

# Excavations at Carmarthen Greyfriars, 1983–1990

By TERRENCE JAMES

*LARGE SCALE EXCAVATIONS* have revealed extensive remains of the Franciscan friary. This study concentrates on the complex structural sequence of the chancel, and buildings around part of the Greater and Lesser Cloister, from a foundation about 1250, until after the Dissolution. The specialist reports are published in other forms elsewhere\*, but are referenced from this report.

Carmarthen comprised two towns in the Middle Ages (Fig. 1): Old Carmarthen owed its origins to the former Roman town of Moridunum; New Carmarthen was sited to the W., founded around the castle which was in existence certainly by 1109 (replacing the earlier motte and bailey at Rhyd-y-gors a little lower down the river). Both towns were granted chartered privileges by Henry II. The development of Carmarthen in the 13th century is now well understood,<sup>1</sup> and its overall topography has been examined over a broader timespan.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to the arrival of the Franciscans the two towns were already very well developed. Old Carmarthen was governed from the Augustinian Priory, a foundation which replaced a short-lived Benedictine house, which itself was based on a pre-Norman church of some importance. The site was partly investigated in 1979.<sup>3</sup> No rentals exist for the old town, but a valuation in the mid 14th century has been used to estimate the number of burgesses at c. 1300. New Carmarthen, as a Royal borough, has a number of rentals (the most useful, in 1268, is the last to list individual burgage rents; thereafter it was farmed). From these it has been estimated that the population was about 1,100–1,200 persons, giving a combined population of c. 1,500–1,600 — comparable to many English market towns.<sup>4</sup> New Carmarthen received its first grant of murage in 1233, and its walled area was enlarged in the 15th century. Old Carmarthen was unwalled, but of course was partly contained within the walls of the former Roman town.

In addition to the Priory, which was rich by Welsh standards,<sup>5</sup> Carmarthen was served by the large parish church of St Peter, which was sited mid-way between the two boroughs. First mentioned c. 1100–20, the church remains one of Carmarthen's few surviving medieval structures. The Rood Church of St Mary, which is first recorded in 1252, stood at the hub of the new town near the castle. In addition, the

\* See p. 192 for details.

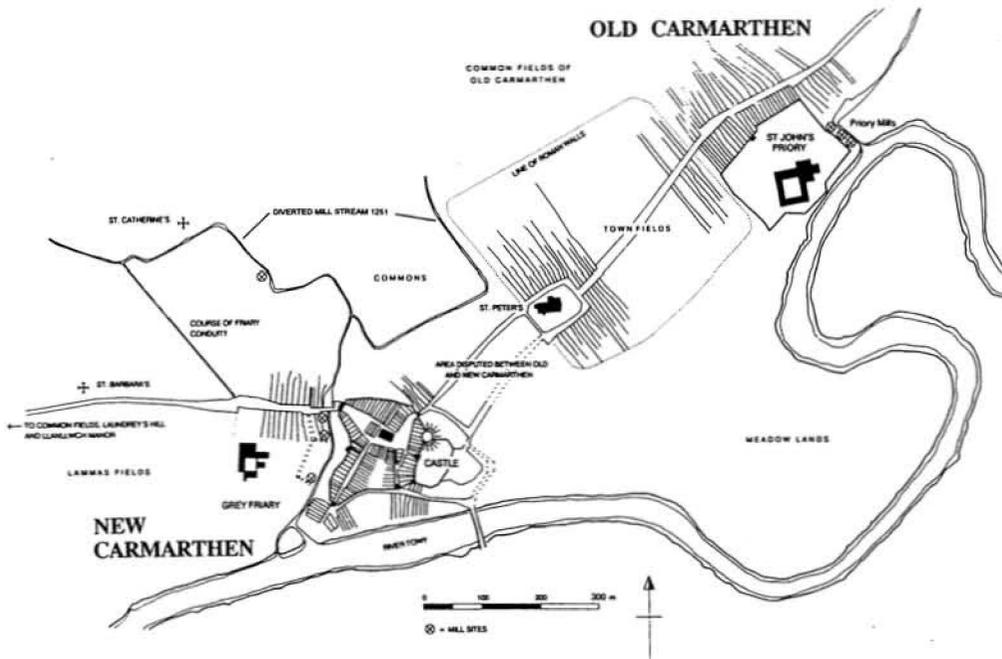


FIG. 1

Map showing relationship between New and Old Carmarthen. Drawing by Neil Ludlow

spiritual needs of the town were also catered for by chapels dedicated to St Barbara, St Catherine (a hermitage), St John (Capel Iwan), and the castle chapel.

From a political viewpoint the Lord Prior held a considerable monopoly on the religious life of both towns, and in this context the coming of the Franciscans was probably not met with much Christian charity. The actual foundation date of the friary is not known, although the excavation evidence has possibly pushed the date back before the first documented reference to the church in 1282. On the 16 June of that year William de Valence (William *le Jeune*), son of the Earl of Pembroke, was slain by the Welsh near Llandeilo and his remains were conveyed to the church of the Greyfriars for burial.<sup>6</sup> His tomb was still a prominent feature in the choir of the friary in 1530.<sup>7</sup>

Carmarthen was one of only three Franciscan houses in Wales: Llanfaes, Anglesey (1237) is the earliest recorded, followed by Cardiff (before 1269).<sup>8</sup> Carmarthen was the richest foundation, and like Cardiff fell under the custody of Bristol Greyfriars.<sup>9</sup> Uncertainty exists about the founder of Carmarthen Greyfriars, although as late as 1394 it was said to be 'of the King's foundation'.<sup>10</sup> If this was the case, then it would limit the choice of benefactor and the foundation date. Henry III granted New Carmarthen to Prince Edward in 1254 and then in 1265 to Edward's brother, Edmund. However, in 1279, the by then King Edward persuaded his brother to exchange Carmarthen for certain properties in England. From that year Carmarthen formed part of Edward's strategy for the final

subjugation of the Welsh, becoming the caput of the Principality of South Wales. The choice of founder would therefore seem to be limited to either Henry III or Edward (either as prince or king) if we are to take the document of 1394 at face value (although Edmund cannot be completely ruled out). Two other persons who might be associated with the foundation and early history of the friary are worthy of consideration: Thomas Wallensis, elected Bishop of St David in 1247, was formerly Master of the Franciscan order in England, and a man greatly admired by contemporary friars like Roger Bacon and Robert Grosseteste. Wallensis could have been instrumental in encouraging the establishment of the Friary during his episcopacy which ended in 1255.<sup>11</sup> If he was, then this would place the foundation during Henry III's reign, when Prince (the Lord) Edward was granted New Carmarthen. The year 1254 was of 'prime importance in Edward's life' for in that year his father granted him massive estates, a knighthood, and he was married — all in his fifteenth year.<sup>12</sup> In 1280 Edward I secured the election of his trusted servant Thomas Bek to the see of St Davids, as part of his policy of final conquest and consolidation of Wales. As former chancellor of Oxford, Bek was aware of the influences of the Franciscan friars, and may well have encouraged the new foundation at Carmarthen as part of his reform of the Welsh Church. This would have been given further impetus during the visitation of the Franciscan, Archbishop Pecham, in 1284, despite differences between the two prelates relating to metropolitan authority.<sup>13</sup>

There is no mention of the friary in any of New Carmarthen's rentals, and nothing to suggest that the friars occupied an earlier site within the walled borough (although they did hold a messuage in Quay Street).<sup>14</sup> The site chosen was W. of the town, in Lammas Fields, S. of the rapidly expanding extra-mural Lammas Street. It is assumed that the friars had been granted what had been communally-farmed land, as the Lammas place name indicates fields farmed in common, and thrown open to pasture when cattle were allowed to feed on the aftermath of cereal crops on 1 August. (The Welsh name for the street, Heol Awst, translates as 'August Street'). The mechanism by which such land could be obtained (the burgesses would surely have had to be given access of other farmland in exchange) indicates that the benefactor was rich, powerful, and in all probability the Lord of New Carmarthen.

The friary was built on what today would be described as a green field site — there was just one timber building under the church. The friars were unconstrained by the sort of cramped situations that many houses of the mendicant orders contented themselves with inside walled towns. The site was relatively level, sloping gently down from Lammas Street to the river, and was thus well drained. However the friars did not have enough room for all their eventual needs, because they extended their close by 4 perches in 1295 and in 1329 they purchased a piece of land 80 by 28 feet which adjoined their land on the N. side;<sup>15</sup> possibly the same piece of ground which was confirmed to them by the Black Prince in 1351.<sup>16</sup> Later, in 1394, they further extended their close by 3 roods, possibly to extend their burial ground.<sup>17</sup>

The earliest documentation that survives for the friars relates to their water supply. In 1284 they were granted certain rights by Edward I over a man-made

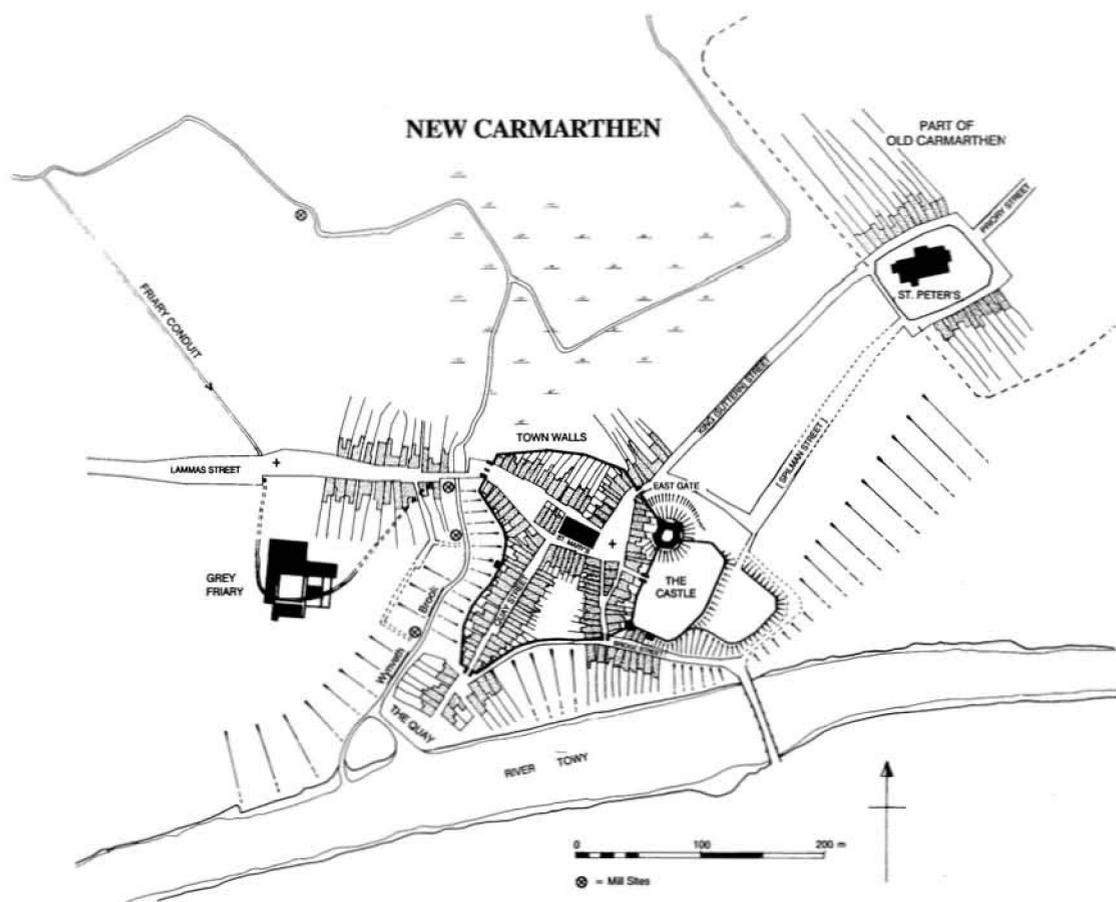


FIG. 2

Map of New Carmarthen showing conjectured size *c.* 1290. Drawing by Neil Ludlow

watercourse that supplied the Cock (actually Cog) Mill which was held in part by the king. This mill race was originally constructed as a result of an inquisition in 1251, which shows there were a number of mills along the Wynveth brook that would benefit from a greater influx of water (Fig. 2). The millers of 1251 diverted the Tawelan brook at Trevaughan (SN 402 214) *c.* 2 km NNW. of the site of the friary.<sup>18</sup> In the grant of 1284 the friars were allowed to construct a branch conduit along what became Water Street to the friary, as long as those waters could be turned back quickly at the time of war.<sup>19</sup> The reason for this unusual clause is because the 1251 diversion formed part of the defences of New Carmarthen.

In 1295, the friars asked for an additional 4 perches of land adjoining their enclosure; furthermore, that the watercourse granted to them which ran through the king's land opposite was to be straightened and be 1½ ft. wide.<sup>20</sup> This new piece of land could be the stretch which extended from the S. side of Lammas Street to

the Friary from the present arched opening which is thought to be the site of the gatehouse (SN 4100 2006).

Further work on the watercourse is recorded in 1331 when Edward III ratified a grant to a spring (presumably at Trevaughan) in a park called Walter his Waseway on Mount Berwyn, 'and to make an aqueduct' and liberty to dig for 'veins of water' and to collect and conduct these by underground passages to a 'certain place . . . where they may erect a little house of stone either round or square as they please 10 feet long and as many broad'.<sup>21</sup> The site of this conduit house is not known, but the grant itself suggests that the existing water supply was either failing, or that they needed to increase the flow because of enlargements to the friary complex.

Little is recorded about the work of the friars in Carmarthen. Speed's map of the town shows a cross in Lamma Street, and today the street still shows a broadening near the arched entrance to the friary, which marks the cross site. The cross was probably used by the friars for their open-air preaching. In 1340 their church became involved in an case relating to sanctuary, when three felons took refuge there.<sup>22</sup> The burgesses of New Carmarthen claimed that they had no jurisdiction there because it (and indeed also St Peter's) lay outside the walled borough. Friction between the friary and the Lord Prior of Old Carmarthen is indicated by a dispute over mortuary fees late in the 14th century. The dispute was settled in 1391 when both parties agreed that parishioners of St Peter's, dying within the parish and desiring to be buried at the friary, should first have the *ultimo vale* mass celebrated in St Peter's Church. By this procedure the Prior and his convent received the canonical portion of the mortuaries and bequests, secret and open.<sup>23</sup>

Little is known of the income of the friary: their lands were limited to what has already been recorded, c. 5 acres around the house, a burgage in Bridge Street and apparently one in Bristol.<sup>24</sup> Some of their income was derived from corrodies. They also received many bequests and the church clearly was a favoured final resting place for the rich and powerful. We know from a number of sources that many eminent families and individuals were buried there. Amongst those listed include persons from the House of Dinefwr like Gruffudd ap Nicholas and his grandson, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and perhaps the most eminent burial was the father of Henry VII, Edmund Tudor. Many of those who were buried there also made bequests to the friary: such revenues which did not go towards the celebration of masses were probably used to undertake repairs and embellish the church. The existence of the friary's library is attested by the fact that one of its manuscript treasures was the roll of arms compiled c. 1340 known as Cook's Ordinary, the oldest ordinary of arms in existence. Another literary possession was a manuscript of the works of Robert Grosseteste, first master of the English Franciscans and the most eminent of contemporary thinkers at Oxford.<sup>25</sup> The numerous book clasps and other objects discovered during the excavation<sup>26</sup> and the references to mass books in the Suppression Inventory (see Appendix E) are further evidence for the un-located library.

The late history of the friary points to it being a well patronized and flourishing institution. Bardic poetry gives some insight into elements of the house: Iolo Goch's

*Marwanan Syr Rhys ap Gruffudd o Lansadwrn*, 'Elegy for Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd',<sup>27</sup> is an eyewitness account of the practice of displaying a dead warrior's military apparel around the grave within the choir during a funeral in 1356. Lancaster Herald's description of 1530<sup>28</sup> confirms that Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd was buried at the friary.<sup>29</sup> Sir Rhys ap Thomas spent his last years at the friary as a corrodian, accompanied by his bard, Tudur Aled (who took the habit of the Grey Friars on his death bed). Unfortunately Tudur does not appear to have written an ode specifically on the friars, but one by William Egwad (fl. 1450–1500) — *Cywydd i Gwert y Brodyr, Caerfyrddin* ('Ode to the Greyfriars of Carmarthen') — has some allusions to the buildings. The lines with architectural interest suggest much use of oak and glass, but nothing certain can be gleaned from the piece.<sup>30</sup> He mentions *inter alia* the marble tomb of Edmund Tudor (which might date the ode to on or after 1496); the cloister and chancel; and that the friary, or part of it, was built (or perhaps rebuilt) by a 'Sir Rhys', who Francis Jones believed was Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd. However the ode closes with the words *cigfran a'i gwnaeth* (it was a raven who made it [the friary]). The family of the house of Dinefwr, whose arms bear ravens, are frequently alluded to as *brân* (raven) and *brain* (ravens) in Welsh poetry.<sup>31</sup> Given that so many of the family were buried at the friary, then any one of them, but especially Gruffudd ap Nicholas (fl. 1425–?1461) or his grandson Sir Rhys ap Thomas (1449–1525), could have been instrumental in enlarging or refurbishing the friary. One certain bit of refurbishment by Sir Rhys undertaken on or after 1496–97, was the building of a *new* tomb for Edmund Tudor (d. 1456). Henry VII gave Sir Rhys responsibility for overseeing 'the making of a newe tombe for our most dere fadre' and part of a substantial annual gift of alms to the Grey Friars of £43 10s.<sup>32</sup> The erection of the tomb in Purbeck marble (now in St David's cathedral) no doubt occasioned a reflooring of the choir. This was probably one of the last major pieces of work undertaken within the choir, save that on Sir Rhys' own tomb in 1521.

The late history of the friary also shows that the friars were still in receipt of benefactions right up to the eve of the Dissolution. Despite what was happening to the monastic houses after 1536, one bequest was made in 1537 by Griffith David Ddu, a priest, of 20s. to the friars and 53s. to a friar observant.<sup>33</sup> At the Dissolution there were 12 friars who put their name to the instrument of surrender,<sup>34</sup> at least one of these, Bernard Blackburn, was a Friar of the Observance. In 1534 Observants were driven from their houses for refusing to take the oath; at least four Observants (three of whom are not named in the surrender) were evidently 'detained' at Carmarthen, and one even appears to have lived at the castle.<sup>35</sup> Late references also include one to William Bate, OFM, who received a dispensation to hold a benefice with a complete change of habit on 20 August 1538.<sup>36</sup>

The description by Lancaster Herald William Fellow of the heraldry within the Greyfriars Church in 1530<sup>37</sup> coupled with the Suppression Inventory of 1538 (Appendix E) gives a useful insight into the friary's buildings. It is clear that the church was adorned with heraldic embellishment, some on funerary monuments, but we may assume some in window glass and bosses. The tombs that are mentioned include those of Edmund Tudor (in marble, in the middle of the choir); William de Valence (in the choir between the High Altar and the tomb of Edmund

Tudor); Sir Thomas Rede (on the S. side of the choir); Gruffudd ap Nicholas (of alabaster, in the 'church' [i.e. the nave] before the image of St Francis). Sir Rhys ap Thomas' tomb (on the N. side of the choir a little from the high altar), had a grate of iron about it with a streamer and banner of his arms with his coat, armour and helmet (Suppression Inventory). The unrestored capstone of the monument in St Peter's Church is much the same today.

The Suppression Inventory is concerned with portable goods rather than the edifice, but it is nonetheless useful for listing a number of rooms and buildings. These are the Sacristy; the choir; the Church (nave); the steeple with its clock and two bells (the bells cost 8s. 4d. to take down, before they were sold at Bristol for 20s.);<sup>38</sup> the King's Chamber, the Inner Chamber; the Chamber next to the Lavery; the chamber next to the Parlour door, the Kitchen; the Brewhouse; the Hall; and finally the Buttery.

The closure of the house and its immediate fate is complicated by two factors: the radical Protestant Bishop, William Barlow, wished to close St David's Cathedral and move the caput of the see to the Greyfriars Church. At the same time Barlow's Precentor, Thomas Lloyd, had plans to establish a Grammar School there.<sup>39</sup> Barlow's plans can be traced from as early as 1536 (almost three years before its final closure). In the tussle between the two factions the buildings soon became ruinous. Appalled at the impasse, in 1539, the Corporation of New Carmarthen wrote to Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal, imploring him to let the building be put to good use as a grammar school. It is clear from this document that the building had by then 'become voide and dessolate, runnyng dayle in contynnuall ruyne and decaie; for there is no fote of lede upon anie part thereof'.<sup>40</sup> Through the townsmen Lloyd offered £40 for the site and £20 as a sweetener 'for your good mediation and travaile to bring it to passe'. Thus in 1543 Lloyd's grammar school, to be known as 'The King's Scole of Carmarthen' was founded, a master and usher appointed, and it flourished until Lloyd's death in 1547, when the revenues from certain lands dried up.<sup>41</sup>

The complexity of what followed is documented by Glanmor Williams<sup>42</sup> and Francis Jones:<sup>43</sup> all that need concern us here is that the school closed and the site passed into private hands. In 1598 the outer gatehouse 'of fair stone . . . fortified with iron bars and fences' was forcibly broken into; the site became disputed and subject to a writ in the court of Star Chamber. In the 17th century the property passed through various hands and in 1632 was sold to the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Vaughan, of Golden Grove. Amongst the various enclosures comprising Friar's Park was one called *Parc y Colomendy*, indicating the presence of a dovecot. Vaughan succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Carbery in 1643 and the property remained part of the Golden Grove estate until 1912.<sup>44</sup>

The fate of the friary and its buildings is not well understood from the surviving deeds. Carbery was a principal player on the Royalist side during the Civil War. At the W. end of Friary's Park stand the surviving remains of Carmarthen's Civil War defences. During the excavations more evidence for these, possibly of an earlier phase, were discovered.<sup>45</sup> What is not evident from the documents, but was clear in the excavated evidence, is that many of the buildings

of the friary (which were already open ruins) were completely demolished to construct part of the Civil War defences. By 1786, when Thomas Lewis' map of Carmarthen was drawn, the site of the friary appeared much as it did when the excavations started. Little or nothing of the friary appeared to survive above ground, with the principal residence (to become known as Friar's Park House) built within its square enclosure clearly depicted. Despite some antiquarian references, which hint at elements of the friary to be seen without specifying precisely where,<sup>46</sup> very little could be said about the precise location of the friary when the opportunity for excavation arose in 1982. The exception was the site of the gatehouse in Lammis Street. This arched opening looks modern, but since it has never been seen with its rendering removed the question of the antiquity of the fabric remains open. The site of the gatehouse is not disputed, and was not subject to any development threat, unlike the rest of Friar's Park.

#### THE EXCAVATION BACKGROUND

In 1982 Carmarthen District Council put forward draft proposals for the development of a town-centre large retailing food store or 'superstore' in combination with a new bus station. The proposal soon matured, with the historic site of Carmarthen Greyfriars being chosen for the store. No excavation had ever been undertaken on the site, which was thought to centre within a walled enclosure around Park House (or Friar's Park House), a two-storey building of apparent late Victorian date based on 18th- or possibly 17th-century walls. The layout of the grounds of Park House, and the house itself, is clearly depicted on Lewis' map of 1786.<sup>47</sup> Very little change to the principal boundaries between then and the early 1980s was apparent, and there was no reason to question the conventional wisdom, namely, that Park House and its grounds were where the friary was once sited.

The Dyfed Archaeological Trust obtained permission from Carmarthen District Council, the owners, to undertake a resistivity survey of the lawned areas fronting the house. The survey covering an area 45 m by 63 m was undertaken in late 1982, and the Ancient Monuments Laboratory report on this<sup>48</sup> pointed to the probable existence of structural remains within the NE. corner of the survey area. On the basis of this, very early in 1983 the Trust obtained permission to hand-dig a number of trial trenches (Fig. 3, T1-7) which exposed surviving N.-S. and E.-W. oriented walls almost directly below the surface. By April new area excavation was agreed, and a large Manpower Services Commission Community Programme provided the backbone of the excavation staff supplemented by a core of experienced excavators funded by Cadw. Throughout 1983 work centred on areas A1-3, which exposed two substantial buildings N. and S. of a cloister, the former (Building 24) initially mistaken for the choir of the church, but now interpreted as the S. Range of the Great Cloister (Fig. 4). Additional trenches were also excavated around Park House (trenches H, CW1-2, T7). The area investigated in 1983 amounted to c. 1,840 sq. m. In December 1983 the Trust sought permission to undertake work at Bassett's Yard outside the NE. corner of the Park House enclosure. This yard, c. 12 m by 17 m was dug in four parts (B1-4), three quarters of the area holding the spoil from one quarter, before back-filling and continuing to the next. Although very disturbed, Bassett's Yard provided evidence for a second cloister, and the Chapter House (building 650) and it became clear that the church had yet to be discovered. At the same time a trench (C1) was excavated in

the Upper Mill Street car park to investigate evidence for an E. range of the S. cloister. This proved that there was probably no E. range.

A second M.S.C. scheme was commenced in January 1984, and in March permission was sought to excavate the area immediately S. of Park House (Area F), a trench W. of the house (I) and small trenches amongst shrubbery on the Lammas Street approach to the house (trenches D, E and G). The latter were sited to investigate evidence for a W. range to the N., or Great, Cloister. The District Council also allowed the Trust to excavate a second trench (C2) in the former Upper Mill Street car park, which located the SE. corner of the Chapter House (650) and more building evidence E. of this (1324). This work was near completion in September, when the Trust asked the Council for permission to undertake more work in the driveway approach to Park House (area DEG, commenced October 1984, which uncovered more evidence for the W. range, building 1323); associated trench T11, and a series of trenches S. and SW. of Park House (CW3-9) were positioned to plot the course of a Civil War ditch first noted in T4. In January 1985 work was also started on studying the upstanding E. wing of Park House, and the exterior cladding was removed and a stone-by-stone study undertaken. Despite the fact that the building was on the same alignment as the friary, its upstanding remains were thought to be no earlier than the 17th century. Its relationship to the friary was not satisfactorily established. These latter parts of the project saw out the second M.S.C. scheme, and the Civil War trenches were completed in March 1986 with a compliment to two site workers.

By the autumn of 1985 the first clear indications of a second development, the construction of a shopping mall linking the superstore with Lammas Street, were crystallizing. This brought forward the prospect of investigating areas N. of Friar's Park, to the rear of the Boar's Head Hotel and T. P. Hughes department store. Land acquisition and relevant planning permissions for this scheme were exceedingly protracted, and many start dates for commencement of work were fixed only to be subsequently abandoned. During this halt in intensive field work, in August 1986, two trial trenches (J and K) were excavated in the car park N. of Park House to seek evidence for the location of the church, since at this juncture it was not known whether the nave or the choir lay N. of the Great Cloister. It was not possible to place these trenches in the most ideal position to satisfy archaeological requirements; nonetheless it became fairly clear that it was the nave that lay N. of the cloister, and that the choir must lie somewhere under the rear of T. P. Hughes and the Boar's Head; the main body of the church was sited under, or was partly incorporated, into the cottages of Friar's Park.

During 1987 the firm of T. P. Hughes Ltd gave permission for the excavation of a hand-dug trench (TPH TT) which located an E.-W. robber trench that was thought to be a N. wall of the church; this conjecture was supported by the abundance of medieval floor tiles and graves. The scene was now set for the final years of excavation. In May 1988 work finally commenced at the rear of T. P. Hughes following the granting of permission by Vanson Plc. and the Land Authority of Wales. Vanson Plc. also provided substantial funds to supplement funding by Cadw. The work was conducted with a team of experienced site workers and some volunteers. After the excavation of a number of 2 m sq. test pits (of these only TP3 is illustrated in Fig. 3, the others were subsumed in subsequent area excavation), two areas — A1 and A2 — were opened. A1 sought evidence for the N. part of the Chapter House (and produced evidence for buildings 1759 and 1972), and A2 for the choir of the church, which was thought to run across this area. It soon became apparent that only the corner of the nave — or rather a N. aisle — was located in part of A2, so because of the restricted timetable, much of this area was abandoned incomplete and work concentrated on A3, which lay over a good part of the choir. Work was completed during August 1988, although it had been hoped to have a rolling programme whereby excavation would have moved E., into the rear of the Boar's Head Hotel. During 1988 contractors worked on the construction of the superstore — Tesco's (outlined in Fig. 3), and a watch on ground works was maintained, and resulted in the observation of more of the Civil War ditch in the former Upper Mill Street car park.

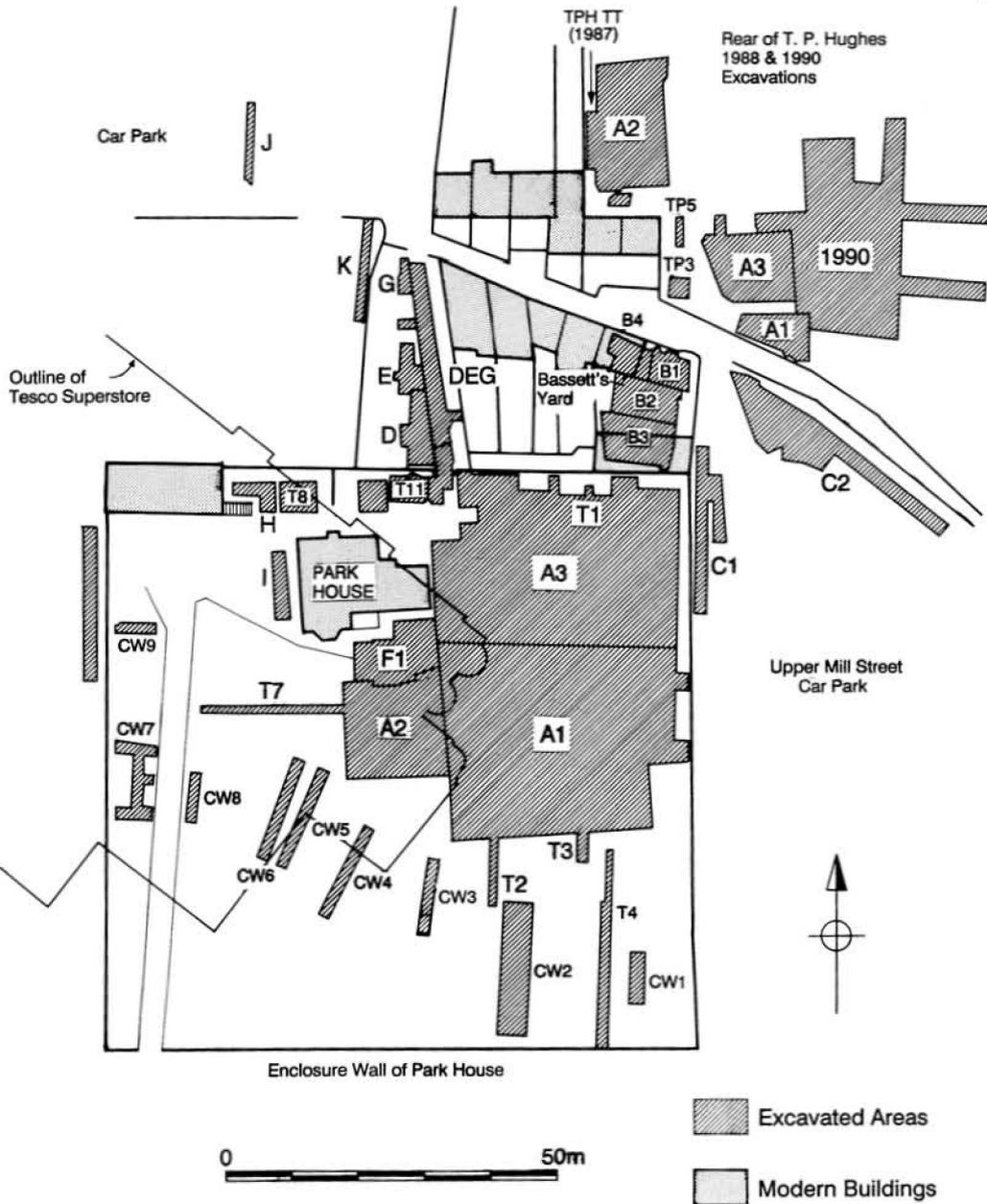


FIG. 3  
Plan showing location of excavated areas

The protracted land acquisition programme of the developers meant that it was not until March 1990 that work commenced on the final season of excavation at the rear of the Boar's Head. This was again conducted with experienced staff, and due to my enforced absence after sustaining a severe head injury, the 1990 excavations were supervised by Ken Murphy. The E. end of the choir and parts of a pre-friary structure (first observed in 1988) were recorded, as well as examination of areas E. and NE. of the choir. The suspected large cemetery in this area did not materialize. At the time of writing the Vanson project had not commenced. Thus soon after Easter 1990 fieldwork on Carmarthen Greyfriars was finally completed — a programme of works that had extended over an eight-year time span.

## THE EXCAVATION SEQUENCE

### PRE-FRIARY FEATURES (Fig. 5)

To all intents and purposes the area on which Carmarthen Friary was constructed may be considered a 'green field' site located some distance from the walled town of New Carmarthen. Historically many friaries were originally built inside cramped walled boroughs. The site lay within Lammas Fields S. of the extramural suburb of Lammas Street. The name 'Lammas' (loaf-mass) — the feast of first fruits — is usually applied to communally farmed land, open fields, commonly meadows. The site of the later claustral buildings did not provide any clear evidence for pre-friary features; any that may have existed could have been destroyed in initial levelling work that was evident for some buildings, or by subsequent building activity. Of all areas excavated, apart from a possible layer E. of Building 24, the only significant pre-friary features were recorded under the choir of the church. The main factor that prevented these features from being destroyed was the dumping of a clay layer to form the sanctuary steps; however the excavation of foundation trenches and many graves resulted in the destruction of most early features.

The earliest features predating the construction of the choir of the church fall into two possibly related series of contexts. The first of these consisted of a U-sectioned ditch (2183) *c.* 0.85–0.95 m wide and 0.25–0.30 m deep running on a WNW.–ESE. alignment passing 4 m N. of the NE. corner of the yet to be built choir (Fig. 5). At a right angle to this were two shallow parallel gullies 2 m apart (2113–14) *c.* 0.2 m wide and *c.* 0.1 m deep running NNE.–SSW. The more substantial trench (2183) produced four sherds of pottery from at least two vessels which are roughly datable to the 12th–13th centuries. There were some detached pits, 2141, 2158 (not illustrated), and a post-hole 2076, none of which produced finds, and may not be of the same date as the ditch.

The second group of features relate to a burnt down timber structure, probably a building (2191). This consisted of a collapsed wattle wall 1946, a line of stake-holes (1971) which had supported the wattling; and another set of stake-holes in layer 1939 and two pits (1935, 1938) W. of the wattle wall. These features had been much disturbed by later activity, and the areas between and around them were totally destroyed by later grave and foundation trench digging. The wattle wall formed a northern wall line to a good gravel surface (1965/2172) varying in thickness between 10 mm at the W. to 120–200 mm further E. Further S. layer 1964 surviving between later grave cuts is interpreted as forming part of the same gravel floor. The layer appeared to terminate on the W. side in a straight line that presumably formed another wall line, and the NW. angle made by this line contained a substantial flat block, perhaps a post pad. Otherwise there was no other indication of

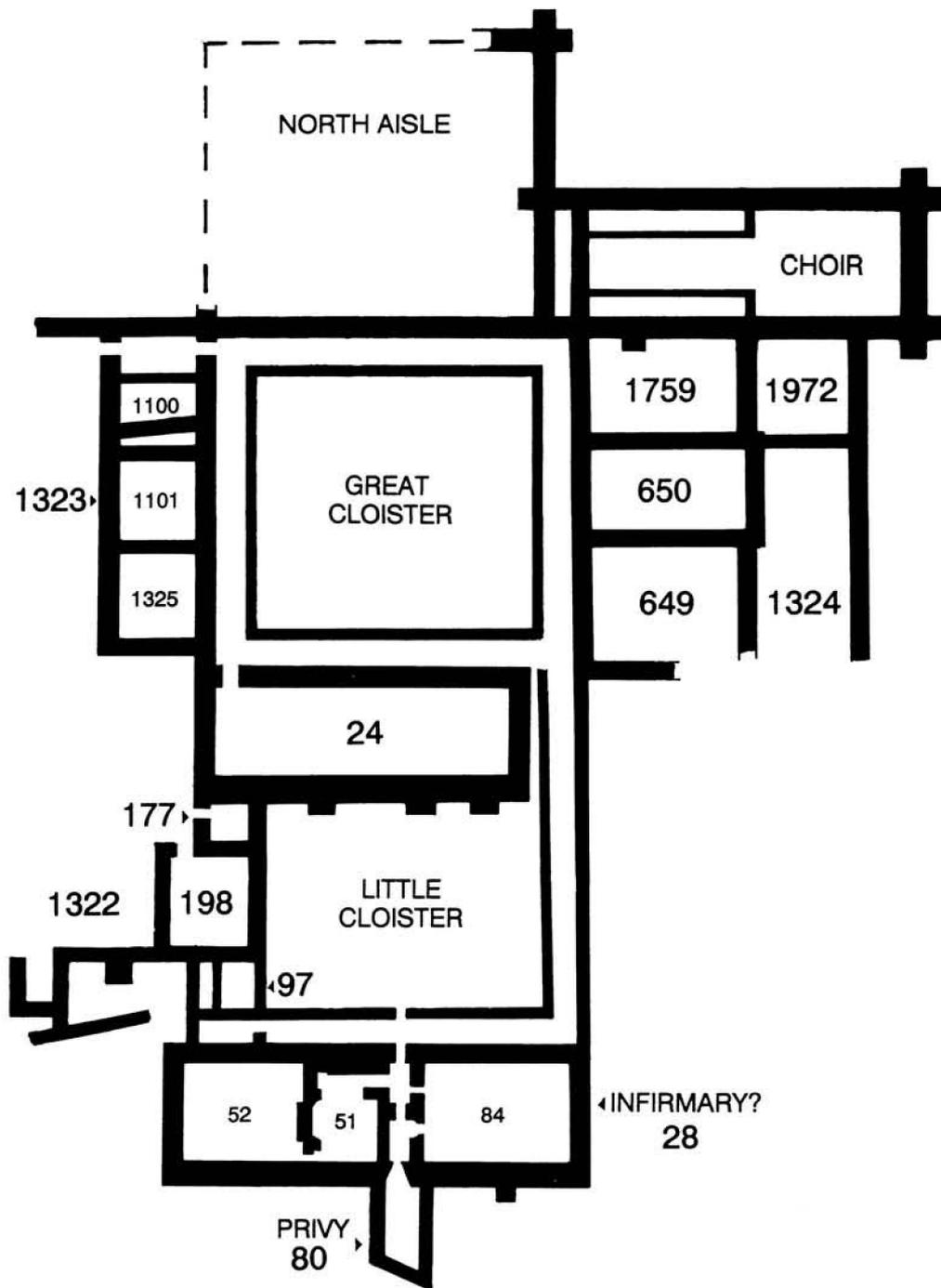


FIG. 4

Restored plan of Carmarthen Greyfriars, with context numbers for individual rooms and buildings marked

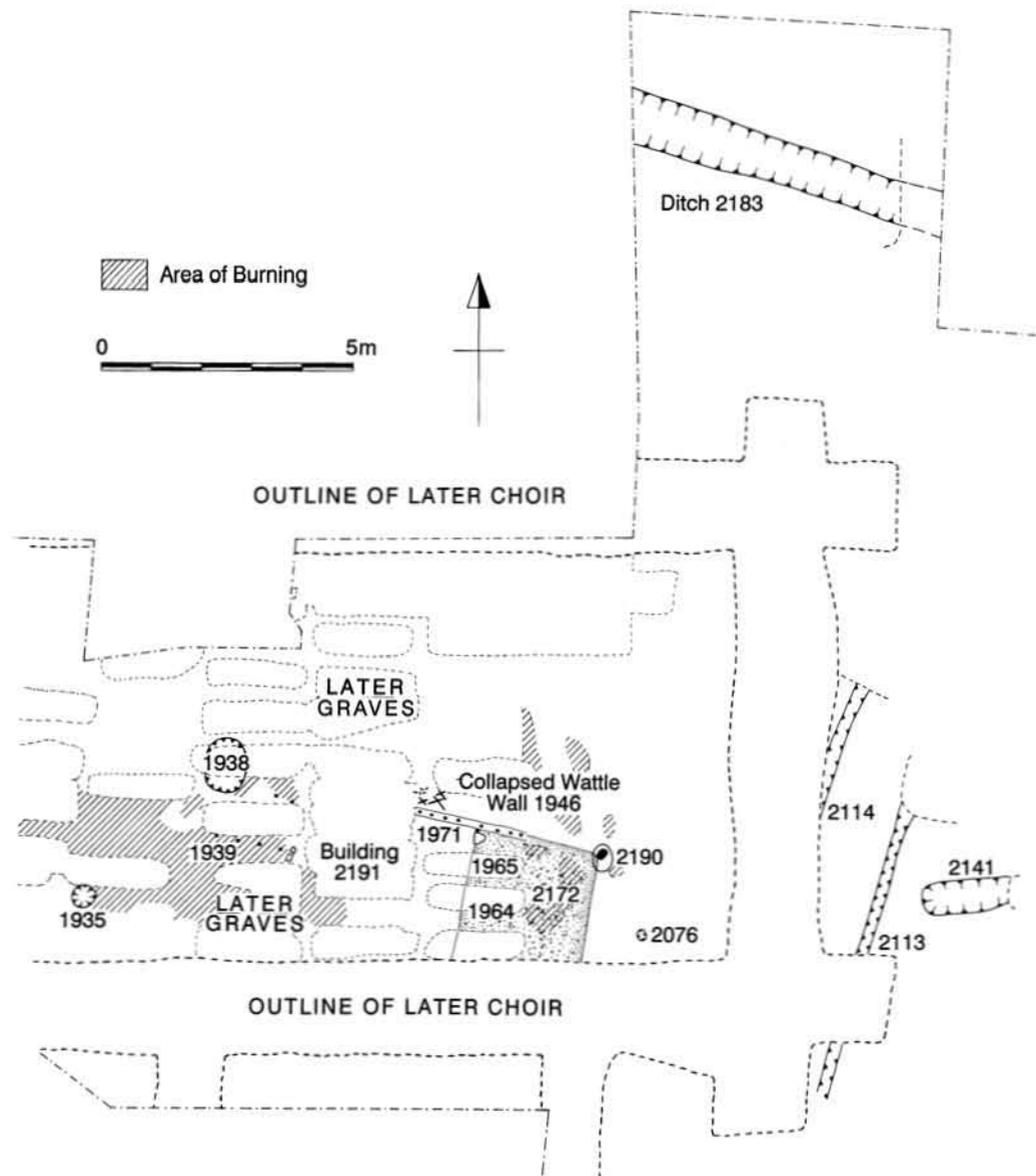


FIG. 5

Pre-friary features, largely quarried away by later graves

post-holes or settings for the assumed N.-S. western wall. The wattle wall line of stakeholes (1971) continued W. of the western limit of the gravel floor, perhaps originally running to (?post) pit 1938.

In the 1990 excavations the same gravel floor was discovered (2172), and this again had well defined edges on the N. and E., the layer appearing to form a slightly raised plinth. The NE. angle (something over 90°) was marked by a well-defined post setting

(2190) 0.2 m in diameter and 0.3 m deep with a pointed base. The southern extent of the building was truncated by the S. wall line of the later choir. The dimensions of the gravel surface are 2.4 m E.-W. by at least 2 m N.-S. What appears inexplicable is that the stake-hole line 1971 recorded in the 1988 excavations could not be found in the 1990 excavations, despite very careful excavation and foreknowledge of their existence. The evidence suggests that the wall line may have changed character between the western and eastern parts of the wall.

It is unfortunate that the surviving evidence does not allow any confident appraisal of the actual extent and form of the presumed building that is represented here. Its alignment is close enough to the ditch (2183) and the two gullies (2113-34) to suggest contemporaneity even if function cannot be established. If the pit at the western side (1938) was in fact a post-hole, and the wattle wall line 1971 terminated there, then the building would have been rectangular, *c.* 7.5 m long. The width is unlikely to be more than *c.* 4 m as nothing of the building was noted S. of the choir's S. wall foundation trench. The other stake-hole line in 1939 may represent an internal division, or some sort of bye structure. The eastern division was raised and had a good gravel surface, not unlike a long-house though this is speculative.

The building ended its life in flames, which resulted in the preservation of part of the wattling as charcoal. The layers of gravel and the soil in which the upright stakes and post had stood were littered with charcoal or heat scorched red and covered by layer (2125) which included burnt daub. Similar burnt daub was discovered in the fill of ditch 2183, which indicates that the ditch was open during or after the fire.

The date of the construction of the building is indicated by two sherds from a single vessel (C2 Saintonge) which is currently thought to have a date range of *c.* 1250 to the early 15th century, but no earlier.<sup>49</sup> Archaeomagnetic samples from the burnt clay layer 2125 give a possible date range of cal. A.D. 1250-1310 at 68% confidence level (AJC-74); the imprecision results from the soft base of the material. Layer 2125 also produced Saintonge pottery of the same date range and a Ham Green jug sherd. A comparable layer discovered in 1988 (1873) contained seven sherds from six vessels post-*c.* 1250. Stylistically the earliest architectural mouldings from the area of the choir are in the date range *c.* 1160-1240. The evidence points to a construction date after *c.* 1240. This is reinforced by a post-fire Friary construction layer 2168 which contained ten sherds from ten vessels with a mid 13th-century date range. This suggests that the building had a very short life span.

Some 41 m SW. of the building, under the later cloister alley E. of Building 24, was a stratigraphically early layer (446). This also showed evident signs of burning and produced a coin in fair condition dated 1210-17, and five sherds from five 13th-century vessels. It is possible that this layer may be contemporary with the burning of the building.

In the 1990 excavations, what was interpreted as a thin developed soil (2124) was recorded over burnt layer 2125. This could be taken to indicate that a period of time separated the destruction of the buildings and the construction of the friary. However in 1988 the dumping of clay for the choir steps (1832) — an original feature of the friary — lay immediately over the collapsed wattle wall (1946) and the associated burnt layer 1873 (comparable to 2125). It seems on balance that the thin soil (2124) was more likely to be a trample of the upper surface of layers 2125 (and 1873) associated with the original site preparation and construction of the friary. Moreover, it is logical to argue that the burning itself is associated with this primary clearance work, rather than linking it with one of Carmarthen's many documented attacks by the Welsh. Clearance by fire would after all have been the most effective means available for disposing of unwanted material.

The function of the pre-friary ditches and building is very difficult to explain. Their alignment is not the same as Lammas Street nor its burgage properties. To some extent the southern limits of the burgages (as indicated in maps of 1786 and later) have been dictated or modified by the construction of the friary. The evolution of Lammas Street can be traced from before 1268, when a survey for Lord Edmund shows that there were then 21 burgages.<sup>50</sup> The disposition of these can only be guessed at, but it is likely that they

congregated near the Dark Gate end of the street (Fig. 2).<sup>51</sup> If they were equally placed on each side of the street then there could have been 12 plots on the S. side. The westernmost could have thus been about the position of the present Boar's Head Hotel — 65 m N. of the burnt building. There is good reason to suppose that the southern limits of the properties on the S. side of Lammas Street were extended after the Dissolution by piecemeal encroachment. The earlier limit may be indicated by the southern boundary delimiting 121–24 Lammas Street. What is clear, however, is that the alignment of the ditch, gullies and structures of this early phase do not correspond to any of these burgage boundaries or Lammas Street itself. It is therefore unlikely that we are dealing with an unknown burgage property. The probability is that the building and ditches relate to agricultural activities possibly associated with Lammas Fields.

#### THE FRIARY CHURCH

The main excavation on the church, in 1988 and 1990, was within and E. of the choir. No work was possible on the nave, which is still covered by inhabited cottages, apart from the NE. corner of a northern addition.

#### *Plan of the Church* (Fig. 6)

The construction of the church is not tightly dated. Earlier activity gives a *terminus post quem* of c. 1250 for construction; in 1282 the church is first mentioned in documents. The lack of upstanding masonry prevents any clear assessment of changes to the fabric of the church; however, internal alterations to floor surfaces clearly indicate considerable changes which have been assigned to broad phases. In the later Middle Ages the nave was enlarged northwards. In view of the fact that little of the nave and nothing of the W. end of the choir could be investigated it is not possible to give accurate dimensions for the church apart for the width of the choir. The external dimensions below can only be approximate:

Overall length of church	50 m
Length of nave	25 m
Width of nave (including N. extension)	23 m
Length of choir	25 m
Width of choir	11.4 m

Interpretation and discussion of the plan of the church is hampered by lack of detailed information about the nave, and the crucial area between the nave and choir. The choir is long and narrow, and typical of mendicant churches. The cloister is set to the S. of the nave. The dimensions and plan of the nave are uncertain, but we may tentatively suggest that initially it was about the same width as the choir. A major change comes in the 15th century, when an extension was built on the N. side. Unfortunately only the E. wall and NE. corner of this extension could be investigated, which leaves uncertainties about the overall extent of this addition. It may represent the addition of a parallel range of similar dimensions to the original nave (effectively doubling the lay part of the church) or an additional N. chapel, making the plan similar to Oxford Greyfriars, or perhaps mirroring 15th-century Irish examples of transeptal chapels.<sup>52</sup> The combined evidence favours the first model of parallel ranges.

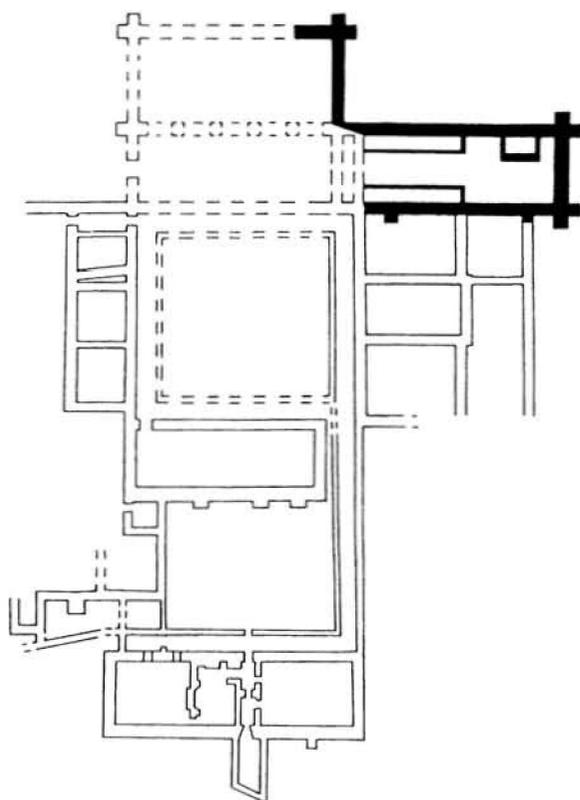


FIG. 6  
Friary church

Although the crossing of the church was not investigated, some comments are necessary. The generally accepted plan of friary churches is that the nave and choir are usually physically separated by cross walls. The walls came into existence to support the towers and spires 'the most distinctive feature of Friary churches — despite their expressed prohibition'.<sup>53</sup> The cross walls often completely closed off the nave from the friars' church (the choir), and the passage inside these walls often linked the cloister with the area on the N. side of the church. This passage is known as the Walking Place, and in some houses it was the principal means by which the friars gained access to the cloister from the outside world. There is historic evidence for the existence of a tower at Carmarthen, as the Suppression Inventory states that there was a clock and two bells in the 'stepill'.<sup>54</sup> The plan of Carmarthen Greyfriars shows that the eastern cloister alley aligns with the supposed position of the crossing of the church, in itself supporting evidence for a Walking Place (Fig. 4). However excavation outside the N. side of the church, within the angle formed by the E. wall of the 15th-century extension of the nave and the N. wall of the choir, failed to provide evidence for any approach path, suggesting that there was no doorway on the N. side of the church. It is probable that Carmarthen had no Walking Place of accepted form. It seems more likely that there was just a doorway on the S. side which linked the church to the chapter house and domestic ranges.

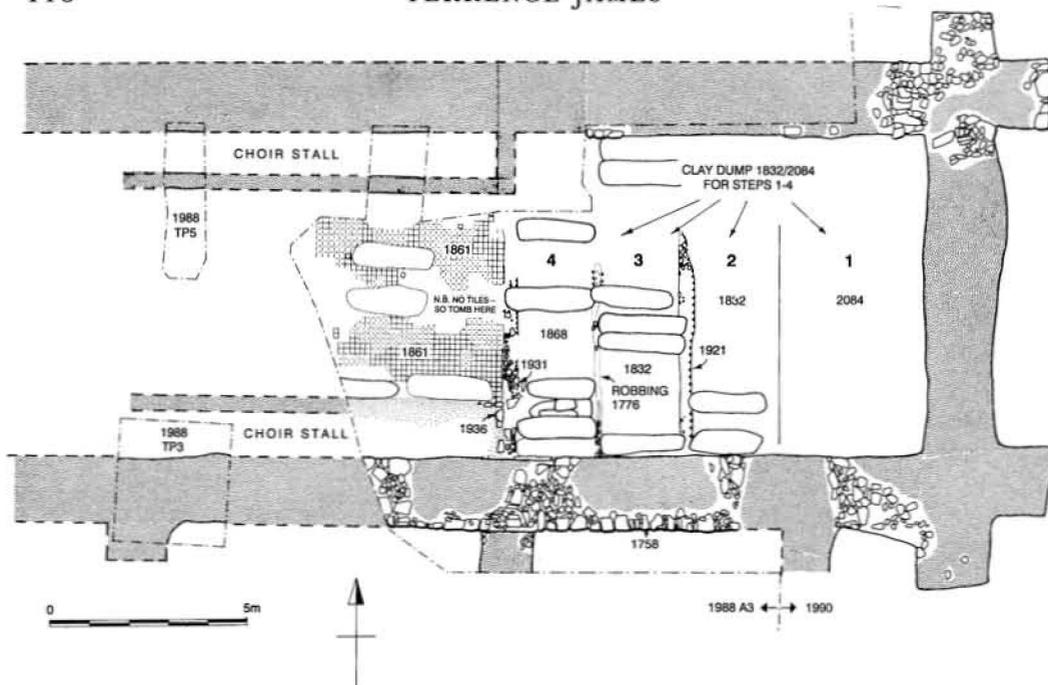


FIG. 7

The choir: 14th-century and earlier features

The principal entry to the cloister was evidently through a cross passage in the W. range of the Great Cloister. The plan of Cardiff Greyfriars does not contain good evidence for any Walking Place either.

The layout of the choir appears straightforward, with choir stalls of timber on raised flooring and the altar end raised on four steps. This was reduced to two steps by the mid 15th/early 16th centuries. The lack of masonry prevents speculation on phases of alteration: the bulk of dressed freestone found in destruction layers suggests that the choir 'may have been decorated with fairly elaborate compound openings of transitional Romanesque or Early English style' (see Appendix B, 1). A slightly wider foundation in part of the S. wall (1.9 m as opposed to 1.6 m) and the absence of graves at step 1, could indicate the position of a Sedilia or (unusually) an Easter Sepulchre.

Unless stated, much of the following description relates to the choir, the only part of the church to be excavated in any detail.

#### *Phase I: 13th century*

Very little remained of the masonry of the exterior walls, and only the S. and E. wall lines were examined in any detail. The foundation trenches varied in width, but were on average *c.* 1.70 m wide; surviving walling was *c.* 1.20 m wide on a foundation that filled the trench to the full width of *c.* 1.70 m (Fig. 7). The S. wall foundation (1758) was composed of Old Red Sandstone (both red and green beds) bonded with clay which in places was 1.9 m wide; the surviving portion of wall was 1.20 m wide, and sufficient survived to show

that whilst the foundations were irregular in alignment, the wall itself was straight, sometimes running down the centre, and sometimes to one side of the foundation. There were angled buttresses in the corners, and along the S. wall there was evidence for buttresses at 8 m-9 m centres, although these were masked by later walls that butted the S. wall. In the 1990 excavations the N. and S. wall foundations were 1.83 m (6 ft.) wide, and the E. wall foundation 1.66 m wide. The buttresses varied slightly in width, but were comparable to their respective walls. It was not possible to investigate the N. wall for buttresses. The overall external width of the choir was 11.4 m and internally *c.* 8 m, and these dimensions remained unaltered throughout the life of the friary. Over the buried soil N. of the church was a layer of broken shale tiling, which suggests that the choir was initially roofed in this material; demolition levels within the choir (1725, 1545 (not illustrated)) included type A, D/N (S. Glamorgan) and F/G (Malvern) ridge tile, the latter being dominant.<sup>55</sup> The date of the Malvern tiles is more likely to be 15th or early 16th century.

Within the E. end of the friary church a dump of clay (1832, 1868, 2084) *c.* 0.40 m deep in the E. and 0.10 m in the W., sealed the old ground surface. The dump appeared to lie immediately over the burnt structure (1873), but in the 1990 season a possible thin soil (2124) was noted between the dump and burnt features. This soil is important for the chronology of events since it could represent a pre-church phase of activity separating the construction of the church from the demolition and burning of the timber structure. On balance, however, it is more probable that this soil is itself associated with initial levelling and construction work (a trampling) on the burnt layers by the constructors of the church.

The clay dump is clearly a primary feature as it directly overlaid these pre-church features. Initially it extended westward to make up the levels for four steps (numbered 1-4 on Fig. 7) leading to and forming the sanctuary of the church. The evidence of this raised sanctuary is conclusive in showing that the Friary Church contained these steps from the outset. Evidence for this in the early period of friary churches has so far been elusive.<sup>56</sup> By the later Middle Ages the general levels of the choir had been raised so that only the easternmost two steps remained.

Apart from the clay dump, evidence for the earliest floors within the choir is unclear due to extensive disturbance of early levels by grave digging (Fig. 8). Traces of a thin mortar bed (1938) are interpreted as the remains of the earliest floor, one which perhaps was composed of flagstones. This layer butted the westernmost step of yellow sandstone (1931) that lead to the sanctuary. This step had been partly quarried by a number of graves, but clearly butted the dwarf wall that supported the choir stalls (1936). The stalls were 1.6 m wide and terminated on their E. side *c.* 10.4 m W. of the E. wall of the choir. They were constructed on a dwarf walls (the best preserved was on the N. side) 0.40 m wide that probably supported a suspended floor and timber choir stall structure. The layers below the rubble, filling the hollow beneath this floor, produced many small finds that had been lost by friars over the two and three-quarter centuries of services held in the choir. These included coins, jettons, lace tips and other small finds. The evidence indicates that the steps and choir stalls are probably contemporary with the original construction of the church. The earliest documentary reference to the church is in July 1282, when William de Valence, son of the earl of Pembroke, was buried there, having fallen in battle near Llandeilo. His burial place was noted by the herald William Fellow when he visited Greyfriars in 1530 'in the Quyer betwext the high aluter and the sepulture of Edmund Erle of Richemond'.<sup>57</sup> The clear implication is that de Valence's grave was still marked either by a tomb or grave slab, and this may have prevented the destruction of his grave by later burials. Three centrally placed early graves, all with good coffin evidence, have been considered as possible candidates for de Valence's tomb (Fig. 8). The least likely is 1880, which although fairly central and lacking any late material in its fill, had impressions of a late tiled floor over it; the tomb seen by Fellow could therefore not have been there. The second stratigraphically early grave without later finds (1857) can also be dismissed for the same reason, as its position was covered by 15th-century floortiles (cf. Figs. 8, 11). This

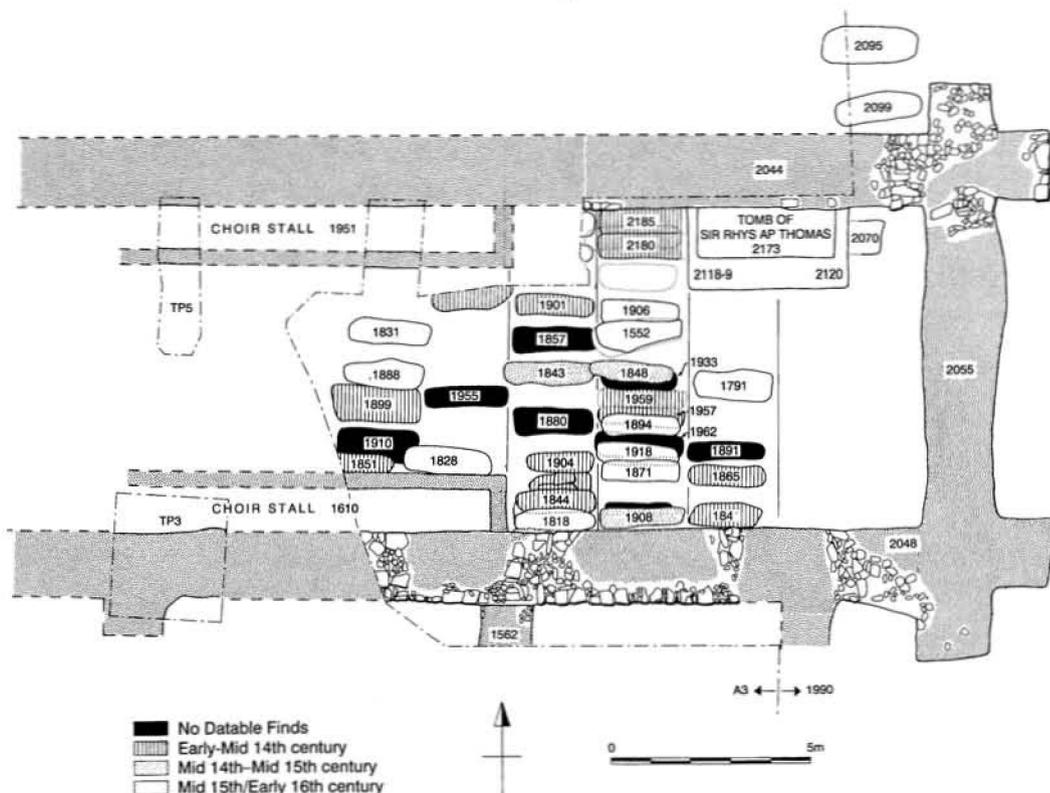


FIG. 8

Multi-period plan of graves within the choir, with approximate latest dates of finds from each grave fill

leaves grave 1955, which produced 24 coffin nails and clear evidence of a wooden coffin. Apart from these three graves, every other grave excavated within the choir had artefacts datable to the 14th century or later. It can therefore be seen that if de Valence's grave lay within the area investigated, then the only grave that could possibly be his is 1955. The skeletal report shows the inhumation to be that of a male aged *c.* 25–30 years old, which corresponds to the probable age of de Valence. Unfortunately the remains were too poorly preserved to give any indication of the cause of death. To further support the contention for this being de Valence's grave, the lack of any tile impressions of the later (14th-century) floor (1861), can be taken to indicate that there was a tomb chest or slab over the grave when floor 1861 was laid. One rider must be added, however. Under step 2, W. of the High Altar, was another grave sited centrally (1791, Fig. 8). This contained 16th-century material in its fill, but had apparently been 'robbed'. Could it be that this grave had its skeletal remains removed, like those of Edmund Tudor and members of the Dinefwr family, after the Dissolution? If so, then the 16th-century material in its fill would only indicate a *terminus post quem* for the 'robbing', not the excavation of the grave.

#### Phase II: 14th century

No changes to the size of the choir are evident in the arrangement of the walls or choir stalls. The major activity associated with this phase relates to the reflooring of the church mainly with decorated floortiles. The main evidence for this was a mortar bed (1861,

Fig. 7) that extended westward from the westernmost step number 4, and confined to N. and S. by the choir stalls. Although no tiles survived *in situ*, the size of tile impressions (120–28 mm) conforms closely to the size of the early 14th-century tiles discovered in residual layers above, and it is suggested that this floor was first laid at this date. The alignment of the tiles ran parallel to the main wall tiles, not obliquely, as is the case with the late medieval floors.

The mortar bed (1861) sealed a number of graves of the previous phase. There was little in the way of other dating evidence except a very fine bronze crucifix that may be of mid 13th-century date.<sup>58</sup> This came from a dump layer (1868) sealed by the floor bedding.

The floor associated with bedding layer 1861 clearly butted the westernmost step of the sanctuary, so the steps themselves were still in use; the nature of their covering is uncertain, although probably tiled.

The common practice was to occasionally lift areas of tiled floor to excavate graves and then relay the floor, so it was not always possible to establish if a grave was earlier or later than a tiled floor. The relationship with grave 1899 is a case in point, because the grave was apparently sealed by mortar bed 1861 but contained fragments of early 14th-century tile (patterns 6 and 16). Since no fragments of these tiles were found in layers below mortar bed 1861 (other than in intrusive graves), then it is assumed that 1861 represents evidence for the earliest *tiled* floor in the choir. It is more likely that the mortar bed that 'sealed' grave 1899 was actually relayed, and this is supported (although not incontrovertibly) by both the drawing<sup>59</sup> and the photographic evidence (Pl. IV, A, B). However, the possibility that part of the mortar bed over this grave was later than the rest of the bedding was not suspected at the time of excavation. A further complication is that around two sides of grave 1899 was the remains of a narrow mortared wall (not illustrated) to support a tomb chest. If this belonged to 1899 that would have to mean that grave 1899 was earlier than floor 1861, since the tiled floor would have had to run around, not over, a tomb chest. This would then mean that there was an earlier, undetected, tiled floor. On balance the walling (1900) relates to an earlier grave, the cut for which had been wholly obliterated by the excavation of grave 1899.

During the lifetime of floor 1861 it is possible that a number of other graves were cut through it and the floor re-laid. Assigning close dates to any grave is hazardous, but the fills of most graves had fragments of floortile and sometimes pottery which can be used to give a *terminus post quem* for their back-filling. The absence of later 15th-/early 16th-century tiles can also be used, with caution, and when an association of later cuts of graves can be demonstrated, then some graves have been assigned to specific phases (Fig. 8). Phase 2 encompasses the laying and lifetime of the tiled floor associated with mortar layer 1861: graves 1851, 1901, a group centred on 1904, all cut through bedding 1861, but do not contain late floortile or pottery fragments. On the sanctuary steps graves 2180, 1894, 1957, 1865 and 1841 all contained datable evidence that shows these graves to be contemporary with or later than floor 1861, but none had late dating evidence from their fills. For these reasons these graves have been assigned to this phase spanning most of the 14th century.

The study of floortiles suggests that following the first introduction of decorated floortiles of early 14th-century date, one or two new tile patterns, including tiles that bear the de Brian arms, were brought into use.<sup>60</sup> These have been dated by historical association to sometime around the middle of the 14th century. These tiles could have been used for relaying parts of floor 1861, perhaps when a new tomb was erected. There is no historical evidence to show that any of the de Brian family (Lords of Laugharne) were interred in the friary church.

#### Phase 3–4

The late medieval and early Tudor activity within the choir is again dominated by alterations to the floors. The church also saw a major addition with the northward extension of nave.

## The Nave — N. extension

The lack of information about the W. end of the choir, the nave and the crossing has already been discussed. A trial trench excavated in 1987 (TPH TT) confirmed that part of the church lay in the area N. of 10 Friar's Park. When the rear of T. P. Hughes' store became available for excavation in 1988 this general area (1988 A2) was opened on the assumption that the crossing would be discovered (Fig. 3). In the event most of A2 lay outside the church: N.-S. (1665) and E.-W. (1377/1662) robber trenches with angled buttresses (1666) provided clear evidence for the NE. corner of a building (Fig. 9). Only a very small area of the interior could be investigated: this was floored (1669-70) in plain yellow and black late Malvern-type 7 floortiles. This floor must date to the late 15th or early 16th century. Within the fill of a grave (1681, not illustrated) were numerous complete Llanstephan-type plain tiles which may relate to an earlier floor; the date of these tiles is uncertain. There were numerous graves (1384-86), and three tombs (1390, 1399). Tomb 1390 may have been incorporated into the original build of the interior NE. corner (as the width of robber trench 1377 was only 1.2 m). Within the backfill of the robbed N. wall was a mass of human skulls and long-bones, which suggests that a charnel house must have lay close by. Part of the backfill of the original foundation trench of the E. wall of the building produced four sherds of Newport-type pottery (from three vessels); the date of these is thought to be no earlier than the 15th century and could be later. On the basis of this evidence, the enlargement of the church would appear to lie in the 15th century. The documented enlargement of the friary close in 1394 might have been associated with the planned expansion of the church, but the dating of finds from within later graves cannot be used to date the enlarged nave. The Llanstephan-type floortiles cannot be used to provide any closer dating, as Llanstephan material is known to have been produced over an extended period.

Two features of this building are noteworthy. The foundation/robber trench for the E. wall (1665) broadened out from 1.60 m to 1.90 m towards the S. (see Fig. 9). The depth of the trench was 0.70-0.90 m deep, but *c.* 2.7 m from the southern limit of excavation the base of the trench abruptly rose giving a trench depth of 0.6 m. This indicates possibly two phases of wall building and may relate to an earlier wall, porch or buttress of the original N. wall or NE. corner of the nave. The other feature was inside, and partly excavated only in the trial trench of 1987. This was a deep parallel cut (1381) well into subsoil *c.* 2.7 m W. of the inside face of N.-S. wall 1665. The overall dimensions of this feature are unknown as it ran westward of the area available for excavation, but measured 5.75 m N.-S. by at least 1.1 m E.-W. and attained a depth of 1.1-1.2 m. Surviving at its base were grave cuts 1384-86. The fill of the graves and cut 1381 were indistinguishable, but contained very little stone — a characteristic inconsistent with the feature being a robber trench. The very limited area examined does not allow any clear conclusions to be drawn as to its function. It is too shallow to have been a crypt, but could have been a charnel pit for burials disturbed by digging wall trenches. The finds from its fill included masses of human bone, and 14th- and 15th-/16th-century floortile. These finds could of course be intrusive if the graves are later.

The actual plan of the nave in this period has already been discussed. To sum up, two possibilities are suggested. The first is that the nave was effectively doubled in size by the addition of a parallel range, a plan form known at Gloucester Greyfriars (although apparently of one period); alternatively the extension belongs to a N. chapel similar to Oxford Greyfriars and common in Irish Franciscan houses. One final piece of evidence that has some bearing on this is the discovery of skeletons under the back yard N. of No. 8 Friar's Park in 1978.<sup>61</sup> The salvage record was more in favour of the burials being from a cemetery, not inside a building. However, the bone of these skeletons was in quite good condition, indicative of graves having been inside a building. By comparison, skeletal material from the 1988 excavation N. of the church was in so poor a condition that the bone barely survived (see Graveyard, Fig. 9). By contrast, those within the NE. angle of the

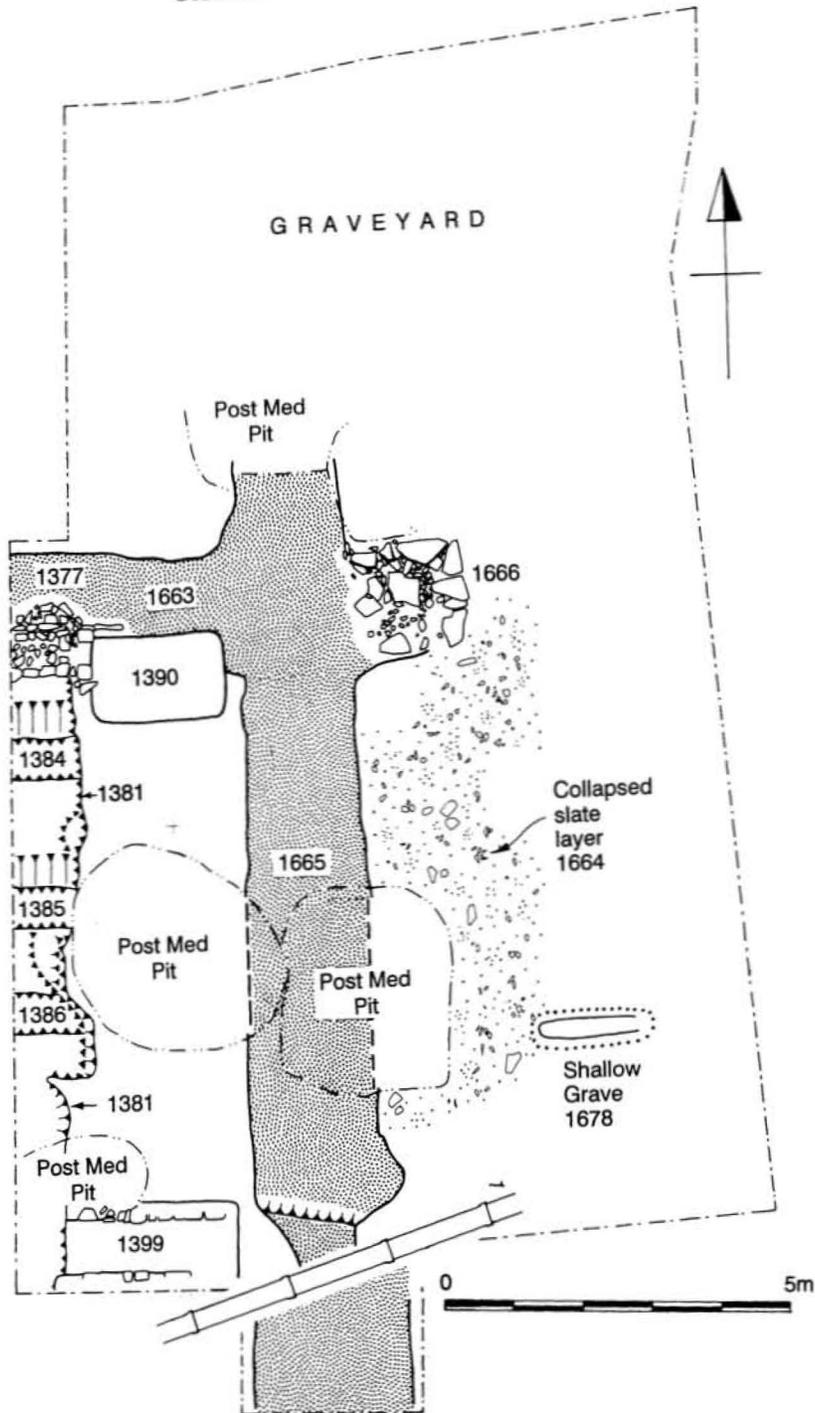


FIG. 9  
The northern addition to the nave

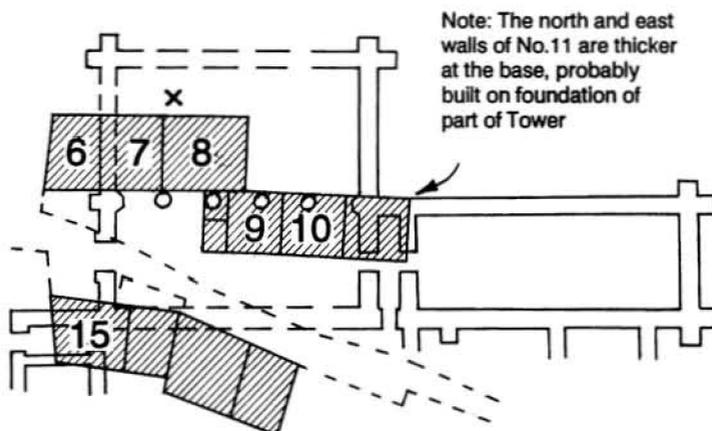


FIG. 10

Plan showing the supposed position and extent of the nave in relation to the present houses at Friar's Park

nave — where abundant mortar would calcify the soil — had very good bone preservation. Although part of the curtilage of No. 8 Friar's Park could be encompassed by a W. chapel (assuming its width was about the same as the choir), the grave locations occurred further W. than any projected W. wall ('x' in Fig. 10). The position of these discoveries tends to argue for the existence of a parallel range. If this was the case, then a projection of the E. wall of the W. range of the Great Cloister (the most likely alignment for the W. front of the church) would mean that the W. wall of the N. addition would today be marked by the division between numbers 6 and 7 Friar's Park (Fig. 10). The S. walls of 7 and 8 and the former N. wall of 9 and the N. wall of 10 Friar's Park would therefore mark the position of the arcaded division between the nave and its northern extension (the original N. wall of the nave). It is possible that the thicker and differently aligned base of the N. and E. walls of 11 Friar's Park actually marks the foundation of part of the tower. If these suppositions are correct, it is interesting to note that the W. door of the nave would lay under the lane between 7 and 15 Friar's Park; the lane may thus have originated when the entrance was still there. The placement of cottages within the aisle is matched at Holy Trinity Aldgate in London.<sup>62</sup>

### The Choir

During the 15th and 16th centuries the choir floor underwent a succession of changes. The major change was one of levels: the 14th-century floor had its tiles stripped off before being covered by a succession of dumps (1853/63) and the stonework for the westernmost riser for step 4 removed and the void back-filled (1919–20). The depth of this dumping (at least 0.25 m) raised the ground level above the now covered step 4 to the same level as step 3, in effect doing away with the westernmost two steps. However the stonework for the tread between 3 and 4 must have been left *in situ* and incorporated into the newly tiled floor, as this can be the only rational explanation for the N.–S. 'robber-trench' 1776 (Fig. 7). The levels either side of this trench clearly show that no step existed in this position in the last floor, but it would appear that the stonework forming the riser of step 3 had become incorporated, and subsequently robbed during the dismantling of the church after the Dissolution. It is possible that 1776 formed a base of a screen, but this is an unlikely feature in a Franciscan choir; E. of this the surviving two steps (1 and 2) rose above the new level by a further 0.36 m — *c.* 0.18 m for each riser.

The change in floor level must have necessitated some alteration to the height of the choir stalls. Rebuilding — or perhaps heightening — of the walls supporting the southern stalls (1936) is suggested by the inclusion of late plain Malvern floortile in their fabric. This is further supported by the find of four coins and two jettons in the layers that had accumulated below the suspended floor of the N. and S. stalls (contexts 1610/1951). The earliest coin was a heavily worn and clipped York penny of late 14th- or 15th-century date; otherwise the coins date from 1465 onwards and include a coin of c. 1533–44. The jettons are 16th century. The dates seem to suggest that the coins were probably deposited piecemeal between the later 15th century and the Dissolution in 1538. That no earlier finds were recovered from these very rich layers is probably because any comparable layer in the earlier unmodified choir stalls was cleared out during the heightening of the floor.

The dump layer (1853) that covered the earlier tile floor impressions (1861) contained fragments of nine different early tile patterns as well as early plain tile. There was no later material.

Despite the fact that the two western steps had been subsumed through the levelling-up process, their former positions were clearly still indicated by lines in the late tiled floor and by the continuity of the practice of digging graves between the 'steps' (Figs. 8, 11). It should be noted that the distance between steps was c. 2 m, enough to accommodate a grave of a 6 ft. person. In no case throughout the history of the friary did a grave cut *across* any step, although there was a tendency to undercut the step line (e.g. graves 1843, 1848, 1552, Fig. 8).

Study of the decorated floortiles shows that there were two late refloorings; only fragments of the last floor could be detected archaeologically (Fig. 11). It is therefore probable that the floor level remained constant and that only the tiles themselves were changed. The floor in any case was constantly being lifted for the excavation of graves, and no less than 13 graves containing fragments of late floortile. The earlier of the two tile groupings belong to tiles from the Droitwich tilerly that ceased production c. 1450. One of last Droitwich pavements — a 16-tile design laid in the Beauchamp Chapel of Tewkesbury Abbey c. 1437 — is also represented by pieces of tile pattern 21 from the friary.<sup>63</sup> This pattern incorporates the Beauchamp arms, and was probably bought in as there is no known link with the family at that date. Other Droitwich tiles are represented by patterns 8, ?18, 40, 53 (all 4-tile designs) and another 16-tile design, 23. Without *in situ* floors to study nothing secure can be said about this presumed mid 15th-century reflooring apart from the alteration in levels already noted. The date is close enough to the death of Edmund Tudor and the erection of his tomb in 1456, however, to suggest an occasion for the introduction (and indeed the finance) for a major re-flooring. According to the Fellow MS. 'in the myddest of the quyer lyeth buried in a Tombe of Marbill Edmond Erle of Richemond ffather to King Henry the VIIth'.<sup>64</sup> The tomb is referred to by Lewys Glyn Cothi in the late 15th century,<sup>65</sup> and also by William Egwad's ode to the Grey Friars.<sup>66</sup>

Edmund's marble tomb is now in the choir of St David's cathedral, so its dimensions (2.22 × 1.04 m) can be checked. However this tomb is not the one erected in 1456 because it was replaced by the one of marble c. 1496 (see above, pp. 104–05). Nevertheless it is reasonable to suppose that the tombs were of approximately the same dimensions. Only one grave had a stone foundation that matches these dimensions (1899, Figs. 7, 8), but on stratigraphical grounds it cannot be as late as 1456. This grave is clearly covered by the bedding (1861) for the 14th-century floor, so could not have had a tomb chest or slab after the 14th century. The Fellow MS. places William de Valence's grave between Edmund's and the High Altar, so that Edmund's tomb was in all probability W. of the area excavated. It must, however, have been placed in the area between the choir stalls — the area that had its floor level raised during this phase of the friary's life. It is possible that an opportunity was taken to make significant changes to the layout and levels of the floor when Edmund's tomb was erected in 1456. Perhaps other tombs were removed at this date to accommodate such a prestigious personage, resulting in a need to introduce new paving.

*The church in the early 16th century*

Following the erection of a new marble tomb for Edmund Tudor on or after 1496 it is argued that a further reflooring was undertaken. The decorated floortiles used belong to the so-called Canynoges-type of Malvern tiles.<sup>67</sup> These are represented by patterns 5, 7, 30, 31, 32, 39 and possibly 20 and 26. It also includes a 16-tile design (22) one tile of which was discovered *in situ* at the same level as yellow and black plain Malvern tiles. A noteworthy feature is N.-S. gully 1921 (Fig. 7). This is the remains of robbed out stonework of the tread of step 2 leading to the High Altar. The final riser of step 1 of the sanctuary itself is marked by a cut (1973) and a further rise in level noted between the 1988 and 1990 excavation areas. The floors delimited by the remaining steps were fragmentary, only surviving as occasional patches of mortar, some subsiding into earlier graves. There were no certain tile impressions, but fragments of decorated and plain tile were discovered which support the contention that these steps were tiled in a similar way to the rest of the choir. The surviving patches of the last floor throughout the choir, combined with the Suppression Inventory and William Fellow's MS., give some indications of the appearance of the choir at the eve of the Dissolution. Clearly the choir was crammed with memorials and tombs. The tomb of Sir Rhys ap Thomas (now in St Peter's Church) was located on the N. side of the choir 'a lytle from the high aulter'. The remains of a large robbed tomb base (2123), 4 m by 1.6 m, was recorded in the 1990 excavation against the N. wall near the altar area. This tomb cut an earlier, undated, coffined grave (2070), which might have been marked by a tomb chest. There has been some suggestion that Sir Rhys' tomb was the work of the Renaissance Italian sculptor Mazzoni or perhaps Torrigiano, both of whom had been involved with the design of Henry VII's tomb.<sup>68</sup> This seems unlikely, however, as Sir Rhys died in 1525 and Torrigiano was working in Iberia between 1522 and 1528. Sir Rhys' tomb underwent considerable restoration and rebuilding in 1860, when the tomb chest was modified. Its present base dimensions are 3.25 m by 1.90 m. A drawing by John Carter executed in 1803 gives dimensions of 11 ft. 5 in. by 5 ft. 3 in. (3.48 m by 1.60 m). This width matches that of the excavated tomb foundation, and although the length is not a perfect match, there can be no doubt that this was the remains of Sir Rhys ap Thomas' tomb. The anomaly with the length of the tomb (3.48 m in Carter, 4 m excavated) may relate to the fact that the base of the tomb had been modified from an earlier family tomb. This seems to be indicated by Fellow, who states 'a goodly tombe [of] Sir Ryce ap Thomas, Bannaret, in a place where [also?] laye Sir Ryce ap Griffeth [born 1325, whose funeral 'showing the practice of displaying the dead warrior's military apparel around the tomb' was witnessed by Iolo Goch]<sup>69</sup> great uncle to Sir Ryce. Rhys ap Thomas was buried in 1525, after lying in state as a Knight of the Garter in the choir for a fortnight, and in accordance with the wishes of his will (which was made at the friary) his second wife, Janet, who died in 1535 was also buried with him.<sup>70</sup> Tomb 2123 had been robbed and its foundations partly destroyed by post-medieval pits. It had used the N. wall of the choir and its W. and S. walls (2118-19) were constructed of stone, slate and fragments of floortile bonded in a coarse mortar. If it replaced an earlier tomb this might explain why the E. wall of the tomb foundation (2120) was different in character from the rest of the tomb. This survived as a line of mortar, clay, stone and slate. The late date of the walls is indicated by the inclusion of fragments of plain Malvern tiles (type 7) within their fabric. The floor of the tomb, which may have been as much as 2 m below the surrounding floor, was made from a skim of lime mortar covering an area 1.25 m by at least 3.49 m. This area of mortar is closer to the dimensions given by Carter. The removal of the tomb, which included any skeletal remains and the tomb chest, was comprehensive. Unfortunately subsequent disturbance did not allow an accurate assessment of the date of robbing; most of the backfill of the tomb (2045) was itself cut by pits, but did not produce anything later than 16th-century material. Sir Rhys' tomb was certainly in St Peter's church before 1651 as his early biographer (probably Henry Rice *c.* 1590-1651) records this, adding '... sorrie am I to saie, [it] is made of a sorte of freestone, of soe softe a graine, that itt alreadie

bears evident proofe of unfaithfullnesse to its truste; and in less than another centurie, will in all likelie to lose all traces of what itt was at firste intended to record'.<sup>71</sup> Fortunately time has not been as destructive as prophesied, as the effigy still retains some fine detail; the early decay may have resulted from a period when the church was perhaps roofless; moreover the effigy could easily have been damaged when it was dismantled and transported across the town to St Peter's.

*The church on the eve of the Dissolution*

The position of tomb chests and slabs would in large measure dictate the disposition of decorated pavements and plain tiles. There could not have been floortiles over the exact positions of the tombs of the Earl of Richmond, of William de Valence and of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and of Sir Thomas Reed 'on the S. syde' of the choir; thus any *in situ* tiles or tile impressions in the late floor recorded in excavation clearly point to areas where there were no tombs (Fig. 11). By a process of elimination, and by reference to the Fellow MS and the Suppression Inventory, it is thus possible to make a number of observations about the choir.

Three tombs can be located with some confidence: Edmund Tudor's (with its 'paule of clothe of tussey') was in the centre of the choir, W. of William de Valence, and thus presumably between the choir stalls W. of the area excavated. William de Valence's tomb was probably immediately W. of the former westernmost step up to the sanctuary between the eastern extremities of the choir stalls. The flooring around these two tombs was of yellow and black Malvern tiles broken up by one or more pavements of decorated tiles, including a 16-tile pattern (22) which dates from the late 15th to early 16th century. The sanctuary was divided from the choir by steps 1921 and 1973, and the areas of the former steps (3 and 4) were still delimited by the patterns of floor tiling. The N. side of the sanctuary held the impressive tomb of Sir Rhys, 'with a grate of yron abowthe him' Suppression Inventory, Appendix E). If there was a footpace for the altar, no evidence for this was discovered; the area was very disturbed and unfortunately fell between the 1988 and 1990 excavations, thereby making interpretation difficult. The discovery of fragments of clay figures depicting one of the crucified robbers and the other perhaps the Virgin or St John (richly painted in cinnabar) may have formed part of the Passion Cycle at the reredos. Hanging above the altar would have been the sanctuary lamp — perhaps the 'litill hanging lampe' of the Suppression Inventory.

Sir Thomas Reed's tomb is said to have been on the S. side of the choir and may have been crammed into a corner of the sanctuary; if it was it must have been small, or just a tomb slab, for the S. wall of the sanctuary could have contained an Easter Sepulchre, the existence of which is suggested by a slight thickening of the S. wall and the reference to a 'clothe for the sepulchre, with a fringe' in the Suppression Inventory. In the choir the inventory also notes candlesticks, mass books, great candlesticks, a holy water stoop, a small lectern, a lectern of iron, herse and altar cloths, a copper cross and staff, hanging lamp and a 'goodly peyer of orgaynis'. The larger lectern would have been placed somewhere in the centre of the choir, around which the friars would have crowded about chanting from a psalter. The organ would presumably have been a small affair, its position in the choir is unknown.

Fellow's MS. also alludes to a tomb of alabaster of Gruffudd ap Nicholas (fl. 1425–56, grandfather of Sir Rhys ap Thomas), before 'thymage of St Francis'. It is probable that Griffith ap Nicholas' tomb was also moved to St Peter's, along with two others of the Dinefwr family, after the Dissolution. This is clear from both Donovan's (1804) and Colt Hoare's descriptions of St Peter's.<sup>72</sup> The alabaster of these tombs was 'absolutely beaten to pieces' by workmen working at the church in the late 18th century; the ground down alabaster or gypsum was found ideal for use as plaster for cornice work! Griffith ap Nicholas's tomb and the image of St Francis are described by Fellow as being in the 'churche', presumably the nave (the only excavated possibility is tomb 1390 in the N. aisle,

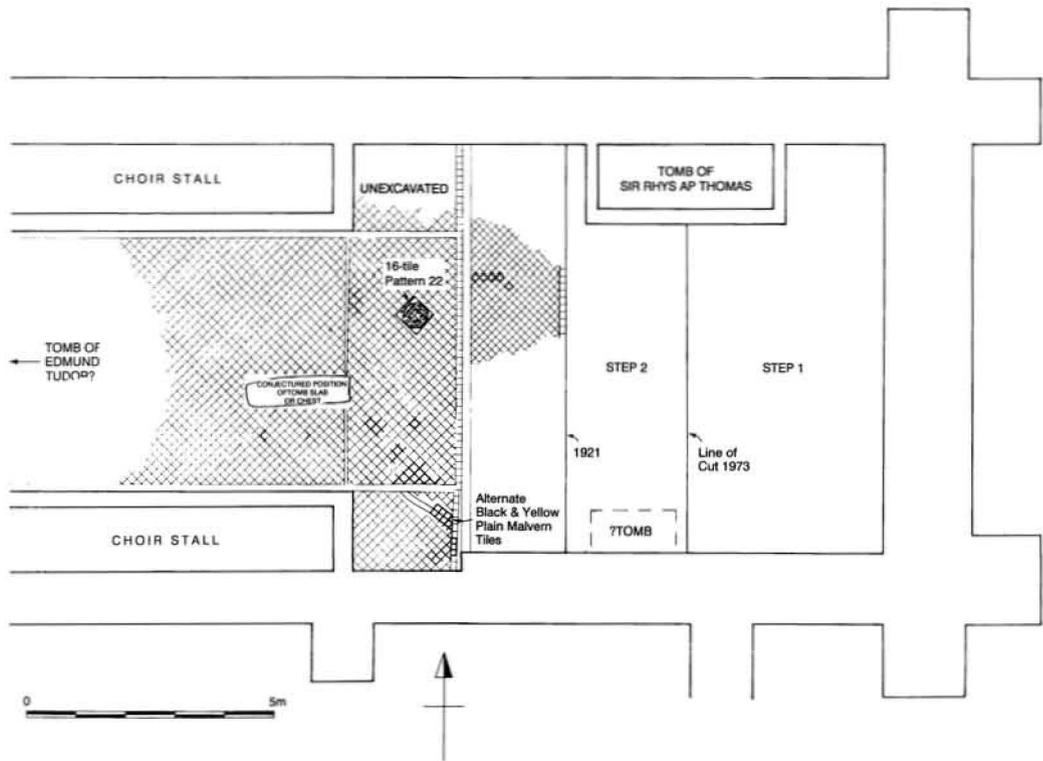


FIG. 11

Reconstruction of part of the latest floor within the choir

Fig. 10). Fragments of finely carved freestone with traces of gilding were recovered in demolition rubble. This possibly represents part of the limb of a lamb which may have formed part of this image, as St Francis is often depicted with a lamb. Also in the nave were five altar tables of alabaster, and 'a frame of iron thorow all the chirche, before the auteris for taberis'. Altars were 'separated and protected in front by screens or parcloses, usually of timber'<sup>73</sup> but the frame of iron here mentioned may have divided an eastern bay of the nave from the nave proper. This can only be conjectured, as we have no certain way of knowing if the nave was aisled and thus had bays, although the 15th-century northward extension gives grounds for suspecting this. Much more likely, however, is the suggestion that the 'frame of iron . . . before the alter for tapers' could actually refer to candle-frames.<sup>74</sup>

#### *Phase 5 — Abandonment and demolition*

No archaeological evidence was recovered to indicate any reuse of the church by Thomas Lloyd's short-lived grammar school of 1543-47. Brecon Blackfriars' choir was reused by the newly founded Christ College, so the choir at Carmarthen may have been taken over by Thomas Lloyd's school. Lloyd had petitioned for and been granted licence to found a school in 1536, but in 1539 the Mayor and Alderman of Carmarthen petitioned for the house to be used as a school, stating that the friary was daily going into ruin, there being no lead on any part of the roof.<sup>75</sup> It was not until new letters patent were issued in February 1543 that Lloyd's school could function, and it closed soon after his death in 1547.<sup>76</sup> The subsequent history of the church relates to its demolition.

The removal of tombs to St Peter's and the cathedral of St David is established fact, but the archaeological evidence is too imprecise to allow any clear date, although it is assumed to have been soon after the Dissolution. The layers immediately over the latest floor of the choir had nothing later than 16th-century finds, but a general demolition level (1725) contained many fragments of 17th- and 18th-century pottery. The robber trench fills (1679, 1738, 1744, 2049) of the choir walls also produced 16th- to 18th-century pottery. In the angle between the N. extension of the nave and the N. wall of the choir a substantial layer of roofing slate from the nave roof filled a hollow (1664) and included 16th- and 17th-century pottery. Within the layer was a shallow grave (1678), a late post-Suppression burial. Unlike the Chapter House, the choir does not appear to have been affected by the construction of Civil War defences in 1644. The combined evidence suggests robbing of the church was complete (apart from a few walls) by the middle of the 18th century, which is supported by the disposition of boundaries shown on Thomas Lewis' map of 1786. This shows that of all the cottages now standing in Friar's Park, only numbers 6–8 were represented by any standing building; the present N. wall of numbers 9–11 (which has been suggested as incorporating part of the N. wall of the unextended nave) is depicted only as a boundary wall. Some piecemeal robbing after the main walls were robbed is indicated by the later robbing of part of tomb 2123; its foundations were evidently dismantled after the back-filling of the main robber trenches. Historic evidence about what remained in the 18th and 19th centuries is equivocal. On the one hand in the 18th century Yardley states the church was by then 'without a steeple or pillars'; yet Spurrell, writing in 1879 states that the tower of the church was pulled down within the memory of people then living.<sup>77</sup> This latter seems to be contradicted by Lewis' map of 1786 which does not appear to show anything like a standing tower. Spurrell also states that unspecified parts of the friary were then standing incorporated within houses of the neighbourhood.<sup>78</sup> Some late robbing is attested in the robber trench fill of the N. wall of the nave (1631) which includes late 18th- to early 20th-century material. This wall line is still perpetuated in the northern boundary wall of numbers 6–8 Friar's Park, but that part investigated in 1988 does not appear as standing on Lewis' map. The 1990 excavations demonstrated that, following the robbing of the N. wall of the choir, new walls (2012/2014) were built on the same alignment (not illustrated). One wall (2014) carried the line eastwards of the former NE. corner of the choir, a boundary that can be seen in the 1786 map, but this had been removed by the time of the surveying of the 1:500 OS map in 1887. The incorporation of ruinous fragments of church walling into the boundaries and some part of the cottages on the N. side of Friar's Park has been argued in the section devoted to the 15th-century extension of the nave (above).

#### THE WEST RANGE OF THE GREAT CLOISTER (BUILDING 1323)

Building 1323 was located under the driveway that formerly linked Park House with Lammas Street. Its location was first confirmed by the excavation of three trial trenches, D, E and G (Fig. 3). The position of these was dictated by the need to retain intact the several bushes and shrubs growing on the W. side of the driveway. Each trench located the same N.–S. robber trench (656/651) and interior floor surfaces were noted on the E. side. On the basis of this negotiations were instigated to close the driveway to public access. The size and extent of the area was restricted by a number of factors, notably the inability to remove shrubbery, or to excavate close to the E. boundary wall due to structural considerations. The need to maintain constant access for residents to their back gardens of 13–15 Friar's Park, via a small gate in the SE. corner of the drive, was also a limitation. With these restrictions a trench 28 m long and *c.* 2.5 m wide was

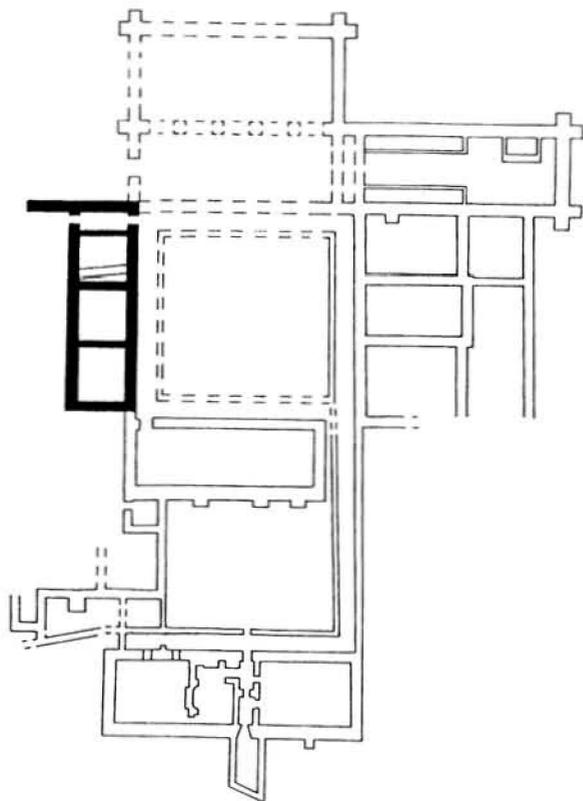


FIG. 12  
Location of Building 1323, the W. Range of  
the Great Cloister

excavated along the length of the drive with small extensions to the E., W. and S. This area was entitled 'DEG', and was excavated in two parts; the southern followed the completion of the northern to maintain access to the rear of the occupied cottages of Friar's Park.

Part of a large building (1323) on a N.-S. long axis was exposed in the area, which formed the W. range of the northern cloister. There appears to have been a phase immediately preceding the construction of building 1323, as a number of shallow pits (1183, 1163, 1195, Fig. 13) were discovered below the earliest occupation levels. The only artefact recovered from these, a sherd from the fill of 1195, is clearly medieval but cannot be dated more closely.

*Phase I—Mid 13th to Early 14th Century (Fig. 13)*

In the initial phase this N.-S. aligned building (1323) comprised three rooms to the S. of a cross passage that linked the area W. of the friary with the northern cloister. The exterior dimensions at ground floor were *c.* 25 m x 8.2 m, although the eastern side of the building was never excavated due to restrictions imposed on the size of excavated area. Only the western edge of robber trench 1219 was detected in a small eastward extension of the excavated area (Fig. 13). The exterior walls were almost wholly robbed, but where foundations survived a wall thickness of *c.* 1 m was indicated apart from the S. wall (1229)

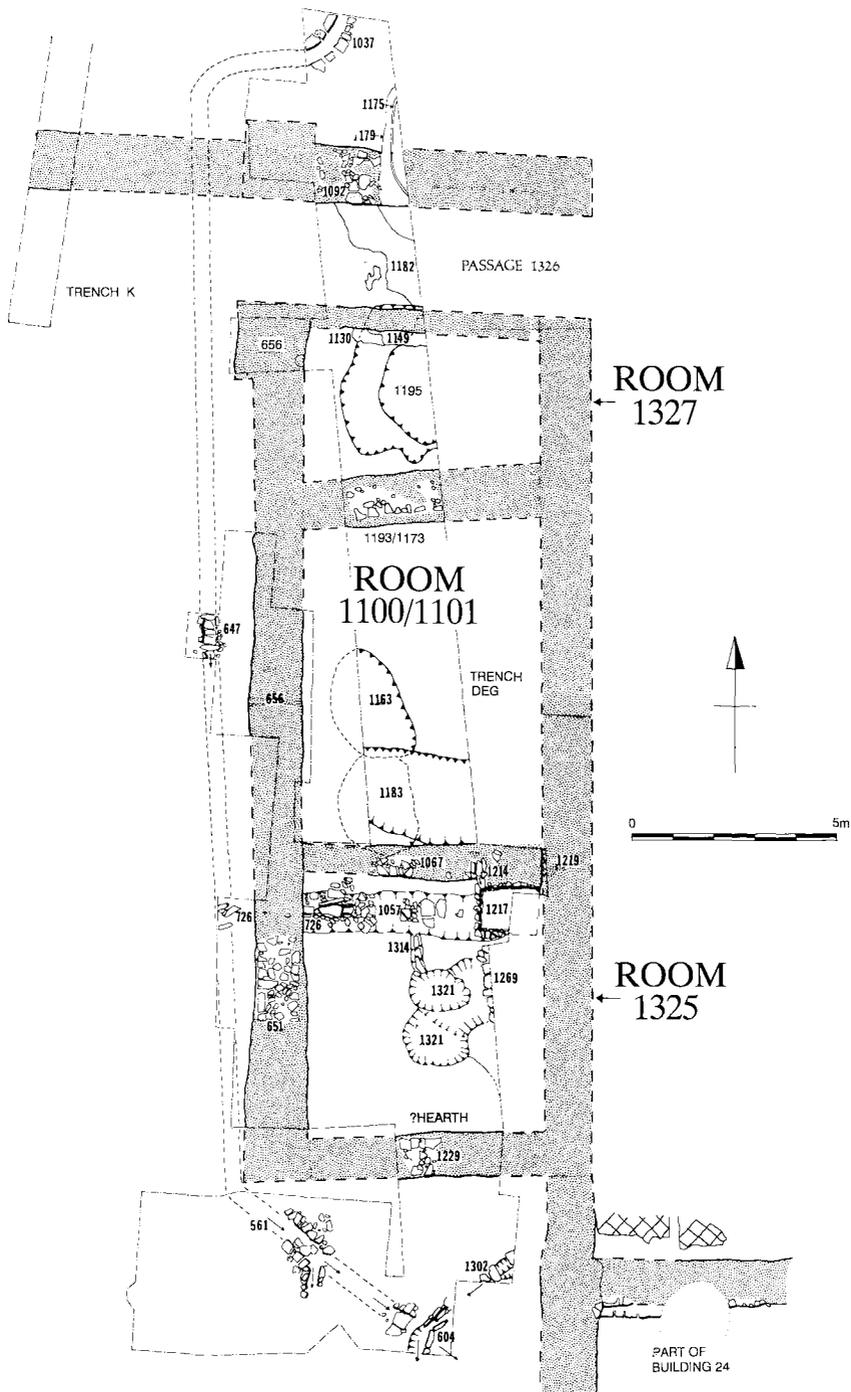


FIG. 13  
Building 1323 in the 13th and 14th centuries

which was only 0.9 m. This latter narrowing is unlikely to indicate the position of a door as a fireplace in this position is postulated below.

There was initially only one large room immediately S. of the cross passage 1326 (Fig. 13) which measured 12.4 m by just under 6 m internally. This was probably only a short-lived feature. The room was then subdivided by a cross wall (1193/1173). This shallow robber trench was set at a rather oblique angle to the other wall lines forming a small room *c.* 3.5 m x 6 m on the N. and a larger room *c.* 7.8 m x 6 m in the middle. The only evidence for floor surfaces were in the northern room, which included a patchy mortar layer (1150) and a bedding layer (1134). Neither produced finds, but stratigraphically linked with these was fragmentary benching (1149) built against the S. face of the N. wall (1047). On the N. of these rooms was the E.-W. passageway between a narrow 0.5 m-wide robber trench 1047 and exterior wall 1092, which was almost wholly robbed. Part of the western wall's robber trench 656 was wider next to the supposed entrance of this passage than further S. (1.65 m as opposed to *c.* 1.2 m). This may be interpreted as a buttress or wider footing for an imposing door surround, which would be expected here, since this passage probably formed the principal entrance to the claustral ranges. Floors in this passage were set above 1182, a patchy layer sealing the foundation trench of a surviving block of masonry of the N. wall (1092). Layer 1182 was cut by a trench which originally contained a lead water pipe (1175) which is analogous to pipe trenches 177 and 198 in the S. Range. Its date is uncertain, but it is unlikely to be earlier than the 14th century and is certainly pre *c.* 1450 in the S. Range. The water pipe could have run beneath the W. cloister alley to link with a pipe line recorded under the S. Range (see pipeline 422 in Fig. 22, below). Both layer 1182 and pipe trench 1175 were sealed by a layer of crushed slate (1171, not illustrated) which was deposited in the passageway prior to the laying of 1157, a very worn surface which was itself replaced by the first in a succession of solid mortar surfaces (1144, not illustrated). There was no dating for these.

The room in the S. end of the building (1325) had a complex of drains for supplying and draining water. A drain, 1037, originating somewhere beyond the N. of the building, ran around the NW. corner, and then (as 647) down the W. side to link with drains 561 and 604/1302 on the S. This drain was stone lined, its channel being 0.2-0.35 m in width, and sloped from N. to S. Along the W. side, the drain branched off to the E. and ran across room 1325 (as 726/1057). This room was formed by E.-W. cross wall 1067 (a robber trench *c.* 0.8 m wide) in addition to the exterior walls 656/651, 1219 and 1229. Internally it measured *c.* 6 m square. At the E. side of the room the E.-W. drain 726/1057 emptied into a well-built drystone lined 'tank' (1217) 1.4 m x 1 m x 0.8 m deep containing a coarse sandy fill. Branching to the S. from drain 1057 was a smaller drain 1314 which in turn emptied into an irregular sump or soakaway (1321) which produced two sherds from a 13th-century vessel, and a further sherd that could be 13th-century. Yet one other small drain (1214) ran N. into wall line 1067 emptying into the NW. corner of the stone lined tank. The only identifiable floor surfaces or makeup were very disturbed and made mainly of re-deposited subsoil (1320) which sealed the soakaway 1321; it produced no datable finds. Subsequently the soakaway and its drain (1314) went out of use when a new stone lined drain (1269) was constructed. This ran from the SW. corner of tank 1217 and may have left the building by crossing the S. wall near the SE. corner, or run through the E. wall into the cloister alley. Whatever way it left the room, the drain eventually ran into a new drain outside the S. of the building (1302), itself originating in the cloister area (as drain 592, not illustrated) to the E. of building 1323.

Dating is meagre, with pottery datable at best to the 13th century. The buildings must belong to the primary foundation period, and the modifications to the drains are probably late 13th- or early 14th-century. The lead water pipe trench may be contemporary with that found running across the S. Range of the Great Cloister and the W. Range of the little Cloister (*i.e.* 484/422, 329, 254).

In Trench K excavated to the W. of Building 1323, an E.-W. boundary wall, 0.65 m wide, was recorded. Its projected line eastwards would have taken it to the NW. corner of

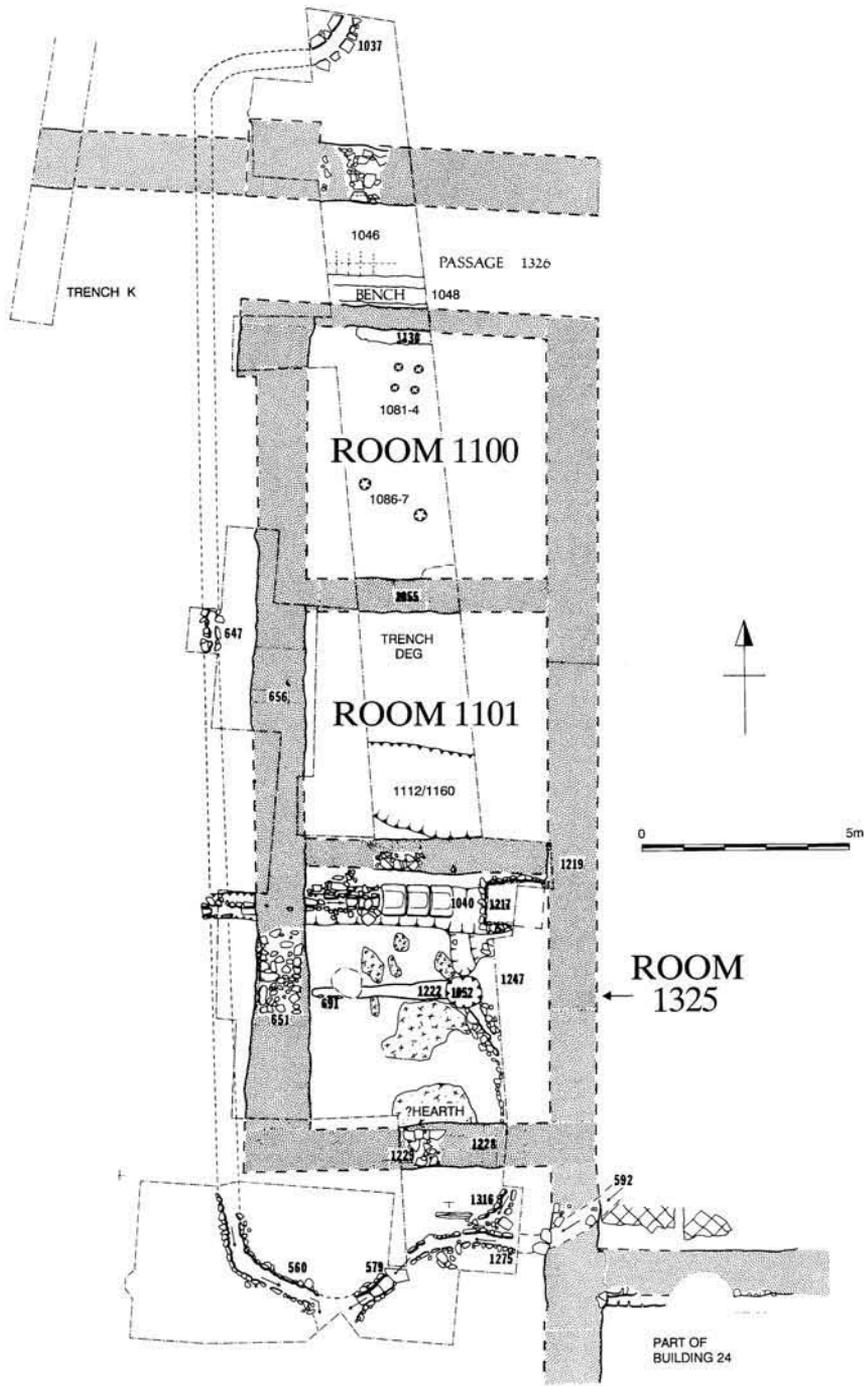


FIG. 14  
Building 1323 in the 14th-16th centuries

Building 1323. No dating evidence was recovered for this wall, so it has been included in both Figs. 12 and 13. Although the wall was certainly there in Phase 2, it seems likely that a boundary wall separating the public area near the W. front of the church from the claustral ranges would be needed from the earliest phase.

*Phase 2 — 14th–16th centuries (Fig. 14)*

Building 1323 underwent a number of modifications during the 14th and/or 15th centuries. The most significant change involved the demolition of the oddly aligned wall 1173/1193 which was replaced by a new interior wall 1055 (surviving as a shallow robber trench 0.6 m wide with a few fragments of walling surviving in its base, 1063). This introduced more symmetry in the size of rooms: that on the N. (1100) now measured about 6 m sq., and the new centre room (1101) measured c. 5.5 m N.–S. by c. 6 m E.–W. The most complete floor layer in room 1100 (1114, a gravelly loam for a beaten floor) which sealed the now levelled and robbed former wall 1173/1193, also sealed benching that post-dated the levelling of the old wall (not illustrated). So following the remodelling of the rooms the benching against the northern wall must itself have been refurbished (as 1130) before being demolished. Floor 1114 sat on bedding material (1120) which contained eight sherds from a single pot not closely datable. There then followed a succession of floor surfaces 1113, 1110, 1109, 1103, 1097 and the latest, 1088 (not illustrated). The latter contained a sherd dated to the 15th/16th century. These mortar and clay levels may have been used as makeup for a tiled floor, but evidence did not survive *in situ*. Layer 1088 did, however, contain two pieces of decorated type 12 tiles datable to the 14th century.<sup>79</sup> Cut into this layer were a number of stake-holes which made no coherent pattern apart from 1081–84 which formed an apparent 0.5 m square. The latest floor was sealed by demolition debris 1054 and 1044, the latter contained late 17th-century pottery (not illustrated). In the middle room (1101) the floor surfaces were more fragmentary; what flooring survived was preceded by pit 1112 which contained four sherds from three pots dated to the late 14th to 16th centuries. These were sealed in turn by layer 1078, which itself followed a number of fragmentary floor surfaces (1061, 1064 1075–76, 1080 and 1090) of which 1064 was of mortar (not illustrated). Layer 1090 displayed evidence for considerable burning possibly the result of a small fire or hearth. Unfortunately no dating evidence was recovered from these layers, but they presumably represent an extended timespan starting from the late 14th century (based on pottery fragments from 1112 and a 14th-/15th-century jetton from 1078). The latest floor, 1053, was sealed by a slate layer (1043), the remains of a collapsed roof which contained 16th-century pottery. This was covered in turn by the dumping and demolition debris (1044) containing late 17th-century pottery.

The northern entrance passage (1326) saw a whole series of repairs and additions to the mortar floors. Many surfaces showed considerable evidence for wear and repair, attesting heavy use of the passage. At least ten separate layers were identified culminating with layer 1046 with its associated benching 1048 against the S. wall. This final surface retained the clear impression of 305 mm square floortiles, although none survived either *in situ* or in the layers above. Of the many types and sizes of tile recovered from the site this very large tile impression can only be matched with the oolite tiles discovered elsewhere in the S. and E. alleys of the N. cloister which would link with this passage. The only difference is that the tile impressions lay perpendicular to the wall lines, rather than obliquely, as was the case in the cloister alley N. of the S. Range.

In the southern room (1325), there was further modification to the water system. Part of drain 1057 (Fig. 13) was replaced by three (possibly four) massive Old Red Sandstone blocks set in line (1040) and carved with a U-sectioned profile for water to empty into the stone tank 1217 (Fig. 14). This insertion came late in the building's life, for the foundation trench for the blocks appeared to cut the latest floors in the building. Pottery from its fill was not closely datable. The drain (726) to the W. of the sandstone blocks continued to feed water, but the drain which formerly branched to the N. (1214, Fig. 13) now became

obsolete due to the higher level of the Old Red Sandstone block drain. About the same time a new E.-W. cob-built partition wall (1222) was inserted 1.6 m S. of block drain 1040. This was constructed in a shallow 0.25–0.3 m wide trench and had been plastered, as exemplified by upstanding lenses of mortar even though the clay infilling no longer survived (691). Most of the clay and mortar from the wall collapsed (during or after the 16th century) and had spread in patches on each side of its former line (1226, 1232, 1234, not illustrated) covering the latest floor surfaces. These floors, 1254, 1257, 1280, 1282 (illustrated but not numbered, Fig. 14), and 1284 contained much evidence for burning and included many fish bones and mollusc shells. The burning argues for the existence of a fireplace or hearth in the immediate vicinity, and it is possible that the surviving masonry 1229 in the foundation of narrow wall line trench 1228 may belong to part of a fireplace fronted by the hearth material 1288 which contained coal fragments. The upper fill of robber trench 656 (582) on the W. side of the room contained 22 fragments of colourful Dutch painted wall tiles of mid 16th-century date. Three fragments were also recovered nearby from the W. robber trench of the S. Range. These may relate to a post-Dissolution refurbishment of room 1325, perhaps a fireplace surround.<sup>80</sup> The other modification to this room was the replacement of the south-running drain 1269 (Fig. 12) with drain 1247 which is assumed to have run across the S. wall of the room to join with drains 1316 and 1275 outside the building, where further changes to the drain layout (560 and 599) may already have taken place (Fig. 13). The point of origin for 1247 is likely to have been close to its precursor, forming an overflow for drain 1040 before entering tank 1217. A pit (1052) not only truncated the northern part of the drain, but the E. side of cob wall 1222, and so it is uncertain if the wall extended right across to the E. side of the room, or terminated short to allow a door opening. If the latter was the case then pit 1052 might be a post-hole for an upright.<sup>81</sup>

Stratigraphically there is no activity that can be attributable solely to the 16th century or specifically to the grammar school, before the building fell out of use. But there are the mid 16th-century Dutch wall tiles recovered from the robber trench fills which may indicate that one room underwent refurbishment after the Dissolution. These tiles are generally dated to the period 1550–80, and examples appear in the Antwerp area *c.* 1550. If these tiles were used in a Grammar School refurbishment then they would have to date from on or before 1547, since the school apparently closed in that year. Work on conversion cannot have commenced before 1543.

The initial abandonment can probably be dated to the 16th century, when the roof collapsed and with its rooms open to the weather cob wall 1222 soon followed, sealing more 16th-century pottery (1226). The building must have remained as an open ruin for at least a hundred years before it was dismantled; within the demolition debris (1044) was late 17th-century pottery, although final robbing may have been as late as the 18th century (656).

### *The function of Building 1323*

The inability to excavate the E. wall (1219) to its total width unfortunately prevented an accurate assessment of the building's upper floor arrangement. Had the wall been narrower than the other exterior walls then it could indicate that the upper floor extended over the cloister alley (part of the weight being shared by the cloister arcade wall). This arrangement is suggested by the varying wall widths (although the cloister arcade wall was never excavated here) and by a similar arrangement noted in the S. Range of the Infirmary.

It is possible that there was an upper floor, since this western range belongs to the initial single-cloistered phase where each range would have been designed for a specific requirement. The function of any upper floor rooms cannot be established in the absence of archaeological evidence; analogy with other friary plans is hazardous because of the 'marked disregard of normal monastic arrangements' in friaries.<sup>82</sup> All that can be suggested is that the W. range can function as a guesthouse, less usually as refectory or bed chambers.

The function of the ground floor rooms is little clearer. In none of the phases can it be established what the northern rooms were used for; it would appear that only one could have had a tiled floor, although both had patchy mortar surfaces. The northern room contained benching along its N. wall, and may well have had evidence for more along its side wall if it had been possible to excavate there. The southern room (1325) with its almost monumental open drains, stone tank and hearth/fireplace appears to have continued in the same use throughout its life. The fishbone remains may indicate that this was used for food preparation or cooking. If, however, the food refuse is treated as residual, then it is possible that the room was a wash room or laver. There is already evidence for kitchens elsewhere on the site, but if the guests' lodgings were on the floor above, then a small kitchen to service this might not be unexpected.

#### THE CHAPTER HOUSE, E. CLOISTER ALLEY, AND BUILDINGS E. OF THE GREAT CLOISTER

Very little survived of the Chapter House or the E. cloister alley because a ditch 11.5–12 m wide was cut through them during the Civil War. Moreover excavation was limited to a number of small areas in the former Bassett's Yard (B1–4), the former Upper Mill Street car park (C1 and C2) and in 1988 (A1) (Fig. 3). The Chapter House had a number of buildings appended to it in the later Middle Ages, but their extent and function is uncertain.

##### *The Chapter House*

The principal walls were represented on the W. by N.–S. robber trench 505 (1.4 m wide) with an apparent westward turn confirmed by the existence of benching (538) and the survival of a patch of plain green floortiles (506/523 Type 2 on bedding 520) within the NW. corner of the room (Fig. 16). The SE. corner of the building (in area C2) was represented by robber trench 935 (1.4–1.7 m wide) forming a corner which possibly had cross buttresses. A wall line that butted this corner is represented by a N.–S. robber trench; inside the angle of this corner was a mortar bedding (959) with tile impressions of the same plain tiles (type 2). A lip of mortar on the E. side of layer 959 0.4 m W. of the N.–S. robber trench indicates that there was benching along the eastern wall, and the variable width of the southern wall may also indicate benching. A fragment of the NE. corner of the building (1632) was exposed during 1988 in A1, directly under a standing boundary wall which prevented proper investigation; this survived as blocks of stone bonded in clay. Butting on the N. and E. sides were later wall lines (1561/62, 1623/25) of buildings 1759 and 1972. No dating evidence was recovered for the construction of the walls of the Chapter House.

The stratigraphy within the Chapter House was characterized by the frequent lifting of the tiled floor for the excavation of graves, and the repairing of floor tiles (Figs. 16, 17). A consequence of this was that the tiles were haphazardly laid and most were cracked and worn (Pls. IV, c, V, b). In the limited area of B1 where the floor did survive, in no instance was any grave earlier than the floor or its mortar bedding 520/524 (Fig. 17), suggesting that there had been only one tiled floor throughout the life of the Chapter House. To support this the only fragments of floortile recovered from any grave fills (553, 546, 591, 593) were of the gravel tempered plain type 2. These are thought to have been manufactured locally.<sup>83</sup> It would thus appear that the tiles used in the last surviving floor may have been in use throughout the history of the Chapter House.

There was no satisfactory dating evidence for the original laying of the floor. Of all the graves that had cut through it and had then been covered once again by the tiles, fills 591 and 613 contained sherds of pottery generally datable to c. 1250–1350; the upper fill (546) of another grave (575) contained 14th-/15th-century pottery. What may be part of the original floor bedding (549, not illustrated) contained fragments of a handle dated c.

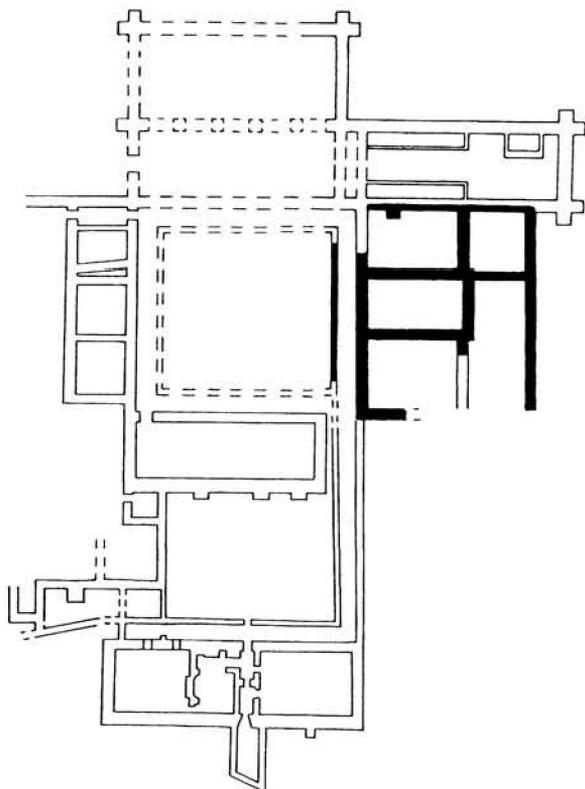


FIG. 15  
Location of the Chapter House, E. Cloister  
Alley and Building E. of the Great Cloister

1250–1350. The construction was presumably contemporary with the earliest buildings of the friary.

#### *Dissolution and Destruction*

The earliest post-Suppression layer 519 which lay over the tiled floor contained fragments of window glass, many floor tiles, mortar fragments and slate (Fig. 17). This was covered in turn by 513, a general demolition level which also contained fragments of type K ridge tiles (?North Devon), more window glass fragments and window lead, and a single (type 1) decorated floortile of 14th-century date. The layer also contained a single sherd of 16th-/17th-century pottery. The layer above this (504) contained more glass, but some of the finds, including decorated floortile, may have originated from other buildings close by. The amount of dressed limestone, however, clearly points to the Chapter House being highly decorated. Many fragments with a distinctive pointed roll indicate the existence of complex piers or pillars stylistically dated to the 13th century.

The robber trench fill of the W. wall (722/505) was cut by a trench 496 (see Fig. 16, area C2). This was one of a pair of parallel trenches (498) which ran along the bottom of an 11.5 m wide ditch (500) which is assumed to be a Civil War period feature. Thus it would appear that the walls of the Chapter House and associated buildings had been robbed before or about the time of the construction of this ditch system *c.* 1644.<sup>84</sup> The backfilling of ditch 500 occurred over a protracted period of time, but had been completed before 1786 when Lewis' map was drawn. The alignment of ditch 500 is mirrored by the

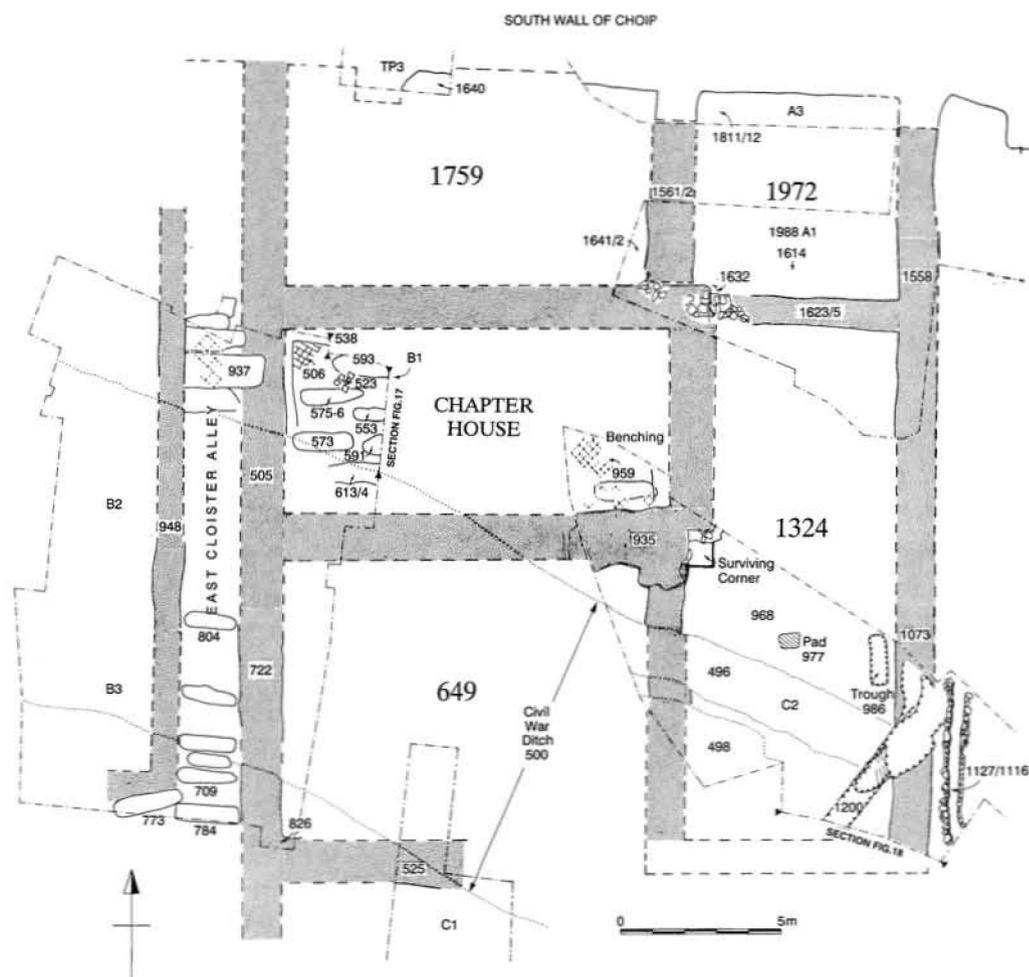


FIG. 16  
Buildings off the E. Cloister Alley

cottages on the S. side of Friar's Park (nos. 12–15) and of the pathway from there to Navigation Lane (Fig. 10). This runs over the former Chapter House.

#### *The E. Cloister Alley and the building S. of the Chapter House*

Excavations in what was known as Bassett's Yard (now built over by sheltered housing centred at SN 41010 19965) had to be undertaken in four separate parcels for the purpose of spoil management.

The excavation of Civil War ditch 500 was responsible for the loss of most of the medieval archaeology between and including parts of the Chapter House and near the NE. corner of the S. range of the Great Cloister (Fig. 16). Thus the existence of Building 649 S. of the Chapter House is only known from portions of its W. wall and a turn for its S. wall; it would have joined the Chapter House on its N. side. The W. wall (722) only survived as a very shallow robber trench a few centimetres deep, at the base of ditch 500

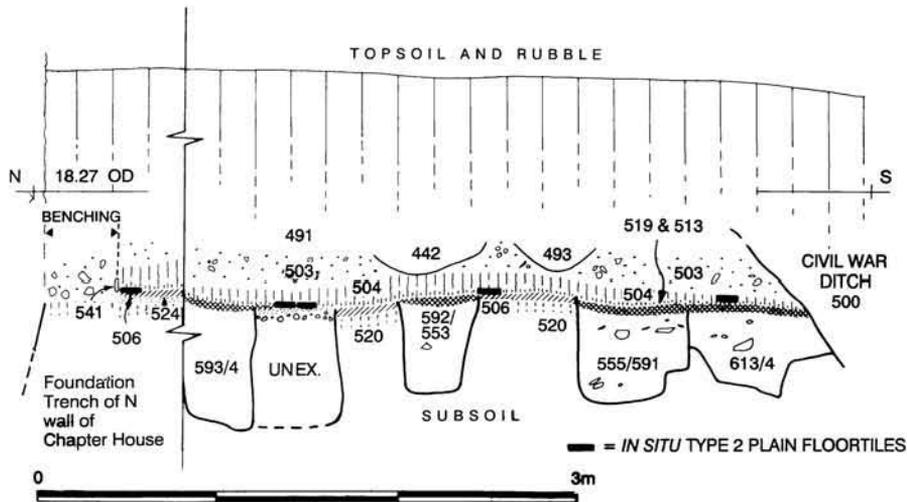


FIG. 17

Section (B1 on Fig. 16) through part of the Chapter House floor

(Fig. 16). At the southern extremity of B3 (close under the northern boundary wall of the enclosure of Park House), the very restricted conditions just allowed the investigation of an eastwards turn of the wall (826). This was represented by *c.* 0.4 m length of the northern side of a foundation trench, which contained Old Red Sandstone blocks. In the Upper Mill Street car park in trench C1, *c.* 3.5 m E., the southern side of a robber trench of the same wall was detected (Fig. 16, 525). The northern part had been truncated by ditch 500. The eastern extent of this building is unknown, but it is likely to be represented by the robber trench noted off the SE. corner of the Chapter House. No internal layers survived. The upper floor of a building in this position is often used as a dormitory.

The alley on the W. side of building 649 and the Chapter House was also poorly preserved. The only near-intact portion was on the N. side of ditch 500, W. of the NW. corner of the Chapter House. The alley itself was defined by the W. wall of the latter (722) and a narrower parallel wall (948) 0.8 m wide (Fig. 16). Between these the alley was paved in 1 ft. sq. (0.305 m) oolitic limestone tiles (937), the same flooring noted in the SW. corner of the alley (224, Fig. 21). Of the 15 m of the eastern alley investigated, only 1.8 m survived intact — the rest had been destroyed mainly by ditch 500. The line however was marked by intermittent stretches of robber trenches 722 and 948, and by a number of graves that just survived beneath 500; all stratigraphical links had been lost. Evidence for a turn from the E. into the S. alley was provided by a single grave 773 (Fig. 16) which would otherwise have been under the alley wall. Of the seven graves investigated at the S. side of the E. alley only three (709, 784, 804) contained pottery, dated roughly to the 13th–14th centuries. Of the nine skeletons from these graves five were aged between 14–16 years (of indeterminate sex), a male was 16–17 years, whilst three other males were aged 20–24, 25–30 and 40–45 years respectively.<sup>85</sup> The dominance of juveniles in this area is clearly noteworthy, perhaps comparable to the practice noted at Oxford Blackfriars where children (possibly of lay benefactors) were buried at the W. end of the Chapter House, though in this case in the cloister alley.<sup>86</sup> The fact that they were all juveniles may point to their being novices (see p. 176, below). By contrast, the 12 fairly well preserved skeletons recovered from under the northern part of the E. cloister alley (near the entrance to the chapter house) were predominantly in their early 40s (average 42 years) and all male; they were perhaps friars. The few burials within the Chapter House were mixed: five males

25–45 years (average 34), a female of 45 years, and two juveniles.<sup>87</sup> The latter came from the SE. end. The layers and graves beneath the small area of preserved alley floor (937) in area B<sub>4</sub> provided little in the way of any evidence that could help date the adjoining walls or the tiled floor: three of the graves contained pottery fragments of 13th-/14th-century date, and one a fragment of 14th-century floortile. In general terms the cloister alley must be considered to belong to the original phase of construction.

*'Building' 1324 E. of Chapter House (Fig. 16)*

Evidence for the features E. of the Chapter House being part of a building is tenuous; they may in fact relate to an external yard or working area. The area was delimited by a robbed N.–S. wall line (1073) 1.15 m wide that was investigated over a 5.8 m length at the eastern limit of excavation (Fig. 16). This N.–S. wall line ran parallel to and 6.7 m E. of the robber trench that butted the SE. corner of the Chapter House. It can be assumed to have run northwards, parallel to the E. of the Chapter House, as it was recorded (as robber trench 1558) in A1 of the 1988 excavations. A parallel stone-lined drain 1116 ran E. of wall 1073. This replaced an earlier open drain (1200). The flooring of this area of C2 was composed of very substantial mortar layers. The physical limits of these mortar layers is unknown as the area of investigation was constrained by public footpaths and a car park to N. and S.; the E. and W. limits were bounded by wall lines 935 and 1073. A parallelogram shaped area 7 m x c. 3 m was available for study, the rest of the surface had been destroyed by ditches 496/498/500.

The earliest feature running NE.–SW. through the area was an open drain (1200) which cut through the buried soil 1045 (Fig. 18). This soil produced nine sherds from eight 13th-century vessels, some post-c. 1250. This type of pottery has been found in pre-friary contexts under the choir. The drain itself is very likely a continuation of the drain that crossed the later Little Cloister garth (369/403/929) and the N. of trial trench C1 (633) (Figs. 20, 21). In other areas of excavation the fill of drain 369 is dated by an abundance of pottery to the later 13th century. Its construction is assumed to belong to the primary phase of building at the Friary. A continuation to the NE. (2057), running past the E. side of the choir, was noted in 1990; unlike elsewhere, this was not replaced by a stone lined drain and remained open for a long period; it contained a single 15th-/16th-century sherd.

The next phase of activity relates to the construction of wall line 1073. This survived as a robber trench 1.2–1.4 m wide. Since this N.–S. wall cut across the existing line of the open drain some care was taken to insert a wider foundation (perhaps for an arch) and allow the drain to continue to function. On the SW. side of the wall the drain was now stone lined (1177, Fig. 18). This modification of the drain was however short-lived as it was backfilled and replaced by a stone lined drain which ran on the E. side of wall 1073 (1116/1127). This drain had an apparent turn eastwards, although it was not possible to investigate this fully. The date for the construction of the wall is uncertain, but the lowest layers that are possibly contemporary with its construction includes a slate layer 1165. If wall line 1073 is a continuation of wall line 1588 (discovered in 1988, A1), then a *terminus post quem* in the mid 14th–15th century may be suggested for its construction, although the floors appear much later.

Outside to the E. and parallel to the wall was drain 1116. This was built of blocks of Old Red Sandstone which gave a drain width of c. 0.38 m in a vertically-sided trench c. 0.8 m wide. The layer between this drain and the wall (1139) contained a coin of Duke Jean IV of Brittany dated 1344–99, which again supports a post-mid 14th-century date for the construction of the wall (Fig. 18).

The area between wall line 1073 and the SE. corner of the Chapter House was extremely complex, comprising many layers of mortar, some of which included much evidence of burning around an elongated trough or pit (986). None of these are illustrated. The pit (Fig. 16) was oblong, 1.51 m x 0.5 m, vertically sided with a flat bottom which sloped very slightly upwards towards the S. The earliest layers that could be associated

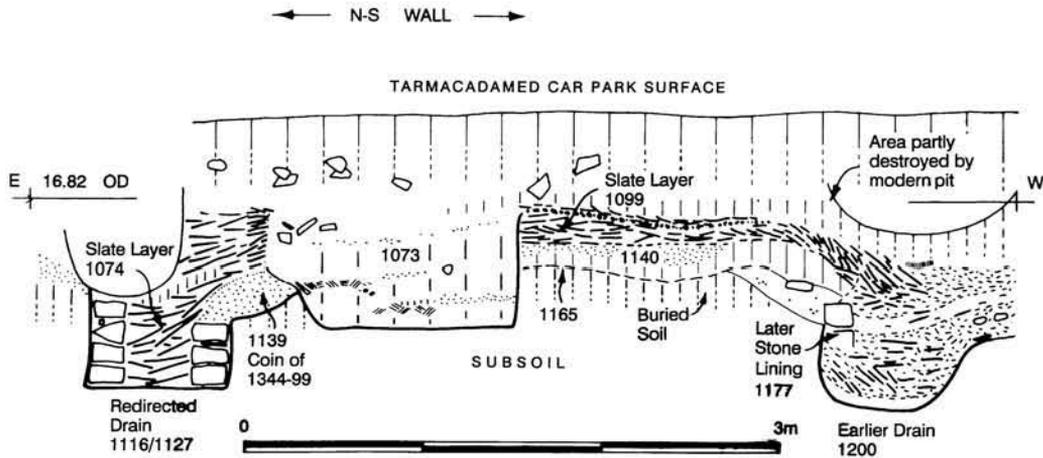


FIG. 18

South section (C2 on Fig. 16) showing slate layers 1014/1099 accumulated prior to the robbing of 1073

with this pit are a series of overlapping lenses displaying much evidence for burning with blotches of burnt clay or daub, and sandy loam with charcoal flecks (1023/1031). These layers were stratigraphically later than the supposed buttress foundation trench for the SE. corner of the Chapter House, and cannot therefore be associated with the pre-friary burning. Layers above the burnt layers over a gravel surface 1008 and a series of hollows (998, 1002, 1005, not illustrated), one containing 14th-/15th-century pottery, and a trampled surface 990, can be associated with pit 986. The alignment of the pit clearly respected the wall line on its eastern side. It was filled with compact white mortar at the top merging into loose pale brown mortar below.

Pit 986 was sealed by a series of very hard mortar layers, 977, 976, 975 and 970. The latter contained 14th-/15th-century sherds. Above this a coal and ash layer was in turn sealed by a substantial mortar layer (968) with a stone block (0.5 m x 0.6 m) sitting proud c. 2.5 m W. of the former pit (Fig. 16, Pl. V, A); the group context for this and a number of patchy layers was 962. The stone block, perhaps a post pad, was probably first set down during the laying of 977, the first layer to post-date the infilling of the pit. The pit and stone block did not co-exist. There was little dating evidence, apart from a some 14th-/15th-century pottery from 968. What is clear is that the latest mortar floor surface was either patched or dumped upon by layers 960 and 961 before evidence for early destruction in the form of layer 944 is apparent. Layer 944 contained abundant slates, mirroring layers 1074/1099 recorded on both sides of wall line 1073 (Fig. 18). The layer also contained pieces of lead window grill, window glass and nails. The dating of this collapse must be post-Suppression: it contained 26 sherds from seven 16th-century vessels; layer 1099 produced a further six sherds from four vessels of similar date. The robber trench fills included 17th-century pottery, and the backfill of robber trench 1073 was in turn cut by Civil War ditches 496 and 498 (500). The robber trench also produced three jettons of 13th-/14th-century date which were found close to a Breton coin, and it is tempting to think that the jettons were originally from the same layer (1139).

The function of this area is uncertain. The mortar layers may have been laid down over a number of years and could represent internal floor surfaces; but they may not have been in an internal room, and they could relate to a very short period of activity, perhaps mortar mixing for constructional work; the undulating nature of the layers supports this. One suggestion for the function of the earlier oblong pit was for slaking lime, with the possibly associated burning around the nearby floors also a result of building work.

However the stone pad could have perhaps supported a lean-to roof against wall 1073. The collapsed slate could have come from a building here, adding some currency to the argument that we are indeed dealing with a building. The slate could have been derived from the Chapter House or the little known E. Range; but the fact that roofing slate (phyllite) had clearly fallen *each side* of wall line 1073 (see 1074/1099, Fig. 18) argues in favour of this roofing material falling from a building here, not from the Chapter House. The E. wall (1073), and its northern end investigated in 1988 (1588) which butts on to the S. wall of the choir, may originally have been a boundary wall closing off the domestic ranges from the lay cemetery that stood to the E. and N. of the church. Such a wall could have had lean-to or pentice roofs along its length under which some of the layers described above would have accumulated.

#### *Buildings N. and NE. of Chapter House*

Evidence for two rooms between the Chapter House and choir is fragmentary, and manifest as two N.-S. robber trenches 1562 and 1558, which in conjunction with the S. wall of the choir and the N. wall of the Chapter House, separate two areas marked as 1759 and 1972 in Fig. 16. The S. wall of Room 1972 is marked by foundation trench 1623.

#### *Room 1759*

This is the least certain room, as so little of the area within its enclosing walls was investigated. Excavation was extremely limited, to small pockets in a trial trench (TP3) and A1 in 1988. The walls of the choir, Chapter House and the E. cloister alley formed three sides. The fourth wall (1562), which butts the Chapter House and the S. wall of the choir, is clearly later, and the room itself, as an enclosed entity, only came into existence with the construction of wall 1562, surviving as a 1.4 m wide robber trench. The enclosed area measures c. 12.5m x 6m. There was no dating evidence for the construction of this wall, although the E.-W. wall (1625) of the adjacent room has a tentative *terminus post quem* in the mid 14th-/15th-century. The only possible floor surface within the area enclosed by these walls was represented by layers 1641-42 (possibly also 1640 in TP3) produced four complete Malvernian plain floortiles and some mortar, it also had many fragments of glass vessels within it. The existence of the floortiles, which may have been *in situ*, would seem to argue for this being a room. If it was, then a doorway would be expected from the cloister alley on the W., but not from the choir on the N. as the position of the choir stalls would probably have prevented an entry on this side. The Malvern tiles suggest a date after 1450 for the floor.

#### *Room 1972*

This room abuts the S. wall of the choir and the NE. corner of the Chapter House, and is formed by N.-S. wall line 1561, N.-S. wall line 1588 (a 1.2 m robber trench) and E.-W. wall line 1625 (a 1 m wide foundation trench). The internal area enclosed is c. 6.2 m sq.

It is clear that this must be a fairly late addition, with no early layers within it. Bonding clay of stonework within the foundations of E.-W. wall line 1623 contained three sherds from three vessels which suggest a *terminus post quem* in the mid 14th to 15th centuries for construction. However, as well as containing 12th-/13th-century pottery, the earliest floor levels that sealed this wall line (1617, not illustrated) had fragments of late 15th-/early 16th-century Normandy floortiles. Immediately above foundation 1617 were burnt layers of redeposited upcast subsoil (1614/1615) which are thought to correspond with a burnt and charcoal stained layer (1812) recorded S. of the choir's S. wall in A3 (Fig. 16). Both 1615 and 1812 contained fragments of Normandy tiles. The only clear evidence for a floor was recorded in A3. This was a patchy mortar layer (1811) which sealed 1812. Layer 1811 also produced fragments of Normandy tiles, and it is probable that the mortar formed a bedding layer for these tiles. Above this was a layer of collapsed roofing slate (phyllite)

which also produced window and quality vessel glass as well as 16th-century pottery. This layer marked the post-Suppression commencement of demolition. The layer was not seen in A1. Here the possible floor layers were sealed by more layers of burning (1638, 1581), and a roughly N.-S. double alignment of stakeholes (1593, 1595, 1597-8 not illustrated) which produced 16th-century pottery. A contemporary layer (1642) contained fragments of high-quality vessel glass. These layers presumably are Suppression period and were covered by general demolition layer 1545. The robber trench fills (1582) contained 18th-/20th-century material, attesting a late date for final robbing. It was not possible to investigate the area S. of room 1972 (i.e. S. of wall line 1623) in any detail, due to the closeness of a standing boundary wall.

The only evidence for a floor in this room comprised 15th-/early 16th-century Normandy floortiles, which argues for the room itself being a late addition. This is mirrored to some extent by the Malvern floortiles recovered from an assumed floor level in the adjacent 'room' (1759) on the W. side. No evidence was recovered for doorways, but room 1972 could have linked with the choir to the N. and 1759 on the W. The discovery of quality vessel glass, and its position, may suggest that one or both rooms functioned as the Sacristy.

#### BUILDING 24 (S. RANGE OF GREAT CLOISTER)

Building 24 stood between the N. and S. cloisters. It was first observed in T1 (Fig. 3), where a section was drawn across its width. It was subsequently area excavated as Area 1/3 in 1983.

The walls of the building had been totally robbed, but wall lines were clearly preserved as robber trenches. The only stonework survived in the foundations of buttresses and under a former doorway in the NW. corner (Fig. 20). This was almost wholly of Old Red Sandstone. The outside dimensions of the building were 24 m x 10 m at ground floor, but the upper floor possibly extended over the cloister alley on the N., giving a width of c. 12 m. Interior dimensions at ground floor level were 21.4 x 7.4 m giving a floor area of 160 sq. m. It was not possible to examine the whole length of the N. wall, or the cloister alley to the N. as these lay under the boundary and properties on the N. side of the grounds of Park House (centred SN 40995 19965).

The interior was very disturbed by late pits and scoops that destroyed much of the flooring. Both plain and inlaid floortiles survived *in situ* in two small areas, as well as what is interpreted as the base of a mill perhaps for mashing barley. The levels inside the W. side of the building had been lowered well into subsoil, so that access from the cloister alley (via a door in the NW. corner) was down two steps from the higher level of the Great Cloister. The lowering of the floor level effectively destroyed most of the earlier levels, but a series of truncated post-holes survived in the subsoil. Since these post-holes were arranged symmetrically and were of quite stout proportions they may relate to a timber precursor, but they are more likely to be timber scaffolding holes dug during the initial construction of the building.

The layers above the levelling cut produced quite late material and very little in the way of earlier residual finds. This could mean that the cut was as late as the mid 15th or even the 16th century. Within the building there was one surviving block of flooring retaining a higher soil profile and to the W. of this a step. It seems, therefore, that not all the floor was lowered to the same depth, and it is probable

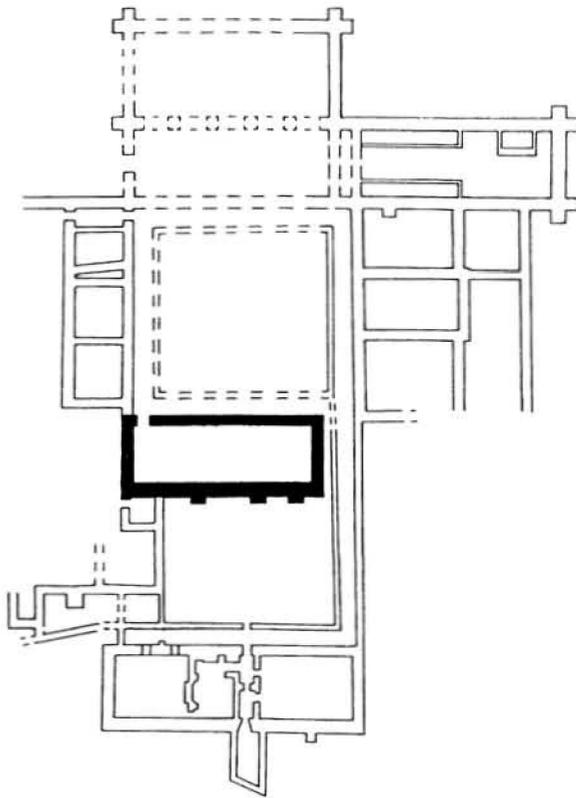


FIG. 19  
Location of Building 24 (S. Range of Great  
Cloister)

that the eastern half stood *c.* 0.2 m higher than the W. prior to post-medieval disturbance.

The function of the building's ground floor may be indicated by the presence of the supposed press base, which suggests that this could be the 'brew house' referred to in the Suppression Inventory. The building's E. end was very disturbed, and in the NE. corner a large pit was dug and filled with coal dust possibly in the post-Suppression period. There is evidence to suggest a re-roofing after the Dissolution.

#### *The Early Features — Phase 1*

The robber trench of the N. wall was narrower than the W., E. and S. trenches which suggests an upper floor oversailed the cloister alley on the N. side. Although no masonry survived, the width of the southern foundation trench 25/196 was about 1.4 m–1.7 m compared to a width of 1.17 m for N. wall 131 (Fig. 20). Unfortunately we were unable to examine the cloister wall to the N., but since the northern wall (131) was narrower than the southern, it can be argued that part of the weight of the upper floor could be shared by the cloister arcade wall. The eastern and western wall foundation trenches (217, 348) were 1.2–1.3 m wide. The width of the southern wall trench, although on average 1.4 m–1.7 m wide, was up to 2.4 m wide in parts E. of buttress 306; this broadening is attributable to two-phase robbing, manifest as a narrow gully (360) running along the outer face of the

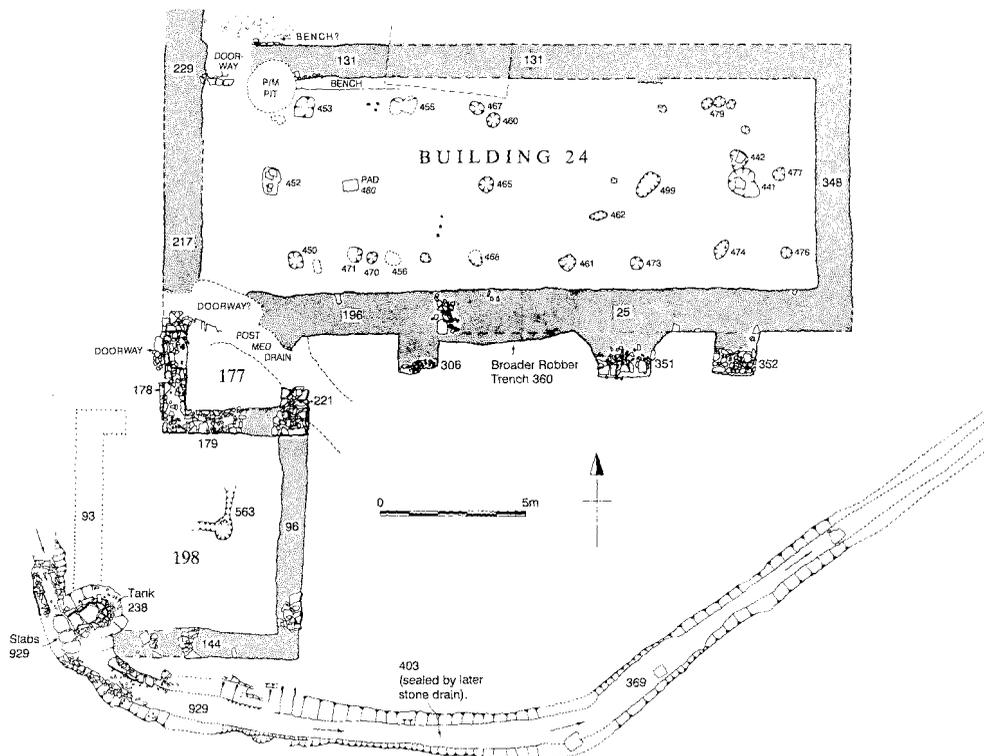


FIG. 20

Building 24, early features. Post holes 452-79 are also given the group context 449 in the text

wall which contained a different, less stony and more mortary, fill than the contents of the robber trench. The gully's fill was stratigraphically earlier than the robber trench's fill, and probably reflects the robbing of a free-stone string-course, a little above the base, some time prior to the robbing of the main wall. Wall 25/196 had three buttresses off its S. face (306, 351, 352, Fig. 20), and the inward sloping profile of the foundation trench's southern face indicates that the wall was also battered. Since the buttresses were not evenly spaced this may suggest that they were not original features, and perhaps added because the wall became unstable. Stonework in the foundations survived in all three, indicating a buttress width at foundation level of 1.27 m. The stone in each was predominantly Old Red Sandstone, which is also believed to have been the material used for the main walls since it was the most dominant residual in the robber trench fills. The only place where any masonry survived in substance was under the threshold of a doorway in the NW. corner in wall 131; this again was predominantly Old Red Sandstone.

The base levels of all foundation trenches were much the same (*c.* 16.40-16.60 m O.D.) apart from the eastern side where the levels dropped considerably. The southern wall base sloped from *c.* 16.40 m on the W. to 15.99 m in the SE. corner. The base of the E. wall (348) was deeper still, at 15.70 m O.D., and survived to a depth of 0.5 m below floor level. The reason for this variable depth is uncertain, but could relate to slight variations in the load bearing capacity of the subsoil, which was marginally firmer on the W. side.

The earliest features inside Building 24 were a series of post-holes and a post pad (grouped under context number 449, see caption, Fig. 20), cut into subsoil, but

subsequently truncated by a cut (429, not illustrated) designed to lower the floor within the building. This levelling may have been restricted to the western half of the building (i.e. W. of step 283) because an area of higher subsoil and flooring (355) survived to the E. (Fig. 21). But since only a small block of this higher flooring survived subsequent post-medieval lowering of the E. end, we can never know if the whole of the eastern half was at a higher level than the west.

Running longitudinally down the centre of the building were the largest post-holes, 441, 465, 452 and 499 with an additional post-pad 480, which were irregularly spaced at 3–5 m (Fig. 20). These post-holes were 0.5–0.9m in diameter and only survived to a depth of up to 0.2m. The holes closest to the E. and W. ends (442, 451) contained good packing stones and there were possible recuts of 452 and 442; the latter had an additional smaller post-hole (447) E. of it. Associated with this central line of post-holes were two lines of smaller post-holes running parallel to and c. 0.8m inside the N. and S. wall lines of the building. The northern line 453, 455, 460, 467 and 479 barely survived the levelling cut 429 (not illustrated), which would probably explain the absence of any post-hole between 460/467 and a NE. group of three holes (479). The southern line (450, 471, 470, 456, 468, 461, 473, 474, 476) survived to a greater depth. This suggests that the ground originally sloped gently down from N. to S.; moreover, these holes were evidently dug before any preliminary levelling was executed for the building's floors. The outer lines at least must predate or be contemporary with the construction of the stone building, but whether they represent an earlier timber phase or scaffolding erected during the construction is unclear. The substantial nature of the central line is supporting evidence for a timber phase, though the N. and S. lines are less substantial, and indeed irregularly grouped, perhaps more indicative of temporary scaffolding. The central holes probably therefore held supports for the upper floor of the stone building. The central line at least (as ceiling supports) continued in use throughout in the lifetime of the stone building since the top of post pad 480 (16.56 O.D.) was only 0.07m lower than some adjacent *in situ* late medieval floor tiles (16.63 O.D.) and was not sealed by any surviving pre-Dissolution deposits. The post pad may have replaced an earlier post-hole following the excavation of cut 429. The date of the cut itself appears to be quite late, since the stratified finds above were predominantly 15th-century or later. The low frequency of earlier material, which would otherwise survive as residual, itself supports a late date for the levelling cut, which would have removed earlier finds and features.

Much of the early history of the building was destroyed on the W. side in the later Middle Ages, and the E. side was even more disturbed by post-medieval activity, but the building itself must belong to the initial single-cloistered plan, and therefore originate in the first phase of the Friary's development, c. 1240–82.

#### *Phase 2*

Because the room had little surviving stratigraphy it is now very difficult to phase activities and features within it. One feature (422) has been assigned to an intermediate phase of activity, since it predates the lowering of the floor which is thought to have happened sometime after the middle of the 15th century. The rest of the features within the W. side of the room post-date the change in floor level.

The earliest surviving feature after the post-holes relates to a probable lead water pipeline (422, Fig. 21). This just survived as patches of N.–S. aligned clay running across the room from under the threshold in the NW. corner. These clay patches had a clear groove running down them, or perhaps would be better described as two parallel lines of clay 0.20–0.25 m wide overall with a gap between, which presumably marks the former position of a water pipe.<sup>88</sup> In some areas, where the clay was box-sectioned, the full profile of a 0.025 m diameter hole survived. Where the feature entered the room in the NW. corner it survived in its original form in section because the threshold and cloister alley N. of this had not been affected by the lowering of the floor inside the room (Fig. 22). This

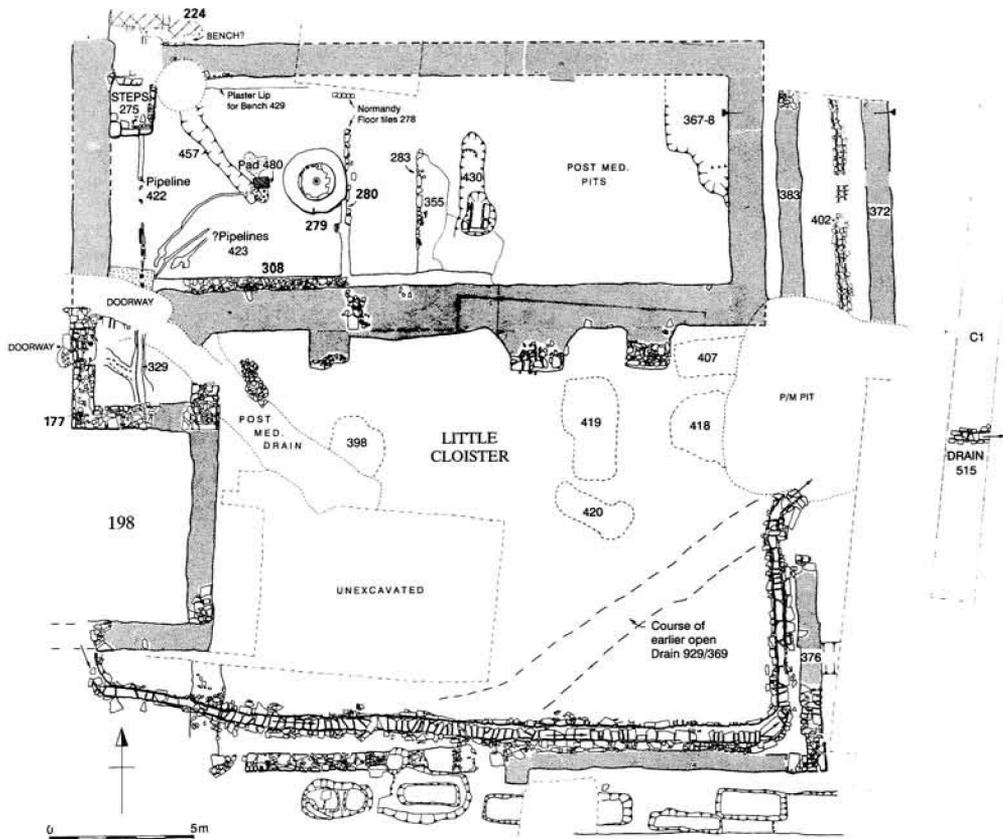


FIG. 21  
Building 24, late features

showed the feature to have been within a U-sectioned trench 0.50–0.55 m wide and *c.* 0.30 m deep with the clay patches occupying the middle and lower part of the trench. This had finally been capped by a layer of mortar, which was at the same level as mortar layer 484 which produced a 13th-century sherd. This was sealed by a silt and gravel layer which itself (elsewhere) was sealed by the tiles of the cloister alley (224). These, of course, could have been relaid after laying the pipe. A water pipe, presumably of lead, had been packed with clay and then placed in its trench; the pipe must have been robbed at some date, leaving the parallel lines of clay, or in some cases a complete circular hole, where the pipe had been withdrawn sideways.

The feature ran right across the room and may have continued under another doorway, evidence for which is suggested by the termination of the benching (308) on the S. wall and by an oblong soilmark (458) which would indicate a former threshold slab. This soilmark was earlier than the pipeline. The pipeline is further discussed below (p. 154).

Other features that may also be related, but not as early as the water pipe, include the base of a very shallow U-sectioned trench (457) 0.43 m wide which just survived the later floor levelling (Fig. 21). This ran NW.–SE. between the NW. doorway and post pad 480. Running from around the same area were three slight soilmarks (423) 60 mm wide towards the SW. corner of the room. There was no evidence for any clay within these 'grooves',

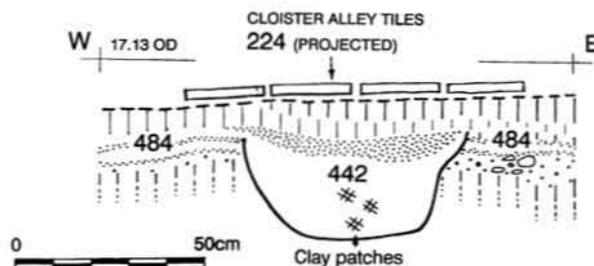


FIG. 22  
Section across pipe trench 442

and they were later than the lowering of the floor. It is interesting to note that both trench 457 and grooves 423 terminate or originate around the post pad, and it is tempting to suggest that a stand pipe was affixed to the upright post that was assumed to have been in this position. The three grooves may represent a succession of water pipe lines, and the trench itself could have held an earlier pipeline or have formed a drain. If this was so, then it represents a prolonged period for the same activity within the room, dating to before and after the change in floor level. This begs the question as to whether this activity also included the circular 'press' feature (279), which is assumed to belong to the post-levelling phase (see below). The best that can be suggested is that trench 457 represents the earliest water pipeline, and that perhaps the three grooves represent shallowly laid pipelines of the post-levelling period, and are perhaps contemporary with the circular feature.

There was no evidence for the ground floor of Building 24 having been divided into separate rooms by partition walls. But the floors, as already noted, were at differing levels with steps (280, 283, Fig. 21) approximately half way down the length of the building, and a surviving block of higher flooring 355 E. of the latter. The steps must be contemporary with or later than the lowering of the floor (429). The date of this cut is thought to be quite late, as the earliest floor level post-dating it (437, not illustrated) produced a clipped coin of 1465-70. A layer above this had five jettons, three with a date range of 1500-80, one of 1400-1600 and a rare dated jetton of 1540, and much 16th-century pottery. The amount of earlier finds is negligible. The tiles of surviving floors were also late 15th or early 16th century. All this suggests that the lowering of the floor was undertaken very late in the life of the building. The stratigraphy was unfortunately very thin and patchy and fraught with problems of interpretation.

Contemporary with the lowering of the floor was the construction of two stone steps that lead down into the room from the doorway in the NW. corner (275, Fig. 22, Pl. VI, B). The lowest step had a rounded SE. corner. The upper step had been robbed. North of the doorway, which lead to the cloister alley, a small area of oolite floor tiles was investigated (224, Fig. 21, Pl. VII, A).

The principal feature in the room was a radial setting of circular cobbling 2.2 m in diameter surrounding the fragmentary remains of a millstone (1.27 m diameter); the top of both these was approximately at the same level as the surviving floors (279, Fig. 21, Pls. V, c, VI, A). This feature had been constructed in a pit (460) which had been filled with natural gravel before the setting of cobbles and mill-stone had been inserted (Pl. VI, A). The central hole of the stone (0.26 m diameter) evidently had had an upright shaft of some sort rising vertically from it. This was indicated by a hole in the fill extending 0.2 m below the stone which narrowed to 0.1 m at the base. There was no evidence for any wear on the cobbling or outside this; nothing that might indicate, for example, motion around the structure in a horse- or human-powered milling operation. However, there is slight evidence for a subsequent reflooring (see below) so any evidence for wear outside the feature may have been removed. It is tentatively suggested that the feature may be interpreted as the base of a barley-mashing press. Although it bears some comparison with a cider press, the latter would have been at least waist high and probably would not have

needed the central pinion hole at ground level. The closeness of piped water has already been noted.

It is possible that the lowering of the floor (429) may have been executed to accommodate some sort superstructure for feature 279. If the ground floor of this building had been originally used for storage, then a low ceiling height would be expected; a change of use may have necessitated action to gain more headroom, at least in the western side. The floor layers that built up around the structure were all predominantly composed of dark greyish-black fine sand in thin lenses with numerous patches of clay (not illustrated). The lowest (437) contained a worn coin of 1465-70. Layer 437 also contained a variety of animal shell and bone: oyster, cockle and fish, fowl, ox and pig. The layer appeared to be cut by the three pipelines running between the direction of the circular feature and the SW. corner of the building.

The other feature post-dating yet presumably roughly contemporary with the lowering of the floor in the W. end was the construction of benching along the N. and S. walls. The northern bench was totally robbed, but a small lip of wall plaster rising from the level of 429 up its former southern face survived to indicate its presence. The southern bench (308) was constructed directly on the trampled subsoil above the cut for 429. It was built out of poor quality local shale, and had evidently been plastered over. It did not extend as far as the SW. corner, and although this could be the result of later disturbance, it has been tentatively suggested above that this could indicate evidence for a doorway, linking with room 177 (Fig. 24).

### Phase 3

The latest floor that survived inside the building included 8 *in situ* six-inch square plain Normandy floortiles (context 278, Type 9) which survived against the line of the former benching along the N. wall 131 (Fig. 21, Pl. V, c). Some 4.5 m S. of these, adjacent to the circular press base, were four lozenge-patterned inlaid floortiles (type 5 and 7) of late 15th-/early 16th-century date.<sup>89</sup> The laying of a whole floor of such tiles around a press may seem improbable, so it is suggested that the inlaid tiles at least were used to patch an otherwise less refined floor. The circular feature (279) was immediately sealed by the collapsed roof, so clearly it was also part of the last floor, but not necessarily functioning. The tiling had evidently been more extensive, however, for below a possible step (280) was mortar bedding with a few tile impressions. The step itself possibly cut the eastern edge of the cobbling around circular feature 279, and was the latest structural feature to survive within the building; it may be post-Suppression.

The rest of the room was very disturbed by numerous pits and scoops so that apart from a D-shaped block of a higher soil (355) fronted on the W. by a step (283) there were no surviving medieval floors. Layer 355 was not artificial, but represented a near complete natural soil profile without evidence for floor layers. To the E. of this, cut into subsoil but itself truncated by later activity was the remains of an irregular pit (430, Fig. 21). The fill included building debris, fragments of melted window lead and glass, and unmortared coursed stonework c. 0.5 m E.-W., open to the N. with a single upright slab closing off the south. Close by a patchy, trampled layer (possibly the remains of a crude floor) of mixed redeposited subsoil (432) exhibited evidence for burning and contained window glass and lead. There was clear signs of burning throughout the disturbed E. end. The combination of this evidence may suggest that 430 represents the remains of Dissolution-period smelting activity. Although of a different form to the hearths and structures in Building 28 (see below, pp. 166-69), 430 could have functioned as a lead ingot-mould. Any accompanying furnaces would not have survived the later post-medieval disturbance.

In the NE. corner was a large pit (367-68) that had been excavated down the inside walls of the room. The upper fill contained mainly coal dust, the lower predominantly loam. The fill may not relate to function, so it could be a robbed out earlier stone feature.

*Phase 4: Dissolution and Destruction*

The subsequent history of the building relates to its destruction. Sealing the latest floors in the W. end of the building, including the circular feature, was a collapsed roof (277) mainly of green phyllite, but also including shale and sandstone tiles. The mixed nature of this may indicate a re-roofing from scavenged material. It also sealed layer 363 that contained five jettons, one dated 1540, and much 16th-century pottery. This gives a secure *terminus post quem* for the collapse of the roof, which presumably post-dates the closure of Lloyd's grammar school. Other evidence for roofing comes from against the outside of the S. wall of the building. The sectional evidence shows two distinct layers of collapsed roofing slate.<sup>90</sup> The lower (361), a slate of quite good quality (not phyllite), contained and sealed numerous fragments of painted glass and window lead in addition to sealing 16th-century sherds from pits 419–20 (not illustrated). The combination of evidence suggests that 361 represents a roof collapse following the suppression of the house. Above this was evidence for another collapsed roof (350), of green phyllite, with occasional fragments of window glass which also contained late 17th-/18th-century pottery. Since the most common type of slate in 277 (the collapsed roof within the building) compares with that in 350, it is held that they represent collapse from the same roof. If this is accepted, then it is clear that 277 represents a post-Suppression re-roofing of the building since the lower collapsed roof (361), which had evidently been cleared away within the building, contained both 16th-century pottery and much medieval window glass. The later collapsed roof layer, and destruction debris within (237) and the fill of a robber trench to the E. (372) also contained large amounts of post-medieval ridge tile (types F/G and C/P, Appendix A). The earlier collapsed roof only contained local ridge tile which is medieval.<sup>91</sup> There is, therefore, secure evidence for a late refurbishment of the building. The collapse of this roof is also post-1540. The building may have been reused by Thomas Lloyd's grammar school, and the re-roofing itself could date from that period.

Above collapsed roof 277 was a succession of debris layers (366, 237, 217, not illustrated). The lowest, 366, had accumulated within the corners of the room and against walls, and may reflect a period of gradual decay. This was followed by 237, a dump predominantly of mortar and small fragments of Old Red Sandstone, which presumably relates to the demolition of the upper walls. From the large amount of pottery recovered, this appears to have occurred in the 18th century. East of the building the fills of robber trench 383 (Figs. 21, 7.8) contained numerous fragments of window glass which attests the presence of an E. window — presumably one in the upper floor. Above 237, the similar layer 213 must relate to the final robbing of the walls to foundation level and this contained some pottery of early 19th-century date. This tends to suggest that the foundations at least were still intact after the construction of the enclosure walls around Park House.

Sealing this were more recent features, including a brick structure (181, not illustrated) that overlaid the robbed out N. wall line (131) which may relate to something like a hothouse; this was sealed in turn by the lean-to greenhouse structure and the cold-frame base S. of this, that existed until a few years before the commencement of excavation.

#### AREA F AND THE W. RANGE OF THE LITTLE CLOISTER (BUILDINGS 97, 177, 198, AND 1322, Fig. 23)

Area F was to the S. of Park House and overlapped in part area A1 around Building 97 and the cloister alley N. of Building 28 (the Infirmary) (Fig. 3). It was very disturbed by recent drains and rubbish pits, yet produced evidence for a number of phases in the evolution of the friary's plan. Buildings 97, 177 and 198 formed the W. range of the S. cloister and stood to the E. of Park House.

Activity in this area can be broken down into four broad phases (Fig. 24):

Phase 1: This comprises a large drain (929) running around two buildings, 177 and 198 and curving eastward and then NE. to run across the later S. cloister and then runs to the E. of the Chapter House. This phase is contemporary with or soon after initial construction at the friary.

Phase 2: Drain 929 is levelled up to become drain 703 and a branch drain 171 (which in turn runs into 48) is constructed following the erection of the Infirmary (Building 28, Fig. 25). Within Building 198 stone floors and structures are built, and a piped water supply laid on. The date for the start of this phase is associated with the replacement of drain 929 and the construction of the infirmary in the late 13th or early 14th century.

Phase 3: Building 198 is extended westwards and deep foundations inserted for an arch to allow drain 530 to breach its wall line. The conjectured W. wall of Building 198 (93) is replaced or becomes interior wall 503. Further modification is made to earlier floors in the E. side of the interior of 198. Building 1322 is constructed and a ?boundary wall (150) inserted rendering drain 171 obsolete and thus causing the need for redirected drain 157. The construction of Building 1322 results in the need to construct drain 147 which ran diagonally across the area to join drain 48 near the SW. angle of Infirmary. This phase probably spans the 14th to 16th centuries.

Phase 4: A series of modifications are made to the fully developed plan of Phase 3 and includes the realignment of drain 248 (to become 11), the blocking of drain 721, the construction of minor drain 542 and the addition of a building or room (97) on the S. side of Building 198 over part of the former S. cloister alley. This phase is 16th-century, but activity within the buildings could extend into the 17th century.

#### *Phase 1 (Fig. 24)*

Adjoining the SW. side of the S. Range of the W. Cloister (Building 24) was a small room — Building 177 (Figs. 20, 24). Although this building butted onto 24, in date it is almost certainly contemporary with the construction of 24, which places it in the initial constructional period of the friary between c. 1240 and 1282.

The building was formed by the S. wall of Building 24, its E. and W. by walls 178 and 221, and S. wall 179. The masonry of this building stood 3–5 courses high, of Old Red Sandstone, with wall thicknesses of 0.75–0.79 m wide, and thus had comparatively well preserved fabric. The interior, however, was sadly very disturbed, the rubble demolition fill (which contained 18th-century pottery) resting on a very uneven mortar layer (271) and in turn on subsoil; neither produced datable finds. The room had an entrance in the W. wall and may have had another in the N., linking with Building 24. The postulated door cannot be proved as the crucial junction had been destroyed by a late post-medieval drain. But the W. entrance had been blocked at some unknown date, which tends to support the existence of the other entrance.

Clearly butting onto room 177 was Building 198 formed by N.-S. robber trench 96 and E.-W. robber trench 144 (Fig. 21), and N. wall 179. No W. wall was defined (the area was riddled with post-medieval drains and soakaways), but a conjectural position for a wall (93) is shown in Figs. 24 and 25. The robber trenches were 0.90 m wide, probably giving wall thicknesses similar to 177. The interior floors and drains displayed a complex series of phases starting in the 13th century, since it is clear that drain 929 was constructed after or at the same time as the building.

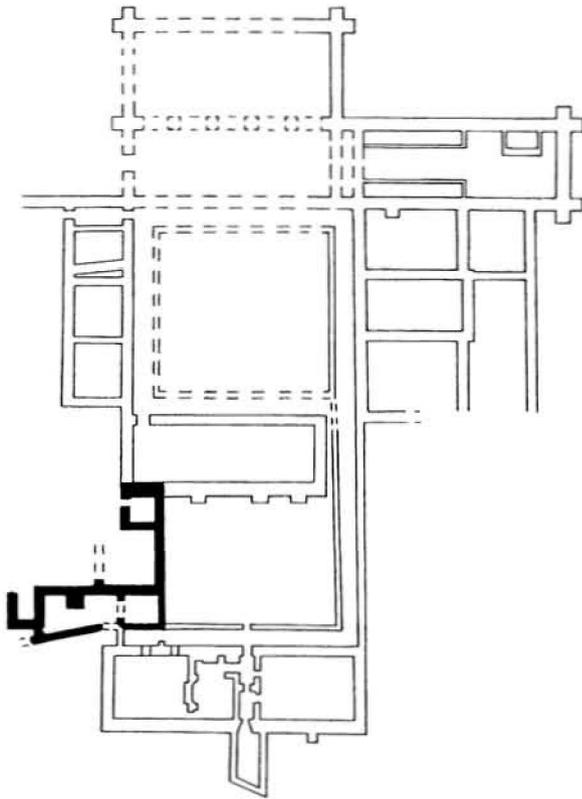


FIG. 23

Location of Area F and the W. Range of the Little Cloister (Buildings 97, 177, 198, 1322)

Drain 929 was constructed in a ditch 1.10–1.50 m wide, U-sectioned and 0.75 m deep cut into compact gravel subsoil (Fig. 20, Pl. VII, B). It was only lined with side and basal stones at the apex of its curving arc near the presumed corner of Building 198. The basal fill (928) produced 11 sherds from two 13th-century vessels, and in area A1 its continuation, 369, produced 16 sherds from 13 vessels and the well-sealed section (403) produced 14 sherds from nine 13th-century vessels. Since this pottery accumulated either during the working lifetime of the drain or was deposited when back-filled, a date in the mid late 13th century is to be expected for its construction. The drain ran from the Lammas Street direction (Fig. 2) and curved E. and then NE. across the later S. cloister (here it was numbered 369/403). Further NE., where it crossed Trench C1, as 633, there were no finds; where it ran E. of the Chapter House (under later Building 1324), it cut a layer that produced nine sherds from eight 13th-century vessels, some post-*c.* 1250 (see above, context 1200, Fig. 16). Its further continuation, as ditch 2059, was recorded running in a NE. direction, past the E. end of the choir, presumably making for the dam of the Cock Mill.

Within the inside angle of the drain, where it swept around building 198, was structure 238 (Pl. VII, c). This was well constructed with stonework lining its base and sides with an internal horseshoe-shaped tank measuring *c.* 0.70 m x 1.10 m linking directly with the stone lining of drain 929; the latter was marginally higher than the basal slabs of the 'tank'. The feature could be secondary to the main drain, although there is no way of establishing this. Tank 238 was rather too well constructed to take just drainage water from the building to the main drain; perhaps it was the base of a garderobe in the corner of Building 198. The existence of Building 198 in this phase is clearly indicated by the overall course of

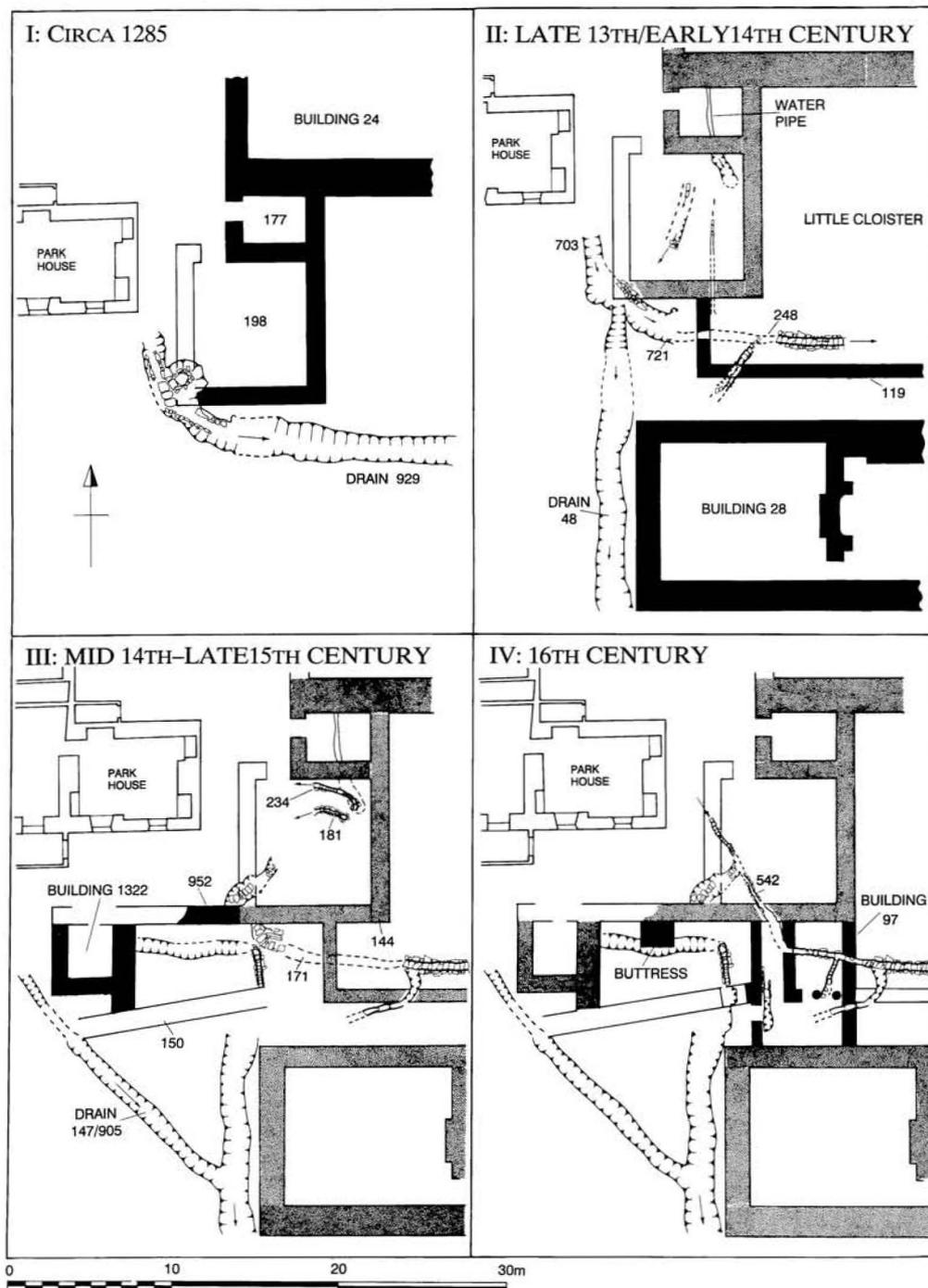


FIG. 24

Simplified plans of the major changes in Phases 1-4. Black tone indicates new work in each phase. Park House is included to aid orientation

drain 929 which logically must be running around the building itself; the suggested position of the wall line running partly over tank 238 is only an hypothesis. In this phase, little is known of the interior of Building 198 although a small drainage pit with linking gullies (563) certainly predates internal features of Phase 2, so has been included here (Fig. 20). The pit contained four sherds from one vessel dated 1250–1350.

Ditch 929 was the largest drain excavated at the friary, and was clearly bringing a good volume of water to this part of the site, rather than just draining water away from its roofs. It ran from the direction of Lamma Street, presumably from the main conduit, although unfortunately none of its course E. of Park House survived the plethora of later drains. It must have ultimately originated from a main drain that would have run from Water Street down W. of the W. range of the N. cloister. This drain may have obtained its water from the mill stream that fed the Cock Mill, from which the Friars gained rights of extraction in 1284 from Edward I when he was at Carmarthen.<sup>92</sup> The King's grant made provision that the water should be turned back quickly — in the 'space of three Sunday sermons' — to the mill stream at the time of war; parts of the town's mill stream complex were included in New Carmarthen's defences.<sup>93</sup> That drain 929 runs right around the S. of the friary's buildings and then up the E. side (rather than just emptying over the terrace towards the river on the S.) strongly suggests that the drain was heading for Dark Gate and the dam of the Cock Mill. If this was so, then it would thus date the drain's construction to in or after 1284.

#### *Phase 2*

This phase saw a major modification of the drainage system principally due to the construction of a new building (28) S. of Building 198 and thus the creation of a new, south, cloister with its attendant alleys (Figs. 24, 25, 29). The modification to drains arose from the necessity to bring water to a privy (80) adjoining the S. side of Building 28 (Fig. 29); but first the base level of drain 929 had to be raised before water could be brought down to the new drain (48) and its associated cistern 82. This is convincingly demonstrated by comparing the levels on top of the basal slabs of 929 (Fig. 20) (15.98, 16.01 and 16.02 m O.D.) with those of the sluice in the cistern (16.26 m O.D.) or the first basal slab in the privy (15.97 m O.D.) (Fig. 30). Drain 929 was therefore partly infilled with its base raised 0.50 m to become drain 703 (Figs. 20, 25). South of Building 198 basal slabs of this new drain survived (721, Fig. 25). At the same time tank 238 was infilled, and part of the lower foundation of wall 144 (837) was strengthened, possibly because of a threat of undermining the SW. corner of Building 198 by the newly heightened level of the drain.

Running S. from the outside apex of a bend in drain 703/721 was the new N.–S. drain 171 (Fig. 25), which only survived in part as an unlined ditch with a base level of 16.30 m O.D. Its continuation, drain 48, ran parallel to the W. wall of Building 28, only here some basal and side stones survived, with base levels gently sloping down to the S. Drain 48 then turned E. following the S. wall of Building 28 opening out into an ovoid cistern (82, Figs. 29, 30). This tank was constructed in an oval pit 4 m × c. 2.25 m, with side walls of coursed mortared stone 0.35–0.40 m deep with large basal flags. At the eastern end the cistern narrowed to c. 0.60 m wide and 0.35 m high and was covered with a capping lintel stone. Immediately W. of this was a rectangular slot 0.80 m × 0.29 m cut 120 mm below the basal slabs of the cistern which presumably formed the seating for a sluice gate that would have been raised to flush the privy which lay immediately to the E. (Building 80).

At the W. end of the new S. cloister alley the cloister wall 119 had been destroyed by later activity, but it probably turned N. to join the S. wall (144) of Building 198 surviving fragmentarily as two small patches of masonry 346/7 which must have had an opening to allow the continuation of drain 721 to run across it. We can assume that there was a doorway to the W. of the junction of wall line 144 and 346/7 to give access between the S. cloister alley and Building 198. Also running from the N. side of the cloister alley near this

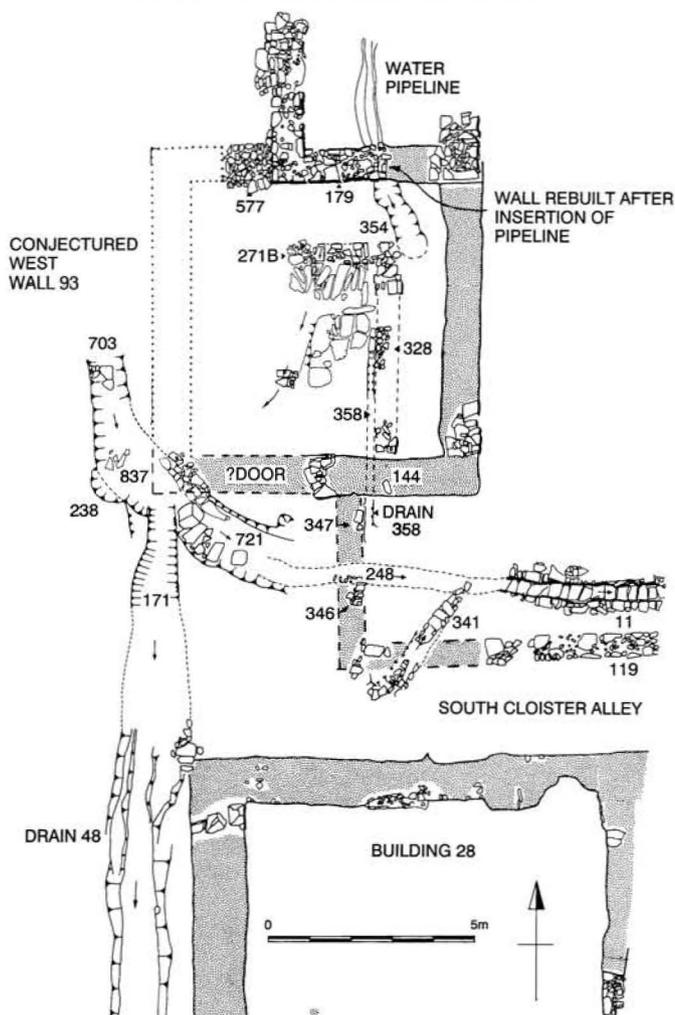


FIG. 25

Phase 2 features in and around Buildings 177 and 198, following the construction of the Infirmary, Building 28

point was a small drain (341) which ran into the main E.-W. drain (721/248). This little drain, which was replaced by others (e.g. 158) in later phases, presumably took rainwater from the roof of Building 28 (Fig. 25).

Within Building 198 a number of structures and floors appear, which although in origin may belong to the earliest phase of 198, are best assigned to Phase 2. These include a possible N.-S. wall (328) c. 0.50 m wide extending N. from the S. wall (144) for just over 5 m which then probably turned to the W. continuing (as 271b) for a further 2.5 m where it was truncated by later disturbance. It is uncertain whether these walls stood to full ceiling height, or formed a base for some sort of structure within the room.

Immediately to the W. of 328 was a shallow drain, partly slabbed, but mostly surviving as a narrow gully (358) which must have run through the thickness of S. wall 144 and

emptied into drain 721/248. Within the angle formed by walls 328/271b survived patches of a substantial slab-stone floor (324) bedded within mixed clay, mortar and charcoal (288, 313, 327), with numerous fragments of corroded copper alloy. Floor 324 was patched by 325 which contained a single sherd of 13th-century pottery. It is probable that this slab-stone floor (which was noticeably heat-scorched on the N. side) had originally extended over a much greater area of the building.

Running E.-W. off the SW. corner of Building 177 was a foundation of flat angular stones (577) 1 m wide, extending for 1.3 m; this was of similar width to the walls of Building 177. It could be interpreted as a buttress that was subsequently demolished, but equally could have formed a threshold for a doorway into 198 between the conjectured W. wall of the building (93) and the SW. corner of 177. Unfortunately the area W. of this was so extensively disturbed that this remains unresolved.

During this phase a water supply was laid into room 198. This was conveyed through a small bore lead pipe laid below ground in a narrow gully embedded in clay. The trench for this pipe was observed running N.-S. across Building 24 (484/422, see p. 145 above) where it crossed both E.-W. wall lines of the building; it then crossed Building 177 (329), and here the S. wall was part-demolished and reconstructed to allow the pipe to run through the foundations. On the S. of wall 179, where it entered Building 198, the pipe trench (354) curved slightly to the SSE. and then terminated near the corner formed by walls 328/271b; here there must have been a stand pipe and tap. Unfortunately none of the pipework survived, but its profile, a circle of *c.* 0.25 m diameter, was recorded in places within the clay lining. Although there was no clear evidence of the pipe having been robbed, this must have been the case; the surviving circular profile resulting from the pipe being drawn out sideways (rather than vertically). The date for laying this water pipe is uncertain; it clearly post-dates the original construction of Building 177 and the laying of mortar surfaces under the Great Cloister alley, probably dates to the mid and late 14th century. The laying of this water supply probably necessitated the construction of a number of drains, for in addition to that already mentioned (358), two other possible drains running from near the presumed stand pipe (578, not illustrated) and one incorporated into 271b (see later), were also noted. Where these connected to drain 703/721 remains unanswered.

The archaeological dating evidence for the origin of Phase 2 is given by a good range of pottery from 928, 369 and 403, none of which dates after 1300. The early floors inside Building 28, however, could include 14th-century material. A date near the end of the 13th or early in the 14th century is therefore indicated; historical evidence for a new or modified water supply in 1331 could relate to the drain alterations noted in this phase. The dating of the structures and water pipe within Building 198 is less secure, and it is perhaps safer to see these features belonging to an extended range of time throughout the 14th century.

The function of Building 198 during this phase could be related to food preparation, suggested both by the new water supply and the traces of heating evidenced in the scorching of the floor surfaces. The mass of animal bone choking the fill of drain 234 of the next phase may support this use. However, the amount of corroded copper alloy from the floor deposits could equally indicate another function associated with metal working.

### *Phase 3 (Fig. 26)*

In Phase 2 this area underwent a major southward expansion into a double cloistered plan. Phase 3 saw the addition of buildings to the W. of the S. cloister in the area fronting (and possibly including) Park House. Unfortunately understanding of the overall plan and date of this expansion was restricted by the substantial post-medieval disturbance of the area, and the inability to study properly the relationship between the upstanding and below-ground remains of Park House.

Due to the addition of buildings to the W., and the modification of Building 198, yet more alterations were made to the friary's drains. The S. wall of Building 198 (144) was



extended westward (wall 627, a 0.75 m wide robber trench) and significantly deeper foundations were added where the new wall line was breached by former drain 703/721 (951-52, Fig. 26). The drain, which had run N.-S. down the W. side of Building 198, was itself blocked and replaced by a new drain (530) which ran NE.-SW. from within the building, to pass through wall 144/627 under an archway supported on the aforementioned deep foundations 951-52. At the same time the former W. wall, conjectured in Phases 1 and 2, was now converted into an interior wall. The evidence for this wall was fragmentary, surviving only as a short length of N.-S. robber trench 502, with some mortar for a floor lipping (529) on its W. face. The overall course of this wall, or of drain 530, and any associated flooring, was lost in post-medieval drainage work, although it could have run as far as stonework 577. The only floors and structures that survived inside Building 198 were again in the E. end. Here a considerable flagstone and cobbled floor (183-84) survived in patches (Pl. VII, c). The junction between these mirrored the earlier N.-S. aligned wall (328, Fig. 24) of the previous phase, which might indicate a continuity of function, if not arrangement, of the room. It is uncertain when precisely these changes occurred within room 198, for we have already noted that the dating of some Phase 2 structures could be somewhat later than the rest of the features in that phase. On that basis the features from room 198 in Phase 3 could have been in use over a protracted period, as much as two hundred years.

Cobbling 184 was confined to a strip a little over 1 m wide, which could represent a passage (perhaps inherited from the previous phase) which in turn suggests the existence of a doorway across wall 144 in the SE. corner of the building (Fig. 26).

North of the flagged and cobbled floor (beyond some recent disturbance) was a mortared stone structure (181) which sealed the earlier E.-W. wall (271b). This stonework, whose long axis ran parallel to the E.-W. walls of the building, contained a bowl-shaped depression *c.* 0.46 m in diameter near the E. end. This was close to the position of the stand pipe introduced in Phase 2, and probably still functioning, so the bowl was served by tap water. From the bowl ran a drain towards the W. Yet another drain (234) ran from the N. side of the bowl, but this may be earlier, as it was sealed by a later floor (182, not illustrated) which was itself contemporary with 181. The choked fill of drain 234 (232), which was well sealed by the drain's capping stones (as well as by floor 182) contained masses of animal bone. These were of fish, chicken, ox, sheep or goat and small mammals. Such a fill, resulting perhaps directly from the use of structure 180, gives a hint at not only the function of the structure, but with it the room. Building 198 may, therefore, have been used for food preparation or the washing of utensils with the animal bone being discarded down the drain. A single sherd of 13th-/14th-century pottery was also recovered from the drain fill, but the layers sealing the drain (230 and 180, not illustrated) contained four sherds of 15th-century pottery which gives a clearer indication of date for the drain and with it structure 181. There was, however, a single sherd of 16th-century pottery from layer 273 which was sealed in part by flag floor 183; floor 183 could therefore be much later, but since context 273 was only partly sealed by the flagstones, the 16th-century sherd could be intrusive, and must be viewed with some caution. If drain 234 had become blocked, the second drain within 181 might have been constructed, although it is possible they were both contemporary in origin. The destination of both drains could not be established due to destruction by post-medieval drains, although their levels would allow them to connect with drain 530 which ran under the SW. corner of the building.

Post-medieval drains had also truncated part of the course of E.-W. robber trench 627 (i.e. the westward extension of wall line 144), thus destroying any relationship that might have existed between Buildings 198 and 1322 (which stood further W.). This building, whose overall extent is uncertain, survived as a small room of only 2.3 m sq. internally. To the W. wall was added a number of masonry structures (753, 778 and 752) of unknown function, which effectively trebled its thickness. Without being able to define the overall layout of buildings in this area, assigning a function can only be conjectural. On present evidence it cannot be established whether Building 1322 joined the S. side of a much larger

structure which may have underlain Park House. But this eventuality is supported by the lack of any N. wall. Although most of the N. side had been lost in later features, part of the NW. 'corner' did survive with masonry structure 841 and associated hearth 817. The latter produced the only datable artefact from the building from its primary covering (807), a single fragment of pottery dated to 1250–1350.

The construction of Building 1322 resulted in further modifications to the drainage system. An E.–W. French drain (695) ran from the E. side of robber trench 693 cutting the backfill of drain 171 and then emptied into drain 157 (Fig. 26). It is possible that this drain could predate Building 1322 and it could indeed have run across the area occupied by the building, but the most probable explanation is that it was taking rainwater away from the new building.

The other drain (147/905) ran diagonally from the NW. to join drain 48 close to the SW. corner of Building 28 (Fig. 26). Drain 147 was unlined, but contained numerous fragments of ceramic water pipe<sup>94</sup> and had occasional patches of clay which may have bonded lengths of water pipe together. At least one patch retained the circular profile similar to the 70–85 mm outside diameter of the pipes, so it seems probable that this drain contained buried lengths of ceramic water pipe bonded with clay at the joints. One of the reasons for the construction of this drain may be connected with the reduced amount of water feeding the privy (80, Fig. 29). This would have followed the infilling of drain 703 that is assumed had formerly brought a prodigious amount of water from the main conduit alongside Building 198. Although the privy was still fed by some water from the replacement drain 530 (via 48 and 157) it presumably required a greater head of water for flushing than 530 alone could provide. This additional supply was provided by diagonal drain 147. The obvious explanation is that drain 147 was constructed to pass around the newly-built buildings that include 1322.

Contemporary with 147 was a vertical sided trench (150), *c.* 1 m wide and 0.40 m deep running WSW.–ENE. (i.e. almost EW.) for at least 10 m (Fig. 26). Its course on the W. side, and its precise relationship with drain 147, was lost in later disturbance. On the E., however, it overlaid the now backfilled drain 171, necessitating the redirection of the latter in the form of a new stone lined drain 157, which was now built against the E. terminal of ditch 150. Drain 157 thus formed the W. boundary of the S. cloister alley where the latter turned N. to join Building 198. The function of ditch 150 is uncertain; it had all the hallmarks of a robbed wall except that its course was not as straight as other robber trenches on the site. It may best be viewed as a robbed boundary, rather than a building wall line, separating the newly erected Building 1322 from the open grounds to the S. With these additions, the buildings of this area appear to have reached their maximum size of development, with only piecemeal alteration thereafter. The dating of Phase 3 covers a wide timespan. The fill of diagonal drain 147 contained seven sherds from seven 13-/14th-century vessels; the possible hearth 817 produced a single sherd dated 1250–1350 (from associated layer 807, not illustrated), and to this can be added another sherd of similar date mortared into stonework (841) associated with the hearth structure 817; none of this provides a satisfactory guide for dating the construction of the buildings in F1. Within the N. side of Building 198 drain 234 was sealed by a layer containing four sherds of 14th-century pottery, which also gives a *terminus post quem* for structure 181. There is also the single sherd of 16th-century pottery possibly sealed by flagstone floor 183. Bearing in mind these buildings post-date the construction of those in Phase 2, which include the Infirmary, originating from the very late 13th or early 14th century, then Phase 3 must span the 14th to 16th centuries, and may indeed have extend right up to the Dissolution.

#### Phase 4 (Fig. 27)

The principal change in Phase 4 was the addition of a small building on the S. side of Building 198 along with further modification to the drains. The new building (97) partly

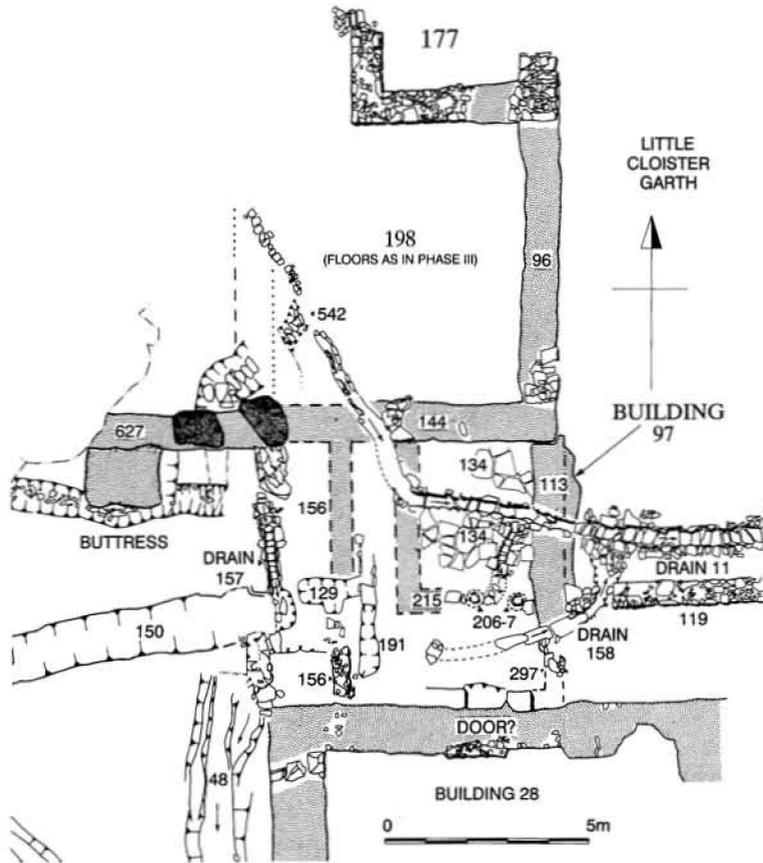


FIG. 27

Phase 4 additions, including the construction of Building 97

impinged on the short section of W. cloister alley between the NW. corner of Building 28 and the S. wall of Building 198. The new building, or more precisely room, abutted the S. wall (144) of Building 198. Its E. wall, indicated by robber trench 113, could clearly be seen to butt the foundation trench of 144; its eastern face was 0.10–0.20 m further E. than the comparable face of the E. wall (96) of Building 198. The S. wall (215) barely survived as a very shallow robber trench, but two post-holes (206–07) for a doorway clearly marked the wall line (Fig. 27). The W. wall, which was destroyed by later activity, may be recalled by both the western extremity of flagged internal floor 134, and a sharp change of alignment in drain 11, which it is argued, entered the room through the former W. wall (Pl. VIII, A). This wall replaced the earlier N.–S. cloister wall (346/47) of earlier phases, but was marginally further W. than its precursor. It is possible that there was a southward continuation of the E. wall (113) linking with the N. wall of Building 28, indicated by a block of surviving masonry (297). If this was the case, then it argues for the existence of an E. facing doorway linking the S. cloister alley with an intermediate room between room 97 and room 52 in Building 28.

Building 97 had a surviving floor surface of angular sandstone flags (134, Pl. VIII, A) which sat on a series of mortar layers (136, 200, 203, and 214, not illustrated) all of which produced 15th-/16th-century pottery, with one sherd (from 136) which could be of 16th-

or even 17th-century date. These layers, and the flag floor, sealed two small drains (341, not illustrated but under 239, and 158) which predated the room, and ran from the near the NW. corner of Building 28 into the precursor of drain 11. A subsequent drain (239) appears contemporary with Building 97, for this ran into the modified drain 11, itself resulting from the construction of the building. The existence of small drain 239, which ran across the threshold into the room, indicates that there was an earlier floor before the laying of flags 134, since the functioning of 239 was effectively blocked by the makeup of later floor 134. At the same time as this room was constructed, the structure and alignment of drain 248 was modified (following the blocking of drain 721 of Phase 3), with the construction of drain 11 a little further N. Drain 11 no longer received water from the W., but from a new drain (542) which ran diagonally from the NW. across Building 198.

It seems unlikely that there was ever direct access from Building 198 into Building 97, since the doorway suggested in Phase 2 in wall 144 could have still functioned, although the short N.-S. cloister alley would now be very much narrower, because on its W. side a new N.-S. wall (156) with an associated drain (191) had reduced the width of the alley to *c.* 1.2 m.

Wall 156 survived as a low foundation 0.4 m wide running off the N. face of the NW. corner of the Building 28 (wall 34) for *c.* 1.2 m. There was then a gap of *c.* 1 m before a feature (129), which may be interpreted as a foundation trench for an E.-W. wall (linking with 150). This had offsets for two doorways at right angles in the N. and W. faces of the NW. corner of the cloister alley (Fig. 24). These door openings would have been *c.* 1 m wide. If N.-S. wall 156 continued as far as E.-W. robber trench 144 (as suggested in Fig. 27), then such an arrangement would have closed off the rather damp, and presumably untidy, area W. of these, where drain 157 ran across the small yard formed by walls 150, 156, 144/627 and Building 1322. It is possible, however, that during this phase drain 157 ceased to function (see below).

The date of the modifications can be assigned, on the basis of finds from the floor makeup of Building 97, to the 16th century, although the single sherd from 136 could be 17th-century. The room could belong to the late mendicant, or the short-lived grammar school, or might be even later. Function is equally uncertain. Such a small building, with a drain running through its midst, may be a privy. If the room is post-Suppression, and therefore later than the destruction of Building 28 (the Infirmary and thus its privy), then it would be tempting to suggest that the building belongs to the grammar school. If this was the case, however, then the drain which was feeding the Infirmary privy (157/48) would have become redundant sometime during this phase, with perhaps the new drains 542/11 post-dating the abandonment of drains 157/48.

#### THE INFIRMARY (BUILDING 28), PRIVY (80), AND THE S. AND E. SIDES OF THE LITTLE CLOISTER

Buildings 28 and 80 lay on the S. of the southern Little Cloister. Together they formed a major extension to the original single-cloistered plan. These features were initially noted in the first trial trenches (T1-4), and subsequently area excavated in A1 (Fig. 3). Building 28 had a central N.-S. passage separating rooms 51 and 52 on the W. from room 84 on the E. To the S. lay privy building 80. Building 28 was destroyed by fire probably during the Suppression of the house, and was never subsequently refurbished.

The walls had been almost completely robbed with the exception of the W. part of the central passage, the division between rooms 51-52, and the S. wall with the abutting E. and W. walls of the privy (Figs. 29, 30, Pl. VIII, B). The S. wall was predominantly Old Red Sandstone, and the interior walls and those of the privy

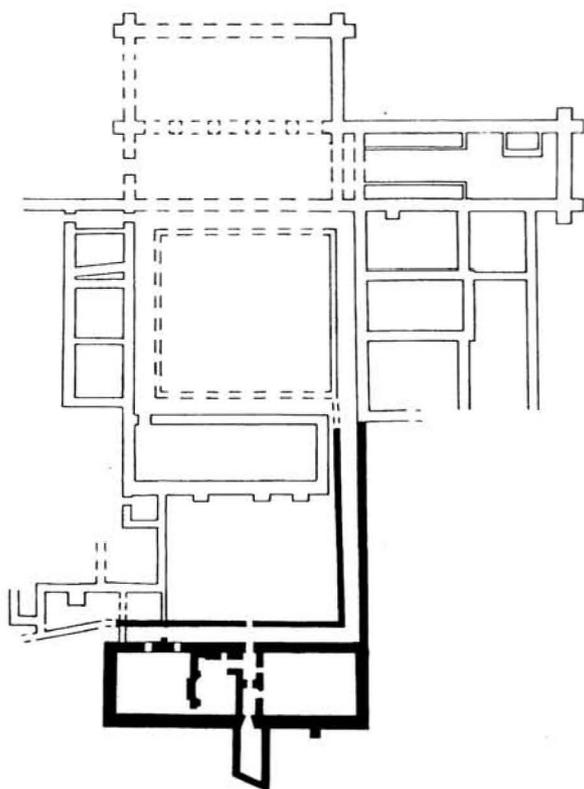


FIG. 28  
Location of Building 28 (the Infirmary),  
Privy 80 and the S. and E. sides of the Little  
Cloister

were constructed of more mixed and poorer stone, mainly local shale. The E. wall line was not excavated as the building ran beyond the E. boundary of Friar's Park, but the overall exterior dimensions were at least 30 m E.-W. x 10.3 m N.-S. The upper floor possibly oversailed the cloister alley, in which case the building would have been *c.* 2.8 m wider. The central passage ran N.-S. to link with the privy on the S., and there had been a doorway closing off the passage half way down its length, with part of the door hanging surviving as a metal peg in the W. door jamb of wall 18. Off the NW. corner of the passage was a doorway giving access to room 51, a probable kitchen with a fireplace partly surviving in the room's western wall (55). Room 51 measured *c.* 6.5 m N.-S. x 5 m E.-W. Access to room 52 was via a doorway on the S. side of wall 55 and also from the cloister alley on the N. This room measured 8.7 m E.-W. x 7.8 m N.-S. Benching (100) ran continuously along the southern wall of both rooms. The room, or rooms, to the E. of the passage (84) were entered from two doorways that breached the E. wall of the passage (21). The latter survived only as a foundation trench. Room 84 was at some stage divided longitudinally by a cross wall (311, 482), the latter probably a timber partition (Fig. 29). The whole interior of 84, as one room, was very disturbed due to Dissolution period smelting activity once again, itself the likely cause of a fire that

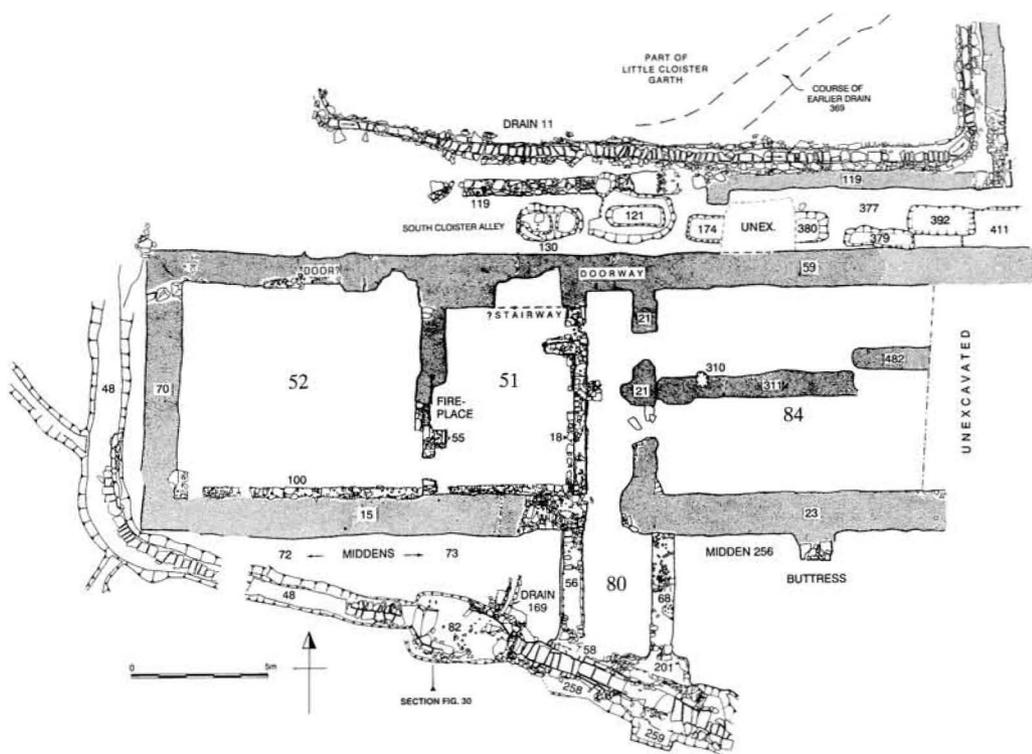


FIG. 29

Building 28 (the Infirmary), with associated privy 80 and the cloister alley

consumed the whole building. Within the débris the remains of two small leaded and coloured glass windows were recovered.

The function of the building, placed as it was on the S. of the Little Cloister, with its own kitchen and possibly a hall, is interpreted as an Infirmary. The existence of an upper floor is suggested by the variable width of the building's N. wall (34, 59) on average *c.* 1.2 m compared to the width of the S. wall (15, 23) of *c.* 1.6 m.

#### *Phase 1*

The earliest activity relates to constructional work for the building itself. First the whole area occupied by the building was levelled down by at least 0.2 m (Fig. 30), and probably much more on the N. due to the fact that the site originally sloped gently down to the S. The base level from which construction commenced (*c.* 16.40 O.D.) was on sufficiently firm subsoil so that the foundations of the building's walls were not very deep. Those of the southern wall were deepest, 16.38–16.16 O.D. on the W. of the passage to 16.16–16.05 O.D. on the E. The slope down from W. to E. was thus not as dramatic as that noted in the foundations of Building 24. The northern wall's foundations were shallower, which presumably relates to the pre-levelling slope, in that firmer subsoil was at a higher level on the N. The foundations of the interior walls were no more than 0.1 m below the levelling cut.

Before all the walls were built there was some constructional activity in the area of later room 52 (not illustrated). This took the form of a series of mortar layers filling a hollow (251), the whole clearly sealed by the benching (100) of the later room. These lenses were associated with a group of post-holes (284, 303-05 and possibly 167) which might have formed a four-post structure (not illustrated, archive drawing 28). It is argued that the mortar lenses were laid down when mortar was being mixed for the construction of the building, and the whole may have had a temporary shelter, *c.* 3-3.5 m sq., built over it which survived in the form of these post-holes. Another mortar filled pit (137), possibly of similar date and function as 251, was discovered below the floors of room 51. A hemispherical pit (141) was cut into the truncated subsoil, with evidence for burning around it (Fig. 30). This may be the remains of a primitive hearth used for melting lead, which would have been run into the pit (see Appendix C). Pit 137, also sealed by floor 131, contained a lump of lead which may be waste from the melting operation implied by pit 141. Pit 137 also produced two sherds from two vessels *c.* 1250-1350. These features are probably contemporary with initial building operations.

The preparation of the ground prior to the laying out of the eastern side of the building (later room 84) saw more topsoil being stripped than on the W. side (down to 16.20 O.D. in the SE. corner). But the ground level on the SE. side was subsequently raised a little before the floors were laid. This points not only to the theory that the ground sloped down from N. to S., but also slightly from W. to E.

The dimensions of the exterior walls varied. The only good surviving masonry was along the S. wall (15) on the W. side of the southern entrance linking with the privy (80). Here it survived to a height of 0.6 m, was constructed solidly of Old Red Sandstone, and had a width of 1.2 m expanding to 1.6 m at foundation base. The broadening of width was accomplished by battering the outside (southern) face; an offset footing for the lowest course of stone was also added to make up the full width. The battering was not continuous, but ran for only 5.5 m W. from the entrance break (effectively along the whole of the S. of room 51). It is thought probable that the wall (as robber trench 23) had also been battered on the E. side of the entrance. Here the foundation trench was nearly 1.6 m wide for 5.5 m, narrowing to 1.4 m after a buttress. The evidence, then, indicates that the southern wall was 1.2 m wide, in a foundation trench 1.4 m wide; and that each side of the entry into the privy the wall was battered, with a wider foundation width approaching 1.6 m.

The W. wall, which had been totally robbed, was indicated by a shallow foundation trench (70) which barely survived the erosion caused by a Victorian roadway (shown on the 1890 1:500 O.S. map) that ran over it. The trench was just over 1.2 m wide, indicating a comparable wall width.

Nothing, save the foundation trenches, survived of the N. walls (34, 59), and these were of varying widths. N. of room 52 it was 1.2 m narrowing abruptly to 0.9 m towards the E. — the latter probably marking the threshold of a doorway leading to the cloister alley. The door itself (measuring *c.* 1.1 m x 1.8 m) was recorded in a burnt demolition layer and planned as a clear charcoal stain (Fig. 31). N. of room 51 the foundation trench appeared to be 1.9 m, but had a sort of inset of hard standing within it, measuring 1 m from the wall's inner face and 2.5 m wide. This inset was floored with flat stonework making a reasonably smooth surface, and covered with mortar. It is possible that the 1.9 m width could be accounted for by interpreting this as the combined width of the wall foundation plus benching (since benching existed elsewhere in the room). But the hard standing inset is less easily interpreted. It may be taken as evidence for a stairway leading to the upper floor — the hard standing being the area underneath the stairs usually used for storage. The wall on the N. of room 84 (59) had a foundation trench width of a little under 1.3 m, indicating a wall width of 1.2 m.

Some of the interior walls survived to a height of 1 m. The best surviving wall (18) formed the W. wall of the N.-S. passage; its counterpart (21) on the E. had been totally robbed, but there had clearly been two doorways through it into room 84, good evidence for the room being divided at some date. Wall 18 was not tied into the exterior walls, but

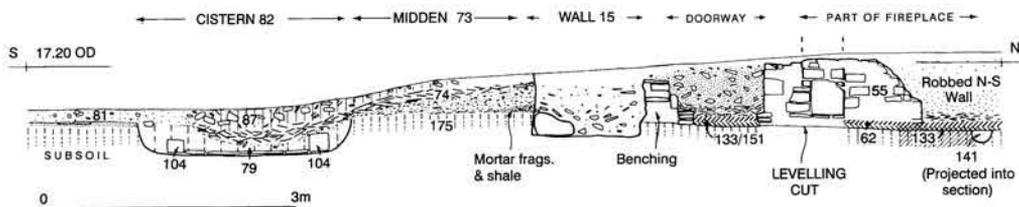


FIG. 30

Section across S. wall of Building 28 (see Fig. 29 for location)

butted on the N. face of wall 15. It was 0.45 m wide, and sat on a foundation of stonework *c.* 0.75 m wide. The interesting feature was that the wall did not sit centrally on the foundation but sat flush on the eastern side (Fig. 29). The wall was constructed mainly of local shale, and had been plastered on both faces, and had an offset of over 1 m long leading W. into room 51. In the passageway there had been a doorway, with a door jamb incorporated in the eastern face of wall 18, containing an iron peg for hanging a door hinge. This offset was an integral feature, contemporary with the wall's construction, and was itself 0.45 m wide. Although there was no surviving evidence for a doorway in the N. wall of Building 28 (*i.e.* between 34 and 59) there must have been an entrance to the passage from the cloister alley. Once inside one would have been faced with a door midway down the passage, with doors leading off to right (into room 51) and left (into 84). Beyond the door half-way down the passage was another door into the southern side of 84; at the end of the passage a door led straight into the privy (80).

Between rooms 51 and 52 the partition wall (55) survived in part to a height of *c.* 1 m where it was still plastered, although it had been totally robbed on the N. side. The wall was 0.45 m wide; its foundation trench was *c.* 0.8 m, so was comparable in width with wall 18. It was mainly constructed of shale, although Pennant sandstone was also present, and one fragment of reused dressed green Old Red Sandstone<sup>95</sup> had been incorporated in the corner of the jamb of a doorway between the two rooms. Architecturally this piece was thought to be late in date, which suggests that some modification to the wall had taken place. There was a fireplace in room 51 in the eastern face of wall 55. In the demolition rubble (53) four pieces of dressed freestone forming trefoil openings<sup>96</sup> in an ornate chimney were recovered, which must have belonged to this fireplace. Stylistically these can only be broadly dated to the medieval period. From the same layer (53), in room 52, a piece of ornate dressed stonework,<sup>97</sup> possibly from the fireplace in room 51, was also recovered. This is thought to be of 14th- or 15th-century date. Other dressed stonework included a sandstone corbel for supporting a ceiling or roof member or a statuette bracket (53).<sup>98</sup> There was also a fragment possibly from a mortar<sup>99</sup> discovered beneath a midden outside the S. of room 51.

As already mentioned both rooms 51 and 52 had benching (100) running along the inside face of the S. wall. This survived almost in its entirety. It was 0.38–0.40 m deep and 0.36 m high; was randomly constructed of small rubble and mortar, with flat slabs of various types of stone laid along the top (mainly shale and Old Red Sandstone). It was plastered on its vertical face, and clearly butted against the S. wall of the building.

Due to the considerable disturbances within room 84 during the Suppression of the house (see below), the evidence for the division of this room was very difficult to recognize. Yet it was, rather unusually, divided laterally down its long axis. This took the form of a beam-slot trench (311) 0.74–0.80 m wide, presumably for a timber sleeper beam, running eastward from the pillar of walling between the two doorways in wall 21 (Fig. 29). In origin, therefore, room 84 appears to have been divided into at least two long narrow rooms, although whether 311 extended the whole length of the room is uncertain since it appeared to terminate *c.* 7 m from wall 21. At this point another slot, 482, continued eastward, but

on a line further N. than 311. If both are contemporary, and contained sleeper beams for a wall, then the disposition of the rooms would indeed be unusual. Unfortunately the inability to excavate the very E. of the building meant that it was not possible to complete the picture of how the rooms were divided. The date for the initial construction of the building is best indicated by the diversion of the early open drain (929/369, Fig. 20) and the more formal construction of its replacement 111/248 (Fig. 29). This goes hand-in-hand with the creation of the Little Cloister by the erection of Building 28 and its cloister alleys. The infilling of drain 929 produced an abundance of 13th-century pottery, but nothing later. It is thus probable that the initial construction of the building can be placed sometime in the very late 13th or early 14th century.

#### *The Privy (Building 80)*

Butting the S. side of Building 28, and entered from the central passage, was a small building (80) composed of N.-S. wall lines 56 and 68 with a S. wall incorporating part of a well-built and steeply sloping drain (58) (Fig. 29, Pl. VIII, B). The S. wall was additionally supported by buttresses (258-59) which reinforced the corners of the building which must have had arched openings to allow the drain to run through the room. The increased width of both 56 and 68 (especially the latter) to c. 1.7 m N. of drain 58 provides additional evidence for these archways. The walls survived in places c. 0.71 m wide or as robber trenches c. 0.8 m wide. A surviving section of 56 clearly butted the S. wall (15) of Building 28. The drain (58) and S. wall ran across the building at an oblique angle running from the WNW. to the ESE. The drain, which sloped steeply from W. to E., was constructed with 0.3 m wide walls over flat slabs (mainly shale) with a drain width of 1.3 m. The drain was fed from the W. (via drain 48) by an oval tank, or cistern (82) (Fig. 29, Pl. VIII, B). The cistern measured c. 4 m x c. 2.5 m and was additionally supplied by a small drain (169) which presumably brought rainwater from the roof of Buildings 28/80. Where the cistern narrowed at its eastern end there was a void or slot, 0.58 m x 0.13 m, with an adjacent capping stone. The slot marks the position of a small sluice gate which would have been raised to release the dammed supply of water in the cistern. Since the building is almost certainly a privy, then this sluicing arrangement represents an early 'toilet flush' used to clean out the open drain within the room. The only floor that survived within the building was a mortar layer without tile impressions (201) which contained pottery only generally datable to the Middle Ages; it is probably contemporary with Building 28 despite being butted to it. Main dating evidence for Building 28 can be equally applied to 80 since it relates to the infilling of drain 929 and the construction of drain 48 which was built specifically to supply the privy.

#### *The function of Building 28*

Building 28 was a detached, self-contained building with its own privy and kitchen. It is the friary building most distant from Lamma Street and the town. Three possibilities may be suggested. All friaries had a Guest House, but this was usually sited in the W. range, and moreover near the main entry from the town, which tends to preclude Building 28 for this function. The Guardian's Lodgings was usually a separate building, and in form was typical of small houses of the period with a small hall, living and sleeping apartments and a kitchen.<sup>100</sup> The third, and most probable candidate would be an Infirmary. Martin knew of no surviving examples, but suggested that it would be sited in the Little Cloister. This is the known position of infirmaries at other friaries, at Hulne (Carmelite) and Clare (Augustinian), and of secular lodgings of corrodians at Ipswich (Dominican).<sup>101</sup> Since Building 28 has its own privy and kitchen, and is sited furthest from the town (a very necessary condition for treating the sick), then the possibility that it was an Infirmary seems the most likely of the three. The upper floor in all probability contained a hall, possibly sleeping apartments, and a small chapel is not unlikely.

*Phase 2*

The interior floors of all ground-floor rooms of Building 28 were of beaten earth. The earliest of two surviving floors in room 52 (151) was constructed from a 50 mm deep deposit of local clay and gravel forming a very hard surface. It produced an abundance of 15th- and 16th-century pottery. Above this, possibly the upper part of the same layer, but noticeably reddened from the fire that consumed the building, was layer 133. This included three late 13th- or early 14th-century jettons. Within Room 51 the only floor was 133, again of hard beaten clay. This sealed a small mortar filled pit (137) which produced two sherds from two vessels of *c.* 1250–1350. The floor itself produced six sherds from six vessels of *c.* 13th-century date. This floor extended into the passageway to the E. and was covered by a thin layer (166) below the collapsed roof that produced 16th-century sherds and a fragment of 17th-century scraffito ware. It is suggested that part of the roof may have remained standing into the 17th century, since there is no other evidence to suggest any post-Suppression use of the building.

Room 84 had undergone substantial post-medieval disturbance but it was clear that it had been divided lengthways by E.–W. walls. These were part of the original phase of construction, and survived as slots or perhaps robber trenches. Context 311 was 0.74–0.80 m wide and ran eastwards from robber trench 21, that part of walling in the passageway that marked the position of three doors. Contexts 311 and 482 were of comparable width to 21, and could thus have supported a wall of similar thickness, although, as already noted, the feature could have held a sleeper beam for a timber wall. Despite the odd, staggered, appearance of these two slots, they must be taken as evidence for a division of 84 into two long, narrow rooms, especially when the conclusive evidence for doorways from the passage on the W. is taken into account. This wall line (311/482) had been erected before a levelling up of the floors, for a dump layer (293) sealed part of the backfill of 482 (not illustrated). This may suggest that whatever walls were present had been removed when 293 was introduced. The backfills of 311/482 contained a few sherds of 13th- and 14th-century pottery. Cutting this backfill was the remains of a possible post-hole (310) which might indicate that the wall line was replaced by upright posts to support the weight of the floor above. The levelling dump (293), was much thicker on the S. and E. sides, which supports the contention that the original ground levels fell to S. and E. This dump contained ten sherds from nine vessels of 13th-/14th-century date sealing a primary level (464) which produced only 13th-century material. Taken as a whole the archaeological dating evidence from the floors suggests construction in the early 14th-century. The floors were in use over an extended period, spanning the whole history of the building.

The room W. of and including the passageway had a very distinct and substantial layer of collapsed roofing material sealing the latest floors (63, 64, 110, not illustrated); indicating that the roof had been composed principally of local shale crowned by local ridge tiles (type A) which are demonstrably medieval.<sup>102</sup> The same fire-scorched layer in room 52 (62) sealed the charred remains of timberwork that had collapsed from ceilings, windows and door fittings, including (as already mentioned) the clear outline of a door (Fig. 31).

Within Room 84, to the E. of the passage, a comparable collapsed roof layer (92) which also contained charred timbers, also contained a comparatively well preserved painted glass window. As discovered (Pl. IX, A, B), it was folded over on one corner and measured *c.* 0.60 m x 0.80 m. During conservation it was found to have an armorial shield within a setting of lozenges and circles.<sup>103</sup> The shield is composed of a chevron with three eagles 'displayed', and although the device is common enough in heraldry, attributing this window to an historic person has proved difficult. On the basis of its style, the window has been dated by Sarah Brown to the second half of the 13th century, *c.* 1250–1280. However the heraldry could be that of Walter Bluet, Deputy Justiciar of South Wales in 1391–93. He was overseeing building works at Carmarthen Castle about the same period when the

friary church was being extended. This might be the occasion when the window was erected, making it considerably later than its style suggests.<sup>104</sup>

Another, very crumpled, window (410) was discovered in the same layer which was too badly damaged to describe adequately, although it would appear to be about the same size. Both could have formed panels in a larger window, although they could have stood alone. The findspot of each window was very close to the inside face of the S. wall (Fig. 32), either side of a buttress on the outside face of the wall, which could mean that the leaded glasswork was from this building, either from the ground or upper floor. However, since room 84 also had hearths set up within it for reducing copper and lead during the Suppression period, it is not inconceivable that the windows themselves had been brought to this room (along with others) to be smashed up and the lead melted down and made into ingots, along with copper from the roofs (see below). There was evidence for window openings along the whole S. wall of the building. This came in the forms of middens to the S. of the building which almost certainly had accumulated because material was thrown out through window openings (again either from the ground or upper floors). The most substantial of these was midden 73 (Figs. 29, 30) which produced 279 sherds from 26 late 14th-century vessels, but including one 17th-century sherd. The top of the midden (74) produced 66 sherds from nine late 14th-century vessels. The upper profile of these middens was in parts directly below the turf of the lawns of Friar's Park House and may thus account for the possibility of truncation, or contamination by late material.

Midden 73 was located S. of room 51 (probably a kitchen). Other evidence for a window on the ground floor, opposite this midden, came in the form of a wedge of collapsed material (not illustrated) butting the robber trench fill (thus butting the wall before its robbing). This material was predominantly aligned vertically, as if it had accumulated in an open void (like in a window) against a reveal. To the W. of 73, midden 72 (with sub-layers 75-76) produced 107 sherds from nine vessels. S. of room 84 a less substantial midden (256) contained four sherds from four vessels of 15th-/16th-century date and the layer below this, which was contaminated with midden material had 23 sherds from 20 15th-century vessels. There is an absence of mottled green glazed Saintonge sherds (which are common to the 13th- and early 14th-century phases at the friary), which along with other pottery places middens 72-73 after the middle of the 14th century.<sup>105</sup> But there was also an absence of later medieval pottery which seems to indicate that the middens ceased to accumulate after c. 1485. There is, however, a small amount of 15th-/16th-century material from midden 256, and as already noted, middens 72-73 were very close to the surface, and their tops (which might have contained later medieval finds) were certainly truncated. The use of the building in the later medieval and early Tudor period is indicated by pottery of these periods from the interior floors (see above).

### *Phase 3, Dissolution Features*

Building 28 was clearly never reused following the fire that had destroyed it, a fire that ironically preserved many parts of the building for subsequent archaeological investigation. The collapsed roof layers sealed large areas of the latest floors, and had not been greatly disturbed apart from a large post-medieval pit and two drains across room 52 (Fig. 31). The layers within the eastern room 84 had unfortunately been confused by the construction of a late (?garden) wall and by numerous scoops and hollows (not illustrated). It was clear, however, that a considerable amount of activity associated with lead and copper smelting (or more precisely re-melting) was centred in this room (Figs. 32, 33, Pl. IX, c). The room had clearly lost its E.-W. wall (311/482) by this date, and the interior floors were covered with a mass of burnt layers and discrete clay dumps, and had two pits cut into the floor holding a portable bowl-hearth and a cupellation hearth.

Part of the interior of the room, including the collapsed roof, had evidently been cleared away when a late crude wall, perhaps a garden wall (396, not illustrated) was constructed roughly in line with the early division of 84.

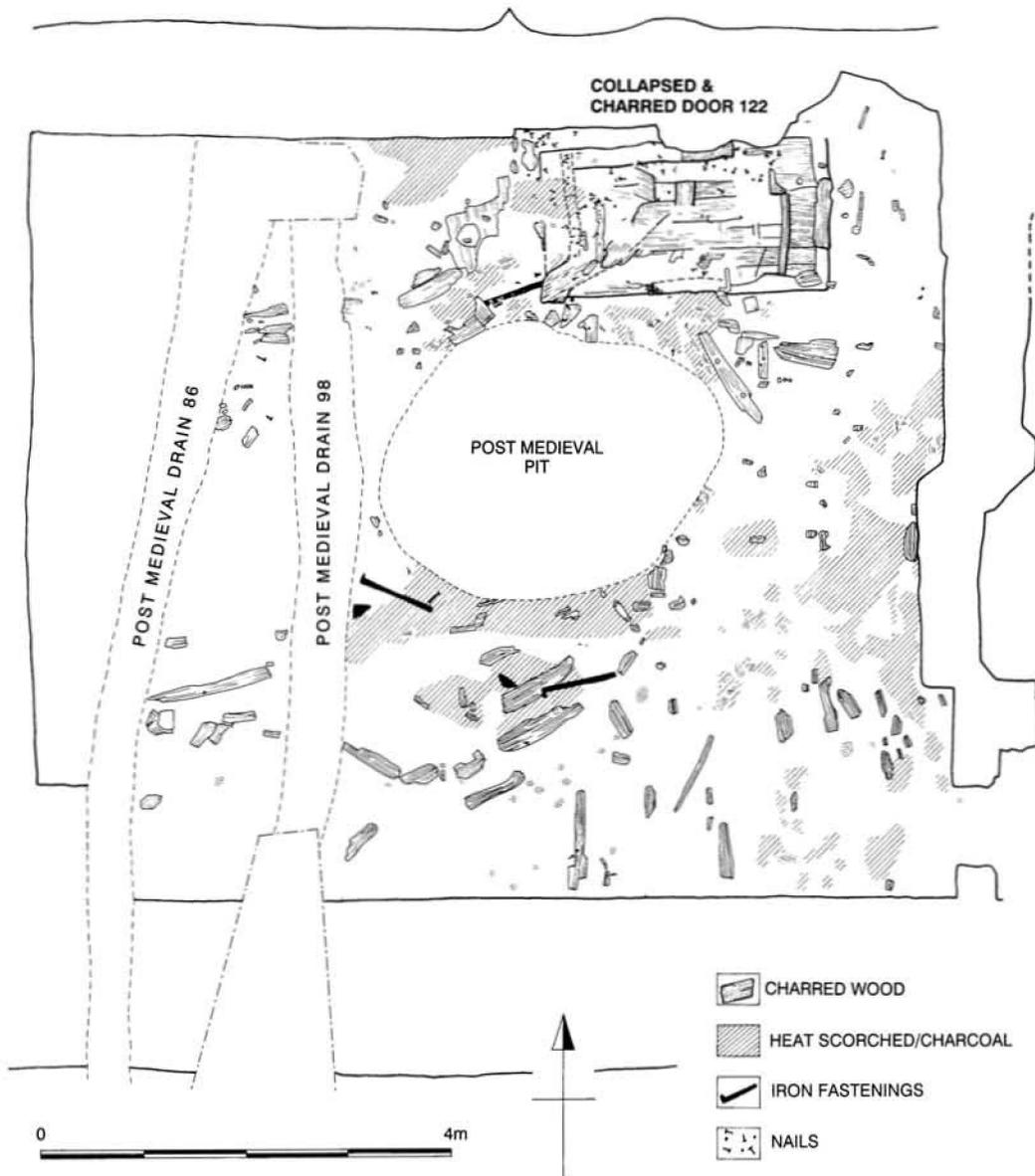


FIG. 31

Details of burnt timbers and door under the collapsed roof in room 52

The whole room had been given over to the melting-down of lead and copper/bronze. The evidence for this came in the form of numerous patches of heat scorched reddened clay (409) filling a number of shallow hollows up to 50 mm deep. There were also patches of yellow clay and mortar or lime (431) around a central sub-circular pit (436) 0.70–0.76 m in diameter. This pit contained mainly charcoal with numerous fragments of bronze. Bronze slag was also present. Buried in the centre of the pit is what Paul Courtney

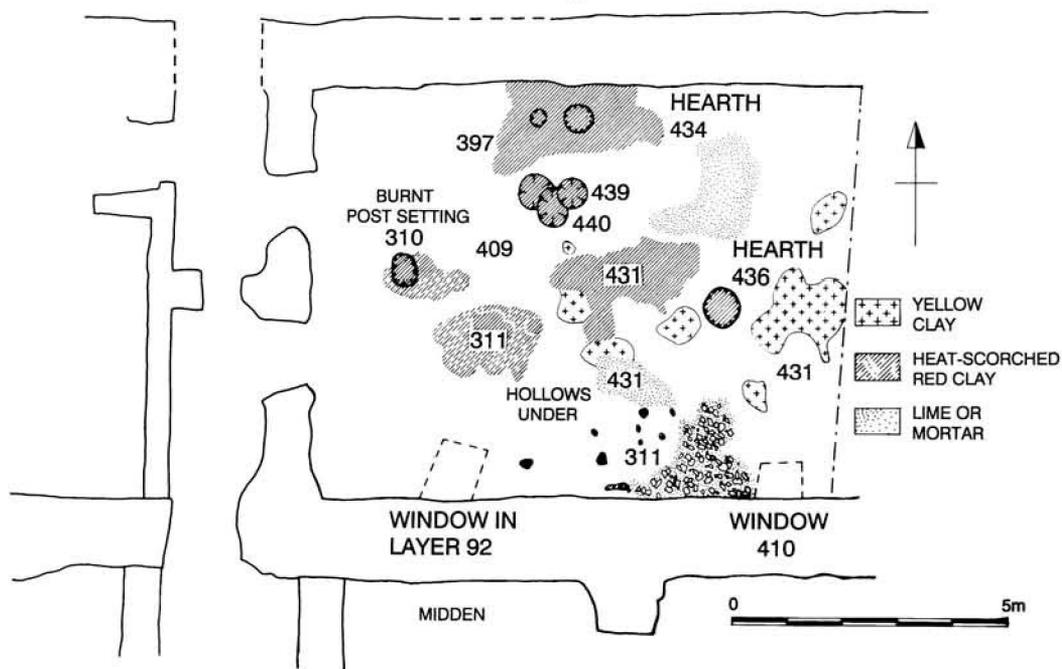


FIG. 32

Plan of lead and bronze melting-down features in room 84

describes as a 'portable hearth' (see Appendix C), 0.30 m in diameter on the outside and 0.25 m inside, made of yellow fired clay, unfired on the exterior. On one side was a lip (Fig. 33, Pl. IX, c). The hearth had been relined at some stage. X-ray fluorescence detected copper as the major element present as well as variable amounts of tin, and or zinc and traces of lead. Fragments of scrap copper alloy sheet, charcoal, coal, clinker, fuel ash slag and hearth fragments from the pit fill must be linked to the functioning of the hearth itself. Despite the lack of evidence for heat or burning around the pit itself, Paul Courtney is of the opinion that the hearth was used within the pit in which it was discovered (Appendix C). Scrap copper would have been held in crucibles laid in a fuel bed inside the hearth and a bellows used to raise the temperature to over 1000° C., no evidence for a tuyère or crucible was discovered. The hearth had been broken in antiquity (its conserved remains are in Carmarthen Museum). Four metres NW. of this furnace, near the N. wall, was another hemispherical pit (434) 0.52 m in diameter and 0.17 m deep (Figs. 32, 33). Around the pit the ground surface into which it was cut (293, the latest floor) was very heat scorched red, and the layers around it produced numerous fragments of melted lead slivers and 24 pieces of clipped lead. The pit was lined with up to 50 mm of a white powdery substance upon which was a 30 mm residual layer of lead, interpreted as a cupellation hearth for extracting silver from lead, possibly used for a trial testing of the silver content of lead removed from windows or roofs during the Dissolution. Some of the clay patches around these features may have been used to construct the hearth, and the patches of lime could perhaps have been used to line the cupellation hearth; there were also numerous bone fragments from layers 431 and 397 which could have been used in the processes. These two hearths are not large enough to have been used for the mass reduction of sheet copper and lead from the roofs; this must have been undertaken elsewhere or the material was just carried off without being melted down.

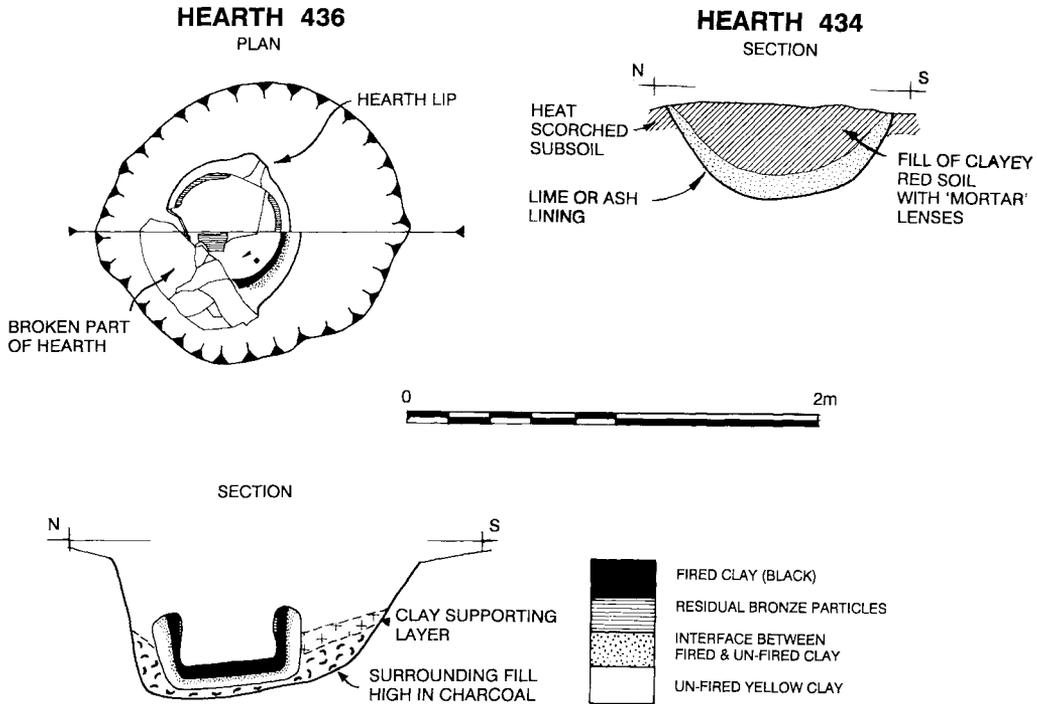


FIG. 33  
Plan and sections of hearth 436 and cuppelation hearth 434 in room 84

A Dissolution context for this activity is the most logical interpretation, although there are problems in accurately dating the features. The fill of pit 436 produced a single 14th-/15th-century sherd and layer 397 two 14th-century sherds from two pots. An archaeomagnetic analysis on what was believed to be an associated layer of reddening near these features (Context 227) produced a date of cal. A.D. 1370–1400 (68% confidence level) or cal. A.D. 1350–1420 at 95% confidence level (AML/AJC-75). This date range would exclude the possibility that we are dealing with the Dissolution period. However, since it is certainly clear that the building was never reused after the fire (a fire that was probably accidentally caused by this activity), then other dating evidence from within the building can be used to indicate a *terminus post quem* for the fire and melting down activity. Within the fabric of the fireplace in room 51 was a piece of reused dressed sandstone which Tony Parkinson suggests is late 15th- or early 16th-century (Appendix B). The large amount of 15th-/16th-century pottery from the floors of room 52 and the 15th-/16th-century pottery from midden 257 provides ample evidence to show that the building was in use in the early 16th century. The archaeomagnetic date must either be rejected as wrong, or related to an earlier fire; the latter would be quite a coincidence.

One final issue needs to be discussed. The two windows may have fallen from their respective positions within the building, or been brought to room 84 to be smashed and melted down for their lead, or were reused from elsewhere in the friary as old windows when the Infirmary was built. On the basis of their style the best preserved window has been dated c. 1250–80, but this is contradicted by the fact that the heraldic device appears to be that of a royal official based in Carmarthen, 1391–93. The fact that the two windows were found each side of a buttress, and moreover one opposite a midden, provides evidence for supposing they were originally part of the building in which they were found.

*The Little Cloister* (Fig. 21)

The Little Cloister came into existence with the construction of Building 28. The principal dimensions of the Cloister Garth were 20 m E.-W.  $\times$  c. 15 m N.-S. The lack of any clear indications in trench C1 (Fig. 3) argues for there being no E. range. A substantial layer of collapsed slate (phyllite) noted in C1 (521, not illustrated) may be from a pentice roof that could have covered the E. cloister alley. This layer produced post-medieval pottery and a groat of 1465-70. The principal features of the cloister, apart from the buildings discussed already, relate to its S. and E. cloister alleys (Figs. 21, 29). The alley on the S. was defined by the N. wall of Building 28 and the cloister wall (119). This mortared stone wall was 0.61 m wide and the alley surface would have been c. 2.1-2.2 m wide. There was a possible gap in the wall opposite the N. door and passageway of Building 28 giving access to the garth. The gap was marked by possible post-holes (Fig. 29). No medieval features were noted within the area of the garth, which displayed a continuous soil development. Wall 119 turned 90° N. and survived partly as a wall or robber trench 376 0.6-0.7 m wide. Much of this wall was destroyed by large post-medieval pits (373, 389). Beyond these (E. of Building 24, Fig. 21) the wall continued as a robber trench (383) and 2.2 m E. of this another robber trench (372) marked the eastern side of the E. cloister alley. The narrow wall width of 372 again suggests that there was no E. range. Between these two walls was a buried capped stone drain 402 (Fig. 21). This drain was running southwards and must have linked with drain 11, but this relationship had been destroyed by post-medieval pit 373. Drain 11, which survived as a well constructed stone feature, ran parallel to the S. cloister wall (119) and turned northwards parallel to 376. On the eastern side of the cloister it was capped. The drain then clearly passed under the E. cloister alley, and followed the course of the earlier open drain (929/369) taking water away from the cloister in an easterly direction. But the drain then appeared to continue eastward, as 515, (unlike the earlier drain depicted in Fig. 20), which suggests that it was proceeding to the terrace edge over which its contents were presumably emptied. It may have been joined by drain 1127/1116 which ran down the side of Building 1324 (Fig. 16). There was no evidence for any leadwork in any of these drains.

Patches of a mortar surface (377) survived in the S. alley through which a number of oriented pits had been cut (121, 174, 380, 379, 392, Fig. 29). Those with measurable lengths were between 2.1 and 2.4 m long and between 0.6 m and 1.1 m wide. They had all the appearance of being graves, but their fills were varied, and contained no human bone. Although there were no post-medieval finds, the matrix of the pits was similar to the black garden soil which did not appear in medieval contexts. They produced much animal bone (ox and sheep) and fish, as well as oyster and whelk shells. The pits contained nails, which could have been from coffins. It is possible they once contained burials that were exhumed after the Dissolution. The mortar surface (377) probably formed the bedding for a tiled surface, although no impressions were noted. This lay on the buried soil (359/447) which produced a number of 13th-/14th-century sherds.

*Destruction*

After the fire Building 28 remained roofless and was never reused. The bulk of the robbing was complete by the mid 18th century before the enclosure of Park House. However some late robbing is evident from context 56 which contained a coin of 1888. The walls of the E. cloister alley appear to have been robbed a little earlier, and had a walled structure built over them (333-36, not illustrated), but this cannot be tightly dated, though layer 382 below produced an abundance of 15th-/16th-century finds. Some of the stonework remained to be excavated in 1983.

## CONCLUSIONS

## FOUNDATION DATE AND FOUNDER

The documentary evidence shows that the friary was probably founded by Henry III or one of his sons Edmund or Edward prior to the first mention of the church in 1282. The main artefactual evidence to be considered is the pottery from pre-church levels which indicate a date after *c.* 1250.<sup>106</sup> The archaeomagnetic sample from the burning below the church gave a date of cal. A.D. 1250–1310 (68% confidence). A leaded window from Building 28 has been dated *on stylistic grounds* to *c.* 1250–1280, but this date must be dismissed if the window's heraldry is Walter Bluet's, making it late 15th-century. On the other hand the unstratified dressed freestone from the choir and chapter house has been dated on stylistic ground to *c.* 1160–1240 and 1200–20, and hoods to *c.* 1270–1340. There is a dichotomy then between most of the dating evidence on the one hand and the architectural freestone on the other. Since the Franciscans had not even arrived in England before 1224, then the earlier time-spans must be dismissed as representing stylistic culture lag of some sort (or we must question the received wisdom on dating dressed stonework). However, the stylistic end date in one case falls close enough to 1250, the earlier end of the date range from all the other dating evidence. I therefore propose a foundation date range of 1240–82, with a preferred date centring on *c.* 1254–55, when the Franciscan Thomas Wallencis was Bishop of St Davids and Edward I (as Prince Edward) was Lord of Carmarthen. These are the persons most likely to be instrumental in its foundation.

## PHASING AND LAYOUT (Fig. 34)

*Mid 13th Century*

A timber building or structure existed on the site of the church prior to construction and was burnt down probably during the initial preparation of the ground by the friary's builders. Much of the site was then prepared by levelling the ground prior to construction.

The initial plan was a church with an aisle-less nave and choir, with the former set on the N. side of a cloister (Fig. 34). At the E. end of the choir the sanctuary was elevated on four steps. These steps were without doubt original features, which provides conclusive evidence for a feature that has elsewhere been difficult to date.<sup>107</sup> The interior of the choir and chapter house was decorated in Transitional or Early English style. External mouldings like hoods are dated to *c.* 1270–1340, and the roof was principally tiled in phyllite (Pembrokeshire?) and capped with what are thought to be ridge tiles of local manufacture.<sup>108</sup> There was apparently no 'Walking Place' in that no evidence was recovered for a door on the N. side of the crossing; there must, however, have been a door on the S. side to link the church and E. cloister alley (a situation perhaps mirrored at Cardiff Greyfriars, although their cloister was on the N. side).<sup>109</sup> Although the area was not available for excavation, alignments suggest there was no yard or lighting area interposed between the nave and cloister. The overall layout appears conventional, with a

chapter house off the E. range. The function of the other buildings is uncertain, since the evidence from the Suppression Inventory is too late to be used to explain 13th-century functions. There is some evidence to suggest that the upper floors of the claustral ranges oversailed the cloister alleys. The site was well provided with water, with a complex system of drains or conduits. The main drain (in parts on open ditch) swept around the W. and S. sides of the cloister ranges and then ran NE. past the E. end of the church, returning water to a mill stream. This drain can be associated with the conduit documented in 1284 and 1295.

#### *Late 13th–14th Century*

The next major activity was the construction of the Little Cloister and the building interpreted as an Infirmary on the S. side (Fig. 29, Building 28). The date for this has been placed in the late 13th to early 14th century based on an abundance of mid/late 13th-century pottery recovered from *inter alia* the infilled drain of the previous phase which swept around the earlier single cloister. This drain was realigned to respect the new Little Cloister and became wholly stone lined. On the W. side of this cloister was a plethora of poorly preserved structures, one possibly a kitchen. The Infirmary also had a kitchen and well-preserved evidence for a privy, with branch drains from those already described feeding it. The building of the Infirmary and Little Cloister may have necessitated the works to the friary's conduit documented in 1331.

Within the choir the earliest recognizable tiled floor is dated to the early part of the 14th century. By this date the choir stalls (which may be original) were certainly in existence. These terminated at the westernmost step of the sanctuary and were built on a suspended floor on dwarf walls (possibly acting as resonance chambers). By this time also the number of burials within the church had increased so that graves were now cutting earlier ones. Evidence for tomb slabs, if not chests, was evident. There is no clear evidence for any major change in architectural style detected from residual freestone. Elsewhere in the friary, the laying of piped water is attested in the W. range of the Great Cloister and possibly though the S. range to buildings on the W. side of the Little Cloister.

#### *15th–16th Century*

The most significant changes are the enlargement of the nave and the addition of buildings between the choir and chapter house, and to the E. of the latter. The nave, which was not available for excavation, remains the least-well understood part of the friary. However, the NE. corner of an extension to the nave was investigated. The balance of evidence points to an effective doubling of the nave's assumed original size. There was a niche for a tomb built into the fabric of the wall, and numerous graves cutting a possible charnel pit. A charnel house is thought to have stood close by. The date for this extension is not tight — the artefacts were from contexts that could not give a *terminus post quem*; the pottery is thought to be no earlier than the mid 15th century. It is however suggested that the extended nave could be associated with the enlargement of the friary close in 1394. For this reason an early 15th-century date has been assigned.

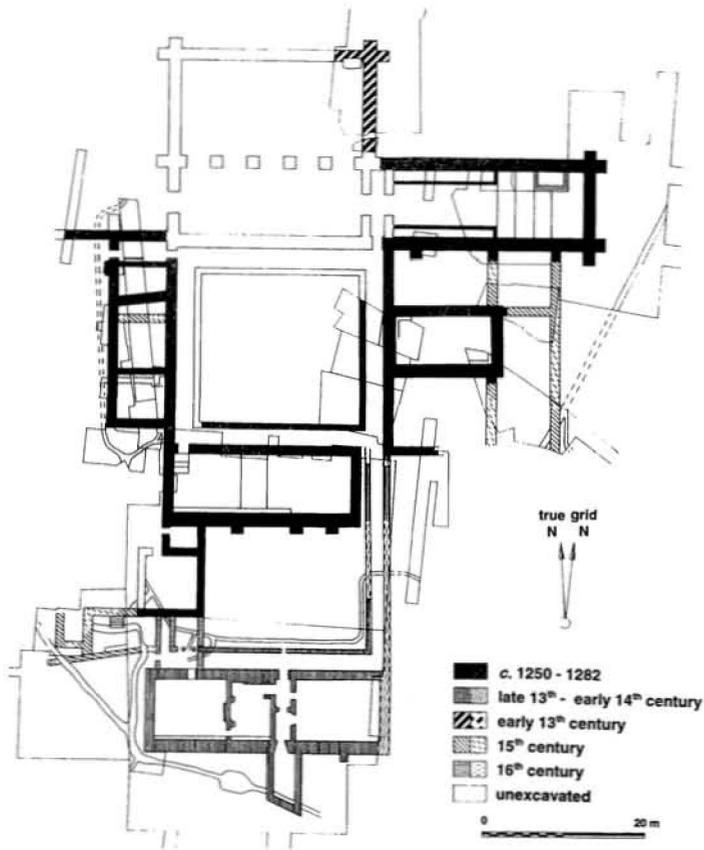


FIG. 34  
Simplified phase plan of Carmarthen Greyfriars

Outside the S. side of the choir, walls were constructed enclosing a series of possible rooms which encroached around the N. and E. of the chapter house. The most certain 'room' 1972 (Fig. 16) was that to the NE. which had evidence for a late tiled floor and produced what might be liturgical glass to suggest that it was the Sacristy.<sup>110</sup> No doorways were discovered in the difficult key-hole archaeology forced on the excavators. The dating is not tight, but the walls were clearly secondary to the choir and chapter house and what finds there were, indicate a *terminus post quem* after the middle of the 14th century.

The choir was refloored at least twice, with the ground level being raised so that the western two sanctuary steps were subsumed, and the choir stalls rebuilt to accommodate the higher levels. The tiles used for the first reflooring were types known from the Beauchamp Chapel at Tewkesbury Abbey (c. 1437).<sup>111</sup> The reflooring is arguably associated with the erection of Edmund Tudor's tomb in the middle of the choir in 1456. The second reflooring comprising tiles of Canynge type (which are paralleled at St Davids c. 1496 and a pavement commissioned at

Cerew after *c.* 1485); is likely to have been laid on the occasion of a new tomb for Edmund being built in or after 1496–97.

Broadly in the same period additions and alterations were made to the buildings W. of the Little Cloister and in the arrangements inside the W. range of the Great Cloister. Within the S. range of this cloister further evidence was found for a succession of lead water pipes leading to a presumed barley mashing press, suggesting the ground floor was used as the Brew House.

#### THE OVERALL PLAN

In its final form the double cloistered arrangement can be compared to that at Walsingham Greyfriars,<sup>112</sup> although at Carmarthen the Little Cloister was the same width as the Great Cloister. Carmarthen is more complex, perhaps reflecting a longer developmental history. Both comprise ranges which are essentially separate two-storeyed blocks. Unfortunately so many of the excavations that have taken place on friaries have been restricted in scope so it would be unwise to say that double-cloistered plans were unusual, although the restricted sites adopted by most friaries would have mitigated against them. (The only other Medicant double-cloisters noted are at Ipswich Black Friars and the Austin Friars at Leicester).<sup>113</sup> Carmarthen is therefore important because the excavations allowed work to be undertaken over such a large area (indeed well beyond the friary if the trial trenching is included). The green-field nature of the site allowed Carmarthen to grow to a double-cloistered plan, having over time acquired additional land, just as was the case at Walsingham (which was founded in 1347, but had to enlarge its site as early as 1348).<sup>114</sup> Martin's plan suggests that Walsingham's Little Cloister was original or early 15th-century (contemporary with the choir) which indicates perhaps a rolling programme of work. Much the same could be said for Carmarthen, because the timescale between the original single cloistered-plan and the double is not great, and might be seen as part of the original design. This view is supported by the fact that ample room for expansion was left to the S., whereas the documented land acquisitions were all on the N. side.

The church of the laity was presumably divided from that of the Brothers by walls if the usual Franciscan arrangements were followed.<sup>115</sup> However the critical area of the crossing was not available for investigation, and the only evidence there was suggested there was no N. door giving access to the usual walking place. It is noted that the enlarged foundations of cottages still standing may relate to the type of foundation needed to support the steeple (recorded in the Suppression Inventory). It has been argued that the need to have such substantial walls to support the tower resulted in the development of the walking place in friaries. The enlargement of the nave in the 15th century is to be expected in a town of Carmarthen's size, and reflects the increasing emphasis on preaching. Although the evidence is not conclusive, it is more likely that the nave was doubled in size, rather than it being a N. transeptal chapel (the norm in Ireland, but also see Oxford).<sup>116</sup> The existence of choir stalls has been noted at the Carmelite friary at

Hulne (which also had a Sacristy SE. of the choir). This is also the case at Brecon Blackfriars.<sup>117</sup>

The function of various buildings remains problematical. There is no difficulty with recognizing the church and chapter house, and the case for the S. range of the Little Cloister being the Infirmary is strong. Within the Infirmary one room contained a fireplace and had a number of middens which had accumulated outside its windows. This is surely the kitchen. The privy on the S. side was also firmly identified. Both were presumably for the exclusive use of the Infirmary's occupants. The order of buildings in the Suppression Inventory might give further clues to function if the survey was undertaken in an anti-clockwise direction, as seems to be the case: Sacristy (Building 1972 S. of the choir) – choir – nave – steeple. Next are chambers (possibly the first floor of the W. range, Building 1323, the obvious place for guests): The King's Chamber – Inner Chamber – chamber next to the Lavery (?ground floor, southernmost room 1325) – kitchen (?either 1325 or wing off S. range room 198). Now the S. range: Brewhouse (ground floor S. range, Building 24) – Hall (above) – Buttery. If this conjecture is correct it indicates that the Inventory does not include the Infirmary, which could mean it had already burnt down.

#### LIFESTYLE AND BURIALS

Carmarthen Friary was a substantial, well patronized and well endowed mendicant house. This is clearly shown by the size of the complex and the quality of what was recovered in terms of artefacts and building materials. The evidence suggests that the house was a royal foundation. The church was adorned with heraldry, some certainly in stained glass, reflecting the obsession with heredity of the leading families and emerging gentry in the later Middle Ages. Coupled with the 15th-/16th-century poetry and documentation one forms the impression of colour, splendour and sound.

The range of ceramics recovered from the site, and the large size of the assemblage, was an opportunity for the first extensive study of medieval pottery from the area to be made.<sup>118</sup> This has shown that the friary was using a very wide range of imported pottery. Although local material was not abundant, the amount of locally-produced gravel-tempered ridge and floor tiles points to the existence of kilns in the locality representing a 'well-organized industry' in the 13th century. The impetus for such an industry would have been enhanced by the coming of the friary, but there were other major building projects being carried out in the town in the 13th century.<sup>119</sup> The scarcity of ceramic cooking pots from the site may suggest that the friary was using more expensive metal containers. This is supported by evidence from the Suppression Inventory. Although this shows the kitchen was bereft of utensils, this was because they were 'abrode' in the town, including three 'brasse' pans and a 'brasse' pot (Appendix E). The range and quality of the pottery suggests a civilized lifestyle, for the guests and corrodians if not the friars. The finds do not exemplify the life of poverty extolled by the early Franciscans. They clearly did not go into the church penniless, as quite a few coins were found in the void

under the choir stalls. However the skeletal evidence does show that many of those buried in the cloister alley and Chapter House (who were presumably friars), had particularly poor dental hygiene 'even for that era, their diet was generally coarse, as was usual. Their muscular development . . . was quite strong and suggestive of labouring work, walking, stooping, lifting'. The amount of spinal arthritis associated with collagenous degeneration of tendons leads Dr Wilkinson to further comment that this 'reflects cold, damp working and living conditions'.<sup>120</sup> This supports the belief that the lifestyle of the friars was one of poverty.

From the E. cloister alley and Chapter House the total number of individuals capable of recognition in their own graves was 34 (the total was 42 counting residual bone).<sup>121</sup> 193 individuals were recognized from the church, of which 163 were *in situ* burials and 30 were from a presumed Charnel House.<sup>122</sup> The church assemblage was therefore very mixed and only about 34 were relatively complete. However the overall picture is of a population with a height average not dissimilar to today, but out of 27 individuals 19 were considered of robust physique suggesting strong sustained physical activity. The tentative view is that of 22 individuals from the church, 14 could be regarded as 'working class' and 8 'upper class' associated less with manual labour and more observant of hygiene. Two individuals showed evidence that suggests they walked barefoot (one from the Chapter House group). The amount of osteo-arthritic complaints (including much evidence for D.I.S.H. — diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis) was high, but interestingly it was much lower in the groups from the church compared to those recovered from the cloister alleys and Chapter House. This therefore supports the conventional wisdom: the well-to-do were buried in the church and the poorer friars in the cloisters. The high incidence of D.I.S.H. is thought to relate to a high fish diet (the middens were composed largely of oyster shells, but also included pig, sheep, ox, rabbit and other shellfish). Some of the individuals had marked wear on the cutting edge of their incisors — possibly indicating that they were leather workers holding a strap between their teeth. An interesting trephanning example from the choir had two holes in the skull: only three other post-Norman examples are recorded from this country; the man survived. There was high evidence for inbreeding exemplified by congenital abnormalities. This may reflect familial relationships in the burials from within the choir.

Mortality rates in 119 adults show high levels in the 20–25 year age group with few individuals attaining the age of 45, although three men did pass their 50th birthdays. In juveniles mortality was fairly evenly spread, peaking interestingly in the late teens. There were no still-born or neo-natal burials. Most of the children were from within the church. Of 34 individuals from the cloister alleys and Chapter House, a surprising 34% were under the age of 20 (averaging *c.* 15 years). Also, of 23 individuals from this group that could be sexed 22 were male and the other was uncertainly female. This seems to suggest a large number of young friars, indeed perhaps juvenile friars. (There is the very unusual story of an 11-year-old Exeter lad being detained by the Order of Friars Minor in various friaries in 1411. By the age of 15 he was still detained against his will, at Carmarthen Friary, being forced into the Order.<sup>123</sup>) This admittedly small sample does seem to suggest a large

proportion of adolescent friars dying prematurely. A group of long-bones and skulls recovered from the robbed out N. wall of the nave is believed to have come from a former charnel house. These represented at least 30 adults (only one adolescent) whose age at death was quite high (many were *c.* 40 years old).

#### THE FATE OF THE FRIARY

We have seen from the documentary evidence that the friary had become roofless by 1539. There was at that date 'no lead on any part of it'.<sup>124</sup> It is clear from the Suppression Inventory that the friary had been stripped of much of its valuables: the main 'dore was broken up in ye Freeris, & certeyne stuffe taken owt, by whom yt can not be knowen'. This indicates that destruction had started sometime in 1538. The archaeological evidence from the Infirmary (and possibly from Building 24, ?the Brewhouse) is of a series of hearths, and furnaces constructed to melt down lead and copper alloy and to extract silver. These however were too small to have been used for the mass reduction of roofing materials, so other furnaces must have been sited elsewhere. It is probable that the Infirmary caught fire as a result of this activity and was reduced to a roofless ruin never to be reused. No evidence for ingots (sows) was recovered, although it is interesting to note that Carmarthen was one of three S. Wales ports used for the collection of salvaged metals from monastic houses.<sup>125</sup>

The short-lived use of the friary by Thomas Lloyd's Grammar School left little in the way of concrete evidence. There was some indication that the S. range of the Great Cloister (ground floor Building 24, ?Brewhouse) had been re-floored and re-roofed. There were numerous jetons recovered, including one dated 1540 which was recovered from below what is thought to be a collapsed late re-roofing. This suggests that this building — which may have had a hall on the first floor — was re-roofed and used by the Grammar School (1543–47). What is interesting is that the building may only have become roofless a few years earlier. The other range that may have been reused was that W. of the Great Cloister, which was arguably the Guests' Lodgings and therefore suitable for conversion. The evidence is slight and perhaps controversial. Among the residual finds, fragments of Maiolica wall tiles were discovered.<sup>126</sup> These are thought to have been produced around Antwerp *c.* 1550–80. Clearly they cannot have been used in the friary, but the date is tantalizingly close to the Grammar School period for the tiles to be considered part of a classy refurbishment. Equally, however, because the tiles were found in residual deposits, they may have been derived from anywhere in the town. The other buildings likely to have been adopted would have been the choir, which would have been ideal for a school church, (as at Christ College Brecon, where the former Blackfriars choir is still in use). Perhaps it was only the failure of the school that finally resulted in the removal of several monuments from the church: Edmund Tudor to St Davids cathedral, and notables from the House of Dinefwr to St Peter's church. What evidence we can muster, aided by conjecture, suggests that the grammar school utilized the buildings ranged around the Great Cloister (save perhaps the nave). The subsequent fate of the friary is not well documented; the

excavations however show that the buildings lay as open ruins for a period, and what survived was being robbed piecemeal. During the Civil War a great ditch was cut through the nave and chapter house destroying features well below foundation level.<sup>127</sup> By the 18th century nothing survived, save the elements that are suspected to exist within the northern line of cottages at Friar's Park.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavations were funded by Cadw/Welsh Historic Monuments and Vanson Plc, and a large part of the staff costs for the years 1983–85 and 1987 were covered by the then Manpower Services Commission through the Community Programme. Permission by landowners to excavate was kindly given by Carmarthen District Council, T. P. Hughes Ltd, Vanson Plc and the Land Authority for Wales. During 1983–86 the District Council generously allowed the Trust to use part of Park House as offices, and one room was set aside for a temporary site museum. Outbuildings were provided for the storage of tools and a tea shed. During the excavation I had the pleasure of liaising with numerous bodies and individuals, officers of the District Council, M.R.M. Partnership, Vanson Plc, local residents, and others. I would like to record my thanks to all those individuals who co-operated willingly.

Very many people worked at the excavations, and it would be invidious to pick out individuals for thanks. I must, however, particularly thank Bill John, Site Supervisor for the larger part of the project. His cheerful management of staff, his constant application, sometimes in very taxing and difficult conditions, over a number of years, made my task all the more easy.

The post-excavation process which started in 1986, was not commenced in earnest until after the completion of the 1990 season run by Ken Murphy, and then only after my return to full time work in January 1991 after a period of absence due to an accident. Considerable work on bulk finds has been undertaken by a number of specialists, including Dr Lionel Wilkinson on human skeletal remains,<sup>128</sup> and Catherine Freeman (formerly O'Mahoney) for her extensive report on pottery and related ceramics.<sup>129</sup> Constant maintenance and care of finds was in the care of Dee Brennan, who, with me, undertook work on the floor tile report<sup>130</sup> and alone did the finds report.<sup>131</sup> The final drawings are the work of the Trust's then draughtsman, Neil Ludlow. My former colleague Tony Parkinson kindly commented on the dressed freestone and other matters. The pottery and finds reports were copy edited and laid out by Louise Lane who undertook the task with skill and sound judgement. I would like to pay special tribute to Lawrence Butler for reading the text in final draft, and for his helpful comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank Professor Beverley Smith for reading the synopsis and discussing historical matters.

Finally I would like to thank my former colleagues at the Trust for their help: Don Benson, Trust Director, for dealing with financial and organizational matters and for discussing the excavation on numerous occasions; Heather James for her constant support and interest, and finally Margaret Meade (née Lewis) the former Trust secretary, who was always in the background to deal with all manner of organizational or staff difficulties.

## APPENDIX A

### ROOFING MATERIAL

#### ROOFING SLATE/TILE

There was a great variety of both material and sizes of tile used for covering the roofs at the friary, but predominantly the two main stone types were of local, or relatively local, provenance (Fig. 35). The most common material recovered from destruction layers was a greenish phyllite, which accounted for about 43% of the total. Next was a local shale,

which accounted for about 35% of all roofing. The later material was quite often very poor in quality, being friable and liable to laminate easily. Because of this it is possible that this shale may not have survived as well in measurable lengths, or with nail/peg holes — the criteria which was most commonly used when saving slate for post-excavation study. It is therefore quite possible that shale, and not phyllite, was originally the most common roofing material. The use of the word 'slate' is used as a generic form of roofing tile, not as a geological term.

Of the two other types of material in use, a micaceous sandstone was the next most prevalent. This type survived in quite large pieces, but again the large size and thickness of some of the original tiles could account for the frequency of survival as measurable pieces, even though it may not have been as numerous as other types; the 14% survival may represent an over-estimate of its occurrence on original friary roofs. The remaining 8% of the total was a bluish slate, the largest amount coming from the area of Building 24, which may relate to a late, perhaps post-Dissolution, re-roofing.

The fact that all geological types were represented in destruction layers indicates how mixed the roofs must have been when the house was suppressed. The 280 or so years of patching and re-roofing presumably resulted in the mixing of roofing material, when originally each building may have been wholly or largely done in shale or phyllite. The proportions of each slate type found in or near the principal buildings of the site are indicated in the histograms in Fig. 35. The occurrence of large sandstone slabs in the frequency distributions may suggest that these were used on domestic buildings as the lowest courses. Of all the slate types recovered, only one piece had a surviving nail in the hole. This alone cannot be used to argue for the use of just nails, and oak pegs may well have been used. The variations in size of tiles indicates that roofs were graded in the fashion common, for example, in the Cotswolds. But there were not a great many small, nor any very small slates, that would be expected to survive from the upper parts of such roof configurations.

Drawings have not been published because the great variations in form and size do not appear to conform to any definite pattern. Any common trait is noted in the descriptions below.

#### *Green Phyllite*

This is a coarser stone than Caernarfonshire slate, has a characteristic sheen, and is harder than the local shale. The Preseli hills is a known local source for phyllite. All buildings appear to have been roofed in the material, and although statistically Building 24 did not score highly, it did have a number of good complete pieces. The slates are cut in a variety of sizes, but sizes in the region of 165 mm x 100 mm or 210 mm x 115 mm seem fairly common. The area E. of the Chapter House produced 13 tiles measuring 210 mm x 100 mm. Sometimes the tiles are narrower, 180 mm x 95 mm. The church produced an interesting group of tiles of this rock, eight of which measured 190 mm x 82 mm (7–19 mm thick) with their peg/nail holes set off centre (to the left), four tiles 180 mm x 135 mm with holes off centre to the right. The rest of the holes were central, six measuring 204 mm x 110 mm, five 190 mm x 140 mm, and others about the same measurement as the last. In imperial measure then, the most common size seems to be *c.* 7.5 x 4 in. This group from the church all had mortar adhering to them, and would suggest that they had either been reused in walls, or perhaps used as wall cladding. The holes in these tiles appear to have been punched, much in the way a modern roofer would cut a hole in Welsh slate.

#### *Local Shale*

This is dark grey in colour and usually has noticeable iron staining from the presence of ferrous minerals in the rock. This shale outcrops around Carmarthen. There was again a very wide range in size, the largest measuring 585 mm long. One group of these measured about 190 mm x 100 mm (i.e. 7.5 x 4 in.). Building 28, which produced the largest

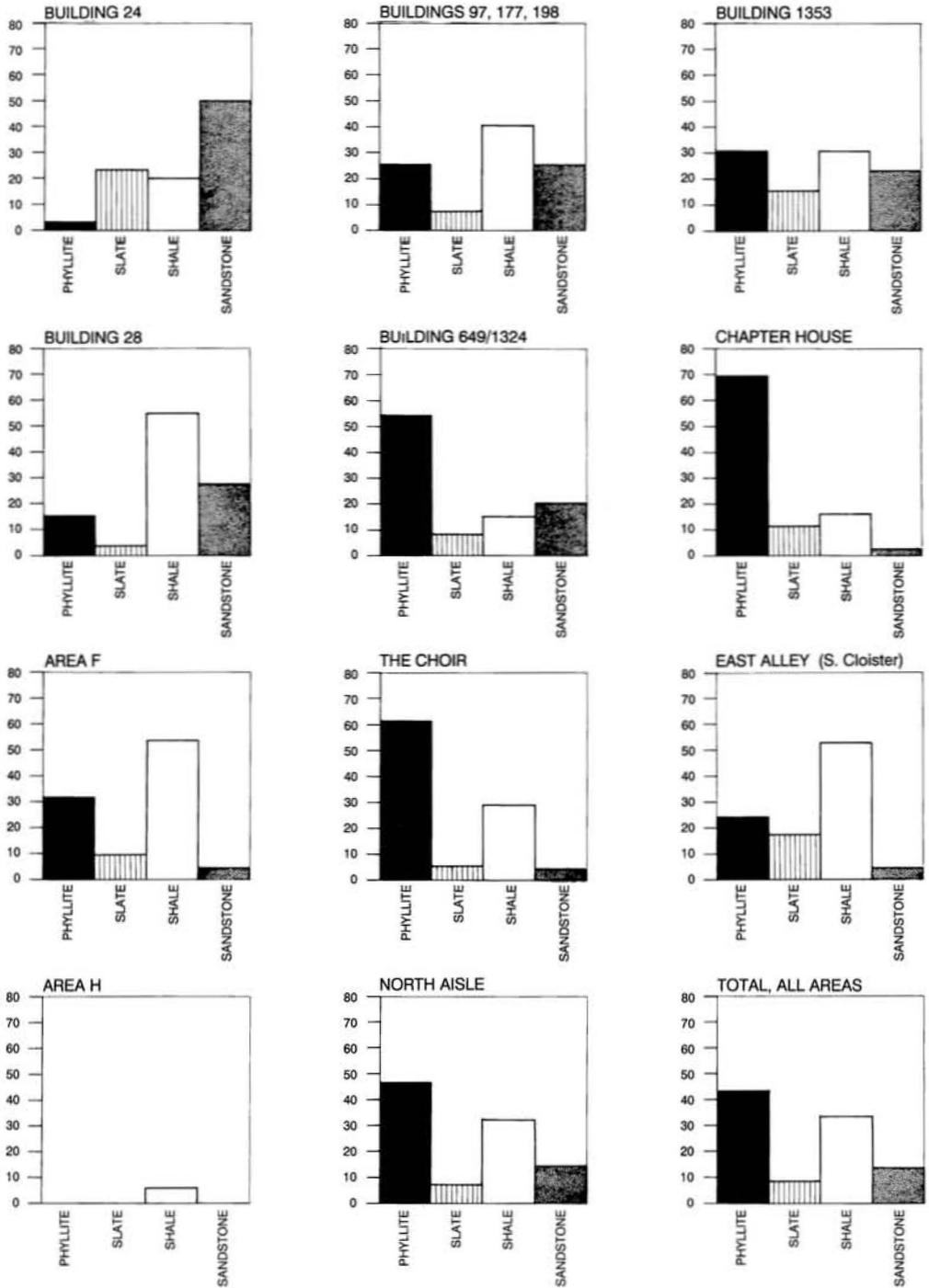


FIG. 35

Proportion of roofing material by building or area

assemblage, contained sizes as diverse as 300 mm x 250 mm to 190 mm x 110 mm. There is a possibility that some of these tiles were laid lozenge shaped, as indicated by one large piece 320 mm x 310 mm. A large collection of these shale slates was recovered from the E. of the choir in 1990; 11 were 230 mm x 120 mm by 15–25 mm thick with a very coarse, uneven finish, four others measured 305 mm x 140 mm, three 228 mm x 215 mm and two large tiles 585 mm x 200 and 460 mm x 210 mm.

The material was usually very friable, and survival of large pieces was not common due to breakage. A variation in the beds of this shale resulted in some, presumably local, shale having a 'pockmarked' appearance, which did not laminate in big sheets. A surviving nail in one piece indicates that nails were employed in hanging, although oak pegs were probably the most commonly method used. In some cases the holes (which were punched) were up to 20 mm in diameter, but this large size may have resulted from wear.

#### *Micaceous Sandstone*

This is a type of tilestone that is thought to come from near the coal measures. Possible sources could be the Saundersfoot area of Pembrokeshire of the E. Carmarthenshire coalfield which starts *c.* 13 km SE. of Carmarthen. The tiles made of this material were often very large, and the peg holes were drilled, not punched. All buildings had this material, Building 28 having the largest surviving assemblage. Tiles seem to be grouped in three main general sizes: *c.* 305 x 210 mm (i.e. *c.* 12 x 8.5 in.), 280 mm x 125 mm and a disparate group of larger tiles the largest of which was 533 mm x 240 mm, although a common width of between 240 mm to 270 mm seems to be typical in the large examples. A group of four tiles measuring 290 mm x 255 mm were slightly narrower at the hole end; four others measured *c.* 180 mm x 230 mm. Thickness varies between 20 to 40 mm. Peg holes varied in diameter between 10 mm and 12 mm.

#### *Dark Bluish Slate*

This may be a late or post-medieval import which only occurred in any amount in Building 24. There were not many measurable pieces; one complete slate was 172 mm x 127 mm x 9 mm, and an incomplete one was 267 mm x 195 mm x 9 mm. Many seem to have off centre holes.

#### Ridge Tile

The ridge tile from the friary has been discussed elsewhere with the pottery; nine different ridge tile types are noted (ten counting uncertain type x), and a complete breakdown by context has been tabulated.<sup>132</sup> The types present within the demolition layers in each building of the friary (excluding small amounts) have been plotted in Fig. 36, with pie-charts of the proportions of each ridge tile type present giving a generalized idea of where particular types were used, and the proportions. Only material from principal demolition layers has been included in the sources for each pie chart.

The most commonly used ridge tiles (see summary pie chart, Fig. 36 bottom right) is clearly Type A, which O'Mahoney suggests is of local manufacture, probably used in initial construction.<sup>133</sup> The type was clearly also the most commonly used in Building 28, the small buildings around Area F, and the E. range of the Great Cloister. The Choir is very mixed with nearly equal amounts of Type A (local), F/G (Malvern), H (Llanstephan) and D/N (South Glamorgan). The mixture may indicate a more elaborate roof and also re-roofing. Certainly the Malvern tiles indicate a re-roofing (or at least refurbishment) in the late 15th or early 16th century. Another re-roofing (which is argued from other evidence above, p. 148) is indicated by the predominance of Malvern tiles in Building 24. The Chapter House was another building in which Malvern tiles predominate. The statistically small samples of tiles used to construct the pie charts for the nave and W. range of the Great Cloister means that these charts cannot be reliably interpreted.

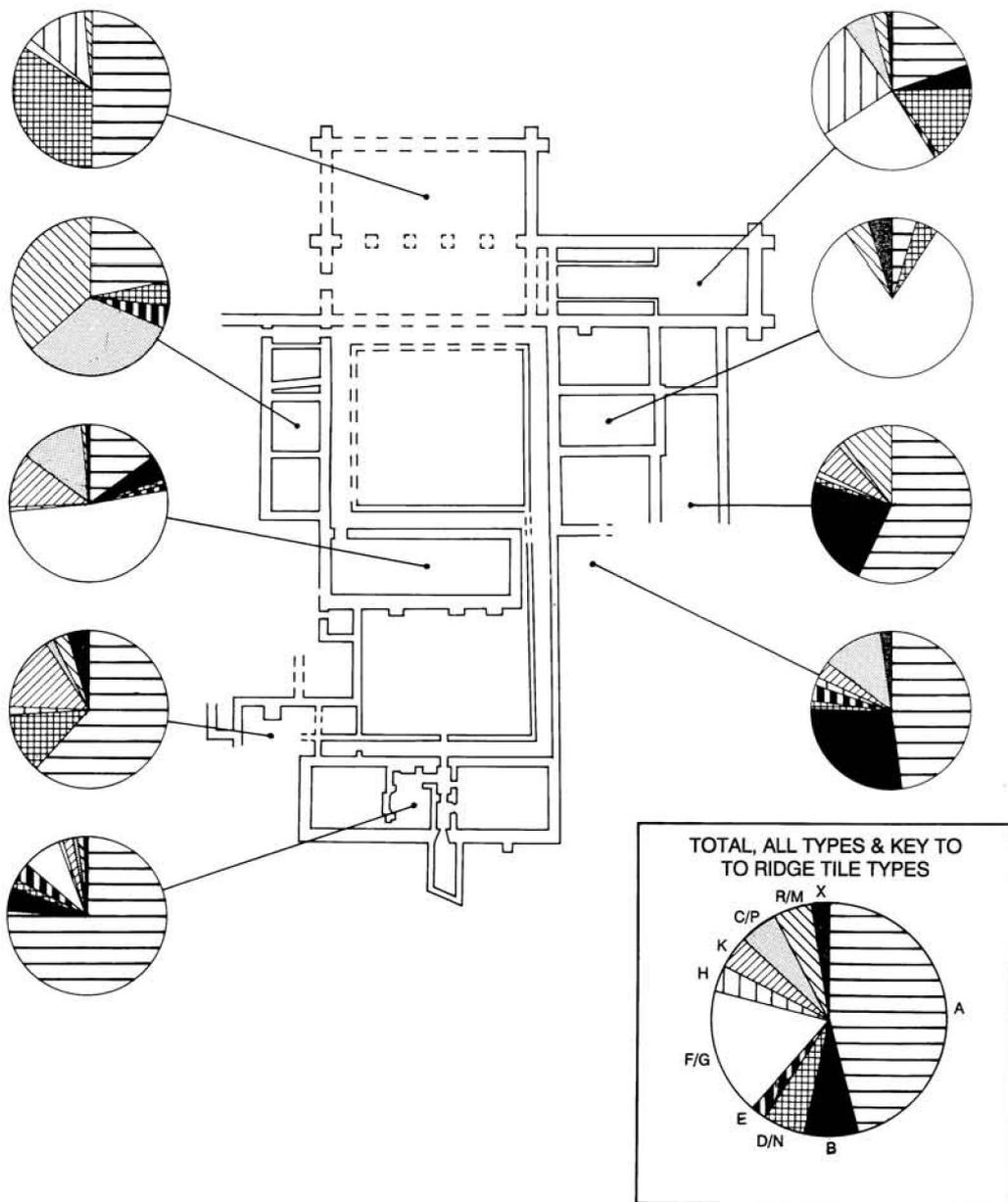


FIG. 36  
Pie charts of ridge tile type by building

*Medieval Patterns*

A = Local; B = Local or N. Devon; E = Unknown; H = Llanstephan; D/N = S. Glamorgan.

*Post-medieval 15th-16th Century Patterns*

C/P = North Devon; F/G = Malvern; K = ?North Devon; R/M = ?Newport.

## APPENDIX B

## BUILDING STONE

The range of building stone used at the friary was quite varied, and despite the relative absence of surviving walls, it is quite clear from what did survive, and from residual stone in demolition layers, what stone was used.

The principal stone of the main walls was undoubtedly Old Red Sandstone, both red and green beds. Some use of a green sandstone, possibly Old Red Sandstone, was also used for large dressed pieces, such as window and door mullions and transoms. This stone outcrops and has been quarried fairly close to Carmarthen in the post-medieval period at Green Castle *c.* 3 km downstream of the town, and was thus conveniently sited for waterborne transport, though there is no evidence that these outcrops were exploited in the Middle Ages. The rock is also abundant from there down to Llanstephan, and also SE. of the town on the NE. side of the Gwendraeth Fach valley. The latter areas are not directly accessible by water, and would thus pose greater difficulties for transportation.

The use of Pennant Sandstone was prevalent in the narrower interior walls, where Old Red Sandstone was rarely used. Pennant and Old Red Sandstone did not generally appear in the same walls, apart from dressed stonework. Pennant was also used extensively for large dressed pieces. The sources of Pennant sandstone are near the coal measures, SE. of Carmarthen, and could have been transported by sea from the Kidwelly, Pembrey or Llanelli areas, as well as from Pembrokeshire.

Local Ordovician shale, as well as being used extensively on roofs, was also present in interior walls and for the construction of benching. The rock outcrops in a number of locations close to the town, although no known medieval quarries exist.

Some non-local decorated freestones were recovered in demolition rubble. A fine Oolitic limestone and a fine gained limestone were used for the same types of decorative work and were thus contemporarily in use, probably in the 13th century. The source of this stone is not local, and would have been transported by sea from the eastern end of the Bristol Channel. Another Oolite, with clear rounded foraminifera, was used extensively for large decorated pieces as well as for the tiled floor of the cloister alley. Approximately 7,500 of these tiles (mainly 1-ft. sq.) would have been needed for the Great Cloister. Transportation by ship, perhaps from the eastern Bristol Channel, is possible.

ARCHITECTURAL FREESTONE *by* A. J. PARKINSON

No decorated freestone was discovered *in situ*; all the fragments were recovered from layers which had accumulated during demolition or after abandonment. Although these layers can usually be associated with particular buildings, the fact that they are residual layers means that material within them may have originated elsewhere.

A range of mouldings has been recovered, of several kinds of stone. In general it appears that the largest mouldings were executed in sandstone, while the smaller details were in limestone. Since the fragments identified as hood-moulds and window-surrounds were of Pennant or green sandstone, in contrast to the more delicate mouldings in Oolite and other fine limestones, it is possible that the harder sandstones were used for external details, while the softer limestones were used for internal or relatively well-protected mouldings.

*Mouldings*

- (1) Pointed rolls (*c.* 0.60 m diameter), with deep hollows to either side; Oolite and other limestone; from compound piers, door-jambes or window-surrounds. Most came from the area of the Chapter House (with one from the Infirmary); *c.* 1200–20 (cf. Llanbadarn Fawr, S. doorway).<sup>134</sup>
- (2) Plain rolls or small columns, varying from 50 mm to 119 mm in diameter; limestone (not Oolite) and sandstone; from compound piers, door jambes or window surrounds. These were found in the areas of the choir and the N. cloister; *c.* 1160–1240 (cf. Strata Florida Abbey).<sup>135</sup>
- (3) Various forms of scroll moulding, some with deep hollows to the outside; sandstone; probably from hood-moulds around windows. They were found in the area of the choir, and probably represent the external mouldings of the choir windows; *c.* 1270–1340.
- (4) Ogee or wave moulding (one only); Pennant sandstone; perhaps from the jamb of an opening. This came from the area of the Chapter House; *c.* 1325 onwards, so is perhaps residual.
- (5) Rolls with frontal fillets, *c.* 70 mm diameter; Pennant and green sandstone; from the jambes of compound piers or elaborated openings. They come from the area of the choir, and may be from window surrounds. They date from the 13th-/14th-century (cf. Strata Florida Abbey Chapter House).<sup>136</sup>
- (6) Casement mouldings; sandstone; from the jambes of openings. These came from various locations, and probably date from the late 14th century onwards.
- (7) Faceted (semi-octagonal) mouldings of various sizes; smaller ones are in limestone (not Oolite), larger ones in sandstone; probably the sills and jambes of windows. They came from the S. range of the Great Cloister and the Chapter House, and are not closely datable.

The quantity of fragments of small piers of early 13th-century date suggests that the Chapter House and Choir may have been decorated with fairly elaborate compound openings of transitional Romanesque or Early English style. These may have been single main doorways (cf. Llanbadarn Fawr church) or continuous arcades of windows (cf. Brecon Cathedral choir). The relative elaboration of a chapter house needs no comment.

## APPENDIX C

METAL WORKING FEATURES *by* PAUL COURTNEY

## PRE-DISSOLUTION: ROOM 51

*Context 141*

This feature formed a hemispherical hollow of *c.* 0.18 m in diameter and 80 mm deep, sealed by floor surface 133. The interior surface of the bowl was lined with a coating of lead 40–80 mm thick weighing *c.* 1380 g. No indications of scorching or burning were evident within the feature although the adjacent ground surface was reddened, especially on the western side. This area of burning is probably all that remains of a primitive hearth, possibly little more than a bonfire, used for melting lead which was then run into the hollow. The molten lead must then have been ladled out leaving behind a solidified skin which lined 141. Such a small scale and wasteful method suggests some sort of repair work or minor refurbishment.

*Context 137*

This pit was sealed by floor surface 133. It produced a roughly formed hemispherical lump of lead measuring 90 mm in diameter and 30 mm deep, weighing 964 g. This find presumably represents waste from a lead melting operation, such as that indicated by 141.

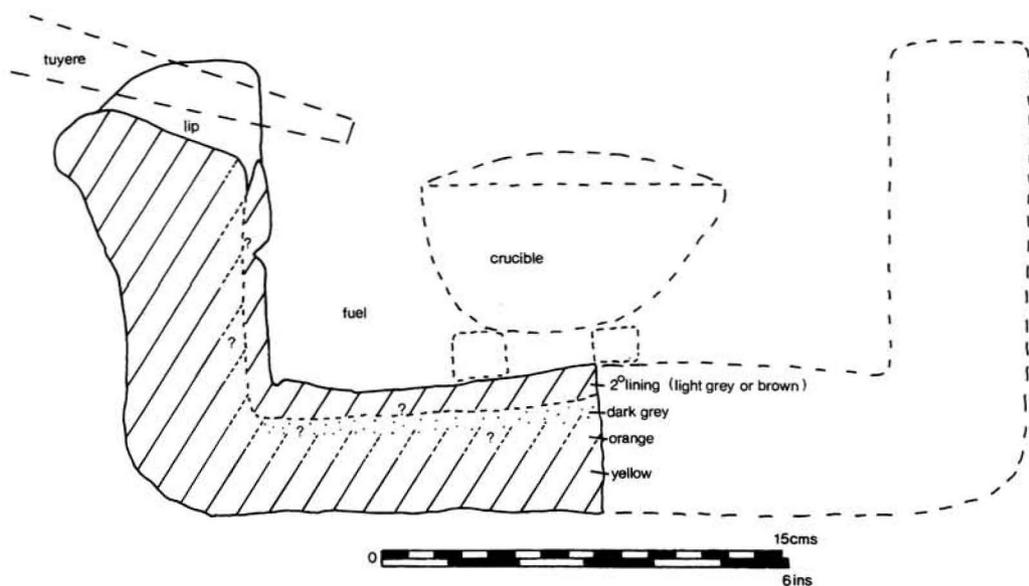


FIG. 37  
Section through 'portable' hearth 436

ROOM 82 (Figs. 32, 33, 37)

*Context 436*

This pit produced a 'portable' hearth made of yellow clay, unfired on the exterior. Rounded gravel inclusions 0.5–15 mm in size occur but are sparse in frequency and probably do not represent deliberate tempering. The hearth possessed a lip and measured *c.* 0.25 m in diameter and was at least 0.11 m deep internally. It had been relined at some stage; the section shows the zonal nature of the hearth's colouration (Fig. 37). Its interior was vitrified and green metallic traces occurred on the interior surface. X-ray fluorescence by Justine Bayley has detected copper as the major element present together with variable amounts of tin and, or, zinc and traces of lead, suggesting that a range of alloys are present.<sup>137</sup>

Fragments of scrap copper alloy sheet, charcoal, coal, clinker, fuel ash slag and hearth fragments were recovered from the pit containing the hearth. It is always difficult to link industrial debris with specific hearths, but several small pieces of coal and lumps of copper corrosion products were found sealed within, or adhering to, the fuel ash slags. A good case can therefore be made for linking them to the hearth. Coal, locally available from the Carmarthenshire Coal Measures, only 13 km away, may have been used as the sole fuel or mixed with charcoal.

The hearth appears likely to have been used within the pit from which it was recovered and it presumably owes its survival to the infilling of the pit soon after the end of its working life when the building was consumed by fire. It was undoubtedly used for the melting of scrap copper alloys. The scrap would have been held within crucibles laid in a fuel bed inside the hearth and a bellows used to raise the temperature to over 1000° C. Copper has a melting point of 1083° C., and its alloys slightly below this. The bellows would probably have been protected by a ceramic tuyère which would have rested in the lip of the hearth. Unfortunately no crucible or tuyère fragments were found. It is uncertain whether the hearth originally had a lid to maintain the temperature and protect the bellows operator.

*Context 434*

This feature formed a hemispherical pit of *c.* 0.52 m in diameter and 0.17 m deep. The surrounding ground surface produced 24 pieces of lead clippings weighting 48 g and 11 pieces of melted down lead and litharge weighing 122 g. Context 434 was lined with up to 50 mm of a white powdery substance and the underlying soil was reddened from the application of heat. It was probably a cupellation hearth for the extraction of silver from lead. Unfortunately no bulk sample was taken of the lining but a sample of brown soil was recovered from two pieces of lead, weighing 143 g, which had lain against the lining. This sample reacted strongly with dilute acid showing the presence of  $\text{CaCO}_3$  and suggests the lining comprised either lime or bone ash. The latter was recorded by Theophilus in the 12th century and Agricola in the 16th century.<sup>138</sup> However, recent work on late medieval cupellation hearths at Tintern Abbey in Gwent suggests the use of lime. Both materials would have been suitable refractory linings as they do not react with the fuel and form slags, unlike siliceous clays.<sup>139</sup> Lead would have been heated with fuel in the hearth and a bellows used to raise the temperature and oxidize the lead to litharge (PbO). The litharge would have been ladled off to recover a button of silver in the hearth base. Bone ash is also supposed to have the property of absorbing the litharge,<sup>140</sup> though experimental work on primitive cupellation is badly needed. The cupellation hearth probably represents a trial testing of the silver content of the salvaged lead from the Dissolution demolition. The result is unlikely to have been satisfactory as argentiferous lead is almost certain to have been desilvered at source.

*Context 409/431 (Fig. 32)*

This feature is represented by several patches of intense burning in the middle of the room arranged around three shallow pits, all 0.11–0.13 m deep. The three pits measure, respectively, from N. to S. *c.* 0.80 × 0.60 m, 1.40 × 0.90 m and 0.95 × 0.70 m, ignoring the 'tail' of the last feature.

A firm interpretation cannot be given for these features on the available evidence. However, the ground surface in this area did produce 38 fragments of lead clippings weighing 226 g. The areas of burning may therefore be the remnants of bonfire-like hearths for melting salvaged lead which could have been run off into the hollows to form ingots, in association with the metal-working activities of contexts 434 and 436 described above. A Dissolution ingot from Rievaulx Abbey measured *c.* 1.15 × 0.85 × 0.18 m, and a recently excavated example from Haverfordwest Priory was 0.73 × 0.29 × 0.06 m.<sup>141</sup>

## APPENDIX D

IRON NAILS *by* DEE BRENNAN (Fig. 38)

A total of 2,504 nails were recovered from the Friary of which 2,050 were incomplete; classification was based on the 454 complete examples only. All nails from the friary are forged types, every one having a square sectioned shank. From measuring the shank length of complete nails, it was possible to distinguish a few broadly different types. Further classification based on the shape and size of nail heads proved to be more difficult as nails of similar size had different sized heads. The largest category of nails of which there are both large (type A) and medium-sized (type A1) examples, have flat square heads with rounded corners, whilst a few have noticeably pyramidal, mushroom type heads. These types were used both as building and coffin nails; 880 nails were found in graves. Nails from graves are invariably straight, whilst the same nails used in buildings are often bent through half their length or at the tip, where they have been driven through timbers, their protruding point then hammered over (clenched). Another common type (type B), found both in building and grave contexts, are wedge-shaped nails with tapering shanks. These have narrow rectangular, roughly kidney-shaped heads or were perhaps headless. A small group of nails with sub-square heads and short tapering shanks of no more than 30 mm long (type C), are classed

here as tacks. Those with a short stubby shank might be hobnails. Other less common types include ? clench bolts (type D) and a few nails with square cuboid heads (type E).

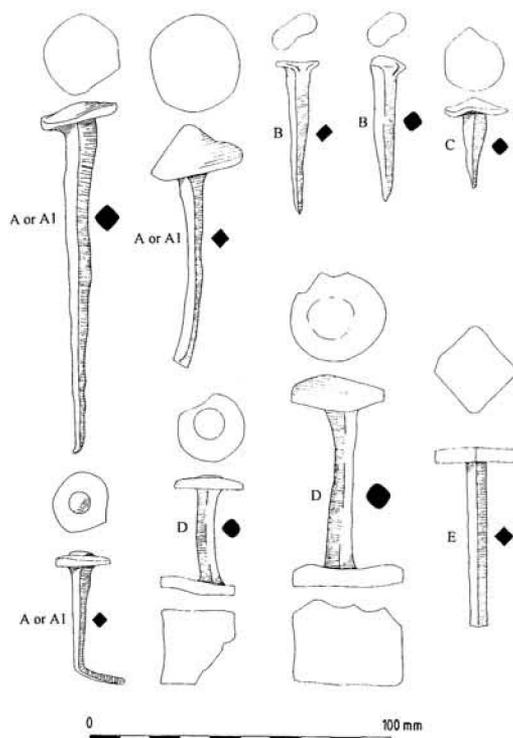


FIG. 38  
Nail, Types, A-E

Nail sizes: (Fig. 37)

Type A. Large nails 80–150 mm in length.

Type A1. Medium sized 50–80 mm in length.

Type B. Average size 45 mm.

Type C. Up to 30 mm in length.

Type D. 30–60 mm in length.

Type E. Incomplete examples only.

Carmarthen's 1295 grant of murage includes charges for the import of nails: viz. one farthing for every 1000 *roofing nails*, all other nails except *cart clouts* and roof nails, one farthing per 1000, for every 100 steel *gads* (i.e. sharp spikes) one half-penny.<sup>142</sup> Other ironwork is discussed in the finds report.<sup>143</sup>

## APPENDIX E

### THE SUPPRESSION INVENTORY

This is reproduced from Jones<sup>144</sup> with annotations in square brackets by T. A. James. Tony Parkinson has also kindly provided comments, given in the footnotes.

*Karmarden*

This indenture makithe mencyon of all the stuffe of the Grey Freeris of Karmardein receyveid by the Lorde Visitor, under the Lorde Prevey Seale for the Kingis Grace, and delyvereid to my Lorde William, Bischop of Seinthe Daveis, and Thomas Prichar, vecar of Karmarden, to se and order to the Kingis use with the howse and all the appartenaunce till the Kingis plesure he further knoweing, and Mr. Meyer to have ye oversithe of the same.

*The Sextrey*

Item, a sute of white silke, with golden vestis[beasts?].  
 a sute of blacke welvit purpulleid with the apostelles on the backe.<sup>145</sup>  
 a sute of redde welvit with redde offeras with floweris.  
 a sute of redde brancheid welvit.  
 a sute of white brancheid damaske with redde offeras.  
 a sute of red saye.  
 a sute of silke, wanting an albe.  
 ii olld tunakilles.  
 x olld chesabullis.  
 iii alterclotheis, to hange before ye alter.  
 ii alterclotheis with fontletis.  
 vii alterclotheis for Lent.<sup>146</sup>  
 a sorte of small clotheis to cover ymagis with.  
 a clothe for the sepulcre, with a fringe.  
 a paulde of clothe of tussey, for the Erle of Richemunte's tumbel.  
 ii olld white copis.  
 a white cope, with floweris and redde offeras.  
 a black cope of olld brancheid velvit, with redde offeras.  
 a cope of redde brancheid velvit, with good offeras.  
 an olld blacke cope of brancheid velvit.  
 a cope of redde brancheid velvit, with good offeras.  
 a cope of grene velvit, with floweris.  
 a cope of redde velvit, with floweris and good offeras.  
 a litill rochet withowt sleveis.  
 iii olld sirples.  
 an auther clothe of diaper, and ii towellis.  
 iii olld pelowys and ii olld pelowberis.  
 ii pore cotis for owre Lady.  
 ii olld cuscheynis.  
 ii banner clotheis for ii banneris.<sup>147</sup>  
 iii corporas, with ii corporas cases.  
 ii good chestis, and a broken chest.  
 a wine bottil, and iii cruetis of tinne.  
 a tabill of Mary Magdaleyne.<sup>148</sup>  
 [and many copes, &c. 34 items in all]

*The Quere*

ii olld auter clotheis.  
 ii small candelstickis.  
 a crosse copper, with a staffe.<sup>149</sup>  
 ii masse bokis.  
 a sacry bell.  
 iiiii gret candelstickis.  
 an holiwater stopper.  
 iiiii small lecterne clotheis nowth.  
 ii gret candelstickis, timber.

a lecterne of iron.<sup>150</sup>  
 a goodly peyer of orgaynis.  
 a blacke herse clothe, buckram.  
 a goodly tumber of Sir Ryse ap Thomas, with a grate of yronabowthe him; a stremer[and]  
 banner of his armys with his cote armor and helmit.  
 a pore vestment.  
 a litill hanging lampe.<sup>151</sup>

*The Chirche*

v tabillys of alabaster.  
 ii sacry bellis.<sup>152</sup>  
 a frame of iron thorow all the chirche, before the auterys  
 for taberys.<sup>153</sup>

*The Stepill*

a clocke, & ii bellys.

*The Kingis Chamber*

a feterbede, with a bolster.  
 a peyer of blankitis.  
 a payer of schetis.  
 a covering.  
 a cownter with on leefe, with an olde carpit on yt.  
 a cubborde, & an olld chayer, & a litill forme.  
 a cofer, & in yt no thing but olld queyeris.<sup>154</sup>  
 ii candelstickis, longing to ye quere.  
 a candelsticke for the chamber.

*The Ynner Chamber*

a fetherbede, with a bolster.  
 a peyer of schetis, & a coverlete.

*The Chamber Next Ye Laverys*

a fetherbede, with a bolster.  
 a peyer of schetis, & a coverlete.  
 a litill tabill, & a cheyer.  
 ii stolis & a forme.  
 an olld cofer.  
 an olld cubborde.

*The Kechin*

a gret range or iron, to make in fyer.  
 ii brasse pottis.  
 a brasse panne.  
 iiiii plateris, pewter.  
 iii potingeris.  
 a gret chayer & ii sawcerys.<sup>155</sup>  
 a mustard querne.

*The Brewhouse*

a gret brasse pan in a furnas.  
 a masthin fatt, & an oter olld fatte.  
 a syve to cense ale in.

*The Halle*

ii tabillis & ii formis with ii peyer of trossellis.  
mattis at the halle ende.  
a gret chayer of timber.

*The Buttery*

iii tabill clotheis & iii towellis.  
a bason & ewer of pewter, and a woyder.  
a pottell pot, pewter.  
a sallt salar of pewter.  
an olld cofer.  
a tabill to lay on brede.

Md.[and] yt beside yis stuffe within the convent receyveid ther ys receyveid yt was abrode, in brasse iii pannys & on pott brasse.

Also receyveid yt was lent forthe in to ye castell, on singeill vestment & ii alterclotheis, beside yt receyveid yt was in ye towne, one cofer.<sup>156</sup>

Above all yis stuffe, ye Visitor hathe in his handis to the Kingis use, a goodly crosse with Mary & John, weing with ye iron in it, vxx [108 oz] unc & viii unc, beside ye handell yt ys moche parte iron, the which was in plege. Also ii chales, all gilt, of the which the best laye in plege, bothe weing iixx unc [60 oz]. Item a bason & an ewar, weing iiii unc, ye which lay in plege, for the which ye Visitor payed vii.

Item, iii cruetis, a paxe, a patent of a chales, oter pesis of a crosse xii unc.

Item, a pixte, with a cristall all gillte, weing beside the cristall, xxvii unc.

And yt ys to be rememberyd yt where the crosse laye in plege for xxli & a basen & and ewar with ye best chales for xiiii li, the saide xiiii li ys satisfeid with ye same bason and ewar & other plate of ye howseis beside yis here expresseid, and ye best chales saveid, as before ys wretin. And for ye xx li paying, for ye which ye crosse was in plege, x li of yt ys payde with other plate receyvid in ye convent & out of the towne by the Visitor : the other x li with the clayme of xx markis for the tabill of the hei alter, and all other dettys, bachelor Traherne, lately Warden, schall discharge, and he to receyve all dettis to ye convent before yis day coming, & schall invoy all plegis, and other corne or chese, & the goodis of Thomas Tilar, paing his dettys ; and so the convent to be sett clere of all dettys, and the Warden to be dischargid of all claymys yt might be made by him of the convent, or eny other having the convent, as by a bill under ye Visitores hand indentyd, yt dothe apere. And where as Mr. Chanscelar saithe yt his dore was broken up in ye Freeris, & certeyne stuffe taken owt, by whom yt can not be knowen, the Visitor hathe left a cope of ye vestrie for the seide Chanscelar, sumwath to satisfey him so yt he will be content.

Alos, the Visitor hathe yt he had owt of the towne, vi copis & hathe allowied for a freer yt lithe seke all ye corne in ye convent, the chese, salt, woode, ye which was provideid for their store, & vis viiid in money, and every freer xiid & their owne stuffe, & so departeid.

[signed]

Willus Menev. Thomas Prichard. Martyn Davy.

## APPENDIX F

## REPORT ON 1997 EXCAVATIONS

From late June to September 1997, staff lead by Andy Manning from Archaeoleg CAMBRIA Archaeology were involved in a programme of excavations on the former site of Carmarthen Greyfriars, previously excavated between 1983 and 1990 by Terry James. The work was carried out in advance of a major shopping centre development by Morrison Developments Limited who commissioned the work.

The 1997 excavations and watching brief focused on an area of *c.* 20 m by 15 m immediately to the N. of the choir (Areas 1 and 2), with an additional test-trench 22 m long situated on the northern boundary of the development (Area 3). Both the excavation and the evaluation trench were located at the rear of medieval tenement blocks associated with Lammis Street. In addition to this, a small previously uninvestigated area, *c.* 6 m by 10 m, contained within the Friary's choir and southern rooms (1988–90: Rooms 1759 and 1972) was also examined (Area 4).

A small number of pre-Friary features were identified, both under and to the N. of the Friary. Beneath the choir and southern rooms, traces of a small insubstantial stake structure or fence-line [934–40] with patches of a possible gravel floor were discovered adjacent to a large timber structure, identified during the 1983–90 excavations. In a small area, 7 m to the N. of the choir, a small grouping of 3 postholes [2003–05] and a shallow pit [2009], containing large quantities of 12th-/13th-century medieval coarse-ware sherds were located. These were located just inside a gap between the two butt-ended ditch segments [2011] and [571]. During a subsequent watching brief, undertaken during the excavation of service trenches, further traces of similar charcoal filled features were located immediately to the W. However, it has proved impossible to define the nature of the structure/s further.

Located *c.* 4 m N. of the gap and badly truncated by later pits and levelling, was the remains of a steep-sided 'bowl' corn-drier [620], 1.40 m in diameter and 0.05 m in depth, with a flue at least 1.20 m in length and 0.70 m in width with a short length of gully [948] running parallel to it.

The 'bowl' of the corn-drier contained a large mixed deposit of burnt seed and large charcoal fragments (621), sealed by a sandy clay backfill. Radiocarbon-dating of the charred seed and fragments of charcoal from the flue give a date of Cal A.D. 990 to 1235 at the 95% confidence level (Beta-113169-70). The charred seeds were identified as mainly cultivated oats, with traces of contamination from rye, barley and club wheat. (Caseldine, A and Johnson, S, 'The Charred Plant Remains from the pre-Friary Corn-drier', Appendix 5 in Manning A, 1998, 'Carmarthen Greyfriars 1997: Report on the archaeological excavation and watching brief', ACA typescript report 35235). This evidence adds to that collected during the previous excavations, which first located traces of pre-Friary agricultural activity on the site.

From the central and north-western area of the choir, a total of 61 medieval burials were located, while a further 35 burials were located immediately to the N. of the choir. A dense concentration of at least 33 medieval graves were located N. of the Nave, adjacent to a historic throughway, presently linking Lammis Street with the nearby superstore. This would suggest that a major medieval graveyard was located to the N. of the Nave, although its full extent could not be defined.

It is significant that amongst the 35 burials to the N. of the choir at least five graves can be demonstrated to have been cut through demolition deposits from the Friary and to be post-Reformation, a badly truncated sixth burial is also a possibility. While these burials would seem to point to authorized additions to the previously existing medieval graveyard, there is no evidence as to how long this practise continued on the site.

Areas to the N. and NE. of the choir produced additional evidence for a wide range of post-medieval robbing and domestic activities on the site. The most notable examples include: a large pit filled with the remains of possible hearth lining, probably associated with post-dissolution robbing of the Friary building, a 18th-century stone-lined cess-pit and drain located at the rear of a property boundary and a 19th-century stone-lined cellar thought to be related to a small cottage known to have existed on that spot.

A copy of the full report of the 1997 excavations at Carmarthen Greyfriars (PRN 35235) can be obtained from The SMR, Dyfed Archaeological Trust, The Shire Hall, Carmarthen Street, Llandeilo, Carmarthenshire SA19 6AF, Tel. (01558) 823131. It is also available for download from <http://www.rcahmw.org.uk>, along with the specialist reports from the 1983–90 excavations.

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- <sup>3</sup> T. James, 'Excavations at the Augustinian Priory of St John and St Teulyddog, Carmarthen, 1979', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 134 (1985), 120–61.
- <sup>4</sup> James, op. cit. in note 1, 13–14.
- <sup>5</sup> James, op. cit. in note 3, 122.
- <sup>6</sup> Morris, J., *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901), 166; Phillips, J. R. S., *Amer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke 1307–24* (Oxford, 1972), 9.
- <sup>7</sup> F. Jones, 'Departed Glories of the Grey Friars', *Carmarthenshire Historian*, 20 (1985), 65–71, 69.
- <sup>8</sup> A. W. Clapham, 'The architectural remains of the Mendicant orders in Wales', *Arch. J.*, 84 (1927), 88–104.
- <sup>9</sup> F. Jones, 'The Grey Friars of Carmarthen', *Carmarthenshire Historian*, 3 (1966), 7–35.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.
- <sup>11</sup> E. Yardley, *Menavia Sacra*, supplemental vol., Cambrian Archaeol. Assoc. (London, 1927), 46–48; *Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London, 1959), 1010.
- <sup>12</sup> M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), 10–11.
- <sup>13</sup> G. Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff, 2nd ed., 1976), 39–45.
- <sup>14</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 9.
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- <sup>16</sup> Minister's Accounts 1158, no. 3.
- <sup>17</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 11.
- <sup>18</sup> James, op. cit. in note 2, 10.
- <sup>19</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 10.
- <sup>20</sup> P.R.O. Inq. AQW File 231, no. 5.
- <sup>21</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 10.
- <sup>22</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 10.
- <sup>23</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 11.
- <sup>24</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 9.
- <sup>25</sup> Williams, op. cit. in note 13, 27; D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1948), 207.
- <sup>26</sup> D. Brennan, *Small Finds and other Artefacts (Excavations at Carmarthen Greyfriars 1983–1990)*. Dyfed Archaeological Trust Topic Report 4 (Carmarthen, 1998).
- <sup>27</sup> D. Johnston, *Iolo Goch: Poems* (Llandysul, 1993), 26–29, 162.
- <sup>28</sup> Fellow MS, op. cit. in note 7.
- <sup>29</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 3, 68.
- <sup>30</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, Appendix A.
- <sup>31</sup> M. P. Siddons, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry*, vol. 1 (Aberystwyth, 1991), I, 99.
- <sup>32</sup> R. A. Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his Family: a Study in the Wars of the Roses and Early Tudor Politics* (Cardiff, 1993), 49.
- <sup>33</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 14.
- <sup>34</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 19.
- <sup>35</sup> *Calendar of Letters & Papers*, vii, n 1095, n 1607, Fr. Michael Robinson, O.F.M., pers. comm.
- <sup>36</sup> *A Calendar of the first two Registers of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Faculty Office 1534–1549* (Oxford, 1966), 162.
- <sup>37</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 7.
- <sup>38</sup> E. Owen, 'The Bells of the Dissolved Welsh Monasteries', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1896).
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- <sup>40</sup> Williams, op. cit. in note 13, 57–59; Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 22.
- <sup>41</sup> Williams, op. cit. in note 13.
- <sup>42</sup> Williams, op. cit. in note 13, 59–60.
- <sup>43</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 21 passim.
- <sup>44</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, C.R.O. Cawdor Vaughan papers.
- <sup>45</sup> T. James, 'Carmarthen's Civil War defences: new discoveries at Greyfriars excavations 1983–1990', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, 27 (1991).
- <sup>46</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 27–29.
- <sup>47</sup> Carmarthen R.O. Cawdor Vaughan map.
- <sup>48</sup> A. Bartlett, A.M.L. Geophysics 1/83.
- <sup>49</sup> C. O'Mahoney, *Pottery, Ridge Tile and Water Pipe (Excavations at Carmarthen Greyfriars 1983–1990)*. Dyfed Archaeological Topic Report 2 (Carmarthen, 1998).
- <sup>50</sup> James, op. cit. in note 1, 14; *id.*, op. cit. in note 2, 28.
- <sup>51</sup> James, op. cit. in note 1, 11, Fig. 1.

<sup>52</sup> A. R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England*. British Soc. Franciscan Studs 18 (Manchester, 1937), 15; L. Butler, 'The Houses of the Mendicant Orders in Britain: Recent Archaeological Work', 123–36 in P. V. Addyman and V. E. Black (eds.), *Archaeological Papers from York presented to M. W. Barley* (York, 1984), 130–31.

<sup>53</sup> Martin, op. cit. in note 52, 18.

<sup>54</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9.

<sup>55</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49.

<sup>56</sup> Butler, op. cit. in note 52, 131.

<sup>57</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 7.

<sup>58</sup> Brennan, op. cit. in note 26.

<sup>59</sup> Site archive, field plan 139, strip 146.

<sup>60</sup> T. James and D. Brennan, *13th–16th century Earthenware and Oolitic Limestone Floortiles (Excavations at Carmarthen Greyfriars 1983–1990)*. Dyfed Archaeological Topic Report 1 (Carmarthen, 1998).

<sup>61</sup> Dyfed Archaeological Trust S.M.R. P.R.N. 8372.

<sup>62</sup> Butler, pers. comm.

<sup>63</sup> James and Brennan, op. cit. in note 60.

<sup>64</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 69.

<sup>65</sup> E. D. Jones, *Lewys Glyn Cothi (Detholiad)* (Cardiff, 1984), 14.

<sup>66</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9.

<sup>67</sup> James and Brennan, op. cit. in note 60.

<sup>68</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9.

<sup>69</sup> Johnston, op. cit. in note 27, 26–29, 162.

<sup>70</sup> *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1892), 90; Jones, op. cit. in note 9.

<sup>71</sup> Anon, but thought to be by Henry Rice of Dinefwr (c. 1590–1651) 'A short view of the long life of . . . Rice ap Thomas, Knight . . .', *Cambrian Register* (1795), 49–144.

<sup>72</sup> E. Donovan, *Descriptive Excursions through South Wales and Monmouthshire* (London, 1805), 18–1904; M. W. Thompson, *The Journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare through Wales and England 1793–1810* (Gloucester, 1983), 214.

<sup>73</sup> Martin, op. cit. in note 52, 26.

<sup>74</sup> T. Parkinson, pers. comm.

<sup>75</sup> Williams, op. cit. in note 13, 57–59.

<sup>76</sup> Williams, op. cit. in note 13.

<sup>77</sup> Yardley, op. cit. in note 11; Spurrell, W., *Carmarthen and its neighbourhood* (Carmarthen, 1879).

<sup>78</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9.

<sup>79</sup> James and Brennan, op. cit. in note 60.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> cf. Beverley Blackfriars, L. Butler pers. comm.

<sup>82</sup> Martin, op. cit. in note 52, 29.

<sup>83</sup> James and Brennan, op. cit. in note 60.

<sup>84</sup> James, op. cit. in note 45.

<sup>85</sup> L. Wilkinson, *Human Skeletal remains from Carmarthen Greyfriars*. Typescript Dyfed Archaeological Trust Topic Report (Carmarthen pt. 1 1983–88, pt. 2 1989–90).

<sup>86</sup> Butler, op. cit. in note 52, 131.

<sup>87</sup> Wilkinson, op. cit. in note 85.

<sup>88</sup> See archives slides, esp. 231.

<sup>89</sup> James and Brennan, op. cit. in note 60.

<sup>90</sup> Not illustrated, but see archive strip 98, 53, T1 E. face.

<sup>91</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49.

<sup>92</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9.

<sup>93</sup> James, op. cit. in note 2, 28–29, 44–45.

<sup>94</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49, Appendix B.

<sup>95</sup> Archive, Obj. 237.

<sup>96</sup> Archive, Obj. 3609.

<sup>97</sup> Archive, Obj. 48.

<sup>98</sup> Archive, Obj. 3447.

<sup>99</sup> Archive, Obj. 3232.

<sup>100</sup> Martin, op. cit. in note 52, 34.

<sup>101</sup> Butler, op. cit. in note 52, 133.

<sup>102</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49.

<sup>103</sup> K. Hunter, 'The Friars Park Window: Excavation, Conservation and Reconstruction of a 13th century window', *I.C.O.M. Committee for Conservation 1987, vol. III, Working Group 20. Glass, Ceramics and Related Materials*.

<sup>104</sup> S. Brown, pers. comm. The heraldic information was provided by Dr Michael Siddons, Wales Herald of Arms, who kindly researched the College of Herald's database for comparable heraldry. For Bluet, see R. A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Age*, (Cardiff, 1972), 179.

<sup>105</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49.

<sup>106</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49.

<sup>107</sup> Butler, op. cit. in note 52, 131.

<sup>108</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49, 68–69.

<sup>109</sup> *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1901), 74.

- <sup>110</sup> Brennan, op. cit. in note 26, 'Vessel glass'.
- <sup>111</sup> James and Brennan, op. cit. in note 60.
- <sup>112</sup> Martin, op. cit. in note 52, 4.
- <sup>113</sup> Butler, pers. comm.
- <sup>114</sup> Martin, op. cit. in note 52, 232.
- <sup>115</sup> Butler, op. cit. in note 52, 129.
- <sup>116</sup> Butler, op. cit. in note 52, 130-31.
- <sup>117</sup> Butler, op. cit. in note 52, 131.
- <sup>118</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49.
- <sup>119</sup> James, op. cit. in note 1, 9-10.
- <sup>120</sup> Wilkinson, op. cit. in note 85, pt. 1, 61.
- <sup>121</sup> Wilkinson, op. cit. in note 85, pt. 1.
- <sup>122</sup> Wilkinson, op. cit. in note 85, pt. 2.
- <sup>123</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, 12-13.
- <sup>124</sup> *Calendar of Letters & Papers*, xiv, ii, 347.
- <sup>125</sup> E. Owen, 'The Spoils of the Welsh Religious Houses', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1897), 285-92.
- <sup>126</sup> James and Brennan, op. cit. in note 60, 31.
- <sup>127</sup> James, op. cit. in note 45.
- <sup>128</sup> Wilkinson, op. cit. in note 85.
- <sup>129</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49.
- <sup>130</sup> James and Brennan, op. cit. in note 60.
- <sup>131</sup> Brennan, op. cit. in note 26.
- <sup>132</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49, 71-75.
- <sup>133</sup> O'Mahoney, op. cit. in note 49.
- <sup>134</sup> *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1897), 154.
- <sup>135</sup> *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1889), 188-89.
- <sup>136</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>137</sup> Analysed at the Ancient Monuments laboratory, J. Bayley pers. comm.
- <sup>138</sup> Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, J. G. Hawthorne and C. S. Smith (eds.) (New York, 1979), 146-47; Georgius Agricola, *De Re Metallica*, H. C. and H. L. Hoover (eds.) (New York, 1950), 230.
- <sup>139</sup> P. Courtney, 'Excavations in the Outer Precinct of Tintern Abbey', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 33 (1989), 99-143.
- <sup>140</sup> R. F. Tylecote, *Metallurgy in Archaeology* (London, 1962), 79-82.
- <sup>141</sup> G. C. Dunning, 'A lead ingot at Rievaulx Abbey', *Antiq. J.*, 32 (1952), 199-202, and S. Rees, P. Crane and L. Lane pers. comm. at Haverfordwest.
- <sup>142</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls*.
- <sup>143</sup> Brennan, op. cit. in note 26.
- <sup>144</sup> Jones, op. cit. in note 9, Appendix B.
- <sup>145</sup> The list of vestments is most impressive; the 'suit of black velvet with apostles on the back' could possibly be 'opus Anglicanum' work.
- <sup>146</sup> This may imply no more than seven altars in the whole church, since each would have been covered. Elsewhere there are ten cloths noted (two in the choir, two in the castle, the rest in the Sacristy).
- <sup>147</sup> This is a very early reference to liturgical banners.
- <sup>148</sup> The table of Mary Magdalen and also five tables of alabaster: these sound like alabaster bas-reliefs (cf. two from Valle Crucis Abbey (R.C.A.H.M.W. Denbs. Inventory, fig. 66), possibly Stations of the Cross. They are another aspect of the decoration of the church which should not be overlooked (cf. Ifor Williams, 'Fifteenth-Century Alabaster Tables and the Iconography of the Bound Rood and St. Armel', *Arch. Cambrensis*, 151 (1992), 56-73).
- <sup>149</sup> Processional crosses (one in the choir; possibly another in pledge, with a Rood scene, and pieces of a third); these will link with the Friars' public activities.
- <sup>150</sup> Lecterns: there are two in the choir, but none in the church. Perhaps therefore preaching to the laity was from a permanent pulpit.
- <sup>151</sup> Hanging Lamp in the sacuary, presumably in front of the reserved sacrament. Could it be relevant that at this time all the Mass vessels (except the cheap tin cruets) were in pledge? Were they redeemed so as to reconsecrate the elements on a regular but infrequent basis? Had there not been ordained clergy in the friary at this time this might also have explained their absence.
- <sup>152</sup> Two 'sacry bells': this might imply that there were two altars for Mass within the nave.
- <sup>153</sup> The 'frame of iron' may refer to candle-frames.
- <sup>154</sup> What were these quires? Blank paper in quires? Choir-books?
- <sup>155</sup> 'a gret chayer', a misreading for 'chaver' (chafer = cooking pan)? The listing of only four pewter plates and three potingers (unless wooden [and pottery] utensils were omitted) suggests a very small community, [or that the utensils had been spirited away].
- <sup>156</sup> The loan of a vestment and two altar cloths would be for the castle chapel. The overall impression is that once again we must not assume that bare walls represent the original impression of a medieval church. There would have been colour, light and sound.