

SAXO-NORMAN, MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT AT REGIS HOUSE, LONDON EC4

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SUMMARY

The 1994–96 excavations at Regis House, King William Street, London EC4, alongside the pre-1831 approach road to London Bridge (Bridge or Fish Street) revealed that the site was reoccupied in c.AD 950. The main evidence of Saxo-Norman (AD c.900–1200) occupation consisted of clusters of cess/rubbish pits indicating the presence of linear burgage plots. From

the 12th century onwards a dense mosaic of stone-built cellared shops (often fishmongers), inns and houses was established. Access to the internal properties was provided by communal alleyways and yards. Internal and external features included stone-lined cesspits and wells which often remained in use for centuries. Some of the medieval cellars were retained after the Great Fire of 1666 and relined in brick. The construction of new London Bridge (1824–31) and the creation of King

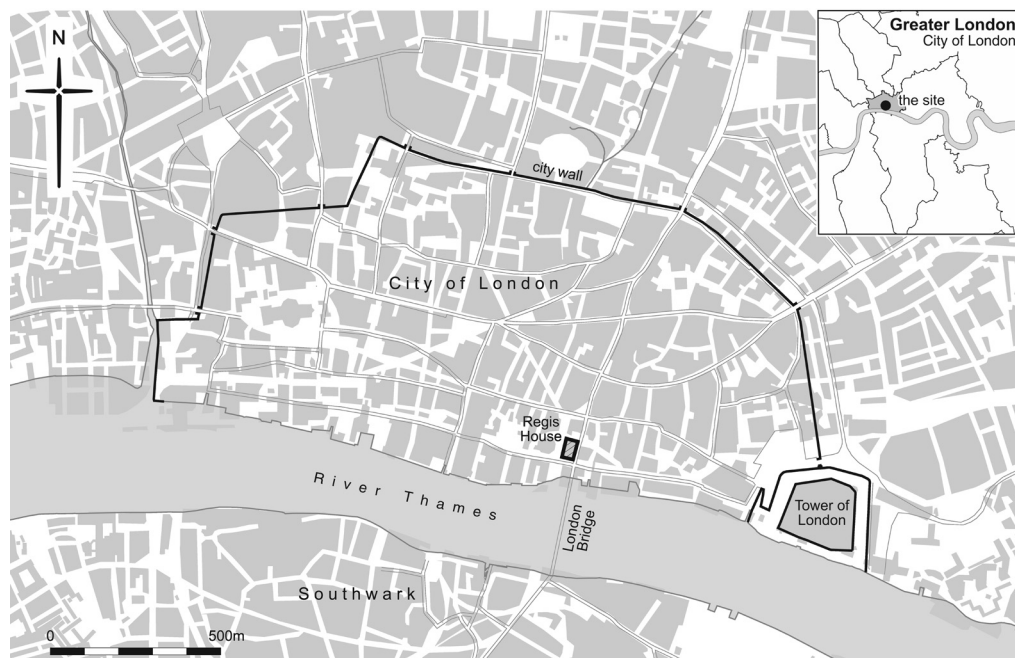


Fig 1. Site location plans

William Street, which became the new bridge approach road, was a catalyst for the redevelopment of a number of properties within the site, a process which resulted in the loss of many of the historic tenements. Finds from the site included a 16th-century tin-glazed or maiolica ware jug from the South Netherlands, now displayed in the Museum of London.

INTRODUCTION

During 1994–96 the site of Regis House (43–46 King William Street), plus the adjoining properties of 41–44 King William Street, 18–19 Fish Street Hill and ‘The Canterbury Arms’, 20 Fish Street Hill, in the City of London,

EC4 (NGR 53281 18073) were investigated by the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS) in advance of redevelopment (Figs 1–2). The eastern boundary of the site (Fish Street) was the northern approach road to the Roman, Saxo-Norman and medieval phases of London Bridge (Fig 2). Indeed it only ceased to be the bridge approach road in 1831, when King William Street (the western site boundary) was created to serve the new bridge built upstream from its predecessor. The programme of archaeological fieldwork was supervised by Trevor Brigham and Bruce Watson (Brigham *et al* 1996; Brigham & Watson 1996). The post-Roman sequence

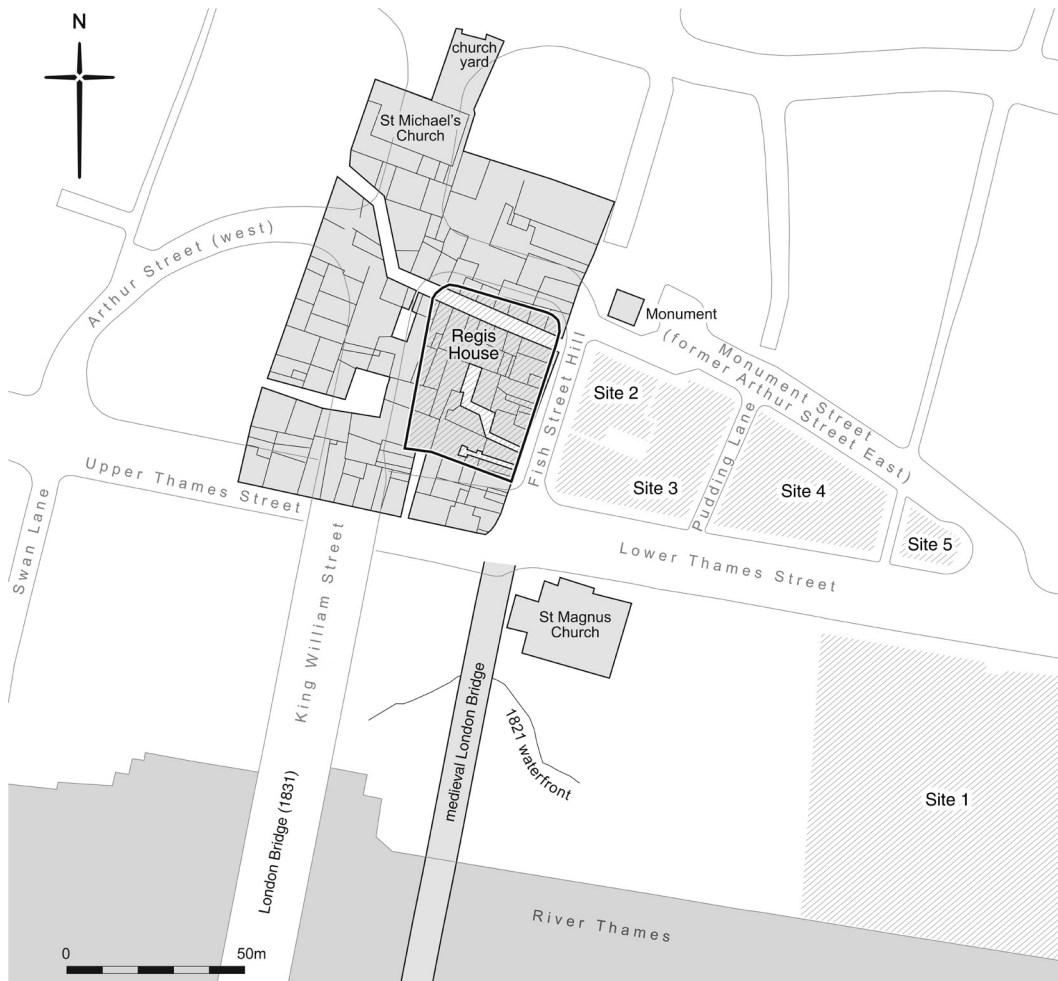


Fig 2. Area location plan showing location of sites mentioned in the text, including the churches of St Magnus the Martyr and St Michael's Crooked Lane and the pre-1831 bridgehead road layout. (Sites mentioned in text: 1. Billingsgate (BIG82); 2. Fish Street Hill (FMO85); 3. Pudding Lane (PDN81); 4. Peninsular House (PEN79); 5. Billingsgate Buildings (TR74))

has been integrated with discoveries made during the 1929–31 redevelopment of the site (Waddington 1931, 17–37).

It is intended that the Roman sequence from the site will be described in a MOLA internet publication; this will also describe the fieldwork programme, the natural topography and drift geology, so this information is not repeated here. Also, for reasons of space only selected specialist data, including dating evidence and documentary research, are published in this article. The relevant archive reports are listed in the bibliography. Further information on all aspects of the site research archive is available from the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC). Complete lists of the post-Roman pottery codes, including details and date ranges, are available from the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre as part of the research archive and are also posted on: www.museumoflondonarchaeology.org.uk/.../post92mol_rom_fab_form.pdf (accessed 2011). All dating evidence unless otherwise stated is derived from pottery spot-dating of individual feature assemblages. Selective use has been made here of the uncompleted documentary survey by Tony Dyson, which was intended to complement his previous work on the medieval and post-medieval waterfront parishes of the City of London (Dyson 1996); a pilot project linking the documentary survey to digital mapping was undertaken in 2006 (Holder *et al* 2006).

Organisation of the text

The sequence described here is a direct continuation from the Roman one. Therefore the numbers allocated to Buildings (B) and Open Areas (OA) are continued from those already assigned to the Roman sequence. Accession numbers are cited for significant finds *eg* <12> and context numbers for important assemblages *eg* [13]. The conventions used in the illustrations are shown in Fig 3.

The nature of the archaeological evidence

The single storey basements of the existing buildings, particularly the concrete stanchion bases of Regis House, two artesian wells and the King William Street underground station access shaft in the north-west corner of the site had resulted in considerable archaeological

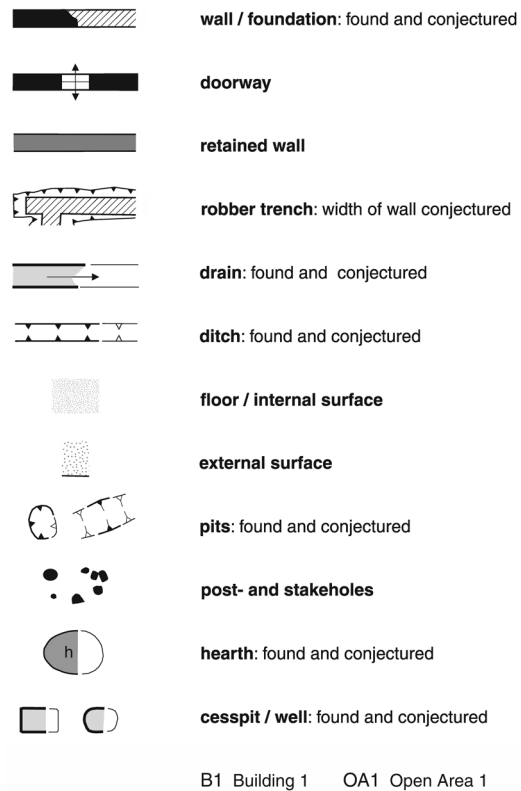


Fig 3. Drawing conventions used in text

destruction before 1994 (Fig 4). This situation was exacerbated by the effect of the site's sloping natural topography, which had resulted in the northernmost portion of the site already being truncated down to natural deposits. Therefore the survival of post-Roman features and structures across the site was uneven and sometimes fragmentary. These factors mean that sometimes the interpretation and the accurate dating of the surviving evidence was problematic. During the 1994 evaluation three test pits were excavated to the west of the footprint of the new building.

The work of Gerald Dunning, 1929–31

During the 1929–31 redevelopment, Gerald Dunning (Guildhall Museum Archaeologist) carried out a watching-brief (Site Code GM248); the key objectives of this exercise were to record the Roman deposits and structures (Dunning 1932). However, he also recorded a number of post-Roman features. The most important finds group came from

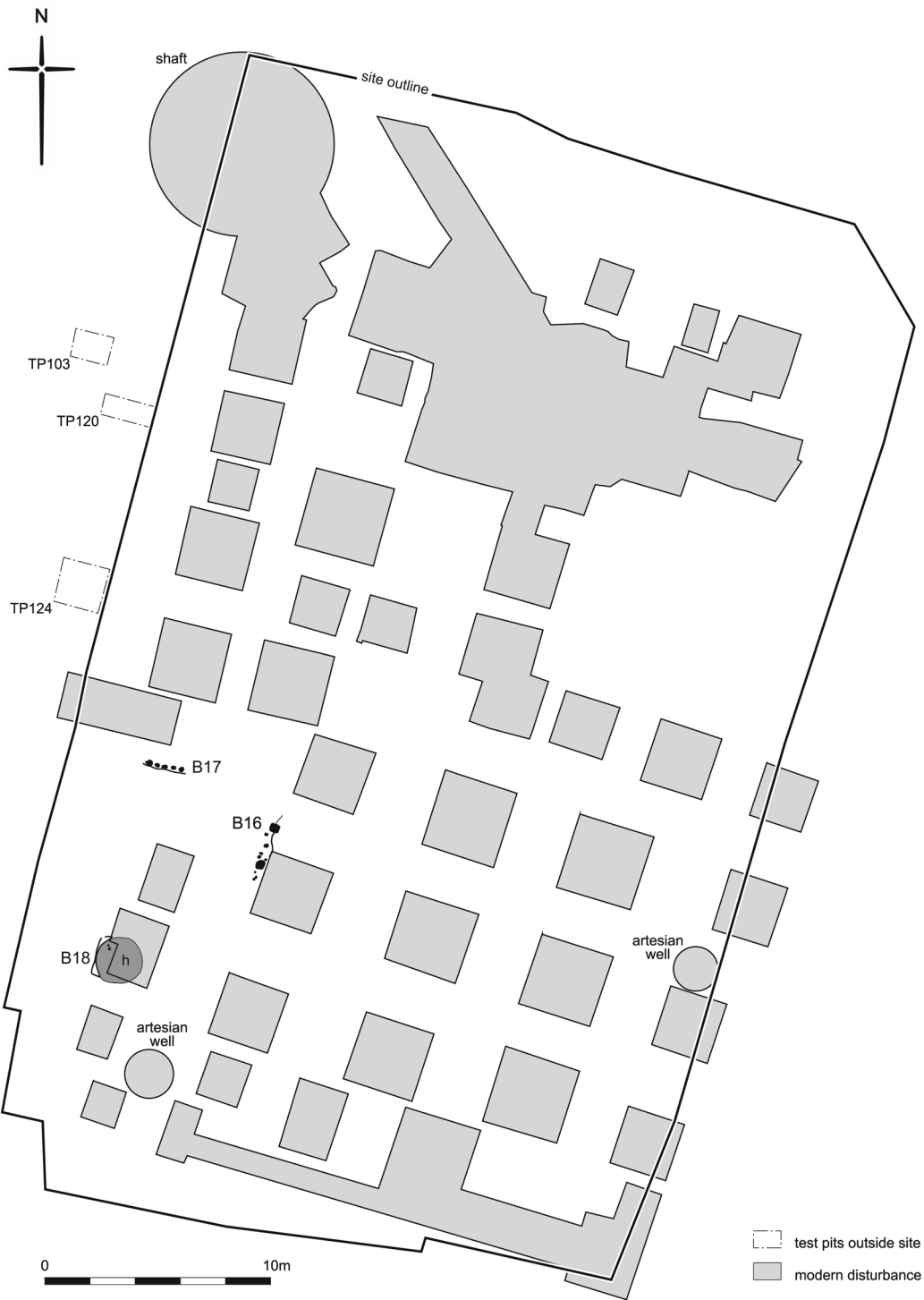


Fig 4. The areas of previous archaeological disturbance within the limits of archaeological investigation and evaluation test pits which ended up outside the footprint of the new development, plus Saxo-Norman buildings B16–B18

a barrel-lined well (described later). Other finds included Late Saxon shellyware cooking pots (AD 900–1050) and a Scarborough ware figurine (1200–1300). Post-medieval finds included coins of Charles II (1660–85), a glass bottle bearing a seal of 1721, an English tin-glazed ware salt cellar (1570–1800), and tokens minted by *The Miter In, New Fish Street* issued by WAH (William Harman c.1661) and *Ye Swan & Bridge In, New Fish Streete* (1657) issued by GEB (Gilbert and Elizabeth Brandon) (Waddington 1931, 29–30).

SAXO-NORMAN DEVELOPMENT, AD c.950–1200

Introduction

Although it is attested by Bede that a cathedral was established in London during AD 604 (EH 108), there is little evidence of Early or Middle Saxon activity (AD 410–900) within the walled Roman city (Cowie & Blackmore in prep; Vince 1991, 411–21). The site of Regis House was apparently uninhabited from c.AD 400 until c.950. However, as the excavation of post-medieval cellars had truncated the Saxo-Norman land-surface and destroyed all trace of surface-laid buildings, leaving only the lower portion of deeper cut features (mainly pits and wells), the surviving archaeological evidence for this period was fragmentary. Survival of Saxo-Norman archaeological deposits was generally better along the western half of the site, as the level of recent truncation was higher than elsewhere.

Saxo-Norman buildings, AD c.950–1000

Building 16

This was a sunken-floored building (SFB). It consisted of a north–south line of seven post or stakeholes and two postpits (Fig 4). The posts would have supported a horizontal plank lining around the eastern side of the structure, which probably continued above ground level to act as cladding for the main superstructure, although no actual timbers survived. The posts were probably not all contemporary, but represented instead several phases of rebuilding along the wall line. Due to later truncation no floors or internal deposits survived.

Building 17

This was another SFB of which only a 2.1m length of the southern wall survived (Fig 4). Any original lining timbers were removed by a robber cut running parallel to the cellar edge, which was then backfilled prior to the construction of a more substantial wall lining. Like B16, it consisted of a series of six large posts and stakeholes (Brigham & Watson 1996, fig 10). The remains of the lowest level of plank cladding survived as a timber stain, but the supporting posts themselves had been withdrawn. This building was infilled with organic refuse once it had been dismantled. One of the features in OA9 (west) may have been a drain connected to this building.

Building 18

A cess and rubbish pit to the south of B17 was truncated by a large rectangular feature, which was interpreted as the remains of a third SFB (Fig 4). The full width of the building survived (3.2m) to a depth of 0.48m, although, as was the case with the initial phase of Building 17, there were no signs of a timber lining, and the area was infilled with refuse. A series of three compacted burnt deposits within the structure was interpreted as successive hearth surfaces, which took up much of the interior; however these ‘surfaces’ may actually represent hearth rake-out derived from elsewhere. There were no finds from the structure to suggest a function, although it may have housed a craft industry requiring the use of heat.

Dating evidence

None of these buildings were directly dated, but they can be identified typologically as Saxo-Norman SFBs, similar to other London examples (Horsman *et al* 1988; Hill & Woodger 1999, 24–37). All associated pottery was residual Roman material, but on the basis of succeeding phases, these buildings should date to the mid- or late 10th century.

Saxo-Norman pits, AD 950–1150/1200 (OA9)

The truncated unlined cess and rubbish pits were generally oval, square or rectangular in shape. The fills were mainly a dark grey silty or clayey fine sand with occasional greenish

staining, largely derived from decayed organic domestic rubbish, often mixed with cess. The most frequent inclusions were pebbles, animal bones, charcoal fragments, daub, oysters and wood ash. Some of the rectangular pits were wattle-lined, presumably to facilitate reuse, and some of the examples of unlined pits showed evidence of having been recut or scoured out. Many of the pits are probably contemporary with the buildings, although some are clearly later than B16 and B17.

Saxo-Norman finds and environmental data

The largest groups of Saxo-Norman pottery were found in these pits, most of the material dated to c.1050–1150 and consisted of early medieval sand- and shell-tempered wares and local grey wares, as well as fragments of imported Rhineland pitchers from the Andenne. Artefacts from the Saxo-Norman features included a bone toggle <1497>, a pig fibula pin <620>, an incomplete bone spindlewhorl <1427>, and a complete bone counter or gaming piece with ring-and-dot decoration <1005>. Examples of similar Saxo-Norman counters, pins and spindlewhorls are known from other London excavations (Pritchard 1991, 205–10).

The only coin of this period recovered from site ([1413] <592> a residual find in Group 224, a modern feature) was a lead copy of a silver penny of Aethelred II (AD 978–1016). Other examples of this type of lead coinage are known from Billingsgate (Fig 2, site 1). Their function is uncertain, but they have been interpreted as customs receipts given to traders as proof of payment (Archibald 1991, 327–35).

The faunal remains from the Saxo-Norman features were dominated by the three main domesticates (cattle, sheep/goat and pig), with the most common species being cattle. Most of the skeletal elements were present but there was a high frequency of butchered lower limbs and metapodials (both adult and juvenile), which suggests that much of the material is primary butchery waste. Other species recovered included dog (one complete juvenile skeleton [1463]) and horse. The mollusc remains consisted of oyster (*Ostrea edulis*) and mussel (*Mytilus edulis*) shells. Fish species present included cod.

The plant remains included wheat and

barley grains; seeds of brome, blackberry/raspberry, elder and sedge; pips of apple/pear; and cherry stones. Cinquefoil (*Potentilla* sp) and strawberry (*Fragaria* sp) pips were present in many samples. Wild strawberry is a plant found in a variety of habitats including waste ground. It is a native plant and produces edible fruits, so it was presumably being cultivated locally. Strawberry pips were also found in the Saxo-Norman pits at Milk Street (Jones & Straker 1991, 381). The sedge seeds may have been derived from material used as either thatch or floor covering.

Open Area 9: the north-eastern area of site

Within the north-eastern portion of the site were a number of pits (Fig 5). Two of these were square in plan and had been timber-lined with corner posts, suggesting an initial use as wells. One example contained pottery dating to AD 900–1050 and 1050–1150. Another pit along the Fish Street frontage had traces of a wattle or barrel lining. Artefacts from the fills included a crucible <445>, a bronze and iron knife <460>, and a cloth fragment <599>. Other possibly contemporary finds included bronze mounts <766>, <789>, <793>, and a copper-alloy finger-ring <788>. In general, the rectilinear pits were clearly respecting the alignment of Fish Street Hill, the majority forming clusters set c.6–10m from the frontage. One Roman masonry wall foundation close to the street frontage was apparently robbed out during this period.

Open Area 9: the north-western area

The pits included four wattle-lined examples, one of them backfilled AD 900–1050. Most of the artefacts from the pits were probably Roman, but included a contemporary bone pin <620> and a bone counter <1005>. Where the orientation of these features could be determined, the street was once more a dominant factor, despite their distance from the frontage (c.20–30m). This would seem to indicate that their alignment was dictated by burgage plot boundaries perpendicular to the street.

Open Area 9: the south-eastern area

In a strip within 6m of the street frontage in

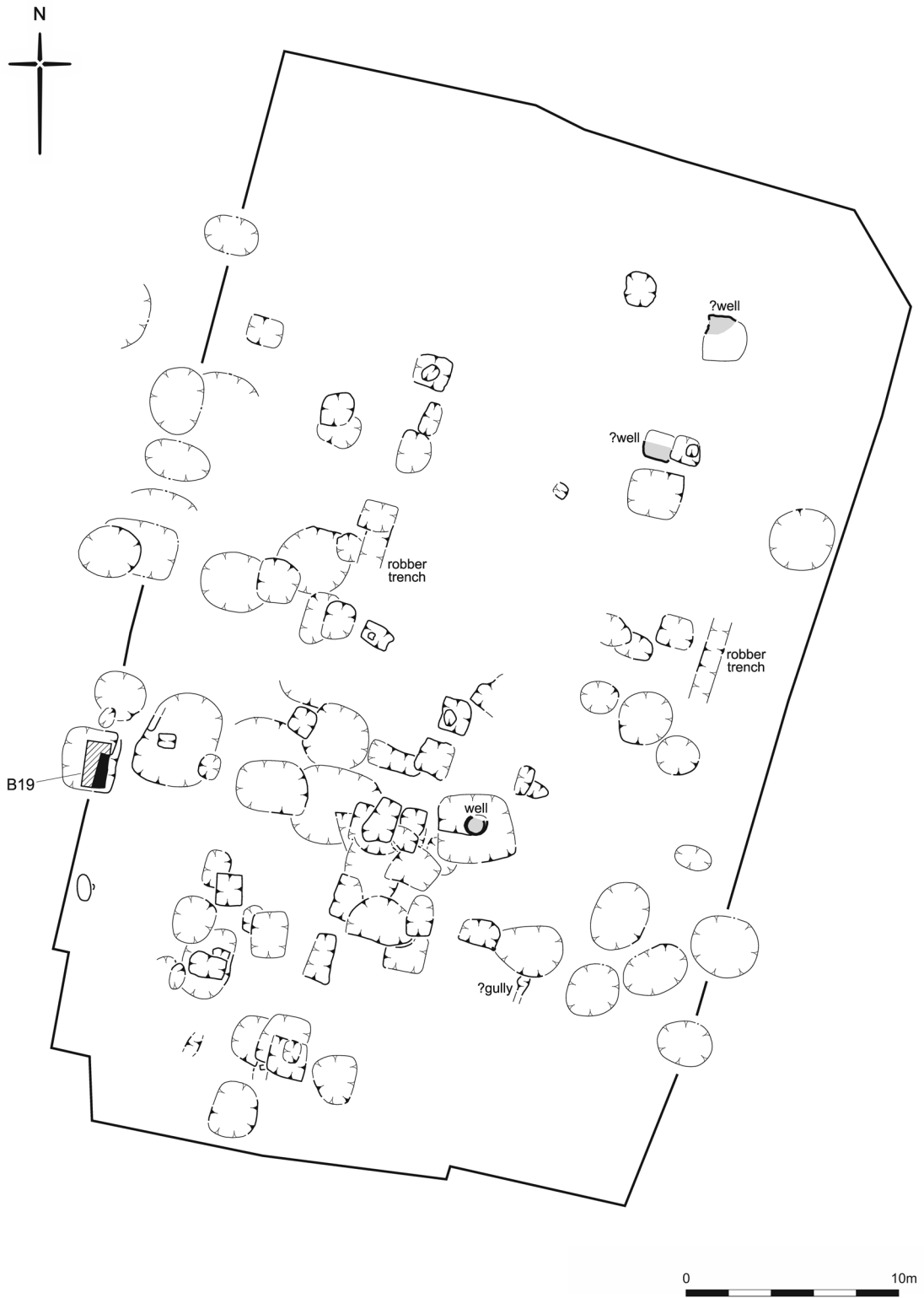


Fig 5. Open Area 9, the Saxo-Norman pits and other features, plus Building 19

the south-east, seven fragmentary pits were recorded, two of them below the modern street frontage itself. Contemporary pottery was only recovered from two examples, both dated to 1080–1200. The presence of pits so close to the present street suggests that in the early medieval period either the line of Fish Street Hill ran further east than its post-medieval counterpart or some areas of the street frontage were not yet built-up. This is also inferred both by the presence of one pit under the frontage further north and by the absence of street gravels in any of the exposed sections.

Open Area 9: the central area

This area in the centre of the southern part of the site contained the greatest concentration of pits and other features. Here, some 30 intercutting pits formed a dense pattern, with a barrel well (AD 1140–1220), two wattle-lined pits and a deep feature, which may have been an unlined well (Fig 5). The date range of the individual pits spanned from AD 900–1050 to 1000–1250. Crucially, several pits cut the dismantled sunken-floored B16, although none of these were dated. Most of the finds from these pits were of either Roman or indeterminate date; the identifiable coins were all late Roman. One Roman masonry wall foundation was robbed out during this period.

To the south and west were further concentrations of pits, ranging in date from AD 970–1050/1100 to 1050–1100/1150. One these contained a bone toggle <1497>, which was probably contemporary. The southernmost grouping included twelve pits, one of which was possibly a gully, another contained a possibly contemporary bone pin <1500>.

Open Area 9: the western area

Near the western limit of excavation, two further main pit groups were identified (Fig 5). The northern consisted of seven intercutting features, mainly cess/rubbish pits, but including a large possible quarry pit and a north–south timber-lined slot which may have been a drain associated with B17 immediately to the north. These pits ranged in date from AD 900–1050 to 1140–1220.

Building 19

Probably the latest feature in the south-west was part of the eastern end of a rectangular masonry building (Fig 5). It consisted of a north–south-aligned, ragstone rubble, flint and Roman tile foundation, which cut an earlier rubbish pit (dating to post-1050). This foundation can be interpreted as part of a rectangular building, which lay mainly beyond the site boundary. Its position coincided with the projected line of three later chalk piers belonging to B26, so B19 may mark the establishment of this property. The form of B19 cannot be determined from such fragmentary remains, but its position relative to the west wall of medieval B26 and tenement H1 suggests that it may have been part of a relatively high status building, which appears to mark the establishment of elements of the medieval tenement pattern.

The wall was robbed subsequently, the robber trench containing chalk and ragstone rubble presumably derived from the upper foundation or superstructure, which may suggest a 12th-century date. The fills contained residual pottery of AD 900–1050, and late Roman material.

Saxo-Norman discussion

The site was occupied until *c.*AD 400, but in the absence of any Early or Middle Saxon finds (*c.*AD 450–900) even in residual contexts, it is assumed that the site was abandoned during the early 5th century (the latest coin from OA8 was an issue of Arcadius (AD 388–402) <132>) and was not reoccupied until *c.*AD 950. Previous archaeological excavations along the east side of *Bridge Street* (now known as Fish Street Hill) and around the Pudding Lane area revealed that these sites were only reoccupied during the 10th or early 11th century (Horsman *et al* 1988, 13–21; Fig 2). The reoccupation of the site after some 550 years of abandonment was undoubtedly connected with the documented reoccupation of the derelict Roman walled city by the Saxons in AD 886 (ASC 80; Keene 2003), as a defensive measure to counter seaborne Viking raiders sailing up the Thames. The present archaeological evidence shows that neither of the areas adjoining the north and south sides of

the Saxo-Norman bridge was reoccupied until the 10th century. The catalyst for the reoccupation of the bridgehead was almost certainly the existence of a port facility at Billingsgate by *c.*AD 995 and a timber bridge across the Thames by AD 990–1020 (Watson *et al* 2001, 52–7, 73) (Fig 2, site 1).

When the spatial distribution of the three surviving SFBs (B16–18), the pit clusters and the masonry building (B19) is taken into account, a pattern emerges of some seven or more east–west strips extending across the full width of the site (Fig 6). Each of these strips varied in width from *c.*6 to 7m. The concentration of features reached its highest density in a band *c.*11–22m from the street in the southern half, the corresponding northern area having been destroyed by modern intrusions. Notably, the concentration declined in both a westward and an eastward direction, although this may have been partially due to later truncation, which was more severe across the eastern part of the site where the contemporary ground surface had generally been higher. One pit under the street frontage did survive to at least 6.8m OD, indicating that at least 2.0m of deposits had been lost in this area.

One interpretation of this patterning would be that the pit clusters and occasional wells represented activity at the rear of a series of burgage plots fronting onto *Bridge Street*. The clearer areas in the eastern half of each plot would mark the position of the main buildings, which, because they were probably surface-laid timber structures (*ie* resting on sill beams or supported by relatively shallow posts) would not have survived the modern truncation in that area. Previous excavations along the east side of Fish Street Hill revealed that surviving Saxo-Norman pits and SFBs were all located at least 5m east of the present street frontage, implying that this area was occupied by timber buildings of which no trace survived (Horsman *et al* 1988, 21) (Fig 2, site 2). Interestingly, none of the three sunken-floored buildings found on site lay nearer than 20m to the street (Fig 5). The impression is that the site was occupied by a series of east–west tenements, some 6–7m wide, 22–23m long, with a main dwelling near the street frontage and an ancillary sunken-floored structure to the rear. These SFBs were part of the earliest activity, and

while B16 clearly was repaired, there is no evidence for the successive replacement of such buildings as recorded along the east side of Fish Street Hill (Horsman *et al* 1988, 50–1). The primary function of the SFBs is uncertain, B18 may have served as a craft workshop and the others perhaps served as store rooms.

The masonry foundation associated with the later building (B19) is of quite different type, and stylistically belongs to the later medieval period, except in its reuse of Roman building materials, which is characteristic of Saxo-Norman masonry structures in London. For that reason, and the fact that the foundation was superseded by piers belonging to B26, it has been assigned to the Saxo-Norman period. Spatially, it lay west of the earlier buildings, and may therefore have been at the rear of a plot facing onto St Michael's Lane. Excavations at Pudding Lane revealed that during the 12th century a large rectangular masonry building (with its long axis at right angles to the contemporary street frontage) was constructed (Horsman *et al* 1988, 20; fig 11) (Fig 2, site 3).

The presence of several pits extending under the modern Fish Street Hill frontage and the absence of street gravels strongly suggest either that the Saxo-Norman road itself was narrower, or that its course had shifted eastward; either is possible, since the bridge was not rebuilt until *c.*AD 990–1020 and need not have been precisely located above its buried Roman precursor (Watson *et al* 2001, 57). Fish Street is considered to be part of the primary Saxo-Norman road grid which was established during the late 9th or early 10th century (Horsman *et al* 1988, 113).

Water was obtained from wells on site, several of which were apparently lined with barrels or wattle panels. Other possible examples were either unlined or their linings had been completely removed before being used for the disposal of cess and rubbish. In the north-east corner of OA9 the remains of two probable timber-lined wells, with a square arrangement of corner posts, were found. These two wells were probably of a similar design to the 11th-century example found nearby at Billingsgate Buildings (Jones 1980, fig 9) (Fig 2, site 5).

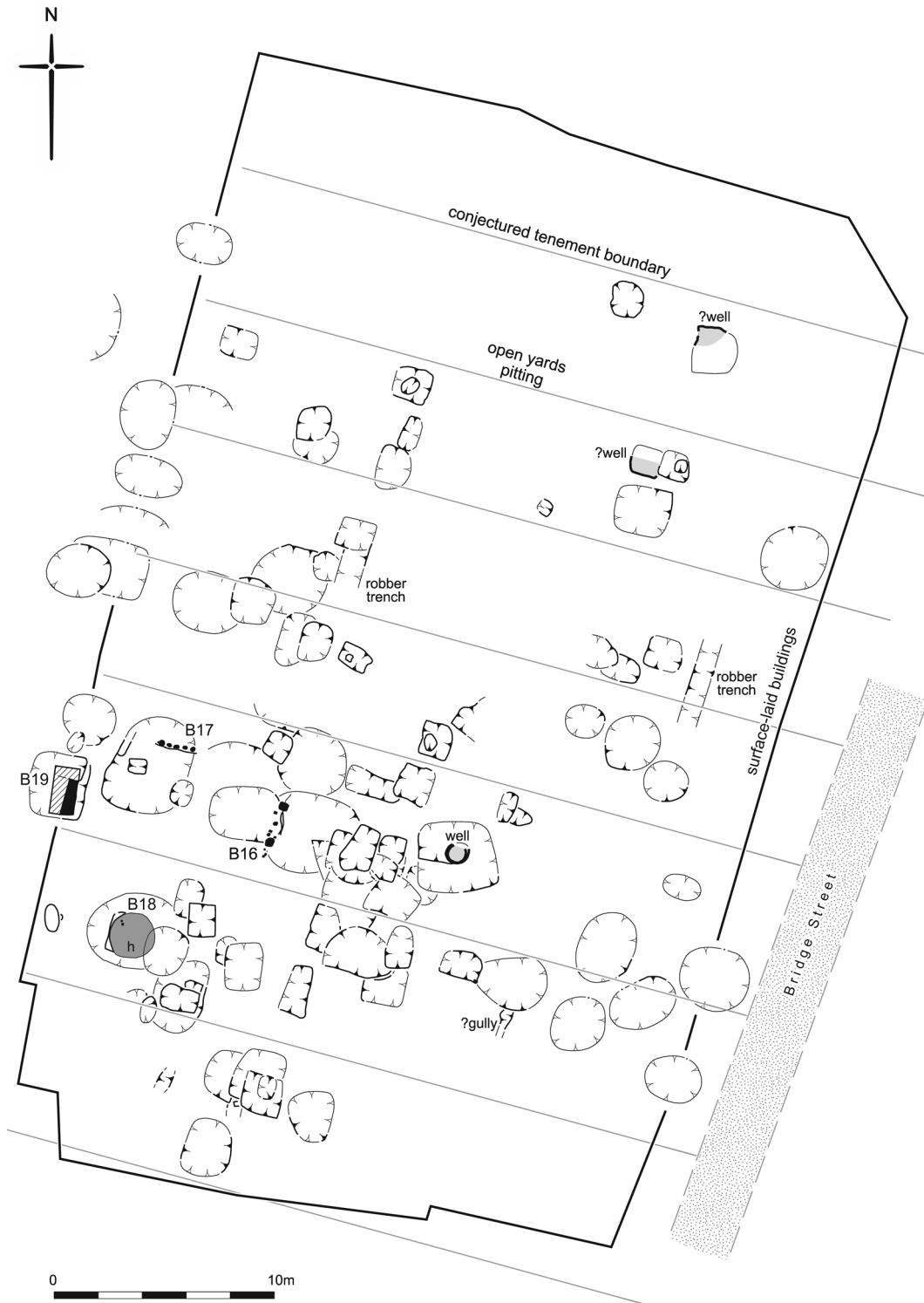


Fig 6. Conjectural pattern of Saxo-Norman property units linked to pits and building remains, showing projected line of the contemporary Bridge Street frontage

MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT, 1200–1500

Introduction

The archaeological remains for the medieval period consisted almost entirely of truncated, trench-built, mortared rubble masonry foundations of cellars, cesspits and wells. The various post-medieval cellars and the creation of Regis House (1929–31) had caused a substantial degree of truncation of all medieval structures. The survival of foundations was variable, with few remains in the northern half of the site. The documentary survey is particularly useful in that it covers a period for which there is no cartographic evidence, and has therefore proved crucial in reconstructing the outline of properties and buildings. A comparison with the later documentary and cartographic evidence from the 17th century onward shows that the body of documentary material available for the medieval period provides a reliable source concerning the location and dimensions of properties. Italics are used conventionally to denote streets or properties which no longer exist.

The dating of the medieval phase was hampered by the absence of contemporary material obtained from the construction trenches of walls, and the lack of related deposits. On stylistic grounds the chalk or ragstone masonry foundations bonded by brown, sandy lime mortar containing frequent chalk flecks date from c.1200–1500. Due to the longevity of structures, particularly cesspits or wells, often the only associated finds relate to their final disuse during the post-medieval period. In some instances, there was clearly a sequence of structural development, but as these alterations normally cannot be dated by associated finds, all the medieval buildings and other features are considered as a single phase. All the medieval buildings which were defined during the excavation are numbered B20–29 (Fig 8), and where possible these buildings have been correlated with the documentary evidence which uses a different reference system as some properties contained several buildings (Fig 7).

Documentary survey

The southern half of the site was situated within the parish of St Magnus the Martyr

(SMM), and the northern part within St Margaret Bridge Street (SMBS) (Fig 7). The properties in this article are referred to by the same letter and number codes as used in the research archive.

The basic medieval form of this half-insula was of a large central property in SMM (designated H1), with a smaller property further east (H2), surrounded on all sides by smaller properties of variable size which fronted onto the thoroughfares to south, east and north. To the south along Thames Street lay properties (A1–A8) which took the form of shops at their frontages and which, at least in the post-Fire period, extended northwards by up to 70ft (21.34m). Shops were even more in evidence along the *Bridge Street* frontage (modern Fish Street Hill) bearing witness to the commercial significance of this thoroughfare. These shops (B1–B6, B7 (a)–(c), B8 (a)–(d), X (a)–(c)) were usually very small, with a frontage of little more than 10ft and extending back very little further. In the northern part of the frontage rather larger properties lay between the shops to the east and the large, central properties to the west. The property on the corner of the two streets (A) had a separate history, although it was probably originally part of X. Further west on the *Crooked Lane* frontage, and extending westwards into the parish St Michael Crooked Lane (SMCL), was the final major land holding (E3). The boundary between the medieval parishes of SMBS and SMCL approximately followed the line of King William Street.

The great majority of recorded owners and occupants of these tenements were fishmongers or stockfishmongers, reflecting the fact that *Bridge Street* was one of the City's principal retail outlets for the trade, and accounting for the high proportion of these properties which came to be acquired by the Fishmongers' Company (A1–2; A4–5 (and A6); H2; B6; A). Other institutional property owners included the Abbey of the Minoreesses without Aldgate (H1), the London Charterhouse (X (c)), St Mary Overy, Southwark (A7, B8), and the local churches of St Magnus Martyr (A3; B7) and St Margaret Bridge Street (X (a)–(b)). All the property of the regular orders, and some of that of the parish churches, was confiscated and sold off in the 1530s and 1540s.

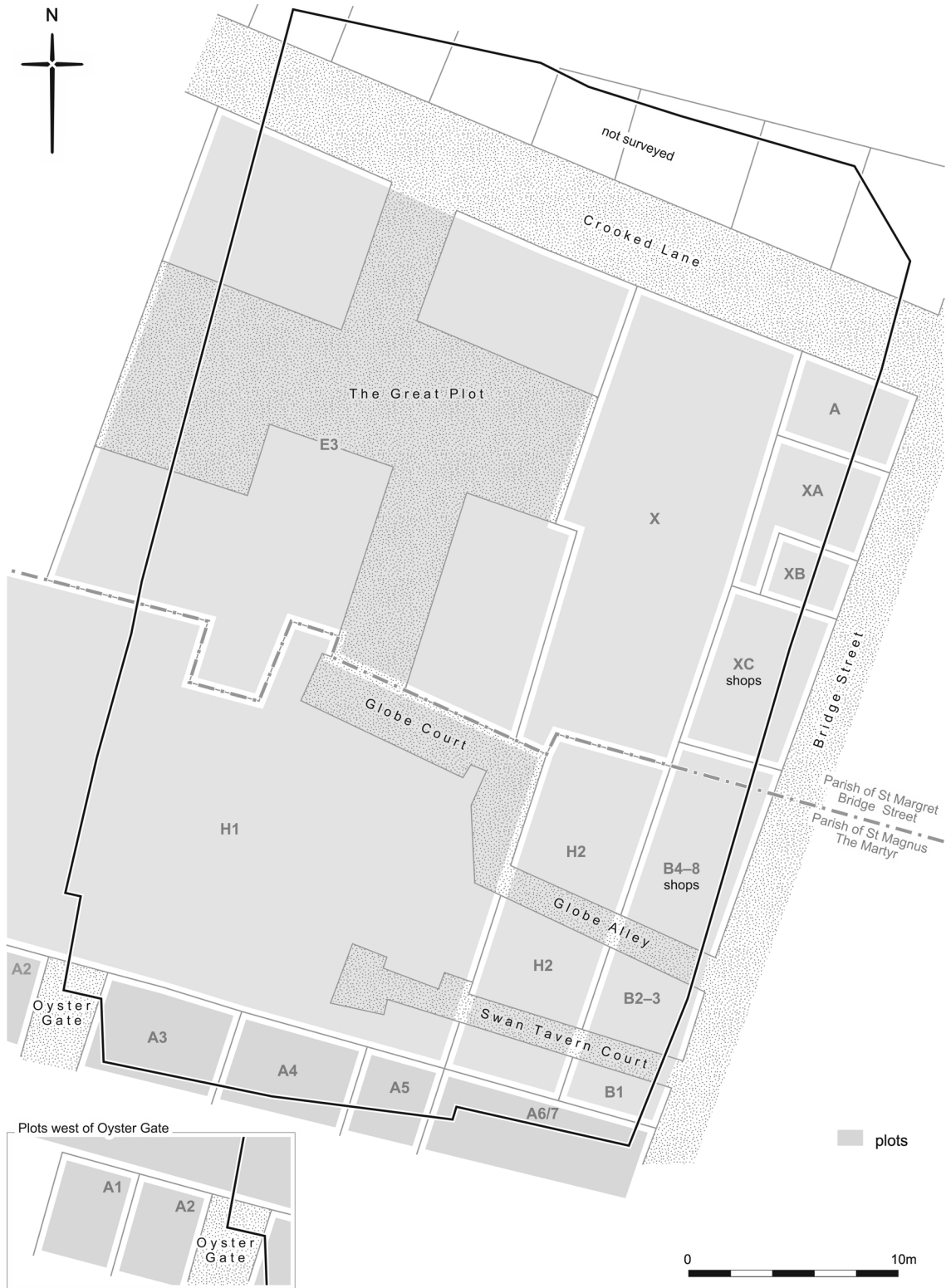


Fig 7. The postulated extent of the medieval properties, external areas and street frontage. These data are mainly based on the 1676 and 1821 maps of the area

This pattern of ownership has an important bearing on the amount of information available for each property, and therefore on the completeness of the reconstruction. Those properties owned by institutional landlords (the Fishmongers' Company in particular) or the parish churches are much better served in this respect than those tenements (including the large central property H1, but also those properties towards the junction of Thames Street and *Bridge Street*) whose ownership in the later medieval and post-medieval periods is largely unrecorded, or at any rate untraced. As is common, dimensions of properties are provided only in exceptional circumstances, though they are available for some of the Thames Street properties and for a few of the shops lining *Bridge Street*.

There are some difficulties in relating the pattern of the medieval properties to that of their more recent successors, although there is clearly continuity with Ogilby and Morgan's (1676) post-Great Fire survey and the 1821 Survey of the area made before the wholesale reconstruction occasioned by the construction of Rennie's London Bridge.¹ The reconstructed plan of the medieval properties is therefore partly diagrammatic, showing the relative positions and extent of recorded tenements to each other (based largely on the abutment clauses of the deeds), and incorporating the available archaeological and cartographic data (Fig 7).

Only the earliest reference to each property is given in full, for details of their later history see Dyson 1996. The main documentary source on which the following account is based are the deeds enrolled in the City Court of Husting which, from the late 13th until the early 15th century, provide a fairly good coverage of properties up to their acquisition by institutional landlords. (The method of citation here takes the form 12/34, where 12 denotes the number of the roll, and 34 the item number of the deed or will enrolled therein, the Court of Husting records are held by LMA, CLA.)

St Magnus the Martyr parish

Thames Street frontage

The Thames Street frontage probably comprised eight properties (A1–A8) extending

between the boundary with St Michael's parish (SMCL) to the west and the junction with *Bridge Street* (modern Fish Street Hill) to the east. The sequence was divided in two by an alleyway running between A3 and A4, usually described as *Oystergate* (OA 12) (Fig 7).

A1 was first mentioned in 1281 as having belonged to William de Staundon (12/125). In 1406 Whitwelle bequeathed to his son John the tenement with two shops in front in SMM and SMCL (133/71).

A2 appears in a deed enrolled in 1281, when Robert, son of Ralph Attewell and his wife Alice, granted to Thomas Ode a messuage with shops in front (12/125). In 1363 it was described as *the Lamb and Hoop* (90/56; 92/50). Property **A3** can be equated with B27.

The extensive estate **H1** extended from the northern limits of A1–A3 northwards as far as the parish boundary with St Margaret Bridge Street, and eastward as far as properties lining *Bridge Street*. At one point it included certain of these properties and thus itself fronted onto *Bridge Street*. However, there never appears to have been any access from that direction: until 1321 it was approached by way of a lane (*venella*) leading eastwards from St Michael's Lane. By 1359, however, that route appears to have been superseded by access from the south, by way of *Oystergate*. East of the lane from Thames Street, H1 abutted south onto H2 which itself lay behind A4–A6. H1 can be equated with B21 and B23–26. **H2** to the east of H1 can be equated with B20.

H1 is mentioned in a deed enrolled in 1308, when John, son of John le Norreys and his wife Roesia, quitclaimed William Pourte in land with houses in SMM between the land which William's father Hugh once held to the east and the grantors' land and lane (*venella*) by which one went from the said land and houses to St Michael's Lane to the west, the tenements lately of Hugh and of Richard Bright to the north and the tenements of Luke le Ailler (SMM: A1) and of Thomas Cros (SMM: A2) to the south (37/16). By 1390 the property had been divided into three (119/39).

To the east of *Oystergate*, **A4** was first mentioned in 1298, when Nicholas de Fulham quitclaimed Raymond de Bordeaux in a tenement, buildings and rent next to

Oystergate in SMM adjoining the little lane (*parva venella*) to the west and between Thames Street to the south and the tenement of Robert de Fulham to the north (27/79, 133).

A5 first appears in 1298 when William de Eure bequeathed to his son Robert his house with shop in SMM (27/34). A deed of 1320 concerning A4 notes Robert de Eure as neighbour to the east. Deeds of 1308 and 1317 concerning A6 to the east record as its western neighbour the moiety of the tenement once of Richard Pentecost.

In 1304 Ralph Miles left his house in SMM (**A6**) to be sold by his executors to support a chaplain for two years in the parish church for the souls of Miles (de Oystergate), once the testator's lord, and of himself (32/95). In 1308 Stephen de Crokeshale sold to John le Noreys and his wife Roesia the house with shops and solars which he had purchased from Miles' executors, situated between the street to the south and the tenement once of Robert de Fulham to the north and measuring 7¼ ells (21ft 9in), and between the tenement of the canons of Southwark to the east and the tenement once of Richard Pentecost to the west and measuring 5 ells 7 in (15ft 7in) (37/17).

Deeds relating to A6 record its eastern neighbour **A7** successively as the tenement of the canons of Southwark (1308, 1317); the tenement of the prior and convent of St Mary Southwark (1345); and the tenement formerly of Robert Rameseye (1384). Ramsey, whose will was proved in 1374, was presumably a tenant of St Mary's: he seems to have left no other property apart from four shops at the corner of *Bridge Street*. No deeds have been found relating to property recognisably situated to the east of A7, resulting in a discontinuity between it and the remaining properties to the east up to the junction with *Bridge Street* (designated as a notional 'A8').

A8 is possibly identifiable as the eastern part of A7, also apparently occupied at one point by Robert Ramsey. In 1374 Robert de Rameseye, fishmonger, bequeathed four shops with solars built above which he acquired from Simon de Mordon alderman and from Richard de Kent fishmonger *ad cornerium de Bruggestret' super Oysterhulle* to his son William, heirs and assigns (102/11):

Oysterhill was a term applied to this short stretch of Thames Street opposite Oystergate. The four shops could have been the corner shop and three others to the west that are fragmentarily recorded between 1291 and 1358.

H2 lay to the north of A4–A6 and south and east of the much more extensive H1. Like H1, H2 is also seen extended at one point as far east as *Bridge Street* (cf B3), if only in the sense that it and shops on the street frontage there were temporarily in common ownership.

At some date before 1286 John son of Stephen de Oistergate (an early occupant of H1 *qv*) granted to Edmund Horn and his heirs free entrance and exit along John's lane (*venella*) to the tenement Edmund held by grant of Cecily widow of John Treire, the lane extending from the street to the south as far as John's capital messuage.² This lane is interpreted as either the east–west alleyway which later was known as *Swan Tavern Court* (OA10) or *Globe Alley* (OA11).

In 1332 Edmund Lambyn, son and heir of Edmund Lambyn, quitclaimed Robert Swote fishmonger and his wife Agnes, and Robert's heirs, in the tenement with two shops which Robert once held for life by grant of Edmund senior and situated in SMM between the tenement of the tenure of London Bridge on the south, the tenement of Richard Sterre on the north, the *venella* which extended to the tenement of Philip Lucas to the west and *Bridge Street* to the east (66/15). Thus, at this date at least, H2 extended from H1 in the west to *Bridge Street* in the east, and included shops on its frontage.

Properties along *Bridge Street*

In SMM, these fall into three groups: B1–B6; B7; and B8, which stood at the northern end of the parish against the boundary with SMBS. Both B7 and B8 abutted west on H1, and B7 was a northern neighbour of H2, to which B3–6 at some time belonged (Fig 7).

The first reference to **B1** came in 1308, when a quitrent payable from Ramsey's former corner tenement between Thames Street to the south and *Bridge Street* to the east is first mentioned; there are frequent references from 1380 onwards, though with little detail of the property itself or its current ownership. **H2** to the east of H1 can be equated with B20.

B2 was first referred to in a deed of 1308 relating to **B1** as a tenement of London Bridge. In 1318, Thomas son of Thomas Cross granted to Richard Benstede and his wife Margery 3s 9d pa quitrent, which Thomas senior acquired from William son of Simon Criel of Kent and received from a shop with solars in SMM between *Bridge Street* to the east, the tenement of John Norreis to the west, the tenement of Edmund Lambyn to the north and the shop of Gregory de Foleham to the south (46/128).

When first encountered in 1399, **B3** was divided, with Robert Ramsey granting to Edmund Bolton *alias* Bys (who held **H2** at the time) the upper part of a shop situated on **B3** which Robert had by inheritance below a solar of John Langthorn in *Bridge Street*, between the tenement belonging to London Bridge (**B2**) to the south and the tenement of the said John Langthorn (**B5**) on the north, extending from *Bridge Street* to the east as far as the stone wall (*murum lapideum*) of the tenement of Edmund Bolton *alias* Bys to the west (145/14). This shop is said to lie beneath the tenement of John Langthorn, as well as to the south of it. Elsewhere, however, Langthorn is shown to have occupied a shop two doors to the north (**B5**), with the shop of Ralph Double (**B4**) intervening.

B4 appears in 1394, when John Walworth vintner and his wife Alice granted it to Thomas Weston and Thomas Coupeland chaplains, and to William Shirwood (123/104).

In 1355 Robert Swote fishmonger left to be sold by his executors his shop (**B5**) in SMM in *Bridge Street* which his brother William now held of him, and bequeathed to his wife Agnes a shop which William son of William Swote, the testator's brother, held of him in SMM (83/59). These shops temporarily formed part of the street frontage of **H2**.

A deed of 1321 relating to **B7** to the north refers to **B6** as the shop of Edmund Lambyn, who also held **H2** to the west at this date. In the period 1364–1497 this property is specifically referred to as a tenement not a shop.

A deed of 1275 concerning **B8** to the north first refers to **B7** as the tenement of Simon Orpedman. It was a large property which included shops on its frontage which were at certain times held separately (**B7(a)–(c)**).

In 1344 Nicholas Pyk, son and heir of

Alexander Pyk, granted to Andrew Cros fishmonger and his wife Beatrix two shops (**B7(a)–(b)**) with solars above, which Nicholas held in SMM between the tenement once of William Cros on the south (**B7**) and the tenement of John de Mokkyngge of Somerset alderman on the north (**B8**), and extending from *Bridge Street* to the east as far as the tenement once of William to the west, which Andrew and Beatrix inhabited (71/104).

In 1319 Robert Soreweles left to his daughter Joan and lawful heirs a shop (**B7(c)**) which he had inherited from his parents in SMM in *Bridge Street* between the tenement of William Cros to the south and the tenement of Alexander Pik (**B7(a)–(b)**) to the north (48/12).

To the north, **B8** appears in 1275, when John Horn and his wife Avice granted to Adam le Blund *alias* de Foleham fishmonger a 'tenement in *Bridge Street* between the grantees' tenement and the tenement of Simon Orpedman [**B7**] on the south and the tenements of Ralph Pikeman and the said Simon on the north, extending from the street to the east to the tenement once of Stephen de Oystregate [**H1**] on the west, saving to John and Avice a shop towards the street on the north side of the entrance of the tenement, which was once of Ralph le Treere; and the shop is in length $4\frac{1}{4}$ ells and an eighth [13ft 1½in], and in width $2\frac{1}{2}$ ells and 5 ins [7ft 11in] and 2 ells and $\frac{1}{4}$ ell plus one inch [6ft 10in]' (7/57). From at least 1383 there appear to have been four shops along the eastern frontage of **B8**.

B8(a) appears in 1359, when the executors of the will of William, son of William Haunsard, sold to John Wroth and John de Triple fishmongers the shop which William Haunsard held by inheritance from his father beneath the tenement of John de Mokkyngge in *Bridge Street* in SMM, and which he left in his will to be sold (87/94, 97).

In 1281 Simon Orpedman left to his wife Matilda his shop (**B8(b)**) in *Bridge Street* SMM during the minority of his son William (12/64). In 1283 William le Rus left to his son John a 10s pa quitrent from the same shop (14/100; 24/4). **B8(c)** was perhaps occupied in 1316–23 by John Freshfish (*cf* **B8(b)**).

There is no direct evidence for **B8(d)** until 1291 when Avice de Folham, once wife of John Horn, granted to Robert Cros fishmonger,

his heirs and assigns, a certain shop in *Bridge Street* in SMM, extending in length from the street to the east as far as the tenement of Adam le Blound, to the west and south (B8), and the tenement once of Simon Orpedman to the north, and containing in length $4\frac{3}{4}$ ells and 1 in (12ft 10in), and in width along the street $2\frac{3}{4}$ ells and 2 ins (6ft 11in), and along the western end $2\frac{3}{4}$ ells and 3 ins (7 ft), and in height $2\frac{3}{4}$ ells and $\frac{1}{2}$ ell (*sic*) and 1 inch (8ft 4in) (20/4). This clearly refers to the north-east corner of a larger property held by Adam le Blound (the main part of B8), and also acquired from Avice Horn.

St Margaret Bridge Street parish

Properties X, A and E: frontage along *Crooked Lane*, and the area to the rear

In the portion of site belonging to the parish of St Margaret, two principal properties were: X (occupying the north-eastern corner) and E3 (occupying the northern portion of the site, due north of H1). X adjoined B8 to the south, *Bridge Street* to the east, *Crooked Lane* to the north, and E3 and H1 to the west. At the north-eastern angle of X itself, and effectively giving it an L-shape, was A, a much smaller tenement, at the street corner; along the *Bridge Street* frontage of both A and X was a series of shops, comparable with that in St Magnus parish to the south (Fig 7).

X and A most likely formed parts of a single original property: there are apparently no Husting deeds relating specifically to A before 1369, while a deed of 1286 concerns a property comprising the whole area bounded by *Crooked Lane* to the north, *Bridge Street* to the east, E to the west, and the house once of Edmund le Trier to the south (possibly the western part of the southern arm of X, since there are other references to this house, which was clearly not on the street frontage, but behind the shops belonging to X).³ In the late 13th century X was represented by a number of separate holdings which thereafter were only gradually amalgamated: it acquired its final L-shape by 1403, at least 30 years after A split off to form an independent holding. It was therefore a highly variable topographical entity, and the record of its early history is incomplete.

In the 1280s the northern arm of X, fronting on *Crooked Lane*, appears to have

been formed of three tenements occupied from north to south by Walter Ragoun, Edmund le Treyere (abutting in part on *Bridge Street* to the east), and Ralph Pikeman. The eastern arm of X, fronting on *Bridge Street*, was described in 1287 as the house once of Edmund le Trayere in SMBS, between the tenement once of Walter Ragoun to the north and the tenement once of Ralph Pykeman to the south, and extending from *Bridge Street* and the shops of Henry Lambyn and the heirs of Anselin Knot to the east as far as the tenement of Robert Austyn to the west (E3) (50/88).

Property E3 lay primarily in the parish of St Michael *Crooked Lane* (Fig 7). In 1328 Robert Austyn baker, son of Augustin the baker, left all his tenements in SMCL and SMBS to be sold by his executors to pay his debts, Philip Lucas, his creditor for £14 19s 8d and the owner of H1 to the south, being given first refusal (56/65). On 8 May that year the executors sold to Lucas the property in *le Crokedelane* (56/73). In 1435 this 'great tenement or messuage' was bequeathed to the Fishmongers' Company by Henry Preston, Stockfishmonger, SMCL.⁴ Over time this large property was subdivided and a courtyard known as the 'Great Plot' was created to provide access to these new tenements. Buildings 23 and 24 were situated within the southern portion of this property and OA13 can be equated with the courtyard which occupied the central portion of this unit.

Bridge Street frontage

Forming the southern part of the *Bridge Street* frontage of X was a line of three shops (in existence by 1225–7) which owed quitrents to Holy Trinity Aldgate and which eventually came into the possession of the parish of St Margaret and of the London Charterhouse.⁵ X(a) was the northernmost and X(c) the southernmost of the three properties (Fig 7).

Property A is first referred to in 1354, when the guardianship of Salamon son of John Ingram and his wife Matilda, aged seven, was committed to John de Waltham fishmonger and his wife Cristina, grandmother and next friend of Salamon, together with a brewery at the corner of *Crookedlane* in SMBS (*Cal Lbk G*, 22). Ingram occurs as an eastern neighbour

of X in 1349, and Salamon Ragoun as its northern neighbour in 1332.

Medieval buildings 1200–1500

Building 20: archaeological evidence

The north wall of this building was supported on at least three east–west mortared chalk pier bases from which it is assumed relieving arches sprang (Brigham & Watson 1996, fig 11). The use of pier bases to support mortared wall foundations was common in London from the mid-13th century onwards (Schofield *et al* 1990, 164–5) (Fig 8). Incorporated into the masonry of the central pier base was an iron horseshoe <2415> of a type that was predominant from c.1150 to c.1230, but continued in use until the 14th century. The presence of gravel banding in the pier foundations is considered to be an early technique, suggesting a pre-mid-13th-century date for the construction of B20. The easternmost pier was subsequently rebuilt following the addition of a north–south wall to the east end. This was apparently part of the building to the north (B22: see below). The west wall of B20 was marked by two areas of chalk masonry.

Internal features included a rectangular pier base. A north–south chalk wall was constructed running south from the central northern pier, probably terminating on the north side of *Swan Tavern Court* (OA10), as there is no evidence that it continued as far south as the pier. This wall may therefore be identifiable as the partition between the main part of the later tavern and B7(a) to the east. Further west was a stretch of east–west chalk foundation, possibly part of another pier base. A ragstone-lined well was constructed within B20; it remained in use until the post-medieval period.

There was some evidence for structural changes to B20 during the medieval period. At the west end of the building, a small pier in the end wall was truncated and replaced by a substantial chalk and flint cesspit. The latter remained in use for a considerable period, probably until the early 19th-century redevelopment of the area, when it was finally infilled. The lowest fill did, however, contain pottery of 1480–1600, which may give a broad construction date. The construction of the cesspit may also have entailed the demolition

of the irregular pier base immediately to the north and the moving of the boundary wall between this building and B26. Early 15th-century documentary records do suggest that the western boundary was moved at this time, since tenement H1 was no longer quoted as a northern abutment of H2 (B27).

Building 20: documentary evidence

This building is equated with the southern portion of property H2 (south of *Globe Alley* OA11).

Building 21: archaeological evidence

The foundations of B21 were represented by one chalk-rubble pier base, plus a second pier or north–south foundation to the east (Fig 8). Together these would have supported the north wall and north-eastern corner of B21. The north-western corner of the building was probably marked by a chalk pier which may have abutted the north-eastern corner of the neighbouring B26. This foundation cut the fills of a large feature (not illus), containing a moulded stone head <1331> and pottery dating to 1270–1350, including a large shelly-sandy ware jar with a complex decoration of applied stripes (Blackmore & Pearce 2010, fig 27, no. 101). This feature may have been a robber trench for an earlier north–south masonry wall, although the nature of its fills suggests that it was more likely to have been an unlined cess and rubbish pit.

Later alterations to B21 included the addition of an internal chalk and limestone foundation near the east end, dividing off a small area of around 1.3 by 3.5m. The foundation was relatively shallow, and probably supported a timber-framed superstructure. A chalk-lined well was constructed within the building, its masonry lining containing putlog holes and incorporating five fragments of moulded stone. This well certainly remained in use for a considerable period, being relined at least once in brick before being backfilled during the 17th century (discussed later).

Buildings 21 and 23–26: documentary evidence

B21 and 23–26 formed the major part of the eastern portion of property H1, the western part of which lay beyond the limits of excavation.

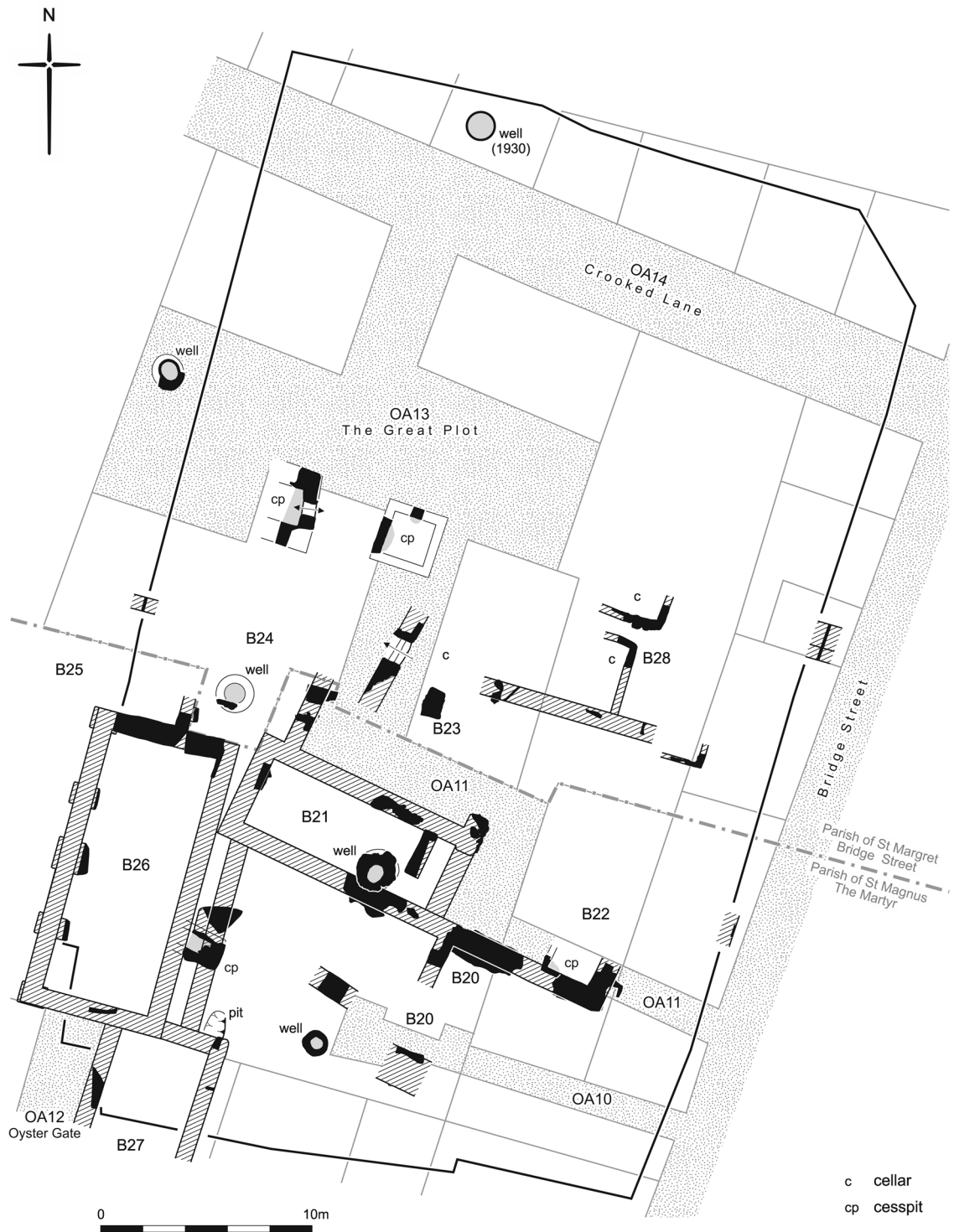


Fig 8. Medieval buildings B20–29, plus internal and external features and contemporary external areas OA10–14

Building 22: archaeological evidence

Remains of this building were very fragmentary (Fig 8). The southern portion of it was represented by a chalk foundation added to the easternmost pier of B20. This foundation represented a southward extension of the dividing line between the rear part of the property and the street-front shops on the east side (B8(a)–(d)). This suggests that *Globe Court* (OA11) did not exist in its later form, giving access to the interior (H1 was approached from the west and later from the south, with no reference to access from *Bridge Street*). It is quite probable, therefore, that this foundation can be identified as part of the ‘great door’ of tenement B8, mentioned in documentary sources (eg in 1536, when access was granted through the door to part of tenement B7)⁶. The entrance was mentioned as early as 1275, and was probably in existence considerably earlier than that. The street frontage was represented by a short length of roughly-coursed ragstone foundation. The north wall of this building consisted of various fragments of east–west-aligned mortared chalk masonry, which separated this property from tenement X. Pottery of 1180–1270 was recovered from a trample layer beneath the wall, giving a *terminus post quem* for its construction. The latter end of the range coincides with the first documentary appearance of B8.

Later internal changes to B22 included the construction of a chalk-lined cesspit, which was created by cutting back and refacing part of the existing pier base. Another chalk- and ragstone-lined cesspit was constructed up against the north wall of this building. This cesspit remained in use until the early 19th-century clearance of the area, as it contained pottery dating to 1720–1800 and clay tobacco pipes of 1680–1780. Its backfill also included seven bone combs <2286>, <2287>, <2289>–<2293>, and part of an eighth <2288>, with a fragment of waste <2352> suggesting that the combs were locally-made, and were probably of post-medieval date, contemporary with its final use.

Building 22: documentary evidence

This building is equated with the northern part of property H2 (north of *Globe Alley*).

Building 23: archaeological evidence

The western wall of B23 consisted of a north–south chalk and ragstone foundation with some brick, which presumably faced on to the eastern side of *Globe Court* (OA11) (Fig 8). The inclusion of brick shows that this was of considerably later date than most of the walls seen elsewhere in this phase, since brick only became relatively common in the 15th century. The north-west corner of the pier was later rebuilt in chalk rubble with ragstone facings. A second slightly smaller pier consisting of alternating courses of ragstone and chalk rubble was constructed within the building further east.

Later during this period, the north end of the pier marking the west wall of B23 was cut back and refaced in a mixture of materials including brick, and a second masonry wall was constructed on the same line to the north. A 1.15m gap was left between the two walls for a doorway with two steps leading down to the interior of the building. This suggests the creation of a cellar with the internal pier remaining as a central support.

Building 24: archaeological evidence

To the west of B23, there was a complex series of fragmentary foundations which are difficult to interpret, but which have been subdivided for the purposes of discussion into three buildings (B24–26), partly on the basis of later development (Fig 8).

A small ovoid chalk pier base was constructed to form part of the dividing wall between B24 to the north and B26 to the south. This lay beneath the north-eastern corner of an L-shaped chalk foundation which abutted a wall in the neighbouring B25 (see below).

The west wall of this building seems to have been formed by a return of the south wall of the neighbouring B25 (see below). The east wall was marked by the north-east corner of a ragstone and chalk coursed pier base on the western frontage of *Globe Court* (OA11). A rubbish pit was cut immediately to the north-east of this in the yard area, apparently post-dating the pier. The pit fill was dated 1270–1350, which if contemporary, suggests that the features in this area are of early 14th-century date.

Later a chalk pier or foundation was constructed at the north end of the existing pier supporting the east wall of B24, which presumably remained in use. Internally, a chalk and ragstone well was built to the west of the new wall.

In the north-western corner was a substantial chalk-lined cellar or cesspit. It contained a narrow chute or gap within its eastern lining wall. Although the position of the west side is unknown, it seems likely that both the north and west sides supported the corresponding walls of the building. This feature remained in use until the post-medieval period, possibly until the early 19th century. In the southern part of the building, a chalk and ragstone well was constructed; its interior had been completely destroyed by previous development, so the duration of use is unknown.

Buildings 24, 25 and 28: documentary evidence

Buildings 24 and 25 lay within the south-west portion of property E3. There is some evidence from 1328 and 1388 that E3 originally comprised two holdings, the easternmost in SMBS and so forming part of the present site. Its successive owners (Robert Austin, Walter de Wetheresfeld and Richard Radwell) all feature between 1317 and 1402 as the northern neighbours of H1, showing that E3 occupied the area between *Crooked Lane* to the north and the boundary between the parishes of St Margaret and St Magnus to the south.

Building 25: archaeological evidence

The remains of B25 were fragmentary: its south-eastern corner was marked by an L-shaped chalk foundation (Fig 8). A chalk pier base constructed 5.0m further north is interpreted as part of the west wall of B25.

Building 26: archaeological evidence

The north wall of B26 was formed by the south walls of Buildings 24 and 25 (Fig 8). The south wall was represented by a short section of chalk masonry, which was possibly a pier base set centrally in the wall. A line of three chalk piers marked the line of the west wall. The piers were equidistant from

the north wall, suggesting that a fourth pier would have existed exactly in line with the south wall pier below the south-west corner of the building, although there is a possibility that these features lay along the centre-line of a larger building, possibly supporting the columns of a vaulted undercroft.

Building 26: documentary evidence

This building abutted the north end of medieval *Oystergate* (OA12), which formed the main means of access to tenement H1 after Thames Street replaced St Michael's Lane as the main direction for entry in the mid-14th century. It may be identified as a house 'newly built' in gardens 'at Oystergate' recorded in a deed enrolled in 1317; in which case the portion found could have consisted of a vaulted entrance passage giving access to a larger house and garden to the rear, perhaps in the area of Buildings 24–25.⁷

Building 27: archaeological evidence

In the south-western corner of the site, two parallel north–south chalk foundations, 4.2m apart, formed the east and west walls of B27 (Fig 8). A southern portion of the east wall rested on a timber baseplate, probably a necessary precaution, as this far south the walls crossed relatively soft ground reclaimed during the Roman period. The west wall of the building fronted medieval *Oystergate* (OA12), from which the occupant of H2 was granted access in the 13th century by the tenants of H1. The line of the north wall of this building can be inferred from the alignment of the south wall of Building 26 (Fig 7). The date of these walls is unclear, and it is not certain whether they formed part of the first recorded structures (late 13th century) or post-dated the sale of H2 to the Fishmongers Company in the 15th century.

Building 27: documentary evidence

Property **A3** appears in a will of 1259, when Nicholas Bat left, among other property to be sold by his executors, a rent from premises at the corner of *Oystergate* (*coram cornerio de Oystergate*) where Matilda la Gorgurer then lived (2/55).

Building 28: archaeological evidence

On the *Bridge Street* frontage to the north of Building 23, two abutting masonry foundations (25.1–2) were constructed (Fig 8). The orientation and order of construction is not clear, but possibly the two elements marked the boundary between two separate tenements X(b) and (c).

Within this building were the L-shaped lining walls of two small cellars or large cesspits. The first one was lined with chalk rubble and its fills had been completely removed by a later rebuild. The second example was lined with mixed chalk, flint, greensand and ragstone masonry. No datable material was recovered from any of these features. This building lay within the south-east portion of property E3.

Open Area 10: Swan Tavern Court

This alleyway provided access from *Bridge Street* westward to the interior of H2 or possibly H1. Due to its proximity to OA11, it cannot be identified with certainty in any documents and no trace of it survived archaeologically, so its existence during the medieval period is uncertain (Figs 7–8).

Open Area 11: Globe Alley

Access to the interior portion of the site was via an alleyway leading from *Bridge Street* westwards to the centre of the site, where it joined a courtyard (OA13) (Figs 7–8). Within the area of the alley was a chalk cesspit, which may have served one or both of the adjacent properties (B23 and 24). This alleyway may have been in existence before 1286 and remained in use until the 18th century (see Post-medieval section).

Open Area 12: Oystergate

Extending northwards from Thames Street between tenements A2 and A3 was an alleyway referred to as *Oystergate*, giving access to H1 (Figs 7–8). No trace of this alleyway was located, but the western wall of B27 probably marked part of its western edge.

Open Area 13: The Great Plot

A chalk-lined well existed in the western part of this courtyard; it remained in use until the

post-medieval period (Fig 8). This courtyard formed part of property E3.

Open Area 14: Crooked Lane

There was no evidence of the actual lane as its surface lay some 3–4m above the general surviving level, so its alignment is projected from post-medieval maps (Figs 7–8). It is documented that *la Crookedelane* was in existence by 1273 (Belcher & Carlin 1989, 71). Its name was presumably derived from its ‘winding’ plan (Stow 1603, i 216).

Well along the Crooked Lane frontage

During the 1929–31 redevelopment near the frontage of one of the properties on the north side of *Crooked Lane* (OA14), the basal portion of a barrel-lined well was located (Fig 8). It contained a Saintonge polychrome ware jug (1280–1350), a small, rounded Hertfordshire glazed ware jug (1340–1450), a fragment of cooking pot (fabric unknown), and a plain redware floor tile (Fox & Radford 1933, 127–30).

Medieval period discussion

The evidence for the medieval period included a large number of structural remains from different phases of construction, which it is difficult to place in sequential order due to the lack of dating evidence (Fig 8). The dating evidence for the preceding Saxo-Norman period is largely assignable to the 11th century, with little activity apparent after the mid-12th century, and few cut features containing pottery of later date. There are three probable reasons for this pattern of activity. Firstly, any uncellared timber-framed buildings of 12th-century date on site would not have survived as archaeological structures. Secondly, during the 12th century the construction of masonry celled buildings became widespread in London. For instance, a substantial undercroft was constructed on the east side of Milk Street during 1101–2 (Building 6 in Schofield *et al* 1990, 124, was seated on beech piles dated to 1101–2 during the 2001 re-examination of the site (GHT00)). Lastly, as the population density in the City of London increased, it appears that many people no longer had access to

external areas to dig cess and rubbish pits. Instead reusable stone-lined cesspits became common from the 13th century onward and these often remained in use for centuries. The material recovered from these pits generally only relates to their final use. Little 14th- and 15th-century pottery was found on site, presumably because of the changing pattern of rubbish disposal.

Due to later activity the plan of almost all the medieval building foundations was fragmentary, but despite this there was a noticeable concentration along property boundaries. By extrapolating from post-medieval features and cartographic evidence many of the gaps in the medieval evidence have been filled, particularly in the southern portion of the site. Contemporary documentary evidence has also been very useful in this respect. For example, the probable site of the 'great door' of tenement B8 (B22) has been determined, and there was evidence for the western extension of tenement B7 (B20) to a position further west at the expense of B26.

The fragmentary survival of the medieval buildings was partly due to the fact that many foundations consisted not of continuous blocks of masonry, but lines of rectangular pier bases linked at a higher level by relieving arches; from the mid-13th century this type of foundation was being constructed in the Cheapside area of the City of London (Schofield *et al* 1990, 165–6). The survival of these medieval foundations below the modern basements indicates that all these buildings were cellared and the foundations of any contemporary uncellared buildings have not survived. Some cellars possessed various internal features, including pier bases which could have supported columns or pillars (B20), partition foundations demarcating rooms (B20, 21), cesspits (B20, 22, 24) and wells (B20, 21, 24). The close proximity of some wells and cesspits shows that there would have been a serious risk of water contamination. A door was inserted into B23, indicating that the access to this cellar was changed. Clearly not all properties possessed their own well and instead people required access to communal facilities, with rights of access written into legal agreements. A will of 1592, for instance, described the access arrangements to a well situated somewhere within OA13.⁸

It is probable that these cellars were used for storage. Documentary evidence shows that the ground floor rooms along the street frontage were fish shops, while the upper storeys would have been residential space. The above-ground portion of the associated buildings would have been of timber-framed construction, but it is possible that some buildings had a stone-built or composite ground storey.

THE POST-MEDIEVAL PERIOD, 1500–c.1850

Introduction

The development of the site in the post-medieval period was in many ways simply a continuation of the process begun several centuries earlier, with the extensive reuse of medieval foundations and property boundaries (Fig 9). New work was executed in brick⁹ and therein lies the chief problem with this period, as in the medieval period datable finds associated with construction and occupation levels were very rare. Most of the finds from the period after c.AD 1500 were obtained from the backfill of cesspits, cellars and wells. It is important to realise that many of these features were only backfilled after several centuries of usage. There was also little difference structurally or in the use of materials between different phases of construction. It is therefore difficult to talk in terms of absolute dates for features of this period. The following summary therefore serves as a structural narrative, indicating possible dates where appropriate. However, the longevity of many of the property boundaries ensured that a proportion of the medieval foundations along party walls were simply reused. In the absence of datable contemporary construction deposits, it is therefore not possible to attempt more than purely local structural sequences.

Documentary summary

In 1638 a return made in connection with the tithes of the City of London parishes listed all the householders by name and address within the parishes of SMBS and SMM.¹⁰ This survey listed numerous houses, shops and taverns occupying the site. Along

the north side of Crooked Lane was the *Blue Anchor* (on the intersection with Fish Street), the *Bore's Head*, the *Pyd Bull*, the *3 Footstools*, and the *Wheelbarrow*. Along the south side of Crooked Lane was: the *Blue Boar* (A), and the *3 Pigeons* (part of E3). Along the west side of New Fish Street (formerly Bridge Street) was: the *Mytor* (Mitre) (X(a)?), the *Jack and Ape* (X(b)?), the *Tunne* (X(c)?), the *Black Raven* (H2?), the *Saman* (possibly a misspelling of the *Swan?* B6?), the *Maydenhead* (B5), the *Crown*, and the *White Lyon* (part of B1–8?) (Dale 1931, 94–6; 101–3). Some of these taverns issued tokens during the 17th century (Heal 1931, 330; Waddington 1931, 29–30).

St Magnus the Martyr parish

Properties along Thames Street

The layout of the medieval properties remained much as before, although two great events — the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Great Fire — both had an effect on ownership (Fig 7). The following summary follows the same pattern as in the previous period in so far as only key data are included.

There is no record from **A1** for this period: like **A2** next door, it was most probably acquired by the Fishmongers' Company and amalgamated with it.

A2 is recorded in the Fishmongers' records in 1618 when the Company's Court noted that John Wolverston fishmonger had bought a lease previously granted to Mr Bagshaw of the *Lamb on the Hoop* in Thames Street, and offered to rebuild part of the property in exchange for an extended term.¹¹

A3 was known as the *Three Tuns* by 1638–9, when Abraham Marten paid £6 13s 4d rent.¹² The name was apparently appropriated from the larger medieval holding (H1) to the north.

In 1544, after the Dissolution, **H1**, by then called the *Three Tuns*, formerly property of the Minorities, was in the tenure of Robert Baylie, mercer, and was granted by letters patent to Hugh Losse and Thomas Bochier (Gairdner & Brodie 1903, 1035 (6)).

In the post-medieval period **A4** and **A5**, **H2** and quite probably **A6** were combined to form part of the Fishmongers' Company recorded in the Court Minutes of the Fishmongers' Company in the early 17th century and

later. At this period there were three distinct Company tenements: the *Chequer*, which appears to have been the main one, and a tavern, the *Horsehead*, both of which were described as situated in Thames Street; and an unnamed house referred to as located in *Three Tuns Lane*.

Little can be said of **A7**, which may have been part of **A8** for its later history. The final reference to **A8** came in 1501, when Anne Bronde, widow of Richard Bronde late fishmonger, quitclaimed the corner tenement (228/14).

Properties along New Fish Street

During this period *Bridge Street* was renamed (Fig 7). In c.1547 *Newfisshestrete* was cited as the location of the tenement called the *Castell* (**B7**).¹³ In 1638 it was referred to as *New Fish Street* (Dale 1931, 101).

There is no reference to either **B1** or **B3** from this period, although **B1** was almost certainly combined with **A8** and possibly **A7** (assuming the two latter to have been separate entities).

In the Fishmongers' pre-1728 planbook **F B4** appears as shop S, recently leased to John Hall.¹⁴ **B5** likewise appears in the planbook with a yard shown to the rear. The property had the name *Maidenhead* on the front wall (not to be confused with a property of the same name further north), and was occupied by a networker.¹⁵

By the early 17th century **B6** was in the possession of the Fishmongers' Company, who in 1617 contracted with Griffyn Morris carpenter for the rebuilding of their tenement in New Fish Street called the *Swan* with 'all carpenters work four storeys high with stairs, doors, windows ... jutties as the same house now has' at a cost of £20, reference was also made to construction of 'a vault for a privy'.¹⁶ From 1657 this property is referred to as the *Three Legs*,¹⁷ presumably to avoid confusion with the neighbouring property (**B7**) which by then was also called the *Swan*.

Apparently dating from the dissolution of chantries c.1547, a memorandum of the lands and possessions belonging to the parish of SMM notes the farm of the *Castell* in *Newfisshestrete* (**B7**) with shops, cellars, and solars, at the time or until recently held from the King by Roger Windover for a rent of £16 pa at Lady Day and Michaelmas. The tene-

ment was leased to Thomas Kent, one of His Majesty's pages for 21 years.¹⁸ In 1638–39 the *Castle in the Hoop*, alias the *Swann*, was let by the Churchwardens of SMM for £15 10s pa.¹⁹

To the north, in 1531 Sir John Aleyn alderman, Robert Cherteseye mercer and Richard Parrham de Holton, Dorset quitclaimed William Turke senior, fishmonger, and his wife Elizabeth in property, including the messuage or *taberna* in *Bridge Street*, SMM, called *le Bell* (B8), in which John Purser lately dwelt, and in which Agnes Brounsopp, daughter and heir of Robert Forster grocer, enfeoffed them and others by a charter of 1518, to the use of William and Elizabeth during their lives and thereafter of William's heirs.²⁰

Of the shops in front of the *Bell*, Thomas Kneseworth's will of 1513 bequeathed B8(a) to the Fishmongers' Company. This mentions the southern abutment as being a shop once of Sir Thomas Coke,²¹ mentioned again in Kneseworth's *inquisition post mortem* of 1514 in the tenure of William Browne, which may imply an extra shop at the south end of B8 (Fry 1908, 320–3).

By the 17th century, B8(b) was known as the *Maidenhead*, and was owned by the Fishmongers' Company. In 1611 the Court of the Company leased the shop, sometime in the tenure of Henry Archer fishmonger, to John Houghton fishmonger, at a rent of £3 6s 8d, for 21 years.²² B8(c) was known as the *Crown* by the 17th century, when St Margaret Bridge Street Churchwardens' accounts for 1631–2 record a £5 rent paid by Bartholomew Smith for the property, and a rent of £2 10s owing to St Peter Cornhill. In the 16th century, B8(d) was granted to St John's College, Oxford by its founder, Alderman Sir Thomas White, whose *inquisition post mortem* in 1568 included a shop and a house and a house built over two other houses in the tenure of Richard Newlie fishmonger, and worth £4 (Madge 1906, 106–7).

St Margaret Bridge Street parish

Property X along Crooked Lane

In 1512 Thomas Lovell of Barton Bendyshe, Norfolk, quitclaimed John Park, mercer, John Rogers of Sutton Valence, Kent, gent, John Aleyn, William Dauteseye, mercers, Morgan Williams, scrivener, and William Lambe of Sutton Valence in all messuages, tenements,

rents, shops, cellars, solars, buildings and entrances in *Bridge Street* in SMBS (236/4) (Fig 7).

After the Dissolution, in 1539, John Jey, groom of the chamber, and his wife Elizabeth were granted for life the reversion and rent of £7 reserved upon a lease by the London Charterhouse to Alexander Bele of a messuage in St Margaret's parish, *Bridge Street*, identified as X(c) (Gairdner & Brodie 1895, 595).

In 1585 the 'messuage or tenement bearing the sign of the *Talbote* in *Crooked Lane*' was sold for £480 (267/18). This tenement was situated to the west of the *Dolphin* in *Bridge Street* (formerly A and perhaps X(a)). An indenture of 1600 explains how Agnes Taylby had sold the *Dolphyn* and the *Talbott* to John Roper of Linsted, Kent, and his son Christopher in 1585, in trust to provide funds to support herself and her four children. In 1592 Agnes bequeathed the *Dolphin* to her eldest son Richard.²³

The clay tobacco pipes

Kieron Heard

The excavation produced a range of pipes dating mostly from the later 17th to the mid-19th centuries (Heard 1996). The pipes dating to the early 19th century are particularly well represented.²⁴ The pipes are almost exclusively of local manufacture, with a large number of the later examples coming from Southwark. There is only one import: an 18th-century Dutch pipe <988> from the final fill of a small cellar or cesspit within B28. There are several late 17th-century stamp-marked pipes, which are relatively rare, including a heart-shaped stamp with three initials, on the stem of a type AO15 pipe <989> from the disuse fill of a well within B21. The key groups are described in the main text (B20, 21, 23 and 26).

Post-medieval buildings, 1500–c.1850

Building 20: archaeological evidence

The main foundations of Building 20 (B7), the *Swan Tavern* and its associated shops (B7(a)–(c)), appear to have been retained from the medieval period, although the superstructure was presumably rebuilt in brick after the Great Fire (Fig 9). On the south side of the medieval north wall of the



Fig 9. The post-medieval buildings B20–29, plus internal and external features and contemporary external areas OA10–14

building, in the area east of the medieval cross wall, (possibly to be identified with B7(a) and (b)) two brick-walled cellars were constructed fronting onto *Swan Tavern Court* (OA10). The westernmost had a stone-flagged floor, with a substantial posthole possibly retaining a timber support for the ground floor. The second cellar (presumably in B7(a)) near the street frontage possessed a brick paved floor; pottery dating from 1600–1800 was recovered from its makeup (Figs 9–10).

Some distance to the south-east (in the presumed area of B7(c)) was an isolated brick well of pre-1700 date, which was latterly used as a cesspit: it contained pottery of 1780–1800.

In the western portion of the building, a brick-floored cellar was constructed against the existing medieval foundations, the upper parts of which were replaced in brick. The cellar was subsequently subdivided by a north–south wall on the line of the west end of the *Swan Tavern Court* (OA10). A doorway allowing access between the two

halves demonstrates that the cellars to either side were still connected, although this was blocked later. This may have been done some time before the backfilling of the cellar, but it could equally have occurred after the 1830s, since the *Swan* was not apparently included in the 1824–31 bridge approach redevelopment and was not demolished until 1929–31.

Within the cellars of the western portion of the building, three brick cesspits were built up against, or in one case partly across, the medieval north wall of this property. It is not clear if these were contemporary, as they all appear to have occupied part of the same building; given the long history of the *Swan*, it seems more likely that several replacements were constructed. These pits contained a rich and diverse group of finds, including some 18th-century Staffordshire salt-glazed stonewares, London tin-glazed wares, and Chinese porcelain. 19th-century ceramics from the backfill of one cesspit [2047] included English stoneware ginger beer bottles (one has an EX (excise) marking of



Fig 10. Part of B20 discovered during the 1994 evaluation within the basement of the standing building. This trench (TP 127) located the north–south brick wall [23], which separated eastern and western cellars, and part of the brick paved cellar floor [43] within the eastern cellar, view looking north (Neg 125/ 94/ 1)



Fig 11. The Flemish brick-lined well [2004] inside B20, view looking south (Neg 343/95/5)

post-1817 date), blacking bottles and a large storage jar with handle, together with much blue transfer-printed whiteware (post-1807), including a willow-pattern serving dish, and Pearlware (post-1780), including chamber pots and plates of early 19th-century date. The presence of yellow ware confirms a post-1840 date for the deposition of this material. This fill [2047] also produced 48 marked pipe bowls with a broad date range of 1700–1840; the presence of a large number of type AO28 bowls (*c.*1820–60) suggests a date of post-*c.*1820. Pipes attributed to John Jewster of Kent Street, Borough are particularly well represented. This context also contains nine examples of a type AO25 bowl with a ‘crowned harp’ mark. These pipes are dated typologically to 1700–1770 and their presence in this context suggests that this mould may have had a particularly long life. Other finds from these cesspits included a bone domino <1506> and several stemmed glasses <2299>–<2301>, <2311> and <2313>, possibly breakages from the inn. Legible coins included a shilling of George IV (1760–1820) <914>. These features probably went

out of use and were backfilled with domestic rubbish when the property was connected to mains foul drains as part of the Victorian public health improvements carried out in the capital after 1858 (Halliday 1999).

Further south, the late medieval well was rebuilt in Flemish brick, probably during the 16th century (Fig 11). The well remained in use until at least the late 18th or early 19th century, since its basal fill [2005] contained ceramics dated 1740–1820, including a Chinese porcelain tea-bowl, a Creamware bowl and mug and tobacco pipe later than *c.*1780. The well also contained a fine collection of iron and steel hand tools and cutlery, some with surviving wooden handles/hafts due to the anaerobic conditions; these included a hammer <1018>, four knives with wooden and bone handles <901>–<904>, an adze <1883>, tongs <1879> and shears <1175> (Fig 12). There was also a large curved and perforated iron mount <1900>. On stylistic grounds the knives are all probably of 17th- or 18th-century date (Geoff Egan pers comm). The quantity and variety of the tool collection suggest it is part of an ironmonger’s stock, possibly



Fig 12. A selection of the post-medieval metalwork recovered from the well in B20: <902> iron knife with wooden handle, probably 18th-century, length 184mm; <903> 17th-century iron knife with riveted bone handle, length 145mm; <904> iron knife with bone handle, probably 18th-century, length 167mm; <1175> shears, length 169mm; <1018> hammer head (length 129mm), with wooden shaft (length of exposed portion 158mm)

discarded during pre-demolition clearance, which would date the tools potentially to c.1830, although this building was apparently unaffected by the 1824–31 bridge approach redevelopment, so the well might have been infilled later. Other finds from the bottom of the well included lumps of coal, an iron candle holder with a square drip-tray which was stuck to a long-handled wooden spade-shaped tool of uncertain function <1019>, an iron barrel hoop <1899>, a lock plate <2148>, iron bucket handles and mountings <1880>, <1881>, <2149>, a stone moulding <2401>, a piece of trimmed lead sheet <2464>, a smoothing stone <1116>, a lead token <2443>, and unusually, a chalkstone ball <1116>. A small wooden peg may have been used for stretching leather or parchment <899>.

Building 21: archaeological evidence

In the early post-medieval period, the existing walls of B21 (the *Globe Tavern* by 1821) appear to have been retained (Fig 9). Internally, the medieval well was rebuilt in brick (Fig 13). The well was abandoned and infilled shortly after c.1680 judging by its clay tobacco pipes, the fill containing a beam and a carved timber, both probably parts of the collapsed headstock. It also contained a number of other artefacts, including a ceramic alembic <2101>,²⁵ and four moulded stones <1021>, <2389>, <2414> and <2415>. An iron handle <2399> may have come from the bucket used to draw water. To the east, a small brick-floored cellar or cesspit was constructed in the space between the south wall (the north wall of B20) and the south end of the medieval cross wall.



Fig 13. The chalk rubble and brick-lined well [2154] inside B21, view looking south-west (Neg 501/95/4)

Subsequently the northern and eastern frontage of the building was rebuilt with a massive brick and ragstone foundation cutting through an infilled cellar to the north belonging to B23 (see below). The grey ashy mortar used in the construction of the foundations, and the presence of beam slots for timber lacing is characteristic of the 18th century, although there was no corroborative finds dating. A north-south internal cross wall was also constructed.

A brick-lined well was constructed in the north-western angle of the newly-defined area, presumably as a direct replacement of the earlier one. A brick chute entering the well from the junction of the walls implied that it acted as a collection chamber for foul water from a drain or down pipe. This is likely to have been a later modification, as it would seem to preclude its presumed original use as a source of drinking water.

The backfill of the well consisted of demolition rubble, domestic rubbish and cess containing material dated to the early 19th century, including a shilling of George IV (1816–20) <914>, applied English tin-glazed

wares (1570–1840) and 19th-century ceramics, including Whiteware chamber pots, a Pearlware (painted) teacup and saucer, dessert and teaplates, together with willow-pattern and Chinese porcelain. A number of glass wine cups and other vessels reflect the *Globe's* history as a tavern. This well also produced 34 tobacco pipe bowls, many of which are marked and decorated, with a broad date range of 1730–1880. A date of post c.1840 is indicated by the presence of type AO29 bowls (c.1840–80). A Southwark family of pipemakers, the Williams, are well represented. One unusual find from this feature is a circular, convex, unpolished glass lens <2158> (diameter 222mm, thickness 48mm). The original function and date of this lens are uncertain, but it is identical to two examples on display inside All Saints church, Pavement, York, which are described as lenses from the lantern that was formerly hung in the church tower (Pevsner & Neave 1995, 160).²⁶ Stow recorded that the 'lanthornes' on top of the steeple of the church of St Mary-Le-Bow, in the City of London, were intended to hold lights during

winter nights to provide a landmark for travellers (Stow 1603, 256). Perhaps this well was backfilled during the early 19th century, when piped water became available.

To the east of these features under *Globe Court* (OA11), a truncation horizon — possibly for a cellar — removed the medieval deposits in the area, followed by the deposition of a series of mixed dumps, cut by a single rubbish pit against the west wall of B22. The sequence culminated with the deposition of gravel dumps to restore the courtyard at ground level. The dumps contained pottery and tobacco pipes of post-Great Fire to 19th-century date. The interpretation of this small area is unclear. Possibly a post-medieval cellar belonging to B21 had existed in this area, but was stripped out and the area backfilled to ground level following the reconstruction of the building. The date of this reconstruction is uncertain and probably was not a single event. Judging from cartographic evidence, this area was already part of *Globe Alley* by 1676 (Ogilby & Morgan 1676, p 19), so the reconstruction of B21 could post-date the Great Fire.

Building 22: archaeological evidence

A north–south wall was constructed to mark the western limit of B22 (property B8) facing onto *Globe Court* (OA11) (Fig 9). It abutted the medieval foundation of B20 further south. The foundation was substantially of reused ragstone, chalk and greensand, implying that it was relatively early, possibly of pre-Great Fire date, although there was no corroborative finds evidence. The south-eastern corner of the building consisted of an L-shaped brick wall fronting both the street and the entrance at ground level of *Globe Alley*. 5m from both the east and west walls, a north–south brick and chalk wall was constructed to form the dividing wall between the *Bell Tavern* (the western half of the tenement) and the street-front shops to the east (B8(a)–(d)). This appears to have been a northern continuation of the medieval return wall in the area.

Several features were constructed in the area of the *Bell*, including a brick-lined cesspit in the south-east, which was simply a refacing of a medieval predecessor formed in the angle of foundations in the area: this was located below *Globe Alley*, and must

therefore have been filled via a chute within the building, presumably with access for emptying its contents from the alley. A little further north was a circular brick sump or cistern of unusual inverted domical form. The cess-like fill of this feature yielded clay tobacco pipes dated to 1780–1880, although the associated pottery was of 18th-century date. Immediately to the west was a fragment of a possible brick-lined cesspit.

At the north end of the *Bell*, a substantial cellar was constructed, of which the north, east, and west sides survived. The cellar walls were brick-faced, but backed by ragstone and chalk rubble, which would imply a 17th- or 18th-century date, although the cellar could have been a pre-Great Fire feature. The north wall was subsequently rebuilt and a planked floor laid. The cellar was finally backfilled with cess, ash and other household debris. The upper fills of this feature contained English stoneware bottles and jars (1700–1900), blue transfer-printed whiteware (post-1807) bowls, dishes and plates, and tobacco pipes dating to 1820–40, as well as a number of glass cups and bottles.

Within the eastern portion of B22 (property B8(a)) there was a brick- and stone-floored cellar, probably backfilled in the 19th century. An east–west brick culvert passed beneath the floor. A little further north in the area of B8(c), a brick-lined cellar or north–south passageway with a tiled floor was constructed. In the area of B8(d) was a brick- and chalk-lined well, the backfill of which contained clay tobacco pipes dating to 1700–70. Most of these features within B22 were probably finally infilled soon after the 1824–31 redevelopment of the bridgehead.

Building 23: archaeological evidence

In B23, the existing late medieval or early post-medieval cellar doorway and steps were blocked by new brickwork and a brick-floored cellar, at least 4.2 by 5.8m, bounded on the south and east sides by brick walls (Fig 9). A pot which was set upright below the floor may have been a foundation offering, since it was too small to have acted as a sump (a similar pot was found in B26).²⁷ This rebuilding took place during either the 16th or early 17th century. The 16th-century cellar floors in some Botolph Lane properties contained

upright pots interpreted as sumps (Blair & Sankey 2007, 33).

The cellar floor was robbed later, apart from an area in the south-east, and mortar dumps deposited in preparation for subsequent modification.²⁸ The modification involved the construction of a new west wall inside the original wall with its blocked doorway. Sand and mortar levelling dumps were laid in the cellar area containing pottery dating to 1550–1700, and then a new brick floor was laid. Of the 42 tobacco pipe bowls recovered from the cellar floor makeup, 13 can be dated c.1680–1710; there is a larger number of elongated type AO18 bowls, which probably represent a transitional form between types AO18 and AO22, with a postulated date of c.1670–90 [1718]. This date range confirms that the cellar was rebuilt soon after the Great Fire (see discussion). The floor was cut centrally by an east–west brick dividing wall. The brick floor to the south of the wall was later removed and replaced with burnt clay containing pottery dated to 1670–1750. The dividing wall was later dismantled and the cellar infilled during the 18th century.

At the south end of the building, an east–west brick wall was constructed on the line of *Globe Court* (OA11), with a doorway at the west end. This door gave access to the southern part of the new cellar which lay under *Globe Court*, while the northern part of the cellar lay within the existing building; associated pottery and tobacco pipes date to post-1580. The brick floor of the cellar was largely removed and afterwards it was backfilled with material containing clay tobacco pipes dating to 1660–80, although an 18th-century date is perhaps more likely for the backfilling. The impression is that the cellared portion of *Globe Court* was infilled and the surface reinstated.

Building 24: archaeological evidence

A brick-floored cellar was constructed within B24, possibly extending as far east as the new west wall of B23. It therefore extended below *Globe Court* (OA11), which existed at ground level, but by this period appears to have been extensively undermined by vaulted cellaring (Fig 9). A brick pier constructed on the cellar floor probably supported the façade of the building at the edge of the courtyard.

Subsequently, a brick-lined cesspit and a small square sump were cut through the western portion of the cellar floor. In the eastern part of the cellar was a circular brick-lined sump, fed by an east–west brick drain, which was presumably connected to either a grating in the courtyard at ground level, or the base of a down-pipe. The cellar and its internal features were probably backfilled as a result of the 1824–31 bridge approach redevelopment, although the only supporting dating came from the backfill of the drain which included 19th-century pottery and clay tobacco pipe dating to 1820–40.

South of these features, an isolated section of north–south brick wall was probably constructed as the *Globe Court* frontage of the building, replacing its medieval predecessor. An east–west slot adjoining the west (internal) face of the wall may have held the baseplate of a timber partition. The construction date of these features is unclear. The other medieval foundations of the building and the cesspits in the north appear to have remained in use, although they were presumably rebuilt at least once following the Great Fire.

Building 25: archaeological evidence

Very little post-medieval activity survived the general truncation in the north-western part of the site; the only feature assumed to have been of this date was a length of lead water-pipe, set in a trench running north–south under the *Great Plot* (OA13) (Fig 9).

Building 26: archaeological evidence

In the north-west corner of B26, an L-shaped brick wall was constructed to create a small brick-floored cellar (Fig 9). A parallel brick wall was constructed 1.0m west of the cellar, with the area between interpreted as a narrow passageway extending northwards from *Three Tuns Alley* (OA12). A brick cesspit was built to the west of this passageway, which was later infilled with domestic refuse, including pottery of post-1780 date and clay tobacco pipes dating to 1780–1820. An isolated brick cesspit further south was later infilled with similar refuse. It contained pottery dating to 1740–80 and 15 tobacco pipe bowls with a broad date range of 1730–1800, although the presence of type AO26 bowls suggests a date

of post-1740. This context includes a number of pipes marked TD (possibly Thomas Dormer of Hermitage Stairs 1748–70) and some of these have been altered from an original mark ?P. These are a rare example of a pipe mould which changed hands and then was altered by the new owner.

A complete redware jar (post-1580 [1008]) was set upright in the cellared floor of this building; possibly it served as a sump or silt trap within an internal drain, although it may equally have been placed there for ritual purposes (a similar pot was found in B23).

Building 27: archaeological evidence

The eastern wall of this building was represented by a massive north–south brick and mixed rubble foundation constructed over the western edge of an existing medieval foundation (Fig 9). This rebuilding was probably of pre-Great Fire date. The western side of this wall was cut back at a later date and refaced to form one side of a triangular brick cesspit, which was infilled with organic cess, containing tobacco pipes dating to 1610–40. The western and northern walls of this building were presumably the existing medieval foundations.

Building 28: archaeological evidence

The eastern part of this building comprised properties **X(a–c)** and the western portion of **X** (Fig 9). A substantial north–south brick wall probably marks the western wall of B28; however, it is not certain if the brick-floored cellar to the west was an outshut attached to B28 or part of a separate property. The pottery from the makeup for this floor dated to 1480–1650, while the overlying brick paving contained clay tobacco pipe dating to 1660–80. This implies that the cellar was part of the post-Great Fire rebuilding of the area. The wall was eventually demolished and the cellar infilled and bisected by an east–west brick drain of late 18th- or early 19th-century date — its backfill contained pottery dating to 1770–1900. The northern limit of B28 was represented by a short stretch of brick wall (party wall with B29) with a cellar on its southern side, which would originally have had a brick floor.

Features inside the northern part of B28

included a small brick-lined cellar or large cesspit, which was progressively infilled with household refuse including a crab claw, 19th-century pottery and rubble, containing four moulded stones. At some point, a smaller rectangular structure, interpreted as a cesspit, was built in the north-west corner of the structure. The date for the construction of these features is unknown, although the type of bricks used are of post-1700 date. Both features were demolished, and then infilled during the early 19th century.

In the southern part of B28 (**X(c)**), the medieval cellars or cesspits still functioned. The area to the east was apparently truncated, however, presumably for cellaring. A series of burnt clay or brickearth layers is interpreted either as the initial cellar surfaces or the makeup for brick floors which were subsequently removed. The presence of tobacco pipes dates this activity to post-1580.

Within the south-eastern portion of B28 (**X(c)**) was a stone-lined well with a timber base; a single cask stave <892> at the bottom of the well suggests that the stonework may have replaced a barrel-lined precursor. The top of the well was rebuilt in brick, before c.1700. One patch of brickwork containing a vertical length of lead piping was presumably connected to a hand-pump. A row of three posts or stakes immediately to the west may have supported some kind of screen around the well. In its final phase, the well remained visible in the basement of the *Canterbury Arms* public house, demolished in 1994, so it seems likely that water had been extracted from the well until the 19th or 20th century. Within the northern part of the property was a brick-lined well close to the street-frontage, with a timber base frame, probably of 17th-century date. It was later backfilled with organic rubbish.

At the west end of the property, the southernmost of the two medieval cellars or cesspits was relined in brick after 1700. These structures were demolished and backfilled during the 1824–31 bridge approach redevelopment.

Building 29: archaeological evidence

Very little remained of B29 (formerly tenement A, the *Dolphin* by 1585), situated to the north of B28 (Fig 9). Its southern limit

was a party wall with B28 and its north wall was represented by a substantial brick wall of pre-c.1700 date fronting onto *Crooked Lane* (OA14).

Open Area 10: Swan Tavern Court

In 1676, OA10 was a short un-named alleyway leading to a small courtyard (Ogilby & Morgan 1676, p 19), which by 1821 was *Swan Tavern Court* (Fig 9).

Open Area 11: Globe Court

In 1676 the eastern access to this courtyard was named *Globe Alley* and the courtyard was named after the *Coach and Horses Inn* (Ogilby & Morgan 1676, p 19 *B9 m73*). In 1821 the courtyard was described as *Globe Court* (after an alehouse of this name situated here) (B21) (Fig 9).

In the northern part of the courtyard the medieval cesspit remained in use. Its lower fills consisted of cess and organic refuse containing pottery dated 1550–1600 and 1330–1650, implying a pre-Great Fire date. Artefacts from the lower fills, mainly fragments of glassware, included parts of a c.15th-century beaker <2051> and urinals <807>–<809>. Fragments of window glass represent both the 14th- or 15th-century tradition of painted glass made by the crown technique and the later 16th-century technique of cylinder blown glass <815>. The upper fills of this cesspit contained pottery dating to 1770–1850, implying that it probably went out of use before c.1800, judging by the absence of pearl and transfer wares. The upper fills also contained a residual medieval Penn floor tile <1729>.

Open Area 12: Three Tuns Alley

In 1676 the alleyway formerly known as *Oystergate* was described as *Three Tuns Alley* (Ogilby & Morgan 1676, p 19 *m74*) (Fig 9). In the 1821 Survey it was described as *Three Tuns Court*.

Open Area 13: The Great Plot

Within the northern portion of OA13 was an unlined cesspit, containing pottery dated to 1480–1580, which included a fragmented but near complete maiolica ware jug (see

below). The northern end of the pit was cut by an east–west gully, which may have been an external drain (Fig 9).

In 1600 the existence of a passageway or alley connecting this area to *Crooked Lane* via the *Talbott* (X) was documented (Fig 9). In 1638 an alley leading into the central courtyard was described as *Myter yard entry* (Dale 1931, 103). Cartographic evidence confirms the extent of this area in 1676 (Ogilby & Morgan 1676, p 19). By 1821 this area was entirely built over.

The medieval well in the western part of the courtyard remained in use until the late 17th or early 18th century. It was latterly used for the disposal of cess, ash and rubbish, and contained a number of English tin-glazed vessels (1650–1725) and tobacco pipes dating to c.1700.

Open Area 14: Crooked Lane

This street remained in use until 1831, when it was extinguished as part of the redevelopment of the approach to London Bridge (see discussion) (Fig 9).

The Maiolica jug and associated finds

Lyn Blackmore

Introduction

Within OA13 was a cesspit containing pottery dated to 1480–1580, including a fragmented but near complete tin-glazed, or maiolica, jug (Fig 14). This rare vessel and its Continental parallels will be discussed more fully in another article (Blackmore in prep). The pit fill also contained fragments of glass vessels, including two rare forms (Fig 15). The animal bones from this pit included two complete rabbit skulls, plus upper limbs and metapodials.

The other pottery comprises a range of functional domestic wares. Forms associated with cooking comprise up to nine cauldrons/tripod pipkins in early post-medieval redware (PMRE) and two in Dutch redware (DUTR). Also present were sherds from at least eight large two-handled carinated dishes in slipped post-medieval redware (PMSRG and PMSRY, dated 1480–1660), which were used for food preparation and serving. Drinking vessels are represented by part of a beaker



Fig 14. Maiolica jug, context [1464] (height of vessel 235mm)

in PMRSY and sherds from three costrels in PMRE. Other material listed as present in this context (but currently unavailable for study) comprises sherds from a Cheam whiteware jug and a Tudor Green ware costrel (both presumed residual), a Raeren stoneware jug, five sherds from a drinking jug and one from a possible condiment dish in Surrey-Hampshire border ware (BORD), and two joining sherds from a post-medieval redware jar (PMR). Fabrics BORD and PMR should date to after 1550 and 1580 respectively.

Description

The large tin-glazed jug has a pear-shaped body, with upright rim separated from the body by a cordon, giving a collared effect (Fig 14; height 235mm, base diameter 103mm, rim diameter c.83mm). The long strap handle has a distinctive squared terminal at the lower junction with the body. The polychrome decoration within the unframed central ladder medallion depicts the instruments of the Passion, or *Arma Christi*.³⁰ It shows



Fig 15. 16th-century glass beakers from context [1464]: <745> <2272> <2316> partly reconstructed to show the profile of the bowl and base; <2312> upper portion of base

the cross standing on one of the three hills of Calvary, with the crown of thorns at the intersection of the arms and upright, from which four nails protrude. Leaning against the cross are the reed sceptre or a barbed spear (left), and the reed bearing a sponge soaked with vinegar (right), while scourges (in blue) studded with small pieces of metal (in brown) hang from the ends of each arm. To the right of the cross, in blue, is the pillar entwined with the ropes that bound Christ to it during his flagellation, while the ladder used for the Deposition is on the left (in ochre). The decoration at the foot of the cross is damaged but appears to depict the hammer (left) and pincers (right). In the spandrels on each side are three palm-like sprays, the longest blades of which extend to the (undecorated) handle.

This is the first imported jug of its size, form, decoration and date from the City of London. The only comparable tin-glazed jug is that found in 1954 in the backfill of a cellar or garderobe at Gateway House, Cannon Street (height 257mm, rim diameter 115mm), dated to *c.*1510, which has been chemically identified as Italian.³¹ Like the Regis House find, it is strap-handled with polychrome decoration enclosed within a central ladder medallion (Noël Hume 1977, 9, 87, pl 3; Blake 1999, 23, 43, 45, fig 2.1). It differs, however, in having a more rounded body with floral, rather than religious decoration, a defined neck with lattice band and a pulled lip.

Dating and parallels

Distinguishing between the forms and decoration of tin-glazed wares from Italy and the Netherlands is very difficult, since most 16th-century products from Antwerp and Utrecht were made in the Italian tradition. Several programmes of scientific analysis have been carried out in order to characterise the two groups (Hurst 1991, 213, 215; Blake 1999, 23, 30; Wilson 1999, 6, 8; Brown 2002, 41; Vince & Brown 2002). Chemical analysis of the trace elements in the clay of the Regis House jug has established that it was produced in the Netherlands and closely matches a sample from Antwerp (Vince 2003).

The form of the Regis House jug is most like finds from Antwerp (mid-16th century),

Whitehall (pre-1532), and Baconsthorpe Castle (1500–50). Continental parallels for the *Arma Christi* design on jugs are extremely limited. There is one example from Utrecht, probably made there and dated to *c.*1560 (Baart 1999, 126, fig 7.16). Closer parallels for the form have been found at the Bishop's Palace, Antwerp (dated to the mid-16th century; J Veeckman pers comm)³² and at Baconsthorpe Castle, Norfolk (dated to 1500–50) (Hurst 2002, 52, fig 26, no. 29).³³

The glass from the cesspit

Fragments from eleven vessels were recovered from the cesspit [1464]. The finds can be divided into vessel and bottle glass (no pharmaceutical phials are present), soda glass and potash glass. From the quality of the glass and the forms present the bulk of the group would appear to date to the mid-16th century. One piece, however, stands out from the others in that it is in colourless glass with wheel-engraved floral decoration; it is of mid-19th-century date and clearly intrusive <2275>.

Vessel glass

The soda glass vessels are colourless with a greyish tint. Three flared drinking vessels are present, two of which have plain bowls. The first is represented by two joining rims (diameter 90mm), <2270> and <2271>. The second is a much larger vessel with a diameter of 140mm <2392>. The third piece is represented by a small body sherd with plain vertical ribs set *c.*10mm apart <746>. These vessels are among the earliest of their types, contemporary with the others but in styles that continue on after the others had gone out of fashion; they are of north European origin, probably not English but possibly from the Netherlands (John Shepherd pers comm).

The potash glass comprises fragments from at least three pedestal beakers or goblets. The first (Fig 15, 1), in pale green metal, is of three-piece construction, and was probably assembled from the top down (Willmott 2002a, 14). It has a trumpet- or flute-shaped bowl; this is quite smooth inside the base, and is externally decorated with three applied tooled zig-zag trails — the lower two *c.*5mm thick and set *c.*20mm and

c.50mm above the base; the upper trail c.3mm thick. The original height is uncertain but could have been twice the extant depth. Between the bowl and the foot is a wound merese, while the foot, which is of conical or inverted trumpet form, has an uneven pontil scar inside it. Another fragment of the same colour and quality <2272> is reconstructed here as part of the same foot, although it could be from the neck/shoulder of an early bottle (John Shepherd pers comm).

Another pedestal beaker is similar in form to Fig 15, no. 1 but more crudely made, with an uneven surface inside the bucket-shaped bowl; it has a merese between the bowl and the foot, which has a ring-shaped pontil scar inside the cylindrical 'neck' (Fig 15, no. 2). Three non-joining fragments <2274> could be from the bowl and foot of this or another vessel. A base fragment with folded rim and a thicker wall is from a goblet with optic-blown vertical ribs <2317> (*cf* Willmott 2002a, fig 77).

Until the 16th century the main sources of vessel glass found in England were in Italy, (specifically Venice) and the Rhineland (Willmott 2002a, 18–20). Pedestal beakers were first made in soda glass, but by the mid-16th century copies in potash glass were being made in the Low Countries and then in England (Willmott 2002a, 68–9). No parallels for the form of Fig 15, nos 1 and 2 have been found, either in the English or Continental literature, and so these finds are of importance as rare examples of their type; similar examples dated to after c.1570 are shown by Willmott (2002b, 203–4, no. 6). The decoration on Fig 15, no. 1 is German in style, and Fig. 15, no. 2 is probably also an import, but the poor quality of the glass of <2317> suggests that it could be of English origin, probably from the Weald (J Shepherd pers comm).

Bottle glass

Two fragments <2280> appear to be from a flask or bottle with domed base (*cf* Willmott 2002, figs 96, 98, 101). The glass is in very poor condition with mottled yellow-brown surfaces and a laminated structure.

Discussion

While the bulk of the pottery from the pit

is consistent with a domestic context, the maiolica jug is a form that is rare even in the Low Countries; it would have been a prestigious object. This vessel was most likely to have been used in a religious context, probably as an altar flower jug (Blake 1999, 28–9). Its findspot, some 60m from the parish church of St Margaret Bridge Street, suggests that it was probably used in one of the properties adjoining OA13. It is difficult to establish the precise date for the backfilling of this feature. The Raeren stoneware and some of the post-medieval redwares suggest a date of c.1480–1550, but the possible presence of Surrey-Hampshire border ware and post-medieval redware might push the dating to after 1550 or 1580. On present evidence, therefore, the group can only be broadly dated to c.1530–1580. This includes the period of the English Reformation (1533–53), the short Catholic revival of Queen Mary's reign (1553–58), and the subsequent re-establishment of the Anglican church in 1558. In 1547–48 there was widespread destruction of statues and all other symbols of traditional worship within the City of London parish churches and St Paul's Cathedral by Protestant iconoclasts (Duffy 1992, 451). The discard of such an obviously Roman Catholic vessel and a symbol of traditional worship during this period of iconoclasm would, therefore, not be unexpected. However, while the possession of such a vessel during 1553–58 would have been publicly acceptable, after this date it is not an object that would have been on public display, but it might have been secretly hoarded for a while before being discarded.

Post-medieval period discussion

On Wyngaerde's London panorama of c.1544, the street frontage around the site is shown as occupied by rows of tall, ridge-roofed buildings, while the interior of the site is dominated by a non-existent church, possibly the result of the artist duplicating St Michael's Crooked Lane (Colvin & Foister 1996, drawing VII). The cellars and perhaps the ground storeys of some of these properties would have been of stone or brick construction, while the two or three upper storeys would have been of jettied timber-framed construction with

roofs clad with flat peg tile. The appearance of these buildings can be inferred from images of various pre-Great Fire properties in London (Milne 1986, figs 15, 34 and 57). The front portion of the ground storey of the majority of these properties would have been occupied by shops or taverns, while the rear portion would have been occupied by kitchens. The upper storeys would have provided residential accommodation. The cellars would have provided storage space for food stuffs, fuel (wood and latterly coal), and commercial commodities connected with the nearby Port of London. A Great Fire-period cellar found at Pudding Lane contained barrels of pitch or 'Stockholm Tar', indicating the presence of a ship's chandler (Milne & Milne 1985, 173) (Fig 2, site 4). Writing in c.1600, the London historian John Stow recorded that *Bridge Street* or New Fish Street was noted for its fishmongers and 'fair taverns' (Stow 1603, i 211).

All the buildings within this area were destroyed on the 2 September 1666 by the Great Fire (Bell 1923, 26; Milne 1986, 26), but no archaeological evidence was found of this conflagration on site. However, excavations nearby at Botolph Lane recently revealed extensive evidence of the Great Fire destruction (Blair & Sankey 2007, 35). In fact the published archaeological evidence for the Great Fire is still limited (Biddulph 2005; Milne 1986, 105). While this absence is partly due to the non-publication of data,³⁴ there are other factors which should be considered. At Regis House a combination of earlier cellar walls being retained in post-Fire redevelopments and the degree of truncation caused by 19th-century and later basements and their associated foundations, undoubtedly contributed to the absence of evidence for the Great Fire destruction. Two of the buildings on site (B23 and 28) both show evidence of post-Fire reconstruction, and it is probable that a number of other existing cellars on site were relined or paved with brick as part of the post-Fire reconstruction of the area. The reconstruction of B21 may have taken place after the Great Fire. Certainly by 1676 the area had been completely redeveloped (Ogilby & Morgan 1676, p 19), with a largely unaltered property layout. Numerous cesspits and wells were situated within cellars presumably for reasons of space.

Survival in the northern half of the site was sparse, and there was little evidence of the properties fronting onto *Crooked Lane* (OA14) (Fig 9). The southern area was similarly truncated by modern basements, and the most substantial area of surviving features therefore lay across the central portion of the site around *Globe Court* (OA11). The surviving walls were fragmentary and without the cartographic and documentary evidence, it would be difficult to attempt to reconstruct building outlines. *Globe Court* itself, for example, although it originated as a yard at ground level giving access to the tenements in the centre of the area, was untraceable at basement level as the adjoining buildings encroached by extending their cellars beyond their frontages, although several walls respected the line of the court: the court was encroached upon from one side or the other, never from both. It seems that the practice of constructing cesspits under rights of way continued, and since these must have been covered, they may well have been emptied by means of a trapdoor, and filled by means of a chute entering from the adjoining building.

In 1821 prior to the construction of a new London Bridge upstream of its medieval predecessor, all the streets and properties within this area were surveyed. In 1824, work on the new bridge and the creation of its new approach roads started (Watson *et al* 2001, 164). During the construction of the new northern approach road (King William Street) St Michael's Crooked Lane was demolished in c.1830 (Kempe 1832, 4). As a result of this development *Crooked Lane* (OA14) was extinguished (Fig 2).³⁵ It was replaced by a new wider road (Arthur Street East) on a more northerly alignment. This redevelopment was also indirectly responsible for a lot of rebuilding work on site and the infilling of various cesspits and cellars, when these properties were redeveloped.

During the 1880s a deep circular shaft (9m diameter) was excavated in the north-west corner of the site to provide access to King William Street underground station (Fig 9).³⁶ In 1913 the construction of Ridgeway House cleared a number of surviving smaller properties along King William Street (Nos 41–42). As a result of these changes, it was only along the Fish Street Hill frontage that elements of the medieval and 17th-

century layout survived until the 1929–31 development, which was undertaken by Rudolph Palumbo. Regis House was completed in 1931; it was a six-storey, steel-framed, stone-clad building with two attic storeys, which was demolished in 1994.³⁷

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NOTES

¹ *Plan of the London Bridge Approaches*, August 1821. LMA, CLA/Drawer 1, Roll 3.

² Fishmongers' Company Deeds, LMA CLA, MS 6708.

³ D&C St Paul's Deeds, LMA CLA, MS 25121/1262, 1484.

⁴ Fishmongers' Company Deeds, LMA CLA, MS 6364, pp 72–3.

⁵ *Holy Trinity Cartulary*, 285–6; *Cat Ancient Deeds*, ii.A1909, LMA, CLA.

⁶ On 3 November 1536 William Brounsopp of Water Okeley, Berks, gentleman, sold to Thomas Trumbull fishmonger for 40m his shop adjoining the great door of the messuage called the *Bell* in *Newfishestrete* in SMM with free entrance and exit to the shop through the great door. If William adhered to covenants and agreements his obligation to Thomas in 200m should be void, but would otherwise stand in full strength (242/5–7). William quitclaimed Thomas and his heirs on 20 June 1537 (242/6).

⁷ In a deed enrolled on 13 June 1317 the executors of Hugh Pourte, fishmonger, sold to Philip Lucas, fishmonger, and his wife Agnes Hugh's former messuage at Oystergate in SMM along with a certain house newly built in its garden, the messuage and new house being situated between the tenement once of William Cros and Adam de Folham mayor (B7) on the east side and lying between the tenement of Robert Austin on the north and the tenements of the said William de Braye (A1), William Lambyn (A2) and Simon de Mereworthe (A3) on the south (45/228).

⁸ In her will dated 7 April 1592 Agnes Taylbys bequeathed to her eldest son Richard all the messuage called the *Dolphin* from the *Talbott* eastwards towards Fish Street as it then was in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Emerson vintner, with free ingress, egress and regress from the well and through the entry belonging to the *Talbott* into Crooked Lane; to George, her second son, all the courtyard on the south side of the *Talbott* and to Edward, her third son, all the said messuage or tenement called the *Talbott* then in the occupation of the said Simon Taylby with the courtyard thereunto belonging with free (access) through the said entry into and from the well or pump in the said yard ... (LMA CLA, Deeds MS 19947).

⁹ The red bricks measured 2 by 4 by 9 in; they date from c.1450 to 1700, but were only widely used after 1500. Later red (unfrogged) bricks (c.1700–1840) measured 2½ by 4 by 9 in.

¹⁰ 'The Settlement of Tithes 1638', Lambeth Palace Library MS 272. For a printed edition see Dale 1931.

¹¹ Fishmongers' Court Minutes, LMA CLA, TS, ii (ii), 422.

¹² SMM Vestry Minutes 1667–1782, LMA CLA, MS 2791/1, p 1.

¹³ Public Record Office now part of the National Archives E310/3/18.

¹⁴ Fishmongers' Company Deeds, LMA CLA, MS 5860/1, 9.

¹⁵ Fishmongers' Company Deeds, LMA CLA, MS 5860/1, 9.

¹⁶ Fishmongers' Court Minute Book, LMA CLA, TS ii (ii), 322.

¹⁷ *ibid* (iv), 874.

¹⁸ Public Record Office, now part of the National Archives E310/3/18.

¹⁹ St Magnus Churchwardens' Accounts 1638–1734, MLA, CLA, 1179/1, p 1.

²⁰ Fishmongers' Company Deeds, MLA CLA, MS 6705.

²¹ Fishmongers' Company Deeds, MLA CLA MS 7057.

²² Fishmongers' Court Minute Book, MLA CLA, TS ii (i), 42.

²³ See note 8.

²⁴ The pipes have been classified mostly according to the London typology of Atkinson and Oswald (1969), although the simplified general typology of Oswald (1975) was used to obtain closer dating for some of the 18th-century material.

²⁵ Part of a distilling apparatus; the lower portion (over the heat source) was the cucurbit, over which was placed the alembic, an inverted convex-shaped vessel with a long stem for condensing liquid (Moorhouse 1972, fig 25).

²⁶ According to Drake (1736, 292) 'a large lamp' was formerly hung in the steeple of All Saints or All Hallows, Pavement, as a landmark for people travelling from the forest of Galtres to York. There is a record in the Churchwardens' Accounts of All Saints for the purchase of a lantern for 15 shillings in 1631 (York University, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research).

²⁷ There are cases of vessels being buried under floors during the 17th and 18th centuries as 'witch bottles', which normally contain pins, needles or nails (Merrifield 1987, 168–72). As the pot contained nothing, this interpretation cannot be confirmed. This vessel was an almost complete (empty), yellow-glazed, slipped redware, carinated bowl (1480–1650) [1863], found upright within the cellar floor makeup.

²⁸ Finds from this makeup (Subgroup 171.4) included a fragment of medieval Westminster floor tile <1986>.

²⁹ In addition to the jug, between 6.5 and 7kg of pottery [1464] was recovered from this pit. The jug is on display in the Museum of London Medieval Gallery.

³⁰ *Arma Christi* is Latin for the arms of Christ meaning the weapons of his victory over death,

principally the cross, crown of thorns, nails and lance (Murray & Murray 1998, 32).

³¹ Museum of London (LAARC) ref: GM 160, ER 161.

³² This unpublished piece (inventory nos A102/41/M6 and A102/M41/M7) is less complete than the present find, but has a base diameter of 118mm and estimated height of c.250mm.

³³ The Baconsthorpe Castle vessel consists of the lower body of a large ovoid jug, depicting the three hills with the base of the cross and part of the scourges.

³⁴ There is plentiful evidence of Great Fire destruction from the nearby excavations at Billingsgate Market Lorry Park, Lower Thames Street (BIG82) and New Fresh Wharf (NFW74). Currently this material is unpublished.

³⁵ In 1831 George Scharf produced a series of water colours of the existing buildings along the new northern bridge approach road, including views of St Michael's church and Fish Street Hill, which show many of the four-storey, terraced brick buildings which then occupied the site (Guildhall Library collection).

³⁶ King William Street Station was the northern terminus for the City and South London Railway which opened on 4 November 1890. This was the world's first underground electric railway and the forerunner of the present Northern Line. Its northern terminus was King William Street Station which closed in 1900, when the line was extended to Bank. The truncated remains of the access shaft and its spiral stairs were sealed up during 1995.

³⁷ Within the basement were two artesian wells (see Fig 3).

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