



# THREE NORMAN CHURCHES IN NORFOLK

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EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY





Frontispiece: The west doorway of St.Mary's church, Barton Bendish, formerly the north doorway of All Saints'.  
Ref.BYC 15

# **Three Norman Churches in Norfolk**

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**Cover Illustration** Barton Bendish, All Saints': excavation in progress at  
the west end of the Phase 1 nave and in the Phase 2 extension, looking  
south-west. (*Ref. BYQ 6*)

# Contents

List of Contents	v		
List of Plates	vi		
List of Figures	vi		
List of Tables	vii		
Contributors	viii		
Acknowledgements	viii		
Chapter 1	The Parish Churches of Barton Bendish: the Excavation of All Saints' and the architecture of St Andrew's and St Mary's, by Andrew Rogerson and Steven J. Ashley		
I. Summary	1	VI. A Study from Documentary Sources of the Churches of Barton Bendish with Special Reference to All Saints', by Alan Davison	49
II. Introduction		VII. All Saints' Interpretation and Dating, by Neil Batcock	52
Historical summary	2	VIII. St. Andrew's, the Architecture and Phasing, by Neil Batcock	56
Archaeological summary	2	IX. St. Mary's, the Architecture and Phasing, by Neil Batcock	59
III. Description of Excavation		X. Discussion	63
Method of excavation	3		
Pre-graveyard deposits	4	Chapter 2	The Late Eleventh Century Church of St. Peter, Guestwick, by Andrew Rogerson and Philip Williams
Pre-Phase 1 graveyard	7		
Phase 1	7	I. Summary	67
Phase 2	11	II. Description of Excavation	
Phase 3	11	Introduction	67
Phase 4	11	The chancel	67
Phase 5	14	North of the tower	70
Phase 6	17	The east end of the nave	72
Phase 7	20	The west end of the nave	72
The 1980 trial trench	21	III. The Artefacts	
Trench to the east of the church	21	Copper alloy objects, by Val Williams	72
Trenches C-G	21	Iron objects, by Val Williams	73
IV. The Artefacts		Nails, by Val Williams	73
Coins and tokens, by Sue M. Margeson	22	Struck flint	73
Copper alloy objects, by Alison R. Goodall	22	Window glass	73
Pewter and lead objects, by Alison R. Goodall	27	Window lead	73
Iron objects, by Ian H. Goodall	28	Pottery	73
Post-medieval coffin furniture from burial 216, by Charlotte Harding	32	Tiles	73
Stone objects		Mortar analyses, by John Evans	74
Sepulchral stone, by Sue M. Margeson	32	IV. Burial 33, by Jacqueline I. McKinley	74
Lava querns	32	V. The Documentary Evidence, by Alayne Fenner	74
Struck flint, by Frances Healy	32	VI. Interpretation and Dating, by Stephen Heywood	75
Architectural fragments, by Stephen Heywood	33	VII. Discussion	79
The window glass and lead, by David J. King			
Excavated window glass	34	Chapter 3	The Twelfth Century Church of St. Andrew, Framingham Earl, by Andrew P. Harris
The heraldic evidence	38		
Window leads and ties	39	I. Summary	81
Vessel glass and glass bead	40	II. Introduction	
The pottery, by Carolyn Dallas	40	The setting	81
Clay tobacco pipes	41	The background to the work	82
Tiles		Archaeological summary	82
Floor tiles, by P.J. Drury	41	III. Architectural Description	
Roof tiles	41	Introduction	82
Decorated rendering	42	Phase I: exterior	83
Bone objects	42	Phase I: interior	84
V. Zoological and Botanical Evidence			
The human bones, by Gillian Stroud	42		
Buried soil, mollusca and other macrofossils, by Peter Murphy	48		



Phase II	84	Pottery	87
Phase III	84	Tile	87
IV. Description of Excavation		VI. The documentary evidence, by Alayne Fenner	87
Introduction	84	VII. Structural interpretation and chronology	87
Deposits outside the church	84	VIII. Chronology within the cemetery	89
Evidence for structural features	85		
Brick tombs	86	Endnotes	90
V. The Artefacts		Bibliography	91
Silver and copper alloy object	86	Index	93
Iron objects	86		
Window glass	87		

## List of Plates

Frontispiece:	The west doorway of St.Mary's church, Barton Bendish, formerly the north doorway of All Saints'	Pl.XV	Barton Bendish St Mary's: the exterior of the south wall of the nave
Pl.I	Barton Bendish: aerial view of the 1981 excavation, looking east, with St.Andrew's to top left	Pl.XVI	Guestwick: the exterior from the north-west
Pl.II	Barton Bendish All Saints': the excavation, looking west, showing tiled pavements in the nave, north chapel, and chancel	Pl.XVII	Guestwick: the excavation of the chancel and lower part of tower east face
Pl.III	Barton Bendish All Saints': the excavation reaching final stages	Pl.XVIII	Guestwick: the excavation of the chancel, from the roof of the tower
Pl.IV	Barton Bendish All Saints': aerial view of excavation, August 31, 1981, looking west	Pl.XIX	Guestwick: the west face of the chancel arch
Pl.V	Barton Bendish All Saints': Phase 1 apse foundation, with the inner parts of Phase 5 chancel wall foundations removed	Pl.XX.	Guestwick: the lower part of the tower west face showing voussoirs of nave arch and recessed half-round mouldings
Pl.VI	Barton Bendish All Saints': section through Phase 1 apse foundation and buttress foundation to left	Pl.XXI	Guestwick: interior of tower, blocked arch to probable south transept
Pl.VII	Barton Bendish All Saints': Phase 6 north chapel, looking west	Pl.XXII	Guestwick: south face of tower showing blocked window above horizontal recess
Pl.VIII	Barton Bendish All Saints': pre-Phase 1 burials, within Phase 2 nave extension or tower, looking north	Pl.XXIII	Framingham Earl: view looking north
Pl.IX	Barton Bendish All Saints': pre-Phase 1 burial cut by Phase 2 south wall foundation	Pl.XXIV	Framingham Earl: north west quoin and fillet
Pl.X	Barton Bendish All Saint's: details of priest's burial	Pl.XXV	Framingham Earl: north wall of chancel showing pilaster and junction of Phase II wall to Phase I wall
Pl.XI	Barton Bendish St Andrew's: the south west quoin of the nave, the south porch and the tower stair turret	Pl.XXVI	Framingham Earl: context 44, foundations of chancel and pilaster. Phase I
Pl.XII	Barton Bendish St Andrew's: the interior of the nave, looking west	Pl.XXVII	Framingham Earl: view of apse showing contexts 44, 45 and 47
Pl.XIII	Barton Bendish St Mary's: the exterior from the south east	Pl.XXVIII	Framingham Earl: feature 42, showing relation to feature 20 (right) and the south east corner of the east wall
Pl.XIV	Barton Bendish St Mary's: the exterior of the east window	Pl.XXIX	Framingham Earl: detail of junction between features 20 and 42, showing Phase I wall (right) between tombs
		Pl.XXX	Hales, Norfolk. South side of apsidal chancel
		Pl.XXXI	Heckingham, Norfolk. View of apse from south east

## List of Figures

<b>Barton Bendish</b>		Fig.6	Plan. Pre-Phase 1 features and graveyard	6
Fig.1	Location Map; contours in feet	1		
Fig.2	Location Map	2	Fig.7	Plan. Phase 1
Fig.3	Plan. Areas of excavation	3	Fig.8	Plan. Phase 2
Fig.4	All Saints' Church. Phase plan	4	Fig.9	Plan. Phase 3, with burials of Phase 3 or 4
Fig.5	Key to plans and sections	5		10

Fig.10	Sections S1-S5	12	Fig.40	St.Andrew's Church Phase plan	57
Fig.11	Sections S6-S10	13	Fig.41	St.Mary's Church Phase plan	60
Fig.12	Plan. Phase 4	facing p. 14	Fig.42	Elevation west door of St.Mary's	62
Fig.13	Plan. Phase 5	facing p. 14	Fig.43	Comparative diagrams illustrating the architectural development of the three churches	65
Fig.14	Plan of post-holes, pits and unphased burials	facing p. 17			
Fig.15	Plan. Phases 6 and 7, with mortar and tiled floors	facing p. 17	<b>Guestwick</b>		
Fig.16	Plan. Burial 430	17	Fig.44	Location plan	67
Fig.17	Plan. Detail of tiled floors in west part of chancel	18	Fig.45	Plan of church and excavation	68
Fig.18	Sections S11 and S12, and Elevation E1	19	Fig.46	Plan of excavation east of tower, eleventh century walls and area of layers 35 and 39	69
Fig.19	Plan of 1980 trial trench	20	Fig.47	Plan of excavation east of tower, medieval and later features	70
Fig.20	Plan of trench east of church	21	Fig.48	Sections A-A, B-B, and C-C	71
Fig.21	Non-ferrous metal objects	23	Fig.49	Plan of excavation west of tower	72
Fig.22	Non-ferrous metal objects	24	Fig.50	Copper alloy and iron objects	73
Fig.23	Non-ferrous metal objects	25	Fig.51	Plan of Burial 33	74
Fig.24	Non-ferrous metal objects	26	Fig.52	Reconstruction of ground plan of eleventh century church	75
Fig.25	Objects of pewter and lead	27	Fig.53	East and north elevations of tower	76
Fig.26	Iron objects	29	Fig.54	West and south elevations of tower	77
Fig.27	Iron objects	30	Fig.55	West elevation of chancel arch	79
Fig.28	Iron objects	31	Fig.56	West elevation of nave arch	80
Fig.29	Plan of Burial 216 showing tin-plate, iron and copper alloy coffin furniture	32			
Fig.30	Limestone grave marker	33	<b>Framingham Earl</b>		
Fig.31	Painted window glass: key to illustrations	34	Fig.57	Location plan	81
Fig.32	Painted window glass	35	Fig.58	Development plans	82
Fig.33	Painted window glass	36	Fig.59	The tower arch, nave face and north section	83
Fig.34	Painted window glass	37	Fig.60	Excavation plan	85
Fig.35	Diagram of lead window came typology	39	Fig.61	Sections	86
Fig.36	Window leading. Demolition in north chapel and east end of nave	39	Fig.62	Reconstruction of plan as at end of twelfth century	87
Fig.37	Ridge-tiles	42	Fig.63	Interpretative plan of excavated features	88
Fig.38	Decorated mortar rendering	42			
Fig.39	Reconstruction of All Saints in Phase 2, viewed from the north-west	54			

## List of Tables

### Barton Bendish

Table 1	Pottery totals (sherd counts) by context groups and type	40
Table 2	Stamford Ware	41
Table 3	Statistics for excavated burials	43
Table 4	Human bones: comparison of specific adult bones from burials and other contexts	44
Table 5	Human bones: sex determination	44
Table 6	Human bones: estimation of age at death	44
Table 7	Human bones: estimated of stature	44
Table 8	Human bones: carious teeth as a percentage of teeth present	44
Table 9	Human bones: differing incidence of caries	45
Table 10	Human bones: abscess frequency as a percentage of alveolar sites	45

Table 11	Human bones: antemortem tooth loss as a percentage of the number of alveolar sites	45
Table 12	Mollusca from buried soil 263	49
Table 13	Miscellaneous plant and animal remains from buried soil 263	49
Table 14	Comparison of internal floor areas (in sq.m) of the three churches	64
Table 15	Comparison of Lay Subsidy assessments of selected villages for 1334 and 1449 with late medieval parochial church floor areas (in sq.m)	65

### Framingham Earl

Table 16	Skeletal stratigraphy and data	90
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### Framingham Earl

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# 1. The Parish Churches of Barton Bendish: the excavation of All Saints' and the architecture of St Andrew's and St Mary's

by Andrew Rogerson and Steven J. Ashley

## I. Summary

All Saints' church, totally demolished in 1789, went through seven constructional phases between c.1100 and c.1600. The first phase church overlay an eleventh-century graveyard but an associated church, probably entered in Domesday Book, was not found. The graveyard was cut through an arable soil of the tenth and early eleventh century. The two surviving churches of Barton Bendish are described and their architecture interpreted. The documentary history of all three is reviewed.

## II. Introduction

Barton Bendish lies 17 km south-south-west of Kings Lynn. The village is situated in the north-west of the parish (Fig.1), south and east of a stream flowing south to the Wissey. Outlying settlement is sparse and mainly consists of the shrunken hamlet of Eastmoor at the southern end of the parish. Until 1929 the eastern parish boundary with Beechamwell was formed by the Devil's Dyke or Bicham Ditch, a presumably post-Roman linear earthwork.

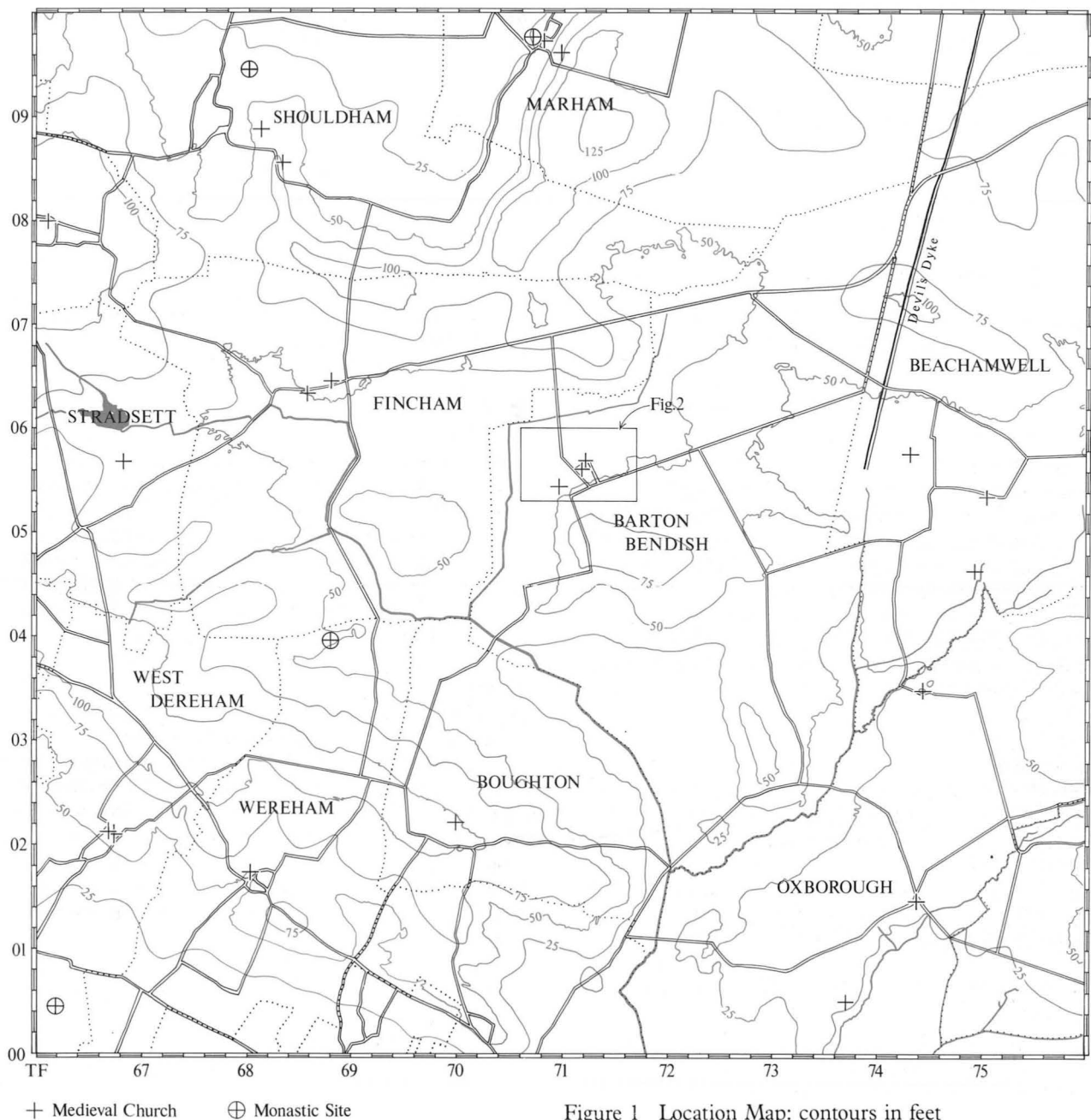


Figure 1 Location Map: contours in feet



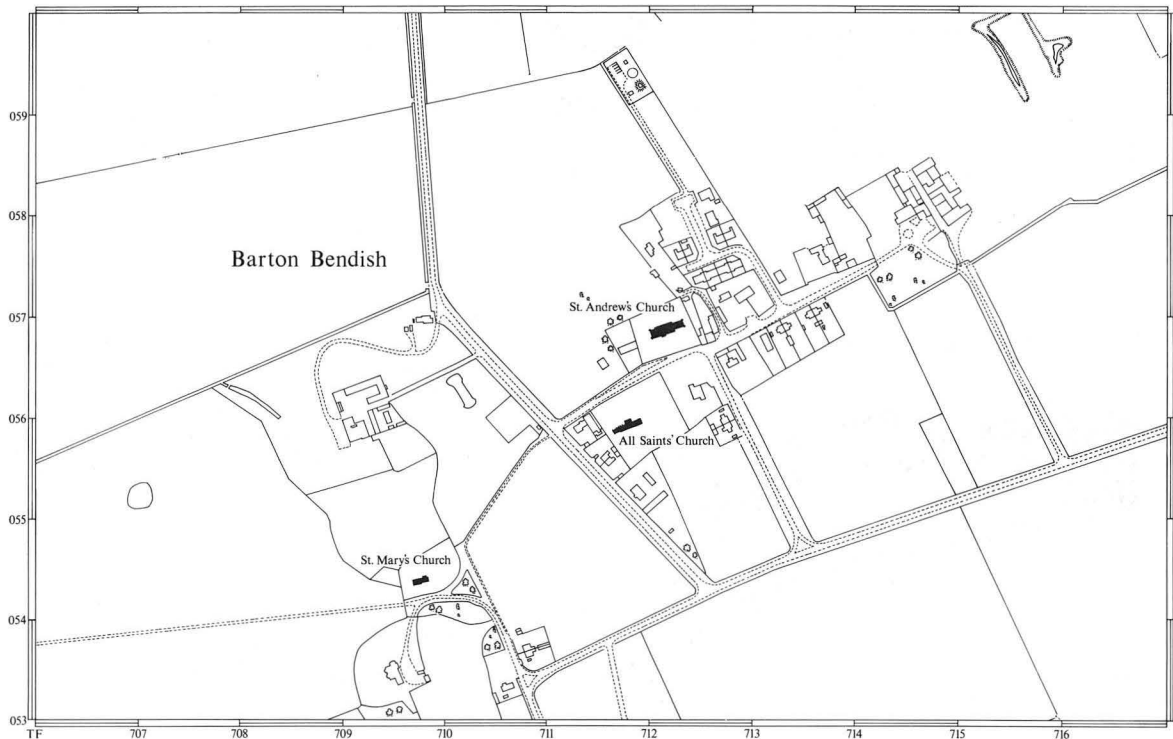


Figure 2 Location Map. Scale 1:7500

The excavation was carried out under the direction of Andrew Rogerson in 1980 and 1981 in advance of housing development (Pl.II-IV). The site of All Saints' church (Site 4499), demolished in 1789, lies at TF 7118 0559 (Fig.2) within a pasture field (Pl.I) 100m south-west of St.Andrew's church (Site 4514) and 250m north-east of St.Mary's (Site 4513).

In the area of excavation natural bedrock is a level-surfaced weathered chalk with fine wind-blown sand filling occasional shallow hollows and vertical fissures.

Prior to the excavation a contour survey (Fig.3) showed a pronounced rise to the west running north to south across the field. This was later shown to mark the eastern edge of the churchyard, but the survey failed to indicate the precise position of the church. Ordnance survey maps are marked with an antiquity location cross near the north-west corner of the field within an area covered by the partly overgrown tarmac surface of the former village school playground. A trial trench in 1980 followed the eastern edge of the playground and located the church further to the south.

Despite the existence of over 100 ruined medieval churches and over ninety church sites with no above-ground remains in rural Norfolk, until the excavation of All Saints' Barton Bendish no rural examples had been subjected to almost complete archaeological investigation (since then in 1985 the Norfolk Archaeological Unit has excavated the ruined country parish church of St.Michael's, Bowthorpe). The choice of this church site was dictated primarily by the threat but was made more attractive by the presence of two standing medieval parish churches in a village within an area of the county containing a number of parishes with more than one church (Fig.1). Architectural descriptions of both buildings by Neil Batcock appear in Sections VII and VIII

below.

To place All Saints' Church in its proper context with the other two churches and within the settlement history of the parish, an archaeological and documentary survey was initiated in 1982. The latter has now been completed by A.Davison, but as the fieldwork has some way to go, both surveys will be published together in the near future.

#### Historical summary

All Saints' was probably one of two churches entered but not named in Domesday, and lay within an area occupied in the tenth century, as shown by excavation and fieldwork. Documentary evidence indicates that All Saints' was less wealthy than St.Andrew's in the medieval period, but more so than St.Mary's. A porch mentioned in post-medieval documents was not found in excavation. Despite being in need of repair in the later sixteenth century, All Saints' did not enter serious decline until the early years of the eighteenth century. After 1750 deterioration of the fabric accelerated and final demolition occurred in 1789, the fine Norman north doorway being rebuilt in the west wall of St.Mary's. The churchyard was used for burials into the nineteenth century. A documentary survey of all three churches is contained in Section V.

#### Archaeological summary (Fig.4)

Phase	Description	Date
pre-Phase 1	Arable land behind occupation along the village street to the north	tenth century ?early eleventh century
pre-Phase 1	Graveyard, with no evidence of accompanying church within excavation	eleventh century

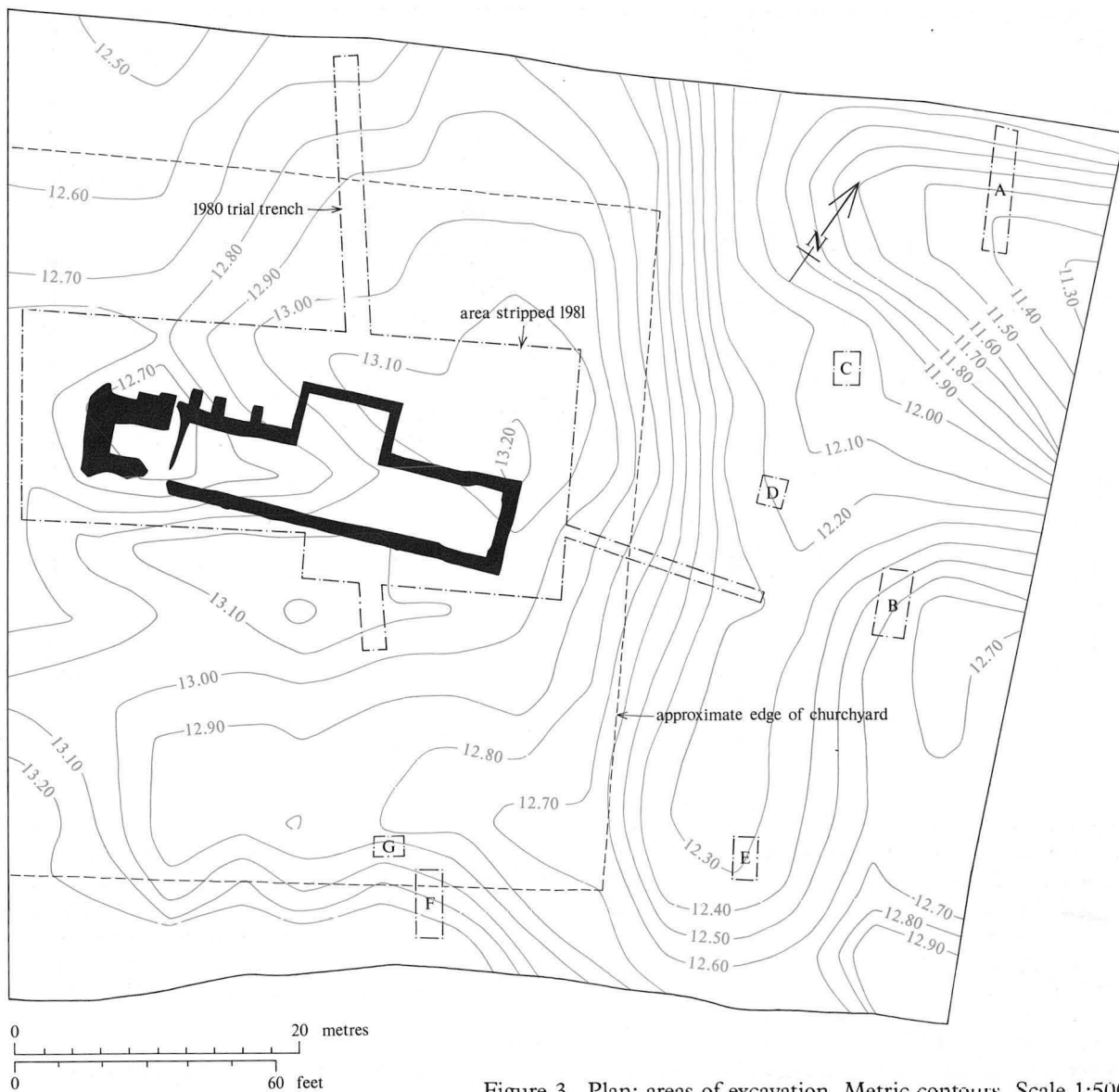


Figure 3 Plan: areas of excavation. Metric contours. Scale 1:500

Phase 1	Construction of nave and chancel with apsidal sanctuary	c.1100
Phase 2	Addition of western rectangular tower or nave extension, and of buttress at junction of nave and chancel	c.1185
Phase 3	Demolition of apse and construction of straight east wall	thirteenth century
Phase 4	Demolition of chancel arch and replacement by screen further west. Probable demolition of western? Tower, and construction of extension of nave to west.	early fourteenth century
Phase 5	Extension of chancel to east, and construction of west tower	mid-fourteenth century
Phase 6	Construction of north chapel	fifteenth century
Phase 7	Construction of three buttresses on later sixteenth north side of nave. Abandonment of north chapel	later sixteenth century or seventeenth century
	Demolition of chancel	1765
	Demolition of church	1789

### III. Description of the Excavations

#### Method of excavation

A machined trial trench with limited follow-up by hand in August 1980 located the church, the trench cutting across the north chapel and the extreme west end of the nave (Fig.3). Hand-excavation in the northern part revealed Saxo-Norman pits and ditches as well as the north limit of burials. Within the church sufficient work was done to show that the nave wall foundations were cut through burials and into soil containing tenth-eleventh century pottery.

In June 1981 topsoil was mechanically stripped over an area of 640 sq.m, aligned not with the walls found in 1980 but with the southern edge of the former school playground in the north-west part of the field.

A series of north to south baulks were laid out across the church which appeared as a spread of rubbly soil. Three of these baulks overlay north to south walls and were therefore removed after the excavation of demolition layers between them. As work proceeded and the basic structural sequence emerged, it was decided that efforts

## All Saints'

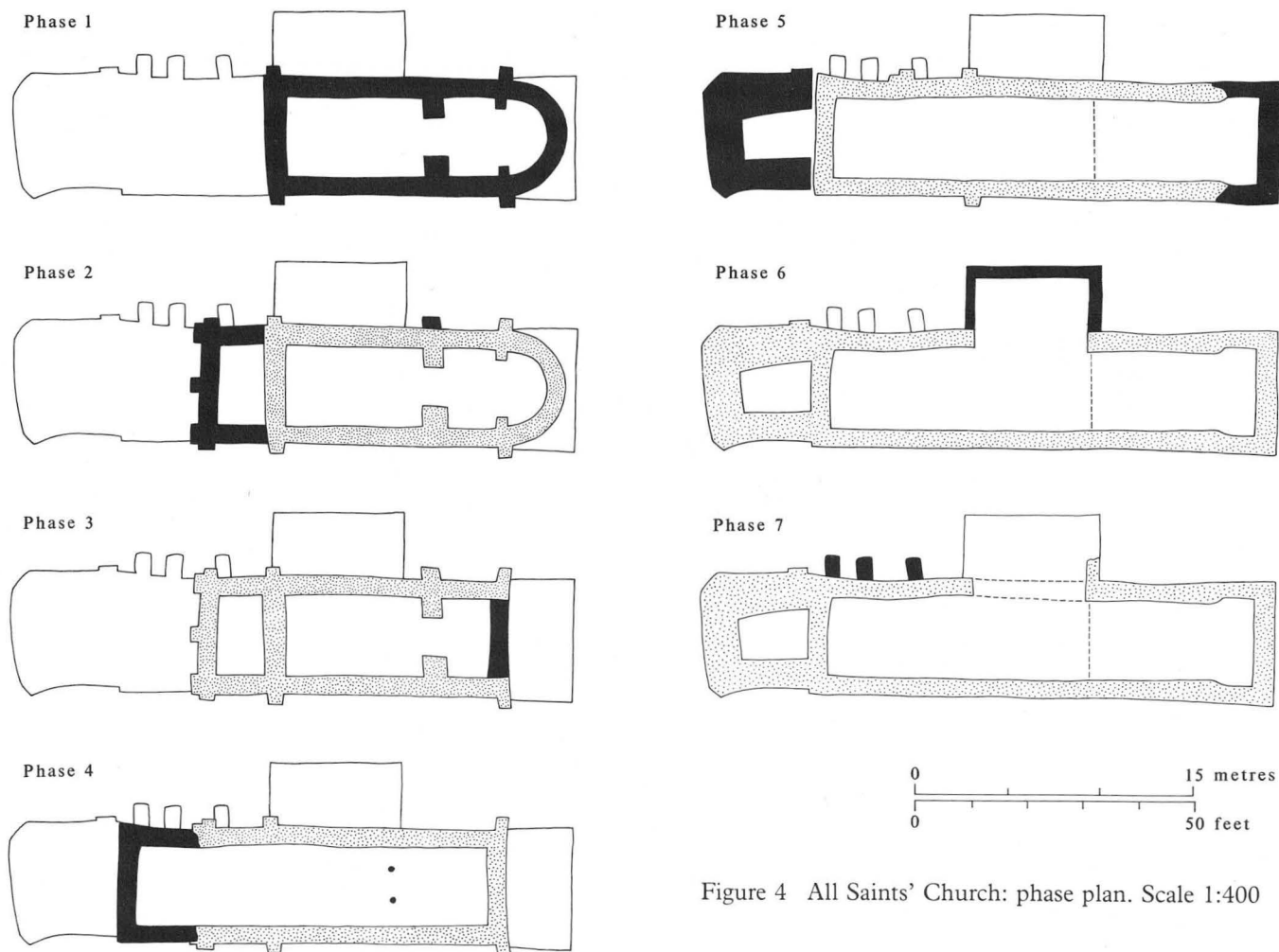


Figure 4 All Saints' Church: phase plan. Scale 1:400

should be concentrated on the earlier phases and on the pre-masonry church deposits to the detriment of our understanding of the later phases, particularly in the north chapel and in the tower and western end of the nave. This concentration on the eastern part of the church and its interior also prevented any significant work outside the line of the walls, and is the probable explanation of why no trace of a porch was revealed despite its documented existence.

In the search for a pre-Phase 1 church all graves within the chancel were emptied. Within the eastern two thirds of the nave all graves were also emptied, with the exception of two late examples in the centre. Substantial stretches of the Phase 1 foundation trenches were also then removed in the search for an earlier structure.

At the end of the 1981 excavation a trench was hastily hand-dug east from the east end of the church in order to locate the eastern limit of burials and to examine the churchyard boundary.

In July 1982 five holes were mechanically excavated by the Parochial Church Council in the presence of one of the authors (AR), in order to demonstrate whether any areas of the field were free of burials and thus suitable for development. The information from these holes together with that from the 1980 trial trench and the 1981 trench east of the church has enabled the approximate north,

south and east boundaries of the graveyard to be established (Fig.3).

### Pre-graveyard deposits

(Fig.6)

The earliest deposits within the area of the church consisted of buried soils cut by burials antedating the Phase 1 church. These greyish brown sandy loams lay directly on the natural chalk. Environmental sampling by P.Murphy (p.48-9) indicates that they had been subjected to cultivation, and finds of pottery and animal bone suggest manuring with domestic refuse. Pottery evidence shows that this activity took place in the tenth and early eleventh century.

Within the area of the church few features belonged to this phase. These were a fragment of a shallow pit (348) and a nearby area where an irregular disturbance (32) in the surface of the chalk coincided with a post-hole and a concentration of pottery and bone. A deep pit (451) was sealed by the foundation of the south wall of the Phase 1 church.

Many more features were recorded at the north end of the 1980 trial trench (p.21). It is likely that these indicate occupation along the south side of the east-to-west village street.

Buried soils, for the most part truncated by later

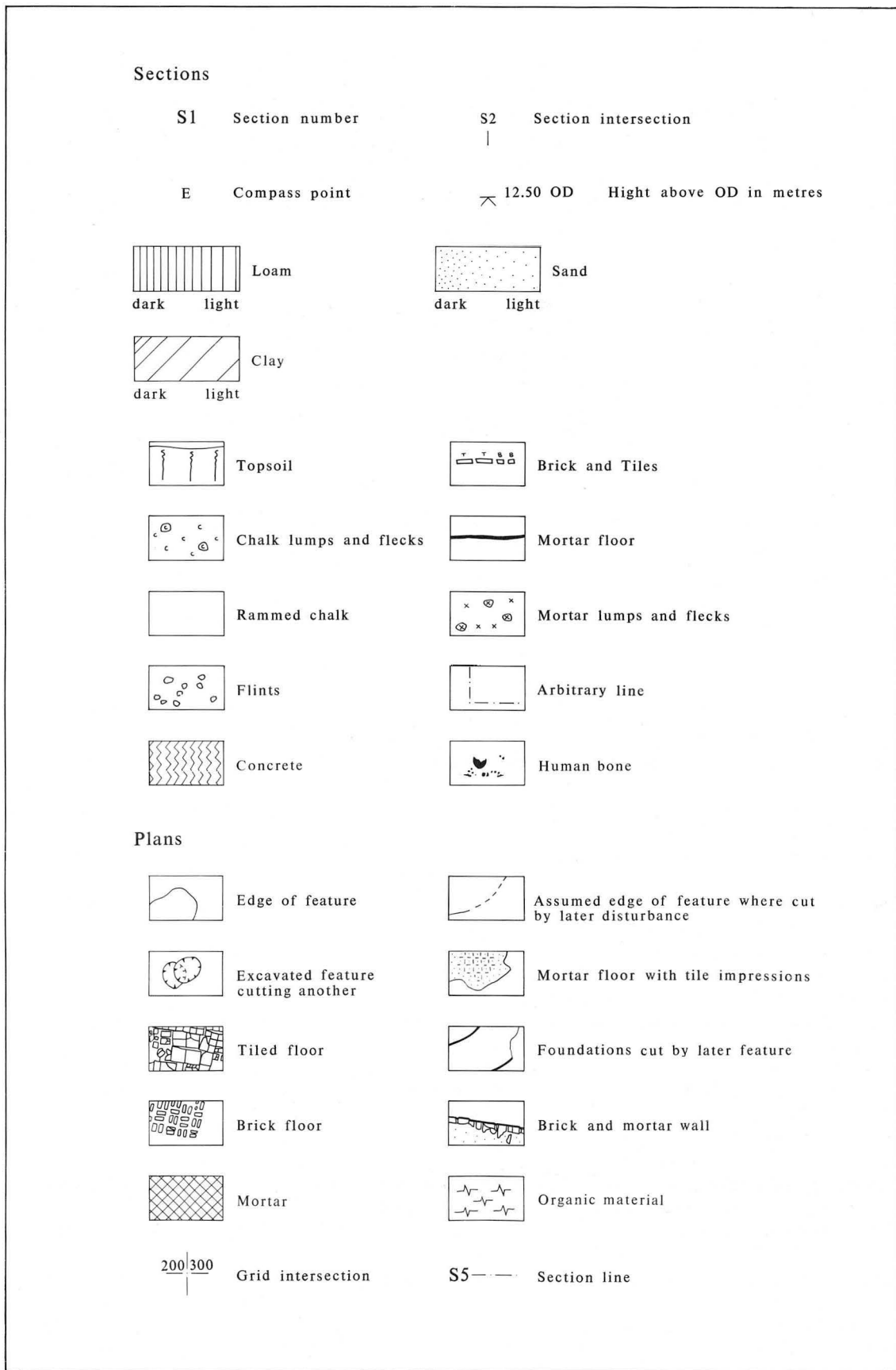


Figure 5 Key to plans and sections



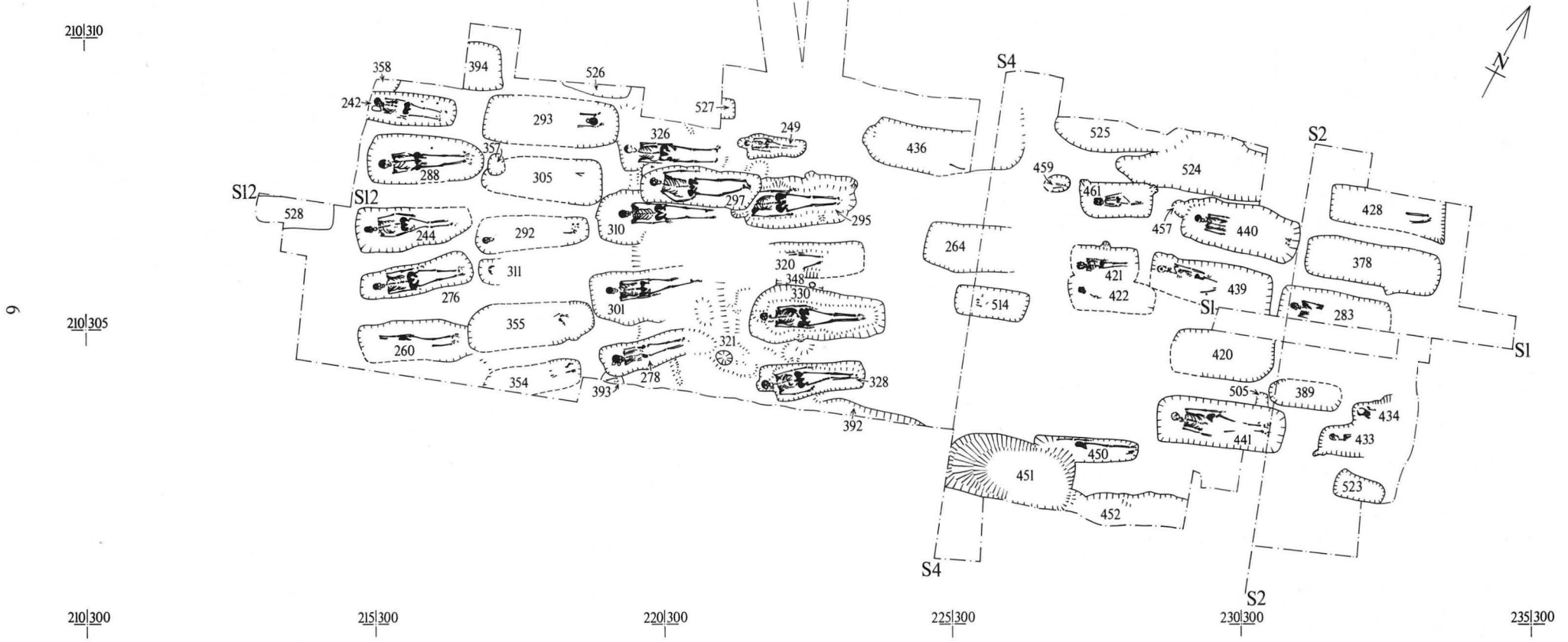


Figure 6 Plan: pre-Phase 1 features and graveyard. Scale 1:100

disturbances, occurred in all areas of the church where graves and wall foundations were absent. In the apse, layer 285 (Sect.S2, Fig.10) survived in the south-western corner. In the chancel similar deposits remained between graves in various places, towards the west (347 and 408, Sect.S4, Fig.10, and 371), to the east (345) and the north (385). None survived in the heavily grave-disturbed central area. West of Sect.S4, layer 263 remained as a north-to-south strip between graves. Further west, excavation in spits down to firm grave outlines prevented the isolation of the buried soil so that contexts 172, 191, 226, 234 and 262 include material from the upper parts of grave fillings.

### Pre-Phase 1 graveyard

(Fig.6)

Forty-nine burials and grave-like features are assumed to pre-date the construction of the Phase I Church. The burials may be divided into those cut by Phase 1 features and those which by their orientation, position and filling appear to be of similar date. All the grave-like features lay below Phase 1 or 2 structures and contained no bone. Some contained no filling apart from wall foundation material.

The graves were laid out in reasonably straight north-to-south rows and there was little intercutting. A narrow gap between graves running approximately north to south between co-ordinates *c.*224/303 to *c.*224/308 marked a change in alignment between graves to east and west. An explanation for this was not found within the area of excavation.

#### *Burials below the apse*

Four burials (283, 428, 433, 434) and two grave-like features (378 and 523) were cut by the apse foundations, and one empty pit (389; Sect.S2, Fig.10) was probably of similar date. A post-hole (505) at its west end may have held a grave-marker.

#### *Burials below the chancel*

Four burials (440, 450, 459 and 461) and four grave-like features (264, 452, 524 and 525) were cut by Phase 1 structures. Five other burials (421, 422, 439, 441 and 514) and one grave-like feature (420) were probably of similar date.

#### *Burials below the nave*

In the area of the Phase 1 nave nine burials (249, 292, 293, 305, 311, 354, 355, 393 and 436) and three grave-like features (392, 526 and 527) were cut by Phase 1 structures. Nine burials (278, 295, 297, 301, 310, 320, 236, 328 and 330) were probably of similar date.

To the west, within the Phase 2 extension, burial 260 (Pl.IX) was cut by pre-Phase 1 burial 355. Four others (242, 244, 276 and 288), stretching in a row to the north, were probably contemporary with 260 (Pl.VIII). A post-hole (357) cut the west end of 305 and was cut by the Phase 1 west wall. A ?grave pit (358) was cut by 242 and by Phase 2 wall foundations. Grave pits 394 and 528 were cut by Phase 2 and probably belong to the pre-Phase 1 cemetery, as may also burials 271 and 272, cut by the Phase 4 west wall (Fig.15; Sect.S8, Fig.11).

### Phase 1

(Fig.7)

The foundations of a rectangular nave (7.5m by 4.5 m

internally), and chancel with apsidal sanctuary (5.5m by 4.5m internally) formed the principal elements of the first masonry church (Pl.V).

The foundations of the apse (177) and of the north, south and west walls (16, 6 and 133) were of one construction, and consisted of trenches filled with alternate layers of rammed chalk and rammed chalk with flints (Sect.S1-5, Fig.10). The trenches varied between 0.9m and 1.3m in width and were cut down to or slightly into the surface of the natural chalk. All chalk-cut features encountered by the builders were systematically emptied where they impinged on the wall-line, and then backfilled with rammed chalk and flint. This process left many burials truncated, and was at its most thorough in the case of pit 451. This feature, cut 1.6 m below the surface of the chalk, had been so thoroughly re-excavated that only slight traces of its original filling remained on its sides.

The flints used in the foundation trenches were so varied in shape and patination as to suggest that they had been acquired through field clearance rather than quarrying. This is supported by occasional occurrences of burnt flints, carstone, iron bound conglomerate, worn Roman tiles, sherds of Thetford-type Ware, lava quern fragments, and part of a Neolithic polished axe.

The wall foundations were externally butted by the foundations of four buttresses and internally by the foundations of the chancel and sanctuary arch responds. All of these consisted of pits filled with rammed chalk without flints. Only part of the northern sanctuary arch foundation (438) survived the insertion of the Phase 3 east wall (211) which had entirely removed its southern counterpart. The foundations of the chancel arch responds (381 and 228) were badly mutilated by later burials so that their original lengths are unknown. The sanctuary arch was flanked by two buttress foundations (506 and 478), the southern (478) being mostly removed by later grave-cuts (Pl.VI). At the western end of the nave the north and south walls were butted by foundations 245 and 480. Any trace of support for the west wall had been removed by Phase 2 features.

There can be no doubt that despite their butting the wall foundations, these buttress and respond foundations belong to the same phase as the north and south walls. Three of them (438, 478 and 506) were part sealed by a layer of mortar which also covered adjacent area of Phase 1 wall foundations (see below).

Where undisturbed by later phases or by robbing, the flat upper surface of the foundations was reasonably level, varying by a maximum of 11cm throughout the church. Over this surface there survived in patches a 1-6cm thick layer of yellow brown coarse sandy mortar into which was set a single course of flint and chalk boulders with occasional glacial erratics and lumps of limestone and ironstone. The majority of this course remained *in situ* along the outer edges of the north and south walls. In the south wall the stones projected slightly to the south of the underlying foundation while in the north wall they were set back from the foundation's northern edge. In the north wall of the chancel, behind Phase 2 buttress 188, and opposite on the south wall, the course of stones was covered by a 2cm thick flat-topped patch of light yellowish brown mortar. East of this patch, at co-ordinate 225.20/302, a fragment of similar mortar was surmounted by a piece of limestone ashlar (small find 286). This carried fine diagonal tooling on its southern face and was

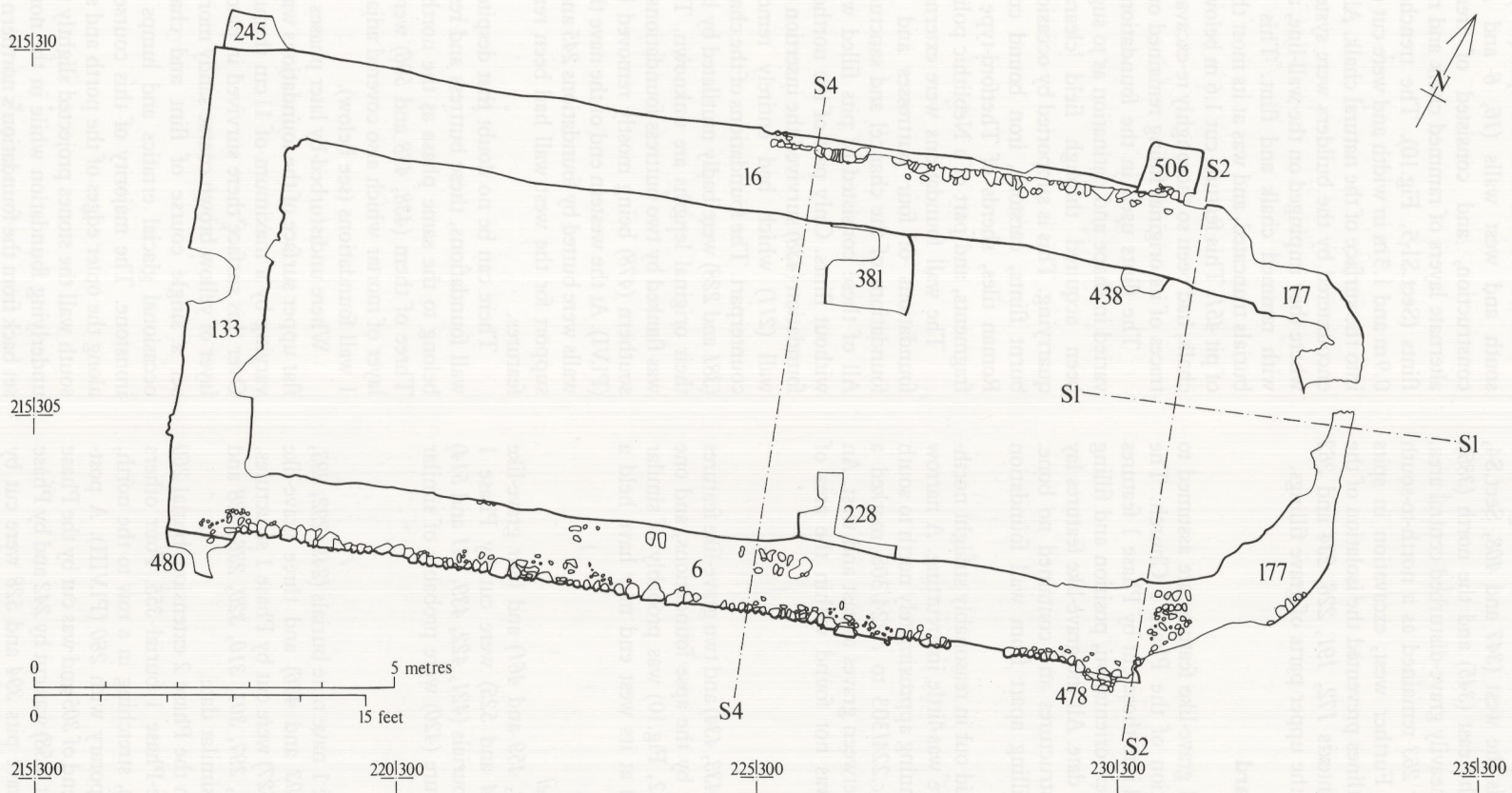


Figure 7 Plan: Phase 1. Scale 1:100



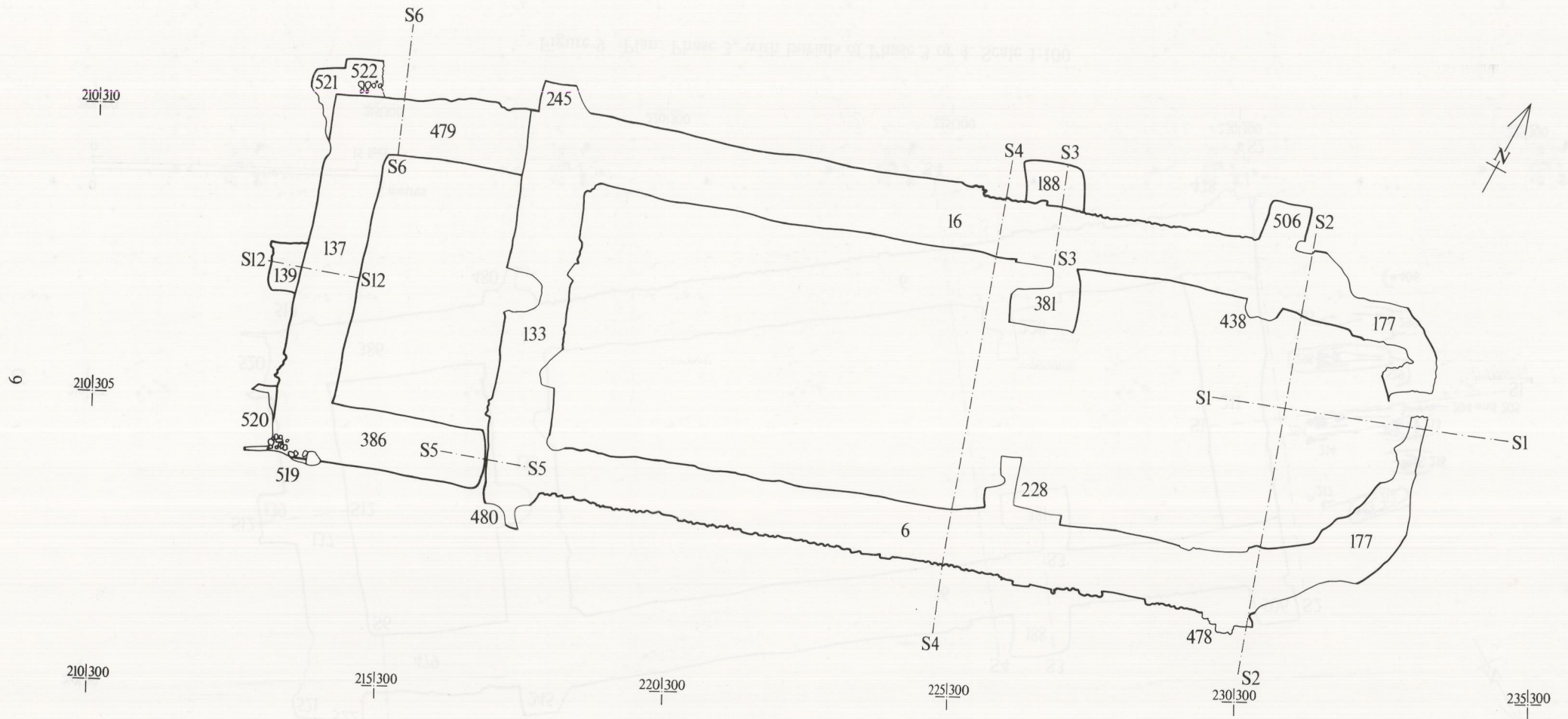


Figure 8 Plan: Phase 2. Scale 1:100



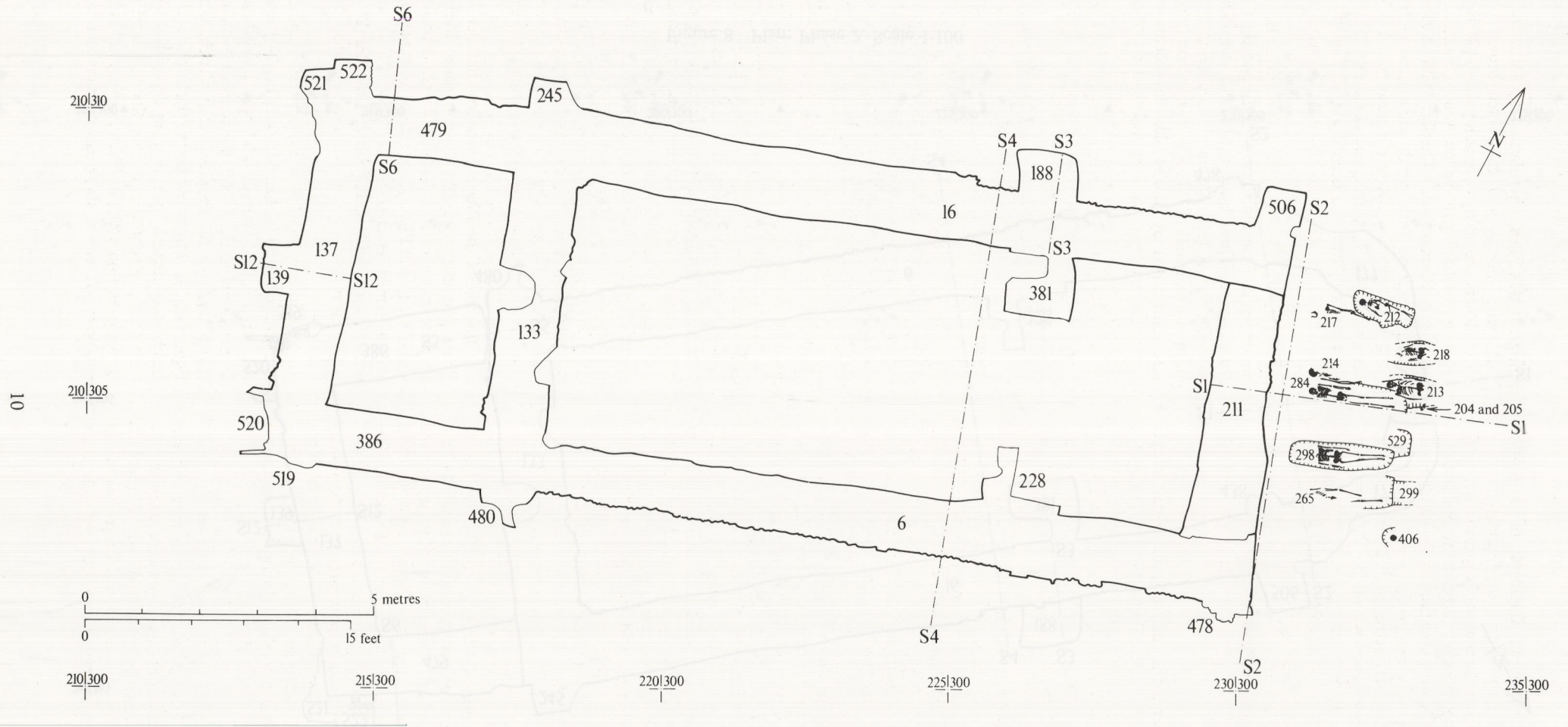


Figure 9 Plan: Phase 3, with burials of Phase 3 or 4. Scale 1:100

probably the sole surviving fragment of a plinth, projecting 4cm beyond the edge of the foundation.

A 0.7 m wide gap in the masonry course in the south wall of the chancel may possibly indicate the position of a priest's door. There is no indication as to which phase such an opening should be assigned.

No Phase 1 floors were recorded. This absence was the result of subsequent lowering of the floor level and extensive disturbance from grave digging.

Within the church, no burials could be certainly assigned to this phase. Parts of two unexcavated graves found beneath Phase 2 buttress 188 may belong here, but could equally well antedate Phase 1.

## Phase 2

(Figs 8 and 39)

The church was extended to the west, the overall length being increased by 3.5m. The foundations of the north, south and west walls (479, 386 and 137) were of one build, and were similar to those of Phase 1, although the layers of rammed chalk and flint were much less regular. Foundations 479 and 386 butted Phase 1 foundations 16 and 6 (Sect.S5, Fig.10). The somewhat fragmentary remains of clasping buttress foundations, of rammed chalk with the occasional flint, supported the north west (521 and 522) and the south west corners (519 and 520). A further buttress foundation (139) butted the centre of the west wall (137) (Sect.S12, Fig.18). The upper surfaces of both buttresses and wall foundations had suffered considerable robbing, and overlying wall material survived only in two places, patches of yellow brown mortar with a few flint and chalk lumps above buttress 522 and above the junction of wall 386 and buttress 519. The only finds from Phase 2 foundations were Roman tile and lava quern fragments.

There is no certain evidence concerning the fate of the Phase 1 west wall (133) in this phase. Either 133 was demolished and the nave extended to an internal length of 11.2 m, or 133 was retained as the east wall of a rectangular chamber, perhaps a tower, measuring 2.5m by 4.5m internally. The buttresses lend credence to the latter alternative, although there was no thickening of foundations as might be expected beneath a tower. These problems of interpretation are further discussed below (p. 53). The tower alternative is chosen on the phase plans (Figs 4, 8 and 9), but the extended nave version is shown on the reconstruction drawing (Fig.39).

Buttress foundation 188 butting the Phase 1 north wall foundation 16 has been assigned to this phase (Sec.S3, Fig.10). It is obvious that 188 was designed to support the north wall at a stage when the chancel arch was still upstanding and must therefore precede Phase 4. The filling of the foundation, highly compacted very chalky sandy loam without mortar is more similar to the fillings of Phase 2 than those of Phase 3. No evidence for a counterpart buttress on the south side was found.

No Phase 2 building levels or floors were recorded.

## Phase 3

(Fig.9)

The sanctuary was demolished, and a new east wall was constructed across the springing of the apse resulting in a chancel only 2.5 m long. Foundation trench 211 (Sect.S1, Fig.10) was 1.04-1.2m wide and rested on the surface of the chalk. Where necessary it was cut through grave

fillings. It was filled with alternating horizontal layers of gravel with mortar, and compacted brown loam. The gravel layers contained occasional chalk lumps and fragments of hard pale yellow brown mortar. Artefacts comprised Roman tile, Thetford-type and medieval unglazed wares. The north sanctuary arch respond foundation (438) was partly cut away and 211 was built over and around it, butting foundation 16. The southern counterpart of 438 had been entirely removed, and the inner face of foundation 6 had been cut away to receive 211.

A number of burials were made during the time that foundation 211 carried the east wall, and thus belong to Phase 3 or 4. Three burials (213, 218 and 406) and one grave-like feature (299) cut apse foundation 177 and were cut by the east wall of Phase 5. Two others (204 and 205) were represented by *in situ* skull fragments only. One burial (284) was cut into apse foundation 177 and cut by burial 213. Five burials (212, 217, 265, 298 and 529) were cut into 177 but were not impinged upon by Phase 5. They also probably belong to Phases 3 or 4, as may one other (214) cut into burial 284.

No Phase 3 building levels or floors were recorded.

## Phase 4

(Fig.12)

The nave was extended westwards by 4.5 m, the north and south wall foundations (164 and 156) being cut into Phase 2 buttress foundations 520 and 521. The new west wall foundation (273 Sect.S8, Fig.11) was of one build with 164 and 156 but was mostly cut away by the west tower robbing pit (p.14). The foundation trenches (Sect.S7, Fig.11) were filled with alternating layers of yellowish-brown mortar and grey brown soil. The thickness of the soil layers and the manner in which soil and mortar layers rose upwards to the trench edges indicates a separate phase of building to that of the Phase 3 east wall 211. That this is a succeeding phase to 211 is suggested by the frequency of peg roof-tiles in trenches of Phase 4 and their absence from 211.

Little excavation took place in this westwards extension, demolition having removed the upper parts of all three trenches. Demolition layers rested directly on layer 197, probably a buried soil similar to pre-church deposits elsewhere. 197 was cut by ?pre-church burials (271 and 272, Fig.15) which were in turn cut by the Phase 4 west wall. The north wall foundation (164) sealed three probable graves (485-7, Fig.15).

The fate of the Phase 2 western chamber or tower in Phase 4 is unproven, but it seems most likely that the north to south walls 133 and 137 were demolished. It is also likely that in Phase 4 the chancel arch was taken down and a screen erected further west. This screen was represented by two chalk-packed post-holes (235 and 236). These alterations resulted in a nave and chancel 14m and 5m long.

Burial 323 (Fig.15) straddled the division between nave and chancel that existed from Phase 4 onwards. It cut two pre-Phase 1 burials and was partly sealed by a slumped mortar floor (256, not on plan) which, although partly removed by the 1980 trial trench, was of very limited extent. The upper part of the buried soil cut by 323 had been disturbed. The resultant deposit (312/317) which contained peg roof-tiles, overlay floor 256 and was sealed by a mortar floor (239) of Phase 5. Also sealed by 239 and cut from 312 was a short east to west slot (335) which

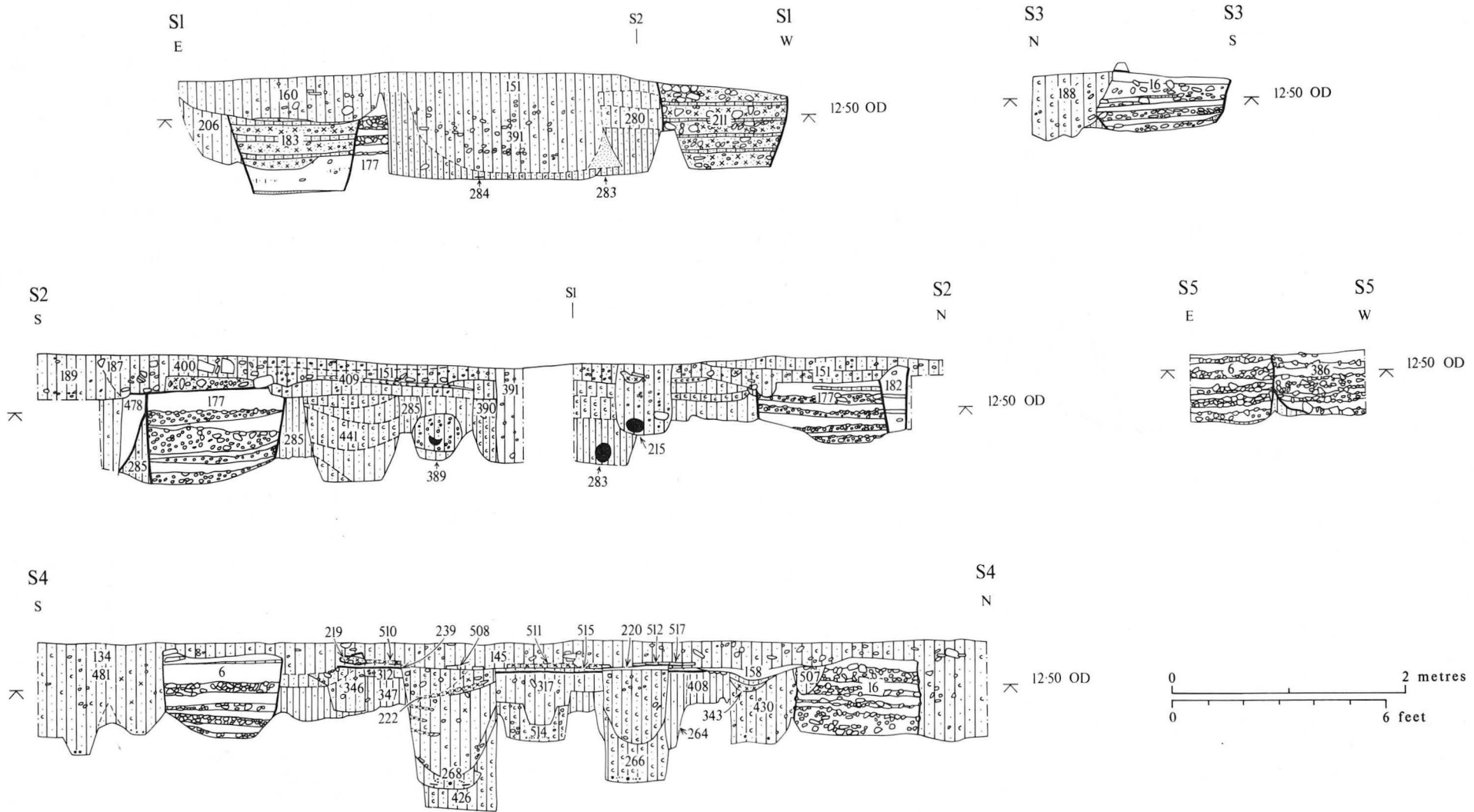


Figure 10 Sections S1-S5. Scale 1:50

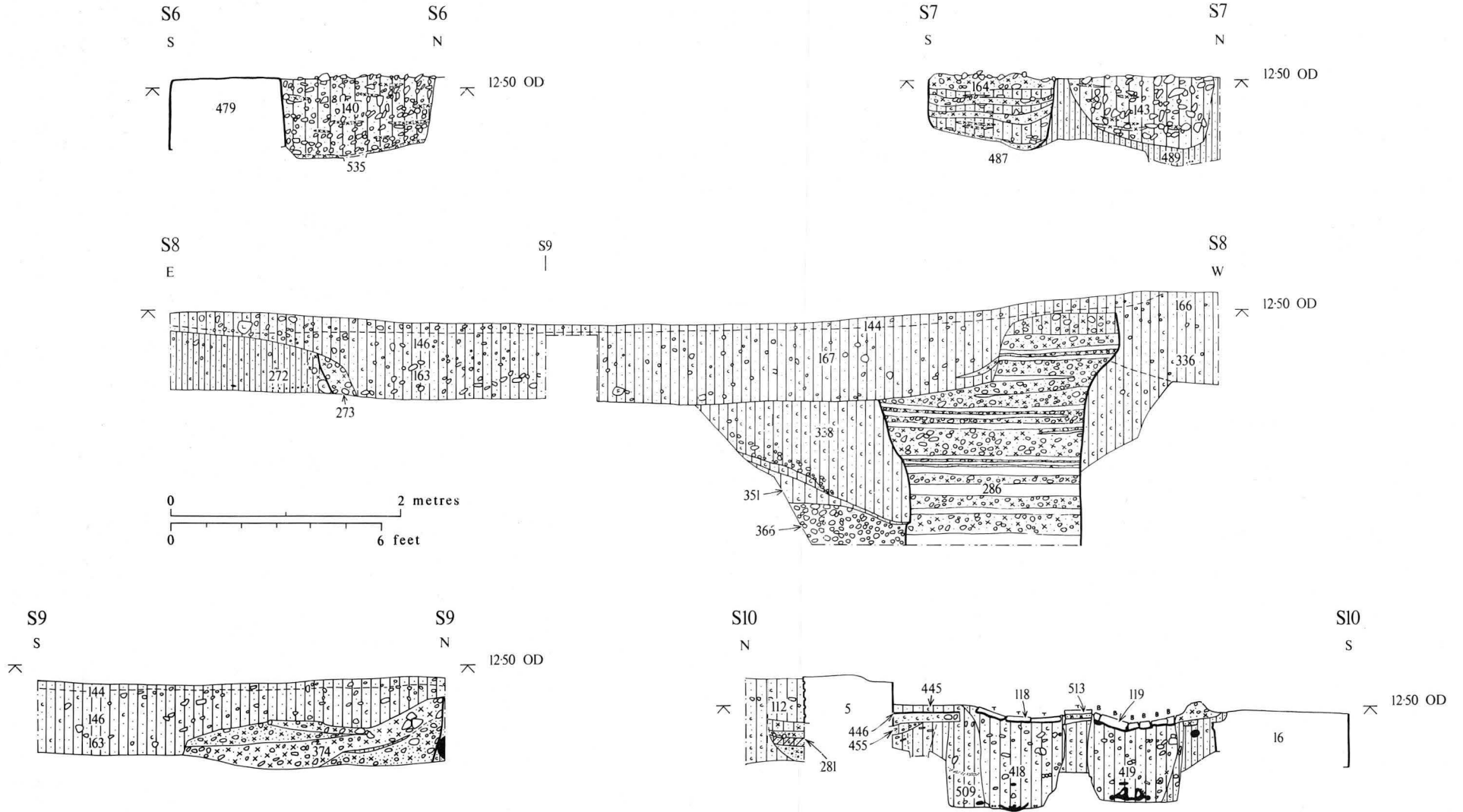


Figure 11 Sections S6-S10. Scale 1:50



contained three post-holes (339-40 and 346) and was cut into the Phase 1 south chancel arch respond foundation (228). Post-hole 236 was part sealed by floor 239. Post-hole 235, the northern counterpart of 236, was not so sealed, as 239 had been removed at this point. Another post-hole, 237, with a similar chalk filling, lay west of 236. Three other post-holes (313, 331 and 379), filled with loose yellow mortar, were covered by floor 239.

Thirteen burials east of the chancel can be assigned to Phase 3 or 4 (Fig.9). Priest burial 430, in the north west corner of the chancel was probably of Phase 4 (Pl.X, Fig.16). The grave was cut through the north chancel arch respond foundation (381), but had no certain relationship with Phase 5 floor 239. The grave filling was partly sealed by a layer of friable mortar (343) which was probably not a floor and existed only within the area of the grave. Above this mortar, a layer of soil was sealed by a floor of rammed chalk (158).

In the area of the Phase 5 west tower a c. 5 m diameter probably circular pit (338) lay beneath the north and west walls. Its filling was exposed in four places but excavation did not penetrate to any depth except along the line of Sect.S8 (Fig.10). The pit had been cut at least 1.5 m below the surface of the natural. The lowest excavated filling (366) contained profuse chalk lumps, mostly burnt pink, and the chalk sides of the pit were similarly burnt from the level of the top of layer 351 downwards. There can be no doubt that 338 was a lime kiln pit being too large and probably too deep to have been used for bell-casting. It is not possible to assign its use to a building phase with any certainty. However, as the only find in the lowest excavated filling was a fragment of peg roof tile, the pit may possibly post-date Phase 3 and may therefore belong to Phase 4. However three burials (337, 360 and 364) were cut into the pit, and all three pre-date Phase 5.

### Phase 5 (Fig.13)

The east wall constructed in Phase 3 was demolished and the chancel was extended to a length of 8.5m. The foundations of the north, south and east walls (182-4) were built partly over and around the apse foundations (177) (Sects.S1 and S2, Fig.10). The trenches were of one construction and were filled with alternating horizontal layers of pale yellow brown mortar and grey brown soil (Sect.S1 and S2, Fig.10). Both types of layer contained abundant peg roof tile fragments. The east wall foundation was deeper than the other two, and its basal layer was of rammed chalk with some soil. Robbing was extensive, particularly on the east and south sides so that no part of the walls remained.

The west tower has been assigned to this phase entirely on the basis of the general similarity of its foundations to those of the chancel extension. Robbing had done great damage to the foundations, and has led to some obscurities in the plan. An additional complication was the construction of the tower above a substantial lime-kiln pit (338).

The tower's east wall was presumably built over the west wall of the Phase 4 nave (273). No evidence of a tower arch survived robbing. The foundations of the other three walls (286, 374 and 405) were probably of one build, although this was not demonstrated by excavation. The trenches were filled with layers of yellow brown mortar with gravel and grey brown soil. Rammed chalk layers

appeared particularly in the deeper trenches. Peg roof-tiles were abundant throughout.

The depth to which the tower foundations were dug was very variable. 405, the south wall foundation had been laid directly on the surface of the natural chalk at its east end, and here it was entirely robbed. The northern part of the remainder was laid in a feature cut 0.87m into the chalk. It is unclear whether this feature was purposefully cut to receive the foundation, or whether it was a pre-existing hole utilised by the builder. The east end of the north wall foundation (374) was laid in a shallow cut into the chalk (Sect.S9, Fig.11) and its filling at this point existed almost entirely of gravelly mortar. There was a well-defined and sudden increase in width of the trench 1.25m from its straight-edged east end. Further west where 374 impinged on pit 338 the northern part was laid on filling while the southern part was cut down through the filling to at least 0.5 m below the surface of the natural chalk (Sect.S8, Fig.11).

A narrow section through the west wall foundation (286) showed that it had been cut at least 1.4m below surface of the natural chalk through the filling of pit 338 (Sect.S8, Fig.10).

Foundation 374 cut an otherwise unexcavated burial on its northern edge (skull in Sect.S9, Fig.11), and was cut by a post-demolition burial (344) further west. Burial 490 was probably earlier than south wall foundation 405 but robbing left the relationship uncertain.

Floor 239, which partly overlay a Phase 4 post-hole (236) at the west end of the chancel, and may therefore be assigned to Phase 5, was of hard off-white mortar, 7-13mm thick (Fig.15; Sect.S4, Fig.10). Its upper surface was remarkably level, variations in thickness being caused by minor undulations in the underlying deposits. No original edges survived, but it had certainly extended further east as fragments of similar mortar were found in later grave fillings. Over most of its extent 239 was covered by a thin layer of compacted soil (515).

East of floor 239 five burials (370, 397, 417, 453 and 456) cannot be securely placed in sequence with 239 but certainly pre-date the later medieval tiled floor 129 (see below) because their fillings contain none of the floor tiles and bedding mortar characteristic of graves cut through 129. Burial 456 was cut by all surrounding burials and may even belong to the pre-Phase 1 cemetery. 370, which contained peg roof-tiles in its filling, cut 456 and was cut by 453. 417, which produced peg roof-tiles, was cut by 397.

Floor 158 (not shown on Fig.15 but covering an area slightly larger than grave 430) overlapped the inner edge of foundation 16 as well as the northern edge of 515, the soil overlying floor 239. It also overlay seven post-holes (341-2, 373, 375, 377, 395 and 507). Further east another post-hole (396) cut the inner edge of 16 but was sealed only by demolition deposits. This and another very small post-hole (404) were filled with loose yellow mortar, as was 410 which cut the inner edge of the south wall foundation (6). 410 was cut by another post-hole (363) which was filled with an olive brown clay loam not encountered elsewhere on the site.

Layer 515 which overlay mortar floor 239 and the southern edge of rammed chalk floor 158 were overlain by a floor of glazed tiles (129/517; Fig.17) set on a mortar bedding (510 and 511). Few tiles remained *in situ* but the surface of the hard off-white mortar carried tile impressions. Contemporary with floor 129 was a north to

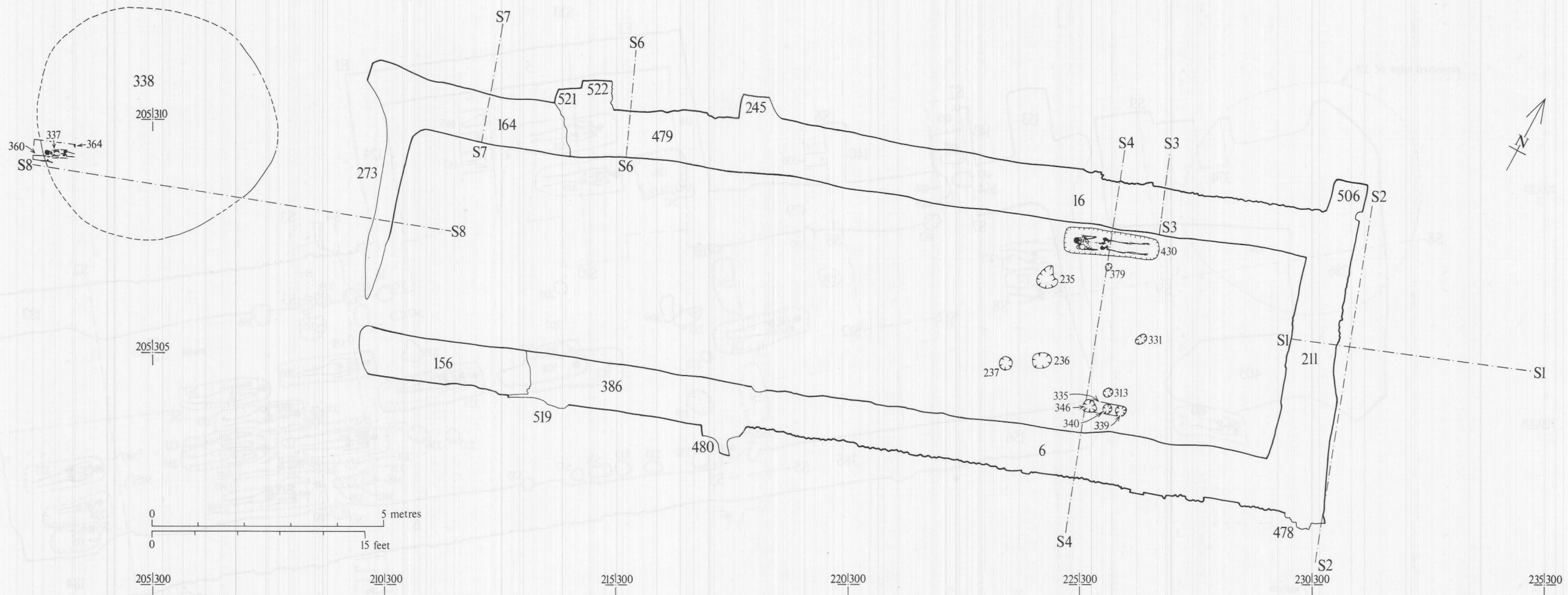


Figure 12 Plan: Phase 4. Scale 1:100

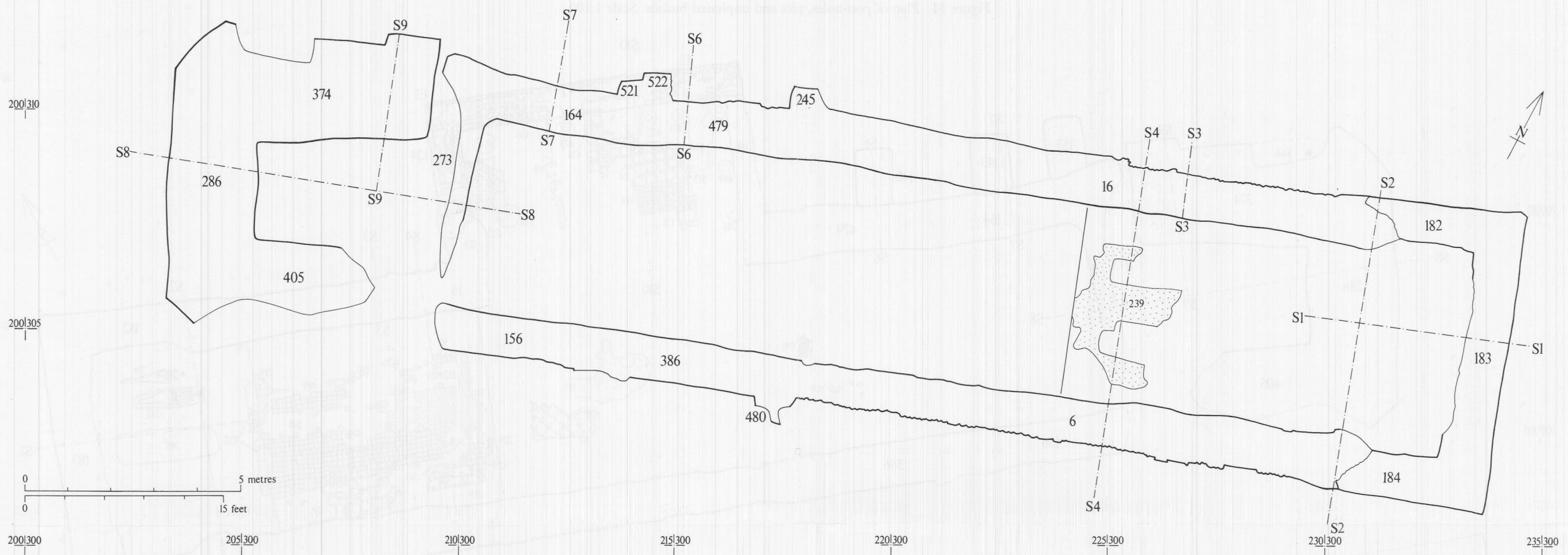


Figure 13 Plan: Phase 5. Scale 1:100



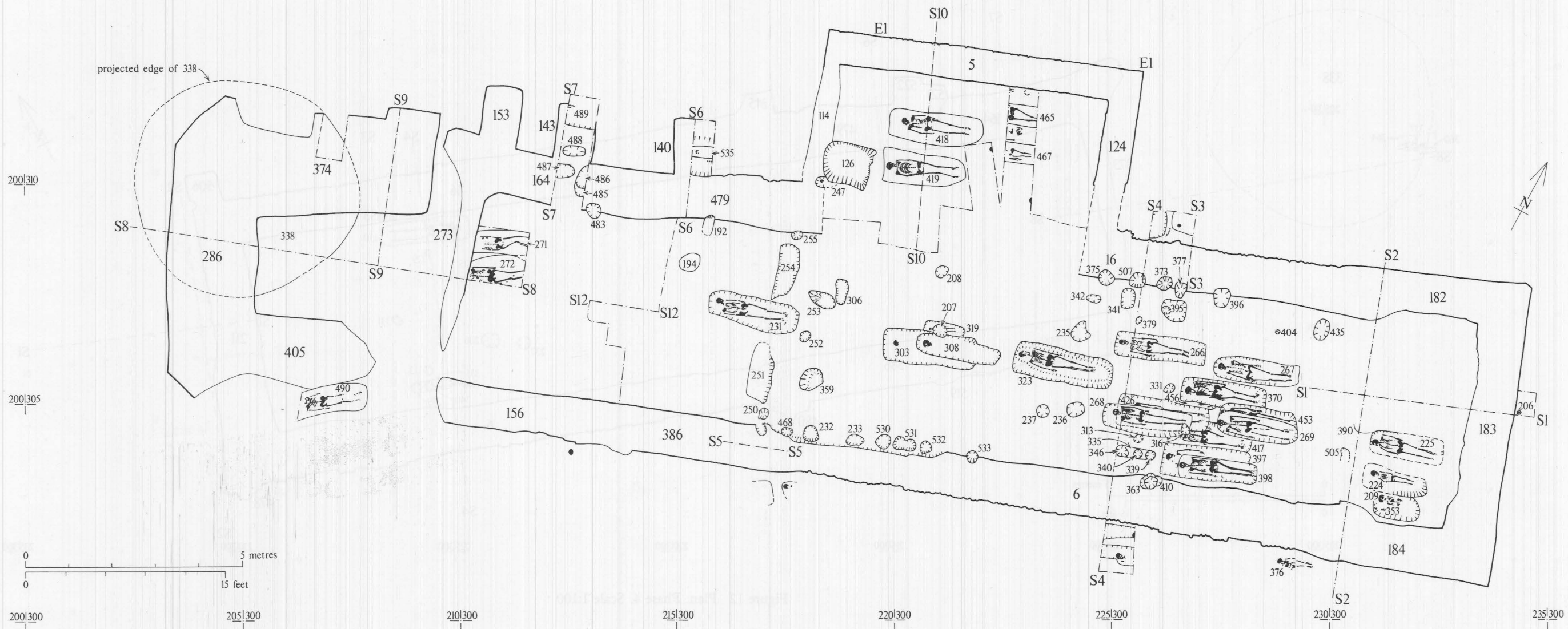


Figure 14 Plan of post-holes, pits and unphased burials. Scale 1:100

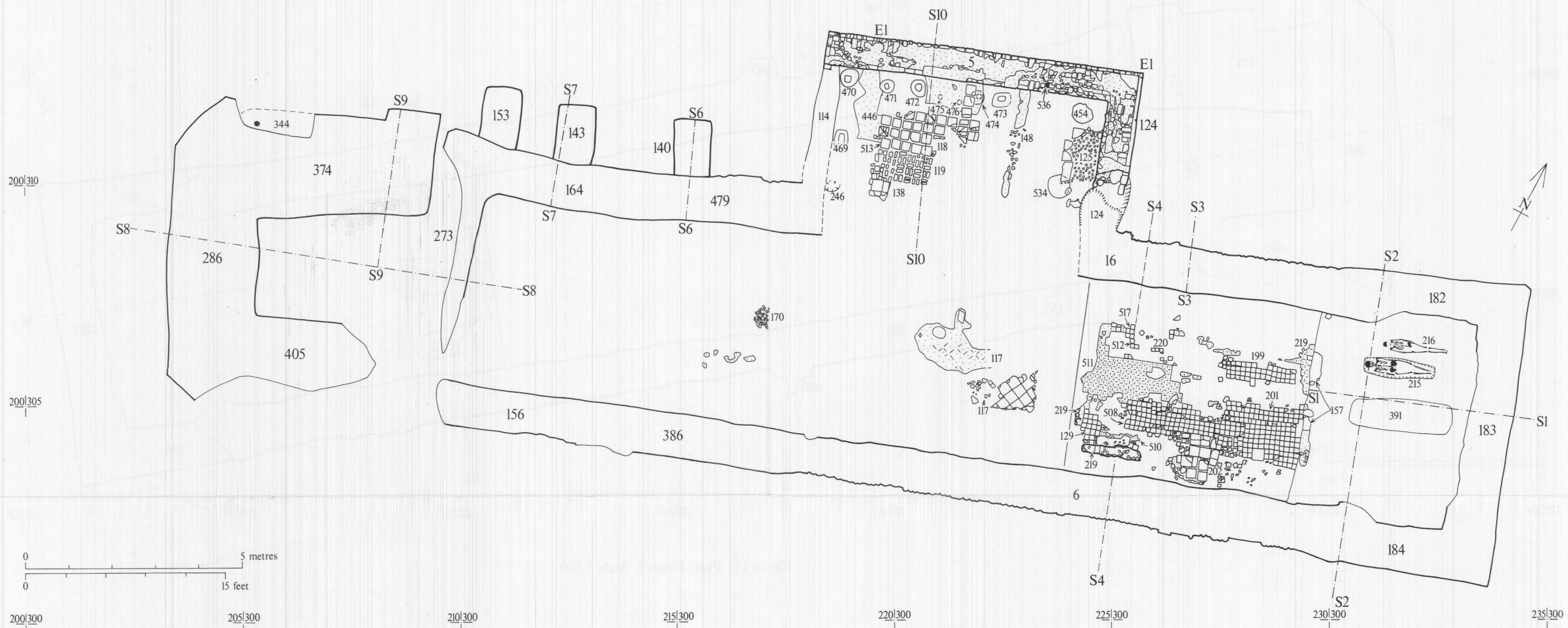


Figure 15 Plan: Phases 6 and 7, with mortar and tiled floors. Scale 1:100

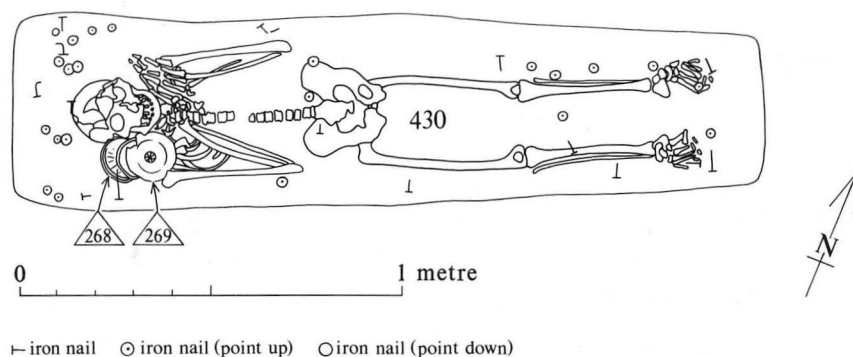


Figure 16 Plan: burial 430. Scale 1:20

south step (157) cut into the west edge of the Phase 3 foundation 211. The badly damaged step rose at least 10cm up from the level of floor 129 and was constructed of flint rubble set in mortar indistinguishable from that of the floor. Two limestone blocks acting as risers had avoided robbing. The northern end of the step had been mostly removed, but a small pit or post-hole (435) had cut through it. The west end of the south edge of floor 129 was marked by an east to west dwarf wall of flints set in mortar (219). This stopped abruptly to the east and was not robbed at this point. To the west damage by robbing and the 1980 trial trench was considerable, but 219 must have turned to the north where it followed the west edge of 129 for at least 0.8m from the assumed south west corner. The surface of 129 was *c.* 12 cm higher than that of tiled floor 117 at the eastern end of the nave.

#### Phase 6 (Pl.VII, Fig.15)

The pre-construction sequence in the north chapel is ill-understood because of incomplete excavation. A trench dug beneath partition wall 148 disclosed a layer of soil (466) overlying the natural chalk, which appeared similar to buried soils elsewhere. 466 was cut by the Phase 1 wall foundation 16 and further north by burials including 465 and 467. The burials were part sealed by a layer (464) containing a mass of disarticulated human bone. This was overlain by a spread of loose yellow brown gravel (448) which was cut by a post-hole (534) and lay below another layer containing much human bone (447/449). This was cut by 455, the foundation trench of the chapel's north wall (5).

The north chapel measured 6.2m east to west and 2.8m north to south (Sect.S10, Fig.11; Elevation E1, Fig.18). The north and east walls (5 and 124) were of brick laid in irregular bond with occasional flints and limestone ashlar around a brick and flint core. They were set on a shallow foundation trench (281/455), and were rendered internally. Walls 124 and 5 carried an external offset, topped with peg roof-tiles in the case of wall 124. The western part of wall 5 was robbed down to offset level, while the southern end of 124 had been removed down to the foundation level. The west wall (114) was entirely robbed except for one brick at the north end. The jagged inner face of wall 5 at this point showed that walls 114 and 5 had been in bond. There appeared to be no foundation trench below 114 and the wall was only 0.35m wide. The most likely explanation for such an insubstantial wall is that it was intended as a temporary construction to be demolished when the chapel was extended westwards to

form a north aisle along the full length of the nave. This suggestion is amplified on p.55.

No evidence for either the opening(s) between chapel and nave or the blocking of the opening(s) after the abandonment of the chapel, survived the lowering of the surface of foundation 16. This surface, which had been lowered by as much as 0.3 m, was directly overlain by demolition rubble.

Within the north wall a rectangular void (536) 12cm × 8cm descended vertically to the base of the wall. This was probably the drainage channel for a piscina.

Inside the line of the west and north walls ten post-holes (246, 454, 469-76) must have held scaffold poles during the construction of the chapel. Excavation was incomplete along the inside of the east wall and none were recorded there. These post-holes were cut into the foundation trench 455, and 474-6 were sealed by a mortar floor (446) which butted the mortar rendering on the inner face of wall 5.

Floor 446 survived only patchily, having been removed by grave digging and demolition. Where undisturbed it was sealed by a layer of rubble-free soil (445).

A north to south alignment (148) of flint and mortar, 20-25cm wide and with a level upper surface of mortar, butted the rendering of wall 5. 148, presumably the base for a timber screen lay 1m west of a rectangular area of mortared flint (125) faced with fragments of an eleventh-century limestone grave-marker (Fig.30). This structure, probably the base of an altar, also butted wall 5 and overlay a fragment of mortar floor similar to 446.

The central area of the chapel contained a number of burials, only the latest two of which (418 and 419) were fully excavated (Fig.15; Sect.10, Fig.11). 418 lay beneath a severely slumped floor of glazed tiles (118). This surface was cut through a floor of identical tiles (513) which had originally extended over much of the chapel, although only one other patch survived (138). Burial 419 was cut through 138/513 and covered by an equally slumped brick floor (119). An infant burial (247; bones not retained) was cut into the inner edge of robbed wall 114 and was cut by pit 126. This pit which was filled with loose rubble was dug through the edges of floor 119 and robbed wall 114. It was sealed by demolition rubble as was the whole of the chapel's interior.

In the west part of the chancel six burials (266-9, 398 and 426) of late or post-medieval date were cut through tiled floor 129, and in each case the tiles were reset. The filling of 266 was overlain by a horizontal layer of rammed chalk (220) which acted as a bedding for the reset tiles



225|302

230|302

- |  |  |  |                |
|--|--|--|----------------|
|  | 'yellow' tiles with cream slip and clear glaze |  | crushed mortar |
|  | tiles with green glaze                         |  | brick          |
|  | 'yellow' tiles face down                       |  | limestone      |
|  | green-glazed tiles face down                   |  | chalk          |
|  | tiles with no surviving glaze                  |  | flint          |
|  | mortar with tile impressions                   |  |                |

Figure 17 Plan: detail of tiled floors in west part of chancel. Scale 1:40

(512). 267 was covered by a severely slumped layer of tiles reset in mortar (199). 268 was set immediately above burial 426, the filling of which contained lumps of mortar comparable to 129. In the upper filling of 268 a subsided mortar floor (222) still held some tiles *in situ*. Further filling was cut by a mortar-filled post-hole (316) and sealed by another floor (508) of reset tiles. 269 was also covered with tiles reset in mortar (201); this involved the relaying of a wide spread of tiles on either side of the west end of the grave. 398 was covered by a layer of pale yellow chalky clay

(315) into which tiles had been reset along with brick fragments and a piece of limestone (small find 238). Most of these tiles had been removed and reset in mortar (202) along with more brick fragments, large glazed tiles (as those found in the nave and north chapel) and a solitary Bawsey tile fragment (small find 227).

Most of the parts not covered by tiles floors or mortar bedding were probably tiled before robbing as they contained a spread of crushed and broken mortar with some tile fragments. However, an area to the north east,



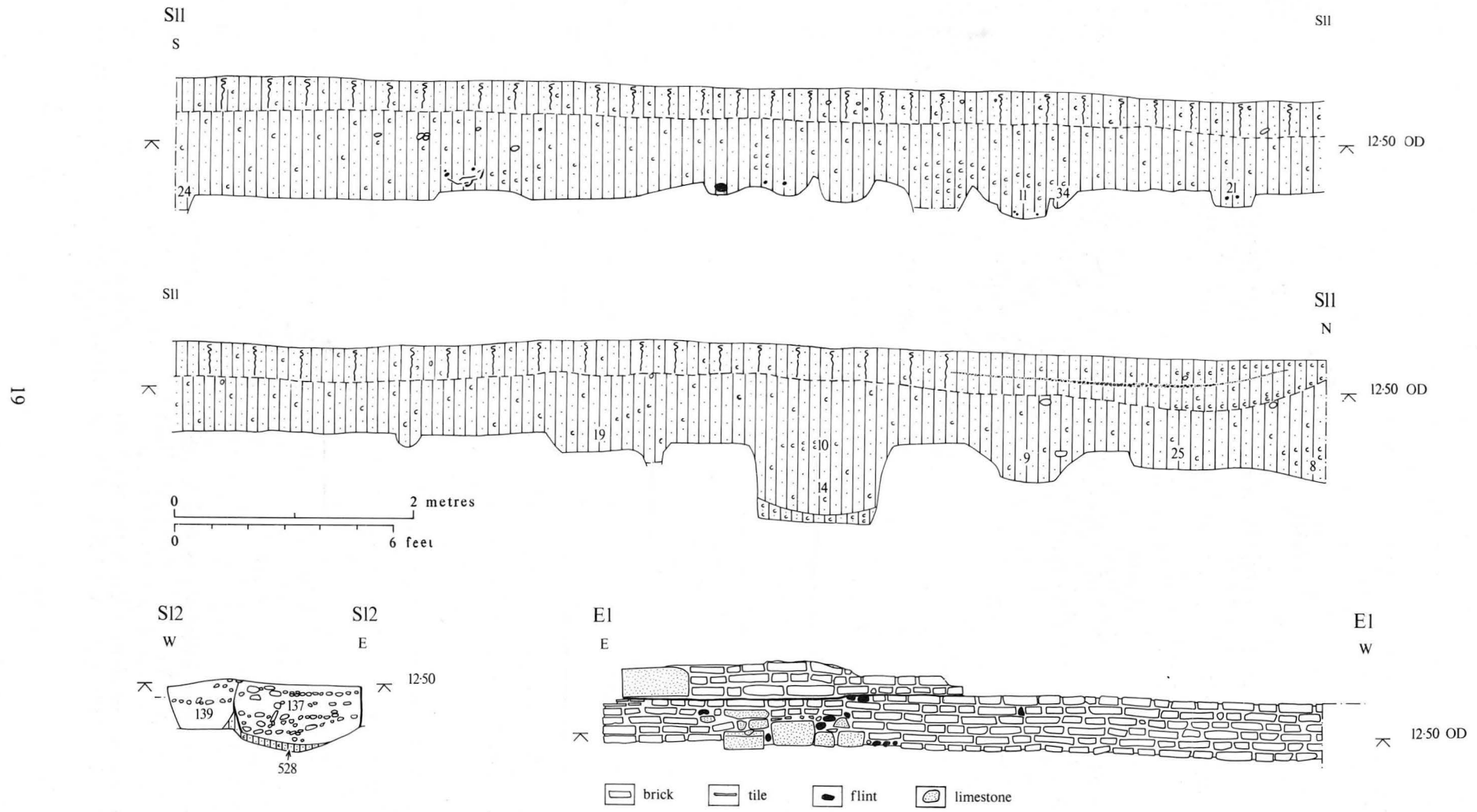


Figure 18 Sections S11 and S12, and Elevation E1

measuring 2.5m east to west by 1m north to south, was devoid of crushed mortar and contained no underlying burials (except those antedating Phase 1). It may have been occupied by some above-ground obstruction such as a tomb chest.

Towards the east end of the nave part of a floor of late medieval or early post-medieval large glazed tiles (117) had an original edge of triangular tiles set within a slight ridge of mortar on its east and south sides. North-west of these tiles a badly damaged patch of mortar carrying faint impressions of large tiles overlay an incompletely excavated burial (308). As the grave filling contained fragments of worn large tiles and mortar bedding, this patch must have been relaid. Burial 319 and an incompletely excavated burial (303) both contained fragments of bedding mortar in their fillings and were cut by burial 308. Further west, above a grave (231) cut through Phase 1 foundation 133, there survived a small area of very badly crushed floor tiles (170), to the south of which were isolated fragments of apparently *in situ* mortar.

Many post-holes were recorded in the nave. None can be firmly phased, but they are grouped together here for convenience. The inner face of south wall foundation (6) had been cut away for a length of 4.25 m at its west end. Set into this disturbance were five post-holes (232-3, 468, 530 and 532) and a double post-hole (531). A single post-hole (533) cut the inner face of 6 to the east. All these features were cut down to surface of the natural chalk. Along the southern face of the cut into 6 between post-holes 468 and 532 at approximately the level of the top of 6 ran a very thin discontinuous east to west line of badly decayed wood (species not identified) no more than 1 cm in depth. Wall foundation 133 was cut by two shallow pits of unknown function (251 and 254) and five post-holes (250, 252, 253, 255 and 359) and immediately to the east, another post-hole (306) was cut from immediately below demolition layers through pre-Phase 1 grave filling into the natural chalk. Burials 308 and 319 were cut by a post-hole (207) with a packing of large floor tiles and another (208) lay to the north. The inner faces of the north wall foundations 164 and 479 were cut by two post-holes (483 and 192).

### Phase 7

(Fig.15)

Three buttress foundations (140, 143 and 153) supported the north wall of the nave. Although later than Phase 4 they cannot be stratigraphically linked to the construction of the north chapel and may be much later in date. Foundation 153 was not sectioned, but its upper surface appeared similar to those of 140 and 143 (Sects.S6 and S7, Fig.11). A rectangular pit was filled with flints in an uncompacted soil matrix with lenses of loose mortar. Finds included peg roof tiles and brick fragments, and in the case of 140, pieces of window glass. These foundations were perhaps surmounted by the brick buttresses mentioned by Blomefield (1807, 284).

In the south half of the chancel, east of wall 211 four burials (209, 224-5 and 353) and one grave-like feature (390) were cut through burials of Phases 3 or 4. They contained whole and fragmentary medieval floor tiles in their fillings, but were sealed by a demolition deposit (151). This same deposit was cut by an unexcavated grave in the centre (391) and by two burials in the northern half (215 and 216). This indicates that the latter three burials are

post-demolition (i.e. post-1765, see p.52).

No floor levels were recorded in this part of the church. A patch of yellow sandy mortar over Phase 3 or 4 graves immediately north of Sect.S1 was too loose to have been a floor (not shown in plan) while a layer of crushed chalk (409, not shown in plan) on the east side of foundation 211 and cut by Phase 3 or 4 burials was similarly uncompacted and was of limited extent.

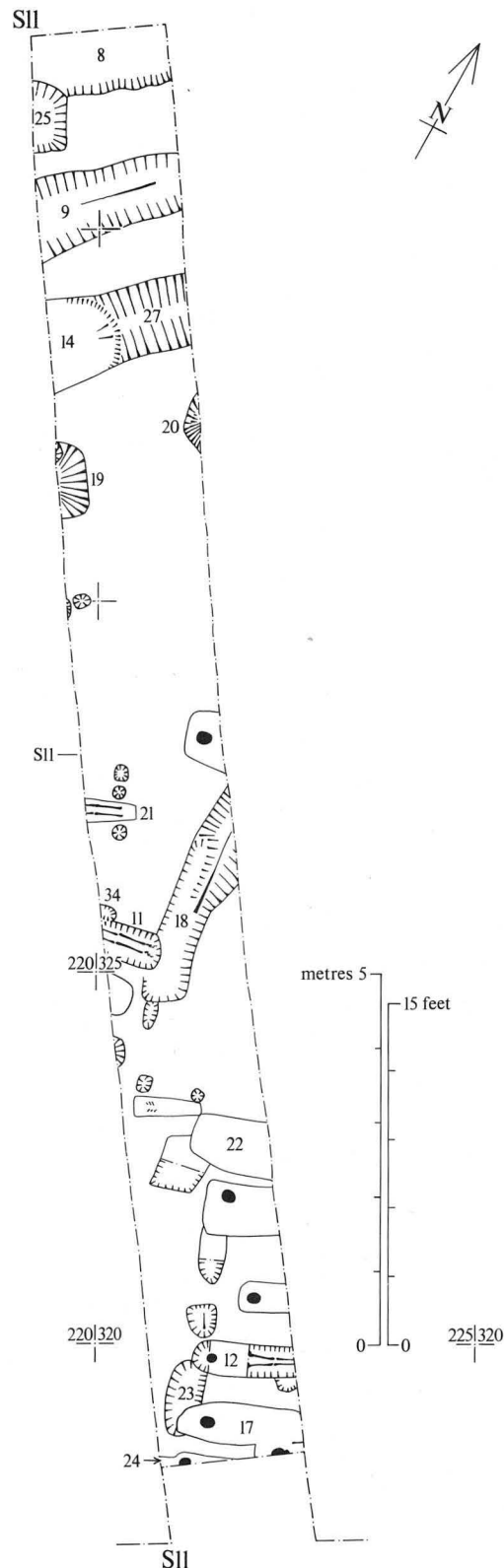


Figure 19 Plan: 1980 Trial Trench. Scale 1:100

After the construction of step 157 along the west edge of 211 (see p.14-17) the floor level of the east end was higher than in the rest of the chancel. The tiles in the fillings of graves 209, 224-5 and 353 indicate that the area was tiled in the late medieval period and that these tiles were no longer required when the burials were inserted. It is most likely that the graves were covered by slabs. Robbing removed these and did great damage to the deposits in this part of the church particularly because of the greater height of the floor.

### The 1980 Trial Trenches

(Fig.19 and Sect.S11, Fig.18)  
In August 1980, in addition to small holes in the east part of the field, Trenches A and B, a 1 m wide trench was mechanically excavated from north to south across the presumed site of the church.

The northern 19m were mechanically dug down to immediately above the natural chalk. At the north end the south lip of an east to west ditch (8) was possibly cut by a shallow pit (25). A ditch (9) sloped downwards from east to west, and to the south another ditch (27) sloped down into a pit (14). Two other pits (19 and 20) occurred in the edges of the trench. All the above features produced Thetford-type Wares. Early Medieval Ware was found in ditch 8 and pit 14, and St.Neots-type Ware in ditch 9 and pit 14. Animal bones, shells and burnt clay indicate domestic activity.

Burials, none of which were fully excavated, occurred south of c.9m from the north end of the trench interspersed with a number of shallow post-holes. The southern terminal of a north to south ditch (18) which produced Thetford-type Ware, was cut by a burial (11) containing medieval sherds and leg bones which were removed without record by the excavators. Two short lengths of slot (23) and a post-hole were aligned at 90° to the church. They produced Thetford-type and St.Neots-type Wares and were cut by three graves, one of which contained medieval pottery. In the sections there was visible only one burial above the surface of the chalk that had been mechanically removed.

South of grave 24 the trench was dug to a depth of only 0.7m, that is, c. 0.3m above the natural chalk as far as the north wall of the north chapel. No grave outlines were visible.

The trench was continued for 7 m south of the church to a depth of 1 metre. Natural chalk was visible at this depth, but the trench was taken up with a multitude of burials above and cut into the chalk.

In Trench A (Fig.3), topsoil was mechanically removed to the surface of the natural chalk at a depth of 0.3-0.35m. No features were cut into the chalk, and the only finds were three sherds of Thetford-type Ware.

In Trench B (Fig.3), topsoil was mechanically excavated to a depth of 0.8 m at which the natural chalk was not reached. Finds included three sherds of Thetford-type Ware, thirteen sherds of medieval pottery and twelve post-medieval, as well as many peg roof-tiles.

### Trench to the east of the Church

(Figs 3 and 20)

At the end of the 1981 season a c. 1 m wide trench was hand-dug eastwards from the main area of excavation on the alignment of the church for a distance of over 14m. The ground level dropped to the east by 0.7m and the level of the natural chalk by 0.4m. Soil above the chalk was unstratified.

At the west end two graves (497 and 504) were not fully excavated, the filling of 497 producing a sherd of medieval pottery. In the south edge of the trench part of an east to west feature (494) may have been a grave, although many mussel shells, and Thetford-type Ware were found in its upper filling.

East of 494 five shallow north to south ditches (499-503) occupied the trench for a length of 6m. No sequence was recorded, but 501 and 503 contained medieval pottery while 499 and 502 produced Thetford-type and Early Medieval Wares. Ditch 518 was cut 1.2m below the surface of the chalk and contained Grimston-Thetford and Early Medieval Wares.

Human skeletal material was found in topsoil only in the western 5 m of the trench, and was not found in any of the ditch fillings.

### Trenches C-G

(Fig.3)

In July 1982 five small holes were mechanically excavated by the Parochial Church Council, in the presence of one of the authors (AR), in order to assess the distribution of burials in the east and south parts of the field. Only limited cleaning-up and recording were carried out.

### Trench C

Natural chalk was reached in the north east corner at a depth of 0.35 m, but the majority of the area was occupied by a feature or features cut at least 1m into the chalk, which produced four medieval sherds.

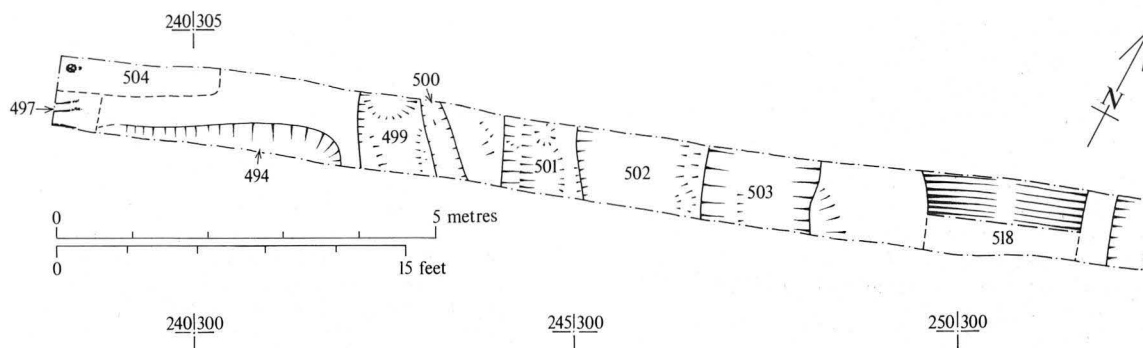


Figure 20 Plan: trench east of church. Scale 1:100



### Trench D

Natural chalk occurred at a depth of between 0.35 m and 0.5 m, except in the west where it was cut by the east part of a north to south ditch. This continued the alignment of ditch 518 recorded in the 1981 trench east of the church. The surface of the filling produced nine sherds of Thetford-type Ware.

### Trench E

The natural chalk lay at a depth of 0.4 m. There were no features. Four medieval sherds were found in the topsoil.

### Trench F

Mechanical excavation was halted at a depth of 1 m within unstratified soil. A 0.8 m wide trench was dug along the east part down to natural chalk. Two east to west ditches cut the chalk. The northern ditch was cut by a burial on its northern edge.

### Trench G

A burial was recorded at a depth of 0.8 m within unstratified soil which contained many human bones. There was no sign of natural chalk and no further work took place.

## IV. The Artefacts

### Coins and tokens

(not illustrated)

by Sue M. Margeson

- George VI penny of 1938. Shallow clinker-filled pit north of tower robbing pit. (101, s.f.10)
- (Identified by *Marion Archibald*) John II of Castille and Leon (1406-54) 'Dinero Nono'.  
*Obv* : + 10 ( ) ES : (DEI REX)  
Castle (mint letter illegible)  
*Rev* : same legend as *obv.*, almost illegible lion rampant.  
Unstratified (s.f.26)
- George II halfpenny of 175? Second issue (1740-54). Demolition layer in east part of nave. (109, s.f.46)
- Stock Jetton of Hans Krauwinkel of Nuremberg c. 1580-1610. Diam. 25 mm.  
*Obv* : crowns alternation with lis  
HANN'S KRAUWINCKEL IN NVRNBER  
*Rev* : 'Reichsapfel' within tressure  
GLVCK.BESCHERT.ISTVNGEWERT  
Demolition layer with topsoil contamination in west part of nave. (115, s.f.49)
- Boy Bishop token, 'half groat'. Rigold 1978 Series I. Probably last quarter of fifteenth century.  
*Obv* : mitred bust, inclined right. 'N' to left of bust, crozier to right.  
*Rev* : two circles of legend (illegible)  
Demolition layer above chancel north wall 16 (147, s.f.109)
- Charles I token farthing. 1625-34. Filling of tower robbing pit (146, s.f.111)
- Lead token diam. 25 mm. Worn.  
*Obv* : Incised ? merchants mark above exergue  
*Rev* : Incised border and quadrants  
Demolition layer in chancel (151, s.f.140)
- Stock jetton of Hans Krauwinkel of Nuremberg c. 1560-1610. Diam. 21 mm.  
*Obv* : crowns and lis alternating  
HANN'S.KRAUWINCKEL.IN.NV  
*Rev* : 'Reichsapfel' within tressure  
GOTES REICH BLIBT EWICK  
Filling of tower robbing pit (167, s.f.212)
- (Identified by *A.K.Gregory*). Dupondius of Domitian. 69-96. Legends and reverse type illegible.  
Filling of tower robbing pit (167, s.f.237)
- French jetton, probably fifteenth century.  
*Obv* : illegible  
*Rev* : cross of three strands fleurdelysee, with quatrefoil in centre.

### GETTE(S).(SEVREM)ENTGETTES 16

One of a group of jettons with legends referring to casting jettons and accounts. For reverse legend see Barnard 1916, pl.VI, No.56. Filling above burial 418 and below floor 118 (402, s.f.260)

## Copper alloy objects

(Figs 21-4)

by Alison R. Goodall

- Undecorated **annular brooch** or **buckle** with iron pin. Below topsoil west of north chapel (121, s.f.52)
- Fragment of moulded and pierced **shoe buckle frame** of silvery grey alloy. Demolition in chancel (147, s.f.128)
- Strap ends**. No.3 is of a late medieval type decorated with repoussé circles and cabled borders. Inside the circles are four or five perforations. The surface of the metal has been blackened. A group of similar plates with their decoration at various stages of completion was found on a site in Cheapside, London, and was dated by pottery to the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century (Museum of London Acc. No. 21111). No.4 is a composite strap end with a forked spacer between two shaped plates. The spacer has an acorn knob at its lower end and the plates have been cut so as to have a lozenge-shaped expansion. No.5 is a tongue-shaped plate with one rivet hole and it has a border or repoussé dots. Nos 6 and 7 are tubes made from rolled sheet metal which may have been used as simple strap ends. **3**. Demolition in north chapel (123, s.f.57); **4**. Demolition in nave with topsoil contamination (115, s.f.196); **5**. Demolition in north chapel and nave (13, s.f.4); **6**. Grave filling above burials 224 and 225. Chancel (179, s.f.216); **7**. Demolition in nave (105, s.f.15)
- Buttons**. Nos 8-11 have decorative caps stamped from thin sheet metal: Nos 8 and 10 retain their bone backs and the metal loop also survives on No.8; No.11 is fragmentary. No.12 is a flat topped button of silvery grey alloy and No.13 is a button cap or stud head with a grey metallic surface and incised decoration. **8**. Demolition in nave (127, s.f.60); **9**. Demolition in north chapel and nave (13, s.f.3); **10**. Topsoil above tower (144, s.f.96); **11**. (Not illustrated), demolition in nave (109, s.f.35); **12**. (Not illustrated), demolition in nave with topsoil contamination (115, s.f.283); **13**. Filling of tower robbing pit (154, s.f.138)
- Lace-ends** made from sheet metal. Nos 14 and 15 have been made by rolling the sheet; No.14 has one rivet-hole and No.15 has a pair of rivets. No.16 has been made by folding the edges of the sheet inwards and it would have been secure without a rivet. **14**. Post-hole in chancel (373, s.f.259); **15**. Demolition in north chapel (110, s.f.36); **16**. Demolition in chancel (151, s.f.113) There are a further ten lace-ends. Four (s.f.76, 85, 141, 154) are of the rolled type and three of these appear to have rivets. One (s.f. 141) seems to have a blackened surface. Five (s.f.95, 155, 160, 197, 253) are of the same type as No.16 and another (s.f.258) is of indeterminate form. S.f.258 and 259 are from possibly medieval levels; s.f.253 is from a late- or post- medieval grave filling and s.f.95 from topsoil. The remainder are from demolition levels.
- Strap mounts**. No.17 is a U-sectioned bar with two rivets. No.18 is shaped from repoussé sheet metal; its rivets pass through tiny washers and it retains part of the leather strap. No.19 is a small repoussé quatrefoil with a central rivet hole; No.20 is similar with more elaborate repoussé decoration. No.21 is rectangular with notched edges. **17**. Post-hole in chancel (331, s.f.256); **18**. Demolition in chancel (151, s.f.127); **19**. Post-hole in north chapel (534, s.f.271). **20**. Filling of tower robbing pit (146, s.f.104); **21**. Demolition in north chapel and nave (13, s.f.2)
- Eyelet** with two rivets. It is made from flat sheet metal and has punched floral decoration, the flowers having been formed with a larger punch than the stems. Grave filling above burial 231; Nave (190, s.f.231)
- Fittings from book bindings, etc.** Nos 23 and 24 are book clasps. No.23 is of the common type in the late medieval and post- medieval periods, with a splayed end and incised decoration: it has the remains of an iron strip on the back. The incised decoration on No.24 is rather more crudely executed and there are ornamental cuts on the long edges. Nos 25-28 are four approximately triangular mounts, each apparently incomplete. All have a rivet hole in one corner and a traced zig-zag border along the intact edges. In the centre of each is a large perforation with raised margins which may have held a stone or mount. It is likely that the four pieces originally came from one large mount

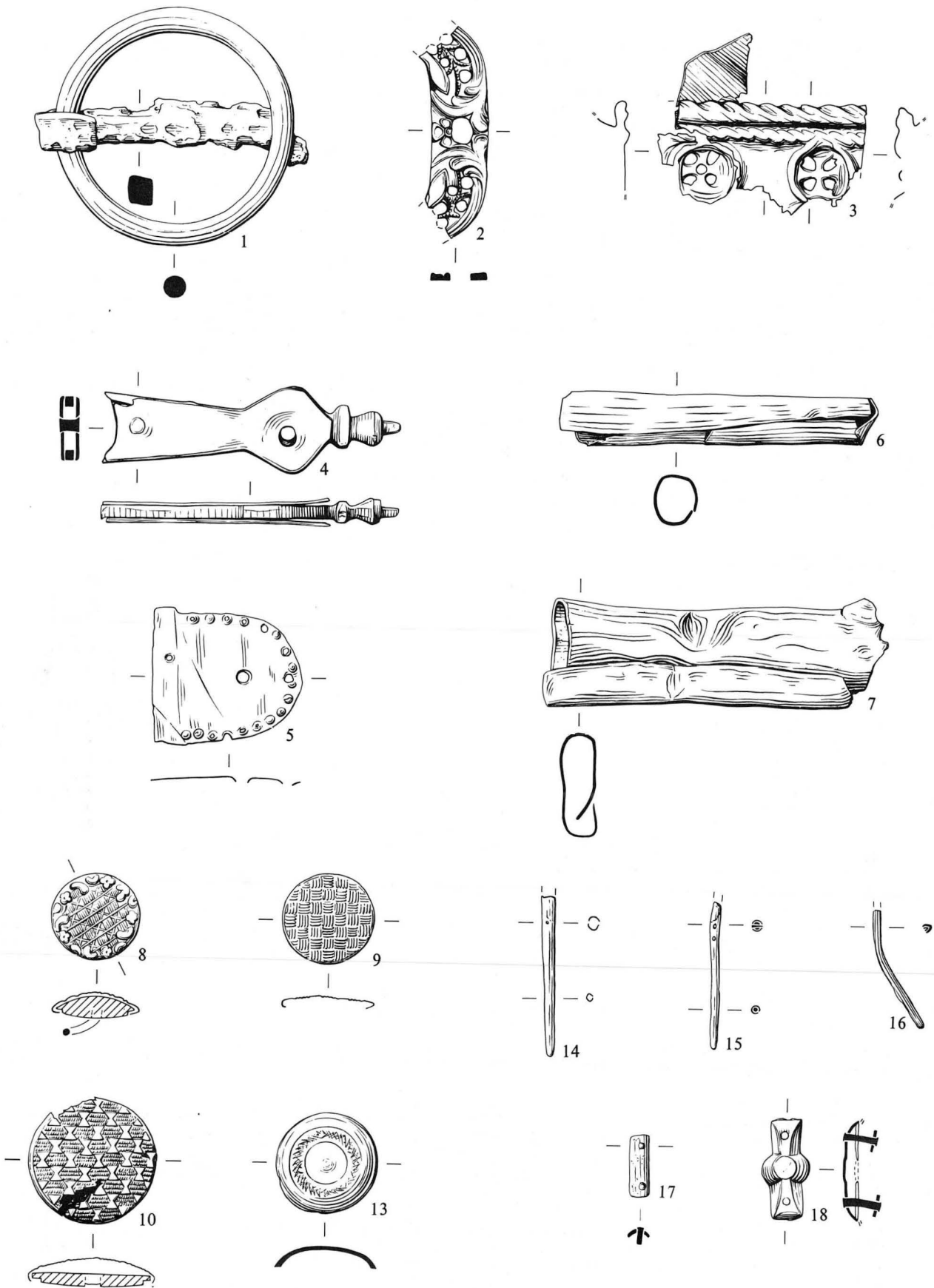


Figure 21 Non-ferrous metal objects. Scale 1:1

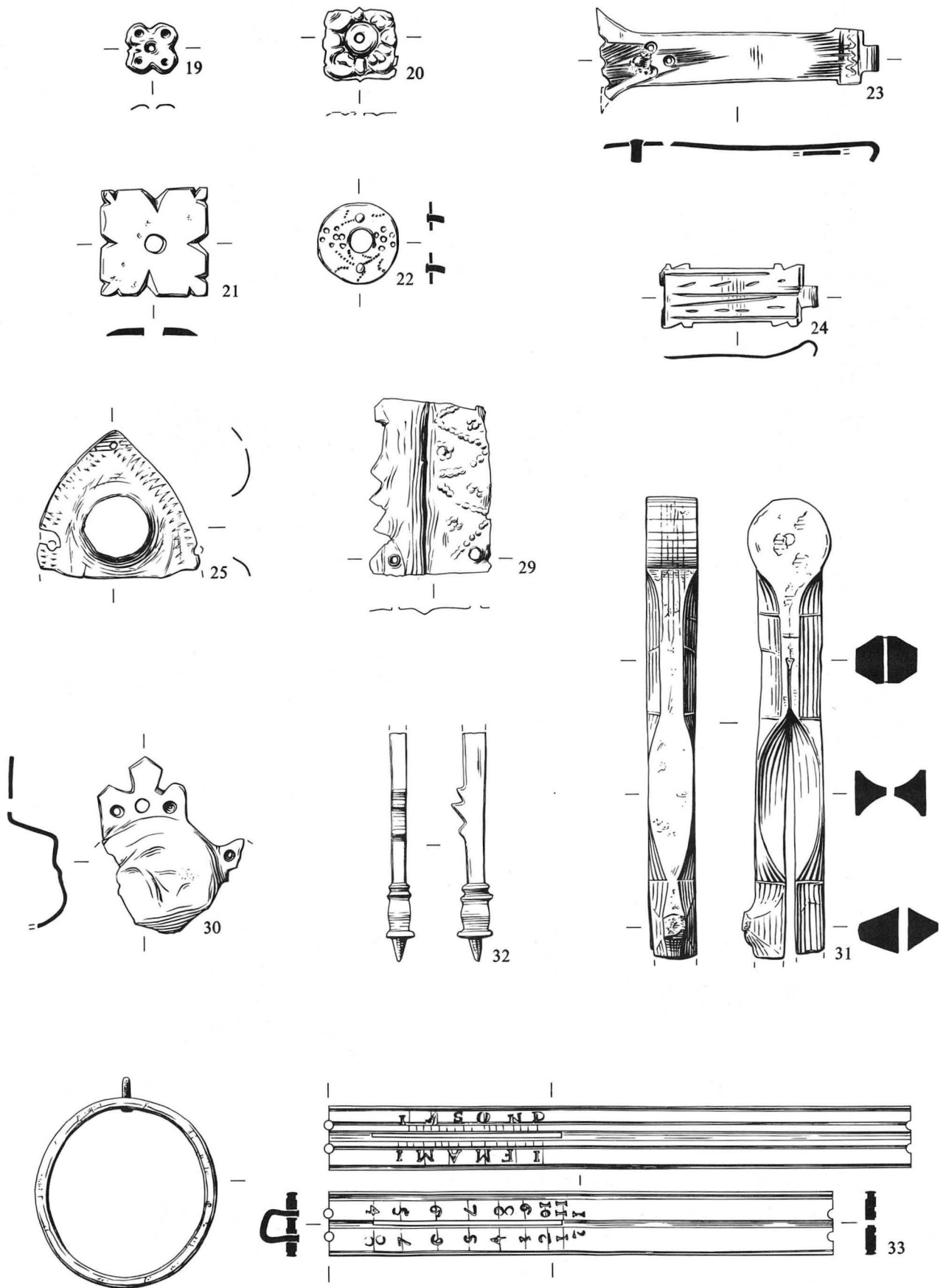


Figure 22 Non-ferrous metal objects. Scale 1:1

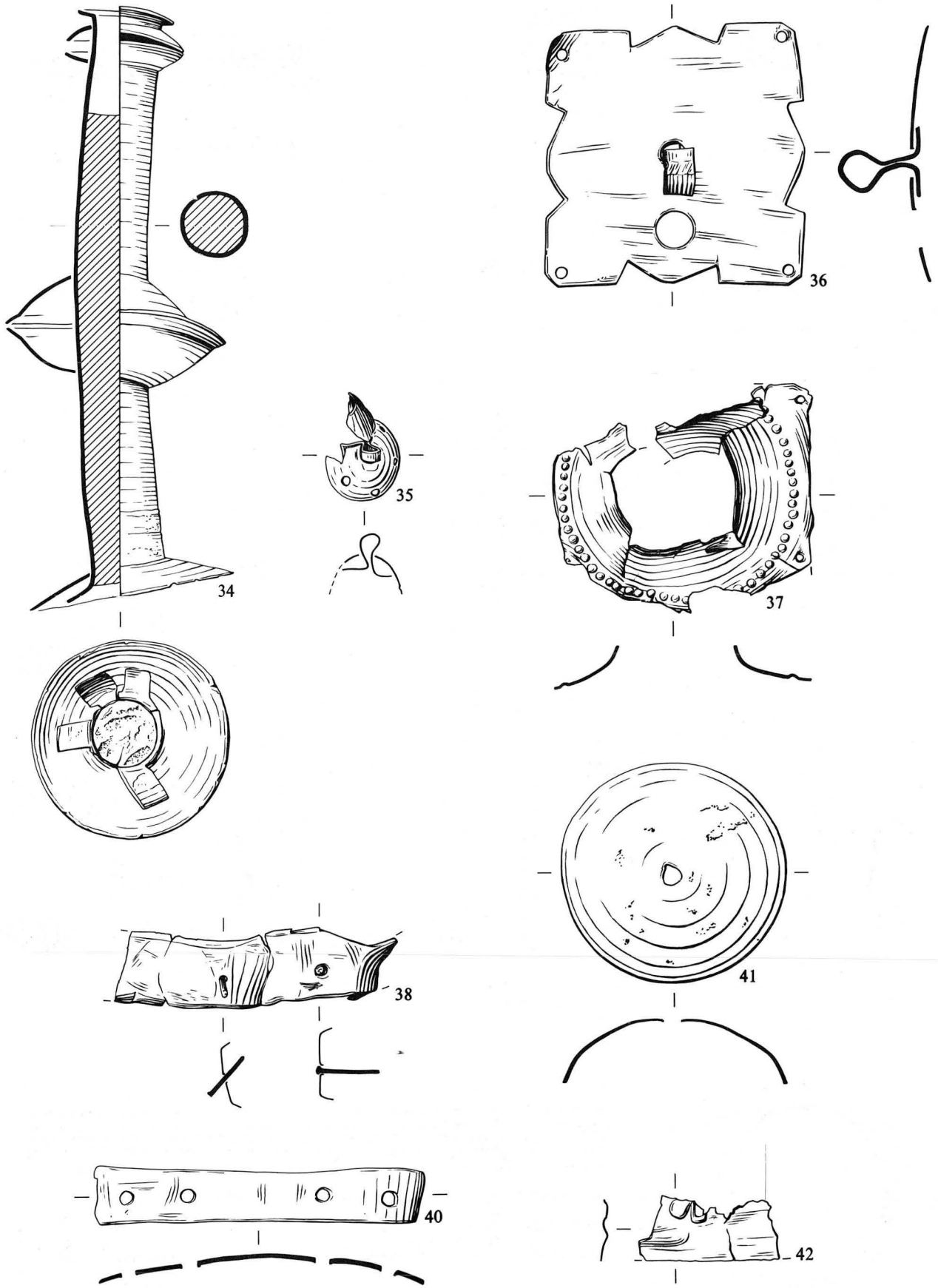


Figure 23 Non-ferrous metal objects. Scale 1:1

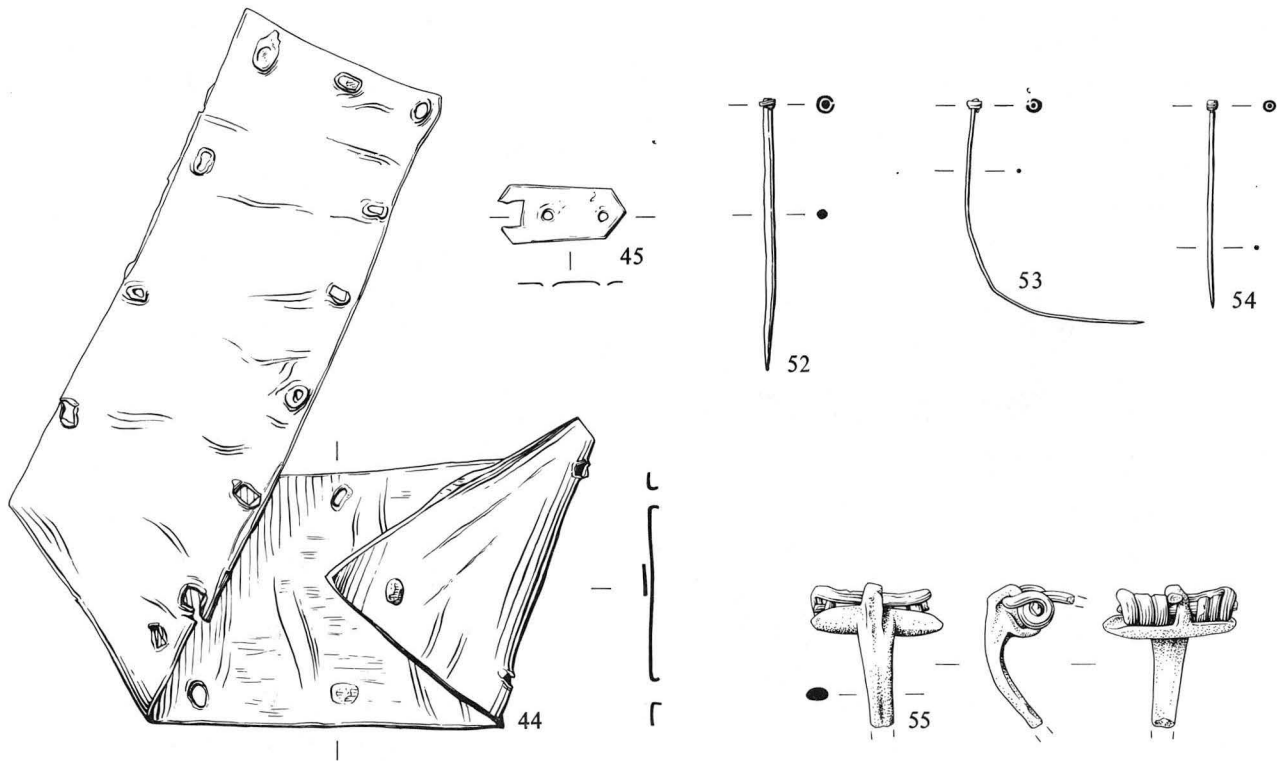


Figure 24 Non-ferrous metal objects. Scale 1:1

- which was perhaps attached to a book binding or a casket. It may have resembled the star-shaped mount of sheet metal from Ospringe, Kent (Goodall, A. R., 1979, 137, fig.24, 123). **23.** Post-hole in chancel (373, s.f.257); **24.** Demolition in chancel (147, s.f.116); **25.** Demolition in chancel (145, s.f.130); **26.** (Not illustrated), demolition in chancel (147, s.f.108); **27.** (Not illustrated), demolition in chancel (145, s.f.134); **28.** (Not illustrated), demolition in chancel (145, s.f.144)
- 29.** Part of **decorative plate** with one edge cut to a zig-zag and ornament of repoussé dots forming a zig-zag line between rosettes. Topsoil above tower (144, s.f.100)
- 30.** **Domed boss** originally with four pierced lugs for attachment; possibly from a book or harness. Demolition in chancel (145, s.f.145)
- 31-32.** **Dividers.** No.31 lacks its points: the arms are moulded becoming triangular in section, and the heads divide to form a hinge of five parts. No.32 consists of one point from a pair of dividers. **31.** Unstratified (s.f.12); **32.** Grave filling above burial 268, chancel (223, s.f.232)
- 33.** **Pocket sundial** consisting of a ring with a slot in it and engraved on the outside with the initials IFMAMI ... IASOND for the months of the year, and on the inside with the hours of the day. It would originally have had another narrow sliding ring which would have covered the slot; this would have had a hole in it through which the sun's rays would have passed to fall on the markings on the inside of the ring. The sliding ring would first have been aligned to show the correct month and then the dial would have been held up from its suspension ring to allow the sun's rays to pass through the hole to indicate the time of day. Ring dials, such as this, were first described in 1507 but were probably known earlier, and continued to be made until about 1800 (B.M.1924, 71, fig.42). Topsoil and below. Trench east of church (491, s.f.277)
- 34.** **Candlestick.** The hollow stem is made from rolled sheet metal, filled at the lower end with lead; the bottom of the stem has several cuts in it to enable it to be splayed out. A circular base has been added and there are two collars, each made from a pair of slightly convex perforated discs, which have been soldered on to the stem. Filling of robber trench of Phase 5 chancel east wall, and demolition of chancel (159 and 145, s.f. 187 and 146)
- 35.** Probably a sheet metal **bell** with strip loop for suspension. There are six perforations round the lower edge. Below topsoil south of nave (102, s.f.14)
- 36-37.** **Handle plates.** No.36 is rectangular with notched edges and is made from thick sheet. It has four rivet- or nail-holes and a

- central loop to support a drop handle, below which is a larger perforation. No.37 was probably originally hexagonal in shape with a large perforation for the handle: it is decorated with a ring of repoussé dots with two faintly incised rings just inside it. **36.** West of north chapel (121, s.f.51); **37.** Filling of robber trench of Phase 5 chancel north wall (181, s.f.209)
- 38-40.** **Perforated binding strips.** Nos 38 and 39 are pieces of the same strip; they have down-turned edges and No.38 has two rivets *in situ*. **38.** Demolition in nave (105, s.f.17); **39.** (Not illustrated), demolition in nave (105, s.f.16); **40.** Demolition in north chapel (106, s.f.20)
- 41.** **Domed object** with central perforation. Unstratified (s.f.125)
- 42.** Fragment of **sheet** with repoussé decoration. Demolition in chancel (147, s.f.107)
- 43-48.** Fragments of **sheet metal** and **strip**. Nos 43-46 have perforations: No.44 is probably a patch. No.48 is a narrow strip with its ends bent in opposite directions. **43.** (Not illustrated), demolition in nave (127, s.f.71); **44.** Demolition in chancel (135, s.f.91); **45.** Demolition in chancel (136, s.f.89); **46** and **47.** (Not illustrated), demolition in north chapel (123, s.f. 58 and 59); **48.** (Not illustrated), demolition in chancel (128, s.f.61)
- 49.** **Nail** made from a triangular piece of thick sheet metal. Length 12 mm. (Not illustrated), grave filling above burials 224 and 225, chancel (179, s.f.211)
- 50.** Loop of **wire** with the ends overlapping. (Not illustrated), (s.f.11)
- 51.** Length of fine **wire**. (Not illustrated), demolition in chancel (145, s.f.136)
- 52-54.** Typical **pins**. There are fifty-six pins of which thirty have heads made of coiled wire which have been attached to the shaft by stamping, giving the heads a globular shape, as on No. 54. A further four have also been stamped but the stamping has produced less distortion of the heads. Twelve pins have heads of coiled wire that have not been stamped but are attached to the shaft using solder, as on Nos 52 and 53, and the remaining ten pins are incomplete. The lengths of the pins range from 18 to 56 mm although about half are between 22 and 28 mm long. Of the stamped pins, twenty-five have white metal plating surviving, while only one of the unstamped pins appears to be plated. Contexts of the pins were: topsoil and unstratified (three examples); demolition layers (twenty-nine); filling of tower robbing pit (thirteen); immediately below relaid tiled floor 202 in chancel (three); grave fillings above burials 225 and 418 (three); on ribs of burial 215 (one); associated with infant burial 319 (four). **52.** Unstratified (s.f.265); **53.** Demolition in chancel (151, s.f.115); **54.** Demolition in chancel (149, s.f.112)

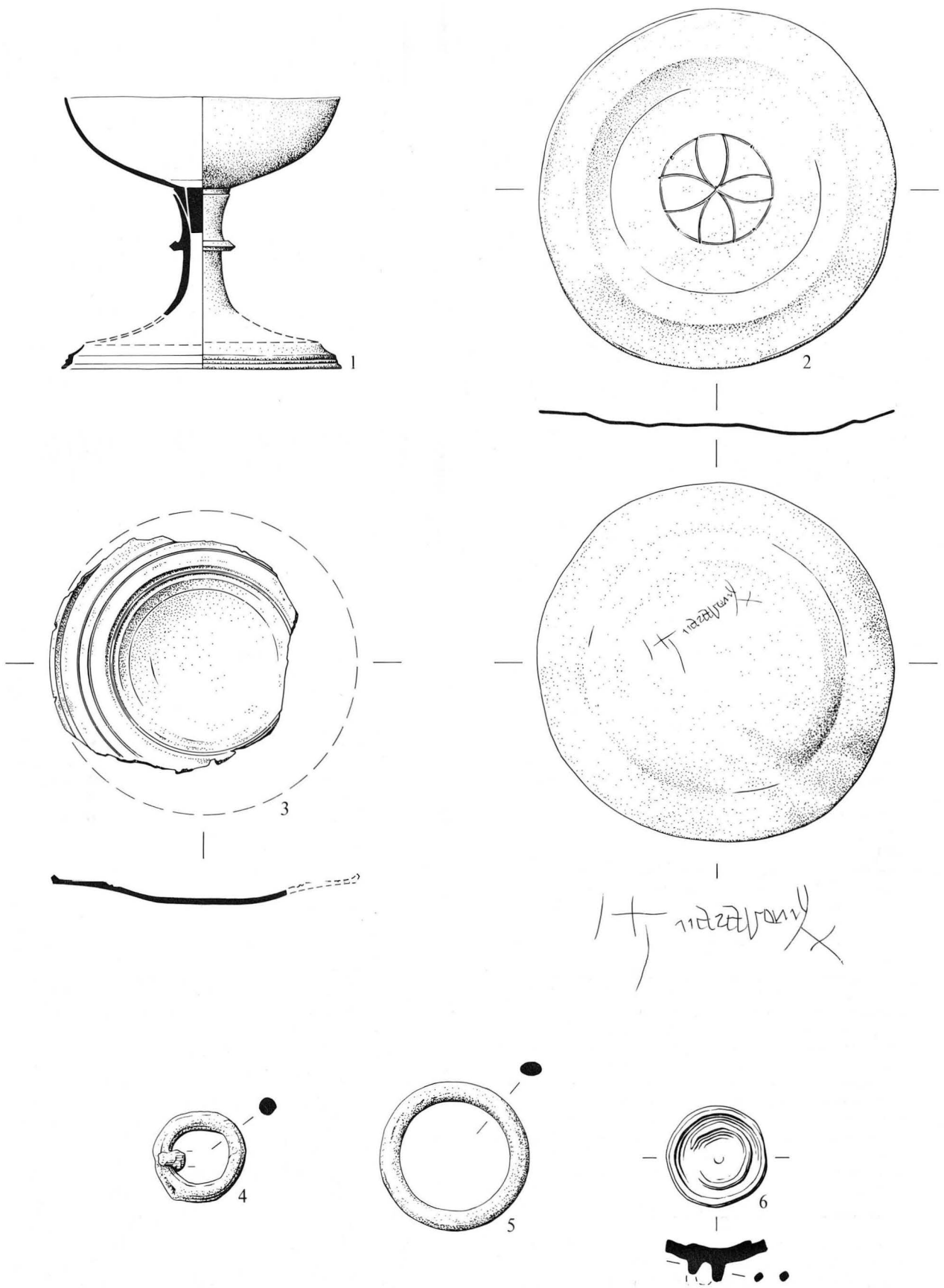


Figure 25 Objects of pewter and lead. Nos.1-3. Scale 1:2; Nos.4-6, and inscription on reverse of No.1. Scale 1:1



55. Romano-British **Colchester Derivative brooch**. Late first to mid- second century. Grave filling above burials 224 and 225, chancel (179, s.f.224)

Donald Mackreth has contributed the following note:

The spring is fastened to the brooch by an axis bar through the coils and the lower of two holes in a plate behind the head of the bow; the chord passes through the upper. Each wing is plain and well-curved in section. The plate behind the head rises over the top to form a crest which dies out a short way down the bow. There is a trace of a groove running down the lower part of the crest and onto the bow whose lower part, with the catch-plate, is missing.

The type to which this brooch belongs is a common one occurring chiefly in Essex and Kent, but with many outliers in the adjacent counties. The dating seems to be from the later first century towards the middle of the second (Philp 1963, 70, fig.3,3; Penn 1959, 49, fig.9, 5-8; Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 207, fig.44, 25; Winchester, to be published; Rogerson 1977, 131, fig.54, 3). It is possible that, by c.150, the type was passing out of use and this would account for the lack of any which could be described as being late (Neal 1974, 123, fig.54, 12). An example from Quinton, Northants., was assigned to Claudio-Neronian times (Friendship-Taylor 1979, 7, 137, fig.63, 472), but later material occurs in the same deposit (*ibid.*, 65) and the item should have the same date-range as the present specimen: c. 75-125/50 for the main manufacturing and use of the type.

## Pewter and lead objects

(Fig.25)

by Alison R.Goodall

- 1-2. **Chalice** and **paten** of pewter. The chalice, No.1, has a shallow bowl set on a conical stem which projects into the bottom of the bowl. The foot is damaged. There is a collar or knob on the upper part of the stem. The paten, No.2, is decorated on its upper surface with a compass-drawn cross within a circle and with another circle surrounding it. On the underside is a scratched inscription. The chalice and paten were found in a coffined priest's burial dating from before c.1350. A very similar chalice and paten were found in a fourteenth century priest's grave at Carrow Priory, Norwich (Atkin and Margeson 1983, 374-80). From the mid-thirteenth century the chalices and patens used in the celebration of the Mass were usually of silver or copper-gilt, but unconsecrated pewter vessels could be kept for burial with parish priests. The simple form of these vessels, such as the examples from Barton Bendish and Carrow Priory, continued from the thirteenth century. Burial 430 in chancel (s.fs 268 and 269; plan of burial Fig.16)

A.Davison has contributed the following note on the scratched inscription on the underside of the paten, No.2.

The inscription appears to be 'J.Nazarenus' flanked by crudely drawn crosses. 'Jesus Nazarenus' meaning 'Jesus of Nazareth' is found in Chapter 19, Verse 19 of the Gospel of St.John in the Vulgate Bible.

3. Simple pewter **paten** with concentric markings from a lathe found in 1979 by contractors close to the skull of undated burial directly outside the priest's door of St.Mary's church
4. **Loop** from a small pewter **shoe buckle**, with remains of the iron pin. Demolition in north chapel and nave (13, s.f.5)
5. **Ring** of tin or pewter. Topsoil above tower (144, s.f.124)
6. Pewter **button** with a broken loop. Demolition in chancel (141, s.f.105)  
(*not illustrated*)
- 7-8. **Lead musket balls**. 7. Diameter 13 mm. Demolition in north chapel (110, s.f.38); 8. Diameter 3 mm. Demolition in chancel (145, s.f.183)
9. Perforated strip or off-cut of **sheet lead**. Post-hole in nave. (233, s.f.233)
10. Fragment of **roofing lead**, rectangular, 82mmx48mmx2mm, with two holes near one end. Below topsoil north of north chapel (107)
11. Fragment of **roofing lead**, irregular, with hole near one end. Below topsoil north of north chapel. (107)  
Window leads and ties are described by David J.King on p.39.

## Iron objects

(Figs 26-8)

by Ian H.Goodall

The majority of iron objects, other than nails and coffin fittings, are

from contexts associated with the demolition of the church in 1765 and 1789. Earlier objects are: No.1, part of a **pivoting-bladed knife** usually found in tenth to eleventh-century contexts (I.H. Goodall in Rogerson and Dallas 1984, 81, fig.122.48, 49), No.2, a **knife** probably of similar date, and two post-medieval objects, No.3, a **knife** with a disc bolster and No.4, part of a **window bar**.

Objects from the demolition deposits include: an **awl** and **spoon bit** (Nos 5,6), a **knife blade**, **scale tang knife**, and the blade and back rib from **folding knives** (Nos 7-10).

Those associated with the structure and fittings of the church are: two **keys** (Nos 11,12) and two **window bars** (Nos 13,14), a **wall anchor** (No.15), **hook** (No.16), **angle iron** (No.17), **pinned hinge** (No.18), **strap terminals** (Nos 19,20) and some twelve **strap fragments** of which Nos 21 and 22 are typical.

Other fittings are: **washers** (Nos 23-25), a **ring** (No.26), **collar** (No.27) and several miscellaneous objects (Nos 28-32; No.29 is like No.28). Nos 33 and 34 are **horseshoe tips**, No.35 one of five similar **horseshoe nails**, No.36 an **arrowhead**, No.37 a **buckle** and No.38 a decorated **chape** with non-ferrous plating.

Other unstratified objects include: a **knife**, **key** and **strap hinge**, (Nos 39-41).

**Timber nails** are of eight types (Fig.28, Nos 42-9), the majority, including all those associated with coffins, having flat heads of rounded rectangular shape (No.42). These nails occur in contexts of Late Saxon date onwards; over 660 were found, 262 from demolition deposits, most of the remainder from coffins or burials. With the exception of one nail, No.43, from an eleventh century context, all the other nail types come from demolition deposits. Nails Nos 43-49 occur in total numbers of 2, 2, 1, 3, 5, 1 and 4 respectively.

1. Filling above medieval burial 323 (257, s.f.252)
2. Unstratified (s.f.13)
- 3-4. Shallow scoop probably cut from demolition layer, nave (194, s.f.s 222 and 225)
5. Filling of robber trench of Phase 5 chancel south wall (187, s.f.221)
6. Filling of tower robbing pit (154, s.f.126)
7. (*Not illustrated*) Filling of tower robbing pit (167, s.f.201)
8. Demolition in north chapel (110, s.f.27)
9. Demolition in chancel (145, s.f.179)
10. Demolition in nave (105)
11. Filling of tower robbing pit (167, s.f.200)
12. Demolition with topsoil contamination, nave. (115, s.f.54)
13. Demolition in chancel (145, s.f.143)
14. (*Not illustrated*) filling of tower robbing pit (167, s.f.198)
15. Demolition in nave (105, s.f.30)
16. Filling of tower robbing pit (163, s.f.188)
17. Demolition in north chapel (106, s.f.34)
18. Demolition in nave with topsoil contamination (115, s.f.55)
19. Filling of tower robbing pit (167, s.f.203)
20. Demolition in nave (105, s.f.31)
21. Demolition in north chapel (106, s.f.32)
22. Filling of tower robbing pit (167, s.f.194)
23. Demolition in north chapel (110, s.f.41)
24. Filling of tower robbing pit (167, s.f.199)
25. (*Not illustrated*) demolition in nave with topsoil contamination (115, s.f.53)
26. Demolition in chancel (145, s.f.103)
- 27-28. Demolition in chancel (151, s.f.s 133 and 158)
29. (*Not illustrated*) demolition in chancel (145, s.f.180)
30. Filling of tower robbing pit (155, s.f.161)
31. Filling of tower robbing pit (167, s.f.214)
32. Demolition in nave (127, s.f.87)
33. Filling of tower robbing pit (154, s.f.152)
34. Demolition in chancel (135, s.f.99)
35. Demolition in chancel (151)
36. Demolition in chancel (149, s.f.135)
37. Demolition in nave (105, s.f.21)
38. Demolition in north chapel (110, s.f.43)
39. Topsoil and below, trench east of church (491, s.f.279)
40. (*Not illustrated*) topsoil and below. Trench east of church (491, s.f.280)
41. (*Not illustrated*) topsoil Trench B. (2, s.f.6)
42. Filling of tower robbing pit (167)
43. Muddled grave fillings and buried soil in west part of nave (226)
44. Demolition in nave (127)
45. Demolition in chancel (136)
46. Filling of robber trench of Phase 5. Chancel east wall (160)
47. Filling of tower robbing pit (167)
49. Demolition in nave (109)

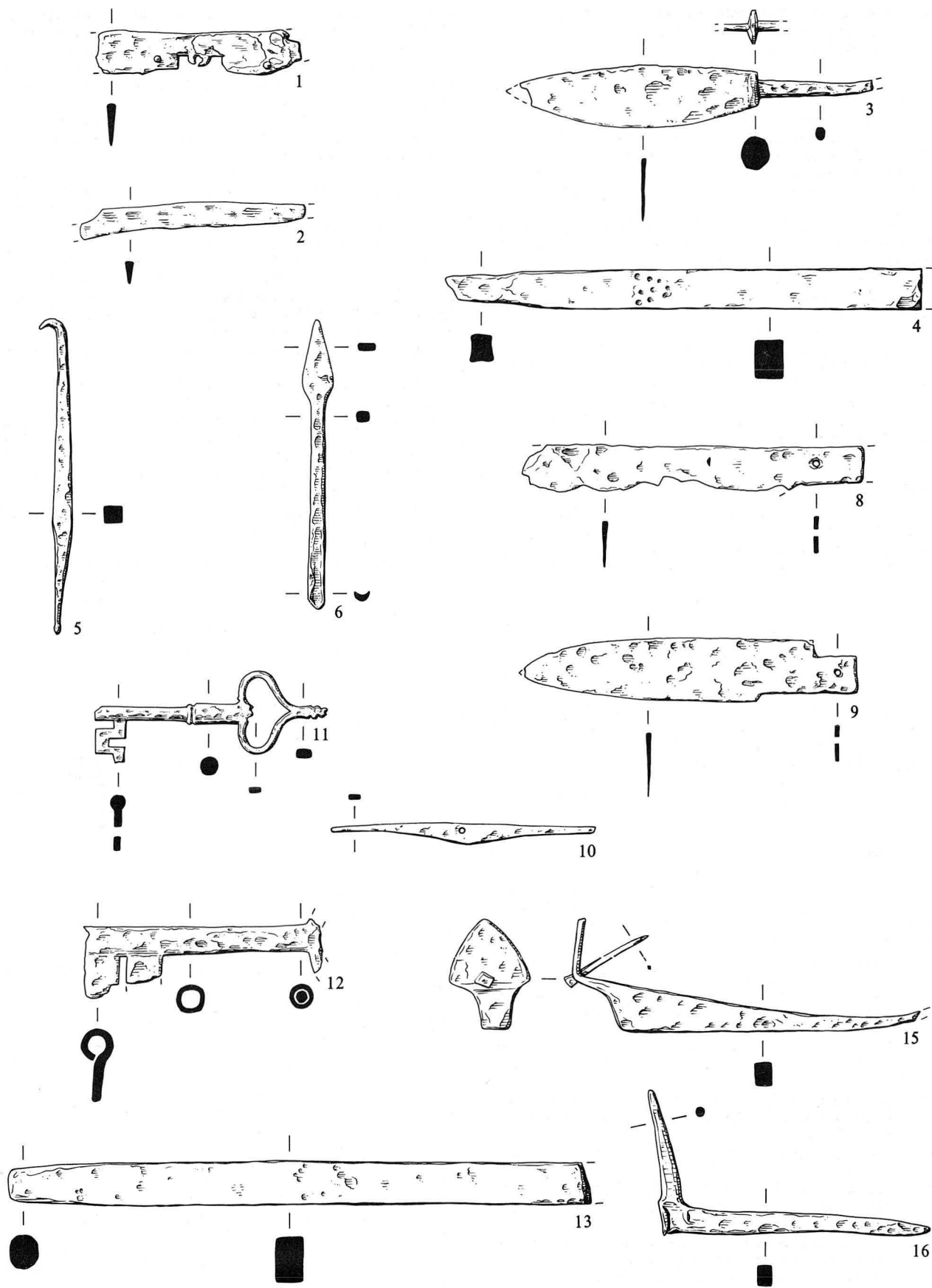


Figure 26 Iron objects. Scale 1:2

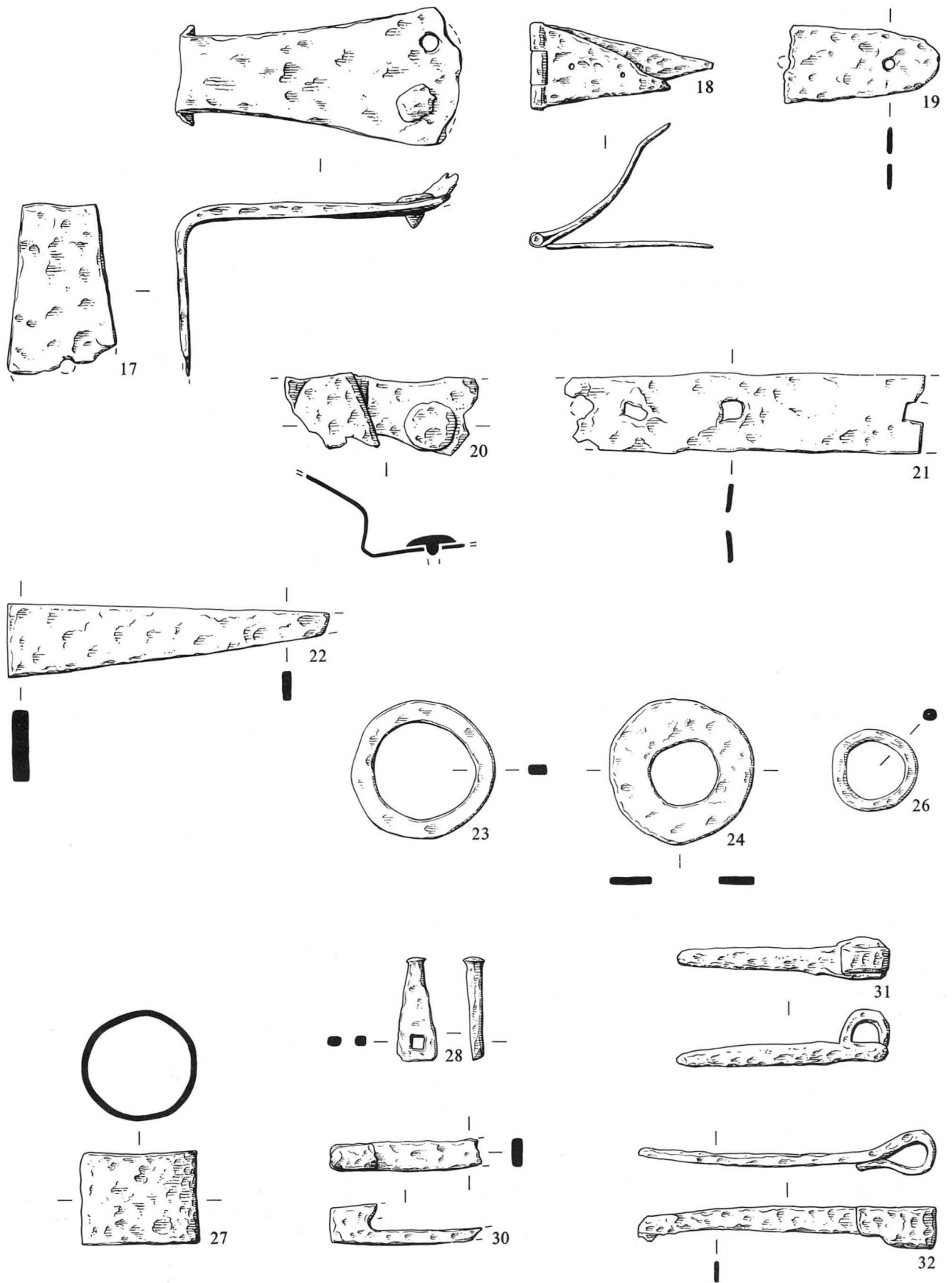


Figure 27 Iron objects. Scale 1:2

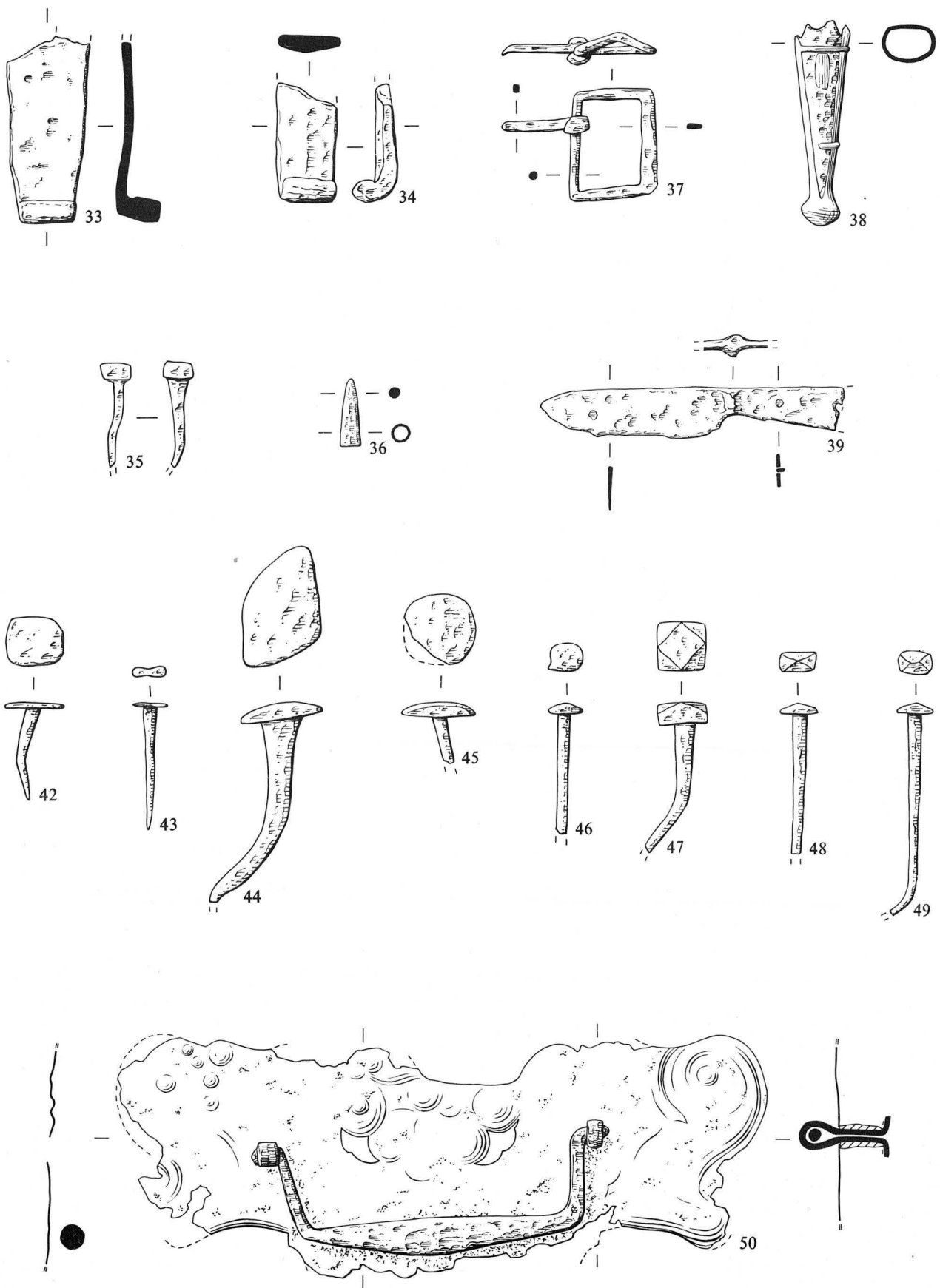


Figure 28 Iron objects. No.50 tin-plate and iron. Scale 1:2

## Post-medieval coffin furniture from Burial 216

(Figs 28, No.50 and Fig.29)

by Charlotte Harding

Adult male burial in a shouldered coffin. The coffin furniture was severely decayed and fragmented and the form and decoration were mainly identified after x-radiography and conservation. The **nails** were similar to Fig.28 No.42; no other structural elements of the coffin survived.

The coffin furniture consisted of six **grip plates** and **grips**, three **breast plates**, and numerous **studs**. The arrangement of the furniture on the coffin is slightly disturbed (Fig.29); a full complement of eight grips might have been expected on an adult coffin with no less than three breast plates (Harding, forthcoming), suggesting that the absence of grips was not for reasons of economy.

**Grip Plates** (Fig.28, No.50) were made of stamped tin-plate (tin-plated iron)<sup>1</sup> with minimum dimensions, 230×90 mm. The only discernible decorations are the scrolled edges and the open-cut petal shapes in the centre. Small headed panel pins were used to attach the plate to the coffin (eg s.f.248). Plain iron loops rivetted through the plate and the coffin were used to hold the grips in position (from the surviving rivets the thickness of the coffin can be estimated at 15 mm).

**Grips** were all square, iron, and on average measured 100 mm (across the inside, at the terminals).

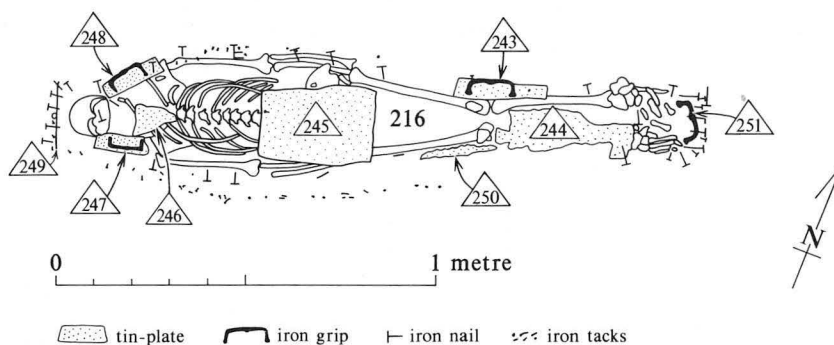


Figure 29 Plan: burial 216 showing tin-plate, iron, and copper alloy coffin furniture. Scale 1:20

**Breast Plates** were made of stamped tin-plate, but so decayed that no decoration could be identified. The plates at the head (s.f.246, minimum dimensions 100×90 mm) and foot (s.f.244, minimum dimensions 320×130 mm) would probably have been decorated and that over the abdomen (s.f.245, minimum dimensions 300×215 mm) inscribed or painted with the name of the deceased.

**Studs**, usually brass tacks with domed heads, were arranged in patterns on the sides or lid of a coffin and sometimes formed initials or the date of death, to identify the body inside (Harding, forthcoming; Shoemith, 1980, fig.14). They were also used to hold in place a cloth outer covering to a coffin. Most of the studs from this coffin, however, were iron tacks with flat circular heads (7 mm diameter). Some brass tacks (9 mm domed heads) were present, particularly surrounding the plates.

Although most of the decoration had not survived, coffin furniture designs tended to last for long periods and thus do not provide anything more than a general guide date. The use of tin-plate does however provide a *terminus post quem* as the process for stamping tin plate was not available until 1769; this burial thus dates from at least the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Timmins, 1866, 292-3).

## Stone objects

**Sepulchral stone** (Fig.30), by Sue M.Margeson

**Fig.30** Shelly limestone **grave-marker**. Found in four fragments incorporated into the altar base (125, s.f.273-6) at the east end of the North Chapel.

A half-round slab of shelly limestone. The flattened base is now broken. An incised pattern of eight long-stemmed crosses

radiates from a lozenge in the centre of each face. Because of damage, only four crosses remain on one face.

A number of grave-markers with simple incised ornament are known in the early medieval period, from the eleventh-thirteenth centuries. There are unpublished examples at Canterbury (St. Augustine's Abbey), and Hythe (pers. comm. D. Tweddle), and at Colsterworth Church, Lincolnshire (pers. comm. D. Stocker). The Barton Bendish slab confirms to this general type. As both faces are decorated it was intended to be free-standing, and the square-off base would have been inserted into the ground.

The distinctive features of the Barton Bendish slab are the radiating long-stemmed crosses. Similar incised long-stemmed crosses are used to mark the divisions of Late Saxon sun-dials (Green 1928). The most famous surviving sun-dial is the one at Kirkdale Church in N.Yorkshire (Rodwell 1981, fig.1), which on the basis of the inscription can be dated to the 1060s. While the Barton Bendish slab is quite clearly not a sun-dial as both faces are decorated, and there is no central hole for the gnomon, the decorative

tradition of the sun-dials suggests an eleventh century date.

No other examples of grave-markers of this type are known in Norfolk. It is an important addition to the small corpus of surviving Saxon sculpture in Norfolk which consists mainly of grave-covers (Thetford), architectural fragments (Thetford), and fragments of free-standing crosses (Barrett Ringstead, now in St.Peter Hungate Museum, Cockey Cley, Cringleford and Whissonsett).

### Not illustrated

Fragments of burnt shelly limestone **coffin lid**. Both ends missing; total surviving length 60 cm; width tapering from 55 to 47 cm; thickness 10.5 cm. The badly eroded upper surface is smoothed and carries no evidence of decoration. Some mortar adheres to the underside. Demolition deposit in area of Phase 2 nave extension or tower (127, s.f.67)

### Lava querns (not illustrated)

Rhineland lava quern fragments weighing 4.75 kg were found in twenty contexts; ditch 9 (trial trench north of church), Phase 1, 2 and 5 wall foundations, in soil outside the church, demolition layers, and several late or post-medieval grave fillings. No diameters were measurable.

### Struck flint (not illustrated), by Frances Healy

1. Fragment polished flint **axe** with slightly squared sides converging towards convex cutting edge. Neolithic or Early Bronze Age. Phase 1 nave north wall foundation 16 (s.f.264)
2. Single platform **core**, with flakes removed from all around its circumference. Filling of Phase 1 chancel south wall foundation within pit 451 and graves 450 and 452



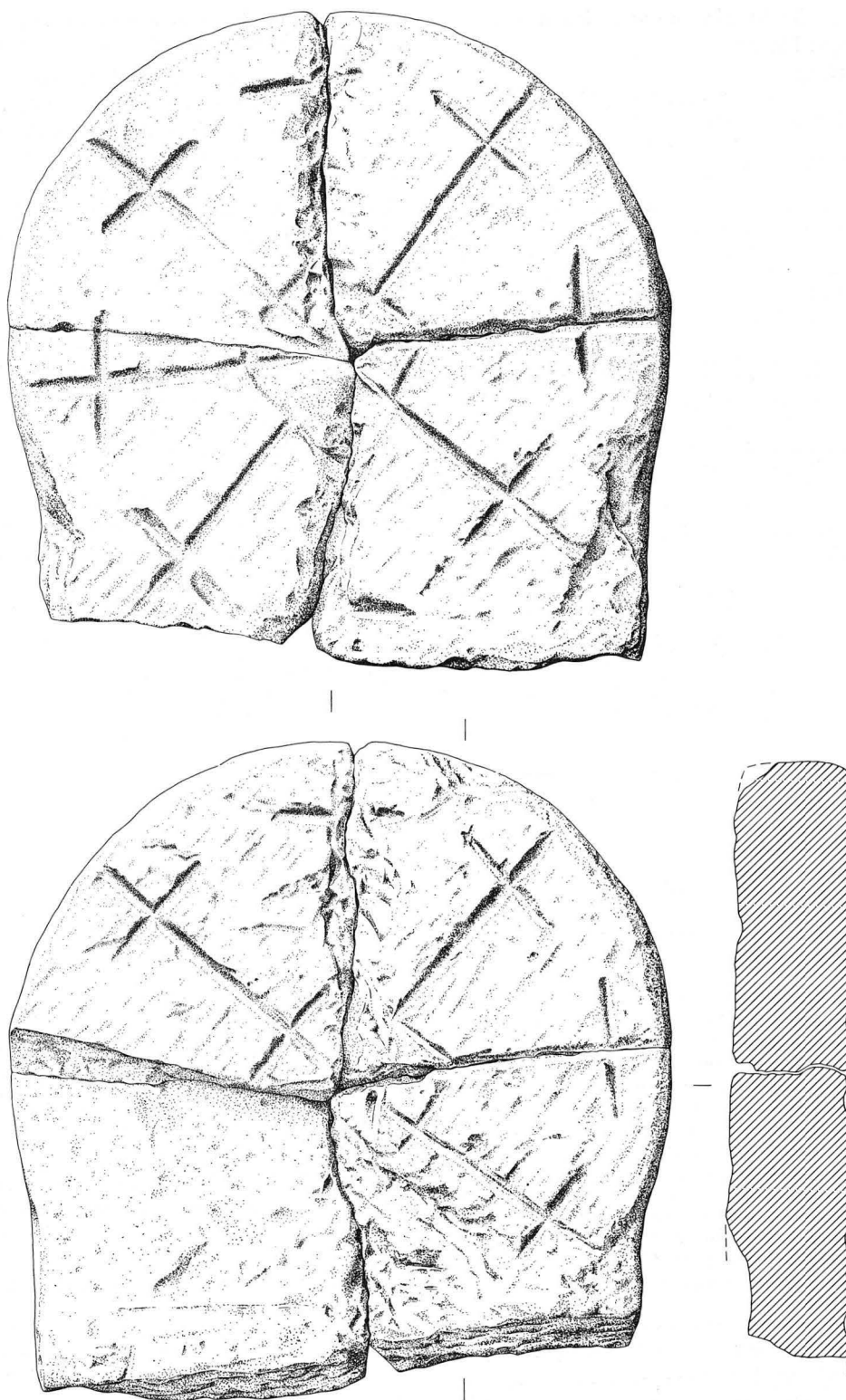


Figure 30 Limestone grave marker. Scale 1:50

3. Small flake **scraper**, retouched continuously around both sides and its distal end. Layer 445 above floor 446, north chapel
4. Edge-damaged tertiary flake. Filling of pre-Phase 1 grave 452

**Architectural fragments** (not illustrated),  
by Stephen Heywood

Forty-two worked pieces of Norman to late-medieval shelly limestone and eight of clunch were recovered. Of these, fifty-four were unstratified, thirty-nine were found in demolition deposits, and seven in other contexts.

Those from other contexts, all limestone, comprise: **ashlar block**, 31×15×min. 10.5 cm (upper part destroyed) with fine diagonal tooling on exterior face, *in situ* on surface of Phase 1 south wall of chancel (6), probably part of **plinth** (s.f.286); irregular octagonal **shaft** fragment, diam. 4.5 cm filling of Phase 5 tower west wall foundation (286, s.f.254); two fragments from filling of Phase 5 tower south wall foundation (405); fragment with very rough roll moulding at an obtuse angled arris, within ? altar base in North Chapel (125, s.f.272); fragment with plain chamfer and roughly cut depression on one face, part of floor 315 over burial 398 in chancel (s.f.238); fragment with diagonal tooling on one

face, filling above priest burial (430) in chancel.

The clunch pieces, all probably of thirteenth to fifteenth century date were from demolition deposits: a **vousoir**, chamfered fragment and a **?window dressing** with roll moulding, hollow and plain chamfers, North Chapel; circular shaft fragments, diam. 8.5 cm, Nave; four fragments including one of **cusped tracery** and one with two opposed plain chamfers, Phase 5 tower.

The remaining limestone pieces were scattered throughout the church and consist of undiagnostic fragments with the exception of a **shaft**, diam. 15 cm, with vertical tooling (unstratified), a **?vousoir** with diagonal tooling on one face (demolition above Phase 5 tower), a fragment of **cusped tracery** (demolition in nave) and four pieces of fourteenth or fifteenth century **window mullions** (chancel and nave demolition deposits, and unstratified).

## The window glass and lead

by David J.King

### Excavated window glass (Figs 31-4)

Just over 4000 fragments (roughly 2-3 m<sup>2</sup>) of window glass were found, almost all in demolition contexts. The total includes 463 pieces (roughly 0.3 m<sup>2</sup>) bearing remains of painted decoration; these latter pieces will provide the main material of this report.

Of the unpainted glass, much is of two basic types, probably in fact the same sort of glass at different stages of decomposition. About 2400 pieces are mainly thin (about 1.5 mm) glass which was formerly clear, but now bears a white corrosion crust on both surfaces which renders the glass wholly or mostly opaque. A few exhibit an intermediary stage. This main group of fragments consists of pieces of varying size, with the largest 7 cm across. Some retain original cut edges indicating that they were part of a plain quarry glazing scheme. The thin calibre and flatness of the glass together with evidence of diamond cutting suggest a seventeenth- eighteenth century date for much of this type of glazing, but a few thicker, less flat pieces of medieval glass are to be found, including some with rounded edges from the edge of the 'muff'. One large clearly post-medieval quarry piece has exactly the same point angle as a piece of medieval painted grisaille (Fig.32, No.2), perhaps suggesting that the remains of medieval glazing were re-used when the post-medieval glazing was carried out. From this time probably date the scratched initials 'A D A' which appear on one piece. The antiquarian sources (see below) reveal that at some stage between c.1575 and the mid eighteenth century, some of the medieval glass had been lost or removed, and some transferred to a different window.

About fifteen of the painted medieval fragments are pot-metal coloured or ruby glass, and there are a further sixty such pieces which are unpainted. The following range of colours is found: flashed ruby (twelve pieces), blue (four pieces), green (forty-seven pieces), yellow (eight pieces), amber (three pieces) and purple (one piece). This palette is consistent with the suggested fourteenth century date for the glass.

Yellow stain decoration is visible on five of the painted fragments, and ten of them bear traces of back-painting, although these two features are of course particularly prone to loss through corrosion.

The condition of the medieval painted glass varies, but most is of the type found in excavations, where the surface of the glass remains smooth and coherent, apart from the weathering pits which occurred when the glass was *in situ*, but the internal structure of the glass has altered to make it completely opaque. In many cases the trace line and modelling remain visible, although sometimes only after examination with a magnifying glass; occasionally back-painting and yellow stain are also seen on the reverse of the glass. Sometimes a layer of still transparent glass survives in the middle of the fragment, and if the surface or edge of the glass has flaked away to reveal this, the original colour can be ascertained.

### Typology of the painted fragments

Ninety-three of the painted fragments have been drawn and form the basis of this typology. The remaining pieces with painted decoration are either unreadable, or so small as to be insignificant. The main subjects to be found are various types of foliage decoration, border work, canopy,

black letter inscription and heraldry. Only two pieces of actual figure work were found, suggesting that any religious imagery here may have been the victim of iconoclasm.

### Foliage decoration

**Running Leaf Grisaille:** One large fragment (Fig.32, No.1) has parts of two quarries with yellow stain strap work painted on the same piece of glass, one with stems and tendrils, possibly showing a vine, and the other with a spear-shaped leaf, or possibly a fruit of some kind. Nos 4 and 10 (Fig.32) have similar tendrils or stems, and No.5 a similar leaf. No.2 (Fig.32) is the point of an actual quarry with a centrally placed broader stem, like the one on No.4, and also on No.3 (Fig.32) which bears part of an unidentifiable leaf. Nos 6 and 7 (Fig.32) have parts of oak leaves, and No.8 an acorn. Nos 9 and 11 (Fig.32) show two other leaf types. All these designs are painted in trace line on clear glass and formed part of the standard foliage grisaille which was used to glaze large sections of many fourteenth century windows.

Some other pieces, Nos 13-15 and 19-20 (Fig.32), are decorated with a motif consisting of a stem decorated with a wavy line with a dot in each bend of the line. This may also relate to some grisaille glazing, as it often does, but in three further pieces (Fig.32, Nos 12, 16 and 17), canopy work also appears on the same fragment.

**Relieved Leaf Motifs:** A second group of foliage decoration consists of leaf patterns relieved from a matt wash of varying density. In some cases the veins of the leaf are added in trace line, and in a few there appears to have been some shading as well. The original context of these fragments is not certain, but many probably formed parts of background diapers or perhaps fillet or border work. Nos 31-33 (Fig.33) probably represent vine leaves, Nos 35, 41 and possibly Nos 34, 38 and 40 (Fig.33), acanthus leaves. No.36 (Fig.33) appears to be part of an oak leaf. The remaining fragments in this group, Nos 39 and 42-52 (Fig.33) do not have identifiable designs. Some have a curved white fillet. No.49 (Fig.33) may be part of a flower rather than a leaf, and Nos 50 and 52 (Fig.33) also have relieved circles in the background.

### Border work

**Lion Masks Jessant Vine Stems:** The most interesting fragment of all (Fig.32, No.27) is a curved complete piece with white fillet on the outer edge. From the remainder is relieved a vigorously drawn lion mask from whose mouth springs a descending stem decorated with circles and dots. Entwined around it are lesser branches with tendrils and bunches of grapes attached. Nine other fragments would appear to be associated with this one, (Fig.32, Nos 21-26 and 28-30), including part of another lion mask, but the decoration of the stem varies.

**Fleurs-de-Lys:** Three fragments, (Fig.33, Nos 53-55), of this much more common border motif are found here.

**Covered Cups:** Numbers 56 and 57 (Fig.33) depict this equally common type of border pattern.

**Castles of Castile:** Just one fragment (Fig.33, No.58), shows this common motif.

In addition to these main-light border patterns, a further sixteen fragments bear narrower border and fillet patterns of various types (Fig.34). Three fragments include corners, probably of quarries: No.59 has a row of relieved lozenges with quatrefoils; No.60 has a cross clechée in the corner square and what was probably a row of relieved circles, which appears on the other corner piece, No.61 without the cross in the corner, and on a straight piece, No.62. Nos 63-66 have relieved circles alternating with two small circles, while Nos 67-69 are similar, but with the larger circles replaced by quatrefoils. Nos 70 and 71 have a small row of quatrefoils and do not appear to be edge pieces. Nos 72-76 are further examples of varying kinds.

### Canopy work (Fig.34)

Number 77 is a large piece of cusping from a canopy arch. Nos 78 a and b together form part of a relieved square-headed traceried window with four main lights. Nos 79 and 80 are quatrefoils set in circles and No.81 is a fragment of fictive wall. No.82 is difficult to read, but may be part of speckled pattern used to represent masonry in the fourteenth century.

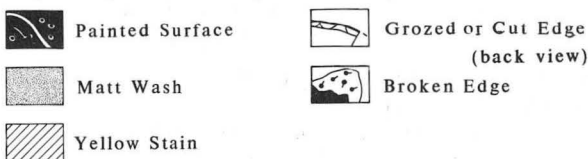


Figure 31 Painted window glass: key to illustrations

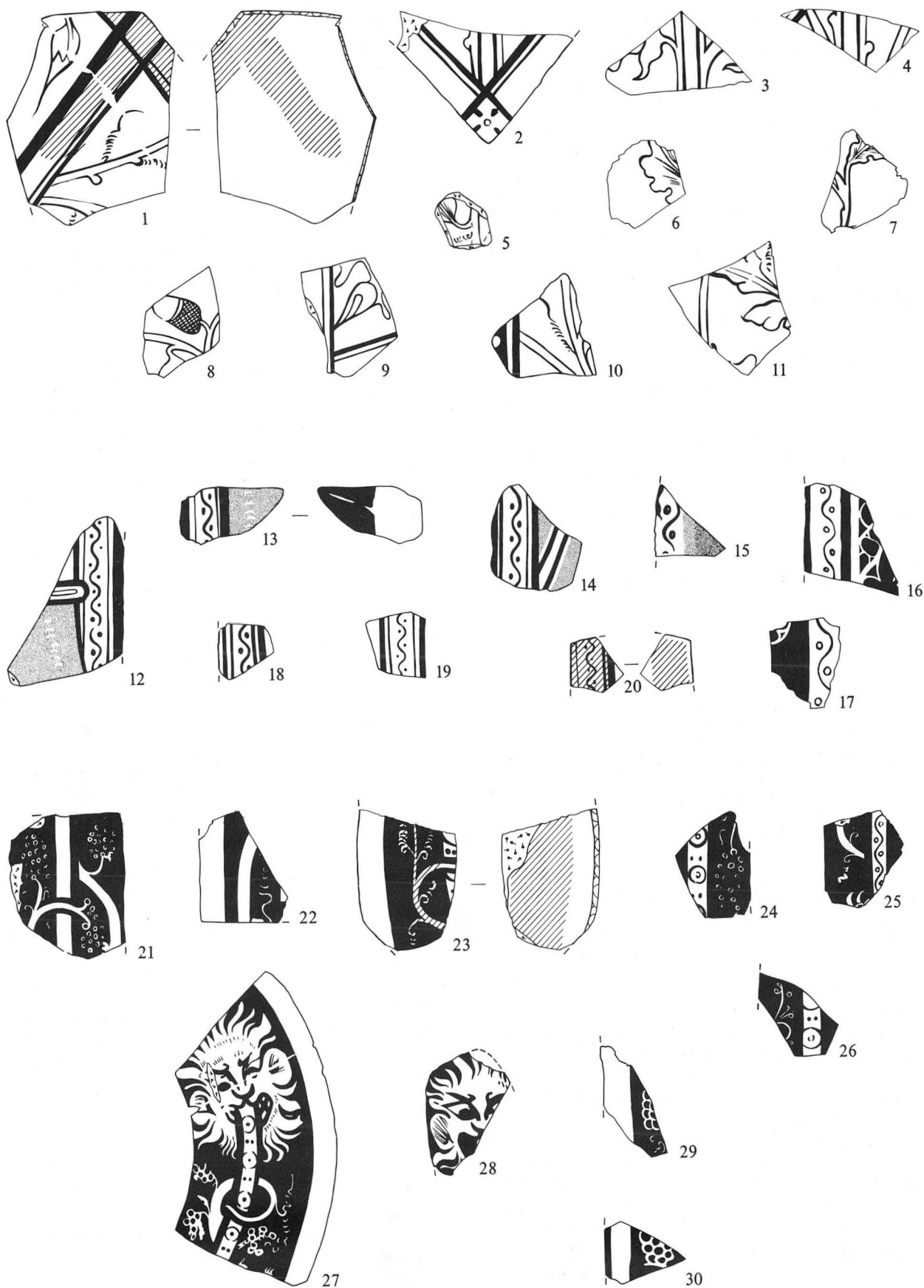


Figure 32 Painted window glass. Scale 1:2

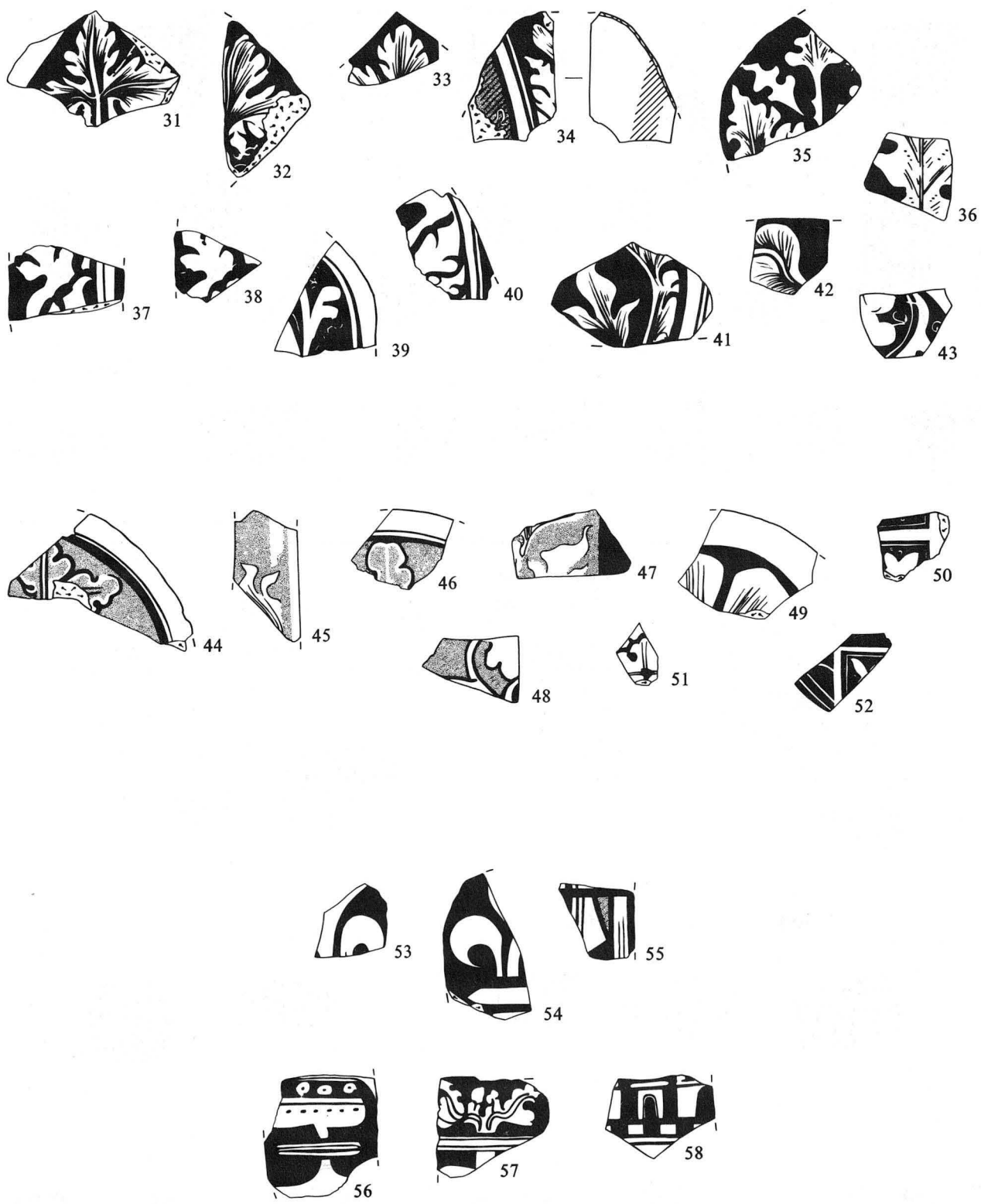


Figure 33 Painted window glass. Scale 1:2

**Black letter inscription (Fig.34)**  
 Number 83 is part of a curved scroll bearing /rubi/. This is probably part of a scroll held by an angel which said 'Cherubim', perhaps indicating the presence of a series of angels here, although there is no other evidence of this. Nos 84 and 85 are indecipherable fragments of black letter script.

**Heraldry (Fig.34)**  
 Two fragments are almost certainly parts of shields recorded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the windows of the church.

No.86 is part of a cross croset bottony fitchy argent on sable (it is relieved from a thick matt wash), and is part of the Causton arms. No.87 is a relieved escallop argent from the arms of Scales. See below for a discussion of the coats from which these fragments come.

**Figure work (Fig.34)**  
 Number 88 shows a quarter of a circle with part of young man's face and a cusped nimbus. The scale of this piece is not of a large main-light figure, but of a smaller figure from a scene, or, much less probable, of a tracery-light figure. No.89 is a piece of ruby drapery with painted and

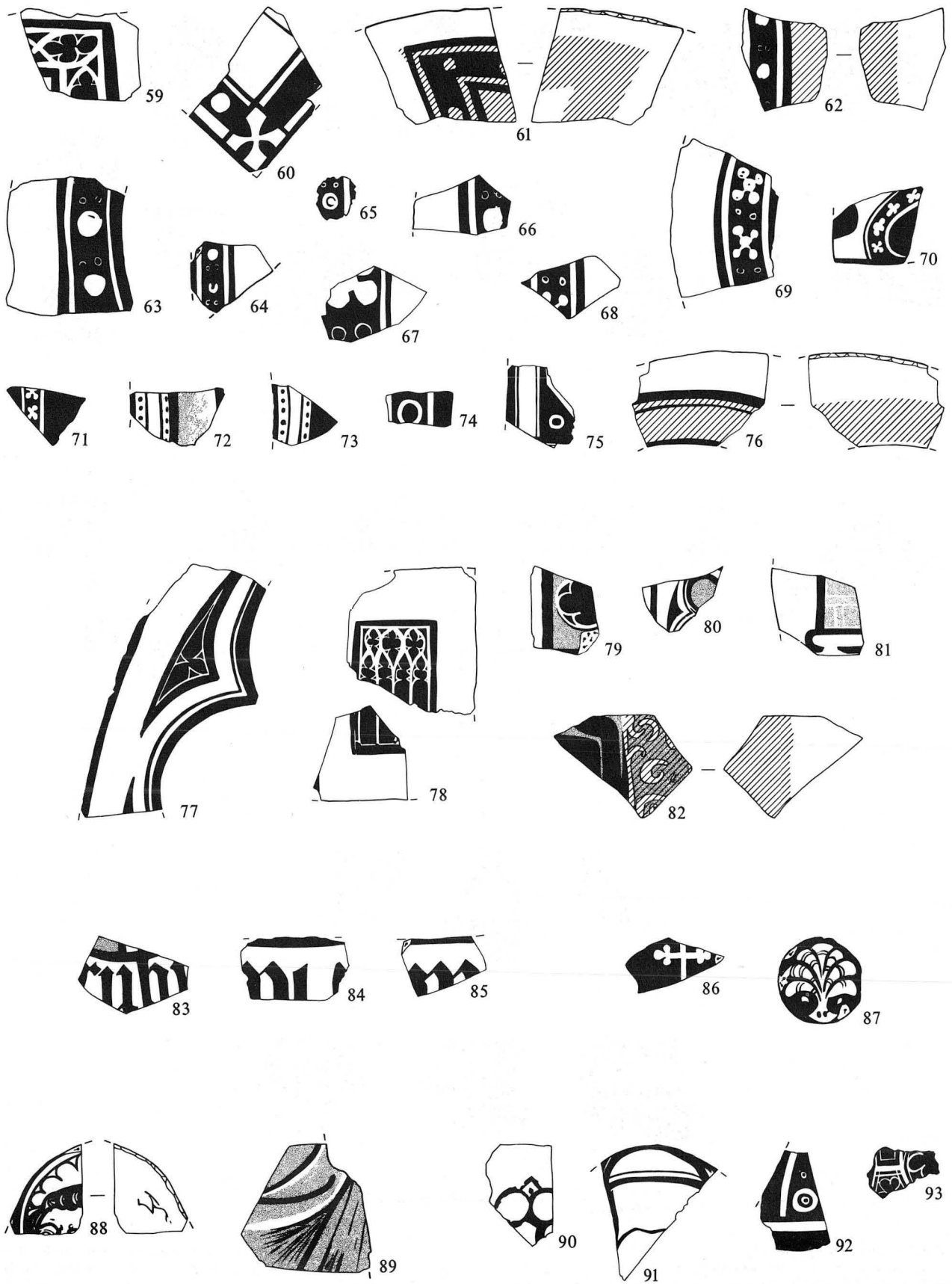


Figure 34 Painted window glass. Scale 1:2



relieved modelling.

The remaining fragments (Nos 90-93) are unidentifiable but of some possible interest.

### Conclusions

With the exception of the two heraldic fragments, there is no way of saying which windows in the church these painted pieces came from, nor from how many windows. The general impression is that they present a fairly homogeneous appearance from the point of view of style and date, although slight differences in the details of the decorative motifs may indicate that the glass of more than one window is represented, which is more than probable. The quality of some of the painting, in particular of the lion mask (Fig.32, No.27) and some of the canopy pieces (Fig.34, Nos 77 and 78), is above average, although the covered cup (Fig.33, No.56) is less well drawn. As far as the dating of the glass is concerned, although many of the motifs depicted, for example the naturalistic leaf foliage, covered cups and fleurs-de-lys, can be seen in glass dating from most of the fourteenth century and even earlier, certain aspects of the style and design of these fragments lend support to the date range of c.1350-c.1370 suggested by the evidence of the heraldry here, and nothing contradicts it. Examples of these features are: the use of black letter script; this would be unusual before the mid-fourteenth century; the depiction of a square headed window (Fig.34, No.78) which would also be unusual in the first part of the century; the absence of stipple shading, which became common from c.1380 onwards. The lack of smear shading, a feature common from c.1330-c.1380, is explicable by the fact that it would have been used mainly to model drapery and three-dimensional canopy forms, and these are hardly represented here.

Of the original iconography of the glass here little can be said, apart from the suggestion from the black letter piece (Fig.34, No.83) that figures of angels including cherubim may have been present. However from the point of view of the design of the window, it is perhaps worth pointing out that the fragments which survive here are representative of the different elements of what would have been the most common type of window at this time, with the possible exception of the simple non-figurative grisaille window. That is to say a 'band' window with figurative panels surmounted by canopies set in the top part of the window, and in the lower part a band of grisaille glazing on which were set decorative roundels or heraldry, the whole being surrounded by a border using one or more of the border types mentioned above.

### The heraldic evidence<sup>2</sup>

#### Sources:

MSS London, British Library, Harl.MS 901 Robert Kemp. c.1570-75. f.62v.

London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 260 (based on Harl. 901) f.240.

London British Library Add.MS 8844 Collections for Norfolk (Parkin), 18c. f.175.

Printed Blomefield 1807, 284.

The two earliest sources indicate that there four shields of arms in the east window of the chancel:

1. Or three chevrons gules in-paling or a plain cross gules, all within a border sable guty or.
2. Argent on a bend sable three crosses crosslet bottony fitchy of the first.
3. Azure three cinquefoils or.
4. Gules six escallops argent.

The two later sources show that by the middle of the eighteenth

century, numbers 1 and 3 had been lost, and number 2 was in the 'upper' window of the south side, and number 4 was in the north window of the chancel. This suggests that in the intervening period the east window had been partly or wholly reglazed.

This series of four coats which may of course originally have been bigger is of interest for the following reasons:

- a. It provides an interesting example of a local roll of arms related to the manorial holdings in the village.
- b. It provides a basis for dating the glass.
- c. Two fragments of glass (Fig.34, Nos 86 and 87) appear to come from shields 2 and 4, the two which survived into the eighteenth century.

#### Attribution of the Arms

1. This is for **Elizabeth de Clare** (Cockayne 1013, 244-5), *suo iure* Lady of Clare, third sister and co-heiress of Gilbert (de Clare) Lord of Clare and Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who died in 1314.

Elizabeth was born about 1292 and at an early age married John de Burgh, son and heir apparent of Richard, Earl of Ulster. The dexter impalement of this coat is the arms of Clare, and the sinister, of Burgh. John died in 1313, and she married secondly in 1315/6 Theobald de Verdon, Lord de Verdon. He died in 1316, and she finally married Roger d'Amorie (Lord of Amorie), who died in 1321/2. Elizabeth lived on until 1360. In 1338/9 she founded Clare Hall, Cambridge, and the common seal of that institution (Hope 1885) provides evidence for the attribution of this coat, as it bears at its base this same impaled coat with the border. This coat also appears on her own seal attached to documents dated 1354 and 1361, but in 1333 she used a different seal with the coats of d'Amorie, de Burgh with a label, de Verdon and de Clare. The significance of the border is not clear, but the indications are that she used the coat recorded here from some time after 1333 until her death in 1360.

The Clare family had various holdings in Barton Bendish. The principal manor was held temp. Edward I by Rainald, son of Ivo, and then by the Earls of Clare. In the time of Henry III, Lord Scales held Scales Manor of the Earl of Clare, and in 1314/5, the heirs of William de Berton held the fourth part of a fee in Overhall and Netherhall Manor of the Honour of Clare (Blomefield 1807, 275).

2. This is for **Causton**, and very probably for **Sir Robert de Causton**. It is given in the rolls c.1350<sup>3</sup> and c.1360<sup>4</sup> for Causton and Robert Causton, and in 1355/6 and 1363/4 appears on the seal of Sir Robert de Causton, Knt. Parkin's various accounts of the Causton or Causton family are as often rather muddled, but he does mention a Sir Robert de Causton who died in 1368 and who had two daughters. From the dating point of view, there is no evidence of the use of this coat before c.1350. Parkin tells us that the Caustons held Curpell or Hern Hall at Barton Bendish at some time between Henry III and Richard III (Blomefield 1807, 273-4).
3. This is the well-known coat of the **Bardolf** family, important landowners in Norfolk. It may here be for **Thomas, Lord Bardolf**, 1282-1328, or, more probably, for **John, Lord Bardolf**, 1312-63 (Carthew 1877, 51). In the time of Henry III, Roger Curpell held Curpell Hall here for the Honour of Wormegay, held by the Bardolf family. In 1340/1, Ralph Atte Snore held land of the Lord Bardolf and others (Blomefield 1807, 274). Elizabeth de Clare's daughter Elizabeth, by Sir Roger Damorie, married in 1336/7 John Bardolf (Nichols 1780, 34).
4. This is the equally well-known coat of the **Scales** family, here either for **Robert Lord Scales**, who married Egeline, and died in 1324/5, or, more probably, for **Robert Lord Scales**, who married Catherine, daughter of Robert de Ufford and who was born before March 30th 1311 and died in 1369 (Cockayne 1949, 500-502). In the time of Henry III Lord Scales held Scales Manor here of the Earl of Clare. In 1316 Robert de Scales held land here and in 1318/9 Richard Rigge and Emma held Derham Abbot's Manor here of Lord Scales. The Robert Scales who died in 1369 was then seized of a manor here (Blomefield 1807, 275-6).

#### Conclusion

The facts that coat 2 is not known before c.1350 and that

Elizabeth de Clare, bearer of coat 1 died in 1360, suggest that the heraldry formerly in the east window was put there c.1350-60 and that the coats were born by:

1. Elizabeth de Clare, d. 1360.
2. Sir Robert de Causton, d. 1368.
3. John Lord Bardolf, d. 1363.
4. Robert Lord Scales d. 1369.

Since all four died within nine years, it is also possible that the scheme was a posthumous commemoration of c.1370, perhaps as a result of the presentation to the living in 1369 of John Chincry de Clare (Blomefield 1807, 285). A date range of c.1350-c.1370 must therefore be assigned to the heraldic glass. Although the fragmentary condition of the glass makes conclusions based on style difficult, nothing that has been found of the painted glass of the church, which all seems to be much of the same date, contradicts the date suggested above.

### Window leads and ties

By far the greatest bulk of the lead finds consists of comes and ties from medieval and post-medieval glazing, corresponding to the considerable amount of medieval painted glass and post-medieval quarry glazing which was discovered in conjunction with the lead. In one or two cases, small pieces of glass were still held in the comes.

The analysis of the comes is based upon measurements of the weight of each type of lead found in each context, of the dimensions of the heart (or web) and flange and of a tooth count per twenty millimetres of the milling on milled leads. These figures were then related to a typology of window lead profiles established by Dr Barry Knight (Fig.35). I would like to thank him for permission to use this. It recognizes seven basic types: Type A had thick diamond-shaped flanges and a prominent casting flash along the outside edge. It was cast in a hinged two-piece mould about 50 cm long, as described by Theophilus in Book II, Chapters 24-25 (Dodwell 1961). Types B and C have been made from cast comes as type A by scraping off the casting flash. This process is described by Theophilus in the last paragraph of Book II Chapter 26. The only difference between them is in the amount of lead removed from the flange. There is considerable variation in types A, B, and C, even in the same piece, because each length is made by hand. It is often hard to distinguish types C and D, and there seems to be no sharp boundary between types E and G. The flanges of type E became wider and thinner, and the tooth count decreases from 20 teeth in 20mm to 4 or 5. The web of type G is sometimes inscribed with the maker's name or initials and date. For the purpose of this report, it will be useful to divide type G into two groups, G1 and G2, as the differences between the two show clearly how the progression from types E to G took place.

No examples of types B or D were found at Barton

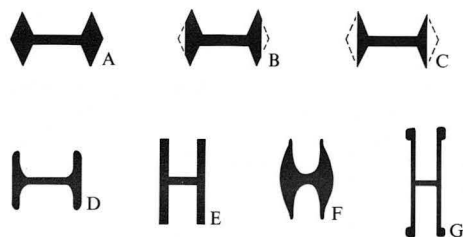


Figure 35 Diagram of lead window came typology

Bendish. Since the finds were almost all found in demolition contexts, context numbers have not been given.

### The medieval comes

*Type A:* a small amount (103 g) of the heavy, unscraped, type A was found in six different contexts. Of this, 36 grams had been split in half through the heart, and in one case, two such strips were twisted together. These halved pieces were clearly used as ties, which were soldered to the main horizontal leads of each section of glazing, and then twisted around the saddle-bars to hold the panel in place. The hearts of the complete type A leads found varied from 3 mm to 4 mm in width, the widest of all the types, suggesting that this is the oldest type of come, as medieval glass as a general rule becomes thinner as the medieval period progresses. The flanges of this type are from 4 mm to 5 mm in width. One piece had a hole in the heart near the come. This has been observed by the writer in other medieval leads, and suggests that the individual comes may have been hung on a nail prior to use.

*Type C:* Most of the medieval window leads from this site was of type C, of which 327.5 g were found. Here, the hearts varied from 2 mm to 4 mm and the flange from 2.5 mm to 6 mm. This reflects the range of sizes that would have been used from the fourteenth century painted glass found at Barton Bendish All Saints, the smallest size heart in this group still being larger than all but two of the post-medieval lead comes. Whether the type A leads are actually older than those of this group or representative of an older kind still in use at the same time is not possible to establish, but no definite remains of glass-painting earlier than c.1350-60 date given to the medieval glass found here were discovered. One small section of leading of this type survives intact and is illustrated (Fig.36).

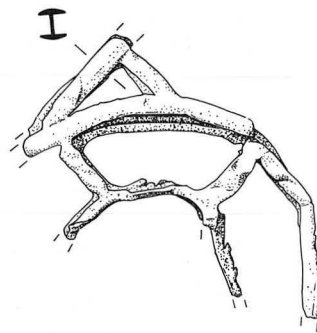


Figure 36 Window leading: demolition in north chapel and east end of nave (13). Scale 1:2

### The post-medieval comes

*Type E:* 158 g of this type were found. The hearts ranged from 1.5 mm to 2.5 mm and the flanges from 4 mm to 7 mm. The tooth count on the milling ranged from 12 to 24 per 20 mm, with an average of nearly 18. Two kinds of tie were made from this type: 4 g of split lead, as in the medieval samples, and 20 g of whole twisted leads. Since all the ties from types G1 and G2 are of this latter type, the mixture of the split-lead medieval type of tie with the twisted whole leads would tend to confirm the suggestion that type E is earlier than type G1 or G2. The change to using whole leads from ties was presumably brought about by the decrease in the thickness of the comes which made split leads not strong enough to use.

*Type G1:* Of this type 211 g were discovered, 34 g of which were twisted ties. The hearts were nearly all 2 mm wide, with one or two of 2.5 mm; the flanges varied from 5 mm to 7.5 mm. The milling count was from 9 to 20, with an average of about 14. The heart of one piece of this type was inscribed with the letter 'SO'; part of the name of the maker.

*Type G2:* 213.5 g of this were found. The width of the heart varied from 2 mm to 3 mm, that of the flange, from 7 mm to 10 mm, and the milling count from 5 to 7. This type of lead does not appear to have been used as ties; possibly the change had been made to using another type, such as the lead ties mentioned below which were not made from comes.

### Summary of measurements for type E, G1 and G2:

	Type E	Type G1	Type G2
Heart (mm)	1.5-2.5	2-2.5	2-3
Flange (mm)	4-7	5-7.5	7-10
Milling (per 20 mm)	12-24	9-20	5-7

This shows that if these three types are in chronological order, as other evidence would indicate, there are three progressions visible:

- 1: The heart gets slightly wider (the increase is very small and may not be significant).
- 2: The flange becomes wider.
- 3: The milling count decreases.

*Type E:* 8 g were found which were possibly of this type. The flange was 5 mm wide, and the comes had been halved to be used as ties, or possibly as strap leads for *in situ* repairs. It is not clear where this type belongs in the chronology.

#### Other lead items connected with the glazing

- a. 10.5 g. **Ties** made of split leads of doubtful type. One is attached to a came.
- b. 11.5 g. Two **ties** twisted together; the end of one is attached to a came. They do not appear to be made from comes and have a profile of slightly more than a semi-circle.
- c. 9 g. A **tie** hooked to one end, again not made from a came, with a profile of a segment of 70 degrees.
- d. 37.5 g. Twisted lead **ties** made from comes of unknown type, probably G1.
- e. 72.5 g. **Pieces of solder**, melted and scrap lead.

#### Vessel glass and bead

##### Vessel glass (not illustrated)

Twenty fragments of post-medieval bottle glass were found in demolition and topsoil context.

##### Glass bead (not illustrated)

Cylindrical translucent dark blue glass bead, diam. 8 mm with hole diam. 4 mm. Topsoil above the Phase 5 west tower (144, s.f.102).

#### The pottery

(not illustrated)

by Carolyn Dallas

##### Introduction

A total of 2046 sherds ranging in date from probably prehistoric to modern, were recovered (Table 1). 67 per cent comprised Thetford-type and St. Neots-type Wares. These along with some of the Early Medieval Ware (4.7 per cent of the site total) represent occupation on or near the site in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, *i.e.* before the foundation of the Phase 1 church. Only 332 sherds (23 per cent of the Thetford-type Ware; 31 per cent of the St. Neots-type Ware) were found in pre-Phase 1 contexts,

the bulk of the remaining 76 per cent being residual in later deposits.

As the pottery contributes little apart from general indications of date to the site sequence, and as no large groups were excavated, neither illustrations nor a catalogue are published. The Site Archive contains full lists by context and all Thetford-type rims have been related, in the Archive, to the Thetford Type Series (Rogerson and Dallas 1984, 119- 22).

##### Miscellaneous hand-made wares

Twelve hand-made body sherds in sandy fabrics are either late Iron Age or Early Saxon, although some may perhaps be rough Early Medieval Wares. One other body sherd, tempered with calcite and flint is probably prehistoric.

##### Roman

Twenty-six sherds of greyware, probably spanning the first to the fourth centuries were found scattered throughout the sequence.

##### Ipswich-type Ware

Two sherds of Ipswich-type Ware were found in the fillings above pre-Phase 4 burials 271 and 272, and in ditch 501 east of the church.

##### Thetford-type Ware

59.6 per cent of the site total is Thetford-type Ware (1219 sherds) 120 of the rims are from cooking pots/jars, and there are rims from one spouted bowl, three other bowls, one storage jar and one handled jar. Of fifty-six bases, forty-eight are sagging and the rest flat. There are four handles. The fabric is normally sandy and grey although some oxidised examples do occur. A few sherds with rouletting or thumb-impressed applied strips were found. There is one inturned bowl with diamond rouletting on the rim, which must be in the Thetford tradition although there are particles of chalk in the fabric similar to some Early Medieval Wares. There are also two sherds of Grimston-Thetford Ware.

##### St. Neots-type Ware

Of 152 sherds, there are twenty-one cooking pot/jar rims, eight bowl rims, and nine sagging bases.

##### Early Medieval Wares

All 96 sherds are in sandy fabrics. There are five plain flared rims from jars, and one ginger jar rim. No recognisable basal sherds were found.

##### Stamford Ware, by Kathy Kilmurry

Six sherds of Stamford Ware (Kilmurry 1977 and 1980) were recovered (Table 2).

	Misc. hand- made	Roman	Ipswich- type Ware	Thetford type Ware	St. Neot's type Ware	Early Medieval Ware	Stamford Ware	Medieval unglazed	Medieval glazed	Post medieval	Modern	Total
Buried soil, and pre-graveyard features		1		88	13							102
Pre-Phase 1 grave fillings	6	5		197	34	6						248
Phase 1 structural contexts		2		9								11
Phase 2 structural contexts					1	1						2
Phase 3 structural contexts	1	1		21				2				25
Phase 4 structural contexts				2			1					3
Phase 3 or 4 grave fillings		1		8	1							10
Phase 5 structural contexts				2								2
Pre-Phase 6 deposits				19	2			2	2			25
Phase 7 buttress foundations				4	2							6
Below floor 239		3		19	10	3	2					37
Muddled contexts within church	2	7		163	27	8		3	2			212
Unphased post-holes within church		1		4	2							8
Other burials	2	1	1	199	25	8	1	4		1		242
Demolition deposits		1		103	5	7		31	26	85	28	286
Tower robbing pit, filling				33	2	6		10	7	47	5	110
Contexts outside church		2	1	207	15	38	1	25	18	15	3	325
Topsoil/unstratified	1			73	5	13	1	46	21	110	36	306
Grave fillings in 1980 trial trench				15	1	2		1	2			21
Other features in 1980 trial trench	1	1		53	7	3						65
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1219</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>2046</b>
<b>% of total</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>59.6</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 1 Pottery totals (sherd counts) by context groupings and types

<i>Context</i>	<i>Fabric/glaze</i>	<i>Form/decoration</i>	<i>Date range</i>
Unstratified 100	Avi 4	Base 2 + M16 + M36	900-1025
Layer W of N chapel, 121	Bvi 3	M36	1140-1250
Packing of phase 4 post-hole 236, 240	Bi 3/(3)	V5 or V18	1140-1250
Muddled graves	Bvii 6	V18 ?same pot	1150-1200
filling in chancel, 314	Bvii 6	+M16	1150-1200
Layer in chancel, 317	Bvi 3	+M16	1140-1250

Table 2 Stamford Ware

### *Medieval wares*

Of 202 sherds, sixty-nine are glazed wares produced at Grimston, some 16 km north of Barton Bendish, and include four jug rims, three handles, and several body sherds from decorated jugs. A further nine sherds, including one jug rim, are glazed wares from unidentified East Midland sources. The remaining 124 sherds are local, unglazed, sandy wares and include seven cooking pot/jar rims and five bowls.

### *Post-medieval Wares*

These are predominantly Glazed Red Earthenwares of the late sixteenth-eighteenth centuries, but the total of 258 sherds includes twenty-nine sherds of late Grimston glazed Wares (late fifteenth-sixteenth centuries) and nine sherds of Late Medieval Transitional Ware (fifteenth- sixteenth centuries; Jennings 1981, 61-2).

### *The site sequence*

A total of forty-one sherds (2 per cent of the site total) predate the tenth-century occupation. This meagre quantity probably indicates no more than manuring of arable fields on some occasions between the Iron Age and Middle Saxon period.

Late Saxon pottery, Thetford and St.Neots-type Wares, comprise 67 per cent of the site total. Although only 24 per cent of this pottery occurred in contexts earlier than the Phase 1 church, its overwhelming preponderance in all phases of the life of the church indicates that the great period of domestic occupation within the area of the graveyard was in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Early Medieval Ware did not occur in the buried soils beneath the church but was found in small quantities both in the pre-Phase 1 grave fillings and in pits and ditches north of the graveyard in the 1980 trial trench. This shows a continuance of occupation into the early eleventh century after the start of the graveyard. That this occupation did not extend far into the eleventh century is evidence by the virtual absence (only two sherds) of Grimston-Thetford Ware which is common at Castle Acre Castle in the latter part of the century and very frequent after c.1100 (Milligan 1982, 224 and 226). Grimston-Thetford also occurs frequently in surface collections on eleventh/twelfth century sites within Barton Bendish parish.

The medieval period is represented by only nineteen sherds from deposits within the church and predating the demolition. However, some, if not all, of the seventy-four sherds from demolition deposits and the filling of the tower robbing pit may have derived from the medieval use of the building, as may some of the pottery from contexts outside the church.

The majority of the post-medieval pottery was found in demolition deposits and the topsoil, while only fifteen sherds came from contexts outside the church. Most of the 258 sherds are probably derived from the final three centuries of the church's use.

The nineteenth-twentieth centuries are represented by thirty-three sherds of china, stoneware, and glazed earthenware from the upper parts of demolition deposits

and of the tower robbing pit filling, the result of contamination from the topsoil. Sherds from the topsoil and immediately below outside the church bring the total to seventy-two. This total is the result of spread from the nearby houses and the village school.

### **Clay tobacco pipes**

(not illustrated)

Fifty-eight pipe fragments were found; in the topsoil (eleven examples), outside the church (three), in the filling of the tower robbing pit (eleven), and in demolition layers (thirty-three). They range in date from the seventeenth to the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. They have been described and measured by S.K. Atkin and her report is contained in the Archive.

### **Floor tiles**

(Figs 15 and 17)

by P.J. Drury

The majority of tiles present were plain-coloured (yellow and dark green) Flemish imports, in almost exclusive use in the region between the end of the fourteenth and the mid-sixteenth centuries (Drury and Norton, in prep.). The colours occurred in approximately equal proportions (46.6 per cent yellow and 53.4 per cent green), suggesting that, as in the few areas found undisturbed from their first laying, they were used to form a simple chequer pattern.

There were three sizes, Type 1, 105-7mm square, Type 2, 110- 115mm square, and Type 3, 240-245mm square, accounting, as proportions of the floor area covered by Flemish tiles, for 8.1 per cent, 48.1 per cent and 43.8 per cent respectively. Each size was probably introduced into the church on a separate occasion. In the east part of the chancel or sanctuary, no Type 3 tiles were found, while 47.5 per cent of the total number of Flemish tiles were of Type 1 and 52.5 per cent of Type 2. In the western part of the chancel the proportions of Types 1-3 by numbers of tiles was 9.6 per cent, 87.3 per cent and 3.1 per cent respectively. In the nave the proportions changed to 6.7 per cent, 30 per cent, and 63.3 per cent, while in the north chapel they were 0 per cent, 2.6 per cent, and 97.4 per cent. If the assumption is correct that the paving sequence in a church is most likely to progress from east to west, then it is most likely that Type 1 was the first tile to be laid, and Type 3 the last.

Only 1.5 per cent of the total number of floor tiles were of local origin, c.112 mm square, 20mm thick, in a very coarse sandy fabric, largely reduced but with a pinkish red exterior. On visual evidence this fabric seems to be related to that of the peg-tiles from the site. A lead glaze produced a khaki to olive green surface. None was decorated. These tiles were probably produced between the late thirteenth and late fourteenth centuries, and thus were almost certainly the earliest floor tiles used in the church, although all seven examples were found relaid or in demolition deposits in the western part of the chancel.

Finally a single late fourteenth century Bawsey tile (Eames 1955, design XXXVII) is probably a stray from St. Andrew's church, where a large number (including examples of this design) survive reset in the modern sanctuary floor. The tile was found inverted in an area of relaid floor in the western part of the chancel (202, s.f.227).

### **Roof tiles**

(Fig.37)

Unglazed rectangular peg roof-tiles occurred from Phase 4 (early fourteenth century) onwards. Although firing is variable, the majority have a reduced core with oxidised



surfaces. There is little variation in the harsh sandy fabric containing sparse hard dark red and black inclusions and occasional lumps of grog and flint. Very few examples are in a different fabric, oxidised dull pinkish red with yellow streaks and variably coloured grog lumps.

No complete peg-tiles were found. Thickness varies between 1 and 1.5 cm and widths average 15.5 cm. Peg-holes are invariably circular, single and centrally placed. Many fragments are partly covered in mortar, sometimes across fractures. Tiles were certainly used as walling in the Phase 6 north chapel and were probably also incorporated elsewhere in walling. The possibility remains, however, that the church had a tile-covered roof in the medieval period, despite being roofed in reed-thatch in the eighteenth century (Blomefield 1807, 284).

Only six fragments of ridge-tile were recovered, all from demolition or topsoil deposits. The fabric is similar to that of the majority of the plain flat tiles, but all six carry patchy green glaze externally.

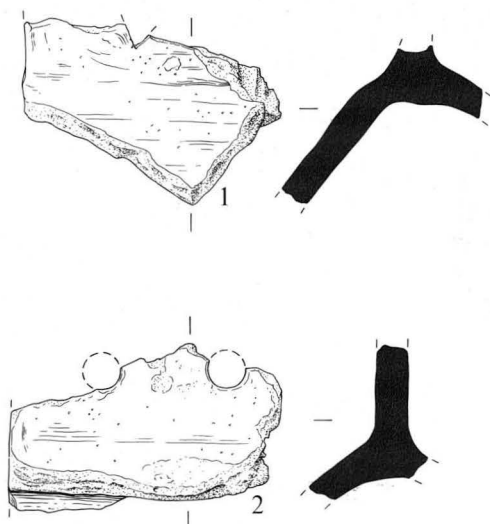


Figure 37 Ridge-tiles. Scale 1:4

1. One end surviving, part of V-shaped knife-cut aperture in crest. Demolition layer in north chapel (110)
2. One end surviving, parts of two circular holes in crest. Below topsoil north of chancel (186)

#### Decorated rendering

(Fig.38)

Three fragments of mortar rendering carry a white-washed surface with incised lattice decoration. Dark blue paint survives intermittently in the incisions. All three were found in demolition contexts at the east end of the chancel.

1. Lump of mortar with large chalk and flint inclusions, min. 65 mm thick. Surface of foundation of Phase 5 chancel north wall (182, s.f.195)
2. Fragment of mortar, min. 12mm thick. Filling of robber trench of Phase 5 chancel south wall (187, s.f.217)
3. (Not illustrated), fragment of mortar, min. 37 by 21 mm, min. 22 mm thick. Filling of robber trench of Phase 5 chancel east wall (159, s.f.191)

#### Bone objects

(not illustrated)

- a. Pointed end of **pin**, length 24mm max. diam. 1.3mm. Demolition layer at west end of chancel (128, s.f.75)
- b. Fragment split from underside of lathe-turned **spindle-whorl** diam. 35 mm. Muddled grave fillings and buried soil in west part of nave (172, s.f.226)

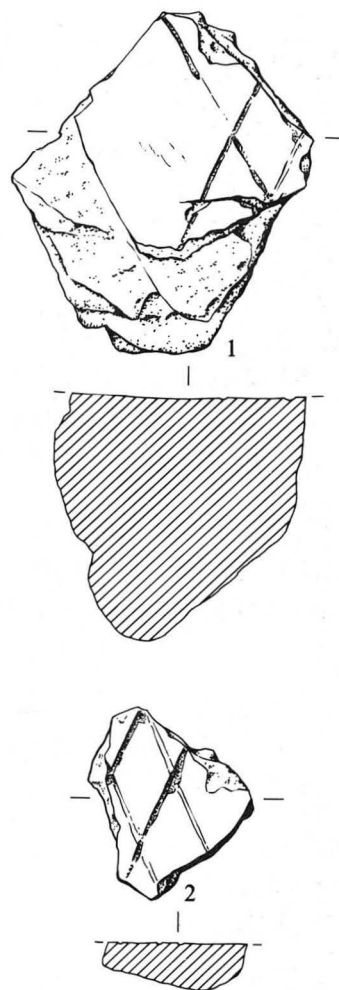


Figure 38 Decorated mortar rendering. Scale 1:2

- c. **Cylindrical object**, length 50 mm, diam. 53 mm, with assymetrically placed longitudinal hole diam. 20 mm. (Unstratified, s.f.278)

## V. Zoological and Botanical Evidence

### Human bones

(Tables 3-11)

by Gillian Stroud

#### Introduction (Table 3)

The human skeletal remains from Barton Bendish All Saints' consist of inhumation burials ranging in date from the early eleventh century to the later eighteenth century, together with a certain amount of miscellaneous bone recovered from various contexts, including grave fills. Preservation of the bone matrix is generally good, although in a few cases some erosion has occurred.

The burials were examined for details of sex, age, stature and for dental and skeletal anomalies and pathology. Certain metrical and non-metrical data were recorded, but analysis of these data has not been attempted in view of the small number of individuals involved.

The miscellaneous bones were listed according to the context in which they were found, and have been used to assess the minimum number of individuals represented by this material over the site as a whole.





Plate I Barton Bendish: aerial view of the 1981 excavation, looking east, with St. Andrew's to top left. Ref.TF7105/F/ARL1

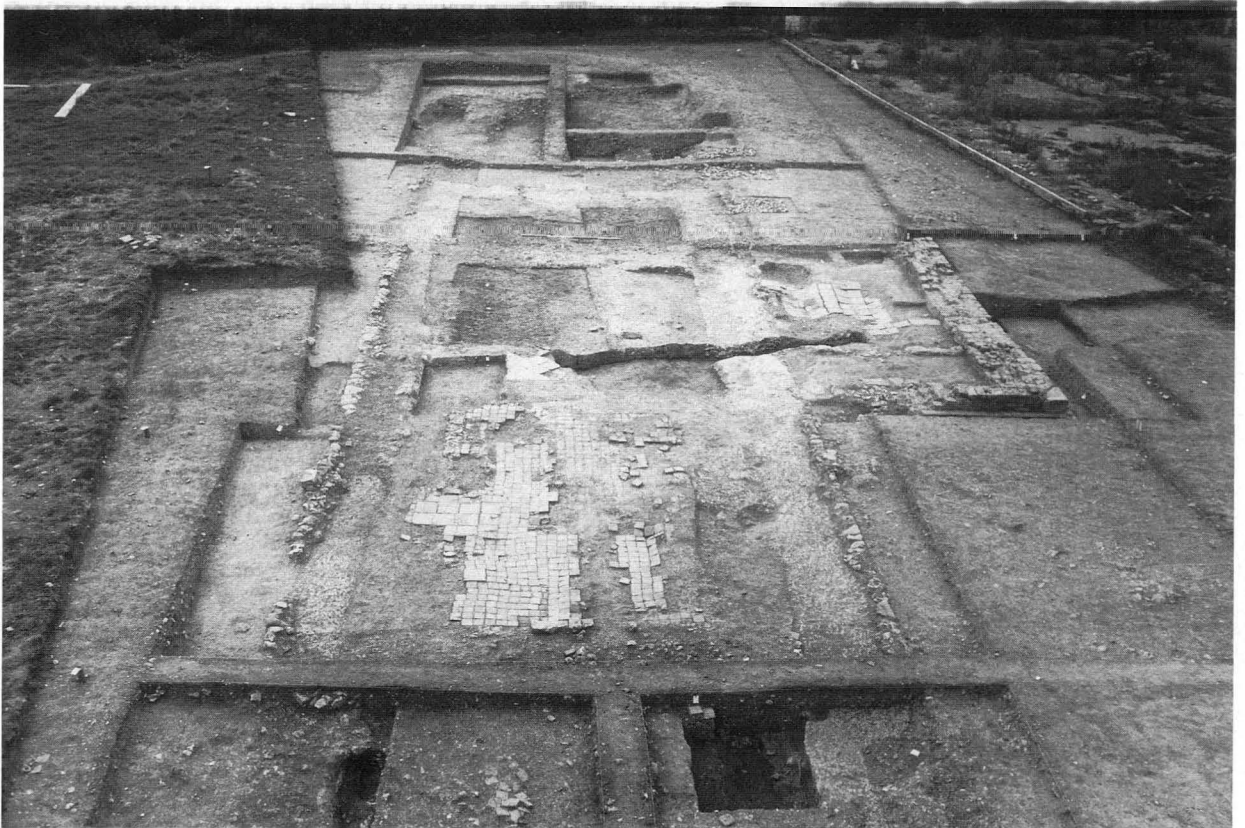


Plate II Barton Bendish All Saints': the excavation, looking west, showing tiled pavements in the nave, north chapel, and chancel. Ref.BYB 27



Plate III Barton Bendish All Saints': the excavation reaching final stages. Ref.BZG 5



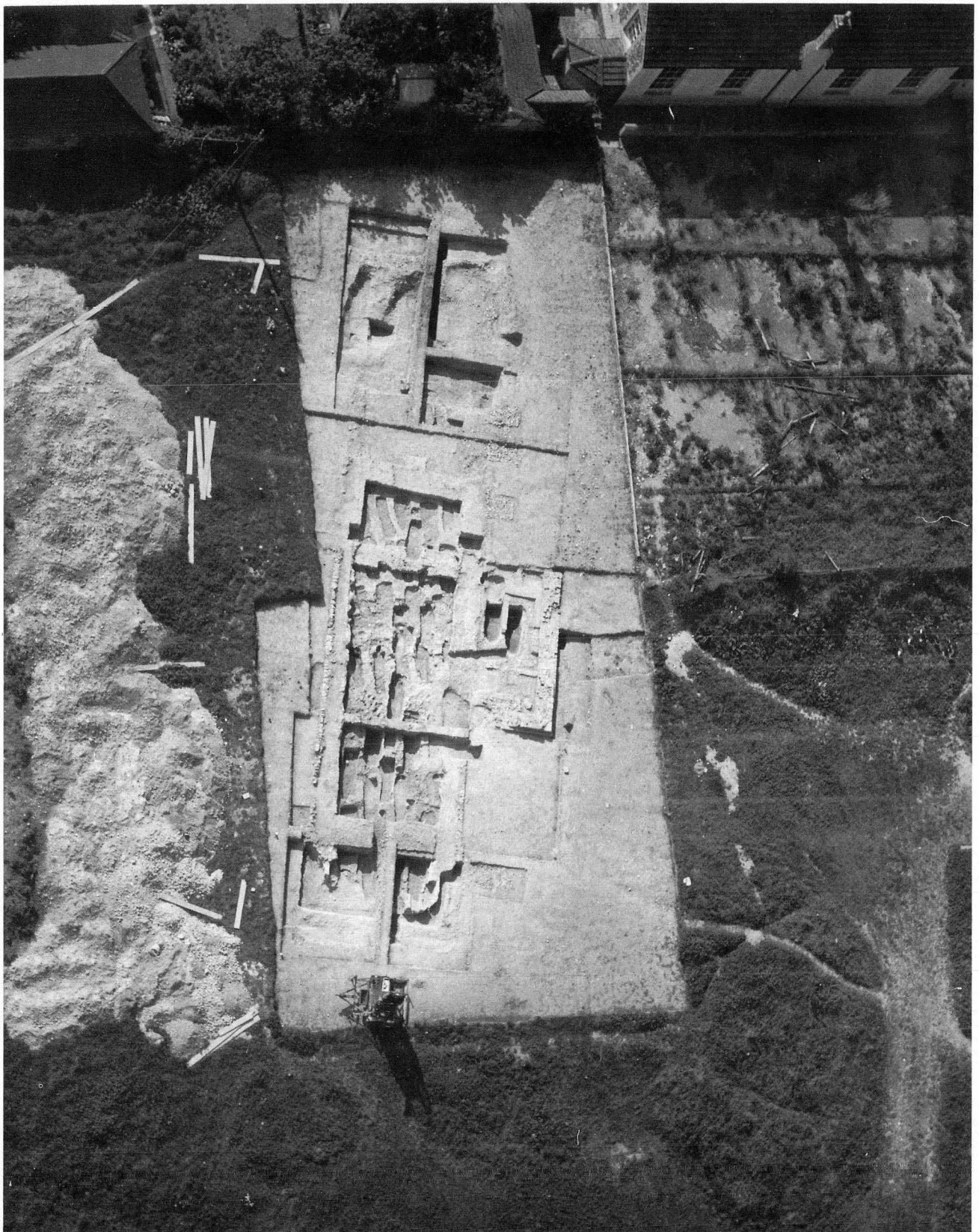


Plate IV Barton Bendish All Saints': aerial view of excavation, August 31, 1981, looking west. Ref.TF7105/L/ARL6



Plate V Barton Bendish All Saints': Phase 1 apse foundation 177, with the inner parts of Phase 5 chancel wall foundations removed. Ref.BYY 2



Plate VI Barton Bendish All Saints': section through Phase 1 apse foundation 177 and buttress foundation 478 to left. See Sect.S2, Fig.10. Ref.BYY 24





Plate VII Barton Bendish All Saints': Phase 6 north chapel, looking west.  
Ref.BYZ 6



Plate VIII Barton Bendish All Saints': pre-Phase 1 burials, within Phase 2 nave extension or tower, looking north. Ref.BYU 23



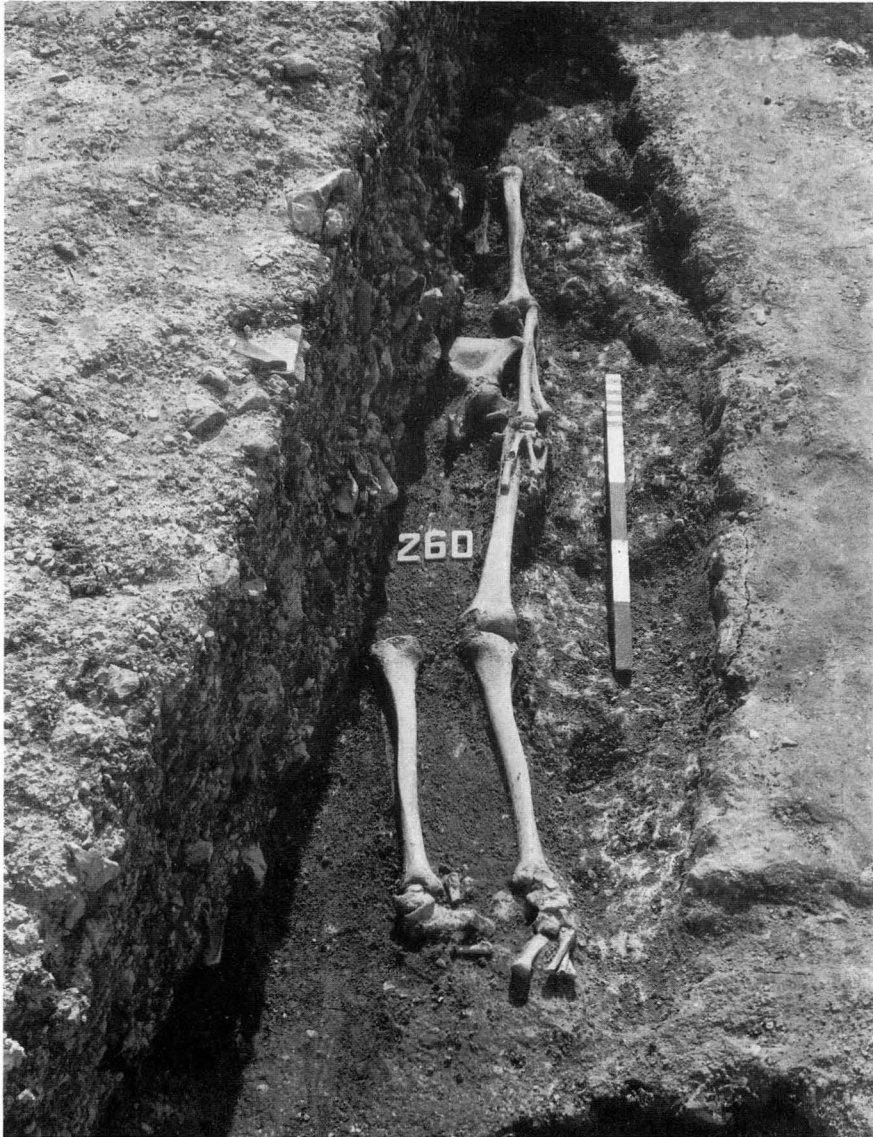


Plate IX Barton Bendish All Saints': pre-Phase 1 burial 260 cut by Phase 2 south wall foundation 386. Ref.BYU 10



Plate X Barton Bendish All Saint's: details of priest's burial 430. Ref.BYY 31



Plate XI Barton Bendish St Andrew's: the south west quoin of the nave, the south porch and the tower stair turret. Ref.BYS 6

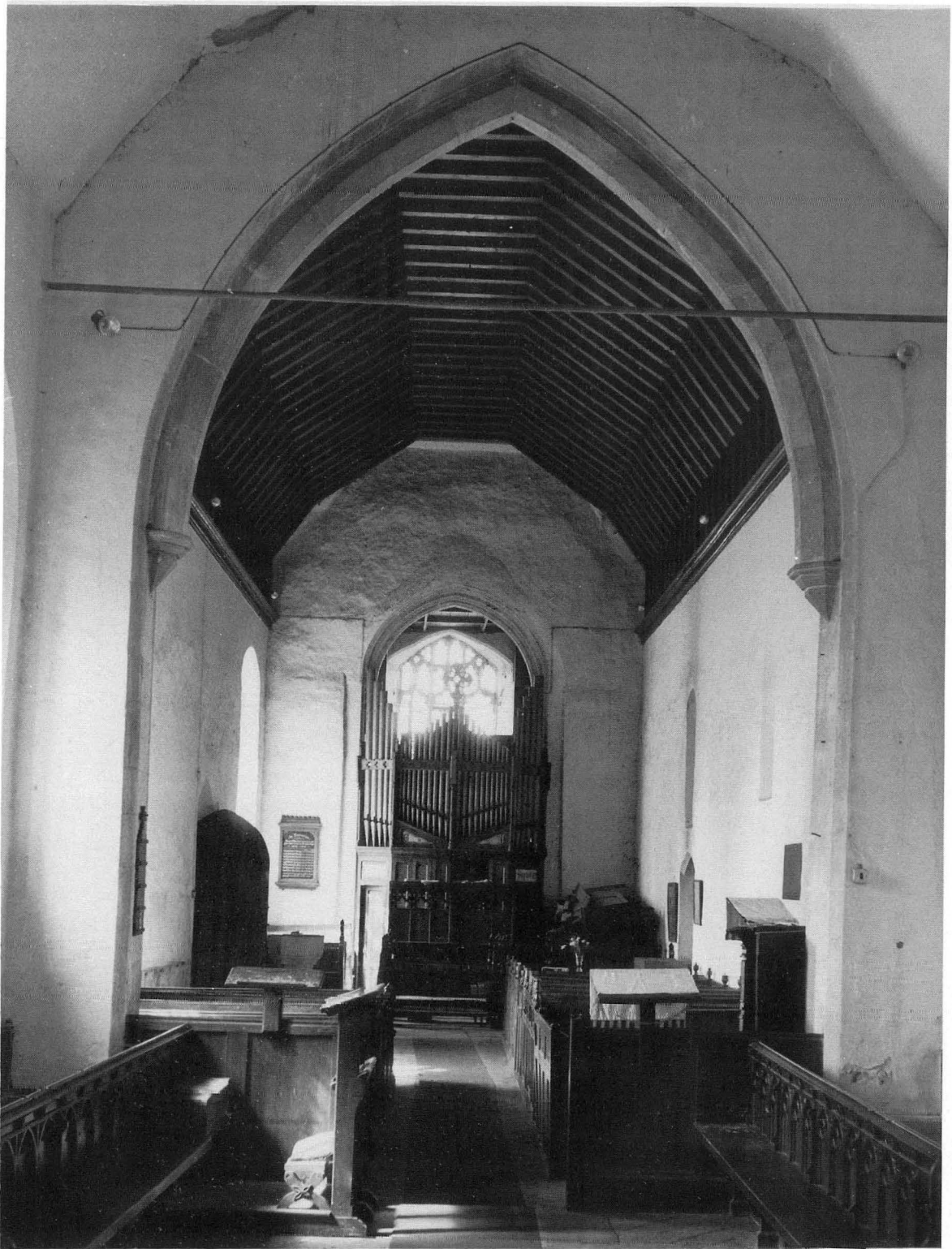


Plate XII Barton Bendish St Andrew's: the interior of the nave, looking west. Ref.BYS 31



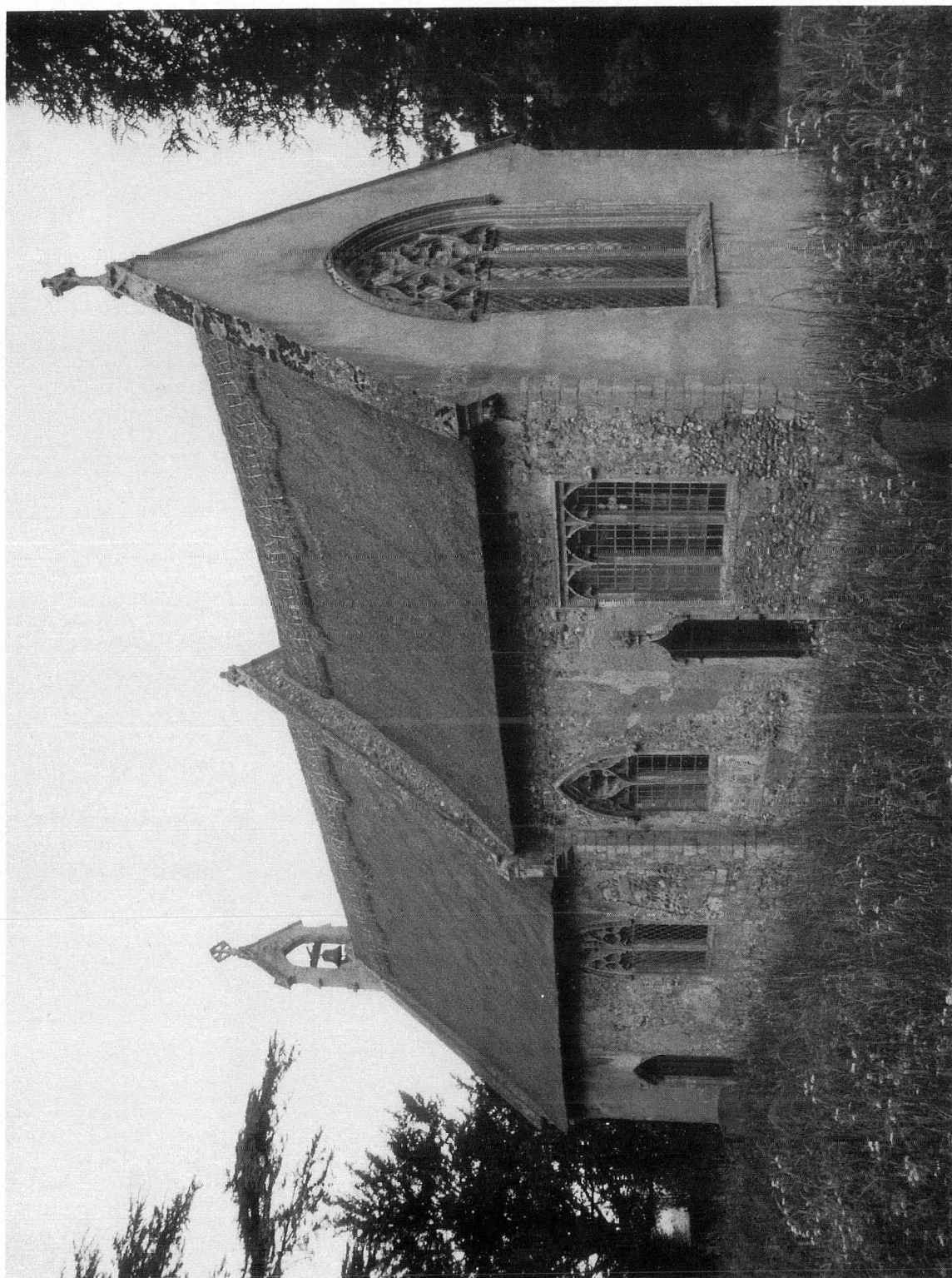


Plate XIII Barton Bendish St Mary's: the exterior from the south east. Ref.C.X.M 26



Plate XIV Barton Bendish St Mary's: the exterior of the east window. *School of Art History and Music, University of East Anglia. Ref.74/45/11*

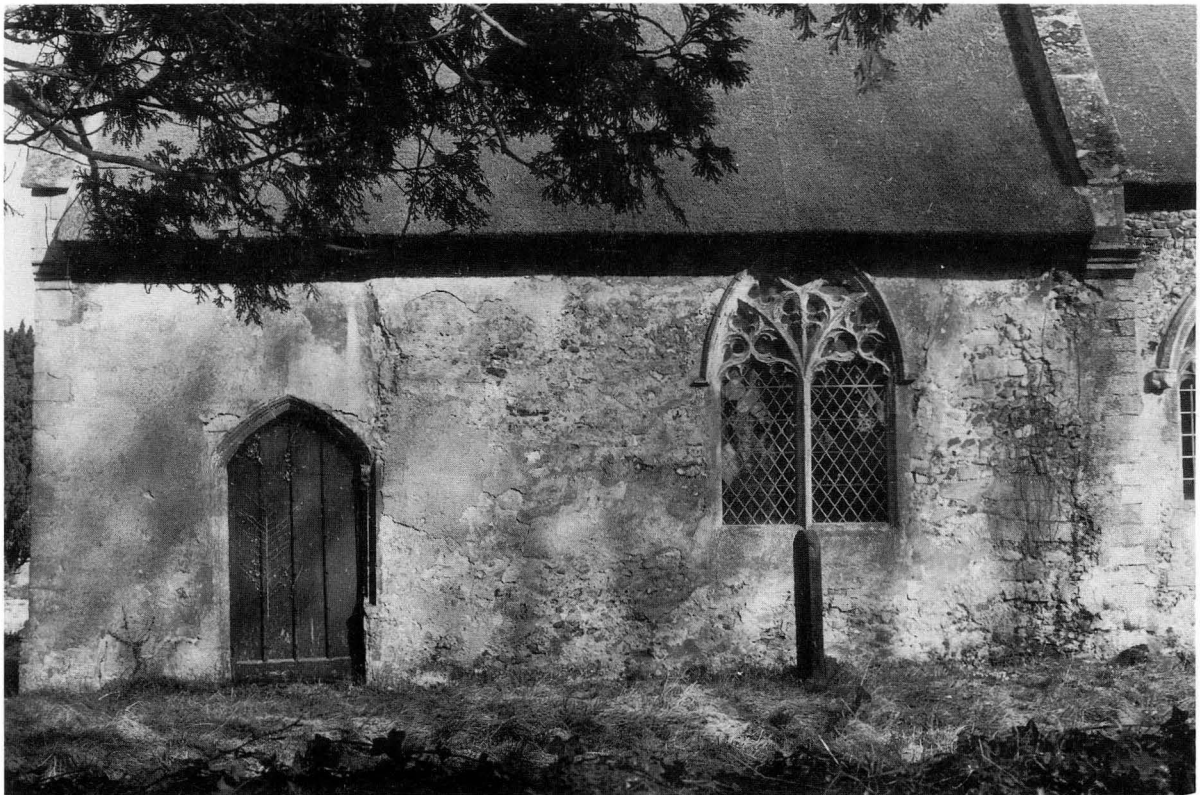


Plate XV Barton Bendish St Mary's: the exterior of the south wall of the nave. *School of Art History and Music, University of East Anglia. Ref.74/45/14*





Plate XVI Guestwick: the exterior from the south west. Ref.CLN 31



Plate XVII Guestwick: the excavation of the chancel and lower part of tower east face. Ref.CLP 20





Plate XVIII Guestwick: the excavation of the chancel, from the roof of the tower. Ref.CLM 12

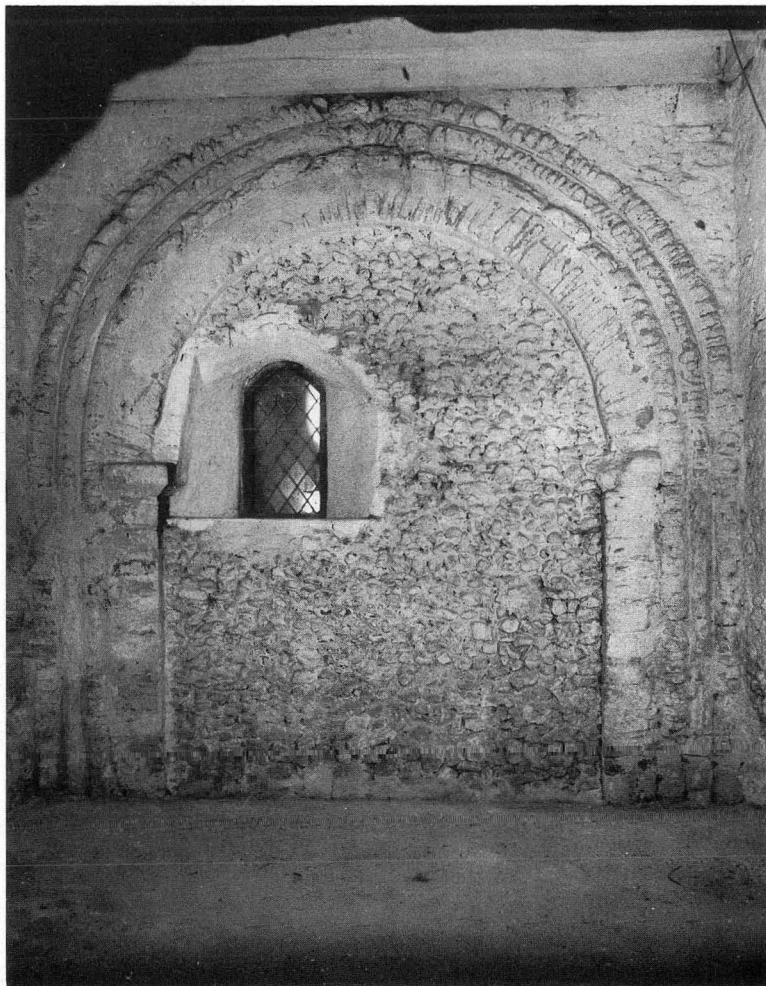


Plate XIX Guestwick: the west face of the chancel arch. Ref.CXL 3



Plate XX. Guestwick: the lower part of the tower west face showing voussoirs of nave arch and recessed half-round mouldings. Ref.CLN 27

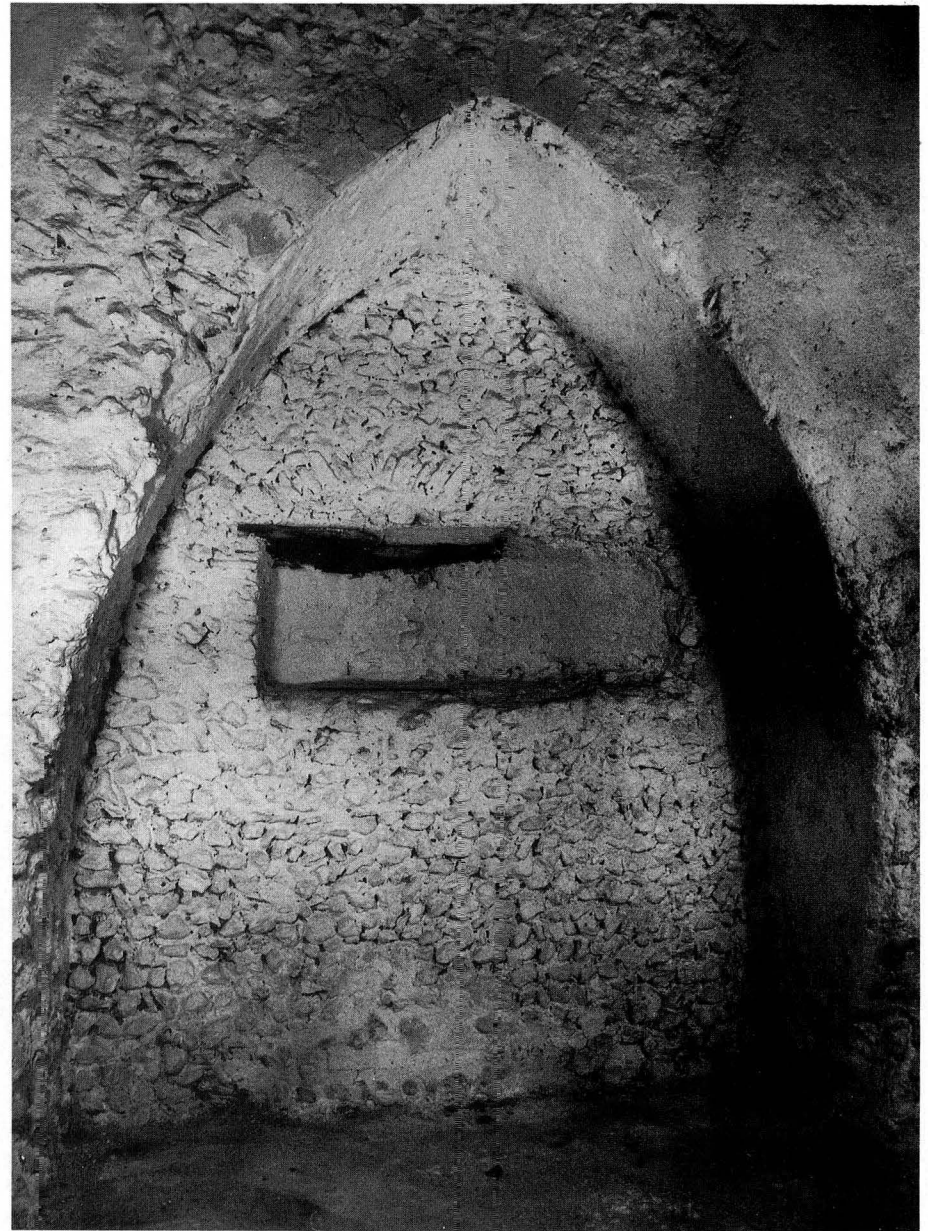


Plate XXI Guestwick: interior of tower, blocked arch to probable south transept. Ref.CXL 12





Plate XXII Guestwick: south face of tower showing blocked window above horizontal recess. Ref.CLN 10



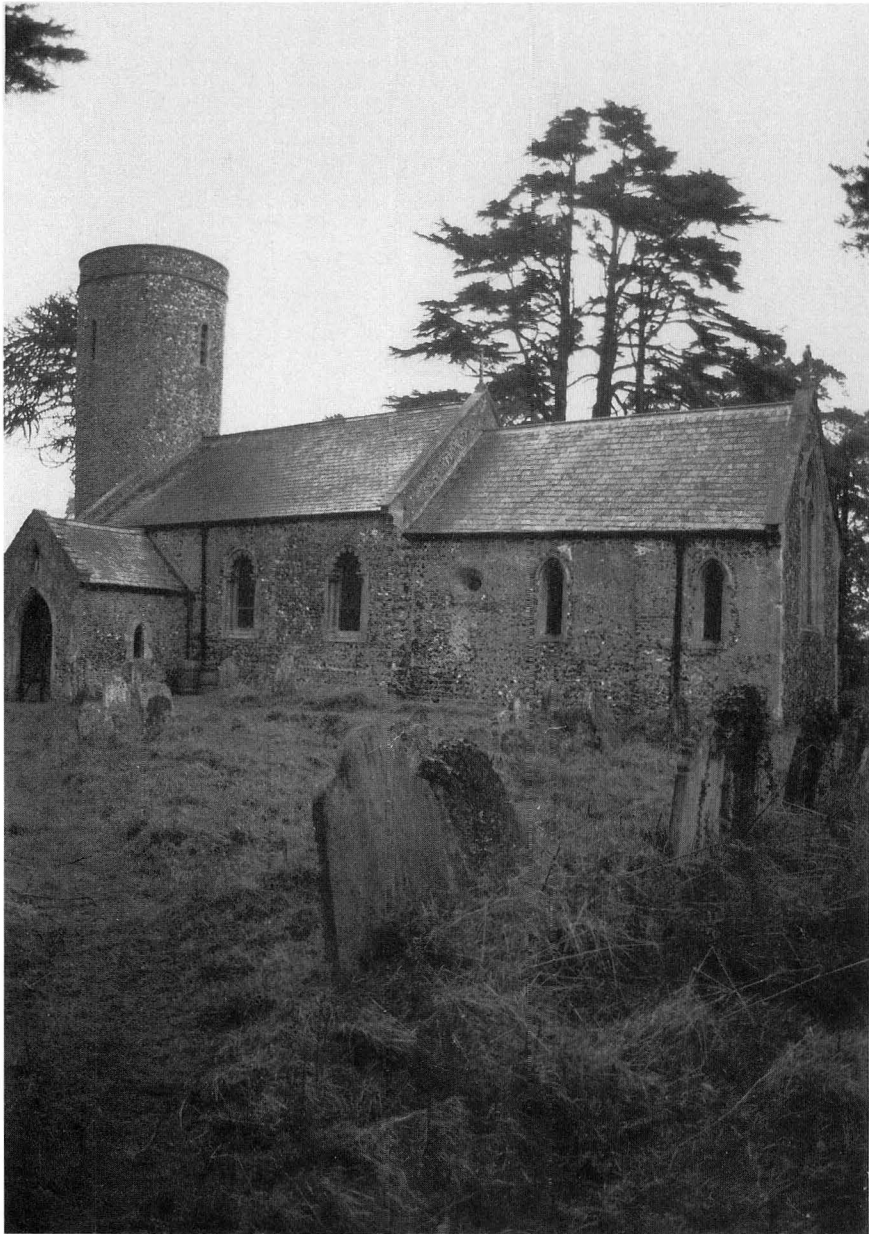


Plate XXIII Framingham Earl: view looking north (Photo: Andrew Harris)

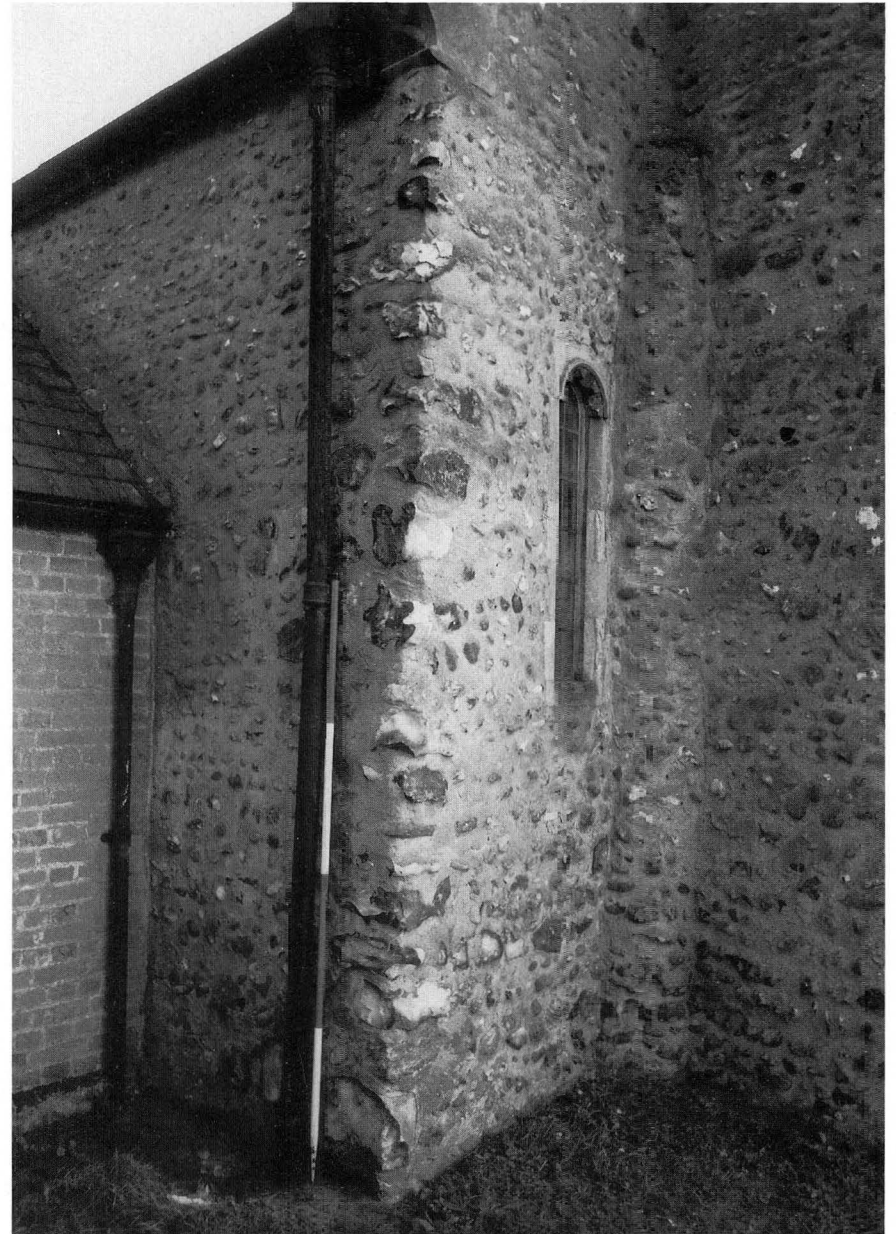


Plate XXIV Framingham Earl: north west quoin and fillet (Photo: Andrew Harris)

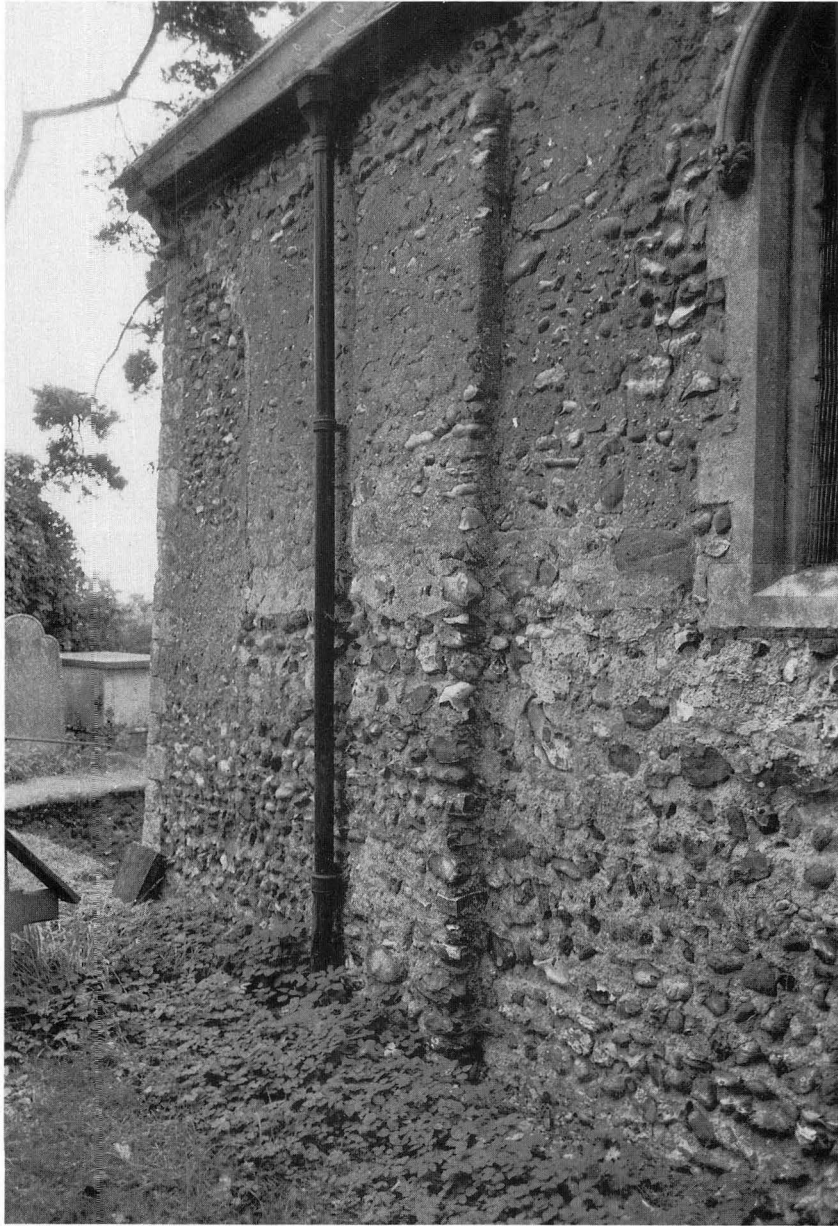


Plate XXV Framingham Earl: north wall of chancel showing pilaster and junction of Phase II wall to Phase I wall (Photo: Andrew Harris)



Plate XXVI Framingham Earl: Context 44, foundations of chancel and pilaster. Phase I (Photo: Andrew Harris)



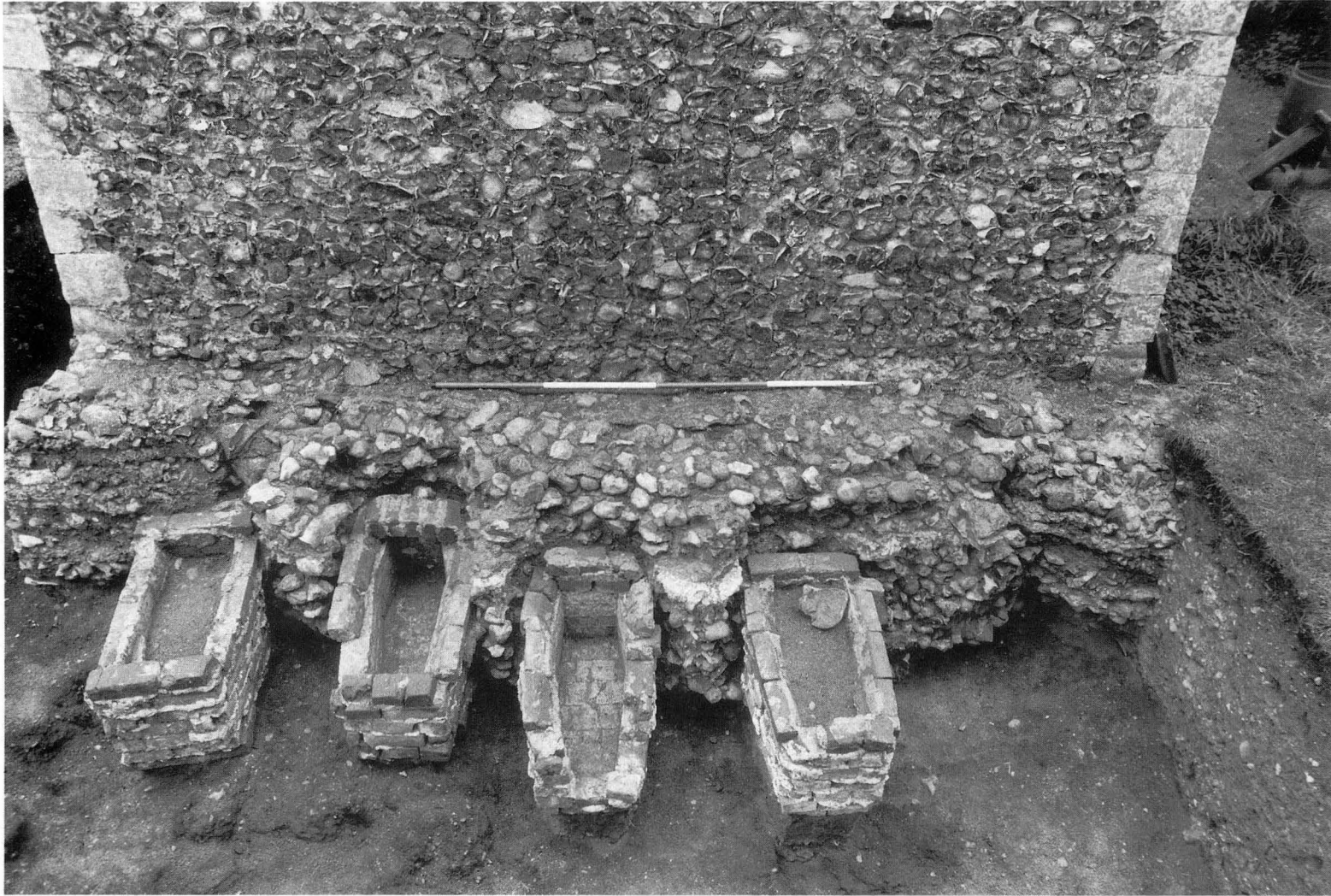


Plate XXVII Framingham Earl: view of apse showing contexts 20, 44, 45 and 77 (Photo: Andrew Harris)



Plate XXVIII Framingham Earl: feature 42, showing relation to feature 20 (right) and the south east corner of the east wall (Photo: Andrew Harris)



Plate XXIX Framingham Earl: detail of junction between features 20 and 42, showing Phase I wall (right) between tombs (Photo: Andrew Harris)





Plate XXXI Heckingham, Norfolk. View of apse from south east  
(Photo: Andrew Harris)



Plate XXX Hales, Norfolk. South side of apsidal chancel (Photo: Andrew Harris)



<i>Burial</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Stature</i>	<i>Phase/Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Depth cm.</i>	<i>Grave details</i>
11	Child	3-5	—	—	N. of church	30	
204	Child	<5	—	3-4	Chancel	20	
205	Child	<2-4	—	3-4	Chancel	0	
206	Male	Mature adult	—	pre-5	E. of chancel	25	
209	Child	2-5	—	post-med	Chancel	+5	
212	Child	3-5	—	3-4	Chancel	15	
213	Female	20-25	1.63	3-4	Chancel	20	
214	Male	30-35	1.71	3-4	Chancel	23	
215	Female	Mature adult	1.50	post-demolition	Chancel	15	Coffin nails
216	Male	20-25	1.56	post-demolition	Chancel	30	Coffin nails
217	Unsexed	?45+	—	3-4	Chancel	7	
218	Child	5-7	—	3-4	Chancel	+18	
224	Child	8-10	—	post-med	Chancel	17	Coffin nails
225	Female	20-25	1.58	post-med	Chancel	23	Coffin nails
231	Male	35-40	1.64	late med/post-med	Nave	30	Coffin nails
242	Child	6-10	—	pre-1	Nave	15	Flint next to skull, six nails in line between left shoulder and hip
244	?Male	30-35	1.68	pre-1	Nave	22	
249	Child	5-7	—	pre-1	Nave	20	Head niche
260	Female	Adult	1.64	pre-1	Nave	11	
265	Female	Adult	1.58	3-4	Chancel	17	
266	Male	20-25	1.63	late med/post-med	Chancel	62	
267	Female	30-35	1.62	late med/post-med	Chancel	55	
268	Male	30-35	1.71	late med/post-med	Chancel	68	
269	Male	?45+	1.63	late med/post-med	Chancel	60	
271	Unsexed	Adult	—	pre-4	Nave	27	
272	Male	25-30	1.72	pre-4	Nave	27	
276	Female	40-45	1.56	pre-1	Nave	15	
278	Child	10-11	—	pre-1	Nave	24	Chalk lumps below skull and on feet
283	?Female	25-30	1.56	pre-1	Chancel	38	
284	Female	35-40	1.56	3-4	Chancel	41	
288	Female	25-30	1.64	pre-1	Nave	22	
290	Male	35-40	—	pre-1	Nave	13	
293	Male	35-40	1.73	pre-1	Nave	24	Skull inverted between feet
295	Male	35-40	1.81	pre-1	Nave	50	Head niche
297	Male	45+	1.71	pre-1	Nave	47	Chalk redeposited around skull to form head niche
298	Male	45+	1.71	3-4	Chancel	47	
301	Female	25-30	1.68	pre-1	Nave	24	
305	Unsexed	Adult	—	pre-1	Nave	13	
310	Male	20-25	1.66	pre-1	Nave	21	
311	Child	<2-4	—	pre-1	Nave	3	
319	Infant	4-6 months	—	late med/post-med	Nave	49	Coffin nails, four copper alloy pins
320	Unsexed	Adult	—	pre-1	Nave	45	
323	Male	45+	1.75	med	Nave/Chancel	82	Lower edge of grave narrowing around skull
326	Male	30-35	1.74	pre-1	Nave	18	
328	Male	35-40	1.75	pre-1	Nave	53	Head niche
330	Male	40-45	1.81	pre-1	Nave	52	Head niche
337	Child	2-4	—	pre-5	W. of tower	9	
353	Infant	<1	—	late med/post-med	Chancel	3	
354	Unsexed	Adult	—	late med/post-med	Nave	8	
355	Unsexed	Adult	—	pre-1	Nave	20	
360	Unsexed	Adult	—	pre-5	W. of tower	29	
364	?Male	Adult	—	pre-5	W. of tower	80	
370	Male	30-35	1.64	prob. med	Chancel	75	Coffin nails
376	Child	1-3	—	post-1	S. of Chancel	+13	
393	Child	6-10	—	pre-1	Nave	7	
397	Male	18-20	1.73	prob. med	Chancel	60	Coffin nails
398	Male	40-45	1.65	late med/post-med	Chancel	59	
406	?Female	Adult	—	3-4	Chancel	14	
417	Male	25-30	1.66	prob. med	Chancel	42	Nails at E. end
418	Female	45+	1.64	late med/post-med	N. chapel	50	Rectangular 'pillow' of v. dark soil beneath skull
419	Male	25-30	1.70	late med/post-med	N. chapel	44	Coffin nails
421	Child	2-3	—	pre-1	Chancel	29	
422	Infant	—	—	pre-1	Chancel	29	
426	Male	30-35	1.75	late med/post-med	Chancel	87	Coffin nails
428	Unsexed	Adult	—	pre-1	Chancel	39	
430	Male	45+	1.67	prob. 4	Chancel	37	Coffin nails. Pewter chalice and paten
433	Child	2-4	—	pre-1	Chancel	54	
434	Child	2-4	—	pre-1	Chancel	54	
436	Unsexed	Adult	—	pre-1	Nave/Chancel	38	
435	Male	35-40	1.76	pre-1	Chancel	35	
440	?Male	45+	1.67	pre-1	Chancel	39	
441	Male	30-35	1.76	pre-1	Chancel	57	
450	?Male	Adult	1.68	pre-1	Chancel	54	
453	Male	25-30	1.69	prob. med	Chancel	69	
456	?Male	Adult	—	poss. pre-1	Chancel	57	
459	Infant	—	—	pre-1	Chancel	8	
461	Child	2-4	—	pre-1	Chancel	37	
490	Female	Adult	1.53	prob. pre-5	S. of tower	23	
514	Child	1-1.5	—	pre-1	Chancel	30	

Table 3 Excavated Burials; sex, age, stature, phase/date, location, depth, and details of graves

*Number of individuals* (Table 4)

A total of seventy-nine burials were recorded during excavation. Barely half of these were represented by complete or virtually complete skeletons, and at least twenty consisted of no more than a few bones.

Material recovered from other contexts represents a minimum number of twenty-one adults, eight sub-adults and three infants. In view of the disturbed state of many of the inhumations, it is quite likely that much of this miscellaneous bone is derived from the seventy-nine burials. The number of specific bones most frequently occurring in the context material were compared with those missing from the burials; the results of some of these are shown in Table 4.

	<i>Prox. right femur</i>	<i>Prox. left femur</i>	<i>Distal right humerus</i>	<i>Distal left humerus</i>	<i>Mandible</i>	<i>Metatarsal (3rd right)</i>
Misc. bone	21	15	13	13	19	15
Absent from inhumations	24	18	20	14	21	17

Table 4 Comparison of specific adult bones from burials and other contexts

Although some of the miscellaneous bone may well represent additional burials completely destroyed at a later date, this cannot be demonstrated from the numbers of bones themselves.

*Sex* (Table 5)

Assessment of sex was only attempted for the adult skeletons, due to the unreliability of sexing criteria for sub-adults. Table 5 shows the results of sex determination.

There is a clear predominance of males over females, even given the small number of individuals who could be sexed. It is unlikely that this represents the ratio of males to females in the population, but rather that there is a cultural factor involved affecting inhumation practice.

<i>Sex</i>	<i>No.</i>
Male	28
?Male	5
Female	12
?Female	2
Unsexed	9
Unsexed subadults	23
<i>Total</i>	79

Table 5 Sex determination

*Age* (Table 6)

For comparative purposes, the results of age estimation have been divided into 5-year groupings for both sub-adults and adults, although it must be emphasised that beyond the age of 20 years these divisions cannot be taken as definite, and should rather be regarded as indicating death in young adulthood, middle or old age. The results are shown in Table 6.

Of the seventeen children estimated to have died under the age of 5 years, only three are infants of less than 1 year. As far as adult mortality is concerned, the numbers appear fairly evenly spread between the years 20 to 40. Due to the present lack of means for determining age beyond 45/50 years, the group 45+ appears disproportionately large. The small sample size must be borne in mind when considering the significance of the above results, and for this same reason analysis of age at death by sex or period has not been carried out.

<i>Age</i>	<i>No.</i>	
0-5	17	*****
5-10	5	*****
10-15	1	*
15-20	1	*
20-25	5	*****
25-30	7	*****
30-35	8	*****
35-40	7	*****
40-45	3	***
45+	8	*****
Adult	15	
?Mature Adult	2	
<i>Total</i>	79	

Table 6 Estimation of age at death

*Stature* (Table 7)

Stature could be estimated for forty-two of the fifty-six adults. No attempt was made to calculate the stature of sub-adults. The results are shown below in Table 7.

The average height for females was 1.599m and for males 1.705 m. There is a certain amount of overlap between the males and the females, which is to be expected in a normal population.

<i>Height (m)</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>
1.50-1.54	2 ++	
1.55-1.59	5 +++++	1 *
1.60-1.64	4 +++++	2 **
1.65-1.69	2 ++	10 *****
1.70-1.74		9 *****
1.75-1.79		5 *****
1.80-1.84		2 **

Table 7 Estimation of stature

*Dentition* (Tables 8-11)

The dentition of thirteen sub-adults and thirty-nine adults was available for examination. The latter consisted of eleven females and twenty-seven male maxillae; and one unsexed, ten female and twenty-six male mandibles. The maxillae and mandibles recovered from the context material have not been included in the analysis owing to their fragmentary nature, difficulties in sexing the bones, and the high amount of postmortem loss of teeth.

*Caries* (Tables 8-9): Nine females and nineteen males appear to have suffered from carious infection of one or more teeth (Table 8). Out of a total of 816 teeth present in the sample, eighty-three were found to be carious, giving a frequency of 10.17 per cent. This can be broken down as follows (omitting the unsexed mandible):

	<i>Carious teeth</i>	<i>Total teeth present</i>	<i>%</i>
<b>Females</b>			
Maxilla	14	99	14.14
Mandible	13	109	11.93
<i>Total</i>	27	208	12.98
<b>Males</b>			
Maxilla	37	291	12.71
Mandible	18	307	5.86
<i>Total</i>	55	598	9.20

Table 8 Carious teeth as a percentage of teeth present

In both sexes, caries appears to be more frequent in the maxilla than in the mandible (Table 9). The results also show a higher frequency for females, and while this may in part be due to their fewer numbers, the higher percentage of abscesses and antemortem tooth loss (see below) in addition to caries in the females does seem to suggest that they are more liable

to suffer from poor dental health.

The molars are the teeth most commonly affected by caries, again in common with other skeletal series (Moore and Corbett 1973), with the maxillary premolars also at fairly high risk. The mandibular premolars and the remaining anterior teeth are far less likely to have any carious infection.

	Tooth Number							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Maxilla:	—	—	5%	12.9%	12.28%	27.08%	30.95%	20.59%
Mandibles:	—	1.67%	—	3.17%	3.51%	23.91%	17.65%	18.42%

Table 9 Differing incidence of Caries

In twenty-six cases it is impossible to determine the site of origin of the caries, due to the considerable destruction of the tooth. Where the focus of decay can be determined, it was clear that the surfaces between two adjoining teeth are most at risk, 70 per cent of the caries occurring here, compared with 21.7 per cent on the buccal and 8.3 per cent on the occlusal surfaces.

Caries is present in only one of the sub-adults (Burial 218, Phase 3-4), occurring as a slight cavity in the buccal surface of a deciduous lower second molar.

*Abscesses* (Table 10): Seven females and thirteen males suffered from dental abscesses, of which there are forty-three in all, representing 3.86 per cent of the total number of observable alveolar sites. This has been further broken down in Table 10.

	Tooth Number							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Maxilla:	—	—	1.4%	5.48%	5.41%	11.11%	12.7%	3.64%
Mandibles:	1.43%	—	—	1.43%	2.9%	9.86%	5.71%	1.45%

Table 10 Abscess frequency as a percentage of alveolar sites

This shows a pattern very similar to that observed for caries frequency (see Table 9), with abscesses most commonly occurring in the molars and upper premolars. Indeed, of the forty-three abscesses present, twenty-eight (65 per cent) are associated with carious teeth. A further four (9.3 per cent) occur at the roots of teeth in which the pulp has been exposed as a result of extreme attrition, four (9.3 per cent) at a site where the tooth has been lost antemortem, and seven (16.3 per cent) where the tooth has been lost postmortem. In at least half the cases the abscesses has drained into the mouth, and in two cases (Burials 231, late or post-medieval and 439, pre-Phase 1) they have also drained into the maxillary sinus.

*Antemortem tooth loss* (Table 11): All but one of the eleven female skeletons with dentition present had lost one or more teeth antemortem, as had twenty of the twenty-seven males. The pattern of antemortem tooth loss appears to vary between the two sexes, although, as mentioned above,

	Tooth Number							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>Females</b>								
Maxilla:	25%	25%	10%	20%	19%	20%	37.5%	13.3%
Mandibles:	15%	10%	—	5%	21.1%	30%	30%	35%
<b>Males</b>								
Maxilla:	6.3%	4%	—	9.4%	7.5%	31.4%	21.3%	25%
Mandible:	4.1%	—	2	—	8.2%	26%	14.3%	20.8%

Table 11 Antemortem tooth loss as a percentage of the number of alveolar sites

it is possible that these differences are accentuated due to the much smaller sample of females. In the males, antemortem tooth loss is highest in the molars and rarely involves the anterior teeth, while in the females all teeth appear to be at risk, especially in the maxilla. This is summarised in Table 11.

*Periodontal Disease:* Where present, the degree of alveolar resorption (or recession of the bone around the teeth) was recorded as either slight, medium or considerable, in an attempt to assess the prevalence of periodontal disease. Some resorption was apparent in the majority of the jaws, tending to be more pronounced with age, although this appearance may in many cases be the result of compensatory eruption by teeth as their occlusal surfaces wear down (Whittaker *et al* 1982). Nevertheless in certain individuals it was noted that considerable alveolar resorption had occurred even though the teeth were only slightly worn, indicating that the recession of the bone was due to some cause other than continued eruption. In these cases also, medium to considerable amounts of calculus were present on the teeth, probably irritating the gums and leading to inflammation and recession of the bone. It is therefore suggested that two individuals aged 20-25 (Burials 213, phase 3-4 and 225, post-medieval, both female), one aged 25-30 (Burial 417, ?medieval) and three aged between 30 and 35 (Burials 244, pre-Phase 1, 267 and 268, late or post-medieval) may well have suffered from periodontal disease with resultant bone loss. It is harder to assess the severity of this disease for the remaining individuals.

*Dental hypoplasia:* Fourteen persons had some degree of enamel hypoplasia. This is visible as pits or ridges in the enamel of a tooth, and is thought to form as a result of nutritional stress or other insult to the individual while the tooth was forming. Up to three or four ridges were visible in the teeth of some skeletons, most commonly in the incisors and the canines and occasionally in the premolars. However in at least another fourteen cases the presence or absence of hypoplasia could not be assessed, due either to a large degree of wear or to calculus obscuring the surface of the teeth. Consequently the significance of this evidence for childhood stress in the sample as a whole cannot be considered.

*Partial anodontia and malocclusion:* Partial anodontia is used to describe absence of certain teeth from the dentition, the tooth most commonly affected being the third molar. A total of sixteen teeth were absent, all of these being third molars; six individuals having one tooth absent (five lower right, one upper right), one having all four absent and two others with three absent (in both these two cases, one side of the maxilla was damaged, and the presence or absence of the fourth third molar could not be established). The nine affected individuals represent 23 per cent of the total examined, a not unusual frequency for partial anodontia. X-rays of the jaws were not taken, and conclusions regarding congenital absence of teeth were based on macroscopic examination only.

Four teeth were found to be impacted, again all third molars. One female (Burial 213, Phase 3-4) had a horizontally impacted lower right third molar and mesio-angular impaction of the upper right. Two males (Burials 269, late or post-medieval and 330, pre-Phase 1) had an

incompletely erupted upper left third molar, and mesio-angular impaction of the upper right third molar respectively.

Four individuals had rotation of one of their teeth from its normal position; in three of cases (Burials 267, late or post-medieval, 278, pre-Phase 1 and 430 medieval) the rotation was only mild, i.e. less than 45°, while in Burial 284 (Phase 3-4) the upper left third molar appeared to be rotated by 90°. A fifth case, Burial 288 (pre-Phase 1), showed rotation of six maxillary teeth, namely all four premolars and both first molars.

Crowding of the anterior teeth had occurred in five individuals, four of these involving the lower rather than the upper jaw. In a further case, Burial 310 (pre-Phase 1), both the upper and lower lateral incisors were completely instanding.

#### *Congenital Abnormalities*

No evidence of severe congenital disease was found but there were several examples of minor developmental anomalies, none occurring in any greater frequency than would be expected in a normal population. These include four cases of unfused acromial epiphyses (os acromiale) (Burials 267, late or post-medieval, 426, medieval, 439, pre-Phase 1, and 490, pre-Phase 5), three cases of double superior articular facets of the atlas (Burials 225, post-medieval, 276 and 450 pre-Phase 1), two cases of cleft arches of the atlas (Burials 276, pre-Phase 1 and 370, ?medieval) and two cases of supracondyloid processes (Burials 330, pre-Phase 1, and 417 ?medieval). There were single cases of other anomalies such as bipartite patella and bifid rib (Burial 268, late or post-medieval), sternal foramen (Burial 440, pre-Phase 1) and accessory navicular bone (Burial 418, late or post-medieval). In addition, several individuals showed departures from the normal numbers of different vertebrae; for example Burial 298 (Phase 3-4) had six sacral and four lumbar segments, Burials 288 (pre-Phase 1) and 310 (pre-Phase 1) had six lumbar and eleven thoracic and Burial 301 (pre-Phase 1) six sacral and eleven thoracic. Examples of the vertebral defect spondylolysis, the occurrence of which does tend to be familial, are discussed below.

#### *Pathology*

*Trauma:* Eight individuals (six males, one female and one unsexed) had bones which had been fractured at some point, all of them having healed. Three cases, all males, had broken ribs: Burial 295 (pre-Phase 1) with fractures in three right ribs, Burial 298 (Phase 3-4) with fractures in two right ribs and Burial 439 (pre-Phase 1) having fractures in two left ribs. These are all well-healed, with little deformity, and appear to have occurred in the body of the ribs, rather than at the weakest point near the angle.

There are two cases of fractured fibulae. Burial 360 (pre-Phase 5) has a fracture of the lateral malleolus of the left fibular, with probable bony fusion to the left tibia, although some postmortem damage made this uncertain. In Burial 297 (pre-Phase 1) the right fibula appeared to have been fractured in two places, one midshaft and one some 60-80mm below the proximal end. The latter injury probably occurred a relatively short time before death, judging from the large amount of callus present.

Burial 231 (late or post-medieval) had a fractured right radius, midshaft, with resultant angular deformity. Fractures at this site used to be known as parry fractures,

from the idea that such an injury might occur when the arm was lifted to defend oneself against a blow. It may, of course, just as well happen as the result of an accident. This individual also had a fracture of the left 5th metacarpal. At Cirencester, Wells (1982) noted that four of six cases of fractured metacarpals involved the 5th, and suggested that this would be the exposed part of the hand when raised to ward off a threatened blow. There was also evidence of possible trauma to the skull of Burial 231 in the form of an uneven depression in the centre of the frontal bone measuring c. 12mm×6.5mm and surrounded by a slightly thickened rim of bone.

An anteroposterior compression fracture of the 11th thoracic vertebra was found in Burial 419 (late or post-medieval). In old people, such a fracture is likely to be associated with osteoporosis, but in this case the estimated age of the individual is 25-30, and the vertebral collapse is therefore more likely to be result of a specific traumatic incident. This skeleton also showed evidence of soft tissue injury in the form of an exostosis, measuring c. 17mm × 8mm. It occurred on the distal right tibia, at the site of attachment of the interosseous ligament.

Burial 418 (late or post-medieval), a female over 45 years old, had a probable fracture of the left innominate through the superior and possibly also the inferior ischio-pubic ramus. Evidence of further trauma comes from the material recovered from Context 420. There were two healed rib fractures, and a fracture of the right tibia, occurring just below the midshaft. Both right and left tibiae were present, and it could be seen that the injury, although well healed, had resulted in a shortening of the bone by 35mm. It is very probable that the fibula would also have been fractured, but this bone was not found. One, possibly two, healed rib fractures were also found in Context 492.

Three individuals were found to have spondylolysis, a defect of the vertebra, usually the lower lumbar, whereby there is non-union at the pars interarticularis. The aetiology of spondylolysis is uncertain, and is often considered to be a congenital abnormality, but it may also be thought of as a stress fracture through an area of bone which is already predisposed to fracture. In Burial 276 (pre-Phase 1) the 5th lumbar vertebra was affected, in Burial 272 (pre-Phase 1) both the 4th and 5th had detached arches, and in Burial 310 (pre-Phase 1), with a 6th lumbar vertebra, the defect was unilateral.

Burial 323 (medieval) had suffered an anterior dislocation of the left hip. This is a very uncommon injury, posterior dislocation being more usual, at least in modern times, and it is the result of very considerable violence. In this particular case the dislocation had never been reduced, and a secondary articular surface had formed on the innominate. The trauma associated with a dislocation is likely to tear the ligaments and muscles associated with the joint, and this burial shows evidence of this, an exostosis some 18mm long occurring on the lesser trochanter of the left femur.

In Burial 326 (pre-Phase 1) the left femur head and neck show changes which are thought to be the result of a slipped epiphysis. This must have occurred before normal epiphyseal fusion had taken place, that is before the age of about 19 years, possibly but not necessarily as the result of a traumatic incident. The epiphysis has been displaced inferiorly and posteriorly, and the joint is considerably arthrotic, with a large area of eburnation on the femur



head, together with osteophytic lipping of the lower margins.

*Infection:* All the cases of infection found at Barton Bendish are non-specific — the bacterium responsible for the lesions is not known — and involve inflammation of the periosteum with deposition of new bone on the surface of the cortex. Periostitis, particularly of the tibia or fibula, is a relatively common finding in many skeletal series, and Barton Bendish is no exception. Ten individuals, all males, had evidence of periostitic change, occurring in every case on the lower legs. Often only one bone was affected, usually one of the tibiae, but in Burial 298 (Phase 3-4) both the right and left tibiae and fibulae had periostitic lesions. In no case has it been possible to assess the cause of the inflammation.

*Degenerative joint disease:* Spinal osteophytes, bony lipping of the margins of the vertebral body, were present to some degree on most of the adult spines. There were only five individuals with no lipping at all, three of these with estimated ages of 20-25 years, and two (both females) aged between 25 and 30. All males over the age of 25 and females over the age of 30 were therefore affected, although there was no clear pattern of increase in degree with age. In one individual (Burial 430, medieval) vertebral fusion had occurred between the 3rd and the 6th (possibly 7th) thoracic vertebrae, and this represents a probable example of Forestier's disease. Spinal osteophytes are thought to result from degenerative changes in the intervertebral disc, and occasionally this degeneration can be seen on the vertebral body, either as a crescentic lesion towards the outer margins or as a generalised porosity of the entire surface. Such osteochondrosis was present in ten individuals. In nine cases it occurred in the cervical vertebrae, usually between the 5th, 6th and 7th segments, but occasionally affecting the 3rd and 4th also, and was always associated with osteophytes at the vertebral body margins. The tenth case involved degeneration of the disc between the 4th lumbar vertebra and the 1st sacral (this individual having four lumbar and six sacral vertebrae).

Over half the adults at Barton Bendish had osteophytic lipping, often only slight, occurring at the margins of their joints, in many cases with no other changes at the joint surface. The elbows, knees and hands were the most common sites, with the feet, articular facets of the vertebrae, hips, shoulders and ribs also not infrequently affected. To what extent this slight lipping reflects the onset of osteoarthritis is uncertain.

In fourteen individuals a more positive diagnosis of osteoarthritis was made, since in addition to marginal osteophytes, a joint surface was affected, having an irregular contour, possibly with cystic defects and areas of eburnation. The articular facets of the vertebrae were the most common site, five out of seven cases involving the cervical vertebrae. Fusion had occurred between the 5th and 6th cervical vertebrae in one individual (Burial 297, pre-Phase 1). Burial 418 (late or post-medieval) had osteoarthritis of much of the spine, while in Burial 426 (late or post-medieval) the lower thoracic articular facets were affected. Osteoarthritis of the temporomandibular joint was found in four individuals (Burials 225, post-medieval, 326, pre-Phase 1, 418, late or post-medieval and 440, pre-Phase 1). Burial 295 (pre-Phase 1) had considerable arthrosis of both right and left elbows, with

areas of eburnation on the right capitulum and both radii heads. In addition there were erosive changes at the joint between two hand phalanges (middle and distal row) and osteoarthritis of both metatarsophalangeal joints. Burial 244 (pre-Phase 1) also had arthrotic right and left elbows and left wrist, with exuberant osteophytosis and eburnation. This individual showed signs of having suffered from a defect of the central nervous system (see below).

Arthrosis of the hip was present in two individuals: Burial 326 (pre-Phase 1) showed considerable change on the left side, presumably secondary to the displacement of the upper femoral epiphysis; in Burial 439 (pre-Phase 1) the left hip is affected, as well as the left clavicle (the right side of this skeleton was missing). In Burials 418 (late or post-medieval) and 453 (?medieval) fusion had taken place between two phalanges of the foot (both being middle and distal row), while in Burial 292 (pre-Phase 1) the left 1st interphalangeal joint showed considerable lipping, porosity and eburnation, and it appeared likely that the distal phalanx was angled away from the foot. The 1st metatarsophalangeal joint was arthrotic in four cases: Burial 295 (pre-Phase 1, mentioned above), and Burials 418, 453 and 284 (Phase 3-4). In the latter, the base of the proximal phalanx was a site of osteochondritis dissecans, and this may have contributed to the development of the osteoarthritis.

Changes at the sacroiliac joint were found in two individuals (Burials 323, medieval, and 418, late or post-medieval), and eburnation of the pisiform had occurred in Burials 323 and 370, (medieval). Burial 398 (late or post-medieval) was found to have extensive changes in the bones of the feet. There was almost complete ankylosis of the navicular, cuboid and cuneiform bones with the proximal ends of the metatarsals. The tali and calcanei both had exuberant new bone growth at their margins, as well as roughened articular surfaces. In addition, the appearance of the joint surfaces of the left carpals is similar to those of the calcanei and tali, although no ankylosis has occurred. This skeleton also has osteophytic fusion of the 12th thoracic and 1st lumbar vertebral bodies. It is possible that Burial 398 suffered from one of the conditions grouped under 'seronegative spondylarthritis', which includes psoratic arthritis and Reiter's disease.

The right and left patellae of Burial 298 (Phase 3-4) exhibited arthrotic changes thought to be the result of the condition chondromalacia patellae, whereby the articular cartilage lining the patella degenerates.

*Metabolic disease:* Cribra orbitalia was found in six individuals, only one of these an adult (Burial 284, Phase 3-4), the others being children under 5 years. It is thought to develop in cases of chronic anaemia during childhood, and its occurrence in five of the sixteen children under 10 years whose orbits could be examined may suggest that at an early age at least, their diet was deficient in iron.

*Neoplastic disease:* The only evidence of a neoplasm came from Burial 439 (pre-Phase 1). A small almost circular lesion of approximately 9 mm diameter was present on the outer table of the frontal bone, and is probably a benign tumour, possibly a small haemangioma.

*Miscellaneous:* Burial 244 (pre-Phase 1) appeared to have suffered from neuromuscular paralysis. Apart from the

skull, which as far as could be ascertained from its fragmentary condition appeared to be symmetrical, all the bones of the right side of the body were slightly smaller and somewhat more slender than those from the left. The difference in length between the humeri is 14mm and between the femur 12mm. All the vertebrae have varying degrees of lipping, and there is slight scoliosis, the 2nd and 3rd lumbar vertebrae tilting to the right. The left inferior articular facet of the 5th lumbar vertebra consists of a large mass of bone which articulates with a sacral facet measuring c. 32mm x 25mm, while the right auricular surface of the sacrum measures 29mm compared to 55mm on the left. The right tibia appears to twist laterally down the length of its shaft. As mentioned above, there is considerable osteoarthritis of both elbows and of the left wrist, and destruction of much of the olecranon of the right ulna.

In Burial 260 (pre-Phase 1) there is a distinct concave area on the anterior surface of the head of the left humerus. Some eburnation is present, and there is considerable lipping of the lower margin of the joint. Although the coracoid process of the left scapula is damaged, it seems unlikely that friction between these two surfaces could have produced the lesion, and it may be the result of ossification within the short head of the biceps muscle.

During the excavation of Burial 301 (pre-Phase 1), a large calculus was removed, although, since it was not immediately recognised as such, its precise location in relation to the skeleton is uncertain. It is roughly circular, with a diameter of about 53mm, and an appearance similar to that of a large walnut. Chemical analysis showed it to be composed of calcium, carbonate and phosphate. Different opinions have been sought regarding the calculus, and suggestions include a bladder stone, kidney stone and calcified fecal material. No definite diagnosis has been made, however.

Schmorl's nodes are present in eight individuals, six of them male. They occur as the result of prolapse of intervertebral disc material into the vertebral body and can be produced by various processes, including trauma, metabolic disorders and degenerative disc disease. The Barton Bendish cases follow the normal pattern, with nodes occurring more often in males than in females, the most common region affected being the lower thoracic and upper lumbar spine, and the inferior surface involved more often than the superior. In all except two cases more than one vertebrae are affected, and in no instance are any vertebrae higher than the 4th thoracic involved.

Osteochondritis dissecans, a lesion which presents as a pit on the articular surface of a joint where necrotic loss of a small area of cartilage and underlying bone has occurred, is found in eight individuals. A common site is the base of the 1st proximal phalanx of the foot, four of the cases being found here. Other bones affected are the patella, the distal tibia and femur head, the latter with evidence of healing having taken place.

### **Buried soil, mollusca and other macrofossils**

by Peter Murphy

At several points in the excavated area a shallow soil was present, sealed beneath floor levels and cut by graves and other intrusive features. 385, a profile in the western part of the chancel, was a typical, but probably truncated, example:

0-20 cm Ap Greyish-brown (10YR 5/2.5) sandy loam; yellowish-

brown soil filling root channels and earthworm burrows; slightly stony, with small chalk lumps and flint fragments with cortex, becoming more stony in lowest 10 cm; some pottery fragments; fine crumb structure; fibrous roots and earthworms; charcoal fragments; highly calcareous; base undulating to 30 cm depth in places, with patches of light yellowish-brown sand.

20 cm + C Soft weathered chalk.

Other sections showed a very similar profile but with an Ap horizon up to about 35 cm thick. 263, at the extreme west end of the Phase 4 and later chancel, was apparently the most complete profile, and was therefore sampled for land mollusc analysis.

### *Sampling and extraction*

A column sample, sub-divided at 5 cm intervals, was taken from the soil profile 263. 1.5 kg sub-samples (air-dry) were disaggregated by immersion in hot water with gentle manual agitation. The samples were then washed out over a 0.5 mm mesh sieve. The residues were dried and sorted under low power of a binocular microscope, extracting mollusca and other biological remains. Specimens identified are listed in Tables 12 and 13.

### *Discussion*

The buried profiles exposed at the site were of an ApC soil with a high sand content formed on chalk. They are similar to profiles described by Corbett (1973, 61-2) as the Newmarket Series. Corbett notes that narrow yellowish-brown sandy layers at the base of the Ap, as observed here, may be incipient B horizons or the remains of B horizons of brown calcareous soils (Methwold series) disrupted by ploughing. The fairly even distribution of chalk fragments and flints and the presence of charcoal and other domestic refuse in the Ap at this site provide evidence of cultivation and manuring.

The snail assemblages from the soil profile are dominated by 'open-country' and 'catholic' taxa throughout. Samples from the base of the profile, below 25 cm, contained predominantly *Pupilla muscorum*, *Vallonia excentrica*, *Helicella itala* and *Trichia hispida*. This is a typical open-country assemblage, and the presence of *H.itala* at frequencies of 12.6-14.6% suggests that a grassland environment is represented. Above this, *H.itala* declines in frequency and is absent from several samples. This may be a consequence of cultivation: *H.itala* is nowadays rare in arable habitats (Evans 1972, 180). Other taxa maintain fairly constant levels. Shade requiring snails are present but rare.

Weathered apices and fragments of Clausiliidae, *Pomatias elegans* and *Cepaea/Arianta* are present at low frequencies in most samples and are thought to be residual sub-fossils from an earlier woodland or scrub phase at the site. The presence of a few freshwater snails (*Valvata cristata*, *Bithynia tentaculata*, *Planorbis vortex*, *Succinea* sp.) is difficult to explain, but these shells could have been introduced into the soil if, for example, cleared-out pond deposits were spread on the soil during the cultivation phase.

The soil was evidently manured with domestic refuse, as shown by the presence of charcoal, mussel-shell fragments, fishbone, avian eggshell and mammal bone fragments. The charred cereals (free-threshing wheat and six-row hulled barley) may also be derived from this source, but it is possible that they may have been produced by stubble-burning and, if so, provide information on crops grown at the site.

In summary, mollusca and other biological remains from this buried soil profile indicate a phase of grassland followed by cultivation before the area was enclosed in the

	Depth (cm)	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35
<b>Open country taxa</b>	<i>Pupilla muscorum</i> (Linné)	6	6	15	5	10	12	6
	<i>Vallonia costata</i> (Müller)	14	3	12	6	6	3	2
	<i>Vallonia excentra</i> (Sterki)	9	26	93	43	18	16	13
	<i>Vallonia</i> sp. (a)	30	42	73	34	22	9	10
	<i>Helicella itala</i> (Linné)	—	1	—	3	—	12	12
<b>Catholic taxa</b>	<i>Cochlicopa</i> spp.	10	7	11	7	4	1	4
	<i>Cepaea/Arianta</i> (b)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
	<i>Trichia hispida</i> (Linné)	59	93	161	60	39	33	28
	Limacidae indet.	4	2	1	2	—	2	3
<b>Shade taxa</b>	Clausiliidae indet. (b)	1	—	1	—	—	1	1
	<i>Trichi striolata</i> (Pfeiffer)	1	—	—	4	—	—	—
	<i>Vitrina pellucida</i> (Müller)	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	<i>Vitrea</i> sp.	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	<i>Vitrea contracta</i> (Westerlund)	—	—	2	1	2	—	—
	<i>Nesovitrea hammonis</i> (Ström)	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	<i>Aegopinella</i> sp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
	<i>Oxychilus</i> sp.	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
	Zonitidae indet.	6	4	4	1	3	2	—
<b>Freshwater taxa</b>	<i>Valvata cristata</i> (Müller)	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
	<i>Bithynia tentaculata</i> (Linné) (c)	1	—	1	—	1	—	—
	<i>Planorbis vortex</i> (Linné)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	<i>Succinea</i> sp.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
	<i>Pomatias elegans</i> (Müller)	3	4	1	2	2	1	+
	<i>Vertigo</i> sp. (a)	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Other</b>	<i>Celilioides acicula</i> (Müller)	5	9	10	23	42	38	30
	<i>Helix aspersa</i> (Müller)	3	+	+	+	1	+	—
	Indeterminate (a)	1	—	—	—	—	—	1

Notes: (a) Very immature/fragmentary (c) Opercula  
(b) Very abraded apices (d) Very abraded apices with whorl and operculum fragments

Table 12 Mollusca from 263 (grouped for ecological interpretation)

Depth (cm)	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35
Charcoal	+	+	+	+	++	+	+
Indeterminate cereal caryopses (a)	3	3	3	7	13	12	3
<i>Triticum</i> sp. caryopses (b)	—	—	5	5	6	8	4
<i>Hordeum</i> sp. caryopses	—	—	—	2	2	4	—
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> L. rachis internode	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>Polygonum aviculare</i> agg. nutlet	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>Bromus sterilis</i> L. caryopses	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
<i>Bromus</i> sp. caryopses	—	—	—	1	1	1	1
Gramineae indet. caryopses	—	—	—	2	1	—	—
<i>Sambucus nigra</i> L. uncharred seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	—
<i>Mytilus edulis</i> fragments	+	+	+	++	++	+	+
Fish-bone	—	+	+	—	+	—	+
Amphibian bone	—	—	—	—	+	—	—
Avian eggshell fragments	—	—	+	+	++	+	+
Small mammal bone	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
Bone fragments	+	+	—	+	++	+	+

Notes: (a) Also small fragments  
(b) Short-grained forms

Table 13 Miscellaneous plant and animal remains from 263

churchyard and the soil sealed beneath the church floor. It is probable that these results relate to land use during the few hundred years before the church was constructed, but precise dating is not possible.

## VI. A Study from Documentary Sources of the Churches of Barton Bendish with Special Reference to All Saints'

by Alan Davison

Domesday records two churches in Barton Bendish; one was mentioned as being associated with the manor held by William from Hermer de Ferrieres and had twelve acres of land (Doubleday and Page, 1906, 127). Blomefield equated this manor with that held by the Lovels and the church would appear to have been St. Mary's: he recorded (1807, 271) that John Lovel died in 1328/9 seized of this manor with the advowson of St. Mary and a windmill. In 1372 John Lovel was buried in the midst of St. Mary's church (Norfolk Record Office, hereafter NRO., NCC Wills, 23 Heydon). The other church, worth two shillings and with twenty-four acres, is recorded as part of the lands of Ralf Bainard and Blomefield certainly thought that All Saints was the church. He quoted (1807, 285) a grant made in 1284/5 of the advowson of All Saints to the Priory of Dunmow and a suit between de Leen and de Jovene and the Prior over the patronage, de Leen releasing the right to the Prior. De Leen (Lem) and de Jovene (le Jovene) held the former Bainard lands from FitzWalter in 1302 (Feudal Aids III, 399). Blomefield pointed to the foundation of the Priory by the sister or wife of Ralf Bainard, hence linking the Priory firmly with Bainards manor.

There is no documentary evidence that a third church existed in Barton Bendish in 1086.

In 1254 all three churches were recorded in the so-called Norwich Taxation (Lunt 1926, 407): in this St. Mary's had the lowest valuation, St. Andrew's seems by this time to have been the wealthiest. Its advowson lay in the gift (made by Roger de Clare, Earl of Gloucester) of the



Priory of St. Neots and also of the Priory of Stoke-by-Clare in Suffolk (Harper- Bill and Mortimer 1982, 17). These were alien houses and the presentation of the church of St. Andrew's was from time to time in the gift of the King, the priories being in his hand because of war with France. On 12th May 1349, for example, Robert Traile, chaplain, was presented to the church of St. Andrew, Barton Bendish ... the priory of St Neots being in the King's hands on account of the war with France, and, again, on 2nd July 1349 there was the presentation of Thomas de Canyges, chaplain, to the church of Barton ... by reason of the temporalities of the Priory of Stoke being in his hands on account of the war with France (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1348-50, 291, 374). In 1254 portions from St Andrew's were paid to the Priors of Stoke and St Neots and from All Saints' to the Priory of Dunmow.

The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 supports the impression that St. Andrew's church was wealthier than the others (III, 381-2); its annual income was £19.9.11/2 compared with £8.2.0 for All Saints, £5.13.2 for St. Mary's and £4.7.53/4 for the *libera capella* of East Moor (see below). The 1552 Inventory of Church Goods (Walters, 1938, 97-98) also suggests that, judging by the value of the vestments and furnishings, St. Andrew's was wealthier; All Saints' church seems to have been quite modestly endowed with goods as was St. Mary's.

In later times the 1603 Communicants return revealed the relative significance of the three churches in Barton Bendish: ninety-eight communicants were recorded for St. Andrew's, fifty-six for All Saint's and twenty-eight for St. Mary's (Blomefield 1807, 279, 283, 286). The Compton Census of 1676 (NRO., SMS 33) recorded 103 communicants for the parish of Barton St. Andrew while the combined parish of Barton All Saints and St. Mary had eighty-nine communicants and three Nonconformists. It is clear that St. Andrew's had; in post-Reformation times; become the more important church and parish in Barton Bendish, with All Saints playing a relatively subordinate role-though less, apparently, than St. Mary's.

At some time in the medieval period, probably the early thirteenth century and certainly not earlier than 1188, a chapel was founded in Eastmoor by Bartholomew Brancaster. Blomefield (1807, 280) reproduced a transcription, from the Ledger Book of West Dereham Abbey, of the undated charter by which the Abbey of St. Mary was given the Chapel of St. John the Baptist *in Marisco* and all its possessions in the vill of Barton and Eastmore *et in campis Sancti Winwaloi*. However, by the time institutions to the Chapel appear in the Norwich Diocesan Registers (1314) the dedication is recorded as that of St. Mary. By this time the chapel was in the gift of the Lovels who also had the advowson of St. Mary's church, indeed, the first chaplain recorded was also the priest of Barton St. Mary. The anomaly of the dedications cannot be explained satisfactorily. There are two possible reasons for a change in the dedication. The most likely is that it changed when the Chapel passed into the hands of the Lovels and became associated through this with St. Mary's church. Another possibility is that the Abbey to which it was originally linked was St. Mary's and this dedication replaced St. John the Baptist in common use. There has, apparently, been no acknowledgement of any likelihood of there being two different chapels-St. Mary, in 1422, was described as being *in marisco* (NRO. Hare MSS 241, Box 185x5).

There is another explanation which, however, cannot be supported by documentary evidence. This becomes worthy of consideration if it can be accepted that Blomefield was in error in assuming that the two dedications referred to the same chapel. In his text he quoted the wording of the Brancaster deed as *capella Sancti Johannis Baptisti in marisco de Bertona* (1807, 281). The identification assumes that there was only one possible area of marsh-that to the south and east of East Moor. It is possible that the marsh in question may have been the one to the north of the main village of Barton-and elsewhere in the deed the chapel is referred to as *dicta capella de Bertona*. The O.S. map does show a site of a chapel at TF 7170 0600. Not far from this point, according to the survey of c.1612 (N.R.O. Hare MSS.189,185x4) was a close called Abbots Close and the modern Abbey Farm is shown to the east of the chapel site. The Abbot in question was indeed the Abbot of West Dereham as, in 1537, the close was leased to Thomas Harlewyn by the Abbey (Tanner MSS 96/f.113 C.U.L. Microfilm MS 3358). Could it be that the Chapel of St. John the Baptist was in Barton itself? The Chapel of St. Mary might then be a later foundation associated with the Lovels - Blomefield could offer no explanation of the apparent change of dedication but merely observed 'probably the foundation was afterwards altered, and it was settled otherwise' (1807, 281).

After the Dissolution the Chapel of St. Mary in Marisco was granted, as 'the late free chapel of Estmore' to Thomas Woodhouse of Waxham who obtained the site and capital mansion with houses and 100 acres of land in the town and fields of Barton Bendish, four closes and two pightles and sixteen acres of land and marsh (Calendar Patent Rolls, Edward VI, 1548, 117). By 1775, according to Blomefield, the last section of the roof had disappeared and there is now no sign of the building.

An examination of the surviving wills of inhabitants of Barton Bendish from the Norwich Consistory and Norfolk Archdeaconry Courts reveals further information about the churches of Barton Bendish. The earliest wills (before 1400) are few and are of the Consistory Court. One of these, that of John Lovel, has already been noted as stating his wish to be buried in St. Mary's church. Of the others, Robert Trayle, Rector of St. Andrew's (NRO., NCC Will 142 Heydon, of 1377) left money to All Saints' church and Walter Baldewyn was Rector of St. Mary's (NRO., NCC Will 93 Harsyk of 1387). Of the Consistory Court wills which mention a place of burial St. Andrew's was named in seventeen (1400-1450: one; 1451-1500: three; 1501-1550: two; 1551-1600: seven; 1601-1650: four), All Saints' in seven (1400-1450: one; 1451-1500: nil; 1501-1550: two; 1551-1600: two; 1601-1650: two), and St. Mary's in four (apart from one before 1400 (Lovel's) there were two in 1451-1500 and one in 1551-1600).

With Archdeaconry wills a similar pattern is visible. Wills definitely naming St. Andrew's numbered forty-four (1500-1550: fourteen; 1551-1600: thirty), those naming All Saints numbered twenty-seven (1500-1550: ten; 1551-1600: seventeen) and there were seven in which St. Mary was named; all between 1551 and 1600. Beyond 1600 mention of the proposed place of burial becomes unusual and no real significance can be attached to such records.

Some wills (NRO) record burials within the fabric of the churches. Burials within All Saints' church were:



- 1431 William Bulwer, Rector. In the chancel. NCC 71 Surflete.  
 1519 Richard Brampton. In the church or the churchyard. NAW 252 Batman.  
 1526 John Lystre, parson. In the chancel. NCC 108 Haywarde.  
 1547 William Larkyn (of Eastmore). In the church. NAW 81 Hynde.  
 1557 Henry Garner, clerk. In the church. NCC 326 Hustinges.  
 1625 Edmund Jones, clerk. In the chancel. NCC 264 Belward.

The other body of useful information which can be obtained from the wills concerns bequests to the churches, particularly those with specific mention of repairs to the fabric. Wills frequently mention sums of money to be given to the churches: typically Robert Kempe in 1571 (NRO., NA Will 187 Annysen) wished to be buried in St. Mary's churchyard and left 12d. to the repair of this church, but he also left 12d. to the repair of each of the other churches. Among these general legacies are others which clearly reflect definite needs. It would appear that about 1550-1560 All Saints' church was in need of repair. In 1557 Henry Garner (clerk) left 6s.8d. for repairs to All Saints', in the same year Thomas Stedman, who seems to have been of some economic standing within the community, remitted to All Saints' for repairs all the sums of money that the parish owed him and also gave a further small sum for repairs (NRO., NCC Will, 352 Hustinges). In 1554 the sum of £10 was left by Thomas Harlwin at the discretion of his wife for repairs to All Saints' (NRO., NA Wills 224 Bulloke). These, together with a few smaller ones in the 1540's, suggest some rather extensive repairs at this time though no portion of the fabric was mentioned. However, in 1513 the sum of 20s. was bequeathed by John Weyer to the repair of the *stepill* (tower) of All Saints' (NRO., NA Will 327 Sparhawk).

It would be wrong to give the impression that All Saints' alone was in need of repair. St. Andrew's certainly received bequests over the whole period for which wills remain, but all were small. In 1584, 1585 and 1587 there was mention of repairs to the chancel when very small sums were left for this purpose (NRO., NCC Will 7 Mower, NA Will 479 Sherwod, NCC Will 12 Homes). In 1539 a small sum of money was left for the repair of the tower of St. Andrew's (NRO., NCC Will 220, 221 Godsalue). Small sums were also left for repairs at St. Mary's, mainly in the later years of the sixteenth century. The overall impression is that All Saints' may well have been in need of comparatively greater repair in the 1550's than the other churches were at any time during the period under review.

The impression grows that St. Andrew's church had become the most important and wealthy of the churches by the time the post-medieval period had begun. The will of Robert Heygrym (NRO., NA Will 20 Gedney) refers to the churchyard and high altar of Barton Bendish and also to All Saints' and St. Mary's; here St. Andrew's seems to be regarded as the principal village church. The general decline of population in later medieval times, while not influencing the prosperity of the community unduly seriously, had begun to render the existence of three parish churches, not to mention the pre-Reformation chapel at East Moor, something of a luxury, so that the likely pre-eminence of this church became emphasised still further.

Of the embellishment of the churches at this time little can be learned from the wills. In 1539 John Bisshop the elder of Eastmore left 6s.8d. 'to the payntinge of St. Andrew' (NRO., NCC Will 220, 221, Godsalue); it is tempting to suggest that this may have been a wall painting but it is more likely to refer to the re-decoration of an image of the saint. It may have been nothing more than the small image on the front of the south porch to which Blomefield refers and which remains in worn condition; if so, it was certainly nothing of great magnificence. In 1431 money was left to All Saints' to repair a processional (procession book) and *martilorum* (a calendar of saints) and a processional cross (Will of William Bulwer, Rector). In 1519, again for All Saints' Richard Brampton left five rods of land in Eastmore field 'to kepe a taper be for the sepulture<sup>2</sup>—presumably an Easter Sepulchre.

During the seventeenth century, with the population remaining relatively stable in number, it would seem that All Saints' church remained in use though, after the likely high water mark of population of the thirteenth/fourteenth century, the existence of three churches to serve the community of Barton Bendish with East Moor was probably more than adequate. By the mid-sixteenth century the practice of plurality had appeared in Barton Bendish; in 1556 John Fayrhayr or Farrar was installed at All Saints' and was succeeded in 1583 by Edmund Jones. Both held the living of St. Andrew's church as well. It is significant that the Chorography of Norfolk (Hood, 1938, 86) probably compiled in the early seventeenth century had for Barton Bendish: 'It hath these churches St. Maryes St. Andros & Allhallowes whereof the 2 first are served, the 3d not'. In 1644 Joseph Houlton was priest of All Saints' and of St. Mary's. In 1658 William Sheldrake was installed at All Saints' and was also parson of St. Mary's; the grouping of the two parishes in the Compton Census (see above) is also suggestive. In 1693 Joseph Craske was installed at All Saints', becoming parson of St. Mary's as well in 1698 (NRO., NDA., Reg 30, 554). The population of East Moor, after the closure of the chapel, appears to have attended the churches of All Saints' and St. Andrew, predominantly the latter, judging by the wills, though some members of certain families—Larkins and Heygrenes—seem to have been associated with All Saints.

Blomefield (1807, 284) has left a description of the church of All Saints which most probably dates from the period before his death in 1752 (the account was completed by C. Parkin). It was built of 'flint and boulder' and was described as 'an antient pile'. The dimensions of the nave and chancel are given, suggesting that the church was of the same width all through. Blomefield thought that there might have been a little chapel on the north side 'by the pillars etc.' Brick buttresses are mentioned suggesting that supportive work had been carried out at some date. The roof was said to be cambered (arched) and panelled and thatched with reed. There was a western tower, built of flint with 'freestone' quoins and with a brick embattled top; there were three bells which Blomefield described. There are descriptions of coats of arms in windows on the northern sides; Blomefield records the arms of Scales, Caston, Bardolf, Clare and de Burgh (p.38-9).

Some cramped manuscript notes (NRO., Frere MSS., NAS Dep. c3/2/12 Clackclose) seem to be those from which parts of the descriptions of the churches of Barton Bendish were drawn. Those relating to All Saints are

distinctly cryptic. The screen which Blomefield recorded as dividing nave and chancel is noted as having had saints defaced. There was an 'old Relique cupboard' at the east end and a water stoup on the southern side. The notes include a drawing of something which appears to have been a heart-shaped plaque or brass with an engraving of a chalice on the wall at the east end and a drawing of a soundhole. There is also a reference to a south porch.

The Archdeacons' Visitation Books (NRO) chronicle the deterioration of All Saints' church. Although there is a reference made in 1590 (ANF/1/2) to the chancel roof being ruined and the church being filthy because of the roosting of birds, this is the only recorded incidence of serious dilapidation until the eighteenth century. It also hints at another time when repairs were needed, not revealed by bequests.

In 1716 (ANF/1/21) the churchyard fence wanted repairing and this comment, enlarged to 'east fence down' was repeated in 1720, 1721, 1723 and 1724 (ANF/1/27,29,31,33). In 1724 the south side flooring was decayed. In 1738 (ANF/1/35) the church was said to want thatching, whitening and 'rough mending' and the seats required flooring. In 1746 (ANF/1/50) the church was again said to want thatching while the porch required paving and a rail. This reference to a porch agrees with the note in the Frere MSS which suggested that All Saints had a porch. It is strange that Blomefield omitted it in his account. These criticisms were repeated in 1747 with the addition that the chancel needed repairing and the churchyard fence was partly down (ANF/1/52). The chancel and the fence still needed repairs in 1748 (ANF/1/54). In 1751 All Saints wanted whitening and r(epairing?) and the windows needed glazing and the remark about whitening was repeated in 1752 and 1753 (ANF/1/60.62,64). The subsequent visitations revealed progressive dilapidation. In 1756 (ANF/1/70) the church needed a new west door, a new font cover, a rail to the porch and the chancel required thatching. By 1758 (ANF/1/74) the chancel was reported as being 'much decayed' and this was repeated at each visitation up to and including that of 1764 (ANF/1/82). In 1765 (ANF/1/84) the chancel was reported to be demolished, the church wanted thatching, the roof was decayed and the windows wanted glazing. This situation continued up to and including the year 1770 (ANF/194). In the entry for 1771 the phrase 'chancel down' appears (ANF/1/96). In 1774 the roof was said to be down, the windows wanted glazing, the condition of the north door was noted and the church wanted thatching, whitening and paving (ANF/1/102). Soon the steeple (tower) and the floor were decayed and the church door gone (ANF/1/104, 106). By 1781 the visitor was having to report that the roof and the steeple were down (ANF/1/116). It is obvious that neglect had come to mean either a virtual rebuilding or abandonment.

The latter course was taken. A faculty of 1787 (NRO., FCB/3, Book 6, f25) gave authority for the consolidation of the parishes of All Saints' and St.Mary's and a later faculty of 1789 (f127) repeats some of the details. All Saints 'now and for time immemorial' totally dilapidated had no part standing except the walls which were by then so ruinous as to be in danger of falling down. The walls consisted chiefly of chalk and flint and would not even repay the expense of taking them down. The only materials of value were the three bells with their clappers and 'a parcel of old lead' (?from the tower roof). The

estimated value of all these was £56.15.6 and the weight of the lead was 600 lbs and of the bells 2200 lbs. Permission was requested for demolition and for certain renovations to be carried out at St.Mary's-a new roof, flooring to be repaired, walls to be mended and plastered, a new western door (the tower had collapsed long before), a new cupola for the bell, seating to be repaired or renewed, the windows repaired and new leaded. The parishes of St.Mary and All Saints were said to be so intermingled that the boundaries could not be distinctly ascertained, they had the same churchwardens and officers and both parishes resorted to St.Mary's. There was no parsonage belonging to All Saints. It is questionable as to how literally these phrases should be regarded. In 1801 (NRO., FCB/4, Book 7 f231) similar words about the boundaries of St.Mary's and All Saints' in Beechamwell were used yet the boundaries of All Saints' are clearly shown in the Tithe Map of 1845 (NRO.E1).

A note by Robert Forby in the parish register (NRO, PD 350/7 (S)) gives further details. Divine Service had not been performed in All Saints for many years. The demolition took place in the summer of 1789 and cost nearly £80, most of which was defrayed by the sale of the bells and materials and the remainder was met by the Rector, Joseph Forby. The details of repairs to St.Mary's are given; perhaps the most significant to this paper is the making of an entrance at its western end. For this 'a beautiful Saxon (*sic*) Arch was erected formerly the north entry of All Saints' church'. This is the fine doorway which can still be seen at the western end of St.Mary's church. According to this account the south doorway of All Saints', 'another arch of equal antiquity but less ornamented' was at the same time removed to the garden of the parsonage of St.Mary's, and 'erected a little to the south of the house'.

The long history of All Saints' church was thus brought to an end, its site almost opposite St.Andrew's church was to remain empty until the present time although, according to White (1845, 610) the burial ground was still used by some parishioners. Its slow decline has to be seen against a background of change within the parish(es) of Barton Bendish as a whole. The village had been of substantial medieval wealth as shown by its lay subsidy contributions, by the value of ecclesiastical property at that time and the multiplicity of manorial holdings. Subsequently, the economic and social difficulties of later medieval times coupled with the ecclesiastical changes brought about by the Reformation made the existence of three churches superfluous and a financial burden.

## VII. All Saints': Interpretation and Dating

(Fig.4)

by Neil Batcock

The Phase 1 church of All Saints' was built over a graveyard. Pottery finds suggest that the latter came into use early in the eleventh century but evidence for a church associated with it was entirely lacking. There seem to be three possible interpretations: that we are dealing with a cemetery with no church; or that the early church was distant from the site of the later one; or that a church stood on the same site, but was constructed of flimsy materials (wood, wattle etc.) which have left no trace after the

rebuildings and robbings of several centuries. The two latter seem more probable explanations: a pre-Conquest wooden church with surrounding churchyard would make most sense. This 'undiscovered' church may be the one mentioned in Domesday.

### Phase 1

We move from a hypothetical (wooden?) pre-Conquest church, to a post-Conquest church built of solid masonry. The outline of the church is clear enough: a three-cell arrangement of apse, chancel and nave. There remains the question of whether the chancel was surmounted by a tower. Certainly the chancel arch foundations are very wide (1.1 m-1.4 m; 381 and 228 Fig.7). Only a fragment of the sanctuary arch foundation survives (438), but the large external buttresses (506 and 478) clearly mark its position. The evidence provided by the chancel north and south wall foundations (6 and 16) is more ambiguous. The south wall foundation (6) is some 0.2 m thicker along its chancel section compared to its nave section (about 1.2m compared to 1.0 m). On the other hand, the north wall foundation (16) maintains a thickness of some 1.2m for its entire length; furthermore, the single course of rubble masonry resting on the north wall foundations is set back from the foundations' northern edge, reducing the width of the wall above to just under 1m. It is perhaps conceivable that this upper wall represents the reconstruction of a later phase; if not, it still does not negate the possibility of an axial tower rising above the chancel. Possibly the most telling evidence against the tower hypothesis is the absence of foundations across the complete width of what would have been its east and west walls, and the fact that the chancel and sanctuary arch foundations are not continuous with those of the north and south walls. However, most of the numerous eleventh or twelfth century churches with a three-cell plan in Norfolk have a tower rising above the chancel (*e.g.* Bawsey, Dunham Magna, Castle Rising, Guestwick, Melton Constable, South Lopham, to name but a few).

There is little evidence for establishing a precise date for the Phase 1 church. Occasional sherds of Thetford Ware were found in the foundation trenches and a piece of *in situ* limestone ashlar with fine diagonal tooling, only allow us to date Phase 1 to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. Some further precision is possible on the basis of style. Large buttresses are rare, if not unheard of, in Late Saxon churches (which sometimes have pilasters, but not large jutting buttresses). Phase 1 must therefore be dated after 1066. A *terminus ante quem* must be *c.*1150, after which date the three-cell plan with apse is extremely rare. A date of *c.* 1100 for the church would probably be uncontroversial. It is of course possible that the church was built between 1066 and 1086, and is the same church which is mentioned in Domesday; but, as explained above, Domesday could be referring to a pre-Phase 1 church not encountered during the excavation.

### Phase 2

(Figs 8 and 39)

This phase consists of an extension of the nave to the west by 3.5m. It is tempting to see this as a western tower or miniature *clocher-porche*, and there are two good arguments in favour of this interpretation. Firstly, the location is right for a tower; and it was very common practice throughout the Middle Ages to add a tower to the west wall of an

earlier nave. Secondly, the western corners of the Phase 2 extension have strong angle buttresses, as well as a substantial buttress mid-way along the west wall. However, there are several arguments against the tower interpretation. Firstly, the foundations are only 1m wide, no wider than those of the Phase I nave walls. Secondly, the alignment of walls 479 and 386 suggest an intention to extend the nave, rather than build a tower. An additional western tower would normally be narrower than the nave, and square in plan (although towers with a rectangular plan are by no means unknown). Thirdly, if the church already had a tower above the chancel (see above), there would be little need for a second tower on a church of this scale.

Conversely, if the Phase 1 church did not have an axial tower (as on balance, it probably did not), the argument that the Phase 2 extension formed a tower is strengthened. Perhaps it was just that the meagre extent of the nave (only 7.5m long internally) necessitated an extension to the west. After Phase 2, the internal length of the nave would have been over 11 m, thereby bringing its proportions closer to other twelfth century parish churches (the church of St.Saviour, Surlingham, with three-cell plan, has almost identical dimensions to the Phase 2 church). Finally, the Phase 2 extension was pierced by two doorways (as will be argued below); these doorways were in the north and south walls of the extension (479 and 386), taking up much of the wall space. Doorways in towers were uncommon in this period; two large doorways in a (hypothetical) tower of this size would have been curious, although not impossible.

On balance, the arguments seem to favour the interpretation of Phase 2 as a westward extension of the nave rather than a west tower. The only other addition which may belong to this phase is the buttress (188) which supports the chancel arch on the north side; but it is possible that this may date to the transformation of the chancel in Phase 3.

The archaeological evidence does not furnish us with a date for Phase 2. The foundations of rammed chalk and flints are similar in type to Phase 1, if less regular. Fortunately, we have a stunning survival which on circumstantial evidence (p.54) must belong to this phase: the north doorway, now the west door of St.Mary's Barton Bendish (Fig.42). This enables us to date Phase 2, with a fair degree of accuracy, to within a decade either side of 1185. The doorway is described in the section on St.Mary's (p.61), and only the dating arguments need detain us here. The closest parallel to the Barton Bendish doorway can be found in the main portal of Norwich Castle, dateable to *c.*1160 (Pevsner, 1962, 1, 256). In both, the beakhead continues down the shafts of the doorway, although it is rather crudely carved at Barton Bendish. A later date for Barton Bendish is indicated by the presence of an outer order of dog-tooth motif in the arch. Dog-tooth is fairly common by the thirteenth century, but can occasionally be found in very late twelfth century Transitional work, such as the west doorway of Ketton church, near Stamford; its early occurrence is in the choir of Canterbury cathedral, 1175-84, with perhaps an even earlier example at Lincoln. Allowing a decade either side of 1185 seems a fair time bracket in which to insert the Barton Bendish doorway.

Having established an approximate date for the doorway, there remains the need to associate firmly the doorway with the Phase 2 work of All Saints' church. First





Figure 39 Reconstruction of All Saints in Phase 2, viewed from the north-west

of all, it is certain that the west doorway of St.Mary's originally came from the north side of All Saints'. Luckily for us, the Reverend Robert Forby added a memorandum to the parish records of Barton Bendish, noting down the details concerning the demolition of All Saints' in 1789, and the transferring of the north doorway to St Mary's and of the south doorway to St Mary's rectory garden (p.52) Sadly, there is now no trace of the former south doorway; presumably it originally stood directly opposite the north doorway. Where, then was the north doorway of All Saints' located? A careful look at the Phase plans (Fig.4) reveals few possibilities. The doorway was certainly not east of the Phase 6 north chapel, since it would then be a priest's door (usually a low-key affair) of unparalleled magnificence. It must have been west of the chapel, leading into the nave rather than the chancel, and flanked by one or more of the (Phase 7) buttresses between the north chapel and the tower. As it stands today, the Barton Bendish portal has an opening 1.04m wide, and takes up a width of some 2.2m from external jamb to external jamb. It could not have fitted between the two westernmost buttresses (153 and 143; Fig.14) because they were only 0.8m apart. It might have fitted between the middle two buttresses (143 and 140) if we allow a slight overlapping of the outer jambs by the brick buttresses: the gap is 1.9m. However, the most likely location for the doorway would seem to be between buttress 140 and the west wall of the north chapel: the gap is exactly 2.2 m, the precise width required for the portal. If this was indeed the site of the main north doorway, it may explain why the north chapel did not continue any further west (see below). From the plan of Phase 2 (Fig.8) it can be seen that this location corresponds precisely to the north wall of the Phase 2 extension. Thus 'circumstantial' evidence suggests that the Barton Bendish portal formed part of the Phase 2 extension, and remained in its original location until the

demolition of the church in 1788. No doubt the lost south portal likewise pierced the south wall of the Phase 2 extension.

### Phase 3

The apse was demolished, the sanctuary arch removed and replaced by a straight east wall (211; Fig.9). If the chancel was surmounted by a tower, it may have been dismantled at this time. It is also possible that the chancel north wall was rebuilt at this time (as hinted above) and the chancel arch buttress (188; Fig.8) added.

Dating evidence is nebulous; Thetford-type and medieval wares were found in the foundation trench. The foundations of the east wall differ in construction from those of Phases 1 and 2: layers of gravel with mortar alternating with compacted brown loam. Since Phase 2 is firmly dated to the late twelfth century, and Phase 5 to the fourteenth century, a 'vaguely thirteenth century' date for Phase 3 will have to suffice. No doubt the Norman sanctuary was proving to be excessively murky, and a straight east wall was deemed necessary to accommodate a large new window in Early English style.

### Phase 4

The west wall of the Phase 2 nave was demolished, and the nave extended westward by 4.5m. At the same time, the chancel was restructured: the Phase 1 chancel arch was removed, and a sturdy wooden screen erected slightly further west. It would appear that there was no new chancel arch, only the screen separated nave and arch. Evidence for the screen is provided by two post-holes (235 and 236; Fig.12). Churches without chancel arches are reasonably common, especially, as in the case of All Saints', when the chancel is the same width as the nave.

Precise dating evidence for this phase is lacking. The method of construction of the foundations is not dissimilar



to Phase 3; alternating layers of mortar and brown soil. Unlike Phase 3, pieces of roof-tile are often found in the foundation trenches of Phase 4. The sturdy screen must have been different from the flimsy, if elegant, screens of the fifteenth century so common in Norfolk. It would not, perhaps, be too risky to date the whole of this phase to the early fourteenth century.

### Phase 5

The Phase 4 church had two clear defects: it possessed no tower, and the chancel was excessively short. Both shortcomings were remedied by Phase 5, when the chancel was extended in length from 5 m to 8.5 m, and a massive tower added to the west end of the nave (Fig.13).

Whereas the chancel extension was a simple affair, with a straight east wall and no buttresses, the west tower represented a massive new building campaign. Here, the foundations were over 2m wide. The tower may have had diagonal buttresses at the western corners; and the thickening of the tower foundation at its north-east corner represents either a buttress (at right-angles to the north wall) or the base of a stair turret; unfortunately the whole of the south-east corner had been robbed.

The technique of construction of the foundations is very like that of Phase 4: alternating layers of mortar and brown soil, with an abundant scatter of roof tile fragments. The deeper trenches, however, have layers of rammed chalk too. It seems unlikely that Phase 5 can be much later than Phase 4, so a mid-fourteenth century date seems reasonable. More precision is possible with the evidence of the glass (see p. 38). It has been suggested, with good reason that the east window glass dates to c.1350-70. It was no doubt put there soon after the construction of the Phase 5 chancel.

### Phase 6

This phase comprises the addition of a north chapel to the nave, and the re-flooring of the chancel (Fig.14).

The north chapel is constructed largely of brick; the rising walls, above the level of the offset, are 0.65m wide. However, the west wall of the chapel (114) is only 0.35m wide and appears to have no foundation trench. It has been suggested (p.17), that this west wall was intended to be temporary only, until the chapel could be extended westwards to form a north aisle along the full length of the nave. There are several arguments to support this. Firstly it is unusual to find a chapel of this type communicating solely with the nave rather than the chancel; it is true that transeptal chapels (e.g. Bintree) join the east end of the nave, but the Barton Bendish chapel is not transeptal. Secondly, the site of the chapel certainly looks like the eastern half of an aisle; the east wall of the chapel scrupulously coincides with the junction of nave and chancel; one would expect a lean-to roof against the nave, in the manner of an aisle roof. Thirdly, the chapel was opened to the nave by an arcade, not a single arch. No bases or foundation of piers have survived the extensive post-demolition robbing; but fortunately Blomefield described the church before its demolition. The north chapel had evidently been pulled down some time earlier, for Blomefield (1807, 7, 284) notes: 'Here seems to have been a little chapel on the north side of it, by the pillars etc' Blomefield must have seen the blocked openings from the chapel to the nave; presumably he would have seen two, or at most three, openings, along with their piers and

responds. If this interpretation is correct, then the north chapel resembled 'half an aisle' rather than simply a chapel. It is true that transeptal chapels off the nave occasionally communicate through two arches (e.g. Mattishall Burgh), but this is unusual. I know of one Norfolk church which, like All Saints', also had 'half an aisle': Little Melton, but this is an odd arrangement, especially since this church has a full south aisle; the north aisle only adjoins the eastern half of the nave. Why, then was the Barton Bendish aisle not completed? Perhaps the intention was to complete the aisle, but the funds of the benefactor(s) dried up; it would not have been the first time in the Middle Ages when a building project was undertaken with insufficient funds to complete it. It is interesting to notice the point at which the aisle construction was halted: immediately east of the site of the Phase 2 main doorway (see above). It was obviously convenient to call a halt there, in order that the main entrance should remain in use for as long as possible; the project was never completed, so the Phase 2 portal remained in place until the demolition of the whole church.

The dating evidence for this phase is dependent on the brickwork. The bricks are fifteenth century in type, which provides us with a broad but agreeable date bracket for Phase 6.

### Phase 7

By the eighteenth century, the north chapel had been removed. According to Blomefield (1807, 284) the church was 'supported by buttresses of brick'. None of these were discovered in the excavation, so presumably the brick buttresses supported the blocked wall constructed after the demolition of the north chapel: no evidence for this blocking survived the lowering of the surface of foundation 16 during demolition (see p.17). Perhaps fragments of the end walls of the chapels (114 and 124) formed two of the buttresses.

The three buttresses west of the north chapel (140, 143 and 153) may well be later than Phase 6. Only their foundations survived, constructed of flint, loose mortar and fragments of peg roof tiles and bricks. As has been suggested, the foundations may have supported the brick buttresses mentioned by Blomefield.

Blomefield's description of the church, as it existed towards the middle of the eighteenth century, has been given elsewhere (p.51). At that time, it was a church with chancel, nave and west tower; it also had an arched and panelled roof, covered with thatch. Nave and chancel were separated by a screen. By 1770, the building was in a very dilapidated state, and within twenty years had been totally demolished.

#### *A note on the bells*

When Blomefield recorded the (then fully standing) church of All Saints' in the eighteenth century, the west tower still retained its three medieval bells. He carefully noted the inscription on each (Blomefield 1807, 285): 'On the tenor, — *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum*, and two shields; on one shield, two keys in saltire, between a dolphin embowed, a wheatsheaf, a bell, and a lamp, probably to represent the four elements. — On another shield, a quadrangular cross florette. — On the second bell, are the same shields, and *Sancta Catherina Ora Nobis*. — On the treble, the same shields, and *Vox Augustini sonet in*

### *Aure Dei.*

These bells, along with material from the rest of the church, were sold in 1789 for £56.15s.6d. to help finance repairs to St. Mary's (NRO., FCB/4,6,127). We are not told what subsequently became of the bells, but can infer that they were sold to a dealer at Downham Market. The very bells, meticulously described by Blomefield, now hang in the tower of St. Michael's church Whitwell (which adjoins Reepham church), forming part of a peal of eight. L'Estrange (1874, 237) has recorded the inscriptions of the Whitwell bells, which include these three:

4. + *Wox Augustini Sonet in Aure Dei.*
5. + *Sancta Katerina Ora Pro Nobis.*
6. + *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum.*

These bells were brought to Whitwell in 1789, as a memorandum by Mr R. Keeler of Reepham makes clear: 'On Wednesday November 18th, 1789, the five old bells from Whitwell Steeple were carried to Downham and exchanged for a peal of six, which were brought to Whitwell, November 20th, 1789, and hung by Tho<sup>s</sup> Osborn of Downham aforesaid, with new Wheels, Stocks, Brasses, Clappers, &c. The hanging, &c., was completed by the said Tho<sup>s</sup> Osborn, December 5th, 1789'. (ibid., 237; the memorandum appears to have been lost).

There can be no doubt that the three bells of All Saints' church Barton Bendish are now housed in the belfry of Whitwell church. Thus the bells, together with the doorway of St. Mary's church in Barton Bendish, represent the sole surviving features of the demolished church of All Saints'.

## **VIII. St. Andrew's, the Architecture and the Phasing**

by Neil Batcock

### **Architectural description**

(Fig. 40)

The church comprises chancel, nave, west tower and south porch.

#### *Chancel*

The chancel masonry consists of flint with pieces of limestone and conglomerate randomly thrown in; it has an uncoursed appearance. The upper part of the south wall has been repaired with flint and brick, interspersed with galleting. A chamfered stringcourse 1.5m from the ground, continues around the diagonal buttresses (which have a single set-off and are similar in design to the tower) and returns along the east wall of the nave, cutting into the nave quoins; along the east wall, the stringcourse rises to continue at a slightly higher level. There is a narrow plinth course.

The fine east window is Decorated, three-light with flowing tracery. Two windows pierce the south wall, separated by a priest's door (with wave moulding; the hood-mould is a continuation of the stringcourse). Both windows have the same design: two-light, with a Decorated reticulate head. The north window is of the same type. A curious feature can be seen in the north wall, near its junction with the nave: two thin pieces of wood, set one above the other in the wall, appear to define a narrow vertical opening. Each in fact forms the lintel of a blocked putlog hole. Another pair of putlog holes, again with thin wooden lintels, occurs further east.

On the inside, there is a five-canted ceiled roof, with two iron tie-rods. The rere-arch of the east window of the south wall encloses a sedilia, flanked by a superb piscina with curvilinear tracery. In the floor beneath the piscina is a double basin, perhaps from an earlier double piscina. The chancel south-west window has a low-side-window.

Perhaps the most interesting feature is the floor at the east end of the chancel consisting of re-set Bawsey tiles. Many still retain their yellow glaze and embossed designs, including rosettes, escutcheons, and one with a triskele pattern formed of curvilinear tracery (Design No. XXXVIII, with other examples found at Bawsey in 1843 and 1928, and at the Chapter House at Castle Acre; also at Rising Castle, Spalding, and perhaps Lyme Regis; designed by 'blockmaker 1', so presumably a little before c. 1376; Eames 1955, 176-179).

#### *Nave* (Pl. XI)

The masonry of north and south nave walls is identical, consisting mainly of fairly carefully coursed large conglomerate blocks, interspersed with random stretches of flint. The top 1.5m of wall, however, is of small flints, closely packed; this clearly represents a heightening of the walls. The south wall has been refaced up to 1.5m from the ground with close-packed flint masonry (with occasional pieces of brick, conglomerate and stone); above this, west of the porch, the coursing of the conglomerate blocks has been confused by some capricious modern pointing. The original eastern termination of the nave is not visible, but the masonry of both north and south walls changes by the large Perpendicular windows at the eastern end of the nave walls; east of these windows, the masonry consists of very small flints with random conglomerate lumps. Quoins at these corners consist of fairly large limestone blocks (very large for the lowest 2 m).

Only a small stretch of the west wall can be seen either side of the tower; its masonry is the same as that of north and south walls. Its quoins are of very large squared blocks of alternating limestone and ironbound conglomerate (except for the top 2 m, where the quoins are all limestone and slightly smaller). At both corners, at about the same height, there is a very large limestone quoin placed upright rather than flat.

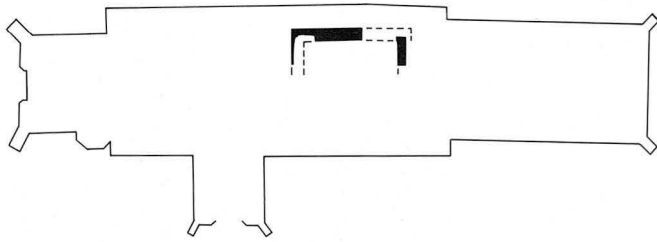
Openings in the south wall are as follows: west of the porch, a three-light Perpendicular window with transom and batement lights; east of the porch, a two-light Early English window with low transom and Y-tracery; and a three-light square-headed Perpendicular window with carved label-stops (defaced). On the north side (west to east): the blocked north doorway (opposite south one), with pointed, single hollow chamfer, and a lancet above (Victorian and blocked by recent bricks); another lancet of the same type is further east; then a large three-light Perpendicular window with stepped transom and four-centred head; lastly, a small lancet high up near the east quoins (not Victorian).

In the interior of the nave, there are two single-splayed round-headed windows in the north wall; both have had lancets inserted into the outer face at a later date (probably in the nineteenth century). Cracks in the plaster above the south door (see below) suggests the possible existence of a Norman window here too.

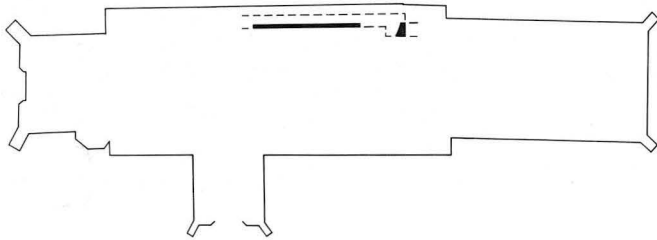
The chancel arch is double chamfered, rising from plain polygonal impost. Above it, there is a certain amount of patching in the east gable of the nave,

# St. Andrew's

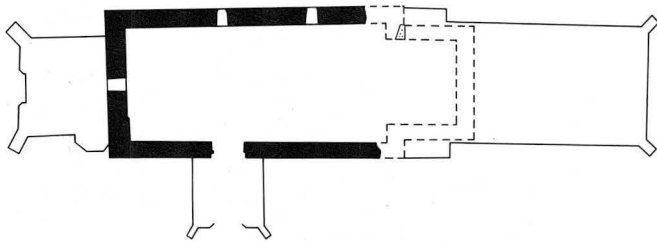
Phase 1



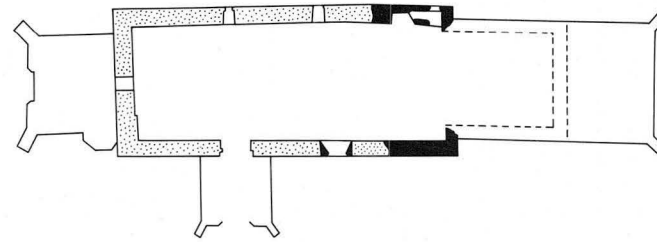
Phase 2



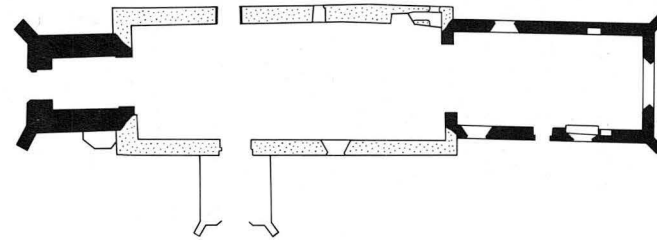
Phase 3



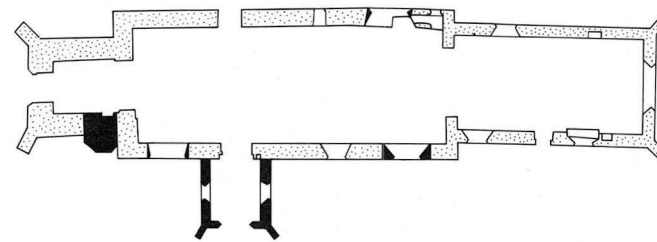
Phase 4



Phase 5



Phase 6



0 15 metres  
0 50 feet

Figure 40 St. Andrew's Church: phase plan. Scale 1:400

apparently a small blocked window (above the ridge of the chancel roof) surmounting a large rectangular blocking (perhaps the scar of a board depicting the Royal Arms). The rood stair proceeds east from the rere-arch of the three-light window in the north wall, leading up to a flat two-centred arch which gave on to the rood loft, and lit by a lancet high up in the corner of the north wall. Below this, and against the east wall of the nave (and partly obscured by the pulpit), there is a splendid Perpendicular statue niche with cusped ogee head, surmounted by gablet with crockets and finial and flanked by panels of rectilinear tracery, the whole set within a rectangular frame lined with fleurons.

#### *Tower*

The large west tower is in danger of collapse, and since 1966 has been shored up on its west side<sup>5</sup>. Masonry, where visible, consists of small chipped flints and occasional pieces of limestone and ironbound conglomerate, all packed closely together. Brick-lined putlog holes are especially noticeable in the first-floor stage. Each of the three stages is divided by a stone stringcourse. The diagonal buttresses of the west corners reach the stringcourse between first-floor and belfry stage, with just one set-off; above the set-off, a cusped ogee niche is embedded in the leading edge of each buttress. The east corners of the tower are unbuttressed, having simple limestone quoins.

A wide, somewhat squat doorway pierces the west wall at ground level. It has a four-centred head and hood-mould, and continuous arch mouldings. The large three-light window above also has a four-centred head, and a hood mould which forms a continuation of the stringcourse which envelops the buttresses. The window has cusped ogee main lights, supermullions and crenellated transom supporting trefoil-headed batement lights.

The first-floor stage is very plain, pierced only by a single square sound-hole in the north and south faces. A large iron clock breaks the monotony of the west face. Above this stage are the belfry windows; they are all two-light, with cusped Y-tracery in north, south and west faces. The east belfry window, however, has a more exciting curvilinear design, with round-headed swirling mouchettes. The stone cornice at the top of this stage is decorated with carved saltire crosses (no doubt referring to the church's dedication to St. Andrew); a gargoyle in the form of a large carved head protrudes from north and south faces of the cornice. Above, there is a parapet of (apparently medieval) brick, with stone coping. The wooden roof is a low pyramid, and supports a weather vane.

On the south side, in the corner between tower and west wall of nave, there is a protruding stair-turret (Pl. XI). It is a half octagon in shape, and is constructed mainly of brick (late medieval) with random courses of brick; large limestone quoins strengthen the corners for the first 2m. The turret is clearly an addition to the tower, since it does not bond in and partly obscures the sound-hole in the south face of the tower. It has two tiny slit windows, and a stone pyramidal top capped with a finial.

The tower arch is the same width as the internal faces of the tower, and has no responds; the double chamfered arch rises from polygonal corbels. A doorway with four-centred head leads from the south wall into the stair-turret.

On ascending the stairs and reaching the first floor (which is set immediately above the apex of the tower arch), the round-headed arch, with neat chalk voussoirs, of an opening in the middle of the east wall can be seen. This is clearly an opening (presumably window) in the west wall of the Norman nave; the lower part of the opening must have been lost when the present tower arch was built.

Looking up at the tower arch from the nave, there is the suggestion of a gable line immediately enclosing the head of the arch (Pl. XII). This needs to be measured, to check whether it surmounts the head of the opening visible in the first floor of the tower, and to see if this 'gable', if projected, reaches the top of the surviving Norman north and south walls of the nave. A higher roof-line is faintly visible within the present roof (which is relatively recent). Flat buttresses either side of the tower arch support the tower to east.

#### *Porch*

The porch is exceptionally fine. There is a base course, continuing round the diagonal buttresses, constructed of two rows of limestone shields set in carefully knapped flint; there is also an incised quatrefoil on the leading edge of each buttress above the base course. Apart from the base course, the masonry of east and west walls is very plain, consisting of chipped flint speckled with brick; it does not bond in with the masonry of the nave. Both of these walls has a small two-light square-headed window.

As is often the case with porches, the south face is more elaborate and more neatly constructed than the sides. Against a ground of carefully knapped flint, the wall is studded with carved stones and decorative motifs (Pl. XI). There is a good late Perpendicular doorway, with polygonal coronet capitals, and bizarre faces carved at the stops of the hood-mould. Either side of the doorway, stone shields set into the flint wall alternate with saltire crosses (representing St. Andrew). Four square panels of stone are set into the wall higher up; two have an embossed window tracery design; the other two are carved with large (and rather coarse) rosettes. Finally, above the head of the archway, there is a rectangular stone panel depicting, within a cusped arched frame, a figure (rather weathered) wearing a mitre; he is holding an item in his hand, which in Blomefield's day could be identified as a saltire cross; clearly the figure represented is St. Andrew.

The porch is the only part of the church which retains its original roof; this one is arch-braced, with billet pattern on the ridge timber. The south door is of ancient timber too. The Norman south doorway is perhaps the most magnificent feature of the church. It has a single order of nook shafts, supporting capitals with a lobed leaf design, chamfered imposts and an arch with two angle rolls, surrounded by a billet hood-mould. Within the Norman doorway, a plain pointed arch with chamfer has been inserted. The top of the Norman arch has been re-set in a point to match; this can be detected by the unduly large joint at the head of the arch with angle rolls, and the confused spacing of billet at the top.

A holy water stoup has been squeezed into the space between the Norman doorway and the porch east wall.

#### **Interpretation and dating**

In September 1982, during the lowering of deposits by contractors within the NE part of the nave for the installation of a concrete floor, five small holes were hurriedly excavated by Andrew Rogerson. The



results were tantalising in that they indicated two phases of masonry church preceding the standing twelfth-century nave, but there was no opportunity for work on a large scale. Despite the destructive presence of a Victorian heating duct along the centre line of the nave and under the north wall, the survival of undisturbed stratification relating to the early history of the church was in marked contrast to the thoroughly robbed site of All Saints'.

#### Phase 1

An east to west foundation trench, c.1 m wide and at least 0.4 m deep was filled with layers of flint set in rammed chalk. At the badly disturbed east and west ends it returned to the south, suggesting a rectangular structure measuring c.4.6 m internally. No floors were associated with this phase and nowhere did walling survive on the upper surface of the foundation. A date in the middle of the eleventh century seems likely.

#### Phase 2

The southern part of an east to west wall of mortared flint surviving to a height of 0.15 m and mortar-rendered on its internal face, was set upon a chalk and flint filled foundation trench which partly overlay and cut through the foundation of Phase 1. Two mortar floors were separated by a layer of compacted soil and butted the base of the mortar rendering. The wall, which was directly overlain by an internal plinth of the Phase 3 nave north wall, could not be examined further to the west, while its east end had been removed by the Victorian heating duct.

East of the duct another wall of similar character but containing the occasional piece of iron-bound conglomerate was set 0.5 m further south. This may be of Phase 2 but could equally well be the chancel north wall of Phase 3. It too was rendered internally and set on a chalk and flint foundation overlaying that of Phase 1. A mortar floor butted the base of the rendering and sealed a mortar filled post-hole which was cut into the filling of the robber trench of the Phase 1 east wall. This phase should be placed in the late eleventh century.

#### Phase 3

The Norman nave stands almost complete, although we cannot be certain about its extent eastwards. Two Norman windows survive in the north wall, the head of another in the west wall. Most important of all, there is the south doorway; the capitals suggest an early date, though not too early, given the relative sophistication of the double angle rolls of the arch; a date of c.1110 would be acceptable, and there is no reason to doubt that the rest of the Norman nave belongs to this phase. Possibly the lower roofline visible above the tower arch belongs to this phase too.

#### Phase 4

The east end of the nave was rebuilt or extended at a period before the construction of the chancel. If contemporary with the chancel, it would surely have had diagonal buttresses at the east corners (like chancel and tower) rather than simple quoins. The lancet window which lights the rood stair at the north-east corner of the nave looks original and may be thirteenth century, but since it is so small and functional one must be circumspect at using it to establish the date of this phase. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that work took place in the nave in the later thirteenth century, as shown by the Y-tracery window with transom inserted into the nave wall just east of the porch.

#### Phase 5

Major building operations took place in the fourteenth century, as witness the tower and chancel. The tower is Decorated, and not Perpendicular as Pevsner says; he was probably misled by the west doorway and window above, but the former is so squat and badly proportioned that it is impossible to conceive of it as part of a unified tower design; both window and doorway must have been inserted later, and made to fit into the existing space available. There are no other features which suggest that the tower is Perpendicular, and the belfry windows (especially the east one) are very clearly Decorated. Likewise the curvilinear tracery of the chancel suggests mature Decorated date, of the middle of the fourteenth century. Possibly the Bawsey tiles in the chancel was contemporary (even though not *in situ*); they presumably date to a little before 1376, perhaps as early as c.1350. It could be that tower, chancel and tiles all belong to a single lavish phase of building around the middle of the fourteenth century.

#### Phase 6

Finally, there are the Perpendicular additions, notably the porch and the tower stair-turret. The porch and the inserted windows in the nave look late (embattled transoms in windows, porch arch, etc.), presumably of the later fifteenth century or very early sixteenth century. No doubt the brick parapet of the tower is contemporary with the stair-turret.

More recent work (nineteenth and twentieth century) includes the nave roof (1868) and the 'gothicizing' of the Norman windows.

## IX. St. Mary's, the Architecture and the Phasing

by Neil Batcock

### Architectural Description

(Pl. XIII, Fig. 41)

The church consists of chancel, north vestry and nave. All roofs are thatched. The magnificent Norman west door was formerly the north door of All Saints' church.

#### Chancel

The walls are built of roughly coursed small flints. A plinth of flint capped with chamfered limestone continues round all external walls. Patches of rendering cover much of the walling; the east wall, and the eastern part of the north wall, were freshly rendered in the mid-1970s. The top 0.5 m of north and south walls contain much brick, and appears to represent a heightening of the walls.

The east wall is pierced by a superb three-light Decorated window, with reticulated tracery (Pl. XIV). The main lights have cusped ogee heads; the reticulations contain ogee quatrefoils. Both tracery and mullions have ogee profiles, with a fillet, and the window jambs have continuous sunken quadrant mouldings. The hood-mould consists of a roll with frontal fillet; its terminals are excellently carved human heads, a king to north, a queen to south. On the inside there is a small square aumbry south of the window. At the corners are medium-sized limestone quoins. The corbelled-out eaves consoles are both carved with miniature Atlas figures, bearing the roof

above with their arms. The gable wall is capped with stone, and surmounted with a gable cross.

Near the east wall, the south chancel wall is pierced by a three-light Perpendicular window. Each light has a cinquefoil head, the spandrels are all blank, and the window is enclosed by a plain chamfered square hood-mould. On the inside, the window is contained within a four-centred rere-arch with concave chamfer; the jambs continue down to form a sedilia, below which are six carved stone panels, each a quatrefoil containing a rosette. Next to the window is a delightful priest's door, with cusped ogee head; the hood-mould, which follows the ogee profile, springs from lion head terminals and is surmounted by crockets and crowned with a generous finial. Further west there is a two-light Decorated window, identical in type to the much grander east window. The hood mould again terminates in a remarkably life-like portrait head of a man to east, a woman to west. The bottom 0.5m of the window has been blocked with re-used limestone pieces and rendered. On the inside a wall arch, springing from the priest's door to the chancel arch, oversailing the window; this is a four-centred arch, but, strangely, only three-quarters of the arch is completed before it runs into the chancel arch.

An identical wall arch, pierced by an identical two-light window, is reflected in the north wall. The carved label-stops of the window again have carved faces, a rather sad-looking man and woman. The bottom 0.5 m of this window is blocked too. Another 0.5m east of the window, part of a low pointed doorway, blocked in flint, can be made out, partly covered by the west wall of the vestry. On the inside, the door to the vestry has a four-centred arch with square label and a carved leaf in each spandrel. The label-stop to east depicts the head of a man, that to west a woman with plaited hair. East of the door is a spacious aumbry, with ogee head, panelled in wood.

The chancel arch is double chamfered. It springs from large polygonal corbels with scroll mouldings. The three-sided plaster ceilings of chancel and nave are canted upwards so as not to cut across the top of the chancel arch.

*North vestry*

The vestry has a thatched gable roof at right angles to the north wall of the chancel. The masonry is mainly flint, with interspersed pieces of re-used limestone. East and west walls are both pierced with a small cusped window in limestone. The south wall has a shallow pointed niche, outlined in brick with a plain brick hood-mould; a board has been set into it, painted to resemble a three-light window. The gable above has been recently heightened by 25cm. Quoins at the corners are of squared limestone.

*Nave (Pl.XV)*

The nave is only slightly wider and longer than the chancel. Apart from the west end, the masonry is broadly similar to the chancel; occasional pieces of conglomerate interspersed among the flint are more noticeable in the nave. Like the chancel, many patches of rendering remain, and a flint and limestone plinth proceeds along the base of north and south walls. Oddly, the nave walls are 0.5m lower than the chancel walls. Quoins at all corners are of medium-sized limestone blocks. The eaves consoles are moulded, but less elaborate than in the chancel.

Just west of the nave south-east corner, a piece of wall about 1m wide has been patched and filled with a mixture of re-used rood-stair. Next to this blocking is a broad two-light Decorated window. The design of the tracery of this window is extremely unusual. The two main lights are distinctly asymmetrical, each surmounted by a lopsided combination of two mouchettes and a quatrefoil; the inner mouchettes are lower than the outer ones. The head of the window has a kind of four-petal motif, with the bottom

St. Mary's

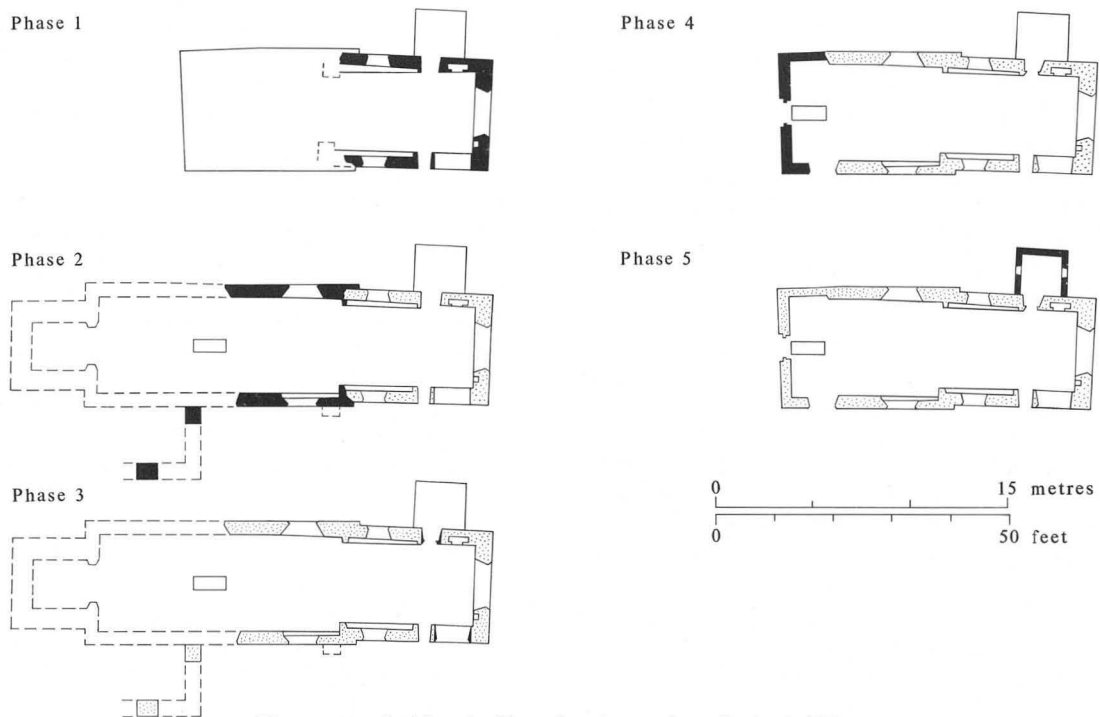


Figure 41 St.Mary's Church: phase plan. Scale 1:400

petal split in two by a supermullion to make two mouchettes. The hood-mould is plain. On the inside, the rere-arch is poorly formed, but on the west side the leading edge has a keel moulding; the rear arch continues down to form a ledge seat. The bottom 0.5m of the window is blocked.

There is a change in masonry 2.5m west of this window. On the inside it is marked by a set-off in the masonry of some 15cm. A vertical crack and a slight set-back mark the break on the outside. The east jamb of the south doorway corresponds with the line of the break. The doorway itself has a four-centred head with continuous mouldings on the west jamb; there is a return 0.6m from the ground, suggesting that the stone above formed the east jamb of the window, now gone. On the inside, the east springing of the rear arch of this former window can be seen. West of this break, the wall is much thinner and smoother than that further east. On the outside, this part is almost completely rendered; but where render has fallen, it can be seen that the masonry consists of re-used pieces of limestone.

The north wall mostly mirrors the south wall of the nave. It is pierced by a two-light Decorated window of different tracery design to its counterpart in the south wall. It has achieved symmetry, but is still peculiar in its form. The cinquefoil main lights are both surmounted by an inordinately large mouchette, squeezing out any room for more forms save a small eyelet and an elongated quatrefoil in the interstice between the two main lights. As elsewhere, the bottom 0.5m of the window has been blocked. On the inside the rear arch continues down to the ground, and the keeled leading edge survives in its entirety. Further west, there is a vertical masonry break opposite that on the south side. Again, there is the east jamb of a window, with the return for its sill 1m from the ground; on the inside, the eastern edge of the rear arch survives. West of this point, the wall is thinner and smoother.

The west wall continues the smoothly rendered masonry already observed at the west end of the north and south walls. At the base, there is a high plinth with roll-moulded limestone capping. The west quoins are visible, of squared limestone, with eaves consoles like the east corners of the nave. A triple row of nineteenth-century bricks at eaves level marks a change of masonry in the west wall; below, where the rendering has fallen, the masonry consists of limestone blocks; above it is unrendered flint. This gable is capped with a bell-cote containing a single bell, a simple arched structure in stone surmounted by a cross. Lower down, there is a two light window with circular eyelet and hood-mould.

We now come to the spectacular Norman west door (Fig. 42). The arch is of two orders. The inner shafts consist of continuous bobbin motifs. The outer shafts have a stylised beak-head decoration, progressing from wide 'beaks' at the bottom to narrow ones at the top. Each shaft has a capital carved with stringy volutes, except the capital of the inner north shaft which appears to be decorated with small rosettes. The imposts are chamfered and quirked. The inner order of the round-headed arch continues the bobbin theme; the outer order has genuine beak-head decoration. The hood-mould comprises a thin order of dog-tooth decoration, capped with an order of semi-circular incisions.

## Interpretation and dating

There are three principal phases of construction: the chancel, the nave, and the west end.

We know from Domesday Book that there were two churches in Barton Bendish in the eleventh century, one of them almost certainly St.Mary's (Doubleday and Page 1906, 2, 127). However, nothing of this church survives.

Leaving aside the west door, which came from another church, the earliest part of the present fabric is the chancel. The excellent east window has reticulated tracery, and carefully carved label stops. The two-light windows of north and south walls conform to this design. A date of c.1340 would be fairly acceptable. It is possible that this chancel extended further west: the wall arches in the western part of the chancel are incomplete and the windows which sit within these wall-arches are placed directly below the apex of the three-quarters arch. It looks as if a symmetrical arrangement was intended; if the wall-arches were complete, the chancel would have extended at least 0.5m further west (Phase 1).

If the chancel were indeed longer, then the present nave must necessarily be later than the chancel. Two other factors show that the nave belongs to a different phase from the chancel. Firstly, the walls are significantly thinner than those of the chancel, 70cm as opposed to 90cm. Secondly, the style of the windows is different in the nave. Gone are the superbly carved label-stops, and the neat reticulate tracery. Instead, we have two windows which are broadly Decorated in form, but eccentrically rustic in design and execution. The tracery of both is oafishly ill-proportioned, and the peculiar asymmetry of the nave south window seems preposterously provincial. Whoever designed the windows was clearly out of touch with main stream architecture and so a late date - perhaps c.1370-would not be too great an embarrassment. It is perhaps significant that John Lovel was buried in the middle of the church in 1372 (N.R.O. NCC Wills 23 Heydon). The fact that the burial is specified as being in the 'church' rather than the 'chancel' indicates that John Lovel was buried in the middle of the nave. There is a large rectangular tomb slab in the floor of the present nave, just east of the west door (Fig. 41). Could this be the site of John Lovel's tomb?

As with the chancel, there is good reason to believe the nave extended further west-in this case considerably further west (Phase 2). Firstly the opening filled by the present south door was originally a window opening, of which only the east jamb survives. This feature is echoed in the north wall. It would be extremely unlikely for a fourteenth century nave not to have been provided with north and south doors, so these must have taken up a bay, which extended west from the present west wall. These figures are purely hypothetical, but if we allow 1.4m for the window on the site of the present south door, a 2.8m length of wall from this window to an original doorway, a doorway 1.4m wide, and a length of wall 1.2m long from the doorway to the south-west corner of the nave, then we may conjecture a nave some 14.2 m long (external measurements). We then have a nave more comparable in proportions to those of St.Andrew's and All Saints' (in their fourteenth-century phases, St.Mary's has a reconstructed length/breadth ration of 2.4:1, St.Andrew's 4.8:1; the figure for St.Mary's accords well with other fourteenth century naves, e.g. West Harling 2.4:1,

Babingley 2.2:1).

Two alterations were made to the chancel in the fifteenth century (Phase 3). Firstly, a north doorway was inserted; the plaited hairstyle of the lady carved on the label indicates an early fifteenth century date. Later in the century, a square-labelled three-light window, with sedilia below, no doubt replaced an earlier window in the chancel south wall.

During the digging of a soakaway south-west of the church in 1979, the foundation of a wall running east-west was discovered. It was constructed of flint and chalk and was 90cm wide; only a 1 m length of the foundation was uncovered. This presumably belonged to a porch, perhaps part of the Phase 2 church. Forby (see below) records that 'the old entrance on the south side turned to the use of a vestry'. It is very doubtful whether the conjectured porch could have later formed the vestry. The main difficulty is that the foundation is west of the west wall of the present nave; if retained as a vestry, its disposition would have been

very awkward indeed. The excavation for a soakaway also uncovered a burial outside the priest's door; it was accompanied by a pewter paten (Fig.25, No.3). At the south-east corner of the nave, foundations of a small turret for a rood-stair were found.

There was also a west tower, which collapsed during the reign of Queen Anne (Blomefield 1807, 7, 282); Bryant specifies that this took place during a storm *c.*1710, and he is followed by Cox and Cotton (Bryant 1904, 16; Cox 1911, 2, 89; R.C.F. 1980, 5). Thomas Lovel left £1 towards new bells in 1421 (R.C.F. 1980, 5) which suggests the tower had recently been completed. The tower may have been planned as part of John Lovel's nave campaign of the 1370s. No doubt the collapse of the tower led to the destruction of the western part of the nave. The eastern half of the nave could still be used; perhaps a temporary boarding was used to cover the west end.

A description of the church, as it appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century, has survived in the form of

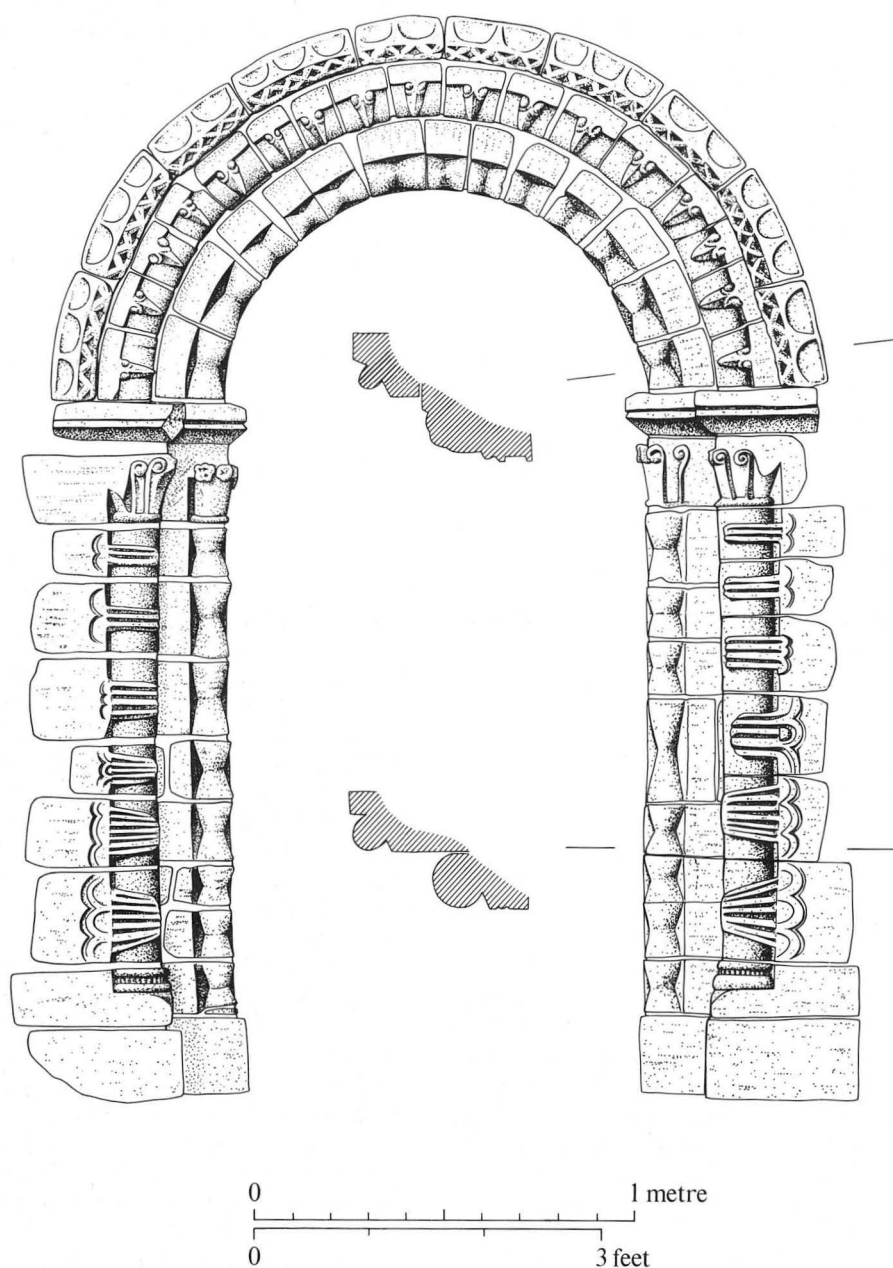


Figure 42 Elevation west door of St.Mary's, former north door of All Saints', with profiles of mouldings. Scale 1:20



a note, probably in the possession of Blomefield originally, dated to 1731 (N.R.O., NNAS c3/2/12). It shows that the remains of the tower could still be seen, that the south porch and rood stair still stood, and that a dilapidated vestry adjoined the north wall of the chancel (presumably where the present vestry stands):

St.Mary ... is an exceeding small building without any tower. The Church and Chancell are thatched Between which is a very ancient [stairway] going up to the Rood all of freestone. The south porch is small and tiled, only one small light at the west end. The ruins of the tower at the west end appear not a foot above the earth. It was large and the church look to have been longer than it now is ... a vestry n.side cha[ncel] dilapidated. Exceeding unusual door in the cha[ncel].

More permanent repairs could be carried out in 1789 after the church of All Saints' had been demolished (Phase 4). A Faculty of 1787 united St.Mary's and All Saints' and the 1789 Faculty to demolish All Saints' (N.R.O. FCB/4, 6, 127) included permission to repair St.Mary's. The Rev.Robert Forby described these repairs in a memorandum in the parish register (NRO PD350/7(s)). The sale of bells and material from All Saints brought in £56.15s.6d. which defrayed in part the £80 spent on repairs to St.Mary's over the summer of 1789. A cupola was built at the west end to house a bell, which previously had been hung within the church. Roof and windows were repaired, a new reading desk and pews provided, and the floor repaired. In addition, 'the old entrance on the south side (was) turned to the use of a Vestry. An entrance was made at the west end where a beautiful Saxon Arch was erected, formerly the North Entry of All Saints church'. An old gravestone was removed from the south doorway and placed in the chancel, north of the communion table.

A further structural alteration took place in 1858 when the upper part of the nave west wall was rebuilt in flint. The two-light west window dates to this reconstruction. About this time a vestry was built onto the north wall of the chancel (Phase 5); Bryant refers to it as 'modern' (Bryant, 1904, 16). The stone bell-cote was added in 1871.

## X. Discussion

### The origins of the three churches

(Fig.2)

At All Saints' the pottery from the buried soil cut by pre-Phase 1 burials was almost exclusively Late Saxon and of the tenth century. Pits and ditches at the northern end of the 1980 trial trench and immediately south of the village street contained material of tenth and early eleventh century date, but there were no later features. Domestic activity south of the street may have persisted for a short time after the establishment of the pre-Phase 1 graveyard. Little can be said of this occupation except that it formed part of band of Late Saxon settlement stretching along the south side of the street west to St.Mary's church and beyond. At St.Mary's the foundation of a graveyard and presumed church in the rear of an existent tenement may have also taken place. In 1979 no less than twenty-two sherds of Thetford-type and three of St.Neots-type Ware were found in spoil from a drainage trench around St.Mary's. Such a total from a restricted area may well

indicate pre-church domestic activity.

At St.Andrew's it is unclear whether a similar sequence occurred. The 1982 excavations within the building produced three sherds of Thetford-type Ware along with animal bones and shells from contexts earlier than Phase 2. This might possibly indicate that the Phase 1 building was established on a previously occupied plot but below-ground intervention was so small that little emphasis can be put on these finds<sup>6</sup>. A 2m<sup>2</sup> hole was dug in 1984 to receive the human bone from All Saints' just inside the present northern boundary of St.Andrew's churchyard. Thetford-type, St.Neots-type and medieval wares were prolific, as they are as surface finds in the arable field immediately to the north. The complete absence of human bone showed that the hole was probably outside any phase of graveyard and that the pottery was associated with settlement to the north.

To sum up the situations at all three churches, there is definite evidence at All Saint's indicating Late Saxon domestic activity antecedent to the first use of the site as a Christian burial ground; there is less firm, but suggestive evidence that the same applies to St.Mary's, and a lack of reliable information at St.Andrew's.

If it is to be believed that the three churches were all founded on sites with domestic occupation post-dating the introduction of Thetford-type Ware in the late ninth century, then a Middle Saxon churchyard/cemetery must be sought elsewhere. Such a possibility must await the completion of the parish survey by which time, it is hoped, further facts will be forthcoming.

### The pre-Phase 1 graveyard at All Saints'

No church contemporary with the pre-Phase 1 graveyard was found within the area of excavation; indeed there was insufficient space devoid of graves to accommodate the smallest of buildings. A church, as surely existed (Morris 1983, 52), must have been situated elsewhere. A possible candidate lies in the short lengths of slot and a post-hole (23) found north of the stone church in the 1980 trial trench (Fig.19). These features, however, may have been associated with pre-graveyard domestic occupation. That a pre-Phase 1 church lay approximately in this position is suggested by the density of burials in the main excavation that most likely lay south of any contemporary church. The proximity of the graveyard boundary (Fig.20) to the easternmost pre-Phase 1 burials indicates that the church cannot have been further east, but its site may have been somewhere to the north-west.

Because of the restricted size of the excavation the boundaries of the pre-Phase 1 graveyard remain uncertain, although north, south and east limits of the later graveyard were established (Fig.3).

The size of the pre-Phase 1 burial sample, with only thirty-six graves containing bones, was too small to provide any useful population statistics, and the thirteen males, five females, six unsexed adults, ten children, two infants and thirteen grave-like features are a testament to the need for the total excavation of cemeteries.

No certain evidence for coffins were recovered, although a short row of nails was found in one grave (242). The tightly packed and parallel position of arm and leg bones in most burials probably indicates the use of shrouds. Head-niches were present in five graves, which were all in the area of the later nave, and which, with the exception of one containing a child (249) were the deepest

graves in that part of the site. The strange position of the skull in grave 293, inverted and carefully positioned with the upper vertebrae between the feet remains unexplained, although it cannot be the result of the proximity of two Phase 1 wall foundations as there was no evidence of disturbance.

There were few instances of intercutting of graves which were in general laid out in north-to-south rows. However, there was no evidence that graves were marked with the splendid exception of the eleventh-century limestone grave-marker reused in the north chapel (p. 32, Fig.30) and of two post-holes (357 and 505) close to the west end of graves 305 and 389.

### All Saints': the quality of the evidence

The surviving evidence for internal arrangements within All Saints' was disappointingly slight. There was, for example, no trace of the position of a font or a soakaway, and the chancel was devoid of any evidence of an altar. The altar base in the north chapel survived because of the absence of professional demolition in that area. Many of the post-holes within the church must have been dug to receive scaffolding at various stages of building and repair, as were those in the north chapel. The functions of trench 335 containing post-holes in the south west corner of the Phase 4 and later nave and the dwarf masonry wall 219 which partly overlay it, remain uncertain. The division between nave and chancel in Phase 4 was distinguished by post-holes 235-6. In succeeding phases there was no archaeological evidence of a screen but merely a west edge to tiled floor 129 and a fragment of the northern return of 219.

Only in the north chapel and in the west part of the chancel did vertical stratification survive the effects of probable lowerings of floor levels, later grave digging and demolition. Excavation in the north chapel was insufficiently complete to take advantage of this survival. The preservation of vertical stratification in the chancel was less good. Floor levels earlier than the late fourteenth century or later tiled pavement were extant at the west end of the chancel, but even here disturbance prevented these being tied in to phases of buildings. The nave produced small areas of late medieval pavement, all earlier floor deposits having been swept away, while the tower had been so heavily robbed that even its wall-plan was difficult to establish.

### Manorial patronage and medieval wealth (Fig.43)

By 1086, and probably by 1066, Barton Bendish contained three churches: St.Mary's known from Domesday only; All Saints entered in Domesday and represented archaeologically by the pre-Phase 1 graveyard or conceivably by the Phase 1 church; and St.Andrews unrecorded in Domesday but encountered in a small-scale archaeological excavation. It is probable that St.Andrew's should be associated with the Domesday holdings of Reynold son of Ivo. All Saint's and St.Mary's belonged to manors worth £4.12.0 and £3 respectively, while the property of Reynold was valued at £11.7.8. This might suggest that if there was any correlation between manorial wealth and the scale of church building, St.Andrew's, in the late eleventh century, was a more important and therefore larger church. It is interesting to note that in 1086 the Bainard (All Saint's) manor was assessed at c.40

per cent of the value of Reynold's (St.Andrew's) holdings while in c.1100 the floor area of All Saint's Phase 1 was c.52 per cent of that of St.Andrew's Phase 3, assuming a square chancel.

The relative wealth of the three churches (p. 50) remained constant into the seventeenth century with St.Andrew's pre-eminent and St.Mary's the poorest. This hierarchy is reflected throughout the medieval period in their internal floor areas (excluding towers and porches for which the evidence is incomplete: Table 14).

	<i>St. Andrew's</i>	<i>All Saints'</i>	<i>St. Mary's</i>
c.1100	c.94	53	?
c.1185	c.94	68	?
Thirteenth century	c.122	61	?
Early fourteenth century	c.122	86	?
Mid/late fourteenth century	144	101	c.92
Fifteenth century	144	118	c.92

Table 14 Comparison of internal floor areas (in sq.m.) of the three churches

The obvious explanation for the multiplicity of churches in the eleventh-century village lies in the close relationship between manorial structure and church foundations, a now well-recognised link best summarised by Morris (1983, 64-75). The survival of all three beyond the end of the Middle Ages is not atypical in Norfolk and is accounted for by the continually complex manorial situation as well as by the sustained wealth of the village.

Barton Bendish may have been 'overchurched' but was not excessively endowed with ecclesiastical floor space when compared with other Norfolk villages of comparable wealth in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Table 15 shows the comparative internal floor areas of churches in seven parishes in Norfolk whose assessments in the 1334/1449 Lay Subsidy Roll are roughly similar to Barton Bendish. Some parishes in Clackclose Hundred, such as Marham, West Dereham and Beechamwell, of comparable wealth to Barton Bendish, are not included in Table 15 because reliable measurements of vanished churches are not available.

	<b>1334</b>	<b>1449</b>	
	<i>£.s.d.</i>	<i>£.s.d.</i>	<i>sq.m.</i>
Scarning	10.14.0	9.7.4.	287
Saham Toney	10.7.4.	9.0.0.	306
Shipdham	10.0.0.	9.6.8.	307
Watlington	10.14.0.	9.14.0.	332
Barton Bendish	10.7.0.	9.7.0.	c.354
Grimston	10.2.0.	9.8.8.	361
Fincham	14.0.0.	10.13.0.	c.463
Cley-next-the-sea	10.0.0.	10.0.0.	686

Table 15 Comparison of lay subsidy assessments of selected villages for 1334 and 1449 (Hudson 1895) with the late medieval parochial church floor areas (in sq. m.) exclusive of towers and porches. The Fincham total includes an approximate calculation for the vanished church of St. Michael based on Blomefield's measurements (1807, 359)

All three buildings grew longitudinally, with the only definite case of lateral expansion occurring in the All Saints' Phase 6 north chapel. The various factors leading to the building of aisles, principally population pressures, liturgical changes, and the activities of guilds, (Morris 1983, 84-5) were not of much influence in Barton Bendish, though the need for more space may in part have been met by the free chapel at Eastmoor and another chapel that

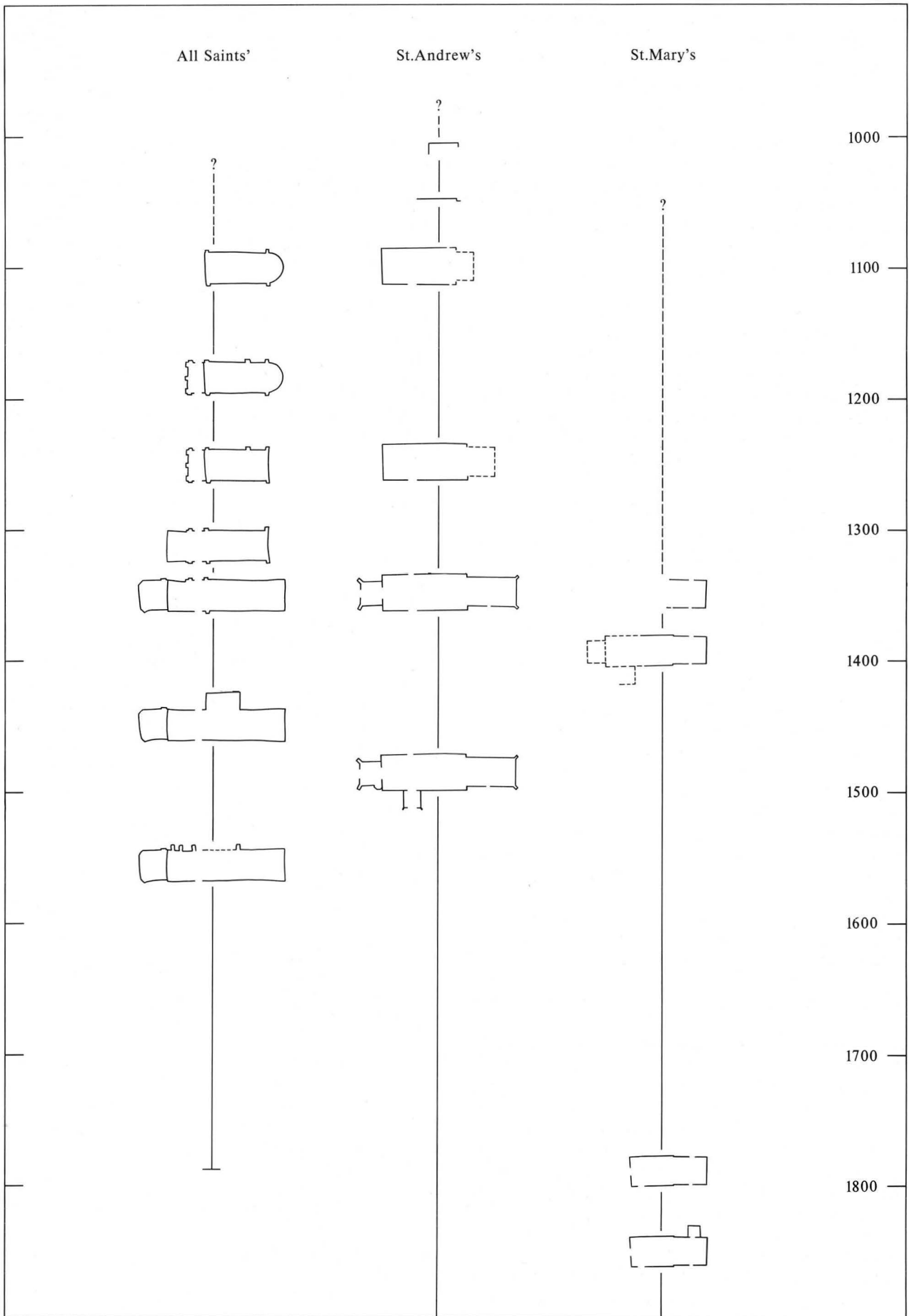


Figure 43 Comparative diagrams illustrating the architectural development of the three churches

may have existed to the north-east of the village (p. 50). Apart from All Saints' north chapel very little expansion took place in the fifteenth century, a south porch, tower stair turret and new nave windows at St. Andrew's and a new window, sedilia and north door at St. Mary's.

### **Burials within All Saints'**

The forty-two excavated burials lying within or immediately adjacent to the church and post-dating the construction of the Phase 1 building ranged in date between, possibly, the thirteenth century and 1800 or later. A small sample spanning such a long period can make only a limited contribution to population studies but does illustrate the changing role of the church interior as a place for interment.

No burials were made within the building in Phase 1-3, with the possible exception of 323 which lay centrally at the eastern end of the nave until the demolition of the chancel arch in Phase 4. Thereafter the chancel was the most popular place for burial while elsewhere graves were restricted to north chapel and the central walkway of the nave. Total excavation in the chancel produced only one accompanied priest's grave (430) although the evidence of wills indicates that at least two pre-Reformation clerics were buried in the chancel. In this respect it is probably significant that of twelve medieval and post-medieval burials in the chancel west of step 157, only one (267) was female. By contrast five out of the six burials at the east end of the chancel, all post-medieval or later, were of females and children.

Coffins were by no means standard equipment in late medieval and post-medieval graves, even in the chancel where higher status burials might be expected. A number of graves, such as 266-9, certainly did not contain coffins,

and the bodies therein were presumably shrouded.

### **The demolition of All Saints'**

The gradual disintegration of All Saints' and the circumstances of its final demolition have been chronicled by Alan Davison (p. 52). It will be clear from the description of the excavation that the results of the demolition were almost total in terms of the survival of the church fabric and less than kind to the stratification within the building, particularly to the west. The north chapel, which had been disused long before 1789, had by contrast survived quite extensively with the lower parts of two walls and complex stratification intact since its early demise. Demolition deposits contained few reusable pieces of masonry and the impression gained is of a systematic and orderly piece of work. Of the many metal small finds found in these deposits, not all can be associated with the use of the church and fittings thereof. It is possible that demolition was followed by a process of levelling that may have involved the deliberate discarding or accidental loss of some of the finds. That there was considerable moving of rubble is indicated by the way in which the window glass fragments could not be assigned to particular windows and had been thoroughly muddled and mixed.

All this post-abandonment destruction suggests that future excavations of medieval churches will produce far more complete evidence within standing or partially standing buildings, particularly those which have escaped extensive Victorian modification. However, the thoroughness with which All Saints' was demolished did not prevent excavations from tracing the major phases of rebuilding and from demonstrating a Saxo-Norman sequence from arable land, to cemetery to masonry church on one plot in the centre of a major west Norfolk village.



# 2. The Late Eleventh Century Church of St. Peter, Guestwick

by Andrew Rogerson and Philip Williams

## I. Summary

The late eleventh-century church consisted of an aisleless nave, axial tower and an apsidal chancel. Only the tower still stands. There was no evidence of an earlier ecclesiastical use of the site, and part of a slot and two post-holes beneath the church were of unknown function. A south transept was probably added in the twelfth century. A vestry, now demolished, was built over the site of the chancel in the medieval period.

## II. Description of Excavations

### Introduction

(Pl. XVI; Figs 44-5)

Guestwick parish lies at the north-east edge of the chalky boulder clay plateau on a watershed between tributaries of the rivers Bure and Wensum. St. Peter's Church (Site 3131) is situated just east of the centre of the parish at TG 2612 2705 and at c.59m OD (Fig.44). As described by Taylor and Taylor (1965, 264-6), the formerly axial tower of the eleventh century church lies unusually at the east end of the north aisle of the medieval building which has grown up to the south (Pl. XVI, Fig.45). Rescue excavation in 1982 and 1983 was confined to areas outside and to the north of the standing building. This paper is concerned with results of this work and with a study of the standing tower, rather than with the architectural development of

the medieval church which was established on its present site to the south in the early thirteenth century or later.

In August 1982 a 1m wide trench was excavated around the north, east and west walls of the tower in advance of the installation of a dry area trench. The excavation showed that the lower parts of the walls of the eleventh century nave and chancel still survived. The contractor's work was then delayed to allow total excavation of the chancel, itself threatened by the installation of a new rainwater drain. This work was carried out over three weeks in August 1983. At the same time, excavation was completed on the north and west sides of the tower, and finally the west end wall of the nave was exposed in a hole dug in collaboration with the contractors.

### The chancel

(Pls XVII and XVIII, Fig.46, Fig.47, Sect. A-A, Fig.48)

A layer of sandy clay loam (44), a heavily truncated buried soil (inf. P. Murphy), overlay the natural boulder clay within the area of the eleventh century chancel, but no comparable deposit survived outside the building. Two pits (57 and 58, not on plan, Fig.46) were cut 35cm and at least 34cm into the natural clay in the south part of the chancel. Their fills were indistinguishable from layer 44. The small feature (73) visible in Sect. A-A (Fig.48) may have been a natural depression.

Irregularly spaced lenses of clay, aligned east to west, were visible in layer 44 in the area between pits 57 and 58.

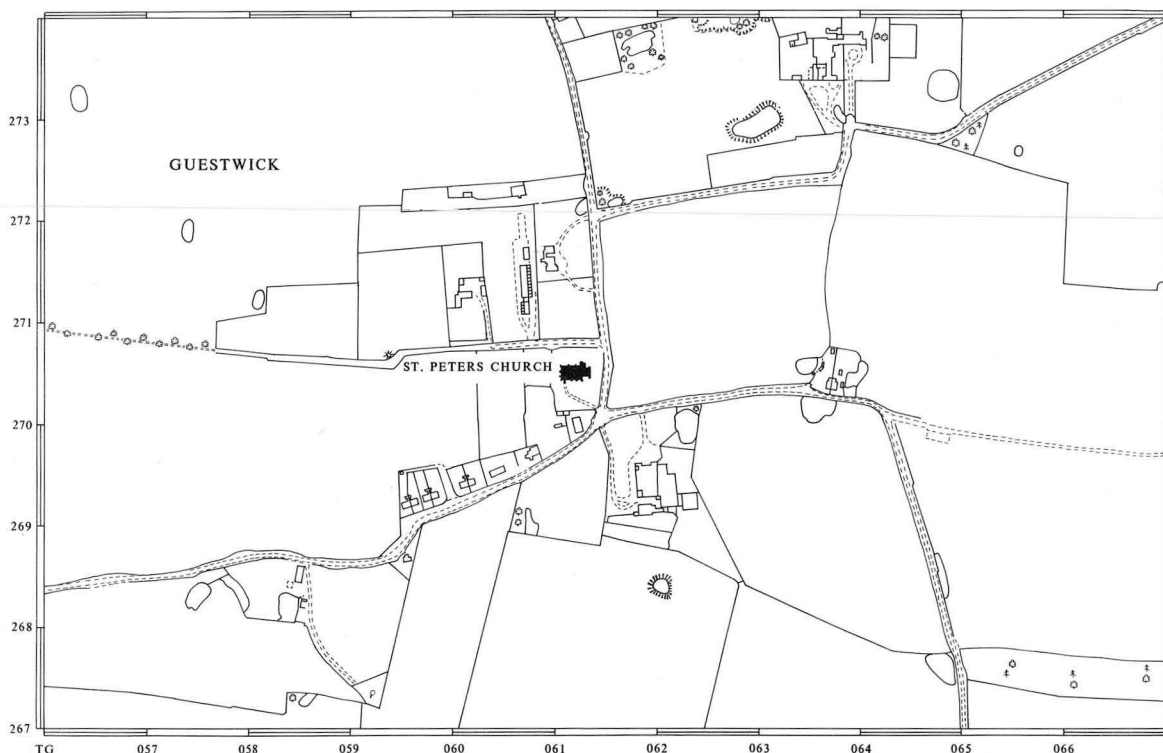


Figure 44 Location plan. Scale 1:7500

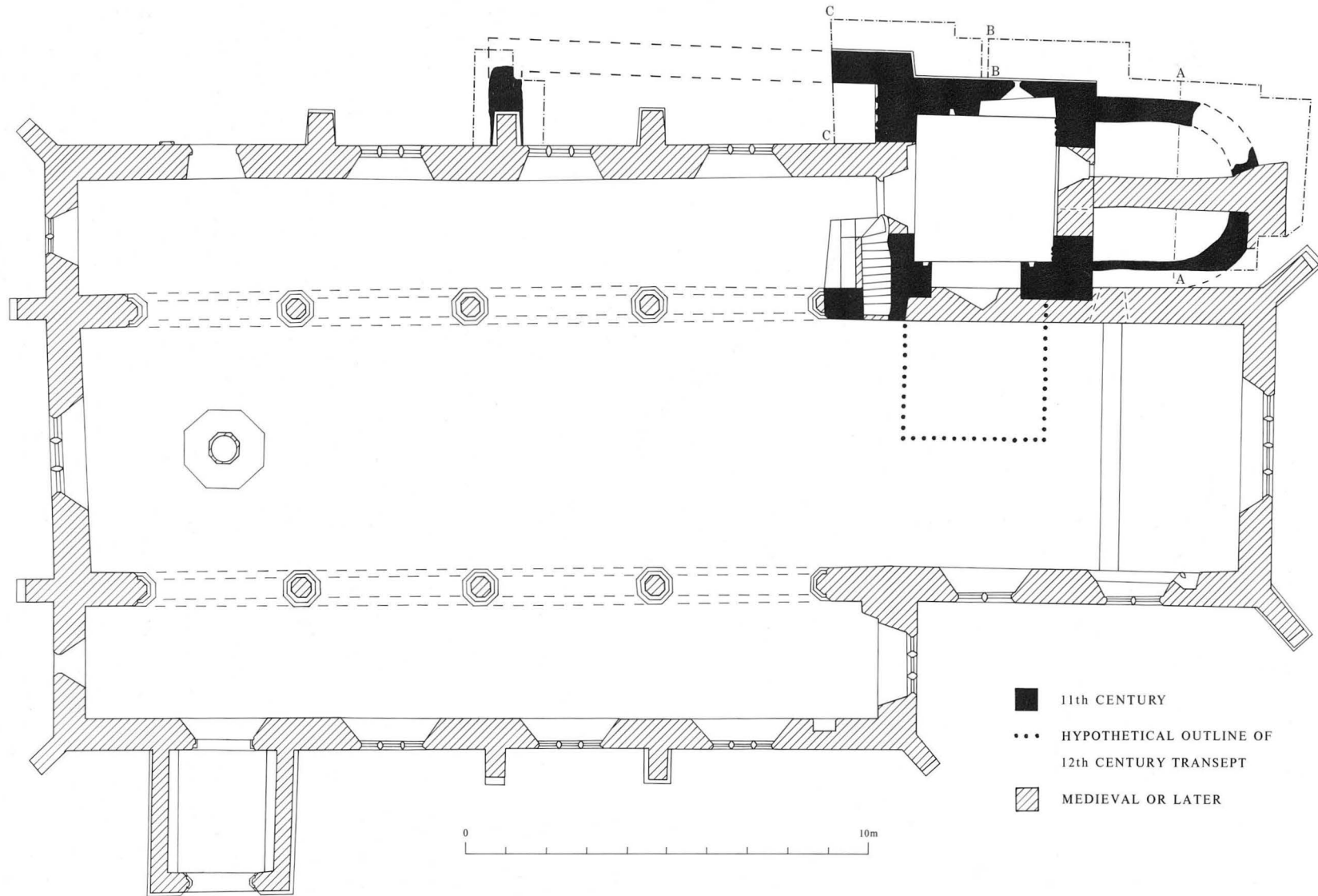


Figure 45 Plan of church and excavation. Scale 1:150

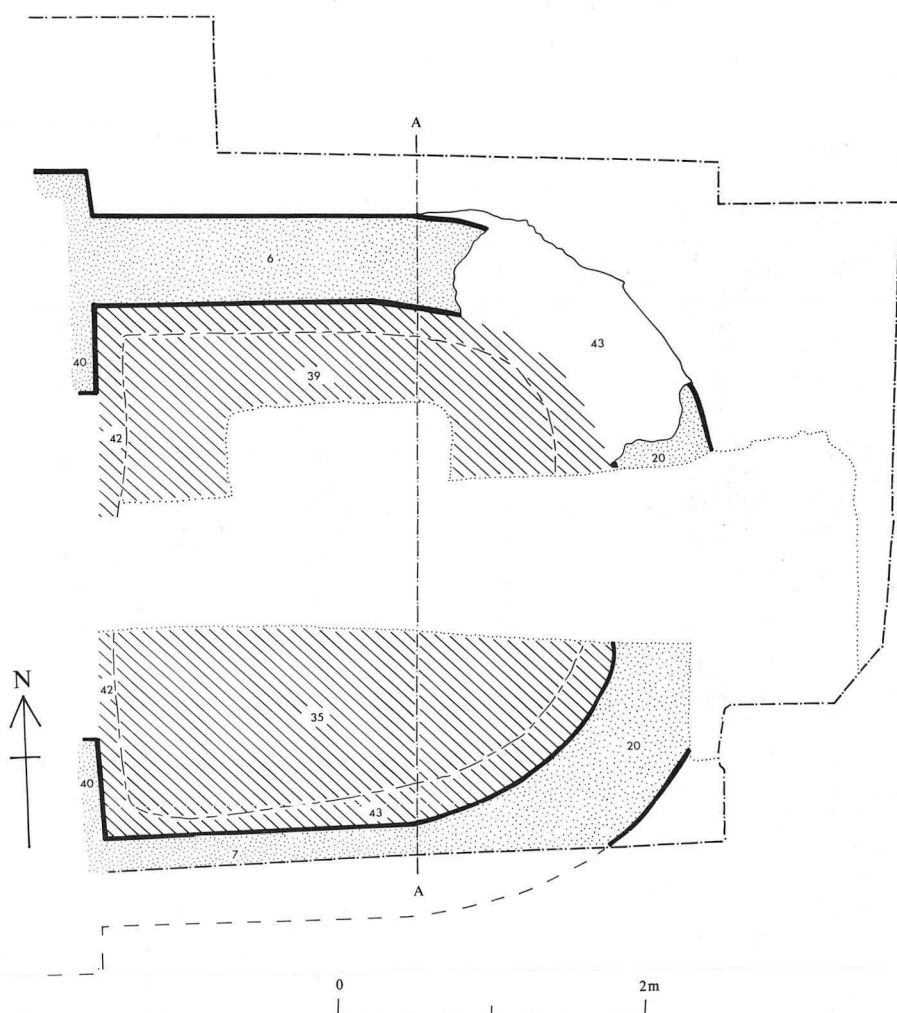


Figure 46 Plan of excavation east of tower, eleventh century walls and area of layers 35 and 39. Scale 1:50

These lenses, which were *c.*2mm thick and not visible on Sect.A-A (Fig.48), may represent ploughing, although they were not accompanied by corresponding scratch-marks in the surface of the underlying clay.

The walls of the eleventh century chancel (6, 7 and 20) were set upon a foundation trench (43) which was continuous with the foundation trench (42) of the east wall of the tower (40). Trench 43, which was filled with stiff clay and flints, was for the most part followed along its outer edge by the chancel walls but projected into the building by as much as 30 cm. Where it cut into the edge of pit 57, trench 43 was observed to be at least 45cm deep, but it was not exposed elsewhere below the level of the natural clay.

The chancel walls, which were bonded to 40, survived to varying heights above the floor (35 and 39). A length of the apse (20) on the northern side had been totally robbed while the west end of the north wall (6) remained to a height of over 4m because it had served as a buttress probably in the medieval period (72). Above the surviving parts of walls 6 and 7 scars were visible in the face of the east wall of the tower (below, Fig.53e and f) below the scar of the roof-line of the eleventh century chancel (Fig.53c). The maximum height of the wall at the easternmost point of the apse (20) was 35cm. The walls were constructed of flint with hard off-white mortar, and were internally rendered with a similar mortar which was up to 2cm in thickness and covered with whitewash. This rendering

also survived on the lower parts of the tower east wall (40). The south edge of wall 7 was inaccessible below a flat bed of concrete set on flints, which formed the south edge of the excavation and butted the base of the north wall of the medieval church.

A layer of hard white lime (35 and 39) lay on the upper surface of layer 44. This layer was normally between 1cm and 2cm in thickness, and survived over the whole chancel except where cut away by later features and over parts of foundation trench 43 where in places it thinned away to nothing. It clearly butted the internal rendering of the chancel walls and in the north-west and south-west corners it ramped up to a thickness of *c.*8cm. It also continued up and over a 10cm high step at the base of the tower arch. Although at the time of excavation, 35/39 was thought to be a floor, analysis by John Evans (p.74) shows it to have been a deposit of spilled or dumped lime waste and never a flooring material.

The whole of the chancel floor was sealed by a uniform layer of relatively stone-free soil (31 and 38) which appeared neither to have been the result of 'occupation' within the structure nor to have been thrown in, and which may perhaps represent a period of abandonment. This layer also ran into the tower through the arch.

Layers 31 and 38 and walls 6 and 20 were sealed by a thick deposit of soil (25 and 34) containing much flint and mortar as well as some lumps of iron-bound conglomerate. Soil indistinguishable from layer 25 extended eastwards

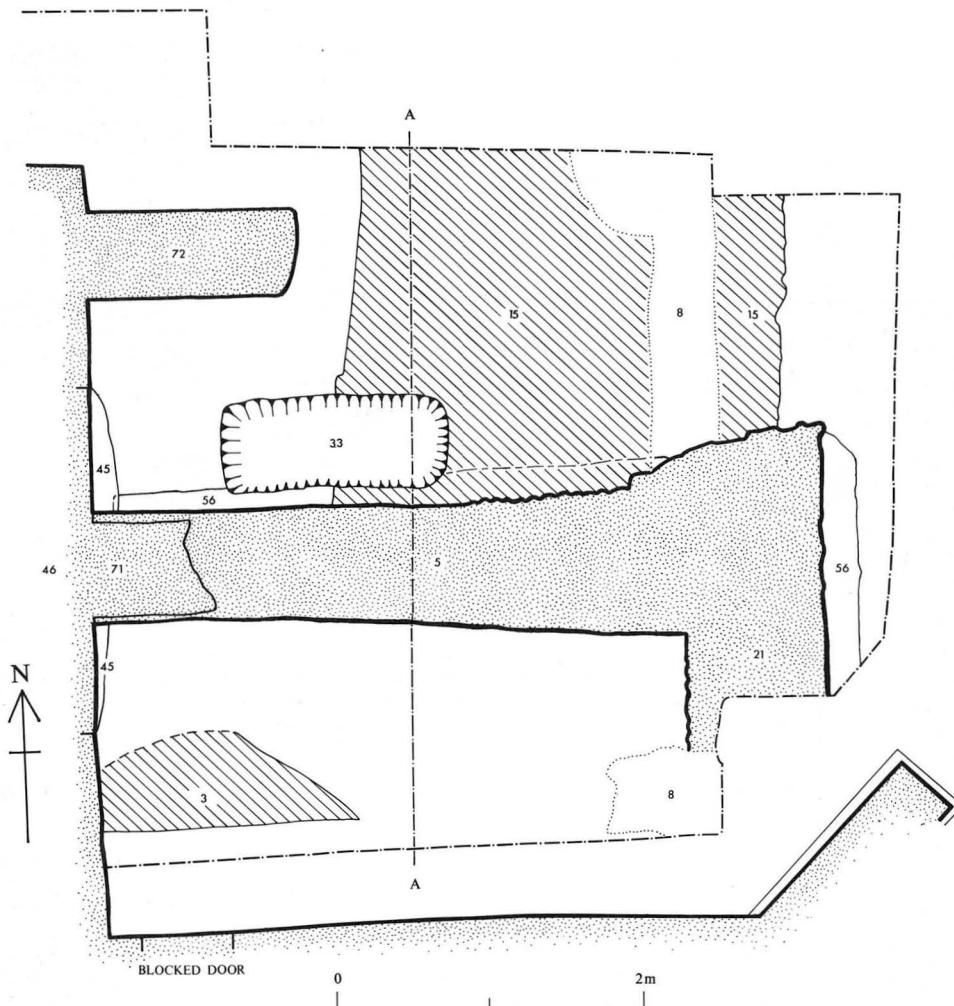


Figure 47 Plan of excavation east of tower, medieval and later features. Scale 1:50

from the line of section A-A, dipping down to the base of the robbed portion of the apse (20). This layer (30) continued over the line of the apse as far as the eastern edge of the excavation. Outside the chancel similar soil (29) was excavated down to the same depth as the surface of the natural clay within the chancel. At this depth an absence of natural and the presence of soil with lumps of clay (41) suggested underlying burials, although only one *in situ* (37; not on plan) was recorded. Layers 25 and 34 were cut by an east-to-west wall (5), constructed of flint and conglomerate set in pale yellowish brown mortar. It was on one build with the blocking of the tower arch (46) and with a north-to-south wall (21). Walls 5 and 21 were set on a foundation trench (56) filled with alternate layers of soil and loose rubbly sandy mortar, while tower arch blocking 46 overlay a much shallower foundation (45) of solid mortared flint. Where attached to 46 a small stub of wall 5, perhaps retained as a buttress, survived c.65cm above internal and external offsets (71 on plan Fig.47). Above this a wall scarp was visible in the block 46 (Fig.53g). This extended upwards to the lower end of a scar of a lean-to roof (Fig.53d).

Within the structure formed by walls 5 and 21 the upper surface of layer 34 seems to have acted as a floor, overlain in places by very thin lenses of mortar. This surface butted the inner face of wall 7, as did floor 3. This irregularly shaped surface was 4cm thick and consisted of hard whitish mortar over flint cobbles set above a similarly

shaped pit filled with highly compacted fine gravel. The surfaces of 3 and layer 34 were flush. As wall 7 stood at least 10cm above this level, it must have acted as a ledge or step down from the access door in the north wall of the medieval chancel. 3 was therefore an area of extra hard floor inserted immediately below the step at which point wear would have been greatest. Layer 34 was sealed by a deposit of rubbly soil (24) while outside a layer of off-white chalky clay (15) extended from the north edge of the excavation and butted the north side of wall 5. No occupation deposit occurred on 15, and its function remains uncertain. It was covered by a slightly rubbly loamy clay (14), while south of wall 5 layer 24 was sealed by a uniform deposit of rubbly soil (10).

Layers 10 and 14 were cut by 12, a robber trench to wall 5, and wall 21 was cut by robber trench 23. Layer 14 was cut by grave 33 (filling 32) which contained a male burial in an unusual posture (p. 74; Fig.51). Grave 33, robber trenches 12 and 23, and layers 10 and 14 were covered by a layer of dark soil with recent rubble (13). This was cut by a soakaway and drainpipe trench (8).

The whole excavation was sealed by a layer of topsoil (4) containing profuse Welsh roof-slates.

#### North of the tower

Excavation was carried down to the base of the tower north wall (75), and a 60 cm wide sondage was dug to the surface of the natural clay east of the central north-to-south baulk



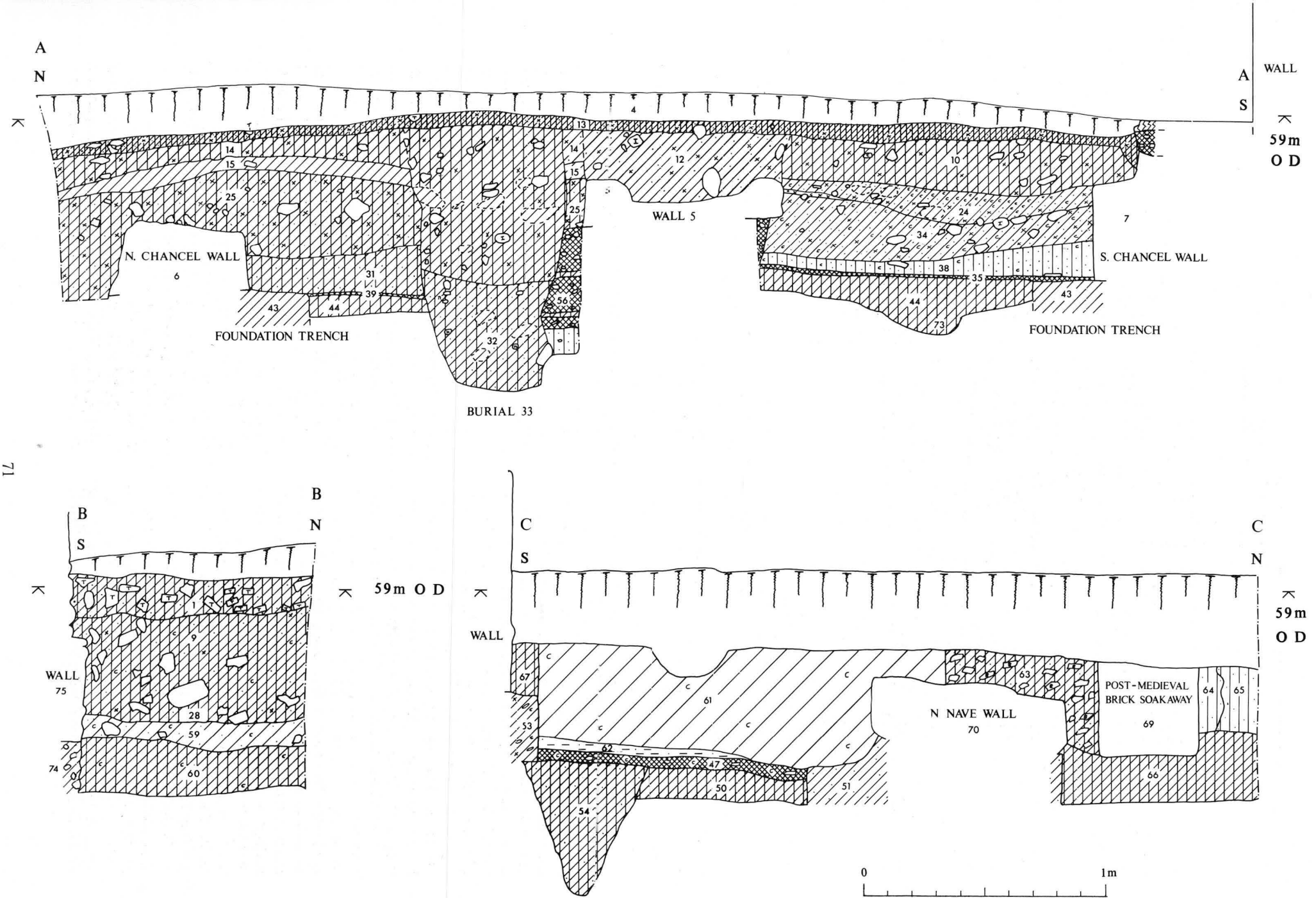


Figure 48 Sections A-A, B-B, and C-C. Scale 1:20

(Sect.B-B, Fig.48). A buried soil (60) overlay the natural clay and was cut by the tower north wall foundation trench (74), which was filled with clay and flints and was of unknown depth. Layer 60 was not observed elsewhere in the trench probably because of burials at greater depths. The tops of six skulls were recorded along the trench at approximately the same level as the upper surface of layer 60 (not on plan). Similarly layer 59, a redeposited sandy clay with flints did not extend elsewhere in the trench. Above 59 an unstratified accumulation of soil with flints, mortar fragments, and a few pieces of conglomerate (28 and 9) extended throughout the trench becoming markedly less stoney and more sandy to the west. The upper part of layer 9 overlapped the plinth of wall 75.

Two concentrations of flint (26 and 27, not on plan) were recorded within this accumulation, but their function remains uncertain. The whole trench was covered by layer 1 which contained many peg roof-tile fragments and thinned out to the east and west.

### The east end of the Nave

(Pl.XX, Fig.48, Sect. C-C, Fig.49)

A buried soil overlay the natural clay both inside (50) and outside (66) the nave. Layer 50 was cut by a slot (55) dug 10cm below the surface of the natural clay. The slot contained two post-holes (54 and 76) which were 55 and 27cm deep. Slot 55 and post-hole 76 were sealed by a 1 cm thick layer of almost black loam (49) which did not extend westward to Sect.C-C. This layer was cut by 51 and 52, foundation trenches for the nave north wall (70) and tower west wall (77). The west edge of 52 was flush with that of wall 77 and continuous with 51. Both trenches were filled with clay and flints. The interior faces of walls 70 and 77 were rendered with mortar, and part of wall 77 carried a secondary layer of rendering. Floor 47, of whitish mortar with chalk lumps, overlay layer 49 and butted foundation trench 51 and the base of wall 77. The upper surface of 51

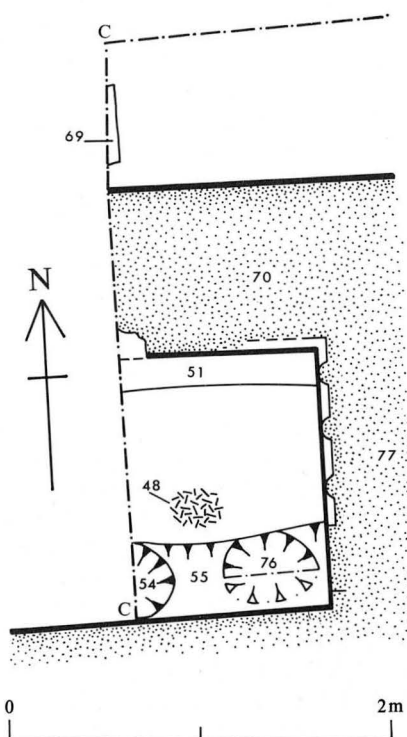


Figure 49 Plan of excavation west of tower. Scale 1:50

may have been left exposed within the church unless covered by stone or wood. In the centre of the excavation, floor 47 had been burnt red in an oval 20 by 30 cm patch (48). The floor was partly covered by a layer of sandy silt (62).

In the north-west part of the excavation layer 62 had been removed by a disturbance which had cut into the upper surfaces of floor 47 and foundation trench 51 as well as into the inner face of wall 70. Subsequent to this robbing the whole of the excavated area was filled with a uniform almost rubble-free layer of yellow chalky clay (61) was tailed over the top of wall 70. Layer 61 was cut by a clay-filled foundation trench (53) for the north wall of the medieval north aisle. The lower 20 cm of this wall was set within a trench which was then backfilled with soil (67). A slight bulge in the wall probably marks ground level at the period of construction.

Layer 61 and the top of wall 70 were also cut by a number of drains of recent date, including 63 which led into a soakaway (69) constructed of frogged bricks and capped with a course of reused late medieval Flemish floor tiles. The probable construction pit (64) of the soakaway was cut through a layer of sandy soil (65) which was a continuation of layers 28 and 9 encountered north of the tower.

### The west end of the nave

(Fig.45)

At the close of excavation the opportunity was taken to expand a dry area and soakaway trench then being excavated by contractors, which had exposed the upper surface of the west wall of the eleventh century nave. The wall (78) lay directly below a buttress supporting the north wall of the medieval north aisle and was constructed of flint and mortar similar to the other excavated eleventh-century walls. Its inner face was rendered with mortar. This rendering ceased abruptly 1.18m north of the aisle wall, north of which point the east face of the wall had been robbed. This robbing was visible in the east section of the trench where it cut through a layer of yellow sandy clay similar to layer 61 encountered at the east end of the nave. To the north, wall 78 had also been robbed and replaced by similar soil to that noted on the east side of the wall.

## III. The Artefacts

A total of nine small finds were recorded (Nos 1-3, 5-10) excluding the nails (see below). The catalogue is ordered by material and each object is classified by period, context number and small find (s.f.) number. Where the catalogue number is suffixed by a small case letter, this indicates that the object is not illustrated.

### Copper alloy objects

(Fig.50)

by Val Williams

1. Two small convex profile **rings**. Both have fine textile/thread impressions on either side. On one ring, the textile appears beneath a probable thread impression suggesting that it was attached to the fabric by two opposing sides. Their use is uncertain but as they were recovered on the left finger bones of burial 33, it is suggested that they were eyelets, possibly from a cuff. (Post-medieval burial 33, s.f.1)
- 1a. **Tag** of the folded type (Oakley 1979, pp.262-263). Length: 26

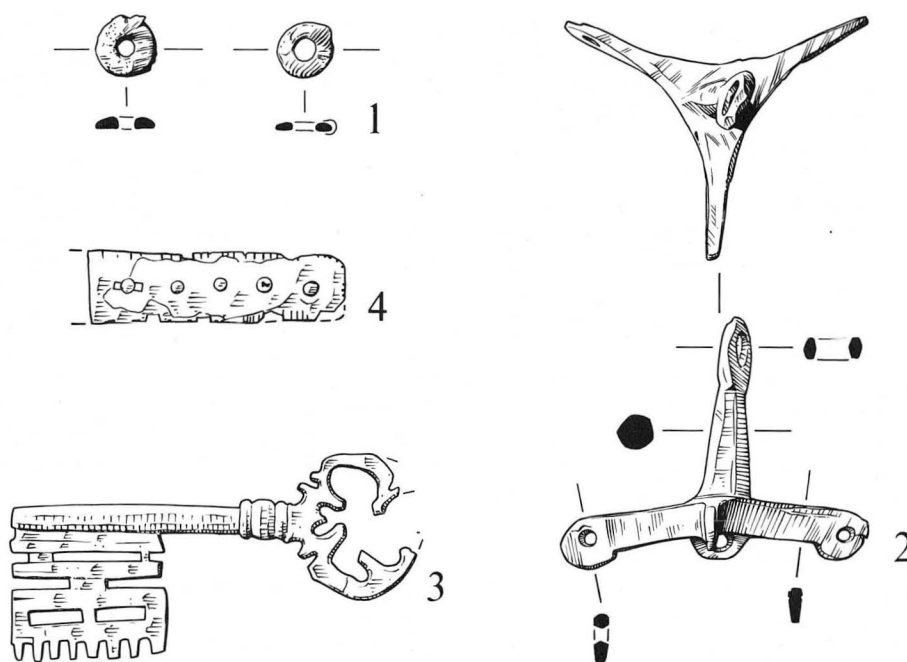


Figure 50 Copper alloy (scale 1:1) and iron objects (scale 1:2)

mm. (Nineteenth/twentieth century layer 13, s.f.2)

2. **Spacer or suspension unit** with three arms, a suspension arm and secondary fastening point at the base. Not horse furniture. Probably unfinished or unused. (Post-medieval layer 1, s.f.3)

### Iron objects

(Fig.50)

by Val Williams

3. (Object drawn from X-ray). Large **twist key** of medieval or post-medieval date, with a complex bit and elaborate bow. The remains of a metallic plating are present, largely on the bow. The complexity of the bit may suggest a use for a chest, possibly an alms-box. (Late or post-medieval layer 11, as 10, s.f.5)
4. (Identified and drawn only from X-ray). Possible **scale tang** from a **knife**. There are five rivet holes of which four are circular while the fifth is rectangular. Two, possibly three rivets are *in situ*. One edge appears to have two/three square notches. Probable traces of a metallic binding survive along the edges and at the butt. (Late or post-medieval layer 11, as 10, s.f.6)
- 4a. **Sheet** fragment of circular section. Length: 39mm. (Late or post-medieval layer 11, as 10, s.f.7)
- 4b. Fragment of rectangular **section bar**. Length: 34mm. (Late or post-medieval layer 14, s.f.8)
- 4c. **Hooked rod** of circular section. Length: 142 mm; Diam: 3 mm. (Medieval layer 29, as 25, but east of clay surface 15, s.f.9)
- 4d. (Identified only from X-ray). Possibly part of a square or lozenge-shaped object with a small double linked arrangement at the corner. The surfaces appear to be striated. Width: c.25 mm. (32 filling of post-medieval grave 33, s.f.10)

### Nails

by Val Williams

Ninety-six complete nails were recorded, twenty-six from medieval and seventy from late medieval and post-medieval deposits. They range in length from 31 mm to 100mm. At least forty more incomplete examples were recovered. All but one, (from context 1), which has a square head expanding from the shaft, have round, flat heads.

### Struck flint

(not illustrated)

Nine miscellaneous prehistoric struck flints were recovered, including two each from pits 57 and 58 and three from buried soil 44. A list, by F.Healy, is contained in the archive.

### Window glass

(not illustrated)

Seven small fragments of opaque medieval window glass occurred in contexts 1, 2, 9, 10, and 31.

### Window Lead

(not illustrated)

Five window came fragments were found in contexts 1, 2 and 9. All were of Knight's type C (Fig.35).

### Pottery

(not illustrated)

Eighty-four sherds were found. There were no large groups and only one imported sherd (Raeren stoneware). 71 per cent of the sherds were medieval and probably reflect use of the building in the twelfth to fifteenth century. The buried soil beneath the eleventh century church produced three sherds of Thetford-type Ware and one of Early Medieval Ware, while three sherds of Early Medieval Ware were found in the upper fillings of the foundation trenches of the eleventh century church. Two sherds of medieval unglazed sandy ware came from layer 34 beneath the medieval vestry. From later contexts east of the tower and in deposits outside the church were found a further twenty-two sherds of medieval unglazed ware and thirty-six sherds of medieval glazed Grimston Ware. One sherd of Late Medieval and Transitional Ware (Jennings 1981, 61-2) was found in layer 9 north of the tower. Layer 1, north of the tower, produced fifteen sherds in various post-medieval fabrics, and one other was found in nineteenth century drain-pipe trench 8.

### Tiles

(not illustrated)

Roman tiles, predominantly *tegulae*, are visible in various parts of the rubble walling of the eleventh century tower. Two fragments of *tegulae* and two of flat tiles were found in medieval and later excavation contexts.

Peg roof-tile fragments in a hard red sandy fabric of Norwich type RT4 (Drury 1982) were found in several late medieval and later contexts, the majority occurring in context 9, north of the tower. One example of Norwich type RT1 was found in layer 10, above the vestry.

Eight fragments of late fourteenth-mid sixteenth century Flemish floor tiles (Drury and Norton in prep.) came from residual contexts. Four fragments carried a dark green glaze, the rest a clear glaze over a white slip, giving a yellow colour. All were 116-118mm square. No such tiles are at present visible *in situ* within the church.

## Mortar analysis

by John Evans

Two samples were received for analysis:

1. Rendering on inner face of eleventh century chancel south wall (7). Treatment of a 100 g sample with dilute hydrochloric acid yielded approximately 30 g insoluble residue consisting of about 10 g sub angular gravel (2-4 mm) and 20 g sand/clay. Such a material could have been used as a coarse wall rendering system. (Usually one would have expected a fine system as a final coating). Such a mix is most unlikely to have been used as mortar.
2. Layer 35 in eleventh century chancel. Similar treatment of a 100 g sample gave less than 1 g of fine sand residue. Clearly this material was never a mortar, concrete or flooring material. It is most likely spilled or dumped lime waste.

Several fragments showed severe leaching with some re-precipitation of the carbonate phase. This is not abnormal in this sort of material.

## IV. Burial 33

(Fig.47, Fig.48, Sect.A-A, Fig.51)

by Jacqueline I. McKinley

This gruesome burial lay in a pit cut through Late- or post-medieval layer 14 and into the natural clay. The pit was sealed only by a layer 4, a deposit with much nineteenth/twentieth century rubble. The grave filling (32) contained no recent finds. The pit, 1.1 m deep and 1.48 m long, had steep sides and a flat base, and appeared purposefully and well dug, although too short for the burial it contained. The skeleton lay in a position which must have been made possible by complete muscular relaxation—the torso was twisted to the left with the right arm extended and the left flexed behind the back. The lower part of the body lay face down with the left leg flexed upwards and the right leg bent at the knee so that the foot lay above the right pelvis. The right long bone visible in plan is the tibia, obscuring the fibula and femur. The skull was displaced and lay on its right side close to the right hand. Two copper alloy eyelets were found on the left finger bones (Fig.50, No.1).

A search of the parish registers by Alayne Fenner has produced no possible identity for this burial.

### GRAVE 33

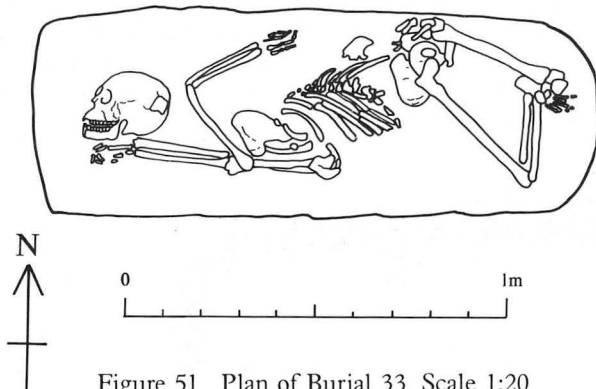


Figure 51 Plan of Burial 33 Scale 1:20

### Method

The age of the individual was assessed from the dentition, all the epiphysis being fused, using a tooth wear pattern table (Brothwell 1972). Sex was concluded on morphological grounds, (pelvis, skull etc.). Stature was assessed after taking measurements on all the long bones,

using tables devised by Trotter and Gleser (Brothwell 1972, 102).

Age: c.30 years.

Sex: Male.

Stature: max. 5ft. 2¾ inches (1.59 m).

### Pathology

A large dental abscess was located at the first maxillary molar on the right side. The abscess had caused the decay of all but the apex of the tooth root and had burst through the supra-maxillary bone and into the antrum and sinus, probably causing sinusitis. The abscess must have caused considerable pain for some time as the tooth wear patterns show that the individual used only the left side for chewing, the teeth on the right showing hardly any wear. The incisors were worn down to the dentine, teeth on the left side were worn flat across the occlusal surface.

Two small occlusal caries on the second mandibular molars were noted and some degrees of tartar formation was evident on the neck of nearly all teeth. Dental hypoplasia was much in evidence, occurring on nearly all teeth to varying degrees, indicating repeated periods of illness or lack of food were experienced from infancy to adulthood (Hillson 1979). The state of the dentition would indicate a fairly coarse, predominantly alkali diet, i.e. much vegetable matter.

Slight osteophytosis was noted on the thoracic vertebrae. The ligament articulation surfaces on the pelvis and clavicals were noticeably rugged.

X-rays were taken of both tibias and showed the presence of numerous 'Harris lines'. These are fine transverse lines indicating arrested growth of the bone in childhood/adolescence as a result of illness or lack of nutrition (this reinforces the evidence of the dental hypoplasia).

There was no indication as to cause of death, though the position of the body, particularly the skull, in the grave, may point to a violent end. The skull appears to have been detached from an otherwise articulated body at the time of burial. No indication of decapitation was evident, which leaves the cause of death open to speculation.

Details and measurements are stored in the archive.

## V. The Documentary Background

by Alayne Fenner

The Scandinavian place-name of 'Guestwick', meaning 'the clearing belonging to Guist' (Schram 1961, 145) indicates its early connection with the nearby but not contiguous parish of Guist. The churches were held by the same lord in the twelfth century, and their histories run parallel until the sixteenth century.

Guestwick church is not mentioned in Domesday Book, the first reference to it being about 1200, when Everard de Guist, son of Ralph de Guist gave it to Waltham Abbey, shortly after his gift to the abbey of the church of St. Andrew at Guist and its chapel of All Saints at Guesthorpe (Upper Guist) (Winters 1877, 48). The Guestwick charter recorded that the gift was at the request of Everard's son and heir Roger, to support hospitality at Waltham, and for the souls of his lord Henry II, and of Everard's father, mother and wife, and for the salvation of



his lord King John, and of John Bishop of Norwich, (either John of Oxford, who died 2 June 1200, or John de Grey, bishop from 24 September 1200 to 18 October 1214) and of Everard's sons Roger and Richard. The date of this charter thus falls between John's accession (27 May 1199) and December 1209, when one of the witnesses had died. Roger and Richard confirmed their father's gift in two other charters, probably of the same date, as did Bishop John de Grey in another.

In a charter of 16 October 1227, Thomas de Blundeville, bishop of Norwich, confirmed the possession of St. Peter's church by Waltham Abbey, which, after the death of the rector, Ralph, son of Peter, was to be appropriated to the canons. The abbot was then to present the vicar whom the bishop would institute, and the terms of the vicarage were set out. This is confirmed in another, undated, charter by William, son of Odo, prior of Norwich, witnessed by Geoffrey bishop of Ely, who died on 17 December 1228 (Ransford 1983, 980-6, Cotton Tiberius C. ix. fo.150 r-v).

In 1238 full details of the vicarage were ordained, (B L MS Harley 391 fo.114 v) and at about the same date there is a brief list of rent paid by tenants (B L MS Cotton Tiberius C. ix fo.227 r).

It is unfortunate that in none of these documents is the church building itself mentioned, nor do any of the Cellarer of Waltham's disbursement accounts survive (Bascombe 1973, 130). It is likely, however, that Waltham Abbey carried out extensive work at Guestwick in the first half of the thirteenth century, for several other churches it owned were rebuilt at that time. It seems that the abbey's financial position was better then than at any later time, and several of these churches were hardly modified until the end of the medieval period (correspondence with Dr Bascombe).

After the Dissolution, Sir Roger Townshend (1477-1551) bought the rectory of Guist, and his son Robert acquired Guestwick not Guist as Blomefield suggests (Swales 1966, 25). In 1555 according to Blomefield (1808, 218-22) Rose Steward presented, and an entry for Guestwick in the Archdeaconry Comperda Book of 1587 notes 'the chauncell decaied in the glasse and pavement, culpa Mr Bulwerd proprietarii' (N.R.O. ANW/3/1), the beginning of the long connection of the Bulwer family with the parish. There are no references to major building work in the Faculty Books or Archdeacon's Visitations, only minor repairs, and admonitions regarding defects in the church furnishings.

On 24 August 1736, the antiquary Thomas Martin visited the church, and his notes, largely corroborating Blomefield's description, survive (N.R.O. Rye MSS 17) 'The Chancell higher than the Church, 'tis tiled and the steeple odly built on the North side of it, 'tis square and has but one bell in it. The Church, [and] two Isles are leaded and a South Porch tiled.' Two 'split bells' noted by Blomefield had been sold in 1733 and the proceeds used for the repair and re-roofing of an aisle and the tower (N.R.O. FCB 1/619; N.R.O. BUL 6/4/3/ Box 614X8).

The magnificent medieval glass was then still *in situ*. Among the surviving fragments today are four nearly complete figures of typical Norwich work of c. 1460-80 (King 1974, 23). In the north aisle were a series of scenes including the Circumcision, the martyrdom of St. Edmund, and a dead man on a sea shore with several people looking over him, a boat, and the inscription 'Hic Iacet Corpus Jacobi sup. Collem.' This is probably a reference to a member of the Athill family, two of whom lie under brasses nearby: that of Richard at Hyll of 1505, and James at Hylle, undated, but in a style of 1506-13 (Greenwood and Norris 1976, 48). The Athills intermarried with the Bulwers (Cotton *et al* undated) and Blomefield assumed them to be benefactors or builders of the aisle, although no actual bequests exist in surviving wills (inf., Dr Simon Cotton). The south aisle windows contained figures of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, and scenes from a series of the Corporal Acts of Mercy.

By the mid nineteenth century the church was in a decayed state, and in 1849 the churchwardens raised money on the church rates for repairs. The church was reroofed that summer for a total cost of £270, and during the next seven years further repairs were done to buttresses and windows (N.R.O. PD 5/8).

## VI. Interpretation and Dating

by Stephen Heywood

The tower is the sole surviving part of the original church. It was retained and heightened with the addition of a new bell stage when the church was rebuilt during the later Middle Ages. The recent excavations allow the reconstruction of the main lines of the church (Fig. 52) and the accompanying survey of the surviving fabric has brought to light some hitherto unreported details of considerable interest.

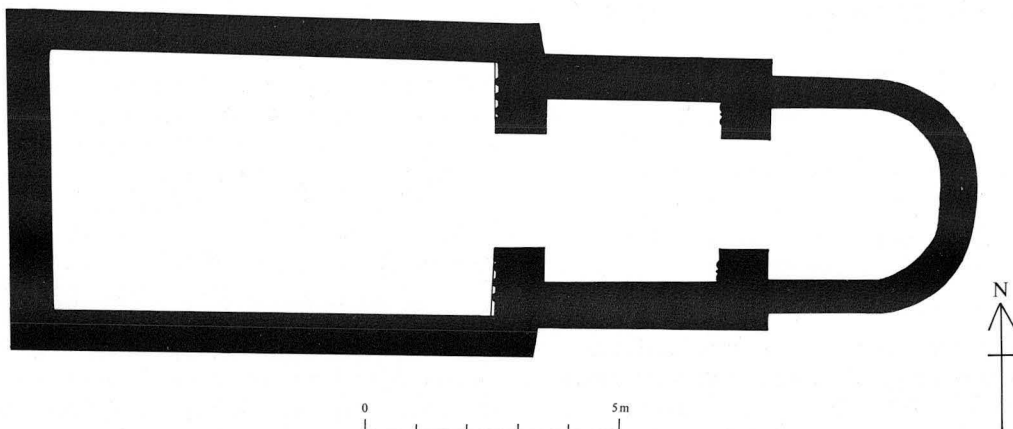
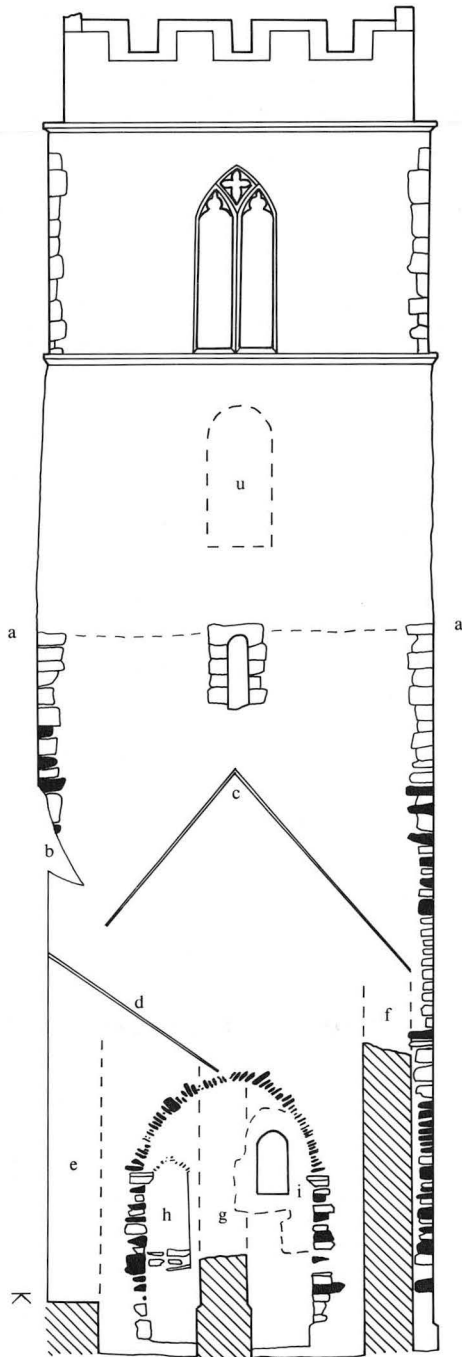


Figure 52 Reconstruction of ground plan of eleventh century church. Scale 1:150

EAST



NORTH

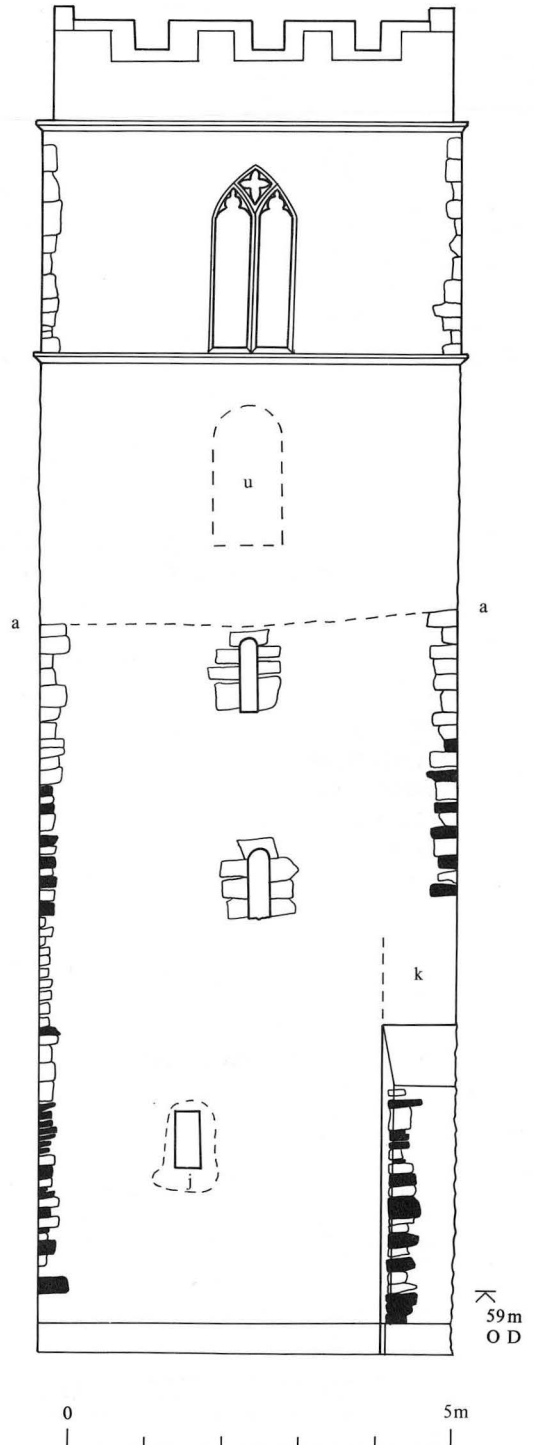
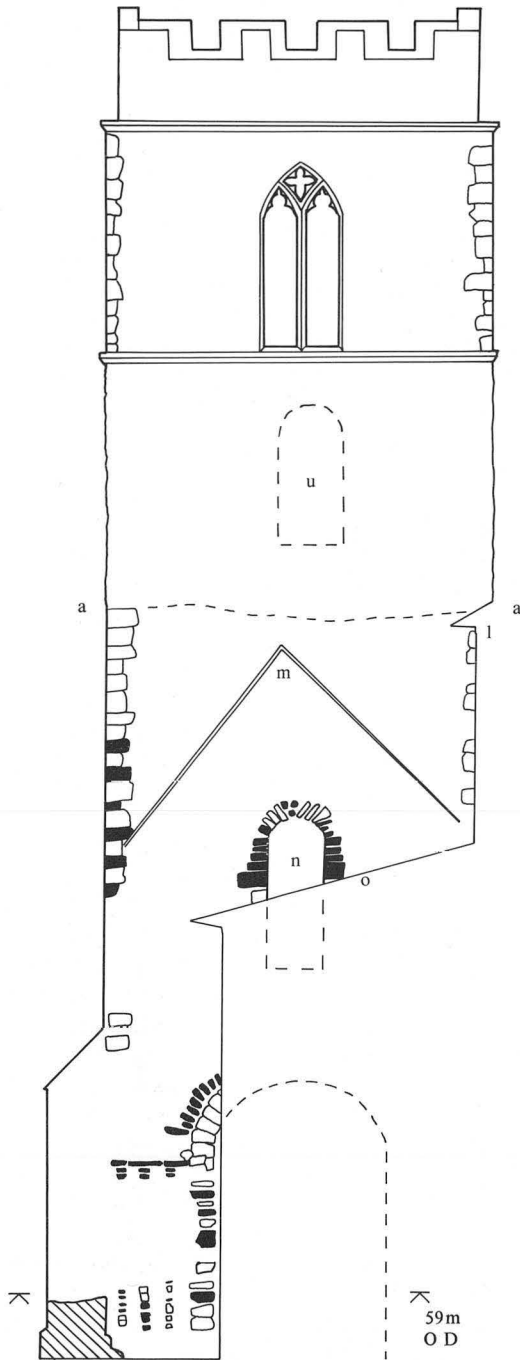


Figure 53 East and north elevations of tower. Scale 1:100

## Key to tower elevations (Figs.53 and 54)

- |     |   |   |                                    |
|-----|---|---|------------------------------------|
| a-a | change in masonry   | l | roof line of present nave          |
| b   | lead flashing and present chancel roof                    | m | roof line of eleventh century nave |
| c   | roof line of eleventh century chancel                     | n | blocked eleventh century doorway   |
| d   | roof line of medieval vestry                              | o | roof line of present north aisle   |
| e,f | scar of south and north walls of eleventh century chancel | p | east wall of present nave          |
| g   | scar of north wall of medieval vestry                     | q | blocked eleventh century windows   |
| h   | blocked medieval opening                                  | r | irregular horizontal recess        |
| i   | modern window in earlier blocking                         | s | present chancel roof               |
| j   | post-medieval window                                      | t | blocked eleventh century window    |
| k   | scar of eleventh century nave wall                        | u | blocked bell openings              |
|     |   | v | blocked twelfth century arch       |

WEST



SOUTH

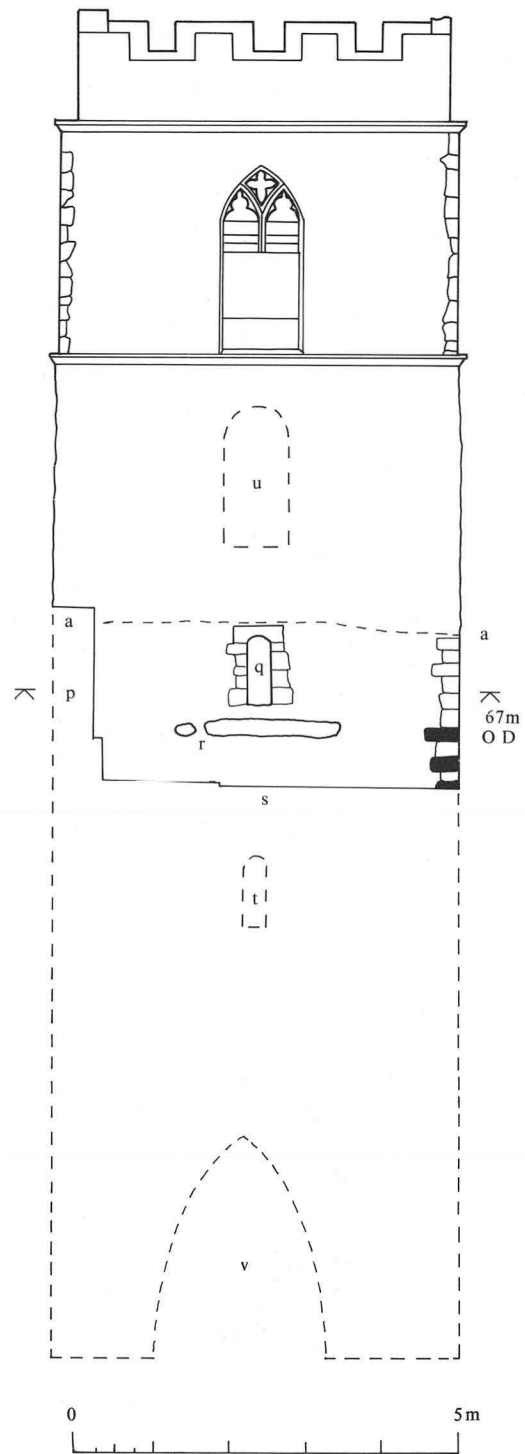


Figure 54 West and south elevations of tower. Scale 1:100

**Materials**

The masonry of the tower consists of ironbound conglomerate rubble and flint with limestone and ironbound conglomerate dressings. The quantity of conglomerate used decreases gradually with each stage, being almost entirely absent in the original bell stage. Ashlar is used sparingly and varies in size considerably. The jambs of the east and west tower arches and the jambs of all other openings except in the bell stage are dressed. Arches are turned in flat pieces of conglomerate rubble

except for the western face of the western tower arch where neat limestone voussoirs are used. The loops have limestone arched lintels externally. The masonry changes with each phase of construction and this is reflected most noticeably in the quoining of the tower which changes in size or material with each phase. When dressed conglomerate is used it always alternates with limestone. The bell stage uses no ashlar, the quoins and bell opening jambs being of flint rubble.

## Reconstruction

(Fig.52)

The excavated chancel and nave west wall fragment provide a clear picture of the plan of the original church; it had an aisleless nave, a narrower tower bay which also served as a choir at ground floor level and a narrower stilted apsidal chancel: a common Romanesque format. The roof lines of both nave and chancel are discernible on the tower (Pl.XVII, Figs 53c and 54m). The chancel roof was approximately 1.7m lower than the nave roof. A doorway of generous proportions (2m high) connected the nave roof space with the first floor of the tower (Fig.54n).

Both tower arches were decorated with stripwork on their western faces. The stripwork on the eastern arch (Pl.XIX, Fig.55) survives in its entirety and consists of two half-round strips closely flanking a central strip of triangular section. The fragmentary stripwork on the western arch (Pl.XX, Fig.56) discovered during the excavation, consists of three spaced half-round strips on a recessed panel of masonry between the surviving north jamb and the stub of the former nave north wall. They are readily visible only at ground level yet careful examination revealed their presence just beneath respond level, the remaining area having been obscured by later infill. Despite a meticulous inspection of the area above impost level there is not evidence of the strips having continued around the arch itself as might be expected. In addition, the springing of the arch is marked by a limestone *prokrossos* in the form of a beast's head.

It is probable that a south transept was added to the tower before the wholesale rebuilding of the church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The evidence for this is the crudely formed two-centred archway cut through the south wall of the tower (Pl.XXI, Figs 54v and 45). A horizontal recess (Pl.XXII, Fig.54r) above the archway just beneath the second floor window may indicate a former wall-plate position if a lean-to roof is reconstructed. In this respect it would have been similar to All Saints, Newton-by-Castle Acre where a surviving near horizontal dripstone on the south face of the tower must indicate that at one time the former south transept had a lean-to roof. The north wall of the Guestwick tower also has an archway similar to the southern opening yet narrower (Fig.45). There is no indication, however, that the archway ever went through the full thickness of the wall, there being no sign of disturbance on the exterior or of walls in the excavation. This indicates either an unfulfilled project or, simply, that a recess was the only requirement. On either side of both the inserted arches are small triangular niches probably for lamps (Fig.45). They are not part of the original fabric and may represent the undoubted need for lighting after the blocking of the tower arches. (The windows in the north and east walls (Fig.53h, i and j) are subsequent insertions).

The bell openings (Figs 53u and 54u) of the original church, directly below the present bell stage, are difficult to discern due to the lack of ashlar dressings and the very thorough blockings. However, careful examination from inside and out shows that they were of simple semicircular headed form. The complete lack of ashlar at this stage suggests that the openings went straight through the wall without any subdivision, although a recessed inner order as at Burnham Norton remains a possibility. No evidence was found for circular sound holes adjacent to the bell openings, as might be expected in East Anglia at this period.

The change of materials at this level (Figs 53a and 54a) and the general lack of elaboration in comparison with the ground floor indicate a considerable pause before completion of the tower was undertaken. Its simplicity also suggests that less funding was available.

The late-medieval remodelling of the church entailed the demolition of the chancel, the south transept and the nave; the south wall of the latter providing a firm foundation for part of the north arcade. The tower arches were blocked, the westernmost being provided with a doorway incorporating an early thirteenth-century wooden coffin lid as part of the lintel (Ashley and Rogerson 1985). The south archway blocking was provided with a squint enabling a bell ringer to see the high altar. The tower was heightened with addition of a new bell stage and a vestry was built over part of the demolished chancel, which itself was subsequently demolished.

## Discussion and date

The axial tower plan, while not as common as the west tower, is a typical European minor church plan of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; an example with a rare surviving apsidal chancel can be seen at Newhaven in Sussex. Local parallels are numerous, the elaborately decorated tower at South Lopham may be cited as a twelfth century example, whilst Newton-by-Castle Acre and Great Dunham (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 217-221, 460-462) make more appropriate comparisons. The later addition of transepts is a common phenomenon; evidence for this may be seen, for example, at Weybourne (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 646-647), Flitcham and Newton-by-Castle Acre.

The feature of particular interest at Guestwick is the stripwork, for which no precise parallels can be found. Its use clearly represents a survival of late Anglo-Saxon techniques. However, both examples do not compare well with definite Anglo-Saxon instances where stripwork mouldings do not depart from the square section or the square section parallel to a half-round section: as, for example, the tower arch and south doorway at Barnack (Northants.) and the tower arch at St.Benet's, Cambridge (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 129-134; Fernie 1983, 137-153). The eastern tower arch stripwork at Guestwick departs from the Anglo-Saxon norm by having three strips, by using a central strip of triangular section and by the strips forming in section a continuous moulding without any spaces between the different elements. This may be roughly compared to the chancel arch of the late eleventh century church at Stretthall (Essex) (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 596-598) where square section strips closely flank a strip of half-round section. The Guestwick arch section, however, appears to be without a precise parallel in stripwork. The early twelfth century bell stage of St.Alban's Cathedral has half columns flanking a shaft of triangular section in a similar manner, yet of a different scale and function. The recessed half-round strips of the western tower arch are without any parallel known to the author. The half shaft is, without question, a Romanesque form (Fernie 1983, 81-2) which at Guestwick acquires uniqueness simply by its recession behind the wall plane and by attempting to articulate with three strips the area between the tower arch jamb and the nave wall rather than concentrating on stressing the tower arch itself.

The plan of Guestwick church, the techniques of



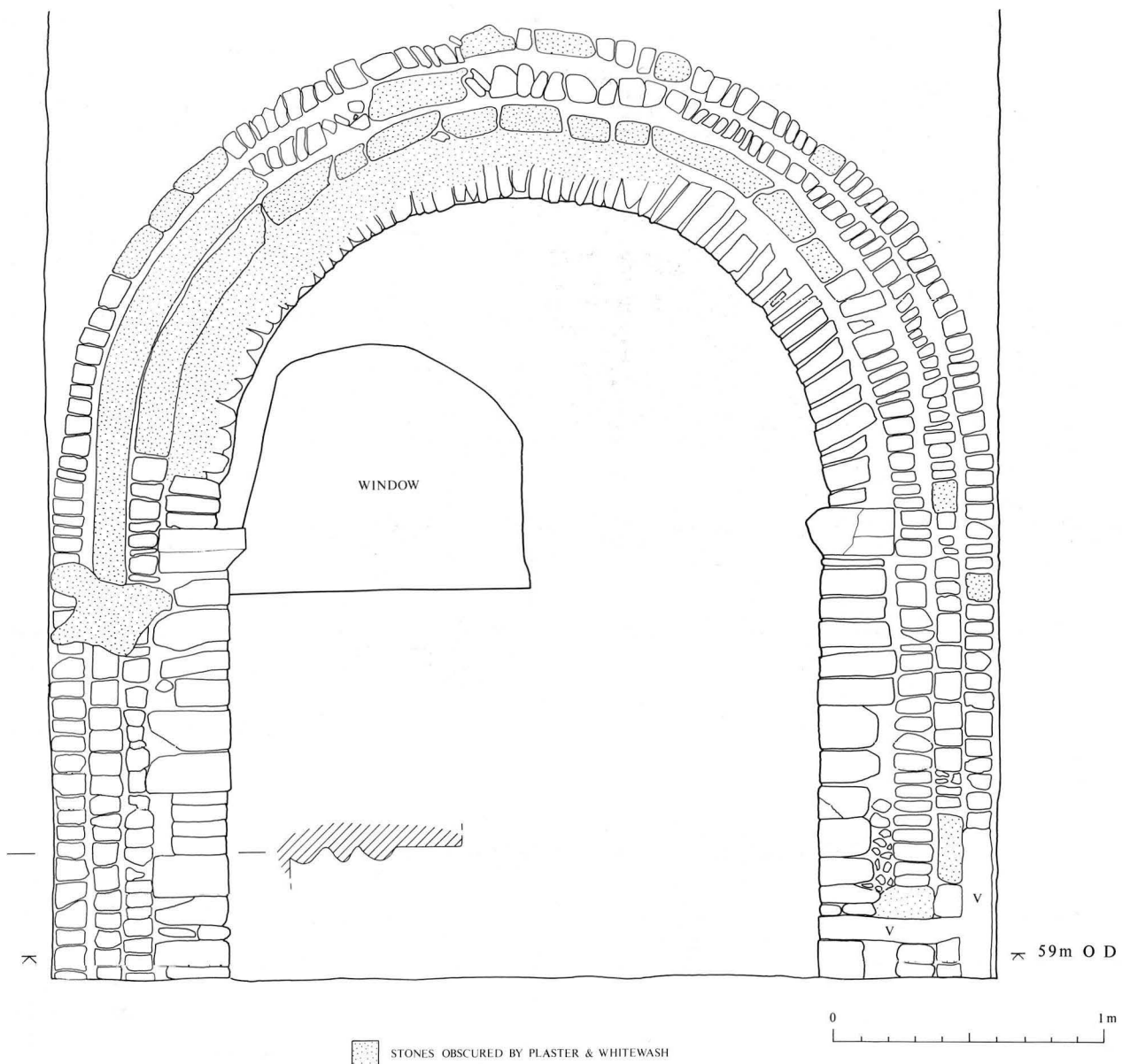


Figure 55 West elevation of chancel arch, with profile of stripwork. V=void. Scale 1:25

construction and comparisons all point to a late eleventh century date. The stripwork decoration illustrates the continued development, and not mere survival, of Anglo-Saxon techniques in the context of minor church building.

## VII. Discussion

Excavation has successfully recovered the ground plan of a late eleventh century church untypically surviving because of a shift southwards in the High Middle Ages; but a number of questions remain unanswered. It is not known whether there was an earlier phase of church building, or whether slot 55 and post-holes 54 and 76, glimpsed in the trench at the east end of the nave, are part of a timber predecessor. A late eleventh century date for the building has been established by Stephen Heywood, although the church is not mentioned in Domesday. The lack of a definite floor level in the apse was disappointing,

and it is uncertain whether the uneven surface of the buried soil (44) was indeed the floor, or whether a floor had been removed at demolition. No evidence for liturgical arrangements was recovered, mostly because of destruction by the north wall of the medieval vestry (5). The deposits of lime waste (35 and 39) that overlay 44 and that were, during the excavation, considered to be a floor level, must have been spilled or dumped after the abandonment of the chancel and be related to the construction of a new church to the south. The date at which the new building was erected can only be established by the excavation and above-ground recording of the standing building. There is no part of the present fabric that need be earlier than the fourteenth century, but Alayne Fenner has suggested (p. 75) that the first half of the thirteenth century is the most likely period for a grand rebuilding in view of Waltham Abbey's possession of the church from c.1200. This structure may perhaps have had an aisleless nave.



Figure 56 West elevation of nave arch, with profile of stripwork. Scale 1:25

No field work or documentary research had taken place that might have set St. Peter's church within the context of the early medieval settlement history of the parish, and of the early connection with Guist to the west, now separated by the intervening parishes of Wood Norton and Foulsham. On a more localised scale, the excavation was insufficiently extensive to reveal any information on

the development of the accompanying graveyard. All these shortfalls leave us with a report that is entirely architectural in its significance, with evidence gleaned from above and below ground and as such it remains an interim statement on a small but important part of the history and archaeology of Guestwick.

# 3. The Twelfth Century Church of St Andrew, Framingham Earl

by Andrew P.Harris

## I. Summary

Limited excavation outside the east end of St Andrew's church showed that the chancel was apsidal in the first phase which is dated to the late eleventh/early twelfth century. The rejection of a pre-Conquest date is supported by a detailed architectural description. Three burials were earlier than the first chancel. The documentary evidence is summarised and the finds described.

## II. Introduction

### The setting

Framingham Earl lies about 8 km south-east of Norwich on the B1332 Norwich to Bungay road. The church itself, (Pl.XXIII; Fig.57) lies to the north-east of the settlement at TG 277 027 and 57.5 m OD. across the east face of a rise whose summit lies to the north. Few houses are near the church; most lie to the south, though there is modern

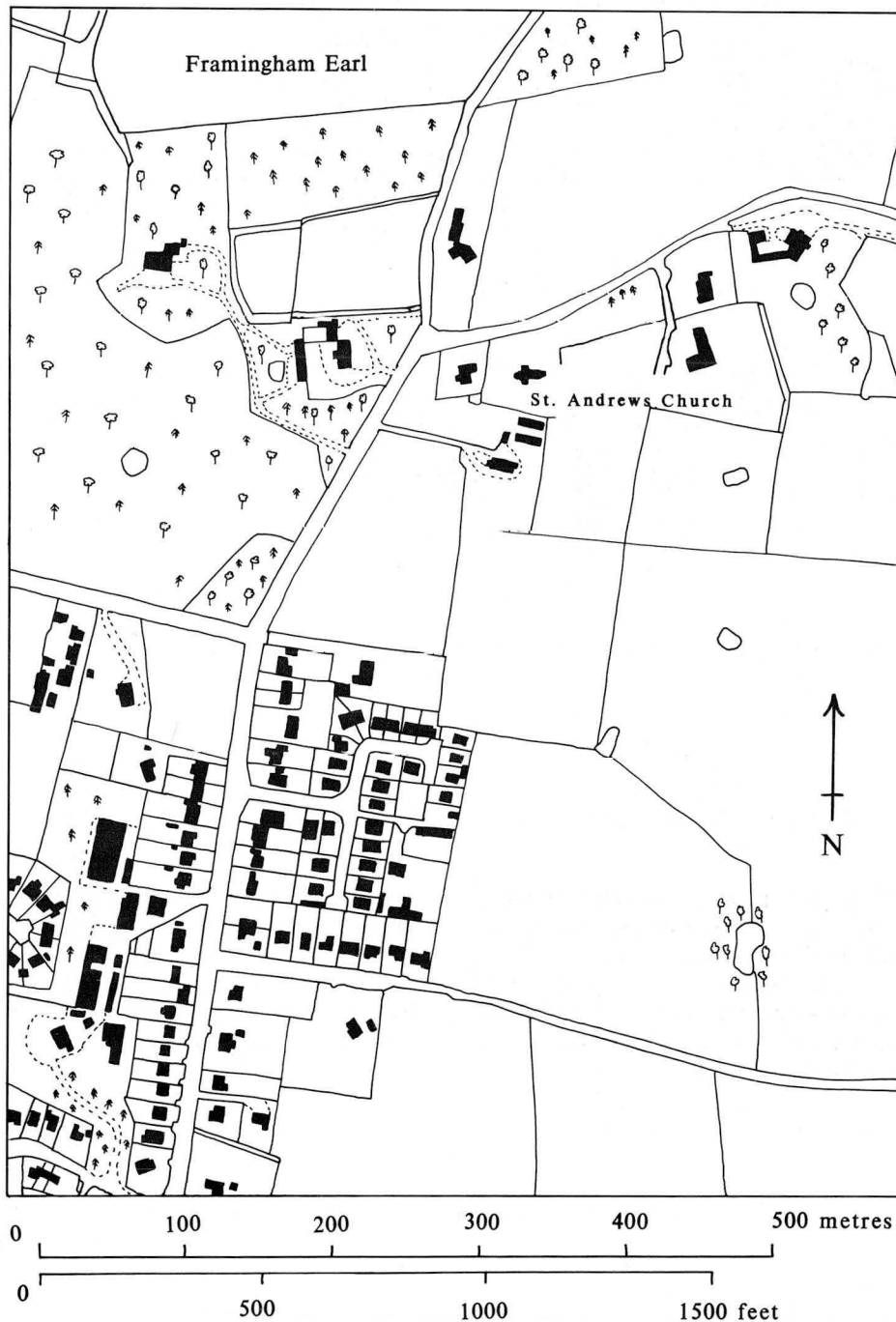


Figure 57 Location plan

development to the west along Long Road. The church, dedicated to St Andrew, lies at the centre of an almost square graveyard.

**The background to the work**

An examination of the church at Framingham Earl (Site 9887) was the subject of the writer's undergraduate dissertation submitted to London University in May 1984. This work was mainly concerned with a description of the standing remains, but as indications of buried walls were also discussed, it was decided, with encouragement from the Norfolk Archaeological Unit, to conduct a small excavation at the east end of the church. The excavation was intended to determine the nature and extent of the remains with the possibility of being able to reconstruct in its entirety the plan of the chancel prior to the later rebuilding. This report is an amalgamation of both the standing and the excavated evidence, and includes a reappraisal of features that may be of use in establishing a date for the erection of the church. Burials have been allotted a separate number sequence (G1-25). All finds are deposited at Norwich Castle Museum.

**Archaeological summary**

(Fig.58)

*Pre Phase I: Pre-twelfth century*

Establishment of cemetery. Three burials recorded. No

evidence within excavated area for any associated structure.

*Phase Ia: Late eleventh-early twelfth century*

Founding of church. Linear 2-celled structure consisting of nave and apsidal chancel, north and south doors, with at least four circular double splayed windows, and two double splayed, round-headed ones.

*Phase Ib: Mid-late twelfth century*

Addition of round west tower and construction of chancel arch and tower arch.

*Phase II: Fifteenth century*

Erection of south porch, destruction of apse and building of east wall. Insertion of at least one window (south wall of nave) in addition to east window.

*Phase III: Nineteenth-early twentieth century*

Erection of north porch, internal and external restoration/repair, replacement of all nave and chancel windows, blocking of Phase II window and removal of at least three Phase I windows.

**III. Architectural Description**

**Introduction**

The present plan shows the original two-celled church

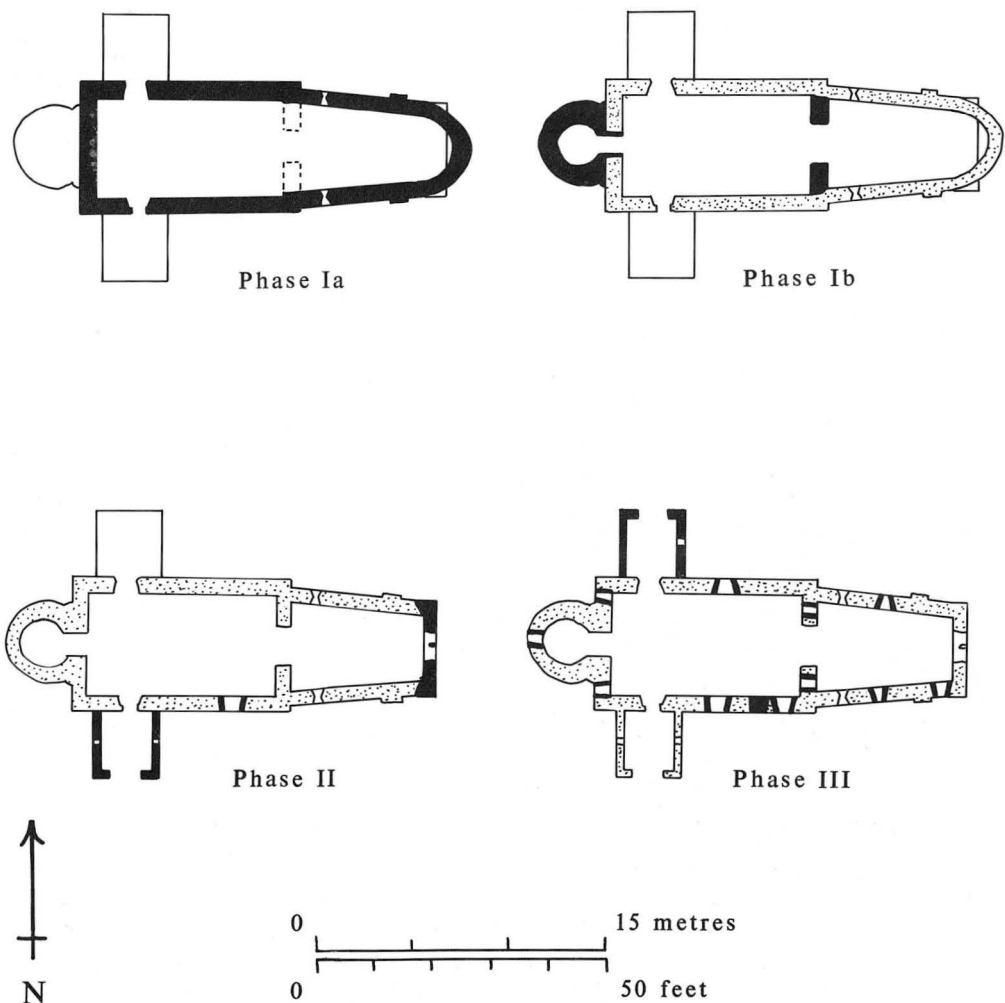


Figure 58 Development plans. Scale 1:400



with only three additional building phases (Fig.58). Entrance is by two nave doorways. It has an aisleless nave and chancel, a round west tower, and north and south porches.

**Phase I: exterior**

The original, Phase I, fabric of the church is almost complete though heavily repointed, it consists of flint rubble, roughly coursed and mostly uncut. This fabric is to be found on the tower, nave and chancel.

The circular tower is flanked by a single pair of fillet or quadrant pilasters which are made of the same rubble fabric as the walls, and occupy the angle between the tower and the west wall of the nave (Pl.XXIV). They project from this angle by about 10cm and continue up the wall to a height of 4m. Their function is problematic but it would seem that they protect the deep angle between tower and nave from the weather. Not all round towers have fillets, and their occurrence seems to have been governed by the wish of the individual mason rather than by necessity.

All four nave quoins survive to full eaves height of 4 m. They consist of regularly laid, large shaped flint blocks some of which are in excess of 30cm across (Pl.XXIV). There is evidence of a blocked circular window just above and to the east of the south doorway. Breaks in the Phase I fabric are to be seen around all the remaining nave

windows, whilst that around both doorways is obscured by plaster.

Cotman's sketch of the north doorway dated 1816 (Cotman 1838) shows that of the two shafts seen today only the capital of the western one is original. This doorway, consisting of billet, label and a roll mould, has a more powerful yet simple appearance than the richer south doorway, being both wider and taller. The south doorway is curious, for the high standard of work seems to contrast with its general asymmetrical design, emphasised by the individual mouldings of the two imposts. There are no shafts and most of the jamb has been restored. Cotman's illustration of this doorway shows the restoration to be sympathetic to the original. The outer order of medallions is a common East Anglian moulding with examples at Hales and Ashby.

The chancel is flanked by a single pair of pilasters of rectangular section (Pl.XXV), they survive to full eaves height, are 64 and 67 cm wide, and project from the wall by 10cm. The pilasters occur 2m west of the east end and are made of the same fabric as the walls, with the angles roughly squared by several, small, cut flints.

Two circular, double-splayed windows light the chancel, and they are similar in size and formed of the same rubble fabric as the walls, without the use of voussoirs.

Information regarding the appearance of the church

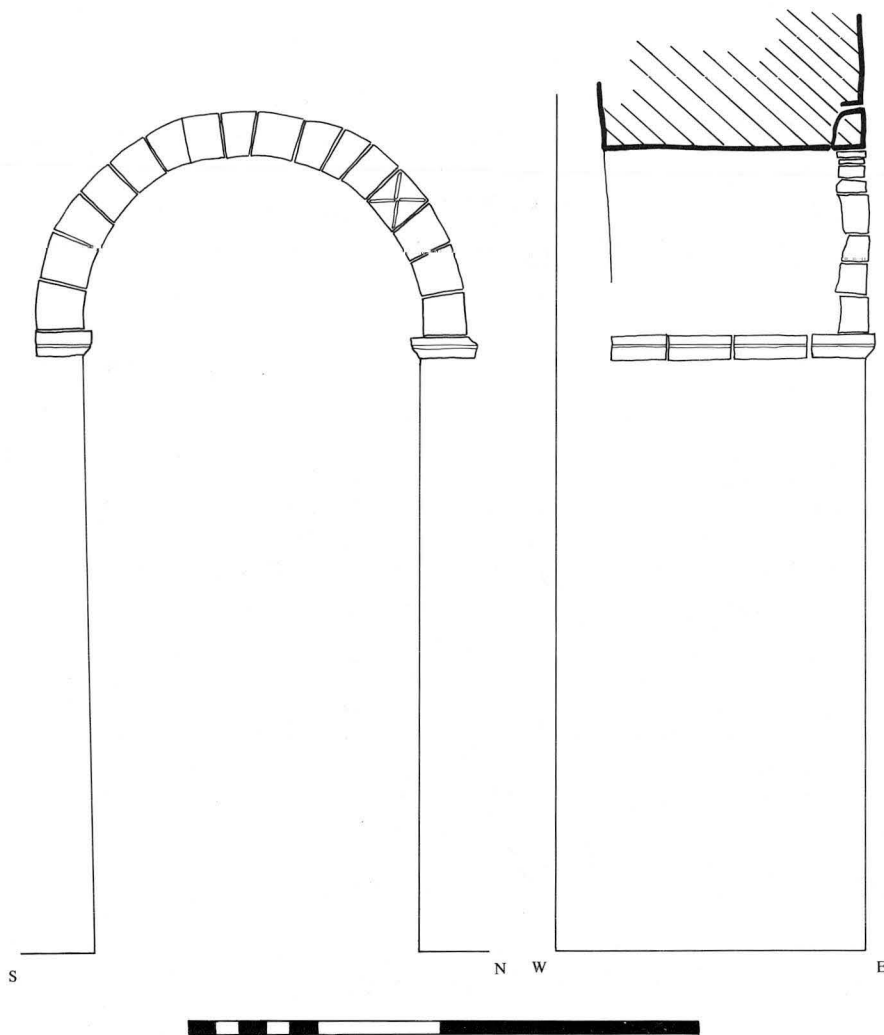


Figure 59 The tower arch, nave face and north section. Scale 1:30

prior to nineteenth century restoration work is recorded by Parker (1847, 180-1). He notes that the nave was lit on each side by a single 'plain round headed window splayed within and without'. These windows have almost certainly been replaced by the present windows inserted in 1901. Parker also records another circular window on the north side of the chancel, but its precise location is unknown. Manning (1879, 335) says that during restoration work on one of the circular windows, a pierced wooden frame was seen; this was interpreted as being the support for a wickerwork frame around which the windows were made. The two open windows do in fact preserve in their mortar, impressions of such a wicker frame.

### Phase I: interior

The constructional details of the tower arch remain vague as its face is obscured by the organ loft. Both jambs are heavily plastered and whitewashed yet it does appear that dressed stone is limited to the impostes and to the voussoirs of the nave face (Fig.59). One of the voussoirs is deeply carved with a diagonal cross, possibly St Andrew's, which may be original, though it is curious that it is not carved into the central stone. The chamfered and grooved impostes, despite a return on the nave face, terminate 22cm from the west face of the arch. Above the arch is to be found a round-headed, unsplayed opening constructed out of rubble flint without the use of voussoirs; because of the organ loft it is best seen from within the tower, and is most likely to be a doorway into a ringing chamber (Heywood 1977, 23-5).

The nave face of the chancel arch consists of four orders, decorated with lozenge, chevron and labels, supported on a single pair of engaged shafts. The face towards the chancel is plain except for the provision of a simple roll moulding. A decorated string course extends from the impostes on both nave and chancel faces. There are squints either side of the arch but these are restored.

### Phase II

Phase II fabric is identifiable by dressed stone quoins and the inclusion of some brick in the rubble flint. In addition to the south porch, Phase II fabric is to be seen in the chancel just east of the pilasters where there is an offset. This occurs on the south wall of the chancel 1.2 m west of the east end, and on the north side at a point 80 cm west (Pl.XXV). The offset projects from the wall by almost 10cm, and survives to full eaves height. East of the offset the chancel north and south walls are parallel to one another; west of it they taper eastwards.

The Phase II east wall is made up of well-coursed, cut, squared flint and was refaced during Phase III. The quoins however are original as are the jambs of the east window. The fabric around the head of the window, which has radially laid bricks above, is of a totally different, rubble character, and may be the remains of the unrestored original Phase II fabric which seems to have reused material from Phase I. This reuse of Phase I fabric would explain why, despite the offset feature differentiating Phase I from Phase II, there is no fabric distinction. Quantities of medieval window glass in the excavated deposits would suggest that the east window has been restored or replaced.

### Phase III

During this phase the church was restored and repaired.

The north vestry built of red-brick was absent when Cotman drew the north doorway in 1817. A watercolour also by Cotman (Edinburgh City Art Gallery) shows the belfry of the tower to have been ruinous and open to the sky. An examination of the fabric clearly reveals that the Phase I fabric has been heightened at a point just below the belfry windows, which are thus seen as new in this phase. Other new windows are those at the west end of the nave and the lancets of the chancel. The nave windows (as has been suggested above) may replace Phase I windows.

## IV. Description of the Excavation

(Figs 60 and 61)

### Introduction

Taylor and Taylor (1965, 244) believed that the chancel offset and the tapering walls indicated that the east end had been apsidal and that it was possible to identify the point at which the new wall had been jointed to the original. Examples of non-parallel sided chancels are known, e.g. Winchester castle chapel, but a tapering plan need not imply that the east end be apsidal; a small church with a tapering chancel was excavated in Canterbury in 1978 (Blockley *et al.* 1983, fig.1), yet its east end was squared. With this in mind and with the knowledge that if an apse was present its apex would lie to the east of the east wall, it was decided to excavate. Work began in August 1984 and continued for eight weeks during which an L-shaped area extending along part of the south wall of the chancel and around the east end was examined.

### Deposits outside the church

On removal of the turf and top-soil nineteenth-century activity was evident with quantities of brick, tile and roofing slate being present. Alongside the south wall of the chancel, in Trench 2 (T2; Fig.60), this disturbance took the form of a drainage pipe that ran diagonally across the trench from the down pipe fixed to the pilaster. The pipe trench was dug into a yellow clay deposit of Phase II (9) to a depth of 34cm. For part of its length the pipe trench was dug alongside a flint and mortar foundation (42).

The removal of the topsoil around the east end (Trenches 1 and 3, T1, T3) revealed a substantial flint and mortar wall (20), which ran the width of the east wall projecting from it by 90cm. Through this feature were cut four brick tombs of Phase III, all were of a similar size and construction; the central pair only, were fully excavated.

A clay deposit (9) projected slightly beyond the east wall but was otherwise absent in both T1 and T3. Due to the disturbance of this layer by the pipe trench no features were identified in plan, though in section C-D (Fig.61) it was found to contain feature 76. In section A-B 76 was absent (Fig.61), and clay layer 9 was seen to abut the fabric of the church, lying horizontally above 23, a fine, dark brown, sandy soil.

This deposit (23) was found over the entire site to a maximum depth of 75cm. In addition to human remains and medieval pottery it contained much post-medieval material and some medieval window glass fragments. Beneath it, natural over most of the site was a hard, compact, dark brown sand with patches of gravel, in some places lying beneath yellow sand 34 (Fig.61, section F-E). In other areas natural consisted of hard, compact, yellow, white and grey sands.

**Evidence for structural features**  
(Fig.60)

*Phase I: foundation 44 (Pl.XXVI)*

The exterior face of the chancel foundations were exposed in T2; 54cm in depth, they lay directly on top of the natural sand and were made up of loose flint pebbles laid in a grey sand; there was no trace of mortar. The wall fabric itself (20) was built directly upon 44 except in places where a thin layer of rammed chalk (45) overlay 44. It was observed that in contrast to the fabric above ground, the flints had well defined mortar joints and were laid in a soft, pale yellow mortar which crumbled easily in the hand.

*Phase I: apse 20 (Pl.XXVII; Figs 61, Fig. 63)*

Although its outline was much distorted by the four brick

tombs, 20 was clearly semi-circular in plan with a total width of 3.38m and an apex which projected forward 90cm from beneath the east wall. The fabric was of flints in various sizes mostly uncut, laid in a soft, sandy, pale yellow mortar. This walling remained to a height of 23cm and was built in places on a band of rammed chalk 11cm thick (45), which in turn rested on foundation 44 (Fig.61, F-E). No foundation trench was visible in the section and it was presumed that this and the early medieval ground surface had been disturbed by grave digging.

*Phase II: foundations 42 and 77 (Pl.XXVIII; Figs 61, Fig.63)*

Foundation 42 was revealed to its full extent in T2 and T3, to a lesser extent on the north of T1. It consisted of flint laid in a hard, compact, white mortar, the south-east edge

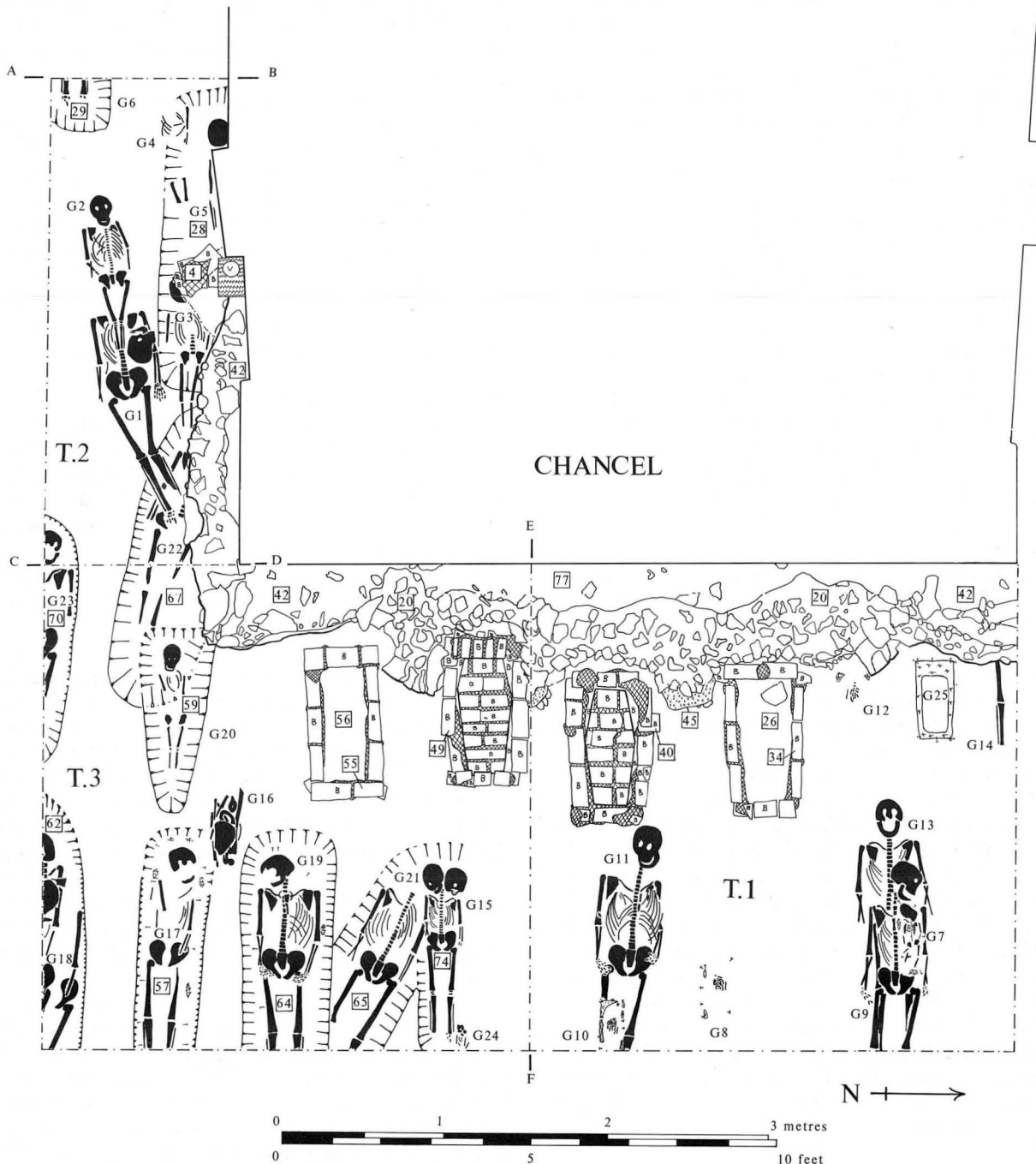


Figure 60 Excavation plan. See key for details. Scale 1:40

being built of large cut flints. At a depth of 42cm the fabric changed to flint pebbles (46) laid in the same mortar as 42. The whole structure with a total depth of 92cm, was set within a clay-filled trench (76) continuous with clay deposit 9. As revealed in T2 42 commenced from the east face of the pilaster, it projected beyond the east wall and overlapped the south edge of apse 20.

Feature 77 was of a very similar fabric to 42, and occupied the small semi-circular area between apse 20 and the central portion of the east wall. 77 was differentiated from apse 20 by a lack of surface flints.

vaulted. The tombs were then broken into and the vaults destroyed. As the two excavated tombs were devoid of human remains it is presumed that the other bodies have also been removed.

Although illegal action cannot be ruled out, it is worth recording that in 1817 live quads were born to Anne, wife of Dr Edward Rigby, a Norwich Surgeon (1747-1821) of Old Hall, Framingham Earl. All four, three boys and a girl, died at intervals shortly after birth, John and Caroline the eldest, dying on the same day aged 11 weeks and 5 days. It seems likely that these tombs were originally

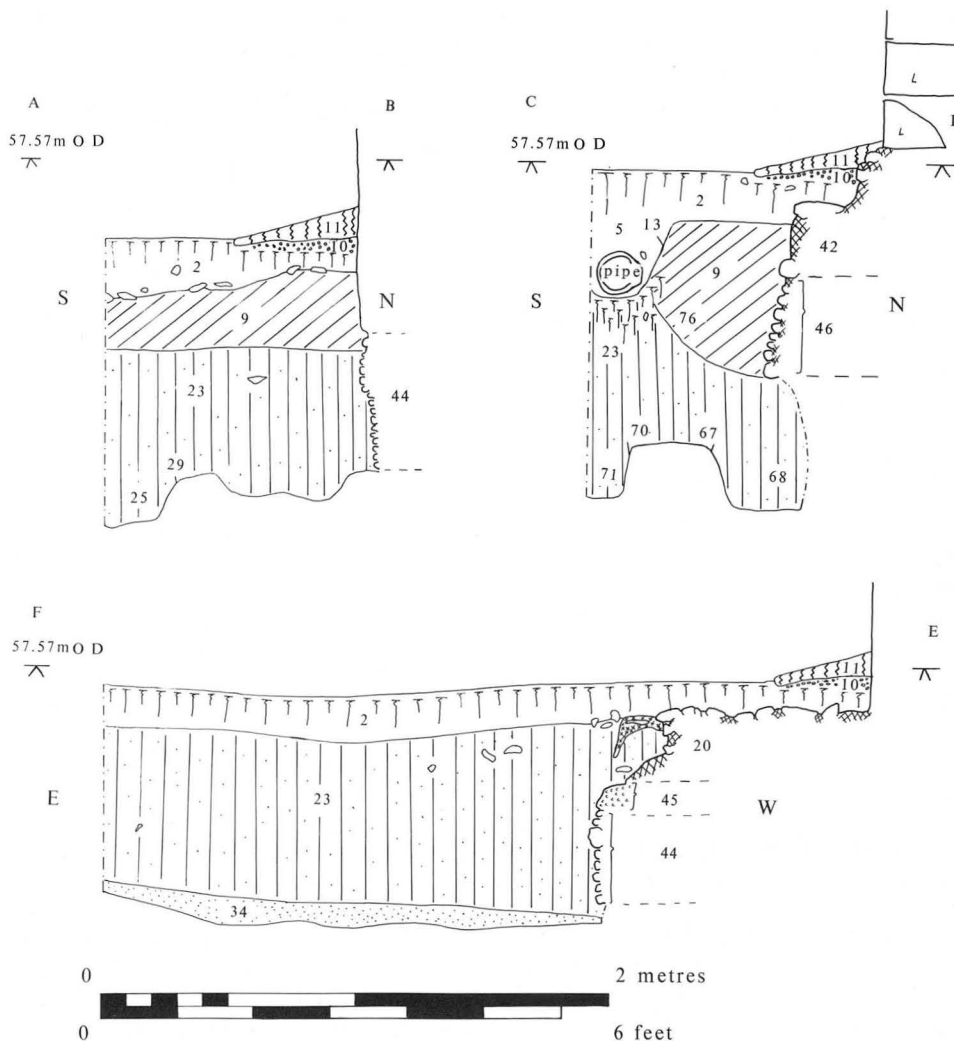


Figure 61 The excavation sections. See Figure 60 for location and key for details. Scale 1:30

**Brick tombs 39, 40, 49 and 55**  
(Figs 60-1, Fig.63)

The bricks of these four tombs were laid in a hard, slightly sandy, white mortar, the internal faces of the upper courses being chamfered. They were cut into apse 20. Only 40 and 49 were fully excavated and neither contained human remains. 39 and 55 were left undisturbed. 49 was the best preserved, with evidence of a vaulted roof made of five bricks radially laid so that the outer pair lay against the chamfered bricks. The internal surfaces were coffin-shaped and given a thin coat of a white slurry wash. The north-east corner of 40 was damaged, but with the exception of the vault, its construction was otherwise very similar to that of 49. The provision of springers on the other tombs suggests that all the tombs had once been

provided for the quads until the bodies could be exhumed and reburied in the concrete vault within the family plot just east of the excavated area.

**IV. The Artefacts**

(not illustrated)

**Silver and copper alloy object**

1. **Silver and copper alloy pin** damaged, Length: 25mm, spherical head. Located at throat of G.7. Early nineteenth century

**Iron objects**

In total 235 coffin nails were recovered from the excavation. 94 were located within layer 23 and were not associated with any burials. Nails *in situ* were recovered from nine graves (Table 16). Graves 11 and 15



contained nails believed to be intrusive. Lengths varied from 7 cm to 2 cm. Most were square in section with flat T-shaped heads.

### Window glass

Seventy-seven small badly decayed, opaque fragments, including twenty with red painted geometric designs. Located within 23. Probably from the fifteenth century east window restored in the nineteenth century.

### Pottery

Two sherds, including one base, are of a Thetford-type Ware. Three sherds, including two rims, of Early Medieval Ware can be attributed to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Hurst 1963, fig.8.2, 8.5).

Forty-seven sherds of medieval unglazed ware were recovered. All were in a coarse hard, reduced sandy fabric. The contexts of sherds other than those from 23 are to be found in Table 16. The rims, bases and fabrics are all of types in use between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries (Jennings 1981, 42-45).

### Tile

One fragment of medieval roof tile. Hard, red surfaces, light grey core. c. 16 mm thick. Fill of G.15 (context 54).

## V. The Documentary Background

by Alayne Fenner

The modern villages of Framingham Earl and Framingham Pigot appear in Domesday Book as one only, Framingham, made up of eight different holdings (four of which are in other parishes) belonging to Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk (Morris 1983, 1,49. 2,7. 9,30; 33; 51; 113; 161; 12,9). One of the Framingham holdings had a church with 30 acres (Morris 1984, 9,30). In trying to decide whether this was St Andrew's Framingham Earl or the original church of St Andrew Framingham Pigot, (usually described as 'Saxon' by antiquarians) one is obliged to rely to a large extent on Blomefield, only to find that he, and his successor Parkin, frequently contradict both themselves and each other.

Parkin tells us that the Domesday Framingham was called Little Framingham to distinguish it from the Suffolk Framlingham (Blomefield 1806, 431) and Blomefield records that Roger Bigod gave all his rights to the church of Little Framingham, and the lands belonging to it, to his Cluniac Priory of the Virgin Mary and St Andrew at Thetford, which he founded in 1104 (Blomefield 1805, 108). However, he adds that when Henry II visited the Priory sometime before 1177, he confirmed the gift of the church of Little Framingham by Gunnora, mother of Henry of Essex (Blomefield 1805, 112). Parkin resolves this confusing duplication, in the entry for Framingham Earl, by the information that Gunnora's gift was the advowson (Blomefield 1806, 432-3). Perhaps she had some pre-conquest right in the church-her husband's non-Norman name was Sweyn of Essex (Blomefield 1806, 433).

It would seem therefore, that the church of Framingham Earl was the Domesday church, for it belonged to Thetford Priory until the dissolution when it reverted to the Duke of Norfolk (Blomefield 1806, 433).

Roger Bigod created Framingham Pigot 'very early', *i.e.* between 1066 and his death in 1107, by granting part of Framingham to his cousin Reiner Picot, with the advowson of the church there (Blomefield 1806, 435). This was probably recently built, and the Pykot family continued to present until 1505, when it was united (until 1869) with Framingham Earl, the patrons taking turns to present.

One of the Domesday entries, in Seething, of five

bordars with ten acres who 'belong in Framingham', is immediately followed by '2 churches, 16 acres value 2<sup>l</sup>' (Morris 1983, 9,51). Rather inconsistently, in view of the information about both Framinghams and Thetford Priory, Parkin asserts in the entry for Seething that these are the churches of Framingham Earl and Framingham Pigot (Blomefield 1809, 172). He then proceeds to describe one church only, St Margaret's at Seething, which was appropriated to the Hospital of St Giles, Norwich in 1253, by its founder Bishop Walter Suffield (Blomefield 1809, 177). However, the site of a second church is marked on the Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 map at TM 3182 9847. The site (10451) has produced human skeletal material, but no other details are known.

## VI. Structural Interpretation and Chronology

(Fig.60, Figs 62-3)

There can be no doubt that feature 20 represents the remains of an apse contemporary with the Phase I building, for, in addition to being stratified beneath the Phase II east wall, its foundations are similar to those recovered in T2 beneath the Phase I chancel. Although cut by the four brick tombs, the apse preserved several stones whose appearance and position gave every indication that at least two sections of the original wall face survived (Pl.XXIX). Despite the lack of a foundation trench it is reasonable to suggest that foundations 44 were placed within such a feature which appears to have been dug to the top of the natural deposits. A band of chalk (45) was then rammed onto the foundations in order to level them and to provide a firm footing upon which the upstanding walls (20) could be built.

As the interior wall face of the apse was preserved by 77 it is possible to reconstruct the plan of the Phase I church (Fig.62) which shows that the chancel pilasters were situated just before the chord of the apse, it could be that their function was to support this area of the wall against the thrust of the roof.

When the east end was rebuilt in Phase II it was also shortened. As the chancel tapers to the east it was necessary to realign the eastern portions of the chancel so as to accommodate a squared east wall. Since the apse was only destroyed to ground level it would have been necessary to provide foundations for those portions of the new wall not built upon the earlier ones. It seems likely that this was the function of foundation 42, which not only underpins the north-east and south-east corners of the

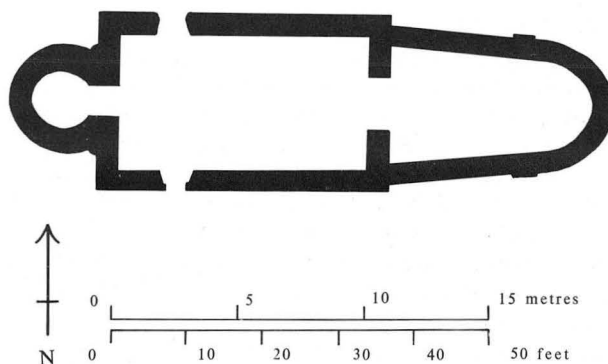


Figure 62 Reconstruction of plan as at end of twelfth century. Scale 1:300

chancel but also provides a foundation to the point at which the Phase II wall is joined to the Phase I walling. Foundation 77 likewise, fills the cavity between the interior wall face of the apse and the east wall, thus supporting the vast majority of the later east end.

Clay layer 9, abutts the Phase I wall (Fig.61 A-B), and is contemporary with the Phase II foundation trench, filling 76 (Fig.61 C-D). It may represent the consolidation and preparation of the ground around the chancel prior to rebuilding.

Amongst the standing remains are several features that have long been considered indicative of a Saxon date. In the following paragraphs it will be shown that although these features exhibit the Saxon style, they should not be used to suggest that the Phase I church was built before the Conquest. The features under discussion are:

### Flint-turned features; nave quoins and chancel pilasters

The occurrence of flint quoins is used by the Taylors to illustrate the contrast between the use of flint in the Saxon period and the use of dressed stone in the Norman period. '...surely it would be difficult to understand why dressed stone was used for the facings of the Norman chancel arch and doorways but was not used at all in the quoins or the flat pilasters of the chancel. The proper explanation appears to be that the main fabric is Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman built before the use of dressed stone became common, and that the facings of the doorways and the chancel arch are later insertions.' (1965, 243)

Although the Saxo-Norman period is included as a possibility, it becomes clear during the description of the

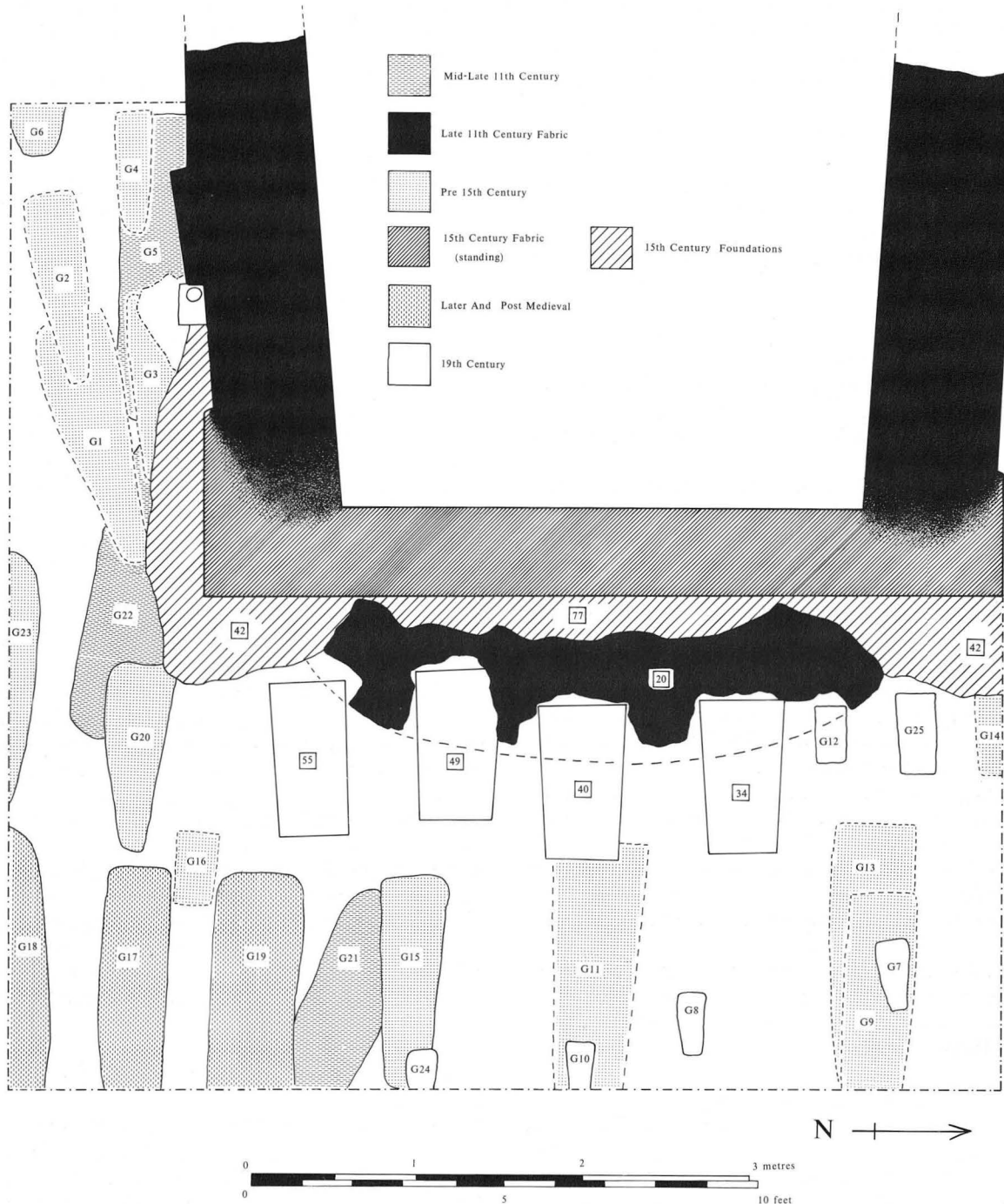


Figure 63 Interpretative plan of excavated features. Scale 1:40

church that the Taylors would prefer the date of the church to be pre-Conquest. There is reason to dispute the dating evidence used by the Taylors, for the chancel pilasters included in their argument would themselves seem to be Norman features and not Saxon. Saxon pilasters are consistently of a narrow section and seldom exceed 45 cm in width. The pilasters seen at Bradford on Avon are 30 cm wide, those at Coln Rogers (Gloucestershire) 25 cm, Cricklade (Wilts) 28 cm, Guildford (Surrey) 45 cm and Woolbeding (Sussex) 25 cm (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 86-9, 168-70, 182-4, 266-8, 684-5). When not used as supports for decorative arcades, these pilasters divide the walls into panels as at Woolbeding. The pilasters at Framingham Earl occur on their own; are almost twice the width of a Saxon pilaster; and thus closely resemble the Norman pilaster buttress. There are examples of Saxon buttresses e.g. those at Bradwell-on-Sea but these project 50 cm from the wall surface compared to the 10 cm seen at Framingham Earl. Pilasters similar in all respects to those at Framingham Earl, though constructed out of dressed stone, are to be seen on the twelfth-century churches of St Etheldreda (Norwich) and the Lazar House (Norwich). The pilasters seen at Hales and Heckingham (Norfolk), are to be found on surviving twelfth-century apses and as such offer striking parallels for the pilasters at Framingham Earl (Pls XXX and XXXI). A brief look at continental churches of this period will also reveal that the pilaster is a very common feature of the twelfth century apse.

Because the pilasters of Framingham Earl seem to be Norman in date and they are of the same rubble fabric as the walls, the latter must also be Norman. The Taylors however, appear to believe that the quoins of the nave are in fact of a pre-Conquest date. Flint quoins are not exclusive to the Saxon period and can be found on structures well into the medieval period e.g. St Bartholomew, Heigham (Norwich) and Rackheath church, Norfolk, both of fourteenth/fifteenth century date. At Guestwick, flint quoins are to be found in the bell-stage of the late eleventh-century tower. Although Saxon examples of flint quoins are to be found, it is clear that in the region of abundant natural flint, the presence of flint quoins is not a reliable indication of date.

#### **Fillet or quadrant pilasters**

Fillet pilasters are a common feature of the round tower occurring in thirty-three instances. The feature is not, however, indicative of a Saxon date for three examples can be dated to within the Norman period. Fillet pilasters are to be seen on the ruined church of North Elmham, Norfolk, a structure dated to between 1071 and 1091 (Heywood 1982, 1), and they are also to be found at the junction between the apsidal chapels of the transepts and the chancel, at Castle Acre Priory, Norfolk, founded c. 1090. On a more monumental scale they are also to be seen on the radiating chapels of Norwich Cathedral founded in 1096. Of the thirty-three examples, Heywood believes that only five cannot be reliably assigned to the post-Conquest period (Heywood 1977).

#### **Circular double-splayed windows**

These features are always cited as reliable indications of a Saxon date, such windows, however, are found on many buildings which are more likely to be Norman than Saxon, e.g. the west wall of the cathedral cloisters in Norwich or the churches at South Lopham and Hales, Norfolk.

As the above features can be found on pre and post-Conquest churches alike, they should not be used as evidence for pre-Conquest work unless they occur in walls into which post-Conquest features have been inserted. Although the relationship is obscured, it is believed that the two nave doorways at Framingham Earl have not been inserted, and are contemporary with the Phase I walling, which, as we have seen, is contemporary with the post-Conquest pilasters of the chancel. It then follows that a date for the style of the doorways would be of use in suggesting a date for the founding of the Phase I building.

There is a stylistic difference between the two doorways and the chancel arch, and there is also a difference in the type of stone used, which may indicate a second building phase within the Norman period. The two doorways are built with a soft, yet coarse, limestone whereas the chancel arch is built of a hard stone with a fine, smooth texture. The chancel arch is also richly decorated with mouldings which include the chevron, a moulding which is absent from both the doorways. It may be that these and other less richly adorned doorways which also lack the chevron (e.g. Kirby Bedon and Haddiscoe Thorpe, Norfolk) were built at a time before the use of chevron became popular, *i.e.* before c. 1110. If this is so then the date of the Phase I church is probably late eleventh or very early twelfth century.

Short of removing the plaster around the chancel arch there is no definite proof that the arch was constructed during the later phase. That there was a later phase is however indicated by the tower arch. It has already been noted that the imposts of this arch terminate short of the west face of the tower. Above this point there also exist vestiges of the original west wall of the nave (Fig. 59). These two features taken together strongly suggest that the tower is an addition to the nave. Further support for this is obtained by measurement of the wall thicknesses. The nave wall is 78 cm thick whilst the tower arch is 100 cm, the extra 22 cm beyond the imposts representing additional fabric added when the tower was built. The Taylors believed that the presence of the imposts implied that the arch was an original western entrance to the church. It is felt, however, that the proportions of the arch are too massive to be anything other than a tower arch. There is no reason why the arch could not have been built, with its imposts, as part of the building programme. Perhaps the reason why there is no return on the tower face is that it was a deliberate attempt to avoid working onto a partially curved wall face.

As it is probable that the chancel arch is part of the Phase Ib building campaign, it is significant that the hoodmould of the arch can be exactly paralleled with examples found on the doorways of Hales and Ashby, Norfolk. These two doorways belong to a highly decorated group whose date would seem to lie between 1130 and 1150 (Keyser 1908, 210). It is not known whether a chancel arch was present in the earlier (Phase Ia) stage of the building.

## **VII. Chronology with the Graveyard**

(Fig. 63)

Despite the absence of any real strata, there was fortunately some vertical stratigraphy amongst the graves including several key relationships between graves and structural features. These relationships are of help in establishing a general chronology within the excavated area of the

Grave Number	Grave pit Number	Filling	Above	Below	Cuts	Cut By	Overlaps	Overlapped By	Number of Sherds	P. Medieval Material	Evidence for a Coffin	Preservation (Bone)	Mostly complete	Age in years	Height in metres	Depth in metres O.D.	Phasing/Date
1		15		42		G2	G22,G5		3			G	*	40+	1.65	56.27	pre-Phase 2
2		16			G1				3			G	*	7/8	1.00	56.39	pre-Phase 2
3		19		42			G22,G5		2			P	*	5/6	.95	56.21	pre-Phase 2
4		21					G5					P		5	.75	56.32	pre-Phase 2
5	28	24		44	22			G1,G3,G4				F		40+	1.60	56.07	Pre-Phase 1
6	29	25			22							G		—	—	56.06	pre-Phase 2
7		36	G9							*	*	G	*	1	.35	56.56	early nineteenth century
8		50								*	*	F		1	.30	56.55	early nineteenth century
9	78	30	G13	G7	34							G	*	50+	1.60	56.33	?pre-Phase 2
10		37	G11								*	F		1/2	.40	56.48	early nineteenth century
11	73	48		G10	34							G		30+	1.70	56.38	?pre-Phase 2
12		35			20						*	P		1/2	.35	56.59	early nineteenth century
13	72	38		G9	34							G	*	55+	1.65	56.15	pre-Phase 2
14	81	47		42	43,22							P		8/9	—	56.20	pre-Phase 2
15	74	54			G21			G24	1+T			G	*	8/9	1.05	56.38	?pre-Phase 2
16						?						G		40+	—	56.52	?pre-Phase 2
17	57	58			22					*	*	P		30+	1.40	56.45	post-medieval
18	62	61			22,G21						*	G		15	1.30	56.27	post-Phase 2
19	64	63			22						*	G	*	50+	1.60	56.33	post-Phase 2
20	59	60		42			G22		2			F	*	5/6	.80	56.31	pre-Phase 2
21	65	66			22	G15,G19						G	*	30+	1.55	56.33	?pre-Phase 1
22	67	68		42	22			G1,G3,G20	3			P	*	50+	1.60	56.09	?pre-Phase 1
23	70	71			22				1			F	*	40+	1.40	56.09	pre-Phase 2
24		53					G15			*	*	G		4/5	—	56.40	early nineteenth century
25	32	33									*	A		1	.30	56.44	early nineteenth century

Table 16 Skeletal stratigraphy and data

graveyard. In addition to these features were two distinct types of grave which may prove to be chronologically separable.

Grave 5 was cut by Phase I foundation 44, and two other graves, G.21 and G.22, are probably also earlier than Phase I.

Clay deposit 9 has been shown to have been deposited at the time of the fifteenth-century rebuilding of the east end. It is therefore significant that none of the eight burials stratified below this deposit have any evidence for coffin nails; nor have those which are cut or buried by foundation 42. As coffin nails are to be found elsewhere on site it is suggested that any grave without them be assigned to a date before the fifteenth century, and that any grave with evidence for a nailed coffin be assigned to a period after the fifteenth century.

Twenty-five burials were recovered in varying degrees of preservation. Relationships with one another as well as with the structural features are tabulated in Table 16 which includes only brief skeletal data such as age and height. As far as could be determined all of the adult burials were male. After examination (by Dr G.Thomas) the bones were returned to the Rector for reburial.

Six of the graves were of an early nineteenth-century date. Four of these preserved quantities of wood less than 2cm across, as well as large areas of organic staining. The

good preservation of the bone and especially of the wood in a soil which otherwise preserved no other organic evidence may support the assumption that these may be more recent in date (in the early nineteenth century Framingham Earl fell victim to a smallpox epidemic: Dr Rigby the Norwich surgeon was so concerned at the scale of the outbreak that he turned over a wing of his house (Framingham Old Hall) to be a hospital for the victims. It is possible that these graves are the remains of babies who fell victim to the disease).

## Endnotes

1. The author is grateful to Paul Wilthew of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, for analysis by X-ray fluorescence.
2. The author is grateful to the Society of Antiquaries for access to the New Papworth Index. Where references are not given for blazons or rolls, they are taken from this source.
3. Powells' Roll c.1350, no.53.
4. Antiquaries Roll c.1360, no.134.
5. The west tower is now (1985/6) being repaired.
6. Observation of substantial contractors' holes outside and inside the west tower in October 1985 produced two sherds of Thetford-type Ware, and very little animal bone and shell.



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# Index

Place names are followed by the abbreviated county name. In addition, (C)=Cambridgeshire, (E)=Essex, (L)=Lincolnshire, (N)=Norfolk, (S)=Suffolk.

- All Saint's Church, Barton Bendish (N), 1-56 (Figs. 4, 7-9, 12-15, 39), 59, 61, 63-6 (Fig. 43).  
apse, 3, 7, 11, 14, 53-4.  
buttresses, 3, 7, 11, 20, 53-5.  
chancel, 3, 4, 7, 11, 14, 17-18 (Fig. 17), 20-1, 42, 53, 55, 64, 66.  
chapel, 3, 4, 17, 20-1, 55.  
graves/burials, 4, 7, 11, 14, 17-18 (Fig. 16), 20-1, 32 (Fig. 29), 63-4, 66.  
graveyard, 2, 4, 6-7 (Fig. 6), 63-4.  
nave, 3, 4, 7, 11, 14, 17, 20, 53, 66.  
north doorway, 53, 62 (Fig. 42), 63.  
sanctuary arch, 3, 7, 11, 53-4.  
west tower, 3, 4, 11, 14, 53-5.
- All Saint's Church, Newton-by-Castle Acre (N), 78.  
Altar, 17, 64.  
Animal bone, 4, 21, 63, 90.  
Architectural fragments, 32-4.  
Athill family, 75.
- Bainard, Ralph, 49, 64.  
Baldewyn, Walter, 50.  
Bardolf family, 38-9.  
Bawsey church (N), 53.  
Bells, 55-6, 63, 78.  
Bigod, Roger, 87.  
Bisshop, John, 51.  
Blomefield, F., 49-52, 55-6, 58, 63-4, 75.  
Bone objects, 42.  
Book binding fittings, 22, 24 (Fig. 22).  
Brampton, Richard, 51.  
Brancaster, Bartholomew, 50.  
brick, 20, 84.  
brooches: annular, 22-3 (Fig. 21).  
    Romano-British Colchester Derivative, 26 (Fig. 24), 28.  
buckle, 22-3 (Fig. 21), 27-8 (Fig. 25), 31 (Fig. 28).  
Bulwer, William, 51.  
buried soils, 4, 48, 63, 67, 72.  
burnt clay, 21.  
buttons, 22-3 (Fig. 21), 27-8 (Fig. 25).
- candlestick, 25-6 (Fig. 23).  
Canterbury cathedral, 53.  
carstone, 7.  
Castle Acre Castle (N), 41.  
Castle Acre Priory (N), 56, 89.  
Castle Rising church (N), 53, 56.  
chalice, 27-8 (Fig. 25).  
chape, 28, 31 (Fig. 28).  
Chorography of Norfolk, 51.  
clay tobacco pipes, 41.  
coffin, 32, 63, 66, 78.  
    coffin furniture, 31-2, (Figs. 28-9).  
    coffin nails, see nails.  
coins, 22.  
Compton census, 50.  
copper alloy objects, 22-8 (Figs. 21-4), 72-3 (Fig. 50), 86.  
Cotman, J.S., 83-4.  
Craske, Joseph, 51.  
de Blunderville, Thomas, 75.  
de Canyges, Thomas, 50.  
de Causton, Sir Robert, 38-9.  
de Clare family, 38-9, 49.  
de Guist, Everard, 74-5.  
de Jovene, 49.  
de Leen, 49.  
decorated rendering, 42 (Fig. 38).  
decorative plate, 24 (Fig. 22), 26.  
Devil's Dyke, 1.  
dividers, 24 (Fig. 22), 26.  
documentary sources, 49-52, 74-5, 87.  
Domesday Book, 1, 2, 49, 53, 61, 64, 74, 79, 87.  
domestic refuse, 4.  
Dunham Magna church (N), 53.  
Dunmow Priory (E), 49-50.
- East Moor (N), 50-1.
- Fayrhayr, John, 51.  
Fitzwalter, 49.  
flints: building material, 7, 11, 17, 20, 53.  
    prehistoric struck, 7, 32-3, 73.  
    flint-turned features, 88-9.  
font, 64.  
Forby, Joseph, 52.  
    Rev. Robert, 54, 63.  
foundations, 3, 4, 7, 11, 14, 17, 20, 54, 69.  
Framingham Pigot (N), 87.
- gargoyle, 58.  
Garner, Henry, 51.  
glass, vessel, 40.  
    window, 20, 34-9, (Figs. 32-4), 55, 66, 73, 75, 84, 87.  
grave worker, 17, 32-3 (Fig. 30).  
Guestwick church (N), 53.
- handle plates, 25-6 (Fig. 23).  
Harlewyn, Thomas, 50-1.  
Henry II, 87.  
Heraldic evidence, 38-9.  
Heygryn, Robert, 51.  
Hospital of St. Giles, Norwich, 87.  
Houlton, Joseph, 51.  
human bones, see skeletal material.
- Inventory of Church goods, 50.  
Iron objects, 28-9 (Fig. 26), 73 (Fig. 50), 86-7.
- Jones, Edmund, 51.
- Kempe, Robert, 51.  
Kelton church (Rutland, Leics.), 53.  
knife, 28-9 (Fig. 26), 73 (Fig. 50).
- lace-ends, 22-3 (Fig. 21).  
Larkyn, William, 51.  
lava quern, 7, 11, 32.  
Lay subsidy roll, 64.  
Lead objects, 28.  
lime kiln pit, 14.  
limestone ashlar, 7, 17.  
Little Melton church (N), 55.  
Lovel, John, 49-50, 61-2.  
    Thomas, 62.  
Lystre, John, 51.
- Martin, Thomas, 75.  
masonry course, 11.  
Mattishall Burgh church (N), 55.  
Melton Constable church (N), 53.  
mollusca, 48-9 (Table 12).  
mortar, 7, 11, 14, 17-18, 20, 42 (Fig. 38), 74.  
musket balls, 28.
- nails, 26, 28, 31-2 (Fig. 28), 63, 73, 86-7, 90.  
Norwich Castle, 53.  
Norwich Cathedral, 89.
- paten, 27-8 (Fig. 25).  
pewter objects, 27-8 (Fig. 25).  
Picot, Reiner, 87.  
pilasters, 88-9.  
pins, 26 (Fig. 24), 42, 86.  
piscina, 17, 56.  
plinth, 11.  
pocket sundial, 24 (Fig. 22), 26.  
post-hole, 4, 7, 11, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 64, 67, 72, 79.  
pottery, prehistoric, 40.  
    Roman, 40 (Table 1).

- Early Medieval wares, 21, 40 (Table 1), 73, 87.  
 Grimston-Thetford ware, 21, 41.  
 Grimston ware, 40 (Table 1), 73.  
 Ipswich-type ware, 40 (Table 1).  
 Late Saxon, 63.  
 Medieval wares, 3, 4, 21-2, 41, 54, 63, 84.  
 Medieval unglazed ware, 11, 40 (Table 1), 73, 87.  
 post-medieval wares, 21, 40-1 (Table 1).  
 Raeren stoneware, 73.  
 St. Neots-type ware, 21, 40-1 (Table 1), 63.  
 Stamford ware, 40-1 (Tables 1-2).  
 Thetford-type ware, 7, 11, 21-2, 40-1 (Table 1), 53, 54, 63, 73, 87, 90.
- priest's door, 11.  
 putlog holes, 56, 58.  
 rammed chalk, 7, 11, 14, 53.  
 rings, 27-8 (Fig. 25), 30 (Fig. 27), 72-3 (Fig. 50).  
 roofing lead, 28.  
 roofing slate, 84.
- St. Andrew's church, Barton Bendish (N), 2, 49-52, 56-9 (Fig. 40), 61, 63-6 (Fig. 43).  
   butresses, 56, 58.  
   chancel, 56, 59.  
   nave, 56, 58, 59.  
   south porch, 56, 58.  
   west tower, 56, 58-9.
- St. Andrew's church, Framingham Earl (N), 81-90 (Figs. 58, 62).  
   brick tombs, 84-7.  
   chancel, 81-4, 88-9.  
   circular tower, 82-4.  
   graves, 86, 89-90.  
   graveyard, 82, 85 (Fig. 60), 88 (Fig. 63), 89-90 (Table 16).  
   nave, 82-4, 88-9.  
   organ loft, 84.
- St. Mary's church, Barton Bendish (N), 2, 49-56, 59-66 (Figs. 41, 43).  
   chancel, 59-62.  
   graveyard, 63.  
   nave, 59-61.  
   Norman west door, 59, 61-2 (Fig. 42).  
   north vestry, 59-60, 62.  
   west doorway, 53-4, 62-3 (Fig. 42).
- St. Michael's church, Bowthorpe (N), 2.  
 St. Michael's church, Whitwell (N), 56.  
 St. Neots Priory (C), 50.
- St. Peter's church, Guestwick (N), 67-80 (Figs. 45, 46, 52).  
   axial tower, 67, 69-70, 72, 75-7 (Figs. 53-4).  
   chancel, 67-70, 78-9 (Fig. 55).  
   graves/burials, 70, 74 (Fig. 51).  
   graveyard, 80.
- nave, 67, 72, 78, 80 (Fig. 56).  
   vestry, 67.
- St. Saviour's church, Surlingham (N), 53.  
 Saxo-Norman pits/ditches, 3.  
 scaffolding, 64.  
 Scales, Robert Lord, 38-9, 51.  
 Sheldrake, William, 51.  
 shells, 21, 63, 90.  
 shrouds, 63, 66.  
 silver object, 86.  
 skeletal/human material, 11, 14, 17, 21-2, 42-8 (Tables 3-11), 63, 72, 74, 84, 87.
- South Lopham church (N), 53.  
 spindle-whorl, 42.  
 Stoke-by-Clare Priory (S), 50.  
 stone objects, 32.  
 strap ends, 22-3 (Fig. 21).  
 strap mounts, 22-4 (Figs. 21-2).  
 stripwork, 78-9.  
 Suffield, Bishop Walter, 87.
- Thetford Priory, 87.
- tiles, 7, 11, 14, 17-18, 20-1, 41-2, 56, 59, 72-3, 84.  
   Bawsey, 18, 41, 56, 59.  
   Flemish, 41, 72-3.  
   floor, 18 (Fig. 17), 20, 41.  
   glazed, 14, 17, 20.  
   peg roof-tiles, 11, 14, 17, 20-1, 41-2, 72, 73.  
   ridge tiles, 42 (Fig. 37).  
   roof, 41-2, 55.  
   Roman, 7, 11, 73.
- tile impressions, 14.  
 tiled floor, 14, 17, 18 (Fig. 17), 64.  
 tokens, 22.
- Townshend, Robert, 75.  
   Sir Roger, 75.
- Traile, Robert, 50.  
 twist key, 73 (Fig. 50).  
 Valor Ecclesiasticus, 50.  
 wall anchor, 28-9 (Fig. 26).  
 Waltham Abbey (E), 74-5.  
 Welsh roof-slates, 70.
- West Dereham Abbey (N), 50.
- Weyer, John, 51.
- window, bars, 28-9 (Fig. 26).  
   comes, 39-40 (Fig. 35).  
   lead, 39 (Fig. 36), 73.  
   ties, 39-40.
- Woodhouse, Thomas, 50.



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