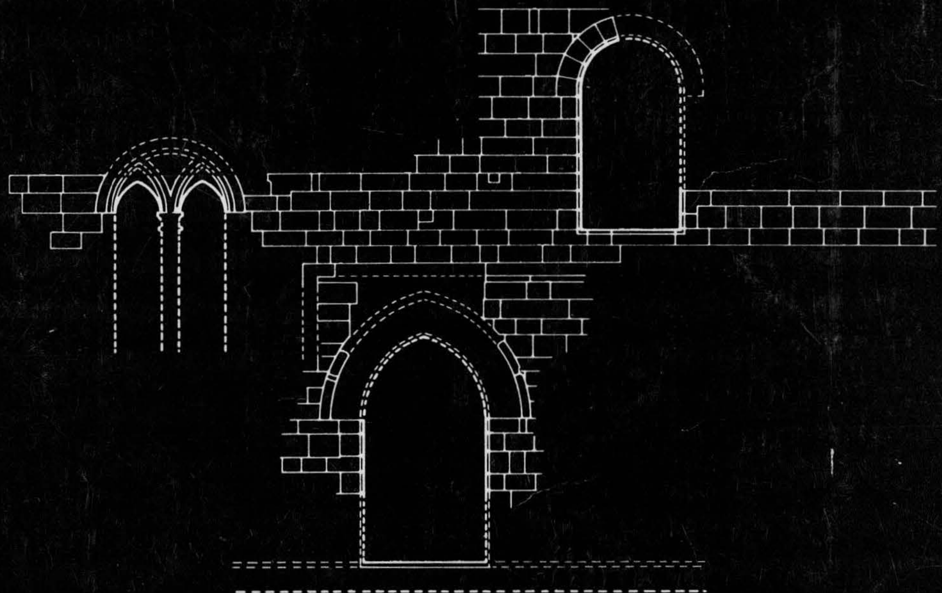
EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

REPORT NO. 14

NORFOLK

Trowse, Horning, Deserted Medieval Villages, Kings Lynn



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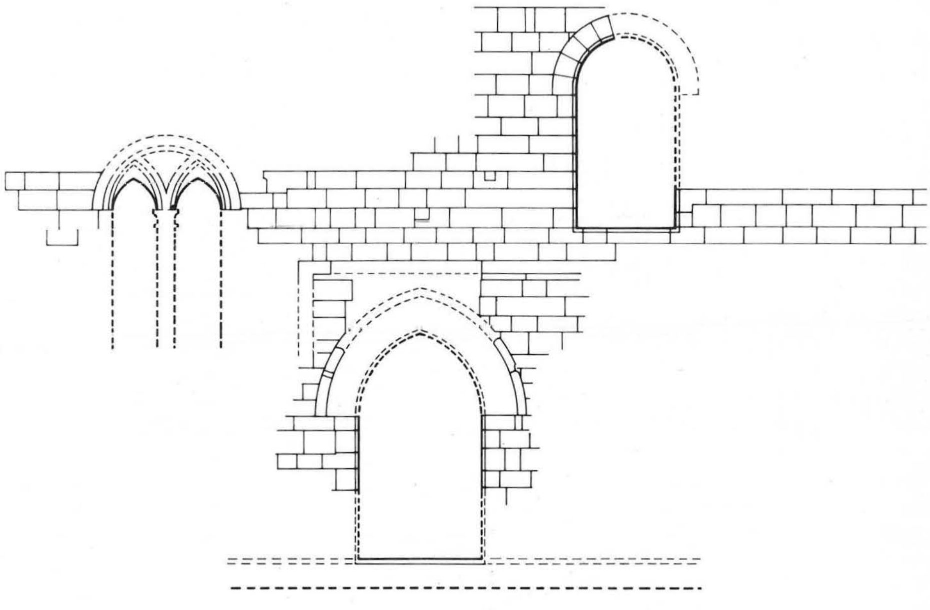

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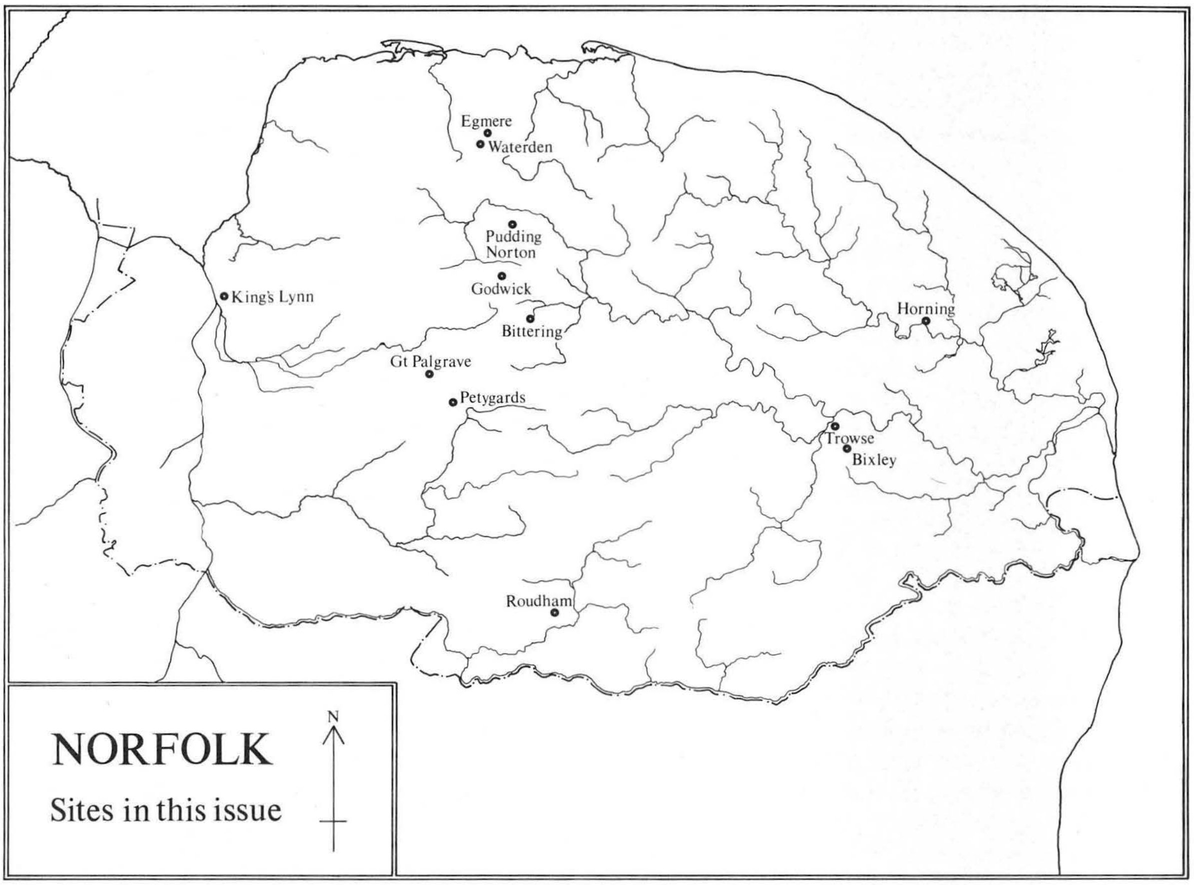

Map of Norfolk showing sites described in this volume.

A Round Barrow at Trowse: Early Bronze Age Burials and Medieval Occupation

by Frances Healy

I. SUMMARY

A round barrow in Trowse with Newton parish (site 9592) was the subject of rescue excavations conducted by the late Rainbird Clarke in 1958 and 1959 and by Keith Wade, now of the Suffolk Archaeological Unit, in 1967. The mound had covered or contained at least four probable graves, three of them radiocarbon dated to the second millennium bc and two of them containing beaker pottery. The site was subsequently occupied in the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries A.D.

II. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The 1958 and 1959 excavations were carried out with the help and co-operation of the following bodies and individuals to whom thanks are warmly, if belatedly, extended: The Central Electricity Generating Board; Messrs.Merz and McLellan, their consulting engineers; the J.L.Eve Construction Company Ltd., especially their Clerk of the Works, Mr.Trebmarsh; Mr.C.W.Chapman, tenant of the field to the north of the site; the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, which helped to finance the excavations; members of the Norfolk Research Committee and volunteers from local schools who carried out the work of excavation, often in inclement conditions; and the British Leather Manufacturers' Research Association who examined a sample of material from the base of pit V. The 1967 excavation was carried out with the permission of the Eastern Electricity Board.

Thanks are also gladly given to those who have provided help and advice to the present writer. They include Barbara Green, Bill Milligan, and Peter Lawrance of Norwich Castle Museum; Dr.Peter Wade-Martins, Andrew Lawson, Andrew Rogerson, Tony Gregory, and Joy Lodey of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit; Stanley West and Keith Wade of the Suffolk Archaeological Unit; Paul Ashbee and Peter Murphy of the Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia; Dr.Ian Kinnes and Gillian Wilson of the Department of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities, British Museum; and Ian Shepherd of Grampian Regional Council; Denise Derbyshire of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit has drawn Figs.3 to 9 and 12; Derek Edwards, also of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit, has drawn Figs.1 and 2 and plotted the cropmarks shown in them.

III. INTRODUCTION

The barrow was discovered in 1929 from a vertical air photograph taken by the R.A.F. The oblique air photograph reproduced here (Plate I) was taken in 1935 by the Norfolk and Norwich Aero Club for the Norfolk Research Committee. It shows two concentric ditches, the outer incomplete and the inner broken by a single causeway. Both the width of the causeway in the inner ditch and the extent of the outer ditch are obscured by two large, irregular features, one immediately to the north-east of the barrow and one immediately to the south-west. Two parallel linear cropmarks run at a tangent to the south-western edge of the outer ditch. Particular interest attaches to the site because it is one of the monuments in the area of the Arminghall Henge (site 6100) first plotted by J.G.D.Clark (1936 figs.1 and 2: ring-ditch G).

The barrow was scheduled as an ancient monument on the evidence of air photographs [1], but the location plotted by Clark and defined in the schedule was unfortunately slightly to the south-west of the actual site of the barrow where the approach road for an electricity sub-station was eventually sited. In March 1958 Rainbird Clarke observed that the roadway had been excavated through the barrow and conducted a rescue excavation from April 4 to April 8 of that year. This was followed by further limited excavation in October 1959 and by observations made in 1960 when the mound was finally levelled prior to the building of an office block. A final small-scale excavation was undertaken by Keith Wade in 1967.

The whole investigation was thus carried out in unfavourable circumstances, with excavation restricted by construction work, bad weather, and shortness of time. Initial destruction by the contractors' roadway excavation affected about 550 sq m, accounting for roughly twenty-seven per cent of the area defined by the inner ditch. Photographs show that the battered sides and general condition of the roadway excavation did not provide the best conditions for observation (Plate II); and features less than about 60 cm deep within the area of the roadway would have been completely removed. The total area of 289 sq m eventually excavated amounts to only fourteen per cent of the area defined by the projected outer ditch and twenty-two per cent of the area defined by the inner ditch.

The account which follows is necessarily a tentative one which must be read with all these limitations in mind. It is based on finds and records lodged in Norwich Castle Museum [2]. The latter consist of plans, sections, photographs, and small finds lists, as well as draft reports written by Rainbird Clarke after the 1958 and 1959 seasons. The plans and sections reproduced here follow the originals as closely as possible, with some detail added to sections from contemporary photographs. No attempt has been made to amend discrepancies between plans and sections, since at this date such an exercise would verge on the fictional. All objects found during the 1958 and 1959 excavations were given small find numbers and the positions of most were three-dimensionally recorded so that it has been possible to plot them onto some of the plans and sections.

Prehistoric chronology is discussed in terms of uncalibrated radiocarbon dates based on the 5568 $\pm$ 30 half-life unless otherwise stated.

IV. THE SETTING

The barrow lies 290 m north-east of the Arminghall Henge at about 6 m O.D. on the edge of the gravel terrace of the river Tas, roughly 1 km south of its confluence with the river Yare (Fig.1). To the east of the valley the land, capped with boulder clay and glacial sands and gravels, rises to some 30 m rendering the site of the barrow relatively low-lying and inconspicuous. Chalk and Norwich Crag are exposed to a limited extent in the valley side above the terrace.

Cropmarks in the area are plotted on Fig.2, together with sites and finds of Neolithic and early Bronze Age date. The information is mainly derived from the Norfolk Sites and Monuments Record [3].

Both sites and finds are strikingly concentrated on the sands and gravels which here comprise Norwich Crag and later glacial and fluviatile deposits. The absence of crop-

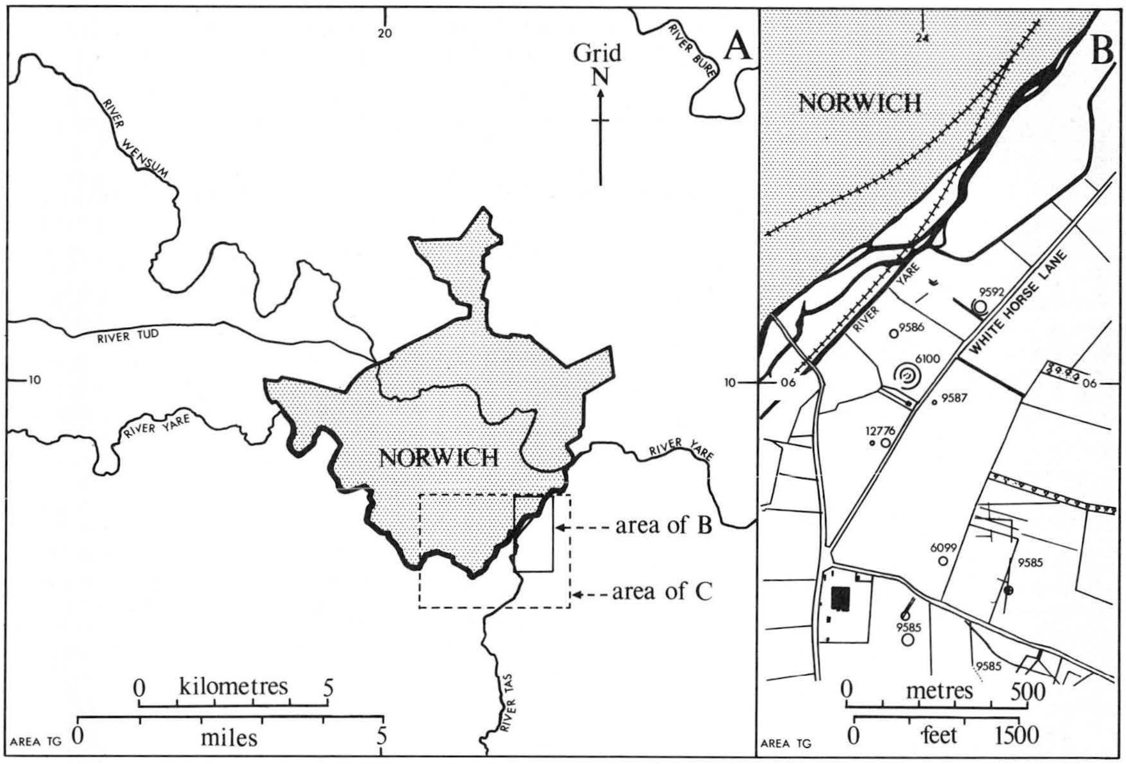

Fig.1. The Trowse barrow (site 9592): location (A) in relation to the city of Norwich. Scale 1:200,000; and (B) to adjacent monuments, including the Arminghall Henge (site 6100). Scale 1:21,120. C = Fig.2.

marks from north of the river Yare is almost certainly due to their being obscured by the city of Norwich (Fig.1). Though some of the ring-ditches, especially those in site 9794, a complex of circular and linear features in the south of the area, may not represent Neolithic or Bronze Age round barrows, it seems reasonable to suppose that fifteen or more of them may do so. Together with five or six upstanding round barrows (the status of site 11295 being doubtful), the other sites and finds plotted, and the Eaton Heath Neolithic occupation site (Wainwright 1973) which lies immediately to the west of the area mapped, they indicate considerable domestic and funerary activity in the area during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age.

The greatest concentration of certain and probable barrows is around the Arminghall Henge (6100) with further groups on Eaton Heath (9549) and on the promontory between the rivers Yare and Tas (9582, 9789). Here the juxtaposition of a double ring-ditch (9582) and a D-shaped enclosure (9583) strongly suggests that the two were related. Though discovered at the same time as the Arminghall Henge this perhaps unique monument remains completely uninvestigated and subject to continued plough-damage, despite being scheduled [4]. (Compare Clark 1936, pl.II with Norfolk Archaeological Unit 1974, 7).

It seems highly likely that in the late third and early second millennia bc the Yare and Tas gravels south of Norwich were the site of a monumental complex comparable to better-known examples like those of Dorchester, Oxfordshire (Atkinson, Piggott and Sandars 1951) or Maxey, Cambridgeshire (R.C.H.M.1960, fig.6). The Norwich area may have been particularly attractive for settlement in this period because of its exceptionally high proportion, by East Anglian standards, of sands and gravels and consequently of relatively light soils, mainly due to the confluence of several rivers within a small compass (Figs.1 and 2). These all ultimately drain into a single estuary, now at Great Yarmouth, and would have permitted water-borne communication both with the other side of the North Sea and with a hinterland comprising most of Norfolk as well as north-east Suffolk. Such a nodal

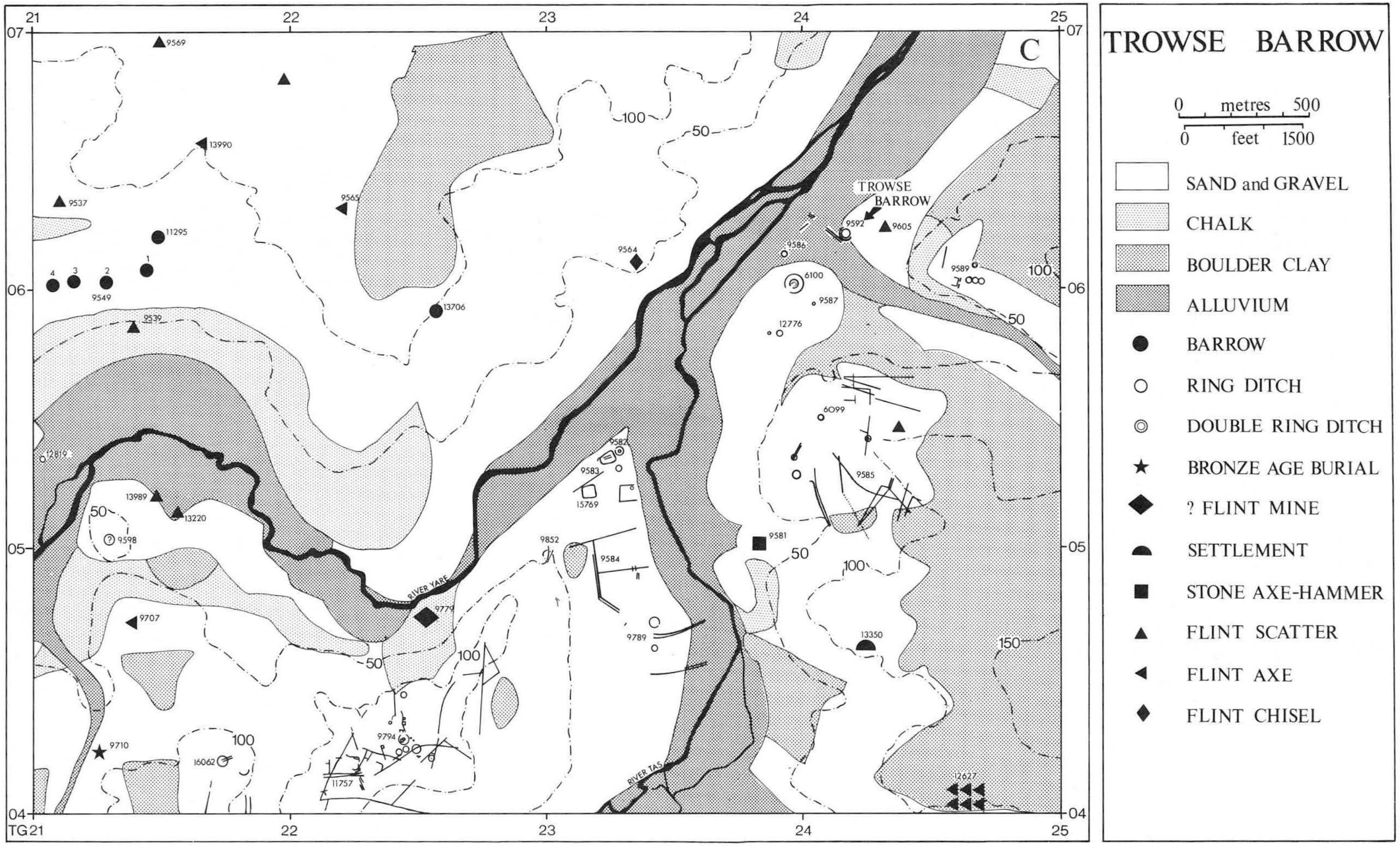

Fig.2. Cropmarks and Neolithic and Bronze Age sites and finds in the area of the Trowse barrow (site 9592, arrowed). Geology simplified from the Geological Survey of Great Britain (England and Wales) sheet 161 (1975). Reproduced by permission of the Geological Survey. Scale 1:25,000.

position may go some way to account for the area's regional importance from this time onwards, seen in the location of the civitas captial of Venta Icenorum some 250 m south of the lower margin of Fig.2 and in the eventual growth of the City of Norwich itself.

V. THE EXCAVATIONS

The location of the cuttings is shown on Fig.3. Cuttings A-E were excavated in 1958, when work was concentrated in the area of the roadway which was about to be concreted. Work was almost entirely restricted to the battered sides of the roadway excavation because the contractors were unwilling for much digging to take placc on the line of the roadway itself. Cuttings F, G, H and J were excavated in 1959 after the removal of contractors' huts from part of the mound; and cuttings K and L in 1967 in advance of landscaping. Figs.4 and 9 show all the features found. The only complete section across the barrow is of the south-west face of cutting A (Fig.5). It is to some extent composite, as is the detailed section of pits I and II (Fig.7), since the stratigraphy recorded in it was initially exposed in the battered side of the roadway excavation and has been compressed into the vertical plane (Plate II). The main section is supplemented by sections of other cuttings across the ditches and sections of individual features (Figs.6, 7 and 9). Feature dimensions are listed in Table 1 (p.28).

The main section was spanned by a layer described as 'humus' which underlay the turf, was cut by pits I, II and III and overlay the ditch fills (Fig.5). The excavations showed that there had been medieval and later activity on the site (p.14), which complicated the interpretation of the barrow.

THE BARROW

The Outer Ditch

The 1935 air photograph (Plate I) shows the outer ditch to have been semi-circular or, at most, penannular, though its exact extent is obscured by a hedge and by a large, irregular feature to the north-east of the barrow. The excavations confirmed the presence of the outer ditch around the south-east half of the barrow, exposing it at the south-east end of cutting A, under the hedge which had obscured it in the air photograph, and at the south-west end of cutting G. Its profile was in both cases gently sloping (Figs.5 and 6). Its outer lip was not reached in cutting G.

The sections drawn of the outer ditch in both cuttings A (SE) and G show a slight primary fill, succeeded in cutting G by a dark, relatively stone-free layer which was thought at the time of excavation to be a possible turf line. The sandy loam recorded above the primary fill in cutting A (SE) the previous year may perhaps equate with this (Figs.5 and 6). Neither section shows any evidence of a bank in the form of substantial sand and gravel fill, or of a preponderance of fill to one side. A photograph suggests that the larger of the two sand patches lying on the sandy loam in the outer ditch in cutting A (SE) might represent the basal fill of a later pit. This interpretation is made more likely by the coincidence of the sand patch with a concentration of medieval and later material (Fig.8). No finds were made in the earlier ditch fills in either cutting.

The excavations failed to establish the extent of the outer ditch, though it was thought that pit IV in cutting A (NW) might represent its butt end. The flint, sand and gravel fills of pit IV certainly seem to have been more comparable with some of the ditch fills than with the stony loam fills of pits I, II and III. Also, like the ditches but unlike pits I, II and III, pit IV underlay the 'humus' layer (Fig.5). Nonetheless, it seems unlikely to have been the north-east terminal of the outer ditch, as it falls within the visible half of the ditch when this is plotted from the air photograph (Fig.4) and as no trace of the ditch was found in cuttings B, F or H to the north and east of it. Feature d at the west end of cutting L (Fig.9) was also interpreted as a possible remnant of the outer ditch,

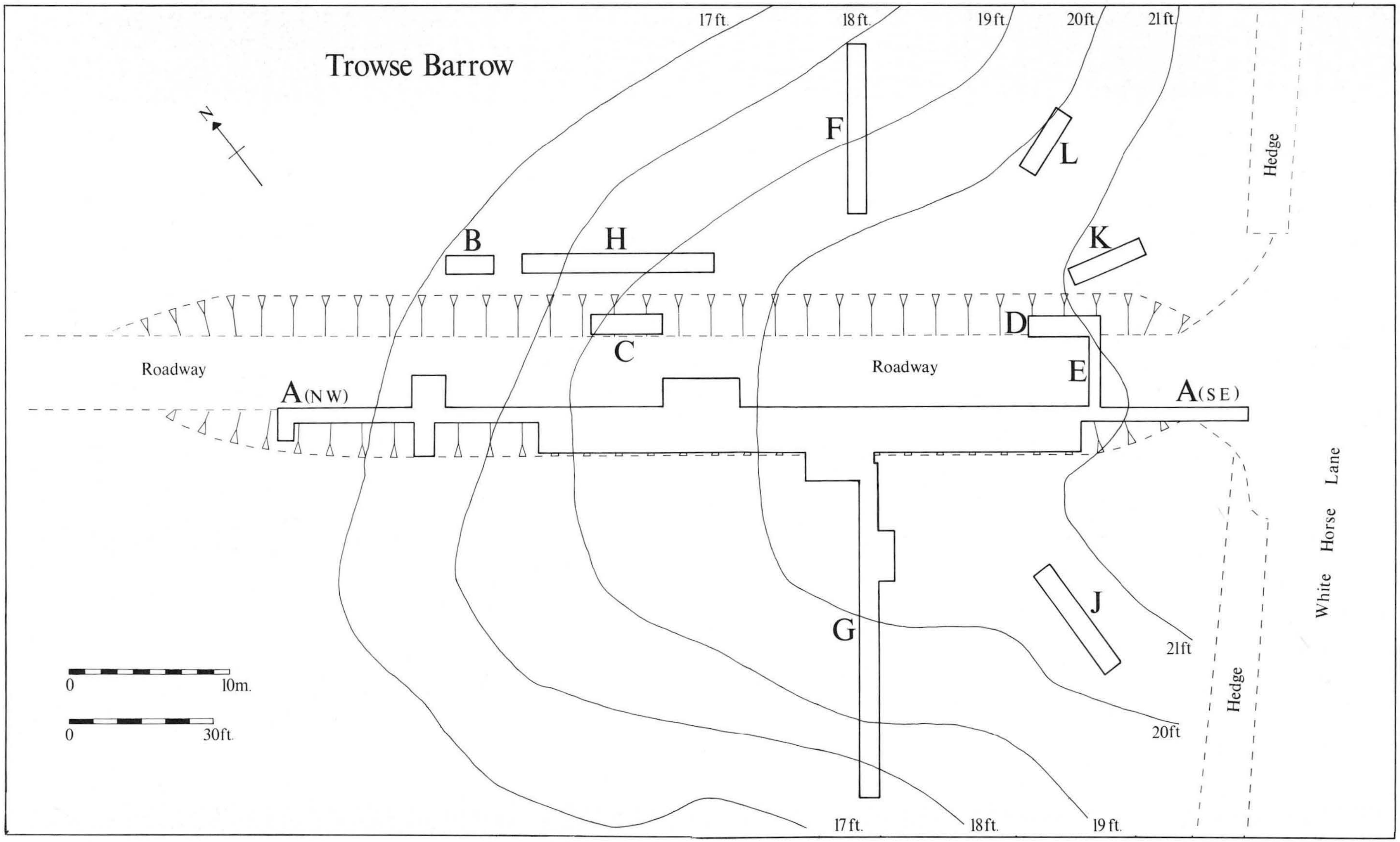

Fig.3. Contour plan of barrow in feet and location of cuttings. Scale 1:360.

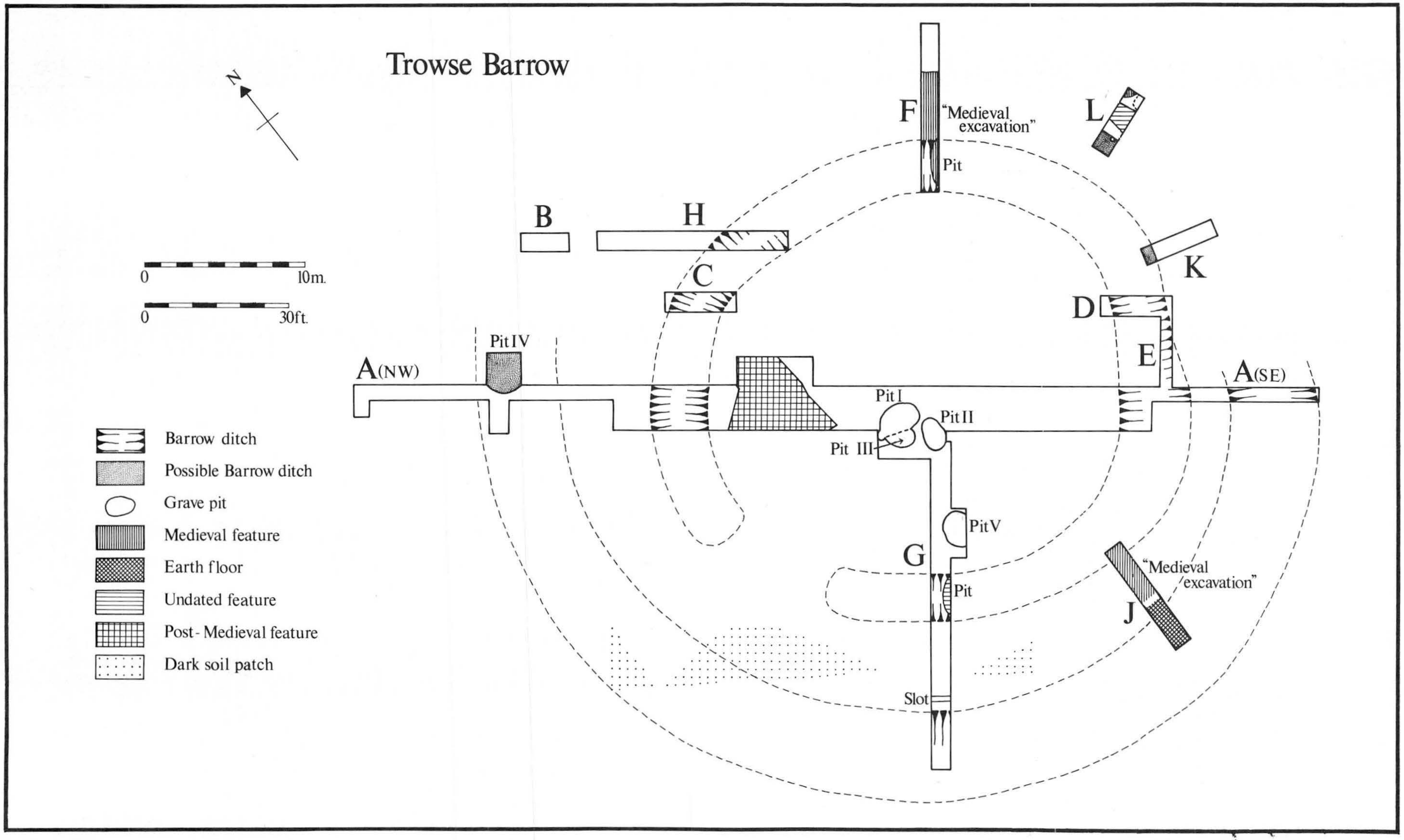

Fig.4. Excavated features with lines of ditches projected from Plate I. Scale 1:360.

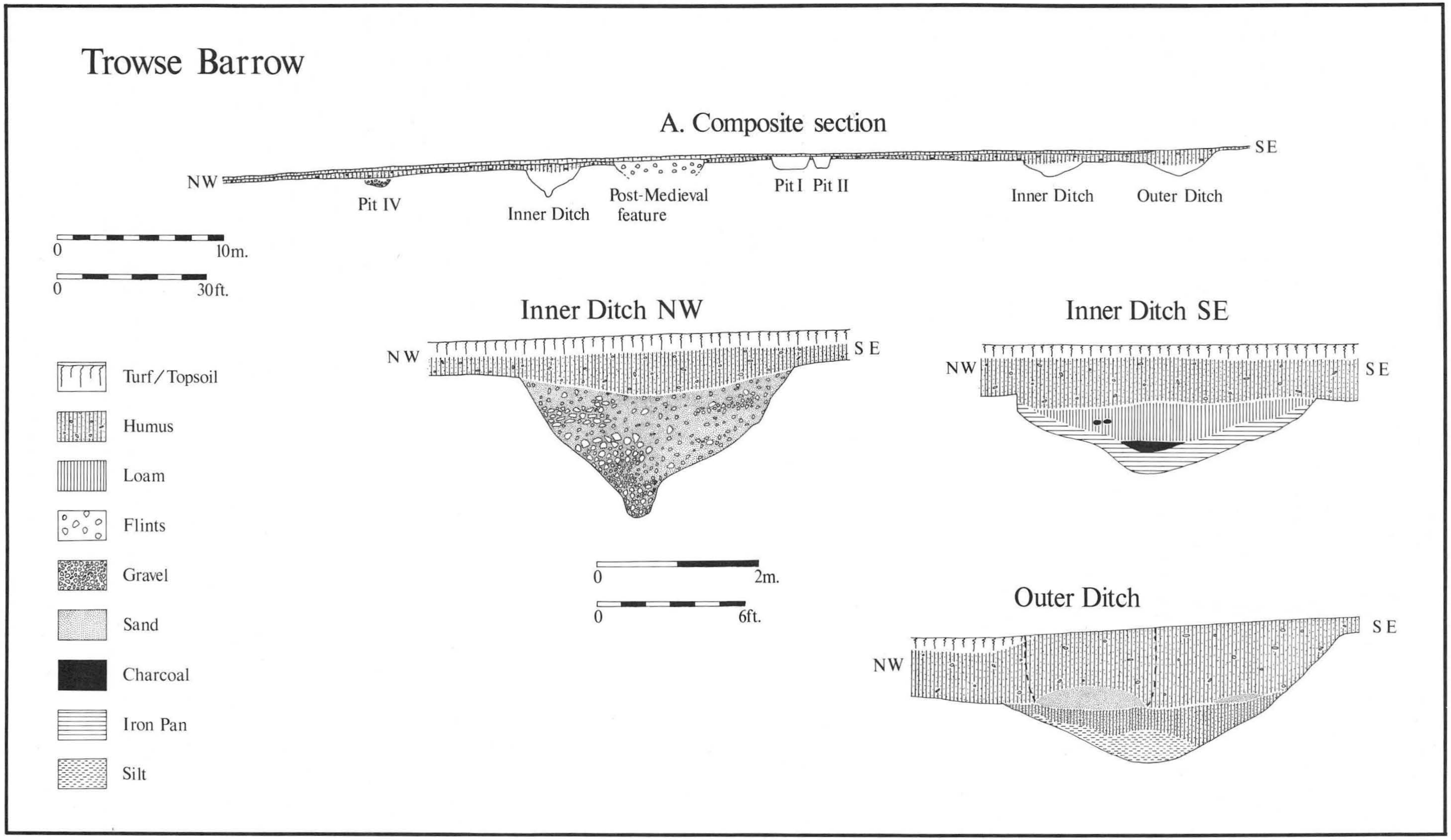

Fig.5. Composite section along south-west face of cutting A with pit IV projected from opposite face. Scale 1:360. Enlargements of ditch sections. Scale 1:72.

though it does not align well with the ditch in cutting A (SE) (Fig.4). The likelihood of substantial later disturbance, exemplified by the 'medieval excavation' in cutting F (p.14, Figs.4 and 6), makes it impossible to tell whether the outer ditch originally extended around the north-east of the barrow.

The Inner Ditch

The 1935 air photograph (Plate I) shows the inner ditch to have been pennanular with a causeway in its south-west quarter and a rather blurred outline in the south-east. The width of the causeway is obscured by the large irregular feature to the south-west of the barrow. The causeway was not excavated, but the inner ditch was definitely located in cuttings A (NW and SE), C, D, E, F, G, H, and J. In cutting J it was almost completely destroyed by a 'medieval excavation' (Fig.4). A marked irregularity of plan in cuttings A (SE), D, and E, corresponds with the blurred outline visible in this area on the air photograph. The inner ditch may also have been located at the west end of cutting K, where the natural gravel was found to have been cut away beneath about 1 m of recently disturbed soil (Fig.6).

All drawn sections of the inner ditch show a gently sloping profile like that of the outer ditch, terminating in an angular slot only in cutting A (NW) (Fig.5). This feature may perhaps have originally occurred elsewhere in the ditch, but have survived here because it was protected from erosion by a particularly rapid influx of gravel. Primary fills were of sand and/or gravel, often ferruginous and actually concreted by iron pan in cutting A (SE). Sand and gravel secondary fills were present only in cuttings A (NW), G, and H (Figs.5 and 6). In cutting A (SE) the primary fill was immediately overlain by a hearth (Fig.5) while the primary fill in cutting J was recorded to have been overlain by a possible turf line, as was the secondary fill in cutting H (Fig.6). These turf lines are perhaps to be equated with the loam overlying the hearth and primary fill in cutting A (SE) and with the dark loam overlying the primary silt in cutting D (Figs.5 and 6). They seem most likely to date, with the layers below them, from soon after the cutting of the ditch. No charcoal was retained from the hearth above the primary silt in cutting A (SE) so that it is impossible to obtain a radiocarbon date for it; a sherd from the hearth (P6) is of indeterminate prehistoric date (p.21).

The only finds from the primary silts are a flint blade (Fig.10:F2) and some minute charcoal fragments from cutting G. A small piece of iron slag recorded from the same find spot as the charcoal has been identified as natural limonite [5]. Finds from subsequent layers are listed in Table 2 (pp. 29-30). They include two Iron Age sherds (P7) from cutting A (NW), the stratigraphic position of which is doubtful. Clarke's draft report and the original section drawing agree in placing them 'low in the secondary silting' (about 1.5 m below the surface), but they are recorded in the small find list as having come from a depth of 2 ft 6 in (about 75 cm below the surface), which would place them at the interface of the secondary fill and the overlying 'humus' layer. The second, shallower, depth seems more likely, since the first would entail an accumulation of only about 70 cm of unstable sand and gravel ditch fill over more than a millennium. The position of the sherds is a later addition to the original section drawing and is marked exactly 2 ft 6 in below the top of the secondary fill which is drawn with a much darker pencil line than the top of the turf. It seems likely that the heavier line was taken for the surface when the findspot was plotted and that the sherds were in fact found at the junction of the 'humus' and the secondary fill [6].

Bank (?) and Berm

Where the inner ditch contained predominantly sand and gravel secondary fills, in cuttings A (NW), G, and H, photographs show that these had entered the ditch from the outer as well as the inner edge. This points to a possible source for the infill in a bank between the two ditches, at least around the south and west of the barrow. Its partial coincidence with the known extent of the outer ditch (Fig.4 and Plate I) suggests that the

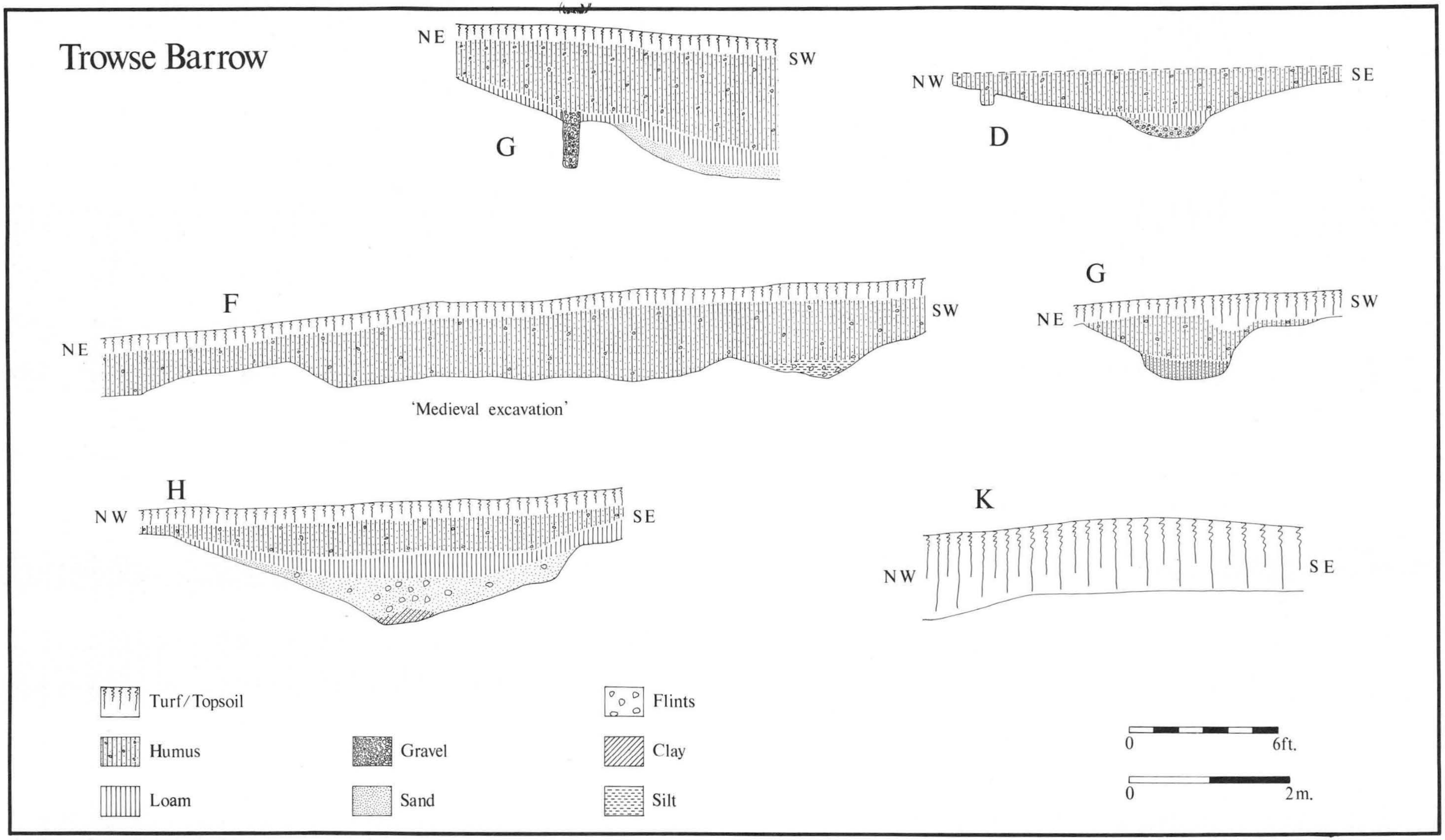

Fig.6. Sections of outer ditch in cutting G (NW face); of inner ditch in cuttings D (NE face), F (NW face), and H (SW face); and of possible inner ditch in cutting K (NE face). Scale 1:72.

latter may have provided the material for it.

The absence of possible bank material from the outer ditch fills suggests that, if there was indeed a bank, it would have been nearer to the inner ditch than to the outer one. Alternatively, the outer ditch may have been silted up or not yet dug when the putative bank was eroding. The relatively slight representation of mound material in the inner ditch fills suggests the former presence of a berm.

The Mound

In 1958 the mound was visible as a spread hillock about 60 cm high (Fig.3 and Plate II). The only complete section across it (Fig.5) shows no surviving mound structure. It docs, however, show a slight rise in the natural sand and gravel within the area defined by the inner ditch. This was thought to be a natural knoll selected for the site of the barrow. It may also wholly or partly represent the extent to which the natural was protected from erosion by the mound (cf. Lawson 1978).

The 'humus' layer which spans the section immediately below the turf and topsoil poses several problems. It seems to have consisted of rather gravelly soil, lighter in colour than the pit and ditch fills. All the records agree that it was cut by pits I, II and III, all dated to the second millennium bc (pp. 12-14), and at the same time overlay the ditches (Fig.5). When measured-in finds are plotted onto the section, the 'humus' layer is seen to have contained medieval and a little post-medieval material at its extremities, but not towards its centre where it is cut by the second millennium pits (Fig.8).

A possible interpretation is that the mound was built with a turf and topsoil core, the material for which was extracted from the ditch or ditches and was virtually identical with the contemporary surface on which it was placed; and that it was then capped with sand and gravel from deeper in the ditch or ditches. Pits I, II and III, and perhaps V could either have been dug into the contemporary surface before the mound was built or have been cut through it subsequently. After most of the sand and gravel capping had eroded and a turf line formed over at least part of both ditches, the surviving mound, by then consisting predominantly of turf and topsoil, could have been spread outwards, either gradually in the course of cultivation or more rapidly and purposefully, contemporary and earlier objects being incorporated into the displaced material; some of the pre-barrow surface may have been displaced together with the mound. In such a situation, in situ pre-barrow turf and topsoil (perhaps truncated), pre-barrow turf and topsoil redeposited in the mound core; and mound core redeposited over the ditches might all have appeared homogenous when excavated. This would account for the apparent continuity of the 'humus' layer and for the consequent stratigraphic anomaly. The bulk of the material at the extremities of the 'humus' layer would date the spreading of the mound to the late eleventh or the twelfth century A.D. (p. 22), though two small, possibly intrusive, post-medieval sherds were also present at the south-east end of the cutting where it was subject to root-disturbance.

If this hypothesis is correct, the extent of medieval and later material at either end of the 'humus' layer should roughly indicate the former extent of the mound. On the south-east this material extended about 5 m inwards from the lip of the inner ditch, suggesting that there was a berm of at least this width; while on the north-west it extended only about 1 m inward from the lip of the inner ditch (Fig.8). Although the extent of medieval material on this side is obscured by a post-medieval feature, the absence from it of medieval material strongly suggests that there was none in the 'humus' through which it was cut (Fig.8). The mound seems most likely to have been eccentric to the inner ditch and to have been about 20 m in diameter. Other interpretations are possible: more material may, for instance, have been removed from the south-east side of an originally central mound than from the north-west side. Both hypotheses would account for the eccentric location of a post-medieval feature interpreted as a barrow-diggers' hole which is sited well to the north-west, though such excavations were generally sited on the apparent centres of mounds.

Other observations, however, suggest that the mound was originally eccentric. The highest part of the slight rise in the natural is also north-west of the centre, in the area of pits I, II and III. Sand and gravel secondary fills occur in the inner ditch only in cuttings A (NW), G and H, all in its western half (Figs. 5 and 6). These had partly entered the ditch from the inner edge, presumably derived from the mound (Figs. 5 and 6). In cutting H 60 cm of deposit had accumulated before the formation of a possible turf line, in contrast to only 30 cm of deposit which had accumulated before the formation of a perhaps comparable possible turf line in cutting A (SE). The greater accumulation of sand and gravel in the west of the inner ditch can scarcely be attributed to the natural slope of the ground, since the gradient from ditch lip to ditch lip was very slight, about 1 in 40, and since the sand and gravel fills had entered the ditch from both sides.

The inner ditch, as it survived when excavated, would have produced at least 160 cu m of material; the outer ditch, if it extended only around half of the barrow, would have produced at least a further 250 cu m. It is, however, impossible to tell how this might have been distributed between the mound and the possible bank suggested above.

The Pits

Pits I, II, III and V were interpreted as inhumation graves, any trace of the original burials having disappeared in the acid conditions of the site. Pits I, II and III are recorded as having been cut through the 'humus' layer into the natural (Figs. 5 and 7) and described as clearly truncated. The stratigraphic position of pit V is less clear. The section shows at least part of its fill as continuous with the overlying layer which in turn underlies the turf and presumably equates with the 'humus' layer of cuttings A and D (Fig. 7).

Pit I had the most complex stratigraphy, the recording and interpretation of which were confused by the batter of the side of the roadway excavation in which the pit was exposed (Plate II). The detailed plan of the pit (Fig. 7) is composed from three incomplete field plans drawn at different depths to different scales. At its base were sherds of a crushed but complete Developed Southern beaker (Fig. 11: P1); two sherds of a finger-nail rusticated beaker (Fig. 11: P2), other sherds of which were found at the intersection of pits I and III; and a dark streak discernible in the section which was thought to perhaps represent an inhumation or a hollowed-out tree trunk coffin. These were overlain by a fill of stony loam into the top of which was set a bowl-shaped hearth. The hearth was probably overlain in turn by a more diffuse area of sooty loam with a small gully (roughly 7.5 cm deep and 23.5 cm wide) at its base and a concentration of oak charcoal, probably a branch, along its south-west edge. This upper sooty area contained a grooved sandstone object (Fig. 10: S1) and six sherds of a European bell beaker (Fig. 11: P3) which joined with others found at the intersection of pits I and III. It is impossible to be sure from the records and from the labelling of the charcoal which was retained whether the sooty loam and the underlying hearth were excavated separately or dug as a single dark mass and subsequently distinguished in section. Charcoal from 'above pit I' has yielded a radiocarbon date of 1860 ± 80 bc (HAR-3269). The dark loam shown in section at the south-east edge of the pit seems to represent the latest surviving stage in its filling.

The stony loam fill of pit II was topped by further evidence of burning in the form of a depression filled with sooty loam and containing three roughly squared carbonized oak branches 7.5 cm to 15 cm thick, the south-easternmost of which seemed to have been burnt in situ or to have been deposited when still smouldering, since the fill below it showed pink discolouration (Fig. 7). Charcoal from these timbers has yielded a radiocarbon date of 1840 ± 100 bc (HAR-3268). The only find from the pit was a microlith (Fig. 10: F5).

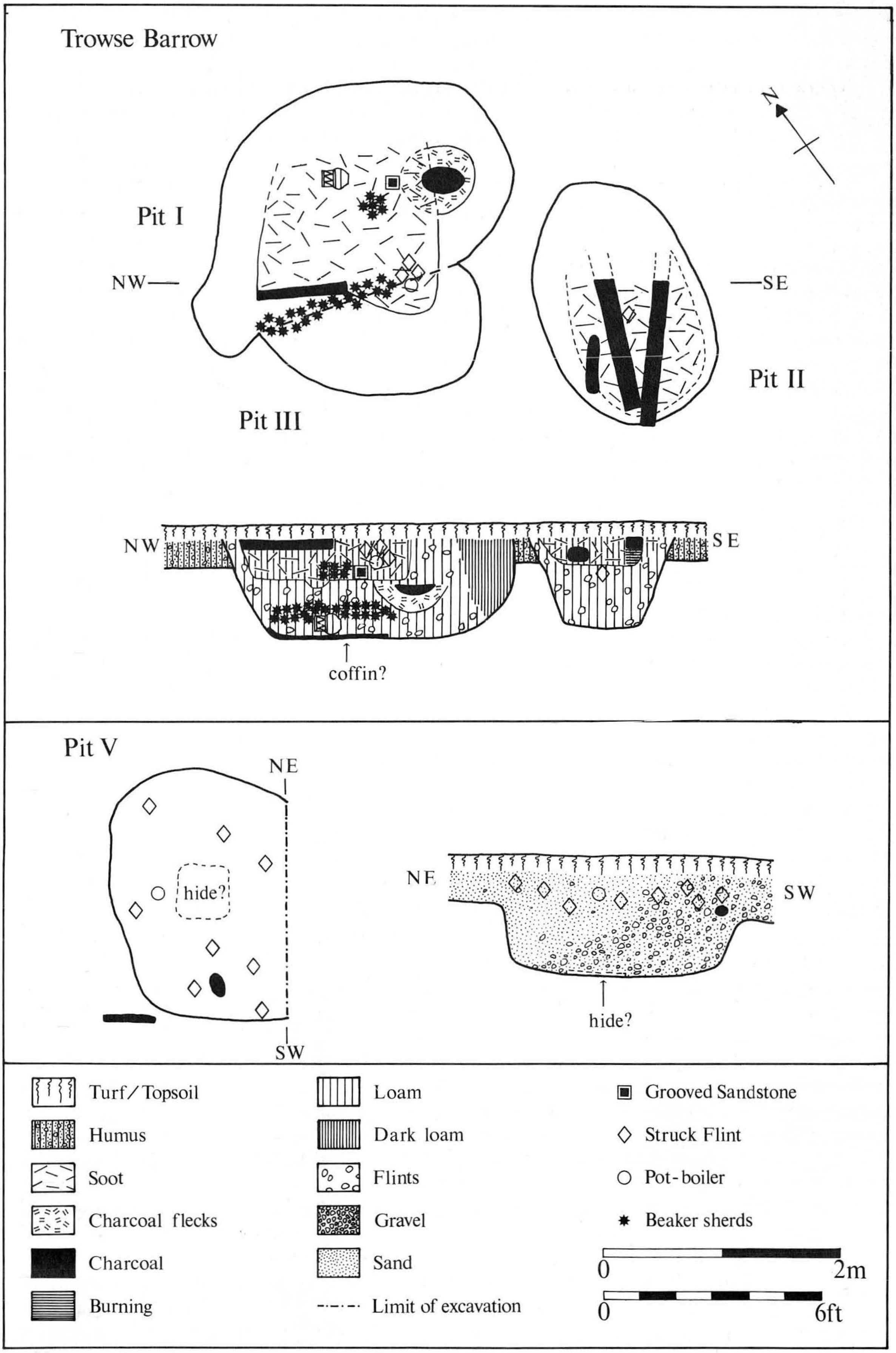

Fig.7. Pits I, II, III and V. Hearth and finds projected onto sections. Scale 1:48.

Pit III was cut by pit I. Its fill was described as a stony loam like the main fills of pits I and II. Sherds of three beakers (Fig.11: P2, P3, P4) were found at the intersection of pits I and III and seemed to have been derived from pit III. Their position is curious: had they been displaced during the cutting of pit I they would surely have extended farther into it. They seem most likely to have remained in situ in the surviving fill of pit III.

Pit IV has already been discussed under the heading of the outer ditch of which it may have formed a part.

The fill of pit V is described as a fine grey sand with very few flints, small dark lines perhaps representing turves, and a scatter of gravel at its south-west edge which seems to have been the earliest fill of the pit. At its base there was charcoal towards the south-west end and a patch of friable dark material about 50 cm square and 1.5 mm thick near the centre. The latter was thought to be the remains of a hide or sheepskin, but examination by the British Leather Manufacturers' Research Association was inconclusive. A carbonized oak branch found just above and to the west of the western lip of the pit (Fig.7) has yielded a radiocarbon date of 1600 ± 70 bc (HAR-3265).

POST-BARROW FEATURES

Medieval Features

Medieval activity, starting in the late eleventh century and at its most intense in the twelfth (p.22), was represented in the 1958 and 1959 excavations by an earth floor, a sample of which seems to consist of compacted sandy soil and comminuted building material, in cutting J; by a pit cutting the inner ditch fill in cutting F; and by undefined 'excavations' in cuttings J and F (Fig.4). These last seem likely to equate to the large, irregular features to the north-east and south-west of the barrow on the air photograph (Plate I). In 1967 a dark sandy layer with a few flints underlying the topsoil in cutting L proved to contain only medieval material, most concentrated near the east end of the cutting. The fills of feature c, a possible post hole which also contained medieval pottery, and of feature a, which was sterile, were continuous with this layer, and both seemed likely to have been broadly contemporary with it, as did a further possible feature in the south-east corner of the cutting (Fig.9).

The distribution of medieval material is uneven, being markedly concentrated in the south and east of the site outside the inner ditch (Fig.8). This uneven distribution; the quantity of pottery; the presence of lava quern fragments; the compacted earth floor and the other features; the presence of building material; the exclusively medieval dark, sandy layer in cutting L; and the size and freshness of some of the sherds from it are all indicative of occupation.

Post-medieval Feature

An angular feature in cutting A was interpreted as the work of earlier barrow-diggers. Photographs and drawings show that it had a distinctly banded fill, perhaps reflecting tip lines of turf and topsoil. It contained four glazed sherds dated to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries and three clay pipe stem fragments. These finds do not, of course, preclude a later date for the feature: comparable sherds and pipe fragments were sporadic in superficial and disturbed contexts on the site (Table 2 pp.29-30), so that those found in this feature could have been incorporated in it during a more recent barrow digging episode.

Features without finds

A slot running across cutting G at the inner lip of the outer ditch was interpreted as part of a palisade trench. It cut the possible turf line overlying the primary fill of the ditch and underlay a layer containing medieval pottery which probably equated to the 'humus' layer of cutting A (Figs.4 and 6).

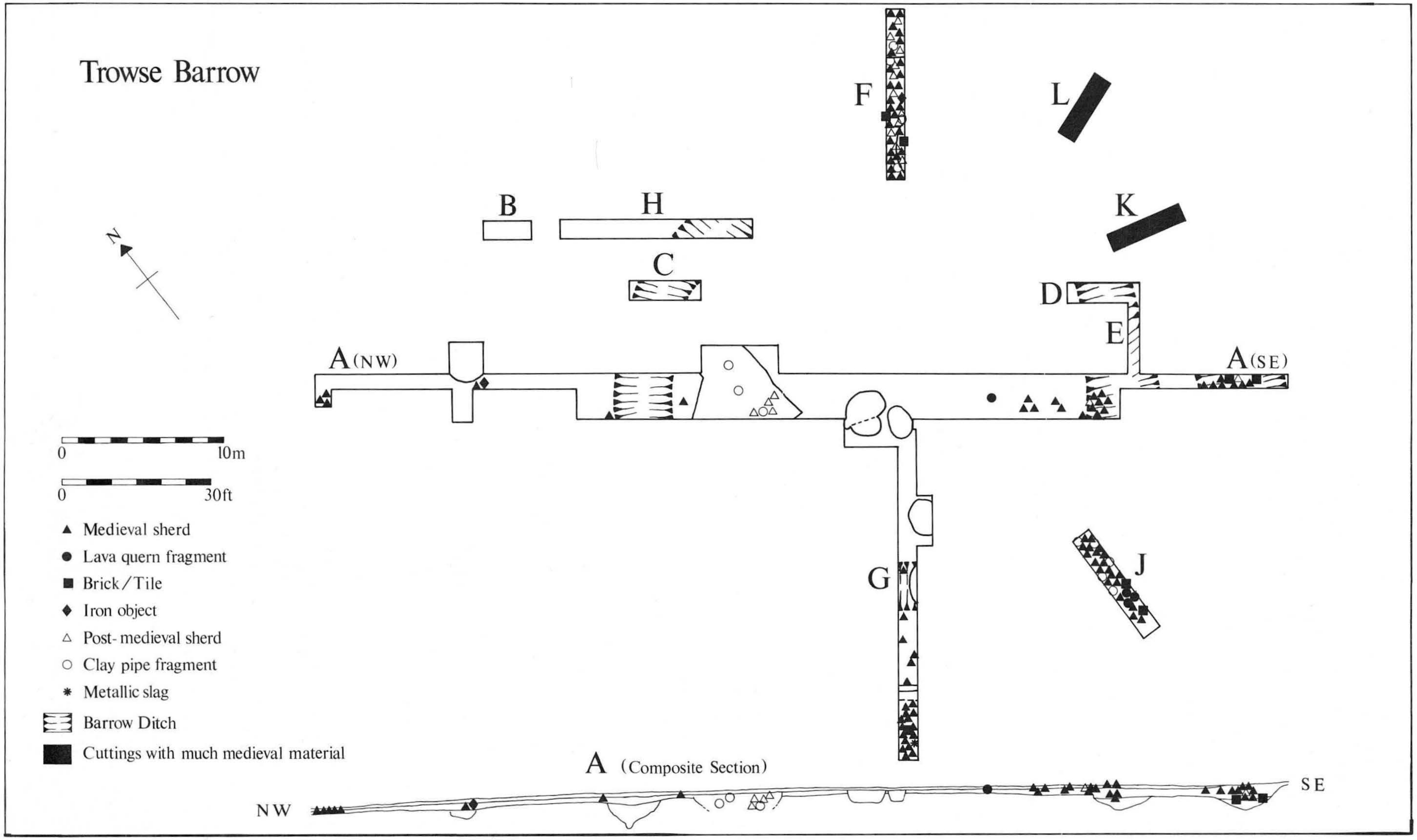

Fig.8. Extent of medieval and post-medieval material. Scale 1:360.

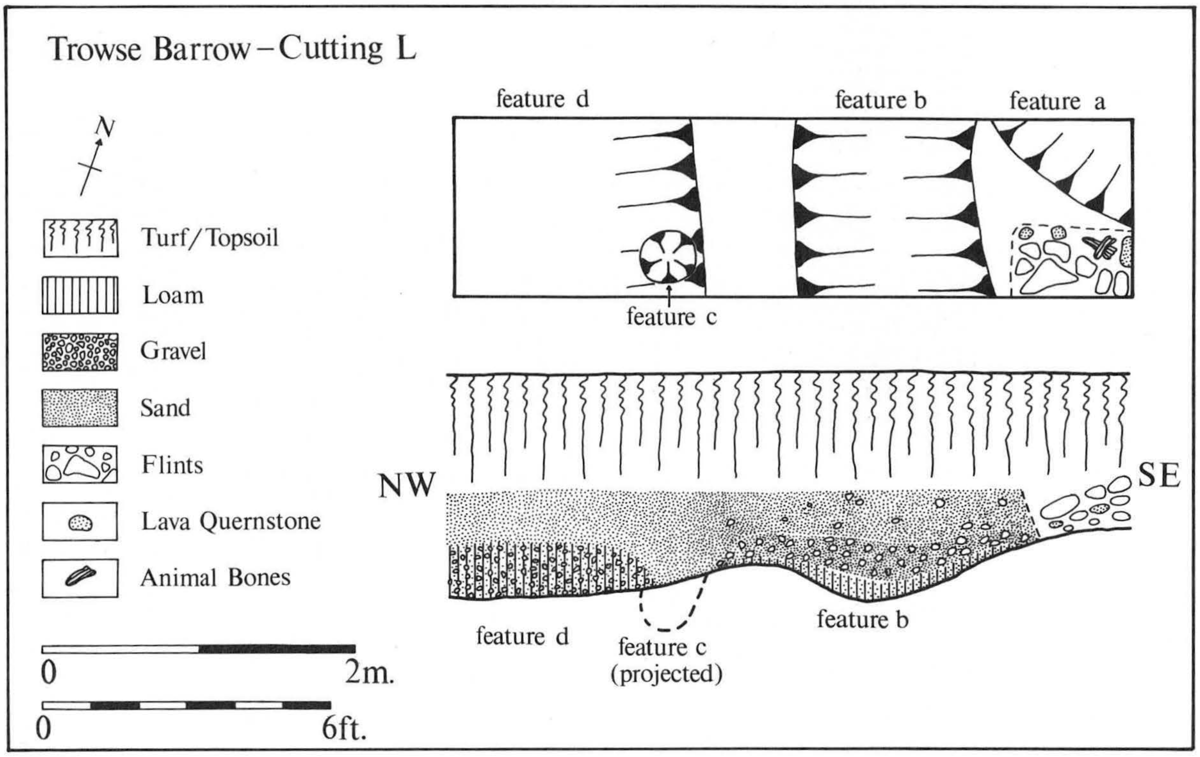

Fig. 9. Cutting L. Scale 1:48.

Feature b in cutting L had a distinct fill from the medieval layer which overlay it (Fig.9).

A pit cutting the fill of the inner ditch in cutting G was interpreted as medieval (Fig.4).

VI. THE ARTEFACTS

All finds are listed by context in Table 2 (pp.29-30).

FLINT AND STONE
(Fig.10)

Cores

Both F6 from the 'humus' layer in cutting A and F9 from the topsoil in cutting G are blade cores. F6 has two striking platforms at right-angles to each other, conforming to type B3 in the core classification used for the Hurst Fen and other subsequently published industries (Clark et al. 1960, 216-7). It is slightly reddened by heat and is battered on one face. F9 is fragmentary. It has several blade scars, all struck from the same platform, and one flake scar struck from the opposite end of the core. It may have been of type B1 (two parallel platforms) in the Hurst Fen classification. F4, a utilized or possibly edge-retouched flake from the sooty loam in pit I, was struck from a blade core.

Flakes

Thirteen of the eighty-two flakes are blades in the sense of being parallel-sided and relatively narrow (F2, F3).

Chunk

The single chunk (piece of irregular waste) was a thermally fractured fragment before being struck.

Tools

These comprise an obliquely blunted point (F5) from just below the hearth in pit II; a scraper (F8) from the topsoil in cutting A; a piercer, the point of which is formed by a fracture on the left side and by retouch on the right (F7), from recently disturbed soil in cutting K; a retouched flake which may perhaps have been a scraper (F1) from cutting C; and a retouched thermal flake altered by burning (F10) from the topsoil in cutting G.

Grooved Sandstone

A piece of Millstone Grit (S1) [5] from the sooty loam in pit I has five narrow grooves and one broad shallow groove worn into its surface. All are rounded in transverse section. The narrower grooves are slightly convex in longitudinal section, the broader groove slightly concave.

Possible Hone

A piece of hard, fine-grained pinkish sandstone (S2) from the 'medieval excavation' in cutting F has naturally flat parallel surfaces, but seems to have been artificially abraded along one edge, perhaps in use as a hone.

Quern Fragments

'Several large fragments' of lava quern recorded from the possible feature at the south-east corner of cutting L are no longer to be found. A fragment from the 'humus' layer in cutting A appears to be of Rhenish lava, as do three smaller fragments from cutting J.

Discussion

The lithic finds fall into three chronological groups:

1) The obliquely blunted point (F5) is a Mesolithic type, though it cannot be more closely dated because such forms remained current throughout the period (cf. Mellars 1974, 81-92). Both cores (F6 and F9), with their small, narrow blade scars, seem most likely to be of similar date, as may some of the smaller, finer blades (e.g. F2, F3).

2) The piercer (F7), the scraper (F8) and the grooved piece of sandstone (S1) are almost certainly of later Neolithic or early Bronze Age date, broadly contemporary with the funerary use of the site. The two remaining retouched pieces (F1 and F10) seem most likely to belong in this group, as may most of the unretouched flakes and some of the thirteen blades. The trend to proportionately broader flakes in later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age industries adumbrated by Pitts (1978, fig.2, 190-4) may have co-existed with a continued limited production of blades. There seems, for instance, to have been a surprisingly large blade component in the industry from the Beaker site of Belle Tout, Sussex (Bradley 1970, 346-7), and serrated blades continued in production into the later Neolithic as in the industry from the Grooved Ware site at Honington, Cambridgeshire (Fell 1952, 34, fig.6:2).

The piece of grooved sandstone (S1) is a rare object. The Millstone Grit of which it is made originates in the west midlands and north of England (Stamp 1946, fig.11) but occasionally occurs as an erratic in Norfolk (Peter Lawrance pers.comm.). It was apparently used for grinding or smoothing rounded or pointed objects such as bone points, wooden points, or wooden shafts. It also bears a superficial resemblance to the hardwood tops used in rope-making to control the rate and tightness of twist and guide the strands evenly together. Such a use seems unlikely, however, since the sandstone

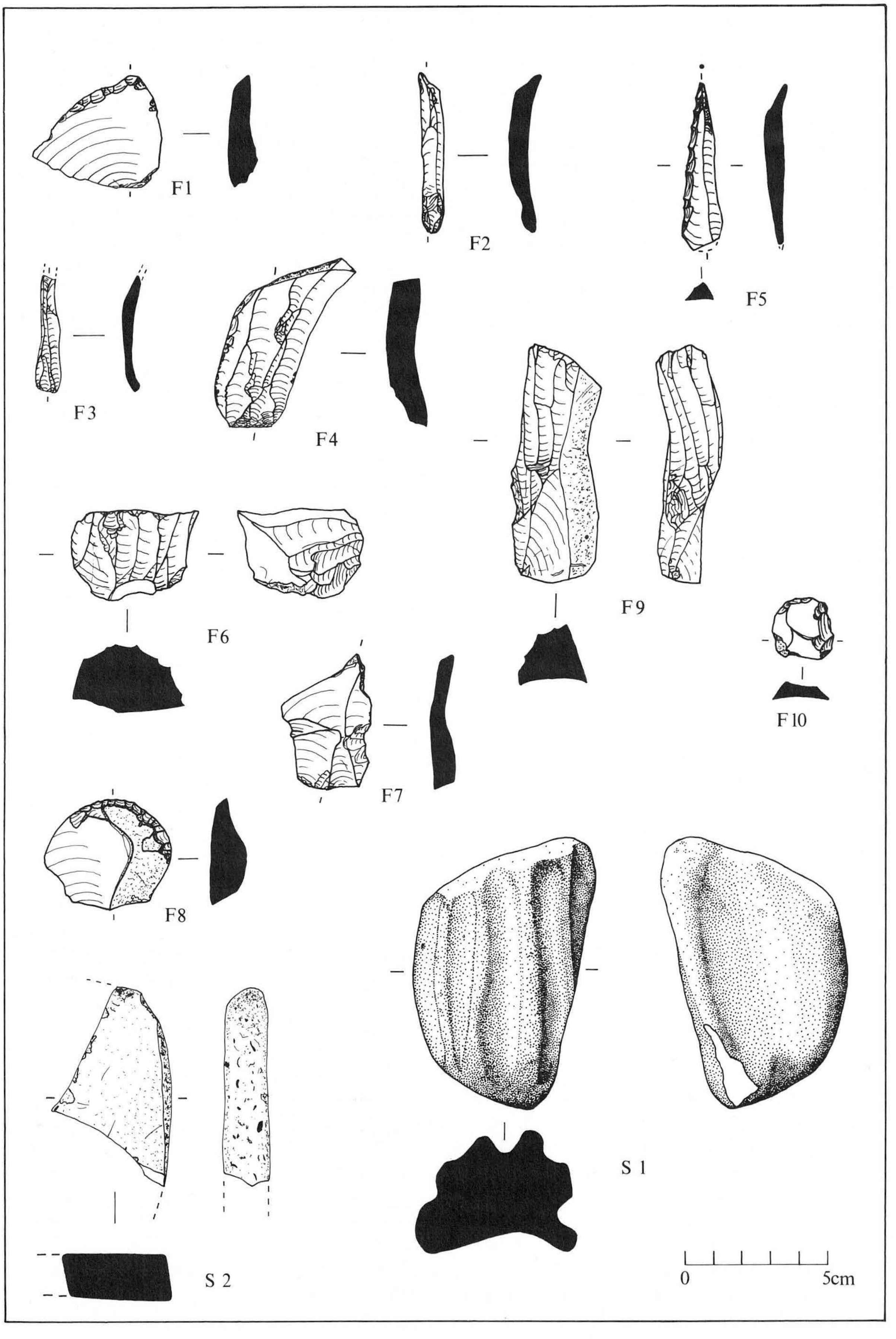

Fig.10. The artefacts: flint and stone. Scale for F5 1:1, for other pieces 1:2.

would abrade the fibres and since the narrow grooves on the Trowse object are grouped on one side of it rather than evenly spaced around it. Recent and modern tops have three evenly spaced grooves and a transverse perforation towards the wider end (Horsley 1978, 214, figs.85-87; Jenkins 1965, 189, fig.43, pl.159).

Exact parallels are difficult to find. Newall (1931, appendix B) lists thirteen single-grooved and three multi-grooved pieces of sandstone of similar size to S1, most of them from burials in Early Bronze Age round barrows in Wessex. To these may be added a multi-grooved example with 'three narrow grooves on one side and one on the other, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$" x $1\frac{3}{4}$" ', from the upper part of a long barrow at Fyfield, Wiltshire, described but not illustrated by Thurnam (1871, 424); and two single-grooved examples found with an Early Bronze Age cremation in the Breach Farm barrow, Llanbleddian, Glamorgan (Grimes 1938, fig.4).

Multi-grooved examples also occur in Scandinavia. The British Museum collections include a three-grooved specimen from Halmstad parish, Scania, Sweden; another from Praestø, Sjaelland, Denmark; and a third, unprovenanced, also from Denmark [7] (information from Gillian Wilson).

A common function for single- and multi-grooved forms seems likely in view of the smooth, convex transverse section of the grooves in all of them and of their common raw material, size and date. Single-grooved examples are often seen as arrow-shaft smoothers (e.g. by Clark 1963, 74), while Colt Hoare's suggestion that they were used for sharpening bone and antler points (1812, 75) is supported by the presence of such points in at least four of the burials listed by Newall.

3) Medieval worked stone is represented by the possible hone (Fig.10: S2) and the lava quern fragments.

POTTERY

Prehistoric Pottery (Fig.11)

The fabrics of the prehistoric pots represented on the site are recorded in Table 3 (p.31). Individual pots are described below. P1 was found at the base of pit I. It has already been classed by D.L.Clarke in his S2(E) group (1970, corpus no.621, fig.847); and by Lanting and van der Waals in their Step 6 (1972, fig.2).

Although the whole pot was recovered, it was crushed out of shape and had to be reconstructed from many small sherds. Its upper part is now oval, having a rim diameter of 13.5 cm and a more-or-less straight neck from one aspect and a rim diameter of 15.5 cm and a slightly flaring neck from the other. The illustration attempts to represent its original form by compromising between these two distortions. As far as can be determined the pot was decorated with at least six combs of varying lengths. The small size of the sherds makes the length of the combs difficult to determine.

Most of the sherds of P2 were found with most of those of P3 at the intersection of pits I and III; the rim sherd and the sherd joining it, however, are marked with the same small find number as the sherds of P1 and, unless mis-marked, must have been found with it at the base of pit I. The pot is a finger-nail-impressed rusticated beaker too fragmentary to reconstruct. The homogenous fabric of the sherds, including two small unillustrated body sherds, is consistent with their belonging to a single pot.

Most of the sherds of P3 were found with most of those of P2 at the intersection of pits I and III. A futher six were found in the sooty loam at the top of pit I. It is reconstructed with the minimum height and number of zones represented by the surviving sherds. The two single zones of decoration may originally have been double and the

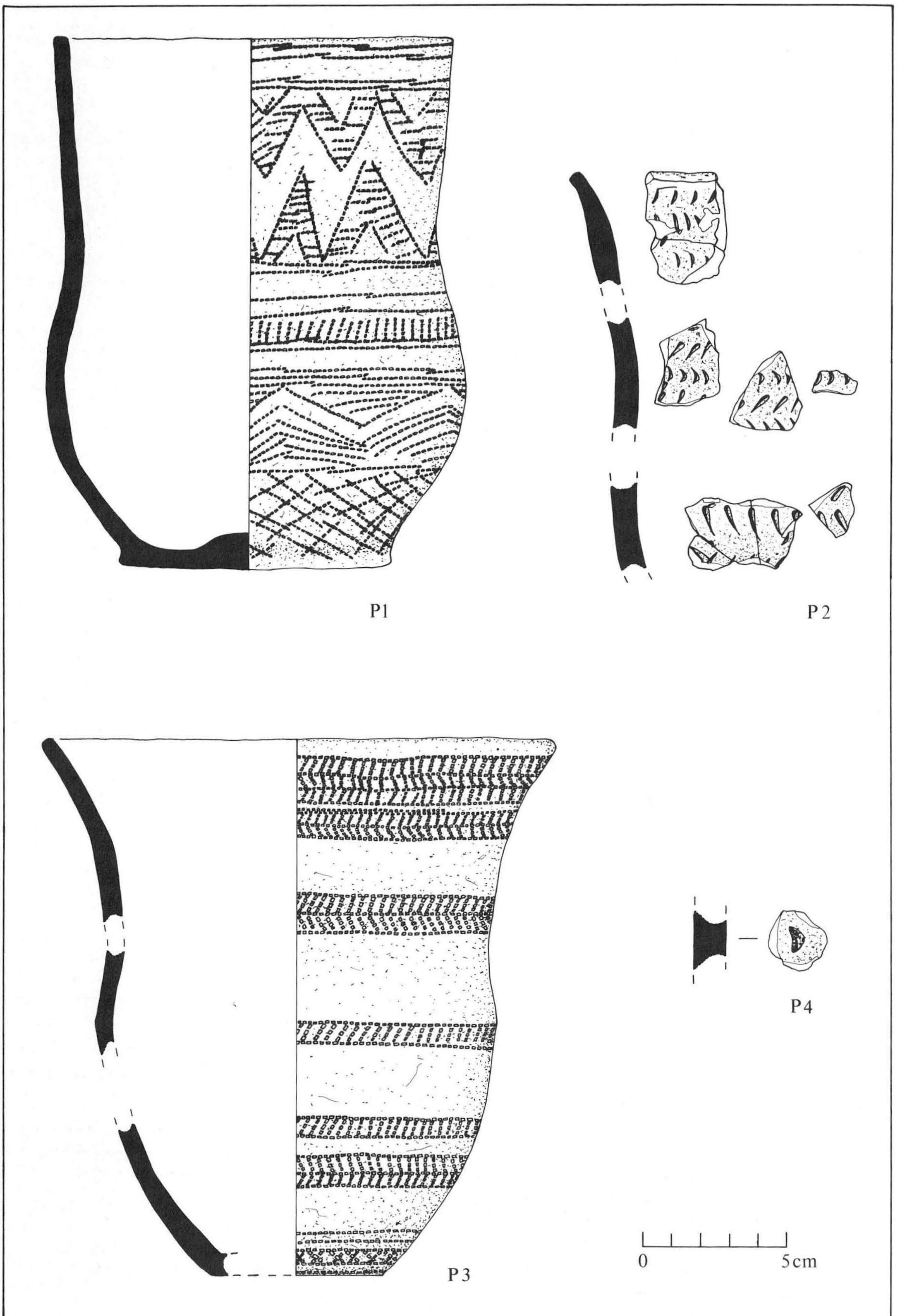

Fig.11. The artefacts: prehistoric pottery. Scale 1:2.

complete pot may have been taller and have carried more zones of decoration. It is decorated with at least two combs: a three-toothed one 4 mm to 6 mm long and another whose greater length cannot be determined from the sherds.

If the reconstruction is accurate, the profile conforms to Clarke's shape I (1970, fig.1.2), the disposition of decoration to his style b (1970, 11-14), and the decoration itself to motifs 1 to 4 of his motif group 1 (1970, 424-425). The whole conforms to his European bell beaker (E) group. Lanting and van der Waals point out (1972, 25) that Clarke's motif 4 (the cross-hatching in the zone near the base of P3) is never found on beakers of the symmetrically composed S-profile characteristic of true 'maritime' forms in Britain, north-west Europe or the Rhineland. They place the shouldered, more angular-profiled members of Clarke's E group, like P3, in their step 2 (1972, figs.1-4).

P4 is represented by one body sherd with finger-tipped rustication found at the intersection of pits I and III with most of the sherds of P2 and P3 but of different fabric from either.

P5 (unillustrated) was found in the layer of grey sandy loam with some small flints above the outer ditch in cutting G. It is a plain body sherd measuring 3.7 cm x 3.2 cm whose fabric falls within the range of local later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age wares.

P6 (unillustrated) was found in the hearth overlying the primary fill of the inner ditch in cutting A(SE). It consists of a plain convex body sherd. Although it is morphologically undiagnostic, its fabric is comparable with those of the beakers from the site (P1-P4). Its dark surface colour is not unknown on beakers, especially earlier ones. (cf. Clarke 1970, 434), or among other contemporary pottery styles like the food vessel series. It may alternatively have been caused by subsequent burning.

P7 (unillustrated) was probably found at the interface of the 'humus' layer and the sand and gravel secondary fill of the inner ditch in cutting A(NW) (p.9). It consists of two plain body sherds, one convex and one concave. Their fabric is extremely close to that of some of the plain, hand-made Iron Age pottery from the secondary silts of the inner ditch of the Arminghall henge (Clark 1936, 16-18) and they seem almost certain to date from this period.

P8 (unillustrated) was found in the 'medieval excavation' in cutting F. It is a plain body sherd of very similar fabric to P7 and seems likely to be contemporary with it.

Discussion

There is a distinct interval between P1 and P3 in the typological schemes of Clarke (1970) and of Lanting and van der Waals (1972). Both place P3 early in the beaker series, Clarke in his E group and Lanting and van der Waals in their Step 2; and P1 much later, Clarke in his S2 group and Lanting and van der Waals in their Step 6. The rusticated pots (P2 and P4) are less precisely attributable, especially in their fragmentary form. They seem more likely to have been associated with P3 than with P1 not only on stratigraphic grounds (p.14), but because as Clarke has shown (1970, 78, 220), accessory vessels are the most frequent funerary association of E beakers but occur very rarely with S2 ones. Clarke has also shown (1970, 73, table 5) that there is a consistent association between E beakers and finger-nail-impressed, as distinct from finger-pinched, rusticated beakers. This is an aspect of the rarity of plastic rustication among typologically early beakers noted by Bamford (1970, 110-130). The absolute chronology of the Trowse beakers, and hence of pits I and III, is discussed in Section VIII below.

The dating of P6 is of interest because of its position in the hearth immediately above the primary fill of the inner ditch. It was originally described as Iron Age, presumably because of its dark colour. While it is essentially undiagnostic, a later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date would be more consistent with its position and is not precluded by its fabric.

Romano-British Pottery [8]

P9 (unillustrated) was found in the 'humus' layer in cutting A. It is an abraded fragment of a second century south Gaulish Arretine base of Dragendorff form 18 or 18/31.

P10 (unillustrated) from cutting J consists of four plain abraded body sherds of grey Romano-British coarseware.

P11 (unillustrated) was found in the topsoil in cutting L. It is a rim fragment from a second or third century Romano-British coarseware jar with an original diameter of about 22 cm.

The Post-Roman Pottery by Andrew Rogerson

The 204 post-Roman sherds from various contexts comprise one sherd of Saxo-Norman Thetford-type ware, 180 sherds of medieval coarse ware, three sherds of local medieval glazed ware, one sherd of Andenne ware and nineteen sherds of local post-medieval glazed ware.

Thetford-type ware: one hard grey sandy body sherd, closely comparable to products of the Norwich kilns.

Medieval coarse ware: six sherds, including two simple everted cooking pot or jar rims, diameter 14.5 cm and 16 cm and part of a spiked cresset lamp, can be considered true Early Medieval ware as described by Hurst (1963, 155-157). Sixteen sherds can be compared with Yarmouth fabrics 3, 3/1, and 4 (Mellor 1976, table 4) and probably belong to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The remaining 168 are in a hard, normally light grey and slightly sandy fabric which is visually similar to Yarmouth developed fabric 5 (Mellor 1976, 184, tables 4 and 6). The cooking pot or jar is the only form represented. There are eighteen rims with an average diameter of 22 cm. Thirteen are simple everted and five are moulded and externally thickened (Hurst 1963, 157), the bulk of the former are probably of the twelfth century. No production centre for medieval coarse pottery has yet been located in Norfolk.

Local medieval glazed ware: two body sherds and part of a rod handle in a hard grey sandy fabric with external green glaze are visually comparable with Grimston ware, and not earlier than the late twelfth century.

Andenne ware: one hard off-white body sherd with external orange-brown iron-stained glaze.

Local post-medieval glazed ware: nineteen sherds in a hard brick red fabric with external and/or internal thick dark brown or yellowish brown glaze, including a slightly everted and thickened ?jar rim, diameter 18 cm are probably of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

Discussion: With the exception of the material from the east part of the dark, sandy layer in cutting L, which is made up of predominantly large fresh sherds, the majority of the pottery consists of small and abraded pieces. The activity which it represents began in the late eleventh but was most intense in the twelfth century, while the virtual absence of glazed wares precludes occupation much beyond the early years of the thirteenth century. It is interesting to note the occurrence of Andenne ware in a rural context, admittedly close to the major urban centre of Norwich.

BUILDING MATERIAL

Brick and Tile

A Romano-British tegula fragment was found in the 'medieval excavation' in cutting F. Other brick and tile may be divided into four floor tile or thin brick fragments, from 2.8 cm to 3.6 cm thick; four apparently pegged roof tile fragments, from 1.3 cm to 1.7 cm thick; and two indeterminate fragments. All the thin brick or floor tile fragments are of comparable fabric and thickness to the tegula and seem likely to be Romano-British in date. The roof tile fragments are probably medieval or later.

ANIMAL BONE [5]

All finds of animal bone were made in medieval or superficial contexts (Table 2). At least two horse bones were recorded but not retained from the possible feature in the south-east corner of cutting L (Fig.9). The surviving animal bone consists of three immature bovine metatarsi, one immature bovine metacarpus, five bovine molars, half of the basilar part of a bovine occipital bone, and one ovicaprid molar.

VII. SYNTHESIS

The complete barrow seems to have consisted of a semi-circular or penannular outer ditch, perhaps a bank coterminous with the outer ditch but sited closer to the inner ditch, an irregular penannular inner ditch, and a probably eccentrically sited mound separated from the inner ditch by a berm. It is impossible to tell whether all its elements were built simultaneously or successively. The mound contained at least four grave pits, either cut through it or cut into the pre-barrow surface before its construction. Pit I post-dated pit III and was perhaps broadly contemporary with pit II, while pit V was filled, if not cut, at a later date (Fig.12, pp.12-14).

It was presumably during the cutting of pit I that two sherds of P2 were dislodged from pit III and redeposited at the base of pit I, and during the filling of pit I that six sherds of P3, also derived from pit III, were redeposited in the sooty loam at the top of it. They must have been cast up when pit I was dug, perhaps with the now missing sherds of P2, P3 and P4. This would suggest that the surviving stages of the infilling of pit I took place fairly rapidly, before sherds cast up during its cutting were destroyed or displaced. The sherds of P3 from the sooty loam are very little more abraded than those from the intersection of pits I and III.

Soon after the primary fill had accumulated in the ditches a fire was lit in the inner ditch. Sand and gravel secondary fill accumulated in the western part of the inner ditch. A stable surface was established and a turf line formed over the ditch fill around some of the mound and presumably over all or most of the site. A slot of unknown length was later cut at the south-west side of the barrow, and small quantities of Iron Age and Romano-British material were deposited on the site.

In the late eleventh or the twelfth century A.D. the mound seems to have been spread, a structure represented by a compacted earth floor and scattered building material erected, and various features cut into the inner ditch and the area outside it. Contemporary features were confined to the east part of the site where medieval material was strongly concentrated (Figs.4 and 8). The large irregular features visible on air photographs to the north-east and south-west of the barrow may have formed part of this occupation. Their irregularity suggests that they may have been quarry-pits for gravel. This episode did not last beyond the early thirteenth century.

An angular feature was cut into the mound in the seventeenth century or later, perhaps by barrow-diggers.

VIII. DISCUSSION

THE BARROW

This seems most likely to have been a bell-barrow (Grinsell 1953, 19, figs.2 and 3), of which there are other Norfolk examples at Anmer, Bircham, and Weasenham (sites 5476, 1705/c1 and /c4, 3655, 3658 and 3662; Lawson, Martin and Priddy 1981, 22). Some bell-barrows have external banks (Grinsell 1953, figs. 2 and 3); while Grinsell's suggested correlation between irregular ditch plan and the presence of causeways (1941, 96) is confirmed here. The eccentric siting of the mound is rare but paralleled in some Wessex disc-barrows (Grinsell 1974, 82) and perhaps in the first phase of the Barnack barrow in Cambridgeshire (Donaldson 1977, 225, fig.11). There are also rare Wessex examples of double-ditched barrows (Grinsell 1941, 97), as well as two double ring-ditches visible in air photographs of the Trowse area (Fig.2: sites 9582 and 9589); and a barrow with two successive ditches at Little Cressingham, Norfolk (site 5053; Lawson 1978); while the Barnack barrow referred to above seems to have had three successive ditches.

THE BURIALS

Pits I, II, III and V were interpreted as inhumation graves, the complete absence from them of skeletal material being due to the acidity of the sand and gravel into which they were cut. It might be argued that they could equally be the remains of a domestic site such as are sometimes found under round barrows (cf. Clarke 1970, 215). This, however, seems unlikely: the pits are considerably larger than those usually found on occupation sites (cf. Clark et al. 1960, 206, 209-210; Field, Matthews and Smith 1964, 376-381; Wainwright 1972, 12); and there is nothing comparable with the quantities of sherds, struck flint, charcoal and other débris found, for instance, under barrow V at Chippenham, Cambridgeshire (Leaf 1940, 49-67) or barrow II at Martlesham Heath, Suffolk (Martin 1976, 17-30).

All four Trowse pits were large enough to have contained extended inhumations, though evidence from barrows where skeletal remains have survived shows that this need not have been the case. Single crouched inhumations have been found in graves measuring as much as 2.70 m x 1.60 m at Barnack (Donaldson 1977, fig.4) and 2.92 m x 1.75 m at Tallington, Lincolnshire (Simpson 1976, fig.2: grave 3).

The deposition of burnt or burning timbers over grave fills, seen most clearly in pit II and probably also in pits I and V (Fig.7), is paralleled in the Swell 8 round barrow, Cow Common, Gloucestershire, where a spread of charcoal including vestiges of planks or compressed logs and radiocarbon dated to the mid-second millennium lay over and around a pit containing an unaccompanied cremation (Saville 1979, 88-90). The apparent squaring of the timbers overlying pit II suggests that they may have been derived from a structure.

If pits I, II and III were truncated as the excavators thought, they may have been the bases of shaft graves in which other burials may have been made at higher levels than those surviving in 1958. Pit I may have been an attempt to recut the pre-existing (marked ?) grave of pit III, and the dark loam at the south-east corner of pit I may have been a further attempt to do the same. The multiple intersection of several later graves with the primary central one at Barnack (Donaldson 1977, fig.4) is even more strongly suggestive of such a sequence of events.

Like Barnack, Trowse belongs to the successive, cemetery tradition of later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age burial defined by Petersen (1972) who emphasizes the occurrence of multiple graves in the barrows of the Yorkshire Wolds, sometimes re-cut, sometimes with successive burials inserted at different stages in the filling of the grave. Radiocarbon determinations suggest that the Barnack cemetery was in use for a minimum of 200 years during which over twenty burials were made in it (Donaldson 1977, 205, 227). A similar duration is suggested for a cemetery-barrow at Risby, Suffolk (Vatcher and Vatcher 1976, 273) and a possibly longer period of use for another on Earl's Farm Down, Amesbury, Wiltshire (Christie 1967, 358). Successive structural modifications were made to all three monuments, suggesting that the Trowse barrow is unlikely to have been a single-period structure.

A minimum chronology for the Trowse barrow may be constructed from the radiocarbon dates obtained from the carbonized timbers found above pits I, II and V (pp.12-14, Fig.12). It is restricted by the probability that some, if not most, of the burials were not discovered and by the limitations of the radiocarbon determinations themselves.

All three determinations from the barrow were made on carbonized timbers found in or just above the topmost surviving fills of grave pits. They are stratigraphically termini ante quos for the cutting of the pits and the lowest burials made in them (Fig.7), but may equally be termini post quos for the same events, since the branch-sized timbers on which they were made may have been of considerable age when cut and, especially in the case of the squared timbers from pit II, may have previously formed part of a structure or structures. In either case, the determinations would predate the deposition of the timbers. Despite these reservations, the similarity of HAR-3269 to other dates relating to S2 and later Southern beakers (Fig.12) indicates that it may be fairly close in time to the filling of pit I and the previous deposition in it of P1.

The determinations suggest that burials were being made in the Trowse barrow over a minimum period of between 110 and 410 radiocarbon years, bracketed by the dates of 1860 ± 80 bc (HAR-3269) for carbonized timber from the top of pit I and 1600 ± 70 bc (HAR-3265) for carbonized timber from above pit V. Calibrated according to the Clark (1975) curve, the central dates are 2320 ± 60 BC and 1975 ± 60 BC.

Since there is no radiocarbon determination for pit III the interval between it and pit I must be estimated from other dates for beakers similar to P3. Clarke's observation that in Britain E beakers are always stratified below other forms of beaker except for the All-Over-Corded group (1970, 82) is borne out at Trowse; and his approximate date of 2000 bc for the appearance of E beakers in Britain (1970, 28) still seems plausible, as does Lanting's and van der Waals' approximate date of 1950 bc for the beginning of their Step 2 (1972, 44). It is becoming increasingly apparent, however, that these forms remained in production and use during the currency of typologically later beakers, as is exemplified by the date of 1680 ± 60 bc (BM-668) for charcoal from ditch silts at Mount Pleasant, Dorset, which included sherds of E, S2-3, S4, FN and FP beaker (Longworth 1979, 90). The interval between the cutting of pits III and I at Trowse may thus have been anything from a couple of centuries to a couple of weeks.

THE CONTEXT

The barrow can scarcely be discussed in isolation from the Arminghall henge and other neighbouring monuments. A radiocarbon date of 2490 ± 150 bc (BM-129) for charcoal from the base of one of the post-holes of the central setting of the henge shows that it is likely to have been already standing when the barrow was built. Even if the determination was made on the heartwood of the metre-thick oak trunk from which the charcoal came (Clark, J.G.D. 1936, fig.3), it is unlikely to have predated the felling of the tree by more than a couple of hundred years. The date itself is comparable with others for class I (single-entrance) henges at Llandegai, Gwynedd and Barford, Warwickshire (Fig.12). Both the early date and the fact that the affinities of most class I henges lie with the 'indigenous' later Neolithic (Wainwright 1969, 123-4) suggest that the horseshoe-shaped central post-setting of the henge may have antedated the inner ditch, the basal fill of which contained sherds of rusticated beaker, some of them heavily plastic (Clark J.G.D. 1936, 19, fig.9).

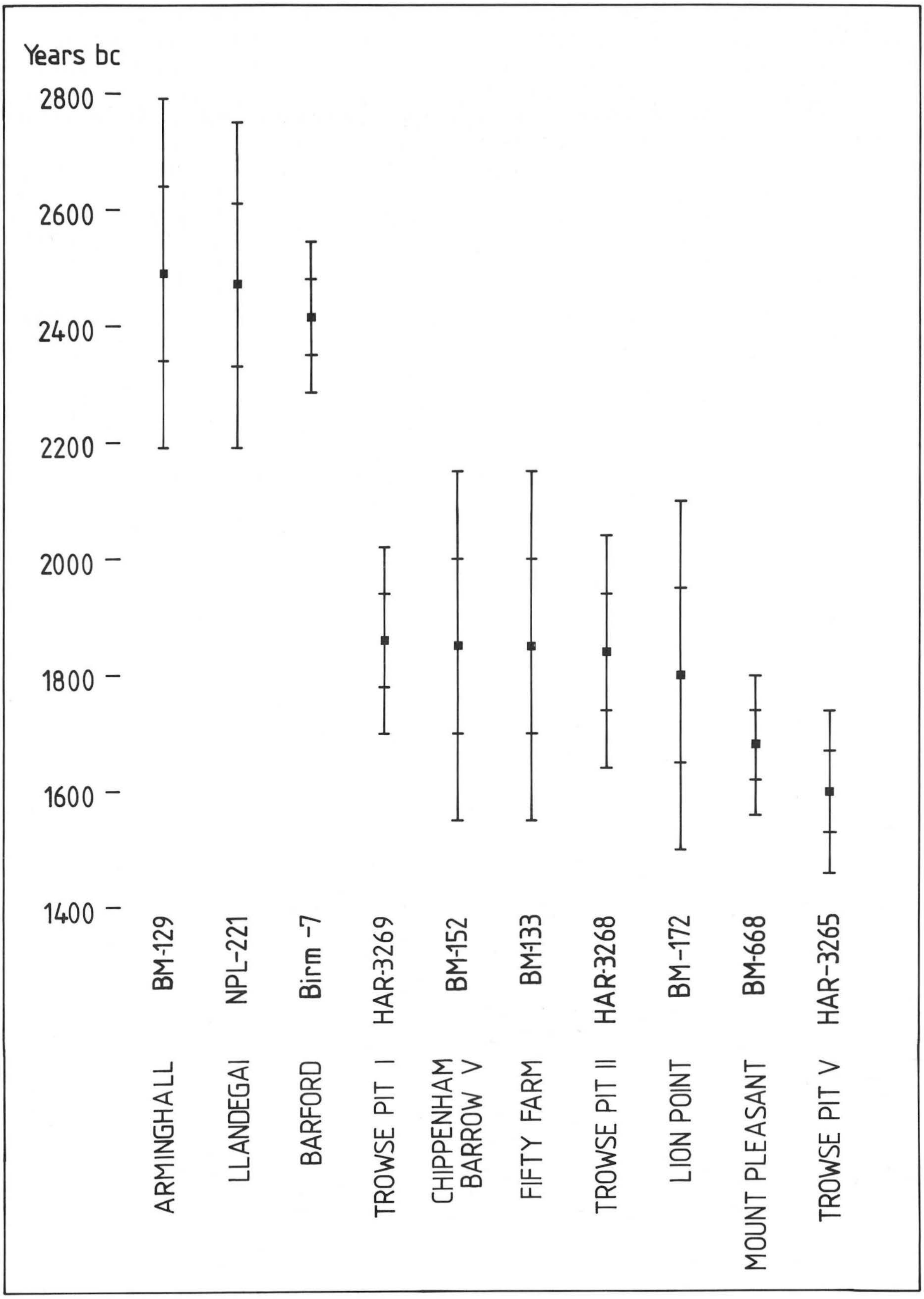

Fig.12. Radiocarbon dates drawn to two standard deviations for Arminghall and other class I henges (BM-129, NPL-221, Birm-7); the Trowse barrow (HAR-3265, -3268, -3269); other sites with S2 and later Southern beakers (BM-133, -152, -172); and Mount Pleasant (BM-668).

Discussion

The henge seems to have remained a focus of interest in Iron Age and Romano-British times, judging from the amount of contemporary material recovered from the secondary silts of the ditches (Clark J.G.D. 1936, 7, 12-13, 15-18). Its bank is still clearly visible and must have been a major landmark 2000 years ago. While the volume of Iron Age and Romano-British material from the henge is such as to suggest settlement in the immediate vicinity, the scant contemporary material from the barrow seems more likely to represent casual dispersal from this source, perhaps in the course of manuring.

February 1981

REFERENCES

1. Norfolk scheduled ancient monument 243 (iii).

2. Accession nos. NCM 203.958, 847.967.

3. More detailed information has been deposited in the Norfolk Sites and Monuments Record and is also to be found in Healy 1980 II, appendix XIII. Particular sites are covered in the following publications:

Clark, J.G.D., 1936	sites 6100, 9582, 9583, 9586, 9587, 9789
Clarke, R.R., 1935	9582, 9583, 9779, 9789
Clough and Green 1972	9581
Crawford 1929	6100, 9582, 9583, 9586, 9587
Norfolk Archaeological Unit 1974	9582, 9583, 9787
Wainwright 1973	9549

4. Norfolk scheduled ancient monument 245 (i).

5. Identified by Peter Lawrance, Natural History Department, Norwich Castle Museum.

6. The writer is grateful to Barbara Green for suggesting this explanation.

7. Halmstad example reg. POA 226; the other two unregistered.

8. Identified by Tony Gregory, Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

TABLE 1. FEATURE DIMENSIONS

Feature	Cutting	Length	Breadth	Depth
Outer ditch	A(SE)		5.8 m	1.5 m
	G		> 3.9 m	> 1.0 m
Pit IV (?=outer ditch)	A(NW)		> 2.2 m	0.8 m
Feature d (?=outer ditch)	L		> 1.8 m	> 0.45 m
Inner ditch	A(SE)		4.7 m	0.9 m
	A(NW)		3.9 m	1.8 m
	C		4.0 m	not bottomed
	D		3.6 m	approx. 0.6 m
	F		approx. 3.7 m	approx. 0.62 m
	G		3.3 m	0.85 m
	H		5.3 m	1.5 m
	J		?	?
?Inner ditch	K		> 0.7 m	> 0.3 m
Pit I	A	2.85 m	1.65 m	0.8 m
Pit II	A	2.0 m	1.2 m	0.7 m
Pit III	A	> 1.6 m	> 0.9 m	?
Pit V	G	2.0 m	1.4 m	0.55 m
'Medieval excavation'	F	4.9m	> 1.3 m	0.37 m
Medieval pit	F	> 3.4 m	> 0.5 m	approx. 0.6 m
Pit	G	> 2.4 m	> 0.43 m	?
Slot	G	> 1.3 m	> 0.44 m	80 cm
'Medieval excavation'	J	approx. 4 m	1.3 m	?
Earth floor	J	> 3.5 m	> 1.2 m	?
Feature a	L	> 0.9 m	> 0.68 m	0.33 m
Feature b	L	1.1 m	1.2 m	0.43 m
Feature c	L	0.36 m	0.34 m	0.55 m
?Feature in SE corner of cutting	L	> 0.76 m	0.45 m	0.33 m
Post-Medieval feature	A	> 7.5 m	> 6 m	> 1.30 m

TABLE 2. THE FINDS

Context		Cutting	Finds
Inner ditch	primary fill	G	1 flint blade (F2)
			charcoal
	secondary fill	A(NW)	6 flint flakes
	secondary fill	G	1 flint flake
			1 flint blade (F3)
	hearth	A(SE)	1 indeterminate prehistoric sherd (P6)
			charcoal
	loam (?turf line)	A(SE)	charcoal
	dark loam (?turf line)	D	14 flint flakes
	interface of secondary fill and 'humus'	A(NW)	2 Iron Age sherds (P7)
Pit I	base	A	Complete S2(E) beaker (P1)
			2 sherds FN beaker (P2)
	hearth	A	charcoal
	sooty loam	A	1 flint pot-boiler
			3 flint flakes (F4)
			1 grooved sandstone object (S1)
			6 sherds E beaker (P3)
			charcoal
Pit I/Pit III intersection		A	23 sherds E, FN, and finger-tip rusticated beaker (P2, P3, P4)
Pit II	main fill	A	1 microlith (F5)
	hearth	A	charcoal
Pit V	base	G	charcoal
	upper fill	G	1 flint pot-boiler
			6 flint flakes
			2 flint blades
			charcoal
'Medieval excavation'		F	1 ?hone fragment (S2)
			1 Iron Age sherd (P8)
			1 Thetford-type ware sherd
			1 medieval coarse ware sherd
			4 brick or tile fragments
Medieval pit		F	1 medieval coarse ware sherd
			1 brick or tile fragment
Earth floor		J	3 medieval coarse ware sherds
			1 brick or tile fragment
Feature c		L	3 medieval coarse ware sherds
?Feature in SE corner of cutting		L	> 3 lava quern fragments
			> 2 animal bone fragments
Dark, sandy layer below topsoil		L	47 medieval coarse ware sherds
			1 metallic slag fragment
			1 animal bone fragment
Post-medieval feature		A	4 post-medieval glazed sherds
			3 clay pipe fragments
'Humus'		A	1 flint core (F6)
			1 lava quern fragment
			1 Romano-British sherd (P9)
			25 medieval coarse ware sherds
			2 post-medieval glazed sherds

TABLE 2 (cont.)

Context	Cutting	Finds
'Humus'	A	2 brick or tile fragments 1 iron nail charcoal
Grey sandy loam with small flints (?='humus')	G	1 flint pot-boiler 7 flint flakes 1 Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age sherd (P5) 12 medieval coarse ware sherds 3 local medieval glazed sherds 1 brick or tile fragment 1 iron object 1 metallic slag fragment 1 animal bone fragment
Turf, topsoil, disturbed and indeterminate contexts	A	4 flint flakes 4 flint blades 1 flint scraper (F8) 3 medieval coarse ware sherds
	C	3 flint flakes 1 retouched flint flake (F1)
	F	1 flint flake 21 medieval coarse ware sherds 1 Andenne ware sherd 12 post-medieval glazed sherds 4 clay pipe fragments 1 iron scissor blade 8 animal bone fragments
	G	1 flint pot-boiler 1 flint core (F9) 1 flint chunk 17 flint flakes 1 flint blade 1 retouched thermal flint flake (F10) 6 medieval coarse ware sherds
	J	1 flint pot-boiler 8 flint flakes 3 flint blades 3 lava quern fragments 4 Romano-British sherds (P10) 18 medieval coarse ware sherds 2 brick or tile fragments 6 clay pipe fragments 1 animal bone fragment
Turf, topsoil, disturbed and indeterminate contexts	K	1 flint piercer (F7) 33 medieval coarse ware sherds
	L	1 Romano-British sherd (P11) 7 medieval coarse ware sherds 1 post-medieval glazed sherd

TABLE 3. PREHISTORIC POT FABRICS

Pot		Colour					Texture				Thickness					Temper					Finish	Condition	
	exterior	core	interior	fine	medium	coarse	hard	soft	friable	laminated	5 mm - 10 mm	10 mm +	average	slight	large	medium	small	angular flint	sand	grog	smoothed	abraded	burnt
P1	O-Bf	G	O-Bf		x		x				x			x			x	x			x		
P2	O-Bf	G	O-Bf		x			x			x		x			x			x			x	
P3	O-Bn	G	O-Bf		x		x				x		x			x		x	x		x	x	
P4	O-Bf	G	O-Bf			x		x	x			x	x		x			x				x	
P5	O	G	O			x						x	x		x					x		x	
P6	Bn	Bk	Bn		x			x	x		x		x			x			x			x	?
P7	Bk	Bn	Bk	x			x			x	x		x				x		x		x		
P8	Bk	Bn	Bk	x			x				x		x				x		x		x		

Bf - buff
Bk - black
Bn - brown
G - grey
O - orange

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Plate I. The Trowse barrow in 1935 looking north-east. Photograph by the Norfolk and Norwich Aero Club for the Norfolk Research Committee.

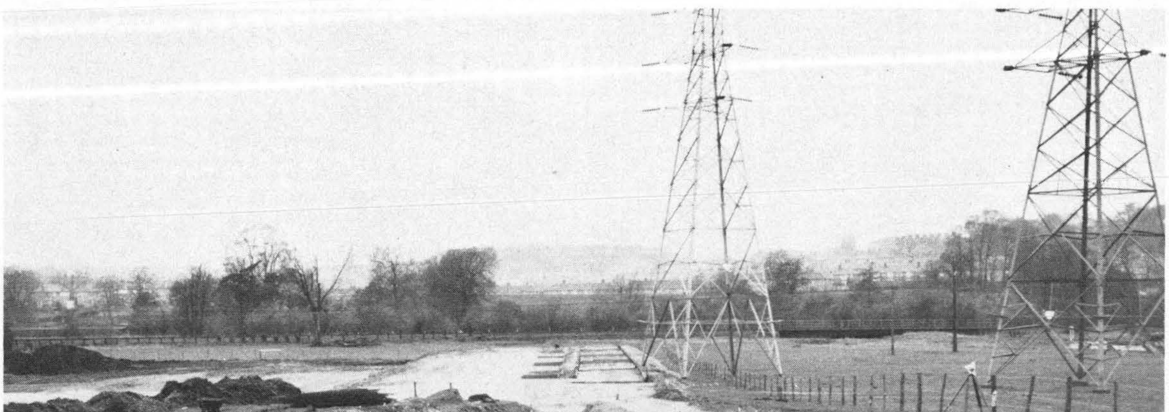

Plate II. The 1958 excavations looking north-west; the scales are marked in feet.

Photo: David Wilson

Plate III. Vertical aerial photograph of Horning showing soil mark of linear earthwork running north-east from the church (Fig.14), 1974. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No. RC8 - AD 34).

A Linear Earthwork at Horning

by Edwin Rose

I. SUMMARY

A linear earthwork of uncertain date cutting off the Horning peninsula, recorded in the last century, has been rediscovered by aerial photography and fieldwork.

II. DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION

In 1978 Mr F.Edwards of Horning, brought to Norwich Castle Museum an aerial photograph [1] (Plate III) which showed a linear soilmark of two parallel bands, one dark and one light, running north-east from Horning church to Upper Street (Figs.13 and 14). He also produced lumps of burnt clay and charcoal which he had found along its line. By a strange coincidence, the writer on the same day was examining the unpublished correspondence of the pioneer Norfolk archaeologist and geologist Samuel Woodward, and came across a reference to the same feature (site 14099). In 1829 Woodward received a letter [2] from a Mr Layton and a Mr Johnson who during November had gone to search for a 'rectangular Roman camp' mentioned in the Journal of the eighteenth-century antiquary William Arderon [3] as lying north of Horning church. They had not found this, but instead had discovered a linear earthwork which they described as beginning south of the church, running along the west side of the churchyard for 150 yards, crossing a field for 250 yards, crossing the 'road to the ferry' for 12 yards, then across another field for 230 yards, until it stopped abruptly, with slight traces of an eastward turn. Apparently with references to recent controversies over the dating of earthworks, Johnson remarked that no doubt some might call it natural, then humorously suggests it could have been formed by a man digging out a long seam of gravel, but ends by saying he considered it 'most camp-like' and made to cut off the neck of the peninsula.

Woodward himself visited the site [4] in 1831 and found that already the earthwork had been ploughed over, but noted that the ground on the west was much lower than that on the east.

With reference to Arderon's 'Roman camp', it should be noted that another aerial photograph [5] shows to the east of the church a large subrectangular enclosure with rounded corners (site 8446). A controlled metal detector survey and field walking of the area of this cropmark has produced an Early Bronze Age flat axe, a Late Bronze Age hoard of metalwork, sherds of Middle and Late Saxon pottery, and medieval horse pendants and coins. Unfortunately none of these finds can throw any light on the date or purpose of the features, and no Roman material was found [6]. An earlier reference is apparently contained in Norris's History of the Hundreds of Flegg written around 1780; 'In this town as I have been informed are the remains of some ancient fortification, being a vallum cast up in the manner of the Devils Ditch on Newmarket Heath, but of what shape or length I am not informed' [7].

In 1891 a Dr.Bensley exhibited some bones from 'Broom Hill, a supposed Roman encampment near the church at Horning'. The name Broom Hill is not now known

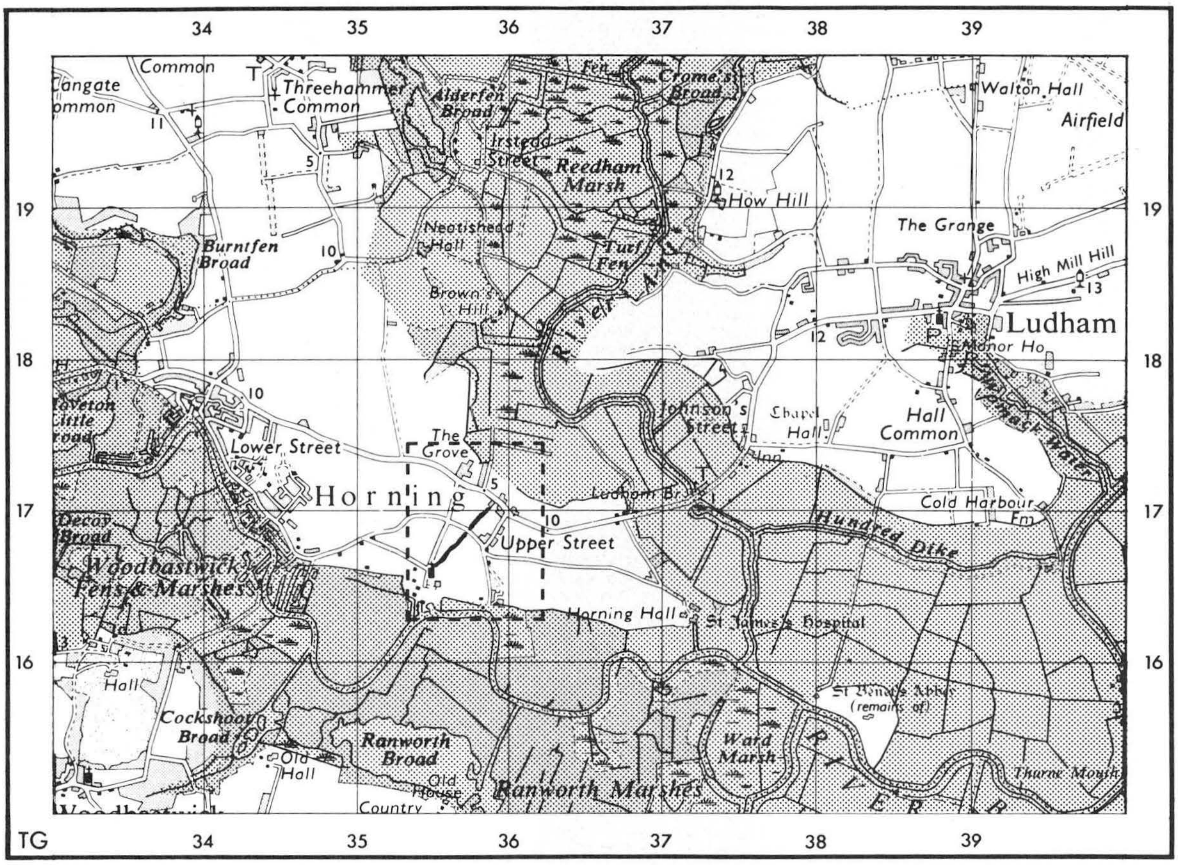

Fig.13. Location map of Horning earthwork shown as a thickened line running north-east from Horning church. Area of Fig.14 indicated with a broken line. The areas of low-lying marsh and water meadows are shaded. Based on Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 map: Reproduced by permission. Crown Copyright reserved.

locally, and may be a mistake for Butt Hill [8].

The area was first visited by the writer in March 1979. The earthwork is still visible, though it has been almost levelled by ploughing in many places, and was obviously a bank with a ditch on its north-west side, facing outwards from the peninsula. The land on the west is still slightly lower than on the east. The bank is best preserved in the northern half of the southern of the two fields, and at the north-west corner of the churchyard. At the latter point the ditch almost vanishes, but the bank is still c. 2 m high on the west side with two large, old trees growing from it. On the east the churchyard slopes up gradually to it. Just south of this point the churchyard has been extended recently and graves have been cut in the bank: Mr Edwards knows of no finds made when this was done, but Carrodus (1946, 49) includes a section by the Rev Meadows-White, vicar from 1888-1911, who quotes a former parish clerk as having found layers of ashes when digging graves in the western side of the churchyard. Meadows-White himself saw the earthwork from the church tower and called it a Roman causeway. There is a break in the bank for the lychgate; south of this the churchyard is raised 1.5 m - 2 m above the drive on the west, but the yard and the vicarage grounds seem to occupy a raised platform of land, and to the writer it seems doubtful whether the bank and ditch as such continue south of the gate. Mr Johnson's measurements are generally correct although the ferry road has been narrowed since his time.

Local people informed the writer that the earthwork is nowadays called the 'village street' and believed by them to be the old road to the church. This has probably come

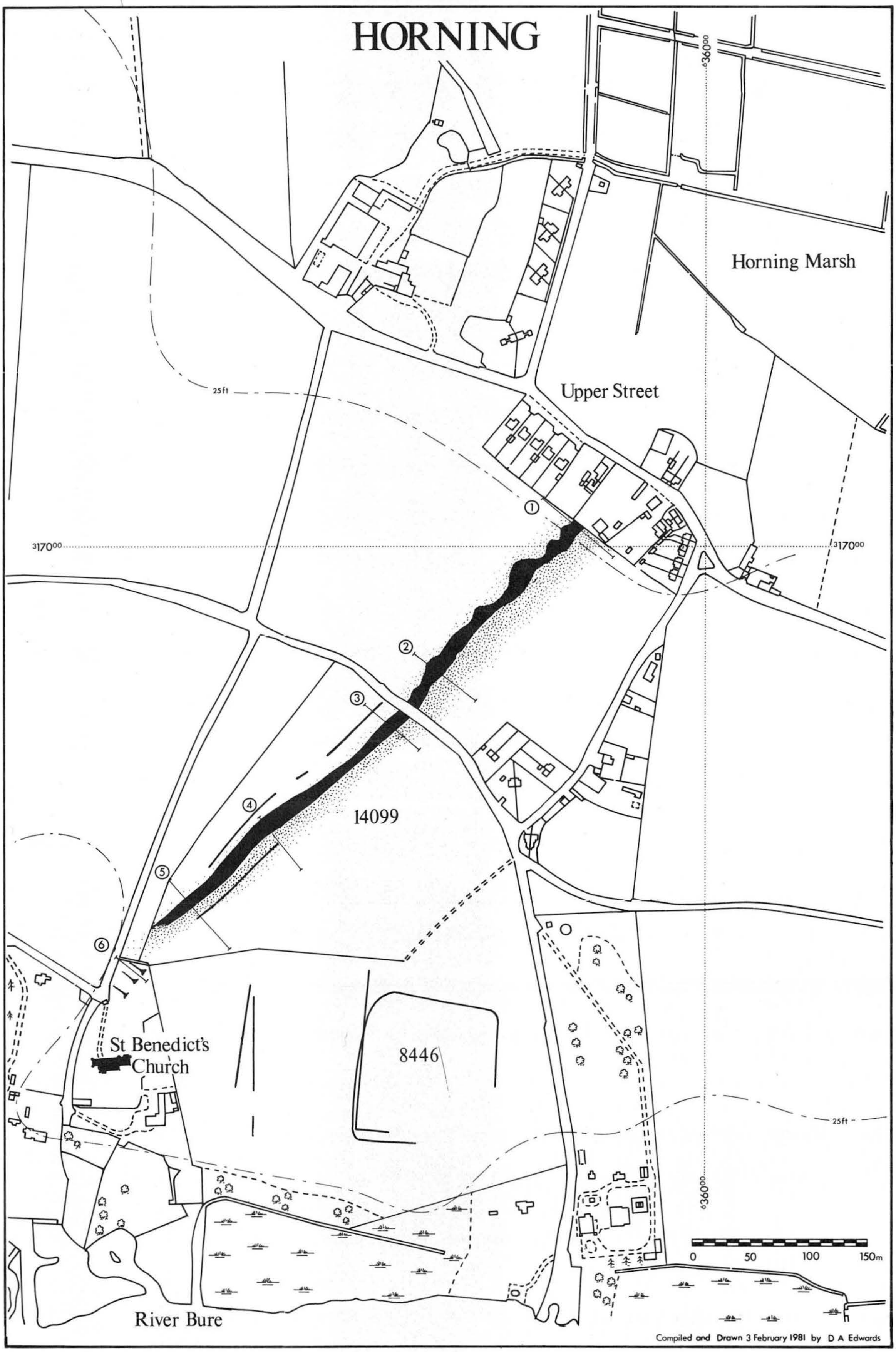

Fig. 14. Map of cropmarks and soil marks of earthwork and also cropmark of enclosure to the east (after Lawson 1980, fig.4). Scale 1:5000.

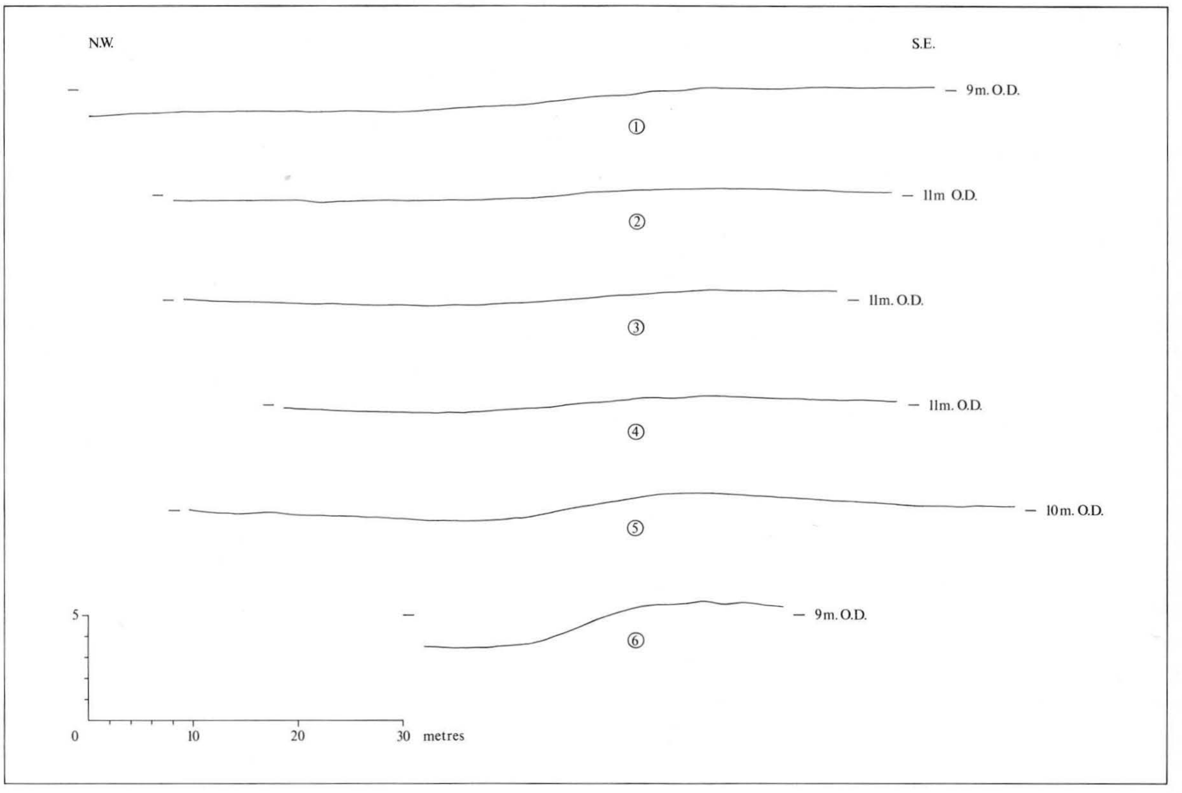

Fig.15. Profiles across earthwork at six points. Note vertical scale is double horizontal scale.

about through its slight similarity to a ploughed-out hollow way; the Enclosure map of 1818 and the Tithe map of 1840 show no roads to the church at all, access presumably being by the footpath that still runs from the end of Upper Street (and interestingly is shown on the tithe map as turning to run along the earthwork for a short distance). The Enclosure map confirms that the road which crosses it midway was known as Ferry Road, and shows that the houses which stand at the north-eastern end of the bank were there at that date. Johnson makes no mention of these; there is no trace of his 'slight eastward turn' at this end and it would seem far more probable that the bank continued across the site of the houses. There is, however, no trace of it on the short, but steep slope from the north side of the present road to the edge of the marshes; this may be the result of the cutting of the road and other disturbance. The Tithe map names the field south of Ferry Road as Butt Hills; there are examples from elsewhere of earthen banks being used as archery butts.

The interpretation of the feature as a defensive bank cutting off the peninsula seems to the writer to be most probably correct. The soil mark has a slightly irregular outline, but no more so than that of a destroyed section of the Bichamditch (Wade-Martins 1974, plate I). Running as it does from the Bure to Horning Marshes (which before the late medieval period would have been almost impassable) the bank and ditch would have provided excellent protection for the land behind. An early Saxon date may be suggested for the earthworks by comparison with others in the region (Wade-Martins 1974). Although no Early Saxon material has yet been found on the peninsula, pottery dating from the Middle Saxon period onwards has been recovered from the vicinity of the earthwork, as mentioned above. The lack of any Iron Age or Roman material prevents a prehistoric date being suggested with any probability. However, it should be noted that the causeway to St.Benet's Abbey runs from this peninsula. Legend states that this abbey was first founded c. AD 800 and destroyed by the Danes in 870: certainly Cnut founded a

Benedictine abbey here before 1020 on what seems to have been regarded as a previous monastic site (Blomefield 1805 XI, 52). There is, therefore, a possibility that these defences may have been thrown up by an early monastic community as an added safeguard on the landward approach against attack. In this context the position of Horning church against the bank may be significant: there is, however, no trace in the present building of work older than Early English (thirteenth century).

III. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to Mr F.Edwards for drawing attention to the aerial photograph in question and for references to other sources and to the staff of the Norfolk Record Office. Derek Edwards drew Fig.14 and Steven Ashley drew Fig.15. The profiles were surveyed by Steven Ashley and Andrew Rogerson, and we would like to express our appreciation of the help given by the tenants of the land, Mr Wright and Mr Kittle.

March 1980

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1. Aerial photograph by Prof.J.K.St.Joseph (RC8 AO 34) in Cambridge University Collection.

2. Woodward Correspondence Vol.III (1829), 121 (housed in Norwich Castle Museum).

3. This manuscript was sold in the mid nineteenth century and its present whereabouts are unknown.

4. Woodward Correspondence Vol.IV (1831), 43.

5. Aerial photograph by Prof.J.K.St.Joseph (VU 14 and 15) in Cambridge University Collection. Unfortunately the contrast on this photograph is not sufficient to allow reproduction (see Fig.14).

6. For detailed publication of these finds see Lawson, A. 1980.

7. Norfolk Record Office Rye Ms.3, Vol.III, 14. The author is indebted to Mr F.Edwards for drawing his attention to this reference.

8. Extract of Proceedings of Committee and General Meeting for 15th April 1891 in Norfolk Archaeol. XI (1888), 365.

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Some Deserted Village Sites in Norfolk

by Brian Cushion, Alan Davison, George Fenner, Ralph Goldsmith, John Knight, Norma Virgoe, Keith Wade and Peter Wade-Martins

I. INTRODUCTION

Since Keith Allison published his survey of the lost villages in Norfolk in 1955, there has been much interest shown in deserted villages in the county, and his paper has provided the basis for further fieldwork in recent years. Some sites have since been examined in detail such as Grenstein (Wade-Martins 1980, part II), and Babingley (Hurst 1961) and new ones have been found at Thuxton (Butler and Wade-Martins forthcoming) and elsewhere (Wade-Martins 1980, part I).

In a largely arable county like Norfolk, few good examples of medieval village earthworks survive; it is particularly important, therefore, that where they do the site plans should be recorded and published. In this paper the various contributors have brought together the evidence for the best-preserved eight sites along with a summary of the available documentary evidence for their occupation and desertion. It is hoped to follow this with another paper on a second group of sites where the earthwork evidence is not so clear, or where it was recorded on the 1946 RAF air photographs and has since disappeared, or where the plan of a village is recorded particularly well on sixteenth- or seventeenth-century manuscript maps, but the site has since been deserted.

For some reason, which is not yet understood, the sites in the first group all lie in west and central Norfolk. Other known ones which were well preserved until recently, such as Caldecote, Thuxton, Kilverstone and Letton, also fall within the same area. There are no known good village earthworks surviving east of Bixley or west of Great Palgrave, and Bixley itself is an outlier from the main group. This pattern cannot be explained by soil types alone, since some of these sites are in boulder clay areas while others are on lighter soils. Nevertheless, earthworks seem to survive better on boulder clay.

In general terms it is fair to say that most deserted medieval villages lie in marginal situations; Thuxton and Godwick are on flat areas of boulder clay which are difficult to drain. Others, like Roudham, are apparently attractive for human settlement and different causes for desertion have to be found. In the case of Roudham the village was not depopulated until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when it appears the villagers were gradually bought out by the main landlords. This seems to have been unusual, and the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were the main period of village decline, part of the phenomenon which affected much of north-west Europe (Duby 1962, 234-311).

Medieval villages in the county can be divided into two basic types: those along streets and those around greens, and a combination of both is frequent. The more nucleated shapes found in the Midlands are less common here. The outlines of greens and commons can sometimes be found on pre-enclosure maps and are usually to be seen on Faden's map of Norfolk (1797). Few of these commons remain today. Any earthwork sites must be related to this evidence. Of these eight sites we can see that four or five were predominantly street villages and the other three exhibit both characteristics.

The earthworks published here provide us with a useful group of village plans, but it would be dangerous to draw general conclusions about East Anglian village patterns from these alone.

Surveying and recording the sites of deserted and shrunken villages inevitably raise the questions - when and why were the sites deserted? Fieldwalking in the vicinity of the earthworks may produce evidence of occupation, but where the site is under pasture, sherds will be largely unavailable for inspection. Documentary work is vital in each particular instance and, unless it is possible to strip a very large area by excavation, may be the only avenue by which evidence for desertion can be gathered.

Evidence from documentary sources can give many clues to the varying fortunes of a village. However, a good documentary background is by no means always available and certainly in the case of the eight villages presented here, the evidence gathered so far is by no means prolific nor conclusive.

There are a number of documents which can be used for all the villages. They are less a means of charting the changing populations within the village than a means of comparing one village with another at a given point of time.

Domesday Book is a sound basis for triple comparisons providing as it does a record of local circumstances in the time of Edward the Confessor, how they changed at the Conquest and how they stood in 1086. Further means of comparisons between villages are lacking for the following two hundred years; the only document including these villages is the Nomina Villarum of 1316 and that gives no more information than that the village was in existence at that date and the names of the lords of each manor.

Clerical taxation lists do exist and those drawn up for the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV of 1291 are the most important. They became the basis of clerical taxation for the rest of the Middle Ages for, after this date, clerical grants of taxation were made according to this assessment, with the clergy being taxed on lands acquired since this date and also upon their moveables. However, these lists must be used with caution for clerical taxation does not necessarily reflect the wealth of the local community nor the extent of the village and, moreover, the available text is unreliable.

The main form of lay taxation during the Middle Ages was by means of the Lay Subsidy. In the late thirteenth century, taxation on personal property was initiated. There were varying rates at the outset, but eventually the rates were formalised to a grant of one fifteenth for the countryside and one tenth for the towns. The personal property upon which rural taxpayers were assessed was in the form of crops and animals, not household goods and money. As the poorer people were excluded from tax, these returns do not give a complete profile of a village, but are most valuable in comparing village with village, for one may assume that the proportion of those who were too poor to pay was likely to be roughly similar in each village. Until 1332 the names of the individuals assessed for payment of the tax were included in the lists.

Lay Subsidy returns for the period 1329-32 are relatively full for Norfolk. Then, to avoid the administrative inconvenience of constant re-assessment, the subsidy which was taken in 1332 became a permanent, unchanging payment. The varying fortunes of the village, henceforward, were ignored for taxation purposes and, thus, no clues can be obtained regarding the expansion or contraction of the taxable village population during the following century. In 1432, however, the contraction of communities was acknowledged and, in consequence, many villages in Norfolk were allowed a percentage reduction on their assessment. A further reduction was permitted in 1449.

Other instances of collective returns in the later Middle Ages were the Poll Taxes, the Muster Returns, the 1428 Parish Tax and the 1523 Subsidy.

The Poll Tax returns are not directly comparable with Lay Subsidy assessments. The former tax was paid by all adults above the age of fourteen years and was levied on three occasions between 1377 and 1380. The records which survive for Norfolk are fragmentary and are, therefore, difficult to use and it is not possible to compare all three taxes for any one village.

Another source which provides useful information for all these villages is the list drawn up for the taxation granted by Parliament in 1428. This took an unusual form by exempting payment in parishes of ten or less households. In consequence, the very small parishes can be traced.

With the exception of the fragmentary sixteenth-century Muster Returns and the manuscript lists of the 1523 Subsidy which was newly assessed and taken on landed income or on all personal property, whichever was the greater, the other documentation for the villages is specific and various and these individual documents are discussed below in the context of each village. Much still remains to be done in this field of research, for the documentary evidence here presented is only a beginning of the attempt to throw light on the problem of depopulation. Few documents outside the county have been used and there are many classes of documents, particularly at the Public Record Office, which are, as yet, untapped. Careful work needs to be done before any final conclusions are reached, but for anyone undertaking this work, the first step is to consult Keith Allison's survey (1955).

II. PUDDING NORTON

DESCRIPTION OF SITE

by Peter Wade-Martins

Pudding Norton (site 7111) still survives as a parish lying immediately to the south of Fakenham. The site of the settlement probably contains the clearest set of medieval village earthworks in the county (Fig.16 and Plates IV and V). It is part of a cluster of deserted and shrunken village sites around Fakenham: the others being Pensthorpe, Alethorpe, Clipstone, Testerton, Thorpland, Oxwick, Toftrees, Shereford and Little Ryburgh. Testerton is now a part of Pudding Norton parish.

The village stood on the side of a gentle east-facing slope alongside a small, now canalised, water course which runs northwards towards Fakenham along the east side of the site. The most obvious feature is the ruined church, dedicated to St.Margaret, which stands on the west side of the meadow to the south of Pudding Norton Hall, an eighteenth-century building with a twentieth-century facade.

Running south from the Hall across the meadow is a recently made-up farm track which covers the line of the main village street. Near the south end of the field the street divided in two, with one branch running south to join the present main road at a point just outside Pudding Norton parish; the other turned to the east (Fig.17). The main street continued northwards towards Fakenham Mill and just south of the Racecourse it can still be seen as a sunken road (top of Fig.17). There are two small side lanes which joined the main street at right angles to it; one of these is defined by prominent earthworks just to the south of the churchyard, which shows as an earthwork, and the second runs off from the other side of the street 100 m to the north.

How far the village continued along the main streets outside the meadow is uncertain; there are slight earthworks to the north of the farm buildings showing on the 1946

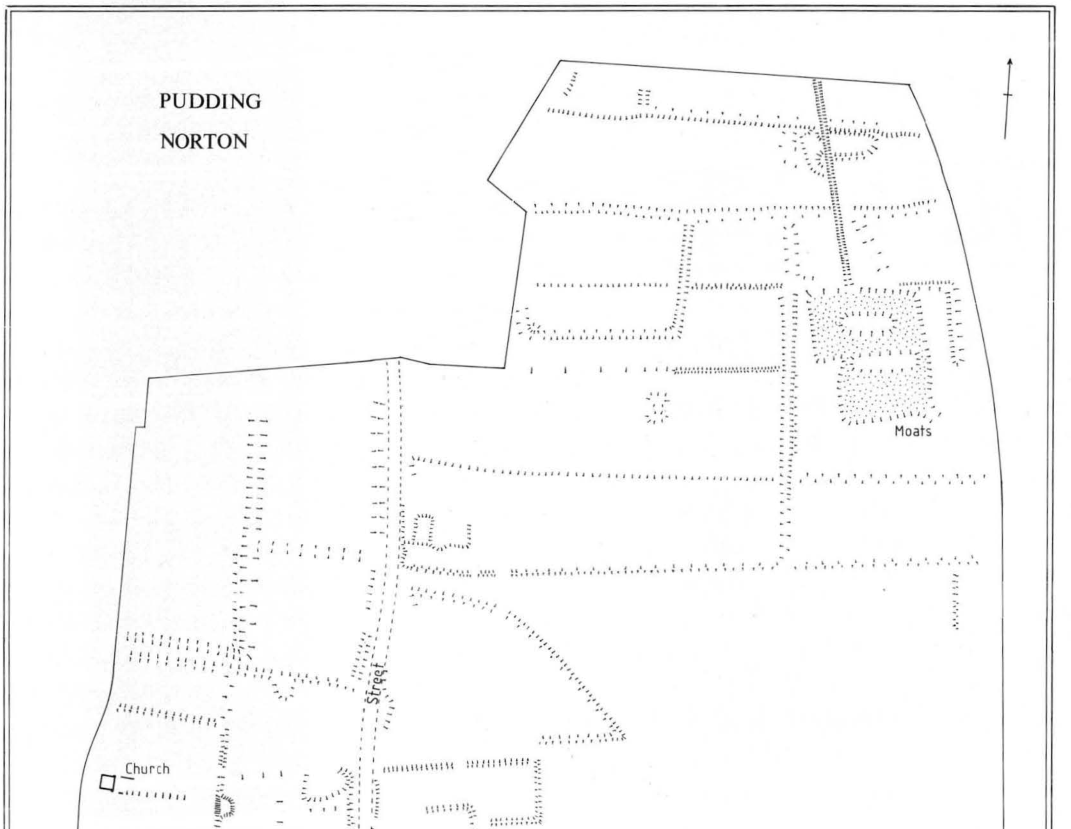

Fig.16. Pudding Norton earthworks. Scale 1:2,500.

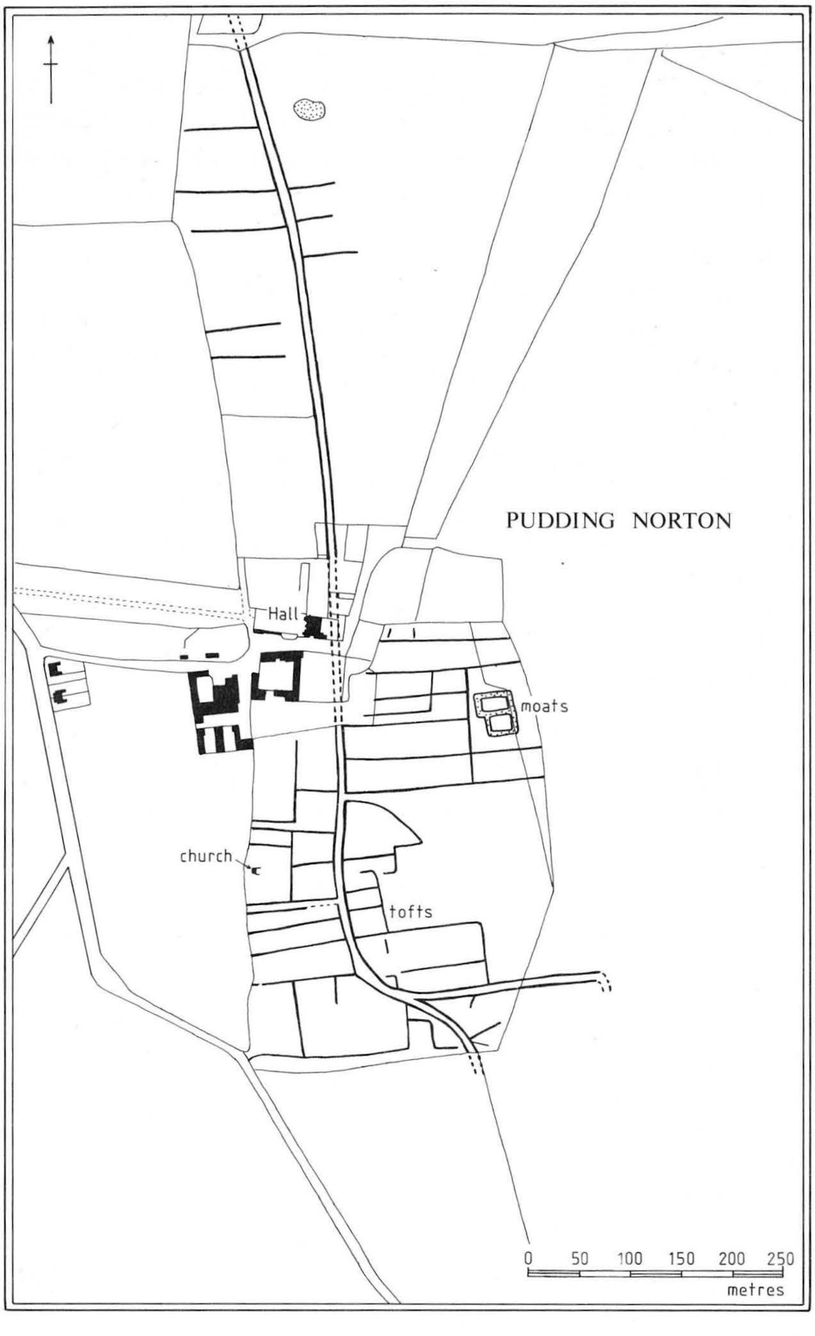

Fig.17. Pudding Norton interpretation. Scale 1:7, 500.

RAF air photographs, but these features have since been levelled. The hall and the farm buildings almost certainly cover a part of the site.

There is no evidence for a moat around the hall; there are, however, in the north-east part of the site two adjacent ponds with a small island in the centre of the northern one. An air photograph taken in the 1930s by the Norfolk and Norwich Aero Club (Allison 1955, plate VI) shows that both then contained rectangular islands surrounded by water-filled ditches. It is possible, as Beresford suggested, that these were two rather small moats on this low-lying side of the village. The dividing bank between them continues the line of one of the toft boundaries nearer the street, but this may be coincidental.

Running back from the village street on both sides are long, straight banks forming toft boundaries; the ditches adjacent to the banks are almost entirely silted up. On the east side of the street there are thirteen tofts and on the west nine.

There are slight earthworks of buildings in six of the tofts. The sunken areas in the front parts of some are almost certainly the toft yards (some of these in the middle of the site have been filled in since this earthwork survey was made). Entrances giving access from the street into the yards can be seen in a few places where there are gaps in the banks alongside the main street.

In the case of this particular village the arrangement of the toft boundaries suggests that the village was at least partly planned. In the central area to the east of the street there is a group of five irregular tofts and contrasting with these there are, to either side, much longer ones which are all remarkably uniform in length and to a lesser degree, in width also. The majority of the toft boundaries on the east side of the street are directly opposite those just described. It is possible, therefore, to suggest that the earlier tofts are those with irregular shapes clustered near the church and that the rest to north and south may belong to a period of organised expansion.

THE CHURCH

by George Fenner

The church is dedicated to St.Margaret and stands against the present boundary of the village in a square churchyard bounded by a ditch. The ruined square tower and short lengths of north and south nave wall are all that remain apart from some long mounds which may cover collapsed rubble (Fig.18 and Plate XX). The main building stones are flint and ironbound conglomerate, but some limestone is present in quoins and windows. The church is mentioned in Domesday Book (Blomefield 1808 VII, 115) but by 1602 it was 'long decayed and unknown by whom it was pulled down' (Allison 1955, 154).

Nave

The surviving section of the north nave wall is 4.5 m long, 2 m above present ground level and 80 cm thick. A band of conglomerate blocks 50 cm deep, runs the full length of the wall 1 m above present ground level, showing on both internal and external faces. Bryant's drawing of 1900 (Bryant 1890-1901 Gallow, 79) shows the remains of a high round arch between this section and the west wall indicating the position of the north door. There are thirteen quoinstones at the junction of nave and west wall, eight of one type of conglomerate, two of another and the top three of limestone.

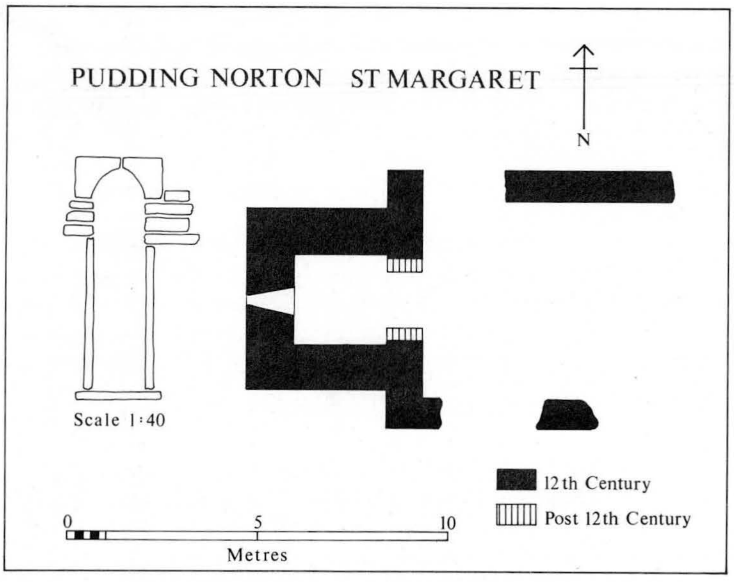

Fig.18. Pudding Norton church. Scale 1:200.

No plinth is visible, but this may be because the base of the walls is covered with rubble. On the south side there is a well-defined mound 23 m long which runs 2 m outside the line of the south wall. The earthwork on the north side is less clearly defined, but seems also to be 2 m outside the line of the wall. There is no positive evidence for the position of the east wall.

Tower

On the east face of the tower there is a build up of rubble of about 1 m, if the lowest present level in the nave can be taken as being the original floor level. Measurements are given from that base. The tower, internally, is of consistent thickness to the top of the wall, 1.2 m on the north, west and south and 90 cm on the east, and is unbuttressed. Externally, there are two apparent stages, the first up to 5.8 m is mainly of well-coursed flint, but including large blocks of conglomerate set at random, smaller pieces of conglomerate rubble coursed in with the flint and conglomerate quoins. The second stage is marked on the north, west and south faces with a faint but unmistakeable horizontal straight joint. Above this point, the fabric is similar to that on the first stage, but without the conglomerate blocks, and the quoins are in limestone. The fabric at the quoins continues for 5 m above the straight joint, but in the middle of each of these three faces it is eroded to the level of the limestone cills of vanished windows. According to Bryant there were four belfry windows with Y-tracery in 1900.

On the west face there is a small window with limestone dressings 1.14 m high and with a 20 cm opening. The round head, 10 cm thick, is cut from two pieces of stone below which are three small, roughly dressed stones and below them two jambs of different heights which return for 23 cm. The cill is also roughly cut and projects inwards 11 cm beyond the jambs with a hole 2 cm in diameter drilled on the inside edge. Internally, the opening is single splayed, formed entirely of coursed flint with undressed jambs.

The east face of the tower starts off at the base with bands of mixed flint and conglomerate for about 2 m above present ground level and then changes to coursed flint up to the 5.8 m level. At this point there is a further change to coursed conglomerate with some flint for 2 m within the nave weathercourse which starts at 6 m. Above this it returns to flint, at least one of the courses of which runs across the whole face, both inside and outside the weathercourse up to the top of the tower.

There is a very tall blocked arch on the east side 5.5 m high from original ground level and 2.14 m wide, now blocked with flint and conglomerate, and which shows no signs of dressings or imposts. At the present base of this arch there is a roughly cut triangular opening with sides of about 1.5 m. On the upper levels of the north and south sides there are patches of plaster.

Interpretation

The earliest part of the fabric would seem to be the first stage of the tower up to the 5.8 m level on the north, west and east sides and probably up to the tops of the upper conglomerate bands on the west face, which may mark the shape of the original nave west wall. The weathercourse which encloses these bands has at least one course of the fabric which passes through the weather and, therefore, it must belong to a later phase. The section outlined above contains the west window which would appear to be of Saxo-Norman date from its shape, the structure of the splay and the rough quality of the limestone dressings. All we have of the tower arch is a rough outline of the shape, but it would fit in with a date of c.1100 with the window. The remains of the nave have no dateable features if we accept that the use of conglomerate is not an exclusively Anglo-Saxon practice, but its use here can be regarded as contemporary with the fabric enclosed by the conglomerate quoins which also contain conglomerate.

The upper and later stage of the tower uses limestone quoins and the upper two quoinstones of the nave are also limestone. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the tower second stage was built and the nave roof raised to the position of the present weathercourse about the same time. The only dating evidence is Bryant's report of Y-tracery belfry windows which would date the second stage to c.1300.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

by John Knight

The documentary evidence so far traced is very scanty and insufficient for firm conclusions to be drawn.

In Domesday Book the village was called Nortuna (the 'Pudding' element being added later; it was certainly in use by 1302 (Feudal Aids III, 403)) and had a population of one bordar and seven sokemen. It already possessed a church which had eight-and-a-half acres of land. It is described as a hamlet (beruita) of the King's manor of Fakenham. The main manor was, during the Middle Ages, subordinate to the royal, later Duchy of Lancaster manor of Fakenham and, according to Blomefield (1808 VII, 118) by the late thirteenth century was held by the de Lexham family. From them it passed to the Mundfords and Tyndales and by the late sixteenth century to the Paris family, through whom it passed by Blomefield's time to Philip Southcote esquire.

Again, according to Blomefield, there were in the early fifteenth century other manors called 'Newhall' (with its site near the church) and Pekehall, but in default of other evidence it is not easy to identify them with any particular holding. Certainly Hempton Priory held property in the village as did Walsingham, and there were several other free holdings. After the Dissolution of the Monasteries the property of the religious houses was granted to Sir William Fermour of East Barsham, but by the end of the century it also had been acquired by the Paris family who, with their heirs, were lords of the whole village (Blomefield 1808 VII, 115-8).

The Lay Subsidy of 1329 lists fifteen taxpayers (PRO, E179/149/7) while the figure paid in the 1334 Lay Subsidy was 22s. (Hudson 1895, 273) the lowest for any village in its Hundred (Allison 1955, 124 and 128). Nevertheless, there are numerous villages in other Hundreds with equally low valuations which have survived. In 1401, there is reference to 'the fewness and the poverty of the parishioners' (Cal.Pap.Letters 1396-1404 V, 474-5), but in 1428 there were over ten householders and there was a nil deduction in the 1449 Lay Subsidy. This information, though scanty, does indicate a roughly constant population between 1334 and 1449.

Three fifteenth-century Norwich Consistory Court wills survive for Pudding Norton. Such wills record only the richer men in the village and the Archdeaconry registers have not been searched, but they at least indicate that the village was then still inhabited. The three testators - Henry Bryse, priest of Colkirk (NCC, Hyrning 31), William Welford (NCC, Cobald 38) and John Parson (NCC, Wolman 40) - left a variety of bequests to the church and all three men left money to the Guild of St.Margaret there; Welford also made a bequest to the Guild of St.Katherine. The existence of these guilds throughout the fifteenth century implies a number of residents in the village to support them. It is also interesting that Parson left two cows worth 20s. for the common relief of the town of Norton.

In 1505 the will of Andrew Williamson (NCC, Ryxe 307), rector of the church, provided for his burial in the chancel with a stone cover above the grave and in 1557 William Fermour left 20s. for the repair of the church and 11d. to every house in the village (Blomefield 1808 VII, 56). The Subsidy returns of 1524-5 (PRO, E.179/150/269, 259, 221) show between six and nine taxpayers paying a total of £2 14s. 10d. to £2 17s. 8d; in 1543 (PRO, E.179/150/310) only two men paid a total of 24d. The Liber Visitationum of 1587, the latest entry for the parish (ANW/3/1-6) gives the names of the two churchwardens without further comment. Thus, it would appear that the village, though probably diminished in size still existed in the mid-sixteenth century. There is very little definite evidence at present as to the date of the complete depopulation of the village, but conversely, there is no evidence at all of any village surviving in the seventeenth century when what documents there are refer to the Hall and are of an 'estate' nature. There is also a local tradition that the village was destroyed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Certainly by Blomefield's time it was 'a depopulated village, only a hall or manorhouse with a farmhouse remaining'.

III. ROUDHAM

DESCRIPTION OF SITE

by Brian Cushion

Roudham (site 1057) is situated on the eastern edge of Breckland about 4 km west of East Harling. The parish, before amalgamation with Larling to the north-east, had a rather elongated oval shape, with a western tongue of land extending across the former heaths to Ringmere, an important watering place for sheep in the past. The village site lies at a level of between 22 and 28 m OD on the south and west edges of a fen basin - possibly a former shallow mere - which drains eastwards into the Thet through a narrow gap in the low gravel terraces. To the north and west of the village site are the light sandy soils of Breckland, but to the south of the terraces upon which most of the village seems to have stood, are slightly heavier soils extending into the adjoining parish of Bridgham.

The earthworks of the village site (Fig.19 and Plate VI) are the most extensive of any in the county, being almost 1 km long from east to west. Within the earthwork area are the remains of the parish church, the present hall and adjacent farm buildings (dating mainly from the eighteenth century) and manorial earthworks.

Of the manorial earthworks the most impressive feature is a well-defined moated site, partially infilled at its south-west corner by a roadway. Except for its east side, the moat has a considerable length of inner retaining wall of flint; a few fragments of brick suggest the possibility of a brick capping. (Local tradition has suggested that the cellars of a former house were investigated many years ago, causing the present pitted appearance of the southern part of the platform). A small fragment of a thin flint wall within the platform area is also visible. A shallow channel leads from the north-east corner of the moat ditch towards the present watercourse and appears to have been the outlet channel. There is no inlet channel and there is no obvious entrance onto the platform.

To the north-west of this moat on the other side of a modern road is another rectangular enclosure with a ditch of similar size; its north-east corner is covered by the road. The northern boundary of this enclosure seems to be the present watercourse; the eastern arm does not extend beyond it to the north, but the western arm does, providing the boundary for an outer, lower, enclosure. The eastern arm of this outer enclosure extends south of the watercourse forming a narrow causeway between the two eastern boundary features, possibly for access into the northern enclosure. Within the moated site, late medieval pottery sherds have been found whilst within the north-west enclosure about sixty sherds of unglazed thirteenth-century pottery as well as a few glazed sherds have been found in molehills. Between the north-western enclosure and the present hall gardens are some small enclosures and a possible causeway leading to the moats. Within these small enclosures several thirteenth-century pottery sherds and a few of later date have also been found.

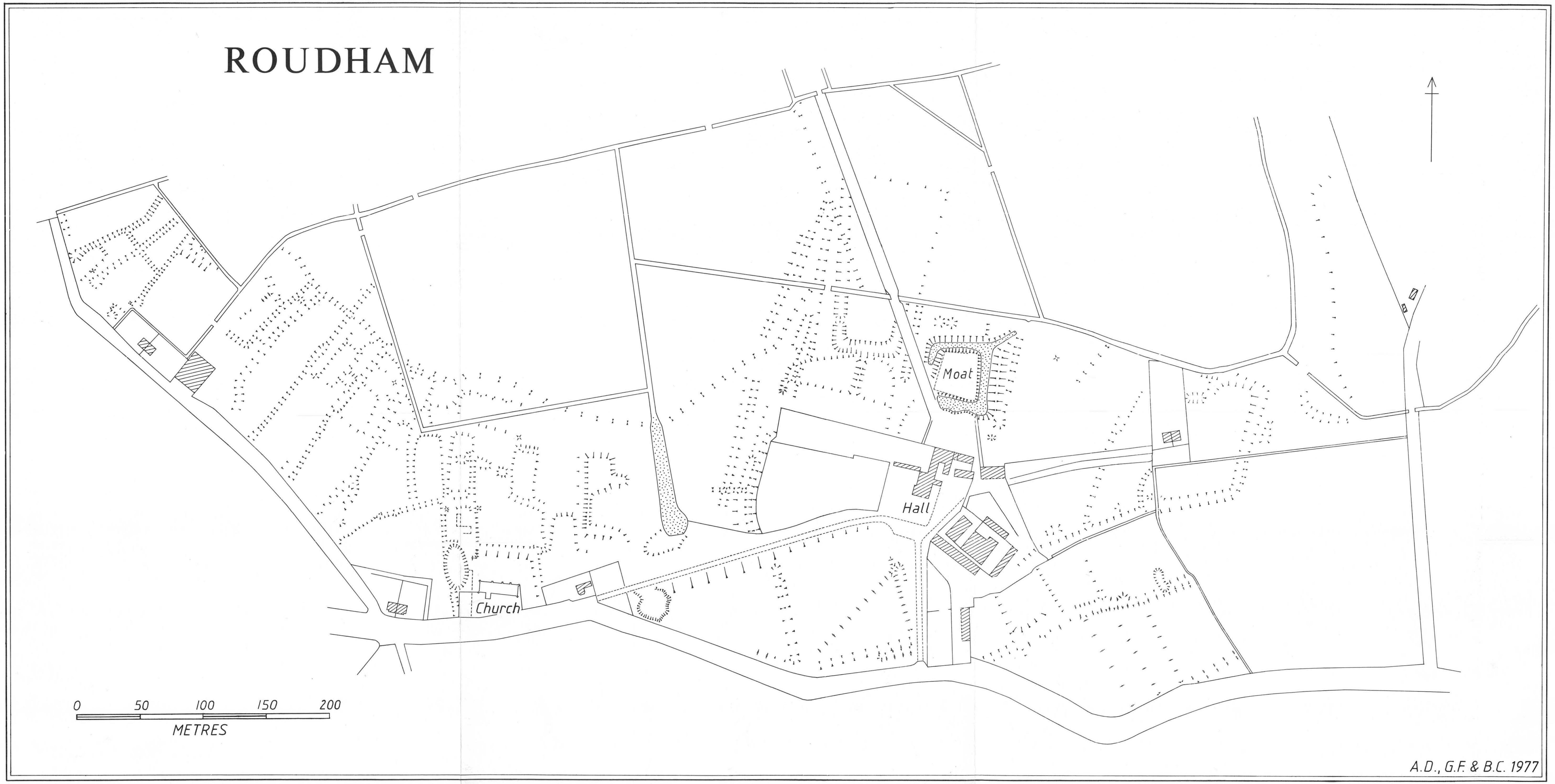

Fig. 19. Roudham earthworks. Scale 1:2, 500.

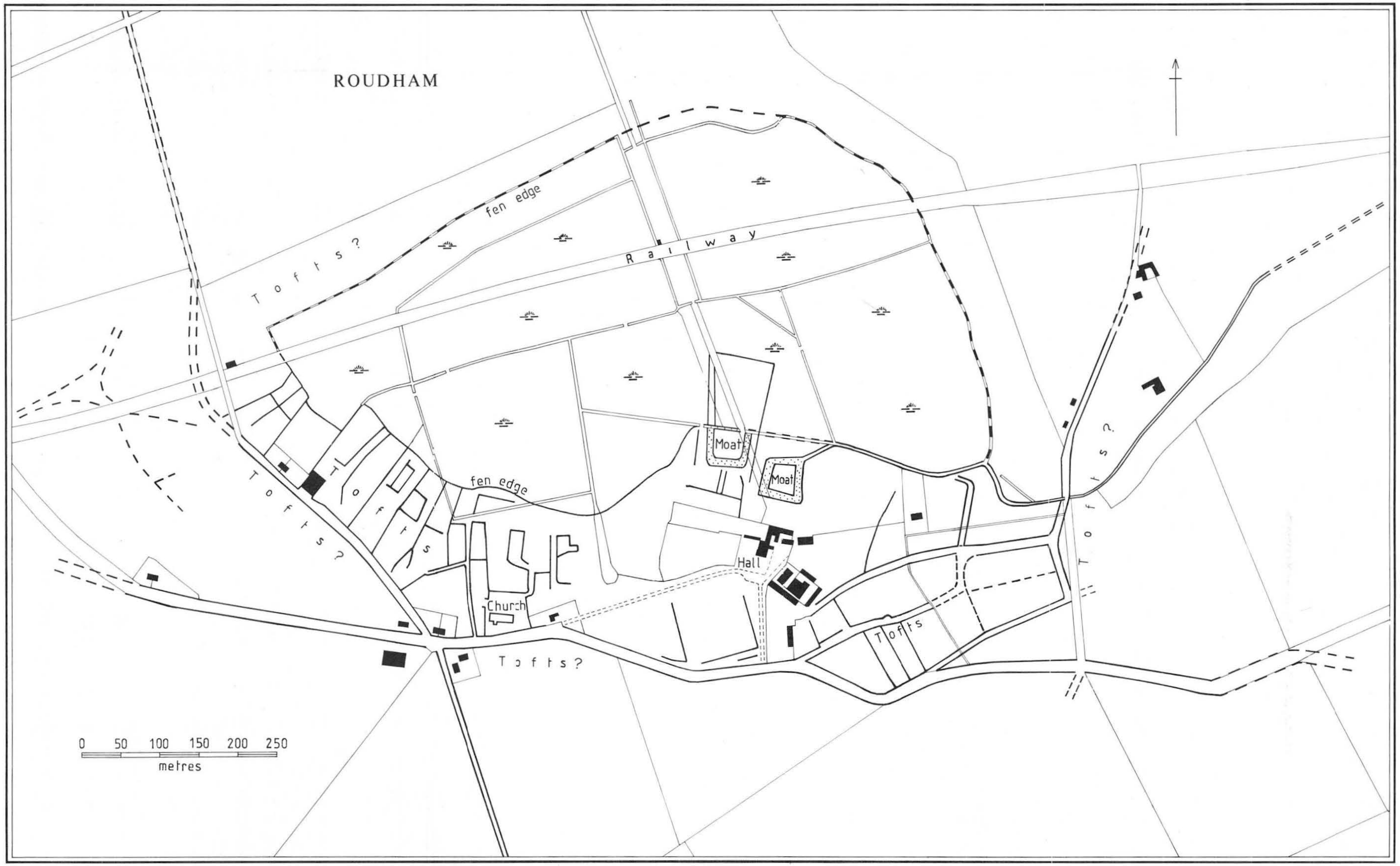

Fig. 20. Roudham interpretation. Scale 1:7, 500.

To the west of the hall gardens and extending northwards are a series of converging flat-topped ridges. They are cut by the shallow, meandering channel of a former watercourse which seems to have defined the southern edge of the fen area and also by the present drainage system.

On the lawns to the south-west of the hall are some shallow banks and ditches some of which may be related to earlier driveways to the house.

To the south-east of the Hall Farm buildings, in a meadow described as arable in Nathaniel Kent's Valuation of 1795 (NRO MS 6722 6E 7), are low but distinct earthworks of two roughly-parallel east to west roadways, as well as earthworks denoting likely toft boundaries. A thin scatter of unglazed medieval pottery has been found in this field. The northern boundary of this meadow is formed by the southern edge of another hollow which was either a wide ditch or another roadway extending eastwards from near the south-east corner of the farm buildings. Two shallow ditches head north-east from this hollow, which continues eastwards into the arable land, joining another which led north towards the watercourse on the east side of a pair of cottages. Close to these cottages one sherd of Thetford ware has been found.

The remainder of the village earthworks are to the west of the Hall grounds and divided from them by a pond 90 m long, known nowadays as 'The Fishpond', aligned north to south and draining northwards into the rectangular system of post-medieval ditches. The south end of the pond is bulbous and on the floor of this, when the water level was very low in the early autumn of 1976, a flint structure was noticed. The north end of the pond now cuts the line of the old watercourse, but because of dredging, it is not possible to tell if the two features were contemporary.

The church occupies the highest part of the site adjacent to the roadway. The present graveyard, bounded by a fence, has been extended westwards beyond the earlier churchyard wall which shows as a parchmark in the grass. The original boundary to the north and east shows as a wide, shallow depression, a feature which may have been a lane or pathway. A line of pollarded elms lies on the outer edge of the eastern ditch.

To the north-east of the church are two well-defined platforms, the one nearest the pond yielding considerable amounts of unglazed medieval pottery. To the west of the churchyard is a narrow feature, probably a hollow way extending northwards from the present road almost to the fen edge. An L-shaped building outline, seen as a parchmark, lies to the east of this; further north small enclosures and platforms suggest tofts with rather indeterminate boundaries extending downslope to the old watercourse; the later drainage ditch cuts some of these features. A wide scatter of unglazed medieval pottery sherds has been found in this area, with concentrations on the platforms.

To the north-west of this hollow way are a series of at least nine tofts, with bounding ditches running from the existing roadway downslope to the fen edge. One of these ditches has been extended to join the later drainage system. The tofts are subdivided by baulks or ditches with a few possible platforms visible. A considerable amount of pottery has been found within this meadow with distinct concentrations towards the road and on the lower slopes of the tofts. Most of the sherds were of unglazed medieval wares with a few of later date. In the north-western part of the meadow, north of the barn and cottages, the tofts contained fewer sherds; these were mainly medieval, but with one piece of Thetford ware. A few post-medieval sherds were found near the cottages which themselves occupy one of the tofts.

Fieldwalking, mostly on arable land near to the earthworks, has extended the likely settlement area in nearly all directions. To the north of the railway, on the northern side of the fen basin, an uneven meadow has produced one Roman sherd, one piece of

Ipswich ware and one of St.Neots-type ware, as well as several unglazed medieval sherds, with a few post-medieval sherds near the railway crossing. To the west of the Illington roadway, in the field known as 'The Dolphin', after the inn of that name which is said to have stood there, an uneven arable field has produced considerable amounts of both unglazed and glazed medieval wares as well as post-medieval sherds and one late sixteenth/early seventeenth-century German bronze jetton. The field to the south of the four-ways junction by the church produced one medieval sherd, while to the south of the church the arable land produced a thin scatter of medieval pottery.

In the eastern part of the village site, in the field south-east of the cottages which shows as meadow on the 1946 RAF air photographs (Plate VI) but which is now arable, a large amount of pottery sherds as well as tile and brick fragments have been found. The pottery included at least one, and possibly two other, Roman sherds, at least one Thetford-ware sherd and one St.Neots-type ware piece, as well as many glazed and unglazed medieval, transitional and post-medieval sherds, with a few distinct concentrations. In the north-west corner of this field, to the south of the earthworks that protrude into the arable land, there is a concentration of post-medieval brick, tile and pottery fragments. Local sources tell of a brick floor being ploughed up here soon after the last war as well as a considerable amount of metalwork suggestive of a smithy site. The RAF photographs also show slight earthworks of the three roadways, evident in the meadows to the west, continuing into this field; these and other features, including a linking north-to-south roadway, have been transposed onto the interpretation plan.

To the east of the present road, a scatter of medieval and a few post-medieval sherds have been found south of the watercourse. To the north of this, two small concentrations of unglazed and glazed medieval sherds were noted, while further east, beyond the barn shown on the interpretation map several more medieval sherds were found as a thin scatter.

The above description of the site, together with the interpretation map (Fig.20), suggests a medieval settlement similar in extent to present-day Bridgham, while several distinct locations seem to have continued into the post-medieval period, such as the 'Dolphin' and the possible smithy, as well as the present dwelling sites. The details of Roudham available from the Court Rolls and discussed in the documentary section may relate to the eastern area of the village. This suggestion is supported by the pottery, bricks and tiles which have come to light. If the finds are to be relied upon, Roudham in its last phase seems to have been a shrunken village at some distance from the church and moat. Today Roudham has seventeen houses within 800 m of the church of which four are uninhabited at present.

THE CHURCH

by George Fenner

The church, dedicated to St.Andrew, stands in its truncated graveyard bounded closely on the east by a wire fence, on the north by a bank, to the west by a great pit and on the south by the road. It is not mentioned in Domesday Book. Blomefield described it in 1746: 'The Church here, consisted of one Isle only, and Chancel, both which were thatched, having a square Tower standing on the South Side, which served both as Steeple and Porch, it had two Bells in it 'till 1714, and then there was a Faculty passed to sell one of them; about two or three Years since, as the Workmen were repairing the Lead on the Top of the Tower, one of them blew the Ashes carelessly out of his Pipe, which fell on the Thatch, and not being seen in Time, burned the Church and Chancel, so that the Walls only are standing, in a ruinous Condition, at this Time' (1805 1, 434).

The lead has now gone from the tower, the walls are overgrown with ivy and the limestone dressings on the north side are still pink from the flames (Fig.21).

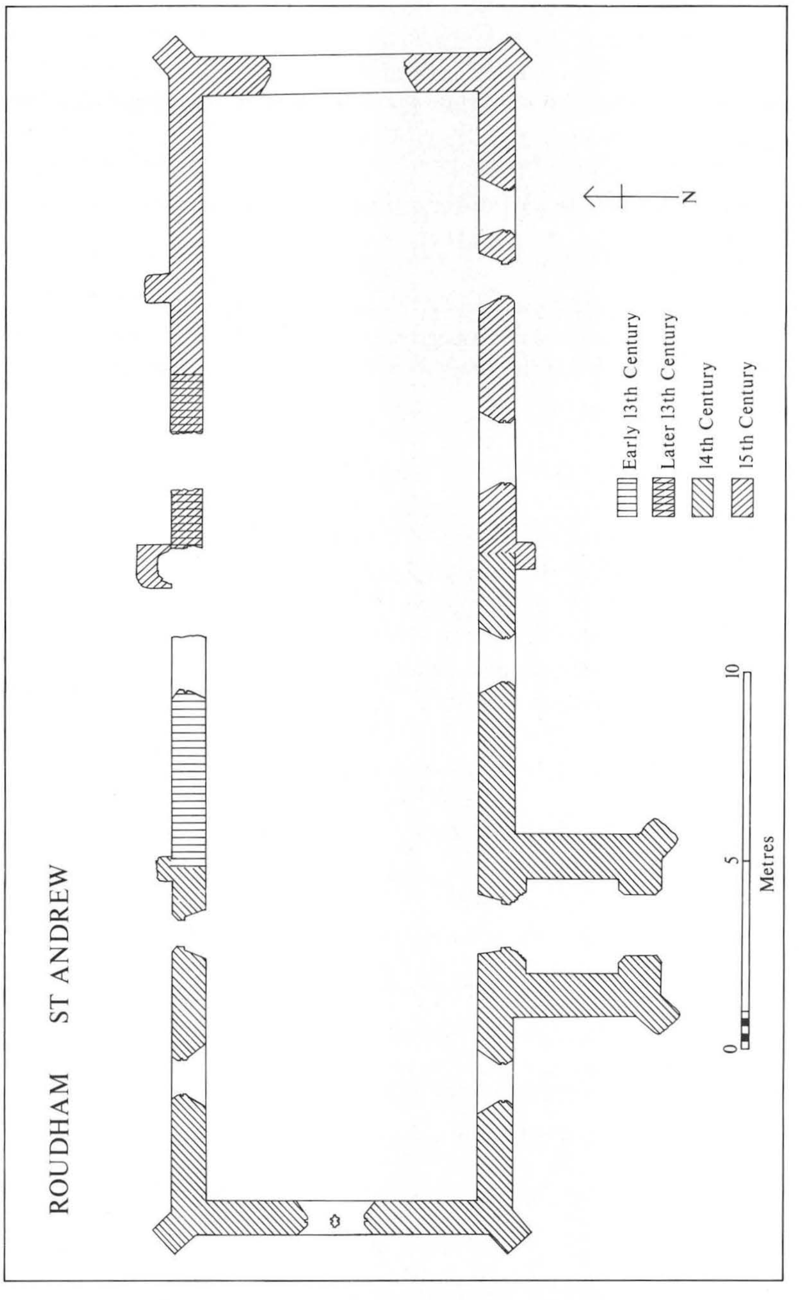

Fig. 21. Roudham church. Scale 1:200.

Chancel

A buttress on the south side marks the division between the present nave and chancel and internally there is a straight joint. To the west there is a vertical scar in the flint 70 cm wide. The fabric to the east is coursed flint of random size; this continues to the south-east buttress, along the east wall to the north-east and returns to a point 8 m west. Here there is another straight joint, a slight external reduction in wall thickness and a change in the colour of the flint. This fabric, coursed up to 1.8 m and uncoursed above, continues to a point below the missing east jamb of the nave north-east window. There are two breaks in the wall, one 1.5 m west of where it starts; this break is 1.5 m wide and straight sided and it could perhaps be a robbed window opening. The other, west of the rood stair, has sloping sides and is more likely to be a structural collapse. The north buttress is unbonded and has lost its dressings, but included in the much eroded flint core are a number of moulded limestone blocks among which is a fragment of a mullion with a hollow chamfer.

Ladbroke's drawing of 1823 shows both chancel south windows with corbelled hoodmoulds and the remains of tracery but now all that remains are the internal jambs of alternating clunch and limestone and on the west window a limestone depressed rear arch and a cill with a seating for a central mullion. The east window is very high and wide with a soffit of late medieval brick and the base is blocked to a height of 1.3 m above the original cill with flint clunch and limestone, possibly to accommodate a reredos. The bottom two stones of the internal jambs are of clunch and above that it seems that the pattern of alternating limestone and clunch continues as in the south windows. Although no tracery is visible a fragment on Ladbroke's drawing indicates that it was perpendicular in style, and an article by G.H. Lawson in the Norwich Mercury for 3rd November 1928 says that this window had five lights. It seems that the chancel windows were installed as a group some time in the fifteenth century, although Tom Martin (Rye manuscripts No.17) shows intersected Y-tracery in the east window.

The priest's door has a scrolled hoodmould stopped at the springing of the two-centred arch. The mouldings are ogee, fillet and wave to the soffit, with a rebate for the door and a simple chamfer. The inner opening has taller jambs and a depressed arch with wave moulding. There is evidence of re-used stone on this doorway and on the adjacent window, where the limestone has been drilled and later plugged with lead, and where mouldings now exposed would have been concealed by plaster. This door appears to be Decorated in style.

Outside, to the west of the door, a piece of masonry 30 cm high projects from the wall although not bonded to it. It has a chamfered limestone plinth 75 cm long on the east side only, above which there are limestone blocks set level with the end of the plinth. Filling the gap of 60 cms between the plinth and the chancel wall is a mixture of medieval brick and flint rubble. On the west of the door is a pile of loose flints but no limestone. Although Ladbroke shows the remains of an apparent vestry wall it is unlikely that it would have had an internal plinth.

In the south-east corner the fabric has been robbed to a height of 1.5 m but the flint still shows a fossil arch and possibly a second; from this it might be supposed that a sedilia was in this position.

Nave

From the south buttress to the west, the fabric is much the same as to the east and continues round the nave to the north door buttress, behind which the flint seems to be disturbed but with no straight joint apparent. The flint in the upper part of the west wall and the north-west wall is very heavily mortared and uncoursed and includes some limestone rubble. From the north door buttress to the north-east window the fabric changes and becomes very regularly coursed to the full height using larger flints with limestone rubble and ashlar as levelling courses. This section and that which it joins at the chancel are completely different from the rest of the fabric, and as there seems to be no work later than the fifteenth century in the chancel and these sections are so dissimilar to the fourteenth-century nave fabric, it is tempting to place them in the thirteenth century.

The west window still has its two-light tracery, and Ladbroke shows it with a quatrefoil at the head. The sides of the mullions and the mouldings on the cills and jambs are all simple chamfer. The windows on the south-west, north-west and north-east have the same mouldings surviving in various degrees, and that on the north-west also has a complete cill with the seating for a flat chamfered mullion. They might, therefore, all be of the same date as the west window, that is early fourteenth century.

The nave south-east window has no cill. The window on the east has a niche with a pointed arch one side which is outlined in brick. The main arch is depressed with a wide brick soffit and seems to be in the same style as the perpendicular chancel windows.

Ladbroke's drawing shows a low-cilled perpendicular window in this position.

Bonded into the west wall the two diagonal buttresses are of two stages with flint panels on the outer faces, with chamfered base plinths and with the offset weatherings formed of limestone plates above the undercut dripstone. At the junction of the nave and chancel on the north side is another wider buttress of the same style as those on the west but facing into the church; this could be the remains of a rood stair.

The scrolled hoodmould of the nave north door is stopped at the springing of a low two-centred arch with simple casement moulding. The rear arch has much higher flat jambs and a depressed arch with simple chamfer. The doorway was blocked with flint and brick as can be seen from the remaining 30 cms at the bottom of the opening. Inside this blocking is a pile of moulded limestone blocks at least one of which has diagonal tooling. There is more diagonally-tooled limestone in the framing of the putlog holes in the west wall, and on the north side the lowest putlog includes the base of a small engaged double column shaft. In the west end there are three altar tombs c. 1820, now badly vandalized, enclosed by a set of handsome railings. Outside at the foot of the west wall is a fragment of a tomb chest with diagonal tooling.

Tower

This is the most complete part of the building and it survives on the south side up to the remains of a flushwork parapet with a central gargoyle. The main entrance to the church is from the road to the south so that although the other faces are coursed plain flint the south face is knapped. Similarly the belfry window on the south side has the remains of two cusped lights and mouchettes whereas the other three have simple Y-tracery. All the windows were partly blocked at some time probably to half way up the jambs as is now visible in the south window. There is also a circular sound hole on the south side and a niche over the doorway. The two diagonal buttresses have lost their dressings and much of the core has been robbed. Internally there are three stages. The first was rendered and in the north-east corner the outline of a holy water stoup can be seen now roughly blocked with flint and brick. As in the nave the limestone framing of several of the putlog holes has diagonal tooling. The external door is in three sections. The outer, a pointed segmental arch with simple chamfer of high flat jambs with a filletted hoodmould, stopped well below the springing with corbelled heads. The rear arch is similar without hoodmould. Sandwiched between these two is a fourteenth-century two-centred arch with scotia and ovolo moulding to the soffit chamfered internally. The soffit at the springing is level with the flat jambs of the other arches so that the mouldings are buried beneath plaster indicating that it has been reset. The inner doorway is continuously moulded with two orders with chamfer casement and ovolo mouldings separated by fillets with depressed rear arch.

Interpretation

From the large amount of re-used stone with diagonal tooling it seems likely that there was a church on the site before 1200. The stretch of north wall between the rood stair and the north-west buttress was, in the opinion of Mr. A.Whittingham, the remains of the nave of a small early thirteenth-century church, with the next section to the east, the north wall of a slightly later chancel. In the fourteenth century the nave was lengthened to the west, widened to the south and the tower built. In the fifteenth century the chancel was rebuilt to the same width as the nave and a new window installed in the south-east side of the nave.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

by Alan Davison

Roudham was first mentioned in Domesday (Doubleday and Page 1901/6 II, 55, 87, 136, 164) where it was named Rudham. In the time of Edward the Confessor it had been held by a number of freemen, whilst a further thirty acres were held by the Abbey of Ely as part of its manor of Bridgham. Bridgham and all that pertained to it 'within the vill and without' was named in the Will of Aelfwaru of about the year 1007 (Hart 1966, 80), so possibly this referred to Roudham also. The part belonging to Bridgham remained untouched at the Conquest, but at that time, or by 1086 at least, the rest of Roudham was divided into three portions. The first, belonging to the King, had four villeins. The value of this portion had been 20s. but it was 'afterwards and now' worth 10s. A second portion, in the hands of William de Warenne, had two freemen, three sokemen and five bordars and was worth 10s. The third part went to Eudo Dapifer: in this part, held by Ralf, there were eight freemen. The value was 30s. though it had been 40s.

This division was to persist in various forms for centuries. According to Blomefield (1805 I, 433), the King's portion was given to Warenne who later gave it to the de Roudham family. Subsequently, William de Roudham gave this portion to the Priory of West Acre. Warenne's own part of Roudham, after passing to the Bardolphs, also came to the Priory. These formed the manor of Roudham West Acre which was the capital manor. Another part of Roudham came into the hands of the Crungethorps; at one time this was sub-divided, a part being held by the Trusbutts, but on re-unification became known as New Hall or Trusbutt's Manor. Other evidence (Feudal Aids III, 424, 457, 551, 602, 642) suggests feudal division and complication, and this might perhaps be remembered when the existing earthworks are considered. At the Dissolution there were two manors and West Acre was granted to the Woodhouse family, who sold it almost immediately to the Lovells of East Harling in 1546 (NRO, NRS.18007, A1/C6). The Lovells also purchased New Hall in 1584 (NRO Frere Mss, N and NAS Deposit K9C) but both manors were still mentioned in later Court Rolls and in the Enclosure Award.

It is possible to assess the relative prosperity of the community of Roudham through the medieval period.

In the taxes on ecclesiastical incomes of 1254 and 1291 (Hudson 1910, 122) Roudham was assessed at £7.13s.4d; in both years the village was below the median value for the Hundred of Shropham (four places below in 1254 and two places in 1291). When the assessments for the whole Deanery of Rockland are considered, Roudham is again below the median value (six places in 1254, four in 1291). The Deanery of Rockland consisted of the Hundreds of Shropham and Guiltcross; both include substantial areas of Breckland, a region which is notable for its poor sandy soils and for deserted or shrunken villages.

For the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries useful assessments were made in the lay subsidies of 1334 and 1449 (Hudson 1895, 278). In 1334 the total for Roudham was 74s; this was a rather low figure, the village being twelfth in order of value in a Hundred which contained twenty settlements, including Attleborough and Old and New Buckenham but excluding Thetford. In 1449 the totals for thirteen of these places had decreased. Roudham was then fifteenth in order and had the fourth largest percentage decline in the Hundred. When the similar Hundred of Guiltcross is considered with that of Shropham, Roudham still had the fifth largest percentage decline of the two Hundreds.

The valuations of 1254 and 1291 included sums which were not derived directly from lands or from farm produce, so that their relationship with the prosperity of the villages is to some extent obscured. The lay subsidy of 1334 exempted the church property listed in 1291; taken together, the figures for these two taxations must give some estimate of the total wealth of the settlement in the early fourteenth century. Some reservations about the significance of the fifteenth-century figures may also be held (Beresford and Hurst 1971, 10). Beresford has pointed out that methodical tabulation of tax abatements after 1433 suggests that they often varied from year to year in haphazard fashion. Nevertheless, some impression is gained of a medieval Roudham which was of only moderate wealth in an area of Norfolk which included some poor settlements and in which there may have been a worsening of conditions in the first half of the fifteenth century. Keith Allison commented (1955, 128) that in 1334 Roudham paid a sum which was ninety-nine per cent of the average paid by its six immediate neighbours, that it had about sixty-five Poll Tax payers and that the 1449 total of £2.14s.0d. showed a deduction of twenty-seven per cent from that of 1334, its six neighbours averaging a reduction of fifteen per cent. The western sections of Guiltcross and Shropham were on the poor sandy soils of Breckland, whilst the eastern portions were on the richer lands of central Norfolk; thus Roudham, as a Breckland settlement, would appear poor by comparison with places on the heavier lands in the same Hundred, but contrasted quite favourably with its immediate Breckland neighbours. In fact, Breckland settlements, some of which were to be deserted, often had much lower valuations in 1334 and 1449 than Roudham. Of the deserted villages, Lynford, for example, paid 50s. and 40s., Santon 62s.4d. and 50s.4d., Buckenham Tofts 28s. and 21s.4d., and Sturston 52s.7d. and 39s.3d.; of the villages which survive, East Wretham paid 55s. in both years, Illington 53s. in both years, Larling 64s. and 50s.8d., and Eccles only 30s. in both years. The Subsidy Rolls of 1524 (Sheail 1968) show, in the first survey, that Roudham had eighteen taxpayers contributing a total of £7.14s.0d. - an uncharacteristically large sum, the third largest in the Hundred. The second survey, however, shows that, with seventeen taxpayers contributing only £1.12s.8d., Roudham was twelfth among the twenty settlements of the Hundred. The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 (H.M.Record Commissioners 1817 III, 319, 392) suggests that the annual ecclesiastical revenue from Roudham, including the manor of Roudham West Acre (Swales 1966, 23) was perhaps a little below that from neighbouring Breckland villages.

For the later sixteenth century, some evidence is afforded by the Muster Returns of 1577 (Bradfer-Lawrence and Millican 1935/36 II, 157-8) and the Lay Subsidy of 1581 (Stone 1944, 120). The musters, probably taken to find men for the army in Ireland, list twenty-four men at Roudham, described variously as 'Ablemen', 'Selected Persons' and 'Laborers or Pioners'. Of their surnames, only two are repeated (Elsing twice and Chamber/Chambers three times). Moreover, Roudham, when compared with other places in the Hundred of Shropham, is sixth in order of number of names listed. Only Attleborough, the Buckenhams, Great Ellingham and Besthorpe supplied more men: all these lie to the east of Breckland on heavier soils. Some of the other Breckland villages, now deserted, had only insignificant numbers of names - Santon four, Threxton six, Lynford three, Colveston eleven, Narford thirteen, Cranwich six, Buckenham Tofts five and Sturston eight.

The Lay Subsidy of 1581, levied on goods and chattels worth at least £3 in coin, household stuff, merchandise, jewels, plate, and other things or on annual profits of twenty shillings or more derived from lands or real estate, gives another aspect of Roudham (Stone 1944, 120). In numbers of persons assessed (twelve) Roudham is well down the list of twenty places in Shropham Hundred, sharing the position with Wilby and Eccles and with ten places above them. If the total sum of money assessed for each settlement is calculated, then Roudham is eleventh in order. If the lists of names for 1577 and 1581 are combined, they provide the names of thirty-one men, so that assuming that most of these would have families and that the poor and those unfit for military service would have been omitted from the lists, some estimate of the population of the village can be obtained. In 1597 in Bishop Redman's Visitation (Williams 1946, 98) it was noted that a man called Stephen Angold was keeping a school in Roudham. Up to the end of the sixteenth century there seems to have been no discernible sign that desertion was likely.

In 1603 there were eighty-six communicants and in 1615 there were twenty-six persons buried in 'this small parish', five of them in one day (Blomefield 1805 I, 434-5). This must have been a severe blow to the village whatever its cause may have been. Of his own time Blomefield stated that Roudham had 120 inhabitants and that the greater part of it had been purchased in; it had been much wasted since 1603. The church had had two bells until 1714 when a faculty was granted to sell one about 'two or three years since'. During repairs in 1736 a workman knocked out the ashes of his pipe so that the thatched roof was set alight and the church was burned. It has never been repaired (Clarke 1925, 198).

Some indications of the number of people living in Roudham in the last decades of the seventeenth century are given by two sources. For the 1660's the Hearth Tax returns (PRO, E 179/154/697; 26708), despite mutilation, show that Roudham had fourteen houses which were taxable giving a total of forty-one hearths. One house appears to have been empty and one had two surnames associated with it. A further eleven houses with eighteen hearths accommodated persons who had not paid, probably because of poverty, two of them being widows. The neighbouring Bridgham had fifteen taxable houses and twelve entries shown as unpaid, thus suggesting little difference between the two villages in size and strength. The other source is that of particulars drawn up about 1705 when John Lovell seems to have contemplated sale (NRO Mss.6688, 6689; 6E 6 BRA 63). Lists of names of those paying quit rents and those paying 6d. per acre in lieu of corn tithes for their arable lands are given and, taken jointly, show twenty-four persons, eleven of them holding ten acres or less. Roudham Hall, a large manorial farm let to a tenant, had a flock of 900 sheep, fifty acres of meadow and pasture and 500 acres of arable; there were two other holdings of over 100 acres, one of seventy-two and one of fifty-three acres. The emphasis on sheep suggests a possible reason for the purchasing in of tenant lands.

Apart from a few indentures and deeds of feoffment from the years 1647 to 1665 (NRO Mss.6576, 6577, 6579, 607 BRA 63), which may be significant in that they suggest that a certain Mathew Colman of Kilverstone was acquiring lands in Roudham (in one instance from a man described as a tailor), the fullest picture of seventeenth-century Roudham is given by the court rolls of Roudham West Acre and New Hall for the years 1674 to 1679 (NRO BRA 1225; T165A). Unfortunately, this picture is fragmentary since it is based on descriptions of messuages and lands which happened to be the subject of court proceedings.

Some messuages abutted southwards onto a street ('super viam de Rowdham') and northwards onto the low marshy area of Roudham Fen. One such is mentioned in an entry of 1674; in addition it had a common way to the west of it leading down to the Fen; this was called the Went or the Entry. Similar descriptions yield a glimpse of the pattern of settlement along the street; in 1678 admission was made to a messuage and tenement with adjacent garden and croft called Woods, lying between another tenement called Watts to the west, an enclosure called Sadd's Close to the east and abutting southwards upon the street, and also to another messuage and tenement called Webster's or Asshes lying between a tenement called Smythe to the east and Sadd's Close to the west. There was, thus, a row of houses and gardens facing southwards onto the street and with the occasional small enclosure separating them. Other streets or roads are mentioned; in 1676 an entry described a messuage with a garden or yard and orchard and various pieces of land including three roods which abutted northwards onto Highgateway (Heygateway in some documents) while a hempyard and croft called Pennys Parr abutted eastwards on Roudham street - it would seem that the street curved to the north or south to make this description fit. A later Indenture of Release of 1707 (NRO Mss.6597; 608 BRA 63) described a messuage, tenement and hempland adjoining which had the street or common pasture to the north, Highgateway to the south and Watergate Lane to the west. Other documents (NRO Mss.6578, 6586; 607 BRA 63) mention messuages lying between Highgateway and the Common Way to the north, or between Highgateway and the common to the north and also make it clear that Highgateway was bounded by enclosures and field land to the south. This evidence suggests that Roudham consisted of two east-to-west roads of which the Street or Common Way was the more northerly, and that one or more lanes connected them, while at least one entry ran from the Street to the Fen which lay to the north of the village. However, this may be an over-simplification, as the court rolls mention a messuage called Beales with a croft adjacent which abutted upon the Common Way to the north and upon the Common Way leading from Wretham to East Harling to the west.

Blomefield's assertion that purchasing-in had occurred and that the village had been much wasted can be supported by evidence from the court rolls and from glebe terriers (NRO Glebe Terriers). A court roll entry for 1674 referred to two messuages described as waste and in 1679 other waste messuages were mentioned. There may be explanations other than general decay of the settlement for these, but they are suggestive: however, admissions to holdings were still being made and, in 1674, one man was told to rebuild a barn upon copyhold land by the next court sitting. The glebe terriers give information about fields rather than the settlement itself, but descriptions of the various pieces of glebe land include the names of bordering tenants. In the 1735 terrier, in eight instances out of thirteen, 'the lord' is said to hold land formerly held by a tenant; this suggests purchasing-in. The terrier also listed the tithes payable: up to 1725 the Vicar had tithes of wool, lambs, hay, hemp, geese, chickens, wood and all other tithes but corn. Thereafter, hemp was no longer mentioned; presumably its cultivation had ceased in Roudham. As much hemp was grown in small pieces bycottagers (Young 1804, 333) this may have been a result of depopulation.

Definite evidence of purchasing-in is to be found in other documents which show that the process continued when Roudham came into the hands of William Croftes of West Harling. An Abstract of Title and other documents (NRO Mss 6616, 6617, 6618; 6E.3, and 6648; 6E.4 BRA 63) outline the history of one of these purchases between 1732 and 1753, while a will and associated papers (NRO Mss 6610, 6611, 6612; 6D.8 BRA 63) give information about a further acquisition of copyhold land in 1760.

Confirmation that houses were lying empty comes from an Extract from a court roll of 1745 (NRO Ms 6614; 6D.8 BRA 63) which recorded an admission to holdings of which three out of four messuages mentioned were described as wasted; an insertion stated that one of these had become a stable.

A survey of Roudham farms, dated 1753 (NRO Ms 6671; 6E.5 BRA 63), shows that besides eighty-one acres of Fen and Common there were four large units of land in the village: Hall Farm, of over 788 acres, and another farm of over seventy-six acres (described as 'late Phillips' - the purchase of 1753) which was held with it by Robert Adams, a tenant of Croftes', 114 acres and 126 acres in the hands of John Mallows and Mr.Colburn respectively. A small area was attributed to Verden at the Dolphin and eight other names were associated with insignificant acreages. The landscape of the village had changed.

Before enclosure (Enclosure Act 1772, Award 1773), Richard Croftes had over 893 acres of arable still in open fields, over 155 acres of enclosed arable and pasture and over 129 acres of several heath, while Joseph Barker had seventy-nine pieces in arable open fields totalling over eighty-nine acres, and over thirty-five in ten pieces of enclosed arable and pasture. A further substantial acreage included over 600 acres of heath, and other amounts of low ground, intercommon and Lammas land (NRO Ms 6673; 6E.5 BRA 63, no date). Croftes, Barker and John Boldero, who was Vicar, were the only persons named in the Award; only one cottage with yards and garden was mentioned. Only two field names survived from earlier times. The course of the stream was straightened to afford a more effective boundary with Larling, and the intercommon which had lain on either side of its formerly winding course was apportioned between the two parishes. The northern intercommon with Illington, formerly called the Skoots, was also divided with a fence. New fences were made and hedges and ditches were planted and laid out. The Award confirmed certain public highways already in existence; those which were close to what had been the area of the village itself were the road from Bridgham northwards to Roudham church, the track, also from Bridgham, which crosses the present street at its eastern end before (somewhat modified) making for Larling, and part at least of the track which leaves the present street just to the west of the church and leads to Illington. The present street was laid out at enclosure, leaving the road from Larling to East Harling near the station at Harling Road and leading westwards past Roudham church to join the Thetford to Norwich road. It was called the Droveway and still has broad verges with hedges set well back; near the church it may well coincide with an earlier street - there is a fragment of churchyard wall on a slightly different alignment to the present street which strongly suggests this.

An estate map of 1779 (NRO Microfilm Reel 134/1) shows these further changes: the church, the Hall Farm, a pair of cottages on the Illington track, another pair on the Drove (both pairs some distance from the church) and a building standing in Dolphin Close where oral tradition has it that the Dolphin Inn once stood, are the only buildings shown. Roudham Fen had been drained and a table in one corner shows that Croftes had over 567 acres enclosed and a further 788 acres of brecks as well as two areas of heath, one of 499 acres and one of sixty. Barker had over 110 acres and there were seven acres of glebe. Details of the Hall Farm buildings which are so prominent in modern Roudham are given in an agreement of 1773 (NRO Ms 6645; 6E.4, BRA 63) when many improvements and some additional building were done. A Valuation made by Nathaniel Kent of the Harling Estate of Sir John Sebright in 1795 (NRO Ms 6722; 6E.7) also described these buildings (including six cottages) as well as the farm lands; there were 1100 sheep as well as forty cattle. The Tithe Apportionment of 1843 with its map based on a survey made in 1838 (NRO Map 677) shows further minor changes in the landscape and some additional buildings, compared with the map of 1779.

In 1795 Kent suggested that as some plantations already made were in flourishing condition, more might be planted with drilling as the best and cheapest way of sowing the seeds and hoeing; today H.M.Forestry Commission has substantial areas of Roudham under plantations of coniferous trees.

Although there may have been some decline in the fifteenth century, the condition of Roudham in the later sixteenth and the first three-quarters of the seventeenth centuries appears to have been stable. Thereafter, there is evidence of wastage and of buying-in of land by the lord, so that desertion was virtually complete by the mid-eighteenth century. The evidence of pottery and other finds, described elsewhere, suggests that in its later days, apart from the church and an inn, the village had contracted to the area east of the present Roudham Hall.

IV. GODWICK

DESCRIPTION OF SITE

by Peter Wade-Martins

Although Godwick (site 1104) is well preserved, the earthworks are somewhat confusing because they represent three periods of activity: those associated with the medieval village, with the sixteenth-century manor house and its seventeenth-century barn, and with the later clay pits. The manor house was the main residence of Chief Justice Coke; and when he was imprisoned in the Tower in 1621 he wrote praying that he hoped he would be able to spend his last days at Godwick (James 1929, 41). Coke built the house in 1585 (Cozens-Hardy 1960, 180) in the middle of the decaying village. Fig.22 is redrawn from a 1596 estate map of Godwick showing the hall, the village street, the church and a thin scatter of about five dwellings. The outlines on the 1596 survey can be matched fairly well with the earthwork survey (Figs.23 and 24). The ruins of the hall are visible on Plates VII and VIII, but sadly they were pulled down in about 1962, just after Plate XXI was taken. The surviving buildings now consist of the magnificent barn to the north of the hall site (Plate XXII), the church tower, and the nineteenth-century farm buildings by the barn, and also the farm house, now called Godwick Hall, further away.

The Medieval Village

Godwick was a separate parish until it was incorporated with Tittleshall in the early nineteenth century. The village site lies on the flat boulder clay plateau on some of the heaviest and wettest land in this part of Norfolk: in a consecutive series of wet years the land would be extremely difficult to cultivate; this was probably one of the reasons for the population decline. The whole site is well preserved because it lies under a large sheep pasture.

The map shown in Fig.22 (note - the north is to the bottom on this map) is most helpful for the interpretation of the village plan. There was an east-to-west street, now partly preserved as a sunken way, and it is along the western half of this that the medieval earthworks survive.

Further east the street line and the tofts have disappeared under the landscaping around the hall and the barn. This main street formed part of the road from Tittleshall and Whissonsett. Two streets run south from the main street and in the angle made by one of these was the church. On the 1596 map the church is shown standing without a tower; today a ruined tower remains, but there is only a slight hump indicating the outline of the medieval church. The church stood in a rectangular churchyard, and all four sides of this survive as earthworks.

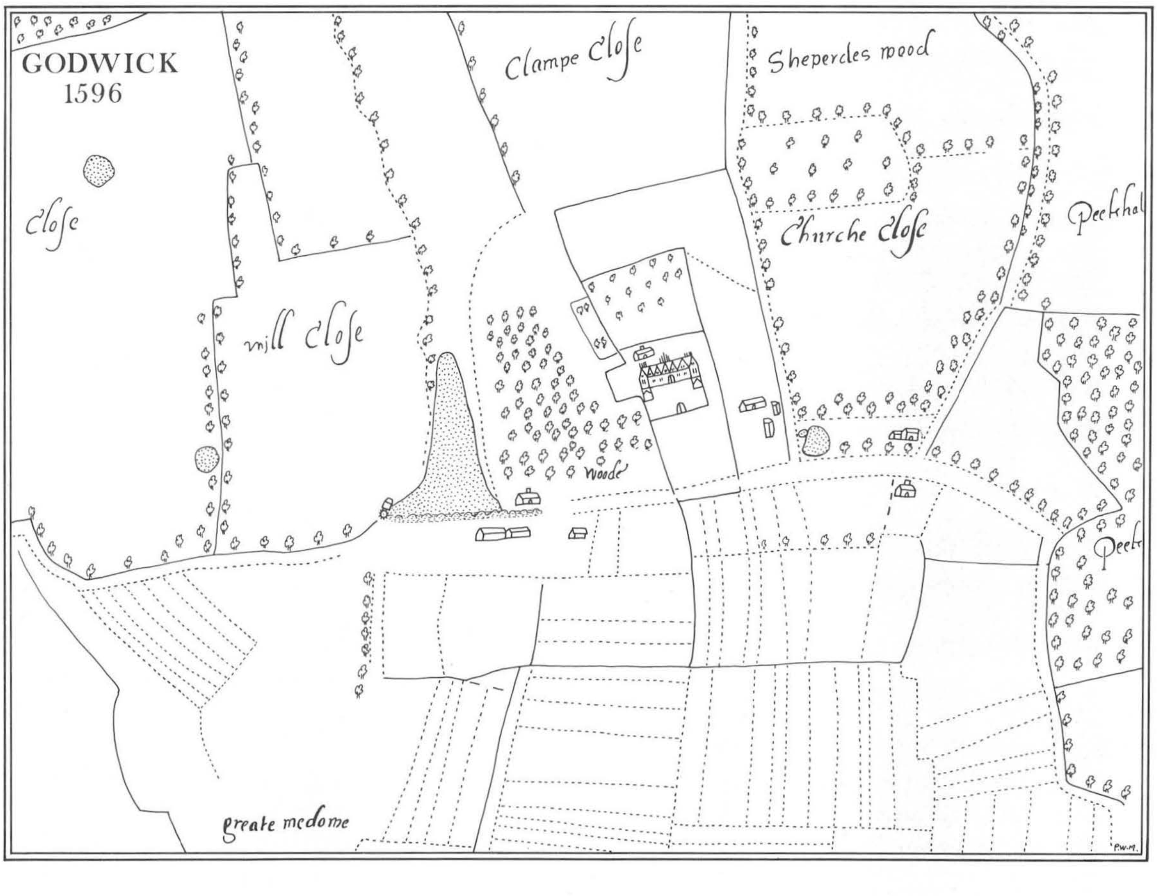

Fig.22. Godwick 1596 map.

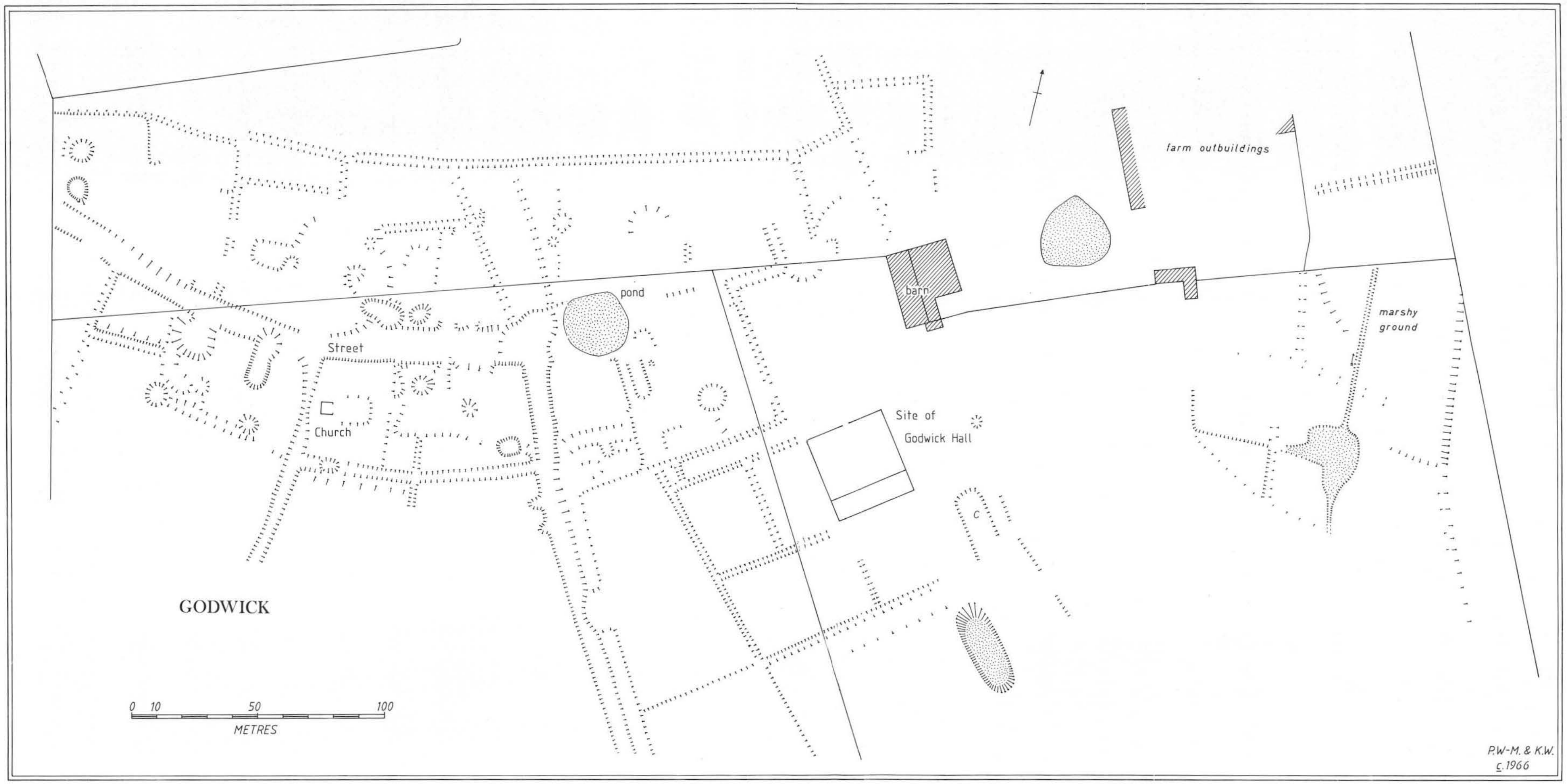

Fig. 23. Godwick earthworks. Scale 1:2,500.

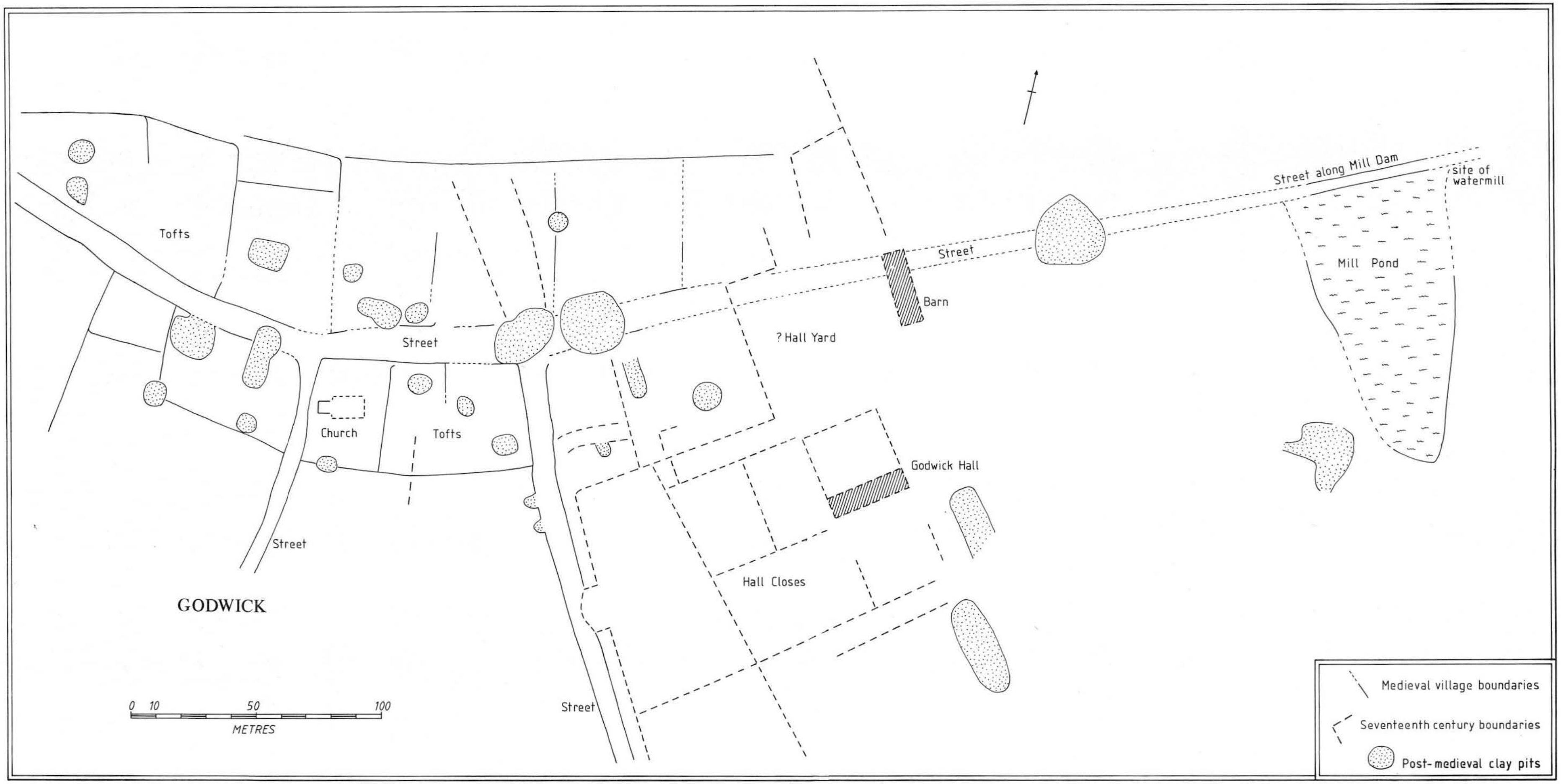

Fig.24. Godwick interpretation plan showing the medieval village and later features. Scale 1:2,500.

The village was, in essence, a street village, as at Pudding Norton. Set back on either side of the main street were parallel ditches. These were the rear toft boundaries, and joining them to the street are several ditches and banks which divided the north side of the street into seven separate tofts and the south side into about four plus the churchyard. Further east the tofts were submerged beneath later earthworks. Within the tofts there is no evidence for buildings, partly because some areas are heavily disturbed by post-medieval clay pits. The total length of the village could have been c. 0.5 km.

On Fig.22 some of the rear toft boundaries are shown, but many of the lateral boundaries had become disused by that date. On the north side of the street, where, by then, empty tofts had become engulfed by open fields, the strips were labelled, for example, '2 acres q. aedificat priori', - two acres which have previously been built upon. This suggests that some of the village was depopulated during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

At the east end of the site the street ran along a dam forming a mill pond with a water mill in the flat north-east corner.

The Hall

The eastern part of the village is covered with a pattern of rectangular closes which were not shown on the late sixteenth-century map; however a parish map dating from the early eighteenth century does show them and also the barn. The boundary pattern, which is indicated by the earthworks around the site of the hall was, therefore, apparently laid out in the seventeenth century. This pattern may represent a symmetrical arrangement of formal gardens and orchards.

To the north of the hall, the barn was built over the line of the, by then, disused village street (Fig.25). This building may have formed the east side of a large yard with an earthwork boundary to the west. The red brick barn is still impressive even though its facade has been rather altered. It was 23 m long and 9 m wide and lengthened in the late eighteenth century. The west side is decorated with elaborate blind pedimented and mullioned windows and a single pedimented door. The east side has only the main barn door and a second smaller door both with moulded brick jambs, a small blocked window and blocked ventilation holes and no other decoration. After the Coke family seat moved to Holkham in the eighteenth century the hall remained in use as a farmhouse until the second half of the nineteenth century (Martins 1975 I, 192). The present Godwick Hall was built, together with its farm buildings, in 1843-6.

The Clay Pits

The site is peppered with at least twenty-five pits, which are probably all marl pits dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As the site was not very suitable for cultivation they were a source of marl for spreading on the fields. This clay digging clearly did considerable damage to the remains of the medieval village. How much is left can only be ascertained by excavation.

THE CHURCH

by George Fenner

It is likely that the church, dedicated to All Saints, was in existence at the Conquest, for Ralph de Toni gave Godwick 'with the patronage of that church' to his new foundation, Westacre Priory, in about 1100 (Blomefield 1808 IX, 159). By 1584 it was dilapidated (Allison 1955, 148) and in 1602 'wholly ruynated and decaid long since' (Jessopp 1888, 41). By Blomefield's time 'nothing remains of the old church but part of the steeple' (Blomefield 1808 IX, 509). Bryant (1890-1906 Launditch, 95-7) visiting the site in 1903, calculated from foundations then visible that the nave measured approximately 26 ft x 19 ft (7.92 m x 5.79 m) and the chancel 19 ft x 15 ft (5.79 m x 4.57 m). His photograph shows the tower with its embattled parapet intact, against a background of woodland, now

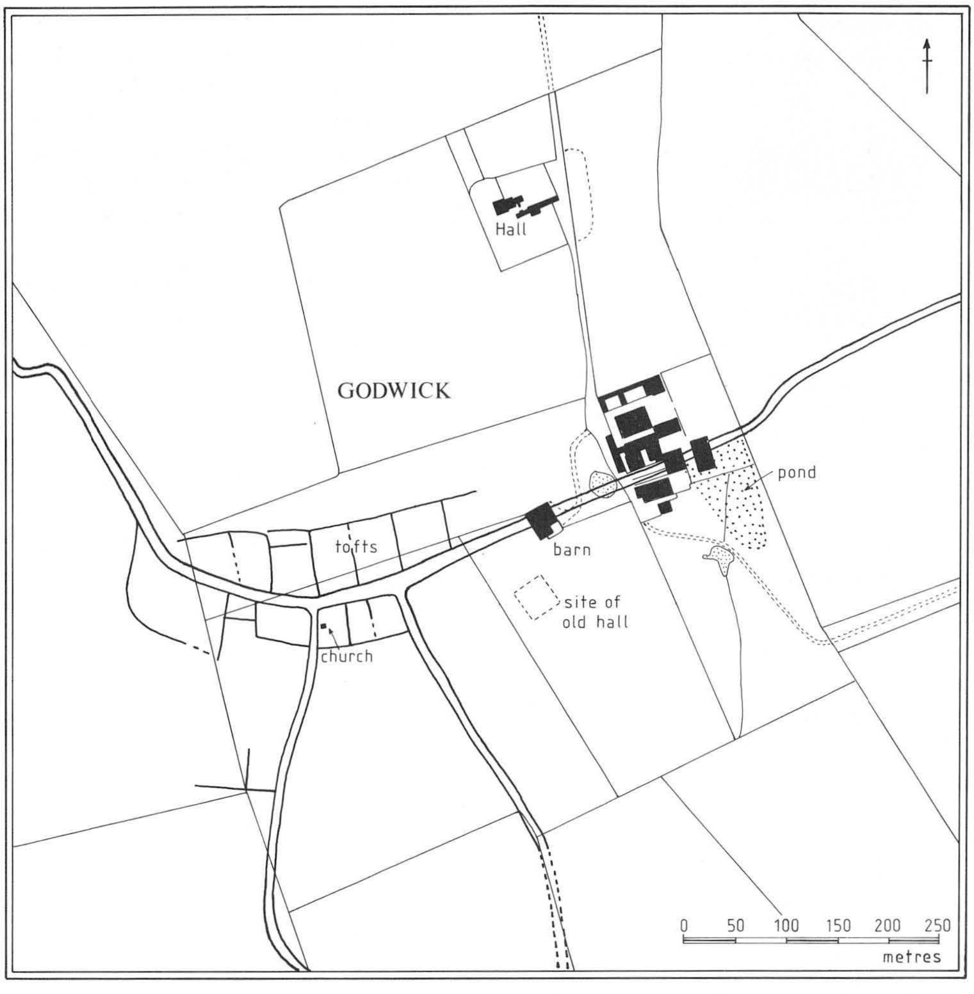

Fig.25. Godwick interpretation plan of the medieval village. Scale 1:7,500.

vanished. The ruination continues and in June 1981 the whole of the east face of the tower, including the arch, collapsed with a sound 'like a bomb' as the farm shepherd reported, and now lies as a heap of rubble.

The Tower

Before the collapse, the tower was 5 m x 4.6 m and at ground level the walls are 1.2 m thick up to a height of 2.5 m at which point they reduce to 70 cm at an internal staging (Fig.26). There are patches of rendering up to a height of 5 m above external ground level which is just above the top of the arch of the west window.

Externally there are no buttresses. The fabric is in two distinct stages; up to the double brick string course, 6.5 m high, there are random sized flints, irregularly laid, but above this the facing changes to flint, brick and a substantial number of cut and moulded limestone blocks, some coursed, but others laid at random. All the outside of the building appears to have been rendered and the north-east quoins are still covered with mock quoins cut in the rendering which do not coincide with the joints in the original limestone.

The limestone-capped plinth 50 cm high which runs round the tower base stops 70 cm short of the east wall and where it ends, the fabric changes up to the string course. The quoins on the east side were of much rougher workmanship than those on the west which presumably are original. It is apparent that these alterations cover a scar in the fabric where the nave west wall was demolished and indicate its thickness. Immediately above the string course on all three sides is a small seventeenth-century arched window

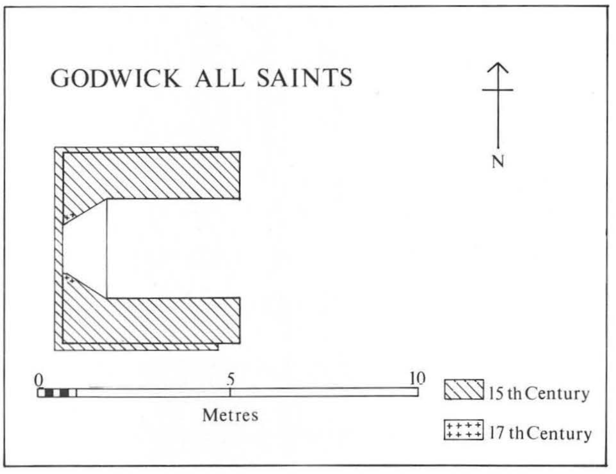

Fig. 26. Godwick church. Scale 1:200

with a hood in moulded brick with a stone cill. Above these on each of the four sides were larger windows, but the east one has gone. Moulded brick jambs were present on all but the east window where they are of flat brick, and on the west is the stop of a hood-mould. Bryant's 1903 photograph shows them as intact with Y-tracery, above which was another string course and a battlemented parapet. All this work can be attributed to the seventeenth century.

The west window of the same date has a flattened arch, hood and jambs all in moulded brick with a stub of tracery at the springing of the arch on the south side. The cill, now missing, was 1.75 m above ground, the peak of the arch at 5 m and the opening 1.25 m.

The nave arch was 2.6 m wide and was probably original only above the springing as the limestone was a darker colour than that of the jambs. The mouldings, although similar in style, were not continuous from jamb to arch and the workmanship of the limestone in the jambs was similar to that of the quoins and inferior to the work in the arch.

From the shape and size of the rubble pile, it appears that the east face collapsed vertically so the stone on top must have come from above the nave weathering. Apart from the flint and brick, there is much moulded limestone including some sections of mullions, of pillars 15 cm in diameter and nookshafts. The nookshafts, although weathered on the originally exposed faces, have diagonal tooling on those faces originally concealed.

On the ground on the west side of the barn is a triangular piece of limestone with sides of about 1 m which appears to be the base of an Early English nookshaft, possibly from a door.

Interpretation

From the evidence of the Norman nookshafts in the rubble, a church stood on this site c. 1200, and if we accept the column base outside the barn as being part of the church, alterations in the church were made in the thirteenth century, and again in the fourteenth century as the mullions seem to be of that date. John Knight records elsewhere the decline in population in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but the 1596 map shows both nave and chancel and some part of the tower still standing.

In the early seventeenth century, the barn was built by Sir Edward Coke, who was lord of the manor, and the church tower was rebuilt at about the same time. The nave and the chancel must have been demolished, and some of the limestone from these was used above the brick string course. It is significant that the parish was 'consolidated' with Tittleshall in 1630.

As the tower could no longer be used for worship, the rebuilding was for a purely secular purpose and that purpose must have been to provide a folly. This argument is given more weight by the detail on one side only of the barn, that facing the house, and the placing of the barn door on the other side. It is possible that these two buildings were meant to form part of a scheme of landscape architecture, the rest of which have been lost.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

by John Knight

The parish of Godwick comprised mainly one manor that of Godwick Hall, although the manors of Burwood Hall, Peekshall and Pattesley also held small areas. The Manor of Godwick Hall was held with the advowson at Domesday by Radulf de Toenio and given by his descendants to Westacre Abbey in 1316. At the Dissolution it was acquired by the Le Strange family, passing then through the hands of the Cancelers and the Drurys before being acquired in 1590 by Sir Edward Coke. It has remained with his descendants now the Earls of Leicester.

The documentary evidence is extremely full and is well preserved in the archives of the Holkham Estate. Ranging from the late twelfth century until the present day the documents indicate that until approximately the early fifteenth century the village was a small and poor, but relatively stable community. Domesday Book gives a population of one freeman, six villeins, seven bordars and one sokeman (Blomefield 1808 IX, 509). The Lay Subsidy returns of 1329 (PRO E179/149/7) and 1332 (PRO E179/149/9) and the Poll Tax returns of 1377 (PRO E179/149/40.42) and 1428 (Feudal Aids III), which respectively give figures of thirteen taxpayers, fourteen taxpayers, thirteen taxpayers and ten (or fewer) householders confirm that the population had remained static since the Domesday Survey. The Lay Subsidy was fixed in 1334 at 24s. (Hudson 1910, 276). This figure indicates the poverty of the village when compared with the average for its six neighbours of 61s.11d. In 1449 the Lay Subsidy figure was reduced by twenty-nine per cent, which would indicate a sharp decline had occurred in the population of the village. In 1508 a terrier stated to be a 'Terrier renewed', covering all the land in Godwick to the north of the village street, lists eighteen messuages. These messuages fronted the north side of the village street and ran from its western end where it joined Wood Lane (the King's Highway from Tittleshall to Walsingham) to Meadow Lane, a small track opposite the mill leading northwards to give access to the Great Meadow, in a line broken only by another track, Cranesgate, which likewise gave access to the land at the rear of the crofts. Of these eighteen messuages the terrier states that nine were then void and two lately void, and that three of the occupied messuages were without a croft. It is problematical how far the figure of nine occupied messuages corresponds with the figure of ten (or fewer) householders in the 1428 returns as there were three or four messuages to the south of the village street in addition to the mill cottage; there was also a messuage in the north-east corner of Wicken Wood but it is likely that this was of sixteenth-century construction being described in a lease dated 1595 as 'late parcell of Weken Wood' with an adjoining enclosure being described as 'one other parcell of the said wood side, the north ende thereof being newlie stubbed'.

It is unfortunate that the 1508 terrier deals only with the north part of the parish and that there is no comparable document covering the southern half. However, it would be reasonable to assume that the average depopulation of fifty per cent or more had occurred there also. It is very likely, however, that the majority of the houses were on the north side of the village street. On the south side were always the mill, mill pond, church and churchyard with the few scattered cottages mentioned before. It is interesting to note that although the 1596 map shows the original strip holdings for the land to the north of the village street, this is precisely the area covered by the 1508 terrier, with the later enclosure boundaries superimposed. In contrast the land to the south of the village street is shown only as enclosures, including woodland. From the evidence of the names of owners the deduction can be made that the 1508 terrier reflects an earlier situation. In turn the 1596 map was prepared with the assistance of that terrier.

A lease dated 1531 made between the Prior of Westacre (the Lord of the Manor of Godwick Hall) and John Hudson, dealing (so far as can be ascertained) with land scattered about the parish, refers to three messuages. These are named as 'Cawdewells'

'Newhouse' and 'Colcyes' and were situated on the north side of the street. They can be identified tentatively as the group of three messuages adjoining the west side of Meadow Lane. It is interesting to note that there was 'Except and Reserved to the said Prior and Convent and to their successors the parlour at ye Est ende of ye forsaid messuage called ye Newhouse ye entry on ye south syde thereof and ye chamber over ye said parlour called ye parlour chamber at all and every suche tyme and tymes as ye said Prior and convent and their successors or any of them shall contynue and tarie in Godwyck'.

The 1508 terrier was renewed again in 1588 with few alterations, but two of the messuages occupied in 1508 are mentioned specifically as then being void, and elsewhere five messuages are mentioned as being in existence. It is not possible to draw a definite conclusion, but possibly the twelve or thirteen inhabited messuages existing in 1508 had declined to five in 1588.

Whilst the depopulation of the village was progressing throughout the sixteenth century, there would seem to have occurred a parallel progression of enclosure and acquisition of holdings not solely by the Lord of the Manor, but also by various tenants. That this process of acquisition occurred not only inter vivos but also substantially by bequest on death is illustrated by the interesting will of William Sheltram dated 27th August 1506 in which he devised to the Prior and Convent at Westacre 'all the places that I have bought in Godwicke aforesaid that is to say the place called Cawdwell and (?) with all lande closes pastures woods pightells and commodities to them belonging uppon the condition that I behad in devote remembrance at Westaker among the said prior and convent and that the said prior will be good master unto my wife'. From the 1508 terrier it would seem that the property acquired by the Prior and Convent from William Sheltram totalled approximately twenty-two-and-a-quarter acres. William Sheltram had acquired it from two separate vendors. The 1531 lease (admittedly dealing only with scattered portions of the parish) names eight closes without mentioning their cultivation, but also includes all the 'landes ariabyll within ye felds of Godwyck Wyssingsete and Pattesley which be not in copieholde with XIX acres medowe grownde and ye lyberte of one ffoldecourse within ye common Shacke there'. In 1595, however, Edward Coke granted a pair of leases to William Nobbes and John Lynge respectively, comprising 117 acres and 514 acres and covering the majority of the parish. The lease to William Nobbes comprised eight closes of which four are specifically described as pasture and one as meadow. The lease to John Lynge comprised fifteen closes, of which four are specifically described as meadow and one as pasture and one as wood, plus seventeen acres of land 'in Wissingsett feld'.

These two 1595 leases, together with a rental of Godwick Manor which is dated only as 'sixteenth-century', give further clues that the desertion of this village had already occurred by references to 'the park ways', 'a garden empaled(?)' and 'Church furlonge where an old hyghe waie sometyme went'.

The 1595 lease to William Nobbes was renewed in 1639 and it would thus seem that certainly by 1595 the desertion of the village was largely completed and the pattern of farming the parish by two substantial holdings established. Indeed, in 1524 five people are recorded in the Subsidy return as paying 8s. (Sheail 1968) and the 1543 Subsidy return gives only two names paying in total 22s. There is no evidence of any later repopulation and, for example, the court book of the Manor of Godwick Hall for the period 1748-1787 gives no reference to any premises in the parish of Godwick. The living was consolidated with that of Tittleshall in 1630 (Blomefield 1808 IX, 510).

V. WATERDEN

DESCRIPTION OF SITE
by Peter Wade-Martins

The village (site 1071) lies in a valley just to the north-west of Waterden Farm near South Creake. This was a good earthwork site until about 1966 when the western half was levelled (Plates VII-IX). Before this earthmoving took place, however, the threatened earthworks were recorded, and more recently the surviving area has also been surveyed. The two parts of the survey are presented here as a single plan (Fig.27). Waterden church stands to the south-west side of the site; at the present time it is not redundant, although it is seldom used.

The village may have been called Waterden because the main street lies along the wet valley bottom. As at Godwick the earthworks can be divided into three periods: the streets and tofts of the medieval village, the enclosure associated with the old hall (which does not survive) and the later farm and ponds.

The Village

The main street is best seen immediately to the east of the three ponds where it shows as a slight hollow. Adjacent to it is a steep slope which outlines the eastern side of a narrow green through which the street ran. The evidence for the green comes from a map of 1713-14 and all trace of the western side of the green was removed by pond digging. In the northern half of the site the street is not visible because it lies under an existing well-made farm track. Running off to the east of the main street were four other streets, two of which met near the middle of the site opposite the old hall.

Along the west side there were about three tofts abutting the streets in the area now occupied by the ponds. In the middle of the field this frontage was marked by the earthworks of the later enclosure for the hall, and further north there were traces of three further tofts.

On the east side of the street the tofts survive and are much clearer. In the northern half of the field there is a good rear boundary ditch and between this and the farm track there are about six tofts. In the southern part of the field there are probably three more.

The Hall and Farm

The hall has gone, although its site is recognisable as a scatter of brick and flint building material in the ploughed field. On the 1713-14 map it can be seen standing in the south-west corner of a rectangular enclosure with outbuildings adjacent to the street (Fig.30). On the opposite side of the valley a barn also shown on the map has survived and is now incorporated within the nineteenth-century farm buildings. The barn is extremely difficult to date because it is much altered; it contains dressed medieval stonework probably re-used from the church - perhaps from the demolished south aisle.

The Farm Buildings and Ponds

As at Godwick there are good Holkham estate farm buildings adjacent to the site, which have been described by Susanna Wade-Martins (1980, 143-4). The ponds are probably contemporary with this later farm.

THE CHURCH
by George Fenner

The church, dedicated to All Saints, lies at the bottom of the slope west of the present road, in a square churchyard, although originally it stood above and to the east of the village street. It consists of nave and chancel and north porch, with some ruined walls attached to the west of the building. Pevsner (1962, 366) and Bryant (1890-1906 Gallow, 178-186) considered that these walls were the remains of a tower (Fig.29 and

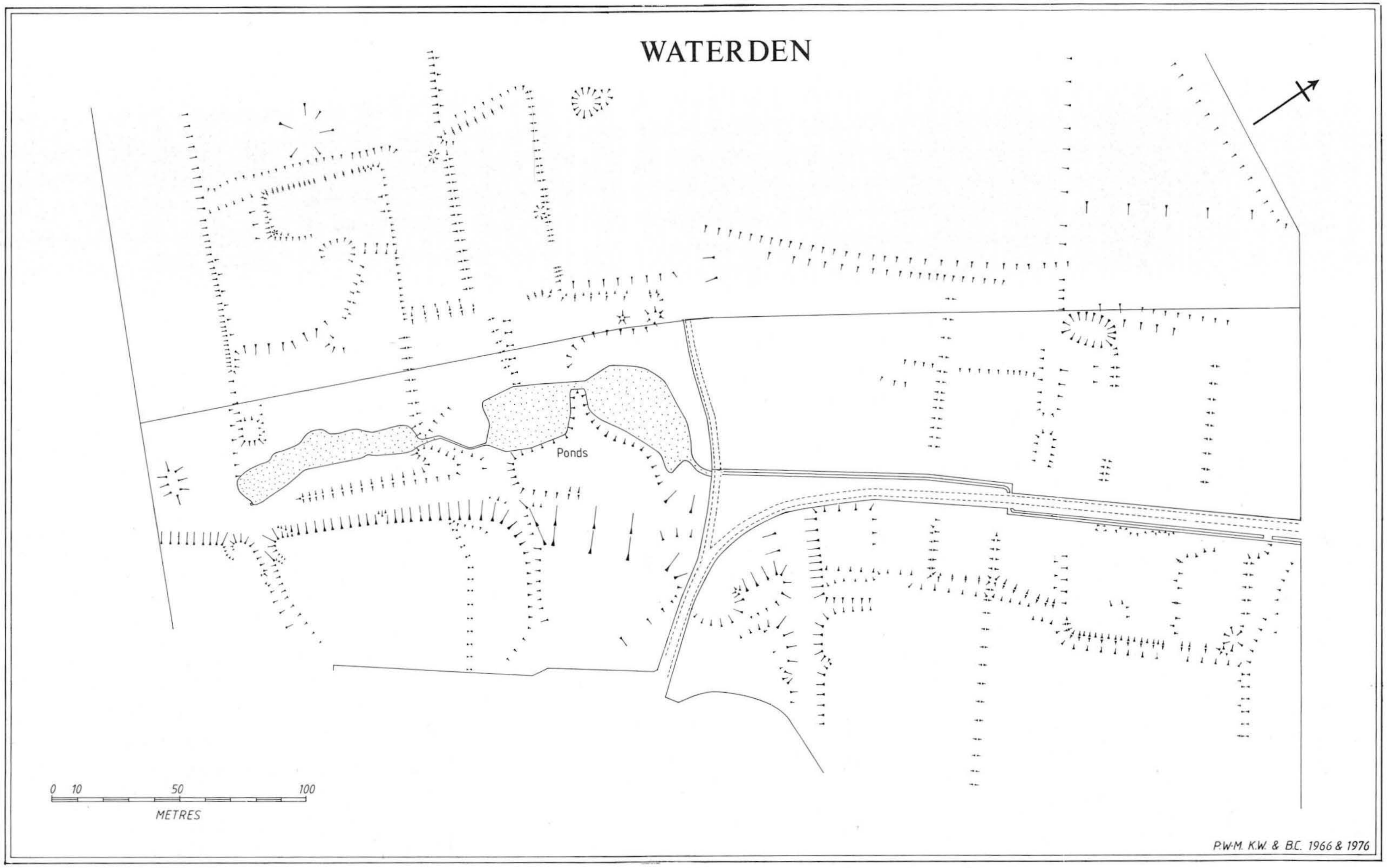

Fig. 27. Waterden earthworks. Scale 1:2, 500.

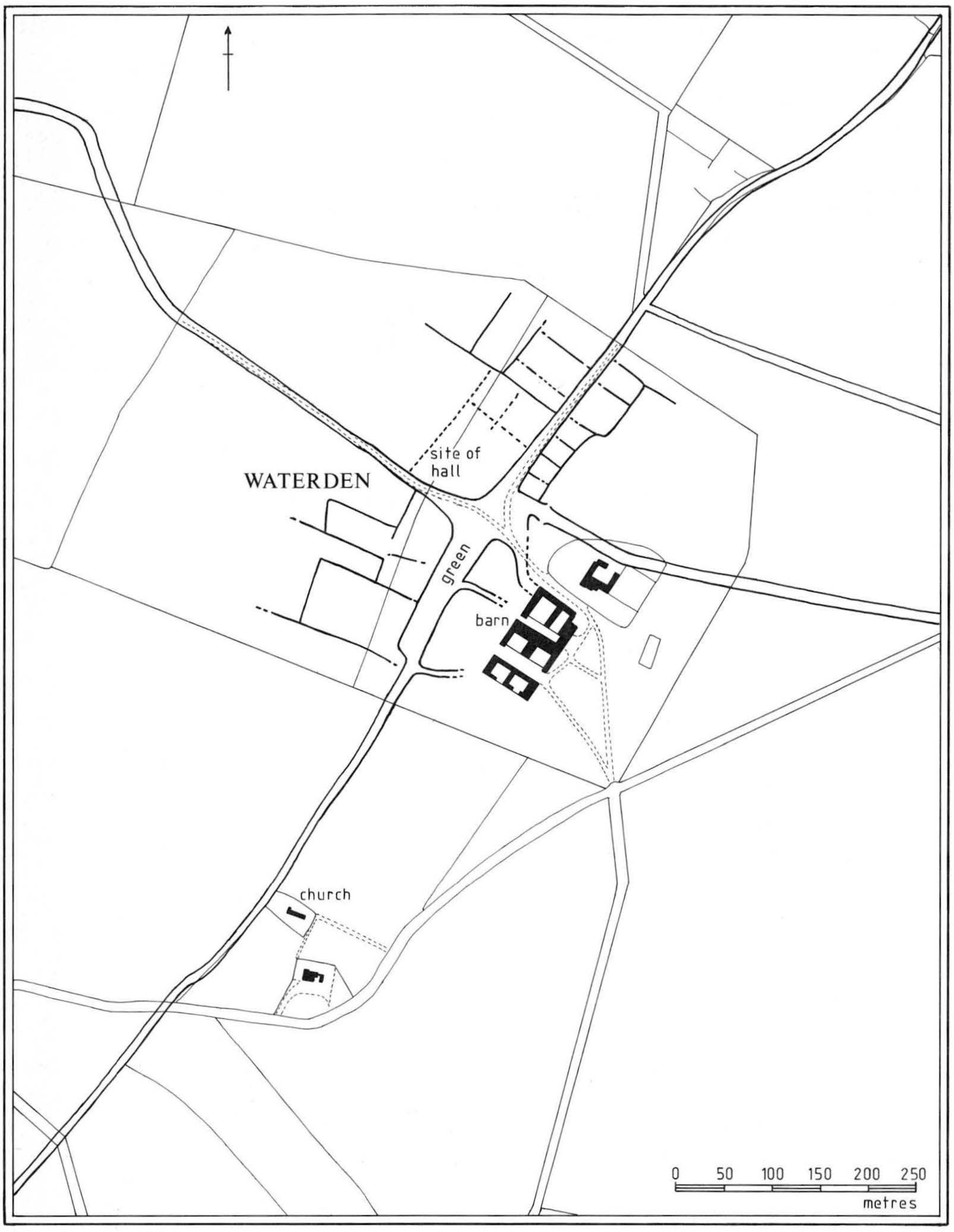

Fig.28. Waterden interpretation. Scale 1:7,500.

Plate XXI). This opinion is supported by the Halsey map of 1713-14 (Holkham Hall Mss map 3/48) which depicts the church with a tower, although this could be a stylized representation. The Inventory of Church Goods 6 Edward VI (Walters 1938, 270) mentions a bell of only half a hundredweight for which a bellcote would have sufficed. A church is mentioned in Domesday Book.

The fabric is largely flint with brick and limestone dressings, but it is extensively patched with clunch, brick, tile and carved and rubble limestone. The roof is pantile.

The church was extensively damaged in a gale in March 1895 (Bryant 1890-1906 Gallow, 178-186) but was restored and reopened in 1900.

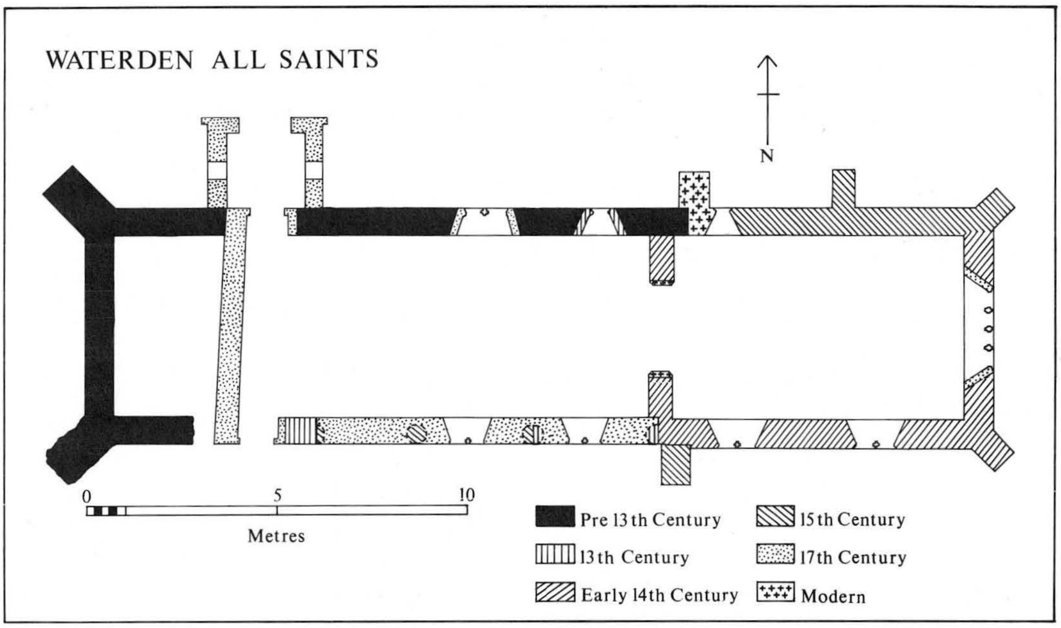

Fig.29. Waterden church. Scale 1:200.

Chancel

The east wall has the fossil remains of a large window of which part of the limestone north jamb and 20 cm of cill are still in situ, and these are incorporated into a low, early seventeenth-century brick mullioned four-light window with a straight hood-mould. The space above the brick window is filled with clunch. The diagonal buttresses on the north and south sides, although extensively repaired with nineteenth-century brick in the upper parts, are mainly coursed flint structures with moulded limestone dressings, probably of the fifteenth century. On the north side, the chancel wall appears to have been heightened by 20 cm and is supported by two buttresses. That in the middle of the wall is triangular in shape and is largely of nineteenth-century brick, but there is a small area of flint at the base, and below that a limestone plinth. A second at the junction with the nave is a mixture of brick, flint and limestone and is probably of nineteenth or twentieth-century date. To the east of this buttress is a small lancet window with a single splay of brick. The exterior limestone dressing of the window is of an unusual shape with a stilted arch formed with two stones at the head, then three stones on the east and a single stone on the west. Below, the jambs are cut back to form an impost so that a keyhole shape is produced. Apart from the impost, this window is very like that at Pudding Norton.

The south side has a pair of fourteenth-century windows with keeled bowtell hood-moulds. The east one is placed 30 cm higher than the other, perhaps positioned higher because of an altar step, and is blocked with clunch, but some of the two-light reticulated tracery is still visible. That on the west is filled with an early seventeenth-century moulded brick two-light window. At the junction of chancel and nave there is a two-stage brick buttress 70 cm wide built on a base of uncoursed flint.

Bryant described the chancel arch as 'restored, semicircular and very low' (Bryant 1890-1906 Gallow, 183). It was completely plastered, as was the north wall, presumably during the nineteenth-century restoration and is without other evidence, such as imposts or mouldings which would help in dating.

Nave

At the west end of the north wall is a lancet window and in the middle a fifteenth-century window opening with a hoodmould stopped well below the arch springing. A two-light brick, transomed and mullioned window occupies the lower part, and the arch is blocked and rendered. To the west of the window is the scar of what might have been a buttress. There are three, almost square clerestory windows, all cut by the modern dentil brick eaves, that on the east having limestone dressing and a splay just visible at the edges of the blocking bricks and clunch. That in the centre is cut by the fifteenth-century window and although smothered in flint and mortar the line of the western jamb can still be seen. The western window is bricked flush up to the eaves but the dressings are still visible in the splay.

The door opening is in a very simple Norman style with an arch of a single order with a simple chamfer. The hood is also chamfered as are the square imposts and the jambs but the arch and the tops and bottoms of both jambs are stopped in an unmistake-able seventeenth-century manner. Inside, in the corner with the west wall and above the door, the plaster is cracked in the shape of a round topped opening 1 m high by 80 cm wide.

The west wall is set at an odd angle, perhaps to take into account the fact that the south door is west of the north door, but it was undoubtedly built to close off the dilapi-dated west end. The base is a mixture of brick, flint and clunch, levelled with inverted limestone window cills and a course of tile. Above this the fabric is coursed clunch up to eaves with cut limestone at the join with the inside of the nave wall and, at eaves level, pieces of window tracery. The gable is of a roughly-chequered brick and flint mixture with the edges of the gable, the eaves and quoins in brick all seeming to be part of the nineteenth-century restoration. There are two windows framed in re-used lime-stone.

The ruined west end of the church has a north wall 3 m high with a diagonal buttress and a stretch of the west wall at the same height. The rest of the fabric is outlined by footings and tumbled masonry, with an indication of a south buttress and a possible opening at the junction with the present west wall. The walls are in line with the present nave walls and are of the same thickness, 75 cm. It is unlikely that these remains are the foundations of a tower as the walls could not support the weight.

The south nave wall has a doorway, which exactly matches that on the north, and two early seventeenth-century brick mullion and transom two-light windows. These have re-used stone frames and deep square hoodmoulds. There are also three clerestory windows as on the north but so successfully blocked that no detail is visible. Running from just east of the door to the chancel is what appears to be a three-bay blocked arcade, but there are significant differences between the two arches on the west and that on the east.

The two on the west are a pair in that they are of the same height and width and have a four-centred arch form. The outer sections finish at obvious responds below which there are jambs whereas the inner junction rests on a cap below which there was a sup-porting column, now buried in the clunch blocking. The easterly respond is the most clearly visible and this seems to have had a decorated abacus which has been cut back. Below this there is a long necking decorated with a trefoil ornament. From the angle at which the respond disappears into the blocking it is likely that the piers were elongated octagons similar in style to those at Rougham dated to the early fourteenth century.

The eastern arch is lower than the others and is two-centred; it finishes at responds at both ends and is repaired with a clunch block and a limestone cill on the west side. Some of the limestone voussoirs have circular holes drilled in them and may, therefore, be re-used. The blocking of the arch is different from the clunch of the other pair in that it includes flint, cut and moulded limestone blocks and clunch.

The abacus of the west respond is better preserved than that of the east and is circular with a rolled edge, undercut, and with a short necking below which are chamfered jambs, which taken with the arch form, are most likely to be of the thirteenth century. It seems that this opening was for a chapel and the flint base of the adjoining buttress could have been part of its east wall. Internally the springing of the arch is now buried in the chancel arch which must, therefore, post-date the chapel.

Porch

The seventeenth-century north porch is built of mixed flint and brick with re-used limestone quoins including pieces of a capital. It has pierced stone quatrefoil openings in the east and west walls, a brick stepped gable and a pantiled roof. The entrance arch has a reset fourteenth-century hoodmould, corbelled with damaged heads.

Roof

There is one corbel left from an older roof on the internal face of the south wall, 1.5 m from the present west wall. The seventeenth-century roof consists of arch-braced tie beams with queen struts to the principals and butt purlins. The bases of the braces rest on iron struts and the ends of the principals are covered by a modern planked ceiling. The chancel roof is modern, of sawn timbers, offset purlins and planked ceiling.

Fittings

There are deal box pews and a plain nineteenth-century pulpit. The plain octagonal font with a moulded base stands on a rendered brick pillar on a brick platform in the angle of the north wall of the nave and the rear pew.

Interpretation

The evidence for a structure before 1200 A.D. is problematical. The Norman doorways are suspect and at best could be said to be reworked, the north window in the church may be Saxo-Norman and Pevsner (1962, 366) says that the clerestory windows 'look decidedly Anglo-Saxon' and the mark in the plaster above the north door, although the right shape and in the right position for a Saxon/Norman window is nevertheless only a mark in the plaster. All these except the door, the south chapel and the north nave could, however, be dated before 1300 A.D. The south arcade, the vanished aisle, the south chancel windows are likely to be early fourteenth century, but the clerestory windows were presumably put in at the same time as the aisle with those on the north put in to match.

The fifteenth century saw the installation of the north-west nave window and the chancel buttresses.

By the early seventeenth century the church must have been in a very bad state, requiring the demolition of the aisle and chapel, the blocking of the arches remaining, the installation of the south nave windows, the building of a new west wall to shorten the nave, the replacing of the east window and the remodelling of the nave north-west window, the building or rebuilding of the porch and the re-roofing of the nave.

The next major reconstruction was after the gale of 1895 which necessitated repairs to the west gable, the re-roofing of the church, much of the nave and repairs to the buttresses.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

by Ralph Goldsmith

At the time of the Domesday Survey, the single manor of Waterden was held under Earl Warrenne, one of the 145 manors granted to him at the time of the Conquest.

During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the lordship of the manor was in the hands first of the de St.Martin family and then the de Mileham family. In 1334 it passed to William Duraunt. In addition, the prior of St.Stephen's, Hempton, held lands here.

Waterden remained in the Duraunt family until about 1460 when it passed by marriage to William Walton. In 1483 John Walton sold the manor to the Sefoules. They were an old-established family and held land or property on their own account or by marriage at King's Lynn, Tilney, Fring and the Barshams. By the end of the sixteenth century they were connected by marriage to many noted local families such as the Halls of Barsham, the Mansures and Armigers of North Creake and the Nortons of South Creake.

Much of the Sefoule property was sold at the turn of the century and in 1604-5 Sir Edward Coke was able to purchase Waterden. The particulars of this are copied into his 'Great Book of Conveyances' (Holkham Manuscript 764, folios 345-6). There are some sixty deeds in the Waterden box at Holkham covering the period 1567 to 1872 but half of these occur in the period 1600 to 1602 and are chiefly concerned with the legal wrangling necessary to secure the release of various messuages and pieces of land. Up to the present day, the estate has been in the hands of the Coke family.

Domesday Book records a slight decline in population after the Conquest - 'Lambert holds one ploughland which was held by two freemen T.R.E. Then as now seventeen bordars. Then two slaves...Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 17 shillings and 4 pence...' This was a trend which was apparent in other villages in the same area, both in those which were subsequently to be deserted and in those which have survived.

The assessment for the Lay Subsidy of 1449 showed a decline from the original figure - £3.4s.0d. in 1334 which was reduced to £2.6s.0d. in 1449.

In Gallow Hundred there was one parish smaller than Waterden, Pensthorpe, valued at £1.10s.0d. in 1334 and with no reduction made in 1449. South Creake, the largest parish in the area, also had the largest assessment, £11.12s.0d. reduced to £10.5s.4d. Of the eighteen villages in the Hundred, Waterden ranked thirteenth - one of those at the lower end of the scale. The total sum for the Hundred as a whole was £84.7s.0d: the average for each individual village was £4.14s.0d. - a little more than that of Waterden £3.4s.0d. The reduction made in 1449 for the Hundred as a whole was seventeen per cent, whilst that for Waterden was thirty-two per cent and South Creake eleven per cent. On this basis, in one hundred years, Waterden's decline was six per cent worse than the average and nineteen per cent worse than South Creake, its largest neighbour.

This would indicate a marked, though not a savage decline in population between these two dates. Allison (1955, 160) records a figure of twenty-four taxable persons in 1332 for the Lay Subsidy. Almost fifty years later thirty-six adults paid the Poll tax and although these figures are not directly comparable they would in general terms and unless there were an unusually large number of people too poor to be taxed in 1334, indicate that the population decline took place after 1380.

There are no sixteenth-century Muster returns for Waterden. In 1603 the number of communicants was 'about twenty' (NRO Frere Mss., k56). In the 1801 census the population was twenty-seven, in 1841 twenty-nine and in 1851 thirty-nine: this jump was the result of a Rectory being built in 1850 with eight occupants in 1851. In the census return of 1861, the population was forty-four. It was recorded that the farmer employed thirty-six men and boys, but as only nine workmen lived at Waterden the balance of twenty-seven must have come from other villages.

In 1871 the population was again thirty, the Rectory now being uninhabited; the farmer employed thirty men and eight boys, but only five men lived at Waterden. There were not enough dwellings to house the labour force required to farm 760 acres and it seems likely that most of the men came from South Creake - in those days a short distance to walk to work.

The Waterden Maps

The earliest map of Waterden is by John Halsey, surveyed and drawn by him in the months of March and April 1713 and 1714 for the Guardians of Thomas Coke Esq. Although Waterden had then been held by the Cokes for a 100 years, features remained which were contemporary with the medieval village.

The land summary of the map is as follows and will be discussed under these headings:-

		A. R. P.	A. R. P.	
1.	Brachs or Sheep Walks	232 - 2 - 31	nil	
2.	In fields Arable	276 - 3 - 10	15 - 1 - 7	
3.	Inclosures Arable	132 - 3 - 08	1 - 2 - 20	
4.	Meadow or Pasture	124 - 2 - 17	nil	
5.	Homestal and Lanes	3 - 2 - 08	nil	
		770 - 1 - 34	1 - 3 - 03	Churchyard
	All the Glebe Lands	18 - 2 - 30		
		789 - 0 - 24		

1. Brachs or sheep walks (232 acres)

This is a triangle of land bordered by the Roman road and the South Creake to Egmere Road. It contains the lighter soils of the farm - sand, gravel and flint being more prominent than elsewhere. At its north and south-west corners the adjoining land deteriorates still further into blowing sands and gravel, some of it now being conifer plantations. Clause 12 in the lease of the property in March 1696 to Edmund Skippon stated that he was 'Not to plow or sow any of the Arable land out of course; nor to plow or sow any of ye Infield land more than five cropps and the Breakes but three only, before ye shall be somer tilled or laid for pasture'. Clause 16, which had been crossed out and partially obliterated, ruled that he was 'Not to destroy any of ye Whyns'. It is likely that at that time the 'Whyns' were being pulled out to improve the sheep walk. As this was not common land, perhaps the clause was felt to be unnecessary. Allison (1955) points out that in 1604 shack rights existed in the still open Westfield though two closes had been made in the field (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 31, Wodehouse Mss).

2. Infields - arable (276 acres)

This land is to the north, east and south adjoining the village settlement, and would be the open field system in cultivation for the longest time. It is accessible by the marked trackways whilst the fifteen glebe strips in this area are probably the last indication of medieval strip farming.

3. Inclosures - arable (132 acres)

These inclosures are north of the village settlement adjoining Egmere and North Barsham parishes. They contain only two strips of glebe land. It is not possible to be certain why they were enclosed at the time of the survey, but they do contain heavier and wetter pieces of land and are adjacent to old pastures.

4. Meadow or pasture (124 acres)

These are noted as 'Ancient' on the map and in the Skippon agreement of 1696 they were protected by clause 14: 'Not to plow up any of ye meadows or antient pasture ground belonging to ye premises without licence, on penalty of £5 per acre for every acre so plowed, over and above ye yeerely Rent afore reserved'. Most of these meadows would have been fields, for reasons of drainage and soil type and convenience, for draught animals and dairy cattle. 'Spring Closes' needs no explanation and a later map by Biederman, shows a watercourse running through it. 'Sallow Pit Pightle', 'Rushland Meadow', 'The Horse Meadow' are also self-explanatory names.

Most of these fields had some tile drainage done in the nineteenth century. Arthur Young (1804, 390) wrote, 'I was surprized to find that this improvement was necessary on Waterden Farm, in a very dry country: but Mr.HILL, finding that the springs were injurious to much of his land, made very laudable exertions in freeing his farm from them. He digs hollow-drains, from two feet and a half to four feet deep, filling them very carefully with stones, hand picked from the heaps by women, to prevent any earth going into the drains and impeding the current of water. The effects of the improvement are great'. Evidence of these drains was found when tile drainage was carried out in 1971.

The largest area of meadow, that described on the map as Cow Pastures, previously known as Home Closes, was some fifty-four acres in extent. Within this area stood the old Manor house with its garden enclosure, the farm buildings adjacent to the house, two barns and a small separate building of unknown function. It also contains the site of the medieval village. On the map the whole of this central pasture is depicted as having a large number of trees, giving it a park-like appearance.

5. Homestall and lanes

Waterden was, and still is, well served with trackways and roads. Some of these were of ancient origin and Halsey's map shows the old road or street running south from Egmere, down through the village site, passing the church and joining the roads from Fakenham, the south and west. This road has now disappeared except the centre section through the farm.

There is a sketch of the south-east elevation of the old manor house to one side of the map (Fig.30). This is of particular interest as there is no written evidence to indicate when this was built. It has the appearance of being late sixteenth or seventeenth century, but not necessarily all of one date. Sefoule's inventory of 1591 (NRO Inv.8/88) mentions 'a Parlour' and 'the ould Parlour' suggesting an extension of the house. When Sir Edward Coke acquired Waterden in 1604, he immediately put repairs in hand. A 'Note of the worke done at Waterden beginning on the xxvjth Day of February for Sir Edwarde Cooke, Knight, Anno Domi 1604 by William Grey, Carpenter' (Holkham Deeds Waterden Box No.2, 42) shows that William Grey, his carpenter from Tittleshall, caried out repairs there with his men from February through to October. The lath and

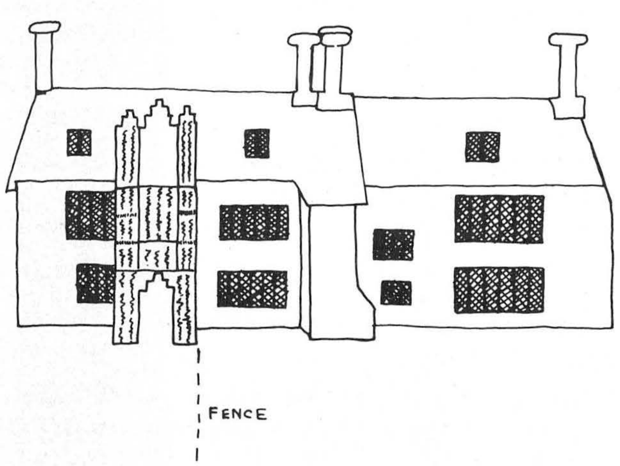

Fig.30. Waterden hall redrawn from 1713-14 map.

timber used was taken to Waterden from Tittleshall and Mileham. Among the work on the outbuildings was a new door for the 'Doveshouse' and work was done on the 'pound'. Again in February 1605 'William Graye' was at Waterden. Item 47 in the Waterden Box, is a receipt for £33 covering extensive repairs including 'dores, windows and planking of the malthouse at Waterding and for making of the kill and kill house thear and allso for making of a payre of Stayers to ye malthouse' also 'Making of a payer of great gate with bord'. Also in 1605 Henry Gogney, a tiler of Walsingham, received £5.3s.4d. for re-tiling the malthouse at Waterden. This involved the use of 31,000 tiles (Holkham Deeds Waterden Box, No.2, 46). It seems fairly obvious that the outbuildings of the property, at least, had become run down and were in urgent need of repair.

The inventory of 1591 already referred to, contains the following items:-

iij govesteads of wheat in the newe barne wch contayne by estimation eyght score combs
ij govesteads of barleye in this same barne
ij govesteads of otes and pease in this same barne

This 'newe barne' by the quantity of corn in it (for a govestead was either a bay-long division of a barn or one bay of a barn), would also certainly be part of the present structure; an examination of this suggests the 'newe barne' was then 145 feet by twenty-eight feet wide.

A govestead of Rye in the Parsonage barne contayninge by estimacon xvj combs.

This is likely to be the small building situated by the side of the 'village street' between the church and the Manor house, although it is not shown as being on glebe land.

In Baldinges barne two govesteads of wheat contayninge by estimacon v score coome.
A govestead and a half of Rye contayninge by estimacon ix coome x coome of pease in this same barne.

This is the barn with a cottage nearby and again is by the side of the village street, north of the Manor house towards Egmere. This is referred to as 'Baldwynes' in an assignment of a lease of Waterden Farm, dated 17th February 1600, between Richard Chunne of Grimston and Richard Sefoule (Holkham Deeds Waterden Box No.2, 10). It is also referred to as a messuage.

There is one other small isolated building situated between the manor house and the 'newe barne'. This may be the dovehouse mentioned in the 1604 list of repairs. The main street running south from Egmere through the village, passes the church and through to Waterden Bottom. There it joined roads to North and East Barsham, another leading north of Fakenham and through to Norwich, and the Roman road leading north and south. From the centre of the village there were two trackways which joined the Waterden - North Barsham - Walsingham road. There was also a road from the front entrance of the Manor house going west across the farm to join the Quarles to Wells road.

Halsey's map shows a watercourse starting between the Manor house and the buildings, forming a small pond adjacent to them and continuing as an open ditch running parallel with the street into Waterden Bottom. It must have been a very wet place in the winter as this is the natural line for drainage of the Egmere water. There was, and still is, a watercourse running through Spring Closes taking water from North Barsham and draining into Waterden Bottom. It is now piped underground.

There are two other maps at Holkham which are of interest. One is by H.A.Biederman and was completed in 1781, which is an important date in the history of Waterden for it was then that the existing farm house and most of the buildings were built. The second map is Dugmore's 1789 adjustment of Biederman's original.

The 1781 map shows the old house and buildings, the large barn on the site of the existing barn and the church. It does not show Baldwynes barn and cottage, the Parsonage barn or the small building mentioned earlier. Parts of the 'street' have disappeared and also other trackways. There is no road going direct from the old house, but a new road has been made further north and all enclosures are complete. It clearly shows the watercourse from the North Barsham boundary.

The 1789-adjusted map shows the new house and buildings with the garden of the old house still there. There are some alterations to the field pattern and a suggestion that one or more ponds are now in the meadow.

There was no Enclosure Award for Waterden as this had taken place at an early date and certainly by the time Sir Edward Coke purchased it in 1604-5. There are no manor court rolls to be found. There is a Waterden terrier of 1735 setting out the pieces of Glebe land, eighteen in all, totalling eighteen acres two roods and thirty perches and this is the same as set out in Halsey's map. There are other terriers dated 1801, 1815, 1827 and 1834.

The map evidence would, thus, seem to show that the village was depopulated by the time the first of them was made in 1713-14. The Lay Subsidy assessments indicate that the population was declining between 1334 and 1449. When the final blow fell can only be discovered by further work with the documents.

VI. GREAT PALGRAVE

DESCRIPTION OF SITE

by Peter Wade-Martins and Brian Cushion

Great Palgrave (site 1058) is situated 4 km north-north-east of Swaffham on the western extremity of the boulder clay region. It occupies a prominent position at over 75 m OD on a small spur projecting westwards between short valleys, which join the River Nar at Castle Acre. Little Palgrave is another deserted village 1.5 km to the north. Both sites lie within the present parish of Sporle with Palgrave.

The village site straddles the present road from Sporle to South Acre, on land surrounding Great Palgrave Farm (Fig.31). The alignment of some of the earthworks suggests that part of this road lies on the line of one of the medieval streets (Fig.32). To the north of the road are two moated sites. One is adjacent to the farmhouse, and the other is in meadows to the north-west (Plate XIII). Earthworks, recorded by RAF air photography in 1946, to the east and south-west of the farm have now almost disappeared (Plates XIII and XIV). The earthworks to the west of the farm are now meadow land which has been ploughed and re-seeded. Nothing is known of a church site.

Fig.32 is an attempt to reconstruct the boundary lines from the surviving earthworks and from air photographs.

The moat adjacent to the farmhouse is a well-defined, L-shaped, water-filled feature; the west side is now partially defined by an infilled pond, but there is no trace of a south side. The Enclosure Award map shows the east arm extending further south. The moat to the north-west of the farm is a near-rectangular enclosure; it is partially water-filled and its interior and the area to its north are now wooded. There is no obvious entrance.

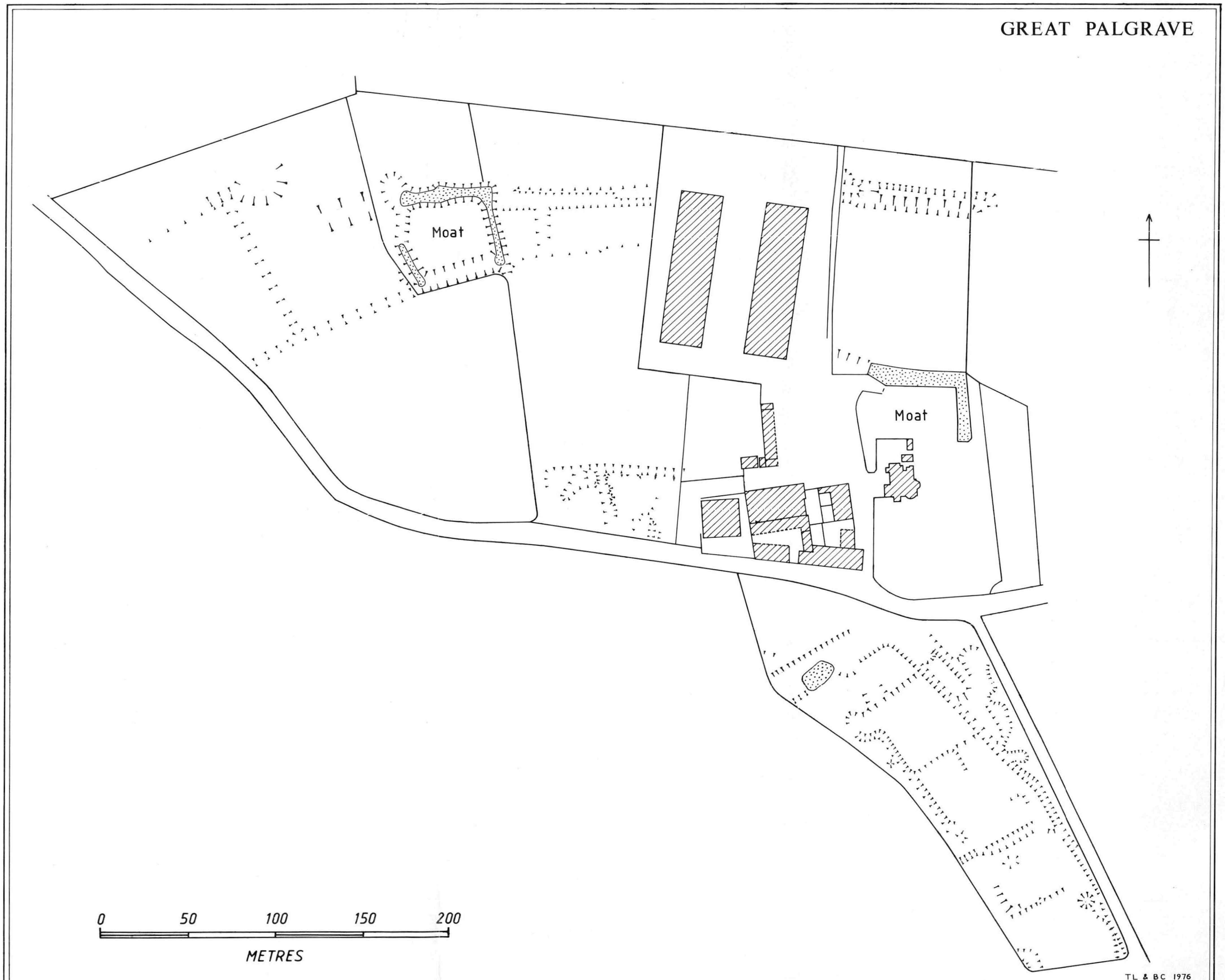

Fig.31. Great Palgrave earthworks.
Scale 1:2,500.

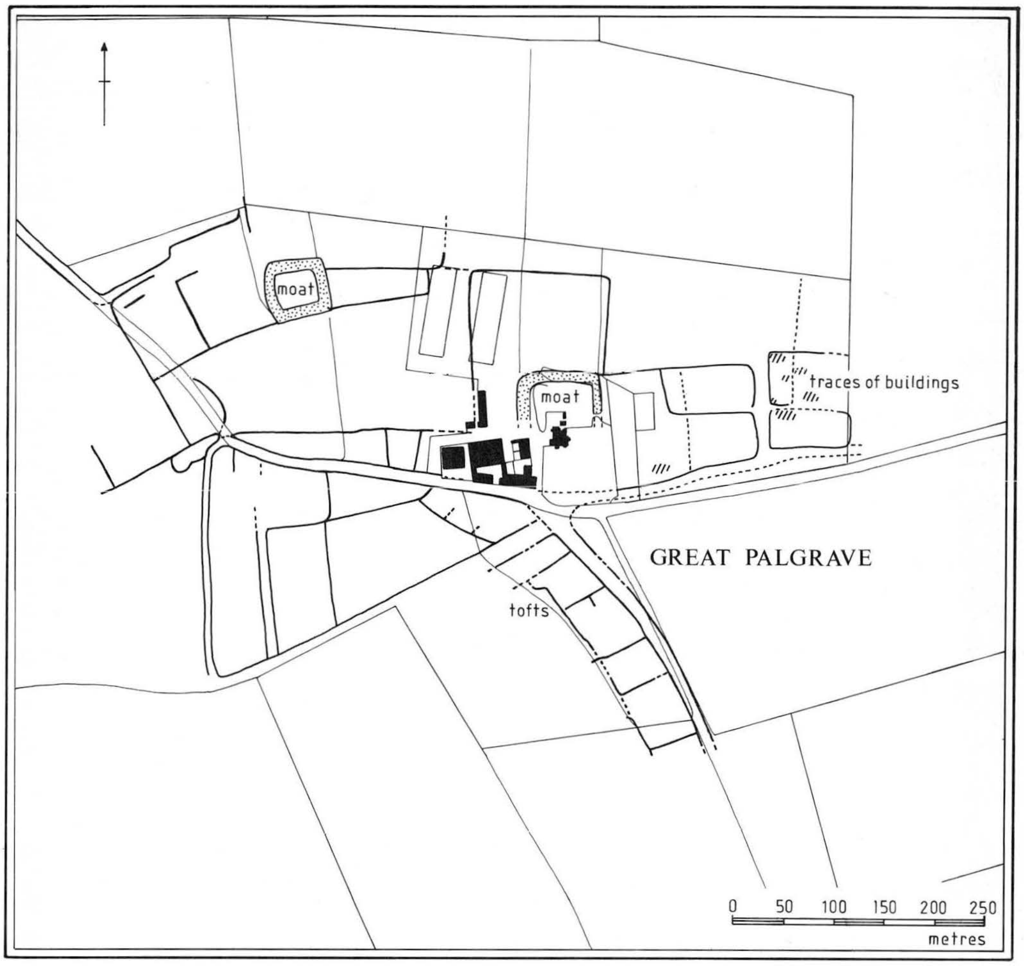

Fig.32. Great Palgrave interpretation. Scale 1:7,500.

There are outer earthworks seemingly associated with both moats. The moat near the farmhouse had two large enclosures; one to the north and one to the east which has been entirely flattened. Of the former only the north side remains. The other moat had a narrow, tapering enclosure to its east and two squarish enclosures to the west, with the western one lying across the line of the present road.

Two areas of village earthwork remain. There is a small group of two or three tofts to the west of the farm along the north side of the road. Better preserved earthworks lie in a meadow to the south of the road (Fig.31 and Plate XII) where there is a street with flanking ditches running north-west to south-east from a point opposite the farm. Along the west side of this are between five and seven tofts, most of which are terraced slightly into the south-facing slope. There is one possible building platform and at least two pits within the tofts which may be contemporary with the village. The Enclosure Award map shows a small enclosure and building at the north end of the meadow where the pond now lies. To the east of the medieval street on land that was formerly part of Palgrave Common, are two features which seem to be clay pits dug after the street was disused.

In the field to the east of the farm the earthworks have been flattened. On Plate XIV, in addition to the large enclosure previously described, there are traces of a short north-to-south street and, to the east of this, a further group of tofts with traces of ploughed-out buildings.

To the south-west of the farm there are also soil marks on air photographs (Plate XIII) which indicate an irregular row of between five and seven tofts. Fieldwalking alongside the road in this area has revealed a fairly thick scatter of Late Saxon and medieval pottery.

The Peddars Way Roman road should run north-west to south-east through the site, but there is no sign of it either on the ground or on the air photographs.

The village apparently had a Y-shaped street plan, with the land to the south-east of the fork being common land until enclosure.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE
by Alan Davison

Palgrave's documentation begins with its three entries in the Domesday survey (Doubleday and Page II, 48, 70, 90). The first of these is part of a much longer passage describing the lands of the king in Sporle (Sparl) of which Paggrava [1] is said to be an outlying estate with, in 1086, a recorded population of eleven villeins, two bordars and two serfs with one plough and another belonging to the men. There was also a mill, and the estate was half a league long and five furlongs in breadth. The other entries concern smaller parts of 'Pagrava': Count Alan's portion of half a carucate and a population of six bordars, and William de Warenne's portion of one carucate with four villeins and two bordars.

The Domesday account of Sporle is significant in that, from the first, it suggests that Paggrava was already a subordinate settlement. Sporle also had outlying estates in Acra and Pichenham. A dependency, Cotes, was certainly in existence in the southern part of the present parish in medieval times if not earlier. As Domesday states that Sporle had been a royal demesne in the Confessor's time, it is possible to see it and its subordinates as the remains of a large early Anglo-Saxon estate (Sawyer 1974, 108-19) containing, from the beginning, tributary settlements. That Pagrave had already begun to decline and was reckoned in with a larger flourishing neighbour is another possibility.

The name 'Sporle' appears in a variety of forms in medieval documents; in a Cartulary of about 1349 (NRO Ms.18199, 78 x 4) it appears as 'Sporley', 'Sporlegh', 'Sperley', 'Sparleia', 'Sperlye' and 'Sporlee' as well as in the familiar spelling. This may be a 'Leah' (clearing) place-name and, together with the possible 'graf' (grove) of Pagrave (Rackham 1976, 56), has implications of early woodland relationships for the settlements. The area still contained woodland in 1435 (Court Roll, NRO Mss. 20867 47A 6). However, the 'grave' syllable may be derived from OE 'graef' (grave) (Smith 1956, 207-8) and the likelihood of this is strengthened by the occurrence of a significant field name (see below).

A major difficulty in tracing the history of Great Pagrave is that of distinguishing it from Little Pagrave. There is no evidence, either, of the existence of a church at Great Pagrave and there may never have been one. A Papal Bull of 1157 (Doubleday and Page II, 463) named the chapel of Little Pagrave and Pagrave Parva was listed in the 1254 Norwich Taxation (Hudson 1910, 119); it had the lowest total for the whole Deanery of Cranwich and was, thus, of no great importance, but Great Pagrave was not mentioned at all. The building of this church at Little Pagrave implies a growing separation of the two settlements. Unfortunately, however, documents often refer simply to 'Pagrave' and it is not possible to differentiate. It may be that the lands of the manors of Great and Little Pagrave were so intermingled that this was the most practical way of describing them. According to Blomefield (1807 VI, 125-7) there were two manors in Great Pagrave: the Manor of East Hall, held by the de Lirling and, later, the de Easthall families, and the Manor of Wood Hall. This second manor had some holdings in Pagrave

Parva and was held in earlier times by the de Wudehalls. Blomefield further states that the Manor of Pagrave Parva was also called Strange's and that the Pagrave family who held it, took their name from it. That Easthall was in Great Pagrave is confirmed by a charter of 1338 (NRO Ms.18199 78 x 4) naming William de Easthall de Pagrave Magna and also by an Inquisition post mortem of 1494 (Cal.Inq., Hen.VII I, 459) referring to the manor of Est Halle in Great Pagrave. These details are of some help in interpreting subsequent documentary references.

Lay subsidies of 1334 and 1449 (Hudson 1895, 243-297) tell little about Pagrave Magna; neither Pagrave was named among the townships taxed - presumably they were valued with Sporle, being by that time too small to be assessed independently.

There is a substantial amount of evidence to show that the two small settlements were in continuing existence throughout the greater part of medieval times, and it is possible to extract some information about Pagrave Magna. In 1252 there was a reference (Close Rolls 1339, 168) to property in Pagrave Magna in a dispute about a messuage and eight acres of land. In the fourteenth century Feudal Aids (III, 448, 456, 543, 597) show tenancy of lands in Pagrave, beginning with the two quarters of knights' fees mentioned in 1302. In 1346 William de Esthalle (one of the persons in Sporle with Pagrave named in the Nomina Villarum of 1316) was said to have held, with John Dobbes and Thomas and Matilda de Batesford, one quarter of a knight's fee in Pagrave, while Henry Burgeys and Robert Chapper held another quarter from Thomas de Batesford, and these portions were mentioned again in 1428. In 1339 William of Esthalle was assessed for wool, according to the rate of the fifteenth (Close Rolls 1339, 168) at two stones in Norwich and ten stones in Sporle and Pagrave, thus suggesting that at least one of the leading inhabitants of Pagrave Magna was keeping flocks of sheep.

The Cartulary of Sporle (NRO Ms.18199 78 x 4) includes charters which relate to the Pagraves or which name inhabitants of the Pagraves as witnesses, sometimes specifying 'Magna' or 'Parva'. Of the few which appear to describe Pagrave Magna, there is one (f.26) given by William de Esthall which records an exchange of twenty-five-and-a-half acres of land in the two Pagraves (of which twenty-four acres lay in one piece in the field of Pagrave Magna at Rodemerehill) for a similar amount of land which included a piece of four-and-a-half acres in Pagrave Magna, with its southern head abutting on Linggate, another acre (called Delacre) in the same field at Cugmere with its eastern head against the common of Pagrave, two-and-a-half acres in the same field at Cugmere, another three acres in that field at Medwelond and two acres lying in one piece at the head of William de Esthall's croft. Another charter (f.26d) mentioning a piece of land and pasture in the field of Pagrave Magna called Rodemerehill was given by William de Esthall at Pagrave Magna on 20th October 1348. In the first of these two charters, a field in Sporle called Trehows (Treshoges in other charters) is said to have lain immediately to the east of the common of Pagrave and, elsewhere, is said (f.13d) to have been separated from the pasture of Pagrave to the north by a ditch. The occurrence of such a field name (O.N. haugr - a burial mound?: Smith 1956 I, 235) by what appears to be a boundary between the lands of two settlements may throw light on the origin of the name 'Pagrava'. It has been shown that pagan Anglo-Saxon barrows or other burial sites often lay on or very near ancient boundaries (Bonney 1976, 72) and the 'grava' of the place-name may refer to these. Another charter (f.50d) mentions a headland in the field of Pagrave lying under Wenesisberwe (O.E. beorg, M.E. berwe - an artificial hillock or tumulus?: Smith 1956 I, 29). The last charter was one given by William, son of Robert de Wudehall confirming a grant to William de Lirling of a piece of land in the field of Pagrave at Edwineshil near Elleruesti with the headland already noted and two 'vinaria' with fish ponds and all the land lying between the vinaria and the common pasture. There is a similar charter (f.51) which mentions these items in more general terms, while another of Humphrey, son of Robert de Wudehall (f.50d-51) confirmed the grant to William de Lirling of his messuage with all the buildings and outbuildings on the same site, and all his lands in the fields and vill of Pagrave in return for twelve marks of silver. William le Bretun (lord of the Manor of Sporle) also granted (f.51) to William de Lirling a messuage in Pagrave, the fisheries of two ponds next to it and six acres in the same vill in the field called Edwinehil next Helleruesti. From the wording of the charter the ponds were almost certainly man-made. As Woodhall, according to Blomefield, was one of the manors of Great Pagrave, and as the de Lirlings had held East Hall in earlier days, it is perhaps not unreasonable to believe that many of the buildings and associated features recorded in these charters were to be found in that place. On the other hand, it is also clear that manorial lands were intermingled and so caution is necessary in assessing this evidence. There seems to be no record of a separate common for Little Pagrave in any of the charters; possibly the two settlements shared the common which is mentioned. Unfortunately, none of this last group of charters is dated, but they must refer to the time when the de Lirlings held East Hall which, according to Blomefield, could not have been after 1315-16 at the latest (Blomefield 1807 VI, 125-6).

Tentative location of some of the features described in the charters is possible. On the Tithe Map of Sporle with Palgrave (NRO Tithe Map 1841, 378) a piece of land called Dam Close is shown to the north-east of the present farm at TF 834122, and the Tithe Map of Little Palgrave (NRO 644 Tithe Map 1842) shows a piece with the same name close by in that parish. This might be the site of the fish ponds since another piece next to Dam Close but nearer the farm is called Cows Wootons Pasture; the Woottons succeeded the Esthalls in East Hall (Cal.Inq., Hen.VII I, 459) and this suggests that the earthworks near this farm are those associated with that manor. This conclusion, however, is open to some doubt because of the existence of a piece of land, also called Woottons, to the south-west of Palgrave Hall. Blomefield equated the more southerly of the two farms of his day with Wood Hall (Blomefield 1807 VI, 125-6).

There are sufficient fifteenth-century references to show that Pagrave Magna was still in existence at that time. The most interesting are those in the Paston Letters (Gairdner: 1904 III, 23; VI, 256) in 1455 Thomas Canon of 'Mekyll Pagrave' wrote to John Paston offering to sell land in Little Pagrave and Little Dunham called Strangys, and in 1466 another letter referred to a warning given to tenants at Sporle, Pagrave and Cressingham to be ready to pay. According to Blomefield (1807 VI, 125-6) Wood Hall was in the hands of Judge Paston at some time after 1427. Soon afterwards the Pastons obtained Sporle Manor and East Hall came to them in the early sixteenth century, by the marriage of Anne, daughter of Phillip Audley, to Christopher Paston of Oxnead. The various pieces of information about Great Pagrave at this time, however, give no indication of its condition; a mere handful of tenants could well fit the circumstances.

It was on the basis of Blomefield's statement about the association of the Pagrave/Palgrave family with Little Palgrave that it has been asserted that that settlement had been enclosed (Leadam 1892-3, 205). According to the Inquiry of 1517, the son of Henry Palgrave held a manor in the vill of Palgrave, totally in decay, with all its lands put down to pasture, having been formerly under cultivation. This was the largest area enclosed in the Hundred of South Greenhoe and mentioned in the Inquiry, and one of twenty-two places in Norfolk having over ninety-eight acres enclosed, assuming, with Leadam, that 'unum manerium' was equivalent to 120 acres. Given the intermingling of manorial lands indicated in the charters, it is difficult to see how the Palgraves as a whole could have been unaffected by this. There is no mention of Great Palgrave as a separate settlement in the 1524 Subsidy Rolls (Sheail 1968).

A Drag of Sporle of 1598 (NRO Ms 20876 47 A 2) shows that some signs of Great Pagrave remained: a furlong called Threwes contained a piece of demesne land of the same name and had the common of Great Pagrave to the west, with Nethermarkettway to the south. Other lands recorded had the common of Sporle to the north, a road called Churchgate Huck to the south, High Street to the east and the common of Great Pagrave and the common of Sporle to the west. Others still lay between Nethermarket-tway to the south, Churchgateway to the north and Great Pagrave common to the west. An undated terrier of Sporle described as belonging to the seventeenth century has a similar entry (NRO, Ms 20877 47 A 2). As there is no indication of the size and nature of the community which used the common at these times, it is possible that the words may have been copied from an earlier survey, or refer to a feature vanished but still remembered and used as a boundary.

Surviving documents of the mid-seventeenth century suggest a landscape of farms and farm buildings alone for Great Pagrave. A particular of 1655 (NRO Clayton Mss 166, Ms 3375, 4 B 3) mentions a dwelling house in Pagrave with barns, stables, dove-houses and outhouses, gardens and orchards, 123 acres of pasture, meadow and arable, a larger close around the house and fifty-three-and-a-half acres of arable in the field lying together next to the inclosure, and thirty-four acres in the field of Sporle. There was a foldcourse for 400 ewes as well as the shepherd's covenant. Twenty-five acres were to be broken up annually within the sheep walk to be sown with rye and oats. Another farm next to it had a house, 147 acres of pasture, meadow and arable inclosed about the house, with another twenty acres of arable in the fields adjoining, and a sheep walk 'upon ye moore' for 600 ewes. A similar document of 1655-56 (NRO Frere Mss DS 604(e), 352 x 3) mentions specifically a farm (Mr Rawlins') having a portion more to the north 'next Little Pagrave', and indicates that 137 acres of it were in large inclosures of pasture of ten to twelve acres and one of sixty acres. According to this document, the more southerly farm, belonging to Mrs Paston, had 123 acres of enclosed pasture and fifty-two acres of arable, and a sheep walk for 400 ewes and fifty for the sheep, with twenty-five acres to be broken annually for rye and oats. This was the farm Blomefield believed to be Wood Hall (Blomefield 1807 VI, 125-6), though his figures for acreages do not agree with the document last quoted - it was one of his sources and a miscalculation appears to be the explanation. Mrs Paston was Frances Paston, a widow; soon afterwards, her kinsman, Sir William Paston of Oxnead, relinquished the lands in Sporle and Pagrave Magna and they came to Mathew Holworthy. A surviving indenture between Sir William and Holworthy is dated 1656 (NRO Pounder, Brown and Gethin 20/5/71, R 191 A) and describes the latter as a London merchant. By this time the landscape of Great Pagrave had reached a condition not very different from that of today; the two surviving farms appear to match those mentioned in 1655.

The name of the settlements remained 'Pagrave' for a considerable time: though 'Palgrave' began to appear in the sixteenth century (Leadam 1893 VII, 205), documents of 1652 (NRO Minor Coll.I, Boileau Boi. 42/2 117 x 1) and 1657 (NRO Clayton Miss 147, Ms 3356, 4 B 3) specifically give both 'Pagrave' and 'Palgrave' as alternatives, but it was still 'Pagrave' on Robert Morden's map of Norfolk of 1722, and it was still 'Pagrave' to Blomefield (Blomefield 1807 VI, 125-6). Faden's map of 1797 (Faden 1797) shows Great and Little Palgrave.

The settlement of Great Palgrave, as well as its neighbour Little Palgrave, is apparently poorly documented. From Domesday, and possibly before that time, they seem to have been satellites of Sporle. The time of depopulation remains unknown; it seems that the community of Great Palgrave was still thriving to some extent in the mid-fourteenth century, but, by the seventeenth century, only two farms remained. The cause of depopulation is also unknown. It has not been possible to explore all known potential sources; documents concerning neighbouring villages may contain relevant information and it is possible that documents belonging to Sporle Priory or other material about the Palgraves may be found elsewhere.

REFERENCE

1. Domesday spelling of place-names has been used where appropriate.

VII. EGMERE

SITE DESCRIPTION

by Brian Cushion

Egmere (site 1955) is situated 4 km west of Little Walsingham near the head of a seasonally dry valley which drains south-west through Waterden, only 1.5 km distant. The village site straddles the present road from Walsingham to Creake, lying between 63 and 75 m O.D. on gravelly, light-to-medium loam soils, with a thin peat layer on the valley floor. South of the road the church ruin dominates the site, standing on the highest point of a knoll on the east side of the valley. Also in this meadow, cottages which are the only buildings on the site stand on the site of the former manor farm. In a meadow to the west are village earthworks, while to the north of the road another meadow contains earthworks of uncertain origin (Fig.33).

The earthworks adjacent to the cottages (Plate XV) seem to be associated with the manor farm which stood on the site until the present Egmere Farm was built in 1853 some 800 m to the north-east. Many of the features on the ground can be related to those shown on an estate map of 1807, which shows several buildings between the houses and the church. The curving ditches, now truncated, to the south-west and south-east are shown, but it is difficult to tell whether the large depression to the south, joining the pond is included. The south edge of the pond, the east edge of the depression and the north-to-south ditch, 100 m to the west of the cottages, formed the close boundaries of the manor farm. The ditch extending westwards from the pond, truncated by the present field boundary, was part of a field boundary shown on this map. The small enclosure north of the western part of the pond is probably part of the garden area. The east-to-west field boundary immediately to the north of the cottages is probably, in part, an earlier boundary dividing the house from the buildings, of which only an open stockyard remains. The gentle irregularities of the meadow, between the cottages and the church, are probably the result of the removal of these buildings. The deep pits to the west of this area are later than the map, as they seem to break the line of some of the features shown on it and are likely to have been for the extraction of gravel, marl or both.

To the east of the cottages, two small rectangular enclosures divided by an east-to-west causeway have, as their northern and eastern boundaries, a slight causeway, with flanking ditches for most of its length, which extends south to the present field boundary. This roadway is shown on Faden's map of Norfolk (1797) as joining the road from Waterden to Walsingham further to the south, but it is not shown on the 1807 estate map. The terrace slope running south-westwards from this causeway is of unknown, but probably later, origin.

One of the flanking ditches of the causeway turns northwards to the east of the stockyard and runs to the field boundary and has been partially enlarged to form a pond. This ditch may well have been the eastern limit of a road line which has been obliterated by the pond and by the existing farm road. A small, shallow, near-rectangular pit to the east of the stockyard is of unknown origin.

There is no definite evidence that the above features are of medieval date, but it is likely that the close boundaries south and west of the cottages are of this period. The causeway, because of its straightness, is unlikely to be medieval.

The church stands on a knoll which is bounded to the east by a narrow lane, to the

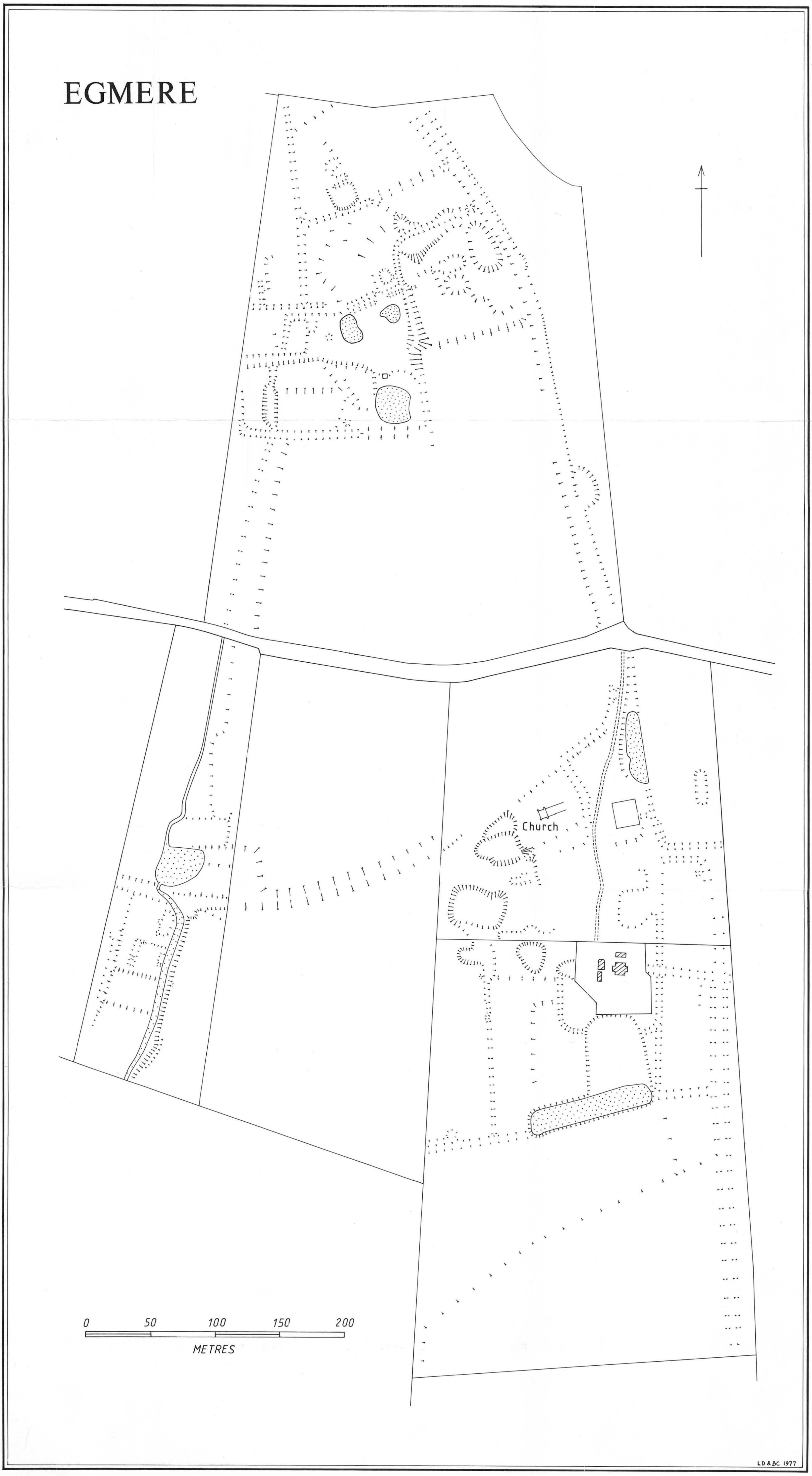

Fig.33. Egmere earthworks. Scale 1:2,500.

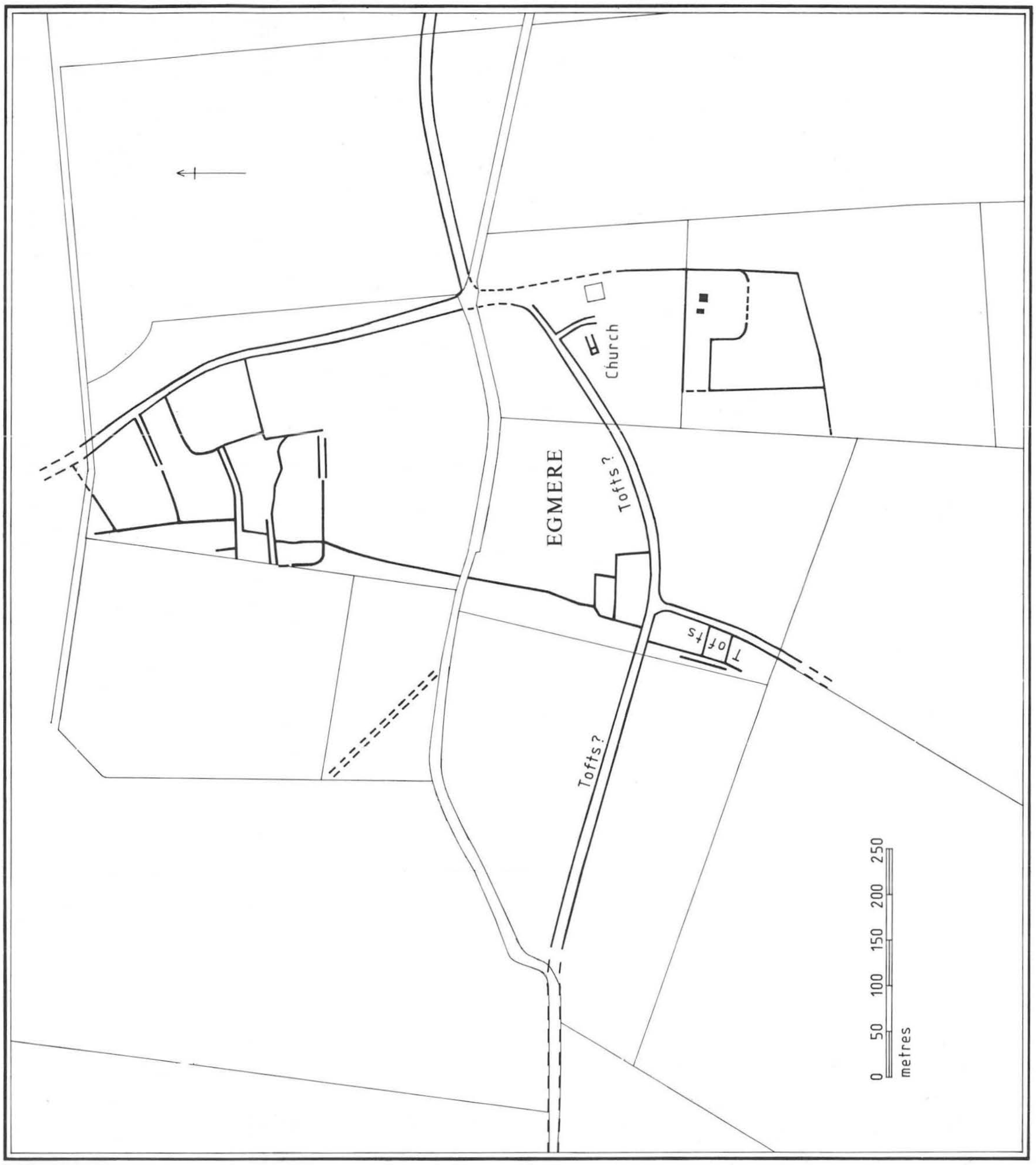

Fig.34. Egmere interpretation. Scale 1:7, 500.

south by a gentle slope and to the north-west by a street line which extends from the present field entrance in the north-east, past the church, where it becomes indistinct, to become visible again near the field boundary to the south-west. This street line continues south-west as a hollow way across arable land, to become more defined as it does so, and then crosses the valley (Plate XVI) to be lost in the arable land to the west, except for soil mark evidence on air photographs. It appears to join the existing road at a sharp bend (Fig.34). On the west of the site, to the north of the hollow way and straddling the fence dividing the meadow from the arable land to the east, is the outline of a toft, defined in the arable land by a sharp slope and in the meadow by a bank. A pond, probably of later date, is contained within this toft with its western edge being the watercourse. A smaller enclosure to the north is visible in the meadow. Within the toft on the arable land and to the north of the hollow way eastwards to the field boundary, field walking has produced a thick scatter of unglazed and glazed medieval pottery sherds; several of the Thetford-type ware sherds found came from the west end of this concentration. The land to the south of the road line produced very little pottery and it is interesting to note that the road line is also the parish boundary with Waterden. On the arable land to the west of the low meadow, field walking produced a slightly thinner scatter of predominately medieval pottery sherds, with three sherds of Roman pottery, one piece of Ipswich ware and several of Thetford-type ware. This scatter extended westwards for about 200 m and on either side of the road line, but it extended further from the road line in the south-east part of this field. Two later pits, now infilled, one each side of the road line have obviously disturbed the surface remains in their vicinity.

Heading south from the street line in the meadow, the present watercourse follows the line of a hollow way which originally led to Waterden. The level of the land to the east is higher than that to the west so the bank on the east of the road is much more prominent. To the east of this road junction a possible field entrance is visible leading south from the east-to-west road. To the south-west of the junction, at least one and possibly two tofts are evident, with the western boundary of these partially defined by what may be a narrow lane; one toft has a probable building platform.

The northern part of the site is less easily interpreted, except for road lines (Plate XVII). The present road east from Egmere is straight, but Faden's map and the estate map show this as a meandering line to the north of the present road and this is confirmed by slight soil marks on air photographs. The interpretation map (Fig.34) shows a short section of this line. Extending northwards from the point where the road lines diverge, a well-defined hollow way with flanking ditches at its north end, traverses the meadow to the north of the present road. On Faden's map this is shown as a road with a field boundary on its east side extending towards Holkham, across what is now a disused airfield. The estate map shows only a field boundary, not the road. The land to the west of this roadway is shown on Faden's map as a grove with a watercourse meandering southwards through it. The south end of this is defined in the south-west of the meadow by a shallow ditch which lines up with the culvert under the present road, while the present watercourse follows the west field boundary. The south half of the meadow is an exposed, rather featureless, area sloping westwards to the valley floor and gently northwards.

In the northern area a possible trackway leads westwards from the roadway at the north end of the meadow, joining a series of roughly rectilinear enclosures bounded by ditches which are often both wide and deep. Other less regular features are present. The central portion of this area is at the floor of the head of the valley and even with ditches is rather ill-drained; it is now used for wildfowl flighting. The largest pond is at a higher level and deeper than the two small ones. A large enclosure between the roadway and this central area is extensively pitted by marl or gravel workings, and smaller pits are scattered throughout this north part of the meadow; these are all of unknown date, but possibly contemporary with those near the church. The north-to-south features on the west edge of the meadow are not parallel to the present field boundary and some of them are obviously truncated by it, but no traces of them are visible in the adjacent arable field. Their likeliest interpretation is as a series of enclosures, possibly medieval in date, which may have been associated with one or more properties. As with the other meadowland at Egmere, pottery sherds have not been found on the surface, so there is no conclusive proof of settlement in this area. It is possible that the wetness of this part of the site could be partially due to the interruption of drainage by the airfield construction, and that at some time in the past it could have been more suitable for habitation than it appears today.

One other possible roadline deserves mention. North-west from the present road (and shown on Fig.34 only), a trackway leads through a wood in the direction of Quarles, a neighbouring deserted village. The wood and the track appear on both Faden's map and the estate map. No evidence exists that this road joined the medieval east-to-west road through the village, but its orientation through the wood is of interest.

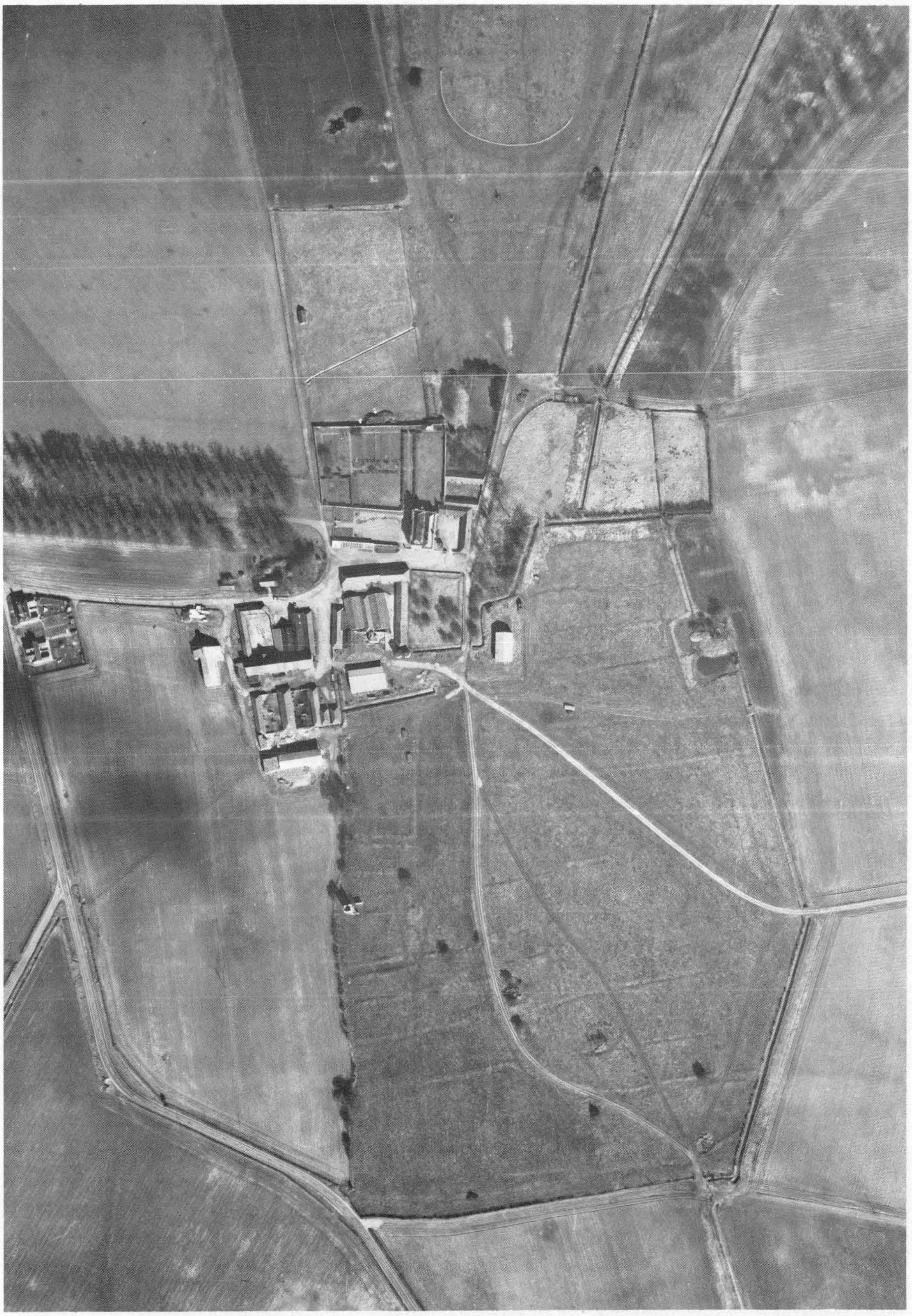

Plate IV. Vertical aerial photograph of Pudding Norton (Fig.16), 1970, north to top. (Ordnance Survey; Crown Copyright: No. 70 008 frame 155, reproduced with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright Reserved).

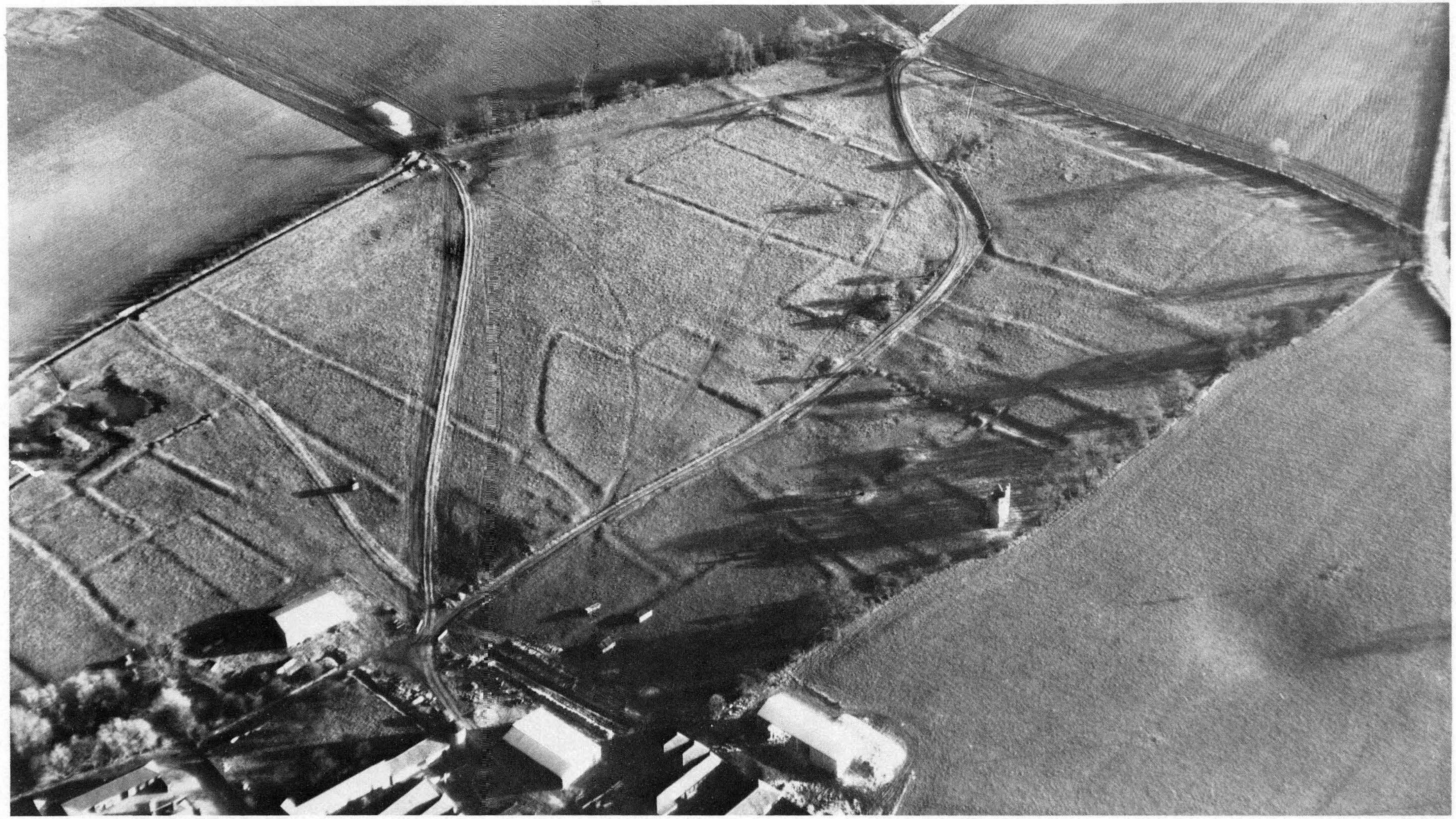

Photo: J.K.St.Joseph
Plate V. Aerial photograph of Pudding Norton from the north-west (Fig.16), 1967.
(Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No. AQS 45).

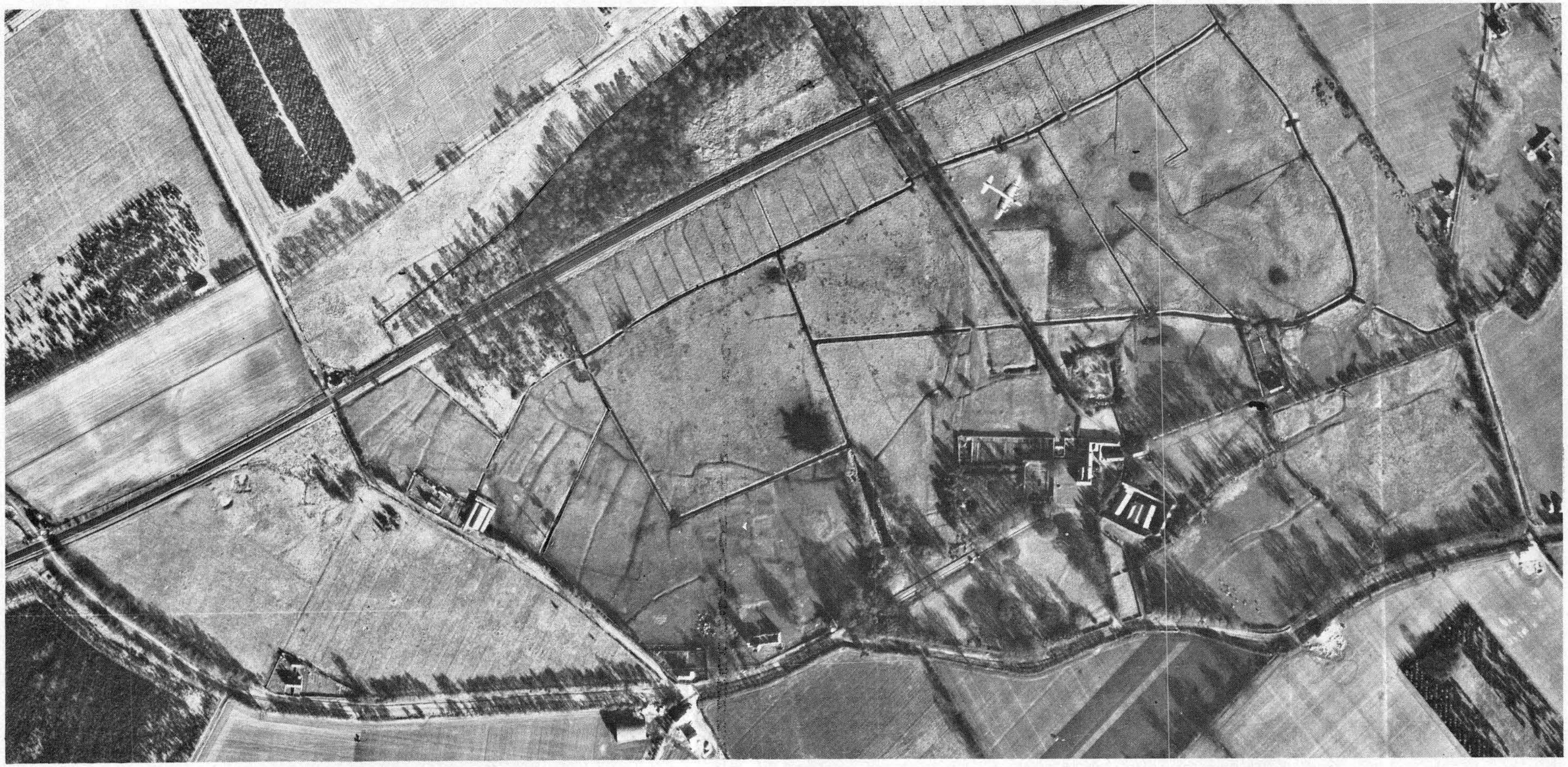

Plate VI. Vertical aerial photograph of Roudham (Fig. 19), 1946, north to the top. (Ministry of Defence Air Force Department photograph: Crown Copyright: composite of Nos. 3G/TUD/UK/59 V 5132 and 5133).

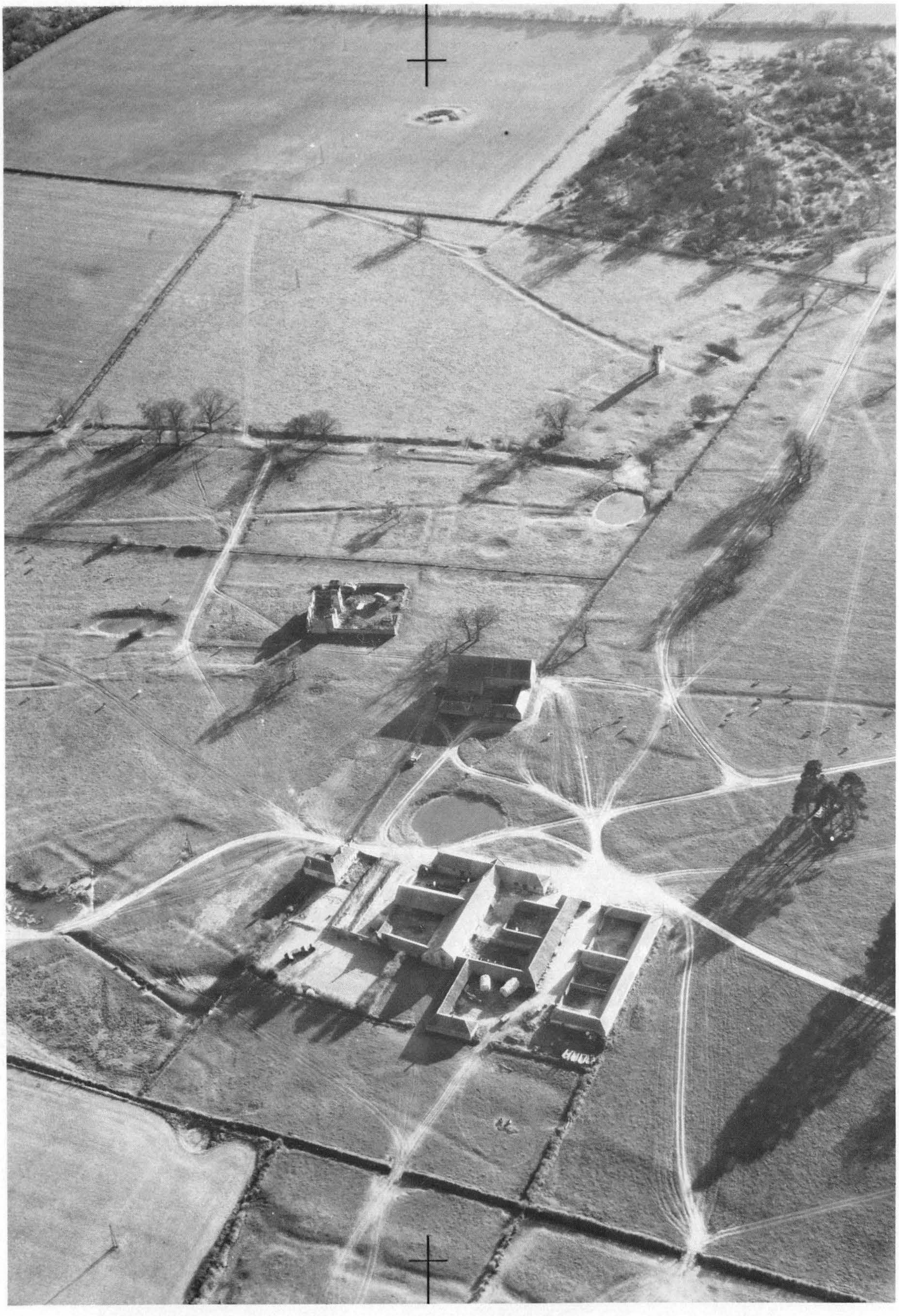

Photo: J.K.St.Joseph

Plate VII. Aerial photograph of Godwick from the north-east (Fig.23), 1960. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No.AAQ 61).

Photo: J.K.St.Joseph

Plate VIII. Aerial photograph of Godwick from the east (Fig.23), 1960. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No. AAQ 64).

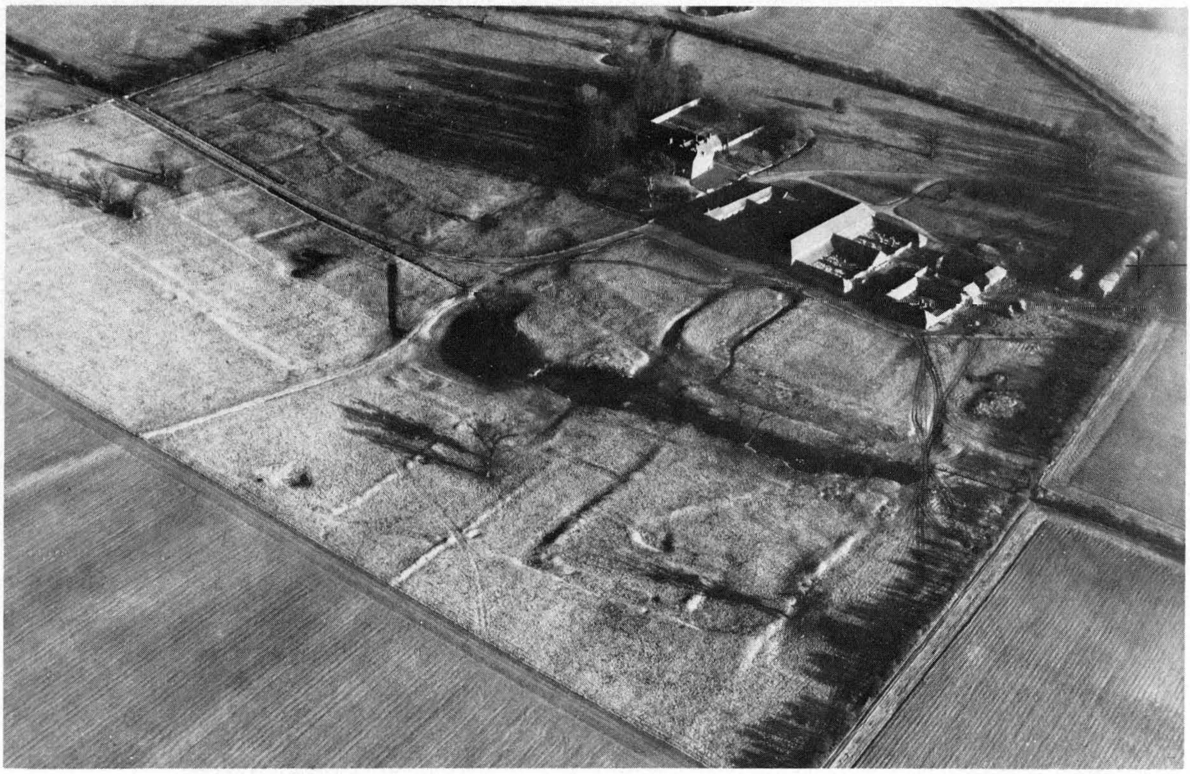

Photo: J.K.St.Joseph

Plate IX. Aerial photograph of Waterden from the west (Fig.27), 1966. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No. AMU 77).

Photo: J.K.St.Joseph

Plate X. Aerial photograph of the central area of earthworks at Waterden from the north-west (Fig.27), 1966. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No. AMU 80).

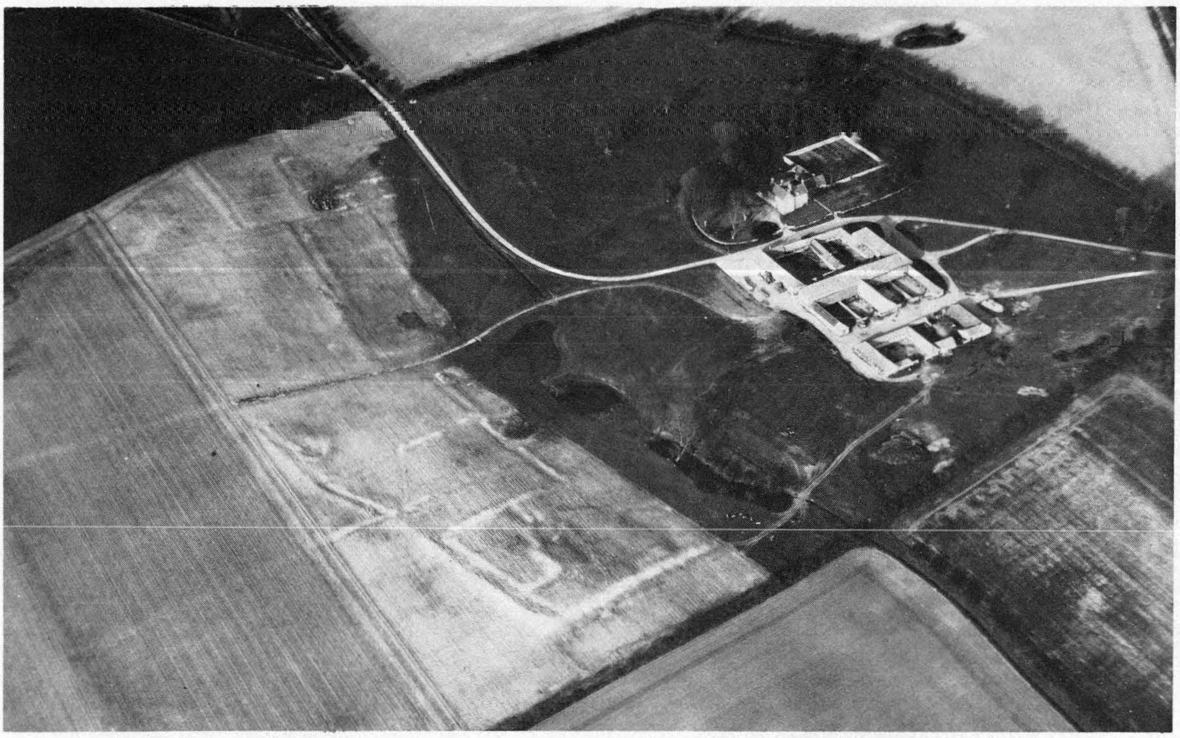

Photo: J.K.St.Joseph

Plate XI. Aerial photograph of Waterden after the earthworks on the west side of the site had been levelled and ploughed, from the south west, 1967. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No. ARB 6).

Photo: J.K.St.Joseph

Plate XII. Aerial photograph of the earthworks to the south of the farm at Great Palgrave from the south (Fig.31), 1960. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No. AAQ 68).

Photo: J.K.St.Joseph
Plate XIII. Aerial photograph of the western part of Great Palgrave from the south (Fig. 31), 1960. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No.AAQ 69).

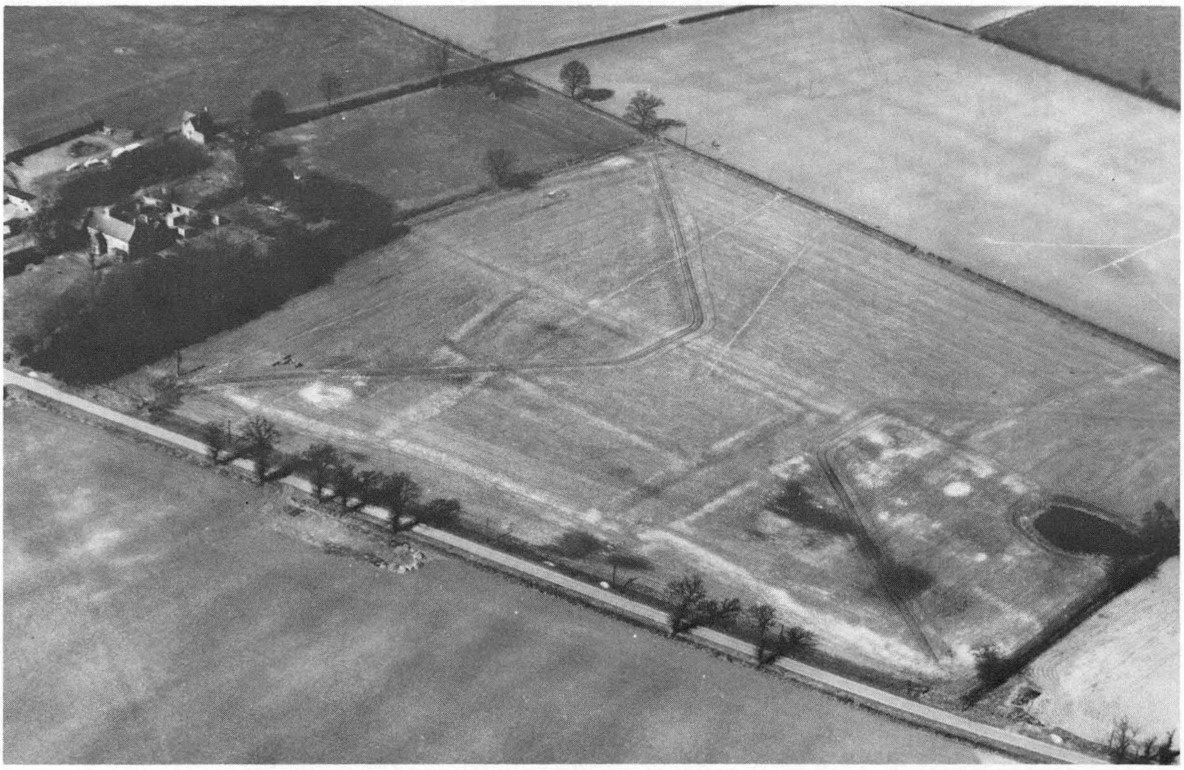

Photo: J.K.St.Joseph
Plate XIV. Aerial photograph of the eastern part of Great Palgrave from the south-east, 1956. (Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved: No. RT 20).

Photo: Derek Edwards TF 8937/H/AEB14

Plate XV. Aerial photograph of the eastern part of Egmere from the south (Fig.33), 1976.

Photo: Derek Edwards TF 8937/T/AEB26

Plate XVI. Aerial photograph of the western part of Egmere from the south-east (Fig. 33), 1976.

Photo: Derek Edwards TF 8937/N/AEB20

Plate XVII. Aerial photograph of the northern part of Egmere from the south (Fig. 33), 1976.

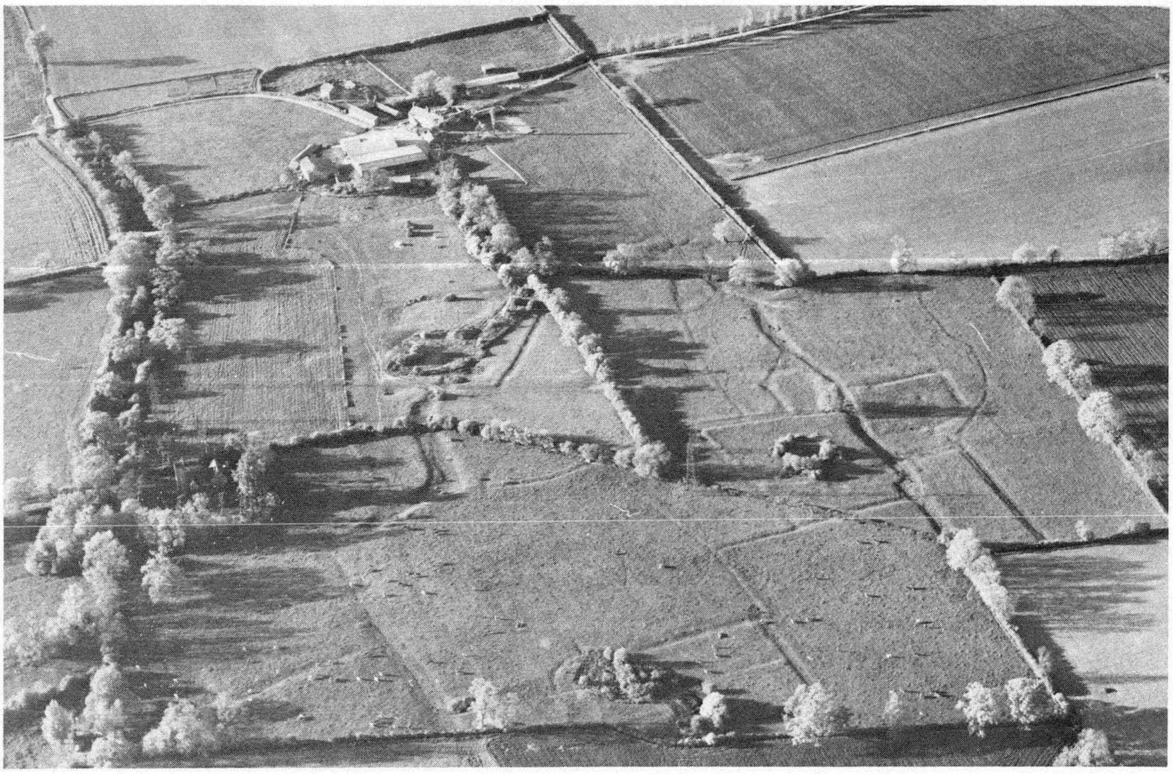

Photo: Derek Edwards TG 2604/E/AHB15

Plate XVIII. Aerial photograph of Bixley from the south (Fig.36), 1977.

Photo: J.K.St.Joseph

Plate XIX. Aerial photograph of Little Bittering from the east (Fig.39), 1973. <u>(Cambridge University Collection: Copyright Reserved</u>: No. BLP 12)

Photo: Hallam Ashley
Plate XX. Pudding Norton church from the south (Fig.18).

Photo: Hallam Ashley
Plate XXI. Waterden church from the north-west (Fig.29).

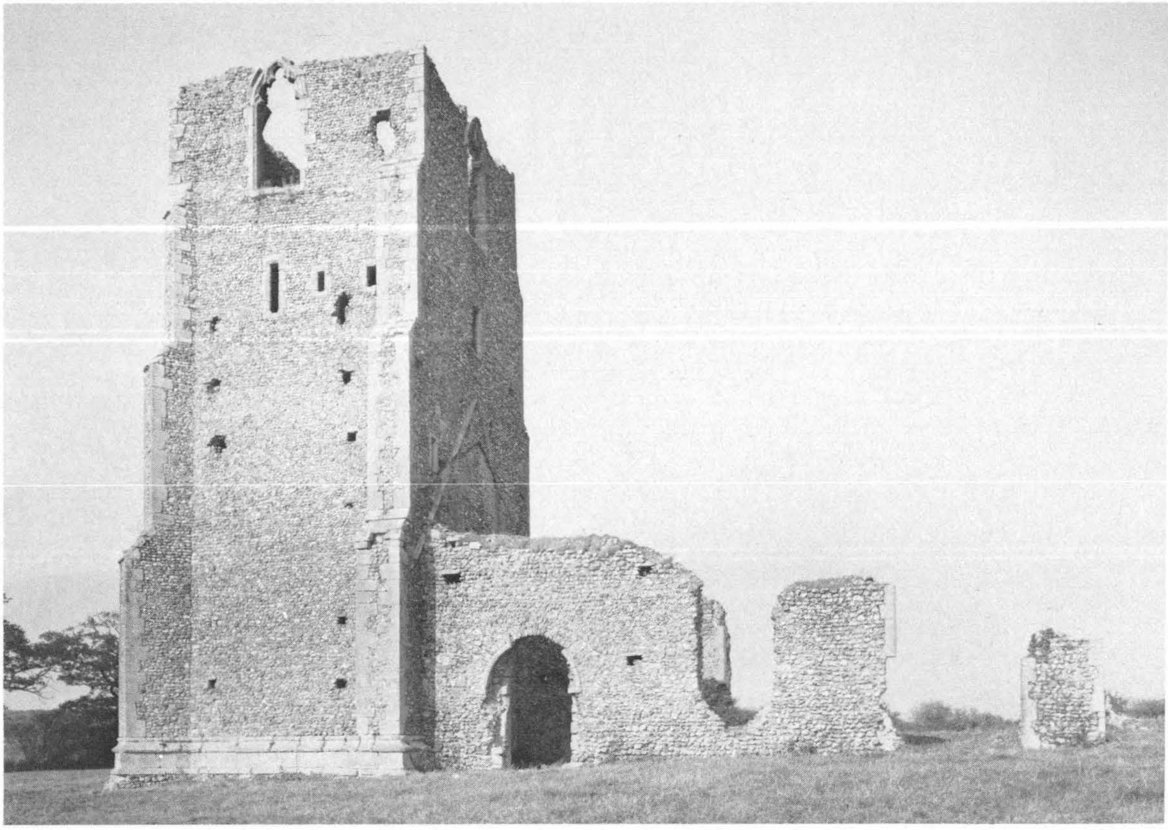

Photo: Hallam Ashley
Plate XXII. Egmere church from the south (Fig.35).

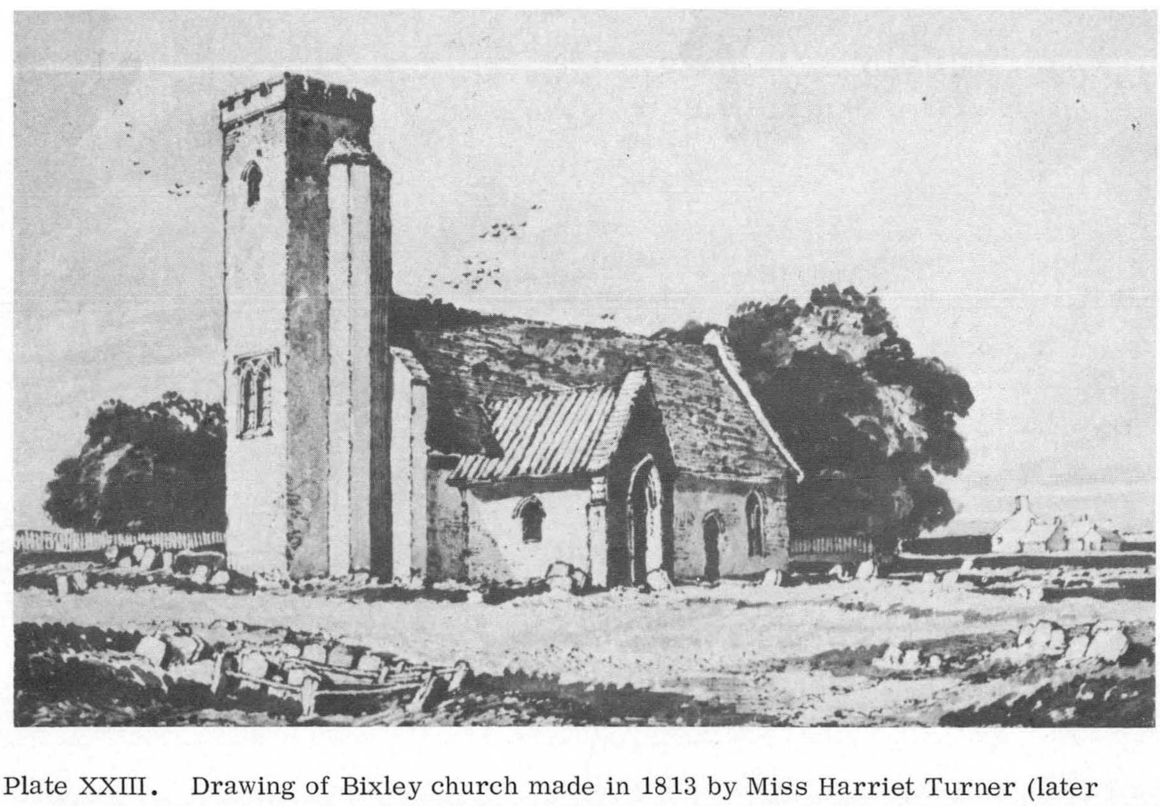

Plate XXIII. Drawing of Bixley church made in 1813 by Miss Harriet Turner (later Mrs Gunn). Original in British Museum in Dawson-Turner's addition to Blomefield's Topographical History of Norfolk.

The above evidence does not suggest an extensive settlement and the areas of pottery scatter to the south and west of the church are quite small. Other features may well be associated with habitation, but considerable disturbance makes interpretation difficult.

THE CHURCH

by George Fenner

The ruins of the church, dedicated to St.Edmund, stand on a knoll within the earthworks of the churchyard. The substantial west tower, overlooking the ruined nave walls with north and south door openings and the remains of the rood stair, dominates the landscape. The materials are mainly flint and limestone dressings with small quantities of brick and ironbound conglomerate (Fig.35, Plate XXII).

Although it has an early dedication, the church is not mentioned in Domesday Book.

Nave

The existing north wall is 7 m long, 70 cms thick and 4.3 m high, with a rough, uncapped plinth consisting of two courses of large flints. There are two openings, a splayed window, which has lost all its dressings except a piece of limestone on the western internal jamb some 6 m from the tower, and the north door. The round-headed external arch of this door has lost all its arch voussoirs and most of the limestone dressings of the jambs, but at the foot the rebate for a door 1.25 m wide still remains. The internal dressings of limestone are still intact and are remarkable because the round-headed arch is of very roughly-cut stone which might suggest an early date, but the relieving arch above is partly formed of brick which is also true of the external arch. The main flint fabric contains re-used cut limestone and brick, which are also used to outline some putlog holes, some tile and also some conglomerate.

At the junction of nave wall and tower, externally the two are not bonded, and flint work in the nave wall covers a section of the tower limestone plinth which argues that the nave wall is later than the tower. Internally, however, in the angle of the join, there is a double layer of plaster 1.5 m high which disappears into the west wall on the line of the nave wall. When a fragment of this plaster was removed it could be seen that the

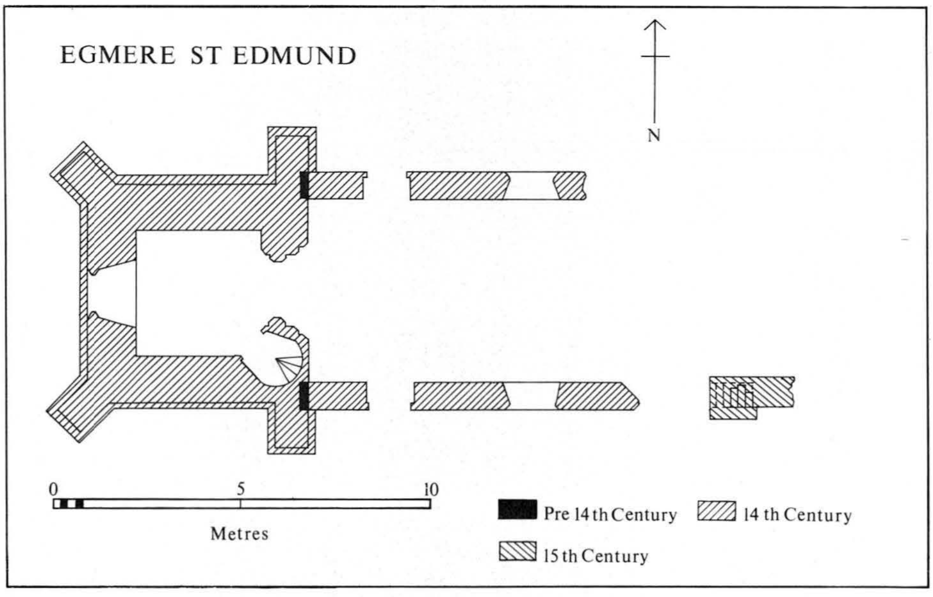

Fig.35. Egmere church. Scale 1:200.

fair face, which was whitewashed, had formed part of an inward-looking surface, and might, therefore, predate the tower. The only explanation must be that the wall, which the plaster covered, predates both present nave and tower and was included in the nave west wall when it was rebuilt.

The south nave wall is 11.8 m long and of the same height, thickness, and fabric as the north wall. The door opening is similar but some of the simple chamfered hoodmould is stopped by two horizontal slabs of limestone. Internally the arch is formed by two large curved stones and two smaller keystones, again very unlike post-Conquest work.

There is a splayed window opening opposite that on the north wall with limestone dressing on the internal jambs, and the west jamb of a further window to the east which still has some original, possibly fourteenth-century, moulding on the external jamb.

At 10.5 m from the tower there is a 1.25 m length of wall which contains three limestone steps within a limestone quoined buttress. This is assumed to be the remains of the rood stair and gives, therefore, the approximate length of the nave. All that is left of the chancel are the footings of a wall 1 m long which run east from the rood stair in line with the nave wall. The junction of this wall and tower preserves the same line of plaster but on this side it continues to the top of the nave wall.

Tower

The tower fabric has limestone dressings and coursed flint of random size with small quantities of re-used limestone, with a few bricks on the south face as blocking for putlog holes. There are three stage diagonal buttresses on the west end but those on the east are set square as a continuation of the nave west wall. The limestone plinth is 70 cm high with a deeply moulded top and is of fourteenth-century date. Of the four large belfry windows, that on the north retains its two light reticulated tracery and stopped hoodmould, while the others are in various stages of decay. Under each belfry window is a small oblong opening, very widely splayed internally with flattened arches of limestone. The turret stair is lit by three similar windows on the south side and one on the east.

The large west window has lost its tracery, and the jambs have been replaced. The later jambs have a slightly different moulding from the arch with no recess for the glass and are inset to produce a pronounced shoulder at the spring.

On the east face there is a steeply-pitched limestone weathercourse which finishes outside and well below the level of the top of the standing nave walls. This is cut by a shallower weathercourse in brick which finishes at a higher level than the stone weathercourse and must, therefore, have served to support the roof of a higher nave.

The tower arch is 5 m high and 1.5 m wide at its narrowest and has three orders, each having a simple chamfer. The tower is 1.2 m thick at the base which reduces at a stage approximately 10 m high. The spiral turret stair is entered from a door in the south-east corner and finishes above the staging where the newel post branches into four irregular vaulting ribs.

Interpretation

The earliest part of the church must be that built into the present nave west wall, the only evidence for which is the thin lines of plaster, although it is just possible that the north and south doors belong to this phase. The next phase is the building of the tower in the fourteenth century with a low nave to meet the steeply-pitched limestone weathercourse. The final stage in the fifteenth century was to increase the height of the nave walls and re-roof to the shallower pitch of the brick weathercourse. Although the evidence is flimsy, it is possible that the chancel was demolished and rebuilt to the same width as the nave, and the rood screen and stair installed to mark the change from nave to chancel.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE
by Ralph Goldsmith

One of the earliest references to Egmere is to be found in the will of Bishop Aelfric of Elmham (1035-38) which, amongst the distribution of lands, includes 'thirty acres at Eggemera are to go to Aelfwine his priest at Walsingham, and the rest to go to Ufe the prior' (Hart 1966, 82). Another charter dating from the mid-eleventh century and listing the holdings of the monastery at Bury St.Edmund's, includes an 'Inventory of the stock at Eggemara' (Hart 1966, 91).

At the time of the Domesday Survey the manor of Egmere was held by Ailmar, Bishop of Thetford. The entry states 'then fourteen villeins, now eight. Then two slaves, now none. Then two ploughs on the demesne, now one. The two ploughs belonging to the men, now two oxen and two ploughs could be restored...Then 180 sheep, now ninety...Then it was worth 70 shillings, now 45 shillings and 4 pence; and one sokeman ...a man of Bishop William's. Then he used to plough with one [full] plough team, now with two oxen'. This evidence suggests that the village was already contracting before the time of the Domesday Survey. Indeed, it is interesting to note that other villages in this geographical area also show a decline in population, animals and ploughs between the Conquest and the Domesday inquiry. The King, too, held half a ploughland here as part of his manor of Wighton, but by 1086 there was nothing there, although it was noted that one plough could be employed.

The valuation of Egmere in 1086 of 45 shillings and 4 pence was considerably more than that of its neighbour Waterden at 17 shillings and 4 pence. By contrast Egmere, which was almost twice the area of Waterden, was paying Danegeld of only 6 pence against that of 12 pence by Waterden, but the Danegeld figures for the county are extremely difficult to explain. To complicate matters further the main manor of Egmere does not seem to have been assessed and the geld was raised upon the lands in Egmere belonging to the King's manor of Wighton; Waterden was linked with North Creake for the purpose of assessment.

For the purposes of the Lay Subsidy of 1334 (Hudson 1895, 243-297), Egmere was linked with Quarles, a neighbouring village now also deserted. They were assessed at £6.13s.4d. Thirty-one people were taxed to produce this sum. The total paid by the Hundred was £94.16s.0d. and this came from fifteen villages. Egmere-cum-Quarles was ninth in order and its payment was a little higher than the average amount per village of £6.6s.6d. In 1449 this assessment of £6.13s.4d. was reduced to £3.19s.4d, thus giving a reduction for the two parishes of forty per cent against fifteen per cent for the Hundred as a whole. These figures suggest that there was no great expansion in population here during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and that during the later Middle Ages there was a serious decline in the population.

In the Muster Roll for 1523 (Gurney 1931, 39-68) there is no entry under 'personnes for the warres'. Under 'Spirituall personnes' appears 'Syr Nicholas Thyrlyng, paryssh preste of Egmere his stipend bty yere 4 marks, in movabulles 20s'. Under 'Temporall men' are the prior of Walsingham, lord and Sir Roger Townshend as steward, together with John Thirlock with moveables valued at £50 and George Gysborne with goods of 4 marks. From this it would seem that John Thirlock was the only person of means living at Egmere at that time. The following year, five taxpayers are recorded for the Lay Subsidy, paying £1.11s.4d. (Sheail 1968).

In 1423 the manor was in the hands of trustees who presented the manor and patronage of the church to Walsingham Priory. After the Dissolution of the Priory of Walsingham in 1538-9, the King granted Egmere to Sir James Boleyn in exchange for the manors of Hever and Kemsing in Kent. The church at Egmere was in a sorry state having been stripped of some of its lead roof which, together with the largest bell, had been sent to the coast for export. The boundaries of the glebe land had also been ploughed up (Allison 1955, 147). Houses were also in ruins, for about 1581 twenty-two payments of free rent were due from Sir Thomas Gresham to the Bishop of Norwich's manor of Peterstone 'for pieces of open field land out of certain decayed tenements (and) land in Egmere' (Holkham Mss. Burnham Deeds, Bundle 3 and quoted by Allison 1955, 147).

In 1576, Nathaniel Bacon wrote to Sir Thomas concerning the Wighton parcel of land within Egmere, complaining that 'In Mr. Bullein's time, when he had Egmere, he without title toke this to himself, which was never sins brought in question, but so concealed and so the Queen hath title therunto'... (Hassell Smith 1978, XLVI and 1979).

By an indenture Egmere was conveyed to Dame Ann Gresham, the widow of Sir Thomas Gresham, and by another indenture (1582) Lady Gresham conveyed to Sir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave, Knight (afterwards the premier Baronet of England) and to his heirs, 'The Manor or Lordship of Egmere and the Advowson and Right of Patronage of the Parish Church of Egmere with all and singular the Messuages, lands etc. and Appurtances. Except all such lands and Tenements as were parcel of the Manor of Walsingham or Boroughall'. Sir Nicholas dealt the final blow to the church by allowing it to be used as a barn in 1602 (Allison 1955, 147).

Egmere passed from the Bacons to the Woodhouse family. In 1794, there was an exchange of lands in Waterden and Egmere to improve the field boundaries of the two farms.

When Egmere was purchased by Thomas William Coke in 1812 from Edmond Wodehouse of Great Ryburgh, very little in the way of documents was passed over and nothing earlier than some tithe accounts of 1573. Whether the lack of these disturbed Coke, or whether it was simply legal caution, questions of title were raised and answered (Holkham Mss. Egmere Deeds, Bundle No. 2). The only estate map it has been possible to consult was one prepared for Wodehouse and dated 1810. The names of the enclosures are listed on the map and there are two of interest. Number 11 is called 'Old Egmere' and it lies to the west of the earthworks area. Number 20 is called 'Wards Close'. In the fourteenth century 'Simon son of Nicholas of Hunworth, Roger Ernald and Agnes Sampson were taken for the death of Ralph Warde of Egmere' (Hanawalt 1976, 25).

By 1812 the sale was completed. One comment by Gilman, acting for Wodehouse, is worthy of note. 'There is no church, neither is there any Terrier or Parish Register in existence nor even any record that there ever was any Churchwarden or any Presentment (Holkham Mss. Egmere Deeds, Bundle No. 2).

The evidence which exists for Egmere can be seen to be very scanty. Those figures which do exist seem to indicate that the population had always been poor and fairly scanty. It is possible that the destruction of the church marked the virtual extinction of the village. The census of 1841 gives fifty-four inhabitants. It was likely that these people lived in scattered farms for nowadays the area is one of dispersed settlement and open spaces. On the nucleated site of the former village, a single cottage is the only inhabited dwelling.

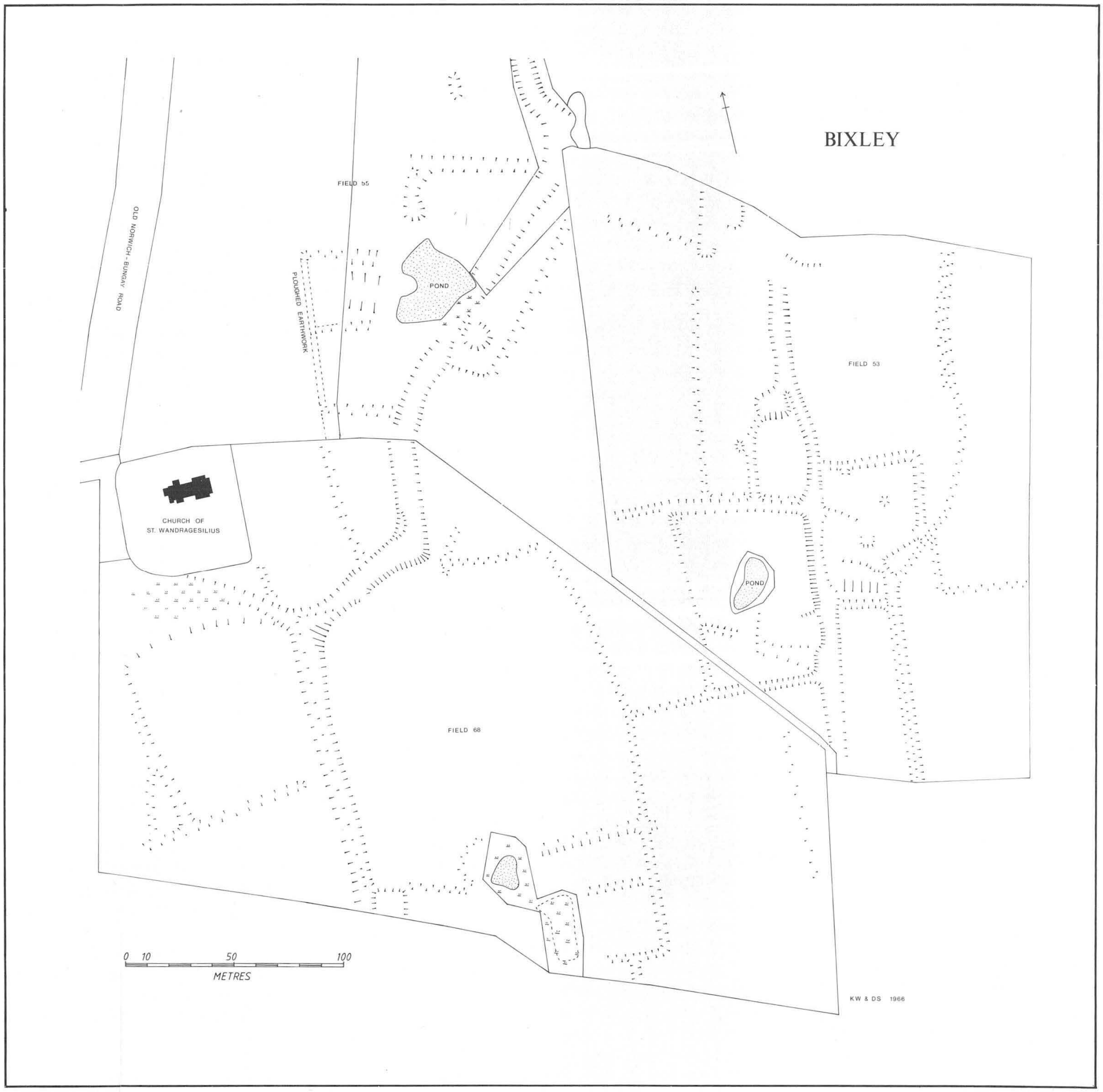

Fig.36. Bixley earthworks. Scale 1:2, 500.

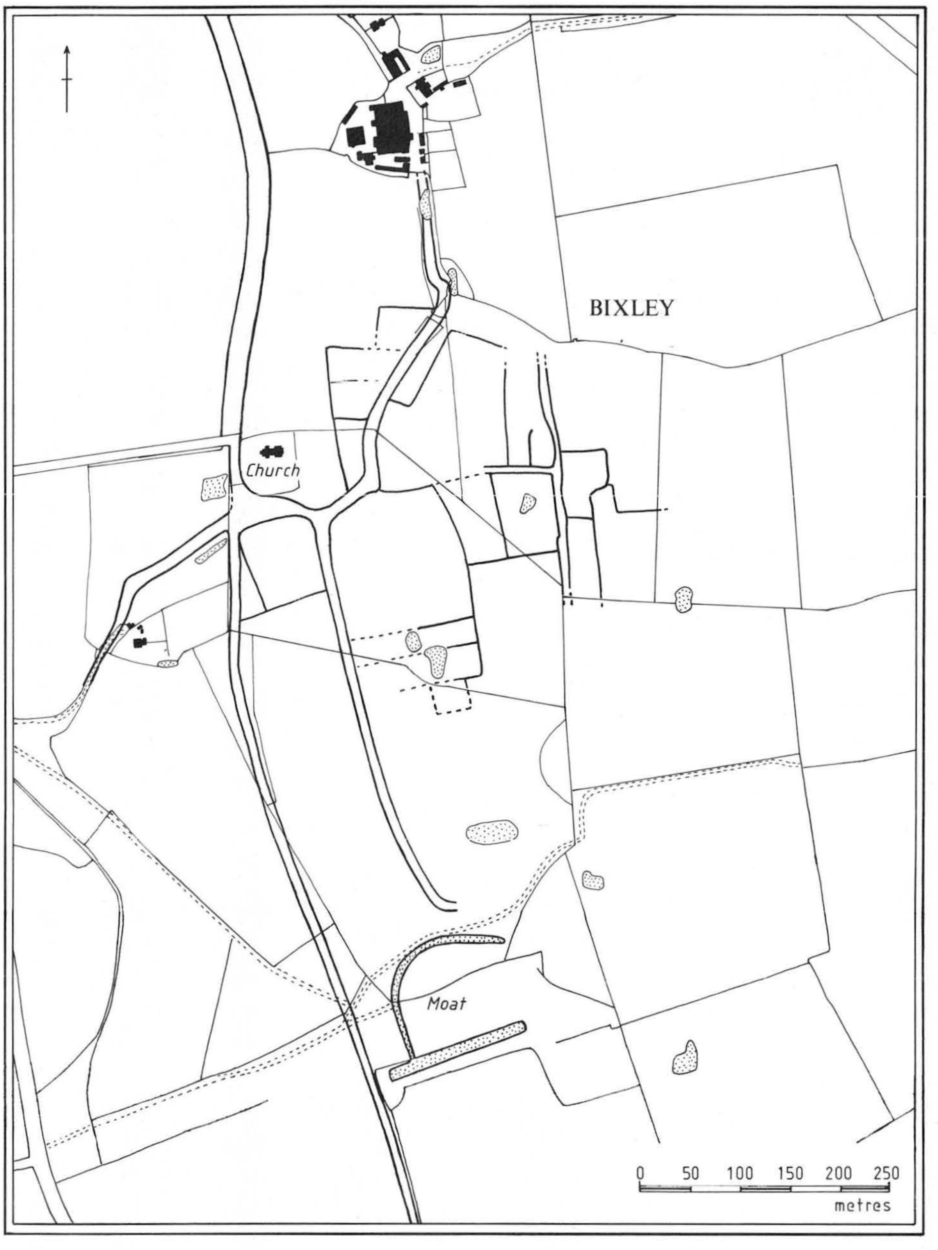

Fig.37. Bixley interpretation. Scale 1:7,500.

VIII. BIXLEY

SITE DESCRIPTION
by Keith Wade

The parish of Bixley lies 3 km south-east of Norwich on the well-drained fertile plateau between the valleys of the Tas and Yare. There are now only a few houses in the parish scattered along the main roads to Bungay and Beccles. The medieval village site lies entirely on boulder clay, but there are areas of gravel subsoil within the parish as a whole.

The surviving earthworks (site 9660) lie on three pasture fields east of the church of St.Wandregeselius, adjacent to the old course of the Norwich to Bungay road (Fig.36). Two sunken streets run north to south, one through the eastern field and the other through the two western fields (Plate XVIII). The most impressive earthworks lie alongside that in the eastern field where there are two large, complete, rectangular tofts, and a third with no apparent northern boundary. All three have clear evidence of an entrance from the street leading into a sunken yard, and two have mounds which might well be house platforms. A secondary street runs westward from the street between two of the tofts to the open area to their rear.

The south-western field contains what appears to be two narrow tofts at the far south, cut by the field boundary, with a large house platform fronting the street. A side road connects the main street with the old Norwich-to-Bungay road alongside the church. The remaining area is divided by a number of ditches into a series of enclosures of varying size which are presumably small fields or the remains of a well-drained green.

The field to the north contains evidence of at least a further two tofts. The western half of this field, however, has been ploughed and the earthworks consequently reduced in height.

The streets cannot be traced far to the north or south of these three fields (Fig.37). The western street runs to Park Farm in the north where it ends without further trace. Southwards it can be traced part of the way across a ploughed field heading toward the site of Bixley Hall. No trace of the eastern street can be found on the ground outside the eastern pasture field.

The layout, as revealed by the surviving earthworks, contrasts with those of the mid-Norfolk villages and implies dispersed settlement, a characteristic settlement pattern for south-east Norfolk. However, the earthworks are impressive enough to be relatively late in date (possibly early post-medieval?). If this is the case then the dispersed pattern might relate to a diminished community and not necessarily resemble the earlier pattern.

THE CHURCH
by George Fenner

The church stands in a square churchyard to the east of the old Bungay road. The dedication to St.Wandregeselius, the seventh-century abbot of Fontanelle, is unique in England. The church is mentioned in Domesday Book and was rebuilt in 1272 by William of Dunwich, Bailiff of Norwich and co-founder of the Great Hospital. A stone commemorating the founder is preserved in the church. During the Middle Ages the church was a focus for pilgrimage which may have had an economic effect on the village. In 1868 the church, apart from the fifteenth-century tower, was entirely rebuilt on a new plan. No faculty plan exists, but there is a plan dating from this year for the enlarging of the Chancel (Dioces.Plans 1785-1900 Q 120 A No.290). According to Blomefield (1808 VII, 9) the medieval church was 'an antique small building of one aisle only, eighteen yards (including the chancel) by five, tiled, as is the south porch, with a tower which is low and square' - a description borne out by Ladbroke's drawing of 1823 and a drawing dated 1813 in the church (Plate XXIII). Apart from some reset fourteenth-century-style lower jambs and hoodmoulds in the south doorway, all that remains of the medieval building is a fragment of the original north-west nave wall and the tower (Fig.38).

Tower

The tower is unbuttressed and stands on a flint and moulded lime-stone plinth 50 cm high. It is built of regularly-coursed knapped flint, carefully galletted. The brick parapet is modern. There is an irregular half-octagon south stair turret with the top 1 m repaired. The three obtuse angles of the turret are quoined in bricks, laid alternately and moulded to fit the angle, not cut. At the junction of turret and tower face alternating bricks are used to strengthen the angle. The straight joint of these junctions of tower and nave are neatly and decoratively finished in alternating brick and flint. There are four small square windows in the turret, the topmost blocked. The west window is modern - the drawing of 1813 shows a fifteenth-century, cusped two-light window with a

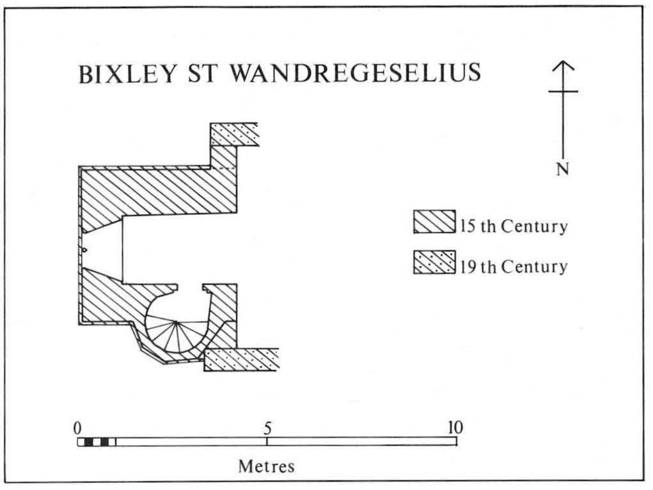

Fig.38. Bixley church tower. Scale 1:200.

straight-headed, corbelled hood-mould in this position. There are small fifteenth-century belfry windows on the west, north and east faces of the tower and a large brick relieving arch on the east face, which is also visible on Ladbroke's drawing. Below this arch, to the present roof, the fabric of the tower is of roughly-coursed brick and unknapped flints to the full width of the tower. The original roofline must have covered this.

In the interior a four-centred arched doorway gives onto the turret stair which is entirely of brick. The moulding of the nave arch has been hacked away and the jambs heightened to the east, but the original moulded apex is just visible on the west side, heavily whitewashed.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE
by John Knight

The documentary evidence is rather sparse, so far as it can be located, and particularly in respect of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Domesday Book gives a population of one freeman, two villeins, three bordars and thirteen sokemen (Blomefield 1808 V, 447). The manor was then held by Archbishop Stigand, but was subsequently split in three parts, being united again after the Reformation in the hands of the Duke of Norfolk and sold later to the Ward family. The church was served by rectors from 1303, but was consolidated with Framingham Earl in about 1690 (Blomefield 1808 V, 450). The Archdeacon's Visitation in 1597 stated that the curate 'ministereth the Communion but once in the yeare at Easter' (Williams 1946, 109).

In 1603 there were only twenty-five communicants. The church has continued in use to the present day. Various farms and cottages throughout the parish have continued to be occupied and it is, therefore, difficult to draw conclusions as to the depopulation of the village site itself from the few figures available. The Lay Subsidy returns for 1334 show Bixley at 22s.2d. with the total for the Hundred, comprising seventeen villages, £65.19s.10d. (Hudson 1910, 271). Bixley was indeed the lowest in the Hundred and as can be seen from the figures quoted above, well below average.

The Norfolk Subsidy Roll for 1430 (DS 506 (35) 351 x 4) showed tax again at 22s.2d, low but no lower than many villages which have survived and constant with the figure for .e 1334 Lay Subsidy return, thus indicating no substantial drop in population. Lay ıbsidy returns for 1524 (Sheail 1968) record five taxpayers paying 9s.8d. whilst the Lay Subsidy for 1581 (Stone 1944, 109) showed payments by only four persons totalling £34 of which £23 was attributable to Edwarde Warde the Lord of the Manor. The Norwich Consistory Court rolls contain five wills for the period 1405-1443 and eleven for the sixteenth century. The registers of the Archdeaconry Court reveal two wills only dated 1463 and 1468 respectively. There are none for the second half of the fifteenth century or the whole of the seventeenth century. The 1795 Land tax returns showed three occupiers and five 'outsetters', the total of £45.1s.4d. being the third smallest in the Hundred.

In the absence of any direct evidence it is difficult to understand why Bixley was ever depopulated. It was well situated, on very good agricultural land, between two main roads and within easy walking distance of one of the principal cities in the kingdom. It does not seem to have been obliterated by the Black Death (tax relief of less than a third being received subsequently) or any other of the major epidemics of that period. Indeed, it is interesting to observe that there is a possibility, as mentioned above, that the pattern revealed by the surviving earthworks is of a smaller and richer community of farmers developing at a comparatively late date. Certainly the pattern is quite different from that of, for example, Godwick or Pudding Norton. In the two latter cases, and in particular Godwick, the lay-out of the tofts and crofts is much more regular. For the moment we must speculate whether this indicates at Bixley a later development covering the earlier lay-out, or whether this is a manifestation of the unusually large 'free' element in the population of the village; there being, as Miss Davenport (1906, 15) suggests, a connection 'between the distribution of dwellings and the status of the population' which seems 'to show that while the unfree were grouped in villages, many of the freemen dwelt apart and scattered'. In this connection the high proportion of one freeman and thirteen sokemen to two villeins and three bordars as given in Domesday may be relevant and may explain the sort of village it then was and continued to be.

There is little evidence regarding enclosure, but Gray (1915, 308-9) shows that the Norwich Hospital Estates, existing as late as 1714 in the combined township of Trowse and Bixley, comprised thirty-four acres of enclosed land and twenty-four acres of open land in twenty separate parcels. The open fields lay in the northern part of the parish between, or adjacent to, the two main roads.

Bixley Hall was built about 1565-70 by the Ward family on their acquisition of the estate. It stood well to the south of the village site and, thus, it was not necessary for the village to be cleared on the construction of the hall. The most likely solution would seem to be that, as happened elsewhere, the individual holdings were gradually acquired by the lord of the manor to improve his own estate and provide freedom of action. On the present evidence this can be only speculation, but, nevertheless, in the sixteenth century, the greater part of the parish came into one ownership and that is when the documentary evidence, such as it is, for individual holdings ceases.

IX. LITTLE BITTERING

SITE DESCRIPTION

by Peter Wade-Martins

Little Bittering (site 7266) is a small deserted village, lying on gravel (Fig.39), 2.5 km to the south-east of Mileham. It is just to the north of the main east-to-west Roman road which follows Stony Lane (Fig.40), although there is no sign of the Roman road adjacent to the site.

The present east-to-west road through the village forms an extension of a V-shaped piece of common land shown on Faden's map of Norfolk, and it seems to follow the line of the medieval village street. On the south side is a moat adjacent to a small, now little used, church. To the east of the moat were earthworks of an outer enclosure for the moat, with an entrance on the east side, but this enclosure has been flattened in recent years. The entrance to the outer enclosure faced to the east, and so also does the causeway across the moat. In the ploughsoil there are traces of a flint track running between the two.

On the north side of the road is a row of possibly six tofts which have been cut through in places by later drainage ditches (Plate XIX). There is a square ditched feature which may be a small moated site within one of the tofts just mentioned just to the north of the main moat near the church.

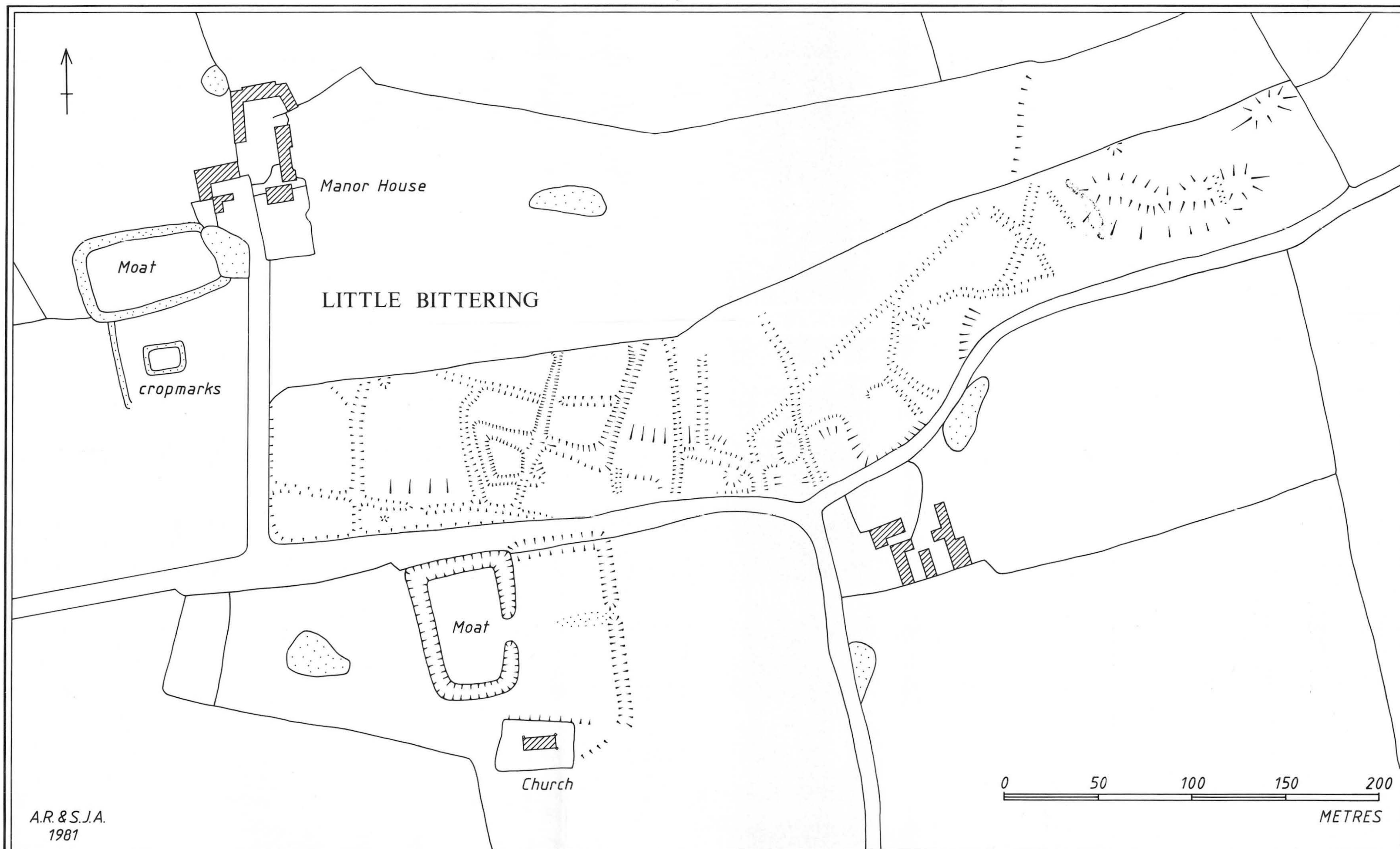

Fig. 39. Bittering earthworks. Scale 1:2, 500.

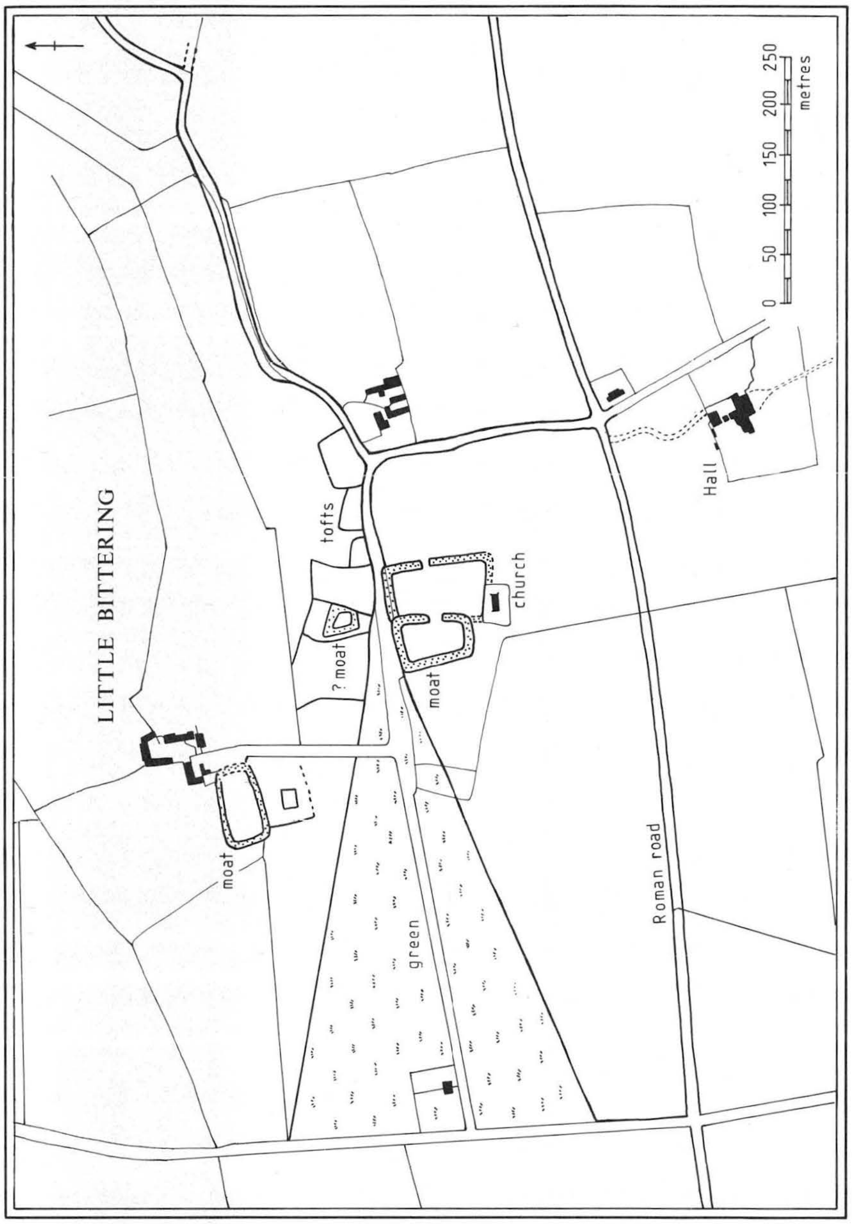

Fig.40. Bittering interpretation. Scale 1:7,500.

Adjacent to Manor Farm House is another moat. This one has been levelled and is ploughed, and there is a scatter of fifteenth-century pottery on the surface; to the south of this there is some cropmark evidence for an outer enclosure with a building.

THE CHURCH
by George Fenner

The parish church, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, consists of a structurally undivided nave and chancel and stands a little to the south of the village street close to the outer enclosure of the adjacent moat. The churchyard, now much reduced and without boundary walls, has apparently only three modern burials. The fabric is flint with limestone dressings and some re-used, cut, limestone blocks in the section above the plinth, some clunch surrounding the arches of the north and south doors, two patches of brick and pantile east of the doors, and some brick in the west gable above the eaves. The roof is pantiled and there is a limestone bellcote surmounting the west gable (Fig.41).

Although the building is well cared for, in Blomefield's time (1808 IX, 459) it was 'very decayed...it is covered with thatch, has no steeple or bell, and no pulpit but a desk...'. It may once have had a tower, for the list of church goods taken from the church dated October 1547 (Rye 1879, 23) includes 'too greate bells wt the roopes and certen leade that lay abowte the bells', although they could have been housed in a detached timber belfry. Ladbroke's drawing of the church shows it much as today. The church ceased to serve its parish in 1954 and again became very derelict, but regained its status after recent careful restorations.

Chancel

The chancel occupies more than one third of the total length of the building and is separated from the nave by a restored late-Perpendicular screen, with four lights on each side and a four-centred arch in the middle. The gable of the east end has been rebuilt and has an iron stay. The east window is of three slim, stepped lancets, and several of the dressed stones of the north and south jambs are very wide. The south-east chancel window is set higher than the rest and is a double lancet with similar heavy stone jambs. The fifteenth-century south-western window is of two lights, square-headed and cusped with a corbelled hoodmould.

The eastern gable has two diagonal buttresses of one stage, that on the south has limestone dressings, but a brick infill which probably dates it to the sixteenth century. The north buttress also has limestone dressings, but a moulded brick plinth; it is filled with flint at lower levels with re-used limestone above, and at the junction with the eaves is patched with nineteenth-century brick and is possibly contemporary with the nave buttress. The quoins supporting the gable project beyond the buttress tops to accommodate a widening of the gable visible as a fabric change.

A low flint plinth, 7 cm wide, now below the present ground level but exposed in a gulley and covered in concrete for most of its length, runs round north and south walls of the chancel, probably round the east end and continues westward along the nave for 2 m.

Inside, the south-east window is within an arch with jamb shafts and under it is a sedilia, into which opens, on the east side, a plain lancet-headed piscina with an angular shaft. In the west angle of the window is a small fourteenth-century-type arch with damaged corbel heads beneath, possibly reset. The only monuments of interest are three thirteenth-century limestone coffin lids. The first and best preserved is in the north-east corner and is 2.15 m long. It is tapered, with a pronounced gable, a moulded edge and lateral ridge, wheel cross at the head, double omega and stepped base. Adjoining this to the west, the second is either a longitudinal fragment or is partly concealed in the north wall to a depth of 14 cms. This coffin lid is 1.93 m long with a slight gable, is tapered with a moulded edge and lateral ridge, wheel crosses at head and foot and double omega with scrolled terminals. The third is in the south-west corner and is more eroded than the other two. It is 1.82 m long, almost flat, tapered, with moulded edge and lateral ridge, wheelcross head, double omega and stepped base.

Nave

The nave is 8.95 m long from the west wall to the chancel screen. The single fifteenth-century window on the north wall is of two lights, square-headed and cusped with a renewed hoodmould. The north door is of plain Early English style with double-chamfered arch set in a hoodmould of clunch which has been eroded or cut back. The buttress set square on the north-west corner has limestone moulded dressings of fifteenth-century date, but four courses of Victorian yellow brick above the plinth indicate a substantial nineteenth-century rebuilding. The flint infill continues into the gable for about 1.5 m. The west wall has a recently restored thirteenth-century lancet window above eaves height and is surmounted by a bellcote which appears to be made of limestone and has two openings. The only bell hangs in the northern opening, where there is a recess for suspending the bell similar to that in the empty southern opening. From the details of the capping, the structure seems to be of seventeenth-century date.

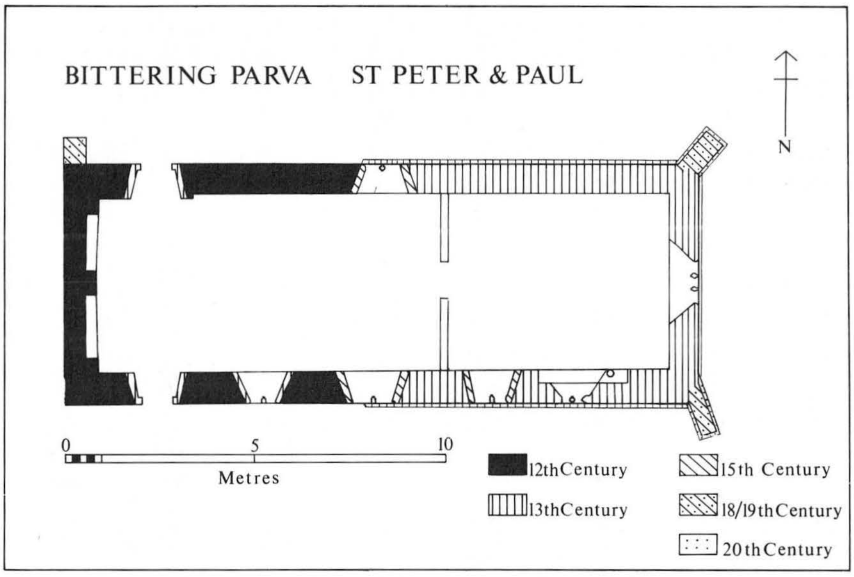

Fig.41. Bittering church. Scale 1:200.

Inside there are two stone benches set symmetrically into the wall under simple arched recesses of thirteenth-century shape.

The door on the south wall is similar to that on the north and the clunch hoodmould still has the remains of its moulding. The fifteenth-century south-eastern window is of two plain arched lights with a square-headed, corbelled hoodmould. The south-western window is a modern twin lancet in Early English style.

Roof

The seven-bay roof is modern.

Fittings

The thirteenth-century font is circular with simple trefoil arcading. It stands on a round column on a square base with four restored, small angle shafts. It is heavily whitewashed.

The pews are modern.

The oak pulpit and the squire's pew contain seventeenth-century panelling. An oak Jacobean table stands south of the altar.

Fabric and interpretation

Perhaps the most significant piece of information can be found under the western jamb of the fifteenth-century south window in the nave. At this point, the plinth stops and above is a straight joint. From plinth to cill height, the west side of the joint is formed of large, knapped flints, regularly coursed and matching the large flints in the south quoins of the nave gable. Between the two sets of quoins, the flints are small, graded, unknapped and in fourteen regular courses to a height of 1.4 m. Above the cill to the west from plinth to 20 cm below the eaves, the flints are larger, ungraded but coursed. To the east of the straight joint, the flints are of random size and uncoursed. The same pattern appears on the north wall and on the gable wall. It appears certain, therefore, that the structure outlined by the flint quoins and coursed flints is the earliest part of the standing building. An additional piece of evidence is that the north wall from the west wall to just east of the door is of the same thickness (90 cm) as the west wall, but thicker than the similar length of the south wall and the rest of the structure (80 cm).

The thicker section of north wall reduces sharply at a point 20 cm from the present eaves, but all the walls in the building were raised by that amount as is shown, again externally, by fabric differences.

The sequence, therefore, seems to start with a small church 8.0 m x 6.5 m externally, possibly apsed, and built before 1200 (if one accepts the view of H.M.Taylor (1965 III, 943) on the subject of rubble quoins) perhaps to serve the house which occupied the adjoining moated site. This was partly demolished in the thirteenth century and the church lengthened to the east preserving the original width and height.

In the fifteenth century, three new windows were installed which may have necessitated the raising of the walls to accommodate their extra height, and the screen installed. The two north buttresses could also be part of this build.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE
by Alan Davison

The history of Bittering Parva is obscure, not least because Bittering Magna is also deserted and the two are not always clearly distinguished in the records. All early references suggest that this was a small and relatively insignificant place, often reckoned in with larger neighbouring settlements; by 1428 it had less than ten households. Subsequent evidence shows that in the sixteenth century its condition did not improve and that the site remained largely abandoned. It is thus an example of medieval desertion from causes unknown.

The settlement was first recorded in the Domesday survey (Doubleday and Page 1901/6 II, 49, 69) where it is named Britringa; there are two entries but it is not clear whether one or both of the Bitterings are concerned. Launditch Hundred was dominated by Mileham in this period, and one entry dealing with holdings in Mileham and in Bittering shows the nature of the problem in that it is not possible to separate Mileham and what is probably Little Bittering. In terms of recorded population the Bittering entries have very little to show: the one already mentioned lists only four sokemen who held lands distributed between Bittering and Mileham, while the other entry records four bordars. It seems that the second entry may well be for Bittering Magna. A comparison with the entries for other places in Launditch shows that most had larger recorded populations and that the few with very small numbers form a group including Godwick, Kempston, Kipton and Pattesley, subsequently to be deserted.

In the Norwich Taxation of 1254 'Bitteringe' appears alone, no distinction between Great and Little being shown; only one other place was assessed for a smaller sum among the thirty-four parishes listed. The insignificance of the Bitterings is emphasised by the 1291 'Taxation of Pope Nicholas' which includes neither (Hudson 1910, 102).

Thereafter, Bittering Parva figures little in records, but in 1316 the Nomina Villarum listed 'Bestone cum Byteryng Parva' and showed that the Earl of Arundel and John de Byteryng held land there (Feudal Aids III, 454).

In the Township Assessments of 1334 and 1449 Bittering Parva was again considered as one with Beeston (Hudson 1895, 277). Out of thirty-two payments from Launditch Hundred, the two made a joint contribution which was the third largest and, in the reduced assessment of 1449, one which was second largest. In each instance the payment was well above the median sum, despite the quite large percentage reduction made in 1449. That this was largely because of the prosperity of Beeston there can be no doubt since Bittering Parva was one of a number of settlements in the Hundred for which exemptions were made in the 1428 Parish Tax; it then had fewer than ten households (Feudal Aids III, 610). There were five other parishes so treated in Launditch; three of these - Godwick, Kempston and Pattesley - have already been mentioned as deserted, while West Lexham and Wellingham remain quite small. It is possible that Little Bittering had never been much larger.

There is a subsidy return for 1543 (PRO E 179 150/310) which confirms that Little Bittering was virtually depopulated. Its immediate neighbours had substantial numbers of people assessed for goods or lands and paid in proportion (Longham sixteen names paying 95s.1d; East Bilney fourteen names, 50s; Mileham twenty-six names, 74s.9d; Litcham thirty-five names, 91s.2d; and Beeston thirty-nine names, 101s.1d.). Bittering Parva could muster only two names: John Suffield paying 4d. for goods and Penyall paying 2d. for goods. Of other places, Wellingham (thirteen names, 3s.4d.) Oxwick (thirteen names, 12s.11d.) West Lexham (seventeen names, 15s.10d.) East Lexham (fourteen names, 26s.8d.) were obviously not very prosperous and Godwick (two names, 22d.) and Kempston (five names, 4s.4d.) were in a similar condition to Little Bittering. The last, with such a trifling amount, could no longer have consisted of more than a few dwellings.

A sixteenth-century valuation of North Elmham, Longham and other places (NRO Gressenhall Mss. Ref.Ing. 222 246 x 2) shows only one entry for Bittering Parva (a tenement formerly Wynkefelds) and a few Court Roll extracts of 1575, 1590 and 1598 (NRO Mss. 11019, 11024, 11023, 29 A1 BRA 63) dealt with admissions to holdings, two of them successively to one holding. It seems that in that century there was very limited occupation of the site and that this was also the case in 1603 when the Archdeaconry Return (Jessop 1888, 37) showed that Bittering Parva had nine communicants only.

X. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Petygards and the Medieval Hamlet of Cotes

by Alan Davison

I. SUMMARY

Petygards has been listed as a possible deserted village site: fourteenth-century charters and other documents show that there was a hamlet called Cotes in the southern portion of Sporle, and that Petygards was the name of one holding within it taking its name from the Petigard family. Cotes was associated with a large common of that name which lay in the south-eastern corner of Sporle. The settlement, not named in Domesday, may have grown up as a late colonisation of the edge of the common. Finds made in field-walking support the documentary evidence for this suggestion.

II. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This account is based initially on some discoveries made during a study of Great Palgrave (or Pagrave) for the Norfolk Archaeological Rescue Group. The writer is grateful to the staffs of Norfolk County Hall, the Norfolk Record Office and the Colman and Rye Libraries of Local History for making available the documents and maps consulted. He also wishes to express his thanks to Mr. Brian Cushion who took a major part in field-walking the site, to Mr. John Wright who drew the author's attention to certain features of the Enclosure landscape and to the staff of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit for identifying the finds. Mr. Kerry of the East Anglian Real Property Co. Ltd. kindly allowed access to the fields of Petygards.

III. THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Petygards in Sporle was included by Allison (1955, 155) in a list of possible sites of Norfolk deserted medieval villages. The suggestion was tentative, based on the position of Petygards in a long southward extension of Sporle, the fact that the modern place lies 'on site of Hall' according to the Ordnance Survey, and on the presence of Town Farm nearby; these led to the statement that there might formerly have been a village or hamlet there. The name of Petygards has remained in subsequent lists of deserted village sites in Norfolk. (Medieval Village Research Group 1963; Beresford and Hurst 1971, 195-7).

The earliest reference to Petygards so far found is a surname. It appears as either principal or as witness in the texts of charters of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in a Cartulary of Sporle (N.R.O.,MS. 18199 78 x 4); it is not a locative name. Whereas other personal names appear in forms such as 'Henry de Pagrave', or 'William de Esthall de Pagrave', the form for Petygards is 'Henry Petigard', or 'Roger Petigard de Sporle'. The family seems to have held lands variously in Sporle and the Pagraves.

Among other personal names figuring in the charters are those said to be 'de Cotes'. Personal names embodying Cotes include Henry de Cotes, Godefrey de Cotes, John de

Cotes and Roger the son of John le Vilani de Kotes, while, in a charter of 1335, Roger Petigard was said to hold a croft, newly inclosed, in Cotes. This suggests the existence of a place like the Pagraves, the Dunhams and Sporle and this is supported by the page headings of the Cartulary. Pages are headed by place-names such as Sporle, Pagrave, Dunham Parva, Congham, Fransham and Cotes; no less than seven pages are headed 'Cotes' and one 'Sporle and Cotes'. There are other references to Cotes: lands described as being in the fields of Cotes; a road leading from Sporle to Cotes; an acre called Buntyisacr lying in the fields of Cotes; and a charter of Richard Attemere de Cotes mentioned one acre and half a rood lying in one piece in the vill of Sporle in the field of Cotes. Two of Attemere's charters were dated at Cotes on 18th April 1349. Clearly Cotes was a place with fields belonging to it, a number of named inhabitants, connected by a road to Sporle and considered to lie within it.

Further light is shed on Petygards and Cotes by a court roll of 1434 (N.R.O.,MS. 20867 47 A 6) where an entry detailing the holdings of Thomas Styward at his death listed a tenement called Petygards in Cotes, as well as sundry other lands and tenements including one called Cateres in Cotes. Another entry of 1435 mentions Thomas Styward (son of the last) erecting a fold in Cotes without licence or title, and holding a close there. From this evidence it can be concluded that Petygards was no more than a prominent holding within Cotes.

A rental of Sporle made in 1522 (N.R.O., MS. 20879 47 A 3) gives a description of the fold course in Cotes in Sporle. Part of the boundary is given 'by the est parte of the weye which ledeth from the town of Sporle to Petigates And so from thensforth southward as the dyke divideth the common and the severall grounds of John Awdeley knyght unto the strete of Cotes towards the south And so from thensforth extendyng directly estward to Nekton Dykes'. According to this rental in time of shack the fold course extended northwards over the whole east field of Sporle as far as Sporle Wood. It is just possible that this represents an earlier, greater extension of Cotes. This is also suggested by a charter for Little Dunham in the Cartulary which described land in a field there as being near Cotes.

Some deeds of 1597-99 (N.R.O., MSS. 9418-21 22.C.4) provide further information about Cotes. One of them (9418) mentions the 'messuage or Tenement and a Close called Petigards' lying together in the town and fields of Sporle and in the hamlet of Cotes.

Cotes was thus the name of the settlement which lay in this southward extension of Sporle and it seems to have been a street hamlet; in substance the suggestion of a lost settlement was correct, but Petygards was merely one part of it.

Cotes survived in some form into the seventeenth century; an undated terrier said to be of this period (N.R.O., MS. 20877 47 A 2) mentions lands lying in the field belonging to Cotes but nevertheless in Sporle, some lands of Cotes in Pickenham, and also the heath of Cotes. A rental of Sporle and Pagrave of 1605 (N.R.O., MS. 20882 47 A 3) also mentions a number of messuages, including 'Pettyards', an orchard called 'le grene yarde', closes, a free tenement, pightles and several 'purprestures' (encroachments) including one called Kenes - sufficient to suggest a concentration in this area. The description of the bounds of the foldcourse implies that in 1522 Cotes must have lain close to the boundary of the parish, either at a little distance directly to the south of Petygards or to the east of this and strung out along the southern bounds of the parish. An indenture of 1597 (N.R.O., N.R.S., MS. 9424 22 C 4) mentions lands lying in the fields of Swaffham Market (to the west of the area) north of 'the way called Coots Way' - a road seems thus to have approached Cotes from the west. There is some suggestion in the 1605 rental that Cotes may have been a settlement or area which extended into North Pickenham; there is a reference to a close in 'Picknam Cotes', and also to a messuage and twenty-four acres of bond land in Cotes and North Pickenham. A rental for Sporle with Pagrave of 1597 (N.R.O., MS.20881 47 A 3) also refers to a bond messuage in North Pickenham Cotes. The indenture of 1597 mentions sixty-four acres 'nowe enclosed and commonly called the Ladyes Closse in North Pickenham in Cootes and Sporle'; one of the parties to the indenture, John Atmeare, in other documents of 1601 (N.R.O., MSS. 9430, 9431, 22 C 4) is said to be 'of Pickenham Coots'. However, in other deeds (N.R.O., N.R.S., MSS.9426, 9429, 22 C 4) he is described as 'of Cootes in Sporle' and 'of North Pickenham' respectively; it may be unwise to place too much weight on the exact wording of these texts, nevertheless some uncertainty must remain.

A map of 1728 showing the Farm of Petty Yard and Cotes common (N.R.O., Norf. Co.Library Dep., 16/1/73 (Q 199A)) shows no buildings other than those of the farm - which suggests a seventeenth-century depopulation of the area. Blomefield, writing in the 1730's (Blomefield 1807, VI, 67, 122, 124) mentioned the sheepwalk for 300 ewes of Cotesmoor, but otherwise made only insignificant reference to the name in Sporle; he stated, however, that there was a hamlet called Cotes in North Pickenham. An undated eighteenth-century Estate Map (N.R.O., Pounder, Brown and Gethin, 20/571 R 191 A) shows 'Coats Moor Common' with a boundary against Necton Common, while Faden's map of 1797 also shows 'Coates Common' with two groups of buildings on its southern margin either within North Pickenham, or very close to the boundary.

The Enclosure map of 1806 illustrates the destruction of Cotes Common: a large portion of over ninety-one acres was set aside as Poor's Firing to be enclosed, ditched and fenced, the remainder was apportioned between two major landowners. The existence of several fields called 'brecks' on the northern edges of the common suggests earlier reductions in size. Along the southern margin, just north of the parish boundary, were several small areas of freehold and copyhold land which may represent some survival of earlier inhabited sites, but the only building shown was a barn. Inside North Pickenham some buildings which appear to correspond to those on Faden's map are shown, and some of the land just to the north of the parish boundary was copyhold of Holme Hale; further documentary search may throw more light on the relationship of these two villages with Cotes Common. On Faden's map Cotes Common is part of a continuous expanse of commons or heaths stretching eastwards as far as the Bradenhams. Inter-commoning in earlier times is a possibility; in 1585 there were proceedings in King's Bench over illegal seizure of stock on the great common of Necton just to the east. The dispute, between inhabitants of Necton and Hale (Holme Hale), concerned rights over this common (N.R.O. PD 143/100). From the Enclosure map it is evident that Town Farm is a post-enclosure creation on the Poor's Firing Allotment. The tithe apportionment map of Sporle of 1841 (N.R.O. 378) shows a group of buildings described as an 'old farmhouse' just to the west of site F, while there is another house and buildings to the east at TF 8656 0802; both groups straddle the parish boundary. The corresponding map for North Pickenham (N.R.O. 395) by contrast shows the eastern group entirely in North Pickenham. At Petygards itself, Bryant (1903, 240) records that in 1845 a chapel used as a barn was pulled down and that it had an Early English window.

IV. THE FIELD EVIDENCE

Initial exploration was concentrated on possible sites of the 'strete of Cotes' mentioned in the description of the fold course of 1522, and also in the immediate vicinity of Petygards House. The pottery spreads are indicated on Fig.42.

An examination of ploughland, formerly a westward extension of the grounds of the house at TF 8560 0838 (site A), yielded a considerable quantity of pottery which was predominantly medieval, much of it being thirteenth- to fourteenth-century material including glazed and unglazed Grimston ware. There was also one piece of Samian ware and a portion of a limestone mortar which could be Romano-British or medieval; a few sherds of

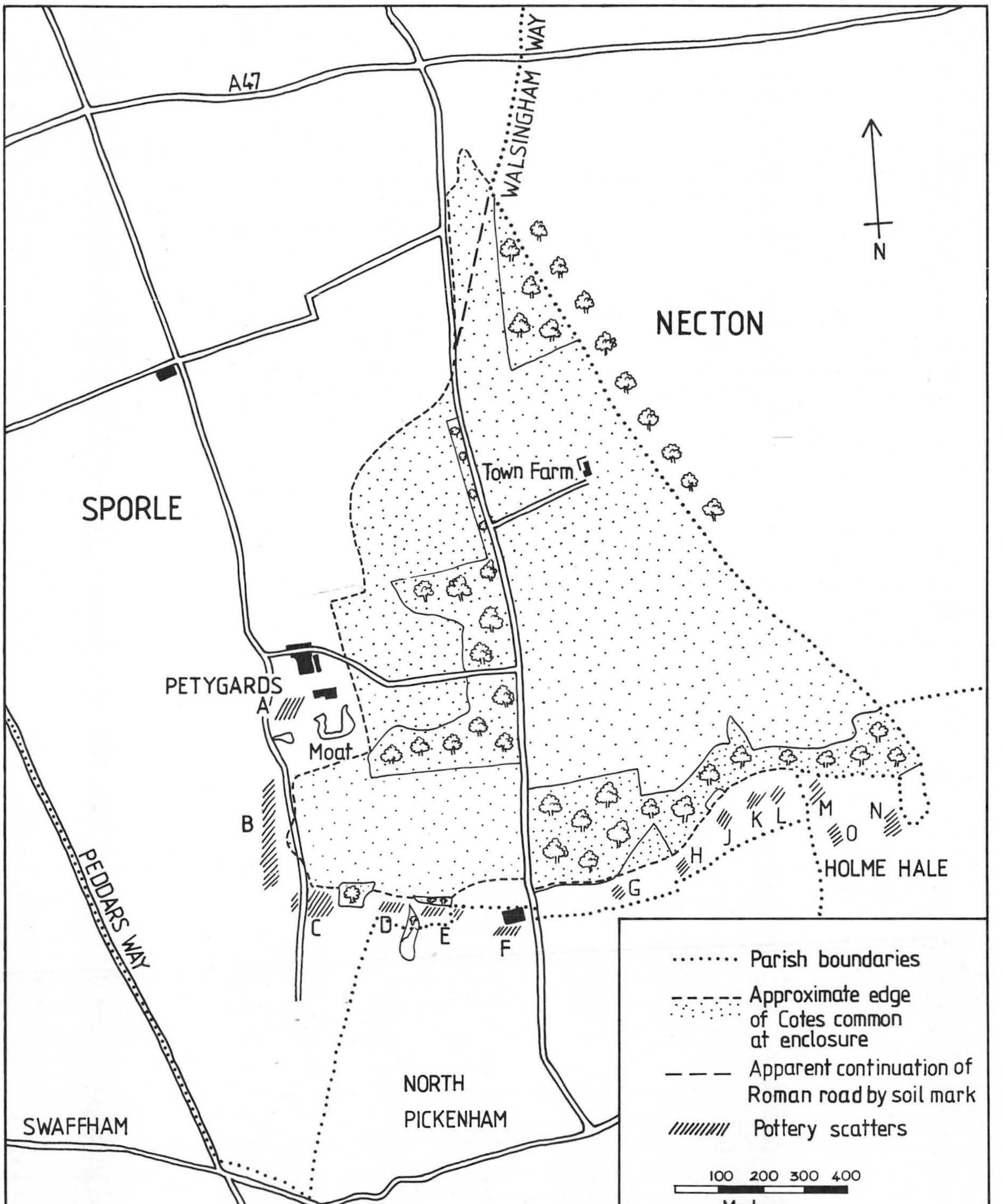

Fig.42. The distribution of finds near Petygards.

post-medieval pottery were also found. A particularly striking find was a horse-head spout from an aquamanile of Grimston ware.

The ploughland immediately to the south-west of Petygards at site B carried a scatter of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sherds along a gentle east-facing slope. The soil there is light and well-drained, but to the east, in contrast, there are rather poorly-drained gravelly soils. This was the former common and, judging by the various man-made channels which contain flowing water, it may have been swampy in earlier times. The extreme south-eastern tip of the parish still does contain an area of marsh vegetation. This second scatter appears to represent a common-edge settlement on slightly higher ground, a possibility for the street of Cotes.

Close to the southern edge of the former common were concentrations of pottery which occurred at intervals; some of these lay just inside the present boundaries of North Pickenham and Holme Hale. Interesting finds were made at the south-western tip of the common at site C. A large proportion of the fragments were Romano-British, including portions of rims, the base of a massive storage jar, a piece of a third- to fourth-century flanged bowl, a sherd with comb decoration, and pieces of amphorae; the balance of the fragments seemed to be of the second to third century. There was also a Romano-British box tile, and some other fragments of tile. A few medieval pieces, including glazed and unglazed Grimston ware, were found at this site, a gentle north-facing slope overlooking the old common.

At site D (again, like subsequent sites, near the foot of a north-facing slope) thirteenth- and fourteenth-century glazed and unglazed sherds were found, while at site E Grimston ware of the same period, a medieval fragment of another type and a post-medieval piece occurred. At E, bricks, probably medieval, which had a glazed appearance were found; this suggests vitrification and the possibility of a kiln nearby (there are several small water-filled pits and hollows in the vicinity). A late medieval double buckle was also found. Site F, close to the present roadway and a large modern barn, yielded a fragment of a lava quern and more pieces of Grimston and other medieval wares.

The chain of sites C to F appears to correspond closely with the position of the street of Cotes suggested by the most likely interpretation of the description of 1522. Examination of the approximate edge of the common to the east of the modern road to North Pickenham revealed further concentrations of finds.

Immediately to the east of the road there are signs of later building, especially near where there was a cluster shown on Faden's map, the tithe maps and on the early editions of the Ordnance Survey; brick, tile and slate fragments are numerous and there is marked soil discolouration. Close to this point at site H about fifteen pieces of coarse Grimston ware were found, while at site G a similar quantity of medieval sherds occurred together with one piece of basalt ware (1750-1850) and a few other post-medieval fragments. Site J produced similar material to that of site H. At site K another concentration of about twenty pieces of medieval pottery included a few that were possibly as early as the twelfth century, while at site L there was another small quantity of medieval sherds. All these sites lie just within Sporle, but sites M, N and O are in Holme Hale. Site M yielded fifteen medieval pieces and one piece of rim which was probably Romano-British. Site N, besides a few medieval fragments, was rich in Romano-British material including pieces of amphorae, colour-coated ware, a decorated rim and a foot base; this site is on a rather prominent knoll just to the west of, and overlooking the south-east tip of Sporle. Site O produced only ten small pieces of medieval ware. There is a faint possibility that a track shown on the first edition of the one-inch Ordnance Survey map indicates a survival of one which linked some of these sites.

The pattern of finds suggests scattered settlement around the rim of the vanished common, in broad agreement with the documentary evidence. Search of the area north of Petygards revealed only an insignificant quantity of medieval sherds. Apart from some possible twelfth-century pottery at one site, there was no sign of pre-Conquest or early medieval material. Surprisingly, post-medieval finds were not numerous and this is the only contrast with the documentary picture.

The Romano-British finds, also apparently associated with the edge of the common though not related to the settlement of Cotes, raise queries. The Peddars Way lies one field away to the west, and site C must be very close to the apparent line of another Roman road which ran from Toftrees to Pickenham (Wade-Martins 1977) and forms the eastern parish boundary of Sporle as it crosses the A47. This road was called Walsingham Way in the description of 1522. Its line can be traced in ploughed land as it leaves the parish boundary for the south-west and crosses the road to Pickenham; here there is a slight rise and change in the direction of that road. Thereafter, the line of the Roman road becomes uncertain; if the line was continued south-westwards it must have passed very close to wet ground where there are quite powerful springs.

Allison (1955, 139), commenting on the number of deserted medieval villages in Norfolk, emphasised that the list of such places consisted of those important enough to appear in the central administrative records and that there must certainly be hamlets whose names could be added; Cotes must surely be one of these. The relationship of archaeological and documentary evidence to the margin of the common shown by Faden suggests that field-walking the edges of other commons recorded on his map might be productive.

March. 1981

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Nos. 28 34 Queen Street, Kings Lynn

by Hugh Richmond, Robert Taylor and Peter Wade-Martins

I. SUMMARY

The buildings numbered 28, 30, 32 and 34 Queen Street contained parts of three stone houses dating probably from the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. This report describes these stone houses and some of the underlying deposits; the buildings were much modified in the Middle Ages and later, but the stone front wall of 30/32 survived until demolition in January 1977.

II. LOCATION

The site (no.12052) lies close to the early nucleus of King's Lynn, founded by Bishop Losinga of Norwich at the end of the eleventh century (V.Parker 1971, 21). The town grew up around and to the east of the Saturday Market Place adjacent to St.Margaret's church. Queen Street runs from the west end of Saturday Market Place northwards to the bridge over the Purfleet at Purfleet Place. Across the bridge, King Street continues northwards in the area of the twelfth-century extension of the town known as the 'New Land' (Fig.43). Queen Street and King Street are presumed to represent the twelfth-century shoreline (Clarke and Carter 1977, 416-9). This was moved progressively westwards during the Middle Ages as a result of rubbish tipping. A medieval wharf was excavated within the courtyard of Thoresby College to the west of Queen Street in 1964 (H.Parker 1965; Clarke and Carter 1977, 100-12).

The later twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries marked the high point in the prosperity of the town (V.Parker 1971, 4; Clarke and Carter 1977, 445). The tenements along the east sides of Queen Street and King Street are particularly significant because of their location alongside the early waterfront. Parts of six stone buildings dating from this period have recently been recognised in four places on the east sides of Queen Street and King Street (Fig.43). Substantial wall foundations were located in excavations by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit in 1976 (site 5480) in the undercroft of the Guildhall, where Queen Street joins the Saturday Market. The remains of three stone houses, (site 12052) one within No.28, a second within Nos.30-32, and part of a third in No.34 are described in this report. In King Street, Nos.30-32 (site 1088) contained a stone house which was recorded by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and the Norfolk Unit in 1975 (Richmond and Taylor 1976). Recently photographs of another stone house at 22 King Street, now demolished, have come to light (p.125).

The nineteenth-century tenement pattern along Queen Street is shown in detail in Fig.44. (This plan pre-dates the construction of the Burkitt Homes in 1909 which removed the tenements immediately to the south of No.32). Some of the tenements on the east side of the street are wedge-shaped because of the curve in Queen Street, and this explains the irregular shape of the site in Fig.45.

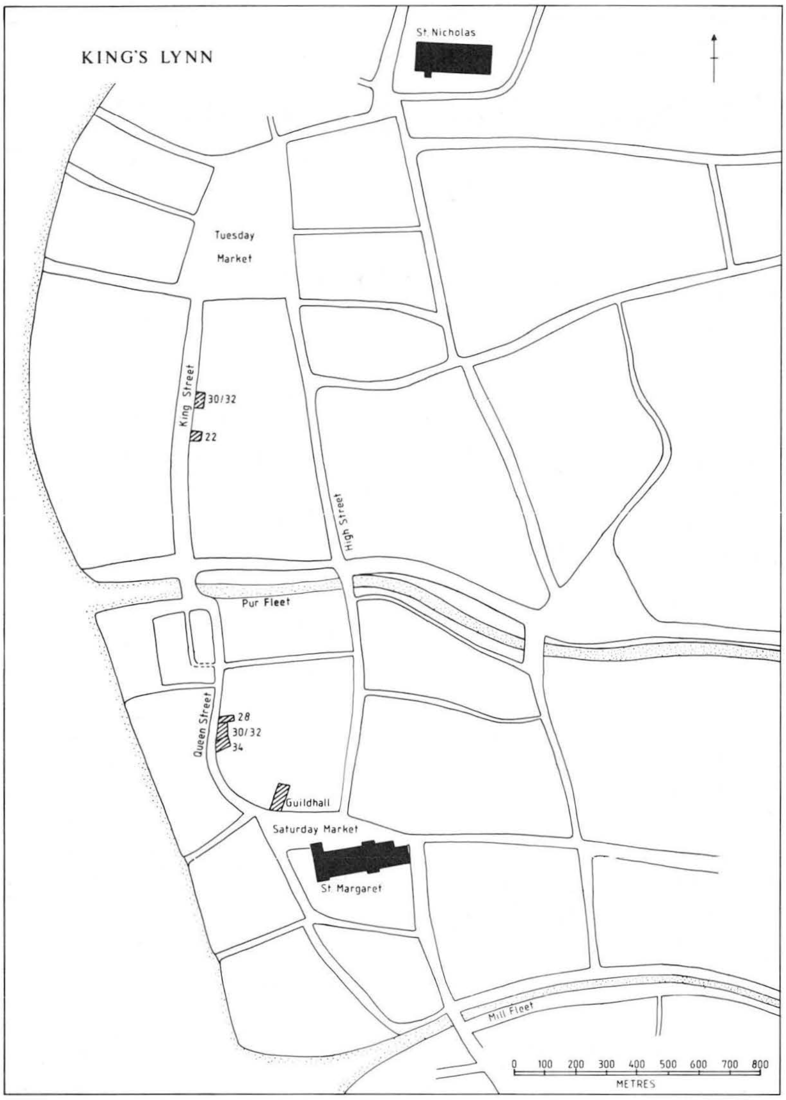

Fig.43. Map of the centre of King's Lynn, with the seventeenth-century street plan, showing properties containing evidence which has recently been recognised for twelfth-thirteenth century stone houses.

III. THE SITE SEQUENCE

The buildings were examined by the staff of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in 1976 and again in January 1977 during demolition. After demolition the Norfolk Unit was not permitted to work on the site until the new foundation trenches were dug in the following October. It was then only possible to record the lines of wall foundations as revealed by the mechanical excavator, except where very limited excavations were possible along the line of the front wall and in the south-east corner of the original building (Fig.45 and Plates XXXV-XXXVIII). Two sections were drawn: section A-B ran north to south parallel to the street frontage revealing the sequence of floor levels in Nos.30 and 32 (Fig.48); section D-C showed these levels in relation to the stone threshold of the front doorway of No.30 (Fig.49). The builder's trenches did not penetrate to the full depth of the archaeological layers, but deposits pre-dating the earliest floor associated with the stone building within Nos.30 and 32 were recorded.

Although no section showing the top of the underlying peat was recorded, boreholes suggested that it was not far below the base of section A-B. At the bottom of this section

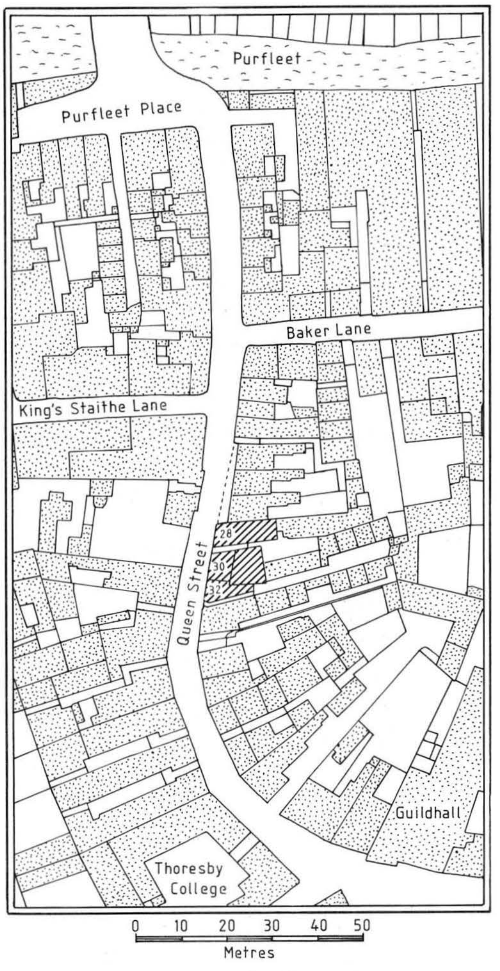

Fig.44. Plan of the Queen Street area of King's Lynn based on the 1884 1:500 survey showing the site of 28-32 Queen Street, the Guildhall and Thoresby College.

there was a clean layer of silt and sand (1) overlain by a darker mixed layer (2) containing occupation material, including three sherds of Early Medieval ware and one sherd of Grimston-type Thetford ware. Both fabrics suggest an eleventh or twelfth-century date for these deposits.

The pointed end of a stake was recovered from mixed layers of peat and silt at a depth of 2.5 m below pavement level in a mechanically-dug inspection pit roughly under the hearth within No.28; for this a radiocarbon date of 940 $\pm$ 70 years bp was obtained (HAR-2539). Subsequently, two stone structures were built, presumably in the twelfth century. The north building, represented by 28 Queen Street, was 21 x 7 m overall; it ran back from the street and had rubble walls. Nothing remained above ground save at the west end, where the north, west and south walls apparently incorporated some masonry of this early period. The west wall was of clunch rubble, but had been refaced in brick and much altered in the nineteenth century. Internal offsets on the south and west walls suggested some later rebuilding, and the south wall had been much repaired in brick in the seventeenth century. Towards the front of this building was a hearth of fired clay (42) some 5 cm lower than the hearth of No.30. Later in the Middle Ages this building was substantially remodelled, with a timber-framed rear wall resembling the unusual construction of Nos.28-30 King Street. This fragment will be discussed in the forthcoming publication of the King Street houses. Timbers from this rear wall were retained for tree-ring studies.

The other building lay under the site of No.34, which was demolished to make space for the present Burkitt Homes built in 1909. Only the foundations of its rubble north wall (46) were seen below the south wall of No.32. The north-west corner of this building projected slightly into the street, and there was an offset along the north side of 46.

At the very beginning of the thirteenth century a new house was erected between these two buildings, sharing their side walls. Standing on the site of Nos.30 and 32, this stone house had an open hall to the north and a storeyed section to the south. All that survived above ground level was the masonry front wall (33), which was straight-jointed against the other two buildings. The straight joint between Nos.28 and 30 was visible below ground level (Plate XXXVI), and at the south end a gravel layer in the foundation of 33 overlapped the offset of 46.

The masonry front wall, 70 cm thick and faced in even courses with shelly oolitic Lincolnshire limestone ashlar, stood 5.5 m high above the original floor level, which in turn was 50 cm below the modern pavement (Fig.49 and Plate XXXV). Of the hall, a

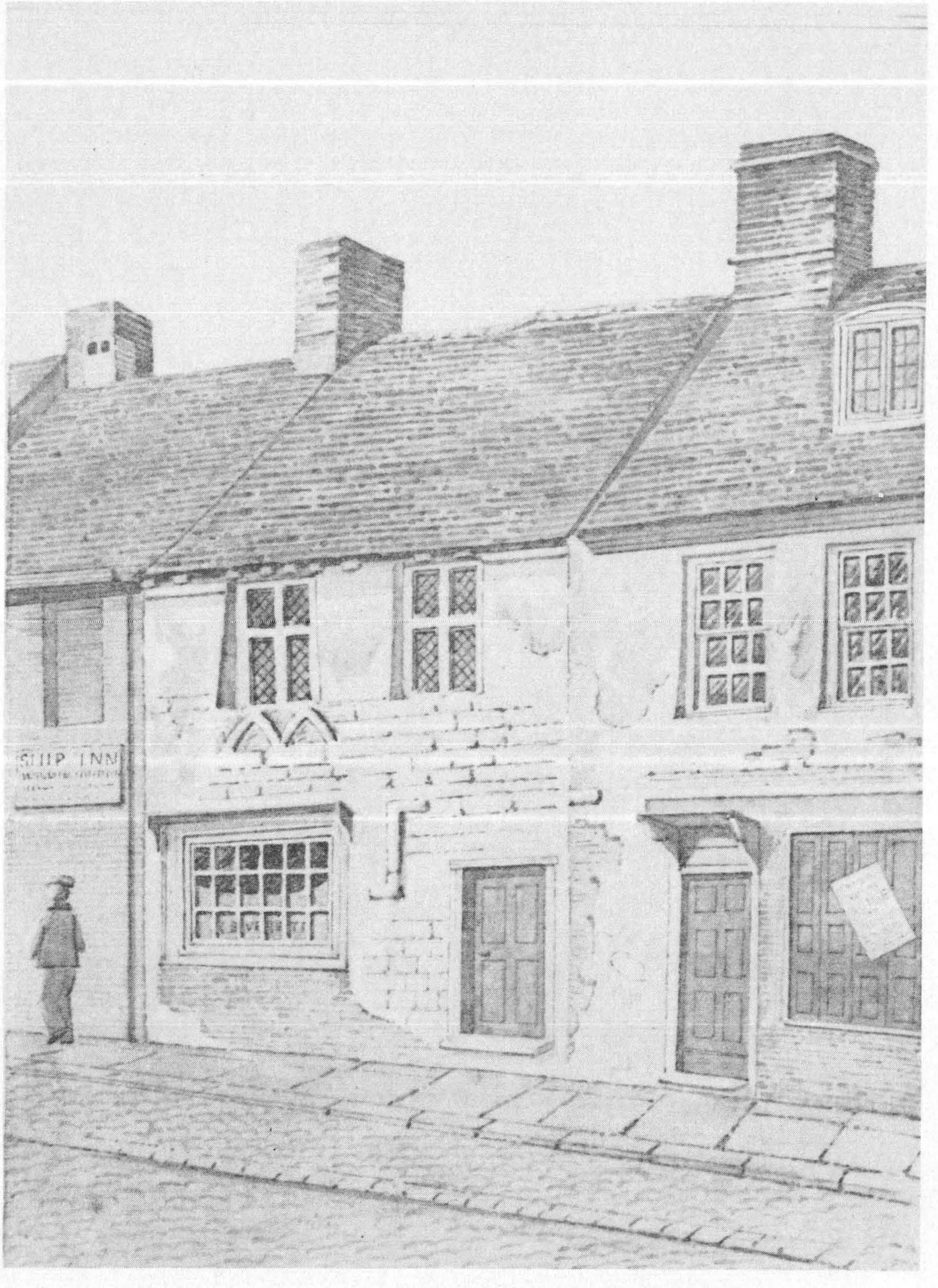

Plate XXIV. 1854 Watercolour by W.H.Taylor of Nos.28-32 Queen Street, King's Lynn. Published by courtesy of King's Lynn Library.

Plate XXV. 1860 Sketch by Henry Baines of Nos. 28-32 Queen Street, King's Lynn. Published by courtesy of King's Lynn Museum.

Photo: Dr.H.C.Allinson
Plate XXVI. 1913 photograph looking south along Queen Street. All the buildings on the left are now demolished. Published by courtesy of King's Lynn Museum.

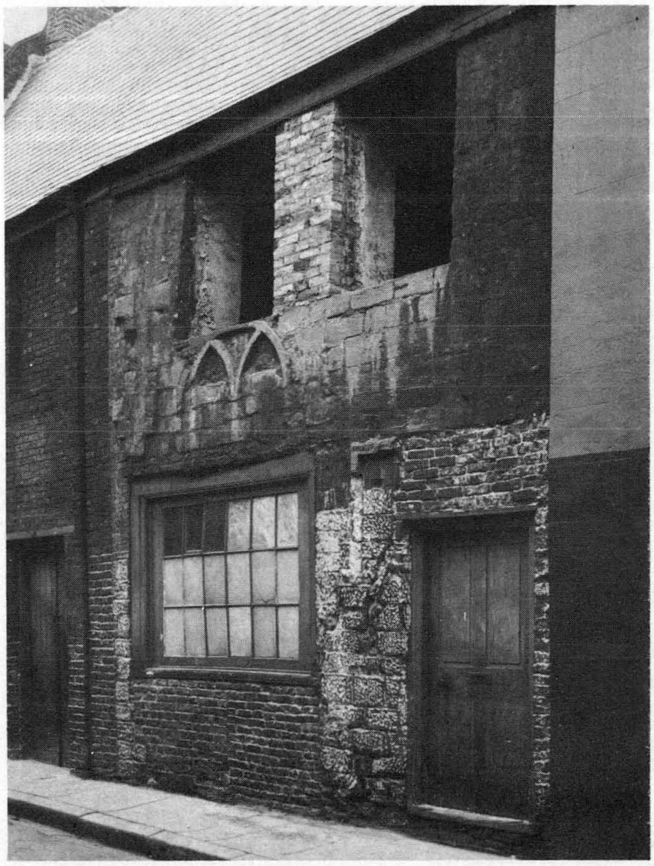

Photo: E.M.Beloe
Plate XXVII. 1913 photograph of No.30, before it was rendered, showing ground floor doorway and hall window in wall 33. Published by courtesy of King's Lynn Museum.

Plate XXVIII. Nos.28-32, with Burkitt Homes to right, in 1976.

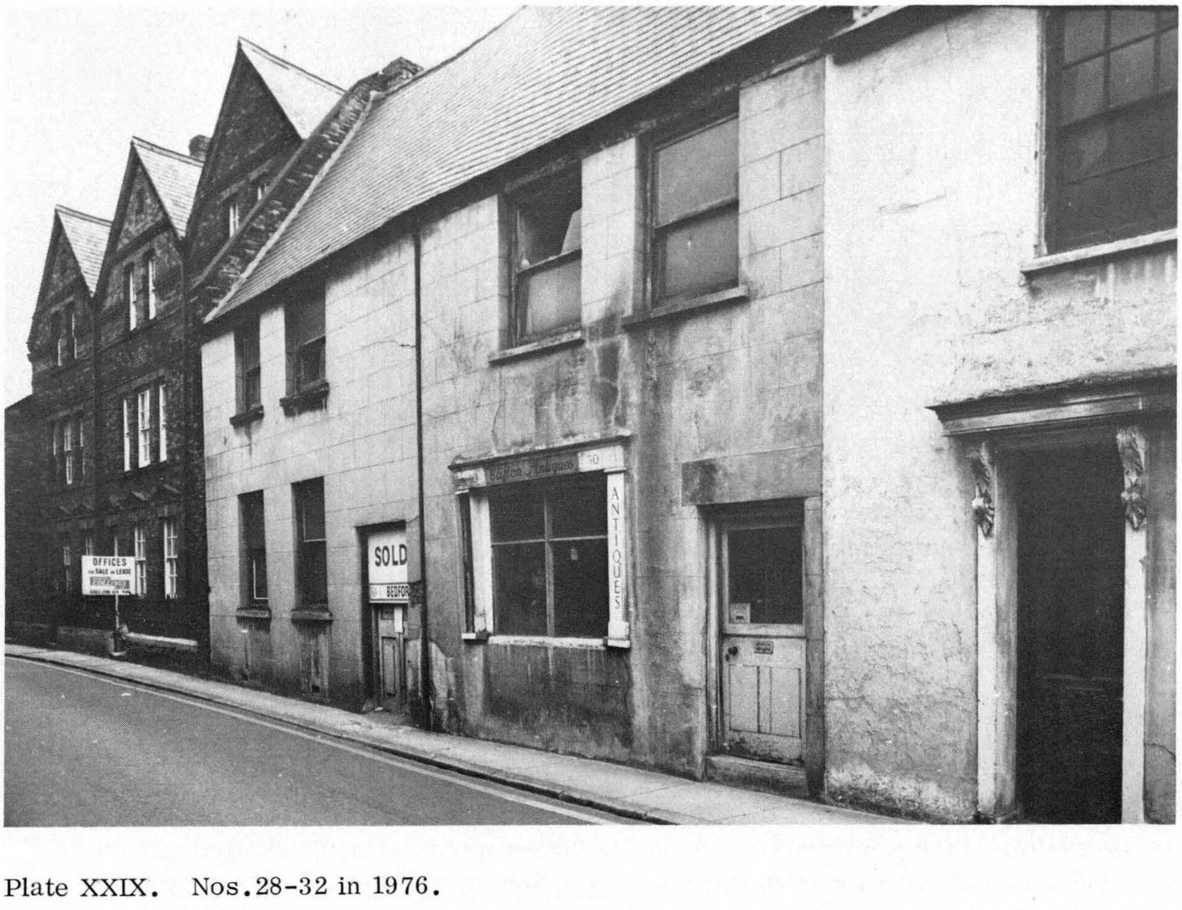

Plate XXIX. Nos.28-32 in 1976.

Photo: Colin Shewring
Plate XXX. No.30 ground floor in 1977 after removal of rendering from front wall 33 (compare with Plates XXIV and XXV).

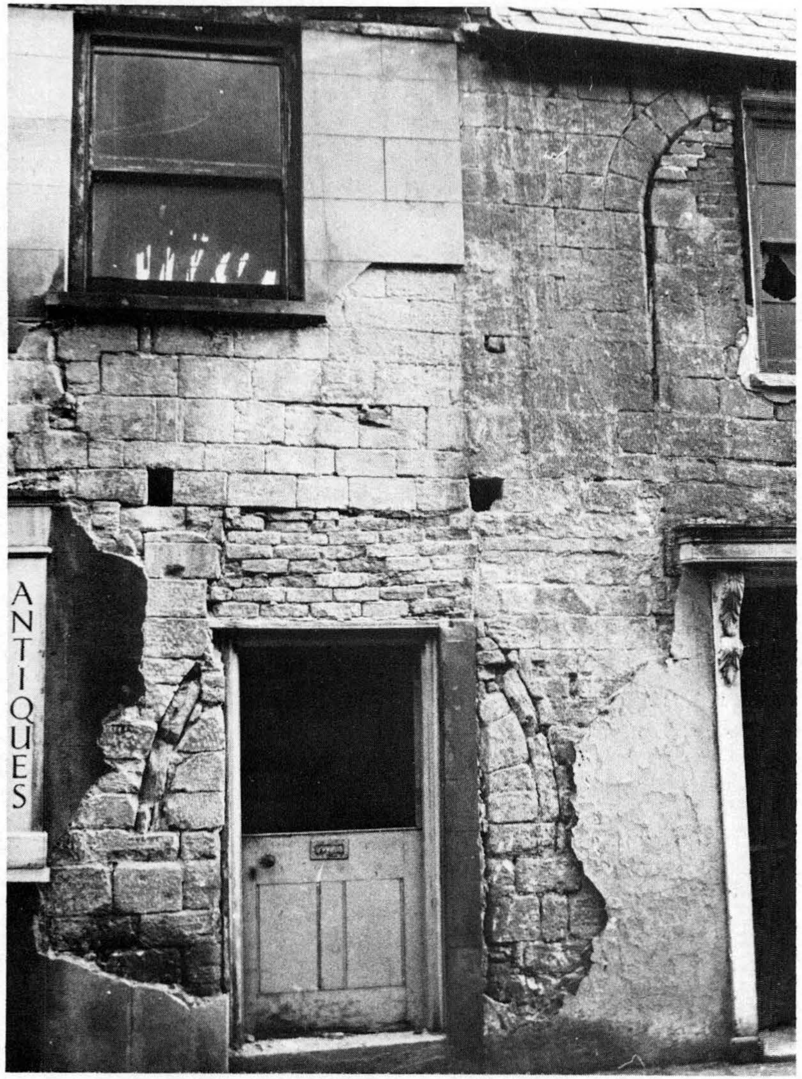

Photo: Colin Shewring
Plate XXXI. Parts of front wall 33 in Nos. 28 and 30.

Photo: Colin Shewring
Plate XXXII. Front wall 33 in No. 28.

Photo: Colin Shewring
Plate XXXIII. Detail of doorway in No.30.

Photo: Colin Shewring
Plate XXXIV. The front wall 33 of No.28 partly demolished showing reveal for first floor window.

Photo: Peter Wade-Martins ZC 14

Plate XXXV. Threshold and north side of doorway of No.30 in <u>33</u> as revealed below ground.

Photo: Peter Wade-Martins ZE 17

Plate XXXVI. The junction of the front walls of No.30 (<u>33</u>) and No.32 (<u>44</u>) below ground, showing <u>33</u> Butting against pre-existing corner of No.32.

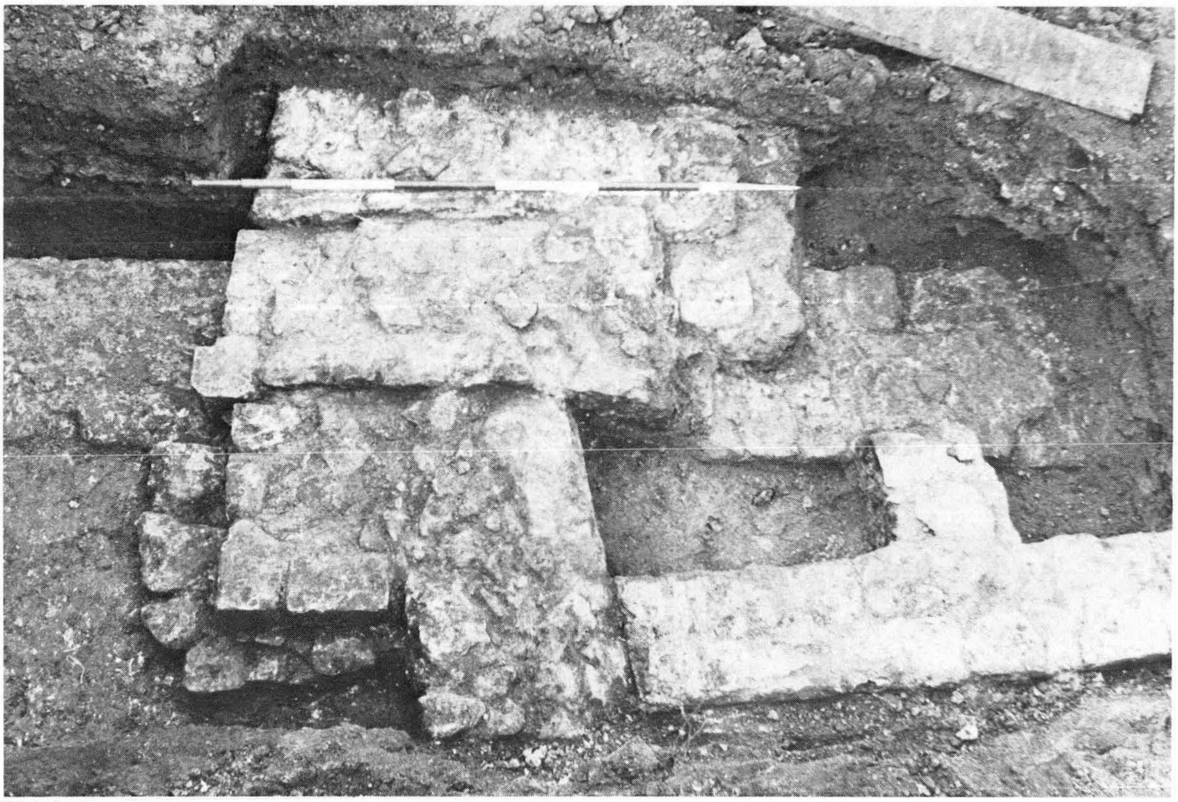

Photo: Peter Wade-Martins ZE 2

Plate XXXVII. Foundations of original rear wall (32) of Nos.28-30 with adjacent footings 34, 36, 37 and 39 from the east (Fig.3).

Photo: Peter Wade-Martins ZE 10

Plate XXXVIII. Detail of north side of doorway in 32 with footings 36 and 37 to right.

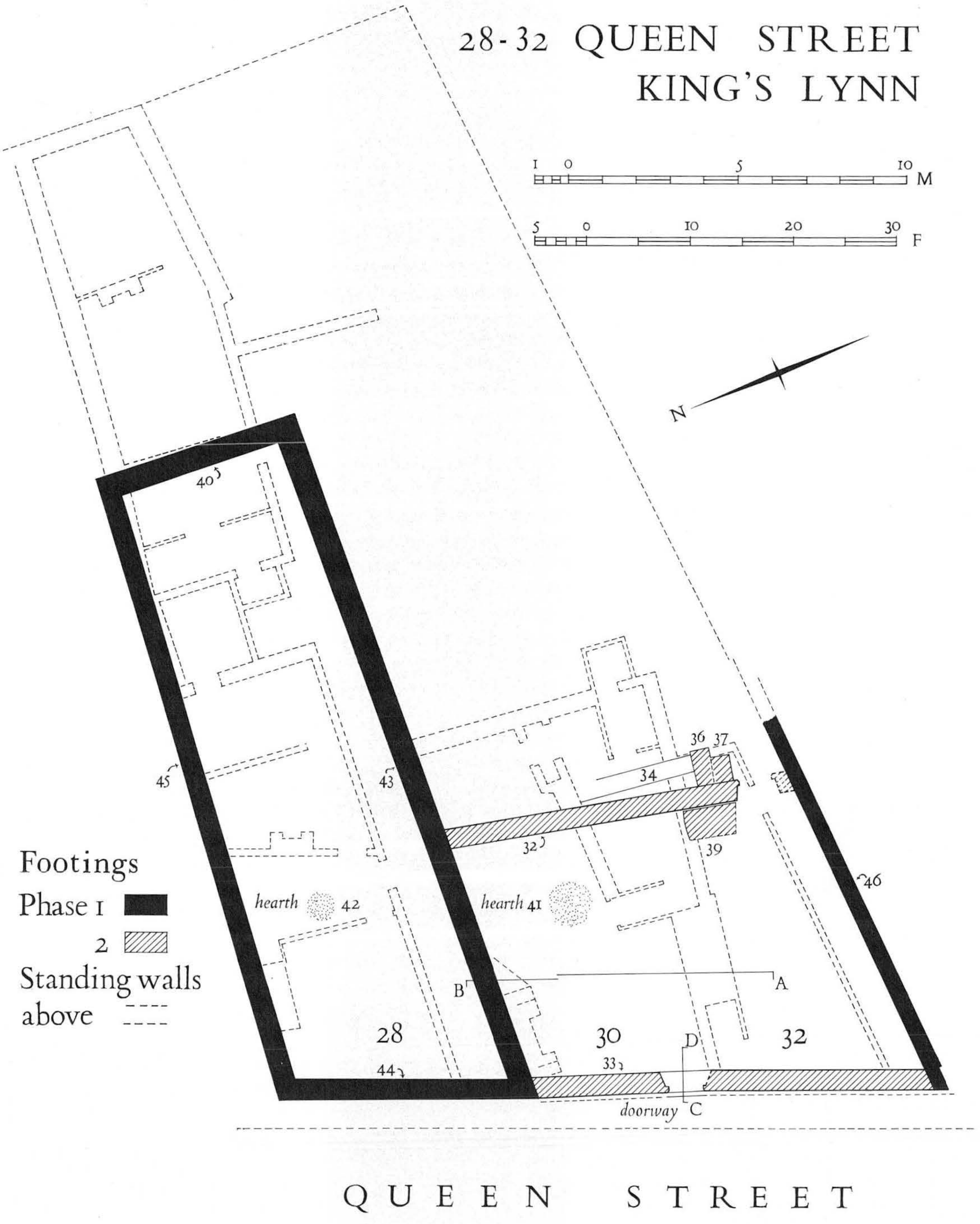

Fig.45. A reconstruction of the outlines of the stone houses recorded within 28, 30 and 32 Queen Street and the original party wall with No.43; the walls of the buildings standing up to January 1977 are shown in outline (No.34 lay immediately to the south). Scale 1:200.

window-head and the jambs of a door remained. The window was of two lights whose pointed heads were within a round-headed tympanum (Figs.46 and 47 and Plates XXV, XXVII and XXX); the hood-mould had been cut back flush with the wall face. The openings were chamfered, and the presence of pyramid stops indicated that originally there had been a central shaft with capital; the absence of stops on the outer chamfers points

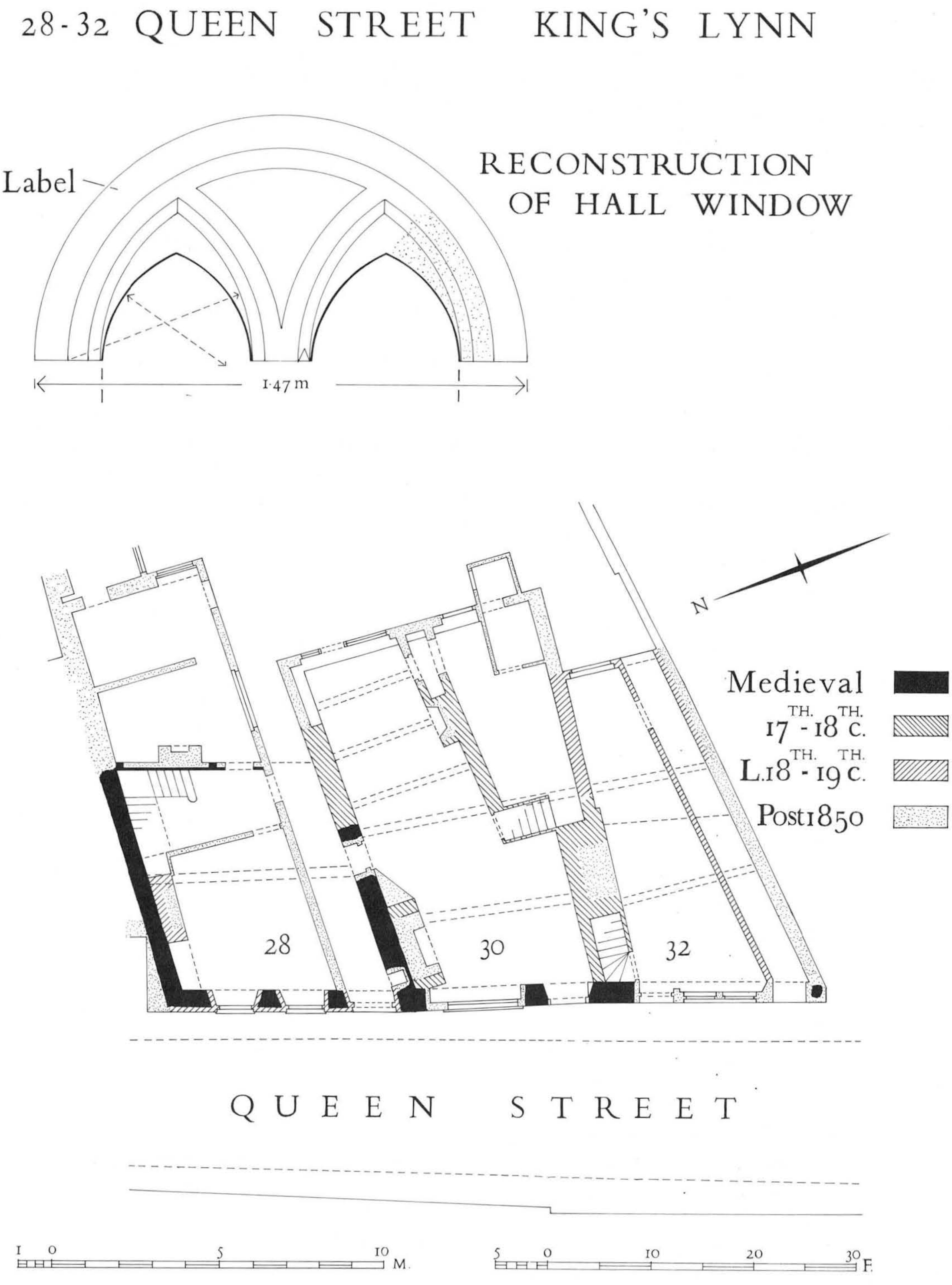

Fig.46. The medieval and later modifications. Scale 1:200.

to continuously-chamfered jambs. Internally the window had a splayed reveal. The door had chamfered jambs and a slightly splayed reveal; the head had been cut away but the hood-mould, now cut back, appeared to have been two-centred rather than semi-circular. The sill of the door was 25 cm above floor level (layer 3, in Fig.49). Above the door was a cut-back string course that seemed to have continued southwards at first-floor level. To the north of the door it was returned downwards, but whether it then returned northwards at hall window-sill level is not known.

Key to Figs.45-9

Section A-B

F = laminated river-lain silt deposits

* = samples taken

?F * 1. Firm light yellowish-brown deposit of fine sand and silt with two dark grey to black bands.

* 2. Firm dark greyish-brown mixed deposit of fine sand and silt with darker and lighter lenses.
(occupation layer pre-dating earliest floor associated with stone building 3)

3. Floor of mortar and crushed chalk.

F * 4. Firm light yellowish-brown homogenous deposit of fine sand and silt.

5. Floor of mortar and crushed chalk.

F 6. Layer of light yellowish-brown sand and silt.

* 7. Friable brown mixed deposit of fine sand and silt with many tile fragments.

F * 8. Firm light yellowish-brown homogenous deposit of fine sand and silt.

9. Floor of mortar and crushed chalk (9 and 10 are shown as single "layer 10" in sections).

10. Layer, 0.2 m thick, of loose chalk rubble and tile much disturbed - probable floor.

11. Brick wall contemporary with floors 9 and 10.

12. Deep layer of uniform light brown loam under alley-way between No.28 and No.30 - much disturbed by service trenches in alley-way.

* 13. Layer of dark greyish-brown deposit of fine sand and silt under 1.

14. Part of floor 3 reddened by fire (approx. above deposit 13).

15. Mixed layers of brown sand and silt, ash and reddened clay from central hearth 41.

16. Feature cut from above surface of floor 47 filled with alternating thin layers of dark and light brown clay and gravel - possible foundation.

17. Large feature cut from level of floor 47 filled with thin layers of chalk pebbles separated by dark grey clay, probably a foundation for wall 11.

18. Layer of light greyish-brown sand and silt forming upper part of 2.

Section C-D

19. Layer of ash and black loam contemporary with 20.

20. Brick threshold post-dating floor 10.

21. Mortar floor- slight trace.

22. Black loam - much charcoal.

23. Mortar floor - slight trace.

F 24. Light brown sand and silt - equivalent to 7 and 8.

F 25. Firm light yellowish-brown homogenous deposit of fine sand and silt.

26. Thin layer of yellow clay.

27. Layer of light brown sand and silt.

F 28. Layer of dark grey and dark brown sand and silt.

F 29. Layer of light grey sand and silt.

30. Layer of chalk pebbles in 31.

31. Layer of dark grey sand and silt in foundation trench of wall 33.

Plan

32. Stone wall - original rear wall of Nos.30 and 33 presumed to be contemporary with 33.

33. Stone front wall of Nos.30 and 32.

34. Stone wall with well-plastered W face which is presumed to have replaced 32.

35. Trace of stone wall butting against W face of 34 and lying over 33 (not shown on plan).

36. Buttress against 32.

37. Buttress in angle between 36 and 32 - probably later than 36, but very

similar mortar.

38. Plinth for 37 (not on plan - see record photographs).
39. Massively constructed block of stones and mortar built against W face of 32, not fully exposed.
40. Original E wall of No.28.
41. Hearth contemporary with floor 3 - seen in an E to W section (see photographs.
42. Hearth in No.28 - seen in builder's inspection pit.
43. Stone wall between Nos.28 and 30.
44. Front stone wall of No.28, later re-built in brick.

Section C-D

45. N wall of No.28.
46. S wall of No.32.
47. Mortar floor (to S of 17 only).

F 48. Layer of grey clay, sand and silt.

Of the southern, two-storeyed, section the lower storey had been replaced by a nineteenth-century shop front built on the original footings. At first-floor level there was the larger part of a round-headed door with continuously-chamfered jambs and sill, and an unsplayed reveal which continued upwards to the present eaves level without any indication of lintel or rear-arch (Plates XXXI and XXXII). To the south was the southern jamb of a window with splayed reveal; the north jamb had been removed for the present window, and the head had been above present eaves level (Plates XXXII and XXXIV).

Only the footings of the rear wall (32) survived; at its south end was the north jamb of a door (Plates XXXVII and XXXVIII). Adjacent to this were the footings of two piers of added masonry (36, 37), either buttresses or forming part of a structure such as a porch. A larger mass of masonry of uncertain function (39) had been added against the inner face of the wall. In the hall was a hearth of fired clay (41) placed towards the rear wall. The division between hall and storeyed section was presumably timber-framed, for the position of the doors on the front wall left no space for a masonry cross-wall nor was there any evidence for such a wall on the inner faces of the front and rear walls.

Above the floor (3) of this hall was a layer of water-lain silt (4 and 25; Figs.48 and 49), above which floor 5 was associated with the rebuilding of the rear wall. The new wall (34) was of rubble and thinner than the earlier walls. Above another layer of water-lain silt (6) came a thick layer of soil (7) containing large quantities of broken roof-tiles and a few sherds of green-glazed Grimston ware, indicating a further phase of building or repair some time before the fifteenth century, although no structural features could be associated with this. Deposition of a further layer of silt (8) was followed by the construction of a large east-to-west trench (17) across the building as a foundation for partition wall 11.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century the house was finally reconstructed as a two-storey building with a timber-framed rear wall and a roof of reused medieval timbers. The rear wall, of close studding, survived only on the first floor of No.32. The roof incorporated a number of smoke-blackened rafters 6.5 m long with notched-lap joints, indicating a former roof with collars and either parallel rafters or scissor-braces. It is possible, but not provable, that these rafters belonged to the original roof of this house, or an early replacement. The north gable wall was at least partially re-built in rubble and brick, and a fireplace built against it. The axial beams also belong to this period.

In the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, wooden-framed mullion-and-transom windows were inserted in the first floor. By the mid-eighteenth century the building had been sub-divided into two tenements and an internal brick stack was inserted

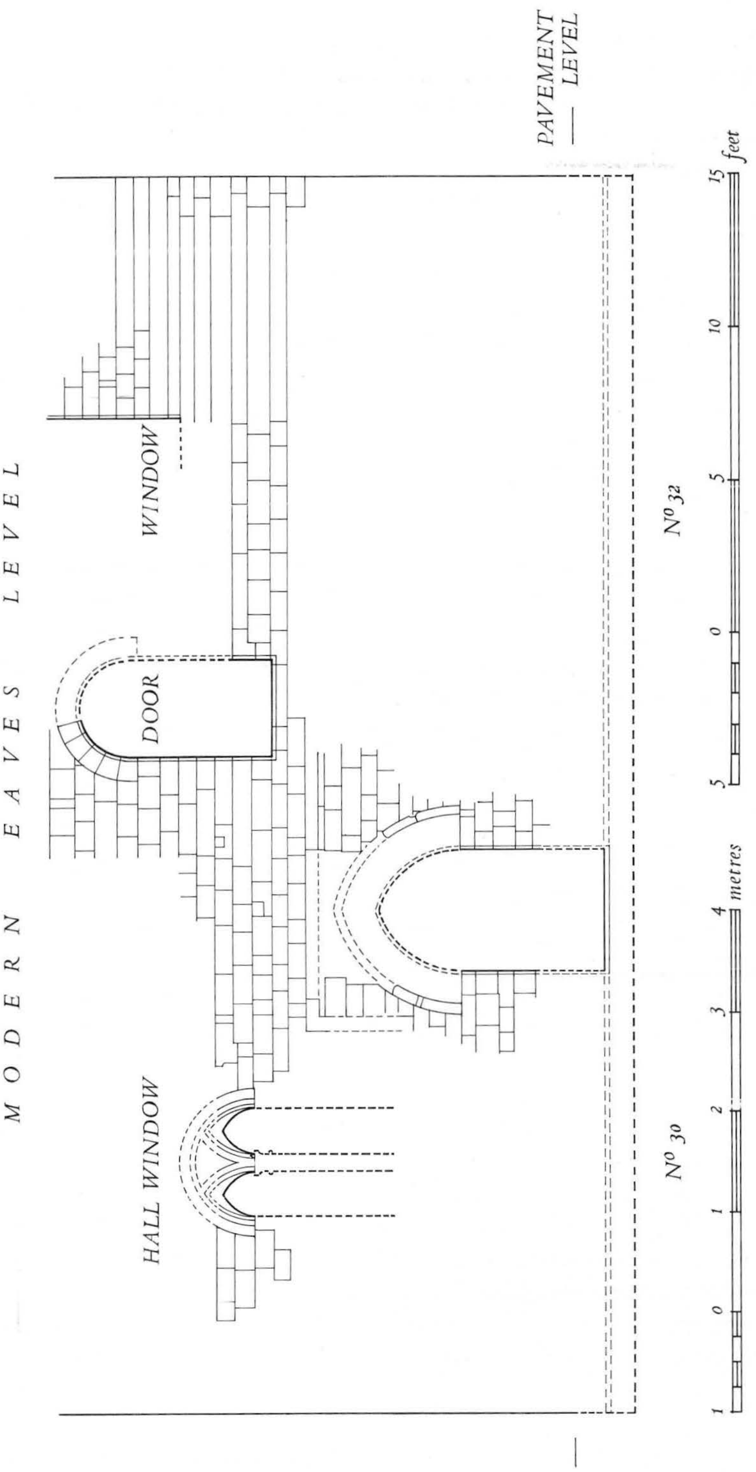

Fig.47. Elevation of the front wall of Nos.30 and 32 (33). Scale 1:75.

to heat the south tenement, No.32. Plain mid eighteenth-century panelling was installed in the first-floor room, and a small staircase built beside the stack.

In the early nineteenth century a two-storey rear wing was built behind No.32, and later in the century the ground-floor stage of the front wall was cut away to provide doors and a shop window; the wall was rendered at the same time. In 1909 the south wall was rebuilt entirely. Whatever earlier buildings existed behind No.30 were largely demolished late in the nineteenth century to make way for a large lean-to. The front wall was plastered in 1913 during extensive alterations.

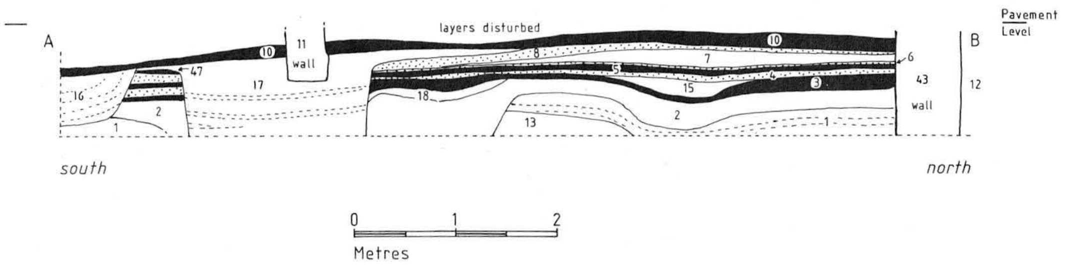

Fig.48. Section A-B showing the floor levels 3, 5 and 10 associated with Nos.30 and 32. The stippled layers 4, 6 and 8 were laminated river-borne sediments of fine sand and silt with minimal occupation material. Scale 1:75.

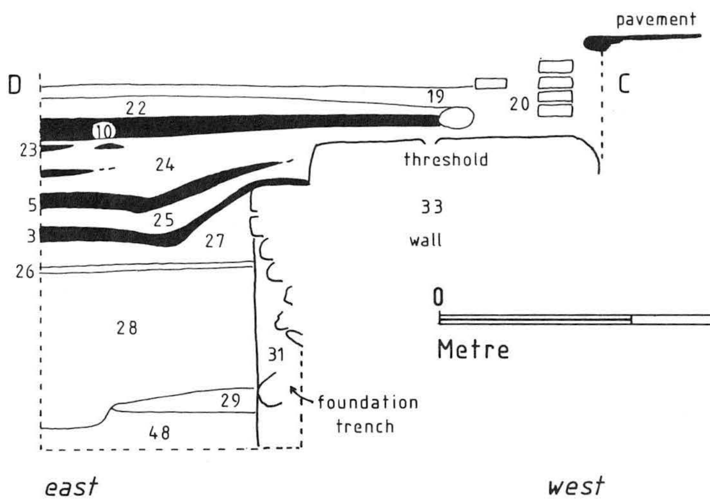

Fig.49. Section D-C showing the floor levels 3, 5, 23 and 10 and their relationships to the stone threshold in wall 33. Scale 1:20.

IV. BIOLOGICAL REMAINS
by Peter Murphy

with reports on foraminifera by Professor Brian Funnell, and on fishbone by Dr Alwyne Wheeler

Small samples were taken from the section exposed in the contractor's excavations in order to establish the character and probable origin of the deposits between the successive floor levels within the building. Botanical material was recovered from 3 kg soil samples by water flotation, collecting the flot in a 250 micron mesh sieve. The non-floating residue was washed over a 500 micron mesh sieve, and molluscs, bone and avian eggshell extracted from the dried residue. Smaller samples from the dark bands within layers 1 and 4 were also examined. Foraminifera were extracted from samples of layers 1 and 2.

PLANT REMAINS

TABLE 4. PLANT REMAINS

	Context No.	2	4	13
*	Hordeum sp. Hulled barley	4	-	3
*	Triticum aestivum sl Bread/Club wheat	-	-	1
*	Avena sp. Oats	1	-	2
*	Cereal indet. Unidentified cereal	3	-	2
	Characeae indet. Stonewort (oospores)	8	-	1
	Papaver argemone L. Prickly-headed poppy	3	-	-
*	Brassica/Sinapis sp. Cabbage-type	3	-	100+
*	Atriplex patula/hastata Orache	-	-	1
*	Leguminosae indet. Vetch(?) (cotyledon)	1	-	1
*	Polygonum c.f. persicaria L. Persicaria	-	-	16
	Polygonum cf. aviculare agg. Knotgrass	1	-	-
	Polygonum sp. -	-	-	1
*	Corylus avellana L. Hazel (frags)	-	+	+
	Anthemis cotula L. Stinking mayweed	-	-	2
*	Compositae indet. -	-	-	1
	Juncus spp. Rushes	20	-	100+
	Cyperaceae indet. -	-	-	1
*	Bromus mollis/secalinus Brome grass	1	-	1
*	Gramineae indet. Grasses	2	-	1
*	Gramineae indet. Grasses (culm node)	1	-	-
	Unidentified	6	-	-

Unless otherwise indicated taxa are represented by fruits or seeds. Carbonised specimens are indicated by an asterisk.

These assemblages consist principally of carbonised cereals, hazel-nut shells and seeds of common arable weeds. Wetland species (rushes and stonewort) are also represented. Assemblages of this character are extremely common in medieval refuse deposits.

FORAMINIFERA

TABLE 5. FORAMINIFERA

Context No.	2		1	
Planorbulina mediterranensis	1	1%	16	18%
Miliolinella subrotunda	44	39%	24	27%
Nonion depressulus	19	17%	10	11%
Ammonia beccarii	2	2%	7	8%
Elphidium articulatum	38	34%	29	32%
E. sp.	5	4%	3	3%
Oolina sp.	1	1%		
Quinqueloculina seminulum	1	1%		
Cibicides lobatulus	1	1%		
Quinqueloculina sp.			1	1%
Spat valves (single)			2	
(double)			2	
	112	(100%)	90	(100%)

It is not possible to distinguish between an estuarine shore or estuarine flood source, but the samples certainly contain a Holocene-Recent shallow-water marine fauna.

MOLLUSCA

TABLE 6. MOLLUSCA

Context No.	1	2	4	7	13
Buccinum undatum L. Whelk	+	+	-	-	+
Cerastoderma (Cardium) sp. Cockle	-	+	+	+	-
Hydrobia ulvae (Pennant) -	-	-	-	-	2
Mytilus edulis L. Mussel	+	+	-	+	+
Ostrea edulis L. Oyster	-	+	+	+	+
Pupilla muscorum (L) -	-	-	-	1	-
Succinea sp. -	-	1	-	-	-
Unidentified bivalve frag. -	-	+	-	-	-

The marine species are represented by non-hinge or non-apical fragments in most cases.

Most of the shell fragments are of edible marine species. H. ulvae is a brackish-water gastropod common in estuaries, P. muscorum is a xerophile abundant on sand dunes and the genus Succinea includes several marsh and freshwater snails.

FISH BONES

The small quantity of fish bone submitted for examination contained a large number of unidentifiable remains, while those which could be identified presented a puzzling mixture of fish species.

Samples from layers 1 and 4 contained no identifiable material.

TABLE 7. FISH BONES

Layer 2

Raja ?clavata, thornback ray; two spines from enlarged dermal denticles.
Clupeid, possibly Clupea harengus, herring; eight vertebral centra.
Gadus morhua, cod; one otolith.
Pleuronectes platessa, plaice; one first anal pterygiophore, one right articular; two caudal vertebral centra.

Layer 7

Clupeid, possibly Clupea harengus, herring; one caudal vertebral centrum.
Anguilla anguilla, eel; one vomer, two caudal vertebral centra.
Gadus morhua, cod; one vertebral centrum fragment.

Layer 13

Clupea harengus, herring; one otic bulla, two vertebral centra.
Merlangius merlangus, whiting; two otoliths, two premaxillary bones (right and left).
Gobiid, (?) Gobius niger, black goby; two dentary bones (right and left).
Platichthys flesus, flounder; first anal pterygiophore, one right dentary, two vertebral centra.

The remains contain a curious mixture of large and small fish. The cod (sample 2) otolith was from a fish of c. 1 m length, and the vertebral centrum (sample 7) from a fish of c. 40 cm, but the whiting and flounder (sample 13) remains were from fish of about 10 cm (i.e. very small). The black goby (sample 13) is a relatively small fish, growing to c. 15 cm in length.

Although the material examined is sparse and it may not be legitimate to draw conclusions from it, the size range of fishes represented suggests that they originated from two sources. The larger food fish (cod, thornback ray and plaice) were probably fish caught offshore in a hook and line fishery. The small fish (whiting, black goby, flounder and eel) may have been caught in fine meshed nets, on the shore or in longshore traps (kiddles), although it is quite possible that the remains of these species may be derived from fish stranded during one of the episodes of flooding on the site. The eel, black goby and flounder are common in low salinity estuarine areas. The herring were probably captured in surface nets at sea.

The occurrence of otoliths in this material is of interest as they are rarely preserved except in exceptional situations.

MISCELLANEOUS FAUNAL REMAINS

Small fragments of barnacles and of Bryozoa, probably originally attached to mollusc shells or driftwood, were present in layers 2 and 7. Scraps of avian eggshell and mammal bone were extracted from layers 2, 4 and 13.

CONCLUSIONS

The deposits lying between the floor levels are clearly of two types. The 'clean' sand and silt layers (1, 4, 8), some of which showed a few thin horizontal laminations of more humic sediment with charcoal, are interpreted as flood deposits. Although the Foraminifera from 1 could equally well indicate an intertidal source for the sediment, laminated deposits of this type are unlikely to have been produced by the dumping of sand artificially imported from the shore. The more humose sands and silts containing food refuse (2, 7, 13) may loosely be described as 'occupation deposits'. It seems unlikely, however, that these layers represent in situ accumulations of domestic refuse but are more probably dumped deposits of soil imported to raise the floor level.

Layers 1 and 2, interpreted as a flood deposit and an occupation deposit respectively, contained a similar range of Foraminifera. This suggests that the mineral component of layer 2 was originally a flood or shore sediment, subsequently mixed with organic refuse.

V. THE DENDROCHRONOLOGY OF TIMBERS FROM No. 28 QUEEN STREET, KING'S LYNN

by Malcolm Hughes

Four timbers were sampled from the medieval timber-framed rear wall of No. 28, in the hope that this wall might be dated dendrochronologically. Three timbers were joined together as a post, brace and joist (QS 281, QS 282 and QS 283 respectively) from near the middle of the rear wall. The fourth timber (QS 284) was the post in the north-east corner. Two more timbers (QS 285 and QS 286) could not be attributed to any particular part of the building, although QS 285 is, by its style, likely to have been a cross brace, as is QS 282. QS 286 appears to be similar to QS 281 and QS 284. The number of measurable rings for QS 281-6 inclusive were 89, 130, 135, 78, 130 and 146.

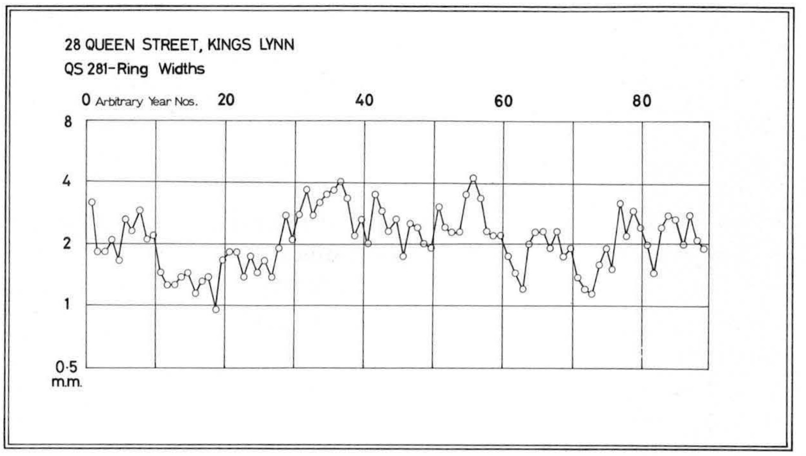

Fig.50

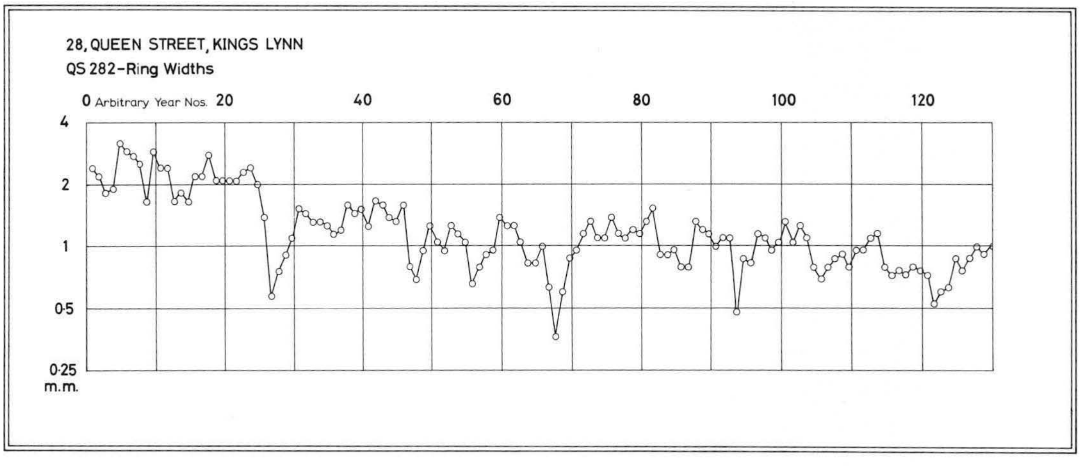

Fig.51

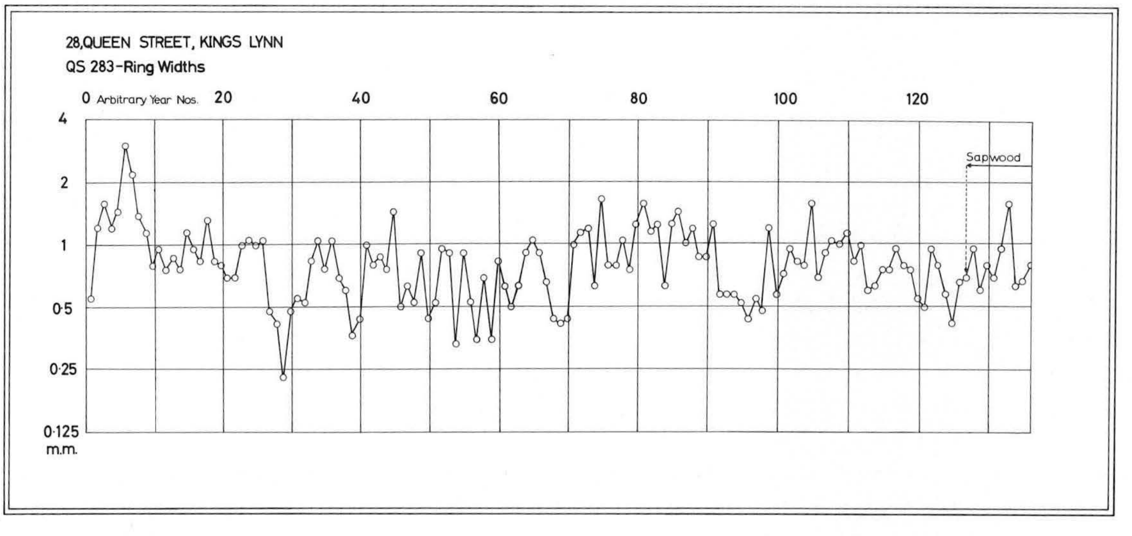

Fig.52

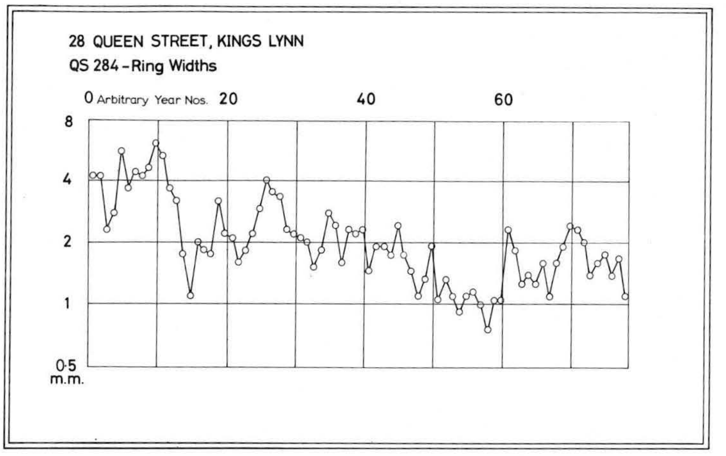

Fig. 53

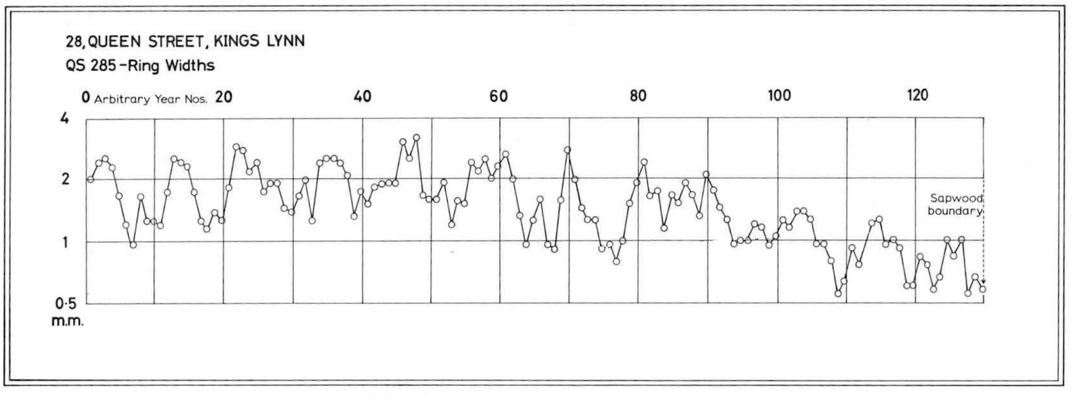

Fig. 54

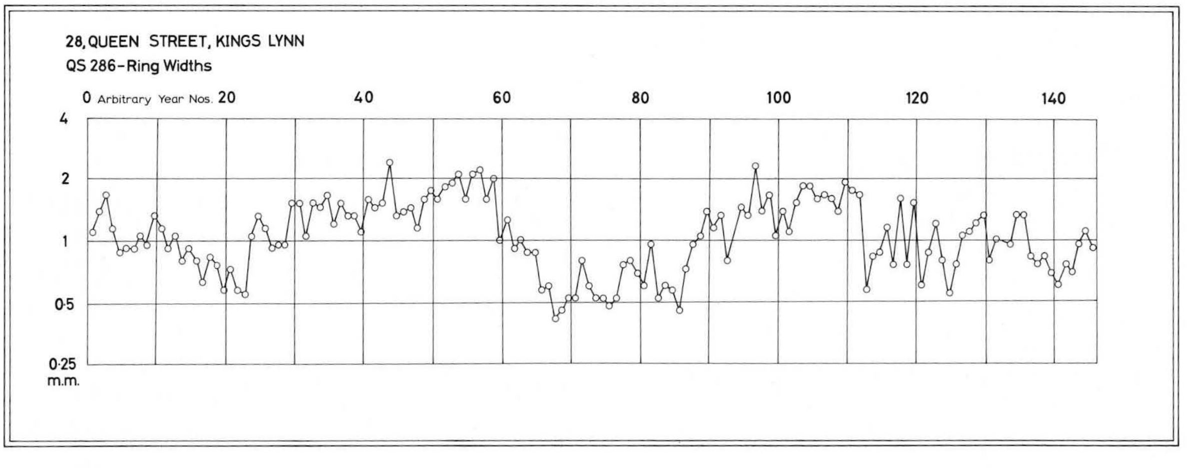

Fig. 55

Figs. 50-5. Ring widths measured to 0.01 mm by S. J. Milsom of timbers from No. 28 using a Bannister Incremental Measuring Machine. These timbers have not been dated unequivocally. Thus the arbitrary years shown are not necessarily the same for each timber.

Two of the timbers showed fast growth and a smaller number of rings than the others (Figs.50 and 53). They were not suitable for dating. The fact that four of the six timbers examined showed more than one hundred measurable rings, coupled with the apparent sensitivity of their ring-width series (Figs.51, 52, 54 and 55) encouraged the expectation that both internal dating between the timbers and external dating against the appropriate master chronologies would be possible.

However, at the time of writing (July 1979) this has not been achieved. Contrary to reasonable expectations based on experience elsewhere, including the likely period of growth of these timbers, no unequivocal cross-dating has been possible, either between the timbers from this building or between any of them and any of the available British Isles master chronologies. The methods of cross-dating use an interdependent combination of visual and statistical matching using Baillie's modification of the 't' test (Leggett, Hughes and Hibbert 1978). It should be noted that the arbitrary years on the horizontal axes of Figs.50-5 are not the same for each timber. In the absence of unequivocal cross-dating the temporal relationships between these timbers remain unknown.

Material has now been collected from wall-posts and other timbers from 28-32 King Street, King's Lynn. It is hoped that the measurements of these will provide help in solving the puzzle of the undated Queen Street timbers.

VI. THE ARTEFACTS

THE POTTERY

Two sherds of Early Medieval ware were recovered from layer 13 and three from 2.

One sherd of Grimston-type Thetford ware came from 2.

Four sherds of green-glazed Grimston ware came from 7.

TILES

Fragments of roof tiles were found in the lowest floor level 3 and in the succeeding floor 5 and in larger numbers in 7. They were also recorded as bonded into the original fabric of the front and rear walls of Nos.30 and 32. All tiles were recovered in a very fragmentary condition. Previous to this discovery the earliest recorded tile from Lynn was dated to *c.* 1250 (Clarke and Carter 1977, 441).

VII. CONCLUSIONS

In plan, the early thirteenth-century house consisted of an open hall and a two-storeyed block apparently covered by a single roof parallel to the street. Two-cell hall-houses of similar plan are known from medieval towns over most of England, but few examples survive from before the fifteenth century. They require a wider frontage than houses of a similar size built at right-angles to the street, and consequently the plan is sometimes contracted in one of several ways. Here the hall is unusually short in relation to its width. Sometimes the first floor room projects into the hall, but this device cannot be demonstrated in the present house. The function of the storeyed section is not clear. Usually the first floor is a more private inner room, while the ground floor was devoted to whatever minor domestic or commercial functions the owner found appropriate. In this house the first-floor room has both a door and a window on the front wall. There was no surviving evidence for external stairs to this door, but its position, overlooking the medieval waterfront, suggests the possibility that the room was used at least partly for the storage of merchandise.

Conclusions

The relative social status of the house is indicated by its superior building materials, which had been imported from quarries west of Peterborough, and by its competent architectural details. The number of rooms is perhaps of less significance, for descriptions of town houses before 1300 rarely indicate more than a hall and two other rooms, and the largest surviving houses have little more accommodation than that. Very large houses at this date seem to have been exceptional. The near-contemporary house at 30-32 King Street was of similar overall size but its accommodation was arranged differently. The position of both houses suggests that they could have been occupied by merchants.

The position of King's Lynn as a marine port and as an interchange port for the Fenland river system has meant that sites on the west of the town near to the quays on the river were of importance from the earliest days of the town until the late nineteenth century, when new docks were built to the north. The concentration of merchants' houses along this line, and particularly on the west side of King Street and Queen Street, is visible evidence for this importance in the late medieval and post-medieval periods. Of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Lynn was one of the major ports of the kingdom, there are few visible remains. The surviving buildings of that period are, not surprisingly, of stone; all are near to the waterfront and most of them have only recently been discovered. Standing buildings survive or have been recorded at 6-8 St.Ann's Street (V.Parker 1971, 56), 30-32 King Street, 22 King Street, and 30-32 Queen Street. Excavations have revealed further stone houses at 28 and 34 Queen Street, under the nearby Guildhall, 50 King Street and Sedgeford Lane (Clarke and Carter 1977, 440). In addition, there is documentary evidence for two more (p.127).

When built, all of these houses overlooked the waterfront which, it is thought, at this time was on the west side of both King Street and Queen Street (V.Parker 1971, 19ff.; Clarke and Carter 1977, 411ff.). As this moved further west, merchants acquired new land on the west sides of Queen Street and King Street. By the fourteenth century there was sufficient space on this new land for merchants to move their houses from the east to the west side of the street, and to build large houses, such as Clifton House. From now on, the east side of King Street and Queen Street declined in importance, but it was probably this decline that led to the survival into the present century of substantial remains of three of the oldest houses in Lynn.

VIII. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors are much indebted to Mrs Heather Bolt for her support during the difficult days when the buildings were being demolished. Colin Shewring and Hallam Ashley kindly took the photographs.

(Note
The below-ground recording was carried out by Peter Wade-Martins, and the upstanding remains were recorded by Hugh Richmond and Robert Taylor. Soil samples were taken by Peter Murphy).

March 1980

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No. 22 King Street, Kings Lynn

by Peter Wade-Martins

Evidence for another medieval stone house on the waterfront line followed by Queen Street and King Street has recently come to light. This building was at 22 King Street (site 12676) and was demolished in 1901. The information consists of a report in the King's Lynn Advertiser for the 6th December 1901, reproduced below, and five photographs (Plates XXXIX-XLIII). Plates XXXIX, XLI and XLIII are in the possession of Miss Metcalfe, the daughter of the Mrs Metcalfe referred to in the newspaper report; the other two are in King's Lynn Museum. Miss Metcalfe gathered from her mother that E.M. Beloe, who photographed many buildings at this time in the King's Lynn area, objected to the demolition, but no record by him of the building appears to survive. Although the newspaper report suggests that the window was removed and preserved, its whereabouts is not known.

> King's Lynn Advertiser Friday 6th December, 1901
> 'An INTERESTING RELIC has been brought to light during the last few days. The Baker's Arms Tavern in King's Street is being demolished by Messrs. Tash, Langley & Co., in order that they may build a house on the site for Mrs. Metcalfe, who now resides two doors off. One day last week, the workmen, after removing a partition which concealed from view a large chimney-breast and a portion of the front wall on the first floor, came across a window which had obviously some claim to antiquity. From the street nothing was visible, but on cutting away a quantity of stone and brickwork from outside, a handsome window, evidently of the Early English period, and in a good state of preservation was disclosed. It attracted the attention of many persons interested in archaeological studies, and has been pronounced to date from somewhere between 1230-1250, i.e. the early part of the transition from Early English to Decorated. It consists of a pair of lancets (quite plain, except for two small cusps in each) separated by a round moulded mullion, with a plain circular light above. Traces were found of two other similar windows having existed, but they have disappeared, one wholly and the other partially, in the course of alterations to the northern side of the house: whereas that portion in which the complete window was found evidently formed part of the original building, whatever it may have been. Possibly it was a religious house, or - which is perhaps more likely - it may have been a guild-hall, several of which formerly existed in this part of Lynn. The window has been carefully removed, the stones being numbered so that it can be readily restored to its original condition: its ultimate destination, we believe, has not yet been determined, but it will probably be sold to the highest bidder.'

The photographs show this to have been a masonry house dating to c. 1250-75, later than the date suggested in the newspaper report. The walls, which still stood on the street front to their full height, were of rubble with freestone dressings. On the ground floor the house was entered by a doorway with pointed head, set just north of centre of the building. At the south end at first floor there was a two-light traceried window. The corresponding position at the north end was occupied by an early nineteenth-century sash window, but while traces of two further thirteenth-century windows were reported to have been discovered, their precise locations are unknown. The length of the building would allow a row of up to four first-floor windows.

The house consisted of a main range parallel to the street and was of two storeys throughout. On the ground floor were two compartments of unequal size, the larger at least entered directly from the street. The chimneys built against north and south gables appear to be secondary and post-medieval.

Plate XLIII shows a pair of doorways in a masonry wall, somewhere at ground level. One door retained moulded jambs and engaged shafts, and both had a label. Although they cannot be located with certainty, it is just possible that the right-hand doorway was the entrance door in the west wall in 1901 and that the left-hand doorway was a blocked door leading to the smaller ground floor compartment.

Architecturally the house was of the highest quality, as we have come to expect from Lynn merchants' houses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The nearest comparable house is 30-32 King Street, built some seventy years earlier.

KING STREET AND THE NEWLAND SURVEY
by Elizabeth Rutledge

The discovery within the last few years of an increasing number of early stone buildings in King's Lynn has led to speculation on the status of such buildings and the relation of the streets in which they occur to the rest of the town. Some useful information on the position held by King Street, in which two stone houses were situated, in the late thirteenth century comes from a survey apparently drawn up some time between 1276 and 1283 [1]. This survey covers the area of King's Lynn to the north of the Purfleet which was developed by the Bishop of Norwich in the mid twelfth century and was known as the Newland.

The east side of King Street was probably part of the original development of the Newland and still formed the river frontage at the date of the survey, although quays paid for with two properties at the northern end of the street may have lain on the river side of the road. Thirty-one messuages are listed as running south from the Tuesday Market beside the river but these continued along the north bank of the Purfleet as far as the stone bridge in High Street and only about twenty-three messuages were actually in King Street. Assuming that King Street started almost on a level with the entrance to Jews Lane into the Tuesday Market the average width of tenement here was a little under thirty feet.

It comes as no surprise that King Street should have contained at least two early stone houses as it appears from the survey to have been part of the most wealthy area of the Newland. The highest rents mentioned (30s and over) almost all occur in the block bounded by King Street to the west and High Street to the east, and of the economic rents given for King Street properties only one is not unusually high. Many of the rents in King Street, however, are mere nominal payments to the Bishop of Norwich, an indication that the tenants were men of sufficient wealth to have bought out the higher rents chargeable by intermediate lords.

With its river frontage King Street was likely to attract merchants and there is negative evidence to suggest that this was the case. The survey does not give occupations as such but there is a general sprinkling of surnames indicating trades throughout the other streets. Apart from a possible goldsmith there are no occupational surnames among the names of the King Street tenants. As no merchants are described by occupation the absence of other tradesmen may imply their presence. A further indication of the status of King Street comes from the fact that three of the late thirteenth-century

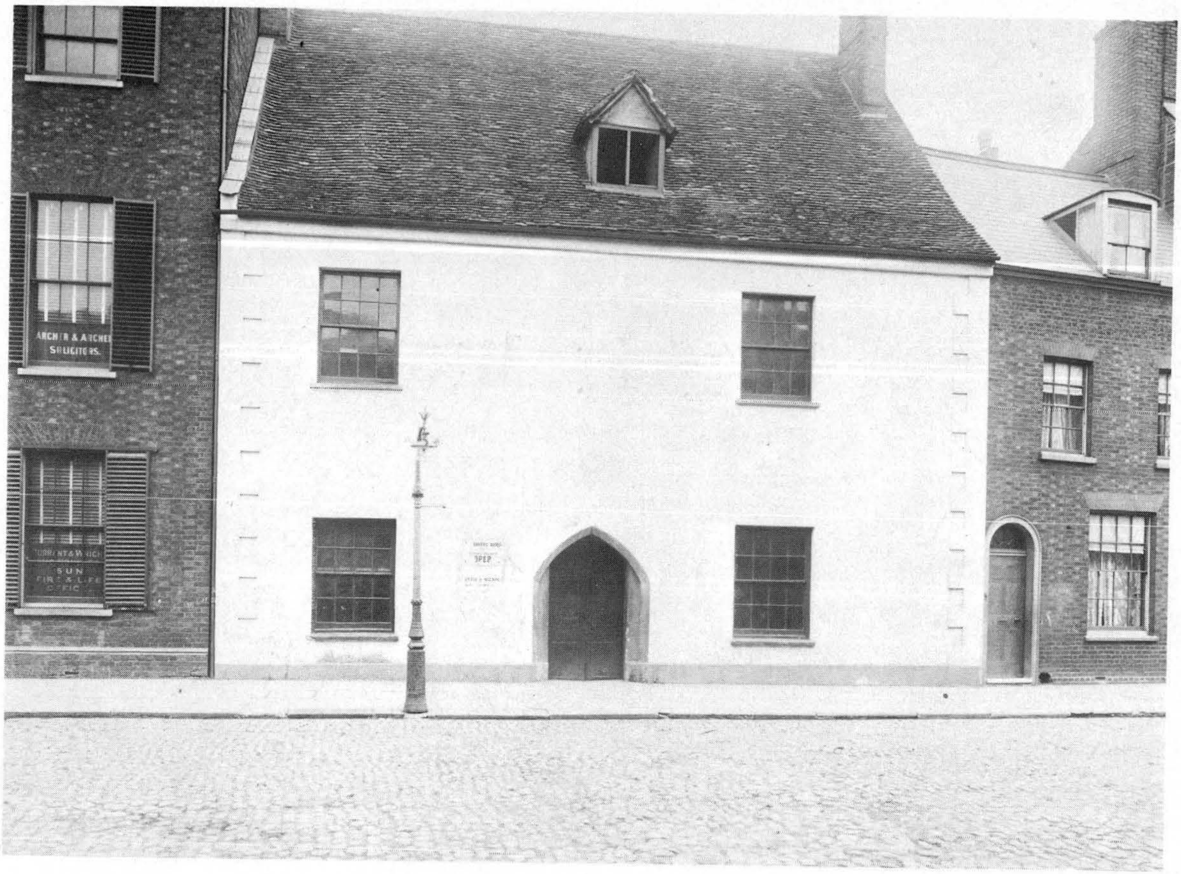

Plate XXXIX. The front of No. 22 King Street before demolition.

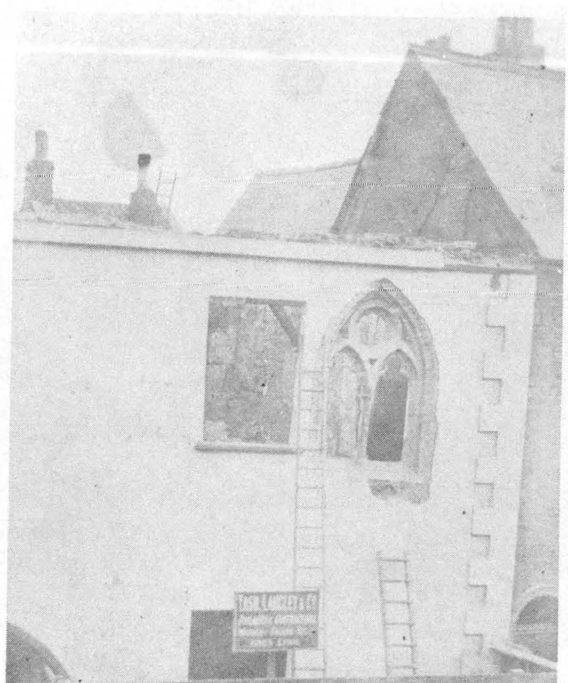

Plate XL. The south end of the front wall during demolition showing the traceried window as revealed.

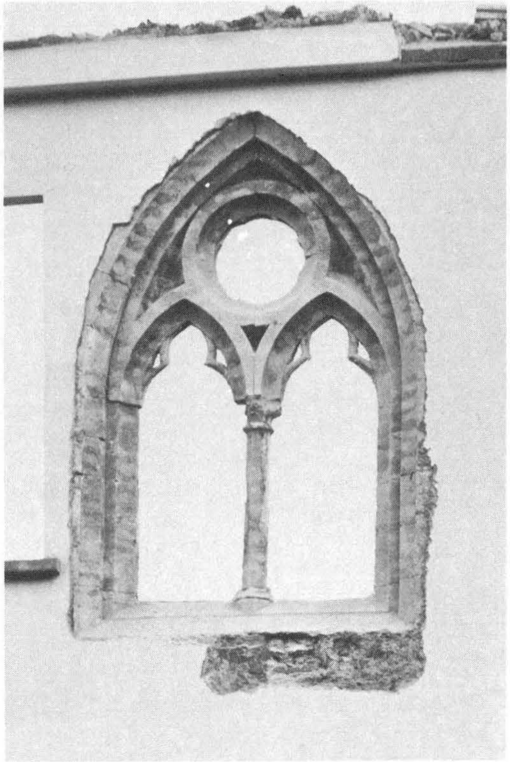

Plate XLI. Detailed exterior view of first floor window.

Plate XLII. Interior view of the same window as in Plate XLI.

Plate XLIII. Two adjacent doorways possibly on the street frontage; as suggested by the position of the fireplace.

mayors of King's Lynn were in possession of property in King Street at the date of the Newland survey (Le Strange 1890). It is perhaps worth remarking that of the eleven early stone houses so far identified in Lynn nine originally fronted onto the river and one was not far from the river on the east side of the Tuesday Market [2].

As to No.22 King Street itself, I have suggested elsewhere that there is a possible correlation between the rent paid to the bishop and the length of a messuage frontage and that a payment of 12d may indicate a frontage of 60 feet (Rutledge 1978). Payments to the bishop for properties in King Street are almost complete and on this basis No.22 corresponds to a messuage which was held by John de St Omer and for which 8d was paid.

As a property with a frontage of 40 feet it was one of the larger messuages in King Street at the end of the thirteenth century. With pressure on limited space in what was obviously a desirable area over half the messuages there had frontages of 20 feet or less. John de St Omer was a suitable owner for such a house. He must have been wealthy as he held two more properties with a combined frontage of 50 feet to the south of No.22 and his family was clearly of influence in King's Lynn.

Not only was John himself mayor in 1285 and possibly earlier, but Lambert de St Omer was three times both mayor and member of parliament for King's Lynn in the early fourteenth century and a John, Lambert de St Omer's brother, was the bishop's steward in 1312 (Le Strange 1890 and Blomefield 1805 VIII, 531).

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December 1979

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1. King's Lynn Borough Records, BC 1. The date 1276 comes from a comparison of the will of Richard de Geyton, 1276 (K.L.B.R.) and two deeds of 1283 (K.L.B.R. Be 297 and 303) with the survey. Reasons for the 1283 date are given in Rutledge, E. and P. (1978).

2. In addition to the stone houses listed on p.123 there were also the bishop's house to the west of St.Nicholas chapel (Dodwell, B., ed., 1974, 76 and 98) and a house on the east side of the Tuesday Market mentioned in a will of 1307 (Ingleby ed. 1919 I, f.14r.).

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