CHAPTER 2  THE 1954 EXCAVATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The 1954 excavations aimed to achieve four principal objectives:

1. Check the accuracy of the plan of the church established in 1861.
2. Add information missed or uncertain in the 19th century excavation, such as the later architectural history of the church, and the exact location of the monastic cloister.
3. Discover the whereabouts of the pre-Conquest monastery.
4. Establish whether the tile kiln discovered in 1922 was part of a battery of such kilns.

The area available for excavation was around 2.5 ha, while trial trenches soon established that there was a very considerable depth of overburden above the abbey foundations. This meant that there could be no question of opening up large areas of the site at one time (even if such a method had been considered at that date) and in consequence no less than 63 trenches were excavated. This approach was reflected in the recording of the work: only a single plan was made at a scale of 1in to 10ft (1:120), a scale at which detailed recording was obviously impossible. In contrast the numerous sections were drawn at 1in to 2ft (1:24). Both plan and sections were carefully and accurately levelled. There are very few stratified finds from the excavations, and it would seem that material was kept on a very selective basis. Part of the explanation for this must be that the use of unskilled labour for almost all of the excavation work meant that, in general, layers were not defined closely except in the drawing of sections.

It may be helpful to an understanding of the nature, strengths and weaknesses of the report to indicate in rather more detail the materials which were available for its compilation and some of the difficulties which have been encountered. The excavation records consist of:

Illustrative material

(a) The main site plan was drawn at a scale of 1:120 on a series of small (and now rather scrappy) pieces of graph paper sellotaped together. Features and layers were mostly depicted conventionally, and this information is supplemented by frequent annotations, not always now easily read. For a few of the burials (figs 30-2) larger scale plans were made. Some trenches (see below 69-71) were not planned (principally in the area south of the church) and the precise outlines of others are unclear as fig 2 indicates. A draft site plan prepared by Knocker, at a scale of 1:196, was based on a version sketched up on site, which however contains some information additional to that on the main site plan, and this has been added to fig 2. Where the two plans contradict one another, the information on the main site plan has always been preferred.

(b) Sections were drawn at a scale of 1:24 for one face (occasionally two) of most of the trenches. The conventions used in showing layers vary slightly from one drawing to another, but this has not generally proved a problem. Some features shown on section have obviously been projected into them, but the drawings do not always indicate where this has been done. Only some of the walls and some burials were numbered.

(c) The excavation photographs cover a selection of the more interesting and photogenic aspects of the dig.

2 Written material

(a) The main written site record — the daily log — was lost soon after the completion of the excavation.

(b) A partial substitute for the excavation diary is available in the form of carbon copies of correspondence between Knocker and Gilyard-Beer during the excavation.

(c) The most valuable written resource is the account of the site prepared by Knocker soon after the completion of the dig (M16-M36). The handwriting is occasionally difficult to read, and it is evidently a first draft containing a considerable number of errors, omissions and inconsistencies. It has been reproduced exactly as written, except that the figure and plate numbers are those of the present publication. A series of footnotes have been added representing marginal annotations by Gilyard-Beer (indicated by [G-B] after the note) and cross references and comments by myself ([P]).

3 Artefactual material

Details of the material which was recovered and survives may be found in the appropriate parts of the report. The general point that needs to be made here is that there was no systematic collection of material by numbered layers, though the finds can generally be assigned to trenches. Much material was not retained and in particular moulded stone and human bone seem normally to have been disposed of. A 'pottery and SF log' was also lost soon after the excavations.
SOME NOTES ON POLICY IN THE PREPARATION AND PRESENTATION
OF THE REPORT

It will be obvious that the material discussed above presented many problems for publication. In resolving
those, so far as possible, it has been a matter of concern to minimise blurring of the distinction between what
is owed to Knocker’s excavation and analysis and what has resulted from the author’s work. Some specific
consequences of this policy may be noted.

1 The plan shows the distinctions between wall facing and wall foundation made by the 1954 excavators.
   Wherever sections or photographs are available to serve as an additional check, these seem to be
   accurate. However, it will be apparent from fig 2 that there are many walls for which no further
   illustrative evidence is available, and therefore no further discussion of their detail will be found in the
   printed text, except where very occasionally, the written records contain further evidence.

2 The published section drawings differ from those prepared by Knocker only in their use of a consistent
   set of conventions to depict the layers and in the addition of numbers for those layers. In the very rare
   cases of other amendments these are always clearly pointed out in the captions. These captions are, in
   effect, the detailed analysis upon which the interpretation in the text is based.

3 The measurements of rooms and building given in the text are always obtained by measurement of the
   published plan, and are inclusive of wall thicknesses. This is because of uncertainties as to the basis upon
   which measurements, given by others, were made, and lack of knowledge of the true widths of walls
   above ground. Levels, on the other hand, are quoted as metric equivalents to those measured in feet and
decimal fractions of feet in 1954.

4 The various numbering systems used require some explanation (see the Key to fig 2, and fig 3 for the
   method of presentation in the drawings). Four different systems need to be considered—
   a Numbers were applied by Knocker to walls in a rather haphazard fashion. His numbers run from 1 –
      30, and the present author has added numbers to all the other walls shown on fig 2. Occasional wall
      fragments which are not shown on plan but appear in section drawings have received context numbers
      (see below). In the text wall numbers are always expressed in the form ‘wall 24’.
   b Burials seem to have been given numbers (G1 to G20 inclusive) in 1954 where they were in stone
      coffins, or were otherwise of particular interest. It has not seemed necessary to give numbers to the
      un-numbered burials on fig 2, as no other information about them survives, apart from their
      occasional appearance on section drawings. Three burials discovered in 1861 (Angell 1862) have been
      numbered G21 to G23 as additional information about them is here presented. The burials discovered
      by Pocock (1858) in the chapter house in 1855 have been marked with the numbers which he gave
      them on fig 2. In the text burials are always referred to as G1, etc.
   c Wall and burial numbers are common to both plan and sections, whereas context numbers appear
      only on sections. The latter have all been added by the present author to aid discussion of the sections,
      and for each such drawing (or related group thereof) the sequence starts at 1. In the text, therefore,
      they are always referred to as ‘fig 19, context 10’ etc.
   d The finds numbers have all been added for the present publication. For each group of material the
      sequence starts at 1, and in the text reference is made in the form ‘iron 5’, or ‘moulding 15’. See 49
      and 75 respectively for the treatment of decorated tiles and pottery.

THE PRE-CONQUEST ABBEY (M17 & M31)

None of the finds from the 1954 or any earlier excavations need be dated earlier than about AD 1100 (see 77
for the pottery). In 1954 the search for pre-Conquest remains concentrated upon the east end of the church in
the hope that the high altar would, as elsewhere (eg Muchelney or Much Wenlock), have remained in a
similar position throughout the life of the monastery. A number of layers (eg fig 16 contexts 12 & 17) were
found in this area, and, indeed, in various parts of the buildings (eg fig 5 contexts 5 & 10), at or near the
lowest level of the foundations. They were provisionally interpreted as floors (M17) but are clearly too low to
have served as such in the Norman buildings; they should, however, not be interpreted as remnants of
pre-Conquest stone buildings but rather as debris accumulated during the 12th century construction work.
Nevertheless one of these layers (fig 5, context 10) contained painted plaster which must, therefore, derive
from an earlier demolished structure. Stronger evidence for the existence of pre-Norman structures came
from work in the south-east corner of the cloister, in the angle between the nave and north transept.
Remnants of what appear to be sarsen stone wall foundations (fig 6, context 25; pl 8) were located, and they
appear to be earlier than, and on a different alignment to the 12th century foundations. There is, however,
no closer indication of their date or purpose although they may suggest that the pre-Conquest church was at
least partially within the area of the later nave, and so could remain in use while the east end was built, as has
been suggested for St Alban’s (Pevsner & Metcalf 1985, 247). Its presence might well explain the ultimate
misalignment of the nave relative to the east end. At Wells, on the other hand, the Saxon Cathedral was sited
in the Norman cloister (Rodwell 1980). A partial explanation of the very limited indications of earlier activity
may lie in the observation (below, 30) that a considerable levelling down of the site occurred before the 12th
century building work began.
Plate 8 A view, looking west, of, from left to right, burials G17, G16 and G18. Above G16 the mortar floor of the cloister walk runs across to meet the nave wall (19) just visible on the left of the photograph. G16 rests on sarsen stone walling, perhaps belonging to the pre-Conquest monastery (scales in foot divisions)

Plate 9 The south face of the north wall (19) of the nave, near the junction with the north transept. A tile and stone levelling course at the top (does this mark a doorway into the nave? One would certainly be expected in this position) overlies chalk rubble and partially dressed greensand, which in turn overlies a wider sarsen stone footing (cf pl 8 & fig 6) (scales in foot divisions)
Fig 5  Section along trench L, in the north aisle of the nave. Notes to contexts:  1a = the 1861 trench to explore the line of the wall; 2 = floor; 3 & 4, 15 & 16 = ? levelling layers; 5 & 11 = buried soil or construction deposit; 10 = construction deposit; 8 & 13 = demolition debris; 14 = possibly a floor level badly disturbed at demolition.

Fig 6  Section along trench XLIX, in the north aisle of the nave. Notes to contexts:  1a = the 1861 trench to expose the line of the wall (cf fig 5, layer 1a) — Angell's plan suggests that he exposed the full width of the wall, but the stratigraphy seems to indicate that he didn't; 2, 3, 6 & 7 = demolition debris and later disturbance — the quantity of brick suggests a brick structure was demolished in this area; 4, 9, 16 & 18 = floors; 8 = ?; 10, 11, 12, 13, 19 & 23 = ? levelling layers; 14 = clay; 17 = grave fill; 20, 21 & 22 = possible floor level and make-up associated with context 25; 25 = walling of ? pre-12th century (see 00).
Fig 7  Section along trench LI, in the south aisle of the nave. The original of this drawing is more of a sketch than most of the other sections, and it is not always clear, as the pecked lines indicate, what the relationship between layers was. Notes to contexts: 2 = demolition debris and later disturbance; 3, 7 & 8 = floor levels; 4, 5 & 10 = ? levelling layers; 9 = grave fill; 12 = stone object (moulding 24, pl 46) found on west side of trench, not necessarily found in context 16; 13 = plain floor tile in situ.

Fig 8  Section along trench LVI, in the south aisle of the nave. Like fig 6 this drawing is based on a rather sketchy original, and has no levels. This is unfortunate as there is a strong impression, which cannot now be proved, that wall 22 is here well above the floor level which seals it in fig 6, and may therefore be in the vicinity of one of the arcade columns. Notes to contexts: 2, 3 & 4 = perhaps fill of late robbing trench; 5 & 6 = demolition debris and later disturbance; 7 = ? disturbed floor level; 8 = ? levelling layer.
THE NORMAN AND LATER CHURCH (figs 2 & 22)

The excavations in 1954 were devoted principally to elucidation of the plan and development of the conventual church. This work, taken together with the results of excavation in 1861 (Angell 1862), enables the basic layout of the 12th century church, and the chief modifications subsequently executed, to be described with some confidence.

The nave (figs 5-8; pl 9; M16 — M18)
The nave was 46.5m (153 ft) long and 22m (73 ft) wide, including the aisles (note: these, and all similar measurements, unless otherwise stated, are inclusive of wall thickness and rounded to the nearest foot or half metre). The aisle arcades were carried on continuous sleeper walls (nos 21 & 22), but little or no evidence was recovered for the location of the columns (see fig 8). The number of bays is therefore uncertain, but the width of the crossing (frequently found to be roughly equivalent to a double bay) suggests eight as a likely number. The nave seems to have remained substantially unaltered throughout the life of the Abbey.

North transept (figs 9 & 10; pl 10; M27-M28)
In 1861 the excavators ‘were disappointed in not finding the north transept’ (Angell 1862, 20). Fortunately the 1954 work was rather more successful, though the remains of the north wall (no 12) in particular were very feeble, and demonstrated that the transept was 14m (46 ft) long by 11.5m (38 ft) wide, with an apsidal chapel projecting for 5m (16 ft) from it. The north-west corner was stepped internally. Wall 12A was carried...
across the chord of the apse (fig 9); if it were part of the 12th century church, then this wall would have had to be a sleeper wall to allow access to the apsidal chapel, but it was found surviving to a height of 14.15m (46.4ft) OD, which is well above the expected level of the floor of the original church (cf 31 below; fig 9 shows no floor directly associated with this wall, but see the level of fig 10, context 6). This might be because trench XXXIV was located over a pier base central to the apse opening, but if not it presumably represents part of a reconstruction, involving the demolition of the apsidal chapel, for which there were several other pieces of evidence. These included a squared corner of masonry butted to (?-fig 9 is not explicit) wall 12A from which ran a curved footing, overlying the destroyed apse. To the east, footings were found which suggested that this apse, like the others, had been squared externally at a later date; oddly, the footings do not seem to have butted up to wall 10. No corresponding footings were discovered on the north side of the apse (fig 10), but the wall on the south does align more or less with wall 54, a north-south wall discovered by Pocock (1858, opp 107) projecting from the chapter house. Overall it must be concluded that the nature of the reconstruction work is rather puzzling, and it may be that more than one phase is involved and/or an uncompleted project (M40, note 37). For that reason fig 22 shows more walls than may have existed at any one time.

South transept (figs 11 & 12; pl 11; M18 – M19)

The south transept and its apsidal chapel were of similar dimensions to the north transept, though they certainly did not exhibit any exact symmetry. This was one of the best preserved parts of the building and revealed some interesting details of its construction, including a recess in the external face of wall 6, of unknown purpose, and a curved internal corner between walls 5 and 6, presumably to give added strength. On the external face an angle buttress (pl 11) was a later addition for the same purpose. Within the south transept Angell (1862, 20) found wall paintings and many fragments of richly carved decorated tabernacle and shrine work, some of them coloured and gilt. The apse had been destroyed, in this case prior to the erection of a lady chapel (below). The east wall of the transept (fig 11, context 10 and wall 4) appears to be identical in construction technique, with its conglomerate foundation, to the rest of the lady chapel, and is presumably of the same date. It is uncertain whether it was built over an earlier sleeper wall. It could certainly itself be a sleeper wall at the entrance to the lady chapel as its surviving height is below the top of burial G1 and hence below floor level in the lady chapel (fig 11) and this is confirmed by the discovery by Angell (1862, 26) of column bases on the wall (pl 14). If the form of wall 4 on fig 11 is a deliberate construction, then the hole filled with contexts 12, 13 and 14 seems likely to have been an ossuary of some type.

Lady chapel (figs 13-15 & 18; pls 12-17; M19 – M21)

The lady chapel measured 22.5m (74ft) by 10.5m (34ft) and was formed by demolishing the south transept apse, and extending wall 6 eastwards, and returning the wall (no 2) north to align with the original squared east end of the presbytery. The outside walls of the lady chapel were distinctively constructed being much

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Fig 11  Section along trenches II and III, through the east wall of the south transept. Notes to contexts: 4 & 12 = demolition debris and later disturbance; 5 = disturbed make-up for floor; 6 & 7 = ? levelling layers; 8 = ? construction deposit — if the two burials are really stratified in this layer, then they (and perhaps the layer also) pre-date construction (see 00 for date of wall 4); 10 = conglomerate foundation (? in trench) for wall 4; 13 & 14 = fill of gap in wall 4 containing bones, (perhaps an ossuary)
Plate 10  Squared corner of masonry, including re-used stones, in the area of the north transept apse. The view is looking west, with the curved wall of the reconstruction period in the left foreground, and the junction with wall 12A (next to the ranging rod) just visible in the background (scales in foot divisions)

Plate 11  Angle buttress at the south-west corner of the south transept, looking north. At the top a roof tile levelling course is visible, while at the south-west corner of the buttress is a 12th century staircase newel (M18) (large scale in foot divisions, small scale in inch divisions)
Fig 12  Section along trench VIII, at the junction of the presbytery and the south transept apse. Notes to contexts: 1 = the south presbytery wall and the reduced foundations of the attached wall bench (pl 14). The mortar and tile above this are probably simply part of the wall bench construction, not, as Knocker suggested (M20) a floor level, since this would have been below the level of the top of burial G1; 2 = demolition debris or ? levelling layer; 3 = floor make-up of blue-grey mortar chips; 4 = ? levelling layer; 7 = ? 1861 trench to expose line of wall; 8, 9 & 10 = difficult to understand stratigraphy — 8 appears to be later than 10, which was described as ? recent but was apparently, as drawn, identical to the material in the presumably undisturbed burials (11). The explanation might be that 8 and 9 represent the backfill of a construction trench for the wall bench, and 10 the backfill of a robber trench for the apse wall (52) and/or the backfill of subsequent grave-digging. If so, it is a puzzle why the foundations for apse wall 52 should have survived just to the west (fig 2); 11 = two burials presumably to be equated with the grave outlined on the plan which was described as in gravel, though not shown as such in section.

Fig 13  Section along trench V, through the south wall of the presbytery (= north wall of lady chapel). Notes to contexts: 1 = ?, as drawn the layer makes no stratigraphic sense; a ... marks a 'faint chalk line' which probably indicated the interface between discrete layers; b & c indicate burials apparently in situ; 2 = disturbed infilling over the recess in wall 3 discovered in 1861 (Angell 1862, 26-7) which correlation of the 1861 and 1954 plans suggests was hereabouts (fig 2). It is unclear why Angell's plan indicates a depth for the recess of c1.35m as opposed to the 1.65m indicated here; 3 = conglomerate foundation of wall 3 (see 00).

narrower than those of the Norman church, and having a wider foundation trench packed with conglomerate (fig 14). The similar foundation trench for wall 3 as shown on fig 13 suggests that some parts of its lower levels were rebuilt when the lady chapel was constructed (note the rather different appearance of this wall in fig 12) presumably in forming the recesses discovered in 1861 and thought to contain shrines (Angell 1862, 26-7). The interior of this apartment was fully excavated by Angell (1862, 25-7) who made an 'abundant [harvest] in stone coffins, ornamental tiles, rich fragments of decorated stone work, Purbeck marble slabs, shafts, bases and capitals' as well as many fragments of stone ribs which suggested that it was vaulted. Five of these capitals still survive in the Victoria and Albert Museum (pl 17), and their significance has recently been assessed (Williamson 1988). All are very finely carved with stiff leaf foliage and two are inhabited by small dragons, and on stylistic grounds should belong to the 1250s or 1260s (Williamson 1988, 127). On account of its richness Angell supposed that this was the chapter house. It is for the same reason that it has been termed the lady chapel in this account as the most probable function of an important 13th century addition to the church, as at many monastic houses. Such additions were more commonly made at the east end of the church, but there are good examples of the Chertsey position elsewhere, as for example the Elder Lady Chapel at Bristol Cathedral which is very similar in size and form.
Fig 14 Section along trench I, through the south wall of the lady chapel. Notes to contexts: 2 & 3 = demolition debris and later disturbance; 4 = construction deposit, which contained plentiful sand; 5 & 8 = layer of uncertain origin, perhaps the result of frequent gravedigging (see 00 and Angell 1862, 18); 6 = interpretation as 5, but has less soil and more gravel; 7 = foundation trench for wall 1.

Fig 15 Section through the wall bench and related features in the north-west corner of the lady chapel (scale: 1:5, after the 1861 original by M Shurlock, SyAS Res Colls 55/2/4)
Plate 12  View, looking west, showing (background) the conglomerate foundations of wall 2 (east wall of lady chapel) butted to and overlying the ? greensand foundations of wall 3, the south wall of the presbytery. On the right is the south aisle apse wall (wall 50) which does not appear to be bonded in to the presbytery wall. On the extreme right walling related to the reconstruction of the east end is just visible, including the bowtell moulding shown in pl 44. The slabs of chalk (centre) are those which formed the top of coffin G5 (large scale in foot divisions, small scale in inch divisions).

Plate 13  View of the north-east corner of the lady chapel in August 1861. It shows a corner wall bench, various mouldings (note particularly centre left the corbel head illustrated in pl 7) and two labourers working on exposing the outside of the east wall (wall 2). (Photo: M Shurlock, SyAS Res Colls 55/1/14)
Plate 14  View of the north-west end of the lady chapel and the junction with the south transept in August 1861. A stone seat set in the south wall of the presbytery can be clearly seen with the bases of Purbeck marble columns at its back. A monolithic coffin can be seen in front of the seat (G1 of the 1954 excavations) and two labourers working at the rear. In the centre-foreground a column base may be seen set on wall 4 at the head of coffin G1. The superb detail of this photograph has enabled the Chertsey tiles shown, including Eames 1980, design nos 540 & 602, to be identified. (Photo: M Shurlock, SyAS Res Colls 55/1/19, cf Angell 1862, 25-7)

Plate 15  Watercolour by M Shurlock showing a lime kiln (post-dissolution) and a stone seat in the lady chapel, and the apse at the east end of the south aisle of the presbytery (SyAS Res Colls 55/1/D2)
Plate 16  Capitals and fragments in Purbeck marble found in the lady chapel in 1861. A number of these still survive in the Victoria & Albert Museum (see pl 17). For the crocket (bottom right) see pl 6, and for the spandrel (centre) see pl 5. (Photo: M Shurlock, SyAS Res Colls 55/1/6)

Plate 17  Purbeck marble capital (height 16.8cm) found in the lady chapel in 1861 (Victoria & Albert Museum, ref no A59-1916)

Presbytery and ambulatory (figs 12, 13, & 16; pls 18 & 19; M31)

The basic plan of the presbytery was indicated by the 1861 excavations although the plan of the north side (walls 10 and 44) is, for the most part, conjectural as fig 2 makes clear. The single trench excavated across wall 10 in 1954 apparently revealed foundations slightly wider than expected. There is no precise evidence for the form of walls 44 and 45 at their west end, and the conjectural form shown on fig 2 is based on the assumption that the crossing was symmetrical. This would not be the case if Knocker were right in his belief (M31) that the small portion of walling found in trench LXIA belonged to the south arcade. Despite these doubts the presbytery may be defined as an area 23m (76 ft) long by 23.5m (77 ft) wide divided into a central area and two aisles by arcading carried on continuous sleeper walls. An ambulatory at the square east end gave access to three apsidal chapels projecting to the east. No evidence was recovered for any substantial alterations in this area, though excavation in 1954, as a glance at the plan (fig 2) will show, was very limited, and revealed little of great interest. In the centre of the presbytery (fig 16) a trench revealed no evidence of a
sleeper wall tying together the footings for the tower above the crossing: had there been such it might have helped prevent the collapse of the tower in AD 1370 (above, 4). A number of burials were found in the south aisle of the presbytery, perhaps some of those which Angell (1862, 18) thought to exist from depressions in the plain tile pavement which he uncovered along this aisle; at the west end he found an entrance and steps (?) down to west.

Fig 16 Section along trench LXI, in the centre of the west end of the presbytery. Notes to contexts: 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 & 14 = demolition debris and later disturbance — perhaps these are the backfill of the initial 1861 excavations (Angell 1862, 15); 6 = a series of floor levels and make-up — above the upper floor and between the floors many Chertsey tiles were found; 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16 & 17 = ? levelling layers and/or construction debris. Some of the stratigraphy at the west end and the numerous floor tiles might be explicable by reference to the collapse of the central tower in 1370.

Plate 18 View of coffin (G22) discovered in 1861. Behind the coffin is the floor of the south aisle of the presbytery composed of plain tiles, said to be 'approached by three steps' which cannot, however, be easily discerned. (Photo: M Shurlock, SyAS Res Colls 55/1/11)
East end of the church (figs 4 & 17-21; pls 20-2; M21 – M26)

In the 12th century church the ambulatory at the east end gave access to three projecting apsidal chapels. The entrances must originally have been to the full width of the chapels, since the burials overlying parts of wall 7 show that much of it was a sleeper wall. The central apse, which was much larger than the other two, had a maximum projection of 10.5m (34 ft) and was 7m (23 ft) in width. The north aisle apse was much smaller, projecting just 6m (20 ft) and having a width of 6.5m (22 ft), while the south aisle apse was smaller again with a 4.5m (15 ft) projection and a width of 7.5m (24 ft). Most of the evidence for the internal arrangements of the three apses was destroyed when the east end was re-modelled, with the possible exception of parts of floor levels (fig 17a, contexts 7, 8 & 19) and a very tentative location for a shrine (fig 19a, contexts 9 & 14).

The apse walls were destroyed prior to a squaring up of the east end. This was achieved by projecting the main south and north walls of the church eastwards for 9m (30 ft), and providing buttresses for additional strength. Unfortunately the stonework of the north-south connecting wall had been completely robbed. Its general position is fixed by the robber trenches located near the south wall (fig 21, context 7) and near the north wall (fig 2). Knocker (M26) suggested that it was carried straight across (fig 19a, contexts 3 & 12) between these two points but figs 19a & 19c, context 4, seems much more probable as the backfill of a robber trench, especially in view of the quantities of conglomerate (which was used elsewhere as foundation material in reconstruction period walls — it is recorded from the foundation of walls 8 and 8A, and see also figs 13, 14 & 18) contained in it. The suggested plan of the remodelled east end (fig 2) shows a stepped and buttressed central portion, which projects 3m (10 ft) east of wall 11, and is 4.5m (25 ft) wide. It is probable that the internal dimensions appear smaller than they actually were as the robber trenches must be rather wider than the original walls. The layers shown in fig 20 create some difficulties for this interpretation since they should, but apparently do not, show the north edge of the projecting part of the east end. Additionally, the position of fig 20 context 6 might suggest that it and fig 19 context 4 are part of the fill of a very large pit whose linear appearance in trench XXV is misleading. However the original of fig 20 has a dashed line at the southern limit of context 5 and an imperfectly erased pencil note of ‘?? robber trench’ from that point as far as the junction with trench XXV (fig 19a).

In conclusion it should be emphasised that the evidence for either interpretation of the form of the squared east end of the church is replete with difficulties. Only further excavation could now resolve the problem.
Fig 17a Section along trenches XII, XIIa and XVI, through the chord of the south aisle apse. Notes to contexts: 2, 3, 4 & 8 demolition debris and later disturbance, probably for the most part the backfill of the 1861 trenches (cf fig 4a, context 2 etc); 5 = demolition debris; 6 = conglomerate foundation for wall 2; 7 = ? levelling layer; 9 = grave fill with femurs of skeleton showing; 10 = chocolate-brown sand, ? levelling layer; wall 50 = south aisle apse wall.

Fig 17b Section along trench XVI, through the centre of the south aisle apse. The section has been drawn in mirror image to facilitate comparison with fig 17a which is parallel some 1.5 m (5 ft) to the west. Notes to contexts: 2, 3 & 7 = demolition debris and later disturbance; 4, 5 & 16 = ? levelling layers; 6 & 9 = possible disturbed floor levels; 8 & 12 = floor make-up or levelling layers — these are probably equivalent to fig 4a, contexts 5, 6, 11 etc. This assumes that fig 17a layer 8 represents re-deposition (probably after the 1861 excavations) of a layer originally similar to fig 17b context 12; 10 & 11 = probably backfill of grave cuts for the unnumbered burials in these positions on fig 2, although the original drawing does not mark them as such; 13 & 14 = construction deposits or levelling layers; 17 = buttress of reconstruction period wall 8A; wall 8a = reconstruction period walling oversailing the reduced apse wall; wall 50 = wall of south aisle apse.
Fig 18  Elevation along trench XII, showing the relationship between the east wall of the lady chapel (wall 2), the south aisle apse wall (wall 50), and the south wall of the reconstructed east end (wall 8A). Wall 8A and wall 2 appear to be butt-jointed, but there is no indication as to which is primary. Notes to contexts:  2 = demolition and later disturbance — it may be doubted whether this was actually all one layer; a = moulding 18 (pl 44)

Fig 19  (a) Section along trench XXV, north side, through the centre of the east end of the church  
(b) Section of trench XXV, west side  
(c) Part of section of trench XXV, south side (drawn in mirror image). Notes to contexts:  2 = recent gardening soil; 3 & 12 = fill of trench interpreted by Knocker as robber trench for the squared east end of the church (M26). It is surely, however, too shallow to have been such and is more likely to represent the backfill of an 1861 excavation trench. For this and other layers in the sequence compare figs 4a and 4b, context 2 etc; 4 = robber trench for squared east end (wall 49; see 25) — note that the original section has been inked over to show 3 and 4 as a single layer, but the pencil version apparently differentiated them; 5 = floor or floor level of reconstruction period; 6, 7, 8 & 8a = floor make-up; 9 & 14 = apparently a single layer of reddish sandy soil (presumably equivalent to fig 4a, context 21). This is below the level of the apse floor (fig 4a, context 19) and implies that during reconstruction the east end of the apse was cleared to a much lower level than elsewhere. A possible explanation would be the removal of a partially subterranean shrine (see context 13); 10 = ? levelling layer; 11 & 21 = unlabelled on original; 13 = a 'hard floor', perhaps the base of a shrine partially below floor level in the reconstructed east end (in other words the shrine in the Norman apse was removed during rebuilding and subsequently replaced in a similar position). If so then context 12 may represent the backfill of a robber trench to remove the shrine, and only context 3 would be the backfill of the 1861 excavation trench; 15 = part of burial (see 'a' in fig 20); 16, 17, 18 & 19 = contexts interpreted by Knocker as floor levels and make-up, but the very different layers on the opposite side of the trench, contexts 22, 23 & 24, suggest this is mixed demolition/construction debris outside the church; 20 = layer of uncertain origin, cf fig 14, context 5; wall 48 = the central apse wall; for burial 19 see 47 and fig 32
Fig 20 Section along trench XXVI, mostly just beyond the east end of the church. Notes to contexts: 2 = recent gardening soil, 3 = demolition debris; 4, 5 & 7 = layers of uncertain origin perhaps partially construction deposits, cf fig 14 context 5. The original describes 5 as a 'rammed floor with many tiles', but a floor seems unlikely at this depth. If the interpretation of context 6 and part of context 4 (see 25) as portions of a robber trench for the reconstructed east end is correct then the presence of Chertsey tiles here must derive from their use in the apsidal chapels, which would give a clue to the date of the reconstruction work; 6 = fill of robber trench. Note here, as in fig 19 context 4, the quantities of conglomerate present; a = parts of burial, described on the original as north-south but fairly certainly not in situ.

Fig 21 Section along trench XXIV, through the south side of the east end of the church. Notes to contexts: 1a = perhaps the 1861 excavation trench, as fig 5 context 1a, fig 6 context 1a, etc; 2 = demolition debris and later disturbance; 3 & 4 = floor make-up; 5 = demolition debris; 6 = levelling layer, which could belong to either the 12th century or later work; 7 = backfill of robber trench for wall 11; 8 & 10 = layers of uncertain origin, cf fig 14 context 5; 9 = construction debris; 11 = line of dressed stones, apparently not excavated, perhaps parts of coffin as burial 7; wall 50 = wall of south aisle apse.
Plate 20  View looking south-west of the south aisle apse wall (wall 50) crossing the trench (background and right hand lower corner of photograph) and the junction with two portions of wall 7 (right side of trench) (scales in foot divisions)

Plate 21  View, looking north-east of offsets of south aisle apse wall (wall 50) at its east end (large scale in foot divisions, small scale in inch divisions)
The walls (see 78 below for the geology of the building stones used)

The walls of the 12th century church nearly all conform to a set pattern. They have a core and foundation of mortared chalk rubble which varies between 2.44m (8ft) and 2.75m (9 ft) in width at the lowest level. Very few stretches of faced wall were found, and that of wall 3 (fig 13) was perhaps the best preserved, with a width of 2.14m (7 ft). Other widths are mostly guesswork, but the north and south walls of the nave (figs 5 & 7) were both probably about 1.8m (6ft) wide above floor level. In both these cases the original floor level is indicated by the position of the wall offset, and the same is true of other walls. The composition of the facing stones is rarely recorded, but mostly appears to be chalk clunch, though Knocker refers simply to ‘ashlar’. This could also mean Reigate greensand, which Angell (1862, 23) observed was the stone most frequently used. The full depth of the foundations does not seem to have been exposed at any point, though it is certainly at least 1m (3 ft) below the lowest floor levels. None of the sections suggests the presence of construction trenches cut through the layers below floor level, and it would therefore seem that the whole area was levelled down to a considerable depth before construction took place.

Exceptions to the pattern noted above generally indicate a different function or date. The apses at the east end were rather smaller, less than 2m (6ft) wide both above and below floor level. This is no doubt because they supported structures of one storey only. The wall of the north transept apse was, however, of the same width (2.67m (8.75 ft)) as the other walls of the church, which may suggest that it rose to the full height of the transept. This assumes that the transepts were of two storeys, a notion which is badly in need of proof, for example by a future discovery of a pier base in the opening from the crossing. There is no certain evidence for the size of the south transept apse walls. The narrowness of the external walls of the lady chapel (1.37m (4.5ft)) clearly suggests that it was of only one storey. On the other hand the walls of the remodelled east end, though mostly represented by robber trenches, appear to be of similar dimensions to the main walls of the church, which may indicate it was built to the full height of the presbytery.

Other variations suggest construction at a different date to the 12th century church. The sarsen stone foundations which may be of earlier date have been noted above; no other such material seems to have been found in the 1954 excavations, though Angell (1862, 23) says that he found ‘the Bagshot heath stone [sarsen] ..... extensively employed in the foundations’. In contrast the use of conglomerate in foundation trenches seems to be a good indication of reconstruction in the church as it is only found in walls certainly or probably built or remodelled subsequent to the first period, such as the lady chapel and the squared east end. Later walls also employ greensand (eg fig 9, context 7) and sometimes re-used mouldings (figs 9 & 18; pls 10, 11, 43 & 44) in their construction, as well as chalk rubble and mortar. Little evidence for the facing of later walls was recovered in 1954, but of some interest is the use of conglomerate in the external face of the lady chapel (fig 14). Other facing is again described as ‘ashlar’ and was probably mostly Reigate greensand.
Doors and windows

The demolition of the church was thorough enough to remove all trace of door openings, except in the south aisle of the presbytery as already noted. A few pieces of window tracery were also recovered (M57) but, this apart, the location and nature of door and window openings can only be conjectured by analogy and from probability.

Floors (table 1, M43; for floor tiles see below 49)

A much greater body of evidence was, however, recovered which relates to the flooring of the church. Unfortunately, though, the floors proper did not survive at any point excavated in 1954, though Angell (1862, 18) had found the floor of the south aisle of the presbytery in 1861 (pl 19). Rather, it was the mortar beds upon which tiles were laid, and sometimes other evidence, which showed the level of the floor. In a number of places a sequence of floor levels could be defined, but it is not normally possible to assign an absolute rather than a relative date to them. Such dates as are possible are of the type ‘14th century or later’ rather than anything more precise. It is, however, possible to distinguish quite readily (in general) between floor levels which must be the same as those in the 12th century church — because if they were any lower they would be below the level of offset footings or sleeper walls — and floor levels which must represent reconstruction work.

In the 12th century church the floor seems to have been at the same level throughout the church, at about 13.75-13.88m (45.0-45.5 ft). The south aisle of the nave may have been a little lower (13.66m (44.8 ft)), but all other potentially lower levels are dubious for one reason or another. Evidence for reflooring and the raising of floor levels was found in many parts of the church, but it is not easy to correlate one area with another. A new floor level at around 14.0m (46.0 ft) seems quite widespread, though the south aisle of the nave again seems to be a little lower (13.82m (45.3 ft)) and the floor of the lady chapel seems to be at a similar level: perhaps the floor of the whole south side of the church was always a step down from that of the rest. In the remodelled east end levels were raised much more substantially to a new height of 14.49-14.64m (47.5-48.0 ft) in the central portion, just possibly in two stages (fig 19). It is conceivable that the floors in the north and south aisle apses were one step lower than that in the central apse.

Conclusions (fig 22)

It has been necessary to point out on a number of occasions in the preceding discussion the weakness of the archaeological evidence for dating the fabric of the church. There can be little doubt, though, that the major first period of building was in the 12th century and is to be equated with the building referred to in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as under construction in 1110. The church then built was some 89m (292 ft) long and 40m (132 ft) across the transepts and is of a type which finds a number of parallels with other major churches of the period. The greater Norman churches in England follow one of two distinct plans: the triple-apsed type (eg Durham or St Albans) or the apse and ambulatory type (eg Gloucester; Clapham 1934, ch 2). The conventional church at Chertsey represents a development of the second type, in which the east end is squared so that the ambulatory not only allows access to the rear of the high altar, but also to three projecting apsidal chapels. Perhaps the closest parallel to Chertsey is the cathedral church at Old Sarum after the rebuilding of c1125-30 (Clapham 1934, figs 4 & 45). The size of the church is fairly typical of the major monastic and cathedral churches of the period; Old Sarum (after c1125-30) for example was 96m (316 ft) in length. From the 12th century onwards increasing elaboration of the east end of the church led to considerable increases in the dimensions of some churches most notably at Canterbury Cathedral (Woodman 1981). At Chertsey the east end was remodelled, as were the transepts, but the basic size of the church was virtually unaltered (the length was increased by 1.8m (6 ft)). In this form the east end has a similar plan to many of the great churches, although the single bay projection of the central chapel at Chertsey is unusually short, but it might be paralleled by that of Chichester Cathedral just before 1187 (Pevsner & Metcalf, 1985, 84-5). The date at Chertsey cannot be directly established but if it is assumed that the remodelling of the apsidal chapels to the north transept, south transept and east end was all part of a single coherent plan, then the key to the date lies in the stiff leaved Purbeck marble capitals discovered in the lady chapel (pls 16 & 17). These belong to the 1250s or 1260s which makes Abbot Alan (1223-61; see 4 above) the most likely person to be responsible, and certainly work begun in his day could be expected to display features such as the buttressing of the new east end, (the sole angle buttress to walls 5 and 6 should however belong to the 14th century). On the other hand if the interpretation of fig 20 context 5, as deriving from demolition of the central apse at the east end, is correct, then this cannot actually have occurred before the late 13th century as Chertsey tiles were found in this layer (cf 49, below). The remodelling certainly occurred in or before the 14th century from the presence of burials such as G7 in the destroyed apses. If it is right to assume that the rebuilding did not occur under Rutherwyk’s Abbacy (1307-46 — see 4 above), then the late 13th century is almost certainly the date of the major rebuilding of the eastern arm.

There do not seem to be any further major alterations to the structure of the church before the dissolution.
The difficulties in reconstructing the appearance of the later church are identical to those described for the earlier. Clearly considerable alterations could have been made of which there is no archaeological trace, and the character of the central portion of the church after the collapse of the tower in 1370 is an obvious example. That said, the size of the foundations does suggest that while the lady chapel was a single storey building, the east end was altered so that the single storey projecting apses were replaced by an extension to the full height of the church. This would have had the advantage of greatly improving the lighting of the east end. On architectural grounds it may, however, be considered more likely that the reconstructed east end remained a low projection from the main body of the church.

**THE NORMAN AND LATER CLOISTER**

The cloisteral buildings were discovered to lie to the north of the church. This relatively rare location was no doubt determined by the convenience of having the cleansing and drainage facilities of the Abbey River adjacent to the cloister. Unfortunately there was insufficient time in 1954 to carry out a detailed investigation.
of this area, and the discoveries that were made are not always easy to interpret. They were however sufficient, although the excavators did not realise it, to verify the location of the excavations of 1855 (Pocock 1858), which had been virtually ignored since the 1861 work (Angell 1862) had disproved the hypothesis that they were on the site of the abbey church. Pocock’s plan (1858, opp 107) shows the excavated walls in relationship to ‘Mr Grumbridge’s house’ and ‘Mr Lacoste’s farm yard’ and these can be confidently identified from the Tithe map of 1844, and in turn accurately located on the modern map. A more detailed discussion of certain aspects of Pocock’s work is given below, but the general point needs to be made that there can be no certainty that all the walls he uncovered were of one build, or all in use at the same time.

The chapter house and adjacent rooms (pl 3; M10 & M33)

The chapter house was uncovered in 1855 though it was believed to be the south transept of the church. Pocock’s main plan (1858, opp 107) is deceptive in that it does not show the north wall of the chapter house which was, however, certainly uncovered as his detail plan makes clear (ibid between 114 and 115, see also M11). The chapter house was thus shown to be a building 27 m (88 ft) long and 11.5 m (39 ft) wide. The great majority (if not all) of the Chertsey tiles which formed the basis of Shurlock’s (1885) illustrations and of the British Museum collections (Eames 1980, 9-10) came from this area. Much of the mortar bed survived but the tiles were not in situ, and the floor had evidently been broken up and the whole tiles carried away at the dissolution, perhaps for re-use as building materials at Oatlands Palace (Cook & Poulton forthcoming). Beneath the floor a series of elaborate stone coffins (pl 3), as well as many wooden ones (Pocock 1858, 120; M9), were revealed which undoubtedly contained the bones of Abbots of the convent.

North of the chapter house the room of similar size could have served a number of purposes, of which the most likely is a parlour or warming room. It is also possible that this area was sub-divided by a north-south wall where the fragment of a foundation was exposed in trench XXXVIII.

To the south of the chapter house a number of foundations were uncovered in 1858 and 1954 of which it is difficult to make much sense. It would seem probable that in the 12th century Abbey the gap between the south wall of the chapter house and the north transept was an alley leading to the infirmary cloister and/or monastic cemetery, as the buttress uncovered on the south side of wall 35 implies. If so, the two walls shown by Pocock projecting south of the chapter house must belong to the reconstruction period. Whether the original north wall of the north transept was then demolished is uncertain, though Angell (1862, 20-1) reported that he could not find it at all and in 1954 only a vestige thereof was recovered. The arrangement and function of rooms here must remain conjectural.

Cloister garth and alleys (fig 23; pls 23 & 24; M28 – M31)

The probable size of the cloister garth was shown to be 28.5 m (93 ft) north-south and 35 m (114 ft) east-west, with alleys (internal measurements) varying between 1.5 m (5 ft) wide in the west (walls 29 and 30) and 2.5-3.0 m (8-10 ft) elsewhere. It must be said, however, that the evidence for this is derived from two or three trenches which are poorly recorded compared to most others, perhaps due to the flooding which brought a premature end to work on the site (M34). The walls 31 and 32 in the north-east corner of the garth (pl 23) do not seem to have been excavated below the surviving top of the foundations, which no doubt accounts for their curious shape on plan. North of this the south wall of the frater range (wall 24) also presents an odd appearance with the main wall rather narrow and a suggested sleeper wall (M29) running parallel with it. Pocock had however previously revealed a foundation to the full width of both these walls taken together, which suggests that the 1954 work may have been located over an entrance or recess, or has simply misinterpreted the tops of surviving foundations. If the former idea is correct then the presence of the
Plate 23 View, looking north to north-west, of the north-east corner of the cloister garth (ie junction of the inner walls (walls 31 and 32) of the north and east cloister walks). Note that only the top of the walls has been exposed, and they could look very different at a lower level (scale in foot divisions).

Plate 24 View, looking north, of the south-east corner of the cloister garth (ie junction of the inner walls (walls 32 and 46) of the south and east cloister walks). The scale (in foot divisions) is placed at the inside corner of the junction. The plain floor tiles in a line on the upper surface of this wall suggested to Knocker (M31) that this was a floor but the presence of roofing tiles at the edge of the wall suggests this is simply a levelling course in the wall.
lavabo would be a likely explanation, with the water supply coming from the lead piping just to the north (fig 2).

From this same area clear evidence of reconstruction of the cloister was recovered. Part of the 12th century cloister arcade (moulding 15, pl 41) was found re-used in the foundations of wall 24. As a result, Knocker (M28-9) suggested that the Norman cloister had extended much further north, with wall 17 (marked in the frater range on fig 2) as the original main north wall. It is difficult to see how this arrangement could have worked given the character of wall 17 and associated foundations (see below), and it may be more reasonable to assume that the fragments of cloister arcade were re-used in the area where they had been demolished, and that the Norman and the later cloister were of similar dimensions.

**Frater range (M32)**

The limited evidence from excavation on the east side of the frater is summarised on figs 2 & 24-6 and pls 25-7. It is evident that alterations were made on a number of occasions, but is is impossible to derive a coherent story from the evidence.

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**Fig 24** Elevations along trench XLV, the west (a) and east (b) faces of a blocked entrance between the dorter and frater ranges. *Notes to contexts:* 1 = layer labelled 'footings' on original, but it is not clear what this means; 2 = 'mortar rubble' on the original, presumably the foundation of wall 16, but the relationship to wall 15 is not clear; a = point at which 'mortar and tile floor' is written on original, but it is not clear to what this refers; b & c = lines drawn on original whose significance is not indicated.

**Fig 25** Section along trench XLV, on the east side of the frater range. The original of the drawing is very sketchy, and interpretation consequently is difficult. *Notes to contexts:* 1a = modern pipe disturbance; 2, 13 & 14 = demolition and later disturbance; 3, 5 & 11 = disturbed floor levels; 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 & 15 = levelling layer ('a' is a lens of sand); 12 = tile and mortar floor of entrance, projected into section; wall 18 is shown narrower here than on plan. There seems no obvious explanation of this.
Fig 26  Section along trenches XLII & XLV, on the east side of the frater range. Notes to contexts: 2 = demolition and later disturbance; 3, 4 & 6 = floor levels; 5, 7 & 8 = floor make-up

Plate 25  Part of frater range, looking west. Just visible in the foreground is the top of the blocked-in entrance cut through wall 15/16 (cf pl 26). To the left is wall 17, with the recess (pl 27) nearest the camera and wall 18, which appears to be of one build with wall 17, crossing the trench to the rear (large scale in foot divisions, small scale in inch divisions)
Plate 26  The entrance in wall 15/16, looking east. The blocking has been removed and the threshold and jambs are clearly visible. On the right of the photograph wall 15/16 can be seen to be composed partially of large conglomerate blocks, a building technique which seemed in the church to indicate a reconstruction-period wall (large scales in foot divisions, small scale in inch divisions).

Plate 27  The recess in wall 17 (cf pl 25). It can be readily seen that the stonework in the recess is quite different to that in walls 17 and 18, and different also to that in wall 15/16 (pl 26). This suggests that, including the blocking of the entrance, at least four different phases of construction are indicated in this small area (large scale in foot divisions, small scale in inch divisions).
Dorter range (M32-3)

The paucity of evidence (figs 2, 27 & 28) again makes any general interpretation impossible. Wall 17A is post-monastic (M41, note 45), while wall 25 was earlier than wall 26, and perhaps also than wall 27.

Fig 27a Section along trench LXII, in the dorter range of the cloister. The line of wall 17A is projected from further north. Notes to contexts: 3 & 5 = ? fill of robber trench for wall 17A; 4 = ? 19th century wall debris; 6 = chalk and mortar floor; 7 & 14 = floor make-up; 8 = reddish mortar floor; 9 = very dark soil and charcoal, presumably floor make-up; 10 = some uncertainty about interpretation of the extent of this layer on original drawing; 11 = ? wall footings; 13 = floor

Fig 27b Section along trench LXII, 2.14m (7ft) north of fig 27a. Notes to contexts: 4 = ? 19th century wall debris; 15, 16 & 17 = demolition debris and later disturbance; 18 = floor make-up; 19 = ? levelling layer

Fig 28 Section along trench XL, through the west wall of the dorter range. Notes to contexts: 2 = demolition and later disturbance, the line between this layer and context 3 may mark the edge of the 1855 excavations; 3 = demolition and later disturbance; 4 & 5 = floor levels at the offset level of wall 15; 6 = ? levelling layer
Lesser cloister

The correlation of walls discovered in 1855 with those discovered in 1954 has made it apparent that Pocock (1858) discovered walls which must belong to a lesser, or infirmary, cloister, as so frequently found in large monasteries. In part, also, they might be walls belonging to the Abbot’s apartments, as Pocock (1858, 108-9), curiously in the context of his overall interpretation, suggested. His discovery of a piscina north of wall 33 and lead piping at intervals along the spine wall 33/24 (fig 2) may well indicate an arrangement similar to that at Waverley Abbey (Brakspear 1905, 64), with a conduit somewhere north of the piscina from which water was distributed to the rest of the Abbey.

Search for a tile kiln (fig 29; M34)

A number of trenches were excavated to the south and west of the tile kiln excavated in 1922 (Gardner &
Eames 1954). These do not seem to have been recorded in detail as the only drawn record which survives of them is on an interpretive plan used to demonstrate the results of the excavation to visitors. Certainly, no evidence for further tile kilns was recovered though a number of burials were found which demonstrated that the area had been part of the monastic cemetery at one time. 12th century pottery, apparently from an ‘occupation level’, was also located, as well as a few sherds of Roman pottery and a piece of tegula. A possible hypothesis to account for the presence of tile kiln, 12th century occupation, and cemetery in the same area is that until c1300 or slightly later this was the site of the outer court of the monastery, which was subsequently moved to the area to the west of Colonel’s Lane (fig 47); the cemetery may always have occupied part of the area to the north and east of the tile kiln and was now extended, no doubt because it had become full (see 81 for further discussion).

THE BURIALS

Burials were located and excavated at a number of places within the cemetery and the conventual buildings but no systematic attempt was made to determine their character and distribution. The skeletal material was neither studied in situ nor retained for later examination, so that there is virtually no demographic or pathological information. Despite these limitations, sufficient information was recovered, taken in conjunction with the 19th century finds, to lead to some useful general conclusions as well as revealing a number of interesting individual interments.

Distribution

A cemetery was found to lie to the south of the church. Its full extent is uncertain, but burials are known from the area immediately adjacent to the church, from south and west of the tile kiln some 21.5 m (70 ft) south of the lady chapel, and in several other trenches widely spread over this area (fig 29). Further burials were disturbed when the houses were built to the south of Abbey Gardens and at various times since (oral information). Its southern and south-eastern walls may have been coincident with the precinct boundary, but its northern and eastern limits are more difficult to guess. Burials were made beyond the east end of the church (pl 22), and a continuation of the line of the north wall of the church would not be an implausible boundary line for the cemetery (see fig 51). As noted above, the cemetery may at first have occupied only the northern part of the area.

Most of the trenches excavated within the walls of the church resulted in the discovery of interments. They were particularly frequent in the lady chapel, and the chapels at the east end, while the north aisle is made conspicuous by their absence (though the area excavated represents a very small sample). Burial G8A was a child (presumably not a novice) which suggests, as would be expected from the practice in other monasteries, that wealthy benefactors and patrons could obtain a resting place for themselves and their families in the abbey church. On the other hand the burials in the cloister alleys were almost certainly of monks, while those in the chapter house were of the Abbots of Chertsey.

Form and Date

The evidence relating to the form and date of a number of individual burials is itemised below. It will be seen that the detail recorded is highly variable, and the rest of the burials (the majority) were not numbered, and were recorded in the most summary fashion. Any general statement about the burials is therefore very difficult. All seem to be normal Christian burials with the body laid supine and the head to the west. Two possible exceptions are probably the result of disturbance; one was suggested as north-south by Knocker but lay in what was apparently a dissolution-period robber trench (fig 20, context 6), and another skeleton apparently had its head to the east (fig 11, context 8). Pocock (1858, 120) observed that in the chapter house all the burials which were carefully excavated had their arms by the side and this was true also of G17 in the cloister alley, while G6 in the cemetery, and G7 and G19 in the church, had arms crossed over the pelvis. The distinction might be relevant in identifying the status of the dead (cfPoulton 120), with the former rite in this case reserved for superiors of the house, but the evidence is clearly too weak to build on here, although relevant to any wider study of medieval burial practice. The same must be said about another variant in burial form, the provision and type of coffin.

Those burials which were thought to be of most significance or interest were given numbers and usually recorded in greater detail than others. They are summarised below (unless otherwise noted all burials were of adults laid supine with their heads to the west).

G1  Stone coffin, made from a single block of limestone which is circular on the inside west end. It was originally exposed by Angell (1862, 25-6) who found it already disturbed. It was at the west end of the lady chapel, whose construction presumably preceded the burial. Pl 14.

G2  Stone coffin made from a number of (? chalk) blocks, each about 30 cm (1 ft) square and 10 cm (4 in) wide, with the block at the western end shaped to receive the head of the burial, which seems to have
Plate 28  View looking west of G2, showing the chalk block construction and shaped head, with the head end of G4 also just visible (scale in inch divisions)

Plate 29  View looking west of G6, with part of G5 just visible on the right (scale in inch and centimetre divisions)
Chertsey Abbey

been laid with its arms at the side. It lies on the north side of the centre of the lady chapel, whose construction presumably preceded it. It had been disturbed by G4. Pl 28.

G3 Stone coffin which was partially revealed in trench VII immediately south of the junction of the south transept and the lady chapel, within the cemetery area. No other details survive on record. Undated.

G4 Stone coffin made from a number of chalk blocks, with the western end shaped to receive the head of the burial. It lay partially within coffin G2 and probably represents a later burial in the lady chapel. Pl 28.

G5 Stone coffin made from a number of chalk blocks, and shaped at the west end to receive the head. It had a cover also composed of chalk blocks, about 30 cm (1 ft) square and 10 cm (4 in) thick (the blocks making the rest of the coffin were probably of similar size). The body may have had its arms by its sides. The burial pre-dates the construction of the remodelled east end of the church as it is partially sealed by wall 8A, close to the south side of the south aisle apse, within the cemetery area. Pls 12, 29 & 30.

Plate 30 View looking east, showing, from left to right: the south aisle apse wall (south side); burial G5; part of burial G6. At the rear, the foundation of wall 8A can be seen overriding the east end of the coffins (scale in inch and centimetre divisions)

G5A Stone coffin, with the feet of the burial partially sealed by the east wall of the lady chapel and so earlier than c1250. It must therefore have been interred originally in the cemetery to the south of the presbytery. No other details survive on record.

G6 Stone coffin, composed of chalk blocks about 30 cm (1 ft) square and 10 cm (4 in) thick with a shaped (?) limestone) block at the head end. The burial had its hands crossed at the waist. It must have disturbed an earlier burial, loose bones from which seem to have been placed within the coffin. Its location and date are as for G5 above. Pls 29 & 30.

G7 The coffin was made of tooled limestone and chalk clunch blocks, the tops of some stones having plain red tiles set upon them. It was extremely narrow being only 0.86 m (2 ft 10 in) across its widest point. The burial was that of a well made adult with forearms folded across the pelvis. On the point of the left femur was a heavy circular bronze ring brooch 32 mm in maximum diameter. 229 mm further down the left femur was another exactly similar brooch with a dark stain, as from a cloth band, running across towards the right femur. These brooches and those in burial G 17 were almost certainly hose brooches, supporting the hose by means of their attachment to the ‘breke-belt’ (Russell-Smith 1956). It is, however, odd that in this case both brooches should be on the same leg. The explanation may well be that the brooch from the right hip was removed when the body was laid out and used to fasten a surcingle round the thighs so that the body would fit the very narrow coffin. The late Dom David Knowles (pers comm to G Knocker) said that he thought this explanation reasonable. ‘The monk was laid out in full dress with night shoes, and in Lanfranc’s constitutions [it was stated that the] several
parts of the clothes were to be sewn together with thread (to prevent disarray when the coffinless body was carried to burial). Other customs may have prevailed at other houses and one of the hose or legging brooches may have been used to pin the surcingle'. An interesting comment on the close fit of bodies in coffins in the Middle Ages is to be found in the *Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond*: ‘and the coffin was so filled with the holy body both lengthwise and across that a needle could scarce be placed between the Saint’s [St Edmund’s] head and feet and the wood’. (Butler 1949, 113-4). The burial post-dates the reconstruction of the east end of the church as it was made in the broken east face of the south aisle apse wall. Russell-Smith (1956, 220-1) suggested that hose brooches were probably only in use in the 14th century. Pls 31 & 32. Figs 30 & 44.

G8 This number does not appear to have been used.

G8A A child burial, location as G7, and it therefore post-dates the reconstruction of the east end of the Church.

G9 This burial lay partly below the coffin of G7. It clearly belonged to an earlier period, and was that of a very tall man. Traces of decayed wood and several iron clench nails, of much the same kind as ships’ clench nails, showed that he had been placed in a wooden coffin. The burial may have had its arms by its side. Pl 32. Fig 30.

G9A An uncoffined adult burial, date and location as G8A.
Plate 32 View, looking west, of (background) burial G7 partially within the broken east face of the south aisle apse wall, and (foreground) burial G9 partially exposed, with a line of cut stones (cf fig 20) probably marking the corner of a further stone coffin to the left of G9.

G10 Coffin composed mainly of ? chalk blocks, but with different, probably limestone, blocks, outlining the position of the head. The headstone had a cross carved in relief upon it. The burial post-dates the reconstruction of the east end of the church, as it was made in the ruined north aisle apse wall. It was itself cut short by G11. The skeleton does not appear to have been exposed, and this seems also to be true of G11 and G12. Pls 33 & 34.

G11 Coffin composed of a number of (? chalk) blocks, with that at the west end shaped for the head. It was cut through G10 and G12, and was itself cut by the robber trench for wall 11. Pl 33. Later than c1275.

G12 Coffin composed of (? chalk) blocks. Remains of iron were noted on the sides of the coffin, perhaps indicating the use of cramps to attach the lid. Date and location as G10. Pl 33.

G13 Coffin which ‘bore evidence of modern disturbance’ (M19). No other details appear to survive. In the centre of the lady chapel, towards the east end. Undated.

G14 Stone coffin partially exposed in trench XXXIII just to the east of the robber trench for wall 11, towards the north end of the latter, which was presumably within a cemetery area. Undated.

G15 Stone coffin partially exposed in a trench to the north of the north transept apse, but not excavated. Undated.

G16 Stone coffin composed of a single block of limestone which tapered towards the east (feet) end and was shaped to receive the head at the west end, the coffin being provided with drain holes in its base. The burial had already been partially disturbed when excavated, but appears to have had its hands folded.
Plate 33  View, looking west, showing (rear left) part of the north aisle apse wall, (centre) three stone coffins, G10 with a headstone (pl 34) next to G12 and G11 in the front, and (foreground) the distinctive fill, with many chalk fragments, of the robber trench for wall 11 (large scale in foot divisions, small scale in inch divisions)

Plate 34  Headstone of G10 carved with a relief cross (scale in inch divisions)
Fig 31 Burials G16, G17 and G18 at the junction of the south and east cloister alleys, with, inset, drain-holes and drain channels in the coffins of G16 and G17. For the copper alloy finds 3-6 in G17 see fig 44 and M49-51. For the Iron find (9) in G16 see pl 37 and M53.
across the waist. The coffin lay at the junction of the south and east cloister alleys and abutted the east wall of the north transept. It rested upon sarsen stone walling. 12th century or later. PI 8. Fig 31.

G17 Stone coffin composed of a single block of limestone which tapered slightly towards the east (feet) end and was shaped at the head end, though much less emphatically than G16. The coffin was provided with drainage channels and drain holes in its base. The burial was undisturbed and had its arms by its side. Upon each of the outer edges of the pelvis, just above the femur joints, was found a small ring brooch with a short bronze pin lying 5 cm (2 in) down the femur in each case. They may be hose brooches as was suggested for G7 (above), and would date the burial to the 14th century. A brown stain lay on the right femur, near the knee joint. G17 was found immediately south of G16, but at a lower level. PI 8. Figs 31 & 44.

G18 Burial without a stone coffin found to the north of G16. PI 8. Fig 31. Undated.

G19 Burial without a stone coffin which had been cut through floor levels in the central part of the east end of the church. Its position on fig 19b suggests that it belongs to the period after reconstruction. It was not complete but sufficient survived to indicate that it had been buried with arms by its side. On the

[Image description: Burial G19 near the middle of (but post-dating) the central eastern apse. For copper alloy finds 7, 10 & 11 see fig 44 and MS1-2.

back bone was a bronze double buckle with a dark stain as from a leather belt running down the pelvis. Between the right elbow and the spine was a bronze belt slide and outside the elbow was a flat circular bronze strap end with an acorn terminal. This last item may date the burial to the late 14th century (M52). The belt slide had a bar depending from it for the attachment of something, perhaps a knife. Figs 32 & 44.

G20 Burial, without a stone coffin, of a very large man, near the west end of the nave, towards the south side.

G21 This burial and G22 and G23 were found in 1861 but are included here for the sake of completeness. Shurlock's description (see pl 29) needs no elaboration; 'The coffin was formed of a solid block of Purbeck marble hollowed out to receive the body, and placed east and west — the head facing the east. Its length was 7ft 8in [2.24m]. Width at head 2 ft 10 in [0.86m]. Width at foot 1ft 9 in [0.53m]. The whole was covered with plain [ie peg or roof] tiles bedded in concrete. Below the tiles the coffin was filled with debris of dry rubbish and broken tiles some of which were enriched with pattern. The body was enveloped in sheet lead. The skeleton was perfect. The bones of the lower arm were crossed over the chest. At the left shoulder outside the lead was placed a metal chalice and paten. No inscription of any kind.' Because of its position in the centre of the presbytery Angell considered that these were most likely to be the bones of Abbot Rutherwyk, since his was the most important name in the Abbey's history. This is unlikely because the form of the mortuary chalice bears a general resemblance to many 13th century examples (eg one from York, Tweddle 1986, fig 97 no 1250-1 & 208-9) and a close resemblance to one said to be of Richard of Berkyng (died 1246; Bruce-Mitford 1976, fig 6). However, there can be no doubt that a burial in this position and of this sophistication must be that of a very important man. Pls 35 & 36.

G22 Coffin composed of chalk blocks c 30 x 30 x 10 cm. It was 2.08 m long by 0.76 m wide at the head, tapering to 0.66 m at the feet. 'It contained a skeleton perfect, about 2 feet [0.61 m] below its covering, but no other remains.' Undated. PI 18.

G23 Coffin found in the lady chapel in 1861 of which there is otherwise little record. Angell (1862, 27) says it was 'constructed of stone blocks, but of less elaborate design and execution than the one at the west end [G1]. Undated.
Plate 35  Burial G21 found in Purbeck marble coffin in 1861 (see also pl 36). (Photo: M Shurlock, SyAS Res Colls 55/1/8)

Plate 36  Pencil and watercolour drawing by M Shurlock of a 13th century pewter chalice and paten found with burial G21 in 1861 (cf pl 35) (SyAS Res Colls 55/1/D5; height of chalice c 12cm)
THE FINDS

The decorated floor tiles by Elizabeth Eames

The decorated floor tiles which form the subject of this report are those recovered during Group Captain Knocker's excavations on the site of Chertsey Abbey in 1954. In all about 200 tiles were recovered, almost all fragmentary. They fall into two groups: those that are known as Chertsey type tiles, dating from the 13th century, some if not all of them made at the Abbey itself; the remainder are those known as Penn tiles, made at Penn in Buckinghamshire during the last three-quarters of the 14th century.

The Chertsey type tiles have been known and famous for at least two hundred years. Best known of all are two series of large roundels decorated with figural subjects set in mosaic backgrounds. Their exact date is uncertain. Most of the known examples have been published and have been discussed in detail by the writer elsewhere (Eames 1980, 1, ch 8). One set of pictures represents combats between a man and a lion or between two men, the most certainly identified being the combat between Richard I and Saladin. Another represents Samson and the Lion. Richard and Saladin are each on a separate tile but most of the scenes are on one tile only. These circular pictures, about 255mm (10 in) in diameter, were fired in four equal segments and were set in an elaborate mosaic background decorated with foliate scrolls and small roundels, some bearing human heads, birds, or animals. It is probable that these tiles were made about AD 1250 or possibly a little earlier. A panel including examples of the Richard and Saladin tiles has been reassembled in the British Museum and at the time of writing is exhibited in the Medieval Gallery (Eames 1980, 1, 145 and colour plate 1Va; Eames 1985, fig 44). One piece of a Saladin tile was recovered during the excavations of 1954 (fig 33, Eames design 467).

Better known is the series of circular pictures illustrating the Romance of Tristram and Isolde (figs 33 & 34). These roundels were fired in one piece, about 233mm (9 in) in diameter, and were set within four frame tiles, decorated with foliage closely resembling that present on the mosaic background of the combat pictures. Together they made a square with 415mm (16 in) sides. These tiles can be assumed to have been made somewhat later than the combat series (Eames 1980, 1,147). There was also a series of smaller circular pictorial tiles about 120mm (4¾ in) in diameter. Not many pieces of the tiles in this series are known but they appear to have been decorated with the Labours of the Months, the Signs of the Zodiac and possibly the Virtues and Vices. In their original form these circular pictures were fired separately and were set in frames about 218mm (8½ in) square, decorated with sprays of foliage. Later they were fired in one piece with their frames (Eames 1980, 1, 149-50 and designs 522-5, 564 & 567-8). It is probable that this series was made at the same time as the Tristram series, probably in the 1260s and early 1270s (Eames 1980, 1, 164-5).

Yet another series of tiles with figure decoration was made at Chertsey. This appears to have been designed in panels to be set vertically on a wall, but most of the examples known show the all the usual signs of having been walked on and had certainly been used on the floor. Three of the known panels were each composed of four tiles, the upper three 225mm (8¾ in) in diameter. These panels depict a king, a queen (see fig 38) and an archbishop respectively, each standing, under a canopy with architectural borders. A fourth panel depicts a crucifixion also under a canopy but apparently complete on two tiles (Eames 1980, 1, 151 and designs 1306-18).

Waste tiles belonging to those associated with the kiln found in the former Abbey precinct and excavated by Dr Eric Gardner in 1922 (Eames 1980, 1, 151 & 736; Gardner & Eames 1954). The associated wasters also included some of the circular Tristram pictures reused on square tiles the same size as those in the panels, and flanked by architectural borders (Gardner & Eames 1954). As well as these square tiles some waste examples of the tiles that framed the circular Tristram pictures were also found. It is reasonably certain that the panel tiles were designed and made in the excavated kiln during the 1290s (Eames 1980, 1, 150). The fact that the stamps for the pictures and frames of the Tristram series were available for reuse at that time suggests that they too had been made at the Abbey, although no kiln associated with the main production of that material has yet been found.

These 13th century tiles from Chertsey Abbey display a technical excellence rarely matched elsewhere except within a group of identical and closely related series from sites that include Westminster Abbey, other monastic sites in Surrey, Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire and Halesowen Abbey in Worcestershire. The distribution of this Chertsey/ Westminister group has been discussed elsewhere (Eames 1980, 1, 155-69 & ch 9). The decoration was inlaid with white clay in a plastic state in cavities in the surface of the tile, which was then carefully trimmed. This technique was widely used in the 13th century. It is the intricacy of the detail in the Chertsey/Westminster series that marks it out from other inlaid tiles of the period. It was impossible to put work of this quality into commercial production.

The Penn tiles which form the second group (figs 42 & 43) of those recovered were commercially produced. This very successful industry, centred on Penn in Buckinghamshire, is well documented, mainly because its products were bought by royal Clerks of Works whose accounts survive (Eames 1980, 1, 221-6; Hohler 1942). It was certainly in production by the 1330s and was still working in the 1380s. Changes naturally took place during this long period and the writer has discussed elsewhere the probability that there were three phases of production: the first before the Black Death when the best tiles, decorated with the most interesting designs, were made; the second after the Black Death possibly lasting until the 1370s, during which time the bulk of the known Penn tiles were manufactured; and the third in the 1380s when smaller
Fig 33 Decorated tiles of groups ii and lii (scale 1:3). In this and figs 34-43 the illustrations and their design numbers are taken from Eames 1980, 2, and not all of the design was necessarily present on the fragments found in 1954. The descriptive titles in this and fig 34 are after Loomis 1916. 467, Saladin; 477, Tristram playing chess with a Norseman; 482, Duke Morgan (?); 483, Tristram draws upon Duke Morgan; 492, Gromon hastens to view Morhaut’s body
Fig 34 Decorated tiles of group II (scale 1:3). 495, Tristram teaches Isolde to harp; 497, Tristram encounters the dragon; 493, Mark visits the wounded Tristram; 501, Isolde signals to Tristram; 505, ambassadors appear before Mark; 506, Tristram lands in Cornwall
tiles of inferior quality with more slipshod decoration were produced (Eames 1980, 1, 223-5). The Penn tiles found at Chertsey seem to belong to the main middle phase of production.

It is not certain how the white clay that decorated the surface was introduced. In the 1930s Loyd Haberly postulated that the decoration was applied with a stamp ‘inked’ with slip and the term ‘printed’ was used to describe these tiles (Haberly 1937). It is now thought that such a method would have been impracticable and various others have been suggested. Possibly a very thick slip was run into shallow cavities stamped in the surface, but it is still uncertain exactly how the decoration was applied. The term ‘printed’ has been used to describe this type of decoration for so long that it seems simplest to continue its use. The smudged appearance of the outline of the decoration on many tiles of the third phase of manufacture suggests that at that time a thinner slip was less carefully used and tended to run. During their heyday the Penn tilers seem to have captured the market in all the surrounding districts and in the Thames Valley as far down as Essex and up the Wey as far as Guildford.

GROUP I TILES

Twenty-one of the fragments of Chertsey tiles found during these excavations were too worn for the decorative design to be recognised. Ninety-four different designs have been identified, all but one published in the writer’s Catalogue of Medieval tiles in the British Museum (Eames 1980, 2). The design numbers used in that Catalogue have been used in this report to identify the designs on the excavated tiles. These have been divided into groups and each group arranged in numerical order.
Tiles of Group I, the Chertsey type, have been divided into eight sub-groups: (i) the tiles decorated with pictures of combats (fig 33); (ii) tiles decorated with pictures illustrating the Tristram story (figs 33 & 34); (iii) tiles decorated with the Labours of the Months or Signs of the Zodiac (fig 35); (iv) tiles bearing inscriptions or single letters used to compose inscriptions (fig 35); (v) other decorated mosaic shapes (figs 36 & 37); (vi) oblong border tiles (fig 38); (vii) tiles belonging to panels with architectural canopies (fig 38); (viii) square tiles with non-pictorial inlaid decoration (figs 39-41). The Penn tiles of Group II have not been sub-divided. This material is set out in table 2 (M45-M47).

Fifteen tiles from the 1954 excavations were given to the British Museum by the owners of the site, Avon Building Company (London) Ltd, in 1957. These were selected by the writer because they added to the information about the figural designs already represented in the British Museum's collections. These pieces are all included in the relevant designs published in the author's Catalogue referred to above.1 Most of the remainder of the tiles are at present stored in Guildford Museum and others are, at the time of writing, stored at Surrey County Hall, Kingston-upon-Thames but will eventually be deposited with the rest of the archive at Guildford Museum. These locations are included in table 2 (M45-M47).

The tiles from the 1954 excavations are marked with Roman numerals, which denote the number of the trench in which they were found (fig 2). A list of the trenches, their position in the Abbey, and the design numbers of the tiles found in each is given below (69-71).

Most important of the pieces of pictorial tile acquired by the British Museum is that decorated with design 1318, part of the lower tile of the crucifixion panel, of which only two other pieces are known and the design is still incomplete (Eames 1980, 1, 151 and design 1318). One other piece belongs to the same series, Group I
Fig 37  Decorated tiles of group Iv (scale 1:3). Examples of designs 863, 866 and 867 only were found in 1954
vii (fig 38), and added to the still incomplete bottom tile of the queen’s panel, design 1313. One small piece only belonged to the combat series, Group I i, a piece of a Saladin tile design 467 (fig 33); but eight other pieces added information to designs in the Tristram series, Group I ii (figs 33 & 34). Two pieces in Guildford Museum also belong to this group and are decorated with parts of the Tristram designs 483 and 492. Design 535 (fig 36), of which three pieces were found, is a foliate cross on a roundel the same size as the Tristram pictures, clearly designed to form part of the same mosaic arrangement. The inscriptions and individual letter tiles of Group I iv (fig 35) are all associated with the pictorial mosaics. Designs 542, 602, 604, 613 and 614 (fig 36) all formed part of the mosaic background surrounding the combat pictures. Designs 863, 866 and 867 (fig 37) were all used on the frame tiles surrounding the Tristram pictures and 1043 was a frame tile designed to surround the Zodiac series.

Design 539 (fig 36) of which there are pieces in both Guildford Museum and Surrey County Hall, formed
Fig 39 Decorated tiles of group Iviii (scale 1:3)
Fig 40  Decorated tiles of group Iviii (scale 1:3)
Fig 41  Decorated tiles of group Iviii (scale 1:3)
Fig 42 Decorated tiles of group II (scale 1:3)
part of a mosaic arrangement in which roundels about 63mm (2½ in) in diameter were combined with a concave-sided figure decorated with stiff leaf foliage forming the background, making a much reduced and simplified version of the arrangement of the Combat series. These roundels were decorated with human heads, animal and geometric figures. A smaller version of this arrangement made use of roundels only 48mm (1.9 in) in diameter, the same size as those incorporated in the mosaic background of the Combat series. It is not known which of the decorative designs on these small roundels were used in these two arrangements, possibly they were regarded as interchangeable.

The piece of design 1751 in the British Museum added to the information about the hind quarters of an elaborate griffin which is spread horizontally over two square tiles (fig 39), published by Henry Shaw (1858, pl XIX).

GROUP II TILES (figs 42 & 43)

Penn type tiles had already been found on the site of Chertsey Abbey before the excavations of 1954. Sixty-nine further pieces were then recovered, decorated with eighteen different designs. Twelve of these pieces were either too worn or too small for the design to be certainly identified. All but one of the designs found have been published by the writer in her Catalogue of tiles in the British Museum, three of them being slight variants. The remaining design is related to that published by Hohler as P 31 (Hohler 1942, 31). These Penn tiles are listed as Table 2 Group II (M47). Guildford Museum has two complete Penn tiles from the site of Chertsey Abbey registered in 1952. The British Museum collections include fourteen Penn tiles registered before 1954. These are decorated with ten different designs, two of which are also present on tiles from the 1954 excavations. In 1942 Hohler noted that three of the Penn designs which he published were known from the site of Chertsey Abbey. Two of these are minor variants of two designs present on tiles found in 1954. There can be no doubt that these mass-produced Penn tiles were being purchased and used at Chertsey Abbey during the middle decades of the 14th century and it may be assumed that the Abbey's own tilery had gone out of production by that time.

Most of the tiles recovered in 1954 were found in the eastern arm of the abbey church but, as can be seen from the excavations plan (fig 2) this was the area in which most of the trenches were dug. None of these tiles was found in situ and it can be seen from the trench summaries that both 13th and 14th century tiles of Chertsey and Penn types were found together in the same trenches. This suggests considerable disturbance of the site since the dissolution of the Abbey and the demolition of the church and it seems improbable that
any great significance can be attached to the exact position within the transepts and eastern arm of the church in which the individual tiles were found. There are, however, a drawing (by M Shurlock, see frontispiece) and a photograph (pl 14) in the possession of Surrey Archaeological Society which show three areas of tiles in situ, all hitherto unpublished. The identification of the designs in the photograph is tentative, but there are probably three pieces of the mosaic surround to tiles of group I, (Eames design nos 540 and 602, and three unidentified borders).

In addition to the tiles which have been found during the various excavations on the abbey site, many others have been found by chance during gardening and building activities. The recovery of the tiles from the 1954 excavation was nevertheless of considerable importance. These excavations confirmed the disturbed and scattered state of the medieval pavements and demonstrated that commercially produced Penn tiles had been used in the church in the 14th century. The discovery of any part of an incomplete design is important because it is only from fragments that the figural subjects have been built up.

Notes

1 The tiles from these excavations acquired by the British Museum in 1957 are published in the writer's Catalogue as nos, 11,693–11,707. They are decorated with designs 467, 477, 483, 493, 495, 497, 501, 505-6, 1033, 1313, 1318, 1751, 1778, 1965.
2 Eames 1980, mosaic arrangement XL, background design 607, circular designs 526, 531 and 539.
3 Ibid, mosaic arrangement XL I, background design 608, circular designs 527-30, 532-4 and 540-4; these circular designs could also form part of mosaic arrangement LXIV illustrated with the Richard and Saladin roundels (Eames 1980, I, 145 and colour pl I Va).
4 Various past acquisitions of Chertsey tiles were entered in Guildford Museum’s Registers in 1952. I am indebted to members of the staff of Guildford Museum for referring to the Registers for me and taking out the relevant tiles for me to study.
5 Penn tiles already in the British Museum’s collections before 1954 are published in the writer’s Catalogue as 8063-4, 11,047-54 and 11,060-3. They are decorated with designs 2029-30, 2037, 2232, 2339, 2410, 2413, 2465, 2774 and 2790.
6 Hohler 1942, 110 & 122 records examples of his designs P66, P68 and P173A from Chertsey Abbey. P68 and P17A are present on tiles found during these excavations here numbered 2337 and 2870 respectively.

The pottery by Phil Jones

This material has been reported on together with that from the 1984-5 excavations in Chapter 3.

Other finds

The remaining finds are discussed in the microfiche and the more important of them described in captions to the illustrations. The principal cross references are indicated below.

Roman tile : M48
Items of copper alloy : M48 – 52; fig 44
Items of iron : M52; pl 37
Items of lead : M53-4; pl 38
Window glass & lead came : M54-5
Vessel glass : M55
Whetstones : M55-6; fig 45
Mouldings etc : M56-9; fig 46; pls 39-46
Plate 37  X-rays of iron objects (medieval, but no more precisely dated, unless otherwise noted). The objects are given a brief description followed by trench number: 6, coffin handle and ? backing plate, XXXVII; 9, knife blade (tang missing), XLVII; 10, coffin handle, XXVIII; 11, chain found with 10 so presumably a coffin or burial fitting, XXVIII; 12, object, c AD 1300 or earlier from context, XXIII.
Plate 38 Lead fittings of uncertain purpose: 1 from trench LII; 2 from trench III

Plate 39 Red painted plaster moulding (no 4), perhaps from a tomb canopy of 14th-16th century date, from trench XXIV

Plate 40 Floriated finial (moulding no 5), perhaps from the same tomb canopy as moulding no 4 (pl 39), but the exact find spot is unknown
Plate 41 12th century cloister arcade arch moulding (no 15), from trench LVIII. Pieces from the same arcade were also recovered by Pocock (1858, opp 113, nos 5 & 7).

Plate 42 Top left bull-nosed string (moulding no 16) from trench LIX; the two tracery fragments (mouldings 22 & 23) have no precise find spot.
Plate 43 12th century half-round attached shaft (moulding 17), re-used in wall 8A (M39, fn 28)

Plate 44 12th century bowtell moulding (moulding 18), probably from a door or window, re-used in wall 8A (cf pl 12)
Plate 45 12th century arch fragments, from left to right, chevron moulding (no 19), billet moulding (no 20), arch moulding (no 21). Their find spots are uncertain.

Plate 46 Cylindrical object, probably of limestone, of uncertain function but perhaps part of a piscina, found in trench LI (see fig 7)
Small finds of copper alloy (scale 1:1). The items are: 1, 2, hose brooches from G7; 3, hose brooch from G17; 5, 6, thread tassels or lace tags from G17; 7, double buckle; 8, 11, strap ends; 9, strap attachment; 10, belt slide (reconstruction at 1:2, as first discovered); items 7-11 all from G19.
Fig 45  Pierced whetstone of fine-grained metamorphic rock, context unknown, c AD 900-1300 (scale 1:1)

Fig 46  Stone moulding profiles (scale 1:4). Only item 3 is extant and the drawings are copies of those made in 1954. The items are given a brief description followed by the stone type and trench number: 1, mason's mark, greensand, III; 3, fragment of screen or monumental tomb, firestone, XXIV; 6-9, glazed window slots and minor mullions of 14/15th century, firestone, XXIV; 10, tracery fragment, 14th century, greensand, XXIV; 11 & 12, tracery fragments, 14th century, greensand, XLIX; 13, tracery fragment, greensand, LIVA; 15, cloister arcade arch moulding, late 12th century, ?greensand, LVIII; 17, half round attached shaft, 12th century, firestone, re-used in wall 8A
TRENCH SUMMARIES

In the lists below the information about each of the excavated trenches is summarised as follows:—

(a) Location and main features; figure and plate numbers
(b) Summary of Finds (notes: (1) Eames = Eames design number of a patterned tile — see the Tile report; (2) WW1a x 3 etc, indicates the pottery fabric type (see the printed report) followed by the number of sherds).

I (a) Cut through south wall of lady chapel; fig 14
(b) None

II (a) Cut through wall 6, the south wall of the south transept; fig 11 shows the north face of the trench
(b) None

III (a) Cut through the east wall of the south transept, and west through much of the transept itself, revealing various burials; fig 11
(b) Eames 2826; lead 2; moulding 1; window glass 1; post-med redware x 1

IV (a) Northward extension of III revealing more of wall 4, the east wall of the south transept
(b) None

V (a) Cut through wall 3, the dividing wall between the presbytery and lady chapel. Exposed G 2 and G 4; fig 13; pl 28
(b) Mouldings 14 (see also 3,11 and 13); window glass 2; Roman samian x 1 (fig 49 no 45)

VI (a) Precise location not marked, but evidently in the vicinity of wall 3 and probably to the north of it, near the junction of the lady chapel and south transept
(b) None

VII (a) Cut through wall 1, the south wall of the lady chapel, at its junction with wall 4
& VIIIA (b) None

VIII (a) Cut through wall 3, dividing the presbytery and lady chapel, and across the broken apse wall to the centre of the lady chapel, exposing G1 and (?) G13; fig 12
(b) Eames 1043

IX (a) Exact location not marked, but in area of junction of walls 2,3 and 7 at the north-east corner of the lady chapel; exposed G5A
(b) Eames 2312

X (a) Cut through wall 1, the south wall of the lady chapel, near its east end; un-numbered burial exposed within chapel
(b) None

XI (a) Cut through wall 4, the dividing wall between the south transept and the lady chapel
(b) Eames 814, 1043, 1147, 1151, 1164 & 1253

XII (a) Precise limits not known but in area of south presbytery aisle apse and south wall of squared east end (wall 8A); exposed G5 and G6; figs 17a & 18; pls 12, 20, 29 & 30.
(b) Iron 13; window glass 3; vessel glass 1

XIII (a) Location uncertain but in area of south presbytery aisle apse
(b) Eames 2725; window glass 4

XIV (a) Cut through wall 7, at the east end of the church, close to the springing point of the central and southern apse walls
(b) Eames 539, 2413

XV (a) Cut through wall 5, the west wall of the south transept, at the bevelled junction with wall 6
(b) Eames 1061; window glass 5

XVI (a) Precise limits unknown, but in area of south presbytery aisle apse; fig 17
(b) Eames 1840; vessel glass 2; WW1a x 1, tinglaze x 1

XVII (a) Precise limits uncertain, but area of wall 8A, the south wall of the squared east end of the church
(b) Roman greyware x 2 (fig 49 no 46)

XVIII (a) A similar area to XVII, but to the south
(b) Window glass 6

XIX (a) Long trench cut through the north and central apses, close to their junction with wall 7, and including an east-west extension across the central part of wall 7; fig 4a
(b) Eames 535, 1033, 1840; WWx1 (fig 49 no 47)

XX (a) Location uncertain, but perhaps in the area of the east end of the church
(b) None
Chertsey Abbey

XXI (a) There are two trenches so numbered:
(i) In the area of wall 8A, south of trench XVII
(ii) At the south-west corner of the south transept, south of XV; pl 11
(b) (i) Window glass 7
(ii) Whetstone 1; window glass 8
(i) or (ii) WW1a x 2, RW2a x 4, post-med redware x 5

XXII (a) North-south trench through the middle of the central apse, including part of the wall on the north side; fig 4b
(b) Post-med redware x 1

XXIII (a) At the south-east corner of the squared east end (wall 8)
XXIIIA (b) Eames 2662; iron 12; window glass 9

XXIV (a) East-west trench from the east edge of the south apse wall through the squared east end (wall 11); exposed G7 and G9, and an un-numbered burial; fig 21; pls 31-2
(b) Eames 863, 867; cu alloy 1.5; iron 1; mouldings 2-10; window glass 10

XXV (a) East-west trench through the mid point of the central apse and the squared east end; exposed G19; fig 19
(b) Cu alloy 7–11; iron 7

XXVI (a) North-south trench at the western edge of the east end of the church, adjacent to and north of XXV; fig 20

XXIX (a) Location unknown
(b) None

XXX (a) Cut through wall 12, the north wall of the north transept
(b) None

XXXI (a) Junction of north west corner of north transept and the eastern cloister alley
(b) Eames 863, 1029, 2827

XXXII (a) Cut through wall 15, the dividing wall between the eastern cloister alley and the chapter house; fig 23
(b) Cu alloy 12

XXXIII (a) East-west trench through the north presbytery aisle apse and the squared east end wall 11; exposed G10, G11 and G12; pls 33-4
(b) Post-med redware x 1

XXXIV (a) Trenches through the east wall (12A) of the north transept and through the north transept apse; figs 9-10; pl 10
& XXXIVA (b) Eames 535, 602, 817, 863, 1236, 2035, 2413, 2715; WW3 x 1, post-med redware x 2

XXXV (a) Within chapter house on south side
(b) Eames 1029, 2552, 2651

XXXVI (a) Cut through wall 15, the dividing wall between the eastern cloister alley and the chapter house
(b) None

XXXVII (a) Cut through wall 12A, at the junction between the north transept and the presbytery (wall 10)
(b) Eames 535, 608, 775, 805, 821, 839, 1071, 1325; iron 6; post-med stoneware x 1, post-med redware x 2

XXXVIII (a) Within the north central area of the chapter house
(b) Eames 2413

XXXIX (a) On the north side of the north transept apse; fig 10
(b) Eames 863, 881

XL (a) Cut through the wall (16) dividing the Dorter and Frater ranges; fig 28
(b) None

XLI (a) Cut through wall 17A in the dorter range
(b) Eames 866, 2175; WW1a x 2

XLII (a) Through wall 16, dividing the frater and dorter range and into the frater range
(b) Tinglaze x 1

XLIII (a) Just south of XLII, at junction of walls 16 and 17
(b) Iron 4; Q1 x 1 (fig 49 no 48)

XLIV (a) Location unknown, but perhaps in same area as XLII, XLIII, and XLV
(b) None
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XLV (a) Frater range, east-west trench through walls 18 and 16, figs 24-6; pls 25-7
(b) SI x 3 (fig 49 nos 37-40)

XLVI (a) Squared end of north transept apse, near junction with wall 10
(b) Eames 761, 769, 801, 3022

XLVII (a) Cut across wall 13, on the west side of the north transept, and into the south-east corner of the cloister walk, partially exposing G16, G17 & G18, but see also XLIX; pl 8
(b) Eames 2464; iron 9

XLVIII (a) In Frater range, area of wall 20
(b) Eames 604; vessel glass 3; post-med redware x 1

XLIX (a) South-east corner of cloister walk and cut through walls 19 and 21, the north side of the nave; the relationship between this trench and XLVII is not clear, but G16, G17 and G18 were at least partially exposed by it, and finds from them are recorded to this trench, except for Iron 9 from G16; fig 6; pl 8
(b) Eames 1361, 2175, 2650; cu alloy 3, 4, 5, 6; iron 3; mouldings 11, 12

L (a) Cut across north aisle of nave, walls 19 and 21; fig 5
(b) Eames 2363

LI (a) Cut across south aisle of nave, walls 22 and 23; fig 7
(b) Eames 564, 1253, 1286, 1837, 1965, 2870; Post-med stoneware x 1

LII (a) Probably to the south of the church, in the area of the Chertsey tile kiln, but not marked on any plan. If so, burials were found here
(b) Lead 1

LIII (a) As LII
(b) Fragment of Roman tegula; SI x 1, C2 x 2, TQ1a x 1, Roman greyware x 1 (fig 49 nos 40-4)

LIV (a) Vessel glass 4, may be one of the great quantity of these cloche jars found 70ft south east of the tile kiln (M34), and if so would fix the location of this trench
LIVA (b) Iron 2, 5; whetstones, 2,3; mouldings 13; vessel glass 4; WW1a x 3, WW1b x 1, post-med redware x 5

LV (a) As LIV (?)
(b) Eames 1156; cu alloy 13; tinglaze x 1 (marked LVA)

LVI (a) Cut across south aisle of nave, walls 22 and 23; fig 8
(b) None

LVII (a) Cut across wall 21, the north arcade wall of the nave
(b) None

LVIII (a) North-east corner of cloister garth and across the north cloister walk to wall 24; pl 23
(b) Eames 2827; mouldings 14, 15, ?19, ?20, 21

LIX (a) Dorter range, walls 25, 25A and 26; fig 27a
(b) Eames 2869; mouldings 16; WW3 x1, post-med redware x 1

LX (a) East end of presbytery, in area of high altar
(b) Eames 2837; cu alloy 14

LXI & LXIA (a) West end of presbytery and just into area of crossing; fig 16
(b) Eames 4922, 542, 1236, 1310, 1313, 1361, 1362, 1847, 2171, 2175, 2464; post-med redware x 2

LXII (a) Dorter area, walls 17A and 27; fig 27
(b) Eames 854, 2339; post-med redware x 2

LXIII (a) Cut across the eastern cloister alley, walls 29 and 30
(b) None

Material that cannot be assigned to any one trench includes:— SI x 2, Q3 x 2 (fig 49 nos 49 & 50), WW1a x 2 (inc fig 49 no 51), WW1b x 1, WW3 x 7 (inc fig 49 no 52), WW3 'Tudor Green' — type x 1, RW x 6 (inc fig 49 nos 53 & 54)
Fig 47 Location of the 1984-5 excavation and plan of the 1983 geophysical survey and earlier work in the area of the outer court. A, B, C, & D mark the sites of ovens and/or kilns excavated in 1934 (Nevill 1935). See fig 1 for the relationship of this area to the rest of the site. (Scale 1:500)