

NONSUCH PALACE 1959-60:

AN INTERIM REPORT

BY

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Introduction

THE site of Nonsuch Palace¹ (Figs. 1 and 3) was excavated in July, August and September 1959 by the Nonsuch Palace Excavation Committee, with the active support and encouragement of the Ministry of Works. The Banqueting House (Figs. 1 and 4) was examined by the Excavation Committee in July and August 1960.² At the Palace site up to twenty-three labourers were employed, but the main force was provided by volunteers, whose attendance averaged seventy-five a day.³ During the work on the Banqueting House volunteer labour only was available, most of it being supplied by the members of the Nonsuch and Ewell Antiquarian Society.

The importance of Nonsuch in the history of Early Renaissance architecture in England had been realized long before the excavation took place, but there was quite insufficient material on which to base any detailed discussion of the building. The first aim of the excavation was therefore to recover the ground-plan of Nonsuch and anything that remained of its renowned decorations. Other aims concerned the recovery of domestic material from the palace and the study of the buildings and graveyard of Cuddington Village.

The general public, informed of the excavation by television, press and radio, showed great interest in the work and the site was visited by some 60,000 people in 1959, and by a further 15,000 in 1960. All visitors were shown round in strictly controlled parties by a panel of guide-lecturers and were invited at the end of their visit to contribute to the cost of the excavation; money from this source, from the sale of a printed guide, and from the entrance fee to a small exhibition on the site, raised a total of over £1,500. This sum, in

¹ Nat. Grid. Ref. TQ(51)/228 631.

² The excavation was directed by the writer, whose very best thanks are due to the two bodies named, and especially to the Chairman of the Committee, Sir John Summerson, C.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.; to its Treasurer, Mr. John Dent, F.L.A.; and to the representatives of the Ministry, the Nonsuch Park Joint Management Committee and the Borough of Epsom and Ewell, without whose assistance and enthusiasm the work could scarcely have been undertaken.

³ So large a labour force could not have been controlled without the assistance of many site supervisors, to whose loyal and accurate efforts much of the success of the excavation must be attributed.

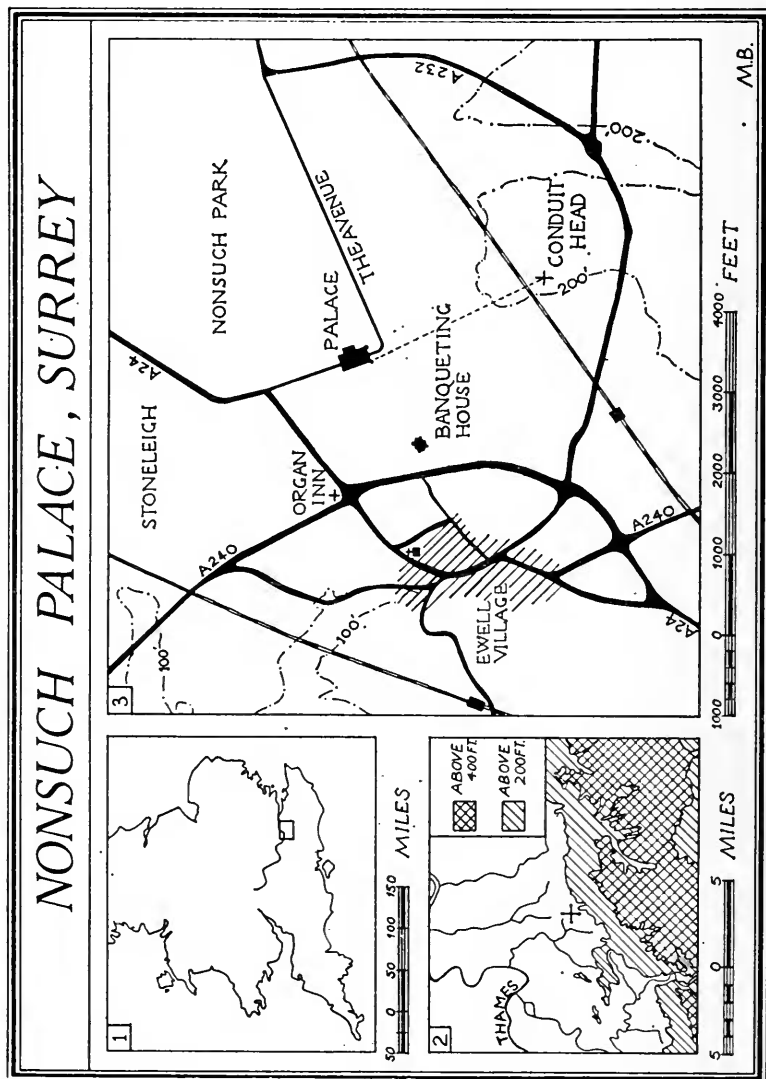


FIG. 1.—GENERAL MAP SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE NONSUCH ESTATE.

addition to grants from the Marc Fitch Fund, the British Academy and other learned bodies, ensured that the work should not fail for financial reasons. A similar organization was also most successful in 1960, a balance remaining to cover the cost of the preparation of the final report. On completion of work both sites were filled in to preserve the buildings from the weather.

Work on the finds is (in January 1961) almost complete and it is hoped that the final report,⁴ dealing with all aspects of the Palace, historical, art-historical and archæological, will be ready for printing as a monograph by December 1961; it should appear late in 1962 or early in 1963. Meanwhile a more popular account, intended especially for the general reader, should appear early in 1962.⁵

Documentary History

The site chosen for the Palace and Parks of Nonsuch was occupied until 1538 by the church, houses and fields of Cuddington. This village is mentioned in Domesday,⁶ and during most of the Middle Ages was held by the St. Michael family, who called themselves de Cuddington.⁷ After a survey⁸ Henry VIII obtained the manor in 1538 from Richard Codington, in exchange for the manor of Ixworth in Suffolk.⁹ The king began to build the palace on 22 April 1538,¹⁰ and immediately demolished the church, part of the manor-house and other buildings of the village, the Inner Court of Nonsuch being laid out around the foundations and on top of the graveyard of the church. The work was pushed forward rapidly and the Inner Court was probably complete by 1544,¹¹ though the Outer Court was apparently not entirely finished¹² when Henry died in 1547, having spent at least £24,500¹³ on the new palace.

Nonsuch was threatened with demolition in Mary's reign,¹⁴ but was granted in 1556¹⁵ to Henry, Earl of Arundel, who completed the building. It passed in 1580 to his son-in-law John, Lord Lumley, who continued its embellishment and completed the gardens;¹⁶ financial difficulties, however, forced him to surrender Nonsuch to the Crown in 1592.¹⁷ Sometime before this date, Antony Watson,

⁴ *Nonsuch Palace*, by the present writer.

⁵ *The Quest for Nonsuch*, by John Dent.

⁶ *M. & B.*, II, p. 598.

⁷ Dent, *op. cit.*, ch. 2 (forthcoming).

⁸ P.R.O., E.315/414.

⁹ *L. and P. Henry VIII*, XIII, pt. 1, g1519(70).

¹⁰ P.R.O., E.101/477/12; these are the building accounts 22 April-14 September 1538.

¹¹ Catherine Parr dined at Nonsuch in that year. *L. and P. Henry VIII*, XIX, pt. ii, p. 406.

¹² B.M., Royal MS. 17A. ix, f.26^r.

¹³ The total for Nonsuch in P.R.O., E.351/3199 (the accounts for the period 15 September 1538-15 November 1545) plus that in P.R.O., E.101/477/12 (above).

¹⁴ B.M., Royal MS. 17A. ix, f.26^r.

¹⁵ P.R.O., C.66/908 m. 36-7.

¹⁶ Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R.7.22, *passim*.

¹⁷ P.R.O., L.R.1/96, f.221.

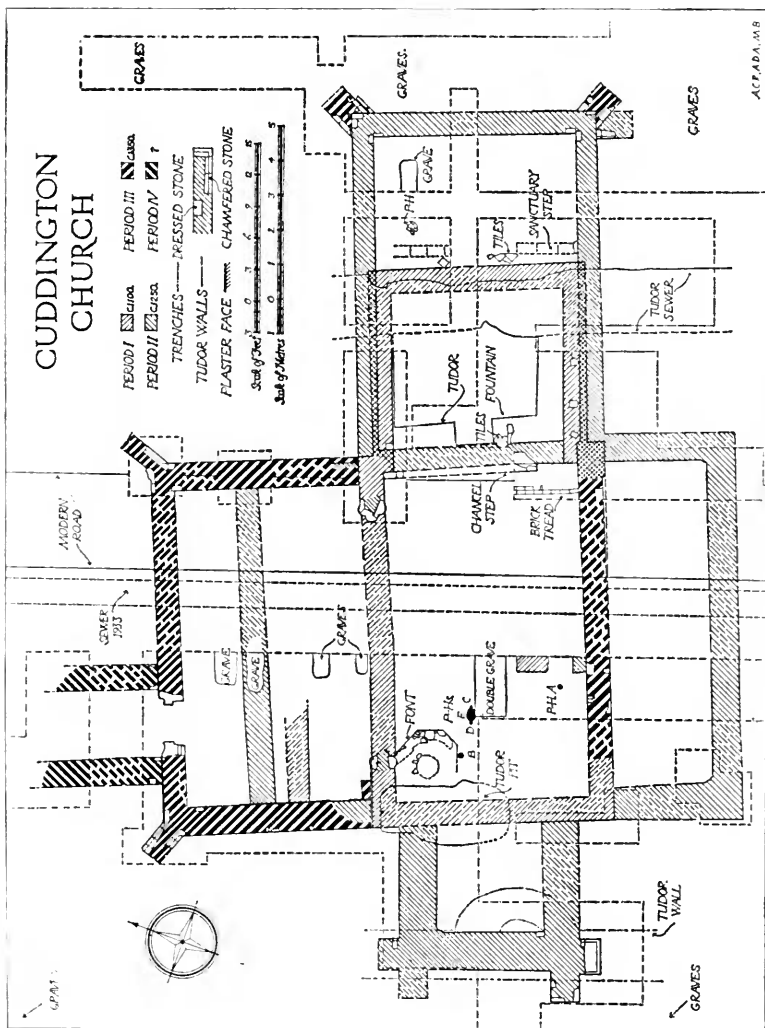


FIG. 2.—CUDDINGTON CHURCH.

Rector of Cheam, had written in Latin a flowery and eulogistic description of Nonsuch,¹⁸ which is of the greatest value today in understanding the building and its decoration.

After 1592 Nonsuch remained Crown property until the Commonwealth, passing from Elizabeth I to Anne of Denmark¹⁹ and finally to Henrietta Maria.²⁰ During this period the palace was kept in repair by the Office of Works, whose detailed accounts provide much information about the building.²¹ In accordance with the Act of 16 July 1649 for the sale of the Crown Lands,²² Nonsuch was surveyed by the Parliamentary Commissioners²³ and sold to George Smythson and others.²⁴ They sold it in 1654 to Major-General Lambert,²⁵ in whose hands it still was at the Restoration, when it was returned by the Commons to Henrietta Maria, now Queen Mother.²⁶

Nonsuch was by now in bad repair; and although some materials were stock-piled on the site in 1663, it was not until 1665, when the removal of the Exchequer to Nonsuch on account of the Plague²⁷ compelled action, that any repairs were actually undertaken.²⁸ The Exchequer returned again in 1666, fleeing to safety from the Fire of London.²⁹

After Henrietta Maria's death in 1669, Charles II granted Nonsuch and both its Parks in 1671 to Viscount Grandison and Henry Brounker in trust for Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland.³⁰ The palace seems never again to have been kept in proper repair; and in 1682 Charles II issued a warrant permitting the Duchess of Cleveland to pull down Nonsuch and sell the materials.³¹ Although she sold the house and its materials the same year to George, Lord Berkeley,³² the end was long drawn out. Berkeley probably demolished the Inner Court before 1684, but the Outer Court may not have gone until about 1688; even so part of the palace was still standing as late as 1702,³³ though only foundations were visible in 1757.³⁴ These were cleared away in the 1760s and the site ploughed by about 1800.³⁵

¹⁸ Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R.7.22.

¹⁹ B.M., Add. MS. 6693, 105-18.

²⁰ *Cal.S.P.Dom.*, 1627-28, p. 84, 89.

²¹ P.R.O., E.351/3226-3283.

²² Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, II, pp. 172-3.

²³ P.R.O., E.317/Surrey 41; printed in *Sy.A.C.*, v, p. 75. This survey is of the greatest value to the study of the building.

²⁴ P.R.O., E.320/R8.

²⁵ P.R.O., C.54/3816, m.9.

²⁶ *Journals of the House of Commons*, VIII, p. 73 (23 June 1660).

²⁷ *Cal.S.P.Dom.*, 1664-65, p. 492, 573.

²⁸ P.R.O., Works 5/7, 10, 13; repair accounts 1663-69.

²⁹ P.R.O., A.O.1/865/1.

³⁰ *Cal.S.P.Dom.*, 1671, p. 63.

³¹ Northamptonshire Record Office, G.3197, f.17.

³² P.R.O., C.9/87/30.

³³ Ashmolean Museum (Sutherland Coll.): "View of Ewell from Epsom Downs," Sept. 1702.

³⁴ *The Travels . . . of Dr Richard Pococke*, Camden Society, new series, XLII, XLIV (1888-89) pp. 171, 261-2.

³⁵ C. J. Swete, *A Hand-book of Epsom and Vicinity*, pp. 111-12.

After this date nothing remained of the glories of Nonsuch apart from four views of the palace: Joris Höfnagel's drawing of 1568 published in Braun and Hogenburg's *Civitates Orbis terrarum*, 1582 onwards, and John Speed's engraving of 1610 published on his *Map of Surrey*, both show the south front. A painting in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, shows Nonsuch from the north-west about 1610-20; and another by Danckerts at Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire, shows the palace from the north-east about 1660-70.³⁶

Cuddington Village

The church was the only structure to be completely excavated. It lay below the Inner Court of the palace (Fig. 3), to make way for which it had been demolished. Most of the nave still stood about 18 inches above the floor, but the chancel walls were not so well preserved on account of the higher floor level in that part of the church. Only those parts of the building incorporated in the palace walls (e.g. the west tower), or cut through by Tudor sewers, were badly disturbed, while the rest of the church was well preserved by being sealed below the paving of the Inner Court.

The church (plan, Fig. 2) was built of mortared flint with Reigate stone dressings; the building as found consisted of four distinct periods, but below the earliest floor were a few post-holes and traces of burning. These may indicate the presence of a wooden building before the construction of the first (Period I) stone church: the post-holes made no clear pattern, however, and since they could not be followed up, they cannot be taken as unequivocal evidence for an early wooden church, although this would seem reasonable.³⁷

The Period I church was a simple two-cell structure, and was presumably the building mentioned in the early twelfth century.³⁸ Sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century this early church was replaced by a much larger structure (Period II), with an elongated chancel, north and south aisles, and a west tower. The three-lobed, chamfered bases of the responds of the north arcade still remained in position. This building may be connected with the tenure of the rectory by Walter de Merton in the middle of the thirteenth century.³⁹ In the mid-fourteenth century (Period III), the north aisle was doubled in size, the south aisle blocked off and apparently demolished, and new buttresses added to the church. It is possible that these alterations may be connected with Sir Simon de Codrington (d. 1374).⁴⁰ At some later date a north porch

³⁶ All four published in Dent, *op. cit.*; see also Dent, *The excavation of Nonsuch Palace: A Pictorial Guide*, Ewell, 1959.

³⁷ The church is not mentioned in Domesday, but this may merely mean that it was exempt from taxation. The earliest reference to it occurs in the early twelfth century. The church was dedicated to St. Mary.

³⁸ *V.C.H.*, III, p. 270.

³⁹ Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl.B.430.

⁴⁰ J. Dent, *The Quest for Nonsuch*, ch. 2 and Appendix. (Forthcoming.)

was added (Period IV), and a brick tread inserted before the chancel step. The church was demolished in 1538, the flint from its walls being used for part of the foundations of the Inner Court of the palace; several Purbeck marble slabs, bearing indents for brasses, were found on the Banqueting House site;⁴¹ these may have come from Cuddington Church, since no grave slabs were found in position during the excavation. An extensive graveyard surrounded the church on all sides; the south-east portion was excavated and over 100 skeletons removed to the Duckworth Laboratory, Cambridge, where they are being studied as the first sealed (i.e. prior to 1538) cemetery-group from a deserted medieval village.

As well as the church and its graveyard, part of the great barn of Cuddington and other parts of the manor-house outbuildings were excavated. These lay below the west wing of the Outer Court and showed several periods of construction. During the demolition of the great barn of Cuddington a mattock had been lost below a falling wall; complete with the traces of its wooden handle, it was recovered in 1960.

The Palace

The exact location (Fig. 1) of Nonsuch appears to have been governed by the nature of the ground in the immediate vicinity. The site itself is on a light, well-drained, stony loam which overlies chalk in part of the area, and Thanet sand elsewhere. To the south the ground rises some 70 feet to a series of springs which provided the head of water required for the piped water-supply system. To the west, some 300 yards distant, rises a hill of Reading Bed clays; this hill not only protected the palace from the prevailing wind, but also provided a site with magnificent panoramic views for the Banqueting House. To the north and east the ground falls away gently towards the Great and Little Parks of Nonsuch; part of the area immediately north-east of the palace is liable to be flooded by underground streams in very wet seasons, but the slight eminence, on which the palace was terraced back into the hill-side, protects the building site from this nuisance.

The excavation (Plate I) revealed that the palace (Fig. 3) (377 by 202 feet overall) consisted of two equal-sized courts, 132 by 115 feet, with a smaller Kitchen Court lying to the east. The Outer and Kitchen Courts were built of ashlar-faced brickwork on a foundation of stone and chalk. Much of the stone in these foundations and those of the Inner Court consisted of worked blocks robbed from Merton Priory for use at Nonsuch; much of the ashlar facing was also re-used from the same source.

The palace was equipped with very efficient sewage and water-supply systems. The main water source was on the hill south of the building, whence water was led through a conduit to a storage-cistern on the second floor of the south-west tower. From there pipes led

⁴¹ See below, p. 11.

NONSUCH PALACE

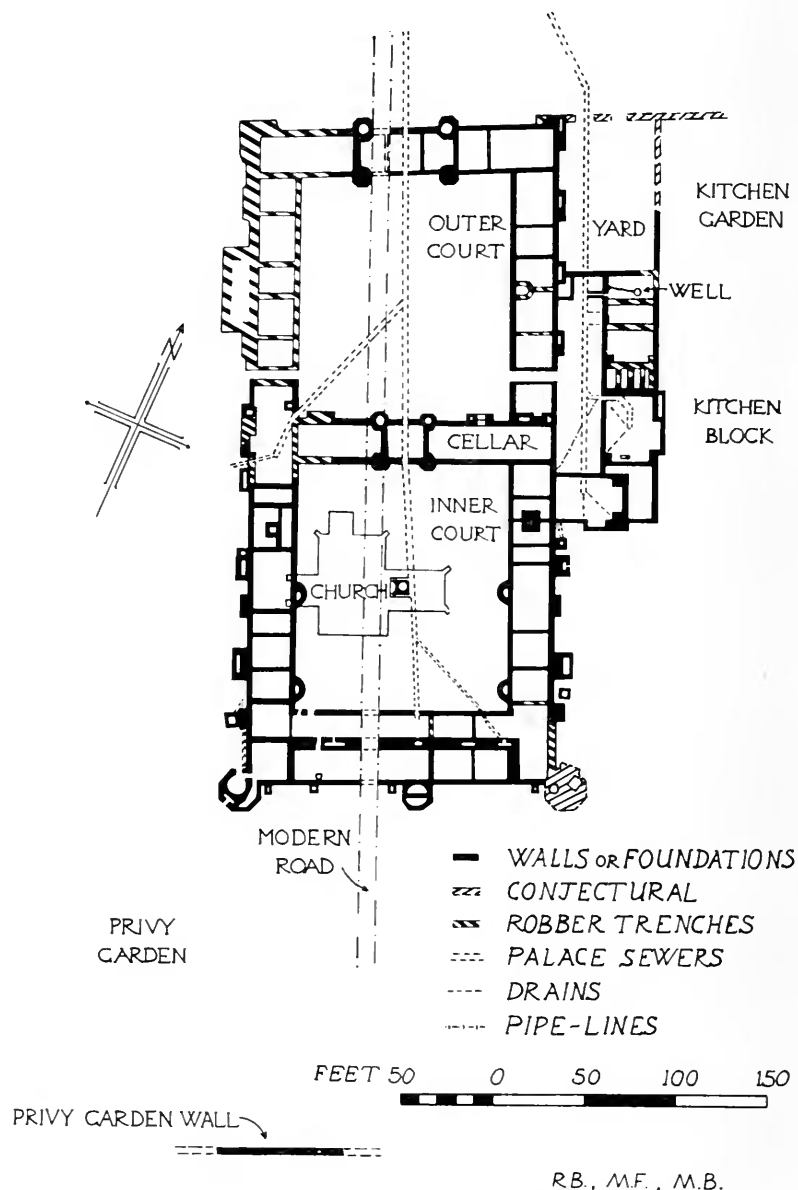


FIG. 3.—NONSUCH PALACE, PLAN AS EXCAVATED 1959.

throughout the house, one branch leading apparently to a subsidiary storage-cistern in the Kitchen Court, the reinforced substructure for which was found during excavation. The secondary water-source was a well, also in the Kitchen Court building.

Liquid sewage and excess water from the Inner Court fountain was led away by a series of vaulted sewers, one branch leading from the Inner Court, one from each of the main kitchens in the Kitchen Court, and one from the smaller kitchen in the west wing. Solid sewage and kitchen refuse was deposited in a series of latrine-refuse pits (garderobe pits) which lined the east and west outer walls of the palace. It was in these pits that most of the domestic material, pottery,⁴² glass, etc., was found.

The Outer Court "one fayer strong and large structure . . . of free stone of two large stories high, well wrought and batted with free stone and covered with blue slate,"⁴³ was entered on the north by a broad gatehouse, very similar to the Outer Gatehouse at Hampton Court; the Court itself was paved with flint cobbling and paths of squared flagstones. Suites of rooms, arranged on the "college staircase" principle, opened off from the centre of both sides of the Court. Further south were entrance-ways leading west to a stable yard and eastwards into the Kitchen Court. In the centre of the south range between the cellars (Plate II) which were entered from the Outer Court, lay the Inner Gatehouse, very similar to the Inner Gatehouse at Hampton Court or the Outer Gatehouse of St. John's College, Cambridge. This second gatehouse led by an ascent of eight steps into the Inner Court. The plan and construction of this Outer Court was typically English, and was exactly what might be expected in a palace built at this period.

The Kitchen Court was entered both from the Outer Court and also through an archway from the yard to the north. The Court was paved with flint cobbling, and the rooms lying around it consisted of two large kitchens, the substructure for a cistern, a well-house and various food-preparation rooms. Once again the Kitchen Court showed nothing in plan or construction other than what was typically English.

The plan of the Inner Court duplicated that of the Outer Court, with the addition of window bays facing inwards and the elaborate octagonal towers and central bay of the south front. The south front is the only element in the *plan* which is not entirely English: the massive angle-towers and formal nature of the façade owe something perhaps to the Continent, for this front has some similarity to the garden front of the destroyed French château of Bury and to the towers shown in an architectural sketch by Leonardo da Vinci in the corner of a study of St. James the Great (1496/7). The Inner Court building was constructed on lighter foundations of chalk and stone rubble and its walls were of ashlar up to first-floor level; above this however the whole upper story and the upper levels of the south-east and south-west towers were half-timbered. The spaces

⁴² See below, p. 14-20.

⁴³ P.R.O., E.317/Surrey 41.

between the main timbers were filled with large panels of uncoloured plaster-stucco, ornamented in high relief with human and animal figures and with fruit and floral motives (Plate IV*b*). These plaster panels were held in position by the beams as in a picture frame; the beams themselves were covered by slate hangings, carved, incised and gilded with running patterns (Plate IV*a*), elaborate floral designs and complex trophies of arms. It was the construction and decoration of the Inner Court building which earned for the whole palace the name Nonsuch and "a reputation throughout Europe which has never been accorded to any other English building before or since."⁴⁴

This decorative scheme covered all the inward-facing walls of the Inner Court, the whole of the south front and much of the height of the great octagonal towers, as well as the outer east and possibly west faces of the Court. It was thus over 900 feet in length and usually between 10 and 20 feet high. The scheme thus formed a magnificent, though perhaps rather overpowering, setting for the royal apartments which lay around this Court on first-floor level, the King's rooms on the west and the Queen's on the east, connected by the Long Gallery in the south range. In the centre of the Court stood "one fayer fountayne of whyte marble, supported with two brass dragons," above which the Three Graces with arms entwined held above their heads a marble basin upon which pranced the White Horse of Arundel.

The discovery during the excavation of thousands of fragments of the plaster and slate decorations shows that the whole scheme was Early Renaissance in character, and that it was closely related stylistically to the work carried out for Francis I at Fontainebleau between 1535 and 1539. Payments made to Nicholas Modena for carving slate at Nonsuch in 1541-44⁴⁵ confirm this, for Modena had himself worked at Fontainebleau some years earlier. He may also be connected with the design of the plaster-work, so closely is it related to the Fontainebleau School, where Modena, alone of Henry's artificers, was once employed.

There is also some evidence to suggest that the angle-posts of the octagonal towers flanking the south front were decorated with superimposed classical orders of the freest kind.⁴⁶ This suggestion, if it can be maintained, is vital, for Nonsuch and a gatehouse at Whitehall (now demolished) were the first buildings in England on whose exteriors such orders were used. The first serious attempt to build in a purely Renaissance manner in this country was still to come,

⁴⁴ A. W. Clapham in Clapham and Godfrey, *Some Famous Buildings and their Story*, p. 4.

⁴⁵ B.M., Royal MS., Appendix 89; Guildford Muniment Room, Loseley MS. 837.

⁴⁶ These may be suggested on the original Höfnagel drawing of the south front in the B.M., Dept. of Prints and Drawings. Some support comes from references to "pedestals," "collomnes," and "bases" on "the Turrett on the Queenes side" and on "the turrett on the Kings side": P.R.O., E.351/3243 s.v. Nonsuch.

however; for Nonsuch was, even in its unique Inner Court, still very much a mixture between the Gothic and Renaissance styles. But in 1547, when Henry VIII died leaving Nonsuch unfinished, his craftsmen were transferred to (Old) Somerset House in the Strand,⁴⁷ where they joined in the attempt to construct a purely Renaissance building. Old Somerset House had considerable influence on the development of Elizabethan architecture, but some of the men who built it had worked first in this country at Nonsuch Palace, for the construction of which they had been specially brought over from the Continent. There seems indeed no doubt that the Renaissance experiment at Nonsuch, through its scale, reputation and workmen, had great influence on the course of Early Renaissance architecture in England.

The Banqueting House

The most important of the ancillary buildings of the estate (Fig. 1) was the Banqueting House, which lay 350 yards west of the palace on the highest ground within Nonsuch Park pale. The Banqueting House (Fig. 4) was built between 1538 and 1546; its situation on the highest point of the Park commanded a fine view in all directions, and was clearly the major factor in the siting. Clay and gravel had been dumped on the area chosen, heightening it by 3 to 4 feet; this raised platform, some 150 by 140 feet, was retained in position by a brick-faced chalk wall. The sub-rectangular area thus formed was bounded at each corner by attached three-quarter circular bastions. Only the central part of this platform had been occupied by a building. The remaining area was probably partly paved and partly laid out as a garden; it was reached from the lower ground outside the retaining wall by means of a ramp or flight of stairs on the east, or palace, side, and probably by subsidiary steps on the north and south sides. A surface drain was provided in each corner of the raised area to take off rain-water; the bottoms of the catch-pits in all four drains were formed of re-used Purbeck marble slabs, all bearing indents for monumental brasses.

The building which occupied the centre of the raised platform was about 44 by 38 feet. It had been demolished and robbed to the surface level of the platform in 1667⁴⁸ when it was already in a decayed state. The cellars (Plate III), built of brick on chalk foundations, cut down through the dumped levels into the natural soil of the hill. They were thus well preserved and showed signs of considerable alteration at some period, probably before 1592.⁴⁹ The Parliamentary Survey⁵⁰ records that the upper part of the building,

⁴⁷ Sir John Summerson, *Building in England, 1530-1830*, 3rd ed. (1958), p. 16.

⁴⁸ P.R.O., Works 5/10.

⁴⁹ The repair accounts which start then and are complete until 1649 make no mention of such alterations; the Parliamentary Survey of 1650 records the cellars in what was clearly their final, altered, state.

⁵⁰ P.R.O., E.317/Surrey 41.

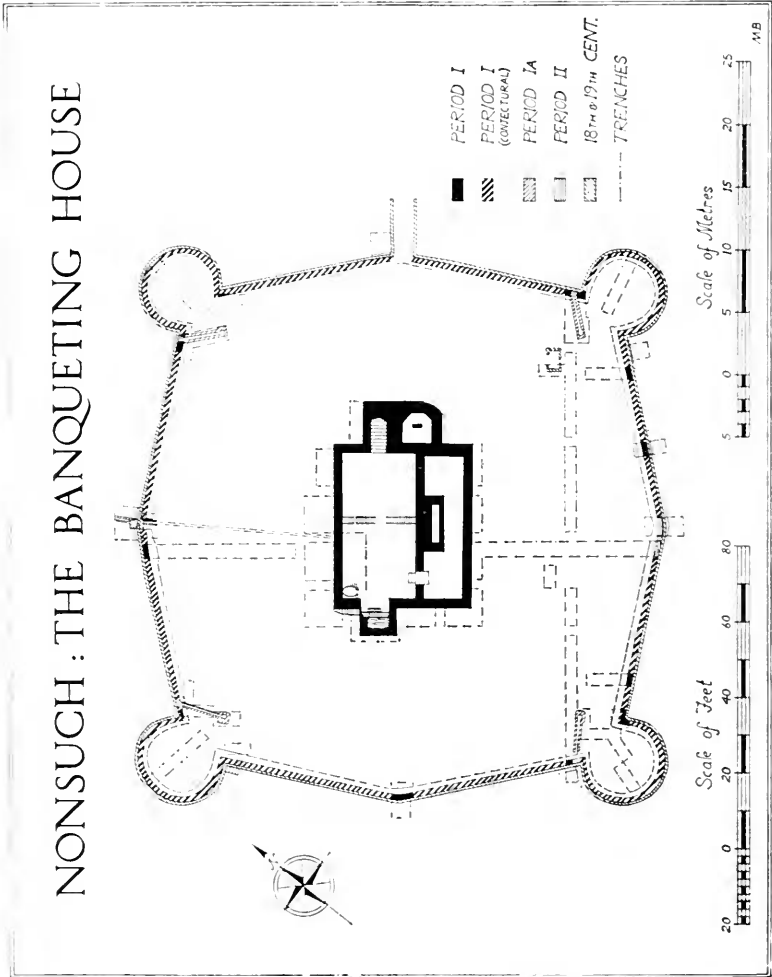


FIG. 4.—NONSUCH PALACE, THE BANQUETING HOUSE AS EXCAVATED 1960.

probably from about 4 feet above existing surface level, was constructed of timber; this would include both the (slightly raised) ground or main floor and the floor above. Balconies were placed in each corner of the building "for prospect" but these must have overhung the building line on a jetty, for no trace of them was observed at ground level. The Survey refers to a "lanthorne" on the roof: this must have projected above the tiled roof-line and have been either for ventilation or lighting, or purely ornamental.

In its first state the Banqueting House had one deep cellar and one sub-cellar. The deep cellar was entered by flights of steps at the east and west ends; there was no connection with the sub-cellar, the entrance to which has completely vanished. In the thickness of the wall between the two cellars was a latrine-refuse pit, of the type common at the palace. The large ground floor apartment referred to in the Survey probably lay above the deep cellar, the three small rooms being probably situated above the sub-cellar. The fire-place of the large apartment probably backed on to the thick wall between the deep cellar and the latrine-refuse pit: part of the finely carved Early Renaissance chimney-piece was recovered from the rubble filling the cellar. Nothing can be deduced of the arrangement of the rooms on the first floor level.

The formal entrance to the main floor was at the east end, apparently by means of an ascent of quarter-round steps to a porch situated over the stairs going down into the deep cellar.

When the Banqueting House was altered the deep cellar was divided into two, its west entrance blocked by the addition of a fire-place and oven, and a flight of steps inserted joining the deep and sub-cellars. A drain was also added at this time, running from the main cellar northwards out of the raised area. These alterations suggest that the cellars were changed from storage-places into kitchens, and may indicate a change in the use of the Banqueting House, which was probably originally intended for light refreshments taken during hunting in the Park, and for entertainments after a main meal taken in the palace itself.

Parallels to this Banqueting House are difficult to find, although there are some similar, but later, structures in Cornwall.⁵¹ The shape of the retaining wall, with its corner bastions, is clearly derived from military architecture, but the mock-fortification idea is a commonplace of Tudor domestic architecture, as typified by the palace itself. Banqueting Houses are known at a much earlier date, and the one at Nonsuch need not be more than a rather original example, elaborated by the addition of the retaining wall. The Banqueting House proper in the centre of the area, though here isolated and adapted to a special purpose, may not in fact be far removed from the idea of the medieval Hall.

Part of the original kitchens were discovered as a separate building some 50 yards north of the raised platform.

⁵¹ Carew, *Survey of Cornwall* (ed. F. E. Halliday, 1953), pp. 175-6, 319 (plan). I am indebted to Mr. E. M. Jope for this reference.

The Finds

The finds from the Nonsuch excavations, apart from the vast amount of architectural material derived from the palace, the Banqueting House, Cuddington Church, and as re-used material from Merton Priory, consisted in the main of a large series of domestic objects, pottery, glass, metal, bone and shell, found in the latrine-refuse (or garderobe) pits which lined each side of the palace.

Each of these pits contained internal stratification, but as fragments of the same pot were usually to be found in each of the layers, no chronological significance can be attributed to it. Furthermore nearly all the pits are interlinked, either by fragments of the same pot being found in several pits, or by the exact similarity of the finds from the various pits. It is thus safe to consider the finds from these pits as one large group, with certain minor exceptions which will not be dealt with here.

It seems further probable that these pits were regularly cleaned out, during the normal upkeep of the palace, until the time of the Commonwealth, *c.* 1650. They may have been cleaned out again during the repairs of 1665. On the other hand they will not have been in use after the demolition of the major part of the palace had been completed by *c.* 1688. It seems therefore that the finds from these pits were deposited during the period 1650/65-1688. This suggestion is supported by the evidence of the clay pipes found in nearly every pit, by the presence of numerous sherds of thick-walled wine ("sack") bottles, which were probably not common until after *c.* 1650, and by dated pottery sherds of 1650 and 1671. Other types, e.g. no. 15, are also known to have been common in the 1670's.

Because of the close dating of this group and on account of the unusual features of the pottery, a selection of the main pottery types is published here for the first time. Among the features to be noted is the strength of the medieval tradition still prevalent at this late date, and the north-west European character of some of the pot forms and features (especially nos. 1, 9, 10, 11, 20). The flanged feet of nos. 10 and 11 are very seldom found in this country at an earlier date; they have however a long development in Holland, where the earliest examples date to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The wares and glazes of many of the pipkins, storage-jars and loop-handled tripod-pots, are also akin to the pottery of the later sixteenth century in Holland. Although it is clear that much of the Nonsuch pottery was produced on a semi-industrial scale, possibly in East Anglia and/or in Kent, it now seems also that, as in the stoneware and tin-glazed ware industries, there was Continental influence (and possibly even Dutch potters) at work in the production of coarse pottery in south-eastern England in the later seventeenth century.

Fig. 5, 1. Pipkin, simple out-turned rim, handle at right angles to lip, tripod feet. Orange-buff, pimply ware with grey core in places. Yellow-brown glaze with greenish tinge

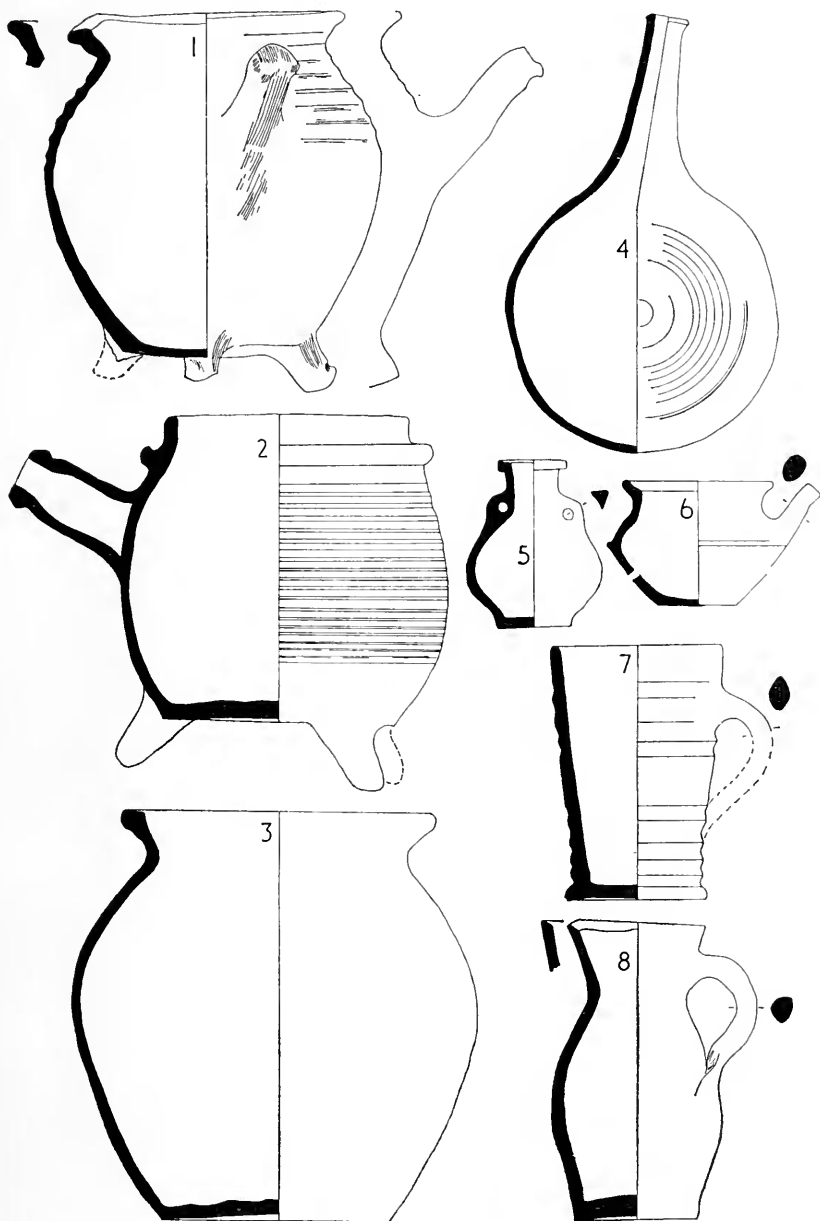


FIG. 5.—NONSUCH PALACE, POTTERY OF 1650/65-1688. Nos 1 8. (4)

all over base and quarter way up interior, inside rim; bib of glaze below lip. The rilling on the upper part of the body prevents the pots sticking together when stacked against each other for firing.

- Fig. 5, 2. Pipkin, upright rim with external seating for lid, no lip, tripod feet. Close rilling over much of body, handle hollow. Fine cream ware partly greyish on exterior from use. Clear lemon-yellow glaze, tinging to dark purple-brown in interior base angle and in streak over rim; also streak of green. Glaze all over interior and just over top of rim: a few small streaks and patches outside.
3. Storage-jar, simple out-turned clubbed rim, reminiscent of thirteenth century types, slightly kicked base. Buff, orange-brown, pimply ware, grey core to rim; white particles in paste up to 2 mm. long. Greenish red-brown glaze all over base inside and quarter way up walls; over part of inside of rim; none except spots outside.
 4. Flask, narrow neck with slightly moulded rim, very extensive knife-trimming on body. Very fine, very hard ware, almost stoneware, brown to red in colour. Very sparse salt-glaze on neck and part of body. These flasks were originally wicker covered; an example with part of the wicker-work still covering the neck was found in the kitchen well. Examples have been noted at Hampton Court, Colchester and Norwich. Probably not English.
 5. Costrel, squared rim, two opposed loop-handles on shoulder. Fine cream ware. Deep rich-green glaze inside neck, over rim and all over upper part of the body.
 6. Small jar with out-turned rim and up-turned bar handle. Buff grey ware, dark green glaze all over interior, except below rim; over rim and all over upper part of exterior.
 7. Mug, simple upright rim, ribbed body, single upright handle. Fine, brick-red ware; very dark greenish-brown treacly glaze all over interior and exterior, except below base. Similar mugs have been found in Canterbury.⁵²
 8. Small jug, simple upright rim, constricted neck, kicked base, lip opposite upright handle. Fine cream ware, bright apple-green glaze over neck and upper part of body, inside neck and patch near base inside. Clearly a product of the Surrey kilns. Four examples of this type were found, as well as other types in the same ware. They indicate that the Surrey kilns (e.g. Cheam) must have continued in production well into the seventeenth century at least.
- Fig. 6, 9. Squat jug, clubbed rim, kicked base, incised grooves on upper part of body. Orange-red pimply ware, orange-brown glaze inside rim and in large bib outside opposite

⁵² Information kindly given by Mr. S. S. Frere.

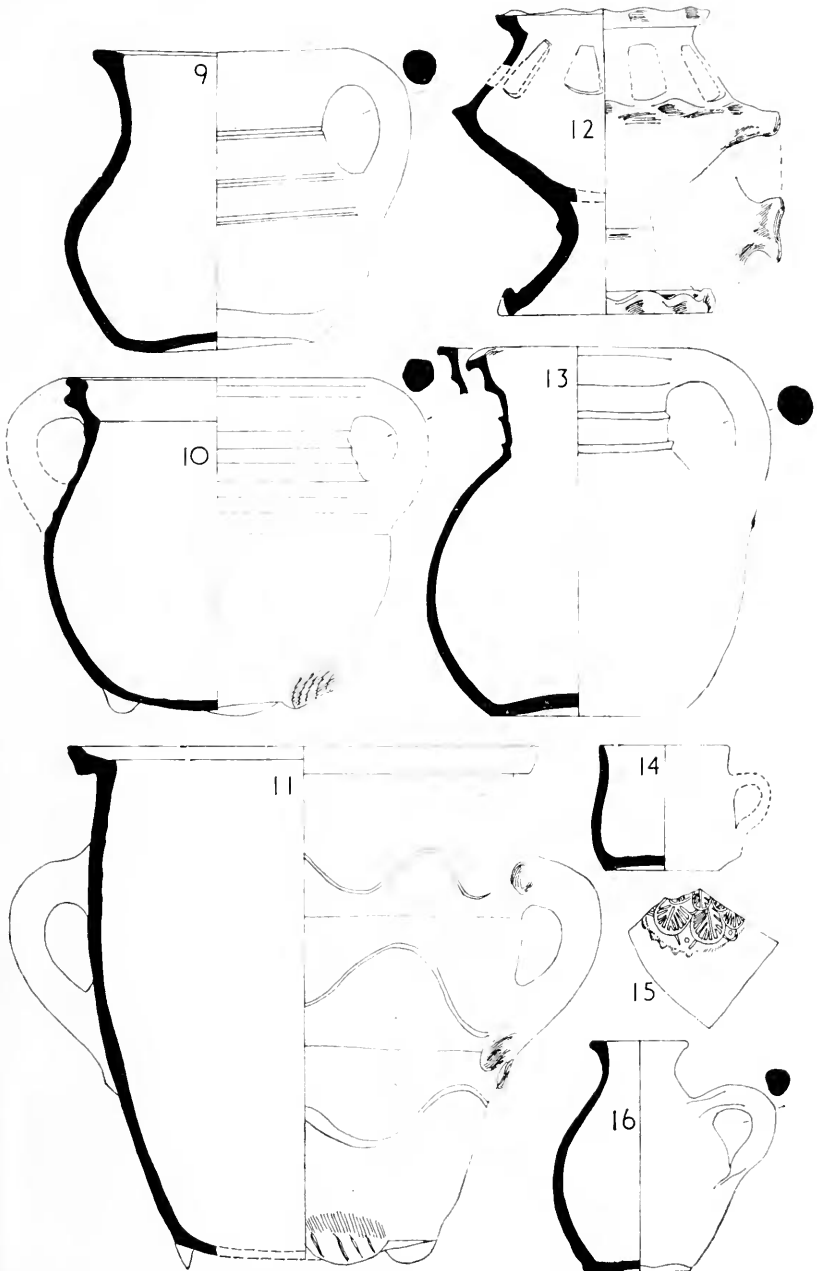


FIG. 6.—NONSUCH PALACE, POTTERY OF 1650/65-1688. Nos. 9-16. (4)

handle. A form which occurs in Holland in the sixteenth century.

10. Storage-jar with elaborately moulded rim, opposed upright loop-handles and tripod flanged feet, rilling on upper part of body. Buff-brown ware, deep yellow-greenish glaze all over base and lower third of walls inside, two bibs at right angles to handles outside. The flanged feet are a typically Dutch feature.
 11. Storage-jar, thickened out-turned flanged rim, opposed upright loop-handles and tripod flanged feet as in No. 10 above. Dark buff-brown, slightly friable ware; poorish, sparse glaze over interior, patch over upper half of exterior; very little glaze on lower half of exterior. Decorated with finger impressions on handle springs and with three wavy horizontal grooves, separated by incised lines.
 12. Fuming pot (part restored). Clubbed rim, ledge-handle projecting horizontally at carination, pedestal base with frilled foot; rim and carination frilled, upper part of body pierced by about eight openings. Friable sandy, pale to bright brick-red ware; dark mottled-green glaze all over inside, except at widest part of body, all over outside except under foot. Not a chafing dish, but probably used to hold a kind of pot-pourri to scent rooms (suggested by Mr. E. M. Jope).⁵³
 13. Jug with elaborately moulded neck and squared rim, bulbous body, lip opposite upright handle. Coarse pimply buff-red ware; greenish-brown glaze inside neck below lip and large bib outside below lip. Very reminiscent of late medieval forms.
 14. Small cup, simple upright rim, upright handle, slightly kicked base. Dirty-cream ware with greenish-yellow glaze, mottled with dark spots of iron impurities.
 15. Fragment of body of jug with applied impressed medallion, copying a stoneware medallion type. Fine, bright pink-red ware with thick, deep-brown glaze, mottled black in places. A whole series of pots copying stoneware forms and decoration was found at Nonsuch. Cf. the Wrotham jug, dated 1674, Royal Academy Guide, *The Age of Charles II*, no. 323, p. 98.
 16. Juglet, simple thickened slightly out-turned rim, awkward upright loop-handle. Somewhat orange brick-red ware, greying in places on upper part of exterior; not glazed (a few tiny accidental spots of purple-brown glaze).
- Fig. 7, 17. Milk-pan, elaborately moulded rim, opposed horizontal loop-handles, broad lip; knife-trimming round base angle. Somewhat orange brick-red ware, grey core; greenish-

⁵³ Also used in time of plague and called "Stink-pots"; see W. G. Bell, *The Great Plague in London 1665* (2nd ed., 1951), pp. 106, 155, 285.

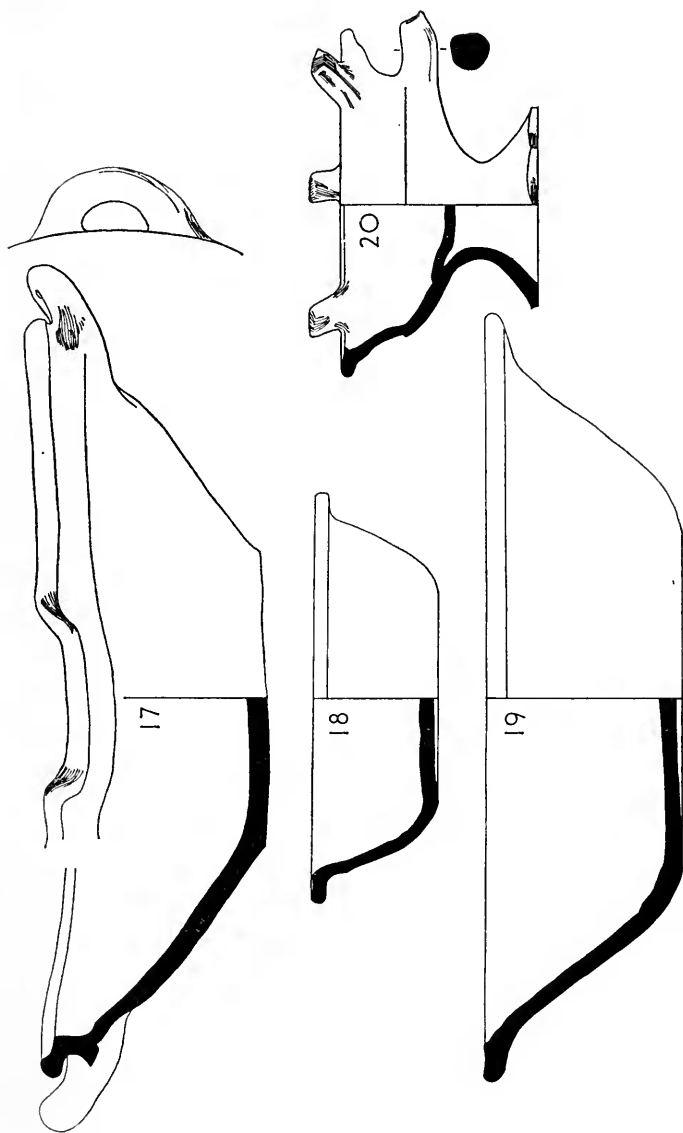


FIG. 7.—NONSUCH PALACE, POTTERY OF 1650/65-1688. Nos. 17-20. (†)

brown glaze all over interior except just below rim; spots only on rim; none on exterior.

- Fig. 7, 18. Small bowl, out-turned flanged rim, slightly kicked base. Reddish-brown ware; brown, rather poor glaze covers base and lower half of walls inside.
19. Open bowl, simple rounded flanged rim, knife-trimmed around base which is slightly kicked. Light brick-red ware, orange-brown surface; bright brown glaze all over interior and on top of rim, very little glaze outside.
20. Chafing-dish (partly restored). Flaring rim with internal ledge, small squared supports, probably three, on upper surface of rim; bar handle at carination, pedestal base, foot frilled. Buff ware; yellow-brown glaze inside only. Acted as a stand for a vessel which rested on the supports on the rim. In Holland, where similar stands are found, a little hanging tray of pottery with pierced openings (? to take eggs) has also been discovered. This could have served to hold eggs in a kind of rack (cf. egg poacher) over hot water or charcoal in the bowl.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ I am most grateful to Mr. J. G. N. Renaud of Amersfoort for introducing me to the Dutch material mentioned in this report.



NONSUCH PALACE, AIR PHOTOGRAPH OF THE EXCAVATIONS, SEPTEMBER 1959.

(Photo: J. A. Brancher)



NONSUCH, THE GREAT WINE CELLAR FROM THE EAST.



NONSUCH, THE BANQUETING HOUSE FROM THE EAST.

(Photo: S. M. Witkowski)



b. Floral swag in plaster-stucco.

(Photos: D. C. Haiselden, S. M. Witkowski)



NONSTICH PALACE, THE EARLY RENAISSANCE DECORATIONS.

a. Guilloche carved in slate.