THE CHURCH AND CLOISTERS OF AUSTIN FRIARS

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SUMMARY

This article reports on new research on the church and cloisters of the Augustinian friary of Austin Friars. A construction sequence for the friary is suggested, beginning with the church choir in the third quarter of the 13th century and moving on to the cloister at the end of the century. Next was the nave, begun around the second quarter of the 14th century and finished in the 1370s. The final major building project was a second cloister, begun in the late 14th century and completed in the middle of the following century. The article then reviews the archaeological, architectural and documentary evidence for the church and cloisters. Significant new evidence discussed here includes a new interpretation of the choir and a reconstruction of the arcade of the first cloister.

INTRODUCTION

This article reports on recent research on the medieval friary of Austin Friars, in particular on new evidence for the church, whose tall spire was one of medieval London's landmarks, and the adjacent cloisters (Fig 1). The authors share an interest in London's monastic heritage having, respectively, carried out research on London's friaries (Holder), investigated the architectural history of several conventual buildings by means of architectural fragments (Samuel), and studied tiled floors and other monastic building material (Betts). This article develops aspects of that research and brings in new analysis that was generously funded by LAMAS, the City of London Archaeological Trust and *London Archaeologist*. The authors of the present article intend to continue their

research and publish a book on London's seven houses of medieval friars: Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Carmelite, Crossed, Sack and Pied (Fig 1). Let us now continue this exploration of London's mendicants with the Augustinian or Austin friars.

The Augustinian friars were the fourth major order of friars to be founded in the 13th century, a generation after St Francis's band of poor itinerant preachers and St Dominic's more organised group of anti-heretical preachers (respectively, the Franciscans and the Dominicans), and just a few years behind the refugee hermits from the Holy Land known as the Carmelites. In mid-14th-century Italy various groups of Tuscan hermits came together and, agreeing to follow the rule of St Augustine, became the Order of Augustinian Hermits in 1256. In fact, the hermits had reached England before their formal unification, probably establishing their first English house at Clare in Norfolk by 1249 (Roth 1961, i, 18–22, 259–60; Andrews 2006, 101–2). The English Order and its houses quickly became known as the Augustinian or Austin friars.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LONDON AUSTIN FRIARS

The Augustinian friars probably established their London house in the 1260s, slightly later than the date of 1253 given by the Tudor historian John Stow (Stow 1603, i, 177; Röhrkasten 2004, 54–5). It was situated towards the north of the city on Broad Street and the friars seem to have taken over an existing church or chapel, dedicated to St
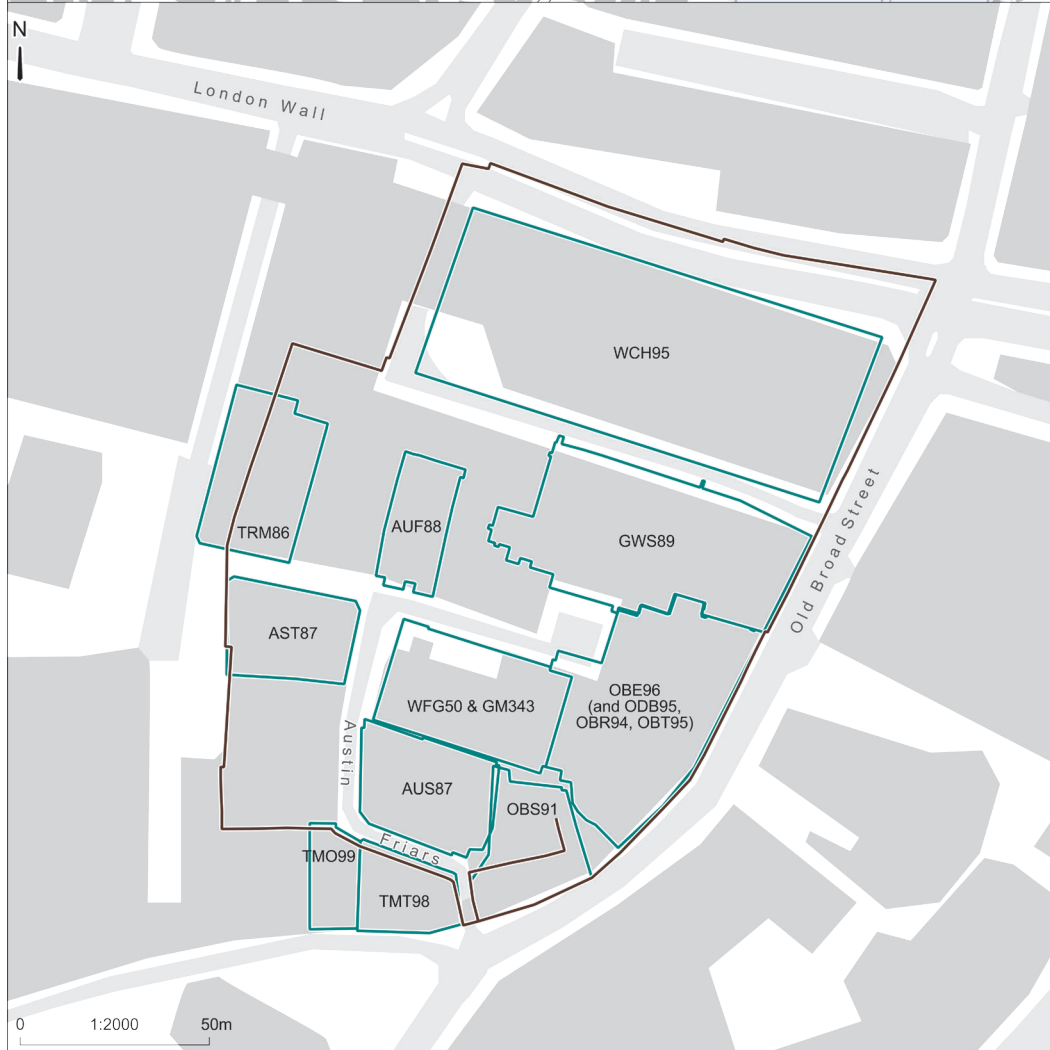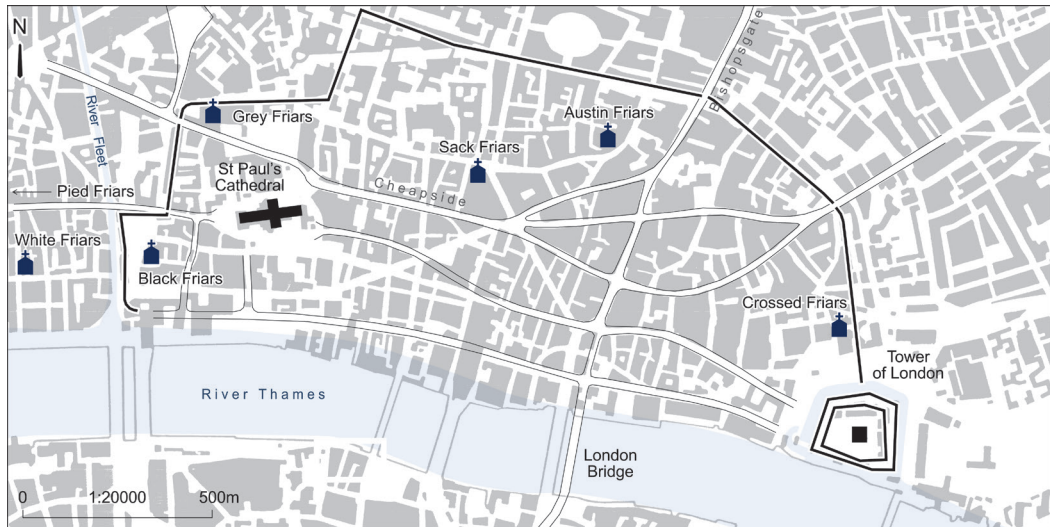
Fig 1. Map showing the location of London's medieval friaries (scale 1:20,000) with a detail of medieval Austin Friars and archaeological sites within its precinct (scale 1:2000)

Olave. Archaeological excavations at 109–118 Broad Street (site OBE96) may have found fragments of the north wall and buttresses of this first chapel (not illus; see 'Appendix: Reinterpretation of Site OBE96'). The short-lived parish of St Olave Broad Street was quickly subsumed: the church became part of the friary precinct and the rest of the parish presumably transferred to the adjacent parish of St Peter Broad Street, later known as St Peter the Poor (GL, MS 25121/1590; Roth 1961, ii, no. 42).

If the very first urban friaries in England were small, humble institutions on the fringes of towns and cities, many mendicant priors — no doubt enthused by the spiritual successes of their friaries — soon had rather grander aspirations for their houses. Documentary evidence for the development of the London Austin Friars would suggest that the Order's early priors — like those of the other London mendicant houses — took a remarkably long-term approach to planning the acquisition, layout and construction of their precinct (Röhrkasten 2004, 67–9). In other words, although the first prior of the 1260s, perhaps William de Clare (Barron & Davies 2007, 136), had a pressing short-term need to build some basic accommodation to go with the chapel, he probably also developed a long-term plan for the friary, with a choir, cloister and nave, and, in time, other service buildings and gardens. By analogy with other friaries in London, and in Italy, the planned and executed order of construction was church choir then cloister then church nave (Holder 2011, 208–11; Bruzelius 2007, 207–9). After the initial donation of land by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex (presumably in the 1260s), further parcels on and behind Broad Street were acquired by the friary between the 1270s and the 1340s (TNA, C66/184, m. 21; C66/213, m. 17, C66/267, m. 20; LR14/85; DC, A I 34, 44 and 45; Röhrkasten 2004, 54–6). The final precinct occupied an area of over five and a half acres (2.3ha).

The fragmentary archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that the friars simply enlarged the old chapel of St Olave to form their choir by adding an aisle on its north side: one or two north-facing external buttress foundations seem to have been demolished to allow this extension

(see 'Appendix: Reinterpretation of Site OBE96'). Did this work begin in the late 1260s, soon after Earl Humphrey's bequest? A document of 1271 refers to the friary and 'where the parish church of St Olave Broad Street … *used to be*' (GL, MS 25121/1590; Roth 1961, ii, no. 42). In 1277 the project may have been nearing completion because the king granted six oaks from Windsor Forest, quite possibly for the new roof of the chapel/choir (TNA, C54/94, m. 6).

It seems likely, on the basis of the architectural fragments (below, 'The Cloisters'), that work on the first cloister was begun shortly after this, after *c.*1290. There is, unfortunately, little documentary evidence for this process. The three wings of the cloister (with the choir forming a then incomplete south wing) would have housed the basic accommodation needs of dormitory, refectory and chapter house.

Having completed the first choir (housing the friars at prayer in their timber stalls) and the basic cloister (for the friars' living requirements of food, sleep and community), the Austin friars also needed a nave for lay people: preaching to town-dwellers was, after all, the main reason that the mendicant movement took off in the 13th century. The building campaign on the nave must have begun, at the latest, by the second quarter of the 14th century: a testator of 1343 bequeathed money in his will for 'the works on the church of Austin Friars' and, six years later, a financial agreement was made with the rector of the local parish of St Peter concerning tithes. This latter agreement almost certainly indicates a functioning nave, and probably a burial ground too: the friars were attending to the spiritual needs of local lay people and therefore had to negotiate with the local parish (Röhrkasten 2004, 510; Roth 1961, ii, no. 381). The works on the nave restarted after the Black Death and continued into the early 1370s: a descendant of the original founder made a generous donation in 1361 and wills of 1369 and 1371 record donations to pay for windows, indicating that the nave was nearly complete (Reddan 1909, 511; Roth 1961, ii, no. 465; Röhrkasten 2004, 510; Barron & Davies 2007, 134).

The fourth major component of the friary buildings — after choir, cloister and nave —

was an additional, more secluded cloister on the north side of the main cloister. In other London friaries, for example at Black Friars, this was known as the inner cloister because it was set further back from the church and road (TNA, E315/191, f. 57). This second cloister at Austin Friars was probably begun in the final quarter of the 14th century, according to the evidence of architectural fragments, discussed below. Work continued into the 15th century: permission for the construction of a new infirmary was granted by the Order's prior general in 1419 and later evidence shows that this infirmary was the northern wing of the inner cloister. The inner cloister was completed by the middle of the century: the west wing seems to have housed the library, which was the subject of building works in the mid-15th century and was completed by 1456 when a new set of rules was agreed (TNA, LR14/86; Roth 1961, i, 106–7, 289, 374; ii, nos 713, 839; Holder 2011, 152–4).

By the mid-15th century, then, the basic layout of the friary had been finished. In addition to the church and pair of cloisters, the friary had a cemetery to the south of the nave, accommodation for the prior to the north of the choir, a service wing in the very north of the precinct (including stables, a bake-house and, less certainly, a brew-house) and several gardens. The friary also had a row of revenue-raising tenements along Throgmorton Street, just outside the precinct by the main gate (Holder 2011, 151–7).

The friary continued to prosper into the 16th century but in the 1530s the turbulent marital and religious politics of Henry VIII began to impinge on the friary. The priors of the 1530s, George Brown and Thomas Hamond, developed a policy of attracting significant royal servants to rent property in and around the friary precincts, perhaps with a view to safeguarding the friary's interests. Thomas Cromwell, then a servant of the first minister Cardinal Wolsey, rented a house by the church from the early 1520s. In 1532, as his political fortune rose, Cromwell began to enlarge his property, leasing additional friary tenements along Throgmorton Street as well as a further part of the precinct itself. Other significant lay residents included two of Cromwell's protégés Richard Mor-

rison and Richard Rich, as well as the Spanish ambassador Eustache Chapuys (Holder 2011, 158). Finally, after mounting pressure from Cromwell and the King, prior Hamond signed the surrender document in November 1538 and his 12 remaining friars left, no doubt to seek employment as priests or clerks. Hamond himself was entitled to a generous state pension for life as part of the surrender settlement (Brewer 1862–1932, xiii (2), no. 806).

THE CHURCH

The nave of Austin Friars is well known: in July 1550, a decade after the Dissolution, it was converted into England's first non-conformist church, a 'stranger church' to serve Protestant aliens from the Low Countries, Germany and elsewhere (TNA, C66/830, m. 42; MacCulloch 2003, 257–8). The Dutch church survived into the 20th century, one of England's best preserved friary churches, but was completely destroyed by an enemy parachute mine during the early stages of the Blitz in October 1940 (Lindeboom 1950, 191–2). Fortunately, the church had been recorded and analysed in a number of publications before 1940, including an important pre-restoration description of the church (which appeared in the second volume of this journal), an account by the architect of restoration work in the 1860s, and a detailed architectural description in the fourth *London* volume of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England (Hugo 1864; I'Anson 1866; RCHME 1929, 32–4, pl 217). In addition, the field notes of the RCHME's architectural historians of the 1920s survive, as does a detailed survey by the architects of the post-War reconstruction of the church (EHA; LAARC, site WFG50). The site of the nave was also archaeologically investigated by W F Grimes in 1950–51 as part of the post-War reconstruction of the church (LAARC, site WFG50; Grimes 1968, 124–7; Watson 1994).

Bringing this evidence together, we know that the medieval nave was built from Kentish ragstone (and perhaps the similar ashlar stone also found in the Hythe Beds of the Lower Greensand) with decorative flint courses. Reigate stone (or a similar Upper Greensand stone) was used for the window
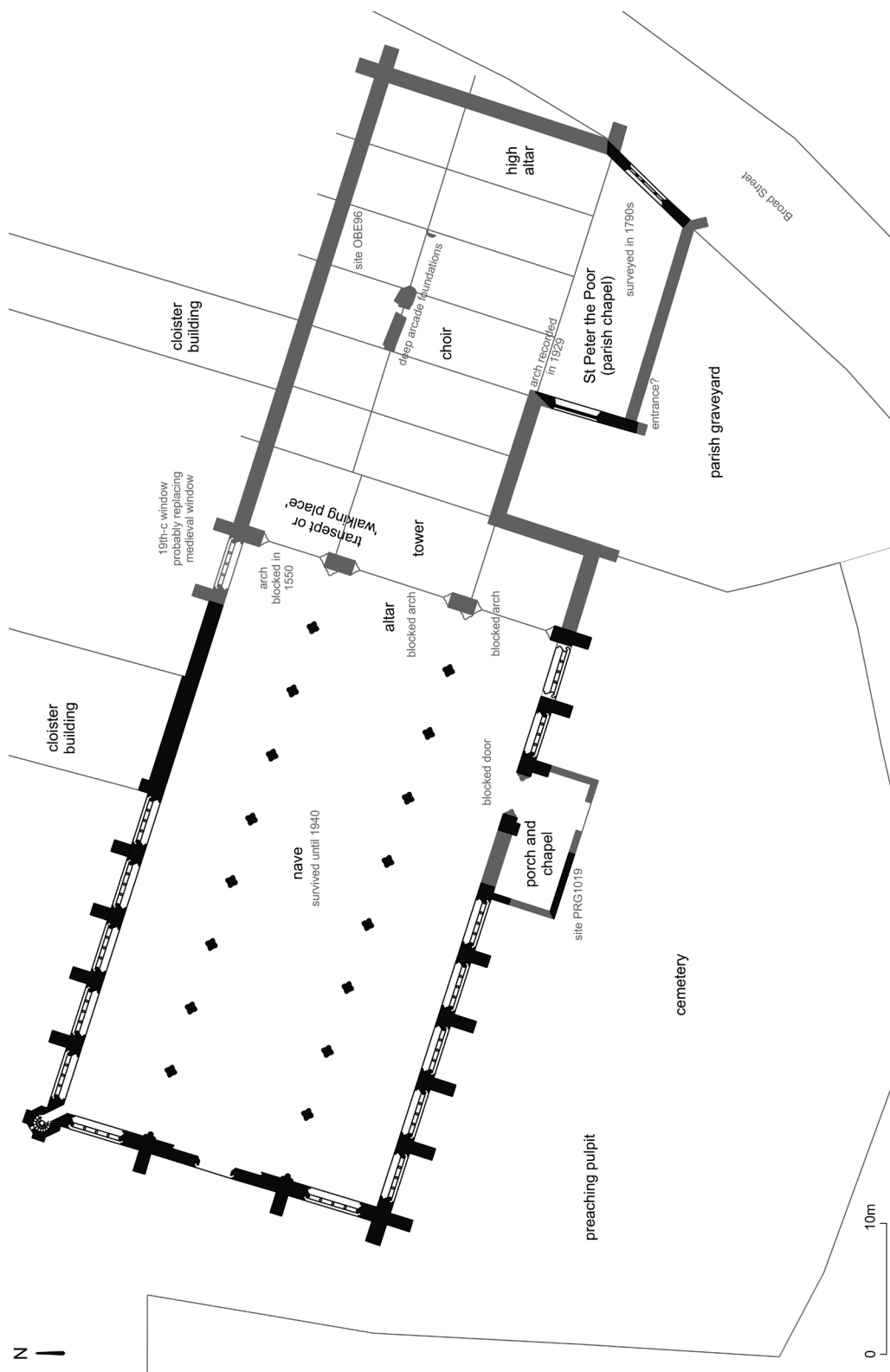
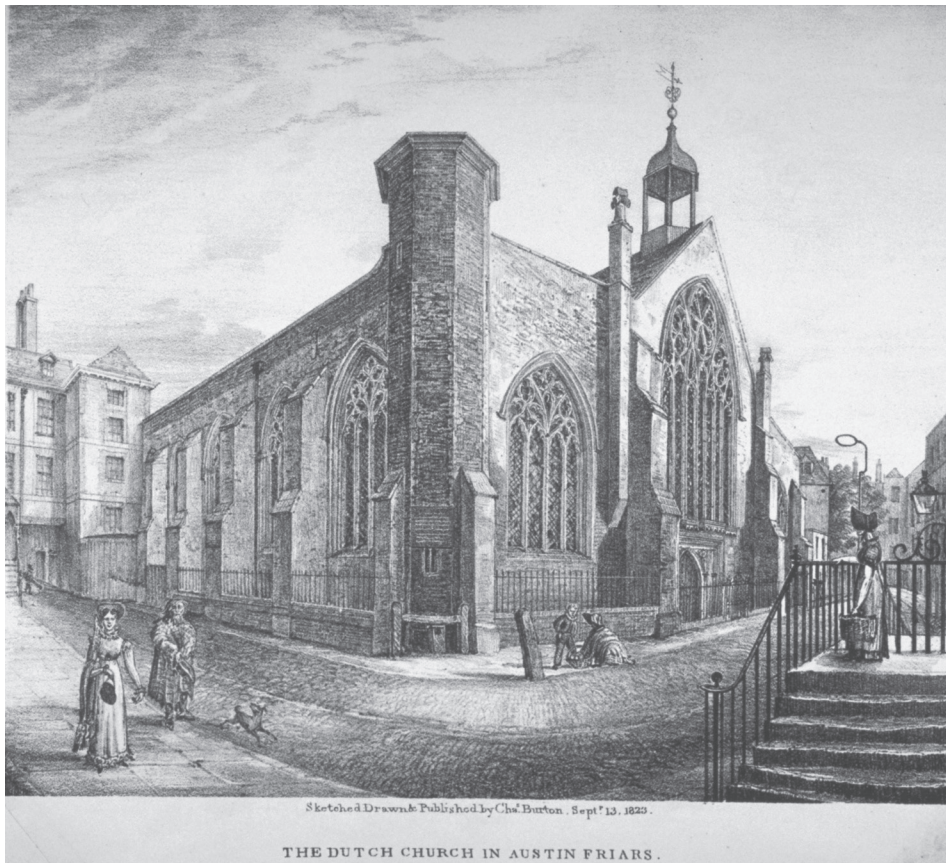*Fig 2. Reconstruction of the church of Austin Friars (scale 1:500)*

Fig 3. Lithograph by Charles Burton showing the west end and north aisle of the Dutch church, the former nave of Austin Friars, in 1823 (London Metropolitan Archives, COLLAGE 563)

and door mouldings. The nave had nine bays and — even without the friars' choir — it formed a very large London church, measuring 149ft by 83ft internally (45.3 by 25.2m; Fig 2). It had a ceremonial west door, with a two-bay *vestibulum* or porch on the south aisle to allow day-to-day access by lay people walking through the cemetery (TNA, C66/727, m. 18; DC, charter X). Much of the floor was in Purbeck marble and there seem to have been few floor tiles used. The west window was a seven-light window with a six-petal rose below the apex of the arch; the aisle windows had four lights terminating in a two-centred arch filled with complex tracery (Fig 3). These 'Curvilinear' windows have been placed firmly in the context of the 'First Perpendicular' style of 1330–1360 (Harvey 1978, 91), with the documentary evidence, discussed above, suggesting a date at the very

end of this range. The piers of the arcades were formed of four engaged shafts, whose moulding (recorded before the restoration of the 1860s) is also stylistically compatible with a date in the mid-14th century. The plan of the nave makes it look, at first sight, like a great open preaching space; in fact, the space must have seemed remarkably long and narrow, lacking a clerestory above and with timber screens along the arcades allowing glimpses of the aisle chapels and framing a long view of the rood screen and altars at the east end. The evidence of wills, chantries and religious fraternity agreements tells us the dedications of a few of these aisle chapels with their own altars and statues: Saints Katharine, Mary, James, Roche, Nicholas and Sebastian (Holder 2011, 150–1, table 5; in one or two cases these dedications could refer to chapels or altars in the choir). The church itself, and
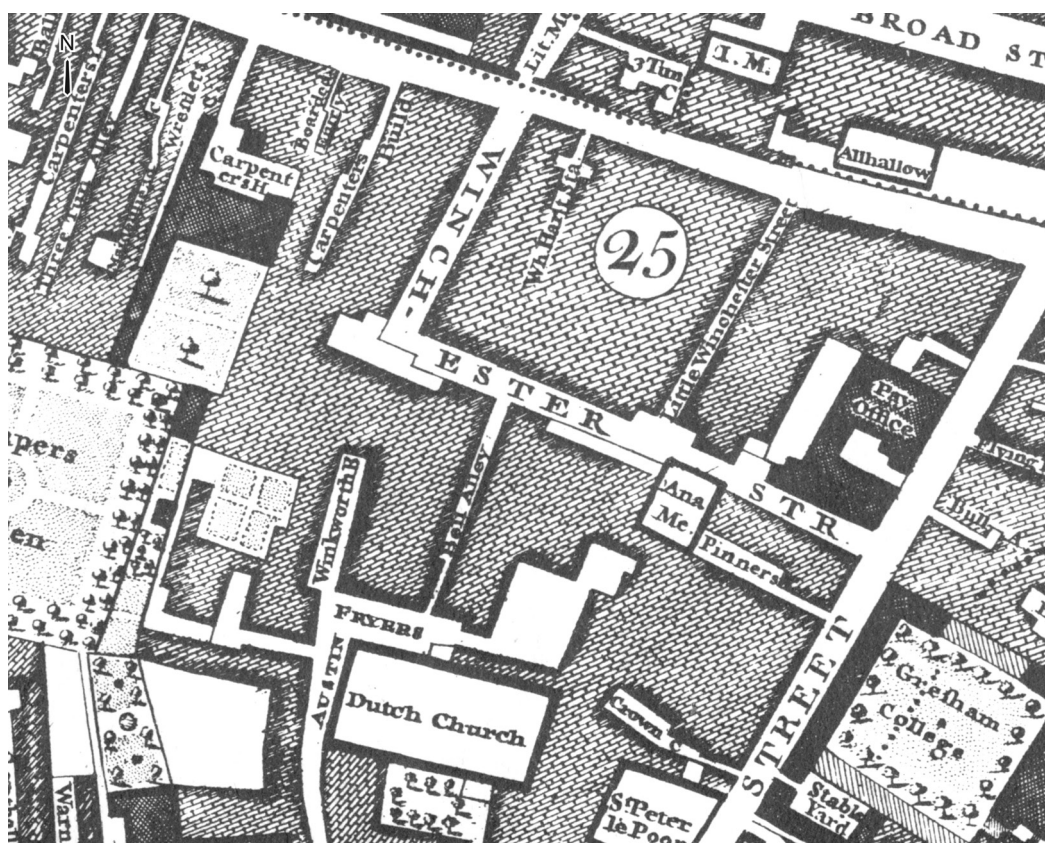
Fig 4. Rocque's map of 1746 showing the parish church of St Peter the Poor a short distance east of the Dutch church (bottom of map): both must be surviving parts of the medieval friary church (Guildhall Library)

presumably its high altar in the choir, was dedicated to St Augustine of Hippo (Roth 1966, ii, no. 877; *CPRPL*, xi, 651).

The choir of Austin Friars experienced a rather different fate after the Dissolution and is, therefore, comparatively forgotten. In 1546, the Crown converted it into a state warehouse and four years later sold it to William Paulet, one of Henry VIII's inner circle of courtiers. His son John began stripping the old choir in the 1570s, selling the paving stone, monuments and lead; most of the building was demolished at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries (Holder 2011, 170–3). The key to understanding the layout of the medieval choir is Rocque's map of 1746: here, the parish church of St Peter the Poor is quite clearly shown as being situated to the east of the Dutch church and both seem to be surviving elements of the friary church (Fig 4). Detailed digital

map regression of the area corroborates this hypothesis: the parish church simply cannot be 'pushed' any further south (and its illustration on Ogilby and Morgan's earlier map of 1676 is therefore incorrect). A survey of St Peter the Poor in the 1790s (shortly before its demolition) shows that the central portion of the church was medieval in origin (the north and south aisles are later; Fig 5). Furthermore, its unusual east end can be fairly precisely mapped onto the matching angle of Broad Street. The parish church survey can be located even more precisely thanks to the discovery of some of the foundations for the post-Dissolution north aisle that were archaeologically excavated in site OBE96 (see 'Appendix: Reinterpretation of Site OBE96'). If we now take the medieval elements of the 1790s survey and add the medieval chalk foundations discovered on site OBE96 (to the
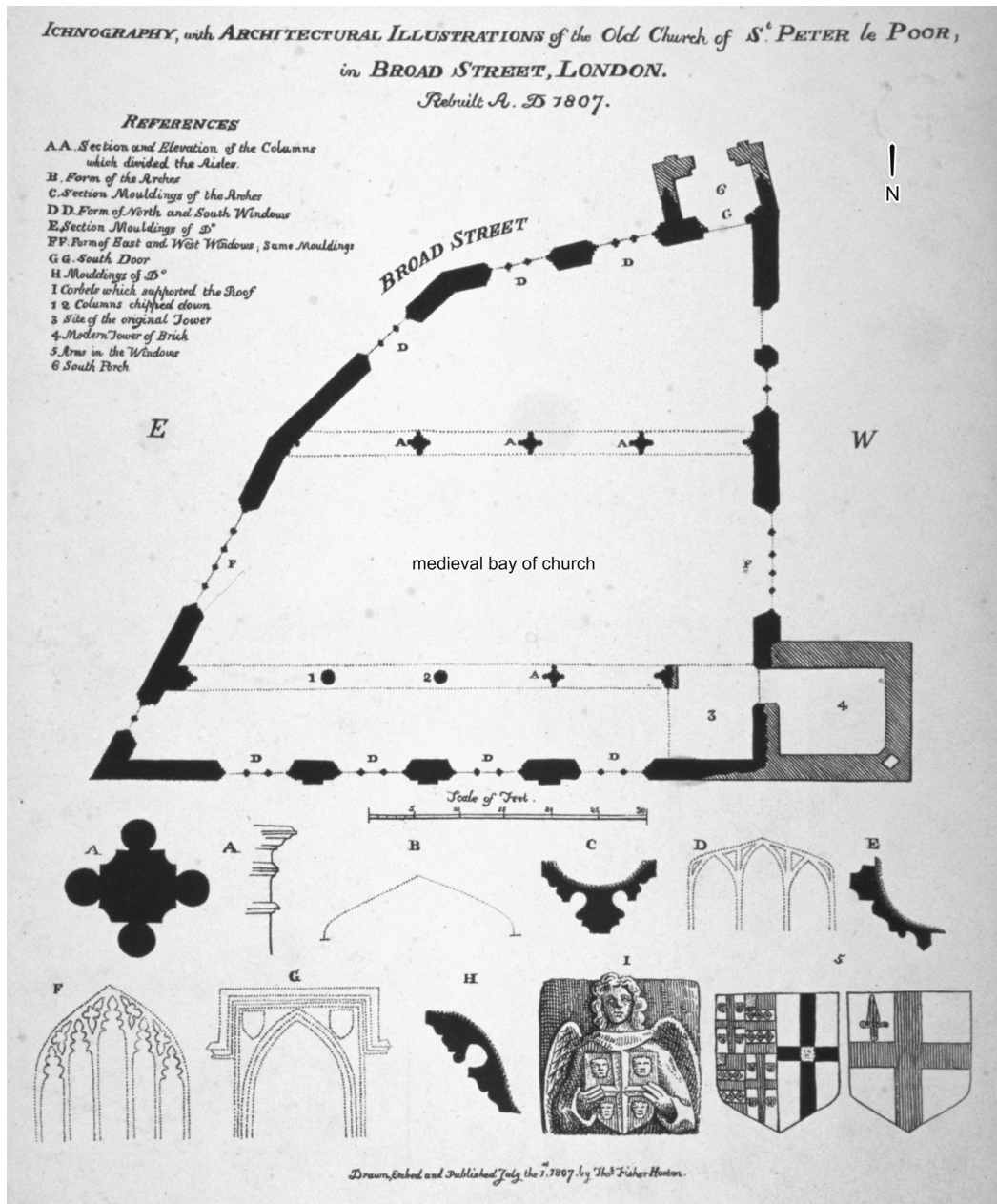
Fig 5. Survey of St Peter the Poor shortly before its demolition in the 1790s (south is at the top of the drawing); note the medieval form of windows marked 'F' and the Tudor/Jacobean form of windows marked 'D' (London Metropolitan Archives, COLLAGE 5470)

north of the post-Dissolution foundations referred to previously; see 'Appendix: Reinterpretation of Site OBE96'), we can attempt a reconstruction of the Austin Friars choir and the parish church of St Peter. The

evidence therefore suggests that the choir of Austin Friars had six bays and two aisles, with the parish church of St Peter the Poor forming a third aisle to the south (Fig 2). The presence of a medieval *west* window on

the 1790s survey demonstrates that the south aisle — the parish chapel — did not abut the nave.

Recent analysis of the various assemblages of architectural fragments that have been recovered from sites within Austin Friars has revealed a little more information about the architecture of the choir. A group of 12 fragments of two or more windows was discovered in a pit dug in the old church choir (probably at the time of its demolition in the late 16th or early 17th century; site OBE96). Apart from demolition damage, they are extremely well preserved and a succession of thick coats of whitewash can be seen. The fragments of one window comprise a mullion <8>, the junction of a cinquefoil archlet and a supermullion <15> (Fig 6) and a ?supermullion from higher in the same window with flanking archlets <20>. A

second window employs a slighter but similar moulding: <9> incorporates the junction of symmetrical archlets with a supermullion (Fig 6); <17> forms a fragment of a mullion. A tracery fragment <14> probably derives from this second window. The hollow-chamfered moulding of these windows has glazing grooves and filleted axial terminations with canted sides. The windows probably date to the mid-14th century (this type of window moulding was also employed at Edward III's great house in Rotherhithe, built 1353–6: Blatherwick & Bluer 2009, 15–17, 159–62, fig 125) and would suggest that the documented works taking place in the church at this time consisted of construction work on the nave *and* enlargement or replacement work on the choir, including the replacement of at least a couple of the old 13th-century windows.

One further piece of newly discovered

fragments from choir

fragments from cloisters

OBE96 <9>

GWS89 <29>

OBE96 <15>

GWS89 <103>

extant jamb moulding
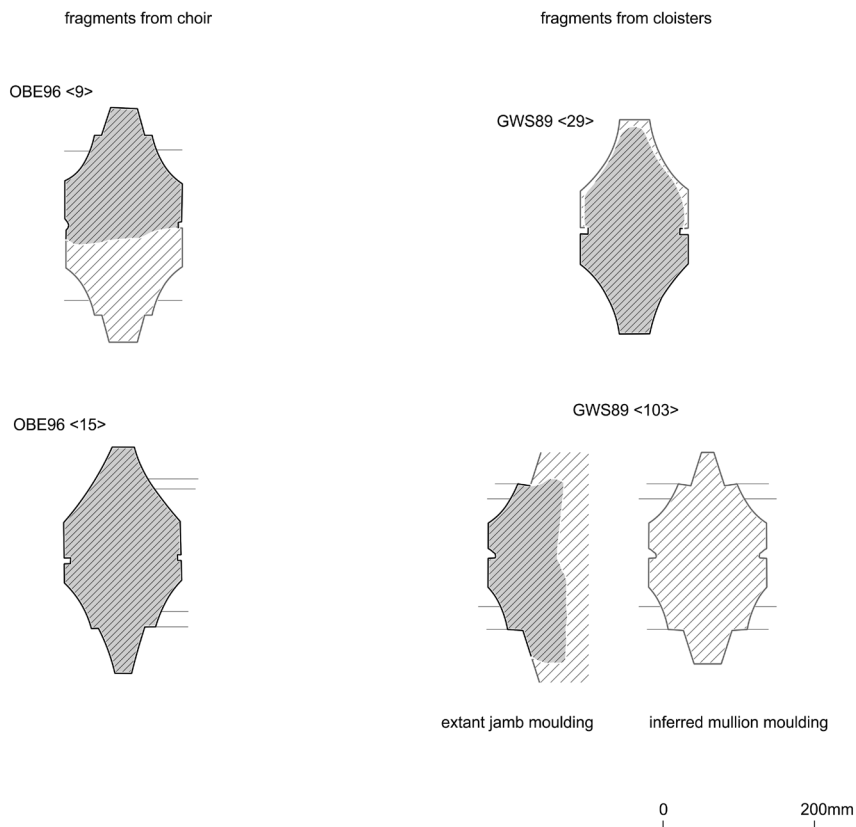
inferred mullion moulding

0 ———— 200mm

Fig 6. Two mid-14th-century window mullions from the choir of Austin Friars (OBE96 <9> and <15>) and two late 14th-century window mullions from the inner cloister (GWS89 <29> and <103>) (scale 1:10)

evidence adds to our understanding of the choir. Remarkably, part of the arcade separating the choir from the parish church of St Peter the Poor survived into the 20th century, having been reused in the north wall of a house built in the late 18th century when the old parish church was demolished. In 1929, this late 18th-century building on Old Broad Street was being redeveloped. After exposing medieval stonework behind the plaster, the building contractors seem to have called in the architectural photographer W Ingle, who recorded views of two arches over three floors of the 18th-century building. The full story is now hard to piece together: the photographs are incorrectly labelled ('Austin Friars, Dutch Church'; EHA, OP15755–15760) but the original annotations reveal their exact provenance ('Anglo South American Bank E.C.' and 'Lyons Teashop', located, respectively, at 117 Old Broad Street and 3 Crown Court: Anon 1929, 249, 521). In the absence of detailed records, one of the arches is difficult to place (perhaps part of the south aisle, the parish chapel of St Peter the Poor?), but the other must be a view looking south at the old arcade wall separating the choir of the friary from the adjacent parish church (Fig 7).

Brief mention will now be made of a few other features of the friary church. Separating the nave and choir was a transept or wide bay described as 'le cross Ile' in a post-Dissolution document: this bay allowed the friars to walk through the church from their cloister to the cemetery (TNA, C66/834, mm. 24–5). The evidence of Wyngaerde's view and the 'copperplate' map-view would suggest that it was more like a normal church transept, wider and taller than the equivalent bays in other friary churches (which were usually known as the 'walking place'; Fig 8). This bay also formed the base of the most visible part of the church: a landmark spire rising from a polygonal tower. Built in or shortly after 1362 (following the destruction of the original spire in a storm), John Stow described it as 'a most fine spired steeple, small, high, and streight, I have not seene the like' (Stow 1603, i, 177). This spire seems to be illustrated — capped with a cross — in a woodcut in Richard Pynson's *Chronicle of England* of 1510, almost certainly the only surviving pre-Reformation illustration of the

church (Watson & Thomas 2010, 281 and pl 27). Other features of the church included a two-bay porch on the south side (excavated in 1910 at site PRG1019; Norman 1916) and a stair-tower in the north-west corner of the church. Virtually the whole church was used as a burial ground for important lay people (including several executed aristocrats), with their burial fees and payments for spiritual services such as chantry masses no doubt providing an important source of income for the friary. An early 16th-century herald recorded 88 people buried in 77 tombs here, with John Stow noting another eight names (BL, Harley MS 6033, ff. 31–2; Stow 1603, i, 177–9; Cater 1912, 80–2; Steer 2010, 121, 123 and table 1; the figure of 88 excludes two burials in the chapter house, presumably of priors or senior friars). A century later none of these tombs or monuments apparently survived, even inside the old monastic nave: the antiquarian John Weever complained that the Dutch congregation had little respect for the church's heritage and 'can hardly brooke any reverend Antiquitie' (Weever 1631, 419).

THE CLOISTERS

The arrangement of the two cloisters can be reconstructed thanks to two archaeological excavations: in 1909 a site in Great Winchester Street was recorded by an architect from the London County Council (site PRG1020; Cater 1912; 1915) and, some 80 years later, the same site was re-excavated by the Museum of London, although with rather less surviving the second time round (GWS89). Post-Dissolution grants of the various wings of the cloisters help us with the identification of the claustral buildings and, most usefully, supply several measurements (TNA, C66/797, m. 23; E318/13/577 (main cloister); C66/686, m. 11; E315/103, ff. 27–28v (inner cloister, north and east wings); C66/690, m. 8 (inner cloister, west wing)). Further information about the layout can be gleaned from Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 (note that the Great Fire did not quite reach this far north) and 19th-century views of the west wing of the inner cloister (such as LMA, COLLAGE 18532).

The evidence for the original plan of the late 13th-century cloister survives as fragments

Fig 7. Montage of photographs of 1929 (with corrected perspectives) showing an arcade arch dividing the choir of Austin Friars from the parish church of St Peter the Poor, looking south towards St Peter (scale c.1:40) (note that the middle photograph is the opposite viewpoint but has been reversed for consistency; English Heritage Archive, OP 15755, 15758 and 15760)

of foundation discovered at site PRG1020. Because the cloister was later remodelled, little survives of the original plan but it seems to have been a narrow range of buildings with a traditional claustral walk surrounding the open garth (Fig 9). The recent analysis of architectural fragments from Austin Friars sheds rather more light on the appearance of this first cloister: several fragments of the coupled colonnade of the cloister were discovered (Fig 10; GWS89 [169]). A base and capital of the original arcade survived almost entirely (<107> and <109>) and were cut from Purbeck marble. A shaft fragment <112> probably also derived from this arcade. Because the capital survived in its entirety,
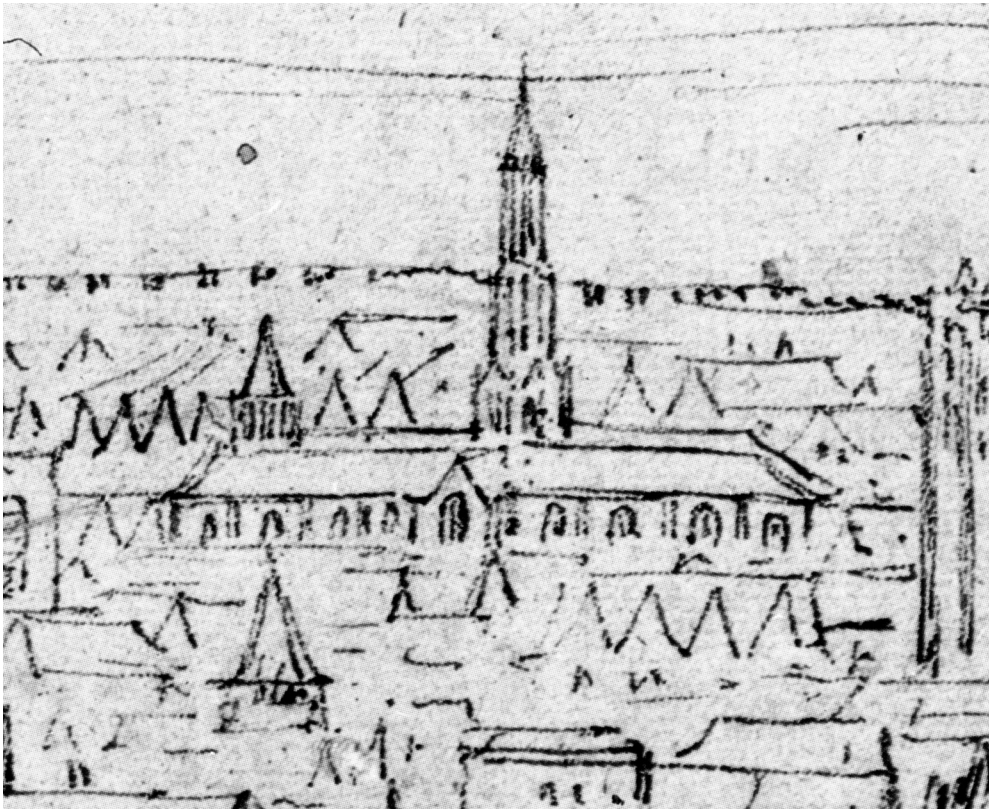
Fig 8. Detail of Wyngaerde's view of London showing the church of Austin Friars in c.1544

it follows that the arcade arch was of similar outline to the impost surface. A solitary and damaged fragment of the arcade arch <102> is cut from Caen stone. It is possible through the moulding and geometry of this fragment to reconstruct the lost arch, the tracery and the probable spacing of the paired shafts (Fig 10).

When was this cloister arcade built? It displays moulding features which variously suggest dates between *c.*1250 and *c.*1325. The most reliable clue is the 'concave fillet' on the capital. This can be paralleled in the chapter house at Wells Cathedral, which is dated to the 1290s (Morris 1979, fig c). The Purbeck marble elements were cut by London marblers who worked remotely from patterns: we know this because remote abbeys ordered completed features from them, as a surviving contract (1287) of Walter of Hereford demonstrates (Harvey 1987, 136). The Austin Friars cloister, probably dating to

the late 13th century, can be seen as a late example of the open, unglazed columnar cloister in England.

Further evidence for the appearance of this first cloister comes from a number of floor tiles of a type known as 'Westminster' tiles (named after the location of *in-situ* floors made from this type of tile; at least some of the tiles were, in fact, made in Farringdon). Plain glazed and decorated 'Westminster' floor tiles were used all over London but, in particular, to pave mon-astic buildings and parish churches. The tiles were manufactured in the second half of the 13th century, with production perhaps extending into the early years of the 14th century. A number of decorated 'Westminster' floor tiles were found at the Austin Friars site GWS89. The majority came from an archaeological context probably dating to shortly after the Dissolution (the fill of a robber trench [614]), whose location
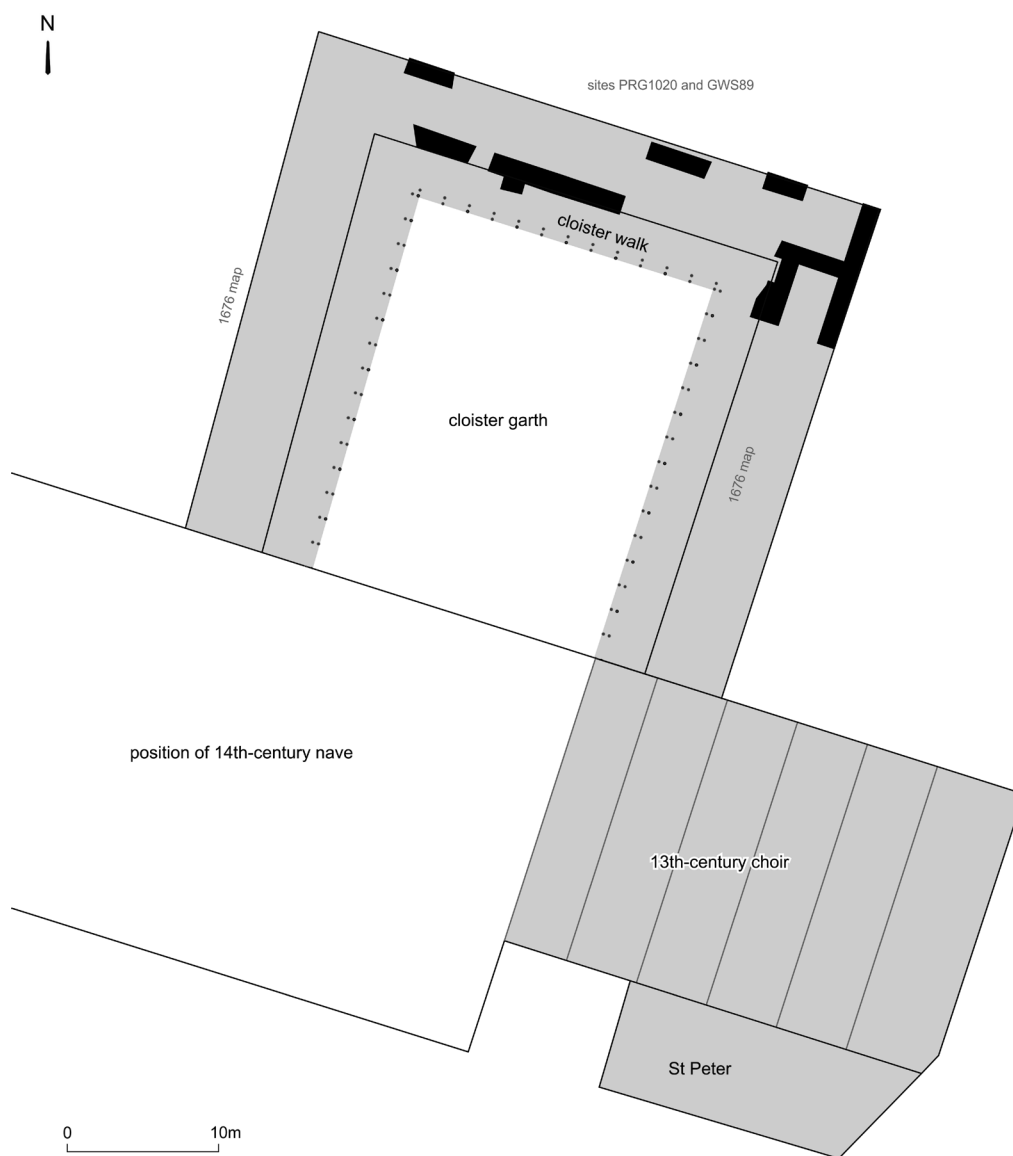
Fig 9. Reconstructed plan of the late 13th-century cloister at Austin Friars (scale 1:500)

suggests that the tiles were originally used in the main chapter house. The Austin Friars tiles include a number of designs that are known from other sites (designs W21, W30, W72, W91, W133 and W158; Fig 11; Betts 2002), as well as two designs that have not been discovered on any other site (W90 and W110; Fig 11; Betts 2002). The tiles are mostly about 105mm square and 25mm thick, although at least one tile (design W91 and, less certainly, design W90) is a particularly large tile of 166mm square. These large sized 'Westminster' floor tiles are extremely rare with single examples only known from St Mary Clerkenwell, St John Clerkenwell and the Charterhouse, all of which lie in close proximity (Betts 2002, 22). Most of the Austin Friars tiles are worn or show evidence of slight wear, while some show evidence of reuse in the form of mortar along the
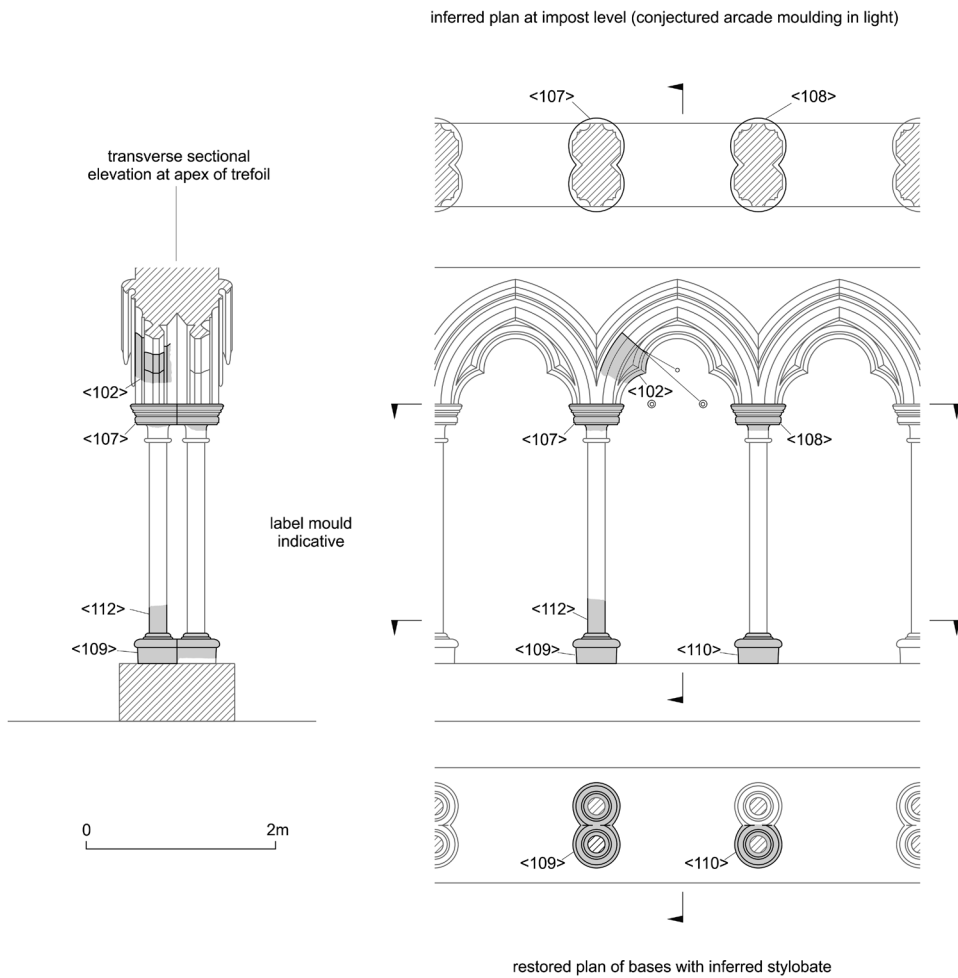
inferred plan at impost level (conjectured arcade moulding in light)

<107>   <108>

transverse sectional
elevation at apex of trefoil

<102>
<107>

<102>
<107>   <108>

label mould
indicative

<112>
<109>

<112>
<109>   <110>

0   2m

<109>   <110>

restored plan of bases with inferred stylobate

Fig 10. Reconstruction of the late 13th-century cloister at Austin Friars, based on architectural fragments discovered at site GWS89

broken edge. The evidence therefore points to a 'Westminster' tile pavement of the late 13th or early 14th century in the main chapter house. Two floor tiles of a type known as Eltham Palace group were found in the same context. They date to the early 14th century and may, therefore, have been used in the same floor, perhaps as an early repair or alteration. Only one of these tiles is in good enough condition for the design

to be recognised (Fig 11; Eames 1982, 240, design 2).

Other floor tile types were used at the friary, although it is less certain in what buildings they were originally laid. Present were worn tiles of Penn type, from Penn, Buckinghamshire (second half of the 14th century; Eames 1980, 221), a decorated tile of the Dieppe group from Normandy (late 14th to early 15th century, perhaps used in

Fig 11 (opposite). 'Westminster' floor tiles used in one of the late 13th-century cloister buildings at Austin Friars, perhaps the main chapter house; a 14th-century floor tile of the Eltham Palace group may have been used to repair the same floor; a late 14th- to early 15th-century Dieppe group tile from another building, perhaps in the inner cloister (scale 1:4; site GWS89)
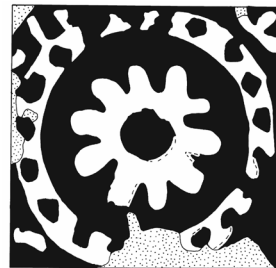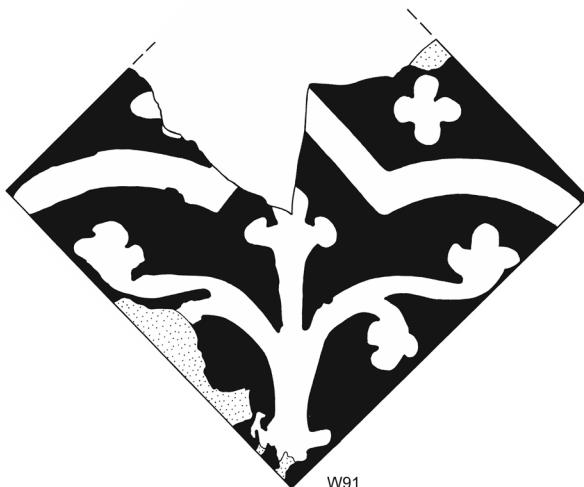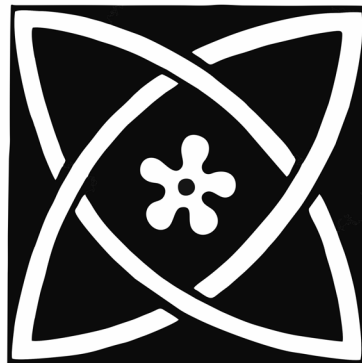
W21

W30

W72

W90

W158

W110

Dieppe group

W133

W91

Eltham Palace group

one of the inner cloister buildings; Norton 1993, 85), and plain glazed imports from the Low Countries (1480 to Dissolution).

The main cloister seems to have been remodelled at about the same time as the new inner or northern cloister was built: the late 13th-century arcade described above had been demolished and reused as foundation material for the east wing of the new inner cloister (site GWS89, context [169]). Presumably, as happened in several other monastic houses, the unglazed cloister walk was found to be too cold and draughty for the English climate and was therefore replaced by glazed arcades. We have a little architectural dating evidence for this (deriving from site GWS89): a fragment of an arcade shaft <105> in Northamptonshire Barnack stone (reused in a post-Dissolution context) almost certainly derives from the medieval cloisters, although it is uncertain whether it came from the remodelled main cloister or the new inner cloister. The fragment is similar to responds used in the south and west cloisters of Westminster Abbey, built in the mid-14th century (Harvey 1978, fig 30). Three other fragments may derive from one of the new glazed cloister walks or from buildings in the inner cloister. Both display hollow-chamfered mouldings typical of the London area in the second half of the 14th century: a mullion <101> is cut from Kentish ragstone and preserves two mason's marks; the other <103> (Fig 6) displays elaborate cusped tracery from within a rectilinear window head — a sill <104> perhaps relates to it. This would suggest, therefore, that the process of rebuilding the first cloister and building a new inner cloister began in the second half of the 14th century, perhaps in the final quarter once the work on the nave was complete. As has been stated, we know that the works in the inner cloister continued into the 15th century: the infirmary was begun around 1419 and the library was not completed until the middle of the century (Roth 1961, i, 106–7, 289, 374; ii, nos 713, 839).

Although we do not know the original functions of the various wings of the cloisters, particularly the first cloister of the late 13th century, we can identify most of the claustral buildings in the early 16th century (Fig 12). Moving clockwise around the main cloister, the west wing was the visitors' hall or hostry, with a porter's lodge a little to the north. The northern wing is not identified in any of the post-Dissolution grants but, by a process of elimination, must have been the refectory. To the east of that lay two chapter houses, described, respectively, as the great and the small chapter house (*magn*[*a*] *domus capitularis*; *parv*[*a*] *domus capitularis*). The small chapter house was presumably the room to the east of the refectory, with the main chapter house being the building running eastwards from the cloister. An early 16th-century herald recorded two burials in the chapter house — almost certainly of priors or senior friars — and at least one such burial was disturbed during building works in this location in the late 19th century (BL, Harley MS 6033, f. 31; Cater 1912, 29, 80–2). Finally, the upper floor of the east wing housed the dormitory, with vestry rooms on the ground floor by the choir (TNA, C66/797, m. 23; E318/13/577). In the inner cloister to the north, the western wing seems to have housed the library, with the northern wing including a ground-floor infirmary and a first-floor dining room (monastic dining rooms did not carry the same dietary restrictions as the official refectory and were a popular addition to many monastic houses). The kitchen occupied the east wing (TNA, C66/686, m. 11; LR14/86).

CONCLUSIONS

The sequence of construction of the various components of the church and cloisters of Austin Friars can now be understood more clearly. The early friars adapted or built their first chapel here in the third quarter of the 13th century and this chapel must have formed the core of the choir of the completed church. Next they turned their attention to the cloister, building two or three wings to the north of the choir around the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries. Work on the great preaching nave may not have begun until the second quarter of the 14th century, probably finishing off in the 1370s. The final stage was the construction of a second cloister to the north of the original cloister, which was, itself, remodelled at this time. The friars seem to have started these works in the final quarter of the 14th century, completing
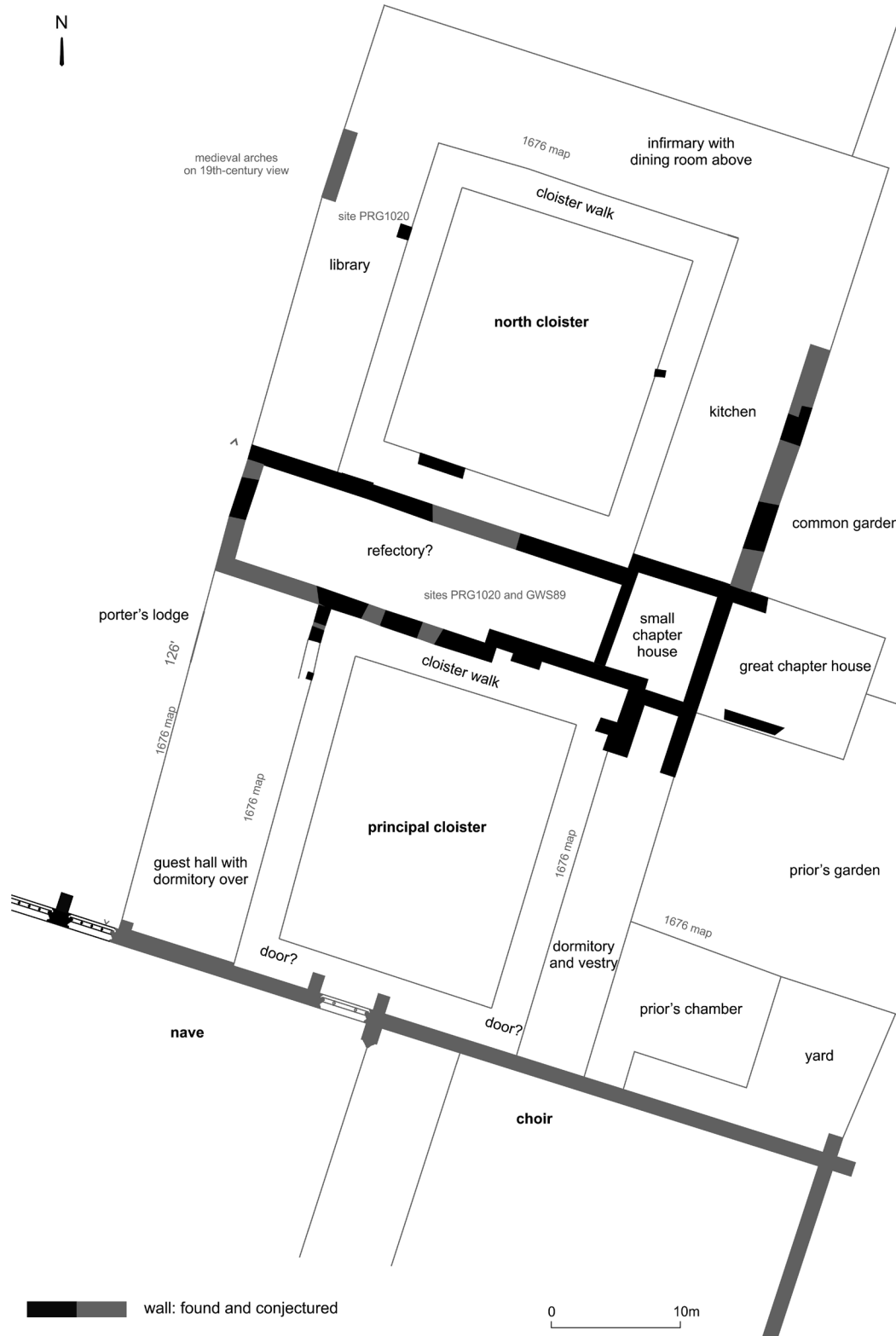
N

medieval arches
on 19th-century view

1676 map

infirmary with
dining room above

cloister walk

site PRG1020

library

north cloister

kitchen

common garden

^

refectory?

sites PRG1020 and GWS89

small
chapter
house

great chapter house

porter's lodge

126'

1676 map

cloister walk

1676 map

principal cloister

1676 map

prior's garden

guest hall with
dormitory over

1676 map

door?

dormitory
and vestry

prior's chamber

nave

door?

yard

choir

wall: found and conjectured

0   10m

Fig 12. Plan of the two cloisters at Austin Friars in the early 16th century (scale 1:500)

their great scheme around the middle of the 15th century with a library.

The research reported on here has also revealed further structural details of this great medieval friary. The initial construction of an unglazed cloister in *c.*1290 as well as its design can now be appreciated thanks to the discovery of a few of its fragments, unceremoniously broken up for reuse as foundation material for an improved and weatherproofed cloister of the 14th century. Secondly, the layout of the whole friary church is reconstructed here with, we would argue, greater accuracy than has been achieved in past attempts. The layout of the church — a nave with two aisles and a narrower choir with one aisle — may look surprising at first sight but is rather similar to the London friaries of the Dominicans and Carmelites (Holder 2011, 199–207, fig 81). Even the apparently unusual situation of having a parish church attached to the monastic choir is found in the Benedictine nunnery and parish church of St Helen (RCHME 1929, 19–24; Reddan & Clapham 1924, 31–5). A similar situation is also found in the Franciscan nunnery of St Clare, situated just east of the walled City in the Minories, where a parish chapel for the use of the precinct's lay tenants was attached to the nuns' choir (Carlin 1987, 17–18).

The church and the precinct of the London Austin Friars seem to be significantly larger than other provincial urban Augustinian friaries such as the Leicester priory (one of the better studied provincial friaries; Mellor & Pearce 1981). The London house is, however, broadly comparable in scale and layout to other churches and religious houses in the capital: smaller and less impressive, of course, than the great institutions of Westminster and St Paul's, but comparable to the houses of several other monastic orders such as the Dominicans (Black Friars), the Carthusians (Charterhouse) or the Augustinian canons (at St Mary Spital; Holder 2011, figs 83 and 84; Barber 2002; Thomas *et al* 1997).

APPENDIX: REINTERPRETATION OF SITE OBE96

The discussion of the choir of Austin Friars (above) is partly based on a reinterpretation of the foundations discovered at site OBE96, and at the two archaeological evaluations that preceded the main site, OBR94 and OBT95. The present authors define three phases of medieval chalk foundations.

Firstly there are the remains of at least one, quite possibly two north-facing buttress foundations (not illus; OBR94 [unnumbered], OBT95 [107], OBE96 [219]). These foundations lie 'inside' the postulated later north aisle of the choir and may therefore define the north wall of the original chapel of St Olave, taken over by the friars in the 1260s (see Watson & Thomas 2010, 280–1).

Next is a series of chalk foundations (including some ragstone, bonded with silty sand and gravel) that represent a truncated east–west line of the north arcade of the choir (OBE96 contexts [207] [221] [224] [225]; see the original interpretation by the site excavator: Bruce 1997, 17–18). Might these date to the documented works of the 1270s? The foundations are illustrated on Fig 2.

There is then a third phase: the present authors suggest that an east–west line of truncated chalk foundations that lies approximately 8m south of the north arcade (just described) is *not* the line of a southern arcade (as suggested in Bruce 1997, 17–18) but represents instead the foundations for the new north aisle of the parish church of St Peter the Poor, built in the late 16th or early 17th century (these foundations are not illustrated but the new north aisle can be seen at the bottom of Fig 5). This southern line of chalk foundations, although broadly similar to the northern line, consists of chalk blocks that are more loosely bonded in a sandy mortar, with the foundations also containing occasional ceramic building material fragments (OBE96 contexts [305], [313], [321]) and [333]).

This reinterpretation of the archaeological evidence (which also takes into account the 1790s survey of the church of St Peter; Fig 5) produces a medieval choir with a broader and more impressive central aisle.

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Harley MS 6033: 16th-century genealogical list of tombs

Drapers' Company, London (DC)
A I 34, 44, 45: deeds and leases

English Heritage Archive, Swindon (EHA)
RCHME investigators' field notes: research archive for RCHME publications, including *London* volumes of 1920s
OP 15755–15760: photographic collection

Guildhall Library, London (GL)
MS 25121/1590: St Paul's archive (now ordered through LMA)

London Metropolitan Archives, London (LMA)
COLLAGE (former Guildhall Library Print Room collections, now indexed and ordered via LMA COLLAGE number)

Museum of London (London Archaeolog-ical Archive and Research Centre; LAARC)
OBE96: 109–118 Old Broad Street
OBR94: 111–115 Old Broad Street
OBT95: 111 Old Broad Street
WFG50: the Dutch Church
GWS89: Great Winchester Street, 8 Austin Friars Square and 105–108 Old Broad Street
PRG1019 and PRG1020 are from 'Post-Roman Gazetteer', C Harding, 1986: typescript (3 vols), card index and maps

The National Archives, London (TNA)
C54: close rolls
C66: patent rolls
E315: Court of Augmentations, miscellaneous books
E318: Court of Augmentations, particulars for grants
LR14: Court of Augmentations, conventual deeds and documents

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