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The Undercrofts of Westgate Street, Gloucester

Historic Buildings Assessment

Abigail Lloyd and Rebecca Lane

Architectural Investigation

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Summary

This report examines the evidence for medieval undercrofts surviving on Westgate Street, Gloucester. For the purposes of this study undercrofts are defined as the stone-vaulted spaces beneath a building or principal room.

In Westgate Street there are three early and well-preserved undercrofts, which potentially date to the late 12th century. These have been investigated in detail and the findings presented here. Further examples of other cellar structures of later date situated on Westgate Street have also been examined.

The report concludes with an assessment of the street in the context of the rest of Gloucester and of some of the other English towns that have been previously noted for their undercrofts.

Contributors

The investigation of the undercrofts was undertaken by Rebecca Lane and Abigail Lloyd, as part of an Arts and Humanities Research Council funded placement at Historic England. Photography is by Steven Baker and copyright Historic England Archives, unless otherwise stated. This report was prepared by Abigail Lloyd. Where copyright exists outside of Historic England, every effort has been made to identify and contact the copyright owners.

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Front Cover Image: The undercroft at the Fleece Inn, 19 Westgate Street, Gloucester in 2023. [DP325616].

Archive location

Historic England Archive, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon, SN2 2EH

Date of investigation

This report was prepared between March and June 2023. The four Westgate Street undercrofts that are considered in detail are:

- The Fleece Hotel, no. 19 Westgate Street, together with nos 21, 19A and land to the rear, was visited several times in 2022 by Rebecca Lane and Gary Butler of Butler Hegarty Architects. The undercroft was revisited in February and April 2023 by Rebecca Lane and Abigail Lloyd. Measured survey was carried out in 2016/2017 and 2022, both of which were used in the 2023 visits.

- No. 33 Westgate Street was visited on 14 March 2023 by Rebecca Lane and Abigail Lloyd. The building above the undercroft was not investigated.

- Nos 47–49 Westgate Street were visited on 14 March 2023 by Rebecca Lane and Abigail Lloyd. The undercroft had previously been investigated and surveyed by Philip Moss in 1991. This survey was used in the 2023 visit. The buildings above the undercroft were not inspected.

- Nos 74–76 Westgate Street were visited on 16 March 2023 by Rebecca Lane and Abigail Lloyd, along with Steven Baker (Photography). There was a brief visit to the timber-framed range within no. 76 Westgate Street on the same date, but no survey was carried out. The undercroft had previously been investigated in September 1972 by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, whose images were used in the 2023 investigation.

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Abbreviations

BGAS	Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
HER	Historic Environment Record
NHLE	The National Heritage List for England
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
TNA	The National Archive
VCH	Victoria County History
1455 Rental	*1455 Household Rental compiled by the Corporation of Gloucester*

Contents

Introduction

Scope and form of the report

This report was requested by Gloucester City Council as part of the 'Cathedral Quarter' High Street Heritage Action Zone, based in Westgate Street, Gloucester. Its remit was to look at the undercrofts in Westgate Street, to provide a better evidence base of what survives in the street, to help inform ongoing management of the area, and to inform wider public engagement activity.

Before looking in detail at examples of undercrofts from Westgate Street itself, this report considers what an undercroft is and how they are best understood in the context of their wider landscape. Undercrofts, as a type of structure, have been looked at it in previous studies, elsewhere in England. There are several other towns and cities in which historic undercrofts have been studied in depth, including Southampton, Stamford, Norwich, Lincoln, Winchester, London, Chester, New Winchelsea, Rye, Shrewsbury, Bristol and Oxford, amongst other places.[1] These areas span maritime and riverine port towns, as well as inland market towns. These studies are used to set the Westgate Street undercrofts in the context of a wider national understanding of undercrofts and to inform thematic questions of location and use that arise. Comparators are chosen focussing mainly on examples that survive or were well illustrated prior to loss; there are many more undercrofts nationally that have been reconstructed from fragmentary archaeological remains with varying degrees of certainty.

This sets the scene for an examination of notable undercrofts surviving on Westgate Street, Gloucester. There are three early and well-preserved undercrofts, which potentially date to the late 12th century, as well as a later 15th-century example. They are located at the following sites:

- The Fleece Hotel, no. 19 Westgate Street, listed at Grade I (NHLE 1245447).[2]
- No. 33 Westgate Street listed at Grade II* (NHLE 1271925).
- Nos 47–49 Westgate Street listed at Grade II* (NHLE 1271930).
- Nos 74–76 Westgate Street listed at Grade II* (NHLE 1245230).

These undercrofts, together with other cellars along Westgate Street, are investigated and researched. Aspects of post-medieval use, modification and adaptation of the undercrofts are considered, particularly where they help in the interpretation of the surviving historic fabric. Undercrofts did not occur in Gloucester exclusively on Westgate Street, but also elsewhere in the historic town. The final sections of the report and the accompanying Gazetteer highlight some of the remains of cellars and undercrofts along

the street and in the surrounding areas within Gloucester, evaluating how the Westgate Street undercrofts should be seen in the context, both of the street, and of Gloucester as a whole.

The scope of the work requested did not include examining the buildings above, or surrounding, those undercrofts, nor examining undercrofts elsewhere in Gloucester. Other buildings and undercrofts are mentioned in this report, to the extent that that was possible in the time available, to contextualise and help understand the Westgate Street undercrofts.

Introduction to Westgate Street

Westgate Street was 'the most important street of medieval Gloucester'.[3] It is one of the four main thoroughfares in the city of Gloucester that have their origins in the layout of the Roman settlement. Roman occupation initially took the form of a fort, which, in the late first and second centuries, became a *colonia* with a civilian population.[4] The other three streets are appropriately named Northgate, Eastgate and Southgate streets. They all meet at a crossroads called the High Cross (Figure 1). The outline of the Roman fort is still traceable in the street pattern, particularly at the southern corner (Figure 2).

However, the earlier name for Westgate Street, was Ebridge Street. The origins of this name are derived from the Old English word *ēa* meaning 'river'. The earliest documentary attestation of the old name is in approximately 1200 in the form *Ebrug(g)estret(e)*.[5] Literally, this translates as 'river bridge street' which could be better rendered 'street leading to the river bridge'. The crossing of the River Severn at the western end of Westgate Street is one of the main reasons for the Roman siting of Gloucester, as well as its continuing settlement in subsequent periods. Westgate Street is, thus, one of the most strategic routes through the city.

Towards the western end of Westgate Street, the Romans built a stone quay, where the River Severn, or a tributary of the river, flowed closer to the city centre than it does today.[6] The Saxons, after the Romans, settled closer to the old River Severn channel in the north-west of Gloucester, but by the 11th century they had moved back into the Roman walled town.[7] The crossing of the Severn remained of significance following the Norman conquest in 1066 as a routeway into Wales. A castle was built south-west of Westgate Street to help control the river crossing. By the 12th century the castle occupied a riverfront site. An earlier castle probably existed slightly further south-east but still located very close to the river.[8]

Just to the north of Westgate Street lies Gloucester Cathedral, formerly Gloucester Abbey and before that known as the Old Minster of St Peter's. The Minster existed in the early medieval period, founded in the 7th century AD, but underwent a reform in approximately 1022 as part of the wider Benedictine revival. It was rebuilt in 1058, moving to the current location 'from a rather more remote position nearer to the side of the town'.[9]

Figure 1: The location of Westgate Street, Gloucester, including its relation to the River Severn, the High Cross, Northgate, Eastgate and Southgate streets, as well as the specific location of the four undercrofts (marked in red) and other cellars or possible undercrofts (marked in blue). [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England.© Crown Copyright and database right 2023. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100024900]

Figure 2: Aerial image of Gloucester showing the layout of the Roman fort in the street pattern, particularly the four main streets meeting at the High Cross and the southern curved corner of the fort perimeter. [© Bluesky International / Getmapping PLC.]

Westgate Street contained a wealth of important buildings in the medieval period, some of which survive today, sitting alongside buildings of the post-medieval and more recent periods. Westgate Street is a rich palimpsest of material, with some notable early survivors, including its undercrofts. Early fabric provides an important link to the city's heritage, yet it is currently often a hidden link. The aim of this report is to enhance understanding of this important heritage and to increase public awareness of the significant historic assets lying in the heart of Gloucester. The synthesis of information builds up a rich picture of commercial and residential activity along medieval Westgate Street.

Street numbering in Westgate Street has changed. Originally it ran along the south side from east to west, returning along the north side from west to east. The 1851−1852 survey and map of Gloucester for the Board of Health reflects this old numbering. The modern numbers now run so that odd numbers are located on the south side of the street and even numbers on the north, both ascending from east to west. The undercrofts in this report are discussed in the order of the modern numbering of their location on Westgate Street. This is not necessarily an order of importance or age. The

modern numbering is used to locate the sites in their current context. However, it is not the case that the modern plot division and boundaries necessarily always map on to the medieval.

In terms of orientation, Westgate Street, in fact, runs from the south-east to the north-west, with some undulation (*see* Figures 1 and 2). It is not aligned true west. However, for simplification, all descriptions in this report treat the direction of the street as running east−west, and, hence, the direction of plots at right-angles to the street as oriented north−south. Walls and elevations of the buildings are labelled accordingly.

What is an undercroft?

'Undercroft' is a term used for a range of structures. It is worthwhile defining its meaning as used in this report. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Monument Types Thesaurus*,[10] an undercroft is a vault or crypt under a church or chapel. Etymologically, this is correct – 'croft' is derived from the Latin word for a crypt: *crypta.* However, many publications and works use the term more widely to refer to structures occurring in a secular context, not just an ecclesiastical one.[11]

What is often common in both secular and ecclesiastical settings is the fact that undercrofts are vaulted; their ceilings are arched in form.[12] Vaulting can take many forms. The barrel vault (found in the Westgate Street examples) is the simplest form of vault, comprising an arched roof spanning from one wall to the opposing wall. The arch can be semi-circular, segmental or slightly pointed. More complex vaults − such as groin, quadripartite, lierne or fan vaults − involve the intersections of more than one arch. They require more in the way of ribs and bosses. The earliest vaults tended to be barrel vaults; however, it is a form which continues throughout the medieval period and later. Since barrel vaults did not require intermediate columns, storage space was maximised beneath such a vault, not curtailed by the need to navigate around columns. On the other hand, the size of the wall span it was possible to achieve without additional intermediate support was constrained. In an urban setting, that may not have been a real constraint, since the presence of development either side of any plot often already limited the possible width of an undercroft. Undercrofts could be complex spaces. In London, several double- and triple-aisled undercrofts are known about, but this is rare outside of the capital.[13]

Vaulting, even when it is simple in form, requires careful craftsmanship and the use of expensive materials such as stone. Later vaults could be constructed more cheaply in brick, but early vaults were erected in stone. Therefore, undercrofts, as a class of structure, can, by very definition, be relatively high status and important places. They may be used for storage, but they should not be considered necessarily as secondary, subservient, hidden spaces. In Shrewsbury, where there is very little evidence of vaulted undercrofts, the term has still been used for spaces which were publicly accessible from the street.[14] The public aspect usually requires an additional element of display, as opposed to an entirely hidden, internal, private space.

An undercroft can be entirely subterranean, semi-subterranean or completely above ground. Undercrofts that are now fully subterranean were often semi-subterranean when first constructed. Attention must be paid to details that indicate that this was the case, notwithstanding subsequent rise in ground levels. At least two of the undercrofts studied in this report are in this category. For those undercrofts that are entirely above ground, the sense of them being 'under' arises because of their position underneath the principal room of a structure above, such as a hall. The use of a stone undercroft could

facilitate a central hearth – otherwise a fire risk without a stone base − in a first-floor hall, examples of which remain in England.[15] Again, what unites all undercrofts is that, by very definition, they are not stand-alone structures. They form part of a larger building, the original form of which may or may not survive today.

Some reports investigating undercrofts refer to them as ‘cellars’. The etymology of the word ‘cellar’ from the Latin *cellarium* refers to the use of the space as a storeroom. It is the term that is often used in Medieval Latin in the original records for spaces which might have been vaulted undercrofts. It was also a term in Medieval Latin that could be used for above ground storerooms.[16] As a broad term, cellar could refer to spaces that were not vaulted, but ceiled with beams and joists, or which were private spaces and never intended to have had a public-facing dimension. In modern terminology, the English word ‘cellar’ has come to refer to the subterranean space beneath a house. An undercroft may have become nothing more than a cellar, but such later history must be disentangled from its original purpose. Later use should not colour nor dominate discussions about original function. Accordingly a distinction is drawn in this report between undercrofts (vaulted spaces which can be subterranean, semi-subterranean or above ground) and cellars (subterranean spaces which are ceiled with beams or other material).

If vaulting, or other datable, sculpted stonework, does not survive, it can be hard to be sure that one is dealing with an undercroft. The presence of stone is often used to indicate an early date for a cellar, but stone can be reused.[17] Walls that mix reused stone and brick must be treated with caution in terms of evidence for an early undercroft.

Understanding undercrofts as part of a wider landscape

Although often associated with ports, whether on the coast or beside a riverine quay, undercrofts were relatively ubiquitous and are found in inland towns as well. The density of undercrofts in any one town might well vary depending on the amount of trade passing through the settlement; nevertheless, the different kinds of undercrofts discussed in this report were not limited to one kind of place or another.[18]

Natural topography

Undercrofts may be built as a response to the natural lie of the land. Where there is a pronounced slope, as is the case for the Norman House, 46–7 Steep Hill, Lincoln, dating from the late 12th century, it is not surprising that an undercroft was built. The lower level of the undercroft is accessed from the lower part of the slope without the need for steps down.[19] There are further examples in Bristol, for instance, at 35 and 37 Broad Street.[20] Elsewhere, as in Shrewsbury and Norwich, they are thought to have been built, in part, to create a level fire-proof foundation platform for the buildings above.[21]

However, undercrofts are not limited to such sites. Many occur on level ground. The topography of Westgate Street, and the areas bordering it, is mostly level, albeit slightly sloping at its far western end, down towards the River Severn (Figure 3). The semi-subterranean undercrofts on the street represent a deliberate choice to excavate into the ground, rather than a consequence of building on steep topography. In Chester, undercrofts were sited largely above ground, because the bedrock was so close to the surface and hard to excavate.[22] The geology underlying Westgate Street does not pose the same problems. Where ground-water levels are high, flooding of semi-subterranean or subterranean spaces must be contended with. In Winchester, most of the medieval cellars were located at the western, drier end of the high street.[23] Whilst modern-day Gloucester has expanded into flood plains, the historic core existed sufficiently above the areas prone to flooding to be able to avoid this issue.

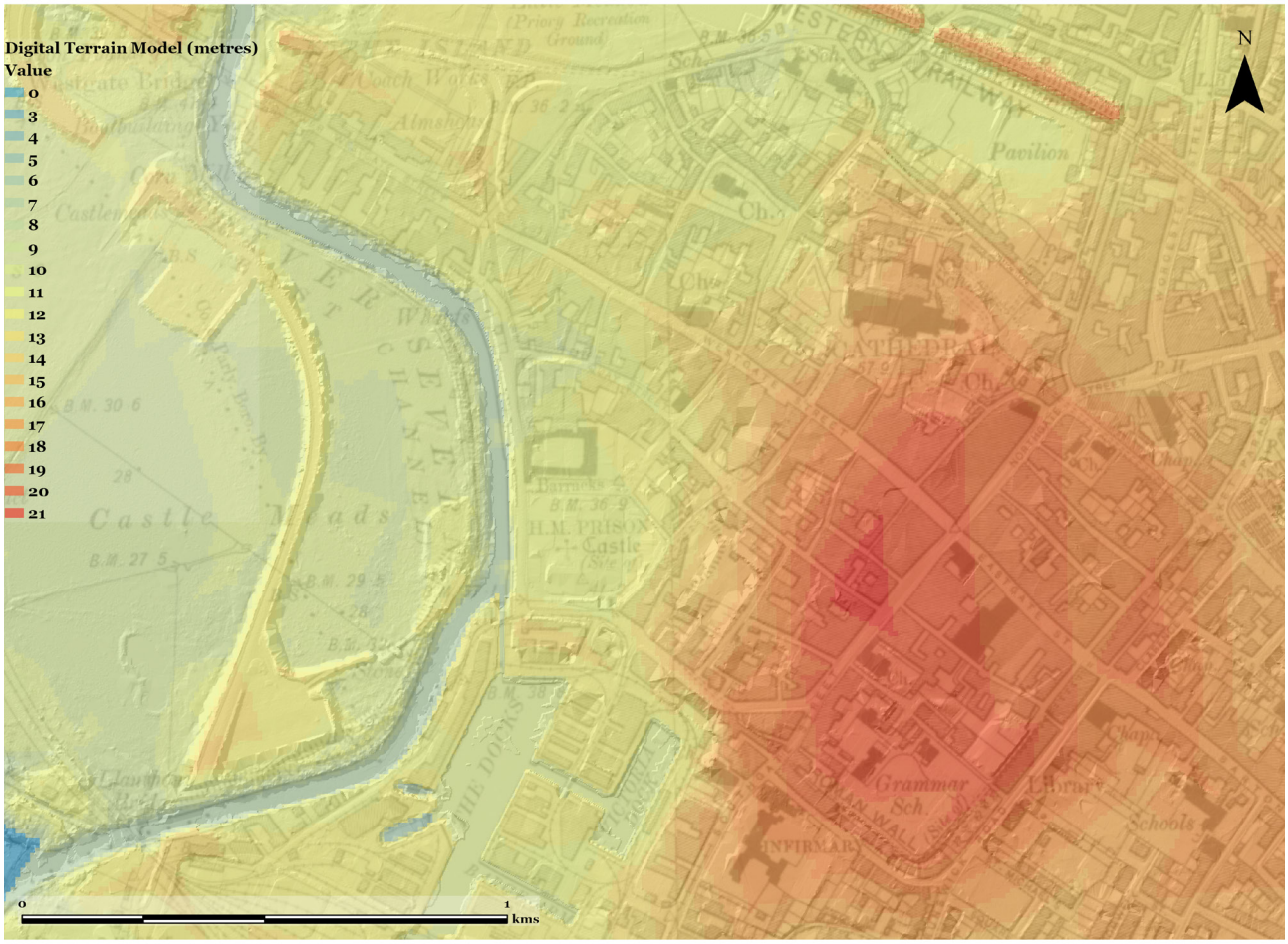

Figure 3: Digital Terrain Model showing the height of the historic core of Gloucester and the fall in height along Westgate Street towards the River Severn. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England. © Crown Copyright and database right 2023. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100024900. Lidar data © Environment Agency 2022. Public sector information licensed under the Open Government Licence v3.0. Historic Mapping © National Library of Scotland, licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported Licence.]

Urban topography

An urban site is typically a constrained site. It is not virgin territory. Gloucester had been the site of notable Roman development. Pre-existing buildings and streets shaped and informed the location of the later undercrofts. Roman stone buildings were also potentially a good source of stone for later building. Chester is another example of a Roman settlement which was an excellent source of stone for medieval buildings and undercrofts. Nevertheless, no material that is undeniably Roman has been seen in any of the Westgate Street undercrofts included in this report, save possibly for a section of wall at no. 121 Westgate Street (*see* Gazetteer), which needs to be the subject of further investigation to establish any earlier origins with certainty. Without any diagnostic features or other supporting evidence, it is hard to say whether dressed limestone was

sourced originally from a Roman structure and has subsequently been recycled and reused. For instance, a small section of dressed and coursed stone on the west side of Mercer's Passage or Entry – the alleyway running south along the east side of no. 11 Westgate Street – is too devoid of context to be clear about what it was part of originally. It appears to be a section of walling. However, the stone could originate from any period. It is often said to be medieval in date and comprised of reused Roman stone but could date to any period prior to the building of the structure in which it now sits.[24]

High demand for street frontage plots is another factor which affects urban buildings. It results in a higher density of building in the locations in demand. Buildings run at right-angles to the street as opposed to lying parallel to it, reflecting the high value placed on the street frontage. Narrow plots often resulted in building on multiple storeys, exploiting the commercial possibilities from more than one level. The lower level might be occupied and used separately from the higher, particularly where there was no direct communication between the two. This phenomenon has been labelled 'two-tier selling' and said to be dominant in the 13th and 14th centuries.[25] However, its frequency, outside of Chester, should perhaps not be overstated.[26] Fully or semi-subterranean retail seems to have been a medieval phenomenon that did not survive into the post-medieval era.

Away from the street frontage itself, there remained throughout the medieval period some more spacious plots, sometimes sitting behind the commercial front, particularly at an early stage in urban development. It is important to avoid an overly hard dividing line between rural and urban properties. A more spacious plot behind street-fronting buildings might originally have allowed the construction of buildings which bore some resemblance to a rural manor building and had characteristic features in common. Of course, the urban context also means that buildings are likely to be subject to a greater rate of change, and any such buildings are less likely to have survived intact and unaltered. It may be harder to reconstruct the original building form in an urban context than for some rural survivors.

The location of primary openings – doors and windows – in undercrofts can reveal a lot about the urban landscape at the time of construction. In the walls, if there are no doors and windows or light wells opening out on to courtyards, it is unlikely that there were such open spaces in the immediate vicinity; the plot on which the undercroft sits may already have been tightly constrained either side with existing buildings and development. In this respect, the study of undercrofts can inform an understanding of the evolution of a medieval settlement, giving us insight into street layout and plot density.

Different building types

Undercrofts are not structures which stand alone. By definition they form part of a bigger building, the upper parts of which may not survive today, even if the undercroft is extant. To try to understand the nature of the undercroft, it is important to attempt to understand

the kind of building of which it once formed a part. This may not always be possible. The biggest differences between the various building types containing undercrofts is due to the size and location of the plots they occupied. Frewin Hall, Oxford and the School of Pythagoras, Cambridge are examples of undercrofts within buildings occupying more spacious plots, behind a more densely built-up location. In Cambridge, the building, now known as the School of Pythagoras (albeit not built as a school) and dated to the early 13th century, sits in an area demonstrated archaeologically to have been at the heart of a commercial waterfront zone lining an earlier watercourse.[27] In Oxford, Frewin Hall, dated to the early or mid-12th century, sits to the west of Cornmarket Street (the main north-south road bisecting the historic town) in its own back-land plot.[28] Both the Cambridge and Oxford examples had windows and entrances on each of the long sides of the undercrofts originally, indicating the openness of the land surrounding them in their original context. A similar example was recorded by J. C. Buckler in the early 19th century prior to demolition, at the corner of Tooley Street, London.[29] In terms of the continuation of the building above the undercroft, the School of Pythagoras is a two-storey stone building; it is not clear what building materials – timber or stone – sat on top of the undercroft at Oxford.

In cases where the upper parts of the building or the wider plot have been lost, the exact form and arrangements of spaces is often unclear. Sometimes the hall (principal room) of the complex may have sat above the undercroft, in other cases it may have sat adjacent to it, particularly on larger plots. In an urban context, for a wealthy merchant, the principal room over the undercroft may have been sufficient without a hall elsewhere.[30] There may not have been room for a separate hall, merely space for an impressive structure sitting within its own courtyard.

In terms of what evidence survives in England today, there are few two-storey stone structures fronting on to the street, although it did occur, as with the Norman House in Lincoln. Other surviving examples include the building known as King John's Palace in Southampton which opened directly on to the quay. It is a two-storey stone structure, originally dating from the second half of the 12th century, with principal dwelling space at first floor and a warehouse-like undercroft at ground level, albeit there is no clear evidence surviving of that space having been vaulted.[31] A still more exceptional and rare example is found in Wigford, a suburb of Lincoln. The mid-12th century undercroft at St Mary's Guildhall, Wigford forms part of a whole complex with its own stone gatehouse range directly standing on the street line.[32] The Wigford building is not in the heart of Lincoln.[33] None of the undercrofts studied in Westgate Street appear to have formed part of such street-front stone structures. A setback urban undercroft within open ground is more likely to sit behind densely packed timber-framed shop frontages, as is the case in Westgate Street.

Although undercrofts are constructed as part of a larger building, they are not always spaces which are easily accessed from within that building. They lend themselves to external access. It is difficult to create an internal staircase within an undercroft without

compromising the essential vaulting of the undercroft, unless an intramural stair is used, as at the Fleece, discussed below, or a vice staircase in the corner where two stone walls meet.[34] External staircases to gain access to the levels above the undercroft were far more common, but were often constructed of timber and do not survive. An external staircase could afford to be more generous in proportion and so might be more fitting to the use and status of both the undercroft and the structure above.

The other main category of undercrofts is those that occur in a more tightly constrained context opening directly on to the key urban thoroughfares. These tend to appear in documentary records because of the manner in which their entrance stairs projected into the street. The London *Special Inquest into Purprestures* of 1246 lists cellar steps as the third most common kind of encroachment.[35] Similarly, in Winchester, a survey of 1417 noted any cellars encroaching on to the highway by way of their entrances.[36] If not projecting into the street, they might instead project considerably into the undercroft space itself, taking up valuable space within the undercroft. There are several examples of the latter in Winchelsea.[37]

How were undercrofts used?

Types of use: the wine trade

Undercrofts are frequently linked to the wine trade. The internal ambient temperature of a stone-vaulted space remains cooler and less prone to thermal fluctuations, particularly if a subterranean or semi-subterranean space, combined with the thermal mass of the stone walls. Data from environmental monitoring for one undercroft in New Winchelsea has been collected evidencing this point.[38] The result is ideal for wine storage. Undercrofts are not usually heated, albeit the use of braziers cannot be ruled out. Those undercrofts with evidence of fireplaces are usually exceptional, or built later, as in the 14th-century undercroft at Simnel Street, Southampton,[39] or a single example in New Winchelsea, amongst the many other examples in the same town without any evidence for heating.[40] None of the Westgate Street undercrofts show evidence of primary fireplaces or hearths.

Gloucester has long been associated with good wine. William of Malmesbury, a monk and historian writing in the early 12th century, commented that Gloucestershire was famous for its local wine. He wrote that Gloucestershire was better than any other county for the fertility and sweetness of the grapes coming from its vineyards. The wine had no unpleasant acidity and was hardly inferior to the French wine in sweetness.[41] Indeed, it may be that the Romans chose Gloucester, amongst other reasons, because they prized the area for its mild climate and fertile soil, suitable for growing their staple commodities – corn and grapes.[42] Thus undercrofts, if used for wine, may initially have had a local focus as opposed to an international one.

Whereas domestic vines in urban gardens were recorded in London in the 13th century, by the 14th century they were only used to produce verjuice (sour juice of unripe grapes used in cooking or medicinally). It has been suggested that the climate had cooled leading to a decline in English production.[43] By this time, Gloucester was involved in the Gascon (French) wine trade, receiving consignments from Bristol which was one of the main distributers for the trade network on the south-western coast of Britain. Bristol was often (in the 13th through to the 15th centuries) the second most important port outside of London in terms of receipt of Gascon wine.[44] As already noted, Gloucester itself sits on the River Severn and there was a quay established by the Romans at the western end of Westgate Street. The French wine trade took off particularly after the ascension of the Plantagenet dynasty to the throne with Henry II in 1154. It was prominent throughout the 14th and 15th centuries (notwithstanding the Hundred Years War) and it may have contributed to the demise of more local English wine production.

However, it is important not to assume an automatic association between the wine industry and undercrofts. Given that undercrofts are thought to have existed in larger numbers than survive today, it is unlikely that they would all have been used for wine storage.[45] Wine alone could not account for them all. Moreover, Gascon wine was a wine that did not have a long shelf life. It was drunk quickly and not laid down for long-term storage. The wine trade was a seasonal activity, reflecting the timing of the harvest of grapes and their processing.[46] Accordingly, there must have been times in the year at which undercrofts used for the wine trade would have stood relatively empty.[47]

At the end of the 13th century, Gascon traders appealed to the king, Edward I, for permission to reside in the cellars from which they sold their wines.[48] Although they were refused at that juncture, this appears to indicate that these spaces could accommodate someone residentially. It points towards spaces which were not just storage areas, but encompassed a much wider range of functions.

Types of use: the storage and display of other valuable commodities

Gloucester was subject to several devastating fires in the 12th and early 13th century, which severely affected Westgate Street itself.[49] There is no doubt that stone undercrofts were best placed to survive such episodes; timber-framed houses above ground were not. Undercrofts could be a useful place to store safely many kinds of valuables, not just expensive wines. In the 11th and 12th centuries in Winchester, stone vaults were associated with moneyers, who presumably took advantage of their additional security.[50] Conversely, the presence of an entrance directly off the street into an undercroft might point in the opposite direction. This is because to protect the most valuable goods, entrances would need to be well-guarded, and less accessible from the public realm than they would be if accessible directly from the street. The variety of entrance arrangements for undercrofts, therefore, may well indicate the range of purposes for which such structures could be used.

William Worcestre's late 15th-century account of Bristol comments on *cellarii* used for the storage of wool and other merchandise intended for shipment.[51] However, undercrofts are not equivalent to medieval warehouses. Their space is actually relatively constrained, by warehouse standards. Nor are they easy to enter, in terms of substantial shipments of goods entering and exiting with regularity.[52] A warehouse such as that beneath the building known as King John's Palace in Southampton appears to have been arcaded with plentiful entranceways, as do the examples known in Kings Lynn, for instance Hampton Court, Nelson Street.[53] The sizes of the surviving entrances in the undercrofts of Westgate Street, discussed below, demonstrate this issue. Perhaps, undercrofts are best thought of as more of a secure stockroom, which was capable of housing a quantity of stock, but not all that might be contained in a commercially sized consignment. The relative high humidity of undercrofts, year round, would have

meant that fine fabrics, such as silks, would not be stored in such a location long term,[54] albeit there is a Bristol undercroft that functioned as a draper's shop.[55] There were also shops in Stamford occupying undercrofts beneath tenements which were separately occupied.[56]

As with wine, so with other goods; storage alone as a function does not account for the level of decorative display incorporated into creating a vaulted stone undercroft with carved capitals, corbels, ribs or bosses. All these features are over and above what was strictly necessary to create a stone, fireproof strong room. Whether the commodity was wine or another valuable item, the undercroft was effectively a showroom, in which wares could be displayed, sampled and purchased.

Types of use: consumption

Tavern drinking is clearly different to the sampling of wine that might have occurred prior to purchasing a large consignment of wine. Later undercrofts were associated with taverns − locations where customers would come in from the street, sit and drink wine.[57] They were recorded in London from the early 14th century onwards.[58] There is a building contract surviving from 1342 for the building of a tavern in Paternoster Row, London, which included a *celer* vaulted in stone with a fireplace at either end and stone steps.[59] In Oxford, the undercroft at Tackley's Inn was recorded as a tavern from the mid-14th century.[60] In Winchester, taverns appear in property records from the later 14th century, albeit it is likely that they existed in the town before then. In the Winchester study, attention was drawn to a statute of 1330 stating that taverns had recently become numerous.[61] It was also noted that the words for a cellar and a tavern could be interchangeable; the *Oxford English Dictionary* agrees that one possible meaning of 'tavern' is a 'cellar' 'often underground'.[62] The late 14th- and early 15th-century undercrofts in Burford and Chipping Norton are examples of quadripartite-vaulted undercrofts thought potentially to have been constructed as taverns.[63]

In London, a mid-14th century undercroft used as a tavern was provided with fireplaces, and has been interpreted as intended to be used for drinking; the warmth from the fireplace made the undercroft more suitable for sociable activity.[64] Again, none of the Westgate Street undercrofts have such a fireplace feature surviving, aside from possibly a medieval cellar (with no clear indication of vaulting) underneath no. 74 Westgate Street. Although some of the undercrofts on Westgate Street came to be associated with inns, it seems unlikely, as explained further below, that any of them were constructed as taverns at the outset.

Notable undercrofts in Westgate Street, Gloucester

Westgate Street lies immediately to the south of the precinct of Gloucester Cathedral, formerly Gloucester Abbey. Properties on the north side of Westgate Street, in the central part of the street, ran back to the southern wall of the Abbey precinct, in front of which on the south side historically was a small lane, running from St John's Lane at the south-east corner to St Mary's Street at the north-west (Figure 4).[65]

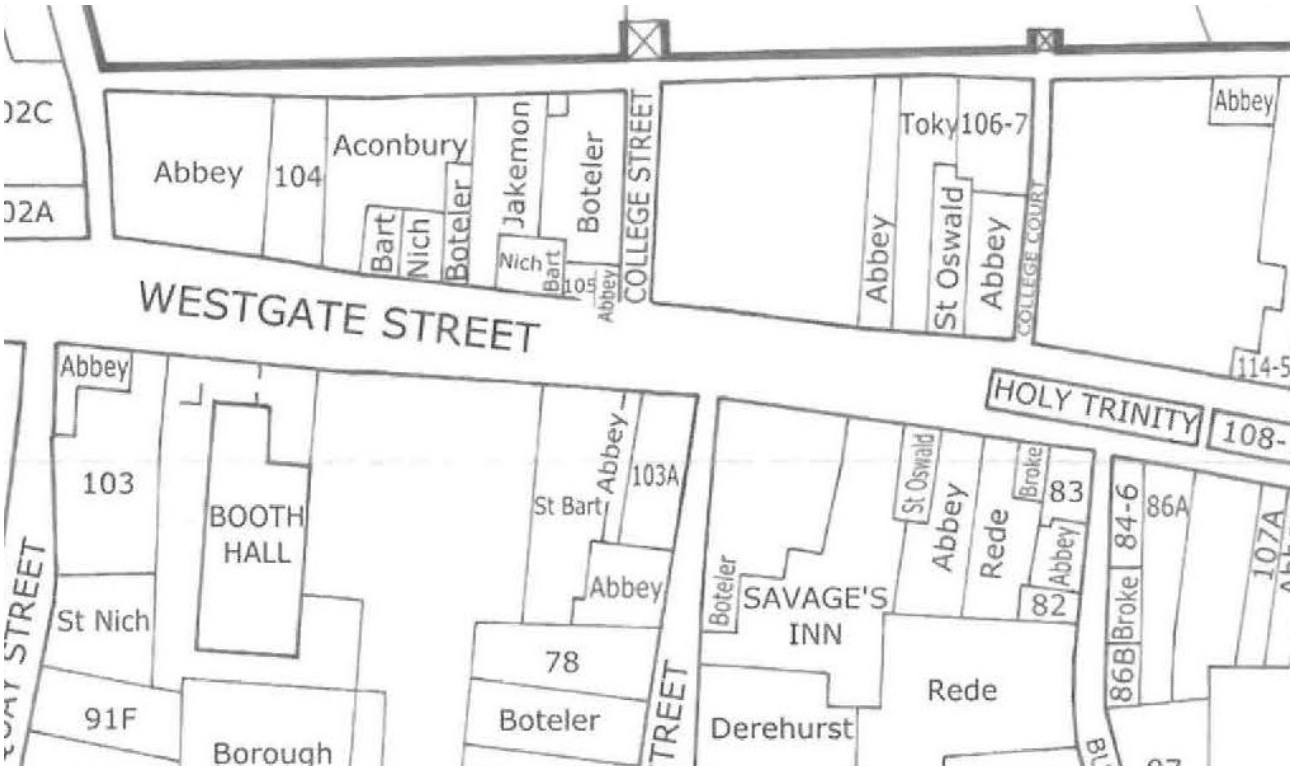

Figure 4: A reconstruction of the Gloucester medieval street plan and plots showing the blocks which are the site of modern nos 74-76 and nos 47-49 Westgate Street, as well as the medieval lane running in front of the Abbey precinct wall. [©The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society 2016. Reproduced with permission.]

Properties on the south side of Westgate Street, at the east end of the street, ran back to a lane that is now known as Cross Keys Lane. It was formerly known as *Scrud Lane,* attested as *Scruddelone(e)* sometime in the 13th century and *Scroddelone* in around 1220. It has been suggested that this name could have been derived from the Middle English word *crudde* meaning 'vault, crypt'.[66] If this interpretation is correct, it is of note for the investigation of undercrofts in this area. Names are often given for features which stand out in the vicinity − at least which do so at the time the name is first coined; they

are, therefore, helpful markers by which a place can be recognised. It may be that Cross Keys Lane was famous for a time for its proximity to at least one undercroft. On the other hand, it might also be a relatively rare and obsolete Middle English word referencing less than salubrious activity in the lane.[67]

Although Westgate Street follows the broad orientation of the former Roman route, it diverged more than the other three cardinal roads, such that the line of the modern street does not map precisely on to the line of the Roman. Westgate Street appears to have shifted further north, running through the ruins of two public buildings, whose colonnades of columns survived upstanding into the medieval period.[68] Equally, whilst the original western line of the Roman walls is reflected, south of Westgate Street, in Berkeley Street, to the north of Westgate Street the line is lost. The area to the north of Westgate Street may have been the subject of re-planning just before the Norman conquest.[69] Nor did Gloucester Abbey respect the line of the Roman north-western wall; its buildings and precinct spanned that wall by the 11th century if not before.[70]

At the east end of Westgate Street, close to the High Cross, the road widened and various properties occupied central plots in the middle of the street, including two churches, Holy Trinity and St Mary de Grace, as well as the 'King's Board', which was a small market house for the sale of butter and cheese, south of which was the *Myntes smyth* – the King's Mint, and *le coferye* which sold wigs (or coifs).[71] These may have been built as part of a deliberate policy of land exploitation by the Crown or its agents in the 12th century.[72] The Butchery was associated with the south side of Westgate Street at its eastern end and the Mercery with the northern side.[73] Cutlers and bladesmiths were concentrated near the King's Board.[74]

Long and narrow burgage plots appear in Westgate Street by at least the 12th century.[75] The documentary evidence for the layout and ownership of the tenements on Westgate Street survives largely from the 15th century onwards. The two principal sources are the *1443 Terrier of Llanthony Priory* (also known as Llanthony Secunda) and the *1455 Household Rental compiled by the Corporation of Gloucester*, arranged in topographical order.[76] These two sources often rehearse the history of many of the plots back to the 12th century. In the mid-15th century, Gloucester had more than one ecclesiastical landowner controlling extensive plots of urban land; in 1455, three religious houses were the owners of 250 properties representing approximately a third of the dwellings described in the *1455 Rental*.[77] The historian John Rhodes has clarified the descent of the various properties of the city, including mapping plots as they were defined in the late medieval period.[78] This report uses his work extensively, supplemented by primary documentary research in the Gloucestershire Archives.

No amount of documentary research is likely to capture the full extent of medieval ownership and occupation. Not only are records patchy in their survival, it is unlikely that any short-term rentals, such as those of undercrofts undertaken by foreign merchants for limited time periods, would be noted in extant documentation.[79] Attention must be

paid to whether anyone named in relation to a building or plot is mentioned as an owner or occupier; the former might well be an non-occupying owner, holding the land as an asset, the latter might be renting from another and using the land commercially and/or residentially. It is also the case that many individuals named in documents had more than one holding, so it is important not to assume that a property, in connection with which they were mentioned, was their main residence or commercial premises.

In terms of the buildings themselves, documentary references vary in the detail that they give. Occasionally there are references to specific features, such as a notable cellar. There are other references to watch out for, where cellars are mentioned but only as part of a general term in which all possible features a building might have are listed, as a legal catch-all to ensure that the whole property is correctly included in any legal transfer or grant. These latter references cannot be relied upon as firm evidence of the presence of a cellar or undercroft, and, so, are not highlighted in this report. The aim of examining the documentary history in this report is to shed light particularly on the construction and subsequent use of the undercrofts, as opposed to providing a full account of the history of the sites and all their various buildings. The later post-medieval history of the ownership and occupation of the undercrofts is not covered systematically, save for where aspects have come to light which are relevant. Historic maps are highlighted where they shed light on the planform and evolution of the undercrofts.

With the exception of the Fleece, the focus of site visits and fieldwork, in the limited time available, has been on the undercrofts. Access to be able to examine the buildings above the undercrofts has been minimal. As a result, questions remain which might be resolved, at least in part, by close consideration of the fabric of those buildings and surveys of the junctions between them and the respective undercrofts beneath them.

The Fleece Hotel (No. 19 Westgate Street)

The undercroft at the Fleece Hotel sits on a large and complex plot. The site is on the south of Westgate Street, close to its eastern end, near the High Cross. At this point, Westgate Street widened, and by the 12th century had been infilled with buildings and structures now gone − two churches, the King's Board, the Mint, the Butchery and Mercery, all described above. Throughout the medieval documentary record, the Fleece site is often located by reference to these buildings.

The surviving undercroft itself lies to the south of no. 17 Westgate Street and is accessed via a gateway to the west of no. 17. No. 19 is the number given to the gateway entrance into the Fleece and the range behind no. 17 Westgate Street. The undercroft is described in the list description as late 12th century in date. It is said to be the remains of a merchant's house on top of which a later timber-framed range was built. The later range survives today in part.

There has been much change, both amalgamation and division, in how the land has been held at this site. Historically, the Fleece site is often recorded in conjunction with one or all of the shops in front of it, spanning the street frontage that is now occupied by nos 17, 19A and 21 Westgate Street, and, also, with the land lying behind stretching back towards, but stopping short of, Cross Keys Lane. On the western side, this land fronted on to Bull Lane and it was (and still is) possible to access the Fleece from Bull Lane.[80] Nos 17−21 Westgate Street, on the main street front, historically represented five small plots on which there were shops. Three of them were amalgamated into what become nos 21 and 19A; the other two were amalgamated into what became no. 17 Westgate Street.

Documentary History

1200−1475: Medieval owners and occupiers

The site of the undercroft first appears in documentary records as a place held by David Dunning, who had obtained it from Walter Kadifor and his son Richard.[81] Dunning was a Borough bailiff between 1200 and 1228,[82] a wine merchant and substantial property owner.[83] Since Gloucester only obtained the right to elect bailiffs in 1200, Dunning was one of the first to serve in that office.[84] He appears to have lived on the site,[85] in a building which almost certainly included the undercroft. It is interesting to note that there was an earlier Dunning in the Domesday Book of 1086, who is recorded as holding a *mansio,* an urban property on the royal demesne, within Gloucester, although any indisputable connection between this earlier Dunning and the 13th-century David Dunning cannot be proved.[86] There is also a reference to 'Ernald fil' Dunning' (fil' is an abbreviation for *filius,* Latin for 'son') in approximately 1175 in the Charters of St Peter's Abbey Gloucester.[87]

As a merchant with his own residence, David Dunning would be at an advantage compared to other merchants coming from abroad, who had to hire cellars and undercrofts in which to store their wine and from which to sell it. Records from Southampton and London evidence this hire, including complaints where foreign merchants felt that they had been allocated less advantageous cellars.[88] The undercroft site passed to David's widow, Alice, and her second husband William Watford, in 1258, via a grant involving Maud, who was David and Alice's daughter. It was described as land and buildings opposite *del munescmythe* (the Mint).[89]

In the 13th century the plots along the Westgate Street frontage, in front of the undercroft, were described as *selds* meaning, in this context, shops. The western part of the range fronting on to the street first appears in the documentary records as follows: having passed from Geoffrey, son of Elgar, to his daughter Matilda, Matilda gave it to Cirencester Abbey in around 1220−1230. In Matilda's transfer, the plot was described as the third *seld* towards the bridge, counting from David Dunning's *hostia* (or *ostium,* Medieval Latin for a door or doorway). It yielded 3s.[90] The separate occupation of the

frontage from the space behind it, by the early 13th century, is significant. The fact that the shop is described as the third indicates that there were more shops along this frontage.[91]

The site passed through John de Aure to John de Monemue, who lived in it as his dwelling.[92] In 1298, the latter's son, also John, let the site to William de Ruyons (also spelt Riouns and Ryouns). Ruyons was described initially in the records as a merchant of Gascony. (His surname is likely to be a locative name indicating origin in Rions, Departément de la Gironde, bordering Gascony.) He rented it for 38s. a year, as a messuage (a dwelling house together with appurtenances and surrounding land) with a shop east of its entrance. Ruyons appears to have resided on the site.[93] He, like Dunning, was a wine merchant and bailiff in 1303.[94] In 1302 and 1303, via two charters, Gascon merchants were given the power to reside where they liked for as long as they liked, holding their own houses and hostels. However, such rights were hotly contested and at times revoked under pressure throughout the early 14th century. Some merchants turned to citizenship as a means of ensuring stability and continued ability to trade in England.[95] It is interesting to note how the description of Ruyons changes in the property records relating to the Fleece, from being a merchant of Gascony to being a merchant and burgess of Gloucester.[96]

In 1310, another son of John de Monemue, Richard de Monmouth, sold the site outright to William de Ruyons. Ruyons' hall was said to lie behind a shop rented by Robert Peyt, a butcher. The other shops had separate occupants recorded.[97] Ruyons' hall seems to have sat behind the eastern part of what is now no. 17 Westgate Street, and included the undercroft.

William Ruyons made a will in 1346 in favour of his son William and son's wife Joan. The younger William Ruyons made a will in 1349 in favour of his wife, Joan, daughter, also Joan, and her husband, John de Ryssebury. This principal tenement was described as the tenement in which William lived opposite the *Mullesmyth* (the Mint). There were houses and shops in front of it, and a curtilage adjacent.[98] It is clear that this is still referring to a space behind no. 17 Westgate Street, with shops in front of it along the commercial frontage of Westgate Street itself. The explicit mention of a curtilage adjacent to the principal tenement is noteworthy as it suggests the presence of open space in the rear of the plot.[99]

The property passed to William and Joan's daughter Agnes, who married Thomas Compton of Gloucester. He was bailiff in 1402, 1405, 1406 and 1408. Thomas and John, his father, also a bailiff in 1377, entered into the principal tenement (behind no. 17 Westgate Street) and all its appurtenant tenements in the Butchery and in *Gor Lone* (now Bull Lane). Llanthony Priory complained that both men held these properties illegally and did not pay rent.[100] In fact, it seems that Thomas Compton first claimed the property in the lifetime of John de Ryssebury, claiming not through Agnes but through Joan Ruyons, William Ruyons' widow.

Thomas Compton bequeathed the principal and appurtenant tenements to his wife, Margery, for her life, and then to Roger Balle and Robert Gilbert to be sold. Thomas, Lord Berkeley bought the site in 1414. The land was described as a tenement with a close, a garden and four shops adjoining.[101] Thomas de Berkeley was 5th Baron Berkeley (1352/3−1417) of Berkeley Castle. Therefore, presumably at this point, if not before, the principal tenement was being leased out rather than acting as a primary residence as it had done earlier.

Following this, Richard, Earl of Warwick (d.1439) held the principal and appurtenant tenements by right of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Berkeley (*c.* 1386−1422). Then, Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (d.1453) held them by right of his wife, Margaret (1404−1467), the daughter of Earl Richard and Lady Elizabeth. From 1441, Lord Talbot's son, Sir John Talbot (created Lord Lisle in 1444, d.1453), held them as a result of a grant from Lord Berkeley's trustee. In this grant, the tenement was described as one with a close, a garden and five shops.[102]

In the 1455 survey, Lord Lisle's mother Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury (d. 1468), owned the capital tenement, which was let to a butcher called Brere and others. She also held two shops near the entrance of the principal tenement. The text reads

> The Lady Countess of Shrewsbury holds a tenement with appurtenances, wherein Brere [rendered by Stevenson as Briar], butcher, and divers other tenants dwell for a rent of [blank] by year: which David Dunning held and inhabited at the time of Henry III; William of Ryons held it in the time of Edward I; the heirs of the said William in the time of Edward II; afterwards John Compton, Thomas Compton, and the late Lord of Berkeley. And she pays for landgavel 13d.

The next entry reads

> The same Lady Countess holds two shops with appurtenances near the entrance of the aforesaid tenement of the Lady Countess: which in the before-named time David Dunning and others before written held; and Thomas Wyttour, of Wotton, lately held them, and of old time they were called 'Kenewrek'. And she renders for landgavel 8d.[103]

1475 onwards: Gloucester Abbey ownership and afterwards

In 1475, Edward Grey de Lisle sold the site for £60 by final concord to John Farley, a mercer, who subsequently paid landgavel for it as the dwelling of (John) Dogett [*sic*].[104] John Farley was, according to Rhodes, related to William Farley, who was Abbot of Gloucester between 1472 and 1498. In 1498, when Elizabeth Brokwood was tenant, the Borough confirmed the site as property of Gloucester Abbey, 'lately of John Farreley deceased'.[105] Perhaps, John Farley was acting as an intermediary for the Abbey in the purchase of the site.

Ownership by the Abbey marked a new phase in the development of the site. Dendrochronological dating results, discussed in more detail in the separate research report on the Fleece Hotel,[106] suggest that much of the surviving timber-framed superstructure of the street front and the ranges behind, including that above the undercroft, date from around 1476-8, immediately after Farley had purchased the site presumably on behalf of the Abbey.[107] Nevertheless, this new timber-framed development maintained the same basic layout and sub-divisions as had been seen in the site's earlier history – particularly in the separate use of the street-front range to provide commercial property units that could be leased and occupied independently from the buildings to the rear, including the undercroft. It has been suggested that the Abbey rebuilt the Fleece as a purpose-built inn to house pilgrims. However, there is no clear evidence of this purpose at the time of construction.[108] Nor does it affect the initial purpose and function of the undercroft, constructed nearly 300 years earlier. The point in time at which the Fleece site came to be used as an inn is relevant to subsequent usage of the undercroft in connection with an inn and is discussed further below.

In 1498, the tenement was described as situated opposite the *Kyngis Burde* (the King's Board) and bounded by a common way called *Myntes Smyth* (the Mint) on the north.[109] In 1515, it was held by John Heywod, from whom it passed to Isabel Heywod. In 1518, the Abbey let it to Henry Betts at £5 6s. 8d. describing it as a great tenement with a stable within a great gate, together with the scalding-house and its appurtenances and a second tenement called *le fleccher-house* (according to Rhodes this second tenement is what is now no. 17 Westgate Street).[110] The two shops to the west of the gate were let separately in 1515 to Joan Vynor at 46s. 8d. a year.[111] In 1530, the shop, now known as no. 21, was leased to a butcher called John Sutton, with 'an obligation to repair the daub walls (*murorum luteorum*)'. No. 19A was inhabited by Robert Barett. Rhodes suggests that no. 19A was leased with the 'scalding house' on Gore Lane, whilst the lease of no. 21 generally descended with 'the great tenement', although was often sub-let. Many of the tenants and sub-lessees for both plots were listed as butchers.[112]

In 1534, the property was re-let to Alderman Henry Marmyon (or Marmion), who lived there, for £3 6s. 8d.[113] Marmyon was a leading resident of Gloucester, elected as an alderman in 1530. In 1540, he funded the stipend of the curate at St Mary de Grace Church.[114] The property was described as a great inn *(magnum hospitium)* of great timbers and stone walls incorporating a bakehouse. The front tenement, although included in the lease, was held by Richard Nethercote. The scalding-house and its appurtenances were demised to another lessee who shared a common well.[115]

In 1541, the Abbey's title, following the Dissolution, had passed to the Dean and Chapter of the newly created Gloucester Cathedral. On Henry Marmyon's death in 1542 the lease passed to his widow Maud. Maud married again twice, the second time being to Richard Pate M.P. (d.1588).[116] In 1548, when the Cathedral let the great tenement for £4 to John ap Richard, it was occupied by Richard Pate. It included shops, cellars, stables

and gardens, as well as a little tenement in the front inhabited by William Phelpis, a goldsmith.[117] In 1549, Marmyon's heirs (the family into which Pate had married) paid landgavel on the site as a '*greate tenement that Ric. Pate, gent., dwellith in'*.[118]

Clearly, notwithstanding the late 15th-century rebuilding, in the 16th century, the front range of commercial properties was being occupied and, in some cases, let separately to the rear ranges, including the undercroft. The latter appear to be occupied as a residence by lessees of notable status.

By 1577, John ap Richard was himself living in the great tenement.[119] By 1617, the plot, including the site of the undercroft, was the great tenement of John Floyde, a vintner.[120] Floyde's occupation as a vintner is worth noting but it does not prove that the Fleece site, with its undercroft, had become by the early 17th century an inn.[121] In 1634, it was re-let to George Hurdman of Tirley ('Trinley') as a great tenement and garden with a little tenement in front as before. Various parts, presumably including the commercial frontage, were sublet to the mercer Richard Cox, the chandler Thomas Gresham and the cordwainer John Danby; the front was 34ft wide and the garden behind was 101ft wide from William Lane's brick wall on the east to 'Goore Lane' on the west. In 1649, when George's widow Mary Hurdman held it, the garden was 68ft deep from north to south and 101ft wide east to west; the street frontage was 34ft wide. The front tenement was sublet to Thomas Cooke.[122]

In 1663, William Hurdman of Tirley took a lease of the great tenement, which in 1669 he sublet to Gray Cox.[123] Cox was a brewer. Cox's occupation may be indicative of the purpose for which he was putting the site. In the Dean and Chapter's accounts, the tenement is referred to as *Vellus Aureu[m] iuxta Regis Mensu[m]* [*sic*] (the Golden Fleece next to the King's Bench) or later simply *Vellus aureu[m]*.[124] By 1669 Gray Cox had taken on the main lease. This is the first mention of the tenement having the name of the Golden Fleece. It is plausible to think that it was operating as an inn under this name. It was not noted in the list of inns cited by the Borough in 1672. Nevertheless, in the second half of the 17th century, Cox increased his holding of the site. He took a lease directly in 1670 of the great tenement and, in 1673, a lease of the whole site, in which the name of the site, the Golden Fleece, was confirmed, with a total frontage of 63ft.[125] His widow Catherine succeeded in 1683 and renewed the lease in 1694.

The history of the Fleece in the 18th century onwards is set out in detail in the separate research report on the Fleece Inn.[126] In terms of documentary and cartographic evidence relevant to the undercroft, there are a few points it is worth highlighting. In 1730, Thomas Bick's lease with the Dean and Chapter of what is now the eastern part of no. 17 stated that it also included 'all that Cellar underneath the backward part of the said messuage or tenem[ent] late in the pos[ses]sion of Margaret Turner Spinster … and now in the pos[ses]sion of the said Thomas Bick'.[127] The eastern part of no. 17 sits directly in front of the undercroft. This reference may be relevant to any alterations carried out to the northern part of the undercroft, where it abutted no. 17. At the same time, the larger

tenement over the top of the undercroft was being used as an inn. The tenant, Richard Cowles, was given the right, under his lease, to affix on to one of the front tenements in the occupation of Katherine Gregory ‘such a sign as is usual to distinguish the said house called the Golden Fleece from a private house’.

After this, the Fleece appears to have fallen out of use as an inn and in 1772, when Elizabeth Cowles surrendered the lease on The Fleece, the Dean and Chapter attempted to find a new use for the site. On 20 July they offered it to the City Corporation as a site to establish a market or shambles, including ‘the old Materials in the said Fleece inn and the Buildings thereunto belonging which upon a moderate Computation are worth upwards of one hundred and fifty pounds over and besides a large and convenient arched Cellar’.[128] This latter reference is clearly a reference to the undercroft. The Corporation declined the offer. Instead, the Dean, himself, Josiah Tucker, took what was effectively a repairing lease of the site, albeit it was held on trust for him by a minor canon.

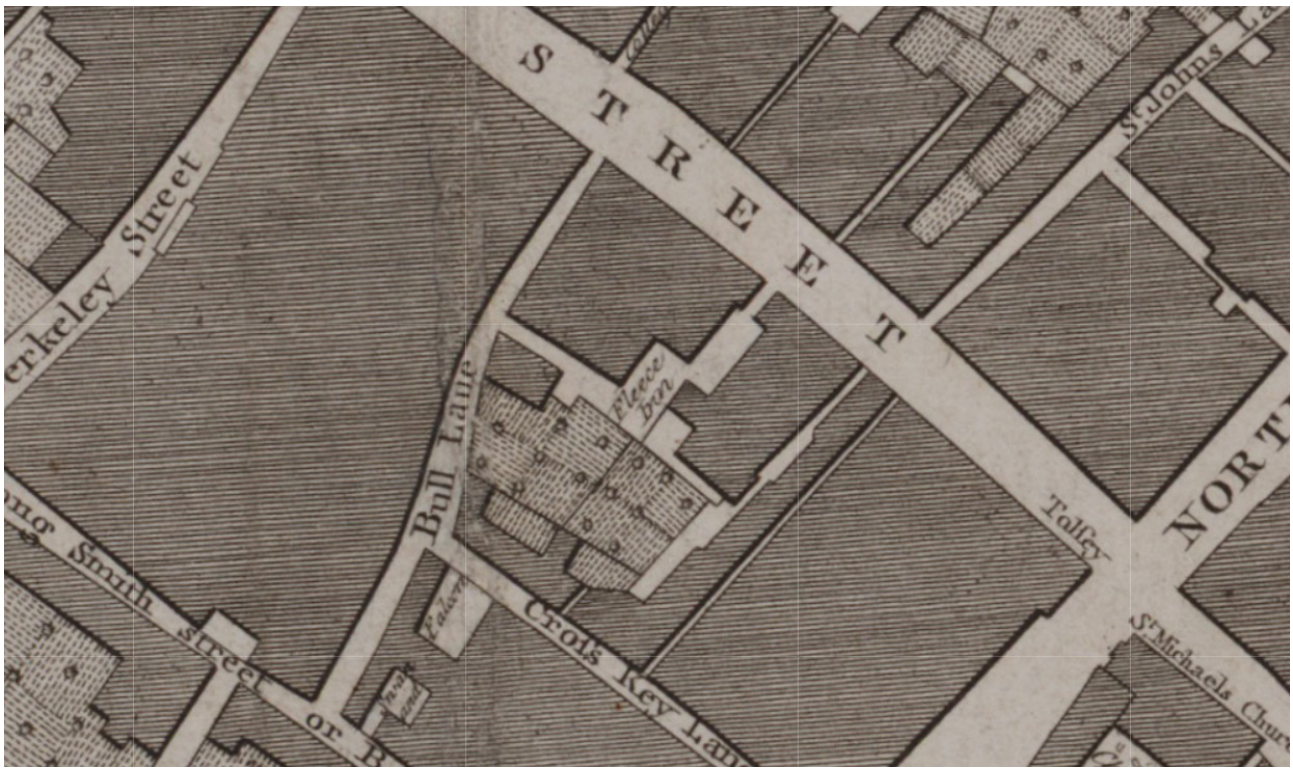

Figure 5: Detail of the site of the Fleece Inn as shown on the 1780 Hall and Pinnell map of Gloucester. [Image reproduced from Know Your Place. Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives]

Hall and Pinnell's Map of Gloucester of 1780 is the first map to show the city centre in a modern conventional form, although many of the built-up areas are shown as large solid blocks.[129] Despite this, the Fleece can clearly be identified (Figure 5). The rear yard is labelled with the name. The passageway from Westgate Street is evident, as is the route out to Bull Lane. Looking at the structure above the undercroft, the mapping shows a projection at its south-west corner. Neither of the currently existing, western, projecting bay windows are depicted. It seems as if there is a southern extension against the south gable end of the building above the undercroft. There appears to be an alleyway running along the eastern side of the building above the undercroft, between it and the plot which is now no. 15. The southern extension of the building above the undercroft projects slightly into the alleyway.

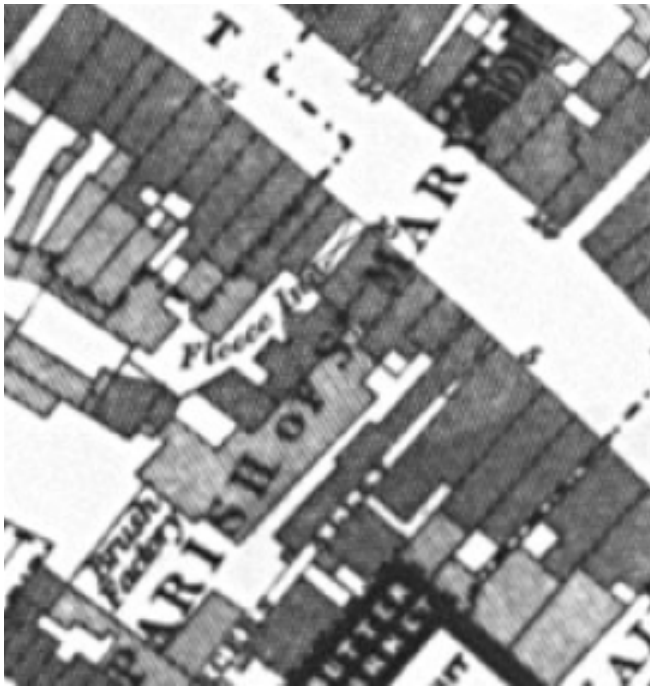

Figure 6: Detail of the site of the Fleece Inn as shown on the 1843 Causton map of Gloucester. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archaeology, Gloucester Civic Trust and Gloucestershire Archives]

The Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral appear finally to have sold the site in or around 1799 to Samuel Jones, brush-maker, except for the plot that is no. 17 Westgate Street which they retained until 1855.[130] By 1843, Causton's map of Gloucester shows that the adjacent plot to the east of the Fleece (lying behind no. 15) had been extensively redeveloped, with a large building labelled as a 'brush factory' occupying the rear of the plot, running right up to the boundary with the Fleece, eliminating the alleyway which previously ran down between the two plots (Figure 6). The brush factory building extended westwards partly overlapping the south elevation of the building above the undercroft. The two projecting bay window extensions to the western side of the building above the undercroft are visible. On the 1852 Board of Health map of Gloucester, steps can be seen rising up into the building above the undercroft between the two bay window projections, as they do today (Figure 7). The brush factory and warehouse to the east

had been converted into part of the Gloucester Club. In the 20th century, the undercroft was used as a bar and labelled the Monks' Retreat. A ratings' appeal letter from 1941 referred to the presence of a bar known as the Monks' Retreat at the Fleece.[131]

Figure 7: Detail of the site of the Fleece Inn as shown on the 1852 Board of Health map of Gloucester. [Image reproduced from Know Your Place. Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L10/1/2]

Building Description: Phase one – late 12th century

Size and orientation

The earliest fabric surviving at the Fleece is a stone undercroft (Figure 8). It is oriented north-south, perpendicular to Westgate Street in alignment, lying behind (to the south of) no. 17 Westgate Street, bounded to the east by the land behind no. 15 Westgate Street and to the west by an open yard. It is unlikely that the undercroft ever opened directly on to Westgate Street itself to the north. There is currently approximately 16m between the surviving fabric of the undercroft and the street frontage. Even allowing for some truncation of the original undercroft, it is unlikely to have extended so far. Moreover, the undercroft is best read as a structure sitting behind a commercial frontage in a more spacious plot of its own. This is evident from the earliest documentary records, which

discuss separate commercial properties north of the undercroft and identify access to the site by way of a *hostia* (or *ostium*) 'doorway' or 'gateway' in the middle of *selds* 'shops'. It is also evident from the building itself; the surviving fabric indicates the presence of other primary entrances into the undercroft, lessening the need for any entrance to the north. This undercroft has parallels, in terms of being set back from a commercial thoroughfare, with the mid-12th century Frewin Hall, Oxford and the early 13th-century School of Pythagoras, Cambridge, discussed above.

Figure 8: The undercroft at the Fleece Inn in 2023. [DP325617]

The surviving undercroft is five and a half bays long, occupying a space of approximately 10m long by 4.8m wide. The bays are defined by the position of pairs of semi-circular engaged columns on the longer east and west walls, from which the vaulting of the undercroft springs. Each of the bays are roughly the same width, around 2m. However, the fourth bay from the south is slightly wider at 2.5m (Figure 9). It is possible that this wider bay represents the position of an original entrance into the undercroft, wide enough to bring in bulky goods from a courtyard to the west. The 14th-century

documentary records refer to a curtilage alongside the tenement as well as shops in front of it. The undercroft at the Fleece differs from others on Westgate Street, in having space to the side, both historically and surviving today, as a result of sitting behind the commercial street frontage.

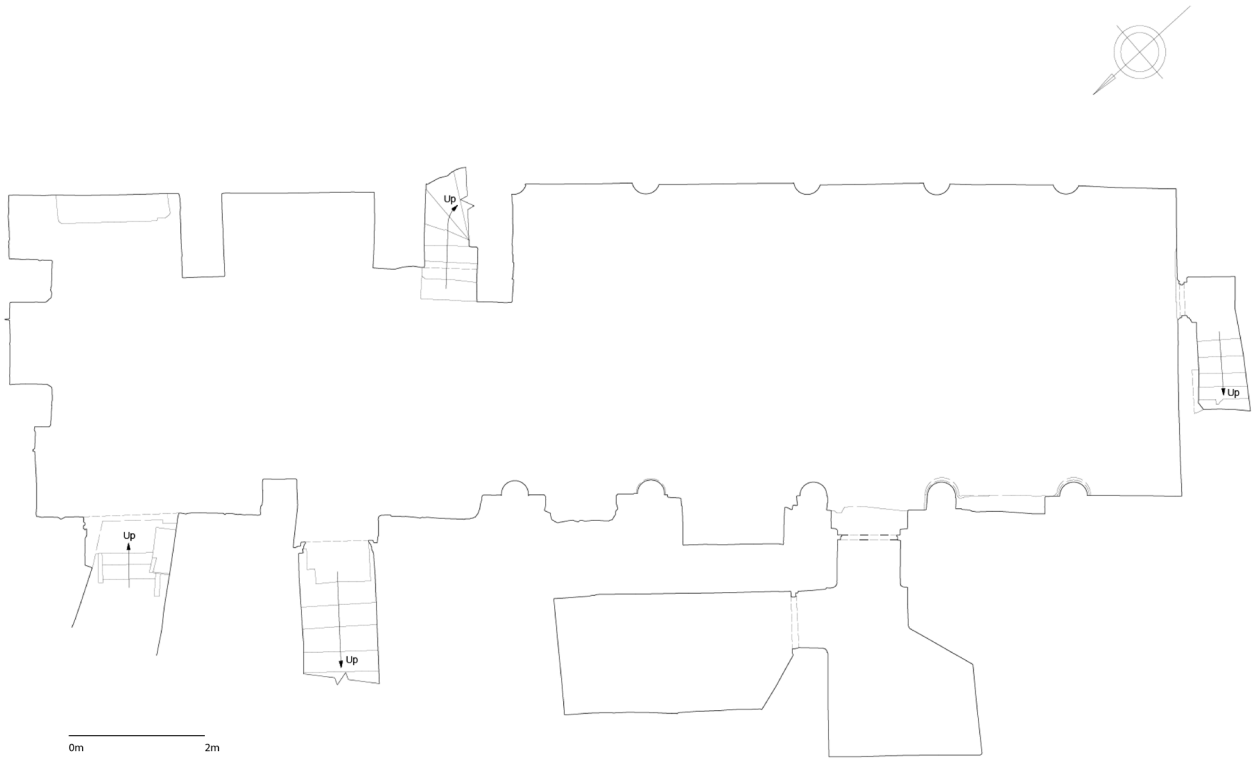

Figure 9: A measured survey plan of the undercroft at the Fleece Inn created in April and May 2022. [Historic England Geospatial Survey Team © Historic England]

Although not extending to the street line, the undercroft was originally longer. There is a splayed angle on the western side of what would be the sixth bay for the start of another opening (Figure 10). It is evident that the undercroft originally continued further north by at least one bay. If it continued by two bays, making seven in total, the wider fourth bay would be the central bay. If a symmetrical layout were desirable, this would have placed the potential location of an entrance at the centre of the western wall of the undercroft. However, a symmetrical arrangement may not have been essential. The northern wall of the undercroft as it exists today contains some stone but is mixed with brick. Thus, this does not represent an original northern wall to the 12th-century undercroft. It is not possible to say with certainty what the northern extent of the undercroft might have been, only that it is unlikely to have extended to Westgate Street itself.

Figure 10: Bay 6 of the undercroft at the Fleece, numbering from the south, truncated with only the beginning of the splayed opening surviving. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Floors and levels

In terms of its relationship to the external ground level, the undercroft was only semi-subterranean. It remains so today, even allowing for a rise in ground levels since the medieval period. Again, Frewin Hall in Oxford is another semi-subterranean comparator. Rising partially above ground level, enabled the undercroft to have windows along its western wall to bring in natural light. These openings are discussed further below.

Internally, the bases of some of the columns along the north and south walls are missing or not visible. It seems that the floor of the undercroft has been replaced. However, some of the bases remain visible, so floor levels cannot have been altered greatly (Figure 11). The floor has been laid with flagstones, of very mixed sizes. It probably was laid with flagstones (predecessors to these) when constructed. The height of the space beneath the vaulting is roughly 2.25m from floor to apex of the vault.

Figure 11: A pillar base visible at the Fleece on the western side of the undercroft. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Vaulting and dating

The undercroft is barrel-vaulted with ribs. The vaulting ribs are made up of dressed limestone voussoirs with a broad chamfer on both sides of the rib, forming a segmental arch, springing from the engaged columns either side of the undercroft (*see* Figure 8).

Where visible, the column base is akin to a simple attic base, that is, concave moulding (scotia) between two convex mouldings (torus), albeit, the concave element is almost non-existent, and the two convex roll mouldings are prominent (*see* Figure 11).[132] This type of base can be dated to the 12th century.[133] There is roll-moulded necking at the top of each column at the base of each capital. The capitals are concave bell capitals possibly with some form of flat leaf on the angle. This capital type can be dated to after around 1170, probably in the 1180s (Figures 12 and 13).[134] Above the capitals, there is a chamfered impost. The ribs are broadly of the same size as the imposts, albeit slightly inset. The springers are carved to include triangular chamfer stops at the end of each chamfer.

Figure 12: A close-up of the northernmost surviving capital, impost and springer, on the west side of the undercroft at the Fleece. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 13: A close-up of the third capital from the south, impost and springer, on the west side of the undercroft at the Fleece. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

The columns along the western side are slightly angled with a 9-degree slope outwards as they rise (*see* Figures 8 and 11). However, there is not much sign of post-constructional movement nor of remedial attempts to pack any gaps emerging between the springer and the imposts or the pillars and the wall. There are some more recent repairs to some of the joints of the ribs, near the crown for example. An undercroft constructed with an asymmetric lean would be unusual.[135] The ground in the Westgate Street area is not ideal for building.[136] There are pre-existing Roman structures to negotiate as well as geological conditions which promote movement in buildings, as seen for example in the crypt at Gloucester Abbey and St Nicholas' Church at the west end of Westgate Street. Given this, it may be that the lean happened early on in the life of the undercroft. There are no obvious attempts to arrest it with further intervention. The columns exist on both sides of the vault – the leaning and the non-leaning sides. The leaning side is the same side as the openings in the walls which were, or are, windows and doors. The contrary view, that the lean was part of the original construction, was expressed in 1860.[137] There is a similar lean, also on the western side, at nos 74−76 Westgate Street, discussed below.

The quality of the carved and sculpted features in the undercroft, as well as the quality of the dressed and coursed walling stone, indicates a high level of resource spent on this undercroft. It is a high-status space, even if used for storage. There are areas of surviving historic surface finish, probably some form of lime plaster. These are several layers deep in places. The use of lime plaster and limewash made a space more habitable and more sanitary for the storage of items. Some undercrofts may have been painted, or the plaster lined and scored to appear as ashlar.[138] No clear evidence of this was observed in this undercroft.

Openings for light

Along the western wall, there is evidence for splayed openings in four out of six of the bays. There is none, neither window nor door, along the eastern wall. This tallies with the documentary evidence which makes clear that the eastern extent of the plot corresponds to the surviving boundary between nos 15 and 17 (the line of the eastern wall of the undercroft), and that the undercroft site did not share ownership or occupation with land to the east. There was a small alleyway externally on the eastern side, however, windows borrowing light from that side would have been less secure since the eastern side was not part of the Fleece plot, unlike the western courtyard. Moreover, given the space to the west, probably more than enough light could be obtained from the secure west side alone without the need for eastern windows.

In the fifth bay from the south, there has been less in the way of later blocking in the opening (Figure 14). The splay runs back at least 0.5m. It is at a high enough level to have gained light above even the current ground level, which is likely to be slightly higher than that in the medieval period. The external faces of all these openings, outside of the undercroft, are now blocked and not visible. However, the tops of these former openings are still above ground; one of them has an extractor fan inserted into the rubble stonework at the top. The splays facilitated maximum light entering through relatively small openings. The angled base corners of the splay are formed of finely dressed

stone. Slightly rougher, but still squared, stonework forms the side of the splays. As well as the splays in the jambs of the opening, there is a pronounced, steep splay forming the sill of the opening, to maximise light coming down from a higher external ground level, enabling it to reach the floor level of the undercroft. Given the identical proportions of the openings in the three other bays to this one, it is likely that they all had the same overall form. Windows in undercrofts at New Winchelsea were similarly set high in the walls with steeply sloping sills.[139] Another good example is at nos 74−76 Westgate Street. The number of these windows would have meant that the undercroft at the Fleece was well ventilated, albeit would have needed some shutters to keep out inclement weather.

Figure 14: The blocked window opening in bay 5 of the undercroft at the Fleece, numbering from the south. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Entrances

The wider fourth bay from the south is much modified. Nevertheless, it seems that the sides of an opening in this bay, on the western side, ran back at right angles, as opposed to being splayed, creating a wider opening than in the other bays (Figure 15). The external face of this opening is now blocked and not visible. Still, given its dimensions and difference to the other bays, it is likely to be the remains of a primary entrance into the undercroft from the adjacent courtyard.

This entrance, lying as it does behind the street frontage, would still have an element of privacy and security to it, not being directly accessible by those walking along Westgate Street. The vaulting immediately adjacent to this potential entrance is recessed with a triangular tapering, as if to facilitate entry and exit. This is not present in any of the other bays.

Figure 15: The wider bay 4 on the west side of the undercroft at the Fleece which was the primary entrance, now blocked and reinforced with later rendered brick framing. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

The southern end wall is the original wall of the undercroft, also built of dressed stone laid in courses. Within the wall, just off-centre to the east, is a small doorway giving access to an intramural stair (Figure 16 and *see* Figure 8). The jambs of the doorway are constructed of coursed stone blocks with a finely cut chamfer on the northern undercroft side. On the soffit−face angle of its large stone lintel, the chamfer continues. The detailing demonstrates that the doorway was integrated into the primary construction of the southern wall and was not a later insertion. The stairs, of which four steps are visible, are at right-angles to the doorway within the wall itself and made of stone. They

ascend to the west along the wall line. The rear wall of the stairwell is also made of the same squared stone as the front wall. There is an arch comprised of stone voussoirs in the roof of the stairwell just east of the first step; the keystone of the arch has dropped. There is a rebate on the southern side of the doorway and space (although it is tight) for a door to have swung open, within the wall space, resting flat against the eastern wall of the stairwell when fully open.

Figure 16: The southern door giving access to an intramural staircase in the undercroft at the Fleece. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

There is also evidence of a hinge point at the top eastern corner of the doorway, within the wall space, but no surviving evidence of a pintle. Given the small dimensions of this doorway and stairwell – the intramural space is only about 0.6m wide – in addition to the very sharp right angle that has to be made on entering or exiting the stairwell, it would have been impossible to bring bulky goods into the undercroft using this means. Hence, it is highly unlikely to have been the principal entrance into the undercroft. Instead, it gave access into the undercroft from the structure above the undercroft, leaving the western entrance in the fourth bay as access for larger items externally from the courtyard. The top of the intramural stairs was later blocked and the place at which they

emerged above is currently inaccessible, and much modified. The intramural staircase correlates with the presence of the vaulting. By sitting within the wall, it avoids cutting through the vault.

In the western end of the south elevation of the undercroft, the line of the vaulting is interrupted towards the corner as if to accommodate the swing opening of a door or shutter (Figure 17). The stonework of the walls in this corner is also disturbed and there is a straight joint (albeit not extending to ground level) on the southern wall just to the east of the corner. There is no evidence of this being a later insertion, and thus it might indicate the location of a primary opening. However, the recessing of the vaulted ceiling is odd – it straddles the south-western corner as if facilitating something opening from both the southern and western walls. It is not easily explicable as a feature designed to house a shutter or door, unlike a similar feature at nos 74−76 Westgate Street. Nor is this likely to be the location of a stair, given the primary location of an intramural stairwell on the same southern wall just to the east.

Figure 17: In the south-western corner of the undercroft, a recessed part of the stone vault together with disturbance in the stonework of the south and west walls. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Undercrofts are also known to have had chutes through which goods could be easily passed into the sunken chamber. An example of such is discussed in connection with nos 74−76 Westgate Street below. However, it seems unlikely that such a feature would be placed in the corner of the Fleece structure when there was ample space for such a feature along the western wall. The corner of the undercroft is a structurally important point and it is not a position at which the vault and supporting walls would have been compromised lightly. In Frewin Hall, Oxford, two doors within the wall of the undercroft were interpreted as evidence of doors communicating with a forebuilding sitting outside of the undercroft but attached to it, housing two stairs.[140] The suggested reconstruction of the forebuilding was thought to permit access to the structure above the undercroft either from the undercroft or from the outside and vice versa. The location of the Frewin Hall example was not on a corner but in the middle of a lateral wall, so it is not a precise precedent by any means. It is only the types of undercrofts that exist on more spacious plots, like Frewin Hall and the undercroft at the Fleece, that might be able to have external structures like forebuildings adjoining them.

Figure 18: The stone plinth beneath the western elevation of the structure to the south-west of the undercroft at the Fleece. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

As well as the internal evidence within the Fleece undercroft, there is some masonry surviving at the south-west corner sitting outside of the undercroft, discussed further below. The later, south-west extension to the building above the undercroft appears to respect something earlier on the footprint, demonstrated by irregular shape and alignment with the south wall of the undercroft. It also sits on a very substantial stone plinth, which might indicate the presence of a stone structure at this corner, even if the stone is reused and not in its original configuration (Figure 18).

There is too little evidence currently visible to be clear about the form of the feature that existed in this south-western corner of the Fleece undercroft. However, if there was some form of opening in this corner then, in order for it not to compromise the undercroft's structural integrity unduly, it would make more sense in the context of an external stone structure attached at this point. A projecting stone building in this context would act in some respects as a kind of buttress. Further uncovering of the stonework in the southern and western exterior elevations of the building may reveal more evidence to interpret this feature.

Buildings above

The undercroft was clearly part of a larger building. In the early 14th century, the merchant Ruyons was described as occupying a 'hall' on the plot behind the shops at the front, as set out in the documentary history above. However, little remains of the 12th-century building above. Standing on top of the undercroft currently is a late 15th-century, predominantly timber-framed range, which is given the label 'the great inn range' following the terminology in the separate research report into the Fleece.[141] The great inn range's south gable wall sits on top of the south wall of the undercroft. It is not perpendicular to the east and west walls of the great inn range but runs at an angle, with an odd alignment (Figure 19). It seems likely that the original southern end of the 12th-century building above the undercroft was constructed of stone at least in part. At the south-west corner of the great inn range, close to where the intramural stair would have emerged from the undercroft, there is a small amount of stonework surviving. It extends north for around 0.60m, but then is cut back. It stands about 2m above the height of the undercroft. The adjacent timber post and associated girding beam, between the great inn range's ground- and first-floor levels, appear to respect the stonework, positioned as if the stonework was in place prior to their construction.

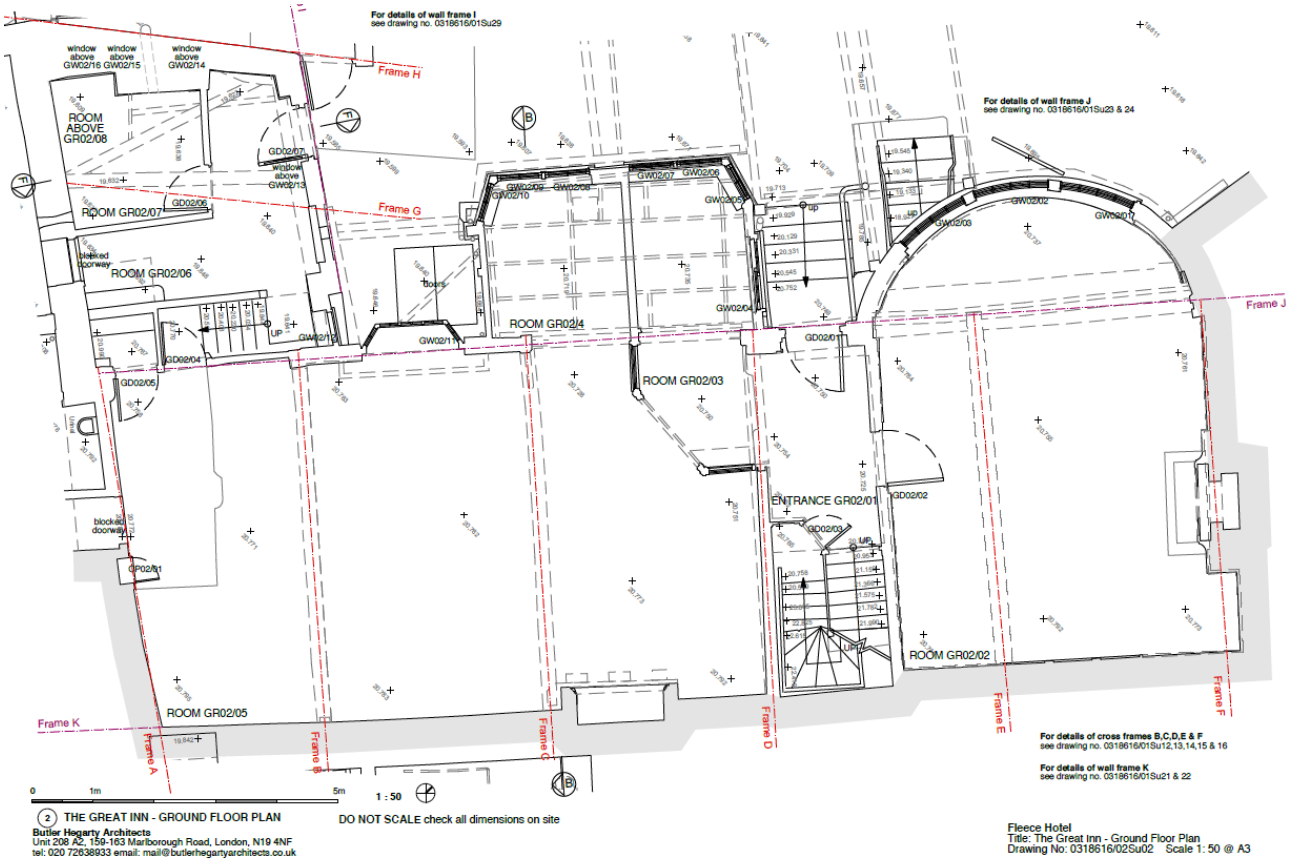

Figure 19: A survey of the ground floor of the Fleece, great inn range, showing the irregular alignment of the southern wall, on the far left-hand side (north is to the right). [© Butler Hegarty Architects, reproduced with permission.]

At the south-east corner of the great inn range, visible from the property to the south of no. 15 Westgate Street, stonework is visible above the height of the undercroft in a cupboard in the party wall between this property and the great inn range. The cupboard appears to be using an earlier recess or opening in the stone wall. The stone apparently continues north beyond the cupboard for an unknown distance as the remainder of this wall is covered on both sides. The sides of the recess or opening appear well-constructed, not as if hacked back at a later date, as they might be if the feature was inserted post-construction. The survey of the great inn range indicates that the southern wall thickens considerably at this south-eastern corner, suggesting the presence of further masonry (Figure 20). The height of the stone is at least 1.5m above the height of the undercroft and may be more. The presence of the stone continuing north indicates that there is a stone return of the east wall above the undercroft here, not just a stone south wall. Further north within the great inn range, along the east wall, close to the position of later internal stairs descending into the undercroft, there is more stone visible, albeit this is mixed with other building materials and may be reused.

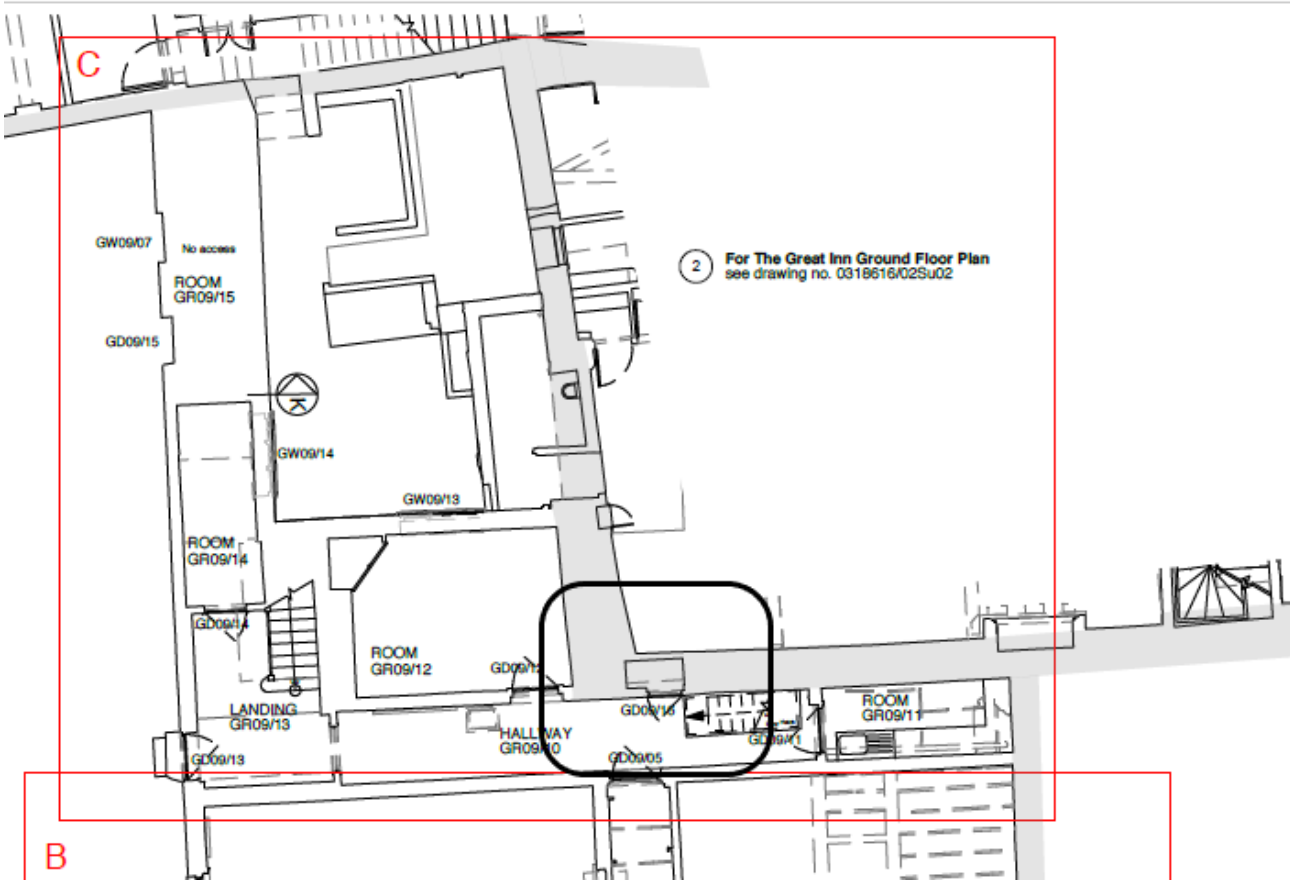

Figure 20: A survey of the buildings at the south-west corner of the great inn range, showing the position of the opening in the wall of the Fleece, now a cupboard, and the thickening of the wall at the south-west corner (bounded within the black box). [© Butler Hegarty Architects, reproduced with permission.]

The presence of an opening at this corner (later blocked by brick) might indicate that there was a doorway here exiting into the small alleyway running along the eastern boundary, prior to the alley being subsumed into the neighbouring buildings in the 19th century (*see* Figures 5 and 6). The doorway being framed by stone could have been part of the structure above the undercroft in the 12th century. It also could have continued to work with the later great inn range discussed below. The semi-subterranean nature of the undercroft is seen again at this point in the building. Within the cupboard, the top of the undercroft is visible above the floor level of the cupboard. Any opening into the alleyway above the undercroft would have required steps down to get to the external ground level of the alleyway.

Looking at the south gable of the great inn range externally, between the south-west and south-east corners described above from a courtyard to the south, the gable is covered with a temporary protective membrane and battens, having previously had buildings abutting it that have been removed. It is not possible to say currently with certainty what the extent of stonework in this gable wall might be. It is timber-framed at first-floor level.

The presence of stone above the height of the undercroft is interesting. Two-storey, urban, 12th- and 13th-century stone buildings have been noted in Lincoln and Cambridge, amongst other places.[142] However, they were not common. Secular urban stone buildings were noteworthy at this early stage, so much so they were referred to in early property names. The term 'stone house' was a term of distinction in London in monastic cartularies, containing records from the 12th and 13th centuries.[143] Had such stone buildings been ubiquitous, the name would have been useless in distinguishing the property from others in the town. The 'stone' descriptor of the buildings is useful as a label precisely because it is not common. In the mid-12th century, Gloucester Abbey owned a stone house in Longsmith Street, Gloucester, and there was another one in 1215 near Holy Trinity Church at the east end of Westgate Street.[144] Another stone house dating to the mid-13th century was built on the east side of Hare Lane in Gloucester. It was later used as the Tanners Hall.[145] (The remains are Grade II listed – NHLE 1422933.) There is a 1357 attestation of a name *Stonenechaumbre* referring to a building in Gloucester lying behind a tenement in *Aylesgatestret* (the old name for Eastgate Street).[146] On balance, there is too little evidence to conclude that a fully stone structure was present in the 12th century at the Fleece. Another alternative is that the 12th-century building above the undercroft might have had a stone gable end wall only. On the other hand, this does not tally with the evidence for an eastern return to this wall running north, and a slight amount of evidence for the same at the south-west corner. If there was a timber superstructure, nothing survives of it today. The survival of the undercroft beneath, without the structure above, indicates why undercrofts were built in the first place; they were remarkably secure places, able to withstand disasters such as fires, and likely to endure for a long time.

Function

The 12th-century undercroft at the Fleece Inn is an impressive space. It would have been all the more impressive in the 12th century, when not many other buildings around, outside of the Abbey precincts, were built of stone, nor had such fine carved details. Made of stone, accessed only by entrances that were away from the public street, either from a private courtyard or a private building above, made it a very secure space. It was secure, too, from loss caused by fire. Being semi-subterranean and stone, it would have been sheltered from seasonal and daily fluctuations in temperature and humidity, remaining relatively climatically stable. There is no sign of the space ever having been heated. It was ideal for storage of costly goods, particularly those which might spoil if exposed to changing temperatures or direct sunlight.

However, even if used for storage, there is clearly a significant element of display in this space. It might have functioned as a place for privately discussing and sampling goods with wealthy clients or their agents. The resources spent on creating the undercroft would be reassuring as to the quality of the goods stored and displayed there. The Fleece undercroft is also relatively exceptional, in an urban context, for the amount of

natural light it would have had when first constructed. This is one of the most distinctive indicators of how it was different from other types of urban undercrofts, in sitting in a spacious plot with external space adjoining.

As with any building standing for a long time, and subject to much reuse and adaptation, it is important to keep distinct later use of the undercroft from an understanding of its function as originally constructed. It saw later use as part of an inn. However, it clearly did not have that role in its origin. Access to the space was carefully controlled and monitored. In its early documented history, it was associated with known individuals in the wine trade. The earliest known occupant, David Dunning, was a wine merchant. By the time of the late 13th century and early 14th century, it was a site which a Gascon merchant, such as Ruyons, wanted to occupy and use. That does not mean it was constructed with the specific Gascon wine trade in mind. It may merely have lent itself, post-construction, to the rise in that particular wine trade. Even if the early wine trade was a more local affair, becoming more international with the accession of the Plantagenet kings, it seems plausible that the original construction of the undercroft might have been intended to house fine wine, and show off samples of the same, prior to purchase.

Building Description: Phase two – later medieval

In the late 15th century, the great inn range was erected on top of the undercroft. This was a six-bay timber-framed structure oriented at right-angles to Westgate Street, but to the south of another timber-framed range spanning and running parallel to the street frontage itself. Another perpendicular range, to the west of the great inn range, was also constructed behind the street-front range. Dendrochronological sampling of the timbers in in all three ranges identified a felling date of 1476-8[147]

Truncation at the northern end of the undercroft

At some point after the 12th century, the stone undercroft was truncated. It could have been at any time before the late 15th century, but it must have been carried out by the time of the construction of the great inn range in the late 15th century. Frame I of the great inn range has been lost but frame II survives embedded in the current dividing wall between no. 17 Westgate Street (which has been rebuilt) and the great inn range, and further frames survive within the building numbered III to VII. (The numbering of the bays of the great inn range runs from north to south using the surviving carpenters' marks.) The structural evidence indicates that the range's principal floor level was split level, with the northern three bays at external ground level and the southern three raised on top of the surviving element of the undercroft.[148] To make this possible, the northern part of the undercroft vaulting had to have been removed prior to construction. As a consequence of removing the vaulting of the undercroft, the northern end of the great inn range could be entered without the need for steps up.

Further south, where the undercroft was retained without removal of its vaulting or lowering of its height, the framing of the great inn range, sitting on top of it, sat at a higher level so that steps up were required to access it. The result was an awkward split-level configuration. There would have been around a 0.5m difference in floor levels at ground-floor level between the front three bays and the rear three.[149] The value of the undercroft is indicated by the retention of its southern part, notwithstanding the awkward configuration it created by its semi-subterranean presence.

Although an awkward arrangement, it is not untypical of urban properties to have to accommodate such arrangements. No. 39 Strand Street in Sandwich, Kent, provides a comparable example. It, too, was a property with an open yard to the side facilitating access and circulation. There was no sign of communication between the front bays on Strand Street, which are likely to have been used for business, and the open hall behind. To the rear of the hall was a semi-subterranean undercroft, upon which a four-storey timber-framed structure was erected around 1334. The hall and the rear range were contemporary but were on a split-level basis and access between the two was awkward, as a result of the undercroft.[150]

The northern extent of the great inn range has been lost. The lost timber-framed bay may have had the same width as the other five bays; however, it is not possible to say this for certain. Accordingly, the great inn range as it survives today does not give evidence about how much of the 12th-century undercroft was lost to the north. Moreover, although the great inn range sits on top of the south, east and west walls of the undercroft, it cannot be assumed that it occupied exactly the same footprint, such that its original north wall sat on top of the original north wall of the undercroft.

The altered and lowered space at the north end of the undercroft remained usable. Next to a modern entrance into the undercroft from the west, there are the remains of an angled, splayed southern jamb for a window opening (Figure 21 and *see* Figure 10). It sits higher than those of the original undercroft and does not respect the bay divisions of that undercroft. Therefore, it may well have been created as part of the alterations to the north end. This would suggest that the north end was still lit by natural light from the western courtyard, notwithstanding alteration.

Alterations at the southern end of the undercroft

As already noted, the timber frame of the great inn range respected, and to some extent reused, the stone above the top of the undercroft at the southern end. Nevertheless, some stone clearly was lost and adapted with the construction of the timber frame. The east and west posts of frame VII of the great inn range are extant (the latter largely concealed), as is the collar and the east and west ends of the tiebeam. There is a pair of curving struts above the collar, between the collar and the principal rafters. This is different from the framing of the other trusses and more typical of a detail for a gable end, suggesting that the southern end of the great inn range was coterminous with that of the undercroft.[151]

Figure 21: A close-up of the southern splayed jamb of the later window inserted into the north part of the undercroft at the Fleece in the western wall. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

The intramural staircase emerging from the undercroft within this southern wall may have continued in use. At some point, an opening to light the stairs was inserted into the wall within the undercroft. It is not a carefully dressed opening but appears to be a rougher secondary insertion. (It is now largely filled in with modern mortar and a wooden frame.) An opening for light to light the stairs would only have been necessary whilst the stairs were still in use. The intramural stairs emerged into a service bay at the southern end of the great inn range.[152] (The same service bay might also have had the benefit of the possible doorway into the eastern alleyway at the south-eastern corner, described above.) Otherwise the access points into the undercroft may well have remained the same, being primarily from the courtyard to the west.

It seems likely that some form of structure outside the footprint of the undercroft at its south-western corner persisted, assuming there had been something in this location in the 12th century. The south wall of the extant 17th-century south-west extension, described more fully below, continued the line of the south wall of the undercroft. In plan form, it appears notably thicker than other walling and may well be constructed of masonry (*see* Figure 20). It is not currently visible. The west wall of the extension sits on a stone plinth approximately 2.2m high above current ground level (*see* Figure 18). The top of the plinth is above the height of the top of the undercroft. The stone blocks of the

plinth are large, squared and dressed. However, they could be reused. The west wall is striking not only because of its plinth but also because of the angle of its orientation which is not perpendicular to the south wall. The walls of the south-west extension are irregular in orientation as if constrained by a pre-existing footprint.

Cellars under nos 19A and 21 Westgate Street (street-front range)

The street-front range of the Fleece site had cellars when constructed in the late 15th century, at the same time as the reconstruction of the great inn range. Those between the western two units (nos 19A and 21 west of the gateway), which survive of the range, have extant cellar structures beneath them.

No. 21 has north and south walls of rubble stone. The west wall is built of brick. The east wall is, somewhat surprisingly, formed of timber framing, and, in fact, forms an integral part of the framework of frame V of the street-front range. (The framing is numbered from east to west and appears originally to have been five bays long; only frames numbered IV and V survive.) The base is formed of rubble stone, although much of this has been replaced in brick. Much of the frame has also been replaced. All that is currently visible of the original framework is a short section of the sill plate, with a central post rising from it. The same post rises through the building to first-floor ceiling level, demonstrating the extent to which the framing of the cellar wall was integral to the 15th-century framing of the building as a whole.[153] There is no indication that this space was ever vaulted, nor does any evidence survive of any entrance into the cellar from Westgate Street. (This contrasts with the evidence at no. 33 Westgate Street discussed below.) The ground-floor level of no. 21 is entered from the street without the need for steps up, as might have been the case if an undercroft existed beneath, opening on to the street. It is more likely that this space was a private cellar. Without any diagnostic, dressed or sculpted stone elements, it is hard to establish whether the north and south walls represent a pre-15th-century survival or are contemporaneous with the 15th-century street-front range.

The cellar under no. 19A Westgate Street stretches back further south than that under no. 21. It has an irregular plan, with a narrower rear (south) chamber which nonetheless appears largely original as its walls are of stone. The east and west walls of the footprint of the cellar are mainly composed of rubble stone and could be of medieval date. It is not clear how the stone of the west wall relates to the timber-framing observed directly to the west in No. 21. The rubble stone extends roughly 10m back from Westgate Street. It stops short by 40−45cm before the narrowing of the cellar into a later passageway which communicated with the undercroft at the Fleece. (This passageway itself is lined with brick.) In the cellar under no. 19A, there is a later brick vault and brick wall insertions. The original north wall of the cellar has been lost, as it now extends further north, under Westgate Street. (There are also blocked brick steps at the front of the cellar.) Notwithstanding the subsequent brick alterations, the rubble stone walls might well represent a medieval cellar. There is no sign of any stone vaulting or springers for such vaulting. Nor is there any sign of any primary openings in the stone surfaces, albeit

there must have been some. Presumably the later brick modifications at the northern and southern ends of the cellar may obscure the possible locations of earlier entrances. What is significant is the length that the rubble stone walls on the east and west run back. It appears as if the cellar under no. 19A Westgate Street was, at an early date, potentially a medieval one, appropriating space behind the street-front range, within the courtyard of the Fleece.

Building Description: Phase three – 17th century

Raising the ceiling at the northern end of the undercroft

In the mid-17th century, the ceiling level of the undercroft at its northern end, where it had previously been truncated and lowered, was raised once more. One of the beams supporting the floor at the north end of the great inn range, spanning the undercroft, yielded a felling date of summer 1645 when analysed by dendrochronology. The floor is likely to have been inserted within a couple of years of that date.[154] (It is worth bearing in mind that the Civil War was raging at this point in time.[155]) Presumably, the raising of the floor evened out what must have been an awkward split-level arrangement, albeit access into all of the ground-floor level of the great inn range now required steps up. The tops of the walls in the undercroft were built back up to create the new level. There is no obvious break in the masonry and the tops of the walls use stone which appears similar to that used in the undercroft, albeit it could be reused from material removed when the undercroft was truncated and lowered at its northern end. Two square transverse beams span the space supported on stone piers. A third beam may have lain to the north underneath the lost, final northern bay of the great inn range. Joists were originally tenoned into the beams. Each beam has a chamfer on both sides with stepped run-out stops. From the mid-17th century onwards, there is evidence of the Fleece being used as an inn. By the 1660s, the name ‘Golden Fleece’ appears to be standard. Earlier in the 17th century, Floyde, a vintner held the site. In the second half of the 17th century, Cox, a brewer, appears to have been consolidating and agglomerating his holdings on the site, which might have been an opportune moment to invest in building alteration. Perhaps, this alteration accompanied a more formally established use as an inn.

The south-west wing to the great inn range

At the south-west corner of the great inn range there is an extant three-storey timber-framed extension which sits on the stone plinth described above (Figure 22). The timber-framed element of the structure has been dated on stylistic grounds to the 17th century.[156] The floor levels of the wing do not correspond to those of the great inn range, nor of the undercroft. The height of the ground level of the south-west wing is between that of the floor level in the undercroft and ground-floor level of the great inn range, and the floors above are similarly staggered. Small flights of steps enable access between the great inn range and the south-west wing. This building is very irregular in form and poses many questions about the extent to which its form was dictated by earlier structures on the site. The fabric in this location appears to suggest that there has been

some form of structure sitting alongside the undercroft since before the great inn range was erected, which has been modified and incorporated into the later buildings standing at this south-west corner. There is insufficient evidence to answer whether it was in origin contemporary with the undercroft or subsequent to it. Nor is it possible to clarify exactly what the structure was and what function it performed.

Figure 22: The western elevation of the south-western wing of the great inn range at the Fleece. [DP325653]

Building Description: Phase four − 18th- and 19th-century alterations

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, when the Fleece was in definite use as an inn, the undercroft became more of a functional space, as evidenced by the alterations which took place within it that were not so much designed to preserve its high-quality appearance, but more to serve the requirements of the inn above. The Dean of the Cathedral, who took what was effectively a repairing lease in the late 18th century, has traditionally been identified as responsible for many of the alterations. However, it is possible that major changes were not effected until the ownership of Samuel Jones, the brush maker, who it is suggested based on the map evidence, carried out extensive redevelopment of the buildings and land to the east and south of the great inn range in the early 19th centuries.

Insertions into the northern end of the undercroft

At some point, the 17th-century joists between the transverse beams at the northern end of the undercroft were replaced with joists which were not tenoned-in but laid over the beams (Figure 23). A chimney stack was inserted at the far northern end, north of frame II, and a brick wall was inserted into the undercroft to support the stack. This wall now forms the northern limit of the undercroft and is utilitarian with no effort at decoration that would have been in keeping with the rest of the undercroft. There is a blocked doorway in the north-west corner of the wall beneath the stack, the wooden lintel of which is still visible (Figure 24). Originally, this must have ensured continued access between the undercroft and a more northern cellar space under the northernmost bay (now lost) of the great inn range. A passageway was also constructed between the northern end of the undercroft and the cellar underneath no. 19A, which presumably allowed this cellar to be used for further storage in relation to the inn.

It has already been noted that by the 18th century there are documentary references to tenants in the plots on no. 17 using parts of cellars that may have belonged to other plots. No. 17 has been largely reconstructed in the 20th century. The cellar beneath it is large and extends back (southwards) roughly 12.2m from the frontage onto Westgate Street. Much of the cellar walling is built in brick and appears to be post-medieval. The brick wall that adjoins the Fleece and is the northern face of the wall in the undercroft where the stack was inserted, described above, is uneven and at an angle. It appears to be orientated more to the south-west rather than running perpendicular to the east and west walls of the cellar. The brick of this wall appears earlier in date and there is some stone mixed in the wall. It has the appearance of a wall that was inserted into, or modified from, an earlier structure. Based on the measurements taken, it is clear that the cellar under no. 17 now occupies what would have been the space under bay I of the great inn range above. No. 17 has encroached upon the great inn range, at the southern end. This fits the documentary references to the usage of the cellar at the back of the messuage for no. 17, discussed above. There is nothing surviving in the space that appears to be contemporaneous with the 12th-century undercroft, but the undercroft

Figure 23: The transverse beam in the northern part of the undercroft at the Fleece, showing later joists laid on top of the beam and the mortices for earlier joists. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 24: Blocked doorway with wooden lintel in the north-western corner of the undercroft at the Fleece. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

would have had to be very long (and asymmetrical in bay division width) had it extended this far. The 20th century reconstruction of no. 17 precludes any further evidence surviving for the undercroft or the 15th-century great inn range.

Above ground, the bay window on the western side of the great inn range at its north end probably was inserted at the same time as the renewed floor joists and chimney stack (Figure 26).[157] Also, above ground, a partition was inserted into the fourth bay from the south of the great inn range, to create a cross passage and entry way, in which at the eastern end there is a staircase rising to the first floor. A brick and stone dog-leg staircase was inserted underneath this, descending to the undercroft. In terms of its position within the undercroft, it does not respect the bay divisions of the undercroft but sits on the line of the northern-most vaulting rib, extending into the truncated sixth bay, abutting the eastern wall (Figure 25 and *see* Figure 9). It provided access from the undercroft to the great inn range above. It is considerably wider than the earlier intramural stairs. Perhaps, once this staircase had been created, the intramural stairs were blocked up.

Figure 25: The block of stairs inserted on the north-east side of the undercroft at the Fleece, beside the fifth vaulting rib from the south. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 26: Bay window added to the west side of the great inn range with entrances to the undercroft and the great inn above at the Fleece. [DP325655]

Figure 27: Close-up of the later inserted stairs into the undercroft beside stairs up into the great inn range at the Fleece. [DP325656]

Changes to access into the undercroft

If the undercroft was being used solely as a more functional cellar and storage space, without the need for public access, it may be that the entrance from the western courtyard in the fourth bay from the south of the undercroft was also blocked up at this time, once the new internal staircase had been inserted into the northern end of the undercroft, described above.

In any event, a second rectangular window projection was added to the west side of the great inn range, appearing on historic mapping by the mid-19th century, although it may have been in existence before then. The introduction of this second projecting window seems to have been motivated by the likely loss of light on the eastern side of the great inn range, after the construction of the brush factory right up to the eastern boundary wall, eliminating the former alleyway along the eastern side of the great inn range. The new projecting window structure on the west side would have compensated for this loss of light. Once this structure was added, the original courtyard entrance into the undercroft had to be blocked up, since this structure extends over it (Figure 27 and *see* Figure 9). The creation of the projection gives a *terminus ante quem* for the blocking up of the primary courtyard entrance into the undercroft. The former undercroft courtyard doorway has been blocked up with stone which looks similar to the stone used in the walling of the undercroft. However, this could well be reused from elements of the undercroft which had been truncated. Internally, framing the former entrance from the courtyard, between the two pillars defining the bay on the western wall, what appears to be a mixed stone block and brick arch support has been inserted. It is rendered and has been scored to appear more akin to ashlar work (*see* Figure 15).

Beneath the window projection, an ancillary semi-subterranean space to the west of the undercroft was created, accessed through an inserted opening in the third bay of the undercroft from the south. This opening appears to have been created by enlarging the window opening that already existed there (Figure 28).

Figure 28: A doorway inserted into an earlier opening in the third bay from the south of the undercroft at the Fleece, leading to an ancillary semi-subterranean room. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Building Description: Phase five – 20th century

It seems that money was spent in the 20th century on aesthetic changes which historicised the Fleece in appearance.[158] Around 1914 to 1919, an open gallery was erected against the west wall of the great inn range to emulate medieval galleried inns. Potentially this could have been the time in which the undercroft was brought back into service as a public area, trading on its historic appearance. The creation of the 'Monks' Retreat' bar in the undercroft deliberately emphasised the age and character of the surviving 12th-century fabric. A new external entrance was created in the sixth bay from the south of the undercroft. It cut through the high-level window that had been there, leaving only the southern splayed jamb remaining (*see* Figures 21 and 27). The new entrance accessed the undercroft from the courtyard to the west via several steps down, much as the original courtyard entrance must have done. In effect, a similar means of entering from the courtyard was moved further north from its original position. It is worth noting that, although stairs up into the great inn range are visible on the Board of Health map of 1852, no steps are visible descending into the undercroft, either in their probable original position further south, or in their current position further north (*see* Figure 7). The same is true on the Goad mapping of the early 20th century (Figure 29). However, their

absence on this mapping is not conclusive. Historic maps might have omitted features, and an earlier date for the creation of this entrance cannot be ruled out. The current external undercroft stairs are shown on plans for a building control application in 1919.[159] Although the 20th century gallery has gone, part of the remaining wooden archway over the cellar stairs externally appears as if it might belong to this phase (*see* Figures 26 and 27).

Figure 29: The Goad Fire Insurance map of 1891 showing the stairs entering the great inn range at the Fleece beneath what appears to be a canopy structure spanning the courtyard. [© Landmark Information Group Ltd. Licence No. GD0003]

Conclusion

The northern end of the undercroft has seen a great deal of alteration, nevertheless a large amount of the original 12th-century undercroft survives intact and predominantly unaltered. The five extant bays provide an excellent insight into how the undercroft would have appeared when first built. The decorative, moulded and carved details, dating the undercroft to the late 12th century, are well preserved. The level of resource and degree of status and show accorded to this space are clear. The way in which the undercroft was accessed from an external courtyard to the west, and the manner in which it was lit by natural light from the same, are still both legible. The intramural

staircase, evidencing connection with the 12th-century building above (whatever form it took), is another well preserved feature. Overall, the undercroft is an unusual survivor, particularly in a secular, urban context.

Notwithstanding the loss of original fabric at the northern end, it seems more likely than not that this undercroft served a major tenement sitting behind the commercial frontage, with its own relatively spacious context – spacious given the constraints of the urban setting. It is not likely to have been a street-front undercroft, accessed directly from Westgate Street itself. As a secure space, it is likely that it housed valuable goods, which could be displayed and sampled in impressive surroundings within the undercroft, at the invitation of the owner. Given the owners who held or tenants who occupied the undercroft during its history, it seems to have been associated with the wine trade from a very early date. Initially, this was for wealthy merchants, and leading men of the city of Gloucester, who lived above the undercroft. Latterly, this would have been in association with the use of the buildings above, reconstructed and remodelled as an inn.

No. 33 Westgate Street

Introduction

The undercroft beneath no. 33 Westgate Street is on the south side of the street. It is situated in the same block as the Fleece, Bull Lane running to the west and Cross Keys Lane to the south. In complete contrast to the Fleece site, the undercroft at no. 33 is tiny, and sits directly on the line of the street front, not set back behind any other property.

Documentary History

In 1176−1194 Richard Burgeys conveyed the larger plot which is now nos 33−35 Westgate Street to Benet the Cordwainer for an entry fine of two bezants and a yearly rent of 15s. (The *1455 Rental* describes the plot as if it included no. 37 as well but, from the dimensions, Rhodes argues that it was only ever nos 33−35.) Benet conveyed the site to the priory of Llanthony Prima. However, the priory did not retain it and may have ceased to pay rent for it following fires in Westgate Street in 1190, 1214 and 1222.[160] The block was divided up apparently in the time of Edward I, that is the late 13th century.[161]

By 1455, No. 33 was a tenement belonging to Gloucester Abbey. The precise history of this descent has not been traced in detail. In 1455, it was occupied by N. Cole and is specifically referred to as having a *cellarium*. The specific mention of a cellar in the *1455 Rental* is noteworthy. Not many properties within this document are explicitly listed with a *cellarium.* The Fountain Inn, further west on the south side of Westgate Street (discussed further below), is another property which is listed with this description as

is the plot which is now no. 76 Westgate Street.[162] It needs to be remembered that the Medieval Latin term *cellarium* covers both structures that are deemed in this report to be undercrofts (i.e. with vaulting) and those without vaulting.

In terms of the post-medieval descent, Rhodes has traced some of the occupiers of the site, albeit there are date gaps in the documentary evidence to which he refers. In 1602 and 1616, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral (the successor to the Abbey) let the property to Toby Bullock. It was then 9ft wide and 27ft deep, which is roughly equivalent to the footprint of the undercroft today.[163] In 1649, Christine Taynton (Alderman Bullock's daughter) was the lessee paying 8s. with £3 as the annual value.[164] Toby Taynton, grocer, rented the property in 1663 for 12s.[165] William Gregory, butcher, rented it in 1690. It was still a property of the Dean and Chapter in 1855.[166]

The plot is described more than once in the post-medieval records as a 'little tenement'. Being so small and easily subsumed within other holdings, the tenement is not always marked on maps. The scale of mapping obviously means that, at too low a resolution, the detail of this small holding is missed. Causton's map of Gloucester in 1843 is the first map to show the small tenement, albeit, although thin, it appears to be slightly longer north to south (*see* Figure 6). It also appears with this slightly longer length in the Goad insurance map of 1887. By the 1920s, in both the revised Goad map and the Ordnance Survey 25inch map, the planform appears demarcated with a shorter north-south extent (Figure 30). However, aerial imagery makes clear that there are buildings stretching back behind the shop at no. 33.

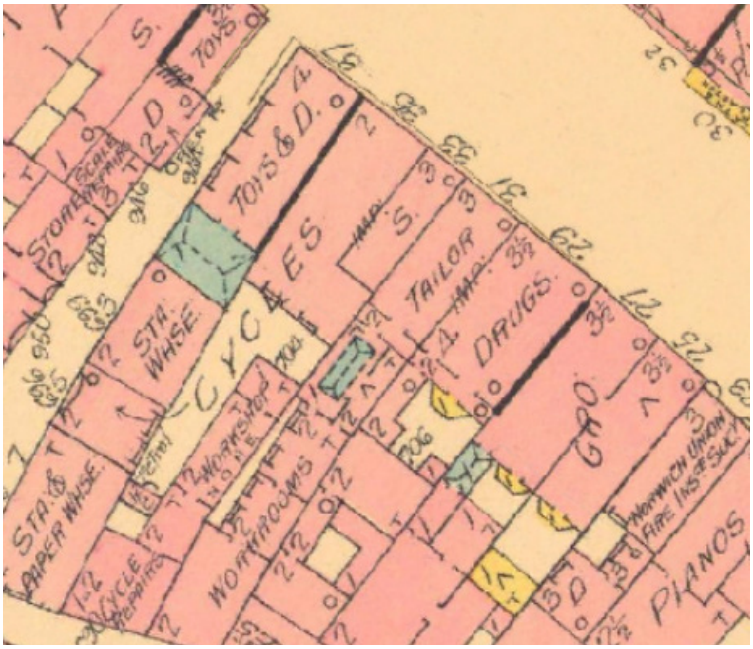

Figure 30: The Goad Fire Insurance map of 1927 showing the small plot at no. 33 Westgate Street. [© Landmark Information Group Ltd. Licence No. GD0003]

Building Description: Phase one – medieval origins

Size and orientation

The plot on which no. 33 Westgate Street sits is very narrow. The undercroft within the plot measures, internally, approximately 2.02m wide (east to west) and 7.34m long (north to south).[167] Its orientation is on a north−south axis running perpendicular to Westgate Street. There are coursed stone walls either side of the undercroft space. At the northern end of the undercroft, the east and west walls appear potentially to be bonded into the northern wall, although it is hard to be certain. In any event, the end walls of barrel-vaulted undercrofts were not necessarily bonded into the side walls; they could be constructed after the side walls and barrel vault had been erected.[168] The southern wall, at its base running behind the inserted brick chimney stack, is made of stone and may be the original southern wall of the undercroft. At higher level, it has been rebuilt in brick. Therefore, there is evidence surviving of the original extent of the undercroft corresponding to its present extent. There is no bay division but that is perhaps not surprising in such a small space. The undercroft is not set back from the line of the street but sits on the street frontage.

Entrances

In the northern wall of the undercroft, there are the remains of an in-situ, dressed-stone, moulded, western jamb for a doorway (Figure 31). There is a rebate on the internal southern face and hollow moulding on the external northern face. The stones comprising the remains of the equivalent eastern jamb are preserved ex-situ loose in the undercroft (Figure 32). (They were apparently removed from their original location during works in the 20th century.)[169] Unfortunately, nothing of the door head is extant; it might have been stylistically helpful for dating, had it survived. It is difficult to gauge the width of this primary entrance, given the removal of the eastern jamb. However, it seems likely to have been more suited to pedestrian entry and not bulky goods. North of the doorway, on the western side, coursed rubble stone continues northwards from the moulded jamb as if forming an entrance, flanking the steps that would be needed in this position to descend from street level (Figure 33). Similar spur walls are visible at nos 47−49 Westgate Street, discussed below. It is these kinds of structures which are often deemed to have been encroachments in documentary records.

The doorway appears to have been the primary entrance into the undercroft. It is a public-facing entrance on which a degree of expense has been spent. There is no evidence of any other primary entrance, and there is insufficient room for any other, save potentially at the rear (southern) end of the undercroft. At the southern end, any evidence has been too severely altered or removed to be categorical about whether there was originally also a rear entrance into the undercroft.

Figure 31: The western jamb of the doorway from the undercroft of no. 33 Westgate Street on to the street itself. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 32: Two stones from the eastern jamb of the doorway from the undercroft of no. 33 Westgate Street, now lying on the floor out of their original position. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 33: The western spur wall (on the left) flanking the original entrance into the undercroft at no. 33 Westgate Street (later brickwork on the right). [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Vaulting

The undercroft is currently ceiled with wooden beams and joists at its northern end and with a later brick barrel vault at its southern end (Figure 34). It is difficult to see clear evidence of medieval stone vaulting in this undercroft (and, hence, it might be questioned whether it should be called an undercroft according to the terminology of this report – the label will be used in this building description with that caveat in mind). At best, there is a slight curve in some of the stones at the wall head of the eastern and western walls of the space towards its northern end, which could be interpreted as springers (Figure 35). There is no clear evidence of any truncation of the stonework as a result of cutting back any vaulting to span the space with wooden beams.

Figure 34: Looking south in no. 33 Westgate Street at the inserted staircase, brick vault and fireplace. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 35: The top of the western wall in the undercroft at no. 33 Westgate Street, showing angled stones. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Floors and levels

The current height of the undercroft is small, being roughly 1.84m, although with considerable variation throughout. The floor appears to be mainly compacted and accumulated debris, and the floor level is very uneven. The original undercroft must have been taller in height to permit comfortable standing and use. It must also have had more head room to permit entrance via the street-front doorway. The original undercroft may have had a lower floor.

It is not clear if this undercroft was always fully subterranean or once semi-subterranean. A stone vault at the northern end, springing from the stones on the wall head which have been interpreted by some as springers, would mean that the top of the stone vault was higher than the current beam level forming the current ceiling of the undercroft. This would have required the ground-floor level of the building above to be higher than it currently is at its northern end. It would have necessitated stepping up into the building from Westgate Street. This is, in theory, a perfectly acceptable building configuration for a split-level property on the street front with an undercroft. However, to know whether it existed at this site would require close investigation of the timber-framed building above.

Openings for light

There is no evidence of any primary openings for natural light in any of the walls. It is possible that such light could have been obtained from the north street-facing wall, and possibly, but less certainly, from the rear southern wall. However, again, the south wall is too modified to know whether there was a primary window or light well here. Nor is it

clear whether there was an open space at the rear of the undercroft when constructed, from which light could have been obtained. The north wall has been lost on its eastern side adjacent to the doorway; this could have been a potential location for an opening for light. Clearly, this undercroft was created on a highly constrained plot. Its diminutive size indicates the density of pre-existing building to either side and behind. Evidently, with the presence of other buildings hemming the plot in, there was little likelihood of being able to gain natural light from anywhere other than the street frontage itself.

Buildings above

There is a timber-framed building sitting on top of the undercroft which was not investigated as part of this assessment. From the little that could be seen when accessing the undercroft, the timber-framed building was jettied on its Westgate Street elevation. The jetty plate is still visible behind the modern shop window. The front wall of the undercroft appears to sit underneath the jetty plate of the timber-framed building above. However, the ground floor of the timber-framed building is at street level and not raised. There is no step up when entering the property. Without further investigation of the framing and timbers of this building, it is not possible to say whether (a) it is contemporaneous with the undercroft, and the latter was not vaulted, (b) it is contemporaneous with the undercroft but the undercroft's vault has been subsequently removed and the ground-floor levels in the timber-framed building adjusted down or (c) it is later than the undercroft. There is no evidence surviving of any primary staircase giving access between the undercroft and the building above, and it is unlikely that one existed.

It is worth noting that the list description for no. 33 describes evidence for the timber-framed building above ground being four bays deep. In relation to such a structure, the undercroft might sit only in the front, northern part of it, depending on the dimensions of the bays. No clear evidence of bay division was seen in the undercroft or in the ground-floor shop, i.e. it is not clear to how many of the four bays the undercroft or the ground-floor shop relate. The dimensions of the ground-floor shop appear to correlate with the footprint of the undercroft beneath. Clearly, it would be helpful to investigate further the timber-framed structure above and understand its extent and phasing as well as its relationship to the undercroft.

Dating

Unlike the other undercrofts on Westgate Street, there is no diagnostic carved stonework accompanying any vaulting in no. 33. Dating, therefore, cannot rely on this as it does in the other undercrofts. The only moulded stones relate to the entrance and could be compatible stylistically with a date broadly in the medieval period. It is of note that the tenement was described as having a cellar in 1455; it is likely that the cellar referred to is the one currently present, albeit subsequently altered into its present form. Dendrochronological dating, if possible, of the timber-framed building above might assist with a more precise dating of the undercroft beneath, if it can be clarified with certainty that the two structures (or a phase of the timber-framed building and the undercroft) are

coterminous and contemporary. Given the account of the plot being sub-divided in the time of Edward I, and prior to that being held as a larger tenement with no. 35 Westgate Street, it is unlikely that the cellar pre-dates the late 13th or early 14th centuries. It must have come into existence after that subdivision, which makes it later than the other undercrofts considered in detail in this report.

Function

This undercroft offers a good contrast to the others surviving on Westgate Street. It is the only one with evidence of a primary entrance directly on to the street. But for this surviving evidence, the small size of the undercroft might have meant it was interpreted as a private space used solely for the storage needs of the building above. Instead, it is likely to be an undercroft created out of commercial necessity to maximise available space on the street frontage itself. Although, frequently, the lower level might be occupied and used separately from the higher (particularly where, as is likely at this site, there is no direct communication between the two), in fact, in this case, in 1455, only one occupant is named, although it is possible that one or both elements were being sub-let (the sub-lessees not showing in the *1455 Rental*). Evidence of any earlier split in occupation has not been found in the documents surveyed.

There was no evidence of original heating of this space. It would not be unusual to find an absence of heating in a commercial space such as a shop. Opening out directly on to the street itself means that this space is less secure than one which is set in a private courtyard. Perhaps goods stored here were less valuable. Given the absence of space, it is unlikely that the undercroft functioned as a place to consume goods, such as a tavern; rather it is likely to have been a place in which to make purchases and then leave. Equally, the goods stored in this space could not have been voluminous in size or quantity.

Building Description: Phase two – post-medieval, probably 18th century

Refacing the front elevation

In the 18th century, the timber-framed building was refaced on its Westgate Street elevation in brick with a single sash window at first and second floor. The new brick façade sat in front of the previous jetty line. If the original entrance on to Westgate Street from the undercroft had not been blocked already, it was at this point. The area in which steps would have descended into the undercroft was adapted to become a coal chute (now functioning as a pavement light) and lined with brick (*see* Figure 33).

Insertion of a chimney stack and internal stairs

The southern end of the undercroft has been extensively altered. At some point in the post-medieval period, possibly in the 18th century, a chimney stack was inserted against the rear southern wall of the undercroft (*see* Figure 34). How this chimney sits within the timber-framed building above has not been investigated.

Around the chimney stack at the south-eastern corner of the undercroft, a staircase built on brick supports was inserted, providing access from the timber-framed building above into the undercroft. This may well have correlated with the loss of external access into the undercroft as a result of the re-fronting described above. At this point, if not before, the undercroft would no longer have been used as a commercial space accessed externally from Westgate Street, instead becoming a private space accessed internally.

Creation of brick vaulting

If the undercroft was vaulted in stone originally, at some point in the post-medieval period the stone vault was removed and the ground-floor level in the building above adjusted accordingly. This, too, may have corresponded with the undercroft space ceasing to have a Westgate Street-facing function and becoming a private, internal space. Once there was no longer access from the street, there was not as much need to provide the headroom for such access which the vault would have provided.

At the southern end of the undercroft, a brick barrel vault was created which replaced any stone vault that existed (*see* Figure 34). The line of the brick arch seems to be angled more acutely than what would have been the line of any stone segmental arch springing from the same level. Above the brick vault, the level of the ground floor in the building remains above street level. Hence it requires a step up from street level to accommodate it. However, the brick vault was not continued throughout the undercroft into its northern end. As a result, a split-level configuration was created in the ground floor of no. 33, whereby the front northern part is at street level and the rear southern part (within the shop) is a step up. The step now cuts across the shop internally.

Building Description: Phase three – 19th-century alterations

Within the hearth for the brick chimney stack, a 19th-century stove was inserted. There may have been an earlier 18th-century fireplace using the inserted chimney stack which was merely modified in the 19th century and upgraded with a new stove. At this stage the space might well have been functioning as a service space for the property above, accessed by the staircase winding around the stack. The presence of heating suggests that the space was being used for domestic activity and not just storage.

Conclusion

No. 33 differs from the other undercrofts examined in Westgate Street. Nevertheless, its contrast is a helpful illumination. Although no. 33 is extremely small and narrow, it is of a type that was perhaps more common in the medieval urban environment, compared to the grander and more monumental undercrofts which are the subject of the rest of this report. It helps to demonstrate the range of forms undercrofts could take, as well as the variety of functions they could perform. It also evidences changes in Westgate Street over time. It is separated from the other undercrofts in its construction probably by well over a century, possibly in the region of 250 years.

No. 33 is the only undercroft in this study where unequivocal evidence of a medieval entrance from the street survives. It is notable that the ends of all the undercrofts that are closest to Westgate Street are the ones that have seen the most change, reflecting the greater development pressure of the street-front location.[170] Given the rate of change on the street front, any survival of a primary entrance is important evidence.

Nos 47–49 Westgate Street

Introduction

Nos 47−49 Westgate Street are on the south side of the street, in the next block west along the street from the block in which no. 33 and the Fleece are situated. Bull Lane marks the eastern side of the block and Berkeley Street runs to the west

Nos 47−49 Westgate Street present a unified front architecturally to the street, as will be discussed further below (Figure 36). However, this is a later unification of what were historically separate plots. The undercroft at nos 47−49 lies largely under no. 47 Westgate Street, but does not follow the later plot boundaries. The undercroft space is currently accessed via no. 49. As with the other plots on Westgate Street, the plots which became nos 47 and 49 Westgate Street have been the subject of much change and alteration, amalgamation and subdivision at various points, and it should not be assumed that the modern boundaries and access points are the same as those for the medieval plots.

Figure 36: The Westgate Street frontage of nos 47−49 showing how they are united architecturally in this elevation in March 2023. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Relevant to the form and evolution of the plot is the position of The Fountain Inn, which sits to the west behind (to the south of) no. 51 and is now numbered no. 53 Westgate Street. However, the medieval plot of the Inn was larger than the current footprint of nos 51−53 Westgate combined and could directly communicate with no. 47. No. 49 was then smaller, and the Inn shared a boundary with no. 47 (*see* Figure 4). [171]

The undercroft is described in the List entry as being 13th century in date and interpreted as the remains of a medieval merchant's house. The building above, spanning both nos 47−49, is described as being 18th century in date. The undercroft was investigated in 1991, after a period of obscurity in terms of public awareness.[172]

Documentary History

The documentary history makes clear that nos 47 and 49 Westgate Street were treated as separate plots in the medieval period, with separate owners or occupiers. As with the other undercrofts, the documentary history set out by Rhodes is used in this report and there are gaps within this history.

According to the *Rental* in 1455, Ralph Awre had held the plot which became no. 47 Westgate Street in the time of Henry III (reigned 1216−1272). Landgavel was 71/2d.[173] By 1455, it was owned by Gloucester Abbey and had been lately occupied by Sibyl Savage.[174]

Importantly, Sibyl (Sibilla) Savage also held Savage's Inn, which was a predecessor of the Fountain Inn, and which sat on the larger plot to the west described above.[175] In the mid-13th century this adjacent property was explicitly said to have cellars or storerooms and booths or shops (it was held *cum celdis et selariis*).[176] This is the only reference to *selariis* or *celariis,* 'cellars', in the plural in the *1455 Rental.* It was held then by Peter Poictevin, whose second name may be locative, indicating origin in the region of Poitou, France.[177] Peter Poictevin held several tenements in the time of Henry III in Gloucester.[178] In 1455, the site was described as an *hospitium* or 'inn' in the *Rental*.

By 1455 no. 49 Westgate Street belonged to St Oswald's Priory.[179] In the time of Henry III, the Abbot of Flaxley (a Cistercian Abbey in the Forest of Dean) owned it and Robert Toley held it. Landgavel in 1455 for no. 49 Westgate Street was 7 1/2d, which is the same amount as no. 47, suggesting they might have been relatively equally sized by this stage. In 1455, the plot was lately inhabited by John Girdeler, barber, and subsequently John Brasiar. [180] Charles Herbert owned it in 1650−56 when he paid landgavel for it as Mr Reynold Messenger's house.[181] John Tyler, a cordwainer, lived there in 1684 as a tenant of John Brewster.[182]

On the Kip 1712 prospect of Gloucester, although the depictions may be stylised, it appears as if there is open space behind the street front containing nos 47, 49 and 51; only the immediate street frontage is built up (Figure 37). On the other hand, it is shown as a dense block of development, without open space on the Hall and Pinnell map of 1780 (*see* Figure 5); a cartographic choice which may be due to the scale of the map rather than a true reflection of the position on the ground at that date. On the 1805 Cole and Roper map, the centre of the block behind nos 47 and 49 appears to be open ground still (Figure 38).

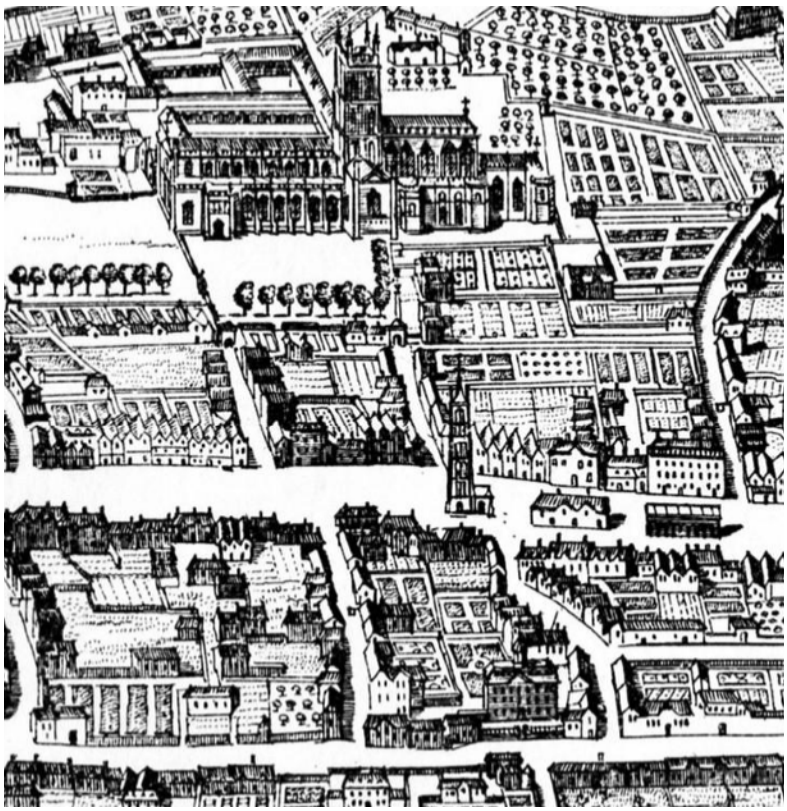

Figure 37: Open space visible behind the site of nos 47–49 Westgate Street in the Kip 1712 Prospect of Gloucester. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archaeology and Gloucester Civic Trust.]

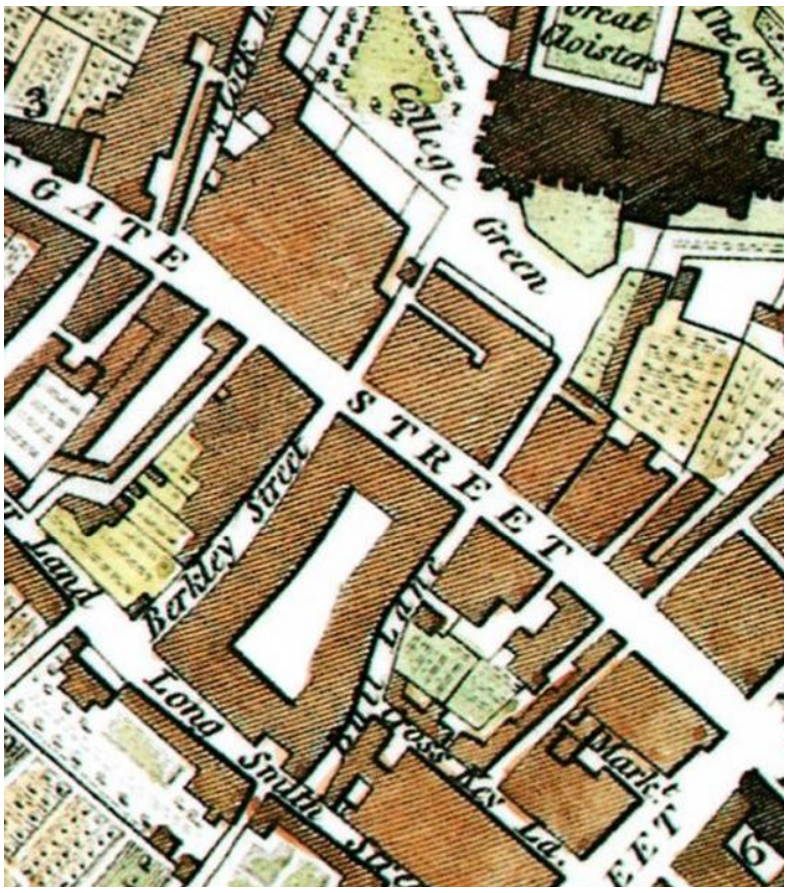

Figure 38: Open space visible behind the site of nos 47–49 Westgate Street in the 1805 Cole and Roper Map of Gloucester. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archaeology and Gloucester Civic Trust. © Ashley Baynton Williams]

On the 1843 Causton map, an angled boundary line between nos 47 and 49, at the rear, is clearly present but it appears to exist in open ground between two rear yards (Figure 39). The common boundary runs back south perpendicular to Westgate Street for about 13m and then it deviates to the east on a diagonal line for several metres, before running perpendicular to Westgate Street again, on a line slightly further east. In the 1852 Board of Health map, it appears as if a small structure (shaded grey) is built against this diagonal boundary on the side of no. 47 (Figure 40). By 1900, the maps appear as if the buildings have been extended at the rear for both nos 47 and 49. Nevertheless, the angled boundary line is preserved within the buildings and is visible in the undercroft in no. 47 Westgate Street, as well as on aerial imagery looking at the plots from above.

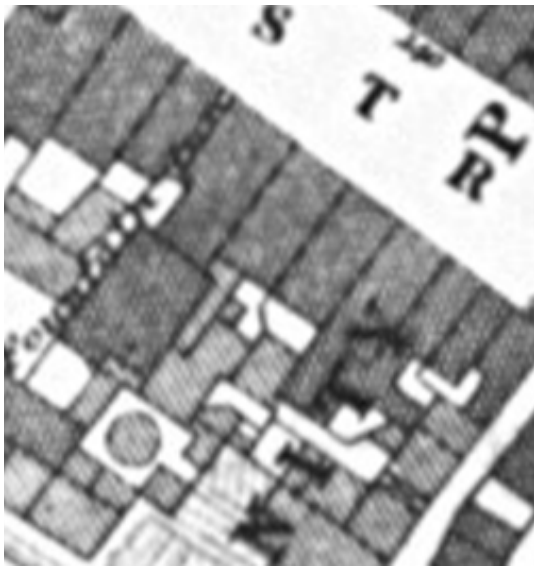

Figure 39: The angled boundary line at the rear of nos 47 and 49 in open ground as shown on the 1843 Causton Map of Gloucester. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archaeology, Gloucester Civic Trust and Gloucestershire Archives]

Figure 40: The angled boundary line at the rear of nos 47 and 49 with a structure against it on the side of no. 47, as shown on the 1852 Board of Health Map of Gloucester. [Image reproduced from Know Your Place. Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L10/1/2]

Once the rear plots had been built upon, there was only a small lane accessing the rear from Bull Lane to the east. In the 20th century, the layout and configuration of this access lane was remodelled as a result of new buildings at the rear of nos 47 and 49, though an access route out to Bull Lane still survives.[183]

Figure 41: The eastern wall of the undercroft at no. 47 Westgate Street showing finely dressed and chamfered ribs dying away into the stone wall. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

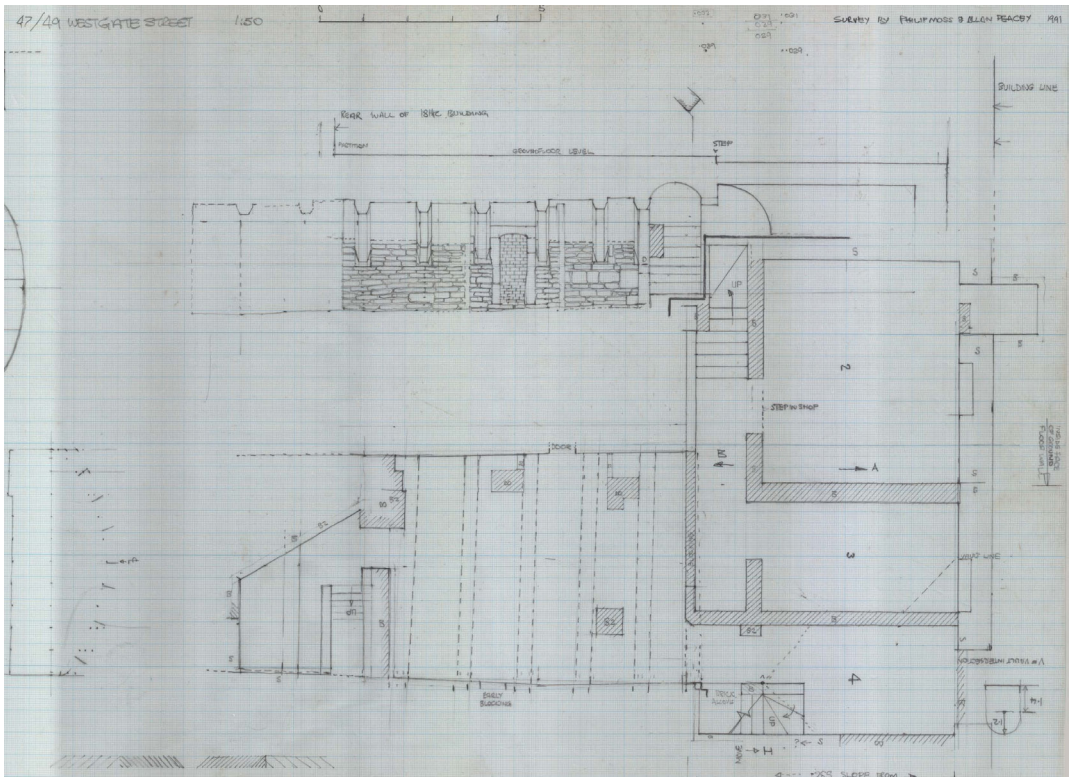

Figure 42: A scale drawing from a survey at nos 47 and 49 by Philip Moss and Allan Peacey in 1991. Includes an elevation drawing of the west wall of the rear undercroft. [Reproduced with permission.]

Building Description: Phase one – late 12th century or early 13th century

Size and orientation

The vaulted part of the undercroft is orientated on a north−south axis, running at right-angles to the line of Westgate Street. Eight bays survive as defined by the transverse vaulting ribs described below; each of the bays is roughly between 0.98m and 1.07m in width (Figure 41). The spacing of the bays is, thus, considerably narrower than those at either the Fleece or nos 74−76 Westgate Street. The narrow spacing seems to be more than was necessary for structural support, pointing perhaps to the use of the ribs as a decorative feature as well as a functional one. The length of the surviving vaulted space is approximately 10.07m. Its width is around 5.17m (Figure 42). This vaulted part of the undercroft is entirely underneath no. 47. The walls are all composed of coursed, squared limestone. There are some sizeable larger blocks present as well as smaller squared courses.

Figure 43: The northernmost rib and the end of the vaulting showing the chamfer on the north face and the absence of any continuation of the vault or of any truncation. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

The northermost extent of the vaulted part of the undercroft is set back from the street by about 6m. However, where the northernmost bay ends, the stones above the vaulting rib are all neatly finished with smooth stone voussoirs and coursed rubble stone, with no evidence of original through-stones, or stones which have been cut back (Figure 43). It appears as if the vaulting was intended to finish at this point. At the point where the eastern wall of the vault ends, there is a line of stones embedded in the floor that appear to be continuing the line of the eastern wall of the undercroft further north. However, the northern face of the eastern wall is very smoothly finished with quoin stones, and not hacked or cut back in any way (Figure 44).

Figure 44: The north-east corner of the rear undercroft showing finely dressed quoin stones at the junction where the rear undercroft widens out into the street-front range. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Beyond this line, further north, the space widens out, mainly to the west, into an area running parallel to the street, along the street frontage, and spanning both nos 47−49 Westgate Street above. It is in the region of 12m wide, east to west, and 6m in depth, north to south. The vaulted part oriented at right-angles relative to Westgate Street will be referred to as the rear undercroft, and the part running parallel to the street as the street-front range. The planform of the two spaces combined is roughly an ‘L’ shape, the horizontal line of the ‘L’ sitting on the street front. On that street line, there are some large blocks of dressed and coursed stone which may be in situ. There is a rubble stone wall on the western side of the street-front range. Stone is also visible on the south-western wall, behind a later inserted staircase. This stone appears to run continuously from the stone of the vault of the rear undercroft without any obvious change or phase break. The eastern wall of the street-front range has been largely rebuilt in brick and the northern wall is a mixture of brick and stone. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the alteration to and loss of fabric, the remaining stone sections of the street-front range, particularly the stone running continuously from the end of the vault on the south-western wall, make most sense as remnants of a wider but contemporaneous range with the rear undercroft. This is therefore one of the largest medieval undercroft spaces on Westgate Street investigated.

Vaulting and dating

The rear undercroft is a barrel-vaulted space, as at the Fleece and nos 74−76 Westgate Street. The ribs have the same broad chamfer and are composed of finely dressed, limestone voussoirs, rising into a segmental arch. There are no pillars or engaged wall shafts carrying the vaulting down to ground level. Instead the ribs die away into the east and west walls on either side (*see* Figures 41 and 44). Without diagnostic carved and sculpted stone features, it is harder to date this undercroft closely on stylistic grounds. The use of a chamfered rib continues throughout the medieval period.[184] However, the similarity of the chamfered ribs, including the fineness of the dressed stone employed, as well as the form of the barrel-vault, suggests that the undercroft could be of a similar date to the other two late 12th-century undercrofts on Westgate Street.[185] At New Winchelsea, many of the properties there were constructed around 1300 with stone vaulted undercrofts beneath. Several of those stone vaults have chamfered ribs and barrel-vaulting, albeit the form of the barrel varies considerably, including semi-pointed and two-centred arched forms.[186] A segmental rounded shape to the barrel vault can often be an earlier form.

There is no evidence indicating that the street-front range was a vaulted space. Without such evidence, it is almost impossible to date the street-front range in isolation. The evidence that suggests that the vault of the rear undercroft was ended deliberately, by design, and has not been truncated, indicates that there must have been a street-front range of some sort functioning with the rear undercroft, giving it a complete north end. Hence, although the primary form of the street-front range is highly fragmentary and hard to reconstruct, it is likely, in origin, to be the same date as the rear undercroft.[187]

Historic finishes – lime plaster and wash – are visible on the underside of the vaulting in the rear undercroft. Such finishes indicate a desire to make the place habitable, as well as sanitary for the storage of any important possessions or goods which must not be soiled. On the northernmost rib of the vaulting of the rear undercroft, on the northern face of the chamfer, there are empty holes which appear to have taken some form of stave (Figure 45). They are rusted as if metal was inserted into them. However, they are not on the soffit of the rib, which might have been expected if they formed a grille, with metal bars running from the arch to the ground. It is not possible to determine if they are a later alteration or part of the first phase of the undercroft. Regulations in the 14th century (for example, in 1352 and 1377) in London stated that taverners were not allowed to draw a cloth or veil over their doors to prevent a purchaser seeing the wine being drawn. (This practice apparently was circumventing earlier regulations to keep the door open when drawing the wine.[188]) It has been argued that the holes could have been used for a wattle partition, through which visibility of the rear space was maintained in compliance with the regulations.[189] However, this argument is hard to sustain as the holes are not in the correct position for such a partition. Moreover, the regulations referred to date from the 14th century, arising as a result of the increase in taverners in that century. They are not necessarily relevant to the original construction of the undercroft in an earlier century, such as the late 12th or early 13th centuries.

Figure 45: The northern face of the northernmost rib of the rear undercroft at no. 47 Westgate Street, showing holes in the chamfer. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

It is possible that the holes were used in the construction of a vault further north in the street-front range. Rods were used from the 12th century onwards as part of wattle centering for the building of a vault. There are examples in the 12th-century barrel vaults at Helmsley Castle and in the Bishop's Palace in Norwich. Later examples have been cited from Gloucestershire at Avening, and nearby parallels are also found at Tewkesbury and Pershore.[190] On the other hand, if this is the explanation, this technique must only have been used to create a vault in the street-front range; it was not employed for the construction of the rear undercroft. (Such visible holes would visually mar the finely dressed quality of the voussoirs and, with it, much of the point of expending resource on a space for display.) Moreover, the fact that the holes are in the chamfer and not in the face of the rib is a problem for the plausibility of this idea. The angle of the chamfer points downwards to a certain extent and so is not ideal for a continuation of some form of vaulting. If anything, something that was angled upwards would be more to be expected in the case of a vault.

Finally, the holes are not regularly spaced as would be necessary for anything with a structural or weightbearing purpose. Similarly, the idea of housing for a grille or wattle partition would need equal spacing of the holes. Were the holes to be for fixing

something like a fabric to hang from the arch, although regularity of spacing may not have been as critical in that scenario, still it would be expected that the holes would be horizontal for pegs from which whatever was fastened would hang. In essence, it is not clear how these holes should best be interpreted. Any interpretation needs to bear in mind that they are irregularly spaced, albeit spanning the whole arch, and placed in the chamfer, so not permitting a horizontal peg or rod, as would be the case if positioned in the face of the rib, nor a vertical one, as would be the case from the soffit, but something which was angled downwards.

Floors and levels

The height of the rear undercroft between vault apex and floor has been measured in different places to 2.2m and 2.5m. The floor has been replaced in brick and there is no evidence for what the primary flooring would have been, albeit it is likely to have been a stone flag of some sort.

The rear undercroft appears to be semi-subterranean. There is a step up at ground-floor level in no. 49. The alignment of this step up is just north of the end of the vaulting of the rear undercroft. No. 47 was not inspected. Access would be useful to determine whether there is a similar step up within that property at ground-floor level. If the vaulting had continued further north originally into the street-front range, it would have required a higher floor in no. 49 above the street-front range. This is another piece of evidence suggesting that either (a) the vault stopped at the current northern end of the rear undercroft and did not continue into the street-front range or (b) if the street-front range was vaulted, that vault has been lost with the building of the current building above the street-front range, probably in the 18th century, *see* further below. It should be noted that the fact that there is a step up in no. 49 suggests that there is something under no. 49, south of the street-front range, with a higher height than street level; a height that is akin to the height of the rear undercroft under no. 47. This factor is returned to in the discussion below.

Entrances

On the west wall of the rear undercroft, in bay five from the north, there is a primary narrow doorway, now blocked with stone (Figure 46). It has dressed stone jambs and a simple segmental-arched stone lintel. The lintel sits within the vaulting and follows the line of the vaulting rather than the vertical line of the wall in which the jambs of the doorway are set. The jambs do not quite reach the floor. Therefore, either the floor level has dropped slightly or there might have been a slight step over the threshold. The doorway's size (just approximately 0.6m wide – the jambs are just within the width of the bay) renders it difficult to have brought bulky goods in through this entrance. It is not as wide as the primary entrances in nos 74−76 Westgate Street or the Fleece.

Figure 46: The small western door in the sixth bay from the south, now blocked but with dressed stone jambs and arched lintel. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

It has been suggested that the doorway might have given access to an intramural staircase. If this is the case, it would parallel the one surviving the Fleece, albeit the doorway appears different in style to that at the Fleece.[191] It is most likely to have given access to a space to the west underneath what is now no. 49. This space could not be accessed but would be worth investigating. The change in ground-floor level in no. 49,

sitting above this space, has already been noted and discussed above. In the 20th century, when no. 51 was demolished and rebuilt, a finely dressed stone wall was seen and photographed on the eastern side of the plot, at the subterranean or semi-subterranean level of the undercroft, on the modern boundary line between nos 49 and 51 (Figure 47). In one of the images recorded, there was the suggestion of a door or framed opening.[192] The position of this doorway suggests some form of communication between the cellars/undercrofts under nos 49 and 51, mirroring that suggested by the extant doorway between nos 47 and 49. This may all relate to the fact that, in the medieval period, the inn, which became what is the Fountain today, was already in existence and operating from a larger plot, encompassing nos 51 and 53, as well as the rear of no. 49, with a contiguous boundary with no. 47 (*see* Figure 4). In 1455, it had lately been held in conjunction with no. 47 by Sibilla Savage. It may be that there were interconnecting undercrofts or cellars in this area. This may correspond to the fact that the Fountain was noted in the 13th century for its cellars (plural).

Figure 47: A subterranean wall on the boundary line between nos 49 and 51 showing a finely dressed and coursed stone wall, seen during the 20th- century demolition and rebuilding of no. 51. [D4982 3/1: Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives]

The south wall of the rear undercroft is not visible in its entirety. The south-west corner is hidden behind a diagonal wall – the irregular boundary shown on 19th century mapping onwards. At the eastern end of the south wall, there is a straight joint in the stonework, with brick infill at the upper levels. This is a blocked opening, but it is not possible to say whether the opening was part of the primary construction of the undercroft or a later alteration. Given the historic map evidence of open space behind (to the south of) no. 47, visible in the 18th century, it might have been possible to access the rear undercroft from the south end (*see* Figures 37 and 38). Even today, after dense redevelopment, access to the rear of nos 47 and 49 is possible via an alleyway running to Bull Lane.[193]

At the other end of the complex, at the north-western corner of the street-front range, underneath no. 49, there are two projecting stone walls which appear bonded into the stone of the northern front wall (Figure 48). The projections go out into the street for about 0.75m and could have formed the walls of an access point from the street itself, framing descending steps from street level. Similar remains of potential spur walls are at no. 33 Westgate Street, and they were a feature of undercrofts.[194] The opening itself is just over 1m wide.

Figure 48: The western spur wall projecting from the north-west corner of the street-front range at nos 47-49 Westgate Street, looking from within the range north-westwards, the entrance from the street on the right-hand side of the image.[Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 49: A blocked opening in the north-eastern corner of the street-front range at nos 47−49 Westgate Street, showing dressed quoin stones either side of brick infill. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

At the far north-eastern corner of the street-front range, underneath no. 47, there is another potential location for an entrance on to the street. There is a straight joint in the northern wall, to the west of which are large stone quoins, to the east of which is brick infill. There is some suggestion that the stone begins again in the very far north-eastern corner before the northern wall returns along the eastern wall (Figure 49). If this was a primary opening, it would have been roughly 1.5m wide. However, it has been heavily altered. At some point a ramp was created sloping down from this doorway into the street-front range. The slope of Westgate Street is visible outside of nos 47−49; street level is visibly higher in front of no. 47 than it is at no. 49. This topography would affect how many steps might have been necessary to descend from the street into the street-front range. The ramp has been constructed at the eastern end where the descent into the street-front range was greatest.

Figure 50: A possible blocked recess in the eastern wall of the undercroft at no. 47 Westgate Street. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Openings for light

There is no evidence of any original openings for light in any of the walls of the rear undercroft, save for one possible recess on the eastern wall in the fifth bay from the south (Figure 50). The recess is tall but does not seem to extend all the way to the ground. This recess seems to have been blocked at an early date with stone. There is no evidence of dressed stone jambs, lintel or sill framing the opening. Nor is there any evidence of a splay. This may have been a recessed niche as is common in other rubblestone cellars. Such niches could be used for placing lights and candles etc. The absence of borrowing any light from either side of the rear undercroft makes this different from the undercroft at the Fleece, with its own courtyard sitting alongside it. It fits with an urban context close to the street front, in which the plots on either side may already have been developed, blocking any possibility of light. On the western side of the rear undercroft, another semi-subterranean space might have blocked daylight (see the discussions above).

In the street-front range, on the line of the street, there are two blocked recesses in the north front wall, framed in stone with some brick infill (Figure 51). The current lintels appear to reuse timbers; one has empty mortice holes in its soffit. There is no evidence of any splay in either. These have been interpreted as primary windows lighting entrances (discussed above) from Westgate Street into the street-front range.[195] This is possible but, given the fragmentary nature of their survival, it is impossible to be categorical. It is also possible that there was some provision for light to the rear, in the south elevation of the building which is now partially obscured. This would mirror the arrangement at No. 76 Westgate where there is a window in the rear wall.

Figure 51: One of two possible windows in the north wall of the street-front range of nos 47−49 Westgate Street, both now blocked. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Buildings above

No evidence of the original structure which sat above this undercroft was seen. It may survive in some parts of the buildings above the undercroft or it may have been entirely replaced by the later buildings. It is perhaps of note that Sibilla Savage lived at no. 47 just before 1455.[196] This suggests there would have been a residence of some sort above the rear undercroft. There is no primary evidence of any communication between the rear undercroft or the street-front range and the buildings which sat above them,

other than if the western doorway within the rear undercroft opened on to an intramural staircase, but this is entirely speculative without further investigation. The undercroft was accessed either from Westgate Street, or from another space to the west. In theory, access from a courtyard to the south cannot be ruled out but nor can it be proved.

Function

The rear undercroft was capable of housing bulky goods but would have required a larger primary entrance to have made it ideally serviceable for that purpose. It is tempting to suggest that it was used in connection with premises to the west, given the presence of the primary western door as well as the common holding of the plots representing nos 47, 51 and 53 (no. 49 being smaller) by Sibilla Savage in the 15th century, the latter being used as an inn. In the 13th century, the latter plots were held by a person with likely connections to France and they included multiple cellars. It is plausible to suggest, therefore, that early use for the rear undercroft (and the street-front range in the form that it existed at that point) was linked to the wine trade.

There is no evidence of heating for the space. As with the undercrofts at the Fleece and nos 74−76 Westgate Street, there is a high degree of resource expended on the stonework and vaulting, the ribs of which are very finely dressed. The use of lime finishes also made it presentable and sanitary. This was a space designed for display and not just storage.

It is harder to be certain of the function of the street-front range. It has been suggested that it was used as a tavern for consumption, in a manner similar to the layout at The Vine undercroft in Winchester, in which an unvaulted street-front range was used as a tavern, in conjunction with a vaulted rear space which was used for storage of the alcohol. The double door arrangement on the front wall appears to be similar to one at Tackley's Inn in Oxford (albeit Tackley's Inn did not have a rear vaulted space). The doorway at the north-eastern corner of 47−9 Westgate Street, which appears marginally wider, is said to have been used for deliveries of barrels, whilst the narrower doorway at the north-western corner was where people entered.[197]

However, both The Vine and Tackley's Inn are 14th century, later than the undercroft at nos 47−9 Westgate Street is likely to be. Moreover, the rear undercroft is the finely decorated space, more so than the street-front range. It would be odd if the rear undercroft was merely a subservient storage space, servicing the street-front range that has no trace of such fine detail. Normally, in this kind of layout, it the front space that is the more finely decorated, where the customers drink.[198] There is also no evidence of heating in the street-front range, which in some taverns is a feature (discussed above) making the drinking space more comfortable. The undercroft tavern in New Winchelsea, Blackfriars Barn, is a three-part space, and involves an unlit barrel vault centrally separating two well-lit quadripartite-vaulted spaces with a fireplace.[199] It may be that the street-front range of nos 47-49 was adapted to serve as a tavern at some point, but that may not have been its original function.

A further complication is that the plots at nos 47–49, at least their street-front ends if not the rear parts of the plots, were held separately by different people through much of their history. That does not make it impossible for a subterranean street-front range straddling both to exist but, if that was the case, the documentary records do not make it explicit. Although there is no evidence surviving of sub-division and partition of the street-front range, when first constructed (as opposed to later), so much has been altered it is not possible to rule it out.

Building Description: Phase two – 18th century

Some of the changes which are described in this phase may have occurred at a post-medieval date prior to the 18th century. They are tentatively allocated to the 18th century because there is no doubt that the building above ground was extensively rebuilt at this date. It is likely that such a comprehensive, systematic remodelling above ground would have required extensive change below ground.

Buildings above

In the early 18th century, a symmetrical brick building of three storeys and five bays was built on top of the undercroft, spanning the two plots which form nos 47 and 49 (*see* Figure 36). The central bay is pedimented. This building has not been investigated so it is not possible to say the extent to which it entirely replaced its predecessors on the site, or was a refacing exercise, leaving a historic core intact. The southern rear wall of the building is further north than the southern wall of the rear undercroft. The southernmost two and half bays of the rear undercroft, including the diagonal line on the south-western corner, are outside the line of the building above. This corresponds with the map evidence discussed above.

The brick building appears to have been altered itself in the 18th century, judging from the list description (NHLE 1271930). There is a central party wall inserted inside the building running down the centre of the central bay, and visible from the street. The wall partially blocks the central windows of the symmetrical brick front in a manner that looks unlikely to have been part of the original construction of the brick building. It has been interpreted in the list description as a later, but still 18th century, sub-division of the building. Much of the alteration within the subterranean space also appears to be separating out nos 47 and 49 and so may have taken place at the same time as the insertion of the party wall above.

Alterations to access points and circulation

In the second bay from the south, within the rear undercroft, brick stairs were inserted, giving access into the rear undercroft from no. 47. As part of the support for this staircase, a transverse brick partition wall was inserted between the second and third vaulting ribs from the south. The second rib was almost entirely cut away; however, the keystone remains preserved in situ. Another voussoir of this rib emerges, still in situ, from the south-western diagonal wall. It may be that the angled rear wall line was

created with these alterations, prior to the first detailed map which depicts it above ground in 1843. The western end of the transverse brick partition appears to have been built in two phases. There is a thinner section closest to the western wall of the rear undercroft. There is also a thicker brick pier further east. The brick partition is pierced by a single doorway permitting access to the staircase and the rearmost bays of the undercroft.

It is plausible to suggest that the small door in the west wall of the rear undercroft was blocked at this time, stopping up any communication between the rear undercroft, under no. 47, and whatever rear space lies under no. 49.[200] However, the doorway is blocked with rubble stone (not brick) and stone that does not look out of keeping with the rest of the rear undercroft (*see* Figure 46). This could, therefore, have been carried out earlier than the 18th century. Investigating the space behind the blocked doorway, underneath no. 49, might shed light on the date of this alteration.

As well as the minor modifications to the rear undercroft, more extensive changes were made to the street-front range. The northernmost stone vault, at the northern end of the rear undercroft, was underbuilt in brick, under the final stone rib, blocking access between the street-front range (at least the part accessible to no. 49) and the rear undercroft (*see* Figure 43).

Figure 52: The small brick-vaulted room measuring roughly 2.5m wide inserted into the street-front range at nos 47-49 Westgate Street. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

In the street-front range, brick walls were inserted which divided that range into a corridor (about 1.25m wide), running just in front of the now blocked rear undercroft, and three smaller rooms closer to the street front, the western two of which are accessible from off the corridor. The first room on the west is approximately 5m wide; the second is approximately 2.5m wide (Figure 52). Both are just under 5m deep.

Brick stairs were inserted into the south-western corner of the street-front range descending from no. 49 above (*see* Figure 42). From those stairs, there was, and remains, access into the corridor and the western two rooms.

At the south-eastern corner of the street-front range, a staircase was inserted in brick against the eastern wall (*see* Figure 42). This gave another point of access between no. 47 above and the subterranean space. The small room at the east end of the street-front range into which the staircase descends is 2.5m wide. Although there is no clear evidence of access between the rear undercroft and this small front space being blocked, the creation of two staircases, one at the southern end of the rear undercroft and one in the street-front range, both from no. 47 above, suggests that there was not direct communication between the two areas, as each needed separate staircase access.

All the changes creating new internal access into the rear undercroft and the street-front range may correlate with changes which blocked up former external access from Westgate Street and possibly from the rear. The spaces were effectively ceasing to be public facing, instead becoming an adjunct to the buildings above, perhaps used at this point more as storage.

The stone spur walls in the north-western corner of the street-front range were converted by the addition of blue engineering-type brick to a coal chute. (The current form of the chute may reflect later 19th-century alterations and the space now functions as a pavement light.) This is similar to the conversion of the same kind of spur-like entrance way at no. 33 Westgate Street. At some point, possibly at a similar time, the opening with the ramp in the north-eastern corner of the street-front range was also blocked. Finally, the recesses in the northern wall, which might have been windows originally, were filled in largely with brick, and some stone.

Insertion of brick vaulting

In the street front range, the new sub-divided brick spaces were also vaulted in brick, with a separate vault for each of the spaces created by the partitioning of the area (*see* Figure 52). The vaults are all barrel vaults; the ones over the rooms run north-south and the one over the corridor runs east-west, as would be expected, spanning the space transversely. The springing level of the brick vault spanning the corridor is from above the line of the stone vault (*see* Figure 43).

Within the rear undercroft, a brick vault was inserted into the fourth bay of the undercroft from the south on the eastern side. The stone vault was cut through and a higher brick vault inserted. The function of this is not clear. The nature of this feature above in no. 47 has not been inspected. At New Winchelsea, there is evidence of primary ventilation shafts within undercrofts, rising through the vault in some cases.[201] It is perhaps, therefore, important not to assume that openings in the vault need always be secondary, even if the lining now present (being brick) clearly is a secondary element; an original ventilation opening might possibly have been relined or adapted later on. Brick piers were also inserted into the fifth and seventh bays of the undercroft from the south (*see* Figure 42).

Conclusion

The rear undercroft and street-front range, at nos 47−49 Westgate Street, are good examples of a space that communicated directly with the street originally, but which were also clearly used in conjunction with other parts of what were large plots, in particular other semi-subterranean spaces to the west and/or the open yard to the west and south. The rear undercroft shares the same kind of vaulting and broad-chamfered, finely dressed stone ribs found at the Fleece and nos 74−76 Westgate Street. It contributes to the collection of early undercrofts found on Westgate Street. It should probably be dated to the late 12th century with the others, rather than later (such as in the 13th century or 14th century). There may well be more to be discovered in terms of historic fabric which would give the rear undercroft and street-front range a wider context to the west and south.

Nos 74−76 Westgate Street

Introduction

The undercroft at nos 74-76 Westgate Street is the only one that sits on the north side of Westgate Street. It lies further west along the street than the three undercrofts discussed so far. As the road slopes down to the river, the site is lower than the other three; within the 10m to 15m contours, where the others lie between the 15m and 20m contour lines (*see* Figure 3).

The block in which the property sits is just south of the Cathedral (*see* Figure 4). It is bounded by College Street to the east (historically known as St Edwards Lane) and Three Cocks Lane to the west (previously known as Abbey Lane). In the medieval period, there was a small alley running east-west directly in front of the precinct wall.[202] This lane is important when considering potential access to the rear of the plots in this block.

As with other properties discussed in this report, it must not be assumed that modern numbering, boundaries and property division map on to the medieval holdings exactly. The vaulted undercroft sits under part of no. 76, as will be explained further below, but is accessed today via no. 74. The undercroft is described in the List (NHLE 1245230) as being 13th century in date and said to be the remains of an earlier merchant's house. The range above it is described by the List as a 14th-century great hall range, later subdivided by the insertion of ceilings and partitions. This building was briefly visited but was not the subject of any form of detailed survey, nor were all its rooms and structures seen.

Figure 53: The street frontage of nos. 74 and 76 Westgate Street presenting a unified architectural elevation in March 2023. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Documentary history

Although nos 74−76 present a unified front to Westgate Street today, historically, as with nos 47−49, they were often in separate ownership or occupation (Figure 53). As before, the documentary history compiled by Rhodes is used but there are gaps within it.

According to the *1455 Rental*, in the mid- to late 13th century, William the Spicer is noted as having held the land that corresponds to no. 76, after which, in the time of the early 14th century, Robert of Standish and Edward Taverner held it *separatim*.[203] This is not a word used frequently in the *1455 Rental.* It may be a reference to no. 76 being rented in separate parts, for instance, perhaps the undercroft separately from the rest, or it may be a reference to being liable separately rather than jointly. The second name of Edward Taverner is an occupational one, signifying a connection to a tavern. On the other hand, there are several Taverners mentioned in the *1455 Rental,* and by the 14th century, this name may already be a family name.[204]

At some point, the plot was a tenement of Aconbury Priory (a priory of Augustinian nuns founded in the early 13th century).[205] In 1455, no. 76 was held by a brewer, Thomas Frankombe, as a tenant of William Botteler's son (who paid 5d. in landgavel). William Botteler also held land further west at nos 78−80 Westgate Street and further east in College Street. The undercroft was expressly noted in the *1455 Rental* and said to belong to Usk Priory (a Benedictine nunnery) in Monmouthshire. Usk was founded by Richard de Clare in 1176 and was situated approximately 22 miles to the south-west of Aconbury Priory. Although any formal links between the two nunneries have not been examined, it is worth noting how close the two are geographically. It is also worth observing the separation in holdings between the tenement and the undercroft, that is that the tenement above ground and the undercroft were expressly noted as being in different hands.[206]

In 1549, William Edwards, a tailor, lived at no. 76.[207] In 1567, Thomas Weeks occupied the plot.[208] In the 17th century, occupation seems to have been dominated by a family with the name Capel. In 1612 Alderman Christopher Capel and, in 1646, Alderman William Capel lived in the premises.[209] In 1672, Mary Capel paid tax on eight hearths at the site.[210] In 1689, Richard Capel is recorded as the occupier.[211]

Figure 54: A detail from Speed's 1610 Plan of Gloucester showing a clear gap between the precinct wall and the properties to the south including the site of nos 74-76 Westgate Street. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucester Civic Trust and Gloucestershire Archaeology. © JRS Whiting]

Figure 55: A detail of the back plots behind the site of nos 74-76 Westgate Street, as shown in the 1843 Causton Map of Gloucester. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archaeology, Gloucester Civic Trust and Gloucestershire Archives]

Figure 56: A detail of the back plots behind the site of nos 74-76 Westgate Street, as shown in the 1852 Board of Health Map of Gloucester. The large courtyard sits behind nos 74 and 72 Westgate Street. [Image reproduced from Know Your Place. Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L10/1/2]

In the early 17th century, the property is recorded as including a court at the rear (to the north) which ran along behind nos 70−74 Westgate Street eastwards.[212] The court ran with a varying length with the alley beside the Abbey precinct wall (*see* Figure 4). In the late medieval and post-medieval periods the land on which the alley ran was rented from the city: in 1509 by Roger Francombe for 20d.;[213] in 1544 by John Whittingham the elder for 20d.;[214] in 1550 by William Edwards for 2d.;[215] and in 1630 for 16d. by William Capel.[216] The yard therefore appears generally to be rented by the occupier of no. 76 Westgate Street. Initially, there might have been access from the rear courtyard to both College Street to the east, and Three Cocks Lane to the west using this back routeway. However, once parts of the alley were separately rented it became increasingly likely that access was blocked as other buildings encroached upon it. Clearly, such piecemeal rental was happening along the lane by the 16th century, if not before. In the 1610 Speed depiction of Gloucester, which is the first detailed mapping of the area, albeit schematic and stylised, the alley appears to remain open to east and west (Figure 54). In the 17th century, nos 84 to 86 Westgate Street (also known as the Portcullis Inn), to the west of nos 74 and 76, were recorded as possessing a northern stable which occupied the former lane under the college wall.[217]

By 1780 and 1805, mapping shows a dense block of development with no indication of access from east or west, but this is a consequence of the scale used. The 1843 Causton map gives a clearer, more detailed picture (Figure 55). It is evident that there are still open courtyards behind various plots but no clear and unimpeded lane running from either Three Cocks Lane or College Street. Both nos 74 and 76 appear to have been extended northwards; the latter preserves a small open yard immediately in front of the precinct boundary wall where the former does not. On the other hand, in the 1852 Board of Health mapping, it appears that no. 76 extends back to the precinct wall, but a courtyard remains behind no. 74 and other plots to the east (Figure 56). This is the layout preserved in subsequent 19th- and 20th-century mapping until development in the 1990s placed an office block immediately behind nos 74 and 76, with access opened up again along a lane to the east, in front of the precinct wall, leading to College Street.

In the mid-13th century, Adam son of Roger held the plot which became no. 74 Westgate Street. In the late 13th and early 14th century, Audoen of Windsor ‘by the hands of’ William of Watford held it. Landgavel was 20d.[218] Subsequently, the plot was owned by St Bartholomew’s Hospital, a hospital situated near Westgate Bridge in Gloucester, on the island between the bridge and the Foreign Bridge, which spanned an older eastern channel of the River Severn.[219] St Bartholomew’s Hospital was said (in 1357) to have had its origins in the reign of Henry II.[220] No. 74 was described as ‘newly built’ in 1455. It survived as a timber-framed building of three jetties and two gables in 1890.[221] It had been in the holding of Thomas Bridge, but John House, tailor, dwelt there in 1455.

In 1566 no. 74 was let to Henry Machin for 26s. 8d. (It had been lately of William Bancks.) In 1567, it was let to his daughter Margaret Machin.[222] She assigned it before 1590 to William Nurse. In 1612, it was re-let to William Abbotts for 40s. who had been

a subtenant since 1596.[223] In 1646, it was let to John Wood for £3 16s. as a tenement with solars, cellars, shops, taverns, chambers, entries, ways, backsides and courts.[224] This phraseology can be standard and merely a way of ensuring that the use of all that belongs to a site is conveyed by the tenancy without reservation.[225] The reference to cellars (or to taverns) perhaps should not be seen as significant in this context. The property was 20ft 4in. at the front and 18ft 6in. at the rear. The current cellar beneath no. 74, discussed further below, measures internally 5.29m at the front and 5.03m at the rear. Both these measurements leave room for walls of approximately 30 to 45cm thick within the size of the plot for no. 74.

In 1672, Daniel Collins paid tax for two hearths at the property. In 1684, John Tyler, cordwainer, held the property. [226] He renewed the lease in 1689.[227] It was still hospital property in 1826.[228] Clearly, nos 74 and 76 were treated as separate plots for much of their documented history.

Figure 57: The undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street looking north. [DP325714]

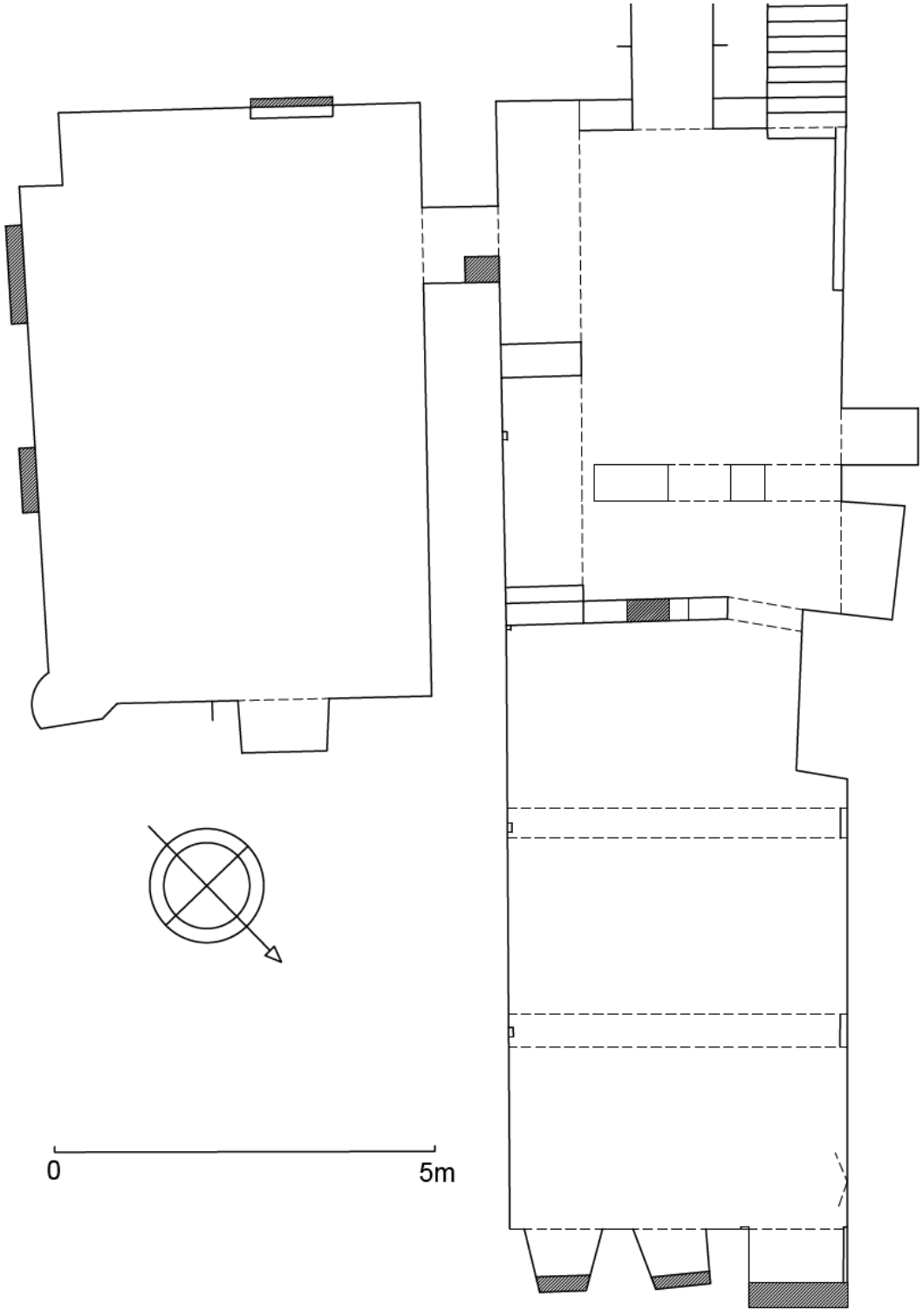

Figure 58: Plan of a measured hand survey of nos 74-76 Westgate Street, carried out in March 2023. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Building Description: Phase one – late 12th century

Size and orientation

The earliest extant phase at nos 74–76 Westgate Street is a stone undercroft lying beneath no. 76, oriented north-south at right-angles to the street (Figure 57). The undercroft reached as far as the street itself, although the street end has been heavily altered and primary fabric survives in a more fragmentary state. In the south wall, on the line of the street, a stone wall is observable behind later brick facing. In the east and west side walls, the squared coursed stone continues to the street line represented by the south wall. The overall dimensions of the undercroft are approximately 4.45m in terms of width and 14.84m in length, a similar width to that of the Fleece undercroft (Figure 58).

The undercroft was divided into four bays by transverse vaulting ribs (described below) and a front bay without ribs, and therefore probably without vaulting. Each of the bays is on average between 2.3 and 2.4m wide. This is a wider spacing between ribs than at either the Fleece or nos 47–49 Westgate Street.

Floor and levels

The current floor is very uneven. There is no clear indication of what the floor surface in the earliest phase might have been, nor of its level. Currently, the height from the floor to the apex of the vaulting is approximately 2.22m. Based on comparisons with other undercrofts on the street, it is possible that the floor was of flagstones originally and at a similar level.

The undercroft is now fully subterranean. It is likely to have been semi-subterranean when first constructed because of the openings in the north wall, discussed below, which appear to be designed to let in natural light.

Vaulting and dating

The vault of the undercroft is a barrel vault; the arch is segmental. The two northernmost vaulted ribs survive intact. They are broad chamfered with triangular or diagonal-cut stops. Some of the stops appear to have been stepped stops or ornamented with a roll; it is unclear if all the stops were originally decorated with this detail, and that it has subsequently been lost, or if certain ribs were given a more elaborate treatment for some reason. On the west side, the ribs spring from engaged, rectangular, chamfered pilasters which continue to the ground and measure approximately 0.4m wide. On the east side, they spring from a corbel projecting from the wall line with no supporting pilaster beneath. The absence of vaulting shafts continuing to the ground, and the use of corbels in their place, is thought to be typical of English vaulting, as opposed to French.[229] The corbels consist of a rectangular chamfered impost, supported by a scalloped capital, beneath which there is roll moulding, a small colonnette, more roll moulding following which the colonnette dies away in the wall at a point well above ground (Figures 59 and 60).

Figure 59: The third corbel from the north in the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street, on the eastern side of the undercroft. [DP325722]

Figure 60: The second corbel from the north in the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street, on the eastern side of the undercroft. [DP325720]

Figure 61: The third corbel from the north in the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street, on the eastern side of the undercroft, taken by the Royal Commission in 1972. [BB72/5675]

Figure 62: A wooden capital from the aisled hall at Burmington Manor as photographed by the Royal Commission. [AA98/14199]

Figure 63: A wooden capital at the Bishop's Palace at Hereford. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Each of the corbels is formed out of three stones which are carved in heavy relief and stand forward of the rubble stone making up the wall, leaving space for a plaster finish to cover the wall but not the decorative moulding. Plaster and/or limewash survives elsewhere on the curved surface of the vaulted ceiling.The moulding on the corbels is the most diagnostically datable element of the original undercroft. This is particularly clear in the 1972 images taken of the third corbel from the north (Figure 61).[230] There are various examples of capitals with scallops in Gloucester Cathedral. Creativity with such forms is found in the nave in Peterborough Cathedral between the late 1170s and early 1190s.[231]

In another secular context, the carved wooden capitals at the aisled hall in Burmington Manor, Warwickshire, have been dated by dendrochronology to 1194 or 1195.[232] There are capitals in both wood and stone. The wooden capital appears to be ornamented with a trumpet scallop and an early form of stiff leaf decoration (Figure 62). Stylistically,it is later than the capitals in the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street. The scalloped wooden capital at the Bishop's Palace in Hereford is closer stylistically and occurs in a domestic setting, even if linked to the ecclesiastical world. This capital is dated by dendrochronology to approximately 1179 (Figure 63).[233] The capitals at no. 76 Westgate are perhaps closer in date to this. Based on the stone carving detail, the undercroft appears to have been constructed in the late 12th century.

The third transverse rib from the north remains in situ in part. The scalloping of the capital is particularly well preserved. A surviving corbel is the only part remaining in situ from the fourth transverse rib from the north. This corbel is heavily eroded and/or hacked back (Figure 64). It survives up to the roll moulding at the top of the colonnette, but no higher.

It is highly unlikely that there ever was a fifth transverse rib. Any supporting corbel, spaced approximately 2.5m from the fourth surviving corbel,[234] would be where there is now an access point in the eastern wall of the undercroft. Evidence of it, therefore, might not survive. However, at the corresponding place on the western wall, there is no evidence of an engaged pilaster continuing the rib to ground level, nor of there ever having been one at any time. A shaft in this position would align awkwardly with a stone plinth in this area, which seems likely to be primary and is discussed below (Figure 65). Therefore, the front part of the undercroft measuring roughly 4.34m deep may not have been vaulted, which has parallels with the situation at nos 47−49 Westgate Street.

The shafts and the wall on the west side are not vertically plumb but lean outwards, as at the Fleece (*see* Figures 11 and 57). Here, there is perhaps evidence of later packing between column shaft and springer. Moreover, the lean is the side where the columns are positioned. Those columns could be perhaps an attempt to brace the lean once it had occurred and this might explain why they are not present on the vertically true eastern wall, where there are corbels and no pilasters.

Figure 64: The eroded and partially removed fourth corbel from the north in the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street. [DP325711]

Figure 65: A projecting and sloping stone plinth in the south-western corner of the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street. [DP325712]

Entrances

In the south-western corner of the undercroft, next to an altered brick-stepped opening on to the street, there are the remains of a sloping stone plinth against the western wall of the undercroft (*see* Figure 65). It is not clear whether the plinth supported steps or a ramp. Nevertheless, there is a clear slope in the stonework and the plinth protrudes from the line of the west stone wall. It has already been noted that the undercroft appears to have been held or occupied separately from the rest of the tenement; a direct entrance on to Westgate Street itself would have facilitated such separate usage. On account of later alteration, there is now no indication of how wide the original entrance might have been. The current, later, opening is approximately 1.05m wide.

In the north (rear) wall of the undercroft, there is a round-arched doorway with a dressed stone rebate (now blocked with brick) (Figure 66 and *see* Figure 57). It is at the western end of the wall. It is over 1.25m wide. The round arch is compatible with a 12th-century date. The rebate is on the southern face of the doorway, indicating that the door opened into the undercroft. In the surface of the vaulting to the south of the doorway, there is a pointed, tapered cut-out in the vault, which appears designed to accommodate a door when opened from the doorway (Figure 67). The door would have hinged from the western jamb, and when opened, rested against the western wall of the undercroft, albeit there is no surviving evidence of any pintles from which the door would have hung. The rebate is well-formed on the eastern side, extending down to ground level, but dies

away into the wall on the western side. It appears as if the constraint of space pushed the doorway into the very far north-western corner of the undercroft, leaving insufficient space for the rebate on the western side. The doorway reveals are deep and faced in coursed, dressed stone extending to the height of the springing level for the arched door head.

Figure 66: The round-arched doorway in the north-western corner of the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street seen from the south. [DP325717]

Figure 67: The recess in the vaulting of the undercroft designed to accommodate a door opening inwards from the north-western doorway, hinging from the western jamb. [DP325716]

The doorway was still open in September 1972 when images were taken of it, looking through it to a further subterranean space to the north (Figure 68).[235] The thickness of the doorway through the north wall is currently 0.71m; however, given the bricks now blocking the doorway, this may not represent the full thickness of the wall at this point. The soffit of the arched door head through the masonry wall is comprised of stones stacked on their sides to make up the arch. It appears to be angled, rising upwards as it runs to the north, as if to communicate originally with a higher ground level on the northern side. Although the space to the north of the doorway has not been investigated, another image (also from September 1972), taken from the northern side of the doorway, shows that the doorway surround on the northern side is not as well-finished as the southern side (Figure 69).[236] It is made of rubble stone and lacks the dressed stone which the southern side has. The northern surround of the doorway may, of course, have been altered with alterations to the northern space.

Figure 68: The north wall of the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street photographed by the Royal Commission in 1972 when the doorway and central opening were not blocked. [BB72/5668]

Figure 69: Within the space to the north of the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street, showing the stairs that blocked the undercroft north-eastern doorway, as well as a stone wall on the western side of this space, and a splayed recess, photographed in 1972. [BB72/5666]

It seems likely that this northern doorway was the main entrance for bringing in any bulky or sizable items. It is probably wider than the street entrance, although we don't know the full original extent of that feature. The attempt to maximise size, within a confined space, even at the expense of not finishing the rebate on the western side and inserting a 'cut out' into the vault for the opening of the door, suggests that the size of this door was an important factor when first constructed. The north door probably originally communicated with the courtyard to the rear of the plot, which was usually held in conjunction with no. 76 Westgate Street. Then, as now, there is an attraction to locating large deliveries through the rear entrance. There is another example of this at The Vine undercroft in Winchester.[237]

Openings for light

There is no evidence of any primary openings in the east or west walls, whether extant or blocked. This suggests that there was already development to either side in the 12th century, with no possibility of accessing the undercroft from adjacent plots, nor of using daylight from those directions.

To the east of the round-arched doorway in the north wall, is another opening with a low sill (Figure 70 and *see* Figures 57 and 68). It is rectangular in shape and splayed on one side. Its width is approximately 0.96m at the front (south) and 0.75m at the back (north). The eastern jamb is internally splayed but the western jamb is barely splayed, possibly because the opening is placed so close to the doorway . An internal splay in the western jamb, had it existed, would have helped to bring greater light in from the east. The central opening has dressed stone reveals and part of a moulded, chamfered stone jamb visible on the eastern side. The lintel is wooden and appears to cut across the stone jamb, albeit there is no sign, in the stone of the northern wall within the undercroft, of the opening having once been taller. In 1972, this central opening was open, along with the doorway to the west. The central opening is similar in form to a feature in the undercroft at no. 39 Strand Street, Sandwich which has been interpreted as a chute.[238] Such chutes could be used for hauling goods in to and out of undercrofts. However, the presence of such a chute so close to a primary (and relatively wide) door at a lower level and a primary window at a higher level is not easily explicable in terms of how this configuration worked and corresponded to ground levels and/or structures outside the undercroft.

Figure 70: The central opening in the north wall of the undercroft, now blocked with brick. Note the splay visible on the eastern side.[DP325718]

Figure 71: The north-eastern window in the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street, set at a higher level than the central opening. [DP325714 crop]

East of this in the north wall of the undercroft there is a further opening, the sill of which is set at a higher level than that of the central opening (Figure 71 and *see* Figures 57 and 68). It is splayed internally to the undercroft in both the east and west jambs. Its width is approximately 1.03m at the front (south) and 0.70m at the back (north). Again, the reveals are comprised of dressed stone. There is a flat stone lintel. (Flat lintels and simple chamfered jambs could be used across the medieval period.) The lintel sits above the curved line of the main vault, which is possible because it is located in an end wall. In the soffit of the lintel, centrally placed, is a mortice for a bar which would have run vertically in the centre of the opening. Any corresponding mortice in the windowsill was not observable. The sill is made of stone and slopes downwards at a pronounced angle. The height of the sill, and the pronounced slope of the same, suggest that there was no light available at a lower height outside the north-eastern corner of the undercroft. This is inconsistent with the lowered and non-sloping sill of the central opening, unless that is a later modification. If there has not been any alteration to the central opening, the two openings read awkwardly together, sitting at very different heights for no obvious reason.

The fact that all the surviving primary openings are packed into the northern wall suggests light, and access were needed from that direction, even at the expense of cramming in and truncating architectural details. It reinforces the picture of an undercroft constrained on the east and west sides in the 12th century.

Buildings above

No evidence of the original structure which sat above this undercroft was seen. It may survive in some parts of the buildings above the undercroft or it may have been entirely replaced by the later buildings. There is no evidence of primary communication or access between the building above and the undercroft. The undercroft was originally accessed either from Westgate Street or the courtyard to the rear.

Function

As at the Fleece and nos 47−49, this undercroft was spacious enough to house bulky goods, albeit with access directly from the street unlike at the Fleece, and no suggestion of a front range through which access might have been monitored, like at nos 47−49 Westgate Street − it was perhaps not as secure as either of those two. It had no heating. Like the other undercrofts, however, it was a place for display, not merely storage. It benefited from natural light and the most decorative of the carved stone details surviving in any of the Westgate undercrofts. It was clearly used in conjunction with the land behind, just as the Fleece and nos 47−49 originally had connections to land lying behind Westgate Street, not just the commercial street frontage itself. Being closer to the River Severn and the quays than the others, it may have been more advantageous as a location for any goods coming in by water transport.

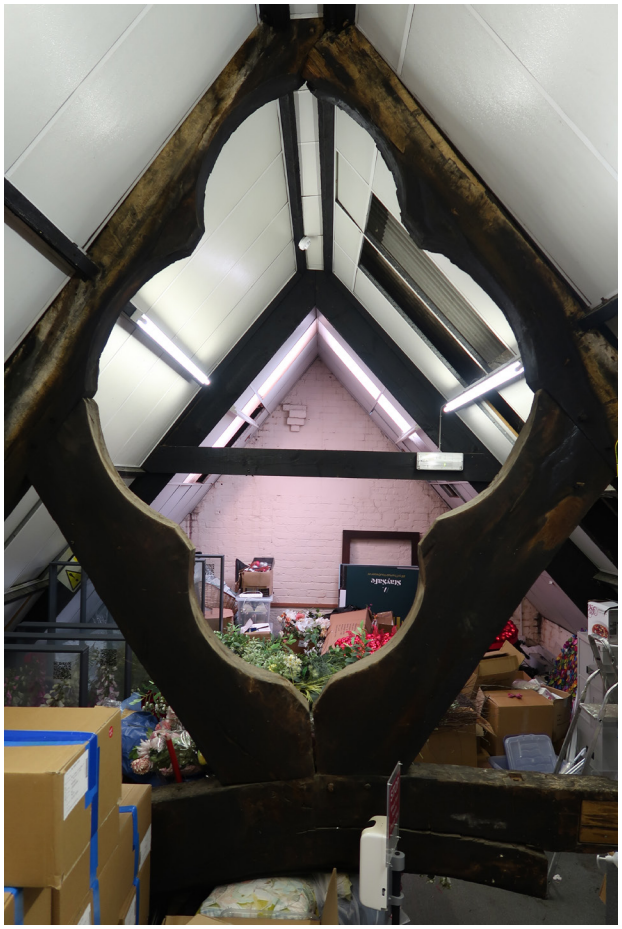

Figure 72: The central, cusped, quatrefoil truss of the timber-framed building above the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street, looking north, in 2023. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 73: The central, cusped, quatrefoil truss of the timber-framed building above the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street, photographed in 1972, looking south. [BB72/5680]

Building Description: Phase two – later medieval period

Buildings above

A later timber-framed building was erected on the northern part of the undercroft possibly in the 14th century. The dating of this structure relies upon the stylistic form of the ogee quatrefoil of the very large central truss between tie beam and apex (Figures 72 and 73). Although no obvious signs of smoke encrustation or blackening were observed on a brief site visit, it is clear that this truss was designed to be seen as part of an open hall. The timber-framed structure appears to sit over the undercroft at no. 76. However, it does not now extend as far south as Westgate Street, whereas the undercroft might have done so originally. What is left of the building appears to be a 3-bay structure and its northern wall is constructed out of brick. On plans submitted for a 1986 planning application, there is reference to removing the end truss and making good the ends of the purlins.[239] There would be benefit in examining this building in detail to understand its history and precise relationship with the undercroft (at least in part) below it.

Cellar to the north of no. 76 Westgate Street

Images from 1972 show a western wall in a cellar space to the north of no. 76 Westgate Street, communicating directly with the earlier undercroft to the south (*see* Figure 69). The wall seems to have been built, at least in part, out of stone with a splayed recess or opening to the west.[240] Plans submitted in support of a 1986 planning application describe the cellar as having arches which are to be blocked and/or cut. The cellar is depicted, on the same plans, as wider than the undercroft and almost as long (Figures 74 and 75).[241] There was access to this space from the undercroft at no. 76 through the door in the north wall of the undercroft. On the small amount of evidence available, this cellar may have been medieval in date, added on to the undercroft. It may correspond to the point in time at which the rear space was built upon and was no longer an open courtyard.

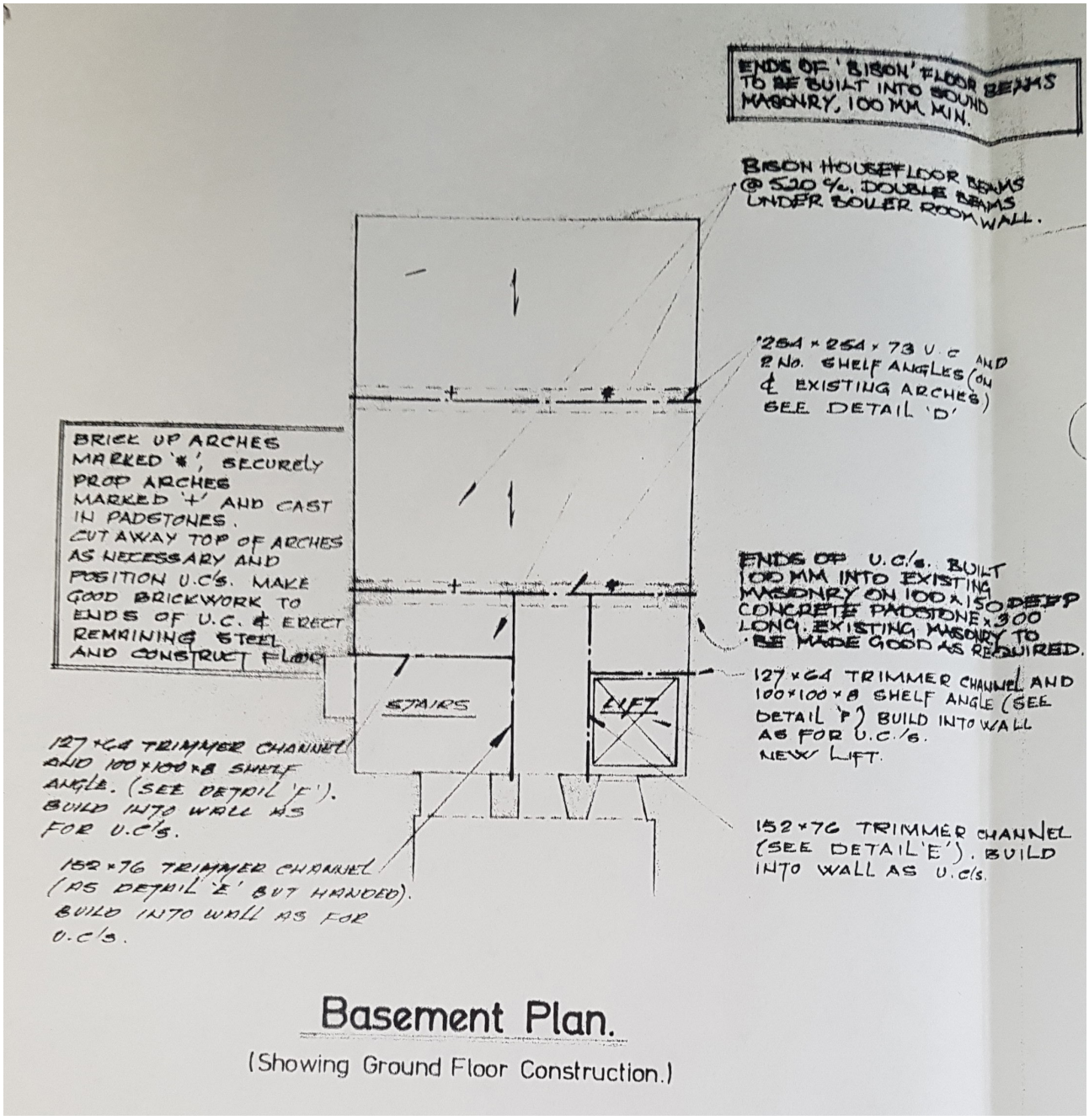

Figure 74: Proposed alterations to the space to the north of the undercroft in 1987. [© Simpson Associates Consulting Engineers, reproduced with permission.]

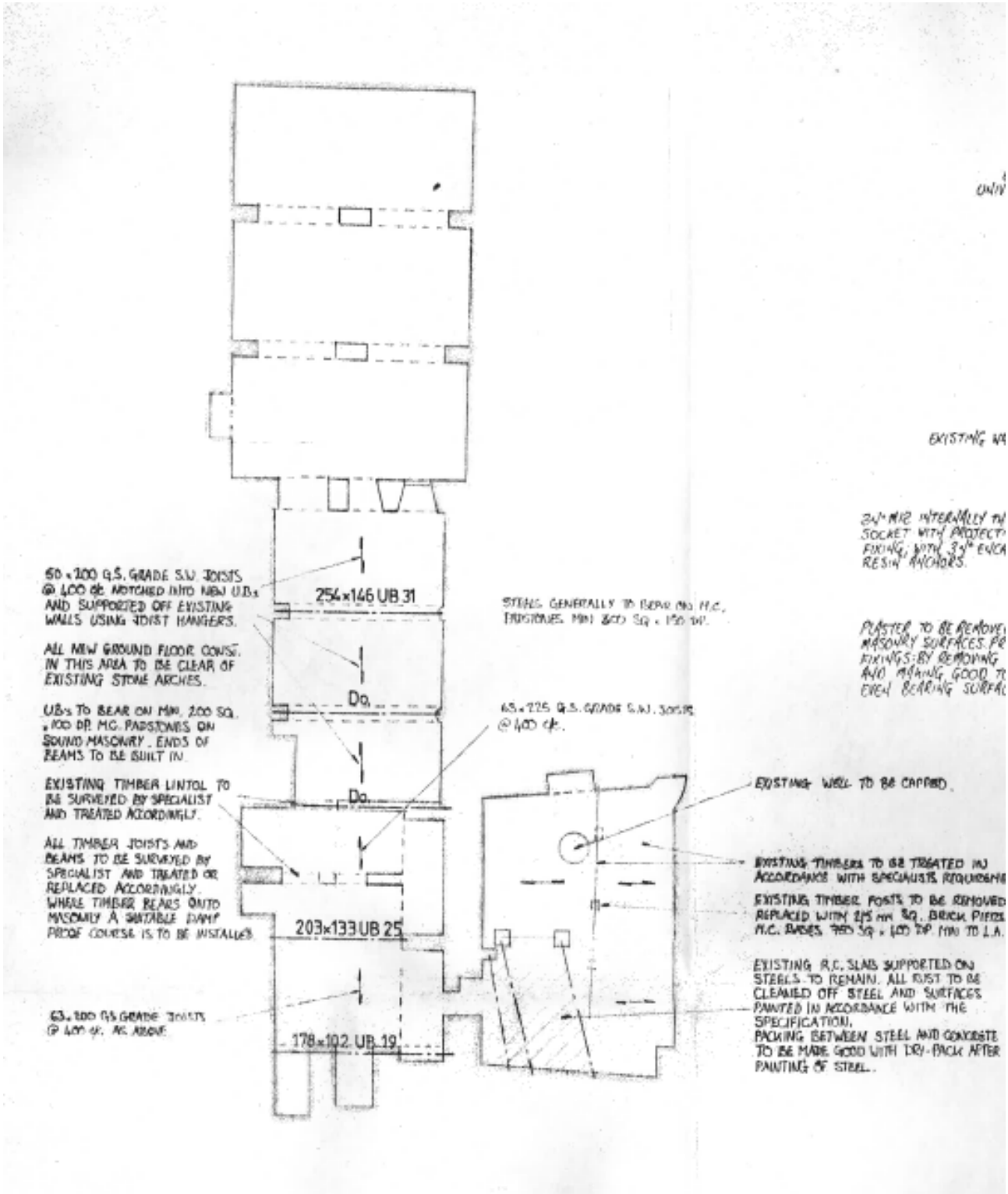

Figure 75: Proposed alterations to the undercroft and cellar under nos 74-76 Westgate Street in 1987. [© Simpson Associates Consulting Engineers, reproduced with permission.]

Cellar under no. 74 Westgate Street

To the east of the undercroft, a cellar was created beneath no. 74 Westgate Street, with four rubble stone walls. There was no access to this cellar from the undercroft originally. The cellar's width, east to west, measures internally 5.29m at the front and 5.03m at the rear (*see* Figures 58 and 75). From north to south, it measures approximately 7.8m. The southern wall is on the line of Westgate Street. There is a small buttress, also of stone, in the south-eastern corner.

There is no evidence of the cellar having been vaulted. However, the stone walls and other features suggest a potentially medieval date for initial construction. The cellar could feasibly have been built when the tenement was 'newly built' in 1455, as mentioned above. Alternatively, it could predate this. Without diagnostic carved features, it is hard to date this cellar with greater precision.

On the south wall, there is a blocked opening marked by a step and a western jamb comprised of large coursed dressed stones (Figure 76). What might be the eastern jamb contains stone that is less sizable but is neatly finished and not irregular. The width of the blocked opening is 1.08m and appears to have been an opening out on to Westgate Street itself.

Figure 76: The step correlating with the brick infill of an earlier opening, the stone jambs of which are visible. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

In the north-eastern corner there is a splayed recess with a curved back which appears designed for a small stair (Figure 77). There is an iron pintle on the north wall to the west of the recess. The stonework of the recess is bonded into that of the walls with no obvious breaks or straight joints. There is brick blocking the back of this recess. Stair access in this position suggests that, unlike at no. 76, the cellar could be accessed from within the property above it. An internal but non-intramural stair is a possibility because there is no vault in this cellar which would have been compromised by such a structure.

Figure 77: In the north-eastern corner of the cellar under no. 74 Westgate Street, there is a curved recess which might have housed a stair. [DP325706]

Figure 78: One of the blocked recesses on the eastern wall of the cellar under no. 74 Westgate Street. [DP325704]

The eastern wall of the cellar has two blocked openings with sill levels above floor level (Figure 78 and *see* Figure 58). They measure approximately 0.85m and 1.29m in width respectively. There is no sign of any dressed stone surrounding the openings or other architectural detailing. It is impossible to date the openings (other than to say that they must belong to a phase prior to their blocking up with brick). Nor is it possible to know their function. It is highly unlikely that no. 74 would have been able to have light from the eastern side; the plots were already too densely developed along the line of Westgate Street for this. The openings could potentially, therefore, have been recessed niches for extra storage. The southern recess appears as if it may have had stone slabs for shelves.

Unlike the other undercrofts, which were not heated, the cellar under no. 74 has a stone recess on the northern wall towards the western end which appears to slope upwards and taper inwards in a manner which is reminiscent of a chimney flue (Figure 79). At its widest (at its base) it measures 1.2m wide. It is approximately 0.69m deep. It was not possible to investigate how this feature was continued in any medieval fabric above. It is likely that it has been later truncated. If this feature was a fireplace and chimney, it would be the only one of early date (not a later insertion) seen in the undercrofts looked at in detail for this report.

Figure 79: An opening on the north wall of the cellar under no. 74 Westgate Street, which appears to have the form of a chimney flue. [DP325707]

There is a large capstone slab in the south-east corner of the cellar. On plans drawn up for planning permission in 1986, this was marked as a well and the intention was to cap it (*see* Figure 75).[242]

The cellar under no. 74 Westgate Street sits immediately adjacent to the undercroft of no. 76 (albeit not communicating originally with it). The two structures demonstrate well the difference between a medieval cellar and undercroft. In the cellar, there are features which can be interpreted as possibly a fireplace, niches for storage and/or light, a place for an internal stair, and a well. The fireplace is unusual and not typical of the earlier undercrofts discussed in this report.

Building Description: Phase three – post-medieval alterations

Insertion of brick partitions and arcades

At some point in the post-medieval period, probably the 18th or 19th century (based on the type of brick), a transverse brick partition was inserted into the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street (Figure 80). It utilised the line of the third rib from the north. The western half of the vault and rib were removed and underbuilt in brick. An opening in the partition was created on that western side. The eastern half of the vault, and the voussoirs of the rib to its apex, remain roughly in situ but appear to have been cut back. The brick partition originally contained a window opening further east, now blocked. The remaining voussoirs of the rib formed a window head for this opening. This must have allowed some form of light, perhaps, to pass between the two sections of the undercroft.

Probably contemporaneous with this, albeit butted up against it and not bonded into it, a thick brick arcade was built against the eastern wall of the undercroft, south of the inserted brick partition (Figure 81). The brick arcade is 1.09m deep and runs north-south parallel to the axis of the undercroft. It cuts across the line of the stone vault. The stone vault and the southernmost stone rib were removed. All that remains of that rib is the mutilated corbel within the northern arch of the inserted brick arcade.

Against the south wall of the undercroft, a brick wall was erected creating a deep recess (1.69m deep), at the back of which the butt joint between brick front wall and stone back wall (on the line of Westgate Street) can be seen. The recess is now blocked but has the form of a chute. To the west of the recess, nine brick steps descend from Westgate Street into the undercroft. Although post-medieval, these are occupying the original location of an entrance from the street (Figure 82).

In the northern part of the undercroft, a very large brick pier was inserted on the west wall, butting up against the inserted, transverse brick partition, but stretching approximately 2.12m further north and projecting by about 0.68m from the line of the undercroft west wall (*see* Figure 80).

Figure 80: Looking south in the undercroft underneath no. 76 Westgate Street at a later brick transverse partition. [DP325713]

Figure 81: The brick arcade inserted against the south-eastern wall of the undercroft beneath no. 76 Westgate Street. [DP325709]

Figure 82: Looking at the south-eastern corner of the undercroft beneath no. 76 Westgate Street, showing brick stairs ascending in the south-western corner to street level. [DP325710]

Reused stone voussoirs are observable, built into the south-eastern wall of no. 76 Westgate Street. These are likely to have been reused after being disturbed by the building of the brick partition and arcade. They may have been used to fill an earlier recess in the eastern wall. There is no evidence around the site of their reuse that there was a primary opening in this location between nos 74 and 76 Westgate Street, as there is now (*see* Figure 81).

The north-eastern window in the undercroft may have been blocked up during this time. It was blocked with bricks in the 1972 images, unlike the central opening and the door further west which were still open at this time (*see* Figure 68).[243]

Access via the cellar to the rear of no. 76 Westgate Street

A staircase was built against the north door of the undercroft at no. 76 Westgate Street, within the cellar space to the rear (*see* Figure 69). The staircase has almost certainly been subsequently destroyed by the redevelopment of the site to the north but it appears to have been made of brick, representing post-medieval fabric. By this point, the north door of the undercroft can no longer have been in use, at least not for bringing in goods, blocked as it was by the staircase. However, the stairs did give access into the undercroft from any buildings above the rear of no. 76 Westgate Street, including the timber-framed building if it extended to that point.

All these alterations appear to be strengthening the undercroft as a structural base, which may relate to the buildings above and any changes to them occurring at this point in time. The alterations also appear to correspond to a change in function for the undercroft, from being a place of public display to that of being one of private, internal storage.

Building Description: Phase four – 19th- and 20th-century alterations

Buildings above

By 1900, the southern elevation of nos 74 and 76 Westgate Street had been rebuilt above ground fronting on to Westgate Street (*see* Figure 53).[244] They were unified with a three-storey brick elevation of four wide bays in multicoloured brick. However, it does not seem likely that many of the brick alterations within the undercroft and the cellar under no. 74 date from this time. If they did, one might expect a more unified insertion of brick (*see* the equivalent process at nos 47–49 Westgate Street) whereas the respective spaces under nos 74 and 76 have very different brick phases.

Further alterations to the undercroft and cellar

A second, slimmer transverse brick arcade was inserted into the southern half of the undercroft. It is likely to be later than the first brick partition since it rests on a pier between two recesses on the western wall which appears to be built up largely in modern blockwork. It also respects the earlier brick arcade at its eastern end. Further south, a large transverse wooden chamfered beam with the footings for joists has been reused. It is not in situ. The fabric on which it rests is modern blockwork, bricks and plaster.

Modern smaller brick piers were inserted into the cellar under no. 74. At some point, the openings on the east wall of the cellar under no. 74 Westgate Street were blocked as was the doorway on the south wall of the same cellar; the latter was blocked with modern-looking bricks using mainly stretcher bond. The cellar under no. 74 Westgate Street lost its entrance from the street (*see* Figure 76). Nor is this opening currently used as a chute, or pavement light, in the manner of the others at nos 33 and 47–49 Westgate Street.

Building behind no. 76 Westgate Street

In 1990, a modern building known as Friars Court was built immediately behind no. 76 Westgate Street. The western and central openings in the northern wall of the undercroft were blocked up at this time.[245] Access to Friars Court today is solely from the east via College Street. It seems likely that the cellar space to the rear of no. 76 Westgate Street, including the fabric seen in the 1972 images, did not survive this construction. No archaeological report from the time of the development has been found. Friars Court was visited but no access to any cellar was found. There is an area of floorboards on

the ground floor of Friars Court close to the location where the stairs visible in the 1972 images would have descended. The floorboards are odd given the construction materials and techniques of the new building. They may relate to something surviving from the cellar to the rear of no. 76 Westgate Street and access to it.

This new building blocked any surviving access into the undercroft from the north. The only entrance then was, either from Westgate Street or via an opening created in the wall between nos 74 and 76, south of the southernmost surviving corbel. This opening is marked on the 1980s plans submitted for development of the site, so must have been created by then and may have reflected the enlargement of an earlier recess on the western side of the wall (*see* Figures 75 and 81). Once nos 74 and 76 were unified, there was no reason why access into the undercroft at no. 76 could not be via the cellar under no. 74.

Conclusion

The undercroft under no. 76 Westgate Street is finely decorated and has some of the best evidence for surviving primary doors and windows of all the undercrofts on Westgate Street. It has been altered and truncated at its southern end closest to the street. This is typical of the way in which all the undercrofts have seen most change in the spaces closest to Westgate Street. It reflects the demand for constant use and adaptation of the commercial frontage, even at subterranean or semi-subterranean level. The undercroft and the plots surrounding it have seen much change in the way in which they were used and accessed. Again, this is typical of the fluidity over the centuries that there has been in plot ownership and occupation, below ground as well as above. Plots have been combined and sub-divided. This contributes to the complexity of the surviving undercrofts. The cellar at no. 74 is also notable for its surviving medieval features. Although medieval cellar structures are common in Westgate Street, this survives in a more intact form, and the survival of the possible fireplace is particularly notable in this context.

Westgate Street undercrofts in the context of the city of Gloucester as a whole

A Westgate Street phenomenon?

Studies of undercrofts in other towns have attempted to assess their location pattern to determine whether they were clustered or zoned in any way. The analysis of the Westgate Street undercrofts demonstrates that the term can cover very different arrangements of such structures, ranging from a larger setback tenement through to those opening directly on to the street and intended to be used separately from the structure above. Given this it might be surprising if undercrofts were limited to one area of the city. Purpose, function and location are all highly interlinked. Since there are a variety of possible purposes and functions at play, there is likely to be a variety of potential locations.

New Winchelsea appears to have had a marked distribution of undercrofts, confined to the northern area of the town, closest to the port. It had a market place area, known as the Monday market, which is further south, but this is outside of this undercroft zone. It has been argued that the market may not have been selling produce for which an undercroft was necessary, whereas the commercial activities closer to the port may have required undercrofts.[246] In 1299, the Gascons complained to the king about a lack of undercrofts in the Vintry area of London; this seems to have led to more being built in that particular area.[247] In London, it appears that stone houses predominated in the Cathedral Close, the Jewry (where the Jewish communities were settled in the 12th and 13th centuries), in the commercial centres (Cheapside and Gracechurch Street) and along the waterfront.[248]

Gloucester also has all four of these characteristic zones. The Abbey Precinct, now Cathedral Close, lies just to the north of Westgate Street. Eastgate Street was the focus of Jewish medieval settlement.[249] Westgate Street was the principal commercial centre and close to the quay and waterfront of the River Severn. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that it has several fine and early undercrofts surviving on it. However, it would be unwise to conclude that Westgate Street was the only street in Gloucester where such undercrofts were constructed. In fact, it is highly likely that evidence still exists, even if fragmentary, of undercrofts elsewhere in Gloucester.

Although other streets have not been studied in this report, Eastgate Street is known to have had undercrofts. At least one stone-vaulted cellar of probable 13th-century date is known to have existed historically on Eastgate Street.[250] Moreover, Eastgate Street has been the subject of much 20th-century development, bringing to light medieval remains during building work. For example, in 1999, when nos 13−15 Eastgate Street were being demolished and rebuilt, a stone-walled cellar space was observed. Round-arched splayed windows were recorded.[251]

Comparisons with the Cathedral Close

There are two undercrofts in the Cathedral close said to date from the 13th century. Both are highly fragmentary, and both are above ground, not subterranean or semi-subterranean. The first is beneath the 'Parliament Room' at the north end of Church House (NHLE 1245900).[252] No evidence of vaulting appears to survive. There is a pointed two-centred arched doorway and a squinted window which could feasibly have been part of a 13th-century stone structure (Figures 83 and 84). The structure is thought to have extended further west originally.[253] Undercroft, in this context, is primarily being used to signify the space underneath a principal room, as opposed to something which is subterranean or semi-subterranean. The timber-framed building above the stone structure today is a later construction, dating from the 15th century.

Figure 83: The splayed window in the possible undercroft at the north end of Church House in the Gloucester Cathedral precinct. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 84: The pointed-arched blocked doorway in the possible undercroft at the north end of Church House in the Gloucester Cathedral precinct. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

The other is to the south of St Mary's Gateway, at no. 14 College Green (NHLE 1245896), and is also thought to be a later timber-framed building on top of an earlier 13th-century undercroft.[254] It was not possible to get access into the latter, but the structure is said to be highly complex, much altered and of multiple phases. No evidence of vaulting is recorded on the Historic Environment Record and what does remain is highly fragmentary.[255]

On the other side of St Mary's Gateway, Monument House is a Grade II listed building (NHLE 1245669). It was the subject of archaeological investigation in 2018. The cellar has rubble stone walls from which a brick vault springs. The rubble stone walls have been interpreted as belonging to an earlier cellar, possibly medieval.[256] The western wall of the cellar on the street frontage is on the line of the precinct wall.

Within the inner precinct, at the little or infirmary cloister, on its western side, there is a north-south range, the ground floor of which comprises an undercroft thought to date to the 13th century (NHLE 1271579) (Figure 85). The undercroft's three bays are defined by transverse and quadripartite ribs rising from short wall shafts with foliate capitals (Figures 86 and 87). (The southernmost surviving pair have bell capitals with roll moulding.) The chamfer on the ribs does not appear to be as broad as those in the undercrofts on Westgate Street. Again, this undercroft in the inner precinct is not subterranean nor semi-subterranean. Above the undercroft was the infirmary refectory (or misericord).

Figure 85: The 13th-century undercroft, looking north, beneath the monastic infirmary refectory. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 86: The wall shafts within the 13th-century little cloister undercroft from which the quadripartite vaulting springs. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 87: One of the shafts with foliate capital supporting the vaulting in the 13th-century little cloister undercroft. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Close by, Dulverton House is listed at Grade II* (NHLE 1245957). The east range contains an above-ground space that is often referred to as an undercroft. Its walls are of stone, but it was not vaulted. Instead, it was ceiled with a massive beam supported by large wooden posts on moulded stone bases. The posts have oak brackets at their heads carved in the shape of figures, possibly monks. The chamfer stops are miniature trefoiled arches. The range has been dated to the 14th century.[257]

Figure 88: The chapel above the western slype in the former abbot's lodgings, looking east, showing the barrel vault and supporting pillars with scalloped capitals. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

Figure 89: The western slype beneath the former chapel in the abbot's lodgings, looking west, again showing a barrel vault and supporting pillars with scalloped capitals. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

An earlier example, dating to the early 12th century, are the two barrel-vaulted spaces in the former abbot's lodgings (NHLE 1245900); namely, what is now known as the western slype and the chapel above it (Figures 88 and 89).[258] Both the chapel and the slype have been truncated at the western end. In both, the bays are defined by transverse ribs, but the ribs are semi-circular in profile with hollow moulding, and not the square-chamfered type of rib found in all three of the 12th-century undercrofts on Westgate Street. The ribs spring from engaged pillars with scalloped capitals. The variety of the scalloped forms in these two spaces, in addition to the many other examples elsewhere in the Cathedral − such as in the crypt or in the arcading of the barrel-vaulted passage between the north transept and chapter house[259] − demonstrate how varied such scalloped capitals could be and how creative masons were with the carved form. (The ribs in the 11th-century crypt are mainly rectangular in profile, without a chamfer.)

The lobby to the north of the chapel and slype is thought to date to 1200, later than the abbot's lodgings, crypt or slype. It has a quadripartite vault. The ribs spring from engaged shafts with stiff-leaf and trumpet-scalloped capitals, all much restored. These capitals are later stylistically than those in the Fleece and the undercroft beneath no. 76 Westgate Street. These examples are all taken from an ecclesiastical context. Nevertheless, it is plausible to suggest that there would have been influence from this context on the undercroft architecture of 12th-century date in Westgate Street. There may even have been crossover in the masons carrying out the work in both locations.

The comparison is also of value in demonstrating the very different forms of vaulting used in the 12th and 13th centuries in Gloucester. The Westgate Street undercrofts at the Fleece, nos 47−49 and nos 74−76 Westgate Street are likely to date between the two phases of vaulting at the Abbey discussed above; that is the vaulting within the early 12th-century abbot's chapel and western slype and the 13th-century vaulting in the lobby, to the north of the chapel and slype, and underneath the infirmary misericord in the little cloister.

Westgate Street undercrofts in the context of undercrofts elsewhere

A 12th-century phenomenon?

Stone undercrofts appear to have emerged in several towns in England in the 12th century. This has been described as a major phase of building in stone in core commercial urban areas; indeed, the first major phase in stone since Roman buildings were constructed in those areas.[260] The undercrofts of Westgate Street can be seen as part of this phenomenon. In fact, the survival of three undercrofts, which are likely to be 12th century in date, in one street is remarkable, particularly in a secular urban context and unusual in any English town. Early undercrofts survive in greater numbers in ecclesiastical settings or, alternatively, as part of large or non-urban sites such as castles. Many of the comparator towns referred to in this report have undercrofts which survive from the 13th or 14th centuries, but not the 12th.

The 12th-century date correlates with the rise in the Gascon wine trade, and, although that one trade may not have accounted for the emergence of these kinds of undercrofts alone, it seems fair to recognise the fact that many of these undercrofts, including those in Westgate Street, were associated very early on with this trade. Gloucester had a further reason for adopting stone undercrofts in the 12th century. Several notable fires affected Gloucester in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. Such fires would have given additional impetus to the building of stone undercrofts.

The street does not have anything like the 14th-century undercrofts surviving in other places, such as Oxford, Southampton or Winchester. Nor does it have clear evidence of the construction of undercrofts at a later date for the purpose of being a tavern. (At a later date, there is some suggestion that undercrofts created as taverns were often quadripartite in vaulting, with barrel vaulting being used for the storerooms.)[261] Westgate Street's earlier undercrofts may have come to be associated at a later date with sites that were inns, and been used in conjunction with inns, but that is not the same as the rise in building undercrofts in the 14th centuries to serve as purpose-built taverns.

Nevertheless, undercrofts were still being created in the later medieval period along Westgate Street (It was not solely a 12th-century phenomenon). No. 33 is evidence of this. In addition, there is abundant evidence that cellars were being created and adapted throughout the period and the post-medieval period, as might well be expected. With the advent of brick, spaces that were secure and fireproof could more easily and cheaply be constructed. All the undercrofts have later brick insertions. Two of them – nos 47−49 and no. 33 Westgate Street – preserve brick vaults as well as brick walls, partitions and piers.

Trading, commerce and urban residences

It seems highly likely that the undercrofts examined in detail along Westgate Street were designed with some aspect of display in mind; that at the Fleece might have been by invitation only, as opposed to public entry from the street. Equally, they were all eventually converted into private spaces, accessible only via internal staircases from the buildings above. In the case of the undercroft at the Fleece, external access from the adjacent yard may only have been reintroduced later in time, as part of the revival of the space as the Monks' Retreat, taking advantage of the historic display qualities of that undercroft.

Only one of the undercrofts, that at the Fleece, can be said unequivocally to have functioned as part of a setback urban residence in its own more spacious plot. Such urban residences, paralleled also at Frewin Hall, Oxford and in Cambridge at the School of Pythagoras, are rare survivors in an urban context. It is not at all surprising that there is only one on Westgate Street. There is another medieval stone residence surviving in fragmentary form, which was set back from the street frontage in Gloucester, further north-west on Hare Street, and not located as centrally. This is what became Tanners' Hall. The original residence is described as a first-floor hall. The ground floor could be described as an undercroft, in the sense of being the space underneath a principal room. However, it was not subterranean nor semi-subterranean, nor does evidence survive of it having been vaulted, albeit there was a moulded pillar base at the centre of the ground floor which presumably rose to support the first floor.[262]

The other Westgate Street undercrofts all appear to have been street-fronting spaces which is more common in a medieval urban context generally and can be found in other towns also. However, in addition, the Westgate Street undercrofts demonstrate nicely the fact that undercrofts related to land at the back of the plot as well as at the street frontage. They preserve evidence of the way in which urban plots remained open in the medieval period at the rear. At the same time, they illustrate the early date at which the street front itself was constrained, leading to plots which were already confined at the sides, and were seeking to maximise use of the street frontage.

There is no clear-cut evidence of two-tier selling in the sites looked at along Westgate Street. This is partly because the original buildings above do not survive so evidence has been lost. It is clear that the undercrofts were at least partially above ground, not fully subterranean. This must have had implications for the properties above. However, none of the sites can be said unequivocally to evidence simultaneous commercial activity from the undercroft level and that above the undercroft. This assessment may change if and when there is further opportunity to investigate what remains of the buildings above ground. There are documentary references to configurations, elsewhere along Westgate Street, of cellars beneath shops in the 14th century, which, had they survived, might have supplied the missing evidence. These are discussed in the Gazetteer.

Recommendations for future research

This report focuses on notable undercrofts, or the remains of the same, along Westgate Street. It synthesises available knowledge to give an improved baseline for understanding the Westgate Street undercrofts. The report can be used to assess any future remains of undercrofts that might be discovered, or investigated, in future, to give them context and a framework. New data may emerge from both standing remains and archaeology, as well as documentary research. Inevitably, there will be new opportunities to see fabric not currently visible as and when there is future development, repair or conservation. New information may well update or alter the findings of this report. In particular:

- Any opportunity to investigate the buildings standing above any of the undercrofts, explored in this report, should look to understand their interrelationship with the undercroft beneath and how that sheds light on the changing evolution in form, and use of, the relevant undercroft.

- Likewise, any opportunity to investigate the plots alongside and behind any of the undercrofts, explored in this report, might well illuminate further the history of the relevant undercroft's use and the ways in which it was accessed at various points in time.

- There may well be further examples of undercrofts along Westgate Street, or fragments of the same. As many as possible were accessed in the time available, but the constraints of time, and of obtaining permissions for access, mean that this report is by no means an exhaustive survey of all subterranean or semi-subterranean spaces along Westgate Street. It is hoped that this report gives examples of what to look out for, including what to note in terms of later adaptation of undercrofts. As and when other cellar areas are being investigated, any new information could be integrated into the findings of this report, to help build up a richer and deeper picture of Westgate Street.

- Evidently, there will be other undercrofts, or remains of undercrofts, in other parts of Gloucester. This report could serve as a model for the investigation of other areas of Gloucester, for example, a systematic survey of Eastgate or Southgate Streets. Together, such reports would help to clarify further the place of Gloucester's undercrofts nationally at various points in time.

- Above all, it is the bringing together of data and information that is key. The synthesis helps the significance of the undercrofts to be properly appreciated and helps build up a picture of how all these spaces were operating contemporaneously along the street. In turn, it helps inform a proper understanding of the role of Westgate Street (as well as other streets) in the life of Gloucester throughout the centuries.

- On a national level, continued examination and assessment of undercrofts elsewhere is needed, both looking at surviving fabric and documentary evidence. Investigations should consider their dating, character and likely functions, and continue to contribute to the discussions surrounding these structures.

- In this context, the Gloucester examples deserve to be better known and more widely referenced in studies of the national typology.

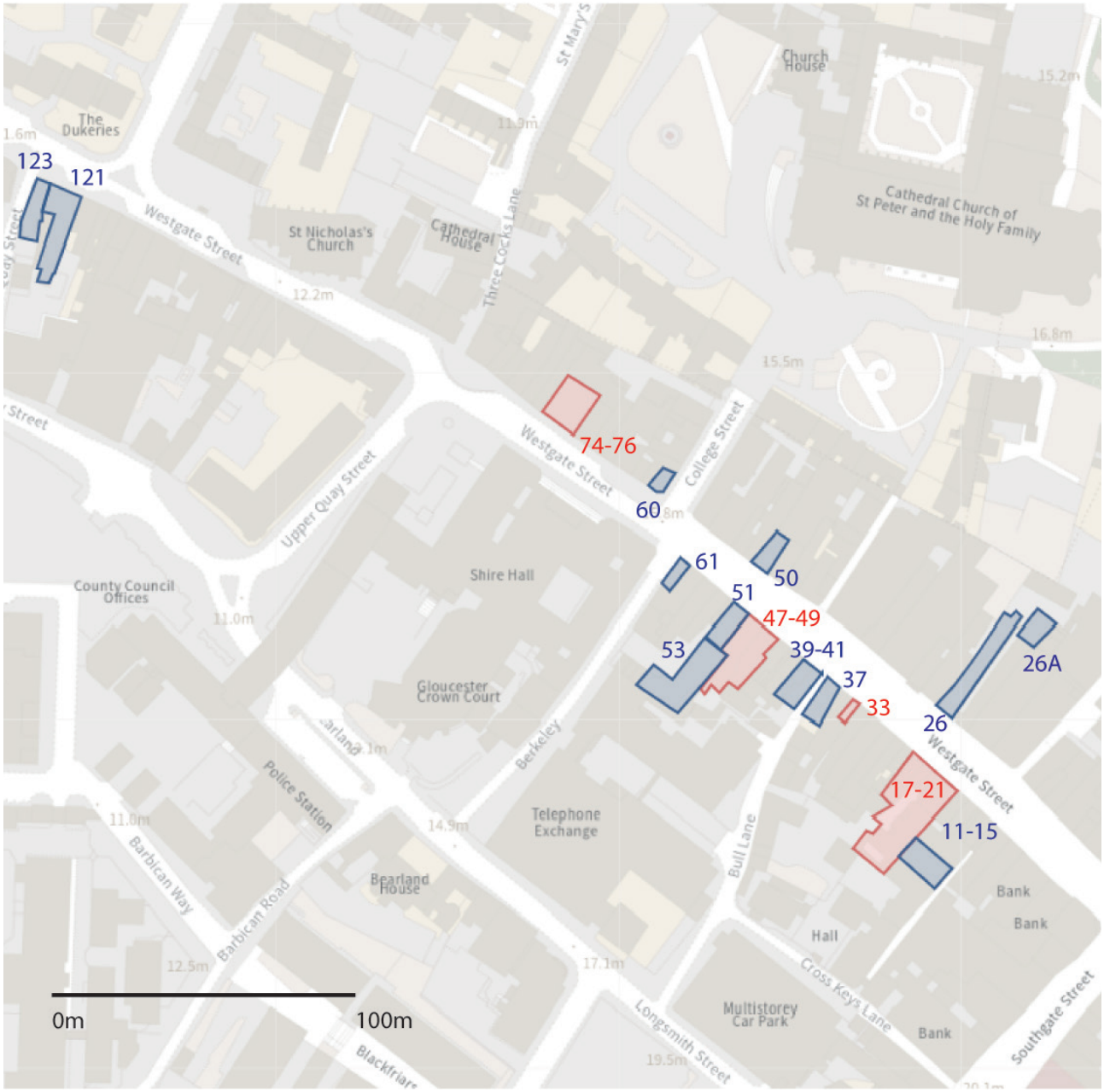

Figure 90: A map of Westgate Street showing the location of all undercrofts and cellars on the street investigated and discussed in this report: red are the known undercrofts, blue are the cellars or unverified undercrofts. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England.© Crown Copyright and database right 2023. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100024900.]

Gazetteer

Entries in the Gazetteer are listed by numerical order within the street. This is by no means an exhaustive list. It reflects sites that may have potential in terms of medieval undercrofts, cellars or remains of the same, which came to the attention of the authors during the research for this report. Fabric, or reports of fabric, which appear to be post-medieval are not included. This list could be added to by searching further through accounts of archaeological work and watching briefs carried out in the city over the last 60 years or more.

Westgate Street

South side (odd numbers)

Cellar to the rear of nos 11 and 13 Westgate Street

No. 11 is Grade II listed (NHLE 1245443). The cellars to the rear of no. 11 are mainly brick. However, a passageway was cut through between the cellar to the rear of no. 15 and the cellar to the rear of no. 11. In the cut, features were visible in 1995 that were interpreted as a backfilled medieval cellar. They were described as a medieval floor surface of graded Bunter pebbles and small stones bedded on a lias stone makeup. The floor was bonded to a robbed-out lias stone wall to the west. Dark loam tip levels above indicated possible back-fill.[263] None of these features were visible on a rapid site visit in 2023. However, much of the cut has been painted. Harder still to make out was any sign of the profile of a staircase descending into the medieval cellar to the rear of no. 15, supposedly visible on the south side of the cut-through passage. In 1996, it was suggested that that staircase would have communicated with a passageway above ground between nos 11 and 13 Westgate Street, now incorporated into the present buildings on the site.[264]

Cellar to the rear of no. 15 Westgate Street

Immediately east of the undercroft at the Fleece, at its south-eastern corner, a cellar was created which used the undercroft's eastern stone wall as its western wall. There was no access between the two, nor, given the history of entirely separate plots and ownership should there be any expectation of there having been access. Within the cellar, two rubble stone walls were built, running east, and parallel to each other, from the undercroft's eastern wall. The southern wall appears to continue the line of the southern wall of the undercroft. The northern wall runs just over 5m further north. It is unlikely that these walls are bonded into the wall of the undercroft, albeit it is hard to tell from a brief visual inspection. A third rubble stone wall runs parallel between them (also east-west in orientation) and it clearly can be seen to butt up against the undercroft wall.

At the north-east corner of this cellar, there is evidence of a return in the north wall forming the start of an east wall to the cellar, roughly 6.5m away from the east wall of the undercroft. The wall has a pronounced batter, and stones protruding for a wider footing at the base. The south wall of the cellar is far more irregular and steps out considerably halfway along, tapering into a narrow passage where access into the adjoining approximately 18th-century cellars to the east has been excavated out. There is no evidence of any springers for any kind of a vault in this space. The ceiling is comprised of wooden beams and joists spanning the space. There is a stone niche with shelves in the south-eastern corner of the space. The cellar is a separate construction from that of the undercroft, and illustrates, as does the example at nos 74−76 Westgate Street, the differences between medieval undercrofts and cellars. Clearly, at some point after the Fleece undercroft was constructed in the 12th century, the eastern wall of the undercroft was used by owners or occupiers of the plot lying to the east as a wall of a medieval cellar underlying buildings to the south of no. 15 Westgate Street.

No. 37 Westgate Street

In 1415, a 'newly built' house on the corner of Westgate Street and Bull Lane was described as having a cellar.[265] This was no. 37, with *Gor Lone* (now Bull Lane) on its western side.[266] Enquiries were made at no. 37 Westgate Street (unlisted). If any cellar exists, it is blocked off and not accessible.

Nos 39−41 Westgate Street

The cellars were investigated underneath nos 39−41 and are described in the separate research report into this property.[267] The one under no. 39 (Grade II listed: NHLE 1271926) is inaccessible. The cellar under no. 41 (Grade II listed: NHLE 1271927) has brick walls with a brick segmentally arched vault. In 1176−1194, land, which formed part of the plot on which nos 39−41 now sit, was said to be 'behind' a 'cellar' belonging to Benet the cordwainer (who held land elsewhere on Westgate Street as well). This might suggest there was an early cellar or undercroft in the vicinity in the 12th century. Nothing of that date was seen under no. 41.

No. 51 Westgate Street

This is an unlisted building constructed in the 20th century replacing the older buildings and cellars that had been on the site. The present cellar is a construction out of concrete – all the walls are very even and regular with a cement surface. There are metal beams supporting the floor above. Nothing remains of what was visible at the time of the demolition and rebuilding of no. 51 Westgate Street, described in the main body of the report (*see* Figure 47). The current cellar is L-shaped, and broader at the northern, street-front end. The footprint of the cellar may reflect something which pre-existed it.

No. 53 Westgate Street also known as The Fountain Inn

The Fountain Inn is a Grade II listed building (NHLE 1271932). Some of the history of the Fountain has been described above in the discussion relating to nos 47−49 Westgate Street. The two sites are connected, in particular, by their holding in common in the 15th

century by Sibilla Savage. She resided at no. 47 whilst running an inn from a site, which was larger than, but included, no. 53 Westgate Street. A brief site visit to the cellars at the Fountain Inn was possible. What remains accessible today, beneath the Fountain, is a small rectangular cellar, which is smaller than the footprint of the modern-day Fountain Inn and is unlikely to reflect the medieval plot. The walls appear largely to be constructed of brick with a brick arched vault running over the top of the structure. The cellar was part of the cellar survey carried out in 1974, when some sections of limestone blocks used in the walling were observed, particularly at the northern end.[268] There do appear to be some stone blocks in the east and west walls towards the northern end. At its northern end, it is barrel-vaulted with a brick vault, which is asymmetric, the eastern side springing from a lower height than the western. It is understood that in the 1980s there was still a grille through which further cellar spaces to the north could be seen.[269] Above ground, there appears to be two phases in the modern brick work of the buildings to the north of the Fountain, as observed in the walling of the alleyway leading to the Fountain from Westgate Street. It may be that there was further infill or rebuilding of the structures between no. 51 and no. 53 later in the 20th century, after no. 51 had been rebuilt. This would sit above the northern end of the cellar and the space to the north of it.

There are some blocked openings in the western wall of the cellar beneath no. 53. This is also the location for the current barrel chute from the courtyard to the west of the inn. However, none of the blocked openings were clearly a doorway. Rather they appeared to have been more of the size of a window, light well or recess. In 1974, a passageway to the west was observed, also containing some limestone blocks.[270] It is hard to determine where that passageway would have been.

Nos 59–61 Westgate Street (also 1 and 3 Berkeley Street)

This site is listed Grade II* (NHLE 1245225). It sits on the eastern corner of Westgate Street and Berkeley Street. It is on the line of the western wall of the Roman fort. In 1974, the corner of no. 61 Westgate Street was observed to have very large blocks of stone in its cellar which were thought potentially to have been reused from a Roman or medieval context.[271] The cellars were visited in 2023 and nothing like this was observed. The cellar walls were drylined throughout. It may be that what was observed in 1974 exists behind the current wall finishes. No sign of any vaulting was observed.

No. 121 Westgate Street also known as The Lower George Hotel

The Lower George is listed at Grade II (NHLE 1245080). St Bartholomew's Hospital, after acquiring nos 121 and 123 Westgate Street, united them to form 'a comon inne at the signe of the George' which was mentioned in 1535.[272] The cellars of the Lower George are a complex space which has not been the subject of a detailed survey. The amalgamation of different plots and different buildings at various points in time seems potentially to be legible in the cellar. No sign of vaulting was observed. The current head height is low. The walls are a mixture of materials, including stone, brick and modern blockwork. There is an opening on to the street which has served for the unloading of deliveries for the inn. Since much of the northern wall (the street-front wall) appeared to

be rebuilt in 20th century blockwork or altered, it was not clear on a rapid visit whether any evidence for primary openings survived. At least two niches in rubble stone walls are present. The rubble stone walls have an appearance similar to walls elsewhere that are of a medieval date.

There is a small area of stonework in the north-west corner of the cellar under no. 121 which is of interest. The stone is far more finely dressed than any of the rubble stone elsewhere in the cellar, or elsewhere in other undercrofts and cellars that have been visited along Westgate Street. It extends south along the western wall from the north-western corner for a few metres until there is a return heading west and disappearing into the property next door, no. 123. There is a corresponding return further south in the same finely dressed stone, together making up the jambs of an opening, which prior to being blocked, appears to have given access to the space beneath no. 123. This area of stonework is very neat and precise. The stones are covered with masonry paint but, where the paint has peeled off, the stones seem to have a hard, black surface with a crystalline finish. They do not appear to be similar to the dressed limestone visible elsewhere dating to the medieval or Roman period. However, it may be that a surface treatment has been applied at some point in time, or that the climatic conditions in the cellar have produced a natural leaching of minerals from the stonework to its surface. The wall sits on a line and at a level appropriate to the conjectured line of the Roman quay and waterfront,[273] however, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that these stones are part of any such structure.[274]

No. 123 Westgate Street (formerly part of the George Inn also known as The Lower George Hotel)

No. 123 Westgate Street is listed at Grade II (NHLE 1245081). The plot was granted in 1200−1240 to David Dunning,[275] who was owner of the Fleece site at the same period in time. It was not possible to inspect the cellar at no. 123. As and when the trapdoor becomes accessible, it would be worth investigating and recording the cellar, particularly to ascertain if there is any evidence for the continuation (or other face) of the wall observed in no. 121.

North side (even numbers)

No. 26 Westgate Street also known as the Old Judges House

No. 26 is Grade I listed (NHLE 1245450). The cellars under the property are complex, extensive and represent different phases of development just as there are different phases of development above ground. In general terms, they can be divided into two spaces of different age.

The front space appears to be potentially four bays deep; the bays being demarcated by corresponding pairs of sizable stone piers on the eastern and western walls. The material of the walls is mixed; there are many sections built of rubble stone, some

using very large blocks which are finely dressed. This is probably partly the source of the suggestion that reused Roman stone is to be seen at no. 26, as well as the stone above ground on the east elevation, *see* further below.[276] Each of the stone piers and some of the walls have a larger base, almost as if standing on a small plinth. Many of the corners of the piers and walls are very well constructed with sharply defined quoins. There was no sign of vaulting in the space and no evidence of any springers which might have carried a vault. The ceiling is made of beams and joists which do not seem to correspond to the stone walls, resting instead above them on a few courses of bricks on top of the stone wall heads. Moreover, there are additional piers abutting the larger stone piers; it is the former not the latter that carry the principal beams today.

At the southern end of the front space, on the street frontage itself, there is what appears possibly to be a rebated stone jamb. Slightly further east there is a smaller vertical stone, dressed with a chamfer, which could have served as the start of a window reveal or light well opening. It seems possible that these are fragments of a primary opening on to the street from the cellar under the southern part of no. 26, together with an opening for light. Part way along the eastern side of the front cellar, there is a window positioned high on the wall with a deeply sloping splay. It has a large amount of brick infill today but also appears to have a central chamfered stone mullion, albeit there is insufficient context to determine if this is in situ or reused as part of the packing and infill.

Within the space, there are many other partitions and sub-dividing walls, some of which use large blocks of stone. If these partitions and sub-divisions are secondary, they demonstrate the way stone, even Roman and medieval, can be reused. The presence of such stone cannot be used reliably to date a wall by itself; rather the whole context must be considered together with the coherence of the features in which the stone is found. There are other blocked openings which seem to be later and used as some form of chute from Maverdine Lane to the east and from Westgate Street to the south.

The rear space, further back from the street, appears to be later in date. There is more brick in this space. It has a staircase ascending to the north. Although now internal, this may have been an external staircase originally.

It is likely that the cellar to the south, closest to Westgate Street, may predate the post-medieval timber-framed ranges above, and be reused from earlier structures. In 1593, the ‘foreparte’ of the plot was left to John, son of Alderman John Brown, together with cellars.[277] Above ground externally, along the east elevation, large stone blocks have been observed, measuring approximately 9 inches high and ranging in length between 9 inches and 36 inches.[278]

No. 26A Westgate Street

This property sits to the rear of no. 26 Westgate Street, at the northern end of Maverdine Lane. It is not listed. The cellar beneath it was visited briefly. It has brick walls and brick floors. There is a large brick fireplace on its eastern side. There was no sign of

any vaulting. Only one small area of rubble stone walling was spotted in a small, short passage to the north of the fireplace. Without any wider context, it is not possible to say to what the rubble stone might have related. Overall, the cellar appears to be post-medieval.

No. 50 Westgate Street

This is an unlisted building. In 1990, whilst the cellar was being cleared, rubble stone walls thought to relate to a medieval cellar were found on the north, east and west sides. (The street frontage is the south side of this building.) In addition, an 8m deep, stone-lined well was found towards the west end of the building.[279] This structure was not accessed as part of the current project.

No. 60 Westgate Street

This is a Grade II listed site, together with no. 62 Westgate Street (NHLE 1245226). In the medieval period, the whole of the front of no. 62 was a purpresture (an encroachment upon the highway), including two cellar heads, and rented from the city because it was an encroachment in the 16th and 17th century.[280] As has already been noted above, undercrofts with exits on to the street were often found to be encroachments on to streets. This structure was not accessed as part of the current project.

11 shops to the east of St Nicholas's church, Westgate Street, known as Rotten Row

In 1349, cellars were noted running beneath 11 shops known as Rotten Row, which apparently lay to the east of St Nicholas' church at the west end of Westgate Street. The precise location is not known. This reference, to a Register of Llanthony Priory, is taken from the Victoria County History.[281] Further research could involve examining the primary source to see if more detail can be extracted.

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Endnotes

1 Faulkner 1975; RCHME 1977; Smith and Carter 1983; Jones, Major and Varley 1984; Johnson and Jones 2016; Keene 1985; Schofield 1990; Harris 1994; Schofield 1994; Brown 1999; Martin and Martin 2004; Martin and Martin 2009; Baker 2010; Leech 2014; Clark 2016.

2 This property, together with nos 19A, 21 and 23 Westgate Street, is the subject of a separate research report: Rebecca Lane, 'The Fleece Hotel: 19, 19a, 21 and 23 Westgate Street, Gloucester. Historic Building Assessment', Historic England Research Report Series, 33/2023.

3 Verey and Brooks 2002, 472.

4 Lobel and Tann 1969, 2−3; Heighway 1984, 35; VCH 1988, 5−6.

5 Smith 1964-1965, Vol. 39, 128, citing Stevenson 1893, 418.

6 VCH 1988, 5−6; Armstrong 2020.

7 Lobel and Tann 1969, 3.

8 VCH 1988, 13. Hurst 1984, 12.

9 Hart 1863−1867, Vol. 1, 3−4, 8−9; Lobel and Tann 1969, 3; VCH 1988, 9; Baker and Holt 2004, 25.

10 Compiled by the 'Forum on Information Standards in Heritage' (FISH),

11 Gee 1984; Jones, Major and Varley 1984, 105; Pevsner 2010; Curl and Wilson 2015.

12 There are exceptions to this rule in the literature, for example, Faulkner 1966, 120, Schofield 1994, 31 and Baker 2010, 78, all of whom would like to include timber-ceiled structures in the definition of an undercroft. Compare, too, the definition of 'undercroft' in Brown 1999, 188, which refers to part of a building partially or wholly beneath ground. On the other hand, Schofield 1990, 161, has a definition for an 'undercroft' similar to this report, saying 'The term undercroft is confined in the present discussion to a vaulted stone structure, forming a cellar which protruded usually between two and six feet above the ground.'

13 Schofield 1994, 80.

14 Baker, 2010, 80.

15 Hill and Gardiner 2018.

16 Neale 2000, 22−23; Leech 2014, 152.

17 Baker 2010, 77.

18 Faulkner 1966, 124.

19 Jones, Major and Varley 1984, 147; Johnson and Jones 2016, 14−29.

20 Leech 2014, 155.

21 Smith and Carter, 1983; Baker 2010, 78.

22 Brown 1999, 6, 55, 58.

23 Keene 1985, 166.

24 Verey and Brooks 2002, 473. Also, see the list description for no. 11 Westgate Street (NHLE 1245443) and Gloucestershire HER no. 1422.

25 Harris 1994, 280.

26 Martin and Martin 2004, 126−127.

27 Hill 2020.

28 Blair 1978.

29 Harris 1994, 381−382; Schofield 1994, 33, 231.

30 Hill 2020, 118.

31 Faulkner 1975, 83−85.

32 Stocker 1991.

33 Stocker 1991, 6

34 Jones, Major and Varley 1984, 148.

35 Harris 1994, 262. See, too, Schofield 1994, 76.

36 Keene 1985, 54, 165.

37 Martin and Martin, 2004, Chapter 9.

38 Martin and Martin 2004, 123.

39 Faulkner 1975, 114−115; See Harris 1994, 216 for images.

40 Martin and Martin 2004, 121 and fig. 9.39.

41 Hamilton 1870, 292.

42 Lobel and Tann 1969, 2.

43 Schofield 1994, 89.

44 James 1971, 181 and Ch. IV generally.

45 Harris 1994, 5.

46 See James 1971, 164−171, for discussion of the seasonal aspects of the trade in the 14th century.

47 Martin and Martin 2004, 125.

48 Sharpe 1901, 65, 75, 80; Sargent 1918, 256−311. See also, Harris 1984, 233 and Martin and Martin 2004, 124.

49 Hart 1863−1867, 14−15, 22, 24, 26; VCH 1988, 70.

50 Keene 1985, 167.

51 Neale 2000, 10−11; Leech 2014, 151.

52 Faulkner 1966, 124.

53 Faulkner 1975, 85; Harris 1994, 59; Parker 1971, 41, 115, Plate 5B.

54 Martin and Martin 2004, 123.

55 Leech 2014, 155.

56 RCHME 1977, lix – lxiv.

57 Wine rather than ale was consumed in taverns: Julian Munby pers. comm.

58 Schofield 1994, 34.

59 Salzman 1967, 432−433. Compare Harris 1994, 232, who points out that the tavern may have been located on the ground and first floors judging from the language of the contract.

60 Pantin 1942; Munby 1978. There are other possible taverns with undercrofts known about in Oxford, including at sites which subsequently became the Mitre, the Town Hall and the Post Office; These are often dated to the 14th or 15th centuries and have quadripartite vaulting, although one or two are earlier: see Munby 1992, 303; Clark 2016.

61 Keene 1985, 274.

62 OED s.v. tavern n.2. Available at https://www.oed.com [accessed May 2023].

63 Rosen and Cliffe 2017, 39, 104−106; Catchpole, Clarke and Peberdy 2008 70−71, 179.

64 Schofield 1994, 34, 208.

65 Garrod and Heighway 1984, 41.

66 VCH 1988, 365; Smith 1964-1965, Vol. 39, 128, citing Gloucester Cathedral, the Charters of St Peter's Gloucester, ix, 10 and Stevenson 1893, 118. For crudde, see OED s.v. crowd n.2. The initial s- may have been added as a result of Anglo-Norman influence.

67 OED s.v. scrud, online at https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/173716?redirectedFrom=scrud#eid [accessed May 2023].

68 Heighway 1984, 36.

69 Baker and Holt 2004, 46−47.

70 Garrod and Heighway 1984, 5.

71 Household 1946−1948, 39; Baker and Holt 2004, 53.

72 Baker and Holt 2004, 53.

73 Household 1946-1948, 38; Baker and Holt 2004, 51.

74 Langton 1977, 274.

75 VCH 1988, 64.

76 The first Llanthony Priory was in Wales near Abergavenny; Llanthony Secunda was founded on the south side of Gloucester in 1137: VCH 1988, 15; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016; Stevenson 1890.

77 Baker and Holt 2004, 261.

78 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, xxxviii−xxxix.

79 Harris 1994, 120.

80 See the map of plots 87 and 87A in Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, xxxviii−xxxix.

81 Stevenson 1890, 31−33; Wells-Furby 2004, 465−466, nos 25−29 and MS GC 1341; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 133.

82 VCH 1988, 371-372.

83 Stevenson 1890, 31−35, 43, 51, 63, 101, 113; VCH 1988, 22.

84 VCH 1988, 2.

85 'Dunnyng tenuit et inhabitauit' in Stevenson 1890*, 32.*

86 Moore 1982, G:4: Great Domesday Book f.162.

87 Smith 1964-1965, Vol. 39, 135.

88 James 1971, 76−77.

89 Wells-Furby 2004, I, 465−466 nos 25−29 and MS GC 1341; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 133.

90 Ross and Devine 1964−1977, Vol. 2, 388−389; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 133.

91 The exact phrase transcribed in Ross and Devine 1964−1977, Vol. 2, 388, in the charter of Matilda, is *terciam scedarum,* that is 'third charter or deed' It is in the confirmation by Richard Kenewrec, her son, that the words *terciam seldam* 'third shop' occurs.

92 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 133.

93 Wells-Furby 2004, I, 461, no. 6; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 134.

94 VCH 1988, 22, 372.

95 Sargent 1918, 256−311; James 1971, 77.

96 Wells-Furby 2004*,* I, 461-464, nos 6-14.

97 Wells-Furby 2004, I, 461-464, nos 6-14, 17-18, 21 and MSS GC 1731, 1769-70, 2531-2, 2978; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 134, citing TNA C 115/84, f. 69v. no. 182 (The Cartulary of Llanthony Priory by Gloucester).

98 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 134, citing TNA C 115/84, f. 68v. no. 181 (The Cartulary of Llanthony Priory by Gloucester).

99 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 134−135.

100 Smith 1964−1965, Vol. 38, 128; VCH 1988, 365, 373; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, xix, 135.

101 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, citing Gloucester Cathedral Library, Deeds & Seals, v, f. 18.

102 Ibid., citing Gloucester Cathedral Library, Deeds & Seals, iv, f.15.

103 Stevenson 1890, 31-33.

104 Elrington 2013, 163−164; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 137 citing Gloucester Borough Records J5/2.

105 Stevenson 1893, 418.

106 Lane 2023a.

107 Bridge and Tyers 2017.

108 Lane 2023a.

109 Gloucester Borough Records J1/1189; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016*, 138.*

110 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138.

111 Ibid.

112 D936/E12/1, ff. 53v−54; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138−139.

113 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138-139.

114 VCH 1988, 302, 376.

115 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138-139.

116 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138 citing TNA PROB 11/29/78 (Will of Henry Marmeon or Marmyon, Alderman of Gloucester) copied in *Hockaday Abstracts* (abstracts of ecclesiastical records relating to Gloucestershire, compiled by F.S. Hockaday, 1908-24, in Gloucestershire Archives) ccxvii, 1542*; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1553*, 78.

117 Gloucestershire Archives D936a/E1; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016*,* 138−139*.*

118 Gloucester Borough Records B2/1, f. 153; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138.

119 Gloucestershire Archives D936/E12/1, ff.53v−54; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138.

120 Gloucestershire Archives D936/E12/2 ff.9v−10.

121 Compare the suggestion that the Golden Cross in Oxford might have functioned as an inn or tavern from as early as the late 12th century, on account of being let by Osney Abbey to Mauger, the Vintner: Pantin and Rouse 1955, 48.

122 Gloucestershire Archives D936/E12/2, ff. 318−319; D936/E1, 191−193, 200−202; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138−139.

123 Gloucestershire Archives D936/E12/3, f. 120; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 139.

124 Gloucestershire Cathedral Archives TR3, 13, 55, 91 119, 149, 177, 205, 231.

125 GA D936/E12/4 pp. 257-9; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 139.

126 Lane 2023a.

127 Gloucestershire Archives D936/E2/1 f. 124.

128 Gloucester Cathedral Archives, Chapter Acts 1740-1774, Book 3, 221.

129 Visible as a base map on the *Know Your Place* website at https://maps.bristol.gov.uk/kyp/?edition=glos [accessed May 2023].

130 Household 1946−1948, 47−57; Gloucestershire Archives D1740/P23. See Lane 2023a for a full description of the complexities surrounding this divestment of the Fleece site by the Dean and Chapter.

131 Gloucestershire Archives D2299/7096.

132 Glossary of the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland online at https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/glossary?WINID=1682066377777 [accessed April 2023].

133 Dr Ron Baxter, Director of the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland, pers. comm. March 2023.

134 Ibid; Glossary of the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture of Britain and Ireland online at https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/glossary?WINID=1682678218452 [accessed April 2023].

135 See Heyman 1996, 387-397 for a discussion of the loads on and thrust existing in a masonry vault.

136 Andrew Armstrong, Gloucester City Archaeologist, pers. comm.

137 Parker 1860, 328.

138 Schofield 1994, 74.

139 Martin and Martin 2004, 113−115.

140 Blair 1978, 53.

141 Lane 2023a.

142 Jones, Major and Varley 1984; Johnson and Jones 2016; Hill 2020.

143 Schofield 1994, 31.

144 VCH 1988, 70 citing Gloucester Abbey Register B: Abbot Walter Froucester's Cartulary arranged in 10 parts by an officer of the Abbey, 1393, p. 1289 [The modern place-name is Frocester]

145 Heighway 1983.

146 Stevenson 1893, 351; Smith 1964−1965, Vol. 39, 126, 135; VCH 1988, 365. This is contrary to Keene 1985, 169, in which he comments that a house might only be referred to as a stone house in the records if it was visible as such from the street, so not if located behind other properties in a rear plot.

147 Lane 2023a

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid.

150 Pearson 2012, 40−41 and fig. 13.

151 Lane 2023a.

152 Ibid.

153 Ibid.

154 Bridge and Tyers 2017, 5.

155 VCH 1988, 93−96.

156 Lane 2023a.

157 Ibid.

158 Ibid.

159 Gloucestershire Archives GBR/L20/2/1919/25.

160 Hart 1863−1867, 22, 24 and 26. Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 130.

161 Stevenson 1890, 35.

162 Ibid., 35.

163 Gloucestershire Archives D936/E12/1, ff. 179v−180, 356v-357; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 130−131.

164 Gloucestershire Archives D936/El, 210-211.

165 Gloucestershire Archives D936/ E12/3, f. 123v.

166 Gloucestershire Archives D1740/P23.

167 The length measurement is taken to the back wall running behind the chimney stack, in the south-eastern corner, not to the front of the stack.

168 Martin and Martin 2004, 111−112.

169 See the list description at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1271925 [accessed April 2023].

170 Noted by Faulkner 1966, 120.

171 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, map 7, xxxviii.

172 Moss 1992, 41; Nenk et al. 1991, 226. A blocked limestone arch had been noted by Patrick Garrod in 1974 in his Cellar Survey of Gloucester, Gloucestershire HER.

173 Stevenson 1890, 37.

174 Stevenson 1890, 37; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 127.

175 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 128.

176 Stevenson 1890, 39.

177 The term could be used to denote any of the king's new and unpopular advisors from a French region at this time. See, for example, the St Alban's chroniclers, such as Matthew Paris: Clanchy 2014, 199−200. Notable Poitevins became increasingly present in the time of Henry III. There was long-running tension over the extent of their influence over the king.

178 Stevenson 1890.

179 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 128.

180 Stevenson 1890, 37. Flaxley Abbey was founded in 1151 as a Cistercian Abbey.

181 Gloucester Borough Records F4/6, 170.

182 Gloucestershire Archives D936/T4 and D936/E12/5, 371-3 (abuttals); Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 128.

183 Gloucestershire Archives D7942/193.

184 Martin and Martin 2004, 125, discount the vaulting rib as a decorative finish, commenting that ribs were often functional, being used to support the shuttering and timber forms during construction. However, in the case of nos 47−49 Westgate Street, this does not do justice to the high quality and fineness of the stone ribs, which must be intended to have been more than functional.

185 Harris 1994, 236, dates the undercroft to the early 14th century but does not give reasons.

186 Martin and Martin 2004, 111.

187 Moss suggested that the street front range was an encroachment at the north end of the rear undercroft. Harris 1994, 236, points out how well-finished the northern vault is and how it is flush with the rear wall of the street front range, concluding that they are coeval.

188 Sharpe 1904, 246; Sharpe 1907, 71−86; James 1971, 190; Schofield 1994, 79; Harris 1994, 237; Martin and Martin 2004, 126.

189 Harris 1994.

190 Thurlby 2004.

191 Harris 1994, 237.

192 Gloucestershire Archives D4982 3/1.

193 Harris 1994, 237, concludes that there was no access at the rear but appears to be judging the absence of a southern lane by what is currently present, rather than what might have been present at the date of construction in the medieval period.

194 Harris 1994, 7, 179.

195 Harris 1994, 236, fig. 118.

196 The Medieval Latin verb used is *manere: 'ubi Sibilla Savage nuper manebat'* where Sibilla Savage recently was dwelling.

197 Pantin 1942; Keene 1985, Vol. 2, 586−587; Harris 1994, 236−238.

198 Leech 2014, 155.

199 Martin and Martin 2004, 126 and fig. 9.39.

200 Moss 2005, 70.

201 Martin and Martin 2004, 121.

202 VCH 1988, 365, 367; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, map 7.

203 Stevenson 1890, 43.

204 Hanks, Coates and McClure 2016, Introduction: 3.1.

205 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 209 fn. 1. 'Aconbury', in RCHME 1931, 11-14.

206 Stevenson 1890, 43; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 209, 211, 215.

207 Gloucester Borough Records B2/1, f. 156; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 211.

208 Gloucester Borough Records abuttals J3/16, ff. 31v.-32; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 211.

209 Gloucester Borough Records abuttals J3/16, ff.143-4; Gloucestershire Archives D3269/39, ff. 24v.-25; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 211.

210 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 211.

211 Gloucestershire Archives D3269/39, ff. 369-70; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 211.

212 Gloucester Borough Records abuttal J3/3, f. 42; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 211.

213 Gloucester Borough Records J5/3; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212.

214 Gloucester Borough Records J5/5. The lane is described as 'The lane by the sowthe walle of the mynster' and it is said to be 'stretchyng from seynt Edwarde lane unto Abbey lane'; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212.

215 Gloucester Borough Records F4/3 f. 6v; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212.

216 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212 citing Gloucester Borough Records J5/6.

217 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 210 citing Gloucestershire Archives D936/El, 115-18, 120-1. (abuttal).

218 Stevenson 1890, 45.

219 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 209 fn. 1. The position of St Bartholomew's Hospital is shown on maps in Lobel and Tann 1969.

220 VCH 1907, 689.

221 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212 citing an image in Juřica 1994, fig. 76.

222 Gloucester Borough Records J3/16, ff. 31v−32; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212.

223 Gloucester Borough Records J3/16, ff.143−144; J5/10; J5/11, no.53; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212.

224 Gloucestershire Archives D3269/39, ff. 24v.-25; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212.

225 Gloucestershire Archives D3269/39 ff. 369-370.

226 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212 citing Gloucestershire Archives D3269/39 ff. 24−25, 369-370; Gloucester Borough Records J5/7.

227 Gloucestershire Archives D3269/39 ff. 369-370; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212.

228 Gloucestershire Archives D3269, Box 30, Plan 23; Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 212.

229 Curl 1986, 180.

230 Historic England Archive BB72/5675.

231 Dr Ron Baxter, Research Director of the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland, pers. comm. Harris 1994, 108 agrees with a late 12th-century date based on the capitals.

232 Walker and Alcock 2017.

233 Ibid. Historic England Archive, AA9814199.

234 The corbels are narrower than the ribs, and shafts on the western side, hence the inter-corbel spacing is slightly wider than that of the ribs and shafts.

235 Historic England Archive, BB72/5674.

236 Historic England Archive, BB72/5666.

237 Harris 1994, 222, 235 and fig. 117.

238 Pearson 2012.

239 Taken from the Historic England Registry file.

240 Historic England Archive, BB72/5666.

241 Taken from the Historic England Registry file.

242 Taken from the Historic England Registry file.

243 Historic England Archive, BB72/5674.

244 Verey and Brooks 2002, 477.

245 Harris 1994, 109, records the doorway as being 'recently blocked'.

246 Martin and Martin 2004, 106 and fig. 9.2.

247 Stow 1603 (1908 reprint), 238; Schofield 1994, 76.

248 Schofield 1994, 31.

249 Ross and Devine 1964−1977, Vol. 2, 397; VCH 1988, 15; Hillaby 2001, 82.

250 VCH 1988, 70.

251 Sermon et al. 2000, 21−22; Philip Moss pers. comm. and unpublished survey drawing.

252 VCH 1988, 287−288; Verey and Brooks 2002, 432; Moss 2005, 83.

253 Heighway 1999, 43.

254 Moss 2005, 82.

255 HER Monument No. 41633.

256 Harward 2018.

257 Harward 2022.

258 Verey and Brooks, 2002, 430−431; Heighway and Bryant 2020, 79-80.

259 This was originally a slype between the eastern walk of the cloister and the monks cemetery to the east.

260 Kipling 2010, 143.

261 Julian Munby pers. comm.

262 Heighway 1983, 92.

263 Garrod 1995, 58; Rawes and Wills 1996, 175.

264 Moss noted in the Gloucestershire HER Source Works 15274 and 152754.

265 VCH 1988, 70, citing PRO C 115/K2/6682 f.90 (In TNA, the successor to PRO, this is catalogued as the Register of Prior John Wyche of Llanthony by Gloucester, 1408−1436, with a new catalogue number).

266 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 128-129.

267 Lane 2023b.

268 Garrod manuscript notes in an unpublished cellar survey: Gloucestershire HER SMB 35.

269 Helen Bates, current landlord, pers. comm.

270 Garrod manuscript notes in an unpublished cellar survey: Gloucestershire HER SMB 35.

271 Ibid.

272 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 169.

273 Armstrong 2020.

274 Andrew Armstrong pers. comm. on site at no. 121 Westgate Street.

275 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 169.

276 VCH 1988, 71. See also the list description.

277 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 230.

278 Molyneux and Price 2006, 5.

279 Rawes 1991, 232.

280 Steymor, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 214−215.

281 VCH 1988, 70, citing PRO C 115/K 2/6684, f. 40. (In TNA, the successor to PRO, this is catalogued as the Register of Prior William Cheryton of Llanthony by Gloucester (1377−1401), with a new catalogue number.)

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