontage, and in the 13th century or later further stone buildings were erected behind that. Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell whether any of these buildings replaced earlier timber ones on the same site. The picture here seems consistent with a steady increase in the density of building from *c.* 900 to *c.* 1300. It is uncertain whether the contrast with the stages of development suggested for Watling Court reflects the

earlier and stronger influence of commercial activity, especially distributive trading, on the site (Well Court) which was nearer Cheapside, or more the incomplete character of the archaeological remains.

In Milk Street the pattern of building seems to have been established by *c.* 1100. There appear to have been very few houses set back from the street, unless they were ground level structures of which no trace has survived. After *c.* 1100 there was some infilling along the frontage, perhaps complete by *c.* 1300, although the degree to which those buildings replaced earlier ones, of which no trace was found, is again uncertain. Overall, in the period before 1300, it seems that the Milk Street area was less densely built up than Bow Lane. In this, the documentary evidence backs up the less conclusive evidence from the excavations. Bow Lane and other streets to the south of Cheapside were presumably more intensively settled than those to the north on account of the business generated by the movement of goods and people between the City's principal market in Cheapside and the river to the south.

Much more clearly evident is the steady increase in the stock of stone buildings in the Cheapside area. This took place between *c.* 1100 and the 14th century or later. The dating of the stone buildings which appear to have been erected in the 13th century or later is very uncertain, but it is possible that on the excavated sites no significant addition was made to their total or to their extent after *c.* 1300. These buildings, however, were repaired and remodelled on many subsequent occasions. They were a cumulative investment, intended to provide security both for people and for valuable and perishable goods, in a city periodically threatened by fire, riot and theft. They also expressed the standing of those who built and occupied them. They were remarkably long-lasting, and constantly reused, features of the City's topography, and in consequence continued to determine many elements in the pattern of streets, alleys, house plans, and property boundaries up to the time of the Great Fire and beyond.

Most of the excavated stone buildings were cellars, either wholly or partly underground, from the time of their first construction; others became so as a result of the rise in ground level. All but one of these buildings was sited next to the street, although the larger structures (of

which no complete plans were recorded) contained two or more cellared compartments extending back from the street, one behind another. Cellars in this position were perhaps intended to be used from the street itself, and may have contained openings or doorways next to the street through which goods could be passed.

Details of such arrangements were not found, because the street frontage walls had been extensively altered at a later date or were not available for investigation. The doorways which were identified in side or rear walls of the excavated cellars may have served as means of access for the user or occupier of the cellar from elsewhere within the house of which it formed part.

Documentary sources tell us a good deal about the cellars and stone houses in the Cheapside neighbourhood during the 12th and 13th centuries. Many of the most substantial stone buildings were concentrated near Cheapside itself. Their alignment in relation to the street is not always clear, but some of them were certainly parallel to Cheapside and adjacent to it. The stone house which in the late 12th century stood between the church of St Mary le Bow and Cheapside measured about 80ft (24.4m) in length along the street and 23ft (7.0m) in depth. When rebuilt in the late 13th century it included a fine vaulted undercroft and elaborate upper storeys.²⁹ Another building of similar proportions occupied the Cheapside frontage of a site which had been the house of the late 12th-century sheriff, William son of Alulf. During the 1220s, when it was described as a stone house with a great cellar below, this building probably measured about 95ft (29.0m) along the street and about 28ft (8.5m) in depth.³⁰ By the early 14th century, if not before, both these cellars were used as taverns, and in each case the entrance for barrels was in an end wall which adjoined a lane leading off Cheapside. Other cellars had entries in similar positions, and at least one other cellar ranged along the street and of comparable dimensions to these two is known from the records of the Cheapside area.³¹ These structures were much larger (so far as we can tell) than any of the excavated buildings described in this report. Their size and their position emphasise the commercial function of this type of building, which has not been found in the side streets off Cheapside. Their use as taverns, providing wine and other types of entertainment, also demon-

strates their association with commercial life. Both in London and in other towns there was a link between stone vaulted structures and the wine trade.³² Stone buildings in the side streets probably had more purely residential and storage functions.

A second type of Cheapside cellar appears to have been set at right angles to the street; it was perhaps characteristic of long, narrow corner plots, but may have occurred on other sites too.³³ Both types of cellar seem to have risen a little above the contemporary street surface and to have been lit by windows opening on to the street.

In the side streets off Cheapside the archaeological evidence suggests that stone buildings next to the street were commonly set at right angles to it, with doorways into a yard behind (*eg* Building 6 at Milk Street), but some apparent examples of this type are incomplete and could in fact have been ranged along the frontage (*eg* Building 8 and perhaps Building 11 at Well Court). It is noteworthy that while the documentary sources for the side streets mention cellars and stone buildings, they contain very little evidence for the size and position of structures. This contrasts with Cheapside itself, where the density of documentation provides a clearer picture. It is thus impossible, with the buildings described in this report, to make a direct comparison between the archaeological and the written record.

The written sources reveal another type of stone building, sited at the rear of Cheapside properties. Thus, in the 1220s, at the rear of William son of Alulf's former property, 100ft (30.5m) back from the street, was a stone building which probably measured about 25 by 30ft (9.2m). This structure included a cellar with two storeys above it, and had a great latrine pit (measuring 10ft 6in (3.2m) by almost 14ft (4.3m)) on its north side.³⁴ Buildings like this, set back from the bustle of the street, were perhaps intended to be mainly residential in character. This example certainly seems comparable in its siting to the 13th-century or later Building 12 on the Well Court site and to Building 12 at Watling Court, which is equally uncertainly dated. The two churches of All Hallows Honey Lane and St Mary Magdalen Milk Street occupied a similar position in relation to Cheapside. The former was a structure not radically different in size and plan from many of the secular stone buildings of the area (including the excavated Building 6 in

Milk Street), and the cellar below it was in lay ownership and was used for secular purposes.³⁵ In the narrow space between these two churches, and joined to the church of St Mary Magdalen, was a stone house which in 1204 was taken into the larger property to the north lying within the Milk Street excavation.³⁶ This raises the possibility that one or both of these churches may have been accommodated in a range of stone buildings of secular origin constructed at the back of Cheapside properties. In this respect, though not in their siting, they may have been comparable to the parish church of St Mary Colechurch, which from at least as early as the 13th century onwards occupied part of the upper storey in a range of stone buildings on the Cheapside frontage within the former house of William son of Alulf.³⁷ Parish church structures may thus provide clues as to the early layout and development of stone private houses in the City.

Other notable stone-built features of the Cheapside area recorded in the written sources were the long walls built at right angles to the street, which served to divide one property from another, and the walls at the back of the timber-built shops which lined the Cheapside frontage. The areas behind the shops were generally occupied by the establishments known as selds. These private bazaars often extended the full width of the space between the stone party walls. The purpose of these walls, reflected in the 13th-century London building regulations, was to contain fires in an area of very intensive commercial use, where much of the trading space seems to have had little natural light and where candles or lamps must have been commonly used.³⁸ Stone party walls, 20 yards or more in length with a variety of buildings erected against them, are also recorded as a feature of some properties in the side streets and have been observed in excavations,³⁹ but were not apparent on the excavated sites reported here. The Well Court excavations were not extensive enough to reveal them if they had existed, but on the other two sites, and in particular in Milk Street, it seems likely that the land was not used with sufficient intensity to justify investment in this form of building.

Despite its relative fullness in some respects, indicating, for example, a substantial investment in stone building during the 12th and 13th centuries, the excavations in the Cheapside area fail to tell us anything about some types of

building which were central to the life of that district during a period when London reached a peak in its development. We learn nothing, for example, about the buildings which housed distributive trade.⁴⁰ This is partly because constant rebuilding, especially on street frontages, has destroyed the evidence, but also because these buildings, representing one of the district's main contributions to the life and economy of the City, were generally of a relatively slight timber construction. Even if the stone walls supporting them had survived, they would probably have revealed little trace of the intensive use of the space between them.

The interaction of private building and property subdivision on the one hand with such newly-emerging public and semi-public spaces and buildings, alleys, cemeteries, and churches, on the other, caused a complex topographical pattern to emerge in the Cheapside area. This can be reconstructed in detail from the later 13th century onwards (Fig 59). At that time, the land near the Cheapside frontage, where there were no distorting factors such as entries to side streets, cemeteries or churches, was characterised by relatively long narrow plots with a width commonly of between 20 and 30ft (6.1–9.2m) towards the street. These plots seem to have been created by dividing wider ones, giving the new owners or tenants more or less equal shares of the valuable street frontage. This process was well advanced by 1200 (see Fig 60). Within these relatively large elements in the plan, there were many smaller units of occupation and ownership. The Cheapside frontage itself was occupied by shops, commonly measuring about 6ft (1.8m) in front by 10ft (3.1m) in depth. Continuous rows of these shops had emerged by 1200. Between the shops were entries into the larger sites behind. Immediately behind the shops were the selds, large, bazaar-like structures in which there were many traders occupying plots of ground on which stood stalls, chests, and other fixtures. Cellars (and taverns) extended beneath the shops and selds. The rooms above were used for domestic accommodation, but also for trading. At the rear of some of the plots, behind the selds, were larger residences.

In the side streets the pattern was similar, though less complex and less minutely subdivided. Shops on the street frontage were larger than in Cheapside and were probably used as much for the manufacturing and processing of goods as for

the more purely distributive trade which seems to have characterised the Cheapside shops. It seems, too, that the shops and the rooms on the floor above them more often constituted residential units for single families than was the case in Cheapside. The house plots behind the shops were wider than the Cheapside ones, and offered space for substantial residences. The extent of those house plots to the rear was influenced by several features, the most significant of which seems to have been the street towards which the property fronted.

The social and economic character of the area

The documentary records for each of the three sites, and, to a small extent the excavated remains, make a useful contribution to our understanding of the social and economic topography of the medieval City. Two principal factors can be identified as determining the overall pattern. The first was the commercial and social attraction of the street frontage. This was most powerful in Cheapside itself. This area was a storehouse of goods for the kingdom as a whole, and was the principal focus of the distributive trade through which much of the City's wealth was created. Cheapside was also the City's principal public arena. It was a setting for displays which expressed public authority or articulated social bonds. It was also a place for the interchange of information and ideas, not all of a commercial character. Here plots were most densely built up, and land values were highest. The second factor was the requirement of the wealthiest citizens for residences which were spacious and secluded. While they were active in business such men would need to live close to Cheapside or one of the City's other commercial nuclei, and so between the 13th century and the 17th, their houses were to be found in the side streets within a few minutes' walk of Cheapside itself. This principle applied as much to men who were primarily financiers as to those who were merchants more solely concerned with distributing commodities. Thus in their choice of residence, the 13th-century draper, William son of Richard, and the 15th-century mercer, John Stokton, both living on the Well Court site in Bow Lane, have much in common with the late

17th century scrivener and money-lender, Sir Robert Clayton, who had his dwelling in an exactly comparable position in Old Jewry.⁴¹ The desire of the resident in the side streets to maintain a presence in the market place is clear in their practice of maintaining shops or other retail outlets in Cheapside itself on sites which were entirely separate from those of the houses in which they lived.⁴² Other groups also gravitated towards the more sparsely settled parts of the area. These included the practitioners of certain manufacturing or processing trades, who did not require immediate and constant access to the main market place, and some whose activities—baking and metal-working—for example, were not appropriate to densely built-up locations, on account of the fire risk.

How were these principles, determined from the documentary study of the area as a whole, expressed in the three sites under consideration? Between the 13th and the mid 16th centuries each of the sites included the residences of some of the wealthiest and most important citizens of their generation. The consistency of this association is particularly notable in the case of the Well Court site, testimony to the relatively unchanging character of the social topography of the area as a whole, to the long-term influence of substantial investment in stone buildings during the 12th and 13th centuries, and probably also to the repute which certain sites and houses acquired by their association with residents of high status. While the excavations revealed the presence of some substantial stone buildings, the evidence of the material remains alone was not sufficient to identify their standing. Nor does it seem that the artefacts recovered from rubbish deposits on the sites indicated the social standing of the inhabitants. At both Well Court and Watling Court the large houses were set back behind rows of small houses or shops which occupied the street frontages. The picture for Milk Street is less clear, but may have been different. Certainly the lack of references to shops there, and the arrangement of the units of property holding, suggest that some of the large houses adjoined the street. Milk Street was presumably less attractive to artisan retailers, who tended to occupy the shops and small houses on the frontages, than the busier Bow Lane with its regular traffic between Cheapside and the river.

The large house inhabited by William son of

Richard, and *la Rouge Sale* on the Watling Court site, must have been among the more impressive merchant's houses in the City. Their buildings were probably comparable in quality with those of the contemporary late 13th century Gerard's Hall nearby, erected for the Gisors family.⁴³ *La Rouge Sale* included a private chapel, a rare feature for a merchant's house at this or any date and clearly an important indicator of wealth and status.⁴⁴ Yet these houses appear to have been cheap by comparison with establishments on the Cheapside frontage. In 1289 *la Rouge Sale* was let for £5 13s 4d a year rent, and in 1298 was sold for £133 6s 8d. At this time ten years' income was the normal purchase price for rent in the City, so that the annual rental value of the property may have been £13 6s 8d. This apparent sharp increase in value may reflect some investment in building on the site during the interval, but it is also possible that one or both of these transactions were associated with some other financial arrangement, so that they do not exactly reflect the market value of the property. In 1403–4 the house at the Well Court site which was probably equivalent to the one in which William son of Richard had lived was let for an annual sum of £8, possibly less than its rental value *c.* 1300. In spite of the difficulties of interpreting the values, the range within which they lay may be contrasted with the much larger annual rental of £24 or more which was received *c.* 1300 from the stone house on the Cheapside frontage next to the church of St Mary le Bow. This occupied a much less extensive site than either of the two houses in Bow Lane, although the site itself was entirely built over. The stone house had been largely rebuilt in the 1270s, under the direction of one of the leading masons of the time, and contained a tavern in the cellar, selds, and stalls on the ground floor, and a hall and lodgings above.⁴⁵ Low land values, as well as privacy and space, were important in determining the location of the houses of the rich. They could afford to place themselves at a little distance from the market place, while lesser men who probably depended more from their shop-keeping activities on a day to day basis found it necessary to maintain a continuous presence by living there.

The two houses in Bow Lane, however, were not the largest nor most expensive such establishments standing a short distance away from Cheapside. A large former Jewish house in

Ironmonger Lane, for example, was in 1304 purchased by an aristocratic owner for £233 6s 8d. The house in Milk Street inhabited by William Cantelow and his family in the later 15th century, and by their equally prominent successors in the 16th, was at least as large and as valuable as the Bow Lane houses. It was sold for £600 in 1580, perhaps equivalent to about £180 (or an annual rental of £18) in 1300. Subdivision of houses like these, at a time when the City was growing fast, could increase their value substantially. Thus **23B** at the Well Court site (see Fig 29) in 1637, when it contained five houses, was sold for £1,083, a sum perhaps equivalent to £235 (or an annual rental of £23 10s) in 1300. In 1525 the same property, at that time a single house, had been let for £6 13s 4d a year, equivalent to about £3 15s in 1300.⁴⁶ These values indicate some broad differences between properties and over time, but since many of the factors which influenced capital and rental values remain unknown, the comparisons should not be pushed too far.

Some of these houses had a distinct role within economic networks extending well beyond the immediate confines of the area. Bow Lane was probably one of the principal routes by which wine was brought to the Cheapside area from the riverside district known as Vintry where wine was unshipped. One of the holders of a part of the Well Court site in the 13th century is known to have dealt in wine, and later in the century a large house opposite, which included cellars, was occupied by a wealthy vintner.⁴⁷ These establishments, which were not described as taverns, were perhaps used as storage and distribution centres in a trade whose main retail outlet was in Cheapside. The Cheapside taverns were located within substantial and elaborate cellars which served as places of entertainment as well as for the storage of wine. There were several of them near the entry to Bow Lane, and another group towards the eastern end of Cheapside.

Most of the other inhabitants of the large houses on these sites were described as drapers or mercers. Their primary concern was presumably with the trade in woollen cloth and other textiles, although many of them may also have dealt in wine as well as in other commodities.⁴⁸ Early in the 13th century mercers formed a strong group in the neighbourhood of the church of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, and the association of the trade with the houses to the

north of the church persisted into the 16th century. After 1200, however, the main concentration of mercers' shops and residences was further east in Cheapside near Soper Lane and in Soper Lane itself. By 1300 the part of Cheapside near Milk Street and Honey Lane had come to be associated with the spice trade,⁴⁹ and several spicers or grocers occur as residents of the Milk Street site. Drapers had a long association with one of the Well Court houses. They belonged to a distinctive group of Bow Lane drapers, whose communal life focused on the church of St Mary le Bow and whose trading outlets lay between that church and Cheapside, and further along the street to the west. The drapers and mercers who lived on the Well Court site would have had ready access to their areas of commercial interest by the gates on the Bow Lane frontage and by the rear gate leading towards Soper Lane, respectively.

A distinctive group in Milk Street during the 13th century were the Jews, although it is not certain that they were residents as well as property holders. They may have been specially attracted by the stone houses of the locality, offering security for themselves and their possessions, but there were other parts of the Cheapside area where there were stone houses which were not associated with Jews. There is no evidence that the Jews themselves were responsible for building stone houses for the first time on these sites. Indeed, the reverse seems likely to have been the case. The Milk Street Jews, whose presence could not be inferred from the archaeological record, were part of a larger community of Jews in the streets to the north of Cheapside and extending eastwards to Old Jewry and beyond. In the 12th century Jews held some substantial properties on the Cheapside frontage near Ironmonger Lane and Old Jewry.⁵⁰ Later they were more prominent in the side streets than in Cheapside itself. This apparent withdrawal from the principal street may reflect a change in the social and commercial role of the Jews within the City, as well, perhaps, as the progressive impoverishment of the Jewish community. Their synagogues lay near Old Jewry and in what is now Gresham Street.⁵¹ This 13th-century distribution, close to but not in the principal commercial area, is similar to that of the Jews of Winchester.⁵² In both cities, as elsewhere, the Jews formed a topographically distinct community, but even at the heart of the

Jewry they did not predominate to the exclusion of Christians. Their apparent absence from the streets to the south of Cheapside is striking, and was perhaps because that area was associated with retailing, commodity dealing, manufacture, and the movement of goods up from the river, commercial activities in which Jews did not normally participate.

The Watling Court area seems to have been far enough from Cheapside to be an appropriate location for manufacturing activities, although this is only hinted at in the archaeological record. Henry le Waleys sold *la Rouge Sale* to a family of German armourers. At least one of the neighbouring houses was used for ironworking, and there are other indications that the Watling Street area in general may have been characterized by armourers' workshops.⁵³ One of the German armourers also held a shop at the east end of Cheapside,⁵⁴ which he presumably used for selling his products in a locality favoured, both then and later, by ironmongers, cutlers, spurriers, and other armourers. Two other trades using substantial plant associated with fire risk were characteristic of the Watling Court area. These were baking and brewing: the houses on the street frontages included at least one bakehouse and two brewhouses. Ironmongers as well as bakers occur as property holders in the area. Bread Street, defining the western edge of the Watling Court block, led directly down to Queenhithe. This was the principal focus of the City's river-borne grain trade, where the bakers of the Watling Court area may regularly have obtained their raw material. The earliest recorded occurrences of the name Bread Street suggest that this pattern of marketing and production was already established by the middle of the 12th century. This grouping of trades is similar to one in Ironmonger Lane, at a comparable distance from Cheapside. Here, between the 13th and the 15th century, there were brewhouses, a bakery, and a group of tradesmen casting bronze. Other men and women were engaged in making and selling textiles, clothing, girdles, purses and other personal items. Presumably the ale was sold in Cheapside taverns and alehouses, and by hucksters in the street, the bread was distributed by women with baskets in the Cheapside market, and many of the smaller bronze items were incorporated in the personal accoutrements available in the mercers' and girdlers' shops of Cheapside and Soper Lane.

This type of small-scale manufacturing and processing community was typical of the side streets leading off Cheapside from the 13th century onwards. Finds from Milk Street (CP3) suggest that this characteristic was at least on the way to being established by the mid 11th century.

Conclusion

The study of the houses on sites in the Cheapside area thus reveals the working of a complex economic and social system, in which goods and services produced locally played a prominent part, along with the major items of international trade. There was a high degree of occupational specialisation and of social stratification, with some of the wealthiest merchants in the land living in close proximity to relatively humble shopkeepers and craftsmen, and even a small number of the poor. The system had a clear spatial expression, which involved differentiation between street frontages and land set back from the street, between Cheapside and the side streets, and between the area to the north of Cheapside and that to the south. It also rested on the distinctive use of sites and buildings for residence, for distributive trade, and for the manufacture or processing of goods.

Documentary sources reveal that the system was highly developed by the early 13th century, hint that this was also the case in the 12th century, and demonstrate that a similar pattern of activity still prevailed in the area at the time of the Great Fire. They also enable us to characterise Cheapside as the principal focus of the City's commercial life during this period, and indeed also of its political and public life. From them, too, we can trace the increase in the density and complexity of settlement in the area during the 12th and 13th centuries, the diminished intensity of activity and the shift in the distribution of wealth and resources which characterised the 14th and 15th centuries, and the renewed growth of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The archaeological evidence, unfortunately, makes only a limited contribution to our knowledge of these developments. This is partly because of its fragmentary survival and because of the difficult conditions under which it is recorded. In a context suggested by a small quantity of written and topographical evidence,

it provides crucial information on the date and early form of elements in the City's street system. This in turn enables us to trace back to the late 9th or early 10th century the relationship between the principal central market place in the City (Cheapside) and the riverside trading zone, a relationship which was clearly a major force in determining the social and economic geography of the Cheapside area as it can be read from the 13th century onwards. The material evidence is thus perhaps most valuable for the way in which it enables us to extend the chronological range of our knowledge of systems whose operation can only be understood with the aid of non-archaeological sources.

The archaeological evidence also reveals the style of building in streets near Cheapside during the 10th and 11th centuries, along with a probable (but not certain) increase in the density and/or extent of building over that period. It may also show that there was in that period a difference in the social and functional character of sites to the north and to the south of Cheapside which is also apparent in later written records, but the quantity of material evidence upon which this suggestion is based is very small indeed. Most strikingly of all, the archaeology reveals the substantial building in stone which took place during the 12th and 13th centuries. The relationship of these new structures, however, to the ones they replaced and to the timber buildings which presumably surrounded them remains unclear. At no period, from the archaeological evidence alone, is it possible to tell how the fragments of buildings discovered were used in relation to one another or how they related to patterns of ownership or tenure. The positioning of pits and latrines may provide some indication of plot layouts, but this is far from certain. Indeed, where early documentation survives, it suggests a fluidity in the pattern of land use which is unlikely to be revealed by the scrappy archaeological evidence. The stone buildings, however, fit into a well-established context of urban and commercial growth during this period, in which London played a leading and increasingly important role. They indicate substantial wealth, which was perhaps increasingly unevenly distributed. Their first appearance, around the year 1100, is an important benchmark for our understanding of the City's development.

With the appearance of the stone buildings the archaeological evidence virtually ceases to inform

us of the character and development of the Cheapside area, with the minor exception of the light it occasionally throws on masonry technique. The buildings established a physical framework which remained relatively unchanged, but which in the form in which it has come down to us bears few signs of the complex and changing patterns of social and economic activity which took place within it. From the material remains alone we cannot determine the size of houses, where rich and poor lived, what (in almost all cases) their businesses were, or changes in the density of settlement after 1300.

The artefacts recovered from the sites, at least as described in this report, include some indication of craft activity, but no clear evidence of differing life styles, of the distribution of trades, or of changes in craft specialisation. This is a common experience with densely-settled, town centre sites from the 12th or 13th century onwards. It reflects the complex intermixture on the ground of rich and poor and of different craft specialists, the intermingling of their rubbish deposits, and the tendency, once stone buildings have been erected, for rubbish to be carried away from the area. But near Cheapside even the earlier deposits seem to have been too fragmentary to reveal social and economic distinctions. Perhaps only the occasional spectacular find, like the cache of Veneto-Syrian glass recently discovered in Foster Lane, is likely to have any identifiable social or occupational context.

The attempt to assess the significance of the material remains from the Cheapside area *c.* 900–1300 suggests some lessons for the future. More direct observations of early streets in the City are urgently needed. The evidence clearly exists. Timber buildings from the 10th and 11th centuries are relatively well understood as isolated structures, but we have little appreciation of their setting and their relationship to each other. Likewise, there is little clear stratigraphical evidence which would indicate the spread of building at successive periods. We are in a similar state of ignorance with regard to the stone buildings, of which we have remarkably few unambiguous plans. A major question, which might have been answerable had the available evidence not suffered from these deficiencies, concerns the progress of commercialisation and of social differentiation between the early 10th and the late 12th centuries. Was there a stage,

for example, when increasing business promoted a reorientation of buildings towards the street frontages? If this was the case, what was the social or economic focus of buildings on the sites before this came about? At what date before the 13th century did there emerge substantial mercantile residences to the rear of plots behind the smaller houses on the frontages? Was there a stage at which such houses occupied street frontages, only to be forced out later by the rising value of such commercially desirable sites? The archaeological evidence ought to be able to provide us with more firm guidance than it has so far on broad issues such as these. But perhaps we should not expect it routinely (or even ever) to provide the insights into complex social structures, and into demographic and economic changes after 1200, which can be derived from the written record.

For the Cheapside area of medieval London then, archaeological evidence of high quality, intelligently observed and clearly described, is still very much in short supply.

NOTES TO PART 4

¹ Some recent writing on the early development of London's street system, based on unfounded speculation and some misinterpretation of the evidence, has confused rather than clarified the picture: Tatton-Brown 1986.

² Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 97–8.

³ *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/17–19; cf Ekwall 1954, 79–80.

⁴ Ekwall 1954, 182.

⁵ Ekwall 1954, 72; *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/0. *Lafullestrete*, used to denote the church later known as All Hallows Bread Street, may be a reference to Watling Street, for the church stood at the corner of the two streets.

⁶ Dyson and Schofield 1984, esp 296–302.

⁷ Horsman *et al* 1988, 26–8.

⁸ John Leake's 'exact surveigh' of 1666 engraved by Hollar in 1667, and Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676.

⁹ Watling Street is first recorded in documentary sources in the early 13th century as 'Atheling Street' (Ekwall 1954, 81–2), but possibly in the 12th century known by another name (see note 5 above).

¹⁰ Tatton-Brown 1986.

¹¹ *Historical Gazetteer*, 145/1, 5, 9, 11–13.

¹² Cf Keene 1985b, 51.

¹³ *Historical Gazetteer*, 95/0.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 11/0.

¹⁵ *Early Charters*, nos. 214, 217; *Archaeologia* 50 (1896–7), 277.

- ¹⁶ Ekwall 1954, 115; cf *Historical Gazetteer*, 95/0, 13–15.
- ¹⁷ Horsman *et al* 1988, 112.
- ¹⁸ This seems a more likely reading of the origin of this part of Eastcheap than that in Horsman *et al* 1988, 112.
- ¹⁹ *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/0, 25–7.
- ²⁰ *Ibid*, 105/25; *Eyre* 1244, 349–53.
- ²¹ *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/0.
- ²² *Ibid*, 11/0.
- ²³ *Ibid*, 105/18.
- ²⁴ *Early charters*, nos. 21, 4, 217; Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Register K, f.67.
- ²⁵ *Historical Gazetteer*, 11/0, 4.
- ²⁶ Comprising the north part of 104/23 and the south part of 104/24 in the *Historical Gazetteer*.
- ²⁷ Dyson 1978.
- ²⁸ *Historical Gazetteer*, *passim*; Keene 1984, 1985a
- ²⁹ *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/20.
- ³⁰ *Ibid*, 105/19.
- ³¹ *Ibid*, 105/13–15, 22–4.
- ³² Cf Keene 1985b, 165–7.
- ³³ Cf *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/37–41, 95/16–18.
- ³⁴ *Ibid*, 105/19.
- ³⁵ *Ibid*, 11/0.
- ³⁶ *Ibid*, 11/4.
- ³⁷ *Ibid*, 105/0.
- ³⁸ For the background to these regulations *Assize of Nuisance*, ix–xi. Cf *Historical Gazetteer*, 145/8.
- ³⁹ *Historical Gazetteer*, 145/14–15.
- ⁴⁰ But see Keene 1990, 29–46.
- ⁴¹ For Clayton's house, see Ogilby and Morgan; cf Melton 1986, 68.
- ⁴² *Historical Gazetteer*, *passim*.
- ⁴³ For Gerrard's Hall, see Kingsford 1916, 126–8; Schofield 1984, fig 60.
- ⁴⁴ The house still had a chapel in the 15th century. A wealthy mercer's house in Milk Street contained a chapel in 1541; another mercer's house in Ironmonger Lane had a chapel at about the same time, and an aristocratic establishment in Ironmonger Lane had a chapel during the 14th and 15th centuries (*Historical Gazetteer* 95/8–12, 13–15), but these are the only private chapels known in the Cheapside area. For private chapels in a medieval town, see Keene 1985b, 111.
- ⁴⁵ *Historical Gazetteer*, 95/8–12, 104/22–3. Values have been deflated according to a wage rate scale.
- ⁴⁶ *Historical Gazetteer*, 104/6.
- ⁴⁷ See the lists of sellers of cloth and wine in *Eyre* 1276, 292, 294.
- ⁴⁸ *Historical Gazetteer*, 11/1, 2, 6, 7.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 95/8–12, 13–15, 105/13–15, 22.

⁵⁰ Richardson 1960, 237–41. The author's topographical interpretation is misleading; see *Historical Gazetteer*, 105/22.

⁵¹ Keene 1985b.

⁵² *Assize of Nuisance*, 617.

⁵³ *Historical Gazetteer*, 105/9E.

APPENDIX 1: PHASING TABLES AND PIT INFORMATION

John Schofield, Patrick Allen and Alan Vince

These tables show how the buildings and pits from each site are grouped on ceramic grounds, modified in certain cases by stratigraphic evidence, into Ceramic Phases. The comment 'cesspit' indicates a site director's interpretation; details of parasites are taken from Appendix 4; the finds dating from Appendix 2.

Information about buildings is set out in four columns: building phase, intrinsic dating, stratigraphic position, considered CP date. Pits are similarly tabulated in five columns: the pit number, the cut number (to enable detailed enquiry of the archive), CP, stratigraphic 'after' and 'before' positions, and comment.

Pits are shown in one of two ways on the siteplans in the main text. Those dated with confidence to individual Ceramic Phases are shown in black outline; and a further group of possible pits, which changes with each Phase, comprising (a) pits probably of that phase but contaminated by later material, (b) pits with broad date ranges which include the present Phase (eg 1–6) are shown in colour.

The pits which cannot be dated at all are not shown on the individual phase plans, but on the plans of pits for each of the two major sites in their respective archive reports, held in the Museum of London.

Conventions used:

+ = contaminated

1–3 Ceramic Phases (CP) 1–3

nd not dated

nep no contemporary pottery from this feature; phased on stratigraphic position only

WATLING COURT

Ceramic Phase 1 (850–1020) (Fig 3)

Building 4

Phase	Dating	Stratigraphy	CP date
construction, use	no intrinsic dating	cut Roman, Pit 24	CP1 or 2

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
3	1041	1	truncated Roman	Pit 4	
8	1131	1	truncated Roman	Building 10?	
9	1157	1	truncated Roman	Pits 11, 44	cesspit with parasites; ncp
10	1105	1	truncated Roman	Pit 11	ncp
11	1104	1	Pits 9, 10	Pit 15	cesspit
12	1191	1	truncated Roman	Pit 14	ncp; cesspit with parasites
13	1263	1	truncated Roman	Pits 14, 45	suspected contamination
14	1246	1	Pits 12, 13	Pit 15	cesspit
16	211	1	truncated Roman	Pit 17	ncp; cesspit
17	140	1	Pit 16		
18	139	1	truncated Roman		suspected contamination
20	2121	1	truncated Roman		
23	2146	1	truncated Roman		cesspit
26	2694	1	truncated Roman		
32	2724	1	truncated Roman	Pit 69	
33	2722	1	truncated Roman		
36	2687	1	truncated Roman	Pit 37	
37	2683	1	Pit 36		cesspit?
38	2651	1	truncated Roman	Pits 39, 64	
15	1168	1+	Pit 11	Building 10	cesspit
24	1644	1–3	truncated Roman	Building 4	ncp; cesspit
73	3989	1–3	unexcavated pits	Pits 74, 75	ncp
75	3990	1–3	Pit 73	Pit 76	ncp
6	1247	1–4	truncated Roman	Pit 43	
74	3846	1–4	Pit 73	Pit 79	ncp
78	3978	1–4	dark earth	Pit 79	ncp
7	1098	1–5	truncated Roman	Pit 41	
19	237	1–5	truncated Roman	Pit 60	
100	4323	1–5	unexcavated	Pit 121	ncp
101	4324	1–5	unexcavated	Pit 121	ncp
21	2225	1–6	truncated Roman		
39	2620	1–6	Pit 38	Pit 113	parasites
4	1038	1–7	Pit 3	Building 10?	

No pits are dated solely to CP2 (1000–1030); but Building 4 may have been constructed in this phase.

Ceramic Phase 3 (1020–1050) (Fig 4)

Building 4

Phase	Dating	Stratigraphy	CP date
disuse	3	after Pit 24 (CP1–3) before Pit 151 (CP7+)	CP3

Ceramic Phase 3 (continued)*Pits*

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
31	2677	3	truncated Roman		
42	1058	3	truncated Roman	Building 10?	
45	1244	3	Pit 13	Pit 46	
55	174	3	truncated Roman		
56	212	3	truncated Roman	Pit 57	cesspit
57	176	3	Pit 56		
70	2607	3	truncated Roman		
76	4074	3	Pit 75	Pit 77	
107	5165	3	unexcavated		watching brief
77	3869	3-4	Pit 76	Pit 79	nep

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050-1100) (Fig 5)*Building 1*

Phase	Dating	Stratigraphy	CP date
construction disuse	2	after Pit 35 (CP4) before Building 2 (CP4)	CP4 CP4 (dating evidence probably residual)

Building 2

Phase	Dating	Stratigraphy	CP date
construction & use disuse	4 4	after Building 1 CP4 before Pit 67 (CP4) sealed by Levelling 1 (CP4)	CP4 CP4

Building 3

Phase	Dating	Stratigraphy	CP date
construction & use disuse	4	after truncated Roman before Pit 47 (CP4) before Pit 51 (CP4) before Pits 53, 80 (not dated) and Levelling 1 (CP4)	CP4 CP4

Building 5

Phase	Dating	Stratigraphy	CP date
construction & use disuse Levelling 1	4	cut dark earth sealed by Levelling 1 (CP4) sealed Buildings 2, 3, 5 and dark earth; sealed by Levelling 2 and Pit 96 (CP5).	?CP2-4 CP4

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
35	2979	4	truncated Roman	Building 1	
40	1054	4	truncated Roman	Building 10?	cesspit (no parasites in sample)
43	1142	4	Pit 6	Building 6	wattle-lined; has parasites

Ceramic Phase 4 (continued)

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
46	1278	4	Pit 45	Building 10	staves, possible well
47	914	4	Building 3	Pit 48	possible robbing of S end of Building 3
51	3496	4	Building 3	Pit 52	
52	705	4	Pit 51		
61	2182	4	truncated Roman		cesspit (no parasites in sample)
62	2204	4	truncated Roman	Pit 152	cesspit with parasites
63	2164	4	truncated Roman	Pit 152	cesspit (no parasites in sample)
65	2587	4	truncated Roman	resp by Building 2	wattle-lined; has parasites
67	2533	4	Building 2	Pit 68	
68	2978	4	Pit 67		
69	2526	4	Pit 32, ?Building 1		cesspit
79	3977	4	Pits 77, 78	Pit 82	cesspit
80	3975	4	dark earth, Bdg 3	Pits 81, 89	ncp
81	3970	4	Pit 80	Pit 82	ncp
82	3971	4	Pits 79, 81	Pit 83	ncp; cesspit
83	3972	4	Pit 82	Pit 84	ncp
84	3969	4	Pit 83	Pits 85, 87	ncp; cesspit
85	3973	4	Pit 84	Pit 86	ncp
86	3974	4	Pit 85	Pits 94, 127	ncp
87	3968	4	Pit 84	Pit 88	ncp
88	3967	4	Pit 87	Pit 92	ncp
89	3966	4	Pit 80	Pit 90	ncp; cesspit
90	4570	4	Pit 89	Pit 91	ncp
91	4060	4	Pit 90	Pit 92	ncp
92	3965	4	Pits 88, 91	Pit 93	ncp
93	4061	4	Pit 91	Pit 94	cesspit
53	510	4+	Building 3		ncp
66	2860	4+	Building 2		ncp
94	3948	4-5	Pits 86, 93	Pit 95	ncp; cesspit

Pit 47 cut Building 3, dating its destruction to CP4.

Pit 65 was respected by Building 2; but Pit 67 cut Building 2, indicating its destruction.

Ceramic Phase 5 (1100-1150) (Fig 6)

Levelling 2	5	Sealed Levelling 1 and Building 2; sealed by Levelling 3 and Pit 99 (CP5)
Levelling 3	5	Sealed Levelling 2; sealed by Levelling 4, Pits 71, 98 (CP5), and Pit 71 (CP5)
Levelling 4	5	Sealed Levelling 3 and Pit 99 (CP5); cut by Pits 115 (CP6), 117-9 (CP6), 122 (CP5), 128 (CP7), 156 (CP8), 160 (nd)

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
41	1057	5	Pit 7	Building 10?	
44	1102	5	Pit 9	Building 6	wattle-lined
48	582	5	Pit 47	Building 6	cesspit with parasites
54	141	5	truncated Roman		
59	213	5	truncated Roman		wattle-lined
60	224	5	Pit 19		timber-lined well (+ parasites)
64	2648	5	Pit 38		
71	4204	5	Levelling 3	Pit 72	suspected contamination
72	3568	5	Pit 71		suspected contamination
95	3532	5	Pit 94	Pit 126	cesspit with parasites

Ceramic Phase 5 (*continued*)*Pits*

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
96	4277	5	Levelling 1	Pit 97	
97	3949	5	Pit 96		
98	4287	5	Levelling 3	Pit 123	
99	4172	5	Levelling 2	Levelling 4	cesspit with parasites; ncp
121	3891	5	Levelling 4, Pits 100-1		cesspit (no parasites in sample)
122	4104	5	Levelling 4, Pit 123		cesspit (no parasites in sample)
125	4222	5	Pit 124		
124	4046	5-6	Levelling 4, Pit 121	Pits 125, 126	continuous with Pit 123; cesspit
126	4045	5-6	Pits 95, 123, 124		parasites
123	4437	5-7	Pits 98, 122	Pit 126	continuous with Pit 124; cesspit

Building 6, listed under CP6 below, is of CP5 date or later, and could have been constructed in CP5.

Ceramic Phase 6 (1150-1180) (Fig 7)

Buildings 6-9 are mentioned here, but are of broad date, CP5-7, on their foundation technique

Building 6

Phase	Stratigraphy	CP date
construction + use	after Pit 43 (CP4) after Pit 44 (CP5) after Pit 48 (CP5)	CP5-7, poss CP5
modification	by Building 10 (nd) by Building 11 (nd) by Pit 149 (CP9)	before CP9

Building 7 cut from Levelling 4 or higher (CP5 or later); cut by Building 12

Building 8 no relationships (watching brief)

Building 9 no relationships (watching brief)

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
110	2203	6	Building 3	Pit 153	wattle-lined with parasites
113	2621	6	Pit 39		wattle-lined
114	3991	6	Pits 71, 79	Pit 115	cesspit with parasites
115	3992	6	Levelling 4, Pit 114	Pit 116	
118	4200	6	Levelling 4	Pit 120	
119	4248	6	Levelling 4	Pit 120	
127	3726	6	Pits 79, 86		cesspit
148	57	6	truncated Roman		not illustrated
116	3547	6+	Pit 115		placed on stratigraphy
117	3612	6+	Levelling 4		

Ceramic Phases 7–21 (1180–1740) (Figs 8, 12)

Buildings 10–13 have no intrinsic dating apart from constructional details (see text); their significant stratigraphic relationships are as follows:

Building 10 cut *Building 6* (CP5–7)

Building 11 cut *Building 6* (CP5–7), respected *Building 10*

Building 12 rebuild of *Building 7* (CP5–7); cut by Pits 157, 159 (both nd)

Building 13 rebuilding of *Building 12*; ?after Great Fire of 1666

For fragmentary foundations of the post-medieval (possibly post-Fire) period, see the archive report

Individually datable pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
108	1059	7	truncated Roman	Building 10?	
128	4090	7	Levelling 4		cesspit
156	4078	8+	Levelling 4		stone-lined soakaway
109	2105	9	Building 3	Pit 153	
111	2212	9	truncated Roman		barrel cesspit with parasites
120	4071	9	Pits 118, 119		has parasites
129	975	9	dark earth		
149	511	9	Building 6		stone-lined well (CP9 pottery in lining)
155	477	9			stone-lined
153	2085	9+	Pits 109, 110		stone-lined
112	2227	9+	truncated Roman		
152	2062	10+	Pits 62, 63	phase 2 CP15	samples tested: no parasites
173	1686	15+	truncated Roman	Pit 174	stone & brick-lined
150	1035	17	Building 10		
175	1687	17		backfilled CP19	brick-lined
182	3566	17+			?base of brick cesspit
172	1688	19	Pit 151	in use CP19–21	brick-lined
174	1617	19	Pit 173		brick-lined
176	2604	19			brick-lined
185	3306	19	Pit 162		relining of P162
184	3239	29			cesspit on watching brief
177	2605	21	Pit 176		brick-lined rebuild of Pit 176
The following pits are assigned to CP7+ on constructional or stratigraphic grounds: some are medieval by relationship to others in the above dated group:					
151	1797	–19	truncated Roman	Pit 172	stone-lined
154	981	nd			stone-lined well
157	4410	nd	Building 13		stone-lined
158	3993	nd	Pit 157	Pit 183	brick-lined, in B13
159	4118	nd	Building 12	Building 13	
160	3659	nd	Building 12		?robbing of B12
161	4006	nd	Levelling 4		
162	3308	nd	Pit 130	Pit 185	stone-lined
163	5077	nd	Building 8 robber?		
164	3317	nd			stone-lined
165	3152	nd			stone-lined well
166	1011	nd			brick-lined
167	1015	nd	Building 6		brick-lined
168	1013	nd	Pit 167		brick-lined
169	89	nd		Pit 170	brick-lined drain
170	88	nd	Pit 169		brick-lined well
171	2001	nd	truncated Roman		
178	3132	nd			
179	—	nd			
180	3661	nd			brick-lined (large 19th-century finds group in destruction backfill)
181	3616	nd			brick-lined
183	3932	nd	Building 13, Pit 158	Building 14	
186	5072	nd	Pit 163		
187	5188	nd			

Ceramic Phase 7-21 (continued)*Undated pits* (not illustrated)

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
1	1801	nd	truncated Roman		
2	1800	nd	truncated Roman		
5	1276	nd	truncated Roman	Building 10?	cesspit with parasites
22	2089	nd	truncated Roman		
25	1798	nd	truncated Roman	Pit 151	
27	2692	nd	truncated Roman		
28	2622	nd	truncated Roman	Pit 29	
29	2657	nd	Pit 28	Pit 30	
30	2658	nd	Pit 29		
34	2549	nd	truncated Roman		
49	903	nd	truncated Roman	Building 6?	
50	555	nd	truncated Roman	Building 6?	
58	238	nd	truncated Roman		
102	4506	nd	dark earth		
103	5070	nd		Building 8	
104	5032	nd	truncated Roman	Building 8	
105	1945	nd	truncated Roman		
106	2473	nd			
130	3363	nd	truncated Roman	Pit 162	
131	5041	nd	truncated Roman	Pit 132	
132	5039	nd	Pit 131		
133	388	nd	truncated Roman		
134	441	nd	truncated Roman		
135	421	nd	truncated Roman		
136	3247	nd	truncated Roman		
137	5244	nd	truncated Roman		
138	5084	nd	truncated Roman	Pit 139	
139	5000	nd	Pit 138		
140	5031	nd	truncated Roman		
141	5082	nd			
142	5243	nd	truncated Roman		
143	5232	nd	truncated Roman	Building 12	
144	3156	nd	truncated Roman		
145	5210	nd			
146	5195	nd	truncated Roman		
147	3402	nd			

WELL COURT**Ceramic Phase 1** (850-1020) (Fig 17a)*Building 1* no intrinsic dating material; after truncated Roman; before Building 8 & (by implication) Street 1*Building 2* no intrinsic dating material; after Street 2; before Buildings 3, 4*Street 1* no intrinsic dating material; after dark earth & (by implication) Building 1; before Street 2*Street 2* no intrinsic dating material; after Street 1; before Building 2*Pits*

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
11	89	1	Roman	Building 8

Pits of broad date

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
8	196	1-5	dark earth	Building 8
12	469	1-5	truncated Roman	Building 8

Ceramic Phases 2–3 (1000–1050) (Fig 17b)

Buildings 3 & 4 use CP2–3 (on stratigraphy); disuse CP3; before Building 5 (CP4)

Street 3 no intrinsic dating material; after Buildings 3 & 4 constructed; before Building 6 (CP4)

Building 7 construction and use not dated; disuse CP2–3; after dark earth; before Building 8 (?CP5–7)

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100) (Figs 18a–b)

Building 3 disuse CP4

Building 5 construction CP4; use & disuse CP4 on stratigraphy; after Buildings 3 & 4; before Building 6 (CP4)

Building 6 construction & use CP4 on stratigraphy; disuse CP4; after Building 5 (CP4), Street 3 (probably CP4); before Pits 1, 6, 7 (CP4–5)

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
9	332	4	dark earth	Pit 10
1	1265	4–5	Building 6	Pit 2
7	1518	4–5	Building 6?	Building 8
10	87	4–5	Pit 9	Building 8
6	1013	4+	Building 6	modern

Ceramic Phases 5–7 (1100–1240) (Fig 19a)

Building 8 construction & use not dated; disuse CP5+ (could be residual); after Buildings 6 (CP4), 7 (CP2–3); after Pits 7, 10, 11, 12 (CP4); before Pit 13 (undated)

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
2	1199	5+	Pit 1	Pit 3
3	1017	5+	Pit 2	Pit 4
4	1016	5+	Pit 3	Pit 5
5	2162	5+	Pit 4	modern

Ceramic Phases 8–11 (1240–1400) (Fig 19b)

Building 9 dated on construction method; after Pit 13

Building 10 dated on construction method; after Roman; before Building 11

Building 11 dated on construction method; after Building 10

Building 12 dated on construction method; after dark earth

Undated pits

13 nd

14 nd; respected Building 14; cesspit?

MILK STREET**Ceramic Phase 1** (850–1020) (Fig 30)

Building 1

Phase	Dating	Stratigraphy	CP date
1	construction and use	sealed within dark earth	1
2	use		1

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
17	40	1	truncated Roman	Pit 18	
23	143	1	truncated Roman	Pit 57	
28	272	1	truncated Roman	Pit 29	

Ceramic Phase 1 (*continued*)*Pits*

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
29	270	1	Pit 28	Pit 30	
42	1397	1	within dark earth	Pit 45	
44	1192	1	within dark earth		nep
45	1344	1	dark earth		after 914, dendrochronology
57	1085	1	dark earth, Pit 23	Pits 26, 60	
92	2712	1	truncated Roman	Pit 93	
93	2116	1	Pit 92	Building 6	
8	32	1-2	truncated Roman	Pits 6, 9, 10	nep
82	—	1-4	dark earth	Pits 83, 86	nep
87	2031	1-4	dark earth	Pit 88	nep
90	2223	1-5	truncated Roman	Pit 91	
97	2574	1-5	dark earth	Pits 98, 99	
99	2575	1-5	Pit 97	Building 6	
103	—	1-5	dark earth	Pit 105	cesspit
104	2489	1-5	dark earth	Pit 105	
105	2487	1-5	Pits 103, 104	Building 6	cesspit
106	2132	1-5	truncated Roman	Building 6	
24	298	1-6	truncated Roman	Pits 25, 26	nep
25	296	1-6	Pit 24		
26	300	1-6	Pits 24, 57	Pit 27	nep
49	1408	1-6	dark earth	Pit 54	nep
75	1264	1-6	dark earth	Pit 77	
76	1351	1-6	dark earth	Pit 77	
77	1350	1-6	Pits 75, 76	Pit 81	
78	1230	1-6	dark earth	Pits 79, 80	nep
79	1229	1-6	Pits 78	Pit 80	nep
98	2573	1-6	Pits 97	Pit 100	

Ceramic Phase 2 (1000-1020) (Fig 32)*Building 1*

Phase	CP	Date
3	use	2
4	use and disuse	2 before Pits 31, 41 and Building 2

Building 2 use and disuse after Building 1, therefore CP2 +

Building 3 use and disuse not dated; could be CP1 or CP2

Building 4 phase 1-2 use and disuse; CP2; after dark earth, before Building 5

Building 5 construction and use; CP2; after Building 4, before Pit 2 (CP4)

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
10	30	2	Pit 8	Pit 11	
12	36	2	truncated Roman	Pit 13	contents: shoes, silk, shingle
18	51	2	Pit 17		
19	38	2	truncated Roman		
43	1088	2	within dark earth		
58	1139	2	dark earth	Pit 59	
13	44	2+	Pit 12		
46	—	2+	dark earth		

Ceramic Phase 3 (1020–1050) (Fig 33)

Building 5 possibly retained in this phase

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
1	150	3	dark earth	Pit 2
20	55	3	truncated Roman	Pit 21
21	42	3	Pit 20	
31	3102	3	Building 1	Pit 32
32	3064	3	Pit 31	dark earth
101	2002	3	dark earth	dark earth

CP₃ marks the disuse of Building 1; Pits 32 and 101 are filled with or covered by dark earth (possibly redeposited).

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100) (Fig 34)

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
2	204	4	Pit 1		contaminated
6	34	4	Pit 8	Pit 7	cesspit, contaminated
7	47	4	Pit 6		plank lining; well, then cesspit
11	28	4	Pit 10		
14	63	4	truncated Roman	Pit 15	
15	84	4	Pit 14		
22	256	4	truncated Roman		
30	269	4	Pit 29		
33	3239	4	dark earth	Pit 35	
34	3235	4	dark earth	Pit 35	
35	3229	4	Pits 33, 34	Pit 36	
36	3176	4	Pit 35	Pit 37	
38	3101	4	dark earth	Pits 39, 40	
40	3057	4	Pit 38		
41	3153	4	Building 1	Pit 116	coin of William I
47	1141	4	dark earth	Pit 48	
50	—	4	dark earth	Pit 54	
51	1150	4	dark earth	Pits 52, 53, 55, 61	
52	1014	4	Pit 51	Pit 54	
53	1122	4	Pit 51	Pit 54	wattle lining
55	1077	4	Pit 51	Pit 56	coin of Cnut
59	1087	4	Pit 58	Pits 60, 64	
60	1086	4	Pits 57, 59	Pit 61	
61	1023	4	Pits 51, 60	Pit 62	
64	1096	4	Pit 59		
84	2272	4	dark earth	Pit 86	plank lining
86	2070	4	Pits 82, 84	Building 6	
88	2042	4	Pit 87	Pit 89	
89	2009	4	Pit 88		wattle lining
94	2035	4	truncated Roman	Pits 95, 96	
95	2437	4	Pit 94	Building 6	
96	2463	4	Pit 94	Building 6	
4	140	4–5	dark earth	Pit 5	
27	104	4–6	Pit 26		
80	1146	4–6	Pit 78	Pit 81	plank lining + floor?

Ceramic Phase 5 (1100–1150) (Fig 35)*Building 6* construction and use; CP₅*Buildings 7 and 8*: construction dated by foundation character to CP₅–7 (early 12th century–early/mid 13th century)*Pits*

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
39	3055	5	Pit 38		
56	1033	5	Pit 55	Pit 117	
91	2007	5	Pit 90	Building 6	
85	2026	5+	Pit 83		nep
37	3205	5–6	Pit 36		
81	1151	5–6	Pits 79, 80		wattle lining
83	2067	5–6	Pit 82	Pit 85	

Ceramic Phase 6 (1150–1180) (Fig 37)*Pits*

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
5	222	6	Pit 4		use as hearth
48	1050	6	Pit 47	Pit 117	wattle and beams
54	1083	6	Pits 49, 50, 52, 53	Pit 117	wattle lining and slag (1015)

Ceramic Phase 7 (1180–1240) and later (Figs 37, 40)*Pits*

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
62	1021	7	Pit 61		
116	3022	8	Pit 41	stone-lined cesspit	
117	1009	11	Pits 48, 54, 56	stone-lined cesspit	

Pits and wells probably of CP₈–11 and later (13th–17th centuries)

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	Comment
114	3028	16–17	backf 18thc	stone-lined well
115	4130	nd		stone-lined well
118	4301	nd		stone-lined cesspit
119	4166	nd		stone-lined cesspit
120	2994	nd		stone-lined cesspit
121	4314	nd		stone-lined cesspit (not ill)
122	4248	nd		brick-lined well (not ill)
123	2052	20–22 and 19thc		brick-lined cesspit

For *Buildings 9–19*, see main text.*Undated pits*

No.	Cut	Stratigraphy		Comment
		After	Before	
3	160	dark earth		
9	57	Pit 8		
16	94	truncated Roman		wattle-lined
25	296	Pit 24		
63	—	dark earth	Pit 65	

Ceramic Phase 7 (continued)*Undated pits*

No.	Cut	Stratigraphy		Comment
		After	Before	
65	—	Pit 63	Pit 68	
66	—	truncated Roman	Pit 67	
67	—	Pit 66	Pit 68	
68	—	Pits 65, 67	Pit 70	plank lining
69	—	dark earth	Pit 70	
70	—	Pits 68, 69		plank lining
71	—	dark earth	Pit 73	
72	—	truncated Roman	Pits 73, 74	
73	3036	Pits 71, 72	Pit 74	
74	—	Pit 73		
100	2576	Pit 98		cesspit
102	2883	dark earth	Building 12	cesspit
107	4188			watching brief
108	4180			watching brief
109	4053			watching brief
110	4317			watching brief
111	1352	Roman	dark earth	watching brief
112	1243	Roman	dark earth	watching brief
113	225			well

IRONMONGER LANE**Ceramic Phase 1** (850–1020) (Fig 48a)*Building 1* construction & use; CP1 date; after Roman street; before Building 2*Building 2* construction & use; CP1 date; after Building 1 use*Pits*

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
			After	Before	
1	277	1–2	truncated Roman	Pit 2	nep

Ceramic Phase 2 (1000–1020) (Figs 48a–b)*Building 1* disuse; CP2 date; before Pit 12 (CP2), Building 3 (CP3)*Building 2* disuse; CP2 date; before Building 3 (CP3), Pit 8 (CP4)*Levelling*

Levelling 1 (III.12); CP1 pot, phased in CP2 on stratigraphy; after Pits 3, 4 (CP2); before Pits 7, 13 (CP2); before Gully 1 (CP3)

Levelling 2 (V.4); CP2 date; after Pit 13 (CP2)

Robber Trenches

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
1	185	2	R street, Dk earth	Pits 6, 12
2	333	2?	R street, Dk earth	Pits 2, 4, 16, 17

Robber Trench 2 not dated, but phased on its spatial relationships with Robber Trench 1.

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
2	273	2	Robber Tr 2, P1	Pit 3
3	240	2	Pit 2	Levelling 1
4	241	2	Robber Tr 2	Levelling 1

Ceramic Phase 2 (*continued*)*Pits*

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
12	429	2	Bdg 1, Robber Tr 2	Pit 13
13	406	2	Pit 12	Levelling 2
14	235	2	within Levelling 2	levelling 3
5	193	2-3	Robber Trench 1	Pit 6
6	178	2-3	Pit 5	Pit 7
7	228	2-3	Levelling 2, Pit 6	Pit 7 capping, Gully 2

Ceramic Phase 3 (1020-1050) (Fig 48c)*Building 3*

Phase	Date	Stratigraphy
construction & use	CP3	after Buildings 1, 2 (CP2)
disuse	CP3	before Pit 21 (CP3), Pits 18, 20 (CP4)

Gullies

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
1	213	3	Levelling 2	Gully 2
2	168/318	3	Gully 1, Pit 7	Levelling 3

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
21	177	3	Building 3	Pits 22, 23
22	160	3	Pit 21	Pit 27
23	163	3	Pit 21	Pit 24

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050-1100) (Fig 48d)*Levelling*

Levelling 4; CP4 date; after Gully 2 (CP3), Pits 11, 18, 20 (CP4); before Post-medieval

Pits

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
8	222	4	Building 2	Pits 9, 18
9	232	4	Pit 8	Pit 10
10	237	4	Pit 9	Pit 11
11	201	4	Pit 10	Levelling 3, Pit 15
18	164	4	Building 3, Pit 8	Levelling 3
20	171	4	Building 3	Levelling 3, Pit 24
24	146	4	Pits 20, 23	Pits 25, 26
26	144	4	Pit 24	Pits 28, 29
25	926	4+	Pit 24	Post-medieval
28	126	4+	Pit 26	Post-medieval

Ceramic Phase 5 (1100–1150) (Fig 48d)*Pits*

No.	Cut	CP	Stratigraphy	
			After	Before
7 capping	153	5	Pit 7	Pit 15
15	152	5	Pit 7 capping	Post-medieval
16	147	5	Robber Trench 2	Post-medieval
17	195	5	Robber Trench 2	Post-medieval
27	128	5	Pits 18, 22	Post-medieval

Later Ceramic Phases*Pits*

No.	CP	Stratigraphy		Comment
		After	Before	
29	9	Pit 26	Post-medieval	not illustrated

APPENDIX 2: FINDS DATING AND ENVIRONMENTAL EVIDENCE CATALOGUE

John Schofield and Alan Vince

This catalogue is partly an edited summary, covering the Cheapside sites with the exception of 7–10 Milk Street, from the fuller finds and environmental evidence catalogue published in the microfiche supplement to *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London ii* (Vince 1991), which deals with Ceramic Phases 1–6 (850–1200). It thereafter provides details of pit groups of Ceramic Phases 7–22 (1200–1770) on the present sites. It details only the contemporary (*ie* post-Roman) pottery and small finds from the features excavated. For finds from 7–10 Milk Street (MIL72), consult the Museum of London archive.

Numbers in square brackets ([]) are of contexts (layers); numbers in pointed brackets (< >) are accession numbers of individual finds. When an entry includes a number at the beginning without brackets, this means that the object is catalogued in *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London ii*; notes on illustration of pottery and small finds refer to the catalogues in that volume (abbreviated here *ASii*). Finds which have no catalogue entries were accessioned only into the archive; further details of these can be obtained from the Museum of London. Nearly all the artefacts are fragmentary.

Codes of ceramic identification (date ranges refer to the occurrence in London):

ANDE	Andenne ware	1000–1200
BLGR	Bluc-grey ware	1000–1200
BEAU	Beauvais sgraffito ware	1500–1600
BORD	Border ware	1550–1750
BORDY	Border ware yellow	1550–1750
CBW	Coarse Border ware	1250–1500
CHEA	Cheam ware	1350–1450
CHPO	Chinese porcelain	1650–1900
CREA	Cream ware	1770–1900
CSTN	Cistercian ware	1500–1600
DUTR	Dutch red ware	1350–1550
DUTSL	Dutch slipware	1550–1600
EMCH	Early medieval chalky ware	1000–1150
EMCW	Early medieval coarse white ware	1000–1150
EMFL	Early medieval flinty ware	1000–1100
EMGR	Early medieval grog-tempered ware	1050–1150
EMS	Early medieval sandy ware	900–1050
EMSH	Early medieval shelly	1050–1150
EMSS	Early medieval sand and shell ware	1000–1150
ENPO	English porcelain	1700–1900
ESUR	Early Surrey ware	1050–1150
FREC	Frechen ware	1550–1700
GUYS	Guys type ware	1550–1650
KING	Kingston ware	1230–1350
KOLS	Cologne stoneware	1550–1600
LCOAR	Coarse London-type ware	1150–1200
LOGR	Local grey ware	1100–1200
LOND	London-type ware	1150–1350
LSS	Late Saxon shelly ware	850–1000
MART	Martencamp ware	1550–1650
MCBM	Medieval ceramic building material	1150–1500
METS	Metropolitan slipware	1630–1700
MG	Mill Green ware	1270–1350
MISC	Miscellaneous wares [for sub-codes, see MoL archive]	900–1500
MPOT	Medieval unspecified	800–1500

NEOT	St Neots ware	900–1100
NFM	N French monochrome ware	1150–1250
NFRE	Miscellaneous N French wares	850–1200
NIMS	N Italian marble stoneware	1600–1750
NOTS	Nottinghamshire stoneware	1700–1900
PEAR	Pearlware	1800–1900
PMBL	Post-medieval black glazed ware	1600–1700
PMFR	Post-medieval fine redware	1600–1650
PMR	Post-medieval redware	1600–1800
PPOT	Post-medieval unspecified	1500–1800
RAER	Raeren stoneware	1480–1550
RBOR	Red Border ware	1600–1750
REDP	Red painted ware	950–1250
ROUE	Early Rouen ware	1150–1350
RPOT	Roman pottery (residual)	50–400
SAIG	Saintonge smooth green glazed	1280–1350
SAIM	Saintonge mottled green glazed	1250–1650
SAIP	Saintonge polychrome	1280–1350
SATH	Sandy Thetford-type ware	1000–1150
SHEL	Miscellaneous shell-tempered wares	40–400
SHER	S Herts wares	1150–1300
SNTG	S Netherlands tin-glazed wares	1480–1550
SPAM	Spanish red micaceous ware	1300–1600
SSW	Shelly sandy ware	1150–1200
STAM	Stamford ware	900–1150
STBU	Staffordshire butter pot ware	1650–1700
STGW	Spanish tin-glazed ware	1500–1700
SWSG	Staffs white salt-glazed stoneware	1720–1770
SUND	Sunderland coarse ware	1800–1900
TGW	Tin-glazed ware	1600–1800
THET	Ipswich Thetford-type ware	900–1100
THWH	White Thetford-type ware	1050–1150
TPW	Transfer-printed ware	1800–1900
TUDB	Tudor Brown ware	1500–1600
VALM	Mature Valencian lustreware	1430–1650
WEST	Westerwald ware	1600–1800
WINC	Winchester ware	950–1100

Codes for forms of the Saxo-Norman pottery illustrated in *ASii*:

BEAK	beaker
BOWL	bowl
CP	cooking pot
CRUC	ceramic crucible
DISH	dish
PIP	pipkin
PTCH	pitcher
SJ	storage jar
SPP	spouted pitcher

Codes for post-medieval glass fragments:

LTGR	Post-medieval window glass (light green)
S+G	Shaft and globe bottles (18th and 19th century)

WATLING COURT (WAT78)

Ceramic Phase 1 (850–1020)

Pit 3
Contexts with finds: 1032
Pottery types present: ANDE, LSS, RPOT

Pit 8
Contexts with finds: 1131 1193 1194
Illustrated ceramics: 24 [1194] LSS DISH (*ASii*, Fig 2.24)
Pottery types present: LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 9
Contexts with finds: 1100 1147 1149 1157
Individual accessioned finds: 186 [1147] <758> glass calender (*ASii*, Fig 3.54)
(no pottery)

Pit 11
Contexts with finds: 1124 1130
Illustrated ceramics: 16 [1124] LSS BOWL (*ASii*, Fig 2.24)
Pottery types present: LSS

Pit 12
Contexts with finds: 1182 1191
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Pit 13
Contexts with finds: 1169 1170
Pottery types present: EMSH, ESUR, LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 14
Contexts with finds: 1246 1252 1260
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Pit 16
Contexts with finds: 183 186 187 192 194 196 184
Pottery types present: RPOT

Pit 17
Contexts with finds: 75 97 101 111 129 137 92
99 104 114 132 138 93 100 105 116 133
Individual accessioned finds: 224 [101] <146> ivory comb (*ASii*, Fig 3.82)
Pottery types present: LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 18
Contexts with finds: 90 102 106 108 115 123 91
103 107 109 122 124 95
Individual accessioned finds: [90] <32> lead strip; 122 [90] <57> stone hone, Norwegian ragstone (*ASii*, Figs 3.39–40)
Pottery types present: EMSH, LSS, RPOT

Pit 18 contaminated
Contexts with finds: 94
Individual accessioned finds: 3 [94] <337> iron knife (*ASii*, Fig 3.3)
Pottery types present: LS, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.9 [94]

Pit 20
Contexts with finds: 2066 2115 2120
Individual accessioned finds: 140 [2120] <140> stone hone (*ASii*, Fig 3.39, Fig 3.43)
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.9 [2120]

Pit 23
Contexts with finds: 2057 2132 2135 2138 2142
2145 2076 2134 2131 2136 2141 2143 2147
Individual accessioned finds: 136 [2132] <753> stone hone; 190 [2138] <393> glass spindlewhorl (*ASii*, Fig 3.55)
Illustrated ceramics: 22 [2057] LSS DISH (*ASii*, Fig 2.24)
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Pit 26
Contexts with finds: 2693 2694
Pottery types present: LSS

Pit 32

Contexts with finds: 2724
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Pit 33

Contexts with finds: 2709
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Pit 33 phase 2

Contexts with finds: 2708

Pit 37

Contexts with finds: 2662 2664 2666 2680 2682
Individual accessioned finds: [2682] <679> copper alloy
Pottery types present: LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 38

Contexts with finds: 2650
Individual accessioned finds: 80 [2650] <1380> iron buckle;
[2650] <343> copper alloy; [2650] <345> copper alloy
Illustrated ceramics: 17 [2650] LSS BOWL (*ASü*, Fig 2.24)
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Ceramic Phase 1 contaminated

(850–1020, contaminated)

Pit 15

Contexts with finds: 1159
Individual accessioned finds: 3 [1159] <1166> iron knife
(*ASü*, Fig 3.3)

Ceramic Phases 1–3 (850–1050)*Pit 24*

Contexts with finds: 1619 1667 1671 1676 1677
1681 1682 1668 1674
Individual accessioned finds: [1676] <771> copper alloy
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Ceramic Phases 1–6 (850–1200)*Pit 21*

Contexts with finds: 2118 2119 2215
Individual accessioned finds: [2119] <156> copper alloy;
[2119] <157> copper alloy
Pottery types present: EMGR, EMSS, RPOT

Ceramic Phase 3 (1020–1050)*Building 4 disuse*

Contexts with finds: 1634 1685
Illustrated ceramics: 209 [1634] THET SJ (*ASü*, Fig 2.91)
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT, THET

Pit 31

Contexts with finds: 2678
Individual accessioned finds: 191 [2678] <472> glass vessel
Pottery types present: RPOT, THET

Pit 42

Contexts with finds: 1058 1081
Pottery types present: EMSS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 45

Contexts with finds: 1176 1178 1179 1180
Pottery types present: LSS, MISC, RPOT, THET

Pit 55

Contexts with finds: 147 148 149 150 221
Individual accessioned finds: 236 [150] <145> bone die
(*ASü*, Fig 3.87)
Pottery types present: EMSS

Pit 56

Contexts with finds: 63 178
Pottery types present: EMSS, RPOT

Pit 57

Contexts with finds: 59 60 61 173
Pottery types present: EMSS, RPOT

Pit 70

Contexts with finds: 2548 2602
Individual accessioned finds: [2548] <1064> ceramic crucible;
[2548] <1066> ceramic crucible; [2548] <1067> ceramic
crucible; [2602] <733> lead
Pottery types present: EMSS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 76

Contexts with finds: 3867 4074
Pottery types present: ANDE, MISC, RPOT, THET

Pit 107

Contexts with finds: 5165
Pottery types present: EMCW, MISC, RPOT

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100)*Building 1 disuse*

Contexts with finds: 2862 3034 3035
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, MISC, RPOT

Building 2 construction

Contexts with finds: 2811 2815 2824 2825 3021
3030 2814 2822
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Building 2 use

Contexts with finds: 2804 2963 3017 3027 3028
Pottery types present: EMS, RPOT

Building 2 disuse

Contexts with finds: 2800 2802
Pottery types present: BLGR, EMGR, EMS, REDP, RPOT

Building 3 phase 1 use

Contexts with finds: 814 826 836 848 854 808
824 829 841 849 857 811 825 831
Individual accessioned finds: 235 [824] <614> bone spoon
(*ASü*, Fig 3.86); [824] <941> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat
no. 9); 192 [824] <1146> window glass; [824] <1133>
pigment sample (madder) (*ASü*, Fig 3.52); [825] <1070> lead;
193 [825] <843> window glass
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMFL, EMS, EMSS,
LSS, RPOT, THET
Environmental samples: Table 5.11 [814]

Building 3 phase 2 construction

Contexts with finds: 785 798
Individual accessioned finds: [798] <1112> iron
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, MISC, RPOT

Building 3 phase 2 use

Contexts with finds: 777 780 803 804 838 776
779 802
Individual accessioned finds: [776] <1116> iron; [776] <1172>
iron; 361 [776] <1327> leather strap (*ASü*, Fig 3.125); [776]
<1375> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 28); [776] <615>
wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 29); 55 [804] <1114>
iron hinge (*ASü*, Fig 3.20); [804] <1115> iron; 194 [804]
<1147> window glass
Pottery types present: BLGR, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LSS,
MISC, REDP, RPOT, STAM
Environmental samples: Table 5.11 [776]

Building 3 phase 2 disuse

Contexts with finds: 502 708 733 736 778 814B
851 2236 2216 646 709 775
Individual accessioned finds: 12 [502] <1121> iron knife (*ASii*, Fig 3.4); 63 [502] <672> iron pintle; [502] <1130> pigment sample (madder) (*ASii*, Fig 3.52); 252 [709] <741> bone 'whirligig' (*ASii*, Fig 3.90); 125 [736] <767> stone hone (*ASii*, Fig 3.40)
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSH, ESUR, LSS, MISC, REDP, RPOT, STAM
Environmental samples: Table 5.11 [830]

Exterior dumping, Levelling 1

Contexts with finds: 4268
Pottery types present: MISC, RPOT

Pit 35

Contexts with finds: 3045 3074
Individual accessioned finds: 138 [3074] <903> stone hone (*ASii*, Fig 3.42); 145 [3074] <904> stone hone
Pottery types present: ESUR, LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 40

Contexts with finds: 1040 1043 1052 1053
Individual accessioned finds: [1040] <1277> bone knife handle
Illustrated ceramics: 291 [1040] NFRE object (*ASii*, Fig 2.116)
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMSH, ESUR, LSS, NEOT, NFRE, RPOT, STAM, THET

Pit 43

Contexts with finds: 1142 1201
Individual accessioned finds: [1142] <1318> iron
Pottery types present: EMSS, ESUR, LSS, REDP, RPOT

Pit 43 disuse

Contexts with finds: 1134 1135 1137
Individual accessioned finds: 256 [1137] <1279> bone skate
Illustrated ceramics: 7 [1135] LSS? CP (*ASii*, Fig 2.23) 208 [1134] THET SPP (*ASii*, Fig 2.90)
Pottery types present: EMSS, LSS, MISC, RPOT, THET

Pit 46 construction

Contexts with finds: 1158
Individual accessioned finds: 378 [1158] <296> wood barrel, oak, 15 out of 18 staves (*ASii*, Fig 3.128)
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Pit 46 use

Contexts with finds: 1107 1108 1109
Pottery types present: EMFL, EMS, RPOT

Pit 46 disuse

Contexts with finds: 1106
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMSS, LSS, MISC, RPOT, THET

Pit 47

Contexts with finds: 707 727 734 735 773 774
914 710 732 737
Individual accessioned finds: [707] <725> copper alloy; [707] <777> stone hone; 70 [774] <1275> iron staple
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMFL, EMS, EMSH, EMSS, LOND, LSS, MISC, REDP, RPOT

Pit 51

Contexts with finds: 645
Pottery types present: NEOT, RPOT

Pit 52

Contexts with finds: 663 691 692 697 705
Individual accessioned finds: [663] <225> wood; [663] <234>

stone; [663] <1131> pigment sample (madder) (*ASii*, Fig 3.52); [692] <1128> pigment sample (madder) (*ASii*, Fig 3.52)
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMFL, EMS, EMSS, LSS, MISC, RPOT, STAM

Pit 52 disuse

Contexts with finds: 690 693 694
Pottery types present: EMSH, LSS, REDP, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.12 [690] [693]

Pit 61 use

Contexts with finds: 2071 2075 2091 2108 2176 2181
Illustrated ceramics: 160 [2091] LOGR CP (*ASii*, Fig 2.63)
Pottery types present: EMSH, ESUR, LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 61 disuse

Contexts with finds: 2051 2054 2056 2067 2069 2070
Illustrated ceramics: 48 [2069] EMS CP (*ASii*, Fig 2.33)
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 62

Contexts with finds: 2183 2185 2189 2192 2198
2202 2184 2186 2190 2193
Individual accessioned finds: [2184] <268> copper alloy; [2185] <1171> iron
Illustrated ceramics: 28 [2202] LSS SPP (*ASii*, Fig 2.25)
Pottery types present: ESUR, LSS, RPOT

Pit 62 use

Contexts with finds: 2191 2195 2197 2199 2201
Individual accessioned finds: [2195] <1013> ceramic crucible; [2199] <588> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 23); 282 [2201] <1203> leather shoe
Pottery types present: EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 63

Contexts with finds: 2122 2149 2150 2152 2154
2155 2160
Individual accessioned finds: 262 [2160] <232> bone spindlewhorl
Pottery types present: EMSS, ESUR, LSS, RPOT

Pit 65

Contexts with finds: 2534 2536 2538 2543 2546
2530 2535 2537
Individual accessioned finds: 195 [2536] <1141> window glass; 195 [2536] <1144> window glass
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMFL, EMSH, EMSS, MISC, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.10 [2543] [2606]

Pit 65 disuse

Contexts with finds: 2542
Pottery types present: EMSS, RPOT

Pit 67

Contexts with finds: 2523 2529
Illustrated ceramics: 145 [2529] ESUR CP (*ASii*, Fig 2.58);
Pottery types present: EMS, ESUR, LSS, RPOT

Pit 69

Contexts with finds: 2526 2550 2574 2579 2584
Individual accessioned finds: 187 [2550] <645> glass calender (*ASii*, Fig 3.54); 220 [2584] <212> bone and horn comb (*ASii*, Fig 3.81)
Illustrated ceramics: 147 [2584] ESUR SPP (*ASii*, Fig 2.58); 287 [2584] NFRE PTCH (*ASii*, Fig 2.116)
Pottery types present: ANDE, BLGR, CBW, EMCH, EMS, EMSH, EMSS, ESUR, KING, LOGR, LSS, MISC, NFRE, RPOT, STAM, THET

Pit 79

Contexts with finds: 3754 3763
 Illustrated ceramics: 86 [3763] EMSS DISH (*ASii*, Fig 2.40)
 Pottery types present: EMCH, EMSS, ESUR, LOGR, LSS, RPOT, STAM, THET

Pit 93

Contexts with finds: 4009 4048 4061
 Pottery types present: CBW, EMSS, ESUR, LCOAR, LOND, MG, MISC, SHER

Ceramic Phase 4 contaminated

(1050–1100 but contaminated)

Exterior dumping, Levelling 1

Contexts with finds: 4273
 Pottery types present: RPOT, SSW

Pit 61 disuse

Contexts with finds: 2016
 Pottery types present: CBW, EMS, LOND, LSS, MG, MISC, RPOT

Ceramic Phase 5 (1100–1180)*Exterior dumping, Levelling 2*

Contexts with finds: 3862 3935
 Pottery types present: LOND, RPOT, SSW

Exterior dumping, Levelling 3

Contexts with finds: 3920 4228 4259 4270
 Pottery types present: EMS, EMSH, EMSS, ESUR, MISC, RPOT

Pit 41

Contexts with finds: 1044 1060 1061 1098
 Individual accessioned finds: [1044] <121> copper alloy; 65 [1060] <1164> iron pintle (*ASii*, Fig 3.21); [1061] <1294> iron; 165 [1098] <227> lava quern
 Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMS, ESUR, LCOAR, LSS, RPOT, STAM

Pit 44

Contexts with finds: 1085 1087 1089 1090 1091 1102 1086 1088
 Individual accessioned finds: [1089] <1326> six lead ingots (not reported, see archive)
 Pottery types present: EMCH, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LCOAR, LOND, LSS, MISC, RPOT, STAM

Pit 48

Contexts with finds: 562 563 568 570 573 525
 Illustrated ceramics: 259 [525] REDP CP
 Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LOND, REDP, RPOT, SHER
 Environmental samples: Table 5.12 [562–5]

Pit 48 use

Contexts with finds: 526 566 578
 Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, ESUR, MISC, REDP, RPOT
 Environmental samples: Table 5.10 [526] [578]

Pit 54

Contexts with finds: 74 78 112 134 135 136 76 85 130
 Individual accessioned finds: [112] <208> stone; [134] <98> copper alloy; 214 [78] <94> antler? comb
 Pottery types present: EMS, EMSH, LOGR, LOND, LSS, MPOT, RPOT

Pit 59

Contexts with finds: 200 202 205 208 210 177 201 204 206 209 2014
 Individual accessioned finds: [204] <1272> iron
 Illustrated ceramics: 250 [202] REDP BEAK (*ASii*, Fig 2.107)
 Pottery types present: EMCH, EMSS, LOGR, MISC, NFM, REDP, RPOT, SHER
 Environmental samples: Table 5.10 [200] [202–4]

Pit 60

Contexts with finds: 180 182 214 215 216
 Illustrated ceramics: 191 [180] LCOAR PIP (*ASii*, Fig 2.71)
 Pottery types present: EMCH, EMGR, EMS, EMSH, EMSS, ESUR, LCOAR, LOGR, LOND, MISC, RPOT, THET

Pit 60 disuse

Contexts with finds: 217 218
 Pottery types present: EMS, EMSH, LCOAR, LOND, MISC, RPOT

Pit 64

Contexts with finds: 2647 2649
 Pottery types present: EMCH, EMSS, LCOAR

Pit 71

Contexts with finds: 3563 3587 3610 3639
 Pottery types present: ANDE, EMS, ESUR, KING, LCOAR, LOGR, LOND, MG, MISC, REDP, RPOT, SHER, SSW, THWH

Pit 72

Contexts with finds: 3539 3542 3554
 Pottery types present: KING, LCOAR, MG, RPOT, SHER

Pit 95

Contexts with finds: 3533 3552 3567 3581 3583 3888 3544 3565 3578 3582 3602 4264
 Illustrated ceramics: 63 [3533] EMS SPP (*ASii*, Fig 2.36) 15 [3565] LSS BOWL (*ASii*, Fig 2.14)
 Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LCOAR, LOGR, LOND, LSS, MISC, REDP, RPOT, SHER, STAM, THET, THWH

Pit 95 use

Contexts with finds: 3541 3579 3584 3585 3586 3678 3903
 Pottery types present: EMCH, EMSH, ESUR, MISC, RPOT, SHER

Pit 96

Contexts with finds: 4278 4312
 Individual accessioned finds: 147 [4312] <643> stone hone, Cipollino marble (*ASii*, Fig 3.39, Fig 3.43)
 Pottery types present: LSS, MISC

Pit 97

Contexts with finds: 3927
 Pottery types present: EMSS, ESUR, MISC, REDP, RPOT

Pit 98

Contexts with finds: 4288 4289
 Pottery types present: EMFL, ESUR, RPOT

Pit 121

Contexts with finds: 3519 3535 3891 3900
 Individual accessioned finds: [3891] <1134> pigment sample (madder) (*ASii*, Fig 3.52)
 Illustrated ceramics: 116 [3519] EMCH DISH (*ASii*, Fig 2.47)
 Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMSH, EMSS, LCOAR, LOGR, LOND, LSS, MISC, REDP, RPOT, SSW

Pit 121 disuse

Contexts with finds: 3901

Individual accessioned finds: 241 [3901] <370> bone gaming-piece (*ASü*, Fig 3.87)Illustrated ceramics: 161 [3901] LOGR CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.63); 161 [3901] LOGR CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.63); 167 [3901] LOGR CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.63); 169 [3901] LOGR CP/SPP (*ASü*, Fig 2.64); 172 [3901] LOGR SPP (*ASü*, Fig 2.64)

Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMCW, EMSS, ESUR, LCOAR, LOGR, LOND, LSS, MISC, REDP, RPOT, SHER

Pit 122

Contexts with finds: 4107

Pottery types present: BLGR, ESUR, LOND, RPOT

Pit 125

Contexts with finds: 3512 3540 4073 4138 4140 4222 3517 3549 4136 4139

Individual accessioned finds: 197 [3540] <1150> window glass

Illustrated ceramics: 180 [3512] LOGR DISH (*ASü*, Fig 2.66)

Pottery types present: ANDE, BLGR, EMCH, EMCW, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LCOAR, LOGR, LOND, LSS, MISC, PMR, REDP, RPOT, SSW, THET

Ceramic Phases 5–6 (1100–1200)*Pit 124*

Contexts with finds: 4046

Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, ESUR, RPOT, SHER

Pit 124 disuse

Contexts with finds: 4017 4033 4035 4213 4031

Illustrated ceramics: 107 [4017] EMSH CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.45), 258 [4017] REDP PTCH (*ASü*, Fig 2.107)

Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMCW, EMS, EMSH, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, REDP, RPOT, SHER, SSW

Pit 126

Contexts with finds: 4042 4045 4075 4076

Pottery types present: EMSH, ESUR, LCOAR, MISC, RPOT, SHER, SSW

Ceramic Phases 7–22 (1180–1770)*Pit 128 CP7*

Contexts with finds: 3953 (?contaminated) 4084 4087

Individual accessioned finds: [3953] <309> iron horseshoe; [3953] <160> iron horseshoe; [3953] <1107> iron knife; [3953] <1092> iron object; [3953] <1109> iron object; [3953] <279> copper stud; [3953] <194> copper alloy; [3953] <197> copper alloy; [3953] <311> copper alloy; [3953] <312> copper alloy; [3953] <414> copper alloy; [3953] <1349> ceramic roof tile; [3953] <206> copper coin (illegible); [3953] <1024> bone waste; [3953] <1093> ceramic floor tile; [3953] <745> stone quern; [3953] <1091> stone hone; [4084] <244> bone flute (Egan, in prep); [4087] <228> copper alloy; [4087] <229> copper alloy; [4087] <230> copper alloy (needle?)

Pottery types present: (in 3953) ANDE, BLGR, EMCH, EMCW, EMSS, ESUR, LCOAR, LOGR, LOND, LSS, MISC-FHMSY, MISC-FHSY, MISC-SY, NFM, NFRE, REDP, SHER, SPAM, SSW, STAM, THET, THWH; (in 4084) EGS, EMSH, EMSS, ESUR, LCOAR, LOGR, LOND, MISC-FY, MISC-SW, MISC-SY, ROUE, SHER, SSW

Pit 156 CP8 + (1240–70+)

Contexts with finds: 3603 3605 3611 3663 3677 3680 3957

Individual accessioned finds: [3603] <88> iron object; [3605] <1010> glass bowl; [3611] <78> stone figurine; [3611] <213> stone roof slate; [3663] <107> paint sample; [3677] <506> glass lamp (Egan, in prep); [3680] <92> glass flask (Egan, in prep); [3957] <416> copper bell

Pottery types present: KING, STAM

Pit 109 CP9 (1270–1350)

Contexts with finds: 2098

Pottery types present: EMSS, LOND

Pit 111 CP9

Contexts with finds: 2031 2032 2033 2051

Pottery types present: EMSH, LCOAR, LOND, LSS, KING, SHER

Pit 120 CP9

Contexts with finds: 3665 4062 4063 4071 4080

Individual accessioned finds: [3665] <900> glass lamp (Egan, in prep); [3665] <912> glass flask (Egan, in prep); [3665] <448> glass urinal (Egan, in prep); [3665] <504> glass urinal (Egan, in prep); [3665] <405> copper alloy; [3665] <1165> iron object; [3665] <1321> iron object; [3665] <215> copper alloy; [3665] <152> copper spoon(?); [3665] <124> stone roof slate; [3665] <150> stone roof slate; [3665] <180> stone roof slate

Pottery types present: ANDE, CBW, DUTR, EMSH, EMSS, ESUR, KING, LCOAR, LOND, LSS, MG, REDP, SAIM, SHER, SSW, THWH

Pit 129 CP9

Contexts with finds: 3562 3659

Individual accessioned finds: [3562] <39> copper pin; [3562] <40> copper pin; [3562] <181> stone roof slate; [3562] <151> stone roof slate; [3562] <133> coal; [3562] <172> coal; [3659] <123> stone roof slate

Pottery types present: EMCH, EMCW, EMSH, KING, LCOAR, LOGR, LOND, LSS, MG, MISC-HSY, MISC-SY, REDP, SHER, SSW

Pit 155 CP9

Contexts with finds: 475

Pottery types present: SAIP

Pit 153 CP9 +

Contexts with finds: 2010 2064 2081

Individual accessioned finds: [2081] <97> residue

Pottery types present: CBW, EMCH, KING, LCOAR, LOND, LSS, MG, MISC-GSGNW, REDP, SAIG, SHER, STAM

Pit 112 CP9 +

Contexts with finds: 2053 2080

Individual accessioned finds: [2053] <52> bone spindle whorl (possibly Roman) (Egan, in prep); [2053] <1314> iron object; [2053] <61> copper alloy; [2080] <1088> stone roof slate; [2080] <205> bone object

Pottery types present: CBW, EMCH, ESUR, KING, LCOAR, LOND, MG, MISC-HSKW, SAIP, SHER, SPAM, SSW

Pit 152 CP10 + (1340–60+)

Contexts with finds: 2006 2029 2030 2040

Individual accessioned finds: [2029] <44> copper alloy;

[2029] <1016> glass urinal (Egan, in prep); [2040] <1441> glass vessel (Egan, in prep); [2040] <1015> glass beaker, post-medieval; [2040] <1018> glass ?lamp; [2040] <1444> glass vessel; [2040] <1445> glass vessel
Pottery types present: CBW, TUDB, CSTN

Pit 171 CP15 (1550–1600)

Contexts with finds: 2000

Pottery types present: BORD, CSTN, RAER, RPOT, TUDB

Pit 173 CP15+ (1550–1600+)

Contexts with finds: 1632 1640 1648 1650 1651

Pottery types present: BORD, GUYS, TUDB, PMFR

Pit 150 CP17 (1640–60)

Dated from a fragment of clay tobacco-pipe in the chalk lining.

Pit 151

This pit was stone-lined, and therefore probably originally medieval in date, and was cut by Pit 172 (CP19).

Pit 172 CP19–21 (1680–1740)

Contexts with finds: 1618; disuse, 1612

This pit contained a number of clay pipes with marks, glass phials, cups and bottles, and cutlery. The large group of pottery included types BEAU, BORDY, CHPO, CONP, CREA, ENPO, FREC, SNTG, NOTS, PMFR, SNTG, SWSG, TGW, TPW, WEST. These types dated the layer [1618] to CP19–21 (1680–1740), and the layer of disuse [1612] to the 19th century.

Pit 174 CP19 (1680–1700)

Contexts with finds: 1613

Individual accessioned finds: [1613] <661> bone object

Pottery types present: CHPO, CREA, PEAR, TPW

Pit 176 CP19

Contexts with finds: 2527 2528 2547

Individual accessioned finds: [2527] <136> coal; [2527] <1436> glass vessel; [2527] <1152> glass bottle; [2528] <292> paint sample; [2528] <320> fibre sample; [2547] <147> ivory knife; [2547] <148> ivory knife; [2547] <1382> glass vessel
Pottery types present: BORD, FREC, NIMS, PMFR, STGW, STBU, SUND, TGW

Pit 185 CP19

Contexts with finds: 3305

Pottery types present: GUYS, PMFR, STBU, TUDB, TGW

Pit 184 CP20 (1700–20)

Contexts with finds: 3238

Individual accessioned finds: a large number of post-medieval glass cups, beakers and other vessels.

Pottery types present: BORD, FREC, MART, METS, PMBL, PMFR, RBOR, TGW

Glass types present: S+G

Pit 177 CP21 (1720–40)

Contexts with finds: 2509 2515 2521

Individual accessioned finds: [2515] <1288> clay pipe with mark; [2521] <1306> clay pipe with mark

Pottery types present: BORD, BORDY, CREA

Glass types present: LTGR, S+G

WELL COURT (WEL79)

Ceramic Phases 1–2 (850–1030)

[Building 1, Streets 1–2: no contemporary finds or ceramics]

Pit 11

Contexts with finds: 90 92 94

Individual accessioned finds: [90] <20> copper alloy stud

Pottery types present; LSS, RPOT

Ceramic Phases 2–3 (1000–1050)

Building 3 construction

Contexts with finds: 1138 1140 1186

Individual accessioned finds: 153 [1186] <128> lava quern

(*ASü*, Fig 3.46); [1186] <8> copper alloy

Pottery types present: LSS

Environmental samples: Table 5.14 [1075]

Building 4 use

Contexts with finds: 1169

Pottery types present: LSS

Environmental samples: Table 5.14 [1076 1132 1133

1134 1169] (ash from oven)

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100)

Building 3 disuse

Contexts with finds: 1067 1074 1090 1092 1110

Individual accessioned finds: [1067] <19> copper alloy; 158

[1067] <23> lava quern; 94 [1090] <21> copper alloy brooch

(*ASü*, Fig 3.23)

Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, RPOT

Building 5 construction

Contexts with finds: 1057 1065 1066 1070 1176

Individual accessioned finds: 181 [1057] <13> ceramic

spindlewhorl (EMS CP); [1065] <14> stone roof tile

Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, RPOT, SHEL

Building 6 construction

Contexts with finds: 1042 1056

Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Building 6 use

Contexts with finds: 1007 1022 1023 1029

Pottery types present: LSS

Environmental samples: Table 5.14 [1200 1020 1028] (from hearth and rake-off)

Building 6 disuse

Contexts with finds: 1109

Individual accessioned finds: 159 [1109] <22> lava quern

Pottery types present: ANDE, RPOT

Pit 9

Contexts with finds: 61 63 66

Pottery types present: ESUR

Pit 6: CP4 or later

Contexts with finds: 1013

Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Ceramic Phase 5+ (1050–1180 or later)

Building 8 disuse

Contexts with finds: 1512

Pottery types present: LSS, MISC, REDP

Pit 2

Contexts with finds: 1004

Pottery types present: LSS

Pit 3

Contexts with finds: 1011

1-6 MILK STREET (MLK76)**Ceramic Phase 1 (850-1020)***Building 1 phase 1 construction*

Contexts with finds: 3040 3273
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Building 1 phase 1 use

Contexts with finds: 3267
Pottery types present: RPOT

Building 1 phase 2 use

Contexts with finds: 3223 3238 3254 3257 3261
3211 3236 3246
Pottery types present: LSS, MISC, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.8 [3211]

Pit 17

Contexts with finds: 40 60 61
Individual accessioned finds: 311 [40] <27> leather shoe; [40] <43> bone waste; 368 [60] <1> wood cup, ash (*ASü*, Fig 3.126); 367 [60] <2> wood waste; core of bowl or cup (*ASü*, Fig 3.126); 312 [60] <48> leather shoe; 271 [60] <49> leather shoe; 270 [60] <511> leather shoe
Pottery types present: LSS, NEOT, RPOT

Pit 29

Contexts with finds: 257 259 261 273
Pottery types present: LSS, NEOT, RPOT

Pit 42

Contexts with finds: 1118 1309 1372 1374 1376
1116 1276 1371 1373 1375 1385 1117
Individual accessioned finds: 364 [1118] <1646> leather strap (*ASü*, Fig 3.125); [1118] <1665> leather; 272 [1118] <729> leather shoe (*ASü*, Fig 3.97-8); [1118] <788> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 18); [1118] <789> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 3); [1118] <792> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 17); [1118] <800> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 10); [1118] <802> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 5); [1118] <1080> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 11); [1118] <1083> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 19); [1118] <1084> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 6); [1118] <1134> wool cord; [1118] <1543> silk; [1118] <1547> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 12); [1118] <1548> hair; 273 [1373D] <260> leather shoe; [1376] <1170> wool cloth; [1376] <776> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 4); [1376] <777> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 13); [1376] <778> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 14); [1376] <779> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 1); [1376] <780> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 2); [1376] <785> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 20); [1376] <786> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 21)
Illustrated ceramics: 6 [1374] LSS CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.23) 37 [1276] LSS LAMP (*ASü*, Fig 2.27)
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.4 [1118] [1372] [1373] [1375] [1376] [1385]

Pit 44

Contexts with finds: 1169 1201 1202
Pottery types present: RPOT

Pit 45 construction

A dendrochronological date of 'after 914' was obtained from a timber used in the construction of this pit (Hillam and Groves in *ASü*, 406-7).

Pit 45 use

Contexts with finds: 1213 1214 1215
Individual accessioned finds: 5 [1214] <1564> iron knife (*ASü*, Fig 3.3); 275 [1214] <258> leather shoe; 276 [1214] <259> leather shoe; 29 [1214] <675> iron awl (*ASü*, Fig 3.16); [1215] <1079> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 26); [1215] <1086B> silk cloth; [1215] <1086A> silk ribbon (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 36); [1215] <1132> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 22); [1215] <1546> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 24); 277 [1215] <733> leather shoe; 278 [1215] <753> leather shoe (*ASü*, Fig 3.100)
Illustrated ceramics: 1 [1214] LSS CP
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.5 [1213-15]

Pit 57

Contexts with finds: 1035 1041 1090
Individual accessioned finds: 386 [1041] <308> wood worked fragment; 219 [1041] <41> bone and horn comb (*ASü*, Fig 3.80); 385 [1041] <414> wood, alder, worked fragment (*ASü*, Fig 3.130); [1041] <47> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 15); [1041] <485> silk cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 34); [1041] <51> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 6); 274 [1041] <725> leather shoe (*ASü*, Fig 3.97, Fig 3.99); [1041] <791> silk cord; [1041] <433> copper alloy
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.4 [1041] [1090]

Pit 92

Contexts with finds: 2145
Pottery types present: RPOT

Pit 93

Contexts with finds: 2125 2141 2144 2214 2215
2107 2140 2143 2213
Individual accessioned finds: [2140] <1208> lead
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.4 [2140] [2214] [2215]

Ceramic Phases 1-2 (850-1030)*Pit 8*

Contexts with finds: 31
Pottery types present: RPOT

Ceramic Phases 1-4 (850-1100)*Pit 87*

Contexts with finds: 2027
Pottery types present: RPOT

Ceramic Phases 1-5 (850-1180)*Pit 90*

Contexts with finds: 2208 2210 2211
Individual accessioned finds: 382 [2208] <276> wood peg
Pottery types present: RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.4 [2208] [2210]

Ceramic Phases 1-6 (850-1200)*Pit 78*

Contexts with finds: 1205 1207
Individual accessioned finds: [1207] <1131> wool thread

Ceramic Phase 2 (1000-1030)*Building 1 phase 3 use*

Contexts with finds: 3167 3174 3182 3190 3208
3128 3168 3175 3183 3200 3213 3161 3173 3179

Individual accessioned finds: [3200] <1530> silk braid
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, NEOT, RPOT
Environment samples: Table 5.8 [3161]

Building 1 phase 3 disuse

Contexts with finds: 3177
Individual accessioned finds: 62 [3177] <1537> iron pintle
(*ASii*, Fig 3.21)
Pottery types present: LSS, NEOT, RPOT

Building 1 phase 4 disuse

Contexts with finds: 3000 3065 3096 3100 3115
3121 3063 3069 3098
Individual accessioned finds: 218 [3000] <83> antler comb
(*ASii*, Fig 3.79)
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, NEOT, RPOT

Building 1 phase 4 use

Contexts with finds: 3124 3131 3138 3141 3146
3114 3126 3132 3140 3145 3152 3116 3127
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, MISC, NEOT, RPOT,
THET
Environmental samples: Table 5.8 [3152]

Building 4 phase 1 use

Contexts with finds: 138 141 144 145 146 147
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Building 4 phase 1 use

Contexts with finds: 117 118 123 126 137 164
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Building 4 phase 2 disuse

Contexts with finds: 128 130 132 134 151
Pottery types present: LSS, MISC, RPOT

Building 4 phase 3 disuse

Contexts with finds: 109 114 154
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT, SHEL

Building 5 use

Contexts with finds: 106 108 213 215 217
Pottery types present: LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 10

Contexts with finds: 29
Individual accessioned finds: [29] <21> linen cloth
Illustrated ceramics: 62 [29] EMS SP (*ASii*, Fig 2.35) 47 [29]
NEOT SPP/PTCH (*ASii*, Fig 2.30)
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, NEOT, RPOT

Pit 12

Contexts with finds: 35 36 48 70 89
Individual accessioned finds: [36] <188> copper alloy; 313
[48] <1555> leather shoe; 279 [48] <1670> leather shoe; [48]
<17> silk cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 35); 379 [48] <781>
wood shingle, oak (*ASii*, Fig 3.128); 387 [48] <782> wood
fragment, possibly part of a shingle; 269 [70] <415> leather
scabbard (*ASii*, Fig 3.94)
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, MISC, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.5 [48]

Pit 18

Contexts with finds: 39 50 59
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 19

Contexts with finds: 37
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 43

Contexts with finds: 1157 1163 1164 1165 1166
1055 1161
Pottery types present: EMS, RPOT
Environment samples: Table 5.5 [1163] [1166]

Pit 58

Contexts with finds: 1097 1124 1125 1126 1127
Pottery types present: EMFL, LSS, MISC Sy, RPOT

Ceramic Phase 2+ (1000–1030 or later)

Pit 13

Contexts with finds: 43
Individual accessioned finds: [43] <117> gold chain link
Pottery types present: RPOT

Pit 46

Contexts with finds: 1011 1013
Individual accessioned finds: 109 [1011] <1349> copper alloy
nail (*ASii*, Fig 3.35)

Ceramic Phase 3 (1020–1050)

Pit 1

Contexts with finds: 92
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 20

Contexts with finds: 54 55 66 67 68
Individual accessioned finds: [54] <8> pitch sample; 360 [55]
<410> leather strap (*ASii*, Fig 3.125)
Illustrated ceramics: 69 [54] EMSS CP (*ASii*, Fig 2.39)
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 21

Contexts with finds: 41 42 3027
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 31

Contexts with finds: 3083
Individual accessioned finds: [3083] <1538> copper alloy;
[3083] <170> copper alloy; [3083] <173> copper alloy;
[3083] <211> copper alloy; [3083] <354> copper alloy;
150 [3083] <355> stone mortar, possible Caen stone
(*ASii*, Fig 3.45)
Pottery types present: RPOT

Pit 32

Contexts with finds: 3076 3078 3079 3080 3081
Individual accessioned finds: [3080] <1658> ceramic crucible;
[3080] <268> copper alloy; 27 [3081] <1347> iron woolcomb
(*ASii*, Fig 3.15)
Illustrated ceramics: 8 [3080] STAM CRUC (*ASii*, fig 6.3)
Pottery types present: EMSS, LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 101

Contexts with finds: 2000 2017
Pottery types present: EMSS, LSS, MISC, RPOT, SHEL,
THET

Ceramic Phase 3 contaminated

(1020–1050 but contaminated)

Pit 45 disuse

Contexts with finds: 1147 1211 1212 1310 1311
1098 1210
Individual accessioned finds: 281 [1147] <1110> leather shoe;
[1147] <1078> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 25); 8
[1210] <1526> iron knife (*ASii*, Fig 3.3); 246 [1210] <1527>

bone pin (*ASü*, Fig 3.89); [1210] <1691> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52); [1210] <1689> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52); [1211] <1690> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52)
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMFL, EMS, EMSS, LSS, RPOT, THET
Environmental samples: Table 5.5 [1310] [1311]

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100)

External surfaces

Contexts with finds: 2075 2076
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMS, ESUR, MISC, REDP, RPOT, SHEL

Pit 2

Contexts with finds: 200 207 209 211 218
Individual accessioned finds: [200] <1344> iron; [209] <22> copper alloy; 209 [218] <107> antler comb (*ASü*, Fig 3.77)
Illustrated ceramics: 76 [200] EMSS CP? (*ASü*, Fig 2.40) 91 [211] EMSS SPP (*ASü*, Fig 2.41)
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMFL, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC Sy, PPOT, REDP, RPOT, SHEL, SSW, THET

Pit 6

Contexts with finds: 3371
Individual accessioned finds: [33] <147> ceramic crucible; [33] <1651> ceramic crucible; 175 [33] <1685> ceramic mould made from a Roman tile (*ASü*, Fig 3.50); [33] <375> copper alloy; [33] <50> wood
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, MISC HSY, MISC Sy, REDP, RPOT, SHEL, SSW, STAM
Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [33] [71]

Pit 7

Contexts with finds: 45 46 5876
Individual accessioned finds: [58] <13> pitch sample; 369 [76] <1551> wood bowl; 392 [76] <369> wood waste, maple (*ASü*, Fig 3.130)
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 6.7 [76]

Pit 11

Contexts with finds: 27
Illustrated ceramics: 144 [27] ESUR CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.58)
Pottery types present: EMFL, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, RPOT, THET

Pit 14

Contexts with finds: 61 80 88
Individual accessioned finds: [80] <783> wood
Pottery types present: EMS, EMCH, EMSS, ESUR, REDP, RPOT

Pit 15

Contexts with finds: 83 87 90 91
Individual accessioned finds: [83] <102> stone; 376 [83] <23> wood stave (*ASü*, Fig 3.128); 377 [83] <29> wood stave; [83] <30> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 8); [83] <262> pitch sample; 393 [87] <4> wood fragment (*ASü*, Fig 3.130); [90] <34> leather waste
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 22

Contexts with finds: 205
Illustrated ceramics: 175 [205] LOGR CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.64)

Pottery types present: BLGR, EMCH, EMFL, EMSS, LSS, MISC Sy, RPOT

Pit 30

Contexts with finds: 139 153 163 167 262 274 149 156 166
Individual accessioned finds: [262] <1375> copper alloy; [262] <520> ceramic crucible; [262] <531> ceramic crucible; [262] <66> linen cloth; [272] <1376> iron; 45 [274] <1672> iron bell (*ASü*, Fig 3.18)
Illustrated ceramics: 67 [262] EMS CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.39) 5 [262] STAM CRUC (*ASü*, fig 6.3)
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMFL, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, REDP, RPOT, SHEL, THET

Pit 35

Contexts with finds: 3090 3094 3107 3181 3217 3239
Individual accessioned finds: [3181] <669> copper alloy ring

Pit 36

Contexts with finds: 3087 3108 3111 3159 3165 3169 3104 3109 3112 3160 3166 3199 3105 3110 3143 3164
Individual accessioned finds: [3087] <309> wool cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 27); [3104] <1563> ceramic crucible; [3104] <1700> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52); [3111] <1688> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52); [3143] <1653> ceramic crucible; [3143] <867> ceramic crucible; 237 [3169] <580> bone die
Illustrated ceramics: 74 [3143] EMSS CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.39)
Pottery types present: EMFL, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, MISC Sy, REDP, RPOT, SHEL, STAM, THET

Pit 38

Contexts with finds: 3050 3066
Illustrated ceramics: 84 [3050] EMSS SPP (*ASü*, Fig 2.40) 254 [3050] REDP PTCH (*ASü*, Fig 2.107)
Pottery types present: EMFL, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, REDP, RPOT

Pit 40

Contexts with finds: 3048 3052 3053 3054
Pottery types present: EMSS, ESUR, LSS, RPOT

Pit 41

Contexts with finds: 3039 3113
Individual accessioned finds: [3039] <426> William I penny 1074–77 (Stott in *ASü*, no. 132)
Pottery types present: EMSS, ESUR, RPOT

Pit 47

Contexts with finds: 1068 1129 1130
Individual accessioned finds: 144 [1068] <1319> stone hone
Pottery types present: ESUR, LSS, RPOT, STAM, THET
Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [1129]

Pit 50

Contexts with finds: 1101
Individual accessioned finds: 91 [1101] <222> iron horseshoe (*ASü*, Fig 3.22)
Pottery types present: EMFL, EMCH, EMSS, ESUR, MISC HMSy, REDP, RPOT, SHEL, STAM

Pit 51

Contexts with finds: 1132 1134 1136 1148 1152 1100 1133 1135A 1138 1149 1154 1131
Individual accessioned finds: [1100] <1333> iron; 373 [1131] <495> wood mallet, maple (*ASü*, Fig 3.127); [1131] <552> leather; 268 [1131] <574> bone mount (*ASü*, Fig 3.93); [1152] <512> copper alloy

Illustrated ceramics: 153 [1100] ESUR SJ (*ASü*, Fig 2.59)
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMS, ESUR, LSS, NEOT, REDP, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [1152] [1138] [1135] [1131]

Pit 52

Contexts with finds: 1010
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 53

Contexts with finds: 1107 1109 1111 1113 1120
1099 1108 1110 1112
Individual accessioned finds: 383 [1108] <419> wood trenail (*ASü*, Fig 3.130); 394 [1108] <445> wood fragments (*ASü*, Fig 3.131); [1111] <859> ceramic crucible
Illustrated ceramics: 68 [1109] EMSS CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.39) 170 [1107] LOGR SPP (*ASü*, Fig 2.64)
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMGR, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, RPOT, SHEL
Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [1110] [1107] [1111] [1109]

Pit 55

Contexts with finds: 1024 1042 1053 1064M 1082B
1018 1029 1043 1063 1081A
Individual accessioned finds: [1043] <60> Cnut penny 1018–24 (Stott in *ASü*, no. 101); 230 [1053] <108> bone implement (*ASü*, Fig 3.85); 365 [1053] <418> leather strap (*ASü*, Fig 3.125); 302 [1053] <543> leather shoe (*ASü*, Fig 3.122); 26 [1064] <57> iron axe with wooden handle (*ASü*, Fig 3.14); 303 [1064H] <518> leather shoe (*ASü*, Fig 3.113); 395 [1064] <1081> wood (*ASü*, Fig 3.131); 396 [1064] <1082> wood implement (*ASü*, Fig 3.131)
Pottery types present: BLGR, EMS, EMSH, EMSS, ESUR, MISC, RPOT, SHEL
Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [1064]

Pit 59

Contexts with finds: 1026 1057 1087 1092
Individual accessioned finds: [1092] <290> copper alloy pin; [1092] <1693> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52); [1092] <1694> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52)
Illustrated ceramics: 43 [1092] NEOT CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.30)
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMFL, EMS, LSS, NEOT, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [1092]

Pit 60

Although recorded on site as cutting Pit 59, the pottery suggests that Pit 60 should be earlier. The stratigraphic relationship was observed over a small area.

Contexts with finds: 1027 1091
Individual accessioned finds: 199 [1091] <379> bone motif-piece (*ASü*, Fig 3.59, Fig 3.71); 110 [1091] <478> copper alloy tack (*ASü*, Fig 3.35); [1091] <553> bone waste; [1091] <554> bone waste
Pottery types present: EMSS, LSS, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [1091]

Pit 61

Contexts with finds: 1022A 1061
Individual accessioned finds: [1061] <215> ceramic crucible; [1061] <1697> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52)
Illustrated ceramics: 211 [1061] THET CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.91)
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, REDP, RPOT, SHEL, THET

Pit 64

Contexts with finds: 1094
Individual accessioned finds: 350 [1094] <1550> leather shoe top-band; 351 [1094] <1648> leather shoe top-band; 310 [1094] <1649> leather shoe insert; [1094] <197> copper alloy
Pottery types present: EMS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, RPOT, STAM

Pit 84

Contexts with finds: 2256 2270
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LOND, LSS, NEOT, RPOT

Pit 86

Contexts with finds: 2010 2013
Individual accessioned finds: 66 [2010] <1335> iron staple (*ASü*, Fig 3.21); [2013] <138> copper alloy
Illustrated ceramics: 50 [2010] EMS CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.33); 71 [2010] EMSS CP (*ASü*, Fig 2.39)
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MIC FSHy, PPOT, RPOT

Pit 88

Contexts with finds: 2042 2218 2253 2343 2444
2041 2212 2224
Individual accessioned finds: [2041] <1504> iron strip?; [2224] <1699> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52)
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMFL, EMS, EMSS, LSS, MISC HSy, NEOT, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [2041] [2218] [2224] [2343] [2444]

Pit 89

Contexts with finds: 78 2008 2014 2084
Individual accessioned finds: [2014] <1701> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52); 169 [2084] <1169> lava quern; 266 [2084] <570> bone mount (*ASü*, Fig 3.93)
Illustrated ceramics: 239 [2008] STAM PTCH (*ASü*, Fig 2.101)
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, MISC Sy, RPOT, SHEL, SSW, STAM

Pit 94

Contexts with finds: 2201 2225 2227 2255 2549
2121 2202 2226 2254 2289
Individual accessioned finds: [2226] <1696> pigment sample (*ASü*, Fig 3.52)
Illustrated ceramics: 155 [2202] ESUR SPP (*ASü*, Fig 2.59)
Pottery types present: EMFL, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, RPOT
Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [2226] [2227]

Pit 95

Contexts with finds: 2436 2439
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSH, RPOT

Pit 96

Contexts with finds: 2456
Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [2456]

Ceramic Phases 4–5 (1050–1180)*Pit 4*

Contexts with finds: 224 325
Individual accessioned finds: [224] <89> ceramic crucible; [224] <963> ceramic crucible
Illustrated ceramics: 7 [224] STAM CRUC (*ASü*, Fig 6.3)
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMFL, EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, MISC Sy, REDP, RPOT, SHEL, SSW, STAM, THET, WINC

Ceramic Phases 4–6 (1050–1200)*Pit 27*

Contexts with finds: 103 104

Individual accessioned finds: [103] <33> goat-hair cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 32); [103] <35> goat-hair yarn; 321 [103] <36> leather shoe repair patch; [103] <491> goat-hair yarn; [104] <180> goat-hair cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 33) Pottery types present: EMSS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, RPOT, SSW

Pit 80

Contexts with finds: 1142 1144 1153 1156 1193D

1001 1143 1145B 1155 1191

Individual accessioned finds: [1142] <790> goat-hair cloth; [1144] <787> goat-hair cloth (Pritchard 1984, Cat no. 31); [1145A] <1085> silk braid; 397 [1191] <551> wood, worked fragments (*ASii*, Fig 3.131); 371 [1193D] <989> ash bowl (Egan, in prep)

Pottery types present: EMCH, EMFL, EMS, ESUR, LSS, MISC, MISC Sy, REDP, RPOT, SHEL, SSW, THET

Environmental samples: Table 5.6 [1144] [1145]

Ceramic Phase 5 (1100–1180)*Building 6 construction*

Contexts with finds: 2085C 2096C 2097F 205

Individual accessioned finds: 149 [2097F] <653> stone lamp (*ASii*, Fig 3.44)

Pottery types present: LSS

Building 6 use

Contexts with finds: 2048 2287

Pottery types present: ANDE, CHPO, EMSS, ESUR, MISC, REDP, RPOT, SHER?

Pit 39

Contexts with finds: 3049

Pottery types present: EMSS, LCOAR, MISC HMsY, RPOT

Pit 56

Contexts with finds: 1032

Individual accessioned finds: [1032] <251> copper alloy

Pottery types present: ESUR, LCOAR?

Pit 91

Contexts with finds: 2005 2006 2015 2028 2030

Individual accessioned finds: [2005] <112> bone waste?; 267 [2030] <75> bone mount (*ASii*, Fig 3.93)

Pottery types present: ANDE, EMSh, EMSS, ESUR, LOND, MISC Sy, RPOT, STAM

Environmental samples: Table 5.7 [2005]

Ceramic Phase 5+ (1100–1180 or later)*Pit 85*

Contexts with finds: 2011

Pottery types present: RPOT

Ceramic Phases 5–6 (1100–1200)*Pit 37*

Contexts with finds: 3067 3071 3077 3082 3084

Individual accessioned finds: [3067] <365> ceramic crucible; [3071] <344> gold wire; [3084] <277> copper alloy; [3084] <860> ceramic crucible

Illustrated ceramics: 108 [3067] EMSh CP (*ASii*, Fig 2.45) 256 [3067] REDP PTCH (*ASii*, Fig 2.107)

Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMFL, EMS, EMSS,

ESUR, LCOAR, LSS, MISC, MISC HSy, MISC Sw, MISC Sy, REDP, RPOT, SHEL, SSW, THWH

Environmental samples: Table 5.7 [3084]

Pit 81

Contexts with finds: 1066 1080 1082 1106 1115

1056] 1078 1081 1089 1114 1128 1062B 1079

Individual accessioned finds: [1056] <119> iron buckle; [1056] <1330> iron handle; [1056] <149> iron barrel padlock bolt; [1056] <1539> wood stave; [1056] <1656> ceramic crucible; [1056] <1667> leather shoe top-band (for shoes from this pit, see Grew & de Neergaard 1988, 134); [1056] <1698> pigment sample (*ASii*, Fig 3.52); [1056] <221> stone hone; [1056] <287> ceramic crucible; [1056] <323> glass tessera; [1056] <86> bone mount; [1056] <868> glass vessel; [1056] <407> glass mirror (possibly intrusive); [1062] <1671> leather shoe; [1062B] <310> bone needlecase (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 386); [1066] <413> leather; [1078] <1668> leather strap; [1078] <324> bone mount; [1079] <1657> ceramic crucible; [1080] <1654> ceramic crucible; [1080] <1655> ceramic crucible; [1080] <252> fibre cord; [1080] <254> leather shoe; [1080] <392> leather shoe; [1080] <44> leather girdle strap (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 39); [1080] <446> leather shoe; [1080] <532> ceramic crucible; [1082] <319> maple bowl (Egan, in prep); [1082] <373> silk braid (Crowfoot *et al* 1991, Table 12); [1082] <408> silk thread; [1089] <1111> copper alloy strip, possibly from a reliquary, inscribed on both faces: (i) SALEMAN MEFEICIT, (ii) PALXPORANTANI NM. Elisabeth Okasha suggests that the latter may be read as PAL X PORTANT IN [ME] 'they carry the *palus* of Christ in (or on) me'; [1089] <253> maple bowl (Egan, in prep)Illustrated ceramics: 157 [1082] LOGR CP (*ASii*, Fig 2.63) 156 [1089] LOGR CP (*ASii*, Fig 2.63) 183 [1056] LOGR LAMP (*ASii*, Fig 2.66) 182 [1056] LOGR LAMP (*ASii*, Fig 2.66) 203 [1056] MISC Sy DISH/PTCH? (*ASii*, Fig 2.85) 214 [1056] SATH CP (*ASii*, Fig 2.94)

Pottery types present: ANDE, BLGR, EMHHCH, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LCOAR, LOND, LSS, MISC, MISC Sy, MSy, REDP, RPOT, SATH, SHEL, SSW, STAM

Environmental samples: Table 5.7 [1056] [1062] [1082] [1128]

Pit 83

Contexts with finds: 2012 2032

Pottery types present: EMCH, EMSS, ESUR, LOND, LSS, RPOT, SHER, SSW

Ceramic Phases 7–21 (1180–1770)*Pit 116* CP8 (1240–70)

Contexts with finds: 25 3061

Individual accessioned finds: [25] <1128–9> alder box lid (Egan, in prep); 413 [25] <26> linen textile (Crowfoot *et al* 1992, Table 9); [25] <7> glass urinal; [25] <1096> ceramic crucible; [3061] <496> maple bowl (Egan, in prep); [3061] <488> ash bowl (Egan, in prep); [3061] <505> ash turned fragments (Egan, in prep); [3061] <504> ash bowl (Egan, in prep); [3061] <1715> ash bowl (Egan, in prep); [3061] <498> ash bowl (Egan, in prep); [3061] <501> ash bowl (Egan, in prep); [3061] <497> beech turned box (Egan, in prep); [3061] <320> alder box lid (Egan, in prep); [3061] <311> lead seal matrix (illegible); [3061] <516> wood counter; [3061] <327> wood tally-stick; 409 [3061] <5> linen textile (Crowfoot *et al* 1992, Table 9)

Pottery types present: LOND, KING, RPOT REDP, SHER

Pit 117 CP11 (1360–1400)

Contexts with finds: 1002 1003

Individual accessioned finds: 410 [1003] <1542> wool textile (Crowfoot *et al* 1992, Table 5); 411 [1003] <45> wool textile (Crowfoot *et al* 1992, Table 6, Figs 34c, 35); 412 [1003] <46> wool textile (Crowfoot *et al* 1992, Table 6); [1003] <44> wool textile; [1003] <1556> wool textile; [1003] <1557> wool textile; [1003] <1560> wool textile; [1003] <1561> wool textile; [1003] <111> lead bulla seal of Pope Urban VI (1378–89). The obverse reads .URB/ANUS. [.PP.VI]. The first stop and originally three other stops took the form of eagles' heads erased in reference to the arms of the Prignano family, to which this pope belonged. The reverse shows the heads of St Paul and St Peter (information from B Spencer)

Pottery types present: RPOT

Pit 120 CP15 (1550–1600)

Contexts with finds: 3041 3162

Individual accessioned finds: [3162] <1641> glass vessel; [3162] <1642> glass urinal; [3162] <1643> glass flask; [3162] <589> glass flask, post-medieval; [3162] <590> glass beaker, post-medieval; [3162] <614> glass phial, post-medieval; [3162] <747> ceramic floor tile (Fig 63f); [3162] <748> ceramic floor tile (Fig 63e); [3162] <750> ceramic floor tile (Fig 63g)

Pottery types present: CSTN, CBW, DUTSL, BORD, DUTR, VALM, TUDB

IRONMONGER LANE (IRO80)**Ceramic Phase 1** (850–1020)*Building 1 use*

Contexts with finds: 293 308 410 412 777 289 298
Individual accessioned finds: 245 [298] <83> bone pin (ASii, Fig 3.89); 6 [298] <85> iron knife (ASii, Fig 3.3); 139 [308] <53> stone hone (ASii, Fig 3.43); 83 [410] <153> iron horseshoe

Illustrated ceramics: 11 [777] LSS BOWL (ASii, Fig 2.24)

Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Environmental samples: Table 5.15 [298]

Building 2 use

Contexts with finds: 291 325 337 340 355 269
306 330 339 352 358 279 314
Individual accessioned finds: [306] <42> copper alloy; 151 [352] <51> lava quern

Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Environmental samples: Table 5.15 [279]

Ceramic Phase 2 (1000–1030)*Building 1 disuse*

Contexts with finds: 271 278 380C 407

Individual accessioned finds: 7 [278] <36> iron knife (ASii, Fig 3.3); 130 [407] <68> stone hone (ASii, Fig 3.39, Fig 3.41)
Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, NEOT, RPOT

Exterior dumps (Levelling 1) outside Buildings 1 and 2

Contexts with finds: 242

Pottery types present: LSS

Levelling 2

Contexts with finds: 203 205 219 230

Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, RPOT

Robber trench 2 of Roman wall

Contexts with finds: 148 156 249 264

Illustrated ceramics: 55 [148] EMS CP (ASii, Fig 2.33)

Pottery types present: EMS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 2

Contexts with finds: 272

Pottery types present: RPOT

Pit 3

Contexts with finds: 238 292

Pottery types present: RPOT

Pit 4

Contexts with finds: 239

Pottery types present: RPOT

Pit 12

Contexts with finds: 428

Pottery types present: LSS, MISC, RPOT

Pit 13

Contexts with finds: 422

Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Pit 14

Contexts with finds: 226

Pottery types present: LSS, REDP?, RPOT

Ceramic Phases 2–3 (1000–1050)*Pit 5*

Contexts with finds: 423

Pottery types present: RPOT

Pit 6

Contexts with finds: 188

Pottery types present: PPOT, RPOT

Pit 7

Contexts with finds: 225 227 411

Illustrated ceramics: 5 [411] LSS CP (ASii, Fig 2.23)

Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Environmental samples: Table 5.15 [411]

Ceramic Phase 2? (?1000–1030)*Building 2 disuse*

Contexts with finds: 233

Individual accessioned finds: 132 [233] <35> stone hone (ASii, Fig 3.42)

Illustrated ceramics: 44 [233] NEOT CP (ASii, Fig 2.30)

Pottery types present: EMFL, LSS, NEOT, RPOT

Ceramic Phase 3 (1020–1050)*Building 3 construction*

Contexts with finds: 189 212 220 223

Pottery types present: EMSS, LOGR, LSS, RPOT

Building 3 disuse

Contexts with finds: 142 215 216

Pottery types present: RPOT

Gullies 1, 2

Contexts with finds: 151 169 181 182 209

Pottery types present: EMCW, EMSS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 21

Contexts with finds: 172

Pottery types present: EMCH?, EMS, LSS, THET

Environmental samples: Table 5.15 [172]

Pit 22

Contexts with finds: 159

Pottery types present: EMSH, EMSS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 23

Contexts with finds: 150
Pottery types present: EMSS, RPOT

Ceramic Phase 4 (1050–1100)

Levelling 3

Contexts with finds: 139 167 208 211
Pottery types present: EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LOGR, LSS, RPOT

Pit 8

Contexts with finds: 192
Pottery types present: ANDE, LSS, RPOT

Pit 9

Contexts with finds: 231
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Pit 10

Contexts with finds: 224
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT

Pit 11

Contexts with finds: 200
Pottery types present: LSS, RPOT, THET

Pit 18

Contexts with finds: 140
Individual accessioned finds: 264 [140] <48> bone mount (*ASii*, Fig 3.93)
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMSS, LSS, RPOT

Pit 20

Contexts with finds: 170
Pottery types present: EMSS, ESUR, RPOT

Pit 24

Contexts with finds: 146
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMSH, EMSS, ESUR, LOGR, RPOT

Pit 26

Contexts with finds: 141
Individual accessioned finds: 239 [141] <6> bone gaming-piece (*ASii*, Fig 3.87)
Pottery types present: EMSH, RPOT

Ceramic Phase 5 (1100–1180)

Pit 7 top

Contexts with finds: 153
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMSH, EMSS, ESUR, LOGR, LOND, RPOT

Pit 15

Contexts with finds: 118
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMFL, EMS, EMSS, ESUR, LOGR, LSS, PPOT, RPOT

Pit 16

Contexts with finds: 122
Pottery types present: EMCH, EMSS, ESUR, LOGR, LSS, REDP, RPOT, STAM, THWH

Pit 17

Contexts with finds: 194
Individual accessioned finds: [194] <72> linen cloth
Illustrated ceramics: 159 [194] LOGR CP (*ASii*, Fig 2.63)
Pottery types present: EMS, ESUR, LOGR, RPOT, THET

Pit 27

Contexts with finds: 119
Individual accessioned finds: 127 [119] <10> stone hone; [119] <11> ceramic crucible; 128 [119] <13> stone hone; [119] <4> stone roof tile; [119] <9> ceramic crucible
Illustrated ceramics: 113 [119] EMSH DISH/BOWL (*ASii*, Fig 2.47)
Pottery types present: ANDE, EMCH, EMCW, EMS, EMSH, EMSS, ESUR, LCOAR, LOGR, LOND, RPOT

APPENDIX 3: BUILDING MATERIALS

Ian M Betts

Stone

The predominant medieval stone building material found on the Cheapside sites is Kentish Rag. This sandy limestone is part of the Hythe Beds division of the Cretaceous Lower Greensand. Large quantities of Kentish Rag were supplied by quarries around Maidstone, and by those at Aylesford to the north and Boughton to the south (Salzman 1952, 128). Kentish Rag was used in large quantities in the Roman period, and the earliest evidence of post-Roman importation of ragstone occurs at 1–6 Milk Street. Here Building 6, dated to 1100–1150 (CP5) had wall foundations of freshly quarried Kentish Rag and chalk.

Chalk was also used, among other things, as a lining for cesspits and as rubble infill sometimes together with flint. The source of the chalk has yet to be determined.

Another important stone type is Upper Cretaceous Reigate Stone. This stone is soft when freshly quarried, but it hardens on exposure to the air. This makes Reigate Stone an ideal stone to cut and shape to produce decorative mouldings. Almost all the Reigate Stone found on the present sites had been used for such a purpose. The earliest Reigate Stone came from Watling Court, dated 1100–1150 (WAT [3891], CP5) and 1–6 Milk Street, dated 1150–1180 (MKL [1015], CP6). Medieval documentary evidence, surviving from the 13th century, states that the stone came from Surrey quarries in the neighbourhood of Reigate and Merstham (Salzman 1952, 129).

Laminated sandstone is a third stone type frequently encountered. No evidence as to its specific use was found but it was most likely used for paving although some of the thinner examples could be stone roofing slates. A shelly example

from Well Court of uncertain date (WEL [1137]), was examined by Dr John Cooper of the Natural History Museum, who concluded that it probably came from the Cretaceous Upper Greensand, possibly from the Reigate area, although an early Tertiary origin could not be ruled out, in which case it would have come from somewhere on the south coast.

Slate roofing material in significant quantities first appears on the Cheapside sites in the second half of the 12th century. The earliest fragments are from Watling Court and date to the period 1150–1180 (WAT [2623, 2661, 3559], CP6). The only evidence for its use before this date is a small fragment from the dark earth at 1–6 Milk Street. Even in the 12th century and after, the amount of roofing slate is very small, indicating that slate roofs were never common. Establishing the provenance of slate is notoriously difficult. Most of the early slate at the Cheapside sites is light bluish-grey. The nearest possible source is the blue schist slates of Cornwall and Devon. The Pipe Rolls show that thousands of slates were already being exported to places like Southampton and Winchester from the Devon ports in the late 12th century (Jope & Dunning 1954, 209).

Ceramic roofing tile (Figs 61–2)

Considerable quantities of roofing tile first appear in CP5 (1100–1150), particularly from Watling Court. The introduction of ceramic roofing material may well have been connected with a serious fire in the first year of the reign of Stephen (1135–1154), after which some of London's more wealthy citizens covered their houses with thick tile (Riley 1859, xxix, 328–339). Presumably this refers to ceramic roofing tile, although stone roofing may also have been used.

Later, the roofing of buildings in tile was encouraged by the various building regulations which attempted to prohibit the construction of thatched roofs. These were a potential fire hazard where timber houses were built in close proximity. The earliest regulations concerning tiled roofs were drawn up by Henry Fitzailwin following the fire of 1212. This stated that reeds, straw and rushes or stubble were banned and roofs were to be covered with tiles, shingles or boards (Schofield 1984, 76). What have been interpreted as wooden shingles were found at 1–6 Milk Street dating to

the 10th century (MLK [48], CP2: Pritchard 1991, 251, catalogue no. 379).

Listed below are the types of medieval roofing tile found on the present excavations in medieval strata. The fabric numbers refer to the fabric type series held by the Museum of London Archaeology Service. A description of each fabric type mentioned in the text is listed at the end of this report; the fabric numbers derive from a larger ceramic fabric type series.

Tile type	Fabric Type					
	2271	2273	2276	2537	2586	2587
CURVED		X				
FLANGED		X				
PEG	X	X	X	X	X	X
RIDGE	X	X				
SHOULDERED PEG		X				

Three separate types of roof tile were used in London during the 12th century (following Armitage *et al* 1981, 359–362).

Flanged/curved roofing system

Flanged roof tiles were used with curved roof tiles in the same manner as Roman roofing tile (Fig 61A). Both are in fabric 2273. The earliest flanged and curved tiles are in CP5 (1100–1150) at Watling Court (WAT [3512, 3533, 3535, 3544, 3891, 3901, 4073, 4140]) and 1–6 Milk Street (MLK [1032]). Some flanged tiles have an indentation in their lower outside edge to facilitate overlap with the underlying tile.

Shouldered peg tile roofing system

Shouldered peg tiles are also exclusively in fabric type 2273 (Fig 61b). These first occur in CP5 (1100–1150) at Watling Court (WAT [3512, 3582, 4107]). Watling Court also produced fragments of a much rarer type of shouldered peg tile dating to the period 1150–1180 (WAT [4260], CP6; Fig 62a). The sides of the upper third of the tile are tapered outwards from the top edge, rather than straight as in conventional shouldered peg tiles. Figure 62a shows the largest surviving fragment which has a nail hole 10 mm in diameter.

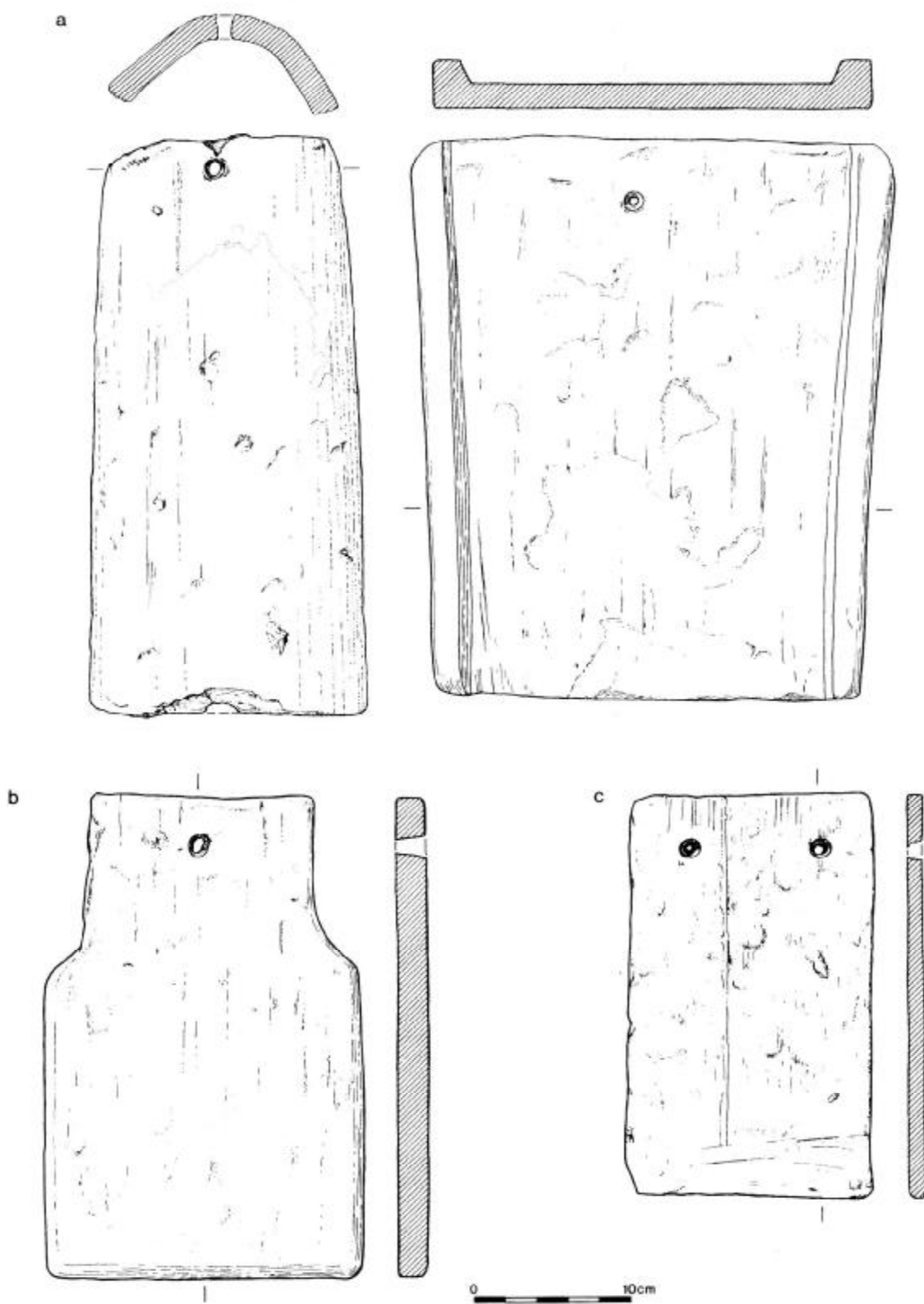


Fig 61. Roof tiles from the Cheapside and other City sites: (a) curved and flanged tile system; (b) shouldered peg tiles; (c) peg tiles.

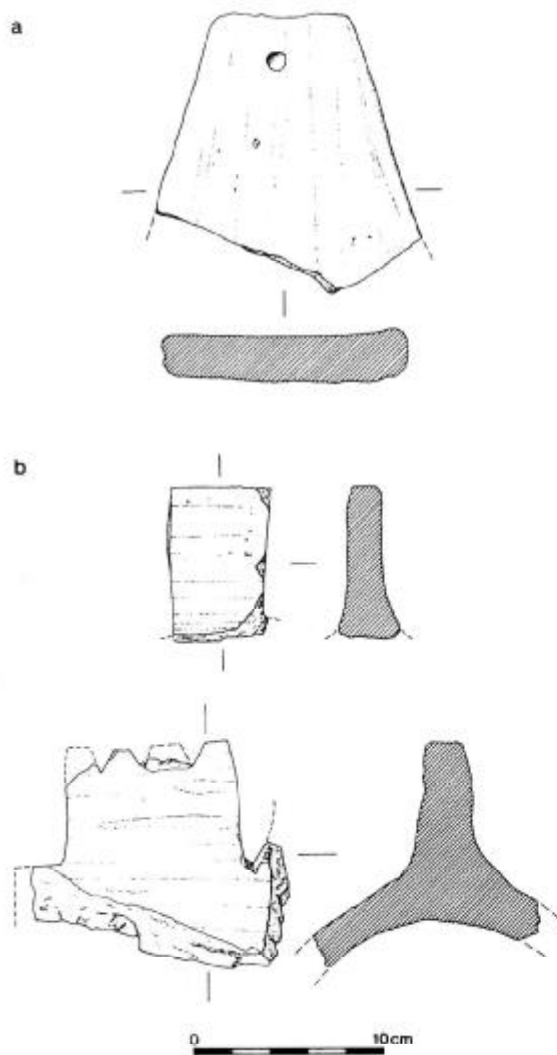


Fig 62. Roofing tile and ridge tiles: (a) a rare type of shouldered peg tile; (b) fragments of decorated ridge tiles from Watling Court (for accession numbers, see text).

Peg tile roofing system

Peg tiles (Fig 61c) are also found in fabric type 2273 but because of the difficulty of distinguishing peg tile from small fragments of shouldered peg and flanged tile in the same fabric their exact date of introduction is at present uncertain. A small number of peg tiles in fabric 2271 first appear at 1-6 Milk Street some time during the period 1150-1180 (MLK [1019, 1030], CP6). From the 13th century onwards the majority of medieval tile is in fabric type 2271. These tiles

continue until peg tiles in fabric 2276 appear in the period 1480-1520 (MIL [334], CP13). These differ from fabric 2271 only in the presence of distinctly finer moulding sand.

Peg tiles in fabric 2587 first appear in the period 1270-1350 at Watling Court (WAT [2031, 2033, 3665], CP9). At 1-6 Milk Street the first tile in this fabric is found in Pit 116 of 1240-1270 (MLK [3061], CP8). The other tile fabrics, 2537 and 2586, first appear around the same time at Watling Court (fabric 2537: CP9-10, 1270-1360, WAT [2053]; fabric 2586: CP9², 1270-1350, WAT [2058]).

Evidence from Milk Street and Watling Court suggests that the flanged/curved and shouldered peg tile roofing systems fell out of use sometime towards the end of the 12th century or during the early 13th century. Both types of roofing were superseded by ordinary peg tiles, which continued to be used throughout the medieval period.

Method of attachment

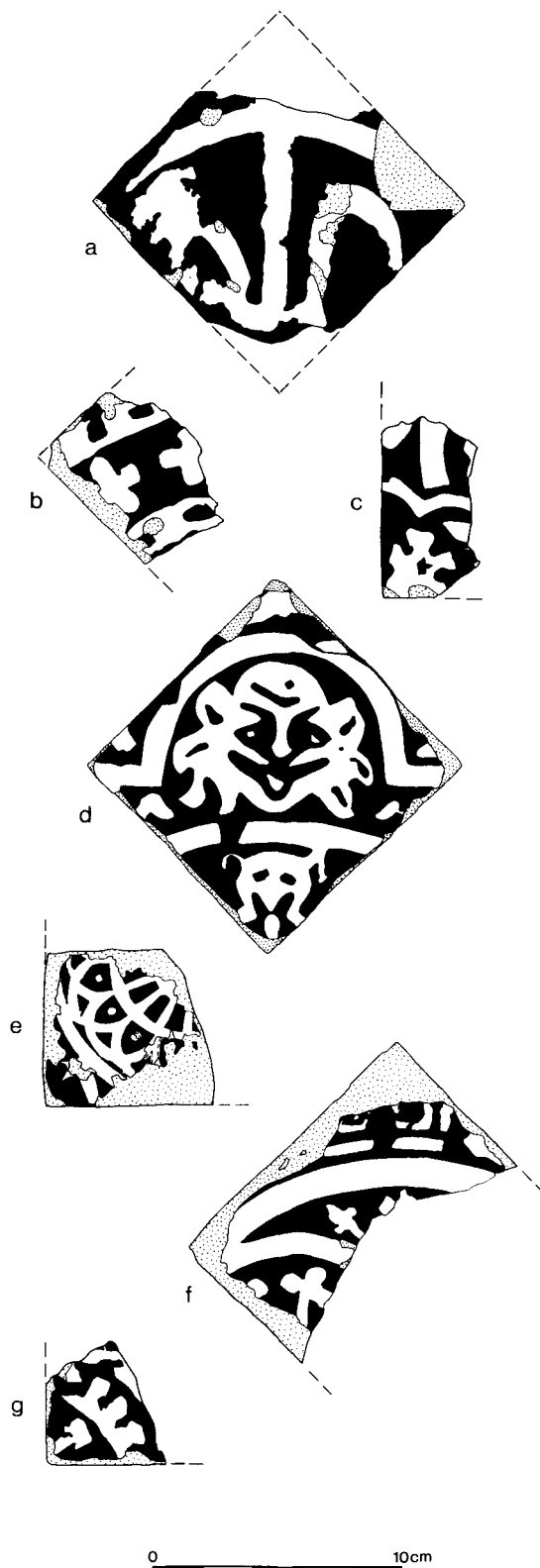
Roof tiles could be attached to the roof by means of either wooden pegs or iron nails. In London, there is evidence for the use of both wooden pegs and iron nails. Two shouldered peg tiles from Watling Court had iron nails still *in situ* in their nail holes (WAT [4079], CP7, 1180-1240; [3562], CP9, 1270-1350). There are frequent references to the use of 'rofnail' in London from the mid 13th century onwards (Salzman 1952, 309-310).

Roof tile size

A number of complete or substantially complete roof tiles were found, particularly peg tiles.

No complete flanged tiles were recovered, but they are unlikely to have been very different from the only complete example in the Museum of London collection. This tile measures 357mm × 255-297mm × 32mm (excluding flange) and has a circular nail hole 10mm in diameter (MoL Acc no. A25232; Fig 61b).

One almost complete curved tile was found in Pit 54 dating to 1150-1200 at 1-6 Milk Street (MLK [1015]). The tile, which is slightly tapered, measures 343mm × 137-177mm × 16-25mm. These measurements are almost identical to those



calculated for a curved tile, of similar date, from Swan Lane (Pritchard 1982).

There is only one substantially complete shouldered peg tile from London (Swan Lane, SWA81 [192], Fig 61b). This tile measures 313mm × 201mm (bottom end) and 143mm × 16–22mm (top end), with a 9mm-diameter nail hole. More than one size of tile was evidently available as Watling Court produced a shouldered peg tile with a smaller breadth measurement of 171mm (WAT [3665], CP9–10). The only substantially complete tapered shouldered peg tile comes from the 1986 excavations at St Alban's House, Wood Street, just north of Cheapside (sitecode ABS86); unfortunately, from an undated context. The Watling Court tiles have a top edge measurement of 70–75mm with a thickness of 21–25mm. The top edge of the St Alban's House tile is incomplete but seems to be larger; the tile tapers out to a breadth of *c.* 191mm.

The largest assemblage of complete peg tiles came from 10 Milk Street (MIL72); the majority of these date to the period 1270–1350 (CP9). The average size of complete or nearly complete examples were:

Fabric	Average size (mm)		Thickness
	Length	Breadth	
<i>1270–1350 (CP9)</i>			
2271	263	154	12
2273	266	154	12 (MIL72)
2273		201	15 (WAT78)
2587	256	149	13
<i>1340–1360 (CP10)</i>			
2271		150	12
<i>1400–1480 (CP12)</i>			
2271		149	15
<i>1480–1520 (CP13)</i>			
2271		159	12
2276		160	13

The average size of peg tiles in fabric 2271 and the examples in fabric 2273 from MIL72 are practically identical. The single example in fabric 2273 from WAT78 is markedly broader. Clearly at least two sizes of peg tile in fabric 2273 were in use during the period 1270–1350. These must

Fig 63. Decorated floor tiles: (a) 'Westminster' type from WAT [3953]; (b) MIL [328] <26>; (c) MIL [328] <24>; (d) MIL [325] <113>; (e) MLK [3162] <748>; (f) MLK [3162] <747>; (g) MLK [3162] <750>. Scale 1 : 3.

have been made in moulds of different sizes. Peg tiles of both sizes in fabric 2273 were found together at Swan Lane (Pritchard 1982).

Peg tiles in fabric 2287 are smaller on average than other peg tiles, indicating that a smaller mould size was used.

During the period 1270–1350 the average breadth of peg tile in fabric 2271 was only fractionally smaller than in 1350–1480. The major change occurred in 1480–1520 when the average breadth of the tile increased. In 1477 an Act was passed in an attempt to regulate the size and quality of roof tile (Celoria and West 1967, 217–220). The size for plain peg tile is recorded as $10\frac{1}{2}$ in \times $6\frac{1}{4}$ in \times $\frac{1}{2}$ in (267mm \times 159mm \times 13mm). The majority of peg tiles from the present sites were around 267mm in length well before the 1477 Act was passed. However, most peg tiles were slightly smaller in breadth than the $6\frac{1}{4}$ in (159mm) specified. It is tempting to explain the increased breadth of peg tiles in the period 1480–1520 as due to the 1477 Act but more evidence is needed. The thickness of peg tile is more or less that specified in the Act.

Ridge tiles

In all three systems of roofing the ridge of the roof would have been covered with ridge tiles. Curved tiles in fabric 2273 could also have been used to cover the ridge of the roof, along with ridge tiles in the same fabric. Ridge tiles differ from curved tiles in having parallel, not tapered, sides. The crest of ridge tiles may either be plain or have additional decoration.

Decorated ridge tiles were rare in the 12th and 13th centuries. Three fragments were found at Watling Court, all in fabric 2273 (WAT [2005, 3891, 3953]). None are securely dated, but all

are probably of 12th-century date. The decoration consists of projecting nibs of clay attached to the crest of the ridge. Two types of decoration are represented (Fig 62). Ridge tiles in other fabrics are too small to allow their original appearance to be reconstructed but all appear to have been undecorated.

Floor tiles

None of the floor tiles found could be related to any specific building. Both plain and decorated tiles were found at the the Cheapside sites, the majority from post-medieval contexts.

Decorated tiles

Two main groups of decorated floor tiles are commonly found in the City of London: the so-called 'Westminster' tile group and Penn-type floor tiles. Both were found on the Cheapside sites.

Tiles in the 'Westminster' group were manufactured in the second quarter of the 13th century (Degnan and Seeley 1988, 18). It is uncertain at present where these tiles were made; a tile kiln producing both plain and decorated floor tiles was discovered at Farringdon Street during the 19th century, but no floor tiles from the kiln have been identified (Eames 1980, 26). Watling Court produced one 'Westminster' tile (Eames 1980, design 2243) in fabric 2195 (Fig 63a). The tile, which measures 108mm \times 108mm \times 22mm, came from a contaminated context in CP7 ((1180–1240) (WAT [3953])).

The second series of decorated tiles came from Penn in Buckinghamshire (Hohler 1942, 6). Penn tiles were recovered from 1–6 and 10 Milk Street (Fig 63b–g). The Cheapside tiles show two sizes, a smaller tile in fabric 1811 and a larger tile size in fabric 2894. Listed below are the designs identified:

Context	Fabric	Hohler No.	Eames No.	Size (mm)	Fig
(MIL72)					
328	2894	P155	–	? \times ? \times 18–19	63b
328	1811	P76	2396	? \times ? \times 19–20	63c
325	1811	–	1833	108 \times 107 \times 21–25	63d
(MLK76)					
3162	1813	P92	2074	? \times ? \times 21–23	63e
3162	2894	P157	–	? \times 118 \times 21–24	63f
3162	1810	–	2234(?)	? \times ? \times 19–21	63g

None of the Cheapside tiles were found in medieval contexts, but the designs belong to either the second or third Penn series, probably made sometime between the 1350s and 1380s (Eames 1980, 223–5).

Plain tiles

Dating and classification of plain medieval floor tiles is extremely difficult if they cannot be related to the structure in which they were used. Flemish tiles can be identified by nail holes in the top surface, fabric and their different method of manufacture. English tiles are glazed and fired whilst Flemish tiles are fired, glazed, and fired for a second time, although this difference can be difficult to detect. Certain floor tiles of Flemish, or of uncertain origin, lack any sort of glaze.

The plain floor tile found is listed below,

divided into those of Flemish manufacture and those of English origin. A few tiles are in fabric types of uncertain provenance. Several medieval tiles come from post-medieval contexts.

The plain glazed floor tiles are all probably of 13th- and 14th-century date. Certain plain glazed floor tiles do occur in later contexts but these are almost certainly residual. Such floor tiles were used throughout the post-medieval period, although they are very difficult to date.

Brick

One complete brick came from MLK76 (fabric 3041), whilst the remainder, in fragments, were found at Watling Court. These medieval and early post-medieval bricks can be placed in four groups based on their size and fabric type, as follows:

CP date	Context	Fabric	Comments
<i>Flemish</i>			
MIL72			
13 (1480–1520)	329, 330, 373	2316	green glaze above white slip
21 (1720–1740)	327	2316	green glaze above white slip
21 (1720–1740)	327	2324	green glaze above white slip
WAT78			
19+ (1680–1700)	5171	2323?+	no glaze
(+) <i>Totally reduced, fabric identification uncertain</i>			
<i>Probable Flemish (in Flemish fabric types)</i>			
MIL72			
13 (1480–1520)	329	2316	no glaze, probable floor tile
21 (1720–1740)	327	1678	yellow glaze
WAT78			
no date	3659	1977	no glaze (?)
no date	2000	2850	yellow glaze
<i>English</i>			
WAT78			
7 (1180–1240*)	3953	2199	yellow, green glaze
8–11 (1240–1400)	3957	2195	green glaze
8–11 (1240–1400)	3957	2199	yellow, green glaze
9–10 (1270–1380)	2053	2851	brown glaze
(*) <i>CP 7 but contaminated by later material</i>			
<i>Uncertain sources</i>			
WAT78			
21 (1720–1740)	507	1813	brown glaze
modern	1026	2320	no glaze

Size group	Fabric	Average size (mm)		Thickness	Date of contexts
		Length	Breadth		
1	3044?	250	120	55	1550-1600 (CP15)
1	3045	260	120	55	1270-1350+ (CP9+)
2	3033	217	101	49	1550-1600 (CP15)
3	3031	201	97	47	1550-1600 (CP15)
4	3041	186	87	48	1360-1400+ (CP11+)

The earliest bricks from the present sites (Group 1; contexts WAT [2005, 2010, 3562]) are characterised by their large length. They are in fabric type 3045 and are dated to the late 13th or 14th century. The long brick in fabric 3044? may be contemporary although it was found in a later context ([2015/2028], CP15).

In CP15 (1550-1600) there are bricks in fabric 3033 of a smaller size (Group 2). There are also incomplete bricks in fabric 3033 (and probably in fabric 3039, though the length of the brick in this fabric is not known) with an average breadth measurement of 120mm and a thickness of 55mm (contexts [2002-2014]). These are probably from the same brickyard as the complete bricks in fabric 3033. From CP15 came a single incomplete brick in fabric 3042 (context [2028]), which is probably from this group: this brick has a breadth of 119mm and a thickness of 55mm, but the length was not complete and therefore the brick was not assignable.

The small bricks of Group 3 in fabric type 3031 (contexts [2002-2014], [2015], [2028]) are a distinctive yellow colour, unlike other brick types which are various shades of red. This implies they were brought into London from a separate brickyard.

A fourth size is indicated in fabric 3041, found from CP11 onwards. It is smaller than the three previous groups.

Later bricks in fabrics 3033 and 3039 continued to be produced in the same size, but bricks in the size groups 1, 3 and 4 were no longer used. This may be due to attempts to produce a 'standard' Tudor brick of 9in x 4¼in x 2¼in (228mm x 108mm x 57mm) in 1571, although this was probably more of a guideline than an exact standard (Lloyd 1925, 12).

The evidence seems to confirm the general impression in London as a whole that brick was rarely used in any quantity before the mid 15th century. This is despite the fact that as early as 1278 Flemish bricks were being brought to London from Ypres for use at the Tower (Smith

1985, 25). Bricks, along with roof tiles, used by the Bridgemaster of London Bridge, are known to have been produced at Deptford in the period 1404-1421 (Schofield 1984, 126). Bricks from 'le Frithe' near St Albans, 18 miles (29km) to the north west were provided for use at the Tower in 1440 (Salzman 1952, 143) and the Stepney and Whitechapel areas, east of the city, which are known to have manufactured bricks in the late 15th/early 16th century (McDonnell 1978, 112-3).

*Concordance between contexts and features
1-6 Milk Street (MLK76)*

Context	Ceramic Phase	Feature
1015	6	Pit 54
1019	6	Pit 48
1030	6	Pit 48
3061	8	Pit 116
3162	15	Pit 120

Watling Court (WAT78)

2002	10+	Pit 152
2005	9+	Pit 153
2010	9+	Pit 153
2015	10+	Pit 152
2028	10+	Pit 152
2031	9	Pit 111
2033	9	Pit 111
2053	9-10	Pit 112
2058	9?	Pit 111
2623	6	Pit 113
2661	6	Pit 113
3512	5	Pit 125
3559	6	Pit 115
3582	5	Pit 95
3659	nd	Pit 160
3665	9	Pit 120
3891	5	Pit 121
3957	8-11	Pit 156
4107	5	Pit 122

List of ceramic building material fabrics

- Fabric: 1678
Tile type: floor tile
Colour: orange
Fabric: common small quartz and calcium carbonate (up to 0.2mm), occasional iron oxide (up to 0.8mm).
- Fabric: 1810
Tile type: floor tile

Colour: light brown, orange, red

Fabric: frequent quartz (up to 0.4mm) and red iron oxide (up to 2mm). Many examples have cream-coloured silty bands.

Fabric: 1811

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: brown, red

Fabric: fairly common red iron oxide (up to 0.3mm) otherwise similar to 2316 (see below).

Fabric: 1813

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: light brown, grey, orange

Fabric: sandy fabric, frequent quartz (up to 1mm).

Fabric: 1977

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: orange

Fabric: common quartz (up to 0.6mm), frequent red iron oxide/clay inclusions (up to 2mm) and cream silty bands and lenses.

Fabric: 2195

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: light brown, orange, grey

Fabric: occasional quartz (up to 0.8mm) otherwise very similar to 2199 (see below).

Fabric: 2199

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: orangy-brown, grey

Fabric: little quartz, scatter of muscovite and black iron oxide (up to 0.01mm). Red iron oxide (up to 1.0mm).

Fabric: 2271/2276

Tile type: peg, ridge tile

Colour: Various shades of red, brown, occasional grey core

Fabric: fine fabric, with scatter of muscovite mica (up to 0.05mm), red iron oxide and calcium carbonate (up to 0.5mm). A small quantity of quartz (up to 0.6mm) usually present. Tiles with fine moulding sand are classed as fabric 2276.

Fabric: 2273

Tile type: shouldered peg, flanged, curved, ridge tile

Colour: orangy-red, light brown, frequent grey core

Fabric: sandy fabric with frequent quartz (up to 1mm), and common calcium carbonate (up to 0.8mm).

Fabric: 2316

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: orange, light brown

Fabric: very similar to 2320 (see below), but lacks black iron oxide and rock fragments.

Fabric 2320

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: orange, pink, light brown

Fabric: fine sandy fabric, common quartz (up to 0.3mm) and occasional black iron oxide (up to 1mm), calcium carbonate, and rock fragments (up to 2mm).

Fabric: 2323

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: orange

Fabric: moderately sandy fabric with quartz (up to 1.3mm) and calcium carbonate (up to 1.5mm). Occasional black iron oxide (up to 0.6mm) and red clay/iron oxide inclusions (up to 5mm).

Fabric: 2324

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: orange, grey

Fabric: fine sandy fabric, common quartz (up to 0.2mm), with frequent red iron oxide (up to 2mm) and occasional silty bands and inclusions (up to 1mm).

Fabric: 2537

Tile type: peg tile

Colour: brownish-orange

Fabric: fairly sandy fabric, common quartz and red iron oxide (up to 1mm).

Fabric: 2586

Tile type: peg tile

Colour: orange-red

Fabric: moderate quartz (up to 0.5mm), with scatter of red and black iron oxide (up to 1mm).

Fabric: 2587

Tile type: peg tile

Colour: orange, light brown

Fabric: lumpy clay texture, scatter of rounded light brown, cream inclusions (up to 5mm). Numerous small black iron oxide grains (up to 0.05mm) and red iron oxide (up to 1mm).

Fabric: 2850

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: orange

Fabric: common quartz (up to 0.5mm), frequent red iron oxide/clay inclusions (up to 2mm), and common silty bands and lenses.

Fabric: 2851

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: orange, light grey

Fabric: scatter of visible quartz (up to 0.3mm), moderate black and red iron oxide (up to 1mm).

Fabric: 2894

Tile type: floor tile

Colour: light brown, orange, red

Fabric: moderate quartz (up to 0.5mm) with occasional red iron oxide (up to 1mm). Some examples have occasional cream-coloured inclusions.

Fabric: 3031

Tile type: brick

Colour: mainly yellow, occasionally pinkish-red, light brown

Fabric: fine sandy fabric, numerous small quartz grains (up to 0.2mm). Scatter of large rounded pellets of fine clay lacking quartz (up to 10mm).

Fabric: 3033/3039

Tile type: brick

Colour: orange, red

Fabric: soft fabric, with moderate quartz (up to 0.5mm). Scatter of black iron oxide (up to 0.8mm) and yellowish-white silty inclusions (up to 4mm). Classified as 3039 when silty inclusions common.

Fabric: 3041

Tile type: brick

Colour: light brown, light red

Fabric: fabric characterised by moderate amounts of calcium carbonate (up to 1.5mm), occasional quartz (up to 0.1mm), ash fragments (up to 1.5mm). Lumpy clay texture.

- Fabric: 3042
 Tile type: brick
 Colour: dark red
 Fabric: clay matrix with fine yellow speckling. Scatter of calcium carbonate (up to 1.5mm) and occasional quartz (up to 0.6mm). Slight lumpy clay texture.
- Fabric: 3043
 Tile type: brick
 Colour: light brown, yellowish-brown to yellow
 Fabric: clay matrix with frequent streaking and speckling. Occasional shell fragments with a scatter of quartz (up to 0.6mm). Quartz can occur in sandy bands.
- Fabric: 3044
 Tile type: brick
 Colour: yellow
 Fabric: yellow clay matrix with red mottling. Abundant small quartz (up to 0.2mm).
- Fabric: 3045
 Tile type: brick
 brown, orange, maroon, with fine white speckling
 Fabric: speckled clay matrix, few visible inclusions apart from occasional mica, and red iron oxide (up to 2mm).

APPENDIX 4: PARASITE REMAINS

Clare de Rouffignac

Introduction

The recovery of parasite eggs from archaeological deposits is a useful technique for determining patterns of sewage disposal in the past. It is now well documented (Jones 1982 and de Rouffignac 1987) that infestations of parasitic worms were widespread in historic populations, with *Ascaris lumbricoides* (maw-worm) and *Trichuris trichiura* (whip-worm) being the most common species.

These worms, which result from poor standards of hygiene and unsanitary living conditions (Grieg 1981), can cause physical debilitation when present in large numbers but are not fatal. The eggs, which number several thousand per day per individual worm, are produced in the gut and are passed out with the faeces before preservation in archaeological deposits or infestation in other individuals. It can be assumed that concentrations of over 2,000 ova per gram (opg) indicates that a sample is primarily faecal in origin; normally the proportions of trichurid to ascarid eggs are about 3:1 in well preserved samples.

The identification and quantification of parasite eggs was carried out for a number of post-Roman samples from four Cheapside sites: Milk Street, Well Court, Ironmonger Lane and Watling Court.

Methodology

The condition of each sample was noted and a small amount was disaggregated in sodium triphosphate solution before microscopic examination at x100 to determine the presence or absence of parasite eggs. If parasite eggs were present, quantification was carried out (after Jones 1985) and the values obtained were calculated to give concentrations of opg. Wherever numbers of eggs were sufficient, 100 complete specimens in a sample of *Trichuris sp.* were measured and checked statistically to confirm the species as *T. trichiura*.

Results

Watling Court (WAT78)

CP1: The samples from the pits appear to indicate that all except Pit 38 were used for disposal of human waste due to the presence of both *A. lumbricoides* and *T. trichiura*; however, only a single sample was examined from Pit 38 rather than the multiple samples from other pits. Pit 12 appears to have functioned primarily as a cesspit, whilst samples from Pits 9, 15, 18 and 23 all contained lower concentrations of parasite eggs and must have been used as combined cess/rubbish pits.

CP3: A single sample from Pit 76 was positive for parasite eggs, indicating some faecal input.

CP4: Pits 40, 43, 46 and 47 gave either low or negative counts for parasite eggs, but the samples were poorly preserved and this could have influenced the results obtained. Pit 52 appears to have been a cess and rubbish pit, whilst a series of samples from Pits 61–63 indicate primary use for sewage disposal. Pit 65 appears to have been backfilled with material containing cess, but its primary function is not apparent from the samples obtained.

An extremely low count was obtained for [3027], a sample from an occupation layer in Building 3, but probably comes from 'back-ground' levels. Samples from Building 4 included occupation layers and 'wood remnants'; not surprisingly the latter contained no parasite eggs, but only two of the former ([829] and [777]) had any eggs present. This indicates some spreading of faeces from either casual defecation within the building or 'treading in' from an outside source.

CP5 and 5–6: Low positive counts were obtained for samples from Pits 48, 60, 95, 99 and 121/124/126, indicating a combined cess/rubbish disposal function. A single context [4105] from Pit 122 gave a negative result, but this could again result from poor preservation. Pit 126 appears to have been used for disposal of both cess and other refuse as low counts were obtained for contexts [4075] and [4076].

CP6 and 7: Single samples from three pits were examined; two (Pits 110 and 114) were positive for *A. lumbricoides* and *T. trichiura*, indicating some faecal input; the sample from Pit 113 was negative. [4145], a sample from a make-up layer, gave an extremely low count which is probably a 'background' level. Two samples from Pit 108 indicate use as a cess/rubbish pit.

CP9: Samples from Pit 111 varied in preservation, but two of the samples contained high concentrations of eggs, pointing to primary use as a cesspit. A number of samples from Pit 120 were positive but had lower concentrations, indicating little faecal input.

CP10+ and 15: Three samples from the secondary use of Pit 152 were negative, but were poorly preserved.

CP19–21, and 21+: Single samples from Pits 172 and 176 were positive; [1618] the primary use of the former indicated use as a cesspit, whilst [2528] from the disuse of the latter contained concentrations of eggs which could come from some faecal input mixed with other refuse. A poorly preserved sample [3095] from Pit 177 had only a few eggs present per gram, and the function of the pit cannot be determined from this.

Well Court (WEL79)

CP1: Only one sample was examined as the remainder had been discarded, so little information could be obtained. Context [92] from Pit 11 gave low counts for *A. lumbricoides* and *T. trichiura*, indicating the presence of faecal material, but greatly diluted with other refuse.

Milk Street (MLK76)

CP1 and 2: Out of the nine samples examined, only a single context [3211] from usage of Building 1 gave a small count for *A. lumbricoides*.

No eggs were present in the samples from Buildings 4 and 5. It is difficult to interpret these results as the samples were poorly preserved, but it is possible that the presence of parasite eggs in small numbers results from casual defecation and spreading of the faeces within the building.

Ironmonger Lane (IRO80)

CP1 and 2: Three samples from the occupation layers of Building 2 were examined, two of which gave low counts of *A. lumbricoides* and *T. trichiura*. Context [233] from the disuse of Building 2 was also positive for parasite eggs, as was [280] from the disuse of Building 1.

CP3–5: Samples from three pits gave widely differing results. Pit 23, the earliest feature from CP3, certainly had a primary function as a cesspit at some stage, with a very high concentration of parasite eggs from context [150]. No eggs were present in [140], a sample from Pit 18 (CP3/4), but this could be due to poor preservation rather than to the absence of cess disposal. Pit 27 (CP5), however, appears to have been used as a cesspit as well as for general waste, with context [119] containing both ascarid and trichurid eggs.

Conclusions

The presence of parasite eggs in many of the archaeological deposits from these sites again points to endemic infestations of historical populations with parasitic worms. From the results obtained, especially from the Saxon and medieval periods, it is apparent that most pits were used for the disposal of cess. The number of pits with a primary function as cesspits appears to have been far less than those used as combined rubbish cesspits. Small numbers of parasite eggs recovered from Saxon occupation layers indicate the presence of small amounts of faeces within the buildings and seemingly little regard for standards of hygiene.

The effects of the drying out of samples must be noted; poorly preserved samples appeared to contain far fewer eggs than comparative samples which had been kept damp. The results from such samples should therefore be used with great caution for determining the presence or absence

of faecal material, and especially for quantitative analysis.

The pits with layers examined for parasites are listed in Appendix 2; their botanical contents in detail are given in Tables 5.4–5.11 in *ASii*, 356–71.

APPENDIX 5: PLANT REMAINS FROM A MEDIEVAL CESSPIT AT MILK STREET

Anne Davis

During the 1977 excavations at 1–6 Milk Street (MLK76) the whole of one layer within Pit 116 dated to 1240–70 (context [3061]), comprising more than 100 litres, was removed for biological analysis. Subsequent processing in the laboratory split the deposit into a number of subsamples whose exact treatment thereafter is not clearly recorded. Seeds were sorted and stored dry for several years before identification, which may have led to the destruction of fragile specimens. The table of species identified therefore does not include seed numbers, as the processing methods used have led to biased recovery and preservation rates for seeds of different sizes.

Preservation of most seeds was by waterlogging in anaerobic conditions but some of the larger fruit stones had apparently lost their hard outer shells and the insides were preserved by mineral replacement. This is common in cesspits, where the presence of faecal matter results in high phosphate levels (Green 1979). In two cases cherry stones still surrounded by their flesh were preserved in this way.

Seeds of cultivated plants were extremely abundant in this sample with plum and cherry stones occurring in particularly high numbers. These plants have only one stone per fruit, and the number of plums and cherries represented runs into thousands. Apple or pear, fig, grape and mulberry pips were also very common, and a few grains of wheat, barley and oats were preserved by mineral replacement.

Also very frequent, but more likely to have grown wild and to have been collected for food, were blackberry or raspberry, and strawberry.

Several weeds of cultivated ground were present, such as hare's ear (*Bupleurum cf. rotundifolium*), fool's parsley (*Aethusa cynapium*) and corn cockle (*Agrostemma githago*). These probably

arrived on site accidentally with cereals or other crops.

Apart from a very small number of wetland plants, all the remaining species were weeds of waste places and disturbed ground. All these are very common and found on sites of all ages both in London and elsewhere. Most have very catholic habitat requirements and could have arrived on site as crop weeds, or have grown on patches of waste ground on or near the site itself.

The plant remains from this very rich context fell quite neatly into the three groups described above (food plants, arable and waste ground weeds), with food plants dominating the assemblage, as might be expected in a cesspit. The range of fruits suggests that the deposit accumulated over at least several months during the summer and autumn seasons, and is likely to have built up quite quickly as the anaerobic conditions necessary for preservation would not have existed if it had been exposed for long. If this was the case, the very high numbers of plum and cherry stones lead to the conclusion that the pit was used for waste disposal by quite a large number of people.

Grape, fig and mulberry are plants whose fruit does not ripen easily in this country, although all are known to have been grown here during the medieval period. Grape and fig were also commonly imported in dried form, but mulberries are soft, perishable fruits which must be eaten fresh unless preserved in wines or jams.

Both the food and the weed species found in this pit are typical of medieval assemblages from London and elsewhere. Earlier (11th–12th century) pits from the same site contained all the food plants identified here (Jones et al 1991), and seed lists from medieval sites at St Mary Spital and the Royal Mint were also very similar (Davis in prep; Giorgi in prep). Only in samples from waterfront dumps beside the Thames have more exotic foodstuffs been found from this period in London (Pearson in prep).

Plant remains from context 3061

Species	Common name	Habitat/use
<i>mineral-replaced seeds</i>		
Triticum aestivum/aestivo-compactum	bread/club wheat	FI
Triticum sp.	wheat	FI
Hordeum sativum	barley	FI
Avena sp.	oats	AT

Plant remains from context 3061 (*continued*)

Species	Common name	Habitat/use
<i>waterlogged seeds</i>		
<i>Caltha palustris</i> L.	marsh marigold	CE
<i>Ranunculus acris/repens/bulbosus</i>	buttercup	ABCDEG
<i>Fumaria officinalis</i> L.	fumitory	A
<i>Brassica cf. nigra</i>	black mustard	BI
<i>Brassica</i> spp.	wild cabbage/turnip/ mustard	ABI
<i>Silene</i> sp.	campion/catchfly	ABCDF
<i>Agrostemma githago</i> L.	corncockle	A
<i>Stellaria media</i> (L.) Vill	chickweed	AB
<i>Chenopodium album</i> L.	fat hen	ABFH
<i>Atriplex</i> spp.	oraches	ABFGH
<i>Vitis vinifera</i> L.	vine	I
<i>Leguminosae</i> indet.	—	—
<i>Rubus fruticosus/idaeus</i>	blackberry/raspberry	CFGH
<i>Fragaria vesca</i> L.	wild strawberry	CDF
<i>Prunus spinosa</i> L.	sloe/blackthorn	CFG
<i>Prunus avium/cerasus</i>	sloe/cherry	CFGH
<i>Prunus domestica</i> L.	plum/bullace	CI
<i>Prunus</i> spp.	—	CFGH
<i>Pyrus/Malus</i> spp.	pear/apple	CFI
<i>cf. Rosaceae</i> indet.	—	—
<i>Torilis cf. arvensis</i>	spreading hedge-parsley	A
<i>Bupleurum cf. rotundifolium</i>	hare's-ear	A
<i>Aethusa cynapium</i> L.	fool's parsley	A
<i>Umbelliferae</i> indet.	—	—
<i>Polygonum aviculare</i> L.	knotgrass	ABG
<i>Polygonum lapathifolium</i> L.	pale persicaria	ABE
<i>Polygonum hydropiper</i> L.	water pepper	E
<i>Polygonum convolvulus</i> L.	black bindweed	ABF
<i>Polygonum</i> spp.	—	—
<i>Rumex</i> spp.	dock	—
<i>Ficus carica</i> L.	fig	I
<i>Morus nigra</i>	mulberry	FHI
<i>Morus</i> sp.	mulberry	I
<i>Corylus avellana</i> L.	hazel	CF
<i>Solanum nigrum</i> L.	black nightshade	BF
<i>Labiatae</i> indet.	—	—
<i>Sambucus nigra</i> L.	elder	BCFGH
<i>Carduus/Cirsium</i>	thistle	ABDEG
<i>Centaurea</i> sp.	knapweed/thistle	ABDGH
<i>Compositae</i> indet.	—	—
<i>Carex</i> spp.	sedges	CDEH

Key to habitats and uses: A. Weeds of cultivated land; B. Ruderals: weeds of waste places and disturbed ground; C. Plants of woods, scrub, hedgerows; D. Open environment (fairly undisturbed); E. Plants of damp/wet environment; F. Edible plants; G. Medicinal and poisonous plants; H. Plants with possible commercial or industrial uses; I. Cultivated plants.

CONSTRUCTIONS MÉDIEVALES ET DÉVELOPPEMENT IMMOBILIER DANS LE QUARTIER DE CHEAPSIDE

Résumé

Ce rapport présente les résultats de quatre fouilles archéologiques ayant eu lieu de 1976 à 1980 dans les rues rayonnant autour de Cheapside, la rue commerçante principale de Londres aux époques saxonne et médiévale, de même qu'une recherche documentaire concernant ces sites et le quartier environnant. Cette étude met en évidence la période allant de 850 à 1700.

La configuration du tracé des rues dans ce quartier a été probablement établie aux alentours de 886, quand le Roi Alfred restaura la ville. La fouille de Well Court démontra que les origines de Bow Lane remontent probablement à la fin du 9ème siècle, et ceci laisse à penser que le quartier de Cheapside lui-même était déjà conçu à ce moment-là. Au nord de Cheapside, Milk Street ('Rue du Lait') et Ironmonger Lane ('Chemin du Quincaillier') semblent avoir été tracés quelques temps plus tard; la première sans doute par étapes au cours du 11ème siècle, le deuxième vers 1100. Dès le 14ème siècle des ruelles traversaient les propriétés, celles-ci devenant des rues ouvertes au public autour de 1600.

Dès le 12ème siècle, il est possible d'identifier dans le quartier de Cheapside plusieurs îlots de terrains pouvant représenter des propriétés qui se trouvaient là auparavant. Le travail entrepris par les archéologues suggère que ces lotissements étaient composés de plusieurs bâtiments: les blocs de maisons les plus petits situés le long des rues tandis que les édifices les plus importants se trouvaient à l'arrière de ceux-ci donnant sur des cours intérieures. Entre environ 1100 et 1300 des lots de terrains furent progressivement subdivisés et la densité des constructions augmenta, tandis que certains lotissements s'accroissaient à la même période du fait de l'acquisition par les propriétaires de nouveaux biens immobiliers. Autour de 1320, la tendance vers une plus grande densité d'occupation des lieux cessa, et l'évidence archéologique et documentaire suggère qu'il y eut un délabrement des édifices ou une baisse de l'intensité d'habitation le long des façades donnant sur la rue. Il y avait le long de Milk Street plusieurs grandes habitations aux

fondations de pierres, un 'petit coin tranquille' éloigné de la voie publique de Cheapside.

Le témoignage principal fourni par ces quatre sites concerne la période antérieure à 1300, et montre de quelle façon les propriétés comprenaient des bâtiments, des espaces ouverts et des fosses destinées à recevoir les détrit. On déduit qu'il y avait à la fin du 9ème ou au 10ème siècle des constructions en bois le long de Bow Lane du fait qu'il y avait des emplacements où aucune fosse n'avait été creusée. On pouvait trouver dès 1100 de vastes celliers construits en bois à l'arrière des façades sur les deux côtés de Bow Lane, et à partir du début du 12ème siècle des constructions en pierre apparurent sur trois des quatre sites fouillés. La plupart d'entre elles étaient des celliers, tous sauf un situés près de la rue, et étaient sans aucun doute destinés à entreposer des marchandises. Ces édifices en pierre apportaient une stabilité aux façades donnant sur la rue qui leur étaient contiguës. Le témoignage documentaire complète l'image que nous nous faisons des îlots dont ils faisaient partie, tandis que l'évidence archéologique diminue de façon significative à peu près aux alentours de 1300, dûe à l'effet destructeur de constructions plus récentes, notamment celles du 19ème siècle.

Le caractère économique et social de ce quartier était mis en valeur par la nature des bâtiments se trouvant sur des sites qui comprenaient les résidences de certains des plus fortunés et plus importants citoyens de Londres à l'époque médiévale. Mais l'évidence était fragmentaire et les objets qui y étaient associés, trouvés principalement dans des tas d'ordures et des fosses à purin, ne présentèrent aucune caractéristique industrielle ou sociale spéciale. C'est un fait courant quand il s'agit de sites situés aux centres-villes à forte densité de population, reflétant l'entremêlement complexe des pauvres et des riches sur le terrain, ainsi que des règles relatives à la vie urbaine selon lesquelles, après environ 1200, les détrit. étaient ramassés.

MITTELALTERLICHE GEBÄUDE- UND GRUNDSTÜCKSENTWICKLUNG IN UND UM CHEAPSIDE

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Bericht stellt die Ergebnisse vierer Ausgrabungen vor, die von 1976-80 in den

Nebenstrassen der Cheapside stattfanden. Cheapside war in sächsischer und mittelalterlicher Zeit die Hauptgeschäftsstrasse Londons. Die Untersuchung befaßt sich mit der Zeit von 850 bis 1666 unter Heranziehung von Archivmaterial über Ausgrabungsstätten und Umgebung.

Die Strassenführung in dieser Gegend wurde vermutlich um 886 festgelegt, als König Alfred die Stadt wiederaufbaute. Die Ausgrabung in Well Court zeigt, daß Bow Lane wahrscheinlich im späten 9. Jh. entstand. Dieses legt die Vermutung nahe, daß Cheapside selber um diese Zeit schon existierte. Nord Cheapside, Milk Street und Ironmonger Lane scheinen etwas später entstanden zu sein, erstere vielleicht nach und nach während des 11. Jhs, letztere gegen 1100. Im 14. Jh. führten Gassen durch die Grundstücke, die bis 1600 zu öffentlichen Strassen geworden waren.

Im 12. Jh. können wir in der Cheapside Gegend mehrere größere, zusammenhängende Grundstücke erkennen, die frühere Grundstücksgrenzen markieren könnten. Die archäologischen Arbeiten lassen vermuten, daß darauf mehrere Gebäude standen, kleinere entlang der Strasse, grössere dahinter im Hof. Zwischen 1100 und 1300 wurden die Grundstücke zunehmend geteilt und die Baudichte nahm zu. Auf der anderen Seite wurden einige Grundstücke größer, als Eigentümer Land dazu erwarben. Um 1320 herum liess der Trend zu größerer Baudichte nach. Archäologische und urkundliche Quellen weisen auf einen Verfall bzw. Niedergang der Bebauungsdichte entlang der Strassenfront. An der Milk Street standen mehrere große Häuser auf Steinfundamenten, in ruhigerer Lage abseits der geschäftigen Durchgangsstraße Cheapside.

Die Hauptfunde der vier Ausgrabungen stammen aus der Zeit vor 1300. Sie zeigen, daß sich auf den Grundstücken Gebäude, offene Flächen und Müllgruben befanden. Im späten 9. oder 10. Jh. entstanden in Bow Lane vermutlich Gebäude aus Holz. Wir schliessen dies aus Lücken in der Strassenfront, die keine Gruben oder Löcher aufweisen. Gegen 1100 gab es beiderseits Bow Lane von der Strassenfront zurückgesetzt große aus Holz gebaute Keller. Bei drei von den vier Ausgrabungen fanden wir Steingebäude aus dem frühen 12. Jh.. Die meisten waren Keller, bis auf eines waren sie an die Strasse gebaut und zweifelsohne zur Warenlagerung bestimmt. Diese Steingebäude gaben der Strasse Halt. Urkunden

ergänzen das Bild der Baugrundstücke zu denen sie gehörten, während archäologische Funde von ungefähr 1300 an als Folge der Bautätigkeit besonders im 19. Jh. merklich nachlassen.

Die Besonderheiten der Gebäude einschließlich der Wohnhäuser einiger der vermögensehrendsten und einflussreichsten Bürger im mittelalterlichen London sind Zeugnis der gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung dieser Gegend. Der Nachweis bleibt jedoch bruchstückhaft und die dazugehörigen Artefakte, hauptsächlich aus Müll und Senkgruben, gaben keinerlei Hinweis auf besondere gesellschaftliche oder industrielle Aktivitäten. Dieses stimmt mit der bei Ausgrabungen in dicht besiedelten Stadtgebieten allgemein gemachten Erfahrungen überein und spiegelt auch die vielgestaltige Vermischung von reich und arm wieder. Dazu kommt, daß von ungefähr 1200 an der Müll aufgrund städtischer Verordnung abzufahren war.

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- Cal Inq Misc Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* (1916-)
- Cal Inq P M Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (1904-)
- Cal LB A etc Calendar of Letter-Books preserved among the archives of the Corporation of the City of London: Letter-Books A to L* (ed R R Sharpe, 11 vols, 1899-1912)
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