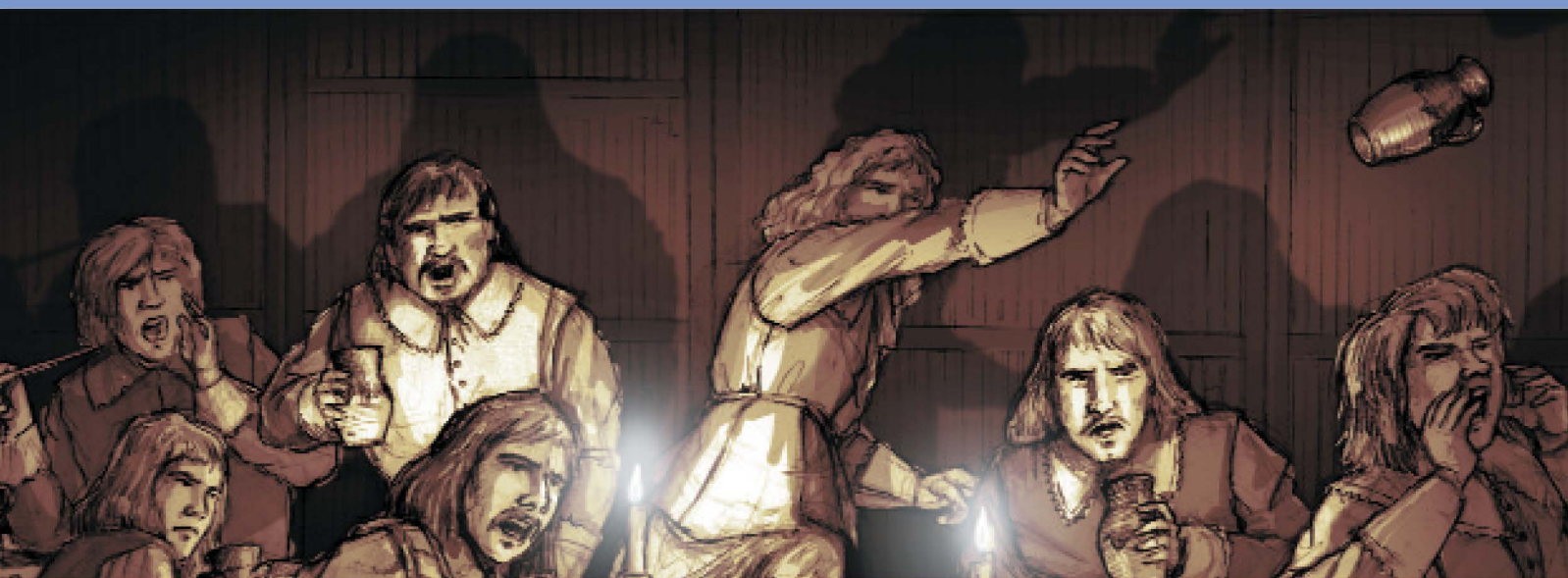


PCA

PRE-CONSTRUCT ARCHAEOLOGY

MONOGRAPH 4

SAXONS, TEMPLARS & LAWYERS IN THE INNER TEMPLE



ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN CHURCH COURT & HARE COURT JONATHAN BUTLER

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF THE INNER TEMPLE

SAXONS, TEMPLARS & LAWYERS IN THE INNER TEMPLE

Saxons, Templars & Lawyers in the Inner Temple; Archaeological excavations in Church Court & Hare Court

Jonathan Butler

Foreword by Ptolemy Dean

Pre-Construct Archaeology Limited Monograph No. 4
PCA Monograph Series

Series Editor: Victoria Ridgeway

- 1 **Excavations at Hunt's House, Guy's Hospital, London Borough of Southwark**
By Robin Taylor-Wilson, 2002
ISBN 0-9542938-0-0
- 2 **Tatberht's Lundenwic, Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London**
By Jim Leary, with Gary Brown, James Rackham, Chris Pickard and Richard Hughes, 2004
ISBN 0-9542938-1-9
- 3 **Iwade: Occupation of a North Kent Village from the Mesolithic to the Medieval period**
By Mark Bagwell and Barry Bishop, 2005
ISBN 0-9542938-2-7

Forthcoming monographs

- 5 **Unlocking the Landscape: Archaeological Excavations at Ashford Prison, Middlesex**
By Tim Carew
- 6 **The Road to Religion: Millennium Excavations at Southwark Cathedral**
By David Divers and Chris Mayo
- 7 **Archaeological Excavations at Moor House, 119 London Wall, City of London**
By Jonathan Butler
- 8 **Crossing the River Lea: Archaeological Excavations at Old Ford, Bow**
By Barry Bishop, Gary Brown, Alistair Douglas, Jim Leary, Victoria Ridgeway and Robin Taylor-Wilson

Published by Pre-Construct Archaeology Limited
Copyright © Pre-Construct Archaeology Limited 2005

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN 0-9542938-3-5

Designed, typeset and layout by Book Production Services, London
Cover design by Stuart Watson and Book Production Services

Printed by Henry Ling Ltd,
The Dorset Press

Front cover:

Calling for pots, they threw them at random... by Jake Lunt

Back cover:

???

Contents

| | |
|---|-------------|
| <i>Contributors</i> | <i>vii</i> |
| <i>Foreword</i> | <i>viii</i> |
| <i>Figures</i> | <i>ix</i> |
| <i>Tables</i> | <i>xii</i> |
| <i>Summary</i> | <i>xiii</i> |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | <i>xiv</i> |
| | |
| Chapter 1: Introduction | 1 |
| Geology and Topography | 2 |
| Archaeological and Historical Background | 4 |
| Archaeological Investigations in the Temple | 11 |
| Gazetteer of Archaeological Investigations within the Temple Area | 13 |
| | |
| Chapter 2: The Archaeological Sequence | 15 |
| Prehistoric | 15 |
| Roman | 15 |
| Possible Saxon Cemetery | 16 |
| Middle Saxon Occupation | 18 |
| 11th - 12th Century Activity | 22 |
| The Knights Templar (1161-1308) | 23 |
| The Lawyers in the Temple: the 16th and 17th Centuries | 27 |
| Late Post-Medieval Activity | |
| | |
| Chapter 3: Reconstructing the Temple: the Purbeck Marble and Other Stone from Church Court | 37 |
| Caen Stone | 38 |
| Reigate Stone | 38 |
| Purbeck Limestone | 39 |
| Glauconitic Fine-Grained Sandy Limestone | 40 |
| Purbeck Marble | 40 |
| Conclusions | 47 |
| Glossary of Architectural Terms | 51 |
| | |
| Chapter 4: Middle Saxon Artefactual and Faunal Remains | 53 |
| The Pottery | 53 |
| The Small Finds | 56 |
| The Glass | 60 |
| The Crucible Residues | 61 |
| The Loomweights | 61 |
| Crafts, Industries and Fashions | 63 |
| The Animal Bone | 64 |
| The Fish Bone | 66 |

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Chapter 5: Medieval and Post-Medieval Artefactual and Faunal Remains | 69 |
| A Assemblage from Hare Court | 69 |
| The Ceramic and Other Building Materials | 79 |
| The Glass | 84 |
| The Small Finds | 87 |
| The Pipeclay Hair Curlers | 100 |
| The Human Bone | 102 |
| Selected Animal Bone Assemblages | 103 |
| Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusions | 107 |
| <i>French and German Summaries</i> | 113 |
| <i>Bibliography</i> | 115 |
| <i>Index±±</i> | 123 |

List of Contributors

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Principal author and volume editor | Jonathan Butler |
| Volume manager | Victoria Ridgeway |
| Academic advisers | David Gaimster, Ian Riddler |
| Project manager | Peter Moore |
| Post-excavation manager | Frank Meddens |
| Graphics | Josephine Brown |
| Finds illustrations | Helen Davies, Michael Miles |
| Photography | Cheryl Blundy, Tudor Morgan-Owen, Richard Young |
| Reconstruction drawings | Jake Lunt |
| Pottery | Chris Jarrett |
| Saxon loomweights | Chris Jarrett |
| Ceramic building material | John Brown |
| Building material | Ken Sabel |
| Saxon glass | Vera Evison |
| Crucible residue analysis | Dana Goodburn-Brown |
| Post-medieval glass | Rachel Tyson |
| Clay Tobacco pipe & hair curlers | Chris Jarrett |
| Small finds | Märit Gaimster, Ian Riddler |
| Saxon coin | Märit Gaimster |
| Printing type | James Mosley |
| Human bone | Natasha Dodwell |
| Animal bone | Robin Bendrey |
| Fish bone | Philip Armitage |
| French translation | Agnès Shepherd |
| German translation | Sylvia Butler |

Foreword

It is a rare privilege to be asked to design a monument at the heart of one of London's historic areas. In these days of cost-controlled, budget-orientated and financially-targeted spending, few have any interest in the creation of something with no functional or economic use. So the vision of Lord Lloyd of Berwick, the patron behind the Church Court project must immediately be applauded. It was he that recognised that the bleakly stark Church Court might benefit from some focus, and commissioned the landscape architect Tom Stuart Smith to devise a masterplan. The centrepiece of the new design would be a stone column, which would be mounted by a bronze statue - not of Pegasus - the traditional symbol of the Inner Temple, but of a horse with two riders, a representation of the Knights Templars returning from the crusades, found in one of the Temple Church windows, and in recognition of their 900th year anniversary.

The present form of Church Court had come about by the loss of a range of buildings that were left un-rebuilt after the Second World War. This gave a full view of the handsome Temple Church elevation, but left the area with little sense of focus. The temptation might have been to place the column in the centre of the square, but this was avoided, partly as there was already an attractive gas lamp in that location, and also because an area closer to the western part of the court had better sight lines to the building entrances and alleyways that appeared to concentrate at this end. There was already a pattern of three circles in the 1950's York stone paving, so the column was placed at the centre of the western one.

Serendipity therefore determined where the column would be, and therefore where the archaeological excavation would take place. From this point of view, the dig that followed was somewhat randomly placed, and not determined by any specific archaeological investigation. It

sought simply to establish what was there, what might potentially be lost in the new construction, and was quite properly a condition of the planning approval. Fragments of the 17th century buildings lost in the war were uncovered under the 1950's paving, then parts of the medieval church, perhaps jettisoned during 19th century restorations. Then there were further layers of earth, with small domestic items and some attractive medieval tiles. Then ever deeper the hole was dug, awaiting the point at which the structural engineer would deem that the ground would be sufficiently stable to bear the foundations for the column. Happily for Pre-Construct Archaeology, we had the sort of structural engineer who it might be said liked his belt and braces. I can remember Lord Lloyd gazing into what became quite a deep hole, as the eternal search for 'natural' ground progressed, and asking: "surely its time to call in a JCB?" Katherine Stubbs, the Corporation of London Archaeological Officer, was visibly crest fallen when finally the engineer expressed satisfaction that concrete could be poured. What had taken about four weeks to dig out was filled in about four hours.

At this stage we might all have walked away, remembering the various conversations on site about the build up of soil deposits and this privileged glimpse that we had all witnessed of London's historical evolution, expertly interpreted for us by Jonathan Butler and Peter Moore, sometimes over a glass of ale. It is good therefore that it should be published in this new document, that sets out the Church Court discoveries in context with the dig in the adjacent Hare Court as part of a general refurbishment of these buildings by the Inner Temple. The two combined present an intriguing flavour of what must be lying quietly beneath our feet in modern day London.

Ptolemy Dean

Figures

| | | |
|---------|---|----|
| Fig. 1 | The Location of the Temple sites | 1 |
| Fig. 2 | Church Court, following redevelopment work, showing The Millennium Column in front of the Temple Church | 1 |
| Fig. 3 | Hare Court and Church Court excavation trenches | 2 |
| Fig. 4 | Excavations at Church Court | 3 |
| Fig. 5 | Church Court, following landscaping work, showing monumental column and trees | 3 |
| Fig. 6 | Excavation of the lightwells at Hare Court | 3 |
| Fig. 7 | The excavated sites shown within the Temple Precinct, in relation to the City of London (<i>Londinium</i>) and the currently accepted boundaries of <i>Lundenwic</i> | 4 |
| Fig. 8 | A selection of nine Saxon coins from the hoard found during building work in the 19th century | 5 |
| Fig. 9 | Temple Church, showing the original round nave and apsidal-ended chancel, with subsequent additions and modifications; based on Godfrey 1953 | 6 |
| Fig. 10 | Grave monument of Knights Templar in the nave of Temple Church | 6 |
| Fig. 11 | The Temple as it appeared in the 16th century: detail of the 'Agas map' c. 1562, showing the approximate outline of the Temple precinct | 7 |
| Fig. 12 | The extent of damage caused by the Great Fire of 1666, as shown on the Ogilby & Morgan map of 1676, in relation to areas of excavation | 8 |
| Fig. 13 | Bird's eye view of the Temple as it appeared in 1671, from <i>Master Worsley's Book</i> (ed. AR Ingpen KC, Chiswick Press 1910)* | 9 |
| Fig. 14 | The South east prospect of the Temple Church (engraved by B. Cole, 18th Century)* | 9 |
| Fig. 15 | The Temple Church, as restored (drawn by Thomas H. Shepherd, engraved by J. Carter, published by Jones and Co. 1828)* | 10 |
| Fig. 16 | The Ordnance Survey map of 1874, shown in relation to the areas of excavation | 10 |
| Fig. 17 | Temple Church after air raids, looking north from Church Court (1940s)* | 11 |
| Fig. 18 | Outside the ruined church in Church Court, showing men with lifting tackle in the ruins of the Lamb Building (1942)* | 11 |
| Fig. 19 | Sites in the vicinity of Temple mentioned in the text and gazetteer, showing the precinct wall of the Inner and Middle Temple and the conjectured line of the 15th century waterfront | 12 |
| Fig. 20 | Saxon cemetery evidence at Hare Court | 16 |
| Fig. 21 | Middle Saxon occupation evidence at Hare Court, shown in relation to the earlier cemetery | 19 |
| Fig. 22 | Finds from the well at Hare Court: early 8 th century <i>sceat</i> , obverse | 20 |
| Fig. 23 | Finds from the well at Hare Court: early 8th century <i>sceat</i> , reverse | 20 |
| Fig. 24 | Finds from the well at Hare Court: middle Saxon reticella glass fragment | 20 |
| Fig. 25 | 11th to 12th century activity: pits and surfaces at Hare Court | 22 |
| Fig. 26 | Section through the 11th to 12th century quarry pit and surface at Hare Court | 23 |
| Fig. 27 | A plumb bob, hone stone and bone handle from a possible construction horizon at Hare Court | 23 |
| Fig. 28 | Temple Cloister: section through the cloister wall and associated surfaces | 24 |
| Fig. 29 | Temple Cloister: evidence of the cloister wall at Hare Court | 25 |
| Fig. 30 | Temple cloister: proposed extent of the cloister based on excavated remains and cartographic evidence | 26 |
| Fig. 31 | Cloister wall and floors in Trench 5 at Church Court | 26 |

| | | |
|---------|--|--------|
| Fig. 32 | Sequence of floors and dumping in Trench 5 at Hare Court | 26 |
| Fig. 33 | Evidence for a timber-framed building at Church Court, shown in relation to Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 | 27 |
| Fig. 34 | Temple Church graveyard (Phase 1): burials and a ditch at Church Court | 28 |
| Fig. 35 | Burial of a juvenile, Skeleton [159], at Church Court | 28 |
| Fig. 36 | Temple Church graveyard (Phase 2): burials at Church Court | 29 |
| Fig. 37 | Detail of the floor of the Lamb Building, as seen in Trench 4 at Hare Court | 30 |
| Fig. 38 | Archaeological evidence for the Lamb Building at Church Court, shown in relation to 1874 Ordnance Survey map | 30 |
| Fig. 39 | The Lamb Building and Inner Temple Hall from Temple Church c. 1910* | 31 |
| Fig. 40 | Post-medieval rubbish pits at Hare Court, in relation to Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 | 31 |
| Fig. 41 | Post-medieval rubbish pits at Church Court, in relation to Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 | 32 |
| Fig. 42 | Findings from pit [134] at Hare Court: a selection of the pottery recovered | 33 |
| Fig. 43 | Findings from pit [134] at Hare Court: fragments of Venetian style <i>vetro a retorti</i> drinking glasses | 33 |
| Fig. 44 | Findings from pit [134] at Hare Court: <i>cristallo</i> glass beaker base | 33 |
| Fig. 45 | Findings from pit [134] at Hare Court: glass cigar stems | 33 |
| Fig. 46 | Drain in Trench 1 at Church Court, showing reused blocks of dressed Reigate stone and chalk, probably deriving from the Temple Church | 35 |
| Fig. 47 | Part of Inner Temple, 1800 (from a drawing in Mr Crace's Collection). Looking north from Inner Temple Hall. Newspaper cutting mounted on board, 19th century (drawn by J. Griffith)* | 35 |
| Fig. 48 | Dressed Purbeck marble from Temple Church, as recovered from the backfill of 20th century pipe trenches | 36 |
| Fig. 49 | The Caen stone, Reigate stone and glauconitic limestone | 37 |
| Fig. 50 | Plan of the church based on Godfrey's c.1950s plan, indicating the possible original locations of some of the fragments recovered | 38 |
| Fig. 51 | Purbeck marble shaft fragments | 39 |
| Fig. 52 | Detail of the nave showing possible origin of Purbeck marble shaft fragments recovered | 40 |
| Fig. 53 | Temple church, interior of the Round, as it appeared before the air raids* | 40 |
| Fig. 54 | Detail of the southeast corner of the chancel showing possible origin of Purbeck marble shaft, plinth and capital fragments recovered | 42 |
| Fig. 55 | One of the compound piers in the chancel | 42 |
| Fig. 56 | Detail of the southern junction of nave and chancel, showing possible origin of Purbeck marble shaft and plinth fragments recovered | 43 |
| Fig. 57 | Detail from the northern chancel wall showing possible origin of Purbeck marble shaft, plinth and capital fragments recovered | 43 |
| Fig. 58 | Pier base and plinth fragments | 44, 45 |
| Fig. 59 | Copy of Godfrey's drawing of 1949 showing the chancel pier bases | 46 |
| Fig. 60 | Copies of historic illustrations of the moulding profiles recorded by Godfrey in the late 1940s | 47 |
| Fig. 61 | Capital fragments | 48, 49 |
| Fig. 62 | Shaft ring and string fragments | 50 |
| Fig. 63 | The north aisle of the chancel from the nave taken after the bombing and before Godfrey's repairs* | 51 |
| Fig. 64 | Internal elevation of the east end showing the degree of stone replacement undertaken in the 1950s, reproduced with kind permission of the Middle Temple Surveyors' Office | 52 |
| Fig. 65 | Middle Saxon pottery | 55 |
| Fig. 66 | Middle Saxon <i>sceat</i> | 57 |
| Fig. 67 | Middle Saxon copper alloy pins | 58 |
| Fig. 68 | Middle Saxon antler comb fragments | 58 |
| Fig. 69 | Middle Saxon bone objects | 59 |
| Fig. 70 | Middle Saxon iron objects | 59 |
| Fig. 71 | Middle Saxon glass | 60 |
| Fig. 72 | Middle Saxon loomweights | 62 |
| Fig. 73 | Post-medieval pottery, Border Wares | 71 |

| | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| Fig. 74 | Green glazed Border Ware drinking jugs from Hare Court | 73 |
| Fig. 75 | Upright and saucer type candlesticks from Hare Court | 73 |
| Fig. 76 | Post-medieval pottery, Tin-glazed earthenware | 74 |
| Fig. 77 | Post-medieval pottery | 74 |
| Fig. 78 | Hob-nailed boot impression found on Roman tile | 79 |
| Fig. 79 | 'Westminster' tiles found on site | 81 |
| Fig. 80 | 'Westminster' tiles found during restoration work undertaken on the Temple Church in the 1840s* | 82 |
| Fig. 81 | Tin-glazed Flemish tile | 83 |
| Fig. 82 | An example of moulded, rubbed red brick, possibly from the Lamb Building | 84 |
| Fig. 83 | Post-medieval glass | 88 |
| Fig. 84 | Medieval small finds | 88 |
| Fig. 85 | Copper alloy belt buckle, found in Grave [129] | 91 |
| Fig. 86 | Tokens and jettons | 91 |
| Fig. 87 | Post-medieval lawyers' personal belongings | 93 |
| Fig. 88 | Household equipment and furnishings | 94 |
| Fig. 89 | Household equipment and furnishings | 95 |
| Fig. 90 | Miniature toy cauldron | 95 |
| Fig. 91 | Printing type found at Hare Court | 96 |
| Fig. 92 | Pumice stone fragments | 97 |
| Fig. 93 | Typology of lace chapes from Hare Court | 98 |
| Fig. 94 | Dress items | 98 |
| Fig. 95 | Copper alloy jetton | 99 |
| Fig. 96 | Medallion from Olympia Dairy Show, 1938 | 99 |
| Fig. 97 | Pipeclay hair curlers and stamps | 101 |
| Fig. 98 | Pipeclay hair curlers | 102 |
| Fig. 99 | 'Calling for pots they threw them at random...' | 110 |

* Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple

Tables

| | | |
|----------|---|-----|
| Table 1 | Column shaft fragments recovered | 41 |
| Table 2 | Pier base and plinth fragments recovered | 46 |
| Table 3 | Quantification of Middle Saxon pottery from the Hare Court well | 54 |
| Table 4 | Middle Saxon small finds from Hare Court | 57 |
| Table 5 | Saxon glass fragments from Hare Court | 60 |
| Table 6 | The Church Court and Hare Court loomweights | 62 |
| Table 7 | Distribution of Middle Saxon hand recovered bone | 64 |
| Table 8 | Relative quality of meat yield from Middle Saxon contexts, by bone weight | 65 |
| Table 9 | Middle Saxon aged mandibles | 65 |
| Table 10 | Quantification of post-medieval pottery types from the pit assemblage | 69 |
| Table 11 | Quantification of post-medieval pottery from the pit assemblage, by source area | 70 |
| Table 12 | Functions of post-medieval pottery from the pit assemblage | 75 |
| Table 13 | Clay tobacco pipes present in the pit assemblage | 76 |
| Table 14 | Quantification of pottery forms from the pit assemblage, by fabric | 78 |
| Table 15 | Decorated floor tile designs | 80 |
| Table 16 | Medieval small finds from Hare Court | 89 |
| Table 17 | Finds from the Temple cloister, Church Court | 89 |
| Table 18 | Finds from the Temple graveyard at Church Court | 90 |
| Table 19 | Late medieval coin and jetton | 91 |
| Table 20 | Dress accessories and personal belongings | 92 |
| Table 21 | Lead window cames | 94 |
| Table 22 | Household equipment and furnishings | 95 |
| Table 23 | Finds relating to institutional and professional activities within the Temple | 96 |
| Table 24 | Post-medieval coins and jetton | 99 |
| Table 25 | Hair curlers from Church Court | 102 |
| Table 26 | Skeletal remains from Church Court | 103 |
| Table 27 | Distribution of hand recovered animal bone | 104 |
| Table 28 | Relative quality of meat yield, by bone weight | 105 |
| Table 29 | Aged mandibles from Hare Court | 105 |

Summary

Groundworks associated with the commissioning of a monumental column and four trees in Church Court and new lightwells, a sump and associated drainage runs in Hare Court, presented a rare opportunity for archaeological investigations in the Inner Temple in 1999 and 2000. Although excavations at both sites were limited in size and scope they revealed a series of significant discoveries dating from the Middle Saxon era to the post-medieval period.

Residual prehistoric lithics and Roman finds at both sites hinted at a presence in the area during both periods.

In Hare Court the discovery of a probable Saxon cemetery including an inhumation with grave goods adds to the limited knowledge of Middle Saxon funerary practice in *Lundenwic* and is the first evidence for an eastern cemetery. Later Middle Saxon occupation was also observed in Hare Court with the presence of structural elements and a well. The high status nature of some of the finds associated with the well together with rare evidence of glassmaking on the site suggest that this was an important part of a Saxon settlement. It either represents the most easterly part of *Lundenwic* yet discovered or an important occupation area between *Lundenwic* to the west and the putative religious enclave at St Paul's within the old Roman walls to the east.

An 11th to 12th century quarry pit and cobbled courtyard associated with either the Bishop of Ely's Inn or the New Temple was also revealed in Hare Court. A similarly dated quarry pit in Church Court was probably associated with the construction of the Temple Church by the Knights Templar between 1161 and 1185. The eastern cloister, built during the remodelling of the church precinct in 1220-40, was identified in Church Court.

Distinctive evidence of the lawyers' occupation of the Temple in the 16th and 17th centuries was present in both courts in the form of a sequence of rubbish pits and gravel yard surfaces in Hare Court, and the Temple Church south cemetery and the Lamb Building in Church Court. Finds from both sites provided evidence of the diet and wealth of

the lawyers during this period. A large assemblage of green glazed Border Ware pottery vessels with an associated assemblage of glass vessels provided an insight into the drinking practices of the members of the Inns of Court. Analysis of a similarly dated bone assemblage provided a glimpse of the variety and richness of their diet. The skeletons found in the southern part of the Temple Church cemetery were of surprisingly young age at death and revealed an unusually high incidence of tooth decay. The discovery of three pieces of printing type in Hare Court provide one of the earliest finds of such material from an archaeological site in the United Kingdom and was an apposite find for the Fleet Street area with its history of printing.

The archaeological history of the site was seen to continue into the 20th century with the discovery of the basement of the Lamb Building backfilled with fire debris from the incendiary bomb raid of May 1941, which destroyed it and gutted the interior of the Temple Church. Evidence of the former glory of the church was provided by an assemblage of decorated floor tiles found on both sites and a large assemblage of dressed Purbeck marble fragments which was dumped into a service trench in Church Court during the restoration work of the 1950s.

This volume begins with the background of the archaeological excavations and describes the history of the area with a gazetteer of previous archaeological investigations within the Temple precinct. The archaeological sequence is presented in detail, focusing on periods of occupation of the site by the Saxons, the Knights Templar and the lawyers. Subsequent chapters examine the dumped Purbeck marble fragments deriving from the Temple Church, the Middle Saxon finds and the medieval and post-medieval artefacts. The importance of the site is then discussed in a concluding chapter, which highlights the wealth of archaeological finds, which can be revealed within even relatively small-scale investigations.

Acknowledgements

Pre-Construct Archaeology Limited would like to thank Lord Lloyd of Berwick and the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple for generously funding the archaeological investigations and the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple for funding the post-excavation analysis and this publication.

On the Church Court site thanks are also due to Ptolemy Dean of Richard Griffiths Architects for commissioning the work on their behalf and for his support and encouragement throughout the excavation and Lord Lloyd of Berwick for his interest and patience. The help of Rod Cunliffe Surveyor to the Inner Temple and Neil Coe of the Inner Temple is also appreciated, especially in arranging the storage of tools and equipment. The advice of Tom Stuart-Smith of the Landscape Agency and Kevin Guilbert of Peter Turner & Associates was also gratefully received. Thanks are also extended to Bernard Burns and Tom Muxlow of Cathedral Works and the staff of Cathedral Works and Osbornes, for their help and co-operation on site.

For the Hare Court project thanks are expressed to Les Mahony of Gilmore Hankey Kirke Architects who commissioned the work for the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, site agents Ron Butler of C. J. Sims and John Hepdon of F. C. Shepherd & Co Ltd, and once again to Kevin Guilbert, Rod Cunliffe and Neil Coe.

Gratitude is also extended to Kathryn Stubbs, Senior Planning and Archaeology Officer for the Corporation of London for her help and advice during the projects and for her comments on the first draft of the publication text.

The author and Chris Jarrett would like to express their gratitude to Dr. Clare Rider, archivist of the Inner Temple and Lesley Whitelaw, archivist of the Middle Temple, the staff of the Middle Temple Library and Ian Garwood and staff of the Middle Temple Surveyors Office for their great help and advice during the historical research. Acknowledgement is made to the Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple for permission to reproduce photographs, drawings and plans from the Inner Temple Archive. Appreciation is also due to David Lewer and Robert Dark for their comments and help and to the Reverend Griffith-Jones for allowing access to the Temple Church. The help of Janet

Larkin of the British Museum in locating and arranging photography of Saxon coins from Temple is gratefully accepted.

The author would also like to thank Victoria Ridgeway for managing the present volume and for her help and encouragement, Peter Moore for managing the project and Frank Meddens for post-excavation management. Gratitude is also expressed to David Gaimster and Ian Riddler, the academic advisers, for their help and constructive comments. Special thanks are extended to Ian Riddler for the information regarding bucket burials.

Thanks are also extended to all those who contributed to the assessments, analysis and publication of both sites. In addition to the listed contributors the assistance of the following is gratefully acknowledged: Sally Pickard for stratigraphic drawings; Carola Nooijen and Lynne Keys for small finds and iron waste; Kim Stabler for coin analysis; Ian Slipper and Justine Bayley for crucible residue analysis; Sarah Paynter, Justin Howes, Piers Rodgers and Duncan Avery for analysis and identification of printing type. Thanks to Gary Brown, Josephine Brown, Robert Nicholson and Peter Moore for proof reading and suggesting corrections to the text.

Individual contributors would like to express their gratitude to the following: Lyn Blackmore for identification and comments on Middle Saxon pottery and David Gaimster and Nigel Jeffries for comments on the post-medieval pottery assemblage; Trevelen Haysom for Purbeck marble identification and Dr Barry Cook for coin analysis. Additional thanks are extended to Tim Tatton-Brown, Brian Nicholson, Mick Clark, Ken Yandall, Brittany Kaiser, Quita Mould, Sue Pringle, Naomi Sykes, Polydora Baker for all their help and Oxford Archaeology for providing information pertaining to sites mentioned in the gazetteer.

The following deserve a special mention for their work on site: Cheryl Blundy, John Brown, Lorraine Darton, Anna Deeks, Alistair Douglas, Ruth Duckworth, Ann George, Ireneo Grosso, Chris Jarrett, Dougie Killock, Tudor Morgan-Owen, Gef Parsons, Al Rae, Steve Townend, Steve Williams and Richard Young.

Chapter 1 Introduction



Pre-Construct Archaeology undertook two archaeological investigations within the Inner Temple between August 1999 and June 2000 (Figs. 1, 3). The first site in Church Court (TCT 99) consisted of an evaluation in August 1999 of a foundation trench for the erection of a monumental column and four tree pits. The column was erected to commemorate the start of the third millennium of the Christian era and was positioned to mark the point where the Great Fire of London was extinguished in 1666 (Fig. 2, *see* Fig. 12). Following the discovery of significant archaeological deposits in the column base trench an excavation of this area was conducted in September 1999. Thereafter, a watching brief was maintained on the enlarging of one of the tree pits (Trench 5) in November 1999. The site was situated in the courtyard on the south side of the Temple Church, which is bounded by the Temple Church to the north, the Cloisters to the west, the Inner Temple Hall and Treasury to the south, the Inner Temple Library to the south and east and the Francis Taylor Building to the east (Fig. 3). The site is situated at National Grid Reference TQ 3125 8104.

The second investigation consisted of an archaeological watching brief and excavation, undertaken intermittently



Fig. 1 The Location of the Temple Sites (scale 1:16,000)



Fig. 2 Church Court, following redevelopment work, showing The Millennium Column in front of the Temple Church

between November 1999 and June 2000 on two soakaway pits and a trench along the eastern side of 2-3 Hare Court (HCO 99) in preparation for the construction of five lightwells and associated drainage runs (Fig. 3). The site was located to the northwest of Church Court on the northwestern side of Hare Court, which is bounded by chambers buildings on all four sides, 2-3 Hare Court to the west, 10 Fleet Street to the north, Dr. Johnson's Building to the east, and 5-6 Pump Court and 1 Hare Court to the south. The site is situated at National Grid Reference TQ 3117 8107.

The excavations in Church Court consisted of five trenches, of which Trench 1 was the foundation for the monumental column and Trenches 2-5 were tree pits (Fig. 5). In Hare Court the archaeological investigations consisted of two prospecting pits (PP1 & PP2), the lightwells' trench, which was divided into three sections (LW1, LW3 and LW2), and a service run between LW2 and PP2, which was designated PT1 (Fig. 6).

On both sites in recognition of national and local guidelines, a policy of preservation *in situ* was adhered to. In Church Court the presence of the eastern cloister with associated floor surfaces meant that only limited excavation took place in Trench 5. In Trenches 2, 3 and 4 archaeological deposits were left *in situ* in the bases of the trenches, as they lay beyond the anticipated area of impact by tree roots. In Hare Court the location of the first soakaway (PP1) had to be moved (to PP2) when an inhumation was revealed and

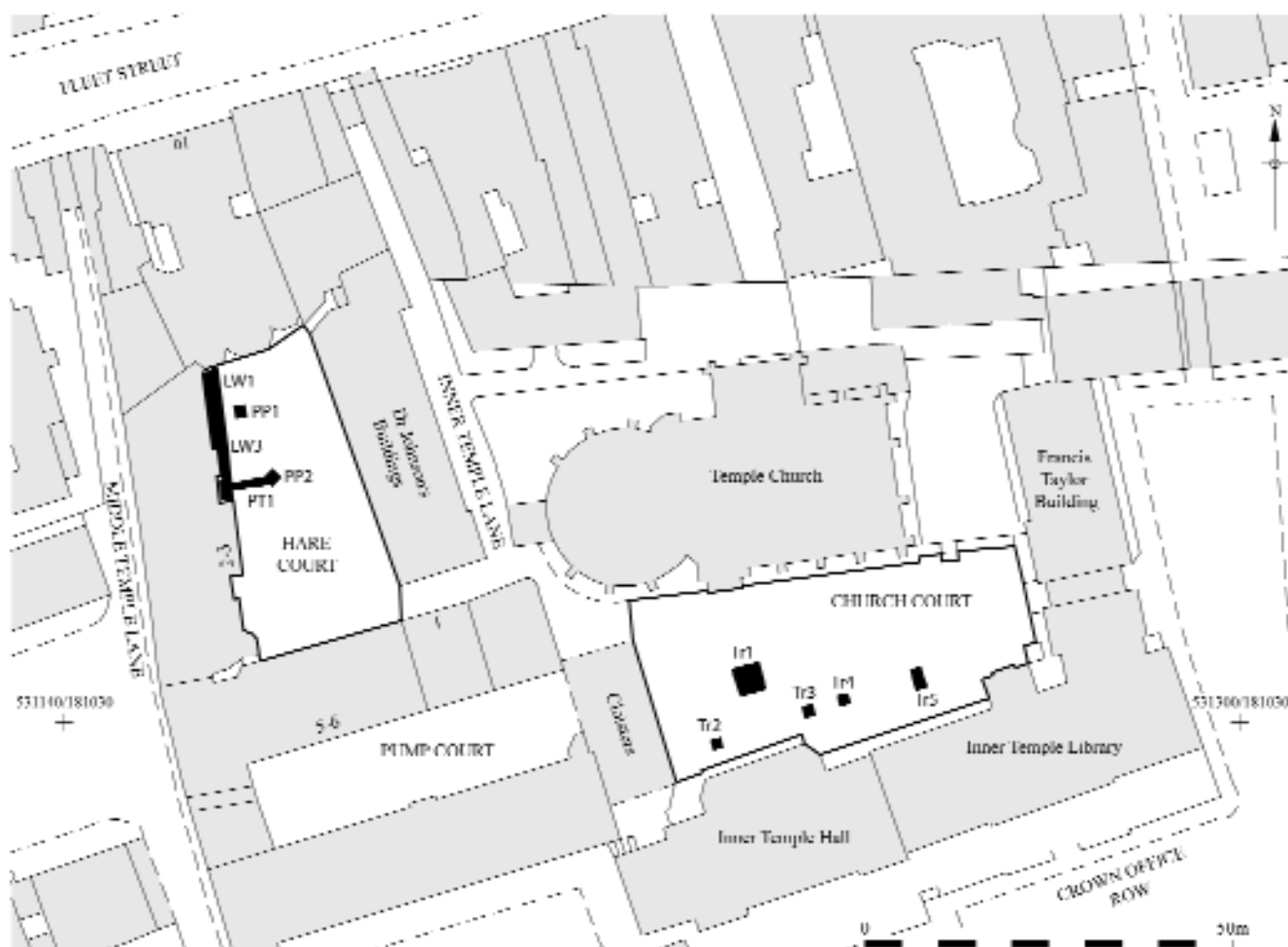


Fig. 3 Hare Court and Church Court excavation trenches (scale 1:1,000) Reproduced from Ordnance Survey based mapping on behalf of The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office © Crown Copyright. Pre-Construct Archaeology/100020795/2005

subsequently left *in situ*. Archaeological deposits including the base of a Middle Saxon well and two quarry pits were also left in the bases of LW1 and LW2.

This report aims to provide an account of this part of the Inner Temple based on the archaeological findings from the two site investigations. The following section summarises the geological, topographical, archaeological and historical background of the area. Chapter 2 describes, illustrates and discusses the stratigraphic data from the sites, with the integration of relevant dating evidence and parts of the specialist reports. Chapter 3 details the assemblage of dressed Purbeck marble, originally from the interior of the Temple Church, which was recovered from Church Court. Chapter 4 contains reports on the Middle Saxon finds assemblages and Chapter 5 focuses on certain more important aspects of the finds assemblages from the medieval and post-medieval periods. Chapter 6 discusses the findings from the excavations and their significance. The full reports with catalogues and methodologies used will be lodged with the project archive at the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre, Eagle Wharf Road, where it can be consulted by prior arrangement.

The projects were negotiated and managed by Peter Moore; the fieldwork at Church Court was directed by the

author and most of the fieldwork at Hare Court was supervised by John Brown with periods of supervision by Lorraine Darton, Ruth Duckworth and Steve Williams. During the post-excavation analysis the stratigraphic information was organised into chronological periods based on stratigraphic and dating evidence. In the following text individual context/feature numbers appear in square brackets (e.g. [134]) and registered finds (small finds) are preceded by the identifier SF (eg SF25).

GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The sites lie within the London (or Thames) Basin consisting of a bed of chalk covered by marine sands, gravels and clays (ie Thanet Sands and Woolwich and Reading Beds), over which London Clay formed (Merriman 1990, 4). The drift geology of the site itself is shown on the British Geological Survey North London map as Floodplain River Terrace gravels overlying the London Clay. Substantial changes in the sea level occurred between cold glacial (low water) and warm inter-glacial (high water) phases. These changes produced a series of gravel terraces in the Thames



Fig. 4 Excavations at Church Court



Fig. 5 Church Court, following landscaping work, showing monumental column and trees

Valley, which were separated by deep cuts caused by the scouring of the river. The gravel plateaux of the Strand and Covent Garden are both examples of these terraces. To the south there are deep erosion slopes caused by subsequent action of the River Thames (Bowsher 1999, 82). The gravels are covered by brickearth.

The site in Church Court lies 230m north of the present bank of the River Thames formed by the Victoria Embankment, built between 1864 and 1870 by Sir Joseph Bazalgette (Weinreb & Hibbert 1983, 914), and 380m west of the River Fleet, which now flows through a sewer beneath present day Farringdon Street (Weinreb & Hibbert 1983, 284). The site in Hare Court lies 270m north of the River Thames and 480m west of the River Fleet. The River Thames has been the subject of manmade reclamation and encroachments since Roman times.

Prior to 1772, when the Embankment was pushed back some 60m (Inner Temple Archive PLA/1/4), the river lay some 110m from Church Court (160m from Hare Court). Recent archaeological excavations at Arundel House to the west and at Whitefriars to the east revealed the position of the waterfront in the 13th and 14th centuries with revetments found towards the north of both sites, the latter being found just to the south of Tudor Street (Proctor 2000; Killock in prep.). It is probable that the Middle Saxon waterfront was just behind the medieval waterfront; the steep slope of the

gravel terrace beyond this point would have precluded it being much further north. This suggests that it lay perhaps on the line or just to the north of, present day Tudor Street. If this line is projected across to the Arundel House site, it would indicate that the river lay *c.* 50m from the site in Church Court and *c.* 100m from Hare Court. It is likely that the river widened still further towards the River Fleet, which would have formed a wide estuary consisting of mudflats and marshland. Indeed the western side of the Fleet was called the 'London Fen' in Edgar's mid 10th century boundary charter to Westminster Abbey (Honeybourne 1947, 14). It has been suggested that the early medieval site of the later Bridewell Palace on the west bank of the River Fleet may have been a third of the size of its 16th century area which continued just to the south of Watergate. This area of land was the subject of widespread reclamation by the Templars, both on the banks of the River Fleet and the River Thames, where it was planted with many young willows (Honeybourne 1947, 45; Gadd & Dyson 1981, 13-14). Evidence of the reclamation in the medieval period has been found on sites at the corner of New Bridge Street and Bride Lane, 1-3 Tudor Street, Kingscote Street, Bridewell Palace, the former City of London Boys School at 5-17 Tudor Street and Blackfriars House (Schofield & Maloney 1998, 151, 152, 154, 200 & 222-223; Gadd & Dyson 1981, 20; Maloney & Holroyd 1999, 7).

The Inner and Middle Temple areas are extensively terraced and the general topography is one of a considerable slope from Fleet Street in the north down to the Victoria



Fig. 6 Excavation of the lightwells at Hare Court

Embankment and the River Thames to the south, as can be seen in King's Bench Walk within the Temple itself. The same slope is evident in the north-south roads to the east, Temple Lane, Bouverie Street, Whitefriars Street and Dorset Rise. This of course reflects the natural slope down from the gravel terrace to the River Thames. However, the land to the south of Tudor Street is flat reflecting the fact that this is land reclaimed from the Thames. Church Court is relatively flat but in the area to the south and west of Cloisters the terracing required at least 2.0m of build up. Hare Court slopes gently down from the north to the south.

In Church Court yellow and orange River Terrace sands and gravels were encountered in the northeast corner of Trench 1 at a level of 8.37m OD, 2.50m below the modern ground level and in Trench 5 to the east of the site at a level of 9.28m OD, 1.40m below the modern ground level. The difference in heights of the natural between the two trenches suggest sand and gravel quarrying to the west of the site.

The natural deposits in Hare Court consisted of yellow and orange-brown medium sandy gravel also of River Terrace origin, which was encountered in LW1, in PP1 and in PT1. This was covered by mid orange brown brickearth, which was observed in all of the trenches with the exception of LW2. The levels of the natural deposits observed in Hare Court confirmed the slope from north to south towards the River Thames.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A catalogue of archaeological excavations undertaken within the Inner and Middle Temples is provided as a gazetteer at the end of this chapter.

Roman

The sites lay outside and to the west of the Roman city of *Londinium* (see Fig. 7). The line of the Strand is assumed to have been preceded by a Roman road leaving *Londinium* at Ludgate and extending west along the approximate lines of Fleet Street and the Strand. No archaeological investigation has proved this assumption; however, in 1598 Stow noted the remains of an earlier street on the north side of Fleet Street between Chancery Lane and St Dunstan's in the West. He wrote "*when the labourers had broken up the pavement of hard stone, more sufficient than the first ... under which they had found in the made ground, piles of timber driven very thick, and almost close together*" (Stow 1994, 362).

Roman burials in the vicinity of this road have been found in Shoe Lane, to the east of the subject sites, near its junction with Fleet Street, where eight cremations were discovered in 1927 (RCHM 1928, 165-166) and within the Temple itself at 4 King's Bench Walk/Niblett Hall where three inhumations were excavated (Askew with Keily 1993-4, 67). Other Roman remains have been found beneath St Bride's Church to the east where a Roman ditch and a building with a tessellated pavement were revealed (Grimes 1968, 182-183). The building has been interpreted as a mausoleum (Merrifield 1983, 133) but has recently been reinterpreted as a late Roman cellared building and the ditch is now felt to be part of a quarry pit (Milne 1997). Possible evidence of another Roman structure was found to the rear of 50 Fleet Street (Serjeants' Inn) where an east-west wall foundation constructed of ragstone and reused Roman building material, though otherwise undated, was found in 1950 (Schofield & Maloney 1998, 117).



Fig. 7 The excavated sites shown within the Temple Precinct, in relation to the City of London (*Londinium*) and the currently accepted boundaries of *Lundenwic* (scale 1:16,000)

Saxon

Based on previous knowledge the excavations also lay outside the postulated eastern outskirts of the Middle Saxon settlement of *Lundenwic*, centred on the Covent Garden and Strand areas (Fig. 7). The road from Ludgate along the Strand was one of the main thoroughfares of *Lundenwic*, possibly linking a religious enclave around St Paul's with the rest of the settlement and continuing to join the Silchester road, perhaps at Brentford. It is first mentioned in a charter of 1002, in which it is referred to as *Akemannestraete* (Cowie & Whytehead 1989, 708-710; Vince 1990, 16). This road delineated the higher and dry ground from the riverside beach.

Amongst the earliest remains found in *Lundenwic* were a series of burials apparently dating from the 7th century, which were found in clusters, from the west in the area around the church of St Martin-in-the-Fields and to the north in the area of the present day Covent Garden Piazza (Whytehead & Cowie 1989, 49; Humphrey 2001; Leary *et al.* 2004 6-7). From the mid to late 7th century the settlement expanded rapidly and spread over the former burial grounds. By the 8th century the settlement was densely populated, as demonstrated by widespread evidence of structures and

associated crafts and trade. The boundaries of the settlement at its peak are ill-defined, but from present evidence would appear to stretch from the National Gallery Extension in the west to Shorts Gardens in the north (Cowie 1988, 42-43) and to the River Thames in the south. The eastern boundary is even less firmly delineated, with remains recorded at Somerset House (Cowie 1988, 44) and at Arundel House (Proctor 2000, 50-51) and foreshore deposits at Globe House (Bowsher 1999, 85). It has been suggested that the sites just seem to peter out towards the east (Vince 1990, 16). By the 9th century the settlement was apparently in decline, with the abandonment of previously settled areas. The population may arguably have contracted to within a smaller, more defensive area as witnessed by apparent defensive ditches at Maiden Lane and the Royal Opera House (Cowie 1988, 71; Malcolm *et al.* 2003, 110-111).

Lundenwic appears to have been abandoned in the second half of the 9th century, when the settlement moved back within the old Roman walls of the city, in response to the escalating threat of Viking raids. A coin hoard recovered from Hare Court in the 19th century consisting of over 250 Saxon coins dating to AD 841-2 may have been buried in response to one of these raids (see box text, below) Dolley 1960, 42; Stott 1991, 285-286).

A Saxon Coin Hoard from Hare Court

In 1893, building work in Hare Court revealed a hoard of over 250 Saxon coins. The coins demonstrated a wide provenance, deriving from moneyers in Mercia, Kent, Canterbury, East Anglia and Wessex (VCH 1909, 161). They dated to AD 841-2, and it has been suggested that they were buried in response to a Viking raid (Dolley 1960, 42; Stott 1991, 285-286). The hoard is currently held in the archives of the British Museum; the obverses of nine of the coins are illustrated here.



Fig. 8 Nine Saxon coins from the hoard ©
Copyright The Trustees of the British Museum

The coins from left to right

1. Coin of Offa of Mercia, moneyer EOBA
The inscription OFFA REX on obverse (EOBA on the reverse)
2. Coenwulf of Mercia, moneyer DUDA
Head of king and COENWULF REX on obverse (moneyer's name on reverse)
3. Coelwulf of Mercia, moneyer SIGESTEF
Inscription of king's name around central design on obverse (moneyer's name around edge on reverse)
4. Wiglaf of Mercia, moneyer REDMUND
Inscription of king's name around central design on obverse (moneyer's name around edge on reverse)
5. Baldred of Kent, moneyer SIGESTEF
Inscription of king's name around cross on obverse (moneyer's name around cross on reverse)
6. Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, Moneyer SAEBERHT
Stylised head of Archbishop with name around on obverse (moneyer's name around central design on reverse)
7. Ceolnoth, Arch. of Canterbury, moneyer BIORNMOD
Stylised head of Archbishop with name around on obverse (moneyer's name around central design on reverse)
8. Athelstan I of East Anglia. No moneyer's name
Name of king around central design on obverse (REX ANG around central design on reverse)
9. Ecgberht of Wessex, London mint.
Name of king around central design on obverse (inscription LVNDONIA CIVIT on reverse)

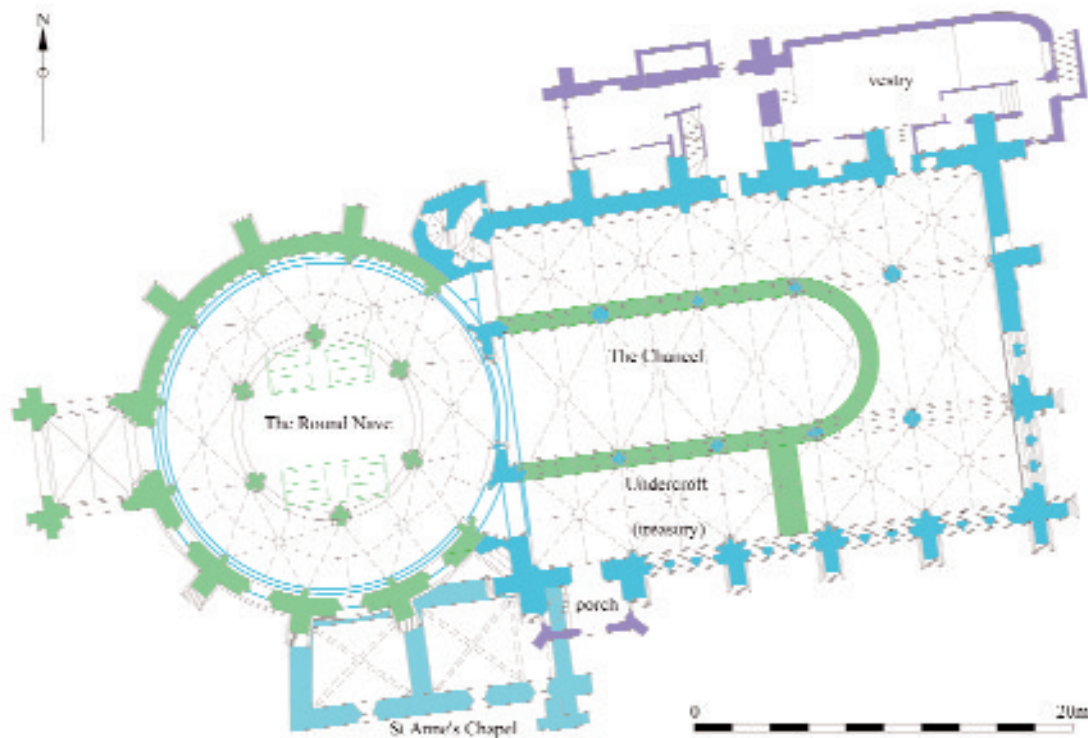


Fig. 9 Temple Church, showing the original round nave and apsidal-ended chancel, with subsequent additions and modifications; based on Godfrey 1953 (scale 1:400)

Medieval

In 1161 the Knights Templar acquired the land between Fleet Street and the Thames. They had previously built a round church in the first half of the 12th century in what is now Southampton Buildings, off High Holborn, various elements of which have been observed during building works in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries and more recently during construction of a lift shaft (Telfer 2002). Needing a larger site they moved south and built a second round church known as the New Temple to distinguish it from the first. It is possible that there were some buildings already there which could be moved into, as FitzStephen, writing in the 12th century, states that from the City walls to the King's palace at Westminster there were houses, gardens and orchards alongside the Thames (Stow 1994, 23). It is not known how the Templars came to possess the land, but the property was part of the Honour of Leicester, which was held from the King by the service or office of Steward of England. The Bishop of Ely had had a town house or "hostilage" here since the Conquest, and it has been suggested that this, possibly on the site of the modern Farrar's Building in Hare Court to the southwest of the church, became the quarters of the Master of the Temple (Lewer & Dark 1997, 23). The church was consecrated in 1185, and around it the Templars built a magnificent monastery with two large halls, a "hall of priests" in the

vicinity of the present Middle Temple Lane and Pump Court and a "hall of knights" on the site of the later Inner Temple Hall.

The nave of the church (the Round) was once again modelled on the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and was circular (Fig. 9). The original chancel of the Temple Church was a narrow building, probably with an apsidal end. In 1953 an undercroft was discovered to the south of the original chancel, which seemed to date to this original building phase. It has been suggested that it was the Templars' Treasury (Godfrey 1953, 130), as it was known that King John deposited treasure in the New Temple and that he resided there in January 1214. On the south side of the Round stood a two-storey building known as St Anne's Chapel, which is thought to have been added *c.* 1220, and which was demolished in 1826. The original chancel was demolished in *c.* 1220 and a greatly enlarged three aisled new chancel was



Fig. 10 Grave monuments of Knights Templar in the Nave of Temple Church

erected and consecrated on Ascension Day, 24th May 1240. The walls were built of stone rubble and probably finished externally with Kentish ragstone and plastered similarly to the Round. Purbeck marble, which had been used in the Round, was now used for the pillars of the chancel as well (Lewer & Dark 1997, 43). The floor, at least in the chancel, was paved with medieval coloured tiles, which were found in restoration work in the 1840s in the chancel between the two southeastern columns under the old pewing (Lewer & Dark 1997, 46). A chapel dedicated to St Thomas Becket was known to have been constructed within the New Temple, but its exact location is not known.

The Knights Templar Order were suppressed in 1308 and finally dissolved in 1312. At the time of the suppression in 1308 the Crown ordered an inventory of the Knights' possessions in the New Temple. The inventory listed the contents of various buildings, such as a storehouse, the kitchen, stables, a brewery and various chambers, but no mention was made of either St Anne's or St Thomas Becket's Chapels (Baylis 1900, appendix F). The New Temple then passed through the hands of Aymer de Valence, the Earl of Pembroke, Hugh Despenser the Younger and William de Langford before being granted to the Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in 1338 (Lewer & Dark 1997, 54). Patent and Close Rolls of 1336 and 1337, which recorded information regarding the area prior to the handing over of the precinct to the Knights Hospitallers, mention the cloister (including the church) of the New Temple as having been bounded by

a stone wall extending from the Bishop of Ely's Chamber first east and then north to Fleet Street (Godfrey 1953, 134). This precinct wall would have run across present day Hare Court and may have been described by Addison in 1843 who stated:

"During the formation of the present new entrance into the Temple by the church, at the bottom of Inner Temple Lane, a considerable portion of the brickwork of the old houses was pulled down, and an ancient wall of great thickness was disclosed. It was composed of chalk, ragstone and rubble exactly resembling the walls of the church. . . it ran in direction east-west and appeared to have formed the extreme northern end of the old convent."

(Addison 1843, 345-346).

Possible further evidence of the precinct wall was revealed beneath 1-2 Fleet Street (Hilton Price 1890, 238). The same Patent and Close Rolls mentioned an earthen wall which bounded the consecrated areas of the New Temple and which was described as running to the Old Gate of the Temple. It has been postulated that this ran along the property line to the rear of 17-40 Fleet Street and into Mitre Court (Godfrey 1953, 134 & 138 fig. 6). Building work to the rear of 50 Fleet Street (Serjeants' Inn) in 1950 revealed an east-west wall foundation constructed of ragstone and reused Roman building material which may have been part of the precinct wall (Schofield & Maloney 1998, 117). During Edward III's reign the Hospitallers leased the land to students of the common laws of England, who continue to



Fig. 11 The Temple precinct as it appeared in the 16th century: detail of the 'Agas map' c. 1562, showing the approximate outline of the Temple precinct (not to scale)

occupy the site up to the present day. In 1381 the Temple was sacked by Wat Tyler and his mob in the Peasants' Revolt and many of the early records of the Temple were lost (Lewer & Dark 1997, 55).

Post-Medieval

After the suppression of the Hospitallers by Henry VIII in 1540 the Temple was seized by the crown but continued to be leased to the lawyers. Puritan lawyers in the 17th century, removing all traces of popish faith, covered the painted ceiling of the Temple Church with whitewash and buried the antique tessellated pavement under hundreds of cartloads of earth, on the surface of which (two feet above the level of the original floor) they placed another floor constructed from old gravestones. All the marble columns were covered by a thick coating of plaster and whitewash (Addison 1843, 290). The contents of St Thomas's chapel were removed, probably in 1539, following the dismantling of his shrine at Canterbury and the official condemnation of the Becket cult (Fisher 1979, 230).

In 1608 James I granted the freehold of the site to the

Benchers of the Inner and Middle Temple. In 1612 some brick buildings three storeys high were erected over the west Cloisters by Francis Tate. The Great Fire in 1666 destroyed much of the eastern part of the Inner Temple but was stopped at the Temple Church and Cloister Court. In 1667 the Lamb Building was built in the eastern part of the church courtyard reputedly to replace buildings destroyed in the Great Fire. It is shown on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676 (Fig. 12), which also shows the cloisters apparently surviving on three sides, the north, south and west, and illustrates the extent of the fire. The Lamb Building was so named after the symbol of a gilded wooden lamb, which stood above the entrance to the building. The Lamb of God or '*Agnus Dei*' was, and remains, the symbol of the Middle Temple and is an image that recurs around the Temple buildings. It has been suggested that the position occupied by the Lamb Building was an open space for games and recreation until 1596, when Caesar's Buildings, named after Sir Julius Caesar, were erected (Bowen 1928, 46-47). Others suggest that Caesar's Buildings were constructed in place of an older building, which was pulled down (Williamson 1924, 236). To the south, gardens extended down to the Thames (Fig. 13).



Fig. 12 The extent of damage caused by the Great Fire of 1666, as shown on the Ogilby & Morgan map of 1676, in relation to areas of excavation (scale 1:1,000)



Fig. 13 Bird's eye view of the Temple as it appeared in 1671, from Master Worsley's Book (ed. AR Ingpen KC, Chiswick Press 1910). Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple

Much of the Middle Temple, including Pump Court, Hare Court, Brick Court and the cloisters to the west of Church Court were destroyed in another fire in 1678, which raged for over 12 hours. As the Thames was frozen the hand pumps were supplied by beer from the Temple cellars in an attempt to douse the flames. However, despite this effort, the fire also led to the destruction of the Chapel of St Anne, which was blown up with gunpowder to prevent the fire reaching the church (Dove 1967, 165), the chapel was subsequently restored, and the cloisters were rebuilt by Christopher Wren (and thereafter called Cloisters).

Wren was also responsible for refurbishing the church between 1682-83. This renovation consisted of the replacement of the stone paving within the church with black and white marble squares, the adding of oak wainscotting to the walls, the fixing of a new altar and reredos by Grinling Gibbons, the provision of a new pulpit and pews and the erection of an organ screen between the Round and the choir (Dove 1967, 165). In 1819 work was begun on removing buildings that had been erected against the south side of the church, shown on an 18th century engraving of the church (Fig. 14). Robert Smirke, the Inner Temple's architect, supervised the destruction of the remains of St Anne's chapel in 1826, which had been partially rebuilt after the fire as a house, and made various repairs to the church between 1826 and 1828 (Fig. 15), including the refacing of the wall on the south side of the choir and the interior of the Round with stone (Dove 1967, 165-166; Lewer & Dark 1997, 85). Between 1840 and 1846 under the supervision of James Savage and later Sydney Smirke, further repairs were made to the church, including the rebuilding of the outer walls of the choir and the Round, the construction of a new conical roof on the Round and the replacement of Wren's floor with new Minton tiles based on designs observed in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey and on tiles revealed during the lowering of the floor in the church itself (Dove 1967, 166). The altar, reredos,

pulpit and pews commissioned by Wren were removed and new ones installed. The paint and centuries of dirt that had accumulated on the Purbeck marble columns were removed and the fabric renovated. This work revealed large-scale decay and led to the replacement of many of the Purbeck marble columns (Dove 1967, 166; Lewer & Dark 1997, 94-105).

Hare Court, to the northwest of Church Court, was named after Nicholas Hare (d. 1591), who built chambers here on the south side of the court in the 1560s. He was one of four Bencher brothers and was made Treasurer in 1584. The Court was previously called the Little Court or Garden Court and is perhaps the same as Nut Tree Court, called 'Nut Garden' in Henry VIII's reign (Baker 1991, 24). When new chambers were required for lodging members of the Inn, the building work was undertaken by Fellows of the Society, who advanced the money in return for having the buildings named after them and the right to occupy them for life. Thus the original buildings were named after such members as Crompton in 1581 and Brooker, but after rebuilding in the 17th century they were known by the name of the court itself (Baker 1991, 24). The court contained a well with a pump on the north side and future Judge Jefferies had chambers at No. 3. Records of the Inner Temple twice refer to repairs being required in Hare Court in 1589 (Inderwick 1896, 369) and 1625 (Inderwick 1898, 154). Hare Court survived the Great Fire of 1666 but was damaged in the fire of 1678, which started in Pump Court, and a house in Hare Court was blown up in order to prevent the fire from spreading to shops on Fleet Street. The west range, Nos. 2-3, which had been destroyed in the fire of 1678 was rebuilt in 1679 and again in 1893-4 (Baker 1991, 24). Dick's Coffee House, originally 'Richard's' after Richard Turvor, to whom the house was let in 1680 (Ingpen 1910, 64), stood in the northwestern corner of Hare Court. A Mrs Yarrow was proprietor in the reign of George II and her pretty daughters made it a favoured haunt of the young



Fig. 14 The south-east prospect of the Temple Church (engraved by B. Cole, 18th century). Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple



Fig. 15 *The Temple Church, as restored (drawn by Thomas H. Shepherd, engraved by J. Carter, published by Jones and Co 1828). Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple*

barristers (Hawkes 1930, 175).

From the earliest times buildings stood on either side of the lane leading from the Inner Temple Gateway to the church. In 1657 some timber and rough cast structures were replaced by more substantial brick buildings, which became known as Nos. 1-5 Inner Temple Lane (Bellot 1925, 78). In

1760 Dr. Johnson moved to No.1 where he resided until moving to Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, in 1766 (Bellot 1925, 81). These buildings had by the mid 19th century fallen into ruinous condition and were pulled down in 1857 and replaced by Dr. Johnson's Buildings as shown on the Ordnance survey Map of 1874 (Fig. 16), which still occupy the eastern side of the court (Bellot 1925, 84).

In May 1941 much of the Inner and Middle Temple was badly damaged by a wartime bombing raid. In Church Court the Lamb Building was destroyed, the interior of the Temple Church was gutted by incendiary bombs and its Purbeck marble columns were badly damaged (Figs. 17, 18). The marble pillars in the chancel were replaced in rebuilding after the war, supervised by Walter Godfrey, with the chancel being completely restored and rededicated on 23rd March 1954. Thereafter the Purbeck marble in the Round was replaced in 1958. David Lewer in *The Templar* of January 1959 reported "*The grey Purbeck marble beautifully carved, contrasts well with the white stone walling, and is not so mechanically executed as the 19th century work it has replaced*" (Lewer & Dark 1997, 165).

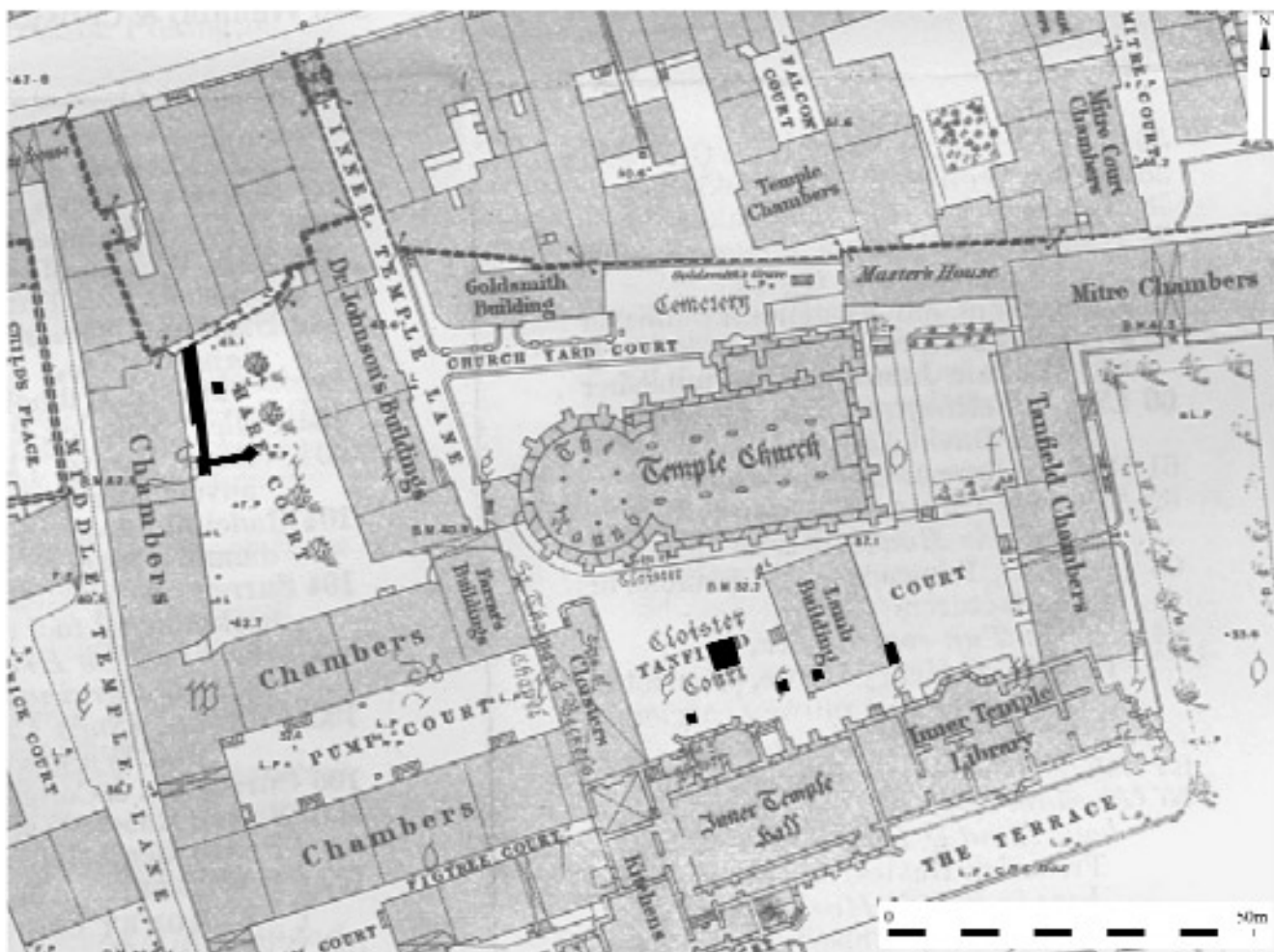


Fig. 16 *The Ordnance Survey map of 1874, shown in relation to the areas of excavation (scale 1:1,000)*



Fig. 17 Temple Church after air raids, looking north from Church Court (1940s). Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN THE TEMPLE AREA

A gazetteer of all excavations in the vicinity of the Temple is provided at the end of this chapter. Sites are numbered, and illustrated on Fig. 19.

Two important 19th century discoveries were made in the immediate area. As noted above a hoard of *c.* 250 coins dating to AD 841-42 was found in 1893 in Hare Court (Cowie 1988, 44; Stott 1991, 285-86) (Fig. 19 site 4). In 1878 building work to underpin the last house on the west side of Middle Temple Lane revealed a large quantity of human bones arranged in five regular rows (Fig. 19 site 3). The skeletons were apparently laid northeast to southwest with the workmen removing more than a cartload of leg-bones from the underpinning trench. The rest of the skeletons were left under the house. Further work beneath the site of 1-2 Fleet Street revealed a north-south chalk wall between 3ft and 6ft in width, which may have represented the boundary wall of the Temple precinct (Fig. 19 site 3). An



Fig. 18 Outside the ruined church in Church Court, showing men with lifting tackle in the ruins of the Lamb Building (1942). Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple

undercroft four bays square with a central octagonal pier constructed from greensand and possibly dating to the 13th century was also revealed together with a floor of large green- and yellow-glazed tiles, cess pits dating to the 15th to 17th centuries and a brick cellar (Hilton Price 1890).

A number of archaeological investigations have taken place in recent times within both the Inner and Middle Temple. The scope of much of the work has been limited to watching briefs on the laying of new services and slight structural alterations during the refurbishment of chambers with consequent limited archaeological observations. A gazetteer of previous archaeological investigations is provided at the end of this chapter. However, a few sites have provided interesting and important evidence of archaeological remains within the precinct.

In Niblett Hall in the northeastern part of the Inner Temple an excavation uncovered several phases of activity consisting of three Roman inhumations which were truncated by Roman or Saxon pits and a north-south aligned ditch (Fig. 19 site 10). A tile kiln, last fired between 1210-1280, with a clay storage pit was recorded which may represent activity concurrent with the construction of the New Temple. Three later phases of medieval and early post-medieval pits were succeeded by a series of gravel quarry pits, a brick fountain, a brick cellar and a demolished ice house (Askew with Keily 1993-4). Probable 12th century clay pits in Kings Bench Walk were possibly associated with tile manufacture (Schofield & Maloney 1998, 296) (Fig. 19 site 7). Quarry and rubbish pits of 16th and 17th century date have been found previously on two investigations in Hare Court (Greenwood & Maloney 1996, 5, Maloney & Holroyd 1999, 6) (Figs. 19 site 13, 19 site 19). More recently, similar pitting was revealed within No. 1 Hare Court, together with a possible Middle Saxon pit and residual Roman pottery (Maloney & Holroyd 2003, 38) (Fig. 19 site 26).

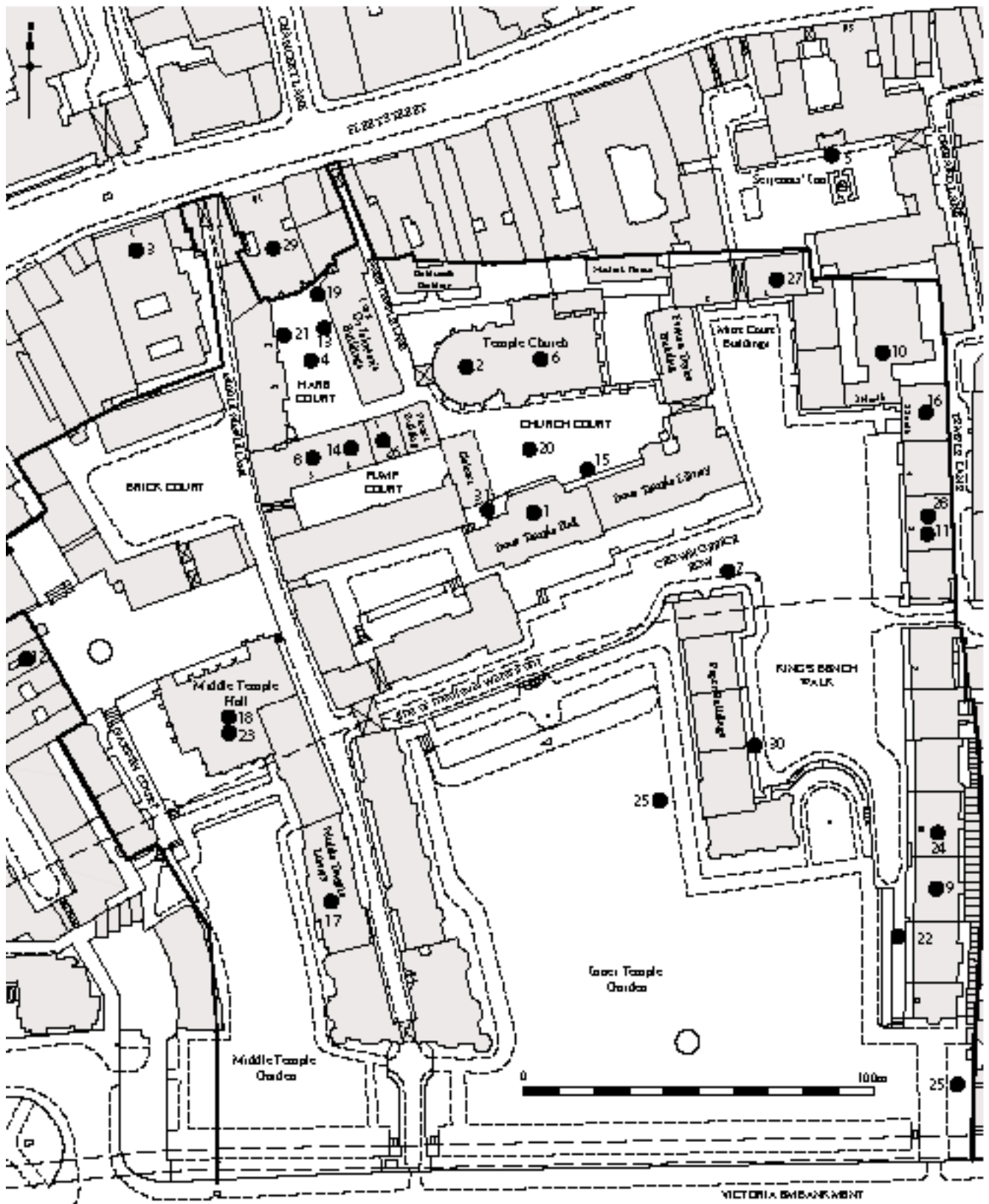


Fig. 19 Sites in the vicinity of Temple mentioned in the text and gazetteer, showing the precinct wall of the Inner and Middle Temple and the conjectured line of the 15th century waterfront (scale 1:1,600; numbers refer to gazetteer site entries).

Reproduced from Ordnance Survey based mapping on behalf of The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office © Crown Copyright. Pre-Construct Archaeology/100020795/2005

+ = spot height

Gazetteer of Archaeological Investigations within the Temple Area

1 Inner Temple Hall, 1756

Building work revealed a series of arched openings in the north wall of the undercroft of the hall of the New Temple. One was a semi-circular headed doorway c. 5ft (1.52m) wide, which has been interpreted as 'an important entrance of 12th century date', the site of which 'would agree with the original stone stair from which the hall would be approached from the cloister walk' (Godfrey 1953, 136).

2 Temple Church, 1841-43

Excavations made during repairs of the church revealed a floor of 'encaustic' tiles and a series of human burials, some within lead coffins placed within stone sarcophagi, which were interpreted as being of Templar date (Richardson 1845; Lewer & Dark 35-37, 97-98).

3 1-2 Fleet Street, 1878

Archaeological monitoring by F. G. Hilton Price of building work prior to the erection of the new bank of Messrs. Child & Co. revealed a large quantity of human bones arranged in five regular rows during underpinning work on the last house on the west side of Middle Temple Lane. More than a cartload of leg bones was removed with the remainder of the skeletons, which apparently lay northeast to southwest, being left beneath the house. Beneath the site of 1-2 Fleet Street a north-south chalk wall between 3ft and 6ft in width was revealed which may have represented the boundary wall of the Temple precinct. An undercroft four bays square with central octagonal pier constructed from greensand and possibly dating to the 13th century was also revealed together with a floor of large green- and yellow-glazed tiles, cess pits dating to the 15th-17th centuries and a brick cellar (Hilton Price 1890).

4 Hare Court, Inner Temple 1893

A hoard of over 250 coins of Mercia, Kent, Canterbury, East Anglia and Wessex dating to AD 841-842 was recovered from Hare Court (VCH 1909, 161; Wheeler 1935, 191; Dolley 1960, 42; Vince 1988, 90; Stott 1991, 285-286).

5 Rear of 50 Fleet Street, 1950

Building work to the rear of 50 Fleet Street (Serjeants' Inn) in 1950 revealed an E-W wall foundation constructed of ragstone and reused Roman building material. The foundation trench cut natural gravels and had been lined with clay, fragments of Roman tile and *opus signinum* (Schofield & Maloney 1998, 117).

6 Temple Church, 1951

Excavation by W. H. Godfrey during his reconstruction of the church interior after the wartime destruction revealed a cross-wall running north-south below the centre of the chancel c. 47ft (14.33m) from the Round which was interpreted as either a square end to the original chancel or more probably the chord of the apse. Other structural remains included the walls of the Chapel of St Anne built in c.1220 which were revealed beneath the pavement to the south of the Round, a structure measuring c. 42ft by 13 ft (12.80m by 3.96m) to the south of the original chancel which was interpreted as a free standing treasury built within the Temple Cloister adjoining the original choir and the foundations of a possible bell tower beneath the north wall of the Treasury (Godfrey 1953).

7 Kings Bench Walk, Inner Temple (TCP 89) August 1989

Archaeological Watching Brief

The excavation for a cabling shaft revealed two possible clay pits cut into London Clay located at a maximum depth of 5.04m, which were possibly originally on the Thames foreshore. One of the pits was dated to the 12th century. Both were sealed by thick dumps of post-medieval rubble and soil (Heathcote 1990, 164; Schofield & Maloney 1998, 296).

8 5-6 Pump Court, Middle Temple (PUM 91) 1991

Archaeological Evaluation

Basement of the present building had truncated gravels to c. 9.00m OD. The only features revealed were those associated with the post-medieval building on the site (Schofield & Maloney 1998, 314).

9 11 Kings Bench Walk, Inner Temple (KBW 92) April 1992

Archaeological Evaluation

The infill of a possible embankment was sealed by post-medieval dumps (Greenwood & Maloney 1993, 49).

10 4 Kings Bench Walk/Niblett Hall, Inner Temple (NIB 91 & KBK 92) November-December 1992

Archaeological Excavation

The excavation revealed three Roman inhumations, which were truncated by Roman or Saxon pits and a north-south aligned ditch. To the east of the site a tile kiln, last fired between 1210-1280, with a clay storage pit was recorded. Three phases of medieval and early post-medieval pits were succeeded by a series of gravel quarry pits after the Great Fire of 1666. Other post-medieval finds were a brick fountain, a brick cellar and a demolished ice house (Askew with Keily 1993-4; Greenwood & Maloney 1993, 49; Schofield & Maloney 1998, 313).

11 5 Kings Bench Walk, Inner Temple (KNB 94) June 1994

Archaeological Evaluation

Medieval to post-medieval (11th-16th century) dumps were recorded overlying natural gravel (Greenwood & Maloney 1995, 336).

12 35 Essex Street, (ESS 94) May 1994

Archaeological Evaluation and Watching Brief

Excavation of a lift shaft revealed various drains of apparent medieval date, including a substantial stone lined drain with a base made from re-used ceramic tiles. Associated with the drains was a sequence of cobbled and compacted chalk surfaces. Elsewhere on site only post-medieval dumps were observed. It was suggested that the lift shaft lay within a feature such as a garderobe pit on the downhill side of the building and that the ground was made up around it much later when the present building was built (Bell 1994).

13 Hare Court, Inner Temple (HCT 95) March-April 1995

Archaeological Watching Brief

Excavation of new drainage trenches revealed three 16th century quarry pits backfilled with domestic rubbish, including two complete Border ware drinking jugs and two later pits of unknown date (Greenwood & Maloney 1996, 5).

14 6 Pump Court, Middle Temple (PCM 95) August 1995

Archaeological Evaluation

The earliest deposits observed were dumped deposits. A cobbled surface consisting of flint nodules, rough hewn ragstone and a Yorkstone slab may represent the 17th century courtyard level (Greenwood & Maloney 1996, 6).

15 Church Court, Inner Temple (CUR 95) September-October 1995

Archaeological Watching Brief

1940s demolition debris was observed to depth of at least 0.60m (Greenwood & Maloney 1996, 4).

16 3 South Kings Bench Walk, Inner Temple (SKB 96) June 1996

Archaeological Watching Brief

A mixture of building rubble and make-up contemporary with the construction of the existing post-medieval building was observed (Greenwood *et al.* 1997, 39).

17 The Middle Temple Library, Middle Temple Lane, (MTD 97) April 1997

Archaeological Watching Brief

No archaeological remains were found; only World War II debris was revealed (Dalton 1997).

18 Middle Temple Hall, (MTP 98) July-August 1998

Archaeological Watching Brief

No archaeological remains or historic masonry were observed (Maloney & Holroyd 1999, 7).

19 1 Doctor Johnson's Building, Hare Court, Inner Temple (HRC 98) October 1998

Archaeological Watching Brief

The installation of lighting ducts to the cellars of Dr. Johnson's Buildings revealed two possible medieval make-up deposits cut by the construction cut for the standing building (Maloney & Holroyd 1999, 6).

20 Church Court, Inner Temple (TCT 99) August-November 1999

Archaeological Evaluation and Excavation

Discussed in the main text.

21 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple (HCO 99) November 1999-June 2000

Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief

Discussed in the main text

22 12 Kings Bench Walk, Inner Temple (KBA 00) August-September 2000

Archaeological Watching Brief

Excavation of a lift pit on the western side of 12 Kings Bench walk revealed two post-medieval deposits dating to the late 18th century (Maloney & Holroyd 2001, 71).

23 Middle Temple Hall Kitchens, (MTN 00) December 2000-March 2002

Archaeological Watching Brief

Six test pits were monitored. Two medieval pits predating the construction of the present Middle Temple Hall (built between 1562 and 1573) were observed. The masonry of the kitchens was surveyed with remains of later additions and modifications dated to 1822, 1830 and 1912 being observed. These consisted of brick footings and a brick-lined drain beneath a previous stone floor in the main kitchen. A substantial, largely sterile deposit levelling the ground up towards the south to form a garden was also revealed (Maloney & Holroyd 2001, 71; 2002, 7).

24 Rear of 7-13 King's Bench Walk, Inner Temple April 2001

Building Survey

The wall at the rear of the yards behind 7-13 King's Bench Walk was surveyed to establish a chronology of the wall's development and significance. The earliest phase of the wall was that behind No. 7, which was dated to the 16th or 17th century. 17th century brickwork was revealed behind Nos. 9 and 11 with the rest of the wall showing work from the 18th to 20th centuries (Sabel 2001).

25 Inner Temple Garden, (INT 01) May 2001

Archaeological Watching Brief

The excavation of a pit for a water tank and holes for the installation of a cable revealed dumped layers of late 18th-early 19th century in the pit to the south with topsoil in those to the north (Maloney & Holroyd 2002, 7).

26 1 Hare Court, Inner Temple (HEC 02) January-March 2002

Archaeological Watching Brief

Internal remodelling of the basement of the standing building revealed a small pit of probable Middle Saxon date containing a Saxon loomweight and residual Roman pottery, a large undated gravel quarry pit and a post-medieval (16th century) rubbish pit and a 17th construction cut for the standing building (Maloney & Holroyd 2003, 38).

27 1 & 2 Mitre Court, Inner Temple (MCU 03) February-August 2003

Archaeological Watching Brief

No archaeological remains were observed during relaying of drainage runs and remodelling of lightwells (Maloney & Holroyd 2004, 67).

28 5 Kings Bench Walk, Inner Temple (KBC 03) March-April 2003

Archaeological Watching Brief

Monitoring of underpinning work determined that the 17th century foundations of the chambers lay directly on early post-medieval dumped deposits (Maloney & Holroyd 2004, 67).

29 7-15 Fleet Street, Hare Court, Middle Temple (FSC 03) August 2003

Archaeological Watching Brief

Mid-18th and late-19th century made ground and a 19th century brick culvert with associated soakaway were revealed during the excavation of a footing for a new flight of stairs at the rear of Hare Court (Maloney & Holroyd 2004, 67).

30 4 Paper Buildings, Inner Temple (PBT 04) April-July 2004

Archaeological Watching Brief

Monitoring of the foundation trench for a new lift shaft revealed 16th century dumped material possibly associated with land reclamation behind the river wall of the Temple precinct (Grosso 2004a).

31 Inner Temple Hall, Inner Temple (INE 04) August 2004

Archaeological Watching Brief

Monitoring of the foundation trench for a new lift shaft revealed a faced corner of a wall constructed from Purbeck limestone. This masonry may have been part of the western cloisters, which were destroyed by fire in 1678 (Grosso 2004b).

Chapter 2 The Archaeological Sequence



PREHISTORIC

Five small sherds of possible prehistoric pottery and sixteen residual struck flints were recovered during the excavations. None of the struck flints were chronologically diagnostic types, although on technological grounds it may be possible to suggest that the material represented two different industries. Four of the flakes, all of translucent brown flint, were the product of a systematic, blade-based reduction strategy, characteristic of Mesolithic or Early Neolithic industries. Interestingly, three of these appeared to have been used as piercers, possibly indicating that this material represents a short-term stop by transient people engaged in task-specific activities (Bishop 2001).

The remainder of the material, all of black translucent flint, was much more crudely produced. It was perhaps most characteristic of industries dating to the Middle Bronze Age or after, and may be associated with the possible prehistoric pottery found. However, due to the small size of the assemblage and the lack of diagnostic pieces it is possible that this material could have resulted from the dressing of flint cobbles, as used in construction works during the medieval or post-medieval periods (Bishop 2001).

The widespread scatter of flint material found on previous sites and especially from the Thames indicates activity in the Central London area in the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, with most evidence clustering in the later period. This activity may have been sporadic (Merriman 1987, 318-26), and prehistoric finds are sparse from the immediate area. However, a Mesolithic flint tranche axe from the River Fleet (SMR 041110), a Bronze Age spearhead from the Thames to the south of the Temple (SMR 104002), a Bronze Age palstave axe from Bouverie Street (SMR 41140) and a Bronze Age dagger blade found in the “town ditch” (River Fleet) at Newgate (SMR 041143) are recorded on the Greater London Sites and Monument Record. Some flint artefacts of unspecified prehistoric date were found in association with an infant skeleton at the Fleet Valley towards the south end of Blackfriars Lane (Schofield & Maloney 1998, 284).

Prehistoric activity, from the Mesolithic to the Iron Age has been recorded on several sites in Southwark on the

south bank of the Thames including Hopton Street (Ridgeway & Butler 1999, 72-6), where prehistoric landscapes have been preserved by later alluvial deposition. Such activity is rarely found within the City, presumably due to the widespread taphonomic disturbance caused since the Roman period. Recent archaeological investigations to the west of the Temple at Globe House, Temple Place, revealed two peat deposits. The upper peat was carbon dated to between 4,500 and 4,000 BC (Neolithic) and contained wild plants, beetle fragments and waterflea eggs, suggesting an open marsh environment, with no indication of human intervention (Bowsher 1999, 84). Similar peats were observed at Arundel House immediately to the west of Globe House (Proctor 2000, 48) and to the east of the Temple at Whitefriars (Proctor 1999a; 1999b; Killock in prep.). The finds from the Temple perhaps suggest that prehistoric occupation occurred, however sporadically, further to the north on the gravel terrace of the Strand/Fleet Street area.

ROMAN

Roman finds were found residually on both sites and Roman fabric accounted for 7% of the ceramic building material assemblages. A dump of daub-like poorly made brick fragments from Trench 5 in Church Court was similar to a Roman fabric and contained one large fragment with the impression of a Roman hobnailed shoe or boot (*see* Brown, Chapter 4, below). No other dating was retrieved from this apparent demolition dump and it may indeed be an *in situ* Roman deposit. However, it is more likely to be a dump of redeposited material brought in to level the ground before the construction of the New Temple. The residual finds consisted of five sherds of Roman pottery and a 4th century coin from Church Court and a further three sherds of pottery and a rim fragment of a Roman 1st or 2nd century glass convex or square jar from Hare Court (Jarrett 2001a; Stabler 2001; Tyson 2001).

As detailed above, other Roman material has been found in the vicinity (*see* Chapter 1). Additionally, more recently, residual Roman pottery and ceramic building

material were found in a Middle Saxon pit to the south at No. 1 Hare Court (Grosso 2002, 13-14). It is probable that Roman building material was reused in the Saxon period, an occurrence which has been noted elsewhere in *Lundenwic* (Blackmore 1986, 214; Cowie *et al.* 1988, 77; Smith 2003, 222-223). Thus the paucity of Roman finds from the site suggest no more than piecemeal activity during this period along the Roman road leading out of Ludgate.

POSSIBLE SAXON CEMETERY

A roughly east-west aligned grave was revealed in PP1 in Hare Court during the excavation of a test pit for a soakaway. Excavation of the grave was not undertaken because of the mitigation strategy of preservation *in situ*, and the soakaway was relocated to the south (as PP2). However, the northern and southern edges of the grave cut were identified, while the western and eastern ends remained beyond the limits of excavation. The grave cut [18] was found to be at least 1.50m long by 0.64m wide by at least 0.33m deep (Fig. 20). A fragmentary skull was observed at

the west end of the cut but no other bones were revealed as excavation was halted on discovery of the skull. An iron object measuring at least 0.46m long by 0.05m wide was observed lying alongside the right hand side of the skull, continuing beyond the excavated area towards the torso. A semi-circular object of copper alloy was partially revealed just above the probable pelvic area of the skeleton. This measured at least 0.18m in diameter by 0.02m wide as exposed.

Two other features, cut into the natural brickearth in Hare Court, may also be the remains of truncated graves. To the north of the inhumation the eastern end of a cut [15], continuing beyond the western limit of excavation, was observed in PP1. The cut may well have been aligned east-west and it is possible that it represents the eastern end of another grave, contemporary with that of [18] to the south. Both features were cut from the same level, and backfilled with a similar grey silt deposit. To the northwest in the northern end of LW1 a rectangular east-west aligned cut [112] was recorded. The size and shape of the cut suggests that it was probably the remains of a grave, any skeletal remains having been removed by later pitting.

Discussion

The date of the skeleton is unproven. No artefacts were removed before identification of the feature as a grave led to cessation of digging, in response to the mitigation strategy employed on the site. Thus a consideration of the argued dating for the skeleton is necessary. The roughly east-west (almost northeast to southwest) orientation of the grave suggests a Christian burial, although aligned thus it could respect the line of present day Fleet Street which has both Roman and Saxon antecedents. However the presence of the iron object, apparently a sword or a spear, and the copper alloy object suggests a pagan burial.

The burial could, arguably, be Iron Age in date; Iron Age warrior burials are known to have contained swords, spears and shields (Cunliffe 1974, 293; Darvill 1987, 175). It is also possible that it is a Roman burial alongside the Roman road running along the course of present day Fleet Street. Three Roman burials were found to the east within the Inner Temple at Niblett Hall (Askew with Keily 1993-4, 67).

Dating evidence also allows for the possibility that the burial could be that of a Templar knight; the grave was sealed by agricultural or garden soil dated to the late 12th or 13th centuries. However the distance of the burial from the church and presence of grave goods mitigates against this;

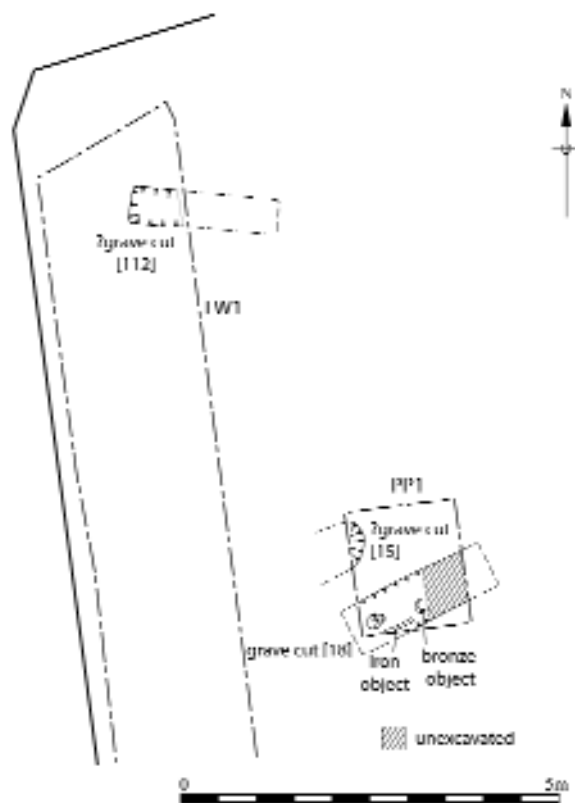


Fig. 20 Saxon cemetery evidence at Hare Court (scale 1:100)

grave goods are not common within Christian burials, except for those of priests who are often buried with paten and chalice. Excavations of Templar burials undertaken during extensive repairs of the Temple Church in 1841-43 revealed no grave goods within any of the lead or stone coffins discovered within the Round or in the vicinity of the porch, with the exception of a metal fastening conjectured to have been the clasp of a girdle or belt (Richardson 1845, 15). Where undisturbed lead coffins were excavated the bodies were found to have been wrapped in cloth. Richardson in his report of the discoveries quotes from a volume on Secret Societies in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge that:

"when the Templar died he was placed in a coffin in his habit with his legs crossed, and thus buried. Masses were said for his soul; his arms and clothes were partly given back to the marshal or draper of the Order, partly distributed among the poor"

(Richardson 1845, 11).

The most obvious parallels are with Saxon inhumations, where a spear was often placed beside the body, a buckler-sized shield above the head, chest, waist or upper legs and a sword parallel to the body (Welch 1995, 64). The iron object within the grave is placed in a similar position that in the 'princely' chamber grave in Taplow churchyard (*ibid.*, 94). A Saxon sword was supposedly found in the tomb of the Earl of Pembroke in the Temple Church, but it has been postulated that this may have been recovered from the Thames (Cowie 1988, 44). There is certainly evidence of Middle Saxon occupation at the site with the presence of a well in the near vicinity, which contained fragments of 7th-9th century pottery and an early 8th century coin (*see below*). The occupation with which the well was associated may well have begun during earlier pagan times and extended over an area previously used for burials.

The iron object seems most likely to be a spearhead; it is located close to the head, appears to have blunt end and there does not seem to be any narrowing of the blade to form a tang (I. Riddler, pers. comm.). The probability is that is a spearhead of Swanton's type E3, which has a long blade up to 0.50m in length (Swanton 1973, 83-97 & fig. 27). The associated copper alloy object is more problematic but may represent the top of a bucket with the fittings just visible. Bronze-bound wooden buckets have been found in the graves of both males and females during the early Anglo-Saxon period, but are more common with male burials (East 1983, 585). Bronze-bound buckets occur throughout the 6th century with some examples in the 7th century as well. But from the middle of the 6th century onwards iron-bound buckets are also found and these become more common than bronze-bound examples during the course of the 7th century (Geake 1997, 90-91). Bronze-bound wooden buckets

often accompany weapon graves, with examples of this combination found at Appledown, Grave 63, Beckford, Grave B81 and Norton Grave (Down & Welch 1990, 105 & fig. 2.27; Evison & Hill 1996, 22 & figs. 34-35; Sherlock & Welch 1992, 55, 194 & fig. 66). Metal-bound wooden buckets are normally found at the head or the foot of the grave, but there are exceptions to this rule. They include Beckford, Grave B10, where the bucket was by the waist and Bergh Apton, Grave 19, where an iron-bound bucket lay at the level of the chest (Evison & Hill 1996, fig. 44.10; Green & Rogerson 1978, fig. 21). An iron-bound bucket from Morning Thorpe, Grave 218, also appears to have been deposited in the waist area (Green, *et al.* 1987, fig. 144).

Finds of Saxon burials in *Lundenwic* have to date been fairly scarce and the presence of a spear and bucket in combination in the Hare Court inhumation would be the first such incidence from London. Inhumations with grave goods were discovered within stone coffins in the 18th century at St Martins-in-the-Fields with two glass palm cups in one and a spearhead in another (Cowie 1988, 41 no. 18). There is also a 13th century reference to treasure being found at St Martins (Harden 1956, 142; Vince 1990, 60-61), and a burial aligned southwest to northeast with a spear was discovered at the Peabody site, Chandos Place (Whytehead & Cowie 1989, 49). A single skeleton laid prone and aligned west-east found at Jubilee Hall to the south of Covent Garden (Cowie & Whytehead 1988, 56) may have been that of a felon or an unwanted alien. Other inhumations were found to the north of Covent Garden at King Street in the 18th century (Cowie 1988, 43 no. 34), at Long Acre (Cowie 1988, 43 nos. 39 & 41) and more recently at the Royal Opera House (Bowsher & Malcolm 1999, 4). At James Street the grave goods consisted of a spearhead and a buckle (Leary *et al.* 2004, 6-7), at Floral Street six inhumations and a quantity of disarticulated human bone were found with associated finds of a small knife, a brooch, three glass beads and four silver rings (Humphrey 2001) and at Cubitts Yard two inhumations were revealed, one of which was interred with a spear, knife and shield. (Maloney & Holroyd 2004, 86).

Across England 18% of early Saxon inhumations have been found to have had weapons with 47% of male adults' burials containing weapons (Härke 1989, 49). A peak of weapon burials was reached in the first half of the 6th century (Härke 1989, 51) with 20% of all inhumations and 61% of male adults being equipped with weapons. Thereafter there was a slow decrease in the later 6th and 7th centuries, with the end of the weapon burial rite dated to *c.* AD 700 (Härke 1989, 52). Spears are the most common find in weapon burials, occurring in most of them, with less than 50% containing shields and only 10% with swords (Härke 1989, 52). Adults were not alone in being buried with

weapons; cases of juveniles and children are also known (Härke 1992, 153). As Härke states:

“an Anglo-Saxon inhumation was furnished with weapons not because it was the burial of an individual warrior – it was furnished with weapons in order to display the status of a family which was of Germanic descent and whose status was also linked to disposable wealth. Thus, the post-Roman weapon burial rite in England was a symbol of ethnic and social affiliation in a complex and ethnically mixed society.”

(Härke 1992, 155).

However, the presence of Christian symbolism on many 7th century grave goods in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries suggests that the custom of burying the dead with their belongings survived the conversion to Christianity (Vince 1990, 61). According to Bede, Saxons reverted to paganism in AD 616 (Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* II, 5: trans. Sherley-Price 1979, 107-110) and Christianity was not re-established until the period AD 653-660s.

The evidence, such as it is, would therefore suggest a date of pre-AD 650 for the burial and if the interpretation of spear and bucket is correct, that the grave could be more closely dated to c. AD 575-625. Previous discoveries suggest that Middle Saxon burials were located on the periphery of the early settlement of *Lundenwic*. They suggest an early 7th century burial ground to the west of the settlement, possibly around a Middle Saxon church at St Martins-in-the-Fields. A major burial area of similar early to mid 7th century date, as indicated by the recent discoveries at Floral Street, Cubitts Yard, James Street and the Royal Opera House, seems to be located in the northern part of what is now Covent Garden market (Blackmore 2002, 279-280). Many of the burials were later built over as *Lundenwic* expanded and the apparent lack of reverence for the dead has been commented on and may perhaps be explained by changing religious attitudes from paganism to Christianity, by a new population group occupying the area, or a degree of central control over the development of the settlement (Malcolm *et al.* 2003, 27). The area of the inhumation in Hare Court would also appear to have become settled later in the 8th and 9th century, though not to the extent of the north Covent Garden area (*see below*). Although it was once thought that the presence of grave goods denoted a pagan burial it has been suggested that these objects represent cultural identifiers rather than reflecting pagan belief (Boddington 1990, 188).

The burial at Hare Court could appear from the archaeological evidence to be an isolated incident; the tentatively early date suggesting that the individual was indeed a pagan. However, it is possible that this ‘pagan’ Saxon was not buried alone but was interred in an early cemetery; there are the scanty remains of two further

possible grave cuts and large scale post-medieval pitting has destroyed much of the area in which further graves might once have been located. Also, in 1878 building work at Child’s Place and 1-2 Fleet Street, which involved underpinning work on the last house on the west side of the Middle Temple Lane, uncovered a quantity of human bones, which were ‘disposed in five regular rows’. the leg-bones were removed and the rest of the skeletons left in place under the house. The skeletons appeared to lie northeast to southwest and were thought at the time to be an ancient interment, belonging to the time when the Temple extended further westward than Temple Bar (Hilton Price 1890). No dateable material was found associated with the burials and it is possible that they were Saxon in date.

Amongst the animal bone found in the partially excavated grave were five fragments of cattle metapodials, three of which exhibited signs of saw marks, suggesting that bone working was taking place in the near vicinity. Other finds possibly associated with burials in the vicinity were the Petersen’s type S sword, with ‘Jellinge’ style animal ornament, which was supposedly found in the tomb of the Earl of Pembroke in the Temple Church (Cowie 1988, 44, no. 59) and a silver sword pommel, dating to the late 8th century, which was found at the junction of Fetter Lane and Fleet Street (Cowie 1988, 45 no. 61). This part of the Temple could, therefore, represent an early cemetery on the eastern edge of *Lundenwic*, which may have extended further to the east than previously thought, possibly in the period prior to the AD 650s, or else an isolated cemetery between the former walled Roman city and *Lundenwic*.

MIDDLE SAXON OCCUPATION

A circular well approximately 1m in diameter, with vertical sides, was excavated in LW1 in Hare Court to a depth of 1.61m, at which point the excavation was stopped to preserve the remaining archaeology *in situ*, and the base of the cut was not encountered. Although there was no evidence of timber along the sides they were most likely shuttered with timber planks or wattle, which either rotted away or had been removed in antiquity. The top of the well shaft was within a larger construction cut [116] at least 1.08m deep. It was backfilled with a mid grey yellow sandy silt deposit containing frequent pebbles but no other inclusions (Fig. 21). The well shaft [131] was backfilled with mixed silts containing inclusions of cess, animal bone, charcoal flecks and oyster shell.

To the north of the well were three sub-circular postholes, truncated by later post-medieval pitting. The bases of the three features were at a similar depth suggesting that they were elements of the same structure, associated with

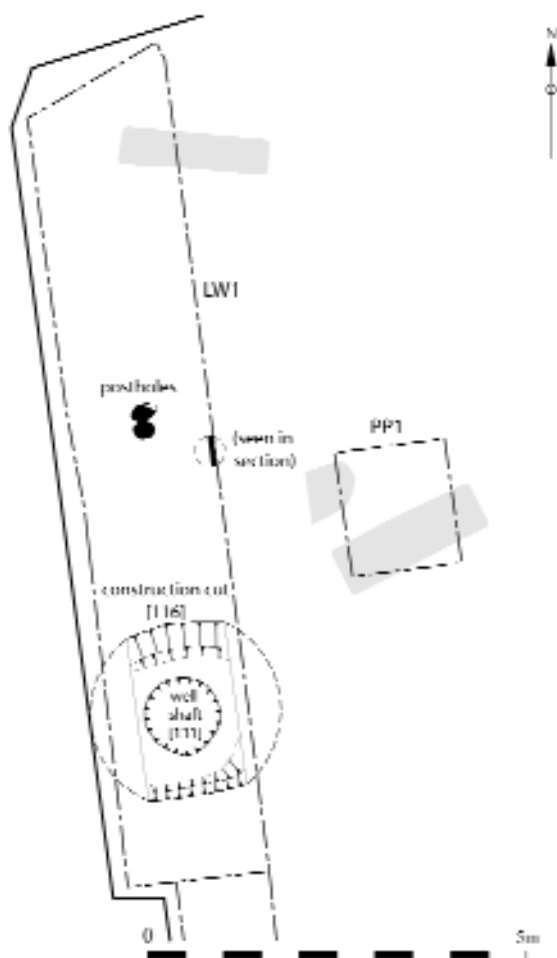


Fig. 21 Middle Saxon occupation evidence at Hare Court, shown in relation to earlier cemetery (scale 1:100)

the well to the south. However, no dating material was recovered and although it is probable that they were of Middle Saxon date it is also possible that they were part of the 11th- to 12th-century occupation activity within Hare Court.

Finds from the Well

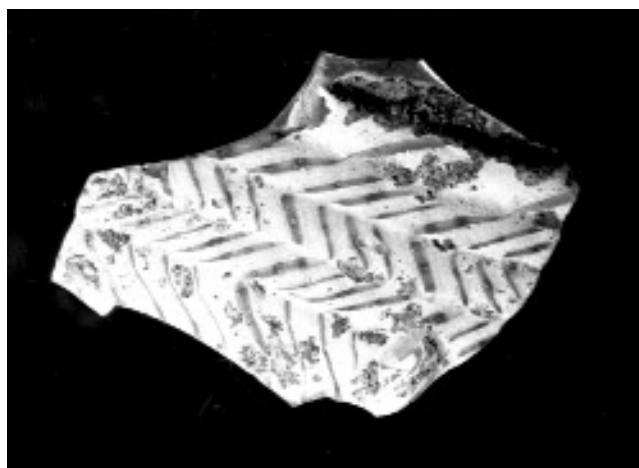
The backfill of the well contained some typical Middle Saxon finds assemblages but also some uncommon finds (see Chapter 4 for details). Fifty sherds of Middle Saxon pottery, including shell-tempered wares and a Badorf sherd, suggest a deposition date of the first half of the 9th century for the backfilling of the well. However, the presence of unabraded residual sherds of Chaff-tempered ware suggests 7th- and 8th-century occupation on the site. This is perhaps confirmed by the presence of a series G sceat dated to the period *c.* AD 710-720 (Figs. 22, 23). Amongst other common Middle Saxon finds were three fragments of loomweight, five fragments of antler double-sided comb, three knives,

two copper alloy pins, two bone pins and an iron punch or awl. The loomweights and a pin-beater were used in textile manufacture on a warp-weighted loom (see Leary *et al.* 2004, 11 and fig. 15 for a reconstruction of this type of loom). Together with the evidence for textile manufacture the iron punch also indicates that craft working took place in this area. However, it is not possible to determine categorically the type of craft, as this tool may have been used with metals, antler or leather, or even in woodworking, as noted for contemporary examples from York (Rogers 1993, 1239-1242). Knives and combs are common items for the time and represent personal possessions, which may have been produced locally. A small fragment of iron slag and a possibly residual fragment of vitrified hearth lining in the garden soil above, may represent smithing activity on site during the Middle Saxon period.

However, perhaps the most significant finds from the well were three fragments of dish-shaped crucibles. Analysis of the residues indicates that the fragments represent separate crucibles used for similar but different melts of glass. The homogeneity of the glass suggests the melting of recycled cullet rather than the manufacture of glass from raw materials (see Goodburn-Brown, Chapter 4). These are significant finds as there is little evidence for glass working in Britain during this period (Bayley 2000). It has been postulated that the relative scarcity of glass finds in *wics* in Britain indicates that recycling was practised (Blackmore 2002, 289). The analysis of these crucible fragments would seem to support this hypothesis. It is possible that glass working commonly took place on the periphery of Middle Saxon settlements; contemporary evidence for glass working at *Hamwic* came from a site by the boundary ditch of the settlement (Andrews 1997, 217-218).

Associated with the crucible sherds were three fragments of Middle Saxon glass. Two fragments were recovered in the backfill of the well with a further fragment found within the overlying garden soil. One was a particularly fine fragment of a light green globular vessel with five parallel reticella trails in yellow (Fig. 24). This fragment may have been kept for its attractive mixture of colours and may have been intended to use as inlay in metalwork such as a chalice (see Evison, Chapter 4). These fragments were dated to the 8th or 9th century and are consistent with the pottery dating for the backfilling of the well.

The large animal bone assemblage from the well demonstrated that cattle and then sheep dominated the diet, followed by pig. The varied nature of the assemblage, including better quality bones and inferior elements, suggest that whole animals were being prepared and consumed on the site. The presence of small numbers of neonates indicates that animals were being bred on the site, whilst the



Finds from the Well at Hare Court (from top to bottom)

Fig. 22 Early 8th century sceat, obverse

Fig. 23 Early 8th century sceat, reverse

Fig. 24 Middle Saxon reticella glass fragment

well-represented presence of skull and mandible fragments, especially of pig, together with the fact that a number of sheep and pig skulls had been sagittally split to access the brains shows that the primary butchery was occurring in the vicinity. Preparation of the animals and evidence of working of animal products is indicated by the presence of cut marks on cattle and sheep metapodials indicative of skinning, whilst bone working is suggested by the removal of the horn cores from the sheep skulls and the presence of a goat horn core and red and roe deer antler, the red deer antler exhibiting signs of saw marks. This site conforms to other sites on the western periphery of *Lundenwic*, where sheep were more important than pigs, whereas in sites within the core of *Lundenwic* pork appears more important than mutton. This has been taken to reflect greater wealth among the town inhabitants, with peripheral sites interpreted as being semi-rural farming communities supplying the animals to *Lundenwic* (see Bendrey, Chapter 4). However, the affluent nature of many of the other Middle Saxon finds at Hare Court contrasts with this pattern and might reflect a pattern of domestic-scale rearing in the urban setting or a rich enclave, which was also farming for its own consumption and craft working needs.

Among the more interesting elements of the assemblage were a fallow deer calcaneum and two fragments of whalebone. The fallow deer bone is an important early record of the species, contributing to an ongoing debate about whether it was reintroduced by the Romans or the Normans, and supporting an early rather than late date. Two fragments of mid-blade sawn rib of whalebone were also present. They may have been brought to site as a raw material for working, probably exploiting a beached whale for food and raw materials (see Bendrey, Chapter 4). Other examples have been found at the Royal Opera House (Bowsher & Malcolm 1999, 9; Malcolm & Bowsher 2003, 104-105) and at Temple Place (Bowsher 1999, 88).

The fish bones recovered comprised haddock, twaite shad, eel and roach, which constitute both marine and estuarine or freshwater species (see Armitage, Chapter 4). Haddock is a relatively rare find from *Lundenwic*, with only occasional bones previously having been found on the Strand sites (Locker 1988, 149-150). It suggests, together with other occasional finds of such fish as plaice, that there was trade in fish from the estuary and perhaps farther afield (Rackham 1994, 131). While the haddock eaten at the Hare Court site may have been supplied by a deep water fishery employing baited lines, the other fish were probably procured locally in the Thames or in nearby tributaries by netting. Twaite shad has previously been found in *Lundenwic* at the Peabody site, the National Gallery and the Lyceum Theatre (Locker 1989, 148-149 & table 18; Rackham & Snelling 2004, 65 table 24). Eel and roach are common finds

and have been found at a number of sites in *Lundenwic* including Maiden Lane, Jubilee Hall, the Peabody site, National Gallery, the Royal Opera House, National Portrait Gallery and the Lyceum Theatre (Locker 1988, 149-50, table 20; Locker 1989, 148-9 & table 18; Rielly 2003, 319 table 72; Armitage 2004a, 33, Armitage 2004b, 105). Eel are always predominant and reflect the major contribution made by freshwater fish obtainable from the Thames (Rackham 1994, 131).

Discussion

The well, possible cemetery and postholes together with the quantity of Middle Saxon artefacts provide clear evidence of Middle Saxon occupation. To the south at No. 1 Hare Court a rubbish pit of contemporary date was also excavated (Grosso 2002), and to the east in Church Court five sherds of Middle Saxon pottery and a fragment of Middle Saxon loomweight were found residually within later contexts.

As outlined above other Middle Saxon finds have been recovered from the immediate area. A major find of 250 coins dating to c. 842 was found in Hare Court itself during the 19th century (Dolley 1960, 42; Stott 1991, 285-286). Archaeological investigations at Globe House, Temple Place, to the west revealed Middle Saxon pottery dating from the mid 8th to the mid 9th centuries, a possible anchor stone, a fragment of an annular loom-weight and a Saxon Trehiddle style strap end with niello decoration. All were recovered from foreshore deposits mixed with Roman finds (Bowsher 1999, 87-8). The date of the material suggests a near-final phase of the settlement perhaps shifting eastwards (Bowsher 1999, 89). Excavations at Arundel House in 1972 revealed residual 7th to 9th century pottery and a loomweight (Haslam 1975b, 221-222). Recent excavations at Arundel House, 13-15 Arundel Street, revealed the remains of a waterfront structure, possibly a jetty or a fish trap, of Middle Saxon date, and foreshore deposits of Saxon date (Proctor 2000, 51-52).

Within the Inner Temple itself, at Niblett Hall to the east, a series of undated pits and a north-south aligned ditch were tentatively assigned to the Saxon period (Askew with Keily 1993-4, 68). Excavations to the east of Hare Court at St Bride's Church, which lies on a small promontory overlooking the Thames, suggest, though disputed, the possibility of a Middle Saxon church (Milne 1997, 100). Two sherds of Germanic-style early Saxon pottery found here might even reflect earlier occupation (Blackmore with Williams 1997, 54-6). The area to the south was part of the extensive mouth of the River Fleet, and excavations have shown that its vicinity would have been mudflats crossed by channels (Vince 1990, 16) and thus unsuitable for

occupation. The area of the Temple would therefore be one of the last suitable sites for settlement before the walled city, with access to the Thames, the Fleet and their hinterland.

The evidence from the subject site and nearby archaeological investigations suggests that Middle Saxon *Lundenwic* may have reached further to the east than once thought, as far as Hare Court, and that there was possibly a ribbon development along the old Roman road of the Strand and Fleet Street up to the possible Middle Saxon church at St Bride's. The suggestion of a cemetery, pre-dating AD 650, would indicate that the area was originally on the eastern periphery of the Middle Saxon settlement and the pottery and coin evidence from the well suggest that the shifting settlement pattern took over the former cemetery area for occupation during the 8th and 9th centuries. If this area was to be identified as part of *Lundenwic* it would represent the most easterly find yet, and is therefore of considerable importance.

However, it is also possible that the remains represent no more than an isolated farm or building on the road between the settlement at *Lundenwic* and the postulated religious community around the site of St Paul's within the walls of the old Roman city. It has been suggested that a location that is mentioned in a document of AD 857 concerning a grant made by Burgred of Mercia to Alhwine/Ealhhun, "*my bishop*" of Worcester of "*a certain small portion of a liberty, of a profitable little estate in the town of London, at a place called Ceolmundingchaga which is situated not far from the west gate*" might be in the area of the Temple (Blackmore 1997, 128). Vince also states that the most likely explanation would be that the estate lay at the eastern end of the Strand settlement, and for that reason was said to be by the west gates (Vince 1990, 20). The bishop was to have:

"all the things which rightly belong to it (i.e. the property), great and small, . . . to have therein to use freely the scale and weights and measures as is customary in the port"

(Whitelock 1979, 529).

Blackmore argues that this site might be outside the west gate of the city near the river and that the quality of the finds found near the Temple, which include the Trehiddle-style strap end from Globe House, the silver sword pommel from Fetter Lane and the coin hoard of 250 coins dated c. AD 842 from Hare Court, indicates that this area was of higher status than the rest of *Lundenwic* (Blackmore 1997, 128). Although it has also been suggested that this grant of land is located within the city walls in the Newgate area (Dyson 1978, 206-7) the Saxon sword purporting to be from the Earl of Pembroke's tomb in the Temple Church and the Saxon glass and evidence of glass production recovered from the well in Hare Court can be added to the list of high

status finds from the area. Perhaps the Middle Saxon occupation in Hare Court is part of an isolated high status building granted to the bishop of Worcester in AD 857 situated between the religious enclave mentioned by Bede at St Paul's since AD 604 (Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, trans. Sherley-Price 1979, 104) and the main settlement of *Lundenwic*. The important role played by ecclesiastical centres within the trade distribution in Middle Saxon England and their “major part in the shaping of the hinterlands of the emporia” have been noted (Palmer 2003, 51). The abbeys of Chertsey and Barking both founded by Bishop Eorcenwald in the late 7th century at a time when *Lundenwic* was starting to expand may have partly been set up with trade in mind. The possibility that there was a strong connection between the Thames riverbank and especially ecclesiastical sites in the hinterland is provided by the grant of land to Chertsey Abbey to the south of the Thames ‘opposite where boats tie up’ at the confluence of the Thames and a public road, which has been identified as Watling Street in Southwark (Kelly 1992; Blinkhorn 1999, 18-20; Palmer 2003, 53). Perhaps the settlement in the Hare Court area was operating as a precursor to a bishop's *haga* (an enclosure in town usually including townhouse and warehouse of wealthy nobleman or cleric) as known from the later *burhs* of London and Worcester (Whitelock 1979, nos. 92 & 99).

The mid 9th century date for the backfilling of the well fits with the coin hoard dated to AD 841-2 which was found in the 19th century within the courtyard. The likelihood is that this settlement, whether an isolated farmstead estate or part of the eastern extremity of *Lundenwic*, was abandoned after a Viking raid. One such raid on London was documented for the year AD 842 itself with further raids in AD 851 and AD 871-2 (Cowie & Harding 2000, 173; Vince 1990, 20). Excavations have shown evidence of the Saxons' response to these raids. A large defensive ditch at the Royal Opera House is thought to have been dug in the AD 840s in response to Viking raids (Malcolm *et al.* 2003, 118-120). Another 9th century defensive ditch was found at 21-22 Maiden Lane (Cowie & Whytehead 1988, 79). It would seem that in response to these attacks the defended area of the settlement was reduced at this time to a more defensive core (Bowsher & Malcolm 1999, 10). The abandonment of the Hare Court settlement at this time may have been part of this response.

11th – 12th CENTURY ACTIVITY

The Bishop of Ely's Inn

Activity dated to the 11th to 12th centuries was observed in Hare Court, to the south of the investigation area in LW2 (Figs. 35, 26). Here part of a large quarry pit, backfilled with redeposited brickearth, was recorded. Sealing the fills was a dump of crushed chalk, up to 0.20m thick where it slumped down into the centre of the quarry pit, which may represent a construction horizon or demolition debris, covered to the west by a sandy silt dump, containing large amounts of occupation debris including animal and fish bones. A small but interesting assemblage of finds recovered from this deposit included a possible lead plumb bob, a hone stone and a bone handle for an unknown implement (*see* Gaimster, Chapter 5). A further dump of mixed silt and sandy gravel was used to level the ground in preparation for a compacted gravel and cobble surface [314], which contained a small fragment of pumice stone. All these deposits were dated to the 11th to 12th centuries.

A further two features in Hare Court may be part of this phase of occupation. In the northeast corner of PP2 a probable sub-circular cut [36], which continued beyond the

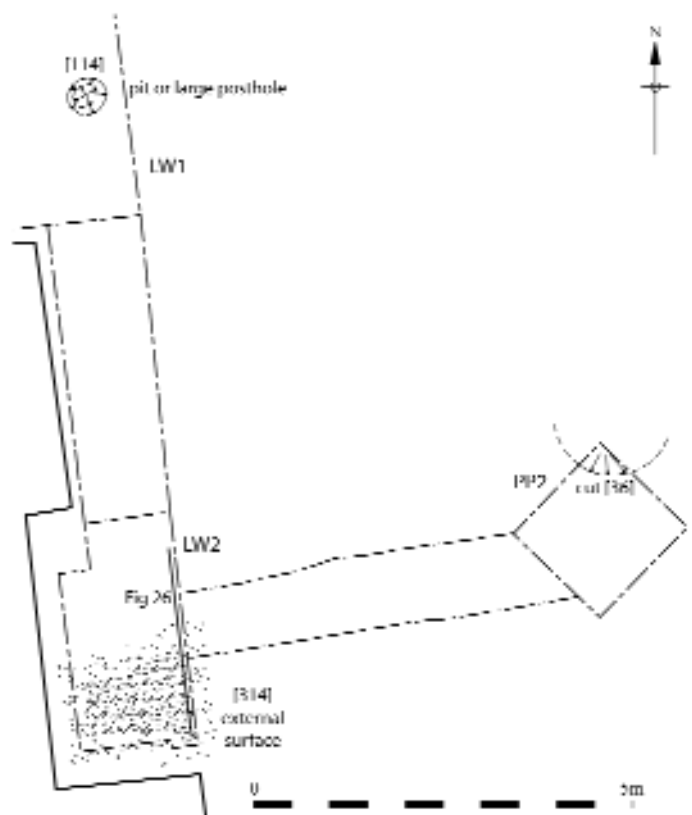


Fig. 25 11th to 12th century activity: pits and surfaces at Hare Court (scale 1:100)

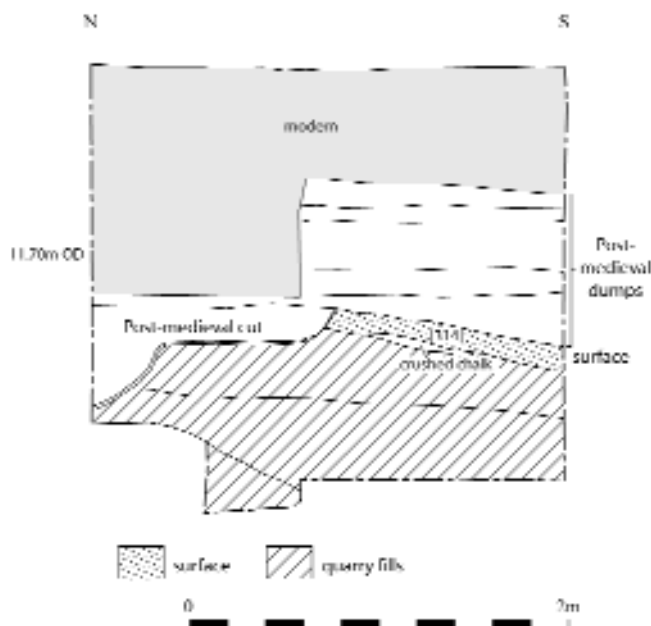


Fig. 26 Section through the 11th to 12th century quarry pit and surface in LW2 at Hare Court (scale 1:40)

northern and eastern limits of excavation, extended to a depth of 0.65m. It was originally recorded as two distinct features but probably represents just one large quarry pit with two different fills. Datable material was sparse consisting only of daub, allowing the possibility that it might even be of Saxon date. To the north west in LW1 a circular pit [114] cut through the backfilled Middle Saxon well and contained charcoal and fragments of burnt bone. It may have contained a large load bearing post or may be a small rubbish pit.

Discussion

Pottery from the quarry pit, dump layers and the surface included Ipswich Thetford-type ware, Early Surrey ware, Local grey ware and Coarse London type ware, which suggest activity from the 11th into the 12th centuries (Jarrett 2001a). The quarry pits and cobble surface in Hare Court could be associated with the Bishop of Ely's Inn which was documented on the site by 1066 and taken over by the Templars for use as the Master's House in the second half of the 12th century (Honeybourne 1969, 33). It is thought to have been located to the south of Hare Court in the area presently occupied by Farrar's Building (Godfrey 1953, 138). The quarry pits could have been for extraction of sand and gravel for use in the construction of the Inn. This suggests that there might have been almost continuous use of the area by important clerics from Middle Saxon times. If the land was part of the area granted to the Bishop of

Worcester in AD 857 (*see above*) this might have been passed on to the Bishops of Ely after a period of abandonment during Viking raids in the second half of the 9th century. However, the date range of the pottery allows for the possibility that the quarry pit and surface may represent evidence of the first Knights Templar activity on site from 1161. The quarry pit could be part of the construction of the New Temple and comparable with a similar feature in Church Court (*see below*).

The finds from this phase of activity in the Hare Court area form an interesting assemblage. The fragment of pumice stone with one polished side suggests the preparation of parchment and vellum by writers, who used pumice to smooth the surface and to correct errors. Since clerics and especially monks were the main (if not only) producers of written work at this time, it is an item which could have been from either the Bishop of Ely's or the Knights Templar occupation of the site. Three other objects provide evidence of possible activities during the construction of establishment; the lead plumb bob, the hone stone for sharpening implements and the bone handle (Fig. 27) may all have been equipment used in the building trade.

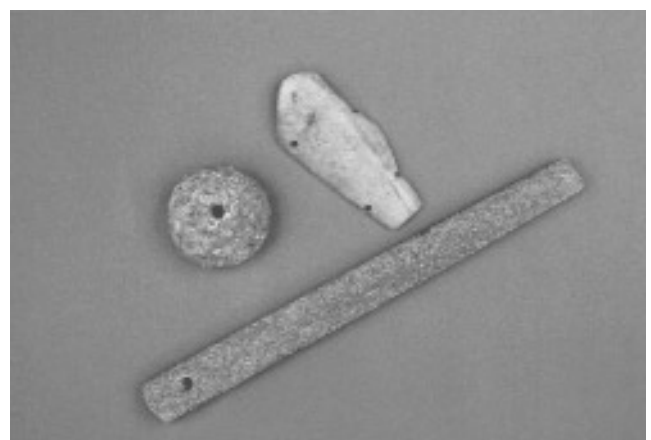


Fig. 27 A plumb bob, bone stone and bone handle from a possible construction horizon at Hare Court

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR (1161-1308)

In Church Court, Trenches 1 and 2 contained large features interpreted as quarry pits, their edges continued beyond the limits of the excavated areas. In Trench 1 the cut measured at least 3.60m by 3.60m and continued to a depth of 1.60m, some 2.70m beneath the modern ground surface. A series of deposits were dumped to backfill the feature consisting of silty gravel, redeposited sandy silt foreshore material, redeposited natural coarse sandy gravel, silty and sandy brickearth. The dumping within Trench 1 could be seen to

follow a distinct pattern with cartloads of material being dumped from the northeast and southeast, resulting in deposits forming two distinct, but slightly overlying, groups sloping from two raised mounds down to the west and the south, suggesting deliberate infilling by at least two gangs of labourers with carts or wheelbarrows.

In Trench 2, to the south of Trench 1, a similar sequence of deposits seemed to be present, although these were not excavated to the same depth. Deposits comprised waterlain silt (recovered from an auger hole at a depth of 2.80m below the modern pavement level) covered by a 1.30m thick apparently homogeneous dump of light brown mixed silt and brickearth, in turn sealed by a 0.20m thick layer of sticky clayey silt. These deposits are most probably the fills of a similar, or possibly the same, large quarry pit.

The fills of the quarry pit within Trench 1 contained sherds of early medieval sandy ware, late Saxon shelly ware, early medieval sand and shelly ware and Ipswich Thetford-type ware. Those within Trench 2 contained only one sherd of early medieval sand and shelly ware. This suggests a mid 11th to mid 12th century date for the backfilling, which would indicate that the pit(s) were dug for sand and gravel as part of the construction work for the Temple Church and the rest of the New Temple precinct, work known to have been initiated in 1161 when the Templars moved to the site. The sherds of early medieval sandy ware and late Saxon shelly ware present in the pit suggest a presence on the site for at least a century prior to the Templars' acquisition of the area, and would seem to confirm the occupation of the site at that time by the Bishop of Ely's Inn.

Construction Debris

Several deposits within the trenches in Church Court may be tentatively identified as layers associated with construction phases in the New Temple. However, the limited size of the trenches and the lack of dating material make definite interpretations impossible.

In Trench 3 undated dumps of sandy gravel redeposited orange brickearth and silt may be part of early medieval levelling of the ground. In Trench 1 an undated layer of chalk fragments and pebbles sealing the large quarry pit may be a construction layer or else a rough surface associated with the first buildings on the site. This may be comparable with a layer of crushed brick [92] covered by an apparent occupation layer of dark grey silt [91] in Trench 5 (Fig. 28). This material seems to have been a construction level or else an attempt to consolidate the land by laying hardcore on the sand below. The brick deposit contained a fragment with the imprint of a Roman hobnailed boot (*see* Brown, Chapter 5)

suggesting a Roman origin for the material, although it is likely that it was redeposited in the medieval period.

The 13th Century Temple Cloister

A north-south aligned wall foundation [88], at least 1.18m long, ran along the eastern side of Trench 5 (Fig. 28). It measured 0.37m high and was constructed mainly from Kentish ragstone with the occasional lump of chalk and Reigate stone, bonded with yellow brown medium sandy mortar. The bottom course was offset by up to 0.16m. The position of the wall suggests that it was part of the eastern range of the medieval cloisters returning to the eastern end of the Temple Church (Figs 29 & 30).

A series of construction layers and make-up dumps for the floor of the cloister were observed to the west of the wall, consisting of a thin flat layer up to 30mm thick of fragments of chalk, ragstone and pebbles [90], sealed by a 50mm thick make up layer of grey brown clay silt and tiles laid flat [89]. Overlying this was a 0.15m thick dump of mid brown clay silt. Dating material was sparse, consisting of four sherds of pottery (one of London ware and three of Kingston ware) dating the dumps to the 13th to 14th century. A shallow sub-square posthole cut through the make-up dumps was most likely part of the scaffolding erected to help construct the east range of the cloister. This was sealed by a 0.08m thick layer of mid orange brown

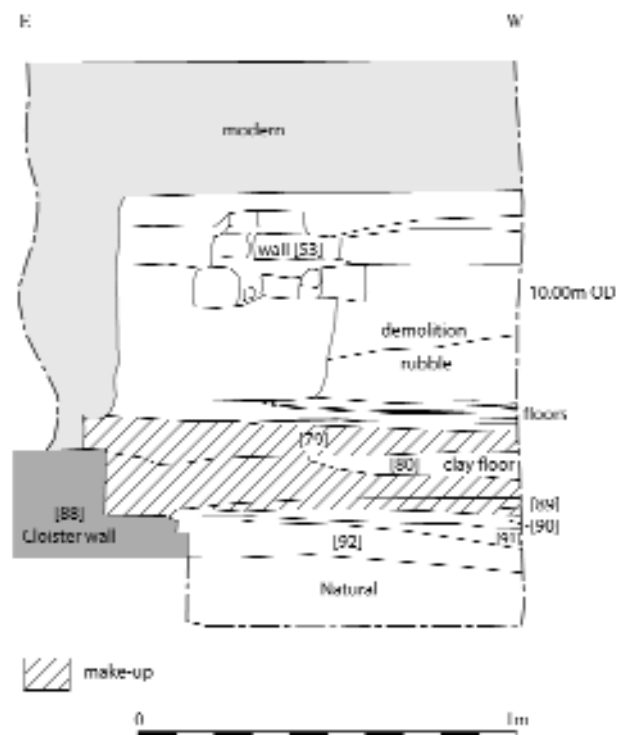


Fig. 28 *Temple Cloister: section through the cloister wall and associated surfaces in Trench 5 (scale 1:20)*

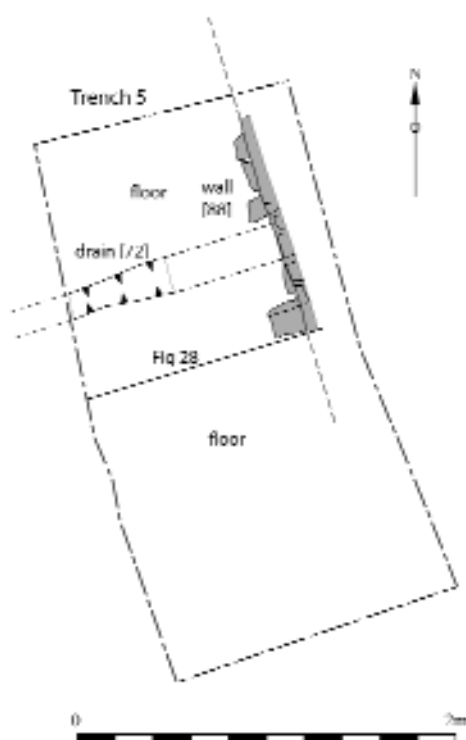


Fig. 29 Temple Cloister: evidence of the cloister wall at Hare Court (scale 1:40)

brickearth exhibiting signs of burning [80], which may have been a floor or the make up clay slab for a (robbed) stone or tile floor above. The floor surface was raised by the laying of a 0.11m thick deposit of building rubble consisting of coarse sandy mortar and chalk and ragstone rubble [79], which was the make-up layer for a sequence of thin mortar floor and occupation surfaces indicating repeated replacement. These were probably just the remains of the mortar bedding once the stone or tile floor of the cloister had been removed. Cutting through the floors was an east-west aligned narrow slot [72], measuring 0.12m wide by 0.13m deep, which may well have been for a small drain or pipe. Dating material from the floors was sparse, consisting of three small sherds of Cheam ware dating to 1350-1450 (Jarrett 2001a), recovered from the top floor surface.

Cutting into the underlying levelling dumps, in Trench 2, was a sub-triangular posthole, backfilled with a mixture of silt and crushed Reigate stone, similar to the crushed Reigate stone deposit covering it. This was dated to the period 1270-1500 and represents a building phase with the posthole possibly being for scaffolding and the Reigate stone a possible construction level or an attempt to consolidate the soft sticky infill of the earlier quarry pit with the remnants of building material from demolished buildings.

Discussion

The large quarry pit(s) found in Church Court together with that in Hare Court, which may be assigned to the Templar period of occupation of the site, are evidence of widespread utilisation of natural resources in the immediate area for the construction of the New Temple. An undated quarry pit beneath No. 1 Hare Court may also be part of this activity (Grosso 2002). The presence of clay pits dug possibly on the original foreshore and into the London Clay in Kings Bench Walk (Heathcote 1990, 164; Schofield & Maloney 1998, 296) and at Whitefriars (Killock forthcoming) and a tile kiln last fired in the 13th century at Niblett Hall (Askew with Keily 1993-94), to the east of the subject sites, also attest to the use of available raw materials in the area whilst building work in the Temple was being carried out. This probably represents activity both during initial construction of the church, and later in the 13th century with expansion of the complex associated with the remodelling of the church between 1220 and 1240.

The presence of redeposited foreshore material in the backfill of the quarry pit in Church Court may be partly explained by the need to dispose of these deposits following excavation on the Thames foreshore for clay. However, it may also be evidence of widespread development of the area during the initial Templar occupation of the site. This may have included work on the riverbank to construct a new waterfront and wharf to cater for the berthing of ships, which were required as a consequence of the Order's international contacts. Indeed part of the desire to move from the Old Temple in Holborn to the site of the New Temple by the River Thames may have been the convenience of its location for embarking on voyages to the Holy Land (Honeybourne 1969, 33).

Only a short length of the heavily truncated, north-south aligned, Kentish ragstone wall foundation was observed in Trench 5, and thus its exact orientation was uncertain. It seems probable that it was aligned with the eastern end of the Temple Church, as conjectured by Godfrey and Honeybourne (Godfrey 1953, 141). Pottery and ceramic building material recovered from make-up and floor layers associated with the wall were consistent with a 13th to 14th century date. Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 shows no evidence of the eastern side of the cloister. The remains in Trench 5 are therefore the first evidence of the existence and position of the eastern walk of the Cloister, which may have been constructed at the same time as the three aisled chancel consecrated in 1240 (Fig. 30).

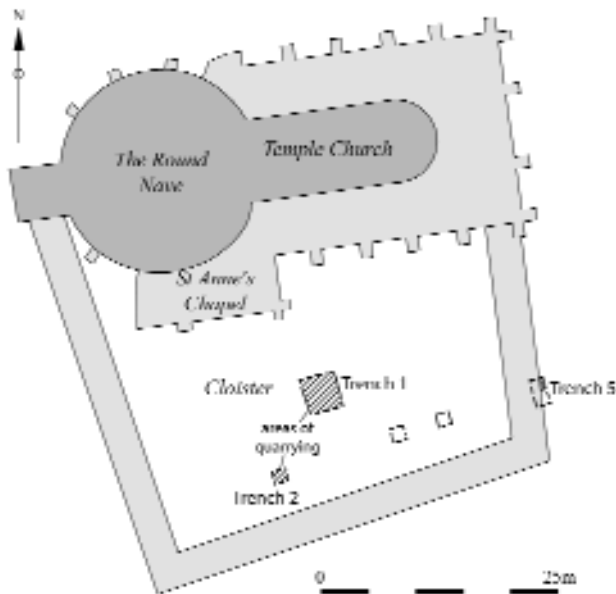


Fig. 30 Temple cloister: proposed extent of the cloister based on excavated remains and cartographic evidence (scale 1:800)

It is not known whether the original narrow church with the treasury to the south and a possible apsidal-ended chancel to the east was provided with a cloister. No evidence has been found of cloisters before the late 13th century at two excavated priories in London. At the Knights Hospitaller priory in Clerkenwell the only evidence of cloisters was those known to have been built in 1283-84 to the south of the nave, which was also rebuilt as a rectangular structure at this time, having previously being round (Sloane & Malcolm 2004, 69); and at the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital no archaeological remains prior to those constructed towards the end of the 13th century were found (Thomas *et al.* 1997, 44). However, it is probable that neither the Temple Church nor that of the Knights Hospitallers had a cloister originally, possibly because of the architectural

problems of adding a cloister to a rounded building whether it was a round nave or an apsidal chancel. The cloister was apparently only built onto the Hospitallers' church when the nave was rebuilt as a rectangular structure (Sloane & Malcolm 2004, 71) and this adds weight to the argument that the cloister was only built at the Temple Church during the remodelling in the first half of the 13th century, which culminated in the consecration of the new rectangular chancel in 1240 (Godfrey 1953, 127). The problem of attachment to the round nave was solved by access to the walk being gained through the west porch. Thus it would appear that compared to other religious houses in London, which built their cloisters early on as an integral part of linking the various ranges, Temple Church together with the priories of St Mary Spital and of the Knight Hospitallers were late developers in cloister construction (Sloane & Malcolm 2004, 88).

12th to 13th Century Ploughsoil or Garden Soil

Throughout Hare Court, with the exception of LW2 and the pipe trench PT1, a homogeneous mid grey silt was observed, varying in thickness from 0.58m in PP2 to c. 0.30m thick in LW1 and LW3. This deposit was dated to the late 12th century or early 13th century (Jarrett 2001a) and would appear to be an accumulation of agricultural or garden soil sealing the Saxon and earlier phases of activity. As there did not appear to be any other activity in this area until the 16th century (*see below*) this suggests that this part of the Temple precinct was laid out to gardens for some five centuries. Further evidence for this may come from the earlier names of the court, Little Court or Garden Court, perhaps also Nut Tree Court, called 'Nut Garden' in Henry VIII's reign (Baker 1991, 24).



Fig. 31 Cloister wall and floors in Trench 5 at Church Court



Fig. 32 Sequence of floors and dumping in Trench 5 at Hare Court

THE LAWYERS IN THE TEMPLE: THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES

Demolition of Eastern Range of the Cloister

The eastern range of the Cloister walk was demolished. The pipe or timber within the slot cut into the floor surfaces (*see above*) was removed and the walls were levelled, with most of the stone being removed and probably reused. The remaining mortar and rubble was dumped onto the thin silt layers left after the removal of the paved or tiled floor. The pottery and ceramic building material recovered from the demolition dumps suggest a late 16th century date for the destruction of this part of the cloister.

Discussion

Documentary evidence is limited and often confusing with the location of many named buildings not being specified with any precision. However, it would seem that the first securely dated building known in this area after the demolition of the eastern cloisters was Caesar's Buildings, named after Sir Julius Caesar a lawyer of the Inner Temple, which was erected in 1596 in the position later occupied by the original Lamb Building (Bowen 1928, 46-7). This would fit with the demolition date of the cloister in the late 16th century, although it has been suggested that this area was an open space used for games and recreation prior to the construction of Caesar's Buildings in 1596 (Bowen 1928, 46-47). Others have suggested that Caesar's Buildings were constructed in place of an older building, which was pulled down (Williamson 1924, 236). This would compare with the cloisters at the Hospitallers' Priory in Clerkenwell, where no mention is made of them after 1440 and it is assumed that they were demolished almost immediately after the final Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1540 (Sloane & Malcolm 2004, 132). The Temple, which had also been held by the Knights Hospitaller since 1338, was transferred to the Crown at the Dissolution in 1540. However, the transfer of ownership and the Reformation as a whole did not greatly change things in the Temple. The Crown continued to lease the Temple to the two Societies of lawyers at the same rent, £10 per annum (Lewer & Dark 1997, 56). But perhaps one outcome of the transfer of ownership was that the lawyers now felt free to remove inconvenient traces of the former religious house by taking the opportunity to demolish the eastern part of the cloister in order to build lawyers' chambers.

Timber-Framed Building

Cutting through the crushed Reigate stone layer in Trench 2 at Church Court was an east-west aligned brick wall [44] in the extreme northern part of the trench. It measured at least 1.44m long by 0.23m wide and 0.21m high and its top had a smooth yellow lime mortar finish, suggesting that this was a foundation or plinth for a timber-framed building. The bricks were reused and dated to 1450/80-1666 suggesting that this foundation was of early post-medieval date.

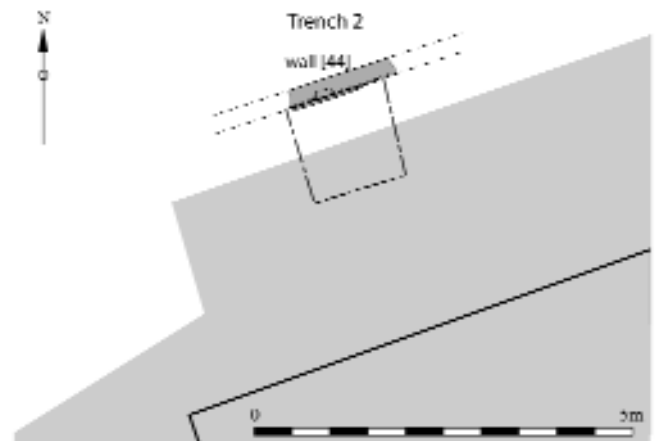


Fig. 33 Evidence for a timber framed building at Church Court, shown in relation to Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 (scale 1:100)

Discussion

What was the building represented by these remains? Was it a part of a later rebuild of the documented Becket's chapel? The exact location of the Chapel of St Thomas is subject to some debate. A building described as the chapel of St Thomas Becket is said to have been at the south end of the cloisters "at the door of the hall of the Temple" in an inquisition made in 1338 to ascertain the holdings of the Prior of St John within the Temple, that he might hold free of charge from the Exchequer (Inderwick 1896, xxii). Inderwick, in the introduction of the Calendar of Inner Temple Records, states that the cloisters ran from the hall to the church, through the chapel of St Thomas, which enabled the members of the Inn to walk under cover to and from the church either by way of the chapel of St Anne or through the main entrance. It is possible that it occupied the site of the Twisden building, which stood to the north of the hall and is the building appearing on the Ogilby & Morgan map (*see* Fig. 33). However, this might merely have been an alcove outside the hall door containing an altar of St Thomas Becket, the patron saint of English crusaders (Fisher 1979, 223). If so there would be very little in the way

of structural remains. In any case Trench 2 was located just to the north of the postulated position of the Twisden building and did not reveal any surfaces or foundations that might be part of the chapel. However, a dump of crushed Reigate stone hardcore was dated by a single sherd of pottery to 1270-1500 and it is possible that this might be a layer associated with the construction of such a chapel (*see above*). The post-medieval brick foundation may be part of a later rebuild of the chapel, but the foundation is not very extensive and may be part of ancillary buildings associated with the Great Hall or the Twisden building or perhaps even associated with the churchyard to the north.

Temple Church Graveyard

The central part of the cloister area as seen in Trench 1 at Church Court became part of the south churchyard of the Temple Church after the suppression of the Templars. Archaeological evidence for this was revealed as six grave cuts containing the remains of five skeletons (Figs. 34, 36). The earliest grave [163] was heavily truncated with only the southeastern corner surviving, filled with a mid grey brown sandy silt, no parts of the skeleton remained. Cutting the above was a grave cut [160] aligned southeast – northwest, and heavily truncated so that only the lower legs and parts of the feet of the skeleton [157], that of a young adult, remained. Two pins recovered from the grave fill suggest a shroud burial an interpretation supported by the fact that no coffin nails were found. Cutting the above inhumation to the east was grave [161], measuring 1.40m by 0.44m by 0.25m deep, truncated to the east by the construction trench for a later brick culvert. It contained the skeleton of a juvenile [159] with the lower legs cut away (Fig. 35). The skeleton was aligned roughly east-west and lay supine with the arms and



Fig. 35 Burial of a juvenile, Skeleton [159], at Church Court

hands outstretched either side of the pelvis. The grave cut, although difficult to define, had rounded corners and would appear to be too small for a wooden coffin. No nails were recovered from the fill, which again suggests that the body was wrapped in a shroud for burial.

To the south of the three inhumations was a linear ditch with steep sides and a rounded base [153]. It was most probably a drainage ditch but it also appeared to mark a boundary for the churchyard as no grave encroached within a metre of its northern edge. Pottery recovered from its fill was sparse consisting of only three sherds, two residual Saxo-Norman fragments and a fragment of Cheam ware dating to 1350-1450, suggesting that the ditch had been in use for some time, perhaps from the construction of the Temple itself with the base having silted up over time.

There appear to have been two distinct phases of burial in the south churchyard as the graves and ditch described above were sealed by a chalk rubble layer [155], constituting either a rough surface or a possible construction level. Covering this was a dump of dark grey sandy silt (up to 0.35m thick) cut by a further three burials. The first grave, [142], was truncated on all sides so that only the lower legs and feet of the skeleton of a young adult [141] survived.

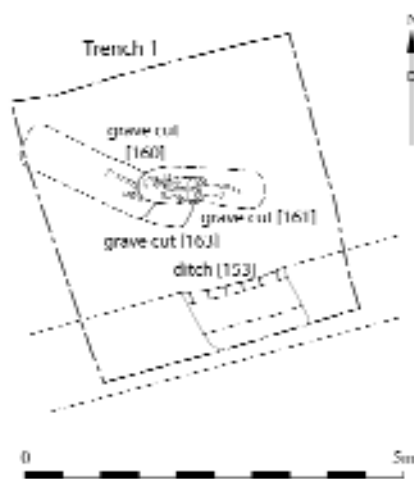


Fig. 34 Temple Church Graveyard (Phase 1): burials and a ditch at Church Court (scale 1:100)

The grave fill contained no coffin nails, suggesting a shroud burial. Cutting this inhumation was grave [139], aligned roughly east-west southeast – northwest. The southern and eastern parts of the grave were truncated and the skeleton's legs and lower right arm of the skeleton, that of a young male [138], were missing. The body was supine with the arms and hands outstretched alongside the pelvis. Three probable nails were observed in the grave fill, suggesting a timber coffin. Cutting the southern half of the above grave was another inhumation [129] aligned east-west. The lower legs of the skeleton of a adult male [24], in cut [142], which was supine with its arms outstretched alongside the body, were missing. The grave fills contained nails, which again indicated a burial within a coffin.

Discussion

The most striking thing about the skeletons recovered from Church Court was the young age at which they died. Also, although disarticulated bone found in later features did contain elements belonging to adults, there was still a high proportion of subadult/young adult bones. The two skeletons for which the sex could be ascertained were found to be male and all exhibited signs of severe dental diseases. Carious lesions, rotten teeth, tooth loss and calculus all suggest a lack of dental hygiene and perhaps a diet high in carbohydrates, especially sucrose (*see* Dodwell, Chapter 4). Caries has been found to be prevalent in excavated cemeteries dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries such as St Nicholas Sevenoaks (Boyle & Keevil 1998, 91-92) and among all age groups at Christ Church, Spitalfields (Whittaker 1993, 50-52). Sugar cane was imported in small amounts from as early as the 12th century but it was not until the trade from the new sugar plantations in the New World in the 17th century that the quantities became

significant (Mays 1999, 335). It has been suggested that the coarse nature of the diet before the 17th century tended to scour the teeth clean of food debris and reduce the incidence of caries (Mays 1999, 335). However, by the 17th century the use of finely milled flour in bread reduced the coarse component of the food (Mays 1999, 334). The dental diseases identified would, therefore, confirm a date of not prior to the 17th century for the skeletal remains.

The area to the south of the church, known at one time as South Churchyard, was therefore used as a cemetery in the early post-medieval period. Of the three skeletons excavated in the later phase of use of the burial yard, one was on a slightly different alignment to the others. Dating material recovered from the grave fills was scarce with the majority dated by the presence of green-glazed Border ware to the mid 16th to 17th century, and one of the apparently later phase graves dated by the presence of a fragment of a red earthenware Martincamp flask to the first half of the 17th century (Jarrett 2001a). The pottery may have been redeposited during the grave digging process and may be residual. As no clay pipes were present in any of the fills a late 16th to early 17th century date is indicated. It is probable that the area was only used as a graveyard until the construction of the Lamb Building in 1667, or possibly as early as 1596, when it is thought that Caesar's Buildings were constructed on the east side of the area. Inderwick in his introduction to a 'Calendar of Inner Temple Records' maintains that the centre of Church Court was originally a graveyard and that there was some evidence of the Knights Templar having been buried in this open space. However he failed to state what evidence he has for this claim (Inderwick 1896, xxviii).

In the Inner and Middle Temple records the location of named buildings is often difficult to pin down; the same is true for the location of the cemetery and churchyard of the Temple church. Often it is referred to just as the churchyard but meaning the churchyard to the north of the church; by 1665 this churchyard was always referred to in the Middle Temple Records as the "north churchyard." However, there was also a churchyard to the south as mentioned in 1624 when Mr. Humphrey Lowe was admitted to "the chamber of Mr. John Bramston, Serjeant-in-Law, in Kellaway's buildings in the churchyard. These buildings were on the east side of the south churchyard" (Hopwood 1904b, 699). On the plan on Deed of Partition of 2nd November 1732 the area to the west of the Lamb Building is called "Lamb Building Court formerly called South Churchyard". From the Reformation to the reign of James I the church and its churchyard were much neglected. Clothes were washed and dried in the churchyard, and outlaws and disorderly persons readily obtained access to this place using it as a place of sanctuary from sheriffs and bailiffs, bringing an atmosphere of brawls



Fig. 36 Temple Church Graveyard (Phase 2): burials at Church Court (scale 1:100)

and pestilence into the seclusion of the Temple (Inderwick 1898, xxvii). In 1626 a charnel house, protected by brick walls, was built in the churchyard (Inderwick 1898, xxiv) and the register of burials for the Temple survives from 1628. From these it can be seen that there was pressure on the burial space available and that the members of the Inns and their families were buried within the church whilst their servants and employees were buried in the churchyard (Inderwick 1898, 355-368; 1901, 443-463). For example:

“Anne Chamberlaine, daughter of Thomas, the gardener of the Inner Temple was buried in the Temple Churchyard 4th June 1635 (Inderwick 1898, 357); John Fowne, servant to Mr. Hunt, a barrister of the Middle Temple, 22nd July 1641; Joseph Fenwicke, buttery boy or washpott 27th December 1646; John Reade, son of Thomas, clerke, servant to Mr. John Poole 31st March 1648”
(Inderwick 1898, 355-68).

The age of many of these recorded deaths thus matches the age distribution revealed in the skeletal remains. It would suggest that the skeletons found on site were most likely those of the lower classes and that sugar consumption and the consequent dental decay was widespread in society. In 1654 it was decided that only members of the Inner and Middle Temple could be buried within the church or the churchyard due to the lack of available space (Lewer & Dark 1997, 77). The Plague in 1665 may have changed all this with many of the rich lawyers retreating to their country houses

to escape its ravages with just the poor unfortunate Inns of Court employees and servants staying to die and be buried in the graveyard and it is possible that some of the skeletons represent victims of that pestilence.

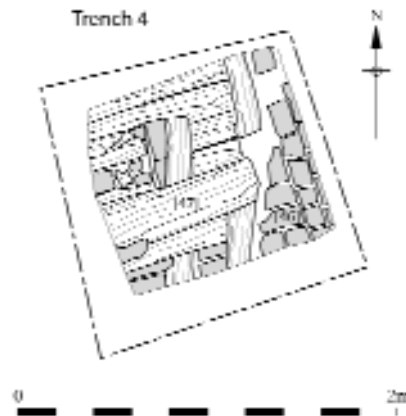


Fig. 37 Detail of the floor and collapsed roof timbers of the Lamb Building, as seen in Trench 4 at Hare Court (scale 1:40)

The Lamb Building

In Trench 4 a brick floor [46] was encountered at a depth of 1.65m below the modern pavement (Fig. 57) continuing beyond all the limits of excavation. It was constructed from bricks laid on bed north-south, with a 0.20m wide cut set

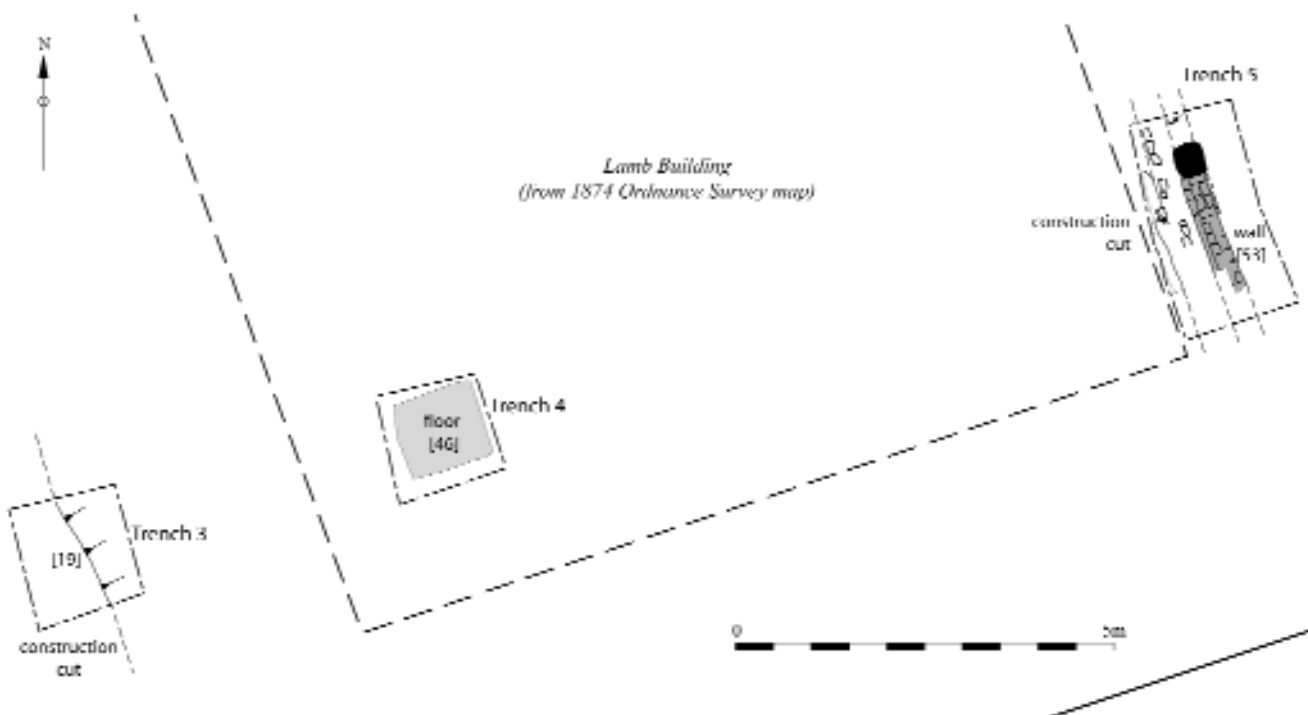


Fig. 38 Archaeological evidence for the Lamb Building at Church Court, shown in relation to 1874 Ordnance Survey map (scale 1:100)



Fig. 39 *The Lamb Building and Inner Temple Hall from Temple Church c. 1910. Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple*

diagonally into the floor, which may represent a drainage channel. The bricks were dated to 1450/80-1666; consistent with them being part of the basement floor of the Lamb Building, constructed in 1667 after the Great Fire and destroyed by bombing on the 11th May 1941.

Two linear north-south vertical cuts observed in Trenches 3 and 5 were probably construction trenches for the eastern and western sides of the Lamb Building, with the western side encompassing lightwells, which are just visible on a pre-War photograph of the Lamb Building (Fig. 39). Possibly associated with the Lamb Building were a post pit, measuring 0.54m by 0.65m by 0.55m deep which was backfilled with building rubble, and a narrow north-south aligned slot containing two deliberately placed lumps of Reigate stone. A north-south wall [53] constructed from bricks laid on a foundation of reused bricks, chalk and Reigate stone, measuring at least 2.30m by 0.36m wide by 0.15m high, may have been some sort of garden or boundary wall on its eastern side. Lumps of Reigate stone, sandstone and ragstone extending for 1.60m were also aligned north-south parallel to, and to the west, of the brick wall. They may be the scanty remains of a stone-lined drain or some edging feature within the garden.

Hare Court Gravel Yard Surfaces, Dumps and Pits

The excavation in Hare Court revealed a series of rubbish pits, levelling dumps and gravel yard surfaces all dated to the late 16th to mid 17th century. This suggests an intense period of activity in the area during that period. There is documentary evidence for the erection of lawyers' chambers on the site at this time (*see above*).

The rubbish pits were observed across all trenches in Hare Court (Fig. 40) and varied in size and depth, the largest

being recorded to the north of the site in LW1, where pits [91] and [105] measured 5.24m by at least 0.62m by 0.42m deep and 5.08m by at least 1.52m by 0.34m deep respectively. All contained domestic rubbish, however, one pit excavated in PP1 surpassed all others in the quantity and range of finds. This pit [134], which only survived to a depth of 0.28m, contained over 2000 sherds of pottery, found together with a large assemblage of glass vessels.

Gravel surfaces were observed in all the trenches with the exception of the pipe trench where a mortar surface was revealed. In both LW3 and in the southwest corner of LW1 up to six gravel re-surfacings were detected with a fragmentary tile and mortar surface completing the sequence in the latter trench. Elsewhere in the trench the gravel surfaces were severely truncated by pitting and later activity, though up to four survived. Documentary evidence for the appearance of Hare Court in the 17th century has survived in the form of records of bills for work done. In 1606 it is recorded that Ralph Smith, a carpenter was paid for mending the seats about the trees in Hare Court (Inderwick 1898, 24) and in 1658 the gardener's bill for gravelling Hare Court was £39 4s 6d and Knight's bill for sand and paving was £3 1s (Inderwick 1898, 328).

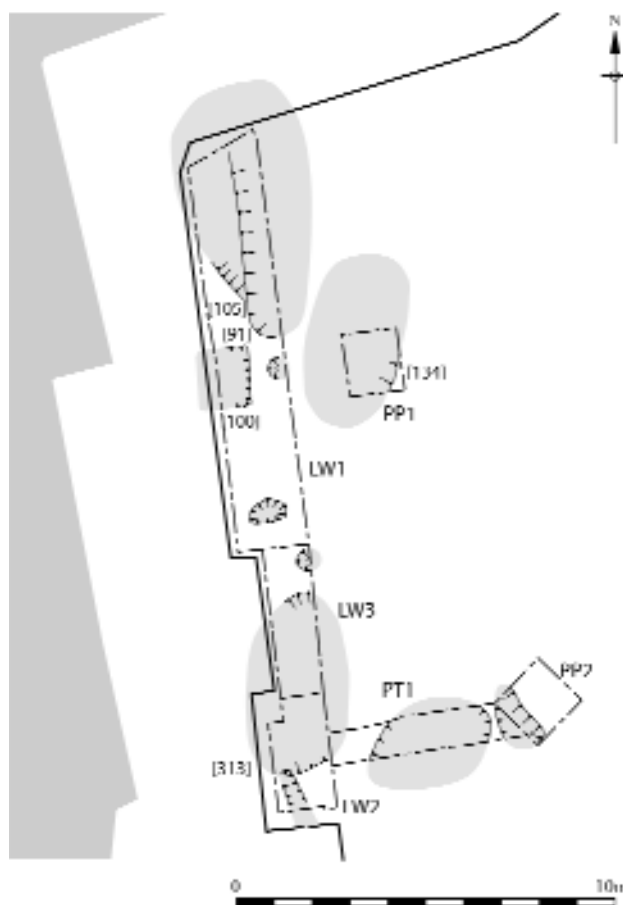


Fig. 40 *Post-medieval rubbish pits at Hare Court, in relation to buildings shown on Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 (scale 1:200)*

The gravel surfaces were sealed by a series of dumped deposits, the lower ones also dating to the 17th century.

Previous archaeological investigations in Hare Court have recorded a similar sequence of deposits. New drainage trenches in 1995 along the east side of the Court revealed a number of gravel pits quarried in the late 15th or early 16th centuries and backfilled with domestic rubbish in the 16th and early 17th centuries (Greenwood & Maloney 1996, 5; Askew & Watson 1996), while a watching brief in 1998 recorded two layers of heavily truncated medieval make-up dumps (Watson 1998).

Church Court Dumps and Pits

A similar sequence of pitting and dumped deposits dating from the 16th to 18th centuries was present in Trenches 1 and 2 in Church Court. Four pits in Trench 1 were filled with late medieval to early post-medieval building material consisting of bricks, tiles, chalk lumps and dressed lumps of Reigate stone. This material represented the demolition debris of medieval and early post-medieval buildings within the Temple precinct. The first two pits [147], [125], were dated to the late 16th to 17th century, and the latter two [112] (not shown in plan) and [109] to the 17th to 18th century (Fig. 41). The dating of the pits cannot be refined sufficiently to assign them definitely to documented rebuilding phases within the Temple, however it is probable that they relate to demolition work and rebuilding necessitated by the Great Fire in 1666 and the fire of 1678.

Although the post-medieval pits and dumping material did not contain as large an assemblage of finds as in Hare Court a shallow pit [38] in Trench 1 contained a large quantity of animal bone, prominent amongst which were a large number of sheep-sized ribs and quantities of rat bones, representing waste and remains of vermin from the kitchens and Great Hall which were located to the south of the trench.

Discussion: Life in The Temple

The large pottery assemblage from one of the rubbish pits was analysed in depth and compared with the glass from this period (see Jarrett & Tyson, Chapter 5). Together with analysis of the animal bone it helped to provide a picture of the Temple during the 16th and 17th centuries. Alcohol would seem to be a major theme. The majority of the pottery assemblage was associated with drinking, with Border ware drinking jugs, which together with Border ware heating and lighting vessels and Red Border ware candlesticks and chafing dishes, made up some 96% of the

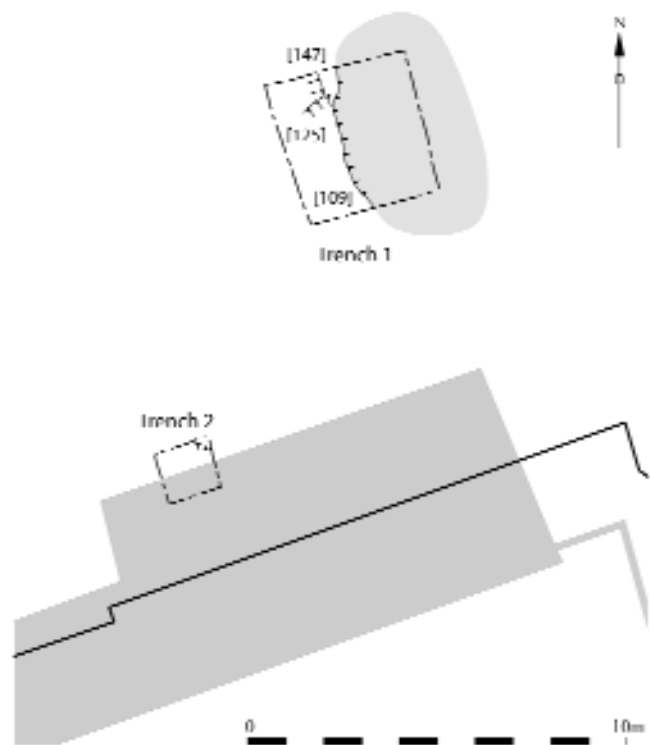
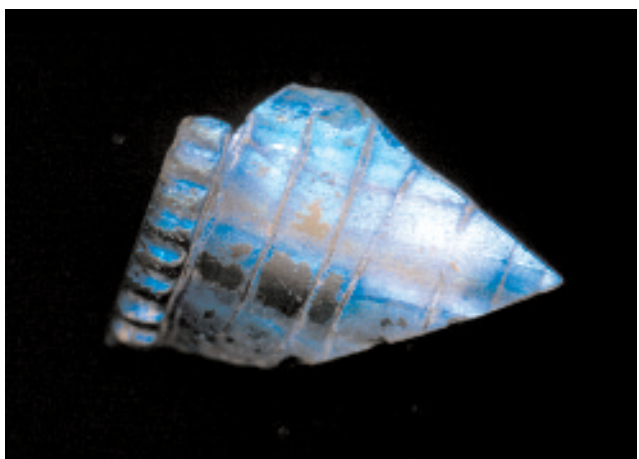
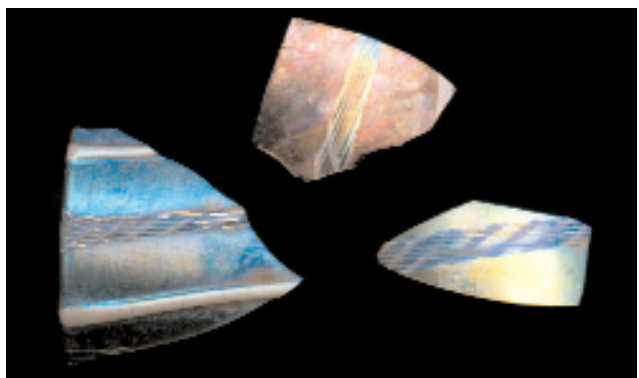


Fig. 41 Post-medieval rubbish pits at Church Court, in relation to buildings shown on Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 (scale 1:200)

assemblage. Kitchen or service wares, chamber pots and stool pans and pharmaceutical wares such as tin-glazed drug jars and ointment pots made up the rest of the assemblage. It was recorded in February 1559-60 *"that from henceforth not any ashen cups be provided, but the House to be served in green cups, both of winter and summer"*. The replacement of the wooden cups by green glazed pots seemed to have been adopted at about the same time by all the Inns of Court (Inderwick 1896, 204, lxxxvi). There is frequent mention in the records of Lincoln's Inn and both the Inner and Middle Temple of their use (Matthews & Green 1969, 1-6) and perhaps this is because so many of them were broken. In 1630 there was a revolt by junior members against the Benchers and they *"basted down tumultuously, and calling for pots, threw them at random towards the Bench table and struck divers Masters of the Bench"* (Hopwood 1904b, 773-4). The use of pots was not just confined to the Inns of Court, Pepys being *"forced"* to drink from *"earthen pitchers"* at a Guildhall dinner in 1663 (Pepys 1928 ed., iii 300-1). The pots were still in use in the Middle Temple as late as 1694 when the junior members *"threw pots at the porter's head. . . and to save his life he was forced to run away"* (Martin 1905, 1433).

The continued use of pottery vessels for drinking was attested by the limited size of the 16th to 17th century glass assemblage from Hare Court compared to the pottery assemblage. The vast majority of the glassware was associated with drinking, consisting of high status Venetian



Finds from pit [134] at Hare Court (from top to bottom):

Fig. 42 A selection of the pottery

Fig. 43 Fragments of Venetian style *vetro a retorti* drinking glasses

Fig. 44 Cristallo glass beaker base

Fig. 45 Glass cigar stems

style *vetro a retorti* drinking glasses, beakers and goblet cigar stems, and bottles at least one of which was a wine bottle. A selection of smaller storage bottles may have been used as receptacles for medicines, toilet preparations, perfumes and spirits (see Tyson, Chapter 5). From the Calendar of the Middle Temple it is known that wine glasses were in use by 1677 (Martin 1905, 1313) but the glass vessels recovered from Hare Court suggest that they were in use earlier but that compared to pottery, glass was little used or at least not broken and discarded as much at the Temple.

In addition to drinking well the members of the Temple also ate fine food. It is documented that mutton was the staple meat dish of the Middle Temple in the 16th century (Williamson 1924, 117) and this would appear to be borne out by the archaeological record where in the 16th to 17th century assemblages, from both Church Court and Hare Court, sheep bones represent *c.* 50% of the number of bones present. The animal bone assemblage as a whole represented consumption waste and contained a very high proportion of the better quality cuts of meat. The assemblage suggests a picture of wealth and status with the inhabitants eating superior cuts from young cattle, sheep, pig and domestic goose, with a range of wild species including fallow deer, rabbit, hare, pheasant, duck, woodcock and rock dove or pigeon (see Bendrey, Chapter 5). The lawyers' diet was not confined to meat; the presence of the bones of flatfish (possibly flounder), herring and other unidentified fish together with oysters, cockles and mussels (Armitage 2001) suggest a variety of proteins in the diet. It was indeed documented at the time that the diet of the Inns of Court was vastly better than at the universities and that the members lived well (Williamson 1924, 118).

Printing Type

The documented association of the Temple area with bookselling and printing was attested by archaeological finds from the sites, including the extremely rare discovery from an archaeological context of three pieces of printing type, recovered from a large rubbish pit in Hare Court. One piece was a letter 'D', another harder to identify but apparently a 'C', whilst the third piece was a blank for spaces. The pit was dated to the first half of the 17th century (see Jarrett, Chapter 4), which would make these among the earliest such pieces to have been found on a British site. Printing has a long association with the area around Fleet Street. Wynkyn de Worde moved to Fleet Street from Caxton's old house in Westminster in 1500. Many printers and publishers are recorded in the 16th and 17th centuries including a John

Jaggard, a bookseller from 1593 to 1623 at ‘the Hand and Star in Fleet Street, between the two Temple Gates’ (Weinreb & Hibbert 1983, 284-286) and Edward Husband, printer to the Council of State c. 1640-1660 at the Golden Dragon near the Inner Temple (Plomer 1907).

There is documentary evidence of at least one printer occupying the Temple itself. He was John Playford, a stationer, who was a tenant of the Inner Temple sometime between 1642 and 1646, leasing a shop in the Temple church porch at an annual rent of £2. He was a book binder and printer, known for his innovations in the printing process who had a printing house in Little Britain. In 1650 he is mentioned as having published ‘The English Dancing Master’ at his shop in ‘the Temple, near the church door’. His customers included a number of influential musicians and literary figures including Samuel Pepys and his funeral was attended by Henry Purcell and Dr. Blow (Inderwick 1898, cxxv, cxxvi, 285 & 328).

Further evidence associated with reading and writing was provided by the find of a book clasp in Hare Court and two fragments of pumice with worn surfaces which were used for smoothing and preparing vellum and parchment. It is documented that there were booksellers in both the Inner Temple in 1635 and in the Middle Temple in 1640 (Williamson 1924, 377-378 & 381) and on the south side of the church in 1641 (Hopwood 1904b, 913). Pepys makes frequent references in his diary to visits to his booksellers in the Temple (Pepys 1928 ed., iii 64, 130 & 357; vi 218 & 248; vii 39; viii 56, 168 & 199). Apart from John Playford another firm of stationers is known to have been J. Penn and O. Lloyd who were operating from similar premises to John Playford in the church porch in an illustration of c. 1678. The fragments of pumice may suggest that there were parchmenters in the Temple supplying parchment for special legal documents.

Dress Accessories

Several items of dress and accessories, including six buckles, 30 pins and over 50 lace chapes, were recovered from the two sites, which provide a small window into the lives of the inhabitants of the Temple. Fragments of three ivory combs and several hair curlers provide evidence of personal grooming, as well as fashions in hair and wigs of the time (see Jarrett, Chapter 5). Wigmakers are known to have had premises in the Temple and not only lawyers were catered for as Pepys relates:

“Creed and I to one or two periwigg shops about the Temple, having been much displeased with one that we saw, a head of greasy

and old woman’s haire, at Jervas’s in the morning; and there I think I shall fit myself of one very handsomely made”

(Pepys 1928, 295-6).

At least one wig shop was still present in the Temple in the 19th and early 20th century, as shown in Temple Cloisters in Illustrated London News pictures of 1857 and 1888 and postcards of c. 1910. The large number of lace chapes and the buckles, which were in a bunch and became corroded together, may be stock of small traders or pedlars who plied their trade in the Temple precinct. The presence of children in the Temple is attested, not just by the burial records but also by the unusual find of a miniature tripod cauldron, which was used as a child’s toy (see Gaimster, Chapter 4).

A Norwegian skilling coin of Frederik IV of Denmark minted in 1654 is apparent evidence of other inhabitants of the Temple. Although Scandinavian coins are not an uncommon occurrence in London in this period (Dr. B. Cook, pers. comm.), its presence in the Temple might be explained either by a lawyer who had contacts with or traded with Norway or else a Norwegian who was living within the Temple. It is probable that many of the buildings were occupied by other residents during the Civil War and Commonwealth period, as it is known that many of the lawyers left the Temple and the empty chambers were taken over by “*many and several families and strangers*”. So many “*singular families*” and strangers were occupying the Temple “*contrary to the ancient usages and customs of this society*” that they were ordered by the inn Parliament to depart by the first day of Michaelmas term (Inderwick 1898, 306-307). It is possible that by 1654 there were still some left, one of whom dropped the coin.

LATE POST-MEDIEVAL ACTIVITY

18th-20th Century Services

A multitude of services ranging from brick and stone drainage culverts to more modern electric cables, gas pipes and ceramic drains were present in all trenches in Church Court.

In Trench 1 two large brick culverts both aligned north-south were observed to the east and west of the area. The higher of the two, and perhaps the earlier, was on the west side of the trench and measured at least 3.03m long by 0.33m wide by 0.33m high. It appeared to be of two builds and sloped gradually from north down to the south, with the earlier build to the north [150] consisting of a brick base and sides with reused blocks of dressed Reigate stone and chalk for the top (Fig. 46). The later build [149] was constructed



Fig. 46 Drain in Trench 1 at Church Court, showing reused blocks of dressed Reigate stone and chalk, probably deriving from the Temple Church

solely of bricks. The bricks from both builds were dated from the mid 18th to mid 19th century (Brown 2001, 126). The construction cut of the culvert was packed with brickearth clay at the north and a more mixed clay and silt at the south. The backfill on top of the culvert was a mixture of clay silt and building rubble, which would appear to date to the late 17th century, based on the tobacco pipe and pottery evidence. This dating is not compatible with the brick evidence and may indicate that material excavated out was replaced back in the trench without mixing with later material.

To the east was another, deeper, brick-lined culvert [151], also sloping from the north down to the south. It was constructed with a brick base and sides and a top of re-used large flagstones measuring up to 730mm by 520mm by 80mm thick. The bricks were dated to between the late 17th and early 19th centuries (Brown 2001, 126). The backfill of the construction cut contained 18th century pottery (Jarrett 2001a, 115), and together with clay tobacco pipe dating to 1730-70 (Jarrett 2001b, 142) and hair curlers dating to 1730-80 (Jarrett 2001c, 146), suggest a late 18th century date for the construction.

This late 18th century drainage work may have been part of general repairs on the church which were known to have taken place in 1769 and 1793 when the south side of the church was stuccoed and repaired (Lewer & Dark 1997, 84). The large quantities of reused building stone and flagstones employed for the top of the culverts may have come from the fabric and interior of the church, which were renovated at this time.

War Damage and Reconstruction in Church Court

In Trench 4, resting on the brick floor and partially obscuring it, were the badly decayed remains of timbers. They consisted of several planks [47] up to 200mm wide by 15mm thick aligned east-west with the remains of a joist, 0.95m long by 0.14m roughly north-south beneath (see Fig. 37). These timbers were the remains of the Lamb Building's ground floor, which collapsed into the basement during the building's destruction in May 1941. Covering the timbers was a 0.25m thick, burnt deposit also representing fire debris from the bombing. Over that was up to 0.80m of building rubble, being the debris of bomb damaged buildings used to backfill the Lamb Building basement in the reconstruction after the war. Four medallions and corresponding ribbon bars retrieved from the ruins of the Lamb Building give a more personal and poignant picture of one of the lawyers in those chambers (see Gaimster, Chapter 5). He had visited the National Dairy Show at Olympia in happier times in October 1938, perhaps as a member of the farming community or as the legal representative of a dairy or farmer.

Along the southern edge of Trench 1 the pre-World War



Fig. 47 Part of Inner Temple, 1800 (from a drawing in Mr Crace's Collection). Looking north from Inner Temple Hall. Newspaper cutting mounted on board, 19th Century (drawn by J. Griffith). Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple

Two Yorkstone paving slabs of the courtyard had been removed for the insertion of an east-west aligned gas pipe. In the southwest corner of the trench the gas pipe trench was in turn cut by a later service trench backfilled with brick rubble at the top, but containing many fragments of worked Purbeck marble from the church. The fill contained 20th century material and is probably of a late 1940s to early 1950s date when the Temple Church and the Cloisters were being restored following bombing.

The decorated marble pieces match the Purbeck columns within the present day restored Temple Church and must have originally stood in the interior of the Round and the chancel. There have been a number of restorations of the church over the years (*see above*) with major renovations of the interior carried out by Robert and Sydney Smirke in the 1820s and 1840s. Those pieces of marble removed in the latter restoration appear to have been taken off the site and not buried in a convenient hole, as it is recorded that Frederick Pollock, Treasurer of the Middle Temple in 1839, carted away the Round Church marble, which was replaced for the restoration of 1842 (Lewer & Dark 1997, 38 note 31). Indeed it would appear that the old pillars were sold, as a letter in the Inner Temple archive dated December 31st 1842 states:

"I have a bidding of £5 for the old Purbeck pillars and capitals lying at Hare Court, for which I was unable on the day of the sale to obtain a purchaser at any price. I will thank you to ascertain if I may dispose of them at that amount"

(Inner Temple Archive Tem/2/5).

It was documented that the marble replaced in the restoration of 1954-8 was buried in the basement of the bombed Lamb Building, which was not rebuilt but was paved over (Lewer & Dark 1997, 38 note 31). However, the associated 20th century finds from the service trench, which point to these fragments being disposed of during the 1945 restoration, suggest that the old marble was buried in whatever space could be found in the courtyard.

Analysis of the stonework (*see* Chapter 3) has determined that, despite the frequent restorations over the centuries, including the large scale of the repairs by Sydney Smirke in the 1840s resulting in much of the Purbeck marble being 19th century in date, at least some medieval fabric was retained in the church until the devastation of 1941.



Fig. 48 Dressed Purbeck marble from Temple Church, as recovered from the backfill of 20th-century pipe trenches

Chapter 3 Reconstructing the Temple: the Purbeck Marble and other stone from Temple Church

KEN SABEL



A large assemblage of stone fragments was found in Trench 1 in Church Court. As this material was most probably associated with the Temple Church it was decided to treat it as a separate assemblage to that of the rest of the stone recovered during the excavations (*see* Brown, Chapter 5). A glossary of architectural terms used appears at the end of this chapter.

The assemblage consisted of 230 worked stone fragments, of which 50 were classified as tpestones, one of each of which is retained in the archive. The remainder are in the possession of the Inner Temple. The bulk of the material was Purbeck marble, an Upper Jurassic shelly limestone from the Upper Purbeck beds quarried on the Isle of Purbeck, Dorset, which was recovered from the backfill of a mid 20th century service trench [14]. Small quantities of Caen Stone,

Reigate stone, Purbeck limestone and carboniferous limestone also appeared. The first three types were found reused as the capping of a drainage culvert [150] and the latter appeared loose amongst the Purbeck marble. The most likely source of this material is the nearby Temple Church.

The round nave of the church (the Round) was initially finished *c.* 1185 with a second enlarged rectangular chancel (replacing a probable earlier smaller apsidal ended chancel and possible southern treasury) being consecrated in 1240 (*see* Fig. 9). (Lewer & Dark 1997, 25 & 27). The church also included a chapel, St Anne's Chapel, on its southern side, thought to have initially been built slightly before the 1240 chancel (Lewer & Dark 1997, 42-43). The main internal arcade columns and many of those on the internal faces of

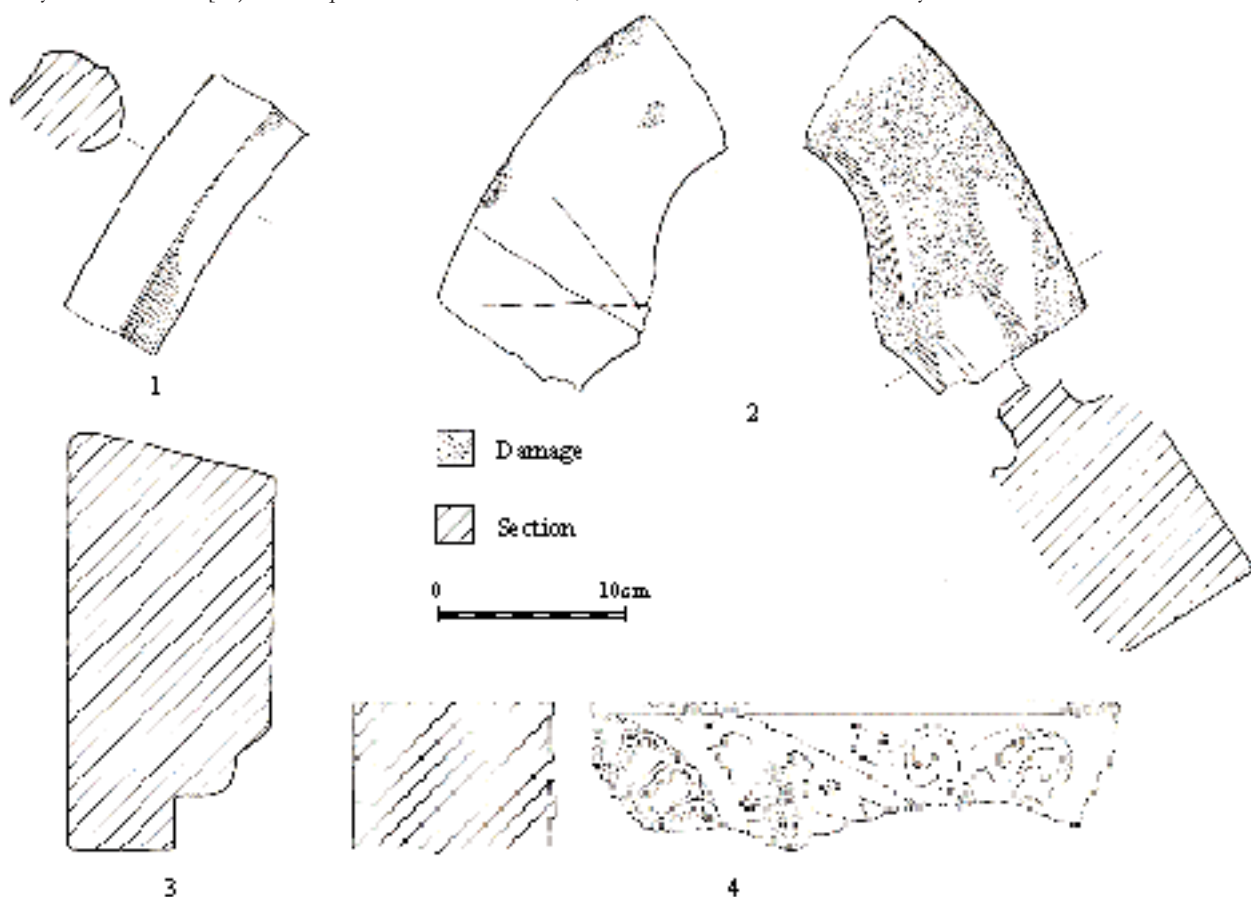


Fig. 49 The Caen stone, Reigate stone and glauconitic limestone:

1. Caen stone hood moulding, 2. Caen Stone cusp fragment showing a mason's mark on its reverse side, 3. Profile of a Reigate stone moulding, 4. Decorated glauconitic limestone fragment (scale 1:4)

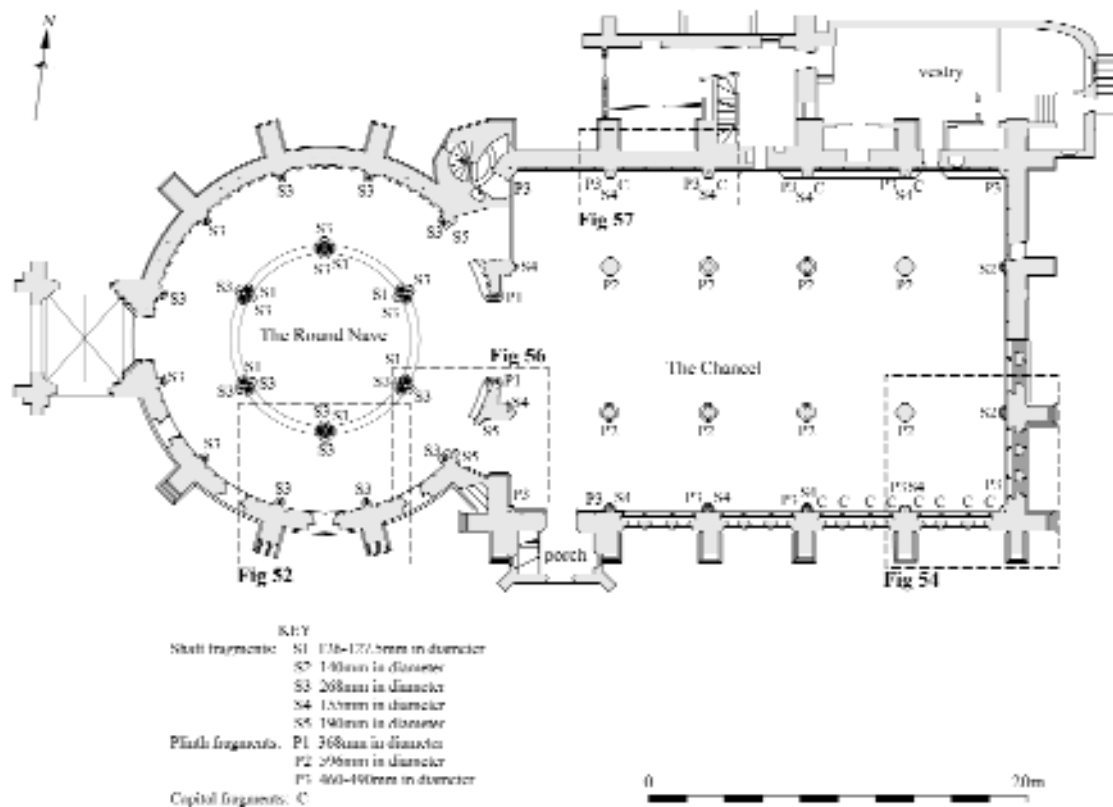


Fig. 50 Plan of the church based on Godfrey's 1953 plan, indicating the possible original locations of some of the fragments recovered (scale 1:400)

the exterior walls were of Purbeck marble, as were many other internal decorative features. The presence of Purbeck marble in the nave is among the earliest examples of its use in the medieval period (Lewer & Dark 1997, 25-26). As detailed above, the church has undergone considerable alteration work, most notably by Wren in the late 17th century; in 1811, when it was repaired; in two phases of 'restoration' in 1826-1828, by Robert Smirke, and in 1842, by Sydney Smirke and Decimus Burton; in the 1860s by St Aubyn, and in the early 1950s when the church was restored by Carden & Godfrey Architects following considerable damage sustained during World War Two.

The mid 20th century date of the contexts in which the stone was found indicates that it was discarded during the 1950s restoration work. The fact that much of it is burnt confirms that it is likely to have suffered bomb damage. The material is discussed in detail below by stone type.

Caen Stone

Caen stone, imported from Normandy, was used in the church in the 12th and 13th centuries for the general internal walling, for the ribs of the vaulting and for the shafts of the columns along the walls of the both the nave and the chancel which were not Purbeck marble. One fragment consisted of a keel moulding from a vaulting rib or arch (Fig. 49.1) The fragment was 56mm across. This moulding

appears in a matching size in the low level arches in the nave. A fragment of tracery was also recovered representing a cusp of a possible trefoil head of an opening or recess. Its hidden face bore a mason's mark consisting of two overlapping 'X's (Fig. 49.2). Elements of the church incorporating this form of decoration include the oculus over the west door (Photograph NMR: AN.530 CC73/715), the c. 1842 blind arcading beneath the organ gallery (Middle Temple Surveyors Office drawing CG/OC/28), and the reredos of the same date (Middle Temple Surveyors Office, drawing CG/HIST/PW/4). It may also derive from one of many monuments destroyed in the World War Two bombing or from another building.

Reigate Stone

Five fragments of Reigate stone were present. Three were damaged ashlar fragments, one of which had a recess in one corner. One fragment had a plain chamfer or splay on one face, while the other was splayed on one face with a hollow chamfer and rebate on its opposite face (Fig. 49.3).

Reigate stone was commonly used from the 11th century until the end of the medieval period (Evans 1972, 56-58), although its softness made it prone to weathering. Its use was consequently avoided in exterior work by the 14th century (T. Tatton-Brown, pers. comm.), although its interior use continued. It appears unworked in the rubble walling of

the church's foundations, although no worked Reigate stone was observed in the surviving superstructure of the building, which was mostly Caen (and, since the 1950s, Farmington) stone internally. It may have been used in some parts of the medieval phases of the church and removed when the culvert in which it was reused was built (either in the 18th or mid 19th century). Both Robert Smirke and St Aubyn undertook some demolition work on the porch and St Anne's Chapel and it is possible that Reigate stone was used in these building elements. The demolition of these elements would probably have necessitated some reconfiguration of the drains, which may have been capped with demolition material. It may alternatively derive from other buildings in the vicinity.

Purbeck Limestone

A single greyish white Purbeck limestone paving stone, measuring 646mm by 504mm by 100mm, was found. This may have been laid in paving in or around the church. Historic illustrations show that the floor levels have changed several times. A description of 1756 describes the floor in the chancel as being paved in black and white marble (Middle Temple Library C5(18)), a floor covering that is unlikely to have been original and was later replaced by Minton encaustic tiles which were also laid in the nave (Lewer & Dark 1997, 101). Sydney Smirke also stated that his early 1840s work included the lowering of the floor in

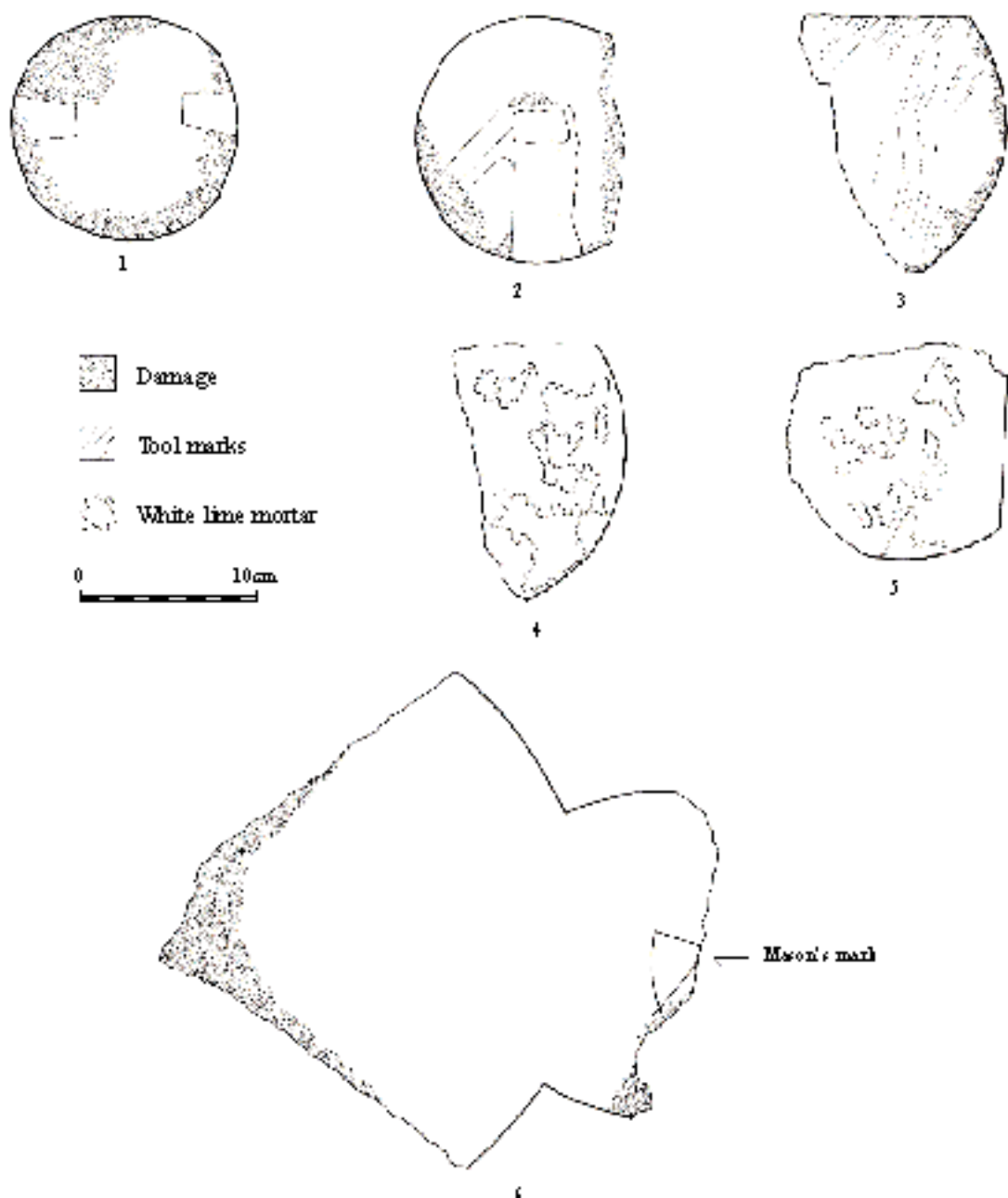


Fig. 51 Purbeck marble shaft fragments: 1. Fragment of a shaft 126-127.5mm in diameter with wedge shaped keying recesses 2. Fragment of a shaft 140mm in diameter with a different form of keying recess 3-5. The end view of three butted shaft fragments with projected diameters of 190mm, 200mm and 220mm, 6. A fragment of one of the compound piers in the chancel (scale 1:4)

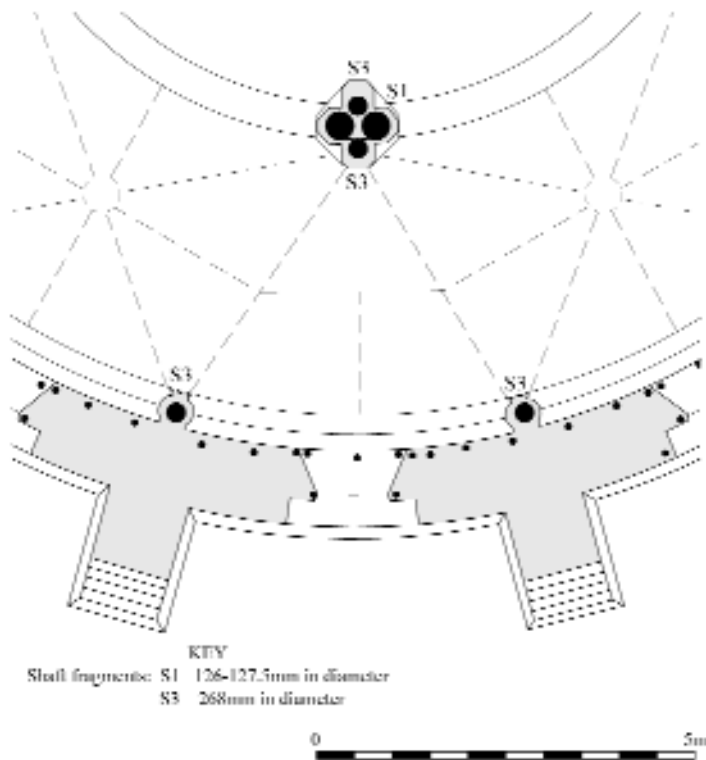


Fig. 52 Detail of the Nave showing possible origin of Purbeck marble shaft fragments recovered (scale 1:100)

the chancel by 15 inches (Lewer & Dark 1997, 97). The nave floor was set higher in the early 19th century than it was in the late 19th century, as can be seen by comparing illustrations dating to before the 1826-1828 'restoration' (Middle Temple Library C5(14) and C5(18)) with the later 19th century photographs (Middle Temple Library C5(41)). It is therefore possible that medieval paving stones were preserved beneath later floor layers and that some of the paving stones removed by Carden & Godfrey's mid 20th century restoration work dated from early in the building's development.

Glauconitic Fine-Grained Sandy Limestone

Two fragments of the same stone with classical floral decoration, probably dating to the late 17th or 18th century phases of the church's development, were found (Fig. 49.4). These are likely to have come from the monuments housed in the triforium before the church was bombed. Classical fixtures had been either totally removed during the 19th century 'restorations' or moved to less public parts of the church.

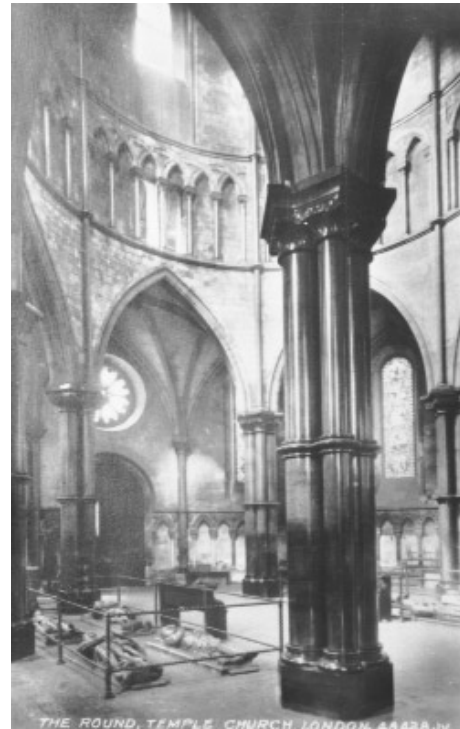


Fig. 53 Temple church, interior of the Round, as it appeared before the air raids.
Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple

Purbeck Marble

The Purbeck marble almost certainly comes from the church, being the only building in the vicinity in which this stone is known to have been used. Its presence in the church represents one of the earliest examples of the use of this stone type on a large scale in the medieval period (Lewer & Dark 1997, 25-26). Dating the fragments in Trench 1 is difficult, as the bomb-damaged fabric replaced by Carden & Godfrey may have included stone from all of the earlier phases of restoration that still survived until the 1950s. This is particularly problematic where the fragments match the present fabric, as the main Purbeck marble columns are likely to have been copied for each successive repair. There are, however, some dateable diagnostic features that can be identified.

Cottingham, in his survey report of 1840 (reproduced in Lewer & Dark 1997, as Appendix Four 180-185), was disparaging towards the work of 1811. He stated that the clustered piers in the nave were repaired in 1811 using a "patching and pasting" of Roman Cement and recommended their total replacement. Sydney Smirke, writing about his 1840s work, stated that in the Round church "all the six clusters of pillars have been wholly renewed" as opposed to those in the chancel that merely "underwent extensive renovation" (Smirke undated, 4). The

Treasurer of the Middle Temple also had the Purbeck marble from the nave “carted away” in 1839 (Lewer & Dark 1997, 38, note 31). None of the Purbeck marble matching the work in the Round is therefore likely to pre-date the early 1840s work. Roman Cement was patented in 1796 (Kelsall 1989, 21) and any fragment with Roman Cement attached is likely to date to 1811 or later. As the 1811 stone repairs were generally regarded as superficial it is likely that where Roman Cement is used on the hidden faces of the Purbeck marble, such as for keying, it dates the stone to 1826 or later. The wholesale replacement of the stone patched in 1811 in the 1840s also suggests that work from 1811 is unlikely to have survived until the 1950s and is unlikely to appear in the assemblage. Dating evidence is also provided by the fact that the 1840s repairs, the last major phase to include work on the Purbeck marble features before the 1950s, used steam powered stone cutting machinery (Lewer & Dark 1997, 96). Although it is not apparent whether the machinery was used specifically for cutting the Purbeck marble, any evidence of smooth surfaces or very regular tooling on the hidden faces of the stone are likely to reflect some mechanisation and consequently an 1840s date. Another dating criterion is provided by the composition of the stone. Purbeck marble is characterised by its granular appearance, being largely composed of the fossilised fresh-water gastropod *Viviparus viviparus* (Black 1988, 59). The beds quarried only in the medieval period, contain a layer of larger, flatter bivalves, *Unios*, which are absent in the post-medieval work (T. Haysom, pers. comm.).

The bonding material used on the hidden surfaces and in the keying slots between the stones also provided dating evidence. This consisted of beige sandy mortar, creamy white lime mortar, brown Roman Cement and blue grey ‘putty’. On one fragment the blue grey putty overlays the Roman Cement indicating that the putty is possibly later than it. As the last major work represented by the material was conducted in *c.* 1842 and the 1811 work is unlikely to be present, the Roman Cement is likely to date to 1826 and the blue grey putty to *c.* 1842. This is not certain, however, as it is conceivable that the putty may have been used in conjunction with the Roman Cement.

The Purbeck marble is discussed according to the architectural features represented. Where the possible original location of a stone can be identified this is shown on Fig. 50.

Column and composite pier shafts

A large number of shaft fragments from free-standing and composite piers were recovered.

Freestanding Shafts

Detached shafts, or those where there was no evidence that they were not round in plan, appeared in 126-127.5mm, 140mm, 155mm and 268mm diameters. Those 126-127.5mm wide had splayed keying recesses, while those 140mm thick had rectangular channels terminating in deeper square keying recesses (Shaft fragments, Fig. 50). None of the thicker detached shaft fragments had any surviving keying. Ninety-four fragments of the smallest diameter were found, many more than the other sizes. Those with keying are illustrated in Fig. 51.1, 51.2. The shafts of 140mm appeared in sections at least 630mm high; those of 268mm were more than 540mm high and single example with a diameter of 155mm showed a complete height of 183mm.

Examination of the historic plans and the modern fabric of the church provides evidence of the origins of the shafts. Those with a diameter of 126-127.5mm derive from the triforium in the round nave, which was particularly badly damaged in 1941 (S1: Figs. 50, 52). These can also be seen on a photograph of the interior of the nave, taken prior to the bomb damage of 1941 (Fig. 53). The 140mm diameter shafts are slightly narrower than those rising from the floor between each of the three groups of triple lancets at the east end of the chancel (S2: Figs. 50, 54). These were drawn at a scale of 1:24 in 1933 (CG/HIST/PW/7) and measure an average of 150mm in diameter. Another possibility is that they come from the vaulting shafts above the triforium in the nave, which are of a similar size. The shafts nearest in

Table 1 *Details of column shaft fragments recovered*

| Diameter of shaft | Fraction of circle represented in complete shaft | Other comments | Figure* |
|-------------------|--|--|---------|
| 190mm | Three quarters | | 51.3 |
| 200mm | Three quarters | Lime mortar on joint, mason’s mark | 51.4 |
| SF16220mm | Four fifths | Complete stone is more than 445mm high | 51.5 |
| 188mm & 357mm | Two circles overlapped | Complete stone is 210mm high | 51.6 |
| 190mm | Uncertain | Complete stone is 368mm high | |

* where illustrated

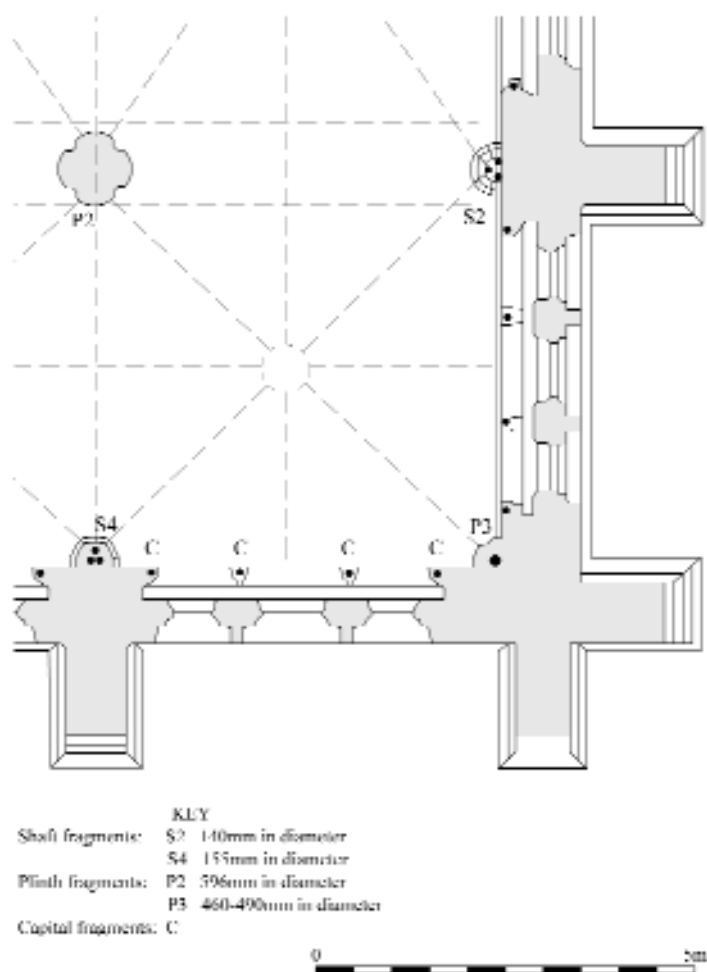


Fig. 54 Detail of the southeast corner of the Chancel showing possible origin of Purbeck marble shaft, plinth and capital fragments recovered (scale 1:100)

size to those 268mm in diameter appear in the clustered piers in the round nave, as the relatively slim columns. The columns around the outer walls of the nave are also the same diameter (S3: Figs. 50, 52, 56). Shafts 155mm in diameter are from the piers against the outer walls of the chancel or from those at the west end of the main arcades in the chancel (S4: Figs. 50, 54, 58). These piers consisted of a single Purbeck marble shaft clustered with two Caen stone responds.

Attached and butted shafts

Fragments of engaged or attached shafts from compound piers and responds were also recovered.

They appeared in the sizes shown in Table 1. The fragment illustrated as Fig. 51.6 and the unillustrated fragment are from one of the compound piers in the chancel (P1: Figs. 50, 56). The columns take the form of four smaller shafts 188mm in diameter set around a central drum 357mm in diameter, all carved from single sections of Purbeck marble (Fig. 55). Ten similar fragments were



Fig. 55 One of the compound piers in the chancel

recovered from the excavation, one of which contained *Unios*, indicating that at least some sections of these piers had medieval elements that survived the 19th century 'restorations' only to be discarded in the 1950s work.

Butted shafts 190mm in diameter match those that support the arches in the nave's east wall that lead into the chancel aisles (S5, Figs. 50, 56). There are no surviving columns that measure 200mm or 220mm in diameter. It is possible that they may have been replaced by columns of different diameters in the 1950s or that these last two fragments derive from plinths rather than shafts.

Pier base and plinth fragments

There were thirteen possible pier base or plinth fragments among the tpestones, in addition to the two mentioned above. Two, with diameters of 405mm and 415mm, were from butted plinths and formed near complete circles (7/8 and 15/16 of a circle respectively). The latter fragment (Fig. 58.1) had a rectangular keying recess on its hidden side. Six

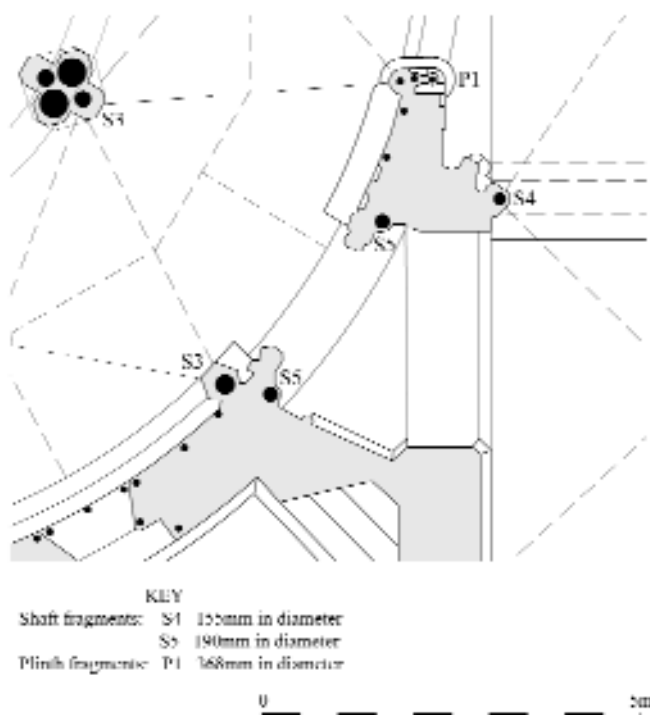


Fig. 56 Detail of the southern junction of Nave and Chancel, showing possible origin of Purbeck marble shaft and plinth fragments recovered (scale 1:100)

fragments (Fig. 58.2- 58.6) were from mouldings (see Table 2). One of these (Fig. 58.6) shows the complete height of the stone and has a mason's mark on its upper surface.

The five plain fragments (two of which are illustrated in Fig. 58.7 and 58.8) were from rubble-filled hollow plinth casings. Their curved sides, if extrapolated into a full circle (which no pier bases in the church actually are) appeared in diameters of approximately 758mm, 596mm, 460mm and 368mm, where they could be measured. None of these were from the chancel. The fragment 758mm in diameter matches none of the surviving plinths. The 368mm plinth is similar in diameter to those of the two groups of three columns supporting the vaulting of the central arch between the nave and chancel, while the fragment with a diameter of 596mm is slightly larger than the plinths of the main compound piers in the chancel.

The fragments shown in Fig. 58.2, 58.3 and 58.6 are from the plinths of the piers in the chancel (P1, P2, P3; fig. 50). The tops of the pier bases have elaborate mouldings, which are slightly recessed relative to the bottom of the plinths. Godfrey's drawing of the chancel piers (Fig. 59, CG/MAS/26) shows that the pier base moulding occupies two blocks of stone in height. The fragments shown in Figs. 58.4, 58.5, 58.6 come from the stones at the top of the plain sections of the plinths, have diameters of 285mm, 490mm and 460mm respectively and probably originate from the chancel. The two larger diameters are similar to the plinths of the piers on the southern wall of the chancel and in those of the chancel's corner columns (P3: Figs. 50, 54). During

the post-war restoration and Purbeck facing, the interior of the bases was found to be of clunch (Dove 1967, 167).

The more elaborately moulded fragments can be more accurately identified. The fragment drawn in Fig. 58.4 comes from the base of one of the internal shafts between the chancel's lancet windows (Fig. 60.1 CG/MAS/29). That shown in Fig. 58.5, with an extrapolated diameter of 596mm, is from the base of one of the main piers in the chancel (see Fig. 59.1 CG/MAS/5 and Fig. 60.5). Varnish was applied in c.1842 to give the marble a "more permanent" polish and to protect the stone (Smirke undated, 2) and one of the recovered fragments shows this varnish burnt, presumably during the World War Two bombing (Fig. 58.8).

Capitals

The capital and possible capital fragments are illustrated in Fig. 61.1 – 61.6. A fragment of a bell capital (Fig. 61.1; C, Figs. 50, 54), with a diameter of 120mm at its base, secured with a central tenon, is of a diameter consistent with the capitals of the columns to each side of the lancets on the south wall as illustrated in 1933 (CG/HIST/PW/11). The raised base indicates the method by which it slotted into a mortise in the top of the column shaft. The moulding shown in Fig. 61.2 (C, Figs. 50, 57) matches a capital from one of the main columns against the chancel's north wall, recorded in 1949 (CG/MAS/5 Fig. G). Fig. 61.3 shows a co-joined capital from a compound pier, with an annulet at its base. This probably comes from one of the engaged wall piers in the chancel. It has mason's marks on both its upper and lower faces. The roll and hollow moulding illustrated in Fig. 61.4 could come from many locations in the chancel, as most capitals had this moulding instead of an abacus. It can be seen in moulding profiles illustrated in Fig. 61.

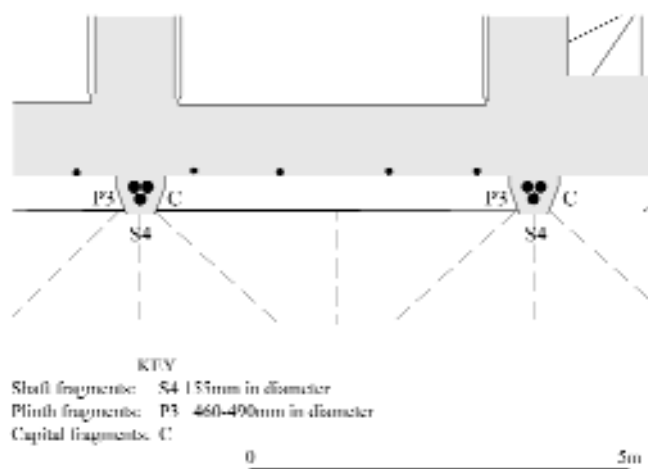
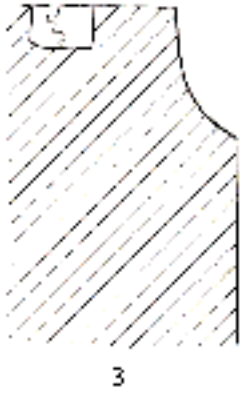
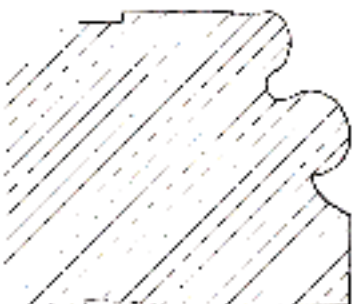
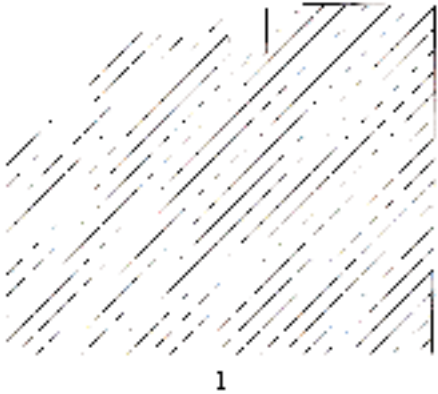


Fig. 57 Detail from the northern Chancel wall showing possible origin of Purbeck marble shaft, plinth and capital fragments recovered (scale 1:100)



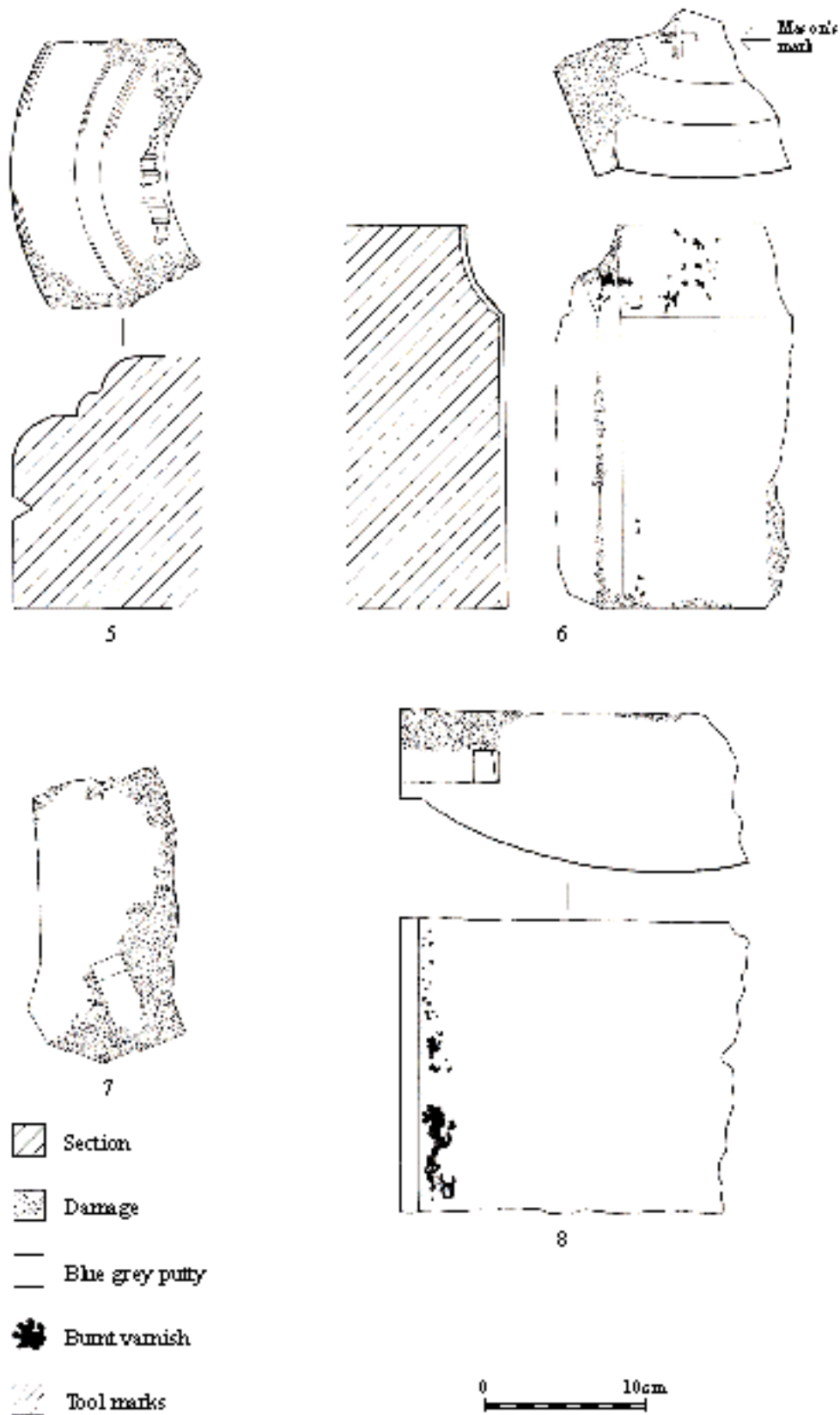


Fig. 58 Pier base and plinth fragments: 1. A butted column plinth fragment with a keying recess, 2, 3. Column plinth fragments with hollow chamfered mouldings, 4. A fragment from a base of one of the shafts set between the grouped lancet windows in the chancel, 5. The top of the plinth of one of the compound piers in the chancel, 6. Column plinth fragment with hollow chamfered mouldings, 7. A fragment of pier base casing displaying a keying recess, 8. A fragment of pier base casing showing burnt varnish (scale 1:4)

Table 2 Pier base and plinth fragments recovered

| Description of moulding | Features | Comments | Probable Dating | Figure* |
|---|---|---|-----------------------|---------|
| Hollow chamfer | Blackened varnish | Very smooth joint face | c.1842 | 58.2 |
| Hollow chamfer | | Blue/grey putty bonding | 1842+ | 58.3 |
| Two rolls with a hollow between, set above a hollow chamfer | Recessed top, rectangular key with primary and secondary fill | Primary fill of cream lime putty, secondary fill of blue/grey putty | Medieval? Relaid 1842 | 58.4 |
| Three merged rounds and quirk | Blackened varnish, mason's marks and setting out scoring | Blue/grey putty | 1842 | 58.5 |
| Hollow chamfer | | White lime mortar | Medieval? | 58.6 |
| Two rolls with a hollow between, set above a hollow chamfer | | Same moulding as Fig. 58.4 Uncertain | | |

* where illustrated

There were two possible capital or base fragments with slightly different profiles, both with a roll and fillet mouldings (Fig. 61.5, 61.6). One is definitely from a compound pier. None of the historic drawings show identical mouldings to these. The only illustrated roll and fillet moulding with any similarity in style is copied from the plaster cast of one of the capitals of the columns around the windows of the north wall of the chancel (CG/MAS/5, Fig. 61.1). It is possible that the plaster cast was poor or that when the damaged capitals were replaced in the 1950s only some of the styles represented were (or could be) replicated in the restored church, and that the example found here was lost.

The identifiable capital fragments all seem to originate from the chancel, lacking the late 12th century Transitional style characteristic of those in the nave.

Shaft rings and strings

Fig. 62 shows the possible shaft ring and string fragments (Shaft rings: Figs. 62.1, 62.2, Strings: Figs. 62.3, 62.4). The shaft ring fragments are particularly badly damaged, probably due to their vulnerable position protruding from the shafts, and their identification is therefore not wholly reliable. However, it is possible that the fragment illustrated as Fig. 62.1 a may come from the upper or lower edges of a

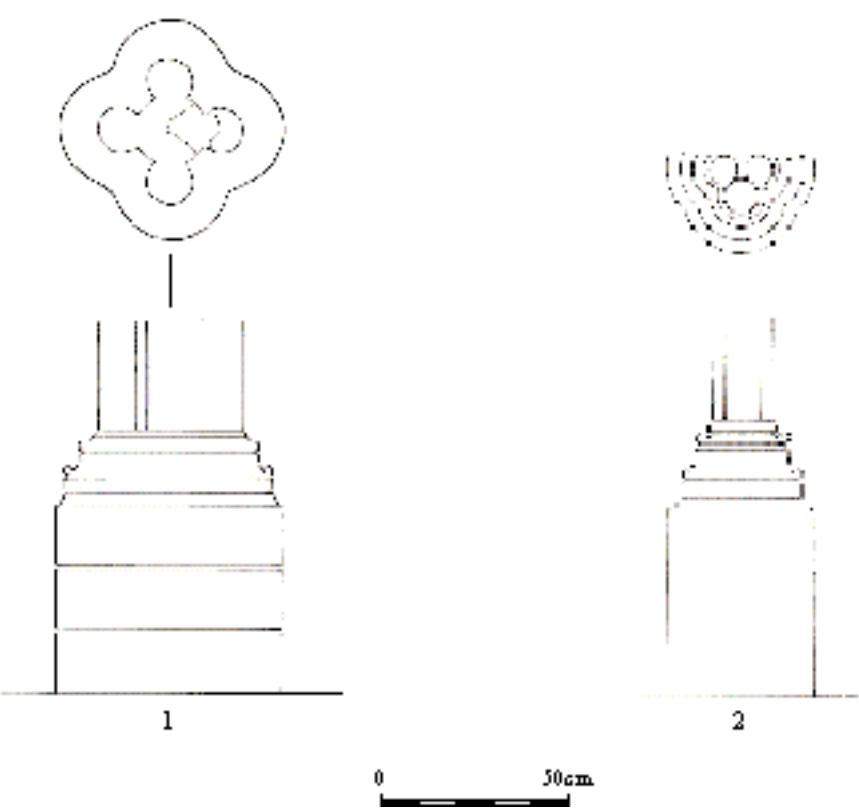


Fig. 59 Copy of Godfrey's drawing of 1949 showing the chancel pier bases, reproduced with the kind permission of the Middle Temple Surveyors' Office. The pier base on the left (1) represents those of the main aisle arcades, while that on the right (2) is an example of those against the walls (scale 1:20)

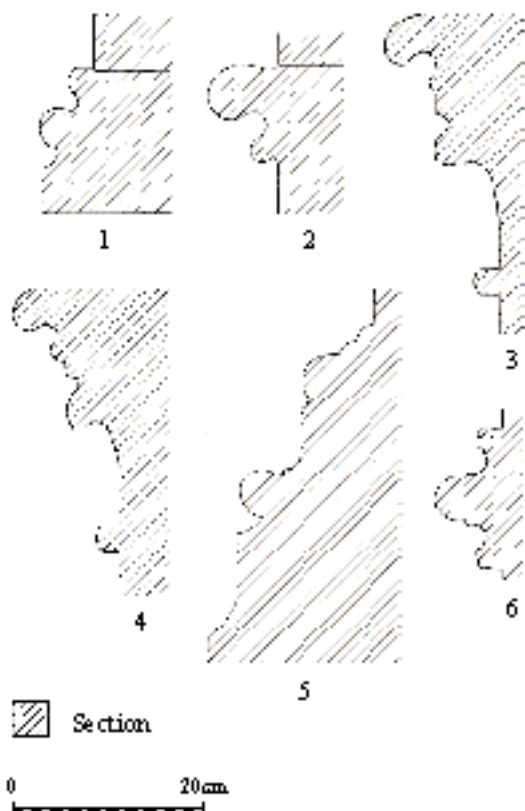


Fig. 60 Copies of historic illustrations of the moulding profiles recorded by Godfrey in the late 1940s reproduced with the kind permission of the Middle Temple Surveyors' Office: 1. The moulding from the base of one of shafts between the grouped lancet windows of the chancel, 2. Moulding from the string course that runs around the chancel at window sill level, 3. a profile of the capital of one of the main columns against the chancel's north wall, 4. A different capital profile from the chancel, 5. Profile of one of the bases of the main compound piers in the chancel as drawn in 1837, 6. Profile of a shaft ring from the columns in the Round nave, recorded in 1872 (scale 1:8)

CONCLUSIONS

The stone found in Trench 1 definitely comes from the 1950s removal of bomb damaged stone from the church. It does not come from a particular area of the church but consists of mostly Purbeck marble stripped out during the entire 1950s phase of work. The scale of stone replacement during this phase of work is illustrated by an internal elevation showing the works required to the east end (Fig. 64). Analysis has proved that Purbeck marble from all phases of the church's history survived until the 1950s and that the 19th century restorations only replaced a proportion of the stone in the chancel, although there is evidence that the clustered piers in the nave were totally replaced in c. 1842.

It appears that some elements, which existed before the bombing, such as plinths with diameters of 758mm, were not replaced with exactly matching work in the 1950s restoration. This may have arisen for a number of reasons. Firstly, the degree of destruction to parts of the earlier fabric may have been such that they could not be recognised other than by archaeological analysis. Secondly there may have been a deliberate policy to replace the old columns with those of narrower dimensions where it was deemed that this would be adequate, and with those of more substantial dimensions where greater structural stability was required. It must also be borne in mind that the time taken to build each phase of the original building would have led to some variation in size between columns of the same pattern. This would be reflected in some discrepancies in size between the discarded shafts and plinths in Trench 1 and both those surviving in the church today and those recorded as samples historically.

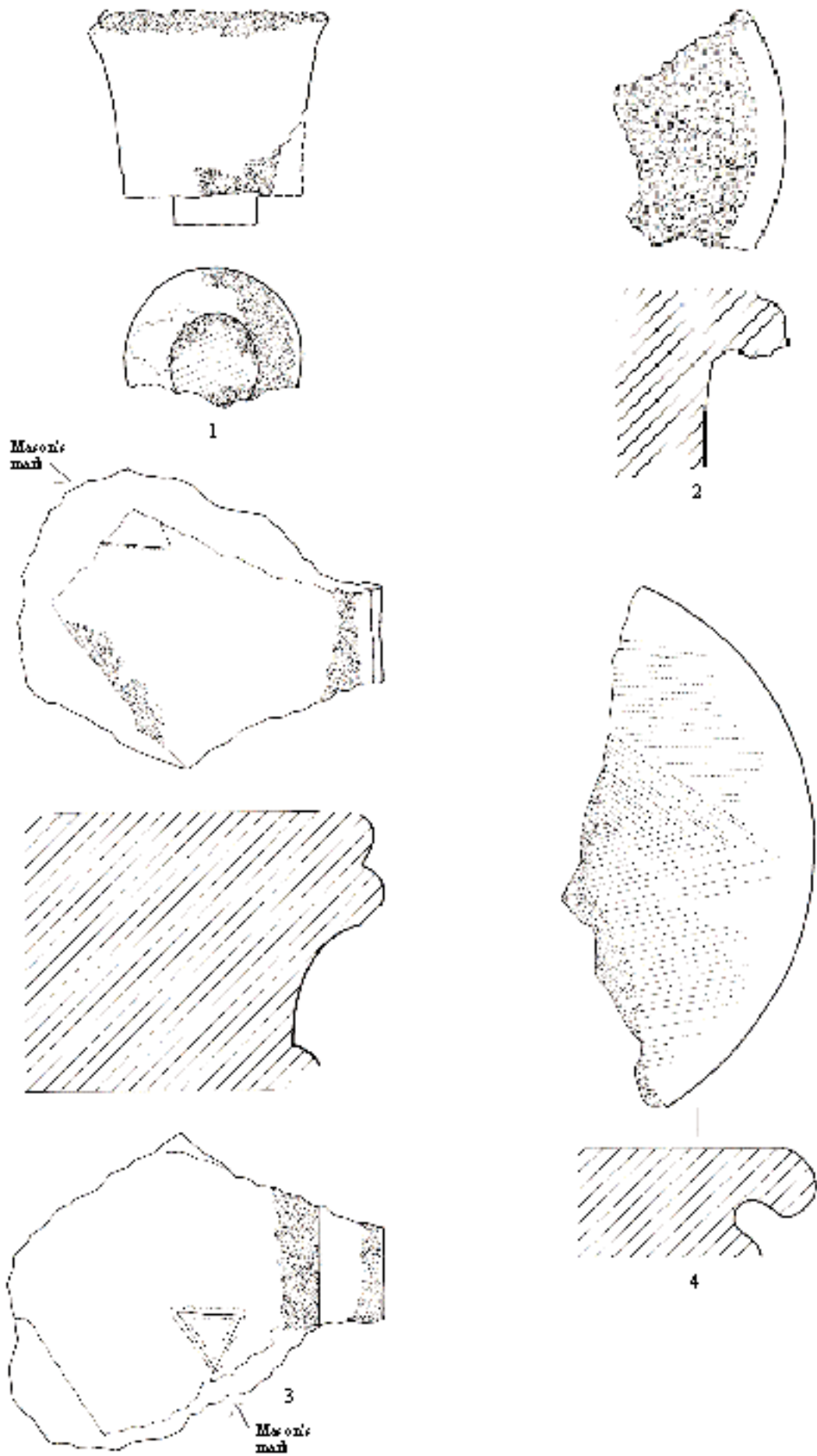
It is also of interest that fixtures, such as the Purbeck marble of the Gothic revival reredos, were absent from the assemblage. The debris from these smaller features is likely to have been cleared away during or just after the World War Two, before the major repairs were undertaken in the 1950s.

shaft ring string recorded in 1872 in the nave (CG/MAS/21 shown in Fig. 61). This quirk and hollow moulding with a central bowtell is the same as that appearing on two string fragments discussed below. It survives in the 1950s work on all of the columns in the nave and in those of the columns of the arches between the nave and the chancel. Another probable shaft ring (Fig. 62.2) is from an attached shaft. Traces of Roman Cement date it to the 1826-8 or c. 1842 'restorations'.

Seven string and possible string fragments were recovered. Five (only one of which is illustrated as Fig. 62.3) were from the continuous string that runs around the chancel walls at window sill level. This string moulding can be seen in the reproduced historical drawings in Fig. 60.2. Two fragments (shown in Fig. 62.3, 62.4) appeared to be from strings with the same moulding as that illustrated as a shaft ring in the round nave in 1872 (Fig. 60.6). This string appears in the surviving fabric of the church on the piers between the chancel and the nave. Part of this string and a shaft ring of the same profile can be seen in the piers between the chancel and the nave in a photograph showing the Second World War bomb damage (PHO/6/1, reproduced as Fig. 63). Where the string course of this pattern runs around the curved walls of the nave it is slightly concave in plan.

Carboniferous Limestone

A carboniferous limestone polished shaft, 52mm in diameter, probably came from one of the monuments. A brass pin set into a mortise at one end fixed it to the adjacent stone.



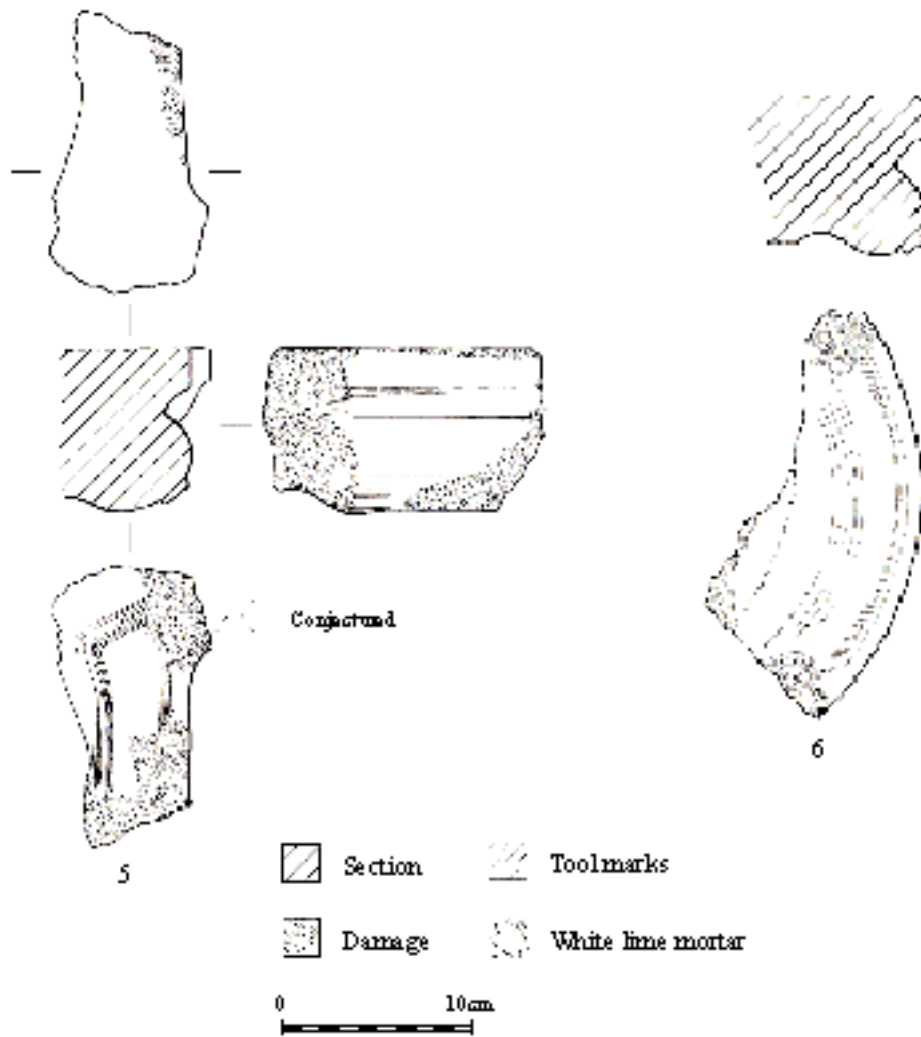


Fig. 61 Capital fragments 1. A fragment of bell capital, 2. A capital fragment that matches the profile of one of those on the north wall of the chancel, drawn in 1949, 3. A capital fragment from a compound pier, with part of its annulet, 4. A roll and hollow moulding from the top of a capital, 5. A possible column capital or base moulding from a compound pier, 6. A capital or base fragment with a similar moulding to (5) (scale 1:4)

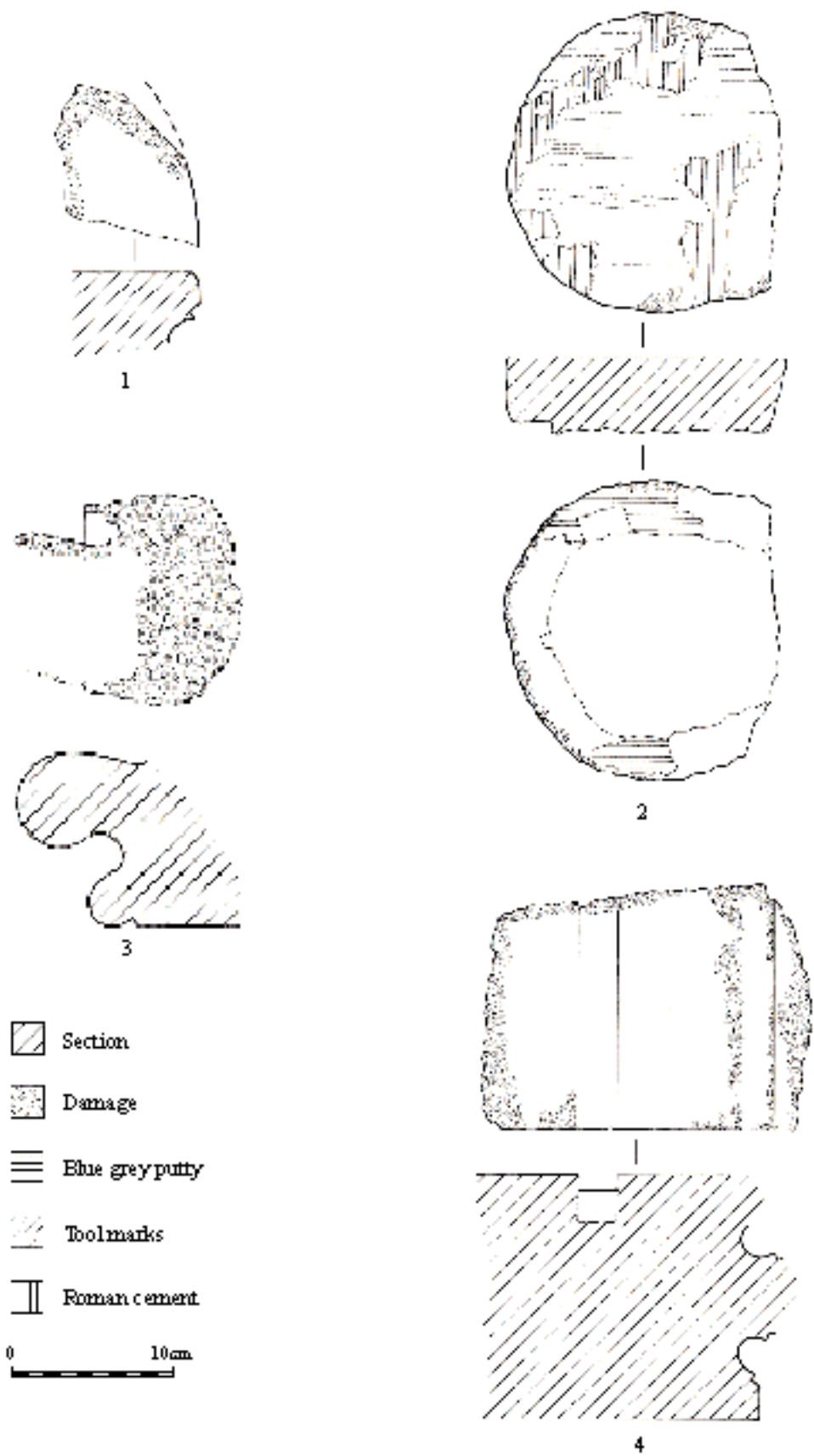


Fig. 62 Shaft ring and string fragments: 1. Shaft ring fragment with quirk and hollow moulding, 2. Damaged probable shaft ring fragment, 3-4. String course fragments (scale 1:4)

GLOSSARY OF ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

After Pevsner (1973)

- Abacus** Flat slab forming the top of a capital.
- Annulet** Motif of the 12th and 13th century consisting of a ring round a circular pier or a shaft attached to a pier. The capitals in the Temple church often have annulets at the tops of the shafts beneath the capitals.
- Apse** Semicircular or polygonal end of an apartment, especially of a chancel or chapel.
- Arcade** Series of arches supported by piers or columns.
- Ashlar** Masonry of large blocks wrought to even faces and square edges.
- Attached column** Column that partly merges into a wall or a pier.
- Base** Moulded foot of a column or pilaster.
- Bell capital** Bell shaped head or crowning feature of a column or pilaster.
- Blind arcading** Series of arches applied to the wall surface.
- Bowtell** A roll moulding, usually of more than half of a circle rising from a flat plane. Often located on a chamfer and also called an edge roll.
- Caen stone** Oolitic limestone generally imported from Normandy. It saw its main period of use in the late 11th and 12th century.
- Capital** Head or crowning feature of a column or pilaster.
- Chamfer (plain/hollow)** Surface formed by cutting off a square edge or corner.
- Chancel** Part of the east end of a church set apart for the use of the officiating clergy.
- Clunch** Hard chalk used as building stone.
- Clustered pier** Same as a compound pier.
- Co-joined capital** A capital that is attached to another, as occurs on a clustered pier.
- Column** An upright structural member of round section with shaft, a capital, and usually a base.
- Compound pier** Grouped shafts, or a solid core surrounded by shafts.
- Cusp** Projecting points defining lobes or foils on *tracery* (q.v.).
- Encaustic tiles** Earthenware tiles fired with a pattern and glaze.
- Engaged column** One that partly merges into a wall or a pier.
- Engaged wall piers** Piers that partly merge into a wall.
- Farmington stone** Limestone type that was used in the Temple Church to replaced damaged Caen stone in the 20th century.
- Fillet moulding** A narrow flat band running down a medieval shaft or along a roll moulding.
- Gothic** Relating to the style of architecture that was used in Western Europe from the 12th to the 16th centuries,

characterised by the lancet arch, the ribbed vault and the flying buttress.

Gothic revival The 19th century movement given impetus by Pugin and others which codified, reintroduced and encouraged the use of gothic architecture as the preferred architectural system.

Hollow moulding A linear concave moulding

Keel moulding Moulding used from the late 12th century, in section like the keel of a ship.

Lancet Slender, single-light pointed-arched window. The arch has two centres.

Mason's mark A design usually cut into a hidden face of a stone by the mason either to identify the mason or to indicate the bedding of the stone.

Moulding Shaped ornamental strip of continuous section.

Nave The body of a church west of the crossing or chancel often flanked by aisles.

Oculus Circular opening.

Pier Large freestanding masonry or brick support, often for an arch.

Plinth Projecting courses at the foot of a wall or column, generally chamfered or moulded at the top.



Fig. 63 The north aisle of the chancel from the nave taken after the bombing and before Godfrey's repairs. Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple

Purbeck marble An Upper Jurassic shelly limestone from the Upper Purbeck beds quarried on the Isle of Purbeck, Dorset.

Quirk Sharp groove to one side of a convex medieval moulding.

Rebate Rectangular section cut out of a masonry edge to receive a shutter, door, window, etc.

Reigate stone A limy sandstone of the Upper Greensand

Reredos Painted and/or sculptured screen behind and above an altar.

Respond Half-pier or half-column bonded into a wall and carrying one end of an arch. It usually terminates an arcade.

Roll moulding Medieval moulding of part-circular section.

Roman cement A hydraulic cement of a type first patented in 1796, manufactured using septaria from the Thames estuary and used in stucco as well as a bonding material.

The Round The circular nave of the Temple Church.

Shaft Vertical member, round or polygonal in section.

Shaft ring Motif of the 12th and 13th century consisting of a ring around a circular pier or a shaft attached to a pier. Also called *annulet* (q.v.).

String course Horizontal course or moulding projecting from the surface of a wall.

Tracery Openwork pattern of masonry or timber in the upper part of an opening.

Transitional style Generally used for the phase between the Romanesque and Early English (c. 1175-c. 1200).

Trefoil Three lobes formed by the *cusping* (q.v.) of a circular or other shaped in tracery.

Triforium Middle storey of a church treated as an arcaded wall passage or blind arcade, its height corresponding to that of the aisle roof.

Vault Arched stone roof.

Vaulting rib/arch Masonry framework of intersecting arches (ribs) supporting vault cells, used in Gothic architecture.

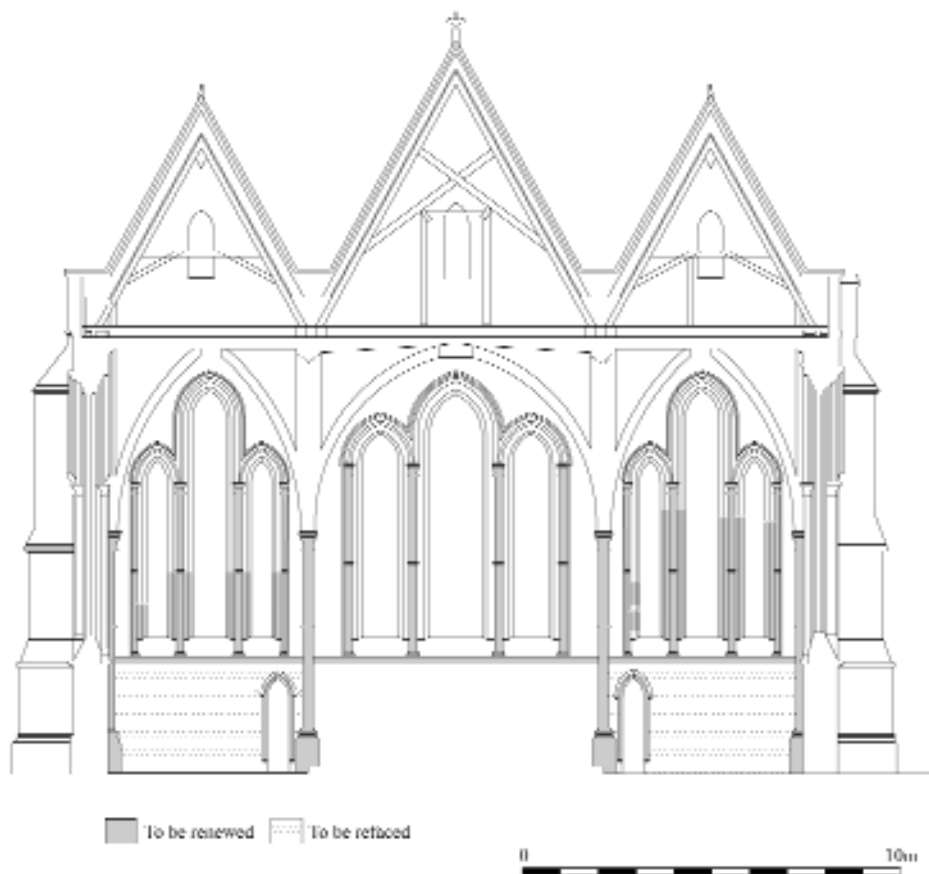


Fig. 69 Internal elevation of the east end showing the degree of stone replacement undertaken in the 1950s, reproduced with kind permission of the Middle Temple Surveyors Office (scale 1:200)

Chapter 4 Middle Saxon Artefactual and Faunal Remains



THE POTTERY

CHRIS JARRETT

Middle Saxon pottery was recovered *in situ* from the Hare Court investigation and residually from the Church Court excavation, and was classified according to Blackmore 1988 and 1989. The dating of Middle Saxon pottery in *Lundenwic* has also been recently redefined, based upon comparisons with continental assemblages and the excavation of the Royal Opera House (Blackmore 1999; 2001; 2003a).

In this ceramic sequence *Lundenwic* has an initial phase (*c.* AD 650-670) dominated by chaff-tempered pottery, with regional sandy wares and imported Merovingian-type black and greywares. New evidence suggests that pre *c.* 650, sandstone-tempered wares are a main characteristic of *Lundenwic's* early 7th century origins, or earlier post-Roman settlement (Blackmore *et al* 2004). From *c.* AD 670 to 730, alongside existing earlier wares, new local pottery types are introduced comprising oolitic and chalky wares, while new imports include 'Rhenish' Walberberg buff wares and French reduced wares, some possibly deriving from the Middle Meuse Valley. From *c.* AD 730 onwards the occurrence of Chaff-tempered pottery starts to decline and the first Ipswich-type wares appear alongside imports of early Rhenish amphorae. Between *c.* AD 750-775 Chaff-tempered wares are no longer made and Ipswich-type ware becomes the dominant fabric type, regional sandy wares are present as are earlier imports, although some may be residual. New imports include *Reliefbandamphorae* and the first classic Badorf and Tating wares. Shell-tempered wares are found in *Lundenwic* between *c.* AD 775-810 along with finer Badorf-type ware. In the last phase of *Lundenwic*, from *c.* AD 810 until the end of the settlement in *c.* AD 870, Ipswich-type ware still dominate assemblages, but more shell-tempered wares appear, Tating-type ware is rarer, Badorf-type ware is still present along with red-painted wares (Blackmore 1999, 41; 2001, 40).

Distribution of the Pottery

The majority of the Middle Saxon pottery, 47 sherds, came from the Hare Court well [116/131]. A 12th and 13th century plough soil/garden soil [108], sealing the Middle Saxon activity, produced two sherds of Ipswich-type coarse ware (IPSC) from closed shaped vessels and a similar layer in PP1, layer [13], produced three other sherds of Ipswich type ware. The rim sherd of a Badorf ware (BADOB) pitcher with horizontal triangular notched rouletting (*see* Fig. 65.16) was present residually in pit [100]. An 11th-12th century gravel and cobble surface [314] in LW2 produced a conjoining sherd from a North French Blackware beaker found in the well.

A small number of residual Middle Saxon pottery sherds were recovered from late 16th and mid 17th century dated deposits from Trench 1 in the Church Court excavation. These comprised shell-tempered ware (MSSG), Fine tempered Ipswich-type ware (IPSF) and a sherd of Coarse tempered Ipswich-type ware (IPSM).

The Well

The pottery from the fills of the well was fragmentary but generally not abraded, and sherd links between vessels occurred throughout the fills indicating mixing of deposits. For this reason the pottery has been quantified together (Table 3). It consisted of 47 sherds, with an estimated vessel equivalent (EVE) of 1.33 calculated from the percentage of surviving rims.

Fabrics and Forms

Chaff-tempered wares were present with abundant sand (CHFS) and more frequently with fine moderate sand (CHSF). Closed shapes were common, particularly jars, where rims were simple and upright (Fig. 65.1-65.2). A jar (in CHSF) had an everted rim with a rounded exterior and an internal bevel (Fig. 65.3). The Chaff-tempered wares were burnished to varying degrees, mostly externally. One vessel (in CHSF) was finely burnished on both surfaces, reducing

Table 3 *Quantification of Middle Saxon pottery from the Hare Court well*

| Fabric | Code | SC* | % SC | Wt* | % Wt | EVE* | % EVE |
|---|-------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Rhenish, Badorf-type ware (hard, fine) | BADOB | 1 | 2.1 | 30 | 2.7 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Chaff-tempered ware (sparse organic temper with fine sand) | CHFS | 2 | 4.3 | 21 | 1.9 | 0.1 | 7.5 |
| Chaff-tempered ware (chaff with coarse abundant sand/grit) | CHSF | 6 | 12.8 | 123 | 11.3 | 0.11 | 8.3 |
| Ipswich-type ware (fine) | IPSC | 11 | 23.4 | 327 | 30.0 | 0.45 | 33.8 |
| Ipswich-type ware (medium) | IPSF | 2 | 4.3 | 15 | 1.4 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Ipswich-type ware (coarse) | IPSM | 24.3 | 165 | 15.1 | 0 | 0.0 | |
| Middle Saxon crucible (coarse fabric) | MSCW | 3 | 6.4 | 109 | 10.0 | 0.08 | 6.0 |
| Middle Saxon shell-tempered ware (abundant bivalve shell, reduced) | MSSE | 1 | 2.1 | 14 | 1.3 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Middle Saxon shell-tempered ware (abundant bivalve shell, oxidised, soft and soapy) | MSSH | 2 | 4.3 | 98 | 9.0 | 0.15 | 11.3 |
| North French Blackware (fine, brown/pink body) | NFBWA | 7 | 14.9 | 103 | 9.4 | 0.11 | 8.3 |
| North French Blackware (fine bluish-white body) | NFBWC | 8 | 17.0 | 40 | 3.7 | 0.22 | 16.5 |
| North France/Eastern Belgium hard greyware | NFEBB | 1 | 2.1 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Saxon sand-tempered ware (fine sand-tempered with sparse organic) | SSAND | 1 | 2.1 | 46 | 4.2 | 0.11 | 8.3 |
| Total | | 47 | 100 | 1091 | 100 | 1.33 | 100 |

* sherd count (SC), weight (Wt), estimated vessel equivalents (EVES)

the porosity of the fabric. It must be concluded that the Chaff-tempered wares recovered from the well fills are not contemporary with the rest of the pottery. However, if the trend recognised at *Hamwic* and York holds, where the ratio of organic matter to sand decreases over time, then the absence of purely organic-tempered wares from the well may indicate activity towards the end of this ware's production period. Related to the Chaff-tempered wares was one example of a sand-tempered ware (SSAND) jar, which has a noticeable organic component to the fabric. The jar has a simple everted rim and slight burnishing but is not as well made as other examples in this fabric from *Lundenwic* (Fig. 65.4).

Ipswich-type ware was the most frequent fabric within the well fills (15 sherds, 507g), mostly in coarse fabric (IPSC) (Fig. 65.5-65.7), with a small number of sherds in fine (IPSF) and medium (IPSM) tempered fabrics. All the discernible forms come from closed/jar shapes, with rim diameters ranging between 110-200mm. Rims are all upright and simple, either with a slight external bead (Fig. 65.6) or with an external bevel (Fig. 65.5, 65.7, 65.8). Other characteristics of this wheel-finished pottery type are light ridges on the external shoulders of the jars (Fig. 65.5), and vessels with light burnishing, probably confined to slightly raised areas of an uneven surface of the vessel.

Shell-tempered wares were represented by two vessels; one a body sherd in the reduced fabric (MSSE), possibly of a Kentish origin and the other a rounded jar shape in the oxidised fabric (MSSH) (Fig. 65.9). The latter fabric has larger shell fragments than the type sherd from the Peabody site (Blackmore 1989, 83) and increases the range in the size of

the shell from 5mm to 8mm (L. Blackmore, pers. comm.).

Three fragments from dish-shaped crucibles were present (Fig. 65.10), coded MSCW†. The fabric of the Hare Court crucible is soft/hard, reddish brown, with an external dark grey surface. Inclusions consist of abundant sand, less than 1mm, moderate ill-sorted, rounded and sub-rounded clear, grey and rose quartz. The rim of the vessel is simple, rounded in profile but slightly inturned. Both surfaces are covered in a clear glassy substance and the crucible was used for glass manufacture (*see* Goodburn-Brown, below).

Imported pottery consists of North French blackwares, (NFBWA and NFBWC), North French/ Eastern Belgium (NFEBB) and Badorf-type ware (BADOB). An imported North French Black ware pitcher was present (fabric NFBWA). This had a characteristic bevelled rim, decorated with an applied rib and a combed curvilinear line (Fig. 65.11). Fragments of a beaker and bowl (Fabric NFBWC) also represent imported North French pottery. The beaker has a simple rim with an external corrugated surface (Fig. 65.12), the second vessel, possibly a bowl or another beaker has a slightly everted rim, thickened internally on the neck and it also has a corrugated external surface (Fig. 65.13). The beaker and bowl in pit [116/131] are comparable to forms present at *Hamwic* in the Class 12 fabric (*Lundenwic* fabric MSSWA), with a suggested source at Trier, Northern France (Hodges 1981, 20-21, fig. 3, 48-9). Beakers of the type seen here have not previously been found in London.

A pitcher was also present in hard greyware with an origin in North France/Eastern Belgium (NFEBB), a coarse sand-tempered ware with silver grey surfaces, orange margins and a grey core. The pitcher has the characteristic 'bevelled/flanged' rim with the terminal of a loop, strap handle, attached on the underside of the rim (Fig. 65.14).

A ninth-century German import was present comprising

† Until more Middle Saxon crucible fragments are discovered and the fabrics can be more clearly defined, an umbrella code for these fabrics has been devised; Middle Saxon crucible (MSCR), and Middle Saxon crucible coarse fabric (MSCW).

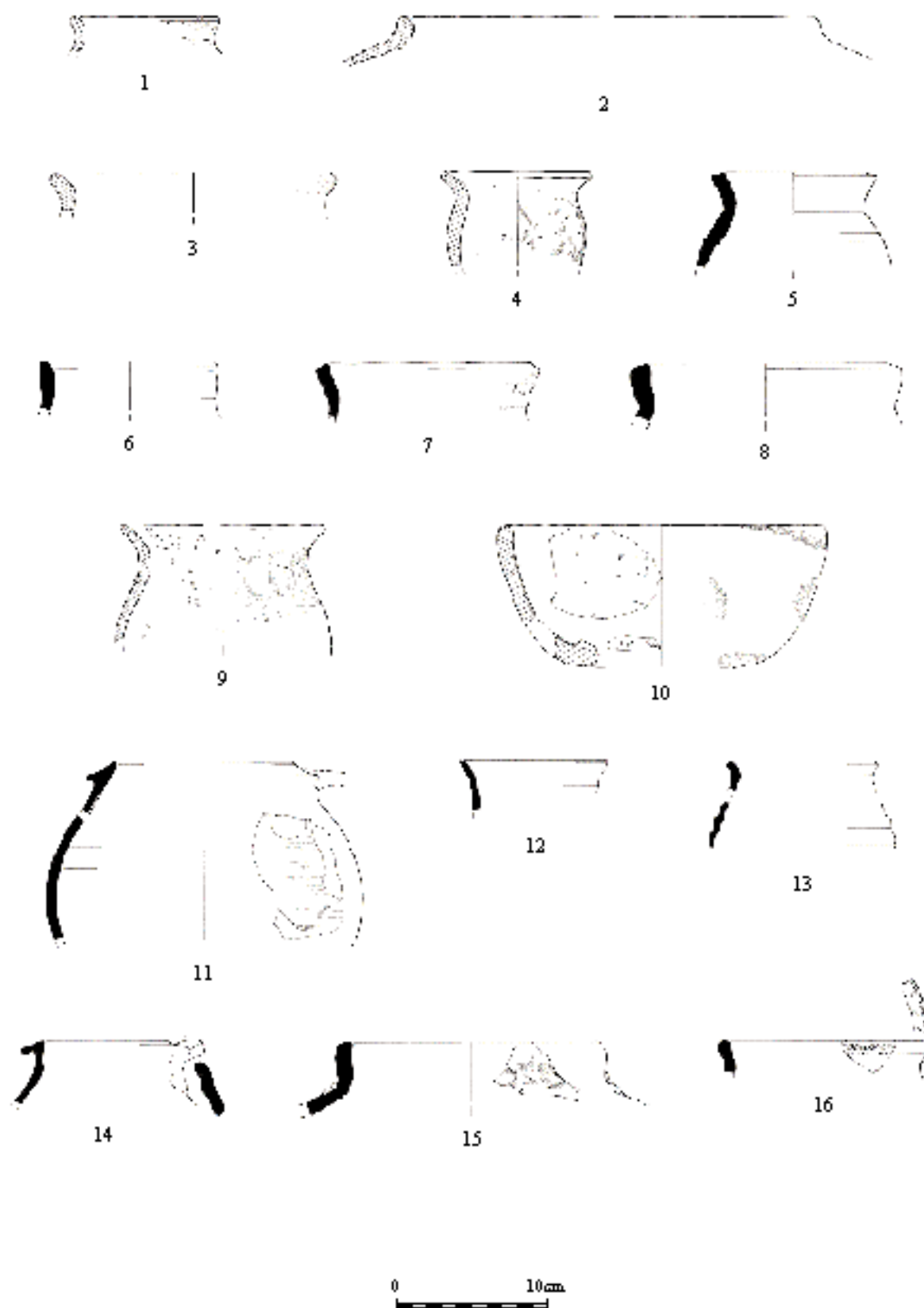


Fig. 65 Middle Saxon pottery: 1-3. Chaff-tempered wares, 4. Sand-tempered ware, 5-8. Ipswich-type wares, 9. Shell-tempered ware, 10. Middle Saxon coarse crucible ware, 11-13. North French blackware, 14. North French/Eastern Belgian greyware, 15-16. Badorf-type ware (scale 1:4)

the rim of a Rhenish Badorf type ware (BADOB) *Reliefbandamphoren* (Fig. 65.15). The fabric is a hard, fine sandy ware with external orange surface and margin, internal buff surface and a pale grey core. Decoration consists of diagonal applied strips of clay that, from the small sherd present, appear to have been intermittently thumbbed.

Date of Deposition

The presence of shell-tempered wares and the true Badorf-type ware *Reliefbandamphoren* must indicate a date of deposition at the end of the 8th or 9th century. The North French (NFBWC) fabric is one of several continental fabric types associated with Tating-type ware/decoration, where strips of metal foil were glued to the surface of pots (Blackmore 1989, 85, 87). Production of Tating-type wares appears to date to the late 8th century (Blackmore 1999, 41; 2001, 44) and may indicate a similar date for the beakers, but a later date is not impossible.

The Chaff-tempered ware sherds, although undoubtedly residual, were not abraded and indicated that prior to its final deposition, this material had been static and not subjected to processes associated with sherds subjected to substantial wear. At late 8th and early 9th century sites at the National Gallery and National Portrait Gallery expansion of the *Lundenwic* settlement caused earlier chaff-tempered wares derived from plough soils to be incorporated into later pits (Blackmore 1989, 106; Jarrett 2004). Therefore, the condition of the Chaff-tempered wares at the Hare Court site could indicate possible late 7th and 8th century activity on the site. A silver sceat, dated *c.* AD 710-20 present in well fill [130] (*see* Gaimster, below), supports this interpretation.

Discussion

The pottery from the site includes some vessels not previously recorded or rare in other areas of *Lundenwic*, such as the North French beakers, while metal-working crucibles have been found in *Lundenwic* at James Street and The Royal Opera House, and also as thumb-pot crucibles at *Hamwic* and Fishergate, York, associated with metal working (Jarrett 2001e, Blackmore with Dennis 2003; Bayley 1992). However, the crucible fragments from Hare Court were used in glass production, a rare find as evidence for this industry in

England and Europe during the Middle and Late Saxon periods is sparse. Glass-making kilns have been recorded at Barking, Essex, and archaeomagnetically dated AD 920 \pm 50 years at 98% confidence level and at Glastonbury, Somerset, in levels dating to the ninth or tenth century, while possible glass-making was identified at Flixborough, Lincolnshire (Filer, 1991, 301, Clarke, 1984, 145, Loveluck, 1998).

The pottery and other finds from the site may indicate an 'enclave' on the periphery of *Lundenwic*, perhaps including artisans as suggested by glass manufacture. A degree of affluence is indicated by the presence of a *Reliefbandamphoren*; such vessels were imported probably containing wine, alongside quernstones and other luxury items from Dorestad (Blackmore 1999, 40). The North French blackware beakers may not represent trade, but could be gifts or personal items of travellers or merchants. It has been suggested that certain drinking forms were traded with wine (Hodges 1981, 69, 89, 91). The presence of non-abraded Chaff-tempered wares also hints at earlier Saxon activity.

THE SMALL FINDS

MÄRIT GAIMSTER AND IAN RIDDLER

In addition to pottery and glass (*see* below) a small assemblage of Middle Saxon objects came from the well [116]/[131]. It includes a silver *sceat*, antler combs, ceramic loomweights and crucibles, a bone pin-beater, iron knives, copper alloy pins, an antler pin or needle and an iron punch (Table 4). The assemblage includes material of both 8th and 9th century date, seemingly intermixed across the various layers within the well. The coin can be dated to *c.* AD 710-720 but the ceramics include Ipswich ware (which may not have arrived in *Lundenwic* before AD 730 at the earliest), as well as imported sherds of late 8th to early 9th century date. Similarly, there are single examples of an annular, an intermediate and a bun-shaped loomweight, the three forms that encompass the entire Middle Saxon period (*see* Jarrett, this Chapter, below). The combs belong essentially to the early or middle part of the 8th century, whilst the glass includes vessels of 8th to 9th century date. Most of the objects belong to categories that have been seen previously in *Lundenwic* excavations. At the same time, there are significant finds within most of these categories, and they are presented in detail in the following text.

Table 4 Middle Saxon small finds from Hare Court

| Context | Small find** | Description | Figure* |
|---------|--------------|---|---------|
| 130 | SF51 | silver coin; sceat Series G, Type G2c; obv.: bust with profile to the right, hand holding a cross in front of face; rev.: standard with crosses in three corners, replaced in fourth corner with group of three pellets; weight 1.20g | 66 |
| 115 | SF113 | copper-alloy pin; incomplete; spherical head; Type A1; L 25mm W 1.5mm | 67.1 |
| 130 | SF114 | copper-alloy pin; near complete; traces of head; L 60mm | 67.2 |
| 126 | SF153 | antler composite comb; incomplete; min. L 60mm W 15mm; double-sided but no teeth preserved; seven teeth per 10mm; one iron rivet extant; side-plates decorated with groups of vertical lines | 68.1 |
| 115 | SF148 | antler composite comb; incomplete; min. L 52mm W 42mm; double-sided with six teeth per 10mm on either side | 68.2 |
| 126 | SF151 | antler composite comb; incomplete; min. L 30mm W 30mm; double-sided with teeth present on one side only; four coarse and six finer teeth per 10mm; one iron rivet extant | 68.3 |
| 126 | SF92 | antler composite comb; end fragment; six teeth per 10mm present on one side | 68.5 |
| 126 | SF155 | antler composite comb; fragment of side-plate decorated with vertical lines and ?cross-hatch pattern; L 13mm W 10mm | 68.5 |
| 126 | SF154 | bone ?pin/thread picker; incomplete; roughly carved point and polished surface; L 47mm W 5mm | 68.1 |
| 125 | SF152 | bone pin/needle; incomplete; L 30mm W 4mm | 69.2 |
| 129 | SF119 | iron knife; Type C2; near complete; tang broken off; L 140mm W c. 15mm | 70.1 |
| 126 | SF162 | iron ?punch or awl; incomplete; robust with round section and pointed end; L 90mm W 10mm | 70.2 |
| 125 | SF85 | iron knife/blade; incomplete; L 65mm W 20mm | |
| 130 | SF52 | iron knife; incomplete; straight back; L 70mm W 12mm | |

*where illustrated

** excluding glass

The Coin

MÄRIT GAIMSTER

Catalogue

[130], SF 51: *sceat*

Series G

Type G2c

O: bust with profile to the right, hand holding a cross in front of the face.

R: standard with crosses in three corners, replaced in the fourth corner with a group of three pellets.



Weight: 1.2g

Fig. 66 Middle Saxon Sceat (scale 1:1)

Discussion

The Saxon coin from Hare Court (Figs. 22, 23, 66) adds to the growing *corpus* of *sceattas* from controlled excavations within London (Metcalf 2003; Stott 1991). The Series G is probably among the earliest of the Secondary series of *sceattas*: individual coins weigh between 1g and 1.2g, only slightly less than the Primary and Intermediate series (Blackburn 1984, 168). In terms of absolute dating, the Series G has been placed within the second decade of the 7th century (Blackburn 1984, table 2A). There are some 25 provenanced finds of Series G *sceattas* from England (Metcalf 1993, 267). One specimen is previously known from London; this is of the same type as the Hare Court coin and was retrieved during excavations at Bermondsey Abbey (Stott 1991, 305, no. 17). However, the Hare Court coin is significant, as previously Series G *sceattas* from Middle Saxon *wic* settlements have been rare or absent (cf Metcalf 1986, 11). Northern France has been suggested as the probable minting-place for this series, with the early medieval trading port of Quentovic a prime candidate (Metcalf 1986, 10-11). Recent excavations at Visemarest, thought to be the site of the elusive Quentovic, have yielded another Type G2c *sceat* (Hill *et al* 1990, 56).

Pins

IAN RIDDLE AND MÄRIT GAIMSTER

Dress accessories are relatively unspectacular at this time, if common, and they consist largely of pins. Spherical-headed pins, with or without decoration, such as SF113 (Fig. 67.1), are well-known from Middle Saxon contexts; at *Hamwic* this constituted the most common type of pin (Hinton 1996, 20). The headless pin SF114 (Fig. 67.2) has a straight shaft with traces of a ?collar at the top. The pin has parallels in the *Hamwic* Type K group; it may be unfinished or simply have lost its head, as have numerous pins from contemporary sites (Hinton 1996, 34-35 and Fig. 13; Rogers 1993, 1364-1366). The head may have been cast separately and soldered to the shaft, as suggested for some of the pins from York (Rogers 1993, 1366).



Fig. 67 Middle Saxon copper alloy pins: 1. Spherical headed pin SF113, 2. Headless pin, SF114 (scale 1:1)

Combs

IAN RIDDLE

Five fragments of antler combs came from the fill of the well and four of these were recovered from the same context. They represent at least three separate combs, all of which are double-sided composites. One fragment, SF153 (Fig. 68.1), consists of the middle part of a comb, which is decorated to either side of the centre by bands of vertical incised lines. Similar paired bands define the middle sections of double-sided composite combs from elsewhere in *Lundenwic* (Blackmore 2003, fig. 175.B100; Riddler 2004b, fig. 61.1). They occur also on contemporary Middle Saxon combs from Canterbury, Dover, *Hamwic* and Ipswich,

forming a distinctive component of double-sided comb decoration of the eighth century (Philp 2003, fig. 40.30; Addyman & Hill 1969, fig. 31; Holdsworth 1976, fig. 21.2; Riddler *et al.* forthcoming).

A second comb, SF148 (Fig. 68.2), is undecorated, with connecting plates that taper towards one end, and prominent saw marks from the cutting of the teeth. The teeth taper to blunt ends, with little sign of use. The lack of decoration and the relative proportions of the comb, with narrow connecting plates and long teeth, recall combs from Canterbury, Dover, Flixborough, *Hamwic*, *Sandtun*, Shakenoak and Staines, as well as *Lundenwic* itself (Philp 2003, fig. 40.26; Blockley *et al.* 1995, fig. 511.1167; Riddler 2001, fig. 41.11; Brodrigg *et al.* 1972, fig. 56.35-6 and 57.40; Robertson-Mackay *et al.* 1981, fig. 5.1; Blackmore 2003c, fig. 175. B211).

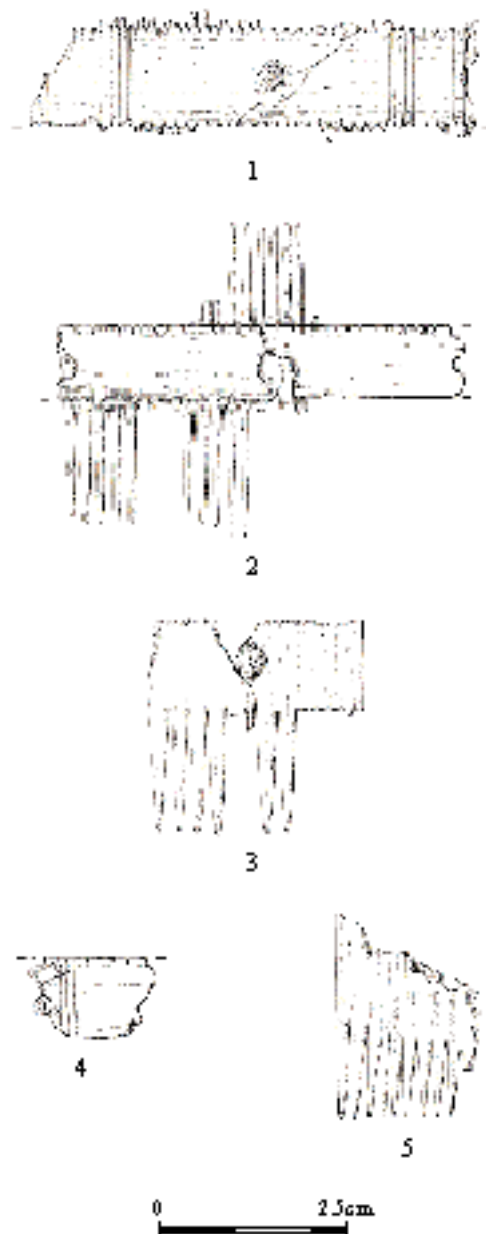


Fig. 68 Middle Saxon antler comb fragments (scale 1:1)

Undecorated double-sided composite combs occur also in early Anglo-Saxon contexts but the group described here differs from those earlier examples for the narrow, elongated form of the comb, with tapering connecting plates and with the end segments often set well beyond them. These combs are found in 7th century contexts but the majority probably belong to the 8th century.

Two conjoining tooth segments, SF151 (Fig. 68.3), possess coarser teeth with lateral beading at their ends, a noticeable indication of wear (Holdsworth 1976, 45). Alongside these tooth segments, the connecting plate fragment, SF155 (Fig. 68.4), and end segment, SF92 (Fig. 68.5), may all stem from the same comb, which retains traces of a finely-incised lattice decoration, bounded by three vertical lines. It has been suggested elsewhere that lattice decoration belongs essentially to double-sided composite combs of 7th and 8th century date, and it may have gone out of use by the later eighth century (Riddler 2004c, 53).

Each of the three double-sided combs differs in its decoration but they all reflect designs seen previously in *Lundenwic*. Most of the combs from the Royal Opera House were assigned there to Period 5 (AD 730-770) and the general similarities seen here suggest that the Hare Court combs also belong to the early or middle part of the 8th century. The lack of any single-sided composite combs corresponds with the developing image of comb manufacture in *Lundenwic*, which is centred on double-sided composites, with few examples of any other comb type (Riddler 2004d, 146). At the same time, the comb 'workshop' at the Royal Opera House produced double-sided composites with finer teeth on one side of the comb than the other, and that characteristic is not seen in this assemblage. It remains a characteristic which is specific to that particular area of *Lundenwic*.

Antler Pin Beater and Bone Pin or Needle

IAN RIDDLER

A small fragment of a double pointed pin-beater SF154, almost certainly made of antler, includes a number of facets cut by knife along its tapering sides (Fig. 69.1). These resemble the corrugated appearance of certain pin-beaters, seen at Pennyland, for example (Riddler 1993, fig. 61.69). In this case, however, they are not an index of wear and they have been deliberately cut into the object, in the process of repointing this end of the implement. Double pointed pin-beaters are associated with the warp-weighted loom and they occur throughout most of the Anglo-Saxon period (Walton Rogers 1997, 1755). Prior to the 9th century reintroduction of the vertical two-beam loom (Walton Rogers 2001) the

warp-weighted loom was the only form of loom known in Anglo-Saxon England.

A small fragment of the lower part of a pin or needle, SF152, includes the rounded point and a part of the shaft (Fig. 69.2). It has been cut from a pig fibula, as have many of the bone pins and needles from *Lundenwic* (Riddler 2004c, 54), but the object type is unclear.

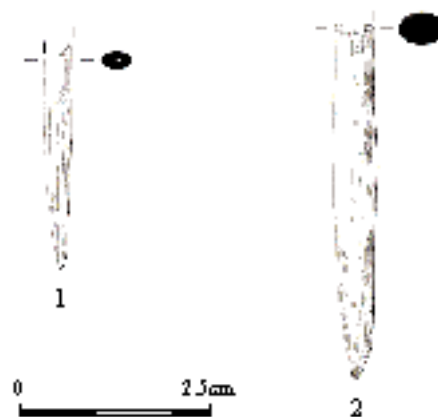


Fig. 69 Middle Saxon bone objects: 1. Pin-beater SF154, 2. Fragment of bone pin or needle SF152 (scale 1:1)

Iron Knives and Punch

MÄRIT GAIMSTER

Knives, too, are likely to represent the belongings of individuals, with three present from Hare Court. The most complete is SF119 (Fig. 70.1) which, following the York typology, is a Type C2 knife (Ottaway 1992, 561-572; Rogers



Fig. 70 Middle Saxon iron objects: 1. Knife SF119, 2. Punch SF162 (scale 1:2)

1993, 1273-1277). Furnished with a straight back and slightly convex tip, it is near-identical to a knife from the Royal Opera House excavations (Malcolm *et al.* 2003, fig. 162; <M137>).

Besides knives, the ironwork from Saxon settlements has yielded a wide range of iron tools and implements; the possible punch SF162 (Fig. 70.2) may have been used for making holes in hot iron (Malcolm *et al.* 2003, 176).

THE GLASS

VERA I. EVISON

Three fragments of Middle Saxon glass vessels were found at Hare Court. SF160 (*see* Fig. 24) is part of a type of bowl which was also found in Valsgärde in Sweden. This is hemispherical in shape and decorated overall with applied trails (colour plate: Baumgartner & Krueger 1988, 70, no. 12; Evison 2000, fig.4.III.1, pl.5a). There is a zone of single horizontal trails at the top of the bowl, a band of closely applied reticella trails in the middle and the lower part is decorated with vertical reticella trails radiating from the base. These trails usually consist of two strands of glass twisted together, one the same colour as the vessel and the other yellow or white. This fragment comes from the middle area of the vessel.

Traces of this type of bowl and globular beakers similarly decorated have been widely found in northwest Europe and Scandinavia (Steppuhn 1998, 115-116, Abb. 29; Evison 2000, 85, map fig.7; Evison forthcoming map 3). They are found in contexts of the 8th to 9th century, and although the Valsgärde grave 6 has been dated as early as the middle of the 7th century (Näsman 1986, 80ff.), in England reticella decorated vessels do not occur in pagan graves, nor on settlement sites before AD 700.

The Hare Court piece appears to be a broken fragment which might have been kept because of its attractive mixture of colours and the sturdy nature of the piece would have

Table 5 Saxon glass fragments from Hare Court

| Context | Small Find | Description | Figure |
|---------|------------|---|--------|
| 130 | SF 103 | Body fragment of a globular vessel, very light green. Five parallel reticella trails, yellow/self, partly marvered, cover most of the surface; three are S-twist and two Z-twist. Maximum length 28mm, thickness 0.5-2mm. | 24 |
| 115 | SF 102 | Rim fragment, very light green, slightly outplayed and rolled inwards to thicken. Decoration by five marvered horizontal trails. Maximum length 17mm, thickness 1-3mm, Diameter 100mm. | 71.1 |
| 13 | SF 101 | Rim fragment, light green-blue, slightly outplayed and hollow rolled inwards. Maximum length 20mm, thickness 0.5-4mm. Diameter 100mm. | 71.2 |

assisted in its survival. Fragments of the middle part of Valsgärde bowls have also been found at *Hammic* (Hunter & Heyworth 1998, fig. 14 169/1185, white trails, fig. 16. 7/28 white and yellow trails). Another fragment of reticella, probably from this type of bowl, has been found in the *Lundenwic* area at Maiden Lane (Evison 1988, 121-122, fig. 34.10) and five reticella bowl fragments representing three/four vessels were found at the Royal Opera House (Stiff 2003, 242 & 245). At Whitby, Yorkshire, two fragments, also probably from the middle part of this type of bowl, have been trimmed down to neat rectangular shapes (Evison 1991, 143-145, 107(i) Vessel fragment, 107(m) Square plaque; Evison forthcoming nos. 16 and 17) which shows that their decorative quality was appreciated so that they were intended for inlay in metalwork such as a chalice, cf Derrynaflan (Youngs 1989, 130-131, No. 124) where rectangular stones of similar size were inset.

The rim fragment SF161 (Fig. 71.1) was rolled inwards,

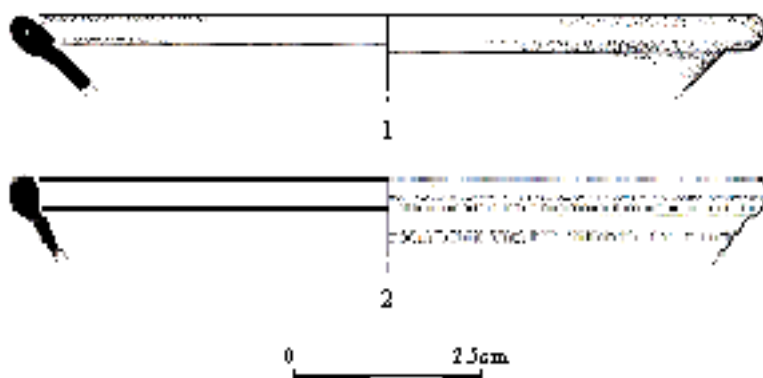


Fig. 71 Middle Saxon glass: 1. Rim fragment SF 102, 2. Rim fragment SF 101 (scale 1:1)

creating a tubular hollow. The diameter of $\approx 100\text{mm}$ indicates the wide mouth of a funnel beaker (Evison 2000, 80, fig. 4, 4-5, pl. 5b). This is one of the most frequent forms found in contexts of the 9th to 10th century in northwest Europe and Scandinavia (Steppuhn 1998, 59-60) and was used as a drinking vessel or as a lamp. They occur at a number of other sites in England including *Hamwic* (Hunter & Heyworth 1998, fig. 4, 24.462), *Lundenwic* at Maiden Lane (Evison 1988, fig. 34.5) and at The Royal Opera House where twelve fragments were found, two with trailing (Stiff 2003, 245).

The rim fragment SF159 (Fig. 71.2) comes from a similar funnel beaker, but, although the rim is rolled inwards, it is not hollow, and there is decoration, nearly to the edge, by yellow horizontal trails. Similarly decorated rims occurred at *Hamwic* (Hunter & Heyworth 1998, fig. 6, 14/303, fig. 9, 177/498, 169/398, 14/267, 38/112, 32/504).

These glass vessels could have been imported from the Continent, but it appears more likely that the trade in slabs or ingots of glass imported from primary Middle East sources was continuing, and the vessels were blown and finished in secondary glass working sites in northwest Europe and England (Foy *et al.* 1999; Freestone *et al.* 1999). Literary sources suggest the movement of glass workers from one country to another to produce the finished articles (Evison 2000, 92-93).

THE CRUCIBLE RESIDUES

DANA GOODBURN-BROWN WITH IAN SLIPPER AND JUSTINE BAYLEY

Three fragments of crucibles were recovered from the backfill of the Middle Saxon well. They are described in detail within the pottery analysis (*see* Jarrett, above). The ceramic fragments represent one or two crucibles, which were used for melting naturally coloured pale bluish transparent alkali silicate glass. This type of glass was typically used for the manufacture of vessels, window glass and some beads. The good state of preservation and translucence of the glass layer is consistent with a soda lime silicate glass and SEM-XRF (X-ray fluorescence) analysis did not identify any significant amounts of metal elements, which might have been added for colouring. (Some very minor traces of lead, tin and copper were detected as discrete particles within pores/surface pits, but the sizes of these were ≈ 10 microns and fairly sparsely situated within the glass matrix.) The homogeneity of the glass layer indicates glass melting rather than the manufacture of glass from raw materials. One of the fragments has a lump of

greener glass adhering to the surface, but this has been interpreted to be insignificant to the process – perhaps the accidental dropping of a bit of iron-rich material, ceramic or glass fragment which stuck to the side of the crucible.

The fragment from context [115] represents part of the rim of a crucible, which was $\approx 20\text{cm}$ in diameter. The crucible is likely to have been as deep as it was wide. Visual inspection by the scanning electron microscope of the glass surface morphologies on fragments from contexts [115] and [130] indicated that these fragments represent separate crucibles used for similar but different melts. These finds are significant, as there is little evidence for glass working during this period in Britain (Bayley 2000).

THE LOOMWEIGHTS

CHRIS JARRETT

Five fragments of loomweights, representing four individual items, were recovered from the Hare Court and Temple Court excavations. On the Hare Court site four fragments of three loomweights were recovered from the Middle Saxon well (SF95, SF96 and SF158). The fourth loomweight (SF72), came from a fill of the 12th-century quarry pit in Trench 1 at Church Court. Three of the loomweights show different degrees of abrasion and one has a mortar or coarse plaster deposit on one surface. Most of these items therefore indicate secondary deposition. The other loomweight is in a good condition and may have been thrown away soon after breaking. The loomweights were classified according to Hurst (1959, 24) and fit all three of his categories (Table 6)

The fabrics

The loomweights fit within the two basic fabrics and their sub-divisions as recorded in *Lundenwic* (*see* Table 6); type 1 with organic inclusions and type 2 where organic inclusions are less notable (Blackmore 1988, 111). A single loomweight is recorded in fabric 1b with abundant quartz and sparse organic material, with the burnt out impressions and veins of a grass-type plant observed. The single loomweight from Church Court is in fabric 2a; a fine brickearth fabric with fine quartz, while the other two weights from Hare Court are in Fabric 2b as defined by their large flint grits up to 20mm in size. However, there is also the impression of a large but flatter inclusion, 32mm in length within the matrix of SF158, but the surface of this weight is heavily laminated and possibly spalled during firing.

The types

Anglo-Saxon loomweights have been classified by Hurst into three types; annular, intermediate and bun-shaped (Hurst 1959, 23-25), the intermediate type being added to the two types described by Wheeler for London examples (Wheeler 1935, 154-155). A single annular weight (SF9, Fig. 72.1) is oval in plan, its maximum external diameter is 140mm, the internal diameter of the hole is between 50-60mm and greater than the thickness of the clay coil. Its dimensions, therefore, meet the criteria for assigning it to this type. Although damaged and missing one surface, a surviving area is flat and shows it to have been made from a sausage of clay and formed on an even surface and therefore typical for this type of loomweight.

There are two intermediate loomweights of which the Church Court example SF72 (Fig. 72.3) is the most fragmentary with a diameter 100mm, with an estimated original weight of 773g, but its central aperture is missing. The loomweight also has the characteristic D-shaped profile and a small area of possible burning survives on one side. The Hare Court loomweight SF95 (Fig. 72.2) is in better condition and has an external diameter of 120mm with the diameter of the central hole recorded as 45mm and the thickness of the clay is also 45mm. In profile this weight is D-shaped and the external surfaces show a number of disruptions where large organic inclusions have burnt out. However, there are two closely spaced shallow dimples close to the central aperture and these are probably fingertip impressions made during the forming of the weight. These impressions do not appear to be decorative and while other weights have stab marks to aid in the firing of the object, the dimples here are too shallow for that purpose. It has a height of 45mm and an estimated original weight of 811g. Whereas the annular weights were made of a coiled sausage of clay the intermediate and bun-shaped ones were formed and shaped from a ball of clay and the hole formed by piercing it with a tool or thumb and fingers.

Bun-shaped loomweights are characterised as having a biconical profile and a central aperture smaller in diameter to the width of the weights' body. The fourth loomweight from

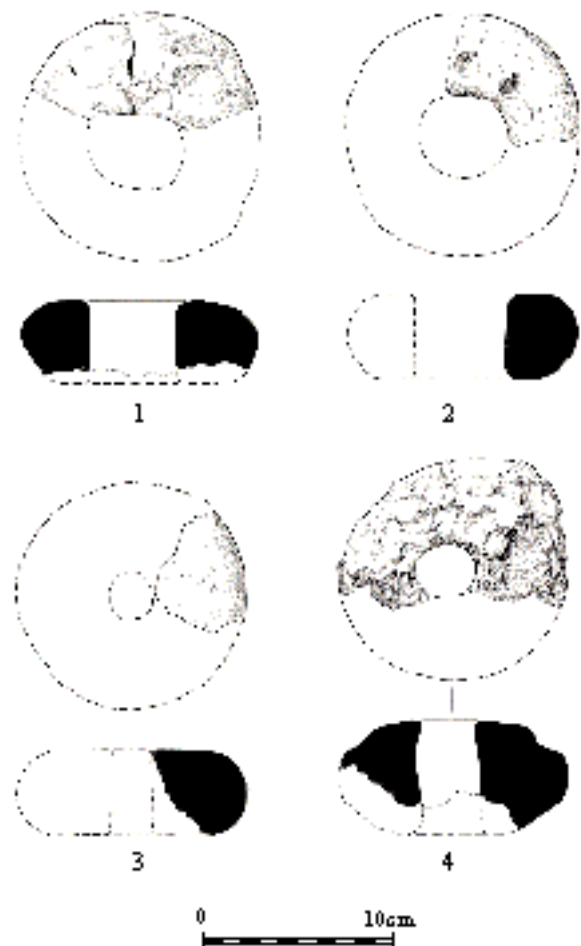


Fig. 72 Middle Saxon loomweights (scale 1:4) 1, SF9, 2, SF95, 3, SF72, 4, SF158

the site (SF158, Fig. 72.4) probably best fits this category as it has a diameter of 120mm; the hole diameter is 20mm with a thickness of 50mm for the clay body. Despite its fragmentary state and laminated or spalled surface, this weight does appear to be biconical, with an aperture convex in profile, as thickening the clay in these areas constricts both ends of the hole. Its estimated original weight is 333g, and this appears to be under weight compared to complete examples (*see* Riddler 2004a, 23, table 2), no doubt partly due to its fragmentary state and spalled surfaces. Interestingly on one conjoining fragment of this weight there is a deposit of mortar or coarse plaster on one surface, which covers

Table 6 The Church Court and Hare Court loomweights

| Site code | Context | SF No. | Type | Fabric | FC* | Weight | Estimated original Weight | Diameter | Height | Figure |
|-----------|---------|--------|--------------|--------|-----|--------|---------------------------|----------|--------|--------|
| HCO 99 | 126 | SF96 | Annular | 2b | 1 | 200g | 571g | 140mm | 35+mm | 72.1 |
| HCO 99 | 126 | SF95 | Intermediate | 1b | 1 | 211g | 811g | 120mm | 45mm | 72.2 |
| TCT 99 | 179 | SF72 | Intermediate | 2a | 1 | 116g | 773g | 100mm | 49mm | 72.3 |
| HCO 99 | 126 | SF158 | Bun-shaped | 2b | 2 | 333g | 574g | 120mm | 62+mm | 72.4 |

* fragment count (FC)

broken areas (K. Sabel, pers. comm.). Therefore, this weight was either accidentally coated in this substance or was reused as a building material and later thrown into the well, where the other part of the same weight was also discarded.

Discussion

The different types of loomweights have an established chronological sequence with the annular type associated with the Early Saxon period, the intermediate weights with the Middle Saxon period and the bun-shaped examples dating to the Late Saxon period (but present in the later *Lundenwic* settlement). Loomweights are a common occurrence on *Lundenwic* sites where all three types occur and have apparently been used at the same time (Goffin 2003, 220; Riddler 2004a, 19-23). Some conclusions can be inferred from this small group of loomweights, although the Church Court example should be regarded as residual. This leaves only the three examples from the Middle Saxon well at Hare Court for discussion. The pottery from the well indicates infilling of the feature possibly from the end of the 8th century or early 9th century (*see* Jarrett above). The damaged and abraded annular loomweight fragment could be residual and probably reflects, like the presence of the Chaff-tempered pottery, earlier, pre-*c.* AD 750 Saxon activity on the site and perhaps within the well. The other two loomweights of different types are almost certainly contemporary with each other, and the bun-shaped example fits well with the date of the pottery.

Anglo-Saxon loomweights were used with an upright loom and were attached to a group of warp threads to keep them in tension, so their weight appears to be more important for their function rather than their shape or size. The warp can often leave wear marks on the loomweights they were tied to, but none of the fragments of loomweights from the Hare Court well, or the example from Church Court, show any evidence for this. However, discrete groups of Anglo-Saxon loomweights have been found, either where they were being stored in a building, as at Mucking, Essex (Barford 1993) or burnt *in situ*, indicating where a loom actually stood, as at the Royal Opera House (Malcolm *et al.* 2003, 85), or discarded after burning either on the loom or in storage as at James Street (Leary, *et al.* 2004, 11). The arrangement of weights on the loom is that they were always in pairs, with between eleven and thirteen pairs of weights per 1m of weft (Riddler 2004a, 22).

CRAFTS, INDUSTRIES AND FASHIONS

IAN RIDDLE

The discovery of Middle Saxon settlement in the southeast periphery of *Lundenwic* is highly significant and complements previous isolated or re-deposited finds from the area (Bowsher 1999, 87-88). The Hare Court assemblage may be small but it nevertheless allows some comparison with sites within *Lundenwic*. It can be viewed alongside other finds from the immediate vicinity, such as the high-quality 9th century Trewhiddle-style strap end found at Globe House just to the west (Bowsher 1999, 87-88). A hoard of more than 250 coins, and with a *terminus post quem* of *c.* AD 842, was discovered in Hare Court in 1893 (Cowie 1988, 44 no. 58; Vince 1990, 113 and fig. 58). The latter may be a testimony to the Viking attacks on London at this time.

The objects ably reflect crafts practised elsewhere in *Lundenwic* at this time. The loomweights and pin-beater were used in textile manufacture on a warp-weighted loom, of the type seen at James Street (Leary *et al.* 2004, 11 and fig. 15). A significant increase in the quantity of textile manufacturing implements within Period 5 (AD 730-770) at the Royal Opera House excavations in *Lundenwic* has been related to the possible influence of Frisian merchants and the concomitant development of the wool trade (Blackmore 2003, 169-170). Historical sources may also support this suggestion, although it is not merely textile manufacture that increases in intensity at this time; this is a period of more general economic growth (Campbell 2003, 16-17; Blinkhorn 1999, 14-18). By the middle of the 8th century or a little later, textile implements are widespread across *Lundenwic*, from the National Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery in the west to Hare Court in the east (Whytehead *et al.* 1989, 107-110; Leary *et al.* 2004, 95-97).

The crucible fragments suggest that glass was being worked nearby and this is undoubtedly an important discovery. The lack of comparable finds from elsewhere in Middle Saxon England makes it difficult to assess properly the significance of this material (Bayley 2000, 138-139). It is interesting to note, however, that contemporary evidence for glass working at *Hamwic* came from a site by the boundary ditch of the settlement, suggesting that the activity took place in peripheral areas (Andrews 1997, 217-218). The iron punch also indicates that craft working took place in this area, though the object may have been used with metals, antler or leather, or even in woodworking, as noted for contemporary examples from York (Rogers 1993, 1239-1242).

Combs and knives represent the most common personal possessions of this period. If textile manufacture developed

in the mid 8th century, then comb making may also have increased in intensity, to cope with the demands of an expanding settlement population. Composite combs were not used in textile manufacture at this time and all of the evidence available suggests that they were used only on human hair (Allison & Kenward 1991). There is very little evidence to suggest that they were a widely traded commodity at this period and it is more likely that they were produced for local use. Comb making has been identified at several locations within *Lundenwic* (Riddler 2004d). The knives may also have been produced locally. They are of typical Middle Saxon forms, comparable with other examples from *Lundenwic*, as well as those from further afield, at York and *Sandtun* (Whytehead *et al.* 1989, fig. 42.236-237; Blackmore 2003c, 255-257; Leary *et al.* 2004, 99-100; Rogers 1993, fig. 628; Gardiner *et al.* 2001, fig. 43). Unlike other object categories, regional distinctions in knife forms have yet to be identified.

THE ANIMAL BONE

ROBIN BENDREY

Archaeological excavation produced animal bone from all phases at both Church Court and Hare Court (Bendrey 2001). The assemblage from the Middle Saxon well [115] in Hare Court is discussed here, with selected 16th and 17th century material discussed in Chapter 5. This assemblage from the well represents 865 (27%) of the 3198 fragments recovered in total from the two sites. Of this total of 865

fragments, weighing 17042g, 57.3% were identified by number and 83.5% by weight.

Animals identified comprise: cattle (*Bos* sp. domestic), sheep (*Ovis* sp. domestic), pig (*Sus* sp. domestic), goat (*Capra* sp. domestic), horse (*Equus caballus* sp. domestic), fallow deer (*Dama dama*), red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), whale sp. (*Cetacea indet.*), domestic fowl (*Gallus gallus*), domestic goose (*Anser anser*).

The animal bone is quantified in this report by the number of fragments recorded, and their weight (Table 7). Relative quality of meat yield (Table 8) has been calculated following West (1985, fig. 4). Sheep/goat bones have been included with sheep, and chicken-sized galliform fragments with domestic fowl. The full methodology is described in Bendrey (2001). The bone is well preserved with carnivore damage recorded on only eight fragments, suggesting relatively quick burial. Thirteen fragments had been burnt.

The Main Domestic Animals

Cattle and sheep numerically dominate the Saxon assemblage, followed by pig (Table 7). Bone weight shows cattle to have contributed the greatest amount to the diet. The distribution of carcass parts of cattle, sheep and pig, show bones coming from good and poor quality parts of the skeleton (Table 8). Better quality bones are well-represented, including some vertebrae and limb bones, as are poorer quality elements such as the bones of the skull and mandibles, especially for pig. This suggests that whole

Table 7 Distribution of Middle Saxon bone recovered

| | Number of fragments | Weight (g) | % number | % weight |
|----------------|---------------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| Mammal | | | | |
| Cattle | 209 | 9172 | 40.9 | 63.6 |
| Sheep | 177 | 2699.5 | 34.6 | 18.7 |
| Pig | 90 | 2134.5 | 17.6 | 14.8 |
| Goat | 1 | 12 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Horse | 1 | 11 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Fallow deer | 1 | 14 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Red deer | 1 | 20 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Roe deer | 2 | 52 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| Whale | 2 | 80 | 0.4 | 0.6 |
| Cattle-sized | 189 | 2457.5 | | |
| Sheep-sized | 137 | 333 | | |
| Indeterminate | 44 | 24.5 | | |
| Bird | | | | |
| Domestic fowl | 3 | 6 | 0.6 | 0.0* |
| Domestic goose | 8 | 26 | 1.6 | 0.2 |
| Total | 865 | 17042 | 100 | 100 |

Percentages are calculated for the identified material only (excluding rat bones).

* percentage less than 0.1

Table 8 *Relative quality of meat yield from Middle Saxon contexts, by bone weight*

| | cattle | sheep | pig |
|-----------------------|--------|-------|------|
| High quality meat | 34.6 | 30.9 | 27.9 |
| Lesser quality meat A | 17.1 | 23.8 | 5.1 |
| Lesser quality meat B | 25.2 | 33.4 | 63.1 |
| Lower quality meat | 23.1 | 11.9 | 3.9 |

animals were being processed and consumed on site. Butchery of the main domestic animals was characterised by vertebrae being medio-laterally cleaved, indicating that carcasses were not split into halves. Examples of sheep and pig skulls had been split lengthways, in order to extract the brain. There is evidence of small numbers of horn cores of cattle, sheep and goat being separated from the skull, presumably for horn working.

A comparison of the assemblage from Hare Court with contemporary London sites is particularly interesting in respect of its location – to the east of the settlement of *Lundenwic*. There is a dichotomy between sites within the *Lundenwic* settlement on the Strand and in the Covent Garden area (the Peabody site, 21-22 Maiden Lane MAI 86, Jubilee Hall, Royal Opera House, James Street, Lyceum Theatre and Maiden Lane ECT 96 & EXC 97) and those on the edge of and beyond the settlement (the Treasury, National Gallery basement, National Gallery extension and the National Portrait Gallery) (Chaplin 1971; West 1989a; West 1989b; West with Rackham 1988; Rielly 2003; Rackham 2004, 149). At the former sites pork is more important than mutton, which is taken to reflect greater wealth amongst the Saxon inhabitants (Rackham 1989, 169; West with Rackham 1988, 151). The proportions of the main domestic animals represented at Hare Court is in line with the latter sites, where sheep are more important than pigs. Interpretations of these sites suggest semi-rural, farming communities which probably supplied animals to *Lundenwic* (Rackham 1994, 131-2; West 1989b, 168).

Metrical and sex data is limited. Mandibular age data show a mixture of old and young animals, suggesting husbandry strategies based on meat and secondary products (Table 9). Neonatal animals are indicated by three bones each of cattle and pig, and one of sheep.

Table 9 *Middle Saxon aged mandibles*

| | neonatal | juvenile | immature | subadult | adult | elderly |
|--------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-------|---------|
| Cattle | - | 1 | - | - | - | 2 |
| Sheep | - | - | 2 | 3 | 5 | - |
| Pig | - | - | 1 | 3 | 2 | - |

following O'Connor (1989, 161).

These could suggest animals were being bred on site, although the numbers are small. Nine sheep long bones produced a mean withers' height of 630mm (and a range of 577-682mm), following Teichert (von den Driesch & Boessneck 1974). This is larger than the means from the Peabody site (603mm), Maiden Lane (606mm), and also *Hamwic* (612mm) (Bourdillon & Coy 1980, 109; West 1989a 162; West with Rackham 1988, 153), but is similar to the sheep from the National Gallery basement, which West (1989b, 168) states were larger than those from other London sites. Two cattle metatarsals produced a mean withers' height of 1156mm (and a range of 1147-1166mm), following Matolcsi (von den Driesch & Boessneck 1974). Three female lower pig canines were recorded, compared to one male.

Other Mammals

Two whale mid-blade rib fragments, both chopped through transversely at each end, were recovered from separate contexts. Archaeological and historical evidence suggests that the Anglo-Saxons did not practise whaling (Riddler 1998, 215), rather they are assumed to have exploited stranded carcasses. Finds of whale bones from contemporary Saxon sites are limited, generally occurring on sites at or near the coast, and include evidence of whale bone working from Ipswich and *Hamwic* (Gardiner 1997, 187-192; Riddler 1998, 209). There have been a number of recent finds of whale vertebrae from Saxon London which may be from the exploitation of beached whales (Bowsher 1999, 88; Sidell 2000, 188-189). The two fragments from Hare Court may have been brought to the site as a raw material for working, possibly from a locally beached whale used for food and raw materials (whales have been known to swim up the River Thames (Sidell 2000, 188-189), or they may have been imported solely as a raw material for manufacturing.

A fallow deer calcaneum was recovered from the Saxon well. The re-introduction of fallow deer to Britain during the Holocene is most commonly attributed to the Romans or the Normans. Yalden (1999, 153) argues that many very large faunal assemblages from the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods have not produced finds of fallow deer; and on some sites where they do occur there are later, medieval, finds of fallow deer possibly suggesting contamination. The evidence for the re-introduction of fallow deer to Britain has recently been reviewed; this indicated that many of the Roman and Anglo-Saxon period finds are misidentified or probably intrusive, and the remaining examples may be

accounted for by trade rather than the presence of a living population (Sykes 2004). Nine fragments of fallow deer were identified from Roman deposits at Monkton, Isle Of Thanet, in Kent which may have represented either traded salted meat and raw materials or the introduction of live fallow deer to Roman Britain perhaps into controlled parks (Bendrey 2003). An example of a possibly traded specimen is a fallow deer antler from a Roman context at Scole-Dickleburgh, which has been radio-carbon dated to the 3rd to 6th centuries AD (Baker 1998, 16). As the pottery recovered from the fills of the well date exclusively to the Middle Saxon period the fallow deer calcaneum from the Saxon well is not intrusive and is an important early record of this species. Fallow deer is also represented 'among the food remains' at Middle Saxon Barking Abbey (Rackham 1994, 130).

Red and roe deer are represented solely by fragments of antler. Antler was brought into settlements at this time for working, possibly by itinerant craftsmen (MacGregor 1989, 109-10). The red deer antler fragment is a small sawn off-cut representing waste from working. Roe deer is represented by two fragments from separate contexts, but both from the same specimen. It is skull-attached, and working is limited to a single shaving taken from one side of the beam at about halfway down its length, and a chop at the base of the antler, representing preliminary stages of unfinished working. The limited working of roe deer antler as compared to red deer antler is well known, however, the worked fragments from Hare Court are part of a 'small but consistent' group recovered from Anglo-Saxon contexts (Riddler 2003).

Bird Bone

The bones of domestic goose outnumber those of domestic fowl in the assemblage.

Bulk-Sieved Bone

A single bulk-sieved sample produced remains of cattle, sheep, pig and goose, which were the most common species identified from the hand-recovered assemblage.

Discussion

The Saxon diet at Hare Court was based entirely on domestic animals. Wild species, where they occur, probably represent raw materials for working (with the exception of fallow deer). This diet is similar to that recorded from contemporary London sites, which are dominated by cattle, sheep and pig, with cattle providing the greatest contribution by bone weight, and geese out-numbering fowl in the bird bone assemblages (West 1989a; West 1989b; West with Rackham 1988, Rielly 2003). Most body parts of cattle, sheep and pig were well represented suggesting that whole animals were being utilised on site.

The relative importance of pig over sheep at sites within the *Lundenwic* settlement on the Strand and in the Covent Garden area has been interpreted as evidence of greater wealth and status (Rackham 1989; West 1989a; West with Rackham 1988, 150-1; Rielly 2003), whereas sheep outnumber pigs at sites on the edge of or beyond this settlement, which have been interpreted as semi-rural, farming communities (Chaplin 1971; Rackham 1994; West 1989b; Rackham 2004, 149). The proportions of the species at Hare Court resemble the pattern at the latter sites (especially the National Gallery basement), and small numbers of neonates may suggest that animals were being bred locally.

A single fragment of fallow deer was also recovered from the Saxon well. If the dating of this specimen is correct then it represents an important early record of this animal, whether as a traded body part or a live animal. The fragments of roe deer antler exhibiting signs of preliminary working are part of a small group of such items found on Anglo-Saxon sites (Riddler 2003). Although the preferred medium was red deer antler, there was some working of roe deer antler despite its relative difficulty in working due to its small size and knobbly appearance.

THE FISH BONE

PHILIP L. ARMITAGE

A small assemblage of fifteen identified and five unidentified fish bones was collected from the Middle Saxon well [130]. Five species are represented and all the identified elements are recognised as vertebral centra. One individual of each species is represented (MNI = 1) and the estimated size (TL) of the haddock is 0.72m.

All the fish bones are from edible species and therefore are interpreted as discarded food debris.

This assemblage merits special mention as it includes both marine and estuarine/freshwater species. Of particular

note is the presence of haddock which is today uncommon in the southern North Sea, more usually occurring to the north of the Dogger Bank (Christensen & Nystrom 1978, 45) but which from time-to-time can appear in large numbers even as far south as the Thames estuary, as happened in 1969 (*see* Wheeler 1979, 101). Prompted by his identification of this species among the excavated fish bone sample from Saxo-Norman (10th-11th century) Billingsgate Buildings, City of London, and based on literary evidence Wheeler (1980, 162) speculated that haddock “was formerly caught in some numbers” in the southern North Sea in medieval times, and their skeletal remains found at archaeological sites may be taken as evidence for a “distant water fishery”. It is of interest to note that the Hare Court record is paralleled by and complements those from other Saxon sites in the Strand (Maiden Lane & Peabody Buildings; Locker referenced in Rackham 1994, 131).

While the haddock (*Melanogrammus aeglefinus*) eaten at the Hare Court site may have been supplied by a deep water fishery employing baited lines, the other fish were probably procured locally in the Thames or in nearby tributaries by netting. Twaite shad (*Alosa fallax*) are said to be anadromous (living most of their lives in saltwater yet migrating into freshwater for spawning). William Yarrell writing in 1836 (quoted by Wheeler 1979, 65) noted that this fish appeared in great abundance in the Thames between the months of May and July but were “in little repute as food, their muscles being exceedingly full of bones and dry”. Despite this poor rating of their eating value by 19th-century Londoners, the archaeological and other (earlier) documentary evidence does point to this fish having been an important food source during the medieval and into the post-medieval period (Wheeler 197, 66). Examples have been previously recovered from *Lundenwic* at the Peabody site, the National Gallery and

the Lyceum Theatre (Locker 1989, 148-149 & table 18; Rackham & Snelling 2004, 65 table 24).

Roach (*Rutilus rutilus*, a member of the carp family) is the most widespread freshwater fish species in southern Britain and would have been readily abundant and available to be caught by netting either in the freshwater reaches of the Thames or in an adjacent river. It has been found previously on a number of sites in *Lundenwic* including Maiden Lane, Jubilee Hall, the Peabody site, National Gallery, the Royal Opera House, National Portrait Gallery and the Lyceum Theatre (Locker 1988, 149-150, table 20; Locker 1989, 148-9 & table 18; Rielly 2003, 319 table 72; Armitage 2004a, 33, Armitage 2004b, 105). These observations concerning distribution and how the fish may be caught equally apply to the eel (*Anguilla anguilla*) represented among the Hare Court fish bone sample from context [130] which is also commonplace within the settlement of *Lundenwic*, having been found at all the above sites (Locker 1988, 149-150, table 20; Locker 1989, 148-149 & table 18; Rielly 2003, 319 table 72; Armitage 2004b, 105, 111-112; Rackham & Snelling 2004, 65 table 24).

Eel and roach were also present at the National Portrait Gallery (Armitage 2004b, 105, 111-112), eel, twaite shad and roach were present at the Peabody site and the National Gallery (Locker 1989, 148-149 & table 18) whilst eel and twaite shad were found at the Lyceum Theatre (Rackham & Snelling 2004, 65 table 24), roach at James Street (Armitage 2004a, 33), eel and roach at the National Portrait Gallery (Armitage 2004b, 105); eel, roach and haddock were recovered from Maiden Lane and eel and roach from Jubilee Hall (Locker 1988, 149-150, table 20). At the Royal Opera House eel and roach were found (Rielly 2003, 319 table 72). Eel are always predominant and reflect the major contribution made by freshwater fish obtainable from the Thames (Rackham 1994, 131).

Chapter 5 Medieval and Post-Medieval Artefactual and Faunal Remains



A POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY ASSEMBLAGE FROM HARE COURT

CHRIS JARRETT

From the Hare Court excavation two fills, [7] and [8], of pit [134] in PP1 produced a large quantity of pottery, deposited in the second quarter of the 17th century (*see* Chapter 2, above). This pottery group has characteristics shared with previous assemblages of post-medieval pottery from the Inns of Court (Matthews & Green 1969; Thorn 1970), comprising mostly white earthenware pottery in the ‘Tudor Green’ or ‘Surrey Tradition’, particularly drinking jugs, as well as cups and inkpots. Current terminology defines this post-medieval whiteware as Border ware (BORD), which reflects the fact that kiln sites have been identified on the Surrey-Hampshire border. This industry was the culmination of a medieval whiteware industry in Surrey (Pearce & Vince 1988; Pearce 1992, 1997). ‘Tudor Green’ was one fabric

produced within this industry and is defined as a very fine whiteware fabric, produced from the end of the 14th century until the end of the 15th century. It was manufactured at a number of kiln sites but is rare compared with other contemporary whitewares (Pearce 1992, 2). The post-medieval Border ware industry also produced a redware, red Border ware (RBOR), and similar fabrics are known from Buckinghamshire and Brill, Oxfordshire (Farley 1979). A comprehensive survey of the post-medieval Surrey-Hampshire Border ware pottery industry with regards to London has been published (Pearce 1992; Pearce 1997; Pearce 1999).

The aim of this analysis is not to simply reiterate the previously published material, but to look at what pottery was being supplied from other industries to the Inns of Court, besides that of the predominating non-local Border ware pottery. Other ceramic domestic vessels in the pit showed day-to-day activities associated with the lives of the

Table 10 *Quantification of post-medieval pottery types from the pit assemblage*

| | | SC* | % SC | Wt* | % Wt | BsC* | % BsC | EVE* | % EVE |
|---|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| Border ware (unglazed) | BORD | 15 | 0.61 | 681 | 0.89 | 9 | 3.35 | 1.32 | 1.57 |
| Brown-glazed Border ware | BORDB | 2 | 0.08 | 30 | 0.04 | | | 0.15 | 0.18 |
| Green-glazed Border ware | BORDG | 2245 | 91.37 | 64048 | 83.55 | 205 | 76.21 | 62.43 | 74.45 |
| Olive-glazed Border ware | BORDO | 26 | 1.06 | 1351 | 1.76 | 10 | 3.72 | 3.90 | 4.65 |
| Yellow-glazed Border ware | BORDY | 63 | 2.56 | 3794 | 4.95 | 13 | 4.83 | 8.37 | 9.98 |
| Brill post-medieval ware | BRILL | 1 | 0.04 | 58 | 0.08 | 1 | 0.37 | | |
| Frechen stoneware | FREC | 9 | 0.37 | 870 | 1.13 | 1 | 0.37 | 1.15 | 1.37 |
| Post-medieval black-glazed ware | PMBL | 4 | 0.16 | 61 | 0.08 | | | 0.10 | 0.12 |
| Post-medieval fine redware | PMFR | 4 | 0.16 | 196 | 0.26 | 2 | 0.74 | 0.10 | 0.12 |
| Green-glazed post-medieval fine redware | PMFRG | 1 | 0.04 | 22 | 0.03 | | | 0.12 | 0.14 |
| Post-medieval redware | PMR | 19 | 0.77 | 1700 | 2.22 | 6 | 2.23 | 0.88 | 1.05 |
| Early post-medieval redware | PMRE | 1 | 0.04 | 17 | 0.02 | | | | |
| Green-glazed post-medieval slip-coated redware | PMSRG | 4 | 0.16 | 755 | 0.98 | 2 | 0.74 | 0.18 | 0.21 |
| Yellow-glazed post-medieval slip-coated redware | PMSRY | 2 | 0.08 | 82 | 0.11 | | | | |
| Raeren stoneware | RAER | 1 | 0.04 | 2 | 0.00 | | | | |
| Red Border ware | RBOR | 33 | 1.34 | 2196 | 2.86 | 12 | 4.46 | 2.59 | 3.09 |
| Brown-glazed Red Border ware | RBORB | 8 | 0.33 | 227 | 0.30 | 2 | 0.74 | 1.00 | 1.19 |
| Green-glazed Red Border ware | RBORG | 2 | 0.08 | 128 | 0.17 | 1 | 0.37 | 0.65 | 0.78 |
| Tin-glazed ware | TGW | 15 | 0.61 | 373 | 0.49 | 4 | 1.49 | 0.88 | 1.05 |
| Tin-glazed ware (Orton style A) | TGW A | 1 | 0.04 | 10 | 0.01 | | | 0.04 | 0.05 |
| Tin-glazed ware (Orton style C) | TGW C | 1 | 0.04 | 53 | 0.07 | 1 | 0.37 | | |
| Total | | 2457 | 100 | 76654 | 100 | 269 | 100 | 83.86 | 100 |

* sherd count (SC), weight (Wt), base count (BsC) and estimated vessel equivalents (EVE).

lawyers and students. There is a dearth of published large 17th century pottery groups, quantified using modern methods, because of their scarcity, and lack of comparative information. The limited number of large 17th century pottery assemblages in London may be due to the method of rubbish disposal, as it was carted away at that time, whereas in the 18th and 19th centuries rubbish pits and disused cess-pits in back gardens are noted places for the disposal of household waste. The pottery from the mid 17th-century pit [134] reflects an atypical community; largely dependent upon one source of pottery and using a number of antiquated forms in every day life. This is very different from other London domestic pottery assemblages of the same date where the main pottery types supplying London are much more evenly represented, and the small number of old-fashioned ceramic items probably represent heirlooms or items with a long use life.

Quantified, the pit contained 2457 sherds, weighing 76,654g, had an EVEs of 83.86 and a base count for 269 vessels (Table 10). The pottery fits broadly the criteria of a closed group (Pearce 2000, 144-145) and although mostly fragmentary, some vessels were present either intact or with a complete profile.

Sources, Types and Forms

The largest source of pottery was from Surrey-Hampshire, 95.89% by EVEs (Table 11) in white earthenware (BORD), which is mostly glazed, either brown, green, olive or yellow (BORDB, BORDG, BORDO and BORDY). Red Border ware (RBOR) occurred in clear-glaze, in brown (RBORB) and green-glazes (RBORG) (Pearce 1992, 4-6). Although early 16th century versions of both red Border ware and Border ware have been recognised (Pearce 1997), 'true' Border ware appeared in the mid 16th century (from *c.* 1550) and continued to be made until the late 17th century. Production of this whiteware continued possibly into the early part of the succeeding century. Red Border ware is scarce in London deposits dated to the end of the 16th century, but it becomes a noticeable component of metropolitan 17th and 18th century pottery assemblages,

competing with local redwares, and also occurs in a very limited number of early 19th-century forms (Pearce 1999, 252, N. Jeffreys, pers. comm.). Kilns for these wares have been recorded at Cove, Farnborough Hill and Hawley in Hampshire, as well as at Ash and Pirbright in Surrey (Holling 1969; 1971; 1977; Haslam 1975a; Pearce 1992, 2-3). Both white and redware fabrics were fired in the same kiln, as fragments of redware vessels are often found fused to whitewares and *vice versa*, and a few examples of drinking jugs with this evidence were also present in this assemblage.

Green-glazed Border ware was the most frequent pottery-type (74.45% by EVE's), mostly comprising rounded drinking jugs represented by 57.62 EVE's or 188 separate vessel bases. Drinking jugs are so termed because of their size and the depiction of their use in Dutch paintings (Matthews 1969, 8). All the drinking jugs in Border ware were glazed green. Two of them (Figs. 73.1-73.2) were complete and the height of a further two vessels could be reconstructed. Three ranged from 177-189mm and can be classified as the 'early tradition', dating to the 16th century (Pearce 1992, 25). The fourth jug had a height of 158mm and falls within the range of the squatter 'late tradition', dated to the late 17th century, but could be an example of an intermediate type. An example of the 'late' type (Fig. 73.3) was present in a layer [6] sealing the pit. Rim diameters range between 42-86mm and base diameters also fall within that indicated by Pearce (1992, 25). Although 'early type' rounded drinking jugs share the same basic shape there is variation within the group and they are compatible with the corpus illustrated by Pearce (1992, 61, fig. 32. 209-16) and Matthews (1969 12, fig. 1, 5-6) and include those with narrow necks. They mostly have pinched lips opposite the handle, the latter attached by being luted to the neck and the bottom of the shoulder of the vessel. The handles are usually of a narrow rectangular strap type, often with a curved top. Glaze is largely confined to the top half of the exterior of the vessel and just within the inside of the rim (Pearce 1992, 25). Pearce noted that a number of the jugs in her study group were sooted or showed signs of heating, usually opposite the handle and this also appears to be true for 16% of the bases of drinking jugs recovered here. The capacities of two of the early type drinking jugs could be

Table 11 *Quantification of post-medieval pottery from the pit assemblage, by source area*

| Source | SC* | % SC | Wt (in g) | % WT | BsC* | % BsC | EVE* | % EVE |
|------------------|------|-------|-----------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| Essex | 9 | 0.37 | 279 | 0.36 | 2 | 0.74 | 0.32 | 0.38 |
| Germany | 10 | 0.41 | 872 | 1.14 | 1 | 0.37 | 1.15 | 1.37 |
| Local (London) | 43 | 1.75 | 2990 | 3.90 | 13 | 4.83 | 1.98 | 2.36 |
| Oxfordshire | 1 | 0.04 | 58 | 0.08 | 1 | 0.37 | | |
| Surrey-Hampshire | 2394 | 97.44 | 72455 | 94.52 | 252 | 93.68 | 80.41 | 95.89 |
| Total | 2457 | 100 | 76654 | 100 | 269 | 100 | 83.86 | 100 |

*sherd count (SC), weight (Wt), base count (BsC) and estimated vessel equivalents (EVEs).

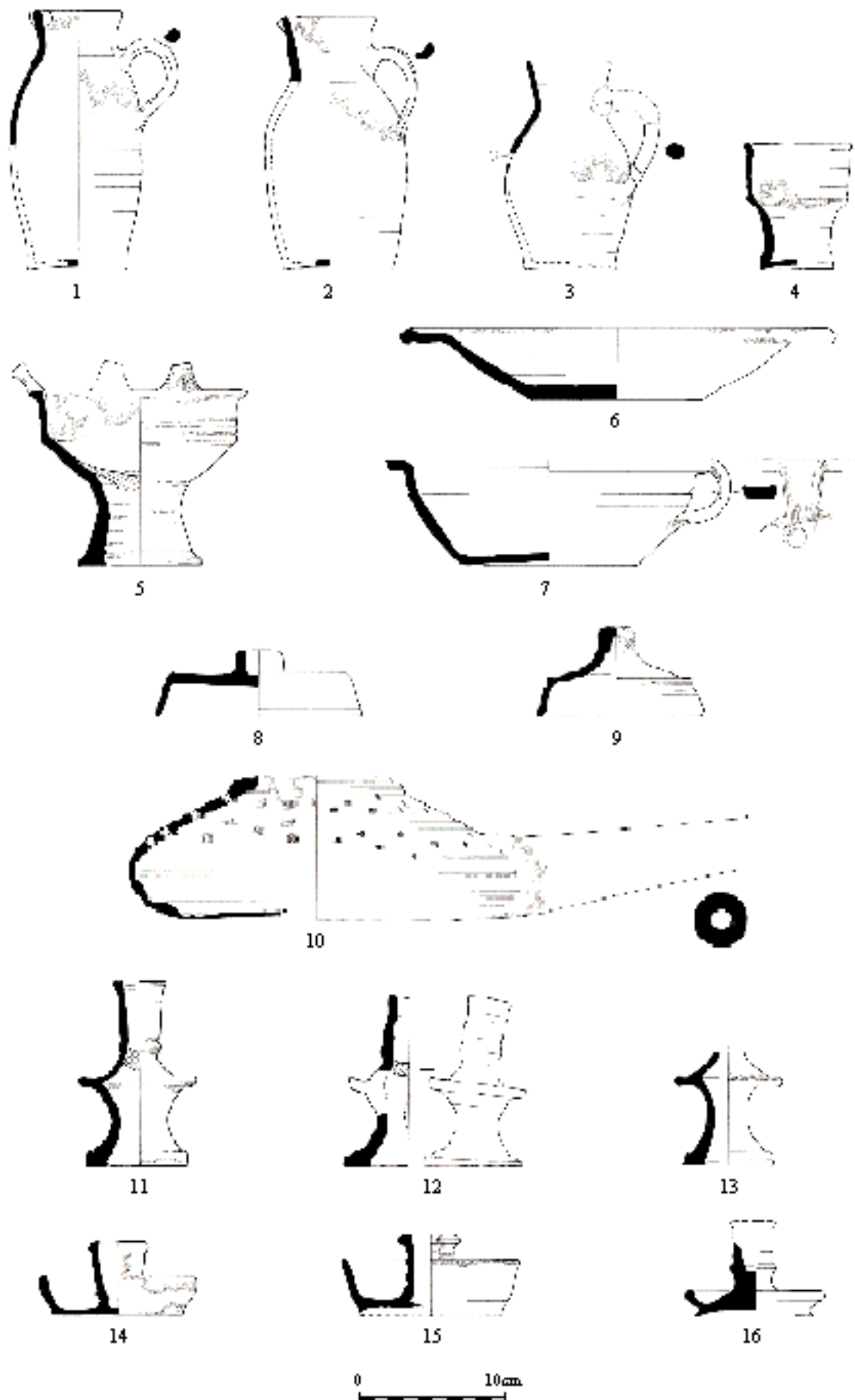


Fig. 73 Post-medieval pottery, Border Wares: 1-3. Green-glazed Border ware drinking jugs, 4. Yellow-glazed goblet, 5. Red Border ware chafing dish or fuming pot, 6. Green-glazed Border ware rounded dish, 7. Yellow-glazed Border ware one handed bowl or stool pan, 8-9. Border ware lids, 10. Yellow-glazed warming pan, 11-13. Border ware upright candlesticks, 14-16. Border ware saucer candlesticks (scale 1:4)

calculated and ranged between 525ml and 550ml, while the later or intermediate type had an approximate capacity of 325ml, which fits in with the measured volumes calculated by Pearce (1992, 24).

One other drinking vessel in Border ware (BORD) was present as a Yellow-glazed pedestal goblet (Fig. 73.4). It is comparable to examples shown by Pearce (1992, fig. 31, 198-199). Matthews identifies these vessels in the documentary record as goddarts, being drinking vessels without handles and this is a term for chalices in church records (Matthews 1969, 9). Goblets do not appear to have been made in Border ware (BORD) after the 16th century (Pearce 1999, 251).

Chafing dishes were present in Border ware and red Border ware and in more fragmentary form in whiteware, recovered mostly as bases. Hot charcoal was placed in the dish part to heat or keep food warm at the table, to warm water for washing hands, or to make medicines (McCarthy & Brooks 1988, 115). The vessel was formed by throwing a closed pedestal base and dish in one go, creating a beaker or goblet shape and the base of the dish formed by adding a circular disc of clay. The pedestal part of the vessel usually has a triangular cut-out and the base of the dish element usually has two or three narrow knife slashes or small circular piercings. The latter also occurred on the carinated wall of the dish component. Triangular-shaped lugs held the vessel being heated off the chafing dish rim. In the Hare Court assemblage the most complete example was a red Border ware type (Fig. 73.5) with an open pedestal base, but without cut-outs or other body modifications, such as knife cuts or piercings in the dish part. A second red Border ware example was represented by a circular disc for the dish base. This type may not have been used in the same way as other chafing dishes (McCarthy & Brooks 1988, 115). A similarly dated c. 1630-50 whiteware vessel has been interpreted as a possible fuming pot (Pearce 1999, 253).

Amongst the open vessel forms were bowls and dishes, including carinated, deep flared and rounded bowls. A green-glazed Border ware dish with a rounded profile was present with a flat or 'flanged' rim, 280mm in diameter. Its edge was thickened with an external bevel (Fig. 73.6). This dish was externally sooted and had been used for cooking or heating food or some other substance. It is classified as a flanged dish and can be cautiously dated to the late 16th to early 17th century (Pearce 1992, 9). Another bowl shape present was a rounded porringer and was the only example of brown-glazed Border ware (BORDB) in the pit. It survived as a simple rim with an externally corrugated surface and the terminal of a horizontal loop handle.

Five one-handled flared bowls were present, comprising two in green-glazed Border ware and three in yellow-glazed Border ware. They had rim diameters ranging between 180-

190mm. This vessel type has been interpreted as representing stool pans (distinct from the deep flared bowl types housed in wooden commodes). The shape is similar to illustrated medieval forms, but like most bowl-shaped vessels they could be multipurpose. The illustrated yellow-glazed example (Fig. 73.7) did have an internal cess deposit, and in the absence of chamber pots in the pits, which appear from the late 16th century (Pearce 1992, 34), the bowl examples here may have been used for sanitary purposes.

Kitchenwares were present in tripod pipkin forms with rounded profiles. These were present in two types, the first with internal lid seated rims, with external corrugated body surfaces (TPIP 1), in green-glazed Border ware, with rim diameters of 120 and 170mm. The second type, with external lid seating, had rim diameters of 120 and 140mm, and had a corrugated external surface (TPIP 2), and was present in olive-glazed Border ware (BORDO) and red Border ware. Handles were typical for the 17th century and comprised straight, angled tubular rod types attached to the side of the vessel. The second variant here can be dated to between the mid to late 17th century (Pearce, 1992, fig. 29.168). Probably associated with the tripod pipkins are unglazed Border ware lids, with an EVEs of 1.32, representing four vessels, with rim diameters ranging between 114-120mm. One lid is of an inverted dish shape with a short, open knob (Fig. 73.8) (cf Pearce 1992, 74, fig. 45. 436 and 438). The other three are of the collared type and the illustrated example (Fig. 73.9) has a rib on the carination, while the knob is square in profile and thumbled around the top. The knob was secured to the vessel by a knife cut to the top of the lid, pushed through and externally smoothed over. The vessel is warped. Lids were poorly made and finished, and changed little over time (Pearce 1992, 41). Another closed shape was represented by the body sherd of a possible medium sized jar in red Border ware with an internal glaze, but no wear marks or deposits were present to identify its use.

A fragmentary, but largely complete, yellow-glazed warming pan (Fig. 73.10) was present in a rounded closed shape, possibly made in two parts. The rim diameter is 80mm and the upper half of the vessel has circular piercings, the internal scars of which had not been cleaned. The handle is large, angled and tubular, attached to the carination of the vessel. It has a honey-coloured yellow glaze covering the external surface, but no sooting was noted internally. This example is dated to the mid 17th century (Pearce 1992, 44, fig. 46. 453).

Candlesticks were present in upright and saucer types. The upright examples all have the same basic shape, an open pedestal base below a drip tray and a tubular socket, which can either have a cordon at the top and/or bottom, or a gently corrugated surface. The interiors of the base of the

sockets were sealed with a plug of clay, with a whiteware example present plugged with red clay. The shapes of the upright candlesticks can be further divided into those with a wide, squatter pedestal base (Fig. 73.11), or those with a more flared base (Fig. 73.12) and those with a more slender shape (Fig. 73.13). Border ware upright candlesticks occurred more frequently than red Border ware examples (7.61 EVEs or 19 bases compared with 2.65 EVEs and 11 bases). They are typical of the type (Pearce 1992, 34-35; Matthews 1969, 9) but no examples are present with handles (Pearce 1992, 35, 71, fig. 42. 351-352). The form found here dates from the late 16th century onwards (Pearce 1999, 250).

Saucer candlesticks were present in, green, olive, yellow or unglazed Border ware (4.00 EVEs or nine bases). They typically had a saucer shape with a central, separately thrown socket, which could have more than one or two cordons, one always around the rim (Figs. 73.14-16). One green-glazed Border ware example has a domed internal profile (Fig. 73.16). The evidence for handled examples was sparse with one possible with a scar on a socket but with the rim of the saucer missing. These do not appear to have been produced in the late 17th century (Pearce 1999, 250).

The second largest group of pottery was local London made wares, including coarse sand-tempered redwares and Tin-glazed earthenwares. Some of the redwares comprised the earliest pottery in the pit, represented by a sherd from a bowl or dish in Early post-medieval redware (PMRE) with an internal powdered coarse, mottled green glaze, dated from the end of the 15th century into the 16th century. Formerly known as Tudor brown ware, known production centres include Woolwich (Blockley 1978, 43-52) and Moorgate, where current evidence suggests pottery manufacture only took place during the late 16th century and start of the 17th century (Edwards 1974, 6; Sudds, forthcoming), while documentary evidence indicates pottery production in Greenwich from at least 1540 (Edwards 1974, 6). Fragments of two rounded jugs were present in post-medieval slip-coated redware with green glaze (PMSRG) the



Fig. 74 Green-glazed Border ware drinking jugs from Hare Court



Fig. 75 Upright and saucer type candlesticks from Hare Court

rim of one being characteristic of the late 16th century types with a ribbed neck. The surviving slip and glaze was confined to a bib on the shoulder of the jug opposite the handle. Fragments of a dish with an internal clear glaze, giving a yellow appearance to the slip (PMSRY) were also present. Post-medieval slip-coated redware has a similar start date to the early post-medieval redware (PMRE) fabrics and was made on the same production sites. This decoration style continues until c. 1650. It was also produced at Kingston upon Thames in the late 15th to early 16th century, but there the fabric of this transitional redware is similar to that of Cheam (Nelson 1980; Orton 1988a).

At the end of the 16th century, local London redwares became better fired with a liberal use mainly of a clear liquid glaze (Orton & Pearce 1984, 36). The previously mentioned production centres, such as Woolwich, adapted to this new ceramic development and other sites, such as Lambeth produced this redware for a short period of time (Edwards 1974, 4), while Deptford had a long period of pottery production starting c. 1660 (Edwards 1974, 6). The post-medieval redware vessels from the pit were largely fragmentary and consisted of bowls, including a two-handled flared example. The pedestal bases of three chafing dishes were also present, similar to the Border ware (BORD) examples, but squatter and more heavily potted, and have been found amongst kiln material at Woolwich, Phase 3 (Blockley 1978, 69, 71, fig. 17. 91). One example had the splayed edge of the closed pedestal base knife trimmed to give a faceted appearance. Another large sherd was possibly from a skillet with a carinated profile and a short, straight, hooked handle. Jars were present, including an unglazed squat, shouldered type (Fig. 77.1), and sherd material from probable jugs was also found.

The tin-glaze pottery (0.82 EVEs, represented by six bases from different vessels) consists of part of a charger, drug jars and ointment pots. The rim sherd from the charger was abraded but its decoration style is a blue on white Wanli panel border (Orton 1988b, 321, style A), with dated



Fig. 76 Post-medieval pottery, Tin-glazed earthenware: 1. Drug jar, 2. Ointment pot (scale 1:2)

examples ranging between 1628-51 (Archer 1997, 96, A.45, 100, A.51, 101, A.52). One drug jar (Fig. 76.1) was present with a blue and purple geometrical design, dating to 1625-50 (Jennings 1980, 207). Two of the three ointment pots have a waisted profile, noticeably concave between the cordons. Decoration is in a geometrical style (Fig. 76.2) with one example having a central panel of blue and yellow triangles, while the other two, represented by bases, have a blue 'zigzag' and a purple and blue diamond border. These can generally be dated to the first half of the 17th century (Jennings 1980, 203). The base of a plain white ointment pot was also recorded from the pit, but its shape is more characteristic of late 17th century examples and therefore is thought to be intrusive.

Rhenish stonewares constitute the only imported pottery (presuming that the tin-glazed wares are English and not Dutch), and they comprise Frechen stoneware jugs. The example illustrated (Fig. 77.2) is of a rounded type dated to between c.1600-1625 (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 106, No. 334). Fragments of two other Frechen jugs were present as well as a sherd from a Raeren stoneware vessel, such as were imported into England between the end of the 15th century and start of the 17th century (Gaimster 1987, 343-347; 1997, 224-226).

Essex Wares were represented by post-medieval fine redware and post-medieval black-glazed ware, current in London deposits at the end of the 16th and throughout the

17th century (Orton & Pearce 1984, 36). Production centres are known at Harlow (Newton & Bibbings 1960), Loughton (Clark *et al.* 1972) and Stock (Cunningham 1985), which also produced Metropolitan slipware, which is absent from this assemblage. The post-medieval fine redwares include jugs represented by a base sherd with continuous finger pinching, and a handle, while the rim of a green-glazed example (PMFRG) was present with a pulled lip. A jar rim was present with a flange, formed either by placing a 28mm wide fillet of clay inside the rim, but standing proud of it or the top of the jar was folded inside and a template was used to remove the fold and form the external flange (Fig. 77.3). Post-medieval black-glazed ware was identified in a rim, body sherd and rod handle of a tyg (*see* Jennings 1980, 152, fig. 63, 1061-1064).

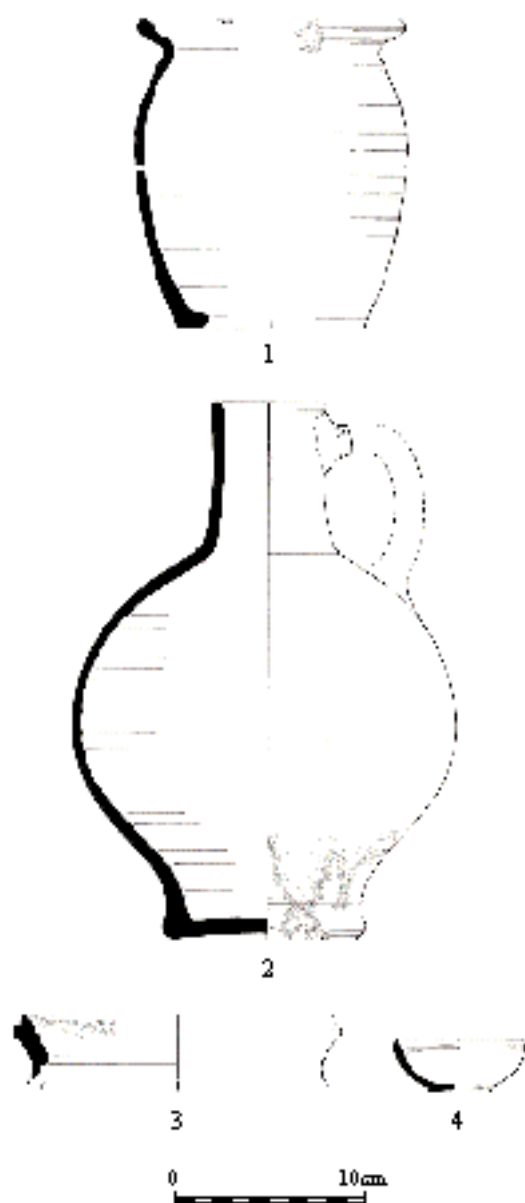


Fig. 77 Post-medieval pottery: 1. Post-medieval redware rounded jar, 2. Frechen stoneware rounded jug, 3. Post-medieval fine redware rounded jar, 4. Raeren stoneware lamp (scale 1:4)

Table 12 Functions of post-medieval pottery from the pit assemblage

| Function | SC* | %SC | Wt* | % Wt | BsC* | % BsC | EVE* | % EVE |
|------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| Display | 1 | 0.04 | 10 | 0.01 | 0 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.05 |
| Drinking | 2184 | 88.89 | 61180 | 79.81 | 190 | 70.63 | 57.72 | 68.83 |
| Food Consumption | 2 | 0.08 | 30 | 0.04 | 0 | 0.00 | 0.15 | 0.18 |
| Heating/Lighting | 118 | 4.80 | 8464 | 11.04 | 46 | 17.10 | 15.71 | 18.73 |
| Hygiene | 29 | 1.18 | 957 | 1.25 | 5 | 1.86 | 1.68 | 2.00 |
| Kitchen | 17 | 0.69 | 623 | 0.81 | 2 | 0.74 | 1.94 | 2.31 |
| Kitchen/Serving | 56 | 2.28 | 2635 | 3.44 | 11 | 4.09 | 2.80 | 3.34 |
| Kitchen/Storage | 4 | 0.16 | 101 | 0.13 | 0 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.20 |
| Multi-functional | 10 | 0.41 | 374 | 0.49 | 4 | 1.49 | 1.32 | 1.57 |
| Pharmaceutical | 16 | 0.65 | 426 | 0.56 | 5 | 1.86 | 0.88 | 1.05 |
| Serving | 20 | 0.81 | 1854 | 2.42 | 6 | 2.23 | 1.45 | 1.73 |
| Total | 2457 | 100 | 76654 | 100 | 269 | 100 | 83.86 | 100 |

*sherd count (SC), weight (Wt), base count (BsC) and estimated vessel equivalents (EVEs).

Functions of the Pottery

The majority of the pottery forms present are associated with drinking (Table 12), comprising almost exclusively Border ware drinking jugs, but also a goblet and a Post-medieval black-glazed ware tyg. The documentary evidence, which comments on communal daily meals and special feasts, explains the presence of the large number of drinking jugs at the Inns. The second most frequently occurring pottery type is heating and lighting vessels including candlesticks and chafing dishes. Candlesticks must have been a necessity to lawyers, extending the working day beyond the hours of daylight. Archaeological sites of the post-medieval period rarely produce candlesticks and when they do, not usually in such large quantities as from the Inns of Court. Here, these objects would have been in demand by more people, while the more humble domestic households may have made do with a taper, a 'thin and limp' version of candles (Picard 1998, 47). The use of chafing dishes in the Inns of Court must have been at the table for banquets or everyday meals. The warming pan was presumably used in bedchambers, either as a communal item or possibly, because of its rarity, as more of a prestige item used by someone high up in the legal profession, although a metal warming pan would have been more prestigious than a ceramic version.

Kitchen/serving wares represent 3.4% of the pottery, represented by bowls or dishes in Border ware or post-medieval redware, usually with signs of sooting. Kitchenwares were also present as tripod pipkins and a possible skillet. Border ware lids, here classified as multifunctional, are possibly associated with the kitchen ware tripod pipkins. Pottery items associated with personal hygiene include one-handled rounded bowls, one of which had a cess deposit reflecting its use. However, pottery forms used as chamber pots are sometimes recovered sooted, and

were therefore also used in the kitchen (Pearce 1992, 33). The absence of sooting or wear marks on the Border ware 'stool pans' here indicates sanitary use. In domestic households, chamber pots were removed from the bedroom in the morning, emptied, cleaned and stored near the kitchen (Picard 1998, 38), and a similar organisation for sanitary vessels may have been in use at the Inns of Court. Also of note is the presence of pharmaceutical wares such as the Tin-glaze drug jars and ointment pots, although Archer (1997, 379-880) points out that drug-jars had multifunctional uses, not just for medicines, but as containers for groceries as well as general storage.

There are few ceramic items for food serving. A brown-glazed Border ware porringer, used to consume semi-liquid foods (Pearce 1992) is present and some dishes show signs of being used to cook in, as well as to serve up the food. Tin-glazed earthenware plates generally became more common in the later part of the 17th century. Other materials were commonly used to eat from, such as pewter, wood and bread trenchers, the latter two used by Samuel Pepys in contempt when he dined at the Guildhall (Latham & Matthews 1995, vol. IV 355). If ceramic alternatives were available, such as plates and dishes, then given the discard rate of drinking jugs, these items would be expected in similar quantities. The Tin-glaze charger with the Wanli border may have been used for serving at table, though equally it could have been a display item and is considered so here.

Date and Circumstances of Deposition

A few items are dated to the late 16th century, such as the green-glazed post-medieval slip-coated redware jug and the yellow-glazed Border ware goblet, while the plain Frechen stoneware jug dates to the first quarter of the 17th century. The green-glazed Border ware drinking jugs are of the 'early' type, dated to the late 16th century, but continue here into

the early 17th century. At least one of the complete drinking jugs is of the smaller 'later' type, dating to the late 17th century (though possibly intermediate). Many of the other Border ware forms also date to the mid to late 17th century, such as the external lid seated tripod pipkins (Pearce 1992, 19). Other forms, such as the porringer with the corrugated surface can be dated to the second quarter of the 17th century, brown-glazed Border ware being introduced c.1620 and late 17th century examples having plain surfaces (Pearce 1999, 250). The warming pan can be matched to a mid 17th century type, but an earlier example from that century is known (Pearce 1999, 254). The Tin-glazed earthenware ointment pots, drug jar and the fragment of the Wanli border charger also indicate a deposition date in the second quarter of the 17th century.

Other datable items in the pit include clay tobacco pipes (Table 13), with Atkinson and Oswald (AO) type bowls dated to 1610-1660 and one base of a type 14 bowl, dated 1660-80. Three bowls were stamped on the underside of their heels. The earliest, an AO type 5 bowl had an incuse star stamp, which is dated by Atkinson and Oswald to c. 1600-1630 (Atkinson & Oswald 1969, 181, fig. 3.1). Two type 10 bowls had circular incuse stamps on the underside of the heel, one illegible, the second is marked *PC* with tobacco leaves and may refer to Peter Cornish, known from a charter of 1634 (Oswald 1975, 134). The clay tobacco pipes, on the whole, would indicate infilling of the pit between c. 1640-60 and the fragment of the latest bowl, a type 14 is probably intrusive.

An observation of the clay tobacco pipe assemblage from the Hare Court excavations show that there are twelve bowls dating to the period 1610-40 and fifteen bowls dating to the period 1640-60/70. The majority of the bowls are highly burnished, milled and finished to a very good quality and two are stamped, all indicating a higher status product. The assemblage is fairly unusual as clay tobacco pipes on most post-medieval London sites are typically rare or absent until c.1660-80. When earlier pipes are present on excavations it is usually where higher socio-economic groups, merchants or drinking establishments are to be found. Therefore, another characteristic of assemblages associated with lawyers are the presence of higher quality, early 17th-century tobacco pipes.

The deposition of this large group of pottery may represent

rubbish disposal within a short period of time, perhaps during an episode of building work. The vessels in the pit may represent everyday breakage. The large number of broken drinking jugs affirms the documentary evidence where 'heads' of the Inns of Court showed concern for the lawyers and students' casual contempt for drinking jugs and the cost of replacing them. In 1629 it is recorded that '*no butterye pots to be taken to any chambers*' (Matthews 1969, 2). Other documentary evidence shows that during times of high spirits and rioting, drinking jugs were used as percussive instruments and missiles (Matthews 1969, 2-3) which would also account for periodic high breakage rates. Of note is the fact that the post-medieval deposits in Church Court and Hare Court are littered with fragments of Border ware drinking jugs.

Discussion

A curious aspect of the Inns of Court pottery is the inclusion of so much material originating from the Surrey-Hampshire Borders. London had a long established pottery industry, producing, in the 16th and 17th centuries, a wide range of redware forms, almost complementary to that of the Border ware industry. However, the London redwares are not only coarser in fabric but produce larger vessels and fewer drinking vessels and are less finely made than the Border wares. Therefore, to a certain extent the two industries compete for different areas of the pottery market and the Inns of Court required more of the types of vessels made by the Border ware industry than that of the local redware kilns. By the beginning of the 17th century, pottery from Essex is a noticeable component in London assemblages, as post-medieval fine redware and post-medieval black-glazed ware, and is a better quality product than the local redwares. It posed a potential threat to the dominance of Border wares, but white earthenware pottery was fashionable throughout the medieval period and until the end of the 17th century. Also, as drinking wares are such a prominent form at the Inns of Court, the lack of the Rhenish stonewares in sizeable numbers, such as Raeren stoneware mugs, imported from the end of the 15th and early 16th century, and later Frechen stoneware bartman jugs, is a notable feature of the assemblage. These wares are common, fashionable, cheap and well made imports, but were infrequent finds in these excavations.

The documentary evidence for the use of whitewares at the Inns of Court shows that in 1482, the steward, John Wylkys, ordered cups, 'beer pottes' and goddarts from a presumed potter, Draycot, and subsequent confirmation of the order revealed this to be whiteware (1498-92). In 1559-60 whitewares start to be reordered again where 'ashen' cups had been in use during the preceding two decades (Matthews

Table 13 Clay tobacco pipes present in the pit assemblage

| | 1610-1640 | | 1640-1660 | | 1660-1680 | |
|----------|-----------|---|-----------|---|-----------|----|
| AO* type | 5 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 14 |
| Fill [7] | | 2 | | 1 | 3 | |
| Fill [8] | 5 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 5 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 |

*Atkinson and Oswald

1969, 1-2). Therefore, a tradition of ordering whiteware drinking jugs appears to have been established at the beginning of the early post-medieval period if not earlier, and with these items came other vessels, possibly creating a 'subliminal corporate image'.

The pottery from the pit can also be assigned to certain buildings within the Inner Temple; drinking jugs were largely restricted to use in the Hall and buttery from where they appear to have been issued, along with candlesticks (Matthews 1969, 3). Vessels such as the 'stool pans' and warming pans must have been largely found in lodgings or chambers, but may also have been issued from the buttery. The historical literature also states that there were concerns about the expense of replacing the Hall's communal vessels. In 1615 it is recorded that Middle Temple students and lawyers were to provide their own drinking vessels for use outside the Hall (Matthews 1969, 2-3). This may explain the presence of non-Border ware vessels in the pit, such as the post-medieval black-glazed ware tyg, as personal items.

Only four forms from the pit are described by Matthews: drinking jugs of the early and late or intermediate type, upright and saucer candlesticks (Matthews 1969). He does, however, illustrate other pottery of a Surrey-Hampshire origin, or Border wares that are not represented in this pit assemblage. Some of these forms pre-date the pit group, such as the 'Tudor green' drinking jugs, cups and Rhenish stoneware copies, fragments of which were found elsewhere on the two sites, including a Raeren stoneware (RAER) lamp from a late 16th century dated context (Fig. 77.4). Also absent from the pit is the 'egg-cup' shape candlestick (Matthews 1969, fig. 3.43), inkpots and mugs. Ink and containers to hold it would have been indispensable to the legal profession. Pearce prefers to call these forms small rounded jars as they are without ink staining (Pearce 1992, 39, fig. 44. 403-413 and 417) and so far no excavated examples have allowed them to be dated accurately. The mugs illustrated by Matthews (1969, fig. 2.23-4) conform to Haslam's type 2 mugs, which Pearce dates from *c.*1620 (Pearce 1992, 249). Some examples are known to have an applied winged horse moulded design: Pegasus, the badge of the Inner Temple (Pearce 1992, 28, fig. 11) and could have been contemporary with the pit.

Ceramic items for display are almost absent. The local Tin-glaze industry could have provided such items, as well as slipware producers from further afield, such as Essex and Surrey-Hampshire, and continental wares could also have been obtained.

The group also differs from other contemporary mid 17th-century assemblages, which have a more even representation of other pottery industries. Of the pottery from the Hare Court pit 95.9% is attributable to a Surrey-Hampshire source, whereas other groups which are of a

similar date and are statistically comparable in size, such as at Aldgate (Period 3b(i) cess pit), associated with a lower socio-economic group, only 28% of the pottery was Border ware (Orton & Pearce 1984, 62, fig. 30). Cess and rubbish pits at Narrow Street, Limehouse, associated with a community numbering mariners and privateers amongst them, contained 19-35% of pottery from the Border ware industry, but the ceramic group here is also characterised by a large count of imported pottery (Jarrett *in press*).

A number of forms in the pit assemblage show a rather antiquated way of life, for example the use of jugs for drinking beverages was generally being superseded from *c.*1620/30 by rounded mugs. At Narrow Street, Limehouse, similarly dated mid 17th century deposits to that of pit [134] contained a number of rounded shaped mugs, not just in Border wares, but also in tin-glazed ware, Metropolitan slipware and post-medieval black-glazed ware, whereas the evidence for Border ware drinking jugs there is sparse. Similar evidence would also appear to be the case at coaching inn sites on Borough High Street (Jarrett 2002). Outside the Inns of Court, Border ware drinking jugs are more likely to be found in significant numbers in late 16th century deposits (Pearce 1992, 25). Chamber pots, common on other 17th century sites are absent from pit [134], where sanitation items performing the same function are represented by the medieval stool pan shape.

The presence of rather antiquated forms at Hare Court may indicate that the Inner Temple had a rather old-fashioned choice or rigid tradition in its taste for pottery, possibly symptomatic of an institution living more communally than the rest of society. It could maintain its choice of pottery forms (when these were largely redundant elsewhere) by its purchasing power with the Border ware industry, as a constant customer. Although pots were still ordered for drinking beer, at the end of the 17th century glass and pewter drinking vessels were starting to replace the Border ware drinking jug (Matthews 1969, 3). The end of the drinking jug must have come when the long-lived fashion for whitewares in London died in the early 18th century (Pearce 1999, 252).

The pottery assemblage from the pit contained forms linked to the lawyers and students, such as Border ware drinking jugs and candlesticks. In a much more limited form the assemblage includes other vessels associated with eating, drinking and feasting and forms associated with everyday life in chambers, including stool and warming pans. The use of drinking jugs and stool pans appears to be extremely conservative for the time and ignores the changing fashion for drinking and sanitary wares seen outside the community of the Inns of Court. Another characteristic of assemblages associated with lawyers are a small, but significant, quantity of very good quality early 17th century clay tobacco pipes.

Table 14 Quantification of pottery forms from the pit assemblage, by fabric, shown as EVEs

| Functions Storage | | | Kitchen | | Kitchen/serving/display/table | | | | | | | | Drinking | | | Hygiene | | Heating and lighting | | | Cover | |
|------------------------------|------|-------------|---------|---------------|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|------|----------------|-----------|------------------------|-------------------|----------|---------------|------|------------------|--------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------|-------|
| Forms | Jar | Storage jar | Skillet | Tripod pipkin | Bowl | Bowl or dish | Chafing dish | Dish | Dish (charger) | Porringer | Drinking jug (rounded) | Goblet (pedestal) | Jug | Jug (rounded) | Tyg | Bowl (stool pan) | Ointment pot | Candlestick (saucer) | Candlestick (upright) | Warming pan | Lid | Total |
| Fabric | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Surrey-Hampshire Border ware | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BORD | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | | | 1.32 | 1.32 |
| BORDB | | | | | | | | | | 0.15 | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.15 |
| BORDG | | | 0.41 | 1.11 | 0.09 | * | | 0.73 | | | 57.62 | | | | | 0.72 | | 0 | 1.75 | | | 62.43 |
| BORDO | | | 0.39 | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | 2.00 | 1.51 | | | 3.90 |
| BORDY | | | * | | 0.06 | * | | | | | * | * | | | | 0.96 | | 2.00 | 4.35 | 1.00 | | 8.37 |
| RBOR | * | | 0.14 | | | | 0.45 | | | | | | | | | | | | 2.00 | | | 2.59 |
| RBORB | | | 1.00 | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1.00 |
| RBORG | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.65 | | | 0.65 |
| Local coarse red earthenware | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PMR | 0.61 | | * | | 0.27 | | * | * | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | 0.88 |
| PMRE | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * |
| PMSRG | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.18 | | | | | | | | | 0.18 |
| PMSRY | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * |
| Tin-glazed earthenware | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TGW | 0.45 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.43 | | | | | | 0.88 |
| TGW A | | | | | | | | | 0.04 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.04 |
| TGW C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | * |
| Essex fine red earthenware | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PMBL | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.10 | | | | | | | | | 0.10 |
| PMFR | 0.10 | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | 0.10 |
| PMFRG | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.12 | | | | | | | | | 0.12 |
| Non-local wares | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BRILL | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * |
| Imports | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| FREC | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.15 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | 1.15 |
| RAER | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | * |
| Total | 0.71 | 0.45 | 1.94 | 1.38 | 0.15 | 0.45 | 0.73 | 0.04 | 0.15 | 57.62 | * | | 0.27 | 1.18 | 0.10 | 1.68 | 0.43 | 4.00 | 10.26 | 1.00 | 1.32 | 83.86 |

* no EVEs calculated

THE CERAMIC AND OTHER BUILDING MATERIALS

JOHN BROWN

The majority of the building materials from the Church Court and Hare Court assemblages consisted of medieval/post-medieval ceramic and stone building materials. The remainder comprised Roman or Anglo-Saxon period ceramic materials. The ceramic building material was analysed using the system of classification employed in archaeological work in Greater London in which a fabric number specifies an object's form, composition and method of manufacture. Details of fabrics identified in these excavations are stored with the archive and examples of the fabrics can be found in the archives of the Museum of London and Pre-Construct Archaeology.

Roman Brick and Tile

Roman fabrics accounted for approximately 7% of the entire assemblage. With one possible exception the Roman material was residual. As is usually the case in London most of the material was local to Greater London, with some of the tile originating from Eccles in Kent. Two of the local small fragments were probably from a single relief patterned or comb-scored tile. The small quantity and residual nature of the material suggests that occupation of the area during the Roman period would have been fairly limited.

Some daub-like brick fragments of a fine sandy fabric, including one piece with an imprint of a hob-nailed shoe or boot of a common Roman type (Fig. 78). The imprint is incomplete but consists of a single line of nails, tightly spaced, around the outside of the sole and a cluster of nails in the tread. The impressions have a depth of 0.5 – 3mm, and diameters of *c.* 3mm. When compared to an illustrated example of a hobnail type A from Billingsgate (Rhodes 1980, 105-106 fig. 60), it was noted that the leading surface of the nail was of a similar diameter, as was the depth of the nail head. The date range of the fabric (3006) is accepted as AD 50/60 to mid 2nd century, fitting neatly with the material from Billingsgate, all of which is from contexts dated AD 70 to AD 160.

Daub

In all only 272g of daub fragments were recovered, two of which showed distinct withy impressions. The fragments generally came from contexts associated with the residual Roman building material. They are most likely related to Saxon occupation levels, which no longer survive.

Early Medieval Roof Tile

At the Temple, the presence of early medieval tile fabrics indicates tile-roofed structures from the mid 12th century onwards. Tile fragments were fairly thick (more than 14mm), usually knife-trimmed, and often lead-glazed or splash-glazed. They may represent early roofing systems such as flanged or shouldered peg tiles, however the fragments recovered were not particularly diagnostic. A likely source for some of the tile fragments (in fabric 2273) would be the tile kiln discovered at Niblett Hall/4 King's Bench Walk (Keily 1993-4, 73-74). This kiln produced shouldered peg tiles in the same fabric (Keily 1993-4, 74; S. Pringle, pers. comm.), and this may have been the system of choice for the roofing of the early monastic complex. One unusual rectangular tile in the same fabric was recovered. It was knife trimmed, was 97mm wide, 16mm thick and possibly represents a kiln spacer.

Medieval Roof Tile

Fragments of medieval peg tiles were recovered suggesting continued construction from the mid 13th century onwards. One of the fabrics (2587) is similar to some of the 'Westminster' type floor tile fabrics (below) and may have come from the same source. There were several examples of peg tiles and both splash-glazed and unglazed tile fragments were recovered.



Fig. 78 Hob-nailed boot impression found on Roman tile (scale 1:2)

Post-Medieval Roof Tile

Most post-medieval roof tiles were peg tile; a complete, although fragmented, example of which was found with dimensions 264mm by 155mm by 14mm. Only five fragments of pan tile were recovered, all of which were burnt and reduced. Pan tile is often associated with low status building, so it is not surprising that this type of roofing system is under-represented in this assemblage. Peg tile roofing systems were gradually replaced from the late 18th century when cheaper slate alternatives became available with the advent of better transport.

Medieval and Post-Medieval Floor Tile

Of the ceramic building materials excavated a disproportionately large number were floor tile fragments probably from the nearby high status medieval buildings, the most obvious of which would be the Temple Church, although the site's location close to the City does not

preclude the possibility that they derive from elsewhere.

The majority of tiles excavated from trenches to the south of the Temple Church exhibited strong use-wear, and may represent tiles discarded after repair works to the surrounding buildings. Several also show signs of reduction, sooting or burning, suggesting possible replacement after one or other of the fires known to have affected the area. A large number of floor tiles were also found residually in the late 19th century construction cut for the foundations of Nos. 2 & 3 Hare Court.

Two groups of floor tile were dominant, plain glazed Low Countries tiles, recovered from various contexts, and plain glazed and decorated 'Westminster' tiles. There were also two decorated examples of Penn tile (fabric 2894) from Buckinghamshire, which may have been used as replacement tile for the 'Westminster' flooring or may represent tiles from other nearby high status buildings, a local example being the Inn of the Bishop of Ely. The Penn and the 'Westminster' tile are most likely to originate from the flooring of the Temple Church.

The 'Westminster' tiles were all worn, and many had

Table 15 Decorated floor tile designs

| Type | Fabric No. | Dimensions mm | Glaze [†] | Comment | Figure* |
|-------------|------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Westminster | 2195 | 1 | ?x?x27+ | brownish black, yellow | Worn, white slip inlay, possible fleur-de-lis diagonal design similar to W79? Flinty moulding sand. 79.1 |
| Westminster | 2195 | 1 | ?x?x28+ | brownish greenish black, yellow | Worn, white slip inlay, possible fleur-de-lis diagonal similar to W71, W73-78? Flinty moulding sand. 79.2 |
| Westminster | 2195 | 3 | ?x?x26+ | brown, yellow | Worn, white slip inlay, possibly 2 fragments from 1 tile. Six petalled flower within circle, central dot similar to W125? Flinty moulding sand. 79.3 |
| Westminster | 2195 | 1 | ?x?x27+ | brown, yellow? | Surface very worn, surface reduced in centre, glaze residue on base, inlay 1mm white clay, design fragmented, possibly. 79.4 |
| Westminster | 2199 | 1 | ?x115x27+ | brownish green, yellow | Worn, white slip inlay, very similar if not same as W56. In Richardson as plate VIII, 8, possibly represents the Vairé arms. Flinty moulding sand. 79.5 |
| Westminster | 2892 | 1 | ?x?x24+ | brownish green, yellow | Surfaces fairly worn and fairly damaged, reduced centre, design unclear, possibly W113? In Richardson as plate VIII, 6. Flinty moulding sand. 79.6 |
| Westminster | 2892 | 1 | ?x118x26+ | brown, yellow | Worn, white slip inlay, Similar if not same as W56. In Richardson as plate VIII, 8. Flinty moulding sand. 79.7 |
| Westminster | 2892 | 1 | ?x?x24+ | brown?, yellow? | Surfaces very worn and fairly damaged, reduced centre corner fragment. white slip, corner of fleur-de-lis design, Lambeth palace #9? Flinty moulding sand. 79.8 |
| Westminster | 2892 | 1 | 116x112x26 | brown, brownish yellow | Worn, surface damaged, bevel near vertical floral design similar to W131. 79.9 |
| Westminster | 2892 | 1 | ?x85x26 | brown, yellow? | Scored along diagonals and split into triangle, nail hole in one corner; surface worn and slightly damaged. Design similar to W113, Richardson plate VIII, 6. 79.10 |
| Penn | 2894 | 1 | ?x?x23 | yellow, brown | Quarter tile pattern, from bottom left corner flower?/circle/dots/circle. Similar to e2109. 79.11 |
| Penn | 2894 | 1 | ?x?x25-28 | brown, yellow | Worn, reduced & vitrified core, corner fragment, pattern e2478, in Richardson as plate IX, 2. |

[†] = most of the original glaze, now missing

* where illustrated

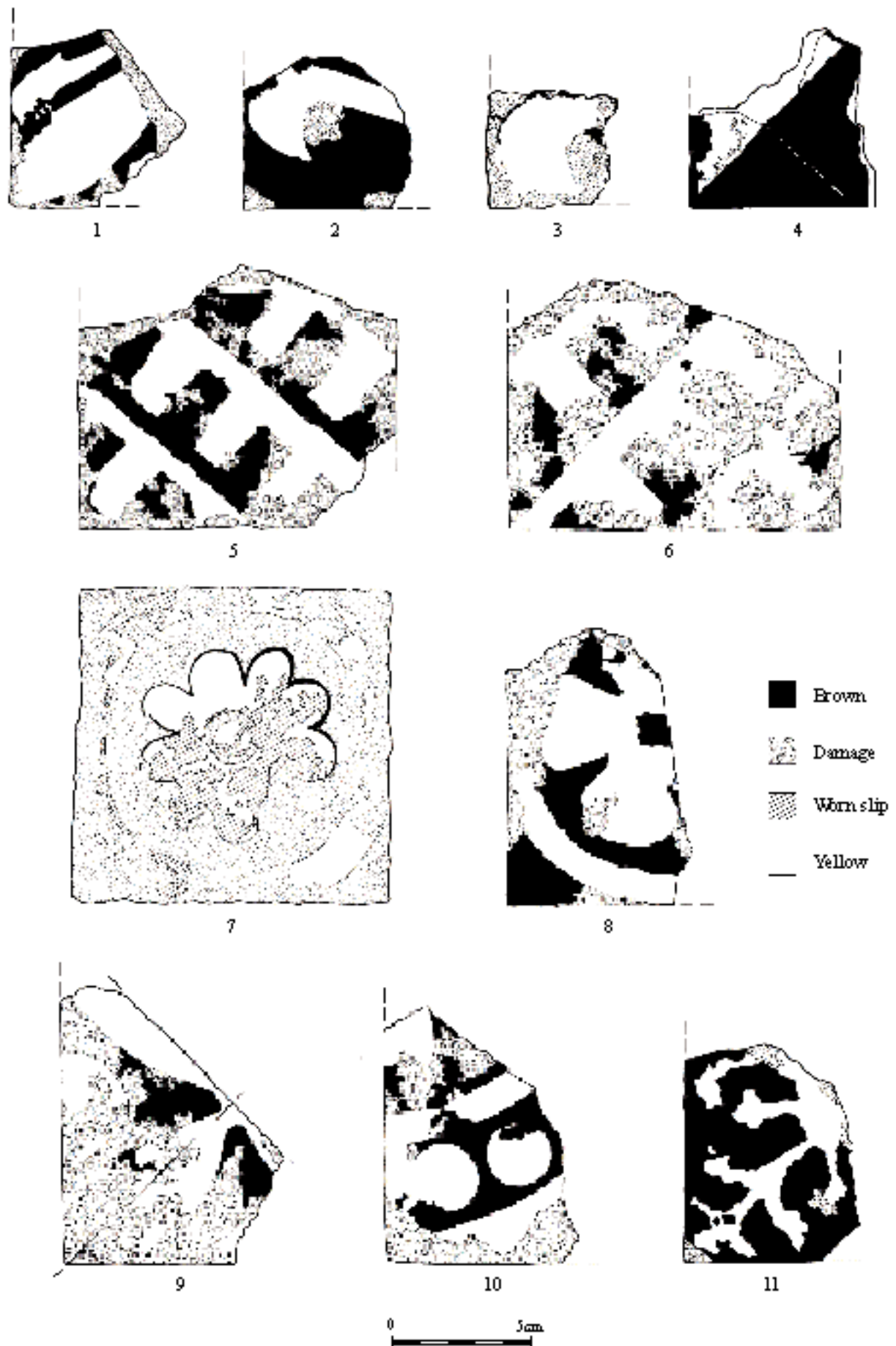


Fig. 79 'Westminster' tiles found on site (scale 1:2).

mortar residue on their bases. Breaks were fairly clean, and the substantial number of fragments of large size suggests that the tiles had been removed as part of demolition or renovation, and had not moved far from their original location. Both square, plain-glazed or decorated examples, and plain-glazed triangular-split tiles were recovered, as well as one complete rhombus or diamond-split tile. Plain glazed tiles were dark green to greenish black or yellow, and one triangular tile showed a decorative design. Decorated tiles have brown and yellow glazes. The diamond mosaic tile had a high leaded black glaze. On many of the pieces the surface glaze had been worn away completely leaving only a residue around the sides as evidence for glazing.

Several tiles showed partial designs and a few showed complete motifs. Some of the 'Westminster' tiles parallel those in the Medieval Westminster floor tile catalogue (Betts 2002), and are noted in Table 15 with the convention 'W' followed by the catalogue number. The Penn tile designs are cross-referenced to those in the Eames' catalogue (Eames 1968), and are prefixed in the Table with the letter 'e', again followed by the catalogue number.

Repair work undertaken in 1841 in the chancel of the Temple Church revealed a number of floor tiles, 'portions of

an ancient pavement', *in situ* (Richardson 1845, 9). The chancel was consecrated on Ascension Day AD 1240, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the production of the tiles if they represent the original floor. However, since Westminster tile production is currently dated to the period 1225/50-c.1300, this would be a very early date for their production and the examples both found on site and by Richardson in 1841 may represent later floor surfaces. The tiles were apparently not planned *in situ* before excavation, although Richardson recorded a number of tile designs (Fig. 80), which were traced and then drawn to scale by use of a Pentagraph (Richardson 1845, 19-20). Interestingly Richardson noted that

"round several of the columns where the ancient tiled flooring still remained the Tiles were much worn, and indented exactly where the feet of persons would have come who had sat against the columns".

He noted that the tiles discovered *in situ* were laid east to west in parallel lines and were

"composed generally of a coarse red clay, and the designs filled in with a very thin layer of white or pipeclay; the transparent vitrification changing the surface of the former to a rich chocolate or deep red, and the white pattern to a bright orange; accidental

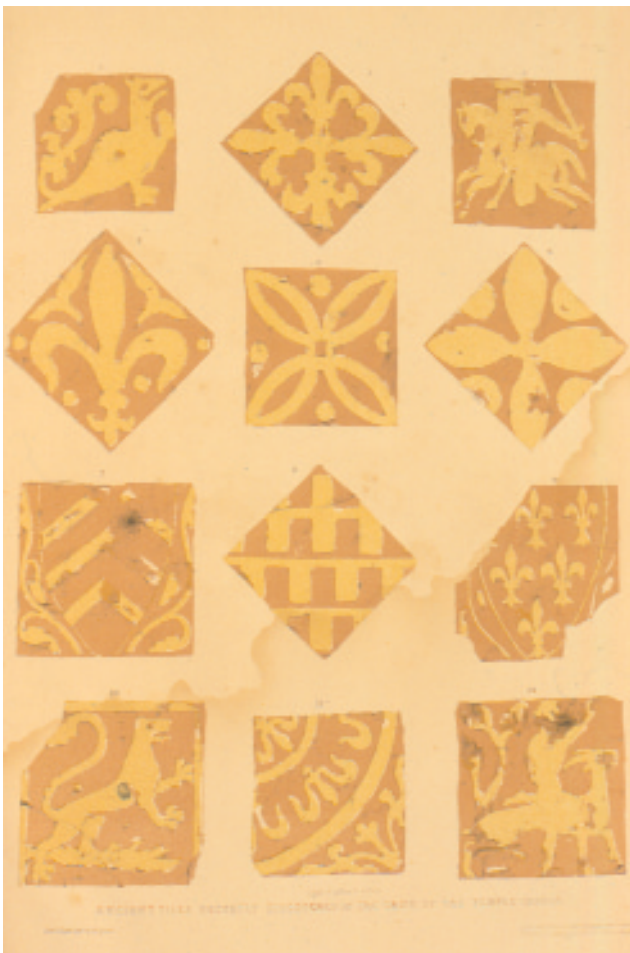


Fig. 80 'Westminster' tiles found during restoration work undertaken on the Temple Church in the 1840s. Reproduced by kind permission of The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple

varieties of colour occurring from the Tiles being over-burnt in parts, and the glazing more or less green by some metallic admixture”

(Richardson 1845, 20).

He gives thicknesses as being between $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches (19–32mm). The tiles were noted to be similar to those found at Westminster Abbey. Three of the designs found during excavation can be matched with those illustrated by Richardson, and very possibly represent remnants of the chancel floor. Figs. 79.5, 79.6 show varying slip impressions, suggesting either the use of more than one stamp, or the continued use of a degrading stamp.

‘Westminster’ floor tiles, first recognised at Westminster Abbey, have been found within a number of religious sites in London, including parish churches in the city, and monastic sites such as Bermondsey Abbey, Merton Priory, St Mary Clerkenwell, and St Mary Spital (Pringle & Smith 2004, 322). Fifty-eight decorated ‘Westminster’ tiles were recovered from the Hospitallers’ priory site at Clerkenwell of which twenty-two were previously unpublished designs. It is likely that plain-glazed tiles of various shapes were used in combination with patterned tiles, as seen at Westminster Abbey, Lambeth Palace and other high status residences, to create a polychrome effect.

A possible source for the Westminster tiles is a kiln in Farringdon Street, discovered in the 19th century (Betts 1994, 133), or perhaps a more recently discovered kiln at Clerkenwell (S. Pringle, pers. comm.).

Also recovered were several fragments of Low Countries, plain-glazed or unglazed floor tiles (the latter were all worn, and may have originally been glazed). Again, none of the tiles were found *in situ*, although it is possible that they may represent a later flooring system, perhaps replacing the ‘Westminster’ series, and in turn being replaced after a period of use. Where the glaze was visible it was plain, either in creamy yellow, dark brown or green. The fact that they date between the late 14th century and the 16th century does not preclude the possibility that they were used in the Temple Church.

Evidence for later floors or replacements comes from two floor tile fragments, one 36mm thick and one extremely thick fragment (42mm). Richardson noted the presence of a hexagonal/rhomboid tin-glazed Flemish example used as a floor tile, and three excavated fragments of worn tin-glazed decorated tiles suggest a similar use. One fragment had a central design within a circle-band border. The central design was fragmented but probably represents a bird (Fig. 81). The corner motif consisted of trefoil lily. The piece is polychrome, with yellow, blue and manganese on a white background. It is possibly a Dutch import, and a parallel in

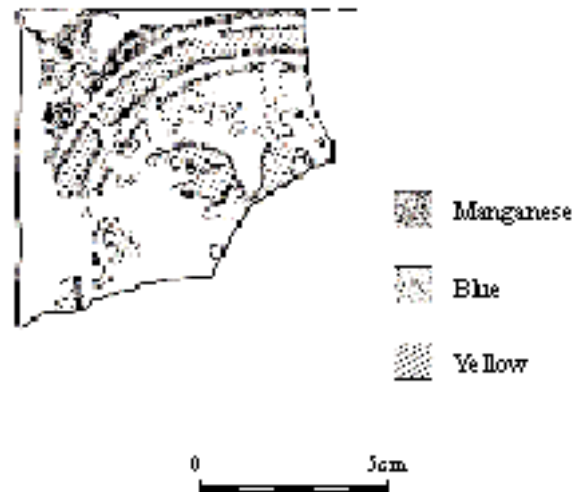


Fig. 81 Tin glazed Flemish tile (scale 1:2)

Pluis (1998, 407 fig. A.04.04.01) is dated to 1570/1600; the decorative motifs are the same, except that the central image is of a crocodile.

Medieval And Post-Medieval Brick Fabrics

All the fragments were stock moulded, and the more complete examples were all unfrosted. Occasional examples were over-fired, sometimes vitrified, which could suggest extreme heat damage from fire, although deliberately vitrified bricks were used to create diaper work and other decoration in some of the Temple buildings.

Most of the complete bricks examined were samples from masonry structures [3], [44], [53], [149], [150], [151]. Context [44] represented an east-west aligned wall, of early post-medieval date, probably the foundation wall for a timber-framed building. Contexts [3], [149], [150] and [151] represented drainage structures of brick construction, containing some reused examples dating from the late 17th to 19th centuries. Context [53] represented a late 17th to early 19th north-south wall perhaps associated with the Lamb Building. The basement of this building itself was represented by brick floor [46], dating c.1450/1480 to 1666. Three specially moulded, rubbed, red bricks may represent remains of architectural decoration from the Lamb Building. Two had chamfered ends and one was double-canted at one end, and cut in at the other to form a ‘spearhead’ shape (Fig. 82).



Fig. 82 An example of moulded, rubbed red brick, possibly deriving from the Lamb Building (scale 1:4)

Stone

In addition to the stone assemblage found in Trench 1 in Church Court (see Sabel above, Chapter 3), several stone types were present: Kentish ragstone, Reigate Stone, Medium grained laminated sandstone, Oolitic limestone, Portland stone, Slate, Chalk, Caen stone, Purbeck Limestone and Yorkstone. However, with the exception of Chalk, Kentish ragstone, Yorkstone and Reigate stone fragments, they were only represented by three fragments or less. Yorkstone was used extensively for paving, and Richardson informs us that much of the paving in the Temple Church was replaced in 1827 with Yorkstone slabs five inches thick (Richardson 1845, 11). Worked stone of probable medieval date included Caen and Reigate stone. Some large fragments of Chalk freestone blocks noted in the backfill to 19th century drain cuts may have been of medieval origin, although the latter could also have been used for post-medieval rubble foundations. All three stone types were used in the interior of the Temple for decorative elements; Reigate stone for monumental effigies, chalk for spandrels in the Choir roof and Caen stone for the spandrel heads and arcade in the Round, much of which was replaced in the 19th century by the ubiquitous Purbeck Marble (Richardson 1845, 23-24).

Unfaced Kentish ragstone formed the greater portion of the stone assemblage, but is not particularly diagnostic, as it was used in construction from the Roman period onwards. One wall foundation [88] of ragstone and some chalk and Reigate stone, was thought to be part of the eastern range of the medieval cloisters. The Round itself was also seen to have been of coursed ragstone before restoration work of the 19th century was undertaken, and the fragments from the excavation may represent old facing material, later replaced with Bath stone.

Some pieces of Reigate stone had been burnt, and may

represent damaged material from Temple buildings destroyed by fire. Richardson also reported that a coffin discovered in the porch had been constructed of Reigate stone ‘much decayed’ (Richardson 1845, 15), as were some of the effigies within the Round itself. Damaged coffins and effigies may therefore be another source of stone. Other types used for the Temple funerary pieces include Purbeck Marble and Purbeck Stone, and a shelly oolitic limestone resembling Barnack Rag (Richardson 1845, 19), examples of all of which were recovered from excavation. Few pieces of obviously moulded stone were found, although one or two fragments showed tools marks, but the majority are quite abraded.

THE GLASS

RACHEL TYSON

This report examines the excavated glass from the 16th and 17th century deposits at Hare Court and Church Court. While glass, including urinal and window fragments, has been recorded, the following focuses on the drinking vessels and bottles and their use. Records from the Inner Temple show that the lawyers were predominantly drinking beer and wine from wooden cups or green glazed pottery jugs. By 1677 there is documentary evidence for glass drinking vessels in rule 5 of the joint Committee of the Inns, which stated that ‘no wine shall be brought into Hall in bottles nor drinking glasses used in Hall, except at the Reader’s table’ (Matthews & Green 1969, 3). This is compared with the archaeological evidence.

Most of the glass discussed here is from a 16th to 17th century phase of activity at Hare Court, although one stem from a later phase was included since it was residual and clearly dated to the early 17th century. The assemblage includes a number of drinking vessels dating to the late 16th and first half of the 17th century. These include Venetian-style *vetro a retorti* dating to the late 16th century, a number of beakers of the later 16th and possibly early 17th centuries, cigar stems from drinking glasses of the early 17th century, and a number of other fragments possibly from these vessels or similar types of the same date. The bottles date to the later 16th and 17th century, and are widely used general-purpose types. Only one mid 17th century bottle can be specified as a wine bottle. The use and status of the glass is discussed first, followed by a more detailed outline of the dating and origin of the glass types.

Glass drinking vessels, having been restricted to the wealthier classes during the medieval period, became more common in the 16th century. William Harrison in his *Description of England* in 1577 states:

“It is a world to see in these our days...how that our gentility...do now generally choose rather the Venice glasses, both for our wine and

beer...The poorest also will have glass if they may; but, sith the Venetian is somewhat too dear for them, they content themselves with such as are made at home of fern and burned stone..."

(Charleston 1972, 144).

The Hare Court glass is generally high-status. The stemmed glasses include fine colourless *cristallo* vessels made *à la façon de Venise*. *Vetro a retorti* is amongst the most sophisticated glass available at that date, no doubt reflected in its price. It is likely to have been made in Venice, although similar glass was also made in the Netherlands. The cigar stems are common finds in London and are likely to have been made there. While they are relatively common in London, they were evidently considered valuable enough to mend; four cigar stems from an early 17th-century site at Bagshot and others from London and Oxford have been found with gilt wire or lead strip repairs to the upper stem (Willmott 1997, 4).

The beakers include *cristallo* glass, which may originate in London or have been imported from the Netherlands. At least three were made of green glass, the type made at 'forest' glasshouses and referred to by Harrison (Charleston 1972, 144) as "*made at home of fern and burned stone*". These vessels would not have been as expensive as the other *cristallo* glasses, but whether their consumers differentiated between them in the way suggested by Harrison, and the two types were used by different members of the Inner Temple, is uncertain.

A possibility is that the stemmed glasses and the beakers had separate uses, for wine and beer. However, it cannot be assumed that the stemmed glasses were only used for wine. The difference in stemmed wine and beer glasses seems to have been in their size, rather than the style or type of glass. Documents from Mansell's London glass industry in the early 17th century suggest that 'large ordinary' glasses were used for beer, and 'small ordinary' glasses were used for wine (Charleston 1984a, 66-7). Later in the century John Greene's order for glasses from Venice shows that the differing sizes of the same type of stemmed glasses were based on whether they were used for beer, claret or sack (*ibid.*). It is generally thought that beakers, certainly the English forest glass products, were used for beer (Charleston 1972, 136). The glass alone cannot therefore confirm what the lawyers were drinking.

All of the flasks and bottles are English types, and are not indicative of any status. Only one glass wine bottle can be confirmed from Hare Court. The true English wine bottle, dedicated for that purpose, developed from about the 1630s, and the Hare Court rim is an early type, dating between 1630 and 1660/80. Before that date glass bottles were not made for specific contents. Earlier types include two green glass flask bases, as well as a ribbed

body fragment, which may come from a flask. These are large enough to have possibly been used to serve wine. At least seven small storage bottles are represented, including cylindrical, hexagonal and square case bottles, dating from the late 16th into the 17th century. They had no single purpose, but contents may have included medicines, toilet preparations, perfumes and spirits (Charleston 1984a, 91; Henkes 1994, 241). Larger case bottles may have served to carry wine from casks to decanters. Some of the slightly larger examples here may have contained spirits, but it is doubtful whether any are large enough to have held wine.

The survival rate of glass will inevitably be lower than that for pottery. The rims, particularly on the fine *cristallo* drinking vessels are thin and fragile and unlikely to survive. An additional problem is that the glass may have been collected to be recycled. There is some contemporary evidence that glass was collected from domestic sites for use as cullet by the glass industry (Kenyon 1967, 18-19; Tyson 2000, 23). Nevertheless, it is clear that a very small quantity of glass was used at Hare Court in comparison with the pottery. It is unlikely to have been used by all of the lawyers. The small quantity of glass, both *cristallo* drinking glasses and English forest glass beakers, suggests that its use was restricted to a section of the community; perhaps the 'heads' of the Inns of Court or the 'Reader's table' mentioned in the documentary evidence above, or perhaps only on particular occasions.

Drinking vessels

Four fragments of *vetro a retorti* were found at Hare Court (Fig. 83.1, and *see* Fig. 43). This is Venetian-style colourless glass with alternate embedded vertical bands of a single white cane, and a band consisting of thick white trails spiralling to the right superimposed by thin white trails spiralling to the left. The bands become slightly further apart as the vessels flare out towards the top. This glass was made in Venice, but also by immigrant Italian glassworkers in *façon de Venise* workshops in the Netherlands. Venetian examples include a lobed goblet dated to the late 16th century (Tait 1979, 73, no. 102). Examples from the Netherlands include beakers of the same date (Henkes 1994, 176, nos. 41.10-41.11). The four fragments from Hare Court may come from the same vessel. They represent a slightly bulbous body, an almost vertical rim profile, and a foot or stem with a folded edge, suggesting a stemmed or footed goblet with a rounded base to the bowl.

Three cigar stems (Figs. 83.2-83.4 and *see* Fig. 45), and a merese possibly from the base of another, represent one of

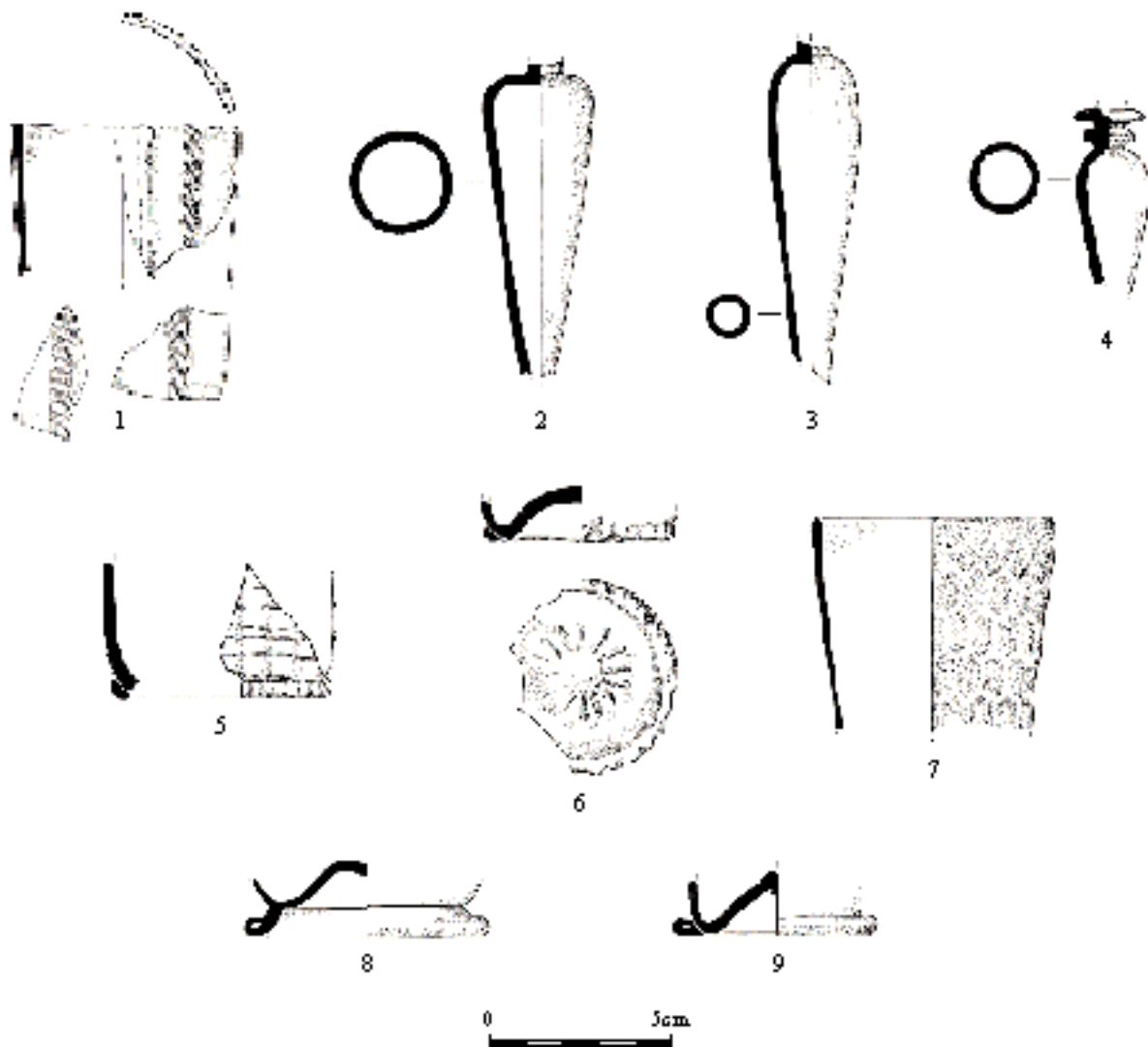


Fig. 83 Post-medieval glass: 1. Three fragments of *vetro a retorti* glass, 2-4. Cigar stems, 5. *Cristallo* beaker base, 6. Beaker base with moulded 'rosette' design, 7. 'Forest' glass beaker with hexagonal patterning, 8-9. 'Forest' glass beaker bases (scale 1:2)

the most common drinking glass types found in London. The fact that they were less common in other countries suggests that they were made in London, perhaps in Robert Mansell's glasshouse, established in 1617 (Charleston 1984a, 64). A deposit found in Gracechurch Street, London, thought to be the stock of a glass merchant, was covered by a layer from the 1666 Great Fire, but contained early 17th-century glass (Charleston 1984a, 63, 68). Cigar stems were the most common stem type, with a total of 56 found. A number of cigar stems have been found with repairs to the section just above the stem (Willmott 1997; *see above*), which suggests that despite their relative frequency, they remained valuable.

A number of body, rim and base fragments probably came from the vessels represented by the cigar stems. Most fragments are undecorated, however, one body fragment has wide vertical flutes and may come from a fluted bowl, as seen on a 16th to 17th century Venetian goblet with cigar-shaped stem (Tait 1979, 51, no. 47), or possibly from the

lower section of an octagonal-moulded bowl of the type seen on a cigar-stemmed goblet from Exeter dating to the first half of the 17th century (Charleston 1984b, 273-274, no. 109).

The origin of the beakers is less certain. They include *façon de Venise* types in *cristallo* glass, colourless with a greyish tinge, which were made in London as well as the Netherlands. While an exact parallel is hard to find, the *cristallo* beaker base (Fig. 83.5) with vertical fluting, horizontal trails and a milled base ring recalls short beakers with milled base rings from London, including a number with applied trails, mould-blown into a vertically-ribbed mould to create a 'chequered spiral trail' effect (Charleston 1984a, 63). In the Netherlands beakers dating to c. 1600 and the early 17th century may be decorated with vertical fluting (Henkes 1994, 148, 34.1), plain horizontal trails (*ibid.*, 155, 35.9-11), and one example with milled trails applied over vertical fluting (*ibid.*, 153, 35.5) dating to c. 1600. The Netherlandish examples may

have a plain, milled or no base ring. The Hare Court beaker belongs to this general type, popular in England and the Netherlands in the late 16th and early 17th century.

The beaker base with a moulded 'rosette' design in the centre of the base (Fig. 83.6) probably originally had a mould-blown decorative pattern on the body. This style of beaker is typical of *façon de Venise* from the Netherlands, which included 'chequered spiral-trail' designs, simple spiral-trailed beakers and bossed beakers in various colours (Henkes 1994, 132-138), all dating to the second half of the 16th century and first half of the 17th century. A similar central rosette can be seen on one of these bossed beakers (*ibid.*, 137, fig. 91). Again, it is likely that these types were also made in London. Examples are relatively common in England, including a number from Norwich (Haslam 1993, 105-106, figs. 70-1). The colour of this heavily weathered example is not known, although there is a trace of colourless glass with a greenish tinge. Forest glasshouses such as Rosedale in Yorkshire made similar types in greenish glass (Charleston 1972, 132, 137, fig. 132, nos. 19-20).

The beaker with hexagonal patterning (Fig. 83.7) is one of a number of similar types found at English 'forest' glasshouses such as the late 16th-century sites at Rosedale and Hutton in Yorkshire (e.g. Charleston 1972, 139, fig. 61 and 146, fig. 64), and late 16th- to early 17th-century sites in the Surrey/Sussex Weald (Kenyon 1967, 96). The pedestal beaker base (Fig. 83.8), found on a number of beaker types, has parallels from the same glasshouse sites (e.g. Charleston 1972, 148, fig. 66; Kenyon 1967, 94, fig. 13). A kicked beaker base (Fig. 83.9), with a very crudely applied coil of glass forming the base ring is also likely to be an English forest glass product (cf. Kenyon 1967, 95).

Flasks and Bottles

Two bases were found from flasks: relatively large vessels with pedestal feet. The most common form of the late 16th and 17th century is a pyriform flask, with a plain bulbous body, narrowing to form the neck, and a slightly everted rim, an example of which from Exeter dates to c 1600 (Charleston 1984b, 270-271, no. 81). A ribbed body fragment found with one of the bases, of the same colour and type of glass, could belong to that flask.

The majority of the bottles are small and thin-walled, including 'case' bottles, with flattened sides enabling them to fit efficiently into a storage box. One example is hexagonal, dating to the late 16th century. Examples have been found on English glasshouses such as those in the Surrey/Sussex Weald (Charleston 1984a, 91). Square case bottles,

originating at the same date, carried on well into the 17th century. Cylindrical types were also found.

One rim was found from an early example of a true English wine bottle. It has the string-rim applied about 12mm below the rim, a distance which makes it likely to date to between 1630 and 1660, possibly up to 1680 (Dumbrell 1983, 44-45). The bottles made at this date were the early 'shaft and globe' type, with a long narrow neck above a bulbous body, which became more angular at the shoulder during 1660-80.

THE SMALL FINDS

MÄRIT GAIMSTER WITH JAMES MOSLEY AND IAN RIDDLE

The two excavations at the Inner Temple produced over 200 individual metal and small finds (Egan and Keys 2001). The finds may be generally associated with three distinct periods of occupation in the Inner Temple area: a Middle Saxon settlement (*see above*); the medieval period consisting of activity from the 11th century possibly associated with the Bishop of Ely's Inn and the later New Temple of the Knights Templar; and the post-medieval Inn of Court, the Inner Temple. This report will focus on the latter two periods and discuss a selection of finds that throw light on the different occupants and activities.

The Medieval Bishop of Ely's Inn, Hare Court

Hare Court is thought to be the site of the Bishop of Ely's Inn, documented from the time of the Norman Conquest. The building, possibly on the site of the modern Farrar's Building on the southeast of Hare Court, may have been used by the Masters of the Knights Templar during the construction of their monastery in the late 12th century.

On the west side of Hare Court, excavations recorded the infilling of a large quarry pit, capped by a gravel and cobble surface [314]. Both the sequence of fills and the cobble surface were dated by pottery to the 11th and 12th centuries, and may reflect building works related to the Bishop's Inn. A small piece of dark grey stone, with a smoothly polished surface, may be the chipped-off fragment of a stone flag; the presence of a stone-flag floor would be an indication of the status of the Bishop's town house. Several nails were retrieved from the quarry fills, but also a biconical lead weight with a hole for suspension (Fig. 84.1); this is most likely a plumb bob, a necessary tool for building works (Biddle 1990, fig. 71a no. 427; cf. Andrews 1999, Pl. II Fig. I). A slender and near-complete stone hone, furnished with a hole for suspension, came from the same context

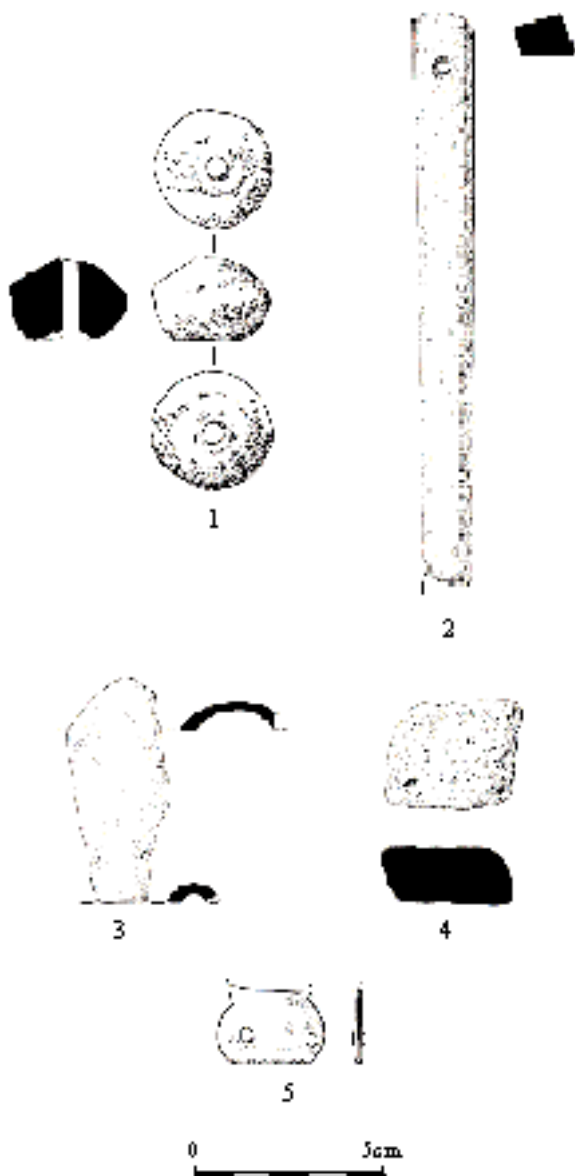


Fig. 84 Medieval small finds: 1. Plumb bob, 2. Hone stone, 3. Bone handle, 4. Pumice stone, 5. Copper alloy strap end (scale 1:2)

(Fig. 84.2), as well as an unusual bone handle (Fig. 84.3; see Riddler, below, for discussion of this object).

Another unusual find that may relate to a high-status context is the small piece of pumice stone from the gravel and cobble surface [314] (Fig. 84.4). Pumice was used above all in the preparation of parchment and vellum, but also when scrubbing off the ink for corrections and re-use of this costly writing material. The polished surface on the piece from Hare Court is an indication of its use; the small size suggests the pumice was used by writers, not parchment makers. Two lace chapes from the same context, however, indicate that an 11th/12th-century date for these finds may be a bit too early; previously this type of small copper-alloy lace chapes has only been found in contexts later than the

mid- to late 13th century (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 281). Both lace tags from Hare Court are of Type 1, starting in the late medieval period although continuing in use into the 16th and 17th centuries. These may be intrusive finds as the surface on which they were found was covered by a post-medieval deposit.

A sequence of garden soils, dating from the 12th to 13th centuries, was present in most trenches at Hare Court. No other pre-16th century activities were identified, suggesting that Hare Court was laid out as gardens at this time. A probable strap end is included among the finds from the garden soils (Fig. 84.5). It consists of a copper alloy sheet bent double and cut to a decorative shape, secured by two rivets; the thinness of this piece suggests that, if it is a strap end, it is broken towards the end and was originally much longer (cf Egan and Pritchard 1991, fig. 85 no. 606). A lace chape of the same type as the two above, was also retrieved from the garden soils.

As on many sites within the City of London, the medieval finds at Hare Court are sparse and fragmentary. However, the fragment of stone-flagged floor and, in particular, the small piece of pumice stone, probably used for the correction of writings, are both indications of a high-status site, such as would befit the Bishop of Ely. The plumb bob is a find that, perhaps along with the unusual bone handle, reflects the use of specialist tools in the construction of high-status and elaborate buildings such as churches and other ecclesiastic buildings.

Implement handle

IAN RIDDLER

The single plate from a scale tang handle for an implement was produced from a cattle long bone (SF147, Fig. 84.3). The plate is broad and trapezoidal in shape, with bevelled faces to either side of the central panel. The front edge is narrow and lightly rounded. The back edge has been cut diagonally on both outer faces, towards a blunt point at the centre. The plate is perforated by four rivet holes, including a pair at the front and two holes set close to the outer edges towards the back. The plate has fractured across three of the rivet holes. The plate has been polished.

Discussion

This bone plate has been neatly finished, although there were clearly problems with the provisioning of rivets close to its edges. In three out of four cases, the plate has fractured across a rivet hole. The short and broad shape of

Table 16 Medieval small finds from Hare Court

| Context | Small find | Description | Figure* |
|---------|------------|--|---------|
| 316 | SF67 | lead weight; sub-biconical; weight 118 g; possibly plumb bob? | 84.1 |
| 316 | SF68 | stone hone; schist; long and slender with rectangular section; near complete and perforated for suspension; L 150mm W 15mm | 84.2 |
| 316 | SF147 | bone scale tang handle for implement; L 58mm W 27mm 5mm thick; four rivet holes close to outer edge | 84.3 |
| 314 | SF64 | pumice stone; L 33mm W 27mm; flattened and worn surface on both sides | 84.4 |
| 26 | SF23 | copper-alloy strap end; folded sheet with two rivets; rounded sides; L 20mm W 28mm | 84.5 |
| 26 | SF25 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 1; tapering towards the end; L 27mm | |
| 314 | SF63 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 1; incomplete; L 22mm | |
| 314 | SF126 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 1; rivet extant; L 25mm | |
| 319 | SF53 | fragment of dark grey mudstone; worn and polished surface | |

* where illustrated

the plate and the arrangement of its riveting, is quite different from that seen with scale tang knife handles. Moreover, there is a clear intention to allow a tang to pass into the handle, without necessarily passing rivets through it.

There are few comparable objects from medieval contexts, but a parallel can be drawn with a pair of bone plates from Dover (Riddler & Walton Rogers, forthcoming). These plates are decorated with simple linear designs but they are of a similar size and shape, and they also include four small rivet holes, set close to the edges of each plate. Copper alloy rivets survive in some of the rivet holes. The back edge of the Dover plates curves to a stub and there is clearly a general resemblance between them and the Hare Court example. They both came from contexts of 12th to 13th century date.

The function of these plates is not clear. They were used to fasten a tang, which may have broadened towards its terminal. They are relatively short and broad but they can still be held in the hand, particularly with an implement that tapered from the plates to a point.

The Medieval Knights Templar: The Temple Cloister, Church Court

The Knights Templar were established on the site from 1161 with a church and monastery. In the western part of Church Court, a series of dumping and levelling layers, the backfill of a large quarry pit, dating from the 11th to 12th centuries, was revealed. Numerous pieces of slag were retrieved from these, most likely reflecting the phase of building and

construction associated with the layout of the monastic buildings (Keys 2001). Excavations in the east part of Church Court uncovered the foundations of the Temple cloister. A fragment of a stone hone and a very worn medieval silver coin were retrieved from a possible drain in the cloister floor. There is little to be said about these two finds, although the hone is another example of the fine and slender type (SF68) as found at Hare Court above.

Early Post-Medieval Burials in Church Court

The order of the Knights Templar was dissolved in 1312 and in 1338 the Temple was granted to the Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, who then leased it to the lawyers. The central part of the cloister area became part of the Temple Churchyard, forming the South Churchyard. During the excavations, six graves were recorded in the central part of Church Court and numerous disarticulated human bones were also recovered from later features in this area (*see* Dodwell 2001, and below). None of the burials excavated date from the medieval period; however, there were two distinct phases of burial with the earlier dated to the 16th to 17th centuries, and the later to the 17th century. These dates were based on pottery from the grave fills.

In the earlier phase, three grave cuts were recorded: [163], [160] and [161], with [163] being the earliest in the sequence. A hiatus in burials is suggested by a chalk and rubble layer [155] overlying both the three graves above, and what appears to be the churchyard boundary. Covering this layer was a further layer [130], containing pottery dated to 1480–1650 along with a copper-alloy lace chape. The second phase of burials, cut into [130], was represented in grave cuts [142], [139] and [129], with [142] the earliest in the sequence. The graves that produced finds are described below.

Table 17 Finds from the Temple cloister, Church Court

| Context | Small find | Description |
|---------|------------|--|
| 78 | SF21 | silver coin; medieval ?penny; too worn for closer identification |
| 78 | SF22 | stone hone; schist; incomplete; square section; same type as HCO 99 SF68 above |

Grave [160]: aligned NW-SE; head to the west; truncated at both east and west; L 0.9m W 0.62m; 0.12m deep; supine with only lower legs and part of the feet of skeleton [157] present; the grave fill [156] contained pottery and two copper-alloy lace chapes. Young adult.

Grave [139]: aligned NW-SE; head to the west; truncated at south and west; L 1.08m W 0.58m; 0.41m deep; legs and lower right arm missing from skeleton [138]; supine burial with arms outstretched along the body; the grave fill [137] contained two copper-alloy pins, a lead token and three iron nails, along with pottery dated to 1580-1900. Male, young adult.

Grave [129]: aligned E-W; head to the west; L 1.1m W 0.64m; 0.32m deep; lower legs of skeleton [24] missing; supine burial with arms outstretched along the body; bottom grave fill [132] contained an iron nail; top grave fill [128] contained a copper-alloy belt buckle and two iron nails; both grave fills contained pottery dated to 1550-1700. Male, young/younger middle adult.

The scarcity of excavated early modern urban burials or cemeteries makes the Temple finds particularly interesting. In three of the burials, the grave fill included finds other than pottery. The heavily corroded and fragmentary nails in Graves [129] and [139] may originate from coffins; Grave [139] also yielded two copper-alloy pins suggesting the body was wrapped in a shroud. Further indications of burial ritual may be the rounded corners and narrow shape of Grave cut [161]; this could be a shroud burial without coffin (Butler 2001, 21). While the iron nails and copper-alloy pins are consistent with early post-medieval burials, the presence of dress accessories and a lead token in the grave fills is unexpected. Dress accessories are not unknown from graves; 13th-century burials at St Mary Spital were sometimes accompanied by simple copper-alloy buckles, indicating that

some clothing could be left on the body for burial (Thomas *et al.* 1997, 124). In the post-medieval period, too, it was not uncommon for the dead to be buried in their own personal clothes; grave goods, such as jewellery or functional objects, could also be included in the burial (Cox 1998). However, at the Temple, in what appears to be a burial ground for servants and employees of the members of Inns, the more ostentatious quality of the elaborate belt-buckle and the lace chapes, associated with clothing such as bodices and girdles as well as for tying together doublet and hose, appear anomalous. None of the objects were apparently associated with the buried bodies, and may be unrelated to the actual burial. As accidental losses they could have been subsequently deposited with the grave fill; the eastern part of the South Churchyard may have remained an open space for games and recreation until the construction of Caesar's Buildings in 1596 (Bowen 1928, 46-47). Here the date of the dress-accessories and other objects from the grave fills is also relevant.

The copper-alloy buckle in Grave [129] (Fig. 85) is of a type previously considered late medieval, which has been reassessed to the late 15th to early 16th centuries (Egan forthcoming; cf Ward Perkins 1940, 278-279 and pl. 78 nos. 11-12). It is furnished with a locking arm, designed to keep a purse or other object in place on the belt. The acorn knop on the locking arm reflects the increasing use of decorative finials, seen also in spoons, in the late medieval and early post-medieval periods (cf Egan 1998, 246). A buckle of the same type, with a wrythen knop, comes from excavations at 151-153 Bermondsey Street, in the London Borough of Southwark (Egan & Keys 2003, 19.). That buckle was, however, retrieved from a context with 17th-century coins (Wooldridge 2000, 36). Fragments of other examples come from a 17th-century context at Norwich (Margeson 1993, 28 no. 139), and from the 16th-century phase at Whitefriars in

Table 18 Finds from the Temple graveyard at Church Court

| Context | Small find | Description | Figure* |
|---------------------------|------------|---|---------|
| Fill [128] of grave [129] | SF39 | copper-alloy belt buckle; locking type; moulded sides and acorn knop on locking arm; cast pin integral with the roller; L 28mm W 17mm (G. Egan) | 985 |
| Fill [137] of grave [139] | SF46 | lead token; crude and badly corroded; shield with cross/?double-line frame around illegible device (G. Egan) | 86.1 |
| Fill [128] of grave [129] | | iron ?coffin nail | |
| Fill [128] of grave [129] | SF38 | iron ?coffin nail | |
| Fill [128] of grave [129] | SF41 | iron ?coffin nail | |
| Fill [137] of grave [139] | SF44 | iron ?coffin nail; from grave cut [139] | |
| Fill [137] of grave [139] | SF45 | iron ?coffin nail | |
| Fill [137] of grave [139] | SF47 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 27mm | |
| Fill [137] of grave [139] | SF48 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 29mm | |
| Fill [137] of grave [139] | SF49 | iron ?coffin nail | |
| Fill [156] of grave [160] | SF56 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 1; complete with iron rivet; L 32mm; from grave cut [160] | |
| Fill [156] of grave [160] | SF57 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 1; incomplete with tip only; L 18mm; from grave cut [160] | |
| layer 130 | SF55 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 1; complete; L 31mm | |

*where illustrated

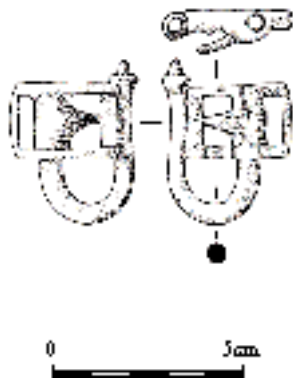


Fig. 85 Copper alloy belt buckle, found in Grave [129] (scale 1:2)

Coventry (Woodfield 1981, fig. 6 no. 106) and would seem to suggest that buckle type should be assigned to a later date of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The two lace chapes are of Oakley's Type 1; with edge-to-edge seam and secured to the lace by a rivet. This type occurs at Northampton mainly in the 15th century, but with examples also of 16th and 17th century date (Oakley *et al.* 1979, 262-263). At York, this was the most common type of lace end, and here was most frequent in 15th to 16th-century contexts (Ottaway & Rogers 2002, 2920-21). At Norwich, on the other hand, Type 1 lace chapes were all from 16th and 17th-century contexts (Margeson 1993, 22-24). At the Temple, the majority of examples from 16th to 17th-century contexts are of the post-medieval Type 2; however, two further Type 1 lace chapes from Church Court were retrieved from [146], dated to the 16th-17th centuries (*see below*).

In contrast to the dress accessories, straddling the medieval and early modern periods, the lead token in Grave [139] is almost certainly from the 15th century (Fig. 86.1). Although badly corroded, the similarities with Late Plantagenet tokens (c. 1425-1490) are striking. Lead tokens are small compact flans, their most popular motif consists of



Fig. 86 Tokens and jettons: 1. Lead token, found in grave [139], 2. German copper alloy jetton (scale 1:1)

varieties of shields; these include also the cross within shield motif (Mitchener & Skinner 1984, 88 and pl. 1: 17-18).

As accidental deposits within the late 16th to 17th-century burials, the belt buckle and lace chapes may reflect the law students, present at both Inner and Middle Temple from the 14th century, and the early post-medieval legal community after the Dissolution in 1540. Besides the lead token, two further late medieval finds to consider here are the silver penny and the German jetton (Fig. 86.2), both retrieved from 16th/17th-century demolition layers. Jettons are not uncommon finds and reflect the use of the counter board, a form of abacus. Accounts and money played an important role within monasteries but are perhaps equally relevant to the presence of law students in Temple at this time.

The excavation of several graves from Temple Churchyard is undoubtedly significant, where skeletal analysis together with documentary evidence provides us with a rare insight into early post-medieval burials. Together, these sources suggest the Churchyard was primarily the final resting place for servants and employees. The presence of objects and dress accessories in some of the graves appears anomalous; both the date and the quality of these objects indicate that they represent accidental losses, deposited in the graves along with the soil. The lace chapes, copper-alloy belt buckle and lead token are nevertheless interesting finds, reflecting the occupation in Temple during the late medieval and early post-medieval periods, perhaps above all the legal community present since the 14th century.

Table 19 Late medieval coin and jetton

| Site code | Context | Small find | Description | Figure* |
|-----------|---------|------------|---|-----------|
| HCO 99 | 221 | SF123 | silver coin; base silver long-cross penny; heavily clipped; probably counterfeit; mid-15th century (B. Cook) | |
| TCT 99 | 34 | SF6 | copper-alloy jetton; German; angular shield and lombardic lettering; I followed by sideways Cs around//trefoil tressure with three fleurs-de-lis, fleur outside each angle and border of fleurs around; ?1440-93 (G.Egan) | Fig. 86.2 |

* where illustrated

Post-Medieval Lawyers at the Inner Temple: 16th-18th Centuries

By the 14th century, land at the Temple had been leased to students of the common law in England, an occupation of the site that continues to the present day. Numerous finds,

Table 20 *Dress accessories and personal belongings*

| Site Code | Context | Small find | Description | Figure* |
|-----------|---------|------------|--|---------|
| TCT 99 | 37 | SF7 & SF70 | ivory comb; incomplete; double-sided with four coarse and seven fine teeth per 10mm | 87.1 |
| HCO 99 | 0 | SF149 | ivory comb; incomplete; double-sided with six coarse and nine fine teeth per 10mm | 87.2 |
| HCO 99 | 216 | SF93 | ivory comb; incomplete; double-sided with five coarse and ten fine teeth per 10mm | 87.3 |
| TCT 99 | 123 | SF40 | copper-alloy toilet implement; ear scoop on moulded shank; bent at an angle; L 65mm; flattened top with hole for rivet; part of toilet set | 87.4 |
| HCO 99 | 0 | SF120 | iron double-frame buckle; part of pin still in place; L 38mm W 27mm | 87.5 |
| HCO 99 | 306 | SF60 | copper-alloy mount; slightly domed with two integral rivets; 11mm diam. | 87.6 |
| HCO 99 | 7 | SF3 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 23mm | |
| HCO 99 | 7 | SF4 | copper-alloy pin; incomplete; L 14mm | |
| HCO 99 | 27 | SF34 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 21mm | |
| HCO 99 | 30 | SF44 | copper-alloy pin; no head; L 36mm | |
| HCO 99 | 30 | SF45 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 45mm | |
| HCO 99 | 75 | SF112 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 30mm | |
| HCO 99 | 90 | SF102 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 28mm | |
| HCO 99 | 208 | SF104 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 38mm | |
| HCO 99 | 305 | SF57 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 23mm | |
| HCO 99 | 306 | SF59 | copper-alloy pins; five complete and two incomplete; all Type C; L (complete pins) 23; 24; 25; 28; 31mm | |
| TCT 99 | 25 | SF4 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 28mm | |
| TCT 99 | 25 | SF5 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 31mm | |
| TCT 99 | 26 | SF8 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 24mm | |
| TCT 99 | 28 | SF3 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 35mm | |
| TCT 99 | 66 | SF18 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 28mm | |
| TCT 99 | 104 | SF24 | copper-alloy mount; domed | |
| TCT 99 | 103 | SF23 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 30mm | |
| TCT 99 | 104 | SF25 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 42mm | |
| TCT 99 | 110 | SF30 | copper-alloy pin; complete; Type C; L 25mm | |
| TCT 99 | 146 | SF52 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 1; L 27mm | |
| TCT 99 | 146 | SF53 | copper-alloy lace chape; complete?; Type 1; L 32mm | |

* where illustrated

chiefly from 16th and 17th century contexts, may be related to the members of the legal Inns, their families, servants and employees. Some finds give an unusual and surprising insight into activities at Temple in this period; the early printing types is a most unusual find, while quantities of lace chapes and other metalwork suggest the presence of small-scale manufacture within the precinct. The finds from Hare Court and Church Court will be discussed here together, and in terms of the different aspects and activities they reflect.

A large number of finds constitute dress accessories and personal belongings, above all copper-alloy pins and ivory combs. A more unusual find is the piece from a toilet set. The many pins are not surprising; they were used to hold together or pin back clothing, for dressmaking or to hold papers together. All the pins at Temple, including the two from Grave [139] above, have spherical heads of tightly cramped wire, a type that becomes more common during the 16th and 17th centuries (Caple 1991, 246). The double-sided ivory combs, with fine and coarse teeth, are characteristic of the period: fleas and head lice were commonplace (Figs. 87.1-87.3). The tending to hygiene and personal care is also reflected in the finely moulded ears coop SF40 from Church

Court (Fig. 87.4). Toilet sets, comprising implements such as ear scoop, nail cleaner or toothpick and tweezers have long history. In the late medieval period sets were constructed so they could fit into a small case, but there was also a range of individual implements, often with double functions such as ear scoop/tooth pick or ear scoop/tweezers (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 377-383). Many of the basic forms, in particular the ear scoop/tooth pick on a stem made of twisted wire, continue into the early post-medieval period (Margeson 1993, 63-65). The ear scoop from Temple, clearly part of a set, has an unusual and finely moulded stem; it is likely to be residual in the 18th century context where it was found and, like the belt buckle from Grave [129] above, may be of a 15th to 16th century date.

The two lace chapes reflect the use of laced-up clothing such as bodices, or the tying together of doublet and hose; the chapes performed the double function of preventing the laces from fraying and to ease threading. Besides the five post-medieval lace chapes from Church Court, with three associated with the churchyard, over 50 specimens were retrieved from 16th to 17th century contexts at Hare Court. Although lace chapes must have been used in vast quantities

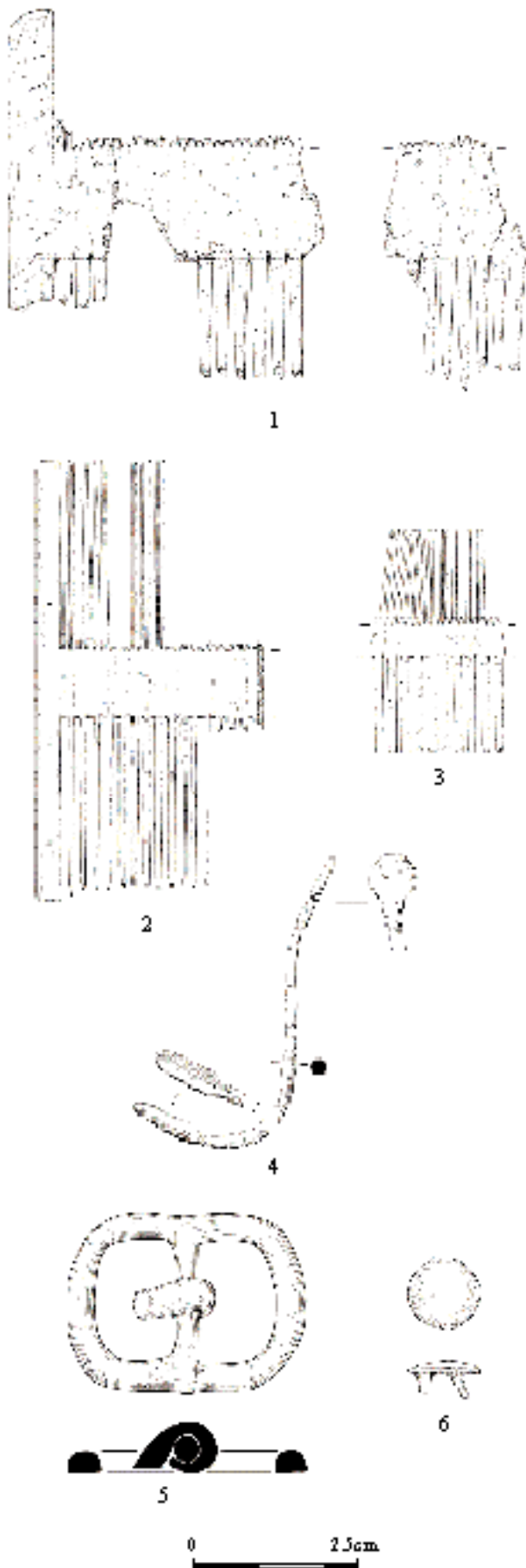


Fig. 87 Post-medieval lawyers' personal belongings: 1-3. Ivory combs, 4. Ear scoop, 5. Iron belt buckle, 6. Copper-alloy mount (scale 1:1)

during this time, they are normally only found in relatively small numbers during excavation. The large assemblage from Hare Court, therefore, may represent something other than casual losses and will be discussed separately below.

Another feature to be remarked upon is the absence of belt- and other buckles from the Temple assemblage. With the exception of the copper-alloy belt buckle SF39 from the churchyard above, the only buckles retrieved are of iron. Only the unstratified buckle SF120 from Hare Court (Fig. 87.5) appears to be finished and functional; a further seven small buckles of the same type may be unfinished and, like the large assemblage of lace chapes from the same area, will be discussed further below. Copper-alloy buckles of double-sided form are ubiquitous among early post-medieval finds. The plain and functional appearance of the iron example from Hare Court suggests it may have been for a simple belt strap, either personal or from a horse harness. The small round copper-alloy mounts SF60 from Hare Court (Fig. 87.6) and SF24 from Church Court may also be belt-fittings.

Lead window comes

An assemblage of sixteen lead window comes and one tie was recovered from the Temple. The eight fragments from Church Court were retrieved from pits and dump layers dating to the 17th to 19th centuries. The remaining eight from Hare Court were recovered from 17th century contexts. Although the pieces of lead window came were found in post-medieval contexts, several (SF43, SF98, SF99 & SF61) were reedless comes in the medieval tradition of production (cf Egan 1998, 50-1). Some comes seem to have been unused, such as SF98, SF99 and SF43. This last piece consists of two pieces with longitudinally split ends, knotted together. The splitting of the ends of otherwise apparently unused short lengths of medieval comes has been noted at several other sites but the significance of this adaptation remains obscure. The existence of unused comes suggests that leaded windows were made or repaired on site. The lead window comes are most likely to have come from medieval and post-medieval buildings in the Temple, including the Temple Church and various Chambers' buildings. The piece from context [39] is from the backfill of the Lamb Building and presumably derived from that structure.

Household equipment and furnishings

Some finds reflect the buildings at Temple, the architectural furnishings and household equipment, including the unusual find of a copper-alloy toy cauldron. A moulded copper-alloy handle SF17 from Church Court (Fig. 88.1) is most likely a

Table 21 Lead window comes

| Site code | Context | Small find | Description |
|-----------|---------|------------|--|
| TCT 99 | 39 | SF74 | broad with frequent reeding; post-medieval |
| TCT 99 | 106 | SF28 | corroded; uncertain type |
| TCT 99 | 110 | SF31 | corroded; uncertain type |
| TCT 99 | 110 | SF33 | reeded; post-medieval |
| TCT 99 | 110 | SF34 | obscured; post-medieval |
| TCT 99 | 135 | SF43 | two pieces with longitudinal split ends, knotted together; medieval |
| TCT 99 | 184 | SF73 | corroded; uncertain type |
| HCO 99 | 7 | SF2 | reeded; pmed |
| HCO 99 | 8 | SF15 | two pieces, both reeded; post-medieval |
| HCO 99 | 70 | SF156 | lead window came; |
| HCO 99 | 215 | SF98 | irregular form, unreeded and unused; medieval |
| HCO 99 | 216 | SF99 | unreeded, ?unused; medieval |
| HCO 99 | 306 | SF61 | two, heart obscured on one, other with single lozenge-section flange; medieval |
| HCO 99 | 306 | SF121 | ?tie (in iron concretion) |

window catch; although from an 18th or 19th-century context the moulding and style suggests a 17th-century date. Retrieved from the eastern part of Church Court, it is most likely to come from the Lamb Buildings, erected in 1667. The small copper-alloy rumble bell SF27 (Fig. 88.2), also from this part of Church Court and with a similar date, may also be associated with family life at Temple; it may represent a plaything for a child or was perhaps worn by a small pet. The copper-alloy toy tripod cauldron (Figs. 89.1, 90) was retrieved from a posthole associated with the same buildings; the context is dated by pottery to the 16th to early 17th centuries, a date that fits well with previous finds of this type of plaything (Egan 1988, 2; Egan 1996, fig. 14 right). The toy cauldron gives an unexpected insight into family life within the legal precinct; like a full-sized cauldron it could have been filled with water and pushed towards a stove or fire to be heated (Egan & Keys 2001, 150). It may have belonged to a child living in the Caesar Buildings, constructed in 1596 and destroyed by the Great Fire.

The finds from Temple include only one cutlery handle, SF122 from Hare Court; the context dates from the 17th century (Fig. 89.2). The knife, with a tapering handle and a decorative tulip knop, represents a cheaper and more affordable version of finely carved examples and would be typical of the professional middle class in the late 17th century (Noël Hume 1969, fig. 63.4; cf high-class handles of this type in Marquardt 1997, 79-149). Part of a large copper-alloy spoon SF59 was retrieved from a later context, associated with restoration work after the war damage (Fig. 89.3). The handle has a rounded end and a white-metal coating; it may date from the 18th century (Egan & Keys 2001, 151).

While very few objects may be related directly to the institutional and professional aspect of the legal Inns at the Temple, numerous finds from Hare Court suggest crafts and trades conducted within the Temple precinct. Above all, the unique find of three pieces of printing type must be

associated with the book sellers and printers which are well known in the Temple area in the 17th century. The unusual number of lace chapes, together with an assemblage of small iron buckles, indicate that other trades were also conducted here.

The back plate of a hinged copper-alloy book clasp SF58 was retrieved from Church Court (Fig. 89.4). Book clasps with similarly splayed terminals are known from Norwich

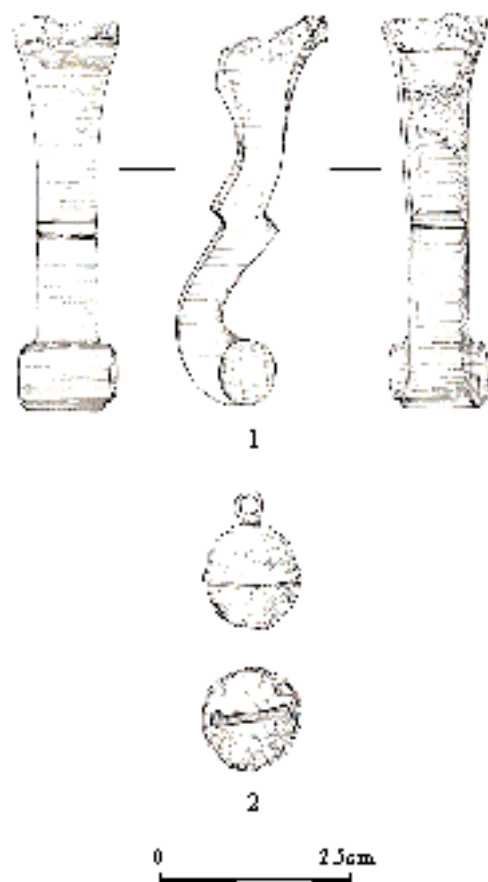


Fig. 88 Household equipment: 1. Moulded copper-alloy handle SF17, 2. Copper-alloy rumble bell SF27 (scale 1:1)

Table 22 Household equipment and furnishings

| Site code | Context | Small find | Description | Figure |
|-----------|---------|------------|---|--------|
| TCT 99 | 54 | SF17 | copper-alloy handle/lever; incomplete; heavily moulded; ?pivoting on two lugs at one end; L 52mm W 10mm (G. Egan) | 88.1 |
| TCT 99 | 104 | SF27 | small copper-alloy rumble bell; complete; simple rib decoration around circumference; diam. 15mm | 88.2 |
| TCT 99 | 66 | SF19 | copper-alloy toy tripod cauldron; ht. 26mm diam. 23mm (G. Egan) | 89.1 |
| HCO 99 | 37 | SF122 | bone knife handle; tapering shape; octagonal-sectioned with tulip knob of lead/tin alloy; traces of iron blade present; L 73mm W 16-22mm | 89.2 |
| TCT 99 | 14 | SF59 | copper-alloy spoon; incomplete; arched handle with rounded end; white-metal coating; L 63mm W 7mm (G. Egan) | 89.3 |
| TCT 99 | 0 | SF58 | copper-alloy book clasp; splayed terminal with triply concave end; compass-engraved circle-and-dot motif; iron pivot pin; L 33mm W 17mm (G. Egan) | 89.4 |

where they may date from the 16th century (Margeson 1993, 74-75). The finding of a book clasp within the Temple area is not surprising. It may reflect the presence of book sellers at this time, but is perhaps more likely to be directly connected with the legal Inns at Temple; the book may have been in the possession of one of the members or come from a library. The original library of the Inner Temple, in existence by 1506, was burned in the Great Fire and was followed by a succession of buildings. The Victorian building was destroyed in 1941 with some 40,000 volumes lost.



Fig. 90 Miniature toy cauldron

Printing Type

JAMES MOSLEY

The three pieces of printing type from Hare Court are a very unusual find from an archaeological excavation (Fig. 91); they are analysed and described here by James Mosley. Two pieces measured 25.2mm by 3.75mm by 2mm, one of which was a letter 'D', the other harder to identify but appeared to be a 'C'; the third piece was a blank measuring 19mm by 11mm by 3mm. The height is referred to as 'old German height' (Smalian 1877) and is larger than the Anglo/American norm of 0.918in. (23.32mm). It is also larger than other well known types, Oxford University Press Learned Press height of 23.86mm (standard Oxford height from 1906) and Caslon's English Black height of 23.72mm, acquired by OUP c.1760. The body tallies with that used in Lamesle's Philosophie of 1742 but seems to be larger than Caslon's Small Pica. The fact that the type do not conform to standard English heights might suggest a foreign origin such as Holland.

The metallurgy of the type was analysed by XRF (x-ray fluorescence); one rod and the square were made of lead with no significant levels of additional elements, whilst the

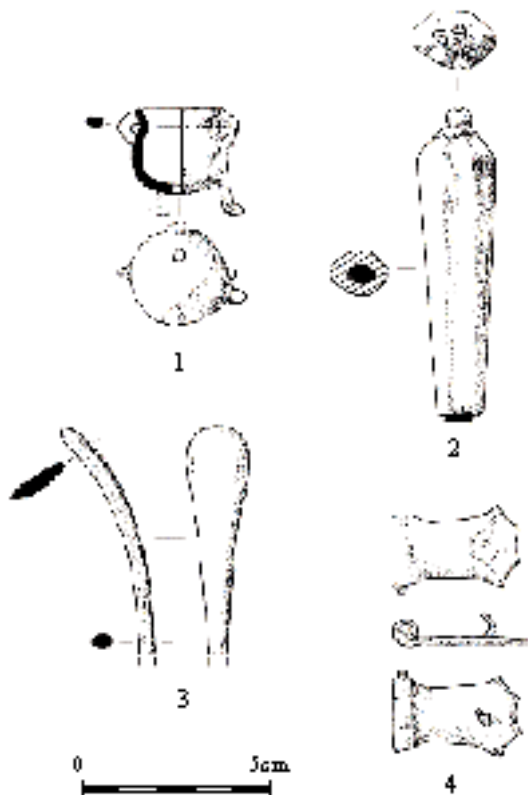


Fig. 89 Household equipment and furnishings: 1. Copper-alloy toy tripod cauldron, 2. Knife handle SF122, 3. Copper-alloy spoon SF59, 4. Back plate of a hinged copper-alloy book clasp SF58 (scale 1:2)

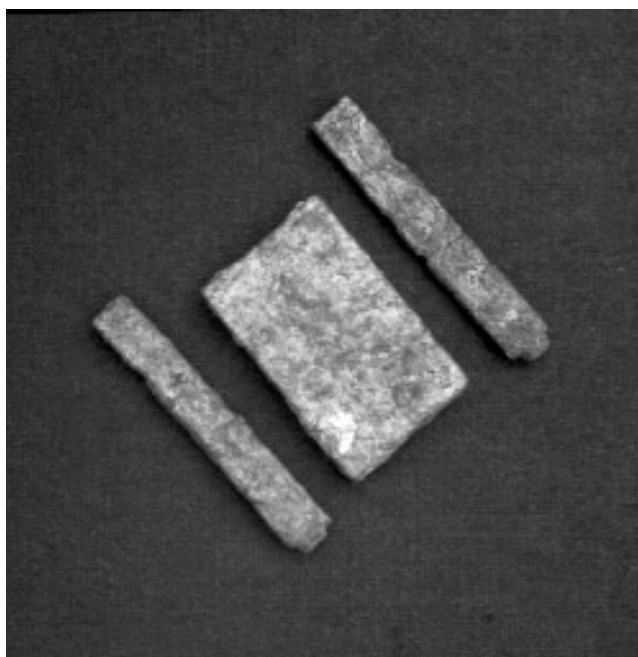


Fig. 91 Printing type found at Hare Court

other rod was a very base pewter (containing $c.>10\%$ Sn). This group of three pieces comes from what appears to have been the period just before the mining of antimony, which was subsequently primarily used for type, in England. The pit is dated to the first half of the 17th century, which would place them among the earliest such pieces to have been found on a British site. An assemblage of mid-17th-century type from the Oxford University Press is to be found within the collections of St Bride Printing Library in Bride Lane, Fleet Street. However, the earliest known examples to be recovered are the over 200 types from Lyons, which were found in the mud of the river Saône in c. 1868, and are thought to date from the 15th century (Mosley 1995, 13-28).

Table 23 Finds relating to institutional and professional activities within the Temple

| Context | Small find | Description | Figure*† |
|---------|----------------------------|---|----------|
| 90 | SF97 | lead printing type; three pieces; one "D", one "C" and one blank | 91 |
| 8 | SF94 | pumice stone; two large pieces both with one polished surface; L 90/100mm W 60/60 mm | 92 |
| 7 | SF5 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 2; decorated; complete; L 31mm | 95.1 |
| 8 | SF10 | four small double-frame iron buckles; each with leather strap around central bar; buckles partly corroded together; L 26-28mm W 19mm | 95.2 |
| 8 | SF11 | small double-frame iron buckle; leather strap around central bar; L 30mm W 21mm | 95.3 |
| 3 | SF150 | ivory waste; L 70mm | |
| 7 | SF6, SF7, SF8, SF9 & SF127 | copper-alloy lace chapes; Type 2; some complete†; L 23mm, 37mm†, 35mm†, 39mm, 16mm | |
| 8 | SF14 | small double-frame iron buckle; leather strap around central bar; L c.27mm W 17mm | |
| 8 | SF16-19 | copper-alloy lace chapes; Type 2; some complete†; L 34mm†, 36mm†, 40mm†, 24mm | |
| 8 | SF75 | small double-frame iron buckle; leather strap around central bar; L c.28mm W 19mm | |
| 26 | SF25 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 2; complete; L 28mm | |
| 27 | SF30-33 | copper-alloy lace chapes; Type 2; some complete†; L 30mm†, 30mm†, 27mm, 27mm† | |
| 30 | SF46 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 2; complete; L 35mm | |
| 37 | SF108-110 | copper-alloy lace chapes; Type 2; all complete; L 32mm, 27mm, 23mm | |
| 90 | SF100 & F101 | copper-alloy lace chapes; Type 2; both complete; L 38mm, 34mm | |
| 208 | SF103 | copper-alloy lace chapes; Type 2; complete; L 30mm | |
| 215 | SF87 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 2; complete; L 26mm | |
| 216 | SF88 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 2; complete; L 26mm | |
| 221 | SF89, SF124 & SF125 | copper-alloy lace chapes; Type 2; one complete†; L 34mm†, 25mm, 18mm | |
| 228 | SF90 & SF128 | copper-alloy lace chapes; Type 2; one complete†; L 36mm, 28mm | |
| 229 | SF91 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 2; incomplete; L 17mm | |
| 305 | SF56 | copper-alloy lace chape; Type 2; complete; L 25mm | |
| 306 | SF58 & SF129-146 | copper-alloy lace chapes; Type 2; some complete†; L 27mm†, 32mm†, 23mm, 27mm, 28mm†, 28mm†, 31mm†, 19mm, 28mm†, 26mm†, 20mm†, 25mm, 29mm†, 13mm, 31mm†, 29mm†, 27mm†, 15mm, 32mm, | |

* where illustrated

Evidence of crafts and trade from Hare Court

Pumice stone was also recovered from Hare Court. Like the pumice from a medieval context, discussed above (Fig. 84.4), the two later pieces both have a clearly worn surface; however, they are much larger in size (Fig. 92). Pumice was used in the preparation of parchment and vellum, to smooth the surface in preparation for writing. This was a complicated and costly process; parchment making was a trade with its own guild, often localised in the vicinity of butchers and tanners for the supply of raw material. As it is unlikely that printers or book sellers would use large pumice

smoothers the two pieces may be an indication of parchmenters in the area. Even with a more widespread printing of books, parchment was still in demand for calligraphy and for special books and charters; even today, parchment is used for documents and diplomas.

Other finds from Hare Court may testify to the presence at Temple of small-scale traders or stall holders. Over 50 individual lace chapes were retrieved from 16th to 17th-century rubbish pits and levelling dumps. All were made from a wider copper-alloy sheet than the Type 1 lace chapes, either with the seam edges folded inwards (Oakley's Type 2) or overlapped along the length of the lace chape (Norwich



Fig. 92 Pumice stone fragments (scale 1:2)

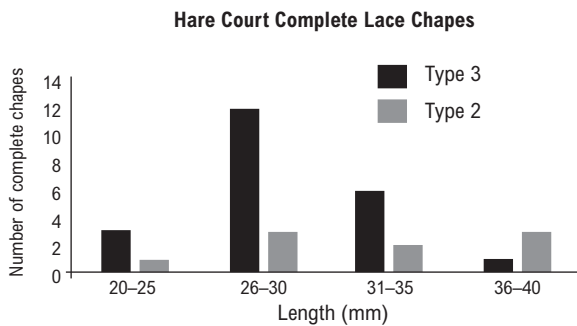


Fig. 93 Typology of lace chapes from Hare Court

Type 3). Neither of these methods require rivets to fasten the point to the lace, as it is tightly gripped or held by the rolled sheet. Both methods are represented on other sites, from the late 15th to 16th centuries onwards. At York Type 2 tags occurred in 15th to 16th century contexts, while Type 3 did not occur before the mid-16th century (Ottaway & Rogers 2002, 2920-2921); at Norwich lace tags of both Type 2 and Type 3 appeared in contexts dating from the 16th century and later (Margeson 1993, 22-24). In London, by contrast, lace chapes with overlapping seams are not uncommon among medieval finds, and appear alongside Oakley's Type 1 (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 281-290). This shows above all that the different methods of making lace chapes were largely exchangeable rather than reflecting a linear technological or stylistic development; what seems clear, however, is that the Type 2 lace chapes represent a post-medieval innovation (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 285). In terms of length, the Hare Court group is consistent with other lace chapes from late medieval and early post-medieval contexts; no chapes exceeded 40mm in length, with the majority measuring between 26-30 mm.

Even with an ubiquitous use of lace chapes the numbers recovered at Hare Court are not normally reflected in casual losses; at Northampton nine lace chapes were retrieved from 16th to 17th-century contexts while at Exeter the 47 found range in date from the 13th to mid-17th centuries (Egan & Forsyth 1997, 225-226). Lace chapes have no special known use in the costume of the legal profession; furthermore, if there was a more common use of laced-up clothing within the Temple community one would expect a more even spread of finds. A comparison with lace chapes outside of the Hare Court assemblage is illustrative. At Hare Court there were three further lace chapes from medieval contexts, all of which are Type 1 examples. A total of only five lace chapes were recovered at Church Court; dating from the late medieval to early post-modern periods they were also of Type 1. A further comparison can be made by looking at the numbers and distribution of copper-alloy pins within the Temple, representing another fairly common type of finds at this time. While all the pins from Hare Court were retrieved from the same 16th to 17th century contexts as the lace

chapes, the picture is far more balanced with ten pins from Hare Court and five from Church Court.

In contrast to casual losses, over 400 lace chapes found at the Free Grammar School at Whitefriars, Coventry, are likely to reflect manufacture; here also unfinished examples were found (Woodfield 1981, 93; Egan forthcoming). At the Temple none of the lace chapes appear unfinished and there are no other finds, such as copper-alloy sheet waste, that may be associated with manufacture. The assemblage at Hare Court is perhaps best explained as the dispersed stock of a merchant or pedlar. Lace chapes are known to have been produced at Bristol and Manchester, and vast numbers were imported into London during the 15th and 16th centuries (Egan & Forsyth 1997, 226 with further refs.). The only decorated lace chape in the Hare Court group, stamped with a cross-hatched pattern (Fig. 95.1), has parallels from several sites in England including Norwich, York and Coventry (Margeson 1993, fig. 12 no.126; Ottaway & Rogers 2002, fig. 1491 no.13387; Woodfield 1981, fig. 5 no.36b).

Seven small double-sided iron buckles, probably shoe- or spur buckles, were retrieved from context [8], the fill of a

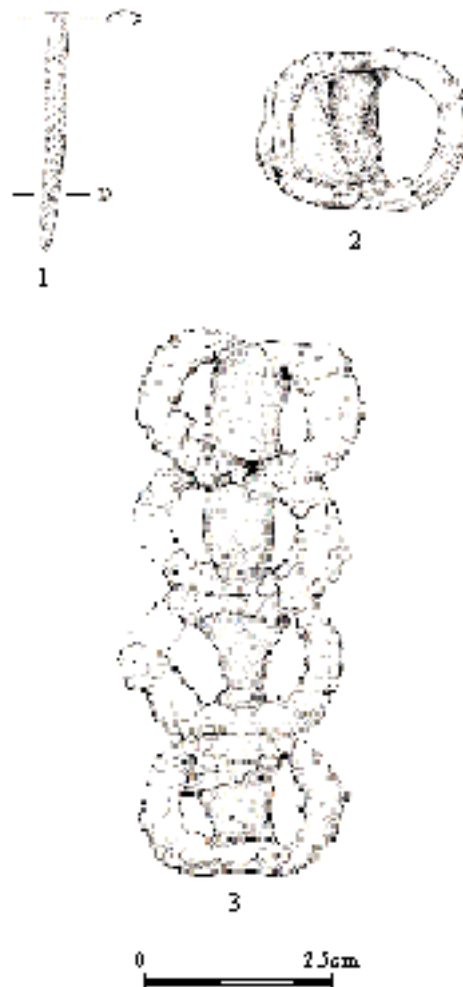


Fig. 94 Dress items: 1. Decorated lace chape, 2. Iron buckle and leather strap, 3. Iron buckles, probably forming part of a bundle (scale 1:1)

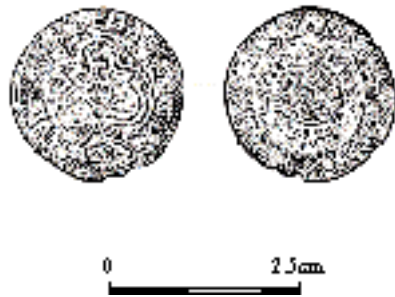


Fig. 95 Copper alloy jetton (scale 1:1)

large rubbish pit dated to the mid 17th century. None of the buckles show traces of pins and were furnished with leather straps around the central bar; where enough leather survives it is clear that the strap was not pierced or otherwise cut to accommodate a pin (Fig. 94). The buckles may be unfinished or were intended just for the threading of a leather strap. In terms of size, the buckles are very similar but not identical; they may represent stock bundled together by straps of leather. That they were originally a “bunch” may be supported by the fact that three of the buckles were corroded together.

Among the early post-medieval finds, finally, were also two 17th century coins and a German jetton (Fig. 95). The presence of a Norwegian skilling is interesting, even if stray Scandinavian coins are not uncommon in London at this time. It may reflect the presence in Temple of booksellers and other small businesses.

The early post-medieval finds from Temple comprise a varied assemblage, reflecting numerous activities and groups of people present within the precinct. Few finds relate directly to the legal community at Temple, but some give an unexpected and close insight into their lives; in particular the presence of servants and family life. Of great interest is the suggested presence of numerous small businesses and stallholders within the Temple precinct, chiefly reflected in *Table 24 Post-medieval coins and jetton*

| Site code | Context | Small find | Description | Figure* |
|-----------|---------|------------|---|---------|
| HCO 99 | 24 | SF21 | copper-alloy jetton; stock jetton of Hans Schultes III; c. 1608-12 (G. Egan) | 89 |
| HCO 99 | 3 | SF1 | copper-alloy coin; Norwegian 1 skilling 1654 of Frederik IV of Denmark; little wear (G. Egan) | |
| TCT 99 | 116 | SF35 | copper-alloy coin; farthing James I or Charles I; 1613 /14-34 issues | |

*where illustrated

the finds from Hare Court. Besides the recorded booksellers and printers, the possible presence of sellers of buckles and other dress accessories give a vivid picture of activities in the 16th and 17th centuries. The indication also of parchment making in the area is particularly interesting; together with booksellers and printers this is a business that would be particularly well associated with the legal community and its needs and interests.

Late Post-Medieval Temple

At the Temple, finds were also retrieved from later post-medieval contexts associated with the World War Two bomb damage and reconstruction. Among the more recent finds were a group of four medallions.

The four medallions, with four presumably corresponding ribbon bars are identical. They are enamelled in blue, white and red, with the motif from a well-known nursery rhyme: a cow jumping over a crescent moon and a dish running away with a spoon (Fig. 96). Below this is a representation of an exhibition hall; above is the inscription ‘National Dairy Show’ with ‘Olympia Oct. 1938’ below. On the reverse of each medallion near the bottom is a maker’s mark ‘Fattorini... Birmingham...’. The top of each medallion has a small crown or crest with a hoop for attachment to the ring of its ribbon bar. The rectangular ribbon bars have raised edges to form a recess, while the backs have flat plates joined to the front on three sides leaving the top open, presumably to hold a name-slip insert. The finding of this group of medallions at Temple suggest a member of the legal profession was on the board of a dairy or had a special interest in dairy matters.



Fig. 96 Medallion from Olympia dairy show 1938 showing the cow jumping over the moon

THE PIPECLAY HAIR CURLERS

CHRIS JARRETT

The Church Court excavation area produced nine fragments of pipeclay hair curlers and two complete examples (Table 25). Hair curlers are also known as wig curlers or *bigoudis* by their French name, which is where they originated. Wig wearing became fashionable during the mid 17th century at the French Court of Louis XIV. The English Court adopted it soon after the Restoration, followed quickly by the middle classes, such as Samuel Pepys, who was donning a wig in November 1663 (Le Cheminant 1978, 187; Le Cheminant 1982, 187). For curling natural hair or wigs, wooden or pipeclay curlers or tobacco pipe stems were used, usually heated in water prior to use. The pipeclay hair curlers first started to appear in the third quarter of the 17th century and like the fashion for wig wearing, continued until the late 18th century, becoming largely redundant by the start of the 19th century to be replaced by the preferred wooden alternative.

Le Cheminant (1978 & 1982) has produced a preliminary study of the development of the pipeclay hair curler and the examples from Church Court appear to fall within types dating to the mid- and late 18th century. However, several of the Church Court hair curlers showed too much variation of size and shape to allow for these items to be assigned to a specific type.

The excavation produced hair curlers of Le Cheminant's type 10, dated *c.* 1750 but with an **IB** stamp that contradicts this date as these initials are conventionally dated to *c.* 1800. Another excavation at 28-30 James Street, Covent Garden also produced three type 10 variant hair curlers with incuse crowned **IB** stamps from a mid 18th century dated layer, two of which were complete, together with a complete unstamped type 8 curler (Jarrett, 2001d, 98). At Church Court the stratigraphic distribution of the different types of hair curlers showed that type 8 curlers are earlier than type 10 and **WB** initialled curlers are earlier than **IB**, but both types of curler and stamp can occur together. This does not take into account the use life of the curlers and the fact that from the 18th century onwards the Church Court deposits contained notable amounts of residual material. Inter-site analysis of these objects may be useful in further defining the typology created by Le Cheminant.

In view of the need for further research the Church Court hair curlers are best placed into an ordinal typology as adopted at Aldgate (Grew 1984, 113). Aldgate type 1 hair curlers were hand made and hour-glass shaped, often with a central cavity and Aldgate type 2 examples, which all the Church Court curlers appear to be, are mostly moulded, and dumb-bell shaped.

The Church Court hair curlers appear to be mould made,

or perhaps lathe turned, and fragmentary types frequently showed that the centre of the curlers appear to have faint cavities which match up with marks at the end of the bowl, when it has not been stamped or finished. These cavities may possibly relate to the rolling of the clay or as a result of some material (wood or metal strips) supporting the curler whilst being formed, perhaps on a lathe. The example with the 'star' shaped incuse impression (Fig. 97.7) and two others with circular holes at the ends of the curler (Fig. 97.1 and 97.5) may be the result of either the forming process or for the attachment of a clip or material to secure the curler to the rolled hair (Le Cheminant 1982, 349-350). Most of the hair curlers have been burnished or polished.

Of the eleven hair curlers present, two are stamped **WB**, the most common type of stamp found in London, one is marked **IB**, also previously found in London and another is not clearly readable but is probably **IB**. Of interest is a curler stamped **TB** with a crown. Waste curlers with these initials were recovered from a pit at Lower Castle Street, Bristol (Le Cheminant 1982, 351). The example found here may represent the possession of a student or lawyer who came from Bristol to study or practice at the Inner Temple, as the general distribution of marked curlers in England and America suggests that London exported hair curlers rather than imported them. Pipeclay hair curlers were undoubtedly made by clay tobacco pipe makers as both items have been found together at two kiln sites in Cornwall, at Truro and Helston (Le Cheminant 1982, 349), and although a large number of hair curlers are not marked, the small number of makers marks implies that only a small number of tobacco pipe manufacturers made hair curlers. The two London makers present amongst the assemblage at Church Court, **IB** and **WB**, can not be easily identified as there are a number of possible makers with this combination of initials (*see* Oswald 1975, 131-132). However, it could be tentatively suggested that as both share the same family name initial, then it is possible that they were related. Hair curlers were a more expensive item than clay tobacco pipes, the curlers retailing at 3d each in 1778, and indicate expenditure by the middle and upper classes (Le Cheminant 1982, 351).

Discussion

Lawyers undoubtedly took up the fad for wearing wigs but continued to wear them as a 'badge of office' after wigs as an everyday accessory went out of fashion at the start of the 19th century. A wig shop is known to have existed at the Inner Temple during the 19th century and specialist clothing and accessory shops for lawyers exist to this day on the Strand. Undoubtedly different sizes of hair curler appear to have been in use at the same time and a hair or wig-style

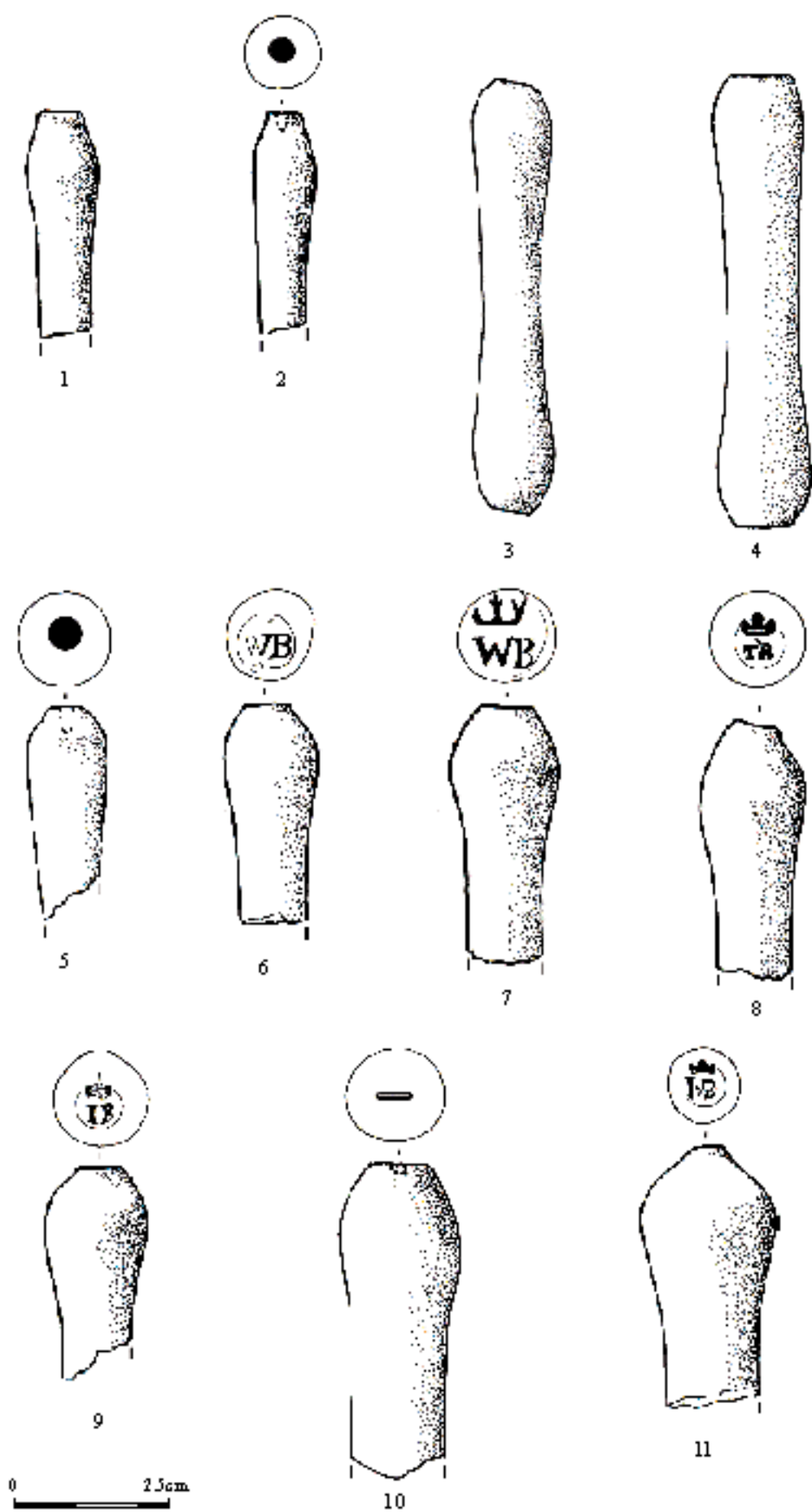


Fig. 97 Pipeclay hair curlers (scale 1:1, stamps shown at 2:1)



Fig. 98 Pipeclay hair curlers

with different sizes of curls may have been desirable. Furthermore, different styles of wigs denote different stations within the legal profession and therefore a certain size of curler would have been required to maintain the style.

Table 25 Hair curlers from Church Court

| Context | Small find | Latest pottery date | Latest clay pipe date | Le Cheminant type & date | Comments | Figure |
|---------|------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|---|--------|
| 123 | SF78 | 1720-80 | 1730-80 | No.14 c.1770 | Type 2, cut rounded ends, burnished. Length: 36mm. | 97.1 |
| 123 | SF79 | 1720-80 | 1730-80 | No.14 c.1770 | Type 2, incuse star stamp or impression of forming rod at both ends, burnished. Length: 35mm. | 97.2 |
| 123 | SF77 | 1720-80 | 1730-80 | No.8 c.1730 | Type 2, complete, incuse star stamp or impression of forming rod at both ends, burnished. Length: 69mm. | 97.3 |
| 110 | SF68 | 1630-1800 | c.1660-80 | Larger variant no.8 c.1730 | Type 2, solid with the end knife trimmed and burnished. Length: 83mm. | 97.4 |
| 117 | SF75 | 1550-1700 | - | Smaller variant no.8 c.1730 | Type 2, circular hole at the end for forming wire. Length: 33 mm. | 97.5 |
| 184 | SF71 | 1740-1800 | - | Smaller variant no.10 c.1750 | Type 2, solid, formed on flat wire, incuse stamp 'WB'. Length: 35mm. | 97.6 |
| 59 | SF67 | 1720-80 | 1730-80 | Smaller variant no.10 c.1750 | Type 2, formed on a flat wire, incuse stamp 'WB' and surmounted by a coronet, burnished. Length: 40mm. | 97.7 |
| 13 | SF65 | 1770-1850 | 1680-1710 | Smaller variant no.10 c.1750 | Type 2, incuse stamp 'TB' and surmounted by a crown. Length: 40mm. | 97.8 |
| 54 | SF69 | 1700-1900 | 1730-80 | Smaller variant no.10 c.1750 | Type 2, formed on a 'v' profile shaped wire, incuse stamp 'IB', Length 35mm. | 97.9 |
| 123 | SF66 | 1720-80 | 1730-80 | No.10 c.1750 | Type 2, formed on a flat wire, burnished. Length: 50mm. | 97.10 |
| 54 | SF76 | 1700-1900 | 1730-80 | No.10 c.1750 | Type 2, formed on a 'v' shaped wire, incuse stamp ? 'IB', Length 41mm. | 97.11 |

THE HUMAN BONE

NATASHA DODWELL

Five inhumations believed to date from the 16th to 17th century were recovered during the excavation at Church Court, Inner Temple, London. The graves, including an additional cut with no body, belong to part of the churchyard of Temple Church and were discovered in Trench 1. The alignments of the graves and a dump layer across the trench suggest two phases of burial but even within these phases several of the graves cut each other. In addition to the graves, disarticulated human bone was recovered from the fill of an 11th to 12th century quarry pit, the grave fills, the construction fills of two 17th to 18th century brick culverts and several later deposits.

Condition of the Material

The condition of the bone, and, as importantly which skeletal elements survive, affects the potential for determining the age and sex of individuals and of recognising any pathological conditions. All five skeletons have been truncated to varying degrees by later burials and/or brick culverts. Only the lower legs of skeletons [157] and [141] survive, the lower legs of skeletons [159] and [24] have been cut away and the lower body and right forearm of skeleton [138] are missing. The majority of the surviving skeletal elements, particularly the skulls, pelves, vertebrae and ribs are extremely fragmentary.

Methodology

General methods used in the osteological evaluation of these individuals are those of Bass (1992), Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994) and Steele and Bramblett (1988). An assessment of age was based on the degree of epiphyseal fusion, changes to the pubic symphysis, the stage of dental eruption and the degree of dental attrition. Because of the fragmentary nature of the material the following age categories are used in this assessment:

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| Juvenile | 5-12 years |
| Sub-adult | 13-18 years |
| Young adult | 19-25 years |
| Middle adult | 26-45 years |
| Mature adult | 45 years + |

The sex of each individual was ascertained where possible from sexually dimorphic traits on the pelvis, the skull and metrical data. Where insufficient evidence was available the sex is denoted as '?'. No attempt was made to sex immature individuals. The living stature of the skeletons was, where possible calculated from the long bone lengths using the regression equation devised by Trotter and Gleser (1958). The dentition was also recorded and this information together with detailed descriptions of any pathologies observed and details of the disarticulated human bone is held in the archive. The results are summarised below in tabular form (Table 26).

Discussion

The size of this sample (only five articulated skeletons) and to a lesser degree the condition of the bone greatly inhibits what can be said about the nature of the population using this area for burial and its pathology. The graveyard of the Temple Church would have extended beyond the area investigated in Trench 1, and it is unlikely that these

adolescent and young adult skeletons are representative of the cemetery as a whole; indeed skeletal elements of mature adults were identified amongst the disarticulated material. The dental diseases recorded amongst these individuals are severe given their relative youth; the carious lesions, rotten teeth, tooth loss and calculus suggest a lack of dental hygiene and perhaps a diet high in carbohydrates (particularly sucrose).

SELECTED ANIMAL BONE ASSEMBLAGES

ROBIN BENDREY

Archaeological excavation produced animal bone from both Church Court and Hare Court (Bendrey 2001). The assemblages discussed here are the 16th and 17th century material from both sites. These assemblages produced 1522 (48%) of the 3198 fragments recovered in total from the two sites. Of this total of 1522 fragments, weighing 16823g, 51.3% were identified by number and 76.1% by weight.

Animals identified comprise: cattle (*Bos* sp. domestic), sheep (*Ovis* sp. domestic), pig (*Sus* sp. domestic), rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*), hare (*Lepus* spp.), fallow deer (*Dama dama*), dog (*Canis* sp. domestic), cat (*Felis* sp. domestic), black rat (*Rattus rattus*), domestic fowl (*Gallus gallus*), domestic goose (*Anser anser*), woodcock (*Scolopax rusticola*), domestic duck/mallard (*Anas* sp./*Anas platyrhynchos*), raven (*Corvus corax*), pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*) and rock dove/pigeon (*Columba livia* Gmelin).

The animal bone is quantified in this report by the number of fragments recorded, and the weight in grams (Table 27). Relative quality of meat yield (Table 28) has been calculated following West (1985, fig. 4). Sheep/goat bones have been included with sheep, and chicken-sized galliform fragments with domestic fowl. The full methodology is described in Bendrey (2001).

Table 26 Skeletal remains from Church Court

| Skeleton | Grave | Age | Sex | Stature (m) | Pathology & Anomalies |
|----------|-------|----------------------------|------|-------------|---|
| 24 | 129 | Young/younger middle adult | male | 1.74 | caries, AMTL, thickened parietal bones ?Paget's disease |
| 138 | 139 | Young adult | male | ? | calculus, caries, periodontal disease |
| 141 | 142 | Young adult | ? | 154-1.58 | none observed |
| 157 | 160 | Young adult | ? | 1.81-1.83 | NSPI on lower legs |
| 159 | 161 | Older juvenile | ? | ? | calculus |

AMTL = ante mortem tooth loss, NSPI = non specific infection

Table 27 *Distribution of hand-recovered animal bone of 16th-17th century date from Church Court and Hare Court*

| | TCT 99 16th/17th century | | | | HCO 99 16th/17th century | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|------|-------|------|--------------------------|-------|-------|------|
| | No.* | Wt* | % No. | % Wt | No.* | Wt* | % No. | % Wt |
| Mammal | | | | | | | | |
| Cattle | 60 | 3009 | 24.3 | 62.4 | 105 | 4988 | 23.2 | 62.6 |
| Sheep | 126 | 1295 | 51.0 | 26.9 | 238 | 2324 | 52.5 | 29.2 |
| Pig | 17 | 360 | 6.9 | 7.5 | 27 | 366 | 6.0 | 4.6 |
| Goat | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sheep/Goat/Roe | - | - | - | - | 1 | 14 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Horse | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Rabbit | 6 | 10.5 | 2.4 | 0.2 | 22 | 41 | 4.9 | 0.5 |
| Hare | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Fallow deer | 3 | 72 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 2 | 38 | 0.4 | 0.5 |
| Red deer | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Roe deer | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dog | 1 | 10 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 4 | 51 | 0.9 | 0.6 |
| Cat | 1 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 2 | 6.5 | 0.4 | 0.1 |
| Whale | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Black rat | 1 | 0.5 | | | - | - | | |
| Rat | 24 | 9 | | | - | - | | |
| Rat-sized | 2 | 0.5 | | | - | - | | |
| Cattle-sized | 183 | 1517 | | | 163 | 1733 | | |
| Sheep-sized | 162 | 239 | | | 165 | 444.5 | | |
| Indeterminate | 92 | 59.5 | | | 23 | 32.5 | | |
| Bird | | | | | | | | |
| Domestic fowl | 24 | 40 | 9.7 | 0.8 | 31 | 91 | 6.8 | 1.1 |
| Domestic goose | 4 | 16 | 1.6 | 0.3 | 5 | 17 | 1.1 | 0.2 |
| Woodcock | - | - | - | - | 2 | 1.5 | 0.4 | 0.0 |
| Duck | 2 | 3 | 0.8 | 0.1 | - | - | - | - |
| Raven | 1 | 1 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 5 | 15 | 1.1 | 0.2 |
| Pheasant | 1 | 2 | 0.4 | 0.0 | - | - | - | - |
| Rock dove/pigeon | 1 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.0 | - | - | - | - |
| Indeterminate | 7 | 4 | | | 8 | 8 | | |
| Total | 718 | 6648 | 100 | 100 | 804 | 10175 | 100 | 100 |

*number of fragments (no.) and bone weight in grams (wt). Percentages are calculated for the identified material only (excluding the rat bones).

These two collections of 16th and 17th century animal bones are described and discussed together. The Church Court assemblage derived from dumps and rubbish pits, except for two sheep-sized fragments from the Lamb Building. The assemblage from Hare Court derived from rubbish pits, levelling dumps and gravel yard surfaces. The state of preservation of the animal bone is good with carnivore gnawing recorded on ten fragments from Church Court and fourteen from Hare Court and rodent damage recorded on four bones from Church Court. A single burnt fragment was retrieved from each assemblage.

The main domestic animals

Consideration of the species composition by percentage of the identified bones shows the two assemblages to be

remarkably similar (Table 27). Sheep bones predominate by number, but the bone weight data indicates that cattle would have supplied the most meat to the diet. Pigs made a relatively small, though important contribution; and other species only made an occasional contribution to the diet (although it should be noted that the birds and smaller mammal species may be under-represented as all the bone is hand-excavated).

The two assemblages represent post-consumption waste. Analysis of the relative quality of meat yield shows both assemblages to contain a very high proportion of the better quality cuts of meat (Table 28). In addition to the identified material, much of the cattle-sized and sheep-sized bones are fragments of ribs and vertebrae, both providing high quality meat. The assemblage from Hare Court has a higher proportion of lower quality meat (represented by the bones of the lower legs and feet). This could imply a greater proportion of cheaper meat in this assemblage than in the

Table 28 *Relative quality of meat yield by bone weight*

| | TCT 99 16th/17th century | | | HCO 99 16th/17th century | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------|------|--------------------------|-------|------|
| | cattle | sheep | pig | cattle | sheep | pig |
| High quality meat | 93.2 | 57.2 | 53.4 | 78.5 | 68.6 | 36.9 |
| Lesser quality meat A | 1.9 | 37.9 | 39.5 | 3.0 | 22.2 | 17.2 |
| Lesser quality meat B | 3.7 | 1.9 | 5.4 | 4.4 | 4.1 | 40.4 |
| Lower quality meat | 1.2 | 3.0 | 1.7 | 14.1 | 5.0 | 5.5 |

Church Court material. Armitage (1984, 140) states that although there is little meat on metapodials, they could provide a source of nourishment when boiled to make soup. Hare Court also has a higher proportion of lesser quality meat from pigs (cranial and mandibular fragments) which may suggest a greater consumption of boars' heads or brawn, although this is based on only a small sample of bone (Table 28).

The mandibular age data (Table 29) indicates young animals, raised to supply meat. Epiphyseal fusion data also shows the presence of some older animals, indicating some consumption of mutton and beef. Veal is represented by a range of very young cattle bones. Measurements from three complete sheep radii from Church Court provided an estimated mean withers' height of 600mm (and a range of 557-628mm), following Teichert (von den Driesch & Boessneck, 1974).

Other mammals

Fallow deer, rabbit and hare also made a contribution to the diet. Four of the five fallow deer bones derive from the hind-limb, possibly suggesting that venison was traded as haunches within the London luxury meat market.

There is a small quantity of mammal bones that do not represent elements of the diet of the inhabitants. The odd bones of dog and cat probably represent pets or feral animals. Twenty-seven rat and rat-sized bones were recovered from the fill of a 17th century rubbish pit

(context [37]). One is identified as black rat, and the rest can be attributed to this species.

Bird bone

Domestic fowl (including galliform fragments of chicken size) is best represented in both bird bone assemblages. A single fragment of pheasant is recorded from Church Court (it is possible that some of the galliform bones may have derived from this species). Domestic goose is the second most common from Church Court and is equal second with raven in the Hare Court assemblage. The raven bones, however, all derive from two contexts from the same pit [313] and are consistent with deriving from one animal. Another raven bone was also recovered from Church Court. Two bones of duck and woodcock, and one of rock dove/pigeon were also recovered. All of these species would have been consumed, except perhaps for raven, which may be present as a scavenger.

Discussion

The 16th to 17th century animal bone assemblages from Church Court and Hare Court represent post-consumption waste, with high quality meat-bearing bones of cattle, sheep and pig being well represented. The two samples are remarkably similar in species composition. The assemblages suggest a picture of wealth and status: the inhabitants were eating the best cuts of meat, from young animals, and from a range of wild species. Fallow deer may have been distributed partially as haunches. There are some differences in the representation of elements in the samples. Bones of the lower legs are better represented in Hare Court, possibly representing a slightly higher consumption of lower quality meat.

Table 29 *Aged mandibles from Hare Court*

| | neonatal | juvenile | immature | subadult | adult | elderly |
|--------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-------|---------|
| Cattle | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Sheep | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - |
| Pig | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | - |

Following O'Connor (1989, 161).

Chapter 6 Discussion and Conclusions



Despite the limited nature of the archaeological investigations within the Inner Temple, the results of the two excavations revealed the huge potential of the area, with significant archaeological remains being present on both sites. The excavations provided a rare opportunity to examine part of the extensive buried history of the locality.

From tentative Prehistoric and Roman beginnings the area rose in importance during the Saxon period. The weapon burial is a major find and suggests the presence of an early cemetery dating to perhaps the 6th century, with the inhabitants buried overlooking the river, down which they had originally come to found the ‘*emporium*’ of *Lundenwic* on the banks of the Thames. This is the first putative evidence for an eastern cemetery for *Lundenwic*, in addition to the known northern and western cemeteries, but it is perhaps not surprising for there to also be one on the eastern side of the settlement; the evidence of burials to the west and northwest of the site suggest that the disposal of the dead was taking place around the periphery of the early settlement area of *Lundenwic*. Indeed the evidence of bone working within the fill of the grave suggests that it was not cut into virgin soil, but was very near to an occupied area and thus that this part of London was settled from an early time in the Saxon period, possibly from as early as the 6th century.

The significance of the later Middle Saxon occupation of the site is increased by the fact that it would appear to be the most easterly evidence for *Lundenwic* yet discovered. Residual Middle Saxon pottery and a loomweight from Church Court suggest that the occupation activity revealed in Hare Court continued further to the east and the possible Saxon ditch found at Niblett Hall may define the eastern boundary of occupation in the Temple area (Askev with Keily 1993-4, 68). Evidence for the eastern extent of *Lundenwic* has been rather piecemeal leading to the suggestion that the settlement just seems to peter out to the east (Vince 1990, 16). However, it is possible that evidence has either been removed by later truncation, or remains to be discovered. Three large areas of relatively unexplored land comprising the Law Courts, Lincoln’s Inn and the Middle and Inner Temple are located just outside

the postulated eastern extent of *Lundenwic*. Development work, and thus associated archaeological investigation, is rare in these areas. In the Middle and Inner Temple most work is small-scale and limited in depth, however, the results from Hare Court show that where it is possible to excavate a reasonably-sized area to the depth of the natural geology, significant remains may be present. Future work in the Temple, especially along its northern half, may show the true significance of the Middle Saxon occupation of the area.

The presence of the cemetery on the site would seem to suggest that the occupation activity at Hare Court was part of the main *Lundenwic* settlement. However, the limited finds of Middle Saxon date found between the main area of *Lundenwic* and the walled Roman city to the east indicates occupation activity along Fleet Street, a road which has Roman origins and continued in use throughout the Saxon period. The available evidence includes a coin of Coenwulf of Mercia (AD 796 – c. 805) from Fleet Street, a silver sword pommel from the junction of Fetter Lane and Fleet Street, possible Saxon pottery from 43 Fetter Lane, the sword supposedly from the Temple Church (Cowie 1988, 44-45) together with the tentative evidence from Niblett Hall and St Bride’s church. The occupation activity in Hare Court could thus possibly be part of a ribbon development between the main *Lundenwic* settlement and the religious enclave around St Paul’s in the City. Although a measure of central authority has been detected in the laying out of a formal road grid by the late 7th century, as evidenced by the roads at the Royal Opera House (Malcolm *et al.* 2003, 145-148) and James Street (Leary *et al.* 2004, 8 & 142) it is possible that the Saxon settlement was not confined within defined boundaries, but stretched from just outside the old Roman city walls to the Trafalgar Square area, as originally stated by the historian Robert Fabian in his *Great Chronicle* published in the early 16th century:

“in these parts from Ludgate, and so westward, the City, in Saxon times was chiefly situate; and more thinly built, where now the City especially standeth”

(Styrye 1720, 231).

The Hare Court site is similar in many respects to those sites on the western edge of *Lundenwic*, such as the National Portrait Gallery (Armitage 2004b, 105-112). At both sites animals were being reared on site: sheep were more dominant than pigs, which is at variance with the situation within the heart of the settlement, and geese and other fowl were present. Butchery was taking place on site together with working of the waste products. It would appear that both these sites were self-sufficient farmsteads (ie net producers of livestock) with domestic crafts such as weaving and bone, antler and horn working also being practised.

However, despite the apparent limited Middle Saxon remains revealed at Hare Court, the importance of the finds recovered is astounding. Amongst the faunal assemblage the finds of whale and fallow deer bone are unusual for this period. The presence of crucibles attesting to the recycling of cullet and the manufacture of glass are an exceptional and significant find. So little is known about the production and distribution of glass in the Middle Saxon period (Stiff 2001, 43-49) that any evidence is of the utmost importance. The crucibles, together with the silver sceat, the large coin hoard from Hare Court and the fragments of fine glass and the other high status objects found in the vicinity, points to this site playing an important part in the Saxon settlement in London; whether as an isolated enclave between *Lundenwic* and the old Roman city, or as part of the eastern periphery of the main settlement, a degree of wealth and status is attested which is out of the ordinary for the rest of the community.

Thus, not only was the Hare Court occupation site self-sufficient in the production of livestock and involved in domestic crafts paralleling other peripheral sites within *Lundenwic*, it was also involved in the manufacture of glass, had access to rare traded goods such as whale bone, haddock fished from the deep sea and fallow deer, which is an extremely rare find in Britain prior to the Norman period. It has been suggested that fallow deer were traded as preserved meat or brought over to stock special herds kept within enclosed parks as a preserve of the rich (Bendrey 2003). Either way their presence suggests a degree of wealth and power. The hoard of over 250 coins which was buried in Hare Court most likely in response to the Viking raid of AD 842 is a testament to the portable wealth of this community and may suggest a trading connection as large numbers of coins have been found at a possible market or toll station at Reculver in Kent (Kelly 1992, 9).

The role of important religious establishments in the distribution of trade goods during the Middle Saxon period has been attested (Kelly 1992; Palmer 2003). It is perhaps significant that several of the finds from the Hare Court site mirror those from a high status religious site from the London area, Barking Abbey. This site has produced the

only contemporary find of fallow deer from the London area (Rackham 1994, 130) and the only other evidence of glassworking from the region is provided by the glass kilns at Barking (MacGowan 1996, 178). A ready supply of money is attested by the large number of *sceattas* found at the Barking Abbey site, while it is interesting to note that the only other series G coin previously found in London was from Bermondsey Abbey (Stott 1991, 305).

Perhaps the area around Hare Court was part of a rich cleric's or nobleman's domain, a precursor of the later *hagae* within the Late Saxon *burhs* which were important elements of the trading network. Hare Court occupies one of the last locations with good access to the River Thames, before the old walled Roman city. To the east were mudflats and marshland stretching from the confluence of the River Fleet and the River Thames, later in the Saxon period known as the 'London Fen'. A grant of land to Chertsey Abbey to the south of the Thames 'opposite where boats tie up' at the confluence of the Thames and a public road, which has been identified as Watling Street in Southwark, suggests the possibility that there was a strong connection between the Thames riverbank and ecclesiastical sites in the hinterland (Palmer 2003, 53). Both the abbeys of Chertsey and Barking were founded by Bishop Eorcenwald in the late 7th century. Perhaps the area of Hare Court on the northern banks of the Thames was the equivalent of that land on the southern riverbank and provided a vital link in trading networks. It could also have been acquired by a wealthy cleric such as Eorcenwald as a prime site in *Lundenwic*, being the first place that ships could pull up and trade as they sailed up the Thames. The bishop of Worcester was granted immunity from tolls at the port of London for two of his ships in the AD 740s and continuity of the see of Worcester's interest in London trade was suggested by the granting of further immunities in AD 857 to the bishop of Worcester of a highly profitable plot of land named as *Ceolmundinghaga* 'near the west gate' (Kelly 1992, 12). Although the location of the site either within or outside the old Roman city walls is hotly debated (Dyson 1978, 206-207; Kelly 1992, 12; Blackmore 1997, 128) it is perhaps tempting to suggest that Hare Court might have been the location of this high-status trading house.

This putative clerical connection was maintained into the 12th century with the presence of the Bishop of Ely's Inn, which is known to have occupied the site from the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066. Features found in Hare Court could be part of this phase of occupation, although it is difficult to attribute it to that period of use with certainty because the date range of the pottery could just stretch to the construction of the New Temple by the Knights Templar. The small number of finds, including a fragment of pumice used in the production of written manuscripts and

an unusual bone handle, from this phase of activity within Hare Court are nevertheless interesting and could belong to either period of use. However, perhaps the most evocative is the lead plumb bob, which may have been instrumental in laying out the walls of either the Bishop's Inn or the New Temple.

The Knights Templar's use of the site of the New Temple as a whole is still poorly understood archaeologically. The destruction of many of the original documents in the Peasants' Revolt and subsequent fires during the post-medieval period has left only glimpses of the former layout of the Temple in the records. Only the Temple Church and the Buttery survive today from that period. The discovery of part of the eastern Cloister of the Temple precinct contributes to the reconstruction of the layout of the buildings and complements Godfrey's findings within the Temple Church during the post-war restoration programme (Godfrey 1953). No evidence has been found for a cloister associated with the earliest Temple Church and it appears that it was only during the remodelling of the church in the first half of the 13th century that a cloister was added to the now rectangular three-aisled chancel. A useful comparison with the Priory church of the Knights Hospitallers of St John's, Clerkenwell can be made, as this church did not have a cloister attached until the round nave had been demolished and replaced with a rectangular structure (Sloane & Malcolm 2004). Perhaps both can be explained by architectural difficulties in adding a cloister to circular or semi-circular building.

Evidence of the appearance of at least some of the buildings in the New Temple during the Knights Templar occupation can be seen in the recovery of glazed 'Westminster' type tiles and from fragments of masonry recovered incorporated into later features, most notably the fragments of Purbeck marble columns. The glazed tiles could have been used in the cloister walk but most likely were from the Temple Church, as a quantity of them were discovered in 1841 when the floor was lowered (Richardson 1845), some of which matched the pattern discovered during these excavations. Close analysis of the Purbeck marble fragments showed that at least some of the original interior fabric of the church survived into the 1940s only to be destroyed by German incendiaries in 1941.

The Knights Hospitallers, after a long wrangle, were granted the Temple in 1338 after the Knights Templar order had been dissolved for some 26 years, and it is perhaps with their dissolution in 1540, as the part of the Dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry VIII, that the eastern cloister was destroyed. The archaeological evidence from Church Court would suggest that the eastern walk of the cloisters was demolished in the second half of the 16th century. Perhaps the lawyers who had been leasing much of the Temple since

the 14th century no longer felt constrained to maintain the monastic layout of buildings and demolished the eastern walk to make way for new Chambers.

Two structures provided evidence of the post-medieval occupation of the Temple by the Inns of Court. The dwarf wall for a probable timber-framed building may represent no more than an ancillary building attached to the Inner Temple Hall or the Kitchens. The most significant remains were provided by the basement floor of the Lamb Building, which was constructed after the destruction of previous buildings in the Great Fire of 1666, only to be destroyed itself in the Blitz.

Inevitably the lawyers' occupation of the Temple has provided the largest quantity of archaeological evidence. Analysis of the large assemblages of pottery, glass and bone has contributed to our knowledge of the diet and lifestyle of the lawyers alluded to in the various documents of the time. It is rare that the archaeological evidence is so faithfully borne out by the written record. The large assemblage of pottery from one rather small pit shows that attrition rate for drinking vessels was remarkably high. The wealth and high status of their diet could be expected but the essentially conservative nature of the place, as evidenced by the continued use of old-fashioned 'green pots' into the late 17th century is perhaps less expected; although considering the legal profession is steeped in tradition and ceremony to this day it is less surprising. The wanton destruction of the pots together with the general rowdiness of their behaviour attests to the fact that student behaviour has perhaps changed little over four hundred years. This very destructiveness could be a major reason why old-fashioned pots were still in use late into the 17th century, pots being much cheaper than glass vessels to replace! However, the glass vessels that were recovered from site were of high quality, including Venetian style *vetro a retorti* drinking glasses. The small assemblage of fine glassware suggests that glass was still rare within the Inns of Court and perhaps only used on special occasions or reserved for the top table. The diet of the lawyers as shown by the recovered animal bone assemblages was dominated by mutton but was quite varied, with a high proportion of the best cuts of meat from young cattle, pig and domestic goose and a range of wild species including fallow deer, rabbit, hare, pheasant, duck, woodcock and rock dove or pigeon and fish such as flatfish and herring together with oysters, cockles and mussels. It was indeed documented at the time that the diet of the Inns of Court was vastly better than at the universities and that the members lived well (Williamson 1924, 118). Although the animal bone assemblages were remarkably consistent between Church Court and Hare Court, the presence of more lower leg bones amongst the latter assemblage represents a slightly higher consumption of lower quality



Fig. 99 “Calling for pots, they threw them at random...” by Jake Lunt

meat. Perhaps the difference between the two assemblages again represents the difference in food served to the high table and their guests and the rest.

The presence of apparent 17th century inhumations within the centre of Church Court bears witness to the fact that the ‘Southern Churchyard’ was still in use as a graveyard even after Chambers buildings were constructed on the eastern part of the courtyard. Dating evidence is poor and, as is usual on cemetery sites, the assigning of date to separate burials is extremely difficult. However, it would appear from the limited dating material that 16th and 17th century burials were present. The fact that the burials are seen to intercut in both phases of cemetery use suggests that graves were not marked for long, if at all. It is possible that the second phase of burials may even represent some victims of the Plague in 1665-1666 who would, of necessity, have been buried in haste without the normal care. The possibility of some of the inhumations being plague victims may explain the unrepresentative young age of the deceased. The skeletal remains recovered from the south churchyard attest to the poor dental hygiene throughout society in the 17th century with the addition of sugar to the diet, as the age of the skeletons and the burial records would suggest that these remains were those of servants and employees and their families rather than members of the Inns of Court who are documented to have been buried within the Temple

Church.

Other objects, which were perhaps to be expected on site, were wig curlers and items to do with bookmaking and selling. However, the discovery of the three pieces of 17th century lead printing type is a remarkably rare occurrence on a British archaeological site. A number of printers are known to have been in the Fleet Street area and a John Playford had a stationer’s shop in the porch of the Temple Church. The fragments of worn pumice stone are also evidence of the production of manuscripts and vellum as used in legal documents. However, some of the finds assemblages point to the varied and bustling nature of the Inns of Court. It is known that shops were built up against the walls of the Temple Church cutting out the light until their removal in the early 19th century. The presence of various small traders is attested by the large assemblage of lace chapes and buckles, suggesting the wares of pedlars or small shopkeepers.

The equally unusual retrieval of the large quantity of Purbeck marble originally from the interior of the Temple Church gave a rare opportunity to glimpse the pre-War fabric of the Church and to attempt to analyse just how much of the original interior was still standing by 1941 after several centuries of restoration work had left their mark. The restoration and renovation of the church has a long history with major refurbishments inaugurated by Wren after

the Great Fire, by Robert Smirke between 1826 and 1828 and by James Savage and later Sydney Smirke between 1840 and 1846. Despite frequent renovations over the centuries, analysis of the marble fragments proved that at least some of the medieval interior stonework survived the ravages of time and the good intentions of various architects' 'restorations' only to fall victim to bombs in the Second World War.

All in all these two excavations within the Inner Temple have proved that even relatively limited investigations can provide a wealth of archaeological information in this highly

important area within the City of London. The fact that these two excavations were undertaken in courtyards, with no earlier basements (with the exception of the Lamb Building) and were relatively unaffected by modern services accounted for the high level of preservation of archaeological remains. The results from these two excavations together with the previous investigations, most notably at Niblett Hall (Askew with Keily 1993-4), have proved that the area is a veritable treasure trove of information from a number of archaeological periods.

Résumé

Zusammenfassung

BY SYLVIA BUTLER

In den Jahren 1999 und 2000 ergab sich im Inner Temple die seltene Gelegenheit für archäologische Untersuchungen. Voraussetzung hierfür waren die Errichtung einer Gedächtnissäule und die Pflanzung von vier Bäumen in Church Court und die Installation von neuen Lichtschächten und einer Entwässerungsanlage in Hare Court. Obwohl beide Ausgrabungsstätten in ihrer Größe und ihrem Umfang eingeschränkt waren, offenbarten sie doch eine Reihe von bedeutenden Entdeckungen aus der mittlelalterlichen bis hin zur neuzeitlichen Periode.

Verbliebene, prähistorische Feuersteinarbeiten und römische Funde an beiden Stätten deuteten auf menschliche Anwesenheit in dem Gebiet während beider Perioden hin.

Die Entdeckung eines wahrscheinlich sächsischen Friedhofes einschließlich einer Bestattung mit Grabbeigaben in Hare Court erweitert unser limitiertes Wissen über mittlelalterliche Begräbnispraktiken in Lundenwic und ist der erste Beweis für einen östlichen Friedhof. Die Gegenwart von strukturellen Elementen und einem Brunnen zeigte ebenfalls eine spätere, mittlelalterliche Ansiedlung in Hare Court an. Die hohe Stellung einiger der Funde assoziiert mit dem Brunnen sowie die selten beobachteten Anzeichen der Glasherstellung an der Ausgrabungsstätte deuten an, dass diese ein wichtiger Teil einer sächsischen Ansiedlung war. Er stellt entweder den östlichsten Teil von Lundenwic dar, der bis heute entdeckt wurde, oder ein wichtiges, bewohntes Gebiet zwischen Lundenwic im Westen und der mutmasslichen religiösen Enklave von St Paul's innerhalb der alten römischen Mauer im Osten.

Eine Kies- und Sandgrube aus dem 11./12. Jahrhundert und ein Hof mit Pflasterstein, welche entweder dem Bishop of Ely's Inn oder dem New Temple zugeordnet wurden, wurden ebenfalls in Hare Court enthüllt. Eine gleichdatierte Kies- und Sandgrube in Church Court stand wahrscheinlich in Zusammenhang mit der Konstruktion der Temple Kirche durch die Tempelritter zwischen 1161 und 1185. Der östliche Kreuzgang, welcher während des Umbaus der Kirche in 1220-40 erbaut wurde, konnte in Church Court identifiziert werden.

Deutliche Anzeichen der juristischen Bewohnung des Temple im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert waren in beiden Höfen vorhanden. Bei den Anzeichen handelte es sich um eine Reihe von Abfallgruben und kiesbedeckten Hofoberflächen in Hare Court, dem südlichen Friedhof der Temple Kirche und dem Lamb Gebäude in Church Court. Funde an beiden Stätten lieferten Beweise der Art der Ernährung und des Wohlstandes der Juristen während dieser Periode. Eine große

Ansammlung von grünen, glasierten Borderware Tongefässen mit einer zusammenhängenden Ansammlung von Glasgefässen lieferte eine Einsicht in die Trinkgepflogenheiten der Mitglieder der vier Rechtsschulen (Inns of Court) in London. Die Analyse einer gleichdatierten Ansammlung von Knochen lieferte einen flüchtigen Einblick in die Auswahl und Fülle ihrer Ernährung. Die Skelette, die in dem südlichen Teil des Friedhofes der Temple Kirche gefunden wurden, waren zum Zeitpunkt ihres Todes überraschend jung und zeigten ein ungewöhnlich hohes Vorkommen von Zahnfäule an. Die Entdeckung von drei Beispielen der Druckschrift in Hare Court liefern einen der frühesten Funde solchen Materials bei archäologischen Ausgrabungen im Vereinigten Königreich und waren ein angemessener Fund für das Gebiet um Fleet Street mit seiner Druckgeschichte.

Die archäologische Geschichte der Stätte führte fort bis in das 20. Jahrhundert, in welchem das Untergeschoss des Lamb Gebäudes entdeckt wurde. Die Phosphorbomben verwendet bei dem Luftangriff im Mai 1941 hatten das Untergeschoss mit Feuerschutt gefüllt und zerstört. Sie führten ebenfalls zur Ausbrennung des Inneren der Temple Kirche. Anzeichen für die ehemalige Pracht der Kirche lieferten eine Ansammlung von dekorierten Bodenkacheln, die an beiden Stätten gefunden wurden, sowie eine große Ansammlung von verkleideten Purbeck Marmor Fragmenten, welche während Restaurierungsarbeiten in den fünfziger Jahren in einen Versorgungsschacht geworfen wurden.

Diese Ausgabe beginnt mit dem Hintergrund der archäologischen Ausgrabungen und beschreibt die Geschichte der Gegend um den Temple. Sie beinhaltet ebenfalls ein geographisches Lexikon von früheren, archäologischen Untersuchungen innerhalb des Temple Bezirkes. Die archäologische Zeitenfolge wird dann im Detail beschrieben mit Schwerpunkt auf die Perioden während welcher die Stätte von den Sachsen, den Tempelrittern und den Juristen bewohnt wurde. Dies ist gefolgt von den spezifischen Kapiteln über den Purbeck Marmor der Temple Kirche, den mittlelalterlichen Funden und den mittlelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Artefakten. Die Wichtigkeit der Stätte ist dann in einem abschliessenden Kapitel erörtert, welches die Reichhaltigkeit der archäologischen Funde hervorhebt, die selbst innerhalb von Untersuchungen in relativ kleinem Ausmass zu Tage gebracht werden können.

Bibliography

Printed works

- Addison, C. G., 1843 *The History of the Knights Templar, the Temple Church and the Temple*. London.
- Addyman, P. V. & Hill, D. H., 1969 Saxon Southampton: a review of the evidence. Part II: Industry, Trade and Everyday life. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeology Society* 26, 61-96.
- Allison, E. & Kenward, H., 1991 Those were lousy times! Lice from ancient York: *Interim* 16, 22-8.
- Andrews, F. B., 1999. *The Mediaeval Builder and His Methods*. Dover Publication Inc, New York.
- Andrews, P., 1997 *Excavations at Hamwic. Volume 2: Excavations at Six Dials*. CBA Research Report 109. London.
- Archer, D., 1997 *Delftware, the Tin-glazed earthenware of the British Isles. A catalogue of the collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum*.
- Armitage, P. L., 1984 The faunal remains. In: A. Thompson, F. Grew & J. Schofield, Excavations at Aldgate, 1974 *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 18, 121-44.
- Armitage, P. L., 2001 2-3 Hare Court: catalogue of animal bones and shellfish remains extracted from sieved samples. PCA, unpublished archive report.
- Armitage, P. L., 2004a The Animal Bones. In: J. Leary with G. Brown, J. Rackham, C. Pickard & R. Hughes, 2004 *Tatberbt's Lundenwic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*. PCA monograph 2, 28-35.
- Armitage, P. L., 2004b The Animal Bones. In: J. Leary with G. Brown, J. Rackham, C. Pickard & R. Hughes, 2004 *Tatberbt's Lundenwic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*. PCA monograph 2, 105-112.
- Askew, P. & Watson, B., 1996 *Hare Court, Inner Temple, London EC4, City of London: An Archaeological Watching Brief*. MoLAS, unpublished report.
- Askew, P. with Keily, J., 1993-4 Excavations at Niblett Hall. *The Inner Temple Journal* (1993-1994).
- Atkinson, D. & Oswald, A., 1969 London clay tobacco pipes. *Journal of British Archaeol Assoc* 32, 171-227.
- Baker, J. H., 1991 *The Inner Temple: A Brief Historical Description*. London.
- Baker, P., 1998 *The vertebrate remains from Scole-Dickleburgh, excavated in 1993 (Norfolk and Suffolk), A140 and A143 Road Improvement Project* Ancient Monuments Lab. Rep. 29/98, London.
- Barford, P. M., 1993 Anglo-Saxon fired clay loomweights. In: H. Hammerow *Excavations at Mucking, Vol. 2: The Anglo-Saxon Settlement*. English Heritage, 66-68.
- Bass, W. M., 1992 *Human Osteology: A Laboratory and Field Manual*. Missouri Archaeological Society, Inc. Columbia.
- Baumgartner, E. & Krueger, I., 1988 *Phoenix aus Sand und Asche, Glass des Mittelalters*. Bonn, Basel.
- Bayley, J., 1992 Metalworking Ceramics. *Medieval Ceramics. Vol.16*, 3-10.
- Bayley, J., 2000 Glassworking in Early Medieval England. In: J. Price (ed.) *Glass in Britain and Ireland AD 350-1100* BM Occasional Paper No. 127.
- Baylis, T. H., 1900 *The Temple Church and Chapel of St Ann etc., An Historical Record and Guide*. London.
- Bell, C., 1994 *35 Essex Street: Summary Report of Archaeological Evaluation and Watching Brief*. OAU, unpublished report.
- Bellot, H. H. L., 1925 *The Temple*. London 3rd edition.
- Bendrey, R., 2001 An assessment of the mammalian and bird bones from Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4. In: J. Butler *An Assessment of an Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Bendrey, R., 2003 The Identification of Fallow Deer (*Dama Dama*) Remains from Roman Monkton, The Isle of Thanet, Kent. In: I. D. Riddler (ed.) *Materials of Manufacture: The choice of materials in the working of bone and antler in northern and central Europe during the first millennium AD*. BAR British Series no. 1193, 15-18.
- Betts, I., 1994 Appendix, Medieval Floor Tiles in London Churches. In: J. Schofield, Saxon and medieval parish churches in the City of London. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 45, 133-41.
- Betts, I., 2002 *Medieval 'Westminster' floor tiles*. MoLAS Monograph 11.
- Biddle, M., 1990 *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester. Winchester Studies 7ii: Artefacts from Medieval Winchester*, Oxford.
- Bishop, B., 2001 The Flint. In: J. Butler *An assessment of an archaeological excavation and watching brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Black, R. M., 1988 (ed.) *The Elements of Palaeontology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Blackburn, M., 1984 A chronology for the sceattas. In: D. Hill & D. M. Metcalf (eds.) *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*. BAR British Series 128. Oxford, 165-74.
- Blackmore, L., 1986 Des. Res. (close City and Thames): Early and middle Saxon buildings in the Greater London area. *London Archaeol* Vol.5 No.8, 207-216.
- Blackmore, L., 1988 The pottery. In: R. Cowie & R. L. Whytehead with L. Blackmore, Two Middle Saxon Occupation Sites: Excavations at Jubilee Hall and Maiden Lane. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 39, 81-110.
- Blackmore, L., 1989 The pottery. In: R. L. Whytehead & R. Cowie with L. Blackmore, 'Excavations at Peabody site, Chandos Place and the National Gallery' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 40, 71-107.
- Blackmore, L., 1997 From beach to burh: new clues to entity and identity in seventh- to ninth-century London. In: De Boe & Verhaege (eds.) *Urbanism in Medieval Europe – Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' conference* 1, 123-32.
- Blackmore, L., 1999 Aspects of trade and exchange evidenced by recent work on Saxon and medieval pottery from London. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 50, 38-54.
- Blackmore, L., 2001 Pottery: Trade and Tradition. In: D. Hill & R. Cowie *The Early Mediaeval Trading Centres of Northern Europe*. Sheffield Archaeological Monograph 14, 22-42.

- Blackmore, L., 2002 The Origins and Growth of Lundenwic, a Mart of many Nations. In B. Hardh & L. Larsson *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*. Papers from the 52nd Sachsensymposium Lund, August 2002, Uppakrastudier 6, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 8^o, No.39. Lund, Sweden.
- Blackmore, L., 2003a The pottery. In G. Malcolm & D. Bowsher with R. Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House 1989-99*. MoLAS Monograph 15, 225-241.
- Blackmore, L., 2003b The Post Roman Pottery, assessment of the pottery from Moor House, MRL 98. In: J. Butler *A Post-Excavation assessment of an Archaeological Excavation at Moor House, 119 London Wall, London EC2*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Blackmore, L., 2003c Worked bone and antler objects and waste. In: G. Malcolm, D. Bowsher and R. Cowie, *Middle Saxon London. Excavations at the Royal Opera House 1989-99*, MoLAS Monograph 15, London, 302-15.
- Blackmore, L. with Dennis M., 2003 Non-ferrous metalworking. In: G. Malcolm & D. Bowsher with R. Cowie *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House 1989-99*. MoLAS Monograph 15, 271-273.
- Blackmore, L., Vince, A. and Cowie, R., 2004 The Origins of Lundenwic? Excavations at 8-9 Long Acre/16 Garrick Street, WC2. *London Archaeologist*, 10, 301-306.
- Blackmore, L. with Williams, D., 1997 The fifth century pottery. In: G. Milne *St Bride's Church, London: Archaeological research 1952-60 and 1992-5*. English Heritage, 54-6.
- Blinkhorn, P., 1999 Of Cabbages and Kings: Production, Trade and Consumption in Middle Saxon England, in M. Anderton, *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centre: Beyond the Emporia*. Glasgow, 4-23.
- Blockley, K., 1978 The pottery report. In: S. Pryor and K. Blockley, *A 17th-century kiln site at Woolwich*. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 12, 30-84.
- Blockley, K., Blockley, M., Blockley, P., Frere, S. S. and. Stow, S., 1995 *Excavations in the Marlowe Car Park and Surrounding Areas*. The Archaeology of Canterbury 5, Canterbury.
- Boddington, A., 1990 Models of Burial, Settlement and Worship: the Final Phase Reviewed. In E. Southworth (ed.) *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, a Reappraisal. Proceedings of a Conference Held at Liverpool Museum 1986*, 177-199.
- Bourdillon, J. & Coy, J., 1980 The animal bones. In P. Holdsworth *Excavations at Melbourne Street, Southampton, 1971-6*. Council for British Archaeology, 79-121.
- Bowen, M., 1928 *The Story of the Temple & its Associations*.
- Bowsher, J., 1999 Saxon Foreshore at Temple Place. *London Archaeol* Vol. 9 No. 3, 82-89.
- Bowsher, D. & Malcolm, G., 1999 Excavations at the Royal Opera House: Middle Saxon London. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc*, 50, 4-11.
- Boyle, A., & Keevil, G., 1998 'To the praise of the dead, and anatomie': the analysis of post-medieval burials at St Nicholas, Sevenoaks, Kent. In: M. Cox *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England 1700-1850*. CBA Research Report 113.
- British Geological Survey North London Map sheet 257 1:50,000 (ed. 1994).
- Brodribb, A. C. C., Hands, A. R. and Walker, D. R., 1972 *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm, near Wilcote, Oxfordshire. Part III: Site F*. Oxford.
- Brown, J., 2001 The Ceramic Building Materials Assessment. In: J. Butler *An assessment of an archaeological excavation and watching brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Buikstra, J. E. & Ubelaker, D. H. (eds.), 1994 *Standards for the collection from human skeletal remains*. Arkansas Archaeological Survey. Research Series No. 44. Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey.
- Butler, J., 2001 *An assessment of an archaeological excavation and watching brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Campbell, J., 2003 Production and Distribution in Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon England, in T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider, *Markets in Early Medieval Europe. Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-85*. Macclesfield, 12-19.
- Caple, C., 1991 The Detection and Definition of an Industry: The English Medieval and Post Medieval Pin Industry. *Archaeological Journal* 148, 241-255.
- Chaplin, R. E., 1971 *The Study of Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites*. London. Seminar Press.
- Charleston, R. J., 1972 The vessel glass from Rosedale and Hutton. In: D. W. Crossley & F. A. Aberg, *Sixteenth century glassmaking in Yorkshire: excavations at furnaces at Hutton and Rosedale, North Riding, 1968-1971*. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 6, 128-150.
- Charleston, R. J., 1984a *English glass: and the glass used in England, circa 400-1940*. London.
- Charleston, R. J., 1984b The glass. In: J. P. Allan, *Medieval and post-medieval finds from Exeter 1971-1980* Exeter Archaeol Rep 3, 258-278. Exeter City Council and University of Exeter. Exeter.
- Christensen, J. M. & Nystrom, B., 1978 *Fishes of the British and Northern European Seas*. Harmondsworth. Penguin.
- Clarke, H., 1984 *The Archaeology of Medieval England*. London. British Museum.
- Cowie, R., 1988 A Gazetteer of Middle Saxon Sites and Finds in the Strand/Westminster Area. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 39, 37-46.
- Cowie, R. with Harding, C., 2000 Saxon Settlement and Economy from the Dark Ages to Domesday. In: *The Archaeology of Greater London: An assessment of archaeological evidence for human presence in the area now covered by Greater London*. MoLAS, 171-206.
- Cowie, R. & Whytehead, R. L. with Blackmore, L., 1988 Two Middle Saxon Occupation Sites: Excavations at Jubilee Hall and 21-22 Maiden Lane. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc*, 39, 47-125.
- Cowie, R. & Whytehead, R. L. 1989 Lundenwic: the archaeological evidence for Middle Saxon London. *Antiquity* 63, 706-718.
- Cox, M., 1998 Eschatology, burial practice and continuity: a retrospection from Christ Church, Spitalfields. In: M. Cox (ed.), *Grave concerns: death and burial in England 1700-1850*. CBA Research Report 113, Council for British Archaeology, 112-125.
- Cunliffe, B., 1974 *Iron Age Communities in Britain*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London.
- Cunningham, C. M. & Drury, P. J., 1985 *Post-medieval sites and their pottery: Moulsham Street, Chelmsford*. Council for British Archaeol Research Report 54/Chelmsford Archaeol Trust Report 5.
- Cunningham, C. M., 1985 The Stock pottery. In: C. M. Cunningham & P. J. Drury *Post-medieval sites and their pottery: Moulsham Street, Chelmsford*. Council for British Archaeol Research Report 54/Chelmsford Archaeol Trust Report 5.
- Dalton, J., 1997 *Watching Brief at Middle Temple Library*. OAU, unpublished report.
- Darvill, T., 1987 *Prehistoric Britain*. Batsford. London.
- Dodwell, N., 2001 The Human Bone Assessment from Church Court. In: J. Butler *An assessment of an archaeological excavation and watching brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London*. PCA, unpublished report.

- of London, London EC4. PCA, unpublished report.
- Dolley, R. H. M., 1960 Coin hoards from the London area. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc*, 20, 37-50.
- Dove, W. W., 1967 The Temple Church and its Restoration. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc*, 39, 164-171.
- Down A. & Welch M., 1990 *Chichester Excavations VII: Apple Down and the Mardens*. Chichester.
- Dumbrell, R., 1983 *Understanding antique wine bottles*. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club.
- Dyson, T., 1978 Two Saxon Land Grants for Queenhithe. In: J. Bird, H. Chapman & J. Clark (eds.) *Collectanea Londiniensia. Studies in Archaeology Presented to Ralph Merrifield*. London Middlesex Archaeol Soc Spec Pap 2, 200-215.
- Eames, E. S., 1968 *Medieval Tiles: a handbook*. British Museum. London.
- East, K., 1983 The Tubs and Buckets. In: A. Care Evans *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial*, Vol. 3, 554-596.
- Edwards, R., 1974 *London potters circa 1550-1710*. *Journal of Ceramic History*, Vol. 6.
- Egan, G., 1988 *Base-metal Toys*, Finds Research Group 700-1700, Datasheet 10.
- Egan, G., 1996 *Playthings from the Past: Lead Alloy Miniature Artefacts c.1300-1800*. Jonathan Horne. London.
- Egan, G., 1998 *The Medieval Household (Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 6)*. Oxbow Books. Oxford.
- Egan, G. (forthcoming) *Material Culture in London in an Age of Transition: Tudor and Stuart Period Finds c.1450-1700 from Excavations at Riverside Sites in Southwark*, MoLAS.
- Egan, G., (forthcoming) Report on finds from Coventry Whitefriars site.
- Egan, G. & Forsyth, H., 1997 Wound Wire and Silver Gilt: changing fashions in dress accessories c.1400 – c.1600. In D. Gaimster and P. Stamper (eds.), *The Age of Transition. The Archaeology of English Culture 1400-1600*. The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 15, Oxbow Monograph 98. Exeter. 215-238.
- Egan, G., & Keys, L., 2001 The small finds assessment. In: J. Butler *An assessment of an archaeological excavation and watching brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Egan, G. & Keys, L., 2003 The Small Finds. In: K. Wooldridge, *The Archaeology of 151-153 Bermondsey Street, Southwark, London SE1*. *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 90, 181-211.
- Egan, G. & Michael, R. L. (eds.), 1999 *Old and New Worlds*. Oxbow. Oxford.
- Egan, G. & Pritchard, F. 1991 *Dress Accessories c.1150-c.1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3. HMSO. London.
- Evans, J., 1972 *The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny* (first published 1938). Gregg International publishers Ltd. Cambridge.
- Evison, V. I., 1988 The glass. In: R. Cowie & R. L. Whytehead with L Blackmore, *Two Middle Saxon occupation sites: Excavations at Jubilee Hall and 21-22 Maiden Lane*. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 39, 11923.
- Evison, V. I., 1991 107(i) Vessel fragment and 107(m) Square Plaque. In: L. Webster & J. Backhouse. *The Making of England*, 1435. London.
- Evison, V. I., 2000 Glass vessels in England AD 400-1100. In: J. Price (ed.) *Glass in Britain and Ireland AD 350-1100*. British Museum Occasional Paper 127, 47104. London.
- Evison, V. I., (forthcoming) *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Glass in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities*. British Museum.
- Evison, V. I., & Hill, P., 1996 *Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Beckford, Hereford and Worcester*. CBA Research Report 103. London.
- Farley, M., 1979 Pottery and pottery kilns of the post-medieval period at Brill, Buckinghamshire. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 13, 127-152.
- Filer, J., 1991 Excavation Round-up 1990, part 2, London Boroughs. *London Archaeologist*, 6, 301-312.
- Fisher, R. M., 1979 The Reformation of Church and Chapel at the Inns of Court, 1530-1580. *Guildhall Studies in Local History*, Vol. III, No.4, 223-247.
- Foy, D., Nenna M.-D., Picon, M. & Vichy, M., 1999 *Archéométrie, Archéologie et Histoire du Verre: Etudes en cours*. Bulletin de l'Association Française pour l'Archéologie du Verre. Rouen.
- Freestone, I. C., Hughes, M. J. & Stapleton, C. P., 1999 Compositional studies of some Saxon glass. *Glass News* 6, June 1999, 2.
- Gadd, D., & Dyson, T., 1981 Bridewell Palace: Excavations at 9-11 Bridewell Place and 1-3 Tudor Street, City of London, 1978. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 15, 1-79.
- Gaimster, D., 1987 The supply of Rhenish stoneware to London 1350-1650. *London Archaeol* Vol 5, No.13, 339-347.
- Gardiner, M., 1997 The Exploitation of Sea-Mammals in Medieval England: Bones and their Social Context. *Archaeological Journal* 154, 173-195.
- Gardiner, M. F., Cross, R., Macpherson-Grant, N. and Riddler, I., 2001 Continental trade and non-urban ports in Mid-Anglo-Saxon England: excavations at Sandtun, West Hythe, Kent. *Archaeological Journal* 158, 161-290.
- Geake, H., 1997 *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-period England, c.600-c.850*. BAR, British Series 261. Oxford.
- Godfrey, W. H., 1953 Recent Discoveries at the Temple, London, and Notes on the topography of the Site. *Archaeologia* Vol. XCV, 123-140.
- Goffin, R., 2003 The loomweights. In: G. Malcolm, D. Bowsher with R. Cowie, *Middle Saxon Lundenwic: Excavations at the Royal Opera House, 1989-99*, MoLAS Monograph 15, 216-222.
- Green, B. and Rogerson, A., 1978 *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Bergh Apton, Norfolk: Catalogue*. East Anglian Archaeology 7. Gressenhall.
- Green, B., Rogerson, A. & White, S. G., 1987 *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Morning Thorpe, Norfolk. Volume I: Catalogue*. East Anglian Archaeology 36. Gressenhall.
- Greenwood, P. & Maloney, C., 1993 Excavation Round-up 1992 pt.1. *London Archaeologist* 7, 47-51.
- Greenwood, P. & Maloney, C. 1995 London Fieldwork and Publication Round-up 1994. *London Archaeologist* 7, 333-356.
- Greenwood, P. & Maloney, C., 1996 London Fieldwork and Publication Round-up 1995. *London Archaeologist* 8, supplement 1.
- Greenwood, P., Maloney, C. & Gostick, T. J., 1997 London Fieldwork & Publication Round-up 1996. *London Archaeologist* 8, supplement 2.
- Grew, F., 1984 Pipe clay ('wig') haircurlers. In: A. Thompson, F. Grew & J. Schofield, *Excavations at Aldgate, 1974*. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 18, 112-114.
- Grimes, W. F., 1968 *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London*.
- Grosso, I., 2002 *An Archaeological Watching Brief at No.1 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London*, PCA, unpublished report.
- Grosso, I., 2004a *An Archaeological Watching Brief at No.4 Paper*

- Buildings, Inner Temple, City of London, EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Grosso, I., 2004b *An Archaeological Watching Brief at Inner Temple Hall, Inner Temple, City of London, EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Harden, D. B., 1956 Glass Vessels in Britain and Ireland AD 400-1000. In: D. B. Harden (ed.) *Dark Age Britain*, 132-70. Methuen. London.
- Härke, H., 1989 Early Saxon Weapon Burials: frequencies, distributions and weapon combinations. In S. C. Hawkes (ed.), *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph No.21, Oxford, 49-61.
- Härke, H., 1992 Changing Symbols in a Changing Society: The Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite in the Seventh Century. In M. O. H. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo, The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*. The Boydell Press, 149-166.
- Haslam, J., 1975a The excavation of a 17th century pottery site at Cove, East Hampshire. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 9, 164-187.
- Haslam, J., 1975b The Finds. The Saxon Pottery and the Tudor Pottery Group from the Cesspit. In: M. Hammerson Excavations on the Site of Arundel House in the Strand, WC2, in 1972. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 26, 221-224.
- Haslam, J., 1993 Glass vessels. In: S. Margeson, *Norwich households: the medieval and post-medieval finds from Norwich survey excavations 1971-1978*. E. Anglian Archaeol 58, 97-117. Norwich: Norwich Survey/Norfolk Museums Service.
- Hawkes, C. P., 1930 *Chambers in the Temple*. Methuen. London.
- Heathcote, J., 1990 Excavation Round-up 1989, part 1: City of London. *London Archaeologist* 6, 160-167.
- Henkes, H. E., 1994 *Glas zonder glans/Glass without gloss. Utility glass from five centuries excavated in the Low Countries 1300-1800*. Rotterdam Papers 9.
- Hill, D., Barrett, D., Maude, K., Warbuton, J., & Worthington, M., 1990 Quentovic defined. *Antiquity* 64, 51-58.
- Hilton Price, F. G., 1890 Notes on Excavations at Temple Bar. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 6, 231-242.
- Hinton, D. A., 1996 *The Gold, Silver and Other Non-ferrous Alloy Objects from Hamwic, and the Non-ferrous Metalworking Evidence*. Southampton Finds Vol. 2, Stroud.
- Hodges, R., 1981 *The Hamwic pottery: the local and imported wares from 30 years' excavations at Middle Saxon Southampton and their European context*. CBA Research Report 37.
- Holdsworth, P. E., 1976 Saxon Southampton: A New Review. *Medieval Archaeology* 20, 26-61.
- Holling, F. W., 1969 Seventeenth-century pottery from Ash, Surrey. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 3, 18-38.
- Holling, F. W., 1971 A preliminary note on the pottery industry of the Hampshire-Surrey borders. *Surrey Archaeol Collections* 68, 67-88.
- Holling, F. W., 1977 Reflections on Tudor Green. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 11, 61-66.
- Honeybourne, M. B., 1947 The Fleet and its Neighbourhood in Early and Medieval Times. *London Topographical Record* vol. XIX, 13-87.
- Honeybourne, M. B., 1969 The Temple Precinct, London, in the Days of the Knights Templars. *Ancient Monuments Society's Transactions* vol. 16, 33-36.
- Hopwood, C. H. (ed.), 1904a *Middle Temple Records: Minutes of Parliament 1501-1603*, Vol. I.
- Hopwood, C. H. (ed.), 1904b *Middle Temple Records: Minutes of Parliament 1603-49*, Vol. II.
- Humphrey, R., 2001 *45-47 Floral Street/51-54 Long Acre, London WC2: Post-Excavation Assessment*. AOC Archaeology, unpublished report.
- Hunter, J. R. & Heyworth, M. P., 1998 *The Hamwic Glass*. C B A Research Report 116, York.
- Hurst, D. G., 1970 Post-medieval Britain in 1969. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 4, 182.
- Hurst, J. G., 1959 Middle Saxon Pottery. In G. C. Dunning, J. G. Hurst, J. N. L. Myers & F. Tischler, *Anglo-Saxon pottery: a Symposium*. *Medieval Archaeology*, 3, 1-76.
- Hurst, J. G., Neal, D. S. & van Beuningen, H. J. E., 1986 *Pottery produced and traded in north-west Europe 1350-1650*. Rotterdam Papers VI.
- Inderwick, F. A. (ed.), 1896 *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, Vol. I (1505-1603)*. London.
- Inderwick, F. A. (ed.), 1898 *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, Vol. II (1603-1660)*. London.
- Inderwick, F. A. (ed.), 1901 *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, Vol. III (1660-1714)*. London.
- Ingpen, A. R. (ed.), 1910 *Master Worsley's Book on the History and Constitution of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*. London.
- Jarrett, C., 2000 Moor House, 119 London Wall, (MRL 98) – Pottery assessment. In: J. Butler, *Summary of the Excavation of Trench 1 at Moor House, 119 London Wall, City of London*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Jarrett, C., 2001a The Post-Roman Pottery assessment. In: J. Butler, *An assessment of an archaeological excavation and watching brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Jarrett, C., 2001b The clay tobacco pipe assessment. In: J. Butler, *An assessment of an archaeological excavation and watching brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Jarrett, C., 2001c The pipeclay hair curler assessment. In: J. Butler, *An assessment of an archaeological excavation and watching brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Jarrett, C., 2001d Hair curler assessment. In: J. Leary, *Phased summary and assessment document of an archaeological excavation at 28-30 James Street, Covent Garden, City of Westminster, SW1*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Jarrett, C., 2001e The pottery. In: J. Leary, *Phased summary and assessment document of an archaeological excavation at 28-30 James Street, Covent Garden, City of Westminster, SW1*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Jarrett, C., 2002 The Medieval and Post-Medieval Pottery. In: C. Pickard, *An Assessment Report of Archaeological Excavations at the new Wolfson Wing, King's College London, London Borough of Southwark, SE1*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Jarrett, C., 2004a Pottery Report. In: J. Leary with G. Brown, J. Rackham, C. Pickard & R. Hughes, *Tatberbt's Lundenwic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*. PCA Monograph 2, 91-95.
- Jarrett C. (in press) The pottery. In: Killock, D. and Meddens, F. Pottery as Plunder, A 17th Century Maritime Site in Limehouse, London, *Post-Medieval Archaeol*. 39 part 1
- Jennings, S., 1980 *Eighteen centuries of pottery from Norwich*. East Anglian Archaeology, Report No. 13.
- Keily, J., 1993-1994 A preliminary note on the ceramic building

- material from the kiln at Niblett Hall, Inner Temple EC4. In: P. Askew with J. Keily, Excavations at Niblett Hall. *The Inner Temple Journal* (1993-1994). London.
- Kelly, S., 1992 Trading privileges from eighth-century England. *Early Medieval Europe* 1 (1), 3-28.
- Kelsall, F., 1989 'Stucco. In: H. Hobhouse & A. Saunders (eds.) *Good and Proper Materials – The Fabric of London since the Great Fire*. RCHME and the London Topographical Society publication no.140, London, 18-24.
- Kenyon, G. H., 1967 *The glass industry of the Weald*. Leicester University Press. Leicester.
- Keys, L., 2001 The Iron Slag. In: J. Butler, *An Assessment of an Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Killock, D. (in prep.) *Excavations at Whitefriars*
- Latham, R. C. & Matthews. W. (eds.) 1995 *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Harper Collins
- Le Cheminant, R., 1978 The development of the pipeclay hair curler - a preliminary study. *London Archaeol* 3, 187-191.
- Le Cheminant, R., 1982 *The development of the pipeclay hair curler - a preliminary study* British Archaeological Report 100, 345-354.
- Leary, J., with Brown, G., Rackham, J., Pickard C. & Hughes, R., 2004 *Tatberbt's Lundenwic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*. PCA monograph 2.
- Lewer, D. & Dark, R., 1997 *The Temple Church in London*. Historical Publications Ltd. London.
- Locker, A., 1988 The Fish Bones. In: R. Cowie & R. L. Whytehead with L. Blackmore, Two Middle Saxon Occupation Sites: Excavations at Jubilee Hall and 21-22 Maiden Lane. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 39, 149-150.
- Locker, A., 1989 Fish Bones. In: R. L. Whytehead & R. Cowie with L. Blackmore, Excavations at the Peabody Site, Chandos Place, and the National Gallery. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 40, 148-150.
- Loveluck, C., 1998 A high-status Anglo-Saxon settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire. *Antiquity* 72, 146-161.
- MacGowan, K., 1996 Barking Abbey. *Current Archaeology* 149, 172-178.
- MacGregor, A., 1989 Bone, antler and horn industries in the urban context. In: D. Serjeantson & T. Waldron (eds.) *Diet and Crafts in Towns: The evidence of animal remains from the Roman to the Post-Medieval periods*. BAR. British Series 199, 107-128.
- Malcolm, G. & Bowsher, D. with Cowie, R., 2003 *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House 1989-9*. MoLAS Monograph 15.
- Maloney, C. & Holroyd, I., 1999 London Fieldwork & Publication Round-up 1998. *London Archaeologist* 9 supplement 1.
- Maloney, C. & Holroyd, I., 2000 London Fieldwork & Publication Round-up 1999. *London Archaeologist* 9, supplement 2.
- Maloney, C. & Holroyd, I., 2001 London Fieldwork & Publication Round-up 2000. *London Archaeologist* 9, supplement 3.
- Maloney, C. & Holroyd, I., 2002 London Fieldwork & Publication Round-up 2001. *London Archaeologist* 10, supplement 1.
- Maloney, C. & Holroyd, I., 2003 London Fieldwork & Publication Round-up 2002. *London Archaeologist* 10, supplement 2.
- Maloney, C. & Holroyd, I., 2004 London Fieldwork & Publication Round-up 2003. *London Archaeologist* 10, supplement 3.
- Margeson, S., 1993 The Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Norwich Survey Excavations. *East Anglian Archaeology* 58
- Marquardt, K., 1997 *Eight Centuries of European Knives, Forks and Spoons. An Art Collectio*, Arnoldsche. Stuttgart.
- Martin, C. T. (ed.), 1905 *Middle Temple Records: Minutes of Parliament 1650-1703*, Vol. III.
- Matthews, L. G. & Green, H J M, 1969 Medieval Pottery of the Inns of Court. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 3, 1-17.
- Matthews, L. G., 1969 The documentary background. In: L. G. Matthews & H. J. M. Green, Post-Medieval Pottery of the Inns of Court. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 3, 1-17.
- Mays, S., 1999 The Study of Human Skeletal Remains from English Post Medieval Sites. In: G. Egan & R. L. Michael (eds.), *Old and New Worlds*. Oxbow Books. Oxford.
- McCarthy, M. R. & Brooks, C. M., 1988 *Medieval Pottery in Britain AD 900-1600*. Leicester University Press. Leicester.
- Merrifield, R., 1983 *London, City of the Romans*. London.
- Merriman, N., 1987 A Prehistory for Central London? *London Archaeologist* 5, 318-26.
- Merriman, N., 1990 *Prehistoric London*. London HMSO.
- Metcalf, D. M., 1986 Some finds of thrymsas and sceattas in England. *British Numismatic Journal* 56, 1-13.
- Metcalf, D. M., 1993 *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, Vol. 2. London.
- Milne, G., 1997 *St Bride's Church, London: Archaeological research 1952-60 and 1992-5*. English Heritage.
- Mitchiner M. & Skinner A., 1984 English Tokens c. 1425 to 1672, *The British Numismatic Journal* 54, 86-163.
- Mosley, J., 1995 The enigma of the early Lyonnaise printing type. *La Lumitype-Photon*. Lyon.
- Näsman, U., 1986 Vendel period glass from Eketorp II, Oland, Sweden. *Acta Archaeologica* 55, 551-6.
- Nelson, S. M., 1980 A group of pottery waster material from Kingston. *London Archaeol* 4, 96-102.
- Newton, E. F. & Bibbings, E., 1960 Seventeenth-century pottery sites in Harlow, Essex. *Trans Essex Archaeol Soc* 25 No.3, 358-77.
- Noël Hume I., 1969 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Oakley, G. E., Webster L. E., & Bayley, J., 1979 The copper alloy objects. In: J. H. Williams, *St Peter's Street, Northampton. Excavations 1973-1976*. Archaeological Monograph No. 2, Northampton Development Corporation, 248-264.
- Orton, C. R., 1988a The excavation of a late medieval/transitional pottery kiln at Cheam, Surrey. *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 73, 49-92.
- Orton, C. R., 1988b Post-Roman pottery. In: P. Hinton (ed), *Excavations in Southwark 1973-76, Lambeth 1973-79*. London Middlesex Archaeol Soc/Surrey Archaeol Soc Joint publication 3, 295-365.
- Orton, C. & Pearce, J. E., 1984 The pottery. In: A. Thompson, F. Grew & J. Schofield, Excavations at Aldgate, 1974. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 18, 34-68.
- Oswald, A., 1975 *Clay tobacco pipes for the archaeologist*. British Archaeological Reports 14.
- Ottaway, P., & Rogers, N., 2002 *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Finds from Medieval York*, The Archaeology of York 17/15, London.
- Ottaway, P., 1992 *Anglo-Scandinavian ironwork from 16-22 Coppergate*, The Archaeology of York 17/6, London.
- Palmer, B., 2003 The Hinterlands of Three Southern English Emporia: Some Common Themes. In: T. Pestell & K. Ulmschneider, *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, 48-61.

- Pearce, J., 1992 *Post-Medieval pottery in London 1500-1700, Part 1: Border wares*. London.
- Pearce, J., 1997 The evidence for Early 16th-century Surrey-Hampshire Border Ware Industry from the City of London. *Medieval Ceramics* 21, 43-59.
- Pearce, J., 1999 The pottery industry of the Surrey-Hampshire Borders in the 16th and 17th centuries. In: G. Egan & R. L. Michael (eds.), *Old and New Worlds*.
- Pearce, J., 2000 A late 18th century inn clearance assemblage from Uxbridge, Middlesex. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 33, 144-186.
- Pearce, P. & Vince, A. G., 1988 *A dated type-series of London Medieval pottery Part 4: Surrey Whitewares*. London and Middlesex Archaeol Soc Special Paper, No.10.
- Pepys, S. (H. B. Wheatley ed.) 1928 *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*.
- Pevsner, N., 1973 *The Buildings of England, London Volume 1: the Cities of London and Westminster*. 3rd edition, revised by B. Cherry, Penguin.
- Philp, B., 2003 *The Discovery and Excavation of Anglo-Saxon Dover*. Dover.
- Picard, L., 1998 *Restoration London*. Phoenix.
- Plomer, H. R., 1907 *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667*. Printed for the Bibliographical Society by Blades, East & Blades. London.
- Pluis, J., 1998 *The Dutch Tile, Designs and Names 1570-1936*, Nederlands Tegel Museum.
- Pringle, S., with Smith, T. P., 2004 Other stone and ceramic building material. In: B. Sloane & G. Malcolm, 2004 *Excavations at the priory of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, London*. MoLAS Monograph 20.
- Proctor, J., 1999a *An Archaeological Evaluation and Watching Brief at Whitefriars, City of London*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Proctor, J., 1999b *An Assessment of Archaeological Investigations at Arundel House, 13-15 Arundel Street, City of Westminster*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Proctor, J., 2000 Medieval and Post-Medieval Waterfronts at Arundel House/Fitzalan House, 13-15 Arundel Street, City of Westminster. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 51, 45-79.
- Rackham, J., 1989 Concluding synthesis. In: R. Whytehead & R. Cowie with L. Blackmore, Excavations at the Peabody site, Chandos Place, and National Gallery. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 40, 35-176.
- Rackham, J., 1994 Economy and environment in Saxon London. In: J. Rackham (ed.), *Environment and Economy in Anglo-Saxon England*. C.B.A. Research Report 89, 126-135.
- Rackham, J., 2004 The Environmental Evidence from Lundenwic. In: J. Leary with G. Brown, J. Rackham, C. Pickard & R. Hughes, *Tatberbt's Lundenwic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*. PCA Monograph 2, 148-150.
- Rackham, J. & Snelling, A., 2004 The Environmental Archaeology. In: J. Leary with G. Brown, J. Rackham, C. Pickard & R. Hughes, *Tatberbt's Lundenwic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*. PCA Monograph 2, 61-72.
- RCHM, 1928 *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London: Vol.3 Roman London*
- Rhodes, M., 1980 Leather footwear. *Excavations at Billingsgate Buildings, Lower Thames Street, London 1974*. London Middlesex Archaeol Soc special paper, no.4, 99-127.
- Richardson, B., 1980 Excavation round-up. *London Archaeol* 3, 384-389.
- Richardson, E., 1845 *The ancient Stone and Leaden Coffins, Encaustic Tiles etc., lately Discovered in the Temple Church*.
- Riddler, I. D., 1998 Worked Whale Vertebrae. *Archaeologia Cantiana* CXVIII, 205-215.
- Riddler, I. D., 1993 Saxon Worked Bone. In: R. J. Williams, (ed.), *Pennyland and Hartigans*. Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph 4, Aylesbury, 107-119.
- Riddler, I. D., 2001 The Small Finds. In: M. Gardiner, (ed), *Continental Trade and non-Urban Ports in Middle Anglo-Saxon England: Excavations at Sandtun, West Hythe, Kent*. *Archaeological Journal* 158, 228-252.
- Riddler, I., 2003 A Lesser Material: The Working of Roe Deer Antler in England during the Anglo-Saxon Period. In: I. Riddler (ed.), *Materials of Manufacture: The choice of materials in the working of bone and antler in northern and central Europe during the first millennium AD*. BAR British Series 1193.
- Riddler, I., 2004a The loomweights. In: J. Leary with G. Brown, J. Rackham, C. Pickard & R. Hughes, *Tatberbt's Lundenwic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*. PCA Monograph 2, 19-22.
- Riddler, I. D., 2004b The Non-Ceramic Finds. In: J. Leary with G. Brown, J. Rackham, C. Pickard & R. Hughes, *Tatberbt's Lundenwic. Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*. PCA Monograph 2, 98-102.
- Riddler, I. D., 2004c The Small Finds. In: J. Leary with G. Brown, J. Rackham, C. Pickard & R. Hughes, *Tatberbt's Lundenwic. Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*, PCA Monograph 2, 52-60.
- Riddler, I. D., 2004d Production in Lundenwic: antler, bone and horn working. In: J. Leary with G. Brown, J. Rackham, C. Pickard & R. Hughes, *Tatberbt's Lundenwic. Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*, PCA Monograph 2, 145-8.
- Riddler, I. D., Trzaska-Nartowski, N. T. N. & Hatton, S., forthcoming *An Early Medieval Craft. Antler and Boneworking from Ipswich Excavations 1974-1994*, East Anglian Archaeology, Gressenhall.
- Riddler, I. & Walton Rogers, P. (forthcoming) The Small Finds. In: K. Parfitt, B. Corke & J. Cotter, *Excavations off Townwall Street, Dover, 1995-6*. Excavations in Medieval Dover 1. Canterbury.
- Ridgeway, V. with Butler, J., 1999 Prehistoric finds at Hopton Street in Southwark. *London Archaeologist*, Vol. 9 no. 3.
- Rielly, K., 2003 The animal and fish bone. In: G. Malcolm & D. Bowsher with R. Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House 1989-99*. MoLAS Monograph 15, 315-324.
- Robertson-Mackay, R., Blackmore, L., Hurst, J. G., Jones, P., Moorhouse, S. and Webster, L., 1981 A group of Saxon and medieval finds from the site of the Neolithic causewayed enclosure at Staines, Surrey, with a note on the topography of the area. *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 32, 107-131.
- Rogers, N. S. H., 1993 *Anglian and other Finds from Fisbergate* The Archaeology of York 17/9, London.
- Rogers, N. S. H., 1993 *Anglian and other finds from 46-54 Fisbergate*. The Archaeology of York 17/9, London.
- Sabel, K., 2001 *The Boundary Wall to the Rear of 7-13 King's Bench Walk and the Potential for Early Survival*. PCA, unpublished report.
- Schofield, J. with Maloney, C. (eds.), 1998 *Archaeology in the City of London 1907-91: a guide to records of excavations by the Museum of London*, Museum of London.
- Sherlock, S. J., & Welch, M., 1992 *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Norton Cleveland*. CBA Research Report 82. London.
- Sherley-Price, L. (trans.), 1979 Bede, *A History of the English Church*

- and *People*. Penguin Classics. Harmondsworth.
- Sidell, J. (ed.), 2000 Environmental Archaeology in London 1995-8, part 3. *London Archaeologist* Vol 9, No.7, 188-94.
- Sloane, B., & Malcolm, G., 2004 *Excavations at the priory of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, London*. MoLAS Monograph 20.
- Smalian, H., 1877 *Praktisches Handbuch für Buchdrucker im Verkehr mit Schriftgießereien*, Leipzig.
- Smith, T. P., 2003 The ceramic building material. In: G. Malcolm & D. Bowsher with R. Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House 1989-99*. MoLAS Monograph 15, 222-225.
- Stabler, K. 2001 The Small Finds Assessment. In: J. Butler, *An assessment of an archaeological excavation and watching brief at Church Court and 2-3 Hare Court, Inner Temple, City of London, London EC4*. PCA unpublished report.
- Steel, D. G. & Bramblett, C. A., 1988 *The Anatomy and Biology of the Human Skeleton*. A&M University Press. Texas.
- Steppuhn, P., 1998 *Die Glasfunde von Haithabu* Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu 32, Archäologisches Landesmuseum der Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Schloss Gottorf.
- Stiff, M., 2001 Typology and Trade: a Study of the Vessel Glass from *Wics* and Emporia in Northwest Europe. In: D. Hill & R. Cowie (eds.), *Wics: The Early Medieval Trading Centres of Northern Europe*. Sheffield.
- Stiff, M., 2003 The glass finds. In: G. Malcolm & D. Bowsher with R. Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House 1989-99*. MoLAS Monograph 15, 241-250.
- Stott, P., 1991 Saxon and Norman Coins from London. In: A. Vince (ed.), *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London 2: Finds and Environmental Evidence*. London and Middlesex Archaeol Soc Special Paper, 12, 279-325.
- Stow, J., 1994 *A Survey of London (1598)*
- Strype, J., 1720 *Survey of London*
- Sudds, B with Vince A. (in prep) Post-medieval redware production. In J. Butler, *Excavations at Moor House, 119 London Wall, City of London*
- Swanton, M. J., 1973 *The Spearheads of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*. London.
- Sykes, N., 2004 The Introduction of Fallow Deer to Britain: A Zooarchaeological Perspective, *Environmental Archaeology*, 9, 75-83.
- Tait, H., 1979 *The golden age of Venetian glass*. British Museum Press. London.
- Telfer, A., 2002 Locating the first Knights Templar Church. *London Archaeologist* 10, 3-6.
- Thomas, C., Sloane B. & Philpotts C., 1997 *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital, London*. MoLAS Monograph 1.
- Thorn, J., 1970 Tudor pottery group from Lincoln's Inn. *London Archaeol* 1, 6, 123-126.
- Trotter, M. & Gleser, G. C., 1952 A re-evaluation of estimation based on measurements of stature taken during life and of long bones after death. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 16: 79-123.
- Tyson, R., 2000 *Medieval glass vessels found in England c AD 1200-1500*. CBA Research Report 121. CBA. York.
- V. C. H. 1909 *The Victoria History of the County of Middlesex: Vol.1 London*.
- Vince, A., 1990 *Saxon London*. London.
- Vince, A., 1988 The economic basis of Anglo-Saxon London. In: R. Hodges & B. Hobley (eds.), *The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD 700-1050*. CBA Research Report No. 68, 83-92.
- von den Driesch, A. & Boessneck, J. A., 1974 Kritische Anmerkungen zur Wiederisthoherberechnung aus Längenmassen vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Tierknochen' *Saugetierkundliche Mitteilungen* 22, 325-348.
- Walton Rogers, P., 1997 *Textile Production at 16-22 Coppergate*, The Archaeology of York. The Small Finds 17/11. London.
- Walton Rogers, P., 2001 The Re-appearance of an Old Roman Loom in Medieval England. In P. Walton Rogers, L. Bender Jørgensen and A. Rast-Eicher, *The Roman Textile Industry and its Influence*. Oxford, 158-171.
- Ward Perkins, B., 1940 *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*. London.
- Watson, S., 1998 *Watching Brief at Hare Court, EC4*. MoLAS,, unpublished report.
- Webster, L. E. & Cherry, J., 1972 Medieval Britain in 1971. *Medieval Archaeol* 16, 147-212
- Weinreb, B. & Hibbert, C. (eds.), 1983 *The London Encyclopaedia*. London.
- Welch, M., 1995 *Anglo-Saxon England*. English Heritage/Batsford.
- West, B. with Rackham, D. J., 1988 Birds and mammals. In: R. Cowie & R. Whytehead with L. Blackmore, Two Middle Saxon occupation sites: excavations at Jubilee Hall and 21-22 Maiden Lane. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 39, 47-163.
- West, B., 1985 Large mammal bone. In P. L. Armitage & B. West, Faunal evidence from a late medieval garden well of the Greyfriars, London. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 36, 107-136.
- West, B., 1989a Material hand-collected (PEA87). In: R. Whytehead & R. Cowie with L. Blackmore, Excavations at the Peabody site, Chandos Place, and National Gallery. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 40, 35-176.
- West, B., 1989b National Gallery basement. In: R. Whytehead & R. Cowie with L. Blackmore Excavations at the Peabody site, Chandos Place, and National Gallery. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 40, 35-176.
- Wheeler, A., 1979 *The Tidal Thames. The History of a River and its Fishes*. Routledge. London.
- Wheeler, A., 1980 Fish remains. In: D. M. Jones, *Excavations at Billingsgate Buildings 'Triangle', Lower Thames Street 1974*. London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Paper No. 4, 161-2.
- Wheeler, R. E. M., 1935 London and the Saxons. *London Museum Catalogues No. 6*. London.
- Whitelock, D., 1979 *English Historical Documents I: 500-1042*, Eyre & Methuen 2nd edition
- Whittaker, D. K., 1993 Oral Health. In: T. Molleson & M. Cox with A. H. Waldron & D. K. Whittaker, *The Spitalfields Project. Volume 2: The Anthropology- The Middling Sort*. CBA Research Report 86.
- Whytehead, R. L. & Cowie, R. with Blackmore, L., 1989 Excavations at the Peabody Site, Chandos Place, and the National Gallery. *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 40, 35-177.
- Williamson, J. B., 1925 *History of the Temple, London*. London (2nd ed.).
- Willmott, H., 1997 17th century repaired stems. *Glass News* 3, 4. The Association for the History of Glass Ltd. London.
- Woodfield, C., 1981 Finds from the Free Grammar School at the Whitefriars, Coventry, c.1545-c.1557/58. *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 15, 81-159.
- Wooldridge, K., 2001 *An Archaeological Assessment of an Excavation at 151-153 Bermondsey Street, Southwark, London SE1*. PCA Ltd,

unpublished report.

Yalden, D., 1999 *The History of British Mammals*. Poyser. London.

Youngs, S., 1989 *The Work of Angels'. Masterpieces of Celtic Metalwork, 6th-9th centuries AD*. London.

Other sources consulted

National Monuments Record:

Photographs: NMR: AN.530 CC73/715, Temple Church of St Mary Looking West, 1915.

Middle Temple Library:

C5(14)- Interior of the Round 1805

C5(18)- Description by Maitland 1756 of the interior of the church

C5(41)- Photograph of the Temple Church looking east, photo by Cassell & Co, 1896.

Middle Temple Surveyors Office:

Drawings: CG/HIST/PW/4: The Temple Church. Details of E End, R A Longfield, 1908.

CG/HIST/PW/7: Temple Church London, Elevation of East End Showing Aumbries, as Existing, Aston Webb and Son, 1933.

CG/HIST/PW/11: Temple Church, Long Section Thr'o Nave [sic] Looking South

CG/OC/28: Temple Church Balustrade to Organist's Gallery Before War Damage, Carden & Godfrey, 1951.

CG/MAS/5: Plaster Casts taken from Existing in 1949, Carden & Godfrey, 1949.

CG/MAS/21: Mouldings, Round, Based on Drawings by G. E. T. Langford, 1872, Carden & Godfrey 1947.

CG/MAS/26: Detail of third column from east end on North, Detail of East Wall Pilaster [sic], Full size of cill & String Course on N. Wall of Choir May 49', Carden & Godfrey, 1949.

Smirke, S, An Account of The Temple Church, from *Weale Quarterly Papers II m, part IV-Arch IV*, undated, National Monuments Record archive, Temple Church interior file.

Inner Temple Archive

PLA/1/4 Plan of the Inner Temple showing previous river frontages and easement for the tunnel of the Metropolitan District Railway, Nov. 1888

Index

Akemannestraete 5

Alcohol 32 *See also* beer, wine

Aldgate 73, 77, 100

Alhwine/Ealhhun 21

anchor stone 21

animal bones 18, 19, 20, 32, 33, 64, *64*, 103, *104*, 105, 109

cat 103, *104*, 105

cattle, 18, 20, 33, 64-66, *64*, *65*, 103, *104*, *105*, 105, 109

dog 103, *104*, 105

domestic fowl 64, *64*, 66, 103, *104*, 105, 108

domestic goose 33, 64, *64*, 66, 103, *104*, 105, 109

duck 33, 103, *104*, 105, 109

fallow deer 20, 33, 64, *64*, 65-66, 103, *104*, 105, 108-109

goat 20, 64, *64*, 66, 103, *104*

hare 103, *104*, 105, 109

horse 20, 33, 65, 103, *104*, 105

pheasant 33, 103, *104*, 105, 109

pig 20, 33, 64, *64*, 65, *65*, 66, 103, 104, *104*, 105, *105*, 108, 109

rabbit 33, 103, *104*, 105, 109

rat 32, 103, *104*, 105

raven 103, *104*, 105

red deer 20, 64, *64*, 66, *104*

rock dove or pigeon 33, 103, *104*, 105, 109

roe deer 20, 64, *64*, 66, *104*

sheep 20, 32, 33, 64, *64*, 65, *65*, 66, 103, 104, *104*, *105*, 108

whale 20, 64, *64*, 65, *104*, 108

woodcock 33, 103, *104*, 105, 109

see also crafts: bone working

antler 20, 59, 66

combs 19, 56, 57, 58, 58

working 20, 63, 108

see also crafts: antler working

Appledown 17

Arundel House 3, 5, 16

Barking, Essex 22, 25, 56, 66, 108

Beckford 17

Bede 18, 22

beer 9, 76-77, 84-85

benchers 8, 32

Bergh Apton 17

Bermondsey Abbey 57, 83, 108

Billingsgate 67, 79

Bishop of Ely 6, 7, 23, 80, 87, 88

Bishop of Ely's Inn 22-24, 87, 108

bodices 90, 92

bomb damage 35, 38, 40, 47, 99

bone pins 19, 56, 57, 59, 59

bone handle 22-23, 23, 88-89

bone working, *see* crafts

book clasp, 34, 44, *94*, *95*, 95

bookselling 33

Borough High Street 77

Bouverie Street 4, 15

Brentford 5

Bridewell Palace 3

Bronze Age 15

Brooker 9

buckets 17-18

bronze-bound 17

iron-bound 17

buckles 18, 34, 90-91, *90*, *91*, 92-93, *93*, 94, *96*, 98-99, *98*, 110

Burgred of Mercia 21

Burbs 22, 108

burials 4, 6, 13, 16-18, *16*, 28-30, 28, 29, 89-91, 102-103, 108, 110

Saxon 6, 16-18, *16*

post-medieval 28-30, 28, 29

butchery 20, 65, 108

Caen stone, *see* stone

Caesar's Buildings 8, 27, 29, 90, 94

Candlesticks 32, *71*, 72-73, *73*, 77, 78

Canterbury 5, 8, 13, 58

carboniferous limestone, *see* stone

Carden & Godfrey 38, 40

cattle, *see* animal bone

Caxton 34

cemetery 16-18, *16*, 19, 21, 29, 103, 107, 110 *see also* burials

Ceolmundingchaga 21, 108

ceramic building materials 15, 27, 79-84

'Westminster' type floor tile 80-83, *80*, *81*, 82

daub 15, 23, 79

hob-nailed shoe or boot imprint 79, 79

Low Countries tiles 80, 83

peg tiles 79, 80

Penn tile 80, *80*, 82

post-medieval 27, 80

Roman 15, 79

cess 18, 72, 75

cess pits 11, 13, 70, 77

chafing dishes, *see* post-medieval pottery

chalk, *see* stone

chamber pots *see* post-medieval pottery

Chambers 1, 7, 9, 11, 14, 27, 31, 34, 35, 76, 77, 93, 109, 110

Chancel 6, 6, 7, 10, 13, 25, 26, 36, 38-49, *39*, *42*, *43*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *49*, 83, 109

Chertsey Abbey 22, 108

Christ Church, Spitalfields 29

Christianity 1, 16-17

Christian symbolism 16-17, 18

Christopher Wren 9, 38, 111

Churchyard

Taplow 17

Temple 'south churchyard' 28, 29-30, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 102, 110

clay tobacco pipes 29, 35, 76-77, 76, 100, *102*

clay pits 11, 13, 25

Clerkenwell 26, 27, 83, 109

Cloisters 1, 7, 8, 9, 13, 24-27, *24*, *25*, *26*, 34, 84, 89, *89*, 109

Clunch *see* stone

cockles 33, 109

- Coenwulf of Mercia 5, 108
coffins 13, 17, 28-29, 84
coffin nails 90, 90
coins 15, 17, 20, 21, 34, 56-57, 57, 89, 89, 90, 91, 99, 99, 107, 108
coin hoard 5, 5, 11, 13, 21-22, 63, 108
combs *see* antler, ivory, crafts: comb making
copper alloy:
 book clasp 94, 94, 95
 buckle 90-91, 90, 91, 93
 ear scoop 92, 92
 pins 19, 56, 57, 58, 90, 92, 90, 92, 98
 rumble bell 94, 94, 95
 spoon 94, 94, 95
 toy cauldron 93, 94, 95
 window catch 93, 94, 95
Cottingham 40
Covent Garden 2, 5, 17, 65, 66, 100
Coventry 91, 98
Crafts 5, 20, 63-64, 94, 97, 108
 antler working 19, 63, 66, 108
 bone working 18, 19, 65, 107, 108
 comb making 64
 glass working 19, 54, 56, 61, 63, 108
 horn working 65, 108
 leatherworking 19, 63
 metal working 56
 weaving 108
 woodworking 19
Crompton 9
crucible 19, 54, 54, 55, 56, 61, 63, 108
Crusaders 27
Cubitts Yard 17
Cups 17, 32, 70, 76-77, 84

Decimus Burton 38
dental diseases 29, 30, 103, 110
Derrynaflan 60
Dick's Coffee House 9
Dissolution of the Monasteries 27, 91, 109
Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem 6
doublet and hose 90, 92
Dover 58, 92
Dr. Johnson 10
 Dr. Johnson's Buildings 1, 2, 12, 14
drainage 28, 31, 32, 34, 37, 83
drinking glasses 33, 84-87, 86, 109
 beakers 33, 85, 86, 87
 beer glasses 85
 goblets 33
 wine glasses 33, 85
 see also glass
drinking jugs *see* post-medieval pottery

Ealhhun, *see* Alhwine
Earl of Pembroke 7, 17, 18, 21
Edward Husband 34
Edward III 7
Embankment 3, 4, 13
emporia 22

Farmington: *see* stone
Farrar's Building 6, 23, 87
Farringdon Street 3, 83
fire 1, 8, 8, 9, 13, 14, 84, 94, 95, 109, 111 *see also* Great Fire of London

fish bone 20-21, 22, 33, 66-67, 108, 109
 eel 20-21, 67
 flatfish 33, 109
 herring 33, 109
 haddock 20, 66, 67, 108
 roach 20, 66, 67
 twait shad 20, 67
Fishergate, York 56
fleas 91
Fleet Street 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 33-34, 96, 107, 110
Flixborough, Lincolnshire 56, 58
Floral Street 17
Francis Tate 8

gardens 6, 8, 9, 14, 16, 26, 31, 53, 70, 88
George II 9
glass 33, 33, 54, 56, 60-61, 61
 beads 18
 palm cups 17
 see also post-medieval glass; Saxon glass; crafts
glass-making, *see* crafts
Glastonbury 56
Globe House 5, 16, 21, 63
Godfrey, Walter 13, 25, 38, 43, 109
graves 6, 16-18, 16, 28-29, 28, 29, 60, 89-90, 91, 102, 110 *see also* burials
Great Fire of London 1, 8, 8, 9, 13, 31, 32, 86, 94, 95, 109, 111

Great Hall 28, 32
Guildhall 32, 75

Haga 22, 108
hair curlers 34, 100-102, 101, 102 *see also* wig curlers
hall of knights 6
hall of priests 6
Hamwic 19, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 65
head lice 92
Helston 100
Henry VIII 8, 9, 26, 109
hone stones 22, 23, 23, 87, 88, 89, 89
Hopton Street 15
horn cores 20, 65
horn working *see* crafts

Illustrated London News 34
inhumation, *see* burials
inkpots 70, 77
Inner Temple:
 buttery 77
 Hall 1, 2, 6, 12, 13, 14, 31, 77
 kitchen 109
 Library 1, 2, 12, 95
 Treasury 1
Ipswich 58, 65
Iron Age 15, 16
iron punch 19, 56
iron slag 19
ivory combs 34, 92

James I 8, 29, 99
James Savage 9, 111
James Street 17, 56, 63, 65, 67, 100, 107
Jellinge 18
jettons 91, 91, 99, 99
Jubilee Hall 17, 21, 65, 67

- Judge Jefferies 9
- Kentish ragstone, *see* stone
- keying 39, 41, 42, 45
- King John 6
- King's Bench Walk 11, 12, 13, 14
- Knights Hospitallers 26, 27, 89, 109
- Knights Templar 23-26, 29, 87, 89, 108, 109
- knives 17, 18, 19, 56, 57, 59-60, 59, 63, 64, 89, 94, 94, 95, 102
- lace chapes 34, 88, 90-94, 92, 96, 97, 97, 110
- Lamb Building 8, 10, 10, 11, 27, 29, 30-31, 30, 31, 35, 36, 83, 83, 93-94, 105, 109
- Lambeth Palace 80, 83
- lawyers 8, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 70, 75, 76, 77, 84, 85, 89, 91, 93, 100, 109
- lead token 90-91, 90, 91
- leather 20, 63, 96, 98, 99
- Lincoln's Inn 32, 56, 107
- Londinium* 4, 4
- Long Acre 17
- loomweights 19, 21, 56, 61-63, 62, 107
- Ludgate 4, 5, 16, 107
- Lundenwic* 4, 4, 16-22, 53, 54, 56, 58, 61, 63-67, 107-108
- Maiden Lane 5, 21, 22, 60, 61, 65, 67
- manufacture of glass *see* crafts
- marsh 3, 15, 108
- mason's marks 37, 38, 41, 43, 46, 51
- masonry 14, 51, 52, 83, 109
- Master of the Temple 6
- medallions 35, 99, 99
- Medieval pottery 24, 25, 28
- Merton Priory 83
- Mesolithic 15
- metals 20, 63 *see also* crafts, metalworking
- Middle Bronze Age 15
- Middle Saxon church 18, 21
- Middle Saxon pottery 19, 21, 53-56, 54, 55, 108
- Minton encaustic tiles 9, 39, *see also* 'Westminster' tiles
- Morning Thorpe 17
- Mouldings 37, 43, 46, 47, 48-49, 50
- hollow 45, 51
- keel 38, 51
- quirk and hollow 47, 52
- roll and fillet 46, 51
- roll and hollow 43, 52
- string 47
- Mrs Yarrow 9
- Mucking, Essex 64
- mussels 33, 109
- mutton 20, 33, 65, 105, 109
- nails 28-29, 79, 87, 90
- Narrow Street, Limehouse 77
- National Dairy Show 35, 99
- National Gallery 5, 20, 21, 63, 65, 66, 67
- nave 6, 26, 37-43, 38, 40, 43, 46, 47, 51, 63 *see also* the Round
- Neolithic 15
- Niblett Hall 16, 21, 25, 79, 107, 111
- Nicholas Hare 9
- Norton 17
- Norwegian skilling 34, 99, 99
- Ogilby and Morgan 8, 8, 25, 27, 27, 31, 32
- Olympia 35, 99
- oysters 33, 109
- pagan burials 16-18, 60
- paganism 17, 18
- palstave axe 15
- parchment 23, 34, 88, 97, 99
- Peabody site 54, 65, 67, 17, 20-21
- Peasants' Revolt 8, 109
- penny *see* coins
- Pepys 32, 34, 75, 100
- piers 40, 41-43, 42, 47 *see also* pillars
- fragments of 44-45
- pillars 7, 10, 36, 41 *see also* piers
- pin-beater 20, 56, 59, 59, 63
- pins 19, 28, 35, 56, 58-59, 58, 90, 92, 92, 98
- pipeclay 82, 100-102 *see also* wig curlers, hair curlers, tobacco pipes
- Plague 30, 110
- plumb bob 22-23, 23, 123, 187, 88, 88, 89, 109
- pork 20, 65
- post-medieval animal bone, *see* animal bone
- post-medieval glass 31, 32-33, 33, 84-87, 86, 109
- 'forest' glasshouses 85, 87
- Robert Mansell's glasshouse 85, 86
- post-medieval pottery 27-29, 31-33, 33, 35, 69-78, 71, 73, 74, 78, 84, 85, 109
- candlesticks 32, 71, 72-73, 73, 75, 76, 77
- chafing dishes 32, 71, 72-73, 75, 76, 77
- chamber pots 32, 72, 75, 77
- cess deposits in 72, 75
- drinking jugs 13, 32, 33, 33, 69-72, 71, 72, 75-77, 75, 78, 109
- drug jars 32, 73, 74, 75, 76
- ointment pots 32, 73-76, 74, 78
- pottery, *see* medieval pottery, Middle Saxon pottery, post-medieval pottery, prehistoric pottery
- prehistoric pottery 15
- printing 33, 34, 97
- type 33, 92, 94, 95-96, 96, 110
- Pumice stone 22, 23, 34, 88, 88, 89, 96, 97, 97, 109, 110
- Pump Court 1, 6, 9, 13
- Purbeck marble *see* stone
- Puritan 8
- quarry pits 2, 13, 23
- Quentovic* 57
- ragstone *see* stone
- rat *see* animal bone
- Reigate stone *see* stone
- reticella* glass 19, 20, 60, 60
- Richard Turvor 9
- River Fleet 4, 15, 21, 108
- River Thames 3-4, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 25, 65, 67, 107, 108
- Robert Smirke *see* Smirke
- Roman Cement 40, 41, 47, 52
- Royal Opera House 17, 20, 21, 22, 53, 59, 60, 65, 107
- rumble bell 94, 94, 95
- sandstone *see* stone
- Sandtun* 58, 64
- saw marks 18, 20, 34, 58
- Saxon glass 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 60-61, 60 *see also* glass
- Seattas* 20, 57, 58, 109
- Secret Societies 17

- Serjeant's Inn 4, 7, 12, 13
 shield 16, 17, 18
 Shorts Gardens 5
 shroud burials 28, 29, 90
 silver rings 17
 Sir Julius Caesar 8, 27
 skeletons 28-30, 102-103, 110 *see also* burials
 skinning 20
 Smirke:
 Robert 9, 36, 38, 39, 111
 Sydney 9, 36, 38, 39, 40, 43 111
 smithing activity 20
 Somerset House 5
 Southampton Buildings 6
 spears 16-17
 spearhead 15-18
 St Aubyn 38, 39
 St Mary Spital 26, 83, 90
 St Anne's Chapel 6, 6, 7, 9, 13, 27, 37, 39
 St Bride's 4, 4, 21, 96, 107
 St Martin-in-the-Fields 5
 St Nicholas Sevenoaks 29
 St Paul's 4, 21, 22, 107
 St Thomas Becket 7, 8, 27
 Stone 37-52, 84
 Barnack Rag 84
 Caen stone 37, 37, 38, 39, 42, 51, 84
 Chalk 7, 11, 22, 24, 25, 31, 32, 35, 35, 84
 clunch 43
 Farmington 39, 51
 Kentish ragstone 7, 24, 25, 84
 Oolitic limestone 51, 84
 Portland stone 84
 Purbeck 7, 9, 10, 36, 36, 37-38, 39-47, 39, 40, 84, 109, 110
 Reigate Stone 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 35, 37, 37, 38-39, 52, 84
 sandstone 31, 52, 84
 slate 80, 84
 Yorkstone 14, 36, 84
 stool pans 72, 75, 77
 strap end 21, 63, 88, 88, 89
 struck flints 15
 students 7, 69, 76, 77, 91
 sugar cane 29
 Swanton 17
 swords 16, 17, 18, 21, 107
 Sydney Smirke *see* Smirke
 Taplow 17
 Temple Place 15, 20, 21
 textile manufacture 20, 63-64
 the Round 6, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 17, 36, 37, 40, 40, 41, 84
 the Strand 2, 4, 5, 21, 65, 66, 67
 tile kilns 11, 25, 79
 Tiles *see* ceramic building materials
 tobacco pipes 29, 35, 76-77, 77, 100
 toys 34, 94, 95
 Treasury 1, 6, 26, 37
 Truro 100
 Twisden building 27-28
Unios (in Purbeck marble) 41-42
 Upper Jurassic 37, 51
 Valsgårde 60
 vellum 23, 34, 88, 97
 Viking raids 5, 22, 23
 Visemarest 57
Viviparus viviparus (in Purbeck marble) 41
 Walter Godfrey *see* Godfrey
 Wat Tyler 8
 waterfront 3, 12, 21, 25
 Watling Street 22, 108
 weapon burials 17-18, 107
 Westminster Abbey 3, 9
 Westminster tiles 79, 80-83, 80, 81, 82
 Whitby, Yorkshire 60
 Whitefriars, Coventry 90-91, 98
 Whitefriars, London 3, 15
 wig curlers 34, 100-102
 wigs 34, 100, 102
 wine 33, 56, 84-85, 87
 woodworking *see* crafts
 World War Two 36, 38, 47, 99, 111
 Wren *see* Christopher Wren
 Wynkyn de Worde 33

This volume tells the story of the Saxons, Templars and Lawyers who previously occupied the quiet courtyards of the Inner Temple.

Here, beyond the recognized extent of *Lundenwic*, a Middle Saxon weapon burial and occupation activity were surprising finds, although previous discoveries in the area included a hoard of coins, possibly buried in response to the escalating threat of Viking raids in the late 9th century.

In the mid 12th century the Knights Templar took possession of the site and built their characteristic Round Church. The church itself was extensively rebuilt in the mid 20th century, following bomb damage during the Second World War. The recovery of worked stone and marble, alongside floor tiles from the interior of the Church, has enabled some reconstruction of the Church's earlier fabric and appearance. Structural remains of a previously elusive eastern cloister were also found.

PCA

PRE-CONSTRUCT ARCHAEOLOGY

MONOGRAPH 4



A single pit at Hare Court produced over two thousand sherds of pottery that, alongside other contemporary artefacts, illustrate the boisterous lifestyle of the 17th century lawyers inhabiting the Inns of Court.

PRE-CONSTRUCT ARCHAEOLOGY
Unit 54 Brockley Cross Business Centre
96 Endwell Road London SE4 2PD
Tel: 0207 732 3925
Email: info@pre-construct.com
www.pre-construct.com

PRE-CONSTRUCT ARCHAEOLOGY NORTH
Unit N 19A Tursdale Business Park
Durham DH6 5PG
Tel: 0191 377 1111
Email: info.north@pre-construct.com

ISBN 0-9542938-3-5



9 780954 293833

UK £??.??