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Excavations at Carmarthen Greyfriars 1983-1990

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THE STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRIARY BUILDINGS

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Carmarthen Greyfriars – A Synopsis

The Historical Background.

The friary's place in the development of Carmarthen, its relationship with the other religious institutions in the town, and in the broader context, of the advancement of the Franciscans into Wales needs to be reviewed. So too must its late history, suppression and decay. The substantive article by Major Francis Jones 'The Grey Friars of Carmarthen' (1966) needs little in the way of updating, but the evidence needs to be reassessed to enable the reader to place the site, and the excavation evidence, in both a local and national context.

Carmarthen comprised two towns in the Middle Ages (p. vii, Fig. 1): Old Carmarthen owed its origins to the former Roman town of Moridunum. New Carmarthen was sited to the west, founded around the castle which was in existence certainly by 1109 (replacing the earlier motte and bailey at Rhyd-y-gors a little lower down the river). Both towns were granted chartered privileges by Henry II. The development of Carmarthen in the 13th century is fairly well understood (James, 1989), and its overall topography was published in my Carmarthen survey which looked at a broader timespan (James, 1980).

Prior to the arrival of the Franciscans the two towns were already very well developed. Old Carmarthen was governed from the Augustinian Priory, a foundation which replaced a short-lived Benedictine house, which itself was based on a pre-Norman church of some importance. The site was partly investigated in 1979 (James, 1985). No rentals exist for the old town, but a valuation in the mid-14th century has been used to estimate the number of burgesses at about 100. New Carmarthen, as a Royal borough, has a number of rentals (the most useful, in 1268, is the last to list individual burgage rents; thereafter it was farmed). From these it has been estimated that the population was about 1,100-1,200 persons, giving a combined population of c. 1,500-1,600 - comparable to many English market towns (James, 1989, 13-14). New Carmarthen received its first grant of murage in 1233, and its walled area was enlarhed in the 15th century. Old Carmarthen was unwalled, but of course was partly contained within the walls of the former Roman town.

In addition to the Priory, which was rich by Welsh standards (James, 1986, 122), Carmarthen was served by the large parish church of St Peter, which was sited mid-way between the two boroughs. First mentioned about 1100-20, the church remains one of Carmarthen's few surviving medieval structures. The Rood Church of St Mary, which is first recorded in 1252, stood at the hub of the new town near the castle. In addition, the spiritual needs of the town were also catered for by chapels dedicated to St Barbara, St Catherine (a hermitage), St John (Capel Iwan), and the castle chapel.

From a political viewpoint the Lord Prior held a considerable monopoly on the religious life of both towns, and in this context the coming of the Franciscans was probably not met with much Christian charity. The actual foundation date of the friary is not known, although the excavation evidence has possibly pushed the date back before the first documented reference to the church in 1282. On the 16 June of that year William de Valence (William le Jeune), son of the Earl of Pembroke, was slain by the Welsh near Llandeilo and his remains were conveyed to the church of the Greyfriars for burial (Morris, 1901, 166; Phillips, 1972, 9). His tomb was still a prominent feature in the choir of the friary in 1530 (Jones, 1985, 69).

Carmarthen was one of only three Franciscan houses in Wales: Llanfaes, Anglesey (1237) is the earliest recorded, followed by Cardiff (before 1269, Clapham, 1927). Carmarthen was the richest foundation, and, like Cardiff, fell under the custody of Bristol Greyfriars (Jones, 1966, 8). Uncertainty exists about the founder of Carmarthen Greyfriars, although as late as 1394 it was said to be 'of the King's foundation' (ibid., 11). If this was the case, then it would limit the choice of benefactor and the foundation date. Henry III granted New Carmarthen to Prince Edward in 1254 and then in 1265 to Edward's brother, Edmund. However, in 1279, the by then *King* Edward persuaded his brother to exchange Carmarthen for certain properties in England. From that year Carmarthen formed part of Edward's strategy for the final subjugation of the Welsh, becoming the caput of the Principality of South Wales. The choice of founder would therefore seem to be limited to either Henry III or Edward (either as prince or king) if we are to take the document of 1394 at face value (although Edmund cannot be completely ruled out). Two other persons who might be associated with the foundation and early history of the friary are worthy of consideration: Thomas Wallensis, elected Bishop of St Davids in 1247, was formerly Master of the Franciscan order in England, and a man greatly admired by contemporary friars like Roger Bacon and Robert Grosseteste. Wallensis could have been instrumental in encouraging the establishment of the Friary during his episcopacy which ended in 1255 (Yardley, 1927, 46-8, DWB, 1010). If he was, then this would place the foundation during Henry III's reign, when Prince (the Lord) Edward was granted New Carmarthen. The year 1254 was of 'prime im-

portance in Edward's life' for in that year his father granted him massive estates, a kighthood, and he was married—all in his 15th year (Prestwich, 1988, 10-11). In 1280 Edward I secured the election of his trusted servant Thomas Bekto the see of St Davids, as part of his policy of final conquest and consolidation of Wales. As former chancellor of Oxford, Bek was aware of the influences of the Franciscan friars, and may well have encouraged the new foundation at Carmarthen as part of his reform of the Welsh Church. This would have been given further impetus during the visitation of the Franciscan, Archbishop Pecham in 1284, despite differences between the two clerics relating to metropolitan authority (Williams, 1976, 39-45).

There is no mention of the friary in any of New Carmarthen's rentals: nothing to suggest that the friars occupied an earlier site within the walled borough (although they did hold a messuage in Quay Street—Jones, 1966, 9). The site chosen was to the west of the town, in Lammas Fields, south of the rapidly expanding extra-mural Lammas Street. It is assumed that the friars had been granted what had been communally-farmed land, as the Lammas place-name indicates fields farmed in common, and thrown open to pasture when cattle were allowed to feed on the aftermath of cereal crops on 1 August. (The Welsh name for the street, Heol Awst, translates as August Street). The mechanism by which such land could be obtained (the burgesses would surely have had to be given access to other farmland in exchange) indicates that the benefactor was rich, powerful, and in all probability the Lord of New Carmarthen.

The friary was built on what today would be described as a green field site—there was just one timber building under the church. The friars were unconstrained by the sort of cramped situations that many houses of the mendicant orders contented themselves with inside walled towns. The site was relatively level, sloping gently down from Lammas Street to the river, and was thus well drained. However the friars did not have enough room for all their eventual needs, because they extended their close by 4 perches in 1295 (see below) and in 1329 they purchased a piece of land 80 by 28 feet which adjoined their land on the north side (PRO Inq. AQW File 7, No. 5); possibly the same piece of ground which was confirmed to them by the Black Prince in 1351 (Minister's Accounts 1158, No. 3). Later, in 1394, they further extended their close by 3 roods, possibly to extend their burial ground (Jones, 1966, 11).

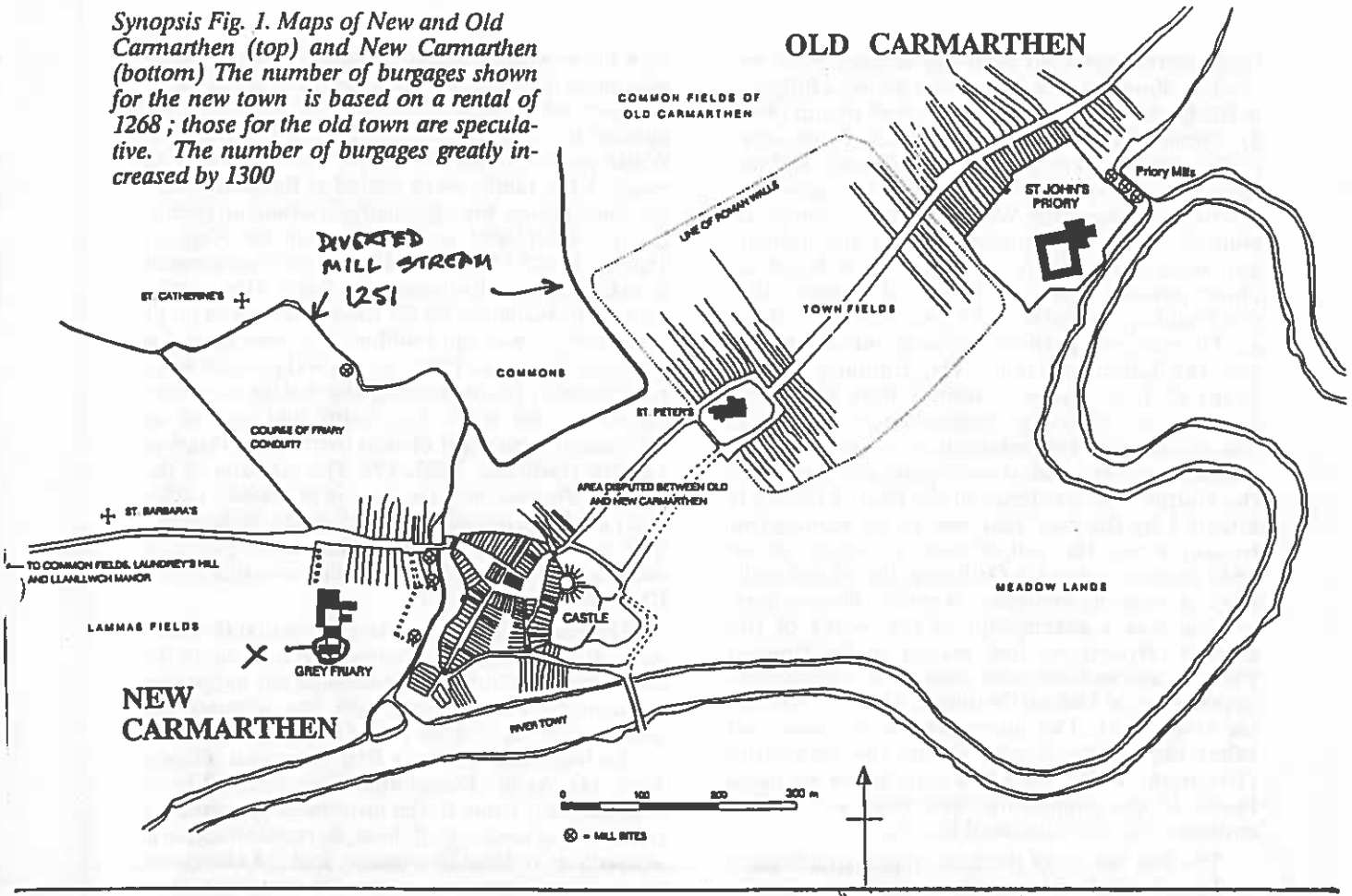
The earliest documentation that survives for the friars relates to their water supply. In 1284 they were granted certain rights by Edward I over a man-made watercourse that supplied the Cock (actually Cog) Mill which was held in part by the king (p. vii, Fig. 1). This mill race was originally constructed as a result of an inquisition in 1251, which shows there were a number of mills along the Wynveth brook that would benefit from a greater influx of water. The millers of 1251 diverted the Tawelan brook at Trevaughan (SN402214) about 2km NNW of the site of the friary (James, 1980, 43-45). In the grant of 1284 the friars were allowed to construct a branch conduit along what became Water Street to the friary, as long as the waters could be turned back quickly at the time of war (Jones, 1966, 10). The reason for this unusual clause is because the 1251 diversion formed part of the defences of New Carmarthen.

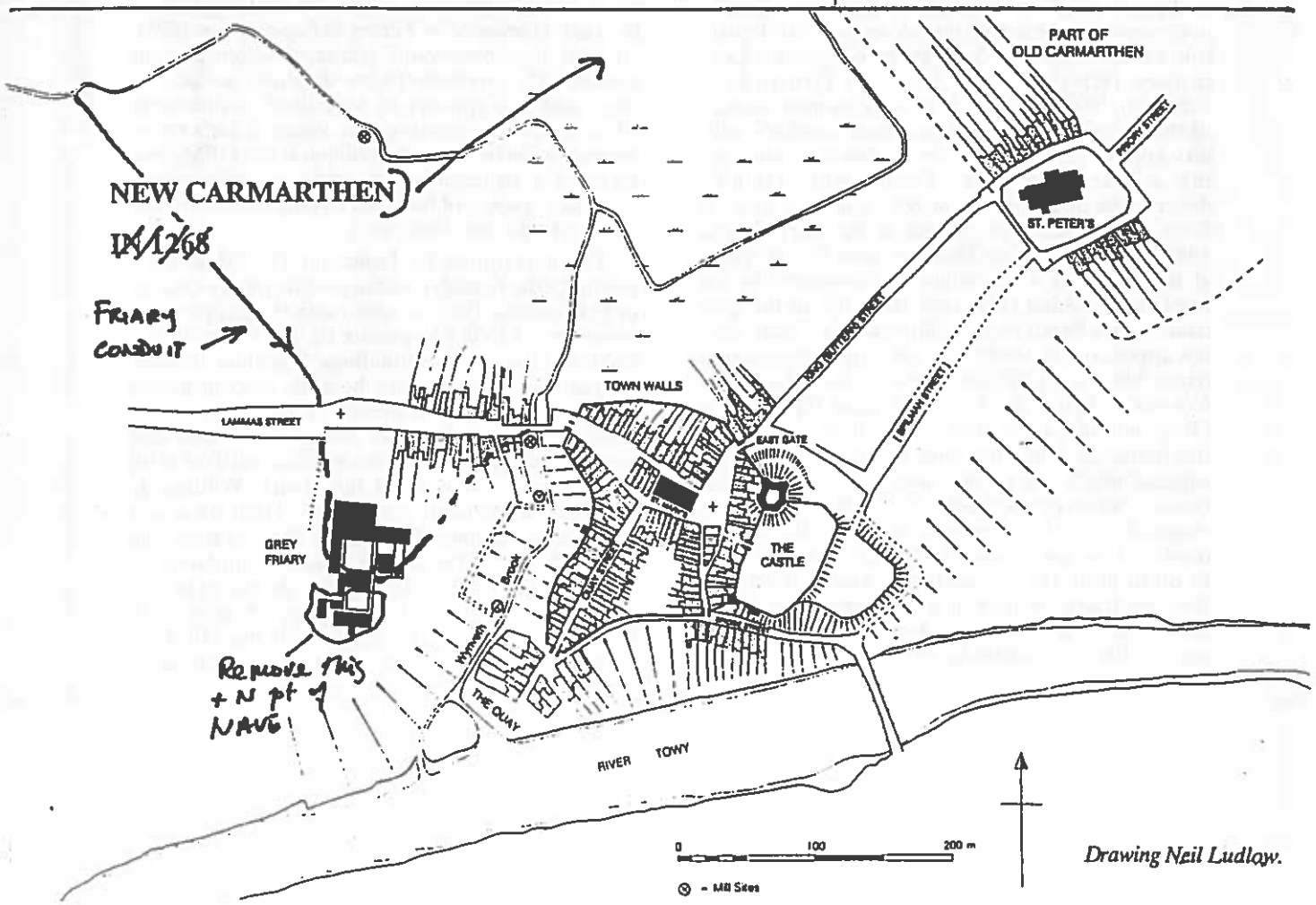
Ten years later, in 1295, the friars asked for an additional 4 perches of land adjoining their enclosure; furthermore, that the watercourse granted to them which ran through the King's land opposite was to be straightened and be one-and-a-half foot wide (PRO Inq. AQW, File 231, no. 5). This new piece of land could be the stretch which extended from the south side of Lammas Street to the Friary from the present arched opening which its thought to be the site of the gatehouse (SN41002006).

Further work on the watercourse is recorded in 1331 when Edward III ratified a grant to a spring (presumably at Trevaughan) in a park called 'Walter his Waseway' on Mount Berwyn, 'and to make an aqueduct' and liberty to dig for 'veins of water' and to collect and conduct these by underground passages to a 'certain place . . . where they may erect a little house of stone either round or square as they please 10 feet long and as many broad'. (Jones, 1966, 10). The site of this conduit house is not known, but the grant itself suggests that the existing water supply was either failing, or that they needed to increased the flow perhaps because of enlargements to the friary complex.

Little is recorded about the work of the Friars in Carmarthen. Speed's map of the town shows a cross in Lammas Street, and the street today still shows a broadening near the arched entrance to the friary which marks the cross site. The cross was probably used by the friars for their open-air preaching. In 1340 their church became involved in a case relating to sanctuary, when three felons took refuge there (Jones, 1966, 10). The burgesses of New Carmarthen claimed that they had no jurisdiction there because it (and indeed also St Peter's) lay outside the walled borough. Friction between the friary and the Lord Prior of Old Carmarthen is indicated by a dispute over mortuary fees late in the 14th century. The dispute was settled in 1391 when both parties agreed that St Peter's parishioners, dying within the parish and desiring to be buried at the friary, should first have the *ultimo vale* mass celebrated in St Peter's. By this procedure the Prior and his convent received the canonical portion of the mortuaries and bequests, secret and open (Jones, 1966, 11).

Little is known of the income of the Friary: their





Synopsis Fig. 1. Maps of New and Old Carmarthen (top) and New Carmarthen (bottom) The number of burgages shown for the new town is based on a rental of 1268 ; those for the old town are speculative. The number of burgages greatly increased by 1300

Drawing Neil Ludlow.

lands were limited to what has already been recorded, about 5 acres around the house, a burgage in Bridge Street and apparently one in Bristol (ibid, 9). Some of their income was derived from corrodies. They also received many bequests and the church clearly was a favoured final resting place for the rich and powerful. We know from a number of sources that many eminent families and individuals were buried there. Amongst those listed include persons from the House of Dinefwr like Gruffudd ap Nicholas and his grandson, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and perhaps the most eminent burial was the father of Henry VII, Edmund Tudor. Many of those who were buried there also made bequests to the friary: such revenues which did not go towards the celebration of masses were probably used to undertake repairs and embellish the church. The existence of the friary's library is attested by the fact that one of its manuscript treasures was the roll of arms compiled about 1340 known as Cook's Ordinary, the oldest ordinary of arms in existence. Another literary possession was a manuscript of the works of the Robert Grosseteste first master of the English Franciscans and the most eminent of contemporary thinkers at Oxford (Williams, 1976, 27; Knowles, 1948, 207). The numerous book clasps and other objects discovered during the excavation (Brennan, 1995), and the references to mass books in the suppression inventory are further evidence for the unlocated library.

The late history of the friary points to it being a well patronized and flourishing institution. Bardic poetry gives some insight into elements of the house: Iolo Goch's *Marwnan Syr Rhys ap Gruffudd o Lansadwrn* (Elegy for Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd – Johnston, 1993, 26–29, 162) is an eyewitness account of the practice of displaying a dead warrior's military apparel around the grave within the choir during a funeral in 1356. TLancaster Herlad's description of 1530 (Fellow MS) confirms that Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd was buried at the friary (Jones, 1985, 68). Sir Rhys ap Thomas spent his last years at the friary as a corrodian, accompanied by his bard, Tudur Aled (who took the habit of the grey friars on his death bed). Unfortunately Tudur does not appear to have written an ode specifically on the friars, but one by William Egwad (fl 1450-1500) – *Cywydd i Gwrt y Brodyr, Caerfyrddin* (Ode to the Greyfriars of Carmarthen) – has some allusions to the buildings. The lines with architectural interest suggest much use of oak and glass, but nothing certain can be gleaned from the piece (Jones, 1966, Appendix A). He mentions *inter alia* the *marble* tomb of Edmund Tudor (which might date the ode to on or after 1496); the cloister and chancel; and that the friary, or part of it was built (or perhaps rebuilt) by a Sir Rhys, who Francis Jones believed was Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd. However the ode closes with the words *cigfran a'i gwnaeth* (it was a raven who made it [the friary]). The family of the house of Dinefwr, whose arms bear ravens, are frequently alluded to as *brân* (raven) and *brain* (ravens) in Welsh poetry (Siddons, 1991, i, 99). Given that so many of the family were buried at the friary, then any one of them, but especially Gruffudd ap Nicholas (fl 1425-?1461) or his grandson Sir Rhys ap Thomas (1449-1525), could have been instrumental in enlarging or refurbishing the friary. One certain bit of refurbishment by Sir Rhys undertaken on or after 1496-7, was the building of a *new* tomb for Edmund Tudor (d. 1456). Henry VII gave Sir Rhys responsibility for overseeing 'the making of a newe tombe for our most dere fadre' and part of an substantial annual gift of alms to the Grey Friars of £43 10s (Griffiths, 1993, 49). The erection of the tomb in Purbeck marble (now in St David's cathedral) no doubt occasioned a reflooring of the choir. This was probably one of the last major pieces of work undertaken within the choir, save that on Sir Rhys' own tomb in 1521.

The late history of the friary shows that the friars were still in receipt of benefactions right up to the eve of the Dissolution. Despite what was happening to monastic houses after 1536, one bequest was made in 1537 by Griffith David Ddu, a priest, of 20s to the friars and 53s to a friar observant. (Jones, 1966, 14). At the Dissolution there were 12 friars who put their name to the instrument of surrender (ibid., 19), at least one of these, Bernard Blackburn, was a Friar of the Observance. In 1534 Obervants were driven from their houses for refusing to take the oath (*Calendar of Letters & Papers* vii, n 1095). At least four observants (three of whom are not named in the surrender) were 'detained' at Carmarthen, and one appears to have lived at the castle (ibid., n. 1607, Robinson, pers. comm.). Late references also include one to William Bate, OFM, who received a dispensation to hold a benefice with a complete change of habit on 20 August 1538 (Canterbury Registers, 1966, 162),

The description by Lancaster Herald William Fellow of the heraldry within the Greyfriars Church in 1530 (Jones, 1985) coupled with the Suppression Inventory of 1538 (Appendix E), gives a useful insight into the Friary's buildings. It is clear that the church was adorned with heraldic embellishment some on funerary monuments, but we may assume some in window glass and bosses. The tombs that are mentioned include those of Edmund Tudor (in marble, in the middle of the choir); William de Valence (in the choir between the High Altar and the tomb of Edmund Tudor); Sir Thomas Rede (on the south side of the choir); Gruffudd ap Nicholas (of alabaster, in the 'church' [i.e. the nave] before the image of St Francis). Sir Rhys ap Thomas' tomb (on the north side of the choir a little from the high altar), had a grate of iron about it with a streamer

and banner of his arms with his coat, armour and helmet (Suppression Inventory). The unrestored capstone of the monument in St Peter's Church is much the same today.

The Suppression Inventory is concerned with portable goods rather than the edifice, but it is nonetheless useful for listing a number of rooms and buildings. These are the Sacristy; the choir; the Church [nave]; the steeple with its clock and two bells (the bells cost 8s 4d to take down, before they were sold at Bristol for 20s, (Owen, 1896, 263)); the King's Chamber, the Inner Chamber; the Chamber next to the Lavery; the chamber next to the Parlour door, the Kitchen; the Brewhouse; the Hall; and finally the Buttery.

The closure of the house and its immediate fate is complicated by two factors: the radical Protestant Bishop, William Barlow, wished to close St David's Cathedral and move the caput of the see to the Greyfriars Church. At the same time Barlow's Precentor, Thomas Lloyd, had plans to establish a Grammar School there (Jones, 1966, 21-5; James, 1980b, 22-4). Barlow's plans can be traced from as early as 1536 (almost three years before its final closure). In the tussle between the two factions the buildings soon became ruinous. Appalled at the impasse,in 1539, the Corporation of New Carmarthen wrote to the Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal, imploring him to let the building be put to good use as a grammar school. It is clear from this document that the building had by then 'become voide and dessolate, runnynge dayle in contynnuall ruyne and decaie; for there is no fote of lede upon anie part thereof' (Williams, 1974 , 57–59, Jones, 1966, 22). Through the townsmen Lloyd offered £40 for the site and £20 as a sweetener 'for your good mediation and travaile to bring it to passe'. Thus in 1543 Lloyd's grammar school, to be known as 'The King's Scole of Carmarthen' was founded, a master and usher appointed, and it flourished until Lloyd's death in 1547, when the revenues from certain lands dried up (Williams, ibid).

The complexity of what followed is documented by Glanmor Williams (1974, 59–60) and Francis Jones (1966, 21 passim): all that need concern us is that the school closed and the site passed into private hands. In 1598 the outer gatehouse 'of fair stone . . . fortified with iron bars and fences' was broken forcibly into; the site became disputed and subject to a writ in the court of Star Chamber. In the 17th century the property passed through various hands and in 1632 was sold to the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Vaughan, of Golden Grove. Amongst the various enclosures comprising Friar's Park, was one called Parc y Colomendy, indicating the presence of a dove cot. Vaughan succeeded his father as Second Earl of Carbery in 1643 and the property remained part of the Golden Grove estate until 1912 (Jones, ibid; CRO Cawdor Vaughan papers).

The fate of the friary and its buildings is not well understood from the surviving deeds. Carbery was a principal player on the Royalist side during the Civil War. At the west end of Friary's Park stand the surviving remains of Carmarthen's Civil War defences. During the excavations more evidence for these, possibly of an earlier phase, were discovered (James 1991). What is not evident from the documents, but was clear in the excavated evidence, is that many of the buildings of the friary (which were already open ruins) were completely demolished to construct part of the Civil War defences. By 1786, when Thomas Lewis' map of Carmarthen was drawn, the site of the friary appeared much as it did when the excavations started. Little or nothing of the friary appeared to survive above ground, with the principal residence (to become known as Friar's Park House) built within its square enclosure clearly depicted. Despite some antiquarian references, which hint at elements of the friary to be seen without specifying precisely where (Jones, 1966, 27-9), very little could be said about the precise location of the friary when the opportunity for excavation arose in 1982. The exception was the site of the gatehouse in Lammas Street. This arched opening looks modern, but since it has never been studied without its rendering the question of the antiquity of the fabric remains open. The site of the gatehouse is not disputed, and was not subject to any development threat unlike the rest of Friar's Park.

The Excavation Evidence

The chapters which follow (1-7) describe, building by building, the results of the excavations. Each chapter attempts to interpret the evidence for the arrangement, size and possible function of buildings and rooms. Although some repetition is inevitable, this synopsis of the excavations is necessary to enable the overall results to be judged as a whole.

FOUNDATION DATE AND FOUNDER

The historical evidence recited above shows that the friary was probably founded by Henry III or one of his sons Edmund or Edward prior to the first mention of the church in 1282. The main artifactual evidence to be considered is the pottery from pre-church levels which (accepting Cathy O'Mahoney's caveats in her report, p. 68) indicate a date after c. 1250. The archaeomagnetic sample from the burning below the church gave a date of cal AD1250-1310 (68% confidence). A leaded window from Building 28 has been dated on artistic grounds to c. 1250-1280. On the other hand the unstratified

dressed freestone from the choir and chapter house has been dated on stylistic ground to c. 1160-1240, 1200-1220 and hoods to c. 1270-1340. There is a dichotomy then between most of the dating evidence on the one hand and the architectural freestone on the other. Since the Franciscans had not even arrived in England before 1224, then the earlier timespans must be dismissed as representing a stylistic culture lag of some sort or we must question the received wisdom on dating dressed stonework. However,the end of one of the ranges falls close enough to 1250, the earlier end of the date range from other dating evidence). The date range for foundation is therefore proposed at 1240-1282, with a preferred date of c. 1254-5 when the Franciscan Thomas Wallencis was Bishop of St Davids and Edward I (as Prince Edward) was Lord of Carmarthen. These are the persons most likely to be instrumental in its foundation.

PHASING AND LAYOUT.

MID 13TH CENTURY

A timber building or structure existed on the site of the church prior to construction and was burnt down probably during the initial preparation of the ground by the friary's builders (Chapter 1, below). Much of the site was then prepared by levelling the ground prior to construction.

The initial plan was a church with an aisle-less nave and choir, with the former set on the north side of a cloister (p. xi, Fig. 2). At the east end of the choir the sanctuary was elevated on four steps. These steps were without doubt original features, which provides conclusive evidence for a feature that has elsewhere been difficult to date (Butler, 1984, 131). The interior of the choir and chapter house was decorated in Transitional or Early English style. External mouldings like hoods are dated to c. 1270-1340, and the roof was principally slated in phyllite (Pembrokeshire?) and capped with what are thought to be ridge tiles of local manufacture (O'Mahoney, 1995, 68-9). There was apparently no 'Walking Place' in that no evidence was recovered for a door on the north side of the crossing: there must however have been a door on the south side to link the church and east cloister alley (a situation perhaps mirrored at Cardiff Greyfriars, although their cloister was on the north side (*Arch. Cambrensis*, 1901, 74). Although the area was not available for excavation, alignments suggest there was no yard or lighting area interposed between the nave and cloister. The overall layout appears conventional with a chapter house off the east range. The function of the other buildings is uncertain, since the evidence from the Suppression Inventory is too late to be used to explain 13th century functions. There is some evidence to suggest that the upper floors of the claustral ranges oversailed the cloister alleys. The site was well provided with water, with a complex system of drains or conduits. The main drain (in parts an open ditch) swept around the west and south sides of the cloister ranges and then ran north-east past the east end of the church returning water to a mill stream. This drain can be associated with the conduit documented in 1284 and 1295.

LATE 13TH-14TH CENTURY

The next major activity was the construction of the Little Cloister and the building interpreted as an Infirmary on the south side (page 5, Fig. 5, Building 28). The date for this has been placed in the late 13th to early 14th century based on an abundance of mid-late 13th century pottery recovered from *inter alia* the infilled drain of the previous phase which swept around the earlier single cloister. This drain was realigned to conform with the new Little Cloister and became wholly stone lined. On the west side of this cloister was a plethora of poorly preserved structures, one possibly a kitchen. The Infirmary also had a kitchen and well-preserved evidence for a privy, with branch drains from those already described, feeding it. The building of the Infirmary and Little Cloister may have necessitated the works to the friary's conduit documented in 1331.

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

Elsewhere in the friary, the laying of piped water is attested in the west range of the Great Cloister and possibly though the south range to buildings on the west side of the Little Cloister.

15TH–16TH CENTURY

The most significant changes were the enlargement of the nave and the addition of buildings between the choir and chapter house, and to the east of the latter. The nave, which was not available for excavation, remains the least-well understood part of the friary. However the NE corner of an extension to the nave was investigated. The balance of evidence points to an effective doubling of the nave's assumed original size. There was a niche for a tomb built into

the fabric of the wall, and numerous graves cutting a possible charnel pit. A charnel house is thought to have stood closeby. The date for this extension is not tight – the artefacts were from contexts that could not give a TPQ; the potteryis though to be no earlier than the mid 15th century. It is however suggested that the extended nave could be associated with the enlargementof the friary close in 1394. For this reason an early 15th century date had been assigned.

Outside the south side of the choir, walls were constructed enclosing a series of possible rooms which encroached around the north and east of the chapter house. The most certain room (1972 – p.5, Fig. 5) was that to the north east which had evidence for a late tiled floor and produced what might be liturgical glass to suggest that it was the Sacristy (Brennan, 1995, vessel glass). No doorways were discovered in the difficult 'key-hole' archaeology forced on the excavators. The dating is not tight, but the walls were clearly secondary to the choir and chapter house and what finds there were indicate a TPQ after the middle of the 14th century.

The choir was refloored at least twice, with the ground level being raised so that the western two sanctuary steps were subsumed, and the choir stalls rebuilt to accommodate the higher levels. The tiles used for the first reflooring were types known from the Beauchamp Chapel at Tewkesbury Abbey (*c.* 1437) (James & Brennan, 1995). The reflooring is arguably associated with the erection of Edmund Tudor's tomb in the middle of the choir in 1456. The second reflooring comprising tiles of Canynges type (which are paralleled at St Davids *c.* 1496 and a pavement commissioned at Carew c. 1485 +) is likely to have been laid on the occasion of a new tomb for Edmund being built in or after 1496-7.

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

THE OVERALL PLAN.

In its final form the double cloistered arrangement can be compared to that at Walsingham Greyfriars (Martin, 1932-4), although at Carmarthen the Little Cloister was the same width as the Great Cloister. Carmarthen is more complex, perhaps reflecting a longer developmental history. Both comprise ranges which are essentially separate two-storeyed blocks. Unfortunately so many of the excavations that have taken place on friaries have been restricted in scope so it would be unwise to say that double-cloistered plans were unusual, although the restricted sites adopted by most friaries would have mitigated against them. (The only other mendicant double cloisters noted are at Ipswich Black Friars and the Austin Friars at Leicester – Butler, pers. comm). Carmarthen is therefore important because the excavations allowed work to be undertaken over such a large area (indeed well beyond the friary if the trial trenching is included). The green-field nature of the site allowed Carmarthen to grow to a double-cloistered plan, having over time acquired additional land, just as was the case at Walsingham (which was founded in 1347, but had to enlarge its site as early as 1348 (Martin, 1932, 232)). Martin's plan suggests that Walsingham's Little Cloister was original or early 15th century (contemporary with the choir) which indicates perhaps a rolling programme of work. Much the same could be said for Carmarthen, because the timescale between the original single cloistered-plan and the double is not great, and might be seen as part of the original design. This view is supported by the fact that ample room for expansion was left to the south, whereas the documented land acquisitions are all on the north side.

The church of the laity was presumably divided from that of the Brothers by walls if the usual Franciscan arrangements were followed (Butler, 1984, 129). However the critical area of the crossing was not available for investigation, and the only evidence there was suggested that there was no north door giving access to the usual walking place. It is noted in the report that the enlarged foundations of cottages still standing may relate to the type of foundation needed to support the steeple (recorded in the Suppression Inventory). It has been argued that the need to have such substantial walls to support the tower resulted in the development of the walking place in friaries. The enlargement of the nave in the 15th century is to be expected in a town of Carmarthen's size, and reflects the increasing emphasis on preaching. Although the evidence is not conclusive, it is more likely that the nave was doubled in size, rather than it being a north transeptal chapel (the norm in Ireland, but cf. Oxford, ibid, 130-1).

The existence of choir stalls has been noted at the Carmelite friary at Hulne (which also had a Sacristy south-east of the choir). This is also the case at Brecon Blackfriars (ibid., 131).

The function of various buildings remains problematical. There is no difficulty with recognizing the church and chapter house, and the case for the south range of the Little Cloister being the Infirmary is strong. Within the Infirmary one room contained a fireplace and had a number of middens which had accumulated outside its windows. This is surely the kitchen. The privy on the south side was also firmly identified. Both were presumably for the exclusive use of the Infirmary. The order of buildings in the Suppression Inventory might give clues

to function if the survey was undertaken in an anti-clockwise direction as seems to be the case: Sacristy [buildings 1972 south of the choir] - choir - nave - steeple. Next are chambers [possibly the first floor of the west range, Building 1323, the obvious place for guests]: The King's Chamber - Inner Chamber - chamber next to the Lavery [?ground floor, southern most room 1325] - kitchen [?either 1325 or wing off south range, room 198?]. Now the south range: Brewhouse [ground floor south range, building 24] - Hall [above] - Buttery. If this conjecture is correct it indicates that the Inventory does not include the Infirmary, which *could* mean it had already burnt down.

LIFESTYLE AND BURIALS

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

The range of ceramics recovered from the site, and the large size of the assemblage, was an opportunity for the first extensive study of medieval pottery from the area to be made (O'Mahoney, 1995). This has shown that the friary was using a very wide range of imported pottery. Although local material was not abundant, the amount of locally-produced gravel-tempered ridge and floor tiles points to the existence of kilns in the locality representing a 'well-organised industry' in the 13th century. The impetus for such an industry would have been enhanced by the coming of the friary, but there were other major building projects being carried out in the town in the 13th century (James, 1989, 9-10). The scarcity of ceramic cooking pots from the site may suggest that the friary was using more expensive metal containers.This is supported by evidence from the Suppression Inventory. Although this shows the kitchen was bereft of utensils, this was because they were 'abrode' in the town, including three 'brasse' pans and a 'brasse' pot (Appendix E). The range and quality of the pottery suggests a civilised lifestyle, for the guests and corrodians if not the friars. The finds do not exemplify the life of poverty extolled by the early Franciscans. They clearly did not go into the church penniless, as quite a few coins were found in the void under the choir stalls (p. 21 below). However the skeletal evidence does show that many of those buried in the cloister alley and Chapter House, (who were presumably friars), had particularly poor dental hygiene 'even for that era, their diet was generally coarse, as was usual. Their muscular development . . . was quite strong and suggestive of labouring work, walking, stooping, lifting' (Wilkinson, first report, p. 61). The amount of spinal arthritis associated with collagenous degeneration of tendons lead Dr Wilkinson to further comment that this 'reflects cold, damp working and living conditions' (ibid.). This supports the belief that the lifestyle of the friars was one of poverty.

From the east cloister alley and Chapter House the total number of individuals capable of recognition in their own graves was 34 (the total was 42 counting residual bone, Wilkinson, 1992, 1st report). 193 individuals were recognised from the church, of which 163 were *in situ* burials and 30 were from a presumed Charnel House (Wilkinson, 1992, 2nd report). The church assemblage was perforce very mixed and only about 34 were relatively complete. However the overall picture is of a population with a height average not dissimilar to today, but out of 27 individuals 19 were considered of robust physique suggesting strong sustained physical activity. The tentative view is that of 22 individuals from the church, 14 could be regarded as 'working class' and 8 'upper class' associated less with manual labour and more observant of hygiene. Two individuals showed evidence that suggests they walked barefoot (one from the Chapter House group). The amount of osteo-arthritic complaints (including much evidence for DISH - diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis) was high, but interestingly its was much lower in the groups from the church compared to those recovered from the cloister alleys and Chapter House. This therefore supports the conventional wisdom: the well-to-do were buried in the church and the poorer friars in the cloisters. The high incidence of DISH is though to relate to a high fish diet (the middens were composed largely of oyster shells, but also included pig, sheep, ox, rabbit and other shellfish). Some of the individuals had marked wear on the cutting edge of their incisors - possibly indicating that they were leather workers holding a strap between their teeth. An interesting trephaning example from the Choir had two holes in the skull: only three other post Norman examples are recorded from this country. The man survived. There was high evidence for inbreeding exemplified by congenital abnormalities. This may reflect familial relationships in the burials from within the choir. Mortality rates in 119 adults show high levels in the 20-25 year age group with few individuals attaining the age of 45 although three men did pass their 50th birthday. In juveniles mortality was fairly evenly spread peaking interestingly in the late teens. There were no still-born or neo-natal burials. Most of the children were from within the church. Of 34 individuals from the cloister alleys and Chapter House, a

surprising 34% were under the age of 20 (averaging about 15 years). Also, of 23 individual from this group that could be sexed 22 were male and the other was uncertainly female. This seems to suggest a large number of young friars, indeed perhaps juvenile friars. (There is the very unusual story of an 11 year old Exeter lad being detained by the Order of Friars Minor in various friaries in 1411. By the age of 15 he was still, detained against his will, at Carmarthen Friary, being forced into the Order (Jones, 1966, 12-3)). This admittedly small sample does seem to suggest a large proportion of adolecent friars dying prematurely. A group of longbones and skulls recovered from the robbed out north wall of the nave is believed to have come from a former charnel house. These represented at least 30 adults (only one adolescent) whose age at death was quite high (many were about 40 years old).

THE FATE OF THE FRIARY

We have seen from the documentary evidence that the friary had become roofless by 1539. There was at that date 'no lead on any part of it' (*Cal. Letters & Papers*, xiv, ii, 347). It is clear from the Suppression Inventory that the friary had been stripped of much of its valuables: the main 'dore was broken up in ye Freeris, & certeyne stuffe taken owt, by whom yt can not be knowen'. This indicates that destruction had started sometime in 1538. The archaeological evidence from the Infirmary (and possibly from Building 24, ?the Brewhouse) is of a series of hearths and furnaces constructed to melt down lead and copper alloy and to extract silver. These however were too small to have been used for the mass reduction of roofing materials, so other furnaces must have been sited elsewhere. No evidence for ingots (sows) was recovered, although it is interesting to note that Carmarthen was one of three South Wales ports used for the collection of salvaged metals from monastic houses (Owen, 1897, 285-292). It is probable that the Infirmary caught fire as a result of this activity and was reduced to a roofless ruin never to be reused.

The short-lived use of the friary by Thomas Lloyd's Grammar School left little in the way of concrete evidence. There was some indication that the south range of the Great Cloister (ground floor room 24, ?Brewhouse) had been refloored and reroofed.

There were numerous jetons recovered including one dated 1540 which was recovered from below what is thought to be a collapsed late re-roofing. This suggests that this building - which it is suggested had the Hall on the first floor - was re-roofed and used by the Grammar School (founded 1543). What is interesting is that the building may only have become roofless a few years earlier. The other range that may have been reused was that west of the Great Cloister, which was arguably the Guests' Lodgings and therefore suitable for conversion. The evidence is slight and perhaps controversial. Among the residual finds, a number of fragments of Maiolica wall tiles were discovered (James & Brennan, 1995, 31). These are thought to have been produced around Antwerp c. 1550-1580. Clearly they cannot have been used in the friary, but the date is tantalisingly close to the Grammar School period for the tiles to be considered part of a classy refurbishment. Equally, however, the tiles may have been derived from anywhere in the town. The other buildings likely to have been adopted would have been the choir, which would have been ideal for a school church, (as at Christ College Brecon, where the former Blackfriars choir is still in use). Perhaps it was only the failure of the school that finally resulted in the removal of several monuments from the church: Edmund Tudor to St Davids cathedral, and notables from the House of Dinefwr to St. Peter's church. What evidence we can muster aided by conjecture suggests that the grammar school utilised the buildings ranged around the Great Cloister (save perhaps the nave). The subsequent fate of the friary is not well documented: the excavations however show that the buildings lay as open ruins for a period, and what survived was being robbed piecemeal. During the Civil War a great ditch cut through the nave and chapter house destroying features well below foundation level (James, 1991b). By the 18th century nothing survived, save the elements that are suspected to exist today within the northern line of cottages at Friars' Park.

Introduction—the Excavation Background

In 1982 Carmarthen District Council put forward draft proposals for the development of a town-centre large retailing food store or 'superstore' in combination with a new bus station. The proposal soon matured, with the historic site of Carmarthen Greyfriars being chosen for the store. No excavation had ever been undertaken on the site, which was thought to centre within a walled enclosure around Park House (or Friars Park House), a two storey building of apparent late Victorian date based on 18th or possibly 17th walls (Plate 1). The layout of the grounds of Park House, and the house itself, is clearly depicted on Lewis' map of 1786 (CRO Vaughan/Cawdor map). Very little change to the principal boundaries between then and the early 1980s were apparent, and there was no reason to question the conventional wisdom, namely, that Park House and its grounds were where the friary was once sited.

On this basis the Trust obtained permission from Carmarthen District Council, the owners, to undertake a resistivity survey of the lawned areas fronting the house. The survey covering an area 45m x 63m was undertaken in late 1982, and the Ancient Monuments Laboratory report on this (AML Geophysics 1/83, A. Bartlett) pointed to the probable existence of structural remains within the NE corner of the survey area. On the basis of this, very early in 1983 the Trust obtained permission to hand-dig a number of trial trenches (Fig. 2, T1-4, Plate 3) which exposed surviving NS and EW oriented walls almost directly below the surface. By April new area excavation was agreed, and a large MSC Community Programme provided the backbone of the excavation staff supplemented by a core of experienced excavators funded by Cadw. Throughout 1983 work centred on areas A1-3 (Plate 4), which exposed two substantial buildings north and south of a cloister, the former (building 24) initially mistaken for the choir of the church. (These buildings, along with others, were assigned context numbers which are used throughout this report, and readers are asked to use Figs. 2 and 5 to familiarise themselves with the locations of named areas or trenches and the numbers of buildings or rooms). Additional trenches were also excavated around Park House (tren-

Plate 1. Park House in 1983. The east wing (right) formed the oldest part of the structure, which is oriented. This is probably 17th century, although it could have adapted an earlier friary building. It was demolished to make way for the superstore .View from the SE.

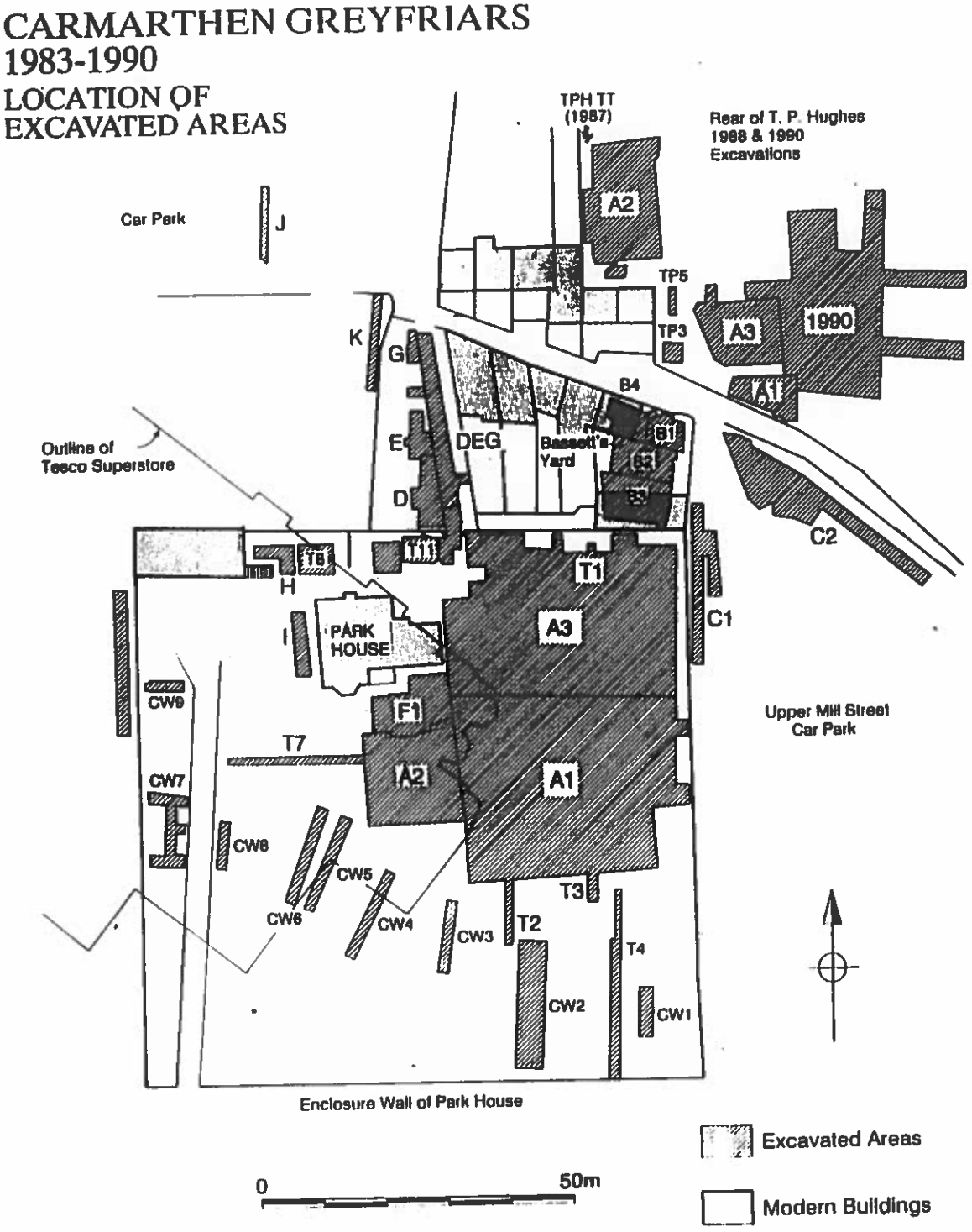


Fig. 2. Plan showing the location of excavated areas and trenches in relation to Park House and Friars' Park cottages, and the outline of the presentTesco superstore.

ches H, CW1-2, T7). The area investigated in 1983 amounted to about 1,840 square metres. In December 1983 the Trust sought permission to undertake work at Bassett's Yard outside the NE corner of the Park House enclosure. This yard, about 12m x 17m was dug in four parts (B1-4), three quarters of the area holding the spoil from one quarter, before backfilling and continuing to the next. Although very disturbed, Bassett's Yard provided evidence for a second cloister, and the Chapter House (building 650) and it became clear that the church had yet to be discovered. At the same time a trench (C1) was excavated in the Upper Mill Street car park to investigate evidence for an east range of the *south* cloister. This proved that there was probably no east range.

A second MSC scheme was commenced in January, 1984, and in March permission was sought to excavate the area immediately south and east of Park House (Area F), a trench west of the house (I) and small trenches amongst shrubbery on the Lammas Street approach to the house (trenches D, E and G). The latter were sited to investigate evidence for a west range to the north, or Great, cloister. The District Council also allowed the Trust to excavate a second trench (C2) in the former Upper Mill Street car park, which located the SE corner of the Chapter House (650) and more building evidence east of this (1324). This work was near completion

Plate 3. Excavation of T7 in the lawns of Park House. View from the east.

in September, when the Trust asked the Council for permission to undertaken more work in the driveway approach to Park House (area DEG, commenced October 1984, which uncovered more evidence for the west range, building 1323); associated trench T11, and a series of trenches south and SW of Park House (CW3-9) positioned to plot the course of a Civil War ditch first noted in T4. In January 1985 work was also started on studying the upstanding east wing of Park House, and the exterior cladding was removed and a stone-by-stone study undertaken. Despite the fact that the building was on the same alignment as the friary, its upstanding remains were thought to be no earlier than the 17th century. Its relationship to the friary was not satisfactorily established. These latter parts of the project saw out the second MSC scheme, and the Civil War trenches were completed in March 1986 with a compliment to two site workers.

By the autumn of 1985 the first clear indications of a second development, the construction of a shopping mall linking the superstore with Lammas Street, were crystallising. This brought forward the prospect of investigating areas north of Friars' Park, to the rear of the Boar's Head Hotel and T. P. Hughes department store. Land acquisition and relevant planning permissions for this scheme were exceedingly protracted, and many start dates for commencement of work were fixed only the be subsequently abandoned. During this halt in intensive field work, in August 1986, two trial trenches (J and K) were excavated in the car part north of Park House to seek evidence for the location of the church, since at this juncture it was not known whether the nave or the choir lay north of the Great Cloister. It was not possible to place these trenches in the most ideal position to satisfy archaeological requirements; nonetheless it became fairly clear that it was nave that lay north of the cloister, and that the choir must lay somewhere under the rear of T. P. Hughes and the Boar's Head; the main body of the church was sited under, or was partly incorporated, into the cottages of Friars' Park. During 1987 the firm of T. P. Hughes Ltd gave permission for the excavation of a hand-dug trench (TPH TT) which located an EW robber trench that was thought to be a north wall of the church; this conjecture was supported by the abundance of medieval floor tiles and graves. The scene was now set for the final years of excavation. In May 1988 work finally commenced at the rear of T. P. Hughes following the granting of permission by Vanson PLC and the Land Authority of Wales. Vanson PLC also provided substantial funds to supplement finding by Cadw. The work was conducted with a team of experienced site workers and some volunteers. After the excavation of a number of 2m square test pits (only TP5, Fig. 2, was never area excavated), two areas – A1 and A2 – were opened. A1 sought

Plate 4. Early stages of excavation of A1 and beyond (left) A2 in 1983. The walls of Building 28 can be seen poking through demolition rubble. View from SE.

evidence for the north part of the Chapter House (and produced evidence for buildings 1759 and 1972), and A2 for the choir of the church, which was thought to run across this area. It soon became apparent that only the corner of the nave – or rather a north aisle – was located in part of A2, so because of the restricted timetable, much of this area was abandoned incomplete and work concentrated on A3, which lay over a good part of the choir. Work was completed during August 1988, although it had been hoped to have a rolling programme whereby excavation would have moved east, into the rear of the Boar's Head Hotel. During 1988 contractors worked on the construction of the superstore – Tesco's (outlined in Fig. 2), and a watch on ground works was maintained, and resulted in the observation of more of the Civil War ditch in the former Upper Mill Street car park.

Again the protracted land acquisition programme of the developers meant that it was not until March 1990 that work commenced on the final season of excavation at the rear of the Boar's Head. This was again conducted with experienced staff, and due to my enforced absence after sustaining a severe head injury, the 1990 excavations were supervised by Ken Murphy. The east end of the choir and parts of a pre-Friary structure (first observed in 1988) were recorded, as well as examination of areas east and NE of the choir. The suspected large cemetery in this area did not materialise. At the time of writing the Vanson project had not commenced.

Thus soon after Easter 1990 fieldwork on Carmarthen Greyfriars was finally completed – a programme of works that had extended over an eight year timespan.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavations were funded by Cadw/Welsh Historic Monuments and Vanson PLC, and a large part of the staff costs for the years 1983-5 and 1987 were covered by the then Manpower Services Commission through the Community Programme. Permission by landowners to excavated was kindly given the Carmarthen District Council, T. P. Hughes Ltd., Vanson PLC and the Land Authority for Wales. During 1983-86 the District Council generously allowed the Trust to use part of Park

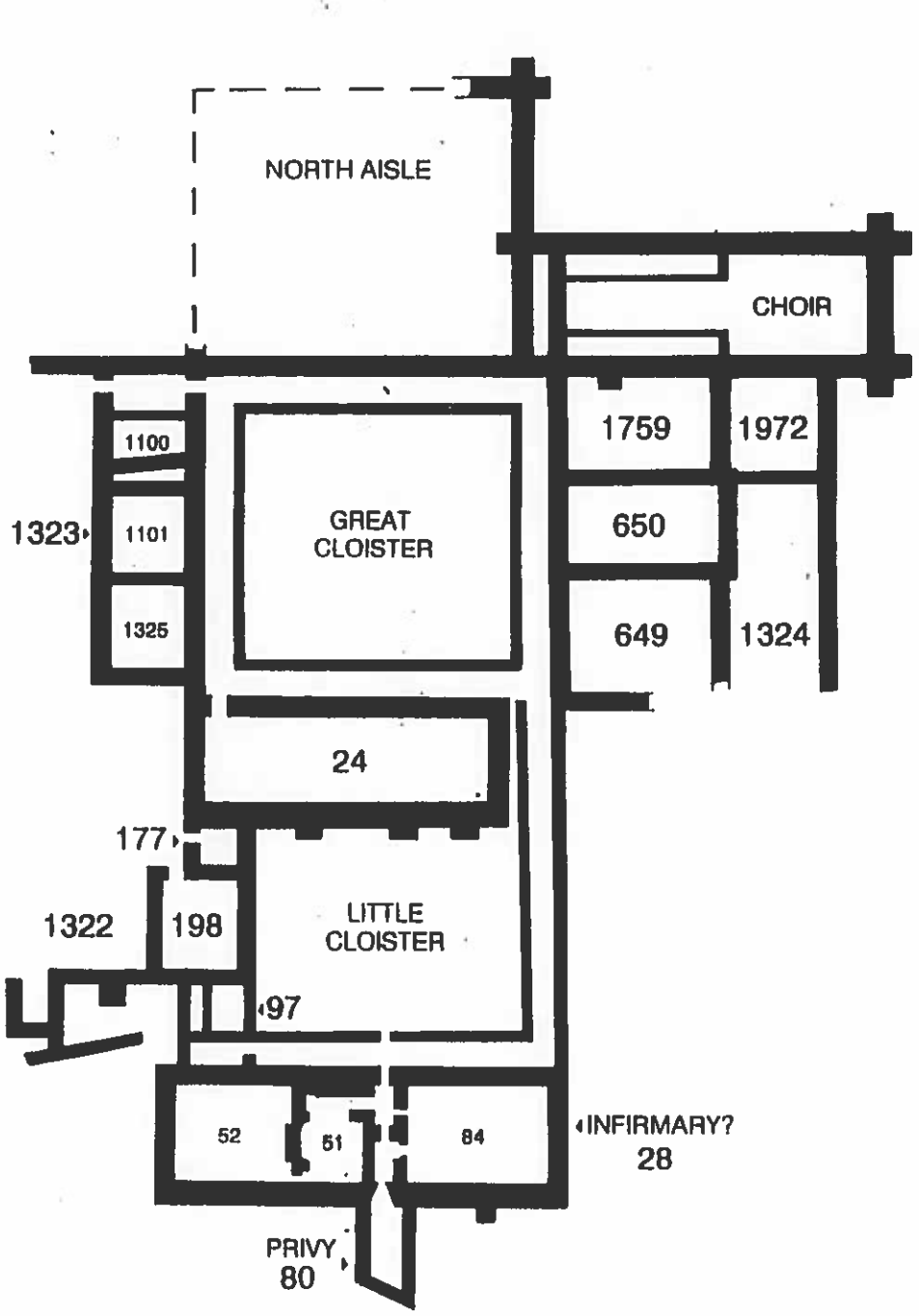


Fig. 5. Restored plan of Carmarthen Greyfriars showing the context numbers of individual rooms and building used throughout this report. North at top.

House as offices, and one room was set aside for a temporary site museum. Outbuildings were provided for the storage of tools and a tea shed. During the excavation I had the pleasure of liaising with numerous bodies and individuals, officers of the District Council, MRM Partnership, Vanson PLC, local residents, and others. I would like to record my thanks to all those individuals who co-operated willingly.

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

The post excavation process which started in 1986, was not commenced properly until after the completion of the 1990 season, and then only after my return to full time work in January 1991. Considerable work on bulk finds as been undertaken by a number of specialists, including Dr Lionel Winkinson on human skeletal remains (Wilkinson, 1992), Cathy O'Mahoney on pottery and related ceramics (O'Mahoney, 1991). Constant maintenance and care of finds was in the care of Dee Brennan, who with me, undertook work on the floortile report 9James & Brennan, 1991). The final drawings are the work of the Trust's draughtsman, Neil Ludlow.

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

TAJ, *23 September 1991*

1. Pre-Friary features.

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

The earliest features predating the construction of the choir of the church fall into two possibly related series of contexts (Fig. 1.1). The first of these consisted of a U-sectioned ditch (2183) c. 85-95cm wide and 25-30cm deep running on a WNW-ESE alignment passing 4m north of the NE corner of the yet to be built choir (Fig. 1.1). At a right angle to this were two shallow parallel gullies 2m apart (2113-4) c.20cm wide and c.10cm deep running NNE-SSW. The more substantial trench (2183) produced four shards of pottery from at least two vessels which are roughly datable to the 12th-13th centuries. There were some detached pits, 2141, 2158, and a post hole 2176, none of which produced finds, and may not be of the same date as the ditch.

The second group of features relate to a burnt down timber structure, probably a building (2191). This consisted of a collapsed wattle wall 1946, a line of stake holes (1971) which had supported the wattling; and another set of stake holes in layer 1939 and two pits (1935, 1938) west of the wattle wall. These features had been much disturbed by later activity, and the areas between and around them were totally destroyed by later grave and foundation trench digging. The wattle wall formed a northern wall line to a good gravel surface (1965/2172) varying in thickness between 1cm at the west to between 12-20cm further east. Further south layer 1964 surviving between later grave cuts is interpreted as forming part of the same gravel floor. The layer appeared to terminate on the west side in a straight line that presumably formed another wall line, and the NW angle made by this line contained a substantial flat block, perhaps a post pad. Otherwise there was no other indication of post holes or setting for the assumed NS western wall. The wattle wall line of stakeholes (1947) continued west of the western limit of the gravel floor, perhaps originally running to (?post) pit 1938.

In the 1990 excavations the same gravel floor was discovered (2172), and this again had well defined edges on the north and east, the layer appearing to form a slightly raised plinth. The NE angle (something over 90 degrees) was marked by a well-defined post settling (2190) 20cm in diameter and 30cm deep with a pointed base. The southern extent of the building was truncated by the south wall line of the later choir. The dimensions of the gravel surface are 2.4m EW by at least 2m NS . What appears inexplicable is that the stakehole line 1971 recorded in the 1988 excavations could not be found in the 1990 excavations, despite very careful excavation and foreknowledge of their existence. The evidence suggests that the wall line may have changed character between the western and eastern parts of the wall.

It is unfortunate that the surviving evidence does not allow any confident appraisal of the actual extent and form of the presumed building that is represented here. Its alignment is close enough to the ditch (2183) and the two gullies (2113-4) to suggest contemporaneity even if function cannot be established. If the pit at the western side (1938) was in fact a posthole, and the wattle wall line 1971 terminated there, then the building would have been rectangular, about 7.5m long. The width is unlikely to be more than c. 4m as nothing of the building was noted south of the choir's south wall foundation trench. The other stakehole line in 1939 may represent an internal division, or some sort of (eg byre) structure. The eastern division was rasied and had a good gravel surface, not unlike a long-house. This is of course highly speculative (Fig. 1.2)

The building ended its life in flames, which resulted in the preservation of part of the wattling as charcoal. The layers of gravel and the soil in which the upright stakes and post had stood were littered with charcoal or heat scorched red and covered by layer (2125) which included burnt daub. Similar burnt daub was discovered in the fill of ditch 2182, which indicates that the ditch was open during or after the fire.

The date of the construction of the building is indicated by two shards from a single vessel (C2 Saitonge) which is currently thought to have a date range of c.1250 to the early 15th century, but no earlier (O'Mahoney, 1991). Archaeomagnetic sam-

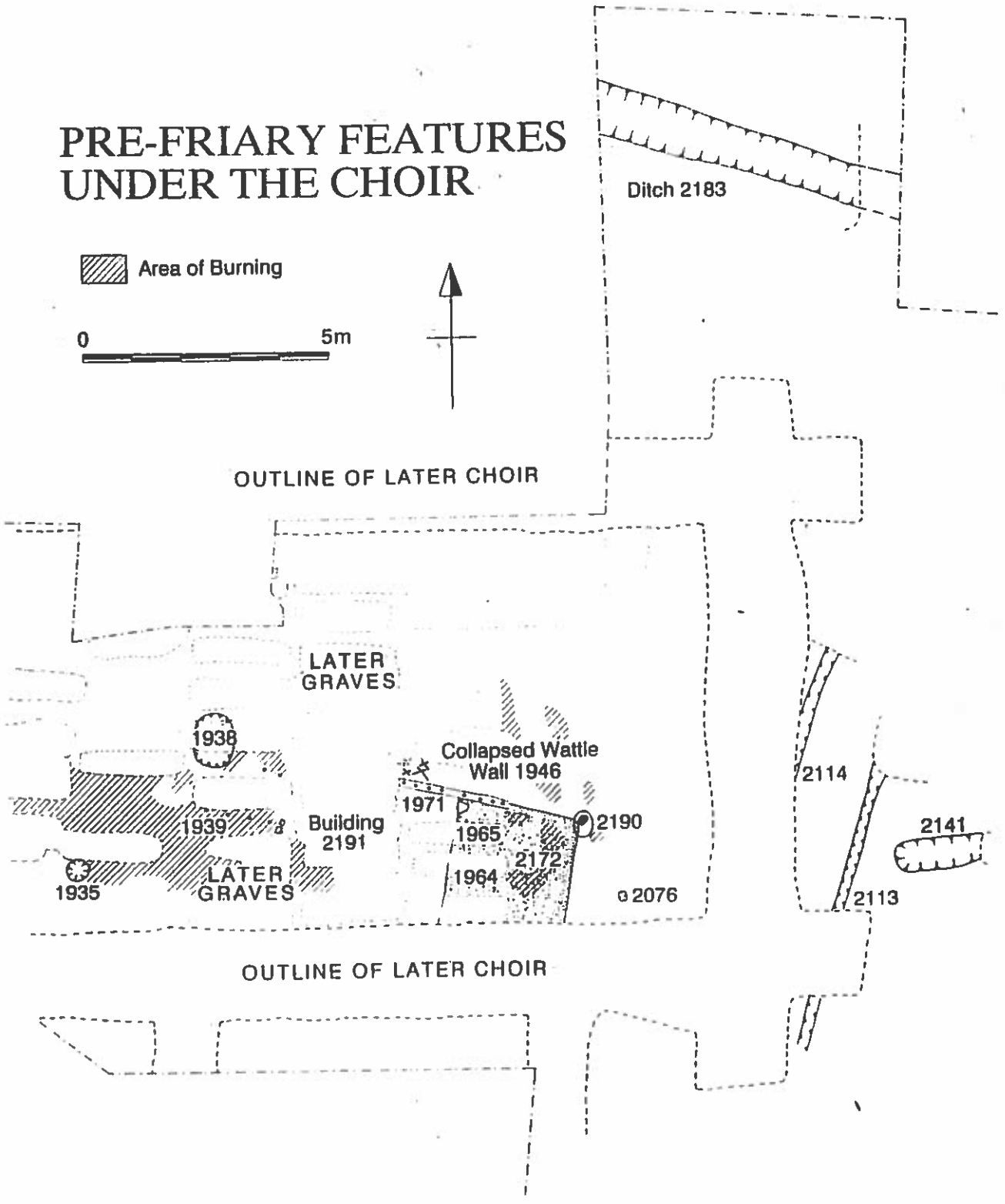


Fig. 1.1. Pre-friary features largely quarried away by later graves.

POSSIBLE EXTENT AND PLAN OF TIMBER BUILDING 2191

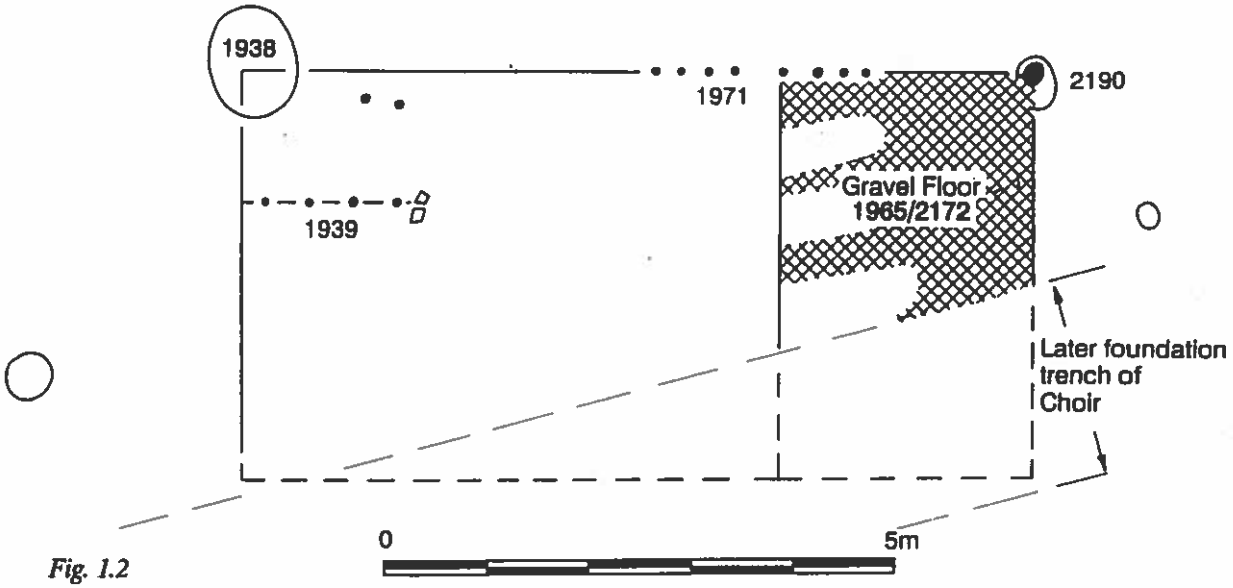


Fig. 1.2

ples from the burnt clay layer 2125 give a possible date range of cal AD1250-1310 at 68% confidence level (AJC-74); the imprecision results from the soft base of the material. Layer 2125 also produced Saintonge of the same date range and a Ham Green jug shard. A comparable layer discovered in 1988 (1873) contained 7 shards from 6 vessels with a post c.1250 date range. The evidence points to date for construction after c. 1250. This is reinforced by a post fire Friary construction layer 2168 which contained 10 shards from 10 vessels with a mid-13th century plus date range. Since the church is first mentioned in 1282, this must put the building's construction and life span between about 1250 and 1282.

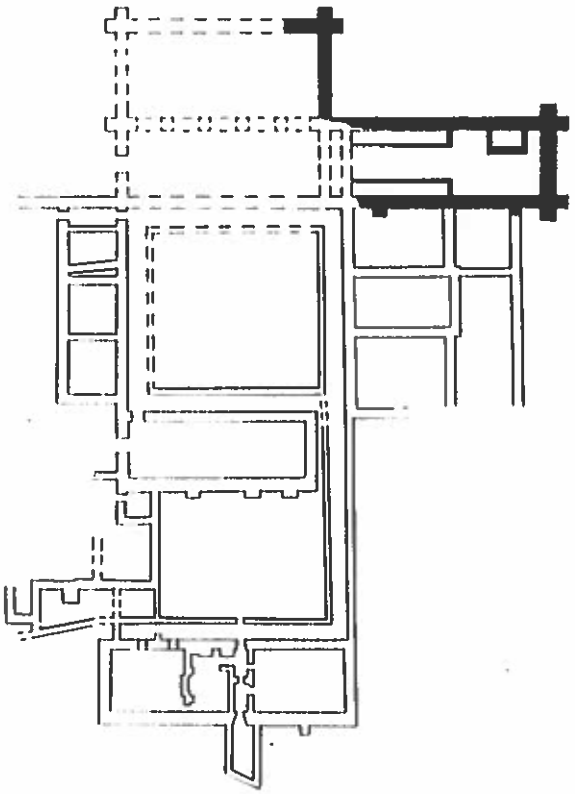
Some 41m SW of the building, under the later cloister alley east of building 24, was a stratigraphically early layer (446). This also showed evident signs of burning and produced a fair coin of 1210-17, and 5 shards from 5 vessels with a general 13th century date range. It is possible that this layer may been contemporary with the burning of the building.

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

The function of these pre-Friary ditches and building is very difficult to explain. Their alignment is not the same as Lammas Street nor its burgage properties. To some extent the southern limits of the burgages (as indicated in maps of 1786 and later) has been dictated or modified by the construction of the Friary. The evolution of Lammas Street can be traced from 1268, when a survey for Lord Edmund shows that there were then 21 burgages (James, 1980, 28; James, 1989, 14). The disposition of these can only be guessed at, but it is likely that they congregated near the Dark Gate end of the street (ibid, 1989, 11, Fig. 1). If they were equally placed on each side of the street then there could have been 12 plots on the south side. The westernmost could have thus been about the position of the present Boar's Head Hotel – 65m north of the burnt building. There is good reason to suppose that the southern limits of the properties on the south side of Lammas Street were extended after the Dissolution by piecemeal encroachment. The earlier limit may be indicated by the southern boundary delimiting 121-124 Lammas Street. What is clear, however, is that the alignment of the ditch, gullies and structures of this early phase do not correspond to any of these burgage boundaries or Lammas Street itself. It is therefore unlikely that we are dealing with an unknown burgage property. The probability is that the building and ditches relate to something agricultural possibly associated with Lammas Fields.

2. The Friary Church

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



Phasing and Plan of the Church

A pre-church phase which comprised parts of a burnt down timber structure, is described in Part 1 that deals with activity prior to the construction of the Friary. The construction of the church itself is not tightly datable: a series of pre-church gullies contained 12-13th century pottery and the floor of the burnt timber structure contained pottery that can only be generally dated to a period between the mid-13th to the 15th centuries, but no earlier. An archaeomagnetic date from the burnt layers below the church give a date range of cal AD 1250-1310 (at 68% confidence level (AJC-74)). All this gives a *terminus post quem* of between c. 1250 for construction; in 1282 the church is first mentioned in documents. The lack of upstanding masonry prevents any clear assessment of changes to the fabric of the church; however, internal alterations to floor surfaces clearly indicate considerable changes which have been assigned to broad phases. In the later Middle Ages the nave was enlarged northwards. In view of the fact that little of the nave and nothing of the west end of the choir could be investigated it is not possible to give accurate dimensions for the church apart for the width of the choir (Fig. 2.1). The external dimensions below can only be approximate:

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

Interpretation and discussion of the plan of the church is hampered by lack of information about the nave, and the crucial area between the nave and choir. Some of the forgoing is thus inevitably speculatory. There is no problem with the choir, which is long and narrow, and typical of mendicant churches. The cloister is set to the south of the nave. The dimensions and plan of the nave are uncertain, but we may tentatively suggest that initially it was about the same width as the choir. A major change comes in the 15th century, when an extension was built on the north side. Unfortunately only the east wall and NE corner of this extension could be investigated, which leaves uncertainties about the overall extent of this addition. There are two possibilities: (a) it represents the addition of a parallel range of similar dimensions to the original nave (effectively doubling the lay part of the church); or (b) the addition may be a north chapel, making the plan similar to Oxford Greyfriars, or perhaps mirroring 15th century Irish examples of transeptal chapels (Martin, 1937, 15; Butler, 1984, 130-31). The combined evidence argues in favour of parallel ranges.

Although the crossing of the church was not investigated, some comments are called for. The generally accepted plan of friary churches is that the nave and choir are usually physically separated by cross walls. The walls came into existence to support the towers and spires 'the most distinctive feature of Friary churches—despite their expressed prohibition (Martin, 1937, 18). The cross walls often completely closed off the nave from the friars' church (the choir), and the passage inside these walls often linked the cloister with the area on the north side of the church. This passage is known as the Walking Place, and in some houses it was the principal means the friars gained access to the cloister from the outside world. There is historic evidence for the existence of a tower at Carmarthen,

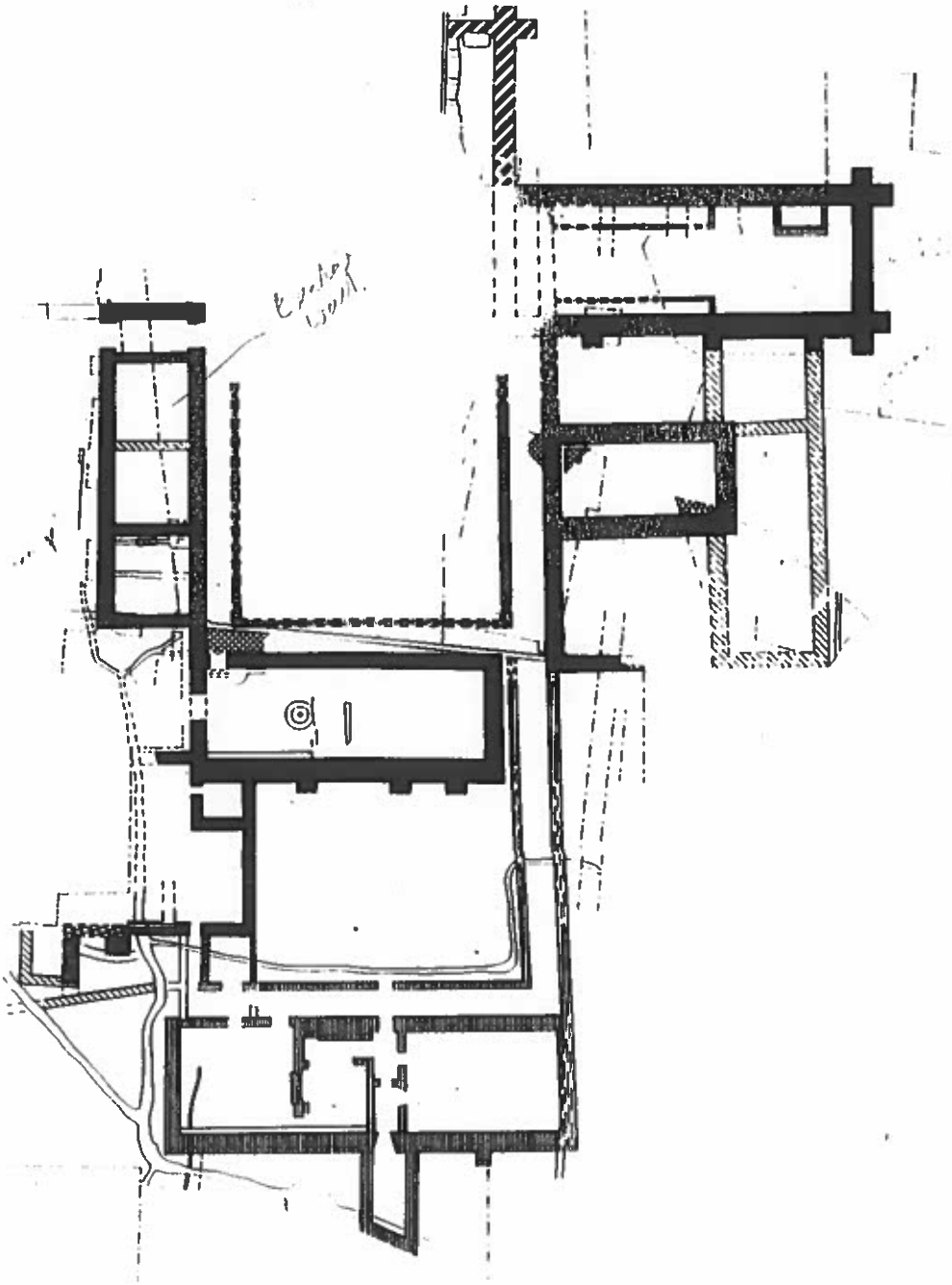


Fig. 2.1. Simplied plan of Carmarthen Greyfriars by period.

as the suppression inventory states that there was a clock and two bells in the 'stepill' (Jones, 1966). The plan of Carmarthen Greyfriars shows that the eastern cloister alley aligns with the supposed position of the crossing of the church, in itself supporting evidence for a Walking Place (Fig. 2.1). However excavation outside the north side of the church, within the angle formed by the east wall of the 15th century extension of the nave and the north wall of the choir, failed to provide evidence for any approach path. This leads me to conclude that there was no doorway on the north side of the church, thus Carmarthen probably had no Walking Place of accepted form. It seems more likely that there was just a doorway on the south side, by which means access to the church, chapter house and domestic ranges was made. The principal entry to the cloister was evidently through a cross passage in the west range of the Great Cloister. The plan of Cardiff Greyfriars does not contain good evidence for any Walking Place either.

The layout of the choir appears straightforward, with choir stalls of timber on raised flooring and the altar end raised on four steps. This was reduced to two steps by the mid 15th–early 16th centuries.The lack of masonry prevents speculation on phases of alteration: the bulk of dressed freestone found in destruction layers suggests **[notes from Tony Parkinson]**. A wider foundation in part of the south wall could indicate the position of an Easter Sepulchre or Sedilia.

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

Phase I: 13th century.

Very little remained of the masonry of the exterior walls, and only the south and east wall lines were examined in any detail. The foundation trenches varied in width, but were on average about 1.70m wide; surviving walling was about 1.20m wide on a foundation that filled the trench to the full width of c. 1.70m (Fig. 2.2). The south wall foundation (1758) was composed of Old Red Sandstone (both red and green beds) bonded with clay which in places was 1.9m wide; the surviving portion of wall was 1.20m wide, and sufficient survived to show that whilst the foundations were irregular in alignment, the wall itself was straight, sometimes running down the centre, and sometimes to one side of the foundation. There were angled buttresses in the corners, and along the south wall there was evidence for buttresses at 8m-9m centres, although these were masked by later walls that butted the south wall. In the 1990 excavations the north and south wall foundations were 1.83m (6ft) wide, and the east wall foundation 1.66m wide. The buttresses varied slightly in width, but were comparable to their respective walls. It was not possible to investigate the north wall for buttresses. The overall external width of the choir was 11.4m and internally about 8m, and these dimensions remained unaltered throughout the life of the friary. Over the buried soil north of the church was a layer of broken shale tiling, which suggests that the choir was initially roofed in this material; demolition levels within the choir (1725, 1545 (not illustrated)) included type A, D/N (South Glamorgan) and F/G (Malvern) ridge tile, the latter being dominant (O'Mahoney, 1991). The date of the Malvern tiles is more likely to be 15th or early 16th century.

Within the east end of the friary church a dump of clay (1832, 1868, 2084) about 40cm deep in the east and 10cm in the west, sealed the old ground surface. The dump appeared to lay immediately over the burnt structure (1873), but in the 1990 season a possible thin soil (2124) was noted between the dump and burnt features. This soil is important for the chronology of events since it could represent a pre-church phase of activity separating the construction of the church from the demolition and burning of the timber structure. On balance, however, it is more probable that this soil is itself associated with initial levelling and construction work (a trampling) on the burnt layers by the constructors' of the church.

The clay dump is clearly a primary feature as it directly overlaid these pre-church features. Initially it extended westward to make up the levels for four steps (numbered 1-4 on Fig. 2.2) leading to and forming the sanctuary of the church. The evidence of this raised sanctuary is conclusive in showing that the Friary Church contained these steps from the outset. Evidence for this in the early period of Friary churches has so far been elusive (Butler, 1984, p.131). By the later Middle Ages the general levels of the choir had been raised so that only the easternmost two steps remained.

Apart from the clay dump, evidence for the earliest floors within the choir is unclear due to extensive disturbance of early levels by grave digging (Fig. 2.3). Traces of a thin mortar bed (1938) are interpreted as the remains of the earliest floor, one which perhaps was composed of flagstones. This layer butted the westernmost step of yellow sandstone (1931) that lead to the sanctuary. This step had been partly quarried by a number of graves, but clearly butted the dwarf wall that supported the choir stalls (1836). The stalls were 1.6m wide and terminated on their east side about 10.4m west of the east wall of the choir. They were constructed on a dwarf walls (the pest preserved was on the north side) 40cm wide that probably supported a suspended floor and timber choir stall structure. The layers below the rubble filling the hollow beneath this floors pro-

THE CHOIR:14TH CENTURY & EARLIER FEATURES

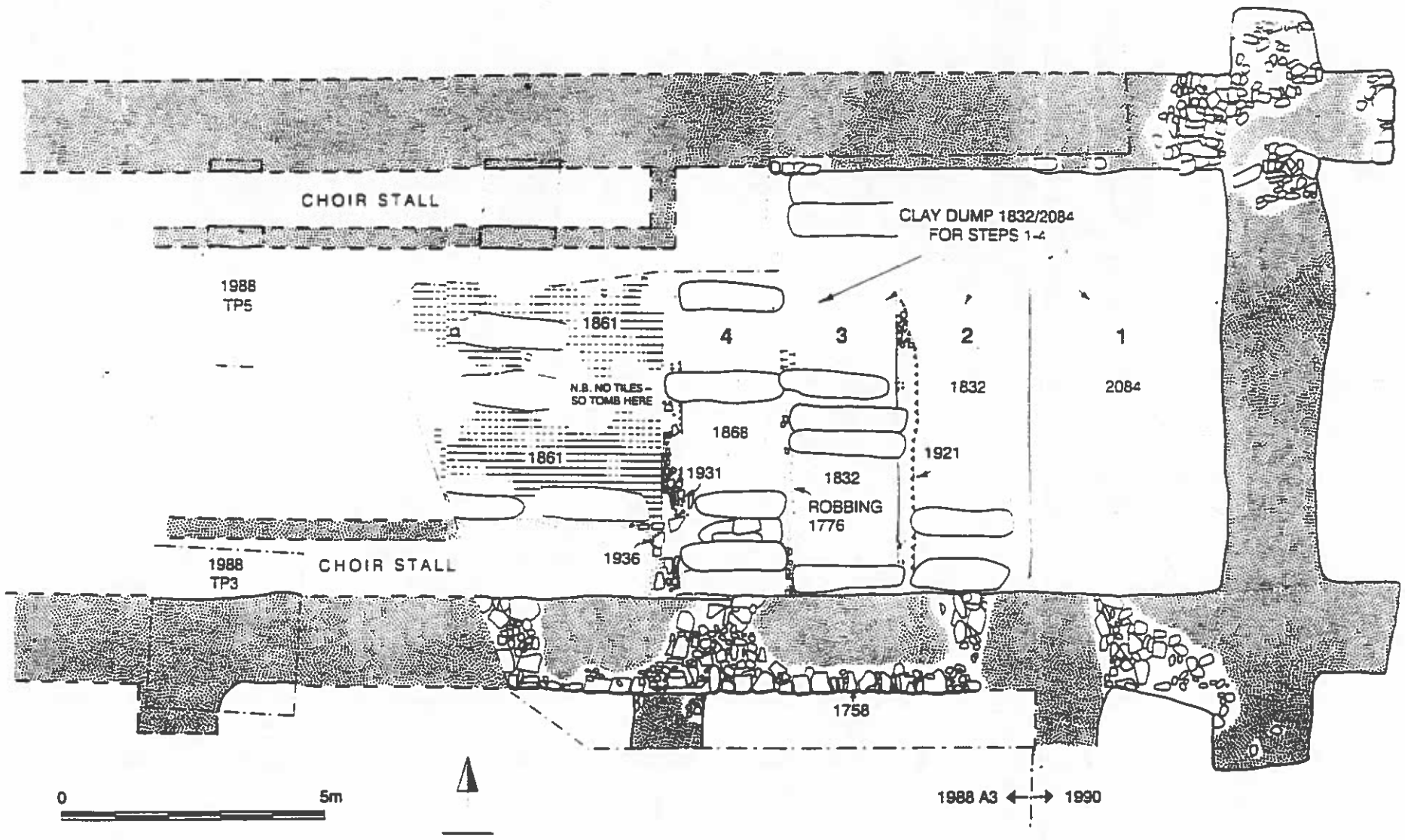


Fig. 2.2

GRAVES AND TOMBS WITHIN THE CHOIR

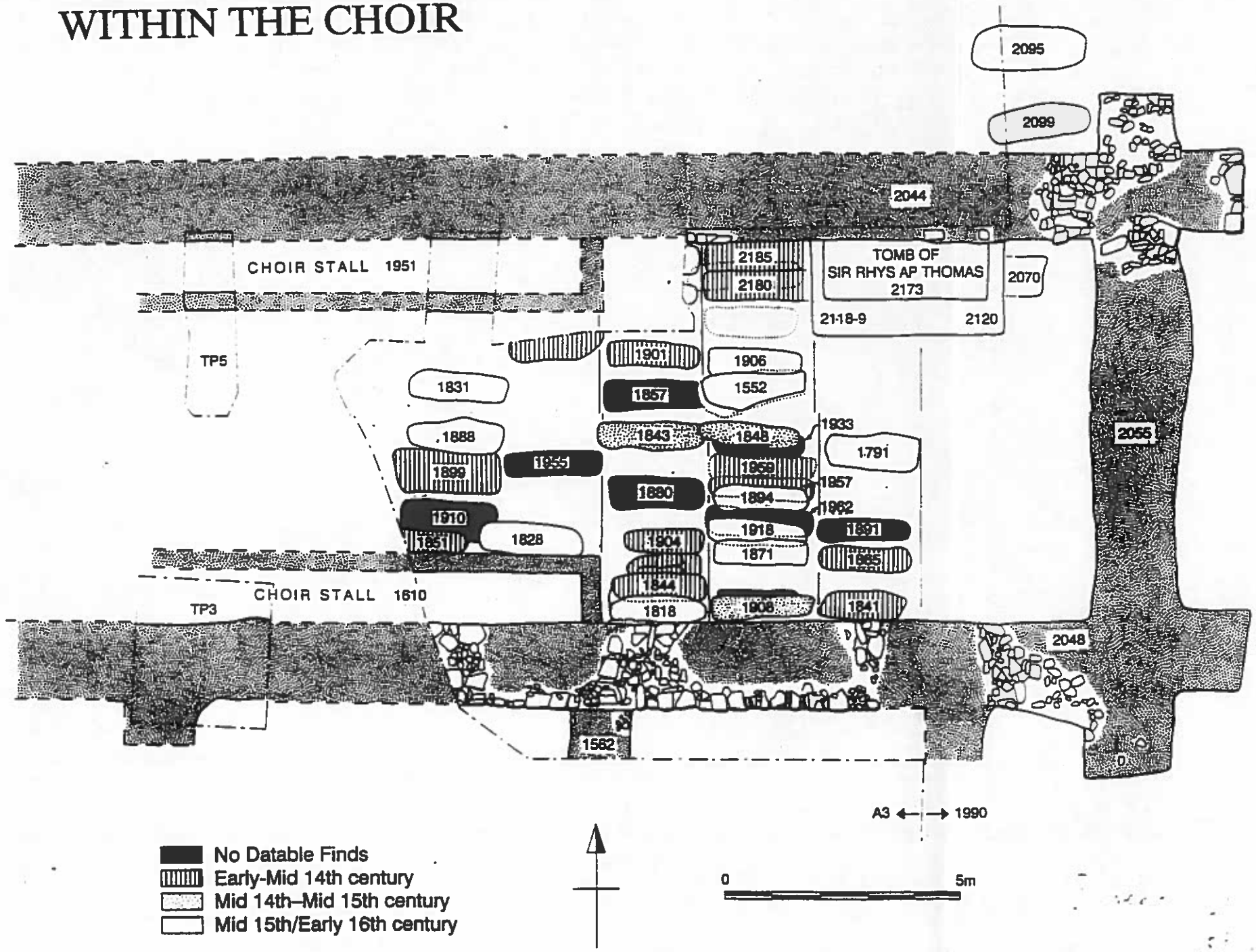


Fig. 2.3. Multi-period plan of graves within the choir, with approximate date of latest finds from each grave

duced many small finds that had been lost by friars over the two and three-quarter centuries of services held in the choir. These included coins, jettons, lace tips and other small finds. The evidence indicates that the steps and choir stalls are probably contemporary with the original construction of the church. The earliest documentary reference to the church is in July 1282, when William de Valence, son of the earl of Pembroke, was buried there, having fallen in battle near Llandeilo. His burial place was noted by the herald William Fellow when he visited Greyfriars in 1530 'in the Quyer betwext the high aulter and the sepulture of Edmund Erle of Richemond'. The clear implication is that de Valence's grave was still marked either by a tomb or grave slab, and this may have prevented the destruction of his grave by later burials. Three centrally placed early graves, all with good coffin evidence, have been considered as possible candidates for de Valence's tomb (Fig. 2.3). The least likely is 1880, which although fairly central and lacking any late material in its fill, had impressions of a late tiled floor over it. The tomb seen by Fellow could therefore not have been there. The second stratigraphically early grave without later finds (1857) can also be dismissed for the same reason, as its position was covered by 15th century floortiles (cf. Figs. 2.3 & 2.4). This leaves grave 1955, which produced 24 coffin nails and a fairly well-preserved skeleton. Apart from these three graves, every other grave excavated within the choir had artifacts datable to the 14th century or later. It can therefore be seen that if de Valence's grave lay within the area investigated, then the only grave that could possibly be his is grave 1955. This is further supported by the lack of any tile impressions of the later (14th century) floor (1861), which can be taken to indicate that there was a tomb chest or slab over the grave following the laying of floor 1861.One rider must however be added. Below step 2, west of the site to the High Altar, was another grave sited centrally (1761, Fig. 2.3). This contained 16th century material in its fill, but had apparently been 'robbed'. Could it be that this grave had its skeletal remains removed, like those of Edmund Tudor and members of the Dinefwr family, after the Dissolution? If so, then the 16th century material in its fill would only indicate a *terminus post quem* for the 'robbing', not the excavation of the grave.

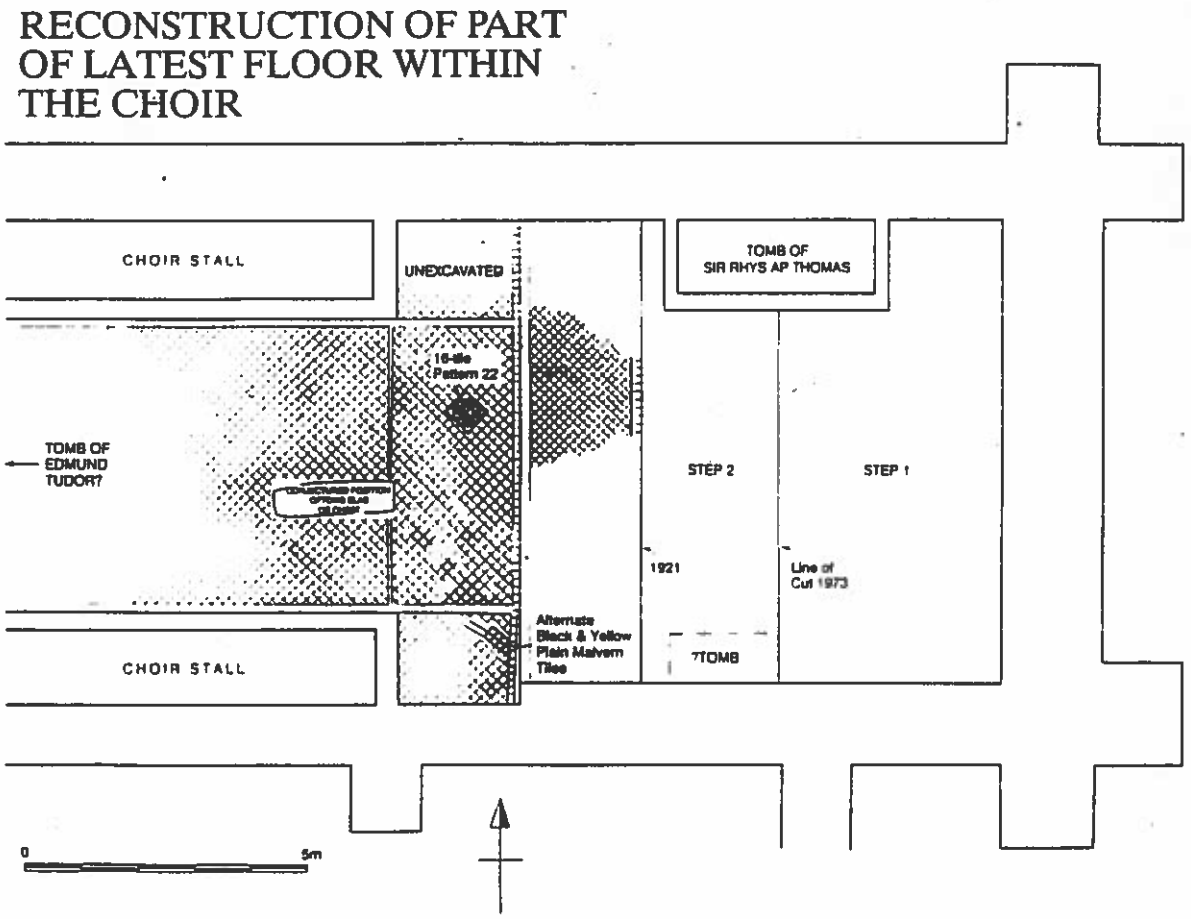


Fig. 2.4

[NB the gender and age of skeletal material must be checked for de Valence]

Phase II: The 14th century.

No changes to the size of the choir are evident in the arrangement of the walls or choir stalls. The major activity associated with this phase relates to the reflooring of the church mainly with decorated floortiles. The main evidence for this was a mortar bed (1861, Fig. 2.2) that extended westward from the westernmost step number 4, and confined to north and south by the choir stalls. Although no tiles survived *in situ*, the size of tile impressions (120-128mm) conforms closely to the size of the early 14th century tiles discovered in residual layers above, and it is suggested that this floor was first laid at this date. The alignment of the tiles ran parallel to the main wall tiles, not obliquely, as is the case with the late medieval floors.

The mortar bed (1861) sealed a number of graves of the previous phase. There was little in the way of other dating evidence except a very fine bronze crucifix that may be dated to the thirteenth century **[check]** from a dump layer (1868) sealed by the floor.

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

Because the common practice was to occasionally lift areas of tiled floor to excavate graves and then relay the floor, it was not always possible to establish if a grave was earlier or later than a tiled floor. The relationship with grave 1899 is a case in point, because the grave was apparently sealed by mortar bed 1861 but contained fragments of early 14th century tile (patterns 6 and 16). Since no fragments of these tiles were found in layers below mortar bed 1861 (other than in intrusive graves), then it is assumed that 1861 represents evidence for the earliest *tiled* floor in the choir. It is more likely that the mortar bed that 'sealed' grave 1899 was actually relayed, and this is supported (although not incontrovertibly) by both the drawing (field plan

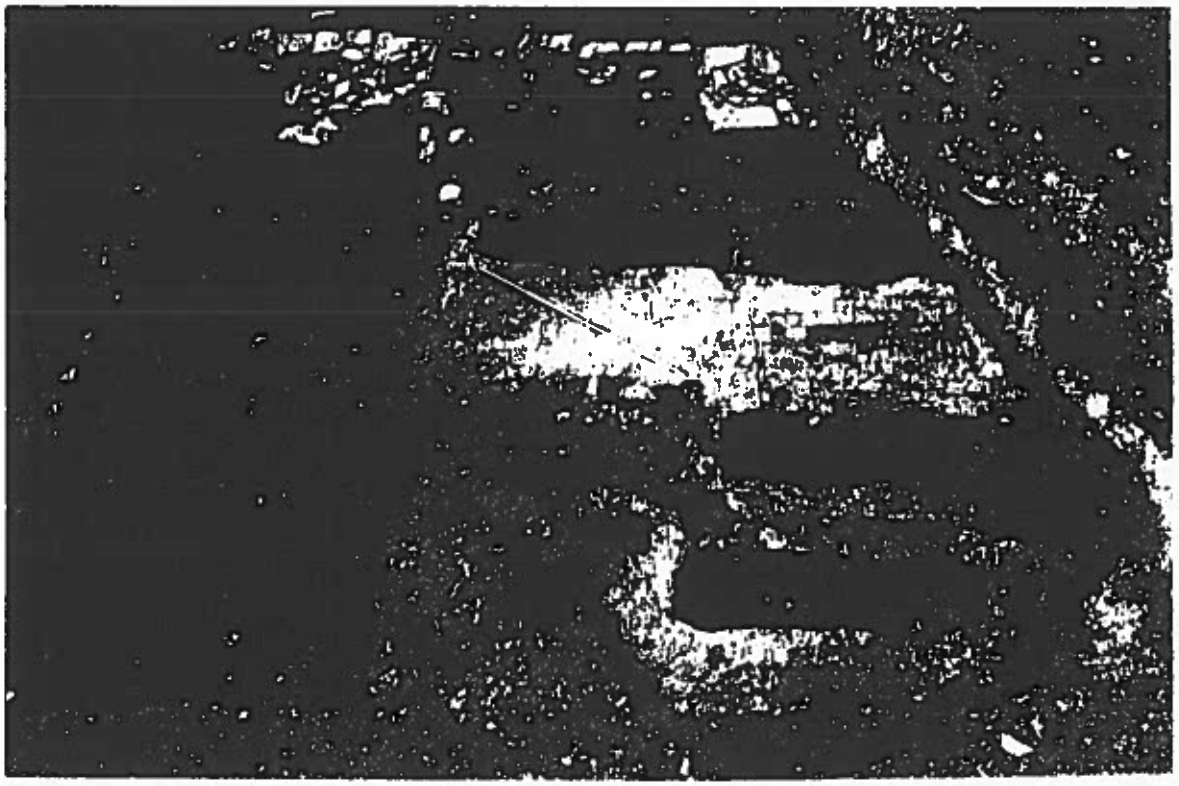


Plate 2.5. Layer of tile impressions (1861) within the choir, with position of steps centre/left. The south wall of the choir is at the top of the photo. View from the north. The area which appears disturbed in the centre of the view denotes the position of a former tomb chest or slab that would have stood proud of the tiles.

139, strip 146) and the photographic evidence (Plates 2.5, 2.6). However, the possibility that part of the mortar bed over this grave was later that the rest of the bedding was not suspected at the time of excavation. A further complication is that around two sides of grave 1899 was the remains of a narrow mortared wall (not illustrated) which is supposed to have supported a tomb chest. If this belonged to 1899 that would have to mean that grave 1899 was earlier than floor 1861, since the tiled floor would have had to run around, not over, a tomb chest. This would then mean that there was an earlier, undetected, tiled floor. On balance I believe that the walling (1900) must relate to an earlier grave, the cut for which had been wholly obliterated by the excavation of grave 1899.

During the lifetime of floor 1861 it is possible that a number of other graves were cut through it and the floor relayed. Assigning close dates to any grave is hazardous, but the fills of most graves had fragments of floortile and sometimes pottery which can be used to give a *terminus post quem* for their backfilling. The absence of later 15th-early 16th century tiles can also be used, with caution, and when an association of later cuts of graves can be demonstrated, then some graves have been assigned to specific phases Fig. 2.3). Phase II encompasses the laying and lifetime of the tiled floor associated with mortar layer 1861: graves 1851, 1901, a group centred on 1904, all cut through bedding 1861, but do not contain late floortile or pottery fragments. On the sanctuary steps graves 2180,1894, 1957, 1865 and 1841 all contained datable evidence that shows these graves to be contemporary with or later than floor 1861, but none had late dating evidence from their fills. For these reasons these graves have been assigned to this phase spanning most of the 14th century.

The study of floortiles (James & Brennan 1991) suggests that following the first introduction of decorated floortiles of early 14th century date one or two new tile patterns, including tiles that bear the de Brian arms, were brought into use. These have been dated by historical association to sometime around the middle of the fourteenth century. These tiles could have been used for relaying parts of floor 1861, perhaps when a new tomb was erected. There is no historical evidence to show that any of the de Brian family (Lords of Laugharne) were interred in the friary church.

Palte 2.6. The straight line of tile impressions in layer 1861. In one area it is possible that the tiles had been lifted for the excavation of grave 1899 and then relaid, forming a break that can be seen here (arrowed).

PHASE III-IV

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

The Nave - North extension

The lack of information about the west end of the choir, the nave and the crossing has already been discussed. A trial trench excavated in 1987 (TPH TT) confirmed that part of the church lay in the area north of 10 Friars Park. When the rear of T. P. Hughes' store became available for excavation in 1988 this general area (1988 A2) was opened on the assumption that the crossing would be discovered (Introduction, Fig. 2). In the event most of A2 lay outside the church: NS (1665) and EW (1377/1662) robber trenches with angled buttresses (1666) provided clear evidence for the NE corner of a building (Fig. 2.7, Plate 2.7). Only a very small area of the interior could be investigated: this was floored (1669-70) in plan yellow and black late Malvern type-7 floortiles. This floor must date to the late 15th or early 16th century. Within the fill of a grave (1681, not illustrated) were numerous complete Llanastephan-type plain tiles which may relate to an earlier floor; the date of these tiles is uncertain. There were

numerous graves (1384-6), and three tombs (1390, 1399). Tomb 1390 may have been incorporated into the original build of the interior NE corner (as the width of robber trench 1377 was only 1.2m). Within the backfill of the robbed north wall was a mass of human skulls and longbones, which suggests that a charnel house must have lay close by. Part of the backfill of the original foundation trench of the east wall of the building produced four shards of Newport-type pottery (from three vessels); the date of these is though to be no earlier than the 15th century and could be later. On the basis of this evidence, the enlargement of the church would appear to lay in or after the 15th century—too late to be associated with the documented enlargement of the Friary close in 1394. Nevertheless this enlargement may have subsequently allowed the northward expansion of the friary. The Llanstephan-type floortiles cannot at present be used to provide any closer dating, as Llanstephan material is known to have been produced over an extended period.

Two features of this building are noteworthy. The foundation/robber trench for the east wall (1665) broadened out from 1.60m to 1.90m towards the south (see Fig. 2.8). The depth of the trench was between 70-90cm deep, but about 2.7m from the southern limit of excavation the base of the trench abruptly rose giving a trench depth of 60cm. This indicates possibly two phases of wall building and may relate to an earlier wall, porch or buttress of the original north wall or NE corner of the nave. The other feature was inside, and partly excavated only in the trial trench of 1987. This was a deep parallel cut (1381) well into subsoil some 2.7m west of the inside face of NS wall 1665. The overall dimensions of this feature are unknown as it ran westward of the area available for excavation, but measured 5.75m NS by at least 1.1m EW and attained a depth of 1.1-1.2m. Surviving at its base were grave cuts 1384-6. The fill of the graves and cut 1381 were indistinguishable, but contained very little stone—a characteristic inconsistent with the feature being a robber trench, which is what the excavator thought it was. The very limited area examined does not allow any clear conclusions to be drawn as to its function, but it is too shallow to have been a crypt. The finds from its fill included masses of human bone, and 14th and 15th/16th century floortile. These finds could of course be intrusive if the graves are later.

The actual plan of the nave in this period has already been discussed. To sum up, two possibilities are suggested. The first is that the nave was effectively doubled in size by the addition of a parallel

Plate 2.7. Part of the north-east corner of the extended nave from the NNW, showing the robbed out wall lines (cf. Fig. 2.7)

THE NORTHERN ADDITION TO THE NAVE

(1988 A2)

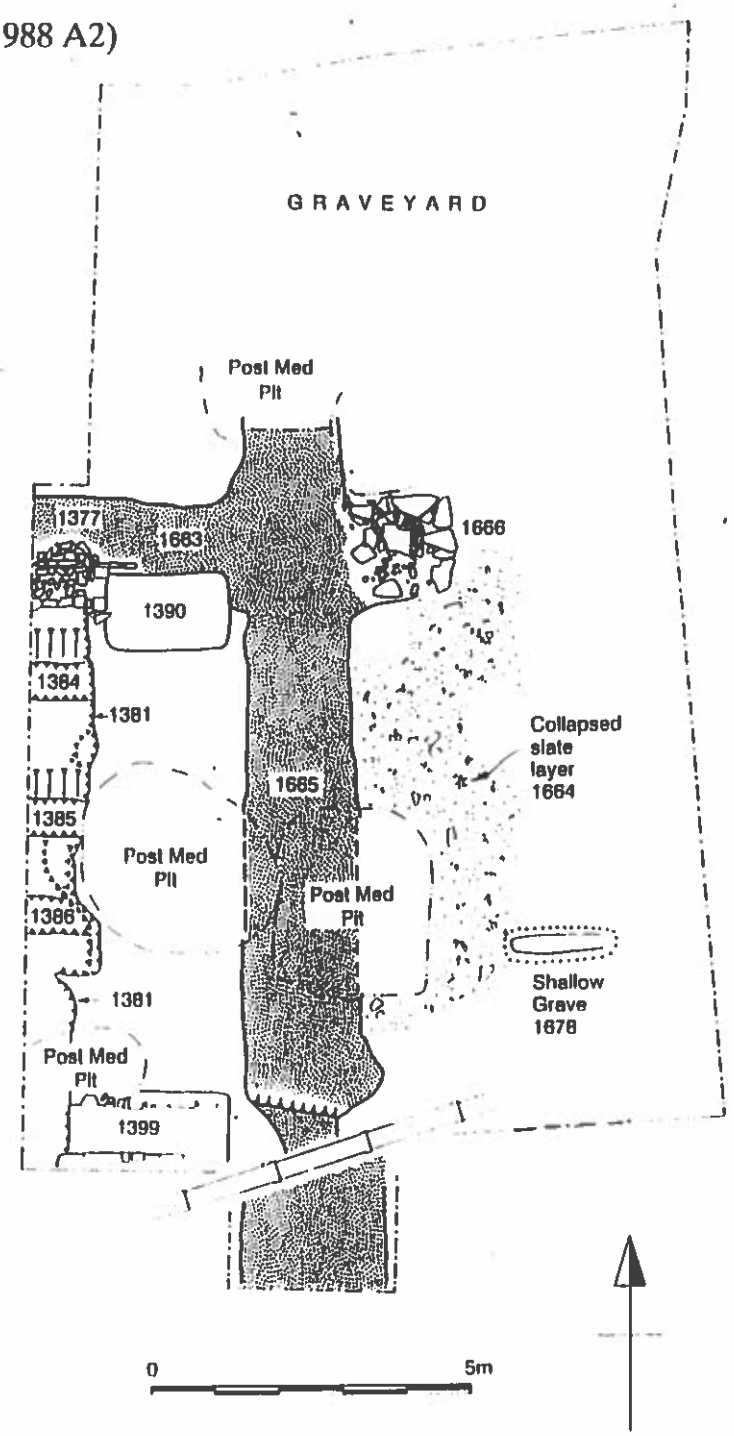


Fig. 2.8. The norther extension to the nave – the north aisle

range, a plan form known at Gloucester Greyfriars (although apparently of one period); alternatively the extension belongs to a north chapel similar to Oxford Greyfriars and common in Irish Franciscan houses. One final piece of evidence that has some bearing on this is the discovery of skeletons under the back yard north of No.8 Friars Park in 1978 (DAT SMR PRN8372). The salvage record made by me then was more in favour of the burials being from a cemetery, not inside a building. However, the bone of these skeletons was in quite good condition, a fact more indicative of their graves having been inside a building. By comparison, skeletal material from the 1988 excavation north of the church was in so poor a condition that the bone barely survived (see Graveyard, Fig. 2.8). By contrast, those within the NE angle of the nave - where abundant mortar would calcify the soil – had very good bone preservation. Although part of the curtilage of No.8 Friars' Park could be encompassed by a west chapel (assuming its width was about the same as the choir), the grave locations occurred further west than any projected west wall (Fig. 2.9). The position of these discoveries tends to argue for the existence of a parallel range. If this was the case, then a projection of the east wall of the west range of the Great Cloister (the most likely alignment for the west front of the church) would mean that the west wall of the north addition would today be marked by the division between numbers 6 and 7 Friars' Park (see Fig. 2.9). The south walls of 7 and 8 and the former north wall of 9 and the north wall of 10 Friars' Park would therefore mark the position of the arcaded division between the nave and its northern extension (the original north wall of the nave). It is possible that the thicker and differently aligned base of the north and east walls of 11 Friars' Park actually marks the foundation of part of the 'Walking Place' which supported the tower. If these suppositions are correct, it is interesting to note that the west door of the nave would lay under the lane between 7 and 15 Friars' Park; the lane may thus have originated when the entrance was still there.

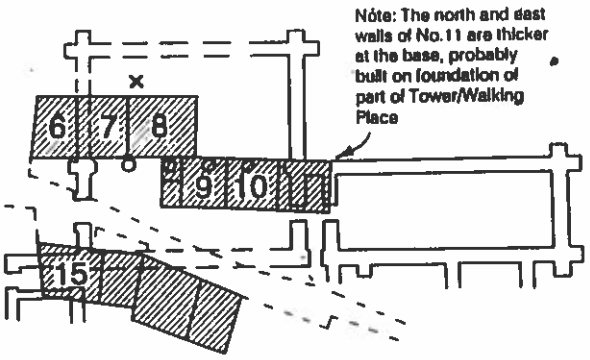


Fig. 2.9. Plan showing supposed position and extent of nave in relation to present houses at Friars' Park.

Choir

During the 15th and 16th centuries the choir floor underwent a succession of changes. This is assumed by the existence of two separately datable groups of decorated floortiles, and the latest floor, which was at a higher level than the fourteenth century tiled floor(s). The major change was one of levels: the fourteenth century floor had its tiles stripped off before being covered by a succession of dumps (1853/1863) and the stonework for the westernmost riser for step 4 removed and the void backfilled (1919-20). The depth of this dumping (at least 25cm) raised the ground level above the now covered step 4 to the same level as step 3, in effect doing away with the westernmost two steps. However the stonework for the tread between 3 and 4 must have been left *in situ* and incorporated into the newly tiled floor, as this can be the only rational explanation for the NS 'robber-trench' 1776 (Fig. 2.2). The levels either side of this trench clearly shows that no step exited in this position in the last floor, but it would appear that the stonework the riser of step 3 had become incorporated, and subsequently robbed during the dismantling of the church after the Dissolution. Some consideration was given to the possibility that 1776 formed a base of a screen, but this has been rejected as an unlikely feature in a Francisan choir. East of this the surviving two steps (1 and 2) rose the levels a further 36cm – about 18cm for each riser.

The change in floor level must have necessitated some alteration to the height of the choir stalls. rebuilding – or perhaps heightening – of the walls supporting the southern stalls (1936) is suggested by the inclusion of late plain Malvern floortile in its fabric. This is further supported by the find of 4 coins and 2 jettons from the layers that had accumulated below the suspended floor of the north and south stalls (contexts 1610/1951). The earliest coin was a heavily worn and clipped York penny of late 14th or 15th century date; otherwise the coins date from 1465 onwards and include a coin of c. 1533–44. The jettons are 16th century. The dates seem to suggest that they were probably deposited piecemeal during the later 15th century until the house was dissolved in 1538. That no earlier finds were recovered from these very rich layers may relate to the probability that any comparable layer in the earlier unmodified choir stalls was cleared out during the heightening of the floor.

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

Despite the fact that the two western steps had been removed through this levelling-up process, their former positions were clearly still indicated by

lines in the late tiled floor and by the continuity of laying out graves between the 'steps' (Figs. 2.3, 2.4). It should be noted that the distance between steps was about 2m, enough to accommodate a grave of a 6 foot person. In no case throughout the history of the friary did a grave cut *across* any step, although there was a tendency to sometime undercut the step line (e.g. graves 1843, 1848, 1952, Fig. 2.3).

Study of the late decorated floortiles suggests that there were probably two late reflorings. Only one floor could be detected archaeologically - fragments of the last floor (Fig. 2.4). It is therefore probable that the floor level remained constant and that only the tiles themselves were changed. The floor in any case was constantly lifted for the excavation of graves, and no less than 13 graves containing fragments of late floortile were recorded. The earlier of the two tile groupings belong to tiles from the Droitwich tilery that ceased production about 1450. One of last Droitwich pavements - a sixteen-tile design laid in the Beauchamp Chapel of Tewkesbury Abbey c. 1437 – is also represented by pieces of tile pattern 21 from the Friary (James & Brennan, 1991). This pattern incorporates the Beauchamp arms, and was probably bought in as there is no known link with the family at that date. Other Droitwich tiles are represented by patterns 8, ?18, 40, 53 (all 4-tile designs) and another 16-tile design, 23. Without *in situ* floors to study nothing secure can be said about this presumed mid-15th century reflooring apart from the alteration in levels already noted. But the date is close enough to the death of Edmund Tudor and the erection of his tomb in 1456 to suggest an occasion for the introduction (and indeed the finance) for a major reflooring. According to the Fellow MS 'in the myddest of the quyer lyeth buryed in a Tombe of Marbill Edmond Erle of Richemond ffather to King Henry the VIIth' (Jones, 1984, 69). The tomb is referred to by Lewys Glyn Cothi in the late 15th century (Jones, E. D. 1984, 14), and also by William Egwad's ode to the Grey Friars (Jones, F. 1966).

Edmund's marble tomb is now in the choir of St David's cathedral, so its dimensions (2.22 x 1.04m) can be checked. Only one grave had a stone foundation that matches these dimensions (1899, Figs. 2.2, 2.3), but on stratigraphical grounds it cannot be as late as 1456. This grave is clearly covered by the bedding (1861) for the 14th century floor, so could not have had a tomb chest or slab after the 14th century. The Fellow MS places William de Valence's grave between Edmund's and the High Altar, so that Edmund's tomb was in all probability west of the area excavated. It must, however, have been placed in the area between the choir stalls – the area that had its floor level raised during this phase of the friary's life. It is possible that an opportunity was taken to make significant changes to the layout and levels of the floor when Edmund's tomb was erected in 1456. Perhaps other tombs were removed at this date to accommodate such a prestigious personage, resulting in a need to introduce new paving.

The Church in the early 16th century

The second group of decorated floortiles belong to the so-called Canynges-type of Malvern tiles. These are represented by patterns 5, 7, 30, 31, 32, 39 and possibly 20 and 26. It also includes a 16-tile design (22) one tile of which was discovered *in situ* at the same level as yellow and black plain Malvern tiles (Fig. 2.2). A noteworthy features is NS gully 1921 (Fig. 2.2). This is the remains of robbed out stonework of the tread of step 2 leading to the High Altar. The final riser of step 1 of the sanctuary itself is marked by a cut (1973) and further rise in level noted between the 1988 and 1990 excavation areas. The floors delimited by the remaining steps were fragmentary, only surviving as occasional patches of mortar, some subsiding into earlier graves. There were no certain tile impressions, but fragments of decorated and plain tile were disovered which support the contention that these steps were tiled in a similar way to the rest of the choir. The surviving patches of the last floor throughout the choir, combined with the Suppression inventory and William Fellow's MS, give some indications of the appearance of the choir at the eve of the Dissolution. Clearly the choir was crammed with memorials and tombs. The tomb of Sir Rhys ap Thomas (now in St Peter's Church) was located on the north side of the choir 'a lytle from the high aulter'. The remains of a large robbed tomb base (2123), 4m by 1.6m was recorded in the 1990 excavation against the north wall near the altar area. This tomb cut an earlier, undated, coffined grave (2070), which might have been marked by a tomb chest. There has been some suggestion that the Sir Rhys' tomb was the work of the Renaissance Italian sculptor Mazzoni or perhaps Torrigiano both of whom had been involved with the design of Henry VII's tomb (Jones, 1966). But this seems unlikely: Sir Rhys died in 1525 and Torrigiano was working in Iberia between 1522 and 1528. Sir Rhys' tomb underwent a considerable restoration and rebuilding in 1860, when the tomb chest was modified. Its present base dimensions are 3.25m by 1.90m. A drawing by John Carter executed in 1803 gives dimensions of 11ft 5ins by 5ft 3 ins (3.48m by 1.60m). This width matches that of the excavated tomb foundation, and although the length is not a prefect match, there can be no doubt that this was the remains of Sir Rhys ap Thomas' tomb. The anomaly with the length of the tomb (3.48m in Carter, 4m excavated) may relate to the fact that the base of the tomb had been modified from an earlier family tomb. This seems to be indicated by Fellow, who states 'a goodly tombe [of] Sir Ryce ap Thomas,

Bannaret, in a place where [also?] laye Sir Ryce ap Griffeth [born 1325] great uncle to Sir Ryce...' (Jones 1984 69). Sir Rhys was buried in 1525 (after laying in state as a Knight of the Garter in the choir for a fortnight) and in accordance with the wishes of his will (which was made at the friary) his second wife, Janet, who died in 1535 was also buried with him (*Arch Camb* 1892, 90; Jones, 1966). Tomb 2123 had been robbed and its foundations partly destroyed by post medieval pits. It had used the north wall of the choir and its west and south walls (2118-9) were constructed of stone, slate and fragments of floortile bonded in a coarse mortar. If it replaced an earlier tomb this might explain why the east wall of the tomb foundation (2120) was different in character from the rest of the tomb. This survived as a line of mortar, clay, stone and slate. The late date of the walls is indicated by the inclusion of fragments of plain Malvern tiles (type 7) within their fabric. The floor of the tomb which may have been as much as 2m below the floor around the tomb, was made from a skim of lime mortar covering an area 1.25m by at least 3.49m. This area of mortar is closer to the dimensions given by Carter. The clearance of the tomb, which included the removal of any skeletal remains and the tomb chest, was comprehensive. Unfortunately subsequent disturbance did not allow an accurate assessment of the date of robbing; most of the backfill of the tomb (2045) was itself cut by pits, but did not produce anything later than 16th century material. Sir Rhys' tomb was certainly in St Peter's church before 1651 as his early biographer (probably Henry Rice c. 1590-1651) records this, adding '. . .sorrie am I to saie, [it] is made of a sorte of free- stone, of soe softe a graine, that itt alreadie beares evident proofe of unfaithfullnesse to its truste; and in less than another centurie, will in all likelie to lose all traces of what itt was at firste intended to record' (*Cambrian Register*, 1795, 142-3). Fortunately time has not been as destructive as prophesied, as the effigy still retains some fine detail; the early decay may have resulted from a period when the church was perhaps roofless; moreover the effigy could easily have been damaged when it was dismantled and transported across the town to St Peter's.

The church on the eve of the Dissolution

The position of tomb chests and slabs would in large measure dictate the disposition of decorated pavements and plain tiles. There could not have been floortiles over the exact positions of the tombs of the Earl of Richmond, of William de Valence and of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and of Sir Thomas Reed 'on the South syde' of the choir; thus any *in situ* tiles or tile impressions in the late floor recorded in excavation clearly point to areas where there were no tombs (Fig. 2.4). By a process of elimination, and by reference to the Fellow MS and the Suppression inventory, it is thus possible to make a number of observations about the choir.

Three tombs can be located with some confidence: Edmund Tudor's (with its 'paule of clothe of tussey') was in the centre of the choir, west of William de Valence, and thus presumably between the choir stalls west of the area excavated. William de Valence's tomb was probably immediately west of the former westernmost step up to the sanctuary between the eastern extremities of the choir stalls. The flooring around these two tombs was of yellow and black Malvern tiles broken up by one or more pavements of decorated tiles, including a 16-tile pattern (22) which dates from the late 15th to early 16th century. The sanctuary was divided from the choir by steps 1921 and 1973, and the areas of the former steps (3 and 4) were still delimited by the patterns of floor tiling. The north side of the sanctuary held the impressive tomb of Sir Rhys, 'with a grate of yron abowthe him' (Jones, F. 1966, Suppression inventory). If there was a footpace for the altar, no evidence for this was discovered; the area was very disturbed and unfortunately fell between the 1988 and 1990 excavations, thereby making interpretation difficult. The discovery of fragments of clay figures depicting one of the crucified robbers and the other perhaps the Virgin or St John (richly painted in cinnabar) may have formed part of the Passion Cycle at the reredos. Hanging above the altar would have been the sanctuary lamp – perhaps the 'litill hanging lampe' of the suppression inventory.

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

Fellow's MS also alludes to a tomb of alabaster of Gruffudd ap Nicholas (*fl* 1425-56, grandfather of Sir Rhys ap Thomas), before 'thymage of St Francis'. It is probable that Griffith ap Nicholas' tomb had also been moved to St Peter's, along with two others of the Dinefwr family. This is clear from both Donovan's (1804) and Colt Hoare's descriptions of

St Peter's (Donovan, 1804, 188-1904; Thompson, 1983, p. 214). The alabaster of these tombs was 'absolutely beaten to pieces' by workmen working at the church in the late 18th century. The ground down alabaster or gypsum was found ideal for use as plaster for cornice work! Griffith ap Nicholas's tomb and the image of St Francis are described by Fellow as being in the 'churche', presumably the nave. Fragments of finely carved freestone with traces of gilding were recovered in demolition rubble. This possibly represents part of the limb of a lamb which may have formed part of this image, as St Francis is often depicted with a lamb. Also in the nave were five altar tables of alabaster, and 'a frame of iron thorow all the chirche, before the auterys for taberys'. According to Martin (1937, 26) altars were 'separated and protected in front by screens or parcloses, usually of timber' but the frame of iron here mentioned must have divided an eastern bay of the nave from the nave proper. This can only be conjecture, as we have no certain way of knowing if the nave was aisled and thus have had bays, although the 15th century northward extension gives grounds for suspecting this. An alternative suggestion is that the 'frame of iron . . . before the alter for tapers' could actually refer to candle-frames (Tony Parkinson, pers. comm.).

Phase V – Abandonment and demolition

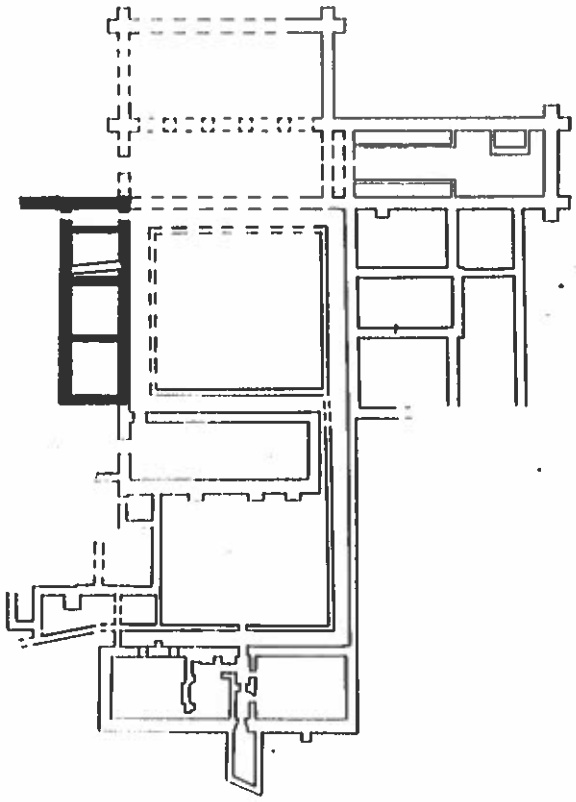
No archaeological evidence was recovered to indicate any reuse of the church by Thomas Lloyd's short lived grammar school of 1543-47. Brecon Blackfriars' choir was reused by the newly founded Christ College, so the choir may have been taken over by Thomas Lloyd's school. Lloyd had petitioned for and been granted licence to found a school in 1536 (L & P, x, 226), but in 1539 the Mayor and Alderman of Carmarthen petitioned for the house to be used as a school, stating that the friary was daily going into ruin, there being no lead on any part of the roof (L & P XIV, 347). It was not until new letters patent were issued in February 1543 that Lloyd's school could get off the ground, and it closed soon after his death in 1547 (Williams, 1974, 57-59). The subsequent history of the church relates to its demolition.

We have already considered the question of the removal of a number of tombs to St Peter's and the cathedral of St David; the archaeological evidence is too imprecise to allow any clear date for this activity, although it is assumed to have been soon after the Dissolution. The layers immediately over the latest floor of the choir had nothing later than 16th century finds, but a general demolition level (1725) contained many fragments of 17th and 18th century pottery. The robber trench fills (1679, 1738, 1744, 2049) of the choir walls also produced 16th to 18th century pottery. In the angle between the north extension of the nave and the north wall of the choir a substantial layer of roofing slate filled a hollow. This slate is assumed to have originated from the nave roof (1664, Fig. 2.7). It included fragments of 16th and 17th century pottery. Within the layer was a shallow grave (1678) which would seem to represent a late post suppression burial. Unlike the Chapter House, the choir does not appear the have been effected by the construction of Civil War defences in 1644. The combined evidence suggests robbing of the church was complete (apart from a few walls) by the middle of the 18th century, which is supported by the disposition of boundaries shown on Thomas Lewis' map of 1786. This shows that of all the cottages now standing in Friars' Park, only numbers 6-8 were represented by any standing building; the present north wall of numbers 9-11 (which has been suggested as incorporating part of the north wall of the unextended nave) is depicted only as a boundary wall. Some piecemeal robbing after the main walls were robbed is indicated by the later robbing of part of tomb 2123; its foundations were evidently dismantled after the backfilling of the main robber trenches. Historic evidence about what remained in the 18th and 19th centuries is equivocal. On the one hand in the 18th century Yardley states the church was by then 'without a steeple or pillars'; yet Spurrell, writing in 1879 states that the tower of the church was pulled down within the memory of people then living. This latter seems to be contradicted by Lewis' map of 1786 (surely well before the memory of people living in 1879) which does not appear to show anything like a standing tower. Spurrell also states that unspecified parts of the friary were then standing incorporated within houses of the neighbourhood (Jones 1966). Some late robbing is attested in the robber trench fill of the north wall of the nave (1631) which includes late 18th to early 20th century material. This wall line is still perpetuated in the northern boundary wall of numbers 6-8 Friars' Park, but that part investigated in 1988 does not appear as standing on Lewis' map. During the 1990 excavations it was show that following the robbing of the north wall of the choir new walls (2012/2014), on the same alignment were built (not illustrated). One wall (2014) actually carried the line eastwards of the former NE corner of the choir, a boundary that can be seen in the 1786 map. But this had been removed by the time of the surveying of the 1:500 OS map in 1887. The incorporation of ruinous fragments of church walling into the boundaries and some part of the cottages on the north side of Friars' Park has been argued in the section devoted to the 15th century extension of the nave (above).

3. Building 1323 (West Range of Great Cloister)

Building 1323 was located under the driveway that formerly linked Park House with Lammas Street. Its location was first confirmed by the excavation of three trial trenches, D, E and G. The position of these was dictated by the need to retain intact the several bushes and shrubs growing on the W side of the driveway. Each trench located the same NS robber trench (656/651) and interior floor surfaces were noted on the E side. On the basis of this negotiations were instigated to close the driveway to public access. The size and extent of the area was however restricted by a number of factors, viz:

1. The inability to remove shrubbery.
2. The inability to excavate close to the east boundary wall due to structural considerations.
3. The need to maintain constant access for residents to their back gardens of 13-15 Friars' Park, via a small gate in the SE corner of the drive.



With these restrictions a trench 28m long and approx. 2.5m wide was excavated along the length of the drive with small extensions to the E, W and S. This area was entitled 'DEG', and was excavated in two parts; the southern followed the completion of the northern to maintain access to the rear of the occupied cottages of Friars' Park. As had been expected from the trial trenches, a large building (1323) on a NS long axis was partly exposed in the area, which formed the west range of the northern cloister.

PHASING

There appears to have been a phase immediately preceding the construction of building 1323, as a number of shallow pits (1183, 1163, Fig. 3.1) were discovered below the earliest occupation levels. The only artifact recovered from these, a shard from the fill of 1195, cannot be dated any closer than general medieval terms.

Phase I – Mid 13th to Early 14th Century

(Fig. 3.1)

In the initial phase this NS aligned building (1323) comprised three rooms to the south of a cross passage that linked the area outside the friary's buildings with the northern cloister. The exterior dimensions at ground floor were approximately 25m x 8.2m, although the eastern side of the building was never excavated due to restrictions imposed on the size of excavated area. Only the western edge of robber trench 1219 was detected in a small eastward extension of the excavated area.The exterior walls were almost wholly robbed, but where foundations survived a wall thickness of c. 1m was indicated apart from the south wall (1229) which was only 90cm. This latter narrowing is unlikely to indicate the position of a door as a fireplace in this position is postulated below. Unfortunately the inability to excavate the east wall (1219) to its total width prevented an accurate assessment of the building's upper floor arrangement. Had the wall been narrower than the other exterior walls then it would indicate that the upper floor extended over the cloister alley (part of the weight being shared by the cloister arcade wall). This arrangement is suggested by the varying wall widths of building 24 (although the cloister arcade wall was never excavated here)

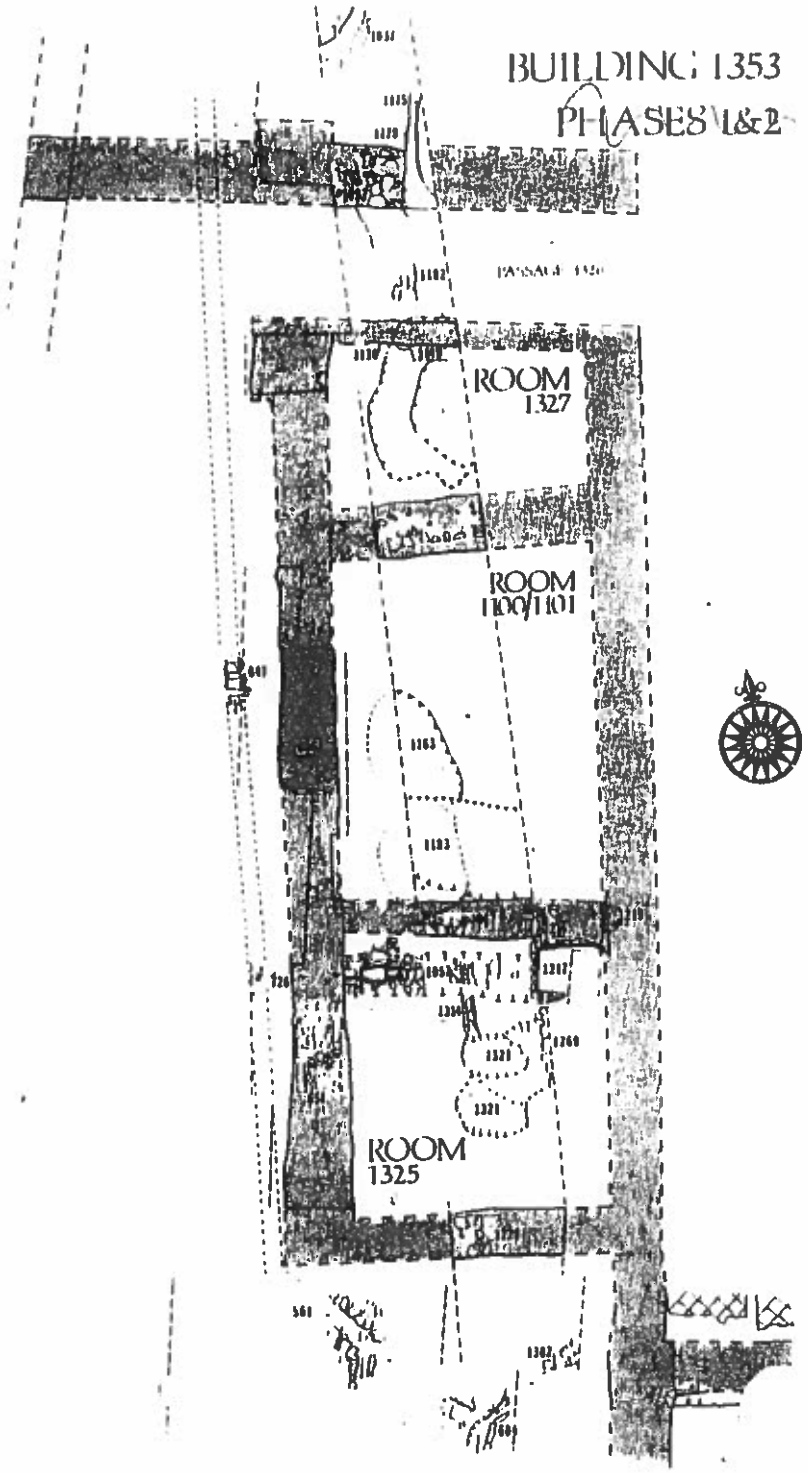


Fig. 3.1. Building 1323 in the 13th-14th centuries.

and by a similar arrangement was noted in building 28. Outside a drain, 1037, (which was incorporated into yard surface 1060) ran around the north west corner of the building, and then (as 647) down the west side to link with drain 561 on the south. This drain was stone lined, its channel varying between 20-35cm in width, and sloped from north to south. Down the west side, the drain (647) also branched off to the east and ran across the southernmost room (as 726/1057). This room (1325) was formed by EW cross wall 1067 (a robber trench c. 80cm wide) in addition to the exterior walls 656/651, 1219 and 1229. Internally it measured about 6m square.

At the east side of the room the EW drain 726/1057 emptied into a well-built drystone lined 'tank' (1217) 1.4m x 1m x 80cm deep with a coarse sandy fill. Branching to the south from drain 1057 was a smaller drain 1314 which in turn emptied into a irregular sump or soakaway (1321) which produced 2 shards from a 13th century vessel, and a further shard that could be 13th century. Yet one other small drain (1214) ran across wall line 1067 emptying into the NW corner of the stone lined tank. The only identifiable floor surfaces or makeup were very disturbed and made mainly of redeposited subsoil (1320) which sealed the soakaway 1321. Unfortunately it produced no datable finds. Subsequently the soakaway and its drain (1314) went out of use when a new stone lined drain (1269) was constructed. This ran from the SW corner of tank 1217 and may have left the building by crossing the south wall near the SE corner, or run through the east wall into the cloister alley. What ever way it left the room, the drain eventually ran into a new drain outside the south of the building (1302), itself originating in the cloister area (as drain 592, not illustrated) to the east of building 1323. Initially there was only one large room on the north of 1325 which measured 12.4m by just under 6m internally. But this was probably only a short-lived constructional feature. The room was then subdivided by a cross wall (1193/1173). This shallow robber trench was set at a rather oblique angle to the other wall lines forming a small room approximately 3.5m x 6m on the north and a larger room c. 7.8m x 6m in the middle. The only evidence for floor surfaces were in the northern room, which included a patchy mortar layer (1150) and a bedding layer (1134). Neither produced finds, but stratigraphically linked with these was fragmentary benching (1149) built against the south face of the north wall (1047). On the north of these rooms was the EW passageway between a narrow 50cm wide robber trench 1047 and exterior wall 1092, which was almost wholly robbed. Part of the western robber trench 656 was wider next to the supposed entrance to this passage than further south (1.65m as opposed to c. 1.2m). This may be interpreted was a wider footing for a pretentious door surround, which would be expected here, since this passage probably formed the principal entrance to the claustral ranges. Floors in this passage were set above 1182, a patchy layer sealing the foundation trench of a surviving block of masonry of the north wall (1092). Layer 1182 was cut by a trench which originally contained a lead water pipe (1175) which is analogous to similar pipe trenches in Buildings 24, 177 and 198. Its date is uncertain, but it is unlikely to be earlier than the 14th century and is certainly pre c. 1450 in Building 24. The water pipe could have run beneath the west cloister alley to link with a pipe line recorded under building 24 (see Part 5, below). Both 1182 and 1175 were sealed by a layer of crushed slate (1171, not illustrated) which was deposited in the passageway prior to the laying of 1157, a very worn surface which was itself replaced by the first in a succession of solid mortar surfaces (1144, not illustrated). There was no dating for these.

The function of each room during this phase is unknown, apart from that on the south. The drains, tank and soakaway of 1325 obviously point towards either to washing or food preparation. Because the use appears to have been the same throughout the friary's lifetime, discussion on this is included in the subsequent phase. Dating is meagre, with only pottery datable in general terms either to the 13th century or even less specifically assigned as medieval. Generally speaking the buildings must belong to the primary foundation period, and the modifications to the drains are probably late 13th or early 14th century. The lead water pipe trench may be contemporary with that found running across buildings 24, 177 and 198 (ie 484/422, 329, 254).

In Trench K, excavated in the former unsurfaced car park east of Building 1323 and EW boundary wall, 65cm wide, was recorded. Its projected line eastwards would have taken it to the NW corner of Building 1323. No dating evidence was recovered for this wall, so it has been included in both Figs. 3.1 and 3.2. Although the wall was certainly there in Phase II, it seems likely that a boundary wall, separating the lay area near the west front of the church from the claustral ranges would be needed from the earliest.

Phase II – 14th–16th centuries

(Fig. 3.2)

Building 1323 underwent a number of modifications during the 14th and/or 15th centuries. The most significant change involved the demolition of the oddly aligned wall 1173/1193 which was replaced by a new interior wall 1055 (surviving as a shallow robber trench 60cm wide with a few fragments of walling surviving in its base, 1063). This introduced more symmetry in the size of rooms: that on the north (1100) now measured about 6m square,

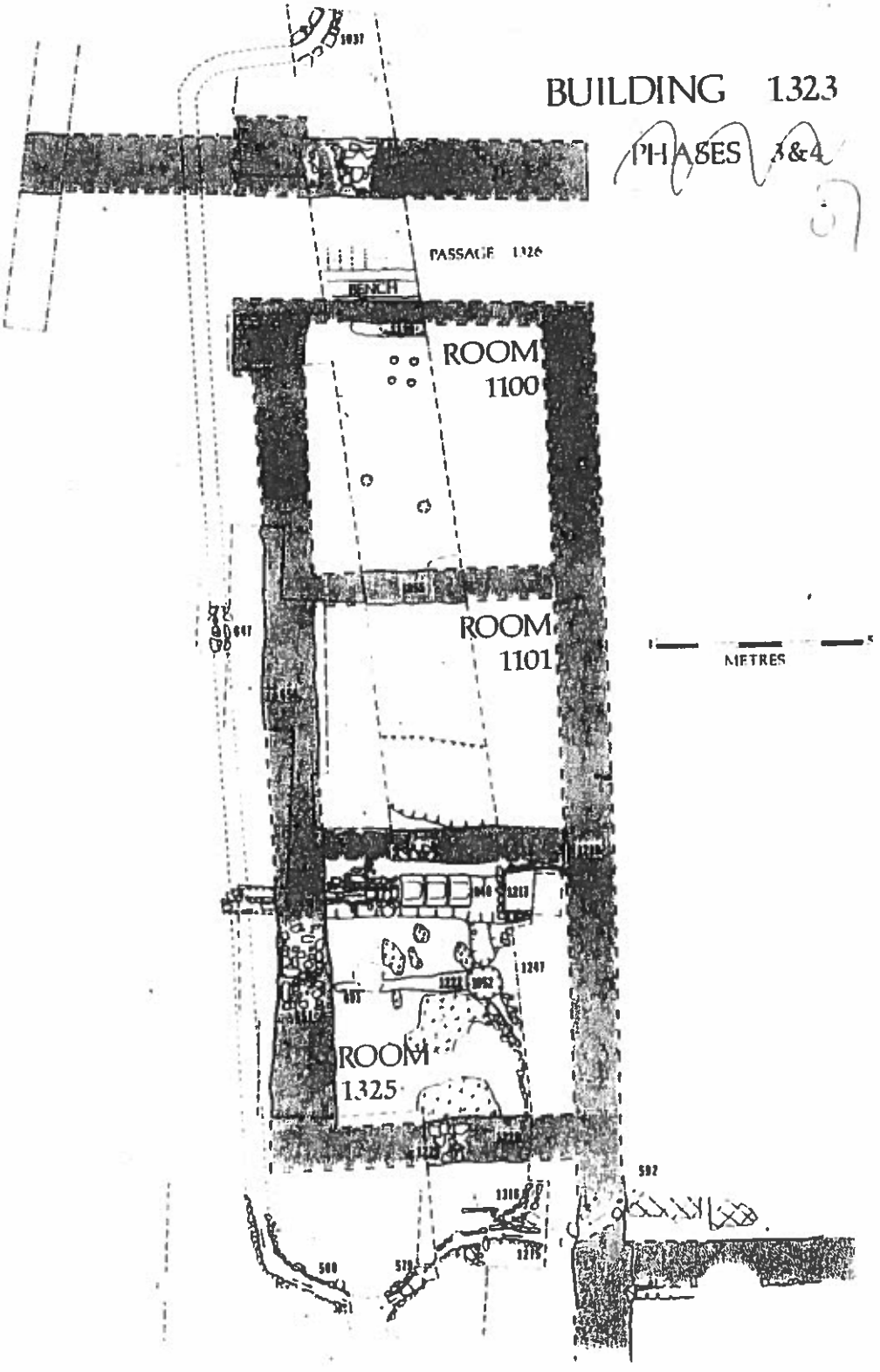


Fig. 3.2 Buiding 1323 in the 14th-16th centuries.

and the new centre room (1101) measured c. 5.5m NS by about 6m EW. The most complete floor layer in room 1100 (1114, a gravelly loam for a beaten floor) which sealed the now levelled and robbed former wall 1173/1193, also sealed benching that post dated the levelling of the old wall (not illustrated). So following the remodelling of the rooms the benching against the northern wall must itself have been refurbished (as 1130) before being demolished. Floor 1114 sat on bedding material (1120) which contained 8 shards from a single pot not closely datable. There then followed a succession of floor surfaces 1113, 1110, 1109, 1103, 1097 and the latest, 1088 (not illustrated). The latter contained a shard dated to the 15th/16th century. These mortar and clay levels may have been used as makup for a tiled floor, but *in situ* evidence did not survive. Layer 1088 did, however, contain two pieces of decorated type 12 tiles datable to the 14th century (James & Brennan 1991). Cut into this layer were a number of stakeholes which made no coherent pattern apart from 1081-84 which formed an apparent 50cm square. The latest floor was sealed by demolition debris 1054 and 1044, the latter contained late 17th century pottery (not illustrated). In the middle room (1101) the floor surfaces were more fragmentary; what flooring survived was preceded by pit 1112 which contained 4 shards from three pots dated to the late 14th-16th centuries. These were sealed in turn by layer 1078, which itself followed a number of fragmentary floor surfaces (1061, 1064 1075-6, 1080 and 1090) of which 1064 was of mortar (not illutrated). Layer 1090 displayed evidence for considerably burning possibly the result of a small fire or hearth. Unfortunately no dating evidence was recovered from these layers, but they presumably represent an extended timespan starting from the late 14th century (based on pottery fragments from 1112 and a 14th-15th century jetton from 1078). The latest floor, 1053, was sealed by a slate layer (1043), the remains of a collapsed roof which contained 16th century pottery. This was covered in turn by the dumping and demolition debris (1044) containing late 17th century pottery.

In the southern room (1325), there was further modification to the water system. Part of drain 1057 (Fig. 3.1) was replaced by three possibly four) massive Old Red Sandstone blocks set in line (1040) and carved with a U-sectioned profile for water to run along and then empty into the stone tank 1217 (Fig. 3.3).This insertion came late in the building's life, for the foundation trench for the blocks appeared to cut the latest floors in the building. Pottery from its fill was not closely datable . The drain to the west of the blocks (726) continued to feed water, but the drain which formerly branched to the north (1214, Fig. 3.1) now became obsolete due to the higher level of the Old Red Sandstone block drain. About the same time a new EW cob-built partition wall (1222) was inserted 1.6m south of block drain 1040. This was constructed in a shallow 25-30cm wide trench and had been plastered, as exemplified by upstanding lenses of mortar even though the clay infilling no longer survived (691). Most of the clay and mortar from the wall collapsed (during or after the 16th century) and had spread in patches on each side of its former line (1226, 1232, 1234, not illustrated) covering the latest floor surfaces. These floors, 1254, 1257, 1280, 1282 (illustrated Figs. 3.2, 3.3), and 1284 contained much evidence for burning and included many fish bones and mollusc shells. The burning argues for the existence of a fireplace or hearth in the immediate vicinity, and it is possible that the surviving masonry 1229 in the foundation of narrow wall line trench 1228 may belong to part of a fireplace fronted by the hearth material 1288 which contained coal fragments. The upper fill of robber trench 656 (582) on the west side of the room contained 22 fragments of colourful Dutch painted wall tiles of mid 16th century date. Three fragments were also recovered nearby from the west robber trench of building 24. These may relate to a post-Dissolution refurbishment of room 1325, perhaps a fireplace surround (James & Brennan, 1991). The other modification to this room was the replacement of the south-running drain 1269 (Fig. 3.1) with drain 1247 which is assumed to have run across the south wall of the room to join with drains 1316 and 1275 outside the building, where further changes to the drain layout (560 and 599) may already have taken place (cf. Figs. 3.1 & 3.2). It was not precisely clear where exactly drain 1247 started but its point of origin is likely to have been close to its precursor, forming an overflow for drain 1040 before entering tank 1217. The confusion was caused by a pit (1052) which not only truncated the northern part of the drain, but the east side of cob wall 1222. It was therefore uncertain if the wall extended right across to the east side of the room, or terminated short to allow a door opening. If the latter was the case then pit 1052 might be a posthole for an upright.

The northern eantrace passage (1326) saw a whole series of repairs and additions to the mortar floors. Many surfaces showed considerable evidence for wear and repair, attesting heavy of use the passage. At least 10 separate layers were identified culminating with layer 1046 with its associated benching 1048 against the south wall. This final surface retained the clear impression of 305mm square floortiles, although none survived either *in situ* or in the layers above. Of the many types and sizes of tile recovered from the site this very large tile impression can only be matched with the oolite tiles discovered elsewhere in the south and east alleys of the north cloister which of course would in any case link with this passage. The only difference is that the tile impressions lay perpendicular to the

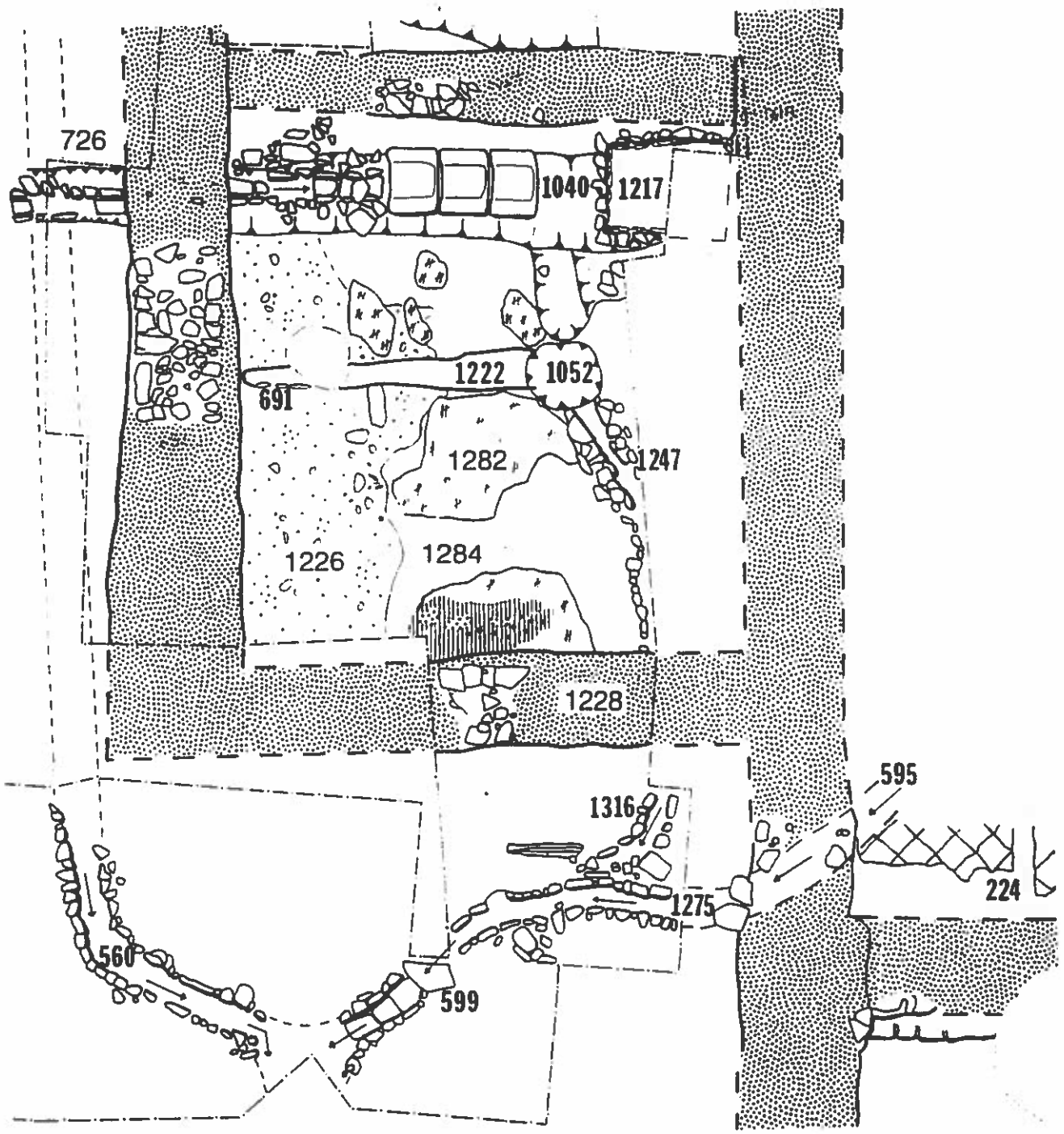


Fig. 3.2. Enlarged detain of room 1325.

wall lines, rather than obliquely, as was the case in the cloister alley north of building 24 (see context 224, Figs. 3.1 & 3.2).

The function of Building 1323

The question of the existence and layout of an upper floor to this building has already been aired. Much depends on whether the upper floor extended over the cloister alley to the east, and it is to be regretted that we were unable to extend the excavation to answer this particular point. It is, however, most likely that there was an upper floor, since this western range belongs to the initial single-cloistered phase where each range would have been designed for a specific requirement. The function of any upper floor rooms cannot be established in the absence of archaeological evidence; analogy with other friary plans is a hazardous business because of the 'marked disregard of normal monastic arrangements' in Friaries (Martin, 1937, p. 29). All that can be suggested is that the west range can be used as a guesthouse, less usually as refectory or bed chambers. The function of the ground floor rooms is little clearer. In none of the phases can it be established what the northern rooms were used for. It would appear that only one could have had a tiled floor, although both had patchy mortar surfaces. The northern room contained benching along its north wall, and may well have had evidence for more along its side wall if it had been possible to excavate these. The inability to excavate the complete building (particularly the east wall) meant that we are completely lacking evidence for doorways, which may have helped in this discussion on function. The southern room (1325) with its almost monumental open drains, stone tank and hearth/fireplace appears to have continued in the same use throughout its life. The fishbone remains may indicate that this was used for food preparation or cooking. If, however, the food refuse is treated as residual, then it is possible that the room was a wash room or laver. There is already evidence for kitchens elsewhere on the site, but if the guests' lodgings were on the floor above, then a small kitchen to service this might not be unexpected.

Dating the Phases

Phase 1: There was no very good evidence for dating the initial construction of the buildings, certainly none for the walls. The layers immediately below, or perhaps associated, with initial construction produced a single, but not closely datable, shard. Since the whole range forms part of the initial single cloistered plan, it must date from the foundation of the house itself. The soakaway in room 1325, which was sealed by the earliest floors produced 3 shards from 2 pots dated in general terms to the 13th century. By analogy with evidence elsewhere on the site phase one is dated sometime between c. 1250 and 1282.

The next major phase of activity at the Friary relates to the construction of the south cloister/infirmary. This itself is dated to the very end of the 13th or early 14th century. There are no specific features in building 1323 datable to this phase with the exception of the lead water pipe trench crossing the north wall of the building (1175). If this is contemporary with similar pipes elsewhere, it may be as early as the late 13th century.

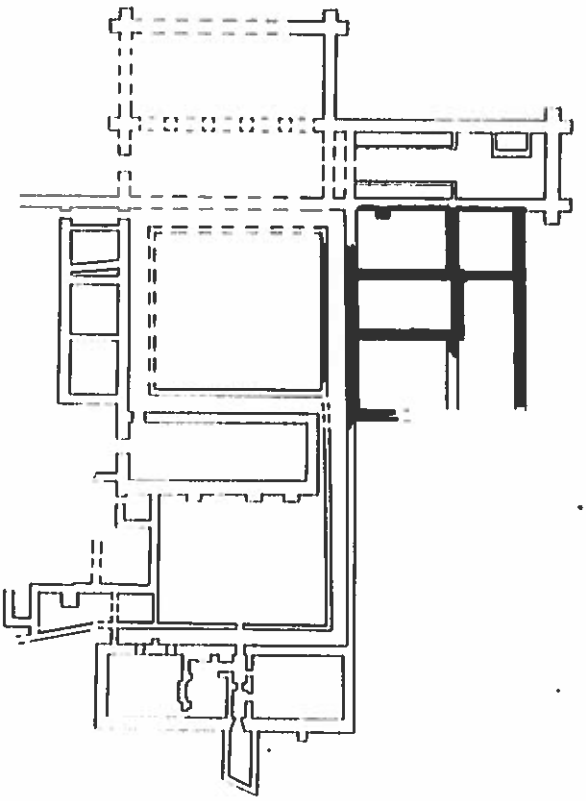
Modification to the internal layout with the creation of rooms 1100/1101 is datable to the late 14th century or 15th century (pit 1112 gives *TPQ*) . Dating for the new sandstone block drain the room 1325 is uncertain, but came late in the room's lifetime, since its foundation trench cut the latest floors.

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

The initial abandonment can probably be dated to the 16th century, when the roof collapsed (no dating evidence for this) and with its rooms open to the weather cob wall 1222 soon followed sealing more 16th century pot (1226). But the building must have remained as an open ruin for at least a hundred years before it was dismantled. Within the demolition debris (1044) was late 17th century pot, although final robbing may have been as late as the 18th century (656). The date for the demolition of this building appears consistent with most of the site: abandonment in the 16th followed by large scale demolition in the 17th (perhaps during the Civil War) with final and complete robbing to foundation level in the 18th century, certainly before the reorganisation of Friars' Park depicted in Lewis' map of 1786.

4. The Chapter House, East Cloister Alley & buildings east of the Great Cloister

Very little survived of the Chapter House or the east cloister alley because a 11.5–12m wide ditch was cut through them during the Civil War. What did survive was logistically difficult to excavate because public footpaths ran over them. Excavation was limited to a number are small areas in the former Bassett's Yard (B1-4), the former Upper Mill Street car park (C1 and C2) and in 1988 (A1). The Chapter House had a number of buildings appended to it in the later Middle Ages, but their extent and function is uncertain.



The Chapter House

The principal walls were represented on the west by NS robber trench 505 (1.4m wide) with an apparent westward turn confirmed by the existence of benching (538) and the survival of a patch of plain green floortiles (506/523 Type 2 on bedding 520) within the NW corner of the room (Fig. 4.1). The SE corner of the building (in area C2) was represented by robber trench 935 (1.4-1.7m wide) forming a corner which possibly had cross buttresses. A south-going wall line that butted this corner is represented by a NS robber trench. Inside the angle of this corner was a mortar bedding (959) with tile impressions of the same plain tiles (type 2). A lip of mortar on the east side of layer 959 40cm west of the NS robber trench indicates that there was benching along the eastern wall, and the variable width of the southern wall may also indicate there was also benching along this wall. A fragment of the NE corner of the building (1632) was exposed during 1988 in A1 directly under a standing boundary wall which prevented proper investigation. This survived as blocks of stone bonded in clay. Butting on the north and east sides were later wall lines (1561/2 & 1623/5) of buildings 1759 and 1972. No dating evidence was recovered for the construction of the walls of the Chapter House.

The stratigraphy within the Chapter House was characterised by the frequent lifting of the tiled floor for the excavation of graves, and the relaying of floor tiles (Figs. 4.1,4.2). A consequence of this was that the tiles were haphazardly laid and most were cracked and worn (Plates 4.3, 4.4). In the very limited area of B1 where the floor did survive, in no instance was any grave earlier than the floor or its mortar bedding 520/524 (Fig. 4.2). This could mean that there was only one floor – certainly only one tiled floor – throughout the life of the Chapter House. To support this the only fragments of floor-tile recovered from any grave fills (535, 546, 591, 593) were of the gravel tempered plain type 2. These are thought to have been manufactured locally (James & Brennan 1991). It would thus appear that the tiles used in the last surviving floor may have been in use throughout the history of the Chapter House.

There was no satisfactory dating evidence for the original laying of this floor. Of all the graves that had cut through it and had then been covered once again by the tiles, fills 591 and 613 contained shards of pot generally datable to *c.* 1250-1350; the upper fill (546) of another grave (575) contained 14th-15th century pot. What may be part of the original floor bedding (549, not illustrated) contained fragments of a handle roughly datable to about 1250- 1350. None of this gives us any useful clues to the precise

BUILDINGS OFF THE EAST CLOISTER ALLEY

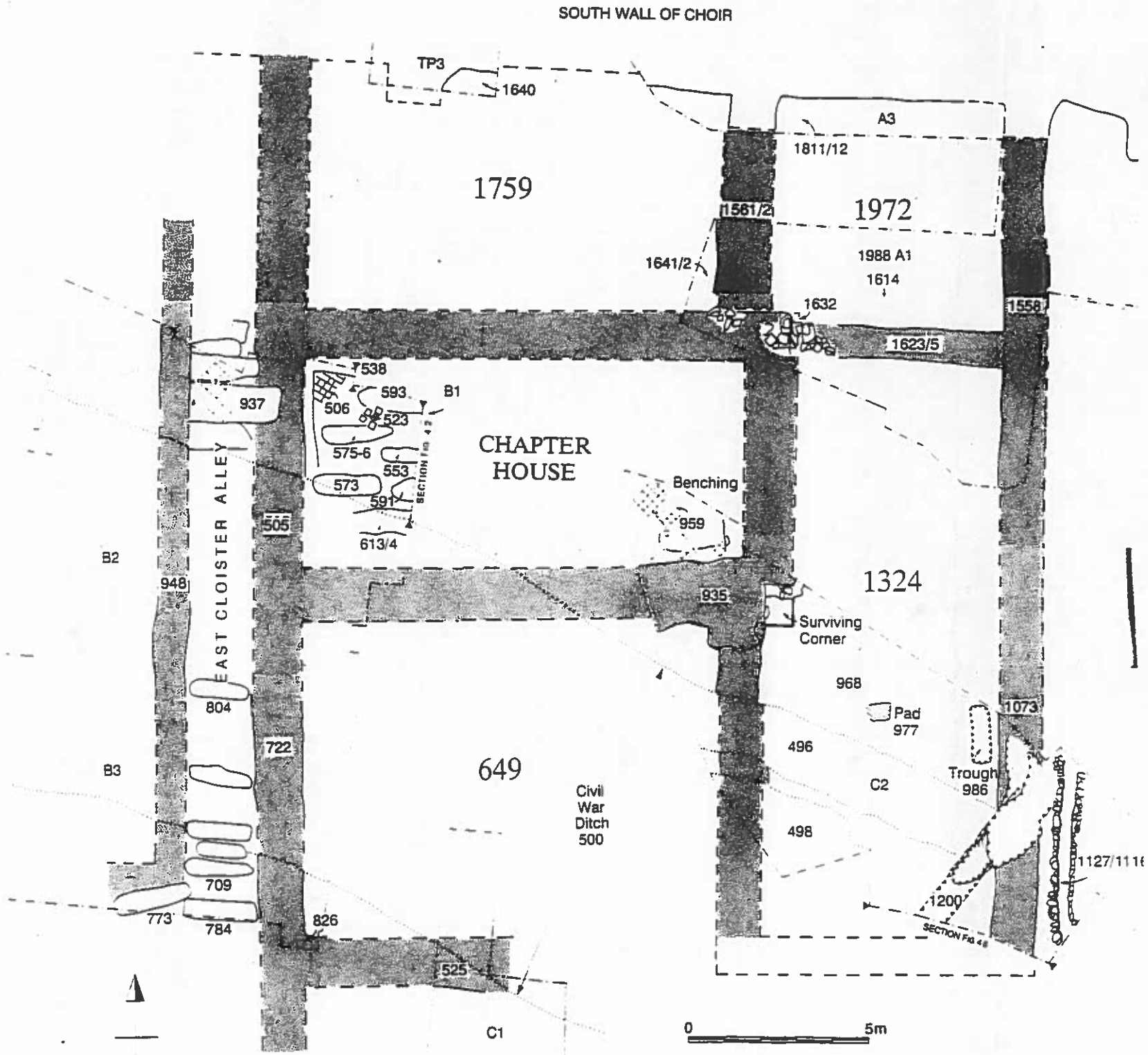


Fig. 4.1

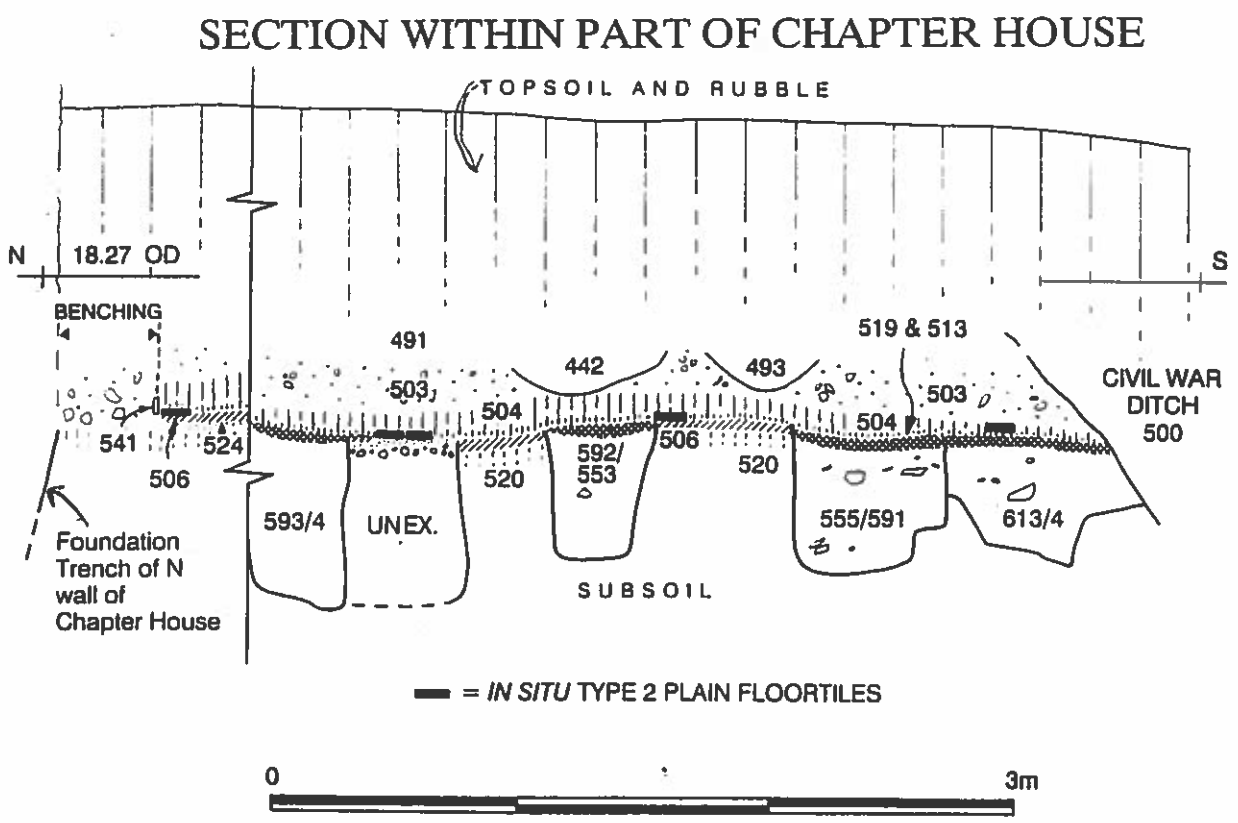


Fig. 4.2. Section through part of Chapter House floor (B1, east Section).

date of construction, which presumably is contemporary with the earliest buildings of the friary. The age and gender of these burials is discussion below.

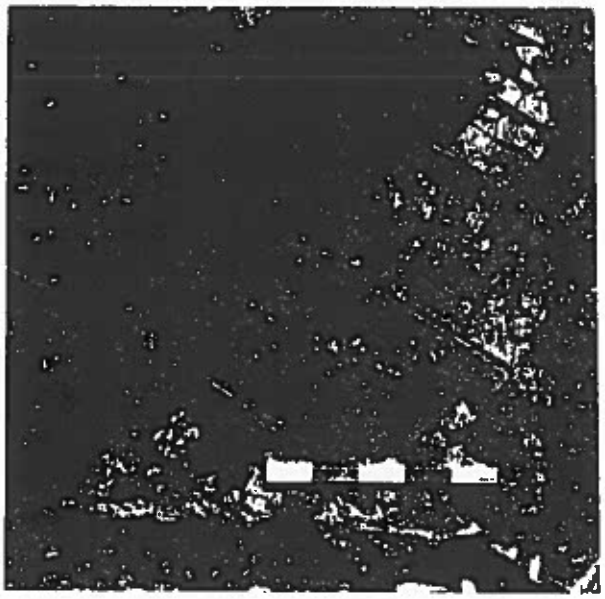


Plate 4.3. Detail of floortiles 506 in Chapter House showing degree of wear and haphazard relaying

Dissolution and Destruction

The earliest post suppression layer 519 which lay over the tiled floor contained fragments of window glass, many floor tiles, mortar fragments and slate (Section Fig. 4.2). This was covered in turn by 513, a general demolition level which also contained fragments of type K ridge tiles (?North Devon), more window glass fragments and window lead, and a single (type 1) decorated floortile of 14th century date. The layer also contained a single shard of 16th/17th century pottery. The layer above this (504) contained more glass, but some of the finds, including decorated floortile, may have originated from other buildings close by. The amount of dressed limestone, however, clearly points to the Chapter House being highly decorative. Many fragments with a distinctive pointed roll indicate the existence of complex piers or pillars stylistically dated to the 13th century.

The robber trench fill of the west wall (722/489) was cut by a trench 496 (see Fig. 4.1, area C2). This was one of a pair of parallel trenches (498) which ran along the bottom of an 11.5m wide ditch (500) which is assumed to be a Civil War period feature. Thus it would appear that the walls of the Chapter House had been robbed before or about the time of the construction of this ditch system c. 1644 (James,

Plate 4.4. Surviving plain tile floor (type 2) within NW angle of Chapter House and associated robbed wall and benching in B1, from WNW.

1991b). The backfilling of ditch 500 occurred over a protracted period of time, but had been completed before 1786 when Lewis' map was drawn. The alignment of ditch 500 is mirrored by the cottages on the south side of Friars' Park (nos. 12-15) and of the pathway from there to Navigation Lane. This runs over the former Chapter House.

The East Cloister Alley and the building south of the Chapter House

Excavations in what was known as Bassett's Yard (now built over by sheltered housing called ...) had to be undertaken in four separate parcels for spoil management reasons.

The excavation of Civil War ditch 500 was responsible for the loss of most of the medieval archaeology between and including parts of the Chapter House and near the NE corner of the south range of the Great Cloister (Fig. 4.1). Thus the existence of the building south of the Chapter House – numbered 649 – is only known from portions of its west wall and a turn for its south wall. It would have joined the Chapter House on its north side. The west wall (722) only survived as a very shallow robber trench a few centimetres deep, at the base of ditch 500 (Fig. 4.1, Plate 4.5). At the southern extremity of B2, (close under the northern boundary wall of the enclosure of Park House) the very restricted conditions just allowed the investigation of a east-going turn of the wall (826). This was represented by about 40cm length of the northern side of a foundation trench, which contained Old Red Sandstone blocks. Some 3.5m east of this in the Upper Mill Street car park in trench C1 the southern side of a robber trench of the same wall was detected (Fig. 4.1, 525). The northern part had been truncated by ditch 500. The eastern extent of this building is unknown, but in plan terms, it is unlikely to be represented by the south-going robber trench that was noted off the SE corner of the Chapter House. No internal layers survived. The upper floor of a building in this position is often used as a dormitory.

The alley on the west side of building 649 and the Chapter House was also poorly preserved. The only near-intact portion was on the north side of ditch 500, west of the NW corner of the Chapter House. The alley itself was defined by the west wall of the latter (722) and a narrower parallel wall (948) 80cm wide (Fig. 4.1). Between these the alley was paved in 1 foot square (·3048m) oolitic limestone tiles (937), the same flooring noted in the SW corner of the alley (224, Fig. 5.1). Of the 15m of the eastern alley investigated, only 1.8m survived intact – the rest had been destroyed mainly by ditch 500. The line however was marked by intermittent stretches of robber trenches 722 and 948, and by a number of graves that just survived beneath 500 (Plate 4.5). All stratigraphical links had of course been lost. Evidence for a turn from the east into the south alley was provided by a single grave 773 (Fig.4.1) which would otherwise have been under the alley wall. Of the seven graves investigated at the south side of the east alley only three (709, 784, 804) contained pottery, dated roughly to the 13th-14th centuries. Of the 9 skeletons from these graves 5 were aged between 14-16 years (of indeterminate sex), a male was 16-17 years, whilst 3 other males were aged 20- 24, 25- 30 and 40-45 years respectively. The dominance of juveniles in this area is clearly noteworthy. Are we seeing something comparable to the practice noted at Oxford Blackfriars where children (possibly of lay benefactors) were buried at the west end of the Chapter House but in this case in the cloister alley (Butler, 1984, 131)? But the fact that they were all *juveniles* may point to their being novices. By contrast, 12 fairly well preserved skeletons recovered from under the northern part of the east cloister alley (near the entrance to the chapter house) were predominantly in their early 40s (aver-

Plate 4.5. B2, the East Cloister Alley looking NNE. The very base of NS wall lines 722 and 948 just survived the destruction of Civil War ditch 500. So also did a number of graves.

age 42) and all male. There were perhaps friars. The few burials within the Chapter House were mixed: 5 males 25-45 years (average 34), a female of 45 years and two juveniles. The latter came from the SE end. The layers and graves beneath the small area of preserved alley floor (937) in area B4 provided little in the way of any evidence that could help date the adjoining walls or the tiled floor: three of the graves contained pottery fragments of 13th-14th century date, and one a fragment of 14th century floortile. In general terms the cloister alley must be considered to belong to the original phase of construction.

'Building' 1324 east of Chapter House (Fig. 4.1)

Evidence for the features east of the Chapter House being part of a *building* is tenuous; they may in fact relate to an external yard or working area. The area was delimited by a robbed NS wall line (1073) 1.15m wide that was investigated over a 5.8m length at the eastern limit of excavation (Fig. 4.1). This NS wall line ran parallel to and 6.7m east of the robber trench that butted the SE corner of the Chapter House. It can be assumed to have run northwards, parallel to the east of the Chapter House, as it was recorded (as robber trench 1588) in A1 of the 1988 excavations. A parallel stone lined drain 1116 ran east of wall 1073. This replaced an earlier open drain (1200). The flooring of this area of C2 was composed of very substantial mortar layers. The physical limits of these mortar layers is unknown as the area of investigation was constrained by public footpaths and a car park to north and south; the east and west limits were bounded by wall lines 935 and 1073. A parallelogram shaped area 7m by c. 3m was available for study, the rest of the surface had been destroyed by ditches 496/498/500 (Plate 4.7).

The earliest feature running NE-SW through the area was an open drain (1200) which cut through the buried soil 1045. This soil produced 9 shards from 8 vessels of 13th century date, some of which are thought to be post c. 1250. This type of pottery has been found in pre-friary contexts under the choir. The drain itself is very likely a continuation of the drain that crossed the later Little Cloister garth (369/403/929) and the north of trial trench C1 (633) (see Chapters 6 and 7, below). In other areas of excavation the fill of drain 369 is dated by an abundance of pottery to the later 13th century. Its construction is assumed to belong to the primary phase of building at the Friary. A NE continuation (2057) running past the east side of the choir was noted in 1990 (Fig. 2.1). Unlike elsewhere, this was not replaced by a stone lined drain and remained open for a long period; it contained a single 15th-16th century shard.

The next phase of activity relates to the construction of wall line 1073. This survived as a robber trench 1.2-1.4m wide. Since this NS wall cut across the existing line of the open drain some care was taken to insert a wider foundation (perhaps for an arch) and allow the drain to continue to function. On the SW side of the wall the drain was now stone lined (1177, Section Fig. 4.6). This modification of the drain was however short-lived as its was backfilled and replaced by a stone lined drain which ran on the east side of wall 1073 (1116/1127). This drain had an apparent turn eastwards, although it was not possible to fully investigate this. The date for the construction of the wall is uncertain, but the lowest layers that are possibly contemporary with its construction includes a slate layer 1165. If wall line 1073 is a continuation of wall line 1588 (discovered in 1988, A1), then a terminus post quem in the mid-14th–15th century may be suggested for its construction, although the floors apear much later.

Outside the east and parallel to the wall was drain 1116. This was built of blocks of Old Red Sandstone which gave a drain width of c. 38cm in a

PART OF SOUTH SECTION, AREA C2

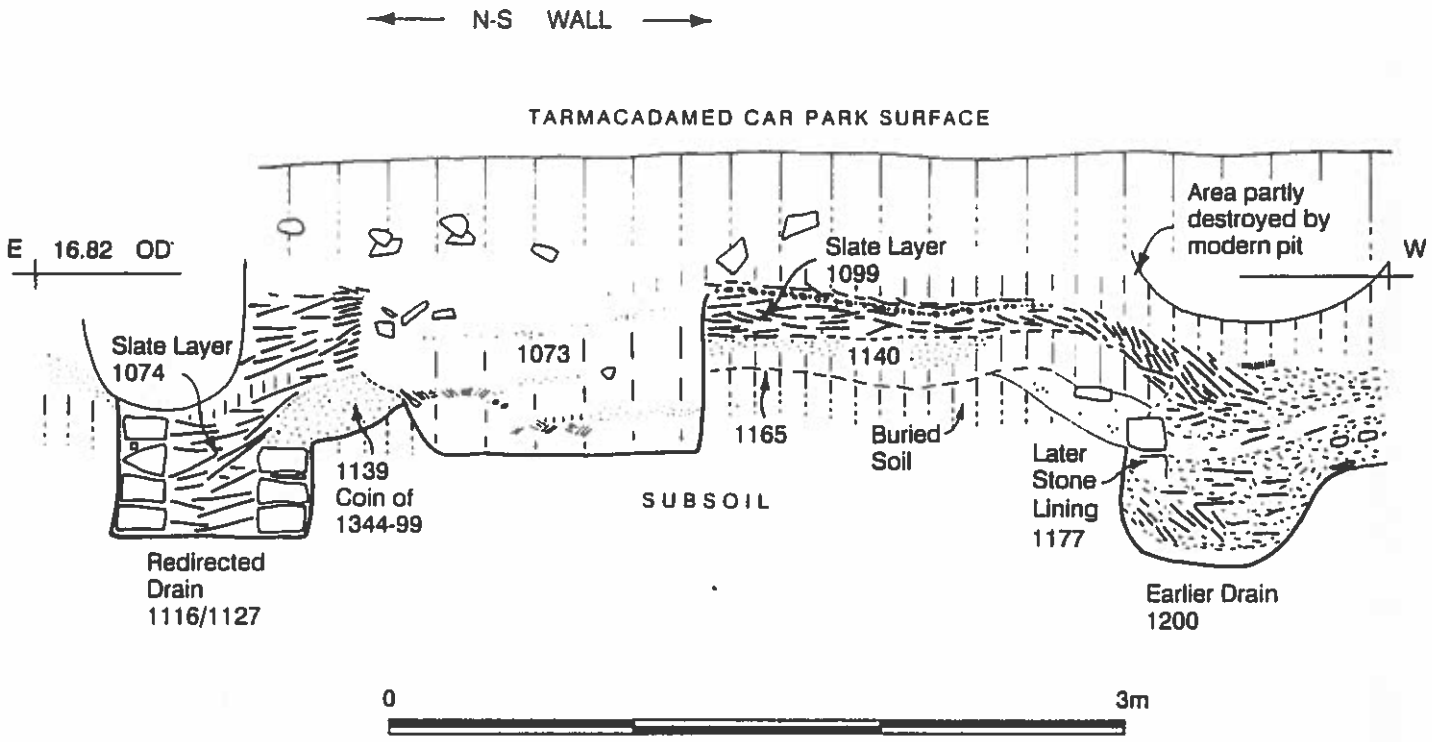


Fig. 4.6. Area C2, part of south section. Note how the slate layers 1014/1099 accumulated prior to the robbing of 1073.

vertically-sided trench c. 80cm wide. The layer between this drain and the wall (1139) contained a coin of Duke Jean IV of Brittany dated 1344-99, which again supports a post mid-14th century date for the construction of the wall (section, Fig. 4.6).

The area between wall line 1073 and the SE corner of the Chapter House was extremely complex, comprising many layers of mortar, some of which included much evidence of burning around an elongated pit (986). None of these are illustrated.

The pit (Fig. 4.1) was oblong, 1.51m x 50cm, vertically sided with a flat bottom which sloped very slightly upwards towards the south. The earliest layers that could be associated with this pit are a series of overlapping lenses displaying much evidence for burning with blotches of burnt clay or daub, and sandy loam with charcoal flecks (1023/1031). These layers were stratigraphically later than the supposed buttress foundation trench for the SE corner of the Chapter House, and can not therefore be associated with the pre- friary burning described in section 2. Above the burnt layers a gravel surface 1008 and a series of hollows (998, 1002, 1005, not illustrated), one containing 14th-15th century pottery, and a trampled surface 990, can be associated with pit 986. The alignment of the pit clearly respected the wall line on its eastern side. It was filled with compact white mortar at the top merging into loose pale brown mortar below.

Pit 986 was sealed by a series of very hard mortar layers, 977, 976, 975 and 970. The latter contained 14th-15th century shards. Above this a coal and ash layer was in turn sealed by a substantial mortar layer (968) with a stone block (50 x 60cm) sitting proud some 2.5m west of the former pit (Fig. 4.1, Plate 4.8). The group context for this and a number of patchy layers was assigned context number 962. The stone block, perhaps a post pad, was probably first set down during the laying of 977, the first layer to post-date the infilling of the pit. The pit and stone block did not co-exist. There was little dating evidence, apart from a some 14th-15th century pottery from 968. What is clear is that the latest mortar floor surface was either patched or dumped upon by layers 960 and 961 before evidence for early de-

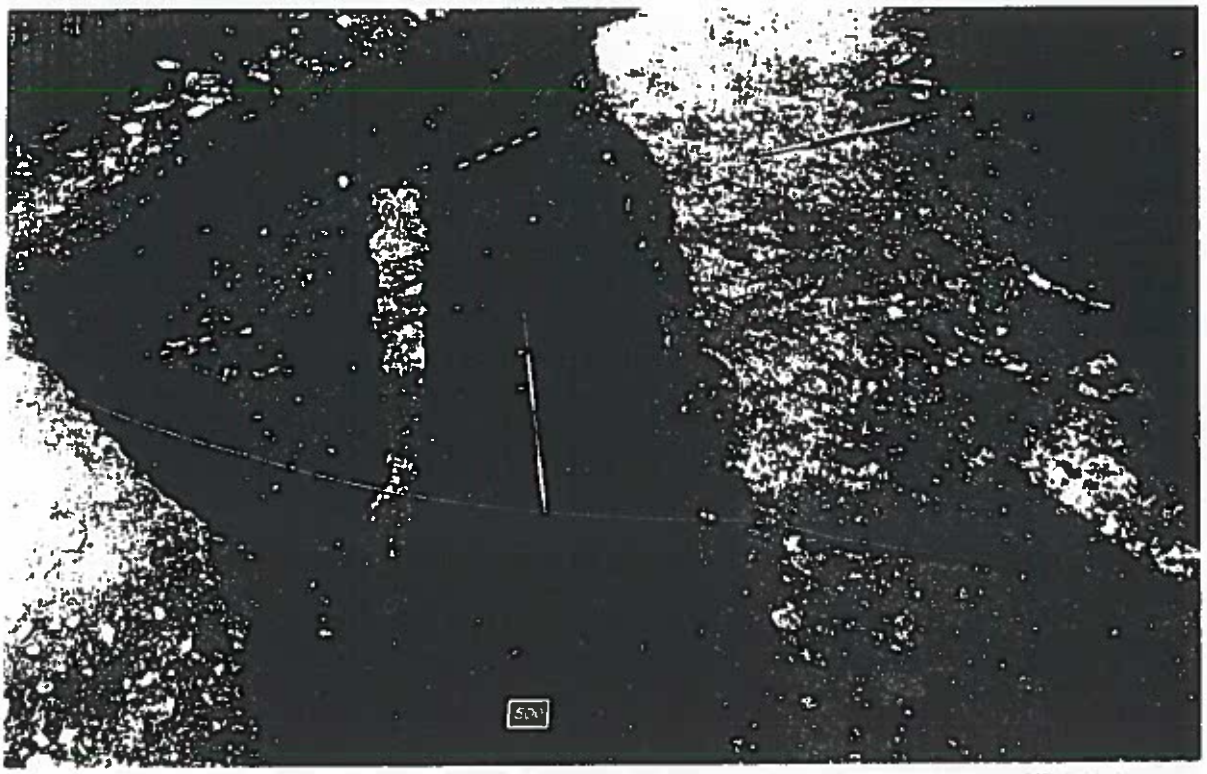


Plate 4.7. Area C2, top of destrunction levels of Building 1324 (right) cut by Civil War trenches 496/498/500 (cente, left). Looking NW.

struction in the form of layer 944 is apparent. Layer 944 contained abundant slates, mirroring layers 1074/1099, other slate layers that were recorded on both sides of wall line 1073 (Section Fig. 4.3). The layer also contained pieces of lead window grill, window glass and nails. The dating of this collapse must be post Suppression: it contained 26 shards from 7 vessels of 16th century date. Layer 1099 produced a further 6 shards from 4 vessels of similar date. The robber trench fills included 17th century pottery, and the backfill of robber trench 1073 was in turn cut by Civil War ditches 496 and 498 (500). The robber trench also produced 3 jettons of 13th-14th century date which were found close to a Breton coin, and it is tempting to think that the jettons were originally from the same layer (1139).

The function of this area is extremely uncertain. It is possible that these mortar layers were laid down over a number of years and could represent internal floor surfaces. On the other hand we have no certain knowledge that we are dealing with an internal room, and the layers themselves could relate to a very short period of activity, perhaps mortar mixing for constructional work. The undulating natures of the layers support this. The stone pad could have perhaps supported a lean-too roof against wall 1073. One suggestion for the function of the earlier oblong pit was for slaking lime, with the possibly associated burning around the nearby floors also a result of building work. The collapsed slate however could have come from a building here, adding some currency to the argument that we are indeed dealing with a building. However, it could be argued that the slate was derived from the Chapter House or the little known east range. But the fact that roofing slate (phyllite) had clearly fallen *each side* of wall line 1073 (see 1074/1099, Section Fig. 4.3) argues in favour of this roofing material falling from a building here, not from the Chapter House. The status of the east wall (1073), and its northern end investigated in 1988 (1588) which butts on to the south wall of the choir may originally have been a boundary wall closing off the domestic ranges from the lay cemetery that stood to th east and north of the church. Such a wall could have had lean-to or pentice roofs along its length under which some of the layers described above would have accumulated.

Buildings north and NE of Chapter House

Evidence for two rooms between the Chapter House and choir is fragmentary, and manifest as two NS robber trenches 1562 and 1558, which in conjunction with the south wall of the choir, the north wall of the Chapter House, separate two areas

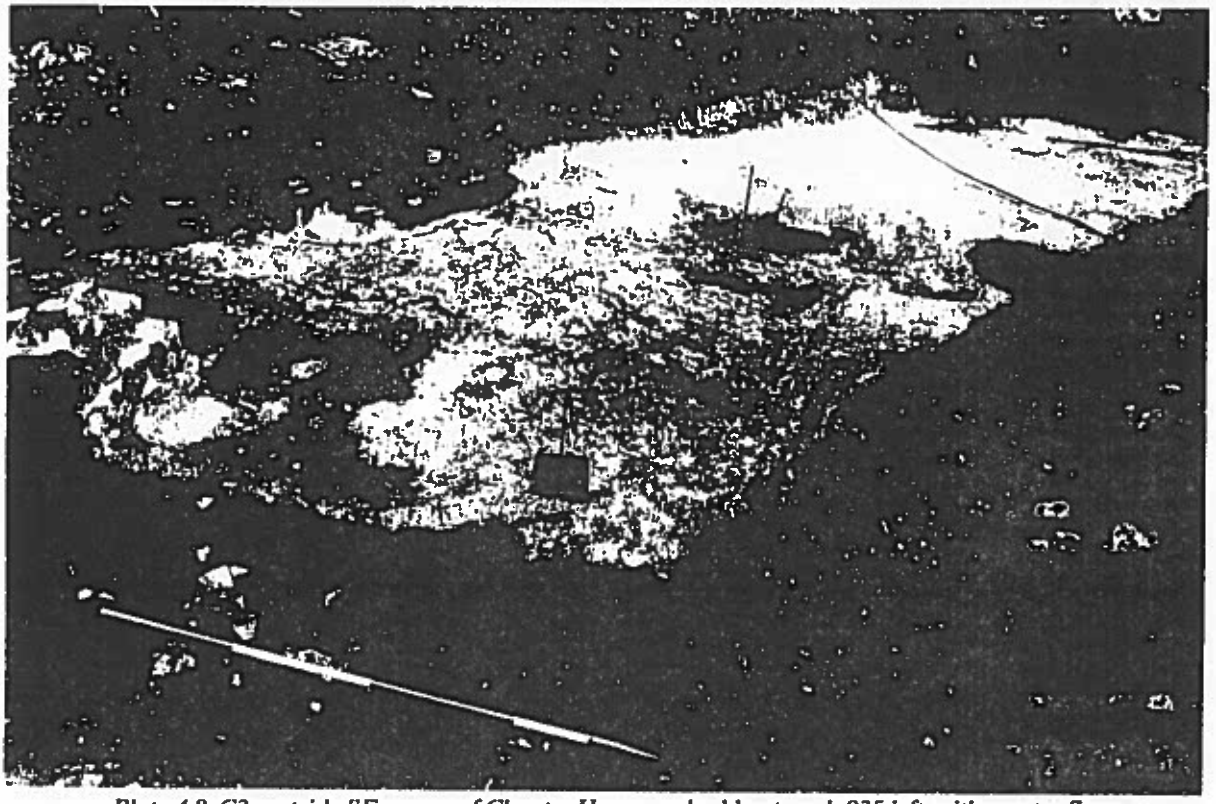


Plate 4.8. C2, outside SE corner of Chapter House and robber trench 935 left, with mortar floor and stone block 977 of building 1324. Part of the Civil War ditch 496/500 can be seen (right)

marked as 1759 and 1972 in Fig. 4.1. The south wall of Room 1972 is marked by foundation trench 1623.

Room 1759

This is the least certain room, as so little of the area within its enclosing walls was investigated. Excavation was extremely limited, to small pockets in a trial trench (TP3) and A1 in 1988. The walls of the choir, Chapter House and the east cloister alley formed three sides. The fourth wall (1562), which butts the Chapter House and the south wall of the choir, is clearly later, and the room itself, as an enclosed entity, only came into existence with the construction of wall 1562, surviving as a 1.4m wide robber trench. The enclosed area measures about 12.5m by 6m. There was no dating evidence for the construction of this wall, although the east going wall (1625) of the adjacent room has a tentative terminus post quem in the mid 14th-15th century. The only possible floor surface within the area enclosed by these walls was represented by layers 1641-2 (possibly also 1640 in TP3) produced 4 complete Malvernian plain floor tiles and some mortar, it also had many fragments of glass vessels within it. The existence of the floortiles, which may have been in situ, would seem to argue for this being a room. If it was, then a doorway would be expected from the cloister alley on the west, but not from the choir on the north as the position of the choir stalls would probably have prevented an entry on this side. The Malvern tiles suggest a date after 1450 for the floor.

Room 1972

This room abuts the south wall of the choir and the NE corner of the Chapter House, and is formed by NS wall line 1561, NS wall line 1588 (a 1.2m robber trench) and EW wall line 1625 (a 1m wide foundation trench). The internal area enclosed is about 6.2m square.

It is clear that this must be a fairly late addition, with no early layers within it. Bonding clay of stonework within the foundations of EW wall line 1623 contained 3 shards from 3 vessels which suggest a terminus post quem in the mid 14th/15th centuries for construction. However, as well as containing 12th/13th century pot, the earliest floor levels that sealed this wall line (1617, not illustrated) had fragments of late 15th/early 16th century Normandy floortiles. Immediately above foundation 1617 were burnt layers of redeposited upcast subsoil (1614/1615) which are thought to correspond with a burnt and charcoal stained layer (1812) recorded

south of the choir's south wall in A3 (Fig. 4.1) . Both 1615 and 1812 contained fragments of Normandy tiles. The only clear evidence for a floor was recorded in A3. This was a patchy mortar layer (1811) which sealed 1812. Layer 1811 also produced fragments of Normandy tiles, and it is probable that the mortar formed a bedding layer for these tiles. Above this was a layer of collapsed roofing slate (phyllite) which also produced window and quality vessel glass as well as 16th century pottery. This layer marked the post suppression commencement of demolition. The layer was not seen in A1. Here the possible floor layers were sealed by more layers of burning (1638, 1581), and a roughly NS double alignment of stakholes (1593, 1595, 1597-8 not illustrated) which produced 16th century pottery. A contemporary layer (1642) contained fragments of quality vessel glass. These layers presumably are suppression period and were covered by general demolition layer 1545.

The robber trench fills (1582) contained 18th-20th century material, attesting a late date for final robbing.

The fact that the only evidence for a floor in this room comprised 15th-early16th century Normandy floortiles argues for the room itself being a late addition. This is mirrored to some extent by the Malvern floortiles recovered from an assumed floor level in the adjacent 'room' (1759) on the west side. No evidence was recovered for doorways, but room 1972 could have linked with the choir to the north and 1759 on the west. The discovery of quality vessel glass, and it position, may suggest that one or both rooms functioned as the Sacristy.

It was not possible to investigate the area south of room 1972 (ie south of wall line 1623) in any detail, due to the closeness of a standing boundary wall.

5. Building 24 (South Range of Great Cloister)

Summary

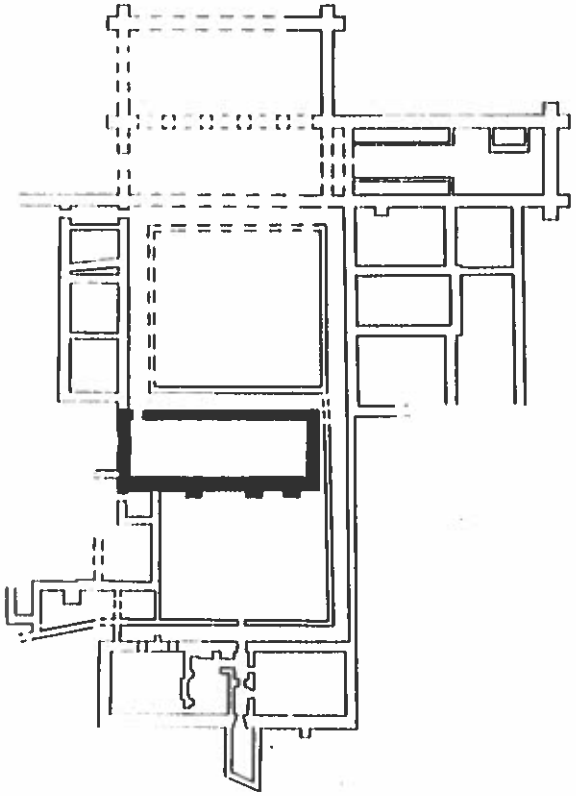
Building 24 stood between the north and south cloisters. It was first observed in T1, where a section was drawn across its width. It was subsequently area excavated as Area 1/3 in 1983.

The walls of the building had been totally robbed. Wall lines were however clearly preserved as robber trenches. The only stonework survived in the foundations of buttresses and under a former doorway in the NW corner (Fig. 5.1). This was almost wholly of Old Red Sandstone. The outside dimensions of the building were 24m x 10m at ground floor, but the upper floor in all probability extended over the cloister alley on the north, giving a width of about 12m. Interior dimensions at ground floor level were 21.4 x 7.4m giving a floor area of 160 square metres. It was not possible to examine the whole length of the north wall, or the cloister alley to the north as these lay under the boundary and properties on the north side of the grounds of Park House.

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

The layers above the levelling cut produced quite late material and very little in the way of earlier residual. This could mean that the cut was as late as the mid-15th or even the 16th century. Within the building there was one surviving block of flooring retaining a higher soil profile and to the west of this a step. It seems, therefore, that not all the floor was lowered to the same depth, and it is probable that the eastern half stood some 20cm higher than the west prior to post-medieval disturbance.

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



The Early Features – Phase I

The stone walls of the building were of varying thicknesses which probably indicates the upper floor extended over the cloister alley on its north side. Although no masonry survived, the width of the southern foundation trench 25/196 was about 1.4m–1.7m compared to a width of 1.17m for north wall 131 (Fig. 5.1). Unfortunately we were unable to examine the cloister wall north of this, but since the northern wall (131) was narrower than the southern, it can be concluded that part of the weight of the upper floor had been shared by the cloister arcade wall. The eastern and western wall foundation trenches (217, 348) were between 1.2–1.3m wide. The width of the southern wall trench, although on average 1.4m–1.7m wide, was up to 2.4m wide in parts east of buttress 306. This broadening is attributable to two-phase robbing, manifest as a narrow gully (360) running along the outer face of the wall which contained a different less stony and more mortary fill than the contents of the robber trench. The

BUILDING 24
EARLY FEATURES + 177, 198 AND DRAIN 929 c. 1285

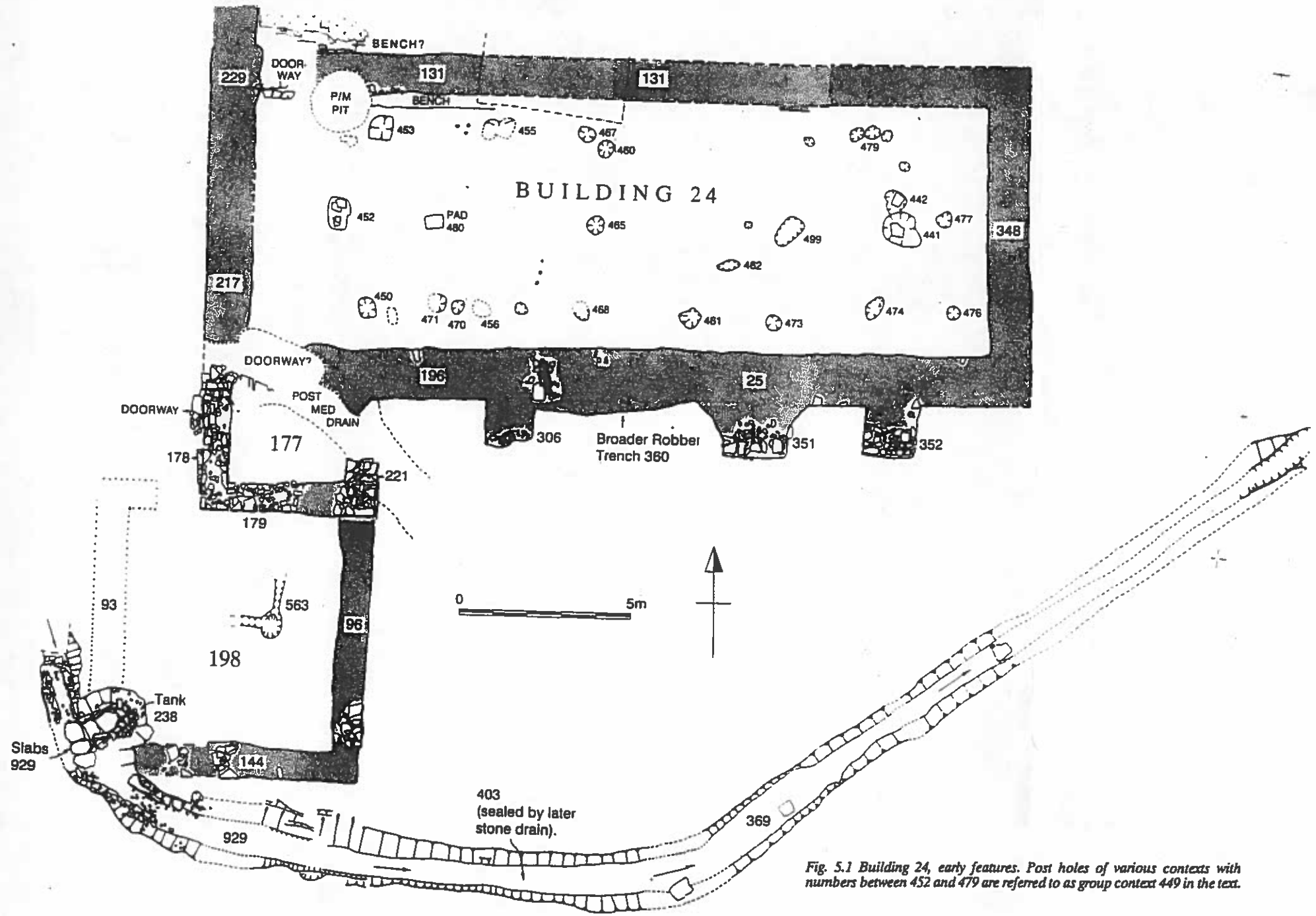


Fig. 5.1 Building 24, early features. Post holes of various contexts with numbers between 452 and 479 are referred to as group context 449 in the text.

gully's fill was stratigaphically earlier than the robber trench's fill, and probably reflects the robbing of a free-stone string-course, a little above the base, some time prior to the robbing of the main wall. Wall 25/196 had three buttresses off its south face (306, 351, 352, Fig. 5.1), and the inward sloping profile of the foundation trench's southern face indicates that the wall was also battered. Since the buttresses were not evenly spaced this may suggest that they were not original features, and perhaps added because the wall became unstable. Stonework in the foundations survived in all three, indicating a buttress width at foundation level of 1.27m. The stone in each was predominantly Old Red Sandstone, which is also believed to have been the material used for the main walls since it was the most dominant residual in the robber trench fills. The only place where any masonry survived in substance was under the threshold of a doorway in the NW corner in wall 131. This again was predominantly Old Red Sandstone.

The base levels of all foundation trenches were much the same (around 16.40-16.60m OD) apart from the eastern side where the levels dropped considerably. The southern wall dropped from about 16.40m on the west to 15.99m in the SE corner. The east wall (348) was deeper still, dropping to the 15.70s OD, and survived to a depth of 50cm below floor level. The reason for this variable depth is uncertain, but could relate to slight variations in the load baring capacity of the subsoil, which was marginally firmer on the west side.

The earliest features inside building 24 were a series of postholes and a post pad grouped under context number 449 (Fig. 5.1), cut into subsoil, but subsequently truncated by a cut (429, not illustrated) designed to lower the floor within the building. This levelling may have been restricted to the western half of the building (i.e. west of step 283) because an area of higher subsoil and flooring (355) survived to the east (Fig. 5.2). But since only a small block of this higher flooring survived subsequent post-medieval lowering of the east end, we can never know if the whole of the eastern half was at a higher level than the west.

Running longitudinally down the centre of the building were the largest postholes, 441, 465, 452 and 499 with an additional post-pad 480, which were irregularly spaced between 3-5 metres (Fig. 5.1). These postholes were between 50-90cm in diameter and only survived to a depth of up to 20cm. The holes closest to the east and west ends (442, 451) contained good packing stones and there were possible recuts of 452 and 452; the latter had an additional smaller post hole (447) east of it.

Associated with this central line of postholes were two lines of smaller postholes running parallel to and about 80cm inside the north and south wall lines of the building. The northern line 453, 455, 460, 467 and 479 barely survived the levelling cut 429 (not illustrated), which would probably explain the absence of any post hole between 460/467 and a NE group of three holes (479). The southern line (450, 471, 470, 456, 468, 461, 473, 474, 476) survived to a greater depth. This suggests that the ground originally sloped gently down from north to south; moreover, that these holes were dug before any preliminary levelling was executed for the building's floors.

Clearly, then, the outer lines at least, must predate or be contemporary with the construction of the stone building, but whether they represent an earlier timber phase or scaffolding erected during the construction is unclear. We may cite the quite substantial nature of the central line as supporting evidence for a timber phase; yet the north and south lines are less substantial, and indeed irregularly grouped, which perhaps is more indicative of temporary scaffolding. It is likely, then, that the central holes held supports for the upper floor of the stone building. The central line at least (as ceiling supports) probably continued in use throughout in the lifetime of the stone building since the top of post pad 480 (16.56 OD) was only 7cm.lower than some adjacent *in situ* late medieval floor tiles (16.63 OD) and was not sealed by any surviving pre-Dissolution deposits. The post pad may have replaced an earlier post-hole following the excavation of cut 429.

The date of the cut itself appears to be quite late, since the stratified finds above were predominantly 15th century or later. The low frequency of earlier material, which would otherwise survive as residual, itself supports a late date for the levelling cut, which would have removed earlier finds and features.

It is clear, then, that much of the early history of the building was destroyed on the west side in the later Middle Age, and the east even more disturbed by post-medieval activity. But the building itself must belong to the initial single-cloistered plan, and therefore originate in the first phase of the Friary's development, c. 1250–1282.

Phase II

Because the room had little surviving stratigraphy it is now very difficult to phase activities and features within it. Feature 442 alone has been assigned to an intermediate phase of activity, although there is no secure date other than it predates the lowering of the floor which is thought to have happened sometime after the middle of the 15th century. The rest of the features within the west side of the room post date the change in floor level.

The earliest surviving feature after the post holes, relates to what is probably evidence for a lead water pipeline (442, Fig. 5.3). This just survived as

BUILDING 24
(+ FEATURES OF THE LITTLE CLOISTER)
15TH/16TH CENTURIES

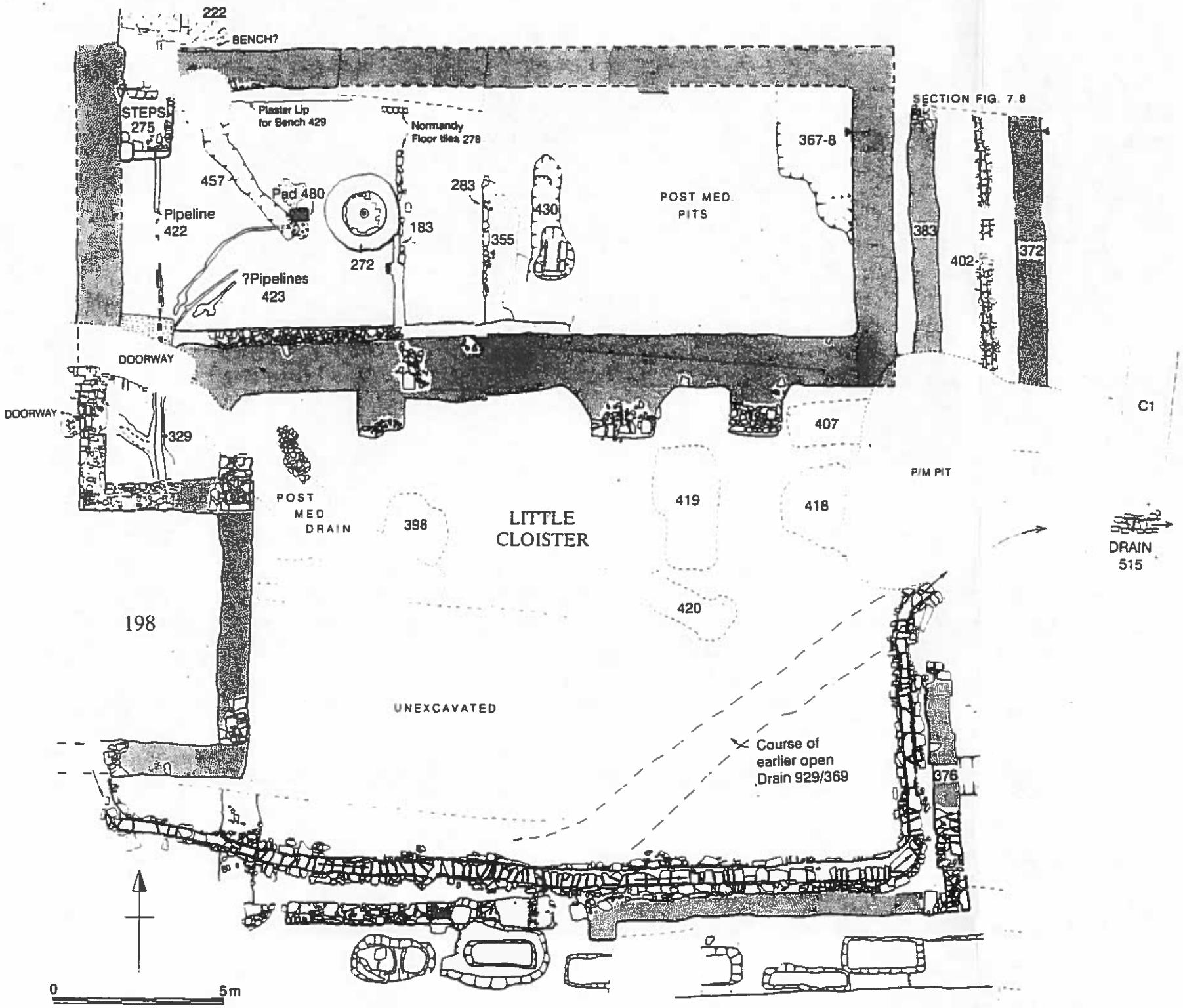


Fig. 5.2. Building 24. Late features.

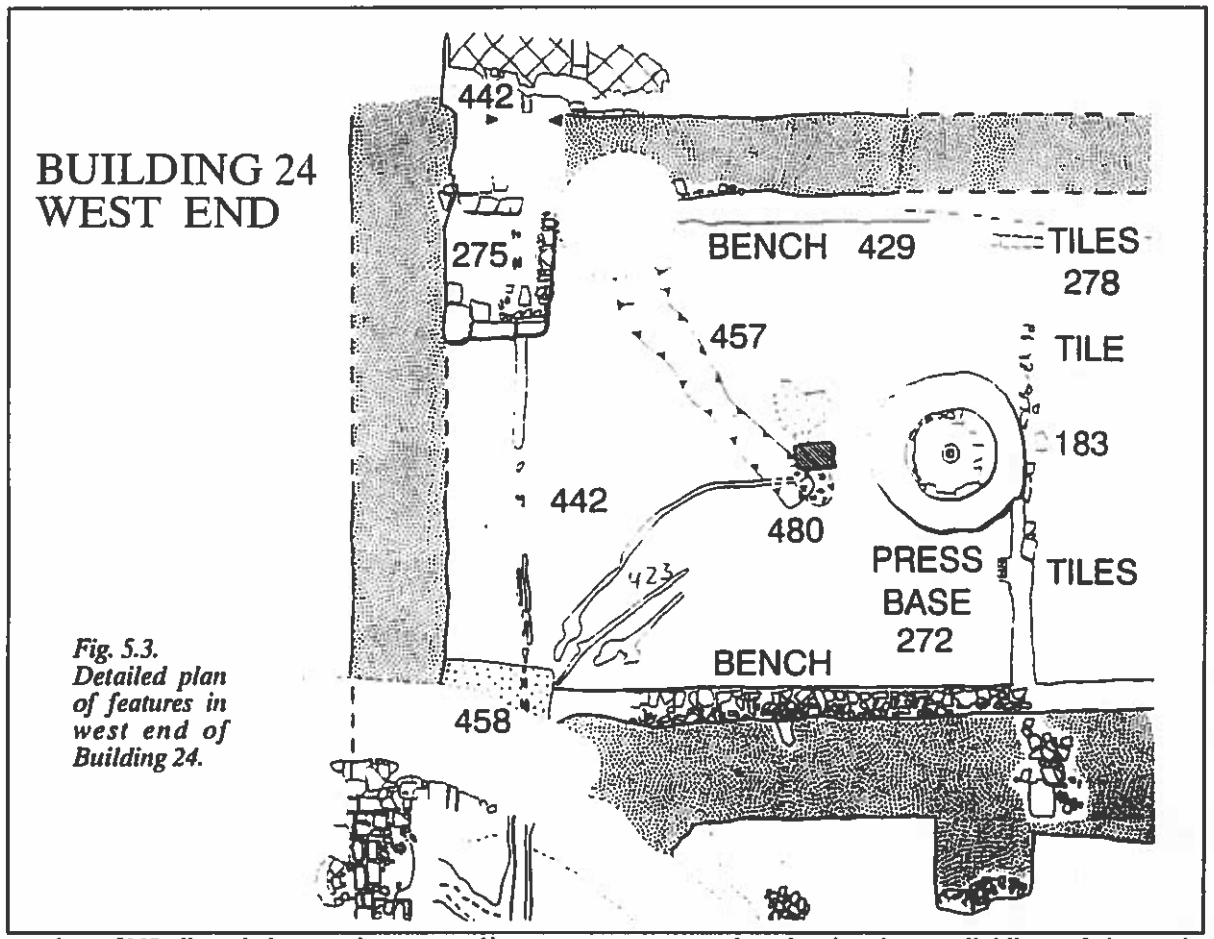


Fig. 5.3. Detailed plan of features in west end of Building 24.

patches of NS aligned clay running across the room from under the threshold in the NW corner. These clay patches had a clear groove running down it, or perhaps would be better described as two parallel lines of clay 20-25cm wide overall with a gap between, which presumably marks the former position of a water pipe (see archive slides, especially 231). In some areas, where the clay was box-sectioned, the full profile of a 25mm diameter hole survived. Where the feature entered the room in the NW corner it survived in its original form in section because the threshold and cloister alley north of this had not been affected by the lowering of the floor inside the room (Fig. 5.6). This showed the feature to have been a U-sectioned trench 50-55cm wide and c. 30cm deep with the clay patches occupying the middle and lower part of the trench. This had finally been capped by a layer of mortar, which was at the same level as mortar layer 484 which produced a 13th century shard. This was sealed by a silt and gravel layer which itself (elsewhere) was sealed by the tiles of the cloister alley (224). These, of course, could have been relayed after laying the pipe. The suggestion is that a water pipe, presumably of lead, had been packed with clay and then placed in its trench. The pipe may have been robbed at some date, leaving the parallel lines of clay, or in some cases a complete circular hole, where the pipe may have been withdrawn by pulling sideways.

The feature ran right across the room and may have continued under another doorway, evidence for which is suggested by the termination of the benching (308) on the south wall and by an oblong soilmark (458) which would indicated a former threshold slab. This soilmark was earlier than the pipeline. The pipeline is further discussed in Chapter 6.

Other features that may also be related, but not as early as this water pipe include the base of a very shallow U-sectioned trench (457) c. 43cm wide which just survived the later floor levelling (Fig. 5.3). This ran NW-SE from the NW doorway and terminated near post pad 480. Running from around the same area were three slight soilmarks (423) 6cm wide towards the SW corner of the room. There was no evidence for any clay within these 'grooves', and they were later than the lowering of the floor. It is interesting to note that both trench 457 and grooves 423 terminate, or originate around the post pad, and it is tempting to suggest that a stand pipe was affixed to the upright post that was assumed to have been

Plate 5.4 View looking ESE inside Building 24 from the NW corner

in this position. The three grooves may represent a succession of water pipe lines, and the trench itself could have held an earlier pipeline. If this is so, then it represents a prolonged period for the same activity within the room, dating to before and after the change in floor level. This begs the question as to whether this activity also included the circular 'press' feature, which is assumed to belong to the post-levelling phase. The best that can be suggested is that trench 457 represents the earliest water pipeline, and that perhaps the three grooves represent shallowly laid pipelines of the post levelling period, and are perhaps contemporary with the circular feature.

There was no evidence for the ground floor of 24 having been divided into separate rooms by partition walls. But the floors, as already noted, were at differing levels with steps (183, 283, Fig. 5.2) approximately half way down the length of the building, and a surviving block of higher flooring 355 east of the latter. The steps must be contemporary or later than the lowering of the floor (429).

The date of this cut is thought to be quite late, as the earliest floor level post dating it (437) produced a clipped coin of 1465-70. A layer above this had five jettons, three with a date range of 1500-1580, one of 1400-1600 and a rare dated jetton of 1540, and much 16th century pottery. The amount of earlier finds is negligible. The tiles of surviving floors were also late 15th or early 16th century. All this suggests that the lowering of the floor was undertaken very late in the life of the building. The stratigraphy was unfortunately very thin and patchy and fraught with problems of interpretation.

Contemporary with the lowering of the floor was the construction of two stone steps (275, Figs 3.2, 3.3, Plate 5.8) that lead down into the room from the doorway in the NW corner. The lowest step had a rounded SE corner. The upper step had been robbed. North of the doorway, which lead to the cloister alley, a small area of oolite floortiles were investigated (224, Fig. 5.2, Plate 5.9)

The principal feature in the room was a radial setting of circular cobbling 2.2m in diameter surrounding the fragmentary remains of a millstone (1.27m dia), the top of both these was approximately at the same level as the surviving floors (279), Fig. 5.2, Plates 5.4, 5.5). This feature had been constructed in a pit (460) which had been filled with natural gravel before the setting of cobbles and mill-stone had been inserted (Plate 5.7). The central

Plate 5.5. Circular feature 279, step 183 (left) and Normandy tiles (botton, right) from NNW.

hole of the stone (26cm dia) evidently had had an upright shaft of some sort rising vertically from it. This was indicated by a hole in the fill extending 20cm below the stone which narrowed to 10cm at the base. There was no evidence for any wear on the cobbling or outside this; nothing that might indicate, for example, motion around the structure in a horse- or human-powered milling operation. However, there is slight evidence for a subsequent reflooring (see below) so any evidence for wear outside the feature may have been removed. It is tentatively suggested that the feature may be interpreted as the base of a barley-mashing press. Although it bears some comparison with a cider press, the latter would have been at least waist high and probably not needed the central pinion hole *at ground level*. The closeness of taped water has already been noted.

It is possible that the lowering of the floor (429) may have been executed to accommodate some sort superstructure for feature 279. If the ground floor of this building had been originally used for storage, then a low ceiling height would be expected; a change of use may have necessitated action to gain more headroom, at least in the western side.

The floor layers that built up around the structure were all predominantly composed of dark

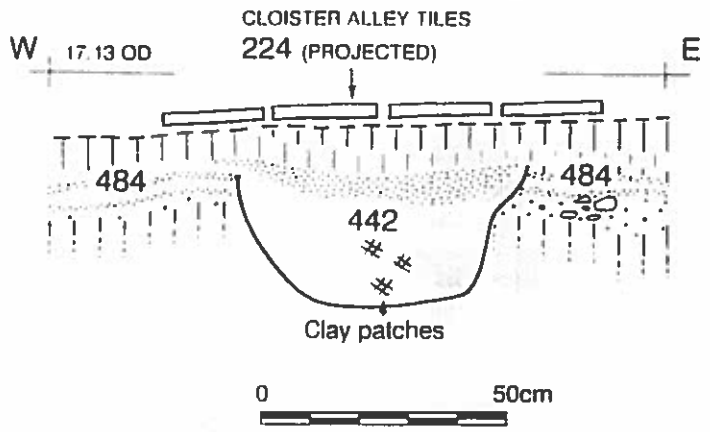


Fig. 5.6. Section across pipetrench 442. (cf. Fig. 5.3)

greyish-black fine sand in thin lenses with numerous patches of clay (not illustrated). The lowest (437) contained a worn coin of 1465-70. Layer 437 also contained a variety of animal shell and bone: oyster, cockle and fish, fowl, ox and pig. The layer appeared to be cut by the three pipelines running from the direction of the circular feature towards the SW corner of the building.

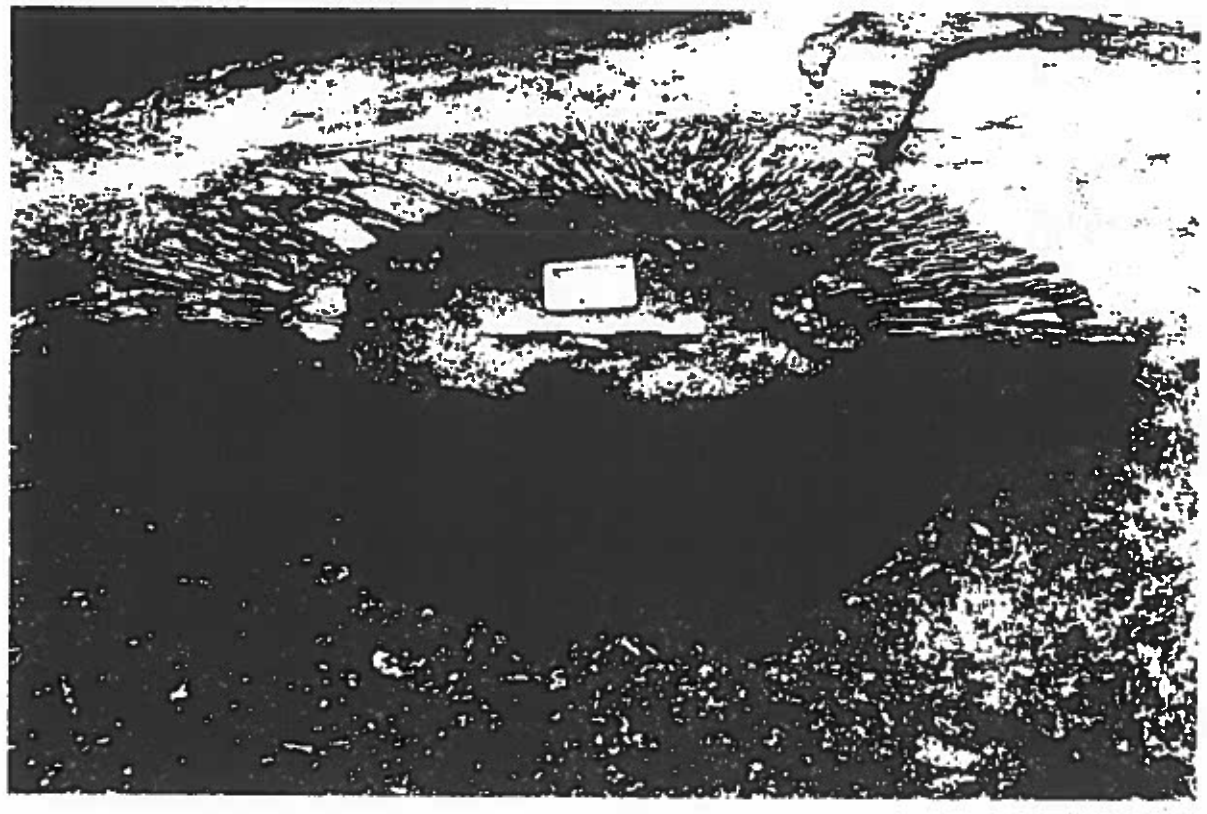


Plate 5.7. Circular feature 279, half-sectioned.

Plate 5.8. The steps & doorway leading to the Cloister Alley

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

The latest floor that survived inside the building included 8 in situ six-inch square plain Normandy floortiles (Context 278, Type 9) which survived against the line of the former benching along the north wall 131 (Fig. 5.3, Plate 5.5). Some 4.5m south of these, adjacent to the circular press base, were four lozzenge-patterned inlaid floortiles (type 5 and 7) of late 15th- early 16th century date (James and Brennan 1991). The laying of a whole floor of such tiles around a press may seem improbable, so it is suggested that the inlaid tiles at least were used to patch an otherwise less-refined floor. The circular feature (279) was immediately sealed by the collapsed roof, so clearly it was also part of the last floor, but not necessarily functioning. The tiling had evidently been more extensive, however, for below a possible step (280) was mortar bedding with a few tile impressions. The step itself *possibly* cut the eastern edge of the cobbling around circular feature 279, and was the latest structural feature to survive within the building. It may be post suppression.

The rest of the room was very disturbed by numerous pits and scoops so that apart from a D-shaped block of a higher soil (355) fronted on the west by a step (283) there were no surviving medieval floors. Layer 355 was not artificial, but represented a near complete natural soil profile without evidence for floor layers. To the east of this, cut into subsoil but itself truncated by later activity was the remains of an irregular pit (430, Fig. 5.2). The fill included building debris, fragments of melted window lead and glass, and unmortared coursed stonework c. 50cm EW, open to the north with a single upright slab closing off the south. Closeby a patchy, trampled layer (possibly the remains of a crude floor) of mixed redeposited subsoil (432) exhibited evidence for burning and contained window glass and lead. There was clear signs of burning throughout the disturbed east end. The combina-

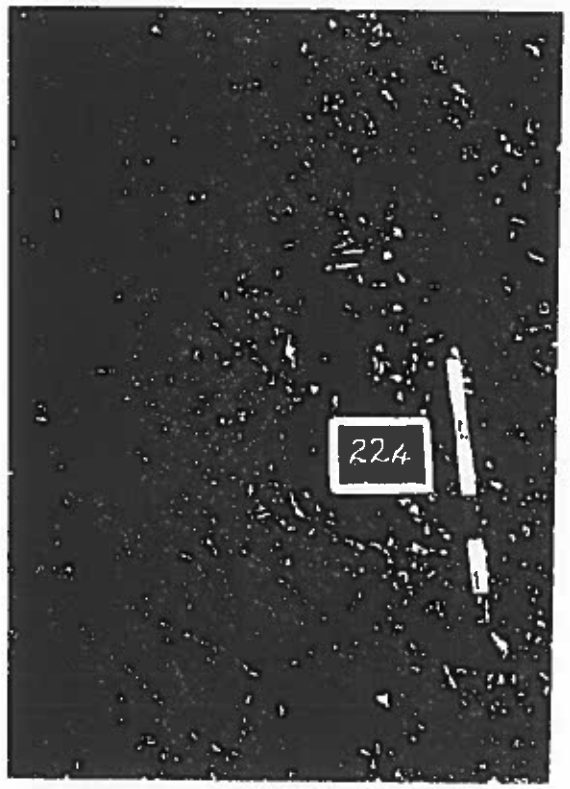


Plate 5.9. Oolite tiles 224 in cloister alley

tion of this evidence may suggest that 430 represents the remains of Dissolution-period smelting activity. Although of a different form to the hearths and structures in Building 28, 430 could have functioned as a lead ingot-mould. Any accompanying furnaces would have not survived the later post-medieval disturbance.

In the NE corner was a large pit (367-8) that had been excavated down the inside walls of the room. The upper fill contained mainly coal dust, the lower predominantly loam. The fill may not relate to function, so it could be a robbed out earlier stone feature.

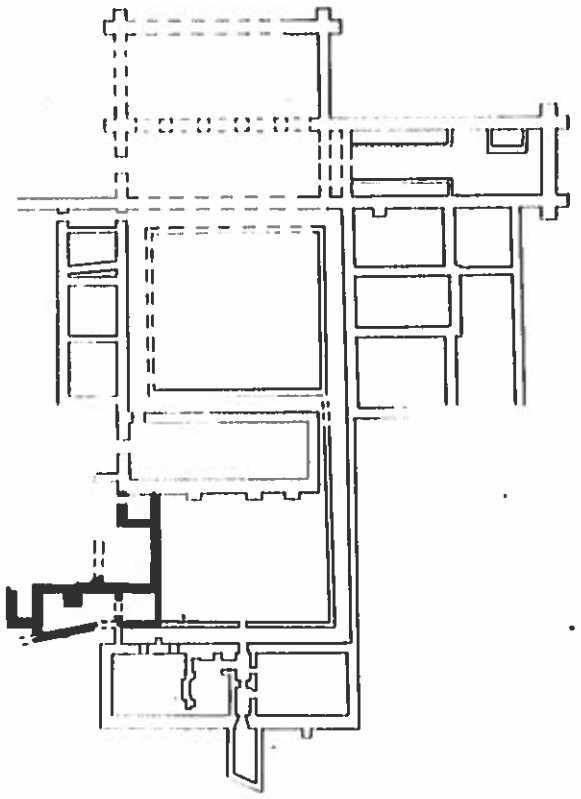
The subsequent history of the building relates to its destruction. Sealing the latest floors in the west end of the building, and including the circular feature, was a collapsed roof (277) mainly of green phyillite, but also including shale and sandstone tiles. The mixed nature of this may indicate a re-roofing from scavenged material. It also sealed layer 363 that contained five jettons, one dated 1540, and much 16th century pottery. This gives a secure *TPQ* for the *collapse* of the roof, which presumably post-dates the closure of Lloyd's grammar school. Other evidence for roofing comes from against the outside of the south wall of the building. The sectional evidence (not illustrated, see archive strip 98, S3, T1 east face) shows two distinct layers of collapsed roofing slate. The lower (361), a slate of quite good quality (not phyllite), contained and *sealed* numerous fragments of painted glass and window lead in addition to sealing 16th century shards from pits 419-20 (not illustrated). The combination of evidence suggests that 361 represents a roof collapse following the suppression of the house. Above this was evidence for another collapsed roof (350), of green phyllite, with occasional fragments of window glass which also contained late 17th/18th century pottery. Since the most common type of slate in 277 (the collapsed roof within the building) compares with that in 350, it is held that they represent collapse from the same roof. If this is accepted, then it is clear that 277 represents a post-suppression re-roofing of 24 since the lower collapsed roof (361), which had evidently been cleared away within the building, contained both 16th century pot and much medieval window glass from the building. The later collapsed roof layer, and destruction debris within (237) and the fill of a robber trench to the east (372) also contained large amounts of post medieval ridge tile (types F/G and C/P, Appendix A). The earlier collapsed roof only contained local ridge tile which is medieval (O'Mahoney, 1991).There is, therefore, fairly secure evidence for a late refurbishment of the building. The collapse of this roof is also post 1540. The building may have been reused by Thomas Lloyd's grammar school, and the re-roofing itself could date from that period.

Above collapsed roof 277 were a succession of debris layers (366, 237, 217, not illustrated). The lowest, 366, had accumulated within the corners of the room and against walls, and may reflect a period of gradual decay. This was followed by 237, a dump predominantly of mortar and small fragments of Old Red Sandstone, which presumably relates to the demolition of the upper walls. This appears, from the large amount of pottery recovered to have occurred in the 18th century. East of the building the fills of robber trench 383 (Figs. 5.2, 7.8) contained numerous fragments of window glass which attests the presence of an east window—presumably one in the upper floor. Above 237, the similar layer 213, must relate to the final robbing of the walls to foundation level and this contained some pot of early 19th century date. This tends to suggest that the foundations at least were still intact after the construction of the enclosure walls around Park House.

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

6. Area F and the West Range of the Little Cloister (buildings 97, 177 198, & 1322).

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



Summary

Activity in this area can be broken down into four broad phases (Fig. 6.1):

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

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

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

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

Phase 1.

In Chapter 5 building 24 – the range on the south side of the Great Cloister was described. Adjoining its SW side was a small room – building 177. Although this building butted onto 24, in date terms it is almost certainly contemporary with the construction of 24, which places it in the initial constructional period of the Friary between c. 1250 to 1282.

The building was formed by the south wall of building 24, its east and west by walls 178 and 221, and south wall 179. The masonry of this building stood between 3-5 courses high, of Old Red Sandstone, with wall thicknesses of 75-79cm wide, and thus had comparatively quite well preserved fabric (Plates 6.2, 6.3). The interior, however, was sadly very disturbed, the rubble demolition fill (which contained 18th century pot) resting on a very uneven mortar layer (271) in turn on subsoil. Neither produced datable finds. The room had an entrance in the west wall and may have had another in the north, linking with building 24. This latter door cannot be

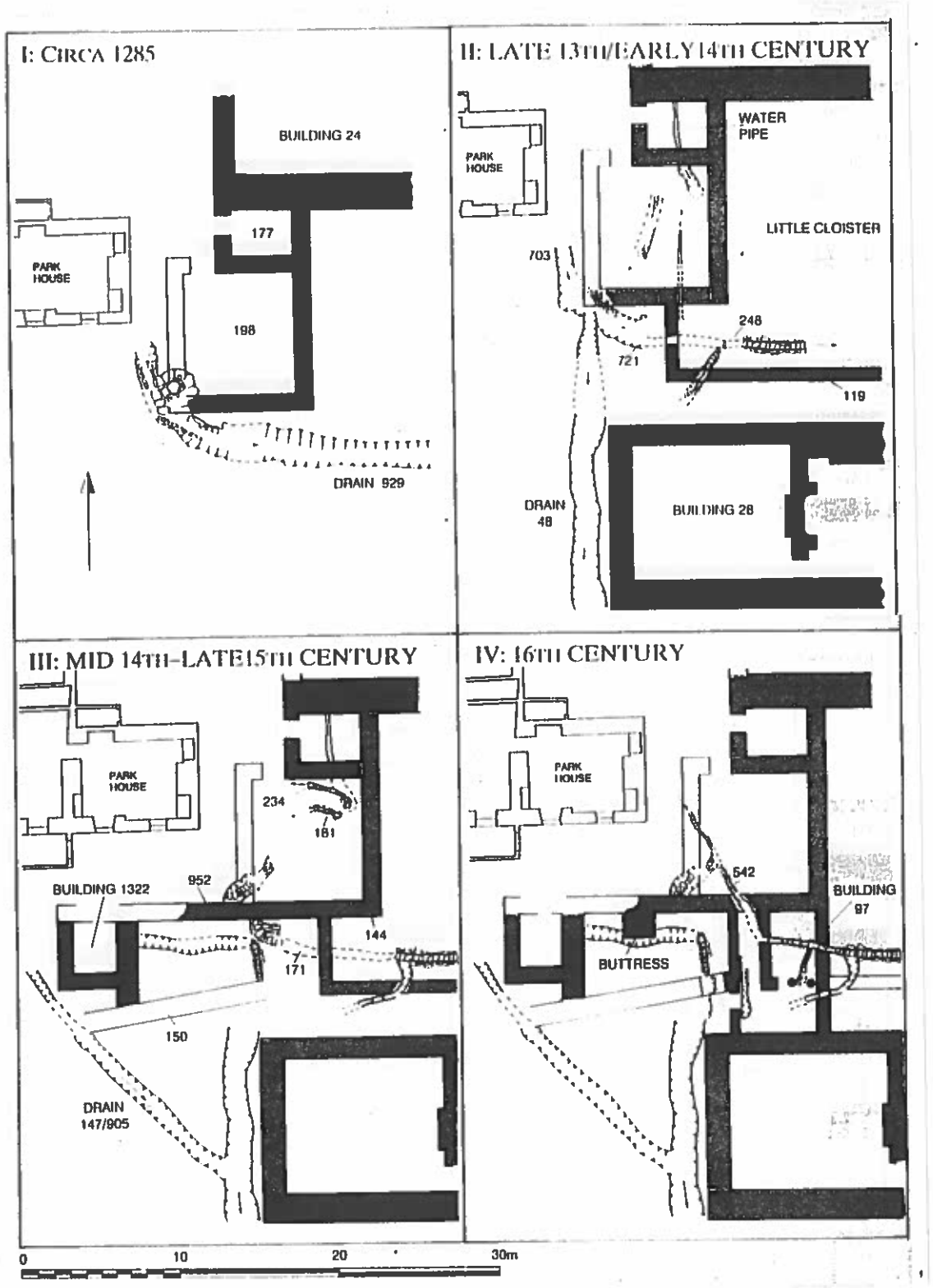


Fig. 6.1. Simplified plans of principal changes from Phases I to IV. The post-medieval building, Park House, is included to aid orientation.

Plate 6.2. Building 177 from the SW butting the south side of building 24.

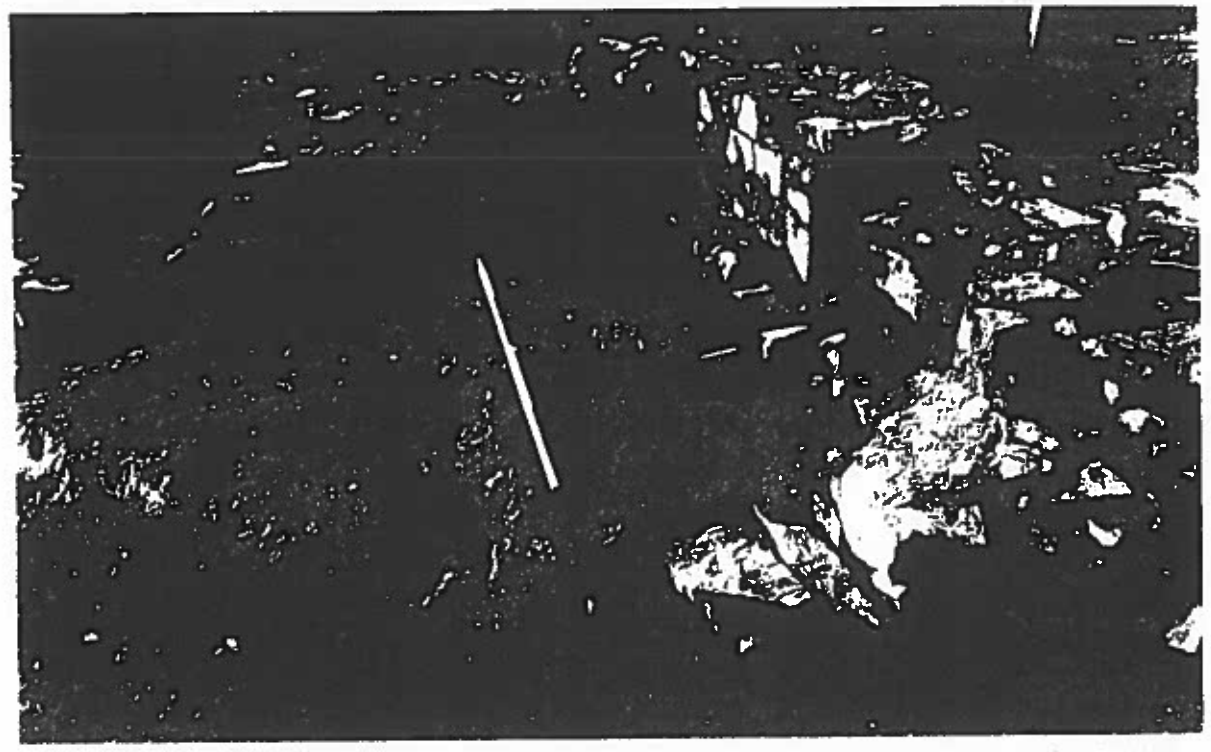


Plate 6.3. Building 177 from the north showing water pipeline and reconstructed section of wall.

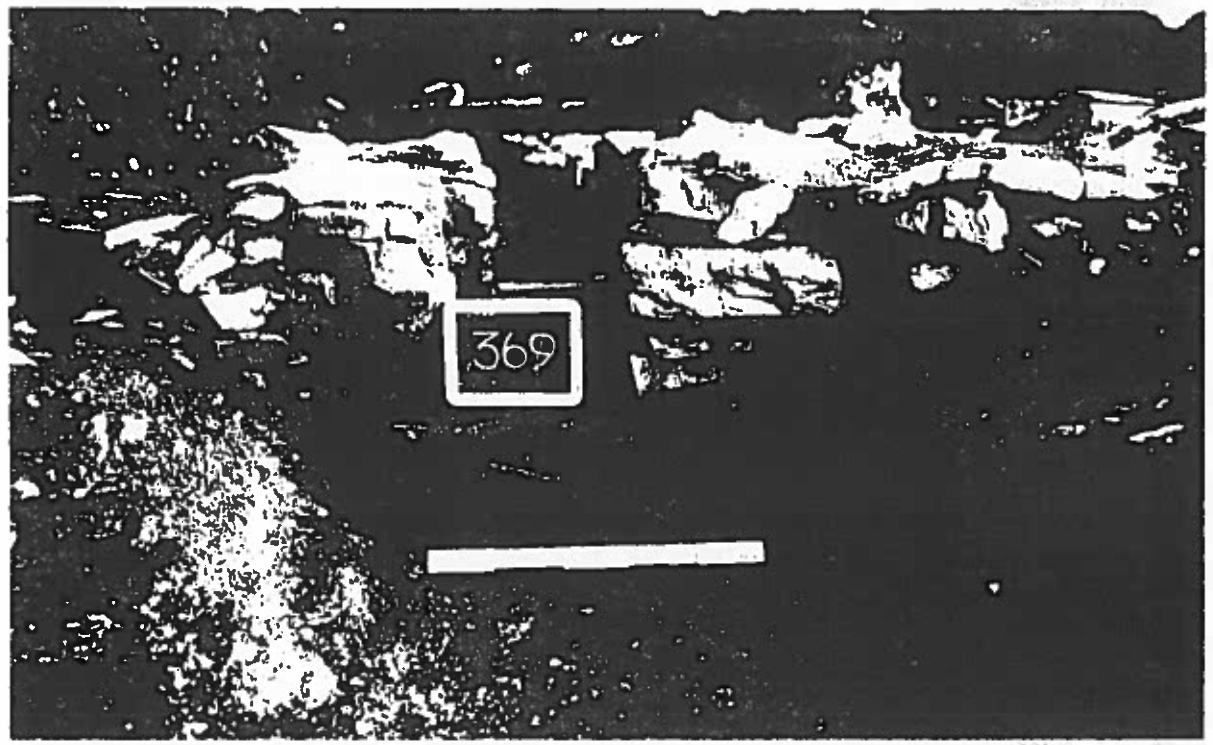


Plate 6.4. Stone drain 11 replaced the earlier drain 369/929 which in the cross section can be seen below the stonework. The backfill material between the two produced an abundance of late 13th century pottery.

proved as the crucial junction had been destroyed by a late post medieval drain. But the west entrance had been blocked at some unknown date, which tends to support the existence of another entrance.

Clearly butting onto room 177 was another building – 198 – formed by NS robber trench 96 and EW robber trench 144 (Fig. 5.1), and north wall 179. No west wall was defined (the areas was amazingly riddled with post medieval drains and soak-aways), but a conjectural position for a wall (93) in shown in Fig. 6.1. The robber trenches were 89-90cm wide, probably giving wall thicknesses similar to 177. The interior floors and drains displayed a complex series of phases, and thus a developed history, starting in the 13th century, since it is clear that drain 929 was constructed after or at the same time as the building.

Drain 929 was constructed in a ditch between 1.10-1.50m wide, U-sectioned and 75cm deep cut into compact gravel subsoil (Fig. 5.1, Plate 6.4). It was only lined with side and basal stones at the apex of its curving arc near the presumed corner of building 198. The basal fill (928) produced 11 shards from 2 pots of 13th cent date, and in area A1 its continuation, 369, produced 16 shards from 13 pots and the well sealed section (403) produced 14 shards from 9 13th cent pots. Since this pottery accumulated either during the working lifetime of the drain or was deposited when backfilled, a date in the mid-late 13th century is to be expected for its construction. The drain ran from the Lammas Street direction and curved E and then NE across the later S cloister, but here it was numbered 369/403. Further NE, where is crossed Trench C1, as 633, there were no finds; where it ran E of the chapter house (under later building 1324), it cut a layer that produced 9 shards from 8 vessels of 13th century date, some of which are post c. 1250 (see Chapter 4, context 1200). Its further continuation, as ditch 2059, was recorded running in a NE direction, past the east end of the choir, presumably making for the dam of the Cock Mill.

Within the inside angle of the drain, where it swept around building 198, was circular structure 238 (Plate 6.5). This structure was well constructed with stonework lining its base and sides with an internal 'horse-shoe' tank area measuring c. 70cm by 1.10m linking directly with the stone lining of drain 929; the latter was marginally higher than the basal slabs of the 'tank'. The feature could be secondary to the main drain, although there is no way of establishing this. Tank 238 was rather too well constructed to take just *drainage* water from the building to the main drain; perhaps it was the base of a garderobe in the corner of building 198. The existence of building 198 in this phase is clearly indicated by the overall course of drain 929 which logically must be *running around* the building itself. Although the position of a west wall for the building remains problematical, and the suggested wall line

Plate 6.5. The horeshoe-shaped tank 238 joining drain 929

cf. no. in pic. + fig. 5.1

running north partly over tank 238 is only an hypothesis. In this phase, as far as the interior of building 198 goes, nothing can be stated for certain, although a small drainage pit with linking gullies (563) certainly predates internal features of phase two, so has been included in the plan for this phase (Fig. 5.1). The pit contained 4 shards from one pot dated 1250-1350.

Ditch 929 was the largest drain excavated at the Friary, and was clearly brining a good volume of water to this part of the site, rather than just draining water away from its roofs. It ran from the direction of Lammas Street, presumably from the main conduit, although unfortunately none of its course E of Park House survived the plethora of later drains. It must have ultimately originated from a main the drain than would have run from *Water Street* down west of the west range of the north cloister. This drain may have got its water from the mill stream that fed the Cock Mill, from which the Friars gained rights of extraction in 1284 from Edward I when he was at Carmarthen (Jones, 1966). Interestingly the King's grant made provision that the water should be turned back quickly – in the 'space of three Sundey sermons' – to the mill stream at the time of war. (Parts of the town's mill stream complex were included in New Carmarthen's defences (James, 1980, 28-29, 44-45)). The fact that drain 929 runs right around the south of the friary's buildings and then up the east side (rather than just emptying over the terrace towards the river on the south) strongly suggests that the drain was making for Dark Gate and the dam of the Cock Mill. If this were so, then it would thus date the drain's construction to 1284.

Phase 2

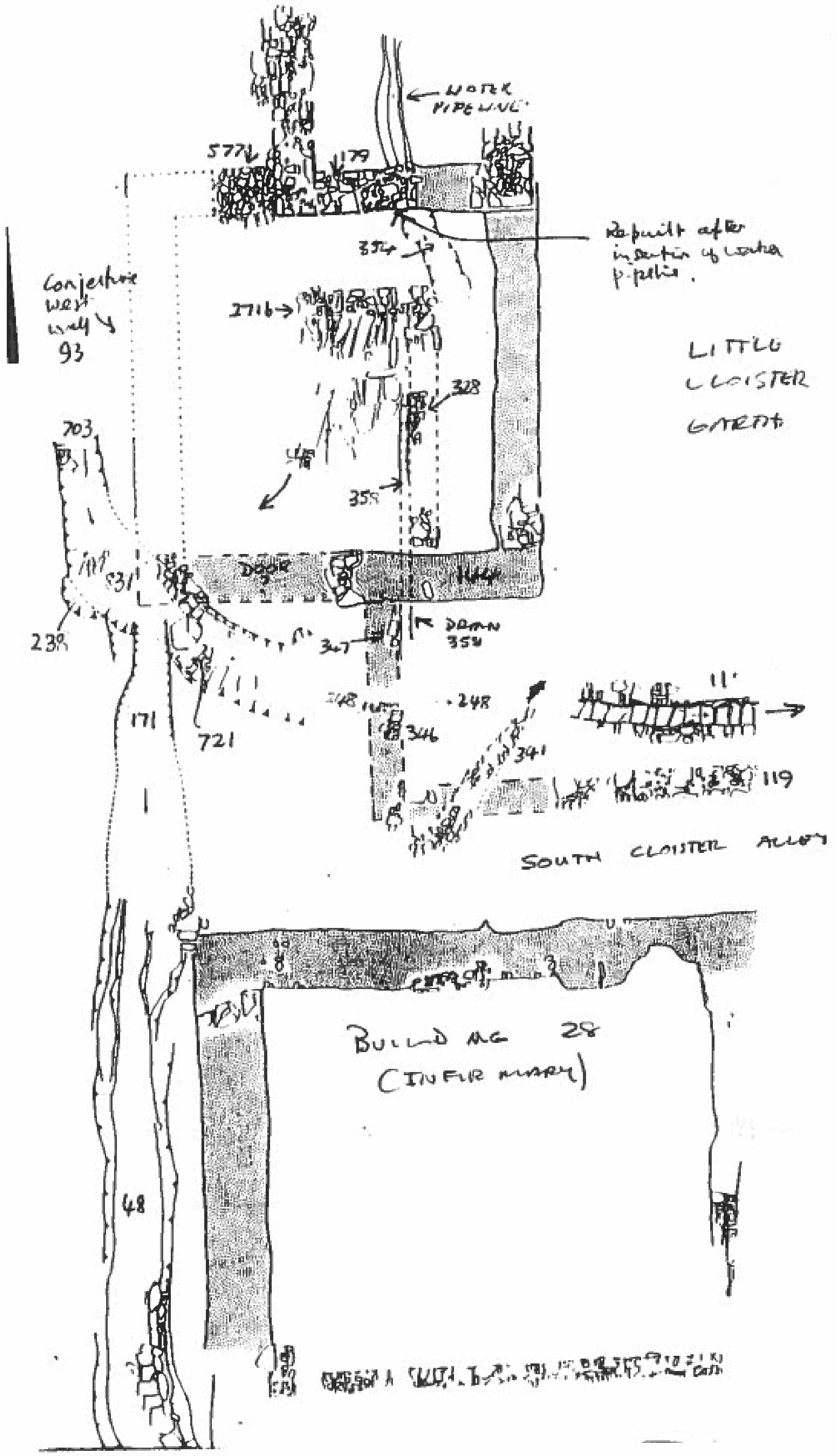
This phase saw a major modification of the drainage system due principally to the construction of a new building (28) south of building 198 and therewith the creation of a new, south, cloister with its attendant alleys (Figs. 6.6, 7.1). The modification of drains arose from the necessity to be able to flush a privy (80) adjoining the south side of building 28 (Fig. 7.1); but first the base level of drain 929 had to be raised before water could be brought down to the new drain (48) and its associated cistern 81. This is convincingly demonstrated by comparing the levels on top of the basal slabs of 929 (Fig. 5.1) (15.98, 16.01 and 16.02m OD) with those of the sluice in the cistern (16.26m OD) or the first basal slab in the privy (15.97m OD) (Fig. 7.2).

Drain 929 was therefore partly infilled with its base raised 50cm to become drain 703 (not illustrated, but cf. Plate 6.4). South of building 198 basal slabs of this new drain survived (721, Fig. 6.5). At the same time tank 238 was infilled, and part of the lower foundation of wall 144 (837) was strengthened, possibly because of a threat of undermining the SW corner of Building 198 by the newly heightened level of the drain.

Running south from the outside apex of a bend in drain 703/721 was the new north-south drain 171 (Fig. 6.5), which only survived in part as an unlined ditch with a base level of 16.30m OD. Its continuation, drain 48, ran parallel to the west wall of building 28, only here some basal and side stones survived, with base levels gently sloping down to the south. Drain 48 then turned east following the south wall of building 28 opening out into an ovoid cistern (82, Figs. 7.1, 7.2). This tank was constructed in an oval pit 4m by about 2.25m, with side walls of coursed mortared stone 35-40cm deep with large basal flags. At the eastern end the cistern narrowed to c. 60cm wide and 35cm high and was covered with a capping lintel stone. Immediately west of this was a rectangular slot 80cm by 29cm cut 12cm below the basal slabs of the cistern which presumably formed the seating for a sluice *gate* that would have been raised to flush the privy which lay immediately to the east (building 80).

At the west end of the new south cloister alley the cloister wall 119 had been destroyed by later activity, but it probably tuned north to join the south wall (144) of building 198 surviving fragmentarily as two small patches of masonry 346/7 which must have

II



WATER PIPELINE
577
179
Rebuilt after insertion of water pipeline.
354
Conjecture west wall of 93
2716
328
LITTLE CLOISTER GARTH
703
358
331
Door
238
DRAIN 358
347
248
346
341
11'
171
721
119
SOUTH CLOISTER ALLEY
BUILDING 28 (INFIRMARY)
48

BUILDINGS 177/198

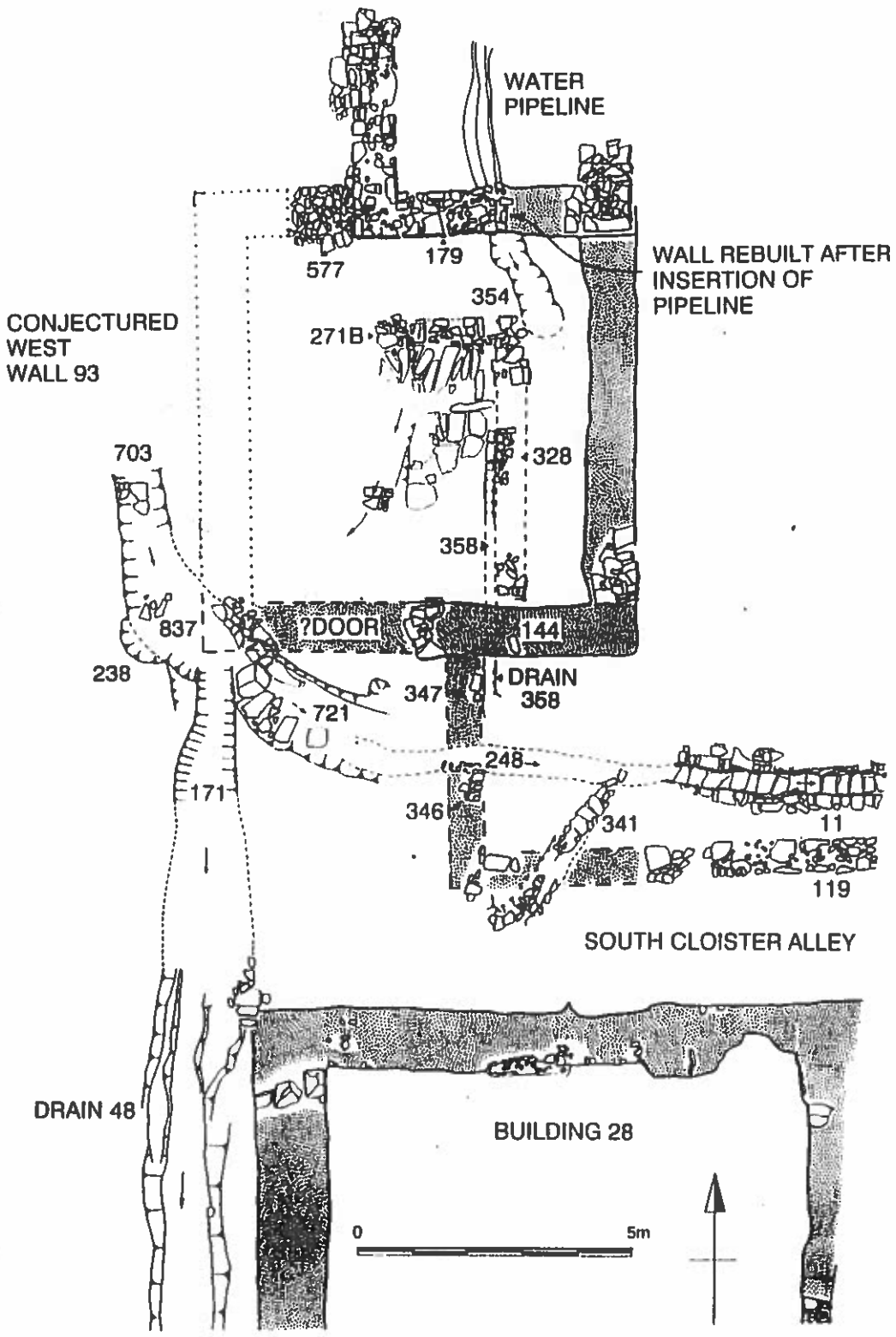


Fig. 6.6. Phase II features in and around Buildings 177 and 198, following the construction of the Infirmary.

had an opening to allow the continuation of drain 721 to run across it. We can assume that there was a doorway to the west of the junction of wall line 144 and 346/7 to give access between the south cloister alley and building 198. Also running from the north side of the cloister alley near this point was a small drain (341) which ran into the main east-west drain (721/248). This little drain, which was replaced by others (158, etc) in later phases, presumably took rainwater from the roof of building 28.

Within building 198 a number of structures and floors appear, which although in origin may belong to the earlier phase are best assigned to this phase. These include a possible NS wall (328) c. 50cm wide extending north from the south wall (144) for just over 5m which then probably turned to the west continuing (as 271b) for a further 2.5m where it was truncated by later disturbance. It is uncertain whether these walls stood to full ceiling height, or formed a base for some sort of structure within the room. Immediately to the west of 328 was a shallow drain, partly slabbed, but mostly surviving as a narrow gully (358) which must have run through the thickness of south wall 144 and emptied into drain 721/248. Within the angle formed by walls 328/271b survived patches of a substantial slab-stone floor (324) bedded within mixed clay, mortar and charcoal (288, 313, 327), with numerous fragments of corroded bronze alloy recovered during excavation. Floor 324 was patched by 325 which contained a single shard of 13th century pot). It is probable that this slab-stone floor (which was noticeably heat-scorched on the north side) had originally extended over a much greater area of the building.

Running EW off the SW corner of building 177, was a foundation of flat angular stones (577) measuring 1m wide extending for 1.3m. This was of similar width to the walls of building 177, and so could be interpreted as a buttress that was subsequently demolished. But equally it could have formed a threshold for a doorway into 198 between the conjectured west wall of the building (93) and the SW corner of 177. Unfortunately the area west of this was so extensively disturbed than this can only remain hypothetical.

A most interesting development during this phase was the laying of a water supply into room 198. This was conveyed through a small bore ?lead pipe laid below ground in a narrow gully embedded in clay . The trench for this pipe was detected running NS across building 24 (484/422, see Chapter 6, above) where it crossed both EW wall lines of the building; it then crossed building 177 (329), and here the south wall was part-demolished and reconstructed to allow the pipe to run through the foundations (Plate 6.3). On the south of 179, where it entered building 198, the pipe trench (254) curved slightly to the SSE and then terminated near the corner formed by walls 328/271b. Here there must have been some sort of stand pipe and tap. Unfortunately none of the pipework survived, although its profile, a circle of c.25mm diameter, was recorded in places within the clay lining. Although there was no clear evidence of the pipe having been robbed, this must have been the case; the surviving circular profile being the result of the pipe being drawn out sideways (rather than vertically). As discussed elsewhere, in Chapter 6, the date for laying this water pipe is uncertain. It clearly post-dates the original construction of building 177 and the laying of mortar surfaces under the Great Cloister alley. But this does not exclude the possibility that the pipeline is any later in absolute terms. It probably dates to the mid-late 14th century. The laying of this water supply probably necessitated the construction of a number of drains, for in addition to that already mentioned (358), two other possible drains running from near the presumed stand pipe (578) and one incorporated into 271b (see later), were also noted. Where these connect with drain 703/721 remains unanswered.

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

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

Phase 3

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

Due to the addition of buildings to the west, and the modification of building 198, yet more alterations were made to the friary's drains. The south wall of building 198 (144) was extended westward (wall 627, a 75cm wide robber trench) and significantly deeper foundations were added where the new wall line was breached by former drain 703/721 (951-5, Fig. 6.7). The drain, which had run NS down the west side of building 198, was itself blocked and replaced by a new drain (530) which ran NE-SW from within the building, to pass through wall 144/627 under an archway supported on the aforementioned deep foundations 951-2.

At the same time the former west wall, conjectured in phases 1 and 2, was now converted into an interior wall. The evidence for this wall was fragmentary, surviving only as a short length of NS robber trench 502, with some mortar for a floor lipping (529) on its west face. The overall course of this wall, or of drain 530, and any associated flooring, was lost in post-medieval drainage work, although it could have run, as conjectured in the last phase, as far as stonework 577. The only flooring and structures that survived inside building 198 were again in the east end. Here a considerable flagstone and cobbled floor (183-4) survived in patches (Plate 6.8). The junction between these mirrored the earlier north-south aligned wall (328, Fig. 6.1) of the previous phase, which might indicate a continuity of function, if not arrangement, of the room. It is uncertain when precisely these changes occurred within room 198, for we have already noted that the dating of the phase two structures could be somewhat later than the rest of the features in that phase. On that basis the features from room 198 in phase three could have been in use over a protracted period—as much as two hundred years may separate features within onephase.

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

North of the flagged and cobbled floor (beyond some recent disturbance) was a mortared stone structure (181) which sealed the earlier EW wall (271b). This stonework, whose long axis ran parallel to the east-west walls of the building, contained a bowl-shaped depression c. 46cm in diameter near the east end (Plate 6.9).This was close to the position of the stand pipe introduced in phase 2, and probably still functioning; so the bowl was served by tap water. From the bowl ran a drain towards the west. Yet another drain (234) ran from the north

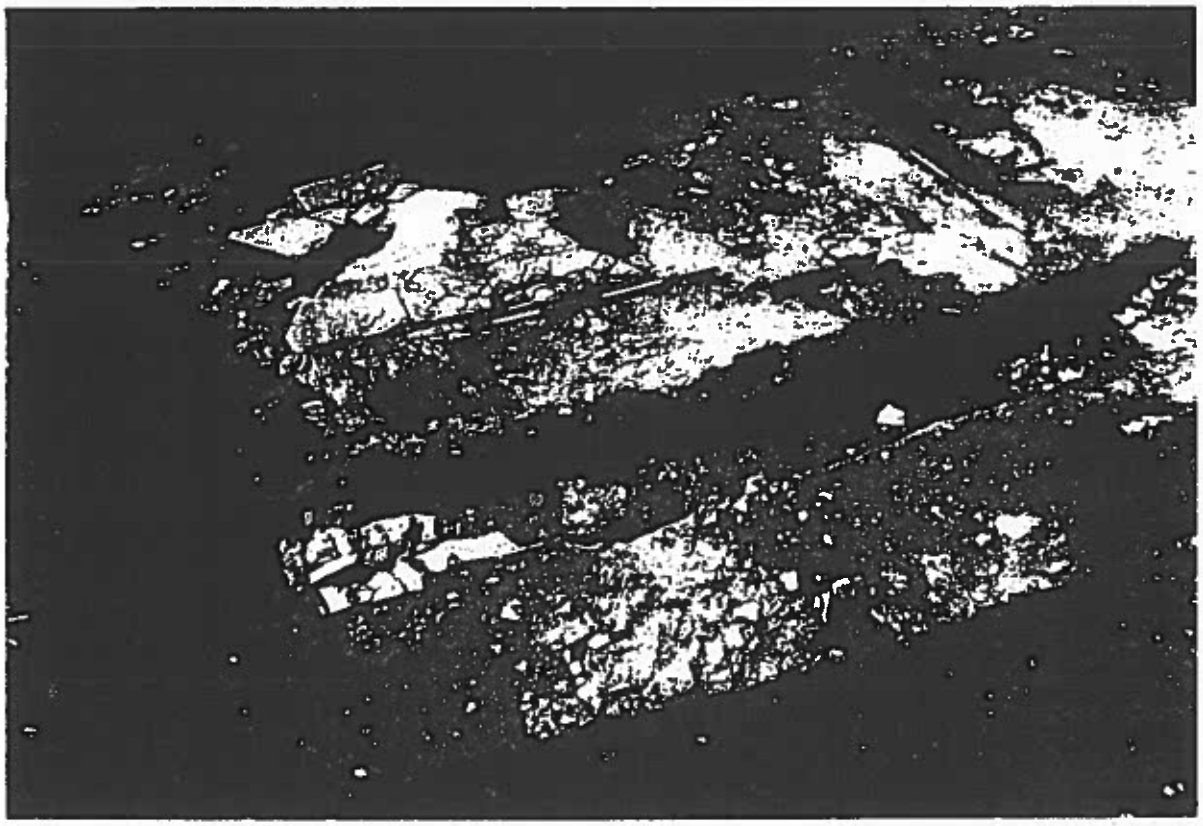


Plate 6.8. Building 198 from the ESE with Phase 3-4 surfaces 183-4.

side of the bowl, but this may be earlier, as it was sealed by a later floor (182, not illustrated) which was itself contemporary with 181. The choked fill of drain 234 (232), which was well sealed by the drain's capping stones (as well as by floor 182) contained masses of animal bone. These were of fish, chicken, ox, sheep or goat and other small mammals. Such a fill, resulting perhaps directly from the use of structure 180, gives a hint at not only the function of the structure, but with it the room. Building 198 may, therefore, have been used for food preparation, or the washing of utensils etc., with the animal bone being discarded down the drain. A single shard of 13th-14th century pot was also recovered from the drain fill, but the layers sealing the drain (230 and 180, not illustrated) contained four shards of 15th century pot which gives a clearer indication of date for the drain and with it structure 181. There was, however, a single shard of 16th century pottery from layer (273) which was sealed in part by flag floor 183. This could mean that floor 183 was much later, but since context 273 was only partly sealed by the flagstones, the 16th century shard could be intrusive, and must be viewed with some caution. Perhaps because drain 234 had become blocked, the second drain within 181 might have been constructed, although it is possible they were both contemporary in origin. The destination of both drains could not be established due to destruction by post-medieval drains, although their levels would allow them to connect with drain 530 which ran under the SW corner of the building.

Post medieval drains had also truncated part of the course of east-west Robber Trench 627 (i.e the westward extension of wall line 144), thus destroying any relationship that might have existed between buildings 198 and 1322 (which stood further west). This building, whose overall plan is unknown, was defined by trenches 693, 888 and 885, forming a small room of only 2.3m square internally. To the west wall was added a number of masonry structures (753, 778 and 752) of unknown function, which effectively trebled its thickness. Without being able to define the overall layout of buildings in this area, assigning a function can only be conjectural. On present evidence it cannot be established whether building 1322 joined the south side of a much larger structure which may have underlaid Park House. But this eventuality is supported by the lack on any north wall. Although most of the north side had been lost in later features, part of the NW 'corner' did survive with masonry structure 841 and associated hearth 817. The latter produced the only datable artifact from the building from its primary

Plate 6.9. Structure 181 (right) and drain 234 within Building 198 from the west.

Plate 6.10. Drain trench 147/905 (two ranging poles) runs to meet drain 48 as it runs around the SW corner of the Infirmary. Trench 150 is in the foregound (left). from NE NW

covering (807), a single fragment of pot dated to between 1250-1350.

The construction of building 1322 resulted in further modifications to the drainage system. An east-west French drain (695) ran from the east side of robber trench693 cutting the backfill of drain 171 and then emptied into drain 157. It is possible that this drain could predate building 1322—it could indeed have run across the area occupied by the building. But the most probable explanation is that it was taking rainwater away from the new building.

The other drain (147/905) ran diagonally from the NW to join drain 48 close to the SW corner of building 28 (Fig. 6.7, Plate 6.10). Drain 147 was unlined, but contained numerous fragments of ceramic water pipe (O'Mahoney, 1991, Appendix B) and had occasional patches of clay which may have bonded lengths of water pipe together. At least one patch retained the circular profile similar to the 70-85 mm outside diameter of the pipes, so it seems probable that this drain contained a buried lengths of ceramic water pipe bonded with clay at the joints. One of the reasons for the construction of this drain may be connected with the reduced amount of water feeding the privy (80). This would have followed the infilling of drain 703 that we assume had formerly brought a prodigious amount of water from the main conduit alongside building 198. Although the privy was still fed by some water from the replacement drain 530 (via 48 and 157) it presumably required a greater head of water for flushing than 530 could provide. This additional supply was provided by diagonal drain 147, which ran from the west side of building 1322. However, a more obvious explanation is that drain 147 was constructed to pass around the newly-built buildings that include 1322.

Contemporary with 147 was a vertical sided trench (150), about 1m wide and 40cm deep running WSW-ENE (ie almost EW) for at least 10m (Plate 6.10). Its course on the west side, and its precise relationship with drain 147, was lost in later disturbance. On the east, however, it overlay the now back-

filled drain 171, necessitating the redirection of the latter in the form of a new stone lined drain 157, which was now built against the east terminal of ditch 150. Drain 157 thus formed the west boundary of the south cloister alley where the latter turned north to join building 198. The function of ditch 150 is uncertain; it had all the hallmarks of a robbed wall except that its course was not as straight as other robber trenches on the site. It may best be viewed as a robbed boundary, rather than a building wall line, enclosing the newly erected building 1322 from the open grounds to the south. With these additions, the buildings of this area appear to have reached their maximum size of development, with only piecemeal alteration thereafter. The dating of phase 3 covers a wide timespan. The fill of diagonal drain 147contained 7 shards from 7 pots of 13-14th century date. As we have already noted, the possible hearth 807 produced a single shard dated between 1250-1350, and to this can be added another shard of similar date mortared into stonework (841) associated with the hearth structure 817. None of this provides a satisfactory guide for dating the construction of the buildings in F1. Within the north side of building 198 drain 234 was sealed by a layer containing 4 shards of 14th century pot, which also

Fig. 6.11. Phase IV additions, including the contruction of Building 97 south of Building 198.

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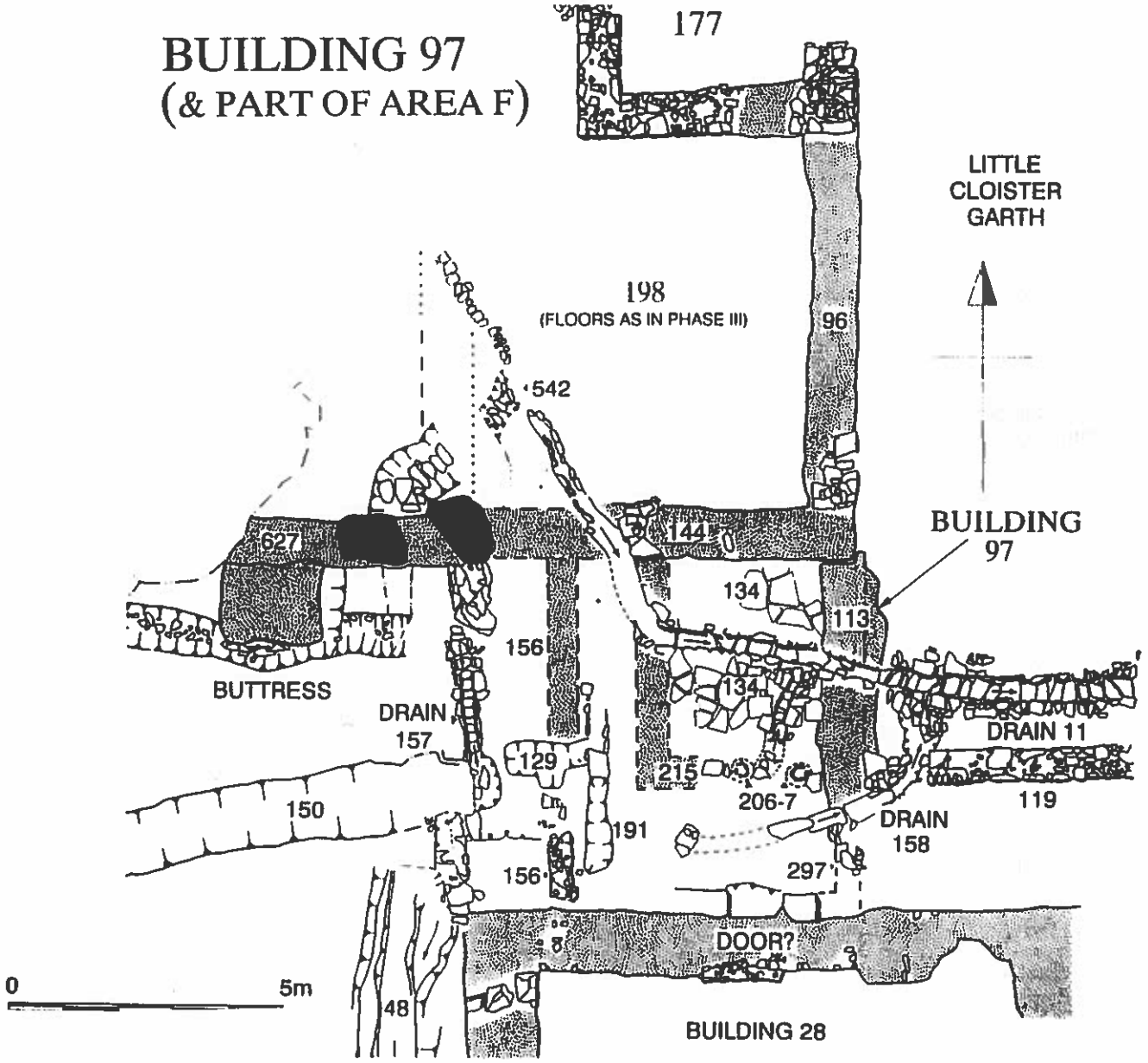


Fig. 6.11. Phase IV additions, including the contruction of Building 97 south of Building 198.

gives a *TPQ* for structure 181. There is also the single shard of 16th century pot possibly sealed by flagstone floor 183. Bearing in mind these buildings post-date the construction of those in phase 2, which include the Infirmary, originating from the very late 13th or early 14th century, then phase three must span the 14th-16th centuries, and may indeed have been in use right up to the Dissolution.

Phase 4.

The principal change in Phase 4 was the addition of a small building on the south side of building 198 along with further modification to the drains. The new building (97) partly impinged on the short section of west cloister alley between the NW corner of building 28 and the south wall of building 198 (Fig. 6.3). The new building, or more precisely room, abutted the south wall (144) of building 198. Its east wall, indicated by robber trench 113, could clearly be seen to butt the foundation trench of 144; its eastern face was a good 10-20cm further east that the comparable face of the east wall (96) of building 198. The south wall (215) barely survived as a very shallow robber trench, but two postholes (206-7) for a doorway clearly marked the wall line (Fig. 6.11, Plate 6.12). The west wall, which was destroyed by later activity, may be recalled by both the western

Plate 6.12. The position of Room 97 (foreground) and part of the south cloister wall and drain 11 beyond, looking east.

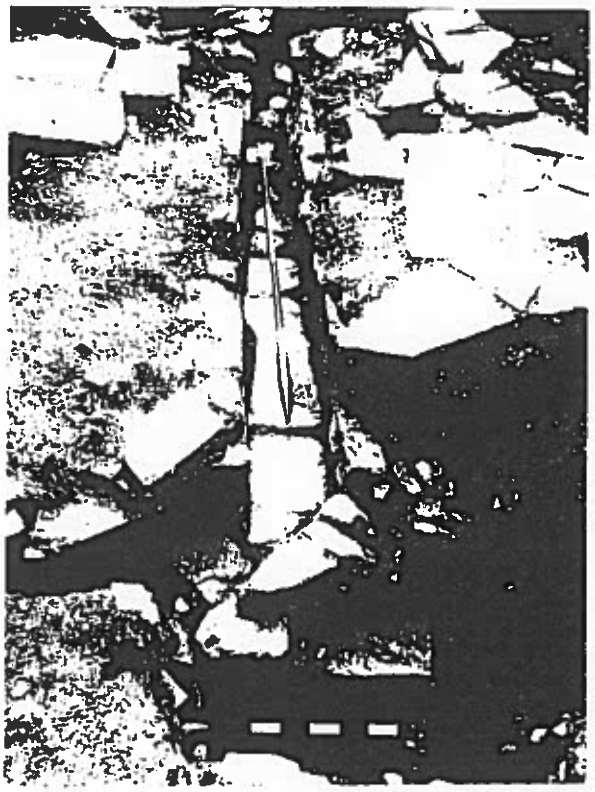


Plate 6.13. Drain 11 and flagstones 134 within Room 97 from the west

extremity of flagged internal floor 134, and a sharp change of alignment in drain 11, which it is argued, entered the room through the former west wall (Plate 6.13). This wall replaced the earlier NS cloister wall (346/7) of earlier phases, but was marginally further west than its precursor. It is possible that there was a southward continuation of the east wall (113) linking with the north wall of building 28 indicated by a block of surviving masonry (297). If this were the case, then it argues for the existence of an east facing doorway linking the south cloister alley with an intermediate room between room 97 and room 52 in the infirmary.

Room 97 had a surviving floor surface of angular sandstone flags (134, Plate 6.13) which sat on a series of mortar layers (136, 200, 203, and 214, not illustrated) all of which produced pottery with a date range in the 15th/16th centuries, with one shard (from 136) which could be 16th or as late as the 17th century. These layers, and the flag floor, sealed two small drains (341, 158) which predated the room. These drain ran from the near the NW corner of building 28 into the precursor of drain 11. But a subsequent drain (239) appears contemporary with room 97, for this ran into the modified drain 11, itself resulting from the construction of the building. The existence of small drain 239, which ran across the threshold into the room, indicates that there was an earlier floor before the laying of flags 134, since

the functioning of 239 was effectively blocked by the makeup of later floor 134.

At the same time as this room was constructed, the structure and alignment of drain 248 was modified, (following the blocking of drain 721 of phase 3), with the construction of drain 11 a little further north. Drain 11 no longer received water from the west, but from a new drain (542) which ran diagonally from the NW across building 198.

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

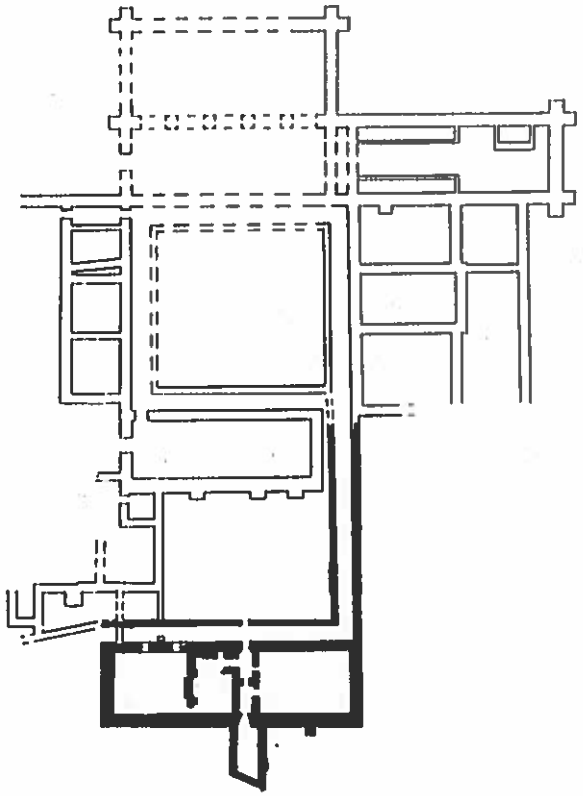
Wall 156 survived as a low foundation 40cm wide running off the north face of the NW corner of the Infirmary (wall 34) for about 1.2m. There was then a gap of about 1m before feature (129) which may be interpreted as a foundation trench for an EW wall (linking with 150), with offsets for two doorways at right angles in the north and west faces of the NW corner of the cloister alley (see restored plan). These door openings would have been about 1m wide. If NS wall 156 continued as far as EW robber trench 144, then such an arrangement would have closed off the rather damp, and presumably untidy, area west of these, where drain 157 ran across the small yard formed by walls 150, 693, 144/627 and 156. But it is possible (see below) that during this phase drain 157 ceased to function.

The date of these modifications can be assigned, on the basis of finds from the floor makeup of room 97, to the 16th century, although the single shard from 136 could be seventeenth century. The room could belong to the late mendicant, or the short-lived Grammar school, or might be even later.

Function is equally uncertain. Such a small building, with a drain running through its midst could indicate that it was a privy. If the room is post suppression, and therefore post the destruction of the infirmary (and thus its privy), then it would be tempting to suggest that the building belongs to the grammar school. If this were the case, however, then the drain which was feeding the infirmary privy (157/48) would have become redundant sometime during this phase, with perhaps the new drains 542/11 post-dating the abandonment of 157/48.

7. Building 28 (the Infirmary), Privy 80 and the south and east sides of the Little Cloister

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



Summary

The walls has been almost completely robbed with the exception of part of the west passage, the division between rooms 51-2, and the south wall with the abutting east and west walls of the privy (Figs. 7.1, 7.2, Plates 7.3-4). The south wall was predominantly Old Red Sandstone and the interior walls and those of the privy, constructed of more mixed and poorer stone, mainly local shale. The east wall line was not excavated due to the fact that the building ran beyond the east boundary of Friars' Park. But the overall exterior dimensions were at least 30m EW by 10.3m NS. The upper floor probably extended over the cloister alley and would have thus been about 2.8m wider. The central passage ran NS to link with the privy on the south, and there had been a doorway closing off the passage half way down its length, with part of the door hanging surviving as a metal peg in the west door jamb of wall 18. Off the NW corner of the passage was a doorway giving access to room 51, a probable kitchen with a fireplace partly surviving in the room's western wall (55). Room 51 measured about 6.5 NS by 5m EW. Access to room 52 was via a doorway on the south side of wall 55. This room measured 8.7m EW by 7.8 NS. Benching (100) ran continuously along the southern wall of both rooms. The room, or rooms, to the east of the passage (84) were entered from two doorways that breached the east wall (21) of the passage. The latter survived only as a foundation trench. Room 84 was at some stage divided longitudinally by a cross wall (311, 482), the latter probably a timber partition (Fig. 7.1). The whole interior of 84, as one room (Fig. 7.5), was very disturbed due to Dissolution period smelting activity, itself the likely cause of a fire that consumed the whole building. Within the débris the remains of two small leaded and coloured glass windows were recovered.

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

Early Phases

The earliest activity relates to constructional work for the building itself. First the whole area occupied by the building was levelled down by at least 20cm (Fig. 7.6), and probably much more on the north due to the fact that the site originally sloped gently down south. The base level from which construction commenced (c. 16.40 OD) was on sufficiently firm subsoil so that the foundations

BUILDING 28, PI
PART OF LITTL

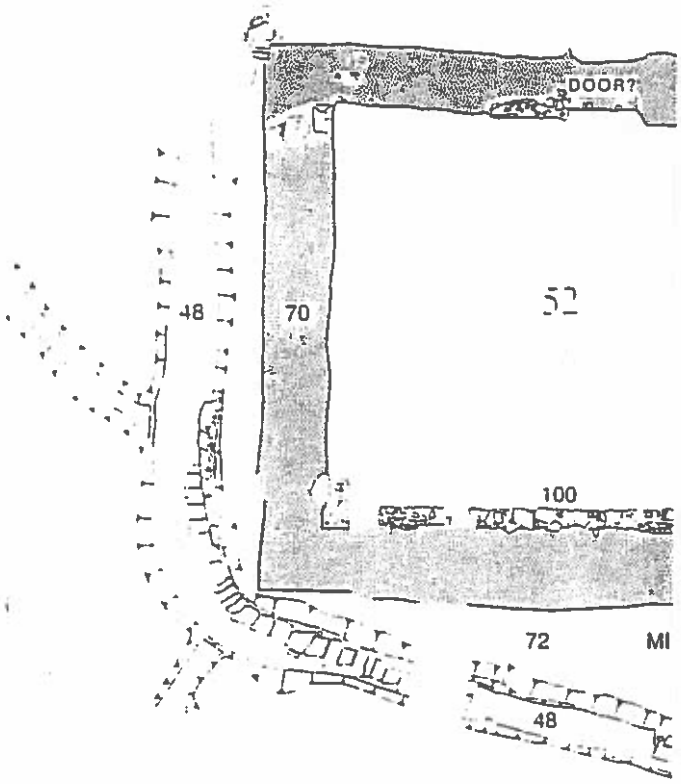


Fig. 7.1. Ground plan of Building 28 with ass

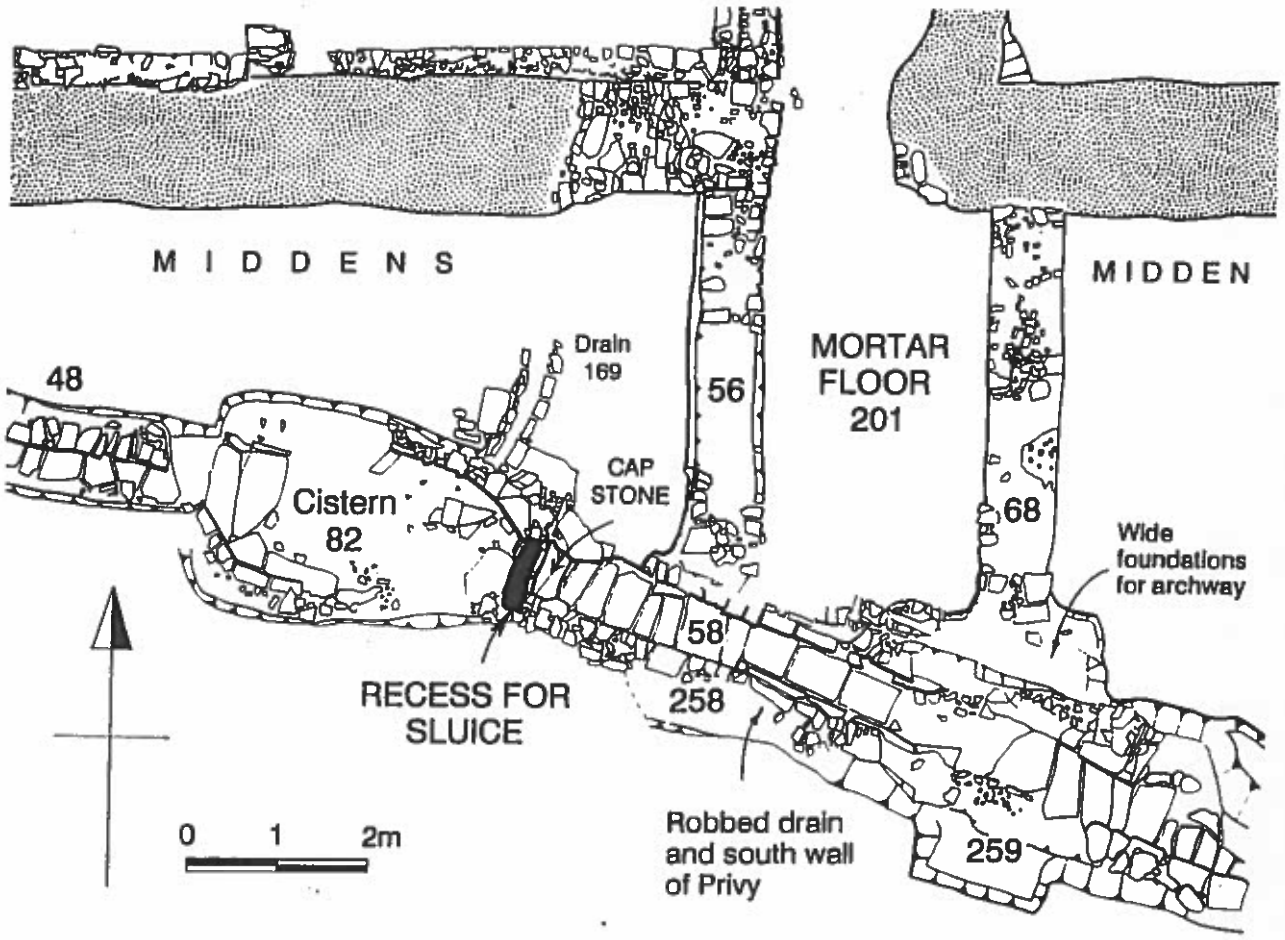


Fig. 7.2. Enlarged detail of Privy 80 and associated drains and cistern (cf. Fig. 7.1)

of the building's walls were not very deep. Those of the southern wall were deepest, varying from 16.38-16.16 on the west of the passage to 16.16-16.05 on the east. So again there was a slope down from west to east, although not as dramatic as that noted in the foundations of building 24. The northern wall's foundations were shallower, which presumably relates to the pre-levelling slope, in that firmer subsoil was at a higher level on the north. The interior walls were no more than 10cm below the levelling cut.

Before all the walls were built there was some constructional activity in the area of later room 52 (not illustrated). This took the form of a series of mortar layers filling a hollow (251), the whole clearly sealed by the benching (100) of the later room. These lenses were associated with a group of postholes (284, 303-5 and ?167) which might have formed a four-post structure (not illustrated, archive drawing 28). It is argued that the mortar lenses were laid down when mortar was being mixed for the construction of the building, and the whole may have had a temporary shelter (c. 3-3.5m square) built over it which survived in the form of these postholes. Another mortar filled pit (137), possibly of similar date and function as 251 was discovered below the floors of room 51. A hemispherical pit (141) was cut into the truncated subsoil, with evidence for burning arount it (Fig. 7.6). This may be

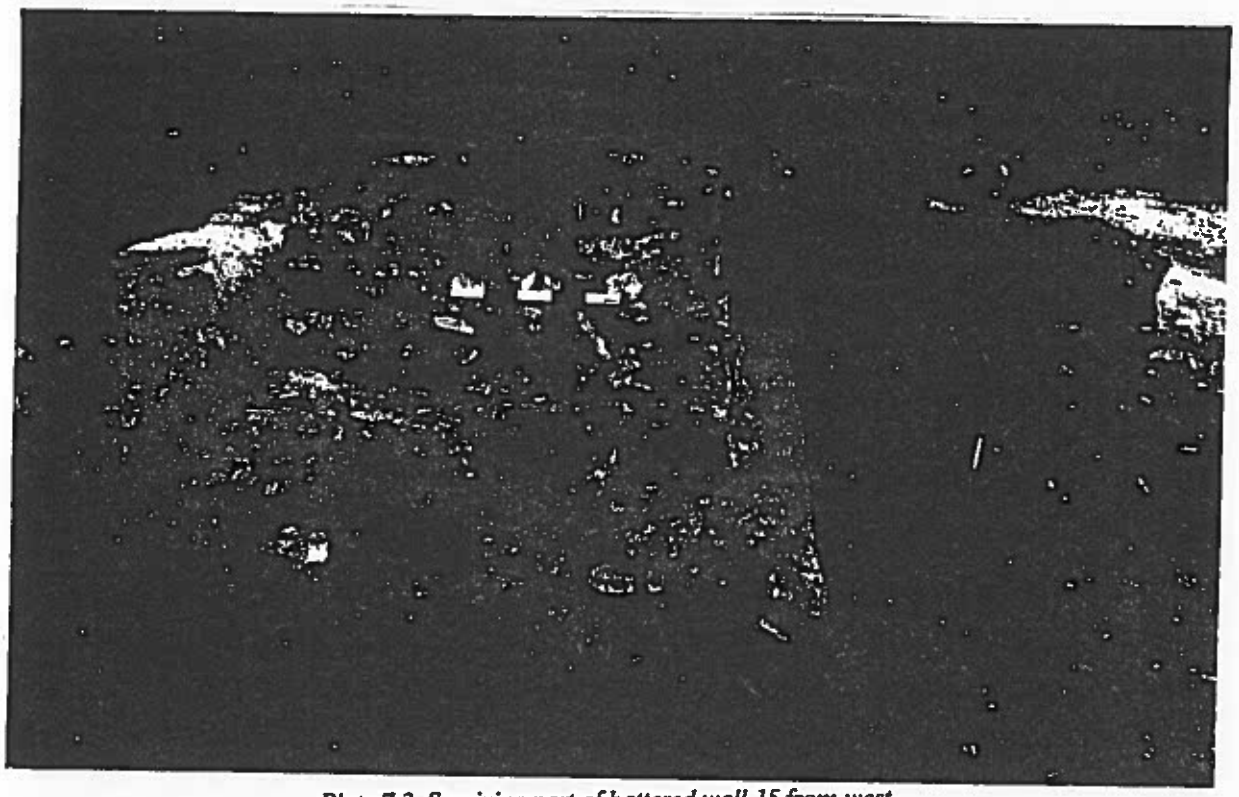


Plate 7.3. Surviving part of battered wall 15 from west.

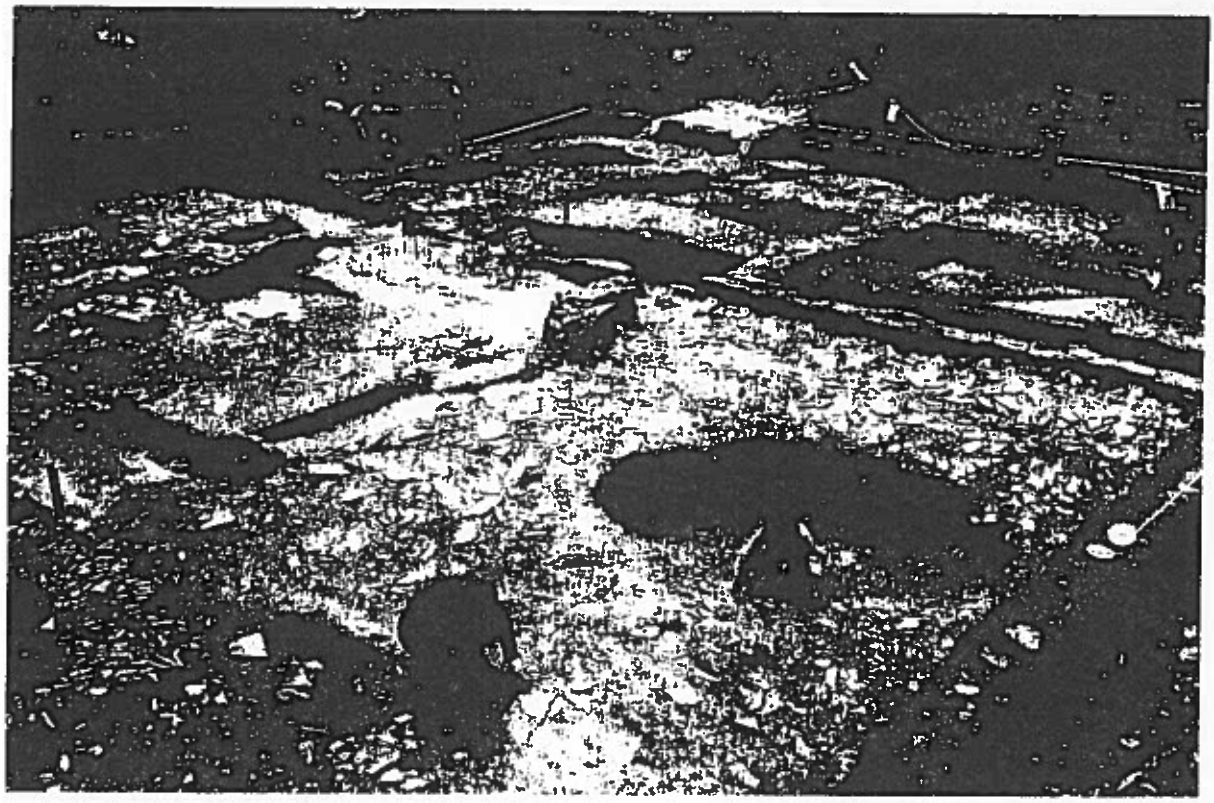


Plate 7.4. View of Room 52 (foreground) and Room 51 (left) during excavation of collapsed roof, from NW.

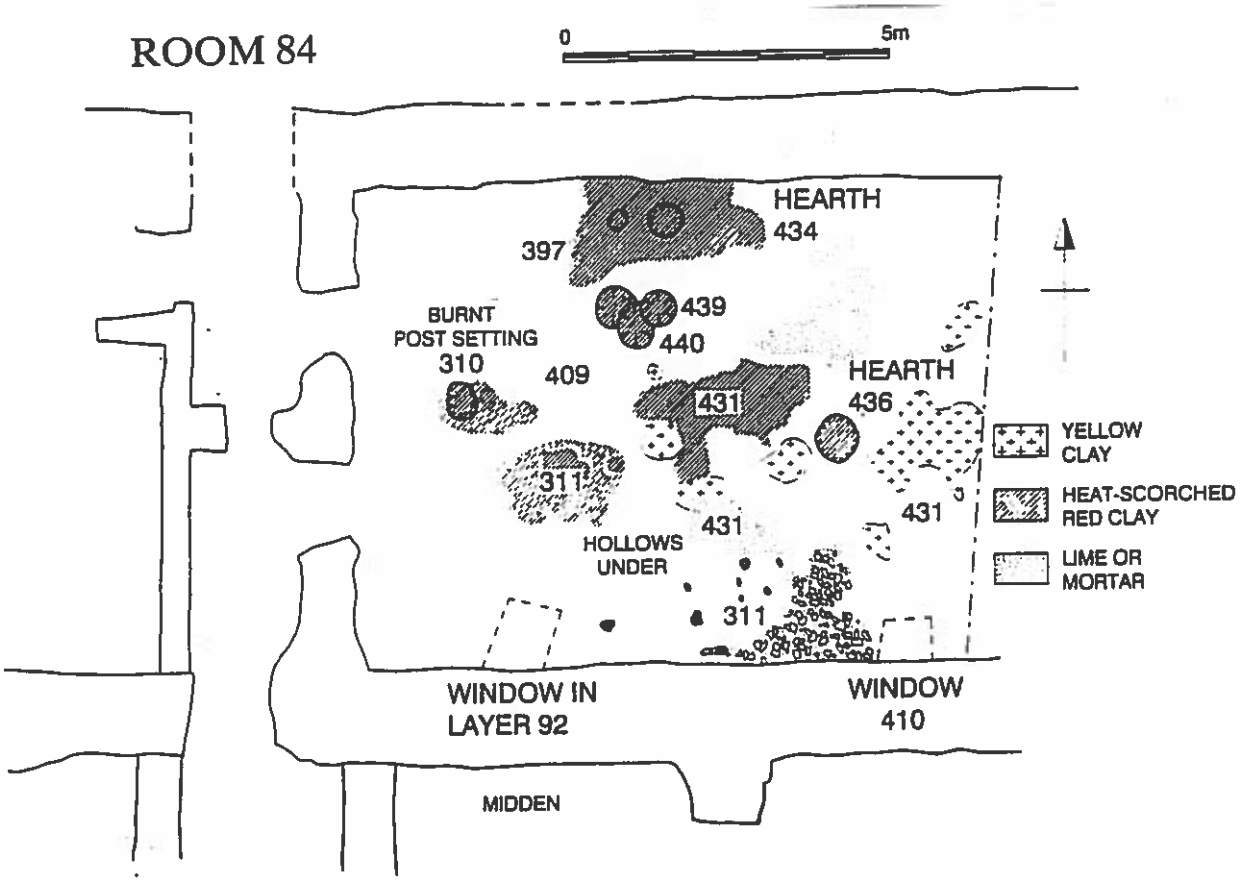


Fig. 7.5. Plan of lead and bronze melting-down features

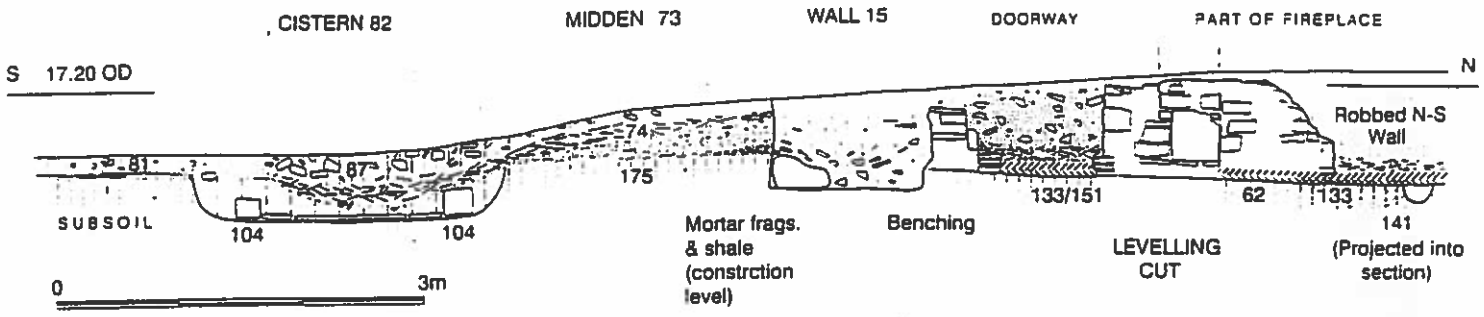
the remains of a primitive hearth used for melting lead, which would have been run into the pit (see Appendix C). Another pit (137) also sealed by floor 131 contained a lump of lead which may have be waste from the metling operation implied by pit 141. Pit 137 produced 2 shards from 2 pots of c. 1250-1350 date. These features are probably contemporary with initial building operations.

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

Construction

The dimensions of the exterior walls varied. The only good surviving masonry was along the south wall (15) on the west side of the southern entrance linking with the privy (80). Here it survived to a height of 60cm, was constructed solidly of ORS, and had a width of 1.2m expanding to 1.6m at foundation base (Plate 7.3). The broadening of width was accomplished by battering the outside (southern) face; an offset footing for the lowest course of stone was also added to make up the full width. The battering was not continuous, but ran for only 5.5m west from the entrance break (effectively along the whole of the south of room 51). It is thought probable that the wall (as robber trench 23) had also been battered on the east side of the entrance. Here the foundation trench was nearly 1.6m wide for 5.5m, narrowing to 1.4m after a buttress. The evidence, then, indicates that the southern wall was 1.2m wide, in a foundation trench 1.4m wide; and that each side of the entry into the privy the wall was battered, with a wider foundation width approaching 1.6m.

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



Fig/ 7.6. Section across south wall of Building 28.

Nothing, save the foundation trenches, survived of the north walls (34, 59), and these were of varying widths. North of room 52 it was 1.2m narrowing abruptly to 90cm towards the east – the latter probably marking the threshold of a doorway leading to the cloister alley. The door itself (measuing c. 1.1m by 1.8m) was recorded in a burnt demolition layer and planned as a clear charcoal stain (Fig. 7.7). North of room 51 the foundation trench appeared to be 1.9m, but had a sort of inset of hard standing within it, measuring 1m from the wall's inner face and 2.5m wide. This inset was floored with flat stonework making a reasonably smooth surface, and covered with mortar. It is possible that the 1.9m width could be accounted for by interpreting this as the combined width of the wall foundation plus benching (since benching existed elsewhere in the room). But the hard standing inset is less easily interpreted. It may be taken as evidence for a stairway leading to the upper floor – the hard standing being the area underneath the stairs usually used for storage. The wall on the north of room 84 (59) had a foundation trench width of a little under 1.3m, indicating a wall width of 1.2m.

Some of the interior walls survived to a height of 1m. The best surviving wall (18) formed the west wall of the NS passage; its counterpart (21) on the east had been totally robbed, but there had clearly been two doorways through it into room 84, good evidence for the room being divided at some date. Wall 18 was not tied into the exterior walls, but butted on the north face of wall 15. It was 45cm wide, and sat on a foundation of stonework c. 75cm wide. The interesting feature was that the wall did not sit centrally on the foundation but sat flush on the eastern side (fig. 7.1). The wall was constructed mainly of local shale, and had been plastered on both faces, and had an offset of over 1m long leading west into room 51. In the passageway there had been a doorway, with a door jamb incorporated in the eastern face of wall 18, containing an iron peg for hanging a door hinge. This offset was an integral feature, contemporary with the wall's construction, and was itself 45cm wide. Although there was no surviving evidence for a doorway in the north wall of building 28 (ie between 34 and 59) there must have been an entrance to the passage from the cloister alley. Once inside one would have been faced with a door midway down the passage, with doors leading off to right (into room 51) and left (into 84). Beyond the door half-way down the passage was another door into the southern side of 84; at the end of the passage a door led straight into the privy (80).

Between rooms 51 and 52 the partition wall (55) survived in part to a height of about 1m where it was still plastered, although it had been totally robbed on the north side. The wall was 45cm wide; its foundation trench c. 80cm, so was comparable in width with wall 18. It was mainly constructed of shale, although Pennant sandstone was also present, and one fragment of *reused* dressed green Old Red Sandstone (Obj.237) had been incorporated in the corner of the jamb of a doorway between the two rooms. Architecturally this piece was thought to be late in date, which suggests that some modification to the wall had taken place. There was a fireplace in room 51 in the eastern face of the wall. In the demolition rubble (53) four pieces of dressed freestone forming trefoil openings (Obj.3609) in an ornate chimney were recovered, which must have belonged to this fireplace. Stylistically these can only be broadly dated to the medieval period. From the same layer (53), in room 52, a piece of ornate dressed stonework (Obj.48), possibly from the fireplace in room 51, was also recovered. This is thought to be of 14th or 15th century date. Other dressed stonework included a sandstone corbel for suppor-

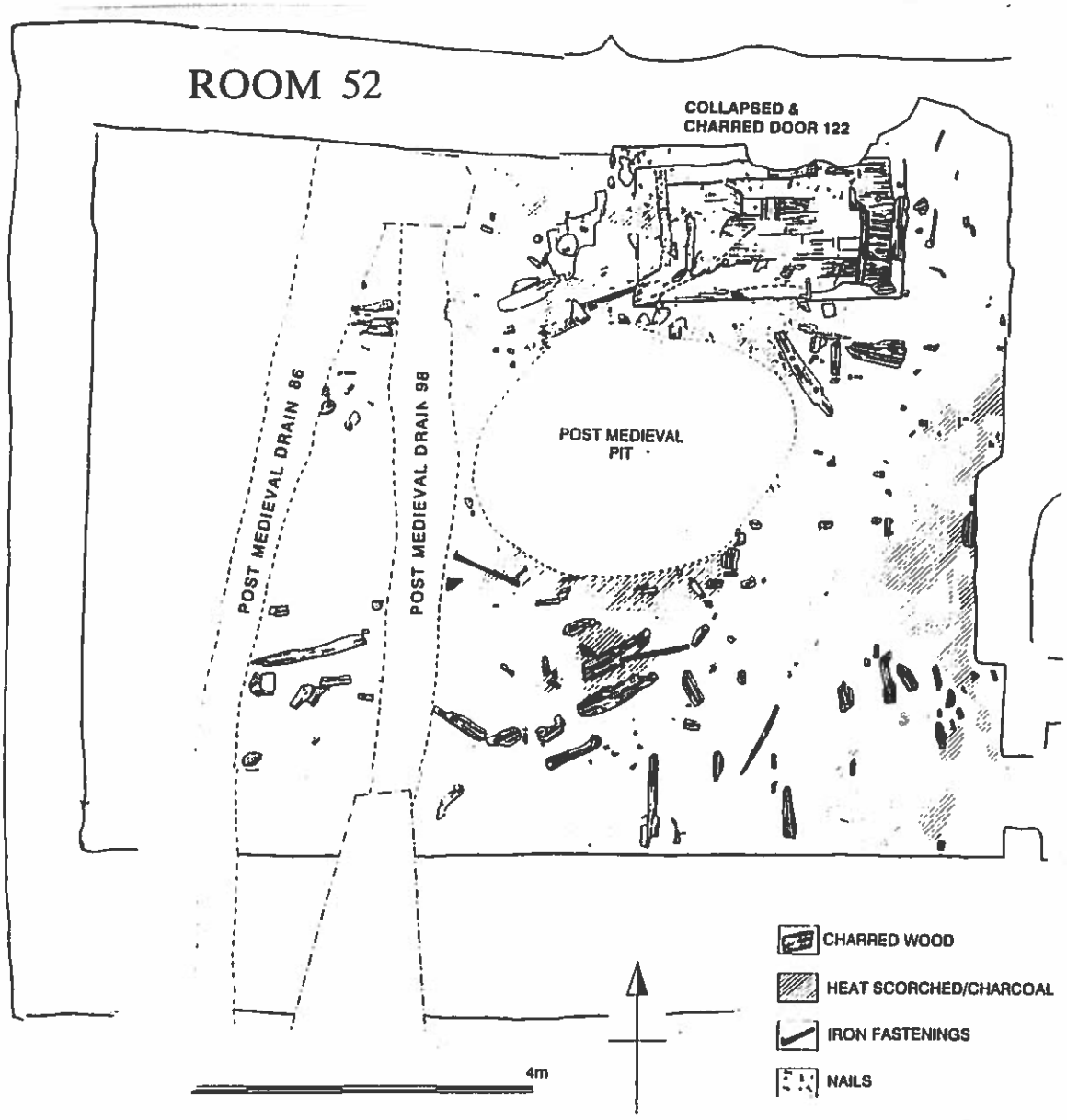


Fig. 7.7. Detail of burnt timbers and door under collapsed roof in Room 52.

ting a ceiling or roof member or a statuette bracket (53, Obj.3447). There was also a fragment possibly from a mortar (Obj.3232) discovered beneath a midden outside the south of room 51.

As already mentioned both rooms 51 and 52 had benching (100) running along the inside face of the south wall. This survived almost in its entirety. It was about 38-40cm deep and c. 36cm high; was randomly constructed of small rubble and mortar, with flat slabs of various types of stone laid along the top (mainly shale and Old Res Sandstone). It was plastered on its vertical face, and clearly butted against the south wall of the building. Due to the considerable disturbances within room 84 during the Suppression of the house (see below), the evidence for the division of this room was very difficult to recognise. Yet it was, rather unusually, divided laterally down its long axis. This took the form of a beam-slot trench (311) 74-80cm wide, presumably for a timber sleeper beam, running eastward from the pillar of walling between the two doorways in wall 21 (Fig. 7.1).

In origin, therefore, room 84 appears to have been divided into at least two long narrow rooms, although whether 311 extended the whole length of the room is uncertain since it appeared to terminate

about 7m from wall 21. At this point another slot, 482, continued eastward, but on a line further north than 311. If both are contemporary, and contained sleeper beams for a wall, then the disposition rooms would indeed be unusual. Unfortunately the inability to excavate the very east of the building meant that it was not possible to complete the picture of how the rooms were divided. The date for the initial construction of the building is best indicated by the diversion of the early open drain (929, Fig. 5.1) and the more formal construction of its replacement 248 and 11 (Fig. 7.1). This goes hand-in-hand withthe creation of the Little Cloister by the erection of Building 28 and its cloister alleys. The infilling of drain 929 produced an abunance of 13th century pottery, but nothing later. It is thus probable that the initial construction of the building can be placed sometime in the very late 13th or early 14th century.

The Privy – Building 80

Butting the south side of Building 28, and entered from the central passage, was a small building (80) composed of NS wall lines 56 and 68 with a south wall incorporating part of a well-built and steeply sloping drain (58) (Figs. 7.2, Plates 7.9, 7.10). The south wall was additionally supported by buttresses (258-9) which reinforced the corners of the building which must have had arched openings to allow the drain the run through the room. The increased width of both 56 and 68 (especially the latter) to about 1.7m north of drain 58 provides additional evidence for these archways. The walls survived in places about 71cm wide or as robber trenches c. 80cm wide. A surviving piece of 56 clearly butted the south wall (15) of Building 28. The drain (58) and south wall ran across the building at an oblique angle running from the WNW to the ESE. The drain was constructed with 30cm wide walls over flat slabs (mainly shale) with a drain width of 1.3m. The drain was fed from the west (via drain 48) by a oval tank, or cistern (82) (Fig.s 7.2, 7.6, Plate 7.11). The cistern measured about 4m by c. 2.5m and was additionally supplied by a small drain (169) which presumably brought rainwater from the roof of buildings 28/80. Where the cistern narrowed at its eastern end there was a void, or slot, 58cm by 13cm, with an adjacent capping stone. The slot is interpreted as the position of a small sluice gate which would have been raised to release the dammed supply of water in the cistern. Since the building is almost certainly a privy, then this sluicing arrangement represents an early 'toilet flush' used to clean out the open drain within the room. The only floor that survived within the building was a mortar layer without tile impressions (201) which contained pottery only generally datable to the Middle Ages. There was no good dating evidence for the construction of the privy, although it is probably contemporary with building 28 despite being butted to it. Main dating evidence for Building 28 can be equally applied to 80 since it relates to the infilling of drain 929 and the construction of drain 48 which was built specifically to supply the privy. (A discussion on the levels of these drains was outlined in Chapter 6, above).

The Little Cloister

The Little Cloister came into existence with the construction of Building 28. The principal dimen-

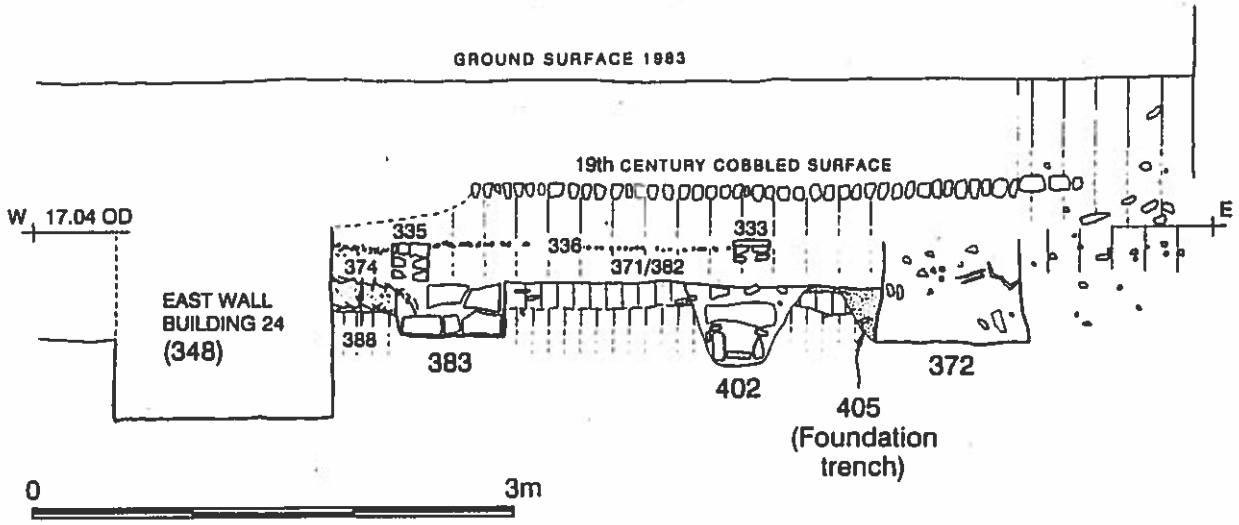


Fig. 7.8 Section across east cloister alley of the Little Cloister, east of Building 24, view looking north.

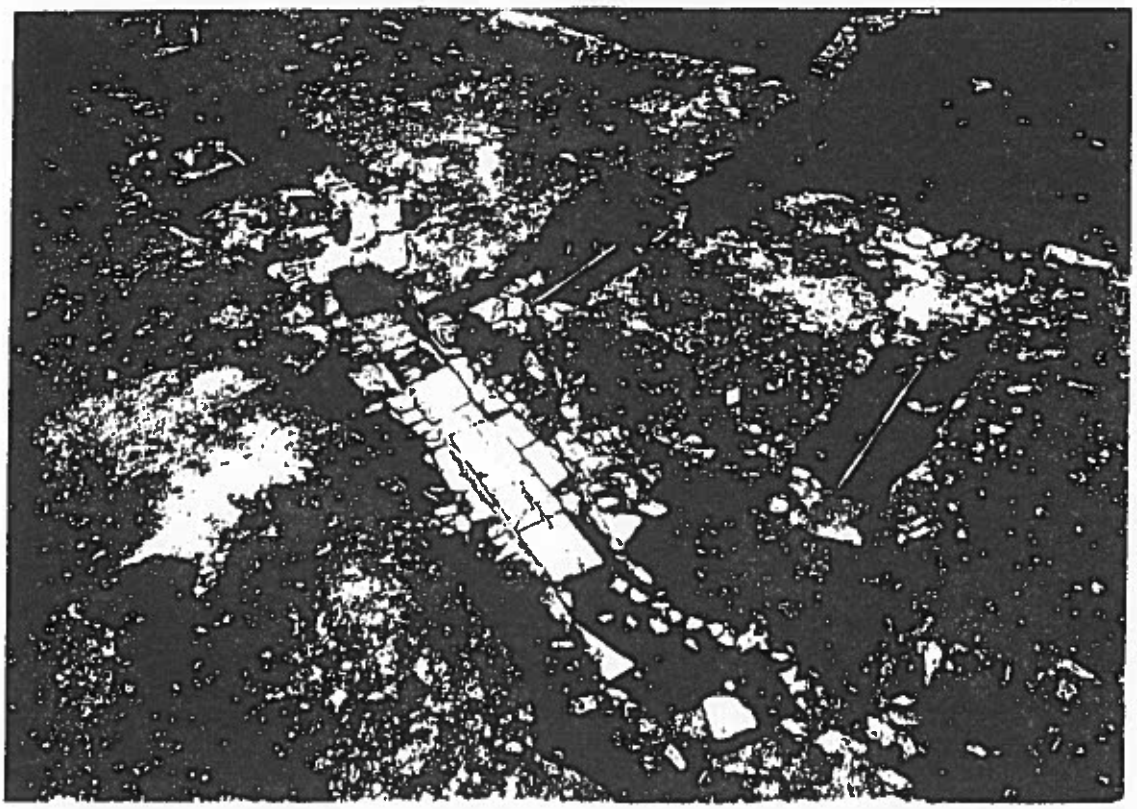


Plate 7.9. View of the pirvy from the SE. The two ranging poles (centre & right) are in robber trenches 56 & 68. The third ranging pole is on the basal slabs of drain 58 with the cistern top left. (cf. Fig. 7.2).

sions of the Cloister Garth was 20m EW by c. 15m NS. No evidence was recovered for an east range, although the location of any such a range was not available for proper investigation. The lack of any clear indications in trench C1 (Introduction, Fig. 1) argues for there being no such range. A substantial layer of collapsed slate (phyllite) noted in C1 (521, not illustrated) may be from a pentice roof that could have covered the east cloister alley. This layer produced post medieval pottery and a groat of 1465-70. The principal features of the cloister (apart from the buildings which are discussed in Chapters 5-7) relate to its south and east cloister alleys (Figs. 5.3, 7.1). The alley on the south was defined by the north wall of Building 29 and the cloister wall (119). This mortared stone wall was c.61cm wide and the alley surface would have been about 2.1-2.2m wide. There was a possible gap in the wall opposite the north door and passageway of building 28 giving access to the garth. The gap was marked by possible post holes (Fig. 7.1). No medieval features were noted within the area of the garth, which displayed a continuous soil development. Wall 119 turned 90 degrees and ran northwards and survived partly as a wall or robber trench 376 60-70cm wide. Much of this wall was destroyed by a large post medieval pits (373, 389). Beyond this pit (east of building 24, Fig. 5.3) the wall continued as a robber trench (383) and 2.2m east of this another robber trench (372) marked the eastern side of the east cloister alley. The narrow wall width of 372 again suggests that there was no east range. Between these two walls was a buried capped stone drain 402 (Figs. 5.3, 7.8). This drain was running southwards and must have linked with drain 11, but this relationship had been destroyed by pit 373. Drain 11, which survived as a well constructed stone feature, ran parallel to the south cloister wall (119) and turned northwards parallel to 376. On the eastern side of the cloister it was capped. The drain clearly cut across the east cloister alley, and followed the course of the earlier open drain (929/369) taking water away from the cloister in an easterly direction (Plate 7.12, Fig. 5.3, 515). But the drain then appeared to continue eastward (unlike the earlier drain), which suggests that it was proceeding to the terrace edge over which its contents were presumably emptied.

It may have been joined by drain 1177/116 which ran down the side of Building 1324 (Fig. 4.1). Patches of a mortar surface (377) survived in the south alley through which a number of oriented pits had been cut (121, 174, 380, 377, 392, Fig. 5.1, Plate 7.13). Those with measurable lengths were between 2.1 and 2.4m long and between 60cm and 1.1m wide. These have all the appearance of being graves. But their fills were varied, and contained no human

Plate 7.10. Privy drain 58 from SE with location of sluice beyong capping stone (top).

bone. Although there were no post medieval finds, the matrix of the pits was similar to the black garden soil which did not appear in medieval contexts. They produced much animal bone (ox and sheep) and fish, as well as oyster and whelk shells. The pits contained nails, which could have been from coffins. It is possible that they once contained burials that there exhumed after the Dissolution. The mortar surface (377) probably formed the bedding for a tiled surface, although no impressions were noted. This laid on the buried soil (359/447) which produced a number of shards with a 13th/14th century date range.

The function of Building 28.

Building 28 can be partly considered as a detached, self-contained building. It had its own privy and kitchen. It is the most distant known building at the friary from Lammas Street and the town. Three possibilities suggest themselves for function. All friaries had a Guest House, but this was usually sited in the west range, and moreover near the main entry from the town, which tends to preclude Building 28 for this function. The Guardian's Lodgings was usually a separate building, and in form was typical of small houses of the period with a small hall, living and sleeping apartments and a kitchen (Martin, 1937, 34). The third, and most probable candidate would be an Infirmary. Martin knew of no surviving examples, but suuggested that it would be sited in the Little Cloister. This is the known positions of infirmaries at other friaries, at Hulne (Carmelite) and Clare (Augustinian), and of secular lodgins of corrodians at Ipswitch (Dominican) (Butler, 1984, 133). Since Building 28 has its own privy and kitchen, and is sited furthest from the town (a very necessary condition for treating the sick), then the possibility that it was an Infirmary seems the most likely of the three. The upper floor in all probability contained a hall and possibly sleeping appartments. A small chapel is not unlikely.

Later Phases

The interior floors of all ground-floor rooms of Building 28 were of beaten earth. The earliest of two surviving floors in room 52 (151) was constructed from a 5cm deep deposit of local clay and gravel

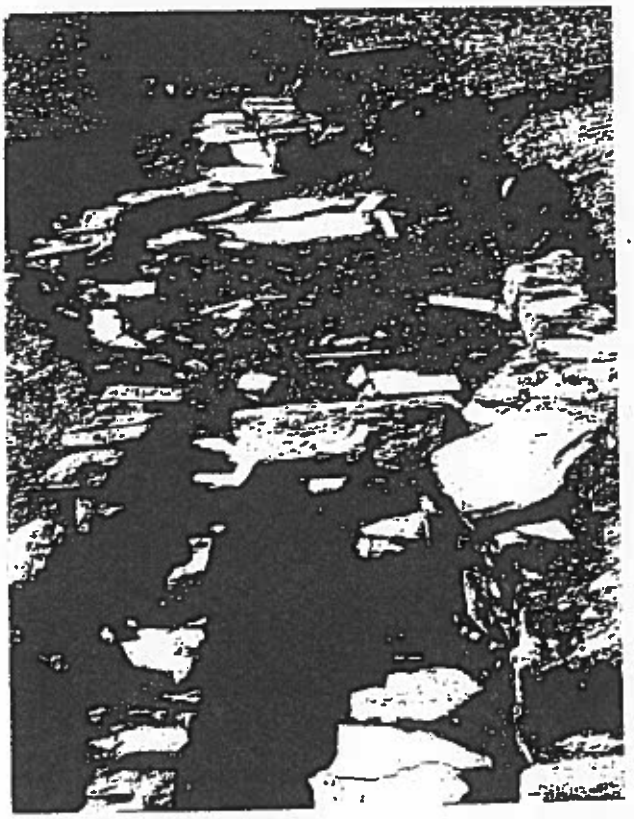


Fig. 7.11. Capstone with sluice (obscured) and cistern beyong with drain 58 in foreground

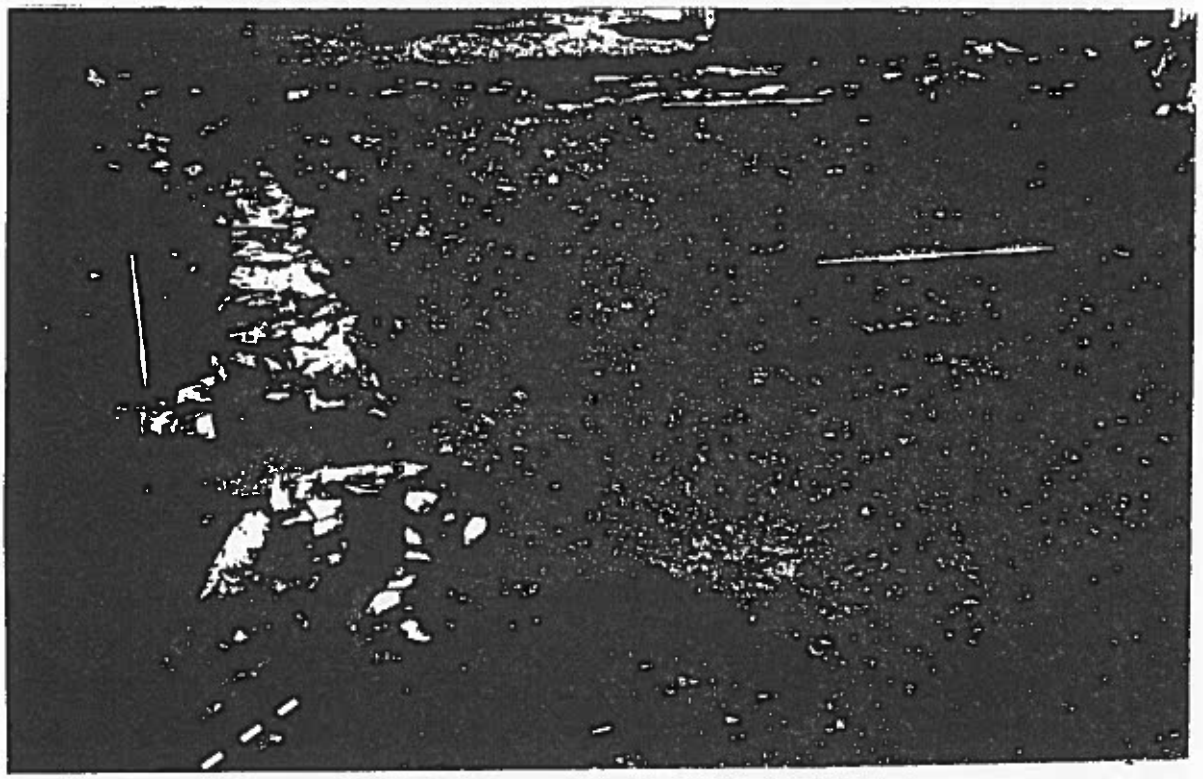


Fig. 7.12. View looking S over drain 11 as it turns E to pass under the east cloister alley. Its course has been destroyed by a post medieval pit (foreground, left). The south cloister alley can be seen (top).

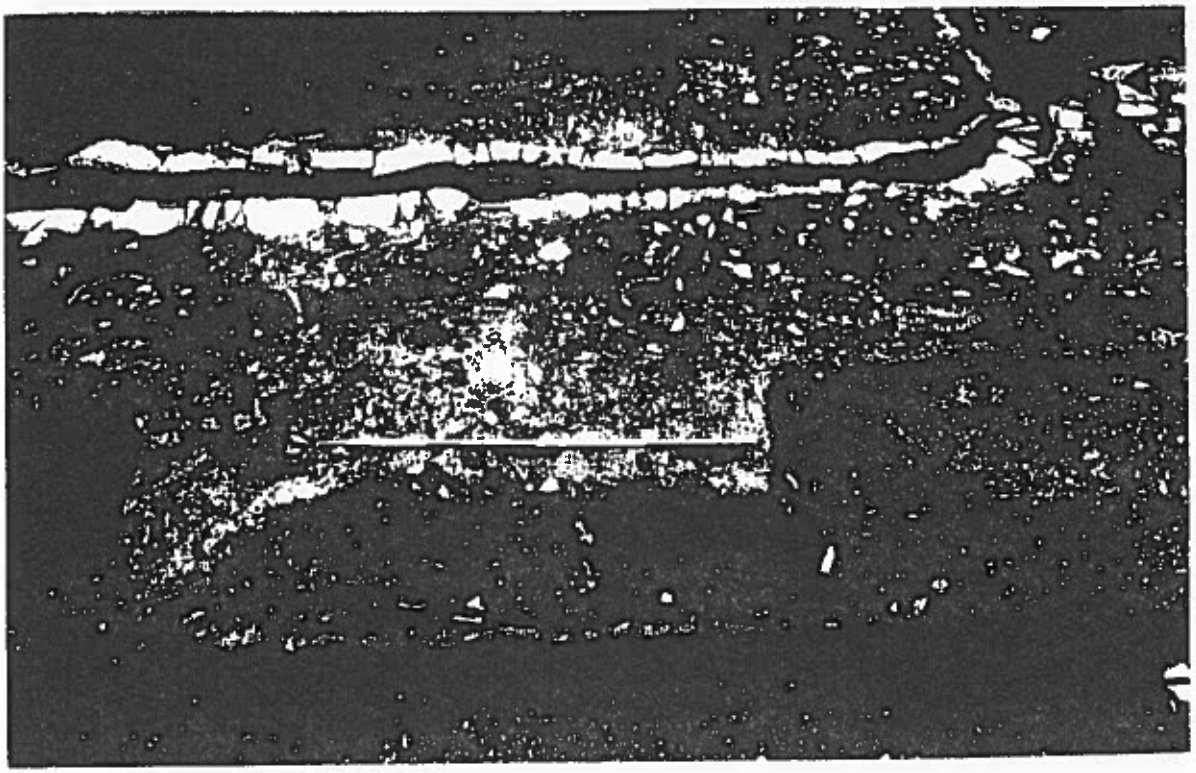


Plate 7.13. Part of the surviving south cloister alley mortar surface cut by numerous oriented pits. Drain 11 turns northwards (top left) to run parallel with the east cloister alley.

Plate 7.14. Window from Room 84 (layer 92) during excavation

forming a very hard surface. It produced an abundance of 15th and 16th century pottery. Above this, possibly the upper part of the same layer, but noticeable reddened from the fire that consumed the building, was layer 133. This included three jettons of late 13th or early 14th century date. Within Room 51 the only floor was 133, again of hard beaten clay. This sealed a small mortar filled pit (137) which produced two shards from two vessels of c. 1250-1350 date. The floor itself produced 6 shards from 6 vessels of c. 13th century date. This floor extended into the passageway to the east and was covered by a thin layer (166) below the collapsed roof that produced 16th century shards and a fragment of 17th century scrafito ware. It is suggested that part of the roof may have remained standing into the 17th century, since there is no other evidence to suggest any post Suppression use of the building.

Room 84 had undergone substantial post medieval disturbance but it was clear that it had been divided lengthways by east-west walls. These were part of the original phase of construction, and survived as slots or perhaps robber trenches. Context 311 was 74-80cm wide ran ran eastwards from robber trench 21, that part of walling in the passageway that marked the position of three doors. Contexts 311 and 482 were of comparable width to 21, and could thus have supported a wall of similar thickness, although, as already noted, the feature could have held a sleeper beam for a timber wall. Despite the odd, staggered, appearance of these two slots, they must be taken as evidence for a division of 84 into two long, narrow conpartments, especially when the conclusive evidence for doorways from the passage on the west is also considered. This wall line (311/482) had been erected before a leveling up of the floors, for a dump layer (293) sealed part of the backfill of 482 (not illustrated). This may suggest that whatever walls were present had been removed when 293 was introduced. The backfills of 311/482 contained a few shards of 13th and 14th century pottery. Cutting this backfill was the remains of a possible posthole (310) which might inicate that the wall line was replaced by upright posts to support the weight of the floor above. The room was levelled up by dump 293, which was much thicker on the south and east sides, which supports the contention that the original ground levels fell to south and east. This dump contained 10 shards from 9 vessels of 13th-14th century date sealing a primary level 464 which produced only 13th century material. Taken as a whole the archaeological dating evidence from the floors suggest an early 14th century date for the construction of the building.

The dating evidence from the floors suggests that they were in use over an extended period, in fact spanning the whole history of the building without being replaced. The room west of and including the passageway had a very distinct and substantial layer of collapsed roofing material sealing the latest floors (63, 64, 110, not illustrated). This showed that the roof had been composed principally of local shale crowned by local ridge tiles (type A) which are demonstrably medieval (O'Mahoney 1991). The same fire-scorched layer in room 52 (62) sealed the charred remains of timberwork that had collapsed from ceilings, windows and door fittings, including (as already mentioned) the clear outline of a door (Fig. 7.7).

Within Room 84, to the east of the passage, a comparable collapsed roof layer (92) which also contained charred timbers, also contained a comparatively well preserved painted glass window. As discovered (Plates 7.14, 7.15) it was folded over on one corner and measured about 60cm by 80cm. During conservation is was found to have an armourial shield within a setting of lozenges and circles (Hunter, 1987, 989-992). The shield is composed of a chevron with three eagles 'flying', and although the device is common enough in heraldry, attributing this window to an historic person has so far proved unrewarding. On the basis of its style, the window has been dated by Sarah Brown to the second half of the 13th century, c. 1250-1280. (Brown, pers. comm.)

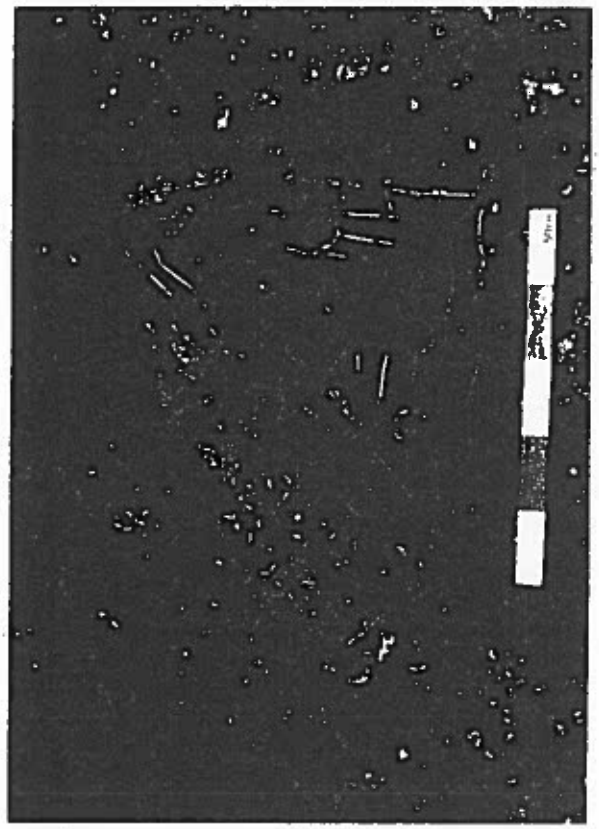


Fig. 7.15. The window prior to lifting (scale 50cm).

Another, very crumpled, window (410) was discovered in the same layer which was too badly damaged to describe adequately, although it would appear to be about the same size. Both these could have formed panels in a larger window, although it is possible that they could have stood alone (see Fig.). The findspot of each window was very close to the inside face of the south wall (Fig. 7.5), either side of a buttress on the outside face of the wall, which could mean that the windows were from this building, either from the ground or upper floor. However, since room 84 also had hearths set up within it for reducing copper and lead during the Suppression period, it is not inconceivable that the windows themselves had been brought to this room (along with others) to be smashed up and the lead melted down and made into ingots, along with copper from the roofs (see below). But there was evidence for window openings along the whole south wall of the building. This came in the forms of middens to the south of the building which almost certainly had accumulated because material was thrown out through window openings (again either from the ground or upper floors). The most substantial of these was midden 73 (Figs. 7.1, 7.6) which produced 279 shards from 26 vessels with a date range from the late 14th century, but including one 17th century shard. The top of the midden (74) produced 66 shards from 9 pots dated to the late 14th century. The upper profile of these middens was in parts directly below the turf of the lawns of Friars' Park House and may thus account for the possibility of contamination by late material.

Midden 73 was located south of room 51 (probably a kitchen). Other evidence for a window on the ground floor, opposite this midden, came in the form of a wedge of collapsed material (not illustrated) butting the robber trench fill (thus butting the wall when before its robbing). This material was predominantly aligned vertically, as if it had accumulated in an open void (like in a window) against a reveal. To the west of 73, midden 72 (with sublayers 75-6) produced 107 shards from 9 pots. South of room 84 a less substantial midden (256) contained 4 shards from 4 vessels of 15th-16th century date and the layer below this, which was contaminated with midden material had 23 shards from 20 vessels of 15th century date. In her pottery report (O'Mahoney, 1991) Cathy O'Mahoney draws attention to the absence of mottled green glazed Saintonge shards (which are common to the 13th and early 14th century phases at the Friary), which along with other pottery places middens 72-3 after the middle of the 14th century. But there was also an absence of later medieval pottery which seems to indicate that the middens ceased to accumulate after c. 1485. There is, however, a small amount of 15th-16th material from midden 256, and as already noted, middens 72-3 were very close to the surface, and their tops (which might have contained later medieval finds) were certainly truncated. The use of the building in the later medieval and early Tudor period is indicated by pottery of these periods from the interior floors (see above).

Dissolution Features

Building 28 had clearly never been reused following the fire that had descroyed it, a fire that ironically preserved many parts of the building for subsequent archaeolgical invesitgation. The collased roof layers sealed large areas of the latest floors, and had not been greately disturbed apart from a large post medieval pit and two drains across room 52 (Fig. 7.7). The layers within the eastern room 84 had unfortunately been confused by the constrcution of a late (?garden) wall and by numerous scroops and hollows (not illsutrated). It was clear, however, that a considerable amound of activity associated with lead and copper smelthing (or more precisely re-melting) was centred in this room

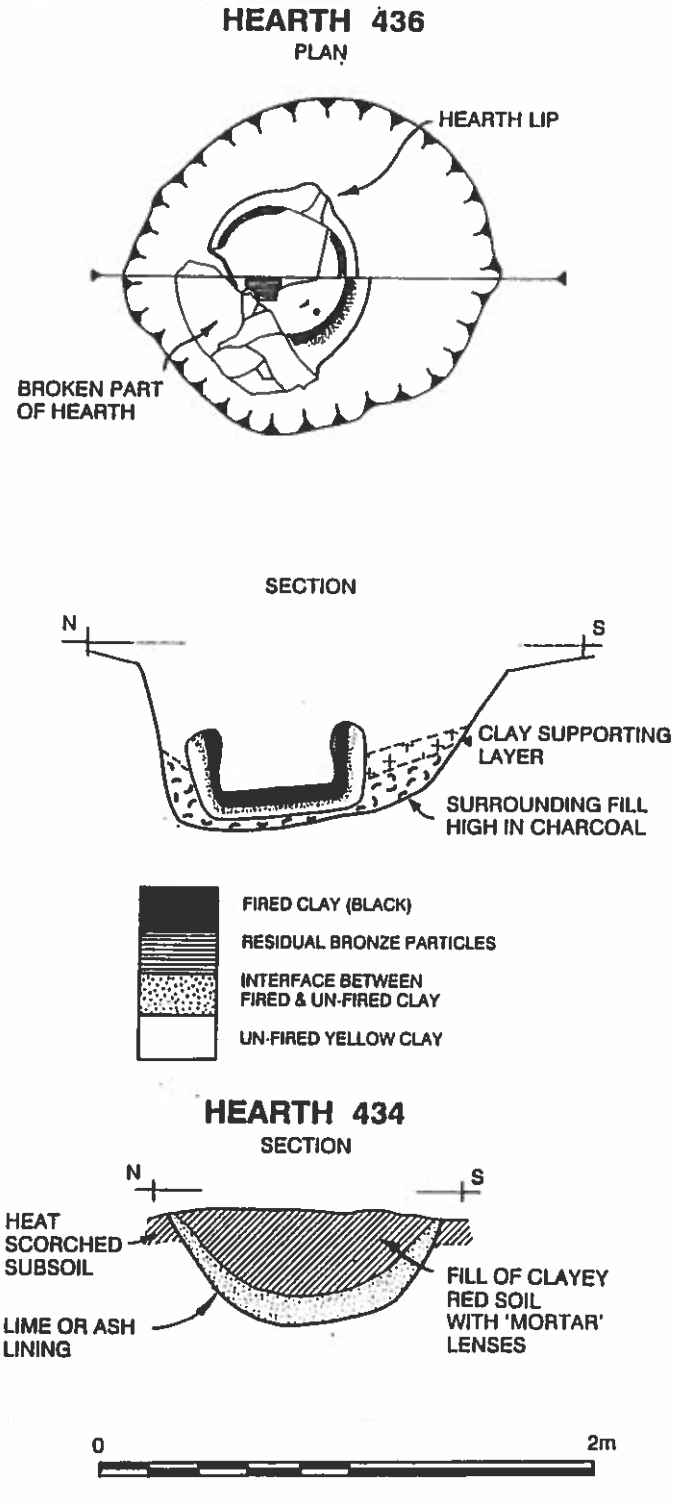


Fig. 7.16. Plans and sections of portable hearth 436 and cupellation hearth 434.

(Figs. 7.5, 7.16, 7.17). The room had clearly lost its east-west wall (311/482) by this date, and the interior floors were covered with a mass of burnt layers, discreat clay dumps and had two pits cut into the floor holding a portable bowl-hearth and a cupellation hearth.

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

The whole room had been given over to the melting-down of lead and copper/bronze. The evidence for this came in the form of numerous patches of heat scorched reddened clay (409) filling a number of shallow hollows up to 5 cm. deep. There were also patches of yellow clay and mortar or lime (431) around a central sub-circular pit (436) 70-76cm in diameter. This pit contained mainly charcoal with numerous fragments of bronze. Bronze slag was also present. Buried in the centre of the pit is what Paul Courtney describes as a 'portable hearth' (see Courtney, Appendix C). 30cm in diameter on the outside and 25cm inside, made of yellow fired clay, unfired on the exterior. On one side was a lip. (Fig. 7.16, Plate 7.17). The hearth had been relined at some stage. X-ray fluorescence detected copper as the major element present as well as variable amounts of tin, and or zinc and traces of lead (Courtney, ibid.) Fragments of scrap copper alloy sheet, charcoal, coal, clinker, fuel ash slag and hearth fragments from the pit fill must be linked to the functioning of the hearth itself. Despite the lack of evidence for heat or burning around the pit itself, Paul Courtney is of the opinion that the hearth was used within the pit in which it was discovered. Scrap copper would have been held in crucibles laid in a fuel bed inside the hearth and a bellows used to raise the temperature to over 1000 degrees C (see illsutration, Appendix C). No evidence for a tuyère or crucible was discovered. The hearth had been broken in antiquity, its conserved remains are in Carmarthen Museum. Four metres NW of this furnace, near the north wall, was another hemispherical pit (434) 52cm in diameter and 17cm deep (Figs. 7.5, 7.16). Around the pit the ground surface into which it was cut (293, the latest floor) was very heat scorched red, and the layers around it produced numerous fragments of melted lead slivers and 24 pieces of clipped lead. The pit was lined with up to 5cm of a white powdery substance upon which was a 3mm residual layer of lead. Paul Courtney interprets this feature as a cupellation hearth for extracting silver from lead, possibly used for a trial testing of the silver content of lead removed from windows or roofs during the Dissolution. It is suggested that some of the clay patches around these features may have been used to construct the hearth, and the patches of lime could perhaps have been used to line

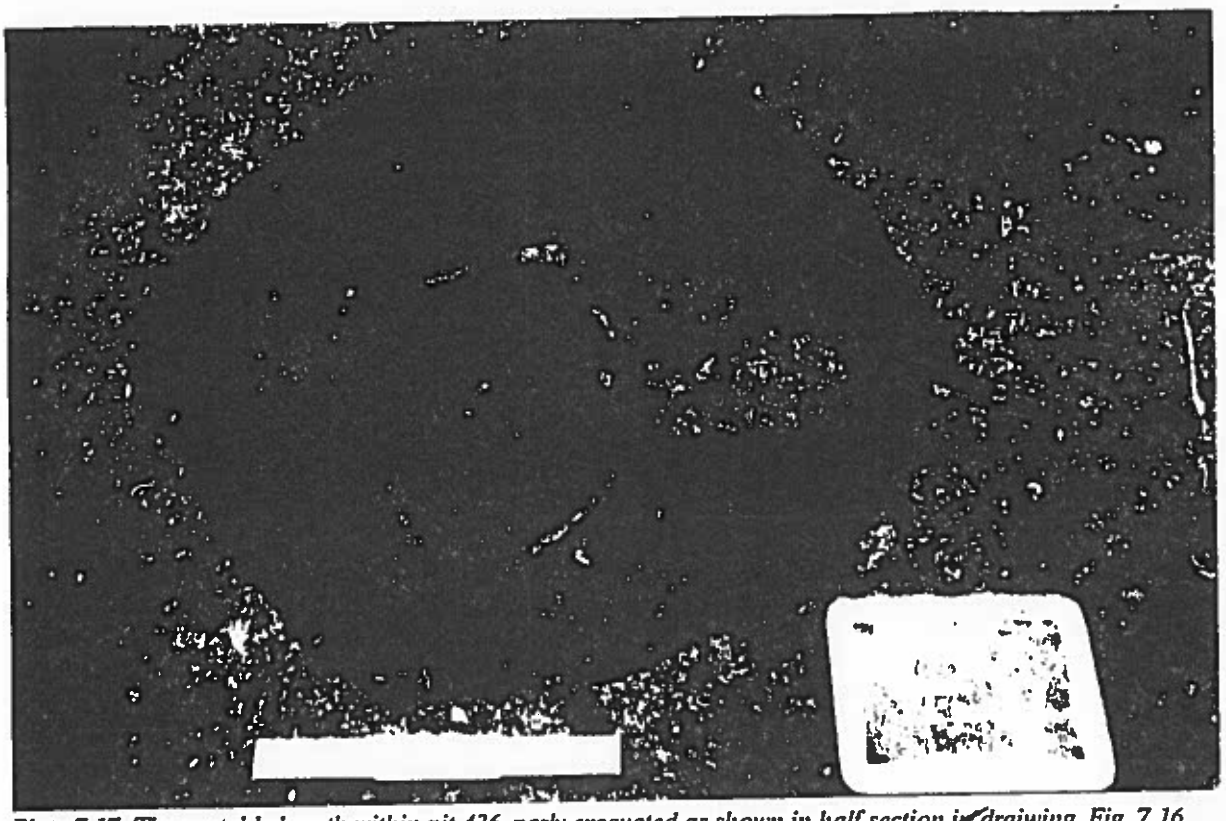


Plate 7.17. The portable hearth within pit 436, parly excavated as shown in half section in draiwing Fig. 7.16.

the cupellation hearth; there were also numerous bone fragments from layers 431 and 397 which could have been used in the processes. These two hearths are not large enough to have been used for the mass reduction of sheet copper and lead from the roofs: this must have been undertaken elsewhere or just carried off without being melted down.

A Dissolution context for this activity is the most logical interpretation, although there are problems in accurately dating the features. The fill of pit 436 produced a single 14th-15th century shard and layer 397 two 14th century shards from two pots. An archaeomagnetic analysis what was believed to be an associated layer of reddening near these features, (Context 227) produced a date of cal AD1370-1400 (68% confidence level) or cal AD 1350-1420 at 95% confidence level (AML/AJC-75). This date range would exclude the possibility that we are dealing with the Dissolution period. However, since it is certainly clear that the building was never reused after the fire (a fire that was probably accidentally cause by this activity), then other dating evidence from within the building can be used to indicate a *terminus post quem* for the fire and melting down activity. Within the fabric of the fireplace in room 51 was a piece of *reused* dressed sandstone which Tony Parkinson suggests is late 15th or early 16th century. The large amount of 15th-16th century pottery from the floors of Room 52 and the 15th-16th century pottery from midden 257 provides ample evidence to show that the building was in use in the early 16th century. The archaeomagnetic date must either be rejected as wrong, or related to an earlier fire. The latter would be quite a coincidence.

One final problem needs to be discussed. That is the question of whether the two windows had fallen from their respective positions within the building, or had they been brought to room 84 to be smashed and melted down for their lead. On the basis of their style the best preserved window has been dated c.1250-1280, which is a little early, but not inordinately so, for the assumed late 13th or early 14th century date for the construction of the Infirmary. The fact that the two windows were found each side of a buttress, and moreover one opposite a midden, provides good evidence for supposing they were originally part of the building. Doubt must however remain.

Destruction

The fate of the building has already been noted. After the fire it remained roofless and was never reused. Some of the stonework of its walls remained

to be excavated in 1983. The bulk of the robbing was complete by the mid 18th century before the enclosure of Park House. However some late robbing is evident from context 56 which contained a coin of 1888. The walls of the East Cloister Alley appear to have been robbed a little earlier, and had a walled structure (333/335, Fig. 7.8 section) built over them. But this cannot be tightly dated: layer 382 below produced an abundance of 15th/16th century finds.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

ROOFING MATERIAL

Roofing slate/tile.

There was a great variety of both material and sizes of tile used for covering the roofs at the Friary, but predominantly two main stone types were of local, or relatively local, provenance (see Appendix A, Fig. 1). The most common material recovered from destruction layers was a greenish phyllite, which accounted for about 43 per cent of the total. Next was a local shale, which accounted for about 35 per cent of all roofing. The later material was quite often very poor in quality, being friable and liable to laminate easily. Because of this it is possible that this shale may not have survived as well in measurable lengths, or with nail/peg holes—the criteria which was most commonly used when saving slate for post excavations study. It is therefore quite possible that shale, and not phyllite, was originally the most common roofing material. The use of the word 'slate' is used as a generic form of roofing tile, not as a geological term.

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

The fact that all geological types were represented in destruction layers indicates how mixed the roofs must have been when the house was dissolved. The 280 or so years of patching and re-roofing presumably resulted in the mixing of roofing material, when originally each building may have been wholly or largely done in shale or phyllite. The proportions of each slate type found in or near the principal buildings of the site are indicated in the histograms in Fig. 1. Of all the slate types recovered, only one piece had a surviving nail in the hole. This alone cannot be used to argue for the use of just nails, and oak pegs may well have been used. The variations in size of tiles indicates that roofs were graded in the fashion common, for example, in the Cotswolds. But there were not a great many small, or any very small slates, that would be expected to survive from the upper parts of such roof configurations.

It was decided not to publish drawings of the slates because they were too numerous and the great variations in form and size do not appear to conform to any definite pattern. Any common trait in pattern is noted in the descriptions below.

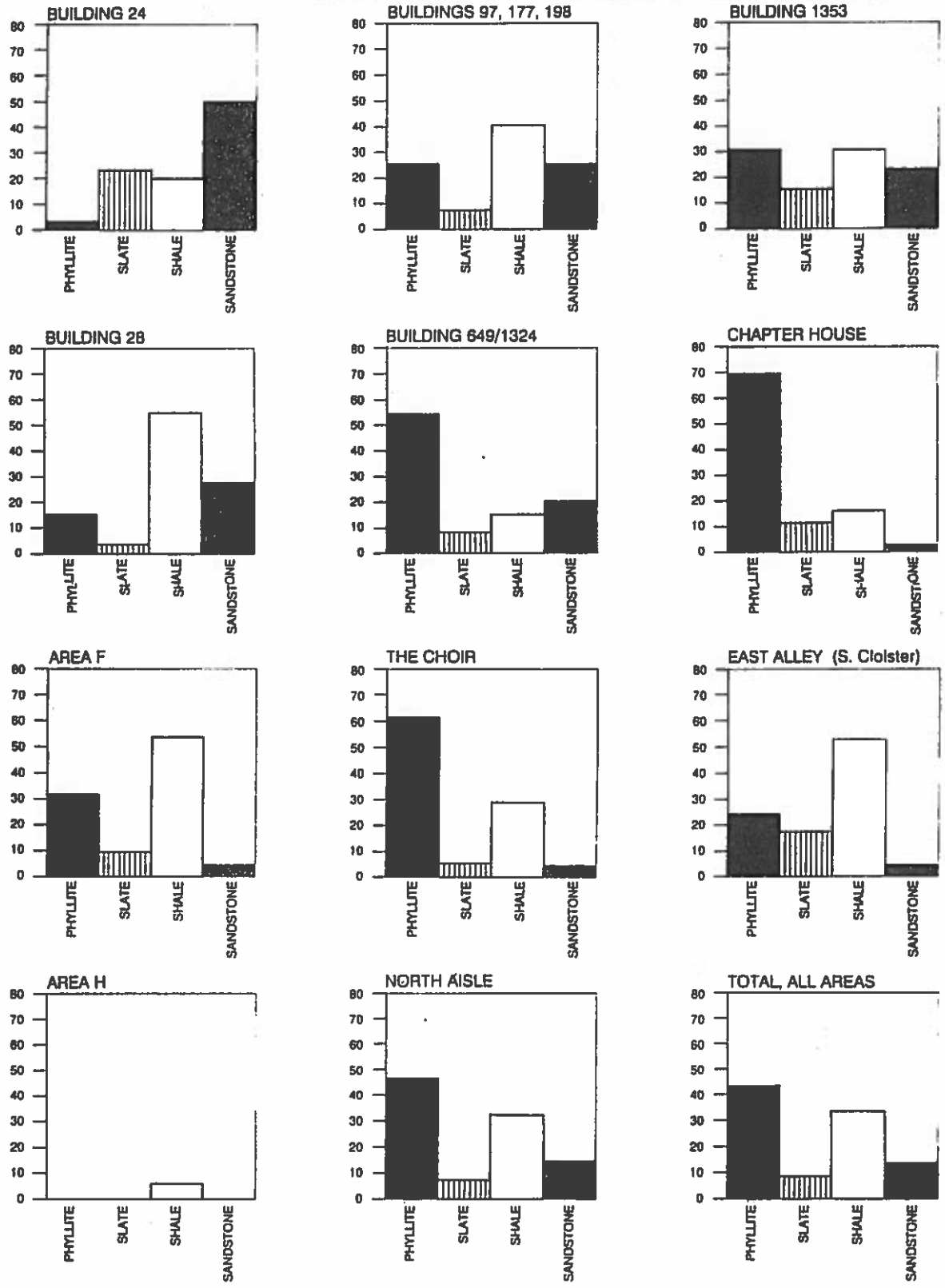
GREEN PHYLLITE.

This is a coarser stone than Caernarfonshire slate, has a characteristic sheen, and is harder than the local shale. The Preseli hills is a known local source for phyllite. All buildings appear to have been roofed in the material, and although statistically Building 24 did not score high, it did have a number of good complete pieces. The slates are cut in a variety of sizes, but sizes in the region of 165mm x 100mm or 210mm x 115mm seem fairly common. The area east of the Chapter House produced 13 tiles measuring 210mm x 100mm. Sometimes the tiles are narrower 180mm x 95mm. The church produced an interesting group of tiles of this rock, eight of which measured 190mm x 82mm (7-19mm thick) with their peg/nail holes set off centre (to the left), 4 tiles 180mm x 135mm with holes off centre to the right. The rest of the holes were central, 6 measuring 204mm x 110mm, 5 190mm x 140mm, and others about the same measurement as the last. In imperial measure then, the most common size seems to be about 7.5 by 4 inches. This group from the church all had mortar adhering to them, and would suggest that they had either been reused in walls, or perhaps used as wall cladding. The holes in these tiles appears to have been punched, much in the way a modern roofer would cut a hole in Welsh slate.

LOCAL SHALE

This is dark grey in colour and usually has noticeable iron staining from the presence of ferrous minerals in the rock. This shale outcrops around Carmarthen. There was again a very wide range in size, the largest measuring 585 long. One group of these measured about 190mm x 100mm (i.e. 7.5 by 4 inches). Building 28, which produced the largest assemblage, contained sizes as diverse as 300mm x 250mm to 190mm x 110mm. There is a possibility that some of these tiles were laid lozenge shaped, as indicated by one large piece 320mm by 310mm. A large collection of these shale slates was recovered

PROPORTION OF ROOFING MATERIAL BY BUILDING OR AREA



from the east of the choir in 1990. 11 were 230mm x 120mm by 15-25mm thick with a very coarse, uneven finish. four others measured 305mm x 140mm, three 228mm x 215mm and two large tiles 585mm x 200 and 460mm x 210.

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

MICACEOUS SANDSTONE

This is a type of tilestone that is thought to come from near the coal measures. Possible sources could be the Saundersfoot area of Pembrokeshire of the east Carmarthenshire coalfield which starts about 8 miles SE of Carmarthen. The tiles made of this material were often very large, and the peg holes were drilled, not punched. All buildings had this material, Building 28 having the largest surviving assemblage. Tiles seem to be grouped in three main *general* sizes, c. 305 x 210mm (i.e. about 12 by 8.5 inches); 280mm x 125mm and a disparate group of larger tiles the largest of which was 533mm x 240mm, although a common width of between 240mm to 270mm seems to be typical in the large examples. A group of 4 tiles measuring 290mm x 255mm were slightly narrower at the hole end; 4 others measured about 180mm x 230mm. Thickness varies between 20 to 40mm. Peg holes varied in diameter between 10mm to 12mm.

DARK BLUISH SLATE

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

Ridge Tile

The ridge tile from the Friary is discussed by Cathy O'Mahoney in her pottery report (O'Mahoney, 1991, Appendix A). Nine different ridge tile types are noted by her, and a complete breakdown by context is tabulated in her report. The types present within the demolition layers in each building of the Friary (excluding small amounts) have been plotted in Fig. 2, which shows pie-charts of the proportions of each ridge tile type present. This gives a generalised idea of where particular types were used, and the proportions. It is possible, however, that since all the material comes from demolition rubble, that it may not originate from the immediate vicinity. Only material from principal demolition layers has been included in the sources for each pie chart.

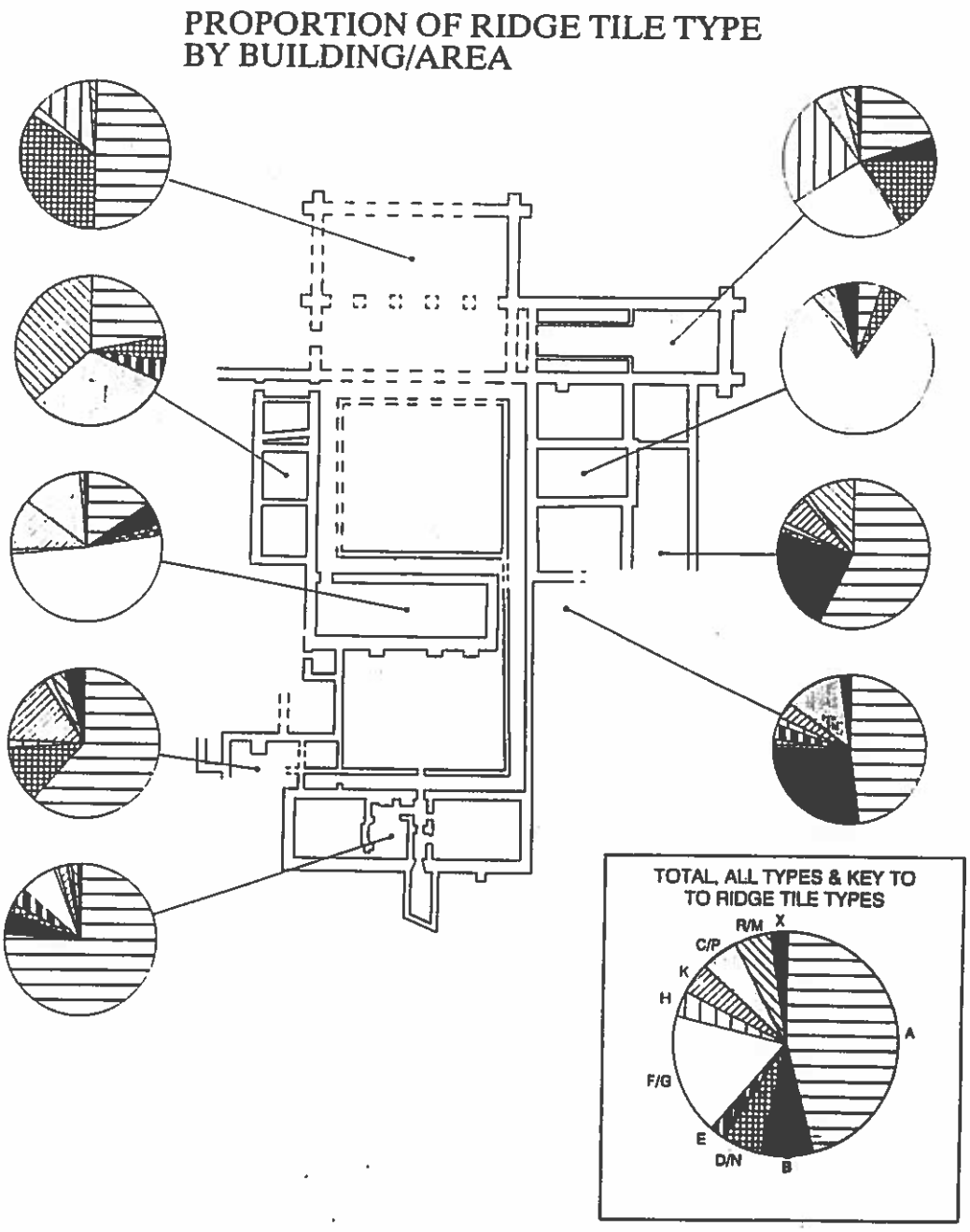
The most commonly used ridge tiles (see summary pie-chart, Fig. 2 bottom right) is clearly Type A, which O'Mahoney suggests is of local manufacture. It is probable that Type A was used in initial construction. The type was clearly also the most commonly used in Buildings 28, the small buildings around Area F, and the east range of the Great Cloister. The Choir is very mixed with nearly equal amounts of Type A, F/G (Malvern), H (Llanstephan) and D/N (South Glamorgan). The mixture may indicate a more elaborate roof and also re-roofing. Certainly the Malvern tiles indicate a re- roofing (or at least refurbishment) in the late 15th or early 16th century. Another re-roofing (which is argued from other evidence in Chapter 5, above) is indicated by the predominance of Malvern tiles in Building 24. The Chapter House was another building in which Malvern tiles predominate. The statistically small samples of tiles used to construct the pie charts for the nave and west range of the Great Cloister means that these charts cannot be relied upon for their implied accuracy.

MEDIEVAL PATTERNS

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

POST MEDIEVAL 15TH-16TH CENTURY PATTERNS

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



Appendix A. Fig. 2. Pie-charts of Ridge Tile type by building

Appendix B

BUILDING STONE

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix C

METAL WORKING FEATURES

PAUL COURTNEY

PRE-DISSOLUTION: ROOM 51

CONTEXT 141

This feature formed a hemispherical hollow of about 18cm diameter and 8cm in depth, sealed by floor surface C133. The interior surface of the bowl was lined with a coating of lead from 4 to 8cm in thickness which weighed about 1380 grams. No indications of scorching or burning were evident within the feature although the adjacent ground surface was redenned, especially on the western side. This area of burning is probably all that remains of a primitive hearth, possibly little more than a bonfire, used for melting lead which was then run into the hollow. The molten lead must then have been ladled out leaving behind a solidified skin which lined C141. Such a small scale and wasteful method suggests some sort of repair work or minor refurbishment.

CONTEXT 137

This pit was sealed by floor surface C133. It produced a roughly formed hemispherical lump of lead measuring 9cm. in diameter and 3cm in depth, and weighing 964 grams. This find presumably represents waste from a lead melting operation, such as that indicated by C141.

DISSOLUTION, ROOM 82

CONTEXT 436

This pit produced a 'portable' hearth made of yellow clay, unfired on the exterior. Rounded gravel inclusions of 0.5 to 15mm. in size occur but are sparse in frequency and probably do not represent deliberate tempering. The hearth possessed a lip and measured about 25 cm in diameter and was at least 11cm deep internally. It had been relined at

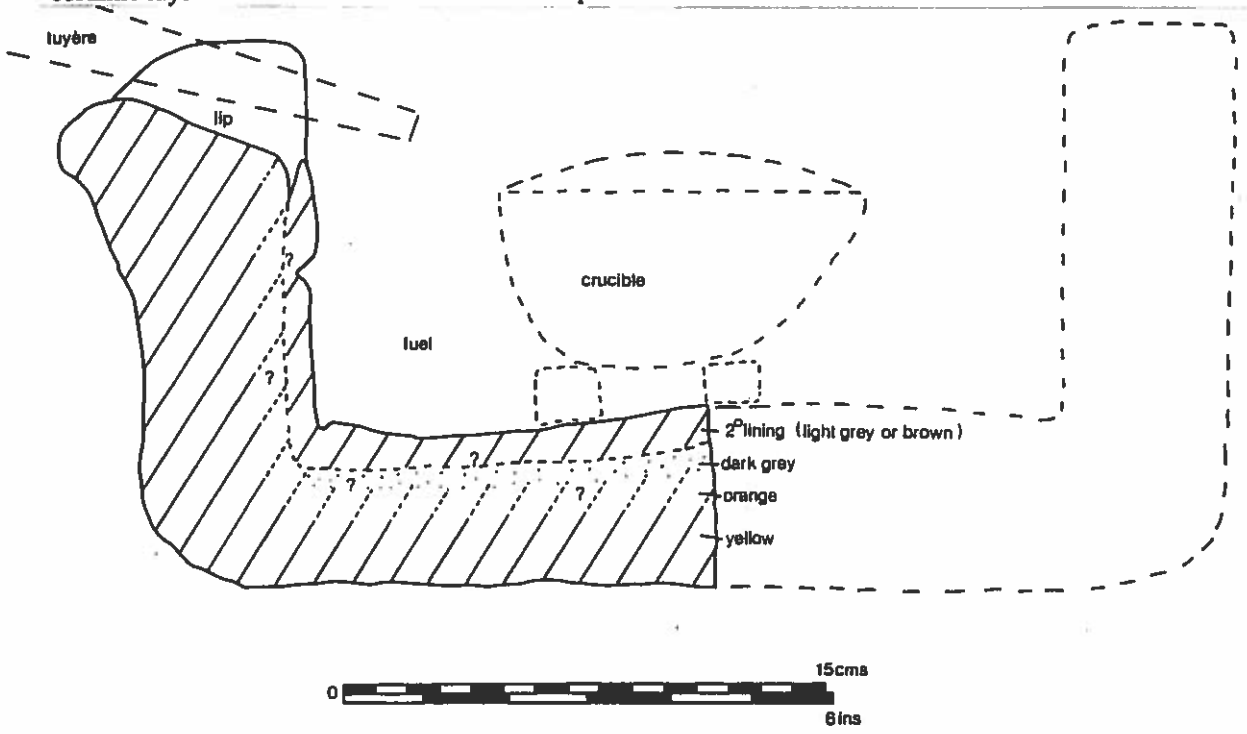
some stage in its life as can be seen in the section (fig x); which also shows the zonal nature of the hearth's colouration. Its interior was vitrified and green metallic traces occurred on the interior surface. X-ray fluorescence by Justine Bayley has detected copper as the major element present together with variable amounts of tin and, or, zinc and traces of lead. She suggests that a range of alloys are present (1).

Fragments of scrap copper alloy sheet, charcoal, coal, clinker, fuel ash slag and hearth fragments were also recovered from the pit. It is always difficult to link industrial debris with specific hearths; but several small pieces of coal and lumps of copper corrosion products were found sealed within, or adhering to, the fuel ash slags. A good case can therefore be made for linking them to the hearth. Coal, locally available from the Carmarthenshire Coal Measures, only 8 miles away, may have been used as the sole fuel or mixed with charcoal.

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

CONTEXT 434

This feature formed a hemispherical pit of about 52cm. diameter and 17cm. in depth. The surrounding ground surface produced 24 pieces of lead clippings weighting 48g and 11 pieces of melted down lead and litharge weighing 122g. C434 was lined with up to 5cm. of a white powdery substance and the underlying soil was redenned from the application of heat. It was probably a cupellation hearth for the extraction of silver from lead. Unfortunately no bulk sample was taken of the lining but a sample of brown soil was recovered from two pieces of lead, weighing 143g, which had lain against the lining. This sample reacted strongly with dilute acid showing the presence of CaCO3 and suggests the lining comprised either lime or bone ash. The latter was recorded by Theophilus in the 12th century and Agricola in the 16th century (2). However, recent work on late medieval cupellation hearths at Tintern Abbey in Gwent suggests the use of lime. Both materials would have been suitable refractory linings as they do not react with the fuel and lead to form slags, unlike siliceous clays (3). Lead would have been heated with fuel in the hearth and a bellows used to raise the temperature and oxidise the lead to litharge (PbO). The litharge would have been ladled off to recover a button of silver in the



Appendix C. Fig. 1.

hearth base. Bone ash is also supposed to have the property of absorbing the litharge (4). However, experimental work on primitive cupellation is badly needed. The cupellation hearth probably represents a trial testing of the silver content of the salvaged lead from the Dissolution demolition. The result is unlikely to have been satisfactory as argentiferous lead is almost certain to have been desilvered at source.

CONTEXT 409/431

This feature is represented by several patches of intense burning in the middle of the room arranged around three shallow pits, all 11-13cm deep. The three pits measure, respectively, from north to south approximately 0.80 x 0.60m, 1.40 x 0.90m and 0.95 x 0.70m, ignoring the 'tail' of the last feature.

A firm interpretation cannot be given for these features on the available evidence. However, the ground surface in this area did produce 38 fragments of lead clippings weighing 226g. The areas of burning may therefore be the remnants of bonfire-like hearths for melting salvaged lead which could have been run off into the hollows to form ingots. A dissolution ingot from Rievaux Abbey measured about 1.15 x 0.85 x 0.18 cm and a recently excavated example from Haverfordwest Priory was 0.73 x 0.29 x 0.06m(5).

NOTES

1. Analysed at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory: J. Bayley pers. comm.
2. Theophilus. On Divers Arts, ed. J. G. Hawthorne and C. S. Smith, New York 1979, 146-7 and Georgius Agricola, De Re Metallica, ed. H. C. and H. L. Hoover, New York 1950,230.
3. P Courtney, 'Excavations on the Outer Precinct of Tintern Abbey', Medieval Archaeology, forthcoming
4. R. F. Tylecote, Metallurgy in Archaeology, London 1962, 79-82.
5. G. C. Dunning, 'A Lead Ingot at Rievaux Abbey', Antiquaries Journal, 32 (1952), 199-202 and Dr. S. Rees, P. Crane and L. Lane pers. comm. (Haverfordwest).

Appendix D

IRON NAILS.

DEE BRENNAN

A total of 2,504 nails were recovered from the Friary. Classification was based on complete examples only. Of the total, 2,050 were incomplete. The majority of these were indeterminate, consisting mainly of headless shanks, most of which were very heavily corroded. All nails from the Friary are forged types, every one having a square sectioned shank. From measuring the shank length of complete nails, it was possible to distinguish a few broadly different types. Further classification based on the shape and size of nail heads proved to be more difficult as nails of similar size had different sized heads. The largest category of nails of which there are both large (type A) and medium-sized (type A1) examples, have flat square heads with rounded corners (nos.), whilst a few have noticeably pyramidal, mushroom type heads (no. an incomplete example of type A or A1). These types were used both as building and coffin nails. 880 nails were found in graves. Nails from graves are invariably straight, whilst the same nails used in buildings are often bent through half their length or at the tip, where they have been driven through timbers, their protruding point then hammered over (clenched). Another common type (type B), found both in building and grave contexts, are wedge-shaped nails with tapering shanks. These have narrow rectangular, roughly kidney-shaped heads orwere perhaps headless (nos.). A small group of nails with subsquare heads and short tapering shanks of no more than 30mm long (type C. no.), are classed here as tacks. Those with a short stubby shank (no.) might be hobnails. Other less common types include ? clench bolts (type D. nos.) and a few nails with square cuboid heads (type E. no.).

Nail sizes: (fig.)

Type A. (no.) Large nails 80-150mm in length.

Type A1.(no.) Medium sized 50-80mm in length.

Type B. (no.) Average size 45mm.

Type C. (nos.) Up to 30mm in length.

Type D. (nos.) 30-60mm in length.

Type E. (no.) incomplete examples only.

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