

Suffolk Place: Southwark's forgotten Tudor royal palace

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During the Tudor period (1485–1603) Southwark possessed numerous great houses or palaces.¹ These residences were the London homes of leading courtiers and churchmen who wanted to reside close to the centre of royal government at Westminster. According to John Stow, writing in c. 1600, one of these vanished palaces was Suffolk Place, the 'large and sumptuous house built by Charles Brandon late Duke of Suffolk',² which was situated along the western side of Borough High Street, opposite St George's church (Figs 1 and 2).³

Charles Brandon: the courtier and his Southwark connections

In 1510 Charles Brandon (c. 1485–1545) had inherited from his uncle Sir Thomas Brandon an interest in a family residence known as 'Brandon Place' in Southwark.⁴ On 1st February 1514 Brandon was created Duke of Suffolk in recognition of his part in the French

campaign the previous year.⁵ On 9th October 1514 as part of the peace settlement between England and France, Henry VIII's sister Mary Tudor (born 1496) married the elderly Louis XII of France. After Louis's death on 1st January 1515, Brandon went to Paris to escort the dowager queen home, but instead Brandon married Mary in Paris during February 1515. Many at the English court were outraged by Brandon's action.⁶ He had been married twice before in controversial circumstances, entered into various other marriage contracts (at the time of his third marriage he was contracted to marry the ten-year-old Lady Lisle) and had fathered three illegitimate children. Also, this marriage had taken place without Henry's permission. Henry was angry, but as Mary had apparently asked him for a free choice of husband should she outlive Louis, her choice of a leading courtier, magnate and soldier as her second husband may not have

been a complete surprise to Henry. On 13th May 1515 Brandon and Mary married in public at Greenwich. Henry's displeasure was mollified by the gift of Mary's jewels, plate, half her dowry and a share of the future income from her dower lands in France.⁷

Brandon now sought to build a residence suitable for a man of his status, brother-in-law to the king with a growing family. Between 1516 and 1522 Mary produced four children and there were also two daughters from his 1508 marriage to Anne Browne.⁸ Brandon's uncle Thomas had left the bulk of his Southwark estate to Lady Jane Guildford (died 1538), but it appears that Brandon soon gained possession of this estate from Lady Jane in return for an annual annuity of £47 6s. 8d.⁹ In 1516 Brandon purchased eleven 'messuages' [house plots] and eight 'gardens' to enlarge his Southwark property.¹⁰

The construction of Suffolk Place and its architecture

In c. 1516 Brandon decided to rebuild his uncle's house in Southwark, renaming it 'Suffolk Place' after his new dukedom. Exactly when this work started is uncertain but as Brandon was purchasing building timber during 1518, it seems probable that work had already started.¹¹ During 1521–22, Brandon sold 30,000 bricks produced at his nearby kiln and 8 [cart] 'loads' of 'brick bats' to the Bridgehouse estate, the sale of surplus production implies that his new house was already complete.¹² In June 1522, Henry VIII and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V dined at Suffolk Place and afterwards hunted with Brandon in his deer park.¹³ This royal visit implies that Suffolk Place had been completed by this date.

The southern extent of the grounds of Suffolk Place was the Marshalsea Road, its eastern limit was Borough High Street and its western limit was probably Redcross Way. Situated to the north of the palace was an area

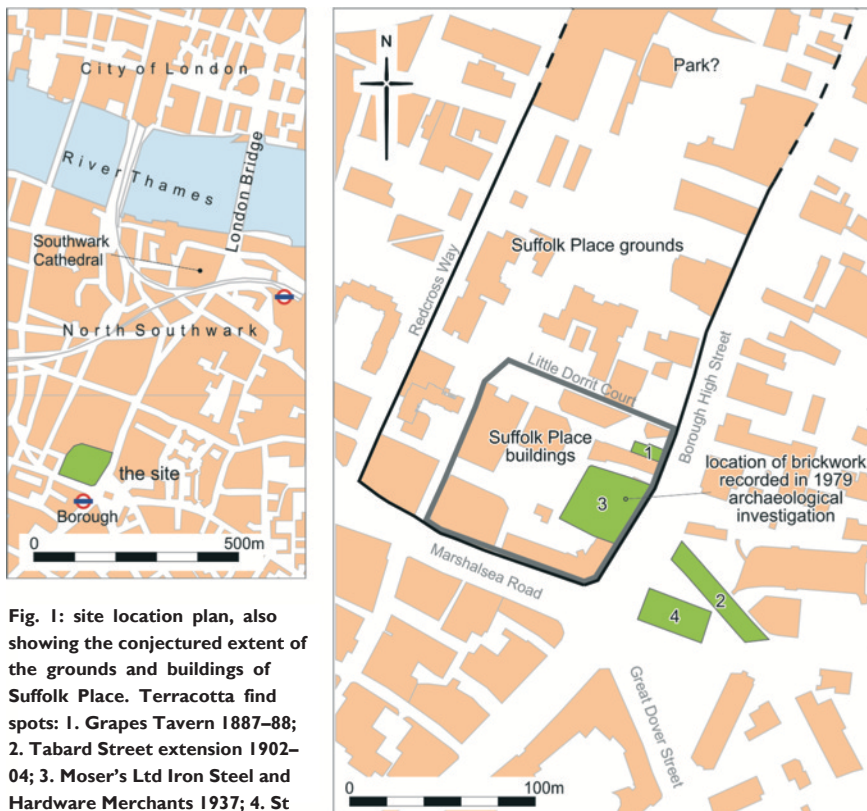


Fig. 1: site location plan, also showing the conjectured extent of the grounds and buildings of Suffolk Place. Terracotta find spots: 1. Grapes Tavern 1887–88; 2. Tabard Street extension 1902–04; 3. Moser's Ltd Iron Steel and Hardware Merchants 1937; 4. St George's Church 2006.



Fig. 2: Suffolk Place (1), St Mary Overy Priory (2) and St George's church (3) in the foreground of a facsimile of Wyngaerde's London Panorama (c. 1544), this view is looking northwards across Southwark towards the Thames and the City of London. (Museum of London)

occupied by gardens and outbuildings plus a much larger area of open space known as 'Winchester Park' (Fig. 1).¹⁴

There are no surviving building accounts, surveys or plans for Suffolk

Place, so our main source of architectural information is the view of it in the foreground of Wyngaerde's London panorama of c. 1544, which shows it situated on the opposite side of

the Borough High Street to St George's church (Fig. 2).¹⁵ The panorama shows an imposing three-storey palace towering over the timber-framed houses lining the western side of Borough High Street. It is believed that these imposing buildings on the panorama represent only the outer courtyard and further west there was situated a second or inner courtyard.

It is clear from the panorama that the main entrance to the outer courtyard of Suffolk Place was from Borough High Street (Fig. 3, no. 1), via a multi-sized gatehouse structure, the roof of which was obscured by what appears to be a high decorative parapet or frieze (Fig. 3, no. 2). This gatehouse led to a bridge, presumably spanning a moat (Fig. 3, no. 3), that provided access to the outer courtyard (Fig. 4). In 1549 the gatehouse was held at will, rent-free by Sir John Grey, it was described as 'a tenement called Broadgates with gatehouse, stable, barn and other buildings'.¹⁶ It is clear that the buildings of Suffolk Place were set



Fig. 3: Suffolk Place enlarged view from Wyngaerde's London Panorama (source Colvin and Foister 1996, drawings iv and vi). (Ashmolean Museum)
 Features of interest: 1. Borough High Street; 2. the gatehouse; 3. the moat bridge; 4. the fence or wall along the western edge of the street (obscuring the moat); 5. the roof-line of the northern range of the outer courtyard; 6. the eastern range of the outer courtyard; 7. the pair of domed turrets at the northern end of the eastern range; 8. the northern extension of the eastern range of the outer courtyard; 9. the multi-sided dovecote or hawks' mews; 10. the area of gardens and park land to the north of the palace; 11. the southern range of the outer courtyard; 12. the central tower of the southern range; 13. the chimney stacks of the southern range; 14. the terracotta frieze of the southern range; 15. the chimney stacks of the southern range of the inner courtyard; 16. the two crenellated towers adjoining the southern range; 17. parts of the western and northern ranges of the inner courtyard; 18. the southern façade or gable of eastern range of the inner courtyard.

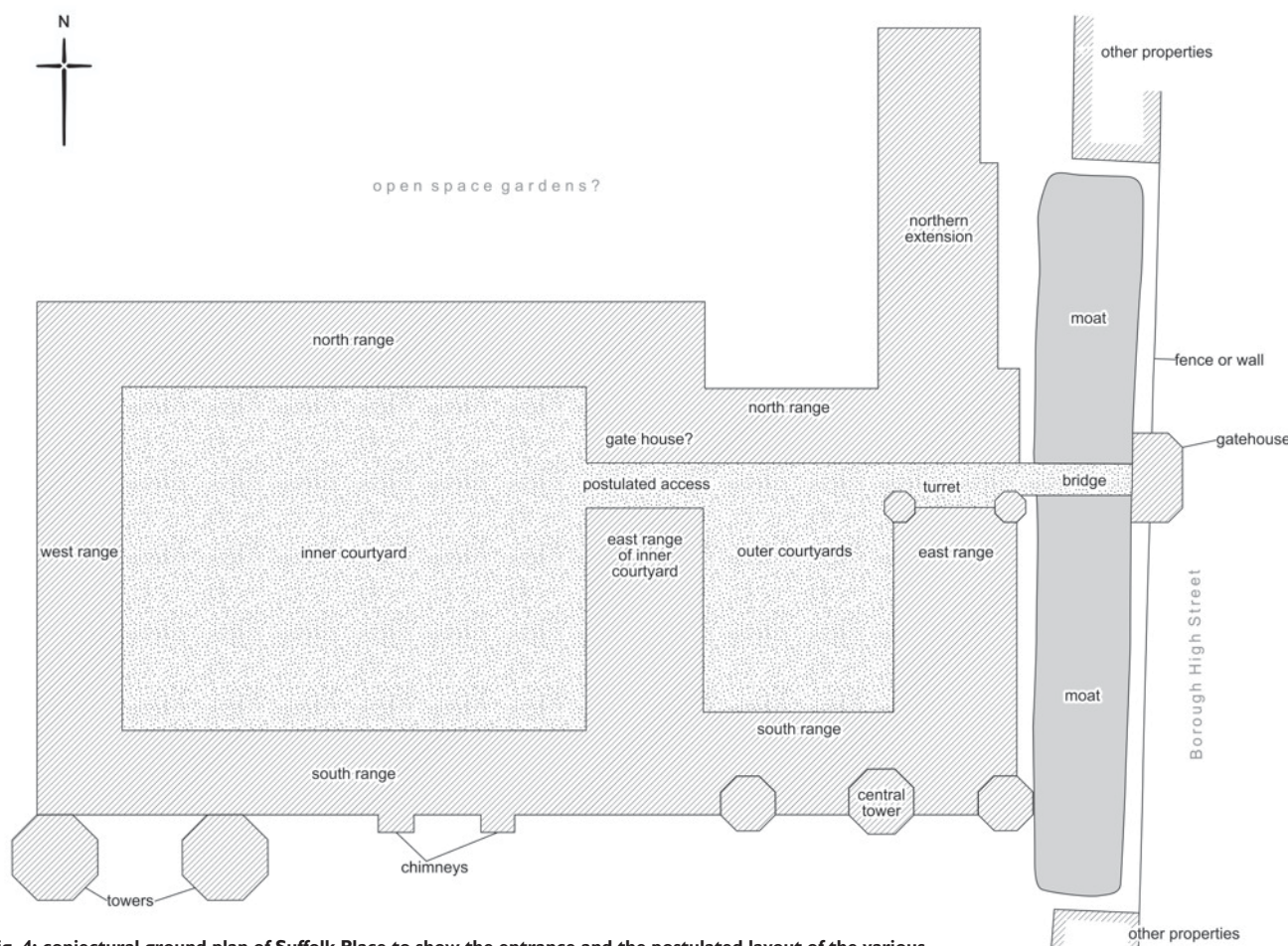


Fig. 4: conjectural ground plan of Suffolk Place to show the entrance and the postulated layout of the various ranges of buildings (not to scale).

back some distance from the street, which implies the existence of a moat here. This moat cannot be seen on the panorama due the existence of a high wall or fence along the western side of Borough High Street (Fig. 3, no. 4). The extent of this moat is unknown (Fig. 4).

The functions of the buildings ranged around the outer courtyard of Suffolk Place probably included a great hall, upper storey gallery, chapel, lodgings for guests and family accommodation. The inner courtyard probably contained the service buildings such as barns, bake house, kitchens, wine cellars, servants' lodgings, store rooms and stables. The other buildings interpreted as part of the eastern and western ranges of the outer courtyard the palace are clearly visible on the panorama, while the northern range is clearly visible (only part of its roof can be seen) (Fig. 3, no 5).

The eastern range of the outer courtyard was dominated by a massive ridge roof, perhaps containing dormer windows (Fig. 3, no. 6). The corners of the northern façade of the east range were marked by a pair of onion-

domed turrets (Fig. 3, no. 7). Perhaps the east range contained at first floor level the family apartments or a gallery used for recreation or entertainment, as it contained two large mullioned windows. At parapet and cornice level the east range appears to have possessed an elaborate terracotta decoration. This frieze appears to have included a line of roundels, perhaps containing portrait busts, like those at Hampton Court.¹⁷ The parapet was apparently topped not by battlements, but by a series of semi-circular terracotta ornaments, probably identical to the Italian style terracotta semi-circular shell-gables and dolphins on the Layer Marney gatehouse parapet, Essex (c. 1520–25).¹⁸

Adjoining the eastern range of the outer courtyard of Suffolk Place and extending some distance further north was a group of two or possibly three adjoining three-storey buildings (Fig. 3, no. 8 and Fig. 4). To the north of this range was a small free-standing, hexagonal or octagonal, domed tower which is interpreted as a dovecote or possibly a hawk mews (Fig. 3, no. 9).¹⁹

To the north of the outer courtyard, where trees are shown on the panorama, were situated the palace's gardens and hunting park (Fig. 3, no. 10).

The southern range of the outer courtyard of Suffolk Place is the most clearly depicted part of the palace in the panorama. It was dominated by three tall multi-sided towers and two large rectangular mullion and transom windows (Fig. 3, no. 11). The central tower was the largest and tallest of the three, and its top portion was probably intended to serve as an observation point (Fig. 3, no. 12). The decoration of the two matching corner towers of the southern range apparently included terracotta roundels and diaperwork pattern brickwork. The south range possessed two prominent ornate chimney stacks sandwiched between the towers (Fig. 3, no. 13). Ornate brick chimney stacks were a skyline feature of major Tudor great houses, reflecting an increasing desire for better heated living space.²⁰ The presence of these chimney stacks meant there was no space for a decorative parapet here.

However, space was found elsewhere for decoration in the south range. Its towers possessed a prominent cornice and there was clearly an elaborate terracotta frieze at parapet level (Fig. 3, no. 14).

The appearance of the group of buildings which are interpreted as the inner courtyard of Suffolk Place are quite different to the those of the outer courtyard, which suggests that they may have been part of the earlier house, and were retained during the c. 1518–22 rebuilding (Fig. 4). If this interpretation is correct, then it means that the eastern range of the earlier house, which presumably included its gatehouse, would have provided vehicular access to the inner courtyard. This interpretation would imply that the original residence was much smaller and was situated some distance back from Borough High Street. This would suggest that Brandon's 1516 purchases were actually properties along the street frontage, where a few years later he would later build the new outer courtyard of his palace. The impression is that all the buildings of the inner courtyard possessed small windows, (apart from the southern façade of its eastern range) and were quite plain compared those of the outer courtyard. The southern range of the inner courtyard possessed two prominent external chimney stacks, suggesting it may have contained the kitchens (Fig. 3, no. 15). Further west along the southern range were two multi-sized, crenellated towers, behind which are the tops of three more chimneys stacks (Fig. 3, no. 16). Part of the roofs and



Fig. 5: complete rectangular terracotta panel with chamfered corners, bearing the profile head of a girl with plaids and tiny cherub-type wings. (height 30.5 cm) (V&A Acc A.26-1938). (Victoria and Albert Museum)

upper storey windows of the western and northern ranges of the inner courtyard can be seen (Fig. 3, no. 17).

The southern façade of the eastern range of the inner courtyard contained one large oval headed window at an upper storey level (Fig. 3, no. 18). The size of this window suggests that this range was occupied by a great hall. This range would have effectively become the western side of the outer courtyard.

It appears that Suffolk Place was predominantly brick-built. Redevelopment on its site in c. 1887–88 and 1979 revealed substantial brick foundations of Tudor date.²¹

Charles Brandon and the later history of Suffolk Place

During c. 1526–33 Brandon undertook his second major building project, Westhorpe Hall in Suffolk.²² Westhorpe consisted of a rectangular moated enclosure, surrounded by parks and gardens. Almost all of the buildings of Westhorpe Hall were demolished in c. 1750, but it is known that they were decorated with architectural terracottas. In 1991 the de-silting of the moat revealed 188 fragments of terracotta.²³

Brandon had intended that Westhorpe Hall should be his main country residence, but on 23rd June 1533 his wife Mary Tudor died here. The unexpected death of Mary completely changed Brandon's relationship with the Crown, and the ensuing debt settlement was to cost him both Suffolk Place and his newly-built Westhorpe Hall.²⁴ Brandon had created a deer park on his Southwark estate and it is thought that this hunting park probably persuaded Henry VIII to ask Brandon to exchange his property for Norwich Place, near Charing Cross.²⁵ An inventory compiled in 1535 of the 'plate' remaining at Suffolk Place conveys an impression of a very ostentatious household, and the contents of its chapel still included six gilded images of saints and a large array of liturgical vessels.²⁶

In February 1536 Norwich Place was given to Brandon as part of this debt settlement.²⁶ In the Act of Parliament transferring Brandon's mansion to the king it was described as the manor and 'pryncypall House... called the Duke of Suffolkes place'.²⁷



Fig. 6: rectangular terracotta panel bearing a half-length figure of cupid (height 22 cm) (V&A Acc A.28-1938). (Victoria and Albert Museum)

On 1st June 1537 Suffolk Place was granted to Queen Jane Seymour. After her death in October 1537, the property reverted to the king. It appears that as Suffolk Place was used infrequently by the royal family, it was decided to establish a mint here in June 1545 for the production of gold coinage. In August 1551 following the discovery of various frauds the mint was closed.²⁸

On 18th August 1554, Queen Mary and her husband Philip of Spain stayed the night at Suffolk Place, before making their state entry into London the following day.²⁹ In February 1556 Queen Mary granted Suffolk Place to the Archbishop of York, Nicholas Heath (1555–1560, died 1578), by way of compensation for the loss of York Place, which her father had seized from the See of York.³⁰ This grant mentions 'barns, stables, dovecotes, gardens, banqueting houses and conduits totalling 14 acres' (5.7 hectares).³¹

During July or August 1557 Archbishop Heath sold his residence 'to a Merchant or Merchantess, that pulled it downe solde the leade, stone, iron etc. And in place thereof builded many small cottages...'.³² The purchasers of Suffolk Place were probably Elles Dyall and John Tull, both citizens and tilers of London.³³ During 1557–58, some of the building materials salvaged from Suffolk Place were sold to Windsor Castle.³⁴

The architectural terracottas and alabaster sculpture from Suffolk House

During c. 1515–40 it was briefly fashionable amongst the nouveau riche



Fig. 7: sub-rectangular terracotta pilaster panel with moulded edges and one concave side by two winged griffins arranged back to back bearing a pedestal urn, scale 10 cm (Cumming Acc 15014). (Cumming Museum)

in East Anglia and south-east England to adorn their new residences with ornate architectural terracottas used to produce features like decorative panels, entablature, pilasters and windows. The earliest secular usage of architectural terracotta in England is believed to be in the Long Gallery (1515–16) of Cardinal Wolsey's Hampton Court Palace.³⁵ Significantly, the earliest securely documented usage of architectural terracottas also occurred at Hampton Court during 1520–21.³⁶ Therefore, the usage of architectural terracotta at Suffolk Place is only predated by the Hampton Court material, which makes the finds of terracotta of great architectural interest, as they are some of the earliest evidence of Renaissance design motifs in England.

Various redevelopments on the site of Suffolk Place in c. 1887–88 and 1937 have revealed a number of *ex-situ* terracottas, plus a beautiful alabaster sculpture (see cover).³⁷ The sculpture depicts a pair of winged bare-breasted female figures with mermaid style tails holding back drapery on either side of a six-sided opening.³⁸ Centrally placed above the opening is a grotesque face possibly intended to be a water spirit. The female figures are probably intended to represent water nymphs, characters from Greek mythology who lived by rivers and springs. The design of this opening implies that water was

intended to spurt through it, suggesting that it was part of the decorative fountain spout. In the top face of the sculpture is a small rectangular slot, through which a water pipe could have been fitted. The relative thinness of the whole piece, its flat base, and the unfinished nature of its rear face shows that it would have been originally mounted on or slotted into a larger structure.

Some of these terracottas discovered in 1937 were given to the Victoria and Albert Museum and the others were retained by the Cumming Museum.³⁹ A number of these finds are displayed in both museums.⁴⁰ More terracottas were recovered during the 1902–04 widening of Tabard Street to the north of St George's church, but sadly none of these finds survive (Fig. 1, findspot 2).⁴¹ In 2006 excavation of the pier base foundations of the early 16th-century phase of St George's church, revealed 110 fragments of terracotta *ex situ*, reused as hard core.⁴² As these terracottas included wasters, reject material and broken bricks, they are believed to be derived from building materials discarded during the construction of Suffolk House – situated on the opposite side of Borough High Street from the church (Fig. 1, findspot 4). The earlier finds of terracottas from the site of Suffolk House are interpreted as material derived from its demolition in 1557–58. The terracottas from St George's church are to be published with reference to previous and associated finds in an article in *Post-Medieval Archaeology*.⁴³

The range of architectural components represented in the terracottas includes windows, entablature (including cornice fragments), parapets and decorative panels including pilasters. A wide variety of decorative motifs are present including: blind Gothic tracery; the head of girl (Fig. 5); a cupid (Fig. 6); the head of a crowned lion; an urn flanked by two griffins (Fig. 7) a closed crown (Fig. 8); a mythological figure (Fig. 9); and a scallop shell. It is clear from the shape of some of these panels and the presence of various fragments of bay leaf or laurel garlands that a number of these elements were combined to produce an elaborate hexagonal frieze of intertwined garlands adorned with

heads of figures and animals.⁴⁴ It seems probable that when the architectural evidence from Wyngaerde's panorama and that of the various *ex-situ* finds of terracottas are both considered it becomes apparent that Suffolk Place was more heavily decorated than either Hampton Court or Layer Marney.

There are two royal motifs present amongst the Suffolk Place terracottas: crowns and lions. These subjects were chosen to advertise the Duke of Suffolk's prestige and his royal connections. The lion was a royal beast which featured on the Tudor royal arms. The closed crown motif emphasised the duke's links with the royal family. The crown was a highly significant item of Tudor regalia because Henry VII adopted the closed, arched imperial crown. The Duke of Suffolk's badge consisted of the head of a male lion wearing a ducal coronet. This same motif and that of the Tudor rose also occurs on the terracottas at Westhorpe.⁴⁵

The Suffolk Place terracottas are an opulent combination of Gothic and Renaissance decorative motifs, which were intended to proclaim the wealth and status of their builder. The mixing of English Gothic and new Italianate Renaissance design motifs on terracottas of this period was quite common and the examples of Gothic blind tracery at both Suffolk Place and Westhorpe follow the existing English architectural style.⁴⁶ However, it is important to remember that buildings like Hampton Court or Suffolk Place were architecturally still old style English Gothic, but only clad with new Renaissance style decoration.⁴⁷



Fig. 8: part of a terracotta panel of uncertain shape bearing a closed crown, scale 10 cm (Cumming Acc 15011). (Cumming Museum)



Fig. 9: part of a terracotta pilaster panel with moulded edges and one concave side, bearing a mythological bearded figure emerging from a bugle or horn, scale 10 cm (Cuming Acc 15013). (Cuming Museum)

Acknowledgements

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1. G. Dawson 'The "great" houses of medieval Southwark' *London Archaeol* 12 no 9 (2010) 231–36; D. Seeley, C. Phillpotts and M. Samuel *Winchester Palace: excavations at the Southwark residence of the bishops of Winchester*, MoLAS monograph 31 (2006) 43–45. Several of these great houses are discussed in S. Blatherwick and R. Bluer *Great houses, moats and mills on the south bank of the Thames: medieval and Tudor Southwark and Rotherhithe*, MOLA Monograph 47 (2009).
2. J. Stow *A Survey of London* ed C.L. Kingsford 2 vols, (1908, reprinted 1971) 1603 ii, 59.
3. The south-eastern portion of the site of Suffolk Place, formerly 170–194 Borough High Street (site centre: NGR 53241 17980), is now occupied by an office block known as 'Brandon House', 180 Borough High Street.
4. M. Carlin *Medieval Southwark* (1996) 64.
5. Brandon led a successful assault on Tournai, which was instrumental in persuading the city to surrender.
6. There is a marriage portrait of Charles Brandon and Mary Tudor, see D. Starkey (ed) *Henry VIII; a European court in England*, National Maritime Museum Exhibition Catalogue (1991) III.9, 49.
7. S.J. Gunn 'Charles Brandon, first duke of Suffolk' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ed.) H.C.G. Matthews and B. Harrison (2004) vol 7, 353–58.
8. *Ibid.*, 356.
9. I. Darlington, 'Suffolk Place and the Mint (Lant Street), Great Suffolk Street etc' Ch 3 in *Survey of London* vol 25, (ed.) H. Roberts (1955) 22–25.
10. M. Carlin *The Urban Development of Southwark*, unpub Phd Univ of Toronto (1983) 177.
11. *Ibid.*, 177.
12. *Bridgemaster's Annual Accounts and Rentals* vol 5 (1509–25). The accounts run from Michaelmas (29th Sept) to Michaelmas in regal years. Under the purchase of 'Tyles and Bzykys' p 248, during the 13th year of Henry VIII's reign (April 1521–April 1522), the Duke of Suffolk is listed as a supplier of 30,000 whole bricks and 8 loads of 'bryk battys', CLA/007/FN/02/005, London Metropolitan Archives.
13. *Op cit* fn 9, 22; C.L. Kingsford. 'Historical Notes on Medieval London Houses' (part 3), *London Topographical Record* 12 (1920) Suffolk Place: 35–57.
14. *Op cit* fn 4, fig 6. A park of over 19.4 ha was leased from the Bishop of Winchester.
15. H. Colvin and S. Foister (eds) *The Panorama of London circa 1544 by Anthonis van den Wyngaerde*, London Topographical Society Pub No 151 (1996) drawing vi.
16. *Op cit* fn 10, 176.
17. S. Thurlay *Hampton Court: a social and architectural*

history (2003) fig 24.

18. The parapet is illustrated in N. Lloyd *A history of English Brickwork* (1925) 346.
19. A grant of 1555 mentions 'dovecotes' on the premises, *op cit* fn 9, 23.
20. *Op cit* fn 18, plates 33–44.
21. 1979 fieldwork at 170–194 Borough High Street (trench 6), LAARC: 170BHS79.
22. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley 'Charles Brandon's Westhorpe: an early Tudor courtyard house in Suffolk' *Archaeol J* 145 (1988) 272–89.
23. S. Anderson, with R.D. Carr and J. Park 'Architectural Terracotta from Westhorpe Hall' *Archaeol J* 160 (2003) 125–59.
24. *Op cit* fn 22, 273; *op cit* fn 7, 356.
25. H.M. Colvin, J. Summerson, M. Biddle, J.R. Hale and M. Merriman, *The History of the King's Works (1485–1660)* vol 4, part 2, (1982) 271.
26. Plate inventory dated 18th December 1535 in *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster* (vol. 66) HMSO Dublin (1907) 452–3; B. Watson in prep 'A 1535 inventory of plate in Suffolk Place Palace Chapel, Southwark' *Ecclesiology Today*.
27. In 1535 the king had acquired Norwich Place, which since the 13th century had been the London residence or 'inn' of the Bishop of Norwich.
28. Statues 27 Henry VIII c. 38 s. 1; Kingsford *op cit* fn 13, 36.
29. *Op cit* fn 10, 178–79; *op cit* fn 9, 23.
30. Kingsford *op cit* fn 13, 36.
31. York Place, formerly the London residence of the Archbishops of York, had been occupied by Cardinal Wolsey until his downfall, when it was seized by Henry VII in 1529 and subsequently transformed into the royal palace of Whitehall.
32. *Op cit* fn 9, 23.
33. *Op cit* fn 2, 60.
34. *Op cit* fn 10, 179.
35. H.M. Colvin, D.R. Ransome and J. Summerson, *The History of the King's Works (1485–1660)* vol 3, part 1 (1975) 319.
36. The Long Gallery was demolished in 1689, so this suggestion is based on the discovery of terracottas *ex situ* nearby, *op cit* fn 17, 22–23, fig 22. Cardinal Thomas Wolsey started building this palace in 1515. Work was not completed in 1529 when the palace was seized by Henry VIII, who continued its construction, *op cit* fn 25, 126–28.
37. In June 1521, Giovanni da Maiano, an Italian craftsman, asked Wolsey for payment for the

completion of eight terracotta roundels or medallions and the production of a lost frieze depicting three stories of Hercules, *op cit* fn 17, 24. Today these roundels bearing the painted gilded busts of Roman emperors adorn the various gatehouses of Hampton Court.

38. The c. 1887–88 site was the Grapes Tavern, 166 Borough High Street; the 1937 site was Moser's Iron Steel & Hardware Merchants at 170–194 Borough High Street.

39. Found in 1937 at 170–194 Borough High Street, Cuming Museum (Acc no 15015).

40. Five of these terracottas are in the Cuming Museum in Southwark, including the one from the Grapes Tavern (Acc No 15010–15014); the rest are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept of Sculpture (Acc No A26-1938 to A36-1938), D. Bilbey, with M. Trusted *British Sculpture 1470 to 2000: a concise catalogue of the collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, V & A publications (2002) 26–30. This material was first studied by C. Green *Finds from the Site of Suffolk Place, Southwark* (1986) unpublished Museums Diploma Project.

41. Cuming Museum – History of Southwark Room, and V&A – British Galleries room 58e case wn.

42. The London County Council exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on 17th April 1902 'a number of terracotta architectural fragments of the early part of the sixteenth century ... found in the churchyard of St George the Martyr, Southwark' *Proc Soc Antiq of London* 190203 19 (second series) 99–100. Philip Norman argued that the source of this material was Suffolk Place. It is believed that all this material was stored in St George's church and was either destroyed or lost during World War 2 when the church was bombed.

43. According to documentary evidence St George's Church was rebuilt during c. 1515–34 and again in 1734–36. The post-excavation analysis of the 2005–06 fieldwork is in progress (SGY05).

44. T.R. Smith, B. Watson with C. Martin and D. Williams in prep 'Suffolk Place, Southwark, London: a Tudor Palace and its terracotta architectural decoration' *Post-Medieval Archaeol*.

45. R.K. Morris 'Architectural terracotta decoration in Tudor England' in *Secular Sculpture 1300–1550*, ed P.G. Lindley and T. Frangenburg (2000) 179–210, see fig. 4 for a reconstruction of the decorative scheme by Chris Green.

46. *Op cit* fn 23, Illus 15.

47. *Ibid.*, fn 23, 148.

48. J.A. Wight *Brick Building in England from the middle ages to 1550* (1972) 195.